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“Gender Equality and Quality of Life - State of Art Report’

Gender Equality in the Labour Market and in the Workplace.
The Case of Poland
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Jagiellonian University in Krakow
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Introduction

The access of women to the labour market has its historical and cultural determinants. Over the centuries, women have been limited in the extent to which they have benefited from education and paid work, and have not had the right to vote or to own property. Their activity has concentrated on the private/domestic sphere – performing the roles of wives and mothers. The roles culturally defined as masculine and characteristics attributed to men have tended to be, and in many countries still are, valued higher than female roles and attributes. The twentieth century provided a breakthrough for the emancipation processes and liberation of women from cultural pressure. Thanks to the suffragette movements of the first wave, governments of particular countries decided to grant women voting rights and eliminated barriers preventing their access to education at all levels and in all fields (in Poland women obtained voting rights relatively early, in 1918, and access to tertiary education in 1920). The activities of women’s movements related to the second wave of feminism (the 1960s and 1970s) resulted, inter alia, in the permanent presence of women in the labour market.

In most countries, the process of gaining full civil rights by women is not yet finished. The symptoms of discrimination against women are observed both in Poland and in other European Union Member States, despite the fact that *de jure* equality of women and men has been ensured. Practice to date leads to the conclusion that the law itself is not sufficient to ensure full realisation of equality. Controlling institutions are also needed to safeguard observance of the law, monitor the situation and impose sanctions on those who break the law. Periodical surveys in enterprises and institutions, as well as social opinion polls within the area of perception and implementation of the principle of equal treatment of women and men, both in the labour market and at work, are especially recommended. Social awareness, including the awareness of women themselves in respect to the rights they are entitled to, is very important from the point of view of achieving *de facto* equality.

Equal treatment of women and men is embedded in the United Nations mission and is one of the priorities of the European Union policy. The belief that women are entitled to enter the labour force, receive equal pay for work of equal value, participate in social security schemes, take managerial positions and wield power according to the same rules as
men is fundamental to the functioning of these organisations. In particular, Article 141 of the Treaty of Amsterdam (Art. 157 of the Treaty of Lisbon) underlines that combating gender-based discrimination in the labour market constitutes one of the European Union’s priorities. It indicates that Community bodies bear responsibility for adopting measures to equalise women’s opportunities in relation to their access to employment and working conditions, including the principle of equal pay for equal work or work of equal value. The article introduces the possibility of adopting positive actions on behalf of the underrepresented sex or that which encounters particular disadvantages in the professional career, which is to ensure full equality in practice. More detailed provisions and guidelines regarding the direction of actions may be found in secondary law: regulations, directives, recommendations and decisions. The directives regarding equal treatment of women and men ensure the following principles and settlements defining the standard in the matter of gender equality:

- introduction of legal definitions for the terms “direct discrimination”, “indirect discrimination”, “harassment”, and “sexual harassment”
- recommendation to implement positive actions and special measures in order to ensure equal opportunities in employment for underrepresented groups
- the principle of burden of proof lying with the defendant, i.e. the employer, in the area of equal pay and equal treatment
- invoking sanctions that should be effective, proportional and discouraging from discriminating practices
- the principle of equal pay for women and men
- the conclusion that the principle of equal treatment concerns the private as well as the public sector, meaning the lack of any form of discrimination, be it direct or indirect, in relation to access to employment, self-employment and vocational choices, as well as access to promotion

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the conclusion that the Member States should encourage social partners to adopt in tripartite conventions (treaties) provisions promoting equal treatment in the workplace, and encourage employers to regularly present information concerning implementation of the principle of equal treatment to the workers party (e.g. through dissemination of statistics regarding the participation of women at various levels of an enterprise, on average wages and salaries by sex and positions).

Poland ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and signed the final document of the Fourth World Conference on Women that was held in Beijing in 1995. Yet only the process of Poland’s accession to the European Union introduced antidiscrimination provisions into the Labour Code, which correspond with the Community requirements for prohibition on discrimination in employment. However, the Labour Code lacks a provision forbidding employers to include requirements discriminating against candidates in relation to sex, age, disability, race, ethnic origins, nationality, sexual orientation, political beliefs and religious denomination, or union affiliation, in information concerning job offers (job advertisements). Such a provision is included only in the Law on Promotion of Employment and Labour Market Institutions, which means that it is executed inadequately in relation to equal treatment of both sexes in the job recruitment process, e.g. it results in women being asked questions regarding their procreation plans, number of children and childcare arrangements for them, or having a certificate demanded of them that they are not pregnant. The Polish labour law lacks a defined system of classification of occupations and work evaluation, as well as particular criteria to allow comparison between various kinds of work, which causes occupational segregation and differences in the average earnings of women and men (Zielińska 2002: 88-89).

The objective of this paper is to answer the question of whether there is gender equality or inequality in the labour market in Poland, and to present the measures used hitherto in order to recognise the situation in the place of work: Do employers implement the equal treatment principle at the job recruitment stage? Do they apply measures to remove existing inequalities which affect women’s opportunities, including solutions facilitating reconciliation of work and family responsibilities? Do they apply measures to ensure equal pay for equal work for women and men? Do employers implement actions targeted at removing existing inequalities in respect to promotion?
The conclusions drawn from the analysis should prove that the process of monitoring the situation through surveys is necessary in order to ensure the actual unity between de jure and de facto equality.

Equality or inequality in the labour market

The analysis makes use of statistical data showing the number of employed women and men, the sectors and occupations in which they are employed, earnings by sex, and the number of women holding managerial positions, including top executive ones. Such data as employment and unemployment rate or gender pay gap are uniform in the European Union, therefore they allow comparison of the labour market situation in various countries. Besides quantitative data, the analysis also uses the results of selected qualitative surveys targeted at finding the reasons for differences in women’s and men’s access to the labour market and managerial positions, as well as differences in earnings.  

(a) Employment and unemployment of women and men – Poland compared to the rest of the EU

Both the female and the male employment rates are lower in Poland than the European averages – in the case of women by 4.9 percentage points, and for men by 2.1 percentage points (see Table 1). The highest female employment rates are observed in the following countries: Sweden (77.2%), Germany (72.3%), Denmark (72.4%), the Netherlands (71.6%) and Finland (71.9%). The lowest ones are in Italy, Greece and Malta (below 50%). In the case of men, the highest employment rates are observed in Austria (80.3%), the Czech Republic (81%), Germany (81.9%), the Netherlands (81.3%), Sweden (82.2%) and the United Kingdom (80.5%), and the lowest in Croatia (58.3%), Greece (62.9%) and Spain (63.3%).

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3 Employment rate is the percentage of employed persons in the total population aged 15 and over. Unemployment rate is the percentage of unemployed persons in the total economically active population, i.e. the employed and unemployed.

4 The methodology of data gathering and definitions is unified in the case of the representative Labour Force Survey.

5 For example, a nationwide questionnaire sample survey was carried out among unemployed women in 1999; the survey objective was recognition of the barriers hindering their economic activity and determinants of unemployment decline (Kurzynowski 2001); the first survey on female managers in Poland was conducted in 2000 (Lisowska 2001: 26-34); in 2006 and 2007, the Gender Index in enterprises and institutions employing 10 persons or more (Lisowska 2008); in 2011, the Diversity Index survey was carried out in the government administration (Lisowska 2012).
Table 1. Employment and unemployment rates of women and men in the European Union countries, December 2013, %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Employment rate</th>
<th>Unemployment rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU (28)</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>74.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>70.8</td>
<td>80.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>62.1</td>
<td>72.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>60.7</td>
<td>66.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatia</td>
<td>49.7</td>
<td>58.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>72.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>63.8</td>
<td>81.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>72.4</td>
<td>78.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>70.1</td>
<td>76.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>71.9</td>
<td>74.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>73.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>81.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>62.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>69.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>60.3</td>
<td>70.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>49.9</td>
<td>69.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>67.7</td>
<td>71.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>68.6</td>
<td>71.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>63.9</td>
<td>78.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>79.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>71.6</td>
<td>81.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>57.6</td>
<td>72.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>62.4</td>
<td>68.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>71.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>72.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>71.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>63.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>77.2</td>
<td>82.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>80.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The unemployment rate for women in Poland is at the level of the EU-28 average and comprises 10.7%, while the respective rate for men is lower than the Community average and constitutes 9.4%. The highest female and male unemployment rates are observed in Greece, Spain and Croatia. The lowest unemployment rates for women are in Germany (4.8%) and Austria (5.3%); for men, the lowest rates are in Austria, Germany, Luxembourg and the Czech Republic (respectively: 4.8%, 5.5%, 5.6% and 5.6%). In 13 countries (less than half), the unemployment rate is higher for women than for men, which means that there are fewer job offers addressed to women and they have more difficulties with finding a job, regardless of the fact that their level of education is formally higher than in the case of men. The reverse situation is observed in 15 countries, where men are characterised by higher unemployment rates, i.e. finding a job is more difficult for men than for women (Bulgaria, Belgium, Cyprus, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, the Netherlands, Romania, Slovakia, Sweden, the United Kingdom).

In the years 1992–2013, unemployment rates in Poland were each year higher for women than for men. This – problems with finding employment – is one of the reasons for the relatively high share of women among self-employed persons in Poland (34% in 2013).

(b) Job advertisements and indirect discrimination

The surveys and analyses carried out to date (Fuszara 2007) lead to the conclusion that a direct reference to the candidate’s sex is very rare, although symptoms of indirect discrimination in the recruitment process may be observed. Male forms of nouns are usually used in job advertisements, i.e. there is a “candidate” (using the male form of the noun in Polish) instead of a “male or female candidate” or “the person required for this job”. Names of occupations are usually given in the male form, with the exception of those traditionally associated with women (e.g. nurse, secretary, and bookkeeper). Almost all job advertisements indicate availability, which is associated with men, therefore including such a requirement in job advertisements indirectly points out to sex. If there are graphic elements
depicting people, they usually directly indicate exclusion of women (e.g. a picture of only a man or a few men; a male boss and a woman as his secretary; a team comprising a few people with a man as the boss).

Questions concerning the spheres of the personal and private life are asked during job interviews. Candidates are asked about the number of children they have, their plans concerning having children, as well as who will look after their children should they get the job. Such questions asked directly, as well as any suggestions indirectly related to the family/private sphere, are prohibited by law, hence they should not be part of the recruitment process. However, the surveys indicate the fact that all these questions are not only asked during job interviews, but they are asked either exclusively or significantly more often to women than men (at a significance level of 0.05). This conclusion may be drawn from the surveys carried out in 2006 and 2007 in enterprises participating in the “Equal Opportunities Company” contest, as well as from the research carried out in the government administration in 2012 (Fuszara 2007; Gender Index 2008; Fuszara 2012). In turn, the Diversity Index surveys for the years 2013 and 2014 indicate that among the six areas considered as key ones for human capital management, the recruitment area obtained the lowest partial index, i.e. discrimination at this stage is a phenomenon quite often observed in companies and institutions in Poland and it does not concern only sex, but age or disability as well (Diversity Index 2013: 46–47; Diversity Index 2014: 47–49).

(c) Gender-related occupational segregation

Occupational and sectorial segregation by gender, i.e. division into male and female occupations and sectors, and jobs and positions specific to a particular sex, is observed in the labour market. Therefore, women usually perform office and auxiliary jobs, while men supervise, manage and perform conceptual work. Occupational segregation is a result of

6 These areas were: strategic management, diversity-oriented organisational culture, employment structure, recruitment, professional development and remuneration: www.diversityindex.pl.

7 Occupational segregation by gender means unequal representation of women and men in particular areas of economic activity. Horizontal and vertical segregation may be specified. The former relates to generally lower employment opportunities for women than men, and the latter to women holding lower, often auxiliary posts, There are various measures of the level of occupational segregation by gender. One of them is the occupational segregation index, comparing overrepresentation of women in typical female jobs with underrepresentation of women in typical male occupations. Another measure is comparison of the percentages of men and women in particular occupations [Renzetti, Curran, 2005: 304-307].
traditional education: women are underrepresented in general educational fields (such as natural sciences or mathematics, which are generally in preparation for further studies), and in engineering, manufacturing and construction, and agriculture studies. They are overrepresented in teaching and education, humanities and arts, social sciences, business and law, sciences, and services (Mills et al., 2014: 5).

The majority of women work in the following NACE sections: human health and social work activities, education, financial and insurance activities, accommodation and catering.

Feminised sections of national economy, Poland (LFS 2014: 94):
- Human health and social work activities – 81.8% women and 18.2% men
- Education – 78.0% women and 22.0% men
- Financial and insurance activities – 67.7% women and 32.3% men
- Accommodation and catering – 67.2% women and 32.8% men

The group of masculinised sections comprises much more sections than the group of feminised ones. Sections with a majority of men are: construction; mining and quarrying; transportation and storage; electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply; water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activities; manufacturing; information and communication.

Masculinised sections of the national economy, Poland (LFS, 2014: 94)
- Construction – 92.9% men and 7.1% women
- Mining and quarrying – 91.2% men and 8.8% women
- Transportation and storage – 78.5% men and 21.5% women
- Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply – 77.3% men and 22.7% women
- Water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activities – 70.8% men and 29.2% women
- Manufacturing – 68.8% men and 31.2% women
- Information and communication – 66.0% men and 34.0% women

Gender equality in respect to employment is observed in only one of the sectors: public administration, defence, compulsory social security (50.5% women and 49.5% men). Women slightly outnumber men in the following sectors: real estate activities (52.4% women and 47.6% men); trade and repair of motor vehicles (54.6% women and 45.4% men);
professional, scientific and technical activities (54.2% women and 45.8% men), as well as in the sector of arts, entertainment and recreation (56.0% women and 44.0% men). A slight predominance of men over women is observed in administrative and support services activities (57.1% men and 42.9% women).

The most women are employed as clerical support workers (64.3%), service and sales workers (63.6%) and professionals (63.0%; e.g. teachers and medical doctors). Men are decidedly dominant among plant and machine operators and assemblers (86.8%) as well as craft and related trades workers (87.5%); they also comprise the majority of managers (63.0%).

Besides horizontal segregation, segregation is also observed within particular sections of the national economy or within enterprises (vertical segregation). For example, in the baking industry men are directly involved in the baking process, while women work in supermarkets; among estate agents, women usually deal in sales of houses for individual purchasers, while men deal in sales of buildings for companies, which generate incomparably higher profits (Renzetti, Curran 2005: 312).

In turn, at the company level, women and men may formally hold the same position in a given company, but they perform various tasks, e.g. in legal companies women specialise in family law, and men in corporate law; in shopping centres, men sell more expensive goods (computers, household appliances, construction materials, etc.), and women cheaper ones (cosmetics, clothes and accessories).

One of the significant reasons for gender-related occupational segregation was the legal ban on performing some occupations for women maintained over the centuries (men faced no such legal restriction; however, there were some cultural ones). Therefore, the belief that women and men are predestined to perform different jobs was consolidated in the social consciousness. Gradually, the so-called “lists of occupations legally off limits to women” were gradually abandoned in particular countries. Even until 1996, the said regulation prohibiting women from performing over 90 occupations, including bus or truck driver, diver and miner, was in force in Poland. Elimination of the list of occupations forbidden to women took place relatively late (in 2002); this led women to take up “male” occupations:

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increasingly often, women are employed as bus or tram drivers, more women are interested in working in the police force (in 2014 women constituted 15% of the total number of the police force; http://www.policja.pl/pol/aktualnosci/95999,Kobiety-w-Policji.html), as well as in the army (in 2014, women comprised 3% of the military service; http://www.wojskopolskie.pl/pl/sily-zbrojne-rp/wojskowa-sluzba-kobiet/statystyki/31669,statystyki.html).

(d) Remuneration of women and men – women earn less

An analysis of **average gross monthly earnings** of women and men reveals that there are significant differences. The Central Statistical Office (CSO)\(^9\) data for 2006, 2008, 2010 and 2012 presented in Figure 1 shows that in those years the average gross earnings for women constituted, respectively, 82%, 81%, 85% and 83% of average men’s gross earnings. If we assume the women’s pay as the basis, men earned on average 22% more than women in 2006, 23% more in 2008, 18% more in 2010 and 20% more in 2012. The data indicates that in the years 2006-2012 the gender pay gap was on average above twenty per cent.

**Figure 1. Ratio of monthly average women’s remuneration to men’s remuneration in Poland, total for 2006, 2008, 2010 and 2012 (%)**

![Graph showing the ratio of monthly average women's remuneration to men's remuneration in Poland, total for 2006, 2008, 2010 and 2012 (in %)](image)


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\(^9\) In its representative survey on earnings carried out every two years, the CSO includes national economy entities employing at least 10 people. The data refers to full-time and part-time employees who worked throughout the whole of October. Information on earnings is presented as arithmetic means of salaries. The methodology is broadly discussed in Struktura... 2014: 10–15.
Women earn less than men, irrespective of the economic sector, occupation, education, age, or the size of an organisation. In 2012, according to the CSO data, the average gross salary in the public sector was 9% higher than in the private sector (by PLN 4,116 and PLN 3,377 respectively). In the public sector, men earned 25% more than women (PLN 4,719 and PLN 3,789 respectively), and in the private sector 23% more (PLN 4,092 men and 3,324 women). The ratio of the average women’s pay to the men’s pay in the public sector was at a level of 80%, and in the private sector it was 81%.

The largest average pay gaps are found among industrial workers and among managers and higher-level officials (see Table 2). In 2012, women in these groups earned 66% and 73% of men’s earnings respectively. According to the data for 2012, a relatively smaller pay gap was found in the group of office employees: women earned almost as much as men; in the group of farmers as well as that of personal service workers and salespeople, women earned 95% and 87% of men’s earnings respectively.

Table 2. Average monthly pay of women and men by occupational groups in Poland, 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational groups</th>
<th>Percentage of employed women</th>
<th>Average monthly pay in PLN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher-level officials and managers</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>9,295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialists (including doctors and teachers)</td>
<td>66.8</td>
<td>5,677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technicians</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>4,458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office employees</td>
<td>63.5</td>
<td>3,237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal service workers and sales people</td>
<td>66.6</td>
<td>2,482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers, gardeners, and fishermen</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>2,659</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial workers and craftsmen</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>2,395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machine operators</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>3,346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled workers</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>2,569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>4,249</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figures in brackets show the percentage share of women’s earnings compared to men’s earnings in each group.

Source: Own calculations based on CSO data from the study on earnings carried out in 2012 (Struktura... 2014).
The disproportion between men’s and women’s pay is particularly evident when analysed by the level of education (see Table 3). The gap is largest for basic vocational education: women earn 69% of what men earn, which proves that male qualified workers receive better pay than female qualified workers. It is noticeable that there is a relatively large span of average remuneration of people with higher education, which does not necessarily result from the fact that professions typical of women requiring such education are generally worse-paid than men’s ones (Słoczyński 2012: 182), but from the fact that men hold the highest managerial posts in large enterprises (e.g. banks) and positions of specialists which are most valued by the market definitely more frequently than women.

**Table 3. Average monthly pay of women and men by education level in Poland, 2012**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of education</th>
<th>Average monthly pay in PLN</th>
<th>Women*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master’s degree</td>
<td>6,749</td>
<td>4,789 (71%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary vocational education</td>
<td>3,686</td>
<td>2,918 (79%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic vocational education</td>
<td>3,103</td>
<td>2,145 (69%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary education</td>
<td>2,945</td>
<td>2,173 (74%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figures in brackets show the percentage share of women’s earnings compared to men’s earnings in each education group.

Source: As for Table 2.

The analyses carried out by Henryk Domański (1992, 2011), Zofia Jacukowicz (2000) and Tymon Słoczyński (2012) clearly show that pay discrimination of women is a significant factor influencing the average gender pay gap in both Poland and other countries. The discrimination is also caused by the traditional perception of the social roles of men and women, and by women’s acceptance of lower pay rates, because they have less negotiation power in the labour market (Becker 1990).

The studies carried out by Fiona Kay among Canadian lawyers indicate that individual differences in salaries cannot be explained by such factors as the number of weekly working hours or the number of hours devoted to childcare. Thereafter, Mary E. Corcoran and others came to the conclusion that such variables as level of education, professional experience, continuity of employment and absenteeism influence gender pay gaps to a slight extent only. Surveys carried out among American engineers indicate that the status of women is
lower despite their equal level of education, work experience, and work seniority in given positions (Renzetti, Curran, 2005: 335, 338).

However, even female occupations requiring high qualifications, considerable commitment and responsibility are worse-paid than many male occupations. For example, in Poland the average gross remuneration of a nurse in the public sector in 2012 was PLN 3,307, while a driver/vehicle operator received PLN 3,642. Within the same sector, an electrician (PLN 4,566) and blacksmith/locksmith (PLN 4,067) earned markedly more than a nurse. The salary of a female teacher in a lower secondary and post-secondary school was PLN 4,355, which is more than the earnings of a blacksmith and a driver, but less than the wage of an electrician (Struktura… 2014: 84–85, 90).

On the basis of a review of theories explaining pay gaps, they can be divided into three groups: neoclassical theories (including the human capital theory, Becker’s theory of discrimination), institutional theories and theories of segmentation of the labour market (including the theory of the dual labour market, theory of statistical discrimination) and the theory of gender economics (Cichomski 2006: 342–345). The last of these explains the lower remuneration of women with social norms: the subordinate position of women in society and the androcentric labour market.

An European Parliament Report emphasises that stereotypes and the perception of men and women in terms of their traditional roles are the main reasons behind the gender pay gap (Report… 2012: 17). It also indicates that “a labour market free of stereotypes could increase not just women’s income, but also the Member States’ gross domestic product (...) [and] if female participation in the labour market were to rise to 70%, matching the male rate, this would have a highly beneficial economic impact (between 4% and 8%) on EU GDP” (Report… 2012: 19).

(e) Women holding managerial positions in the context of profits from diversity

While among the total number of managers in Poland the share of women comprises 37% (LFS, 2014: 96), there are usually no women – or at most one or two – at the highest levels of management – on boards and supervisory boards. This confirms the results of the surveys carried out among the companies on the “Rzeczpospolita 2000” List in 2009 (Kupczyk, 2013: 35–37) and in companies recorded on the Warsaw Stock Exchange in 2010
(Lisowska, 2010: 7). The results of the surveys carried out in stock market companies in Poland in 2009 and 2010 indicate a negative correlation between the managerial level and the number of women, as well as between the company’s size and the number of women at executive level: the higher the position, the lower the proportion of women; the bigger the company (more employed workers), the lower the proportion of women holding top executive positions. Companies with a high share of women among the employed (feminised) are characterised by a higher proportion of women holding executive positions than masculinised companies. If a company values equalising chances and promoting women to managerial positions, as well as pursuing programmes facilitating this process, the overall percentages of women among directors of departments and sections are higher, but there is no effect on the share of women on boards and supervisory boards.

In the contemporary world, women and their competences are needed not only among the rank and file, but also in higher and top executive positions. The surveys show that the presence of women as directors or on company boards and supervisory boards facilitates better management and generates high financial results (Catalyst, 2010; Terjesen et al., 2009: 320–337; Wolley et al., 2010: 686–688). In particular, American surveys of the largest Fortune 500 firms, carried out in the years 1980–1998 by Roy Adler of Pepperdine University, prove that a higher proportion of women in executive positions translates into higher company profitability, measured in revenues, assets and stockholders’ equity (Adler, 2001). Certainly, it may be explained in terms of diversity of talent – the more diversified the teams, the higher the creativity and innovativeness of the staff (Jamka, 2011; Lisowska, 2012). Also important is the fact that as the structure of the company’s staff is more reflective of the demographic structure of the market, the services offered by the company are better suited to meet the needs of niche markets; companies therefore expand the scope of their customers and strengthen their competitive position in the market.

Women possess abilities which are suited for management targeted at the best possible utilisation of human capital in a company: interpersonal skills (teamwork, communication with other people, negotiation in a win-win context), as well as intrapersonal ones
(emotional intelligence). These abilities facilitate women’s successes, and are also the most desired competences among CEOs (Nickels, 1995: 342; Bloom et al., 1995; Drucker, 2000).

Low representation of women on boards is observed in all European Union countries, as illustrated by Figure 2, drawn up on the basis of data obtained from the largest stock market companies of particular countries. The position of Poland is below the Union average – women comprise 10.3% of the boards and supervisory boards of the largest stock market companies, while the European average is 16.6%. The lowest indicators are observed in such countries as Malta (2.8%), Portugal (7.1%), Greece (7.3%), Estonia (8.1%), Cyprus (8.9%), and the highest in Finland (29.1%), Latvia (29.0%), France (26.8%), Sweden (26.5%), and the Netherlands (23.6%).

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10 This is indicated by the results of the pioneering survey Polish Women – Managers 2000 carried out by the author within the framework of the project “Company 2000”, financed by USAID (Lisowska, 2000; Lisowska, Bliss, Polutnik, Lavelle, 2000).
Figure 2. Women and men on the boards of the large listed companies in European Union countries, April 2013, %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cech Republic</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>EU27</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
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<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
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<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
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<td>Austri</td>
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<td>Hungary</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
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<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
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<td>Estonia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>7</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


Women face many barriers in access to managerial positions, particularly top executive ones. According to behavioural economists, among the main barriers are social prejudices and stereotypes that women are worse-suited to holding managerial positions than men (Reuben, 2012; Wolfers, 2006). These prejudices result in women being denied promotion to managerial positions, as well as a lower level of interest among women in such
positions caused by fear of failure or fear of success. Women are aware that they have to be on all counts better than men when aiming for top executive positions. Lack of network contact or female solidarity and lack of mentors mean that they are faced with a solitary struggle in order to break through the “glass ceiling”.

Given the key role of cultural determinants in women’s access to senior management positions, as confirmed by the surveys and manifested in undervaluation of women and overvaluation of men as candidates for such posts, introduction of quotas into business is advised, i.e. the solutions proposed by the European Commission in the directive project (European Commission, 2012). Adoption and implementation of this directive in the European Union countries will result in relatively fast growth of the number of women in decision-making bodies, which in effect will overcome these prejudices and draw attention to their actual competences and achievements (Lisowska, 2013).

(f) Reconciliation between paid work and family life

It is observed that women without children enter the labour market markedly faster and gain their first job sooner after finishing education. This means that the work-life conflict already influences the early labour market experiences of young women and their integration in the labour market (Mills et al., 2014: 5–6).

In Poland, as well as across Europe, the proportion of part-time workers is much higher for women than for men. This particularly concerns mothers: overall, 21% of women between 20 and 49 years of age without children were working part-time in the EU in 2010, compared to 36% of the total of mothers. Only 9% of men without children and 4% of fathers had a part-time job. For example, in the Netherlands almost all employed mothers work part-time, and the majority of mothers work part-time in Austria, Germany and the UK. In the Netherlands, part-time jobs are widely available, because employers are legally obliged to offer part-time contracts at the employee’s request. Working part-time can be a

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11 In psychology, fear of success is defined as the expectation that achieving success will cause more stress than lack of success. Desiring success is synonymous with experiencing fear of success, which results in strong mental stress and discomfort, therefore we may refer to psychological costs. The effect is relinquishing one’s aspirations. In the case of women, the fear is strongly related to the feeling of loss of femininity and attractiveness to the opposite sex as well as social exclusion; for men, it is associated with the feeling of insecurity in respect to the value of success itself and the need to prove themselves (Mandal, 2000: 65–69).

12 Glass ceiling – invisible barriers hindering women’s access to the top levels of the professional career (Titkow ed., 2003: 8–9).
solution for reducing work-life conflict. It should be noted, however, that due to part-time work, women earn less than what would be considered the minimum income for being financially independent (Mills et al., 2014: 8).

Partnership in marriage is a model that is more often expected by women than actually realised, as indicated by surveys on division of household duties (e.g. Baranowska, 2007; Titkow, Duch-Krzystoszek, Budrowska, 2004; CEBOS, 2013). Surveys on time budgets show that in Poland women spend twice as many hours as men on both housework and childcare, with a similar number of hours spent on paid work (Siemieńska, 2006, v.2). In addition, European Commission data concerning all EU countries indicates that women are strongly overburdened by household responsibilities. The 2014 Report states: “if there are improvements in gender equality in the work force and in the distribution of household earnings between men and women, domestic work still largely remains the responsibility of women. In the light of these results, it seems unrealistic to expect a significant increase in female employment rates or hours worked in employment as long as men’s contribution to domestic work continues to be only about half of women’s contribution.” (Mills et al., 2014: 18)

The expectations of society towards women that they will above all be good mothers and wives is gradually being replaced by the expectation that fathers will increase their involvement in the process of childcare and child rearing as well as household responsibilities (Siemieńska, 2011: 203). It should be noted, though, that economic independence of women did not start a revolution; it has only imposed slow changes in attitudes towards division of household duties, more often observed among the younger generations than older married ones. The reasons for this are social stereotypes attributing different responsibilities to women and men, which excuse men from housework and childcare responsibilities and, as a consequence, leave to the man the decision of whether and to what extent to support his wife/partner in these duties.

The division of responsibilities and tendency to place the burden of childcare almost exclusively on women are firmly consolidated in society. It is for these reasons that employers perceive female candidates for work mainly as future mothers, and therefore employ them less often. Women are considered by employers as less efficient than men, and consequently are not offered valuable training or promoted as frequently (Siemieńska, 2007:}
In the Polish reality, companies in which the organisational structure and planning of work take account of the family responsibilities of their female and male employees are still rare. In most enterprises, the belief that combining professional and family roles is a personal matter is prevalent (Fuszara, 2007a: 164).

Influenced by stereotypes and experiences, women are profoundly convinced that they have to shoulder responsibility for children, home and family; that providing care and housework are their “moral responsibility” (Hryciuk, Korolczuk, 2012: 19). Society assesses women mainly in the context of these responsibilities, which take priority in women’s choices. This is why easy access to institutional forms of childcare in a given country is so important, as they facilitate women’s decisions regarding economic activity, which particularly concerns single mothers. The European Commission Report 2014 concludes that Poland is among those countries where access to childcare is still not in line with the requirements included in the Barcelona Objectives. In 2002, the Barcelona European Council set the following goals for Member States:

1. to provide childcare by 2010 to at least 90% of children aged between three years and mandatory school age;
2. to provide childcare by 2010 to at least 33% of children under three years of age.

Only eight Member States (Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom) have met the Barcelona targets for both age groups, five Member States (Estonia, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg and Portugal) have met the target for one age group, four Member States were close to meeting one or both targets (Austria, Cyprus, Finland, and Italy), and the remaining Member States were not close to achieving either of the targets (Mills et al., 2014: 21). Poland is among this final group.

**Recapitulation**

The presented analysis leads to the conclusion that there are many manifestations of worse treatment of women in the labour market: fewer job offers, perception of female candidates in the context of motherhood, lower remuneration, very few women holding top executive positions. The Gender Equality Index designed for all Community member states by the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) in 2010 confirms the persistence of significant inequalities between women and men in Polish society. The Gender Equality
Index is a unique measurement tool that consists of six core domains: work, money, knowledge, time, power, health. It provides a measure of how far (or close) each Member State is from achieving gender equality. With an index of 44.1, Poland is among the countries which are a long distance from accomplishment of gender equality. The Union average was 54.0, while the highest indices were achieved by Sweden – 74.3, Denmark – 73.6, and Finland – 73.4, on a scale from 0 to 100 (EIGE, 2013: 109). The domain of “power” shows the extent of the low levels of gender equality in the decision-making, political and economic spheres, with an overall score at the EU level of 38. This is the area where the lowest gender equality score can be observed, with the majority of Member States below this level (EIGE, 2013: 137).

Measures of women and men’s equality in the place of work

(1) Gender Index

The Gender Index was designed in 2005–2006 as the objective tool providing the answer to the question of whether an enterprise/institution/organisation carries out equal treatment policy as regards access to employment, training and promotion, whether it meets standards concerning equal pay for equal work, whether it is friendly to female and male employees with children, supports reconciliation between work and family responsibilities, or protects against discrimination.

Within the project framework, the expert team worked out methodological assumptions and the algorithm for calculating the Gender Index indicator. Thereafter, empirical surveys were carried out targeted at gathering the data necessary for calculating the indicator for each enterprise according to the ranging method [Kuropka, Pisz 2007]. These were the first surveys in Poland targeted at recognition of the situation in respect to the degree of implementation of the European standards concerning equal treatment of women and men in the process of staff management in the workplace. The objectives of the project also included promotion of the companies with the best gender equality policy.

The experts selected seven key areas of the company functioning connected with management of human resources:
1. recruitment of employees
2. protection against dismissals
3. access to training
4. access to promotion
5. earnings
6. reconciliation between work and family responsibilities
7. protection against sexual harassment and bullying.

The contest formula was applied as the method to reach companies. The contest was open to small and medium companies, as well as to large enterprises of the public and private sector employing at least 10 workers of different genders and active in the Polish market for at least three years. The information was obtained with the use of three original research tools in 2006: one was completed by the human resources department, the second was addressed to two persons from the company’s managerial body, and the third one to employees (women and men employed in the company). In the second contest (2007), only two questionnaires were used: one filled in by the human resources department and the other by employees.13

The results of the surveys confirm that the European standard in relation to equal treatment of women and men is not popular in companies operating in the Polish market. Companies with foreign capital implement standards related to equal treatment more often than domestic firms.

Obedience of the law on protection of pregnant women and protection against dismissal of people on maternity or childcare leave is universal, yet there is still much to do in other areas. As regards recruitment, only few job advertisements may be considered as model ones (9 out of 131 analysed advertisements). During job interviews, women are asked family-related questions (number of children, procreative plans, or childcare) more often than men, while men are asked about their availability and willingness to work overtime more frequently than women. This confirms the employers’ stereotypical attitudes towards male and female job candidates (Fuszara, 2007: 43–54). However, availability is not the

13 In 2006, the survey covered 52 companies, 101 employers and 4108 employees, and in 2007, 100 companies and 7447 employees.
attribute which takes the top position on the list of characteristics declared by employers as features sought in job candidates. According to representatives of small and medium companies, the main attributes of a good employee are competences (37% indications), responsibility (28%), and teamwork ability (26%), while availability was mentioned by 19% of the respondents. A similar picture emerges from the declarations of representatives of large firms, who mostly indicated such attributes as commitment (36%), teamwork ability (32%), honesty (27%), responsibility (25%); availability was mentioned by only 14% of respondents.

Women’s earnings are at a level much lower than men’s earnings; the pay gaps were below Poland’s averages in respect to both managerial positions and others. The situation in this area was better in small and medium companies than in large enterprises and corporations. Only 28% of firms monitored the earnings of women and men in particular positions. Such monitoring was more common in large firms (48% of those analysed) than small and medium ones (19%) (Ciesielska, 2007: 55–66).

Women, regardless of their age, level of education and whether they have children, participate in training programmes financed by their companies less often than men. Women are less often represented in higher- and the highest-level managerial positions, also in highly feminised companies. Only few companies have implemented programmes targeted at promoting women to managerial positions, particularly top executive ones (Siemieńska, 2007: 67–82).

Solutions facilitating reconciliation of work and family responsibilities have been introduced in 27% of small and medium firms and 72% of large companies. Those applied most often are flexible working time, the opportunity to work from home, and part-time work. Quite common were subsidies for children’s holidays (observed in 21% of small and medium firms and in 66% of large companies).

Meanwhile, none of the enterprises operated a company crèche/kindergarten, and only few subsidised costs of childcare or children’s education (usually in the form of contributions to foreign-language courses). Opportunities such as extended paid maternity leave, financing a child-minder when the mother is on a business trip, a place/room for a parent with a child (for feeding), or a room where in a emergency a child may be left under professional care are observed only sporadically. A quite common practice in companies is funding of recreational and sports activities: 72% of large companies and 41% of small and
medium enterprises (Budrowska, 2007: 105–120) offer such opportunities. Despite the small scope of solutions facilitating reconciliation of work with family responsibilities, employees are usually satisfied with what their companies offer. Facing an employers’ market, employees do not express high expectations regarding working conditions in the area of combining work with family responsibilities; they assume that they have to solve this problem themselves (Kotowska, 2007: 121–142).

Many enterprises do not observe the provision of the Labour Code obliging the employer to inform female and male employees that the company follows the principle of equal treatment and counteracts discrimination, sexual harassment and bullying. The employer is entitled to choose the method of information: internal training on the subject can be organised; information on a ban on discrimination and respective procedures in cases when the antidiscrimination law is broken may be included in the internal code/regulations available to each employee, posted on the bulletin board or on the intranet. The standards were more often met in large companies (e.g. 69% of companies participating in the survey had a provision in the company’s code/regulations, while the respective figure in the case of small and medium companies was 36%). European standards also oblige companies to appoint a person responsible for observance of the principle of equal treatment of employees in relation to gender and prevention of discrimination. A person to whom complaints could be submitted was appointed in 71% of small and medium companies and in 62% of large ones, albeit most often a representative of the human resources department rather than a separate organisational unit – which was indicated by 27% of small and medium and 55% of large companies (Zielińska, 2007: 143–152).

The Gender Index proved to be an effective tool for diagnosing equal treatment of women and men in the workplace; it may be used to monitor the situation in an enterprise. Each of the companies participating in the survey received an individual report assessing equality policy; therefore, they gained the knowledge regarding factors significant in the process of adjustment of the work environment to the universal principle of equal treatment. Although the obtained survey results cannot be generalised for all companies operating in Poland, they provide Poland’s first thorough recognition of the situation in companies in respect to equal treatment of women and men.
(2) Diversity Index

The original Gender Index method was used in several other surveys whose objective was to assess the observance of the gender equality principle in the workplace. In 2011, the Gender Index was applied in the surveys carried out at the request of the Ministry of Regional Development in the institutions involved in implementation of the Human Capital Operational Programme (the report on the surveys has not been published). Another survey using the Gender Index method was conducted in 2012 by the Institute of Forestry Utilisation of the Warsaw University of Life Sciences. The objective of the survey “Analysis on constraints of opportunities for human capital development in forestry” was comparison of the chances and conditions of female and male development in 17 Regional Directories of State Forests. It also aimed to formulate recommendations for human resources policy that the directories take into account the principle of equal treatment of women and men at work (the survey report is yet to be published).

The Gender Index method was also applied in the surveys carried out in 2011 and 2012 in the central administration in Poland (Lisowska, 2012). The analysis carried out in these surveys covered equal treatment in respect not only to gender, but also to age, disability, nationality, religion and sexual orientation, i.e. besides the Gender Index indicator, the Diversity Index indicator was also determined.

The study covered all central administration units and all their personnel. The overall data on the institution was collected through questionnaires addressed to HR departments, and the opinions of staff were gathered through an anonymous questionnaire that was filled in directly on the website of the opinion survey company.

Most government administration employees are women: 62%. The highest number of women worked in the Chancellery of the Prime Minister and in the Ministry of National Education – 70% and 73% respectively – and the lowest in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs – 54%. Among men and women working in government administration offices, the majority were aged up to 34 – 37% of men and 39% of women – followed by persons aged 35-44 – 23% of men and 28% of women. The age structure of government administration employees was similar to the structure of the whole employed population in Poland, with one

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14 As one ministry refused to take part in the survey, the analysis covered 17 central administration offices (the Chancellery of the Prime Minister and 16 ministries).
exception: government administration had a higher share of men (by 7 percentage points) and women (about 3 percentage points) aged 55+. The information from HR departments shows there were 52% of women in managerial positions, which was significantly more than the average for the country. In the top management positions, i.e. ministers, vice-ministers, general directors, etc., women accounted for 20%, which is below the amount of 30% to be achieved by 2015 as laid down by the European Commission. In higher management positions, women accounted for nearly half (47%), and in the lowest management positions they were the majority (58%). It should be noted that male managers accounted for 20% of all employed men, and women in managerial positions constituted 13% of all employed women. Women working in government administration are, therefore, less likely to hold a managerial position than men.

The process of recruiting staff in central administration offices is carried out according to strict standards when it comes to job advertisements, all of which are published in the Public Information Bulletin. The only thing that should be changed is the linguistic forms in which occupations are named and the phrasing which refers to potential candidates: job advertisements use only masculine forms. Standardisation of conduct should extend to interviews because, according to the responses of the employees, those not asked any additional questions during recruitment for work at a ministry were a minority (37%). Nearly half of the respondents were asked questions about their availability (49%), and more than one third were asked about their willingness to work overtime (34%). These questions were asked equally often to men and women. It can therefore be concluded that public administration offices clearly favour the model of life in which work is to be the most important activity. This expectation is also related to the third most often asked question: willingness to go on frequent business trips (26%), which tends to be asked more often of men (31%) than women (23%).

During interviews, questions were sometimes asked about personal life and private life, which are prohibited by law: questions about the number of children (12%), plans to have a child (5%) and about who will take care of the children (5%). All these questions were significantly more frequently (at a significance level of 0.05) addressed to women than to men who applied for jobs in the government administration and, significantly, most often to persons aged 35–44.
Only nine institutions (out of the 17 surveyed) reported complete data on average salaries of men and women in different positions. On this basis, it can be concluded that the average annual earnings were higher for men than for women. Only three ministries declared that they monitor salaries by gender.

Although the state administration is highly feminised, training courses were attended proportionally by fewer women than men. It does not appear that the reason was the reluctance of women to further their education or the lack of time due to their burden of family responsibilities (the results of this study and other studies suggest that women are eager to further their education, even if they have children). It is likely that in the surveyed institutions there are intra-institutional mechanisms that result in a smaller proportion of women attending training. Women are slightly less likely to obtain approval, holiday or exemption from work for education, which specifically concerns the youngest generation of employees. Women did not receive mentoring more frequently than men, which was clearly visible for people in the 45-54 and 55+ age groups: 63% and 53% of women in this age category had no mentoring, while there was no mentoring for 55% and 42% of men respectively in the same age groups; therefore, the differences were about 10%. Significantly more women than men had a sense of being omitted in referring to training. It can be noted that a sense of being omitted due to gender clearly decreases with age among men and increases among women.

Every employer has the obligation (Article 94 of the Polish Labour Code) to notify employees that there are certain procedures relating to the prevention of all forms of discrimination in the workplace. The method of notification can be freely chosen by the employer: it can be included in the internal code/regulations, posted on the bulletin board or on the intranet, or training on the subject can be organised from time to time. The declarations of the surveyed offices show ten of them have organised training in preventing discrimination, four in the field of prevention of sexual harassment, and ten on preventing bullying. Six ministries have never organised such training.

The analysis of the HR department surveys shows that in 15 surveyed government administration offices there is a designated person to whom complaints about unequal treatment or sexual harassment can be submitted, in ten there is an organisational entity receiving such complaints, nine have a provision in the internal code/regulations on conduct
in cases of unequal treatment, in six there is a specialist for preventing discrimination, and in five there is a specialist for health. Only three offices have set up a helpline, and one has a mailbox thanks to which it is possible to file an inquiry or complaint about unequal treatment, in particular sexual harassment, safely, conveniently and anonymously.

The conflict between work and childcare affects women to a greater extent: nearly one in three women and one in four men face it very often and quite often, and for 28% of men compared to 22% of women this is never an issue; other people (44% of men and women) experience this conflict rather rarely. Reconciliation of work and care for the elderly affect about one third of people aged up to 44 and about 63% people aged 45+. However, the magnitude of the conflict between work and providing care is lower than in the case of childcare: only 14% of employees of both sexes often experienced difficulties in providing this type of care, and about 40% never.

The percentage (72%) of surveyed employees claiming that at least a few times a month they are too tired after work to take care of the necessary chores is high. This is experienced by more women than men and younger people (up to 44 years old), i.e. people at the stages of starting and developing a family as well as consolidating their position at work. Much fewer respondents complain that family responsibilities interfere with their professional commitments than about fatigue with work and the conflict between the time spent at work and private life – every one in ten people, both female and male, pointed out that such a situation takes place at least several times a month. It is noteworthy that women are slightly more likely than men to declare that in the last year they have never experienced the problem of family responsibilities interfering with performing their professional duties (40% of women compared to 32% of men).

The survey on employees shows that only 20% of men and women under the age of 44 are satisfied with the amenities related to reconciliation of work and private life offered by the institution which they work for. The most significant shortcoming is the absence of certain solutions for the organisation of work (task-based working time, flexible working hours, individual work account) and care for children in the workplace (kindergartens rather than day care).
Guidelines on further studies

Surveys on issues related to equal treatment in the labour market and in the workplace, financed mainly from the European Social Fund, have been carried out in Poland during the last decade. The surveys allowed analysis of the implementation of the equal treatment policy in companies/institutions and the knowledge of employers, women and men regarding manifestations of discrimination and the methods of its prevention applied in the workplace. Tools were also developed for monitoring the phenomenon of equal treatment in employment, in the form of the Gender Index and Diversity Index.

The process of monitoring observance of antidiscrimination law by employers and implementation of European standards concerning equality policy in the workplace is necessary in order to attain equality in practice. This process needs both periodical surveys on public opinion carried out on representative samples of women and men and surveys carried out in enterprises and institutions employing workers.

Public opinion polls

In the case of public opinion polls, a questionnaire should include questions regarding the following issues:

(1) Knowledge of law:

- Is there a ban on gender-related discrimination/unequal treatment in Polish law?
  
  **Answers:** Yes, No, Don’t know

- Is the employer entitled to ask questions about personal matters, such as marital status, procreative plans, and number and age of children during a job interview?
  
  **Answers:** Yes, No, Don’t know

- Does the Labour Code impose a penalty on employers in the case of complaints of male/female employees regarding discriminating practices?
  
  **Answers:** Yes, No, Don’t know

(2) Recruitment process:
- During a job interview, have you been asked a question about being in a permanent relationship?
  \textbf{Answers:} Yes, No, Don’t remember

- During a job interview, have you been asked questions about having children?
  \textbf{Answers:} Yes, No, Don’t remember

- During a job interview, have you been asked questions about the way in which you spend your free time?
  \textbf{Answers:} Yes, No, Don’t remember

- During a job interview, have you been asked questions about the possibility of your family supporting you in childcare arrangements?
  \textbf{Answers:} Yes, No, Don’t remember

- During a job interview, have you been asked questions about availability (readiness to work overtime or outside the workplace) when the work was supposed to involve particular hours during a day?
  \textbf{Answers:} Yes, No, Don’t remember

(3) Feeling of being discriminated against:
- Have you ever felt that you have been badly treated (discriminated against) because you are male/female?
  \textbf{Answers:} Yes, No

- If you have been discriminated against, in what context has this taken place?
  \textit{More than one answer may be given.}
  At school/college/university
  At work
  In connection with a job application
  In connection with a promotion
  At the doctor/public health nurse/psychologist/hospital etc.
Among friends
At a club, bar, pub etc.
Other ...........................................................................................................................................

- To what extent do you agree or disagree that in Poland we should work towards the achievement of the following goals?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Completely agree</th>
<th>Partly agree</th>
<th>Partly disagree</th>
<th>Completely disagree</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

More freedom and choice for women
More freedom and choice for men
Women should give up a number of privileges
Men should give up a number of privileges
More men should be employed in typical female occupations
More women should be employed in typical male occupations
Men and women should take equal responsibility for supporting the family financially
Men and women should share housework equally

- To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Completely agree</th>
<th>Partly agree</th>
<th>Partly disagree</th>
<th>Completely disagree</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

In Poland gender equality has come far enough already
Gender equality has already been achieved for the most part in Poland
Equal status is more important than gender equality
Work to achieve gender equality today successfully benefits most people
Men and women are fundamentally different and gender equality is therefore unnecessary

- In order to correct gender imbalance in education and working life it has been suggested that a fixed proportion of university places and jobs should be reserved for women in areas where women are in the minority. Are you for or against such a quota system, or do you not have a definite opinion?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>For</th>
<th>Against</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
- What is your view on the introduction of a similar quota system for men in educational studies and in jobs in which they are in the minority today?

*Tick one box only*

For
Against
Don’t know

- There are also other measures that can be used to counteract the unequal distribution of men and women in many areas of society. Are you for or against the following measures?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Against</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Financial measures such as increased pay, remuneration of employees, etc.
Information and recruitment campaigns

- Below you will find possible explanations of why there is not greater equality between men and women in Poland. To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Completely agree</th>
<th>Partly agree</th>
<th>Partly disagree</th>
<th>Completely disagree</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Men have most financial privileges in our society
Women still have the main responsibility for the home and family
Women do not want more equality
Men do not want more equality
Men are not given the chance to contribute equally in the case of housework and care of children
Women do not wish to take on positions that are financially and politically challenging
Many men have problems collaborating with female managers
Female applicants are passed over in new appointments
Men do not wish to take responsibility for the home and family

- To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Completely agree</th>
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<th>Partly disagree</th>
<th>Completely disagree</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
I prefer traditional home-cooked food
There must be restrictions on road traffic in large towns
I participate actively in sport
The responsibility for rape lies with men
We have enough immigrants and refugees in our country
I like to go to shops to look at what’s new
The purchase of sex should be forbidden
A high taxation level ensures the common good
I listen to pop/rock music
More public sector tasks should be carried out by the private sector
The young people of today have a lot to learn from their elders
I really like watching violent movies
The problems of developing countries affect us all
I can easily spend a little more money to get clothes with designer labels
The public sector interferes too much in people’s private lives

- If there was a general election tomorrow, what party would you vote for?  
PO, PiS, SLD, Twój Ruch, Nowa Prawica, PSL  
Other  
Don’t know  
Would not vote

(4) Place of work:
- At work, who do you mostly work with at the same level as yourself?
Mostly with men
Mostly with women
With women and men to the same extent
Don’t work

- Have you ever been treated worse in the workplace because of being a woman/man?  
Yes, there have been such situations  
No, never
Based on your own experiences, can you say that gender has an impact on earnings (including premiums, additional pay, bonuses)?

Yes, women earn less
No, earnings are equal in the same positions
Difficult to say
Don’t work/Never worked

Have you ever felt deliberately omitted from training?

Yes, sometimes
Yes, often
No, never
Don’t work/Never worked

Have you ever felt deliberately omitted from promotion?

Yes, sometimes
Yes, often
No, never
Don’t work/Never worked

Are there particular procedures adopted in respect to complaints about the cases of mistreatment in the firm/institution where you work?

Yes
No
Don’t know

How satisfied are you with your job overall?

Very satisfied
Fairly satisfied
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
Fairly dissatisfied
Very dissatisfied
Don’t work/Never worked

(5) Conflict of roles (reconciliation of work and private/family life):
- Has your work influenced your decision regarding not having a child?
  Yes
  No
  Don’t work/Never worked

- Has your work influenced your decision regarding not having another child?
  Yes
  No
  Don’t work/Never worked

- Has your work influenced your decision regarding postponing parenthood?
  Yes
  No
  Don’t work/Never worked

- At your work, for whom is it easier to leave work during working hours in order to deal with personal/private matters?
  Men
  Women
  Equally easy for men and women
  Equally difficult for men and women
  Don’t know
  Don’t work/Never worked

- How do men who have to leave work because of childcare (e.g. child’s illness) usually behave?
  They declare the true reason to the supervisor
They declare another reason for having to leave work (e.g. the need to go to the bank, office)
They do not report to the supervisor and leave without his/her consent
Such situations do not happen to men in the company
Don’t know
Don’t work/Never worked

- How do women who have to leave work because of childcare (e.g. child’s illness) usually behave?
They declare the true reason to the supervisor
They declare another reason for having to leave work (e.g. the need to go to the bank, office)
They do not report to the supervisor and leave without his/her consent
Such situations do not happen to women in the company
Don’t know
Don’t work/Never worked

- To what extent do you agree with the following opinion: My private life is subordinate to my work?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Completely agree</th>
<th>Partly agree</th>
<th>Partly disagree</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Don’t work/Never worked

- Have you taken parental leave?
  Yes
  No

- How many weeks’ **paid** leave did you take the last time you had a child?
  Write the number of weeks:

- How many weeks’ **unpaid** leave did you take the last time you had a child?
  Write the number of weeks:
- How many weeks’ leave (paid and unpaid) did your partner take the last time you had a child?
  
  Write the number of weeks (one digit per square):
  
  weeks

- Would you have liked to have taken a longer period of leave?
  
  Yes
  
  No

- When you were at home with the child, were you mainly...
  
  Alone
  
  Together with your partner

- Would you say that this period at home with the child led to better contact with the child later?
  
  Yes
  
  No
  
  Don’t know

- Do the following circumstances apply to your everyday life?

  Yes  No  Don’t know  Not applicable

  I spend too little time with my children on account of my job
  I would work less if it meant that I could spend more time with my children
  I hold basically the main responsibility for providing for the family
  I often worry about the children when I am not together with them
  I am afraid that I would lose contact with the children if my relationship broke up
  I know where to find the children’s trousers, socks, sweaters and other clothes
  I often have a guilty conscience when my partner and my children are at home without me
  I spend more time than my partner organising practical tasks in the family and household
Surveys monitoring the situation in companies/institutions

For monitoring the situation in the workplace, the questionnaire used in the Diversity Index survey is a good tool. It includes questions that are easy to answer for each company or institution, which may immediately obtain their own results (www.diversityindex.pl). The questionnaire covers issues related to the diversity policy in the workplace not only in relation to sex but also in respect to age, disability, sexual orientation, nationality, and religion. The Gender Index tool, meanwhile, has a more complicated form. It is used to process the data obtained from HR departments, as well as opinions of female/male employees. The algorithm for processing these data may be used in order to rank firms/institutions in respect to equal treatment of women and men by specialist research centres. This tool is particularly useful for promoting equal treatment through contests for the firm/institution which implements the equal treatment principle in the best way.

When applying the experience of both the Diversity Index and the Gender Index to monitoring the situation in enterprises, a questionnaire should be designed comprising a relatively simple indicator illustrating the situation in the area of equal treatment of women and men and its changes over time. The surveys using this questionnaire should be carried out periodically (e.g. once a year) on a representative sample of economic entities. The following questions may be suggested as monitoring equal treatment in relation to sex:

(1) Recruitment policy:

- Is the recruitment for vacant posts carried out in a transparent way (e.g. open contests, dissemination within the organisation of information about job offers (vacancies))?
  Yes No

- Are campaigns initiated encouraging applications from persons whose sex is underrepresented in the organisation or in a given position?
  Yes No

- Do job advertisements describe positions with the use of male or female forms of nouns (e.g. we are looking for a male/female candidate)?
  Yes No
- Are job advertisements analysed from the point of view of their contents for women or men?
  Yes No

- Is a standardised job interview scenario used in recruitment?
  Yes No

- Do the people who conduct job interviews have guidelines regarding discriminating questions that should not be asked during recruitment?
  Yes No

- Do you ask questions concerning the following issues during a job interview?
  Yes No
  Family status
  Number and age of children
  Plans to have children
  Reconciliation of work and domestic duties

- Do you ask questions concerning availability during a job interview?
  Yes No

(2) Access to education and promotion:

- Is information regarding the training requirements of male/female employees obtained in the organisation?
  Yes No

- In the last year, was the percentage of women participating in training among higher-level managerial staff equal to or higher than the percentage of women holding higher-level managerial positions?
  Yes No
- In the last year, was the percentage of women participating in training among intermediate-level managerial staff equal to or higher than the percentage of women holding intermediate-level managerial positions?
  Yes No

- In the last year, was the percentage of women participating in mentoring, coaching, and networking programmes among higher-level managerial staff equal to or higher than the percentage of women holding higher-level managerial positions?
  Yes No

- In the last year, was the percentage of women participating in mentoring, coaching, and networking programmes among intermediate-level managerial staff equal to or higher than the percentage of women holding intermediate-level managerial positions?
  Yes No

- Does the organisation carry out monitoring on employment structure by sex and posts?
  Yes No

- Are the criteria and procedures for promotion implemented in the organisation?
  Yes No

- Does the promotions process include activities to promote a person of the sex which is less frequently represented in the post?
  Yes No

(3) Remuneration:

- Does the organisation carry out monitoring on earnings in particular positions by sex?
  Yes No

- Are there written criteria available to female/male employees shaping the level of remuneration within the range of particular positions?
Yes No
- Are there written criteria available to female/male employees for granting premiums?
Yes No

- Are there written criteria available to female/male employees for granting employee benefits (e.g. company medical insurance, subsidising sports activities)?
Yes No

- Is the average remuneration of women among higher managerial staff at the same level as the average remuneration of men in these positions?
Yes No

(4) Reconciling professional life and personal/family life:

- Please state which of the following facilities are offered by your institution:

  Yes   No

  Company day care/kindergarten
  Co-financing of child care (day care, kindergarten)
  Programmes for mothers returning from parental leave
  Programmes for fathers on partnership in the family
  Organising or co-financing of holidays for employees’ children
  Task-oriented working time
  Individual working schedule
  Flexible working time
  Individual working time accounts
  Telework
  Job sharing

- Are opportunities for reconciliation of work and private life addressed equally to women and men?
Yes No

- Are fathers encouraged to take parental leave?
Yes No

- Are family commitments taken into consideration when setting the dates of annual leave?
  Yes No

(5) Combating discrimination

- Has the organisation implemented an internal document concerning equal treatment in the workplace?
  Yes No

- Has the organisation implemented the procedure of making complaints by male/female employees concerning the cases of breaching the equal treatment principle in the workplace?
  Yes No

- Do employees participate in training on equal treatment in the workplace?
  Yes No

- Are the regulations regarding equal treatment in the workplace made by the organisation available to the employees in written form?
  Yes No

- Has the organisation designated a dedicated post or appointed a team for equal treatment or diversity management?
  Yes No

- Has the organisation participated actively in events promoting equal treatment (e.g. presented good practices on conferences, in media)?
  Yes No

- Has the organisation participated in a contest promoting equal treatment in the
workplace (e.g. Equal Opportunities Company, Mother-friendly Company, Fair Play Company)?
Yes No

- Has the organisation been supporting managerial staff in development of competences in the scope of equal treatment and diversity management?
Yes No

- Has information on the observance of the equal treatment principle in the workplace been transmitted via the internal communication system?
Yes No

- Have the organisation’s website, advertising materials, or sponsored articles included contents confirming that the organisation follows the equal treatment principle in its operations?
Yes No

- Has the organisation been penalised for breaching employee rights as the result of a court sentence or intervention of a controlling institution?
Yes No

- Has the organisation implemented good practices in respect to equalising women’s chances in the workplace?
Yes No

If Yes, what is this practice? .................................................................

Conclusions
Statistical data and the results of surveys carried out to date indicate that instances of discrimination against women in employment are observed in Poland. It is more difficult for women than for men to find a job or to leave unemployment, their earnings are lower, and there are fewer women on company boards. Women have problems with re-entering the labour market after a longer childcare leave. Higher qualifications are expected from
women during job recruitment and they are also often asked questions about their family status. A high labour supply allows employers freedom of choice among candidates for jobs, and they usually employ men, who are perceived as more available; women, meanwhile, are perceived by employers in the context of their maternity functions, therefore as less efficient and available to a lesser extent than men.

Compared to other EU countries, Poland stands out negatively as regards access to institutional forms of childcare – the requirements included in the Barcelona Targets (90% of children between three years old and the mandatory school age in kindergartens, and at least 33% of children under three years of age in crèches) are met to the lowest extent compared to all Community Member States. Solutions targeted at reconciliation of work and family life offered by firms/institutions have a very modest range and are limited to organisation of or subsidising holidays for employees’ children and the possibility to take advantage of individual working time arrangements, telework or flexible working time. Some firms/institutions offer part-time work instead of parental leave. Worth underlining is the fact that solutions offered by firms/institutions are usually or exclusively addressed to women. Organisations encouraging fathers to take parental leave or developing programmes targeted at promotion of partnership in the family are the exception.

Surveys monitoring equality of women and men in the labour market and in the workplace are necessary in order to ensure equality as an obligatory norm. On the one hand, they have an educational value: they show what equal treatment involves and what conditions have to be met in order to acquire the title of good opportunities company. Employers and heads of human resources may obtain concrete knowledge regarding the components of equal treatment standards and the way to achieve them. On the other hand, the survey allow assessment of the degree to which employers comply with the obligatory law and what solutions aimed at equalising women’s chances in the workplace and attainment of gender-related equal treatment they implement.
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