

Anka LEŚNIAK

Academy of Fine Arts in Gdansk, Sculpture and Intermedia Faculty

ACTION ART AS A WAY OF EMANCIPATION. WOMEN'S PERFORMANCE ART PRACTICES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE TOTALITARIAN REGIME BASED ON COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY AND THE YOUNG DEMOCRACY IN POLAND

I am writing this article from the perspective of an artist involved in feminism and performance art. My research method connects my theoretical background on art history studies and my practical experience as a female artist in Polish social, political and artistic realities. I am going to focus on the position of women artists and their artistic activity in the contexts of the changing political situation. I intend to introduce Polish women artists who were active on the art scene from the seventies until today in the field of performance art and to answer the question what the women artists of my generation have in common with their 'artistic grandmothers.'

The last part of the text focuses on what has been already achieved and what still needs to be done for women's emancipation both in artistic as well socio-political life. The aim of this article is also to familiarize foreign readers with the specific status of women in the process of the

changing of the political situation in Poland that took place before and after the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989.

I would like to begin from recollection of my video-installation *Fading Traces. Women in Polish Art of the Seventies* (2010). Its concept emerged when I realized that I could recall only a few avant-garde women artists, contrary to the many male artists' names, whose art had been introduced to me during the course of my studies in art history and fine arts. Since oral history and the personal testimony play an important role both in my artistic and theoretical activities, I realized that I knew only testimonies of my 'artistic grandfathers' like Zbigniew WARPECHOWSKI or Józef ROBAKOWSKI, but the 'grandmothers' remained silent. This fact bothered me even more, because the seventies was the decade of the second wave feminism and the time when women artists started to challenge the status of women

in patriarchal societies. Poland at this time was a country where the equality of men and women officially proclaimed by ruling regime had little to do with real life. It was sheer propaganda that aimed to show the advantages of this political regime over the West.

In my project I have interviewed seven women artists dealing with feminist topics. I was curious to know whether they remembered more women artists who had disappeared from the art scene and what their strategy had been to survive in the art world dominated by men. For all of them, the period of the 1970s was an early stage of their careers. It was also the decade when I was born, and this personal link that created a sort of time loop was significant for me. As it turned out, most of them created performance art pieces, so their testimonies are important for the topic of this article. In my project, the following female artists took part: Natalia LL, Ewa PARTUM, Anna KUTERA, Izabella GUSTOWSKA, Krystyna PIOTROWSKA, Teresa MURAK and Teresa TYSZKIEWICZ.

Natalia LL said that there was no feminist art in Poland in that time. There were single artists who were interested in these issues, but the feminist movement was impossible, because it was foremost a social movement, and that was possible only in the democratic states. "Here we were told that women already had equal rights, that women can drive a tractor, women can do everything, but in fact they were miserable women, who queued in the long lines in front of groceries and then were carrying heavy bags to their households to prepare the meal for the family."¹ The most difficult situation was faced by women who worked in factories, physical workers, such as textile workers. Women, of course, also got lower salaries for their work.² These double standards for men and women were also caused by the religious tradition of the country. The Catholic Church in Poland had always significant impact on people's mentality, and even the communist ideology of ruling regime that lasted 44 years was not able to change it. Anna KUTERA, asked by me why women artists were not significantly present in the avant-garde art of the seventies said: "The decision of doing

experimental art involved a sort of a risk. The broader audience did not understand this kind of art and rejected it. And the social position of such an artist was uncertain. When somebody studied the disciplines of fine arts such as painting or sculpture or craft arts: glass or textile design, it was clear what kind of skills the society would expect from such an artist."³ The experimental (avant-garde) artist was perceived as not particularly useful and perhaps also unpredictable. As Anna KUTERA said, for women it was a double challenge. Natalia LL confirms that many women graduates in the field of art chose a career in craft arts, fashion and design. According to her, only the most determined and ambitious women artists decided to experiment with new media and new forms of artistic expressions.⁴ Anna KUTERA added: "I was brought up to the role of a mother, a housewife. Women were brought up in this way in general. But I said to myself: OK, I am ready for this role. I know how to do it, I can do it any time, but why not try something else? But I was a self-confident person. I was also supported by my family and encouraged by my partner. Not everybody had such support. Not everybody felt strong enough to challenge the social expectations."⁵

The activity of women artists in the field of performance art had its background in conceptual art. The work *Consumer Art* by Natalia LL is also a significant example of Polish conceptual art, although through the sexual connotations it embodies, it also challenges the character of this movement. The feminist potential of this piece was noticed by Austrian curator and gallerist Ursula KRINZINGER, who invited Natalia LL to participate in the exhibition *Women's Art: New Tendencies* in Innsbruck in 1975. This was the venue where Natalia LL got to know the feminist movement and became its advocate in Poland. The first exhibition of women artists in Poland inspired by Natalia LL was made in Lublin under the title *Art & Feminism*. It took place in the Labirynt gallery in 1977 together with presentation of her and Valie EXPORT, who was a very influential women artist in Europe of that time. Natalia LL also organized a feminist exhibition in Wrocław in 1978. Carolee

SCHNEEMANN, Suzy LAKE and Noemi MAIDAN were also invited to participate, all of them were already well recognised women artists. As Natalia LL recalls, the reception of the exhibition was very negative, which, according to her, revealed only that Polish art critics were not familiar with this kind of art and its main representatives in the world.⁶ Another woman artist that took part in the conceptual art exhibition movement was Ewa PARTUM who ran the Address Gallery in her private apartment in Łódź (1972-77) that was mostly based on mail art exchange.⁷

I would like to begin the presentation of works by Polish women artists in the field of performance art with Maria PINIŃSKA-BEREŚ, whom I had no chance to interview because she died in 1999. Although she was a recognized artist on the Polish art scene, her significance seemed not to have been fully recognized and appreciated at that time. Maria PINIŃSKA-BEREŚ was the wife of the performance artist Jerzy BEREŚ. However, they worked separately and the form of their works were different. Maria PINIŃSKA-BEREŚ was mainly active in the field of sculpture, but in her soft forms made of textiles we can see an element of performativity and undoubtedly they are also an example of the use of female language in art. She consciously gave up sculpture in rigid materials such as concrete or metal, because she did not want to ask her male colleagues for help in carrying her heavy sculptures. But a more important reason seemed to be the search for art forms that could express her convictions about condition of women. She deliberately used the colour pink, which became her 'trademark.' Pink is considered as a female, or even girlish colour that is somehow improper for 'high art.' The artist decided to challenge this belief. At the first glance, her sculpture objects seem to be sweet and 'feminine'. She also placed 'naïve' words or phrases on her sculptures such as *My sweet little room* or *Whispers, Secret* and the like. However, these 'sweet,' pink and soft objects express the oppressive situation of the woman in society. The title of this series is *Psycho Furniture* and she began it in 1968. These pieces were all covered with pleasant colours and were of shapes that served at the same time to hide behind this

nice facade all disturbing and gloomy feelings.

Her performance activity began in the 1970s and at first her performances were made outside, without an audience. In 1980, she did a performance in the winter landscape in the outskirts of Krakow. She went out dressed in shades of pink and carrying a rolled up a banner with the inscription "pink." Maybe we can also interpret the work as a subversive provocation toward the communist regime that used the colour red as its symbol. In the other public performance, she drew attention to the 'common female household jobs' such as washing. During the performance *Washing (or Laundry)*, which she did for the first time at the exhibition *Women's art* in the ON Gallery in Poznań in 1980, she washed laundry in a metal wash-tub by hands and then hung it on the line bordering her action field.⁸ The letters on the cloth finally revealed the word "feminism."

In that time, the totalitarian government already allowed experimental art activities, however treated them as a sort of safety valve that guaranteed that artists would not protest. This was also the case of the ON Gallery that belonged to the Academy of Fine Arts in Poznań and was run by two women graduates from the academy: Izabellina GUSTOWSKA and Krystyna PIOTROWSKA. The first was also an assistant professor at the Academy in that time, what was quite unusual, because it was mostly men who were appointed as professors.

Unfortunately this promising initiative, like many others, was interrupted by the martial law imposed in Poland in December 1981. It was the time of national grief and hopelessness. Asked about this time and its consequences for artists, Izabella GUSTOWSKA told me, "The martial law was such a rupture, such an abyss that it was impossible just to fill in it. When communism collapsed in 1989, we faced a new reality. New curators appeared, and they searched for new art and new artists. And if someone from the former time survived on the art scene, it was only because of their determination and huge effort. Because of many reasons, such as family life, it was much difficult for women to survive."⁹

“My problem is a problem of a woman:” this is the sentence by Ewa PARTUM, who openly declared herself a feminist. It was pretty brave declaration in the situation of Polish art of the seventies. It should be noticed that in this and next decades, although women artists told about the condition of women in their works, they did not declare it clearly. Firstly, because as Natalia LL said, they had no support of art critics, gallerists or curators, as did feminist artists in the West. We may assume that they were also afraid of not being treated seriously by their male artistic colleagues. This was the case of PINIŃSKA-BEREŚ, when the artists of the Łódź Kaliska group (all male) put their own clothes into the bath-tub during her performance *Washing II* in Osieki.¹⁰

The background for Ewa PARTUM's activity in art was the conceptual art movement. However Ewa PARTUM, like Natalia LL, expanded and exceeded the language of conceptual art. They shifted the hermetic para-scientific experiments focused on the given medium such as video or photography towards the areas of sexuality, femininity and eroticism that were rarely present in the art of male representatives of this movement. With the use of visual codes that show women as objects of desire designed for male pleasure, they challenged these clichés and stereotypes. In the series of works entitled *Poems by Ewa*, she composed the letters of alphabet in words such as “love.” She used her lips with lipstick, which she imprinted on the piece of paper. This is a very conceptual but in the same time a very performative form. As Ewa PARTUM recalls: “at that time, dark-red lipstick was very fashionable. But the lipstick was not of a good quality and left marks. When you drank a cup of coffee, you left a lipstick smudge on the cup. When you kissed somebody, you left a lipstick shadow on their cheek...”¹¹ Thus Ewa PARTUM decided to play with this 'embarrassing' experience, and used it as her art tool. Her gesture belongs to the process of women seeking for their language and ways of expression in art, which we clearly see in her series of mouth-print works *My touch is a touch of a woman* (1971).

Her sentence “My problem is a problem of a woman” quoted above, was a part of her

project entitled *The Change* (1974) where the young artist artificially aged half of her face with help of professional make-up artists. She printed this photographic portrait with the sentence as a poster and hung it in the streets of Warsaw. The title of this action was *Emphatic portrait* (1978, 1979).¹² The artist touched the problem of getting old and the fear of it, which especially affects women, judged by their looks. This problem was also raised by Maria PINIŃSKA-BEREŚ in her sculpture *Is a woman a human being?* from 1972 consisting of a swimsuit formed in the shape of a female body, tagged with the inscription “date of production/date of expiring.”

Ewa PARTUM made a second version of *The Change* in 1979 in the Art Forum Gallery in Łódź. During the action, film makeup artists aged the right part of her body in front of the audience. The action was accompanied by a closed-circuit installation. The event was broadcast live on a TV screen installed in the gallery. Ewa PARTUM is also the author of other radical performances. She took part in the already mentioned *Women's art* exhibition in Poznań, where she made a performance piece *Women, the marriage is against you*. She was dressed in a bridal dress that she finally cut into pieces, thus manifested the rejection of the traditional female role and expectations toward women. She also showed that a women's dream about the ideal man, everlasting love and happy marriage promoted by fairy tales and popular culture is just an illusion. Ewa PARTUM recalled her friend Ewa ZAJĄC, who helped her in realisation of some performances. “She took photos of my actions, because I even didn't have a camera [she meant she could not afford the camera, and it was also very difficult to buy one]. She also ran the Address Gallery with me. But when she got married and had a child, her husband, who was also an artist started to blame her that she devoted more time to art than her family. Finally, she gave up.”¹³

Ewa PARTUM also challenged the conviction that women are stupid. In her performance titled *Stupid Woman* (1981) she appeared naked in front of the public. Only Christmas tree lights decorated her body. In this performance she interacted with the viewers,

she sat on their knees, touched and kissed them, drank alcohol and asked them if they found her beautiful, attractive and if they love her.¹⁴ She mocked the patriarchal dream about a completely vulnerable and subdued woman seeking for love and attention of the man. She visualised that dream so literally that it rather caused confusion instead of pleasure and fun.

Ewa PARTUM was aware of the prejudices towards women and about the fact that they are considered rather as an object of art than its creator. Thus, she decided to appear naked in front of the public while taking part in exhibitions or panel discussions. A naked woman standing next to men dressed in suits caused uncomfortable feelings. And this naked woman was not silent, as it would be expected. She spoke on art and the condition of women. She challenged the boundaries between private and public life, between what is expected and what is inappropriate in a given situation. And the performance art, which is based on direct contact between the artist and the audience, allowed her to evoke the discomfort of the viewers.

One of her most radical gestures took place in the Mała [Little] Gallery in Warsaw during the opening of her individual show *Self-identification* (1980), when she decided to go out of the gallery to the street. The gallery was located next to the Registry Office, where the civil weddings took place. Ewa PARTUM suddenly appeared naked in front of participants of a wedding ceremony. This performance lasted only a while, but long enough to evoke an effect of surprise and confusion, and some of the witnesses were not even sure if they really saw her or it was just a hallucination.¹⁵

Paradoxically, the official attitude of state authorities to sex and sexual freedom had very much in common with the Catholic Church's point of view on this issue. Sex in that time was a taboo and there was a kind of consent between the Church and the Communist authorities in this matter.¹⁶ If any sexual discourse existed, it was only medical. Thus the naked female body used to express a feminist message became political. It not only challenged the constraint of female sexual freedom imposed on women by

both patriarchal religion, but also the authority of the totalitarian power.

The play with erotic codes is clearly visible in already mentioned series of work entitled *Consumer Art* by Natalia LL. It's an intermedia artwork which includes photographs and video based on gestures performed in front of the camera. The artist didn't pose herself for this series. She encouraged women models to play with bananas, sausages and jelly. They are putting them in their mouths, licking them and smiling, suggesting the good fun and sensuous pleasure caused by this action.¹⁷ This series of works undoubtedly belongs among the artworks that still trigger our imagination and inspire new interpretations given by changing socio-political and artistic contexts. The critics of the seventies interpreted this work in the framework of conceptualism. They referred to its formal composition and the idea of permanent registration developed by the group Permafo (abbreviation of 'permanent photography'), whose leader was Andrzej LACHOWICZ, Natalia LL's husband.

The *Consumer Art* evokes many other questions and among them is the doubt whether the artist hadn't repeated the patriarchal patterns of objectifying women. We are not sure of anything in this work and this uncertainty sparks our imagination. We easily associate the bananas and sausages in the context of gestures and mines performed by the models as substitutes of the phallus. The women who at first seem to perform in front of the camera to please sexually a male voyeur, in fact have good fun with playing with phallic attributes. The male attribute disconnected from the body becomes a toy in the hands of a woman. The woman controls it, plays with it, but can also devour it at any time.¹⁸ After all, bananas and sausages are edible. The explanation of this work given by the artist herself and directly connected with its title, open us to another problem of the social reality within which it was created. When the dominant consumerism was and still is the problem of the Western culture based on capitalism, in communist Poland people dreamt of store shelves full of goods. Thus, this ecstasy of women playing with the fetishized

sausage or banana could be interpreted as a subversive political critique.

Also, the art of Natalia LL changed just before the next decade, but the reason was rather more personal than political. The breakthrough in Natalia LL's art came after an illness that she barely survived. As she recalls, the sudden deterioration of her health completely surprised her when she was at the top of her career. She was happy in love and in a blink of the eye it turned out that she was about to die.¹⁹ Since that time, the themes of passing away and death appear in her artworks. Sometimes like in the *Panic Sphere*, the artist explores the problem of fear, in the other works, like in the video *Brunhild*, she tries to 'familiarize' death through the use of black humor and the grotesque. She brightly combines the elements of Eros and Thanatos, and these erotic images like a banana in the mouth of a skull amuse more than terrify us.

For the purposes of this article, I would like to recall Natalia LL's performance from the series of *Dreaming*, which she began in 1978. The artist explored a specific state of mind and body while sleeping. The theme of sleeping as a state between life and death is present in art from the time of Symbolism, however Natalia LL with her conceptual background performed a live experiment through which she proved that sleeping and dreaming are important for our intuitive cognition and the course of the creative process. She explored this question in her performances, when she fell asleep right in front of the audience after taking sleeping pills. The performance *Pyramid* was a dreaming in a very specific surrounding - in a model of an ancient Egyptian pyramid. According to the artist, her dream experience came as a result of the specific impact of the pyramid on the human body and mind. The pyramid functions as a "detector or generator of the energy of the unconscious, embedded in us as a result of the repressed experience of our species."²⁰

The artist in the *Dreaming* series balanced between para-scientific experiments where she was both a researcher and an object. An attempt to reach and explore the different states of mind or different psychological dimensions situates

her performances close to the shamanic rituals. Natalia LL either 'travels' to the areas of cognition that are not accessible in the state of consciousness or observes other people while dreaming. Also her attributes such as a wreath on her head or a white gown bring associations with a priestess, a female shaman or even a goddess. It seems to be also significant that intuitive cognition and intuition are considered feminine qualities, contrary to the reason and scientific cognition attributed to men. And science and reason are more appreciated than intuition and instinct. Natalia LL seems to appreciate this domain as equally important as rational cognition.²¹ Natalia LL used very frequently in her conceptual art works a kind of spirituality, like in performances for camera where she repeated with her body the constellations of stars on the sky. In the *Points of Support* series from the end of the seventies she looks like a shaman performing mysterious rituals. This performance is also an example of sensuality incorporated into conceptual art by women artists.

The other artist whose performance pieces we can interpret as expressing longing for the primordial order of mother nature, when the woman was a goddess, a birth giver or a person that connects us with the mystery of life is Teresa MURAK. She sows seeds or puts them either in the ground or on her own body, where she lets them grow, as in the performance when she was taking a bath in a bathtub filled with soaked seeds until they sprout.²² It is an interesting fusion of female power associated with fertility and agrarian rituals, especially performed during Easter, celebrated the rebirth of nature, however it refers to more ancient rites.

Teresa MURAK's *Easter Carpet* (1974) was made of cress that she brought to the church in the village Kielcewice. Preserved photographs from this action depict a kind of procession of people carrying the carpet and led by the artist herself. The same year, in the performance entitled *Procession*, she was walking dressed in a cress coat through the streets of Warsaw.²³ This woman 'priestess', all in green, must have looked really stunning in the heart of the city made of concrete and steel.

Regardless of whether Teresa MURAK wanted to be associated with priestesses or not, we can read such a message from her ritual performances. A performance piece also worth mentioning is *The Rags of the Visitation Nuns (The Cloths of the Visitandines)*, which took place in the Dziekanka Gallery (Warsaw 1988), Labirynt gallery (Lublin, 1988) and in the Moltkerei Gallery (Cologne, 1989). The artist performed with old rags full of holes, used for many years by the nuns to clean a church.²⁴ During her performance, after cleaning of the gallery, the artist sowed grain in the rags' holes. Thus, we can interpret this gesture as a homage to the nuns and their invisible 'female' work. These burlap rugs made by the nuns were also fully natural, bio products.

The collapse of the totalitarian regime in Poland in 1989 and the social and economic changes that were their aftermath affected also the Polish art scene.²⁵ Women as a social group were losers of this transformation. Also the Catholic Church began to be more and more influential in the social and political life. The first symptoms of this could be seen during the Roundtable Talks held in 1989 between the representatives of the Communist government and the Opposition. Among the participants of the plenary session were only two women (only one from the Opposition side, i.e. the Solidarity movement) and fifty-four men.²⁶ There were also three priests with the status of 'Church observers'. The contribution of women in the fight with the regime was not reflected in the mass media and school books. However, during more recent years we have observed that more and more women's organisations have been working to remind the public of more of the unfairly forgotten women names. Recently also new leftist parties have appeared on the Polish political scene, and these fight for the rights of women and LGBT people and spotlight ecological issues, social inequalities and injustice.

Among the women artists who began their career after 1989 was Julita WÓJCIK. One of her first performances was based on the act of peeling potatoes in front of an audience in the Zachęta National Gallery of Art in 2001 and raised such everyday women's work to the level

of art.²⁷ The performance of this emerging artist caused a discussion in which the voices of support met the critical opinions of those who considered such a performance as banal and of poor artistic quality. There were also those who used it as an excuse to attack the new policy of the gallery. The performance by Julita WÓJCIK also had something in common with the above-mentioned *Washing* series by Maria PINIŃSKA-BEREŚ. Julita WÓJCIK was referring to the same strategy about two decades later. What we may conclude from her action is that in the intervening period, the social expectations towards women had not changed, and there were still those that would aim accusations such as 'banality, dilettantism, lack of artistic quality' against women artists working with women's problems.

In 2003, the artist did a performance *To Sweep up after Women Textile Workers*. In it, she was sweeping an abandoned factory hall in Łódź.²⁸ This simple everyday gesture was raised to a symbolical meaning. Women textile workers had been the victims of the political changes in Poland. Unlike the miners from the closing mines, who got a high severance allowance, women textile workers simply lost their jobs and just disappeared. They did not receive any extra support from the state. The city of Łódź, the second largest city in Poland, faced impoverishment and outflow of people. Łódź, called also the 'city of women,' clearly illustrates the phenomenon of the feminisation of poverty.²⁹

One of the prominent artists of a new generation, who started their career in the early 1990s was Katarzyna KOZYRA. She debuted in 1993 with her diploma artwork consisted of a sculpture made of taxidermy animals and a video, in which we see the artist killing a horse with an injection. The artwork caused a scandal, and the artist was attacked by media and also animal rights activists. On the one hand, killing animals for art does not seem to be very ethical, on the other, as she declared, she used already dead animals except the horse and a rooster that were already intended for slaughter.³⁰ The everyday animal killing in the food industry happens legally, but the society using these animals as products does not want to watch their

death. The artist both made visible these deaths and revealed the hypocrisy of the public, because as an individual woman artist she was much more easily targeted than the meat industry.

Katarzyna KOZYRA worked with gender issues and its performativity. One of her performances addressing these questions was a video-installation entitled *The Men's Bathhouse* from 1995. The video documenting this action shows the artist in the Turkish bath in Budapest. The artist with a hidden video camcorder and in a male disguise visited the male bath. Through her artwork she showed that the gender attributes and roles are all performative ones.³¹ We can perform as a man or as a woman and the way in which we behave and how we dress, determines how we are perceived. Performance art plays an important role in the art of Katarzyna KOZYRA, however usually it is only a part of more complex projects, where the artist uses media such as installation and video.

One of the most interesting and radical performative projects in Polish art was *I have seen my death* by Zuzanna JANIN. In Western culture, focused mostly on material goods and promoting youth and an active way of life, the subject of death is a taboo. People die mostly out of sight of the others in hospitals and old people's homes. Their bodies wait for the funeral in freezers. We have removed the death ritual as much as possible from our direct experience. Zuzanna JANIN distributed the information about her own death and funeral. Only the nearest relatives knew that it was an artistic action. She appeared at her own funeral in a disguise. After others revealed that she did not die, the artist faced aggressive attacks, both from the mass media as well as her colleagues from the art scene.³²

It is meaningful that most of the cases when an artist was accused of causing a scandal in the 1990s and after 2000 concerned artworks made by women. And what we should not overlook is that the attacks were particularly fierce, hateful and contemptuous. The women artists were attacked personally as people and women, while in the case of 'scandalous' works made by men, mostly the quality of art was questioned, but the artists themselves were not insulted.

An artist who explores the intersection of the female body and its intimacy, everyday household works and politics is Ewa ŚWIDZIŃSKA. She began her artistic career in the beginning of the 1990s and took part in the cycle of exhibitions focused on women's art organised after the political breakthrough in 1989. As the artist says, the performance is an updating of herself. "I am a performance" she used to say.³³ Thus, according to her, there is no performance concerning some general issues. Performance art is always personal. The artist through this medium explores her personal condition as a woman. The costume, the clothes are important props in her pieces. During the performance in the Grodzka Gallery in Lublin in 2005, she took off the subsequent layers of clothes, starting from a thick coat tightly covering her body. Finally, she stood dressed only in a 'sexy' latex suit and with a woman's handbag, which had a mirror on one side. The mirror plays a symbolical role in our culture. It is inherent with femininity and the image of woman. It's a tool of gentle oppression that always reminds women that they are judged mostly through their physical attractiveness. During this performance, the artist looked at herself in the mirror, then turned it to the public. While she was taking off the latex suit, the audience could see the photos from porn magazines covering her body. She tried to remove them with the use of chemicals and with scratching. Then she tried to wash her body. Finally, she stood naked in front of the public. She had released her body from the patriarchal clichés and expectations. As the art critic Łukasz GUZEK wrote, her body is the source of her resistance and also a medium through which she expresses her protest. The way to freedom leads through the freedom of the body. Here we can see a reference to Foucault's thought: blocking, confining the body is a strategy of power. Thus, the strategy of rebellion against power is unblocking and liberating the body.³⁴ The woman's body experiences many more limitations than the man's body in a patriarchal culture. Ewa ŚWIDZIŃSKA also takes pictures, intimate photography sessions of the female part of her body, such as photos of her genitals that

she adorns with trinkets. But the photos are not in the aesthetics of glamour or pop art. They rather document her private worship of her vagina – the women's sexual organ, deprived of its sacred meaning and despised in patriarchal cultures and religions.³⁵

Ewa ŚWIDZIŃSKA was also one of the participants of the *Performance-esse* women's performance festival curated by Małgorzata JANKOWSKA. The event took place in 2005 in the Wozownia Gallery in Toruń. Except Ewa ŚWIDZIŃSKA, the participants were emerging artists of that time, born in the late seventies or early eighties. Among them were Angelika FOJTUCH, the Sędzia Główny (The Chief Judge) duo and the Dziewczęta Przeszanowne (The Most Honorable Girls) group. The festival took place on 13th of December. Regardless of whether that was accidental or intentional, the date was symbolical, as it was the anniversary of the introduction of martial law in Poland in 1981. The artist who referred to this date in her performance piece was Anna GRZYCZKA. She involved a group of people wearing t-shirts with printed newspaper articles about the martial law on it. They stood in a queue, which referred to the economic crisis in Poland in the 1980s. All of them wore dark glasses, like general JARUZELSKI who had introduced the martial law. The articles printed on the t-shirts had been collected by the artist from different sources and periods, before and after the collapse of Communism system in Poland. The last person in the queue presented the most recent article on the martial law. The articles proved how the language of the public debate changed in the time when the country regained independence.³⁶ But the young Polish democracy faced another danger – the rising influence of conservative and traditional politics promoted by so called right-wing politicians, supported by the Catholic Church.

The other event dedicated only to women's art was *Święto Kobiet* (the Women's Day) curated by the Exgirls – a duo of feminist curators: Magdalena UJMA and Joanna ZIELIŃSKA. In the period of rule of the Communist regime, International Women's Day was officially celebrated, but it was rather a farce.

In the democratic Poland women tried to regain control of this holiday and find deeper ways of celebrating it, such as cultural events, where the issues of equality and empowering women were taken up. *The Women's Day* by Exgirls promoted such a point of view. And performances were important here, although not the only one type of art presented during the edition in 2003.

Angelika FOJTUCH made a radical performance in a much frequented area in the city centre of Krakow. She was standing in a walker and wore a big nappy. She also held a sheet of paper with the inscription "I am a woman. God bless you," which created associations with beggars asking for money.³⁷ The artist, almost naked, stood in her pose for 3 hours. The cold weather made this challenge even more difficult. Performance artists quite often examine the limitations of their bodies, but the performance by Angelika FOJTUCH raises the question about female bodies, their strength, endurance, suffering and also their politicisation. The artist in a very direct and suggestive way showed the position of women in Poland based on 'Catholic values' and the neoliberal economy. The slogan from Barbara KRUGER's poster *Your body is a battleground* referring to the political fights for control of women's bodies and procreation in the United States of the seventies, became very up-to-date at the turn of the new millennium in Poland.³⁸ The sentence "God bless you" that could be literally read as "God will pay you" expresses gratitude for charity. It also refers to the role of the Catholic Church in maintaining the inferior position of women in the society. The poor and passive woman as was portrayed in a grotesque way by Angelika FOJTUCH in her performance can only count on people's and God's mercy.

Aleksandra KUBIAK and Karolina WIKTOR, who worked for several years as a duo, the Sędzia Główny (The Chief Judge) group, also dealt with the condition of the woman in society, by challenging the stereotypical women's role models. The use of similar costumes and wigs and also the same gestures and poses performed during their actions made their performance pieces very spectacular. They called the performances they made together *The Chapters*

and their common artistic output is about eighty performance pieces. They performed both in galleries and in public places. Their look in the different performances was changeable, but it was always an important part of the event. We could see a wide range of the images of women, from pin-up girls, a little black dress, through the vamp look, to the uni-sex creatures or a kind of clones like in the performance with a banana *Hommage a Natalia LL*.³⁹ These 'artistic twins' based their performance pieces on a contradiction, usually between their attractive, sexy look that was contrasted by their manner of behaviour. During their performance *Chapter LXI. Women's Day in Łódź* in the Manhattan Gallery, they wore short, red and white polka dot dresses and high-heeled shoes. In such costumes, on all fours, they were drinking vodka, spitting the alcohol on the floor and then licking it, thus doing the job of a cleaner.⁴⁰ In another performance that took place about Easter time, they pushed eggs out of their vaginas, while they were sitting on the counter in a pub. Then they served pieces of the eggs to the public (as it is in the Eastern European ritual that based on sharing a piece of egg as a good luck symbol).⁴¹ We can interpret such an action on many levels. They referred to the ritual of the consecration of food brought to the church in the baskets during Easter. In this, as symbol of fertility, eggs play an important role in it, and at this time, they are decorated in many colours and patterns. But both eggs themselves as a symbol of fertility and the custom of decorating them reaches back to the pre-Christian times. The act of pushing eggs out of the artists' vaginas seems to refer to the role of the woman as a birthgiver. These leads to their objectification and treating them as reproductive machines in the name of duty to the Church, state and particular male interests. The performance poses also questions about the sex industry. The performances by the Chief Judge group play with all these expectations and stereotypes, but instead of perpetuating them, they challenge them. It is also important that this performance took place in a pub, rather than in a gallery or go-go club. At least part of the audience was not prepared for such a show. Such 'pushy' interference in a public sphere may, of

course, cause hostility and rejection but may also provoke discussion.

One of the performances by the Chief Judge took place in the studios of a Polish TV station called TVP Kultura (TVP Culture). In 2005, the artists proposed a game for the viewers, who could call to the TV studio and give some orders to the artists. Although the premise is that the programs of the TVP Culture station are considered to appeal mainly to ambitious and sophisticated viewers, the Chief Judge's performance proved something opposite. Most of the orders were given by men, and they usually asked the artists to take off their clothes.⁴² As Yoko Ono and Marina ABRAMOVIC had once done, the Chief Judge duo created a performance piece, where they became passive objects of viewer's actions. Three decades later they confirmed the same mechanism: women are expected to be passive objects, but that passivity causes their objectification and aggression towards them. Here we can compare the traditional works of art, such as paintings, sculptures, etc. with action art that happens live. Regardless of the type of a performance piece, the immanent feature of performance art is its rebellious character. The performance happens live, thus is unpredictable, both for the artists and the viewers.

This unpredictability is highly visible in the performances by Anna KALWAJTYS. She also knows how to build up the tension. She starts from very calm, delicate and subtle gestures at the beginning and intensifies her expression until the climax. This is the point when nobody is sure what may happen next.⁴³ Her performance *The Flag* from 2017 started in the 'safe' space of the Zbrojownia [Armoury] Gallery at the Academy of Fine Arts in Gdansk. The artist painted her body in black and also a half of her face. She painted the other half in white. She performed with two big flags. One of them with white and red stripes referred to the Polish flag, but the artist added also the black colour. The other flag was white as a flag of surrender. The artist was waving the flags, first more delicately then stronger and stronger, almost desperately. Then she unexpectedly left the gallery space and ran out into the town's street. While still waving the black-red-black flag she started to

scream very loudly, with a piercing voice as if she called someone from the distance. She also seemed to imitate the sounds of animals or maybe the cries of tribal people. Some passers-by started to interact with her. The flags got 'dirty' when they brushed up against the painted body of the artist. Thus, the colours and the borders between them were not so 'clear' anymore. In the last scene of the performance, the artist went back to the gallery. She took the white flag from its pole and wore as a skirt. Then she put a Phrygian bonnet on her head and holding the other flag took up a pose resembling the female allegory from the painting *Liberty Leading the People* by Delacroix. However Anna KALWAJTYS's postcolonial interpretation of the allegory of Liberty prompted the question what this notion means now.⁴⁴ The context of this performance was also the forthcoming one-hundredth anniversary of regaining the independence of Poland after one hundred and twenty years of partition between three European Empires (Russia, Prussia, Austria). It was also in 1918 that Polish women 'received' the rights to vote. But in fact, despite the great involvement of women in resistance against the invaders, the leader of the new country, Józef Piłsudski, was still rather reluctant to accept this liberal idea. Thus women gathered in front of his mansion in the cold November evening and knocked with umbrellas to his door and windows until he accepted their rights.

The umbrella as a symbol of women's rights was used again in October 2016, when women in Poland took the streets in protest against an attempt to pass a bill that restricts the already restrictive anti-abortion law. Polish women faced not only the danger of violation of their human rights but also the fear of death or disability if the new law had been introduced. Men also suddenly understood that the fight for women rights wasn't only a case for women but of freedom and democracy for all. Thus, they came to protest with women. On the 3rd of November – the day when the main protests took place – it was rainy. Thus, tens thousands of umbrellas covered the streets of big cities. Also women from smaller towns joined, which rather had not happened in the past, because the Church and conservative politicians are more influential there. The number of protesting women in small towns

was not so impressive, but those who decided to protest should be even more appreciated; to be one of five or ten protesters exposed to people's eyes required much more courage than protesting among thousands who think the same. Since then it was called a 'protest of umbrellas'. These demonstrations, called also the 'Black Protests', are worth mentioning in the context of women's art in Poland, because it sparked the collaboration of Polish women activists, artists and theoreticians, which had never happened before. Thus, it was the beginning of a real feminist movement in Poland.⁴⁵

I would like to describe briefly two examples of such collaborations. One of them took place in the Centre of Contemporary Art in Toruń in 2018, where its director Waclaw KUCZMA curated the exhibition *Why do we need freedom, anyway?*. Among forty invited artists, only one was a woman. When somebody tries to refer to the problem of freedom and ignores the voices of women, I can say without a doubt that such a person committed a kind of abuse. It caused a reaction in the form of action. The collaboration between artists and activists that had been strengthened in the time of protests against the anti-abortion law, now profited. Both women and men appeared at the opening of the exhibition. They were dressed in paper costumes with the names of about forty Polish women artists. The sentences on their costumes asked the question such as "Where is Natalia LL?," "Where is Maria PINIŃSKA-BEREŚ?" and many others.⁴⁶

The censorship and removal of the works by Natalia LL, Katarzyna KOZYRA and the Chief Judge group from the permanent exhibition of the National Museum in Warsaw by its newly appointed director, Jerzy Miziołek (now already dismissed), was covered not only by the Polish press. What is very meaningful, all the censored artists were women who referred to the question of femininity and gender issues in their art. All of them also created performance pieces or works based on performative practices. The removed work of Natalia LL was from the above-mentioned series with bananas entitled *Consumer Art*.⁴⁷ This act of censorship sparked protests of both the artistic community as well as

journalists, writers, art lovers etc. They gathered and performed with the eating of bananas in front of the National Museum. Some people also made such video-performances with bananas or performances for photography and published them in social media. The protesters were very creative and as in the case of the exhibition in Toruń, the distinction between social protest and action art became blurred.

As the last performance art piece to be described, I would like to mention my own action entitled *Women's Food Riots* from 2018. This event illustrates well how the collaboration of women activists and artists works and how ephemeral, time-based art can support promotion of women's achievements. I was asked by the group of activists from the Łódzki Szlak Kobiet (Lodz Women's Trail) to propose an artwork referring to the Women Hunger March from 1981, when women took to the streets because of shortages of food. As I have already mentioned, women's involvement in protests against the totalitarian power was frequently omitted in the official version of history taught in schools. Women's grass-root organisations have been working for a few years in order to change this picture. While doing research on this case, I realised that the Women's Hunger March in Łódź was a part of a series of similar protests that had taken place in the past and were still happening in different parts of the world (Latin America, Africa) and in different political and economic systems. Food Riots (riots caused by food shortages or hunger) have one thing in common. Very often, women are their instigators and constitute the majority of protesters. However, they have always happened in the regions under governments based on patriarchal values, corruption, military regime or war. Women's street protests are caused by a desperation, which has a revolutionary potential. In many cases women's protests became a harbinger of social change.

At the Freedom Square in Łódź, I set up 11 banners representing the dates and regions where women protests against food shortages had taken place. The installation consisting of banners was the background for my performance,

during which I walked with a megaphone around the Freedom Square reading fragments of articles about food riots in various parts of the world, including the Women's Hunger March in Łódź. I distributed small cards with information about the women's food riots to passers-by. I also invited other women artists from Łódź, especially from the Frakcja group (of which I am a member) to participate in the event. The artists one after another or sometimes simultaneously performed around the square.⁴⁸

To conclude, in this brief article it was not possible to introduce the works of numerous other women artists who have contributed to the performance art or performative art practices in Poland, thus I chose only a few examples to illustrate the relationship between changing political condition of the country and the evolvement of women's action art dealing with feminist issues. However, among women performance artists, we shouldn't omit such names as Ewa ZARZYCKA, Anna KUTERA, Malga KUBIAK, Aleka POLIS, Justyna GÓROWSKA, Karolina KUBIK, Justyna SCHEURING, Ola KOZIOŁ, Marta OSTAJEWSKA and many others.

Thus, women artists have been present in the Polish performance art scene from the beginning of introducing of this discipline in Poland. Frequently it was not the only part of their art, though nevertheless an important one. We can also observe that this kind of activity was very often a means of resistance against the dominant political power. Women's performance art pieces from the seventies or eighties were based on more private gestures, watched only by a limited audience or even without the viewer's presence. Nevertheless their gestures are preserved through photographs and sometimes film recordings. In the nineties and after 2000, artists of the generation born in the late seventies or early eighties started to criticise the stereotypes and prejudices against women in a more open way. They also do it with the use of subversive strategies, mockery and irony and perform in the public venues as well. They also challenge the system of art education, like the *Dziewczęta Przeszanowne* group. They teased their professors who believed that women art students,

even gifted one, would not be able to have an artistic career. The artists from the group, while still students, replied to them in subversive way. When they were given a task to make a sculpture, they carved the head from mashed potatoes from the canteen.⁴⁹ This apparent student's joke shows another feature of performance art. It can be created spontaneously and instantly. Thus, the performance artist can react immediately. Such features as immediacy and unpredictability determine the rebellious potential of this type of art. A good example of these features is Cecylia MALIK's action against the massive tree felling ordered by the rightist Catholic and anti-ecological government recently in the whole of Poland, even in protected areas.⁵⁰ This was a very simple but powerful gesture, Cecylia MALIK sat on one of the many trunks of the freshly cut down trees and started to breastfeed her little child. Then she published documentary photos in social media. This triggered the action *Polish Mothers at the Felling* that was joined by many other women doing the same in other places.

Before the political turnaround of 1989, women artists worked individually, although there were some in male-dominated or mixed artistic groups. Only in the new political reality did women's artistic groups such as The Chief Judge, Dziewczęta Przeszanowne or Łuhuu start to appear. None of them received a professional education in performance art, but they felt that painting or sculpture or any kind of object art was not sufficient to express their feelings and thoughts. I can also add that when a group of artists works together, regardless of whether its members are artists practicing performance art or not, it triggers an action. I can also observe it in the Frakcja, a group of women artists to which I belong. We create artworks for the exhibitions of our group individually, however if we decided to do something together, these were usually a performance art pieces.

In the period of the new democracy, especially during last two decades, performance art pieces by Polish women artists became more rebellious. Since 2016, the course of Polish politics has become more populist, conservative and democracy is in danger again, and this also badly

affects women's rights and their position in the society. But at the same time, thanks to democracy and the financial support of the European Union, the grass-root women's initiatives have appeared and are getting stronger. The collaboration of women from different branches of public life seems to be organised well enough to defend women's rights and make the country more friendly to women and all discriminated people in the future.

Notes

- ¹ Anka Leśniak, *Fading Traces*, video-installation, 2010. An interview with Natalia LL.
- ² Anuradha Kumar, *Human Rights. Global perspectives* (New Delhi: Sarup & Sons, 2002), 269.
- ³ Anka Leśniak, *Fading Traces*, video-installation, 2010. An interview with Anna Kutera. See also: <http://tranzit.org/exhibitionarchive/tag/kutera-anna/>.
- ⁴ Anka Leśniak, *Fading Traces*, video-installation, 2010. An interview with Natalia LL.
- ⁵ Anka Leśniak, *Fading Traces*, video-installation, 2010. An interview with Anna Kutera.
- ⁶ Anka Leśniak, *Fading Traces*, video-installation, 2010. An interview with Natalia LL.
- ⁷ "Address Gallery Documentation," Filmoteka Muzeum, *artmuseum.pl*, <https://artmuseum.pl/en/filmoteka/praca/partum-ewa-dokumentacja-galerii-adres>.
- ⁸ Izabela Kowalczyk, "Feminist exhibitions in Poland: From identity to the transformation of visual order," *Working with Feminism: Curating and Exhibitions in Eastern Europe*, ed. Katrin Kivimaa (Tallin: Acta Universitatis Tallinensis, 2012), 101.
- ⁹ Anka Leśniak, *Fading Traces*, video-installation, 2010. An interview with Izabella Gustowska.
- ¹⁰ Agata Jakubowska, "Twórczość Adama Rzepeckiego w latach 1980-tych jako sztuka męska i inna," *lodzkaliska.eu*, <http://lodzkaliska.eu/rzepecki/nova/jakubowska.html>; About the artist see also: Oskar Hanusek, Translated by Joanna Pietrak, "Maria Pinińska-Bereś – breaking social conventions," <https://contemporarylynx.co.uk/maria-pininska-beres-breaking-social-conventions>; Tatar, Ewa Małgorzata. „Prayer for Rain – land-art performance by Maria Pinińska-Bereś,” *Parallel Chronologies. An Archive of East European Exhibitions*, <http://tranzit.org/exhibitionarchive/?s=pini%C5%84ska-beres%C5%9B&lang=>.
- ¹¹ Anka Leśniak, *Fading Traces*, video-installation, 2010. An interview with Ewa Partum.
- ¹² Ewa Partum, eds. Aneta Szyłak, Berenika Partum and Ewa Małgorzata Tatar (Gdańsk: Instytut Sztuki Wyspa, 2012/2013), 135.
- ¹³ Anka Leśniak, *Fading Traces*, video-installation, 2010. An interview with Ewa Partum.
- ¹⁴ Ewa Partum, 144.
- ¹⁵ Ibidem, 142.
- ¹⁶ Anna Grzymała-Busse, "Poland as an Anomaly in Church–State Relations?" Concilium Civitas Foundation, *conciliumcivitas.pl*, <http://conciliumcivitas.pl/poland-as-an-anomaly-in-church-state-relations/>.
- ¹⁷ Krzysztof Jurecki, "Natalia LL," *Culture.pl*, <https://culture.pl/en/artist/natalia-ll>.
- ¹⁸ Germaine Greer, "Consumer Art' and Other Commodity Aesthetics in Eastern Europe under Communist Rule," *faktografia.com*, <https://faktografia.com/2017/06/03/consumer-art-and-other-commodity-aesthetics-in-eastern-europe-under-communist-rule/>. See also: *Natalia LL. Consumer Art and Beyond*, ed. Agata Jakubowska (Warszawa: Centrum Sztuki Współczesnej Zamek Ujazdowski, 2017). Essays by Anna Markowska, Wojciech Szymański, Ewa Toniak, Monika Bakke, Maja Fowkes, Reuben Fowkes, David Crowley, Eva Badura-Triska, Claudia Calirman.
- ¹⁹ Anka Leśniak, "Oddzielenie według Natalii LL," *Łódź-art.eu*, <http://www.lodz-art.eu/wydarzenia/oddzielenie>.
- ²⁰ (AK), „Natalia LL, Pyramid,” Filmoteka Muzeum, *artmuseum.pl*, <https://artmuseum.pl/en/filmoteka/praca/ll-natalia-piramida>.
- ²¹ Natalia LL, *Points of Support*, Texts, Natalia LL homepage, <https://nataliall.com/en/points-of-support-1978-1978/>.
- ²² The performance took place in the Centre of Polish Sculpture in Orońsko in 1989.
- ²³ Ewa Małgorzata Tatar, "Procession – performance by Teresa Murak," *Parallel Chronologies: An Archive of East European Exhibitions*, <http://tranzit.org/exhibitionarchive/procession-performance-by-teresa-murak/>.
- ²⁴ Izabela Kowalczyk, "Aleka Polis: Cleaning (for) Democracy," *Czas Kultury*, 3 (2016): 47-48.
- ²⁵ During the Communist regime, artists received well paid state commissions and had a privileged position in relation to amateurs. Although the commissions concerned design and decorative arts, they were still an opportunity to earn good money to live off. After the political transition of 1989, professional artists and designers lost their status in the neo-liberal economy and now compete in the market with dilettantes offering much lower price for their services.
- ²⁶ "Penn: The Women of Solidarity Have Yet To Be Appreciated," *Culture.pl*, <https://culture.pl/en/article/penn-the-women-of-solidarity-have-yet-to-be-appreciated>.
- ²⁷ Katarzyna Kosmala, "Transcending Clichés with Julita Wojcik," *Art Margins*, <https://artmargins.com/transcending-cliches-with-julita-wojcik/>.
- ²⁸ Ibidem.
- ²⁹ Elżbieta Tarkowska, "An Underclass without Ethnicity: The Poverty of Polish Women and Agricultural Laborers," *Poverty, Ethnicity, and Gender in Eastern Europe During the Market Transition*, eds. Rebecca Jean Emigh, Ivan Szelenyi (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2001), 97.

- ³⁰ “Pyramid of Animals by Katarzyna Kozyra. Letters and Articles,” in *Primary Documents. A source book for Eastern and Central European Art since 1950s*, eds. Laura Hoptman and Tomas Pospisyl (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2002), 250-256.
- ³¹ *The men's bathhouse*, Polish Pavillon, Venice 1999, <https://labiennale.art.pl/en/wystawy/the-mens-bathhouse/>.
- ³² Agnieszka Warnke, “Playing with Death: The Morbid Obsessions of Contemporary Polish Artists,” *Culture.pl*, <https://culture.pl/en/article/playing-with-death-the-morbid-obsessions-of-contemporary-polish-artists>.
- ³³ Łukasz Guzek, *Performatyzacja sztuki* (Gdańsk: Academy of Fine Arts in Gdańsk, 2013), 132. <https://pbc.gda.pl/Content/42838/Performatyzacja.pdf>.
- ³⁴ Ibidem.
- ³⁵ Riane Eisler, *Sacred Pleasure: Sex, Myth, and the Politics of the Body* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 2012), 16.
- ³⁶ Guzek, *Performatyzacja sztuki*, 132.
- ³⁷ Ibidem, 74.
- ³⁸ *The Broad's* website, <https://www.thebroad.org/art/barbara-kruger/untitled-your-body-battleground>.
- ³⁹ *Grupa Sędzia Główny / Chief Judge Group*, ed. Karol Sienkiewicz (Zielona Góra: BWA Zielona Góra, 2008), 137.
- ⁴⁰ Ibidem.
- ⁴¹ Guzek, *Performatyzacja sztuki*, 56.
- ⁴² “Sędzia Główny / Chief Judge,” *Culture.pl*, <https://culture.pl/en/artist/sedzia-glowny>.
- ⁴³ Anna Kalwajtys. *The Edge*, ed. Maksymilian Wroniszewski (Gdańsk, Academy of Fine Arts in Gdańsk, Wyspa Progress Foundation, 2019).
- ⁴⁴ Katarzyna Lewandowska, „Wyspa: Open Form/ Social Sculpture,” <http://www.splesz.pl/anna-kalwajtys-flaga-uporczywy-performatyw/>. Anna Kalwajtys, *Flaga*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ed4Mo_IVj-M&feature=emb_title.
- ⁴⁵ Agnieszka Wiśniewska, “The Black Protests have changed Poland,” *Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*, <https://www.fes-connect.org/reading-picks/the-black-protests-have-changed-poland/>.
- ⁴⁶ “Kontrowersje w Centrum Sztuki Współczesnej. Mężczyźni o wolności,” *Gazeta Pomorska*, <https://pomorska.pl/kontrowersje-w-centrum-sztuki-wspolczesnej-mezczyzni-o-wolnosc-zdjecia/ar/13094934>.
- ⁴⁷ Balasz Takac, “Who is Natalia LL, The Controversial Banana-Eating Polish Artist?” *Widewalls*, <https://www.widewalls.ch/magazine/natalia-ll-controversial-art-banana>.
- ⁴⁸ *Women Food Riots*, http://www.ankalesniak.pl/women_food_riots2018.htm.
- ⁴⁹ Małgorzata Pelkowska, “Dziewczęta Przeszanowne,” *Sztuka i Dokumentacja*, nr 3 (2010): 67.
- ⁵⁰ “Polish law change unleashes ‘massacre’ of trees,” *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2017/apr/07/polish-law-change-unleashes-massacre-of-trees>.

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