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Additional information and an imprint – p. 119

CONTENTS

FROM THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

We are giving you the next 26th (3/2019) issue of the Scientific Journal of the Faculty of Management at the Rzeszow University of Technology entitled "Humanities and Social Sciences".

The aim of the Publisher is to raise the merits and the international position of the quarterly published by the Faculty of Management, that is why we are still developing the cooperation with foreign team of reviewers, as well as an international Scientific Council.

The Editors have also attempted to apply for international databases; currently the quarterly HSS is indexed in **Index Copernicus Journal Master List, The Central European Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (CEJSH) and ERIH PLUS.**

The Journal has been also included in the list of projects qualified for funding under the **"Support for scientific magazines program"**.

The articles published in this publication are devoted to the broader issues of the humanities and social sciences. They are the result both of theoretical and empirical research. The subjects covered vary considerably and reflect the interdisciplinary nature of the Journal. We do hope that the papers published will meet your kind interest and will be an inspiration to further research and fruitful discussions.

On behalf of the Editorial Board of "Humanities and Social Sciences" we would like to thank the Authors for sending the outcomes of their research. We would like to express particular gratitude to the Reviewers for their valuable feedback that greatly contributed to increasing values of the scientific publications.

With compliments
Editorial Committee

Humanities and Social Sciences 2019
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Anna BARWIŃSKA-MAŁAJOWICZ[1]
Kamila TĘCZA[2]

EDUCATIONAL CAPITAL AS A TYPE OF CAREER CAPITAL OF HIGHER EDUCATION GRADUATES

Taking into consideration the dynamics of changes in the modern labor market, the issue of building career capitals by university graduates, becomes the subject of research, the exploration of which results in a thorough diagnosis of the mismatch problem or inadequate use of the potential of future employees. The career capital structure can distinguish its various types such as educational capital. Despite the fact that educational capital as a single factor, is not enough for achieving the professional success (or even to gain and maintain employment), on the stage of a knowledge-based economy, education is an essential condition for increasing human capital, both in the national, organizational and individual aspect.

The main aim of this article is to present the essence and types of career capital with special consideration for educational career capital and also to outline selected determinants of building educational career capital by higher education graduates. The analysis was based on data on students and graduates of higher schools in Poland from the academic year 2017/2018. The methods used in this article are: critical analysis of the content of documents with statistical data as well as analysis and verification of the national and foreign literature on the subject.

Keywords: career capital, education, university graduates.

1. INTRODUCTION

Constant changes on labor market and in the area of education, generate new challenges in creating a professional career. The role and value of so-called career capital (employee's knowledge and professional skills, as well as abilities, motivation, health, attitudes and values) are becoming more and more important. In this regard, paying more research attention to the process of gathering career capital, including educational capital is reasonable. Despite the fact that educational capital as a single factor is not enough for gaining the professional success (or even to gain and maintain employment), on the stage of a knowledge-based economy, education is an essential condition for increasing human capital, both in the national, organizational and individual dimensions.

The main aim of this study is to present the essence and types of career capital with special consideration for educational career capital and also to outline selected determinants

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of building educational career capital by higher education graduates. In order to outline the relevance of selected issues related to the chosen subject and to indicate the context and theoretical background for the addressed issues, the authors used some methods such as: a critical analysis, verification of the literature (national and international) and analysis of the content of documents containing statistical data (including CSO and Work Service reports). After the synthetic explanation of the conceptual categories of capital and careers, the authors present the essence and types of career capital. Further part of the article focuses on the selected determinants of building educational capital by young people. Whole article ends up with a synthetic summary of the taken considerations.

2. CAPITAL AND THE CAREER AS A PART OF CAREER CAPITAL

Among traditional factors of production: work and land, capital is also the factor that stands out. It is one of the basic economic categories of modern economy, a category that has been present in all economic theories for a long time, ambiguous and differently interpreted, around which there is a polemic about its conceptualization. Economic sciences do not have any definition that might be unequivocal and accepted by everyone. So far, capital as a term has various definitions, dimensions and classifications. Luca Pacioli, who can be considered as a creator of definition of capital, in his extensive study from the year 1494 explains the principles of double accounting. Pacioli, in reference to a person who starts a trade business, formulates some definitions, among which a capital category appears (Pacioli, 2007). The definitions presented by L. Pacioli are rather lapidary so we are not able to decode it in the meaning of the concept of capital used by this author. However, it can be said that "the early use of the term – capital, or rather capitall, referred more to a holistic conceptualization of whole merchant's assets or only the net portion (excluding debts)" (Dobija, Dobija, 2003). In the opinion of J.W. Gościński, "capital is the least studied factor, which change its composition, degree of liquidity, source (origin) etc." (Gościński, 1989). Source literature analysis shows that the original meaning of the term capital was related to the amount of borrowed money or the debt (in contrast to the interest) (łac. *capitalis pars debiti*). It also meant the amount of money, necessary to set up a trade business (Marchewka, 2000). In one of the glossary from 1678 we can find another definition referring to capital – *capitale dicitur bonum omne quod possidetur* – according to which the term "capital" means all possessed goods (Taghizadegan, http). Originally, capital was equal to the gathered income, things and objects which were the products of human labor, assets and all resources of productive forces (Grodzicki, 2003). I. Fisher defined capital in similar way "capital covers all existing wealth and the value of goods that create it" (Marchewka, 2000). In economic theories there are many definitions about capital, based on different dimensions, in macro and micro scale. It is an economical category, which has certain value with growth ability. On the other hand, capital term also includes some amount of goods (especially those with technical and manufacturing capabilities) made by human.

Study shows, that the term capital expanded, split and was specified over time. As a result of enriching it with a suitable adjective (which describe the type of capital), brand new terms came out e.g. reserves capital, depreciation capital, social capital, network capital, intelectual, structural, relational, political, human capital etc. The considerations carried out in this study are focused on the last of the mentioned capitals – human capital. Moreover, it will be extended with a concept that is its direct derivative, i.e. career capital.

The career capital analysis requires a brief outline of the second conceptual category: career (in the context of undertaken studies the authors will especially describe the type that refers to professional career).

The concept of career was constantly modified over time. It comes down from a Latin word *carrus* (cart) and also from Italian *carriera* – road, race track, chase, run. In ancient history, career was connected to success and broadly understood activities in the political sphere. Using this word more frequently led to a large expansion of the importance of this conceptual category (Cybal- Michalska, 2013).

Career is the polysemic term that more often is combined with success on the professional ground (Penc, 1997). It should be mentioned that different authors defines career with various categories. Some of them describes career as an attribute that is specific for human being (jobs, promotions, professional experience and activities collected during life) (Barwińska-Małajowicz, 2013). Others depicts career as a structural attribute of profession or organization (Bańka, 2004). In the first concept, career should be more widely described as e.g. progress, achieving further levels of professional development and related profits (not only those related to the financial sphere) (Krause, 2006).

The most often cited explanation of professional career belongs to D. Super and it is said that

> career is a group of events that has happened during the human life; a sequence of subsequent professional work and other life roles, that after connection express the level of the individual's involvement in the work in his general pattern of self-development; a series of jobs (from youthful period to the retirement period) where human receives payment or not, in which profession is only one of many factors related to this job. Another important factors are e.g. the role of student, worker, retirees or on the other hand non-work roles: the role in the family or society. We can talk about proper career only when someone is self-developing (Super, 1976).

According to the point of view mentioned above, career is a sequence of positions occupied by a representative that is typical for chosen profession or may be perceived as a path of mobility within a given organization (Bańka, 2004).

2.1. Essence and types of career capital

The main source of career capital is education (Turska, 2014). In the face of dynamic socio-economic changes and changing conditions of the individual's professional career, as well as the increasing ambitions to build a society of knowledge, it is becoming more noticeable that the organizations are more interested in having employees with higher education Therefore, in this study the considerations were narrowed to the career capital of university graduates, bearing in mind the fact that, this type of capital determines the entry of young people into the labor market and that it is also a factor that helps graduates in self-development and in finding the job after studies (Bańka, 2005).

Career capital should be also understood as a "accumulated competences that the unit obtains in the course of education, job, life experience, social and cultural experience" (Bańka, 2006). This group of competences are the result of both: participation in the education process as well as personal interests and predispositions. What is more, they are also the possibilities resulting from the socio-economic status of the individual and the undertaken professional activities (Bańka, 2005).

Career capital term (also referred as start-up career capital) is heterogeneous, but by following E. Turska we should outline four main types of career capital: educational capital, experience capital, entrepreneurship capital and language capital (Turska, 2014) (fig. 1).

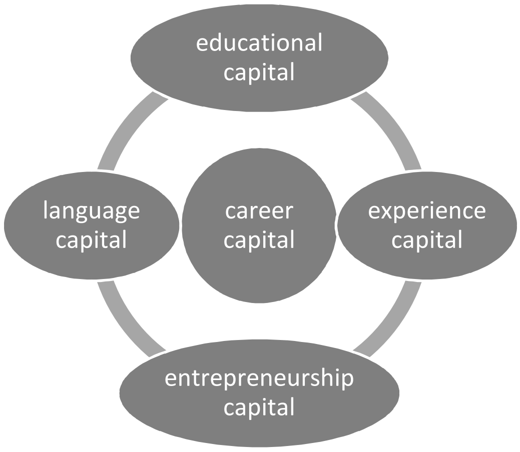

Fig. 1. Types of career capital

Source: Own elaboration based on (Turska, 2014).

Educational capital should be perceived as the difference between the resources of initial knowledge and the knowledge obtained after finishing the studies by the graduate (Dworak, 2012). The measure of another type of capital: professional experience capital, is the difference between the received human capital and the sum of the cost of living and received education (Dobija, 2002). Entrepreneurial capital, manifesting itself in proactive behavior that creates and change the reality (Bańka, 2006), is extremely important for professional starts and functioning in the modern labor market (Strykowska, 2012). Language capital is an ability of a graduate to use a foreign language (or few of them).

In the further part of this article, the authors are focusing on the first of the mentioned types of career capital – educational capital.

2.2. Educational career capital creation

So far, there is no proper tool that accurately evaluates and estimates human capital (as well as career capital) that can be represented by students or university graduates (Wiktorzak, 2009). However, the value of human capital can be represented by so-called Virtual Production Line (VPL), which compares the process of creating and extending the individual human capital to the so-called Classical Production Line (CPL) (Walukiewicz, 2011). What is more, Walukiewicz emphasizes that human capital is a component in the process of creating new patents and innovations. Virtual Production Line can be also showed as a extending career capital process on the ground of education (fig. 2).

Graduates of higher education institutions, after completing the didactic process, create a new value on the labor market, as a supply for new capital. According to the Central Statistics Office report (CSO, 2018) in the academic year 2017/2018 in Polish higher education schools (public and non-public) about 329,000 students have begun their studies and about 388,000 graduates have made their first steps on labor market[3] (the largest percentage of them, 29% graduated from Universities) – chart 1.

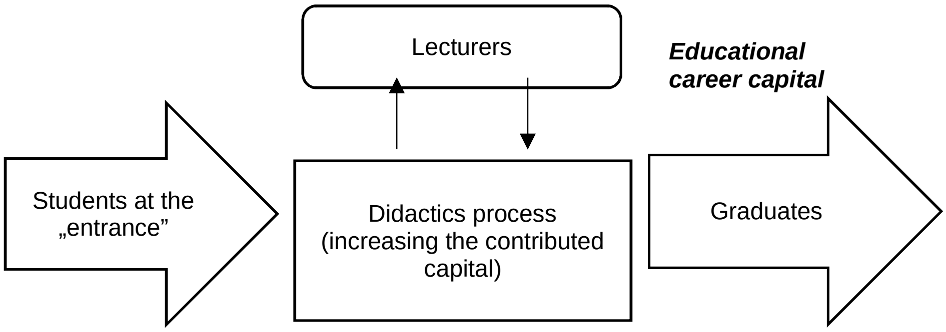

Fig. 2. The process of expanding educational career capital in accordance with the VPL
Source: Own elaboration based on (Wiktorzak, 2009; Walukiewicz, 2011).

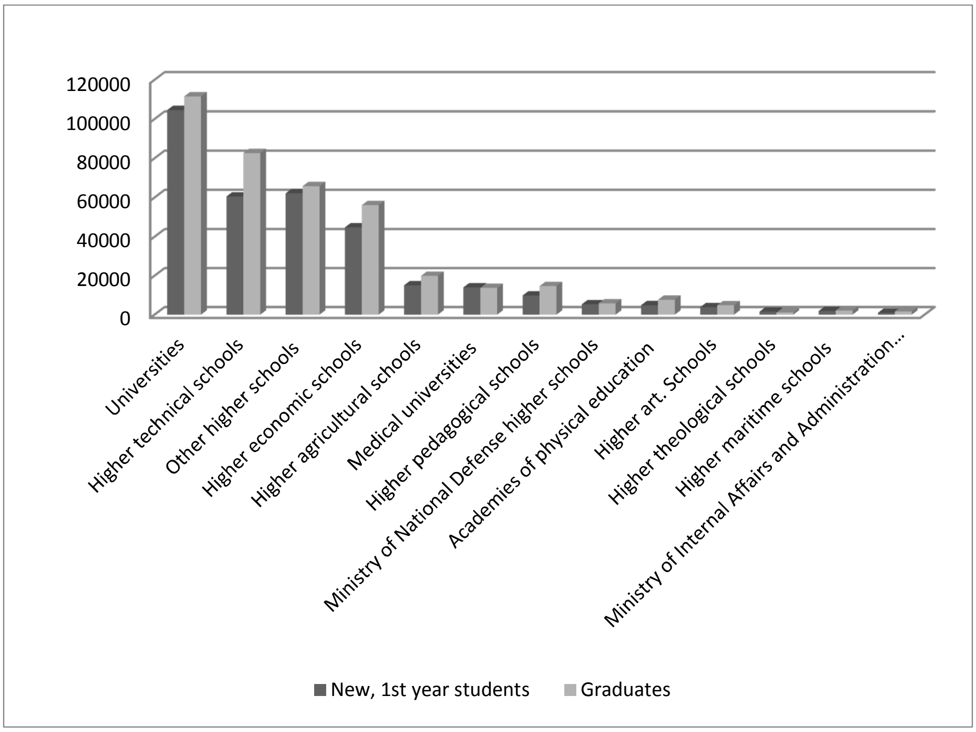

Chart 1. New, 1st year students and university graduates in the 2017/2018 academic year
Source: Own elaboration based on statistic data from CSO.

[3] This number applies to both Polish citizens and foreigners studying at Polish universities.

According to the analysis above in Chart 1, most Polish universities have higher number of graduates than the new students. This trend was also noticeable in the previous year. In addition, according to the Ministry of Science and Higher Education report: "Higher Education in Poland", in recent years, the total number of students in Poland has decreased. As a comparison, in the year 1990/1991 in Poland, there was only 390,000 students. This number has increased 5 times over next 15 years (up to 1.95 million in the year 2005/2006). Despite this fact, in subsequent years there were fewer and fewer students, and according to the Ministry's forecasts, the downward trend will continue until 2025, when there will be 1.25 million people in higher education.

It should be said, that for modern organization, employing people with higher education is a relatively good and cheap way to have a quick access too current knowledge. In the context above, the phenomenon of a smaller number of newly accepted students in relation to the number of university graduates as well as downward trend in the total number of students, can be a source of concern. Moreover, it is especially important for employers, taking into consideration the actual time of decreasing access of higher educated employees with proper educational capital.

One of the indicators, which may measure the size of accumulated educational capital is the number of studies performed simultaneously. One of the thesis that can be made is that the person who ends one field of study has a lower educational capital than a person who study in more than one field of study (Turska, 2014). At the end of the year 2017 (November 30th), the number of students studying in more than one direction was around 41 600 people which represents only 3.2% of all students registered in the academic year 2017/2018 (CSO, 2018).

3. PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY MODEL AND EDUCATIONAL CAREER CAPITAL

The modern socio-economic environment changes require constant redefining of the essence of professional choices. The well-known globalisation and current international economic integration in Europe also require different planning of the professional future, taking into account both the traditional individual aspects and the context of changes related to transformations in the labor market. The professional activity model assumes the sequence of events (unchanged in time) that no longer fits the reality that surrounds us. This events are:

(1) making a decision about choosing a profession,

(2) process of acquiring knowledge (going through the various stages of education),

(3) enter the labor market,

(4) working in acquired profession until retirement (Barwińska-Małajowicz, 2015).

In addition, it is worth noting that the first three stages of the professional activity model do not have a constant, specific form, because whole process depends on the individual decisions of the person who already has a part of the accumulated capital, starting from the moment of entering the University – chart 2. What is more, the decision about choosing the profession can be already changed at stage 2, especially in situation where 48.7% of graduates (officially) do not find work in their profession despite the fact of having knowledge and professional skills in form of educational capital.

At this point we can ask one question: *What are the conditions of making such decisions?* Looking for the answer, it is worth to find how the modern world works. In the description of the modern world, Bauman uses the adjective “flowing”, which means that everything in our reality is changeable, temporary, momentary, it changes all the time, at a pace and direction difficult to predict (Bauman, 2006). Man goes with the flow of the ocean of changes, „drifts” in search of new marinas” (Bauman, 1994) and what he would (...) never do, he will never be sure that he has done what it needed to be done” (Bauman, 1994). According to W. Sztumski

> we live in a “non-stop” society, in a world in which we living by “the principle of acceleration and racing with” escaping time (Sztumski, 20069). We are moving faster and faster and we are dealing with growing turbulent movements and that is way our modern world is also called “turbo-world”. It is characterized by increasing fast-changing, uncertainty and unpredictability and in such an environment it is extremely difficult to live (Sztumski, 2006, s. 49).

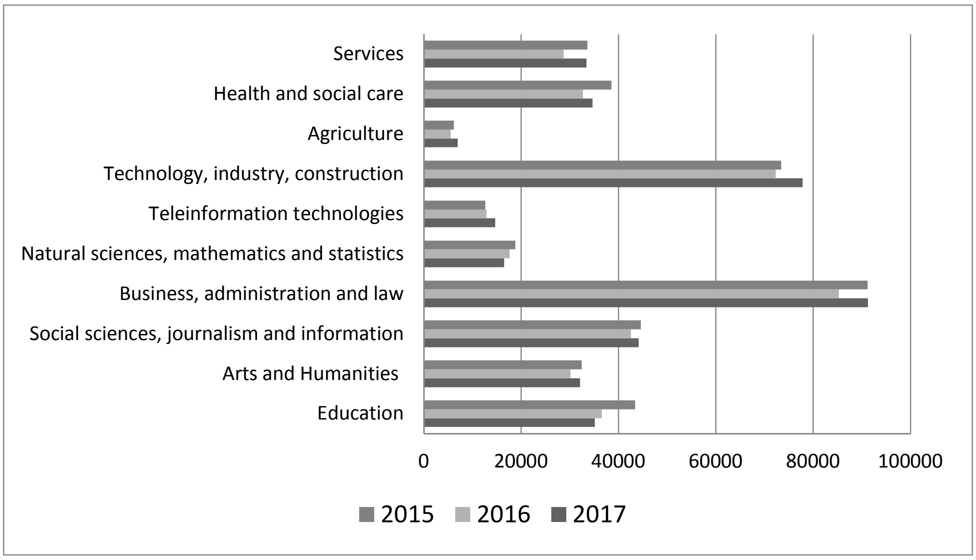

Chart 2. Higher education graduates in Poland by groups of field of studies (academic year 2017/2018)

Source: Own elaboration based on statistic data from CSO.

The way to escaper from this acceleration trap lies in

> finding the right measure of time and in slowdown the pace of life (…). That is why, people are trying to rebuild the old convention of slowness and bring to life also old Roman maxim: *Festina lente*! („Slow and steady wins the race”.) (Sztumski, 2006).

Sztumski also claims that: “before we get used to living under current conditions and adapt to them, they will already change” (Sztumski, 2006), that is why in the face of often unpredictable changes and labor market demands, modern employee should have three essential features: flexibility, openness and mobility.

In the face of the modern world volatility, it is not easy for young people to make accurate career choices that allow them to combine their own abilities and passions with the rapidly changing reality of the labor market. Among the criteria that young people should undoubtedly take into consideration when choosing the path to build their own educational career capital, they should include also the expectations and preferences of employers. Potential employers prefer to employ the graduates often from technical faculties (which are innovative and developmental) such as e.g. IT, automated technology, robotics, telecommunications, electrotechnics, faculties related to the construction and automation of machines and also from technological processes or microprocessing systems. If the profile of educational career capital, even built with extreme care, reliability and attention to high quality, is not adapted to the profile of requirements reported by the labor market, it will not be appreciated by employers, and it will be difficult for graduates to find a satisfactory job in their profession. The analysis of data compiled in Chart 2, which shows that in the last few years, relatively many higher education graduates have graduated the faculties of technology, industry and construction, raises some hope that the profile of educational career capital built by many young people is shaped consciously and in line with labor market expectations. On the other hand, a small percentage of graduates of ICT fields shows that there are still a lot of information and awareness deficits in this area.

Finally, it is worth adding that the natural feature of any dynamically developing economy is the temporary structural mismatch between supply and demand on the labor market. Requirements and sought competences change faster than the higher education program, which generates bigger problems for future graduates in making decisions about starting the right career path (Balcerowicz-Szkutnik, Skórska, Wąsowicz, 2017). What is more, this situation is intensified by the increased economic migration of Polish citizens, who, as reasons for emigration, points, apart from higher salaries, a better prospect for personal development (Work Service, 2018).

4. SUMMARY

In modern world, professional career has more personal (subjective) character.

A career is always someone's. It is a human life’s stage that relates to experience, at least a mental one. It is not just a profession , such as e.g. teacher or lawyer, nor a sum of only individuals objective achievements. Professions becomes more and more just a context in which the career took place (Bańka, 2004).

In this regard, the process of education and learning is important, as a result of which the unit broadens and enriches its competences (accumulates educational career capital). It is worth bearing in mind that accumulated educational capital is part of the mechanism by which the modern labor market functions. That is why, on the one hand, transparency and adequate building of career capital among graduates of higher education schools is so important, because they are also a new generation and source of labor supply in the modern labor market. On the other hand, if the profile of educational career capital is not adapted to the profile of requirements reported by the labor market, it will not find a demand from employers, thus it will be difficult for graduates to find a satisfactory job in their profession. Due to the volumetric framework of this study, the article drew out only selected issues in the field of undertaken problematic aspects. It should be said, that the authors research about the educational career capital of higher education students and graduates (which includes the motives of choosing individual fields of study, ways and possibilities for students to acquire knowledge, competences and skills that create educational capital and its impact on the career path of graduates) conducted at regional level, are now in the final phase and its results will be presented in subsequent studies.

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Edyta CZOP[1]

POLISH RECONSTRUCTION LOUTISH TOTAL MODERNIZATION IN 1945–1989

After 1944, the introduction of a "communist" modernization model began in Poland. Its features were top-down imposed transformations in the political, economic and social spheres. It was the communist authorities that decided about the direction and shape of civilizational transformations. The subject of modernization was a party bureaucracy practically not subject to social control, especially since society in this system was subject to civilization changes. The modernization was to be of a total character, closely linked with the construction of a new socialist system. The adopted Soviet model of modernization was of a mimetic nature, drew from Western standards, but introduced only selected elements, matching the different political and social relations and the principles of manual control of economic life. The transformation of modernization from 1945–1989 was based on the political, social and economic transformation after 1989. The government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki took over the economy which is a hybrid of the socialist version combining the so-called ownership of the socialized (in the majority of cases) with the erosion of the influence of state competence and the growing private sector. Modernization processes in Polish People's Republic took place in the new system context, they were inscribed in subsequent economic plans, in a central planning scheme, which in time was less and less efficient. In spite of this, the country was made industrialized and the economy became more economical, education was popularized, socialization of health care was created, the foundations of the consumer society were created.

Keywords: modernization, The People's Republic of Poland, real socialism, centrally planned economy, industrialization, urbanization.

1. INTRODUCTION

The word modernization is associated with improvement and innovations, but also with socio-civilizational transformations. The latter includes activities within the scope of economic, technical and educational progress, raise of living standards, and finally transformation of public awareness. After 1944, a "communistic" model of modernization was introduced in Poland, which was characterized by a complete, top-down transformation of all areas of social life, in accordance with a strict, analytical program of political, economic and social modernization, considered as a whole. Thus, the modernization was to be complete and lead to the creation of socialism and then communism. The model of Soviet modernization was a variant of Western modernity, but with selected elements only. It assumed top-down activities aimed at achieving standards similar to those in the West, but by using different political and social solutions. The shape of modernization was imposed by the

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communistic party and was characterized by the primary role of politics in relation to the other areas of social life; the economic and social development was determined by a political system (as opposed to the western model) (Musiał, 2013).

2. PHASES OF MODERNIZATION

Miłowit Kuniński distinguishes three phases of modernization after World War II: a radical and ideological one, a mild and corrective one as well as a consumption one, where ideological aims were to be achieved indirectly (Kuniński, 2006).

The first period focused on the gradual introduction of the doctrinal assumptions underlying the Soviet modernization model, namely slow limitation (final step being total elimination) of private property which obstructed central economic control, striving to remove the market mechanism, and finally politicization of economic entities (Musiał, 2013).

The change of borders after World War II brought about the modernization of the economic and social structures, which gave the opportunity for rapid economic development. What was necessary, however, was an efficient economic system, which would use the natural and human resources of the country. In the first post-war years, some of the reforms announced in the declarations of the Polish Workers' Party and manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation (agrarian reform, nationalization of industry) were introduced, without eliminating private property (trade, craft). In the then discussions on the economic system, the Polish Workers' Party officially advocated a three-sector economy. The change took place after winning the elections to the Legislative Sejm (by fraud) and removing Władysław Gomułka and the supporters of his "Polish way to socialism" to the margins. Before the beginning of intensive industrialization, Poland's GDP per capita compared to 29 European capitalistic countries amounted to 2447 dollars, which constituted 53.4% of the average for Western countries. In the following decades, the situation deteriorated (in 1960 only 46.6%, in 1970 43.4%, in 1980 43.5% and in 1989 35.8%). Positive changes also occurred in the structure of the population taking into consideration the sources of income. In 1938, 59.1% lived off agriculture (horticulture, forestry), and in 1950 - 47.1%. It turned out, however, that this situation could not be effectively used by the authorities. The obstacle was the fact, that economic matters were treated instrumentally, they were subordinated to current political interests and doctrinal assumptions (Chumiński, 2010).

While in the first post-war years the Soviet Union tolerated the separateness of the economic and political model in the countries of Eastern Europe, from 1947 a major shift took place to "transplant" the Soviet model. For the economy, the takeover of Soviet models meant a model of industrialization based on heavy industry, neglecting the consumer goods manufacturing. Thus, the focus was on developing the potential of the economy, marginalizing the needs of society. At the same time, technical progress taking place in the whole world was not taken into account. Industrialization took place in isolation from the global economy, thus the factories built proved to be out of date practically from the very beginning. This situation therefore forced further favoring of heavy industry. The priority of this sector of the economy remained visible practically until the end of People's Poland. Additionally, there were strong autarkic tendencies and collectivization of agriculture (Morawski, 2010).

The belief that accumulation and consumption contradict each other led to limiting consumer aspirations of society. Extensive and unilateral industrial development during the six-year plan led to disproportions and imbalances. Under the influence of protests from the population and critical economic analysis, the implementation of the plan was subject to timid criticism of the authorities of the Polish United Workers' Party and subject to changes. The inspiration for these activities came from Moscow, especially the changes. It turned out that similar problems occurred in the other countries of the bloc (Kaliński, 2012).

It is worth noting, however, that during the six-year plan, the foundations of the automotive industry were created, and the heavy and chemical industry started to expand. Under Soviet pressure, at the cost of other industries, the defense industry began to be significantly developed and modernized. In addition to small arms and artillery, tanks, fighter aircrafts, minesweepers and radar systems were produced (Kaliński, 2012).

Shortly after the turn of 1956, more emphasis was put on the development of the manufacturing industry for the needs of the population. Refrigerators, washing machines, radios and TV sets were the necessities (also those constructed in Poland).

The attempts to harmonize economic growth, increase of salary and consumption levels began to be less and less important as early as in 1957. As part of the second stage of industrialization, the development of engineering, metallurgy, chemical, raw material and fuel industries, as well as electronics, electrical engineering and automotive industry were the priorities. This program was to be re-implemented at the cost of limiting investments in agriculture, in particular farming, housing and transport (Kaliński, 2012).

During Gomułka government's rule, the development of the engineering and chemical industries was the priority; they were supposed to lead to modernity. The aim was to transform Poland from a raw material country into an industrial one. However, it was necessary to invest and purchase new technologies, and funds were to be taken from the raw material area, which in turn required more expenditure. Investments were to enable modern development and exports on the one hand and create new workplaces on the other. These trends contradicted each other, which is why the perspective of dividing the economy into a modern, automated, export-oriented sector and raw material, labor-intensive sector focused on internal needs was more and more evident (Morawski, 2010).

In the 1970s, the aviation industry regained the opportunity to develop as part of cooperation with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Poland was to be an expert in agricultural aircrafts (M-18 Dromader; jet M-15 was an unsuccessful construction), helicopters (WSK Świdnik) and gliders (Bielsko-Biała). LOT obtained long-haul aircraft (Il-62), which enabled flights to New York, Montreal, Mumbai and Bangkok. The merchant fleet was developing. In the mid-1970s, tankers with a load capacity of about 140,000 tons appeared under the Polish flag; they were the largest units that Polish merchant navy ever had. Towards the end of the decade, container ships appeared in the Polish fleet. The passenger fleet was also developing. It is true that the popularity of Transatlantic routes decreased, but the popularity of ferry connections was growing. Polish ferries appeared on the Baltic Sea (Morawski, 2010).

In December 1970, Edward Gierek's team comes to power, which initially departs from the Soviet model of modernization and lays the foundations for a consumer society. The consumer modernization phase begins. The new team, thanks to the loans obtained from Western countries, began modernization of the industry by building modern factories, purchasing western licenses and investing in infrastructure. The transition from the period of rough consumption to consumption at a higher quality level combined with the opening of borders, affected the society both in terms of greater expectations and aspirations to raise the level of material existence, but also in terms of increasing the quality of other areas of life. These include relations at work as well as relations with the state and party administration at the local level (Kuniński, 2006).

Consumer aspirations in society that were awakened at the beginning of the 1970s, did not resulted from the effectiveness of economic policy. The improvement of the supply and housing situation was largely related to Western loans. The number of household appliances (washing machines, refrigerators etc.) as well as radio and TV equipment, cassette tape recorders, color TV sets in households increased. Using the licenses, the automotive industry was modernized, and the Fiat 126p car became a widely desired product. Modernization entered the chemical and cosmetics industry (Mrs. Walewska perfumes became a synonym of luxury, Brutal, a cologne, was a little less popular,) and clothing (jeans, wool and silk fabrics). Partly thanks to Western licenses, the electronics industry was modernized (integrated circuits were created, production of Polish minicomputers was being prepared). Large transport investments were initiated, electrification was accelerated (although the conditions of traveling and passenger service were far from being a priority in the plan of transformations), the program of expansion and modernization of the road network was launched. In housing industry, quantitative improvement took place thanks to the so-called prefabricated buildings. On the one hand, new large residential areas were built, and on the other hand, the private housing slowed down as it was struggling with bureaucracy and lack of materials. Regardless of the actions taken, the pace of modernization of technologies and products was slow (Kaliński, 2012).

The modernization in the decade of Gierek brought new elements: it took into greater account the consumer needs of the society and allowed for the growth of the private sector. It had a "hybrid nature", pro-market and statist tendencies intermingled, consistent with the ideology and strategic requirements of the USSR. Investment in heavy industry continued to be made and attempts to socialize agriculture were not abandoned completely (Kuniński, 2006).

The second half of the 1970s showed the failure of a centrally planned economy and the negative consequences of living beyond the means. The errors in the economic policy of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) were compounded by the global energy crisis and the soaring increase in the prices of imported fuels and raw materials as well as the deterioration of the East-West relations. Western states applied sanctions against the Eastern bloc as a response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The economic crisis of the end of the 1970s deepened in the following years. After announcing of martial law in December 1981, some Western states imposed financial and commercial restrictions on Poland. Talks on debt refinancing were suspended and the payment of previously granted loans was blocked. The attempt to overcome the regress was a three-year plan of 1983–1985. It was supposed to stop the fall of the national income; it assumed that of the condition of the economy from 1978 would be achieved and that the living conditions of society would improve. Despite the economic recovery in 1983–1984, contrary to the assumptions of the reform, the command and distribution system was strengthened. It was facilitated by the introduction methods characteristic for the army (military style) in the economic governance. In the national socio-economic plan for 1986–1990, it was intended to concentrate on structural changes leading to modernization of the economy. The deep economic imbalance in 1988 forced the authorities to raise prices drastically. The public reacted in wave of dissatisfaction despite compensations. The attitude of the strikers and the authorities of the underground "Solidarity" forced the authorities to agree to talks at the "round table" (Kaliński, 2012).

The changes aimed at introducing economic freedom began to be prepared by the government of Mieczysław Rakowski (established in the autumn of 1988). Transformations in the area of economy were to be combined with creation of the foundations of the democratic system, which somehow was forced by the attitude of "Solidarity". The authorities, sitting down for talks with the opposition, had the concept of a limited democracy, which would allow them to maintain political control, offering economic freedom in return. Thus, they were ready to depart from the communist dogma which rejected private property or free market mechanisms. Further transformations taking place after elections of June 1989 brought the construction of democracy and transformations in the economy (Kuniński, 2006).

The 1980s brought the pauperization of society. It is true that in 1983–1987 the poverty declined. In 1988, however, the problem returned. At the same time, in the entire 1980s, the amount of equipment such as refrigerators, freezers, washing machines, TV sets present in households, increased. However, their quality and technological level left much to be desired. Some product such as some fabrics, tape recorders, motorcycles, became less available on the market. On the one hand, the number of cars grew, but Poland was far from global trends. The gap of Poland in relation to other countries of the Soviet bloc also widen (Kuniński, 2006).

3. PROS AND CONS OF MODERNIZATION

The economic development of People's Poland was influenced by political factors, the needs of the internal market, but also by the needs of the Eastern bloc hegemon, which to some extent distorted or delayed some modernization processes. It is enough to mention the development of the armament plants in the 50's as well as development of production based mainly on Soviet technologies (in most cases, these solutions were copied from the West and implemented in countries of "people's democracy").

The influence of Moscow on the technological development of Polish industry can be seen, for example in aviation sector. The aviation construction office was established in October 1944. After transforming into an Aviation Experimental Workshop in Łódź, (1945), it was the first aviation company to build aircraft prototypes. The first factories launched in the region of Polska Lubelska were Mielec and Rzeszów. Initially, they carried out repairs under supervision of the Russians, and from 1945 started operating under Polish management. Gradually new plants and centers were created, where prototypes of aircrafts were worked on. Most employees were pre-war engineers and constructors who took advantage of Polish technological thought. Gradually, domestic production gave way to licensed production, mainly the Soviet one. At the same time, serial production of aircrafts, including jets, was developed on a large scale. On one hand, there was a technological leap, on the other hand, the production was dependent on the inflow of parts from the Soviet Union (those that could not be produced in Poland). Soviet designs were favored, even outdated and unsuccessful[2] at the cost of Polish, often innovative concepts. Clearly there was no pro-innovative attitude (Glass, 1980; Orłowski, 2006).

Regardless of limitations of the autonomy of the aviation industry, serial production of Soviet SM-1 helicopters was started from scratch, although it happened at the cost of Żuk

[2] For example, an agricultural jet plane PZL Belfegor (constructor: R.A. Izmajlow) was uneconomical and unsuccessful.

helicopter, designed by Bronisław Żurakowski. In the plant in Świdnica, the SM-1 was redesigned, and then the production of the prototype version of the Mi-2 helicopter was started. Despite the limited use of the potential of Polish constructors, successful Polish planes were created, such as TS-8 Bies or the first Polish jet TS-11 Iskra, both engineered by Tadeusz Sołtyk. The unhampered Polish construction thought developed in the production of gliders. In this field, Poland was one of the world's leader (Orłowski, 2006).

Modernization processes, especially in the area of the development of the country, which took place in the first post-war years (a three-year and partly six-year plans) were mainly a continuation of the program of Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski from the second half of the 1930s. The main aim was to eliminate agrarian overpopulation and reduce the civilization gap between Poland A and Poland B, and to expand the industry in less developed areas. It meant implementing similar ideas as in the construction of the Central Industrial District. The process of electrification continued, and the infrastructure was gradually expanded. At the same time, the model of Soviet modernization was introduced. It emphasized the development of heavy industry (the foundation of the economy was to be the industry, treated as a factor influencing the growth and progress), gradual elimination of individual property in the countryside and reconstruction of the social structure.

The authorities of People's Poland failed to radically rebuild "production relations" in the countryside, and the effects of attempts of implementing innovative processes in agriculture were poor. Instead of unsuccessful collectivization, cultivation contracts and machinery rings were introduced, based on technology, which significantly contributed to the mechanization of farming. The fact that agriculture was operating under autarkic conditions limited its development, modernization, specialization and concentration. According to the model of "partial modernization" (non-urbanization and unbalanced industrialization), "drainage" of agriculture meant lowering prices of agricultural products and food products, introducing compulsory deliveries, taxes, part-time farming, lack of investment in individual farming and manipulated statistics. In consequence, there was lack of appropriate conditions for modernization of agriculture resulting in increased production and socialization of the peasant economics. The policy of modernization in agriculture became noticeable in the first half of 1970s; loans for individual farmers were available, which enabled, among others, purchase of modern agricultural equipment. In the years of accelerated industrialization and delayed urbanization, no steps were taken to develop modernization in agriculture, such as the modernization of agricultural production which required investment (Leśniak-Moczuk, 2012).

The modernization of rural areas and agriculture in Poland was delayed in comparison to Western Europe, but it also differed from the way of modernization of agriculture implemented in Eastern Europe. In Poland, the peasants did not transform into employees of large farms, but still remained small producers. At the verge of system transformation, Poland did not go all the way from the agrarian to industrial era. Poland was a medium-developed country with a dual society, partly prepared for change, and partly doomed to (subject to) marginalization. The scope and pace of farm modernization also depended on the level of family awareness. Peasants were to be seen not only as recipients of technical innovations, but also co-creators. Despite the fact that farmers constructed or improved devices and machines, their achievements were not promoted. There were several reasons: the peasants either did not apply for a patent or the patents were denied. Taking into account the devices they designed and made, they could be co-creators along with the professional experts (Leśniak-Moczuk, 2012).

The process of modernization of Poland in accordance with the Soviet model had two faces. On the one hand, this method was very expensive, on the other hand, it resulted in the social advancement of millions of people who moved from the countryside to the city, became workers, clerks, and became part of the intellectual elite.

Civilizational advancement brought changes in the quality of life and as well as changes in aspirations and transition from traditional to modern society. The economic situation of the country caused this transition to take place in two stages - post-war and in the 1970s. In both cases, the feeling of advancement was built on the basis of experience and the starting point was important. The factor that positively influenced shaping the sense of civilizational advancement was surging character of changes in social life.

Consumer needs of citizens began to grow. They wanted to live better and more comfortably. Next generations were characterized by increased civilization aspirations, which started to be clearly visible in the 1970s. Opening of Poland to the West brought new lifestyle models and new needs. Economic plans which returned to the industrialization of the country at the cost of limiting citizens' aspirations caused frustrations an in consequence, strikes.

The lifestyles of the society were also influenced by social issues, especially insurance. Development of insurance took place after the Second World War. Initially, it was based on the pre-war system. The structure and insurance premiums, however, changed. In 1947, family insurance was introduced, and agricultural workers were covered by health insurance. In 1953, they were covered by disability insurance. An important change took place in 1954, when benefits in respect of accidents at work and occupational diseases were added to the pension scheme (cf. wider: Grata, 2018).

Another reform of the social insurance system was carried out in 1968, and coherent system was created. In 1972, individual farmers were covered by social insurance (employees of production co-operatives were entitled to social security and pension scheme in 1962) and were granted the right to use social health care. Eight years later, pension and disability insurance for farmers were introduced. The rights for people bringing up children were also gradually extended. In 1972, maternity leave was reformed. In 1975, the Alimony Fund was established, and in 1980, a child care benefit for women taking care of children up to 3 years was introduced. Subsequent reforms of the social security system took place in the next decade. At the end of the 1980s, 0.3% of the total population was not covered by social insurance system (Makarzec, 2013).

It was characteristic for Polish modernization in the post-war period that innovative projects were not used at all or they were use in a very limited extent. The directive planning and command and distribution system made it difficult for innovations to break through. The fear of failure to implement the plan and the belief that it was necessary to implement imposed Soviet solutions prevailed among the administrative and party bureaucracy. In addition, the new elite did not have or had little contact with Western technologies, hence a certain primitivism of technological solutions was not surprising (1950s and partly 60s).

On the other hand, construction projects and new buildings enhanced modernization and mechanization. Scientific and research facilities were created. The '70s brought a “new opening”; taking loans, but also construction of new facilities, an increase in the production of consumer durables, the development of housing construction (prefabricated buildings, but of a higher standard than in the period of Gomułka), development of infrastructure. The slowdown was brought about by the crisis in the second half of the 1970s. In consequence, modernization processes in the 1980s were slower. However, tangible (research laboratories, factories, infrastructure, modern household appliances, etc.) and non-tangible (higher level of research and education, technical culture) became facts. Unfortunately, the full scientific and technical revolution did not take place despite the involvement of scientific communities, mainly due to the shortcomings of the political and economic system. Development of automotive industry in the 1980s can be an example. At that time, mainly the constructions from earlier periods were modernized and the native successors of the existing models were searched for. Two constructions were the leaders: Beskid 106 and Wars from FSO. The works on Beskid were carried out in the years 1982–1986 in the Research and Development Center in Bielsko-Biała. Despite positive evaluations, the process was stopped at the moment when the new Fiat – Cinquecento was launched to the market. Wars was presented for the first time in October 1986 at the "Polish Automotive Industry Exhibition"; works on this car started in 1983 and it was to be a universal passenger car. Despite positive evaluation, it did not enter production due to lack of funds. It is also worth emphasizing that since the mid-1980s, the authorities of the chose to modernize the Polish automotive industry by purchasing foreign licenses (Wilk, 2015).

The weakness of the industry was the failure to implement plans according to the range of products. Regardless of central planning and economic governance, "even key industries plants avoided the production of technologically difficult goods", there was low quality of production and outdated technologies. On the one hand, employment rates, industry's share in generating national income (from 22% in 1947 to almost 50% in the 1980s), an increase in the number of factories and a spectacular increase in global industrial production over almost 45 years, indicated positive transformations in this sector. On the other hand, until the end of People's Poland, the faulty structure of industry (emphasis was placed on the production sector, including military production, at the cost of consumer production) and lack of encouragement to implement modern technological solutions related to scientific and technical development remained. The result was low competitiveness of Polish goods in the world (Chumiński, 2010).

In the economy of shortage and state monopoly, the plants were not interested in modernizing the technologies. In addition, the implementation process required a lot of time and the technologies were imposed from the top etc. The attitude of central administration that was responsible for distributing funds was also important.

In the field of technology, there were clear shortcomings of the system which had rejected market mechanisms. Despite the lack of decision-making powers of middle-level administration and the low level of support of innovation, there were some engineers-inventors who managed to overcome the bureaucracy, namely Wiktor Zinkiewicz (the creator of the so-called mole, an equipment for drilling underground passages), Tadeusz Ruta (invented a method of making crank shafts), Zdzisław Marciniak, Ryszard Jóźwicki and Jan Pacholski team (OE spinning machine Wir). Achievements in coal mining or mechanical engineering should also be mentioned (Orłowski, 2006).

What was characteristic, especially in the decade of the 1970s, was that modernization of the Polish economy was based on the purchase of Western licenses. Often, it was decided to implement technologies that were already obsolete, not used in Western countries or were not adapted to Polish conditions. The Ursus plant can serve as an example. Looking for a new license in 1974, it was decided to buy it from the Canadian-British company Massey Ferguson. It was for a tractor that was to make a technological leap in Polish agriculture. So instead of financing the successful Polish Ursus tractors, a bit more modern, but with the inch system, which was not used in Poland, was bought. A new production had to be introduced using the inch system that other countries stopped to use. Implementation of MF tractors for production lasted ten years. The inch system created problems for farmers who often decided to alter the MF tractors themselves. In 1981, the production of Ursus-330 tractors partially based on the Ferguson and Zetor components was resumed[3] (Homicki, 2016).

It was not uncommon that non-technical and non-economic reasons influenced the development of technology in Poland. Attempts to introduce new ideas and bottom-up initiatives faced the production plans. At the same time, the existing regulations made it difficult to assess the real profitability of new technical concepts, which led to their rejection. Jacek Karpinski case can be an example. In the early 1970s, he constructed the K-202 minicomputer. For party and industrial bureaucracy, it was more convenient to buy licenses from other countries (seen as tested and verified), so that the officials did not have to take risky decisions. In addition, the minicomputer was a competition for Odra which was produced by Elwro factory in Wrocław, so the importance of Karpiński's construction was diminished even more (Orłowski, 2006; Lipiński, Matys, 2014).

Regardless of all the difficulties faced by modernization in the system of real socialism, the evolution that was taking place could be clearly seen. However, it is difficult to precisely indicate to what extent it resulted from the modernization of the system operations, and to what extent it was the result of the inevitable evolution of civilization. On the one hand there were civilization aspirations of the society and the desire to have: radio, television, motorbike, car, bus lines, that is everything that broke the isolation of people. They also wanted access to education, more effective medical treatments, which were provided by the state (Kula, 2010).

At the same time, a social project was being implemented in People's Poland. It caused the limitation of the individualization (so typical for modernization solutions) in the political and social dimensions. This omnipotent state was to take care of the civilization development of the individual, that was treated as an element of the community. It was not modernization that gave the freedom to choose how to invest money, complete freedom in acquiring property, choosing which party or organization to become a member, choosing politicians, etc. In the area of social life, modernization processes were poorly implemented. An example is the emancipation of women, which was encouraged, but little was done about it, or blocking of the bottom-up initiatives which also was not an example of modernization (Kula, 2010).

It is worth mentioning that the executor of modernization was the party bureaucracy, which "became a new ruling class", "the class of proletariat owners". Society was, however, the subject. Thus, the modernization controlled by the communist bureaucracy often served the interests of the majority, which, however, had almost no control over its implementation (Majmurek, 2010).

It is also difficult to clearly assess the "Solidarity" movement in terms of modernization. It operated during the breakdown of modernity and in the moment of crisis of systems that were called progressive. It was often ambivalent: it propounded modernization of Poland, but at the same time emphasized tradition and "familiarity". It wanted efficiency that was associated with capitalism, and at the same time, wanted to maintain a welfare state, even to a higher degree than in socialism. On the one hand, people wanted to have a car –

[3] Another poor decision was the purchase of French bus Berliet license.

a synonym of prestige, but also not only to maintain the current social achievements, but to extend it (Kula, 2010).

One of the factors which was important for expanding the freedom and thus for the modernization of the state and the economy were institutions of workers' self-management. They were formed in some state-owned enterprises in the years 1980-1981 and were associated with the operations of "Solidarity". However, it should be remembered that workers self-management started in the period of breakthrough in October 1956. The workers' councils that were created at that time were gradually marginalized and eventually included in the existing system or stopped existing. Independent labor councils established in the years 1980-1981 continued to operate later, trying to keep at least part of the autonomy of their own plants from the administrative and party apparatus. Often, workers found their allies among the plant directors. Local governments had social, union, protective and quasi-economic functions, at the same time giving employees basic economic and political knowledge as well as their rights and opportunities (Pańków, 2010).

4. SUMMARY

The attempt to bridge the gap between Poland and Western countries that began before World War II, was continued after its end in completely different political, social and economic conditions. The "imposed modernization" implemented in the conditions of the centrally planned economy and the command and distribution system turned out to be a very costly political and economic operation. At the same time, it resulted in advancement of significant part of society (Morawski, 2010b).

In difficult conditions of real socialism, both society and economy were developing. However, the evaluation of the process is not easy, especially since it depends to a large extent on the starting point. The post-war modernization achievements will be assessed in a different way if the reference point is the period of the Second Republic of Poland, and differently when comparing the standard of living in post-war Poland with Western countries.

This situation can be illustrated by the situation is housing, which was usually underinvested and did not meet the growing needs of society. The society with its expectations was not satisfied with insufficient number of flats and their standard. At the same time, unification of standards influenced the development of housing culture, which in turn resulted in an increase in expectations and a growing level of disappointment with the housing situation in post-war Poland.

In 1988, there were 283 flats per 1000 inhabitants (in the 1930s, there were 200 flats per 1000 inhabitants, in 1946 – 211), but in Western European countries – 400–480. Statistically, the country was lacking 1.3 million flats in 1988, and about 24% of households were shared households. In Western Europe, however, the number of flats exceeded the number of farms. Flats in Western countries at the end of the 80s in 96-100% were equipped with bath and toilet facilities, while in Poland – 70%. Water supply was more common, around 85% in Poland and 95–100% in Western Europe (Cesarski, 2016).

The authorities of People's Poland implemented industrialization, which resulted in urbanization and migration from the countryside to the cities, proletarianization, concentration of the workforce, improvement of its qualifications, that is, they implemented the goals of not only peripheral modernization (Majmurek, 2010).

The achievements of the authorities and society in the period 1945–1989 were the foundation of economic, systemic, political and social transformations. The process of implementing Soviet models was interrupted in 1956. Changes that took place in the area of ownership and in the system of regulation of economic compounded the ongoing transformations. As a result, when the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki took over, the economy was a hybrid version of socialism "combining the statistical advantage of the so-called socialized property (around 70–80%) with the fact that the state was the owning less and less and the private sector was, growing as well as with a decreasing central regulation with elements of market allocation and the beginnings of institutional regulation" (Luszniewicz, 2017).

It should be emphasized that the modernization processes in the period of People's Poland took place in a completely new system context, they were included in further plans, in a central planning scheme, which over time became more and more fictitious. However, the whole country and its economy were industrialized, education was popularized, health care was socialized, and the country was rebuilt from war damage.

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STARTUPS FINANCING IN POLAND

Startups are companies with a short history of operation which try to commercialize innovative ideas. They usually try to use innovative business models. In the case of market success, they are able to grow very quickly and become large organizations, however their activities in the early phase are characterized by high risk. Due to this, they require special financing methods. The article characterizes and compares the most important sources of financing for startups. The attention was paid to the role of financing in creating conditions for the development of such enterprises. Also, the sources of financing startups in Poland and Europe in recent years have been analyzed.

Keywords: startups, financing, sources of financing.

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this article is to analyze the sources of financing for startups in Poland. The structure of the article is as follows. In the first part, the definition of startup was reviewed and considerations regarding the role of financing in the creation and development of such organizations were made. The second part presents the characteristics of various forms of financing in the context of their suitability for the development of startups. The third part of the article presents a comparative analysis of the methods of financing startups in Poland and Europe. The analysis of the literature on the subject allows formulating the following research hypotheses:

H1: Due to the specific characteristics of startups, venture capital funds and business angels play an important role in their financing.

H2: The share of financing obtained from venture capital funds and business angels in the case of startups is higher than in other newly created enterprises.

In order to verify the hypotheses, the results of the most important surveys carried out among Polish startups in 2016–2017 were analyzed. A critical analysis of the literature regarding various methods of financing the operations of enterprises as well as the specificity of startups operations were also carried out, in particular in the context of their financial needs.

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In the literature on management a lot of space is devoted to the activities of startups. The concept of a startup in the colloquial sense is sometimes abused and used to define each newly created enterprise. This is not the right approach as a startup is a special enterprise. For the needs of one of the most serious research projects related to startups in Europe, the definition of startup was adopted. Is a company with a history no longer than 10 years old, which additionally meets one of two conditions: it is focused on a rapid growth (measured by generated revenues and number of employees) business or technology (Ripsas, Hentschel, 2015). A similar approach is used by the consulting company Delloite, according to which a startup is: “a venture carried out to produce new products and services in conditions of high uncertainty about a history not longer than 10 years” (Deloitte, 2016). According to a report by scientists from the Universities of Berekley and Stanford (Marmer, Hermann, Dogrultan, Berman, 2011): “Startup is a temporary organization designed to transform into a large enterprise. In the early stages of its activity, it is looking for a suitable fit of its products to the needs of the market. In the mature stage, the startups are looking for a repeatable and scalable business model that will transform into a large enterprise operating under high confidence”. Research conducted among European startups (European Startup Monitor, 2016) prove that they fulfill a very important role in the development of the digital economy and creating innovations. Over half of the companies surveyed (51.5%) believe that their products are innovative on an international scale. According to the ESM 2016 report, the largest percentage of startups identifies its main activity in the area of software development – 15%, the second place is software development in the SaS model (software as a service) – 12.2%, the third place are industrial technologies, production, and hardware – 8.3%. Many startups operate in the global market – 55.2% of their revenues are generated outside the market of the country they come from.

2. THE ROLE OF FINANCING IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF STARTUPS

In the literature, five stages of startup development are most often mentioned (Blank and Dorf, 2013):

- generating an idea and creating a team implementing the project,
- product validation and development,
- searching for and obtaining financing,
- business scaling,
- maturity.

In the case of many startups, the first two phases of development do not require very large investments, but at some stage of development it becomes necessary to obtain external financing. Due to their specificity, startups require special financing tools, this is associated primarily with a very high risk of a failure. This excludes in practice the use of many traditional sources of financing such as bank loans. For banks of this type, projects are too risky. The leasing is very popular among “ordinary” newly established enterprises as startups do not need to finance the purchase of fixed assets and usually only working capital (research funding, employees' remuneration etc.). Therefore, the key role in the growth of startups are institutions and investors specialized in financing risky ventures, mainly seed and venture capital funds, business angels. Increasingly, mechanisms related to crowdfunding are also used. In some countries, government institutions aware of significant importance in the startups' economy implement special programs supporting them in obtaining financing (grants for the start-up and development of operations in selected sectors, co-financing of research, access to preferential debt financing). Such forms of supporting startups are characteristic, for example for the European Union countries.

Research carried out among Polish startups shows that the most important factors that can contribute to a success or a failure of a given project are (Sobczak, Dudycz, 2016): a product, a team and financing. The authors point out that cooperation with an investor who can provide substantive support in the development of an enterprise, help in establishing business contacts and supporting them in obtaining first contracts is as important as gaining financial resources. Seed funds, venture capital or business angels perform such a role.

The availability of financing is undoubtedly an extremely important factor affecting the development opportunities of startups. Besides other elements that make up the institutional and legal environment of these enterprises are equally important. According to the authors of the report "Diagnosis of the ecosystem of startups in Poland" (Deloitte, 2016), experience of countries recognized as leading in creating and developing startups indicates that their harmonious development requires a properly functioning environment, which in the report has been described as an ecosystem. The key areas of this system are:

- financing,
- legal regulations,
- human capital,
- social capital,
- institutional environment.

The report makes a relative analysis of the ecosystem functioning in Poland in relation to developed countries. It was assessed on a scale from 1 (the lowest grade) to 4 (the highest grade). According to the report, the highest scores were assigned to areas related to legal regulations and the institutional environment (respectively: 2.55 and 2.5), human capital (2.27) was slightly worse; the lowest ratings were attributed to financing and social capital (1.68 and 1.5).

In the literature devoted to the ecosystem of startups, sometimes a few more key factors favoring their formation are mentioned. According to Feld (Feld, 2012), one can list the 9 most important elements influencing the creation of a vibrant startup community. Among them, access to capital plays an important role. The most important institutions that such access can create are venture and seed capital funds as well as business angels.

3. FINANCING SOURCES FOR STARTUPS

An activity of startups is very risky, according to some studies even ninety percent of starlings fail to survive (Marmer et al., 2011). Due to such a high risk they need to look for specific sources of financing among instruments and institutions accepting such a level of risk. The creation of startups is very often financed in full from the capital contributed by the founders. As the product develops and the team implementing the project increases, the founder's capital often starts to be insufficient to further finance the development of a company. In this situation, the further development of the startup is conditioned by the possibility of obtaining external sources of financing. The basic sources of capital that can be used by a startup (except the founders' equity) are as follows:

- capital obtained from family and friends – it can be transferred in the form of a loan or sale of new shares of the company. The possibility of obtaining such funds depends on the financial situation of persons who the owners of the newly created enterprise as well as their acceptance of the risks associated with such undertaking will turn to. On the macro scale, an access to such capital is conditioned by the general level of the society's wealth and propensity to save. The founders, knowing the degree of risk associated with the development of the company, often do not want to expose people from the family and friends to potential financial losses that would inevitably arise in a situation when the startup falls;

- seed capital or venture capital funds – capital is most often obtained in the form of sale of new shares to the fund in rare cases, financing in the form of a loan. These types of funds are the most natural partner of startups in their development, in addition to providing capital, they help the company in the process of product development and the development of an appropriate business model (Hellmann and Puri, 2000). Seed / venture capital managers are most often people with rich professional experience and very extensive business contacts is extremely valuable in the process of obtaining first orders, establishing cooperation with other entities (including, for example, those in the portfolio of a given fund) and supporting a startup in subsequent its growth stages. In 2016, total venture capital investments in Europe reached EUR 4.3 billion (Invest Europe, 2016). Funds invested capital in 3,124 enterprises, the largest investments in the ICT sector (communications, computer and electronics) – 44% of the value of all investments and the medical / biotechnology sector – 27%. The value of investments of VC funds in startups in Poland in 2016 amounted to 15.1 million Euros and decreased compared to 2015 when it amounted to 17.8 million Euros;
- business angels are individual, highly affluent people offering share financing. Most often these are entrepreneurs who have achieved success in running their own enterprises and are willing to invest some of their savings. As a rule, they prefer investments in enterprises with high development potential, while accepting a high level of risk related to this (Grzywacz, Okońska, 2005). Investments made by business angels are, as in the case of venture capital, associated with additional benefits for the company. Business angels support the company in the process of formulating strategies, help establish business contacts, share their experience in running and developing a business. Business angels often merge into associations, organizations or networks, cooperating with each other in the search for and analysis of potential investments. According to EBAN (EBAN Statistic Compendium, 2016) estimates, the total investment of business angels in Europe in 2016 amounted to EUR 6.7 billion and the number of investments made was 38230. The activity of business angels in Poland in recent years has been systematically growing. In 2013, the value of such investments amounted to 6.6 million Euro, in 2014 – 9.5 million Euro in 2015 – 12.4 million Euro. In 2016, the total value of the investment reached 12.6 million Euro. At the same time, these data refer only to the visible market, i.e. investments of business angels that operate in associations and networks related to EBAN. According to the association's estimates, this market accounts for only 10% of the total investment market of business angels;
- government assistance programs – capital can be obtained in a wide variety of forms, both returnable and non-returnable ones, depending on the policies of individual countries. In Poland this type of financing often took the form of a non-returnable subsidy co-financing the development of a given venture, or it may take the form of

preferential loans. More generally, government assistance programs cover all activities that can be used by startups implemented by institutions supporting entrepreneurship and innovation. Support indirectly financially backs up newly established enterprises by reducing the costs of their operation (for example, by offering access to specialist equipment or office space at preferential prices) as well as providing them with additional services (training, mentoring, consulting, legal or accounting services). In Poland, the whole of this type of institution is called "centers of innovation and entrepreneurship" (Bąkowski, Mażewska, 2015) and includes a lot of organizations that can help startups. Among them there are: training and consulting centers, business centers, business incubators, technology park, scientific and innovation centers. Another type of indirect support for startups is government assistance programs aimed at developing the sector of seed and venture capital funds (e.g. co-financing or full financing of the creation of funds), activating business angels (e.g. financing the creation of organizations associating such persons) or financing/co-financing the creation of loan funds or credit guarantee funds;

- crowdfunding – is becoming an increasingly popular form of obtaining funds. The idea of crowdfunding is to appeal to a wide community with an offer to finance a specific project which may or may not be of a business nature. The community is usually focused on a specific internet portal which associates the originators and people ready to provide financing. In practice, there are various forms of such financing, business projects are most often financed on the basis of community-based equity or debt financing (equity-based crowdfunding or credit-based crowdfunding), sometimes with a model of reward-based crowdfunding. In such cases, the project's supporters receive shares in a given venture, grant loans or finance them in return for certain rewards (e.g. an opportunity to buy a product created by the company at a special price or unique, unique features). Charitable or social projects are most often financed on the basis of donation-based crowdfunding or a reward-based crowdfunding model. The scale of the potential possibilities of this method of obtaining funds is shown in the first and the most popular social funding portal platform kickstarter.com, which started in 2009 and so far 14 million people funded 136550 projects through it, transferring funds worth a total of 3.4 billion USD;
- internal financing – capital from the cash flow generated by the company. This type of financing is available only for successful ventures and most often in the later phase of the startup's development. In the case of the vast majority of startups, achieving profitability enabling financing from internal capitals is a long-term process and requires the prior use of other sources of financing.
- private placement shares – the capital comes from the issue of shares directed to selected financial investors (other than venture funds or seed capital funds), usually after the issue the company may apply for listing its shares in the NewConnect market. In Poland, private issue may be addressed to no more than 150 names of specific investors. This is a relatively rare form of raising capital by startups, this is due to the fact that investors are not very willing to buy shares with such a high level of risk.

Table 1 compares the most important features of various types of startup funding.

Table 1. Characteristics of selected methods of raising capital by startups

	Capital contributed by the founders	**PE/VC funds; business angels)**	**Crowdfunding**	**Private placement issue (NewConnect)**	**Internal financing**
The amount of capital that can be acquired	Limited by the financial possibilities of the owners.	Dependent on the financial situation and prospects of the company, and the situation in the capital market.	Limited, usually smaller than in the case of selling shares to financial investors.	Depends on the financial situation and prospects of the company, and the situation in the capital market.	Limited by cash flow) generated by the company
Ease to raise capital	Very big assuming that the owners have the necessary capital	The procedure for selecting entities in which they invest funds is very strict	Competition on the market for obtaining such funds is very large, the success depends on the effective interest of community in the project	Large, if the company can present a convincing plan for further development	Very big
Control over the company	Full	Financial investors usually want to have a significant impact on the company's operations	Full for most types of crowdfunding	Usually, existing owners maintain control over the company	Full
Costs	Very low	Very low	Low	Low	No costs
Additional benefits	No	Support in the process of company management, active participation in the working out the development strategies, assistance in obtaining further financing.	A large marketing and promotional effect, an easy way to get information about the company and its products or services to a large group of potential customers.	The possibility of a future capital injection in the future , increase of the company's credibility, marketing and promotional effect	No
Other costs	No	No	No	The necessity of fulfilling specific information obligations	No

Source: author's own study based on (Perz, Kaszuba-Perz, 2013).

While comparing the features of individual sources of financing with the needs and specificity of startups activity described in the literature (high risk of activity, high capital demand in the expansion phase, significant need for support in the process of searching for the optimal business model), venture capital funds are the optimal source of capital for these organizations and business angels. This allows for a positive verification of the first hypothesis.

4. FINANCING STARTUPS IN EUROPE AND IN POLAND

The research conducted as part of the European Startup Monitor project used data from 2515 startups located in European countries and other countries important for the ecosystem of startups in Europe. According to these studies (European Startup Monitor, 2016), the most popular source of financing their activities is the capital contributed by the founders (several sources of financing could be indicated). The detailed data are presented in table 2. Against the background of the countries surveyed, the ESM report in Poland recorded a high percentage of enterprises financed by venture capital (30.8%), among the surveyed startups only in Finland the percentage of enterprises financed by VC was larger and amounted to 44%. In comparison with other countries, Polish startups financed their activities relatively often through crowdfunding (7.7%), which is the third result among the countries covered by the research (after Israel and Finland where the percentage of companies that obtained such financing was 8.3 and 8.0, respectively).

Table 2. Sources of funding for startups in Europe in 2016

Type of financing	Share in% (several indications were possible)
Capital contributed by shareholders	84.5
Family and friends	29.6
Government assistance	26.5
Business angels	23.8
Internal financing	18.6
Venture capital	18.1
Incubators/entrepreneurial accelerators	16.2
Bank loans	14.4
Crowdfunding	3.6
Debt financing by Venture Capital	1.9
Other sources of financing	1.8
IPO	0.1

Source: European Startup Monitor, 2016 (http://europeanstartupmonitor.com/fileadmin/esm_2016/report/ESM_2016.pdf).

It is worth noting that in Europe only 22.5% of startups were financed only from the savings of their founders (the largest percentage of such companies recorded in Great Britain 58.8%, the smallest in Finland 8%, in Poland such companies were 19.2%). In the vast majority, in order to make the company possible, it was necessary to reach for external sources of financing. The value of the capital that was obtained was very diverse, the detailed data on Poland and Europe were presented in table 3. In Poland, over half of the companies (55.6%) gained capital not exceeding 50 000 Euro. In other European countries, the value of capital gained by startups was higher, there were cases when companies managed to obtain financing exceeding EUR 2 million (8.8% of surveyed companies), in Poland among the surveyed companies there were no cases of raising such large capital.

Among the enterprises surveyed in Europe 70.1% planned to raise additional capital within 12 months, in Poland the percentage of such companies was slightly higher and amounted to 82.6%.

Table 3 Average value of capital gained by startups

Average value of capital gained by startups (EURO)	ESM 2016	Poland
1–25 000	24.8%	27.8%
25 000–50 000	11.7%	27.8%
50 000–150 000	21.1%	11.1%
150 000–250 000	7.8%	5.6%
250 000–500 000	9.2%	11.1%
500 000–1 000 000	9.6%	11.1%
1 000 000–2 000 000	6.9%	56%
2 000 000–5 000 000	5.1%	-
5 000 000–10 000 000	1.7%	-
10 000 000–25 000 000	1.5%	-
25 000 000–50 000 000	0.2%	-
Over 50 000 000	0.3%	-

Source: European Startup Monitor, 2016 (http://europeanstartupmonitor.com/filead-min/esm_2016/report/ESM_2016.pdf).

The results of research on the sources of funding for startups in Poland provide results that in the case of some sources of financing differ significantly from each other. Table 4 summarizes the results of the two largest surveys carried out recently. In both surveys, similar results were obtained in terms of the share of equity in financing (72% and 68%) and debt financing (9% and 8%). Significant differences between reports relate to financing by business angels (11% and 33%) and VC funds (25% and 40%).

Table 4. Sources of financing for startups in Poland

Deloitte, 2016		Polish Startup Report, 2017	
Equity (including funds from friends and family)	72%	Equity	68%
Current revenues	44%	VC funds	40%
VC and other funds	25%	PAED or NCR&D	38%
Subsidies	20%	Business angels	33%
Business partner	16%	Accelerator	19%
Business angels	11%	Strategic investor	9%
Debt financing	9%	Debt financing	8%
Crowdfunding	5%	Others (grants, crowdfunding, stock exchange)	8%
Large companies – share support or similar	4%		-

Source: (Deloitte, *Diagnoza ekosystemu startupów w Polsce*, czerwiec 2016 r.; Beauchamp, Kowalczyk, Skala, 2017).

The results of research on the financing of startups with the results of research on financing the start-up of all businesses in Poland are interesting. According to Global

Entrepreneurship Monitor data from 2015 (Tarnawa, Węcławska, Zadura-Lichota, Zbierowski, 2016) the most popular external sources of financing were: government funds (43%), loans (31%), funds from family and friends (29%), funds from the employer (20%). Business angels, VC funds and crowdfunding together accounted for 15% of responses. In the case of startups, these two sources of funding represented (depending on the study), respectively: 36% (Deloitte, 2016) and 73% (Beauchamp, Kowalczyk, Skala, 2017). This confirms previous considerations regarding the specifics of startup funding and points to significant differences in the way they are financed in relation to other companies. Classic companies are more likely to finance themselves with bank loans, while startups must first seek funding from the VC and business angels. In the case of both groups of enterprises, government funds play an important role in financing (in the form of subsidies or indirect support through financing incubators and business accelerators). The research results quoted seem to suggest the truth of the hypothesis number two. Of course, a full and statistically significant verification of the hypothesis will require further research among a suitably selected sample of enterprises from the group of startups and other companies.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Startups play an important role in developing innovation and creating new jobs. The experience of highly developed countries indicates that a harmonious growth requires a properly functioning environment. Relevant legal regulations, the existence of well-developed social and human capital, efficient functioning of institutions supporting such newly created companies, as well as adequate mechanisms of their financing are important. Startups operate in very high risk conditions and most of them fail. The research conducted in Europe and in Poland indicates that startups are most often financed from own resources. In the further stages of their development, the possibility of obtaining funds from venture capital funds or from business angels is extremely important. These types of investors, in addition to providing capital, help the company in the process of product development and the development of an appropriate business model. Research conducted among Polish startups (Beauchamp, Kowalczyk, Skala, 2017) confirm the important role of such financing, indicating that venture capital appeared in 40%, and business angels in 33% of the companies surveyed.

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FROM FACTORY WORKERS TO TALENTED MIGRANTS. THE MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES FOR NEW RESIDENTS IN DONGGUAN, CHINA

Since 1978, the management of the floating population has become a big challenge for China. Dongguan, one of the major migrant cities, is widely considered a reference city, as it was the first to professionally manage migration, and it has a more permissive policy. This research chooses Dongguan as a case study for exploring the perspectives of the staff involved in service provision. Staff members from all 33 'migration centres' (NDSBs) and from 38 (out of 45) social organizations working with migrants filled in an online questionnaire. The data was complemented by four in-depth interviews with people in helping professions, who assist migrants. The paper analyses several institutional challenges and structural limitations that prevent migrants from integrating, such as understaffing of social work services, insufficient funding and reliance on temporary, subcontracted social workers. The research suggests that, despite progressive policies, the education of migrant children is still a source of huge inequity between the local and migrant populations. It argues that the recent policy goals of shifting from manufacturing to high tech industries, further disadvantages the largest majority of migrants, who are low-skilled. The research clusters respondents' proposals for change into five categories: (i) the preservation of the status quo; (ii) awareness raising and insubstantial change; (iii) assisting migrants to fit in. The absence of another two possible modes: (iv) 'acting for structural policy reform' and (v) 'shaping the views of the locals on the "New Dongguanese'" is examined later.

Keywords: internal migration, Dongguan, social workers, social services, China

As of 2017, China's floating population[3] reached 244 million (China's National Bureau of Statistics, 2018). Over the last few years, the philosophy of managing internal migrations has changed from strict control, to an increased focus on services. Different cities have developed different management styles for managing internal migration, largely based on social organizations (Xiao, Guo & Yin, 2009). Dongguan has a special story to tell. With

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[3] This paper will use the terms 'internal migrants', 'migrants' and 'floating populations' interchangeably.

a population of 6 million internal migrants, it is one of the biggest migrant cities in the country. Recently, Dongguan gained a reputation as ‘world factory’ (Wang, 2018) and qualified as a ‘new first-tier city’ (Zhang, 2019). Its growing economy is fuelled by the labour-intensive manufacturing sector, which is largely maintained by migrants. The city has frequently changed its policies relating to internal migrants (more recently referred to as ‘the New Dongguanese’). There are now 33 migrant centres: the so-called ‘New Dongguanese Service Bureaux’ [NDSB], subordinated to the public authorities and dealing exclusively with migration issues. In addition, over 45 social service organizations and foundations have a focus on assisting migrants.

This study focuses on the management and services provided in Dongguan for internal migrants, by exploring the perspectives of the staff involved in delivering those services. For the purposes of this research, all 33 migration centres and 38 social organizations were invited to fill in an online questionnaire. The data was complemented by four in-depth interviews with frontline social workers. The research adds light and shade to the idea that the Dongguan administration has tried to create structures to deal with the management of migrants. Authorities rely on a specific team and a management agency made up of dispatched social workers[4], public staff, and staff with social work attributions at a grass-roots level. The centres that deal with migrants have become increasingly receptive, and the policy environment has become friendlier towards them. However, there are also several problems in this process. In particular: (i) understaffed and under-qualified service teams; (ii) restrictions on the New Dongguanese in applying for public resources; (iii) difficulties in the social integration of the New Dongguanese.

1. INTERNAL MIGRATION IN CHINA

After the economic reform of 1978 and the relaxation of the household registration system, China witnessed a massive internal migration[5], that led to an unprecedented increase in the urban population. By and large, the internal migration has involved moves from rural areas to urban areas, as well as from the central and western inland regions to eastern coastal provinces, which are more developed (Zhu & Lin, 2016). The enormous rural-urban discrepancies sit at the core of this migration process. The underemployment and poverty in rural areas are in stark contrast to the capital-intensive technologies that develop rapidly in cities, with an increased need for labour.

Despite playing an important economic role in today’s China, most of the internal migrants are marginal populations, usually living in the suburbs of major cities, or in urban villages on the outskirts, where exclusive communities are formed, along the lines of blood-ties, clan and homeland (Zhu & Lin, 2016). Their contacts with the local communities are marginal, if they exist at all. Over half of China’s 244 million internal migrants have only a junior high school education, and earn very low salaries. It goes without saying that their quality of life in the cities is very poor, especially when moving with their families. From 2010 on, a reverse trend started to emerge, with many migrants returning to their original homes. Nevertheless, the scale of internal migration continues to pose major challenges to

[4] A social worker who is procured by the government or other agencies through a contract, and is dispatched to public institutions to provide social services (Xie, 2019).

[5] For the purposes of this research, internal migration refers exclusively to internal migrants with a Chinese household registration (Hukou system, with the role of limiting population mobility in its early stage).

China's social services. Of concern are issues such as decent work, social insurance, children's education, and political rights when they work in the city (Chen, 2013).

China's migration policy is strongly intertwined with *Hukou*, the main system of household registration, largely based on rural vs. urban residency. The change in registration was traditionally associated with a loss of rights and possessions in the community of origin. Because it led to unequal access to housing, health and education (among other things), *Hukou* sat at the centre of heated controversies and protests. In the last few decades, the Chinese government has experimented with several approaches towards the management of migration, based on making the *Hukou* system more accessible. Its philosophy has moved from imposing strict limitations, to fully opening up the flow of people.

Previous research (Chen, 2013; Xiong, 2012; Yang & Xiao, 2009) discerned three main stages in the internal migration policy. The first consisted of a policy of control, from 1978--1983. A strict *Hukou* (household registration) system was in place, which made the rural population unable to move freely. By 1984, the policy started to be loosened, and the government allowed farmers to work and do businesses in the towns. This triggered an overflow of migrant labourers. Soon, the government found that the situation was out of control, as more and more people went to the eastern cities indiscriminately. As a measure of last resort, the government issued successive restrictive documents at the beginning of the '90s. This led to a second type of approach, aimed at promoting mobility in nearby regions. For instance, policies encouraged rural people to work in the cities near their registered locations, rather than migrate towards major metropolitan areas of the southeast coastal provinces, especially the Guangdong province. But state institutions still retained a high level of control over what appeared to be disordered flows to the eastern provinces.

From 2000 onwards, it became obvious that alternative ways of managing migration were needed. The government decided to reform the *Hukou* system and to reduce the previous employment limitations imposed on the cities' internal migrants. Now, 'promoting the social integration of migrants' ranks high in the policy discourse. The central government advances a general philosophy on the management of migration, with the local administration systems playing an implementation role. The actual way of achieving these stated policy goals varies from one place to another. Depending on local conditions, local governments gradually form their own styles, work systems and services.

At city level, the management of migration falls within the responsibility of various entities. First, there are the official departments (like labour bureaux, and public security institutions) and subordinate units (grass-roots agencies). More recently, the has state started to subcontract social work services (e.g. poverty-relief) to the so-called 'Shè huì zǔ zhī[6]' (social organizations), which are undergoing an unprecedented increase in their number and role (over 800,000 registered as of January 2019) (Luo, 2019). Their stated focus is on enhancing the personal and social lives of migrants. However, these goals might conflict with a rather crude governmental approach, which is often focused on preventing juvenile delinquency (Zhao & Han, 2018). Often, public institutions rely on temporary dispatched

[6] These 'social organizations' make for a third category of entities, other than government and business organizations. They do not have a unified definition in China. There are three forms in which social organizations can be registered: (i) as foundations; (ii) as social teams/groups, formed voluntarily by Chinese citizens to carry out activities agreed upon by their members; (iii) as private non-enterprise units, which are set up by enterprises, institutions, public organizations etc., and which use private assets to engage in non-profit social service activities (Chen, 2009).

social workers, transferred from social organizations to public institutions. However, once working on behalf of state institutions, their roles are more administrative than client-oriented (Xie and Pantea, forthcoming).

2. THE CASE OF DONGGUAN

In many ways, Dongguan makes for an excellent setting to carry out research on the management of internal migration. It is a prefecture-level city, located in the south-central Guangdong Province, 50 miles from Hong Kong and 60 miles from Macau. Dongguan comprises 32 towns and 350 villages. The richest, southern towns, closest to Shenzhen, attract the highest number of migrants. It is estimated that out of its 8.34 million population, between 70-80% are migrants (Dongguan Municipal Bureau of Statistics & Dongguan NBAC Investigation Team, 2018). A recently compiled ‘Ghost City Index’ (Qihoo 360) ranks Dongguan as the top Chinese city that is emptied of internal migrants during Chinese New Year.

The city has witnessed a radical transformation from an agricultural entity in the '70s, to an international modern manufacturing metropolis. Its gross domestic product (GDP) in 2018 was the 4th highest in Guangdong Province and the 19th highest in China (Wang, 2019). The incoming migrant population makes the biggest contribution to the city’s economic development. These positive economic transformations have shaped the general perception towards migrants. From derogatory names such as ‘blind flow’ or ‘migrant workers’, internal migrants have started to be referred to as ‘New Dongguanese’. Whilst a change in the way the local population regards migrants is a long process, bringing in the right policies has started to matter in Dongguan’s institutional environments.

More recently, however, Dongguan set itself new economic goals. The policy aim is to shift from a manufacturing focus, towards high tech. The ambition is for Dongguan to build itself up as a high-quality innovation city with an international influence by 2025. Curbing environmental pollution, encouraging high-tech enterprises, improving urban public welfare and developing educational opportunities are major parts of this city strategy. Attracting ‘talented migrants’ is also part of the project. Because of the increase in labour costs, Dongguan's low-end manufacturing industry is finding it hard to keep its competitive advantage. More and more factories are closing down or moving away from the city. Increasingly, robots are replacing low-skilled workers in labour-intensive enterprises (like clothing, furniture, and the food industry) (Du, 2017).

But redundant migrants do not just go home, as imagined in an ideal policy scenario. The proportion of those going back to their hometowns, or continuing on their way to other boom cities, is rather small; the majority still struggle in the city (Guo, 2018). Recent research paints a disconcerting picture. Those born in the '90s appear confused about the future and many others are attached to the city they have spent most of their adult years in (Guo, 2018). In the meantime, more and more social problems and unresolved tensions have emerged. Some of the problems (i.e. illegal factories not complying with environmental policies, prostitution, gambling and drugs) have called for harsh government action (Wu, 2016). Interventions have gone from a thorough reorganization of public institutions (e.g. the removal of high officials from public security institutions), to the punishment and intimidation of those breaking the law. In the context of remoulding the social order, city security, migrant children’s education, the healthcare system and community management all stand out as major concerns.

But Dongguan is also a barometer and a compass for Chinese policies. The city follows the regulations of the central government, yet it learns quickly from other developed cities and has sufficient strength to test new social interventions. What happens in the social and policy life of Dongguan carries weight, as Dongguan is considered a reference city (Hu, 2012). It was the first city in the country to practice the professional management and coordination of migration. The 'New Dongguanese Service Bureaux' [NDSB] was set up in 2008 under the Human Resources and Social Security Bureau of Dongguan. This was the first full-time service agency of its kind in the country (Mai, 2015). It comprises a migration service with 32 centres in the towns and 621 stations at community and village level (Lin, 2018). In the implementation of specific services, the NDSB and its sub-mechanisms register and collect information, issue documents, and sometimes carry out career training for migrants. The NDSB claims a major role in safeguarding the legal rights of the New Dongguanese.

In 2018, Dongguan cancelled the 'points-based *Hukou* system' as it applied to housing, health and employment. The city reduced the requirements for migrants registering in Dongguan, without limitations on age, educational background and housing etc. (Wang, 2018). Migrants no longer need to apply for the Dongguan *Hukou* based on how many points they have. The stated rationale was for internal migrants (the so called 'New Dongguanese') to enjoy the same social security and public services as other citizens. Yet, the exemption does not apply to education. For access to schooling, rigorous criteria and points are set. Family size, criminal record, stable employment, residence, parents' educational background and tax contributions are all important factors. Migrants with higher technological skills, or a higher educational background, gain the *Hukou*. Their children have higher chances of being accepted into public schools.

Social workers in the administrative departments and at community level are at the forefront of the processes meant to assist the New Dongguanese. Typical services include legal aid, life coaching, parent-child education, recreational activities or risk prevention in the workplace (Zhang, Cheng & Huang, 2017). Whilst the policy ambition is high, anecdotal evidence has started to emerge about low levels of efficiency and constant friction between the administrative staff and internal migrants (Lin, 2018).

3. AIMS AND METHODS

This research sets itself the goal of exploring perspectives on the management of migration among those in social work positions[7]. The underlying rationale is that the policy reform needs to engage with service providers' views. The research is based on the results of 37 questionnaires filled in by staff from 33 service centres and 38 social organizations[8] (10 public employees, 17 dispatched social workers, 2 social workers, 4 community workers[9], 2 members of social organizations and 2 volunteers). Virtually all public institutions and

[7] As social work is a recent occupation in China, and there are still very few qualified social workers, the term is used rather loosely. This paper will refer to those in social work positions, regardless of their qualifications, as 'social workers', which is the convention in China's public services.

[8] The authors were unable to secure a valid email address for the remaining 7 organizations.

[9] Community workers do not have a social work degree. Their role is to interact with clients at community level, including in villages, in order to 'maintain social stability at the grassroots level' (Li, 2017).

social organizations with a stated link with migration issues in Dongguan were invited to fill in an online questionnaire.

Despite migration being high on the policy agenda, an early finding was that the actual entities in charge of the claimed integration of the New Dongguanese were rather few (N=3, according to CNKI, China's biggest knowledge resource database). As well as the demographic questions (occupation, type of service and the groups assisted), the questionnaire included several open-ended questions. It asked respondents to comment on the quality of services, their experiences in assisting internal migrants and their proposals for change.

In addition, four respondents were interviewed: a dispatched social worker, a staff member from a public institution dealing with migration, a social worker from a social work organization, and a volunteer who is part of a university programme aimed at facilitating students' engagement with migrant children in an after-school setting. The in-depth, semi-structured interviews explored their general perception of the work carried out with the New Dongguanese and its main challenges. The narrative input from questionnaires and from the transcribed interviews was interpreted in NVivo. The analysis was based on coding and successive comparison. In order to protect the anonymity of respondents, pseudonyms are used throughout the paper. As the research is very small in scale, its purpose can only be tentative and exploratory in nature.

4. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The legal framework and registration dilemmas

The research suggests that, despite progressive policies, the New Dongguanese still struggle with the dilemma of registration. Unlike migrants elsewhere in China, they are not subject to assessment based on the 'credit entry rule' for many services. They can register as Dongguan residents, which makes them eligible for housing, healthcare and some education facilities. However, whilst accessible, the facilities following registration are not guaranteed. Moreover, upon registration in Dongguan, internal migrants automatically lose their registration back in their home communities, together with any land and housing there. For the vast majority, the problem of their children's education sits at the core of this dilemma.

China has a nine-year compulsory education policy. Public education is free of charge for residents, but not always for migrants, who need to pay a high fee, sometimes prohibitively so. By 2015, as many as 39.1% of the New Dongguanese had an average monthly income of between ¥2001-¥3000[10](cf. the National Statistics Bureau, 2017). However, the termly tuition fees at a private school were one to six times their incomes (Huang, 2017; Dongguan Development & Reform Bureau, 2019). The fee waiver policy is only open to students who have registered (with a city *Hukou*). In some migration cities, migrants without city *Hukou* need to compete to apply for the fee reduction. This means that students and families who do not belong to the city's household registration system are always under the stress of expensive tuition fees.

Dongguan has two ways of dealing with the education of migrant children. One is to change their original census register into Dongguan's (and thus to become 'New Dongguanese'), which allows them a fee reduction at a public school of their choice. But,

[10] aprox.260–390 euro.

as many families do not want to change[11] their household registers, yet want to send their children to a public school, they use a second route. This entails applying for a place at a public school through the points-based education system[12]. However, this path is even harder and more competitive than the first one. Figure 1 shows how the system works in practice.

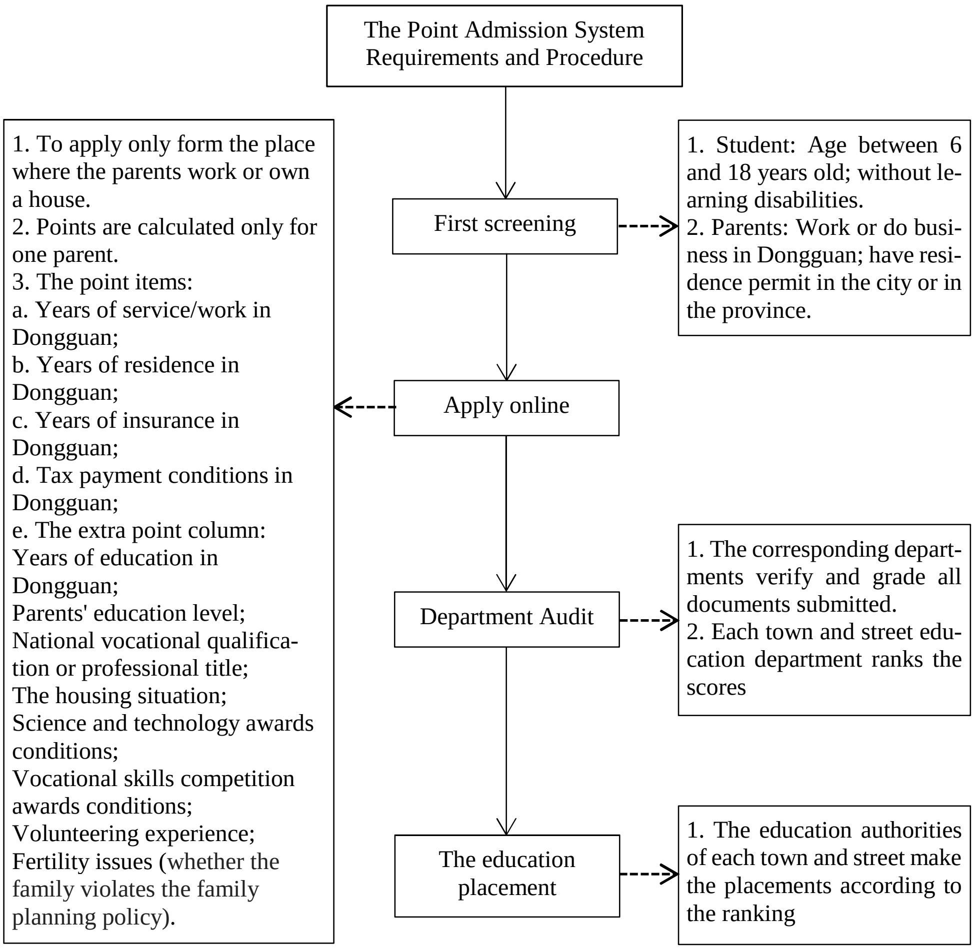

Fig. 1. Requirements and procedure for the point admission in Dongguan's public education system

Source: Compiled by the authors.

[11] Changing household registers to another city means giving up all benefits in the original location, including any share of the land.

[12] The points-based education system has similar requirements and procedures as the points-based Hukou system, with the city allocating a limited number of fee-reduced places, according to the number of points a person has.

Unregistered migrants apply for the school online. Their scores are calculated and assessed by the relevant departments. Finally, the educational authorities of each town and street allocate the school places according to the grade ranking. Based on the family score, a child can win a place at a public school, or receive subsidies to apply for a private school. Private schools mainly attract the migrant population and are generally considered of lower quality.

There are many structural limitations that make the education registration process a very difficult one for migrant families. Firstly, there are insufficient places for migrant children in public schools. As of 2018, for instance, from a total of 1.55 million students (under 18 years old) in Dongguan, 1.18 million were migrant students (without a Dongguan *Hukou*). Out of all migrant students (at the compulsory education stage), only 40.18% were studying at public schools or at subsidized private schools (Dongguan Education Bureau, 2019). This means that nearly 60% of migrant children (in compulsory education) had to rely on private schools. An inconvenient alternative provided by the state is subsidies for private schooling, or for public schools located in other towns.

The competition for school places is actually a competition between migrant parents. Authorities allocate the places according to score rankings, and the number of places available at town or street level. This means there is no *default* pass score. And applicants never know how competitive the process will be each year, or in their neighbourhood. The lower end of the hierarchy is, however, certain. Parents who are new to Dongguan, and who have low salaries, a poor education or no specific technical skills, or those with more than one child, are definitely ‘the losers’ in this process. They make up the largest proportion of those in need of social work support.

Applicants need to submit information and upload supporting evidence from their employment, housing and educational history. The novel online application system allows applicants to fill in the forms themselves. This reduces the administrative workload, yet it potentially excludes the most disadvantaged and technically illiterate migrants. Interviewees complained about this procedure as being highly complicated and time-consuming for both themselves and the applicants. The staff from the social organizations and service centres had to not only upload data into the electronic system, but also to help the most disadvantaged applicants secure any missing papers. To add to the complexity, even students who had previously attended a public primary school had to go through the same application again for junior high school (unless registered with Dongguan's *Hukou*). This bureaucratic hindrance made many migrants register with the Dongguan household census and renounce any other benefits they might have had back in their communities of origin.

Dongguan increases its education budget each year, and intends to build 267 more schools, offering 174,000 places by 2020 (Dongguan Education Bureau, 2019). However, migrant children’s educational rights involve more than just access. The difference in quality between public and private schools is a major concern. According to the interviews, migrant parents may want to send their children to a public school, not only to avoid the expensive tuition fees, but also because they do not trust the educational quality in the private system.

The structural constraints of migrants and the challenges of reaching the 'hard to reach'

Children’s education is not an issue of the educational system alone. Their mental health emerged as a key, yet silent, problem during the interviews. It was also included as a major concern in the ‘2018 Report on China’s Migrant Population Development’ (Migrant Population Service Centre, 2019). Interviewees stressed that many children have serious behavioural problems and under-diagnosed learning disorders. According to an interviewee working as an after-school volunteer, the children are generally introverted, self-abased, not very talkative, and with no enthusiasm for studying. Several research participants attributed the children’s mental health problems to the parent-child relationships being stretched to the limit, by the parents' work commitments. One extreme example of a poor parent-child relationship was expressed by an interviewee:

> ‘The child’s parents work in a factory in separate day and night shifts. Each time the child goes back home, the parent at home is sleeping. These parents are too busy to take care of their children, so the children need us.’ (Susu, 21, volunteer)

Ironically, whilst mothers may complain that social workers do not know ‘how to communicate with their children,’ social workers often lack consistent training, and are very young and inexperienced in providing such help: ‘I also felt that I lacked this kind of knowledge myself’ (Ma, 25, social worker). The typical services provided by social workers are after-school classes, education for health and family activities.

Housing sits at the core of the children’s (mental) health problems. Besides the New Dongguanese who are able to buy an apartment, other New Dongguanese workers usually have three options. The first is to live in a dormitory built by their employment units (usually used by single workers). The second is to rent an apartment which has been built or converted for workers near the industry district. The last option is to rent a room from the locals (children and parents often live in the same room). As indicated by an interviewee, however, many rent their accommodation from a third person (a tenant who sublets the apartment after illegally dividing up the rooms). In this last case, the migrants face the risk of eviction, unless they can renew their contract with the superior landlord. According to one interviewee, it is very hard for migrants to apply for policy-based housing if they cannot meet the high requirements, such as being highly skilled (another path towards registration in Dongguan).

Regardless of their living arrangements, the quality of housing is very poor for most migrants. As stated by one interviewee: ‘One can hardly put a bed in their rooms, which are very humid. If it rains, the whole ground becomes wet. There is a strong, bad smell in the room and passageway’ (Susu, 21, volunteer).

> ‘These kinds of old rental housing estates collect a lot of tenants who are in a poor economic situation, such as security guards, peddlers, junk dealers, sanitation workers, and old people’ (Yin, 24, dispatched social worker).

The lives of the majority of migrants revolve around the so called ‘factory-towns’ and villages[13]. In very close proximity, one can find the factories, their dormitories and some

[13] In the process of rapid urban development, the state requisitioned most of the cultivated land (land nationalization), and some villages ending up being surrounded by urban architecture or business areas (the so-called ‘cheng zhong cun’: ‘villages in the city’). This is where most migrants find more affordable, if very modest, housing. These villages are threatened with disappearance, as (sometimes contested) compensation is provided to the locals.

small private primary schools. As migrants live in the industry district, they are less likely to interact with the local population. Their lives are strongly marked by routine, between their apartments and their work places. When given an opportunity to establish contacts with the local population, the barriers start to fall:

> ‘My parents also rent out a house to a family. They have lived upstairs for more than 10 years. They get along with my parents very well, and even if their factory moved a little bit further away from here, they are still willing to rent this house, not just for the cheaper rent, but also because they are familiar with my parents’ (Ma, 25, social worker). In these kinds of cases, each side's children usually play together too.

In order to attract talent and become a tech hub, Dongguan’s current housing policy prioritizes new, highly qualified migrants over low-skilled migrants who have worked in its manufacturing factories for a long time. To those with longer working histories in Dongguan, this policy raises moral questions of legitimacy.

By and large, the New Dongguanese do not have a strong sense of belonging, partly because they live outside the circle of the local community. For many reasons, they rarely engage voluntarily in structured social activities, organized by various organizations for the purpose of ‘integration’. According to several interviewed social workers, they are ‘too busy to take care of anything else on top of their work’ (Susu, 21, volunteer). As seen above, there are indeed many structural constraints on their lives, that prevent their involvement in public activities.

Language is a significant barrier. Mandarin is the language of schooling and the language of social organizations. But the majority of Dongguan's local people do not speak Mandarin well; instead they speak Cantonese, a variety of Chinese. This influences the quality of communication and leaves the migrants stuck in a vicious cycle: poor language proficiency limits their social contacts and weak social contacts outside the migrants’ circles negatively influences their language competence.

It is also hard for migrants to integrate because of their high mobility and because of their many family commitments. Without structures in place to assist in many areas of their lives (e.g. elderly and childcare, health issues), migrant families rely on each other. Finding time and space for external activities is difficult:

> ‘Those women who find a job can stay in the group longer, but when their families need them, when a baby is born, for instance, they need to go back and help. Besides, the New Dongguanese move an awful lot. They follow the location of their children's education. Sometimes we start working with some family members, and soon after, they are about to leave’ (Ma, 25, social worker).

A programme designed for the children who are ‘left behind’ allows families to reunite for a ‘season’ (winter and summer holidays). The ‘migratory bird’ project in Dongguan allows children a safe place to study and play (Yao, 2018). However, time constraints do not allow social workers to open up a case, even when they discover major issues of concern.

The New Dongguanese Service Bureaux and their institutional limitations

The questionnaires show that 16.22% (N=6) respondents declare themselves very satisfied with the current management mode and consider that it completely protects the rights of the New Dongguanese. 48.65% of respondents (N=18) declare themselves moderately satisfied, whilst 35.14% (N=13) declare themselves not satisfied by the current management mode and consider that the rights of the New Dongguanese are not respected. No respondent completely disagreed with the current management system. Overall, despite stated policy goals of 'social integration', reaching, involving and maintaining migrants in support programmes is not easy. Several limitations on intervention are related to the institutional *modus operandi*. Others are rooted in the migrants' social worlds, yet are not independent of various structural constraints.

To start with, the activities of the NDSB are often centred on data collection and information provision. A common practice is for employees from the migration service to periodically visit public places and enterprises. Whilst previous research (Zhang, Cheng & Huang, 2017) argued that the relationship between the public representatives and the migrants are conflict-ridden, our interviews suggest this may not always be the case. An interviewee with over five years' experiences, for instance, was not able to recall any such situation. What does seem to be a challenge, however, is the enormous administrative workload which prevents direct, client-focused interventions.

Social work is an occupation with a high turnover in China. Indeed, many respondents stated that it is usual for social workers to change their jobs, moving to different organizations and fields. For some public service areas, including the NDSB, the government temporarily hires social workers based on a public competition (usually for a period of two years) (Dongguan Civil Affairs Bureau, 2018). Once the contract expires, the position is open to a new bid. This is likely to entail a new, subcontracted organization and a new social worker. Exceptions - when the contract with the dispatched social worker is extended for another year – happen less frequently. Overall, the frequent changes in services and staff do not just affect the sustainability of those services, but also the ability of the social workers to specialize in a particular field. These processes leave the NDSB with a short-term institutional memory and a structural inability to build up any expertise.

Interviewees and questionnaire respondents described an excessively overburdened workforce. The dispatched social workers in the NDSB, who increasingly make up the majority of those working on migration issues, play multiple roles: from carrying out policy propaganda and administrative tasks, to case work and the organization of events. Previous research also confirms a continuous sense of tension felt by social workers. On the one hand, social workers often lack sufficient funding to continue with new and meaningful activities (for example, inviting a circus troupe to teach the children how to communicate with their parents if they suffer a sexual assault), as told by an interviewee. On the other hand, some long-term objectives cannot have visible and easily measurable effects. Interviewee Yin organized a cultural exchange programme in 2018, to help the New Dongguanese learn more about the local culture. Whilst he is certain this was a meaningful experience for many participants, the results of these activities can only be limited in scope and short term. The policy of the moment takes priority over any measurable outputs.

Ultimately, all questionnaire respondents selected 'the government' as their main financial source, and only 31.58% (N=14) of them also relied on donations. As elsewhere, small organizations encountered more financial difficulties than larger ones. The larger organizations, with more stable financial resources, however, tended to provide services for local people, rather than New Dongguanese.

Proposals for change from below

Both the questionnaire and the interviews prompted research participants to elaborate on possible solutions. One can cluster their responses into three possible modes: (i) the preservation of the *status quo*; (ii) awareness raising and insubstantial change; (iii) assisting migrants to fit in. The absence of two other possible modes: 'acting for structural policy reform' and 'shaping the views of the locals on the "New Dongguanese"' is examined later.

The preservation of the *status quo* was the conservative option of respondents who either considered themselves very satisfied with the current management mode, or were somewhat reluctant to come up with options for change. This situation can be attributed to a weak sense of initiative, cultivated in occupations that are executive in nature, and in environments where compliance is the norm. 12 out of 37 questionnaire respondents expressed their regret at 'not having the ability or experience to change the field', or they declared 'never thinking about this question before'.

> 'Policy change is not our responsibility, we just do what we need to, and what the job involves. But anyway, we hope everything can be better' (Lu, 29, public staff).

A second choice indicated a high degree of sensitivity towards equal rights, while at the same time, not offering any bold initiatives for change. The proposed ways forward were rather prudent, focusing on image and political correctness, rather than on radical departures from the current situation. For example, one community worker thought we needed to give up the distinction between local and migrant populations and stop using the name 'New Dongguanese', in order to highlight their (arguably) identical entitlements with the local population. Whilst powerful, such a choice risks overlooking the structural constraints that maintain social disparities, regardless of the names to be used.

A third way proposed for relating to migrants was proactive, yet conformist in nature. Several research participants called for the need to reach migrants wherever they are: in factories, in schools, in their neighbourhoods. The policy measures were considered a given. What was needed was increased outreach, to provide information, and more pro-activeness in involving migrants in community-level activities likely to increase their level of social integration: 'Try your best to give New Dongguanese a sense of belonging', 'invite them to join volunteering'. However, it is debatable whether involvement in volunteering for overworked migrants is likely to provide the social glue needed, or whether it further deepens their notion of exploitation and adds to the pressure.

> 'We regularly set up stalls in public places to answer the questions of New Dongguanese, to inform people about our recent policies [children's education and *Hukou* registration] and in enterprises to let them know more about preferential policies, to solve the problems of their children's education, and to give them have a sense of belonging to Dongguan' (Lu, 29, public staff).

A fourth possibility: 'advocacy for policy change' is included here, mainly as a *presence in absentia.* Social workers are one of the groups who are most aware of the difficulties facing New Dongguanese. Indeed, research participants often described with empathy the restrictions migrants face in their children's education and medical treatment, and also their major housing and integration problems. But their proposals for improvement rarely went beyond 'waiting for a change' of government or a change of policies. Whist questionnaires and interviews conveyed a sense that 'something needs to change in regard to the migrants' situation', the solutions were invariably considered as top-down, and social workers' role in the process of change was heavily downplayed.

In a climate where duties and hierarchies are clear and reinforced, Chinese social workers in general may be less likely to see their role as related to advocacy for policy change. As became evident in the questionnaires and interviews, they do not think they have the ability to change policy. Yet, the rights of the New Dongguanese are tightly linked to policy-making. Therefore, training social workers to understand, analyse and act for policy change, is important.

Another important level of intervention that was missing was 'intervening in order to change the perception of the locals in regard to the "New Dongguanese"'. Social integration was invariably considered the responsibility of the migrants themselves, via their more active involvement in the local communities, or the responsibility of decision makers, through friendlier policies. Shaping the more general perception of migrants towards a more positive one was never an option.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Dongguan owes a great part of its economic advancement to the low-skilled migrants who now make up a population of 6 million. It developed from a small county into a famous manufacturing industry city, now aspiring towards the status of a high-tech hub. Along with the change of city strategy, the role of the migrants is also changing, and solutions for managing the social turmoil brought about by the transition from manufacturing to innovation are needed. Dongguan's management mode is highly celebrated as a model of integration. This makes it a great case study for examining the challenges of this process. This paper has discussed the social services put in place for Dongguan's migrants and has explored the perspectives of those involved in their provision. Despite all the limitations inherent in small-scale research, the paper has highlighted the shortcomings of the process and has advanced several insights from research participants.

This research has confirmed that, indeed, migrants make for a challenging group to work with. They have different regional backgrounds, numerous economic and educational disadvantages, and language differences that call for culturally competent interventions. Specialized social workers and coherent programmes are a must. As a matter of practice, however, the social workers offer services that aim to change the individuals to fit in with the environment. Environmental limitations remain unquestioned. Also, given the strong governmental control, the clients see themselves as mere recipients, without any ability to proactively ask for change in those services. Furthermore, insufficient funds mean that the professional services on offer have a reduced impact (Zhao & Han, 2018). Against this backdrop, it is not only government departments, but also social organizations which are in a state of exploration, searching for suitable ways to manage migrants' problems. And new, unanticipated challenges continue to surface.

Dongguan gradually changed the restriction on public services for internal migrants. However, the actual extent to which the policy change made a real difference in education is unclear. After competing for public resources with the local population, the New

Dongguanese now find themselves in the unfortunate situation of competing with other, more desirable migrants. Dongguan did increase the resources made available (by building new schools or planning to do so), but it also encouraged and increased the benefits for those considered 'talented', now deciding to establish themselves in Dongguan.

Dongguan's services for the management of migration are severely understaffed. Social workers providing universal services apart, there are only 36 dispatched social workers (in subordinate units of the NDSB) involved in assisting the New Dongguanese. Their number is severely undersized for a population of 6 million. Social workers are not only small in number, but also new in the field of migration. Many respondents called for increased support from their organization and employing unit, including finance, training and communication. As an occupation, social work itself is new and young in China, with insufficient maturity as a profession and without the political backing to engage with the complexity of migration in a meaningful way.

The research suggested that for the New Dongguanese, children and women make the majority of social workers' clients. Besides information on the registration process and administrative affairs, social workers were hard to connect with migrant men and women without children who are working in Dongguan factories. When providing alternative services, these usually take the form of leisure and entertainment, urban adaptability and legal advice. But the New Dongguanese are mostly concerned by their children's education. And social workers know this too well. Yet, services respond to different questions or manage to address the concerns to a smaller extent.

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DOES GENDER AFFECT COMMUNICATION?

Today sex is no longer considered only as a biological feature. Being a woman or a man does not just mean having particular anatomy. Femininity and masculinity in the modern discourse are a more comprehensive concept, considered as biological, social and cultural sex.

The present study aims at examining the influence of gender on verbal and nonverbal communication as well as the existing relationship between them. The main purpose of my research was to investigate the role of gender in communication among graduate students. The research aims at answering five questions connected with gender. It resulted from my research in the determined way that sex is playing a major role in interpersonal communication. The research outcome provided information that nonverbal gestures have an impact on interpersonal communication. Another thing observed by me was the fact that men and women pay attention to different aspect during a conversation.

Keywords: communication, gender, verbal, nonverbal.

1. INTRODUCTION

During the evolution and the requirements of living in a group, human created the ability to communicate. Initially, this capability was used mainly by cooperation in gaining food, caring for children, and defence against predators. With time it developed, creating a system of information exchange, establishing a hierarchy, as well as creating and maintaining relationships. Today, communication is the main element of social life, which is a means of satisfying needs, self-expression and build relationships. Each individual daily interacts with many people from the surrounding, starting at the most common family relations, ending with passers passing on the street. Components of communication are not only words and gestures made towards a particular person, but also clothing or way of moving. The latter is a message of financial wealth, preferences, membership of a social group, self-confidence or mood.

Although communication serves people in almost every moment, there are often disruptions in its progress, which often causes conflicts. This is due to both the individual differences related to temperament, experience and education, as well as a lack of self-awareness and the ability to determine their desires and feelings. Also, the cause of misunderstandings is socio-cultural differences and situational factors in changing the perception of a given situation.

In many studies, the importance of communication in the course of assessing the quality of the relationship is emphasised. It is also an essential tool of support; it maintains the

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well-being and can protect against unpleasant emotional states, also from depression. In the following sections, I familiarise you the subject of communication.

2. WHAT IS COMMUNICATION?

Communication is a system of signs, including both the words and gestures, facial expressions, tone of voice, as well as road signs, clothing and housing design method (e.g. a severe or full of souvenirs) (Tokarz, 2016). According to Nęcki, communication involves the exchange of verbal and non-verbal messages, which are symbols of actual objects (Nęcki, 1996). It aims to achieve a higher level of cooperation and obtain benefits for both sides. Conversation between two or more persons is intended to the interests of all sides, by the principle of cooperation.

In his theory of communication, Watzlawick emphasises circulations of causal relationships (Watzlawick, 1967). Each of the units participating in the communication process is the participant, has an impact and is affected by the other. It is impossible to separate the sender and the recipient, as the course of the interaction is due to the interactions. The behaviour of a partner of conversation stimulates behaviour of another and vice versa. Therefore nonexistence of communication is impossible: any behaviour or lack of it is information affecting the course of the contact. If a woman asks her husband a question, "What would you want to do today", she stimulates him to respond. At the same time, a way of asking the question may result from the earlier experience of the difficulties of finding common plans. A man may then feel the unwillingness to take discussion and answer “nothing”, which brings up with anger of his wife and convicts her that husband has a lack of interest. This type of interaction may deepen the conflict and prevent making a decision. Important here is the interdependence of the partner's responses, interaction through verbal and non-verbal cues.

The course of communication can be represented schematically. The sender has a certain intention, which may be thought, intention, or emotion, which he decides to refer to the receiver of a message – followed by the encoding process, which is concluding thoughts in words, gestures, behaviour, drawing, dress, or another form. The communication channel can be air, computer network, telephone, book or TV. Various channels allow unilateral or bilateral communication, taking place in real time or not. The next step is to receive the information by the receiver and decode the message. The recipient gives meaning to the information received in the process of interpretation, which initiates a reaction to the message.

It should be noted that in the case of direct contact, communication takes place simultaneously on many levels. Verbal communication and nonverbal communication are distinguished. The first term refers to the transfer of the word, and the second to signals and symbols, such as gestures, facial expressions, body movements, behaviour, tone of voice and eye contact. It is also important that the message sender is at the same time the receiver. For example, if the husband expresses his opinion on the journalistic program at the same time, he is watching the face of his wife and her behaviour. In the communication model, there are several areas where may occur interference in the course of communication.

A) Because the transfer of information is done through symbols, the problem of the sender is to deal appropriately with their intentions. The result of the encoding process depends on the skills, linguistic wealth, the ambiguity of used signals, also from the social and cultural transfer, patterns of family life, previous experience of the sender or his attitudes.

B) The communication channel can also be a source of interference, such as noise, an excessive amount of stimuli in the environment, lack of eye contact, speech disorder, poor quality of telephone transfer and others.

C) The recipient receives the information through sensory organs, and then begin the process of decoding. Understanding of verbal messages is possible if the receiver uses the same language as the sender. This is essential; however, due to the different life experiences to signals can be given meanings inconsistent with the intent of the sender, which also may be a source of confusion.

D) The last stage is the process of interpretation of information, which depends on the current situation, the mood and the behaviour, attitudes, cultural patterns and other characteristics of the individual.

Nęcki (Nęcki, 1996) suggests the use of general rules that reduce the risk of disruption of communication, which are described above:

- Rule of comprehensibility and grammatical correctness refers to the clarity and uniqueness of expression, its grammatical correctness and style, use the language of known recipient, a clear start and finish and avoiding excessive content.
- Rule of consistency speaks of both continuity in conversation, avoiding sudden changes in the topic of conversation, and the consistency of the verbal and non-verbal transfer.
- Rule of the economy is associated with avoidance of repetition, words which adding nothing to the content of expression and long breaks.
- Rule of expressiveness means to express themselves in a manner consistent with their emotional state, to disclose their opinions and to avoid too harsh terms.

Theory of attribution explains the issues related to the transmission of meaning, evaluating partner behaviour as positive or negative. In contrast to real communication, during which the intention of the sender is properly read and intentional communication in which the sender's intention has not been read, in the attribution communication receiver gives intention to the statement that no one gave to it (Rostowska, 2008). In general, the causes of behaviour can be described as internal or external, intentional (disposable) or situational and permanent, general or specific. There is a relationship between the quality of marriage and the tendency to confer meanings of partner behaviour. In happy pairs, the causes of positively assessed behaviour of spouse would be rather seen as internal, intentional, fixed and general. Such behaviours are also longer remembered, with more details and are considered to be more positive. Negatively evaluated behaviour in happy pairs is assigned to external, situational and specific causes. Are both less stored and treated as unimportant. Attribution process is reversed in unhappy marriages, which is associated with assigning external, unintentional and specific causes of behaviours assessed as positive, and internal, permanent and general causes of behaviour assessed as negative. So as you can see the process of attribution can be used in increasing the satisfaction from the relationship in the case of happy marriages and escalation of conflicts and dissatisfaction in the in unhappy marriages.

2.1. Types of communication

According to Nęcki among the types of conversation, we distinguish the verbal and nonverbal communication (Nęcki, 1996). In general, communication triggers impulses to get you thinking, analysing, creating a synthesis, as well as to act. It forms the very foundation of the functioning of the world. Communication uses for its objectives all available means, from the most traditional to the latest achievements of science and technology. It is a kind of bridge between the people, their history and time. Communication does not only exist in the real world but also appears in spirituality, among plants and animals. In the following paragraphs, I will refer to verbal and then nonverbal communication.

Verbal (linguistic) communication is the process of exchanging information between people through the system of audio or graphic signs, called language. R. Jakobson singled out several elements of linguistic communication, characteristic for all speech acts: sender – context – contact – the message (Jakobson, 1960). Oral communication is the most common means of transmission of meaning between people. To popular forms of oral communication, we rate speech, personal or group interview, an informal network of gossip and rumours. The fundamental advantages of this type of communication are quick and easy obtaining the feedback. The disadvantage of this form is susceptibility to distortion, which increases with a larger number of people who are involved in the transfer. This is directly linked with differences in the interpretation of the message. Thus, if the messages are transmitted orally along the lines of command in the organisation, there is a significant risk of distorting the message. Input message often differs from output message.

Nonverbal communication is mainly our language: of the body, time, space and appearance. Many professionals and experts who were researching the information we provided, consider that the nonverbal communication and body language, accounting for more than 50% message that is passed in the interaction to the person we are talking to. The basic elements of nonverbal communication include gestures, facial expressions, posture, touch, communication distance zone, smell, eye contact, and even appearance. Nonverbal communication is a mirror image of our attitude, lived emotional states and material status. It can refer to one or all of these elements but does not necessarily reflect the fact, that is presented by its means. Nonverbal communication, which is what we present in our own in a given situation, can vary depending on the location and the time in which someone can take an objective or subjective conclusions relating to us.

2.1.1. Verbal communication

According to *Słownik encyklopedyczny informacji, języków i systemów informacyjno-wyszukiwawczych* (2002) verbal communication is a transmission of information by using the natural language, that is, speech as a means of communication. This is the primary way of verbal connection between people. In a residual form, verbal communication also occurs in animals, e.g. chimpanzees which have developed in some cases, the ability to use a metaphor. For verbal transmission can take place, there must be a person: speaker and listener. They use the code (language), which must be known to both sides. According to Nęcki (Nęcki, 1996), verbal communication is the transmission of information by using words.

Verbal communication is a communication based on the word. It boils down to the fact that we use the words for passing messages. When we are talking with another person – we use words. Reading the book – we perceive messages from the author given to us by words. Writing a letter or essay, we pass messages using words.

2.1.2. Nonverbal communication

Nęcki defined nonverbal communication as a complex of nonvocal messages transmitted and received by people at all nonverbal channels simultaneously (Nęcki, 1996). They inform us about basic emotional states, intentions, expectations from the caller, social status, origin, education, self-esteem, qualities of temperament etc. These messages are transmitted and received mostly on an unconscious level, but can also be transmitted and received consciously (as most of the gestures – emblems or many facial expressions). Nonverbal communication can play an equally important (or even more) role as verbal communication. When we say that we have a “hunch” or “vague feeling” that someone lied, it means that body language does not go hand in hand with the words. There are at least two sources of nonverbal communication diversity: cultural norms and individual human experience. In general, women are better senders and recipients of nonverbal communication than men. Therefore they are judged as more internally consistent, direct and expressive in communicating. When we compared the accuracy of interpretation of nonverbal behaviour of foreign women and men, women showed a significant advantage, especially when reading the negative messages from men.

Nonverbal communication is the “body language”. Very important are factors such as:

- social space (distance) – according to theorists, there are four types of distance (intimate, personal, social and public) – is an expression of affection or authority, although this varies depending on the cultural patterns;
- symbols – also emphasise the distance, power, position;
- facial expression;
- eye contact.

3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODS

The main purpose of my research was to investigate the role of gender in verbal and nonverbal communication among graduate students. The research aims at answering the following questions:

1. Whether students communicate with each other verbally or nonverbally?
2. Whether verbal gestures affect interpersonal communication or not?
3. To which elements while speaking the women and men pay more attention?
4. Which characteristic features of way of speaking belong to women, and which for men?
5. Which verbal and nonverbal signals are most frequently used by a given target group?

To study the relationship between gender and verbal and nonverbal communication, I applied a questionnaire. This is one of the typical research instruments used to collect data on a specific area of the topic. The questionnaire is organised in the form of closed or open-ended questions, or a written statement with which we agree or not. The questionnaire is anonymous and consists of 15 questions. Among the questions, only two questions concerning nationality and age are open questions; the other questions are closed. In most of the question, it is possible to have more than one answer, which gives greater freedom to answer for surveyed people. The first part of my questionnaire includes questions on basic information about the respondent. The second part of the questionnaire deals with general information about the respondent's communication with other people. The last section contains questions relating to more detailed information on the verbal and nonverbal communication and gender differences affecting communication.

Seventy students of Polish participated in the research. There were students of MA studies at the University of Silesia and the University of Rzeszów. Questionnaire respondents were at aged between 22 to 25-years-old. The research involved both women and men.

The research was conducted via the Internet, as well as a paper form of survey. Using Internet page www.interankiety.pl for people conducting a survey, I created an electronic version of the questionnaire survey in a website form. I posted an internet link on the forums bringing together different groups of MA Polish students from Rzeszów and Katowice with a request to complete a survey. Link to the created survey was sent by e-mail to 25 friends who study in Rzeszów. While the paper version of the survey, I handed out at the Faculty of Languages at the University of Silesia. Each of the respondents filled the questionnaire alone, without question from the interviewer. Via the Internet, 110 people filled out the questionnaire, and the other 30 I got in the paper version.

4. RESULTS

According to the subject of the thesis, my research involved students of MA studies at the University of Silesia and the University of Rzeszów. The selection of students was random, and the language of the questionnaire was Polish to facilitate the understanding of questions. Research embraced women and men. The group was created according to the intentional selection. The group embraced in a total of 70 people and was diversified in terms of the sex and the age. In the group of examined people following tables depict the disintegration of individual variables. Thirty-seven women and 33 men were examined in terms of sex. Women constitute 53% of examined people, and men the 47%. Respondents were at the age of 22–25. Most of them were people at the age of 24, both among men and women. The smallest number of examined people among women was at the age of 22, but among men at the age of 25.

The next stage of my research was to analyse the general information about the respondent's communication with other people. The first aspect in this part was a question: which situations, in your opinion, make it difficult to communicate with another person? Out of 8 options to choose from respondents have most often chosen the lack of common interests, the external noise, as well as the disinterest from the second person. Nonetheless, situations which disturb respondents at the lower level during a conversation are situations when the second person gesticulates and is looking straight into our eyes.

Table 1. Kind of situations which make communication difficult

Kind of situations which make communication difficult	Percentage
The external noise	21,76%
The lack of common interests	22,35%
The person you are talking to is not interested in what you say	21,76%
The other person says indistinctly	14,12%
The other person gesticulates	5,29%
The other person is looking sideways	11,188%
The other person during a conversation is looking into your eyes	2,35%
None of the above	1,18%

When it comes to the question which of the elements during a direct conversation they draw the greatest attention to replies were quite diversified, but the content of statement achieved the largest majority 43%, then facial expression and posture had 24%. The external appearance achieved scarcely 5%, and 4% of respondents acknowledged that none of the options was focusing their attention.

Table 2. Types of elements which draw people attention

Types of elements which draw people attention	Percentage
The content of the speech	42,73%
Facial expressions, posture	24,55%
External appearance	4,55%
Form of expression: the tone and the strength of the voice	24,55%
None of the above	3,64%

To the question: with whom it is easier for you to communicate with, respondents largely stated that it was no significant difference for them whether it is a woman or man. 12 people out of 70 answered that they more easily communicate with a man, and 13 out of 70 that communication with a woman is easier for them.

The next aspect of the general information about the respondent's communication is the question: with people from which age group communication is the most effective for you? Respondents answered in a diversified way. Out of four possible responses, 63% of people answered that the age was not making any difference for them. 18% of respondents answered that it was easier for them to communicate with people of their age. However, 12% chose the reply: with older than me and 7%: with younger than me. Information presented above shows that people do not usually have problems with communication with people from different age groups. Irrespective of whether it is the communication with younger or older people, for the majority of respondents it does not have importance.

Table 3. The age of people

The age of people	Percentage
With older than me	12%
With younger than me	7%
At my age	63%
It does not matter for me	18%

The next part of my questionnaire relates to more detailed information about verbal and nonverbal communication and also gender differences, which affects these two types of the process of exchanging information. First two questions contain different statements concerning in what way women and men are talking to others, and if respondents agree with these statements or not.

The table demonstrates that respondents diversely answered to the question of whether they agree or not with statements concerning a manner of speaking of women. Statements include longer sentences than men, more directly than men, in a more chaotic way, more quietly, more kindlily and emotionally than men. The largest difference between I agree, and I disagree appeared at the statement that women are talking more directly than men. Only 10% stated that they agree with it and 90% that they do not agree. On the other hand, the smallest difference occurred in the statement that women are talking kindlier than men. 40% of respondents agree with this sentence, and 60% of them disagree with it. We can notice that this large difference between the percentage of agreeing and disagreeing people results from the fact that women are perceived as a more emotional and chaotic person than men.

Table 4. Opinions about women ways of speaking

In your opinion, women talk	I agree	I do not agree
Longer sentences than men	70%	30%
More directly than men	10%	90%
In a more chaotic way	78%	22%
More quietly	22%	78%
Kindlier than men	40%	60%
In a more emotional way	88%	12%

The next table presents statements referring to men and their manner of speaking.

Table 5. Opinions about men ways of speaking

In your opinion, men talk	I agree	I do not agree
In a more objective way	77%	23%
More generally than women	77%	23%
In a more structured way	70%	30%
Louder than women	55%	45%
Less politely	33%	67%
In shorter sentences	72%	28%

These statements include: in a more objective way, more generally than women, in a more structured way, louder, less politely and in shorter sentences than women. With the first and second sentence, the 77% agree, but the 23% disagree. The next sentence has a meaningful majority of respondents agreeing with it than disagreeing. With the statement that men are talking louder than women agreed 55% of respondents, the rest stated that this sentence wan not true. The respondents disagree with the opinion that men are talking less politely than women; 67% of people answered this way. With the last statement that men are using shorter sentences than women agreed 72% of the respondents. It proves the fact that men prefer to communicate in a more specific and balanced way than women.

The next stage of the questionnaire contains questions concerning verbal and nonverbal signals which we are using during the conversation with other people.

The table illustrates answers to a question of what verbal signals we are using in the conversation with the woman. We most often use logical arguments; 64% of respondents chose this option out of 5 possible. On the second place, there is a change of intonation of the voice, 48% of people ticked this statement. Very rarely in the conversation with the other person, people use simple words, loud and clear speaking as well as repetitions. The majority of respondents think that it is better to use in the conversation with the woman logical arguments which can convince her than still repeat one thing which does not have any sense and does not improve our conversation.

Table 6. Which verbal signals do you use in a conversation with a woman?

Which verbal signals do you use in a conversation with a woman?	Percentage
Repetition	21%
Using logical arguments	64%
Changing intonation	48%
Using simple words	38%
Speaking loud and clear	33%

The next table describes nonverbal signals such as gestures, eye movement of the caller, clothing, smell, correction of the glasses or rubbing a nose and imaging the topic of conversation by using hands, which are facilitating the communication with a woman. The largest percentage of respondents is using the gestures (68%) and imaging the topic by using hands (58%). Then, 39% of people are facilitating the conversation with the woman through the movement of eyes. Probably in this way they are trying to send important for them aspects of conversation, emphasising them. Seven people out of 70 stated that they do not use any of the above nonverbal signals. However, eight people declared that they are facilitating the conversation with a woman by rubbing the nose or correcting glasses.

Table 7. Which nonverbal signals do you use in a conversation with a woman?

Which nonverbal signals do you use in conversation with a woman?	Percentage
Gestures	67%
Eye movement of the speaker	38%
Clothing of the speaker	17%
Smell	17%
Correction of the glasses or rubbing the nose	12%
Imaging the topic of conversation by using hands	56%
None of the above	10%

The table below illustrates the verbal signals which we are using in the conversation with a man. Out of five possible options, respondents mostly chose using logical arguments (65%). Then 53% of people answered that they use simple words when they want to talk to a man. Very rarely in the conversation with the other person people use, changing intonation, loud and clear speaking as well as repetitions.

The last question in the questionnaire was a question: which nonverbal signals you use in a conversation with a man? The results indicate that 59% of respondents chose gestures like the most helpful signal in communication. Then 46% replied that imaging the topic by using hands is very important for them when they are talking with a man. However, eye movement of the caller and smell were chosen by the smaller number of people. The smallest support among respondents, only 11%, obtained the reply: clothing of the speaker.

Table 8. Which verbal signals do you use in a conversation with a man?

Which verbal signals do you use in a conversation with a man?	Percentage
Repetition	15%
Using logical arguments	65%
Changing intonation	42%
Using simple words	53%
Speaking loud and clear	38%

Table 9. Which nonverbal signals do you use in a conversation with a man?

Which nonverbal signals do you use in conversation with a man?	Percentage
Gestures	59%
Eye movement of the speaker	38%
Clothing of the speaker	11%
Smell	21%
Correction of the glasses or rubbing the nose	16%
Imaging the topic of conversation by using hands	46%
None of the above	15%

5. CONCLUSIONS

The main purpose of this paper was to investigate the role of gender in verbal and nonverbal communication among graduate students. It resulted from my research in the determined way that sex is playing a major role in interpersonal communication.

The first conclusion which comes to my mind during the research is the fact that students are using not only verbal but also nonverbal signals during their communication. They usually do not have any idea that the simplest things such as external noise, gestures or looking straight into somebody's eyes are also affecting their communication with others. The research outcome provides information that nonverbal gestures have an impact on interpersonal communication. Respondents generally answered that the lack of common interests, the external noise and indistinct speaking mostly make communication with other people difficult. These aspects have a bad influence on the verbal transmission of information and make it stymied.

Another thing observed by me is the fact that men and women pay attention to different aspect during a conversation. Women mostly focus on the content of the speech and the form of expression- the tone and the strength of the voice. While men pay more attention to facial expressions and external appearance, this means that men are visualizers in contrast with women, which are more focused on the contents of the conversation than on marginal things. I also observed that for people generally, it is not significant whether they talk to a woman or a man. Further analysis revealed that for respondents more often eye contact, the position of the body or intonation of the voice are subsidiary means of expression, which increase readability in direct communication. It means that by them, we can ease our transmission of information between us and others and also we can reduce appearing different types of oblique statements during a conversation.

To question: which characteristic features of way of speaking belong to women and which for men, respondents answered differentially. It is shown that women talk in a more emotional, chaotic way, and longer sentences than men. We can notice that women are perceived as more emotional and chaotic, but also as a person who cannot be more quiet and kindlier than men. When it comes to men, it is presented that they are more objective, talk more generally and in a more structured way than women. It proves the fact that men prefer to communicate in a more specific and balanced way than women. Another thing observed in this part of the questionnaire was the fact that different verbal and nonverbal signals are used during a conversation with a different target group. Respondents answered that during a conversation with a woman they usually use logical arguments and changing intonation as a verbal signal to make conversation easier, but also gestures and eye movement of the caller as a nonverbal signal. When it comes to conversation with man, respondents also chose using logical arguments, but in the second place was using simple words. From the nonverbal signals, respondents selected imaging the topic of conversation by using hands and clothing of the caller. Very rarely people used repetitions in a conversation with a man, which proves the fact that, if we want the man to understand us we should use logical arguments instead of repetitions which do not help us in any way.

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IDEALISED, SEXY AND *DISSOLUTE* – THE PORTRAYAL OF CONTEMPORARY WOMEN IN THE CONTEXT OF AMERICAN PORNOGRAPHIC MAGAZINES (ON THE EXAMPLE OF "PENTHOUSE[2]")

This paper provides an account of the representation of women in contemporary American pornographic magazines and investigates the role that *stereotypes* and *idealized cognitive models* play in determining how a *woman* – as a word and a concept – functions in the contemporary pornographic press. It is predominantly based on the assumption that the ICM of a woman is a metonymic model comprising several submodels. As a matter of fact, the ICM presented in the analysed material, actually does not have a complicated structure. We can assume that the "Penthouse" magazine clearly popularizes one kind of woman based mostly on the submodels such as **LOVE**[3] **AND SEX**, **BODY**, **PHYSICAL TRAITS** and **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES**[4] which take dominance over the others and lead to discriminatory assumptions and generalizations.

Keywords: man, woman, pornography, magazine, ICM.

1. INTRODUCTION

There is a vast number of things and phenomena in today's world that we can classify as significant, but substantially sex belongs to the very essentials. The intensity of the sex drive has a much bigger influence than most people are even aware of. There are some individuals for whom it is not an indispensable aspect of existence; some others think about sex-related occurrences practically all the time. When we take into consideration some magazines for men, it is easy to notice that a woman constitutes the core of their interests. The

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[2] "Penthouse" is a men's magazine founded by Bob Guccione, ranked among the group of pornographic magazines. It contains articles associated with urban lifestyle and various pornographic pictorials.

[3] It must be noted that the results presented in this study finally divide this particular submodel, as pornography relates only to sex.

[4] This article adopts the following typographic conventions: 1) bold capitals are used for the names of ICMs; 2) bold small capitals are used for the names of submodels; 3) capitals are used for abstract concepts; 4) italics are employed for the names of key terms; 5) bold italics are used for lexemes and names of lexical units; 6) single quotation marks are employed for explanations and definitions; 7) angles are used to present metonymic patterns.

image of women in the consciousness of a contemporary man and their role and position in Western culture is shaped not only by individual experience, but also by centuries-old collective experience, perpetuated by customs, religion, law and art. Nowadays, however, views about women are constantly influenced by the press, and are attributed with certain features along with their positive or negative valorisation[5]. As Gunter (2002) observes: "Media sex[6] has been accused of undermining social mores, promoting sexual promiscuity, the early onset of sexual behaviour and teenage pregnancy rates, and producing distorted male (and female) beliefs about female sexuality." A wide range of possibly detrimental, psychological and social consequences of constant exposure to media sex have been emphasised, hence the article considers the spread and prominence of stereotypes in pornographic magazines and their allegedly harmful effects that follow, since "although media sex is publicly criticised, it is also publicly consumed" (Gunter, 2002).

For the purpose of the analysis, 21 issues of the magazine "Penthouse" published from January 2016 to December 2017 were collected and thoroughly examined. The research procedure is simplified, and the focus is on tracking the encyclopedic knowledge[7] in the lexical layer. The collected linguistic material was limited to the lexeme ***woman*** (in singular or plural forms) omitting all its synonyms like ***girl***, ***female*** or ***chick*** which can also be detected in this kind of magazines. Importantly, it is believed here that the precise notion of an Idealised Cognitive Model, as proposed by Lakoff (1987), provides the best framework for a comprehensive description of the concept of WOMAN, as this proposal, despite its appealing character, contains a purported empirical basis and it cannot be easily rejected. Yet, it is of paramount importance to recognise the fact that although ICMs are in principle individual, they are shared within a given culture[8] and perpetuated by the contemporary media. In view of this, the aim of this small-scale study is to identify and analyse the potential submodels that appear in modern pornographic magazines and which contribute to the supposedly stereotypical and negative structure of the **WOMAN ICM** in Western culture.

2. PORNOGRAPHIC MAGAZINES

The word *pornography*[9] generally refers to sexually explicit images and words whose exclusive purpose is sexual arousal. Although criticised by various social circles, the development of technology in the last several years has upgraded pornography to a powerful and extremely pervasive form of art. It is no longer associated with dirty magazines, but rather with glossy and glamorous publications[10] filling store shelves. The apparent mechanism of

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[5] Sometimes implicitly, but very often consciously and deliberately.

[6] Gunter (2002) conducts the research on the depiction of sex in the mainstream mass media, such as film, television, video and magazines (also pornographic magazines), trying to discover the alleged effects that such content might have upon consumers.

[7] Encyclopedic knowledge is seen here as structured and arising in the specific context of its usage (see Langacker, 2008).

[8] On this issue consult Gibbs (1999) and Kövecses (2005).

[9] It is worth noting at the very beginning that the term *pornography* no longer conjures up images of a beautiful housewife engaged in a romantic relationship with a lonely neighbour. The Internet has significantly changed the content and perception of porn. Now, a great deal of the most easily accessible and popular forms of pornography contain meaningful amounts of humiliation, violence, and degradation of women. They are short, dynamic and predominantly focused on genitalia.

[10] One interesting thing about popular culture is that men's magazines and women's magazines often follow the same general formula. Men's magazines are mostly based on heavily eroticized images

reception of such kind of magazines assumes that the male reader acknowledges the linguistic image of women encountered in the magazine and starts to create their own picture in order to avoid the inconsistency between reality and what is presented in the contemporary pornographic press. In this way, the role of the media, which in the era of the information society still have an important share in shaping all social norms and values, is emphasised. They create and model reality as intended by the publisher. What is more, "The combination of 'babes' and booze is an unbeatable moneymaker" (Cheney, 2004), which makes the pornographic market continuously lucrative.

It should be emphasised, however, that for many, pornography is not an artistic act or erotic message, but rather is completely devoid of aesthetic and cognitive value. Its essence depends on the main function, which is sexual stimulation. Pornography is widely criticized, in particular, by feminist circles. Their conception of pornography is very broad[11], yet very often it concerns some sexual situations in which the image of a woman is based on subordination and instrumentalisation. Środa (2009) points out that it builds and strengthens the stereotype of a woman as a servant towards men; it gives permission to oppress women and to promote violence against them. The whole issue is not merely a linguistic quibble, on the contrary, it constitutes the crux of women's existence in the patriarchal world. Kappeler (1994) further notices: "Women in our culture have been seen primarily as bodies – sexual bodies designed for sex and reproduction (though very useful in productive labour too)". For this reason, male magazines, especially erotic ones, can pejoratively shape the image of a contemporary woman.

3. SOME THEORETICAL PREREQUISITES

Human categorization constitutes one of the major, and most significant issues in Cognitive Linguistics, simply because the ability to categorize different phenomena is an essential part of cognition. Categorization might be seen as an unconscious, automatic process, yet the whole issue seems to be more complicated. How people judge and establish different categories has been discussed since time immemorial and it dates as far back as to Aristotle[12], whose views on categorisation survived unchanged for many years, until they became disproven by Rosch (cf. 1973, 1977, 1978), who proposed a model of categorisation based on the concept of prototype[13]. Another meaningful reconsideration of the prototype view emerges in 1987 in George Lakoff's book *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*. Especially the theory of idealised cognitive models[14] (Lakoff, 1987), appears to be one of the most valuable applications of the findings concerning prototype effects in categorisation.

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of women. Interestingly, women's magazines are sometimes centred around heavily eroticized images of women as well.

[11] It might refer to many different aspects, from 'soft core' celebrity pics, where a famous person chooses to have some nude pictures, all the way to hard core videos of violent and illegal acts.

[12] The Aristotelian view holds that categories can be defined in terms of a conjunction of the necessary and sufficient features that every member of a particular category has to exhibit. Such requirements not only imply that categories have clear and impregnable boundaries, but also that all the members belonging to a particular category have equal status (Taylor, 1995).

[13] The prototype theory assumes that every category has two types of members: the prototype and several other members, which are less central, and which are related to the prototype (the most typical and the most prominent member of a category) in a motivated way.

[14] Henceforth ICM.

As stated above, Lakoff's view of categorization[15] is focused on Idealised Cognitive Models which can be understood as conventionalised patterns of belief used in the process of understanding (Lakoff, 1987). His proposal concerning ICMs is strongly grounded in the empirical findings of cognitive psychology on prototype effects (Rosch, 1978). Obviously, the outside world is full of various (often conflicting) signals of which humans are trying to make sense; stereotypes help us perform this task. In many cases, when one has to deal with such complicated concepts as WOMAN, one simple ICM is not enough to define their meaning. Therefore, Lakoff coined the structure known as the *cluster model*, which involves combining several cognitive models into one complex cluster that is "psychologically more basic than the models taken individually" (Lakoff, 1987). As a result, the semantic categories of the concepts of WOMAN should be described not as one single ICM, but rather as a cluster consisting of many different aspects that best define the category in question. For example, a woman is not only a person who cares about clothes and external appearance, or one who stays at home as a housewife, taking care of children and her husband. The understanding of the concept of WOMAN requires reference to a cluster of several ICMs such as *family model* ('a person who is the main caregiver'), *sex model* ('the female who enjoys her sex life'), or *physical traits model* ('a person who cares about looks, weight and diet'). Therefore, it must be emphasised that stereotypes (and ICMs in general) are holistic cognitive structures which make our lives easier by lending some coherence and order (Hogg, Vaughan, 2002). To put it differently, stereotypes offer an economy of thinking by reducing the cognitive effort necessary to interpret reality.

Summarizing, the ICMs not only contribute to our comprehension of a given culture, but they also reflect the social values and beliefs that define cultural groups. For this reason, an idealized cognitive model constitutes a cognitive structure which is idealized so as to represent reality from a particular perspective. ICMs offer a mental representation of an area of experience that does not usually match reality and in this way, they are able to shape the way human beings perceive the world. Kövecses (2005) notices that the meaning of a word is culture-dependent, inherently subjective, and depends solely on the kind of mental representation people use to comprehend it. Similarly, the image of gender is motivated by objective properties of objects as well as by subjective factors, e.g. the point of view of a given magazine. A set of such factors seems to create a stereotype that contains not only descriptive but also axiological contents, such as values norms or personal patterns. The **WOMAN ICM** presented and analysed below can be perceived as a conceptual network (cluster) that consists of one general definer: a woman, and several related prototypical associations (the network built by submodels). Once the network of the concept WOMAN is activated, we obtain a whole set of propositions that are neatly arranged according to their degree of centrality. In this way, the source of prototype effects is created. In order to obtain a full picture of this phenomenon, the examples excerpted from the magazines were divided into ten submodels[16], corresponding to the content of the magazine, and several dozen aspects that allow a more precise systematization of the material.

[15] For a better elucidation of the categorization process from the cognitive perspective see e.g. Evans and Green (2006).

[16] When determining the names of submodels and aspects constituting their further and more detailed developments, I mainly used the work of Spychała-Reiss (2009), though with some changes and new details selected for the purpose of the analysis.

4. THE ANALYSIS

The further part of this article contains an outline of the most common aspects identified in the analysis which can be assigned to various submodels belonging to and creating the whole cognitive model of **WOMAN**, such as **BODY**, **FASHION AND CLOTHES**, **PHYSICAL TRAITS**, **PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES**, **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES**, **WORK AND EDUCATION, LEISURE**, **SOCIAL LIFE**, **LOVE AND SEX**, and **FAMILY LIFE**. As one might expect, the list of submodels discussed below cannot be seen as closed and complete. However, it is strongly believed here that this account exhaustively covers the areas describing modern women, at least within Western civilisation. One of the negative aspects of the theory of ICMs is that in media discourse there is a predominant tendency towards strong idealisation and stereotyping of women in popular magazines (also those with pornographic content). This demonstrates the cognitive structuring of reality in the human mind – the submodels such as **LOVE AND SEX** and **PHYSICAL TRAITS** form the idealised prototype of the category in question[17]. The positive aspect, on the other hand, allows the existence of many submodels which reflect the views of society precisely and from a much wider perspective.

4.1. Submodels and their Internal Division

Obviously, some of the submodels are more productive than others. Although the percentage distribution may be helpful, a simple table presenting the quantitative data in detail should be both supportive and accommodating in comprehending the material.

Table 1. The number of excerpts found in "Penthouse" divided into submodels of the **WOMAN ICM**

No.	Submodels of **WOMAN ICM**	Excerpts
1.	**BODY**	17
2.	**FASHION AND CLOTHES**	23
3.	**PHYSICAL TRAITS**	66
4.	**PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES**	25
5.	**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES**	109
6.	**WORK AND EDUCATION**	20
7.	**LEISURE**	20
8.	**SOCIAL LIFE**	19
9.	**LOVE AND SEX**	122
10.	**FAMILY LIFE**	45
TOTAL		466

A detailed description of the collected language material is presented below. Excerpts containing the lexeme ***woman*** have not only been assigned to specific submodels, but they have been further divided into more detailed subcategories that helped in the process of categorization[18].

[17] The most represented submodels of the complex cluster usually characterise the most typical representative of a category, that is the prototype.

[18] It should be underlined that some of the examples, due to the fact that they concern different thematic areas, have been assigned to more than one thematic category, simply because it is not always

Table 2. The number of excerpts found in "Penthouse", divided into submodels of the **WOMAN ICM** and their internal division

No.	Submodels of **WOMAN ICM**	Number of excerpts	Aspect covered by particular submodels	Number of excerpts
1.	**BODY**	17	a) hair b) face, skin, body c) breasts	2 15 10
2.	**FASHION AND CLOTHES**	23	a) clothes and shoes b) elegance, good look	11 12
3.	**PHYSICAL TRAITS**	66	a) attractiveness, beauty b) bodybuilding, weight, diet c) age d) cosmetics and hygiene	50 1 12 3
4.	**PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES**	25	a) food, cooking b) sleeping c) crying d) death e) health, illnesses f) pregnancy, fertility, abortion g) pain, physical suffering	1 0 0 1 8 13 2
5.	**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES**	109	a) fear, confusion, stress b) loneliness c) sadness, bad mood, depression d) shame e) joy, enthusiasm, happiness f) thinking, overthinking, wondering g) dreams, desires h) self-analysis, criticism i) intelligence j) life experience k) mental fatigue l) activity, resourcefulness, strength m) passivity, helplessness, apathy, feeling of discrimination n) feeling of freedom, independence, emancipation o) guilt p) responsibility q) self-esteem, confidence, sense of security r) mental health, feeling of abuse s) support, advice, sharing t) violence, aggression	3 0 1 0 0 3 3 4 2 2 0 18 28 12 1 0 7 4 10 11

easy to identify the submodel emerging from a specific phrase. For this reason, apart from clear cases that involve the activation of one particular submodel, there are some elements of the encyclopedic knowledge of the lexeme ***woman*** that require the activation of more than one submodel.

Table 2 (cont.). The number of excerpts found in "Penthouse", divided into submodels of the **WOMAN ICM** and their internal division

No.	Submodels of **WOMAN ICM**	Number of excerpts	Aspect covered by particular submodels	Number of excerpts
6.	**WORK AND EDUCATION**	20	a) promotion, career b) work, profession, work environment c) education d) earnings, economic situation, position	8 5 3 4
7.	**LEISURE**	20	a) holidays b) alcohol, drugs c) parties, social meetings d) sport, games	0 13 0 7
8.	**SOCIAL LIFE**	19	a) shopping b) community, social and political activity	1 18
9.	**LOVE AND SEX**	122	a) sexual techniques and behaviours b) betrayal, divorce c) contraceptives d) prostitution e) pornography	94 2 3 8 15
10.	**FAMILY LIFE**	45	a) marriage, relations, love b) children, upbringing c) family d) housekeeping	40 4 1 0

4.2. Metonymic Model

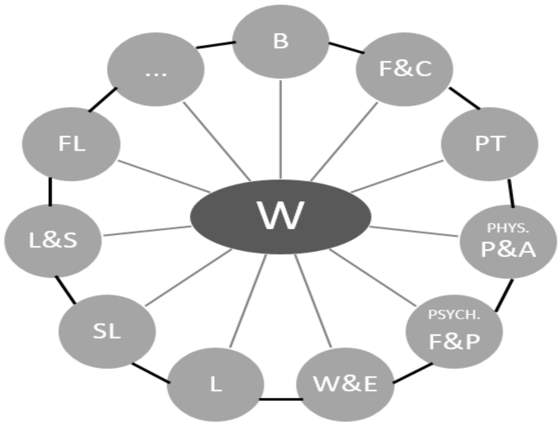
Metonymy is defined as "a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain, or ICM" (Kövecses, Radden, 1998: 39). This view suggests that humans acquire access to a mental activity via another mental activity. According to the methodological assumptions undertaken here, the stereotypes of WOMAN can be best described as a metonymic ICM in which the prototypical member of a given category stands for the whole category (hence <PART FOR WHOLE>) or a particular characteristic feature describes and stands for the whole category, in compliance with cultural expectations (Lakoff, 1987). The activation of a particular submodel provides access to the whole ICM. In other words, it can be stated that such a submodel serves as a vehicle through which the target (that is, the **WOMAN ICM**) can be accessed. For this reason, metonymy may constitute a typical cognitive mechanism involved in the formation of a stereotypical model of a woman. Indeed, it seems logical to assume that the target concept is that of WOMAN. The vehicle, on the other hand, can be best characterised as a particular ATTRIBUTE or a PERSON possessing those attributes, which inevitably suggests the frequent metonymic patterns presented in the analysis:

- <ATTRIBUTE FOR WOMAN>,
- <ATTRIBUTE POSSESSOR FOR WOMAN>.

4.2.1. The structure of the WOMAN ICM

As suggested earlier, for more complex notions, one should expect to find a cluster of models, hence it can be best described as the **WOMAN ICM** which consists of a cluster of metonymic models. The phenomena and experiences involved in this cluster can be graphically presented as follows:

WOMAN ICM



WOMAN ICM
W – Woman
SUBMODELS of WOMAN ICM
B – Body
F&C – Fashion and clothes
PT – Physical traits
PHYS. P&A – Physical processes and activities
PSYCH. F&P – Psychological features and processes
W&E – Work and education
L – Leisure
SL – Social Life
L&S – Love and sex
FL – Family life
… – other submodels

Fig. 1. A simplified graphic representation of the **WOMAN ICM** in "Penthouse"

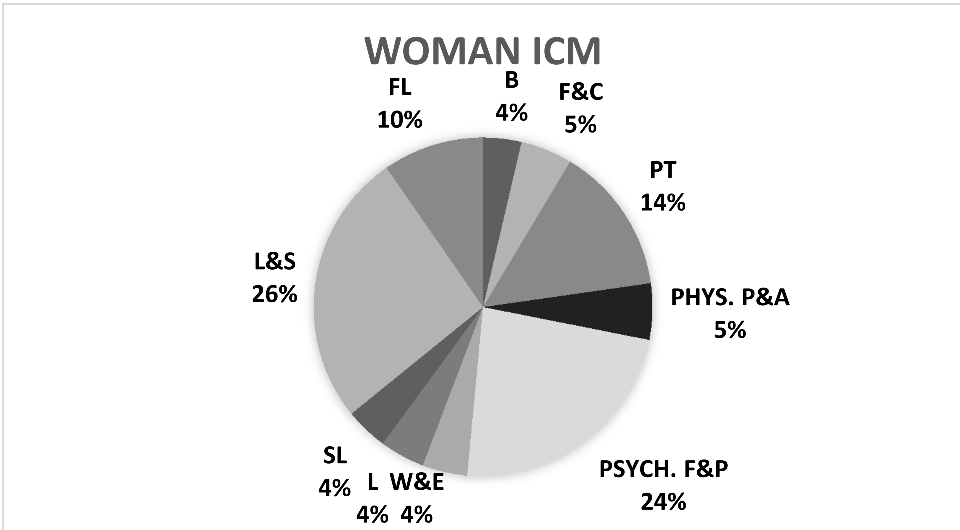


Fig. 2. Productivity of submodels of the **WOMAN ICM**

The larger inner element represents the concept WOMAN; hence it constitutes the core, from which a number of extended submodels, represented by smaller outer circles emerge. The smaller outer circles (that is, the submodels) are obviously connected to the central point, but also to one another. Thus, the information that a woman cares about her appearance may activate other beliefs about her as a member of this group, concerning for instance education or sex life. Using more technical terminology, the submodel **BODY** that belongs to the **WOMAN ICM** provides a point of access to the whole network (cf. Langacker, 1987).

Proceeding further, let us now look at the different poles of femininity and consider how much the image of a woman presented in the pornographic press is subjected to unfair simplifications and stereotypes and what possible implications such depictions may have.

4.3. In-depth Analysis

The lexeme *woman* appears in the analysed issues of the "Penthouse" magazine up to 466 times. It seems that the **WOMAN ICM** is strongly dominated by features such as **BODY, PHYSICAL TRAITS, PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** and **LOVE AND SEX.** These four submodels demonstrate the way in which pornographic media depict female gender[19]. Firstly, women are merely sexualised objects recognised by their sexy and alluring appearance, which falsely implies that men, recognised by other characteristics, are the cultural standard and women are unimportant or they serve specific purposes. Secondly, pornographic magazines create the impression that most women lead a lush erotic life and sexual desire is one of the most important exponents of femininity. Thirdly, depictions of the relationships between men and women emphasise their fleeting and affair-oriented attitude; they can also normalise violence against women. Each of these themes will be considered separately in the following sections.

4.3.1. LOVE AND SEX Submodel

As is apparent from the above tables, women are clearly defined in "Penthouse" in terms of the **LOVE AND SEX** submodel – the lexeme appears in this connection 122 times, whereas as many as 94 examples refer to the *sexual techniques and behaviours* category. For this reason, women seem to be primarily perceived in terms of their sexual encounters. They are presented as sexually active and open to new experiences. In addition, such entertainment format depicts females as easy sexual conquests whose principal role is to gratify male sexual needs. Such portrayals, it is argued, can send the wrong messages about women and their sexuality. The claims like:

> "We worked up a good rhythm quickly and she started to buck me like a wild woman… rocking the headboard…*thump thump thump thump thump thump*." "Penthouse" 9/2017.

> "Normally, I would consider watching a beautiful woman masturbate to be an amazing moment, however, I was more bewildered." "Penthouse" 7–8/2016.

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[19] What has to be stressed at this point is the fact that the particular traits and dimensions identified in the study should not be seen as limited to the submodel to which they have been assigned, but rather they should be interpreted as providing access to the whole network. They would obviously also show different distribution in different kinds of magazines. In this case, however, they mostly carry a negative axiological load and gender-related stereotypes.

describe women as obsessed with sex, and willing to engage in any kind of sexual act with any partner. It further creates the impression that they are easy-going and easily accessible for sex. What is more, they make use of various sexual toys, which makes their erotic lifestyle even more adventurous:

> "Sexciter makes women hot and desire sex." "Penthouse" 2/2016.

> "After these developments, it didn't take long for the vibrator to find its way into women's rooms all over America. Women, it seemed, could not get enough of this revolutionary new 'treatment'." "Penthouse" 4/2016.

The image of an always sexually willing woman causes some concerns and might contribute to mistaken perception among men of female sexuality and their allegedly daring attitudes in their intimate contacts:

> "A blowjob a day is one way I take care of him. In fact, that's something every woman should be doing for her man." "Penthouse" 4/2017.

In this way, it might lead to unwanted, unusual, and sometimes even abnormal sexual activities[20]. Pornography can sometimes dominate heterosexual men's sexual encounters with women. Frequent exposure to pornographic content may be associated with greater reliance on and preference for the pornographic script during interpersonal intimate encounters. Many men appreciate women who have knowledge and experience in the erotic sphere, which is confirmed by the following example:

> "Praise to the women who taught us to be good in bed." "Penthouse" 11/2017.

In other words, pornography is not merely a fantasy for men; it frequently shapes how they engage in intimate behaviours. Furthermore, magazines such as "Penthouse" cultivate a particular set of beliefs about the relative dominance and power of men over women in society:

> "This is the stigma around sex, and it's a problem. Why can't a woman be sexually active, talk about her sex life, and at the same time be with the mayor doing (community) things?" "Penthouse" 11/2017.

While the present research is yet not able to provide a strong proof of this phenomenon, it could be suggested that pornography is strongly correlated with factors widely recognized as gender inequality and hostile attitudes towards women. It actually feeds a culture that views women as sexual objects, unprepared to occupy high political positions, whose lush erotic lifestyle can lead to social exclusion and degradation. Women are best described in reference to the submodel **LOVE AND SEX** (by far the most productive model) and the metonymic associations like <SEXUALLY ACTIVE PERSON FOR WOMAN>,

[20] It is often claimed that such content can contribute to difficulties in saying no in real life what might inevitably lead to rapes, as pornography fuels some criminal behaviour and practises (see e.g. Gunter, 2002).

<VOLUPTUOUS PERSON FOR WOMAN>, <ALLURING PERSON FOR WOMAN> frequently appear.

4.3.2. PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES Submodel

The **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** submodel is also very productive when it comes to women, as it emerges from as many as 109 excerpts (24% of the material collected). While it cannot be predicted with complete certainty that such a model is also productive in all types of magazines for men, it points to the fact that the men who read "Penthouse" are interested in the feminine psyche, their principles of functioning and thinking. The occurrence may be illustrated by the following descriptions and statements.

The media have presented two images of women: good women and bad ones. These polar opposites are often juxtaposed against each other to dramatize differences in the consequences that befall good and bad women. Bad women are attractive, focused on a professional career and successful in their social and erotic lives. This type definitely dominates pornographic magazines and is unquestionably preferred by their readership. Most females are therefore represented as hard, cold, aggressive; hence, all of the things that a good woman is not supposed to be, which inevitably creates another powerful metonymic stereotype <BITCH FOR WOMAN>:

"Every woman has a high-maintenance bitch inside her." "Penthouse" 11/2017.

"I really like strong women." "Penthouse" 1/2016.

What is more, some articles in "Penthouse" surprisingly encourage them to take the initiative and free themselves from traditional roles and limitations:

> "We hope that this pictorial serves as an inspiration to all women to raise their middle finger to any and all who would try to hold them back." "Penthouse" 4/2017.
>
> "Why do you think so many men are still afraid of strong, powerful women?" "Penthouse" 4/2017.
>
> "Gone are the days of the *Titanic*, when men stayed behind while the women and children were rescued. Soon, women may have to forcibly take up arms alongside their male counterparts and, like them, go down with the ship. "Penthouse" 10/2016.

Looking from the opposite perspective, good women are pretty, deferential and caring for others. They are frequently subordinate to men, usually cast as victims, angels and loyal wives and helpmates. They also exemplify traditional stereotypes of femininity such as passivity, subservience; they are not too able, too powerful, or too confident. They look up to the man and depend on him, waiting for the proverbial rescue:

"I love the feeling of rescuing a woman from a bad situation." "Penthouse" 11/2016.

Subjection is also a typical feature assigned to a woman and it is strongly rooted in people's consciousness, which can easily be demonstrated by the rich material. It may result from the working of the <INSECURE PERSON FOR WOMAN> metonymy. In the sexual sphere, women are usually presented as passive, objectified sexual objects, aimed at satisfying masculine needs, while men are assigned the role of often polygamous conquerors and undisputed rulers of women[21]:

> "Men do not communicate about women – a man's sexual conquest of a woman – like this." "Penthouse" 1–2/2017.
>
> "Sure, of course, men objectify women, usually when men gather at a man-event." "Penthouse" 1–2/2017.

In this way, attractive women are perceived as sexual conquests to be won and flaunted in front of other men. To a large extent, such sentences reflect the patriarchal order of the world in which women constitute a second, vulnerable, worse sex with a whole range of flaws and vices. What is more, the feminine logic is definitely seen as negative and dismissive.

> "They are just offering them to women who aren't good at parking." "Penthouse" 7/8/2016.

Another interesting application of this idea is that women are difficult to understand. The stereotype emerges in the following example:

> "Women are complicated." "Penthouse" 11/2017.

One has to bear in mind, however, that aspects such as lust, licentiousness, passivity, helplessness, aggression and many more, are not the only labels with assigned semantic encyclopedic knowledge that appear in relation to women. The categorization of females made in the magazine under study reveals a much larger number of associations, which will be analysed in the following part.

4.3.3. BODY and PHYSICAL TRAITS Submodels

Pornographic magazines are often seen as a means of sexual expression, especially because female bodies have historically been rigidly controlled by restrictive sexual norms and practices. The contemporary media offer an accessible way to seemingly resist and challenge such restrictions. However, as the pornography market is dominated by an industry with economic interests in the control of women's bodies, it seems that its main role is simple disposal of other women's bodies for male pleasure and profit.

Because pornography can be treated as a specific medium that spotlights the body and often utilizes women that conform to cultural appearance ideals, the magazines such as "Penthouse" can be considered a potential source of appearance-related pressure. They continuously disseminate images of bodies adhering to inflexible and unrealistic appearance standards, and individuals cannot escape these images due to their omnipresence[22]:

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[21] That seems to confirm the existence of the metonymic associations: <CONQUEROR FOR MAN>, <CONQUERED FOR WOMAN>.

[22] Media images of perfect bodies not only inform women how they are supposed to look but also what kind of girlfriends and wives they are supposed to be (see Gunter, 2002).

"Who doesn't like nude, beautiful women?" "Penthouse" 2/2016.

"As with every issue, though, everything revolves around the photographs of beautiful women." "Penthouse" 2/2016.

"They are very natural and I think it makes a woman more beautiful and sexy." "Penthouse" 1–2/2016.

"I turned around to see a gorgeous, raven-haired woman beaming at me." "Penthouse" 9/2017.

Clearly, the representation of the female body in pornography creates a normative ideal of how a woman should look to be attractive. These superficial attributes are very often impossible to reach naturally. Moreover, in addition to an immaculate appearance, a modern woman is to be attractive and sexy (50 excerpts):

"Yeah, yeah, so she's been named 'Sexiest Woman Alive' by *Esquire* – twice." "Penthouse" 1–2/2017.

"On the first day of my tutorial, I walked into the classroom and saw the hottest woman I had ever seen." "Penthouse" 5/2017.

The pornography industry does not emancipate women from restrictive sexual practices; instead it repackages sexual control as a commercial product and markets it to women as a form of sexual choice. Thus pornographic magazines present dissonant messages – pornography is marketed as sexual empowerment, but the content is violent and dehumanizing, particularly to the women who are in the industry, which is also confirmed by the phrase:

"Many moons ago, I was in Rio de Janeiro, where the local economy depends almost entirely on the exploitation of its most abundant natural resource: young, gorgeous women." "Penthouse" 9/2017.

The featuring of women merely as 'sex objects' in male magazines is suported by the examples below, which consider the women's body as the main object of interest, and feature female body parts more than the entire individual and more than their faces[23]. A woman is often symbolised as Barbie, and represented with a thin body, blond hair and large breasts:

"Standing before me was a blonde, blue-eyed young woman with a Barbie doll figure that defied belief." "Penthouse" 1/2016.

"She was by far the most attractive woman that I had ever been with – amazing body, flawless tits, and save for a cute little lacy thong, she was naked … in my bed." "Penthouse" 1–2/2017.

[23] The lexeme *woman* appears in this submodel 17 times, and mostly in connection to breasts and bottom.

"You have the physical beauty, obviously. I like a woman with nice thighs, a nice ass, and that has poise. It's fun when I can banter with a woman and talk shit." "Penthouse" 10/2017.

"She is my idea of what a beautiful, sexy woman should look like: long blonde hair and huge jugs." "Penthouse" 11/2017.

Such a multitude of examples testifies to the objectification of the female body. Very often men's magazines refer to particular parts of a woman's body in an extremely negative and degrading manner, which is evident from the statements below:

"We love it when a woman's brain is as big and juicy as her ass." "Penthouse" 12/2017.

"I prefer a woman with a big backyard." "Penthouse" 4/2016.

"He looks at a woman as one may look at a bunch of Lego pieces. A pile of 'its.' Things. Bits and pieces." "Penthouse" 4/2016.

To summarise, the **BODY and PHYSICAL TRAITS** submodels seem to be productive and occupy an essential position in reference to women. A conclusion that emerges from the aforementioned findings is that a woman appears to be perceived above all in terms of her sexuality and physical appearance (17 examples fall within the scope of the **BODY** submodel hence hair, face, skin, breasts and body in general; whereas 66 excerpts lie within the scope of the **PHYSICAL TRAITS** submodel, therefore including features associated with attractiveness, beauty and age[24]). Having surveyed this issue from various angles, it can be suggested that the strongest <u>gender</u> <u>stereotypes</u> for <u>women</u> to be found in "Penthouse" magazine are those that allow them to be perceived as sexualised objects subjected to men and created for their pleasure. But although this collection cannot give the full flavour of the contemporary image of every woman on the planet, it depicts one frame of reference according to which millions on women are judged and evaluated by some men.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Of the many influences on how we view men and women, the print media are one of the most pervasive and one of the most powerful ones. Woven throughout our daily lives, they possess the power to insinuate their messages into our consciousness. Furthermore, many images of the sexes presented and popularised by the contemporary pornographic media perpetuate unrealistic, stereotypical, and limiting perceptions.

Firstly, a woman depicted in "Penthouse" magazine possesses an attractive body (17 excerpts – **BODY** submodel) and is interested in clothes and fashion (23 excerpts – **FASHION AND CLOTHES** submodel). She is beautiful, young (66 excerpts – **PHYSICAL TRAITS** submodel), and leads a lively social life, goes on dates and parties and has a wide circle of

[24] Hence the attributive functions of SEXPOT and BARBIE stand metonymically for the whole category of WOMAN (<SEXPOT FOR WOMAN>, <BARBIE FOR WOMAN>).

friends. In addition, she tries to be active, resourceful and fight for independence (**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** submodel – activity, resourcefulness, strength, 18 excerpts; feeling of freedom, independence, emancipation, 12 excerpts), but sometimes she struggles with various problems related to her psychological wellbeing. She frequently reflects on herself (**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** submodel – passivity, helplessness, apathy, feeling of discrimination, 28 excerpts) and experiences physical and psychological violence and abuse (**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** submodel – violence, aggression, 11 excerpts).

Secondly, the common narrative of femininity in the pornographic magazines under scrutiny is the one that a woman can be successful but at the same time sexy and alluring. She is usually young, slim, provocatively dressed and willing to engage in sexual interaction with men. A different kind of woman is either not depicted at all, or diminished, ridiculed and featured as a victim. As Wykes and Gunter imply (2005: 96): "Women are not newsworthy unless sexualized". Magazines such as "Penthouse" provide female bodies for men. They convey the message that female bodies are objects to be used for their enjoyment, and the world is organized for their erotic pleasure. Biology is a very important element of this type of approach to women. The submodel **LOVE AND SEX** seems to be the most extensive and the most productive one, with as many as 122 excerpts identified.

Thirdly, the aforementioned features that have been traced, of course, do not exhaust all of the attributes that can be assigned to women, which is why particular subsets are open. However, it is believed here that this account covers the major criteria for female differentiation, at least within Western civilisation, and it seems that they can be treated as a set of characteristics, consisting of a stereotypical image of a woman in Western culture. What is also worth emphasising is that the magazines seem to justify men creating a particular overgeneralized portrayal of women, which ultimately leads to the formulation of certain sexist stereotypes of what a woman is expected to be. It furthermore contributes to the linguistic oppression of the feminine gender but also has baleful effects on the struggle for gender equality. It is believed that language plays an extremely significant role in stereotypes. Its main side-effect, transmitted and maintained within a given society, is an oversimplified image of females.

As a conclusion it can be stated that the American pornographic press promotes a number of cognitive submodels mapped onto complex clusters that seem to degrade female roles. There is a general tendency towards negative representation of women in the form of prototypes that embody submodels such as **LOVE AND SEX**, **PHYSICAL TRAITS** and **BODY.** Admittedly, the whole rich content of the stereotypical ICM of a woman is modelled from the perspective of one magazine in which the lexeme appears. It largely depends on the adopted model of reality and knowledge about the world, but also on the ideological orientation of the authors and their intention. Individual domains and models are the effect of these subjective factors. The stereotype of the woman reconstructed in this article constitutes a linguistic and cultural view of reality. The findings are predominantly hypothetical, and the main aim of this article was to shed some light on the interaction between social and cognitive factors related to the perception of women in pornographic magazines (here "Penthouse")[25]. The analysis of linguistic data allows us to develop a practical model of

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[25] The conclusions stemming from the above analysis should be viewed as tentative and certainly not final and binding. The collected material is only a fraction of what can be found in many other magazines, both for women and for men.

WOMAN that is useful for the formulation of some plausible interpretations of linguistic data that appear in this sector of the magazine industry.

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THE PROBLEM OF UNPAID WORK IN HOUSEHOLD IN THE CONTEXT OF EVOLUTION OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIOECONOMIC THOUGH

The issue of valuation of home work performed in a household in the context of its remuneration raises a lot of controversy. Unpaid work done for a household by members of the society, often in society, is not considered valuable at all. As it appears, however, it is also a kind of limitation of basic human rights regarding remuneration for the work done or the right to rest. The aim of the article is to stimulate reflection on the issue of unpaid work and its role in the contemporary economy, as well as to indicate the directions of changes in the approach of economists in the treatment of unpaid work in households.

Keywords: household, unpaid work, critical economy, socioeconomic though.

1. INTRODUCTION

The contemporary economy emphasizes the lack of due consideration of the role of the household in socio-economic development. This charge applies not only to sociological but also economic frameworks. In households, care and home work (paid and unpaid) are invisible and undervalued despite the fact that they are the basis for the development of economies and societies. The household, after all, is the "creator" of human capital. In this context, it is emphasized that in a market economy, putting as a priority the criterion of high productivity rather than "creating" human capital contradicts the ideas of humanism. Unpaid work recognized as unpaid work is rarely seen as important in socio-economic development or as an activity that helps satisfy social needs in the broadly understood sphere of services.

The problem of unpaid work in a household is a multidimensional phenomenon. It can be considered from various research perspectives. The most common aspect is the aspect of the division of roles in the household. Here the problem is treated as an effect of the existence of rules defining the relations of men and women in social life. In the new household economy, research more and more often refers to the microeconomic level, including the division of roles and unpaid work of women.

The aim of the article is to stimulate reflection on the issue of unpaid work and its role in the modern economy, as well as to indicate the directions of changes in the approach of economists in the treatment of unpaid work in households.

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The sphere of the household, and in particular of unpaid work in this farm (reproductive and protective), and in general its socio-economic self-agency, until recently was not at all the issues considered within the framework of economic sciences. The sphere of the household, and in particular of unpaid work in this farm (reproductive and protective), and in general its socio-economic efficiency, until recently was not at all the issues considered within the framework of economic sciences.

Contrary to the fact that in historical terms in the household his members have always worked for him, this work was completely invisible to economists (Szwarc, Żarnowska, 2000). However, this approach has fundamentally changed, as evidenced by the evolution of modern economic thought.

Unpaid work can be any kind of work provided free of charge, which has no formal basis (defined in the applicable legal system), from which no mandatory burdens are paid (*Compare the causes…*, 2008). The performance of unpaid work is considered an area of private agreements between household members, and therefore involves compliance with obligations arising from the nature of its provision, is voluntary, selfless or enforced by mechanisms of reciprocity.

2. AN UNPAID WORK IN FEMINIST TREND – EVOLUTION APPROACH

In the 1960s and 1970s, for the first time, the issue of the working environment, which is a household, was formulated, focusing on the specifics of the work of people in this household (but in particular only those who do not work professionally). Earlier, the attention of social scientists was focused solely on the budgets of working time of economically active people. Such an approach meant that the phenomenon of work in the household became even more invisible, and did not require any change or scientific recognition. It is worth noting that the first attempts to price household work by Polish researchers, such as A. Hodoly, L. Zienkowski or L. Szczerbińska, were undertaken only at the end of the 1970s and in the 1980s (Łapniewska, 2019).

It is worth noting that economics, despite being part of the social sciences, for many years overlooked these important social aspects in research models and methods. They were based primarily on mathematics, which was to determine the scientific objectivity of this discipline. In the conducted research, the issues of the human psyche, identity, historical context and cultural circle were not taken into account, which strongly influenced adopted principles of management in a given place and time (Cagatay, Elson, 2000).

Modern economics is an interdisciplinary trend, combining economics with elements of sociology, political science, anthropology, psychology and other related sciences. The subject of the article refers mainly to feminist currents related to neoclassical economics and the so-called critical economy (Elson, Jain, 2011). However, they are characterized by a different approach. Neoclassical economics refers mainly to the situation of women in the labor market and inequalities in the professional space (it is connected with the concepts ie: glass ceiling, sticky floor or pay gap), but it does not question the assumptions of the neoliberal system itself. Meanwhile, the critical economy[2] emphasizes the lack of consideration of the role of women and their care and home work (paid and unpaid) in the current macroeconomic framework, despite the fact that they form the basis for the development of

[2] The trends of critical economy include radical economics represented by N. Folbre, H. Hartmann and A. Picchio, and institutional economics headed by the first Nobel Prize winner in economics E. Ostrom, and A. Jennings.

economies and societies. In addition, this trend shows that these works are invisible and undervalued. According to her, categories based on mathematical modeling used by orthodox trends in economics are too narrow to present a full picture of phenomena taking place in the economy, especially those of a socio-economic nature.

As indicated in the introduction, until recently, work in the household remained beyond the interest of the mainstream of social sciences, including economics. Homework included what unfinished work became only the main area of interest in the so-called feminist economists who used analysis tools drawn from neoclassical economics (Dijkstra, Plantenga, 2003). Some of the researchers (Ferber, Nelson, 1993) concluded that the development of orthodox theory, based on microeconomic principles, showing social reality using mathematical tools, is insufficient. They indicated that in the scientific discourse of economics and in macro-economic systems of measuring the potential of the economy, only the activities of market economy entities are disseminated and analyzed. Therefore, activities performed as part of households excluded them from the beginning from theoretical approaches of economics. The important justification of the socio-economic role of households was not taken into account, especially that without their paid or unpaid work, mainly of a caring nature, not only enterprises but also the entire economy could not function (Łapniewska, 2019).

In the classical economics tradition there is a division into the so-called production and non-productive work. The former is performed on the basis of an employment relationship and is referred to as "productive", the other is work for the benefit of the household. This division also applies to remuneration for performing these works. The production work is carried out for a fee, while work for the household free. This puts the household in which most of the so-called unproductive works are performed, in a situation of marginalization in socio-economic life. A wide range of activities performed in a household is treated as resulting from family roles, and therefore natural. These activities are generally defined as duties and not as household work.

To broaden the concept of productive labor with reproductive labor contributed especially the two economic trends: the trend of radical economics and the trend of institutional economics. Although in today's economy there are different approaches to the unpaid work in the household, it can be noticed the compatibility of them on several fundamental points of departure[3]. It is worth noting that the common point of reference, especially for the critical trends in economics, were strictly defined essential assumptions and postulates. Proposals are aimed at redefining the work beyond the definition of only production work, and thus treating it more broadly, that is, as a caring, reproductive or emotional work. It is also important to treat unpaid housework and care as the basis of all socio-economic systems and to include them in macroeconomic analyzes. The consequence of this approach is to place at the heart of the considerations people connected with each other and dependent on each other, not an isolated individual (Gideon, 1999). There is also important the analysis of the relationship between the formal economy or the market as a mechanism of monetary exchange and the care economy, where people's lives are maintained, as well as barter, for their own needs or for the natural economy.

It is emphasized that it is necessary to take into account the perspective of social reproduction, i.e. the biological reproduction of life, as well as the reproduction of culture (inter

[3] It is worth noting that the common point of reference, especially for the critical trends in economics, were strictly defined essential assumptions and postulates.

alia by socialization) and the economic role of social reproduction in creating added value (*Compare…*, 2006). It is important to point out that human activity is important. Therefore, not only economic results should be evaluated, but also processes. It also means questioning power and unequal access to it (Albelda, 2002).

Attention should also be paid to assessing the relationship between the material dimension of life and social development, demographic determinants, social institutions, such as the market or family, as well as the development of scientific economic thought in these areas and its practical effects. It seems important to analyze programs based on neo-liberal foundations, in terms of their social effects, as well as a set of assumptions in conducting economic and social policy by states as well as by supranational organizations (Robeyns, 2014). In turn, the adoption as a starting point that economic success should be measured by the well-being and the quality of people's lives is currently a priority. This approach suggests that it should be related to the distribution of income and wealth, personal rights and freedoms and the satisfaction of heterogeneous human needs (Aslaksen, Flaatten, Koren, 1999). In addition, it is important to recognize the importance of your values. In this respect, it is emphasized that ethical opinions are justified (Beneria, 2003; Robeyns, 2003; Nussbaum, 2003; Łapniewska, 2017), unavoidable and necessary in economic analyzes. These priorities should also combine the interdisciplinary approach of scientific works within the economy, taking into account the philosophical, sociological or political perspective. In the feminist critique of economics, it is emphasized that unpaid homework as a reproductive or caring work, i.e. work devoted to maintaining and recreating people's lives, concerns women. Unpaid housework, because of the traditional division of time, work and social roles by gender, is performed mainly by women. It is emphasized that this is not just a matter of valorisation of free work and the quality of women's life, but also the question of social reproduction and the relationship between the market, where the production of goods and services is organized as well as the reproduction of capital and households, where consumption takes place, as well as the reproduction of culture and the ability of people to work is maintained (Łapniewska, 2018). The market can not function without the reproductive and emotional work of women for the biological and cultural reproduction of people (ie the so-called socialization). According to some researchers, reproductive work[4] on raising a child (pregnancy, childbirth, care) is part of the overall economy of management.

3. A NEW ECONOMICS OF HOUSEHOLD AND ALTERNATIVE MODELS

Nowadays in economics, in the field of unpaid work, alternatives to the mainstream economics are sought. One of such alternative postulates is the construction of a theoretical model that will show the real and more “human” picture of the economy. Feminist economists, looking for alternatives to mainstream economics, propose a so-called circular model of the market extended by a welfare economy (reproductive). According to this approach,

[4] It should be added here that also the biological determinants of women's life (pregnancy and lactation) are an additional burden on the woman's body. In this connection, the feminist critical economy indicates that reproduction related to pregnancy, delivery and lactation is also work.

it is assumed that in such a model the starting point should not be an increase in money flows through the economy, but securing the needs[5] and foundations for life (Power, 2004).

In the new household economics, the relationship between the social and economic policy of the state and the level and quality of life in households is noticeable. Policies formulated on the basis of Keynesian economics assume the division of reproductive labor costs between the state and households[6]. On the other hand, policies based on assumptions derived from the theory of neoclassical economics of supply, monetarism, or neoclassical household economics transfer the responsibility for reproduction and maintenance of people's lives to the household and its family as an economic and reproductive unit. For households, this means increasing family maintenance costs, and the necessary work either is done free of charge at home, or the needs are met in the form of goods and services purchased on the market or through their informal activities. According to the study of time budgets, women are responsible for the majority of activities related to household reproduction.

Taking this into account, it is worth noting that such a burden means deterioration of their quality of life, especially considering the fact that most women combine paid work and free homework[7]. In addition, financial crises, more flexible forms of employment, and employment instability, reduction of social transfers translate into a greater burden on women. Some scholars question the neoclassical assumption of women's infinitely flexible working time, referring to the buffer function of the welfare economy and its exhaustion (Łapniewska, 2019). Following the visualization of the role of reproductive labor, there has been developed the criticism of the market model in neoclassical economics which assumes that the market functions as a system of circulating exchange of goods and money between households and enterprises. It is particularly emphasized that this model narrows the understanding of the economy only to the market as a monetary exchange system, and also ignores the wider area of economic activity of economic entities, including households, and the role of their work for their own needs. In addition, this model omits the role of the welfare economy or the natural environment. An important caveat of the neoclassical model

[5] It is worth emphasizing that these issues are also interested in the outstanding contemporary economist – Nobel Prize winner in economics A. Sen. See (Sen, 1999). Development as free-house, Oxford.

[6] It is about universal healthcare, social insurance, free education, low-paid pre-school care and for older people, or subsidized housing for low-income groups.

[7] Comprehensive quantitative and qualitative research conducted in Poland indicated that men spend a week at work by 9.45 hours longer than women, but they spend 45 hours more on household homework and childcare. Economists also pay attention to gender differences and the division of roles in creating the well-being of households. In this respect, it was noticed that the economic contribution of women to production is grossly underestimated in traditional statistical analyzes, as women perform about 2/3 of all household work on household, and domestic work accounts for 60-80% of the total value of home production. It is worth noting, however, that this critical trend of economics omits somehow the participation of men in providing unpaid labor in a household, which is a limitation of these theories. Men, in particular from middle-income and low-income households, also deal with unpaid work for households. Estimates indicate that this applies to 30%–40% of the global value of this work. In recent years, however, the attitude of both women (from traditional to assertive) and men, who more and more often accept the so-called an affiliate system in which they must take over part of the reproductive and care work. It gives you the opportunity to negotiate a more just gender contract (Górnicka-Boratyńska, 2005; Pszczółkowska, 2019).

is also the fact that it omits the role of institutions, and thus all forms of knowledge, social norms, regulations that define and reproduce certain assumptions about management methods, social relations, as well as relations between people or between them and nature (Elson, 2015). It can be stated that the market economy and its monetary exchange is to a large extent based on reproductive, caring and free work in the household, which, however, is not reflected in the macroeconomic accounts.

New household economics in explaining the role of unpaid labor in the economy proposes to refer to the theory of human capital[8]. It is worth noting that in the modern world, social relations take place under the influence of institutions that significantly limit the choice of individuals. The theory of human capital focuses on individual decisions, ignoring the influence of others on these decisions. Similarly, radical economics indicates that education, which in the theory of human capital is to increase the potential of individuals and their remuneration in the labor market, in fact allows to divide people into less and more talented and is only a method of adapting workers to the needs of the capitalist economy[9]. Formulating the theory of rational economic behavior based on hierarchical dualisms also excludes women who are attributed to altruistic behaviors and the political duty of maternity care. At the same time, the modern economic order is built on the exclusion of care work.

In the critical economy, the assumptions about exogenous or immutable preferences as well as rational and selfish entities are being undermined. Taking into account these problems, the proposals of economists are heading towards reformulating the definition of economics. The point is that the definition of economics, as a science of decision making, which derives from the theory of rational choice, should be replaced with a definition describing it as a science of satisfying needs, because this approach more fully reflects not only the subject of interest in this field of science, but also the main subject socio-economic life, which is a household.

Similarly, the criticism of efficiency is because what is economically efficient can be inefficient from a social perspective[10]. Rejection of a narrow definition of effectiveness indicates that work in the sense of producing added value can only be effective when it refers to “production of life” or production for own needs, which takes place primarily within the framework of free work in the household (Charkiewicz, 2009).

It is worth noting that the unpaid performance of many activities in the household is treated as a natural attribute of its members' roles (Titkow, Duch-Krzystoszek, Budrowska, 2004). It also turns out that the activities performed for the household can be attributed to various professions (Mikuta, 2000). This indicates not only the large variety of tasks, but also the versatility that is required of a person considered “non-working” (Zachorowska-Mazurkiewicz, 2010) which deals with running a household.

An interesting conceptual approach is also a manifesto for a more just life formulated by F. Haug. Her proposals in this respect are aimed at dividing the sixteen-hour day of general work into various forms of human activity, including four areas: gainful employ-

[8] However, so-far the theory of human capital is limited to activity on the labor market, not taking into account the aspect of its creation or its interaction in households, or more broadly in the society.

[9] In this respect, feminist economics criticizes the view of people as rational, autonomous and focused only on their own benefit. This trend points to dualisms: self-benefit and the benefit of others, rationality and emotionality or separation and connection.

[10] It can even be said that the more efficiency, the more pressure is directed towards the welfare economy.

ment, reproduction, personal development and political activity. It is postulated to fairly redistribute the work so that every person can devote 4 hours to each dimension of life (Haug, 2011). This ideal model of the whole work day could change the labor market relations by reducing the time of work, which in the situation of excess supply of jobs in relation to the demand for it, would help to alleviate the problem of unemployment and insecurity on the labor market. In addition, each member of the household would be involved in reproductive work, that is, all the work necessary for the regeneration of civil society, and therefore not only works for the home and family. It is claimed that this would solve the problem of payment for performing housework. In addition, the estimation of the economic dimension of homework could be used to include years of service, in which household members dealt with the home, children and dependent persons, constituting the basis for calculating the retirement pension. It is worth emphasizing that in the literature on the subject in this respect, the views of researchers are still very divided.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that everyday activities related to the provision of unpaid work in households should be supported by the state, which through services rendered (nurseries, kindergartens, assistance in the care of the elderly and disabled) would relieve households and their members. It also seems that unpaid work should be included in the broader framework of macroeconomics so that they are recognized on an equal footing with market-oriented production and service work. Nowadays, unpaid work performed for households can also be treated as a public good, which benefits from macro-generation in the form of a reconstructed workforce.

4. CONCLUSION

Only in the last two decades of the 21st century, thanks to quantitative and qualitative research, the so-called critical economy related to the feminist trend and the assumptions of the new household economy, activities were undertaken to define the role and assessment of the relationship between paid work and unpaid work in the household. A significant share in the activities performed for the household is the work of women in the household called "unpaid work" or "unpaid services". Giving prestige to work done in the household and breaking with the theory of division of labor into production and non-productive (not adding value) led not only to the renegotiation of the sex contract. It is extremely important, however, that this led, at least on theoretical grounds, to the increasing recognition of both reproductive and nursing work as equivalent to paid work.

It is also important to determine the size of home production in public statistics, because it would allow for an objective determination of the real level of labor inputs of women and men in households as an element that is the basis for regulation in the social policy, in particular family and pension policy.

The important thing is that while the approach to unpaid work has not changed in practical terms, including – at the level of macroeconomic measurement of the economy – it is the theoretical ground that positive progress in this field is visible.

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FLEXIBLE FORMS OF EMPLOYMENT IN POLAND ON THE EXAMPLE OF WORKING PHONE

Today's labor market “requires” from human resources flexibility, mobility, retraining, because technological novelties, the Internet are changing irretrievably the environment in which we are employed. In the Polish labor market the development of certain “trends” in the context of the employment, which may lead to a significant reduction of the traditional work model can be observed .

The aim of this study is to evaluate telework as one of the possibilities of a flexible form of employment in the aspect of the development of the labor market in Poland. The article uses the data of the Central Statistical Office and the PBS DGA poll, commissioned by “Gazeta Prawna” and CMS Cameron McKenna, concerning employment and working at a distance. The considerations undertaken allowed to indicate the advantages and disadvantages of teleworking and to indicate the main recipients of this form of employment.

Keywords: flexible forms of employment, phonework.

1. INTRODUCTION

Modern work is saturated with knowledge and technology, thanks to which individuals and organizations can actively participate in global competition. The consequence of this situation is the need to learn about new forms of work in changing conditions, about innovations and projects that are implemented in organizations (https://www.czasopismologistyka.pl/artykuly-naukowe/send/305-artykuly-na-plycie-cd-4/5069-artykul).

Today's labor market “requires” from human resources flexibility, mobility, retraining, because technological novelties, the Internet are changing irretrievably the environment in which we are employed. On the Polish labor market can be observed the development of certain “trends” in the context of the employment, which may lead to a significant reduction of the traditional work model.

It is more and more popular the convictions that flexible employment is one of the solutions when the economics slow down. Nowadays the growing phenomenon of non-employment employment, constituting a flexible form of employment can be observed very often. It is based on employment on a different basis than the employment relationship (www.KRYTYKA.org).

The aim of this study is to evaluate phonework as one of the possibilities of a flexible form of employment in the aspect of the development of the labor market in Poland. The

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article uses the data of the Central Statistical Office and the PBS DGA poll, commissioned by “Gazeta Prawna” and CMS Cameron Mc Kenn, concerning employment and working at a distance.

2. THE LABOR MARKET IN POLAND

„The labor market is the general forms and processes of employing employees by employers, as well as total of institutions, conditions and factors of negotiations, terms of employment, work and pay; economic, social and political area where all processes of broadly understood employment and unemployment take place” (*Lexicon PWN*, online). It covers the whole of issues related to shaping labor supply and demand. Diversification of labor supply and demand results in the formation of relatively closed for labor force flow market segments. Limited access to certain parts of the labor market may be caused, among others, by specific requirements of employers that disqualify a specific part of employees; factors created artificially by, for example, exclusion from employment opportunities for people who are not members of a given trade union organization; cultural factors, moral and other obstacles impossible to overcome by a potential employee.

In Poland, the number of professionally active people in the second quarter of 2018 amounted to 17,182 thousand, and it was by 129 thousand (0.8%) higher in relation to the results of the first quarter of 2018 and by 177 thousand. (0.6%) to the second quarter of 2017 (according to Central Statistical Office data). In turn, the number of economically inactive people in the second quarter of 2018 was estimated at 13 246 thousand. So it fell by 159 thousand. (1.2%) in relation to the first quarter of 2017 and by 8,000 (0.1%) in relation to the second quarter of 2017. From a longer period (according to the Central Statistical Office), the professionally active group is relatively stable and oscillates around 17 million. Meanwhile, the number of economically inactive people increased from 1993 to 2007, increasing from 11 million to 14.7 million. In recent years, however, it started to decrease slightly and since mid-2011 it does not exceed 14 million, and the result recorded in mid-2017 was the lowest since 2001.

The increase in the number of professionally inactive people by nearly 1/3 can be explained primarily by the aging of the population – the demographic boom has entered in the labor market a few years ago, ensuring generational renewal, but the prolonged life expectancy extends the period of retirement, i.e. inactive (for most pensioners). The low level of pensions and disability, however, has prompted many older Poles to look for their place in the market – hence probably stopping the growth of the number of professionally inactive people recently.

1/4 of employees in Poland have the possibility of working remotely in their company, for example from home. This is the domain of companies from cities with more than 200,000 inhabitants (32%), and such solutions are used mainly by senior managers (52%) and middle managers (38%) and specialists (37%). Remote work is the most common solution among self-employed workers (54%) and employed on civil law contracts (32%).

Specialists from the Adecco Personnel Advisory Agency emphasize that the labor market in Poland in 2018 is struggling with the growing problem of mismatch between educational programs and the needs of the economy. This is despite the fact that Polish universities educate the most future CEO (Chief Executive Officer) in the region. According to the report “Competences of the future – the fourth industrial revolution in Eastern Europe”, it can be considered that the economy suffers especially due to deficits related to the “competences of the future”. According to Adecco experts, in Eastern Europe, the hard competences sought will include, among others: strategic management in IT, mechanical engineering, aeronautical engineering, search engine positioning (SEO), cyber security, data analytics. Unfortunately, it is impossible to correlate the requirements of the labor market with the curriculum, when the competences sought can only be revealed after graduation (https://bezprawnik.pl/rynek-pracy-w-polsce-w-2018).

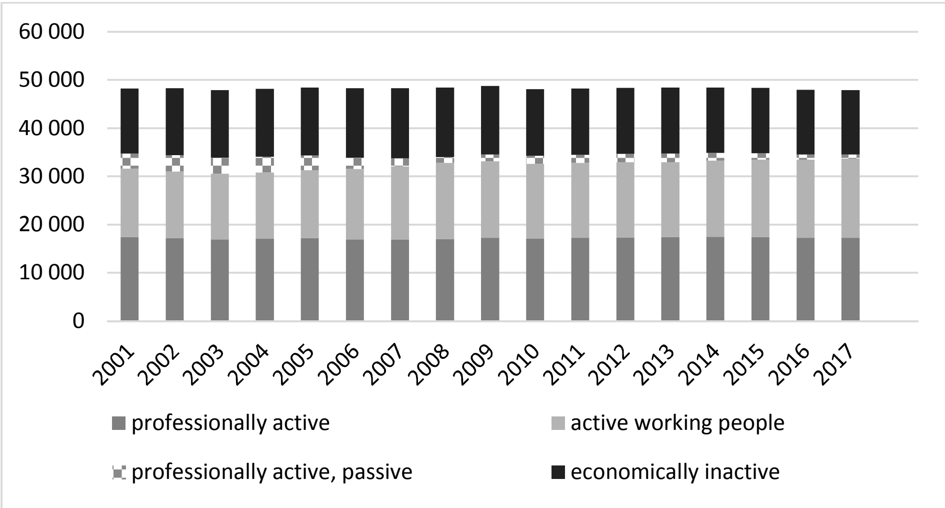

Fig. 1. Active and professionally inactive in Poland in the years 20012017 (in thousands of people)

Source: prepared on the basis of CSO data.

3. FLEXIBLE FORMS OF EMPLOYMENT

Flexible forms of employment mainly include unusual employment relationships. In this range, the work is primarily unstable, often performed outside the company and part-time, work for a trial period or on a call. Such employment results in limited rights to social and employment benefits. Flexible forms of employment concern both employment for employees regulated by the Labor Code and non-employment employment, the legal basis of which is the Civil Code (Gębski, 2014).

The types of flexible forms of work can be divided into three groups:

- forms of employee employment – this group includes: term contracts, part-time work, temporary work, teleworking, work on call, Job sharing.
- Forms of non-employment employment – in turn, this group includes: civil law and employment contracts.
- Other forms of employment – such as: Job rotation, outsourcing, self-employment (collective work 2010).

Seeking the features justifying the nature of unusual employment, which play a significant role in the modern market economy – one can notice growing competition in many dimensions, including employment in domestic and international enterprises, intensification of the flow of production (work) factors. Unusual forms of employment can be stimulated by the intellectualization of participants in the manufacturing process, resulting from permanent and lifelong learning – which favors and drives the use of atypical forms of work and an increase in the demand for work performed on a variable time basis (Gębski, 2014).

The flexible way of employment supports pupils, students as well as women bringing up children both due to the premises related to the family situation, as well as in relation to internal motivation – the need for development and professional fulfillment. He also serves specialists and representatives of free professions. Examples of flexible forms of employment include: teleworking, which, thanks to the use of information technology, enables the employee to perform activities at a distance. However, to fulfill professional tasks in this way, one condition must be met. Both the employer and the employee must express their readiness to use the given form of employment. The employer's readiness should be primarily justified by the type, organization or place of work. In the case of an employee deciding to take up this form of employment, his internal motivations are the most important.

4. TELEWORK AS AN EXAMPLE OF A FLEXIBLE FORM OF EMPLOYMENT

Telework is a modern method of work, because thanks to the latest information and communication technologies, it enables the employee to perform activities resulting from the employment relationship at a distance. In this way, the employer acquires an employee whose knowledge, competences and skills are valuable to him, and for various reasons he is unable to work at the company's headquarters. Such persons include, above all, people with disabilities or women who deal with home and children. In view of the above, such a form of employment becomes a chance for these people to exercise their profession and take up employment. Teleworking provides an additional opportunity to take up employment by people who are in a special situation, encountering various restrictions that disqualify them to perform work in a traditional form at the company's headquarters, expressing willingness and being able to cope with obligations arising from the employment relationship, working, for example, in their residence and using modern ICT tools for this purpose (Karbownik, 2017).

The European Commission defines telework as a method of organizing and performing work, where the employee works for a part of his working time outside the enterprise employing him, thereby providing the employer with the results (so-called results) of work using information technology as well as data transfer technologies, especially the Internet (Janiec, Czerniak, Kreft, Piontek, 2006). The definition of the EC draws attention to the organizational aspect of teleworking, moreover, it indicates the fact that the employee performs his duties outside the workplace (Karbownik, 2017).

Telework is a relatively new form in the Polish work system (it has been in operation since 2007).

According to art. 675 of the Labor Code, teleworking is a job regularly performed outside the workplace by using electronic means of communication within the meaning of the provisions on the provision of electronic services. When working, the parties agree on a place of work that is most convenient for both the employee and the employer. This is an issue important enough because it determines the type of teleworking. The purpose of teleworking is to increase the flexibility of work (Armstrong, 2000). Teleworking also contributes to a significant reduction in labor costs (Armstrong, 2000).

The main advantage of this form of work is the ability to perform directly from home (which usually allows for flexible working time and combining work with family life), low wages and job insecurity are considered the basic disadvantage.

The main barrier to teleworking is:

- not signing employment contracts by employers – as a result, employees lack the sense of security, ensure regular income;
- limited job offer – only low-paid, uninteresting, not prestigious jobs are available;
- employers consider employees to be inferior, do not trust them and therefore do not sign contracts with employees, sometimes try to cheat them – they do not pay or very much delay the payment of employees' debts;
- big fear of loss of interpersonal contacts, before social isolation, fear of a new one, accustom to the traditional method of working in the employer's office, which is perceived as more "natural" than the teleworking method.

In the opinion of some employers, the most serious obstacles to the development of telework are:

- lack of trust in the employee with whom the employer contacts sporadically, over which the work process has only limited control;
- avoiding signing a contract of employment due to the willingness to reduce labor costs and the aforementioned lack of trust.

This relatively new form of employment has the following types:

- home teleworking (home-based teleworking) – the most common type of telework, carried out at home or in a telework apartment;
- interchangeable telework – partial work in the office and at home, eg work done for 3 days at home, the rest in the office.

As part of tele-work provided outside the workplace and outside the home, we distinguish:

- teleworking provided in the telecentre (teleworking form remote offices) – these are points away from the company, the office room can be either the property of the employer or another entity that operates the call center as part of the business activity;
- mobile teleworking (mobile telework) – a characteristic feature is the performance of work outside the company's office, just in the place where the teleworker is located, thanks to the use of teleinformation techniques, this form is mainly intended for people moving most of the time;
- telecottage – it is nothing else than a telecentre transferred to rural areas, for this purpose the most unused school, utility rooms, or in specially prepared for this purpose rural huts, are intended to increase the professional qualifications for people, that do not have access to companies located in urbanized cities.

The time range of teleworking can vary, i.e. it can be done both full-time and part-time, which gives the employee and the performer more flexibility and is a beneficial solution for disabled people and parents taking care of children.

The poll PBS DGA, commissioned by "Gazeta Prawna" and CMS Cameron McKenna, concerning employment and working at a distance, showed that in the consciousness of the average Pole, teleworking is not a known concept. The study was carried out on October 26–28, 2007 on a representative 1048-person group of Poles over 18 years of age. It was carried out in the CAPI (*Computer Assisted Personal Interview*) technique, ie a direct computer-assisted questionnaire interview, as part of the Omnibus survey, carried out every two weeks by PBS DGA Almost 40 percent respondents who were presented with the definition of telework declared that they had never heard of such a form of employment. The survey also showed that the percentage of people who did not meet with this form of employment increases with age. Among young people, up to 39 years old, it is less than 30 percent, and in the oldest age group over 50 percent. Knowledge of the basic issues related to telework is more common among people who, because of their education or professional position, can be a group of potential teleworkers or telecomers. Among respondents with higher education and representatives of the managerial staff, only one in eight respondents did not hear about teleworking. The study proved that those who, because of their place of residence could benefit the most, would know the least about the possibilities of such a form of work – people from rural areas (48% of respondents said they did not know the concept of telework) 14. Almost 90 percent Polish employees think that they would not be able to perform their current job in the form of telework, and only every fifty employed without reservation would agree to perform their duties remotely. The opportunity to work at home seems particularly attractive for people who want to reconcile family responsibilities with a professional career. For this reason, the results clearly indicate that teleworking would be more likely to take unemployed women (84%) than non-working men (66%) (http://www.e-mentor.edu.pl/artykul/index/numer/30/id/662).

Based on the above figure 2, it can be concluded that teleworking works as a form of employment, especially in services. Particularly noteworthy is the IT industry, in which a telework share of 15.6% of the total number of employees was recorded. In addition, the high telecommuting ratio is characterized by creative work (research, analysis, projects) and marketing activities. Telework is used at a similar level (4.3% on average) also in enterprises dealing in trade and real estate services.

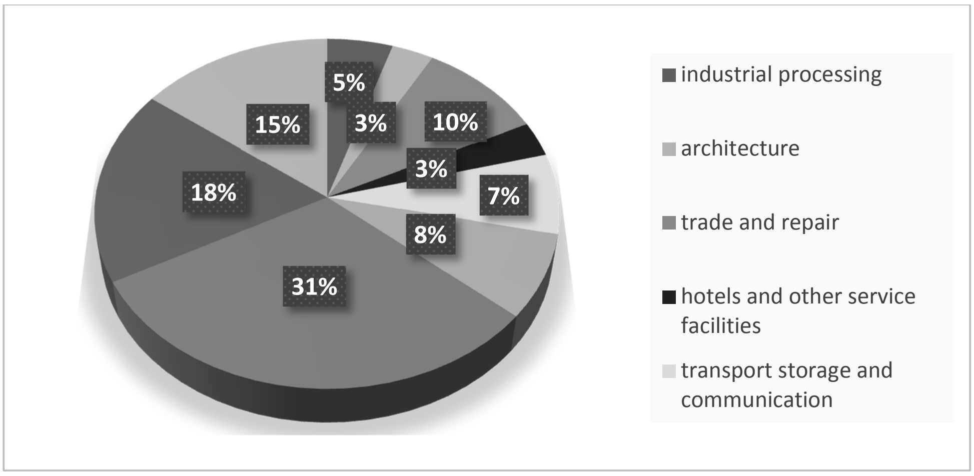

Fig. 2. Enterprises* employing teleworkers in Poland according to selected types of economic activity in 2008.
* without enterprises engaged in financial intermediation

Source: data developed by (Sedlak & Sedlak-www. wynagrodzenia.pl).

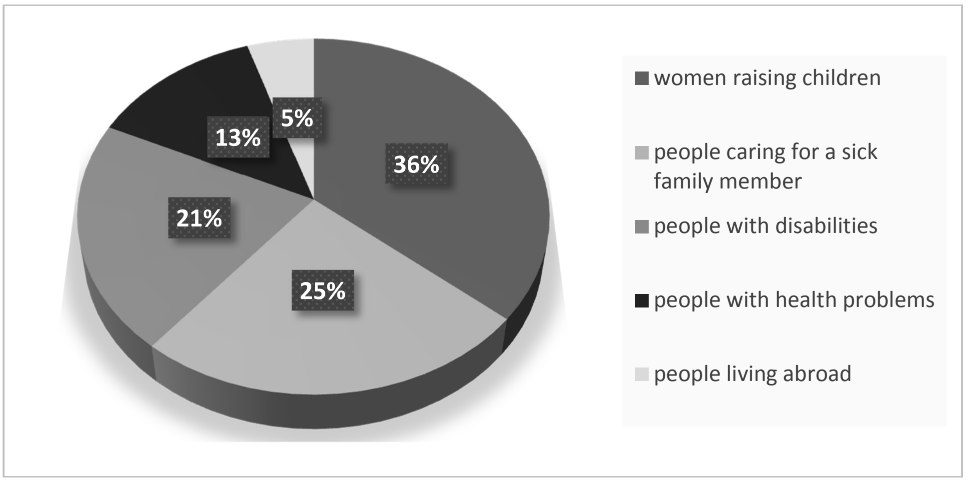

Fig. 3. People working mainly in telework (% of people from a given group)

Source: prepared on the basis of (Karbownik, 2017).

According to K. Karbownik, who analyzed data from 145 representatives of the management, the largest group among teleworkers are women who raise small children 36%). The second place was taken by people caring for ill members of the family (25%) who have to take their duties towards the employer with care for relatives who need their permanent presence (fig. 3).

5. CONCLUSIONS

Teleworking is a method of employment that allows not only to reduce the company's fixed costs, but also to hire employees. Despite the legal regulations and increasing use of modern ICT and telecommunications technologies, the employment model in the form of telework is still not very popular form of employment in Poland. In 2016, in this way 4.6 percent worked. total number of employees. Advanced technology means that teleworking can be the future. Employers, however, cautiously approach this form of employment, primarily due to a number of formal conditions to be met (https://biznes.newseria.pl/news/niecale-5-proc, p20870570).

This form of employment is more often taken by women than men – especially those taking care of young children. In addition, this form of work is also a good solution for pregnant women who, taking into account the benefits of less formal working time of the teleworker, may design from the transition to medical exemption and may also be an alternative to childcare leave. It is also a great opportunity for people with disabilities to provide work. Working at home also limits the use of sick leave during minor ailments, the employee is not exposed to commuting and inconvenience connected with it, so he is also less willing to use these forms of absence from work. Benefits for the employer are obvious – there is no need to provide replacement for such an employee, so the employer avoids the costs of recruitment, training or subsequent implementation of a new employee (https://e-prawopracy.pl/telepraca/). Certainly the biggest advantage of teleworking is the ability to perform directly from home (which usually allows for flexible working time and combining work and family life).

The employer also has a much greater opportunity to recruit specialists from outside the city in which he is based. The employment of specialists, especially about niche qualifications, translates into improved competitiveness and profitability of the business.

The low salary and insecurity of employment are considered to be the biggest disadvantage of this form of work.

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Mirosław SOŁTYSIAK[1]

CUSTOMERS ON ONLINE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET IN THE LIGHT OF EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

The phenomenon of currency exchange first came into being approximately 2500 years ago. The Greeks are known to be the pioneers in currency exchange. General references to this kind of operations can also be traced to the Jesus Christ era and found in the Bible. Over centuries the demand for exchanging currency increased together with the growing number of countries issuing their own currencies. This clearly led to the development of an independent financial market segment and isolation of intermediaries dealing with this kind of services. Technical advances related to the launch of new distribution channels for Internet-based financial services did not circumvent the currency exchange market. In this field new alternative forms of foreign exchange offices were introduced at the beginning of 21th century which provided currency exchange referred to as online foreign exchange (online foreign exchange platforms).

The article delivers main outcomes of conducted survey which attempted to specify customer preferences with regard to their online foreign exchange activities. The first part of the article introduces the reasons why customers decide to undertake foreign exchange operations via Internet. It elaborates on the determinants influencing customers' choice of online exchange platforms as location of foreign currency exchange. The following part of the article elaborates on convertible currency types and exchange operations' frequency with regard to online foreign exchange platforms. Finally, customers' trust and its level is evaluated in the field of foreign currency exchange platforms.

Keywords: currency, online foreign exchange, online foreign exchange platforms, customer preferences.

1. INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of currency exchange occurred first a few centuries before Christ – it is when coins issued in Greece, Roman or Persian Empires were used internationally. Due to the fact that the coins were made of rare metals such as gold or silver, they held particular value expressed in the native currency of a merchant.

Over centuries the number of independent states varied as well as the number of currencies issued by them. Currently, there are approximately 164 official national currencies around the world[2]. What is more, the daily turnover noted on foreign exchange market

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[2] At the moment there are 197 independent countries. Moreover, there are approximately 60 dependent territories. Not all of the countries hold their own currency. To exemplify the Euro is used in

equals over 5 billion USD (*Triennial Central Bank Survey. Foreign exchange turnover in April 2016*).

In Poland foreign exchange market has been relaunched after nearly fifty-year break at the beginning of the social and economic transformation. The Act of 23 December 1988 on Freedom of Economic Activity and the National Bank of Poland Ordinance of 13 March 1989 on foreign exchange trade served as legal basis for official establishment of the first in Poland foreign exchange office in Świecko. After three decades of this financial market segment's operating in 2017 the number of foreign exchange offices registered in the National Bank of Poland's register equalled 4951.

Year 2009 contributed to another milestone in Polish foreign exchange market since a new kind of institution providing the service via Internet was introduced. Such institutions are commonly known as "Online foreign exchange (offices)"[3]. However, one shall remember that stationary and online exchange offices are linked solely with the scope of services provided. They differ significantly in terms of legal basis that lie in the services' background. Online exchange offices do not operate based on the Act on Foreign Exchange (The Act of 27 July 2002 on the Foreign Exchange Law), as it is in the case of stationary offices, but on the Act on Freedom of Economic Activity (The Act of 2 July 2004 on freedom of economic activity). Their functioning is not regarded foreign exchange activity in the sense of the Act on Foreign Exchange. Due to this fact, they are neither included in the National Bank of Poland register of foreign exchange activity, controlled by the President of National Bank of Poland nor are under reporting obligation in terms of data used to prepare the balance of payments (The Act of 27 July 2002 on the Foreign Exchange Law). Moreover, their activity is not supervised by the Financial Supervision Commission or even by the Ministry of Finance.

It is worth mentioning, though, that a number of online exchange offices operating on Polish market serve as public trust organisation, such as banks[4], Poczta Polska[5] (a public postal service provider) whose activities are under legal supervision. They must undertake certain actions to prove their credibility. Other online foreign exchange offices, whose owners are other business entities, in order to become more credible undertake actions according to regulations of the Act on Payment Services (The Act of 19 August 2011 on payment services) they attempt to receive the status of domestic payment institution[6].

In 2016, there were 66 entrepreneurs dealing with online currency exchange involving 70 internet websites; 41 of them were included in the NBP (register Audit follow-up report by Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, the Chair of Supreme Audit Office [NIK]).

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35 independent countries and overseas territories, the US Dollar – in the United States of America and 10 other countries (https://www.countries-ofthe-world.com/world-currencies.html).

[3] The first Polish online exchange office called Walutomat.pl was established in November 2009.

[4] Online exchange offices were launched already by a dozen or so banks, e.g. Alior, Raiffeisen Polbank, BZ WBK, mBank, PEKAO S.A., PKO BP S.A, BGŻ BNP Paribas, ING Bank Śląski, BOŚ Bank, Millennium Bank, Citi Handlowy, Crédit Agricole, Deutsche Bank, Idea Bank, among others.

[5] Poczta Polska introduced online currency exchange in cooperation with Raiffeisen Solutions Sp. z o.o. Its clients can perform the exchange transactions by means of Rkantor.com website.

[6] In 2016, there were 6 entities holding the status of domestic payment institution offering currency exchange on the Internet. In order to learn more see: (*Wymiana walut i płatności online, czyli co oferuje i co ma jeszcze do zaoferowania Polski sektor Fin-Tech*. http://irradar.com/images/BRIEFING.pdf).

It shall be stressed that the demand for legal regulations concerning online currency exchange offices is signalled not only by the clients themselves, but also by the exchange offices' owners. They both agree such regulations are essential to improve the security of customer service.

Gaining gradual and significant share in the foreign exchange market by such entities seem extremely vital and crucial. Currently the market share of online exchange offices equals approximately 35% (Report entitled: *Polacy wymieniają waluty w Internecie. Raport – trendy w wymianie walut pierwsze półrocze 2017 r.*), whereas their turnover in 2014 and in 2016 ran at 25 billion PLN (Report entitled: *Kantory online 2015*) and 35–40 billion PLN, respectively (Report entitled: *Kantory online 2016*).

2. RESEARCH OBJECTIVE AND METHODOLOGY

The opportunity to perform online currency exchange transactions has been available for only several years now. The first institutions providing this kind of service appeared in Poland and were called "Online foreign exchange offices" ("kantory internetowe"). This contributed to foreign entities use Polish experience and expertise in this particular field. Thus, it seems immensely interesting to study consumer behaviour in this particular market.

Current literature on the topic of online foreign exchange offices generally lacks research in this area of study. What can usually be found is, on one hand, limited information concerning solely the changes in numbers of clients, transactions or turnover sums and, on the other hand, changes in the structure of currencies being exchanged[7]. All research neglects the issues related to consumer behaviour in the currency exchange market or have little concern about it[8]. Thus, following the demand for this kind of study the article's underlying aim is the attempt to define consumer preferences in terms of online currency exchange. It also looks into the factors influencing such transactions' performing as well as determinants shaping the way the transactions are performed.

In the study presented in this article and concerning the consumer behaviour on foreign exchange market in the segment of online exchange offices participated 357 respondents. The research sample consisted of 201 males (56.3%) and 156 females (43.7%). The main criterion of respondents' selection was their declaration concerning using online currency exchange services. Regarding the structure of the research sample it can be stated that 12.6% respondents used the services for a period shorter than one year, 45.1% respondents used them between 2 and 3 years, 30.25% respondents - between 4 and 5 years, and 12.05% respondents performed the services longer than 5 years.

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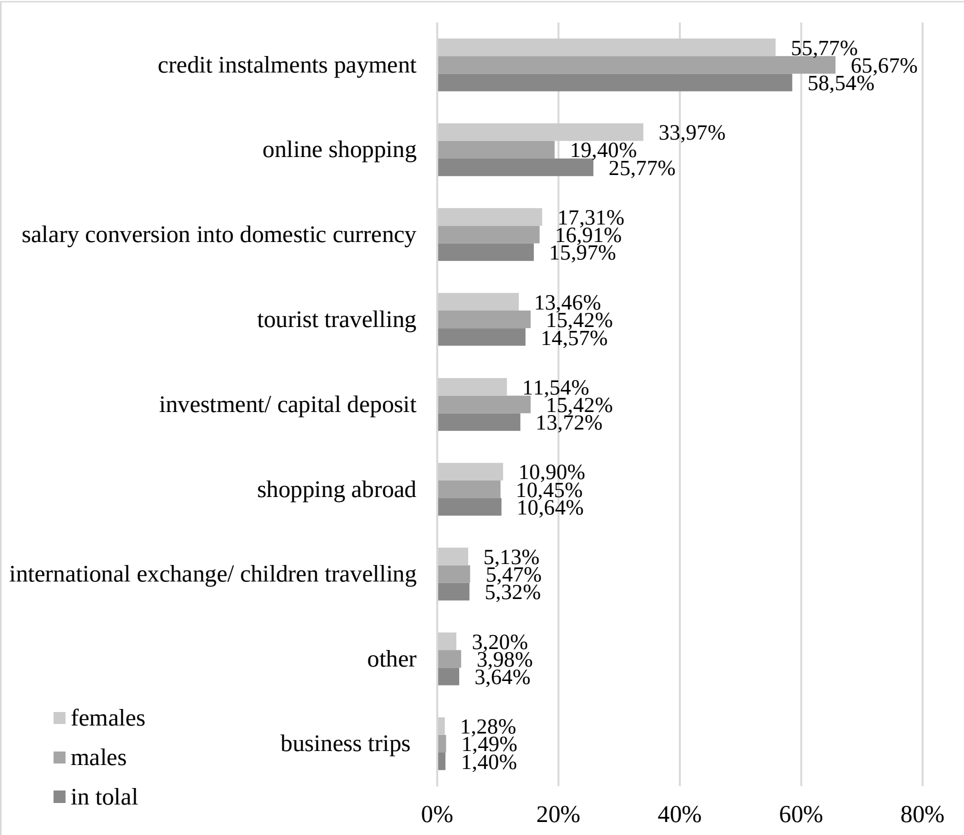
[7] Such research can be exemplified by the study carried out in February 2017 by ergokantor.pl *I Ogólnopolskie Badanie Rynku Walut 2017*. To learn more see: (https://ergokantor.pl/i-ogolnopolskie-badanie-rynku-walut-2017---raport.html) or (*Polacy wymieniają waluty w Internecie. Raport – trendy w wymianie walut pierwsze półrocze 2017 r.* https://fintek.pl/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/POLACY-WYMIENIAJ%C4%84-WALUTY-W-INTERNECIE.pdf).

[8] Partially the issues are included in the report: (Raport OPINEO *Kantory internetowe w opinii klientów 2015*. https://static.opineo.pl/press/dl/raport-opineo-kantory-internetowe-w-opinii-klientow.pdf).

3. REASONS AND DETERMINANTS OF USING SERVICES OF ONLINE FOREIGN EXCHANGE OFFICES

The survey respondents indicated the obligation to pay credit instalments in foreign currency as the main reason for using online exchange (Picture 1)[9]. Such answer was selected by nearly 60% respondents (55.77% females and 65.67% males). It was most popular among males aged 36–45 years (77.36%) and those aged 46–55 years (73.01%).



Picture 1. Motivations for performing currency exchange via online exchange offices as declared by the survey's respondents

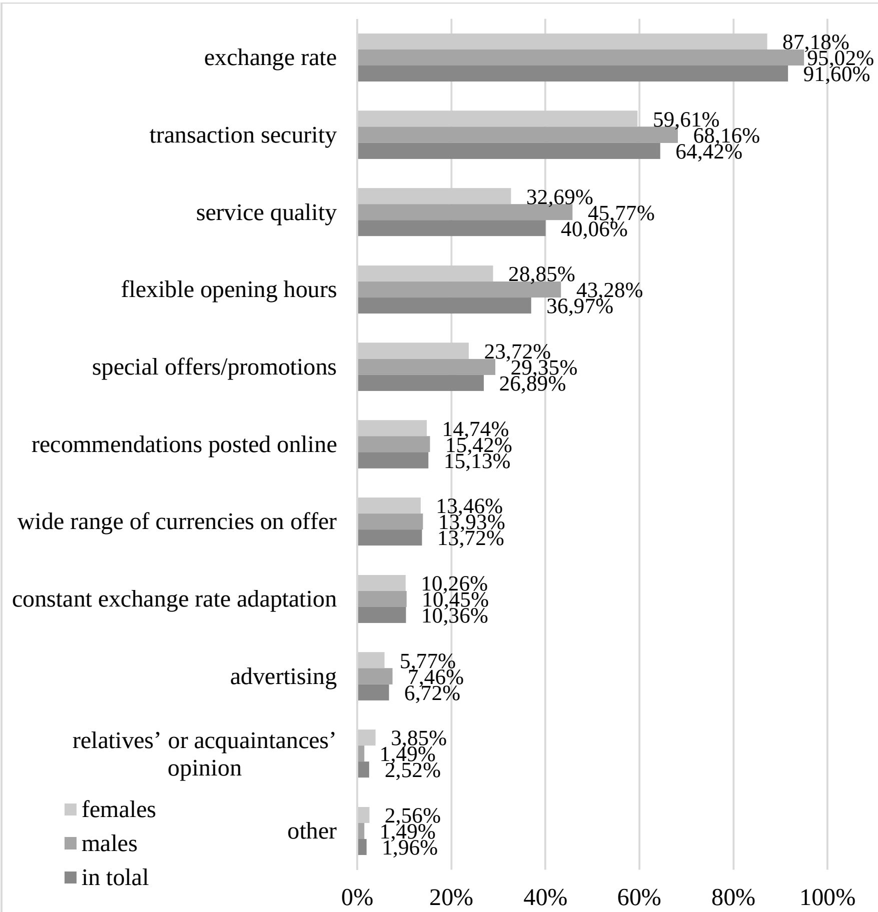
Source: own elaboration based on the authors' research.

[9] It should be highlighted that the answers do not correspond with the answers provided by respondents who participated in the survey concerning consumer behaviour on the foreign exchange service market. In the latter survey the questioned regarded travelling abroad as the main stimulus for exchanging currencies (71.46%). In the case of paying off the credit card – this reason was far less popular and regarded only by 2.31% respondents. To learn more, see: Sołtysiak, 2018).

Another reason for using online exchange offices was the willingness to perform purchasing transactions via online foreign websites. In this case, the answer was selected by every fourth respondent. This answer was more popular among female respondents (33.97%) rather than male ones (19.4%).

Every sixth respondent used the services of online exchange offices to convert their salary currency. Every seventh surveyed performed exchange transactions in order to multiply their capital by investing into foreign currencies. It should also be stressed that the need to convert one's salary into a domestic currency was more popular among females, whereas for males more significant were the investments on currency exchange market.

Over 14% respondents (13.46% females and 15.42% males) performed currency exchange transactions due to their travelling plans and arrangements. Every tenth respondent also used the services to afford shopping while travelling abroad.



Picture 2. Determinants of currency exchange in online exchange platforms as declared by the study respondents

Source: own elaboration based on the authors' research.

Taking into consideration determinants influencing the choice of online exchange offices it can be concluded that the exchange rate is the main factor according to 91.6% respondents (87.18% females and 95.02% males) (Picture 2).

The second factor signified by the respondents was the security of transactions. It was acknowledged by 64.42% the questioned and was far more popular among males (68.16%) than females (59.61%).

What is more, the survey respondents paid attention to the quality of customer service provided by online exchange offices (40.06% – 32.69% females and 45.77% males), as well as the flexible opening hours (36.97% – 28.85% females and 43.28% males). Every fourth respondent (23.72% females and 29.35% males) was usually attracted by promotional campaigns organised by online foreign exchange offices. In turns, every seventh respondent (14.74% females and 15.42% males) was significantly influenced by recommendations and opinions regarding online exchange offices posted on their internet websites.

It should be noted that only 7% the surveyed decided to use particular office's services having been influenced by its advertisement. These were men (7.46%) who became more influenced by this form of persuasion in comparison to women (5.77%).

4. TYPE OF CURRENCIES BEING EXCHANGED AND TRANSACTION FREQUENCY IN ONLINE EXCHANGE OFFICES

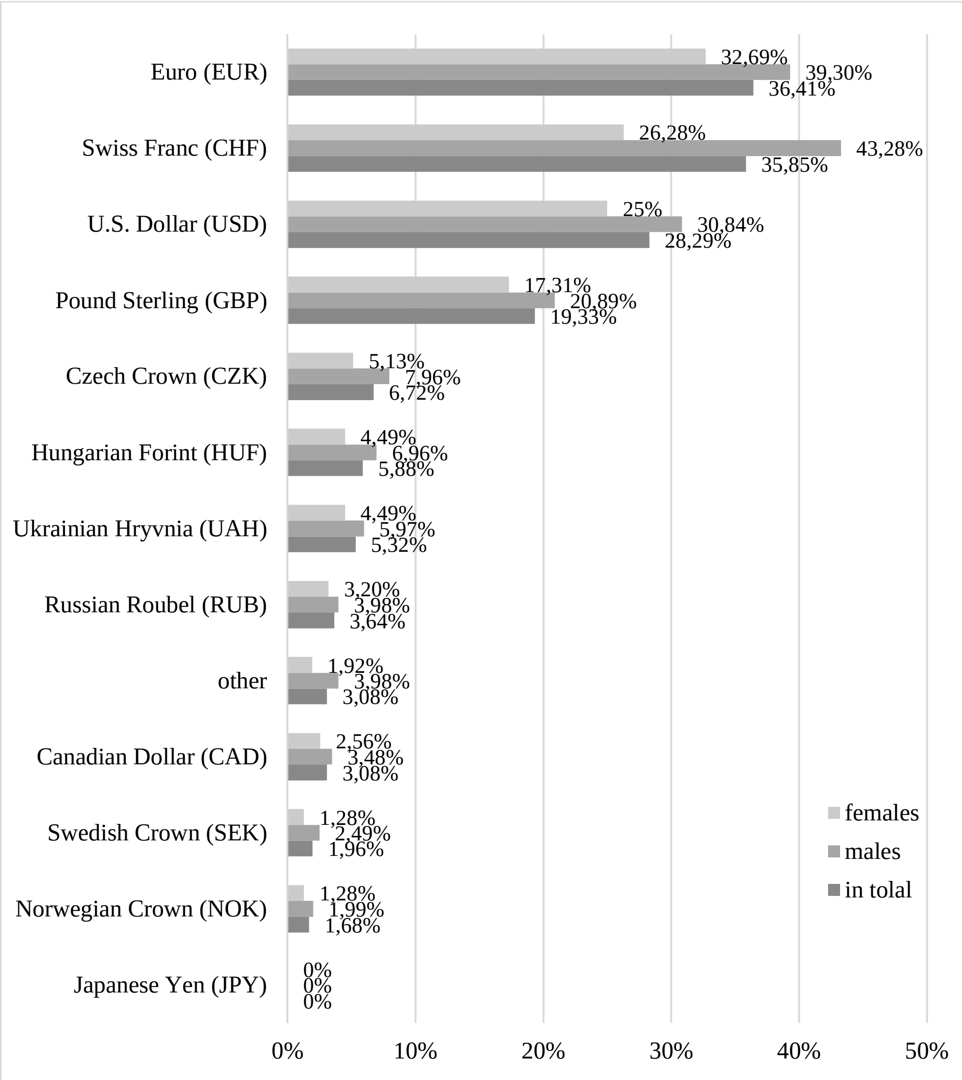
Online foreign exchange offices offering Euro and Swiss Franc currencies seem to be more interesting for the clients in Poland (Picture 3). The currencies were looked for by every third respondent of the survey. The Euro transactions were vital for 32.69% women and 39.3% men[10], whereas Swiss Franc was exchanged by 26.28% women and 43.28% men[11].

Almost 30% respondents were interested in USD exchange transactions (25% females and 30.84% males) and approximately 20% the questioned (17.31% females and 20.89% males) bought or sold Pound Sterling (GBP) online. The above four currencies were the main point of interest of the survey respondents, when it comes to online exchange offices.

Only a few percent of the survey respondents were interested in other currencies' exchange transactions. In total, only 31.36% respondents of this survey (24.35% women and 36.81% men) were willing to exchange other currencies than the four mentioned above.

[10] The male respondents aged 26-35 (78.05%) showed the greatest interest in transactions whose subject was Euro currency.

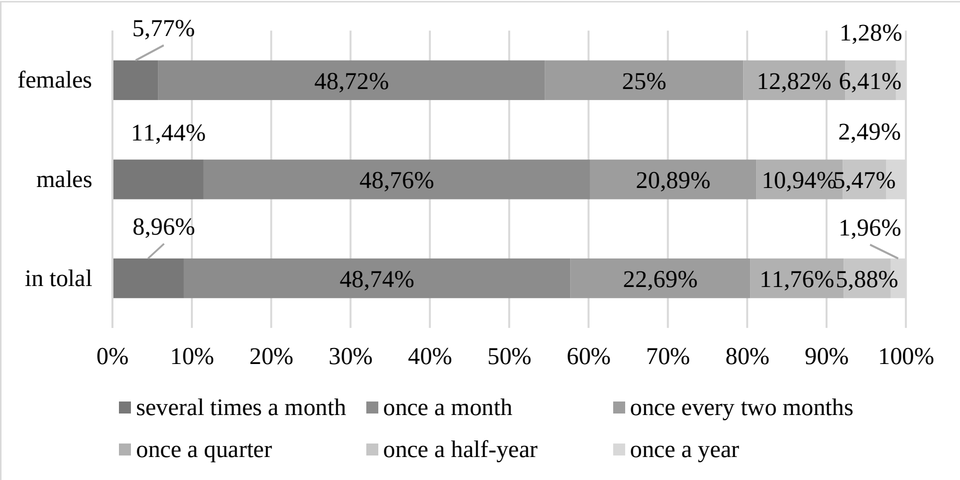
[11] In the case of Swiss Franc, the male respondents aged 36-45 (81.13%) were mainly involved.



Picture 3. Type of currencies being exchanged in online exchange offices according to the survey respondents

Source: own elaboration based on the authors' research.

The assessment of provided answers concerning the popularity of online exchange offices (Picture 4) allows the conclusion that their clients use the services on regular basis. Over 48% respondents admitted performing the transactions once a month and 9% of them – even a few times every month. The following 22% respondents take advantage of the services every second month and 12% every third month. It is interesting to note that mere 8% respondents use online exchange services rarely, that is every half-year (5.88%) or once a year (1.96%).



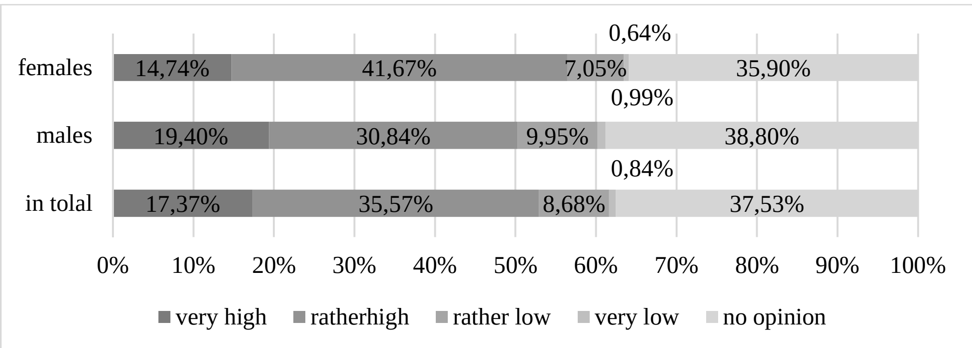
Picture 4. Frequency of using online exchange offices by survey respondents

Source: own elaboration based on the authors' research.

5. CLIENTS' TRUST IN ONLINE CURRENCY EXCHANGE OPERATIONS

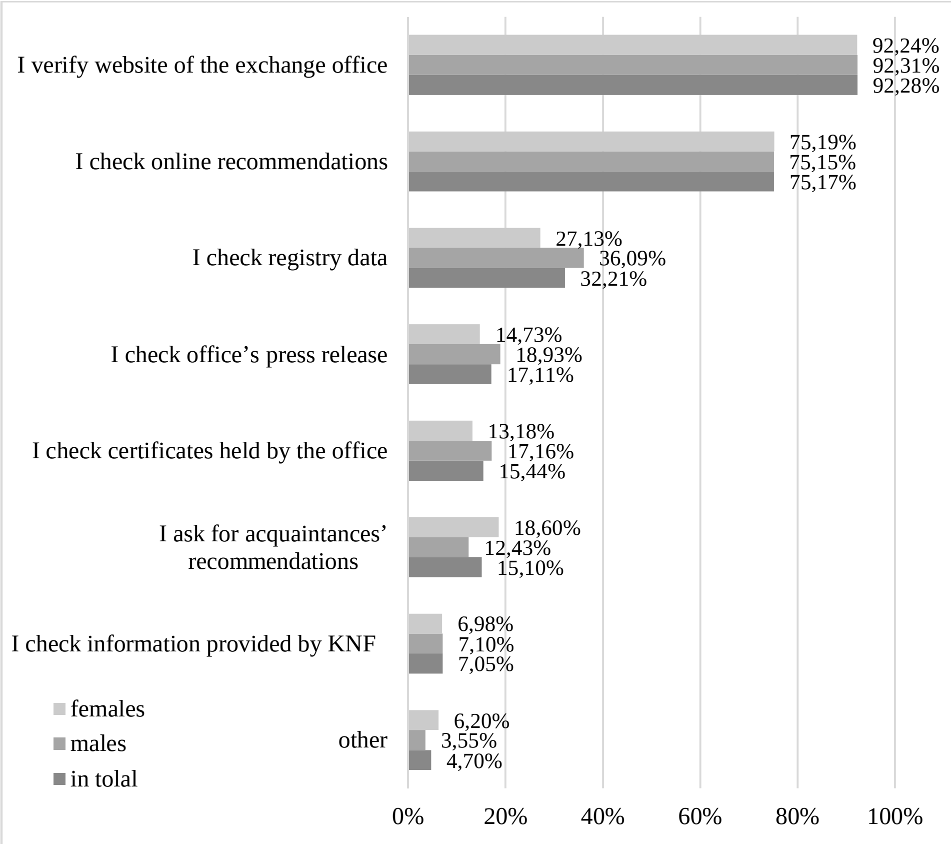
Bearing in mind that the second most significant factor influencing the choice of currency exchange transaction's location is the level of its security, it was decided to verify whether the respondents consider such transactions as secure and if they make any effort to check the credibility of online exchange offices.

To begin with, one shall stress that as many as 37.53% respondents had no opinion on this despite being clients of such institutions. Nearly 53% the surveyed shared opinion on online exchange transactions as being safe. Male respondents were more confident in this case and selected *very high* answer more often (19.4%) than the females (14.74%). On the other hand, in the group with pessimistic approach considering the transactions as unsafe were also more men (10.94%) than women (7.69%).



Picture 5. Customers' level of trust in transactions performed in online exchange offices according to survey respondents

Source: own elaboration based on the authors' research.



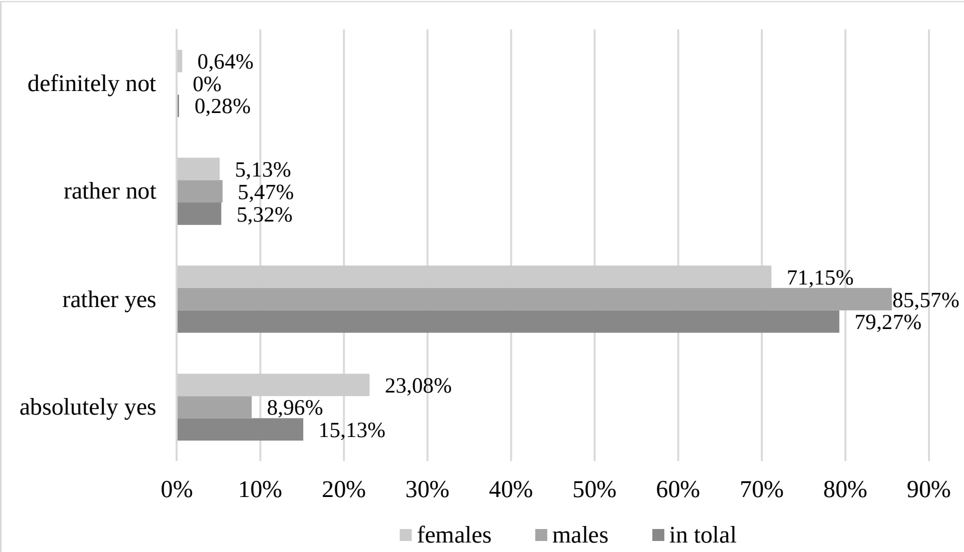
Picture 6. Methods used to assess credibility of online foreign exchange office by survey respondents

Source: own elaboration based on the authors' research.

In the research sample 83.47% respondents declared checking the offices' credibility. Those, who make the effort they usually check the office's website (92.28%) and opinions shared by the office's former clients (75.17%). Every third respondent checks the register data and every sixth reads press information regarding the office. Every seventh respondent searches information as far as the exchange office's certificates are concerned or relies on references provided by their friends or acquaintances. Only every fourteenth participant of the study admits verifying credibility of online foreign exchange offices with the information provided by Polish Financial Supervision Authority (KNF). It is worth noting that men more often check the registry data, press release or certificates held by the entities, whereas women (18.6%) tend to rely more on acquaintances' recommendations than men (12.43%).

6. SUMMARY

Summing up the outcomes of the performed study one shall regard that among those using services of online exchange there is a group of clients performing currency exchange transactions with respect to their current liabilities or running investments. This undoubtedly influences the hierarchy of reasons that lie behind the service choice and significantly differ from the hierarchy established by potential participants of currency exchange office market.



Picture 7. Presentation of answers to question „Based on your experience would you recommend services of online currency exchange providers?"

Source: own elaboration based on the authors' research.

It also affects the transaction frequency in the particular segment of currency exchange market. The clients of online exchange offices tend to be more active in terms of foreign exchange services than statistical clients of currency exchange market. Over 57% respondents declare performing the regarded transactions online at least once a month and over 80% – not less than every two months (Sołtysiak, 2018; Sołtysiak 2019).

Major factors influencing the choice of online exchange offices are bound to be the exchange rate and the transaction's security. However, one shall note that only half of the respondents are certain about the security of the operations. Most respondents are serious about the issues related to online transaction security and decide to spend their time verifying the credibility of online exchange service providers.

To conclude, the engagement of institutions described as online currency exchange offices on currency exchange offices market in the following years will increase. On one hand it results from the fact that the exchange market customers will belong to so called millennials' generation. On the other hand, the majority of current customers are also satisfied with the quality of services provided on the market. This can be supported with the fact that over 94% respondents are ready to give their recommendation on this type of exchange services (Picture 7).

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Justyna STECKO[1]

A CONTEMPORARY ATTEMPT TO LOOK AT ANIMALS ETHICALLY IN THE CONTEXT OF WITOLD KOEHLER'S DELIBERATIONS

A man as a conscious and rational being tries to define his place in the universe, himself in relation to the cosmos, absolute, logos and nature. Witold Koehler in the book “Animals are waiting” undertakes an analysis of key issues that arise from the man-animal relationship. He deals with the issue of animal consumption, including the question of keeping live fish in the shop, as well as hunting or training. This paper is an attempt to bring closer both the historical development of human-animal relations and their contemporary state – the attention has been paid to issues related to this state, with particular emphasis on meat consumption, and they have been shown through the prism of the concepts of Witold Koehler.

Keywords: animals, “zoo rable”, vegetarianism, Witold Koehler.

1. INTRODUCTION

The issue of immoral treatment of animals and even directly the concept of “zoo rable” was created and used by Witold Koehler in the book entitled *Animals are waiting.* As the author writes: “in the human-animal system, rudeness can only refer to one side, it is exclusively human. Since its form is specific in such a relation, it manifests itself mainly or sometimes only in relation to an animal – therefore it seems appropriate to create a special term. The contractual term could be: “zoo rable” (Koehler, 1981). Witold Koehler tackles many of the problems that result from human-animal relationships. He deals with both the issue of animal consumption, including the keeping of live fish in the store today, as well as hunting and training. This article is an attempt to approximate both the historical shaping of the human-animal relationship, as well as their modern state - focused on the problems associated with this issue, with particular emphasis on meat consumption, and is shown through the prism of the concepts of Witold Koehler.

2. MAN TOWARDS ANIMALS – A HISTORICAL ASPECT (Stecko, 2018)

What connects Pythagoras, Socrates, Leonardo da Vinci, Voltaire, Vincent van Gogh, Abraham Lincoln, Franz Kafka, Nicola Tesla and Albert Einstein? In addition to being outstanding individuals and influencing our civilization and culture, they were all vegetarians. However, when you look at human and animal relationships over the past several thousand

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years, they were not only characterized by love, respect and protection. Cruel and ethically controversial behaviors were much more frequent.

Ancient thinkers were no longer unanimous in assessing animals. Attitudes towards animals varied: from the respect of Pythagoreans who believed in reincarnation, through the concept of Plutarch, who argued that they exhibit intelligence and some features of moral virtues (Ślipko, 2009), to the views of cynics who considered them even beings superior to humans . The most popular for this period and later times, however, is the concept of Aristotle, who in animals saw only a lower being serving a man.

In the Middle Ages, the concepts of subsequent saints also varied. According to St. Augustine, animals are “mindless creatures flying, swimming, walking and crawling, since they are not connected with us by having reason” (Saint Augustine, 2003). Saint opinion was similar. Tomasz, in his opinion, all non-human creatures are only instruments needed to meet the needs of man, and because of lack of reason – as St. Tomasz – they are not subject to moral judgments or punishments. The doctrine of St. Albert and St. Bonaventure (Ślipko, 2009). One of the few thinkers in this period who dared to close the distance between the animal and human world was Saint. Francis of Assisi: “Our primary duty towards our younger brothers is not to harm them, but stopping there is not enough. We have a more important mission – to help them whenever they need it”[2].

Renaissance humanism did not destroy the medieval barriers that divide the world of people and animals, despite the views of figures such as Leonardo da Vinci, who said simply: “There will come a time when people like me will look at the animal killer as they do now look at the killer of people” (Gelb 2017). It seems that the greatest discrepancy between the animal world can be found in Spinoza's views, and the far-reaching harmful effects had the Cartesian theory of *res extensa* and *res cogitans*. Although the first of them granted animals the right to feel, but at the same time argued that they are different from human feelings, so they can be used freely to meet human needs. According to Spinoza, “the law prohibiting the killing of animals is based more on vain superstition and divine mercy than on common sense” (Spinoza, 1954). However, it is the Cartesian way of looking at human-animal relationships that has been reminiscent to this day. According to Descartes, the key element that “makes us human and different from animals” (Descartes, 2005) is reason. Animals are merely machines without communication skills and suffering. “My views are not so cruel to animals, but convenient to people – at least for those who do not believe the Pythagorean prejudices – they free them from the charge of crime when they eat or kill animals” (Singer, 2004). The Cartesian concept influenced the justification of numerous live animal experiments conducted in the name of science.

It is not true, however, that only such ideas emerged among modern philosophers. Michel de Montaigne represented one of the most open views. In his opinion, a man, despite his predispositions, should not feel distinguished from animals as he does not belong to the higher species. On the one hand, he criticizes religious beliefs about the creation of a man in the image of God, on the other, he indicates that in comparisons human beings are much closer to animals (Montaigne, 2004). Montaigne clearly condemned cruelty to animals – he did so not for fear of being transferred to humans, but for the animals themselves, which had the same right to life as humans. “As far as I'm concerned, I've never been able to watch,

[2] It is worth paying attention to the ecological decalogue of St. Francis of Assisi based on his writings and early Franciscan sources – compare: https://swietostworzenia.pl/czytelnia/16-ekologia-franciszkanska/122-ekologiczny-dekalog-sw-franciszka-z-asyzu [Access: 24.12.2017].

without anger, the persecution and killing of an innocent and defenseless animal that does no harm to us" (Montaigne, 2004). Among modern thinkers, it is also worth paying attention to the concept of Johne Locke, who spoke about consciousness both in relation to man and animals. Views on the mental abilities of animals can also be seen in Leibniz. However, he made a significant difference – only people are able to understand morality, and according to the thinker, thanks to the ability to think abstractly (Leibniz, 1955). Another groundbreaking thinker who recognized that animals had the respect and the right to be treated well by humans was J.J. Rousseau. Among the philosophical concepts that could help in the discussion about animal welfare, one should also mention the concept of David Hume, who stated: "no truth seems to me more obvious than that animals have thought and reason as well as man" (Hume, 1963). In his opinion, indifferent attitude, and worse – cruelty, was humiliating to man (Zaorsa, 2016). The concept of Artur Schopenhauer, who simply calls "people devils on this earth, and animals tormented by souls" (Stecko, 2011) has become an extremely important voice in the defense of animals. He paid particular attention to the issue of awareness (Schopenhauer, 2009).

However, it seems that Jeremy Bentham had the greatest impact on animal rights discussions. According to this thinker: "one should not ask whether animals can reason or speak but can suffer" (Bentham, 1958). Man, wanting to show his superiority, has emphasized for centuries that he outweighs animals with his reason and communication skills, instead of paying attention to what unites us. No matter how we differ, we are all capable of suffering. Bentham directly writes: "May the day come when everyone recognizes that the number of legs, the hairiness of the skin, or the ending of the *os sacrum*, are also not convincing arguments that letting an affection be allowed to be tormented. Because of what you can draw an impassable border? Would it be because of it has the ability to reason or maybe the gift of speech? However, an adult horse or dog is incomparably rational and more able to communicate with an animal than a child having a day or week or even a month of life" (Bentham, 1958).

As you can see, for centuries views about human-animal relations have not been homogeneous, and so it is today. In discussions about respect for animals, there are arguments that were cited centuries ago, and as it turns out – consumer pleasure, satisfaction and a full stomach are invariably "values" that affect our relationship with the natural world.

3. "GASTROCENTRIC" STIMULI AS A REGULATOR OF ETHICAL HUMAN ACTIVITIES

According to Koehler: "passions change, gentle views, but the taste remains the same: venison roast, hare pate, roe deer – they are still welcome and do not bring unpleasant associations. These are not matters of subtle nerves, but paramount issues: the field of stomach needs!" (Koehler, 1981). Your master, says Koehler, is your stomach. Is it true that our egoism and taste preferences are responsible for the deaths of billions of animals? Approximately 70 billion farm animals are killed each year (Czarnaowca, 2014). Advertisements of meat, cheese and milk chocolate give us idyllic images of happy pigs and cows grazing in the meadows. And consumers – as Koehler writes – even if they think that a tasty piece of meat they just eaten pulsated with the joy of life a moment ago, they want to believe that "professionals doing this to some extent and on their moral account their bloody duty, seem skillfully and humanely based on the methods of action developed by expert technicians of modern, painless slaughter" (Koehler, 1981). Koehler's words, even though they were written almost 40 years ago, are still valid today, and the imaginations of consumers are equally naive and far from the truth. Not only many of these animals will never experience freedom in nature – they spend their lives in a small cage, without even seeing a scrap of the sky. On the other hand, those who have ever had the opportunity to "enjoy the joy of life" felt the nightmare of transport, whose description of conditions due to the volume of the text I will skip, although this is a very controversial topic.

What does "typical slaughter" look like? Andrzej Elżanowski talks about this in detail (Kowalski, 2013). Chickens on the conveyor belt hang their heads down so that their heads are immersed in a live gutter that should be stunned. Often, however, the birds bow their heads, and as a consequence, not only the conscious go under the knife, but even die only in boiling water. "Research from the American government shows that in the US it can be up to four million birds a year" (Kowalski, 2013). Slaughtering of calves, cows or bulls looks a bit different. Animals should be stunned effectively before slaughter. The butcher puts a special pistol on their heads. There is a bolt inside it, which under pressure is pushed out with enormous force from the "barrel" of the pistol and strikes the animal in the skull (Kowalski, 2013). According to research and observations regarding stunning devices, "slaughterers do not adjust the appropriate current to the size of the animal", hence some animals go to the conscious and conscious tape. "The tape goes on – you need to cut the arteries and drain 20 liters of blood, then peel off the skin. It happens that a cow is still alive at this stage" (Kowalski, 2013). According to the report of the Supreme Audit Office, 60% of Polish slaughterhouses inspected did not comply with the provisions on the conditions of slaughtering animals (*Książka o prawach zwierząt…*, 2014). Consumers, when putting ribs on the grill, do not want to think about the slaughterhouse. But perhaps – as Paul McCartney wrote – "if the slaughterhouses had glass walls, everyone would be a vegetarian" (McCartney, 2012).

What is the veal so tasty and recommended on culinary blogs? Like more than a 2–4-week-old "child" of a cow, and as specialists point out, the best quality meat comes from the youngest animals fed during this short period of their life mainly with mother's milk. And if we want it to reach the highest market price, then we starve them, leading to anemia and at the same time the most expensive, pale pink meat. Nine months of pregnancy equals our dinner, and in the specialist press they are referred to only as "live". According to Koehler, the "nce domesticated, and today specifically animal mechanized in its life processes, the pathetic remnants of its personality were taken away. Since his birth, it is – just meat. Living Meat!" (Koehler, 1981).

Koehler is convinced that the promotion of vegetarianism would inevitably be a completely fruitless and lifeless undertaking in Poland! (Koehler, 1981). Let's try, though for a moment, to imagine what would happen if we stopped eating meat as humans? It seems that the first benefit – extremely important from the point of view of ethics – is that no one would probably starve to death anymore. Food would be enough for everyone. According to specialists, if the legumes and cereals used to feed farm animals were to be used for people – the problem of hunger would be solved (Tylikowska, 2017). Analyzes show that to produce 1 kilogram of meat, you need about 12 kilograms of feed and from several to several thousand liters of water. As a result of the desertification caused by the Earth's desert, water becomes a scarce resource. The production of one hamburger "meat insert" consumes it as much as a two-month uninterrupted shower.

If we gave up meat, the world would also be much less polluted and we would slow down climate change. Marco Springmann (Gazeta.pl, 2018) from the University of Oxford estimates that reducing meat consumption in the world could reduce greenhouse gas emissions by as much as two-thirds. This would slow down global warming. By 2050, average temperatures would not rise by more than 2 degrees. This is twice less than current forecasts. The scientist estimates savings for the world even at USD 30 trillion a year.

It also seems that the introduction of a plant-based diet would reduce the problem of obesity, thus - improve health, and savings due to this (only on the purchase of medicines alone) would constitute as much as 2–3% of the gross world product. Interestingly, we would probably also deal with one of the biggest challenges of modern medicine – antibiotic resistance. It turns out that the drugs used to treat animals on industrial farms remain in meat, and people as consumers of this product are becoming increasingly resistant to antibiotics. These actions – according to Dr. Marco Springmann – would extend the lives of people and at the same time introduce huge savings estimated at 700–1000 billion dollars a year (Ceglarz, 2017)

So if we can't convince people to eat meat with ethical considerations, it may be worth paying attention to economy, ecology and especially – the egoism of people. Since today we care about ourselves the most, maybe we will modify the diet out of care for our health and life. According to Marcin Piotrowski - the chef of one of the exclusive restaurants – “If people were aware of the ingredients in their meat, probably half of them would exclude them from their diet at all”. Currently, various chemicals are added to meat to extend its date of consumption or improve appearance.

From the Polish slaughterhouses, pork carcasses leave with a 30-percent carrageenan injection from protein hydrolyzate, and the sausages are already virtually meat free. If we are what we eat, is it better to have a garden in our belly than a cemetery?

4. ANIMALS ARE STILL WAITING

In a man – according to Koehler – there is what he calls “the hunger for the pleasure of killing”: “in poverty of eternal hunger for prey, in the symbolism sanctifying sacred torture performed in the name of satisfying the alleged hunger of an imaginary deity, there was a genuine hunger for the pleasure of killing, lifted to the religious peak ecstasy” (Koehler, 1981). According to Koehler, both the average consumer and experienced biologist are aware of the intensification of not only physical but also psychological suffering in animals sentenced to rape or the role of experimental material (Koehler, 1981). This thesis is confirmed by contemporary zoologist Professor Andrzej Elżanowski, in subsequent texts he indicates how monstrous and aware of this bestiality. If the variety of life forms on Earth, Koehler writes, “were limited to self-living organisms, which are plants capable of photosynthesis, there would be no problem of suffering. To be more precise – there would be no pain that would be within the sensitivity range of the receptors in which perhaps the most primitive animal organisms are equipped” (Koehler, 1981).

Koehler asks: “Will there ever come a time when a rational man – *Homo sapiens* – for centuries of his existence on Earth – the cruelest predator and inexhaustible sower of pain, will turn his genius against suffering” (Koehler, 1981)? In my opinion no.

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