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The United Right and Rights of Polish Women

Abstract: The election victories of the United Right in 2015 and 2019 are associated with limiting women's rights. This applies mainly to reproduction, security in the home place, the labour market or politics. Changes in the situation of the Polish women under the rule of the conservative coalition are the subject of this article. Its aim is to present the process of implementing the right-wing vision of the role of women in society. The researchers asked the following questions: Do legal regulations sufficiently protect the safety of Polish women under the rule of United Right? What is the process of changes taking place in the labour market from the point of view of women? Is there a slight but systematic increase in the number of women in parliament and their promotion to other high political positions? In order to obtain answers to the above questions, an analysis of the texts of documents and magazines was used. The analysis showed a radical restriction of women's rights.

Key words: United Right, authority, women's rights, restriction

Introduction

The United Right won the 2015 Polish parliamentary election.¹ The victory was special, as it was the first time in the history of the Third Republic that a single political force had won an independent majority. The 37.58 per cent of the electoral votes obtained in this election meant that this coalition did not have to seek an alliance to form a government. 235 seats in the Sejm (*Wybory do Sejmu i Senatu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 2015*) (the lower house of the bicameral parliament of Poland) enabled it to make unfettered decisions and adopt constitutionally and morally questionable regulations. These facts were crucial to Polish women, who found themselves in an unprecedented scale of attention from the authorities.

The United Right was initially formed by the following parties: Law and Justice, Zbigniew Ziobro's United Poland, Jarosław Gowin's Poland Together and members of Marek Jurek's Right Wing of the Republic (Polish: Prawica Rzeczypospolitej).² For

¹ On 19 July 2014, United Poland (Polish: Solidarna Polska) and Poland Together (Polish: Polska Razem) entered into a cooperation agreement with Law and Justice (Polish: Prawo i Sprawiedliwość). This coalition was called Fair Poland (Polish: Sprawiedliwa Polska), and in 2015 the name was changed to United Right (Source: *Zjednoczona Prawica...*). In 2015, under the aforementioned agreement, the parties of Zbigniew Ziobro and Jarosław Gowin ran for the first time from Law and Justice's lists in parliamentary elections (Source: *Wszyscy ludzie ministra...*).

² *Wybory wygrał PiS... czy Zjednoczona Prawica?* <https://wzzw.wordpress.com/2015/10/29/%e2%96%a0%e2%96%a0-wybory-wygral-pis-czy-zjednoczona-prawica/>. During the second term, Jarosław Gowin (Agreement; Polish: Porozumienie) and some deputies left the coalition, while Adam Bielan and the Republican Party (Polish: Partia Republikańska) he formed remained (Source: *Długosz, Starcie...*).

years, these factions have been faithful to conservative views on life and family issues. Their electoral success has therefore raised legitimate concerns about the future of women's rights. A repeat victory in the 2019 elections heralded a dramatic deterioration in the situation of Polish women. The failure of the first term to restrict women's reproductive rights suggested a continuation of determined pro-life radicals.

Protection of women's reproductive rights

The term "reproductive rights" includes all rights related to human reproduction and sexuality. With regard to women they concern the right to safe legal abortion, family planning, protection from forced sterilisation and contraception. They further refer to reproductive health services, education and making free, informed decisions about motherhood (*Prawa reprodukcyjne*).

The restriction of these rights manifests, among other things, in the withdrawal of funding for in vitro procedures from the state budget 2016. From the start of reimbursement of the procedure in 2013 until the end of 2019, 22 188 children were born (Ambroziak, *Polski...*). Fewer than 300 pregnancies (*Ile dzieci urodziło się...*)³ were confirmed between 2016 and 2019 due to naprotechnology⁴ pushed by the United Right. Meanwhile, the Polish Society for Reproductive Medicine and Embryology reported in 2020 that around 1.5 million couples (15–20 per cent of the Polish population of reproductive age) face infertility (*Nieplodność w Polsce i na świecie...*). The resignation of the authorities to participate in the programme has led to the involvement of local authorities and its continuation at the local level. Częstochowa, as the first city in Poland, introduced the subsidisation of the in vitro procedure from the city budget as early as 2012 (*Światowy Dzień In Vitro...*). In 2017, Warsaw joined the programme. Łódź, Szczecin, Wrocław, Poznań, Gdańsk, Opole, Sosnowiec, Bydgoszcz and other, also smaller, localities soon joined (*Ile dzieci urodziło się...*).

In 2012, a regulation by the Minister of Health introduced the Standards of Perinatal Care, in line with the World Health Organisation's guidelines on the realisation of patients' rights (Rozporządzenie..., 2012). They are a role model for medical staff during childbirth and perinatal care, among other things. In 2016, the Minister of Health, Konstanty Radziwiłł, deleted this procedure from the Medical Activity Act (Czarnecka et al., 2017). Hospitals, most often in a difficult financial situation, were allowed to decide how to implement the standards model. They were henceforth not penalised for non-compliance with the regulations. Meanwhile, a 2016 report by the Supreme Audit Office revealed lapses in respecting these procedures, which were still in force. Only eight of the 29 hospital wards inspected met all the requirements. The objections concerned inadequacies in furnishing delivery rooms and examination rooms and insufficient medical staff (*Dostępność świadczeń...*). In addition, access to free anaesthesia for childbirth,

³ From 2019 the Ministry of Health has stopped providing data on the number of pregnancies identified (Source: Nowakowska, *W zeszłym roku...*).

⁴ "A natural method treated by pro-life circles as a serious alternative to in vitro is also recommended by the Catholic Church. The Polish Gynaecological Society does not recommend it due to a lack of evidence of effectiveness. Instead, it is considered a diagnostic procedure (Source: Podgórska, 2017).

subsidised by the National Health Fund (416 PLN for each birth with anaesthesia), had been in force since July 2015. The reimbursement was intended to improve patient safety and comfort. However, its amount did not cover the costs of hiring additional anaesthetists, so parturient women were most often deprived of this benefit. Since 2019, perinatal care has been regulated by the regulation of the Minister of Health of 16 August 2018. The document upholds the previous provision to leave the decision to administer anaesthesia to persons caring for parturient women (Rozporządzenie..., 2018). Experts, on the other hand, advocate giving it to patients (*Standardy okolorodowe...*).

In the Polish legal system, pregnant women have minimal tools to discipline hospitals. Late conducted prenatal tests and long waiting times are significant barriers to the use of formal regulations. On many occasions, procedures are deliberately prolonged, exceeding the legal time limit for the termination of pregnancy (Zdanowicz, 2019). Meanwhile, since 2013, the Prenatal Screening Programme provides free diagnosis of foetal defects and diseases. However, in 2016, the Ministry of Health, National Health Fund (NHF) branches and medical staff rarely informed patients about this possibility (*O dostępności badań...*).

In 2017 under pressure from right-wing circles, the Minister of Health withdrew the EllaOne pill from free sale. Konstanty Radziwiłł announced publicly that, as a doctor, he would not prescribe it even to a woman who had been raped (Czarnecka et al., 2017). From then on, this preparation became available by prescription only. In the 2020 European Contraception Policy Atlas report, Poland was the only one among the 46 surveyed countries of the old continent where access to contraception was restricted and the last one in terms of access to this type of means (*European Contraception...*, 2020). This is due to the requirement to obtain a prescription for emergency and emergency hormonal preparations and the inclusion of only two pregnancy protection products in the reimbursement.

Women in Poland are deprived of the possibility of undergoing an infertility procedure. The article in the Penal Code regulating this issue dates back to the pre-war years and provides for a penalty of up to 10 years imprisonment for such an act. Polish women, therefore, go to the Czech Republic, Slovakia, the UK and Germany. A Polish doctor in Prenzlau (Germany) estimates that more than 100 undergo tubal ligation yearly. In Estonia, it is a standard procedure to reimburse women over 40. Norwegian doctors offer this solution to women after several births (Szczerbiak, 2018).

With the coming to power of the United Right, the rampant use of the conscience clause as a justification for refusing to perform certain activities has become widespread. Doctors may not perform legal abortions for this reason, and pharmacists do not have to sell contraceptives. Initially, gynaecologists were required to indicate a facility that would remove the pregnancy. However, a change in the law soon abolished this provision, and the new legislation did not address this issue. By doing so, the state has removed its responsibility in this matter (Podgórska, 2017).

In 2016, a civic motion to tighten anti-abortion laws was submitted to the Sejm. The ultra-conservative organisation Ordo Iuris demanded an outright abortion ban. For causing the death of a conceived child, there was to be criminal liability, including for the mother (*Obywatelski projekt...*, druk nr 784). At the time, Jarosław Kaczyński made no secret of his support for changing the regulations in force. He recognised, without

regard to the welfare of women, that even handicapped children should be born, named and baptised (Podgórska, 2017).

Another radical project was submitted to the Sejm in 2017. It concerned the repeal of so-called eugenic abortion (aborting a pregnancy after finding severe foetal defects) (*Obywatelski projekt...*, druk nr 36). In that year, pregnancy termination procedures were carried out in 45 Polish hospitals, which accounted for less than 10 per cent of the facilities covered by NHF reimbursement (Głuszak, *Aborcja...*). The above figures illustrate the scale of accessibility to legal abortion in public health care.⁵

A particular case in point is the Subcarpathian region. Law and Justice activists in the region had intended to ban there abortions by resolution. However, this was not justified because of the gynaecologists' use of the conscience clause. As many as 500 of the almost 3,000 doctors in this speciality from all over Poland who signed the declaration came from Subcarpathian Voivodeship. In doing so, they succumbed to picketing in front of clinics by defenders of conceived life. According to NHF data, eight legal abortions were performed in the region in 2015 and 0 in 2017, while 92 procedures in Lesser Poland, 321 in Masovian and 6 in Lubuskie Voivodeship. No abortions were reported there in the following years either.⁶

In 2018, there was a renewed attempt to tighten anti-abortion laws. Each such proposal triggered massive public protests (especially by women), which resulted in a halt to the procedure (Ostaszewska, *Black Protests...*). That time, the demonstrations were the last success for women's rights defenders. In October 2020, the Constitutional Tribunal, at the request of a group of right-wing deputies, considered the constitutionality of the premise on the possibility to terminate a pregnancy due to severe foetal defects. The provision was found to be contrary to the Constitution of Poland (Bretan, *5 feminist...*). In January 2021, the verdict was published in the Journal of Laws, thereby legally limiting legal abortion to cases of danger to the life and health of the mother and pregnancy resulting from a criminal act (*Wyrok...*, 2020).

In the first year of the new law, 107 legal abortions were performed in Poland, compared to an average of 1076 (Ferfecki, *Raport...*) between 2015 and 2020. The European Parliament, with a resolution of 16 November 2020, condemned the deterioration of Polish women's health, reproductive and sexual rights (*European Parliament...*). A tragic consequence of the restrictive legislation was the death of six women whose doctors did not terminate their pregnancies for fear of facing prosecution (*Europosłowie zajęli się...*). The right wing's narrative exposes respect for mothers and emphasises the value of the traditional family. However, these elements are at odds with calls to save severely diseased fetuses at the expense of women's health and lives.

The radicalism of pro-lifers is the reason for the "abortion tourism" of Polish women. For this purpose, they travel to Germany, the Czech Republic, the UK, the Netherlands or Sweden. Many did not confirm their pregnancy in the country for fear of being prosecuted for abortion. Patients of foreign clinics were already women entitled to pregnancy

⁵ Studies show that around 100,000 pregnancies are terminated each year in the "underground" and abroad by Polish women (Source: *Ile aborcji...*).

⁶ The conscience clause, or declaration of faith, is a 6-point clause created on the initiative of Pope John Paul II's friend doctor Wanda Póltawska. Its signatories declare the priority for them of divine law over human law, including in the professional sphere (Source: Zdanowicz, 2019).

termination in Poland (Hreczuk, 2017). However, they did not want to risk prolonging the procedures and consequently missing the legal deadline for the procedure. It is worth noting, moreover, that the chargeability of abortion abroad deprives the financially disadvantaged of such opportunities. The Polish state leaves women alone with this problem.

The regulation from 2022 introduced a mandatory pregnancy register. Thus, the scope of information collected by medical staff was extended beyond pregnancies to include using, for example, intrauterine devices (IUDs). In a letter to the Minister of Health, the Polish Ombudsman argued that such a right should be clarified in the law. The Polish Ombudsman also had doubts about the need for the state to process information on contraception, which cannot be counted as essential data collected by a democratic state under the rule of law (Auzbiter, *Wchodzi...*). Here, the executive encroached into individual freedoms and rights in violation of GDPR and constitutional standards. Data was illegally made available in the medical information system.

In 2023, there was a raid by armed agents of the Central Anticorruption Bureau into a private gynaecological practice in Szczecin, where documentation from the doctor's practice from all 30 years was confiscated; there was suspicion of assisting one woman with abortion (Szczubiak, Żelazińska, 2023). There has been concern about the security of sensitive patient data.

When analysing the issue of reproduction, it should be noted that the perspective of women as potential mothers is not considered when drafting legislation. Nor is it the aim of public authority to minimise pain and suffering or to ensure decent conditions for the exercise of women's rights (*Dostępność świadczeń...*). The Family Planning Act, in Article 2(2), obliges the state and local administrations to ensure access to methods and means for informed procreation (Ustawa z dnia 7 stycznia 1993 r.). However, sites dedicated to reproductive health, including family planning counselling, still need to be prepared (Ferenc, 2020, s. 220). Classes on the subject of human sexuality have been withdrawn from schools. Meanwhile, the right to this kind of education is used to realise the rights to information, protection from health and discrimination, and safety from peer or sexual violence. However, the above are not priorities for the Minister of Education and Science. Instead, on his part, there are calls to focus on acquiring knowledge from the core curriculum and "sex will come later". The grounding of girls in the virtues of womanhood was recommended in the guidelines for teachers for the school year 2021/2022 by the advisor to the head of this ministry (Kaczorowska, 2021).

Action by the authorities to fight domestic violence

Domestic violence is defined as any intentional act or lack thereof (e.g. neglect) that causes harm to a family member or physical or mental suffering. The perpetrator, taking advantage of the victim's superiority, violates the victim's fundamental rights: dignity, freedom and bodily integrity (*Przemoc domowa*).

The European Union has declared 2017 the year of fighting violence against women. Meanwhile, the then-Prime Minister Beata Szydło, at the request of the Minister of Justice, announced Poland's intention to withdraw from the Council of Europe Con-

vention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence, which the previous authorities enacted in 2015. The document aims to protect women from all forms of violence. The Head of Government's idea was supported by the Minister for Family, Labour and Social Policy, Elżbieta Rafalska. On the other hand, President Andrzej Duda recommended that the Convention "should not be applied" (Czarnecka et al., 2017). Meanwhile, data from the Justice Institute showed that between 700,000 and 1 million women in Poland experience physical or sexual violence each year (Ambroziak, *Duda...*), and around 400 lose their lives at the hands of their partners (Bunda, 2022). They account for 90 per cent of adult victims of domestic violence (Cieśla, 2018). Disturbing information about the number of victims prompted the government to stop publishing the data. The public has not had access to such statistics for several years; thus, the problem has disappeared from the United Right's narrative.

Concerning the issue of domestic violence, current state policy favours deprecating the idea of specialist support. The authorities' actions deprive support institutions of the chance to function effectively. The national emergency service for victims of family violence, the Blue Line of the Institute of Health Psychology of the Polish Psychological Association, lost the possibility to provide counselling in its branches in the Mazovia region (only Warsaw could offer direct assistance). In 2017, Blue Line was forced to suspend its telephone counselling service operating for almost ten years and stop providing counselling by e-mail and Skype. The annual cost of assistance serving 6,000 citizens was 187,000 PLN. The Ministry of Justice did not find in its budget an amount of this magnitude to help victims, and new rules introduced by the Ministry prohibited the remote provision of legal and psychological counselling (Czarnecka et al., 2017).

In addition, a grant from the Victims' Assistance Fund to the Women's Rights Centre was refused (2 million PLN in 2016 and 1 million PLN in 2017). The organisation, which has been helping women for two decades, did not receive a single penny. This has resulted in a truncation of counselling time, the abandonment of food vouchers, housing subsidies and consultations with careers advisors (Czarnecka et al., 2017). The Ministry of Justice argued the decision with a minimal way of implementing the task by targeting the offer of assistance to a narrowed group of victims (women). At the same time, the fund holder attached particular importance to providing comprehensive support to all, regardless of gender (Podgórska, 2016). The BABA Women's Association of Lubuskie Voivodeship was denied by Minister Zbigniew Ziobro in 2016 – 800,000 PLN, and in 2017 – 599,000 PLN for legal, psychological and material assistance. More than 1,000 people lost support in 13 towns in that province. The government has adopted a gender-neutral funding model for such activities (Podgórska, 2016).

Denial of grants was not the only tool of the authorities in their fight against aid NGOs. There have been paradoxes, such as in the "Autonomia" Foundation case. Minister E. Rafalska terminated the contract for a 2-year project that included anti-violence workshops for girls and women. In December 2016, finding no irregularities during an unannounced inspection, the return of 130,000 PLN of a grant previously awarded for a campaign against gender-based violence was demanded. The reason was the fact that assistance was also provided to homosexual women, even though the agreement did not

prohibit assisting this group of disadvantaged women (Siedlecka, 2017). For this reason, the “Feminoteka” Foundation prefers to use independent funds, such as Norwegian funds. American, German and British organisations, which were active in Poland before we acceded to the European Union and supported the building of civil society, have begun to consider restoring funding to the third sector.⁷

There were accusations from the authorities at the time against women’s organisations for breaking up families, promoting abortion and discriminating against men. When these institutions were inspected and their computers confiscated under trivial pretexts and unannounced, the security problem of the sensitive data of victims of violence arose. Organisations continued to be denied grants, failed to launch competitions or delayed announcing the results. The activists spoke about radical changes that have taken place in the third sector under the United Right government. They also expressed concern for their safety (Czarnecka et al., 2017).

In 2018, the authorities attempted to introduce a procedure against domestic violence. In the new regulations, repeated intentional acts were understood under this term. Aggression from the second time onwards was considered violence, and initiating the Blue Card procedure was made conditional on the victim’s consent. Psychological or economic abuse is not classified here as a simplified pathway for victims. It was to be conducted at the request of and with the victim’s consent. The entire responsibility for obtaining assistance has been shifted to the victim, taking some of the responsibility towards victims off the state’s shoulders. The project was withdrawn after a wave of criticism in the media (Bunda, 2019).

In 2020, the upper penalty limit for rape was raised, and the courts, at the request of victims, were obliged to impose a punitive measure in the form of a prohibition on contacting or approaching the victim or an order to leave the premises occupied jointly with the victim temporarily (*Prezydent RP podpisał przełomową...*).

Polish women in the labour market

The situation of women in the labour market has always diverged from the standard of treatment of men. The pressure of public debate, the demands of women’s organisations, the requirements of European law and demographic realities should influence the authorities to introduce regulations to increase the number of female workers. However, a 9 per cent wage gap between men’s and women’s earnings is not encouraging. In the areas of insurance, finance, information or communication, it reaches up to 30 per cent, according to the Central Statistical Office (*Raport 2020 Polska...*). Women’s employment was increasing until 2018. Then a decline was recorded. Their low unemployment rate in 2020 – 3.1 per cent, compared to 6 per cent in 2016, may reflect the withdrawal of young mothers from the labour market due to the “Family 500+” programme. Between

⁷ In the 1990s, NGOs were financed with foreign funds, mainly American. These funds created centres to control the authorities, defend human rights, and promote self-government, tolerance and equality. At the beginning of the 21st century, donors decided that Polish democracy was already strong enough, and EU funding took over their role. However, these measures are mainly shared by those in power (Source: Siedlecka, 2017).

2018 and 2020, professional inactivity among Polish women increased by 243,000. The level of female employment in Poland is currently 48 per cent, the lowest in Europe (*Aktywność zawodowa kobiet...*). Lowering the retirement age for women has contributed to perpetuating this trend, which will impact their emoluments with a statistically longer duration of benefits. Over the past four years, domestic responsibilities were the reason for 32 per cent of all causes of inactivity for women. For men, they accounted for only 3 per cent of the total (*Przedstawiamy nasz...*). The earnings of female directors in 2017 averaged 68 per cent of men's earnings. On the boards of companies and enterprises, women are in a clear minority. It is women who are most often employed on so-called "junk contracts", which consequently deprives them of many rights (e.g. pregnant women of protection against dismissal) (Zdanowicz, 2017). During the United Right's ruling, single mothers working on such contracts were arbitrarily reduced in salary by the Social Security Institution when they obtained a full-time position before giving birth if it considered that the employer's increase in the employee's wages or the full-time contract was intended to ensure that the women obtained an "unjustified advantage in the form of high social security benefits". ZUS (Social Security Institution) has issued several thousand such decisions (Szczerbiak, 2018).

The poorer situation of women in the labour market, employment often in feminised sectors and the gender stereotypes still exist in this area result in lower financial capability. This has consequences in many spaces, including menstrual poverty for women and girls, i.e. lack of access to sanitation and intimate hygiene products during menstruation. According to research by Procter and Gamble, in 2020, at least one in six Polish schoolgirls will be absent from school due to difficulties meeting such needs (*Pomóż podarować...*).

Women in politics

The groups that make up the United Right have never included demands for more women in politics in their party or election programmes. Right-wing ideology situates Polish women in the sphere of home and family, although there are active female politicians among these formations. Law and Justice makes limited appointments of these women to prominent positions. Systematic, albeit small, progress is being made in parliament. However, in Polish reality, pushing through the postulate of statutory positioning of female candidates on electoral lists is difficult. Gender quotas have existed since 2011, but no regulations apply to allocating "mandated" seats. The shaping of these lists is at the discretion of party leaders.

Despite the ruling party's conservative views on the issue of women in politics, several have taken up prominent positions. Beata Szydło was Prime Minister from 2015 to 2017. She has remained Vice President of the Law and Justice party since 2010 (*Beata Szydło*). In 2019 Elżbieta Witek took up the post of Marshal of the Sejm (*Elżbieta Witek...*), and Małgorzata Gosiewska, replacing Beata Mazurek, who was elected to the European Parliament, became Deputy Marshal (Speaker) of the Sejm (*Wybrano nową...*). Beata Kempa is the Vice President of United Poland (*Władze partii*). She was Deputy Marshal (Speaker) of the Sejm from 2014 to 2019 (*Kempa wicemarszałkiem*). The Re-

publican Party, which was co-founding the United Right, has a vice president – Magdalena Błęńska (Bodalska, *Polska...*). All the parties constituting the ruling coalition are headed by men.

In the 2019 elections, 56 women from Law and Justice (out of a total of 228) won seats (*Od wyborów*), while from United Poland – 2 (out of a total of 19) (*Posłowie...*). The Law and Justice parliamentary club currently has one woman out of six vice presidents (*Prezydium...*). In the Senate of Poland, the United Right is represented by nine female senators (out of a total of 46) (*Kluby i kółka*). There are currently 11 Law and Justice members out of a total of 27 in the European Parliament, including one member of United Poland (*Wybory do Parlamentu Europejskiego*). The three United Right governments (2015–2017, 2017–2019, 2019–2023) each had five women in ministerial positions (on average per configuration, similar to previous governments) (*Prezydent powołał rząd; Mateusz Morawiecki...; Prezydent powołał nowy rząd*). The figures quoted show little promotion of women in politics by the current ruling coalition.

Summary

Women's rights, or human rights, are an essential civilisational achievement. In democratic systems, they are integral to the rule of law. In Poland, the United Right's appreciation of the traditional family preserves women's inferior position in the labour market compared to men. Their objectification to the role of reproductive agents puts them at risk of losing their health and even their lives. In a survey of Polish women's attitudes to life conducted in February 2022 by Katarzyna Pawlikowska, 90 per cent of respondents considered access to in vitro and contraception their due rights. According to 82 per cent, the decision to have an abortion should be up to the woman. 25% of Polish women surveyed do not want to give birth in a country that does not respect the rule of law (Podgórska, 2022). The persistence of significant inequality in the presence of both sexes in political decision-making demonstrates the United Right's complete lack of determination to change on this issue. It also demonstrates that membership in the progressive European Union and adopting its egalitarian documents are not obstacles to an authority intolerant of progressive solutions for women.

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Zjednoczona Prawica a prawa polskich kobiet

Streszczenie

Zwycięstwa wyborcze Zjednoczonej Prawicy w latach 2015 i 2019 wiążą się z ograniczaniem praw kobiet. Dotyczy to głównie sfery reprodukcji, ale dotyka także bezpieczeństwa w przestrzeni domowej, rynku pracy czy udziału w podejmowaniu decyzji. Zmiany w sytuacji Polek pod rządami konserwatywnej koalicji są przedmiotem analizy niniejszego artykułu. Jego celem jest zaprezentowanie procesu realizacji prawniczej wizji roli kobiet w społeczeństwie. Postawiono następujące pytania badacze: Czy pod rządami Zjednoczonej Prawicy regulacje prawne w dostateczny sposób chronią bezpieczeństwo Polek? Jak wygląda proces zmian zachodzących na rynku pracy z punktu widzenia sytuacji kobiet? Czy wraz z niewielkim, lecz systematycznym wzrostem liczby kobiet w parlamencie idzie ich awans na inne wysokie pozycje w polityce? W celu uzyskania odpowiedzi na powyższe pytania posłużono się analizą tekstów dokumentów i czasopism.

Słowa kluczowe: Zjednoczona Prawica, władza, prawa kobiet, ograniczanie

