

KATARZYNA KOZYRA FOUNDATION

Little Chance to Advance?

An Inquiry into the Presence of Women
at Art Academies in Poland



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Front cover:
Warsaw School of Fine Art 1919-1932,
professor Tadeusz Breyer (right) with students.
Photograph courtesy of
the National Digital Archives.

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Foreword

The starting point for our inquiry was the visible disproportion between the number of female students and women employed at art academies in Poland. After the research has begun, it quickly turned out that the problem concerns not only the long-term academic staff – it emerges on the very early stage of artistic education and has more than just one possible source. The participants of the study include women and men, persons with many years of experience and relative novices, active artists and educators, as well as representatives of various cities and faculties. In the presented report from the inquiry into the presence of women at state art academies in Poland, we are trying to highlight inequalities which are reflected in the results of our study, indicate what could be the reason of such disproportion and, above all, invite various circles to a discussion.

The working draft of the report was sent out to the academies participating in the project with a request to make a statement on the presented results. We have received feedback from most of them. Academies in Toruń, Warsaw and Katowice submitted official written statements which are enclosed in this report as appendices. We have also turned to the leading experts on the issues of inequality with a request for a factual and methodological review of this publication. Our reviewers include: prof. Renata Siemieńska-Żochowska (Institute of Sociology, Robert B. Zajonc Institute for Social Studies, Chairholder of the UNESCO Chair affiliated with the Faculty of Philosophy and Sociology, University of Warsaw), prof. Kazimierz Słomczyński (Director of Cross-National Studies: Interdisciplinary Research and Training Program (CONSIRT), Department of Sociology, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, USA, Polish Academy of Sciences) and Dr Patrick Präg (postdoctoral fellow, Department of Sociology, Oxford University and Nuffield College).

We identify a number of systemic as well as human factors which contribute towards the current situation and in doing so we try to avoid attributing the responsibility exclusively to institutions or men. The fact that women in positions of power at art academies often seemed less interested in our research illustrates the complexity of the issue.

We conducted a comprehensive review of previous studies in this field, contacted all art academies in the country and - which was perhaps the most challenging part - confronted some of the myths and stereotypes about women's roles in art and society. Our research employed both quantitative and qualitative methods. We carried out a survey on a sample of 783 students at nine visual art academies, as well as in-depth interviews with 32 employees and students of the four selected academies. Comparing our sample size with samples in similar studies, we can say that we have managed to collect information from a broad group of both students and staff – which has been possible thanks to the support and assistance of many people, to whom I would like to express our deep gratitude. We have tested three groups of hypotheses: concerning aspirations, priorities and strategies; psychological factors; and student-professor relations. Now, I would like to warmly invite you to turn the page and take a closer look.

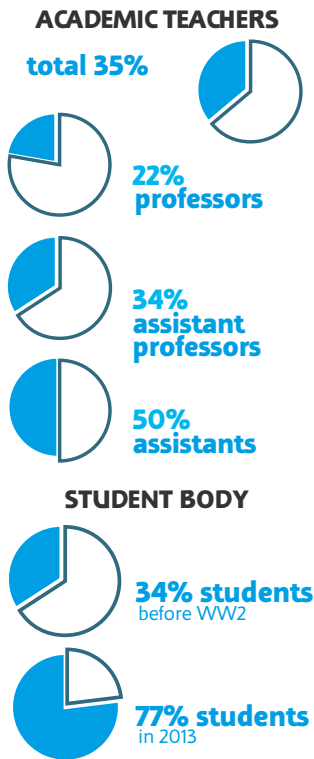
Anna Walewska

Director

Katarzyna Kozyra Foundation

CHAPTER 1: Why is this issue important?

Figure 1. Women at visual art academies



Source: for academic teachers - data obtained from the academies for 2013; for student body - data obtained from the academies for 2013 and historical data from the Central Statistical Office of Poland for 1937.

Poland's visual art academies are extremely feminised as places of study while exceptionally masculinised as places of work. The gender discrepancy between these two career stages – being a student and being a teacher – comparable only to that observed in theological schools, surprised us and became the main focus of this research.

This report presents data collected in public visual art academies in Poland.¹ We test ten hypotheses in order to answer our research question: why women constitute 77% of students but only 22% of professors?

Data obtained from visual art academies show that 35% of academic employees are women. This is markedly lower than the corresponding figure for higher public education taken as a whole, where women account for 45% of academic teachers. Only in theological schools² is the gender disproportion between students and teachers greater than in visual art academies, but there, at least, the over-representation of men reflects their privileged position in the hierarchy of the Catholic Church.

These statistics are puzzling, especially in the context of the growing popularity of visual art studies among women. Sociological research³ as well as data collected by the Central Statistical Office of Poland show that greater presence of women among students usually goes hand in hand with greater presence of women among academic teachers. For example, the proportion of women in medical universities is 74% among the students and 57% among the teachers.⁴ In other words, art academies, with a similar proportion of female students as medical universities, have almost twice fewer female teachers. This implies the presence of factors undermining women's careers in visual art academies.

1. In this report, public schools are understood as educational establishments funded by taxation. (equivalent of British state schools). Whenever we refer to visual art academies we mean nine publicly funded centres training young visual artists: six Fine Arts Academies (Gdańsk, Katowice, Cracow, Łódź, Warsaw, Wrocław), the University of Arts in Poznań, Fine Arts division at Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, and visual arts divisions (Painting and New Media, Visual Arts) at the Art Academy of Szczecin.

2. In comparison to other types of higher education institutions listed by the Central Statistical Office of Poland.

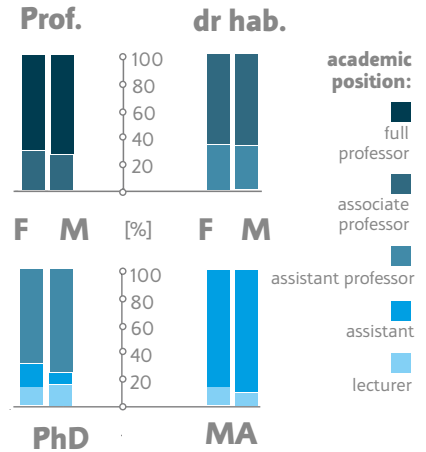
3. See: R. Siemińska, *Women in academy in Poland: Winners among losers*, Higher Education in Europe, 2000, 25(2): 163-172.

4. *Higher Education Institutions and their Finances*, Central Statistical Office of Poland, 2013.

Młodożeniec and Knapińska argue that gender disproportions become even clearer once academic career is divided into two stages: (1) incubation, which includes instruction towards a degree and lower ranks of academic employment and (2) maturity, which includes postdoctoral degree and professorship.⁵ The statistics show a gradual drying up of the number of women between the two stages. When it comes to incubation, women represent 77% of all visual art students and 50% of the assistants. As for maturity, women represent 34% of the assistant professors, 25% of the associate professors and only 17% of the full professors.⁶

Smaller but important differences are observed in employment of men and women with the same academic degrees. The biggest difference can be seen among doctorate holders: 76% of men with this title work as assistant professors, which is 6 percentage points more than women, who, despite having the same academic title, are more often employed as assistants, where they earn one third less than their male peers.⁷

Figure 2. Academic degrees and academic positions among teachers at visual art academies, by gender.



Source: data from the academies for 2013.

5_M. Młodożeniec, A. Knapińska, *Czy nauka wciąż ma męską płeć? Udział kobiet w nauce [Is science still male? Participation of women in science]*, „Nauka” 2013, 2: 47-72. .

6_Data obtained from the academies for 2013.

7_Polish higher education institutions recognise the following academic positions (from the highest to the lowest): full professor (profesor zwyczajny), associate professor (profesor nadzwyczajny), assistant professor (adiunkt), assistant (asystent). Additionally, they award the following academic titles: professor, postdoctoral degree (doktor habilitowany, which is an intermediate degree between professorship and doctorate, usually absent in English speaking countries), doktor (PhD) and magister (MA).

FRAME 1.

Where it was impossible to obtain separate data for visual art academies, we used data of the Central Statistical Office that are aggregated for all art academies in Poland.

Visual art academies are six art schools and one art university. Additionally, we included two important centres of training in the area of visual art which are a part of larger institutions. In 2013/2014, there were over 9 000 students in these nine centres of training.

Art academies are 23 Polish higher education institutions training in visual arts, music, theatre and film. In the academic year 2013/14, they educated 17 000 students, majority of whom studied visual arts.

In comparison to art academies, visual art academies have:

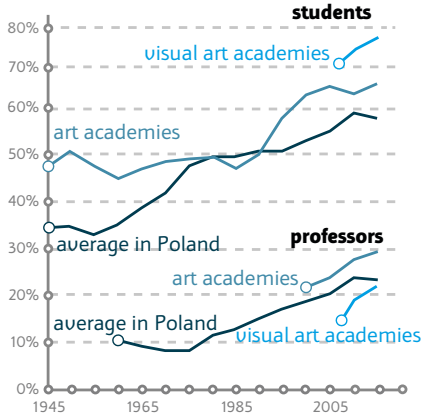
- more female students
- slightly less female employees
- slightly higher students per teacher ratio

Percentage of women

	visual art academies	art academies
teachers	35%	39%
students	77%	65%

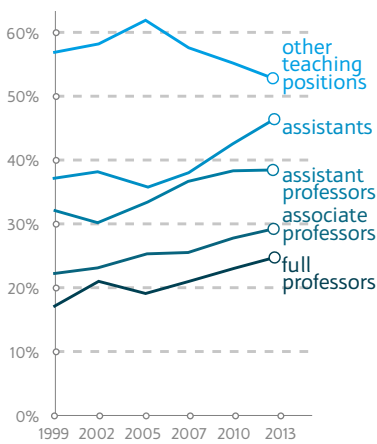
Source: for visual art academies - data obtained from the academies; for art academies - data obtained from *Higher Education Institutions and their Finances*, Central Statistical Office of Poland, 2013.

Figure 3. Women at higher education institutions



Source: *Statistical Yearbook (1945-2000) and Higher Education Institutions and their Finances*, Central Statistical Office of Poland, 2005, 2010, 2014.

Figure 4. Women among academic teachers at art academies



Source: *Statistical Yearbook (1945-2000) and Higher Education Institutions and their Finances*, Central Statistical Office of Poland, 2005, 2010, 2014.

Historical perspective

There is a tendency to argue that women have started studying at visual art academies only recently and that their increased presence in higher echelons of art academies is just a matter of time. Historical data from the Central Statistical Office of Poland show that a third of art students before the Second World War were female, and in Warsaw this figure was 42%. From the mid-1940s to the late 1980s, the percentage of women at art academies in the country oscillated around 50%.⁸ Assuming that the demographic profile of art professors is to reflect that of art students (factoring in the time needed to climb up the academic ladder), women should have constituted the majority of art professors already in the 1970s. Today, some 45 years later, only one in five visual art professors is female. This does not mean that visual art academies are not changing in time. The proportion of women among academic teachers has been going up in recent years. The data obtained by the authors using the Freedom of Information request (FOI) show that while in 2008 women represented 28% of the teaching staff and 15% of the professors, in 2013 they made up 35% of the staff and 22% of the professors. In the same year, every third postdoctoral degree and every fourth professorship was awarded to a woman.

In recent years, there were significantly more female than male art PhD students: 79% in 2007, 75% in 2010 and 65% in 2013.⁹ However, it is men who constituted a majority (55%) of those awarded a fine arts doctorate in 2013.¹⁰ The difference might be due to the fact that more women drop out of their doctoral studies or that the title is easier to obtain once a person is already employed at an art academy, for instance due to new requirements for teaching staff in terms of their academic credentials.

8. Where it is impossible to extract data for the subset of visual arts academies, we look at a slightly bigger subset of art academies (see Frame 1).

9. Data obtained from the academies for 2013.

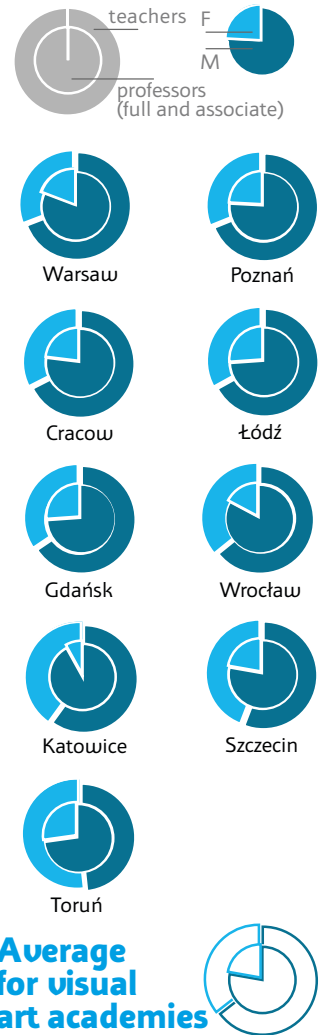
10. *Higher Education Institutions and their Finances*, Central Statistical Office, 2013.

Academies and regions

In Poland, there are significant regional differences in women’s academic employment and career advancement. Among regions that have at least one visual art academy, both the biggest share of women and the thinnest glass ceiling for higher education institutions as a whole can be observed in the Łódź Voivodeship. By contrast, the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship has the thickest glass ceiling.¹¹

Interestingly, visual art academies deviate strongly from the academic gender map of Poland. In some cases the differences among visual art academies completely escape or even reverse the general regional rankings, which might suggest a greater isolation of the art community and a weaker influence of external factors. Within the group of visual art academies there are also marked differences: the percentage of female art teachers is the highest in Toruń (52%), and the lowest in Warsaw and Poznań (31%). In Toruń the proportion of female professors is three times higher than in Katowice (27% compared to 8%) where all 17 full professors are men.¹² Yet, the statistics are showing a promising trend. In some cases, schools which for years had not had a single female professor to educate their primarily female student body slowly started to hire female academics. This is a positive change, but the situation is far from reflecting the gender proportion among students and the pace of change is very slow.

Figure 5. Women among teachers at visual art academies



Source: Data obtained from the academies for 2013.

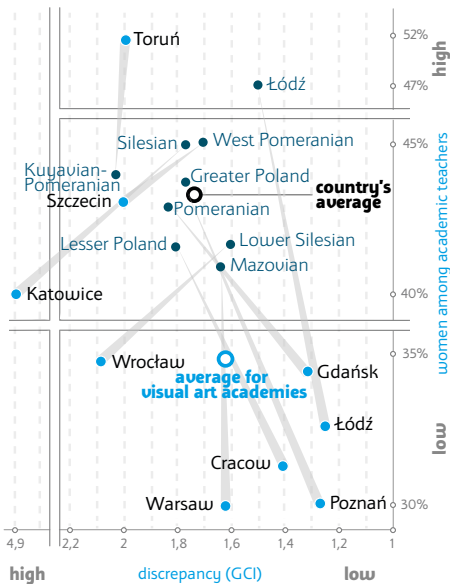
11. Understood as GCI (glass-ceiling index) obtained by dividing the share of women among academic teachers by the share of women among professors.

12. Data obtained from the academies for 2013.

Women at the top

The first female rector of a visual art academy was appointed only in 2008

Figure 6. Glass-ceiling index (GCI) for women teaching at visual art academies and women teaching at all higher education institutions in each voivodeship.



The under-representation of women in the highest academic ranks is not limited to visual arts academies. Prof. Maria Radomska, the first female rector in the history of Poland's public education, was elected only in the 1980s. A decade later, she published a book entitled *Byłam rektorem, 1981-1987* [I was a rector, 1981-1987] that intended to emphasise the uniqueness of her gender in that role.¹³

This precedent was an exception rather than a mark of a new trend. Fifteen years after the end of Professor Radomska's tenure, there was not a single female rector at a public university in Poland. When it comes to visual art academies, the first female rector was appointed in Gdańsk as late as 2008. In 2014, women accounted for four out of the 24 rectors and vice-rectors at visual arts academies, still none of these institutions had at once more than one woman in positions of power (as rectors and vice-rectors).¹⁴

Source: CGI calculated using data from academies for 2013 combined with a diagram proposed by Młodożeniec and Knapieńska in *Czy nauka wciąż ma męską płeć? Udział kobiet w nauce, 2013* [Is Science Male? Participation of Women in Science]

13. M. Fuszara, *Kobiety w polityce*, Wydawnictwo Trio, 2006 [Women in Politics].

14. M. Wasilewski, *Art education in Poland – between Jurassic Park and the 'Catering Regime'*, „Art, Design & Communication in Higher Education” 2014, 13(1), pp. 31–42.

Pedagogical formula

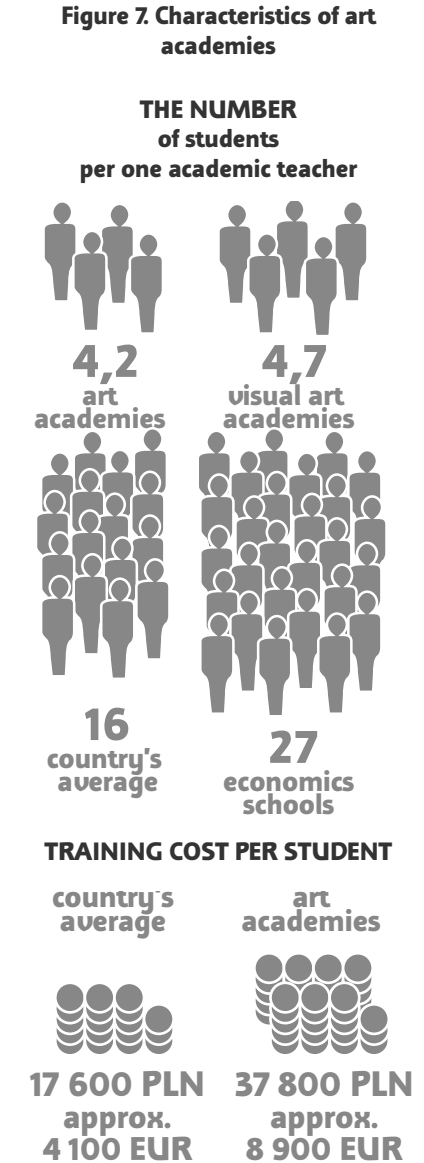
Art academies are arguably the last institutions in the Polish higher education system (and perhaps among the remaining few in the world), where education is based on a master-apprentice formula, which is considered their great strength.¹⁵ Polish art academies have just 4.2 students per each academic teacher, while at visual art academies this figure stands at 4.7. To understand how exceptional this situation is, it suffices to compare this ratio to the country's average (16 students for one academic teacher) or to the institutions from the other end of the spectrum: at economics schools there are 27 students per each academic teacher.¹⁶

This means that training young artists is the most expensive form of education in Poland - even more expensive than training medical students. In 2013, the annual education of an average student in Poland cost 17 600 PLN (approx. 4100 EUR) in public schools and 15 600 PLN (approx. 3700 EUR) in all schools. At the same time, the education of one art student cost 37 800 PLN (approx. 8900 EUR) - two to three times more than the average.¹⁷ As such, art education is the most expensive, elitist and personalised form of education in Poland. At the same time, it may also increase the importance of personal relations and amplify dependency on mentors, which in some cases can last for the entire professional life.

Issues related to the presence of women at visual art academies are increasingly often taken up by people who are a part of this environment - in artistic projects (such as “Zajerestrowane” [Registered] or “Fading Traces”) as well as academic endeavours (conferences such as “Gdzie jest Akademia”¹⁸). Yet often such analyses are based exclusively on the existing statistics or they focus on certain segments of visual art academies. This report seeks to systematically research all public visual art academies in Poland in order to identify the reasons behind women’s limited career advancement and find out why generational and gender replacement had been so slow.

15. J. Hausner, A. Karawińska, J. Purchala, *Kultura a rozwój [Culture and Development]*, National Centre for Culture Poland, Warsaw, 2013.

16. Even higher institutions that are commonly thought of as elite have 2-3 times higher student to academic teachers ratio when compared to Polish visual art academies. For instance, this ratio is equal to 7:1 for Harvard and 11:1 for Oxford and Cambridge.



Source: *Higher Education Institutions and their Finances*, Central Statistical Office of Poland, 2013.

17. *Higher Education Institutions and their Finances*, Central Statistical Office, 2013.

18. Zofia Nierodzińska and Filip Schmidt carried out their own research (self-funded) that resulted in assembling comparative statistics on gender discrepancies between students and academic teachers for the University of Arts in Poznań between 1989-2014.

CHAPTER 2: What does the research say? – literature review

An extensive literature of the subject attributes difficulties in women's career advancement to seemingly different factors, such as aspirations, self-esteem, family plans, networks, discrimination, availability of role models and committed mentors, and many others.

In this report, these factors are thematically divided for the clarity of the analysis. Yet, one must keep in mind that none of them exist in a social vacuum and all fields of investigation are closely connected to one another. For instance, Etzkowitz, Kemelgor, and Uzzi¹⁹ argue that female employees might lose some of their social networks as a result of isolation and exclusion from advancement linked to family roles that others imagine them to perform in the future – even if these imagined roles differ substantially from women's actual or even sought after roles.¹⁹ In turn, an example of joint influence of role models, self-esteem, and aspirations was shown in a study of high school female graduates.²⁰ Those with a female engineer among relatives were almost twice as likely to aspire to and twice as likely to believe in their own potential to work in the same industry, when compared to girls without such a role model in the family.

19_H. Etkowitz, C. Kemelgor, B. Uzzi, *Athena Unbound: The Advancement of Women in Science and Technology*, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

20_See: Fundacja Edukacyjna Perspektywy and Siemens *Potencjał kobiet w branży technologicznej: raport badawczy*, 2015. [Women's Potential in Technology: a research report]

Woman: an erotic object, not a creative subject

Artists and scientists are not immune to prejudice that lingers in a society as a whole. Prejudice, in turn, can be fed by a millennia-old tradition of treating femininity as an inferior category, a mindset that translated into different survival strategies of female creators. Historically, one of the most effective strategies was simply to pretend to be a man. Arguably the best known example is that of Mary Ann Evans, considered one of the most remarkable authors in English literature, who wrote under a male alias George Eliot and kept her gender in secret until the first publishing success. Also Harper Lee (author of "To Kill a Mockingbird") or George Sand (author of "Indiana", better known in Poland due to her relationship with Fryderyk Chopin), used male pen names. Pretending to be a man could also be a group strategy: sisters Charlotte, Emily, and Anne Brontë (authors of such English literature masterpieces as *Wuthering Heights*, *Jane Eyre*, and *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*) published as brothers Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell before their publishing success encouraged them to come out. Similar examples can also be found in art history where concealing one's true gender could be the only way to enrol in male-only institutions. In 1911, determined to study painting at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, Zofia Stryjeńska, one of the most important artists of the interwar period in Poland, registered under her brother's name. For a year she studied dressed up as a man, until she was reported by her colleagues and forced to leave the school.

It is difficult, albeit not impossible, to prove discrimination in art, a field with such arbitrary criteria of evaluation. One of the most fascinating works that tried to do that is a Harvard-Princeton research on recruitment to orchestras in the United States. Traditionally, the 'recruitment process' boiled down to a direct invitation from a conductor, a method that favoured apprentices of a few influential masters. Recruitment data from the top eleven American orchestras have shown that introducing blind auditions, during which candidates play behind a curtain so that the jury cannot see them, increases women's chances for entry by 50% in the preliminary rounds and several times in the last round. Between 1970 and 1997, when four of the five major orchestras of the United States introduced blind auditions, the proportion of women among musicians increased fivefold (from 5 to 25%). Researchers argue that between 25% and 46% of this increase can be attributed to the new method of recruitment.²¹

One need only to look at a woman's shape to discover that she is not intended for either too much mental or too much physical work. (...) Nothing different can be expected of women if it is borne in mind that the most eminent of the whole sex have never accomplished anything in the fine arts that is really great, genuine, and original, or given to the world any kind of work of permanent value. This is most striking in regard to painting.

Arthur Schopenhauer

21_C. Goldin, C. Rouse, *Orchestrating Impartiality: The Impact of „Blind” Auditions on Female Musicians*, "The American Economic Review" 2000, 90(4), pp. 715-741.

22_M. Wasilewski, *Art Education in Poland—Between Jurassic Park and the 'Catering Regime'*, "Art, Design and Communication in Higher Education" 2014, 13(1), pp. 31–42.



James Jacques Joseph Tissot, France, 1836-1902. *The Artists' Wives*, 1885, oil on canvas, 57½x40in.(146.1x101.6cm), Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, VA. Gift of Walter P. Chrysler Jr. and The Groundy Found, Landmark Communications Fund and "An Affair to Remember" 1982, 81.15

In visual arts, a crucial factor is the reproduced image of a woman as an erotic object rather than a creative subject. Yet, some art circles and institutions critically analysed their own heritage. For example, the National Museum of Art in Copenhagen added to its permanent exposition a section "Gender in Art", introduced to a visitor as follows: "The history of art is based on the myth of a free and creative genius – the role which women traditionally did not have a chance to take up. Their position in the history of art usually comes down to being a muse, the aesthetic subject or erotic object." Another example are Guerrilla Girls, a group that since the 1980s has underlined the discrepancy between women as creative subjects and women as erotic objects. Their famous campaign "Do women have to be naked to get into the Met. Museum?" pointed out that the modern art section of the largest American art museum has less than 5% women among displayed artists and 85% of women among nudes. In a similar fashion, Mathias Nielsen writes about the scientific community when he describes the Aarhus University entrance with a glass mural "Pro utilitate humani generis" - a depiction of thirteen male Nobel Prize winners accompanied by a naked woman.

In Poland, a similar opinion was voiced in Marek Wasilewski's critique of Jacek Strzelecki's art work installed at the University of Arts in Poznań. The work depicts a group of four men entering a stairwell – from the youngest at the bottom to the oldest at the top. Wasilewski comments: "as I think about this composition today, it is the complete absence of a woman in this march of generations that is conspicuous, as if the initiation into art could only be handed down from father to son, from master to apprentice, and not from mother to daughter, never mind mistress to apprentice."²²

In this research, topics of representation will be linked to recurring concepts of "female art" and "male art", male and female figures that students associate with artistic achievement, as well as gender differences in self-image.

Guerrilla Girls, *Do Women Have to Be Naked to Get Into the Met. Museum?*, 1989, © Guerrilla Girls, courtesy of guerrillagirls.com.



Social capital

What we refer to as “contacts” in everyday life, has received a lot of attention from the sociological community. Typically, it is called social capital and understood as a network of relationships based on reciprocity that can provide information, resources, confidence and a sense of community and which follows different logic than that of official channels (e.g. journals in the scientific world or exhibitions in the art world).²³ Sociologists call it “capital” to emphasise that relations translate into resources, which can be accessed through contacts with those who control these resources or know something important about them.²⁴ Social capital was studied, among others, by Granovetter, who showed that more American workers get a job through contacts than through any other method. Later, he looked at the nature of relations that ended up with a job offer and showed that 56% of them were occasional, 28% were rare and only 16% were close contacts.²⁵

In anthropology, social capital might bring to mind the Kula ritual from the Trobriand islands described by Bronisław Malinowski and considered an informal distribution of resources and power in the community. In the Kula ring, the male elite regularly meets to exchange valuable items. The more goods are transferred, the higher and more stable status of the donor and, most importantly, the higher the position of a man, the more exchange partners he has.²⁶

Etzkowitz, Kemelgor, and Uzzi see many analogies between the Kula ring and the academic community. No matter how meritocratically we want to design an academic system, it will always depend on sets of human interactions. People functioning in the world of culture or science are connected in networks, the density of which tends to be proportional to their status. The networks form a platform where scientists and artists exchange ideas, information and resources, where they collaborate, identify complementary fields and recommend their protégées for future cooperation and potential employment. Different degrees of immersion in these networks are one of the reasons why people of the same institutional status can have different experiences in the same place of work or study. The research, based on several hundred interviews with women at all levels of academic career, concludes: “coteries surrounding a faculty member, typically including students from many nations and cultures, constitute

23. This report employs the concept of social capital developed by Pierre Bourdieu. In Bourdieusian perspective, social capital is an attribute of an individual (rather than a community), and in itself is neither negative nor positive – its meaning depends on the purpose for which it is used. It is therefore important to distinguish this concept from those developed by Robert Putnam and James Coleman for whom social capital is something positive that characterises a community, for example trust, accepted standards and connections.

24. H. Etzkowitz, C. Kemelgor, B. Uzzi, *Athena Unbound: The Advancement of Women in Science and Technology*, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

25. M. Granovetter, *Getting a job: A study of contacts and careers*, University of Chicago Press, 1995.

26. B. Malinowski, *Argonauci Zachodniego Pacyfiku. Relacje o poczynaniach i przygodach krajowców z Nowej Gwinei*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 2005. [Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An account of native enterprise and adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea].

the basic social unit of U.S. doctoral education”²⁷ In turn, Nielsen or Bagilhole and Goode argue that academia values nothing as much as reputation which is linked to the degree of integration in formal and informal networks that play a role in promotion.²⁸

The main argument in the literature on gender aspects of the social capital is that women have worse access to informal channels of communication and integration and are less likely to be introduced by mentors to inner circles of the profession. With fewer supporting connections, women with comparable "human capital" (knowledge and skills) accumulate less social capital, which is crucial for entering the circles of power. According to Ibarra and Smith-Lovin, women's social capital being lower than men's is particularly noticeable in mentorship and scientific collaboration between disciplines of unequal status.²⁹ Exclusion of women from informal networks in science was analysed by Yenstch and Sinderman, and recently by Nielsen, whose research shows that the proportion of female applicants increases by half in publicly announced academic recruitment when compared to their closed counterparts.

The impact of networking on a career is not limited to the world of academia. The international report by PricewaterhouseCoopers with a meaningful chapter: "The future shape of leadership: is loyalty more important than skills and talent?" states that almost all interviewees in high business positions in seven countries were given a key career offer by a mentor, due to being noticed by those in positions of power.³⁰

Social capital is important in all professions that involve direct interaction. However, social capital might be of even greater importance in the art world due to its vague criteria of evaluation and close relations with protégés. At visual art academies, these dynamics might be further amplified by extreme gender disparity between students and staff, and additionally fuelled by reluctance to promote women to leadership positions, especially by elderly men brought up in a more socially conservative environment.

Social capital is especially important during the so-called critical transitions. In academic career, it might be a transition from the status of a student to that of an employee, which is a subject of particular attention in this report. For Burt as well as Etzkowitz, Kemelgor, and Uzzi, the success in these critical transitions often depends on access to informal sources of information which are more accessible to men. Etzkowitz, Kemelgor, and Uzzi coined the term "gender apartheid" to refer to male professors who are

27_H. Etzkowitz, C. Kemelgor, B. Uzzi, *Athena Unbound: The Advancement of Women in Science and Technology*, Cambridge University Press, 2000

28_See: M. Nielsen, *New and Persistent Gender Equality Challenges in Academia*, Forlaget Politica, 2014. B. Bagilhole, J. Goode, *The Contradiction of the Myth of Individual Merit, and the Reality of a Patriarchal Support System in Academic Careers A Feminist Investigation*, "European Journal of Women's Studies" 2001, 8(2), pp. 161-180.

29_H. Ibarra, L. Smith-Lovin, *New directions in social network research on gender and organizational careers. Creating tomorrow's organization*, 1997, pp. 359-383.

30_The leaking pipeline: Where are our female leaders?, PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2008.

more likely to assume the roles of mentors to male students, introduce them into their circles and increase the chance that the work of their students is taken seriously.

Rites of succession can involve what the literature describes as the mini-me syndrome.³¹ Those in positions of power tend to select successors who will be, to some degree, the extension of themselves, particularly with regard to similarity of style, type of experience, and gender. This type of more or less conscious filtering of candidates is particularly consequential in organizations that have a uniform leadership structure. The mini-me syndrome was observed by respondents in all countries surveyed by PricewaterhouseCoopers. The concept has been also applied in relation to the academic world by Etzkowitz, Kemelgor, and Uzzi who believe that male graduate students are more likely to have male mentors who promote reflections of themselves.

The Matthew effect³² implies that social capital increases in a nonlinear fashion: initial small differences in encouragement and discouragement eventually translate into significant differences in resources, as each previous success increases the probability of the next one. Committed mentors give advantage to 'the chosen ones' and indirectly put people without such support in a worse position. More importantly, their role – according to Etzkowitz, Kemelgor, and Uzzi – becomes critical in fields where evaluation is arbitrary, when favourable interpretation is important and where connections to other networks with their employment, financing and collaboration capacities count the most. Bronstein and Farnsworth³³ concentrated also on negative incentives that are more frequently encountered by women, especially exclusion, discrimination, and sexual harassment. In our study, this strand of the literature connects directly to the third set of hypotheses: differences in positive and negative stimuli that women and men receive from their teachers and possible amplification of their impact in the art world which epitomises a field or arbitrary assessment hinged upon interpretation.

Theodoor Rombouts, *Card Players*, ca. 1635, oil on canvas, 167.5 × 235.5 cm, National Museum in Warsaw, 575.



31 See: Frase-Blunt, *Moving Past Mini-Me: Building a Diverse Succession Plan Means Looking Beyond Issues of Race and Gender*, „HR Magazine” 2003 or *The leaking...*

32 See: R.K. Merton, *The Matthew Effect in Science*, „Science” 1968, 159(3810), p. 56–63; K. Janicka, K.M. Słomczyński, *Polarized Social-class Structure: On the Matthew Effect and Increasing Inequality*, „Polish Sociological Review” 2008, 4 (164), p. 341–357; H. Etzkowitz, C. Kemelgor, B. Uzzi, *Athena unbound: The advancement of women in science and technology*, Cambridge University Press 2000.

33 P. Bronstein, L. Farnsworth, *Gender differences in faculty experiences of interpersonal climate and processes for advancement*, „Research in Higher Education” 1998, 39(5), pp. 557–585

Nature and family



Katarzyna Górna, the *Madonnas* photo series (1996-2001), courtesy of the artist.

Nature and family have a long tradition of being quoted as the universal explanation of a wide range of phenomena linked to a gendered division of power. Against the backdrop of this legacy, it is important to distinguish between serious research and narratives that mechanically translate natural differences into power differences. Serious research on biological differences linked to fine arts embraces various fields such as spatial perception or colour vision³⁴ but typically does not make direct links to the division of power.

In turn, narratives on nature and family tend to make strong links between what they perceive as biology and justifications for keeping women away from power in a society. For example, in "Sex in Education, or A Fair Chance for the Girls," published in 1873, professor Edward Clarke argued that education can harm reproductive capacities of a woman's body but not that of a man.³⁵ A modern analogy can be provided by Yuri Temirkanova, a long-time director of Saint Petersburg Philharmonia which is considered to be one of the world's most prestigious art institutions. Temirkanov explains: "I don't know if it's God's will, or nature's, that women give birth and men do not." The director quotes Karl Marx, who reportedly said that his favourite female feature is weakness, and smoothly comes to the conclusion that "the essence of conducting is strength and the essence of a woman is weakness". Temirkanov also envisages potential problems that inclusion of women would cause to, implicitly male, musicians: "The important thing is, a woman should be beautiful, likable, attractive. Musicians will look at her and be distracted from the music!"³⁶ Consequently, it should come as no surprise that his institution does not employ a single female conductor.

Interestingly, "the distraction argument" was quoted already in the 18th century, during the French Revolution, as a reason to exclude women from the National Assembly. In turn, "the weakness argument" appeared also in academia where low participation of women was attributed to "physically demanding and mathematically intensive" nature of science.³⁷ One of the interesting hidden assumptions of these views is that artistic and scientific work is physically demanding while giving birth and raising children is not.

These narratives are closely linked to one of the strongest assumptions in the discourse on gender: that women want and will perform family roles and bear the majority of career-related sacrifices. In this research, we employ the term "preventive discrimination" to describe a situation when a person in a position of power deems reasonable to calculate imagined family roles into expected "return on investment" from an employee or a student, regardless of the person's actual plans and aspirations.

Such an approach, both in the past and at present, excludes not only women but also men with a preference for a better work-life balance. In the 19th century, at the then male universities of Oxford and Cambridge "academic celibacy" was expected from some scientists, which entailed resigning from family life altogether.³⁸ Still, the effects of starting a family have been more painful for women's careers. Mason and Goulden who followed careers of over 160 thousand American PhD holders concluded that marriage and parenthood are the top reason for eliminating women from academia.³⁹ At the same time, men who become fathers early in their career are 38% more likely to be hired than women in the same situation. In another study of eight thousand academic careers, female scientists with children had lower career prospects and less mobility than male scientists with children: in contrast to women's careers, men's careers have benefited from starting a family.⁴⁰

Etzkowitz, Kemelgor, and Uzzi argue that the model of total commitment to science, traditionally sponsored by sacrifice of a female partner, undergoes profound generational changes as both younger men and women aspire to better work-life balance. Adaptive behaviour of women has also changed. Until very recently it was assumed that if a work-life reconciliation project failed, a woman would be the one to abandon her career for the sake of family. However, in Europe, the last 40 years have shown that, increasingly, this is not the case: for instance, in today's Germany, 40% of university-educated women remain childless. The situation seems to be much more extreme in Poland's art community. As the "Art Factory" report showed, 79% of the surveyed art-projects' employees were childless.⁴¹

34. See: R. W. Pickford, *Sex differences in colour vision*, "Nature" 1947, 159(4044), pp. 606-607; I. Abramov, J. Gordon, O. Feldman, and A. Chavarga, *Sex and vision II: color appearance of monochromatic lights*. "Biology of Sex Differences" 2012, 3(1), 21; or D. Voyer, S. Voyer, M. P. Bryden, *Magnitude of sex differences in spatial abilities: a meta-analysis and consideration of critical variables*. "Psychological Bulletin" 1995, 117(2), p. 250.

35. M. Fuszara, *Kobiety w polityce*, Wydawnictwo Trio, 2006 [Women in Politics] quoting Clarke E. *Sex in Education: Or, A Fair Chance for the Girls*. Boston: Osgood, 1873

36. Jurij Temirkanov, *Female Conductor – it's unnatural*, „Niezawisimaja Gazeta" 2012, Accessed online: http://www.ng.ru/culture/2012-09-10/10_temirkanov.html

37. H. Etzkowitz, C. Kemelgor, B. Uzzi, *Athena Unbound: The Advancement of Women in Science and Technology*, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

38. H. Etzkowitz, C. Kemelgor, B. Uzzi, *Athena unbound...*, op. cit., p. 16.

39. M.A. Mason, M. Goulden, *Marriage and Baby Blues: Redefining Gender Equity in the Academy*, "The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science" 2004, 596 (1), pp. 86-103. M.A. Mason, M. Goulden, *Do babies matter?: The effect of family formation on the lifelong careers of academic men and women*, "Academe" 2002, 88, pp. 21-27.

40. Y. Xie, K.A. Shauman, *Women in Science: Career Processes and Outcomes*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.

41. M. Kozłowski, J. Sowa, K. Szreder, *Fabryka Sztuki: Podział pracy oraz dystrybucja kapitałów społecznych w polu sztuk wizualnych we współczesnej Polsce*. Raport z badań Wolnego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego [Art Factory: division of the labour and social capital distribution in visual arts in contemporary Poland, a report from the Free/Slow University of Warsaw research], Bęc Zmiana, 2014.

Role models

One of the most frequently quoted examples of a strong personal influence on students' careers is an American tournee of Maria Skłodowska-Curie. In 1921, Skłodowska met more than three thousand female science students at the Carnegie Hall, then toured American women's colleges, such as Vassar College, where she left a note: "it is my fervent wish that some of you continue scientific work and remain in absolute devotion to science".⁴² Within a decade of Skłodowska's tour, the number of women with a PhD degree in natural sciences rose 3.5-fold.⁴³ Such a rapid growth, like any social phenomenon, certainly has many causes, including changing social climate, symbolized by the enfranchisement of American women in 1920. However, Skłodowska's meetings with female students, such as that at Smith College, described as the most impressive ceremony in the history of this institution, or *fleur-de-lys* that she received from Physics and Chemistry female students from 15 universities, are considered signs of a strong inspiration by a role model.

It is difficult to measure the influence of role models, especially in individualistic societies that encourage actors to attribute their life choices to themselves. Still, a difference between declarative and behavioural realm has been shown in the study "Women's Potential in Technology" in which Polish high school female graduates attributed their choices to their own interests while dismissing external sources of influence. Yet, those who were determined to study engineering differed significantly from the rest in terms of available role models.

Graduates with a female engineer among relatives evaluated their math skills higher, were almost twice as willing to study engineering and 50% more willing to consider a scientific career.⁴⁴ They were twice as likely to aspire to work in engineering (50% versus 28%) and twice as likely to believe in their own potential to work in this industry (47% versus 27%). Similar results were reported for the girls who had a female researcher in the family: they were twice more likely (67%) to consider scientific careers than girls unrelated to women of science (35%).

Jan Vermeer van Delft, *The Music Lesson*, ca. 1662-1665, courtesy of the Royal Collection Trust. © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015, <https://www.royalcollection.org.uk>



42 J. Złotkiewicz-Kłębukowska, *Amerykańska podróż Mme Curie* [American travels of Mme Curie], *Annales UMCS, Historia* 2011, 1(66), pp. 111–118.

43 In 1920, only 41 women in the United States held a doctorate degree in natural sciences, a number that rose to 138 by 1932.

44 Among graduates related to a female engineer, 58% evaluated their math skills as high (a fifth more than the total sample); 44% said they would like to study engineering (versus 23% in the total sample); 54% considered scientific career (versus 35% in a total sample).

Peer influence also played a role: 85% of female graduates determined to study engineering had female friends with similar plans compared to 14% of the total sample. They were also twice as likely (88% compared to 40%) to declare that their parents would be satisfied with such a choice. Interestingly, all these relationships did not prevent them from declaring that family had no significant influence on their education choices. If exposure to a potential role model can influence career choices so strongly, it should be even more worrying that 86% of this year's female high school graduates have never heard of a female scientist.⁴⁵

Meanwhile, the PricewaterhouseCoopers report argues that a lack of role models at higher levels affects a belief in limited opportunities for advancement among underrepresented groups. As Młodożeniec and Knapińska argue, women in science are far more likely to admit that teachers influenced their career choices whereas men more often declare that they owe the choice to themselves.⁴⁶ In turn, Etzkowitz, Kemelgor, and Uzzi note that a sheer opinion about a department as "women-friendly" increases the number of female applicants. However, the researchers point out that the choice of role models changes in time; in past generations, women usually came to the top of the academic hierarchy at the expense of personal life, copying the style of older men but without a partner to support their career and take care of their family. This is a style, Etzkowitz, Kemelgor, and Uzzi argue, which is increasingly unacceptable to younger women and men who want a better work-life balance, a change that adds a new dimension to the role model theory: it is not just the success that counts but also the accompanying lifestyle.

45_ The survey asked about female scientist other than Maria Skłodowska-Curie. See: Fundacja Edukacyjna Perspektywy and Siemens (2015) *Potencjał kobiet w branży technologicznej: raport badawczy* [Women's Potential in Technology: a research report].

46_ Młodożeniec i Knapińska (2013) quoting Oleksy et al, 2007 and Ivie and Guo 2006.

Self-esteem and aspirations

A body of research shows that women have lower self-esteem and systematically assess their skills lower than men.⁴⁷ However, self-esteem is not given once and for all – it may change over time. The Fawcett Society, which investigates the presence of women in classical music, recorded the biggest relative drop in their self-esteem during puberty. In turn, Etzkowitz, Kemelgor, and Uzzi argue that for women in physics, chemistry and computer science a crucial erosion of an already low self-esteem occurs during PhD studies. They argue that low self-confidence translates into lower aspirations and discourages applying for jobs that people with low self-esteem are more likely to perceive as impossible to get. The researchers stress the impact of discrimination and exclusion on the decline in self-esteem.

Stephen Sedley, Court of Appeal judge and professor of law at the Oxford University, wrote on historically discriminated groups: “Women and members of ethnic minorities still face problems of self-confidence even when they are merely deciding to try to enter fields of activity where the white male image dominates.” In his opinion, those who succeed in accessing the field must try harder than the dominant group.⁴⁸ In addition, Surtees, Wainwright and Pharoah who studied gender differences in stressful environments on the example of Cambridge University students reported that: female students had lower self-esteem; they were twice as likely to describe their programme as “extremely stressful”; they were also twice as likely to suffer from depression or anxiety disorders (experienced by 20% of female students and 10% of male students).⁴⁹ In turn, Saunders and

Woodfield studied the University of Sussex where women on average received better final grades than men, but also more often came to classes and worked harder. At the same time, women evaluated their motivation lower than men, and this difference deepened between the first and second year of studies.⁵⁰

Despite the mutual influence of self-esteem and aspirations, the following study will treat these areas separately. First, we compare aspirations of men and women and then ask whether they believe in their skills or not.

47. See: C. S. Widom, B. W. Burke, *Performance, Attitudes, and Professional Socialization of Women in Academia*, “Sex Roles” 1978, 4: 549-562; J. Stake, *The Ability/Performance Dimension of Self-Esteem: Implications for Women’s Achievement Behavior*, “Psychology of Women Quarterly” 1979, 3: 365-37; and P. Bronstein, L. Farnsworth, *Gender Differences in Faculty Experiences of Interpersonal Climate and Processes for Advancement*, “Research in Higher Education” 1998, 39(5), pp. 557-585.

48. S. Sedley, *How Laws Discriminate*, „London Review of Books” 1999, Vol. 21 (9).

49. P.G. Surtees, N.W.J. Wainwright, P.D.P. Pharoah, *Psychosocial factors and sex differences in high academic attainment at Cambridge University*, „Oxford Review of Education” 2002, 28(1), pp. 21-38.

50. P. Saunders, R. Woodfield, *Explaining Gender Differences in Achievement in Higher Education* in: P. Fogelberg, J. Hearn, L. Husu and T. Mankkinen (eds), “Hardwork in the Academy”, Helsinki University Press, 1999.

Jadwiga Sawicka, *Pragnienie sukcesu* [Desire of success], oil, acrylic, canvas, 2006, 50 x 70 cm, courtesy of the artist.



Can some of these reasons be more pertinent in Poland?

In a study “Monitor Rynku Pracy” (“Labour Market Monitor”) which is representative for the labour market participants in a given country, Poland was ranked first among 29 countries in the percentage of people who prefer to work with men (59%). Poland opens also two other rankings: the proportion of employees who would rather have a man as a boss and respondents who declare that employers prefer to hire men than women, an opinion shared by 41% of Poles: a third of women and a half of men.⁵¹ This coincides with declarations of employers surveyed in another study: 40% of 1,052 surveyed companies in fact preferred to hire men, while the rest claimed that gender did not matter.⁵² This may mean that the argument of gender discrimination can be particularly strong in Poland.

Research question

This report aims to answer the research question: what are the reasons behind disproportion between female students and female professors at Poland’s visual art academies? To that effect, we will identify cultural, environmental and psychological factors that inhibit the advancement of women at visual art academies. Based on literature review and diagnostic interviews with representatives of art communities in Poland, we identified ten hypotheses which are discussed in Chapter 4.

51. *Monitor Rynku Pracy: raport z badania* [Labour Market Monitor: a study report], Instytut Badawczy Randstad, 2011.

52. R. Siemieńska, *Women in Academy in Poland: Winners among Losers*, “Higher Education in Europe” 2000, 25(2), pp. 163–172

CHAPTER 3: How was the study conducted?

Institutions studied:

Academy of Fine Arts
in **Warsaw**

University of Fine Arts
in **Poznań**

Jan Matejko Academy of Fine Arts
in **Cracow**

Władysław Strzemiński Academy
of Fine Arts in **Łódź**

Faculty of Fine Arts - Nicolaus
Copernicus University in **Toruń**

Eugene Geppert Academy of Fine
Arts in **Wrocław**

Academy of Fine Arts in **Gdańsk**

Academy of Fine Arts in **Katowice**

Faculty of Visual Arts and Faculty
of Painting and New Media - Art
Academy of **Szczecin**

**966 survey questionnaires
were collected, which
amounts to 10% of
students. 783 were
analysed further.**

**The survey questionnaire
was filled in by nearly
every fifth person in first
and final year**

We researched nine most important centres training visual artists in Poland, listed on the margin from the largest to the smallest. This form of education takes place predominantly, although not exclusively, at fine arts academies. Data has been collected in three ways: Freedom of Information requests, surveys and in-depth interviews.

Freedom of Information requests

We sent Freedom of Information requests to all studied institutions. The data came for the following academic years: 2007/08, 2010/11 and 2013/14. This information was supplemented by data collected from the yearbooks of the Central Statistical Office. The goal of this method was to gather reliable historical data concerning the number of male and female students, PhD candidates and employees at each academic career stage.

Surveys

We contacted student governments, college offices, lecturers and students' social media groups to ask students of all nine institutions to anonymously fill in a paper or an on-line questionnaire. Students have been informed that the survey is carried out to determine the aspirations and experience of visual art students in Poland. Issues related to gender have been included only in the last quarter of the questionnaire as we wanted to minimise preselection bias, that is, a situation when someone takes part in the survey or refuses to take part in it because of their attitudes to gender equality. Between May and September 2015, we collected 966 survey questionnaires. We excluded responses that did not indicate respondents' gender or place of study as well as those submitted by alumni. This reduced the number of analysed questionnaires down to 783. It is worth noting that almost a tenth of all visual art students in Poland participated in the survey, and almost a fifth of the students either

in their first or final year. The goal of this method was to gather quantitative and comparative data from a possibly largest group of students from all nine visual art academies.

Individual in-depth interviews

This part of research was carried out by experienced interviewers, mostly sociologists and anthropologists, who interviewed 32 employees and students at selected visual art academies. We chose four institutions: one from the „maximum” option and one from the „minimum” option in each category: difference in the proportion of women among students and teachers; size; year of foundation; and prestige (see: Table 1). In each of the four chosen institutions we selected two interviewees – one female and one male – from each of the following groups:

- senior staff (professors);
- junior staff (junior lecturer level, to be referred to as “assistants”);
- final year students (interviewed at or around the time of graduation);
- 1st year students (interviewed after one year of visual art studies).

To avoid skewing the results by focusing too much on one art discipline, we divided programmes into four groups using two criteria (Table 2):

- small/big programmes;
- fewer/more women in the teaching staff.

At all academies, each of four students and each of four employees represented a different study programme. Moreover, we selected interviewees in a rotating manner: if male professor in town A represented one discipline (e.g. big programme with few women), male professors in town B, C and D were chosen from the remaining three programme types. The idea behind such sampling was to get the greatest diversity of views on relationships between gender and career perspectives at Poland’s visual art academies. Due to the potential sensitivity of some questions, men were interviewed exclusively by male researchers and women by female researchers. The goal of this method was to give voice to art teachers and encourage more nuanced and freely-expressed answers from students, which was not always possible to do in the survey which consisted predominantly of closed-ended questions.

Table 1. Criteria for selecting academies for in-depth interviews

	Maximum	Minimum
Proportion of women among students and teachers in 2010/11	<p>Łódź 77% students, 30% academic teachers - difference of 47 percentage pts.</p> <p>Katowice 72% students, 12% academic teachers - difference of 60 percentage pts..</p>	<p>Szczecin 65% students, 48% academic teachers - difference of 17 percentage pts.</p> <p>Toruń 80% students, 50% academic teachers - difference of 30 percentage pts.</p>
Size	<p>Warsaw 1609 students</p> <p>Poznań 1473 students</p>	<p>Szczecin 499 students including 282 in visual art faculties</p> <p>Katowice 622 students</p>
Year of foundation	<p>Warszawa 1816/1844*</p> <p>Cracow 1818</p>	<p>Szczecin 2010</p> <p>Katowice 2001</p>
Prestige	<p>Cracow 1st place in the Perspektywy university ranking, 2013</p> <p>Warsaw the number of applicants for one place</p> <p>Poznań 1st place in the evaluation of academic staff in the Perspektywy university ranking, 2013.</p>	<p>Szczecin Toruń according to the Perspektywy university ranking, 2013 and the number of applicants for one place**</p>

Table 2. Criteria for selecting programmes for in-depth interviews

	Fewer women	More women
Small programmes	<p>painting, sculpture</p>	<p>stage design, art conservation and restoration</p>
Large programmes	<p>graphic arts, industrial design</p>	<p>textile and fashion design, interior design, new media</p>

* Since 1816, art faculty has existed as a part of the Warsaw University. In 1844, it was turned into a separate institution - the School of Fine Art.

** The ranking should be interpreted with caution due to its methodological shortcomings (such as unknown number of participating art teachers) and timing - in early 2013 some of visual art academies were fairly new and would not have produced their first cohort of graduates.

**32 in-depth interviews
were carried out with
students and employees at
4 academies**

**Almost 40 hours
of interviews were recorded**

Survey questionnaires and in-depth interview guides have been consulted with a number of scholars, mostly sociologists from the Polish Academy of Sciences, including the leading experts in survey research in Poland.

The study has been carried out in compliance with the ethical standards put forth by the Polish Sociological Association. This means that:

- participation in the study was voluntary;
- interviews (or parts thereof) were recorded with permission only;
- participants remain anonymous

To protect anonymity of study participants, a series of cautionary measures is employed. In the qualitative part (with 32 participants) we do not disclose names, cities or programmes. More details might be revealed when using survey data – if the reader finds, for example, the name of the city, it means that this information comes from one of 783 students' questionnaires. Some quotes may contain minimal modifications implemented to impede identification without the change of the overall meaning.

CHAPTER 4: Results

The gender gap between two stages of the academic career – studying and teaching – is a complex phenomenon that cannot be explained by a single factor. We divided plausible explanations and the corresponding hypotheses into three broader groups:

- 1 aspirations, priorities and strategies;
- 2 psychological factors;
- 3 relations between students and academic teachers.

The hypotheses have been tested using quantitative data from a survey of 783 students, and qualitative data from 32 in-depth interviews. The statistical patterns identified allow for capturing experiences of an average student. They do not warrant a conclusion that all students share experiences discussed in this chapter.

FRAME 2.

What does it mean that a difference is statistically significant?

It means that there is strong evidence that the difference observed in our data is not accidental. We test research hypotheses to decide if:

- the results do not allow rejecting the null hypothesis (i.e. the means for men and women are equal) or;
- the results provide sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis in favour of the research hypothesis (i.e. that means for men and women are different).

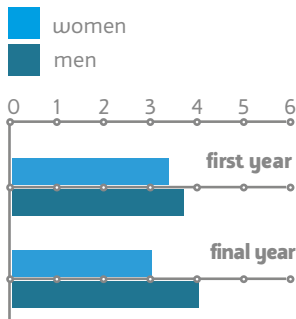
1. Aspirations, priorities and strategies

The first set of hypotheses focuses on differences between women and men with regards to their aspirations, priorities as well as their employment and family strategies.

Hypothesis 1a: Women find employment at art academy less attractive

The argument that women and men aspire to different things was frequently mentioned in relation to our research question. In order to verify this hypothesis we asked students to rate attractiveness of each of twelve career-related prospects – and then to assess how probable they are.

Figure 8. Perceived attractiveness of teaching at art academy, by gender



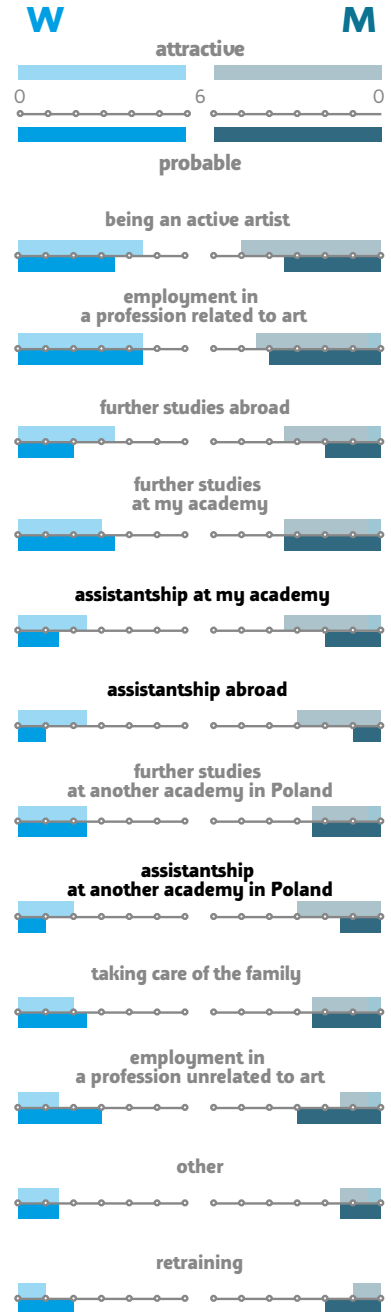
Assessment on a scale from 0 - completely unattractive to 6 - very attractive.

The results show that women and men have similar aspirations. For both, the most desired prospect is to be an active artist or to find employment in a profession related to art, the least attractive prospects are: change of qualifications and employment in a profession unrelated to art. Importantly, pursuing artistic aspirations was of fundamental importance for both women and men: 58% of female respondents and 52% of male respondents declared that they would not be willing to give up their artistic aspirations for the sake of the family.

Figure 9 reveals that both attractiveness and probability of assistantship at art academy are given low ratings. However, women rate the probability of assistantship even lower than men – on average they give it 2.6 on the scale from 0 to 6, while men give it 3.6.⁵³

In a separate question we asked respondents to rate the attractiveness of employment as an academic teacher. The average score for women was 3.3 and for men 4.0⁵⁴: such employment is seen as attractive by 47% of women and 66% of men. In the questionnaire we asked respondents to provide information about the year of study, which allowed examining differences in assessments overtime. Among first year students, the gender gap in attractiveness of such employment is relatively small, amounting to merely 0.3 points, yet Figure 8 shows that this gap increases in time and in the final year amounts to 1.0 point. In contrast to men who find this prospect more attractive over time, women tend to evaluate academic career as even less attractive.

Figure 9. Prospects that students find attractive and probable, by gender



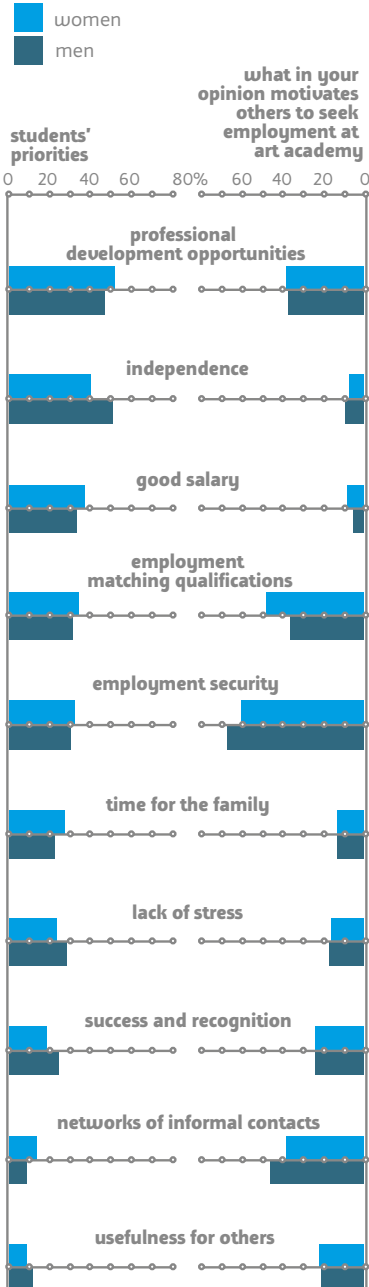
Responses on a scale from 0 - least attractive /least probable to 6 - most attractive /most probable. Statistically significant differences in black.

53. Difference is statistically significant.

54. As above.

Hypothesis 1b: Men's priorities fit better with their expectations about employment at art academies

Figure 10.
Career priorities, by gender.



Respondents were asked to choose a maximum of three options from the list. None of the gender differences in career priorities was statistically significant.

As can be seen in Figure 10, women and men have very similar career priorities. In fact, not a single option displayed a gender difference that would be statistically significant. For both men and women, the most important are: professional development opportunities, independence, and good salary.

Respondents mentioned employment security as the most important factor driving others to seek employment at art academy (see Figure 10.) This particular factor is important to 35% of women and 30% of men. We can say that employment security does not seem to be particularly important for most students. One female professor even asked: "Is this [employment at art academy] so attractive? I think less and less so, young people don't want this anymore". However, given that nowadays the majority of Polish artists work as freelancers on fixed-term contracts, which do not provide social security, health insurance or pension provisions, it is not surprising that some see working at the academy as a much needed point of employment security:

Working at the academy means that your salary is secure. When you are an independent artist it can be difficult to find jobs, organise your own exhibitions or carry out your initiatives. More difficult than if you're affiliated with an institution, for instance with an academy where it is easier to obtain money for projects, get acclaim and everything else which counts as important.

First year male student, city A

It is convenient: you have a steady source of income and then you can focus on artistic development. This is not a 9 to 5 kind of job, just a couple of hours a day, twice a week at most. So you can still have a career. You have time for everything.

First year female student, city B

Still, respondents thought that employment at art academy does not give much independence or a good salary. Therefore, career priorities of students (both women and men) do not match well what they think that employment at art academy can offer.

Hypothesis 1c: Women value family life more than salaried employment

A common argument raised in discussions about gender gap in academia pertains to the universe of the family - in particular women either naturally or culturally diverting their aspirations, time and efforts from career to family life.

According to one interviewed male professor, women aspire to take care of the family and these aspirations increase with time: “After their second, third year, women become less active as artists and start transitioning into the realm of motherhood, womanhood, the family. If I see a female student in her fourth year and she comes to classes with a small dog or a pet, I know she will be pregnant very soon.” On a number of occasions interviewees noted that the necessity to give up art to take care of the family applies to a larger extent to women than to men. One female professor emphasised that she decided to remain childless for the sake of art.

It may be more difficult to be an artist for a woman who has children. To be an artist you must be mobile, you have to turn up at events, exhibit works, travel, and take assignments in different places. This is difficult for someone who wants to spend time with children, and women are like that. Female artists usually remain childless. It is a matter of choice: being an artist demands sacrifices.

First year male student, city B

However, results presented in Figure 9 show that students do not see “taking care of the family” as an attractive prospect, and this evaluation applies as much to women as to men. In fact, this particular option took ninth place out of twelve (there were only three prospects ranked even lower: retraining, employment in a profession unrelated to art and other). Moreover, attractiveness of “taking care of the family” decreases in time to an average of 1.8 in the final year among both women (from 2.3 in the first year) and men (from 2.5 in the first year). Comparing attractiveness and probability of each prospect allows for making two further observations. Firstly, in comparison to men, women are less eager to take care of the family after their studies (2.3 and 2.0 respectively).

If the difference is positive, it means that this prospect is more attractive than probable. If the difference is negative, it is more probable than attractive.

Figure 11. Differences between prospects’ attractiveness and probability, by gender

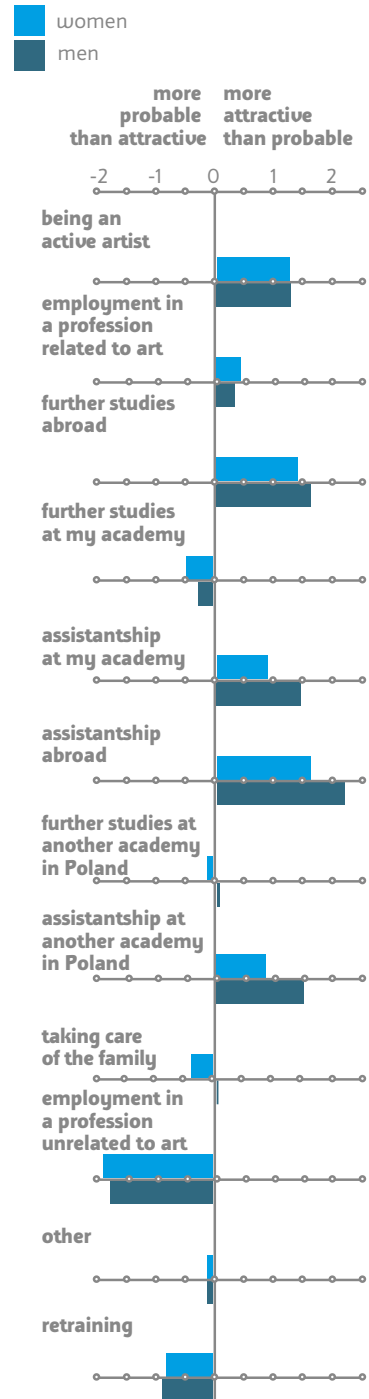
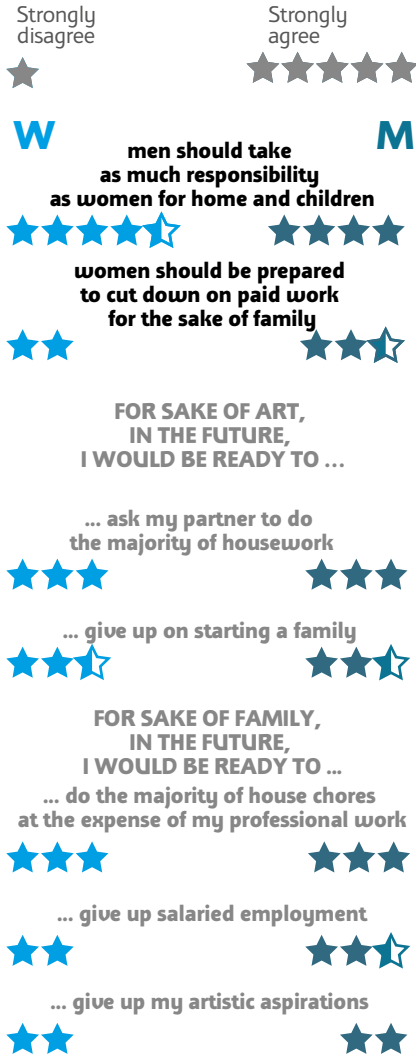


Figure 12. Readiness to make sacrifices, by gender



Secondly, women see this prospect as more probable than attractive – in other words women more often declare that even though they do not want to take care of the family after their studies, they are most likely going to do it anyway. Moreover, respondents rarely said that “having time for the family” was an employment priority (this preference was expressed by merely 28% of women and 23% of men).

Visual art students appear to be more progressive in terms of attitudes towards gender equality than Polish society in general and the equivalent age group in particular. Only 7% of female art students and 16% of male art students agreed with the statement that “women should be prepared to cut down on paid work for the sake of a family.”⁵⁵ By contrast, in Poland’s age group 19-24, 47% of men and 46% of women agreed with this statement.⁵⁶ When we asked respondents about their attitudes to the division of labour in the household, they tended to agree with the statement that “men should take as much responsibility as women for home and children”, even though more women (89%) tended to agree than men (78%).

To learn how students envisage combining professional careers with family life, we asked about sacrifices that they would be ready to make. Figure 12 shows that respondents are unwilling to give up their artistic aspirations and unwilling to give up salaried employment for the sake of the family. Furthermore, women were slightly less likely to declare that they would be willing to take a greater share of house chores at the expense of their professional work. Overall, data show that both women and men are willing to make greater sacrifices for the sake of art than family.

55_This difference is statistically significant.

56_Survey questions analysed in this paragraph were worded identically to those in the European Social Survey to enable direct comparison. Data about the Poland’s youth are taken from the ESS 2010 database.

Hypothesis 1d: Men are more likely to be offered assistantship because they have better academic results

The observation that art assessment is arbitrary and often lacks specificity has been emphasised in this report on several occasions. Still, it is reasonable to assume that scholarship status might be related to skills of a given student. In our sample men studying at art academies receive such merit scholarships more often than women (17% and 14% respectively). In hypothesis 3a we present results suggesting that men are two and a half times more likely to declare that they were offered help in securing assistantship at the academy (such help was received by 12% of men and 5% of women). Here, we focus on whether differences in scholarship status can explain the differences in assistantship offers received by women and men.

More than 20% of male scholarship recipients declared that they received help in securing assistantship, in comparison to 15% of female scholarship holders. Our statistical modelling⁵⁷ shows that receiving merit scholarship is an important contributing factor that on its own increases the chances of receiving such offers threefold. Yet, when we control for scholarship status⁵⁸,

for women the chances of receiving help in securing assistantship are still 60% lower. What it means is that scholarship status does not explain the gender gap in the frequency of receiving assistantship offers.

Since we know that students put more work towards the end of the term, we asked respondents to estimate the number of hours they

spend on studying in a given week in this period. Women and men in their first year declare that they work the longest hours, an average of 52 and 54 hours respectively. The workload seems to fall in subsequent years, the drop is more pronounced for men than for women: in the whole sample, the difference in declared time spent on studying amounts to 4 hours a week (an average of 49 hours for women and 45 hours for men), yet among third, fourth and fifth year students, women declare that on average they spend 12 hours a week more studying than men.⁵⁹

Figure 14. Time spent on studying at the end of term

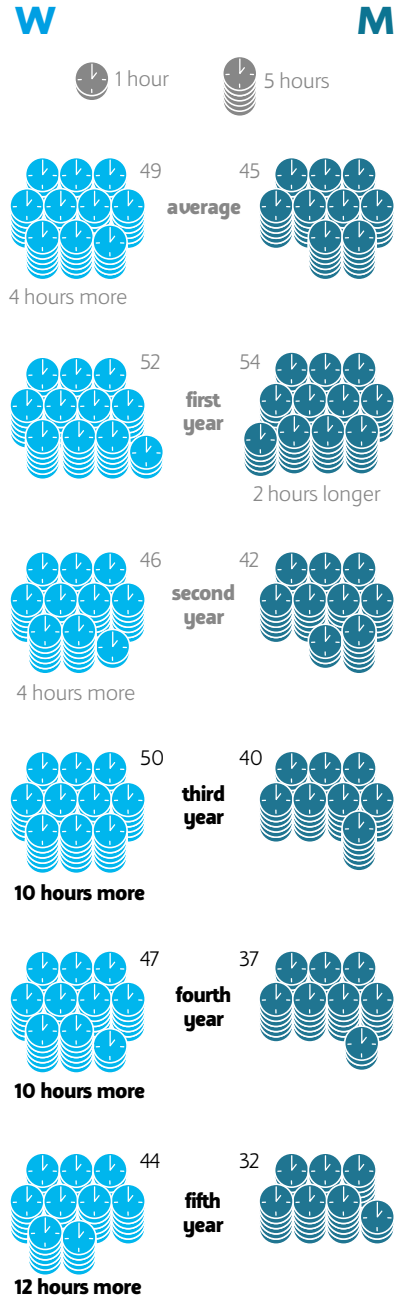
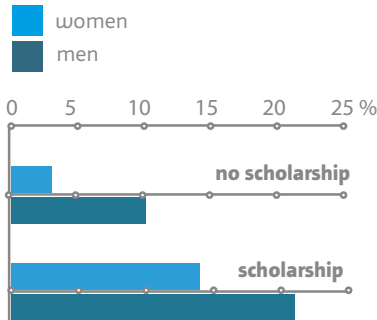
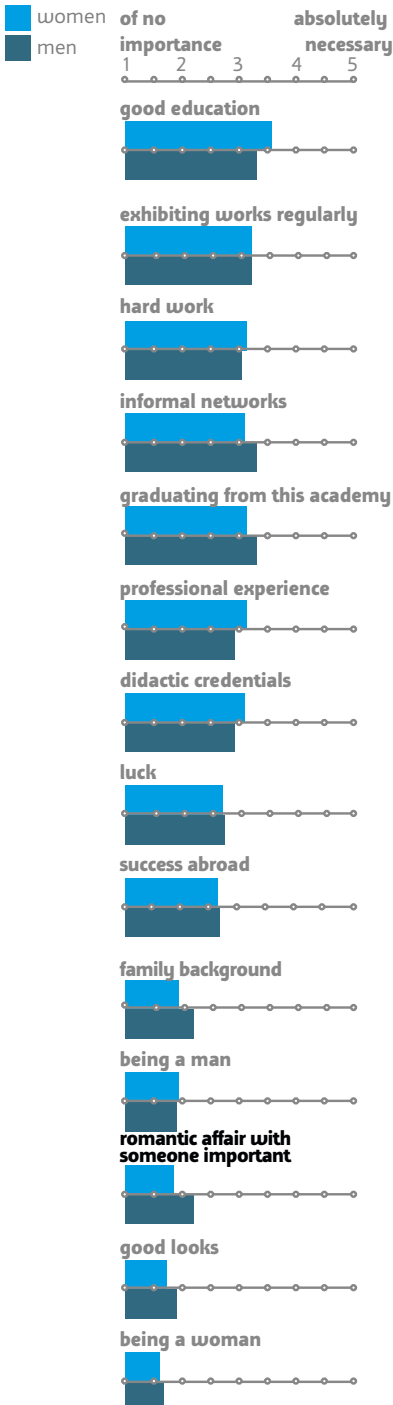


Figure 13. Assistantship offers and scholarship status, by gender



Hypothesis 1e: Men and women believe in effectiveness of different employment strategies

Figure 15. What in your opinion contributes towards finding employment at art academy? By gender.



Another hypothesis on the gender gap at art academies is associated with the possibility that women and men believe in different recruitment strategies. We asked students to identify decisive factors in securing employment at their academy. Out of 14 factors, women ranked good education as the most important, while men chose informal networks.

As can be seen in Figure 15, women are slightly more likely to point out meritocratic factors such as experience, didactic credentials, or hard work. In turn, men assign a slightly greater importance to personal factors. They also rank graduating from this academy higher than hard work. Among other factors, men also rank family background, having a romantic affair, and good looks as more important when it comes to securing employment at art academy.

The fact that men lend more importance to informal networks – in particular social networks – may help in explaining why they are overrepresented among academic teachers, despite constituting only 23% of students. If men believe more in interpersonal relations, they may be more successful in using them to find employment. In the interviews, all male professors and half of female professors stressed the importance of social networks (which sometimes may even evolve to what they referred to as "clan loyalties"). Let us note that informal contacts were also highly ranked by women – this factor took the second place. What remains is to wonder why does it not translate into better employment opportunities for women, despite the fact that three times as many women as men study at art academies?

In the first part of this chapter we investigated

57_ To decide which factors were important we used logistic regression, which is a standard tool of statistical modelling of binary variables. Logistic regression allows for controlling a number of factors simultaneously. See: Appendix 4.A.

58_ In other words we compare men who receive merit scholarships with women who receive merit scholarships and men who do not receive merit scholarships with women who do not receive merit scholarships.

59_ This difference is statistically significant.

Responses on a scale from 1 (of no importance) to 5 (absolutely necessary). Statistically significant differences in black.

aspirations, priorities and strategies of women and men studying at art academies. We established that they did not see assistantship as a particularly attractive prospect and that women ranked it even lower than men – this difference was relatively small among first year students and then increased for final year students. It turned out that priorities of women and men were very similar; both see professional development opportunities, independence and good salary as the most important. Women and men were also similar in that they gave low rankings to the prospect of taking care of the family after graduation - it was ranked as one of the least attractive options, while employment that allowed for having time for the family was seen as important by only a quarter of respondents. Women and men agreed that the division of house chores should be equal, yet both declared their readiness for sacrifices for the sake of art rather than for the sake of the family. Scholarship status did not explain differences in assistantship offers between men and women. In fact, when we controlled for scholarship status, chances of receiving help in securing assistantship were still 60% lower for women than for men. Women declared that they spent on average four hours a week more on studies than men; they also assigned greater value to meritocratic employment strategies, while men favoured social networks.

2. Psychological factors

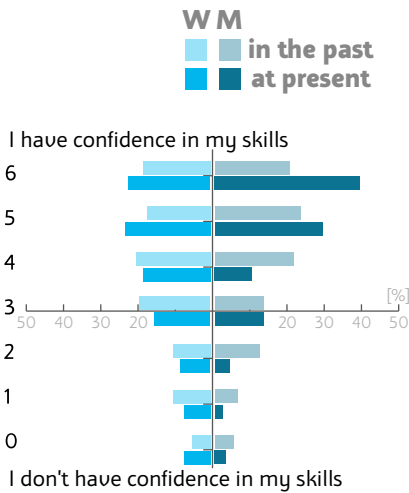
The second set of hypotheses relates to psychological factors, such as confidence in one's skills, psychological well-being or availability of role models.

Hypothesis 2a: Women are less self-confident than men

Most students believed in their skills. However, this confidence differed between women and men and also changed in time: men believed in their skills more than women, and both women and men ranked their skills higher at present than at the beginning of their studies.⁶⁰ Currently, two thirds (65%) of respondents evaluate their skills positively, which is 8 percentage points higher than the retrospective assessment of the beginning of their studies. Men's confidence increased by an average of 5 percentage

60. To compare current and past experiences we only look at third, fourth and fifth year students, because we are interested in respondents who have a longer time perspective.

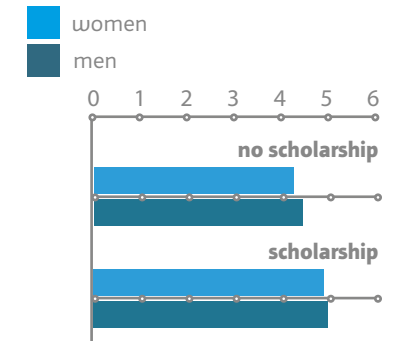
Figure 16. Confidence in one's skills at present and at the beginning of studies, by gender



points (from 67% who felt confident at the start of their studies to 72% now), while women's confidence increased by 10 percentage points (from 53% to 63%). Gender differences were particularly striking among respondents who said that they lacked confidence: 22% of women and 9% of men said that at present they do not believe in their skills.⁶¹

When we asked respondents to assess their skills relatively to those of their peers, both women and men tended to evaluate their skills as much above the average. This is a well-known sociological phenomenon called overconfidence effect or optimism bias. However, men assessed themselves to be even more “above the average” than women. For both, confidence in one’s skills was closely related to the scholarship status but correlation was higher for women than for men (0.21 and 0.18). What it means is that men have a tendency for higher self-evaluation, but this assessment (which is subjective) is less associated with external recognition. If we assume that scholarship status reflects artistic skills or talent this could mean that women’s assessment is more closely linked with an “objective” measurement or external appreciation.

Figure 17. Scholarship status and subjective assessment of skills, by gender



Responses on a scale from 0 - skills much below the average to 6 - skills much above the average.

As a key element of self-concept, confidence is an important asset in practically every sphere of life. Yet, in the world of art it might gain additional significance. Being an artist requires an extraordinary dose of confidence, trust in the merit of one’s work, the ability to present one’s vision and to sustain criticism, which in art is likely to be more frequent and more personal. If over twice as many female students declare that they do not believe in their skills, this situation is likely to affect the positions they aspire to and apply for as well as the way they are perceived by others.

None of them [male students] was withdrawn. Even if he was withdrawn, he acted in such a way that one would still think that he could make it and have a career in art.
Final year female student, city C

61_This difference is statistically significant.

Hypothesis 2b: Women find studying at art academies a less enjoyable and rewarding experience

Figures 18-21 show the evolution of respondents' well-being in time. Two thirds declare that they identified their artistic goals, slightly over a half say that they are developing their skills. Less than a half report that they feel happy and only about one third say that they are full of energy. It is concerning that students' assessment of their well-being declined in time (with an exception of artistic goals where the share of positive evaluations increased).

Two thirds of students feel that they are developing their skills.⁶² However, the retrospective rating was higher and stood at 77%. For women, the drop amounted to 10 percentage points (from 75% to 65%). Similar drop was observed among men (from 82% to 72%).

Half of respondents reported feeling happy at present, compared with two thirds at the beginning of their studies. For women, this drop amounted to 16 percentage points (from 63% to 47%), while for men the corresponding decrease stood at 12 percentage points (from 68% to 56%). Not only was the decline in reported happiness deeper for women, but also it began from a lower starting point.

Respondents reported feeling significantly more exhausted at present than at the beginning of studies when 63% evaluated their energy levels positively. At present only 36% evaluated it as such: 34% of women and 40% of men. This is a huge drop amounting to respectively 27 and 30 percentage points. Respondents' declarations also show that 46% of women and 31% of men felt exhausted at the time when we were gathering survey data, however this could be associated with the fact that surveys were distributed towards the end of the term, shortly before finals. Yet, the timing cannot explain the difference of 15 percentage points which we observed between women and men.

The only aspect that students evaluated more positively in comparison to how they felt at the beginning of studies was identifying artistic goals. Identification of such goals applied to 54% of respondents at the beginning of their studies, and increased to 66% at present. At the time of data collection, women were less likely than men to declare that they have identified their artistic goals (63% and 78% respectively).⁶³ Moreover, small differences observed between women and men at the beginning of studies increased over time. As can be seen

Figure 18. Skills development now and at the beginning of studies, by gender

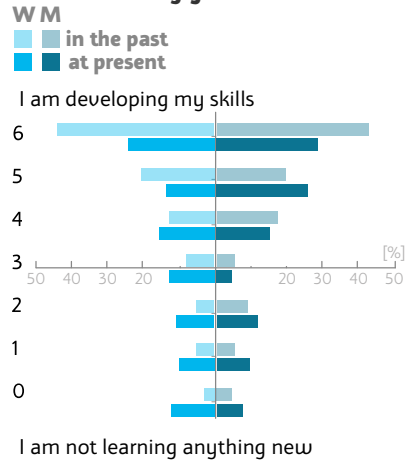
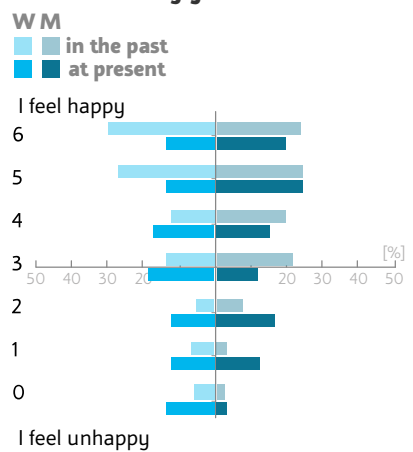


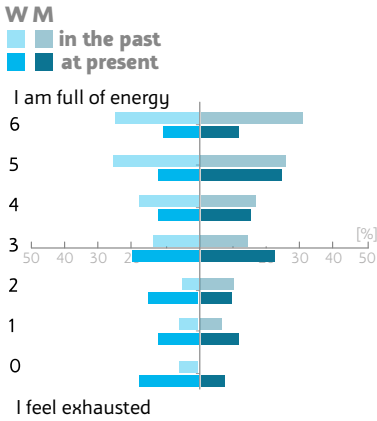
Figure 19. Reported happiness now and at the beginning of studies, by gender



62. We assume that positive evaluations take values between 4 and 6 on a scale from 0 to 6.

63. This difference is statistically significant.

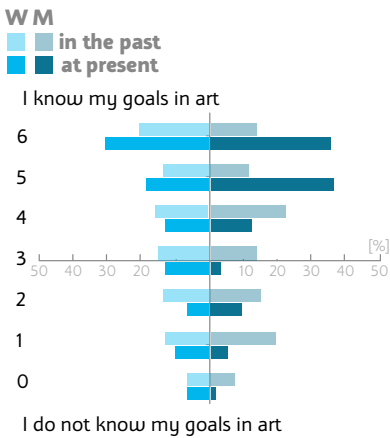
Figure 20. Energy levels now and at the beginning of studies, by gender



in Figure 21, for women the increase in this variable was smaller and amounted to 11 percentage points (from 52% at the beginning of studies). Among men, a sense of artistic goal increased by 19 percentage points (from 59% at the beginning of studies).

Women declared that they enjoyed their studies less than men and this difference increased in time. Particularly concerning is the drop in students' psychological well-being: reported happiness, energy levels as well as the feeling that studies help in developing one's skills. The decrease is considerable for both genders but more acute for women, which can influence their perception of the art academy and the related career.

Figure 21. Goal in art now and at the beginning of studies, by gender



Hypothesis 2c: Fewer role models are available to women

In the interviews, we came across a term “female art” used in a belittling way, as well as a stereotype of the so-called “true artist.” The differences between women and men in art were described by one student as follows: “I think that men don’t let women into certain posts because there is still this idea in art circles that the true artist can only be a man.”

To examine whether students perceive “true art” as a male business we asked respondents about their personal role models as well as names of people who are influential in their field of art. Importantly, these questions appeared in the first half of the questionnaire - among “neutral” issues – that is before we asked about anything which explicitly referred to gender equality. It was an open-ended question and students could list an unlimited number of artists.

325 respondents answered the question about role models naming 510 male artists and 147 female artists. Four out of ten respondents mentioned at least one female artist. Women were much more likely than men to list a female artist as their role model (43% and 30% respectively). In turn, 236 students answered the question about influential

artists in their field of art, 47% of whom mentioned at least one woman. This time the difference between women and men was negligible (48% and 45% respectively).

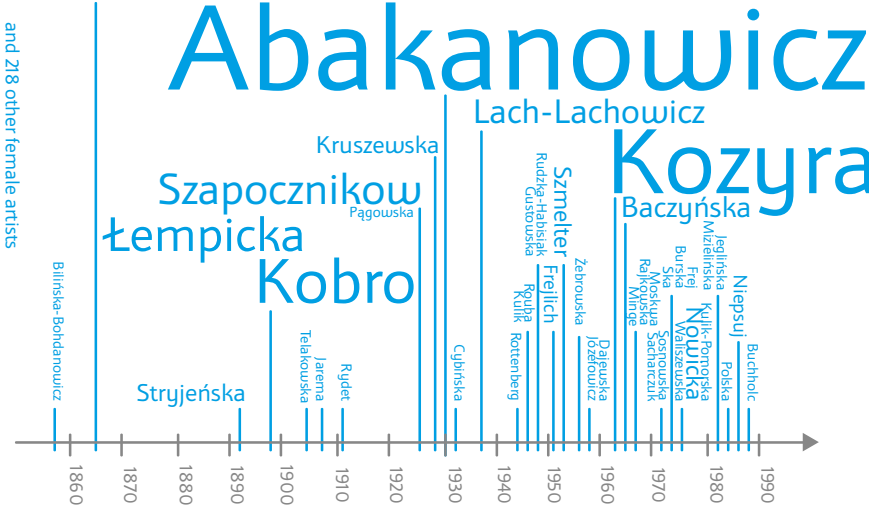
Towards the end of the survey respondents were asked to list three acclaimed Polish female artists in their art discipline: 53% did not provide any names- though it is difficult to determine whether due to a conscious omission or a lack of knowledge.

To sum up our results on psychological factors: men tend to have higher confidence in their skills than women and this self-esteem seems to be less dependent on external factors, such as receiving a scholarship. Men also have a wider range of male role models than women. We also note a worrying phenomenon which is the fall in the psychological well-being of both men and women: students report feeling less happy, more tired and lost in terms of their development. Yet, in some cases the drop seems to be twice as deep for women – a phenomenon which may be linked to discrepancies in positive and negative stimuli that can influence the perception of one’s career at visual art academies.

Boznańska

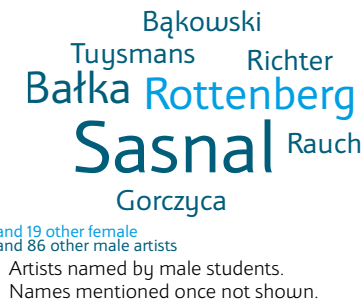
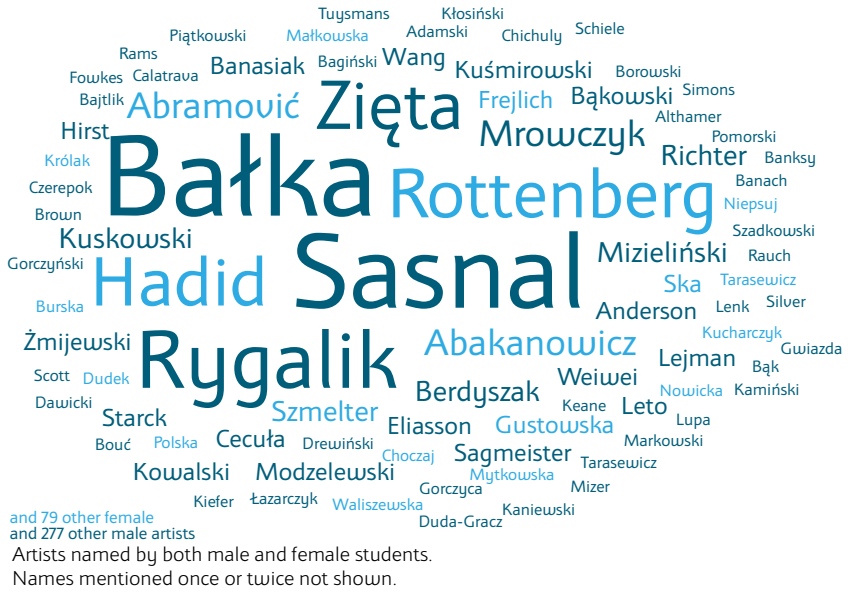
Acclaimed Polish female artists in your field of art

named by female students



At present, which artists are influential in your field of art?

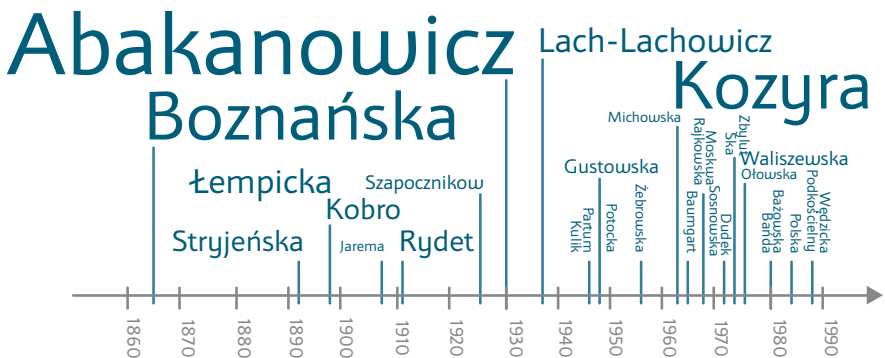
Wordclouds show artists named by students as influential. The size of the name is proportional to the frequency with which it was mentioned. When interpreting the results, it is important to note that there are three times more female than male students.



Acclaimed Polish female artists in your field of art

named by male students

The wordcloud shows Polish female artists named by female students (left), and male students (right). We marked the year of birth of the artists. The size of the name is proportionate to the frequency with which it was mentioned. Names mentioned once or twice not shown.



Who is your role model in your field of art?

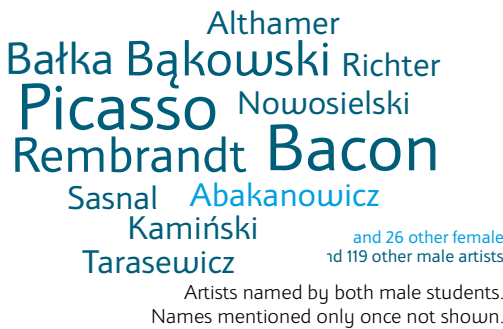
Wordclouds show artists named by students as their role models. The size of the name is proportional to the frequency with which it was mentioned. When interpreting the results, it is important to note that there are three times more female than male students.



and 139 other female and 467 other male artists
Artists named by both male and female students. Names mentioned only once or twice not shown.



and 106 other female and 345 other male artists
Artists named by female students. Names mentioned only once not shown.



and 26 other female and 119 other male artists
Artists named by both male students. Names mentioned only once not shown.

3. The relationship between teachers and students

The crucial issue is that a teacher must be active to be able to recommend students. I use my contacts, I get these people involved, I take care of them, I recommend them. That's how they enter art circles and end up in good hands straight away.

Male professor
[with almost half a century of experience in teaching], city C

As far as the first two groups of hypotheses focused on students, the third one concentrates on stimuli from academic teachers and a potential role that they can play in an environment with such a low student-to-staff ratio.

In this type of education, interactions seem frequent and personal. The process of art creation might render them even more intimate as it involves working with emotions and sharing private experiences, often in the context of student trips and extracurricular meetings. As a result, students and professors are more likely to strengthen collaboration up to the point of blurring boundaries between private and professional lives. The first two hypotheses of this set refer to positive and negative stimuli that students receive from their teachers. The third hypothesis builds on the assumption that the influence of stimuli is amplified in the environment of visual art academies.

Importantly, in both survey data and interviews we find that positive stimuli prevail over negative. At all academies, both male and female professors reported providing their students with artistic, professional, psychological or even financial support which included organising extracurriculars, working overtime, applying for funds, visiting students or receiving them at home to help with their professional and personal problems, and many others.

Hypothesis 3a: Men are more likely than women to receive positive career-related stimuli

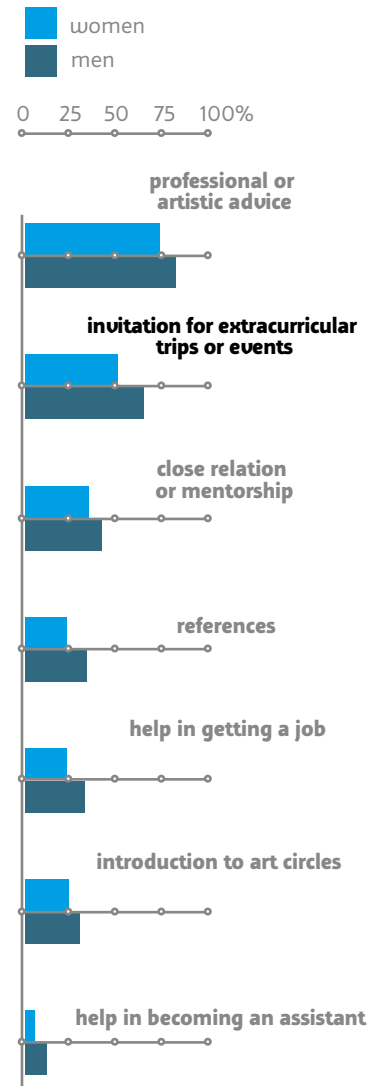
We asked students about the forms of support that they have received from teachers at the visual art academy. They could choose from the list of seven potential career incentives.

Male students were more likely than their female counterparts to receive all types of positive career-related stimuli. The most frequent form of support - received by the majority of students - was a professional or artistic advice. Still, one in five men and one in four women did not report this form of help - which is surprising as the high cost and pedagogical formula of artistic education stem from an idea of individual work with each student.⁶⁴

The most striking difference between men and women appeared in the number of invitations for extracurricular trips and events.⁶⁵ As the in-depth interviews testified, these situations are vital for friendship formation, networking, skill acquisition or even job offers. Importantly, men were more than twice as likely to receive help in becoming an assistant, which is a crucial information for our research question.

We also found that male students were more likely to receive help from both male and female teachers. Statistically speaking, men received most support from other men while women received least support from other women. This is surprising because we would expect much more interactions to take place between female students and male professors because there are 3-4 times more female than male students and 3-4 times more male than female professors.

Figure 22. Incentives received from teachers, by gender of a receiver

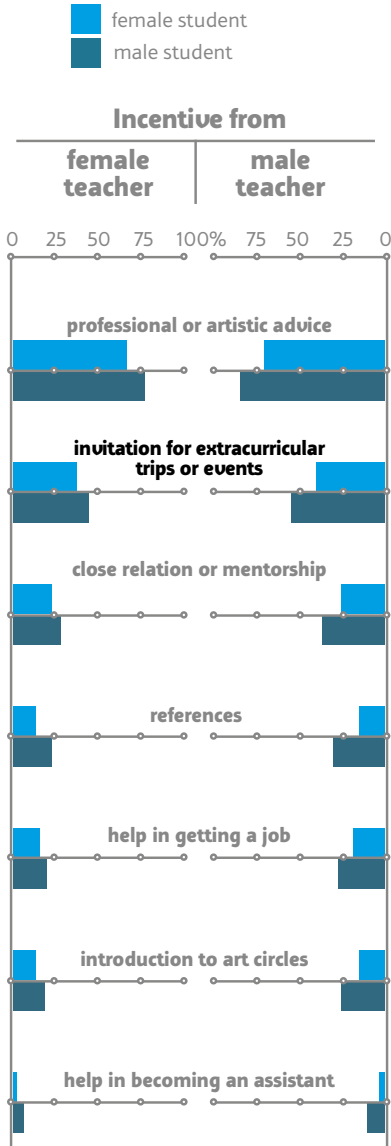


Statistically significant differences are in black.

64_It should be noted that in this type of question it is impossible to distinguish whether a student did not receive a given form of incentive or decided to skip this question. We assume that the former is the case as the question appeared at the beginning of the questionnaire when the 'fatigue effect' should be minimal.

65_The difference is statistically significant.

Figure 23. Incentives received from teachers, by gender of a giver and of a receiver.



Statistically significant differences are in black.

[Teachers] prefer men, there is fewer of them and so they are more appreciated, more visible. If there are three men in a group of fifteen, they stand out.

First year female student, city C*

This is also the women's fault because those who are higher up trust men more for example with technical issues.

First year male student, city B

*Parts added by editors are indicated between square brackets.

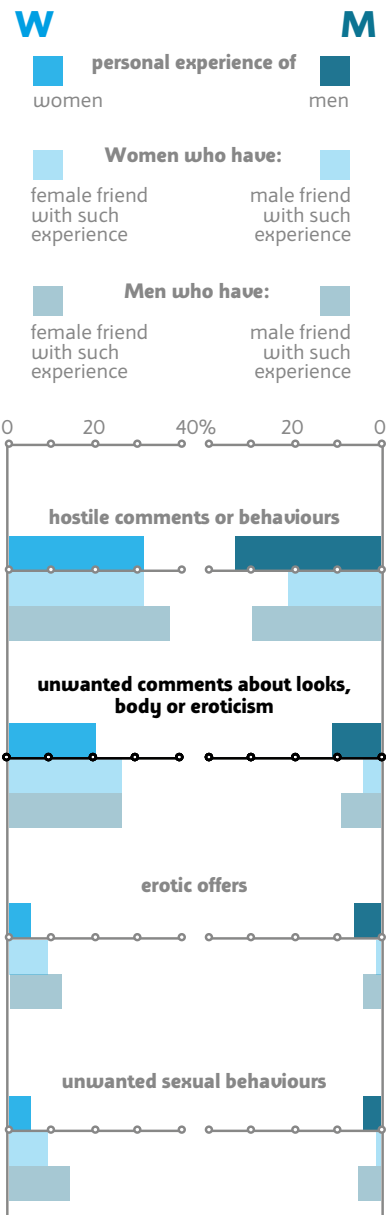
Hypothesis 3b: Women are more likely than men to receive negative stimuli to receive negative stimuli

Negative stimuli may hamper self-confidence and influence the perception of the academic career. Importantly, by negative stimuli we do not mean constructive critique, an essential element of education, but rather hostile behaviours and cases where academic teachers abuse their power. In the survey, we first asked students about different types of negative stimuli that they experienced themselves and about experiences of their friends.

In contrast to positive stimuli that men were more likely to receive, the distribution of negative stimuli is more even – with three out of four categories showing little gender discrepancy. Worryingly, one in three students has experienced hostile comments or behaviours from their teachers and one in 20 students experienced unwanted sexual behaviors. The only category with substantial gender difference was “unwanted comments about looks, body and eroticism” experienced by one in five women and one in ten men.⁶⁶

We also asked whether respondents were aware of such experiences happening to fellow students. Male respondents reported that 26% of their female friends and 9% of their male friends experienced unwanted comments about their body, looks or eroticism.⁶⁷ In turn, women declared that their female friends experienced a wider range of negative stimuli: unwanted comments, hostile remarks, erotic offers or unwanted sexual behaviours. As Figure 24 shows, negative stimuli experienced by women seem to be known to their their friends (both male and female). In turn, negative stimuli experienced by men seem to be less known. Yet, if knowledge of such situations is circulated is seems to happen among other men. Perhaps men are more willing to share such stories with friends of the same gender which is particularly visible in the case of sensitive behaviours – five times more men than women have heard about unwanted sexual behaviours towards their male friends.

Figure 24. Negative stimuli from academic teachers received by students and their friends, by gender



66_The difference is statistically significant.
67_Above.

Statistically significant differences are in black.

A friend was about to enrol in a PhD programme and some elderly male professors were giving embarrassing comments like “sure, let’s accept her. She always smiles and has her nails polished”.

Female assistant, city C

“Oh, she’s nice but knows nothing”, such unnecessary comments have happened to me.

Final year female student, city A

A top German painter, an elderly man, said that there are so few women on the market because they are worse, weaker, simply not good enough for doing art.

Final year female student, city D

Different forms of negative stimuli have been reported in in-depth interviews by students and employees at all stages of their career. One of them was bullying, understood as humiliation, discrediting or harassment by the superiors. Bullying was reported in three types of situations:

not coping with somebody else’s success, discrediting or even trying to prevent someone from benefiting from his or her accomplishment. For example, threats of dismissal upon accepting a prestigious scholarship abroad;

attempts to change the status quo, usually by trying to reform an old institution. For example, slander, defamation and an attempt to isolate individuals who wanted to reform a conservative programme of study by introducing a computer lab;

psychological harassment linked to misogyny, humiliating women, for example by questioning their competence publicly:

This guy simply harassed her. He scolded and humiliated her in front of other students.

Female professor, city C

Bullying is a complex phenomenon which often defies clear causality. In our sample, there were examples that fitted the definition of harassment but their motivation was hard to establish.

I was at the Plein-Air when something went wrong. There was a situation about which the professor started to gossip with other professors upon the return. Uncool things that nobody should talk about because they are private. The boundary of trust was violated and bullying has begun.

Final year male student, city A

Among all gender-related negative stimuli that were reported we can distinguish:

hard sexism that resembles "gender apartheid"

– such as refusal to work with a woman (city B) or public proclamations that women are stupid (reported by a person from city A but experienced somewhere else). This type of behaviour was primarily reported by more mature interviewees as experiences from the past;

„soft” sexism – different ways of not treating women seriously: disregarding them, their work and their skills. In the interviews, "soft" sexism was much more often reported than hard sexism and took a number of forms:

- trifling with women by calling them „little women” and their work “little work”;
- giving women patronizing remarks linked to the family life, such as „you should get a husband”;
- disregarding women as creators. Interviewees recalled the expression “female art” used disparagingly to refer to something uncomplicated, used for interior décor, created as a side activity, something done “between making dumplings”

Women here make a mistake by becoming feminists. This is not required. It would suffice if they were simply professional. It seems to them that gender fight is something of importance.

First year male student, city B

To sum up, in the survey, negative stimuli were reported by students less often than positive stimuli while their distribution was less skewed towards one gender: all listed behaviours short of unwanted comments had similar frequency for men and women. In the interviews, in turn, we observed a wider range of negative behaviours (including bullying) which were reported by both men and women while others had a very clear gender dimension – primarily linked to many ways of not treating women seriously – ranging from mockery to downright disparage. This could mean that these types of behaviour were more frequently experienced by women or that women were more likely to share their stories in the interviews or both.

I was shocked when a professor entered the atelier and said “why is it so filthy here if there are so many girls standing around?”. And the professor who said that was female. This was clearly meanness.

Female professor, city C

Hypothesis 3c: The impact of both negative and positive stimuli is amplified by the distinctive environment of art academies

I don't even know how to induce confessions, it just happens. You know, they bring their work in which they unwittingly say something. And by analyzing this work, I strongly interfere in their personal lives.

Female professor, city C

I also studied at a university. This was a traumatic experience after two years in an art academy where we know every student, they know us, we call each other first names, relations become very personal.

Female assistant, city B

I'd like to treat them the way I was treated. I had a teacher who was as important to me as my grandfather - he was my mentor and my friend. I'd like my students to feel the same.

Female assistant, city B

I was really hurt when he dropped out. I called him, sent emails, wrote on facebook because I cared about him very much. The energy that you invested in that person was immeasurable.

Female assistant, city C

There is a huge table and music, everybody is talking or shouting: Tea or coffee? You can feel chilled ambiance, like at home. I can stay there from morning till evening not thinking about going home.

First year female student, city C

I texted my professor: 'Yo! Do we have a class tmr?' My friends were completely shocked that you can address superiors like that and bother them on facebook. But yeah, we are completely laid-back here.

First year student, city B

Interviews contained a number of descriptions of particularly close relationships between students and teachers. Professors emphasised that art creation and work with young artists often requires a close relationship in which the boundary between the private and the professional becomes blurred. Students tended to confirm the informality of relations, which was most striking for those students who went emphasised “mass education” before. They emphasised the contrast between the two pedagogical formulas.

Teachers seemed to evaluate students on personal involvement but, to some extent, also on attendance and meeting deadlines. Some students found this motivating while others perceived as too childish an approach toward grown-up people. What students perceived as distinguishing features are time and attention of academic teachers who seem to concentrate particularly on two types of students: those who are most engaged in class and those who need help.

Most teachers described their relations with students using metaphors of family and friendship to indicate closeness, trust and a lack of distance.⁶⁸ One example is common organization of celebrations, such as Christmas or dance parties. As one interviewed professor said: “we are like a family because there is no other way in this profession”. Both students and teachers emphasise informality of relationships between students and staff: communication with professors often happens without prior notice, including spontaneous phone calls, texting or communicating on social media.

Sometimes, these types of relationships also entail seeing mutual vulnerabilities, venting of personal resentment or moving the boundary of what is considered an acceptable behaviour.

Most teachers emphasised that they know a lot about their students: their families, love lives, financial situation or even their physical and mental health. One professor warned against something akin to a clan loyalty — sometimes a decision to change an art workshop can be interpreted as a “betrayal of the atelier”.

⁶⁸ These metaphors were not used by two assistants: one who felt “work burnout” and planned to quit his job, and the second one who indicated multiple times that he prefers solo work and avoids group activities.

Even cases described by interviewees as 'distanced relations' seem to testify to the overall closeness. For example, one professor, described by others as "keeping students at a great distance", in fact, sometimes would visit students at home to supervise their work.

In a few cases, students who did not enter close relationships with teachers felt isolated. Some of them pointed out problems of blurred boundaries – crossed by both students and teachers. The most serious examples included cases of harassment, bullying and substance abuse. We noted that some students seem to tolerate such behaviours, yet they do take them into account when choosing workshops.

Assistants sometimes befriend deeply their students. They go out, spend time together, see exhibitions. They live together to some extent. I cannot imagine that I work with someone without knowing who that person is.
Female assistant, city D

Sometimes one of the elderly male professors shows up drunk – less frequently nowadays but in the past it was a serious and rather common problem. There are stories about one famous artist who would enter his workshop and the first thing he did was to send his assistant to buy him a bottle of vodka, otherwise he would not start his class.
Final year female student, city D

Art market, institutions and professor-student relations

If you are in this world for years, you have contacts that you can use to help students to take their first steps outside academia. It comes completely naturally, it just happens. When talking to some directors, curators, organisers, I say: "by the way, I have a student who did a work about...". And something comes out of that.
Female professor, city A

You simply think more often about people you know. Sometimes it's unfair because there might be other people with more credentials. But this world is built in such a way that it requires contacts. They, in turn, do not always go hand in hand with quality.
First year female student, city A

I was involved in all sorts of events that made me known to people to whom I should make myself known.
Female professor, city A

Beside sharing their cultural capital (i.e. knowledge and skills) with students, art teachers also understand the importance of their social capital, in particular the value of their contacts. Both forms of capital are unequally distributed: teachers who are active artists have established connections with galleries and museums and reliable information about key events.

Academic teachers can serve as intermediaries between employers and young artists which means that apart from influencing students' education they can also shape their postgraduate careers, an important boost in the case of Poland's developing art market. Students point to teachers as a crucial source of information about relevant competitions or exhibitions but also as mentors who could introduce them to extramural art circles.

The significance of information exchange has altered with the development of new media. More experienced professors recall that in their days information about competitions could be limited or even rationed. One interviewee, for whom a prize in a prestigious international competition was a turning point in her career, recalls that she had learnt about the contest from a friend who had had received a photocopy of entry requirements from a befriended professor. In the internet age, it is harder to treat information as a scarce resource. Yet, what becomes increasingly important in the information flood, is proper filtering and valuation, a skill that comes with experience. It is no longer so much about accessing entry requirements but more about being well-advised what, when, where, how and with whom to show or not to show. Also, more transparent information does not automatically entail a more transparent hiring or contracting process. This means that contacts did not lose their significance, especially for the decisive transition point between the academia and the difficult labour market.

Some of the teachers listed among factors that brought them success: attending extracurricular meetings and events as well as contacts with those who were already in the industry.

The professors who are well established artists can be powerful sources of recommendations for their

mentees. However, such support usually requires doing a favour, such as calling friends to recommend young artists. In this way, it becomes clear that one professor is unlikely to vouch for all students – not only due to time and organisational constraints – but also because reference would lose some of its power if distributed too generously. How are the mentees chosen then? In the interviews, a few themes recurred: attitude toward a student, attitude toward student's work and engagement on the student's side. All three elements are closely intertwined and teacher-student relationship seems to be the final product of the three.

Not only can students with such patronage count on receiving valuable information but also on other forms of support. Some professors even act as nonprofit agents of chosen students: they advise, support and promote, for example by showing the chosen students' work next to theirs.⁶⁹

Among the interviewed staff, only one teacher believed that students do not require additional support because they can fend for themselves. Some of the interviewed students felt that they can count only on themselves - a few of them found that completely natural.

The importance of networking increases in dysfunctional institutions, which offer few transparent paths of promotion serving as a valid alternative to personal contacts. A half of the interviewed employees and many students were strongly critical towards their schools as institutions. The most frequently mentioned institutional problems included: fictitious recruitment and scoring processes (for example, earning academic points for exhibitions organised in private houses, a practice possible due to inefficient control mechanisms), a lack of evaluation of people in top positions, mismatch between academic curricula and professional life, inefficient communication, insufficient career support and difficulties of young people in joining cultural institutions.

Some students come just for a signature. Others really want to do something – so I try to promote, show and recommend them to friends who curate exhibitions.
Male professor, city B

When I feel that the work is worth -showing, I can signal something in my circles. But I clearly won't go out of my way for someone I barely know.
Female assistant, city C

The professors are not indifferent to the work of their students. If they see some potential, they help as much as they can.
First year male student, city A

It is not the role of the academy to promote you. You have to take care of yourself. You have to look for grants, trips, competitions, open calls and apply. You have to put some effort before it pays back.
Final year female student, city C

They set up some society to organise exhibitions, which take place in the private home of one of the professors. For this, they receive funds from the Ministry. One person writes a brief and makes a catalogue, which allows the members to get points. They print only a couple of copies of the catalogue and two or three posters. They have learned how to prepare documents, so that it all looks legit. For example, a professor would organise an exhibition in a coffee shop attached to a gallery and later writes that the exhibition took place in that gallery. And then those who exhibited get as many points as someone else for an exhibition at Tate.
Male professor, city D

⁶⁹ At the time of data collection, one of the interviewed assistants was preparing a meeting of a male graduand with a director of one of the main galleries in her town. The assistant made it explicit that the best result of such a meeting would be to place graduand's work in the gallery, while the second best result would be to introduce him to an influential person - the gallery owner.

Masculinised decision-making bodies

The committee that showed up for my defense consisted of five men in black t-shirts and black trousers. It was so funny. We thought they were all the same.

Final year female student, city B

My male colleagues say: „we chose the best candidate”. But this is because these committees have no parity. If they had, somebody else would be seen as “the best candidate”. I have no doubt that these choices are made in good faith. But the outcome of good faith depends on a makeup of a particular committee. Let's be honest: some men don't understand feminist or socially-involved art. And they grade it down – completely unconsciously.

Female professor, city A

Situations like those quoted on the margin raise a question about the structure of decision-making bodies in the art world - whether a profile of awarders translate into a profile of awardees. As we have seen in Hypothesis 3a, male students are more likely than female students to receive references from both male professors (27% versus 18%) and female professors (22% versus 13%). Higher probability of choosing men does not end at the time of graduation but can be reflected in the choice of young employees.

One female professor (city A) believed that in arbitrary fields that are devoid of clear assessment criteria decision makers do not intentionally discriminate but rather gravitate towards artists whose work corresponds with their own values and tastes. This account contrasted with the views of another female professor (city D) who perceived assessment as a conscious process. The interviewee kept emphasising that awarding academic titles in Poland is almost exclusively “a male sport”: starting from the faculty board, through the Central Titling Committee up to the President.⁷⁰ In her view, strongly masculinised decision boards may be less willing to award titles to women.

Problematic consequences of close relationships

It's primarily about being loyal to a few influential people. I don't mean great authorities in art but rather those who have political ambitions at the academy. One guy with political ambitions can 'arrange' most recruitment processes, can convince everybody, even student representatives who are voting as he likes because they hope that this will help them in becoming assistants one day.

Final year female student, city D

Close relationships can have a downside manifested in coteries and conflicts of interests. We asked all interviewees what would be the most successful strategy to enter an academic post. Most agreed that it should be transparent and honest recruitment with selection that would be substantively justified. Yet, reports of most interviewees indicated that the current hiring process does not meet these requirements.

Conflicts among teachers can have serious consequences for students: “professors often argue with each other and consequently boycott work of each other students’ (Female professor, city D). One of the surveyed students used words professorship and kinship interchangeably to emphasise that nepotism has clear negative consequences for the quality of teaching: “One professor told his assistant that she should not try too hard or befriend students because next year she will be replaced by his son”. This type of “tribal” loyalty can affect institutions, curricula,

⁷⁰ In Poland, since 1990, the title of full professor has been awarded only by the President of the Republic.

teaching, and decision-making processes. Student often brought up the issue of “mutual understanding”, “sharing similar vision of art” or “getting on well” as a base of support, promotion and fruitful collaboration between professors and assistants.

Four male professors, each of whom is much better known for his art than his academic function, were particularly critical of the logic of loyalty because this mode of operation, in their opinion, rarely goes hand in hand with quality.

Interestingly, the only employees who deemed the recruitment process fair and transparent were three young assistants: two women and one man. What they had in common was an impressive portfolio for such young age. It is probable that due to a number of unusual experiences gained at multiple faculties or workplaces these people were somehow above problems that were reported by other employees from their academies.

This is a total tragedy of this school. You can hardly point to one teacher who is still active in the art world. They become professors or assistants, make themselves comfortable at their cosy posts and nothing worthwhile comes out of that.

Male professor, city C

In practice, you need to be a suck-up doing whatever the professor likes. Usually, this entails expressing no opinion and creating art which is epigonic to that of your professor. We had these unhealthy situations of second year students already working as assistants.

Male professor, city D

It was just after my graduation. I was to discuss something with one high profile guy and he arranged to meet me at a vernissage and then we left together. Back then, I was completely unaware what it meant, what a manipulation it was. But now, I see that clearly enough: it was so ostentatious to leave with a young chick, when you say goodbye to everyone and leave with her. But I didn't know that at a time. Now, I see more situations like that. My colleagues know my attitude and know that I won't let them to treat me in this way. But it doesn't mean that they don't behave more patriarchally towards other women.

Female professor, city A

This is what we call the FIAT syndrome – faithful, incompetent and thickheaded. A well known professor with big ego won't take an assistant that could potentially overshadow his career. When I browse through the websites of visual art academies and check who works there, these names tell me nothing. Plenty of people who maybe have some skills but are of no importance whatsoever. This is the biggest problem of Poland's academic world in general.*

Male professor, city A

*The Polish original, BMW, stands for bierny, mierny ale wierny (passive, mediocre but faithful).

An academic career usually looks like this: there is a student who gets on well with a professor and stands out somehow, he becomes an assistant first and goes through a formal recruitment process only later. Showing too much initiative may decrease your chances as some professors are unwilling to take a person with a lot of experience, for obvious reasons.

Male professor, city B

In my days, the academy was full of beautiful women because the profession of the artist was privileged. At a vernissage you could see only beautiful women from town. Today, you can feel that at galas organized by Viva! [Polish glossy lifestyle magazine] and at exhibition openings you see the same people all over again.

Male professor, city D

CHAPTER 5: Summary - Little chance to advance?

I wanted to give up after a year. Everyone felt discouraged by the professor, who was in charge of our workshop. I remember what he said on the first day - this magical moment when you just made it to the university and you're still very idealistic about everything - he said that making art is something you do between putting a baby to sleep and frying schnitzels. I felt like he was speaking to me. I didn't know how to retort to this. This was the only time when I came across an opinion which depreciated my role. For me, the breakthrough came, when I moved to another workshop to work with another professor. That was it! The atmosphere was wonderful there. I felt grateful to all the professors, who were committed to working with students, assistants and other colleagues in that workshop. I became highly motivated - something which was missing in my first year of the university. I wanted to work and felt committed to my work. This was the first time in my life, when I knew that I can come there at 6 am and leave at 6 am, without the slightest problem I could spend an entire day in the workshop learning as much as possible. I could send emails to my professors in the middle of the night and they would reply within 15 minutes. I remember this sense that they wanted us to contact them. That they were looking forward to it.

Female assistant, city D

They were so chauvinist, they did not even want to hear about a possibility of working with a woman, that they could hire a female assistant.

Female professor, city B

The research showed that more men see working at a university as an attractive career option: two thirds of male students voiced such an opinion compared to a half of their female counterparts. At the same time, the prospect of assistantship seems slightly less attractive: it was positively evaluated by 57% of men and 40% of women. Further analysis, which takes into account the year of study, reveals that the difference between respondents increases with time. We believe that this might be linked to divergent experiences that female and male students have in art academies. The students reported that their well-being had declined over the course of their studies. What is important, for women the decline was much bigger than that observed for men. Female students much more often reported that they felt upset, exhausted and lost.

We found that men were more likely than women to receive all sorts of career incentives. Most importantly, one in eight men and only one in twenty women declared that their teachers offered them help in getting a job as an assistant. Although there is a slight overrepresentation of men among the recipients of merit scholarships, it does not explain the extent to which they are favoured over female peers.

Female students declared spending more time on work related to studies than male students. This difference increases with every academic year. Among seniors, women reported working 12 hours a week more than men – which contradicts the belief that female students are lacking in ambition. Still, women seem to struggle with low self-esteem. More than twice as many women as men said that they did not believe in their own abilities.

Men's and women's priorities do not explain observed disproportions in university employment statistics. The results of our survey reject the hypothesis that there is a considerable difference between men and women in terms of career ambitions and plans of starting a family. Starting a family is particularly low down the priority list.

Three quarters of the students did not consider having time for a family as an important aspect of their future employment. Instead, both female and male students expressed willingness to fully commit to art. Over half of them said that they would be ready to give up on starting a family for the sake of art.

Paradoxically, men and women in their final year of study perceived starting a family to be much less appealing compared to students in their first year.

However, despite this readiness for commitment to art, women start to leak out of the academic system which becomes apparent if we ask why there are only 22% of female professors, if 77% of students and 65% of PhD candidates are women.

The low ratio of female teachers in art schools might be related to the hermetic nature of the art community with very unequal distribution of informal career incentives between the two sexes. The contacts between the teachers and the students are personal and intensive. Additionally, stimuli, positive or negative, provided by the teachers are not filtered through transparent or objectified assessment criteria. Interestingly, when asked to identify decisive factors in securing employment at their academy, women ranked good education as the most important, while men chose informal networks.

Almost all interviewed employees have heard about pre-arranged competitions and emphasised the need for more transparency in staffing policies. In their opinion, closed groups feed on a lack of rotation requirements in recruitment commissions and hidden procedures of awarding postdoctoral degrees. Change aversion combined with the challenges of securing employment on the difficult market might affect career mobility, both nationally and internationally.

The dilemma of the art world can be summarized as follows: on the one hand, it tends to gravitate towards hermetic environments and reliance on personal networks, in which some groups are much more immersed than others. On the other hand, it declares support for diversity, a value that can be hampered by the hermetic nature of art circles.

The question of female teachers in art schools does not boil down to gender equality, but touches upon the fundamental issues that the Arts Council in the United Kingdom described in 2011 as follows: "The Creative Case is based upon the simple observation that diversity, in the widest sense, is an integral part of the artistic process. It is an important element in the dynamic that drives art forward, that innovates it and brings it closer to a profound dialogue with contemporary society." Not only does diversity appeal to a sense of justice, but it also translates into more creativity, which is essential for art. This is why it is so essential to open the circles of power to a diversity of values, opinions, techniques and – last but not least – gender.

The family will take time to accept your choices. It feels like having to train them. I told my husband "I am never going to give this up. You can choose whether you want to be with me or not".

Female professor, city D

There are two extreme cases: a few departments where women constitute the majority and a lot of departments dominated by men - where you have forty men and one woman. This is tragic. These men, this aura of testosterone, it is horrendous. These are the most unhealthy structures - I think that they are becoming primitive. However, in places where these proportions are closer to fifty-fifty - with a bit more women or bit more men - these are the best situations with more healthy relations. Then both men and women watch their behaviour. Because you know it is not that simple, this is not a situation where you have "evil men" and "good women". It is not like this. [smirks]

Male professor, city A

One of the elderly male professor asked me "Why do you need this doctorate?". He would never have asked this question if I was a man! I just waited for him to say "Go back to the kitchen, woman. Why do you need a doctorate?". But I just answered "What's your best guess, professor?"

Female professor, city D

Today, I see no discrimination whatsoever. If there are few women at the academy, it is because they choose a different type of life, like a family life.

Male professor, city D

There is completely no justification for those masculinized art disciplines. The majority of our students are female!

Female professor, city A

PS – Professors, students

With one hand I am mixing paints, with the other I am stirring the soup, I can also use my leg, I am doing so many things at once. I am simply fighting all the time. Let's face it, you cannot combine these things completely. When I worked, the baby crawled on the floor and porters helped me to take care of it. But my child turned out fine. Children should know what their parents do, instead of living in this bubble when mommy always does everything for you.
Female professor , city D

In interviews with four female and four male professors – distinguished artists who successfully combine artistic work with teaching – we found some common denominators of their careers that also run parallel to issues identified in student surveys and analysed in chapter four.

Presence of masters (role models) – a majority of the interviewed professors could identify their masters – artists and teachers who noticed their potential and helped our interviewees to grow professionally and, in some cases, also personally.

Commitment to students – each interviewee gave a number of examples showing how they supported their students (either professionally, psychologically, by offering to meet outside of the usual working hours or by offering financial help). One interviewee admitted that he spends more money on activities related to teaching (including helping students financially) than he earns at the academy, which was possible due to well-paid commissions we received.

Rejection of epigonism – even though we did not specifically ask about this issue, half of the professors talked about the problem of imitation in art referring to copying the style of teachers by their students. Some interviewees said that when they were studying they tried to always select workshops which did not have a reputation of “copy-shops.” It was also emphasised that they do not expect students to copy their style.

Scepticism towards the art world – a majority of the interviewees talked about being tired of the never-ending petty arguments within the Polish art world. Our interviewees thought that their success (a commercial success/being recognised internationally) was commonly met with hostility, exclusion or even bullying rather than recognition or support. We felt that our interviewees functioned in that world relatively well because they were all well established artists and had other sources of income, as well as personal and professional ties with artists outside of the academy. Interestingly, an interviewee who recalled the most concrete examples of hostility was also commonly mentioned by students as a role model and an influential artist.

Experience of discrimination – all four female professors (working at four different academies) reported experiencing discrimination and humiliation associated with their gender. This seemed

particularly severe in the past, when their position at the academy was less established. This could mean that discrimination is more likely to be faced by women at the beginning of their career; or that this was a reflection of gender relations from the past as the interviewees started their careers between the 1960s and the 1990s when Polish society was more conservative with regards to gender roles.

Earning respect – all female professors emphasized that they had to put some effort to establish their autonomy in professional and personal life. Interestingly, our interviewees used the words “fight” and “training others”.

Discouragement – discouragement coming from the family could overlap with discouragement from the teachers. One interviewee recalls experiencing discouragement which applied to practically all stages of her education. This entailed undermining her self-confidence and questioning her abilities or choices. She recalls that at the age of 13 she heard her teacher saying “no, child, you are not made for that. Even if you made it to art high school, you certainly won’t make it to the art academy”.

Proving it – a couple of female professors used the word “proving” exclusively in the context of “having to prove something to men”. These women tend to work in highly masculinized art disciplines: one of them mentioned that in the past she used to be the only female attending specialized plein-air. In her account, even if she proved something once “that was not enough. If you’re a woman you have to do more than men”. All four women had a similar experience in this respect and seemed to be tired of “proving”. The oldest interviewed female (with over 40 years of teaching experience) said “the only thing that has changed with time is that I stopped paying attention to it. I don’t care what they think. But when you are a professor, it is easier to do this. I don’t care if they like me or accept me or if they, for goodness sake, want to fire me. Because they can’t fire me [smiles].” In turn, the oldest male professor also talked about the gender logic of proving: “there was a girl in our class, a very interesting person. And we had this teacher who simply did not care to educate students. He often told her that this is not a viable career choice for a woman, but she - and other girls that followed after her - proved that there is no such thing”.

Tension between life and career – in contrast to men, all interviewed women openly spoke about their family situation. Three female interviewees had children. The only one childless female professor

There should not be any privileges for women because we have so many successful female artists in Poland nowadays. For me, the greatest one is Kobro [female artist born in the 19th century Russia]. She proved that a woman can succeed even in the most adverse of circumstances.

Male professor, city C*

An environment in which avant-garde art is created - and we strive to create such an environment - should go beyond the established boundaries. This means that creating new boundaries is pointless because we would need to destroy them. This also applies to rules. I think if someone came up with a code of conduct of sorts, that would also be a target, to break these rules. You can try to establish some simple, general guidelines. Positive discrimination would not have a good effect on art. It may make it more equal, but not better.
First year male student, city B

You can see that museums and art galleries are often dominated by women. And it became a problem how to pick winners in contests. I think that committees should have the same proportion of men and women. We came to this conclusion by observing the committees in which women raise gender issues.

Male professor, city C

*Editors’ comments are inside square brackets

I did the unthinkable. We were hiring and I chose someone I did not know at all. This was a fair competition, so to say. It was a mistake, because I selected a girl who presented the strongest portfolio, but I had no chance to see if she was really committed. So when I hear all this outcry about rigged competitions, I say that we had two fair competitions and in both cases we hired the wrong person. It is true that these jobs are usually filled by people who just graduated from a given university and were supervised by the very same person who is hiring. I just wanted to say that there is certainly some truth in this legend about rigged competitions at art academies, but even if you have a fair and open competition, it does not give you the certainty that you select the right person. On the contrary, it gives you little chance for a good choice.

Female professor, city C

If we don't speak out, others will speak on our behalf.

Female professor, city B

emphasised that it was her choice made for the sake of art. The first group (i.e. mothers) emphasised on numerous occasions that they received support from their partners, especially with respect to childcare. However, this support did not mean that their private and professional lives were balanced. During 130-minute interview, one female professor repeated three times that after giving birth she did not take a single day of maternity leave. Another female professor said “you simply cannot have it all”. All interviewees (both men and women) worked long hours, which was obvious from looking at their busy schedules and fruits of their work, such as high profile exhibitions or public activity. Yet, women with children seemed to be particularly overworked – one of them even mentioned health problems linked to sleep-deprivation. This could mean that they worked more in both spheres of life or that they were more inclined to share such information with an interviewer or both. Interestingly, the very same question (“Do you feel any tension between your private and professional life?”) was asked to male professors. Regardless of their parental status, male professors tended to interpret this question in terms of interpersonal relations in the art world. One of them said “there are many tensions because all art groups are very egoistic, very egocentric, very envious and very jealous”.

How interviewees reacted to the information about the proportion of female professors

– at the very end of the interview, professors were shown statistics about the share of female employees at their academy. All female interviewees seemed engaged with this topic and reacted enthusiastically to the information about the increasing share of female employees. One professor emphasised that at her academy these patterns had been already identified as “an issue” and the situation had changed for better. Another said that she supported other women whenever possible. With regards to male interviewees we could observe differences in the attitudes of those born before the 1960s and those born later. The first group was more traditional in their views about gender roles. During 77 minute interview, one of them made random comments about the physical attractiveness of his female colleagues (“No one can question her looks”). The other professor, the oldest participant of our study, took a more historical approach to the issue. He gave examples of humiliating female artists in the post-war period, admitted that at the time he had worked in exclusively male circles, then marked the 1970s as a breakthrough moment for women in art. Since then,

in his opinion, so much has changed that currently “there is no discrimination in art.” This opinion stood in a sharp contrast to those of younger professors:

This is a problem, of course. Does not take a genius to notice it. And it gives some food for thought

Male professor, city B

Three out of four male professors (two older and one younger) noted that women started to dominate in some areas, especially in art administration. What is intriguing is that one male professor, who described himself as a proponent of the “natural, gradual process” whereby women’s share in academia increases with time now seemed to be a proponent of regulations applied in areas where there was more women than men.

Awareness of the issue – all interviewees were aware of the changes associated with increasing presence of female artists and academics at visual art academies. Seven though this was something positive, one refrained from commenting.

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Legislation:

The Act of 6 September 2001 on access to public information

Statement of Ethical Practice for the Polish Sociological Association (25 March 2012)

Annex 1:

What explains gender discrepancies between students and academic teachers at visual art academies? Views of students and employees.

In the quantitative part of the study, we presented statistics on gender discrepancies at visual art academies and asked respondents what, in their opinion, could explain the current situation. The question was tackled by 499 students (64%), whose responses varied with regards to length and identified factors. When analysing students' responses we distinguished 9 categories. Some students listed multiple reasons and their answers were classified according to all applicable categories (for example, both discrimination and family). That is why the percentages do not sum up to 100%.

Table 3: Reasons for gender discrepancies at art academies, as seen by art students.

Category	Content	Example (from respondents' answers)
Discrimination/unequal treatment 191 answers (24%)	Respondents directly refer to unequal treatment of men and women	<i>Hermetic nature of the academic environment and trivializing women's skills.</i> Woman, 25 years old, Gdańsk
Family 152 answers (19%)	Respondents think that discrepancies are related to family life, their answers contain the word family or children.	<i>Women spend more time on family life than men.</i> Woman, 19 years old, Warsaw
Gender differences seen by the respondent 130 answers (17%)	Respondents think that biological or cultural differences between men and women explain women's low position in the academic hierarchy.	<i>Women are less eager to devote their life to one scholarly discipline.</i> Man, 21 years old, Wrocław <i>Women are more persistent in achieving their goals, this is why they more often aspire to become independent artists, and not to stay in academia.</i> Woman, age not given, Cracow <i>Women don't believe in themselves.</i> Woman, 22 years old, Gdańsk

*Editors' comments are inside square brackets

<p>The past</p> <p>91 answers (12%)</p>	<p>Respondents emphasise that gender discrepancies are a reflection of past times</p>	<p><i>These statistics reflect the proportion of female students in the past, there were much more men in the past. In 10-12 years you will see a reversal of these proportions.</i></p> <p>Woman, 21 years old, Wrocław</p>
<p>Women's choices</p> <p>65 answers (8%)</p>	<p>Respondents think that women prefer something else to working in academia.</p>	<p><i>[Women] value professional development more than academic development.</i></p> <p>Woman, 24 years old, Warsaw</p>
<p>Gender differences seen by others (but questioned by the respondent)</p> <p>64 answers (8%)</p>	<p>Respondents think that others (eg. decision makers) believe in gender differences that are not true</p>	<p><i>Archaic thinking on professors' part that a woman can never be a true artist, because she is limited by her biology.</i></p> <p>Woman, 27 years old, Warsaw</p> <p><i>[Women] are seen as less competent.</i></p> <p>Woman, 25 years old, Poznań</p>
<p>Don't know</p> <p>59 answers (8%)</p>	<p>Respondents are not sure what causes the gender discrepancy.</p>	<p><i>Difficult to say. I think this would be a material for research.</i></p> <p>Woman, 31 years old, Poznań</p>
<p>Not important or there are more important issues</p> <p>28 answers (4%)</p>	<p>Respondents think that gender discrepancies are not an important issue or that there are more urgent issues that should be the focus of this study</p>	<p><i>Gender doesn't matter at all.</i></p> <p>Man 26 years old, Poznań</p> <p><i>In my opinion this survey focuses on the wrong issue. There are more urgent problems – networks of friends, slow procedures, low work ethic displayed by some academic teachers, serious abuse of alcohol by others, out-dated programme. For heavens' sake – it's high time someone paid attention!</i></p> <p>Woman, 23 years old, Łódź</p>
<p>Coincidence</p> <p>8 answers (1%)</p>		<p><i>Coincidence?</i></p> <p>Man, 22 years old, Łódź</p>

Table 4: Reasons for gender discrepancies at art academies, as seen by female and male students

	Female students	Male students
Family	138 (21%)	14 (10%)
Gender differences seen by the respondent	101 (16%)	29 (21%)
Gender differences seen by others	60 (9%)	4 (3%)
The past	74 (11%)	17 (12%)
Unequal treatment/discrimination	156 (24%)	34 (25%)
Women’s choices	50 (8%)	15 (11%)
Not important	19 (3%)	9 (7%)
Don’t know	41 (6%)	18 (13%)
Coincidence	6 (1%)	2 (1%)
No answer	243 (38%)	41 (30%)

Men prefer company of other men

These are closed groups which favour male students, then male assistants, male doctors and male professors, particularly in disciplines such as sculpture, graphic design, where men are favoured over women.

Woman, 25 years old, Łódź

Art academies attract a broad range of colourful personalities. Yet, later critical transition decisions are made by these insensitive men. There are many such workshops.

Woman, 25 years old, Poznań

Girls complained that this professor treated men better. How much of this is true and how much is down to this feminist stuff, it's difficult to know.

Man, 25 years old, Warsaw

A male professor prefers talking to a guy. Even if the guy seems a little lost, as sensitivity is related to such feeling. So this professor would rather help this guy than a girl who has her own problems but of the kind that male professors don't want to hear about.

Man, 25 years old, Warsaw

Men don't want to admit women to their inner circles; they prefer to stick with their buddies.

Man, 21 years old, Gdańsk

Art circles feel like men's business. Many things are sorted out by using social connections, for instance when drinking vodka or hunting for girls.

Woman, age not given, Katowice

Social connections determine who becomes an academic teacher and gets employed. Usually these are exclusively male circles; sometimes they include professors' wives.

Woman, 21 years old, Gdańsk

Everyone knows that men would prefer another men to join their group. They know their group and they like it – why risk someone coming in and making a mess?

Woman, 25 years old, Szczecin

Social connections may have an influence on who gets positions and why these people tend to be friends of current male employees.

Man 27 years old, Katowice

This male professor gets on better with guys. It's a matter of his personality type – he did not get on well with a single female student that I know including me. But one of his male students got close to him– they spend a lot of time discussing his work during exams. My female friend was upset that discussing his work would last one hour and she only got 10 minutes.

Woman 30 years old, Warsaw

There are more women among students so male students usually are close to one another. Just because they are men.

Man, 20 years old, Szczecin

There is a male lobby among professors; they promote men and their careers.

Woman 28 years old, Poznań

I am fed up with discussions in class in which a male professor prefers talking to male students. Theoretically, female students can join in anytime, but when these discussions are already on, the circle closes down, they are in a cross fire debate, at which point it is very difficult to join in. It's not even about the way these classes are run because this professor does not favour men explicitly.

Woman, 20 years old, Warsaw

Long-term relations are easier to build with male students; with women there is always this aspect of romance, mutual attraction and potential problems. Male professors usually hire male assistants, female professors hire female assistants. This is a matter of getting along: men feel at ease among other men and this is important for work, because they don't want to constantly watch out. I don't know why that is but the male-female relation is more about conflict than cooperation.

Man, 21 years old, Szczecin

There are more men now, but this is because it is easier for men to get in. If there are more women who are accepted and there are still so many male professors, this probably means that men are more desired here.

Man, 20 years old, Poznań

Men are treated favourably in employment competitions, especially by older professors.

Woman, 24 years old, Szczecin

Male professors chose male heirs. If they pick women, in 80% these are their partners or lovers.

Woman, 24 years old, Warsaw

At my academy, success depends only on your network and social influence. As we know, the majority of professors are men, so they select men for their assistants, because men are better for drinking and partying. If there is a female assistant, this means that she is/was in a romantic relation with that male professor.

Man, 21 years old, Cracow

Reluctance to hire women due to physical aspects of the job:

A guy gets the job instead of a girl. Are the requirements different? Guys are more involved in preparing exhibition, they can put in more physical labour when hammering a nail, drilling. If they do more, then it is easier to offer them a job as an assistant because they are needed. But I always do everything myself and don't ask anyone for help.

Woman, 31 years old, Warsaw

I often hear that I cannot be an assistant because I am a woman and so I would be unable to carry a ladder in the workshop...

Woman, 25 years old, Cracow

Certainly, the lack of technical staff is part of the problem – students are required to fill these gaps when carrying tables, preparing exhibitions.

Woman, 24 years old, Poznań

Attaching less value to women's art, an assumption that only men are capable of creating true art:

People still think that an artist is a man – the creator, but a female artist is a harmless madwoman, with a turban on her head, someone to mock a little, someone not to be taken seriously.

Woman, 22 years old, Katowice

I think that women are excluded from art circles because there is still this assumption that the true artist is a man.

Woman, 25 years old, Cracow

Structural problem of marginalizing women's heritage and skills.

Woman, 27 years old, Łódź

Some topics that female students find interesting, such as feminist, women's and queer art, stand no chance at art academies. Male professors don't understand them and are not able to supervise such projects.

Woman, 23 years old, Warsaw

I also think that this discrepancy is rooted in an old assumption that art is men's game. This has been the case for the entire history of art.

Woman, 24 years old, Katowice

Reluctance towards women, chauvinism, discouraging women:

If there were more respect, if all these men were able to accept and respect women, the situation would be different.

Woman, 25 years old, Poznań

There was one case of sexual harassment; this has been investigated. This man no longer works here.

Man, 25 years old, Szczecin

Teachers that I get along with joked "Oh, I better not go on the same elevator with you. What would we do, if the elevator jammed?"

Woman, 20 years old, Szczecin

Some professors are a bit chauvinistic.

Woman, 20 years old, Łódź

One male professor flirts with all female students. He deals with women in his one way – he’s a misogynist. As long as nobody gets hurt, as long as these are only jokes and nobody complains, this is not a problem. If someone complains – this would become a problem.

Man, 20 years old, Szczecin

One male assistant sent this suggestive email to my female colleague – this should never have happened. He does not work here anymore. I think that he simply did not care at that time, he knew he would be leaving soon anyway.

Woman, 23 years old, Szczecin

Shocking approval of comments on gender, shocking behaviours of male professors, comments such as “you should have been a good girl”, sexual innuendos, generally this whole jesting atmosphere.

Woman, 26 years old, Poznań

A guy from one atelier stared at us all the time, however and wherever he could, but that was not that invasive. This was also a great mistake on our side that we accepted this behaviour.

Woman, 20 years old, Poznań

I witnessed a situation when an academic teacher sexually harassed a student.

A couple of female colleagues were forced to drop his class – this man could not control himself so there were such situations but not that often. If this happened to me, I would just slap this man. But he is a madman, someone who completely

doesn’t control his emotions. On the other hand, when I think about our teachers, it would be a shame to lose this man, someone who can show you a lot in art, more than 90% of other teachers.

Woman, 29 years old, Warsaw

I am familiar with situations that got so nasty. I think there is a need to regulate this situation legally. When someone abuses his position of power for such purpose, this is really lame. And I think that students who experience such behaviours must feel threatened in a way, in their future career. This is really a very unequal distribution of power. So when we hear about such cases, we must act.

Woman, 24 years old, Łódź

Many professors are frustrated. Instead of making it in the art world, they ended up teaching at the academy and nothing has happened ever since. So they take their frustration out on their students, they can be rude and incompetent with regards to some comments or communication in general.

Woman, 24 years old, Poznań

This girl was a fashion model. One teacher, who gave an impression that he liked younger women, made her offers. This also happened to my colleagues. He used a highly suggestive language, and I know that he had had problems with this before. I don’t know how this situation was resolved or how she interpreted his behaviour.

Woman, 21 years old, Szczecin

Situation when women discriminate against other women

It is upsetting, but female professors are mostly unable to work with students. Female professors made every single sexist remark and unpleasant comment that I have heard.

Woman, 23 years old, Łódź

Women are often unaware that they experience discrimination and the women who made it to the top often unconsciously reproduce such discriminatory treatment.

Woman, 43 years old, Warsaw

I have heard a story about a female student who just accepted a marriage proposal, made by another student, and she was failed at the exam by a female professor. This professor is known to have very feminist views and we had this impression that she liked the guy who proposed so she was a bit harder with examining her. But I don't know to what extent this is true or whether it was simply a matter of this student coming unprepared for this exam.

Man, 21 years old, Szczecin

Other women treat women less seriously. They don't offer any support. They don't stand up for one another as other minority groups do. They think they are of lesser value or have this attitude "I made it because I act like a man, but if this other female does not act like a man, she is of lesser value, so I should hire a man".

Woman, 28 years old, Warsaw

Characteristics which are either inborn or acquired through socialisation

These are social issues – Libera made this really cool project "How to tame a girl".

Woman, 26 years old, Warsaw

Perhaps men treat work as their main goal, they are ambitious, and they are focused. Women try to do too many things.

Woman, 20 years old, Łódź

Women are unaware that they are discriminated. This applies as much to students as it does to teachers. They see it as natural, and this does not only apply to art academies – a large majority of women (say 90%) are unaware of discrimination and they can even defend discriminatory practices. They are not aware of anything and the academy does not help you to develop intellectually.

Woman, age not given, Warsaw

Polish society treats women differently right from the start – from the childhood. This is why women focus on different problems. In some areas, they are treated unequally from the date of birth.

Man, 20 years old, Poznań

The common trait of those who apply here is that they are all sensitive. It is more difficult for women to deal with their emotions or to understand their emotions. This is why there are more men – they can deal with their emotion better or faster.

Man, 24 years old, Warsaw

Women have a "wider" perspective – in other words they focus on shorter time perspective. Men, on the other hand, are able to see things in the long-term.

Woman, 26 years old, Poznań

Conservative views about women

Professors have had these jobs for many, many years; they go way back to the old regime when women were meant to take care of the home instead of focusing on their professional career.

Woman, 22 years old, Poznań

These ideas that women after graduation from fine art academies are meant to do the dishes and give birth.

Woman, 29 years old, Warsaw

Elderly, conservative men run the academies.

Man, 25 years old, Cracow

Perhaps the time will come – for now women have to wait until these elderly men who are professor retire. This is where this belittlement comes from, this conviction that women are less credible and less substantial.

Woman, 20 years old, Poznań

Employees' views

Yes, they have children. That's certainly true. There were some who gave up because of this man who treated them badly, who humiliated them in front of the students. They are weaker. A man would stand up for himself, they wept silently and would rather give up than start a fight.

Female professor, city C

This is exactly the case with art history, there are so many women, maybe one man or two. But then men become academic teachers. A situation where there is only one atelier run by a female professor, this gives you food for thought. Or the fact that the faculty of painting for many years had this joke "a female painter is a wife of a painter".

Male professor, city B

Faculties that are highly feminised are also more pleasant to work at. Our faculty is less prone to conflicts than, let's say painting, where disputes tend to be more severe. Here we use more soft power. Perhaps this is because women bring up children, they stay at home or do side-jobs just to make the ends meet, but never do they focus on their careers. For men, it is easier to afford having an academic job. I think there should be more women, this should be more balanced to be precise – because I don't support the notion that women should run academies - but to make it more balanced. We need both a focused, concrete perspective but also a wider-picture perspective, which goes beyond what is here and what is now.

Female assistant, city C

Art Academies in Poland are male academies. There are few female professors; this is a difficult job. Another thing is that after 1989 [the end of communism in Poland] transformation resulted in women becoming more aware that they can work rather than stay at home and take care of children. There were also issues related to pure, extreme forms of chauvinism.

For instance the term "female art" or that a woman won't make it. That it is nice, pleasant and easy at home. This is a matter of raising awareness that we have patriarchy in Poland. I don't want to offend anyone, but this is simply not normal that there are no women in the higher ranks at the academy.

Female assistant, city D

We have 12 teachers – 10 men and 2 women. You can say that it speaks for itself. Perhaps I have little imagination but I cannot say that our relations here are chauvinistic. Maybe it is a natural state of affairs, I think that women mature faster. And when there are 20 year old men, then if you compare them to 20 year old women, the latter are more mature. So to speak. Women are better in terms of emotional, social intelligence. But why drop out then? I don't know, but I think that this stereotype of an artist, a male artist is true. It may sound like a stereotype, but these are facts, I have plenty of female colleagues who studied with me but they don't do art anymore because they love their children. They value maternal love over their artistic activity; for men having children does not have quite the same effect.

Male assistant, city B

This proportion is skewed at a time of recruitment. Often, female students graduate with distinction, contrary to their male colleagues. I've been a member of the examination board for the last couple of years, so I know what I am talking about. I am going to repeat myself now, but we simply must do something about this [...], I think this is an obvious injustice. Really, I would like to know why there are 90% of students here and later these 10% of men are more likely to find employment. I see my male colleagues; they get a job at the academy straight after graduation. For women it takes more time.

Female assistant, city B

Why was this job offered to a man? Sometimes I had this thought that it was simply because he was a man (there was a female candidate who was much more talented and so on...). This is a school with old traditions, so to speak. A large school, where for a long time they choose only men for academic posts. I think that this is a goal for women who want to have children – they will choose their artistic aspirations over working at the academy [...] This was patriarchy, I think that for older cohorts it was natural that men led. Chauvinism also played a role, for sure. But I think that this has been noticed now and recognised as a mistake [...]. When I was a student I felt that this was an exclusively male environment – there were very few female professors, but they were wonderful. There was some amazing strength in them. For a young female artist, this was a matter of concern – that I was surrounded exclusively by male artists. I felt that women existed, but they were on side-ways, that there were few of them in positions of power, few who run their own workshops. There were none (or there are none) because, in the past, they were not allowed to join in.
Female assistant, city D

In my class, there were 20 women and 2 men... both men stayed at the academy, the rest had to fend for themselves. This was shocking because they were not the best students. Many tried to discourage me, that I won't be able to do it, that it would be difficult. Retrospectively, I must say that it is not difficult – it is interesting. But you must know what you want to do and for whom – for yourself or for someone else, you must be able to stand for yourself. For sure, there will be some barriers and I face them frequently when I want to organise something. But I think I became indifferent to some comments now.
Female professor, city C

Annex 2.

Detailed research methodology

The report employed quantitative and qualitative research methods. Three main data sources were used:

1. existing data (secondary sources);
2. survey (primary source);
3. individual in-depth interviews (primary source).

1. Existing data

Art academies were contacted with a freedom of information request. Subsequently, they released data about the number of employees, doctoral candidates and students with detailed information about the number of men and women in each category. The freedom of information request was sent to nine art academies (including the division of fine arts at Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń which offers degrees similar to these offered at art universities).

2. Quantitative part - survey

In order to test research hypotheses which sought to explain the discrepancy in the ratio of female students to female employees we conducted survey research among students of art academies.

Our goals were:

1. to compare career aspirations of male and female students
2. to compare different types of positive stimuli (career incentives, encouragement, etc.) received from teachers
3. to compare different types of negative stimuli (discrimination, etc.) received from teachers
4. to compare students in their first and final year of study
5. to investigate how students perceive artists, whom they regard as role models and whether they know any female artists in their art discipline

The survey was carried out between May and September 2015 on a sample of students enrolled at nine art academies. Respondents had a choice of filling in the survey online or on paper. In total, we analysed 783 surveys, which amounts to 9% of the population of students of art academies.

What is sampling and how was it done in this research?

Researchers often want to estimate some population features by using a sample (i.e. a subset of this population). In other words, we want to learn something about students of art academies without having to talk to every single student. In this research, we used a sample that maximised the number of eligible cases, corrected for gender and university.

This is similar to the use of a quota sample, which is commonly used by researchers who try to approximate the representativeness of the population they study by selecting a number of key characteristics – in our case sex and university – and recruiting respondents in such a way that the proportions of variables in the sample are the same as proportions of these variables in the population. Ideally, the representativeness of a quota sample is then verified by examining the distribution of other variables (which were not used in creating the sample) and comparing them to distributions in the population. Any discrepancies should be taken into account when interpreting the results. In contrast to a random sample, which seeks to be representative in regards to all variables, quota sample is representative in regards to variables used in its creation (gender and university) and other closely correlated variables. Here, we are interested in variables closely correlated with gender and university, hence we argue that using such sample can be justified.

Sample correction

We corrected our sample by weighting it on two variables – gender and academy. Population statistics was taken from the Central Statistical Office of Poland and reflected the situation in the academic year 2014/15. Respondents included in the sample studied for degrees classified under humanities and arts (main group) and artistic education (subgroup) which includes degrees such as graphics, painting, design, sculpture and degrees that may be distinctive for a given academy, for instance fabric and fashion design, offered at art academy in Łódź.

Weighting

Data was weighted so that the distribution of weighting variables corresponds to that in the population. As can be seen in Table 3, women and men in Warsaw and Łódź were slightly overrepresented before weighting. In the majority of cases, quotas were fulfilled so weights were small (0.57-2.40). For example, female respondents from Warsaw constituted approximately 16.99% of our sample, while official statistics showed that this group constituted 14.30% of the whole population. In order to decrease the impact of this group we assign them smaller weights, in this case $14.30/16.99=0.84$. On the other hand, the underrepresentation of men from Warsaw is compensated by assigning them weights larger than 1, here $4.69/3.19=1.47$.

Table 5: Data before and after applying weights

		Before weighting (%)	After weighting (%)	In population (%)
Łódź	men	3	2	2
	women	13	8	8
Szczecin	men	2	2	2
	women	6	4	4
Gdańsk	men	1	2	2
	women	6	8	8
Katowice	men	1	2	2
	women	5	6	6
Cracow	men	2	3	3
	women	9	9	9
Warsaw	men	3	5	5
	women	17	14	14
Wrocław	men	2	3	3
	women	11	11	11
Poznań	men	3	4	4
	women	10	10	10
Toruń	men	1	2	2
	women	5	8	8
Total		100%	100%	100%

Final sample

We collected a total of 966 questionnaires but some did not include sufficient information or were filled in by students from groups that were beyond the scope of this study. We excluded surveys from respondents who did not reveal their gender (15 surveys) or academy (95 surveys). We also dropped surveys which were completed by alumni (38 surveys) or by people who studied degrees not classified under humanities and arts (main group) and artistic education (subgroup), which required dropping further 54 surveys. This limited the sample to 783 students.

To verify a sample, it is important to compare distribution of variables which were not used for weighting with distribution of these variables in the population. For this we used information about the proportion of students who received two types of scholarships: one which is means-tested and offered to students who are coming from less advantageous backgrounds (hardship scholarship) and another scholarship given for academic achievement (achievement scholarship), which includes awards from the head of the department. We argue that these two variables tap into different social phenomena. And indeed, the correlation between them is very low ($r=0.02$). The sample has a slightly higher proportion of students who receive both types of scholarships, yet the difference is acceptable.

Table 6: Checking the sample

Hardship scholarships (sample)	Hardship scholarships (official statistics)	Achievement scholarships (sample)	Achievement scholarships (official statistics)
15%	11%	15%	10%

Source: Higher Education Institutions and their Finances, Central Statistical Office of Poland, 2013. Calculation based on the subgroup of all art academies.

Questionnaire

Our questionnaire included 41 questions about professional aspirations, positive and negative stimuli and many more. Prior to conducting the survey we run a pilot study which allowed for necessary corrections and shortening of our survey so that it did not take more than 15 minutes to complete. In order to minimize selection bias in our sample (i.e. bias towards persons who are more interested or have strong opinions about the topic of the survey), the title of the questionnaire was neutral and did not reveal the purpose of the study (“The nationwide study of art academies”). Students were informed that the study was about their aspirations and experiences at the university. Questions which explicitly referred to gender appeared only towards the end of the questionnaire.

To maximize the diversity and number of respondents we distributed the survey through different channels:

- online survey: we contacted students’ senates and university employees who helped in recruitment by promoting the survey on closed mailing list or the social media. We also run a campaign on Facebook with a target group set to persons who study for art degrees in Poland. According to Facebook data, the campaign researched 4.339 people. The total number of students who filled in the on-line survey was n=543.
- paper survey: distributed by students’ senates and university employees who declared their willingness to help with the study. The total number of people who filled in the paper survey was n=249.

Reasons for using the survey:

1. we wanted to maximize the number and diversity of participants
2. we are able to estimate how representative the sample is
3. higher degree of anonymity, especially important when students were asked to report on experiences which were potentially embarrassing or sensitive
4. ease of further analysis

Annex 3.

A. Art academies in Poland

Visual art academies:

- Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw
- University of Fine Arts in Poznań
- Jan Matejko Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow
- Wladyslaw Strzeminski Academy of Fine Arts in Łódź
- Eugene Geppert Academy of Fine Arts in Wrocław
- Academy of Fine Arts in Gdańsk
- Academy of Fine Arts in Katowice

Visual art and music academy:

- Art Academy of Szczecin

Visual art faculties at public universities:

- Faculty of Fine Arts, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń
- Faculty of Art, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin
- Faculty of Art, Rzeszów University
- Faculty of Art, Kazimierz Pułaski University of Technology and Humanities in Radom
- Faculty of Art and Pedagogy, Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce
- Faculty of Art, University of Zielona Góra

B. Art. Degrees in Poland

Main group: humanities and arts

Subgroup: artistic education

History of art
Conservation of goods of culture
Musicology
Works of art conservation and restoration
Acting
Interior design
Musical conducting
Graphic arts
Instrumental studies
Jazz and show music
Composition and theory of music
Painting
Photography
Organization of film and television production
Realization of film, television and photo image
Directing
Sound directing
Sculpture
Stage design
Dance
Knowledge of theatre
Vocal studies
Industrial design
Textile and fashion design
Intermedia
Interactive media and performances
Art of image recording
Media arts
Church music
Music therapy
Interfaculty studies - design and mechatronics
Film studies
Editing
Games and cyberspace design
Games and interactive graphics
Culture and media management
Culture animation
Art mediation
Art criticism
Animation

Annex 4. Tables and figures

A. Logistic regression: help in becoming an assistant

	Odds ratio	Standard error	P> t		95 % confidence interval		Odds ratio	Standard error	P> t		95% confidence interval	
Woman	0.39	0.14	0.01	*	0.19	0.79	0.38	0.14	0.01	*	0.18	0.8
Grant							3.42	1.21	0	**	1.71	6.85
School [Łódź as the base line]												
Szczecin	0.88	0.52	0.83		0.27	2.84	0.74	0.44	0.62		0.23	2.4
Gdańsk	1.73	0.93	0.31		0.6	4.98	1.49	0.85	0.48		0.49	4.55
Katowice	1.23	0.83	0.76		0.33	4.61	1.13	0.77	0.85		0.3	4.27
Cracow	1.03	0.58	0.96		0.34	3.14	0.91	0.5	0.87		0.31	2.69
Warsaw	0.83	0.41	0.7		0.31	2.18	0.93	0.46	0.88		0.35	2.47
Wrocław	0.47	0.29	0.23		0.14	1.61	0.51	0.33	0.3		0.15	1.81
Poznań	0.29	0.23	0.12		0.06	1.37	0.28	0.22	0.1		0.06	1.28
Toruń	0.67	0.57	0.63		0.13	3.51	0.59	0.54	0.57		0.1	3.55
Constant	0.16	0.07	0	***	0.07	0.36	0.12	0.05	0	**	0.05	0.3
Pseudo R-squared	11.1							15.8				

N=783

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05

Pseudo R-squared calculated on the basis of McKelvey and Zavoina (1976)

B. Statistics on tertiary education in Poland

Figure 25: Art academies' employees in 2014/15, by gender, academic position and type of employment.

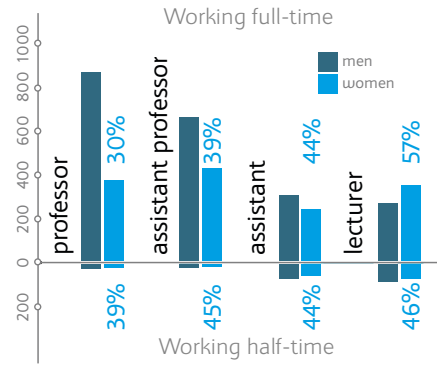


Figure 26: Art academies' employees in 1999–2015, by gender and academic position

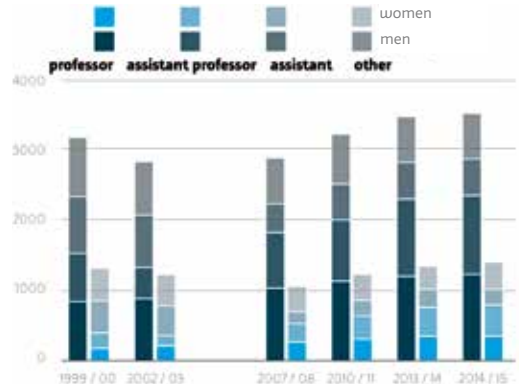


Figure 27: Students of art academies in 1929–2011, by gender

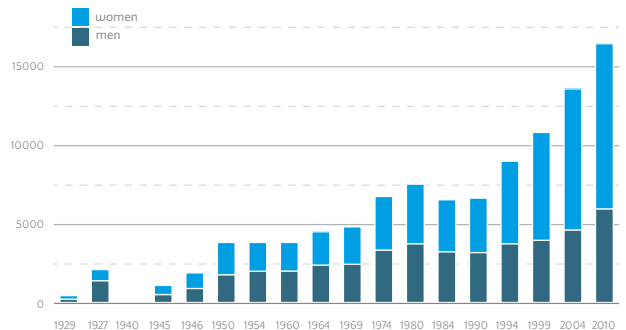


Figure 28: Cumulated number of professorships in 2004–2014, by gender

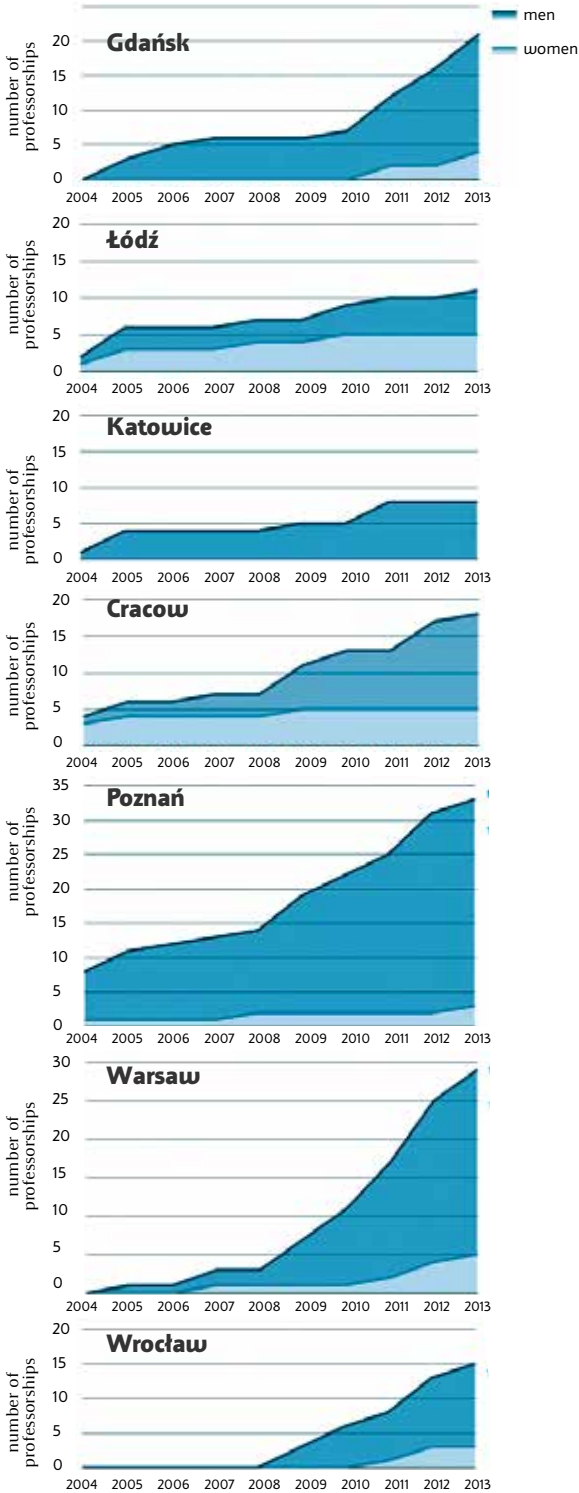


Figure 29: Number and percentage of women among professors in Poland's tertiary education in 1960–2015.

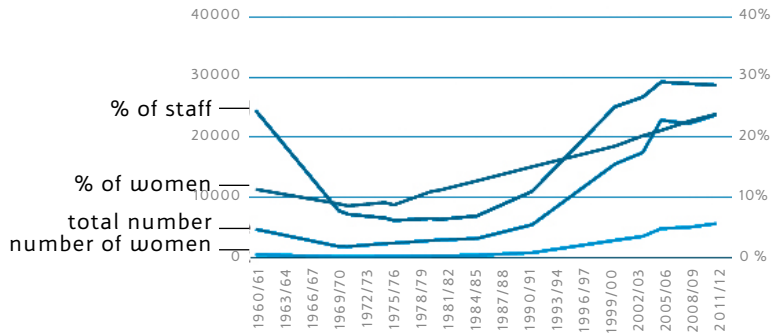


Figure 30: Number and percentage of women among assistant professors in Poland's tertiary education in 1960–2015

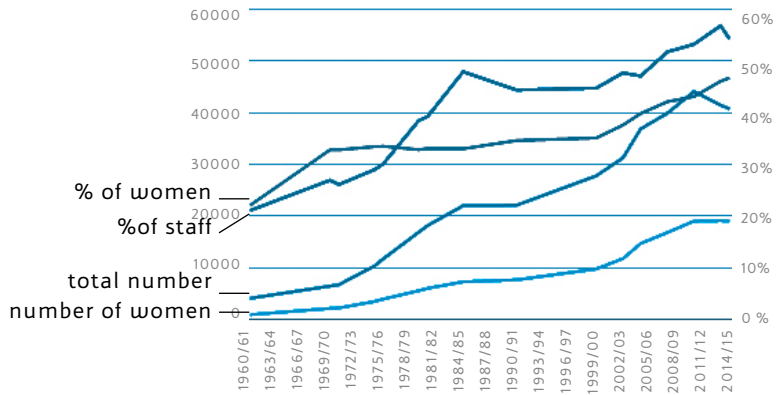


Figure 31: Number and percentage of women among assistants in Poland's tertiary education in 1960–2015

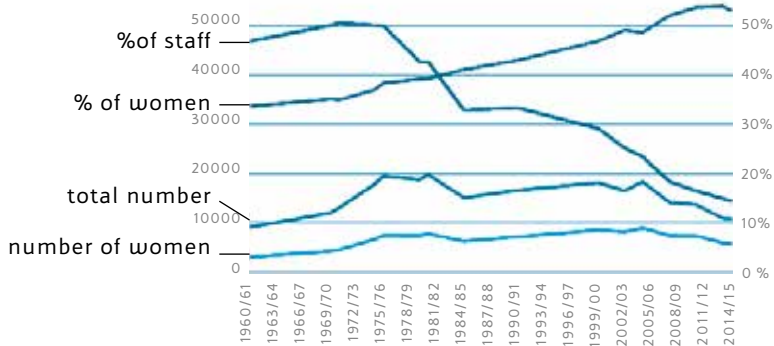


Figure 32: Number and percentage of women among new PhD holders at visual art academies in 2004–2013

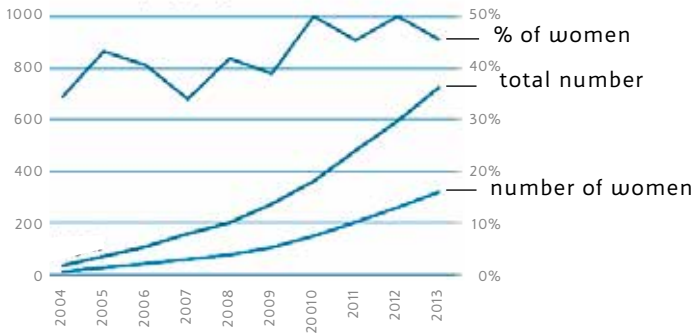
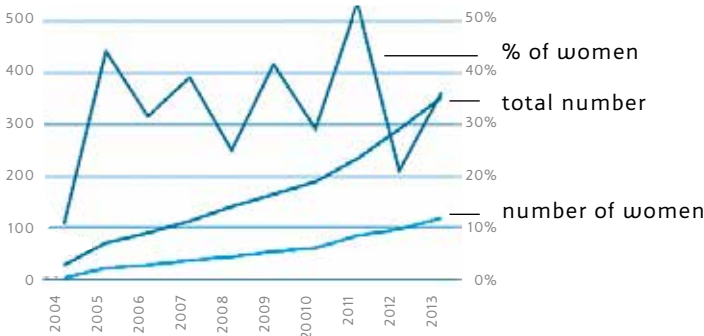


Figure 33: Number and percentage of women among new postdoctoral degree holders at visual art academies in 2004–2013



Reviews

Professor Renata Siemieńska-Żochowska, PhD

Institute of Sociology
Robert B. Zajonc Institute for Social Studies
Chairholder of the UNESCO Chair affiliated with the Faculty of Philosophy and Sociology
University of Warsaw

[...] Gender inequality is a phenomenon universally present on the job market, and it takes on various forms, although its size slowly decreases – also in artistic professions. The explanation of this inequality, the existence of the glass ceiling, often inspires many emotions and misunderstandings. Is the imbalance of representation exclusively the result of discrimination, or a consequence of differing aspirations and using the Giddens' term, differently built life scenarios? And even if the latter is true, why is that? To what extent what we are facing here are the stereotypes of men's and women's roles in society; stereotypes whose impact on our perception of reality, our expectation and judgements we often do not realise?

[...] The answer to the question why is there so few women among the academic teachers of art academies may be sometimes surprising. As it turns out, the stereotypes about women's creative capacities determine to this day men's attitudes towards female students, and then those women who, despite being more or less subtly discouraged from pursuing art in their studies and later on, persevered, did not quit the artistic career or give up teaching at academies. Current aspirations of women and men pursuing careers in art are to a large extent similar. Moreover, the similarity of aspirations is shared also by women and men studying and working in other domains.

The presented report is characterised by methodological diligence. The selection of academies, large-scale survey research carried out among male and female students in their first and final year, in-depth interviews with students as well as professors and junior teaching staff, representing different professional and generational experience, allowed the authors to collect research material which they analysed according to the sociological methodology. They confront their findings with the results of numerous studies previously conducted in various countries. They wanted to make sure to what extent are we facing the same mechanisms which make it difficult for women to enter professions considered as masculine, as has been the case of arts for centuries, and to what extent are they specific. The presented results may be sometimes surprising for those without a professional interest in the subject matter, who are not familiar with the reality of visual art academies.

The publication is a worthwhile read not only due to extremely interesting conclusions, but also because it is an example of very diligent research. The authors made much effort towards making their conclusions, and sometimes hypotheses, aiming at encouraging more researchers to further exploration.

Dr Patrick Präg

Postdoctoral fellow, Department of Sociology, Oxford University and Nuffield College

The report is generally well-written and draws on a wealth of empirical information, both stemming from original research that draws on a diversity of data sources as well as from a thorough review of the relevant literature. I was impressed by the nuance and the attention paid to detail by the authors when crafting the report.

Professor Kazimierz Słomczyński, PhD

Director of Cross-National Studies:
Interdisciplinary Research and Training Program (CONSIRT)
Department of Sociology, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio (USA)
Polish Academy of Sciences

[...] The report starts with the statement: “Poland’s visual art academies are extremely feminised as places of study while exceptionally masculinised as places of work.” Why is that? Hypotheses proposed in the report concern: (1) the relationship of students and professors (positive and negative stimuli and their significance); (2) aspirations and priorities (job attractiveness and life strategies); and (3) psychological factors (self-esteem and role model imitation). These hypotheses are well formulated and properly set in the literature. They are derived from general premises concerning the functioning of higher artistic education institutions and adjusted to the art academies conditions.

Three research methods were described in the report document analysis, the survey for students of all nine academies and in-depth interviews. The methodological aspect of the study is well presented in the main body of the report and its annex. The examination of the 10% of the entire art student population gives sound grounds for drawing conclusions when the sample is properly weighted, which has been ensured in this instance.

The report presents the material which allows one to form an opinion on the stated hypotheses. All of them to a significant extent describe the reasons of the weak representation of women holding teaching positions at art academies. An exceptional advantage of this report is that it supplies arguments to enable looking at the examined phenomenon also from the perspective which has presented itself in the course of the research. Hence the inclusion in the report of the systemic discussion, drawing attention to such issues as customised education and insularity of the arts circles, the impact of the demography and job market conditions, and the petrification of academy structures.

The report deserves a swift publication.

Responses from academies

Professor Wiesława Limont, PhD

Professor of the Artistic Institute
The Fine Arts Department
Mikołaj Kopernik University in Toruń

A commentary on the report: Gromada A., Kawalerowicz J., Budacz D. (2015), *Little Chance to Advance? An inquiry into the Presence of Women at Art Academies in Poland*, Warsaw: Katarzyna Kozyra Foundation.

Due to the short time I had to look into the report proposed by the authors, my opinion is more of a comment than a review.

The report features results of the research on women's presence at visual art academies in Poland. These inquiries fit well into broader debates on direct and indirect discrimination of women in various areas of social activity. In their professional capacity, women often encounter the "glass ceiling," i.e. obstacles limiting their chances for professional advancement.

The study looked for the answers to questions about cultural, environmental and psychological determinants negatively affecting women's chances for promotion, as well as gender disproportions between female students and professors at art academies. The study used public information, surveys and in-depth interviews. It enabled to collect quantitative and qualitative data which were subjected to statistical analyses and interpretation in the context of research problems.

The obtained results confirmed the majority of proposed hypotheses, which is not particularly surprising, as they were formulated on the basis of selected problems, considerably well known in the literature and present in the common social consciousness. In addition, they are familiar from the common knowledge and implicit abilities and creativity theories, and remain in accordance with social gender stereotypes. As the inquiry studied visual art academies, including distinguished and prestigious Fine Arts Academies which perpetuate and foster traditions of 19th century academies, the origin of some of the stereotypes connected to the art reach as far back as the late 19th century. These stereotypes are reflected in the opinions and convictions expressed by the respondents.

The achieved results are concluded by a synthetic expression in the report's title: "Little Chance to Advance" and despite my very positive opinion on the conducted study as well as quantitative and qualitative analyses, I have several reservations.

The first one concerns the control group. The research was conducted among the students and staff of visual art academies. To make sure that the results apply only to visual art academies and not higher education institutions in general, it would be beneficial to introduce control groups which could be drawn from artistic schools where education is also based on the individual work in the master-apprentice format, such as theatre or music schools.

The study results coincide also with the opinions on the hermetic nature of the academic circles with their hierarchy and feudal structural relationships connected to titles and positions. I believe a control group would enable to determine whether gender-based discrimination and its symptoms at visual art academies are similar to the situation in other schools and faculties, or are they different, as well as what kind of discrimination may be connected with the specific professional profile of visual arts schools.

Another comment concerns psychological conditions. It is a pity that the study does not take into account contemporary theories of ability and creativity which would constitute strong theoretical foundation for formulating research problems. Since the study was conducted among creatively talented people, I am convinced it would be even more important to take into account the knowledge concerning abilities, and in particular talent in the domain of visual arts. Apart from the self-esteem which was a factor in the study, it would be beneficial to consider, for instance, the question of motivation or “the sense of self-efficacy” (Albert Bandura), which is a function of the belief in one’s own abilities and skills. In people with high self-efficacy, the success results in the increase in aspirations, while for the people with low self-efficacy the success causes the aspirations to diminish, because they believe it is not possible to repeat it. Those two groups employ different strategies: the former is task-oriented and focused on reaching their goals, whereas the latter concentrates on their experiences and analyses the consequences of possible failure. I believe that similar mechanisms have been revealed among the studied men and women, which may be the cause of success or lack thereof, and thus resulting consequences. It is also connected with the “implicit ability theory” (Carol Dweck) which states people differ with regard to the assessment of their own abilities. In the event they need to increase the effort to achieve a certain goal, they do not believe they possess sufficient abilities, thus lowering their sense of self-efficacy in a certain area and simultaneously adopting inadequate strategies of action (in the reported studies, respondents’ answers reveal a similar mechanism).

Taking into account psychological factors stemming from the abilities and creativity theory would allow the research to include an in-depth interpretation of the results obtained, which could also explain the occurrence of behaviours that exacerbate the elements of gender-based discrimination in the environment of visual art academies. Respondents’ statements revealed also the issue connected to various types of motivation: external in women and internal in men. It has quite serious consequences with regard to how both of the studied groups function in the academic world, since women require external reinforcement, while the men included in the research seem to display predominantly spontaneous motivation which for them may cause the activity itself to become the reward.

Despite all these comments, I think the report contains rich and valuable material that can, or rather should be used by institutions responsible for the higher visual arts education as well as organisations fighting against gender-based discrimination.

Professor Wiesława Limont, PhD

Toruń, 6 December 2015

Mieczysław Juda, PhD

Head of the Art Theory and History Unit
The Academy of Fine Arts in Katowice

The report from an inquiry into the presence of women at art academies in Poland entitled *Little Chance to Advance?* is a result of sociological research conducted by A. Gromada, J. Kawalerowicz and D. Budacz. It was carried out under the auspices of the Katarzyna Kozyra Foundation and it attempts to face inequalities with regard to the representation of men and women at Polish artistic schools in all dimensions of their social standing: power, prestige, significance, etc. It is a large scope project which encompasses virtually all artistic academies, both when it comes to their location (the entire country), school type (visual arts, music, theatre, film, public and non-public) and it focuses on social factors and mechanisms of the weak representation and “in-visibility” of women at Polish art academies – their presence among school authorities, managing staff, careers and professional advancement. It constitutes a reversal of the default image of the completely feminised world of Polish art academies, beginning with the social structure of the student body. The authors attempt to find the causes of this situation in social mechanisms treated as social determinants for the reproduction of thus formed structures, social relationships, behaviour patterns and, generally speaking, a certain axionormative order. Quoting the literature (Etkowitz, Kemelgor, Uzzi) they indicate the difference in aspirations, self-esteem, family planning, the extent and strength of networks, experiences of discrimination, and the accessibility of role models and involved mentors as factors that differentiate men’s and women’s experiences. Obviously, they find such a situation not only unsatisfactory, but very wrong indeed. A separate issue is the question what situation would be satisfactory (right)?

Broadly grounding the analyses in the area of social and cultural capital determines the optics of the analysis as oriented on social inequalities linked to the basic variable: gender. The report contains echoes of “women’s” studies revealing the social role and standing of women in the professional space of a particular environment – art academies. The presented material paints an image of Polish art academies (mainly Fine Art Academies) as almost endemic areas of male domination, conservatism and remainders of the past world – meaning the world of the People’s Republic of Poland era. The project with broad methodology foundations is based on various data: the material collected in the primary quantitative research (over 900 surveys), secondary sources and in-depth interviews (32), which serves to support the claim of the comprehensive character of the research.

In general conclusions the Authors claim that: 1. Art faculties are characterised by a specific, informal atmosphere and relationships between the teaching staff and student body are closer and more intense; 2. Men more often declare that academic teachers offered them help in becoming teaching assistants, which jumpstarts their professional career; 3. no significant differences between women and men with regard to life choices and goals, including starting a family, has been revealed; 4. visual art academies seem to be a relatively equal opportunities environment when it comes to family responsibilities (child care, house chores, etc.); 5. men are more likely to regard the job of an academic teacher as attractive. Among the characteristic features of the world of visual art academies relevant for the authority structure in this environment the Authors list: personalised education, the hermetic nature of groups that are the source

of the evaluation and employment market conditions (low salaries, holding numerous positions and multiformity of the professional activity). The final conclusion regarding the low participation of women among the teaching staff of academies in the Authors' opinion is to a large extent linked to the isolation of the artistic circles and the sphere of relationships and unequal division of career-advancing stimuli. This is a dilemma of the art world which has a tendency to take into account personal relationships in the evaluation (men can more often employ other men); the simultaneous declaration of support for the diversity in arts is annihilated by the insularity. Therefore, the postulate of a stronger participation of women in vital areas of visual art academies' life is not simply a problem of inequality – it concerns fundamental questions, as the quoted fragment from Arts Council explains: "Our activities are based on a simple observation that the diversity, in a broad sense, is an integral part of the creative process. It is an essential element of the dynamic force that propels art forward, which introduces innovation and opens art to the particularly important dialogue with the contemporary society." This is the proper credo of the Authors with which hardly anyone would want to argue. However, the diversity that translates into fairness engendering creativity which is the key element of art is a common truth. The issue lies not in repeating it, but in proposing a possible way to put it into action. That, however, the broad study does not include.

An extensive bibliography and accurately ordered annexes indicate the willingness to maintain the reliability of the analysis and professional, sociological craft. Undoubtedly this useful, albeit (finally) unpleasant study unmasks our world quite thoroughly, since it does so on the basis of verified empirical data and not – as it often happens – individual idiosyncrasies.

Mieczysław Juda

Katowice, 7 December 2015

Magdalena Sołtys

The Chair of Culture of Space
Faculty of Management of Visual Culture
The Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw

The Katarzyna Kozyra Foundation, represented by Anna Gromada, Jutta Kawalerowicz and Dorota Budacz, designed and carried out sociological research and presented its conclusions entitled “Little Chance to Advance? An Inquiry into the Presence of Women at Art Academies in Poland” (to be precise – at visual art academies).

We are thankful that the Foundation has chosen such an interesting research problem and considered it to be an issue of no small social importance in our academic circles. A sample of significant data was provided by its members – the teaching staff and students of the academies – drawing from their professional, social and private experiences, observations and opinions, facts, convictions and ideas.

The Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts was asked to take a stance on the report even before its publication. We cannot argue the validity of conclusions, or verify the research and procedures, as the Academy obviously does not possess relevant competences to weigh in on the methodology of social sciences. Therefore, we cannot express an opinion on the research itself and the report competence. However, we can accept and carefully consider the meaning of the presented conclusions. After its publication, we will recommend and share the report with our teaching staff, and we are relying on their free and good will to familiarise themselves with the study and take a stance on its finding in their work. Similarly, the student body will have the opportunity to access the report at our Academy. The project has taken on a complex fragment of reality, and now the reality will confront the results of the project. The environment has been scrutinized and now this environment – in the sum of individualised, partial reactions – will voice its opinion on the report. Some will find it relevant and confirm the research, others will find it revealing or controversial, others still will negate it in its entirety or with regard to particular issues. And as much should be expected. The results of such a study should be treated as a sensitising stimulus, an impulse to raise particular social awareness.

The Foundation’s request for our Academy to express an opinion on the report is at least an invitation to enter the debate. Such a discussion will be possible when the report is released into the social circulation of academies after its publication.

The problem of women’s situation, as we all know, is of enormous importance in our social life and the public debate. It is no mean feat to recognise it in our circles with the entire complicated spectrum of conditions and factors – including social dynamics. We do hope that such research is continued and repeated.

Magdalena Sołtys

Warsaw, 6 December 2015

Bios

Anna Gromada (research team) – sociologist and economist, co-founder of the Kalecki Foundation, researcher and PhD candidate at the Polish Academy of Sciences. Anna holds a BA in Sociology and Politics from the Cambridge University, BA in International Economics from Warsaw School of Economics and MA in International Development from Sciences Po Paris. She has collaborated with i. a. the Chancellery of the President of Poland, the OECD, Thomson Reuters and the Foundation for European Progressive Studies.

Dorka Budacz (research team) – artist, manager of scientific and artistic projects. She completed an individual studies programme at the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts and Inter-Area Individual Humanistic and Social Studies at the University of Warsaw, with the major in culture anthropology and particular emphasis on visual arts. Holder of multiple scholarships awarded by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education and the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage. For years, higher education institutions in the context of women's studies have been the area of her scientific interest as well as the subject of observations within her social activity (via the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts' student government, Senate, Faculty Councils and Academy Committees) and professional activity (via the project and coordination of the participation of the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts' students and teaching staff in the 600th anniversary of Polish-Turkish diplomatic relations in Bursa). She is a co-creator of the programme for the talented youth within the National Fund for Children, responsible for art theory and practice.

Juta Kawalerowicz (research team) – graduate of the Faculty of Mathematics and Sociology at the University of Aberdeen. Holder of the scholarship awarded by the UK's Economic and Social Research Council, PhD student of the Sociology Department at the Oxford University, where she works as an assistant and tutor. She completed internships in the British Home Office as well as the Consulate General of the Republic of Poland in Edinburgh. In 2015 she was awarded the Marie Curie scholarship for young scientists. In the near future she will be carrying out research on migration policy and integration in Sweden.

Anna Walewska (production and coordination) – art historian, curator and producer of artistic and film projects. Director of the Katarzyna Kozyra Foundation.