

Zofia REZNIK

The Eugeniusz Geppert Academy of Art and Design in Wrocław

HERSTORICAL FIGURES. WOMEN IN THE 1946-1980 ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS OF THE STATE HIGHER SCHOOL OF PLASTIC ARTS IN WROCŁAW

Introduction

The year 1946 was the 'year zero' for the Wrocław art academy – on October 1st, the first academic year was inaugurated at the Higher School of Plastic Arts in Wrocław (since 1949 State Higher School of Plastic Arts, SHSPA, now The Eugeniusz Geppert Academy of Art and Design in Wrocław, EGAAD).¹ The group of students included 20 women and 36 men. However, there was not a single woman among the teaching staff at that time. The only female employee of the HSPA was one secretary.²

In the Polish lands, it was not until the early twentieth century that the access to artistic training in the visual arts became possible for women. Although there were female students at the Warsaw School of Fine Arts (Szkola Sztuk Pięknych w Warszawie) as early as 1904, it was still a private institution at the time. Access to a public college was first to be won for herself by Zofia Baltarowicz-Dzielińska in Kraków in 1917, and from the following year – when Poland regained independence – the possibility for women to obtain higher artistic education became formally a reality at both the Academies of Fine Arts, in Kraków³ and Warsaw.⁴ Women started

studying with great enthusiasm and accounted for around a third of all students, although this pathway was still class-based. It was only after the Second World War – as part of the country's communisation process – that the opportunity to access art studies became more realistic and egalitarian.⁵ Although gender equality was already enshrined in the 1919 Constitution, the right to education or work was only secured by the socialist state after 1945.⁶ Since that time, women accounted for around half of all students nationwide.⁷ As Zdzisława Czyżowska noted in her paper for the UN World Conference on the Decade of Women in 1986, the removal of barriers to education in Poland after the Second World War was used to a greater extent by girls than by boys, and this was a growing trend.⁸ Historian Małgorzata Fidelis reminds us, however, that all these changes were not the product of an impersonal state apparatus, but instead the outcome of the efforts of particular activists from the 'women's departments' of the public administration, whose work she details.⁹

SHSPA was special in this respect, as it was constituted from the ground up in 1946, which was its 'year zero'. Although the school was founded literally and metaphorically on the ruins of the Breslau Academy of Arts and Crafts (*Akademie*

für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe zu Breslau) and, in a city with a new territorial affiliation, did not act as its institutional continuation. Neither did it refer to the pre-war schools of Lviv, although a large proportion of the post-1945 inhabitants of Wrocław came from the so-called Eastern Borderlands, nor was it a branch of the Art Academy in Kraków, although its initiators and many of the first professors came from there.¹⁰ The college created its artistic and institutional identity from scratch. Since women had already made up about half of the students since 1945, one could therefore assume that in such a context, internal relations at the SHSPA had a chance to be re-established in an open and more equal distribution. However, as we know thanks to the *Little Chance to Advance?* (*Małe szanse na awans*) report published in 2015, the number of women students did not translate into the so-called pedagogical body. As the co-authors of the report state: "If the gender ratio among professors truly mirrored the gender ratio of students (with an appropriate time lag), women would have made up half of the professors back in the 1970s. Meanwhile, today, 45 years later, they make up only one-fifth".¹¹ The report showed that equality changes in Polish art academies are occurring as the slowest of all higher education institutions – at the level of theological schools [*sic!*] – therefore, the researchers call this situation not a glass ceiling, but an 'armoured ceiling'.

In this article, I would like to present my preliminary findings concerning the number of women at the State Higher School of Plastic Arts in Wrocław in the light of selected archival material from the years 1946-1980. Initially, I collected quantitative data as contextual research for my oral history based doctoral project at the University of Wrocław and within the scope of a research project entitled 'The Thicket' at the Wersja Foundation. I then developed the database with a grant from the National Science Centre and, based on my activist experience as part of the Caryatid Collective,¹² I transferred it to a dedicated Wikipedia subpage – a dedicated 'Wikiproject'.¹³ These are now partly available in open access as the Wikiproject

Thicket.¹⁴ Through this research I wish to look at how this kind of data can be useful for the feminist rewriting of Polish art history or even in evoking the so-called herstory of art in Poland.

History, herstories and statistics – mixing methodologies

As I began working on the Wrocław art herstories of the 1970s, which is the main part of my PhD project pursued in the field of oral history, I needed to compile a list of potential women interlocutors and obtain contacts with them. Preparing this list of artists inspired me to look at the presence of women in the Wrocław art community a little more broadly, from its post-war beginnings in 1945. While working on the individual narratives, I was simultaneously collecting personal information, which began to form a comprehensive database. I began to ask not only qualitative but also quantitative questions: how many women were there actually? What was their percentage of the total number of students, lecturers, exhibitors? Was the situation of women in the 1970s different from that of earlier decades, and if so, how?

An important moment for me was meeting Anna Kutera and receiving her story about the 1977 work *Is the Word 'Woman' a Noun or an Adjective*,¹⁵ in which the artist used data from a Central Statistical Office publication to ask provocative questions: if the figures prove the equality of women and men among art graduates, why do so few of these women fulfil themselves creatively and where does the problem of discrimination actually come from? Are not the women themselves responsible for their alienation?¹⁶

Following the artist's lead, I came across Roman Wieruszewski's 1975 publication *Equality of Women and Men in People's Poland*, a comprehensive study of the situation of women in the People's Republic of Poland compiled and published in conjunction with the United Nations'

proclamation of the International Women's Year. The author argued that, despite constitutional gender equality and women gaining full legal rights, it was still necessary to work towards exercising them in practice. To this end, he listed as essential: the need to abolish damaging stereotypes of weakness, lack of ambition or rationality which hold women back in the employment market, the stimulation of their professional development and more substantial participation in the adoption of leadership roles, and the unburdening of household duties, in which he assessed men's participation as still negligible.¹⁷ As Wieruszewski emphasised in his conclusion, care should be taken above all for the practical and psychological support of women, enhancing the process of their 'internal emancipation', resulting in their willingness to take up the opportunities for acting offered them by the socialist state, of course.¹⁸

I began to ask myself, therefore, obviously engaging with the Linda Nochlin's pivotal question¹⁹, what was it that caused – despite such a large number of women students of fine arts after the Second World War – that so few of them were recognised by art history? Why did such a small number pursue a successful career and are mentioned in the textbooks as important figures in contemporary art?

Even though I did not have a relevant social science background, I decided to add quantitative research to the qualitative methods I was using to collect and analyse micronarratives. Anna Kutera provided me with inspiration for this not only with her work, but also by showing me Anka Leśniak's 2010 video *Fading Traces*, in which she appeared telling her own story as one of the doyennes of 1970s art in Poland.²⁰ Thanks to this clue, I also discovered the 2011 project *Registered*, in which Lesniak created, among other pieces, very articulate, almost abstract 'statistical' paintings presenting the proportion of women and men in the exhibitions shown in contemporary art galleries existing since the 1970s, as well as an animation presenting data on the representation of women in art colleges in the twenty-first

century.²¹ I also remembered the iconic works of the American group Guerrilla Girls, which often used figures in its banners and posters. Their aim was to emphatically, visually communicate the glaring gender disparity in galleries and museum collections: "less than 5% of the artists in the Modern Art Sections are women, but 85% of the nudes are female", as we learn from their most recognisable work *Do Women Have To Be Naked To Get Into the Met. Museum?*²²

The possibility of using data visualisation techniques as a means of communicating knowledge, for example in digital humanities, and at the same time as a strategy of feminist activism, seems to me a particularly appealing prospect. I am therefore attempting to use these tactics in a very basic form – simple tables, ratios, arithmetical facts, indicators and figures – by inviting the hitherto rather alien statistical tools into the field of art history. A revised, herstorical and more equitable re-reading of the past of art in Wrocław gains a new dimension with the support of the language of mathematical signs and relationships, which brilliantly illustrates the existing social inequalities. The combination of qualitative, especially biographical, and quantitative methods seems to me to be particularly important when it comes to the critical reflection on women's art. This combination provides a basis for seeing processes, grasping changes and trends or visualising the historical setting also through personal testimonies. Even if it requires stating the obvious to begin with: that while women made up half of all art students in the previous century, among female staff at art academies they were mainly cleaners and secretaries; and that this is also reflected in the under-representation of women in museum collections or in the positions as art professors in the 21st century.

I was largely inspired to develop this article on the numerical presence of women in Wrocław's SHSPA by the *Little Chance to Advance?* report, mentioned above and widely discussed in the art community. However, I was encouraged to pursue it by the work of an 'academic sister', Magdalena

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In the light of historical data, it would therefore be appropriate to say that there is a pedagogical model firmly rooted in the academy's past, and its figure in the 20th and 21st centuries is no longer master-disciple, but rather 'master and apprentices.'

Mach, previously unknown to me, who, at the conference “Women's Utopias in Action. 100 Years of Women's Voting Rights” in Kraków in 2018, presented a paper entitled *Women at the Jan Matejko Academy of Fine Arts in Kraków*, a compilation and analysis of quantitative data on female students and staff at the academy she is associated with.²³ I am convinced that collecting such research from other institutions in Poland, although tedious and time-consuming, will allow for more nuanced comparative studies in the future.

Research materials, objectives and questions

For the purposes of this article, I have set the upper time limit at 1980, that is the end of Tadeusz Forowicz's rectorship (1967-1980). The source materials I have analysed are: matriculation books, entry book and book of studies (student cards) covering the years 1946-1973, the diploma book (1952-1997) and academic year organisation plans from 1954 to 1980. Some documents were not available, such as the consecutive book of studies and staffing plans for some years, especially for the period 1946-1954. The research could be supplemented, deepened, and more detailed by referring to other documents, especially the personal files of individual female students and members of staff. However, as their total number is very high, analysing it was beyond the scope of this study. All the source materials mentioned are kept in the Archive of EGAAD. I have also used the information available in the monographs of the artistic milieu and academy in Wrocław, especially the book containing the memoirs of its first pedagogues, in order partially to fill in the missing information and to include herstorical testimonies.

When I refer to ‘women in SHSPA’ I mean those persons who have been identified as belonging to the female gender and socialised as

women. Staying with the binary gender division, I distinguish them based on their female name existing in the archival documents. When writing I seek to place them at the centre of both my interest and narrative. With the intention of looking at the equality transformations and the factors conditioning them, I ask the documents a very basic question: how many women were there actually in the Wrocław Academy of Fine Arts? I focus primarily on women students, including graduates, as well as research and teaching staff, also collecting scattered information about those working in the school's administrative division.

The aim of the authors of the *Little Chance to Advance?* report was to provide an answer to the question “why are women dropping out on such a scale in the Polish art education system?” and to identify the cultural, environmental, and psychological factors blocking their advancement and thus the generational and gender transformation in the art schools. This phenomenon, as the researchers point out, is the strongest in art colleges of all art schools and universities in general. They mainly point to the negative role of the master-apprentice model functioning in these colleges, which makes the professor's influence on the student's career path development very strong, sometimes extending throughout the student's entire lifetime.²⁴

In the course of researching and collecting the existing data, more questions emerged than I was able to answer, including: on what did the progression of those who persevered depend? Were there any differences in the speed of promotion between men and women? What were the reasons for dropping out for those who did not stay at the academy for long? How was the participation of women in the various fields of university life distributed according to their social background and chosen discipline? Could the choice of a particular discipline have been related to gender at the aspirational level or rather in terms of recognising one's own possibilities and those offered by the university or the labour market? To what extent might psychological factors –

resources, stress, support, encouragement received or lack thereof – that are unmeasurable from today's perspective, have determined their career development? Whether and how did men's and women's salaries differ, who had more access to additional paid assignments? What was the extent of unpaid work – organisational and emotional – provided to the school? I will try to answer some of these questions with the use of available micronarratives of the academy's first female pedagogues, published in 1996 in a collection of memoirs about SHSPA's by its founders, teachers, and students.²⁵

Linguistic and visual representation of gender

Nouns and adjectives in Polish have three types: masculine, feminine and neuter. In the documents analysed, all titles, position and function names were exclusively – with the exception of the positions of secretary and cleaner (*sic!*) – in masculine forms. This is in line with the nomenclature of the time, which favoured masculine forms, and the linguistic *usus*, both of which are still largely in place today and are reflected in the highly androcentric language of legal regulations (according to a grammatical rule, the collective masculine grammatical form covers also non-male persons, e.g. *studenci* that means both 'male students' and just 'students').²⁶ As English is more gender inclusive due to the lack of grammatical types, I will attempt to portray the language specifics where relevant to the information cited.

In order to counteract the anonymity of women in science, I have also decided to cite their personal details extensively. Due to the fact that, according to the practice in Poland, when women married, they usually changed their surname to their husband's or appended it to their own, I will at the first appearance in this text provide as broad a form of personal data under which the person was

known or may appear in documents and literature as possible. For the purposes of this publication, I also use pink to accentuate the names of the artists referred to and the related absolute figures in order to highlight the content relating to women, and purple to indicate the percentages of women and feminisation rates, both in the text and in the tables.

!?! – Informal co-foundress and women co-creators (1946–1953)

Based on the documents examined, it is unfortunately impossible to provide figures on the participation of women in the establishment of the SHSPA in its first eight years of existence. Therefore, from other sources, I would like to present a few of them by their names as persons important for the so-called pioneer period of the Wrocław academy.

In the literature discussing the beginnings of the Wrocław academy after World War II, reference is made primarily to its male founders – undoubtedly men were the main formal actors in the process of establishing and shaping the institution. In the monographs on the post-war artistic milieu in Wrocław, among the over a dozen names of the successively appointed teachers, several women are also mentioned: painters Hanna Krzetuska-Geppert and Maria Dawska (both appointed as assistants in 1948, usually mentioned among the 'pioneers' [masculinatives!], and even called by Andrzej Jarosz to be among 'the founding fathers' of the school [*sic!*]²⁷), glass designer Halina Jastrzębowska-Sigmund (although only appointed as a substitute, opening the academic year 1948/1949 with her inaugural lecture²⁸) and ceramicists Julia Kotarbińska and her assistant Halina Olech (both working at the SHSPA since 1950). Wanda Gołkowska and Łucja Skomorowska-Wilimowska themselves testify to their presence at the academy since 1950 as assistants (Gołkowska recalls that she was still a student at the time). Maria Starzewska mentions that she was employed

a year later as an art history lecturer.²⁹ No female teachers of sculpture, printmaking or drawing are recorded during this period, although certainly not all the women working at the college at the time are being listed.³⁰

Krzetuska in particular played an important role in shaping the foundations of the academy, as scholars confirm.³¹ However, what is significant is that Geppert, in describing the preparations and his fellow co-founders of the time, omits his own wife.³² She herself mentions that she was delighted with the prospect of moving to Wrocław, even though her husband initially located his ambitions more in Warsaw. "There were four of us at the time (I'm not counting myself), so all of us – Leon Dołżycki, Adam Hannytkiewicz, Eugeniusz Geppert, Emil Krcha – no longer counted on any work in Kraków," the artist writes in her memoirs, using an interesting rhetorical formula: simultaneously including herself ('us') and excluding (the enumeration).³³

Sylvia Świsłocka-Karwot also mentions other women involved in plastic arts and participating in the pioneering (1945-1949) exhibitions in Wrocław, these were: Zofia Krokowska-Zastawnik, Maria Jurczenko-Kamińska, Felicja Potyńska, Wanda Żygulska-Pogonowska, Krystyna Pękalska, Julia Ponikowska, Maria Zabłocka, Halina Łepkowska-Giecewicz, Irena Borzęcka-Kozłowska and Iza Hochman.³⁴ In the later socialist realist period (1949-1955), specified by the researcher, further names appear, to some extent of already graduated women: Barbara Gutekunst, Janina Rybicka, Jadwiga Szyszko, Marta Augustynowicz and Róża Kijankowska, Celina Brandstätter, Jadwiga Skomorowska and Łucja Skomorowska, Małgorzata Grabowska-Stradecka, Krzesława Maliszewska-Mazurkiewicz, Maria Janowska-Karpińska and Jadwiga Lebidowicz-Kociankowska³⁵ and Jadwiga Desage³⁶, and several women associated with Lower Silesia. These artists arrived in Wrocław in waves of resettlement from the Eastern Borderlands and migration from other parts of the country, and undoubtedly co-founded the artistic environment reborn in this city after the war. There is no evidence,

however, that they were appointed as lecturers to the emerging academy. Perhaps they were not interested in pedagogical work, or their qualifications were not, in the opinion of the decision-makers, sufficient for the roles of university teachers.

In this first period, it is clearly visible how factors related to a woman's social capital, such as connections, family background or the prestige of the education she received, played a major role in her employment at the academy.³⁷ Kotarbińska and Jastrzębowska, before the war, had been associated with the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts and the renowned 'Ład' cooperative, and their relocation to Wrocław was linked to the task of strengthening the design division of the Academy in Wrocław, in accordance with the authorities' objectives. Krzetuska and Dawska, on the other hand, were established artists and had personal relationships with the school's key founders, and for both of them this was an ambivalent situation, bringing benefits as well as difficulties. After Geppert was indirectly forced to resign from the rector's chair in 1950, Krzetuska lost her employment entirely. And in 1970, in a somewhat corresponding situation happening in the context of the 1968 political crisis, Dawska had to give up her post and leave Wrocław with her husband (the academy's rector from 1952 to 1965). Krzetuska shares her experience, very consciously pointing out the mechanisms of power and symbolic violence against women: "At the same time, I was not given a further contract as a senior assistant. This was to prove, it seems, that only as long as I had a rector as a husband, I could lead a studio [...] Wherever I tried to get in, I faced an impenetrable wall. The campaign against me also had the excuse that it was simultaneously hitting my husband."³⁸

One should also note that the Wrocław academy was formed not only by female teachers, but also by non-teaching staff and students, about whom I write further on in the article. Of the first female students, Świsłocka-Karwot distinguishes (after Geppert): Celina Brandstätter, Izabela Kulczyńska, Ewa Erdt, Krzesława Maliszewska, Wanda Gołkowska and Małgorzata Grabowska.³⁹

Furthermore, the researcher points out that Irena Podbereska-Ptatakis was among those recognised after the first six months of the school's operation, and goes on to mention the names of the 1950 scholarship recipients: Janina Kasperska and Ł. Skomorowska. Among the female graduates noted at the beginning of the 1950s were, besides Gólkowska, Janina Mękarska and Jadwiga Lebiedowicz.⁴⁰ However, these are only a few names from among the first female students, because until 1950 a total of around 150 women entered the walls of SHSPA. Altogether, between 1946 and 1972, the group of female students numbered 634, and it is from this largest representation of women at the Wrocław academy that I will begin my further analysis.

1:1 – Significant others. Female students
49% – truly fully accepted into the academic community?

Data on students, i.e. those admitted into the academy with student record book numbers issued, is drawn from the slightly inconsistent archival documents covering the period 1946-1972: Matriculation Book 1946-1956 (record numbers 1-551), Entry Book for 1952/53, 1953/54 and 1955/56, Book of Studies – Student Cards 1956-1967 (record numbers 552-965) and Matriculation Book 1967-1973 (record numbers 966-1274). Records for the years 1973-1982 were unavailable, the next archived book covers the years 1982-1996. Some of the staffing plans included overall figures for the number of students and enrolments, but these figures were estimates based on the results of the entrance examinations and therefore do not match the figures of actual entrants.

In the light of the above documents, women accounted for almost half of all those who started their studies at the State Higher School of Visual Arts in Wrocław between 1946 and 1972 – there were 634 women to 638 men, making women 49.8% of all students in a given period. The average feminisation rate, however, measured by the average percentage of women in each academic year, was 48.8%. Therefore, it can be stated that there were almost equal numbers of men and women in the group of all new entrants in the

examined period. This could be followed by more detailed questions: did such an equal proportion characterise all faculties and studios? How did this ratio change in the later years of study?

WOMEN AMONG STUDENTS ENTERING THE SHSPA IN WROCŁAW IN 1946-1972				
Starting year of studies	ADMITTED STUDENTS			AVERAGE feminisation rate (AFR)
	TOTAL	of which women	percentage (%) of women (FR)	
1946	36	20	55,6%	54,5%
1947	74	45	60,8%	
1948	58	27	46,6%	
1949	42	24	57,1%	
1950	67	35	52,2%	
1951	45	24	53,3%	38,4%
1952	37	15	40,5%	
1953	39	13	33,3%	
1954	35	8	22,9%	
1955	38	16	42,1%	
1956	37	13	35,1%	46,4%
1957	46	31	67,4%	
1958	35	17	48,6%	
1959	42	19	45,2%	
1960	42	15	35,7%	
1961	47	23	48,9%	46,6%
1962	56	27	48,2%	
1963	50	25	50,0%	
1964	47	19	40,4%	
1965	42	19	45,2%	
1966	48	26	54,2%	53,6%
1967	47	25	53,2%	
1968	47	24	51,1%	
1969	59	34	57,6%	
1970	50	26	52,0%	
1971	52	35	67,3%	60,5%
1972	54	29	53,7%	
TOTAL:	1272	634	49,8%	-
AVERAGE:	47,1	23,5	48,8%	-

Table 1. Women among students entering the State Higher School of Plastic Arts in Wrocław between 1946 and 1972.

As Table 1 shows, both the total number of admissions and the percentage of female students

slightly fluctuated. In the first five years following the opening of the SHSPA, the enrolment of women was slightly higher than that of men – in the record-breaking academic year of 1947/48, as many as 45 women were admitted, which accounted for almost 61% of all the students. It can therefore be said that women took the opportunity of an education that was new to them in greater numbers, with the average feminisation rate for this period being 54.5%. Undoubtedly, this high feminisation rate is related to the general increased activation of women immediately after the war, referred to by Fidelis after Irena Krzywicka as the 'new matriarchy'.⁴¹ However, the rate fell already in the following five years (1951-1955), by as much as sixteen percentage points to only 38.4%. This period was also characterised by a high volatility of the gender ratio, with fluctuations of up to around thirty percentage points. Similar dynamics characterised the next period (thirty-two percentage points), with a noticeable increase in the average. In the following five-year period, the average stabilised at a similar level as before, repeating the result of around 46.5% with half the fluctuation in the feminisation rate for the individual years.

In the second half of the 1960s, the average gradually increased, approaching the initial level with the lowest fluctuation of only 6.6 percentage points. In the 1971/72 academic year, the feminisation rate rose steeply again to 67.3% – the second highest in the period under review, and almost identical for 1957/58. In contrast, the lowest enrolment of women was in 1954/55, with only 8 female students, representing 23% of the total number.

Thus, after the initial 'little domination' of studies at the SHSPA by women, a kind of backlash and instability of the gender ratio can be observed from the early 1950s until the end of the decade. From the 1960s onwards, women seem to have gradually returned to the position occupied earlier, of fully-fledged students and their presence consistently grew in strength, slightly exceeding the number of male students. Presumably, this trend continued or increased slightly in the 1970s,

but these figures do not, of course, reveal whether equality on a quantitative level translated into equal treatment in the education process itself.

The records analysed also provide other information to varying degrees, such as marital status, social background, grades and examination results, honours, major or faculty chosen, degree obtained and diploma examination grade. Above all, it would be valuable to analyse to what extent the various fields of specialisation were feminised. Given the faculties functioning at the academy at the time and a general review of selected documents, one of the most plausible hypotheses concerns the higher presence of women in ceramics versus glass design and in painting versus sculpture. However, its verification requires a more detailed analysis of the archival materials.

50% – determination of female graduates

Graduation means succeeding at the educational level. It may have been affected by a variety of factors – social capital possessed, family role models, social background, available resources (including material), encouragement or discouragement received, degree of determination and others. Data on the number of graduates is drawn from the Diploma Book covering diplomas issued between 1952 and 1997 (numbers 1-1929). For the purposes of this overview, I limit the time span to 1986 to reflect the group studying between 1945 and 1980 and to keep the breakdown to five-year periods.

Although the fluctuation in the average percentage of female graduates is much higher than that of students and the range of difference between years is as high as 47 percentage points, this is most likely due to the individualisation of learning and migration between groups due to breaks, dean's leaves or resumption of the course of study. The distribution of numbers across years may also have been influenced by the changes in the study cycle and curricula (e.g. some of those

starting their studies in 1950 defended in 1955 and some in 1956). On average, during the indicated period, women made up approximately 49.7% of all graduates, which is one percentage point more than in the group of students. It can therefore be concluded that the number of female graduates was equal to the number of male graduates in the period studied (women represented 50.3% of the sum of all graduates from 1952 to 1986).

Women among graduates of the SHSPA in Wrocław in 1952-1986				
Year of graduation	GRADUATES			
	TOTAL	of which women	percentage (%) of women (FR)	AVERAGE feminisation rate (AFR)
1952	37	23	62,2%	52,4%
1953	36	18	50,0%	
1954	28	14	50,0%	
1955	12	6	50,0%	
1956	30	15	50,0%	
1957	28	17	60,7%	39,7%
1958	20	10	50,0%	
1959	24	11	45,8%	
1960	24	5	20,8%	
1961	19	4	21,1%	
1962	33	14	42,4%	50,6%
1963	28	19	67,9%	
1964	19	9	47,4%	
1965	31	12	38,7%	
1966	23	13	56,5%	
1967	37	15	40,5%	47,4%
1968	41	23	56,1%	
1969	42	23	54,8%	
1970	32	14	43,8%	
1971	31	13	41,9%	
1972	32	20	62,5%	59,0%
1973	69	37	53,6%	
1974	50	31	62,0%	
1975	49	25	51,0%	
1976	35	23	65,7%	
1977	59	33	55,9%	52,4%
1978	52	29	55,8%	
1979	55	25	45,5%	
1980	68	38	55,9%	
1981	43	21	48,8%	
1982	38	20	52,6%	46,4%
1983	38	18	47,4%	
1984	48	26	54,2%	
1985	62	23	37,1%	
1986	71	29	40,8%	
TOTAL:	1344	676	50,3%	-
AVERAGE:	38,4	19,3	49,7%	-

Table 2. Women among graduates (master's degree) of the State Higher School of Plastic Arts in Wrocław between 1952 and 1986.

On the other hand, if we try to calculate the success rate and compare the data on those entering SHSPA with the data on the graduates, we find that, although women do slightly better than men in the overall numbers (a difference of about two percentage points), the average success rate for both genders for the respective years is quite comparable at around 68.5%. However, it must be acknowledged that the success of women is of a somewhat different nature – taking into account additional unfavourable factors such as the high masculinisation of the staff, greater exposure to sexual violence, performing of reproductive work by some women while studying, which involved not only unfavourable interruptions to their studies, but sometimes also the decision to abandon this educational path after maternity leave, it must be concluded that women did much better than the numbers alone indicate.

When comparing the average success rates for women and men for the respective five-year periods, on the other hand, it is noticeable that, although female students initially fared slightly worse than their male counterparts, by the turn of the 1950s and 1960s, the average success rate for their group had increased by almost fifteen percentage points (while for men by only five) and since then they have consistently outperformed men over the period studied. All this may indicate their strong determination and the increasingly more favourable study conditions for them.

The disparity between the success of men and women by year ranges from a mere 0.3 percentage points difference for those entering university in 1966 to 35 percentage points for those entering in 1955. This was the second most disadvantageous year for women, only 37.5% of them became graduates. The worst results, however, came from the highly feminised initial enrolment of women – despite making up 55.6% of first-year students, only 35% of them obtained their diploma. The highest success rates of 94.3% and 91.7% characterised the groups of women entering school in 1971 (with the second highest feminisation rate of 67.3%) and 1951 (feminisation rate of 53.3%) respectively. These results may

indicate a correlation between the number of women in general and their success—the more women there are, the better they do on average.

It would also be interesting to analyse the grades received during the course of study and at graduation and the impact of additional stimulation in the form of various scholarships, prizes and awards, as well as the ‘penalties’ given (failed exams, reprimands or other disciplinary penalties, or the sheer lack of positive stimuli compared to the group).

However, women’s determination and success at university level seems not to translate into later professional success understood as artistic and academic prosperity. Perhaps some of them saw their happiness elsewhere, e.g. in economic security or family life, and so just getting a degree was for them a sufficient achievement? Or was the art world so impenetrable to them? One contemporary study found that female students are twice more likely than male students to find their field of study particularly stressful and twice more likely to suffer from depression and anxiety disorders, while at the same time they achieve better results and prove to be more hard-working. This demonstrates the low self-esteem of women and the much greater effort they put in.⁴²

Less equal further paths

Interestingly, Geppert mentions as many as 6 women among his first students [maskulinatives!]: Brandstätter, Erdt, Gołkowska, Grabowska, Kulczyńska, Maliszewska, and 4 men, which is surprisingly in line with the gender ratio of the time (women made up about 56% of the group beginning their studies in 1946). However, while half of the aforementioned students immediately became employees of the university (50%), only two of the women became teachers (33%) – and that was a rung below, at the secondary art school.⁴³ What becomes revealed in this recollection is not only the disparity in numbers, but also in the direction of aspirations and career opportunities.

SUCCESS RATE AMONG STUDENTS OF THE SHSPA IN WROCLAW IN 1946-1972											
Starting year of studies	NEW ENTRANTS			GRADUATES			SUCCESS RATE				
	TOTAL	of which men	of which women	TOTAL	of which men	of which women	OVER-ALL	for men (M)	AVER-AGE for M	for women (W)	AVER-AGE for W
1946	36	16	20	13	6	7	36,1%	37,5%	53,4%	35,0%	50,2%
1947	74	29	45	37	13	24	50,0%	44,8%		53,3%	
1948	58	31	27	27	15	12	46,6%	48,4%		44,4%	
1949	42	18	24	31	15	16	73,8%	83,3%		66,7%	
1950	67	32	35	35	17	18	52,2%	53,1%		51,4%	
1951	45	21	24	37	15	22	82,2%	71,4%	66,2%	91,7%	64,3%
1952	37	22	15	23	12	11	62,2%	54,5%		73,3%	
1953	39	26	13	26	17	9	66,7%	65,4%		69,2%	
1954	35	27	8	22	18	4	62,9%	66,7%		50,0%	
1955	38	22	16	22	16	6	57,9%	72,7%		37,5%	
1956	37	24	13	31	20	11	83,8%	83,3%	68,5%	84,6%	63,6%
1957	46	15	31	29	9	20	63,0%	60,0%		64,5%	
1958	35	18	17	24	14	10	68,6%	77,8%		58,8%	
1959	42	23	19	28	16	12	66,7%	69,6%		63,2%	
1960	42	27	15	21	14	7	50,0%	51,9%	46,7%	73,7%	78,2%
1961	47	24	23	37	19	18	78,7%	79,2%	78,3%		
1962	56	29	27	43	20	23	76,8%	69,0%	85,2%		
1963	50	25	25	37	17	20	74,0%	68,0%	80,0%		
1964	47	28	19	35	22	13	74,5%	78,6%	68,4%		
1965	42	23	19	32	17	15	76,2%	73,9%	78,9%	71,8%	78,9%
1966	48	22	26	35	16	19	72,9%	72,7%	73,1%		
1967	47	22	25	37	17	20	78,7%	77,3%	80,0%		
1968	47	23	24	37	17	20	78,7%	73,9%	83,3%		
1969	59	25	34	40	15	25	67,8%	60,0%	73,5%	89,2%	92,0%
1970	50	24	26	40	18	22	80,0%	75,0%	84,6%		
1971	52	17	35	47	14	33	90,4%	82,4%	94,3%		
1972	54	25	29	50	24	26	92,6%	96,0%	89,7%	-	-
TOTAL:	1272	638	634	876	433	443	68,9%	67,9%	-	69,9%	-
AVERAGE:	47,1	23,6	23,5	32,4	16,0	16,4	69,0%	68,4%	-	68,9%	-

Table 3. Success rate among students of the State Higher School of Plastic Arts in Wrocław between 1946 and 1972 (not including transfers between colleges).

In one of the already mentioned papers for the UN conference, researchers of women's labour activity state that among the factors influencing advancement, the most significant is the one of personality.⁴⁴ But was it really women who were alienating themselves, unable to have a better job and salary, or was it also determined by the context? Based on the archival data, it is impossible to say whether overcoming obstacles at the university level was so exhausting that it was for this reason that, after graduation, women were content with less prestigious but more secure jobs, ready to go into production plants scattered all over the country. Nor is it possible to determine what their attitude to further artistic pursuits was, or the reasons why some of them chose to devote themselves to a perhaps slightly less stressful family life, considering their own art as a side occupation.

Geppert's recollection, however, provides an unexpected clue – he apparently overlooked the presence of his own female assistant, Gołkowska, at the academy. Perhaps, then, in the realm of academic careers, women were not well regarded – recognised and wanted – as potential college employees? In what follows, then, I look at the quantitative presence of women in the group of SHSPA teachers.

1:5 – (Un)womanly pedagogical body and ladies' corners

Perhaps Geppert forgot about Gołkowska because she resembled him in nothing. As the authors of the *Little Chance to Advance?* report claim, in the case of the selection of assistants or successors in art schools characterised by a very high degree of intimacy, the presence of the 'little-self' (or 'mini-me') syndrome is identified, which means the selection of a student with similar characteristics to one's own who will be an extension of oneself.⁴⁵ Women were, however, invited to become assistant professors and, to some extent, continued as academics, but in the period under review none

of them reached the position of full professor. The position of associate professor was enjoyed by only two: Kotarbińska (1957-1965) and, for a mere two years, Dawska (1968-1970), who had to step down with her husband.

I base my analysis of the personnel of the SHSPA on the annual staffing plans. It has been possible to present reliable figures for female teachers since around the mid-1950s – the first staffing plan preserved in the Archive of the EGAAD dates from 1954.⁴⁶ Plans for the years 1961-63, the academic year 1967/68 and 1972/73 remain unavailable and are therefore not included here. The figures quoted from these documents are based on plans that were prepared at the beginning of the academic year and therefore do not take into account mid-year turnover within the so-called teaching body: departures, admissions or promotions.

Within the population of female teachers I would like to distinguish between two groups: full-time employees (open-ended contracts) and employees working on so-called 'contracted hours' (temporary contracts covering teaching hours only). In addition, I would like to look at the presence of women at different rungs of the university position hierarchy. Finally, based on the collected figures, I would like to present those places in the academy that were significantly or insufficiently feminised.

Full-time (16%) and contractual (20%) female teachers

The data collected for the years 1954-1980 show that the percentage of female staff in both groups altogether did not exceed 23%. Women accounted for an average of 17.6% of the university's total teaching staff and a slight rising trend can be seen over the 26 years examined. On average, there were nearly five male teachers to one female teacher (1:4.7), although it must be remembered that the data collected is incomplete and the results differ slightly from the actual situation.

WOMEN AMONG THE RESEARCH AND TEACHING STAFF OF THE SHSPA IN WROCLAW IN 1954-1980												
Academic year	ALL ACADEMICS				of which FULL TIME				of which on CONTRACTED HOURS			
	TOTAL	of which women	% of women	AFR	TOTAL	of which women	% of women	AFR	TOTAL	of which women	% of women	AFR
1954/55	-	-	-	-	51	9	17,6%		n.a.	n.a.	-	
1955/56	52	9	17,3%	15,5%	34	6	17,6%	16,2%	18	3	16,7%	15,0%
1956/57	55	7	12,7%		35	5	14,3%		20	2	10,0%	
1957/58	57	10	17,5%		36	6	16,7%		21	4	19,0%	
1958/59	-	-	-		34	6	17,6%		n.a.	n.a.	-	
1959/60	69	10	14,5%		41	6	14,6%		28	4	14,3%	
1960/61*	52	7	13,5%	14,6%	37	5	13,5%	15,3%	15	2	13,3%	13,5%
1961/62	n.a.	n.a.	-		n.a.	n.a.	-		n.a.	n.a.	-	
1962/63	n.a.	n.a.	-		n.a.	n.a.	-		n.a.	n.a.	-	
1963/64	88	14	15,9%		47	8	17,0%		41	6	14,6%	
1964/65*	62	9	14,5%		46	7	15,2%		16	2	12,5%	
1965/66	91	14	15,4%	18,3%	46	5	10,9%	13,3%	45	9	20,0%	24,0%
1966/67	87	16	18,4%		44	6	13,6%		43	10	23,3%	
1967/68	n.a.	n.a.	-		n.a.	n.a.	-		n.a.	n.a.	-	
1968/69	101	21	20,8%		56	8	14,3%		45	13	28,9%	
1969/70	101	19	18,8%		55	8	14,5%		46	11	23,9%	
1970/71	107	17	15,9%	15,6%	55	8	14,5%	15,2%	52	9	17,3%	16,2%
1971/72	105	17	16,2%		54	9	16,7%		51	8	15,7%	
1972/73	n.a.	n.a.	-		n.a.	n.a.	-		n.a.	n.a.	-	
1973/74	122	17	13,9%		86	12	14,0%		36	5	13,9%	
1974/75	129	21	16,3%		84	13	15,5%		45	8	17,8%	
1975/76	133	27	20,3%	20,8%	87	15	17,2%	19,0%	46	12	26,1%	24,5%
1976/77	127	24	18,9%		83	17	20,5%		44	7	15,9%	
1977/78	133	30	22,6%		90	18	20,0%		43	12	27,9%	
1978/79	141	28	19,9%		87	16	18,4%		54	12	22,2%	
1979/80	143	32	22,4%		100	19	19,0%		43	13	30,2%	
AVERAGE:			17,6%	AVERAGE:			16,1%	AVERAGE:			19,9%	-

Table 4. Women among the academics (research and teaching staff) of the State Higher School of Plastic Arts in Wrocław between 1954 and 1980. Data for the academic year 1958/59 is incomplete and for the years 1961/62, 1962/63, 1967/68 and 1972/73 not available. Data on persons employed on contracted hours in the years marked with an asterisk (*) is underreported.

As Table 4 presents, the feminisation rate in the group of those working on contracted hours was slightly higher than for those in full-time positions, with an average of 19.9% for contracted hours and

16.1% for FTEs (only these positions counted in the official statistics of academic teachers compiled by the Central Statistical Office).

Interestingly, however, by 1965 the proportion was different: between 1954 and 1965, the proportion of female full-time employees was on average 1.2 percentage points higher than the other studied group.

Apparently, in 1965, with Stanisław Pękalski taking over as rector (1965-1967), there was a clear and significant (sustained) change in the employment policy. Already in his first year in office, the teaching body was enlarged by almost half, from 62 persons to 91. This did not, however, involve an increase in the number of full-time female staff, who initially even declined slightly (from 7 to 5, while there were 46 men in both years). A significant increase in the number of employees can only be observed in the group of people on contracted hours – the number of women increased from 2 to 9, which meant a jump of 7.5 percentage points in feminisation rate for this group. And while there was a significant increase in gender equality in this group, it was still at a very low level of 20%, and there were far more men employed – their group increased by as many as 22 contractors. However, the following years saw an increase in the number of women in contracted hours up to a level of almost 30% in the academic year 1968/69. Overall, in the second half of the 1960s, there were on average 10.7 percentage points more of them than women in permanent positions. This shows that the increase in the employment of women in research and teaching positions overall was not necessarily associated with the stabilisation of their status and the improvement of their working conditions.

While in the five-year period of 1970-1975 the percentage of women employed on a contract basis fell by almost 8 percentage points, in the following five-year period 1975-1980 it increased by the same number of 8 percentage points (24,0%–16,2%–24,5%). In the same period, a small but steady increase in the group of full-time female employees can be observed, first by about 2 percentage points and later by nearly 4 (13,3%–15,2%–19,0%). Such distinct numerical fluctuations testify to the much higher turnover and instability of employment on commissioned

hours, where personnel changes were made on an ad hoc basis. This form of employment was mostly occupied by people who were either at the lowest, assistant level of the research and teaching career path or, for various reasons, outside of it: lecturers, language teachers, PE teachers or those teaching the so-called theoretical and humanistic subjects.

Over the 26 years studied, the expansion of the permanent personnel increased the number of full-time employees by 39 men (an increase from 42 to 81, i.e. about 193%) and by 10 women (from 9 to 19, i.e. about 211%). Thus, it can be said that the gender gap in employment decreased, but it was a rather slight change. At the beginning and at the end of the period under study, there were still more than four full-time teachers to one female teacher (1:4.7 in 1954 and 1:4.3 in 1980, respectively). However, the average ratio for the entire period was higher at 1:5.2 and even reached an overwhelming ratio of eight men to one woman in the aforementioned year 1965 (a feminisation rate of just under 11%).

Thus, in the light of the data collected, it must be noted that from the mid-1950s the inequality in the key group of full-time employees was in fact increasing and did not fall to its initial level until the mid-1970s. The disproportion did not begin to decline noticeably until the end of the period under study, but by the end of the decade it was only slightly lower than in 1954 (1.4 percentage points of difference). Thus, this insignificant change within the academy did not at all reflect the equality-related social and awareness shift, which, at the level of full-time female employment at SHSPA, only began to become visible in the second half of the 1970s. However, even then it remained far (by exactly 11 percentage points) from the 30% threshold.

Leaking pipe, or ladder with broken rungs
(and springboards)

As I have already mentioned, the percentage of the presence of women among full-time teaching staff at the SHSPA in Wrocław between 1954 and 1980 was around 16%. This group included persons in hierarchically ranked positions in several sub-groups, the systematisation and nomenclature

of which changed at the time under state regulations. In order to look at the distribution of the feminisation rate according to classification at the different ranks, for the purposes of this summary and based on the nomenclature present in the documents analysed, I have adopted the systematisation closest to the Higher Education Act of 1958.⁴⁷ It distinguishes the following teaching positions [in masculinatives only!], to whom I have tried to allocate English-language equivalents:

ACADEMIC POSITIONS ACCORDING TO THE HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF 1958		Comments
IN POLISH	IN ENGLISH	
I. Pracownicy nauki:	I. Academics (Research-and-teaching staff):	
1. samodzielni:	1. independent researchers:	
a) profesor zwyczajny	a) full professor	A
b) profesor nadzwyczajny	b) associate professor	B
c) docent etatowy	c) full-time docent	C
2. pomocniczy:	2. auxiliary researchers:	
a) adiunkt	a) assistant professor / adjunct (professor)	a
b) starszy asystent	b) senior assistant	b
c) asystent	c) (research-and-teaching) assistant	c
II. Inni pracownicy:	II. Other employees:	
1. dydaktyczni:	1. teaching staff:	
a) starszy wykładowca	a) senior lecturer	I
b) wykładowca	b) lecturer	II
c) bibliotekarze dyplomowani:	c) certified / qualified librarians:	4
i. starszy kustosz biblioteczny	i. senior library custodian	
ii. kustosz dyplomowany	ii. qualified custodian	
iii. adiunkt biblioteczny	iii. adjunct librarian	
iv. asystent biblioteczny	iv. library assistant	
d) lektor (nauczyciel języków obcych)	d) lector / reader (foreign language teacher)	5
e) nauczyciel wychowania fizycznego	e) physical education teacher	3
f) nauczyciele przedmiotów, zawodów i umiejętności praktycznych	f) subject, vocational and practical skills teachers	1, 2
2. [pracownicy techniczno-badawczy, naukowo-techniczni, robotnicy].	2. [technical and research staff, scientific and technical staff, workers].	non-teachers
III. [Pracownicy administracyjno-biurowi, gospodarczy i obsługi oraz robotnicy remontowi i transportowi].	III. [Administrative, clerical, housekeeping and service workers, repair and transport workers].	non-teachers

Table 4. Academic (research and teaching) positions according to the Act of 5 November 1958 on Higher Education Institutions, in Polish with suggested equivalents in English.

According to the legislation, the group of the academic teachers included persons occupying full-time positions in the research and teaching track – independent researchers and the so-called auxiliary research forces – as well as persons in the teaching track. In addition, people involved in teaching supporting subjects, foreign languages, practical and vocational skills, physical education,

qualified people working in the library or dealing with scientific documentation were included.

As regulations regarding the structure and nomenclature of academic personnel (as well as the respective salaries) have changed over the years, the classification of individuals within the academic hierarchy has sometimes fluctuated.⁴⁸ In the following summary, I have attempted to

WOMEN IN PARTICULAR ACADEMIC POSITIONS IN SHSPA IN 1954-1980												
Academic year	1954/55	1955/56	1956/57	1957/58	1958/59	1959/60	1960/61	1961/62	1962/63	1963/64	1964/65	1965/66
TOTAL FULL-TIME POSTS	50	34	35	36	34	41	37	n.a.	n.a.	47	46	46
of which women	9	6	5	6	6	6	5	n.a.	n.a.	8	7	5
% of women (FR)	18%	18%	14%	17%	18%	15%	14%	-	-	17%	15%	11%
		16%					15%					13%
A full professors												
TOTAL	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	n.a.	n.a.	1	-	-
of which women	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	n.a.	n.a.	0	-	-
% of women (FR)	-	-	-	-	-	0%	0%	-	-	0%	-	-
		0,0%					0%					-
B associate professors (incl. professors in 1954 and contract professors)												
TOTAL	9	1	3	5	4	4	4	n.a.	n.a.	3	3	2
of which women	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	n.a.	n.a.	1	1	0
% of women (FR)	11%	0%	0%	20%	25%	25%	25%	-	-	33%	33%	0%
		14%					31%					10%
C full-time docents (incl. contract docents)												
TOTAL	0	0	1	4	4	5	5	n.a.	n.a.	6	6	6
of which women	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	n.a.	n.a.	1	1	1
% of women (FR)	-	-	0%	25%	25%	20%	20%	-	-	17%	17%	17%
		17,5%					18%					16%
a adjunct professors												
TOTAL	5	5	5	6	6	6	7	n.a.	n.a.	9	12	11
of which women	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	n.a.	n.a.	1	2	1
% of women (FR)	20%	20%	20%	17%	17%	17%	14%	-	-	11%	17%	9%
		18%					14%					15%
b senior assistants												
TOTAL	1	3	3	6	5	9	6	n.a.	n.a.	6	5	5
of which women	0	1	1	2	2	3	2	n.a.	n.a.	2	1	1
% of women (FR)	0%	33%	33%	33%	40%	33%	33%	-	-	33%	20%	20%
		35%					29%					31%
c assistants (incl. trainees)												
TOTAL	10	5	6	2	4	1	1	n.a.	n.a.	2	1	-
of which women	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	n.a.	n.a.	0	0	-
% of women (FR)	20%	20%	17%	50%	25%	0%	0%	-	-	0%	0%	-
		22%					0%					0,0%
I senior lecturers (incl. deputy professors)												
TOTAL	3	11	8	2	2	1	1	n.a.	n.a.	3	3	2
of which women	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.	1	0	0
% of women (FR)	33%	18%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	-	-	33%	0%	0%
		9%					11%					4%
II lecturers												
TOTAL	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	-	-	1
of which women	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	-	-	0
% of women (FR)	11%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15%
1 auxiliary subjects teachers												
TOTAL	-	-	-	-	-	5	3	n.a.	n.a.	6	6	5
of which women	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	n.a.	n.a.	1	1	1
% of women (FR)	-	-	-	-	-	0%	0%	-	-	17%	17%	20%
		0,0%					11%					9%
2 vocational teachers												
TOTAL	6	7	7	9	7	7	7	n.a.	n.a.	8	8	8
of which women	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.	0	0	0
% of women (FR)	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	-	-	0%	0%	0%
		0%					0%					0%
3 physical education teachers												
TOTAL	0	1	1	1	-	1	1	n.a.	n.a.	1	1	1
of which women	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	n.a.	n.a.	0	0	0
% of women (FR)	-	0%	0%	0%	-	0%	0%	-	-	0%	0%	0%
		0%					0%					0%
4 librarians												
TOTAL	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	n.a.	n.a.	1	1	1
of which women	1	1	0	0	-	0	0	n.a.	n.a.	1	1	1
% of women (FR)	100%	100%	0%	0%	-	0%	0%	-	-	100%	100%	100%
		25%					67%					67%
5 others (instructors, readers, other)												
TOTAL	6	0	0	-	2	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	1	-	4
of which women	2	0	0	-	0	-	-	n.a.	n.a.	0	-	0
% of women (FR)	33%	-	-	-	0%	-	-	-	-	0%	-	0%
		0,0%					0,0%					0%

WOMEN IN PARTICULAR ACADEMIC POSITIONS IN SHSPA IN 1954-1980														
1966/67	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73	1973/74	1974/75	1975/76	1976/77	1977/78	1978/79	1979/80	
44	n.a.	56	55	55	54	n.a.	86	84	87	83	90	87	100	58,5
6	n.a.	8	8	8	9	n.a.	12	13	15	17	18	16	19	9,6
14%	-	14%	15%	15%	17%	-	14%	16%	17%	21%	20%	18%	19%	
				15%					19%					
-	n.a.	-	-	-	-	n.a.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,0
-	n.a.	-	-	-	-	n.a.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0,0
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
				-					-					
2	n.a.	5	5	1	1	n.a.	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	2,9
0	n.a.	1	1	0	0	n.a.	0	0	0	-	-	-	0	0,5
0%	-	20%	20%	0%	0%	-	0%	0%	0%	-	-	-	0%	
				0%					0%					
8	n.a.	7	10	13	15	n.a.	15	15	18	19	21	21	21	10,0
2	n.a.	1	1	1	2	n.a.	2	2	4	4	4	3	3	1,6
25%	-	14%	10%	8%	13%	-	13%	13%	22%	21%	19%	14%	14%	
				12%					18%					
6	n.a.	8	5	7	7	n.a.	10	10	14	15	14	19	17	9,3
1	n.a.	1	1	2	2	n.a.	2	2	2	3	3	3	2	1,6
17%	-	13%	20%	29%	29%	-	20%	20%	14%	20%	21%	16%	12%	
				24%					17%					
4	n.a.	5	5	6	7	n.a.	12	16	15	12	20	15	16	8,3
1	n.a.	2	2	1	1	n.a.	2	2	4	3	5	3	3	2,0
25%	-	40%	40%	17%	14%	-	17%	13%	27%	25%	25%	20%	19%	
				15%					23%					
1	n.a.	4	3	2	-	n.a.	23	14	15	14	12	8	13	7,1
0	n.a.	0	0	0	-	n.a.	3	2	2	3	2	2	3	1,2
0%	-	0%	0%	0%	-	-	13%	14%	13%	21%	17%	25%	23%	
				9%					20%					
7	n.a.	4	6	4	4	n.a.	9	14	14	13	14	14	16	7,0
0	n.a.	0	1	1	1	n.a.	2	3	2	2	3	3	4	1,3
0%	-	0%	17%	25%	25%	-	22%	21%	14%	15%	21%	21%	25%	
				23%					20%					
4	n.a.	9	8	10	9	n.a.	8	4	1	-	-	1	7	5,9
1	n.a.	2	1	1	1	n.a.	1	1	0	-	-	1	3	1,1
25%	-	22%	13%	10%	11%	-	13%	25%	0%	-	-	100%	43%	
				15%					48%					
7	n.a.	5	5	3	3	n.a.	2	3	4	4	3	4	1	4,1
1	n.a.	0	0	0	0	n.a.	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0,3
14%	-	0%	0%	0%	0%	-	0%	0%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	
				0%					5%					
5	n.a.	5	5	5	6	n.a.	6	5	5	4	4	4	6	6,1
0	n.a.	0	0	0	0	n.a.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
0%	-	0%	0%	0%	0%	-	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	
				0%					0%					
0	n.a.	1	1	0	0	n.a.	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0,7
0	n.a.	0	0	0	0	n.a.	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0,2
-	-	0%	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	100%	100%	100%	100%	
				-					1					
-	n.a.	2	2	2	2	n.a.	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1,3
-	n.a.	1	1	2	2	n.a.	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	0,9
-	-	50%	50%	100%	100%	-	-	100%	-	-	-	-	-	
				100%					-					
-	n.a.	1	-	2	-	n.a.	-	2	-	1	1	-	1	1,8
-	n.a.	0	-	0	-	n.a.	-	0	-	1	0	-	0	0,3
-	-	0%	-	0%	-	-	-	0%	-	100%	0%	-	0%	
				0%					33,3%					

Table 5. Employment of women in particular full-time research, teaching and other academic positions in the State Higher School of Plastic Arts in Wrocław between 1954 and 1980.⁴⁹

present as accurately as possible the numerical ratios of women and men at various rungs of the academic ladder, which I have standardised. I have included contract professors in the associate professors' group, contract docents in the docents' group and deputy professors in the senior lecturers' group. The 'other' group includes positions that have occasionally appeared as permanent positions over the years: instructors, lecturers or assistant trainees. Also, all job titles appeared exclusively in masculine forms in the staffing plans analysed.

In the different position groups, the average percentage of women ranged from 0-64.3%. In the group of independent research and teaching positions (A-C), it was 0% for the position of full professors (A), 11.2% for associate professors (including contract professors and those at the rank of professor in 1954 – B) and 16.4% for the full-time docents (including contract docents – C). At the level of auxiliary research and teaching staff (a-c), women represented on average: 17.8% of the assistant professors or adjuncts (a), 25.5% of the senior assistants (b) and 12.9% of the assistants (including trainees – c). In the group of didactic positions (I-II), there were on average 14.4% female senior lecturers (I) and 22.7% female lecturers (II), as well as 5.4% female teachers of supporting subjects (1), 28.6% female teachers of physical education (3), 64.3% female librarians (4) and 13.3% women in other full-time teaching positions (instructors, readers, others – 5). There were no female vocational teachers (2) for the entire period studied. However, it must be borne in mind that assistants and lecturers were employed largely on contracted hours, so that they are not included in this summary and the absolute values may appear unrepresentative.

The decline in the feminisation rate at successive rungs of the academic hierarchy, known as 'the leaking pipe' syndrome,⁵⁰ is clearly visible here. This systematic decrease in the number of women in higher positions is linked to problems that are currently being intensively researched, such as the so-called glass ceiling, structural violence or the lack of role models in the workplace, society or one's own family. In describing the

origins of this phenomenon, researchers point to the following socially related and interacting factors: differences between women and men in terms of aspirations, self-esteem, family plans, extent and strength of social networks, experience of discrimination, availability of role models.⁵¹ The position of a person socialised into a woman's role operating in a masculinised social and professional environment is therefore particularly fragile and vulnerable to compromise.

Another important factor affecting women is the non-linear multiplication of social capital known as the St Matthew effect – the progressive increase in success generated by even small incentives. In the case of women, however, it is more referred to as the Matilda effect, that is the overlooking and discrediting of women's achievements. Unfortunately, even a slight clipping of wings can project a lack of motivation, self-confidence and, as a result, unsatisfactory results. Thus, even the slightest favouritism in a team (in the case of employees) or a studio (in a group of students) in the form of greater familiarity or attention can have very serious consequences. Similarly, the slightest manifestation of sexual harassment, i.e. gender-based violence used by those with greater power or symbolic status, can have an impact. Within the masculinised structures of the higher education institutions, it was and is most often experienced by women.⁵²

Research indicates that one of the important reasons causing 'falling down the academic ladder', also known as 'broken rung syndrome', is marriage and starting a family – the strain of these roles is experienced by women much more than by men in a similar situation.⁵³ Another issue is the masculinisation of male decision-making bodies, thereby making them less favourable to the advancement of women.⁵⁴ Sometimes these decisions were arbitrary, based on personal or political considerations more than on merit.

As Krzetuska reminisces: "It was also characteristic of me to be removed from my position, as I, admittedly, did not have a diploma from the Academy of Fine Arts, but only 20 years of solo work, however those who were contracted

did not have any artistic apprenticeship."⁵⁵ She also points to the belittling of her work: "I recall such a situation: after the first review of my studio (I was then an assistant under Prof. Emil Krcha), when everyone ruled that I had a very high-profile studio, the very next day I heard the remark that, after all, I had very talented students, while in the other studio the students were much weaker!"⁵⁶ – this was meant as a harmful suggestion that the excellent level was not of her own making.

Coming back to the indicators in this group of female employees, it is worth noting that the 100% feminisation rate occurred in the period in question only in the group of library staff (Irena Pijaczewska, Barbara Prytyka, Zofia Tyślewicz) and PE teachers (Zuzanna Sokołowska), and in one year in the group of female lecturers (Irena Ładomirska). On the other hand, the rate of 0% – the total absence of women – was found in almost all position groups, most frequently in the group of professors, assistants, senior lecturers, supporting subjects and PE teachers and 'others'.

The following women were employed in their respective positions (in alphabetical order):

- associate professor, including contract professor, and professor in 1954 (2): Dawska, Kotarbińska,
- docent, including contractual (5): Zofia Artymowska, Krystyna Cybińska, Dawska, Olech, Skomorowska-Wilimowska,
- adjunct professor (5): Cybińska, Regina Konieczka-Popowska, Irena Lipska-Zworska, Olech, Wiesława Pawelska,
- senior assistant (11): Mirosława Bernat, Cybińska, Gołkowska, Krystyna Januszkiewicz, Marta Lachur, Lipska-Zworska, Ładomirska, Ewa Mehl, Pawelska, Alfreda Poznańska, Skomorowska-Wilimowska,
- assistant (11): Mirosława Bernat, Elżbieta Chodźaj, Cybińska, Gołkowska, Teresa Jarzembowska, Monika Kamińska, Lidia Kupeczyńska-Jankowiak, Lachur, Pawelska, Grażyna Płocica, Eulalia Złotnicka,
- senior lecturer or deputy professor (7):

- Dawska, Gołkowska, Kotarbińska, Lipska-Zworska, Halina Pawlikowska, Skomorowska-Wilimowska, Janina Żemojtel,
- lecturer (6): Konieczka-Popowska, Ładomirska, L. Orzechowska⁵⁷, Pawlikowska, Skomorowska-Wilimowska, Fania Sokołowska,
- supporting subjects teacher (1): Pawlikowska,
- reader (1): Ludmiła Nodzyńska,
- PE teacher (1): Z. Sokołowska,
- librarian (2): Pijaczewska, Prytyka, Tyślewicz,
- others (2): Elżbieta Biskup, Bogumiła Cyrek.

On contracted hours the following women worked (54): Krystyna Adamczak, Lucyna Adamus, Bożena Bartecka, Maria Berny, Barbara Brodzińska, Joanna Chalfen, Anna Chrzanowska, Ewa Chrzanowska, Ewa Cieszyńska, Ewa Dawidejt, Zofia Wąsowa-Gunaris, Jadwiga Hawrylak, Halina Idkowiak-Sambor, Jarzembowska, Ewa Jęczalik, Kamińska, Halina Kłosowicz, Konieczka-Popowska, Irena Kośnica, Kotarbińska, Alicja Krępa, Marta Krzemińska, Lucyna Krzemińska, Krzetuska-Gepert, Kupeczyńska-Jankowiak, Jadwiga Leśkiewicz-Zgieb, Lipska-Zworska, Halina (Alina?) Maziarz, Ewa Mehl, Nodzyńska, Bożena Noji (?), Teresa Orszulok, Pawelska, Pawlikowska, Pijaczewska, Krystyna Pilch, Grażyna Płocica, A. Poznańska, Jadwiga Poznańska, Adrianna Sarnowicz, Jadwiga Sławińska, Z. Sokołowska, F. Sokołowska, Daniela (Danuta?) Stankiewicz, Starzewska, Anna Węgrzyn, Zofia Woźniak, Emilia Wrońska, Barbara Wysłouch, Agnieszka Zając, Barbara Zenkteler, Anna Ziomecka, Elżbieta Ziółkowska and Barbara Żarnowska.⁵⁸

Promotion within the research and teaching track involved meeting statutorily defined criteria related, among other things, to the length of service and the completion of a qualification procedure, but the legislature also allowed promotion on the basis of a commission-assessed body of work. Thus, the will of the academic decision-makers and their appreciation of the individual's work may have been entirely sufficient and provided a springboard for the rapid occupation of a more prestigious and better-paid position. On the other hand, failure to achieve promotion within

the statutory timeframe could have meant an irreversible downgrading – a reassignment to a teaching-only position. Such a shift took place in the case of, for example, Gołkowska, who, after a hiatus of more than a decade, returned to the position of senior assistant and was subsequently classified as a senior lecturer, or Lipska-Zworska, who moved to the position of senior lecturer from the position of assistant professor.⁵⁹ Skomorowska-Wilimowska recalls with regret the negative impact on the academy from central decisions, including the withholding of staff promotion until the late 1960s after "the removal of some professors in the early 1950s" – she certainly has Geppert in mind here, as well as the politicisation of procedures affecting professional advancement in higher education.⁶⁰

Among those consistently pursuing an academic path or staying on it in the period under review, the following women should be mentioned: Cybińska, Dawska (she was not promoted above associate professor), Gołkowska, Konieczka, Lipska-Zworska, Olech, Pawelska, Pawlikowska, Skomorowska-Wilimowska and Pijaczewska. It would certainly be interesting to track what the average length of time in each position was for women and men, the directions of change – meaning how their academic careers progressed or collapsed – and whether there was any significant difference between these groups in this respect. It would be particularly interesting to track such promotion rates in the transition from contract hours to full-time positions – did women wait longer for tenure? Another interesting question would also be the quantification of work on contract hours or part-time positions. For the sake of a full picture, it would also be useful to take into account departures, especially from lower positions, and any breaks in employment as well as returns.

Ladies' corners or enclaves of sisterhood?

Among the full-time research and teaching staff at the SHSPA in the period 1954-1980, a regular high, usually 100%, female staffing level occurred only in the library, a place with a decidedly auxiliary function at the academy.⁶¹ In other areas where the female staffing was quite numerous and strong, it unfortunately did not maintain continuity. This was the case in the so-called theoretical subjects, namely social sciences, humanities and art history in particular, as well as in language classes, where female teachers were mostly employed on a contract basis and worked for a rather short period of time. The high turnover of female employees observed in the documents was certainly not conducive to the possibility of establishing lasting and changing interpersonal bonds within the university structure.

In the structure of the PWSSP in the period under study, one can notice the presence of a few particular places where the presence of women was numerous and sustained. If these places were, from the point of view of maintaining the status quo, convenient for placing women there – such as the subservient study of humanistic subjects or the library – then they should be termed so-called 'women's corners',⁶² in other words academic ghettos for women. Within them, they may have had a presence in the community, but they did not influence the relationships within it and therefore did not threaten the structure of the institution. In contrast, the more established places, where woman-to-woman relationships were important and nurtured, with older artists supporting younger ones in their professional development, I would call 'the enclaves of sisterhood' within such a structure. Based on the employment records analysed, I observed two such places: the Department of Ceramics and the Faculty of General Plastic Arts Education.

Highly feminised personnel can be observed particularly in the Department of Ceramics, e.g. in the academic year 1968/69 the first ceramics studio

was run by Olech and Leśkiewicz, the second by Kotarbińska and Lipska-Zworska, and the third by Cybińska alone. In contrast, the Department of Glass employed virtually no women at all, manifesting a patriarchal and binary division between the supposedly high and demanding crafts of men and the simpler, much less technologically advanced crafts of women. Lipska-Zworska recalls the tenderness and positive reinforcement that Kotarbińska's students could count on:

Successful student projects, which the Professor called achievements, were regarded as artistic events of the School and it happened that the Professor showed the painted jug of a student, Hanka Aleksandrowicz, now Papierniakowa, to the rector Stanisław Dawski, the dean Stanisław Pękalski and other professors, pointing out the beauty of the glaze and the freshness of the colour scheme, enthusiastically enjoying the achievements of her students.⁶³

Olech, meanwhile, wrote of her that she was 'cordial and maternal, but also tough and relentless'.⁶⁴ This recollection of the kindness and active promotion of the student contrasts with Skomorowska's account of the rather challenging atmosphere in the sculptor and Auschwitz survivor Dunikowski's studio: "Men would kiss his hand and women would ask about his mood before speaking to him. They feared his alleged malice."⁶⁵ In place of male professor's severity and harshness, referred to by Skomorowska across her text and requiring great resilience from her, comes the female professor's encouraging care.

The second place, the Faculty of General Plastic Arts Education in the Department of Interior Design, was something between a women's corner and a sisterly enclave. Its head was the painter Józef Hałas, but the female staff in this department was numerous and maintained continuity over the years – on average, women made up half of the staff. In the 1975/76 academic year they headed three of the four studios there, with the Department employing as many as two of

the three female docents working at the academy. Those working there included: Artymowska, Jarzembowska, Kamińska, Konieczka, Kupczyńska-Jankowiak, Skomorowska-Wilimowska and Żemojtel. From the perspective of the school's structure, the faculty served as a complementary function to the education of design students, and was therefore characterised by far less prestige and, therefore, less competition for positions – perhaps for this reason, women were more often placed there than men, who aspired to and were more often situated in the Department of Painting, Graphics and Sculpture? However, even if the faculty was a place of 'exile,' it was, judging by the career paths of the women employed there, a good and friendly place to work and develop.

Women's friendships are extremely important for building resilience against the negative conditions of functioning in a male-dominated environment. While the female 'pioneers' in Wrocław came from very different contexts and thus of necessity acted rather individually, it was the next generation of female employees – the former first female students – who could recognise the power of sisterhood. Recalling a moment just after graduation, Skomorowska gives an example of such a woman's communal experience:

One beautiful summer day I squatted on the edge of the pavement next to Halina Olech and Maryla Janowska [Janowska-Karpińska]. This sitting directly on the street, Traugutta Street, surrounded by ruins [...] stayed in my memory. It became [...] an act of manifestation of great joy and a feeling of freedom, of liberty. Our three young girls sitting in the street at that time had a feeling of six years of danger and confinement leaving us. The stuffiness of cellars and shelters. We felt like birds released from a cage. We wanted to see as much as possible.⁶⁶

She continues by writing about her later relationship with Olech as co-workers:

Already during my studies and later during my many years at the academy, I had the habit of 'sitting down' to Halina. At meetings, interdepartmental assemblies or college sessions, we always looked out for each other. I remember Halina's cry: 'Ućka! Here!' Very often, despite working in different departments and in different specialities, I visited Halina."⁶⁷

Skomorowska, a sculptor, operated within the highly masculinised structures of her discipline and may have sought contact with a female colleague from a much more feminised ceramic environment out of a need for kindness, for community. As she writes of her colleague nostalgically, "when greeting each of us she would rush off with the words of a song: »O my falcon, you my happiness«. We were all falcons to her".⁶⁸ It seems that the presence of a close colleague brought her comfort and support in her own efforts – internal alliance may have helped her to survive, among others under Dunikowski's, and to develop within the structures of the institution. In retrospect, in the 1990s, Skomorowska considers the most important event in her career to be her independence from political pressure and the organisation of her own studio, while Lipska-Zworska lists among her own successes the advancement of the teaching staff at the Department of Glass and Ceramics, whom she was willing to support even at the expense of her own artistic practice.⁶⁹ Apparently, in a masculinised environment women are strong with the power of their sisterhood relationships and it might have helped them in moving up the ladder.

1:4 – Leadership (not quite) without female heads

Interestingly, the overall rate of feminisation of leadership positions in the SHSPA between 1954 and 1980 was a little higher than the corresponding rate for the pedagogical body as a whole – there were not five, but four male managers to one female manager. This is curious, as it is the presence of

women in authority that should have a positive effect on the employment of women in general. One would have to ask why, then, with around 19% of female leaders, there were only 16% of women in full-time positions? This may indicate that they are replicating the male model of management and are unwilling to support younger women being motivated by competition and protecting their own position in unfavourable circumstances. Or it may also indicate a lack of clout in the aforementioned male-dominated decision-making bodies. "Women tended to reach the top of academic careers at the expense of their personal lives, imitating the working style of older men", as pointed out by the authors of the report referenced several times already.⁷⁰

The composition of the senior staff for the period 1946-1980 is probably reconstructable on the basis of archival data, including the personal files of employees, but remains not fully visible from the perspective of the documents selected for the analysis. In the staffing plans preserved in the archive, the details of the persons performing particular functions were not always present or were incomplete. For this reason, the data for the academic years 1958/59, 1973/74 and years 1975-1980 is approximate and may slightly differ from the actual situation, requiring verification with other sources.

The hierarchy of authority positions included the following roles: rector, pro-rector, dean, vice-dean (pro-dean, being the head of department), head of study, head of faculty, head of studio, head of plant, head of workshop, head of laboratory and head of library. It was very common for roles to be combined in superior bodies and the management of individual units, and it also happened that one person headed several studios at the same time. In the case of combined roles (e.g. head of faculty and a studio or two studios), each role appearing in the documents was counted as a distinct occurrence.

WOMEN IN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SHSPA IN WROCLAW IN 1954-1980				
Academic year	LEADERSHIP POSITIONS			
	TOTAL	of which held by women	feminisation rate (FR)	AVERAGE feminisation rate (AFR)
1954/55	9	1	11,1%	-
1955/56	5	1	20,0%	23,4%
1956/57	n.a.	n.a.	-	
1957/58	n.a.	n.a.	-	
1958/59 *	13	3	23,1%	
1959/60	11	3	27,3%	23,6%
1960/61	11	3	27,3%	
1961/62	n.a.	n.a.	-	
1962/63	n.a.	n.a.	-	
1963/64	14	3	21,4%	15,1%
1964/65	9	2	22,2%	
1965/66	13	2	15,4%	
1966/67	38	7	18,4%	
1967/68	n.a.	n.a.	-	17,9%
1968/69	60	9	15,0%	
1969/70	51	6	11,8%	
1970/71	53	10	18,9%	
1971/72	65	11	16,9%	18,0%
1972/73	n.a.	n.a.	-	
1973/74 *	62	8	12,9%	
1974/75	65	15	23,1%	
1975/76 *	62	10	16,1%	-
1976/77 *	63	10	15,9%	
1977/78 *	64	12	18,8%	
1978/79 *	63	12	19,0%	
1979/80 *	65	13	20,0%	
AVERAGE:			18,7%	-

Table 6. Women in the leadership of the State Higher School of Plastic Arts in Wrocław between 1954 and 1980. Data for the academic years 1956/57, 1957/58, 1961/62, 1962/63, 1967/68 and 1972/73 not available. Data for the years marked with an asterisk (*) is uncertain or estimated. In the case of combined roles, each role was counted as a distinct occurrence.

Based on the data presented in Table 6, it can be seen that the percentage of women in leadership positions over the 26 years studied is unlikely to exceed 30% of the total number of people in management, with an average value

of 18.7%. From 1955 to 1965, the rate was quite high, at around 23.5% in both five-year periods. Again, from 1965 onwards, the feminisation rate dropped significantly – in the next five-year period it was about 8.5 percentage points lower. In the 1970s, the percentage of women increased slightly, averaging around 18%, with a gentle upward trend in the second half of the decade, by the end of the decade reaching a level of around 20% again.

It is symptomatic that despite the clear threefold expansion of the academy's structure around 1966 – with the overall number of managers increasing from 13 to 38 – the increase in the representation of women in leadership is negligible: out of twenty-five new managerial positions, women took up only two, occupying a total of seven positions of authority. It would also have been valuable to examine what was the distribution of the women's presence in leadership by the hierarchy of functions and specialisations – in an overall view of the staffing plans, it is apparent that women were placed more often in lower managerial positions.

The first female heads were Dawska, Kotarbińska, Olech, Cybińska, Skomorowska-Wilimowska, and also temporarily Konieczka, as well as Pijaczewska, who took care of the library, and Pawlikowska, who was initially the curator of the museum, and in 1970 simultaneously the head of a faculty, a studio and a plant. Lipska-Zworska and Artymowska also joined this group. 1974 was the peak year in terms of the absolute number of women in the management (15 out of 65): Skomorowska-Wilimowska was vice-dean, and Olech continued as the head of the Ceramics and Glass Study, the heads of the faculties were Olech and Pawlikowska, and of the studios: Golkowska, Poznańska, Pawlikowska, Cybińska, Olech, Konieczka, Artymowska and Skomorowska (a total of 8 women to 30 men). In addition, Pawlikowska headed a workshop, Olech a plant and Pijaczewska the library. In 1977 Żemojtel joined the ranks of female managers as the head of a workshop, and in 1979 F. Sokołowska was the first head of language courses.

As the already widely quoted *Little Chance to Advance?* report points out, "the low proportion of women on the staff of art colleges may be largely related to the hermetic nature of the art community and the sphere of relationships and the unequal distribution of career-enhancing stimuli".⁷¹ So if one were to look for proto-feminist women frontrunners – female leaders supporting the presence of other women – these, in the light of quantitative data and memories cited, were undoubtedly Kotarbińska and Olech. In the internal school's hierarchy, however, the woman who reached the highest position was Skomorowska, who was the first woman to hold the post of pro-rector since 1978. In the history of the academy, the rector's chair has never been occupied by a woman yet.

1:0.8 – Women's division. Female administrative and technical staff

The last – though no less numerous – group of people working at the university are those working in the non-teaching, usually full-time positions: clerical, technical, housekeeping and others. In the documents examined, data on this group appears only for the years 1954/55, 1955/56, 1963/64 and 1970/71, and, although not always complete, gives a certain sense of the degree and process of feminisation of this diverse staff group.

The following subgroups or areas are distinguished in the documents: administration, services, Student House, Experimental Plant, models (most probably working on commissioned hours, however). In terms of job titles, the documents used almost no feminatives, so women worked as the male equivalents of legal secretary (later clerk), secretary, accountant, economist, planner, guard, doorman, craftsman, stoker, cloakroom attendant, duplicator or janitor. The only officially occurring position in the records named as a female variant was that of a cleaner (*sprzątaczką*), in the course of the years, moreover, a position entirely filled by women.

Table 7. Women in the non-teaching positions, namely administrative, service and technical division of the State Higher School of Plastic Arts in Wrocław in the selected academic years between 1954 and 1971.

WOMEN IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE, SERVICE AND TECHNICAL DIVISION OF THE SHSPA IN WROCLAW IN 1954-1971									
Academic year		NON-TEACHING STAFF							AFR per academic year
		administrative	service	Student House	Experimental Plants	models	OVERALL	of which women	
1954/55	TOTAL	10	-	-	-	-	10	3	30,0%
	of which women	3	-	-	-	-			
	% of women (FR)	30,0%	-	-	-	-			
1955/56	TOTAL	12	13	-	-	7	32	n.a.	-
	of which women	n.a.	n.a.	-	-	n.a.			
	% of women (FR)	n.a.	n.a.	-	-	n.a.			
1963/64	TOTAL	16	19	-	-	-	35	23	65,7%
	of which women	9	14	-	-	-			
	% of women (FR)	56,3%	73,7%	-	-	-			
1970/71	TOTAL	15	30	10	14	-	69	44	62,3%
	of which women	11	21	9	2	-			
	% of women (FR)	73,3%	70,0%	90,0%	14,3%	-			
OVERALL	TOTAL	53	62	10	14	7	146	70	47,3%
	of which women	23	35	9	2	n.a.	-	-	-
	AFR per sub-group	53,2%	71,8%	90,0%	14,3%	-	-	-	-
	AFR for ALL sub-groups	57,3%					AFR for ALL academic years		52,7%

The average feminisation rate for all subgroups is 57.3%, meaning that there was less than one man to every one woman (a ratio of 1:0.8), and it is the highest of all the groups studied in this article. The greatest feminisation rate of as much as 90% was recorded in the group working in the Student House, but the data available only covers one academic year. It is significant that the only male employee in this team was its manager, as in the case of the aforementioned Faculty of General Plastic Arts Education, this model of management by a man over a team of all-women resembles, therefore, a figure of icing on the cake. Of course, the documents in question do not demonstrate the opposite situation, that of a woman managing an entirely or predominantly male team, in any of the academy segments analysed.

The most complete data concerns the administrative unit, where, with an average of 53.2%, a significantly progressive feminisation can be observed while at the same time this subgroup grew slightly. In the service unit, separated from the administration in the 1960s, a very high and constant percentage of women of 70% to 73.5% can be observed. However, it should be emphasised that the positions classified in this group are among the least prestigious in the school: cleaner, janitor (*pedel*), guard, cloakroom attendant, stoker or craftsman. The fewest numbers of women, only two in twelve men, or 14.3%, were employed in the Experimental Plants, involved in wood and metalworking. However, these were not qualified craftsmen, but occupied non-managerial office positions. Unfortunately, there is no detailed data available on persons employed as models.

If, on the other hand, the entire division in question is viewed through the lens of each academic year, the feminisation rate doubled in the 1960s – up by almost 36 percentage points from 30.0% to 65.7%, with a slight decline of around three percentage points in the following decade.

The most numerous and fully feminised (100% occupancy) types of service positions were cleaner, caretaker (*pedel*), doorman and craftsmen with 75% occupancy. Among the office positions, the posts of clerk/senior clerk, accountant/senior

accountant and senior economist were always staffed by women (100% occupancy). There was also a 100% female proportion in the less numerous positions of cloakroom attendant, duplicator or guard.

In contrast, women were not employed (0%) as janitors (*woźny*), drivers, transport workers, maintenance workers or specialised craftsmen: blacksmiths, carpenters or locksmiths. To a certain extent, women were employed as stokers (about 29%). Remarkably, there were no women (0%) in the most important managerial positions for the university at that time: the administrative director and the bursar. Nor were they employed in other managerial positions (0%) of the administrative and economic department, of the Student House, of the storage team or of the Experimental Plants. Women in management positions were almost exclusively in the secretarial positions.

As they were not anonymous and also contributed significantly to the academy, and as that group is the most overlooked in historical analyses, I would like to present them by their names as well. The following women worked in their respective positions:

in 1954/55 as a clerk (3): Julia Brenenstuchl, Zofia Misiówna, Irena Robak,

in 1963/64 as the head of the independent section of the course and organisation of studies – secretary of the college (1): Stanisława Menzłowa; senior economist (2): Dorota Mikulska, Robak; senior accountant (2): Waclawa Armatys, Wiktoria Gołębiowska, senior clerk (2): Daniela Iwanek, Helena Niewójt; clerk (2): Brenenstuchl, Misiówna; craftsman (3:1): Janina Horodecka, Janina Piskorska, Helena Zubko; stoker (1:3): Anna Dzimira; cleaner (5): Bronisława Dieszko (?), Celina Półtorak, Krystyna Rak, Zofia Rucko, Maria Zawada; senior janitor (*pedel*) (3): Maria Barciszewska, Henryka Sapała, Alfonsa Sokalska; guard (2): Kazimiera Adamska, Zofia Stefańczuk; in 1970/71 as the head of the independent personnel section (1): Robak; head of the accounting section (1): Wanda Pawlak; head of the secretariat (1): Czesława Pączek; head of the course of study (1): Chima Aleksandra Łagowska; secretariat of the

deans (1): Armatys; senior economist (3): Urszula Bielska, Janina Felińska, Dziewanna Zatorska; senior accountant (1): Maria Kramarzewska; accountant (1): Mirosława Szymańska; senior planner (2): Niewójt, Anita Wierzbicka; clerk (1): Józefa Horegląd; stoker (1:3): Józefa Kwiecińska; duplicator (1): Lidia Jastrząb; craftsman (3:1): Barciszewska, Sokalska, Zubko; cleaner (13): Jadwiga Chodyra, Janina Duda, Urszula Grońska, Anna Kościelna, Edeltrauda Nowak, Aniela Niełacka, Maria Ołdziejewska, Półtorak, Rak, Teodozja Strzelec, Irena Szadkowska, Anna Szulc, Zawada; senior janitor (*pedel*) (5): Anna Dzimira, Bronisława Piorunowicz, Barbara Sawczuk, Irena Surmacz, Krystyna Widera; senior doorman (4): Helena Judek, Maria Kubara, Zofia Metyk, Zofia Wołowiec; senior guard (1): Stefańczuk; cloakroom attendant (2): Maria Dudzińska, Izabela Ignaczak.

In all the years given, there was one woman working consistently, Robak, changing positions to higher and higher positions – from clerk to senior economist to the head of the independent personnel section. The other women either appeared only once or remained in a resembling position.

Assuming that the data collected is representative of each decade – the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s – it must be noted that in the administrative subgroup the process of feminisation occurred very swiftly, reaching 30,0%–56,3%–73,3% successively. Interestingly, this progress took place with a relatively modest staff growth of around 50%. So the school's bureaucracy feminised most dynamically and most efficiently.

So, where are they ?%

Comparing the different groups of women in SHSPA in the selected years between 1954 and 1971, it can be seen that the presence of all women combined – students from all years (estimated),⁷² academics and non-teaching staff – gradually increased. What is particularly important, however, is that as early as 1954 the percentage of all women combined in all divisions of the university exceeded

the thirty-percentage threshold of critical mass, at an estimated 38.7%. The average feminisation rate (AFR) of the whole academy (all persons combined) for the selected years 1954/55, 1963/64 and 1970/71 is 41.4%. Whereas, looking at the feminisation of the various subgroups, namely total and new students, graduates, teachers, including full-time and contracted hours, school leaders and non-teaching staff, the average for the corresponding years was around 33%.

Women in various divisions of the SHSPA in Wrocław in between 1954 and 1980									
group	subgroup	Academic year:	1954/55 (a)	1955/56(b)	1963/64(c)	1970/71(d)	1979/80(e)	AVERAGE FR (b-d)	OVERALL AFR (b-d)
STUDENTS*	NEW STUDENTS	TOTAL	35	38	50	50	n.a.	48,0%	46,9%
		women	8	16	25	26	n.a.		
		FR	22,9%	42,1%	50,0%	52,0%	-		
	ALL STUDENTS*	TOTAL	223	194	237	251	n.a.	46,3%	
		women	95	76	109	135	n.a.		
		FR	42,6%	39,2%	46,0%	53,8%	-		
	GRADUATES	TOTAL	12	30	19	31	68	46,4%	
		women	6	15	9	13	38		
		FR	50,0%	50,0%	47,4%	41,9%	55,9%		
ACADEMICS	ALL ACADEMICS	TOTAL	51	52	88	107	143	16,4%	17,3%
		women	9	9	14	17	32		
		FR	17,6%	17,3%	15,9%	15,9%	22,4%		
	FULL-TIME TEACHERS	TOTAL	51	34	47	55	100	16,4%	
		women	9	6	8	8	19		
		FR	17,6%	17,6%	17,0%	14,5%	19,0%		
	CONTRACT HOURS TEACHERS	TOTAL	-	18	41	52	43	16,2%	
		women	-	3	6	9	13		
		FR	-	16,7%	14,6%	17,3%	30,2%		
	LEADERSHIP	TOTAL	9	5	14	53	65	20,1%	
		women	1	1	3	10	13		
		FR	11,1%	20,0%	21,4%	18,9%	20,0%		
AFR for the above subgroups per year			27,0%	29,0%	30,3%	29,5%	-	30,0%	
AFR for STUDENTS* and ACADEMICS in selected years (b-d)								30,0%	32,1%
NON-TEACHING STAFF		TOTAL	10	32	35	69	n.a.	AFR for selected years	
		women	3	n.a.	23	44	n.a.	(a/b, c, d)	
		FR	30,0%	-	65,7%	63,8%	-	53,2%	
AFR for all subgroups per year			28,2%**		37,6%	37,3%	-	34,4%	
AFR for STUDENTS*, ACADEMICS and NON-TEACHERS in selected years (a/b, c, d)								32,9%	32,1%
ALL PERSONS (all students*, academics and non-teachers)		TOTAL	284	278	360	427	-	AFR for ALL PERSONS for selected years	
		women	107	-	146	196	-	(a, c, d)	
		FR	37,7%	-	40,6%	45,9%	-	41,4%	

Table 8. Women in various divisions – students (including new enrollments and graduates), academics (including full time positions, contract hours teachers and leadership) and administrative, service and technical units – of the State Higher School of Plastic Arts in Wrocław in selected years between 1954 and 1980. Data for the groups marked with an asterisk is estimated. The average feminisation rate (AFR) for all subgroups for the years 1954/55 and 1955/56 (**) is combined to cover up for the missing or unrepresentative data.

A different picture emerges, however, when comparing the feminisation rate for these groups in the 1970/71 academic year: for full-time female employees, it was a mere 14.5%, for all female academics only about 16%, in the subgroup of female managers nearly 19%, definitely higher for female graduates and female students, constituting about 52% and 54% of their group respectively, and the highest feminisation rate was in the group of non-teaching staff – as high as 64%. In this context, it is interesting to note the slight decline in the number of female graduates between 1954 and 1970, from 50% to about 42% of their group. Despite their initial enthusiasm to study, did they begin to lack motivation as they saw more women cleaners (13) or janitors (5) around them than women professors (3)⁷³?

Fortunately, the situation improved for women at the end of the 1970s: in 1979/80, the number and proportion of women among the research and teaching staff increased considerably, including a doubling in the number of female full-time staff (up from 8 to 19, or 19%) and simultaneously the number of female graduate students grew threefold (from 13 to 38, women representing around 56% of the group). Thus, the more numerous presence of women on a cadre – especially those employed in permanent positions and therefore with security and the prospect of professional development, which undoubtedly contributes to enhancing the quality of teaching – seems to have a very positive impact on the education of female students and their academic success.

* * *

The figures for the academy's staff are well complemented by two extracts from the memoirs of the school's first teachers. Stanisław Dawski, recalling the pioneering period of teaching among his colleagues, wrote:

All of us as pedagogues were rookies. No one had taught before. [...] The beginning of the School was the beginning of all our problems, even the organisational and administrative ones. There was a moment

when Geppert came to ask us what to do about the secretariat. I replied that we needed to engage a secretary [feminative – ZR] who had some experience, who had worked somewhere. And there was one secretary [fem. – ZR], one administrative manager who had never been a manager before, one caretaker.⁷⁴

This person was required because of their skills and experience in the profession, but apparently this position was the only one in which a woman was implicitly sought and, as I have already mentioned, only this post was labelled with a feminative.

An interesting aspect of women's participation in organisational and administrative work also emerges from Krzetuska's memoir, she writes:

Coming back to the preparations, however, these were the hardest times. The cleaning alone was exhausting, and if we add that just then the secretary recommended by friends ran away, taking with her the typewriter that had been bought with difficulty, it was already a disaster. So when enrolment was announced, first for the plein-air and then for the School, I was already performing all the supplementary functions, naturally for free. It was very satisfying to know that I was doing something useful after all.⁷⁵

By revealing, without embarrassment, her supportive role to her fellow professors, Krzetuska also exposes an overlooked dimension of the invisible work that women usually do, even if they are employed alongside their colleagues as academic teachers.

It is only when the opportunity arises that some women, transparent in their roles, claim recognition for their contributions and achievements, doing so out of necessity – a sense of justice or a need for recognition, rather than the possibility of some benefit. Elsewhere, Krzetuska points out herself: "Maybe I'm bragging too much – but the fact that the school edifice on Plac

Polski has been rebuilt is no small feat on my part. Everyone around me said it wasn't worth it, that it couldn't be done, and so on. And I persisted [...]."⁷⁶ And another artist, Lipska-Zworska, recalls that she was the first organiser of the academy's museum, founded in the academic year 1959/60,⁷⁷ of which it is officially more appreciated which rector was appointed.⁷⁸

More humble individuals can only receive adequate recognition from attentive colleagues who will testify on their behalf. Such was the case with Olech, on whose shoulders all the organisational effort involved in setting up the school's most unique department was to rest, the work invisible from the level of official documents: "In my opinion, the history of the Department of Ceramics and Glass at the SHSPA in Wrocław – is the story of Halina Olech's hardworking life," testifies Skomorowska, admiring her colleague's strength and proactivity.⁷⁹ But her statements also shed light on the dedication and taking on additional responsibility that women in academia – and the professional environment more broadly – are still predisposed to:

Seeing at times her great workload at the expense of her own creation, I argued and quarreled with her. For she relieved everyone: from professors, administrative staff, janitors to cleaners. To everyone, regardless of their position, she was Halinka. How much of her own salary, sparing herself, she put into equipping the studio, will remain her secret.⁸⁰

Bearing additional costs, especially emotional and organisational ones, and so-called invisible work may have delayed women not only from moving up the ladder, but also in creative development or the realisation of personal goals. With this realisation in mind, it is less surprising to read a confession from Cybińska, a doyenne of the academy in Wrocław and an artist known for her creative determination, discipline and hard work, who, with the benefit of hindsight, recalls that the most important and formative event in her career

was... a break from the college work between 1964 and 1974.⁸¹

Taking a simultaneous look at the figures found and the biographical and especially autobiographical narratives within oral history projects can be a beneficial formula for art history to break down the dominant narratives produced by the authority of scholars, museum professionals and decision-makers of the art field, operating with categories of assessment derived from a male-centric spectrum of values. Reclaiming the stories of women who did not receive adequate recognition and acknowledgement of the work they carried out, not only artistically but also organisationally or emotionally, is particularly important here. Championing female artists, so numerous in the second half of the twentieth century, in a feminist, equalitarian and inclusive perspective that critically takes into account the context of their functioning and their support networks is, of course, not only a socio-politically informed research task, but also an activism within the field of knowledge.

* * *

Dreaming up a fantasy of sisterhood, one would like to say that perhaps the academy would be somewhat different in terms of equality today if all the women who study and work there supported each other and acted together – in solidarity, without class prejudice or the lining up with strategies of becoming equal in the world appropriate for more privileged men. However, they were undoubtedly hindered by the power on the male side, not so much the symbolic power, but the very real one, influencing working and studying conditions and relations within the institution. With the predominance of men as decision-makers and at the highest hierarchical levels, both in terms of academic titles, degrees and functions and in key non-teaching positions, it is very difficult to feminise the academy as a whole.

Thus, instead of equality at all levels of academic life, we are currently faced with a situation in which female professors still constitute a negligible proportion while female

students are greatly dominant. Based on the data published by the authors of the report *Little Chance to Advance?* and the data collected in the Archive of EGAAD in Wrocław, it can be seen that there has been a significant increase in the representation of women – from one female teacher for about three students to one female teacher for about two students.⁸²

WOMEN IN ART COLLEGES IN HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY DATA		
Percentage of women (FR)	SHSPA in Wrocław 1946-80	Fine arts colleges in Poland in 2013
Teaching staff	18%*	35%
Students	49%**	77%

Table 9. Women among students and teaching staff of the SHSPA in Wrocław between 1946 and 1980 in relation to the averages for fine arts colleges in Poland in 2013. The feminisation rate for female teachers (marked *) relates to the years 1955-1980 and for female students (marked **) to the new admissions between 1946 and 1972.

However, while the Wrocław academy currently ranks close to the national average in terms of the total number of female staff, in terms of the proportion of female professors it is the second lowest, ahead only of the Faculty of Fine Arts at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń (also established in 1946).⁸³ In the light of historical data, it would therefore be appropriate to say that there is a pedagogical model firmly rooted in the academy's past, and its figure in the 20th and 21st centuries is no longer master-disciple, but rather 'master and apprentices.' I therefore believe that in an art college with such a unique formula for sharing skills and knowledge, where there is one teacher for about five students (the average for all types of universities in Poland is 1:16), it is, among other factors, the devotion to this teaching model that makes the armoured ceiling in Wrocław particularly fortified.

But since women have already reached the thirty percent critical mass threshold in almost every group, there is – assuming no procedural, political or violence-related obstacles – a good chance that this ceiling will crumble quite rapidly

in the years to come. However, has the critical shortage of female professors already decreased enough? It would also be interesting to see what the real influence of women on politics and equality in the academy has been, for example by examining their involvement in Faculty Boards or Senate meetings - did they speak out on issues of importance to the academy and were their voices heard?

At the time of the political transformation of the 1990s, fifty years after the establishment of the school, Skomorowska was very conscious of the democratic changes taking place and the necessary adjustments to be made at the school. As she pointed out:

Above all, pedagogues need to realise that studio management should not be treated as an untouchable occupation, because it is not one's own individual creation. It is simply to work together more. For the time of "master and apprentice" and, above all, single-person responsibility for artistic education is over – in favour of team responsibility.⁸⁴

The artist wrote this from the position of an already experienced professor, a former pro-rector and leader at various levels of the academic hierarchy. However, the underbelly of her own activity, as other quoted passages testify, was the nurturing sisterhood, warmth and kind words she received from another woman close to her.

What remains is, on the one hand, supporting in solidarity the efforts of women applying for the highest titles and positions – that is, counting on professors and rectors – and, on the other hand, constantly looking after the wellbeing of the least privileged women: students, low-level academics and service workers or those on temporary and part-time contracts, while constantly expanding the attention paid to people from minority and disadvantaged groups. And in doing so, it is worth seeking, protecting, reading, listening and passing on to each other the stories of those women on whose shoulders we stand, those

with whom we can offer our hands and those who come after us, because the numbers show that they are already on their way, and there is some part in their narratives that is also our own.

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Notes

¹ Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Sztuk Plastycznych we Wrocławiu (PWSSP) is also known in English as 'State Higher School of Visual Arts', 'State Higher School of Fine Arts' or 'State College of Fine Arts'. I will be using the exact translation referring to plastic arts, as intended by the school's creators.

² Unfortunately her name was not provided. Eugeniusz Geppert, "Pierwsze lata...", in *Szkice z pamięci: Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Sztuk Plastycznych we Wrocławiu we wspomnieniach jej założycieli, studentów i pedagogów: Lata 1946-1996: Cz. 1*, ed. Andrzej Saj and Urszula Benka (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Akademii Sztuk Pięknych, 1996), 28.

³ Iwona Demko, *Zofia Baltarowicz-Dzielińska: Pierwsza studentka Akademii Sztuk Pięknych w Krakowie* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Akademii Sztuk Pięknych im. Jana Matejki, 2018), 81-105. Iwona Demko, "Zofia Baltarowicz-Dzielińska – pierwsza studentka na krakowskiej Akademii Sztuk Pięknych / Zofia Baltarowicz-Dzielińska – the First Female Student at the Academy of Fine Arts in Krakow," *Sztuka i Dokumentacja* 19, (2018): 27–32, accessed September 4, 2022, doi:10.32020/ARTandDOC/19/2018/6. Monika Stelmach and Iwona Demko, "Zwycięstwo Zofii: Rozmowa z Iwoną Demko," *Dwutygodnik.com*, 263, August 2019, accessed September 4, 2022, <https://www.dwutygodnik.com/artukul/8427-zwyciestwo-zofii.html>.

⁴ Dobromiła Dobro, Agnieszka Kalita, Hanna Kraś, Adam Mazur, Agata Ostrowska, Agata Plater–Zyberk and Katarzyna Trzeciak, "Opowiedzieć pomijane historie: Rozmowa z kuratorkami wystawy *Kocham w życiu trzy rzeczy: samochód, alkohol i marynarzy*," *BLOK*, August 23, 2021, accessed September 4, 2022, <https://blokmagazine.com/pl-opowiedziec-pomijane-historie-rozmowa-z-kuratorkami-wystawy-kocham-w-zyciu-trzy-rzeczy-samochod-alkohol-i-marynarzy/>. "Kocham w życiu trzy rzeczy: samochód, alkohol i marynarzy. Nieopowiedziane historie studentek ASP w Warszawie 1918-1939 / Three Things I Love in Life – The Car, Liquor and Sailors: Untold Stories of Women Students of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw 1918-1939," *Lokal30.pl*, accessed February 6, 2023, <http://lokal30.pl/wystawy/kocham-w-zyciu-trzy-rzeczy-samochod-alkohol-i-marynarzy-nieopowiedziane-historie-studentek-asp-w-warszawie-1918-1939/>.

⁵ "Statistical Yearbook 1955" of the Central Statistical Office (GUS/CSO) presented an increase of 20 percentage points in the proportion of students coming from peasant and working-class families in the group of students at vocational and art schools in the 1953/55 academic year compared to 1935/36. Detailed information on higher education institutions was published from 1959 onwards. "Rocznik Statystyczny 1955. Główny Urząd Statystyczny Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej," *Rocznik Statystyczny* 15 (Warszawa: GUS, 1956), "Szkolnictwo/Schooling" insert.

⁶ Zofia Morecka, Danuta Graniewska, Adam Kurzynowski and Barbara Tryfan, "Aktywność zawodowa Kobiet," in *Kobieta w Polsce: Referaty na Światową Konferencję Dekady Kobiet ONZ* (Warszawa: Instytut Pracy i Spraw Socjalnych, 1986), 36-37, 52-53.

⁷ Anna Gromada and Jutta Kawalerowicz, "Pancerny sufit: dlaczego jest tak mało kobiet w kadrze uczelni plastycznych w Polsce?" In *Kariery akademickie kobiet i mężczyzn: różne czy podobne?* ed. Renata Siemieńska-Żochowska (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2019), 119. Anna Gromada, Dorka Budacz, Jutta Kawalerowicz and Anna Walewska, *Marne szanse na awanse? Raport z badania na temat obecności kobiet na uczelniach artystycznych w Polsce*, ([Warszawa]: Katarzyna Kozyra Foundation, 2015), 7, accessed September 4, 2022, <https://www.nck.pl/upload/attachments/317998/Marne%20szanse%20na%20awanse%20RAPORT.pdf>.

⁸ Zdzisława Czyżowska, "Kobieta w Polsce w latach 1975-1985: Przegląd statystyczny / Woman in Poland 1975-1985: Statistical Review," in *Kobieta w Polsce*, 11-35.

⁹ Małgorzata Fidelis, *Kobiety, komunizm i industrializacja w powojennej Polsce / Women, Communism, and Industrialization in Postwar Poland*, trans. Maria Jaszczurowska (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo W.A.B. – Grupa Wydawnicza Foksal, 2015), 37-75.

¹⁰ Michał Jędrzejewski, "Słowo wstępne / Preface," in *Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Sztuk Plastycznych we Wrocławiu, [1946-1990]: CBWA 'Zachęta', Warszawa luty 1990: Wystawa prac studentów i pedagogów / State Higher School of Plastic Arts in Wrocław, [1946-1990]: CBAE 'Zachęta', Warsaw February 1990: Exhibition of Works by Students and Teachers*, ed. Wojciech Śmigieński and Irena Zaucha (Warszawa: Centralne Biuro Wystaw Artystycznych 'Zachęta', 1990), 9. Hanna Krzetuska, "Jak to było na początku / How it Was at the Beginning," in *Szkice z pamięci*, 39-40.

¹¹ Gromada, Budacz, Kawalerowicz and Walewska, *Marne szanse na awanse?*, 7. All the translations from Polish by Zofia Reznik.

¹² Caryatid Collective (Kolektyw Kariatyda) – informal group of information activists dedicated to enriching Polish Wikipedia with content on encyclopedic women in the arts. "Wikiprojekt:GLAM/Kolektyw Kariatyda," [pl.Wikipedia.org](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikiprojekt:GLAM/Kolektyw_Kariatyda), last modified October 31, 2022, https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikiprojekt:GLAM/Kolektyw_Kariatyda.

¹³ The Wikiprojekt is a group of Wikipedians working together to improve Wikipedia in a subject area of their choice. "Wikipedia:WikiProject," [en.Wikipedia.org](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:WikiProject), last modified August 14, 2022, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:WikiProject>.

¹⁴ "Wikiprojekt:GLAM/Gaszcz," [pl.Wikipedia.org](https://pl.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikiprojekt:GLAM/Gaszcz), last modified May 1, 2021, <https://pl.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikiprojekt:GLAM/Gaszcz>.

¹⁵ Anna Kutera, *Czy wyraz „kobieta” to rzeczownik, czy przymiotnik? / Is the Word 'Woman' a Noun or an Adjective?* 1977, fragment of a report, collage, drawing and typesetting on paper, in the artist's collection.

¹⁶ Anna Markowska, "Trzeba przetrzeć tę szybę; Powikłane dzieje wrocławskiej Galerii Sztuki Najnowszej (1975-1980) w Akademickim Centrum Kultury Pałacyk / This Glass Must Be Wiped Clean: The Complicated History of the Recent Art Gallery (1975-1980) at the Pałacyk Academic Culture Centre," in *Awangarda nie bila braw: Cz. 1: Galeria Sztuki Najnowszej /*

The Avant-Garde Did Not Applaud: Pt. 1: The Recent Art Gallery, ed. Anna Markowska (Wrocław: Muzeum Współczesne Wrocław, 2014), 290. Zofia Reznik, "Piąta Beatles i Matka Sukcesu. Artystki kolektywu GSN w świetle historii mówionej / The Fifth Beatle and the Mother of Success. Female Artists of the RAG Collective in the Light of Oral History," in *Awangarda nie była braw*, 334-335.

¹⁷ Roman Wieruszewski, *Równość kobiet i mężczyzn w Polsce Ludowej* (Poznań: Wydaw. Poznańskie, 1975).

¹⁸ Wieruszewski, *Równość kobiet i mężczyzn*, 226.

¹⁹ Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?," in *Women, Art, and Power, and Other Essays* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 145-178.

²⁰ The artists invited to the project were: Izabella Gustowska, Anna Kutera, Natalia LL, Teresa Murak, Ewa Partum, Krystyna Piotrowska oraz Teresa Tyszkiewicz. "Fading Traces: Polskie artystki w sztuce lat 70.," *Ankalesniak.pl*, accessed September 4, 2022, http://www.ankalesniak.pl/fading2010_pl.htm.

²¹ "Zarejestrowane," *Ankalesniak.pl*, accessed September 4, 2022, http://www.ankalesniak.pl/registered2011_pl.htm. "Zarejestrowane," *Łódź-art.eu*, accessed September 4, 2022, <http://www.lodz-art.eu/zarejestrowane/index.html>.

²² Guerrilla Girls, *Do Women Have To Be Naked To Get Into the Met. Museum?*, 1989.

²³ Magdalena Mach, *Kobiety na Akademii Sztuk Pięknych im. Jana Matejki w Krakowie* (paper, "Kobiece utopie w działaniu. 100 lat praw wyborczych kobiet" conference in Kraków, 2018), courtesy of the author.

²⁴ Gromada, Budacz, Kawalerowicz and Walewska, *Marne szanse na awanse?*, 10, 22.

²⁵ Andrzej Saj, and Urszula Benka, eds., *Szkice z pamięci*. The publication contains, among other things, invaluable heristorical material – the narratives of several women involved with the academy in its early years, most of them now deceased, and their answers to questions asked in a questionnaire designed in conjunction with the publication. The following were invited to contribute to the project: artists K. Cybińska, W. Gólkowska, M. Janowska-Karpińska, R. Konieczka-Popowska, I. Lipska-Zworska, H. Olech, Ł. Skomorowska-Wilimowska, art historians B. Baworowska, I. Huml, I. Pijaczewska, M. Starzewska and a literate U. Benka. An excerpt from H. Krzetuska's autobiography was also included.

²⁶ The discussion on the use of feminatives, especially in official documents, had its turning point in public debate in Poland in 2019. At that time, the Council for the Polish Language issued a statement advocating an increased visibility of women in the Polish language and the symmetrical use of feminine forms alongside masculine ones where possible. In the same year, the Senate of the Adam Mickiewicz University passed a new statute with an unprecedented clause on allowing female forms of the names of positions and functions. In 2020 a similar clause appeared in the statute of the Academy of Art in Szczecin, and in 2021 the Senate of the Academy of Fine Arts in Krakow took a corresponding decision. The Szczecin Academy was honoured with the only feminist art award in Poland, i.e. the Maria Anto and Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven Art Award, in the "special recognition for supporting the presence and visibility of women in education and culture" category as a pioneering institution in the field of art. Also, the feminine language forms functioning in higher education institutions and in the art world became the subject of Iwona Demko's activist project *Feminatives at the Academy*. "Stanowisko Rady Języka Polskiego przy Prezydium PAN w sprawie żeńskich form nazw zawodów i tytułów (25 XI 2019 r.)," *Rjp.pan.pl*, accessed September 4, 2022, https://rjp.pan.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1861:stanowisko-rjp-w-sprawie-zenskich-form-nazw-zawodow-i-tytulow. Paulina Januszewska, "Mów mi »rektorke«: O feminatywach na uczelniach," *Krytykapolityczna.pl*, July 10, 2020, accessed February 6, 2023, <https://krytykapolityczna.pl/kraj/akademia-sztuki-szczecin-feminatywy-nowy-statut-januszewska/>. Kov, "Akademia Sztuki z nagrodą za »rektorke«, »dziekanę« i »kanclerzową«: Uznanie za wsparcie kobiet," *Szczecin.wyborcza.pl*, December 29, 2020, accessed February 6, 2023, <https://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/7,34939,26646565,akademia-sztuki-z-nagroda-za-rektorke-dziekane-i-kanclerzowa.html>. Aleksandra Suława, "Droga Pani Dziekano... Po co nam feminatywy na uczelniach?," *Styl.interia.pl*, June 4, 2021, accessed February 6, 2023, <https://styl.interia.pl/spoleczenstwo/news-szanowna-pani-dziekano-po-co-nam-feminatywy-na-uczelniach,nId,5276339>. Iwona Demko and Łukasz Trzciniński, *Feminatywy w Akademii: Słowniczek* (Kraków: Dom Utopii – Międzynarodowe Centrum Empatii; Teatr Łąźnia Nowa, 2022).

²⁷ Andrzej Jarosz, "Barwne kadry, spiętrzone materie, kontemplacyjne płaszczyzny: Z dziejów współczesnego malarstwa wrocławskiego," in *Wrocław sztuki: Sztuka i środowisko artystyczne we Wrocławiu 1946-2006*, ed. Andrzej Saj (Wysoka: Agencja Reklamowa i Drukarnia Kontra s.c., 2007), 25, 33, 36.

²⁸ Sylwia Świsłocka-Karwot, *Sztuka we Wrocławiu w latach 1945-1970: Artyści, dzieła, krytycy* (Wrocław: Via Nova, 2016), 30, 33.

²⁹ Andrzej Saj, and Urszula Benka, eds., *Szkice z pamięci*, 45, 157, 160.

³⁰ The dates of commencement given by different authors are sometimes a little inconsistent and need to be verified. Świsłocka-Karwot, *Sztuka we Wrocławiu w latach 1945-1970*, 27, 63, 66. Andrzej Saj, ed., *Wrocław sztuki*, 10, 24-37, 83-90, 126-145, 153-183, 205-207, 250. Paweł Banaś, "PWSSP – szkic do portretu / SHSPA – Sketch for a Portrait," in *Szkice z pamięci*, 9-11. Michał Jędrzejewski, "Słowo wstępne / Preface," 9-10.

³¹ Świsłocka-Karwot, *Sztuka we Wrocławiu w latach 1945-1970*, 290. Jarosz, "Barwne kadry, spiętrzone materie, kontemplacyjne płaszczyzny," 33. Banaś, "PWSSP – szkic do portretu / SHSPA – Sketch for a Portrait," 9-10.

³² Geppert, "Pierwsze lata...," 25-26.

³³ Krzetuska, "Jak to było na początku," 39-40.

- ³⁴ Świsłocka-Karwot, *Sztuka we Wrocławiu w latach 1945-1970*, 17-57. Sylwia Świsłocka-Karwot, "Obraz rozciągnięty w czasie: Środowisko wrocławskie i sztuka w latach 1946-2006," in *Wrocław sztuki*, 289-293.
- ³⁵ Świsłocka-Karwot, *Sztuka we Wrocławiu w latach 1945-1970*, 59-107. Jarosz, "Barwne kadry, spiętrzone materie, kontemplacyjne płaszczyzny," 42-43.
- ³⁶ Unquestionably significant in the history of women's art was the 1952 Exhibition of Paintings, Drawings and Prints by Women Plastic Artists. It was the first exhibition of its kind to bring together works by eleven of the above-mentioned active women artists. The commissioner of this exhibition was Dawska, and among the eight jurors there was only one woman – Jastrzębowska. Desage was mentioned in the Świsłocka-Karwot dissertation for the first time as a participant in the 1953 edition. Świsłocka-Karwot, *Sztuka we Wrocławiu w latach 1945-1970*, 86-87.
- ³⁷ Gromada, Budacz, Kawalerowicz and Walewska, *Marne szanse na awanse?*, 14-15.
- ³⁸ Krzetuska, "Jak to było na początku," 42.
- ³⁹ Świsłocka-Karwot, *Sztuka we Wrocławiu w latach 1945-1970*, 23. Świsłocka-Karwot, "Obraz rozciągnięty w czasie," 290.
- ⁴⁰ Świsłocka-Karwot, *Sztuka we Wrocławiu w latach 1945-1970*, 25, 61, 62, 67.
- ⁴¹ Fidelis, *Kobiety, komunizm i industrializacja w powojennej Polsce*, 37-41, 50-56.
- ⁴² Gromada, Budacz, Kawalerowicz and Walewska, *Marne szanse na awanse?*, 21.
- ⁴³ Geppert, "Pierwsze lata...", 27.
- ⁴⁴ Morecka, Graniewska, Kurzynowski and Tryfan, "Aktywność zawodowa Kobiet", 52-53.
- ⁴⁵ Gromada, Budacz, Kawalerowicz and Walewska, *Marne szanse na awanse?*, 16.
- ⁴⁶ An analysis of the numerical presence of women in the university in its first seven years of operation requires a separate reconstruction study based on information scattered over various documents.
- ⁴⁷ Ustawa z dnia 5 listopada 1958 r. o szkołach wyższych (1958), accessed February 6, 2023, <https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU19580680336/O/D19580336.pdf>.
- ⁴⁸ The classification of some employees was sometimes variable, e.g. in the case of a PE teacher in some years it was in the supporting personnel group and in other years in the lecturing group. The available documents also did not always include library staff. There was also a migration in the classification of people between full-time employees or on contract hours, especially in the group of assistants and lecturers, instructors or those teaching socio-political and humanistic subjects.
- ⁴⁹ In the academic year 1954/55, 9 people were employed as 'professors' (in the following year eight became deputy professors and one became an associate professor) and three as 'deputy professors' (in the following year still as deputy professors).
- ⁵⁰ I derive this term from the paper by Mach. Mach, *Kobiety na Akademii Sztuk Pięknych im. Jana Matejki w Krakowie*. Gromada, Budacz, Kawalerowicz and Walewska, *Marne szanse na awanse?*, 15.
- ⁵¹ Gromada, Budacz, Kawalerowicz and Walewska, *Marne szanse na awanse?*, 11-21.
- ⁵² Gromada, Budacz, Kawalerowicz and Walewska, *Marne szanse na awanse?*, 16. The issue is currently being discussed in public colleges, sparked in 2018 by the Ombudsman's report *Experiences of harassment among female students. Analysis and recommendations (Doświadczenie molestowania wśród studentek i studentów. Analiza i zalecenia)*, revealing just how widespread a problem of sexual violence is in higher educational institutions. "Doświadczenie molestowania wśród studentek i studentów: Analiza i zalecenia RPO," Bip.brpo.gov.pl, February 11, 2019, accessed February 6, 2023, <https://bip.brpo.gov.pl/content/molestowanie-wsrod-studentek-i-studentow-analiza-i-zalecenia-rpo>.
- ⁵³ Gromada, Budacz, Kawalerowicz and Walewska, *Marne szanse na awanse?*, 18.
- ⁵⁴ Gromada, Budacz, Kawalerowicz and Walewska, *Marne szanse na awanse?*, 51.
- ⁵⁵ Krzetuska, "Jak to było na początku", 42.
- ⁵⁶ Krzetuska, "Jak to było na początku", 42.
- ⁵⁷ Full name missing.
- ⁵⁸ Unfortunately, it is difficult to analyse the allocation to particular posts within commissioned hours, as this information is usually not explicitly recorded in staffing plans.
- ⁵⁹ The maximum time for holding a given position was regulated by law and, on the one hand, it forced the employees to improve their professional qualifications, namely to obtain degrees or to build up a body of work, while, on the other hand, it obliged the institutions of higher education to promote employees to further positions. In the event of a shortage of vacant positions, a shortage of staff or a particular preference or dislike for a particular person, these decisions could be taken in a non-obvious manner, that is, accelerated or deferred or even blocked advancement.
- ⁶⁰ "Uczelnia i jej pedagogy – wspomnienia, oceny, refleksje (Ujęcie ankietowe)," in *Szkice z pamięci*, 164.
- ⁶¹ I exclude here the group of PE teachers, because for almost the entire period in question the teacher and the head of the Physical Education Study was a man, Roman Marchacz, classified in the second half of the 1970s as a lecturer or senior lecturer. It was only then that Z. Sokołowska, who had previously worked with him on contract hours, was given a full-time teaching position.

- ⁶² This more elegant phrase is usually uttered in the context of group exhibitions, in which the works of women artists are separated from those of other artists and gathered in one place, usually demonstrating the curator's helplessness in convincing and substantive inclusion of women in the proposed exhibition.
- ⁶³ Irena Lipska-Zworska, "Pani Profesor Julia Kotarbińska," in *Szkice z pamięci*, 86.
- ⁶⁴ Halina Olech, "Pierwsze lata ceramiki – pierwsi pedagodzy (o Rudolffie Krzywcu i Julii Kotarbińskiej)," in *Szkice z pamięci*, 92.
- ⁶⁵ Łucja Skomorowska-Wilimowska, "Moje wspomnienie o Xawerym Dunikowskim (wybrane fragmenty)," in *Szkice z pamięci*, 63-65.
- ⁶⁶ Łucja Skomorowska-Wilimowska, "Wspomnienie o Halinie Olech," in *Szkice z pamięci*, 125.
- ⁶⁷ Skomorowska-Wilimowska, "Wspomnienie o Halinie Olech," 125-126. 'Učka' was a diminutive of the name Łucja, indicating great intimacy.
- ⁶⁸ Skomorowska-Wilimowska, "Wspomnienie o Halinie Olech," 126.
- ⁶⁹ "Uczelnia i jej pedagodzy – wspomnienia, oceny, refleksje (Ujęcie ankietowe)," 166-167.
- ⁷⁰ Gromada, Budacz, Kawalerowicz and Walewska, *Marne szanse na awanse?*, 20.
- ⁷¹ Gromada, Budacz, Kawalerowicz and Walewska, *Marne szanse na awanse?*, 53.
- ⁷² The data for the group of students of all years is estimated based on the summarised admissions for five consecutive years, e.g. the estimated total number of students at the academy in 1954 is the sum of those admitted between 1950 and 1954. The resulting data is overstated as it does not take into account the so-called sifting and transfers between colleges.
- ⁷³ In 1970/71 there were no female full professors, only one full-time docent and two adjuncts (assistant professors).
- ⁷⁴ Stanisław Dawski, "Tamte czasy (wspomnienia wg stenogramu wywiadu z 1979 r.)," in *Szkice z pamięci*, 29.
- ⁷⁵ Krzetuska, "Jak to było na początku," 40.
- ⁷⁶ Krzetuska, "Jak to było na początku," 43.
- ⁷⁷ "Uczelnia i jej pedagodzy – wspomnienia, oceny, refleksje (Ujęcie ankietowe)," 163. Data from staffing sheets.
- ⁷⁸ "Ośrodek Dokumentacji Sztuki," Asp.wroc.pl, accessed February 6, 2023, <https://www.asp.wroc.pl/pl/uczelnia/osrodki-i-jednostki/osrodek-dokumentacji-sztuki>.
- ⁷⁹ Skomorowska-Wilimowska, "Wspomnienie o Halinie Olech," 126.
- ⁸⁰ Skomorowska-Wilimowska, "Wspomnienie o Halinie Olech," 126.
- ⁸¹ "Uczelnia i jej pedagodzy – wspomnienia, oceny, refleksje (Ujęcie ankietowe)," 164.
- ⁸² Gromada, Budacz, Kawalerowicz and Walewska, *Marne szanse na awanse?*, 6-8.
- ⁸³ Gromada, Budacz, Kawalerowicz and Walewska, *Marne szanse na awanse?*, 8.
- ⁸⁴ "Uczelnia i jej pedagodzy – wspomnienia, oceny, refleksje (Ujęcie ankietowe)," 173.

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