
Trade unions in Poland



Juliusz Gardawski, Adam Mrozowicki and Jan Czarzasty

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Mapping unions in the new member states

This report on the trade union landscape in Poland forms part of a wide-ranging project, initiated and coordinated by the European Trade Union Institute (ETUI), which aims to map changes in unionisation and the varying organisational structures of unions in the ‘new member states’ (NMS) of the European Union (EU).¹ Although there is a burgeoning literature on the present and future prospects of unionism which includes some of the countries in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) (for example, Gall 2009; Phelan 2009, 2007), trade union morphology in these countries is rarely studied. Moreover, the smaller countries are often omitted, as are the Mediterranean islands, Cyprus and Malta. While rigorously scrutinised data on union development are available for almost all countries that joined the EU before 2004, basic information on trade unions in the NMS is largely lacking. This is not to say that no data are available on union membership and structure for the NMS.²

At the time of the EU’s enlargement to the east, pioneering research was conducted on the representativeness of the ‘social partners’ in the NMS (UCL-INT 2004). Since then, similar reports focusing on particular economic sectors have been published regularly by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, although not from a historical perspective.³ Additionally, the European Social Survey has provided data on union membership for most NMS.⁴ Finally, although largely based on the research mentioned above, the Database on Institutional Characteristics of Trade Unions, Wage Setting, State Intervention and Social Pacts (ICTWSS) of the Amsterdam Institute for Advanced Labour Studies includes limited quantitative data on trade unions in the NMS.⁵ A new version of the ICTWSS database, extended to more countries than the original 34, and including more variables, was posted on the AIAS website in 2011 (Visser 2011). Apart from the ICTWSS database, however, union membership data for the NMS countries remain restricted to certain years and are difficult to compare; disaggregated

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1. For more information on the project, please contact Kurt Vandaele (kvandaele@etui.org) or Jeremy Waddington (jeremy.waddington@manchester.ac.uk).
 2. Reliable comparative data on union membership and density are also available on non-European countries, in particular for OECD member states (Visser 2006; Visser *et al.* 2009).
 3. See <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu>
 4. See <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org>
 5. Golden (2009) and her colleagues also developed a database on industrial relations. The database contains annual data on unions, employers, collective bargaining and labour market institutions. The geographical coverage of the database comprises 20 member of the OECD but the OECD member countries of the CEE economies are not included. Coverage starts in 1950 and ends in 2000.

information is extremely rare (Carley 2009, 2004, 2002; Kohl 2008; Lis 2008; Visser 2003). Given the often political nature of membership claims, published membership data on unions in CEE countries are often inaccurate, particularly during the initial period of the transformation from centrally planned economies to post-communist market economies.

The new ICTWSS database covers 40 countries between 1960 and 2010 and provides numerous quantitative indicators on trade unions, wage-setting, 'state intervention' and social pacts, with some additional data for emerging economies. The ICTWSS database incorporates material from several databases, including that on the 'Development of Trade Unions in Western European Societies' (DUES). The DUES database is the result of a long-term endeavour – the project started in 1985 and a historical data handbook was published fifteen years later – and provides information on the trade union movements in fifteen Western European economies since 1945 (Ebbinghaus and Visser 2000b). As a statistical compendium, *Trade Unions in Western Europe since 1945* offers an important basis for studying trade union trends over time and across geographical space within Western Europe. In focussing on the provision of a cross-national data set, the handbook is biased towards quantitative analysis (Hyman 2001: 206). Nevertheless, even though statistical methods are only 'primitive tools as far as explanation is concerned' (Sayer 1992: 198), the database helps to provide a comparative understanding of trade union development. Such an understanding can be enhanced if the quantitative patterns and relationships are complemented with causal analyses that place them within the evolving context and structures of capitalist society.

Understandably, unions in the NMS – particularly those based in the CEE economies – were not included in the data handbook in 2000, 'given the short time span and still developing state of unionism' (Ebbinghaus and Visser 2000a: 10). However, the reasons for undertaking union morphology research on those economies are now more compelling. First, the temporal scope can be extended to a sufficient medium-term historical perspective. For obvious reasons, the year 1990 will, for most CEE countries, be the first year of data collection⁶, although free and independent unions started a decade earlier in Poland, with the strike movement at the shipyards of Gdańsk and the formation of Solidarność in 1980. Additionally, with EU accession, the transformation process towards unfettered capitalism, with distinctive industrial relations systems based on weak macro-corporatist structures, has been accomplished (Hassel 2009; King 2007; Kohl and Platzer 2004). Union structures above industry or sectoral level have also become relatively stable. Nevertheless, for a range of different reasons, particularly unions in the CEE countries have had to wage a defensive struggle in the wake of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union (Crowley 2004; Crowley and Ost 2001; Dimitrova and Petkov 2005; Kallaste and Woolfson 2009; Kubicek

6. For several countries, data coverage starts some years later because only then did they become independent states. This is the case for the Baltic States, the Czech and Slovak Republics and Slovenia.

1999, 2004; Martin and Brady 2007; Ost 2009; Vanhuysse 2007). Moreover, de-unionisation in CEE has been more marked than in any other region of the world, with a loss of 2 million members in the period 2000-2008 (EC 2011; Pedersini 2010:5-13).

Even though increasing union membership is only one of the resources for re-empowering the labour movement or enhancing union capacity (cf. Lévesque and Murray 2010), facilitating and encouraging academic research on trade union recruitment techniques, organisational changes and outcomes with regard to the composition of membership is undoubtedly worthwhile for assessing the 'political geography of union organising' (Herod 1998: 17). As a first step towards a better understanding of 'the link between union structure, practices and effectiveness' (Fiorito and Jarley 2008: 203-204), this ETUI project seeks to provide systematic cross-sectional and time series data on union membership and (organisational) structures in the NMS. Additionally, for each country a historical profile of the formation and development of the trade union movement will be written by country experts. Together with a discussion of methodology and working methods, which are in essence similar to those of the DUES project, the historical profiles will be bundled and published in a first book volume. In the meantime, reports will be published by the ETUI on single countries. The country reports should be regarded as interim reports since the Annex presents information on the organisational histories only of trade unions that are still active today. Additional time series data on unionisation and information on union formation and organisational changes (including on dissolved unions) will be provided in the upcoming book.

The current report on the trade union movement in Poland, a collective venture undertaken by Juliusz Gardawski, Adam Mrozowicki and Jan Czarzasty, is a real *tour de force*, especially given the vast number of union organisations entailed. The fruit of this tremendous effort on the part of the country experts is a report that is simultaneously comprehensive and extremely rich in detail. In mapping the full broad gamut of Polish trade unions, they compellingly expose how much the trade union movement in this country is handicapped by its excessively decentralised structures; its chronic fragmentation and rivalry at the company level and above; and the dramatic decline in membership levels, particularly in absolute terms.

The experts' explicitly historical perspective reveals that specifically the cultural and organisational characteristics of today's unions are rooted in the legacy of the pre-war period, 'state socialism', notably the Trade Union Act of 1982 (which deliberately encouraged decentralised union structures), the anti-communist struggle and the socio-political transformation after 1989. As a result, the current trade union landscape to some extent resembles the pluralistic character of the trade union movement before the Second World War. Moreover, as the authors show, historical memories of pre-war struggles for national liberation and socio-economic demands are likely to have left a long-term imprint in the minds of Polish workers. This is illustrated by the recurrent periods of workers' mobilisation under state socialism, with the

labour unrest of 1980 at the Lenin Shipyard at Gdańsk, the birthplace of Solidarność, having represented the decisive materialisation of those ideas.

In fact, from a West European perspective, there is no better example to demonstrate some of the typical features and developments of Polish trade unionism than Solidarność's failure to retain its high profile. Solidarność, which is arguably one of the best known trade union(s) in the world – even if much of its fame dates back to the period when it was also a revolutionary movement in the 1980s – has lost more than a million and a half of its members since 1991. Despite this significant decline, Solidarność is still the largest union 'confederation' in Poland and within all the CEE countries that are members of the EU, with about 650,000 members in 2010. Nonetheless, whereas the number of union organisations is declining, the average membership per union at the company level – data here collected together for the first time – appears still relatively stable, indicating that mergers between union organisations leading to intercompany unions are very limited; under Polish law, unions can exist at the level of the company only. Furthermore, Solidarność's political stance is very much the result of centralised decision-making and the presence of its Union Development Office at the national level also signifies its centrally driven member recruitment policy. Finally, as a relic of its roots in workers' mobilisation, Solidarność's organisational structures are still mainly organised along territorial lines, which tends to impede the development of union structures at the branch level.

The two other main trade union confederations – the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions and the Trade Union Forum – seem to be internally dogged by not only decentralisation but also their own fragmentation and weak centralised decision-making power. Yet it would be wrong to blame the decline in workers' power on union structures alone or to overemphasize the – dysfunctional – legacies of the past. As hopefully suggested by the authors in their conclusion, the current socio-economic crisis might actually offer opportunities for a more effective trade union movement in Poland, the most populous post-communist member of the EU (cf. Kaminska and Kahacová 2011; Mrozowicki *et al.* 2010). Only the future will tell whether 'organic intellectuals' within – or outside – the unions effectively take up the task of encouraging Polish workers to recall their 'rebellious' but successful past.

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Introduction*

In the course of their turbulent history, Polish trade unions have rarely functioned as mere economic interest representing associations. They have combined economic struggle with a variety of social and political objectives. The most eminent manifestation of this historical legacy, of course, was the establishment of the first independent trade union movement in the communist bloc, *Niezależny Samorządny Związek Zawodowy ‘Solidarność’* (NSZZ ‘Solidarność’ or the Independent Self-governing Trade Union ‘Solidarity’). Much less debated, however, is another historical feature of the Polish trade union movement, namely its chronic fragmentation, combined with ‘competitive pluralism’ (Gardawski 2003) and inter-union rivalry. Without a doubt, the importance of the forced centralisation of the trade union movement in the years 1945–1980 in shaping trade unionism in Poland cannot be underestimated. Nevertheless, as the following analysis shows, the fragmentation and political divisions that negatively affected Polish trade unions before the Second World War re-emerged with new impetus after 1989. Competitive pluralism has shaped the situation of Polish organised labour in the first two decades of transformation. It constitutes one of the main challenges that the Polish trade unions have to overcome to effectively represent an increasingly diversified workforce in a union-unfriendly political and economic environment under ‘Poland’s new capitalism’ (Hardy 2009). By examining the trade unions’ role in the evolution of contemporary Polish industrial relations, the internal organisation of the trade union movement and union membership developments, this study shows the extent to which the Polish trade unions have been successful in addressing this challenge.

Section 1 begins with an historical analysis of the development of the Polish industrial relations system since Poland’s independence in 1918 throughout the state-socialist period (1945-1989) up to the present moment. It asserts that modern day Polish industrial relations can be described as a product of the interplay of the institutional legacies of the past, political and economic reforms after 1989 and the strategies of the main social actors in response to these reforms. The two main national-level trade union organisations – the formerly anti-communist NSZZ *Solidarność* and the formerly ‘official’ *Ogólnopolskie*

* We are thankful to all leaders of trade union federations and confederations whom we interviewed and who granted us access to their membership statistics. We are particularly grateful to Janusz Gołąb (OPZZ), who enabled our contacts with the OPZZ affiliates, as well as to Jerzy Langer and Wojciech Zimowski (NSZZ *Solidarność*), who provided us with detailed membership statistics of NSZZ *Solidarność* and helped us to reach the presidents of the Branch Secretariats of the union.

Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych (OPZZ, the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions) – did not undergo systemic transformation passively. However, their roles were at times split ambiguously between defending workers and promoting market reforms and the economic restructuring of state-owned companies. Mass workers' protests at the beginning of the 1990s contributed to the establishment of the Tripartite Commission on Social and Economic Affairs in 1994, a tripartite body at national level whose official function was to maintain social peace in the course of transformation. It marked a shift from a pluralistic model of industrial relations to a model that incorporated some neo-corporatist institutions (Morawski 1997). Nevertheless, the enterprise remains the main level of collective bargaining: sectoral collective agreements are very rare and tripartite institutions are deemed 'illusory' (Ost 2000). In the first two decades of transformation, the rhetoric of social dialogue has been systematically challenged by the lack of interest of successive governments and employers' associations in national and sectoral collective bargaining, the weak organisation of employers and trade union rivalry.

Section 2 discusses the history of Polish trade unions. It is suggested that the fragmentation of the trade union movement was already present in the period following the regaining of national independence in 1918 after 123 years of Russian, German and Austrian partition. The introduction of authoritarian state socialism after the Second World War contributed to the administrative unification of official trade unions. As in other Eastern European countries, state socialism undermined not only civil society, but also the autonomous institutions that represented the interests of employees. Nevertheless, Polish workers attempted to establish autonomous interest representation through periodic uprisings in 1956, 1970 and 1976 and 1980.⁷ The peak of workers' unrest during the state socialist era was reached with the establishment of NSZZ 'Solidarność' in 1980. The emergence of Solidarność forced the authorities to introduce moderate reforms in the industrial relations system. However, as demonstrated in the report, the legacy of the 1982 Act on Trade Unions (amended in 1991) is the decentralised structure of Polish unions. Another effect of the Solidarność revolt was the creation of a more autonomous – although still controlled by the state – confederation OPZZ in 1984, now the second largest confederation in the country (after NSZZ Solidarność).

The politically driven competition between NSZZ Solidarność and OPZZ marked the whole transition period from 1989. The growing workers' dissatisfaction with the participation of the two largest confederations in high-level party politics in the period of painful economic reforms contributed to

7. As Kramer (1995: 74) remarked 'throughout the communist era, blue-collar workers in Poland were far better organised and more politically influential than their counterparts in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union'. While there is no straightforward explanation of this divergence, several factors made the Polish situation different. They included the formulation of a non-orthodox 'Polish way to socialism' (before 1948), including the abandonment of the full collectivisation of agriculture (Morawski 1997:50), the influence of the Polish Catholic Church as a vehicle for anticommunist opposition and the traditions of a workers' movement struggling both for employees' rights and national independence during 123 years of partition.

the emergence of a variety of autonomous trade unions. As documented in Section 3, which deals with trade union structures, these ‘new unions’ were mostly company-level trade unions, single-sector trade unions and occupational unions which broke away from larger confederations or were founded from scratch.⁸ The establishment of Forum Związków Zawodowych (FZZ, the Trade Union Forum) in 2002 was an attempt to unite some of those trade unions in a third nationally representative trade union confederation. The chronic ‘disease’ besetting OPZZ and FZZ is the very limited identification of workers with their confederations and branch structures, which both reflects and reinforces their decentralised structure. NSZZ Solidarność, in turn, was originally organised on the territorial principle (‘regions’) which makes it difficult to conduct sectoral collective bargaining.

In Section 4, finally, the development of trade union membership is examined. As the result of more and more union-hostile institutional and economic conditions, combined with the increasing discrepancy between union strategies and workers’ expectations, trade union density fell from around 38 per cent in 1987 to 15 per cent in 2010 (Wądlowska 2010).⁹ The only exceptions – where membership grew – were some new trade unions representing narrow occupational interests, mostly in the public sector, which broke away from larger confederations or were established from scratch. Recently, however, the situation in the trade union movement has begun to change, including practices of union organising in the private sector. Despite these recent developments, trade unionism in Poland is in a poor situation by EU comparison and the current situation indicates low-level stability rather than union growth.

The study finishes with a mixed picture. On the one hand, the ongoing fragmentation of the trade union movement, limited political leverage and the lack of clear strategies to attract new members present obstacles to trade union development. On the other hand, the global economic crisis and the Polish government’s lack of interest in social dialogue have led to attempts to create closer links between OPZZ, FZZ and NSZZ Solidarność since 2008 (Czarzasty 2011). As these are the most recent developments, their effects on Polish industrial relations and the trade union movement remain to be seen.

8. For definitions of the prevalent types of trade union in Poland, see Annex 3.

9. Estimation based on survey data; the issue of union membership dynamics is examined thoroughly in Section 5.

1. Industrial relations in Poland: historical development and present condition

National industrial relations in Poland have sometimes been labelled ‘imperfect pluralism’ (Kozek 2003: 39), ‘corporatism without integration’ (Kulpińska 1998: 24), or ‘illusory corporatism’ (Ost 2000: 503). While the initial decisions of policymakers stimulated the drift towards a pluralistic model of industrial relations, corporatist solutions that emerged in the mid-1990s reflected a combination of the socialist legacy and attempts to preserve social peace in times of economic restructuring. The nature of this system has been described by Pollert (1999: 146) as a combination of ‘national tripartite arrangements at one extreme and decentralised workplace relations at the other. What is strikingly absent or weakly developed is the intermediate level of industry level bargaining’. Although recent institutional developments, including the establishment of tripartite Sectoral Committees at the national level, have strengthened the capacity for sectoral social dialogue (Anacik *et al.* 2009; Gardawski, 2009b), the company remains the prevalent place of collective bargaining. In this section, we explore the development of Polish industrial relations from a historical perspective and discuss their current shape.

Industrial relations in contemporary Poland have been shaped by the overlapping effects of the legacy of state socialism and socio-political transformation after 1989. However, the analysis of its current state of affairs would be incomplete if developments in earlier periods were not taken into account. Although the continuity of pre-war institutional arrangements (1918–1939) was broken in 1945, the cultural legacies of a pluralistic union movement, part of labour law and a limited number of trade union organisations persisted throughout the state-socialist period.¹⁰

1.1 Polish industrial relations between 1918 and 1989

As Hauner (1985: 131) argues, ‘after 1918 successive Polish governments adopted far-reaching comprehensive measures of social security which put Poland among the most advanced states in the world in this respect’. The adoption of a range of International Labour Organisation (ILO) conventions safeguarded workers’ rights of association and their social rights beyond the

10. Among them the most important examples are the largest union organisation *Związek Nauczycielstwa Polskiego* (ZNP, the Polish Teachers Union) and *Związek Zawodowy Górników* (ZZG, the Miners Union).

workplace.¹¹ In terms of their influence on state policy, employers' organisations seemed to be better organised than trade unions. In 1919, large employers created an influential organisation representing their interests, *Centralny Związek Polskiego Przemysłu, Górnictwa, Handlu i Finansów 'Lewiatan'* (CZPPGHiF 'Lewiatan', the Central Union of Polish Industry, Mining, Trade and Finances 'Lewiatan'), which in the 1920s encompassed 44 employers' associations. In 1933, *Związek Izb Rzemieślniczych* (ZIRZ, the Association of Craft Chambers) was founded, as the historical predecessor of the present-day *Związek Rzemiosła Polskiego* (ZRP, Polish Craft Association), encompassing small entrepreneurs.

When compared with employers' organisations, the pre-war Polish labour movement appeared decentralised. Union pluralism reflected religious, political, ethnic and occupational cleavages within the labour force, as well as its regional differentiation during the time of the partition of Poland (1795–1918) (Rojahn 1990; Hojka 2006). After the Military Coup in 1926, authoritarian governments strove to centralise trade unions. However, these attempts failed and most trade unions managed to retain their autonomy, even in the labour-hostile 1930s (Coldrick and Jones 1979: 953).

The introduction of state socialism in Poland in 1944 meant the far-reaching reconstruction of industrial relations. The introduction of nationalisation and collectivisation resulted in the expropriation of large landowners and the capitalist class and effectively put an end to their role as actors in collective bargaining. The only remaining representation of employers' interests was the pre-war *Związek Izb Rzemieślniczych* (ZIRZ, Association of Craft Chambers), which represented artisans and small entrepreneurs in the vestigial private sector.¹² In 1949, the pluralist trade union movement, which was reborn in 1944–45, was centralised into *Zrzeszenie Związków Zawodowych* (ZZZ, Association of Trade Unions) led by *Centralna Rada Związków Zawodowych* (CRZZ, Central Trade Union Council). Despite temporarily gaining a wider margin of autonomy during the short period of liberalisation in 1956, CRZZ was legally and practically subordinated to *Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza* (PZPR, Polish United Workers' Party). In state-owned enterprises, the Basic Party Organisation of PZPR exercised a 'leading role' over all social organisations, including trade unions (Pravda 1986: 133). Likewise, the workers' councils that emerged after the working-class revolt in 1956 were centralised in 1958 into the *Konferencja Samorządu Robotniczego* (Conference of Workers' Self-Management), which was also fully dependent on PZPR. Since pay differentials were standardised at the central level, the space for collective bargaining between unions and the state was very limited

11. In line with the ILO conventions and recommendations, these measures included the adoption of a 46-hour working week in 1918 (in force until 1933, next changed to 48 hours); the freedom to establish trade unions (1919); compulsory insurance for sick leave and maternity leave (1919); the right to strike; and an unemployment convention (1924) that created a compulsory insurance system for manual workers and white-collar workers.

12. In 1960, private sector workers constituted 4.5 per cent of the labour force. In the same year, private owners outside agriculture made up 1.7 per cent of the labour force (Zagórska 2003: 49).

and collective agreements introduced after 1956 ‘proved [to be], in a sense, dead’ (Kulpińska *et al.* 1994: 110). Even though Poland ratified the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention of ILO in 1957, strikes were not seen as ‘a legitimate and normal part of the union armoury’ (Pravda 1986: 129). Likewise, a constitutionally guaranteed influence on policymaking for trade unions was not enforced. The ‘debate’ on the Labour Code in 1974 provided an example of union powerlessness. The trade unions objected, among other things, to the national-level standardisation of wages which heavily limited their role at the company level. However, despite their objections, the final version of the Labour Code ‘did not incorporate any significant union amendments’ (Pravda 1986: 142).

The changes in the industrial relations system in the early 1980s reflected intended and unintended consequences of the emergence of NSZZ Solidarność. Even though Solidarność existed legally only from 15 September 1980 until 13 December 1981, it forced the authorities to launch incremental reforms. The Trade Union Act passed on 8 October 1982 created the legal framework for establishing the ‘reformed’ trade unions, which were confederated into OPZZ at the Bytom Congress in 1984. The enduring legacy of the Act is the decentralised structure of Polish unions. Company-level unions were formed as separate legal entities that retained significant autonomy *vis-à-vis* union federations and confederations. In the 1980s, the highly decentralised structure clearly reflected the intentions of the authorities, who feared the potential reunification of the labour movement after the suppression of NSZZ Solidarność (Gardawski 2002). The other reform, which also left its mark on present industrial relations, introduced self-management bodies or *Rady Pracownicze* (workers’ councils¹³) in state-owned enterprises. In line with the Act on State-owned Enterprises passed in September 1981, workers’ councils were to be elected by the whole workforce. Their main prerogatives included the rights to appoint the general manager of the enterprise, to object to managerial decisions, to monitor business operations and to take decisions on restructuring. In the mid-1980s, workers’ councils had about 140,000 members nationally. Concurrently, about 300,000 workers were delegated to the general meetings of the workforce (Fedorowicz 1997: 143), which were entitled to evaluate the activities of workers’ councils and management. The Act still applies to state-owned enterprises (2010), even though the number of companies of this kind has been greatly reduced due to privatisation.¹⁴

13. Workers’ councils (*rady pracownicze*) in state-owned enterprises (introduced by the Act on State-owned Enterprises in 1981) should not be confused with works councils (*rady pracowników*) which were established by virtue of the Act on the Information and Consultation of Employees (the I&C Act), enacted in Poland on 7 April 2006.

14. In 1990–2008, 7,463 enterprises were privatised, that is, 85.4 per cent of all state-owned enterprises registered as of 30 June 1990 (GUS 2009: 474). As of 31 December 2008 there were 363 state-owned enterprises in Poland, compared to 2,268 on 31 December 2000 (GUS 2009: 484). Most of them are in manufacturing (166) and construction (61).

1.2 Evolution of industrial relations after 1989

Broadly speaking, modern day Polish industrial relations can be described as a product of the interplay of institutional legacies, political and economic reforms after 1989 and the strategies of the main social actors in response to these reforms. The legal foundations of the industrial relations system were laid down in the first years after 1989. In April 1989, the Trade Union Act of 1982 was amended henceforth and allowed for the possibility of trade union pluralism. In May 1989, the right to strike was legally granted. The legal status of contemporary Polish trade unions is regulated by the Trade Union Act of May 1991. Also in May 1991, the Act on Resolving Collective Disputes was passed. There is also a separate legal basis for trade unions of individual farmers specified by the Act on Individual Farmers' Trade Unions of 1989, with later amendments.

Employers' organisations ceased to exist after the Second World War and were reintroduced into the national system of industrial relations only with the collapse of state socialism. The legal status of employers' organisations is determined by the Act on Employers' Organisations of May 1991. Since 2002, an employers' organisation is considered to be representative at the national level if it fulfils the following criteria: it brings together employers who employ more than 300,000 employees in total and is active at national level within more than half the trades (branches) in the national economy. Representative employers' organisations can give opinions on legal acts concerning rights and interests of employers and participate in the activities of Tripartite Commission on Social and Economic Affairs (hereinafter: Tripartite Commission) at the national level. Currently, four organisations are recognised as representative at national level. These are (1) *Pracodawcy RP* (Employers of Poland), whose former name (until June 2010) was *Konfederacja Pracodawców Polskich* (KPP, the Confederation of Polish Employers), established (under the name of KPP) in 1989 and bringing together 40 regional and branch associations of employers and single employers at national level; (2) *Polska Konfederacja Pracodawców Prywatnych 'Lewiatan'* (PKPP 'Lewiatan', the Polish Confederation of Private Employers 'Lewiatan'), established in 1999 and representing 58 regional and branch associations of employers; (3) *Związek Rzemiosła Polskiego* (ZRP, the Polish Craft Association), which groups SMEs and craft chambers, and (4) the Business Centre Club, established in 1991 and associating 1,200 companies employing about 600,000 people.

Despite the presence of workers' councils in state-owned enterprises and the introduction of works councils in 2006 (see below), the major institutional form of employee interest representation in Poland remains the trade union. According to the Trade Unions Act, unions can operate at the level of the individual enterprise, multiple enterprises (inter-company union organisation) and nationally (federations and their associations, defined as confederations). In general, the right to establish trade unions is granted to employees. In particular, the categories of citizens allowed to establish trade unions include hired (paid) employees (regardless of contractual basis), members of agricultural cooperatives and persons working on the basis of an agency

contract (*umowa agencyjna*), which is a type of freelance agreement, unless they are employers.

The threshold for the establishment of a basic trade union organisation (company-level union) is determined by the Trade Union Act as 10 eligible employees.¹⁵ The issue of union representativeness is regulated by two separate pieces of legislation: the Labour Code and the Act on the Tripartite Commission on Socio-Economic Affairs. Each regulation deals with the issue at a different level: the former is concerned with representativeness at company level, while the latter concerns the national level.

According to the Labour Code, a company union is considered representative if it assembles more than 10 per cent of employees in an enterprise. However, trade union organisation at the company level may also become representative through affiliation to one of the trade union confederations present in the Tripartite Commission, provided it brings together more than 7 per cent of the employees in a company. Representative union organisations at the company level have a right to be provided with a room and technical facilities for their activities by the employer (on the company's premises), and their representatives are protected against dismissal during their term of office and for one year afterwards. However, the number of protected individuals depends on the number of union members in the workplace. The results of the legal framework for trade union structures are mixed. On the one hand, since the number of employees necessary to establish a new union is low, there is a strong incentive for the decentralisation of trade union structures; on the other hand, strong inter-union competition at the enterprise level makes it difficult to acquire representativeness and related benefits even for some trade unions active nationally.

Defined as one of the criteria of union representativeness at the national level, participation in the Tripartite Commission is determined by a membership threshold, currently set at 300,000.¹⁶ Two further representativeness criteria must be met by unions at the national level: (1) the member organisations of trade union confederations must be active in at least half of all the sectors specified in the Polish Classification of (Economic) Activity (PCA); (2) in determining the membership of representative union organisations, no more than 100,000 members can be taken into account per section of the Polish Classification of (Economic) Activity. Both conditions are designed to ensure that trade unions have sufficient coverage across sectors and branches in the Polish economy. Taking into account all the criteria, three national-level confederations were recognised as nationally representative as of 2010 and hold seats in the Tripartite Commission: NSZZ Solidarność, OPZZ and *Forum*

15. The criteria of union representativeness at the enterprise level were introduced by the amendments to the Labour Code in 1996, further extended to national level by amendments to the Act on Tripartite Commission on Socio-economic Affairs in 2002 and 2004.

16. Since its introduction, the membership threshold at national level has undergone two amendments: originally set at 300,000, it was raised to 500,000 (December 2002) and then lowered to 300,000 once again (October 2004).

Związków Zawodowych (FZZ, the Trade Unions Forum). Whereas the former two participated in the Tripartite Commission in the early period of its operations (1994–2001), and subsequently obtained representativity in 2001 in line with the Act on Tripartite Commission, the latter was admitted by a legal judgment confirming its representativeness at the national level in 2003.

The overall development of Polish industrial relations since 1989 can be roughly divided into three main phases (Iankova 2002; Kozek 2003; Pollert 1999). In the *initial* phase after 1989, the industrial relations' system took a pluralistic shape (Morawski 1997: 54). The model, promoted by new political elites originating from NSZZ Solidarność, assumed that trade unions should retreat from politics and focus solely on the issues of pay and working conditions. However, economic reforms contributed to an increase in strike activity (see Table 1). In the years 1989–1993 'protest [in Poland] was more frequent and became a more salient element of political transformation than in other Central European countries' (Ekiert and Kubik 2001: 184). The tripartite institutions of social dialogue were established in Poland relatively late compared to other Central and Eastern European countries (Iankova 2002). It was only after the wave of strikes in 1992 that government, trade unions (NSZZ 'Solidarność', OPZZ and seven other unions) and the Confederation of Polish Employers signed a 'Pact on State-owned Enterprises in the Restructuring Process' (in February 1993), which laid the foundations for an incremental turn towards a more corporatist form of economic regulation.

The Pact marked the beginning of the *second* phase of industrial relations development in post-1989 Poland. Even though the direct impact of introducing neo-corporatist institutions is difficult to evaluate, it is clear that the number of strikes radically decreased after 1994 and remained relatively low until 2006 (see Table 1; Welz and Kauppinen 2005: 184). It should be noted, however, that an additional – and maybe even more important – reason for this tendency was the emergence of a weakly unionised private sector and the cooperative approach of the majority of Polish trade unions (Gardawski *et al.* 1999; Anacik *et al.* 2009).

The *third* phase of industrial relations development in the post-communist era began with the institutionalisation of the Tripartite Commission in 2001, followed by Poland's EU accession in 2004 and economic recovery after 2005. On the one hand, the course of social dialogue in Poland in recent years has indicated strengthening ties between the social partners, which may increase the capacity for autonomous social dialogue at the sectoral level (Gardawski 2009c: 323–329). On the other hand, the later years of the first decade of the twenty-first century were marked by growing strike rates and increased trade union activity in the private sector (Meardi 2007; see Table 1).

Strikes in Poland occur mainly at company level, whereas strike action at sectoral level is almost always limited to the public sector (for example, health care, education, mining and postal services). Both protests and company-level collective agreements are more prevalent in public sector enterprises

Table 1 Strike action in Poland, 1990-2010

Year	Number of strikes	Number of strikers	Strikers as a percentage of the workforce in companies where strikes took place	Days not worked
1990	250	115,700	29.7	159,000
1991	305	221,500	41.4	517,600
1992	6,362	730,000	43.4	2,360,400
1993	7,443	383,200	55.2	580,400
1994	482	211,400	29.5	561,700
1995	42	18,100	37.6	56,300
1996	21	44,300	63.8	75,400
1997	35	14,200	42.4	27,500
1998	37	16,900	25.2	43,500
1999	920	27,100	43.9	106,900
2000	44	7,900	27.5	74,300
2001	11	1,400	32.8	33,400
2002	1	13	2.7	118
2003	24	3,000	18.5	6,500
2004	2	200	7.9	400
2005	8	1,600	33.2	400
2006	27	24,600	27.8	31,400
2007	1,736	59,900	26.2	186,200
2008	12,765	209,000	47.2	275,800
2009	49	22,400	19.6	9,100
2010	79	13,900	42.0	14,700

Source: National statistics (GUS), 1991–2010.

(Gardawski *et al.* 1999). Between 2005 and 2008, strike rates began to increase and involve also workers in the private sector, reaching a peak in 2008. That recent development can be explained mainly by the general improvement in the economic climate, marked by swiftly growing GDP, falling unemployment and deepening labour shortages caused by massive migration to the EU15 countries that opened their labour markets to the citizens of the New Member States following the 2004 enlargement. Moreover, union organising campaigns in the private sector also contributed to the build-up of a relatively strong wave of labour mobilisation. All these factors combined to reinforce the trade union bargaining position. However, as of 2009 that wave of mobilisation seemed to be trending downwards due to the economic slowdown in Poland. The outbreak of the post-2008 global financial and economic crisis did not contribute to the rise in strike rates (see Table 1). However, at least in 2010–11, three trade union confederations and their affiliates seemed to be more prone to organise street demonstrations and protests against austerity measures (Mrozowski 2010; Gardawski 2011). In the case of NSZZ Solidarność, this more militant approach is considered part of the new union strategy aimed, among other things, at attracting new members (Gardawski 2011).

1.3 Collective bargaining in Poland

The relative weakness of national and sectoral collective bargaining has been one of the key features of the Polish industrial relations system. As already mentioned, the first national tripartite negotiating body, the Tripartite Commission on Social and Economic Affairs, was established only in 1994. The establishment of the Tripartite Commission followed a number of minor, albeit important developments in the process of bringing the social partners together. Those included, in particular, launching the EU's PHARE Social Dialogue Project (1992–93) (Iankova 2002: 108), and the creation of the first tripartite sectoral social dialogue body (1992). The conclusion of the 'Pact on state-owned enterprises in the restructuring process' in 1993 allowed the government to obtain trade union acceptance of the privatisation of state-owned enterprises in return for handing the unions codetermination rights with regard to privatisation strategy, union seats on the boards of (partially) privatised enterprises and workers' financial participation in the form of enterprise shareholdings (initially 10 per cent of total shares) (Iankova 2002: 107). The most important institutional reform entailed by the Pact, however, was the creation of the Tripartite Commission. The Commission, bringing together representatives of government, the employers and the trade unions, was designed to play an advisory role vis-à-vis the government, with the main goal of maintaining social peace during economic restructuring. However, until 2001 the Tripartite Commission operated without a legislative basis; its composition and prerogatives were regulated only by resolutions of the Council of Ministers, which weakened its mandate.

The institutionalisation of national social dialogue was completed by the Act on the Tripartite Commission of 2001. By virtue of that legislation, the Commission consists of government representatives (with the deputy prime minister as chairman), delegates of the representative trade union confederations (NSZZ *Solidarność*, OPZZ and FZZ) and delegates of the representative employers' organisations (Pracodawcy RP [until 2010 KPP], BCC, ZRP and PKPP 'Lewiatan'). Two of the Commission's key areas of activity are preparatory work on the state budget and the formulation of proposals on indicators of revenue increases in private companies and in the public sector. The Commission also plays an advisory role in decision-making on pension and benefit rises included in the Social Insurance Fund, the minimum wage, the income criteria for social policy intervention and the level of family allowances. In 1994–2001, the Commission held 76 meetings, most of which took place in the first three years. Its activity was impeded in 1998–2001 by the unilateral action of the government led by *Akcja Wyborcza 'Solidarność'* (AWS, 'Solidarity' Electoral Action), a coalition of NSZZ 'Solidarność' and several right-wing conservative parties. The work of the Commission was boycotted by NSZZ *Solidarność* (in 1998) and OPZZ (in 1999). In 2001–2006, the Commission met 34 times, mainly during parliamentary debates on amendments to the Labour Code (2000–2002). The Commission met 15 times during 2007–2009. In recent years, the Commission's main achievement was the elaboration by the employers' organisations and trade union confederations of a package of measures to combat the economic crisis in 2009

(Towalski 2009). However, the social partners' proposal was unilaterally modified by the government, again demonstrating the weakness of the tripartite mechanism.

Besides national tripartite social dialogue, there is also regional and sectoral social dialogue. At the regional level, Voivodship Social Dialogue Commissions serve as tripartite social dialogue institutions. There are 17 such commissions (one in each voivodship¹⁷). The existence of the regional commissions is stipulated by the Act on the Tripartite Commission. The commissions include representatives of nationally-representative trade union confederations, employers' organisations, local government (*Marszałek Województwa*, Marshal of Voivodships) and central government (*wojewoda*, voivode). Regional commissions play an advisory role on issues relevant to the social partners at local level (Sroka 2009). At sectoral level, Tripartite Sectoral Committees serve as institutions of social dialogue. The Committees play an advisory role vis-à-vis the government on the problems of particular branches of the national economy. A Tripartite Sectoral Committee can be established by an Ordinance of the Minister of Labour and Social Policy. The first sectoral committee (for coal mining) was launched in 1992, prior to establishment of the Tripartite Commission. Currently, there are 13 sectoral committees.¹⁸

Despite the existence of sectoral, regional and national level institutions, collective bargaining in Poland is predominantly company-centred (Gardawski *et al.* 1999). Collective bargaining coverage is low – perhaps only 25 per cent – and is still steadily diminishing (Mailand and Due 2004: 189). In 2008, there were 2,395 company-level collective agreements and additional protocols to existing agreements (protocols being the usual mechanism for renewing agreements), as compared to 4,144 agreements in 2000 (Zajac 2009). In 2009, 123 new collective agreements were signed, of which only 24 were in companies without existing agreements (as compared to 115 in 2002). There are no data on the duration of collective agreements but, as their number is continuously falling and the number of new collective agreements is also very limited, it is a fair assertion that most existing collective agreements were concluded in the 1990s.¹⁹ Moreover, the number of agreements exceeding the minimum level of provision of workers' rights envisaged by the Labour Code is also steadily decreasing (Borys-Szopa 2008).

The number of collective agreements at the industry level (multi-establishment collective agreements, sometimes confused with 'sectoral' agreements,

17. A voivodship is an administrative unit of the Polish state.

18. The sectors in which committees operate include: (1) energy, (2) metallurgy, (3) black coal mining, (4) sulphur mining, (5) textiles, (6) defence-related manufacturing, (7) chemical, (8) fishery and shipping, (9) construction and public utilities, (10) railways, (11) health care, (12) brown coal mining and (13) ship-building. While sectoral committees initially had only a limited say, recent developments – including their involvement in negotiating anti-crisis measures in 2008–2009 – demonstrate their growing role in Polish industrial relations (Gardawski 2009b: 278).

19. For instance, out of 154 new collective agreements in 2007, only 39 were signed in companies without earlier agreements (as compared to 115 in 2002).

although in legal terms they are not equivalent) is also very low. As of 11 October 2010, the register of multi-employer collective agreements at the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy comprised 169 items. Out of this number 63 collective agreements were dissolved by one of their signatory parties and 11 were considered to be 'dead' since the employer association which signed them had lost its legal entitlement to sign the agreement. In practice, there are 95 multi-employer collective agreements in force, virtually restricted to the public sector, where they cover 390,000 employees (about 3.5 per cent of the labour force), mainly in education, public administration, state-owned forestry, energy, brown-coal mining, metallurgy, defence, and in some large enterprises, such as railways and Polish Telecom. As in the case of company-level agreements, the majority of the agreements at industry level originated in the late 1990s.

With low union density and limited collective bargaining coverage, the issue of the representation of employees' interests outside traditional trade union institutions has become particularly salient in Poland. Currently, there are two main channels of such representation: (1) *radny pracownicze* or workers' councils in state-owned enterprises, operating in accordance with the Act on State-owned Enterprises of September 1981; and (2) *radny pracowników* or works councils introduced by the Act on the Information and Consultation of Employees passed in May 2006 and implementing EU Directive 2002/14/EC. As far as company-level representation in state-owned companies is concerned, the extent of the Act on State-owned Enterprises' legal regime has been steadily decreasing. In line with the law introduced in September 1990 (the Act on the Privatisation and Restructuring of State-owned Enterprises), all modes of privatising state-owned enterprises in Poland have led to the progressive liquidation of self-management (Pańkow and Gąciarz 1997: 30). In the 'commercialised' companies – the privatised enterprises in which the state remains the main shareholder – the number of employees' representatives in the supervisory board is regulated by internal statute. Company board-level representation of employees depends on the proportion of shares owned by the state.²⁰

Prior to the introduction of works councils in the national legal framework in April 2006, employees' interests in the private sector could be represented only by trade unions (single-tier system) which, due to the very low unionisation of private enterprises, constituted a significant impediment to workers' information and consultation rights.²¹ After lengthy consultations with the

20. A company's first supervisory board elected after commercialisation should include two employee representatives out of five statutory members (Article 11 of the Act on Privatisation and Restructuring). If a commercialised company or an enterprise in which the state owns less than half the shares employs more than 500 staff, the employees have the right to choose a member of the management board (Article 16 of the Act). In enterprises in which the state is a minor shareholder, employees can claim between two and four seats in the supervisory board, depending on its size (Article 14 of the Act). In totally private enterprises, workers are not legally entitled to a seat on supervisory boards unless specified otherwise in their internal statutes as a result of collective bargaining.

21. Union density in private enterprises was estimated at 3 per cent in 2008 (Mokrzyszewski 2008).

social partners, the Act on Information and Consultation (I&C Act) was finally adopted. Works councils, with between three and seven members, depending on company size, should be established in all enterprises employing more than 50. The only exception were companies in which employers and trade unions concluded agreements that specified – before the adoption of the I&C Act – other ways of providing information and consultation than via works councils. The adopted version of the Act reflected the interests of trade union confederations (Voss 2007: 19). In unionised workplaces representative trade unions were granted an exclusive right to appoint council members. However, they had to agree among themselves about their candidates. If there were no unions in the workplace or they could not agree on representatives, the council was to be elected by a general vote of all employees on candidates nominated by representative unions (in unionised workplaces) or by employees (in non-unionised workplaces and in workplaces with no representative trade unions).

The early studies carried out on the new institution and its impact on industrial relations suggested that works councils received significant support from employees, even though their access to information ‘remains limited, especially as regards financial performance’ (Czarzasty and Towalski 2008). The institutional capacity of works councils may grow in the near future, due to the verdict of the Constitutional Tribunal on 1 July 2008 that ruled unconstitutional the regulations of the Act on the Information and Consultation of Employees on the elections system particularly with regard to unionised workplaces. As a result, elections to works councils in unionised workplaces are now held in accordance with the regulations previously applicable to non-unionised workplaces, but now deemed universal. In other words, the ruling determines that all works councils are to be elected by general ballots.

According to data from the end of May 2010, works councils have been established in 3,048 companies. Works councils have been founded only in 9 per cent of companies covered by the I&C Act (Mrozowicki 2011). As of 31 May 2010, 2,108 works councils (69 per cent) had been established in unionised companies at the request of trade unions. At the same time, 940 works councils (31 per cent of the total) had been founded in non-unionised companies. The absence of I&C bodies can be explained by several other factors. As suggested by Kohl (2009: 26), approximately 46 per cent of employees in Poland are excluded from the regime of the I&C Act due to their employment in enterprises with less than 50 staff. Moreover, according to the I&C Act, an initiative to establish a works council must represent at least 10 per cent of the employees in a company. Employers are not obliged to instigate the establishment of works councils. Other important factors are limited employee awareness concerning the establishment of works councils and the reluctance of some employers with regard to any kind of employee involvement (Mrozowicki 2011).

Besides trade unions and works councils, there is also a third institutional platform for employees’ interest representation in Poland, namely European Work Councils (EWC), based on EU Directive 94/45 and implemented in

Poland in the Act on European Work Councils of April 2002. Polish workers managed to get representatives into EWCs even before their formal introduction into national legislation in 2002. In most cases, the EWC members are chosen by trade unions, except when unions fail to reach agreement or there are no trade unions in the company. In the latter situation, they are elected by at least 100 employees or their representatives. Case studies indicate that the EWC's impact on industrial relations in Poland has so far been assessed positively by both employers and trade union officials and that EWCs serve as a channel for dissemination of good practices in the national industrial relations environment (Voss 2007: 39; Gardawski 2007).

2. The trade union movement: past legacy and current characteristics

The evolution of the trade union movement in Poland has been similar to that of the national industrial relations system. The changes Polish trade unions have endured since 1989 have their roots in the history of unionism during the state socialism era, the legacy of NSZZ Solidarność's anti-communist struggle and, finally, an incremental, but evident metamorphosis of unions in the environment of a market economy. However, the traditions of Polish unionism stem from a deeper past. Trade unions in Polish territories first emerged in regions controlled by Germany and Austria in the 1880s. In the part occupied by Russia, unions remained illegal until 1905, but a labour movement had been growing since at least the 1890s. Since Poles were deprived of a national state of their own for 123 years, the tendency to combine the struggle for national independence with socio-economic demands became a common property of Polish unionism in the late nineteenth century. Notably, this legacy was reproduced much later, during workers' protests against the state socialist regime, and culminated in the political programme of NSZZ Solidarność in 1980 that linked the ideas of national liberation, democratisation and economic improvements.

2.1 Polish trade unions before 1945

The trade unions that emerged in the Polish territories at the turn of the twentieth century were split along political and religious lines. They included Christian trade unions, nationalist trade unions and socialist trade unions. In the German partition, Polish workers formed the first Christian unions and workers' associations by the end of the nineteenth century. In 1889 in Upper Silesia, *Związek Wzajemnej Pomocy Chrześcijańskich Robotników Górnośląskich* (ZWP ChRG, Upper Silesian Christian Workers' Mutual Aid Association) was created (Hojka 2006: 24). In 1902, a Christian union confederation *Zjednoczenie Zawodowe Polskie* (ZZP, the Polish Trade Union) was founded by Polish migrants in Westphalia and the Ruhrgebiet. In the Russian partition, the main Christian trade union was *Stowarzyszenie Robotników Chrześcijańskich* (SRC, Association of Christian Workers), which attracted some 30,000–60,000 members (Rojahn 1990: 519). In the Austrian partition, Christian trade unions were consolidated in 1913 into *Polskie Zjednoczenie Chrześcijańskich Związków Zawodowych* (PZChZZ, Polish Union of Christian Trade Unions).

A second wing of the trade union movement in the occupied Polish territories was represented by nationalistic trade unions that began to emerge, again, at the turn of the twentieth century. In the Russian partition they acted under the name *Polskie Związki Zawodowe* (PZZ, Polish Trade Unions). PZZ was

supported by the *Narodowy Związek Robotniczy* (NZR, National Workers' Union), a political party initially linked with the nationalist movement of *Narodowa Demokracja* (National Democracy). The membership in those unions was estimated at about 50,000 in 1907–1908 (Rojahn 1990: 519). In 1908, *Narodowy Związek Robotniczy* and, in 1909, *Związek Wzajemnej Pomocy* merged with the *Zjednoczenie Zawodowe Polskie* (ZZP, Christian union confederation) (Hojka 2006: 30).

Socialist trade unions were 'amazingly weak' in German-occupied territories (Rojahn 1990: 510), but relatively stronger in the Austrian partition (Hojka 2006: 45). In 1913, the socialist confederation *Centralny Związek Zawodowy Polski* (CZZP, Central Polish Trade Union) was founded in Galicia (within the Austrian partition), associating approximately 30,000 workers (Rojahn 1990: 519). In the Russian partition, trade unions were organised by two left-wing parties: a revolutionary-socialist *Socjaldemokracja Królestwa Polskiego i Litwy* (SDKPiL, Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania) and – after 1905 – the social democratic, pro-national *Polska Partia Socjalistyczna* (PPS, Polish Socialist Party). PSS-inspired trade unions had roughly 45,000 members in 1907 (Rojahn 1990: 159).

Table 2 Ideological divisions within the Polish union movement in interwar Poland (main confederations)

Christian trade unions	Class trade unions	National-solidaristic trade unions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Zjednoczenie Zawodowe Polskie, ZZP (1909) – Chrześcijańskie Zjednoczenie Zawodowe RP, ChZZ RP (1931) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Związek Stowarzyszeń Zawodowych (ZSZ) (1919) – Wolne Związki Zawodowe (WZZ) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Centralne Zjednoczenie Klasowych Związków Zawodowych (CZKZZ) (1928) – Związek Związków Zawodowych (ZZZ) (1931) – (Zjednoczenie Zawodowe Polskie, ZZP in the late 1930s)

The confessional and ideological cleavages within the Polish union movement resurfaced in the Second Republic of Poland (1918–1939) (see Table 2). Based on the classification established in Polish historiography (Hojka 2006: 17), one can distinguish (a) Christian trade unions, (b) class trade unions, inspired by socialist and communist ideology and (c) national-solidaristic trade unions (so-called 'Polish' trade unions) that, at least initially, supported the governments of *Sanacja*, a political movement that came to power after Józef Piłsudski's May 1926 coup d'état (Hojka 2006: 17). In general, *Sanacja*'s rule mirrored the authoritarian tendencies prevailing in Europe of the 1930s. They promoted the 'moral renewal' of public life (hence the label adopted by the movement) and attempted to limit the influence of some democratic institutions, including parliament, in favour of executive power.

Although the membership of the main trade union confederations during the Second Republic of Poland was dynamic, *Zjednoczenie Zawodowe Polskie* (ZZP) and *Związek Stowarzyszeń Zawodowych* (ZSZ) the remained two

largest confederations (Table 3) *Zjednoczenie Zawodowe Polskie* (ZZP) was the largest trade union confederation inspired by Christian Democracy. It was transformed from an all-grades multi-sector unitary trade union into an all-grade trade union confederation grouping occupational branch unions. Initially, it was connected to the Christian Democratic party *Narodowa Partia Robotnicza* (NPR, National Workers' Party). However, after the coup d'état in 1926, which was supported by part of the NPR, the confederation (ZZP) weakened its political ties (Hojka 2006: 90). In the late 1930s, however, ZZP re-entered the political scene and started to support the politics of Sanacja, including its emphasis on national unity and solidarity. In this sense, ZZP came closer to the national-solidaristic type of trade unions. Notably, there were also Christian trade unions, which remained at a distance from ZZP's political stance. In 1931, some of them founded *Chrześcijańskie Zjednoczenie Zawodowe RP* (ChZZ RP, Christian Trade Union in the Polish Republic).

The main socialist confederation in the interwar period was *Związek Stowarzyszeń Zawodowych* (ZSZ, Union of Trade Associations). It was formed in 1919 and led by *Centralna Komisja Klasowych Związków Zawodowych* (CKKZZ, the Central Committee of Class Trade Unions). ZSZ was an all-grade multi-sector confederation, which grouped single-sector unions organising workers on an occupational basis (Hojka 2006: 98). In the late 1920s, two breakaway trade unions from this confederation emerged. These were *Centralne Zrzeszenie Klasowych Związków Zawodowych* (CZKZZ, Central Association of Class Trade Unions), created in 1928, and *Związek Związków Zawodowych* (ZZZ, the Union of Trade Unions), established in 1931.

Table 3 Membership in the Polish union movement in interwar Poland (main confederations)

Trade union confederations	1919	1938
Zjednoczenie Zawodowe Polskie, ZZP	466,600	350,000
Związek Związków Zawodowych (ZZZ)	153,500 (in 1931)	35,500
Związek Stowarzyszeń Zawodowych (ZSZ)	255,500	393,900
Chrześcijańskie Zjednoczenie Zawodowe RP, ChZZ RP	35,800	104,000
Centralne Zjednoczenie Klasowych Związków Zawodowych (CZKZZ)	25,400 (in 1928)	35,700 (in 1935)
Wolne Związki Zawodowe (WZZ)	around 13,000 (in 1922–1930)	

Note: The order of trade union confederations is based on their membership size in 1919 or at the time of their establishment.

Source: Hojka (2006), tables on p. 92, 94, 100, 101, 105 and 106.

Both CZKZZ and ZZZ supported the policy of Sanacja and therefore can be located within the national-solidaristic type of trade union.²² Another pro-

²² Differently from Hojka (2006: 98), we understood the position of CZKZZ and ZZZ, which broke away from ZSZ, as national-solidaristic. Simultaneously, we also recognise that the position of ZZZ changed with the passing of time. In the late 1930s, it could be probably defined as a 'class union'.

government trade union confederation was *Generalna Federacja Pracy* (GFP, General Federation of Labour), which was formed in 1928. In 1931, GFP co-established with part of CZKZZ and two other confederations *Związek Związków Zawodowych* (ZZZ). ZZZ supported the governing party of Sanacja, *Bezpartyjny Blok Wspierania Reform* (BBWR, Non-party Block of Support for Reforms). However, it was a very heterogeneous organisation and included advocates of socialism, social solidarity, Christian democracy and syndicalism (Hojka 2006: 104). Remarkably, in the second half of the 1930s, ZZZ moved to more radical, left-wing positions and its relations with the increasingly authoritarian government soon became tense.

Aside from the unions affiliated to the five main confederations, smaller trade unions and union federations were also present. In 1925, around 21 per cent of union members belonged to organisations that were not affiliated to ZZZ, ChZZ, ZSZ, CZKZZ and ZZZ. In 1931, only 7 per cent of the unionised workforce did not belong to the six main confederations (10 per cent in 1935). This indicates a slow consolidation of the trade union movement in Poland. Not affiliated to the main trade union confederation were the communist controlled *Wolne Związki Zawodowe* (WZZ, Free Trade Unions). As a result of the legal ban of WZZ, in 1931 *Lewica Związkowa* (LZ, Union Left) was established. It was linked to the illegal *Komunistyczna Partia Polski* (KPP, Communist Party of Poland) and attempted to infiltrate class trade unions and ZZZ.

Among other unions not affiliated to the main confederations, the main lines of division were either of an occupational (white-collar workers' unions, such as *Związek Nauczycielstwa Polskiego*, ZNP, the Union of Polish Teachers) or national and religious (Jewish trade unions connected with anti-Zionist Jewish Labour Bund). Precisely estimating the membership of the 30 or so union federations is difficult, but according to ILO data, there were about 866,000 workers unionised in 1935 and 1,000,990 in 1938 (Hauner 1985: 99). Pre-war Poland, despite growing anti-democratic tendencies in public life during the 1930s, retained trade union independence and left a positive heritage of industrial democracy to which workers could refer in the post-war period. ZZZ (until the mid-1930s), ZSZ, ZZZ (in the second half of the 1930s) and communist unions actively opposed the rule of Sanacja, combining socio-economic demands with political struggles against authoritarian governments. This political sensitivity was verified during the Second World War, during which trade unionists participated in anti-fascist guerrilla (*Związek Syndykalistów Polskich*, Union of Polish Syndicalists) and non-military forms of resistance (clandestine education organised by *Związek Nauczycielstwa Polskiego* (ZNP, Union of Polish Teachers)).

2.2 Trade unions in the state socialist era (1945–1989)

Independent trade unions re-emerged from the bottom-up after the Second World War. They became actively engaged in organising workers' councils in industrial plants in the territories liberated from the German occupation. They

were also involved in protecting industrial property from looting (Słabek 2004: 226–240). However, the independent prerogatives of unions and workers' councils were soon restricted and the direct continuity of pre-War traditions was broken. Not only were Christian and 'Polish' trade unions not re-established, but socialist trade unions, too, lost their autonomy. In 1949, along with the top-down creation of *Zrzeszenie Związków Zawodowych* (ZZZ, Association of Trade Unions) supervised by *Centralna Rada Związków Zawodowych* (CRZZ, Central Trade Union Council) Soviet-type centralisation of trade unions took place. At the peak of its development in the 1970s, ZZZ represented 23 affiliated trade unions that organised either industries or branches (Coldrick and Jones 1979: 955). ZZZ tended to report its year of establishment as 1918, when the pre-War socialist confederation, *Związek Stowarzyszeń Zawodowych* (ZSZ, Union of Trade Associations) emerged (Coldrick and Jones 1979: 955). It should be noted, however, that the continuity between ZZZ and the anti-authoritarian ZSZ was largely superficial. In common with other state socialist countries, trade unions were supposed to play a dual role (Pravda 1986: 30). In their 'production' role they were expected to participate in enterprise planning, educating members and maintaining labour discipline; while in their role as interest representing organisations, they were supposed to administer welfare benefits and defend the rights of their members vis-à-vis management. However, the main focus of union officials was welfare administration.

In successive working-class rebellions in state-socialist Poland (in 1956, 1970, 1976 and 1980), the desire to democratise trade unions was repeatedly advanced. As a matter of fact, democratic postulates were nothing new for the Polish union movement. They were present during strikes in pre-war Poland, including the general strike against the authoritarian government (1936) and the national strike by peasants (1937). In state socialist Poland, considered by part of the population to be under occupation by the Soviets, demands for industrial democracy and economic improvements were more and more often supplemented by the idea of national independence. However, it was not until the wave of strikes that started in the shipyards in Gdańsk and Szczecin and swept across the country in June and August 1980 when the first independent trade union could be created. In its origins, *Niezależny Samorządny Związek Zawodowy Solidarność* (NSZZ Solidarność, Free Independent Trade Union Solidarity) had a twofold character (Touraine *et al.* 1983). On the one hand, it was a civil movement inspired by strong Catholic values, patriotic discourse and demands for civil rights. On the other hand, it was also a trade union movement, which voiced clear socio-economic demands and left a legacy of employee voice and control at the workplace. Due to its dualistic nature, Solidarność sustained the tradition of Polish unionism, combining national-liberation ideology and socio-economic demands.

The trade union was officially registered in September 1980, following the August Accords with the government. In April 1981, *NSZZ Solidarność Rolników Indywidualnych* (Rural Solidarity), the first independent union organisation associating individual farmers, was registered. The development of the latter was especially important given the limited collectivisation of Polish

agriculture, which was one of the factors distinguishing the ‘Polish way to socialism’. In 1980–81, the success of independent unionism in terms of membership growth was clear. NSZZ Solidarność had about 9,500,000 members, Rural Solidarity about 2,350,000 members and ‘official’ branch and autonomous trade unions ‘only’ about 3,000,000 members as compared to their 12,000,000 membership in the 1970s (Upham 1992: 375). In contrast to the official trade unions, whose organisational structure was based on industrial and occupational divisions within the labour force, the structure of Solidarność was territorial.²³ The model of the social order endorsed by Solidarność’s official programme and approved by its National Congress in October 1981 centred on the idea of *Samorządna Rzeczpospolita* (‘Self-governing Republic’). The programme also envisaged a political order built on self-managed institutions extending from enterprise level to national level (Morawski 1997).

The ‘Solidarność’ mobilisation – also called the ‘carnival of Solidarność’ due to the unprecedented mobilisation of civil society – was brutally terminated after only 16 months by the military coup d’état and the introduction of martial law on 13 December 1981. The activity of all trade unions was suspended, their property confiscated by the state and workers’ strikes crushed by military and police forces. The company-level members of Solidarność either withdrew or became engaged in underground activities, which included distributing leaflets and union publications, establishing mutual aid funds and preserving union structures at the grassroots level. Given the scale of political persecution by the authorities, underground Solidarność had much more the character of an anti-communist movement than a trade union.

The Trade Union Act of 1982 annulled all prior registrations of trade unions, which de facto translated into a permanent ban on NSZZ Solidarność. However, the same Act also provided the legal foundations for the creation of ‘reformed’ trade unions and established a timeframe for the unionisation of enterprises. Enterprise-level trade unions were to be established by the end of 1982, national unions by the end of 1983 and the union confederation by the end of 1984. In December 1983, about 20,000 local unions had already been created, mainly on the basis of former member organisations of *Zrzeszenie Związków Zawodowych* (ZZZ). In November 1984, the founding congress of a new trade union confederation, *Ogólnopolskie Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych* (OPZZ, All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions), took place in Bytom. OPZZ united 108 national union federations that grouped both craft unions and white-collar occupational unions. The Trade Union Act also created the basis for the transfer of material assets of trade unions dissolved after 13 December 1981 to the newly established trade unions. ‘Reformed’ trade unions had to recognise the leading role of the communist party. An amendment to the Trade Union Act, passed by parliament in July 1985, confirmed the monopoly of OPZZ in enterprises by prohibiting the establishment of more than one trade union in a company.

²³. The relevance of NSZZ Solidarność’s territorial structures will be explained in Section 4.

At the shop floor level, the ‘new’ unions continued the role of their predecessors. They attempted to represent workers vis-à-vis management and oversaw workplace health and safety issues. In the first place, however, they were occupied with welfare administration and dealt with the allocation of holiday funds, loans and social benefits. At the same time, OPZZ differed from ZZZ in its active attempts to act more autonomously at the national level. At the second congress in 1986 OPZZ called for the introduction of an effective system of consultation between unions and government and opposed an idea to constitute OPZZ as the sole representative of unionised workers (Upham 1992: 380–381).

2.3 Trade unions after the system change in 1989

The political breakthrough in 1989, which followed the Round Table talks between opposition and government and the strike wave of 1988, contributed to decisive changes in the Polish labour movement. First, overall union density started to decline rapidly. In 1990–2008, Polish unions lost about 70 per cent of their members.²⁴ Second, while the historical division between OPZZ and NSZZ Solidarność persisted as the main cleavage within the union movement, new union organisations emerged and functioned outside the two major confederations (see next section). By the end of the 1990s, the estimated number of registered trade unions in Poland was 23,995 (Sroka 2000: 169).²⁵ The proliferation of trade unions outside the two main confederations without a voice in tripartite institutions at the national level triggered attempts on their part to establish a new nationwide confederation.²⁶ This led to the third major development within the union movement, which happened with the establishment of *Forum Związków Zawodowych* (FZZ, Trade Unions Forum) in 2002.

As of 2011 FZZ associates 86 trade union federations and other types of supracompany trade unions²⁷ and its membership is estimated at about 400,000, which means that FZZ is accepted as a member of the national-level Tripartite Commission. The number of union members in organisations outside OPZZ, NSZZ Solidarność and FZZ can be estimated at around 33 per cent of the unionised labour force. This share has been relatively stable during the first decade of the twenty-first century. For comparison, in 1990 only 5 per

24. Authors’ calculations based on CBOS data – see methodological appendix for details.

25. No historical data are available.

26. It may be noted that trade unionism in agriculture appeared to undergo much less fragmentation. In 2009/2010 there were nine trade unions active in this sector, the largest of which are NSZZ Solidarność RI (Rural Solidarity), *Krajowy Związek Rolników, Kótek i Organizacji Rolniczych* (KZRKiOR, the National Union of Farmers, Farmers Associations and Organisations), *Federacja Branżowych Związków Producentów Rolnych* (FZBPR, the Federation of Branch Unions of Agricultural Producers), and *Związek Zawodowy Rolnictwa ‘Samoobrona’* (RZZ ‘Samoobrona’, the Trade Union of Agriculture Self-Defence). Given their separate legal status and the specific situation of their members, who are predominantly individual farmers and rural entrepreneurs and not hired employees, the following analysis will not focus on them.

27. See Annex 3 for the various types of trade union in Poland.

Table 4 Cleavages in Polish unionism and union recognition at national level: main confederations

Union organisation	Type	Orientation	Political party	Recognition at national level
OPZZ (1984)	Confederation	Left-leaning all encompassing	SLD (1993–1997) No formal affiliation	Tripartite Commission (since 1994)
NSZZ Solidarność (1980)	Unitary union	Right-leaning all encompassing	AWS (1997–2001) No formal affiliation	Tripartite Commission (since 1994)
FZZ (2002)	Confederation	All encompassing	No formal affiliation	Tripartite Commission (since 2003)

cent of union members did not belong either to NSZZ Solidarność or OPZZ, and in 1991, the share of members of non-affiliated unions reached 16 per cent.²⁸ The figures, regardless of how crude they are (see Annex 1), show the increasing fragmentation of the Polish trade union movement. As suggested by the survey data of the Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS) on trade union membership (see Section 4, Figure 5), the establishment of the FZZ did not really help to overcome this situation. First, the new confederation ‘took over’ some of the breakaway unions from OPZZ. Second, as demonstrated in the next section, new autonomous trade unions were established.

Despite the multitude of trade union organisations in Poland, the main organisational pillars of the contemporary union movement are two confederations, OPZZ and FZZ, and one national-level unitary trade union, NSZZ Solidarność.²⁹ The principal political division within the Polish union movement during the 1990s reflected the historical roots of NSZZ Solidarność and OPZZ. NSZZ Solidarność was re-registered in April 1989. It entered a new phase of its development with a dual identity: as a political mainstay of democratic and market reforms and as a trade union movement. Until his election as president of Poland (in 1990), Lech Wałęsa headed both *Komitety Obywatelskie* (‘Civic committees’) under the political patronage of Solidarność, which proposed their candidates during the first ‘semi-free’³⁰ elections in June 1989, and NSZZ Solidarność (Wenzel 1998: 147). In 1989–1992, NSZZ

28. Membership data for FZZ and independent trade unions are authors’ calculations based on the representative survey data of the Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS) and Wenzel (2009) – see Annex 1 for details.

29. In the report, we refer to NSZZ Solidarność as, alternatively, a ‘confederation’ and a ‘unitary union’. In formal terms, however, NSZZ Solidarność is the latter. A unitary union is a trade union in which company-level union organisations do not have separate legal status. A unitary union is considered a single legal entity in Polish territory, encompassing company-level unions which have the same statute and name. Since company-level unions are represented by one legal entity, the unitary structure is claimed to simplify the registration procedures of new trade union organisations at the company level.

30. As a result of round table talks from 6 February to 5 April 1989, the leaders of NSZZ Solidarność and PZPR agreed that in the 1989 elections to the Sejm (the lower chamber of the Polish parliament) 65 per cent of the seats would be guaranteed to PZPR (and allied parties), with the remaining 35 per cent of the seats subject to free elections. The elections to the Senat (the upper chamber of the parliament) were free.

Solidarność continued to hold a protective umbrella over the market reforms imposed by governments backed by political forces stemming from the former democratic opposition, and did not actively take a stand against the painful social consequences of economic liberalisation (Ost 2005). The assumption behind the union's reluctance to oppose economic restructuring and privatisation was that both were necessary to rationalise employment and production and, last but not least, to restore 'normality' after the decade of economic crisis in the 1980s. Within the ideology of self-regulating markets, which dominated the thinking of part of post-Solidarność economic and political elites, strong trade unions were considered a barrier to successful economic change. A similar approach was represented by Lech Wałęsa, who asserted that 'we cannot have a strong trade union until we have a strong economy' (Tygodnik Solidarność, quoted in Ost 2005: 53).

The growing disappointment of workers in the negative effects of economic restructuring triggered the wave of national strikes in 1992, mostly provoked by the grassroots pressure of rank-and-file members. Even though Solidarność attempted to re-establish its identity as a trade union, its activities continued to follow a political logic. It was marked by strong opposition to OPZZ and the post-communist government of *Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej* (SLD, Democratic Left Alliance), even though the latter actually slowed down the harsh economic reforms to alleviate social discontent in 1993–1997. An important aspect of the conflict between NSZZ Solidarność and OPZZ was the unsolved problem of union property confiscated by authorities after martial law and granted to the formerly 'official' confederation (Gardawski 2009a: 486). In 1997, the broad political coalition called *Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność* (AWS, Solidarity Election Action), centred around Solidarność and led by Marian Krzaklewski, the union's president, won the parliamentary elections. This success allowed the coalition to form the government, which remained in power until 2001. It was only in 2001, shortly before the next parliamentary elections, that the National Congress of Solidarność officially declared that the union would abandon direct involvement in parliamentary politics in order to focus on defending employees' rights. The decision could be attributed to the growing disappointment among rank-and-file workers with the outcomes of structural and market reforms introduced by AWS, in particular those in health care and pensions. The primary reason was certainly the extremely low public support for AWS by the end of its period of government in 2001, severely damaging the image of NSZZ Solidarność in the eyes of the working class. However, the support for a right-wing *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość* (PiS, Law and Justice) candidate in the presidential elections, Lech Kaczyński, given by the National Congress in 2005, cast doubt on this new, apolitical union identity. Notably, in April 2010 the National Commission of NSZZ Solidarność again supported the PiS candidate, Jarosław Kaczyński (the brother of deceased president, Lech Kaczyński) in early presidential elections. Nevertheless, with a new president of NSZZ Solidarność, Piotr Duda (elected in October 2010), the confederation seems to be determined to avoid forming close ties with particular political parties, against the tendency that often prevailed in the past (Czarzasty 2011).

OPZZ also continued to be directly involved in national-level politics during the course of the transformation, albeit on the opposite side of the political scene. The confederation initially maintained a wait-and-see attitude towards SLD (the post-communist party). However, it openly re-entered the political scene in 1993, when the SLD coalition, of which OPZZ was one of the founding members, came to power. *Zespół Posłów i Senatorów Związkowych* (Group of Trade Union Members of Parliament and the Senate), connected with SLD and assembling deputies nominated by OPZZ, had 54 members in 1993–1997, and 44 in the next parliament (1997–2001). The transformation of SLD into a political party in 1999 resulted in the termination of formal ties between OPZZ and the post-communist political milieu. However, the confederation continued to cooperate with SLD. Following the defeat in the 2005 elections SLD suffered, and achieved poor results in the 2007 elections. The ties between OPZZ and SLD have loosened and continue to exist mainly informally within social networks encompassing unionists and politicians. In the latest (2007–2011) parliament, only 10 MPs belonged to OPZZ. Taking into account the most recent defeat of SLD in the elections in October 2011 (the party won only 27 seats), cooperation between SLD and OPZZ seems to be even less likely in the near future. The confederation's ideological stance is left-wing and, with the links between OPZZ and SLD severed, recent trade union congresses criticised the market-liberal policies promoted by post-communist party in 2001–2005. It also cautiously began to build closer links with new social movements, such as the feminist movement. An example of the latter tendency was the participation of around 400 members of OPZZ affiliates in demonstrations for women's rights, marking International Women's Day in 2010, organised by Porozumienie Kobiet 8 Marca (the 8 March Women's Alliance).

Among the three main confederations, FZZ is the least politically involved. One of the main reasons for creating FZZ was to overcome the political polarisation between OPZZ and Solidarność and to establish a platform through which 'apolitical' trade unions could participate in national-level social dialogue.³¹ FZZ has never had its own MPs. It should be noted that, while ideological conflicts were common at the national level between the three main confederations, inter-union cooperation has always been more typical of union practices at the shop-floor level (Gąciarz 1999: 221). Moreover, the shift in the balance of power in the presidential elections in 2010, confirmed by the parliamentary elections in 2011, resulted in the dominance of one political party, the right-wing liberal *Platforma Obywatelska* (PO, Civic Platform). The PO government has so far not been interested in taking into account the trade unions' voice in formulating its policies. The government's anti-union stance seems to be bringing the three confederations together. The unions are also eager to strengthen links with the European trade union movement (Czarzasty 2011). Outside the three main confederations occasional political alliances among the autonomous trade unions are not uncommon but tend to be fairly short-lived. Trade unions that appear to be cultivating the social movement unionism model are *Wolny Związek Zawodowy Sierpień '80* (WZZ

31. Interview conducted by authors with FZZ union expert Edmund Szynaka on 27 August 2009.

Sierpień'80, Free Trade Union August '80), launched by radical dissidents from NSZZ Solidarność, and, the much smaller *Ogólnopolski Związek Zawodowy Inicjatywa Pracownicza* (OZZ IP, All-Poland Trade Union Workers' Initiative), both of which are seeking links with new left-wing social movements.

The three main Polish union confederations are firmly embedded in the international labour movement. NSZZ Solidarność was admitted as an observer by the ETUC (European Trade Union Confederation) and the ITUC (International Trade Union Confederation) in 1991 and became a full member of both in 1996. OPZZ, having resigned from its membership in the World Federation of Trade Unions in 1990, applied for membership of the ETUC. Its application remained pending for years, however, due to the counteraction of NSZZ Solidarność. The main reason was the unsolved problem (mentioned above) of the division of property inherited by OPZZ from CRZZ and the issue of compensation for the property of NSZZ Solidarność confiscated by the communist authorities in 1981. Having resolved these problems, OPZZ became a member of the ETUC and the ITUC in 2006. FZZ used to be the member of the *Confédération Européenne des Syndicats Indépendants* (European Confederation of Independent Trade Unions, CESI). Currently, however, its membership is suspended due to budget constraints and there are ongoing discussions about the FZZ's accession to the ETUC. The representatives of the three union confederations participate in the work of the EU European Economic and Social Committee. In addition, the branch secretariats of NSZZ Solidarność and some trade unions confederated in OPZZ and FZZ are also members of international branch-level trade union organisations.

Finally, it should be remembered that, according to survey data from 2008, there are still around 600,000 members of trade unions that are not affiliated with OPZZ, NSZZ Solidarność or FZZ. These include both company-level trade unions and some national-level federations. The largest have already been mentioned and include all-grades multi-sector unions (WZZ 'Sierpień '80'), single branch all-grade unions (such as *Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Rolnictwa RP*, ZZPR RP Trade Union of Agricultural Employees), staff associations (such as the trade unions of employees in the state administration) and professional associations (such as *Ogólnopolski Związek Zawodowy Lekarzy OZZL*, Trade Union of Doctors). In some larger companies, especially in the public sector, the existence of more than a dozen trade unions is common. 'Competitive pluralism' within the Polish union movement is often mentioned as an impediment to the development of sectoral and national social dialogue in Poland (Gardawski 2003).

3. Trade union structures: genesis and development

The current internal structure and organisation of the Polish union movement was predominantly shaped after the Second World War. The ‘official’ trade union confederation, ZZZ, supervised by CRZZ, was founded in 1949 on the basis of branch union federations, which to a large extent emulated the interwar organisation of the ‘class’ type of trade union. Most of the 23 unions associated in ZZZ had – at least nominally – pre-war traditions. The ‘oldest’ roots were those of unions established as craft unions and blue-collar occupational unions, such as *Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Poligrafii* (ZZPP, Printing Workers’ Trade Union) or *Związek Zawodowy Górników* (ZZG, Miners’ Trade Union).

Trade unions affiliated to ZZZ functioned as all-grade single branch unions, which associated both white-collar and blue-collar occupations in one of 23 branches. ZZZ can be labelled an all-grade multi-sector union confederation, even though it was almost not present in a vestigial private sector. Besides its branch-based structure, ZZZ also had regional councils in 14 (until the administrative reform in 1975) and – since 1975 – 49 regions (voivodships). Formally, the structure of unions organised in ZZZ included democratic mechanisms for election and workers’ participation.³² In practice, democratic procedures were limited and ZZZ suffered ongoing problems of over-centralisation, poor internal communication and a lack of responsiveness within the union hierarchy (Pravda 1986: 140). In January 1981, in the wake of NSZZ Solidarność’s popularity, ZZZ was formally dissolved and its member organisations either ceased to exist or voted to transform themselves into autonomous and independent trade unions.

3.1 The All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ)

The structure of OPZZ was designed to be different from that of ZZZ. The confederation claims to be the result of grassroots needs to re-consolidate the fragmented left-wing union movement in the 1980s. The new union confederation was recreated mostly on the basis of material assets and membership of ZZZ. In 1985, part of the funds of the outlawed NSZZ Solidarność were also transferred to it (Upham 1992: 380). The organisational structure of OPZZ differed from its predecessor and reflected the mechanism

³² Workers’ union branches, as the basic members of union federations, were supposed to elect a shop council and send their delegates to national congresses, which, in turn, elected the officers of the CRZZ.

of establishing ‘new’ trade unions provided for by the 1982 Trade Union Act.³³ Company union organisations, which had separate legal statutes, were federated into national-level organisations (108 in 1984). The latter were, in turn, confederated into national-level confederation OPZZ in 1984. Besides federations, there were also some unions established as unitary craft unions and white-collar occupational union. In order to distinguish itself from ZZZ, OPZZ emphasised the decision-making autonomy of member unions vis-à-vis the confederation (Upham 1992: 380). Nevertheless, it was still considered by some workers as an ‘official’ confederation, membership of which had political connotations (Gardawski 2009a: 473). In the first years of its existence, OPZZ managed to partially overcome the initial ‘ostracism’ of workers by performing traditional social functions, including providing loans and other forms of social assistance at workplaces (ibid.).

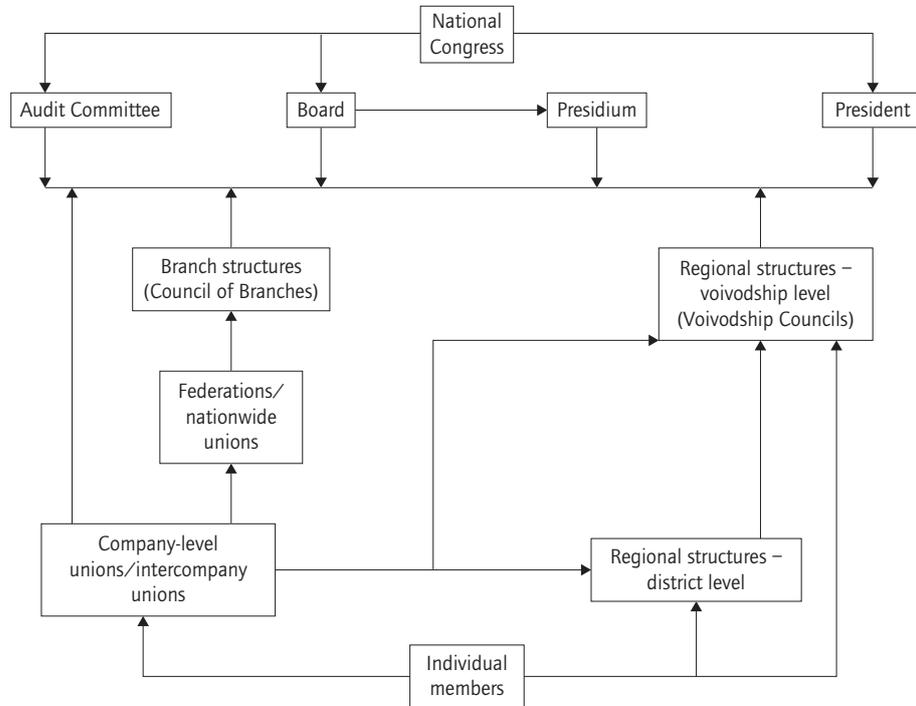
As OPZZ had been created in a bottom-up manner, there were strong decentralising tendencies within that confederation from when it was established in 1984. Some unions, which did not want to be identified with the ‘official’ and ‘communist’ federation, left OPZZ by the end of the 1980s, while others withdrew at the beginning of the 1990s. In some cases, company unions quit their federation in favour of joining the relevant OPZZ territorial structure (thus ceasing to be subordinated to the original federation and becoming a member of the district OPZZ council). There were also incidents of entire federations departing OPZZ, with which decision not all company-level organisations would comply, opting to maintain their association with the confederation via district structures (Gardawski 2002). In the 1980s, there was a substantial number of ‘autonomous’ unions: approximately 4,000 local-level trade unions (mostly operating in single enterprises) that were not affiliated with OPZZ (Upham 1992:380). According to a rough estimate, OPZZ lost about 200,000 members at the beginning of the 1990s. In 2011, there were 79 affiliates (including all types of supracompany trade unions, see Annex 3) of OPZZ. OPZZ affiliates represented about 11,000 company-level union organisations, which meant a significant decrease as compared with 108 founding members of OPZZ and 26,000 union organisations represented by the confederation at the end of the 1980s (Upham 1992:381).

Today, OPZZ is an all-grades multi-sector union confederation. According to its current statute, its members can be national-level trade unions, union federations, inter-company unions and company unions. The main governing bodies of OPZZ are the National Congress (a ‘legislative’ body), the Board (a ‘legislative’ body that acts between congresses), the Presidium (both an ‘executive’ and a ‘legislative’ body), and the Audit Committee, all elected for four-year terms. Trade union organisations with more than 1,000 members have the right to a seat on the union council; the members of smaller organisations are represented by the leaders of the branch structures.³⁴ In

33. The differences between company-level trade union organisations, trade union federations and trade union confederations, as well as unitary trade unions are explained in Annex 3.

34. Branch trade union structures (in Polish, *struktury branżowe*) are internal trade union structures organised by the different sectors of the economy (industries), broadly understood.

Figure 1 OPZZ organisational chart



addition, the union council is constituted by the members of the presidium and the leaders of Voivodship Councils, the latter being regional union structures. Notably, there were only 19 full-time employees at union head office in 2006 (Czarzasty 2006). Since the confederation was formed as an alternative to the regional-based model of NSZZ ‘Solidarność’, branch structures are traditionally more important within OPZZ. However, OPZZ has also developed territorial structures. They are represented by 16 Voivodships Councils, which overlap with the administrative structure of the country. In the 1990s, territorial structures of OPZZ began to attract trade union affiliates independently of branch federations, which contributed to internal conflicts (Gardawski 2009a: 506). Ultimately, the autonomy of territorial structures was again limited in the wake of attempts to centralise OPZZ in 2000–2004 (ibid.: 508).

The branch structures of OPZZ are represented by the Branch Councils. They represent nine branches: (1) mining, chemicals and energy, (2) the metal industry, (3) education and science, (4) public services, (5) food, agriculture and tourism, (6) construction, road mending and timber, (7) textiles, apparel and leather, (8) transport and (9) commerce, services, culture and art. However, inter-union coordination within branches is still rather limited. Internal reforms in 2000–2004, which were aimed at merging trade union federations within branches into a limited number of unitary trade unions, failed due to strong internal opposition (Gardawski 2009a: 506-509). Special ‘thematic commissions’ play an advisory role on young people, women and

public sector employees, and on specific areas of industrial relations (labour protection, international affairs, economic policy and social policy).

The affiliates of OPZZ encompass all-grade single-sector trade unions, white-collar single sector occupational unions, trade unions with the properties of professional associations, large all-grade inter-company unions in (formerly) state-owned nationwide enterprises and all-grade multi-sector unions. Although it is difficult to precisely evaluate the relative importance of various types of unions belonging to the confederation, one particular union dominates all other members in numerical terms. *Związek Nauczycielstwa Polskiego* (ZNP, Polish Teachers' Union) has more than 250,000 members.

3.2 The Independent Self-governing Trade Union 'Solidarity' (NSZZ 'Solidarność')

The structure of NSZZ Solidarność also reflects its historical development. NSZZ Solidarność was historically based on a territorial structure, which distinguished it from ZZZ and OPZZ. The territorial structure made it possible not only to retain a vital link with local communities during strike action in 1980, but also to avoid internal union conflicts along sectoral lines (Keenoy 1986: 154). The internal rules of NSZZ Solidarność in 1980 initially privileged larger enterprises. Workers in companies which employed more than 500 employees could establish a union branch; workers in smaller enterprises were expected to form an inter-company union (*ibid.*: 150), an organisation which is active in two or more companies. Company and inter-company union branches elected regional delegates, which subsequently elected delegates to the National Congress.

Today, the principal organisation of the union is based on the hierarchy of company-level union organisations, inter-company union organisations and regional branches. In addition, there are 'departmental union organisations' (*organizacje oddziałowe*) which can be created on the basis of company-level union organisations. Some departmental union organisations lost their independent status as the result of organisational changes in the structure of an enterprise, for instance in the wake of the mergers of several companies into a new enterprise.³⁵ However, there are new instances of the creation of departmental union organisations in large multinational enterprises, for instance in supermarkets. In December 2008, for which the last full data are available, NSZZ Solidarność consisted of 8,646 basic union organisations, including 6,544 company-level organisations, 1,527 inter-company union

35. By virtue of an amendment to the union statute passed in 2004, a local union organisation (*terenowa organizacja związku*) could be established and acquired the status of intercompany union organisation. The latter modification made it possible to unionise workers in small enterprises, in which the creation of company-level union organisations was constrained due to problems achieving the legally required membership threshold of 10 people required to establish a trade union (see Section 2).

organisations and 575 departmental union organisations. The number of union organisations has declined since 1992 (see Table 5). The years 2006–2008 brought some signs of a reversal of this negative trend. However, as the most recent data show, this tendency has not been stable. In 2008–2010, most likely as the result of company closures in the course of a global recession, a new decline in the number of union organisations in NSZZ Solidarność was observed.

Table 5 Organisational development of NSZZ Solidarność (1991–2010)

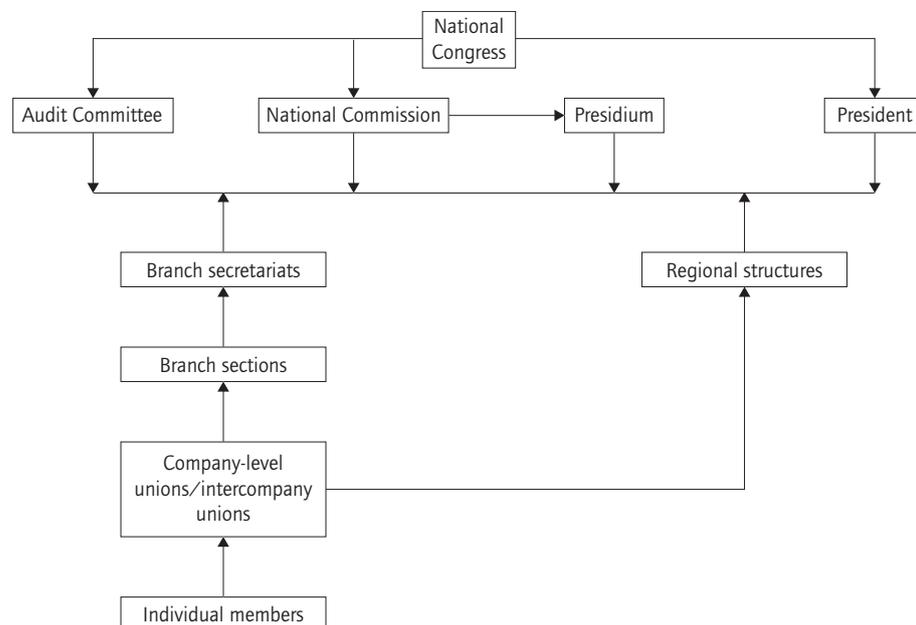
Year	Number of members	Number of organisations	Member average per organisation
1991	2,246,119	–	–
1992	1,660,761	16,992	98
1993	1,507,084	15,367	98
1994	1,422,764	14,302	99
1995	1,312,050	12,437	105
1996	1,233,209	13,691	90
1997	1,118,229	13,271	84
1998	1,113,440	12,822	87
1999	1,075,045	12,668	85
2000	1,018,439	12,240	83
2001	910,398	11,570	79
2002	800,906	10,522	76
2003	759,336	9,950	76
2004	730,919	9,392	78
2005	721,356	9,114	79
2006	690,042	8,106	85
2007	685,329	8,637	79
2008	679,975	8,648	79
2009	667,572	8,445	79
2010	648,868	8,292	78

Source: Internal statistics of NSZZ Solidarność, data as of December for each year except June 2010.

At the outset, NSZZ Solidarność consisted of 38 regions. Its territorial structure did not parallel the administrative division of the country, but the importance of regions as centres of collective mobilisation in 1980. This historical structure, including both very large and very small ‘regions’, was largely preserved after 1989. In the 1990s, one new region was created (Zagłębie Miedziowe, Copper Basin in Legnica in 1992) and five merged with other regions (Pilski, Pojezierze, Koszaliński-Pobrzeże, Kujawy and Ziemia Dobrzyńska, Leszczyński). While part of the regional and national leadership acknowledges the need for organisational changes, internal reforms are difficult due to the resistance of the leaders of small regions, whose votes cannot be ignored by any candidate to national-level executive structures of the union (Gardawski 2009a: 504). In terms of numbers of delegates to national conventions, the most influential regions were and remain

Dąbrowskie Basin and Upper Silesia (Śląsko-Dąbrowski), Małopolska (Cracow), Mazowsze (Warsaw), Lower Silesia (Wrocław), Wielkopolska (Poznań) and Gdańsk. Their relevance reflects high union membership, which in turn can be explained by their geographical scope and importance in the Polish economy and, in some cases (such as Śląsko-Dąbrowski), high concentration of traditional heavy industry, such as mining and steelworking, in their areas of operation.

Figure 2 NSZZ 'Solidarność' organisational chart



Similar to OPZZ, NSZZ Solidarność is an all-grade multi-sector trade union confederation associating all kinds of occupations. However, it does not encompass other union federations, but only company-level union organisations federated into a unitary union organisation at the regional level, branch level and national level. Local unions have the same name, symbols and statutes as the central board. There are currently 15 branch secretariats of the union, which are in turn divided into 86 national *sekcje krajowe* (branch sections). Some national branch sections existed already in the 1980s. However, it was not until the beginning of the 1990s that they were unified into national branch secretariats following the resolution of the National Convention of Delegates in May 1991, which granted them separate legal status. The need to create these formalised structures followed from the fact that the territorial structure of Solidarność was inappropriate to deal with the capitalist restructuring of particular industries (Pollert 1999: 159).

Table 6 Branch secretariats of NSZZ Solidarność and their membership in 2006

Name	Membership
Sekretariat Banków, Handlu i Ubezpieczeń (Secretariat of Banks, Commerce and Insurance of NSZZ Solidarność)	16,421
Sekretariat Budownictwa i Przemysłu Drzewnego (Construction and Wood Workers' Secretariat)	10,868
Sekretariat Górnictwa i Energetyki (National Secretariat of Mine and Energy Workers Union)	87,119
Sekretariat Kultury i Środków Przekazu (Media and Entertainment Workers' Secretariat)	5,378
Sekretariat Łączności (Postal and Telecommunication Workers' Secretariat)	21,813
Sekretariat Metalowców (Metalworkers' Secretariat)	64,177
Sekretariat Nauki i Oświaty (Science and Education Secretariat)	79,053
Sekretariat Ochrony Zdrowia (Health Care Secretariat)	43,689
Sekretariat Przemysłu Chemicznego (Chemical Workers' Secretariat)	29,966
Sekretariat Przemysłu Lekkiego (Textile Workers' Secretariat)	2,234
Sekretariat Przemysłu Spożywczego (Food Workers' Secretariat)	19,884
Sekretariat Rolnictwa (Rural Workers' Secretariat)	4,269
Sekretariat Służb Publicznych (Public Service Workers' Secretariat)	29,787
Sekretariat Zasobów Naturalnych, Ochrony Środowiska i Leśnictwa (National Secretariat of Natural Resources, Environmental Protection and Forestry)	4,650
Sekretariat Transportowców (Transport Workers' Secretariat)	52,509

Note: Alphabetical order.

Branch structures are both financially and organisationally disadvantaged as compared to territorial structures. Regarding membership contributions, 60 per cent remains at plant-level trade union organisations, 25 per cent is allocated to regional structures and 10 per cent goes to the national central structure, of which only 2 per cent is given to branch trade union structures. Additionally, while membership of regional structures is obligatory for company-level unions, their participation in branch structures is not. As a result, in 2006 the membership in branch secretariats amounted to 68 per cent of the total membership of NSZZ Solidarność (471,817 members). There are 15 branch secretariats, a separate national secretariat of pensioners and four 'sections' outside the secretariats.³⁶

The highest decision-making body of NSZZ Solidarność is *Krajowy Zjazd Delegatów* (KZD, National Congress of Delegates), elected by delegates to the regional assemblies. Decision-making bodies at the territorial level are the general assemblies of regional delegates elected at company and intercompany levels, and at the branch level, the Congress of Secretariats. The executive units are the councils at the company level (*komisja zakładowa*, company committee), regional level (*Zarząd Regionu*, Regional Board), branch level (*rada sekretariatu*, Secretariat Council) and national level (*Komisja Krajowa*, the National Commission), all elected for four-year terms. The highest

36. The four 'sections' outside secretariats include: the National Section of Invalids, the National Section of Blind People, the National Section of the Civilian Workers of the Ministry of Defence, and the National Section of Women.

executive unit, *Komisja Krajowa*, is constituted by the regional leaders, leaders of branch secretariats and members elected by the National Assembly of Delegates. The control units (audit committees) have a comparable branch-territorial structure, too. There were 115 employees at the head office of NSZZ Solidarność in 2006 (Czarzasty 2006).

The fragmentation of OPZZ meant that some union federations disaffiliated from the confederation or began to create smaller trade unions on an occupational basis. In the case of a unitary union such as NSZZ Solidarność, fragmentation was synonymous with establishing breakaway unions on the basis of factions, which had its roots in the movement of the 1980s. In 1991, NSZZ Solidarność '80 was established by NSZZ Solidarność activists who did not accept the agreements reached by the Round Table. In 1993, two other trade unions broke away from NSZZ Solidarność '80, *Chrześcijański Związek Zawodowy im. Ks. J. Popiełuszki* (ChZZ, Popiełuszko Christian Trade Union Solidarność) and *Wolny Związek Zawodowy 'Sierpień '80'* (WZZ Sierpień '80, Free Trade Union August' 80), both initially connected with right-wing nationalist parties. While ChZZ nearly disappeared from the trade union scene, WZZ Sierpień '80 gradually changed its political orientation to one of radical left-wing social movement unionism. The spin-offs from Solidarność remain all-grade multi-sector trade unions, whose internal structures mainly resembled NSZZ Solidarność.

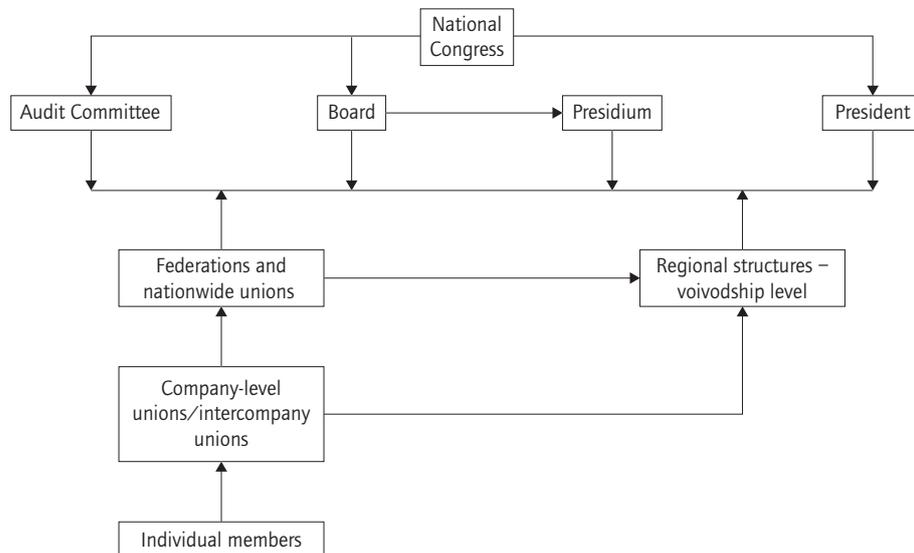
Another source of the fragmentation of the union movement was the foundation of new trade unions, not historically connected with OPZZ and NSZZ 'Solidarność'. Most of these remained company-level and inter-company unions, while others established new national-level federations. Larger national-level federations, which were not affiliated to the two main confederations in the 1990s and whose membership exceeded 10,000 by the late 1990s (Kozek 2003: 19) included (1) multi-sector occupational unions; (2) white-collar unions; (3) single sector occupational unions and staff associations; and (4) professional associations with the functions of trade unions.

3.3 The Trade Unions Forum (FZZ)

Consolidation attempts undertaken by some independent trade unions led to the establishment of the third confederation, *Forum Związków Zawodowych* (FZZ, Trade Unions Forum), in 2002. The idea of establishing FZZ crystallised during the 1990s, when social democratic intellectuals, together with the leaders of some independent trade unions and trade unions which had broken away from OPZZ and NSZZ Solidarność, launched *Związkowe Forum Pracy* (Trade Union Forum of Labour). The Forum was founded under the auspices of *Unia Pracy* (UP, Labour Union), a social democratic party organised by former left-wing activists of Solidarność and reformers from the former communist party. Initially, it was thought to be an advisory body for trade unions. From within the UP the idea of forming a new trade union confederation emerged (Gardawski 2009a: 491-492). In particular, there were

two main incentives to form such a new union structure out of the rather informal Forum: (1) the exclusion of unions which acted outside NSZZ Solidarność and OPZZ from their share of the property of former official confederation ZZZ, and (2) the Act on Tripartite Commission of 2001, which established criteria for national-level representativeness at 300,000 members, a threshold which smaller unions could attain only through consolidation (Gardawski 2009a: 493).

Figure 3 FZZ organisational chart



The largest of the 17 founding members of FZZ included: *Ogólnopolski Związek Pielęgniarek i Położnych* (OZZPiP, All-Poland Trade Union of Nurses and Midwives), *NSZZ Policjantów* (Independent Selfgoverning Union of Police Officers), *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Pracowników PKP* (FZZZ PKP, Federation of Trade Unions of Polish State Railways), *Związek Zawodowy Inżynierów i Techników* (ZZIiT, Trade Union of Engineers and Technicians), *Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych 'Kadra'* (PZZ 'Kadra', Trade Unions Alliance 'Kadra'), *Krajowy Związek Zawodowy Ciepłowników* (KZZC, Trade Union of Heating Technicians) and NSZZ Solidarność '80.

Similar to OPZZ and NSZZ 'Solidarność', FZZ is an all-grade multi-sector trade union confederation. As of 2011, 86 unions are affiliated to FZZ, including national-level union federations, inter-company union organisations and – in contrast to OPZZ – single-company trade unions. The national-level trade unions in FZZ are single-sector and multi-sector trade unions, white-collar occupational unions and craft unions (railway engine drivers). There are trade unions of workers in transport (bus drivers, truck drivers, employees of Polish State Railways (PKP), officers and marines in the navy, fishermen), state security (border guards, police officers, fire-fighters), health care (nurses and midwives, health care administration, physiotherapists), telecommunications,

education, social security, state administration, aviation, communal services and public libraries. The members of FZZ also include all-grade national union federations (such as NSZZ Solidarność '80), intercompany trade unions and company-level unions in large Polish and multinational enterprises. The number of FZZ member organisations has grown in recent years, from 17 in 2002 to 75 in 2009. As we lack primary data for FZZ at confederation level, membership changes over the years are difficult to assess. The survey data of the Public Opinion Research Centre (see Section 4, Figure 5) suggest that FZZ membership is stable. One possible explanation of this is the fact that the union represents public sector employees whose trade union activism was reinvigorated by austerity measures and restructuring in the second decade of systemic transformation (Hardy 2009; Kozek 2011).

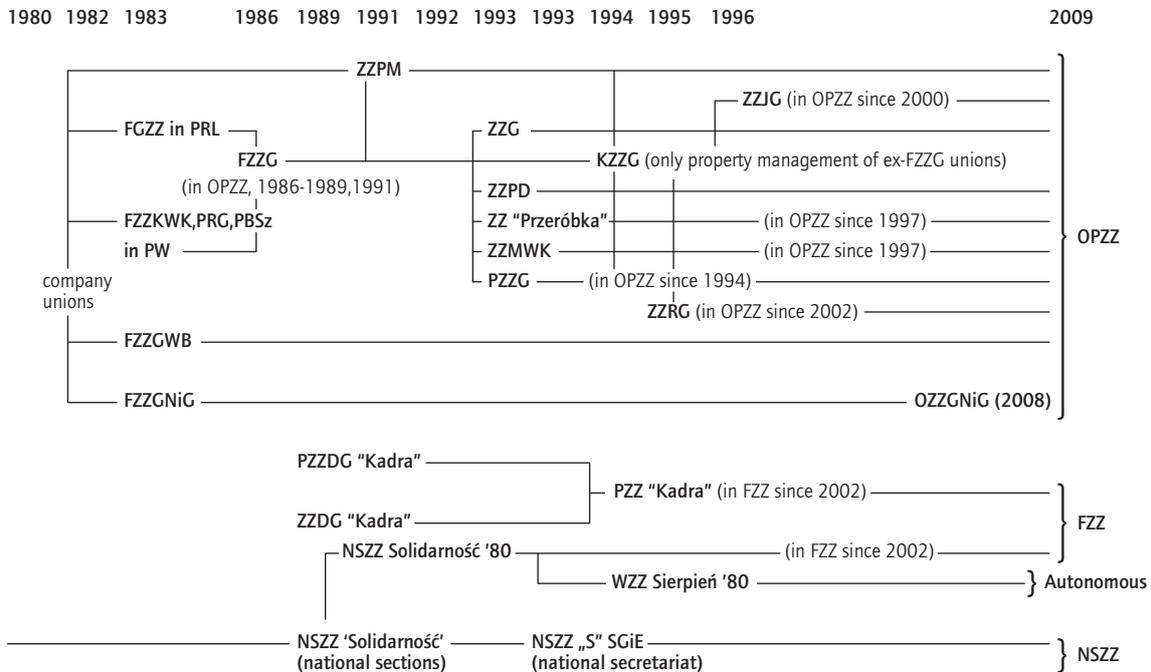
The internal structure of FZZ is decentralised and – due to the relatively recent establishment of the confederation itself – still under construction. The highest statutory body of the confederation is the National Congress, which elects the main union board (*Zarząd Główny*), the presidium of the union (led by the president and vice-presidents), and the national audit committee (*Krajowa Komisja Rewizyjna*) for the four-year term. Congress delegates are elected by member organisations, which have the right to send three delegates plus one more delegate for every 10,000 members. All member organisations also have the right to one seat on the Union Board; its five additional members are elected by the National Congress. Out of three main confederations, FZZ has the lowest number of full-time employees at its headquarters: there were only eight in 2006 (Czarzasty 2006). FZZ is organised on the basis of regional structures, which overlap with voivodships (16 regions). It also used to have six branch structures: (1) communication, (2) education, science and culture, (3) health care, (4) manufacturing and environmental protection, (5) public services and (6) transportation, as well as a specialist committee dealing with labour protection. Since 2009, however, branch structures have ceased to exist due to insufficient resources or a lack of will to develop them further. Regional structures are led by locally elected regional boards and regional presidia; the number of candidates to regional boards nominated by member organisations reflects the number of members they have in the region. In practice, neither branch structures nor regional structures have full-time union officials. The reason is constant budget constraints, which reflects the extremely low contributions of affiliates to the confederation.³⁷

3.4 The fragmentation of the union movement: mining

Overall, Polish trade unions are characterised by extreme internal fragmentation which partially derives from the 1982 Trade Union Act and partially from increasing union rivalry after 1989. A good illustration of this fragmentation is provided by trade unions in the mining sector (Figure 4). In 1983, four main trade union federations were created in the sector. All were

37. Currently, the rate is 0.2 PLN a month, that is, around 0.05 EUR per union member.

Figure 4 Changing union structures in the mining sector in Poland (main federations)



Note: **FZZG in PRL** = Federacja Górnich Związków Zawodowych w PRL (Federation of Miners' Trade Unions in the Polish People's Republic), **FZZKWK, PRG, PBSz in PW** = Federacja Związków Zawodowych Kopalni Węgla Kamiennego, Przedsiębiorstw Robót Górnich i Przedsiębiorstw Budowy Szybów w Przemśle Węglowym w Polsce (Federation of Trade Unions of Coal Mines, Mining Works Companies, Mineshaft Construction in the Coal Mining Industry in Poland), **FZZGWB** = Federacja Związków Zawodowych Górnictwa Węgla Brunatnego (Federation of Brown Coal Mining Employees' Trade Unions), **FZZGNiG** = Federacja Związków Zawodowych Górnictwa Naftowego i Gazownictwa (Federation of Trade Unions of Polish Oil and Gas Companies), **OZZGNiG** = Ogólnopolski Związek Zawodowych Górnictwa Naftowego i Gazownictwa (All-Poland Trade Union of Polish Oil and Gas Companies), **ZZPM** = Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Przemysłu Miedziowego (Copper Industry Workers' Trade Union), **FZZG** = Federacja Związków Zawodowych Górników (Mining Trade Unions Alliance); **ZZG** = Związek Zawodowy Górników w Polsce (Miners' Trade Union of Poland), **ZZPD** = Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Dołowych (Trade Union of Underground Workers), **ZZ "Przeróbka"** = Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Zakładów Przeróbki Mechanicznej Węgla w Polsce 'Przeróbka' (Trade Union of Employees of the Mechanical Coal Processing Plants in Poland '[Coal] Processing'), **ZZMWK** = Związek Zawodowy Maszynistów Wyciągowych Kopalń w Polsce (Trade Union of Mining Lift Operators in Poland), **PZZG** = Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych Górnictwa (Mining Trade Unions Alliance); **KZZG** = Konfederacja Związków Zawodowych Górników w Polsce (Confederation of Miners' Trade Unions of Poland), **ZZRG** = Związek Zawodowy Ratowników Górnich (Mining Rescuers' Union of Poland), **ZZJG** = Związek Zawodowy Jedności Górnich (Miners' Unity Trade Union), **PZZDG 'Kadra'** = Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych Dozoru Górnich 'Kadra' (Trade Union Alliance of Mining Inspectors 'Kadra'), **ZZDG 'Kadra'** = Związek Zawodowy Dozoru Górnich 'Kadra' (Trade Union of Mining Inspectors 'Kadra'), **PZZ 'Kadra'** = Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych 'Kadra' (Polish Trade Union Alliance 'Kadra'), **WZZ Sierpień '80** = Wolny Związek Zawodowy Sierpień '80 (Free Trade Union August '80), **NSZZ 'S' SGiE** = NSZZ Solidarność Sekretariat Górnictwa i Energetyki (National Secretariat of Mine and Energy Worker's Union of NSZZ Solidarność).

affiliated to OPZZ in 1984. In 2009, there were 10 federations, each having more than 1,000 members, affiliated to OPZZ. In addition, there existed *NSZZ Solidarność Sekretariat Górnictwa i Energetyki* (NSZZ 'S' SGiE, National Secretariat of Mine and Energy Workers' Union of NSZZ Solidarność) and *Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych 'Kadra'* (PZZ 'Kadra', Polish Trade Union Alliance 'Kadra'), which emerged in 1994 through the merger of two trade unions of supervisory staff (affiliated to FZZ in 2002). An important role in the mining sector is also played by the multi-sector trade union *Wolny Związek Zawodowy Sierpień '80* (WZZ Sierpień '80, Free Trade Union August '80). Finally, there is a range of company trade unions that form smaller federations operating in the largest mining enterprises. The situation is

complicated by the fact that nine miners' trade unions affiliated to OPZZ also belong to *Konfederacja Związków Zawodowych Górników w Polsce* (KZZG, Confederation of Miners' Trade Unions in Poland), which is not a member of OPZZ. The main function of KZZG is to manage the property of one of the former socialist miners' union federations, *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Górników* (FZZG, Federation of Miners' Trade Unions).

4. Union membership and union density since 1980

Political change in Poland altered the nature of trade union membership. Although instances of being forced to join an ‘official’ trade union were exceptional under state socialism, membership was expected, in particular in large state-owned companies. The end of state socialism made trade unions entirely voluntary organisations. With regard to ‘general rights and interests’, trade unions are obliged to represent all employees, regardless of their union membership; as far as ‘individual labour relations’ are concerned, they represent the interests of their members (Article 7 of the Trade Union Act). Trade union dues can be deducted from salaries by an employer in agreement with the company-level union organisation and the employee (Article 33(1) of the Trade Union Act). As a matter of fact, this is a common practice in large companies in the public sector and in privatised enterprises. However, in some private companies trade unions are reluctant to provide a list of their members to employers. In these cases, membership fees are collected directly from union members.³⁸

In line with other state socialist countries, high union density in the People’s Republic of Poland until the 1980s reflected both the extensive functions of trade unions in distributing welfare and benefits within companies and unwritten rules that made union membership in the public sector semi-automatic for the vast majority of employees. According to data quoted by the International Directory of the Trade Union Movement, ZZZ, the only trade union confederation that was allowed to exist between 1949 and 1980, had 12,334,300 members in 1975 (Coldrick and Jones 1979). Taking into account the number of employees at this time (16,800,000), this would indicate a union density of 73 per cent of the working population. However, the estimate – based on official data – should be approached cautiously. First, the number of employees included in official statistics, on the basis of which trade union density is calculated, included also individual farmers, who were not eligible to become trade union members. If we take into account paid employees in the dominant state-controlled sector only, the level of participation in trade unions could have been as high as 90 per cent. Second, self-reported membership figures collected at the time are certainly distorted. ZZZ and the affiliated trade

38. NSZZ Solidarność requires that membership dues are deducted by the employer and transferred to the union based on a written application by the employee (union member). In exceptional cases, membership dues can be paid directly to the union. In the case of OPZZ and FZZ, there is no comparable formal rule and the decision on how membership dues are collected is left to affiliates.

union federations were interested in documenting higher membership than they actually had.³⁹

According to data announced at its first National Congress (in October 1981), NSZZ Solidarność had over 9,000,000 members (Kurczewski 2006 [1981]: 113), but ‘membership figures were also [instruments to be wielded] in the inter-regional political competition within Solidarity itself’, which means they were likely to be overestimated. According to more precise data provided by Upham (1992: 375), NSZZ Solidarność had 9,500,000 members, NSZZ Solidarność RI (Rural Solidarity) 2,350,000 members and official and autonomous trade unions 3,000,000 members (in 1981). However, after the dissolution of ZZZ estimating union membership in Poland is a difficult task, since no official statistics are collected by state institutions and a considerable number of trade unions do not have systematic membership records. Thus, we can only rely on the scattered and incomplete self-reported data of unions and the existing survey data. The most comprehensive and credible comparative survey data on the subject are provided by the *Centrum Badań Opinii Społecznej* (CBOS, Public Opinion Research Centre). Although CBOS surveys are not available for 1981, a retrospective question asked in 1984 revealed that 28 per cent of adults declared that they belonged to NSZZ Solidarność in 1980–81, 22 per cent to official unions (former ZZZ) and 3 per cent to autonomous unions (other than NSZZ Solidarność). As estimated by Wenzel (2009: 534–535), these figures translate into between 6,600,000 and 8,000,000 members of NSZZ Solidarność and approximately 5,700,000 members of branch unions that remained after the dissolution of ZZZ. The membership of official unions was probably overestimated since some members of ‘autonomous’ unions might not have been aware that their unions had broken away from ZZZ in 1980. Overall union density among the employed amounted to about 65 per cent.

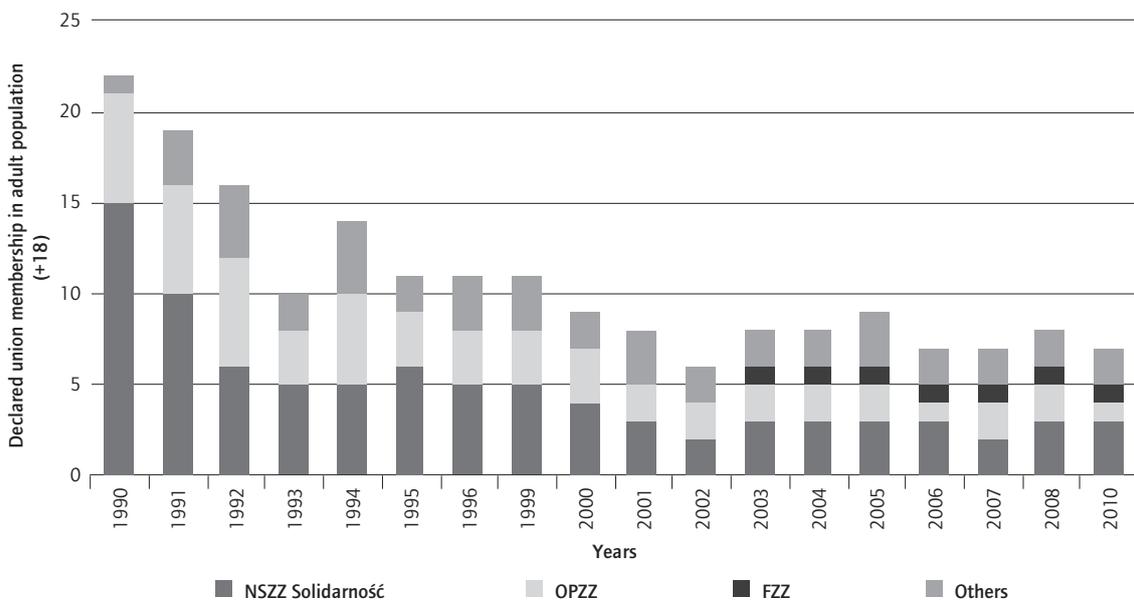
CBOS data from 1984–1989 indicate that the share of adults who were trade union members increased from 20 per cent to 24 per cent by 1987 and then began to fall (to 22 per cent in 1989).⁴⁰ The average union density for those years was 38 per cent of the employed – that is, about 6,000,000. However, actual trade union density might have been higher. It is difficult to estimate the share of interviewees who belonged to NSZZ Solidarność, but did not answer positively a general question about trade union membership. In 1985, 14 per cent of interviewees replied positively to the question about membership

39. Higher membership had a symbolic meaning and conferred practical leverage in unofficial bargaining for access to scarce resources against other actors linked to the state apparatus, including the Communist Party (PZPR), socialist youth organisations and other trade union federations. It has been documented, for instance, that manufacturing in general and heavy industry and mining, in which trade unions were most numerous, were particularly favoured in the distribution of resources. Services, trade, health care and public administration were always structurally discriminated against, however (Mach, Mayer and Pohoski 1994: 7).

40. CBOS surveys were based on a national representative sample of the adult (18+) population and not on a sample of employees (see Section 5). As these are the only comparable data available for the analysis of historical developments, we are forced to refer to the population of ‘adults’ as well, which is unusual in industrial relations research.

of ‘new unions’ (OPZZ), which would indicate that there were about 4,000,000 members of this confederation at this time. For obvious reasons, no question about membership of the illegal NSZZ Solidarność was asked. It can be assumed that that underground Solidarność might have accounted for about 6–7 per cent of adults – in other words, up to 2,000,000 people – at this time (Wenzel 2009: 536). The decrease in union density in the 1980s can be explained by the general withdrawal from public activities under martial law (1981–1983), the ongoing ban on NSZZ Solidarność and the distrust of OPZZ, which was identified by some workers as the confederation that remained largely subordinated to the Communist Party (PZPR). It should be noted that almost half of those who declared membership of OPZZ at this time were also PZPR members.

Figure 5 Declared union membership, adult population (+18), 1990–2010 (%)



Note: Data on 1997–98 are lacking (no surveys were conducted).

Source: Public Opinion Research Centre Reports (Wenzel 2009: 539).

The Polish trade union movement experienced a dramatic decline in membership after the change of system. The re-registration of NSZZ Solidarność in 1989 initially meant a sharp increase in the number of union members, however. According to CBOS data, the coverage of Solidarność affiliates grew from 7 per cent of adults (in May 1989) to 15 per cent (in November 1989 and February 1990), while membership in OPZZ decreased sharply from 15 per cent to 9 per cent of adults between May and November 1989, falling further to 6 per cent in February 1990 (Wenzel 2009: 537–540). It should be noted, however, that a declaration of Solidarność membership at this time did not necessarily mean trade union participation, but could also indicate involvement in the political activities of Solidarność-supported Civic

Committees. Furthermore, the parallel increase in declared Solidarność membership and the shrinking of OPZZ should not necessarily be interpreted as a shift between the two unions. At the time, Solidarność was attracting many new followers driven by political motives, who did not particularly care for the trade union aspect of the movement, while many members fled OPZZ in an attempt to distance themselves from the former official unions (commonly associated with the *ancien regime*) or were simply not particularly interested in belonging to any trade union.

As early as 1991 NSZZ Solidarność began to lose members rapidly (see Figure 5). According to its own internal statistics collected in December 1991, the first statistics systematically archived by the union's national committee, it had 2,246,119 members. On the basis of the CBOS survey data on union membership in the adult population, the overall number of trade union members in Poland can be estimated at about 2,000,000 people in 2008. The statistical estimates prepared by Wenzel (2009), based on CBOS data, suggested that as of 2008 there were 600,000–800,000 members of NSZZ Solidarność, about 500,000 members of unions affiliated to OPZZ,⁴¹ some 300,000 members of unions affiliated to FZZ and about 600,000 members of trade unions not affiliated to the three representative confederations (Wenzel 2009). According to the internal statistics of NSZZ Solidarność membership stood at 680,000 at the end of 2008 (see Table 5). Membership of FZZ is difficult to determine as the union did not provide us with accurate statistics. However, based on the documents issued by FZZ for its 3rd National Congress (2010) it had over 400,000 members in 2009.⁴²

Between 1987 and 2008, estimated union density in Poland fell from 38 per cent to 17 per cent of the employed (see Table 7). The deunionisation process proceeded at an uneven pace: there were periods marked by sharp decreases in union membership, followed by relatively quiet periods during which the unionisation level remained relatively steady. The initial phase of rapid membership decline took place between 1990 and 1993. The sudden shrinking of the membership base is often interpreted as a result of the working class becoming disillusioned with the reluctance of trade unions to actively articulate and represent labour's collective interests (Wenzel 2009), symbolised by the 'umbrella' held over economic reforms by Solidarność. Nevertheless, there is another explanation, according to which the fall in union membership in the 1990s was due mainly to privatisation (Gardawski *et al.* 1999). In the years that followed, however, deunionisation slowed down. In the late 1990s, declared membership remained at 11 per cent. The second wave of accelerating deunionisation began in 2000. As highlighted above, the return of Solidarność

41. Based on internal statistics provided by 36 large unions within OPZZ, the number of 500,000 members seems to be good proxy of actual membership. The unions that have provided us with their internal statistics had 435,156 active members (see 'Current Set Up').

42. Draft document 'Sprawozdanie Zarządu Głównego FZZ z działalności Forum Związków Zawodowych w latach 2006–2010', Bydgoszcz, March 2010. The same figure is quoted on the FZZ website: http://www.fzz.org.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1%3Awizytowka&catid=1%3Awizytowka&Itemid=2 [accessed on 8 May 2010].

to parliamentary politics and its rise to power (1997) are usually identified as the probable cause of accelerating deunionisation (ibid.). After the significant drop in union presence among employees on the eve of the new century, union density continues to fall, although much more slowly (see Table 7).

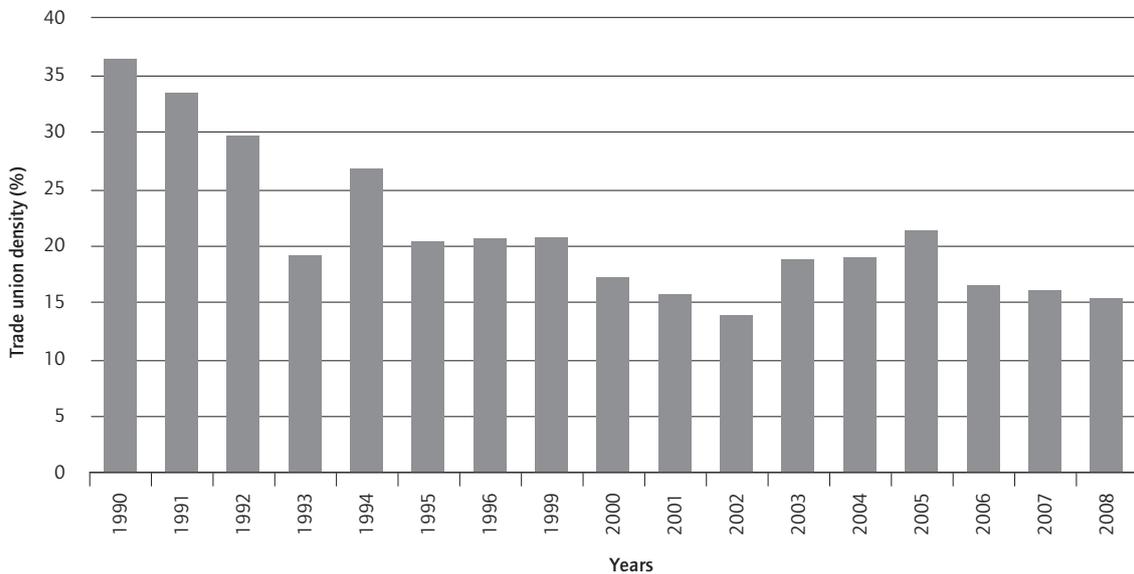
Table 7 Trade union density in Poland (survey data; %)

Year	1980	1987	1991	2000	2002	2007	2008	2010
Trade union density	65	38	28	20	18	14	16	15

Source: Wenzel (2009: 540) based on the Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS) Report. Data on 2002, 2007 and 2010 based on CBOS reports BS/55/2003; BS/21/2008, BS/109/2010. No survey data on other years are available.

Taking into account the total size of the labour force and the declared trade union membership in the adult population, it is possible to estimate trade union density for 1980–2008 (Figure 6). However, when assessing the quality of such data, one must bear in mind the limitations of the CBOS survey methodology (statistical sampling error) and the Labour Force Surveys used in Poland (see Annex 1).

Figure 6 Trade union density in Poland (%)



Note: Authors' calculations. No data for 1997–98 (no surveys were conducted).

Source: Public Opinion Research Centre Reports (Wenzel 2009: 539) for declared trade union membership in the adult population (18+) and Główny Urząd Statystyczny (GUS Central Statistical Office, www.stat.gov.pl) for size of the adult population and labour force (average for the reference years)

There are both structural and cultural-institutional reasons for the deunionisation trend. On the one hand, Polish unions suffered from the rapid expansion of economic sectors and work organisations specifically hostile to organised labour. The Polish development of ‘disorganised’ capitalism was additionally buttressed by statutory support for flexible labour,⁴³ very high unemployment (until 2005) and the importance of the grey economy, which attracted 9.4 per cent of all employed persons, according to data from 2004 (GUS 2005). On the other hand, the public sector remained a ‘union-friendly’ territory to a certain degree. Private domestic enterprises still appeared reluctant to grant organised employee representation, but private enterprises with foreign capital displayed a more encouraging attitude towards trade unions (Gardawski 2009b). Unions were reportedly present in 61 per cent of public companies, 8 per cent of private domestic enterprises and 33 per cent of private enterprises with foreign capital. The unionisation levels were 62 per cent, 8 per cent and 37 per cent, respectively (Gardawski 2009b).

In addition to structural and cultural-institutional reasons the decline in union membership was also an outcome of union strategies (Crowley and Ost 2001; Ost 2005). In the 1990s, these strategies combined inaction, cooperative support for workplace restructuring and, occasionally, discontent and contestation (Gardawski 2001: 297). In the case of OPZZ, the end of merely nominal membership after 1989 and the confederation’s wait-and-see attitude in the 1990s seemed to be two major factors that contributed to membership losses. In the case of NSZZ Solidarność, decreasing membership had more to do with involvement in market reforms, which brought about painful consequences for NSZZ Solidarność (cf. Ost 2005). NSZZ Solidarność membership decreased sharply in the first years of transformation and in 1999–2001, when trade unions assumed co-responsibility for four large political reforms.⁴⁴ Since the beginning of 2000, however, membership of all three confederations has stabilised. As documented by qualitative research (Gardawski 2001; Meardi 2007; Mrozowicki *et al.* 2009), trade union organising had its first success in terms of membership growth in some sectors (large retail stores, security services and the automotive sector). However, due to the novelty of union strategies aimed at recruiting new members, their effects are still difficult to evaluate.

Given the incompleteness of self-reported data from the unions, it is also extremely difficult to be precise about changes in the membership of union federations associated with OPZZ and FZZ and the development of the

43. Poland is top of the EU rankings in terms of the share of employees with fixed-term contracts out of total employees (27.3 per cent in 2010, Eurostat data). Fixed-term employees have proved to be very difficult to unionise. An even more difficult task is to organise workers employed under the provisions of specific-task agreements and fee-for-task agreements. As they are not considered ‘employees’ under Polish labour law, they cannot be trade union members. The Polish Ministry of Finance estimated in 2011 that there were around 800,000 people (mostly young workers) who worked permanently and exclusively under such contracts.

44. Reform of public administration, education, health care and pensions, aimed, among other things, at improving the quality of public services by partial marketisation and commercialisation.

membership of non-affiliated unions. Nevertheless, one tendency is particularly notable. In terms of membership growth, we can observe relative success on the part of some trade union federations and supracompany unitary unions based on the representation of narrow, occupational interests. The emergence of these organisations in the 1990s reflected a growing disappointment with large, politically embedded trade union confederations, in which the interests of narrower occupational groups could not be adequately heard. Good examples are PZZ Kadra, which associates supervisory workers in heavy industry (mainly in mining) and the Nationwide Union of Nurses and Midwives (OZZPiP). Established in 1996, OZZPiP's membership increased in the wake of militant protest actions against the low pay and deteriorating working conditions of nurses and midwives. Another example of a successful trade union focus on single occupations (although extending its potential membership to others) is the largest affiliate of OPZZ, the Polish Teachers' Union, ZNP (255,167 members in 2008). In general, new and reformed trade unions representing narrow occupational interests have managed much better in terms of membership in the public sector than in the private sector. However, it should be remembered that many of them were created by breaking away from existing larger union federations and confederations. As a result, overall union density did not increase.

As far as the socio-demographic characteristics of Polish unionists are concerned, representative sociological research and survey data allow us to note some changes in the composition of the union movement in terms of gender, age, education and occupation (Gardawski *et al.* 1999; Wenzel 2009). Until the late 1990s, the share of men in the trade union movement was much higher than that of women. However, the deteriorating position of women after 1989, their growing aspirations and the outflow of male craftsmen from unions opened the way for the emergence of a new wave of women unionists (Hardy *et al.* 2008; Stenning and Hardy 2005). In the CBOS survey conducted in 1991, 23 per cent of men and 15 per cent of women declared that they were trade union members. In contrast, in 2007 the share of men and women in trade unions was almost even: of the 15 per cent of employees belonging to unions, 8 per cent were male and 7 per cent female.⁴⁵

Despite women's grassroots union activism (Stenning and Hardy 2005; Mrozowicki *et al.* 2009), the leadership of the main trade union confederations is still predominantly male. In NSZZ Solidarność, there are six women among 99 members of the National Committee and one woman in the six-person Presidium of the National Committee (as of 2010). OPZZ and FZZ are slightly more 'feminised'. One reason for this is the presence of two large trade unions with high female membership: *Związek Zawodowy Pielęgniarek i Położnych* (OZZPiP, Trade Union of Nurses and Midwives, affiliated to FZZ) and *Związek Nauczycielstwa Polskiego* (ZNP, Polish Teachers' Union). In OPZZ, there are 21 women among the 94 members of the National Council and a woman deputy

45. Survey results confirm that 49 per cent of trade union members were female in 2007 (Gardawski 2009b).

president (in 2010). In FZZ, there are two women in the 12-person union Presidium, 13 women in the 70-person Union Council and a woman deputy president.

During the initial period of 1980–81, NSZZ Solidarność recruited much younger workers than the ‘official’ trade unions (former ZZZ), which in turn had twice as many pensioners. Although the generational division between NSZZ Solidarność and OPZZ persisted into the 1990s (Gardawski *et al.*, 1999; Wenzel 2009), it is less visible today. CBOS survey data suggest that Polish trade union confederations are best represented among middle-aged employees. Young people very rarely join trade unions. In 1991, 5 per cent of adults aged 18–24 and 19 per cent aged 25–34 declared that they were trade union members. In 2007, the share of unionists among interviewees aged 25–34 dropped to 11 per cent, and in the same edition of the survey no single younger interviewee stated that he or she belonged to a union (Wenzel 2007). In 2007, the average union member was 43 years old (Gardawski 2009b). Of the three national confederations, OPZZ emerged as the ‘oldest’ (average member aged 49), FZZ was shown to recruit relatively younger employees (the age of average member amounted to 40), while Solidarność ranked in between, with an average age of 43. However, a survey carried out two years later (2009) on a large sample of nearly 30,000 produced slightly different results in terms of the age of union members: OPZZ was still the ‘oldest’ confederation (average age of 46), followed by Solidarność (45 years), while ‘other’ unions averaged 47 years of age (FZZ was not mentioned) (Kucharski 2009). The share of pensioners who declared their membership of trade unions declined from 10 per cent in 1987 to 2 per cent in 2007 (CBOS data; Wenzel 2007, 2009). Since all large trade unions allow pensioners to keep their membership after retirement, this drop should be accounted for by voluntary withdrawal.⁴⁶ The unemployed are very rarely trade union members in Poland: the trade union leaders interviewed for this study claimed that the latter represent only a tiny fraction of union members. As most trade union activities are focused on the workplace level, the unemployed have little incentive to become or to remain union members.

During the past two decades, changes in the occupational profile of unionised employees have also been observed. In the mid-1980s, according to the CBOS survey of 1987, the most unionised categories were mid-ranking white-collar workers (46 per cent) and blue-collar workers (40 per cent). Lower unionisation was noted among semi-skilled workers in services (33 per cent) and engineers and managers (29 per cent). Blue-collar workers were twice as likely to join NSZZ Solidarność as ‘official’ trade unions (according to a retrospective question asked in the CBOS survey in 1984). According to the CBOS data of 1991 (Wenzel 2009), NSZZ Solidarność had almost three times more members among skilled blue-collar workers and more members among

46. Discovering the specific reasons for pensioners’ withdrawal would require another empirical study, trade unions’ lack of financial resources and thus their shrinking services for pensioners have certainly played a part.

semi-skilled workers in services than OPZZ. OPZZ, in turn, had more members than NSZZ Solidarność among mid-ranking managers and professionals. This general difference between NSZZ Solidarność and OPZZ still persists (Gardawski 2009b; Wenzel 2007). NSZZ Solidarność is generally stronger among blue-collar workers; it also has more members than OPZZ among those with a basic vocational education. The new confederation, FZZ, resembles OPZZ in terms of its membership base. It is best represented among professionals and low-ranking managers employed in health care and administration.

The population of union members in Poland in 2007 was dominated by low-ranking specialists and managers (28 per cent) and professionals with university degrees, such as teachers and engineers (22 per cent) (Gardawski 2009b). Only about 20 per cent of union members were skilled blue-collar workers and foremen, and even fewer (11 per cent) were unskilled workers. Present-day Polish trade unions cannot be categorised merely as a bastion of the traditional working class. The most unionised sector in Poland is education, in which trade unions exist in more than 90 per cent of workplaces. Unsurprisingly, the second place is occupied by mining (75 per cent of workplaces unionised). The least unionised sectors are commerce and retail, financial services, hotels and construction, as well as small craft companies, in which trade unions exist in fewer than 15 per cent of firms. In some parts of the Polish economy – in particular, services – trade unions are either not present or they are so weak that 20–30 per cent of employees are not even sure whether unions exist or not in their companies (Gardawski 2009b: 553).

At the beginning of the new millennium, the dramatic loss of members and very weak unionisation in the private sector convinced the majority of Polish trade unions that increasing membership should become one of their core priorities.⁴⁷ By the end of the 1990s, NSZZ Solidarność, supported by American unionists from the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (ALF-CIO) and the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) established the *Dział Rozwoju Związku* (DRZ, Union Development Office), while OPZZ founded *Konfederacja Pracy* (KP, Confederation of Labour), with the explicit aim of organising non-unionised workers (Gardawski 2001; Mrozowicki *et al.* 2010). Both initiatives initially encountered strong internal opposition. *Konfederacja Pracy* was even forced to accept the status of one of 89 union federations within OPZZ instead of being recognised as an internal inter-branch structure of the confederation (as in the case of DRZ in Solidarność). Even though the first outcomes of the new trade union strategies are already visible, their implementation is complex and demanding, not only because employers have to agree, but also because of the attitudes of employees, who frequently prove difficult to get on board (Czarzasty 2010, Ostrowski 2009).⁴⁸

47. Low membership was especially visible in 'genuine' private enterprises, unlike privatised former state-owned companies, where unions managed to maintain a more solid presence.

48. Successful trade union organising took place, among others, in multinational companies in sectors such as retail, automobiles, security and financial services.

5. Conclusion

Polish trade unions have long been the largest voluntary interest associations in the country. Their positive role in Poland's democratic changes is indisputable. In the 1990s, the unions committed themselves to bloodless political transformation and to secure trade union influence over economic restructuring. In the 2000s, their support for economic and industrial democracy was further confirmed by their promotion of social dialogue and their gradual expansion to the new sectors of the economy, including large multinational enterprises. However, the major Polish trade union confederations – NSZZ Solidarność and OPZZ – have paid a high price for their involvement in party politics and their inability to deal with the diverse interests and life strategies of the various sections of the Polish working class. The post-1989 transformation awoke the 'old spectres' of the Polish labour movement, including its fragmentation, limited sectoral integration, trade union rivalry and the lack of a clear political vision with regard to the trade unions' role in co-shaping labour market and industrial policies in the new Poland. The decline in trade union membership and the loss of their collective strength were an inevitable result of this.

Recent (2010–11) instances of interunion cooperation between FZZ, OPZZ and NSZZ Solidarność, trade union organising campaigns and increasing links between the Polish trade union confederations and the European labour movement are just a few examples indicating that the trade unions are not prisoners of the past. Nevertheless, Polish trade unions face many challenges which they must address if they are to represent employees effectively. In order to survive, they need to reverse or at least halt membership decline. The data collected for the purpose of this study show that the investments made in trade union organising in multinational companies, undertaken by, among others, NSZZ Solidarność, might be insufficient to attain this goal. Substantial sections of the labour force remain employed in very small companies and in employment relations (fixed-term and specific-task contracts) that make trade union access very difficult. In order to affect the working conditions of such workers and to revive their trust in trade unions, the latter have to secure their role in economic policy- and law-making. They can do so only by retaining and expanding their capacity to collectively mobilise workers, by overcoming the historical legacy of fragmentation and by reinventing themselves as political, civil society and economic actors all at the same time (Hyman 2001). In this respect, it remains to be seen to what extent the most recent instances of interunion cooperation – during the economic crisis – are harbingers of a new 'posttransitional' era of Polish unionism.

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Glossary

AWS	<i>Akcja Wyborcza ‘Solidarność’</i> (‘Solidarity’ Electoral Action)
BCC	Business Centre Club
CBOS	<i>Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej</i> (Public Opinion Research Centre).
ChZZ RP	<i>Chrześcijańskie Zjednoczenie Zawodowe RP</i> (Christian Trade Union of the Polish Republic)
CKKZZ	<i>Centralna Komisja Klasowych Związków Zawodowych</i> (Central Committee of Class Trade Unions)
CRZZ	<i>Centralna Rada Związków Zawodowych</i> (Central Council of Trade Unions)
CZKZZ	<i>Centralne Zrzeszenie Klasowych Związków Zawodowych</i> (Central Association of Class Trade Unions)
CZZP	<i>Centralny Związek Zawodowy Polski</i> (Central Polish Trade Union)
EU	European Union
ETUC	European Trade Union Confederation
EWC	European Works Councils
FZZ	<i>Forum Związków Zawodowych</i> (Trade Union Forum)
GFP	<i>Generalna Federacja Pracy</i> (General Federation of Labour)
GUS	<i>Główny Urząd Statystyczny</i> (Central Statistical Office)
ILO	International Labour Organization
ITUC	International Trade Union Confederation
KPP	<i>Konfederacja Pracodawców Polskich</i> (Confederation of Polish Employers)
NSZZ	<i>Niezależny Samorządny Związek Zawodowy</i> (Independent Self-governing Trade Union)
OPZZ	<i>Ogólnopolskie Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych</i> (All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions)
PiS	<i>Prawo i Sprawiedliwość</i> (Law and Justice)
PKPP ‘Lewiatan’	<i>Polska Konfederacja Pracodawców Prywatnych ‘Lewiatan’</i> (Polish Confederation of Private Employers ‘Lewiatan’)
PO	Platforma Obywatelska (Civic Platform)
Pracodawcy RP	<i>Pracodawcy RP</i> (Employers of Poland) – formerly (until June 2010) known as <i>Konfederacja Pracodawców Polskich</i> (Confederation of Polish Employers)
PZPR	<i>Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza</i> (Polish United Workers’ Party)
SLD	<i>Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej</i> (Democratic Left Alliance)
WZZ	<i>Wolne Związki Zawodowe</i> (Free Trade Unions)
WZZ Sierpień’80	<i>Wolny Związek Zawodowy Sierpień ’80</i> (Free Trade Union August ’80)
ZIRZ	<i>Związek Izb Rzemieślniczych</i> (Association of Craft Chambers)
ZNP	<i>Związek Nauczycielstwa Polskiego</i> (Polish Teachers’ Union)
ZRP	<i>Związek Rzemiosła Polskiego</i> (Polish Craft Association)
ZSZ	<i>Związek Stowarzyszeń Zawodowych</i> (Union of Trade Associations)
ZZG	<i>Związek Zawodowy Górników</i> (Trade Union of Miners)
ZZP	<i>Zjednoczenie Zawodowe Polskie</i> (Polish Trade Union)
ZZZ	<i>Zrzeszenie Związków Zawodowych</i> (Association of Trade Unions)
ZZZ	<i>Związek Związków Zawodowych</i> (Union of Trade Unions)

Annex 1: Sources for union membership and labour force data

Modern Polish industrial relations have been covered systematically in literature published in English since the beginning of the 1990s (Crowley and Ost 2001; Bohle and Greskovits 2006; Iankova 2002; Kramer 1995; Kulpińska *et al.* 1994; Mailand and Due 2004; Pollert 1999). Trade union structures and industrial relations have also been mapped in Polish literature (Sroka 2000, 2007; Kozek 2003; Kulpińska 1998; Gardawski 2001, 2009a, 2009b). Information on the historical development of the Polish union movement is generally less accessible for English-speaking readers. The noteworthy exceptions to this general trend are country-specific chapters on the genesis and early history of Polish unionism (Rojahn 1990), Christian trade unions (Novichenko 2005) and trade unions in state socialist Poland (Pravda 1986). Facts on historical union structures can also be found in trade union registers prepared by Coldrick and Jones (1979) and Upham (1992). There is an extensive body of literature concerning NSZZ Solidarność available worldwide (for example, Kubik 1994; Kurczewski 2006; Ost 2005; Touraine *et al.*, 1983; Wenzel 1998).

Survey research on the socio-demographic composition of Polish trade unions includes, among others, the work of Gardawski's team at Warsaw School of Economics (SGH), Economic Sociology Research Unit (Gardawski 1999, 2009) and regular reports by the Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS, <http://www.cbos.pl>). In addition, there is a range of sociological research on particular topics related to trade unionism broadly understood, including comparative studies of Polish and Western European unionism (Meardi 2000), industrial conflicts (Ekiert and Kubik 2001; Wenzel and Kauppinen 2005), trade union renewal (Gardawski 2001; Meardi 2007; Ost 2006; Mrozowicki *et al.* 2010; Ostrowski 2009; Czarzasty 2010) and women in trade unions (Hardy *et al.* 2008; Stenning and Hardy 2005). Post-EU accession developments in working conditions and industrial relations were thoroughly investigated by Gardawski (2009) and his team. Current developments in Polish industrial relations are also monitored by the European Industrial Relations Observatory (EIRO) and the new service of the European Trade Union Institute (<http://www.worker-participation.eu>).

Labour force data on Poland are accessible in Statistical Yearbooks and other publications of the *Główny Urząd Statystyczny* (GUS Central Statistical Office, www.stat.gov.pl), the national statistical agency responsible for collecting and publishing statistics on Poland's economy, population and society. GUS statistics can be considered the most reliable source of information on the labour force. According to the methodological principles followed, the dependent labour force (also referred to as hired employees) consists of those employed fixed-time (seasonal and temporary employees included) and non-fixed-time, full-time and part-time, paid employees in agriculture, and non-active teachers and teachers on sick-leave. The dependent labour force is calculated on the basis of four main (although irregular) sources: (1)

continuous statistical self-reporting by enterprises and economic entities in the public sector (*sfera budżetowa*); (2) Labour Force Surveys (BAEL) carried out since 1992 on a representative sample of households, (3) the National Census and (4) the Agricultural Census.

Various sources employed by GUS in course of collecting labour force statistics generate specific problems concerning comparability of data over the years. A number of categories left out of statistics in the state-socialist era reappeared after 1989. In the 1980s, data on the public sector did not include: (1) those employed in agricultural associations, (2) those employed as agents, (3) outworkers and (4) freelancers. Until 1990, labour force data excluded budgetary entities within the scope of national defence and public safety. Since 2000, data have included soldiers on extended mandatory military service (GUS Statistical Yearbook, Warsaw 2008: 40–41). Furthermore, Labour Force Surveys (BAEL), which currently serve as the main source of information about the labour force, commenced as late as 1992. The earlier data were calculated on the basis of: (1) direct reporting of companies in the state sector, (2) estimates in agriculture and (3) self-reporting and the reports of tax offices in the vestigial private sector. Moreover, statistical generalisations from BAEL are not fully comparable for the whole period of reference (1992–2008) since they were based on the National Census conducted in 1988 for estimates up until 2002 and the National Census for the post-2002 period.

There are no official statistics on trade union membership available in Poland and trade unions are not obliged by law to report their membership to state institutions. The only exceptions stem from the procedures concerning the recognition of social partners as representative at the national level (eligibility for participation in the Tripartite Commission), which require trade union confederations to report their membership to the regional court in Warsaw every four years (since 2003). Trade unions have to register in the regional courts in voivodships (company-level union organisations) and in Warsaw (in the case of national level union federations). However, they do not need to provide their membership figures during registration, as courts expect only statements to be supplied. Furthermore, they are not obliged to de-register when they cease to exist. Consequently, the calculation of the actual number of trade unions in Poland based on their court registration does not seem possible. The Central Statistical Office (GUS) does not collect union membership data either. Statistical data on works councils have been published by *Ministerstwo Pracy i Polityki Społecznej* (MPiPS, the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy) only since 2009. However, these data do not include the results of elections to works councils that can be used to estimate the distribution of union members among confederations. Moreover, under currently binding legislation trade unions no longer enjoy the right to appoint works councils, which must be elected.

The most reliable secondary comparative data on union membership are provided by the Public Opinion Research Centre (*Centrum Badań Opinii Społecznej*, CBOS). In its nationwide representative surveys, conducted since 1984, CBOS asks Poles about their trade union membership. The statistical

error of the sample in this kind of research is 3 per cent. The data have some limitations, however. Since CBOS surveys have always been based on a national sample of the adult (18+) population, data on the socio-demographic composition of trade unions should be treated with caution. Due to the membership losses of trade unions in the period of transformation, the share of unionists in the sample became too small to draw meaningful statistical inferences, including disaggregated data. As a result, the socio-demographic composition of trade unions can only be roughly estimated. For the same reasons, changes in membership of FZZ, which is the smallest of the three main confederations, are difficult to estimate as they fluctuate around a tiny 1 per cent of the sample of 'adults'.

On the other hand, CBOS surveys seem to be the only available source of data on the share of women, pensioners and various occupational categories in trade unions, since internal union statistics rarely include information on the characteristics of their members. In addition: (1) declared trade union membership before 13 December 1981 (when martial law was proclaimed) can be estimated only on the basis of a retrospective question asked in October 1984, (2) for political reasons no questions about membership of *Solidarność* were asked between 1984 and 1988, which make this part of the data potentially incomplete and flawed and (3) no surveys were conducted in 1997 and 1998.

When examining primary and secondary trade union membership data we should remember that some categories of Polish citizens cannot belong to trade unions under current legislation. They include: (1) judges, (2) members of the National Broadcasting Council, (3) the Commissioner for Civil Rights Protection (ombudsman), (4) the Chair of the Supreme Chamber of Control and (5) the President of the National Bank of Poland. Other legislative acts state, in addition, that civil servants in state administration, professional soldiers and functionaries of the *Agencja Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego* (Office for State Protection) are ineligible for trade union membership. There are also specific categories of persons active in the labour market that do not enjoy the right to establish trade unions but are eligible to join existing union organisations.⁴⁹ In the case of police officers, border guards, prison guards and the State Fire Service, as well as employees of the Supreme Chamber of Control there are special regulations concerning trade union membership (Article 2, point 6 of the 1991 Trade Unions Act).⁵⁰

The primary data on trade union membership were collected from NSZZ *Solidarność*, affiliates of OPZZ and FZZ whose membership exceeded 1,000 and selected trade unions that were not members of the three main

49. Employees who belong to this category include: (a) persons employed in the outwork system (in Polish, *praca nakładcza*, a type of work done from home) can join trade unions in the company for which they perform their outwork tasks; (b) teleworkers, who can participate in trade unions on a similar basis; (c) the unemployed and pensioners (disability pension recipients included) are allowed to join existing union organisations.

50. Restrictions apply to police officers and border guards, limiting the number of unions, representing employees at the company level to one, and depriving those categories of

confederations. Due to the extremely high number of trade unions in Poland, the collection of primary data proved to be difficult. At the confederation level, annual membership statistics were provided only by NSZZ Solidarność. At the company level, the minority of union leaders openly denied us access to their membership statistics. However, they often claimed to have no systematic statistics at all or to have them scattered among various documents which are impossible to gather. As a matter of fact, very few trade unions archived membership figures from the 1990s and they could offer us only those that which referred to the past 5–10 years. In some cases, we managed to collect only the current data and in a very limited number of cases trade union leaders did not want to provide us with any information on membership. Unfortunately, this was also the case for two major confederations, FZZ and OPZZ, on which, despite many months of email exchanges and negotiations, we did not manage to collect primary membership statistics. OPZZ's central authorities do not have a uniform policy governing calculations of membership fees, thus a variety of formulas is applied and no membership figures can be derived based on this source. All in all, we collected primary membership figures on NSZZ Solidarność and 51 trade union federations, including 36 unions belonging to OPZZ, 12 unions affiliated to FZZ and three independent trade unions. As the estimated number of union members in Poland is around 2,000,000 (Wenzel 2009), it can be assumed that our statistics cover around 65 per cent of union membership in the country.

In the majority of cases where we did manage to collect primary data they concerned general overall membership, sometimes divided into active union members and passive union members (mostly pensioners). Data on pensioners were usually much less precise than data on active union members. Since pensioners do not pay regular membership dues and they are not eligible to vote in trade union elections, trade union leaders emphasised that there was limited need to gather systematic data on their union affiliation. None of the trade unions studied, NSZZ Solidarność included, collect data on the membership of the unemployed. Detailed statistics on membership share in industry, in private services and in the public sector are not gathered and archived either. Except for NSZZ Solidarność, the share of women is based on the estimates of union leaders, as no systematic statistics on female membership are collected by trade unions.

employees of the right to strike (Article 67 point 2 of the Act on the Police and Article 72 point 2 of the Act on Border Guards). Prison guards are organised in the Trade Union of Prison Guards; there can be only one trade union in the workplace with no right to strike (Article 14, point 2 of the Act on Prison Guards). Firemen are covered by all regulations of the Trade Union Act, except that on-call firemen cannot perform any function in trade unions and are not protected by law (Article 57, point 2 of the Act on the State Fire Service). The employees of the Supreme Chamber of Control (audit institution), except for the president, vice-president, general director and deputy directors, and advisors of the president, can belong to a trade union associating only the employees of the Supreme Chamber of Control. Only one is permitted to operate in the Supreme Chamber of Control (Article 86 of the Act on the Supreme Chamber of Control).

Annex 2: Important political and industrial relations events

Political developments and labour relations

1795	Final partition of the country among Russia, Prussia and Habsburg Austria
1918	Poland regains national independence; the ‘Second Republic of Poland’
1918	46 hour working week introduced, followed by paid holidays (1922)
1919	Compulsory insurance system for sickness and maternity leave
1921	Right to strike introduced
1923	General strike of railway workers
1926	May Coup d’État by J. Piłsudski, beginning of authoritarian drift in Poland
1932	General strike against the limitations of pro-social legislation
1933	Labour Fund to fight unemployment established
1936	General strike against the authoritarian government
1937	National strike by peasants, 46 killed
1939	Outbreak of Second World War and beginning of German occupation
1944	Lublin government, the beginning of the state socialist period
1948–54	Stalinist period in the Polish People’s Republic
1949	Trade Union Act, the creation of the Central Council of Trade Unions (CRZZ)
June 1956	Working class uprising in Poznań, changes in PZPR apparatus, moderate liberalisation under the rule of W. Gomułka as the first secretary of PZPR
March 1968	‘Polish March’, student protests
December 1970	Working class uprising on the Baltic Coast, 44 people killed; E. Gierek replaces W. Gomułka as the leader of PZPR, the beginning of ‘prosperity on credit’
1974	New Labour Code – still in force, with amendments (the most important in 1998)
June 1976	Workers’ uprising in Radom, Ursus, Stalowa Wola – the emergence of the Committee for the Defence of Workers (KOR)
June–August 1980	Wave of strikes; 16 August 1980 – inter-factory strike committee (MKS) formed in Gdańsk, the emergence of NSZZ Solidarność
31 August 1980	‘August Accords’ with government granting the right of workers to form free unions
15 September 1980	Registration of NSZZ ‘Solidarność’

1 January 1981	Dissolution of the Central Council of Trade Unions (CRZZ)
17 April 1981	Registration of NSZZ Solidarność Rolników Indywidualnych (Rural Solidarity)
September 1981	Law on workers' self-management in state-owned enterprises
13 December 1981	Introduction of martial law, trade unions banned
October 1982	New Trade Union Act as the basis for establishing 'reformed' trade unions
December 1982	Martial law suspended (lifted in July 1983)
November 1984	Trade union congress in Bytom, establishing OPZZ
November 1987	Government referendum on government proposal for economic reforms
April 1989	Relegalisation of NSZZ Solidarność
4 June 1989	First free elections in Poland won by anti-communist opposition, 'contractual parliament' – the beginning of the 'Third' Republic of Poland (III RP)
1990	Plan for macroeconomic stabilisation comes into force ('shock therapy')
December 1990	Lech Wałęsa becomes the first freely elected president of Poland since 1945
May 1991	Act on Trade Unions, Act on Resolving Collective Disputes and Act on Employers' Associations
December 1991	First fully free parliamentary elections won by the post-Solidarność parties
1992	NSZZ Solidarność holds strikes against economic policy of government
February 1993	'Pact on State-Owned Enterprises in the Restructuring Process' signed separately by NSZZ 'Solidarność', OPZZ and seven branch unions
September 1993	Parliamentary elections won by the post-communist Democratic Left Alliance (SLD)
1994	Tripartite Commission on Socio-Economic Affairs established
December 1995	Election of Aleksander Kwaśniewski (SLD) as President of Poland
April 1997	New constitution of the Republic of Poland
September 1997	Parliamentary elections won by Solidarność Electoral Action (AWS)
January 1999	Four grand reforms of administration, education, health care and pensions
October 2000	Re-election of Aleksander Kwaśniewski as President of Poland
July 2001	Act on Tripartite Commission on Socio-Economic Affairs
September 2001	Parliamentary elections won by left-wing coalition of SLD-Labour Union (UP)
January 2002	Registration of Forum Związków Zawodowych (FZZ, the Trade Union Forum)

April 2002	Implementation of EU Directive 94/45 on European Work Councils
November 2002	A revised and more flexible Labour Code comes into force in Poland
November 2003	First joint protest and demonstration by OPZZ, NSZZ Solidarność and FZZ
1 May 2004	Poland becomes a member of the European Union
September 2005	NSZZ Solidarność officially supports Lech Kaczyński in presidential elections
September 2005	Parliamentary elections won by Law and Justice (PiS)
December 2005	Lech Kaczyński (PiS) sworn in as President of Poland
June 2006	Implementation of the EC directive 2002/14 establishing works councils
21 October 2007	Early parliamentary elections won by liberal-conservative Civic Platform
November 2008	Joint protests of Solidarność, OPZZ and FZZ against the pension reform
June 2009	Government accepts (with amendments) the anti-crisis package submitted by social partners
July 2010	Early presidential elections as a result of the death of Lech Kaczyński (PiS) in a plane crash in April 2010. The winner is Bronisław Komorowski (PO).
October 2011	Parliamentary elections won by the Civic Platform

Party formation

1892	Polska Partia Socjalistyczna (PPS, Polish Socialist Party)
1900	Socjaldemokracja Królestwa Polskiego i Litwy (SDKPiL, Social-Democracy of Poland and Lithuania)
1918	Komunistyczna Partia Polski (KPP, Communist Party of Poland; illegal from 1919)
1919	Polskie Stronnictwo Chrześcijańskiej Demokracji (Polish Christian-Democratic Party)
1928	Stronnictwo Narodowe (National Party)
1948	Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza (PZPR, Polish United Workers' Party) created out of Polska Partia Robotnicza (Polish Workers' Party, PPR) and (purged) PPS
1990	Self-dissolution of PZPR; Socjaldemokracja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej established on its basis (SdRP, the Social Democratic Party of the Polish Republic)
1990	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL, Polish People's Party)
1990	Unia Demokratyczna (Democratic Union), in 1994 transformed into Unia Wolności (UW, Freedom Union), and then into Partia Demokratyczna (Democratic Party)
1991	Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD, Democratic Left Alliance) established as electoral coalition; in 1999 it was transformed into a separate political party

- 1992** Samoobrona Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (Self-Defence of the Republic of Poland)
- 1996** Akcja Wyborcza ‘Solidarność’ (AWS, Solidarność Electoral Action; existed until 2001)
- 2001** Platforma Obywatelska (PO, Civic Platform)
- 2001** Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS, Law and Justice)

Employer organisations

- 1919** Centralny Związek Polskiego Przemysłu, Górnictwa, Handlu i Finansów (Central Union of Polish Industry, Mining, Trade and Finance ‘Lewiatan’)
- 1933** Związek Izb Rzemieślniczych (ZIR, Association of Craft Chambers)
- 1989** Konfederacja Pracodawców Polskich (KPP, Confederation of Polish Employers)
- 1989** Związek Rzemiosła Polskiego (ZRP, Polish Craft Association, recreated on the basis of the Central Craft Association that was the successor of ZIR in state socialist Poland)
- 1991** Business Centre Club – Związek Pracodawców (BCC – Association of Employers)
- 1999** Polska Konfederacja Pracodawców Prywatnych ‘Lewiatan’ (PKPP Lewiatan, Polish Confederation of Private Employers ‘Lewiatan’)
- 2010** Pracodawcy RP (Employers of Poland) – name changed from Konfederacja Pracodawców Polskich (KPP, Confederation of Polish Employers)

Union movements

- 1889** Związek Wzajemnej Pomocy Chrześcijańskich Robotników Górnośląskich (Upper Silesian Christian Workers’ Mutual Aid Association, considered the first trade union of Polish workers)
- 1912** Zjednoczenie Zawodowe Polskie (Polish Trade Association) – pre-war Christian confederation
- 1919** Centralna Komisja Klasowych Związków Zawodowych (CKKZZ, Central Committee of Class Trade Unions), socialist confederation
- 1928** Generalna Federacja Pracy (General Federation of Labour), syndicalist confederation
- 1931** Związek Związków Zawodowych (Union of Trade Unions), initially pro-government union confederation, after 1937 in opposition
- 1949** Centralna Rada Związków Zawodowych (CRZZ, Central Council of Trade Unions) assumes leadership of ‘official’ trade union confederation, Zrzeszenie Związków Zawodowych (ZZZ, Association of Trade Unions)
- 1980** Niezależny Samorządny Związek Zawodowy Solidarność (NSZZ Solidarność, Free Self-governing Trade Union Solidarność)
- 1981** Dissolution of CRZZ

- 1981** NSZZ Solidarność Rolników Indywidualnych (Free Self-governing Trade Union Solidarność of Individual Farmers)
- 1981** Suspension of the legal trade union activity, martial law
- 1984** Ogólnopolskie Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych (OPZZ, All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions)
- 1989** NSZZ Solidarność and NSZZ Solidarność RI re-established
- 2002** Forum Związków Zawodowych (FZZ, Trade Union Forum)

Annex 3: Types of trade union structure in Poland

Trade union type (Polish term)	Description
Company-level trade union organisation (<i>Zakładowa organizacja związkowa</i>)	Basic trade union organisation covering one enterprise of one employer
Departmental trade union organisation (<i>Oddziałowa organizacja związkowa</i>)	Lower-level trade union structure within a (usually nationwide) company-level trade union
Supracompany trade union/nationwide trade union (<i>Ponadzakładowy związek zawodowy / ogólnokrajowy związek zawodowy</i>)	Trade union covering more than one employer – unitary trade unions, inter-company trade unions, federations and confederations. Supracompany trade unions are synonymous with nationwide trade unions. They can be single-sector or multi-sector trade unions
Unitary trade union (<i>Jednolity związek zawodowy</i>)	Supracompany trade union in which company-level union organisations do not have a separate legal status. The unitary union is considered a single legal entity on Polish territory. It encompasses company-level unions with the same statute and name
Inter-company trade union organisation (<i>Międzyzakładowa organizacja związkowa</i>)	Trade union organisation which covers at least two enterprises belonging to two different employers
Trade union federation (<i>Federacja związków zawodowych</i>)	Supracompany (nationwide) trade union which associates company-level trade unions
Trade union confederation (<i>Konfederacja związków zawodowych</i>)	Supracompany (nationwide) trade union which associates company-level trade unions and trade union federations

Annex 4: Current union set-up (as of 2010)

The annex is limited to the confederations or union-centres and trade unions active in 2010. They are sorted in alphabetical order.

Symbols used: ~ = circa; ° = expert estimate; [] = no longer valid.

List of confederations

- (1) FZZ Forum Związków Zawodowych (Trade Union Forum)

History: founded in 2002. Affiliates: 86 unions (2011).
Members: °400,000 (2010). Website: www.fzz.org.pl
- (2) NSZZ Niezależny Samorządny Związek Zawodowy ‘Solidarność’
‘Solidarność’ (Independent Self-Governing Trade Union ‘Solidarity’)

History: founded in 1980. Affiliates: 8,292 company
union organisations, 34 regions and 15 branch
secretariats (2010). Members: 648,868 (as of June 2010);
Women: 37% (2008). Website: www.solidarnosc.org.pl
- (3) OPZZ Ogólnopolskie Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych
(All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions)

History: founded in 1984. Affiliates: 79 supracompany
and company unions (2011). Members: °318,000 (2008);
48% women (2006).⁵¹ Website: www.opzz.org.pl

List of major national and company unions

The union list includes all branch secretariats of NSZZ Solidarność and those affiliates of OPZZ and FZZ with more than 1,000 members in 2009. In the case of branch secretariats of NSZZ Solidarność, the total number of members is lower than membership of NSZZ Solidarność as membership of secretariats is not obligatory.

(1) FZZ affiliates

FZZ MK *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Maszynistów Kolejowych* (Locomotive Drivers’ Trade Union Federation)
Type: all-grade single-sector union (federation). Domain: all

- grades in public sector;⁵² railway transportation; companies established on the basis of Polish Railways (PKP); mostly locomotive drivers but also ticket inspectors. History: founded as a breakaway union from Związek Zawodowy Maszynistów Kolejowych w Polsce (Locomotive Drivers' Trade Union in Poland) in 1997; affiliated to FZZ since 2005. Members: 2,500 (2009). Women: °2%. Website: www.fzzmk.pl
- FZZ PPKP** *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Pracowników PKP* (Federation of Trade Unions of the Employees of Polish State Railways)
Type: all-grade multi-sector union (federation). Domain: all grades in public sector, railways and related branches. History: founded in 1983; affiliated to OPZZ from 1983 to 1991, autonomous from 1991 to 2002 and affiliated to FZZ since 2002. Membership unknown. No website.
- KWZZ PGWiOŚ** *Krajowy Wolny Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Gospodarki Wodnej i Ochrony Środowiska* (National Free Trade Union of Employees in Water Management and Environmental Protection Industries)
Type: all-grade multi-sector union. Domain: all grades in private sector; water management; environmental protection. History: affiliated to FZZ since 2002. Membership unknown. No website.
- KZZ IK ZUS** *Krajowy Związek Zawodowy Inspektorów Kontroli ZUS* (National Trade Union of Control Inspectors of the Social Insurance Institution – ZUS)
Type: occupational union (unitary union⁵³). Domain: all grades in public sector; insurance; control inspectors in the state social insurance institution (ZUS). History: founded in 2000; affiliated to FZZ since 2002. Members: 1,148; °50–60% women; °1.7–2.6% non-active members (2009). Website: <http://www.zus.pl/default.asp?p=2&id=357>

51. No primary data were provided to the authors of this report. The proportion of women in OPZZ comes from the ETUC report on the 3rd Annual ETUC 8 March Survey, available online at: http://www.etuc.org/IMG/pdf_8_March10_analysis_FINAL_EN-2.pdf (accessed on 17 May 2010).

52. Trade unions in Poland rarely demarcate their domain in terms of the public sector/private sector division. Internal statistics concerning the share of public sector/private sector employees in trade unions do not exist, either. Therefore, the demarcation of a trade union domain is based on expert interviews that might be fallible.

53. See Annex 3 for an explanation of the concept of 'unitary union'.

- NSZZ FiPW *NSZZ Funkcjonariuszy i Pracowników Więziennictwa* (Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union of Prison Service)
Type: all-grade single sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in public sector; state prison service. History: founded in 1990; affiliated to FZZ since 2002. Membership unknown. Website: <http://www.nszzfipw.org.pl/>
- NSZZ FSG *NSZZ Funkcjonariuszy Straży Granicznej* (Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of the Border Guard)
Type: occupational union. Domain: all grades in public sector; border guards. History: founded in 1991; affiliated to FZZ since 2005. Membership unknown. Website: <http://www.fzz-sm.pl/>
- NSZZ K *Niezależny Związek Zawodowy Kierowców* (Independent Trade Union of Drivers)
Type: blue-collar occupational union (unitary union). Domain: blue-collar workers in private sector; bus and truck transport services. History: founded as a breakaway union from autonomous union *Wolny Związek Zawodowy Kierowców RP* (WZZK RP, Free Trade Union of Drivers in Poland) in 2000; affiliated to FZZ since 2002. Membership unknown. Website: <http://www.nzzk.nw.pl/>
- NSZZ LPP *Niezależny Samorządny Związek Zawodowy Listonoszy Poczty Polskiej* (Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Polish Post Postmen)
Type: all-grade single-sector union, unitary union. Domain: all grades in public sector; postal services of the Polish Post; postmen (80%), others (20%). History: newly founded in 1993; name change to NSZZ LPP in 1999; affiliated to FZZ since 2005. Members: 1,112; °25% women; 2.3% non-active members. Website: <http://listonosze.org/5173/>
- NSZZ P *Niezależny Samorządny Związek Zawodowy Policjantów* (Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Police Officers)
Type: all-grade occupational union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in public sector; state police forces. History: newly established in 1990; affiliated to FZZ since 2002. Membership unknown. Website: www.nszzp.pl
- NSZZ PP *NSZZ Pracowników Policji* (NSZZ PP, Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Police Employees)
Type: all-grade single-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in public sector; civil administration; supplementary services of state police. History: founded in 2000; affiliated to FZZ since 2002. Membership unknown. No website.

- NSZZ PPOŻ *NSZZ Pracowników Pożarnictwa* (Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union of the Fire Service)
Type: all-grade single-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in public sector; civil fire-service. History: founded in 2003; affiliated to FZZ since 2003. Members: 1,905 (2010). Website: <http://www.zgnszpp.republika.pl/index.htm>
- NSZZ S'80 *Niezależny Samorządny Związek Zawodowy Solidarność '80* (Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity '80)
Type: all-grade multi-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in public and private sector. History: newly established as a breakaway union from NSZZ Solidarność in 1991; affiliated to FZZ since 2002. Membership unknown. Website: <http://www.solidarnosc80.pl/>
- OZZ SP *Ogólnopolski Związek Zawodowy Straż Pocztowa* (All-Poland Postal Guard Trade Union)
Type: all-grade single-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in public sector; postal services (Polish Post). History: newly founded in 1999; affiliated to FZZ since 2002. Members: ~4,000; °20% women (2009). No website.
- OZZOiM *Ogólnopolski Związek Zawodowy Oficerów i Marynarzy* (Polish Seafarers' Union)
Type: all-grade occupational union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in private sector; sea transportation (seamen). History: founded in 1991; affiliated to FZZ since 2005. Membership unknown. Website: <http://www.psu-pl.org/>
- OZZP *Ogólnopolski Związek Zawodowy Położnych* (All Poland Trade Union of Midwives)
Type: white-collar occupational union (unitary union). Domain: white-collar workers in private and public sector; health care (midwives). History: founded as a breakaway union from *Ogólnopolski Związek Zawodowy Pielęgniarek i Położnych* (OZZPiP, All Poland Trade Union of Nurses and Midwives) in 1994; affiliated to FZZ since 2004. Members: 1,020; 100% women (2009). Website: www.ozzp.org.pl
- OZZ PBOAiIT *Ogólnopolski Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Bloku Operacyjnego Anestezjologii i Intensywnej Terapii* (All-Poland Trade Union of Operating, Anaesthesiology and Intensive Therapy Employees)
Type: white-collar occupational union (unitary union). Domain: white-collar workers in public sector; health care (nurses in operating blocs anaesthesiology and intensive therapy). History: founded as a breakaway union from OZZPiP (All-Poland Union of Nurses and Midwives) in

- 1998; affiliated to FZZ since 2003. Members: 1,680; 100% women (2009). Website: www.ozzpboait.org
- OZZ PDMiF** *Ogólnopolski Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Diagnostyki Medycznej i Fizjoterapii* (All-Poland Trade Union of Medical Diagnostics and Physiotherapy Employees)
Type: white-collar occupational union (unitary union). Domain: white-collar workers in public sector; health care (medical diagnostics workers (75%), physiotherapists (20%), radiology workers (5%)). History: founded as a breakaway union from OZZPiP (the All-Poland Union of Nurses and Midwives) in 1998; affiliated to FZZ since 2007. Members: 1,730; 90% women; 0.6% non-active workers. Women: 90% (estimate). No website.
- OZZPiP** *Ogólnopolski Związek Zawodowy Pielęgniarek i Położnych* (All-Poland Trade Union of Nurses and Midwives)
Type: all-grade occupational (unitary union). Domain: all grades in public and private sector; health care (nurses, midwives, residential care employees). History: founded in 1996; affiliated to FZZ since 2002. Members: ~79,000 (2010). Website: <http://www.ozzpip.nazwa.pl/>
- OZZZ PRC** *Ogólnokrajowe Zrzeszenie Związków Zawodowych Pracowników Ruchu Ciągłego* (National Trade Union Association of Service and Maintenance Employees)
Type: all-grade multi-sector union (federation). Domain: all grades in private and public sector; chemical industry, energy, brown coal mining, steel manufacturing, coking industry. History: founded in 1989; affiliated to FZZ since 2002. Members: 16,918; 10% women (2009). Website: www.ozzzprc.pl
- PZZ KADRA** *Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych „Kadra”* (Polish Trade Union Alliance ‘Kadra’)
Type: white-collar single-sector union, federation. Domain: white-collar public sector; black coal mining (70%), opencast brown coal mining (10%), oil and gas mining (8%), other (12%) (supervisory employees, administrative employees, engineers and technical cadres). History: newly founded through a merger in 1994 of two trade unions of supervisory employees established in 1989: (a) *Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych Dozoru Górniczego ‘Kadra’* (Trade Union Alliance of Mining Inspectors ‘Kadra’), (b) *Związek Zawodowy Dozoru Górniczego ‘Kadra’* (Trade Union of Mining Inspectors ‘Kadra’); affiliated to FZZ since 2002. Members: 19,450; 22% women (2008). Website: www.kadra.org.pl

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- WZZ 'S' Oświata *Wolny Związek Zawodowy Solidarność-Oświata* (Free Trade Union Solidarity – Education)
 Type: all-grade single-sector union. Domain: all grades in public sector; education. History: founded in 2004 as a breakaway union from NSZZ Solidarność; affiliated to FZZ since 2004. Membership unknown.
 Website: www.wzzso.pl ⁵⁴
- ZZliT *Związek Zawodowy Inżynierów i Techników* (Trade Union of Engineers and Technicians)
 Type: white-collar occupational union (unitary union). Domain: white-collar workers in private and public sector; education (secondary or higher). History: newly established in 1989; affiliated to FZZ since 2002. Membership unknown.
 Website: www.zzit.home.pl
- ZZK *Związek Zawodowy Kierowców w Polsce* (Trade Union of Drivers in Poland)
 Type: blue-collar occupational union. Domain: blue-collar workers in private sector; road transportation (drivers); 70% in *Państwowa Komunikacja Samochodowa* (PKS, formerly State-Owned Long Distance Coach Services). History: founded in 1992 as *Związek Zawodowy Kierowców PKS* (Trade Union of PKS Bus Drivers); name changed in 1999, affiliated to FZZ since 2003. Members: ~3,300; °20% women (2009). Website: www.zkk.org.pl
- ZZMiRK *Związek Zawodowy Marynarzy i Rybaków Kontraktowych* (Contract Sailors and Fishermen Trade Union)
 Type: all-grade single-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in private sector; sea transportation (mostly fishermen and sailors). History: founded in 2000 as a breakaway union from *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Marynarzy i Rybaków* (FZZMiR, Seamen and Fishermen Trade Union Federation); affiliated to FZZ since 2002. Members: 1,048 (2009). Website: www.sftu.org.pl
- ZZPKM *Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Komunikacji Miejskiej W RP* (Trade Union of Municipal Transport Employees in Poland)
 Type: all-grade single-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in public sector; city transportation services. History: founded in 1984 as *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Pracowników Komunikacji Miejskiej w PRL* (FZZPKM, Federation of Trade Unions of Municipal Transport Employees in the Polish People's Republic),

54. The union leader refused access to information about the union. The information provided comes from the union website. FZZ did not provide us with information on the union, either.

changed into a unitary union in 1991 (since then as ZZPKM); affiliated to OPZZ from 1984 to 1988; autonomous from 1988 to 2002; affiliated to FZZ since 2002. Members: 3,348; °10–15% women; °9% non-active members (2009). Website: www.zzpkm.com.pl

ZZPP *Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Policji* (Trade Union of Police Employees)

Type: all-grade single-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in public sector; civil administration and supplementary services of state police. History: founded as breakaway union from NSZZ Pracowników Policji (NSZZ PP, Independent Self-governing Trade Union of Police Employees) in 2001; affiliated to FZZ since 2002. Members: ~1,200; women: ~75–80%; non-active members: ~4.2%. No website.

ZZPW *Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Warsztatowych* (Trade Union of Workshop Workers)

Type: all-grade multi-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in public sector; companies within the PKP Group. History: founded in 1991; affiliated to FZZ since 2002. Membership unknown. Website: <http://www.warsztat.info/start.html>

ZZZ Banku PEKAO *Zakładowy Związek Zawodowy Banku PEKAO S.A* (Company Trade Union of Bank Peako S.A. Employees)

Type: all-grade company union. Domain: all grades in private sector; banking and finance; Bank PEKAO Plc. History: newly founded in 1998, affiliated to FZZ since 2008. Members: 1,290; °50% women (2009). No website.

(2) NSZZ Solidarność affiliates (branch secretariats)

NSZZ ‘S’ Metalowcy *NSZZ Solidarność Sekretariat Metalowców* (Metalworkers’ Secretariat of NSZZ Solidarność)

Type: all-grade multi-sector union (branch within a unitary union). Domain: all grades in private sector; metallurgy (19%); metalworkers (11%), automotive industry (24%), tele-electronics (5%), armaments (15%), aviation (6%), electrical appliances (5%) and shipbuilding (15%). History: founded by NSZZ Solidarność in 1991. Members: 55,230 (2009). Website: www.solidarnosc.org.pl/solidmet

NSZZ ‘S’ NiO *NSZZ Solidarność Sekretariat Nauki i Oświaty* (NSZZ Solidarność Secretariat of Science and Education Employees)

Type: all-grade multi-sector union (branch within a unitary union). Domain: all grades in public sector; education (66%), science, sport and tourism. History: founded by

NSZZ Solidarność in 1991. Members: 79,053 (2006).
Website: <http://www.solidarnosc.org.pl/edukacja/>

- NSZZ 'S' SBHiU *NSZZ Solidarność Sekretariat Banków, Handlu i Ubezpieczeń* (Secretariat of Banks, Commerce and Insurance of NSZZ Solidarność)
Type: all-grade multi-sector union (branch within a unitary union). Domain: all grades in private and public sector; banking (30%), commerce (50%) and insurance (20%). History: founded by NSZZ Solidarność in the early 1990s. Members: ~18,800 (2010).
Website: <http://www.solidarnosc.org.pl/sekretariat.bhiu/>
- NSZZ 'S' SBiPD *NSZZ Solidarność Sekretariat Budownictwa i Przemysłu Drzewnego* (Construction and Wood Workers' Secretariat of NSZZ Solidarność)
Type: all-grade multi-sector union (branch within a unitary union). Domain: all grades in private and public sector; construction (23%), wood processing (9%), furniture production (18%), wood-based hardboards (25%) and construction materials (25%). History: founded by NSZZ Solidarność in 1990. Members: 10,868; °10–15% women (2006). Website: www.solidarnosc.org.pl/sbipd
- NSZZ 'S' SEiR *NSZZ Solidarność Sekretariat Emerytów i Rencistów* (National Secretariat of Pensioners)
Type: pensioners' organisation. Domain: all-grade organisation for pensioners. History: founded by NSZZ Solidarność in 1990. Members: ~26,000 (2009). Website: <http://kseir.solidarnosc.org.pl>
- NSZZ 'S' SGiE *NSZZ Solidarność Sekretariat Górnictwa i Energetyki* (National Secretariat of Mine and Energy Workers' Union of NSZZ Solidarność)
Type: all-grade multi-sector union (branch within a unitary union). Domain: all grades in public and private sector; heat and power industry (12%), energy (22%), black coal mining (47%), sulphur processing (1%), zinc and lead ore mining (2%), copper ore mining (6%), salt mining (1%), brown coal mining (5%) and mining base services (4%). History: founded by NSZZ Solidarność in 1993. Members: ~83,900 (2009). Website: www.sgie.pl
- NSZZ 'S' SKiSP *NSZZ Solidarność Sekretariat Kultury i Środków Przekazu* (Media and Entertainment Workers' Secretariat of NSZZ Solidarność)
Type: all-grade multi-sector union (branch within a unitary union). Domain: all grades in public sector; public radio and television, arts institutions, printing industry, film industry,

- publishing industry, public libraries, art schools, state archives. History: founded by NSZZ Solidarność in the early 1990s. Members: 5,378 (2006).
Website: <http://www.solidarnosc.org.pl/skisp/index.html>
- NSZZ 'S' SŁ *NSZZ Solidarność Sekretariat Łączności* (Postal and Telecommunication Workers' Secretariat of NSZZ Solidarność)
Type: all-grade multi-sector union (branch within a unitary union). Domain: all grades in public sector; postal services (only Polish Post) and telecommunication services (only Polish Telecommunication Group). History: founded by NSZZ Solidarność in 1991. Members: 21,813; °50% women; °1–2% non-active members (2006).
Website: www.solidarnosc-poczta.pl; www.skpt.pl
- NSZZ 'S' SOZ *NSZZ Solidarność Sekretariat Ochrony Zdrowia* (Health Care Secretariat of NSZZ Solidarność)
Type: all-grade multi-sector union (branch within a unitary union). Domain: all grades in private and public sector; health care (hospitals, home care), health resorts (spas), social care, emergency ambulance services and regional disease control centres. History: founded by NSZZ Solidarność in the early 1990s. Members: 43,689 (2006).
Website: <http://www.solidarnosc.org.pl/soz/>
- NSZZ 'S' SP *NSZZ Solidarność Sekretariat Służb Publicznych* (Public Service Workers' Secretariat of NSZZ Solidarność)
Type: all-grade multi-sector union (branch within a unitary union). Domain: all grades in public sector; urban transport, water supply and sewage system, public utilities, tax offices, fire safety and heat engineering. History: founded by NSZZ Solidarność in 1992. Members: 29,787 (2006). Website: <http://www.solidarnosc.org.pl/srsp/>
- NSZZ 'S' SPCh *NSZZ Solidarność Sekretariat Przemysłu Chemicznego* (Chemical Workers' Secretariat of NSZZ Solidarność)
Type: all-grade multi-sector union (branch within a unitary union). Domain: all grades in private and public sector; chemical industry, gas production, petroleum, paper, pharmaceuticals and glass. History: founded by NSZZ Solidarność in 1991. Members: ~29,500; °50% women (2006). Website: <http://www.spch.prv.pl/>
- NSZZ 'S' SPL *NSZZ Solidarność Sekretariat Przemysłu Lekkiego* (Textile Workers' Secretariat of NSZZ 'Solidarność')
Type: all-grade multi-sector union branch (within a unitary union). Domain: all grades in private sector; cotton industry (41%), textile industry (26%) and leather (33%). History:

- founded by NSZZ Solidarność in 1991. Membership: 2,434 (2006).
- NSZZ 'S' SPS *NSZZ Solidarność Sekretariat Przemysłu Spożywczego* (NSZZ Solidarność Secretariat of Food Workers)
 Type: all-grade multi-sector union (branch within a unitary union). Domain: all grades in private sector; tobacco industry (13%), milk industry (11%), fruit and vegetable processing (4%), lottery (6%), hotels and gastronomy (10%), meat (20%), spirits and yeast (5%), confectionary (15%), sugar (6%), cold rooms employees (3%) and breweries (6%). History: founded by NSZZ Solidarność in the early 1990s. Members: 19,884 (2006).
 Website: <http://www.solidarnosc.org.pl/spspoz/>
- NSZZ 'S' SR *NSZZ Solidarność Sekretariat Rolnictwa* (Rural Workers' Secretariat of NSZZ Solidarność)
 Type: all-grade multi-sector union (branch within a unitary union). Domain: all grades in public sector; food production in current and formerly state-owned farms (46%), veterinary (12%), advisory services for agriculture (12%) and agricultural manufacturing (30%). History: founded by NSZZ Solidarność in 1992. Members: 4,269 (2006). No website.
- NSZZ 'S' ST *NSZZ Solidarność Sekretariat Transportowców* (Transport Workers' Secretariat of NSZZ Solidarność)
 Type: all-grade multi-sector union (branch within a unitary union). Domain: all grades in private and public sector; railways, fishery, sea transportation, sea ports, railway base services, bus transportation and civil engineering. History: founded by NSZZ Solidarność in the early 1990s. Members: 52,509 (2006).
 Website: <http://www.sol-trans.org.pl/index.html>
- NSZZ 'S' SZNOSiL *NSZZ Solidarność Sekretariat Zasobów Naturalnych, Ochrony Środowiska i Leśnictwa* (National Secretariat of Natural Resources, Environmental Protection and Forestry of NSZZ Solidarność)
 Type: all-grade multi-sector union (branch within a unitary union). Domain: all grades private and public sector; forestry (78%), water engineering (4%), water economy (9%) and national parks (9%). History: founded by NSZZ Solidarność in 1994. Members: ~4,600; women: 5% (2009).
 Website: www.sos-solidarnosc.org.pl

(3) OPZZ affiliates

I. Mining, chemical industry and energy supply

- FZZ GWB** *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Górnictwa Węgla Brunatnego* (Federation of Brown Coal Mining Employees Trade Unions)
Type: all-grade single-sector union (federation). Domain: all grades in public sector; brown coal mining, extraction and energy production, mining base service companies. History: founded in 1983; affiliated to OPZZ since 1984. Membership unknown.⁵⁵ Website: www.fzzgwb.top2.pl
- FZZ PChSzC** *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Przemysłu Chemicznego, Szklarskiego i Ceramicznego* (Trade Union Federation of Chemical, Glass and Ceramic Industries in Poland)
Type: all-grade multi-sector union (federation). Domain: all grades in private and public sector; chemicals, glass, ceramics, rubber and pharmaceuticals. History: founded in 1983, affiliated to OPZZ since 1984. Member: ~23,500; °25–30% women; °25.5% non-active members (2009). Website: www.fzzchemikow.com.pl
- FZZ PRiP** *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Pracowników Rafinerii i Petrochemii* (Federation of Refinery and Petrochemical Workers' Unions)
Type: all-grade supra-company union (federation). Domain: all grades in private sector; refineries and chemical sector; companies belonging to PKN Orlen Group. History: founded in 1983, affiliated to OPZZ since 1984. Members: ~3,300; °40% women; °15.2% non-active members (2009). No website.
- OZZGNiG** *Ogólnopolski Związek Zawodowych Górnictwa Naftowego i Gazownicwa* (All-Poland Trade Union of Polish Oil & Gas Companies)
Type: all-grade supra-company union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in public sector union; petroleum sector; exploration and production (15%), gas trading (52%), gas distribution (local branches) (20%), gas production maintenance (13%); companies belonging to the capital group *Polskie Górnictwo Naftowe i Gazownictwo* (PGNiG, Polish Oil and Gas Exploration and Production Company);. History: founded in 1983 (as *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Górnictwa Naftowego i Gazownictwa*, Federation of Trade Unions of Polish Oil and Gas Companies) affiliated to OPZZ since 1984, changed its

55. It was impossible to contact representatives of the union.

structure from a federation into a unitary union (OZZGNiG) in 2008. Member: 5,968; °35% women; 11.8% non-active members (2008). Website: www.ozzgnig.pl

- PZZG** *Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych Górnictwa* (Mining Trade Unions Alliance)
 Type: all-grade single-sector union (federation). Domain: all grades in private sector; privately owned support services for black coal mining. History: founded in 1993 as one of the unions which emerged from the disintegration of *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Górników* (FZZG, Federation of the Trade Unions of Miners). Affiliated to OPZZ and to *Konfederacja Związków Zawodowych Górników w Polsce* (KZZG, Confederation of Trade Union of Miners in Poland) since 1994. Members: ~2,200; °3–5% women (2009). No website.
- ZZ ‘Przeróbka’** *Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Zakładów Przeróbki Mechanicznej Węgla w Polsce ‘Przeróbka’* (Trade Union of Employees of the Mechanical Coal Processing Plants in Poland [‘Coal’ Processing])
 Type: all-grade single-sector union (federation). Domain: all grades in public sector; black coal mining, coal processing plants ZZ ‘Przeróbka’; mainly employees responsible for the quality control and classification of different types of coal. History: founded in 1993; affiliated to *Konfederacja Związków Zawodowych Górników w Polsce* (KZZG, Confederation of Trade Union of Miners in Poland) since 1994 and to OPZZ since 1997. Member: 4,621; °30% women; °4.3% non-active members (2009).
 Website: <http://przerobka.pl/>
- ZZG** *Związek Zawodowy Górników w Polsce* (Trade Union of Miners in Poland)
 Type: all-grade single-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in private and public sector; in black coal mining (90%) and mining base services (10%). History: founded in 1992 as the main successor of *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Górników* (FZZG, Federation of Miners’ Trade Unions; founded in 1983); affiliated to OPZZ since 1993 and to *Konfederacja Związków Zawodowych Górników w Polsce* (KZZG, Confederation of Miners’ Trade Unions in Poland) since 1994.⁵⁶ Members: ~32,800; °20%

56. KZZG associates the nine largest national trade union organisations which developed on the basis of the former ‘socialist’ trade union confederation in the mining sector (1983–1991), *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Górników* (FZZG, Federation of Miners’ Trade Unions). KZZG is not a member of OPZZ but its member organisations are. KZZG, as the legal successor of FZZG, deals mainly with the former property of FZZG (such as leisure centres). Since it is not active as a trade union, it was not included in this report.

women; °23.8% non-active members (2009).

Website: www.zzg.org.pl

- ZZJG** *Związek Zawodowy Jedności Górniczej* (Trade Union of Miners' Unity)
Type: all-grade single-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in public sector; black coal extraction (90%) and others (10%). History: founded in 1996; affiliated to OPZZ since 2000. Member: ~1,500; °10% women; °20% non-active members (2009). Website: www.zzjg.org
- ZZMWK** *Związek Zawodowy Maszynistów Wyciągowych Kopalń w Polsce* (Trade Union of Mining Lift Operators in Poland)
Type: blue-collar occupational union (unitary union). Domain: blue collar workers in public sector; black coal mining (mining lift operators). History: founded in 1993, affiliated to OPZZ since 1997 and to *Konfederacja Związków Zawodowych Górników w Polsce* (KZZG, Confederation of Trade Union of Miners in Poland) since 1994. Members: 1,097 (2009); 0% women; 6.6% non-active members (2009). Website: www.zzmwk-wp.org
- ZZPD** *Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Dołowych* (Trade Union of Underground Workers)
Type: all-grade single-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in private and public sector; black coal mining. History: founded in 1997; affiliated to OPZZ (year unknown) and to *Konfederacja Związków Zawodowych Górników w Polsce* (KZZG, Confederation of Trade Union of Miners in Poland) in 1994.⁵⁷ Members: 4,503 (2007). Website: www.zzpd.pl
- ZZPPM** *Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Przemysłu Miedziowego* (Copper Industry Workers' Trade Union)
Type: all-grade single-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in private and public sector; companies of industrial holding KGHM and companies created on the basis of its restructuring (copper industry). History: newly founded in 1991; affiliated to OPZZ since 1993. Members: ~10,100; °20% women; °19.8% non-active members (2008). Website: www.zzppm.pl
- ZZRG** *Związek Zawodowy Ratowników Górniczych* (Mining Rescuers' Union of Poland)
Type: blue-collar single-sector union (unitary union). Domain: blue-collar workers in private and public sector;

57. It was impossible to contact the representatives of the union.

black coal mining (95%) and others (5%). History: founded in 1995; affiliated to OPZZ since 2002. Members: 5,736; 0% women; 7.3% non-active members: 7.3% (2009). Website: <http://zzrg.org>

II. Metalworkers

FHZZ *Federacja Hutniczych Związków Zawodowych* (Steelworkers' Trade Union Federation)
 Type: all-grade multi-sector union (federation). Domain: all grades in private and public sector; metallurgy. History: founded in 1983; affiliated to OPZZ since 1984 and to *Konfederacja Związków Zawodowych Metalowców* (KZZM, Confederation of Metalworkers Trade Unions)⁵⁸ since 2009. Members: 12,015; °30–35% women; °25% non-active members (2009). No website.

FZZ 'Metalowcy' *Federacja Związków Zawodowych 'Metalowcy'* (Metalworkers' Federation)
 Type: all-grade single-sector union (federation). Domain: all grades in private and public sector; metal industry. History: founded in 1983, affiliated to OPZZ since 1984 and to *Konfederacja Związków Zawodowych Metalowców* (KZZM, Confederation of Metalworkers Trade Unions) since 2009. Members: ~18,950 (2009).⁵⁹
 Website: <http://federacja-metalowcy.org.pl/>

ZZPE *Związek Zawodowy Przemysłu Elektromaszynowego* (Electromechanical Workers' Trade Union)
 Type: all-grade multi-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in private sector; mechanical engineering. History: originally established in 1984 as *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Pracowników Przemysłu Lotniczego, Silnikowego, Mechanicznego, Elektronicznego, Precyzyjnego i Chemicznego 'Przemysł Specjalny'* (Federation of Trade Unions of Aerospace, Engine, Mechanical, Electronic, Precision and Chemical Industries Employees 'Special Industry'); re-founded in 1991; affiliated to OPZZ since 1984 and to *Konfederacja Związków Zawodowych Metalowców*

⁵⁸. *Konfederacja Związków Zawodowych Metalowców* (KZZM, Metalworkers' Trade Union Confederation of Poland) was created by FHZZ, *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Metalowców* (FZZM, Metalworkers Federation) and *Związek Zawodowy Przemysłu Elektromaszynowego* (ZZPE, Electromechanic Workers Trade Union) in 2009. It exemplifies attempts to consolidate branch unions within the OPZZ and create solid representation at the European level. Although KZZM is not a member of OPZZ, its affiliated organisations are. As it is a new structure, and still not particularly active, we did not include it in this report.

⁵⁹. FZZ 'Metalowcy' assumes that the actual figure might be 15–20 per cent higher.

(KZZM, Confederation of Metalworkers' Trade Unions) since 2009. Members: 4,241 (2008). Website: <http://www.zzpe.org.pl/>

III. Education and science

ZNP *Związek Nauczycielstwa Polskiego* (Polish Teachers' Union)
Type: all-grade general union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in public sector; education. History: founded in 1905; affiliated to OPZZ in 1984. Members: 255,167; 20.9% non-active members (2008). Website: <http://www.znp.edu.pl/>

IV. Public services

Federacja ZZPGKiT *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Pracowników Gospodarki Komunalnej i Terenowej w Polsce* (Trade Union Federation of Municipal and Local Economy Employees of Poland)
Type: all-grade multi-sector union (federation). Domain: all grades in public sector; public administration (local government) and public utilities. History: founded in 1906; re-activated in 1984 under its present name; affiliated to OPZZ since 1984. Members: 13,961; 44% women; 9.0% non-active members (2008). Website: <http://www.komunalni.pl/>

FZPPOZiPS *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Pracowników Ochrony Zdrowia i Pomocy Społecznej* (Federation of Healthcare and Social Care Employee Unions)
Type: all-grade multi-sector union (federation). Domain: all grades in public sector; health care and social welfare. History: founded in 1983 (successor of *Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Służby Zdrowia* (Trade Union of Health-care Employees)); affiliated to OPZZ from 1984 to 1991 and again since 2002. Members: 20,712 (2009). Website: <http://www.fzppoz-tour.com.pl>

FZZ TOSZiRM *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Technicznej Obsługi Służby Zdrowia i Ratownictwa Medycznego* (Trade Union Federation of Employees of Technical Services for Health Care and Rescue Services)
Type: all-grade single-sector union (federation). Domain: all grades in public sector; health care. History: founded in 1983; affiliated to OPZZ since 1984. Membership unknown.⁶⁰ No website.

60. It was impossible to contact the representatives of the union.

- NSZZ PWS *Niezależny Samorządny Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Wymiaru Sprawiedliwości Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* (Independent Self-governing Trade Union of Judiciary Employees in the Republic of Poland)
Type: all-grade single-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in public sector. History: founded in 1995; affiliated to OPZZ since 2001. Members: ~2,000; °90% women (2009). No website.
- ZZS ‘Florian’ *Związek Zawodowy Strażaków ‘Florian’* (Trade Union of Firefighters ‘Florian’)
Type: all-grade single-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in public sector; civil fire service. History: founded in 1993; affiliated to OPZZ since 1993. Members: 5,538 (2009). Website: <http://www.zzsflorian.pl>
- ZZZ PSC RP *Zrzeszenie Związków Zawodowych Pracowników Służby Celnej RP* (Association of Customs Employees’ Trade Unions in Poland)
Type: white-collar single-sector union (federation). Domain: white-collar workers in public sector; customs administration. History: founded as a breakaway union from *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Służby Celnej* (FZZSC, Federation of Customs Services Employees Trade Unions) in 2003; affiliated to OPZZ since 2008. Members: 2,120; °40% women (2009). No website.

V. Food industry, agriculture and tourism

- FZZ PPC *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Pracowników Przemysłu Cukrowniczego* (Federation of Trade Unions of Sugar Production Sector Employees)
Type: all-grade single-sector union (federation). Domain: all grades in public and private sector; sugar production (mostly in the National Sugar Company ‘Polish Sugar’ and private companies established on the basis of thereof). History: founded in 1983; affiliated to OPZZ since 1984. Members: 1,530 (2007). No website.
- FZZ PPS *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Pracowników Przemysłu Spożywczego* (Federation of Food Industry Workers’ Trade Unions)
Type: all-grade multi-sector union (federation). Domain: all grades in private sector; food production. History: founded in 1993; affiliated to OPZZ since 1984. Members: 2,938; °80% women; 12.9% non-active members (2009). No website.

FZZ PPT *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Pracowników Przemysłu Tytoniowego w Polsce* (Polish Federation of Trade Unions in Tobacco Industry)
Type: all-grade single-sector union (federation). Domain: all grades in private sector; tobacco industry. History: founded in 1983; affiliated to OPZZ since 1984. Members: 1,192; °25% women; 22.2% non-active members (2009). No website.

FZZPM w Polsce *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Pracowników Mleczarstwa w Polsce* (Federation of Trade Unions of Dairy Employees of Poland)
Type: all-grade multi-sector union (federation). Domain: all grades in private and public sector; food processing and dairy industry. History: founded in 1983 (originally as *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Pracowników Spółdzielczości Mleczarskiej w PRL* (Federation of Trade Union of Dairy Cooperatives Employees in the People's Republic of Poland)); changed to current name in 1999; affiliated to OPZZ since 1984. Members: 5,073; 55% women; 0.5% non-active members (2010).
Website: <http://www.fzzpm.org.pl/>

VI. Construction, civil engineering and timber industry

ZZ 'Budowlani' *Związek Zawodowy 'Budowlani'* ('Budowlani' Trade Union)
Type: all-grade multi-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in private sector; housing community administration, construction, manufacturing of building materials, forestry and environmental protection. History: founded in 1948; re-activated under its current name in 1984; reorganized into general union (formerly a federation) in 1991. Members: ~15,300; 35% women (2010). Website: <http://www.zzbudowlani.pl/>

ZZM *Związek Zawodowy Meblarzy* (Furniture Employees Trade Union)
Type: all-grade single-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in private sector; furniture industry. History: founded as *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Przemysłu Meblarskiego* (Federation of Trade Unions of Furniture Industry Employees) in 1983; transformed from a trade union federation into a unitary trade union in 1991; affiliated to OPZZ in 1984. Members: 1,624; 20% women; 7.4% non-active members (2009). No website.

- ZZPDRP** *Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Drogownictwa RP* (Trade Union of Road Construction and Maintenance Employees of the Republic of Poland)
 Type: all-grade multi-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in private and public sector; road construction and sectors cooperating in construction and maintenance of roads, including public administration (local government). History: founded in 1992 as lawful successor of *Związek Zawodowy Transportowców i Drogowców* (Trade Union of Road Construction, Road Maintenance and Transport Employees), *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Drogownictwa RP* (Federation of Trade Unions of Road Construction and Maintenance Employees in the Republic of Poland) and *Federacja Niezależnych Samorządnych Związków Zawodowych Pracowników Zakładów Transportu i Maszyn Drogowych* (Federation of Independent Self-governing Trade Unions of Employees in Transport and Road Equipment Establishments), all of them trade unions in road construction and maintenance employees before 1989; affiliated to *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Drogownictwa RP* from 1984 to 1992 and to OPZZ since 1996. Members: °1,300 (2009). Website: <http://www.drogowcy.org.pl>

VII. Textiles and leather industry

- FNSZZPL** *Federacja Niezależnych Samorządnych Związków Zawodowych Przemysłu Lekkiego* (Federation of Independent Self-Governing Trade Unions of the Textile Industry)
 Type: all-grade multi-sector union (federation). Domain: all grades in private sector; textile industry. History: founded in 1983; affiliated to OPZZ in 1984. Members: ~5,000 (2009); °80% women. Website: www.federacjanszpl.org.pl

VIII. Transportation

- AZZTK** *Autonomiczne Związki Zawodowe Transportu Kolejowego* (Autonomous Trade Unions of Railway Transportation)
 Type: all-grade single-sector union. Domain: all grades in public sector; railways. History: founded in 1999; affiliated to OPZZ in 1999. Members: 1,619 (2007). No website.
- FZZ MiR** *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Marynarzy i Rybaków* (Seamen and Fishermen Trade Union Federation)
 Type: all-grade single-sector union (federation). Domain: all grades in private sector; sea transportation; seamen and

- fishermen (70%), dockers (20%) and administrative employees. Domain: sea transportation. History: founded in 1983 as *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Marynarzy i Rybaków Dalekomorskich* (Seamen and Deep-Sea Fishermen Trade Union Federation) as successor of *Związek Zawodowy Marynarzy i Portowców* (Seamen and Dockers' Trade Union) (ceased in 1981); affiliated to OPZZ in 1984. Members: ~5,500; ~36.4% non-active members (2009). Website: www.fedmaryb.org.pl/
- FZZPAiT PKP** *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Pracowników Automatyki i Telekomunikacji PKP* (Federation of Switching and Telecommunications Workers' Trade Unions of PKP)
Type: all-grade union federation. Domain: all grades in public sector; railways. History: founded 1986. Members: 3,240 (2007). Website: <http://federacjaait.org/>
- IZZPTPRP** *Integracja Związków Zawodowych Pracowników Transportu Publicznego w RP* (Integrated Trade Unions of Public Transport Employees in the Republic of Poland)
Type: all-grade single-sector union (federation). Domain: all grades in public sector; public transportation. History: founded in 1993; affiliated to OPZZ since 1993. Members: 2,981; 7.5% non-active members (2009). No website.
- KKZZ** *Konfederacja Kolejowych Związków Zawodowych* (Confederation of Railway Trade Unions)
Type: all-grade single-sector union (confederation). Domain: all grades in public sector; railways. History: registered in 2007; encompasses *Związek Zawodowy Maszynistów Kolejowych w Polsce* (ZZMK, Trade Union of Locomotive Drivers in Poland), *Związek Zawodowy Dyżurnych Ruchu PKP* (ZDDR PKP, PKP Traffic Controllers' Trade Union), *Związek Zawodowy Drużyn Konduktorskich w RP* (ZZDKRP, Trade Union of Travel Inspector Teams in the Republic of Poland), *Związek Zawodowy Dyspozytorów PKP* (ZZD PKP, Trade Union of PKP Dispatchers). Reorganisation and change in status due to restructuring of national railways; affiliated to OPZZ since 2008. Members: ZZMK: [8,543] (2009); ZZDR PKP [9,864] (2007); ZZDKRP [1,350] (2007). No website.
- WZZ PGM** *Wolny Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Gospodarki Morskiej* (Free Trade Union of Employees in Maritime Economy)
Type: all-grade single-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in public sector; maritime industry, including construction and repairs of ships (70%), trans-shipment and

shipment at ports (30%). History: founded in 1990 as a result of merger of unions belonging to *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Gospodarki Morskiej* (FZZGM, Federation of Trade Unions of Maritime Economy); affiliated to OPZZ since 1990. Members: ~4,800; °20% women (2009). No website.

IX. Commerce, services, culture and art

FZZ PT *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Pracowników Telekomunikacji* (Federation of Telecommunication Workers' Trade Unions)

Type: all-grade single-sector union (federation). Domain: all grades in private sector; telecommunication (Polish Telecommunication Group). History: founded in 1983; affiliated to OPZZ since 1984. Members: ~2,500; ~40% women (2009). No website.

FZZPSPHiU *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Pracowników Spółdzielczości Produkcji, Handlu i Usług w Polsce* (Federation of Trade Unions of Employees in Production Cooperatives, Commerce and Services in Poland)

Type: all-grade multi-sector union (federation). Domain: all grades in private and public sector; commerce; food processing cooperatives associated with *Krajowy Związek Rewizyjny Spółdzielni Spożywców 'Społem', KZRS 'Społem'* (National Union of Food-providing Cooperatives 'Społem'). History: founded in 2005; affiliated to OPZZ since 2005, Members: 7,510; 16.7% non-active members (2010). No website.

OPZZ 'Konfederacja Pracy' *Ogólnopolski Pracowniczy Związek Zawodowy 'Konfederacja Pracy'* (All-Poland Workers' Trade Union 'Confederation of Labour')

Type: all-grade multi-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in private and public sector; commerce, services and art. History: founded in 1999; affiliated to OPZZ since 2000. Members: °10,000 (2009).
Website: <http://konfederacjapracy.org.pl>

ZZPB Pekao S.A. *Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Banku Pekao S.A.* (Trade Union of Employees of PEKAO SA Bank)

Type: all-grade company union. Domain: all grades in private sector; banking and finances (Bank PEKAO Plc.). History: founded in 1999; affiliated to OPZZ since 2003. Members: °2,500 (2010). No website.

ZZPPP *Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Przemysłu Poligraficznego* (Trade Union of Print Industry Employees)
Type: all-grade single sector (unitary union). Domain: all grades in private sector; print industry. History: founded in 1983 as a successor of *Związek Drukarzy* (Printers' Union); affiliated to OPZZ since 1984. Members: 1,245; 15.7% non-active members (2009). No website.

(4) Autonomous trade unions (selection)⁶¹

KNSZZ *Krajowy Niezależny Samorządny Związek Zawodowy Solidarność '80* (National Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarność '80)
Type: all-grade multi-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in public and private sector; no specific domain but mostly public services. History: founded in 1996 as a breakaway union from NSZZ Solidarność '80; co-founding *NSZZ 'Solidarność Konfederacja* (NSZZ Solidarność Confederation) in 2006. Membership unknown. Website: <http://knszsolidarnosc80.pl/>

NSZZ PW *Niezależny Samorządny Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Wojska* (Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Army Employees)
Type: all-grade single-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in public sector; military (administration). History: newly founded in 1980. Membership unknown. Website: www.nszpw.pl

OZZ IP *Ogólnopolski Związek Zawodowy Inicjatywa Pracownicza* (All Poland Trade Union Workers' Initiative)
Type: all-grade multi-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in private and public sector; no specific domain. History: founded in 2004. Members: ~700; °20–25% women (2009). Website: www.ozzip.pl

OZZL *Ogólnopolski Związek Zawodowy Lekarzy* (Doctors' Trade Union of Poland)
Type: professional association (unitary union). Domain: private sector; health care (doctors). History: founded in 1991. Members: ~14,000 (2009). Website: www.ozzl.org.pl

61. The selection of autonomous trade unions was based on two main criteria. First, we chose trade unions that have been visible in the public sphere in the past 20 years through their involvement in collective actions. Second, we selected trade unions whose large membership was known from other available sources.

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- WZZ Sierpień '80 *Wolny Związek Zawodowy Sierpień '80* (Free Trade Union August '80)
 Type: all-grade multi-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in public and private sector; manufacturing (50%) (including black coal mining, metallurgy and automotive industry) and services (50%) (including health care, public transportation and commerce). History: founded in 1993 as breakaway union from NSZZ Solidarność '80, which itself broke away from NSZZ Solidarność. Members: °20,000. (2009). Website: www.wzz.org.pl
- ZZ 'Kontra' *Związek Zawodowy 'Kontra'* ('Kontra' Trade Union)
 Type: all-grade multi-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in public sector; no specific domain. History: founded in 1992 inspired by nationalist ('pro-independence') movement. Membership unknown. Website: www.zzkontra.pl
- ZZPCMSWiA *Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Cywilnych Ministerstwa Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji* (Trade Union of Civilian Employees in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration)
 Type: staff association. Domain: all grades in public sector; Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration. History: newly established in 1990. Membership unknown. Website: www.mswia.org.pl
- ZZPR RP *Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Rolnictwa RP* (Trade Union of Agricultural Employees of the Republic of Poland)
 Type: all-grade single-sector union (unitary union). Domain: all grades in private sector; agriculture. History: founded in 1991 based on the dissolved *Federacja Związków Zawodowych Pracowników Rolnictwa* (FZZPR, Federation of Trade Unions of Agricultural Employees (1983–1991). Members: 24,842; 2.5% non-active members (2008). Website: www.zzpr.org.pl

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