

Gender and the Urban Linguistic Landscape: Polish Street Naming Practices

Krzysztof Górny

University of Warsaw, Warsaw, POLAND

Ada Górna

University of Warsaw, Warsaw, POLAND

Abstract

This article examines the issue of gender (im)balance in street and roundabout names in Poland's three largest cities: Warsaw, Kraków, and Łódź. The focus of this research falls within the area of urbanonymy, a field that has recently gained in international popularity. However, so far, Poland has received scant attention in urbanonymy, especially in the context of gender imbalance and feminist geography. As the current statistical analysis shows, Polish urbanonyms derived from male names considerably outnumber those derived from female names in Warsaw, Kraków, and Łódź. This paper provides a detailed data onomastic analysis of each of these cities, broken down by borough.¹ This data presentation is preceded by a description of the public debate on urbanonyms and the role of women's names in public spaces in Poland. This debate is becoming increasingly frequent in Polish media and public discourse; this topicality has resulted in campaigns to have the gender imbalance in Polish eponymous urbanonyms redressed. In Kraków, one in three streets is named after a man, and urbanonyms named after males outnumber those named after females by 12.2:1. In Warsaw and Łódź, 1 in 5 eponymous urbanonyms is named after a man, and those named after a male outnumber those named after a female by 9.4:1 and 7.4:1 respectively. As this research shows, many of the reasons for this disproportion are to be found in the histories and contemporary socio-political profiles of Poland's individual regions.

Keywords: toponymy, urbanonym, hodonym, linguistic landscape, gender, Poland

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to present the linguistic landscape (LL) of Poland's three largest cities: Warsaw, Kraków, and Łódź². As this research shows, the LL of these cities represent areas of social injustice in which the patriarchal domination of eponymous urbanonyms has led to gendered exclusion. The term "linguistic landscape" is defined as the domain of the written word in the urban landscape. In 2015, the return to power of the extreme right reignited the debate on the role of women in society. The role of women seemed to gain importance only in the period after the political transformation (Hardy et al. 2008). The competing traditional and progressive currents have taken their fight to the streets (Korolczuk 2016). The fight for women's rights has taken place not only literally through numerous protests but also symbolically in the demand for gender equity in the naming of Polish city streets.

This paper examines this debate using numerical data on naming. This empirical approach can prove fruitful in revealing the role that urbanonyms play in shaping social attitudes. The investigation of the symbolic dimensions of urban spaces such as hodonyms provides a window into societal discrimination against women and reveals factors that have gone into shaping this inequity. Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska (2011) accurately and appositely observes that assigning names not only designates the urban space but endows it with significance. Despite that fact, as Bondi and Rose (2003) state, there is a significant lack of information about the trajectories of feminist urban geography outside of the Anglo-American context. What's more, the feminist geography in Poland itself is said to be almost non-existent as a sub-discipline of geography (Narkowicz & Korolczuk 2019). The aim of the article is therefore to apply an approach that has become so popular in Western European countries to Polish geographical research in order to provide new and important insights into relationship between gender and the urban linguistic landscape of Poland.

Linguistic Landscape: A Brief Review of the Literature

The construct of "linguistic landscape" finds application in research on literary studies, linguistic diversity in geographical regions, and language histories (Gorter 2006, 6). In the present study, however, it is applied to the analysis of the urban landscape; one that, as Landry and Bourhils (1997, 25) point out, is primarily concerned with "the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs and public signs on government buildings". There has been considerably more discussion on the urban LL since Landry and Bourhils first published the results of their seminal study (1997). This development is evidenced by the many subsequent studies that have applied LL in other fields of research (Puzey 2011; Shohamy et al. 2010; Tufi & Blackwood 2010; Ben-Rafael 2008; Shohamy & Gorter 2008; Cenoz & Gorter 2006) or have utilized an LL methodological framework (Barni & Bagna 2015; Blackwood 2015; Gorter 2013; Barni & Bagna 2008). Many LL case studies on cities around the world have also been conducted over the years. These include multilingualism in Tokyo (Backhaus 2007), commodified language in Washington

DC's Chinatown (Leeman & Modan 2009), LL multidimensionality in Kuala Lumpur (Manan et al. 2015), and LL changes in the wake of the reversion of Hong Kong's political sovereignty (Lai 2013).

Studies that link urban LL studies with gender studies have special significance for the present article, however, as they concern the way(s) in which the (in)equality of the genders is reflected in a city's LL. As such, these studies raise important questions, such as whether one gender dominates the city's LL; and if so, how extensive is that dominance; what are some of the reason(s) for this inequity; and what way(s) can that imbalance in urbanonyms affect the perception of the roles of men and women in society? With these questions in mind, the current investigation analyzed Polish commemorative eponymous urbanonyms. As such, this research falls within a growing body of work being conducted by scholars from around the world. The most important publications for this study cover the connection between gender symbols and the urban landscape (Bondi 1992), and gendered exclusion (Fenster 2005); and summarize the debate on Anglo-American feminist urban geography (Bondi & Rose 2013). It is worth emphasising that these issues remain topical worldwide. Important examples include investigations into gender-biased street naming in urban Sub-Saharan Africa (Zuvalinyenga & Bigon 2021), Spain (Gutiérrez-Mora & Oto-Peralías 2022), and Eastern European cities (Rusu 2022). While these publications concern gender-biased street naming more generally, the current investigation specifically examines three Polish cities: Warsaw, Kraków, and Łódź. Nonetheless, what brings all of this research together is the fact that it collectively falls under the umbrella of gender studies and even more broadly, critical studies.

Gender and Street Names as a Part of Critical Studies

The critical turn in place naming studies has produced a rich body of scholarly output over the past three decades (Rose-Redwood et al. 2018, 1). Many works on critical toponymy have appeared during this period (e.g., Azaryahu 1986, 1996; Alderman 2000, 2003, 2016; Foote & Azaryahu 2007; Berg & Vuolteenaho 2009; Rose-Redwood et al. 2010, 2018a). As Azaryahu (2011, 32) points out, this turn has mainly consisted in "understanding that place names are not passive signifiers but are actively involved in place-making practices". Interest in issues associated with the "racialization and gendering of urban space" also increased in the mid-1990s as part of the conceptual approach to urban LL studies. As Rose-Redwood et al. (2018b, 3) point out, this constitutes "a part of the geographies of social justice" in which "the act of street naming appeared to be a quintessential example of producing the city-as-text" (2018b, 7). Issues associated with racial injustice in the urban space have been widely described, for example, by Alderman and Inwood (2013), and Brasher et al. (2018) with respect to US urbanonyms, and by Bigon (2016), and Górny and Górna (2019a, 2019b) with respect to African cities.

Social justice in the gendering of the urban space is a subject that has been increasingly frequently discussed of late. This injustice is reflected in the "patriarchal domination" evident in the names of city streets all over the world (Rose-Redwood et al. 2018c, 315). This domination is attested by numerous examples in every part of the globe that has been studied. There are several articles on this topic in addition to the one on Sub-Saharan African cities by Zuvalinyenga and Bigon (2021) mentioned above. For example, Berg and Kearns (1996, 100) point out the role that urban nomenclature plays in consolidating masculine control in New Zealand cities. For his part, Rose-Redwood (2008, 447) shows the gender exclusion in the renaming of streets in Harlem, NY, USA. The lion's share of eponymous urbanonyms in major Western European cities is similarly assigned to men. The percentage of street names commemorating women in Madrid is only 21.00% (Novas-Ferradás 2018); 3.50% in Rome (Bosworth 2012); and a mere 2.60% in Paris (Sanghani 2015). Central-Eastern Europe is no different, as evidenced by studies conducted in Bucharest, Romania, where women account for only 7.00% of the street names (Niculescu-Mizil 2014) and 6.00% of the commemorative street names (Rusu 2022). In Hamburg, Germany, women and men are commemorated by 397 and 2,511 streets respectively (Bierman et al. 2018). In Novi Sad, Serbia, out of the 822 streets in the city, 568 (69.10%) commemorate people and only 46 (5.60%) commemorate women (Jakovljević-Šević 2020). Belgrade has an even greater disproportion. Women are only commemorated in 115 (4.40%) of its 2,631 street names (Sekulić 2014). The primary goal of the present article is to determine the disproportionalities in Warsaw, Kraków, and Łódź. To accomplish this goal, a quantitative analysis was performed on the street name inventory data of these cities. The results provide key insights into the exclusion of women in the LL of Polish cities. Before the findings of this study are presented, a brief description of the debate surrounding calls to demasculinize street names in Polish cities is given.

Gender and Street Naming Practices in Poland

The gender imbalance in Polish urbanonyms is a relatively recent topic of debate. Under the Socialist system that prevailed until 1989, Communist officials decided who was, or was not, to be commemorated in street names in camera. When Poland became the first Eastern Bloc nation to return to the Democratic fold (in June 1989), street names, and more broadly, the symbolic urban space, became the subject of a lively public debate, albeit one that almost exclusively focused on the fastest route to decommunization. Another reason why the gender imbalance in street naming was not initially a part of the broader discussion was the low status of women in Polish society at that time (Leven 2008). Even now, women are still a minority in Polish authority structures. When in power, they typically only occupy the lowest positions, such as village representatives. For example, sołtys, administrators who serve as the elected heads of rural subdivisions have been partially feminized (Matysiak 2014). However, the higher levels of governance or solidly occupied by men.

The debate on the gender imbalance of street names only really began when the Polish political Right, under the leadership of the Law and Justice (PiS) Party, came to power in 2015. The government's dramatic restriction of women's access to abortion resulted in widespread discontent and unleashed a wave of public protests (Makowska et al. 2022). In September 2016, for example, the movement Polish Women's Strike—called *Ogólnopolski Strajk Kobiet* (OSK) in Polish—saw hundreds of thousands of people take to the streets to call for greater rights for women (Król & Pustułka 2018). Among the demands made during these demonstrations, there were protests against the exclusion of women in Poland's urban LL.

One of the first politicians to raise this issue was MEP and New Left leader Robert Biedroń, who was then the mayor of Słupsk (2014-2018). In 2015, Biedroń pointed out that 202 Słupsk streets were named after men and only 19 after women (Górny et al. 2022). His calls to redress this imbalance, however, were opposed by City Council members who claimed that “We are supposed to honour people who have served the city, the country, or the world, and not bow to sexual diktat (sic)” (Górny et al. 2022, 32). This commentary reveals a blatant disregard for the long history of Polish women's societal contributions.

In 1918, when Poland regained its independence, women were invaluable in putting Poland back on the political map of Europe. In recognition of that fact, they were granted full suffrage that same year (Stępień 2021). Since 2018, the women's suffrage centennial in Poland, the authorities of several cities have begun to commemorate more women in the LL. Poznań, the capital of Greater Poland and the country's fifth largest city, has played an important role in this movement and has honoured 100 women who served the city and the country by introducing new street names after them. Warsaw has had a similar agenda. In 2017, the City Council adopted Resolution No. 56/2017, which states the following:

The Warsaw City Council declares that as of 2018, it shall ensure that women are appropriately commemorated in the names of urban streets, squares, and garden squares so that their achievements and services are equally reflected in the city's onomastic procedures (2017, 1).

These words, however, were not followed by deeds. In 2018, the STER Foundation for Equality and Emancipation, together with The City is Ours Association, launched the “Streets for Women” campaign. The main objective of the campaign was to prepare a petition to request that 18 women be honoured in the urban space of the capital for their contributions to the city and the country. The petition was accepted by the Council and the proposed names were partly considered when assigning new names. For example, in March 2021, seven new alley names were given in the city center at the same time commemorating the following women: Zuzanna Ginczanka, Halina Poświatowska, Kazimiera Iłakowiczówna, Anna Świrczyńska, Irena Krzywicka, Maria Morska and Maria Dulebianka. Last one was a well-known feminist activist distinguished in the fight for Polish women's voting rights.

The first scholarly articles that attempted to measure the extent of the gender imbalance in the street names of Polish cities appeared contemporaneously with the reignition of the debate on the topic. *Female Street Namesakes in Selected Polish Cities* by Walkowiak (2018) unquestionably played a pioneering role. According to the author, there were 25,469 street names in Poland's 10 largest cities. Of these, 7,738 were named after actual or fictitious figures, and of that number, a mere 848 were named after women, that is, 10.96% of commemorative names and 3.33% of all names. An article by Górny et al. (2022) examined gender imbalances in 10 randomly selected Polish cities with populations of approximately 25,000, and found that only 62 (3.32%) of their 1,866 streets were named after women compared to 682 (36.55%) named after men. Such findings suggest that, as is the case in many countries, the LL of Polish cities appears to be dominated by men. To examine this issue more closely, Poland's three largest cities were investigated.

Research Methodology

The TERYT database was used to ascertain the proportions of public placenames commemorating men and women in Warsaw, Kraków, and Łódź. TERYT was developed by Statistics Poland. It contains the names of all streets (alleys included), squares, roundabouts, garden squares, and parks of every city in Poland, and is updated in real time. To start, tables with the names of streets and roundabouts in the above three cities were generated. The names of parks, squares, and garden squares were excluded. Those names that commemorate specific people were isolated. Names referencing both actual persons (e.g., Maria Skłodowska-Curie) and fictitious figures (e.g., Winnie the Pooh) were included. However, only names referring to ascertainable referents were considered. The separated list therefore includes, for example, *ul. Braci Wagów*, named after the Polish naturalist brothers Jakub Ignacy and Antoni Waga; *ul. Żwirki i Wigury*, named after Franciszek Żwirko and Stanisław Wigura, two Polish aviators who perished when their plane crashed in 1932. However, the list does not include *ul. Jagiellonów*, the dynasty that ruled Poland in 1386–1572; or *ul.⁴ Pielęgniarek* ‘Nurse St.’. Once isolated, the names were then assigned to one of three categories: (1) names commemorating women (e.g., *ul. św. Barbary*, *ul. Marii Konopnickiej*); (2) names commemorating men (e.g., *ul. Jana Matejki*, *rondo gen. Charles’a de Gaulle’a*); and (3) names commemorating both men and women (e.g., *ul. Kazimierzy i Jana Marczyńskich*).⁵

Results

According to the Statistics Poland database, in August 2022, there were 5,464 street and roundabout names in Warsaw; 2,336 in Kraków; and 2,336 in Łódź. Kraków has a considerably higher proportion of eponymous streets and roundabouts (1,129 names, or 38.32%) than the other two cities. The figure for Łódź is 25.21% (589 names), while for Warsaw it is 24.63% (1,346 names). Names commemorating men decisively outnumber those commemorating women, as well as those commemorating men and women, in all three cities. Warsaw has 1,202 names commemorating men, a mere 128 commemorating women, and 7 commemorating both. In Kraków, 1,039 names commemorate men; 85 commemorate women; and only 4 commemorate both men and women. In Łódź, the disproportions are slightly less evident. There are 514 streets that commemorate men; 69 that commemorate women; and 6 that commemorate both genders. These data unequivocally demonstrate that the LLs of Poland’s three largest cities are male domains. Interestingly, similar conclusions were previously drawn with respect to Polish cities with populations of 20,000–25,000 (Górny et al., 2022). In the 10 such cities studies, male names comprised 23.10% to almost 63.00% of all hodonyms. This compares with a meagre 1.10% to just under 9.00% for female names.

Comparing the numbers and proportions of male, female, and combined male and female street and roundabout names in Warsaw, Kraków, and Łódź reveals differences between the three cities. The percentage of names commemorating males in Kraków’s eponymous hodonyms (92.02%) and in all hodonyms (35.27) is decidedly greater than in the other two cities. The corresponding figures are 89.30% and 21.99% for Warsaw, and 87.27% and 22.00% for Łódź. It is worth noting that Kraków only has 163 fewer names honouring males than Warsaw, despite having more than 2,500 fewer streets and roundabouts. An exceptionally large number of men are therefore commemorated in Kraków. Nevertheless, the percentage of streets and roundabouts commemorating women is similar in all three cities and nowhere exceeds 3.00% of all hodonyms. The percentage of names honouring female among eponymous hodonyms is the lowest in Kraków at only 7.53%. Moreover, the city has over 12 names to honour males for every name chosen to honour a female. Łódź has the most feminized LL of the three cities. Names commemorating women comprise almost 12.00% of eponymous hodonyms, despite there being fewer of them (68) than in Warsaw (128) and Kraków (85). Łódź also has the lowest number of names commemorating males for every one honouring a female (i.e., 7.45). The figure for Warsaw is 9.39.

Table 1a: Number of Gendered Eponymous Hodonyms in Warsaw, Łódź, and Kraków

Number	City		
	Warsaw	Łódź	Kraków
Hodonyms	5,464	2,336	2,946
Eponymous Hodonyms	1,346	589	1,129
Hodonyms Named after Males	1,202	514	1,039
Hodonyms Named after Females	128	69	85
Hodonyms Named after Males and Females	7	6	4

Table 1b: Ratios of Gendered Eponymous Hodonyms in Warsaw, Łódź, and Kraków by Percentage

Ratio Formula	City Percentages		
	Warsaw	Łódź	Kraków
Eponymous Hodonyms ÷ Hodonyms	24.63	25.21	38.32
Hodonyms Named After Males ÷ Hodonyms Named After Females	9.39	7.45	12.22
Hodonyms Named After Males ÷ Hodonyms	21.99	22.00	35.27
Hodonyms Named After Males ÷ Eponymous Hodonyms	89.30	87.26	92.02
Hodonyms Named After Females ÷ Hodonyms	2.34	2.95	2.88
Hodonyms Named After Females ÷ Eponymous Hodonyms	9.50	11.71	7.52
Hodonyms Named After Males and Females ÷ Hodonyms	0.12	0.26	0.13
Hodonyms Named After Males and Females ÷ Eponymous Hodonyms	0.52	1.01	0.35

Names commemorating both men and women are decidedly the least common, comprising less than 0.30% of all hodonyms in all three cities. Warsaw has the most streets named after men and women (7), followed by Łódź (6) and Kraków (4). As a proportion of eponymous hodonyms, however, the figure is highest in Łódź (>1.00%). This compares with 0.52% in Warsaw and 0.35% in Kraków. Tables 1a and 1b presents an overall statistical summary of the data for the three cities. The detailed spatial distribution of the street and roundabout names being studied, along with a breakdown of each city's boroughs, is given further below.

Warsaw

Of Warsaw's 18 boroughs, Śródmieście has the highest number of names honouring females (18), followed by Targówek (17) and Bielany (14). The other boroughs have fewer than 10 each. The percentage breakdowns provide a different perspective. The borough with the highest percentage of hodonyms named after females was Żoliborz (5.81%), followed by Bielany (5.53%), Śródmieście (4.49%), and Targówek (4.38%). This figure does not exceed 4.00% in any of the other boroughs. Female names as a percentage of eponymous hodonyms are greatest in Targówek (22.08%), followed by Wilanów (18.52%) and Bielany (16.09%).

When it comes to hodonyms named for males, Żoliborz stands out with 52.26% of all eponymously labelled streets and roundabouts named after men. Mokotów, which has the highest number of hodonyms named after males (138), is another special case. Out of all eponymous hodonyms in Mokotów, those named after males comprise 97.18%, which is the highest percentage for Warsaw. This borough also has one of the least feminised LLs in Warsaw. Hodonyms honouring females comprise around 2.82%; and there are almost 35 names commemorating males for every one honouring a female (See tables 2a, 2b and figure 3).

Ursus has the highest number of hodonyms that simultaneously commemorate men and women (3). The percentage of combined names as a percentage of eponymous hodonyms and all hodonyms (4.29%) and all hodonyms (1.85%) is also the greatest in this borough.

Table 2a: Number of Gendered Street and Roundabout Names in Warsaw by Borough

Borough	Hodonyms	Eponymous Hodonyms	Hodonyms Named after Males	Hodonyms Named after Females	Hodonyms Named after Males and Females
Bemowo	231	90	81	9	0
Białoleka	553	88	74	5	0
Bielany	253	87	75	14	0
Mokotów	547	142	138	4	0
Ochota	175	65	61	4	0
Praga- Południe	342	81	75	4	2
Praga-Północ	115	36	33	3	0
Rembertów	157	29	26	3	0
Śródmieście	401	153	135	18	0
Targówek	338	77	59	17	1
Ursus	162	70	62	5	3
Ursynów	403	94	87	6	1
Wawer	692	60	55	5	0
Wesoła	322	65	59	6	0
Wilanów	178	27	22	5	0
Włochy	292	43	38	5	0
Wola	226	75	69	6	0
Żoliborz	155	90	81	9	0

Table 2b: Ratios of Gendered Eponymous Street and Roundabout Names in Warsaw by Borough

Borough	Ratio Formula							
	Epony- mous Hodo- nyms ÷ Hodo- nyms	Hodo- nyms Named after Males÷ Hodo- nyms	Hodo- nyms Named after Males÷ Epony- mous Hodo- nyms	Hodo- nyms Named after Fe- males÷ Hodo- nyms	Hodo- nyms Named after Females ÷ Epony- mous Hodo- nyms	Hodo- nyms Named after Males and Females ÷ Hodo- nyms	Hodo- nyms Named After Males and Females ÷ Epony- mous Hodo- nyms	Hodo- nyms Named after Males÷ Hodo- nyms Named after Females
Bemowo	38.96	35.06	90.00	3.90	10.00	-	-	9.00
Białoleka	15.91	13.38	84.09	0.90	5.68	-	-	14.80
Bielany	34.39	28.85	83.91	5.53	16.09	-	-	5.21
Mokotów	25.96	25.23	97.18	0.73	2.82	-	-	34.50
Ochota	37.14	34.86	93.85	2.29	6.15	-	-	15.25
Praga- Południe	23.68	21.93	92.59	1.17	4.94	0.58	2.47	18.75
Praga-Północ	31.30	28.70	91.67	2.61	8.33	-	-	11.00
Rembertów	18.47	16.56	89.66	1.91	10.34	-	-	8.67
Śródmieście	38.15	33.67	88.24	4.49	11.76	-	-	7.50
Targówek	19.85	15.21	76.62	4.38	22.08	0.26	1.30	3.47
Ursus	43.21	38.27	88.57	3.09	7.14	1.85	4.29	12.40
Ursynów	23.33	21.59	92.55	1.49	6.38	0.25	1.06	14.5
Wawer	8.67	7.95	91.67	0.72	8.33	-	-	11.00
Wesoła	20.19	18.32	90.77	1.86	9.23	-	-	9.83
Wilanów	15.17	12.36	81.48	2.81	18.52	-	-	4.40
Włochy	14.73	13.01	88.37	1.71	11.63	-	-	7.60
Wola	33.19	30.53	92.00	2.65	8.00	-	-	11.5
Żoliborz	58.06	52.26	90.00	5.81	10.00	-	-	9.00

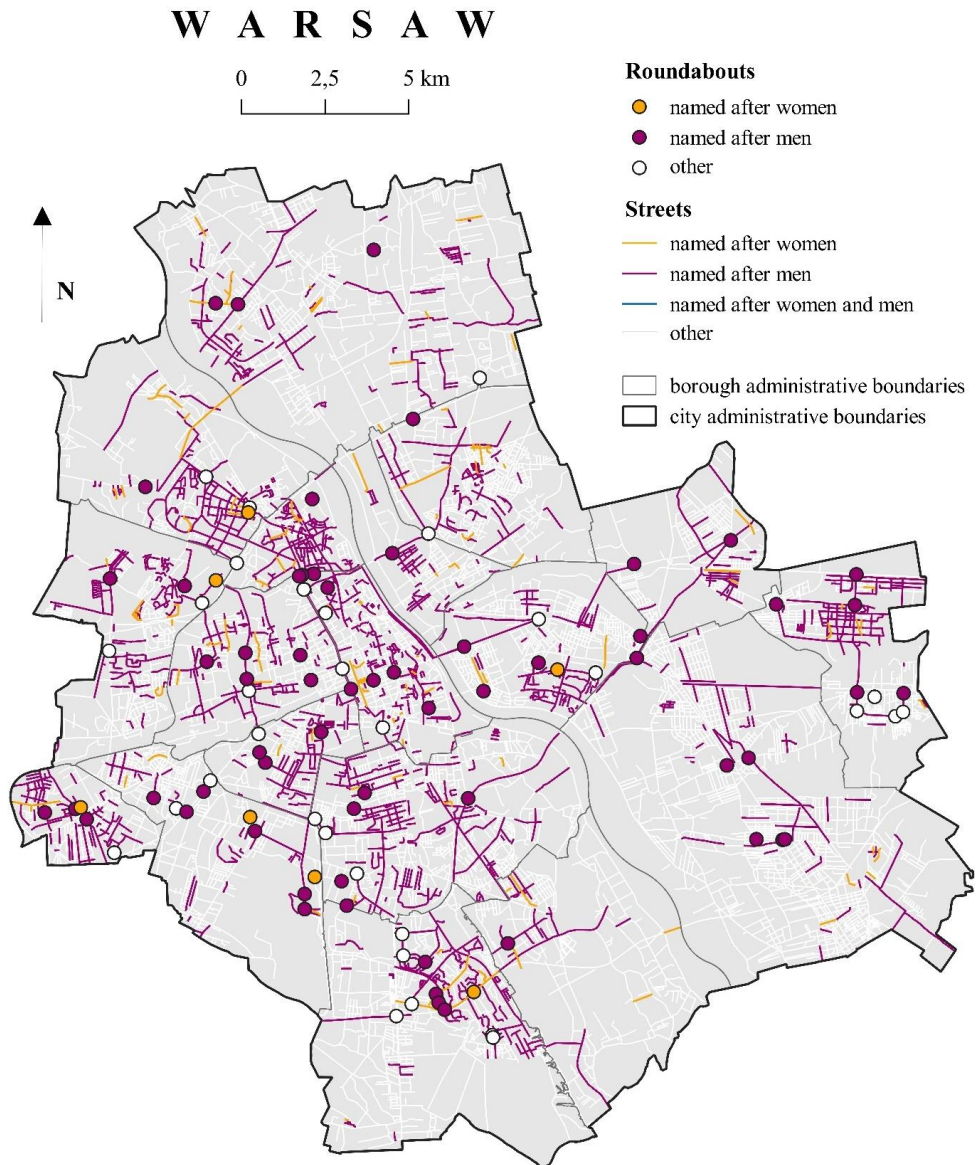


Figure 1: Map of Warsaw Street and Roundabout Names

Kraków

Stare Miasto and Swoszowice have the most streets and roundabouts named after women (9), followed by Wzgórza Krzesławickie (8). The proportion of names commemorating women as a percentage of all hodonyms is the greatest in Bieńczyce (11.67%), followed by Wzgórza Krzesławickie (5.26%), and Czyżyny (5.26%). The percentage of names honouring females out of all eponymous hodonyms is also the greatest in Bieńczyce (20.59%). The proportion is similar to Targówek in Warsaw. Swoszowice has the highest number of hodonyms named after males (115). As shown in Table 3b, the percentage of eponymous hodonyms honouring a male out of all hodonyms is between 40.13% and 47.46% in Bronowice, Bieńczyce, Mistrzejowice, Bieżanów-Prokocim, Swoszowice, Grzegórzki, and Wzgórza Krzesławickie. Hodonyms named after males expressed as a proportion of eponymous hodonyms is within the range between 85.19% and 98.15% in all boroughs except Bieńczyce, the area with the most toponymically feminized LL. Grzegórzki, which has 53 hodonyms named after a male for every one named after a female, is especially noteworthy. This figure is higher than for Mokotów, Warsaw's borough with the most toponymically masculinized LL. There are only 4 names that simultaneously commemorate both men and women in the entire city. Two of them are in Podgórze Duchackie, where they comprise 1.20% of all names and 4.08% of eponymous hodonyms.

Table 3a: Number of Gendered Street and Roundabout Names in Kraków by Borough

Borough	Number				
	Hodonyms	Eponymous Hodonyms	Hodonyms Named after Males	Hodonyms Named after Females	Hodonyms Named after Males and Females
Bieńczyce	60	34	27	7	0
Bieżanów- Prokocim	202	91	86	5	0
Bronowice	118	59	56	3	0
Czyżyny	76	27	23	4	0
Dębniki	283	98	90	7	1
Grzegórzki	129	54	53	1	0
Krowodrza	119	46	44	2	0
Łągowniki- Borek Fałęcki	124	41	36	5	0
Mistrzejowice	74	33	32	1	0
Nowa Huta	186	56	53	3	0
Podgórze	214	65	62	3	0
Podgórze Duchackie	167	49	44	3	2
Prądnik Biały	230	88	82	6	0
Prądnik Czerwony	153	57	53	4	0
Stare Miasto	219	83	74	9	0
Swoszowice	275	124	115	9	0
Wzgórza Krzesławickie	152	70	61	8	1
Zwierzyniec	246	79	72	7	0

Table 3b: Percentage of Gendered Street and Roundabout Names in Kraków by Borough

Borough	Ratio Formula							
	Epon- ymous Hodo- nyms ÷ Hodo- nyms	Hodo- nyms Named after Males÷ Hodo- nyms	Hodo- nyms Named after Males÷ Epony- mous Hodo- nyms	Hodo- nyms Named after Fe- males÷ Hodo- nyms	Hodo- nyms Named after Fe- males ÷ Epony- mous Hodo- nyms	Hodo- nyms Named after Males and Fe- males ÷ Hodo- nyms	Hodo- nyms Named after Males and Fe- males ÷ Epony- mous Hodo- nyms	Hodo- nyms Named after Males and Fe- males ÷ Hodo- nyms
Bieńczyce	56.67	45.00	79.41	11.67	20.59	-	-	3.86
Bieżanów- Prokocim	45.05	42.57	94.51	2.48	5.49	-	-	17.20
Bronowice	50.00	47.46	94.92	2.54	5.08	-	-	18.67
Czyżyny	35.53	30.26	85.19	5.26	14.81	-	-	5.75
Dębniki	34.63	31.08	91.84	2.47	7.14	0.35	1.02	12.86
Grzegórzki	41.86	41.09	98.15	0.78	1.85	-	-	53.00
Krowodrza	38.66	36.97	95.65	1.68	4.35	-	-	22.00
Łagiewniki- Borek Fałęcki	33.06	29.03	87.80	4.03	12.20	-	-	7.20
Mistrzejowice	44.59	43.24	96.97	1.35	3.03	-	-	32.00
Nowa Huta	30.11	28.49	94.64	1.61	5.36	-	-	17.67
Podgórze	30.37	28.97	95.38	1.40	4.62	-	-	20.67
Podgórze Duchackie	29.34	26.35	89.80	1.80	6.12	1.20	4.08	14.67
Prądnik Biały	38.26	35.65	93.18	2.61	6.82	-	-	13.67
Prądnik Czerwony	37.25	34.64	92.98	2.61	7.02	-	-	13.25
Stare Miasto	37.90	33.79	89.16	4.11	10.84	-	-	8.22
Swoszowice	45.09	41.82	92.74	3.27	7.26	-	-	12.78
Wzgórzka Krzesławickie	46.05	40.13	87.14	5.26	11.43	0.66	1.43	7.63
Zwierzyniec	32.11	29.27	91.14	2.85	8.86	-	-	10.29

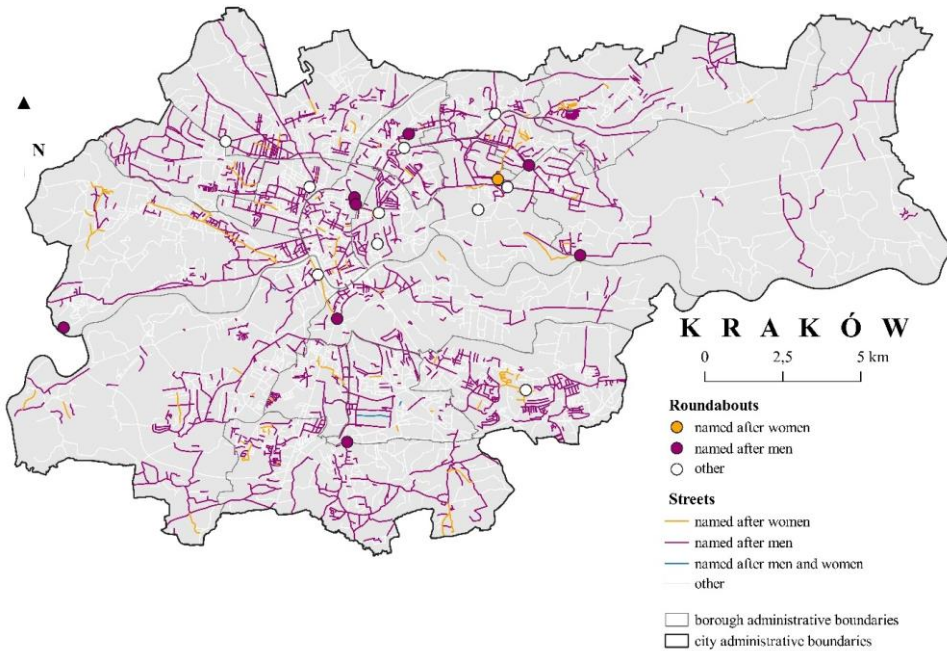


Figure 2: Map of Kraków Street and Roundabout Names

Łódź

The most toponymically feminized of Łódź's five boroughs³ is Widzew. This borough has 26 streets and roundabouts named after women. This number comprises 16.35% of personal names and 5.21% of all names. The proportion of hodonyms named after females out of all hodonyms is higher in Łódź than in Warsaw and Kraków. There are some notable exceptions, however. The boroughs of Targówek in Warsaw and Bieńczyce in Kraków have lower percentages.

Bałuty has the highest number of hodonyms named after males (143), while male names as a proportion of all hodonyms is the highest in Śródmieście (46.79%). Polesie stands out when it comes to the prevalence of streets and roundabouts commemorating men (94.57% of eponymous hodonyms). As shown in Table 4b, in the remaining boroughs the percentages range from 83.02% to 87.93%. Polesie also has the greatest number of hodonyms named after males for every one named after a female (almost 22). These figures, however, are incomparably lower than those boroughs of Warsaw and Kraków with the highest percentage of hodonyms named after males. Bałuty has the highest number of hodonyms that simultaneously commemorate a male and a female. However, as a proportion of all names and eponymous hodonyms, this figure is the highest in Śródmieście (1.83% and 3.45% respectively). See tables 4a, 4b, and figure 3.

Table 4a: Number of Gendered Street and Roundabout Names in Łódź by Borough

Number	Borough				
	Bałuty	Górna	Polesie	Śródmieście	Widzew
Hodonyms	741	704	353	109	499
Eponymous Hodonyms	163	134	92	58	159
Hodonyms Named after Males	143	117	87	51	132
Hodonyms Named after Females	17	17	4	5	26
Hodonyms Named after Males and Females	3	0	1	2	1

Table 4b: Ratios of Street and Roundabout Names in Łódź by Borough

Ratio Formula	Borough				
	Bałuty	Górna	Polesie	Śródmieście	Widzew
Eponymous Hodonyms ÷ Hodonyms	22.00	19.03	26.06	53.21	31.86
Hodonyms Named after Males ÷ Hodonyms	19.30	16.62	24.65	46.79	26.45
Hodonyms Named after Males ÷ Eponymous Hodonyms	87.73	87.31	94.57	87.93	83.02
Hodonyms Named after Females ÷ Hodonyms	2.29	2.41	1.13	4.59	5.21
Hodonyms Named after Females ÷ Eponymous Hodonyms	10.43	12.69	4.35	8.62	16.35
Hodonyms Named after Males and Females ÷ Hodonyms	0.40	-	0.28	1.83	0.20
Hodonyms Named after Males and Females ÷ Eponymous Hodonyms	1.84	-	1.09	3.45	0.63
Hodonyms Named after Males ÷ Hodonyms Named after Females	8.41	6.88	21.75	10.20	5.08

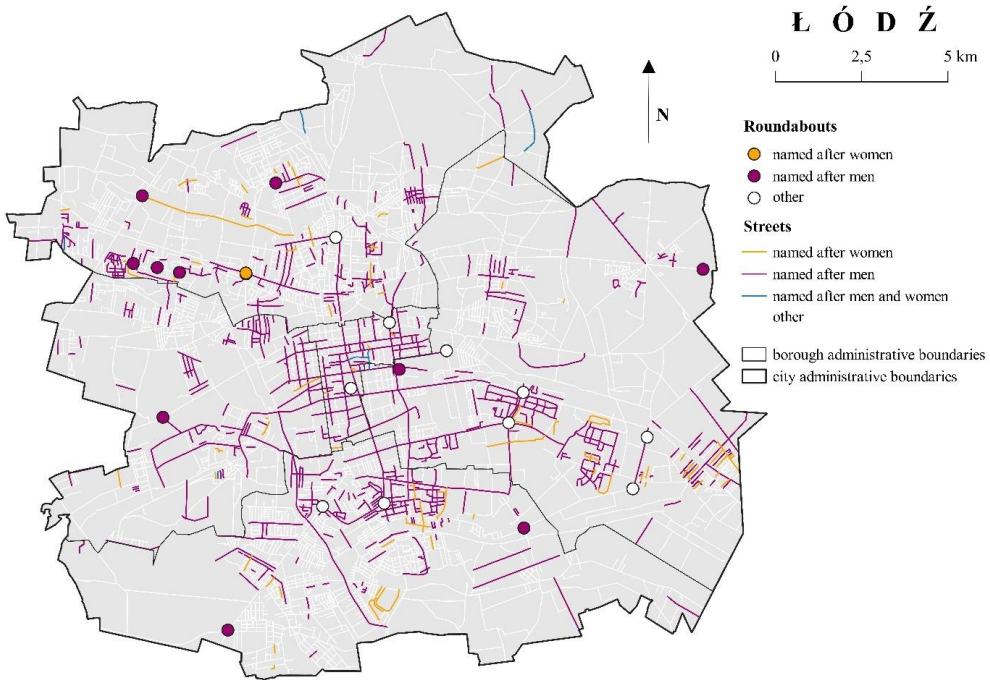


Figure 3: Map of Łódź Street and Roundabout Names

Discussion and Conclusions

The purpose of the study was to ascertain the numbers of streets and roundabouts named after men and/or women in Poland's three largest cities. This study has a strong quantitative dimension in that it empirically measures the socio-spatial interaction between gender and toponymy. To be truly meaningful, statistics, however, often require interpretation and evaluation. As a result, this study also has a qualitative dimension.

The LL of Poland's three largest cities, from a gender justice standpoint, is primarily marked by imbalance, where female urbanonyms comprise a decided minority and male urbanonyms a crushing majority. This pattern is apparent in all three cities. In Warsaw, 9.4 streets and roundabouts are named after men for every one named after women. The corresponding figures for Łódź and Kraków are 7.4 and 12.2, respectively. The differences between the cities, although not great, may be grounded in the differing histories and the characteristics of the regions in which the three cities lie.

Kraków, the capital of Małopolska, and the national capital until 1596, is the largest city in the south of the country. Along with Eastern Poland, the south is seen as a staunchly Catholic region with strong ties to tradition and religion. For example, Pope John Paul II was born in Wadowice, near Kraków. Having been the city of kings and the heart of the country during a period in which women's social and political roles were consistently marginalized, Kraków is distinguished by long-standing, male-dominated LL. Given that background, it is not surprising that one in three streets in Kraków were named after a man.

Łódź is the capital of Łódź Voivodeship and is situated in the center of the country. This region developed most rapidly during the Industrial Revolution. At that time, Łódź was the capital of the Polish textile industry—an industry that predominantly employed women. This history is reflected in Łódź's nickname, *Miasto Kobiet* 'The City of Women' (Malinowska 2012). It is therefore hardly surprising that Łódź was found to exhibit the smallest imbalance of male versus female eponymous hodonyms. Much like Warsaw, slightly more than one in five Łódź streets and roundabouts is named after men.

The ratio of male to female eponymous honyms in Warsaw is somewhere in between. The city also lies at the crossroads in a worldview sense. On the one hand, Varsovians tend to have a Leftist or Centrist perspective. On the other hand, the city lies in the heart of the province, Masovian Voivodeship (of which it is the capital), and this region is seen as being just as firmly attached to tradition as Małopolska. Warsaw is also the national capital. As such, its LL is the combined result of the following factors: 1.) mainstream history (mostly written by men); 2.) contemporary political conflicts, and manoeuvres (dominated by the struggle between the Right, which governs the country, and the Centre-Left, which runs the city); and 3.) the dynamism of nationwide social issues and activities (for example, the abortion dispute, women's protests). Interestingly, Warsaw can also be viewed as a city where female names are not only assigned to redress the gender imbalance of eponymous urbanonyms, but are also utilised in the struggle for political support.

As discussed earlier, the debate over greater gender equality in naming public places in Polish cities is only just beginning. So far, this debate has focussed on decommunization. However, increasingly, pro-feminist movements have demanded that a greater proportion of streets and roundabouts be named after women. Public support for these demands has come primarily from progressive city dwellers. The right-wing central government for which PiS was the senior partner from 2015 to 2023 was primarily elected on the strength of rural votes. This segment of Polish society has either wilfully ignored or been implacably opposed to any name changes designed to raise the status of women in the LL of Polish cities. The right's inaction with respect to feminising Polish street and roundabout names seems to indicate that it either deems such changes unnecessary and/or believes its constituency would be antipathetic towards such reforms. Despite this resistance, the planning of new streets could be an opportunity for Polish cities to reduce the disproportion between honyms named after males and females. The toponymically masculinized LL of Poland's three largest cities is both a palimpsest of history and a model for future generations. From this perspective, the LL of Warsaw, Kraków and Łódź will require a great deal of serious reflection to address the present and future role of women in Polish public life, while paying due respect to the women whose contributions to the nation stretch back more than 1,000 years.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the students at the Faculty of Geography and Regional Studies, University of Warsaw, for their commitment and conscientiousness in collecting data on street names in Polish cities. This work counted towards their accreditation. The authors also wish to thank the three groups of first-year geography students enrolled in Political Geography and the two groups of first-year land management students, with whom the first author worked in the 2020/2021 academic year during classes titled Ideological and Systemic Determinants of Land Management. The authors also express great gratitude to Professor I. M. Nick for multiple improvements in the text.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Funding details

The authors received financial support for the translation of this article from the Faculty of Geography and Regional Studies, University of Warsaw.

Notes

¹ A borough or a "dzielnica" in Polish is a major administrative division.

² According to the results of the last National Census in Poland, Wrocław had 673,000 inhabitants in 2021 and became the third largest city in Poland, ahead of Łódź, which had 670,600 inhabitants (Statistics Poland 2022).

³ The administrative division units used in this study are the traditional boroughs of Łódź, which were abolished in 1992 but remained functional as City Hall Delegations until 2012. This decision was made as the new set of divisions would have been too detailed to be used for the purposes of the current investigation. The previous nomenclature is still recognized in modern Polish.

⁴ The abbreviation “ul” stands for the Polish word “ulica” which means ‘street’. Wherever it is used in this text, it should be understood as equivalent to the English abbreviation “St.”

⁵ While it is common practice in Poland to commemorate two people at once, this practice seldom extends to simultaneously commemorating men and women. Most examples involve honouring married couples.

References

- Alderman, Derek. H. 2000. “A Street Fit for a King: Naming Places and Commemoration in The American South”. *The Professional Geographer* 52, no. 4: 672–684. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0033-0124.00256>
- Alderman, Derek. H. 2003. “Street Names and The Scaling of Memory: The Politics of Commemorating Martin Luther King, Jr Within the African American Community”. *Area* 35, no. 2: 163–173. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-4762.00250>
- Alderman, Derek. H. 2016. “Place, Naming and The Interpretation of Cultural Landscapes”. *Heritage and Identity*. Edited by Brian Graham and Peter Howard. Abingdon: Routledge, 195–213.
- Alderman, Derek. H., and Joshua Inwood. 2013. “Street Naming and The Politics of Belonging: Spatial Injustices in The Toponymic Commemoration of Martin Luther King Jr”. *Social & Cultural Geography* 14, no. 2: 211–233. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2012.754488>
- Azaryahu, Maoz. 1986. “Street Names and Political Identity: The Case of East Berlin”. *Journal of Contemporary History* 21, no. 4: 581–604. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002200948602100405>
- Azaryahu, Maoz. 1996. “The Power of Commemorative Street Names”. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 14, no. 3: 311–330. <https://doi.org/10.1068/d140311>
- Backhaus, Peter. 2007. *Linguistic Landscapes: A Comparative Study of Urban Multilingualism in Tokyo*. Toronto: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Barni, Monica, and Carla Bagna. 2008. “A Mapping Technique and The Linguistic Landscape”. *Linguistic Landscape*. Edited by Elana Shohamy and Durk Gorter. Abingdon: Routledge, 166–180. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203930960>
- Barni, Monica, and Carla Bagna. 2015. “The Critical Turn in LL: New Methodologies and New Items in LL”. *Linguistic Landscape* 1, no. 1–2: 6–18. <https://doi.org/10.1075/ll.1.1-2.01bar>
- Ben-Rafael, Eliezer. 2008. “A Sociological Approach to The Study of Linguistic Landscapes”. *Linguistic Landscape*. Edited by Elana Shohamy and Durk Gorter. Abingdon: Routledge, 48–62. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203930960>
- Berg, Lawrence D., and Robin A. Kearns. 1996. “Naming as Norming: ‘Race’, Gender, and The Identity Politics of Naming Places in Aotearoa/New Zealand”. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 14, no. 1: 99–122. <https://doi.org/10.1068/d140099>
- Berg, Lawrence D., and Jani Vuolteenaho. 2009. *Critical Toponymies: The Contested Politics of Place Naming*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Biermann, Kai. 2018. “How Feminine Is Hamburg?” *The Zeit*. February 13, 2018. Accessed January 23, 2023. <http://www.zeit.de/feature/streetdirectory-streetnames-origin-germany-infographic-english>
- Bigon, Liora. 2016. *Place Names in Africa. Colonial Urban Legacies, Entangled Histories*. New York: Springer.
- Blackwood, Robert. 2019. “LL Explorations and Methodological Challenges: Analysing France’s Regional Languages”. *Linguistic Landscape* 1, no. 1–2: 38–53. <https://doi.org/10.1075/ll.1.1-2.03bla>
- Bondi, Liz. 1992. “Gender Symbols and Urban Landscapes”. *Progress in Human Geography* 16, no. 2: 157–170. <https://doi.org/10.1177/030913259201600201>
- Bondi, Liz, and Damaris Rose. 2003. “Constructing Gender, Constructing the Urban: A Review of Anglo-American Feminist Urban Geography”. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 10, no. 3: 229–245. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369032000114000>
- Bosworth, Mark. 2012. “Are Our Street Names Sexist?” *BBC News Magazine* April 11, 2012. Accessed January 23, 2023. <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-17203823>

- Brasher, Jordan P., Derek H. Alderman, and Aswin Subanthore. 2020. "Was Tulsa's Brady Street Really Renamed? Racial (In) Justice, Memory-Work and The Neoliberal Politics of Practicality". *Social & Cultural Geography* 21, no. 9: 1223–1244. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2018.1550580>
- Cenoz, Jasone, and Durk Gorter. 2006. "Linguistic Landscape and Minority Languages". *International Journal of Multilingualism* 3, no. 1: 67–80. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790710608668386>
- Fenster, Tovi. 2005. "The Right to The Gendered City: Different Formations of Belonging in Everyday Life". *Journal of Gender Studies* 14, no. 3: 217–231. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09589230500264109>
- Ferradás, María Novas. 2018. "Commemorative Urban Practices and Gender Equality: The Case of Santiago de Compostela City's Urban Toponymy". *Hábitat y Sociedad* 11: 109–129. <https://dx.doi.org/10.12795/HabitatySociedad.2018.i11.07>
- Foote, Kenneth E., and Maoz Azaryahu. 2007. "Toward a Geography of Memory: Geographical Dimensions of Public Memory and Commemoration". *Journal of Political & Military Sociology* 35, no. 1: 125–144.
- Górny, Krzysztof, and Ada Górna. 2019. "After Decolonization: Changes in The Urban Landscape of Platô in Praia, Cape Verde". *Journal of Urban History* 45, no. 6: 1103–1130. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144218816704>
- Górny, Krzysztof, and Ada Górna. 2020. "Street Names in Dakar-Plateau: A Colonial and Post-Colonial Perspective". *Planning Perspectives* 35, no. 5: 849–872. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02665433.2019.1633949>
- Górny, Krzysztof, Ada Górna, Jan Szczepański, and Aleksandra Sienica. 2022. "Patriarchat Nazewniczy – Zmaskulinizowany Krajobraz Symboliczny Polskich Mniejszych Miast". [Naming Patriarchate–Masculine Symbolic Landscape of Polish Smaller Cities] *Prace i Studia Geograficzne* 67, no. 1: 25–44. <https://doi.org/10.48128/pisg/2022-67.1-02>
- Gorter, Durk. 2006. *Linguistic Landscape: A New Approach to Multilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Gorter, Durk. 2013. "Linguistic Landscapes in a Multilingual World". *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 33: 190–212. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190513000020>
- Gutiérrez-Mora, Dolores, and Daniel Oto-Peralías. 2022. "Gendered Cities: Studying Urban Gender Bias Through Street Names". *Environment and Planning B: Urban Analytics and City Science* 49, no. 6: 1792–1809. <https://doi.org/10.1177/23998083211068844>
- Hardy, Jane, Wiesława Kozek, and Alison Stenning. 2008. "In the Front Line: Women, Work and New Spaces of Labour Politics in Poland". *Gender, Place & Culture* 15, no. 2: 99–116. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09663690701863166>
- Jakovljević-Šević, Tijana. 2020. "What Is the Gender of a City? Odonyms and Spatial Genderization: An Example of The City of Novi Sad". *Glasnik Etnografskog Instituta SANU*, 68, no. 1: 113–129. <https://doi.org/10.2298/GEI2001113J>
- Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska, Ewa. 2011. "O Oznaczeniu i Naznaczeniu Przestrzeni Miasta". [On Marking and Naming The City Space] *Przegląd Socjologiczny* 60, no. 2–3: 135–165.
- Korolczuk, Elżbieta. 2016. "Explaining Mass Protests Against Abortion Ban in Poland: The Power of Connective Action". *Zoon Politikon* 7, no. 7: 91–113. <https://doi.org/10.19247/ZOON201605>
- Korolczuk, Elżbieta, and Steven Saxonberg. 2015. "Strategies of Contentious Action: A Comparative Analysis of The Women's Movements in Poland and The Czech Republic". *European Societies* 17, no. 4: 404–422. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2014.977321>
- Król, Agnieszka, and Paula Pustulka. 2018. "Women on Strike: Mobilizing Against Reproductive Injustice in Poland". *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 20, no. 3: 366–384. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2018.1460214>
- Lai, Mee Ling. 2013. "The Linguistic Landscape of Hong Kong After the Change of Sovereignty". *International Journal of Multilingualism* 10, no. 3: 251–272. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2012.708036>
- Landry, Rodrigue, and Richard Y. Bourhis. 1997. "Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality: An Empirical Study". *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 16, no. 1: 23–49. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X970161002>
- Leeman, Jennifer, and Gabriella Modan. 2009. "Commodified Language in Chinatown: A Contextualized Approach to Linguistic Landscape". *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 13, no. 3: 332–362. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9841.2009.00409.x>
- Leven, Bozena. 2008. "Poland's Transition and New Opportunities for Women". *Feminist Economics* 14, no. 1: 123–136. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13545700701716631>

- Makowska, Marta, Rafał Boguszewski, and Katarzyna Sacharczuk. 2022. "A Study of Opinions About The Polish Constitutional Tribunal's Judgement Strengthening Polish Abortion Laws". *The European Journal of Contraception & Reproductive Health Care* 27, no. 1: 39–44. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13625187.2021.1980872>
- Malinowska, Ewa. 2012. "The Androgynization of the 'City of Women' and Its Region". *Acta Universitatis Lodzensis. Folia Sociologica* 43: 125–136.
- Manan, Syed Abdul, Maya Khemlani David, Francisco Perlas Dumanig, and Khan Naqeebullah. 2015. "Politics, Economics and Identity: Mapping the Linguistic Landscape of Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia". *International Journal of Multilingualism* 12, no. 1: 31–50. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2014.905581>
- Matysiak, Ilona. 2015. "The Feminization of Governance in Rural Communities in Poland: The Case of Village Representatives (Sołtys)". *Gender, Place & Culture* 22, no. 5: 700–716. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2013.879104>
- Narkowicz, Kasia, and Elżbieta Korolczuk. 2019. "Searching for Feminist Geographies: Mappings Outside the Discipline in Poland". *Gender, Place & Culture* 26, no. 7–9: 1215–1222. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2018.1554559>
- Niculescu-Mizil, Ana-Maria. 2014. "(Re) Naming Streets in Contemporary Bucharest: From Power Distribution to Subjective Biography". *Analyze: Revista de studii feministe* 3, no. 17: 69–94.
- Puzey, Guy. 2011. "New Research Directions in Toponymastics and Linguistic Landscapes". *Onoma* 46: 211–226. <https://doi.org/10.2143/ONO.46.0.2975535>
- Rose-Redwood, Reuben S. 2008. "From Number to Name: Symbolic Capital, Places of Memory and The Politics of Street Renaming in New York City". *Social & Cultural Geography* 9, no. 4: 431–452. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649360802032702>
- Rose-Redwood, Reuben, Derek Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu. 2010. "Geographies of Toponymic Inscription: New Directions in Critical Place-Name Studies". *Progress in Human Geography* 34, no. 4: 453–470. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132509351042>
- Rose-Redwood, Reuben, Derek Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu. 2018a. "The Urban Streetscape As Political Cosmos". *The Political Life of Urban Streetscapes*. Edited by Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu. London: Routledge, 1–24.
- Rose-Redwood, Reuben, Derek Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu. 2018b. "Contemporary Issues and Future Horizons of Critical Urban Toponymy". *The Political Life of Urban Streetscapes: Naming, Politics, and Place*. Edited by Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu. London: Routledge, 309–319.
- Rose-Redwood, Reuben, Derek Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu. 2018c. *The Political Life of Urban Streetscapes. Naming, Politics, and Place*. London: Routledge.
- Rusu, Mihai S. 2022. "Gendering Urban Namescapes: The Gender Politics of Street Names in an Eastern European City". *Names* 70, no. 2: 11–25. <https://doi.org/10.5195/names.2022.2233>
- Sanghani, Radhika. 2015. "French Feminists Hijack Paris Street Signs to Celebrate Women". *The Telegraph* August 28, 2015. Accessed January 23, 2023. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/11830018/French-feminists-hijackParis-street-signs-to-celebrate-women.html>
- Sekulić, Nada. 2014. "Gender Aspects of Public Urban Space: Analysis of The Names of Belgrade Streets". *Sociologija* 56, no. 2: 125–144. <https://doi.org/10.2298/SOC1402125S>
- Shohamy, Elana Goldberg, Eliezer Ben Rafael, and Monica Barni. 2010. *Linguistic Landscape in The City*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Shohamy, Elana, and Durk Gorter. 2009. *Linguistic landscape. Expanding the Scenery*. London: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203930960>
- Siemińska, Renata. 1986. "Women and Social Movements in Poland". *Women & Politics* 6, no. 4: 5–35.
- Statistics Poland. 2022. "Narodowy Spis Powszechny Ludności i Mieszkań 2021" *Statistics Poland* April 26, 2022. Accessed January 23, 2023. <https://stat.gov.pl/spisy-powszechnie/nsp-2021/nsp-2021-wyniki-wstepne/nsp-2021-wyniki-wstepne-informacja-sygnalna,7,1.html>
- Stępień, Aneta. 2021. "The World of Female Fighters and Female Wanderers: Pro-Independence Women's Groups in The Fight for Suffrage and National Independence in Poland". *Slavonica* 26, no. 1: 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13617427.2021.1918926>

- Tufi, Stefania, and Robert Blackwood. 2010. "Trademarks in the Linguistic Landscape: Methodological and Theoretical Challenges in Qualifying Brand Names in The Public Space". *International Journal of Multilingualism* 7, no. 3: 197–210. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790710903568417>
- Walkowiak, Justyna B. 2018. "Female Street Namesakes in Selected Polish Cities". *Mitteilungen der Osterreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft* 160: 331–350. <https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg160s331>
- Warsaw City Council. 2017. Stanowisko Nr 56 Rady Miasta Stoiecznego Warszawy z dnia 30 listopada 2017 roku, Stanowisko nr 56/2017 z 30-11-2017. [Resolution No. 56 of the Council of the Capital City of Warsaw of November 30, 2017, Resolution No.56/2017 of 30-11-2017.]
- Zuvalinyenga, Dorcas, and Liora Bigon. 2021. "Gender-biased Street Naming in Urban Sub-Saharan Africa: Influential Factors, Features and Future Recommendations". *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 56, no. 3: 589–609. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909620934825>

Notes on Contributors

Krzysztof Górny, PhD, is an assistant professor at the Faculty of Geography and Regional Studies at the University of Warsaw. His research focuses on the political and historical geography of the cities and countries of Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa.

Ada Górna, PhD, is a senior assistant at the Faculty of Geography and Regional Studies at the University of Warsaw, where she lectures on urban studies and food systems. Her research focuses on socio-economic geography, urban geography, and spatial management.

Correspondence to: Krzysztof Górny, Faculty of Geography and Regional Studies, University of Warsaw, 30 Krakowskie Przedmieście Str., 00-927 Warsaw, Poland. **E-mail:** krzysztofgorny@uw.edu.pl