



Women's self – employment
A case study of Poland

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1. Abstract

Gender discrimination on a labour market is a widely discussed problem. In Poland the discussion started after 2004 when Poland joined European Union. Poland was forced to introduced regulations about gender equality common for all member countries. Then the problem of unequal opportunities for men and for a women became vital in a public discussion.

In my thesis I described gender relations on the labour market from a perspective of women who decided to enter into self-employment. I investigated the phenomenon of this form of employment in a few aspects. I focused on reasons why women decided to become self-employed, barriers they need to faced, benefits connected with being self-employed, relations between entrepreneurs. My main aim was to characterize the phenomenon of self-employment with a special attention if it might change unequal access to economic power for women in the labour market.

I also wanted to know if the greater participation of women in a labour market might overcome the stereotypical picture of women as a wife and mother. I used a Polish context also because of other reason. Mechanisms of a free market was introduced in Poland after 1990. So all the processes connected with free market are quite new for a Polish society

I made a research on a group of 177 respondents who fulfil my questionnaire. I completed questionnaires with semi – structured interviews with self-employed women. In Poland it was a first research on self-employed women concerning push and pull factors into self-employment, barriers for women who decide to enter into this form of employment as well as benefits from being self – employed.

All conclusions from my research I described with a Pierre Bourdieu theory of field-habitus-capitals. This theory fit perfectly to describe my research. I had a few interesting conclusion from my analysis.

Women are aware of unequal gender relations on the labour market. They feel that they are discriminated and perceived by the employers as a worse employees. The main reason for this are family responsibilities. Women are seen on the first place as a mothers and wives and then as a employees.

What is more, although women are realized that they are unfair discriminated, they try to keep their subordinated position. Women from my research know that men have a better chance to get a good job and they act accordingly to this situation.

Furthermore, I found that my respondents on the one hand declare that they do not agree with a gender discrimination but on the other hand, when it comes to the hypothetical close-to-life situation, act as if they agree with it.

When it comes to the self-employment I found that it has a great potential help women to get the economic power and to change a gender relation on the labour market. Self-employed women gain a lot of new skill and abilities connected with leading a company as well as with personal development. What is more, although majority of the companies have only one employee (the owner), respondents declared that they have in a near perspective to expand their companies by introducing new goods or services. Furthermore, they also admitted that greater participation women in the market might contributes to overcome a stereotypical picture of woman as a mother and wife. One of women said that the presence of women in the market is like “coming out of the shadow”.

In Poland there is a lack of research on gender relations on the labour market. I hope that my thesis will be a useful contribution to the debate about women's discrimination.

2. Introduction

Labour market is a place of constant changes. Last century brought us new technologies, fast modernization, easy flow of information, capitals and people. These processes are “enabling individuals, corporations and nation-states to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before”(Chineze J. Onyejekwe, 2004, p.1). All this factors make labour market an interesting field for a research.

Because globalization processes, market became a place of an interplay of international corporations, which became one of the most important actors on the world stage. As a result, these corporations, relations that they create inside as well as outside of them, affects alterations in social mores.

Relations and problems that are present on the market have an impact also on other fields: cultural, political and social. For example, collapse of the communist system was caused by a huge economic problems. What is more, because of the introduction of democratic system there was a transformation from a common to a market economy. All these changes contributed to a social and cultural change in all Central and Eastern Europe societies (individualization, mobility of individuals, liberalization, pluralization).

Polish market is particularly absorbing case. Processes which had a place in Western Europe some years ago now have a place in Poland, but in a huge acceleration (change of ownership, deregulation of prices, free - not centrally regulated - relations between market participants). All free market mechanisms had been introduced at once, what was named “shock therapy”(E. Osborn and K. M. Słomczyński, 2005, p. 23). After the 1989 Poland became a very attractive place for business so there has been a huge inflow of foreign capital (setting up companies with foreign capitals). Polish entrepreneurs had to learn very fast how to behave in a totally new environment with a different rules. Poland was also an example of a process which I mentioned before – mutual influence economic, political and social changes. Many people had to redefine their place in the society. Also a lot of relations, for example those on the labour market, needed to be seen from a new perspective. One of the relation that had to be redefine was a gender relation on the labour market.

From the beginning of twentieth century, women position on the market was

ambivalent. There has been a dramatic change of women's place in Polish market during the transition. Before 1989 women "constituted almost 50 percent of the nation's workforce" (Bozena Leven, 2008, p. 3), which was one of the highest in Europe. Officially women discrimination did not have a place in a socialistic system, because it was not consistent with ideology (Bozena Leven, 2008, p. 3).

After the transition, rate of women unemployment severely increased up to 60% while men's was 49%. Because of the economic problem in the country and a huge unemployment, Church and traditional patriarchal culture encourage women to stay at home and take care of their children and husbands. This part of women who decided not to stay at home and get back on the labour market faced a new reality. For a long time it was acceptable to write in a job advertisement what kind of expectations employer has when it comes to age, sex and marital status. Women also were frequently asked during the interviews about their family plans or asked to sign up an obligation to not get pregnant during the next few months or years (Bozena Leven, 2008, p.4).

Nowadays, we have an official gender equality. Women cannot be discriminated during the process of job application or cannot get lower payment because of their gender. That's how it looks on the paper. When it comes to facts, it does not look so optimistic. Women participation on a labour market in Poland is 48% (Report: Women on the Labour Market: Today and in the Future, 2008, p.7). To compare this rate, in European Union countries it was 54.8% in 2003 and 57.2% in 2006. As it comes from the research, women need to search for a job about a one month longer than men (Report: Women on the Labour Market: Today and in the Future, 2008, p.7). Furthermore, it needs to be mentioned that women earn about 12% (2006) less than men. In Poland in 1998 the gap equalled was 30%, in 2003 - 18%, and in 2004 - 16% when it comes to the gap in male and female earnings (Report: Women on the Labour Market: Today and in the Future, 2008, p. 9).

What is interesting, women are better educated than men. In 2002 11.4% of men and 15.6% of women had a higher or post-secondary education (Demographic Yearbook of Poland, 2008, p. 551). So why women earn less and occupy a lower position in the labour market?

First group of reasons is connected with biological factors. Only women can give a birth, but because of the maternity leave they are excluded from a market for a couple of months or even years. There is still very strong social pressure that only woman who has a

child can be fulfilled in life. Very often, women decided to quite their jobs, because they feel like juggling work and family life is too difficult. Women which decided to keep their jobs after having a child have two occupations: the one at work and the one at home. "Occupational sex segregation, like discontinuous female employment, is often portrayed as the product of rational choices by individuals seeking to balance work and family roles"(M. Charles et al, 2001, p. 6).

In Poland retirement age for women is 60 years and for men it is 65. In practice it means that average woman works 5 years shorter so she will get lower retirement. This regulation supposed to give an advantage for women, but in fact it causes financial discrimination.

Next explanation of women unprivileged position on the market is, according to some scientists, that they underestimate their future on a market causing that they invest less in education and skills needed on a labour market. This way of thinking contributes to lower future earnings capacity (B. Sen, 2010, pp. 2 - 3).

Women are socialized to be meek, caring and not demanding what is connected with their lack of ability to negotiate. "As a result, women in business often watch their male colleagues pull ahead, receives better assignment, get promoted more quickly and earn more money"(L. Babcock et al, 2003, pp. 2 – 3).

Over the centuries women have received poorer education than men and was perceived as a cheaper labour force. Because of the process of stereotyping, even though today women are better educated than men, they are still seen as a unqualified and cheap labour force. Following Ewa Lisowska [one of the most influential researcher in Poland and in Europe in gender relations in the market, women's self – employment and barriers to women's entrepreneurship and female styles of management - author's note], women get lower salary because in "female occupations" are simply lower earnings than in "male occupations" (Report: Women on the Labour Market: Today and in the Future, 2008, p. 8). "Women are concentrated in relatively few female-labeled sales, service, and clerical occupations, and these positions tend to be associated with lower pay, fewer fringe benefits, less authority, and fewer opportunities for advancement than do those dominated by men"(M. Charles et al, 2001, p. 6).

Next reason of women's discrimination is phenomenon called "glass ceiling": an invisible barrier preventing from being promoted on a managerial positions (Report: Women

on the Labour Market: Today and in the Future, 2008, p. 9). Ewa Lisowska also points out as a reason of women discrimination such as prejudice (stereotypes) and a lack of safe-guard legal mechanisms which would be mitigate negative influence of cultural/social factors (Report: Women on the Labour Market: Today and in the Future, 2008, p 9).

According to Ewa Lisowska, there are two main reasons why women decide to enter into self – employment: high women unemployment rate and lower than man chances to find a job. Women which decide to set up a company are usually about 40 years old or above, married, have one or two grown up children, with many years of experience working in a public sector (Report: Women on the Labour Market: Today and in the Future, 2008,p. 6).

Ewa Lisowska enumerates factors which can explain why women prefer to become self – employed, such as financial and decision making independence, a way of escaping from a “glass ceiling”, opportunity of having higher income and that they can manage their time on they own (Report: Women on the Labour Market: Today and in the Future, 2008, p. 11).

In 1989 only 3.7% of entrepreneurs was women, in 1993 it was 11%, in 1997 34% and in 2002 up to 37% of all entrepreneurs were women(Report: Women on the Labour Market: Today and in the Future, 2008,p. 6)

There are a few tendencies on the market which allows to predict that women will be more successful in leading a company than man. First is that services are becoming more and more important economic sector and “women are more diligently engaged in strategic and tactical facets of their business than men, and they are more proactively customer-focused”. What is also crucial in conducting a business is how the owner treats employees, if she/he enables them to grow and develop their skills and abilities.“Women small business owners will ultimately create more opportunities for employees to grow in their jobs and inspire others(...)”(A. Pace, 2010, p. 1).

Nevertheless self – employment is also connected with less stability and more responsibilities. There is also a question if even being self – employed women are still discriminated on a labour market.

According to Kiran Mirchandani(1999), even though woman is leading a company, she does it in a “male way”. There are still rules inside as well as outside the company which force women to accept “boys rules” when it comes to conducting a business. Rules present on labour market are adjusted to relations and values appreciated by men and created through the centuries, when only men were an active actors on the labour market. K. Mirchandani(1999)

claims that women while leading a business accept, consolidated in culture, their subordination to men. On the labour market are rewarded values more related to features connected with men than women, for example hierarchical structure and a strong position of a leader in a company, aggressive way of negotiation, goal orientation (K. Mirchandani, 1999, pp.225 - 226).

When we look at numbers we can see that women can be unprivileged on the labour market because of their gender. The question remains, how or if from self – employment can women benefit or if it can help women to gain economic power, which can help change their social and political position.

In my thesis I will investigate and characterise phenomenon of women's self-employment in Poland. I will describe does self-employment have the potential to change the relations in the market and how self-employment influence gender relations on the market.

First question is about push/pull factors women into self-employment. To find an answer to that questions I will need to describe relations in the market, find out what kind of motivations women have, why they decide to choose this kind of employment and what difficulties they met during the entrance into self - employment.

My second question concerns how self-employment influence women's economic, social and cultural capital (see: Theory, Capitals). In other words, I will analyze in what way being self-employed contributed to gaining new skills or abilities (cultural capital), helped to create formal and informal networks with other entrepreneurs (social capital) and if self-employment might contribute to capital increase, for example expansion of company and its economic growth(economic capital).

My research is even more interesting, because according to the information from the interview with Ewa Lisowska there are not exists research about self-employment in Poland concerning push/pull factors, capitals as well as habitus of women who decided to enter into self-employment.

3. Thesis overview

1. Abstract

2. Introduction

In the Introduction I presented my problem and my research questions. I shortly described why I am interested in the women's self-employment and I presented some facts about labour market in Poland. I also explained why self-employment is an interesting subject and why I decided to place my research in Polish context.

3. Thesis overview

4. Method and methodology

Since I made both qualitative and quantitative research methodology is a very important part of my thesis. First I characterized my scientific approach and relation between research and theory. I described how I was doing my research step by step. I started with a literature overview. Then I prepared a questionnaire in on the basis of the chosen theory. Since I made my questionnaires using Internet I wrote about advantages and disadvantages of doing research by the Internet. I wrote about criteria of validity and reliability in quantitative research. Very important part of a methodology is a process of selecting my sample.

My next step was preparing questions for an interviews. I wrote about validity, reliability and replicability in quantitative research. I shortly characterized semi-structured interviews and explained why I decided to choose this type of interview. I wrote about my interviewees and how I did my interviews. I will also present a notion of triangulation which I use as one of the method to connect qualitative and quantitative methods.

Since I also used in my research secondary data, I wrote about why I did it as well as advantages and disadvantages of using this type of data

5. Theory

In my thesis I used a Pierre Bourdieu theory of the field-habitus-capitals. I started with a short introduction to this theory and its application in organizational analysis. Later I described notion of the field, habitus and capitals: economic, social, cultural and symbolic. I also wrote

about the process of symbolic domination presented also by Pierre Bourdieu. I mentioned about origins of these concepts and tried to put it in organizational context. I also described how I wanted to connect them with my research and use it in the Analysis and Discussion.

6. Analysis

In the Analysis, I presented result of my research. I did it in a more descriptive way. I presented only those data which I will use it later in a Discussion. I did not connect here results of my research and the theory, because I will do it in a later part - Discussion. Nevertheless, I added some comments to the presented data.

7. Discussion

In a Discussion I connected the most important to my problem result of my research with a Pierre Bourdieu theory. I also described these results in a context of this theory and using notions from the theory of the field-habitus-capitals.

8. Conclusion

In a Conclusion I tried to summarize the main problems and result in my thesis. I also tried to write about future perspectives for the women's self-employment in Poland.

9. Bibliography

10. Appendixes

The first appendix is a questionnaire which I send to my respondents. The next one will be the all results of my research. I will also add questions I asked my interviewees. Since I recorded my interviews but did not make a transcriptions, I will also add a CD with all interviews. I added two interviews which I transcribed: interview with Jacek Prześlakowski and with a Ewa Lisowska.

4. Method and Methodology

4.1. Scientific approach

Recently problem of women's discrimination on a labour market is widely discussed. It is also one of my biggest interest. In Poland, especially after 2004 when Poland joined the European Union, there was also debate about women position in a society, domestic violence and the presence of women in public life. My attention caught a project "New qualifications" prepared by National Chamber of Commerce: a two – year nationwide (between 2006 and 2008) project whose aim was to help women to start their own business. In this project participated 6500 of women. I found this project very interesting for a few reasons. First is that this is the second biggest project in Europe concerning women's self – employment. What is more, since it has ended two years ago now is a very good time to look for conclusions.

I decided first to make a quantitative research (on line questionnaire) and then, on the base of result this research made a qualitative research(interviews). I got an email addresses to women who participated in this project and got a grant to start their own business. I have sent on line questionnaires to 1899 women and I got 177 responses. I made an interview with Mr. Jacek Prześlakowski who was one of the coordinators of this project. I have also made an interview with Mrs. Ewa Lisowska who also participated in realization of this project. What is more, she is also one of the most influential researcher of women position on the Polish as well as other Central European countries labour market. I made also interviewees with participants of this project. Unfortunately, I was not so lucky with interviewees as I was with questionnaires. I managed to make only four interviews.

Language was a huge problem for me. Since I made my research in Poland, it was natural for me to send to my respondents questionnaires in Polish, as well as making interviews in Polish (it made all situation less awkward and less formal). Thus, I had to spend a lot of time on translation of obtained information. I did my best to translate all the given information as literally as possible. I hope I did not lost any important information in my translation.

4.1.1. Constructionism

I choose Constructionism as my ontological approach. It is more connected with qualitative than quantitative research. Although, I thought that it might be a good idea to combine those

two methods with constructionism as something what guided me through the whole research process.

On the top of that, choosing constructionism was natural for me because of the theory I decided to use in my thesis. Constructionism must “examine the processes by which the social world is constructed”(Bryman, 2009, p. 20). Similar, in the theory of field-habitus-capital, the foundation is that social practices are created as a product of relations between elements of social reality. In a constructionism approach “The world...is constituted in one way or another as people talk it, write it and argue it”(Bryman, 2009, p.20). So, as you can see, to maintain integrity between theory and methodology I decided to use, constructionism was an obvious choice.

4.1.2. Relationship between theory and research

Since I had a litter knowledge about the problem I choose to analyse in my thesis, I started with literature overview. It gave me a general view on the situation. During the project duration “New qualifications, work, enterprise for unemployed women” there were made a research about women's attitude towards self-employment, barriers for women on a labour market, their motivations to enter into self-employment. Results of these research were published in a book “Zarządzanie mikroprzedsiębiorstwem. Podręcznik dla przedsiębiorczej kobiety”[“Small business management. Handbook for enterprising women”-author's note] red. Ewa Lisowska and Rafał Kasprzak. With having in mind chosen theory and with some conclusions from a book mentioned above, I made my questionnaire. My thesis is mainly empirical, although I use literature as an analytical framework to named and to get a better understanding of a given problems.

4.2. Questionnaire

I constructed my questionnaire based on the theory of field-habitus-capitals. I created questions concerning Bourdieu's conception. Some of the questions were prepared in relation to already made research during the project duration. I do not know what kind of problems women might have when they enter into self-employment, so I use most frequently chosen answer for this question from the research published in a book *Zarządzanie mikroprzedsiębiorstwem. Podręcznik dla przedsiębiorczej kobiety*[“Small business

management. Handbook for enterprising women”-author's note]. Similar situation with a question about reason why my respondents decided to set up a company. As a result, my questionnaire consists of questions which entails from the Bourdieu's theory as well as a from results from the research published in book mentioned above.

4.2.1.Criteria of validity and reliability

When it comes to the quantitative research, criteria of validity and reliability must be consider. Following Bryman (2009) reliability “refers to the consistency of a measure of a concept”(Bryman, 2008, p.149). If I made my research again and ask respondents the same questions, there probably would be some kind of fluctuations. Thus the results would be more less the same. In my research all respondents need to answer the same questions. For four weeks the questionnaire was available to respondents. In my opinion I fulfil the requirement of reliability.

Validity is related “to the issue of whether an indicator (or set of indicators) that is devised to gauge a concept really measures that concept”(Bryman, 2008, p. 151). There is always a question about external validity (also called generalization)(Bryman, 2008, p.33). How can we know what kind of the sample size will be representative? In most cases, researchers want to apply the results of their researches on the people who did not take a part in a research. The problem of representative sample is always an issue. Random respondents do not guarantee that the research will be representative.

When it comes to the sample that I used in my research, I select it from a participants of a project “New qualifications”. In this project took a part about 6500 women. About 2000 got a grant to start their own business. I got email addresses to 1899 women and I got 177 responses. I will generalize findings from my research on a population of women who participated in the project “New qualifications” and got a grant. It need to be mentioned that I will also generalize some conclusion on the whole society.

I had open as well as closed questions in my questionnaire. Sometimes it was difficult for me to think about possible answers and I decided to ask my respondents answer. Thus, I have tried to have as more as possible closed questions. Since it was an on line questionnaire, I consider it easier for my respondents.

4.2.2. Construction of questions

Most of the answers for my questions was constructed on a basis on Likert scale. My respondents needed to indicate if they strongly disagree, disagree, agree or strongly agree with a given statement. I decided not to incorporate into the scale answer 'I do not have an opinion', because it is the easier answer for respondents to choose. I wanted that they really think about my questions and choose the answer which reflects their opinion the best.

As I wrote before, propositions of a possible answers to choose to two questions I took from a research made by Ewa Lisowska on the participants of the project “New qualifications” during the duration of this project.

4.2.3. On line questionnaire

Some years ago appeared a new possibility for a social research: an Internet. I used Internet to collect answers for a questions from my questionnaire. I decided to put my questionnaire on the special website with questionnaires to fulfil. I send to my respondents link to this questionnaire. What is more, I did not have to enter the data by myself to Excel, but I could imported data from the website to the Excel and made diagrams and so on.

According to Bryman, research made by Internet are more economical when it comes to time and money. What is more, researcher is able to reach a much larger number of respondents. Furthermore, the problem of distance does not exist. We might make a research in India sitting by our desk in Portugal. The last think was the most important in my research. When you use Internet to make your research you are able to finish it very quickly(Bryman, 2008, p.632). In my case, the questionnaire was available to respondents for four weeks, but after first two weeks I gathered all needed data.

Nevertheless, we have to remember about disadvantages of using Internet in researches. Bryman (2008) mentions about few of them. First disfavour is that not everyone has an access to the Internet. What is more, very often people do not read mails that looks like spam. Next is that researcher loses personal contact with respondents. Furthermore, people are afraid to disclose information about themselves because of fear of fraud and hackers(Bryman, 2008, p.632). Bryman does not mention about one more disadvantage. My on line questionnaire started to complete about 300 respondents, but only 177 finished it. I think that the reason why people did not finished was anonymity and, what Bryman also pointed out, lack of personal contact.

4.3. Interviews

After analysis of the data from my questionnaires, I had a clearer picture of my problem and I was able to create questions for my interviews. I hoped that the information from the interviews will help me understand better a few issues from a questionnaires which surprised a lot.

4.3.1. Reliability and validity in qualitative research

When it comes to the qualitative research there must be consider criteria of external reliability and external validity. External reliability refers to the possibility to replicate the research. External validity is connected with generalization of the findings (Bryman, 2008, p.377). Qualitative research are rather difficult to replicate. What we will hear from our interviewee depends on his mood, they way we asked the question as well as the time of day. Furthermore, someone can say the same information but formulated differently and we might understand it as a new information. In the interview, in contrast to questionnaires, we do not have 'yes' or 'no' answers. We do not know how the other person understand particular notion or in what context uses some expressions. Interpretation of information is very subjective, what is main criticism of qualitative methods (Bryman, 2008, p.391).

When it comes to the external validity in qualitative research the problem lies in the small samples (Bryman, 2008, p.376). I made all in all six interviews. I would be difficult to draw a general conclusions from such a small number of interviews. I have rather treat information from interviews as a complement of my quantitative research.

4. 3.2. Semi – structured interviews

I decided to prepare semi – structured interviews. I had a list of questions prepared before, but I also wanted to ask some additional questions. I consider a semi – structured interviews as the most convenient form, because I was not limited by the strict form of questions. I asked the same group of women to which I send an email with a link to the questionnaire if they agree to participate in interview. Only four of them agreed. It was probably because of the summer time as well as lack of time of my respondents. I made also an interview with Jacek

Prześlakowski, who was one of coordinators of a project “New qualifications” and with Ewa Lisowska who also participated in coordinating these project.

I record interviews with participants of the project. I consider it as a best way, because I was able to have a normal conversation with my interviewees without losing an eye contact. For the first few questions my interviewees felt a little bit uncomfortable because I was recording what they were saying. Each interviewee took about 10 minutes. I made interviewee in Polish and made translations only quotations which I used in the Analysis and Discussion. The whole interviewees I added on CD to my thesis. I could not record interviews with Jacek Prześlakowski and Ewa Lisowska, but I took notes during our meetings and wrote it down when I got back home. These two interviews are in Appendix.

4.4. Between qualitative and quantitative research

There is a question about combining qualitative and quantitative methods in research. Both methods has its advantages and disadvantages. With quantitative research is easier to have a bigger sample. But with qualitative research we have a more in-depth information as well as opportunity to ask some additional questions.

In my research I decided to combine those two methods and connect numbers with words. Triangulation (Bryman, 2008, p.608) which Bryman defines as a “traditional view that quantitative and qualitative research might be combined to triangulate findings in order that they may be mutually corroborated”(Bryman, 2008, p.608) is a one way of combining qualitative and quantitative methods.

Since, even after an literature overview, I still had a little knowledge about my problem I thought that making an questionnaires will be a good idea. I constructed questions on the basis of Pierre Bourdieu theory of field-habitus-capitals. After analysis of my findings I prepared interviews. I consider it as a good sequence, because I could ask my interviewees about facts coming from questionnaires which were not fully understandable to me.

By using both types of method I have a big sample which enables me to generalize my findings as well as I managed to get explanation of results which were surprising for me. Furthermore, my interviewees told me that in questionnaire they feel that they do not have an opportunity to fully express their opinion on a given subject. They said that thanks to the interview they might not only highlight 'yes' or 'no', but also explain why they think this way.

4.5. Use of a secondary data

I also use in the analysis of a labour market (the field) secondary data about women's situation: wage gap, education, how long women and men need to look for a job.

Secondary data has a lot of advantages. First of all, very often we are not able to make all research we would like to make, because of the time, cost or our abilities (Bryman, 2008, p.296). In my research I needed data about women situation on a labour market in Poland to describe the structure of the field. I also wanted to see what is average education of women in Poland and education of my respondents. I was not able to collect these information by myself that is why I decided to use already made researches.

Nevertheless, sometimes we cannot find all information we need to have, that is why I decided to make my own research. Secondary data were only to supplement my own data.

5. Theory

‘To change the world, one has to change the ways of making the world, that is, the vision of the world and the practical operations by which groups are produced and reproduced’ (Bourdieu, 1990b, p.137, cited in Wendy Ashall, 2003, p.31)

5.1. Introduction

In my thesis I will use a Pierre Bourdieu theory of habitus-field-capitals. I will compliment his conception with theories presented by other researchers. First, I will shortly introduce Bourdieu's theory, then I will focus on how his conception can be applied in organizational studies. Following parts consist of particular elements of the Bourdieu' conception and their application in my thesis.

Bourdieu is a very influential, one of the most important sociologist in a modern sociology. He created a “conceptual triad”(Loïc Wacquant, 2006, p.9)of habitus-field–capitals (economic, social, cultural, symbolic). His conception of cultural capital was widely used in research on education, especially how origin of the person determines achievements in education. According to Bourdieu children raised surrounded by the art (classical music, paintings, books) have a better chance to have higher achievements in education. Also the social capital theory was very often applied in research on democracy and local communities. The theory of social capital is probably not the right expression, because as some scientists claim “Bourdieu does not offer a theory of fields, a theory of capital, or a theory of habitus, as stand-alone conceptual perspectives” (David L. Swartz, 2008, p.3).

The main core of Bourdieu's theory is constant process of domination between dominator and dominated, which can take place between individuals as well as group of individuals. This process is placed inside the field, which becomes a scene of continuous struggle for a place in a structures of power. Central to Bourdieu's conception is a dynamic between those who want to keep the social order as it is and those who endeavour to make some changes in their favour (Diane Vaughan, 2008, p.67). In a Part 2 I will explain the notion of the field, in Part 3 I will define habitus and in Part 4 I will elaborate the conception of capital.

5.1.1. Organizational Perspective

Scientists claim that use of “Bourdieuian perspective would help bring to the study of organizations a more sociology-centred understanding“ of a processes inside as well as outside of organizations (David L. Swartz, 2008, p.4).

In organizational studies most commonly used were two elements: field and capitals, what made habitus rather suppressed in analysis (Mustafa Emirbayer and Victoria Johnson, 2008, p.3). In most cases Bourdieu's theory is used in organizational analysis to analyse organizations – as – field. Such analysis contains relations inside the company. Company is seen as a separate field with its own structures of power as well as production and reproduction of capitals between individuals or groups inside the company. Although it is also applied to describe relations between a few organizations.

Most researches agree that organizational analysis cannot be complete without using all elements of the theory. “It takes both habitus and field—and capital—to connect micro and macro levels of analysis that should concern all organizational research”(David L. Swartz, 2008, p.3).

In my research I will use the whole Bourdieu's conceptual framework: the field, habitus and capitals to analyse processes and relations inside the field of Polish labour market with a special attention to self-employment as a specific element of the field.

What is more, I will focus not on labour market as a set of organizations, but I will try to look at it as a place “of specific types of struggle over particular types of capitals, which may or may not be limited to organizational bodies(…)”(David L. Swartz, 2008, p.5). With this broader understanding of the subject of my research I will be able to put it in a bigger picture of a conflicts of power between dominant and dominated groups in a society (David L. Swartz, 2008, p.5)

5.2. The field

The field is a very broad notion. It cannot be explain in a one sentence. Fields are “historical constellations that arise, grow, change shape, and sometimes wane or perish, over time” (Loïc Wacquant, 2006, p.7)where all human actions take place. There is no one field, there can be an academic field, political field, economic field. It is a network or configuration of objective relations between positions of individuals or groups. Bourdieu very often uses a

notion of a game to describe actions inside the field. Although, he also adds that in the game all rules are codified and clear for participants while in the field not everything is well-defined (P. Bourdieu, 2001, p.77). Some participants are aware of the expected behaviour and get the prize, which is most important capital in the particular field. Although, other group of players, who do not know how to play, will fail (Deborah Tranter, 2007, p.3).

Every field has its own structure of power and hierarchy of participants. Positions of participants depends on availability of capitals which are important in a particular field, “a field is by definition nothing other than those social relations produced by differential access to a particular, dominant kind of capital.”(Mustafa Emirbayer, Victoria Johnson, 2008, p.37). Every field has its own capital which is crucial for gaining access to the power inside of it. For example, for academic field the most important capital is knowledge while for the economic field it will be financial resources. Furthermore, amount of capital is limited, so there is a competition between participant, which entails inequality in access to the capital. Since possessing a capital gives a power, there are some individuals or groups who keep the power in the field and those who do not. As a result, one group become dominated and subordinated to dominant group who has the power to rule. Those who succeed in the game and took a dominant position try to keep the old regime of structure inside the field. While those who occupy the dominated position try to fight to get the capital, what translates into power in the field, or change the rules of the game (Loïc Wacquant, 2006, p.8).

Participants of the field are not allowed to occupy every position in the structure they want to. There is “an inter-dependency between the prior positions of agents and the position-taking strategies they select” (Simon Marginson, 2008, p.307). There are specified “trajectories” (Simon Marginson, 2008, p.307) and strategies of position-taking possible for players. These rules of position-taking are defined by doxa - “as a set of shared opinions and unquestioned beliefs that bind participants to one another.”(Loïc Wacquant, 2006, p.9).

Doxa is undisputed, obvious for all participants knowledge about the game and its rules, something that they “take for granted”. Doxa exists in every particular society and guards social order. When somebody is questioning doxa, he is also questioning the whole game and the rules of the society(P. Bourdieu, 2001, p.91).

What is need to be mentioned is that there are different rules of the game dependent on the specific field and stage of the game. Structures of thinking depend on structure of the field.

Field has its own autonomy, which is defined as “the capacity it has gained, in the course of its development, to insulate itself from external influences and to uphold its own criteria of evaluation over and against those of neighbouring or intruding fields”(Loïc Wacquant, 2006, p.8). In every field there are those who will defend rules and regime inside the field, and those who wants to change it with a help of external forces to possess a power inside the field. Independence of the field is constantly threatened (Loïc Wacquant, 2006, p.8).

Every field has its own barriers of entrance. They might be formal as well as informal. Participant who wants to win a prize or even become a player in a particular field needs to fulfil some requirements. Formal requirements might take a form of agreement or specified amount of money (when it comes to set up a company).

Informal barriers of entrance might not be clearly defined. They might be associated with a cultural, religious or social norms of a particular society. Something might be officially legal, but not 'socially accepted' for some groups. Good example are women education in nineteenth century, there had a right to study at universities, but it was not acceptable in a European societies.

Every field has a boundary of its influence. During the field's analysis it is very important to circumscribe them. Sometimes it is difficult to do this, because fields are overlapping and their boundaries are unclear. Nevertheless, you need to know the boundaries to define object of your research.

According to Bourdieu, there are three levels of field's analyse. First level defines position of a particular field in relation to the field of power. Second level is to describe structure of relations between participants positions. The last level is to make an analysis of the individuals' habitus who participate in the game (P. Bourdieu, 2001, p.87). When it comes to my research I will partially follow the way Bourdieu analyses the field. I will also characterize relations between participants of the participants and analyse their habitus.

5.2.1. Market as a field

Financial resources are crucial capital in the economic field. Bourdieu defines market as:

“the totality of relations of exchange between competing agents, direct interactions that depend(...)on an ‘indirect conflict’ or, in other words, on the socially constructed structure of

the relations of force to which the different agents engaged in the field contribute to varying degrees through the modifications they manage to impose upon it, by drawing, particularly, on the state power they are able to control and guide”(P. Bourdieu, 2005, p.204, cited in Richard Swedberg et al, 2009, p.11).

According to Bourdieu's conception, besides economic capital in an economic field also exist other capitals: social (networks between participants), cultural (knowledge, skills, abilities) and symbolic (“goodwill” or “brand name”)(Richard Swedberg et al, 2009, p.9). In the market there is the same logic as in the each other field. There is a structure of power, dominant and dominated groups of participants, struggles for capitals, specific rules of the game.

The field in my research is much broader than analysis of microstructure organization-as-field. Field in my research is a network of companies set up by women in the context of the Polish labour market, which makes a field of power. The conception of field will help me describe relations between participants of the field. I will analyse the relations of power, dominant and dominated groups and rules of the game. I will focus on gender relations on the market, barriers of entrance to the market for women, possible ways of positions-taking as well as profits from the game. I will also try to investigate how the relations on the market influence relations on other fields: social and cultural.

5.3.: Habitus

Habitus is an old notion, which history goes back to Aristotle. However, it was widespread after the 1960s by Pierre Bourdieu in his theory of field-habitus-capitals (Loïc Wacquant, 2005, p.1).

Habitus is an obvious knowledge about the world which individual has and which is necessary to act in a particular way. It is a vision of the world, relations inside the society, rules and possible way of behaving, “deeply internalised within our bodies as well as our minds, usually below the level of consciousness”(Deborah Tranter, 2007, p. 4-5). Habitus tells us how to perceive our life, how to behave, think, it creates our values, expectations, learn how to “play the game” as well as inform us about chances of winning the prize. Habitus is constructed in a process of socialization by our family and school.

This culturally and socially created dispositions might be mistaken with biological

conditions, because there are reside so deep in our subconsciousness. We do not even ask about why we do things in a certain way, because it is so obvious and natural to us. For example it is legally allowed for men to take their wife surname after the wedding, but almost no one does it, because 'it is not how it should be done', because it would be denial of social/cultural order (Deborah Tranter, 2007, pp. 4-5).

Bourdieu finds a connection between habitus and social inequalities, “it is a kind of transforming machine that leads us to ‘reproduce’ the social conditions of our own production, but in a relatively unpredictable way.” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 87, cited in Deborah Tranter, 2007, pp. 4-5).

Habitus is a combination of a socialization and later experiences gained from participation in a different fields with different capitals. It determines how individuals assess his chances in a game, if it takes a high place in the structure of power or if he is not even able to enter into the game. Habitus also determines how participant play the game, what kind of strategies he uses to gain a capital, which can locate him in a dominant or dominated group. It is connection between different fields, each participant changes the field by his habitus and habitus of participant is changed by the field he enters (Mustafa Emirbayer & Victoria Johnson, 2008, p.4).

Habitus links microstructure (individual) with macrostructure (social structure-field). He is a “the product of structure, producer of practice, and reproducer of structure”(Loïc Wacquant, 2006, p.7). What is more, habitus is both a rule of “social continuity and discontinuity” (Loïc Wacquant, 2006, p.7). It ensure social continuity by translating values of a society and culture into individual “and transports them across time and space”(Loïc Wacquant, 2006, p.7). The reason why habitus is a principle of social discontinuity is that habitus might be changed by social forces present in a different fields (Loïc Wacquant, 2006, p.7). Often if individuals want to enter into the field and starts the game need to drastically change his habitus to fit in a new structure and accept rules from a new social order.

Crucial in Bourdieu's theory is relation between field and habitus. Bourdieu claims that social practices are created as a result of relations, mutual interdependence between habitus and field. To understand each action or process we need to analyse both habitus of individual and social structures (from where he took patterns of thinking and behaving, the

whole vision of the world). As a result, to describe relations in a field, habitus of the field participants is important as well as social structure inside the field.

What is more, to analyse habitus, researcher needs to define relations in the field (Loïc Wacquant, 2006, p.7). That is why elements of Bourdieu's conception cannot be separated and analysed one by one. Important are relations between them and mutual interdependence.

In my thesis I will analyse habitus of women which decided to enter into self-employment. I will focus on how they perceive the relations between men and women, if they agree with stereotypical division of labour. I will compare it with their opinions motivations why they decided to enter into self employment and how they perceive gender relations on a labour market. I will also investigate how in their opinion society sees women who work a full time and what is the image of businesswomen in a Polish society.

5.4.: Capitals

The word capital is associated mainly with economy. In Bourdieu's theory capital has a lot of dimensions. There might be cultural, social or symbolic capital. There all may be convert into economic capital, but also economic capital can be convert into them.

What all capitals have in common is that all of them might become an object of power struggle in the different fields (David L. Swartz, 2008, p.4). Each of these capitals has the potential "to produce profits and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form..." (Bourdieu, 1986b, p.241, cited in Wendy Ashall, 2003, p. 23). What kind of capital individual wants to aggregate depends on his habitus and the rules of the field. What is more, not only habitus choose for what kind of capital he will be playing, also all four capitals create individual's habitus (Wendy Ashall, 2003, p. 22).

5.4.1. : Economic capital

Economic capital "is not only shares and bonds and material goods. It is also know-how on how to handle monetary assets and how to behave in the world of corporations and finance" (Donald Broady, 2001, p.5-6).

In my analysis of a labour market-which is economic field-these type of capital is

crucial. In the economic field person or group who has a financial resources has a power in the field. As a result, every game is about this capital. It determines who will be deciding about the rules inside the field, who will change a position and who would not be able even to enter to the field, because he would not have enough financial resources to become a player.

5.4.2. : *Cultural capital*

This Bourdieu's concept was widely adopted in research on education. Bourdieu created his concept of cultural capital on a basis of research unequal educational achievements children from different social backgrounds (social classes). He defines cultural capital as an “internalized values, which manifest themselves in suitable manners, good taste, language use, special skills, abilities and competence’.

In other words, cultural capital can be defined as the shared sense of meaning that determines a group’s way of life (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 16). Individual gain them through process of socialization which takes place mainly in a family and at school (Bourdieu, 1986, p.2). He linked social class in which children are raised with a possibility of achievements in the educational field (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 243, cited in Deborah Tranter, 2007, p. 1).

The main statement in Bourdieu's conception is that the social environment (position in the social structure their parents, financial situation) influences the way individual sees the world, values he appreciates, life expectations and possibilities in achieving goals (Deborah Tranter, 2007, p. 1).

Cultural capital creates a “symbolic boundaries” (P. Bourdieu, 1986, p.19) in a social structure. This capital draw a line between groups who have it and those who do not have it. This process entails a social distinction between groups with a high and low social status, so groups who has a symbolic power and those who are subordinated by the lack of cultural capital (P. Bourdieu, 1986, p.19).

Cultural capital might have three forms: embodied, objectified and institutionalized.

Embodied form of capital refers to values acquired by individual in the childhood. They are passed by the parents and other people which participate in a the child's upbringing. This capital is transmitted by listening classical music, reading books by child's parents from a very young age, taking child to the theatre or to the move (Reay et al, 2005, cited in Deborah Tranter, 2007, p. 3). Objectified form of cultural capital are material cultural objects

such as books, paintings, sculptures and so on (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 246, cited in Deborah Tranter, 2007, p.3).

During the process of education are produced institutionalized forms of individual's capital. It mainly refers to “certificate[s] of cultural competence which confer on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture, ... institutional recognition of the cultural capital possessed by any given agent” (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 248, cited in Deborah Tranter, 2007, p.3).

Cultural capital is linked with other capitals-social, economic, symbolic. It might be used to get other capitals or transmit into these capitals, “academic qualifications are to cultural capital what money is to economic capital” (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977, p.187, cited in Deborah Tranter, 2007, p.3). High qualifications increase the possibility of a good job and high incomes and cultural goods might be sold for a huge amount of money (Deborah Tranter, 2007, p.3).

Cultural capital is a source of social inequality caused by the education system. School consolidates values of the social order of the dominant group to keep the dominated group in a subordinated position (Deborah Tranter, 2007, p.3).

Culture and Leisure Participation Framework proposed three elements to measure cultural capital: motivating factors (which includes personal beliefs such as faith to increase participation in the culture), resources (refers to cultural, human, financial, environmental, social and personal resources) and culture and leisure participation (habits, lifestyle, and attendance of cultural events)(P. Bourdieu, 1986, p.19).

The conception of cultural capital will help me to investigate if and how self-employment influence cultural capital of women which choose this form of employment. I will compare their social status (education and qualifications) with social status of their parents and their partner. My purpose is to see if they are higher in a social structure than their parents or if they keep the same position in a social hierarchy.

5.4.3. : *Social capital*

Short overview on the history of social capital in literature

It is hard to find one definition of social capital. Every definition highlights different dimensions of social capital. Some of them emphasize that social capital is produced mainly for common good, other says that this capital benefits mainly individuals. Other group of definitions says that presence of social structure is enough to produce social capital. While there are researchers which claim that besides social structure, there need to be trust between individuals or groups, shared values, norms and beliefs (Graham Hobbs, 2000, p.1).

Most common definition of social capital belongs to Pierre Bourdieu. He defines it as an “aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network” (Bourdieu, 1986, p.248, cited in Qianhong Fu, 2004, p.9). He highlighted that social capital appears as a result of a very strong connections, especially between prestigious groups (Qianhong Fu, 2004, p.9).

Collier (1998) claims that there are two types of social capital: government and civil. The first one is connected with some rule of law and more formal social contracts. The second is based on common norms, values, informal networks (Graham Hobbs, 2000, p.1). Falk and Kilpatrick (1999) claim that social capital entails from the process of learning interactions, such as “historical context, external interactions, reciprocity, trust, shared norms and values” (Graham Hobbs, 2000, p.3).

Robert Putnam was mainly interested how social capital can benefit participation in a democratic processes in local communities to create a common good. His understanding of social capital includes “the features of social organization, such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (Véronique Jochum, 2003, p. 7)

Robert Putnam distinguishes two types of social capital: bonding and bridging. Bonding capital refers to the homogeneous groups which share common identity, norms and values. Bridging capital links groups and individuals with different backgrounds when it comes to age, gender, ethnicity, economic and social status. Woolcock (2001) added third type: linking social capital. It is connected with networks based on hierarchical relationships (Véronique Jochum, 2003, pp.9-10).

Although, social capital was mainly used in a research on a democratic processes in a local communities, it was also introduced in organizational analysis. Nan Lin defines social capital as “the social relationships between individual actors, groups, organizations, communities,

regions and nations that serve as a resource to produce positive returns “(Qianhong Fu, 2004, p.9).

He claims that there are two crucial components of the social capital: size and heterogeneity of the network. Size refers to the number of connections that individual is able to create with others. Heterogeneity defines with whom individual creates these ties—with people who are similar (the same, age, gender, status, values) or with those who are his antitype. Structure of a created network depends on the number of ties (their density), how fast information flows between participants of the network and effectiveness of social support provided for individuals and groups (Qianhong Fu, 2004, p.9).

Fukuyama, who was interested in relations between trust, social capital and national economic success, emphasizes that social capital in economic field refers mainly to “a set of informal values and norms shared among members of a group that permit cooperation among them.”(Qianhong Fu, 2004, p.12). Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) added to Fukuyama's definition that to build social capital besides the network there also need to be assets that might be used by this network (Qianhong Fu, 2004, p.12).

Social capital creates networks on microlevel (micro-consequences) that have a very strong impact also on the macrolevel (macro-consequences)(Nan Lin, 2004, p.3). According to Nan Lin, social capital consists of both relationships (network) and resources. As a result, it might be measured as a sum of mobilized resources or possibilities to create networks (Nan Lin, 2004, p.3). Furthermore, Nan Lin claims that social capital is not produced by trust or shared norms but by structure itself.

He said that the access to resources integrated in a social structure depends on the place of the individual in a social structure. What is more, social networks might be used to achieve higher social status as well as gain financial resources (Qianhong Fu, 2004, p.14)

I have presented a few definitions of social capital which emphasized different dimensions of this conception. In my thesis I will mainly focus on Bourdieu's understanding of this notion and how Nan Lin incorporated social capital into organizational analysis. My main interest in this thesis is to investigate if women who enter into self-employment create networks and use a power coming from these ties. Furthermore, I would like to see if women perceive the need to make that kind of connections and how they think it should be done.

5.4.4. : *Symbolic capital*

Concept of symbolic capital was for the first time introduced by Pierre Bourdieu in 1970s. Bourdieu claims that all three capitals-social, economic and cultural might be use in favour of its owner only “through the mediation of symbolic capital”(Martti Siisiäinen, 2000, p. 13).

Social classes which have social, cultural or economic capital have only possibility to become a dominant class. Symbolic capital it is the “missing element” or “catalyst” that give those classes power over the subordinated classes (Martti Siisiäinen, 2000, p. 12).

"Symbolic capital ... is nothing other than capital, in whatever form, when perceived by an agent endowed with categories of perception arising from the internalization (embodiment) of the structure of its distribution, i.e. when it is known and recognized as self-evident" (Bourdieu 1985, p. 204, cited in Martti Siisiäinen, 2000, p.12).

This capital does not have a material form, but it might be created from material goods (for example money or art objects) and has the potential to be transferred into financial resources. Symbolic capital exists in a heads of individuals present in a social structure (Martti Siisiäinen, 2000, p.12) Symbolic capital occurs in every field and is above other capitals. It decides what kind of capital is crucial in particular field (Martti Siisiäinen, 2000, p.12).

Symbolic capital give symbolic power that determines division between dominant and dominated groups. The dominant group by using symbolic power keep rules of access to capital in their favour (Martti Siisiäinen, 2000, p.13).

With a help of the conception of symbolic capital I will investigate in my thesis if self-employment can give a prestige. I will also try to find out how businesswomen is seen in a society. Furthermore, I will ask my interviewees how are perceive, positively or negatively by society, women who work full time

5.5.: *Symbolic violence*

As I wrote before, symbolic capital creates a distinction between dominant and

dominated groups. Symbolic capital gives symbolic power. The simplest way to define symbolic power is to say that this is “a power to construct reality”(P. Bourdieu, 1979, p. 79).

Process of keeping one group in subordinated position leads to symbolic violence. Bourdieu defines it as a “soft violence, undetectable and invisible to its very victims, which is wielded essentially through purely symbolic channels or, more precisely, through recognition and misrecognition, or even through sentiment”(Loïc Wacquant, 2006, pp. 4-5).

Symbolic violence is legitimized by the formal and informal rules produced by the social structure and deeply hidden in the habitus. Symbolic power “is defined in and by a determinate relationship between those who exercise power and those who undergo it, i.e. in the very structure of the field within which belief is produced and reproduced “(P. Bourdieu, 1979, p. 82).

In Bourdieu's conception of symbolic violence men are dominant and women are dominated group. Wendy Ashall (2003) claims that between men and women exists unequal relation of power, in which women has inferior status.

The main aim of symbolic production is to create symbols of power of the dominant group. They might be material, such as buildings, or immaterial for example manner of speaking, naming, understanding of the notions, pronunciation (P. Bourdieu, 1979, p. 80).

Symbols are very important of social cohesion and integration. Through the symbols individuals gain the knowledge how to live in the society, what values are appreciated, what behaviour will be accepted and what will not. Symbols are necessary to reach an agreement “on the sense of the social world which makes a fundamental contribution toward reproducing the social order; 'logical' integration is the precondition of 'moral' integration”(P. Bourdieu, 1979, p.79).

According to Bourdieu, in every field we can observe struggle for capitals and power. Market is no exception from this rule. There is a dominant establishing principles and dominated group playing for capital. Symbolic violence is hard to notice or define. Thus it might activate all other capitals and gives the right to keep the social order in favour of dominant group. In my thesis I accept the hypothesis that man are dominant group and women stay in subordination in an economic field. The reason for my decision about unprivileged position of women on the market are facts about women's wage discrimination, high rate of unemployment or difficulties with promotion to managerial positions. In the

second part of Analysis (The field) I will present facts and data which support statements presented above.

6. Analysis

6.1. Case description

National Chamber of Commerce prepared a project “New qualifications, work and enterprise for unemployed women”. This project had a two years duration (from 2006 to 2008) and it was co financed by the European Social Found. This was a second largest in Europe (after Spain) project when it comes to a number of participants. The main aim of this project was to increase professional activity of women by the trainings on setting up a company and leading a business. The idea of this project was motivated by women's unprivileged situation on a Polish labour market (Link 1.).

In these trainings could participate women who are more than 30 years old, with at least post-secondary education, in a difficult situation on a labour market (unemployed or those who wanted to change their job)(Link 1.).

In the project participated about 6500 women. To get a grant for start their own business they had to write a business plan. 30% of all participants got a irreclaimable grant in amount of no more than 2500 Euro. As it comes from the interview with Jacek Prześlakowski (Appendix Interview 1.) this grant was small because the National Chamber of Commerce wanted women to use also other financial resources to motivated them to put more effort in conducting the business.

Furthermore, National Chamber of Commerce had an agreement with other entrepreneurs who provided a mentor system after participants of this project start their business. These women had their own “adviser”(a person who is successful in leading a company) in case if they have a questions or problems with their entrepreneurship.

As it comes from the website of the National Chamber of Commerce, trainings were supposed to:

- give a chance for women to star their own business
- raise their qualifications
- stimulate entrepreneurial attitudes among women
- to integrate unemployed women to the labour market
- raise women consciousness about their potential and awareness about processes on the labour market

- give a possibility to exchange experiences with other women as well as with a specialist in the field of economy, psychology, law.

Jacek Prześlakowski said that there was a huge role of Church in promoting this project. He also added that women after few days of trainings were changing. There were more self-confident, they started to do a make up and payed more attention to what they were wearing. During these trainings women appeared as a less willing to risk, but also as a very meticulous. Women from a small towns were more determined to learn and write a good business plan.

According to research made a year after women start their own business more successful were a small companies providing services, such as tailoring or those connected with cosmetic services. Less successful were women who started up business related to new technologies of Internet services (Interview 1.)

During the project duration there was made a research concerning entrepreneurial attitude of project participants. What is more, Ewa Lisowska (one of the coordinator of this project) also made a nationwide research on entrepreneurial attitude among Polish women on a sample 100 women. Results from both researches were published in a book “Zarządzanie mikroprzedsiębiorstwem. Podręcznik dla przedsiębiorczej kobiety”[“Small business management. Handbook for enterprising women”-author's note] red. Ewa Lisowska and Rafał Kasprzak.

I thought that this project might make an interesting case study for a few reasons. Firstly, as I wrote before it was a huge project with a big number of participants. What is more, there was not make research after the project ended. Furthermore, it has a great connection with Bourdieu's theory of field-habitus-capital. In his conception there is a distinction between dominant group who keeps a power in the field and dominated group who stays in subordinated position. The project “New qualification” was addressed to women who are in a difficult situation: they are unemployed or they are unsatisfied with their job and want to change it. According to Jacek Prześlakowski, the project was a reaction on unprivileged situation of women on a labour market. This facts mentioned above makes women a dominated group from Bourdieu's conception. All things consider, my research might make a good conclusion for the project as well as the project is a great field to make my research

6.2. Relations in the market

As I wrote before in a theoretical part, the field in my research is a labour market with a special attention to the self-employment. I consider self-employment as a very specific form of employment which has a great potential to help women in gaining an economic power and change their subordinated position on a labour market. Furthermore, I will consider the gender of participants of the market as a factor influencing relations inside it. I outlined in the Introduction a litter bit specific of Polish market as well as women position in the market. In this part, first I will present how looks the Polish labour market and women's self-employment in other researches and publications. Then I will concentrate on my research and how my respondents see the relations inside the market.

6.2.1. Facts about women's participation in the labour market

Women participation on a labour market in European Union countries was 54.8 % in 2003 and 57.2 % in 2006. In Poland this rate is 48%. (Report: Women on the Labour Market: Today and in the Future, 2008, p.7). In Poland 13% of men and 14.9% of women was unemployed in 2006. What is more, according to the research, women need to search for a job about a one month longer than man.(Report: Women on the Labour Market: Today and in the Future, 2008, p.7). Women earn about 12% (2006) less than man. in Poland in 1998 the gap equalled 30 %, in 2003 - 18 %, and in 2004 - 16 % when it comes to the gap in male and female earnings(Report: Women on the Labour Market: Today and in the Future, 2008, p 9)

Table 2 Polish women's participation in the labour market

Private sector	1996	2003
Heavy industry	11.2	11.0
Financial services	75.6	72.3
All industry	35.3	32.6
Total	47.8	48.7

Source: Calculations based on Rocznik Statystyczny (GUS 1996: 134; 2004: 241) (Report: Women on the Labour Market: Today and in the Future, 2008, p. 8)

In 1992 very influential Polish newspaper published a list of 100 wealthiest Poles where were only four women. To the Businesses Centre Club belonged only 7% women. In 1998 was

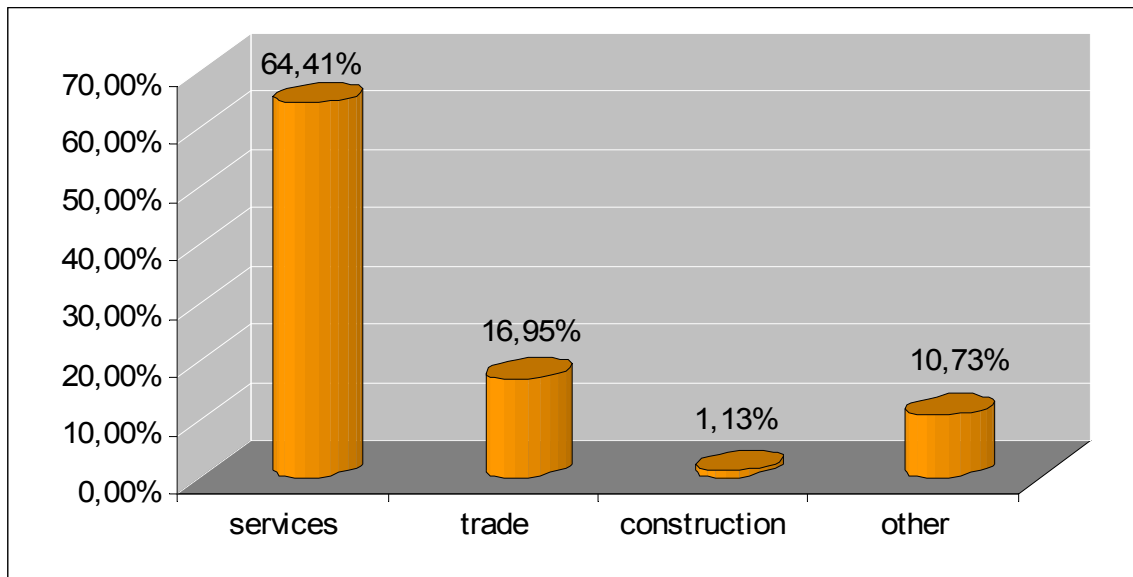
founded Polish Association of Women Entrepreneurs – the most prestige women's organization in Poland (E. Osborn and K. M. Słomczyński, 2005, p. 105).

What is interesting, women are better educated than men. In 2002 11.4% of men and 15.6% of women had a higher or post – secondary education (Demographic Yearbook of Poland, 2008, p. 551). A lot of women - 64% in 1984, 67,2% in 1993, 66,8% in 2003 - had a degree from Economic and finance. Although women are better qualified, among all managers in Poland, women make only 33 % (Report: Women on the Labour Market: Today and in the Future, 2008, pp. 6-9). What is more, women on managerial position earn about 30% less than men (E. Lisowska, 2005, p. 6).

As I wrote in the Introduction, main reasons of women higher than men unemployment and lower wages are stereotypes (women as a worst employees), family obligations, women attitudes (lack of self-confidence during the negotiations) and 'boys rules' in the labour market. As I mentioned in the Theory Part. 5 Symbolic violence, the facts mentioned above might show that women make a dominated group from Bourdieu's conception and are a victims of symbolic violence on the field of labour market. Their gender became a reason why they have a difficulties with finding or keeping a job.

6.2.2. Result from my research about relations in the labour market

Women decided to enter into self-employment set up mainly a companies which provided services (64,41%). The second most often choose field was trade on which decided 16,96% of respondents.



78% of these companies usually has only one employee (the owner of the company). One or two employees have only 12,4% of companies.

Women who set up a company have been working before average 11,6 years in a salary work. There have usually two children (48%). 29% of respondents have a one child. Only 2% declare that they have 4 children. 43% of respondents were between 37-50 years old and 42% of respondents were between 26 and 36 years old. Only 15% were 50 years old and more. 68% of women were married and 10% were unmarried. Data about education will be presented in a part about cultural capital self-employed women.

41% of respondents live in a city with more than 500 000 residents. 14% live in rural areas and also 14% live in a smaller cities with number of residents between 200-500 000. As we can see, mainly women who live in a big city decide to set up a company. We can assume that it might be connected with a availability of necessary information as well as with less gender stereotypes in a society of a big city.

From the data presented above we can create a profile of an average self-employed women. She is a middle age, married women with two children, she lives in a big city and ho has a experience from a salary work. We might conclude that women who decided to enter into self-employment has a stable family life and they gain a lot of experience working in a salary work. These women first wanted to fulfil their family obligations and then decided to start their professional career. As Interviewer 3 said that she consider it as a good decision that she was a housewife and raised her children and then she start up her company: “I did not neglect my children and my family responsibilities and I do not consider the time when I was

a housewife as a lost time” she said. She also added: “Now I have a time for my career without making a harm to anyone”. It might be concluded from what she said that if she was a full time working mother, she would hurt her family and her children might not have a normal childhood and parental care.

Next groups of questions were connected with how women perceive gender relations in the market. 75%(strongly agree 35%, agree 40%) agreed with a statement that it is more difficult to find a job for women than for men. What is more, also 75% of respondents said that it is easier to keep the job for men than for women(31% strongly agree, 44% agree). 76% of respondents are convinced that men are treated better by the employers than women(35% strongly agree, 41% agree). Furthermore, 56% of women said that women-employers are perceived as less professional than men-employers(17% strongly agree, 39% agree). 68% of respondents claimed that their husband/partner has a better chance on a labour market than they have(28% strongly agree, 40% agree).

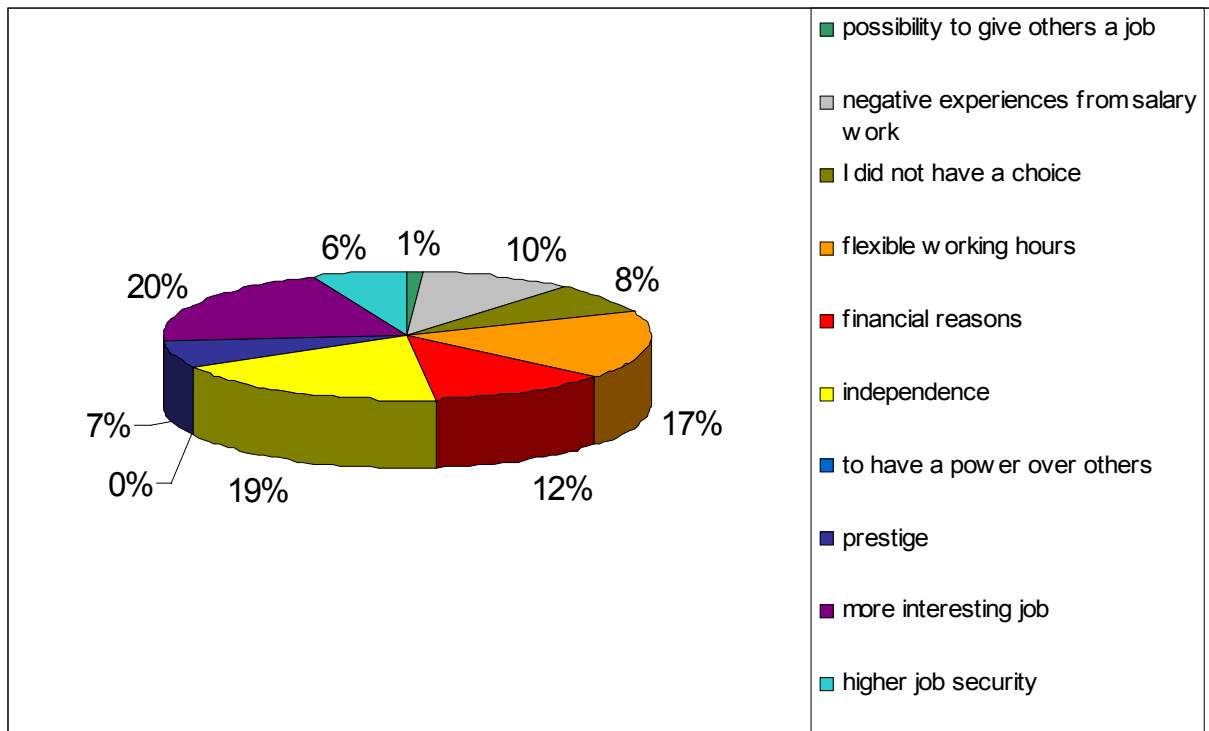
As we can conclude from information presented above, women participated in my research feel discriminated on a labour market. They are aware of the fact in the market exists distinction between men as a better and women as a worse employees as well as employers. It seems like gender is a crucial factor influencing relation and taking position(dominant or dominated) inside the market.

Unfair access to benefits coming from participation in the market might entail women's resignation from this participation or lower expectations when it comes to the labour market. Furthermore, it also might have influence on women self-esteem. What is more, it also might create a 'closed circle': it is difficult for women to get an equal position on the market so they decide not to become a participant or they choose to take a lower position, because they do not think that they have a possibility to reach for a higher position in the structure of the labour market.

In the next question I asked respondents to choose five most important reasons why they decided to set up a company. 20% of participants said that having an own company gives them an opportunity to have a more interesting job, possibility for professional development and they can implement their own ideas.

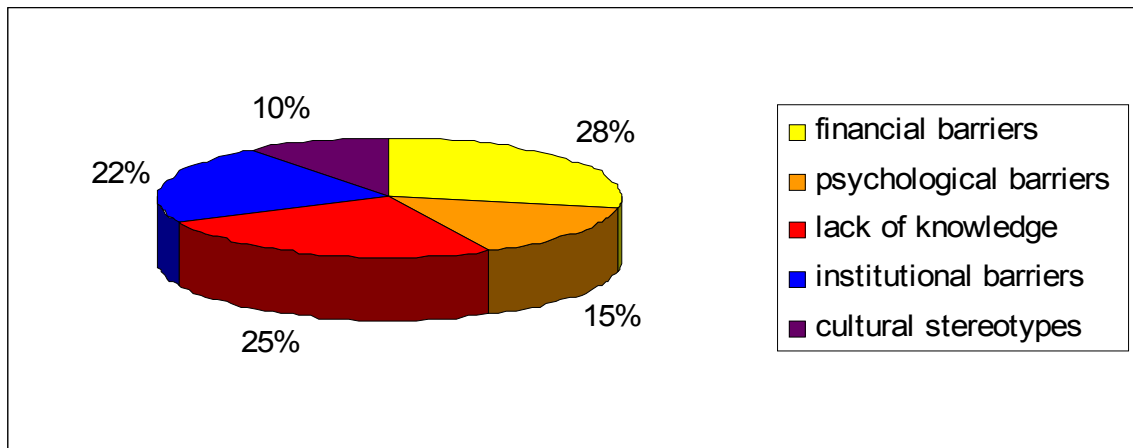
Second most frequently chosen answer (19%) was independence, freedom to decide about their destiny, responsibility for their own decisions and possibility to set their own

goals. 17% of respondents enter into self-employment because of flexible working hours.



Also Interviewer 4 said that self-employment is always better than salary work. She highlighted that being self-employed she is more independent and she works for her own benefit.

Finally, my respondents had to select three crucial factors hindering set up and lead a company. 28% of respondents choose as the most important financial barriers related to lack of capital and difficulties with getting loans. 25% saw lack of knowledge and lack of experience connected with conducting a businesses as a main barrier. The third most frequently chosen answer (22%) were institutional barriers and unclear legislation.



My Interviewer 3 and Interviewer 4 said that there are two main barriers for women: lack of knowledge and abilities and cultural/social stereotypes. Interviewer 4 added: “Stereotypes favouring men(...). Both, men and women meet institutional barriers, but women have a one more barrier to overcome: stereotypical thinking about women mainly as a mothers and wives.”

According to the Interviewer 3. it is easier for men to set up a company, but Interviewer 4. said that this is not depend on gender, but on idea and personal abilities. What is more, my Interviewers saw both for men and for women the same institutional barriers. Nevertheless, Interviewer 4 added that additional barrier for women are stereotypes. Furthermore, Interviewer 3 and Interviewer 4 described the picture of businesswomen in a very positive way, as a someone who is ambitious, resourceful and good looking.

As we can see, women have more trouble with formal barriers, such as law and financial barriers. Nevertheless, informal factors (lack of skill) which might be connected only with subjective perception of ability to succeeded are also very important in women's decision of enter into self-employment. Interviewer 4 said that self-employment is first of all alternative to avoid unemployment and on the second place a good opportunity. Interviewer 3 claimed that self-employment is a great chance for women who have a lot of free time and do not have family obligations.

6.3. Personal beliefs of respondents

Following group of questions concerns women's personal values, beliefs and norms.

80% of women said that they do not agree (strongly disagree 37%, disagree 43%) with a statement that only woman should be responsible for household responsibilities. 98% of my respondents do not agree (60% strongly disagree, 38% disagree) that men are not familiar with household responsibilities and should not do them. 69% do not agree that the man should be a breadwinner in the family. Furthermore, almost 60% said that it is not a true that women are more emotional and rational than men.

The last question concerned more close to life situation. I asked if they had to choose with their husband/partner which one of them should stay at home, 70% of respondents said that if there was this kind of situation it will be them (women) who would stay at home. Interviewer 4 said that she does not agree with traditional division of household responsibilities. Nevertheless, she also added that men are more competent and women appear as a more delicate. She claimed that when it comes to leading a business men have the ability to “ruled with an iron fist”, while women are more compliant. What is more, she said that there are some professions in which gender matters.

Until I was asking more theoretical questions, majority of my respondents express opinion which might be interpreted as an expression of a very open views on division of household responsibilities and more egalitarian model of partnership. Nevertheless, when I asked them about the situation that might happened, their answers were very different. It might be concluded in the more declarative and general statements my respondents support a vision of equal relations between men and women and are against social/cultural stereotypes. But they would not incorporate their beliefs in their every day life.

Very interesting was an opinion of Interviewer 3 when I asked her about the division of household responsibilities between men and women in the family. She said that she decided to wait with professional career until her children grow up and the she decided to set up a company. She spoke very critical about women who decided to work when their children still needed a lot of attention. She added that now she has a time for career without making a harm to anyone.

We can conclude from her opinion that women who decide to work when they have a toddlers cannot be a good mother. It is very interesting opinion, which might be a sign that there are still a very strong social stereotypes that might influence a lot of women's decisions about their professional career and that women might feel guilty because of working full time.

Interviewer 3 said that greater women participation in market will not overcome stereotypical thinking about women only as a wives and mothers. Interviewer 4 added that women working full time are not negatively perceive in a society. Everyone needs to work, because it is difficult to support family only from one income. She also said that it would be great if she could be a housewife, because she has a lot of interests and she does not need to work to feel fulfilled.

6.4. Capitals

I asked in my questionnaire questions about cultural, economic and social capital women who decided to enter into self-employment.

6.4.1. Economic capital

As I wrote before in the Part 1. Field, women usually decided to set up a companies providing services, who have only one employee (the owner). 68% of respondents did not have in their plans to employ anyone during the next twelve months. 22,6% declared that they might employ one or two persons. Only four respondents (2,3%) wanted to employ three to five employees. Next question was if there are going to expand their business (new services of good) during the next twelve months. Slightly more respondents said that they do not have in their plans expansion their business (no 49,2%, yes 43,5%).

As we can see, companies set up by women have only one employee and will probably stay this way. We might suspect from these data that the companies do not have a huge capital and they do not expect to gain economic capital in the nearest future.

Nevertheless, a lot of respondents are going to extend the scope of activities. The main aim of these questions was to see if own company can give women a chance to gain economic power.

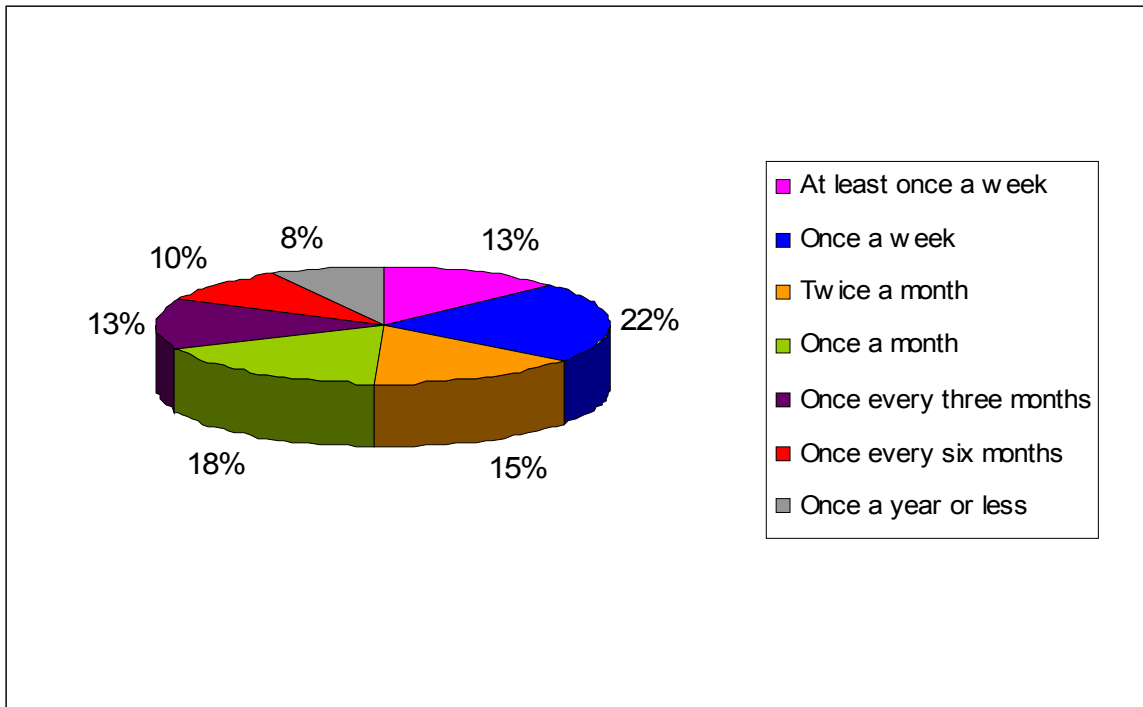
6.4.2: Social capital

There are a few elements of social capital in which I was interested in my research. First, refers to reaction their nearest surrounding (family, friends, neighbours) and their reaction on setting up a company. I wanted to investigate if their surrounding was supportive or not. Second dimension is related to building networks with other entrepreneurs.

In most cases (about 85% of answers) family, friends and neighbours were supportive when they found out that my respondents think about enter into self-employment. More than 60% of respondents answer negatively for a question if their surrounding express concerns about setting up a company. 57% of women have met with a positive reactions when their told family and fiends about starting their own business and only 17% have met with negative comments. As it comes from these answers, the nearest surrounding my respondents were rather supportive of their idea of set up a company.

Next group of questions is connected with building networks with other employers. 61% of respondents agree that they made a lot of connections with people who lead their own business. Majority (62%) of respondents answer negatively for a question if most of the entrepreneurs with whom they stay in touch are women. Also, almost the same number of respondents (63%) agreed that it is not true that most often they contact with are male entrepreneurs.

There was a tie in a question: I know I can count on other entrepreneurs. 50% of respondents said yes, I can count on other entrepreneurs and 50% said no, I cannot. Nevertheless, more than 90% of respondents claimed that they try to help other entrepreneurs when they ask them about a help. But 55% said that it is not true that with a help and advices of other entrepreneurs they manage to avoid a lot of troubles. I also asked my respondents how often they contact with other entrepreneurs. Most frequently they pointed out answer once a week (22%), then once a month (18%), third in a line was answer twice in a month (15%). These data show that respondents rather often contact with other entrepreneurs. This might be a good starting point to create networks which might be very helpful in leading a business (good advices, help when they have a trouble, information about cheaper goods or good employees).



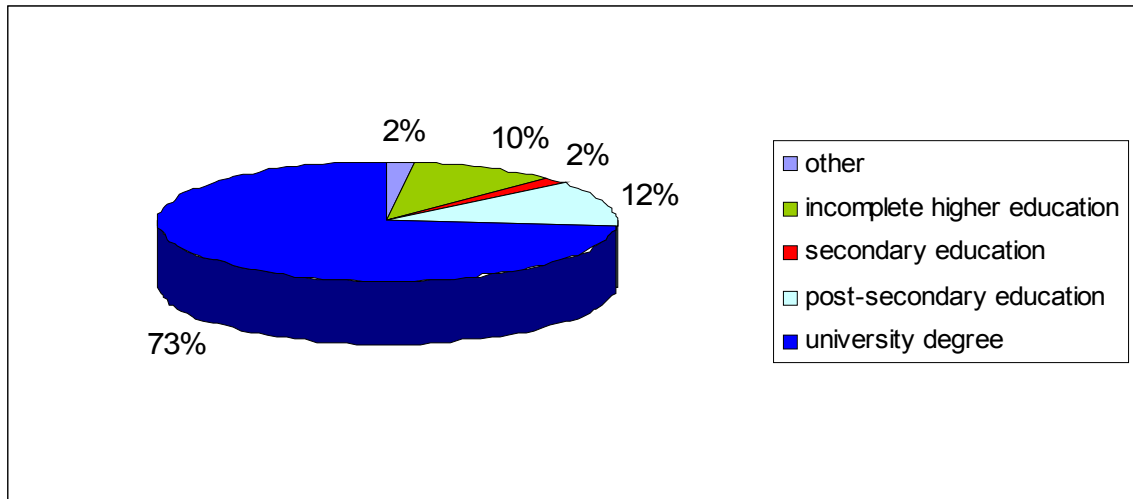
Interviewer 3 said that contacts with other entrepreneurs will be very helpful in leading a company, especially when it comes to the difficult situations. As it might be concluded from answers mentioned above, women are not really willing to build networks with other entrepreneurs, neither men nor women. Interviewer 4 added that contacts with other entrepreneurs are great as long as we pay for their services. But when it comes to selfless advice of help you need to count on yourself. Nevertheless, they declare to help if someone ask them for help.

Interviewer 3. expressed a very negative opinion about organizations for entrepreneurs. She said that this kind of organizations help only small group of its participants and rather create difficulties for others than help them.

Interviewer 4. see in non government organizations or some local institutions someone who should help women get new qualifications, observe labour market and promote women's activities. She also claimed that entrepreneurs should create organizations, because it is easier to defend their rights. Nevertheless, she said that is a small number of these organizations, because entrepreneurs are afraid of competition that is why they do not want to communicate with each other. Interviewer 5 said: "Psychological support is extremely important as well as help of HR specialists. They should support women during entering into the market".

6.4.3: Cultural capital

In chosen theory cultural capital is understand as a education, abilities, qualifications. One of methods how to measure cultural capital is compare education respondents and education their parents and husband/partner. 73% of women have a higher education.



40% said that their mother has post secondary education and 22% had a higher education. When it comes to their fathers, 28% said that their father has a higher education and 24% has post secondary education. Their husbands/partners in most cases have higher education (54%).

I also wanted to investigate if being self-employed forced my respondents to get some new qualifications. 49,15% of women respond positively and 45,2% said negatively. I distinguished two types of qualifications or skills they might gain. The one group was connected with leading a company, such as graphics programs, basics of accounting or in photography. The second group is related more with a personal skills, such as communication, creativity, negotiations, assertiveness, time management and so on.

Almost 80% of respondents admitted that they have improved their knowledge about the activities on the market, human resources management and planning. What is more, my Interviewer 3 that being self-employed we do not really have a choice, but we have to learn, looking for some new contacts and be very active.

Nevertheless, Interviewer 4 claimed that gaining new skills depend more on the person

not on the form of employment. But she also added that if someone does not want to learn will not succeeded in self-employment. Interviewer 5. added that self-employment in contrast to salary work requires gaining new skills all the time.

7. Discussion

7.1.The field

As it comes from the theory, there might be a lot of different fields. In my thesis the field that I analyse is an economic field where crucial capital are financial resources. For this capitals participants play a game. Financial resources are at stake, because it is a source of power in the field. There also determines who will be able to become a player and win a prize in the field.

Financial resources become a factor which is structuring participants in the structure of power and determines positions taking by the players. Nevertheless, there are also other types of capitals: social (ties between players), cultural (skills), symbolic (brand). All these capital might be convert into economic capital, as well as economic capital might be change over those capitals (Theory, Part. 2).

I am focusing on self-employment as a specific element of the field. I investigate if self-employment can help participants of the field influence in a positive way position taking and bring them closer to the prize. The prize (financial resources) will give players a power to control the field and its rules. The power will make possible to influence who will get capital and who would not be able even to enter the field.

7.1.1.Structure of power in the field

In Bourdieu's conception, in every field there is a structure which divides its players into dominant and dominated groups. Dominant group has a access to capital and the right to control rules of the game, while dominated group stays in subordinated position (Theory, Part 5.).

According the the research on women's participation in a labour market, we might assume that they are the dominated group in the structure. My statement is based on a few crucial facts. Women in Poland in 2006 earned about 12% less than men, working on the same position and doing the same job. Furthermore, women need to look for a job about one month longer than men. Also the rate of unemployment is higher for women than for men.

What makes these figures even more surprising is that women are better educated than

men, even in when it come to a having degree from Economic and finance. In a managerial position that inequality is even bigger. Women on managerial position earn about 30% less than men, again, doing the same job (Analysis, Part 6.2.1.).

Respondents from my research are aware of that there is unequal relation between men and women in the labour market.

Most of my respondents (74%) agree that it is more difficult to find a job for women that for a men. What is more, the same number of women claimed that it is easier to keep the job for men than for a women. Furthermore, they are also convinced (76%) men are treated better by the employers that women are. Also men-entrepreneurs are perceived as a more professional than women-entrepreneurs in opinion of my respondents (Analysis, Part 6.2.2.). According to the Interviewer 1., the project “New qualification” was addressed to women, because in the labour market they are seen as a worse and less valuable employees and employers.

As it comes from the Theory, power comes from the access to the capital. Based on the information presented above, women have a limited opportunities for getting a financial resources which are the crucial capital in the field. Since they cannot get capital, they also do not have a power to influence the relations in the field and need to stay in subordinate position. The position of subordination might become a natural for dominant and dominated group (Theory, Part 5.5.).

One of the questions in the questionnaire was an answer for a hypothetical situation when participants would have to decide who, they or their husbands/partners, need to stay at home while the other will go to work. 68% of participants pointed themselves as a person who would stay at home (Analysis, Part 6.3.). Although, women are aware of the fact they have a worse job opportunities, still they keep their subordinated position.

Doxa of respondents might be the explanation for the results described above. Doxa defines rules of position-taking inside the field, it is an obvious knowledge about possible “trajectories” of move for all participants (Theory, Part 5.2.). We might assume that women know that they are perceive as a worse employees and they try to act according to that by not trying to oppose. Women know that their husbands have better opportunities to find a job and have higher wages, so they resign from participation in a labour market. According to

Bourdieu, when individual questions doxa, he also questions the whole game.

Relation in the field might be also describe by investigating why women decided to enter into self-employment. Most frequently chosen answers were opportunity to have a more interesting job and freedom to decide about their own destiny. Nevertheless, Interviewer 4 said that in the first place self-employment is a possibility to avoid unemployment and in the second place a chance for an interesting job.

Doxa informs about possible way of position-taking. Women are aware of the fact of discrimination on the labour market. Self-employment seems to be an opportunity to avoiding discrimination but without questioning the doxa.

7.1.2.Barrier of entrance into the field

Field has its formal and informal barriers of entrance. I asked my respondents to choose from formal and informal barriers the most important in entering into self-employment. The majority of them indicated three answers: financial barriers(difficulties with getting loans), lack of knowledge and experience and unclear legislation. Interviewer 3 and Interviewer 4 pointed out institutional barriers. But Interviewer 4 added: “Even though men and women meet the same institutional barriers, women need additional faced the gender stereotypes”.

From these information we can conclude that field has two main formal barriers: financial and legislation. Nevertheless, women are also aware of informal barrier (stereotypes). It can be most important of all, because informal barriers are not clearly defined, unwritten, placed very strong in social order, associated with cultural norms and difficult to change.

Informal barriers might be example of overlapping fields. Social structure creates stereotypes which influence on relation in the market. But also the relations in the market have an impact on the social order. Nevertheless, some stereotypes are so strong to overcome that change in the position in the structure inside the market would not change them. Interviewer 3 said that even though women would have a greater participation in the market, it would not change their image of wife and mother present in the society. Interviewer 5 said:”Women's work never ends. Because when they finish their work, they are going to their

'second occupation': household responsibilities(...). Women are underestimated. They are seen as someone who reproduces the reality, but does not create it. We need some serious changes in mentality of our society.”

According to the result of my research, in most cases women set up a companies providing services (64,41%) with only one employee (the owner). What is more, they do not have in plans to employ someone during the next twelve months. Looking at these data, arise a question: do self-employed women have a chance to gain an economic capital and get a power to change the dominated position in the labour market? In USA appeared a theory that small companies are most important actors participating in economic growth (E. Green and L. Cohen, 1996, p.298). Although tradition of self-employment is much longer in USA than in Poland, maybe we can use example of USA as a future perspective for small business in Poland.

7.2: Habitus

According to Bourdieu's theory, analyse of habitus is a part of field analysis. Nevertheless, I decided to treat as a separate part, but strongly connected with field.

Habitus of participants plays a crucial role in shaping relations inside the market. As I wrote in Theory (Theory, Part 5.2.), habitus is an obvious knowledge about the world, rules of social order and possible way of behaving. When it comes to the market, habitus might manifested in choosing worst jobs, lower positions or resign from participation in the market.

When it comes to my respondents I distinguished two “types” of habitus: declarative and the one that is used in practice.

My respondents strongly disagreed with statements that women should be the only one responsible for household responsibilities, that men should be a breadwinner in a family and that women are less rational and more emotional than men. Nevertheless, when I asked a more close-to-life question, what they would do if they need to chose who they or their partner will stay at home and who will go to work, they pointed out themselves.

Interviewer 3 indirectly express opinion that women who decide to work full time can

make a harm to their family. Her answer might be interpreted as it women who is mainly responsible for happiness of their children, without considering the role of her husband/partner. It need to mentioned that perception women mainly as a housewife and men mainly as a breadwinner might be harmful for both sides. There are men who would like to stay at home, but social pressure force them to live in a different, culturally accepted, way.

Habitus influences our expectations and chances to “win the prize”. The way women see gender relations in the market described in a Part 1.1. The field, such as worse job opportunity than men, also is a part of their habitus and decides about the place we take in a structure of power. If we do not perceive our situation as equal, we might chose lower position, because we assume that we supposed to be on a lower position.

7.3.: Capitals

7.3.1. Economic capital

As I wrote before, economic capital is crucial in the analysed field. All participants play for financial resources. I asked my respondents two groups of questions concerning economic capital: about current capital and potential to get capital in the future.

78% of respondents declared that their company has a one employer (the owner). We might conclude that their companies develop rather slowly and their economic power is not significant.

When it comes to the future plans, I asked two questions: about plans of employment and plans to expand their business. 68% said that they do not have in their plans employ someone during the next twelve months as well as majority of respondents did not want to expand their business. Nevertheless, in the second question was almost a tie between answer 'yes' (43,5%) and 'no' (49,2%). It might be assume that because they do not have a financial resources they cannot decide on new employees. Although respondents need to work alone, they still want to introduce some new goods or services. Maybe after the company will get new clients, then owners will decide to employ new people.

7.3.2. Social capital

As I wrote in the Analysis, in my research I was interested in two dimensions of social capital: social structure and ability to create networks.

Social structure is a notion more connect with the field(macrolevel). Nevertheless, surrounding of individual (microstructure) is a part of the social structure which transmit values of the field to the individual. According to these theoretical assumption, I asked my respondents about attitude of their nearest surrounding (family, friends, neighbours) towards their idea to set up a company. As it comes from their answer, the reactions were rather positive. Only 17% of respondents heard some negative comments, while 85% said that their surrounding were very supportive.

The second dimension of social capital is ability to create networks. Since, according to Ewa Lisowska (Interview 2) claims that in Poland is a lack of organizations or groups providing help to women-entrepreneurs as well as lack of mentors for theme, I payed a special attention to these issue in my research.

As Nan Lin claims there are three components of social capital: size, heterogeneity and structure of created networks. When it comes to the heterogeneity, respondents did not indicated with whom women or men they contact most. Heterogeneity of connections in related to the conception of bonding and bridging social capital presented in the Theory (Theory, Part 5.3.3.). We might conclude that my respondents build rather bridging than bonding social capital. Bridging capital might give them opportunity to collect experiences from different groups of entrepreneurs: from me as well as for women, and do not close themselves in a homogeneous group.

Size and structure of networks are connected. Size refers to a number of connections and structure to its density. I did not asked my respondents with how many entrepreneurs they stay in touch with, because it is difficult to define for me if contacts with ten entrepreneurs during twelve weeks is a lot or not. I decided to ask them rather about density of this contacts. 22% said once a week, 18% once a month and 15% twice in a month. I consider it as a quite high frequency of contacts which has the potential to create networks between entrepreneurs which stay in touch with each other.

Collier (1998) distinguished two types of capitals: government (formal social contacts) and civil (informal connections). Interviewer 4 said that it should be more formal (connected with governmental institutions) organizations as well as informal (created by the entrepreneurs themselves). Nevertheless, Interviewer 3 expressed opinion that there is not need to introduce more formal institutions, there should be better informal cooperation between entrepreneurs. Also she added that organizations for entrepreneurs help only participant these organization, and make difficulties for those who are not participants. Furthermore, both Interviewers pointed out the same problem of lack of trust between entrepreneurs.

This leads us to the next issue, what has the ability to produce social capital: structure itself or also common values and trust?

I asked respondents if they can count on other entrepreneurs and 50% said yes I do as well as 50% said no, I do not. 55% said that other entrepreneurs did not help them to avoid problems in leading a company. Nevertheless, 90% admitted that they try to help other entrepreneurs when they ask for a help. I was very surprised with these results. So I asked my Interviewers why there is a litter exchange of information between entrepreneurs in Poland. Both of them said that it is because of lack of trust and jealousy. Interviewer 4 said that it you have a great contact with other entrepreneurs as long as you pay for their services, but that is it.

On the basis of my research I need to disagree with Nan Lin who claims that social structure itself has the ability to produced social capital. As it comes from my research, social structure is not enough, but trust between participants of this structure is equally important.

The answer why the level of social capital is so low between entrepreneurs might be found in Falk and Kilpatrick (1999) statement. They claims that social capital comes as a result of learning interactions which inter alia consist of historical context. As I wrote in Introduction, in Poland is a very short tradition of free market. Maybe it will change with development of free market mechanisms.

Furthermore, self-employment might be very helpful in building social capital. As Interviewer 4 said that self-employment forced to frequent contacts with other people who set up companies.

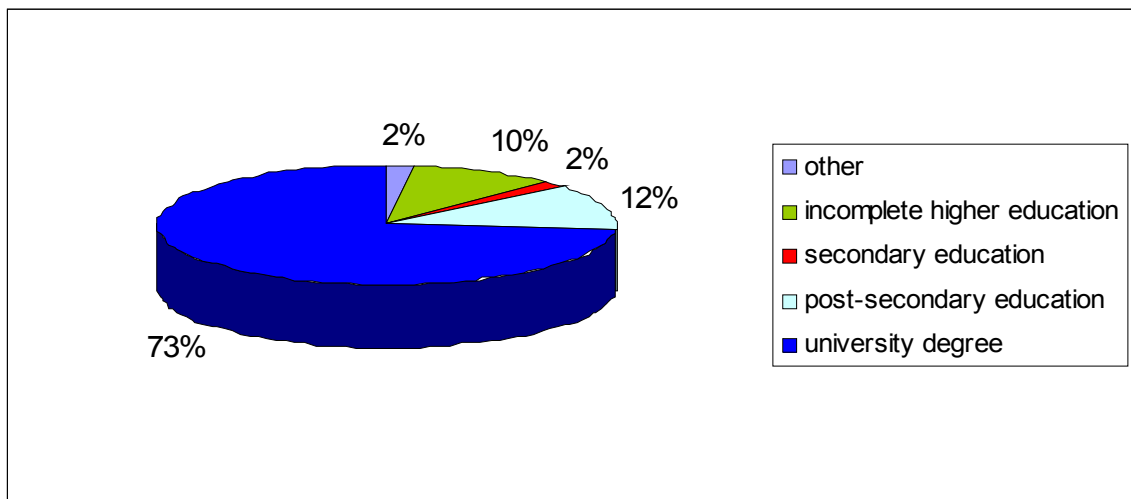
Social capital is produced in microstructures, but it has a strong influence on macrostructure (field). Entrepreneurs, even if they have a company with only one employee,

by creating networks have an impact on the whole economy.

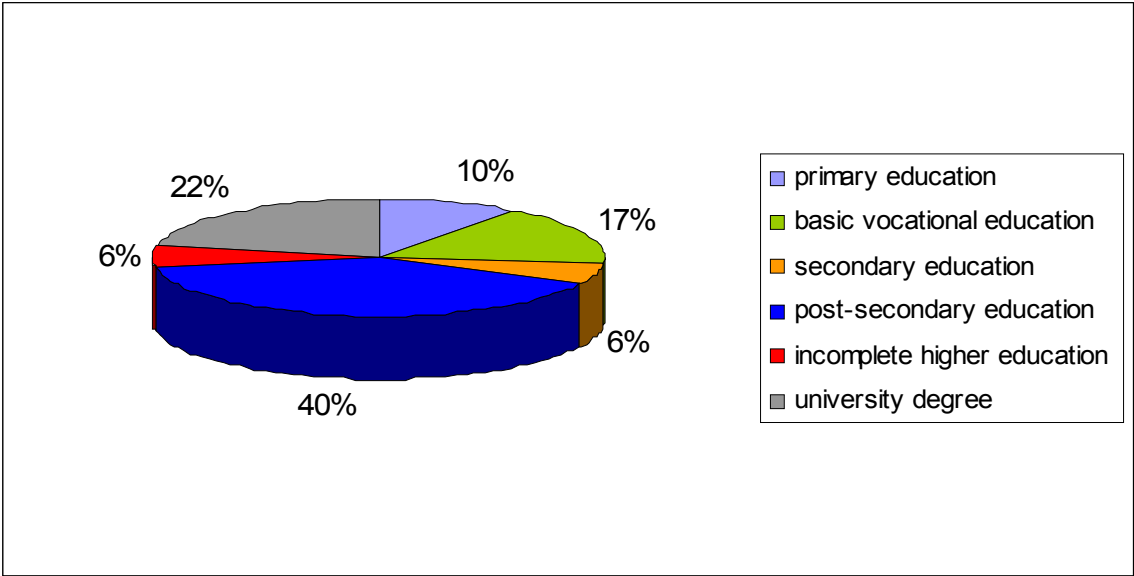
7.3.3.: Cultural capital

According to Bourdieu's theory, cultural capital might have three forms: embodied, objectified and institutionalized (Theory, Part 5.3.3.). Since I was not able to made a research on the first two types, I focused on the third one. Firstly, I compare education of my respondents with education their parents and husbands/partners. Later, I wanted to investigate if self-employment contributes to gaining cultural capital by acquisition of new skill or abilities.

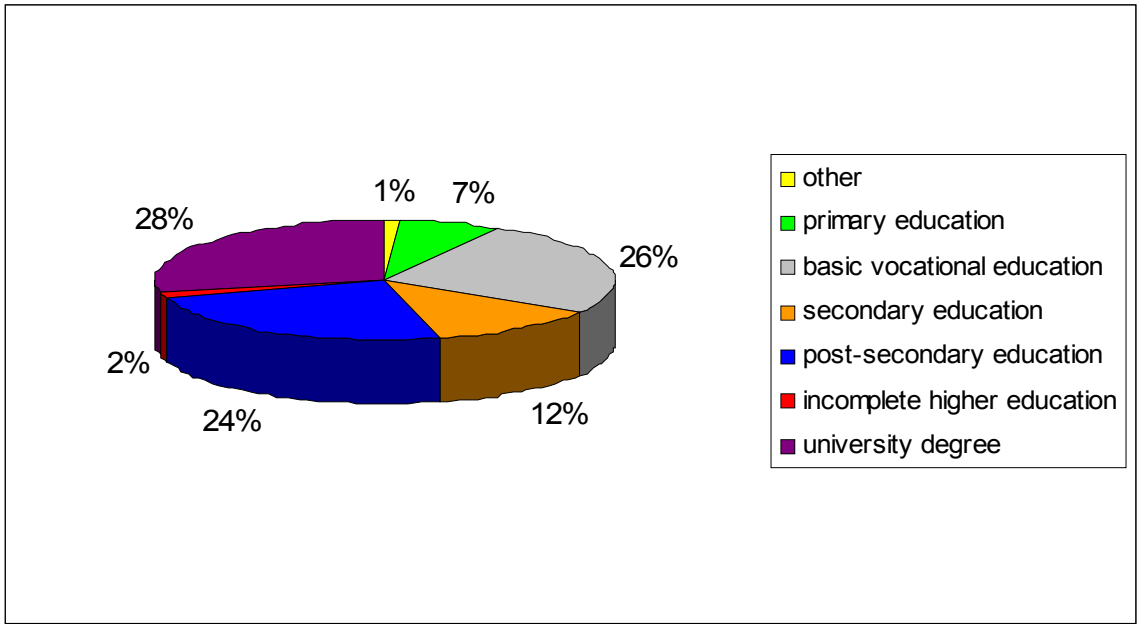
Women education



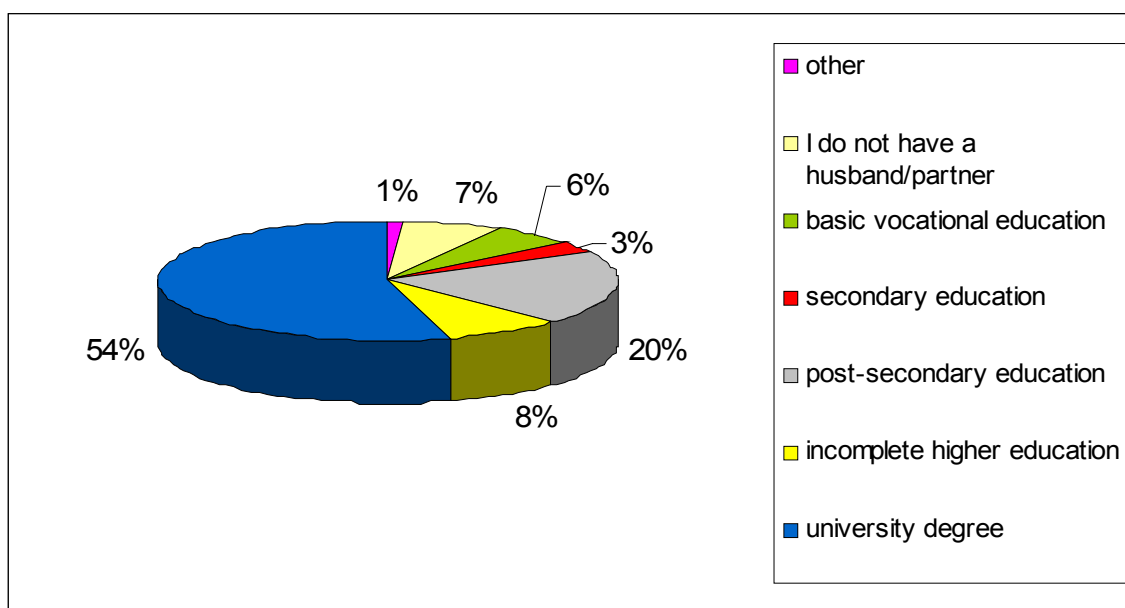
My respondents mothers education



My respondents father education



My respondents husbands/partners education



As we can see, women are better educated than their parents or partners. It needs to be mentioned that one of the conditions to participate in a project 'New qualifications' was having at least post-secondary education. In 2002 4,7% of women had a higher education, while in my research higher education has 73% of respondents.

We might conclude that in most cases well-educated women decided on self-employment. Furthermore, self-employed women are better educated than their parents and partners. When it comes to their parents, it might be caused by the fact that it is a different generation than my respondents, where higher education was not as popular as it is now. Nevertheless, still we need to notice a huge difference in the structure of education, what entails a higher cultural capital.

Next issue connected with cultural capital is how self-employment influences gaining new qualifications. As we can see in Analysis Part 3.3., self-employment has a significant impact on acquiring new skills. Respondents admitted that they improve their knowledge about activities on the market, human resources management and planning.

What is more, also my interviewees said that self-employment contributes to learning new things. They also added that self-employment forces in some way gaining new abilities, because they need to be active and learn all the time if they want their company to function.

We might conclude that self-employment has a huge impact on enlarging cultural capital people who decided to chose this form of employment. As it comes from the theory, cultural capital might be covert into other capitals and might become a source of power in the field. Although, in the economic field the most important are financial resources, cultural capital might contributes to getting economic capital what entails gaining a power in the structure of the field.

7.4. Symbolic capital and symbolic violence

I did not ask my respondents about symbolic capital and symbolic violence. Nevertheless, I talked about symbolic capital with Interviewers 3 and 4. I asked them what is connect with a higher prestige: salary work or self-employment? Both could not give me an answer to this question. But Interviewer 4 said that businesswomen is related to a very positive image. She described businesswomen as someone very elegant, resourceful and who has an authority. Furthermore, Interviewer 5 noticed a very interesting phenomenon. She said: “When woman is a tough negotiator then she is seen as a mean, while man will be rather perceive as a professional”. It seems like there are two ways of estimation for men and for a women of the same behaviour. Something that is evaluated positively when man does it is perceive as a very negative when woman does it. This mean that there still exist a two types of socially acceptable behaviour which depend on gender.

Symbolic capital might be obtained by converting other capitals (economic, social, cultural). As it come from my analyse my respondents are gaining very slowly economic capital. Also social capital (networking) in at very early stage of development. When it comes to the cultural capital I think that women who decided to enter into self-employment have a very high level of cultural capital and also high potential to gain more in the future. They might convert these capital on other forms of capitals and gain more power in the field.

Bourdieu described symbolic violence as a soft violence, invisible to its victims (Theory, Part 4.). In the mechanism of domination, dominant group uses symbolic violence to control subordinated group. The main problem with symbolic violence is that is hard to notice

for dominated group. Interviewer 4 said that she would be happy if she could be a housewife and her husband would be able to earn enough to support her family. She also added that she would rather stay at home where she could read books, paint pictures and develop her other interests.

Furthermore, Interviewer 3 said that she completely agree with traditional division of household responsibilities between men and women. Women who fulfil my questionnaire admitted that they do not agree with stereotypical perception of men and women. Nevertheless, when I asked them a question about hypothetical situation when they will have to choose who, they or they husbands, need to stay at home they said that they would stay and take care of their family. It might be concluded that women are aware of discrimination, but they keep their subordinated position. The answer might lies in their habitus and doxa of a social field. Dominated group is used to be in subordinated position and does not know other ways of behaving. Social values are internalized so good by individuals that they might know about other options of behave, but they do not know how to introduce them in their lives. The whole idea of Bourdieu's conception of symbolic violence is that dominated group do not perceive their situation as a subordination, but sees it as a privilege position. Interviewer 4 said: "I would be happy if I could be a housewife and my husband would earn enough money to support our family. I love to read books, cook, paint."

Symbolic violence is strongly connected with habitus of individuals. As I wrote before, women only in their declarative side of habitus disagree with social stereotypes and prefer egalitarian model of partnership. We might conclude that social and cultural norms conditioning very strong women habitus and maintain the situation of subordination.

Self-employment has the potential to gain by women a crucial capital in the field (economic capital). Nevertheless, is still perceive more as a escape from unemployment (Interview 4.). But, it has a positive influence of women's cultural capital as well as social image of businesswomen. There is a still a long way to go when it comes to creating networks and expanding their businesses. But, as I emphasize in the Introduction, the mechanisms of free market are not yet fully developed.

What is more, when it comes to the social capital in Poland there is a still lack of tradition to creating a voluntary organizations for entrepreneurs. As Ewa Lisowska said in the

Interview, Polish women need an example of successful companies set up by women to see that it is possible. She added that women do not believe that they have enough knowledge and abilities to lead a business. What is more, she also said that women need a system of mentoring to help them in all problems connected with both formal and informal barriers.

Even though, self-employment is perceived mainly as a escape from unemployment, women also see it as an opportunity to have better, more fulfilling job. As it comes from my research, women are aware of the discrimination on a labour market. The paradox in the whole situation is that they do not want to change the position of subordination. I base this statement on their answers from my questionnaire about who would stay at home if my respondents had to choose between them and their partners. Significant majority pointed themselves, even though they also said that they do not agree with traditional division of household responsibilities between men and women.

Habitus of participants of the game and doxa determines what position individual will take. Women are aware of the fact that they are dominated group and act accordingly to their position in a structure. Self-employment is not an attempt to change the doxa, but rather as an avoiding its rules.

Participants of the field (in this case labour market) play for financial resources. What is more, women also have the possibility to enlarge their cultural capital, which according to Bourdieu's theory might be converted into economic capital (crucial capital in the field).

Self-employment appears as a good way to gain economic power. Although, companies set up by women are rather small, women who are unemployed get an opportunity to earn money and the one who are not satisfied with their current job change to the form of employment to a more advantageous for them.

8. Conclusion

Women discrimination as a widely discussed subject. In my thesis I focused on gender discrimination on a labour market. Since in Poland is a huge number of women who decided to enter into self-employment I decided to analyse this form of employment and its influence on a relations on a labour market. My main aim was to characterize this phenomenon by studying a few its aspects.

I investigated pull and push factors for women in entering self-employment. I wanted to find out what kind of motivations women have as well as what barriers they need to faced.

Furthermore, my goal was to see if self-employment has the potential to change the relation of gender inequality on the labour market. To do this I needed to analyse the impact of self-employment on gaining economic power, creating networks with other entrepreneurs and acquiring new skills (professional as well as interpersonal). What is more, when we look at the data about women position on the labour market we can see that their discrimination is a fact. But I was curious how women perceive their situation.

In my research I focused on women's perception of a relations on a labour market and how they evaluate self-employment. As it come from the collected data, women lead mainly small companies with only one employee (the owner), but they have in their plans to expand their business by introducing new goods or services. Respondents are aware of gender discrimination on a labour market and do not agree with traditional division of household responsibilities. Nevertheless, it might be concluded from their answers that they act according to their subordinated position. Next conclusion was that greater participation women in a labour market contributes to the overcoming stereotypical picture of a women as a housewife and a worse employee.

Nevertheless, not all of my conclusions were positive. Research also showed that companies set up by women develop very slowly. Majority of my respondents did not have in their plans to employ anyone during the next twelve months. What is more, women do not create a strong networks with other entrepreneurs. Respondents complains on a lack of organizations which would help women lead a business. Women also mentioned about formal barriers, such as difficulties with getting a loans and unclear legislation. They also said about informal barriers they need to faced: stereotypes which are present in a rules of a social order and influence relations in a market.

What needs to be mentioned is a very high cultural capital (education) women who enter into self-employment. What is more, because of entering into self-employment they gain more skills and abilities. My respondents admitted that self-employment forces them to educate. In my opinion that might give a huge opportunity for women to become better entrepreneurs and to expand their companies to gain more economic power.

There are a few issues which might cause a lot of problems for women when it comes to their position in a labour market.

First problem is that although women are aware of the unfair situation of discrimination, they still keep themselves in a subordinated position. Majority of women do not agree with a stereotypical thinking, but they act according to the socially created rules. That is why I introduced in my thesis distinction between declarative and non-declarative habitus. I think that women are aware of the unequal gender relation, but they feel like there is nothing that they can do about it.

Social order shows them their place in a structure and they might not know how to change the rules of the field. As a result, they accept that they are a dominated group and to reduce a dissonance, women try to see their subordinated position as a better one. Few of my respondents expressed an opinion that it is better to be a housewife than going to work everyday.

This acceptance of subordinate position and perceiving it as a better one has a main two advantages. First, no one wants to be in a subordination, because when we realize it we might start to feel bad about ourselves. As a result, when we see our position as a privilege we feel good about ourselves.

The second reason is that as long as we do not see the problem we do not have to deal with it. Furthermore, this situation of discrimination on a labour market would be particularly difficult to change. Women would have questions not only the relations in the labour market, but the whole social order.

The second problem are difficulties with building a networks between entrepreneurs. The reason might be that Polish civil society on a very early stage of development. It is very possible that it will change in the future, but for now the selfless cooperation between entrepreneurs almost does not exist. Exchange of experience might be priceless and seems

like my respondents are aware of that, but for some reasons they are afraid to trust each other.

When it comes to the future of self-employment in Poland, I think it looks good. A lot of Polish women choose that form of employment, more than in the others European countries. The question is if small companies set up by women might have a potential to become an important actors in the labour market. When we look at the example of USA, we can see that this can be done. In USA recently appeared some voices saying that small businesses are the future of the whole economy. In USA the tradition of self-employment is much longer than in Poland so maybe we just need to wait a litter bit more. Nevertheless, the example of USA might be seen as a future perspective for self-employment in Poland.

In my thesis I focused only on a few aspects of self-employment which were connected with the theory I choose. I was also limited by the size of on line questionnaire and time to make a research. Nevertheless I hope that in the future research on women's discrimination in Poland will be continue. The problem is very complex and wide and it definitely requires further study. The good thing is that the discussion has begun.

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10. Appendixes

10.1. Questionnaire

10.2. Result from the quantitative research

10.3. Questions for interviews with participants of the project 'New qualification'

10.4. Interview 1. with Jacek Prześlakowski

10.4. Interview 2. with Ewa Lisowska

10.1. Questionnaire

1. What type of business do You conduct?

- a. services
- b. construction
- c. trade
- d. other (what?).....

2. How many people do You employ?

- a. just You
- b. 1 – 2 employees
- c. 3 – 5 employees
- d. more than 5 employees

3. How many people are You going to employ during the next 12 months?

- a. nobody
- b. 1 – 2 people
- c. 3 – 5 people
- d. more than 5 people

4. Are You going to expand Your business, for example with new services or goods, during the next 12 months?

- a. yes
- b. no

5. How many years (all together) did You worked professionally before You decided to set up Your own company?

.....

6. Have You participated in trainings/courses, after You set up Your company?

- a. yes
- b. no

If yes, please write in what trainings/courses?

.....
7. Have You acquired new skills (not necessary connected with trainings/courses) after You set up a company?

- a. yes
- b. no

If so, please write what kind of skills You acquired
.....

8. Have You improved Your knowledge concerning an activity in the market, human resources management, planning?

- a. yes
- b. no

If so, in what way have You improved it?
.....

9. Please highlight one of the following statements, that express Your opinion the best.

9.1. My surrounding (friends, family, neighbours) supported me when I told them about my idea to start my own business

- a. strongly agree
- b. agree
- c. disagree
- d. strongly disagree

9.2. My surrounding (friends, family, neighbors) expressed concern when I told them about my idea to set up my own company

- a. strongly agree
- b. agree
- c. disagree
- d. strongly disagree

9.3. I have received with a lot of positive reactions and propositions of help from my surrounding (family, friends, neighbors) when I told them about my idea to set up a company.

- a. strongly agree
- b. agree
- c. disagree
- d. strongly disagree

9.4. I have met with a lot of negative reactions and comments, when I told my surrounding (family, friends, neighbours) about my idea to run my own business

- a. strongly agree
- b. agree
- c. disagree
- d. strongly disagree

10. Please highlight one of the following statements, that express Your opinion the best.

10.1. Since I have set up a company I made a lot of connections with people who lead their own company

- a. strongly agree
- b. agree
- c. disagree
- d. strongly disagree

10.2. Most of the entrepreneur with whom I stay in touch are women

- a. strongly agree
- b. agree
- c. disagree
- d. strongly disagree

10.3. Most of the entrepreneur with whom I stay in touch are men

- a. strongly agree
- b. agree
- c. disagree
- d. strongly disagree

10.4. I know that I can count on other entrepreneurs

- a. strongly agree
- b. agree
- c. disagree
- d. strongly disagree

10.5. I try to help other entrepreneurs when they ask me for it

- a. strongly agree
- b. agree
- c. disagree
- d. strongly disagree

10.6. With help and advices of other entrepreneurs I managed to avoid a lot of troubles.

- a. strongly agree
- b. agree
- c. disagree
- d. strongly disagree

11. How often do You contact with other entrepreneurs?

- a. I do not contact with other entrepreneurs
- b. once in a week
- c. once in a month
- d. once in a year or less

12. Please highlight one of the following statements, that express Your opinion the best.

12.1. It is women who should be responsible for household responsibilities

- a. strongly agree
- b. agree
- c. disagree
- d. strongly disagree

12.2. Men are not familiar with household responsibilities and should not do them.

- a. strongly agree
- b. agree
- c. disagree
- d. strongly disagree

12.3. Men should be the breadwinner in the family

- a. strongly agree
- b. agree
- c. disagree
- d. strongly disagree

12.4. Women are more emotional and less rational than men

- a. strongly agree
- b. agree
- c. disagree
- d. strongly disagree

12.5. If we had to choose with my husband/partner which one of us should stay at home, it would definitely be me.

- a. strongly agree
- b. agree
- c. disagree
- d. strongly disagree

13. Please highlight one of the following statements, that express Your opinion the best.

13.1. Women have more difficulties with finding a job than men.

- a. strongly agree
- b. agree
- c. disagree
- d. strongly disagree

13.2. It is easier for men to keep a job than for a women

- a. strongly agree
- b. agree
- c. disagree
- d. strongly disagree

13.3. Men are treated by their employees better than women.

- a. strongly agree
- b. agree
- c. disagree
- d. strongly disagree

13.4. Women entrepreneurs are seen as a less professional than men entrepreneurs

- a. strongly agree
- b. agree
- c. disagree
- d. strongly disagree

13.5. My husband/partner has a better job opportunities than I have.

- a. strongly agree
- b. agree
- c. disagree
- d. strongly disagree

14. Please select 5 the most important reasons explaining why have You decided to set up Your own company.

- negative experiences from salary work
- possibility to give others a job
- financial independence and higher incomes
- opportunity to have a more interesting job, possibility of professional development and implementation of my own ideas
- I did not have a choice, self – employment was the only possibility of employment
- independence, freedom to decide about my own destiny, responsibility for my own decisions, possibility to set my own goals

- flexible working hours
- higher job security
- prestige connected with this form of employment
- to have a power over others

15. Please select 3 the most important factors hindering set up and lead a company

- lack of knowledge and lack of experience connected with conducting a business.
- institutional barriers, unclear legislation
- financial barriers related to lack of capital and difficulties with getting loans to set up a company
- psychological barriers (“I can't do this”, “it's too difficult to me”)
- cultural stereotypes and lack of support from the nearest surrounding (family, friends, neighbours)

Age

- a. 20 – 25
- b. 26 – 36
- c. 37 – 50
- d. >50

Marital status

- a. miss
- b. misses
- c. divorce
- d. in separation
- e. widow
- f. in informal relationship

How many children do You have?

.....

The place where You live is

- a. village
- b. town with less than 20 000 people
- c. town 20 – 50 000 people
- d. town 50 – 100 000 people
- e. town 100 – 200 000 people
- f. town 200 – 500 000 people
- g. town with more than 500 000 people

Your education

- a. primary education
- b. secondary education
- c. university degree
- d. other (what?).....

Your father education

- a. primary education
- b. secondary education
- c. university degree
- d. other (what?).....

Your mother education

- a. primary education
- b. secondary education
- c. university degree
- d. other (what?).....

Your husband/partner education

- a. primary education
- b. secondary education
- c. university degree
- d. other (what?).....

Your father profession

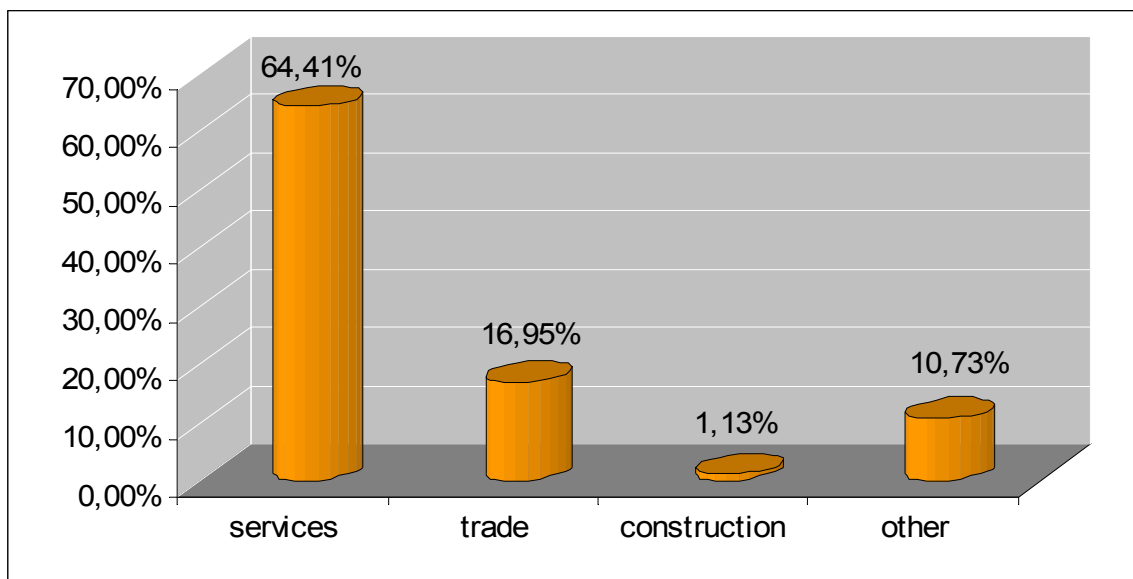
.....
Your mother profession

.....
Your husband/partner profession

Results from my research
 sample: 177 respondents

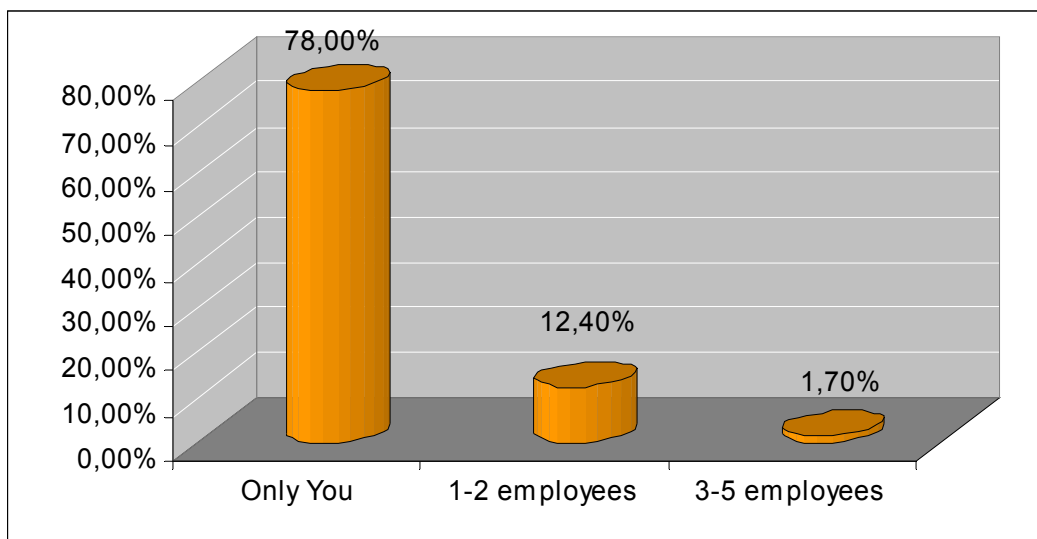
1. What type of business do You conduct?

services	114	64,41%
trade	30	16,95%
construction	2	1,13%
other	19	10,73%
Lack of data	12	6,78%
Total	177	100%



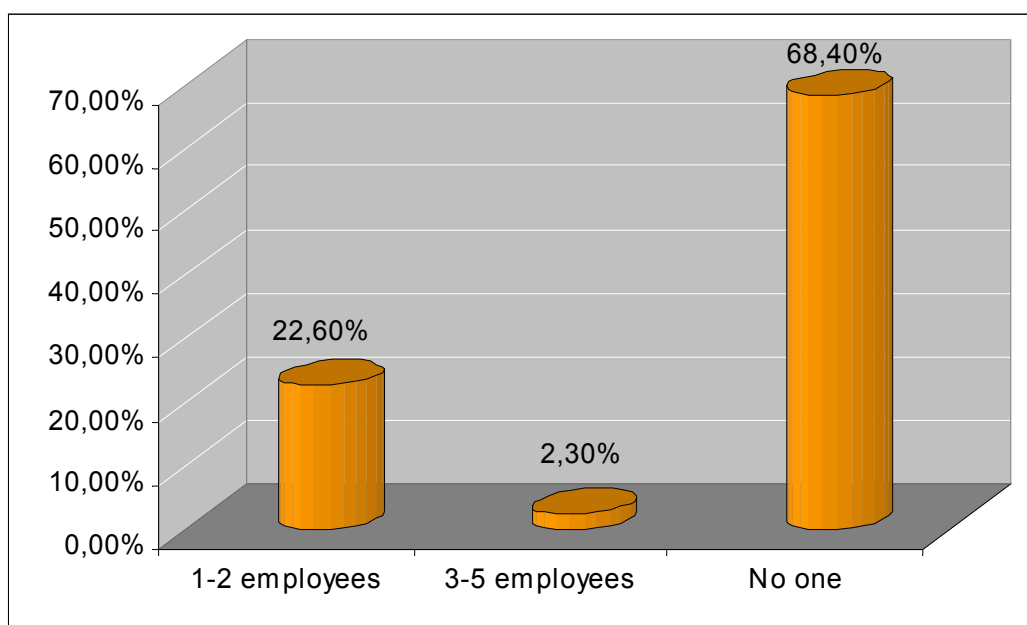
2. How many people do You employ?

Only You	78,00%
1-2 employees	12,40%
3-5 employees	1,70%



3. How many people are You going to employ during the next 12 months?

1-2 employees	22,60%
3-5 employees	2,30%
No one	68,40%

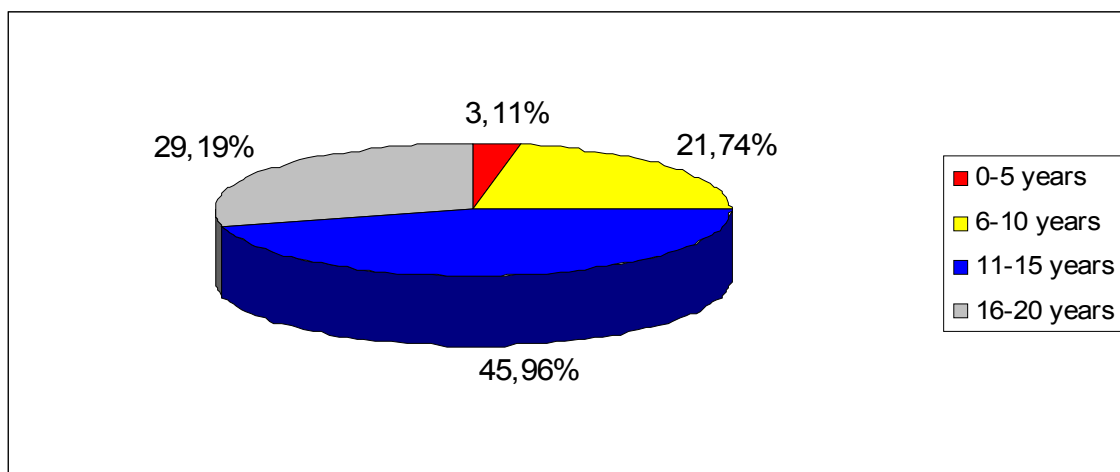


4. Are You going to expand Your business (new services or goods) during the next 12 months?

No	87	49,20%
Yes	77	43,50%

5. How many years (all together) did You worked professionally before You decided to set up Your own company?

0-5 years	5	3,11%
6 – 10 years	35	21,74%
11-15 years	74	45,96%
16-20 years	47	29,19%



6. Have You participated in trainings/courses, after You set up Your company?

No	80	45,20%
Yes	87	49,15%

7. Have You acquired new skills (not necessary connected with trainings/courses) after You set up a company?

No	55	28,89%
Yes	108	58,70%

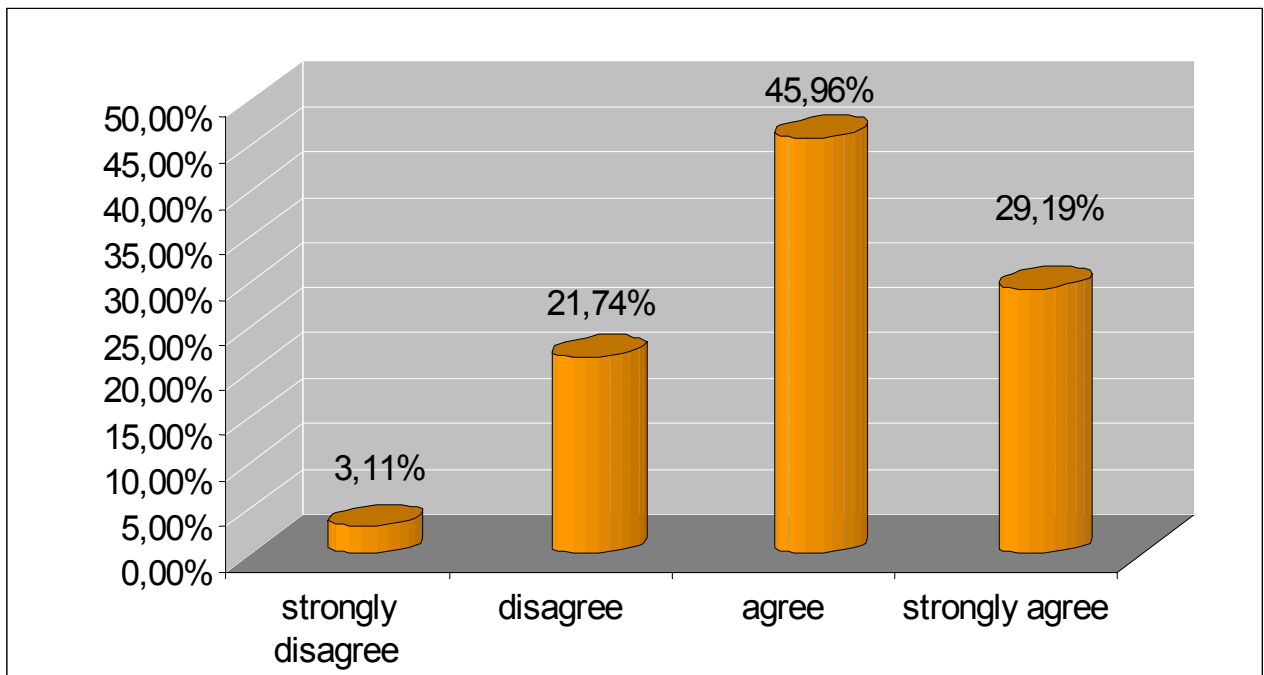
8. Have You improved Your knowledge concerning an activity in the market, human resources management, planning?

No	33	20,37%
Yes	129	79,63%

9. Please highlight one of the following statements, that express Your opinion the best.

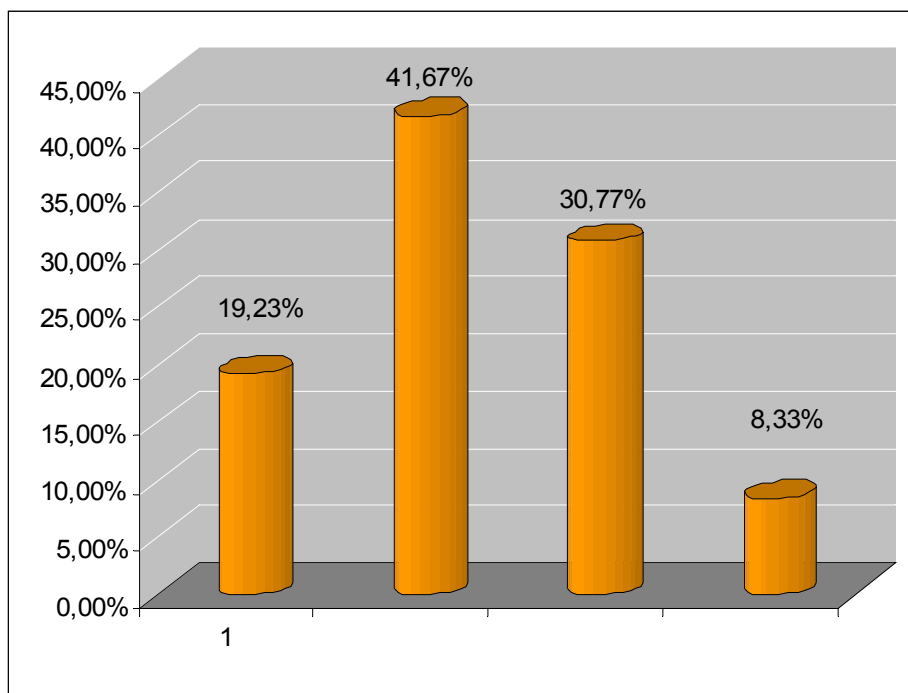
9.1. My surrounding (friends, family, neighbors) supported me when I told them about my idea to start my own business

strongly disagree	5	3,11%
disagree	35	21,74%
agree	74	45,96%
strongly agree	47	29,19%



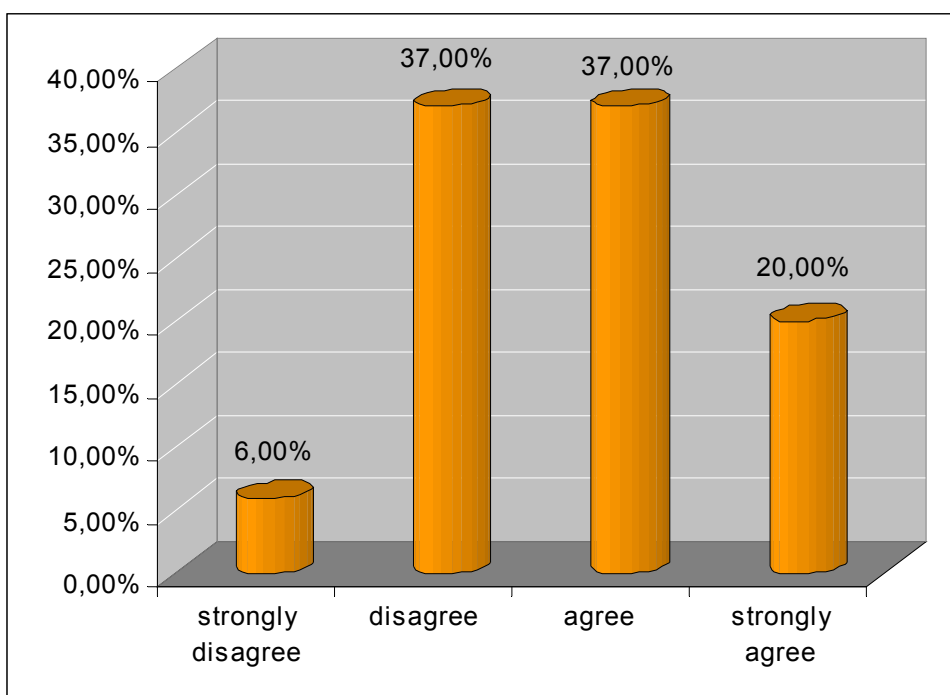
9.2. My surrounding (friends, family, neighbors) expressed concern when I told them about my idea to set up my own company

strongly disagree	30	19,23%
disagree	65	41,67%
agree	48	30,77%
strongly agree	13	8,33%



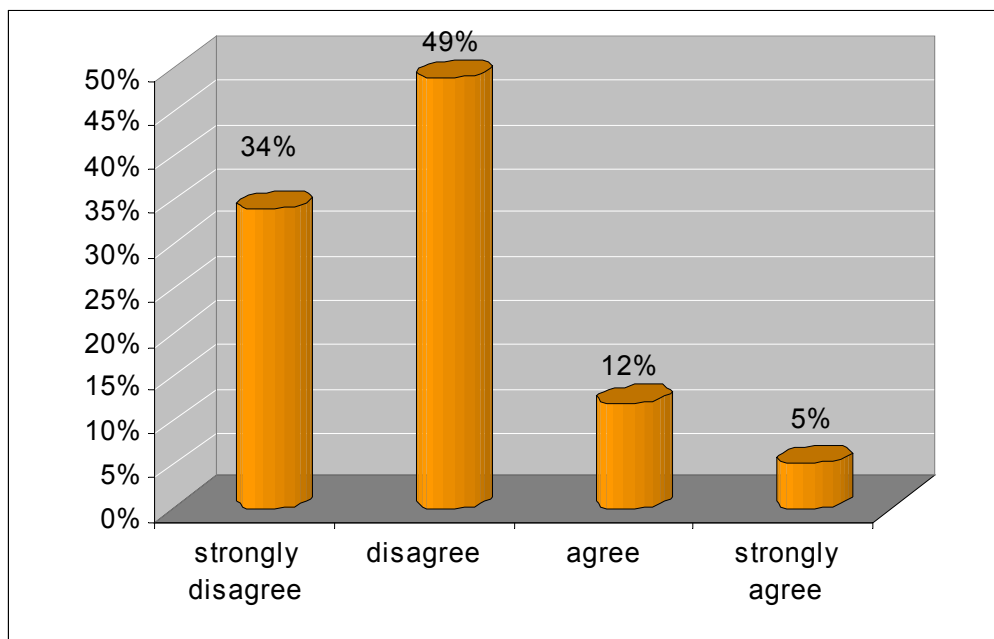
9.3. I have received with a lot of positive reactions and propositions of help from my surrounding (family, friends, neighbours) when I told them about my idea to set up a company.

strongly disagree	9	6,00%
disagree	58	37,00%
agree	68	37,00%
strongly agree	31	20,00%



9.4. I have met with a lot of negative reactions and comments, when I told my surrounding (family, friends, neighbours) about my idea to run my own business

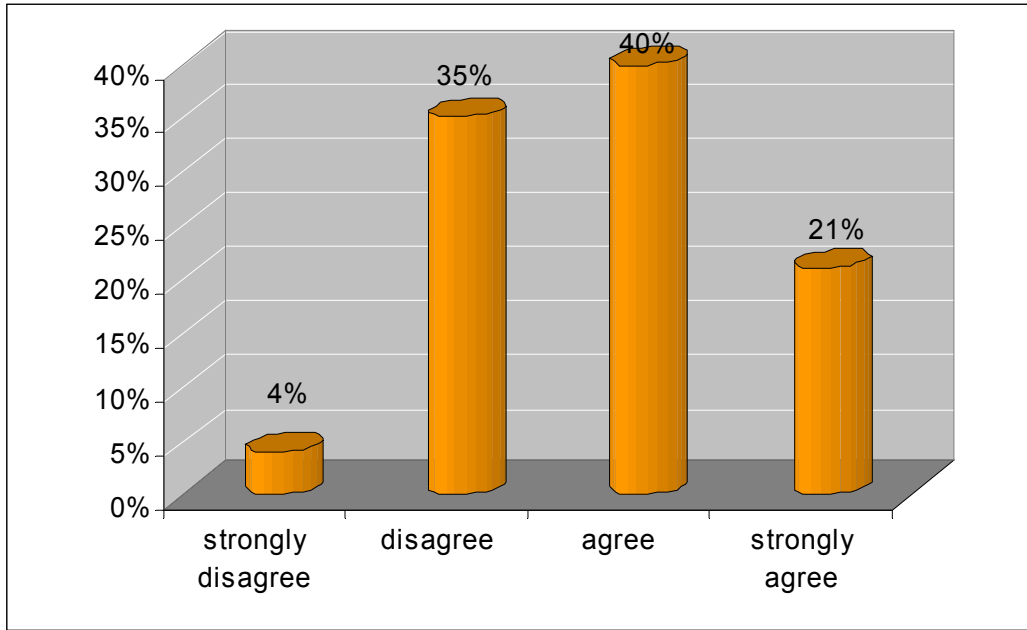
strongly disagree	52	34%
disagree	75	49%
agree	18	12%
strongly agree	8	5%



10. Please highlight one of the following statements, that express Your opinion the best.

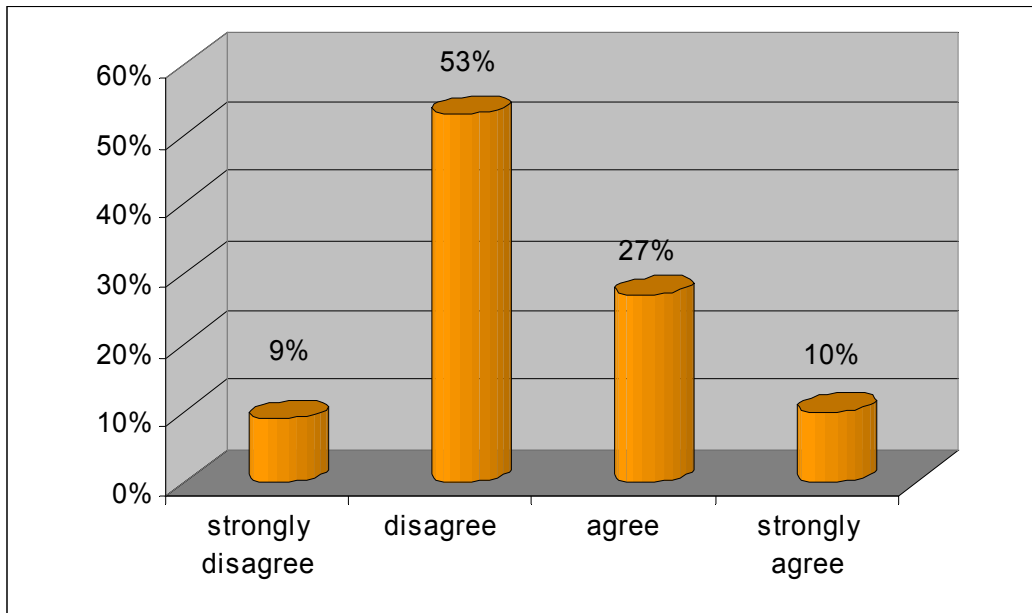
10.1. Since I have set up a company I made a lot of connections with people who lead their own company

strongly disagree	7	4%
disagree	57	35%
agree	64	40%
strongly agree	34	21%



10.2. Most of the entrepreneur with whom I stay in touch are women

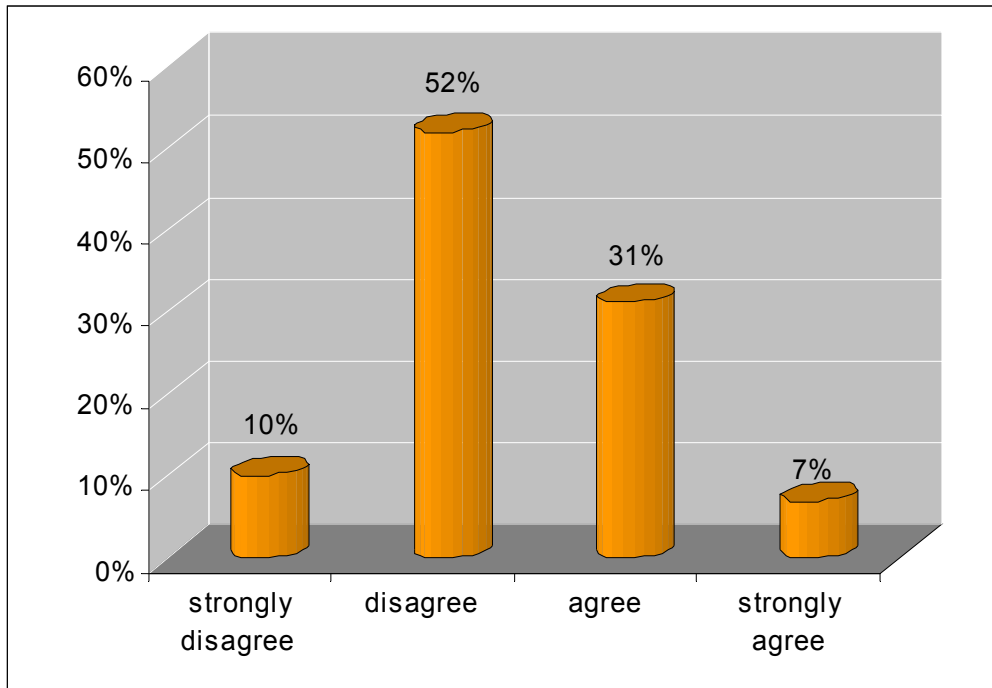
strongly disagree	14	9%
disagree	81	53%
agree	42	27%
strongly agree	16	10%



10.3. Most of the entrepreneur with whom I stay in touch are men

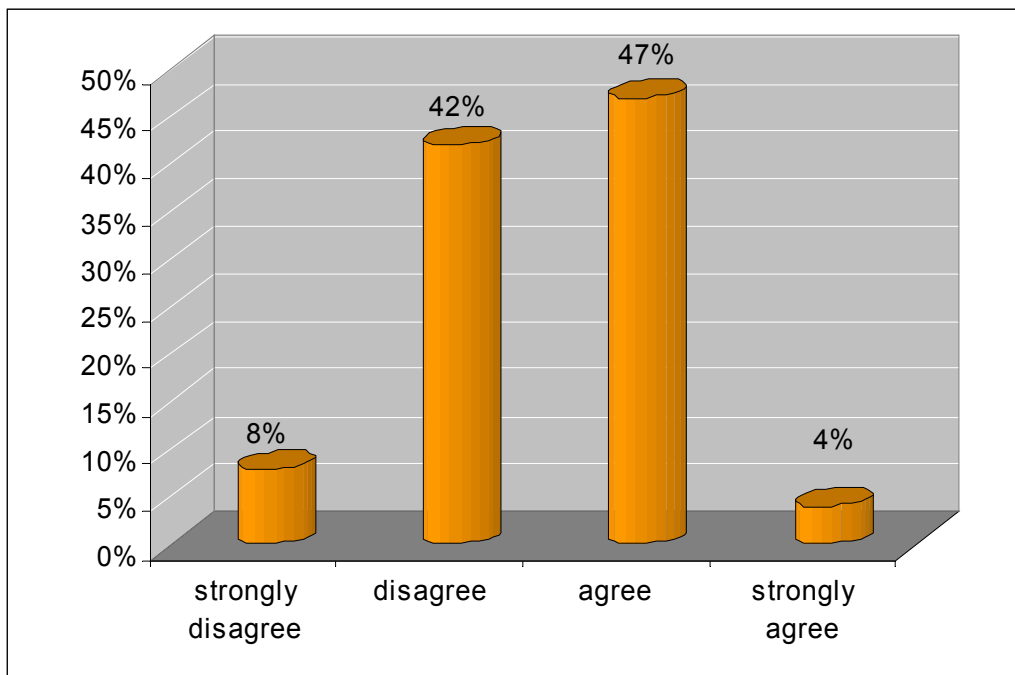
strongly disagree	15	10%
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disagree	81	52%
agree	48	31%
strongly agree	11	7%



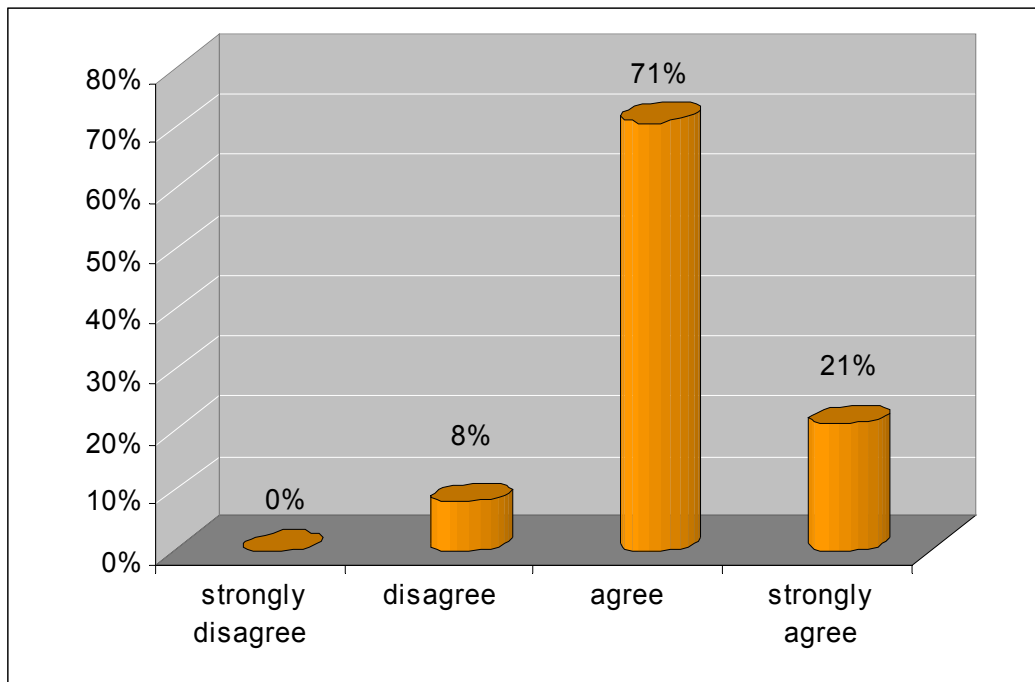
10.4. I know that I can count on other entrepreneurs

strongly disagree	12	8%
disagree	64	42%
agree	72	47%
strongly agree	6	4%



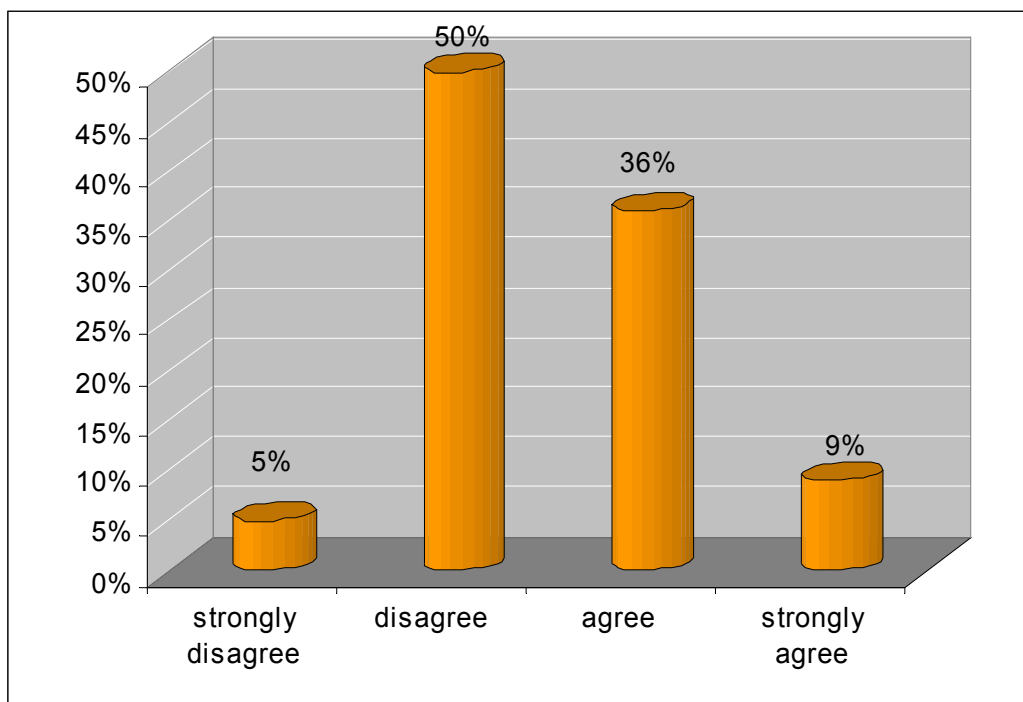
10.5. I try to help other entrepreneurs when they ask me for it

strongly disagree	0	0%
disagree	12	8%
agree	107	71%
strongly agree	31	21%



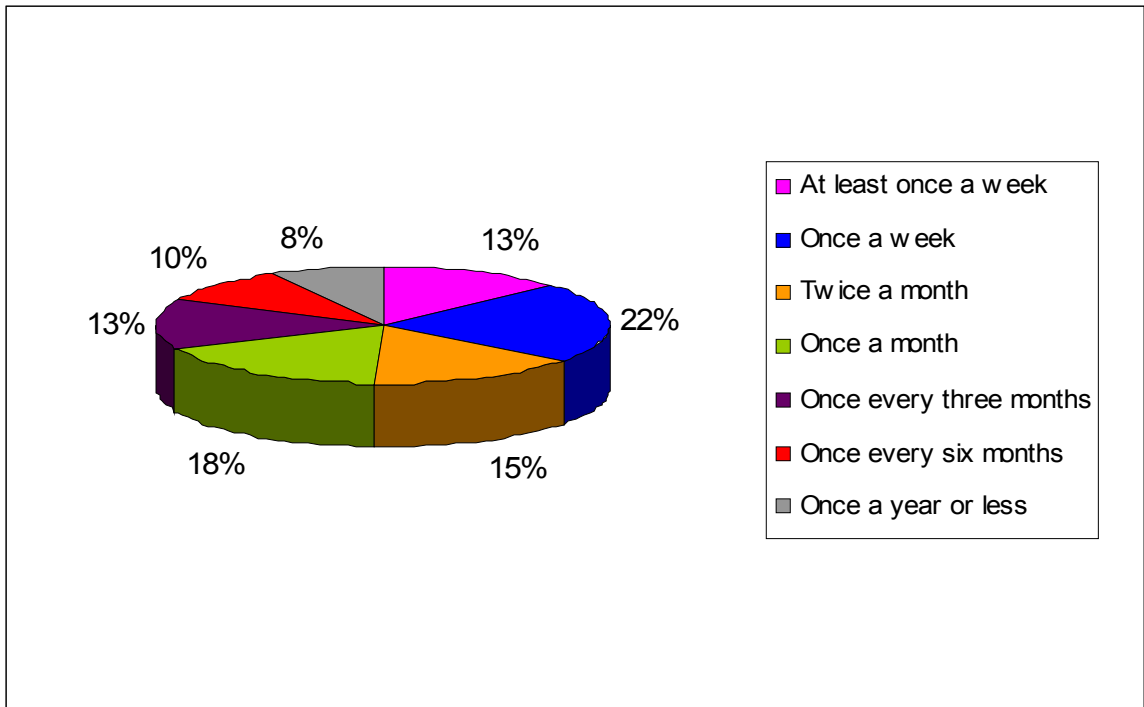
10.6. With help and advices of other entrepreneurs I managed to avoid a lot of troubles.

strongly disagree	7	5%
disagree	76	50%
agree	54	36%
strongly agree	14	9%



11. How often do You contact with other entrepreneurs?

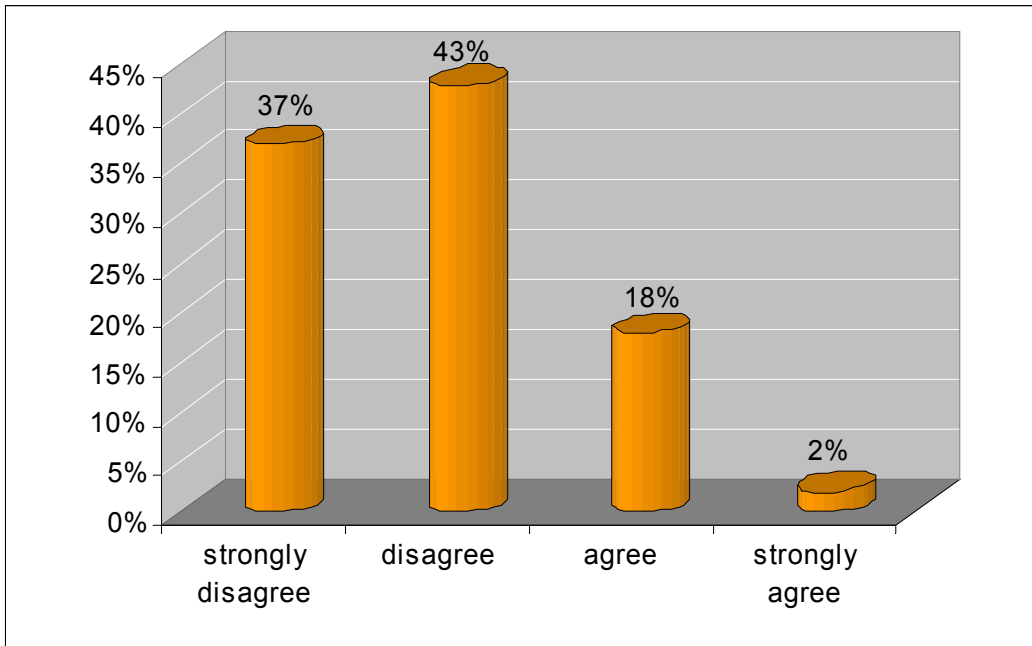
At least once a week	20	13%
Once a week	34	22%
Twice a month	23	15%
Once a month	28	18%
Once every three months	20	13%
Once every six months	15	10%
Once a year or less	12	8%



12. Please highlight one of the following statements, that express Your opinion the best.

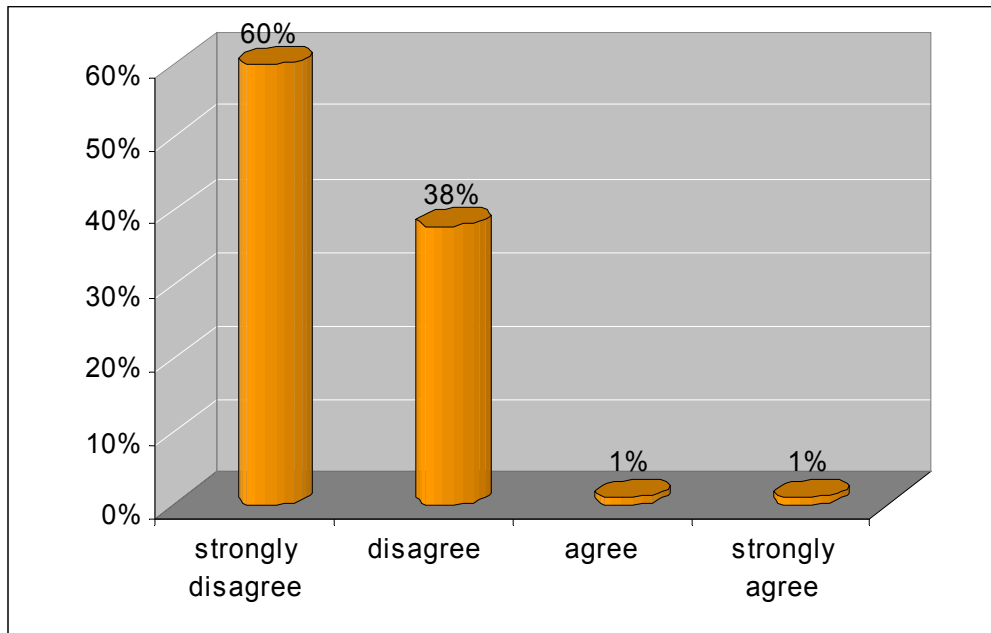
12.1. It is women who should be responsible for household responsibilities

strongly disagree	59	37%
disagree	68	43%
agree	29	18%
strongly agree	3	2%



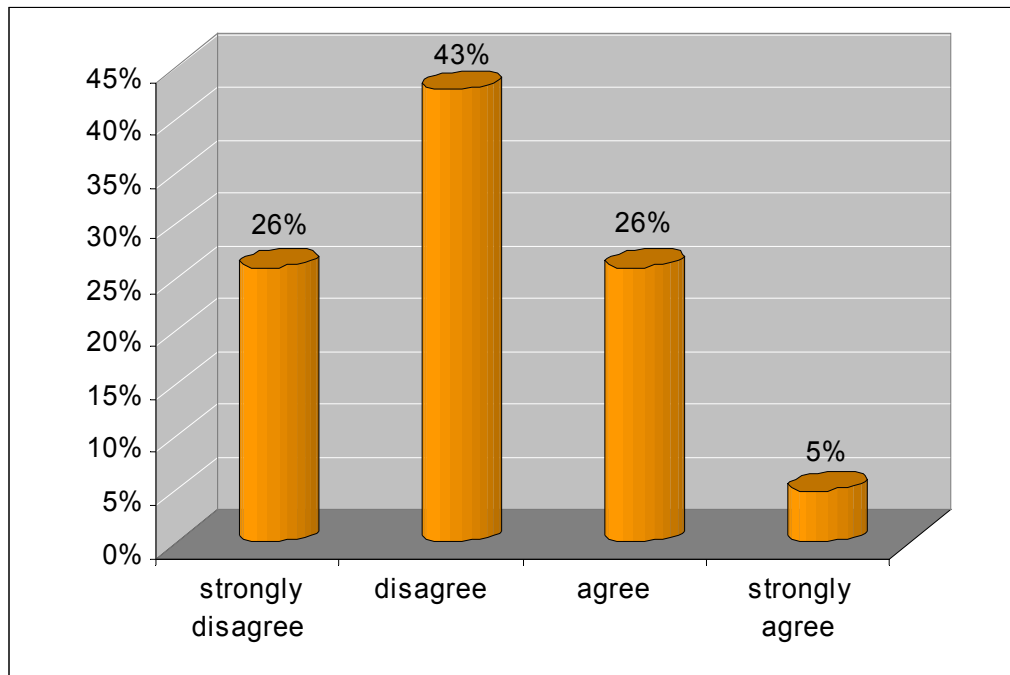
12.2. Men are not familiar with household responsibilities and should not do them.

strongly disagree	93	60%
disagree	59	38%
agree	2	1%
strongly agree	2	1%



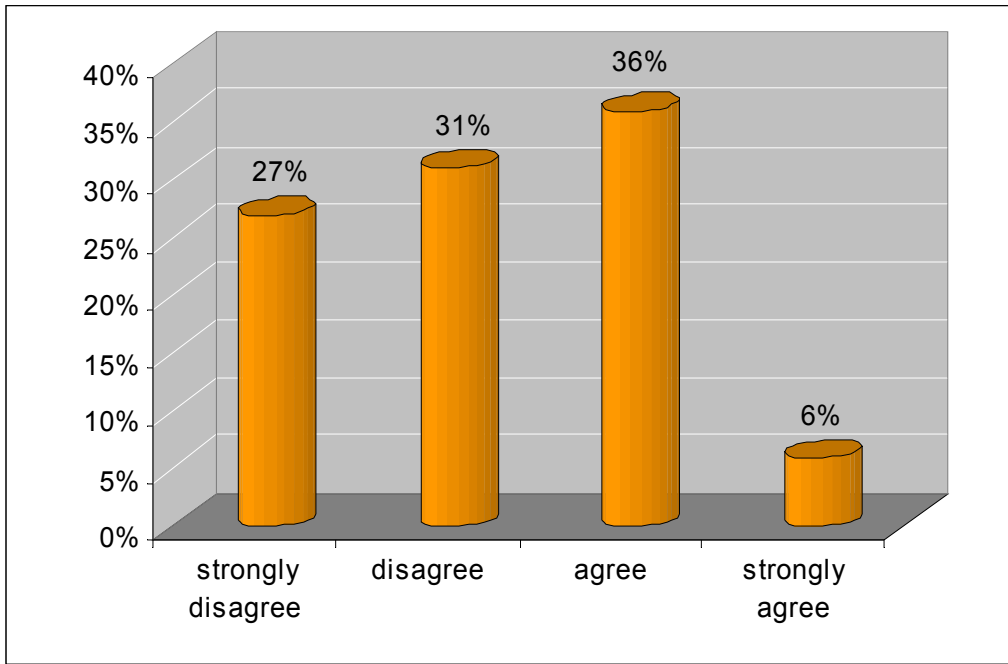
12.3. Men should be the breadwinner in the family

strongly disagree	39	26%
disagree	64	43%
agree	38	26%
strongly agree	8	5%



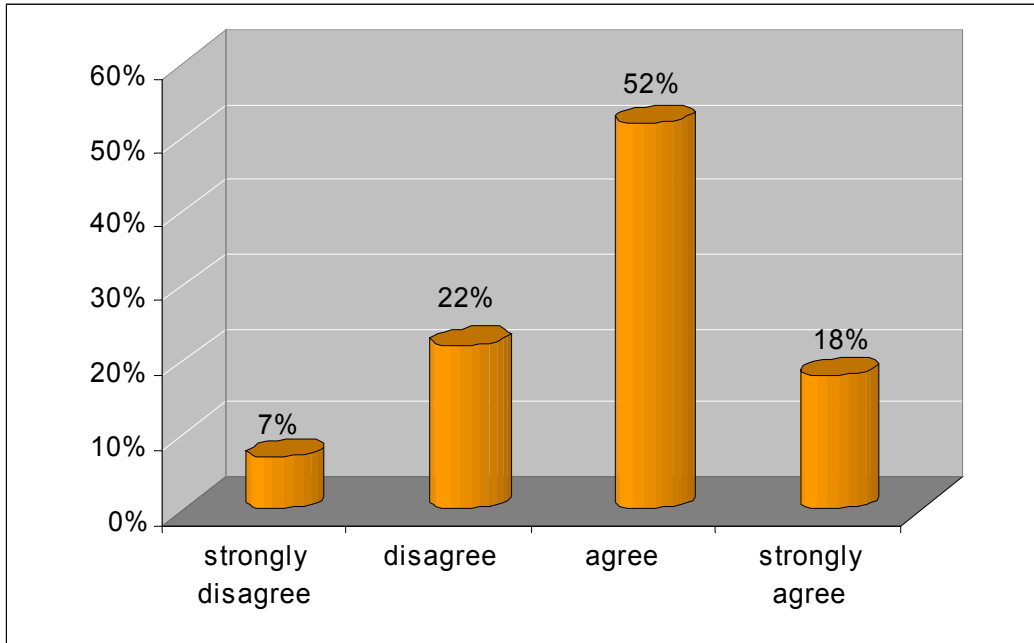
12.4. Women are more emotional and less rational than men

strongly disagree	41	27%
disagree	48	31%
agree	55	36%
strongly agree	9	6%



12.5. If we had to choose with my husband/partner which one of us should stay at home, it would definitely be me.

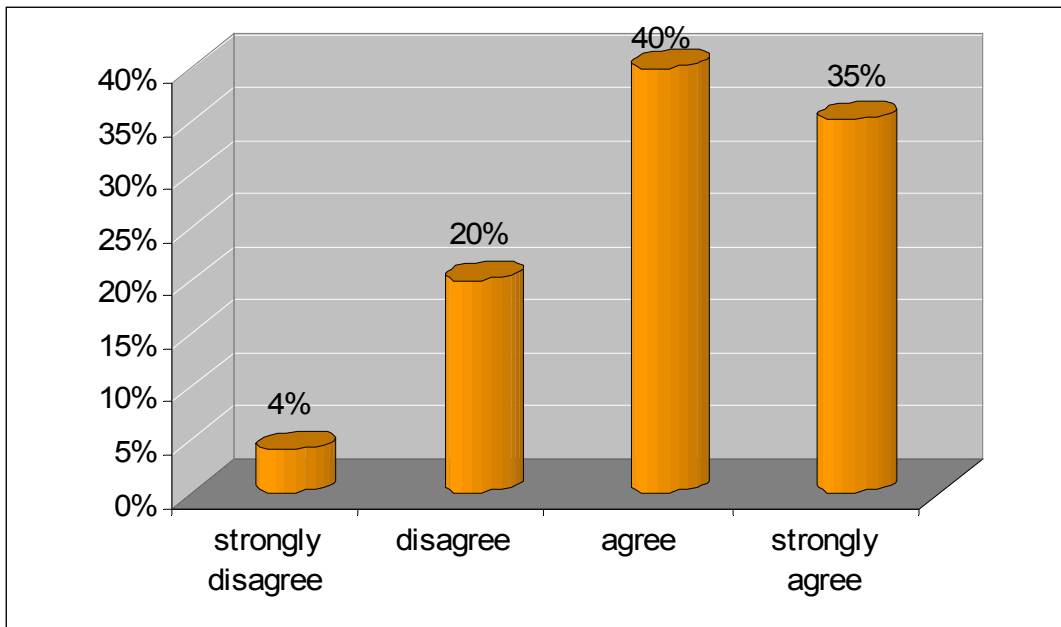
strongly disagree	11	7%
disagree	33	22%
agree	78	52%
strongly agree	27	18%



13. Please highlight one of the following statements, that express Your opinion the best.

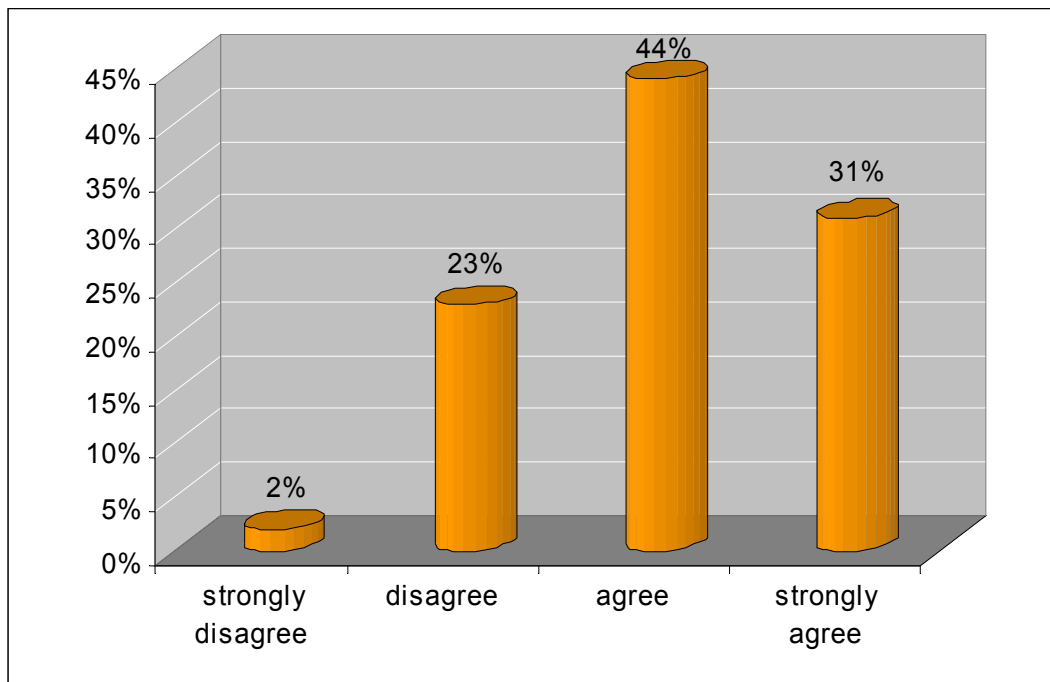
13.1. Women have more difficulties with finding a job than men.

strongly disagree	7	4%
disagree	32	20%
agree	63	40%
strongly agree	56	35%



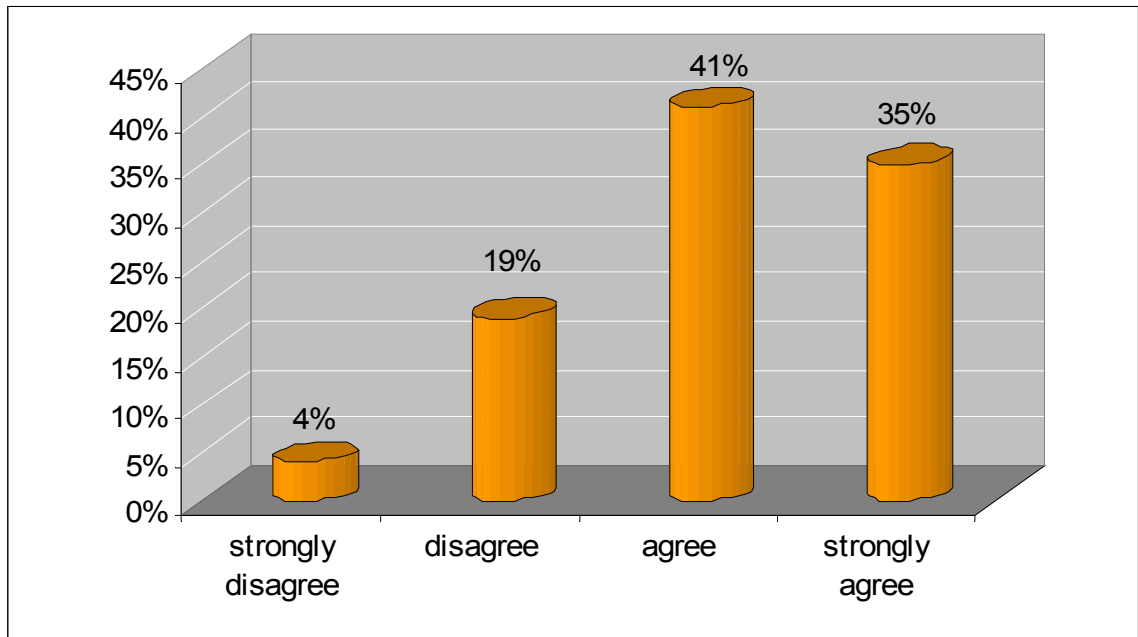
13.2. It is easier for men to keep a job than for a women

strongly disagree	3	2%
disagree	36	23%
agree	68	44%
strongly agree	47	31%



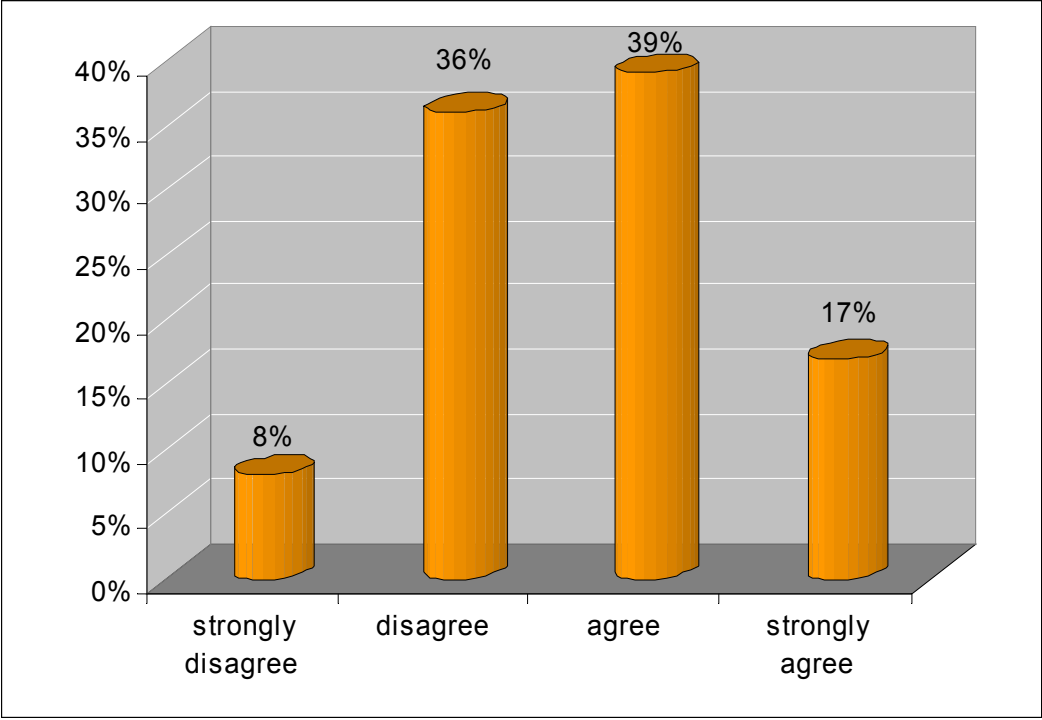
13.3. Men are treated by their employees better than women.

strongly disagree	6	4%
disagree	30	19%
agree	64	41%
strongly agree	55	35%



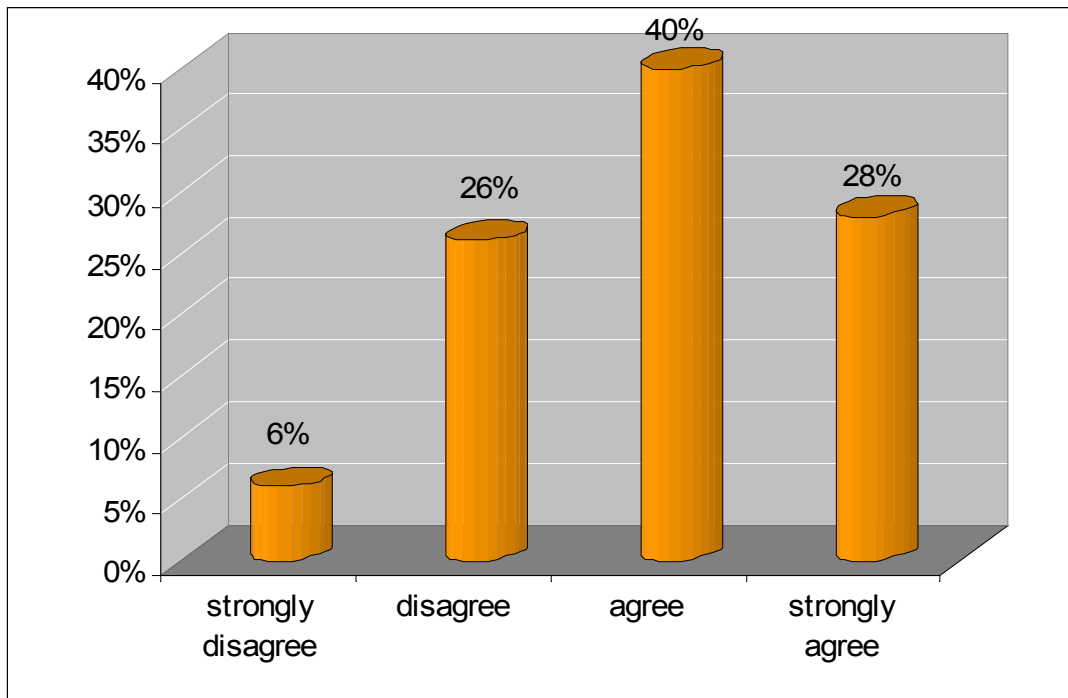
13.4. Women entrepreneurs are seen as a less professional than men entrepreneurs

strongly disagree	13	8%
disagree	57	36%
agree	61	39%
strongly agree	26	17%



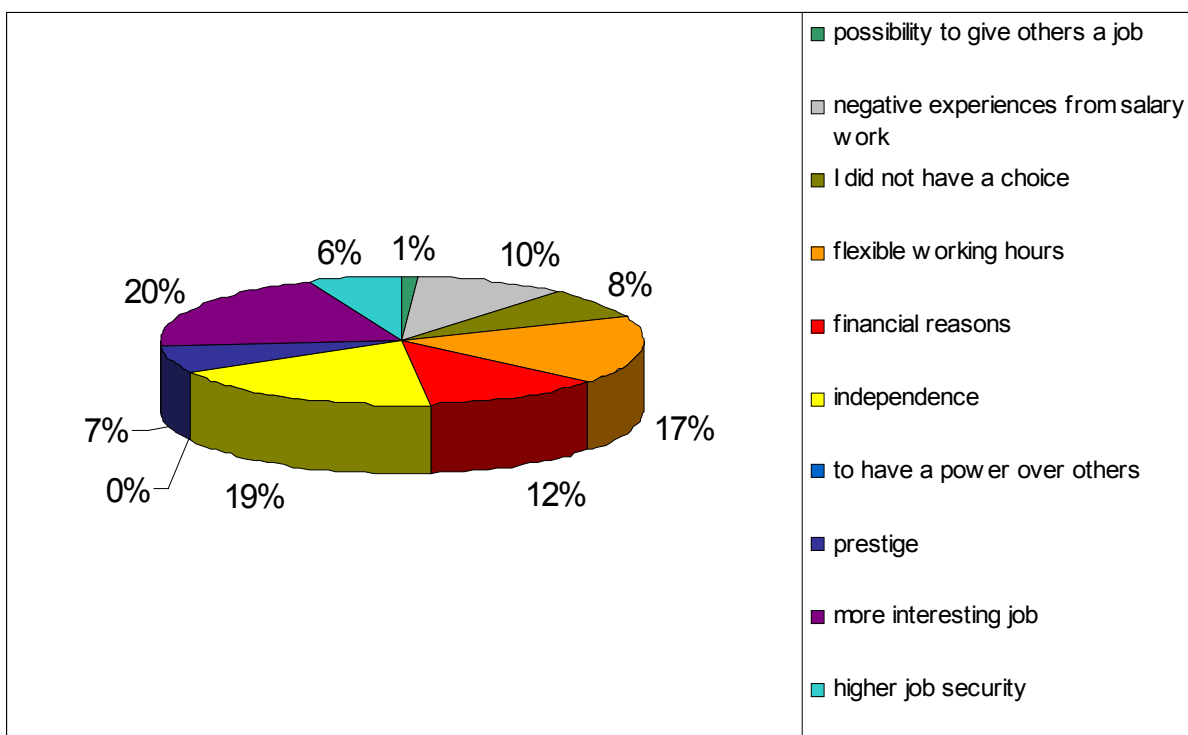
13.5. My husband/partner has a better job opportunities than I have.

strongly disagree	9	6%
disagree	39	26%
agree	60	40%
strongly agree	43	28%



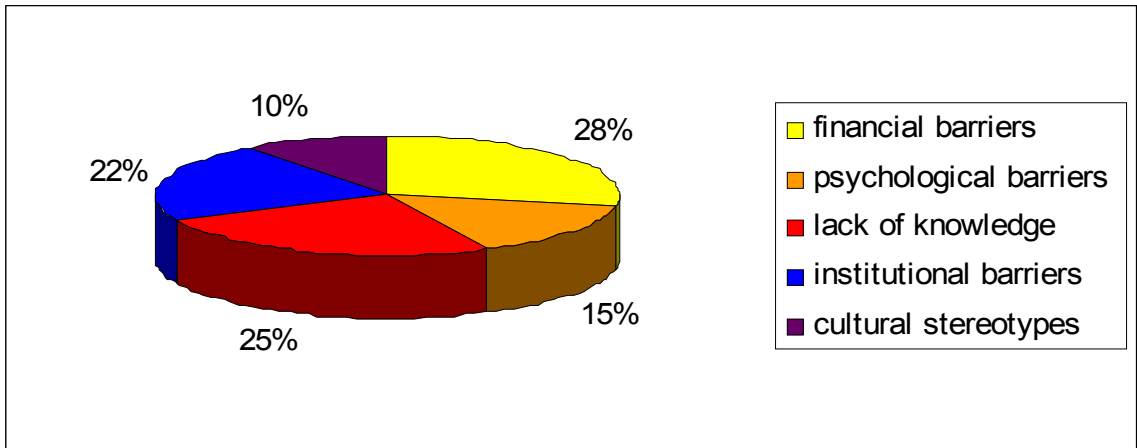
13. Please select 5 the most important reasons explaining why have You decided to set up Your own company.

possibility to give others a job	8	1%
negative experiences from salary work	59	10%
I did not have a choice, self – employment was the only possibility of employment	47	8%
flexible working hours	106	17%
financial independence and higher incomes	73	12%
independence, freedom to decide about my own destiny, responsibility for my own decisions, possibility to set my own goals	119	19%
to have a power over others	2	0%
prestige connected with this form of employment	45	7%
opportunity to have a more interesting job, possibility of professional development and implementation of my own ideas	122	20%
higher job security	34	6%



14. Please select 3 the most important factors hindering set up and lead a company

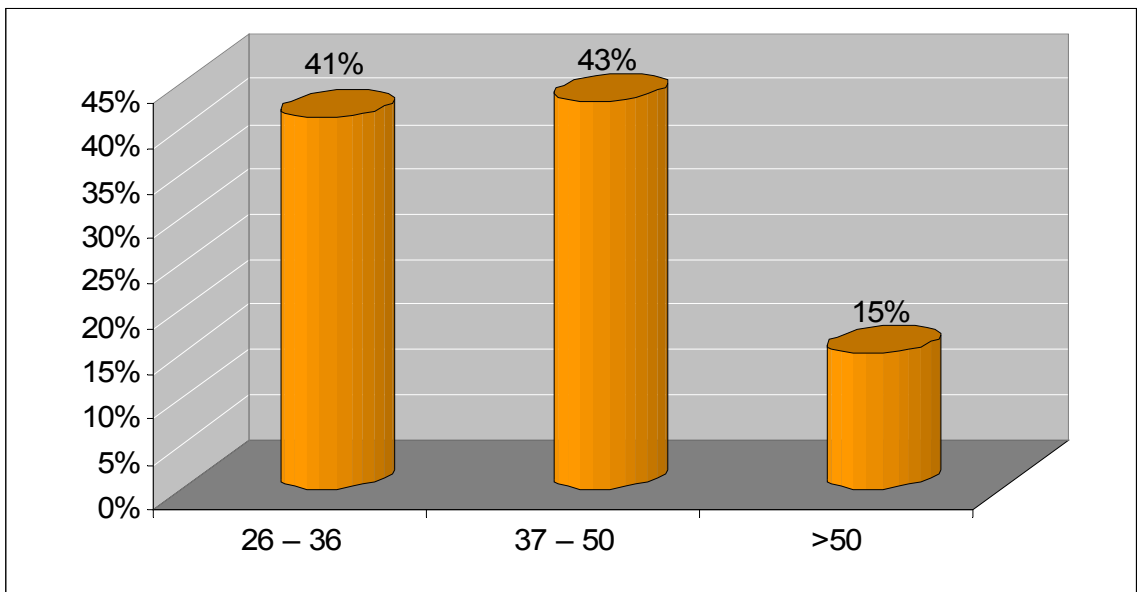
financial barriers related to lack of capital and difficulties with getting loans to set up a company	115	28%
psychological barriers ("I can't do this", "it's too difficult to me")	62	15%
lack of knowledge and lack of experience connected with conducting a business.	104	25%
institutional barriers, unclear legislation	89	22%
cultural stereotypes and lack of support from the nearest surrounding (family, friends, neighbours)	39	10%



Age

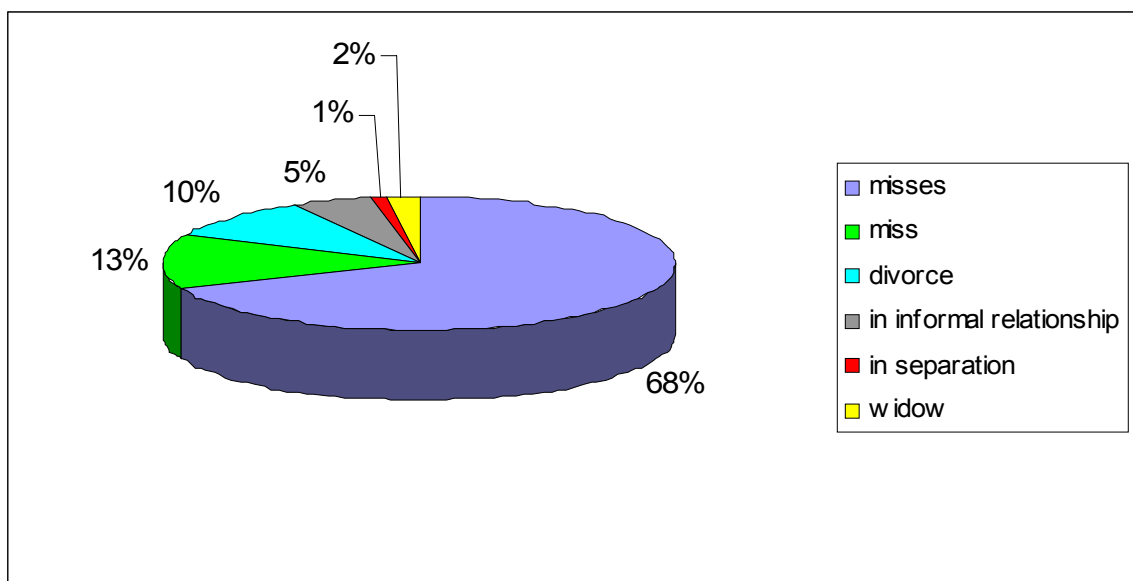
- a. 20 – 25
- b. 26 – 36
- c. 37 – 50
- d. >50

26 – 36	68	41%
37 – 50	71	43%
>50	25	15%



Marital status

misses	113	68%
miss	21	13%
divorce	17	10%
in informal relationship	9	5%
in separation	2	1%
widow	3	2%

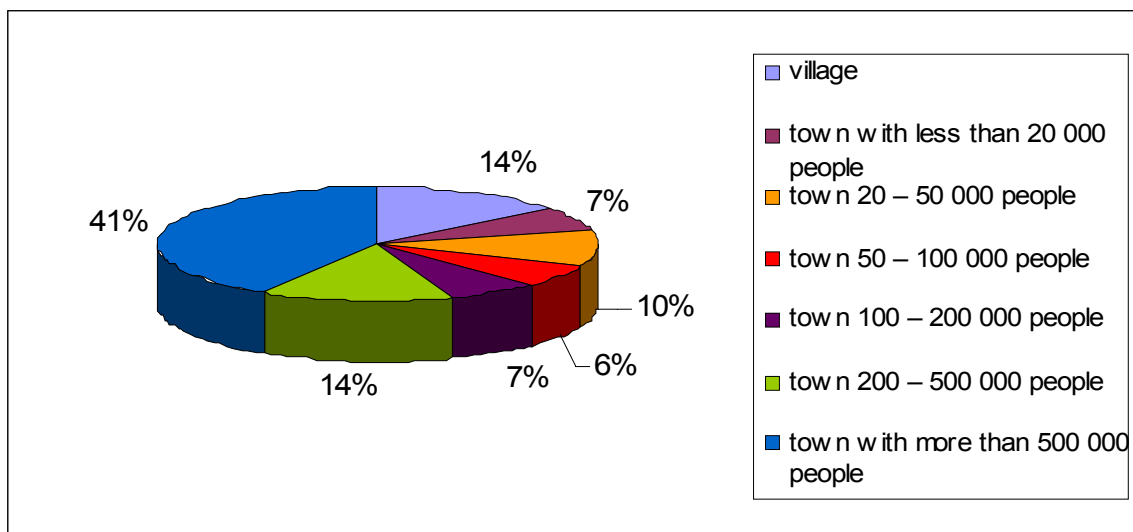


How many children do You have?

0	15	10%
1	42	29%
2	70	48%
3	16	11%
4	3	2%

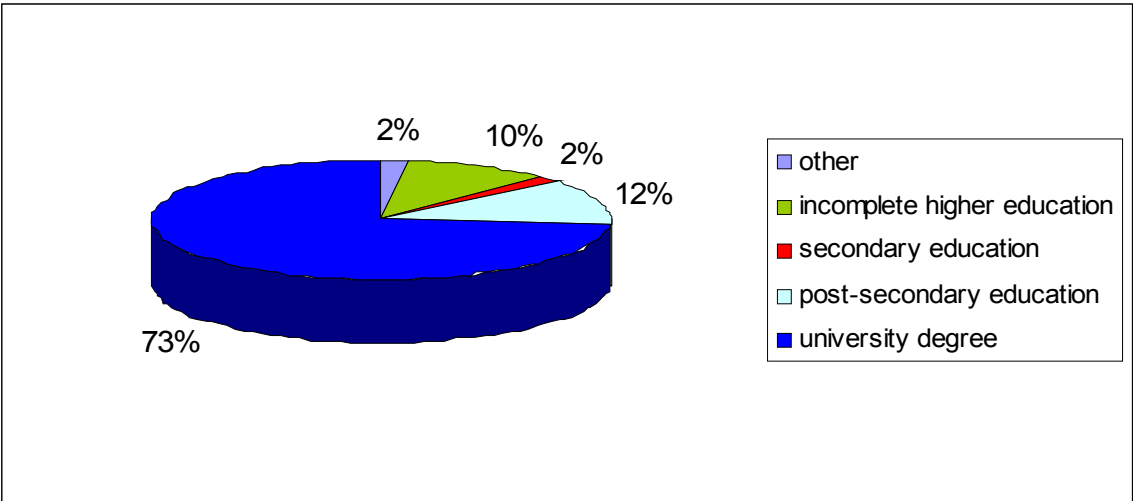
The place where You live is

village	23	14%
town with less than 20 000 people	12	7%
town 20 – 50 000 people	17	10%
town 50 – 100 000 people	10	6%
town 100 – 200 000 people	12	7%
town 200 – 500 000 people	22	14%
town with more than 500 000 people	66	41%



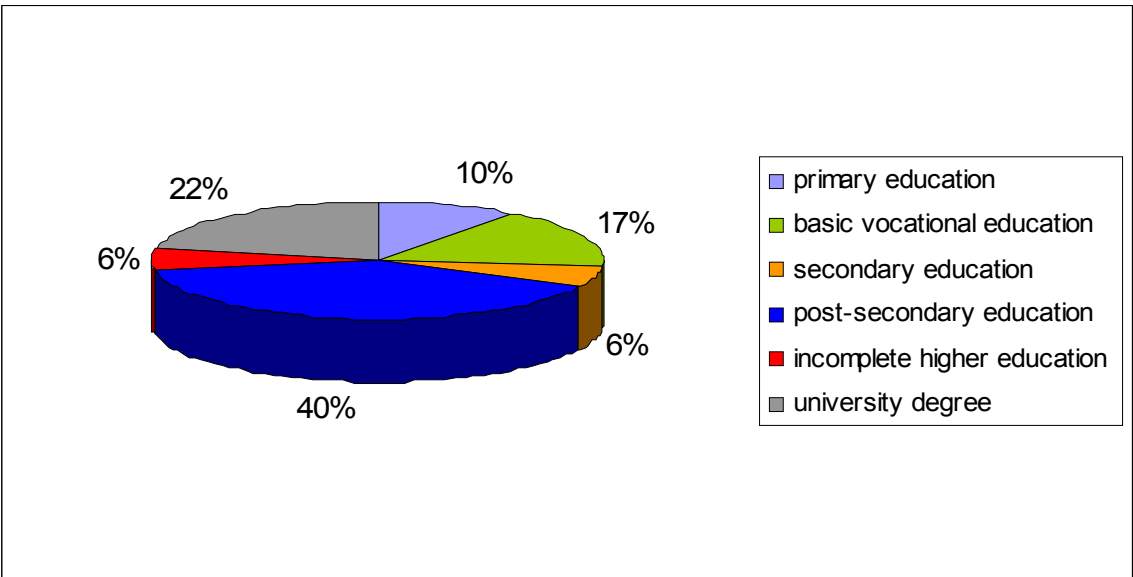
Your education

other	4	2%
incomplete higher education	17	10%
secondary education	3	2%
post-secondary education	20	12%
university degree	119	73%



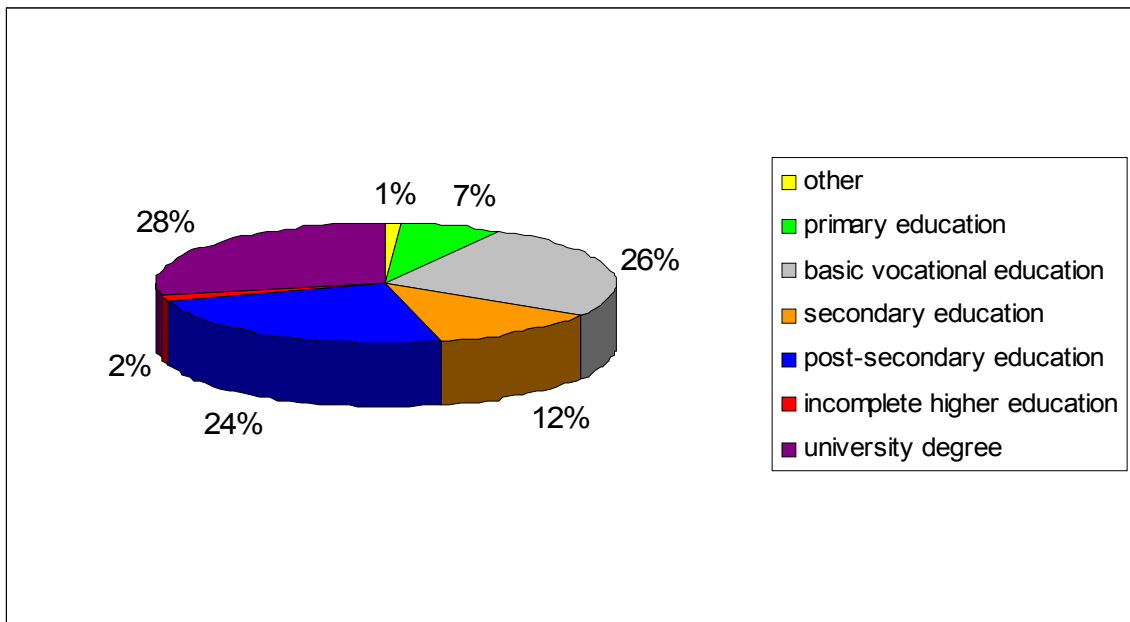
Education of Your mother

primary education	16	10%
basic vocational education	27	17%
secondary education	10	6%
post-secondary education	65	40%
incomplete higher education	9	6%
university degree	36	22%



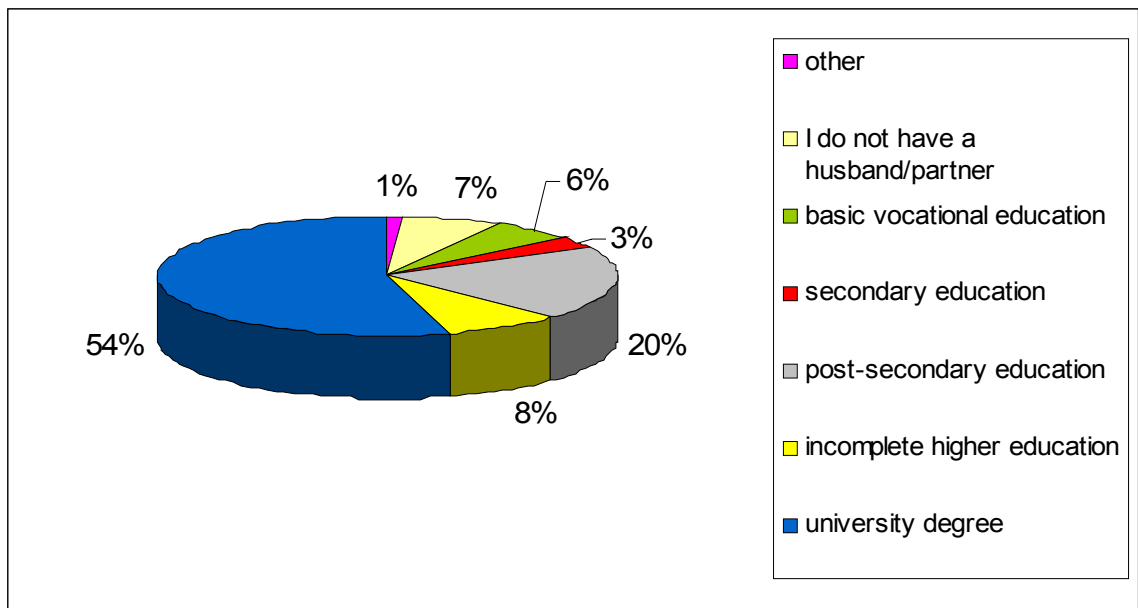
Education of Your father

other	2	1%
primary education	11	7%
basic vocational education	43	26%
secondary education	19	12%
post-secondary education	39	24%
incomplete higher education	4	2%
university degree	46	28%



Education of Your husband/partner

other	2	1%
I do not have a husband/partner	11	7%
basic vocational education	9	6%
secondary education	5	3%
post-secondary education	30	20%
incomplete higher education	13	8%
university degree	83	54%



Profession of Your mother

hand worker	25	21,00%
white-collar worker	95	79,00%

Profession of Your father

hand worker	73	59,00%
white-collar worker	51	41,00%

Profession of Your husband/partner?

hand worker	22	20,00%
white-collar worker	90	80,00%

Questions for an interviews

1. For whom, in Your opinion is easier to set up and lead a company
2. What kind of institutional barriers meet women who want to set up a company
3. How looks the image/perception of a female-entrepreneurs?
4. What is in You opinion more valuable when it comes to leading a company: aggressiveness, hard negotiations, goal orientation or good communication with employees, taking care of their business, interpersonal skills?
5. In Your opinion, self-employment is a attractive form of employment or alternative to avoid unemployment?
6. What are the main factors which make for women difficult to find and keep the job?
7. How looks women's position in the society (division of household responsibilities, social acceptance for women who work full time) in relation too men's position in the society?
8. Do You agree with traditional division of household responsibilities for female (taking care of family and children) and male (being a breadwinner), why?
9. Do You think that the way of company management is different depend on who leads a company, men or women?
10. From economic point of view, what and why is more advantageous: salary work or self-employment?
11. Do You think that self-employment contributes to gaining new skills (not only professional but also interpersonal)?
12. How do You perceive contacts with other entrepreneurs? How do they look like? Do they are helpful in leading a business?
13. Do You think that in Poland are needed organizations which will help women in entrance into the market? How they supposed to be helping?
14. Why do You think there is little exchange of information between entrepreneurs and a litter number of organizations for entrepreneurs?
15. What is connected with a greater prestige: salary work of self-employment?
16. Do You think that still exists in a society a negative image of a person who lead a business (from a Communist period)?
17. Do You think that greater participation women in the market can overcome stereotypical perception women as a wife and mother?
18. How women working full time are perceive in a society?

Interview 1. with Jacek Prześlakowski

1. Can You tell me something about the project “New qualification”?

It was a second biggest project in Europe, after Spain. 6500 women participated in the project. Project was directed to unemployed women and to the women who wanted to change their job. National Chamber of Commerce prepared twelve-day trainings. These trainings included information about legal requirements to set up a company, how to write a business plan as well as interpersonal abilities such as assertiveness. At the end of training, women need to write a business plan. 30% of all participants with the best business plans got a grant (about 25000 Euro) to start their own company.

2. Why do You think there is a need to prepare this kind of project?

Women in a society are perceived as a worse employees and employers. There are a several reasons of this stereotype. First is that women are mainly responsible for their family, so if their child will get sick, it will be women who will take a few days off from work, not her husband. Although women have a more responsibilities, they still might be a great employees. Sometimes they might be better than their male colleagues, because they are better organized.

3. How this project helped women?

After a few days of trainings women started to be more confident, they started to stressed up and put some make up. It might be seen that they are more self-confident. Of course the most important was that they had a chance to get a grant to start their own business.

4. How You would evaluated this project?

I think that it has a very positive impact on women who participated in it. What is more, in my opinion this project might be the result of a beginning of a public discussion about women's situation, which is great. Furthermore, it might be a start for other projects. All this has a one common goal: to change the stereotypical thinking. Stereotypes are the reason why women are seen as a worse employees and why we have more unemployed women than men. We just need to realize that women's discrimination is a fact and not because they are less competent than men, but because the stereotypes in our heads.

Interview 2. with Ewa Lisowska

1. How do You perceive women's situation on a labour market in Poland?

In my opinion women are perceived as 'a cheaper labour force', with a worse professional skills than men. Generally they are seen as a 'non professionals', because of their family responsibilities. As You can see from a data, women earn less, need to look for a job longer and so on. We can discuss about if there exists women's discrimination or not, but these are objective facts.

2. How do You see the researches in Poland about women's self-employment

Actually, there are only a few researches about women's self-employment in Poland. But they are very incomplete. Your research about push/pull factors and habitus will be the first one in Poland. I hope that the situation will change. In Poland after 2004 I observed that the debate about women's position on a labour market started. The project 'New qualification' is a great start.

3. What in Your opinion need to be done to change the situation of women in a labour market?

First of all, women need to start to build networks and create a mentor system for those who want to start their own business. Every year I participate in a Women's Congress in Warsaw. It is the biggest annual event for women. During the Congress we try to encourage women to exchange experiences and show them that it might only bring them benefits.