The far-right ciswomen activists and political representation

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1 Introduction

The far-right is rising. This is what we can read and hear in the news media consistently. As this topic is present in daily news it is also an important topic in science. There are a number of studies devoted to the problem of the far-right movement and only a small excerpt of them concern gender-specific aspects of the far-right (Birsl 2011b, p.11). This is one reason why I chose to do a research on this topic. It is not my intention to prove, that ciswomen in the far-right different than cismen in the far-right communities. I am not following an approach of difference-feminism. The problem is that ciswomen are treated differently in society, in academia and beyond. The perspective of cismen is often depicted as objective and representative. I decided to write about ciswomen in far-right movements because, they are usually not associated with the scene as well as in the scene itself they are not as visible and last but not least, ciswomen are stereotypically not perceived as aggressive or violent (Bitzan 1997a, p. 9).

Furthermore, the agenda of far-right movements is more in favor of cismen, so it is easier to grasp why cismen are involved in far-right groups. Far-right politics maintain and reinforce patriarchal structures in society. I personally do not understand the choices of ciswomen who join far-right groups and hereby aim to depict motives and perspectives of far-right ciswomen within my research. The picture of feminist communities and reasons why far-right ciswomen do not feel represented by them, is of particular interest to me. Additionally, I attempt to depict the way in which far-right activists represent themselves.

My research is preceded by empirical studies on the far-right ciswomen in Germany and by the theories on political representation. Empirical studies help me to distinguish what still lacks in studies and what is the actual state of research. I rely on the political representation theory as
far-right groups are part of the political life. Supporting a group is a political statement and to follow the far-right scene one needs to find it convincing.

The main part of the thesis consists of three chapters: the first one, *Far-right ciswomen activists*, is about the current state of research on far-right ciswomen. There is a special focus on the motives and self-portrayal of the activists. The chapter ends with a short depiction of the Polish context. The next part of my work is titled *Representation* and outlines theories of political representation. I refer to the classical work of Hanna Fenichel Pitkin – *The Concept of Representation*. Subsequently, I focus on the constitutive political representation theories which emerged from post-structural and feminist intellectual positions. This two theoretical chapters give me the basic theory to understand my empirical observations in the qualitative study. That means that the last chapter is devoted to methodology and the research outcomes. A scientific method I rely on during my research is qualitative data analysis. The thesis ends with a conclusion containing future prospects.

For these studies I use the same definition of the far-right as in the introduction of the edited volume *Frauen und Rechtsextremismus* (*Women and the Far-Right*):

»far-right« *is associated on the level of political attitudes with a cognitive ideological system and an orientation of the individual, which consists of the following basic ideological elements: the natural inequality of the people, a hierarchy and elite thinking, the positive idea of a homogeneous nation as well as the exclusion of »others« defined up to the willingness to annihilate*
It is important to point this out as there is no general valid interpretation on the term far-right. The next thing I want to explain is my use of the term ciswomen. It is because I do not want to reproduce the gender binary. I did not find information about non-binary persons who are involved in the Polish far-right scene but it does not mean that they do not exist. I conduct my research on people who identify themselves as ciswoman. In some place I use terms like woman, man or woman’s picture but I do it only while quoting someone. It is not my aim to generalize and state that all ciswomen in the far-right are the same – when it is possible, I present all other axes which are relevant for an individual or a group.

The thesis concerns Polish ciswomen as there is little to none current scientific research about ciswomen in far-right movements in Poland. What is more, I am familiar with the Polish context and I am able to access materials in Polish.

I want to highlight that during working on my thesis I was limited to the literature resources of the libraries of the University of Innsbruck and the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. It is possible that some crucial studies are omitted due to that fact. The limited resources are also the reason why the quoted theories and studies concerning the far-right are from a German-speaking context whereas the chapter on political representation is based on the English literature. Another crucial obstacle while working on this text was the limited amount of literature concerning Polish far-right ciswomen.

1 In German: Zum Anderen ist mit »extrem rechts« auf der Ebene der politischen Einstellungen ein kognitiv weltanschauliches System und eine Orientierung des Individuums verbunden, das aus den folgenden ideologischen Grundelementen besteht: der natürlichen Ungleichheit der Menschen, einem Hierarchie- und Elitendenken, der positiven Vorstellung einer homogenen Volksgemeinschaft sowie der Ausgrenzung als »anders« Definierter bis hin zur Vernichtungsbereitschaft.
2 Far-right wing ciswomen activists

In the introduction of the book *Rechte Frauen* (ang. *Right Wing Women*), the editor writes that right wing ciswomen have been for years not included in the studies on far-right wing people (Bitzan 1997, p. 9). For a long time ciswomen were invisible and seen as victims because the right-wing actions were mostly associated with cismen (Bitzan 1997a, p. 9). What I would like to highlight is the fact that far-right ciswomen activists are not a homogenous group and the statements within the group may differ. As Kathrin Sturhan writes in her article, the ideological spectrum is very wide – from right-conservative to neo-Nazi (Sturhan 1997, p.104).

In this chapter I present the researches on the self-image of ciswomen in the far right, then I continue with the studies that compare ciswomen and cismen within the scene. Further, I deliver two theoretical approaches explaining why ciswomen are active in the far-right organizations. Afterwards I discuss some intersectional interventions which make the perspective on ciswomen in the far-right more nuanced. Finally, I present positions on the topic of *feminationalism* – is it possible that there are feminists in the far-right groups?

2.1 Production of ideology by ciswomen in the far-right

Many studies have proved that there are a number of contradictions between the picture of the woman’s role within the far-right scene and the woman’s role in ciswomen activists eyes and lives (Antifaschistisches Frauenetzwerk, Forschungsnetzwerk, Frauen und Rechtsextremismus 2005, p. 10). Renate Bitzan has conducted a research on German radical right magazines. Her objects of study were texts written by far-right ciswomen. Bizan distinguishes three types of
woman's construction: *classical, modern* and *sexism-critical*\(^2\) (Bitzan 2011, p. 116).

The first and the most popular model, portrays women as the live-givers who bring up a number of *pure-raced*, healthy children who will be loyal to the nation of the territory they are raised in (Bitzan 2011, p. 116). The women herself should be as well nationalistic, healthy and *pure-raced* (Bitzan 2011, p. 116). Ciswomen's bodies and sexualities should be under the public control and choosing a cismale partner with a proper origin is seen as a part of ciswomen's responsibility towards the nation (Bitzan 2011, p. 116). Childfree life is not acceptable and not perceived as a fulfilled one (Bitzan 2011, p. 116). The role of women is to pass on the traditions, and nationalistic values and heritage on the future generations (Bitzan 2011, p. 116). Boys should be prepared for defending the nation, girls for being mothers and up-bringers of the healthy nation (Bitzan 2011, p. 117). There are only two genders and they differ from each other and foresee different duties and lifestyles. At the same time gender roles are equal valuable (Bitzan 2011, p. 117). Bitzan points out that these images are similar to the Nazi-German's propaganda materials (Bitzan 2011, p. 117).

The second variant (the modern model) do not concentrate on the reproductive role of ciswomen. It allows ciswomen to have professional careers (Bitzan 2011, p. 118). Bitzan suggests that these changes in the woman's picture are adapted from the outside (from feminist movement and social changes) and are not solely assigned to far-right ciswomen interventions (Bitzan 2011, p. 118). For instance, in the skinhead-scene ciswomen often express their sexuality as well as they often sexualize themselves (Bitzan 2011, p. 119). Within these models, ciswomen fight for more place in the politics, as a complementary of two genders is recognized, women's perspective should be also included in far-right scene (Bitzan 2011, p. 119). This model

\(^2\) In German: klassisch, modernisiert und Sexismus-kritisch.
corresponds with the program of the New Right (Neue Rechte). According to Elverich, the movement’s aim is to improve their image through putting ciswomen to the front. What is more, they present themselves as modern and open for new ideas in their family policies program to attract ciswomen voters (Elverich 2005, p. 112).

The least common model of the women’s picture is sexism-critical. It postulates the freedom of ciswomen as well as it opposes patriarchal structures (Bitzan 2011, p. 120). Ciswomen, who are proponents of this approach, often call themselves national feminists. They stick to the nation bound and show solidarity only to ciswomen of the same ethnicity (Bitzan 2011, p. 120). I discuss on this topic widely in the subchapter 2.1.5. Feminationalism.

The outcomes of Bitzan’s studies also show that women write about various topics in the far-right magazines (Bitzan 1997, p.12). So called female topics stated 29% of the articles (under which the author understands topics relevant for ciswomen), racism was present in 21% of the texts and 45% of the texts concentrate on nationalistic issues (Bitzan 1997, p. 13). Ciswomen do not solely reproduce stereotypical views on women’s role in society. In their articles, the female authors take namely different positions when it comes to gender relations but what remains common, is racism and nationalism (Bitzan 1997, p.13). Bitzan argues that the positions differ in every organization and it is not possible to point out the ones who see the gender more equal than the other (Bitzan 1997, p. 14). The scholar states that far-right wing women are underrepresented in magazines, but they are active and still very important for production and reproduction of the far-right ideology (Bitzan 1997b, p. 15).

3 Neue Rechte (New Right) is an opposite movement to the Neue Linke (New Left), it is against the 68’ social changes and tries to strongly influence and shape the public debate. The movement is popular in the intellectual elites and strives for recognition by delimiting itself from the National Socialism (Elverich 2005, p. 110).
Alexandra Kurth analyzes the right conservative political offer for ciswomen which comes from ciswomen influencers: Christa Meves and Elisabeth Motschmann. The scholar compares these two ideology-producers and states that in the right conservative scene gender binary comes from god and it is strongly connected to human nature and biology (Kurth 1997, p. 18-19). A woman is also depicted as very important for the society. A woman is appreciated for a role of a birth-giver and for having better relation with a child than a man (Kurth 1997, p. 20). Kurth points out that Motschmann is against feminist movement which is perceived by her as a threat for family, marriage and the respect toward housewives (Kurth 1997, p. 21). Children are seen as god's gift and abortion is a no-go (Kurth 1997, p. 23). Kurth summarizes that the views of both Motschmann and Meves do not allow putting ciswomen in subject positions (Kurth 1997, p. 24). Kurth argues that the works of the both seem outdated; however, the authors influence(d) the ideology of the far-right. Even if their texts promise to ciswomen something what is anyway designated for them in the patriarchal, capitalistic world (Kurth 1997, 25).

2.2 Comparison between cismen and ciswomen

Studies on ciswomen in the far right mostly do not question gender binary. I attempt not to reproduce gender binary within my work, although I need to draw on the researches which are conducted within the binary logic. As ciswomen were for years not included in the studies on the far-right, a number of papers concern the differences between cismen and ciswomen within the scene and beyond.

Beate Küpper and Andreas Zick quote empirical studies which show that ciswomen are less sexist and antisemitic than cismen whereas studies on racist positions are less clear and distinguish in refer to a specific group of the others (Küpper and Zick 2011, p.192-193, Birsl 2011b, p. 248). There are two theoretical approaches which offer
explanations for differences between genders (Küpper and Zick 2011, 202). The first uses biology as the foundation and invokes to the evolution theory and the past gender roles where cismen were hunters. This past makes them more prone to act aggressively and to depreciate the others (Küpper and Zick 2011, 202). The second theoretical approach describes gender as social and cultural construct and explains the differences between cismen and ciswomen through different ways of socialization and different social expectations from the representants of these two genders (Küpper and Zick 2011, 202). Cismen in the process of socialization are being prepared for the future careers and being aggressive, competitive and dominant is rewarded while ciswomen are raised up to the role of mother and caregiver (Küpper and Zick 2011, 202-203).

The outcomes of studies on members of far-right groups show that ciswomen are rarely part of the groups which use violence as a political weapon (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 45). However, ciswomen are able to delegate violence (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 45) Studies show that ciswomen are more unsure and feel more often in danger than cismen (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 45). Brigitte Rommelspacher states that in many researches these assumptions were depicted as the biggest difference between cismen and ciswomen when it concerns motivation to join far-right groups (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 46). The scholar refers to the research of Utzmann-Krombholz, which proved that ciswomen in the far-right scene prone to be authoritarian (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 46). Rommelspacher argues that in comparison to their peers, ciswomen are still less prone to stand for authoritarianism and authoritarian-sympathy cannot be seen as typical female and the experience of feeling insecure does not need to be correlated with being in favor for authoritarian methods (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 46). For Rommelspacher it is logical that ciswomen are less keen on the violence because ciswomen are more
frequently victims of violence and aversion towards aggression corresponds with their interests (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 46). However, there are some ciswomen who are still or were active in far-right violent groups. Approach to the violence is one of the core aspects from the scholars’ research on the differences between ciswomen and cismen in the far-right scene. Svenja Ottens states that on one hand the theoreticians indicate that due to ciswomen’s experience of violence, they think that violence is not a proper way of acting, on the other hand ciswomen are less violent because of their socialization which teaches them to express their aggression in other ways than cismen do (Ottens 1997a, p. 191–192). According to Ottens, young ciswomen tend to target their aggression against themselves. They act self-destructively or they postpone their aggression for the later period of their lives (Ottens 1997a. p. 192). Ottens indicates also that accordingly to Renate Bitzan and Beate Hans the trend is changing and more and more young ciswomen are violent and the tendency will continue (Ottens 1997a, p. 192).

The motivation of ciswomen to join violent groups is likely the same as for cismen, namely seek of respect (also within the group) as well as recognition and attention (Rommelspacher 2011, p.59). Especially in violent groups ciswomen act in a sexist way and they adjust themselves to chauvinistic rules to win the group’s recognition (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 59).

The studies have proved that there are a lot of similarities and a few differences between ciswomen and cismen in a way that they enter far-right groups (Borstel 2011). A person quite often joins the group through the family or peer groups, by being skeptic about the system or motivated by the promises from the far-right groups (Borstel 2011, p. 298-303). For ciswomen, especially important is the fear of

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4 The book has been published in 1997, the author quotes the paper published in 1994. I have not found the studies which (dis)prove this forecast.
disappointment far-right mothers or being punished (Borstel 2011, p. 299). Cismen join far-right groups because of promised comradeship, whereas ciswomen often see the group as a family (Borstel 2011, p. 304). Another worth joining promise is a fight for the homeland (Borstel 2011, p. 304). For cismen this promise is connected with a hard-work and a protecting role whereas ciswomen care already about the future of their children (Borstel 2011, p. 304-305).

The process of the group withdrawal is also similar. The most relevant reasons are personal relations, a need for an alternative to the present life, questioning the sense of the group’s activity and disappointment with the activity of the group (Borstel 2011, p. 306). A love relationship is not relevant for ciswomen whereas for cismen it can be important factor for joining or leaving a group (Borstel 2011, p. 307). What distinguishes the two genders is the ciswomen's experience of sexualized violence which may also be a motive for abandoning a group (Borstel 2011, p. 309). Ciswomen often leave the scene when they become mothers. Not only because of limited time resources but also because of the doubts connected to the influence of the far-right movement on children, for cismen such worries are an exception (Borstel 2011, p. 310). The motives for joining and leaving the far-right scene are therefore very alike for cismen and ciswomen and the gender-specific differences mirror the traditional gender roles and social constructions (Borstel 2011, p.305).

Ciswomen and cismen use the same methods and ideology to exclude the others (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 50). They all share the same views on world order and try to defend their status through maintaining dominance in society (Rommelspacher, p. 50, 53). Although, they can have different motives and they focus on different ranges (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 50). Ciswomen tend to defend a right to their everyday needs like social security and care help from the state (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 51). Ciswomen in the far-right are more
bound to the private sphere whereas cismen focus on the public sphere. Rommelspacher writes that ciswomen active in right-wing political parties strive to present their activity as the expansion of their family duties and they put themselves in a role of care givers (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 58). Ottens gives an example of mothers who are for reducing the number of schoolchildren with migration background so that their white (in this case also German) children have optimal learning conditions (Ottens 1997a, p.193). Cismen are prone to defend their territory (meant both symbolic and literary), they refer more often than ciswomen to social and economic resources (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 51). They want to save their privilege and dominance from women and other masculinities (Rommelspacher 2011, p.51-52). Rommelspacher argues that far-right ciswomen are more convinced of conventional methods whereas cismen’s style is competition (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 51). These differences correspond with the traditional gender roles (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 52). Rommelspacher argues that the themes which cismen or ciswomen make politically aware depend from their own gender roles picture and how the division of work looks like (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 52).

Birgit Meyer argues that ciswomen understand politics in a different way than cismen – they are not so attached to the structural, institutional and organized politics as well as they are more active in informal movements (for instance ecological movements) (Köttig 2005, p. 61). Furthermore, the study of Rommelspacher presents similar conclusions when it comes to the experience of social discrimination and the approach towards among ciswomen (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 46). Rommelspacher states that violence and social discrimination are inherent in the far-right scene and it makes ciswomen less active there (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 46).
2.3 Motives

In the previous subchapter I write about some reasons why ciswomen join far-right groups. This analysis is not extensive and based on the comparison with cismen in the far-right scene. My aim in this part is to present two most popular explanations of the ciswomen’s activity in far-right organizations. The first draws on the concept of culture of dominance, the second refer to socialization processes. Both of the theoretical approaches are questioned by Köttig and her critique is also presented in the chapter.

The first explanation is connected to the concept of culture of dominance. Some of the proponents of this approach are Brigit Rommelspacher and Christine Holzkamp. They point out that in the west industrial states one is socialized to live in a world where the own culture is the most important and it determines what the normality is (Köttig 2005, p.58). Everything what/everybody who is other, either have to assimilate or should be excluded (Köttig 2005, p. 58). Both theoreticians indicate that the patriarchal structures are responsible for these beliefs (Köttig 2005, p. 58). There is also an economical aspect within the culture of dominance: capitalism is bound to competition, expansion and empowerment (Köttig 2005, p. 58). Through the comparison of countries, one develops a subject feeling what a state owes a citizen (Köttig 2005, p. 58-59). There is a special dynamic in the process which concerns ciswomen. On one hand they are conscious that they are the part of the dominant culture, on the other hand they are subdued to cismen and have the experience of the system’s victims (Köttig 2005, p. 59). Society expects from them that they find themselves in both positions and stay dominant against the others and compliant to cismen (Köttig 2005, p. 59). The difference between the genders is the first lesson of social inequality (Ottens 1997a, p.198). Ottens argues that through socialization in the culture of dominance, ciswomen are learned to solve the problems through hierarchy.
between cultures and social classes (Ottens 1997a, p. 198). The scholar sees many holes in this reasoning. Firstly, there is a problem with power definition. For Ottens it seems that Rommelspacher defines *power as power to* oppress and the strategies of resistance are ignored (Ottens 1997a, p. 199). In Rommelspacher’s theory the *power always bears new power* and it seems to be unchangeable (Ottens 1997a, p. 199). Ottens points also out that Rommelspacher’s work reproduces the dichotomy between a victim and a perpetrator (Ottens 1997a, p. 199). The explanation through the concept of patriarchal culture of dominance is not full of nuances and too statistic and no one lives in only one culture (Ottens 1997a, p. 199).

The second explanation is delivered in works of Birgit Meyer, Ursula Birsl and Getrud Siller who all highlight a very crucial role of socialization (Köttig 2005, p. 59). This is the second theory to explain the motivation to join far-right groups which I want to present. In this approach the concept of *risk society*, which was coined by Ulrich Beck, is very important (Köttig 2005, p. 59). The main feature of risk society is the individualization of one’s life condition (Köttig 2005, p. 59).

> According to Heitmayer, this social development, combined with the particularly difficult phase of searching for identities, leads to a disorientation of young people, which finds their expression in increased violence and the development of extremely right-wing attitudes; also supported by the slinking growth of neo-conservative policies⁵ (Köttig 2005, p.59).

Birsl and Siller state that young ciswomen are socialized to be prepared for the role of mother and for living as a person active on the job market (Köttig 2005, p.60). Ottens names this problem the *conflict of*

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⁵ The original quotation in German: *Diese gesellschaftliche Entwicklung, verbunden mit der besonders schwierigen Phase der Identinätsfindung führe - so Heitmayer - zu einer Orientierungslosigkeit von Jugendlichen, die ihrem Ausdruck in einer erhöhten Gewaltbereitschaft und der Entwicklung extrem rechter Haltungen finde; zudem unterstützt durch den schleichenden Zuwachs neokonservativer Politikkonzepte* (Köttig 2005, p. 59).
social roles (Ottens 1997a, p. 206). The conflict may be solved at the individual level or it will be delegate for instance on the other social class or another dehumanized group of people (Ottens, 1997a, p. 206). Both of the roles (career-maker and mother) are not sufficiently rewarded and that is why the revaluation of a traditional women’s role attracts ciswomen (Köttig 2005, p. 60). This process makes the successful life more probable and easier to reach (Köttig 2005, p. 60).

What is typical for the New Right movement: the freedom of choice is highlighted – the decision of being a housewife is presented as the conscious choice of a ciswoman (Elverich 2005, p. 115). The traditional role of a ciswoman is depicted as something positive and the real women’s liberation (Elverich 2005, p. 115).

There are studies concerning young xenophobic ciswomen who are convinced of traditional gender roles and whose hostility against foreigners have nothing to do with the conflict of social roles. Their attitudes are grounded in the clear and tight ideas on life (Ottens 1997a, p. 206-207). Michaela Köttig is also skeptic about this concept as there is no clear construction of a ciswoman’s role within the right scene - there are some trends which do not depict woman only as a mother (Köttig 2005, p. 61).

Köttig questions both theoretical approaches as they are intended to explain participation of ciswomen in all possible far-right shades whereas the scene is very heterogenic and the organizations differ from each other when it comes to the functions, structures, environment, roots etcetera (Köttig 2005, p. 69). Köttig suggests more case-specific analysis and evaluation (Köttig 2005, p.72).

2.4 Intersectional interventions

Rommelspacher points out that in gender perspective on far-right movement not only is it important to investigate the gender-specific
approaches but also to compare the gender as influence factor to other factors which can influence one’s attitude (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 44). In this subchapter I present an intersectional approach towards the far-right and I move focus from gender identities to the categories like ethnicity, class and social status.

Rommelspacher refers to the concept of *ethnicization of sexism* which comes from Kurt Möller and posits that the foreigner and not the cismen of the same official nationality are the danger for ciswomen (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 46). Such an approach allows to feel prouder of one own’s nationality and the cismen of the same nationality are not seen as potential rapists and the national rapists seen as ill persons and nations’ pests (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 46-47). It is a very useful procedure thanks to which a perpetrator is depreciated and is not anymore seen as a healthy member of a nation (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 47). Devaluation of fear in this case makes it easier to reproduce the social hierarchy and reinforce the ethnic exclusion (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 47).

Ottens argues that although sexism and racism are closely connected, they have a number of different features (Ottens 1997b, p. 173). They both follow similar logic and are a form of discrimination; they reproduce structural oppression and underline natural differences to legitimate social inequality (Ottens 1997a, p. 173). However, they have different origins and functions:

> *in case of racism it concerns closing and exclusion processes in which the division between inside and outside proceed. In the case of sexism the exclusions are more fractional and connected with partial, subordinated integration* (Ottens 1997b, p.174).

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6 In German: *Volksschädlinge*, the term strongly connected to NSDAP which used it to name nation’s traitors, traffickers and usurers.

7 The original quotation in German: *Im Falle des Rassismus handelt es sich um Schließungs- und Ausgrenzungsprozesse, in denen die Spaltung zwischen innen und außen verläuft. Im Falle des Sexismus sind die Ausgrenzungen gebrochener und werden mit partieller untergeordneter Integration verbunden.*
Sexism aims to limit the public sphere for women and their mobility within it (Ottens 1997b, p. 174).

Rommelspacher relies on the studies of Winkler and Held and points out that there is no clear correlation between poverty, unemployment, social class, migration background and far-right (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 47). The far-rights approach has different functions: it can compensate the experience of exclusion on another level as ethnicity but it can also ensure the privileges that one already has (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 48). Nonetheless, one should distinguish various far-rights movements who are connected to different social classes as well as regarding gender – as the violent scene strongly corelated with (young) cismen (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 66). For example, ciswomen from the middle class who like to mystify their womankind (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 66). Some studies show that social status plays more significant role concerning the group-focused enmity than a gender identity (Küpper and Zick 2011, p. 204).

2.5 Feminationalism?

Feminist movement has definitely some impact on the far-right scene (Antifaschistisches Frauenetzwerk, Forschungsnetzwerk, Frauen und Rechtsextremismus 2005, p. 9). For example, the concept of sisterhood was adapted by authors of the neo-Nazi fanzine titled Aryan Sisterhood (Antifaschistisches Frauenetzwerk, Forschungsnetzwerk, Frauen und Rechtsextremismus 2005, p. 11). There are more and more far-right organization dedicated only for ciswomen. Rommelspacher pinpoints that even if ciswomen are active in the far-right scene, it does not have to mean that they are in favor the gender concepts in the group (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 66). In the far-right scene ciswomen support each other and increase their self-confidence (Döhring and Feldman 2005, p. 18–19). Discussion if something like feminationalism or feminist nationalism is still up-to-date and not ended.
Far-right ciswomen, who want more equality in the scene, strive for more equality only for ciswomen of the same ethnicity and/or nationality. Such a concept is called *Equality in the Inequality* \(^8\) (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 63). This idea may be convincing as ciswomen could win some power which comes from the exclusion of the foreigners and which is at moment mostly owned by cismen (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 63).

But the most important question is still if such postulates can be called feminististic (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 63). Rommelspacher argues that this type of feminism is not universal and demand some biologist and origin-related factors like religion or ethnicity (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 64). According to the scholar, such feminism is at the same time inclusive – independent from what one does and who one is as long as a person is part of nation or ethnic group – as well as exclusive – because one needs this one feature which one cannot choose (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 64). The history of feminist movement proves that feminism was often exclusive - e.g. concerning only white middle-class ciswomen (Rommelspacher 2011, p. 64). However, Rommelspacher states that emancipation has universal intentions and through deconstruction a number of dominant relations were revealed (Rommelspacher 2011, p.64).

Bitzan is sceptic about the term national feminists and suggest using the terms like *patriarchy-critic, sexist-critic nationalist* (Bitzan 2011, p. 120). Nonetheless, Bitzan agrees that some postulates of far-right ciswomen are feminist, for example fight against sexual violence against ciswomen and children or critique on the inequalities at the job market (Bitzan 2011, p. 121).

Where far-right and feminism meet is the difference theory which basic premise is that there are two genders: man and woman and they

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\(^8\) In German: *Gleichheit in der Ungleichheit.*
clearly differ from each other (Bitzan 1997c, p. 88). The theory is based on biology and explains the role of men and women regarding their roles in the reproductive process (Bitzan 1997c, p.89). This existentialist approach has developed especially within the ecofeminism. This type of feminism proclaims strong relations between women and nature and glorifies mother-nature. Maria Wölflingseder writes about spiritual ecofeminism, an ideology which assigns women or femininity the role of saver of the civilization (Wölflingseder 1997, p. 56). The women-be is a fetish and ciswomen are connected to some mystic, magical power (Wölflingseder 1997, p. 58). The scholar sees many similarities between this ideology and esoteric movement within the far-right scene (Wölflingseder 1997, p.57). Differences between genders which are believed to be natural, provides also an explanation for inequalities between individuals in general (Sturhan 1997, p. 124).

The concept of *feminationalism* is problematic but at the same time proves that feminist movement influences and changes the far-right scene.

### 2.6 Far-right wing activists – Polish context

By now my work concerns the situation of far-right ciswomen activists in Germany due to the lack of Polish scientific literature. As the following research is focusing on the Polish rightwing cisfemale activists, it is necessary to include the Polish context. In the subchapter I write shortly about the Polish cultural and historical specifics in the relevance of the far-right and then I present the biggest Polish far-right groups with the focus on ciswomen’s activity within them.

In 1918 Poland became independent after 123 years of partition and dependence from Prussia, Russia and Austria. After World War I Poland became a republic. In the interwar period the most important far-right organization was National Democracy (which was founded under partition time) whose leader, Roman Dmowski was the most important
ideology-producer. After World War II Poland became dependent from the Soviet Union. Under the regime of state socialism any form of opposition was oppressed. In 1989 Poland became a parliamentarian democratic republic again. After this time there were few far-right organizations like *Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski* (*National Polish Rebirth*) or the political party *Liga Polskich Rodzin* (*League of Polish Families*). In this work I focus on the contemporary Poland and the current far-right organizations. To depict the wider context of far-right movement in Poland, I begin the subchapter with the anti-gender ideology public debate and then I will write shortly about the biggest far-right organizations. Finally, I present the ciswomen far-right initiatives.

### 2.6.1 Anti-gender movement and the Catholic Church in Poland

Inspired by a thought of Zimniak-Hałajko who writes that the anti-gender campaign may determine ciswomen’s growing activity in the (far) right scene, I decided to include in my work the debate around gender term (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 70). The public debate on gender resembles conservative approach to and interpretation of gender theories and feminist thought.

The strong anti-gender campaign’s peak in Poland was 2012-2014 (Grzebalska 2015, p. 83-84). It was strongly connected to the ratification of the United Nations *Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence* (the Istanbul Convention) as well as the Pastoral letter of the Bishops’ Conference of Poland and the attacks of the Catholic Church on gender ideology. The term makes use of the negative connotations to ideology and can be compared with a mind leap like *Gender-Wahnsinn* in German.

In the Pastoral letter of the Bishops’ Conference of Poland which was read in every Catholic Church on 29th of October 2013 *gender ideology* is defined as follows:
The gender ideology is the product of many decades of ideological and cultural changes that are deeply rooted in Marxism and neo-Marxism endorsed by some feminist movements and the sexual revolution. This ideology promotes principles that are totally contrary to reality and an integral understanding of human nature. It maintains that biological sex is not socially significant and that cultural sex which humans can freely develop and determine irrespective of biological conditions is most important. According to this ideology, humans can freely determine whether they want to be men or women and freely choose their sexual orientation. This voluntary self-determination, not necessarily life-long, is to make the society accept the right to set up new types of families, for instance, families built on homosexual relations (Bishops’ Conference of Poland 2013).

The letter was preceding a number of pedophilia cases within the Catholic Church in Poland (Grzebalska 2015, p. 90). Shortly after the reports Archbishop Józef Michalik commented that the guilty persons are the divorced parents whose children are looking for love and make the priests wrongdoing (Grzebalska 2015, p. 90-91).

According to Dorota Szelewa, the attack of the Catholic Church on the concept of gender can be described as a moral panic. Szelewa draws on Cohen for whom

*moral panics tend to start with a definition and a naming of the problem or threat that is follow by stylized and stereotypical presentation in the mass media by moral entrepreneurs. It is also possible to actually identify a sequence of events that cumulate towards and into the moral panic* (Szelewa 2014, p. 36).
Polish church was very active in the anti-gender campaign, many anti-gender speeches were held in churches and at catholic universities, the catholic church representants were also active in social media platforms (Grzebalska 2014, p. 91). It was assumed in the public debate that the anti-gender propaganda’s aim was to cover the pedophilia scandals and shift the media’s attention (Grzebalska 2014, p. 91).

According to Zimniak-Hałajko, the right scene defines the term gender wider than the left scene. For the right gender is associated with everything what corresponds with the culture of death (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 41). The term was coined by John Paul II in Evangelium vitae and is defined as follows:

*This culture is actively fostered by powerful cultural, economic and political currents which encourage an idea of society excessively concerned with efficiency. Looking at the situation from this point of view, it is possible to speak in a certain sense of a war of the powerful against the weak: a life which would require greater acceptance, love and care is considered useless, or held to be an intolerable burden, and is therefore rejected in one way or another. A person who, because of illness, handicap or, more simply, just by existing, compromises the well-being or life-style of those who are more favoured tends to be looked upon as an enemy to be resisted or eliminated. In this way a kind of "conspiracy against life" is unleashed. This conspiracy involves not only individuals in their personal, family or group relationships, but goes far beyond, to the point of damaging and distorting, at the international level, relations between peoples and States* (John Paul II 1995).

Culture of death is connected mostly to the pro-choice movement and it is an opposition to the culture of life and anti-choice movement.
For the Polish right scene, gender is like a big sack which contains a number of different left cultural postulates and the critique on gender is at the same time critique on the left ideas (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 41). Zimniak-Hałajko refers to the right-wing author Marguerite Peeters and Gabriele Kuby – who both strongly influence far-right intellectuals in Poland. The first one describes gender as postmodern and deconstructive project which draws on Manichaeism, naturalism, deism, secularism, Marxism, nihilism, freudism and atheistic existentialism (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 42). Gender is depicted as a danger for the religion and the terms are also meant in a specific way – for example, Marxism is understood only in cultural terms (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 42). Feminism is therefore depicted as a new form of Marxism which does not correspondent with the women’s interest. Only the first wave of feminism is positively assessed but everything what appeared afterwards in feminist movement is depicted as a danger (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 43).

One of the core aspects in the debate around gender is connected to the problem of multidimensional violence against ciswomen (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 43). There were many protests against ratification of the United Nations Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 43). The most problematic for the opponents was the article 12. which orders to combat the gender role stereotypes which help reproducing violence against ciswomen (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 43-44). Protesters do not see symbolic and material violence as something that exists and claim that tradition helps to combat the violence (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 43). In the right publications traditional gender roles are reproduced and it is expected from a cisman that he will be a proud, responsible father, not sensitive daddy and mother is the person whose

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9 After World War II Poland’s regime was a kind of state socialism under strong Soviet influence. In 1989 a transformation to capitalism has started and in the public discourse the regime has a negative media and Marxism is till now too often misunderstood.
role is to take care of family (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 45). Family is narrow defined and any changes within its definition including for example homosexual marriages, are not acceptable and described as deconstructive (Zimniak-Hałałjko 2017, p. 46). There are a number of interventions which refer to Firestone’s concepts and states that feminists’ aim is to abolish the institution of family at all (Zimniak-Hałałjko 2017, p. 46). The culture of LGBTIQA+ is depicted as extreme hedonistic, egoistic and not interested in building community (Zimniak-Hałałjko 2017, p. 47). Another objection against gender ideology is allegedly its anti-reproductive character which makes the right scene worry about the future of the population as well as the nation (Zimniak-Hałałjko 2017, p. 47).

The proponents of anti-gender movement are the major defenders of the existentialists’ positions (Zimniak-Hałałjko 2017, p. 49). The gender identity should be static and correspondent to the gender assigned after the birth (Zimniak-Hałałjko 2017, p. 49). The right intellectuals indicate that identity crisis is very deconstructive (Zimniak-Hałałjko 2017, p. 50). According to Grzegorz Strzemecki, the biggest culture’s danger is queer ideology as well as sexual, equal and anti-discriminative education and to defend the society one ought to bring-up children in traditional way (Zimniak-Hałałjko 2017, p. 50).

Gender is depicted as a danger for family and for collective thinking (Zimniak-Hałałjko 2017, p. 44). The opponents of gender-ideology do not want the situation in which the family and communities’ bound loses in value. The rights of entities should not be too extended (Zimniak-Hałałjko 2017, p. 44). Zimniak-Hałałjko claims that the discussion around gender is actually a debate on human rights and their implementation’s methods – the first generation of human right is not questioned, but the second and especially the third generations are criticized as not universalistic (Zimniak-Hałałjko 2017, p. 52-53). For Gabriele Kuby, the fundamental rights are instrumentalized to
implement a new, gender person and Marguerite Peeters argues that freedom of choice is egoistic and against the transcendental values (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 54).

Agnieszka Kościańska interprets the debate around gender as a dispute about the affiliation to the community (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 56). Kościańska claims that LGBT+ and feminist movements for many years strive for the transformation of nation community and fight for the right for co-defining and co-building it – in this context the fight against gender ideology is a reactive conservative process (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 56).

What is crucial about the debate around gender is language. According to Zimniak-Hałajko, the language used in the public debate on the left and right side differs a lot and is strongly connected to the values (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 56-57). She claims that both sides of the dispute use different languages of ritual. The language of ritual is understandable only for the insiders, for persons outside the ritual sound not trustworthy and fake (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 57). For the left persons, language of tradition is associated with reproducing stereotypes and injustice visions of the world whereas the right side perceive the left language sounds equal fake and empty (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 58). Grzebalska highlight that in their statements, right-wing politicians often used fear-arousing language conflating gender equality with deviations and pathologies (Grzebalska 2015, p. 83). Szelewa states that while talking about gender ideology, the Church and conservative party leaders and journalists use homophobic, xenophobic and/or euro-skeptic expressions. In other words, gender is being used as an empty signifier in political battles (Szelewa 2014, p. 43).

In the public debate gender is still mostly negatively connotated and any subversive strategies to redefine the word were not successful (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 60-61). I decided to present the arguments
and the studies on the debate to present the cultural context and prove the strong influence of Roman Catholic Church on the public debate in Poland. The church is very influential within the far-right scene, I write about it more extensive while presenting the far-right Polish groups. The debate itself also influenced the far-right organizations and their approach to feminism and gender equality.

2.6.2 Polish far-right organizations and the activity of ciswomen
In this chapter I present the most active far-right groups in Poland. Zimniak-Hałajko indicates that her studies show that ciswomen are less active within conservative and nationalist organizations, they rarely found their own organizations or sections and are most active in the youth groups (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 70). The far-right organizations in Poland mostly refer to the organizations from the interwar period (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 72). As the groups cooperate with each other, it is common that a person is a member of a few organizations (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 72).

All-Polish Youth (Młodzież Wszechpolska)
All-Polish Youth was a youth organization gathering young nationalists in the academic societies in the interwar period (Maj and Maj 2007, p. 127). The aim of the organization was to develop nationalistic ideology as well as ensure nationalistic education of the youth and to represent the academic youth’s interests within academic bodies (Maj and Maj 2007, p. 127). The leaders of the All-Polish Youth were Jan Jodzewicz, Roman Dmowski, (the leader of National Democracy) and Jan Rembliński, which are the authorities of the movement until now (Maj and Maj 2007, p. 127). The organization was reactivated in 1989, in the year were the economic and social transformation of Poland started. The first chairman of the reactivated organization was Roman
Giertych\textsuperscript{10}. The renewed organization draws strongly on the thoughts of Roman Dmowski who was anti-Semitic, racist, fundamental Catholic and nationalistic person.

According to the *Ideological Declaration*, members of the group ought to serve God, and afterwards the nation. All-Polish Youth refers to the rules of the *Only True, Holy Catholic Belief*. It is against secularization and promotes Catholic ethic in private and public sphere as well. The organization is against every left-wing idea. In the declaration the organization states that Poland is in danger of German aggression and All-Polish Youth fight against it (All-Polish Youth). The main motto of the organization is *Youth, Faith and Nationalism* (All-Polish Youth).

The organization is closely bound to Polish-Catholic values and against feminism, *gender ideology*, right to abortion, tolerance and liberation of the minorities. The most important positions are occupied by cismen. There is only one ciswoman in the management board and out of 16 local presidents; there are only three ciswomen (All-Polish Youth).

*National Radical Camp (Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny)*

National Radical Camp is an organization which celebrates values like *God, Honor, Fatherland, Family, Tradition and Friendship*. (Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny). They are not a political party because they are not interested in participation in oligarchic parliamentary competitions (Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny). The members of the organization believe in nationalistic activism and they organize patriotic demonstrations, act against leftist\textsuperscript{11} *propaganda* and help the veterans.

\textsuperscript{10} Roman Giertych founded later a far-right political party the *League of Polish Families* (Liga Polskich Rodzin), which was then in the governing coalition from 2005-2007 together with *Self-Defence* (Samoobrona) and *Law and Justice* (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość). Roman Giertych was very closed connected to Radio Maryja – a nationalistic, Catholic radio station which is very influential. He was a Minister of Education, currently he is against the politics of Law and Justice and member of a Civic Platform, a conservative, neoliberal party.

\textsuperscript{11} In Polish: *lewacka propaganda*, the word "lewacka" has a pejorative, dismissive overtone. There are a number of subversive examples of using of the word by the left side but when the right uses it, it is always disrespectful.
National Movement (Ruch Narodowy)

National Movement was founded in 2012 to use the energy of the big annual far-right demonstration, The Independency March. The March takes place on 11th November – on the anniversary of Polish Independence and it gathers a number of nationalistic persons from the whole country and other European states. The Independence March is a huge event during which hate speech towards communist, homosexual persons and foreigners is propagandized. The motto of National Movement is Identity-Sovereignty-Freedom. Since 2015 the social movement is also a political party (Ruch Narodowy). The organization refers to the thought of Roman Dmowski and the activity of the pre-war national camp. Its members are declared nationalists (Ruch Narodowy).

In the program of National Movement there is following statement to be found:

*It should be considered unacceptable to conduct public studies and classes on pseudo-scientific «gender ideology» for public money. There is also no legal basis allowing the Ministry of Culture and other public institutions to provide any funding for organizations, publications and initiatives promoting homosexuality, «gender ideology» or similar views and behaviors* (Ruch Narodowy, p. 78).

The election program was strongly influenced by the debate on gender ideology. LGBTQIA+ organizations are said to be promoting sexual deviation, their public activity shall be prohibited (Ruch Narodowy, p. 78). National Movement wants Poland to withdraw from CAHVIO and gives orders for multi-year marriages (Ruch Narodowy, p. 79-80). As in the gender discussion, the movement advocates for conservative, hierarchal education with discipline methods (Ruch Narodowy, p. 82). What is more, the organization writes also about feminist ideology
which is responsible for introducing the election list parity\textsuperscript{12} which makes parties put ciswomen on their lists who are not interested in politics (Ruch Narodowy, p. 8).

Ruch Narodowy is in favor of economic nationalism and economic independence (Ruch Narodowy, p. 40). It postulates militarization of the nation (Ruch Narodowy, p. 13). Ruch Narodowy is against the system of refugees’ relocation proposed by the European Union and wants to support the other Middle-East European countries in their boycotts (Ruch Narodowy, p. 19). The organization is in the opposition to visa-free movement with Muslim countries and advocates for combating of Muslim immigration to Europe and strong border controls (Ruch Narodowy, p. 19).\textsuperscript{13} Ruch Narodowy postulates also reinforcing control over the migration of the Ukrainians (Ruch Narodowy, p. 20). However, the organization is in favor of repatriation people with Polish origin from Syberia and Kasachstan (Ruch Narodowy, p 20). The program is therefore directly racist, homophobic and Islamophobic.

\textit{National Women’s Organization – an interwar association}

National Women’s Organization was founded in 1918 as a branch of the National Democracy and was active until the Second World War. The beginning of its activity was connected to the first elections in Poland (Kotowski 2016, p. 276). During their election campaign they encourage to vote for them as follow:

\begin{quote}
\textit{every vote for a national list under the banner God and Fatherland is like a bayonet aimed at the Jews and enemies of Poland. Every lazy woman who on 26th of January do not put her}\n\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{12} In Poland the election parity amount to minimum 35\% representation of one gender (seen in a binary way) on the list and among the first three names on the list, the proportion of genders should be 1:2.

\textsuperscript{13} Observing the experiences of Western Europe with immigrants from different parts of the world, we consider it unjustifiable to treat foreigners who are practicing Islam with other foreigners equally. Muslim immigrants are statistically more difficult to assimilate and more often hostile towards the hosts (Ruch Narodowy, p. 19).
vote into ballot box, serves the Jews and spread anarchy (Kotowski 2016, p. 278).\textsuperscript{14}

The organization was a social-political association. The members of the organization mostly came from the social and intellectual elite. They used to propagate godliness, economical way of life and sincerity at home as well as the fight for Catholic Church rights and a strong state. They promoted thriftiness and solid work in the public sphere (Kotowski 2016, p. 278). The organization stated that it fights for the women’s rights and represent their interests (Kotowski 2016, p. 279). In the statute of the association it is written that one of the aims of the group was equality of women in law and in everyday life (Narodowa Organizacja Kobiet 1921). Although they stated to be an independent organization, according to Kotowski and the scholars he draws on, ciswomen from the organization did not occupy themselves with gender equality and only promote the traditional gender work division – they did not call themselves politicians (although a few of them were sitting in the Polish Parliament) (Kotowski 2016, p. 279)\textsuperscript{15}.

The National Women’s Organization was therefore an instrument to propagate the politics of National Democracy (Kotowski 2016, p. 279). The activists and politicians of National Democracy were against gender equality and perceived the feminist movement as danger for nationalistic movement (Kotowski 2016, p. 281). They wanted ciswomen to take part in the catholic, educational, charitable, sport and other social initiatives, despite their civic right to vote as well as to candidate during the election. They preferred to see ciswomen in the family and catholic context (Kotowski 2016, p. 281). The National Women’s Organization corresponded to these expectations and was a

\textsuperscript{14} In Polish: każdy głos na listę narodową pod hasłem Bóg i Ojczyzna jest jak bagnet wymierzony przeciw Żydom i nieprzyjaciółom Polski. Każda kobieta leniwa, która 26 stycznia nie da do urny swojego głosu, służy Żydom i szerzy anarchię.

\textsuperscript{15} The only person who was in fact fighting for women’s equality was Balicka who demanded equality at the job market, in civil and property law and access to child care (Kotowski 2016, p. 280).
catholic, social organization (Kotowski 2016, p. 282). After 1926, the association was engaged in some local education projects and aid initiatives (Kotowski 2016, p. 286).

National Women’s Organization contemporary

At the beginning, the organization was named Warsaw Women’s Section of the National Movement (Sekcja Kobiet Ruchu Narodowego). The change of the name was connected with the changes inside the National Movement which divides after the organization joined Kukiz’15\textsuperscript{16} during the election campaign in 2015 (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 72). The members of the National Radical Camp were against this cooperation and they left the National Movement – that is why the organization has changed the name (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 72). The current name refers to the organization from 20\textsuperscript{th} Century and mirrors the ideological frames of the initiative (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 72)\textsuperscript{17}.

Zimniak-Hałajko conducted the research within the organization using the method of participatory observation. The scholar was a member of Warsaw section of National Movement’s Women (warszawski oddział Sekcji Kobiet Ruchu Narodowego) for two years (2014-2016) which during her studies changed the name to National Women’s Organization (Narodowa Organizacja Kobiet) (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 72). During the time of her research, the organization had from a few to a dozen or so young (20something-30something) active members who were mostly students (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 73). According to the scholar, younger or elder ciswomen were part of the organization only for short periods or were not very active (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 73). Oftentimes, the members were coming from right-wing families which were for years active in the scene (Zimniak-

\textsuperscript{16} Kukiz 15’ is a Polish populist party founded by a rock star, Pawel Kukiz, who invited some of National Movements’ politicians to run together for the parliamentary election in 2015.

\textsuperscript{17}
Hałajko 2017, p. 73). What is very characteristic for the Polish context, every member of the group (with a one person as an exception) was catholic and more bounded to catholic tradition that to nationalistic one (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 73). Catholic Church has a strong influence on the organization, religious events have a very important place in their lives (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 73). The institution itself also supports the organization by letting it organizing meetings in their venues (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 73). Weekly meetings start and finish with a prayer next to a catholic Mary shrine (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 75). One of the conditions of joining the group is being catholic and believing in the motto God, Honor, Fatherland (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 74).

Relations in the organization are very hierarchical. The leader plans the events and delegates the tasks (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 75). The meetings are mainly aimed at exchanging information, strengthening the beliefs and making them coherent (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 77). The most crucial part of their activity is focused on feminine topics, inter alia: parent issues, sexual education, infertility treatment, anticonception, health, charity work and savoir vivre (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 77). The organization cooperates with catholic and anti-choice initiatives (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 77). Its members participate in Family March (a counter initiative to LGBTQIA+ community’s Equality March/Equality Parade), Sanctity of Life March (anti-choice demonstration), next to other far-right demonstration like Independence March (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 77). The organization is associated to many conservative family organizations (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 82). This movements are against culture of death and seen themselves as representants of the culture of love (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 83). According to Zimniak-Hałajko, the National Women’s Organization is a very small group but with a big networking
potential – they cooperate with conservative, far-right, familiar, anti-choice and catholic organizations (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 84-85).

Zimniak-Hałajko states that the actions of the organization mostly manifest support or protest. They reinforce traditional gender roles and very rarely promote a concrete social or political postulate (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 78).

National Women’s Organization - feministic potential?

A feminist idea that National Women’s Organization makes use of is herstory. The members of the group are very engaged in cultivating memory of ciswomen who were activists of National Women’s Organization in the pre-/inter-/war period (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 77-78, 80). What is more, sometimes the members of the group discuss the idea of positive feminism and new feminism (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p.86). Both of the concepts are based on John Paul II’s thoughts on ciswomen and his body theology (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p.86). New feminism is a difference theory feminism which postulates more equality within the public sphere (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p.86). The adherents of the concept are anti-choice and do not want that ciswomen lose their femininity which is understood in a very stereotypical way (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p.86). A positive feminist should act against discrimination, oppression and violence, a crucial part of her life is dedicated to the social duty (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p.87). During the conference Being an entrancing woman, in which Zimniak-Halajko took part, a very important topic was vocation (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p.87). The scholar has heard that the conservative woman can be childfree, single and still able to become saint (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p.87). The term of sainthood was liberated from the extreme form of duty and sacrifice and modern lifestyles were not stigmatized (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p.87).
In the draft statute (which has changed only slightly) of the National Women’s Organization there were aims of the association as follow:

1. **Promoting the image of an active woman who takes care for development of catholic, national and patriotic values.**
2. **Defending unborn children and expressing firm objection against abortion.**
3. **Helping single mothers, the elder, the ill and everyone in the need.**
4. **Promoting upbringing children according to catholic values and defending them against flagitious gender ideology.**
5. **Shaping social and civil conscious and awareness.**
6. **Cultivating Polish history, tradition and culture.**
7. **Making an alternative to feminist movement, which promotes homosexuality, abortion and gender ideology.**
8. **Organizing meeting and events about historic, social and religious topics.** (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 74).

The statute highlights the issue that the nationalistic organization do not want to have anything in common with the feminist’s ideas and it is a confirmation that the Polish debate on gender ideology has strongly influenced the initiative.

**Further (far)-right ciswomen initiatives**

There are not many ciswomen organizations in the (far)-right scene in Poland. Polish Association of Catholic Women (Polski Związek Kobiet Katolickich) was founded in 1990 and it is a Catholic, conservative, anti-choice organization, another body is an umbrella organization, named Polish Women’s Forum (Forum Kobiet Polskich) (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 70). Zimniak-Hałajko indicates that during the public debate on gender, the Congress of Conservative Women (Kongres Kobiet Konserwatywnych) was set up (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 70). After 2012 when the National Movement was grounded, a few
ciswomen’s organizations and initiatives were established: Women for the Nation (Kobiety dla Narodu), Women’s Section of the National Movement, In the name of Ladies (W imieniu Dam) (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 71). These organizations are very dynamic when it comes to personal and institutional structures (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 71). They collaborate very often with each other but there have been also few conflicts between them (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 71). These changes did not influence the ideological frames of the organizations as they are very retrospective, rooted in the organizations from 20th century (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 71-72).

In the Name of Ladies

In the name of Ladies is an anti-feministic initiative which main activity is the annual march on the 8th of March In the Name of Ladies which are counterdemonstrations to feminist annual demonstrations called Manifa. The initiative is present on Facebook through a fan page which promotes a stereotypical image of women who should take care of their family, cloths, shoes and language. In the Name of Ladies is against the neglected image which they believe feminist propagate. They refer to mode icons like Coco Chanel or Audrey Hepburn and they post a number of elegant women’s photos. The event is widely supported by the biggest far-right organizations like All-Polish Youth, National Radical Camp and National Movement. During the demonstration in 2016 there were following slogans on the banners: Violence affect women at every age (the banner made by anti-choice foundation with a photo of aborted fetus), Feminism is not a voice of women, Stop gender: Mother – pattern of the femininity, Father – pattern of the masculinity, Masterpiece of Femininity – the Holy Mary (Zimniak-Hałajko 2017, p. 78).

18 https://www.facebook.com/wimieniu/?__xts__[0]=68.ARAbp30S-nklpxwgIreESThgWE4Bd8kwNIIiCnIyn9DYc05qb55leXfJ7-pAwmlqPw1b26a3JwFYBlSg-EcfWOKESlceoAD9oKJyRppAuQnYCOk1XrSWbrez7wD4aWj8kgVHNSTF3KOEUhcpcQ80cbGS-SLhEi6avnzNd1FPdBFM-4TsXY
To sum up, ciswomen in Polish far-right organizations are anti-choice, anti-feminist and very catholic. Their activity is often reactive to feminist activity. The organizations are also racist, hostile the most towards people from Ukraine, refugees and Muslims.

In this chapter I presented the most important researches and theories on the presence of the far-right ciswomen in the German-speaking context. In the further part of the chapter I focus specifically on the Polish far-right – I described the most important organization, initiatives and the public discourse around gender and its outcomes. In the following part of the thesis, I write about the political representation theories which give another perspective on the problem of representation of ciswomen in the far-right.
3 Representation

Two things are trivially true of all representational relationships (including political, symbolic, artistic and linguistic): there is purported to be some thing (loosely defined) to be represented and some thing (loosely defined) that represents it. (...) Representative is a set, the members of which stand for the Represented (Rehfeld 2006, p.5).

There are many concepts of representations as well as many scholars have tried to find a general definition or an essence of representation. They classify the types of representation, give examples of it etcetera. In my work I base mostly on the political representation theory which includes a number of perspectives out of which constitutive political representation is the one I build my research on. However, I start my divagation about representation with the theory of Pitkin, due to the fact that it has strongly influenced the contemporary discussion on representation. Then I deliver the critique on Pitkin which emerged from the constitutive representation proponents19. The critique is a brilliant introduction to the next subchapter in which I present the ideas of constitutive political representation. Finally, I define the political representation for the empirical research.

3.1 Hanna F. Pitkin – The Concept of Representation

The work of Pitkin draws on the philosophy of et.al. Thomas Hobbes, Edmund Burke and liberalism thinkers. The scholar tries to conceptualize the idea of representation. She analysis a number of different approaches and applications of the term representation,

19 The critique emerged obviously from a lot of different perspectives as well but I concentrate on the constitutive representation perspective due to its relevance for my work as well as the volume limits of my thesis.
representative, the represented and to represent. I will try to present some of the key definitions and arguments from her opus magnum.

3.1.1 Different ways of representing
In the book The Concept of Representation, Hanna Fenichel Pitkin writes about the formalistic views of representation which are authorization and accountability. Every representative has the right to represent but the person has also a number of responsibilities (Pitkin 1967, p. 38-39). Pitkin distinguishes between representation understood as acting for another (in German: vertreten) and standing for another (in German: darstellen) (Pitkin 1967, p. 59). Standing for is the activity of making representations and symbols and can be descriptive and symbolic. Descriptive representation's aim is to make things alike, for instance an actor may represent Hamlet on the scene (Pitkin 1967, p. 70) or a map represents a piece of territory. It is not connected with the concept of accountability (Pitkin 1967, p. 89). Pitkin separates three ideas on representation: being representative (typical), being elective Representative, and having a representative attitude (Pitkin 1967, 76). Pitkin writes that representatives are mostly not typical for the society – and representativeness is not the same as likeness (Pitkin 1967, p. 77). Pitkin draws on the works of Gosnell and, following her argumentation, states that desires play an important role in choosing a representative. A person chooses a representative who has something what the person would like to have. In this case representativeness does not mean being typical. On the other side – some representatives are elected because of the similarity between the representative and the voter. Pitkin argues that the chosen representative is a mirror for the person (Pitkin 1967, p. 78). The disquisition ended with a conclusion that representing can mean mirroring but at the same time it is clear for the scholar that sometimes people vote for person who does not have anything considered as desirable (Pitkin 1967, p. 78). Pitkin highlights also that a
representative is expected to have some features or views and these are very context-dependent and they change within the time (Pitkin 1967, 87).

Descriptive representation is working on things, whereas symbolic representation is about working on minds of the potentially represented or of the audience who accept the symbolization (Pitkin 1967, p. 111). Pitkin uses the definition of Tindall (1955, p.6) and states that symbolizing is «an exact reference to something indefinite» (Pitkin 1967, p. 97) A symbol has a lot of meanings while a reference is normally unambiguous (Pitkin 1967, p. 111).

Acting for another is the connection between image and original or symbol and referent (Pitkin 1967, p. 111). It can mean acting instead of, to the benefit of or both at the same time (Pitkin 1967, p.126). According to Pitkin, activity should be defined with regard to what and how the representative does or within both of these questions (Pitkin 1967, p. 143).

3.1.2 Pitkin and political representation

Pitkin's shortest definition of representation is making present something what is actually absent. She poses two questions: in what sense can be something considered as present although in fact it is not and who is doing the considering. She writes that many scholars argue that representation exists when the represented believe in it. For Pitkin such an explanation is not enough and she wonders when should men feel that they are represented? When would it be correct to say that they are represented? Unlike the scholars of constitutive representation (see sub-chapter 3.2.), Pitkin asks: what reasons can be given for supposing someone or something is being represented? (Pitkin 1967, p. 8–10). Pitkin seeks to find the meaning of the representation whereas scholars like Saward or Rehfeld focuses on the
question why do people believe or think that they are represented. The second approach is the one I share in my work.

For Pitkin, political representation is a kind of political agency (Urbinati 2006, p. 10). The scholar defines political representation as *acting in the interest of the represented, in a manner responsive to them* (Pitkin 1967, p. 209). At the same time, the representatives must act independently, discreet and they ought to make judgments. The core characteristic of a representative is activity (Pitkin 1967, p.209). The represented must also be (conceived as) capable of independent action and judgment, not merely being taken care of (Pitkin 1967, p.209). Pitkin sees the potential conflict in such a relationship but she states that the representative should act in a way that allow to avoid conflicts or when it does appear, the representative owns the represented an explanation of the situation (Pitkin 1967, p. 209). The scholar admits that political representation is a complex relationship and it is a searching for a win-win situation.

*The concept of representation thus is a continuing tension between ideal and achievement. (...) it should present a continuing but not hopeless challenge: to construct institutions and train individuals in such a way that they engage in the pursuit of the public interest, the genuine representation of the public; and, at the same time, to remain critical of those institutions and that training, do that they are always open to further interpretation and reform* (Pitkin 1967, p. 240).

The ideas of Pitkin are the starting point for the majority of analysis of political representation. In case of my research, the work of Hanna Pitkin is not sufficient. Her book is limited to the mandatory, elective contexts of political representation. However, thanks to her work, new ideas like constitutive representation could have emerged.
3.1.3 Critique on The Concept of Representation

In this sub chapter I will present the critique on the work of Pitkin. As her work was highly influential it is impossible to depict all of the points of critique. That is why in my thesis I present only the critique of the proponents of the constitutive representation which is the most relevant for my research.

Hanna Pitkin’s most quoted definition of representation is that it is making present something what is absent. Michael Saward argues that the representation is not just a thing, *it is made, or constructed, by someone, for someone, and for a purpose; further, the mode of constructedness qualifies strongly its manifest character* (Saward 2010, p.13). Furthermore he modifies the definition of Pitkin and argues that representative claims *give the impression of making present* (Saward 2010, p. 42). Lisa Disch points out that this definition is contradictive and beyond the logic – something can be either present or absent (Disch 2012a, p. 601). The scholar takes into the consideration the ideas of Derrida who states that presence and the absence are not dichotomic, but they are in fact complementary (Disch 2012a, p. 601). Nonetheless, she argues that the Pitkin’s theory is not applicable in the empirical research (Disch 2012a, p. 601). Another problem with Pitkin’s work that the constituents are just considered to be present and do not need to be actually active – it is enough when they are perceived as capable of acting (Disch 2012a, p.602). Disch outlines that *being represented means being made present in some sense while not really being present literally or fully in fact* (Disch 2012a, p.602). What is more, Disch states that although the representation in Pitkin’s vision is reciprocal, there is a strong imbalance between the representative and the represented as only the first has the power to decide and act (Disch 2012a, p.604). According

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20 Pitkin herself writes about this paradox a few years before Disch does in her essay (Pitkin 2004, p. 335).
to the scholar, Pitkin avoids the literal and does not find the proper vocabulary to describe her most radical concept (Disch 2012a, p.602). Lisa Disch describes the problem with Pitkin’s work as follow:

The constituency paradox which is seen as situation when democratic representatives, are obliged to act in their constituents’ interests, whereas constituencies and their interests come into focus only as popular identities and public policies are contested through the representative process (Disch 2012a, p.605).

On one hand the constituents’ interest needs to exist before the representative process, on the other hand – they are produced during the representative process.

Saward points out that Pitkin divides concepts of representation in regard of activity where authorization, accountability and substantive acting for which are connected to activity and the other kinds of representation like descriptive and symbolic representation which are more passive (Saward 2010, p.12). According to the scholar, through such a division, Pitkin excludes the possibility that symbolic representation is achieved by actively created and reconstructed symbols (Saward 2010, p. 12). For Saward the symbolic and the substantive are conflated and policy substance carries symbolic values or messages; defense policy in the United Kingdom or United States or France, for example, carries varied symbols connected to the nation, national independence, national strength and so on (Saward 2010, p. 13). Saward finds it strange that Pitkin connects only some kind of representation with activity (Saward 2010, p. 18). Disch argues that Pitkin's division between vertreten and darstellen is also not accurate, the scholar states that Pitkin places the two terms in a German-speaking context and distinguish between aesthetic and political
representation (Disch 2012b, p. 210–211). According to Disch, Pitkin supports her ideas with German language to draw the clear line between descriptive and symbolic representation (Disch 2012b, p. 210–211). Symbolic and descriptive representations are not so far from each other, also within the Pitkin’s concepts (Disch 2012b, p. 211).

Pitkin underlines also the role of representatives as makers of representation and their intentions (Saward 2010, p. 13-14). Pitkin writes that:

Representing means giving information about the represented; being a good representative means giving accurate information; where there is no information to give, no representation can take place (Pitkin 1967, p. 83-84).

Saward questions the fact that Pitkin depicts the represented as transparent and does not pay enough attention to the symbolic and aesthetic aspects of representation (Saward 2010, p. 14). In Pitkin’s work information seems to be neutral and objective. For Saward, the work of Pitkin pictures the role of the representative to be a trustee or a delegate based on the fixed and stable interests of the represented (Saward 2010, p. 17). Saward suggests that Pitkin’s theory relates only to nation-state and electoral perspective (Saward 2010, p. 18). According to the scholar, Pitkin focuses also too much on the identities of the representatives and she neglects the issues connected to the represented identities (Saward 2010, p. 16).

Urbinati argues that Pitkin brings together conceptual and semantic analysis and gives this combination a normative twist, but makes the examination of deliberative institutions and their relation to society peripheral (Urbinati 2010, p. 10). Saward highlights that Pitkin strives

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21 In the essay *Can the subaltern speak* postcolonial theoretician Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak also distinguishes two types of representation: the first means *vertreten*: to speak for in a political context, and the second one: *darstellen* - re-present in art or philosophy (Spivak 1994, p. 70).
for a one common definition of the term representation and she focuses too much on the normative aspect of representation. She asks quite often what a proper representation or a good representative is (Saward 2014, p. 724). Such an approach is also criticized by Andrew Rehfeld (2006, p.4, 15) as well as Lisa Disch (2012a, p.600). The second scholar, challenges Pitkin’s idea of responsiveness as the normative ideal and operational index of democratic representation (Disch 2012a, p. 600). Disch points out that Pitkin sees political representation as a responsive process and she suggests that the analysis should move to the concept of responsibility instead (Disch 2012a, p.600).

Eventually, both Saward and Disch, criticize that Pitkin focuses too much on the meaning of representation and pays too much attention to the effect of representation as well as the process of making it (Disch 2012a, Saward 2010). However, in my view this critique is unfair as the meanings of representation and polemic on this term are basically the core themes of The Concept of Representation. It was her main idea behind the work and her input in the development of political representation theory. As she wrote then in her essay: my own study of representation was not technically oriented but conceptual and theoretical (Pitkin 2004, p. 336). Nonetheless, the lack of certain perspectives or negligence some aspects of political representation made the constitutive representation perspective emerged.

Saward states that his aim is not to cast aside Pitkin’s analysis but to build both on and away from (Saward 2010, p. 16). That is actually a brilliant summary of the creation and development of the constitutive political representation in context of Pitkin’s theory. Lisa Disch reminds that Pitkin described already representation as anticipatory, reciprocal and constitutive (Disch 2012a, p.603). The last adjectives are in fact the core characteristics of the constitutive representation which I discuss in the next subchapter.
3.2 Constitutive representation – contemporary theories

Political representation can be conceived as an ongoing founding, as the constitution of community (Schwarz 1988, p.127).

In my thesis I strive to prove that political representation constructs and produces identities, preferences and interests (Shorten 2016, p.77). Representation is not only reproductive but also productive. These are the core statements of the constitutive representation and that is the reason why my work theoretically is based on the researches of the scholars who writes about representation from this perspective. In this sub-chapter I shortly explain what constitutive representation is and then I present the ideas of Michael Saward and Andrew Rehfeld (in some places I need to complement their theories with thoughts of other political constitutive representation’s scholars) whose theories are the most applicable to the non-elective cases of political representation.

3.2.1 Constitutive representation

Constitutive representation is not mentioned in the opus magnum of Hanna Pitkin. This perspective has developed thanks to feminist and post-structural political studies (Shorten 2016, p. 77). The perspective highlights the issue that political representation is creative and dynamic (Shorten 2016, p. 77). Representation is therefore not a mirror – not only reflects it the preferences, identities and interests of the represented but also produces them (Shorten 2016, p. 77). Linda Alcoff argues that when a person speaks for others, one also speaks about the others and constructs their subject-position. When one speaks about the others, the person always somehow represent them and this representation has an influence on the represented (Alcoff 1991, p. 9–10). Representation is always selective and creates an image which is not comprehensive (Shorten 2016, p.87). According to constitutive representation’s scholars, representation’s aim is to
constitute the group which the representatives represent and this process allows also creating new political formations (Shorten 2016, p. 87-88). The representatives in fact are framing and choosing the represented by depicting them as more or less coherent group (Saward 2006, p. 301-302). For Saward, it is a core task of a representative as the political identities and views are not transparent or evident (Saward 2006, p. 310). Furthermore, Saward states that political representatives have to construct portrayals or depictions of the represented, in order to be able to represent them (Shorten 2016, p. 88).

The role of the audience is though very relevant as it can contest the role of the representative (Shorten 2016, p.89). The constituents can always reject the representative and it does not matter if representatives are elected – the audience can always question them and consider that they fail to be their representative (Shorten 2016, p. 89). The representation is therefore contestable, dynamic and fluid (Shorten 2016, p. 89).

From this perspective non-elective representation is also political representation. Constitutive representation concept can be applicable to research on the self-appointment representatives like celebrities or activists who claim to represent the unprivileged group like Bono (the case which Saward often refers) or Angelina Jolie as well as non-governmental organizations (Shorten 2016, p. 89).

Following the classification of Andrew Shorten, the object of constitutive representation is a (contestable) interpretation of the preferences, interests or identities of constituents. The subject is constituency which borders are unclear, dynamic and defined by the representatives as well as the audience (Shorten 2016, p. 78). It is not easy to evaluate the representation as the evaluation is a constant dialogue between the audience and the representative (Shorten 2016, p. 78). Representatives have authorization as long as they have
(formal or informal) acceptance of the audience and what is crucial – they do not need to be elected, they can also be self-appointed (Shorten 2016, p. 78). Accountability evaluation is done by informal and/or discursive methods like for instance public shaming (Shorten 2016, p. 78).

Constitutive representation puts the emphasis on the process between the audience and the representatives. Representatives create images, interests and groups whereas the audience can accept them as their representation or reject them. The relations are fluid and changeable within the time – it is not about a choice that is taken once in four or five years. The concepts of constitutive representation let the scholars think outside the representative democracy concept where the elections are the most crucial factor of authorization. It gives some fresh air to the political representation theory and enables to overcome the conventional modes of the authorization within the representative democracy.

3.2.2 The theory of representative claim – Michael Saward

Saward, as well as the other proponents of constitutive representation, thinks that it is not the main task of the representation theorist to grasp the essence, the core of the idea of representation – it is actually hard to imagine achieving it anyway (Saward 2010, p. 15). Unlike, the theoretician seeks for a key for exploring political representation, which is founded on – and which encourages us to explore – its shifting and multilayered dynamics (Saward 2010, p.15). I strongly agree with Michael Saward for whom representation is ongoing process of making and receiving, accepting and rejecting claims - in, between, and outside electoral cycles (Saward 2010, p.36). The scholar refers to Butler and argue that representation is performatively produced (Saward 2010, p.42). Meaning is implicated in invocation; it involves a process of citations or reiteration of existing practices and
understandings, even as innovations and adaptations occur (Saward 2010, p. 42).

Saward argues that the Pitkin’s triangle concept of representation (including subject, object and referent) is not exact and another elements - maker and the audience - need to be added (Saward 2010, p.6). The scholar constructs the general form of the representative claim: a maker of representations ('M') puts forward a subject ('S') which stands for an object ('O') that is related to a referent ('R') and is offered to an audience ('A') (Saward 2010, p.36). The claims can be planed for a long or short time, a person can state that represent interests of a person or can claim to stand for stand for the preferences (Saward 2010, p.37-38) The makers try to attract the audience through claims (Saward 2010, p.37). It is important for my research that Saward sees the category of maker of representation really widely. The makers are not only political elites but also Lech Wałęsa at the time of beeing the leader of Solidarność (Saward 2010, p.51) or Karl Marx (Saward 2010, p.37). Maker can be at the same time the subject of the representative claim and by making representative claims, the maker constructs a particular view of himself and another as a subject (...). And by presenting the object in a certain way, she also constructs a new view of the object (Saward 2010, p.48). Every time when person makes a claim, they produce an image of themselves (S) and of the constituency (O) (Saward 2010, p.48). Using the example of Michael Saward, a representative claim happens for example when anti-globalization demonstrators (makers) set up themselves and their movements (subjects) as representatives of the oppressed and marginalized (object) to Western governments (audience) (Saward 2010, p. 37).

Based on the Anderson’s thought – Saward claims that constituencies are imagined (Saward 2010, p.51). Constituencies, arguably, can be short-lived, non-territorial, spontaneously formed, and still form for the
basis of competing demand for, and claims of, political representation (Saward 2010, p.100-101). Everything depends on how and in which contexts the representative claims are made and which constituencies they produce (Saward 2010, p. 101). Constituency is fluid, functional and cultural, permanent or temporary, within or across the borders, evoked as well as given (Saward 2010, p. 109).

Saward’s conception of representation overcomes the dichotomy between the active representative and passive represented. The author focuses on the dynamic aspect of representation and is more interested in the effects of representation rather than the institutional representation (Saward 2010, p.4).

3.2.3 Rehfeld and his concept of constitutive political representation

Similar to Saward, Rehfeld sees the representation as something dynamic. Rehfeld argues that political representation equals acting and the fact of being is connected to holding an office and activity is a requirement to make political representation happen (Rehfeld 2006, p.17). Rehfeld is not solely bounded with the concept of elective representation and develops a theory on political representation which enables explaining the phenomena of both: formal and informal; democratic and nondemocratic representation (Rehfeld 2006, p.2-4). Rehfeld focuses on the audience and points out that the audience must accept a representative to make the process of political representation happen. (Rehfeld 2006, p.4) He defines the audience as the relevant parties before whom the Representative claims to stand in for the Represented and act as defined by function( the purpose of representation defining the job the Representative is supposed to do) (Rehfeld 2006, p.6). Andrew Rehfeld states, that political representation results from an audience’s judgment that some individual, rather some other, stands in for a group in order to perform a specific function. (Rehfeld 2006, p.2)
The scholar’s definition of political representation is quite complex: The audience uses a set of rules to denote the Representative. These rules specify a Selection Agent who uses a Decision Rule to select a representative from a Qualified Set. (...) Representation is always in service to purpose or function (...) a representative (...) stands in for another in order to perform a specific function. There are three rules of recognition which are applied by the audience to accept or not a representative: Qualified Set (the claimant(s) must be recognized by the audience as qualified), Decision Rule (there need to be a system of picking the claimant(s) which must be recognized by the audience as valid) and Selection Agent (the claimant(s) must be seen by the audience as appropriate). The audience must recognize that the member of the Qualified Set was selected by the Selection Agent to represent the Represented according to the Decision Rule) (Rehfeld 2006, p.5–6)

Rehfeld argues that the process of political representation is not normative and the rules alone do not make the political representation happen. In the scholar's view the audience uses different rules to confirm and choose a representative in different cases. Rehfeld is more interested in highlighting:

How and where the normative arguments enter the political world. In the case of representation, it is the rules audiences use to recognize representatives rather than institutions or practices of representatives themselves that explain why they are or fail to be legitimate or just (Rehfeld 2006, p. 4).

According to Rehfeld, the rules used by the audience do not need to be just, fair or legitimate (Rehfeld 2006, p.4). However, as the author writes in the further part of his article, there is no representation as long as the audience fails to recognize that a case conforms to its rules. What really matters are the believes of the audience, not the facts (Rehfeld 2006, p. 15).
Even if it may seem the author, who is against the normative way of describing the political representation, builds his theory upon a set of rules which the audience uses to recognize the representative and which are bound with the normative terms like *qualifications*, *appropriateness* and validity, the scholar strives to refute this allegation in the very same article (Rehfeld 2006, p.15). Rehfeld points out, that a set of rules depends on the contexts and at the end of the day the audience must just recognize that the person meets their rules. The scholar argues also that what counts, are the beliefs of the audience (Rehfeld 2006, p.15). I do not see this rebuttal as convincing. All of the rules are actually context-dependent and subjective perceived. It also does not change the actual state that there are some rules and there are normative judgments which are present in the theory of Rehfeld.

### 3.2.4 Non-elective representation

Although representation is a category connected to the representative democracy and the process of the election, in my thesis I focus on non-elective representation, which activists are part of. Saward underlines that elective representation has its limits and the non-elective representation can offer different types of representative claims (Saward 2010, p.93). What is more, non-elective representatives do not have to think of all those things connected to being elected – for instance – they do not need to build a soft rhetoric which appeals to a bigger audience than the strong or unconventional representative claims (Saward 2010, p.93). The non-elective representatives are not dependent from the preferences of persons who voted for the elective representatives, furthermore the non-elective representatives can act beyond the territorial (for example electoral districts) border interests (Saward 2010, p.93.)

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22 Although, Jane Mansbridge a few years earlier wrote about the concept of surrogate representation in elective context: surrogate representation is representation by a representative with whom one has
representatives have probably more various and effective tools of control and accountability than the elective representatives (Saward 2010, p.93). The scholar points out that the non-elective representatives are allowed to be partial and they do not need to bother about the election-time. They can also be representative for a short period of the time and they can be reactive (Saward 2010, p.93-94). The non-elective representatives are free from the electoral patterns and pressure. It provokes their creativity and enables them to be more trustworthy (Saward 2010, p.94). For Saward, the non-elective representation brings a lot of possibilities which are not available for the elective representation (Saward 2010, p.94). Saward maintains also that they need to work harder to be noticed, they ought to captivate the audience (Saward 2010, p.94).

Saward divides the non-elective claims in the three categories: deeper roots representative claims, expertise and special credentials claims, and wider interests and new voices claims (Saward 2010, p.95). The first group of claims might be based on the deep group morality and ties of tradition and refer to the represented group’s identity (identities) and values (Saward 2010, p. 95-96). The claims call for a right of the group to have a voice and they are typical for religious representative claims (Saward 2010, p. 96). The claims might be also based on the hypothetical consent – assumption that there is a common interest of group on which as all the members of the group would agree on in the ideal decision conditions23 (Saward 2010, p. 97). It is also possible that the deeper roots claim refers to so called permanent interests of a state and the people – Saward ascribes this

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23 Saward refers here to John Rawls’ concept of the state of nature.
type of a claim senior civil servants and state bureaucracy members (Saward 2010, p. 97). The second type of a non-elective representative claim is expertise and special credentials claim which is based on the expertise knowledge of a claimant (Saward 2010, p. 98). That specific knowledge makes the person a proper candidate to be a representative (Saward 2010, p. 98). The last group of claims is called wider interest and new voices and includes many different kinds of claims (Saward 2010, p. 98-102). A claim named surrogacy for wider interests relates to cases when certain issues are not (enough) voiced especially because of the structural limitations – an example can be Bono who called himself a representative for millions of people from Africa (Saward 2010, p. 98-99). Surrogacy appears when a claimant is not a part of a group that the person claims to represent (Saward 2010, p. 99). Another claim from this group is authorized by massive demonstrations and it is called the word from the street (Saward 2010, p. 99). In this case the crowd may be used as a confirmation of the public opinion as well as a proof that the claimed interests come out from the grassroots events (Saward 2010, p. 99). A mirror claim is based on descriptive similarity between the claimant and the constituency he or she claims to speak or stand for (Saward 2010, p. 99). Someone could represent black lesbian working class women only because the person identifies as one from the group. The next claim of the group is a stakeholding one – it is based on the notion that one stands for or speaks for the group that has a material or other "stake" in a process or a decision, and therefore has a right to have its interests included in the process (Saward 2010, p. 100). Claims called exterritorial rules and laws are made on the floors of the extraterritorial organizations like for instance the agencies of the United Nations. The claims refer to would-be constituents but they are made on different territories that the addressees, they are transnational (Saward 2010, p. 101). Finally, Saward singles out self-representation claims which express the interests of an entity (Saward 2010, p. 101). A person
might state for example: *I do not feel represented; my interests are not a subject of public debate.* By using such expressions, a representative is constructing constituency which can identify itself with the statements as well as it can share the opinions on an issue (Saward 2010, p. 102).

Nonelective claims which are listed above need to be addressed and the most crucial is their reception (Saward 2010, p. 102). Saward poses two important questions: what can make representative claims be received in a way that lends them democratic legitimacy and what are some of the crucial “filters” through which observers of claims, including importantly those implicated in claims and subject to them, interpret representative claims? As a response to the first question, Saward states that provisionally acceptable claims to democratic legitimacy across the society are those for which there is evidence of sufficient acceptance of claims by appropriate constituencies under reasonable conditions of judgment (Saward 2010, p. 145). The answer on the second question strongly depends on the political culture’s context (Saward 2010, p. 103). Saward suggests two modes of reception of representative claim: one is about the claimant’s connection (when somebody is somehow linked to the elected or civil service), the second happens when the representative is considered to be independent and credible as well as -quite opposite to the first case – not tied to the state organizations (Saward 2010, p. 104-109). Saward admits that the two modes may overlap (Saward 2010, p. 106).

### 3.2.5 Identity

To represent is to construct new identities. In Saward’s view, the cultural and aesthetic dimensions of representation are responsible for that creative process (Saward 2010, p. 77). Saward draws on Spivak in whose work one can read that *how one is represented aesthetically will condition how one can be, or wishes to be, represented politically*
Alcoff argues that speaking for others not only means representing their interest or needs but it is always also representing who they are (Alcoff 1991, p.9). There is no such a thing as an authentic representation (Saward 2010, p. 78). In the essay *Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A contingent "Yes"*, Jane Mansbridge argues that there is a problem with the essentialism behind the thinking revealed in the title of her work. Such an approach implies that all of the people of same ethnicity or gender share the same interests and experiences. Essentialist thinking means that all members of the group have something in common, it implicates that there is an essential, a core thing or trait which connect them (Mansbridge 1999, p.637). What is more, the essentialist approach has failed many times in the history, for instance when first-wave feminists who stated to represent all the women, actually represented only white middle class women (Mansbridge 1999, p. 638). Nonetheless, Mansbridge argues that

*building on a more general argument for the proportional representation of interests, it highlights the historical contexts in which descriptive representation is likely to advance the substantive representation of interests* (Mansbridge 1999, p. 638).

Iris Marion Young writes that one can never be fully represented within the political representation and the representatives should represent some aspects of their identities, interests or beliefs of an individual (Young 2002, p.133).

### 3.3 Far-right wings female activist and political representation

In my research, I focus on the beliefs of persons who are represented (and actually representative at the same time). I put the emphasis on subjective perception of being represented. Authorization of
representation is based on the articulated endorsement for the organization – similar as Saward states in his works. The Saward’s concept of authorization is in fact ambiguous but in my work, I refer to concrete persons and their beliefs. It is not my intention to examine if the organizations supported by the female activists have a convincing authorization in general. I concentrate in my research on the perception of the far-right cisfemales and I ask why they do not feel represented. Their feelings and judgments are the most crucial. It is also not my aim to evaluate whether their representatives are good and I am not interested in any normative assessment.

Iris Marion Young writes that one can be represented concerning their opinion, interest or perspective (Young 2002, p. 133). Interest is something what affects or is important to the life prospects of individuals, or the goals of organizations, is not connected to values (Young 2002, p. 134). Opinions are values, ideas and views based on the judgment on how the policies should be conduct, opinions can be connected to ideologies or religion (Young 2002, p. 135). Social perspective is based on the history, experience and social knowledge which result from the position in the society (Young 2002, p. 136). I will follow her understanding of modes of representation while doing the research.
4 Methodology and research outcomes

In this chapter I describe the methodology and the outcome of the research. Firstly, I write a short introduction about the qualitative data analysis I used for the research. Afterwards I present my analysis and the research outcomes.

4.1 Qualitative Data Analysis

The common aim of qualitative data analysis is an analysis of the communication material (Mayring 2010, p. 11). In my case the material consists of political speeches. I have chosen this method as it enables a very detailed work with the texts which is necessary to answer my research questions. I took a sample which consists of five speeches from one picket, transcribed them and translated into English (Appendix 1). After that, I wrote a summary, analyzed the structure of the text, coded it with the help of the software NVivo 12. Finally, I interpreted the content hermeneutically.

4.1.1 The sample

The sample for the analyze are five political speeches which have been held by ciswomen from All-Polish Youth during the picket In the name of Ladies in Warsaw on 11th March 2018.

Due to my limited resources I decided to operate on the already existing data. Unfortunately, I have noticed that the existing data is very limited. Out of the available data I have chosen the most relevant, up-to-date and cohesive data, which is framed by the time, the form and the context.

I analyzed the political speeches from the picket In the Name of Ladies which took its place on 11 March 2018 in Warsaw. A dozen of ciswomen from All-Polish Youth gathered together as an alternative celebration of the 8th March to the feminist Manifa which had taken place a week
before. I have chosen this event because it was organized by ciswomen from the All-Polish Youth which is one of the biggest far-right organizations in Poland. What is rare and useful for my study: only ciswomen from the organization had the floor. I decided to conduct a research on their speeches as the picket was an act of their self-expression in the public sphere. The event is an anti-feministic one and I expected the activists to speak out about the feminist agenda and their approach towards it. Summing up, I have chosen the case because of the limited sources out of which the political speeches bring the relevant content I am looking for.

I have transcribed and translated the text from the video which is available on the platform YouTube. The source of the speeches is the video published by National Media (Media Narodowe) - a far-right media canal on the You Tube, connected to the website medianarodowe.com (Media Narodowe 2018). As the redaction write about themselves:

*National media (Media Narodowe) is a project that aims to consolidate the patriotic community. Guided by this philosophy of action, we have brought together as part of the initiative many entities that want to join forces and act together to create a new quality of the independent media* (Media Narodowe)²⁴.

The media which shares the video is strongly connected to the far-right Polish organizations and it promotes their agenda. The video itself not only contains the speeches but also the street survey and it is a kind of reportage from the event. The video was produced to promote the activity of the far-right. However, the speeches do not seem edited. I want to investigate the self-representation and the self-image of ciswomen from the far-right organization, therefore I find it important

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²⁴ In Polish: *Media narodowe to projekt, który w swoim zamyśle ma konsolidować środowisko patriotyczne. Kierując się tą filozofią działania zrzeszyliśmy w ramach inicjatywy wiele podmiotów, które chcą połączyć siły i działać wspólnie, aby wykreować nową jakość niezależnych mediów.*
that instead of looking for potentially neutral or foreign media, I conduct my research on the video which comes from the media which is in favor of the speakers. Unfortunately, the speeches did not represent the whole vision of the world and beliefs of the far-right activists.

4.1.2 The summery of the speeches
Although during the picket there were five speeches conducted, I gather them together in a one document as they all create a whole composition. To give a short overview of the data that I have analyzed, I summary the speeches. The full text is to be find in the Appendix 1, at the end of the work.

The first speech is conducted by Aleksandra Winiarska from the All-Polish Youth. The speaker makes an introduction and explains the purpose of the picket. The event is aimed at breaking stereotypes of a far-right woman and promoting a lady role model. The author wishes to promote an image of woman who is gentle, subtle and feminine. Winiarska speaks out about the transformation of stereotypes connected to the women from All-Polish Youth. Earlier they were seen as passive women who fulfill the stereotypical role of mother and obedient wife and then the media and feminist milieus started to call them fascists who murder. The speaker tries to convince that she and her friends from the organization are normal, smart girls who study and work. Winiarska speaks also about the stigmatization and dehumanization of them which are being done by female feminist communities. She ends her speech with the roll-call of not believing the people who call them fascist. The activist ensures that they do a lot of good things which are untold.

The second person presents the first of the three ciswomen depicted on the banner of the picket: Maria Eleonora Mirecka-Loryś. The speaker
talks about the person per Mrs. Maria. Mirecka-Loryś was born in 1916. She had to quit her education because of the outbreak of the Second World War. She was an activist of the All-Polish Youth and was active in the conspiracy, in the national underground, in the National Military Organization, as well as in the Women’s Military Union. The speaker highlights that Mirecka-Loryś often occupied very high positions within the organizations. Mirecka-Loryś was persecuted because of her activity and she had to leave the country. She moved to the United States of the America where she was active in Polonia organizations. She was also helping internees, veteran, prisoners of Gulag and Poles from the East. Mirecka-Loryś came back from emigration and she is still taking part in patriotic celebrations. Maria is religious and she dedicated her whole life for the nation. Therefore, she is called a role model for the All-Polish Youth’s female activists.

The third speech is held by Edyta Luty who speaks about Saint Jadwiga. Saint Jadwiga used to be a king of Poland. According to the author, Saint Jadwiga was the best king of Poland because she is saint. Luty tells the story of Saint Jadwiga who, she believes, saw Jesus while praying and wondering if she should marry Jagiełło, the king of Poland. Saint Jadwiga is presented as a role model because she was a religious and powerful woman who ruled a country.

The fourth activist presents a biography of Stefania Firkowska. Firkowska was fighting in the Home Army. The author quotes Józef Wyrwa who has said that Firkowska was feminine and powerful. The speaker quotes also the word of Firkowska’s sister who recalls her optimism and bravery. The activist says that Firkowska is a symbol of courage and femininity. Firkowska was murdered because of her

25 Probably because of the fact that Maria Mirecka is still alive and she is notable older than the speaker.
26 In Polish the term queen is used in the historic context to describe the wife of king. Saint Jadwiga is called a king because she was a ruler of the country.
activity. The activist highlights the devotion of Firkowska and her belief in god.

The last speech is held by Karolina Buczkowska who tells her own story. She starts the speech with the statement that female feminists fight for the right to murdering unborn children. She states that female feminists lie to make the law still binding. Buczkowska asks the people who think that one can should human life when was the right moment to kill her. She speaks about her illness, cerebral palsy, and how her family helped her in the fight for the self-reliance. Buczkowska tells about the support which she got from those who female feminists and another left-liberal media call fascist. The activist speaks about happiness and feeling of being needed which are brought to her by the members of the group. She asks why are female feminists not happy. She quotes the member of her group who describes Buczkowska as the one who did not get the healthy legs from the God but the heart thanks to which she brings faith, hope into life other people. The speaker states that her activity should be patronized by the Holy Mary and three women mentioned above.

4.1.3 Structure of the analyzed text
I decided to interpret the speeches as a coherent text as they build up a coherent whole. There is very emotional beginning, full of very strong statements and informing about the aim of the picket. The next three speakers present the stories about ciswomen who are role models. The last person has a very emotional speech in which she shares her personal experience.

4.1.4 Coding the data
In creating codes, I relied on the software NVivo 12, close-reading practice and I was following the instructions of Pat Bazeley (Bazeley 2013). Furthermore, I was consistently thinking of the theories and
concepts from the previous chapter as well as I was guided by the research questions.

I decided to code the data using the software NVivo 12. At the beginning I checked which words appear the most often. I did it by using the software to gain the overview and pick up some tendencies from the text.

I looked critically at the cloud and noticed that there are some overlapping synonyms and stemmed words like woman-women and national-nation, activists-involved. I thought also that the word female is in the cloud because Polish nouns has genus and I was translating word like feministka as female feminist, because the word feministka refers to woman explicitly. Figure 1 depicts 20 most common words with at least five letters, I changed the setting to the four-letter words and I saw lady which appears frequently. The automated search guide me to the codes like nation, self-picture, being active.

Then I practiced the close reading and with classical pencil-and-paper technique I distinguished a large part of the text which refer to the family and religion. Following the advice of Bazeley, I challenged every code and came to the obvious conclusion that with the codes I have
gathered by now, I cannot answer my research questions (Bazeley 2013, p.143).

My research questions are: how do far-right ciswomen present themselves? How do they see feminists? Why far-right ciswomen do not feel represented by feminists? I made the self-picture an umbrella term for several codes like courage, femininity, obedience, being active, having power, devotion. Another category related to the image of the feminists and consisted of qualities, interests, and feminist toward far-right ciswomen. The third category’s draft name was values, and it gathered codes family, nation- Poland, education and religion.

Afterwards I returned to my theories from the previous chapters and I created codes: interest, opinions (previously called values) and social perspective which refer directly to the categories of Iris Marion Young (2002, p. 133). The scholar writes that

First, I feel represented when someone is looking after my interests I take as mine and share with some others. Secondly, it is important to me that the principles, values, and priorities that I think should guide political decisions are voiced in discussion. Finally, I feel represented when at least some of those discussing and voting on policies understand and express the kind of social experience I have because of my social group position and the history of social group relations (Young 2002, p.133).

Following Young’s definitions, I coded the text. This process helped me to answer my research questions.

4.2 Research analysis and outcomes

In the subchapter I present the outcomes of my studies. My research questions are: how do the far-right ciswomen depict themselves? how
do the far-right ciswomen see the feminists? Why the far-right ciswomen do not feel represented by the feminists?

4.2.1 Self-picture
The far-right activists construct their self-image through the stories and stories are a political tool (Bazeley 2013, p. 205). They have many purposes - to identify them, one needs to investigate how the teller makes (or made) sense of the world they live in, and his or her place or experience in it (Bazeley 2013, p. 204).

There are five stories in the text: the first is a story of being stigmatized and unfairly judged, the second, the third as well as the fourth are the stories of being devoted to the nation and/or to the religion, being powerful, courageous and feminine. The last narration is focused on an illness and support. The context of the stories is a political picket which promotes their view as well as represents their activists to the outside. A picket needs to be emotional, engaging and convincing. As the first speaker says, the purpose is to promote new role models for girls and to show that national activists are normal girls. The stories are created to reach the picket’s goal.

The first and the fifth stories are told from the perspective who directly experiences the situation. The first one is a story of being victim of the medial and feminist discourse, the experience of feeling uncomfortable with the stereotypes of themselves. The speaker wants to convince the audience that she and her colleagues from the group are different as their media’s representations. She does it by depicting the media and feminist milieu unprofessional and unjust. The far-right ciswomen are presented as the victims of media and feminist communities. The last story is told by the person with disabilities who does not picture herself as a victim. She highlights the support from family and members of the All-Polish Youth. The story is aimed at improving the image of the persons from the group who are perceived as aggressive from the
outside. The members of the All-Polish Youth are presented as supportive whereas the feminists are pictured as the one who value human life and fight for abortion of the fetus suspected of the same illness.

The stories told in the middle concern role models, heroines of the All-Polish Youth members. The three ciswomen represent the collective super-ego of the activists. They are metaphors for their aspirations and values. In this way the speakers would like to be seen by the people outside their communities.

I gathered the most important qualities of the far-right women in a category self-portrayal during the coding process (Appendix 2). These qualities are being active, having power, devotion, femininity, courage and obedience. The activity mainly means the activity for the nation and personal development. In the stories about the three heroines there is a stress on their activity during the war and the activity in national organizations. Currently the activists highlight that they do a lot of things such ask work for charity. The three biographies of ciswomen focus on their powerfulness, they are pictured as influential and persons occupying high positions. What is also underlined is the devotion for nation and religious devotion. Far-right ciswomen are also feminine – not only when it comes to their appearance, being feminine is also being courageous, devoted and good. Furthermore, as the first speaker states: there are feminine features that are inseparable and accompany us since we remember. These characteristics is subtlety, femininity, gentleness. The courage of the far-right ciswomen is confirmed by the stories of taking risk and being active in the military organization. There is also an ambiguous position towards obedience – on one hand the first speaker makes clear that the far-right ciswomen do not obey their husbands, on the other hand – it is appreciated to follow commands of persons higher in the hierarchy and follow the god’s words.
4.2.2 The image of the feminists

I divided the passages commenting feminists in three codes: attitudes towards All-Polish Youth activists, features of the feminist as well as their interests (Appendix 3).

The activists speak a lot about how they think they are seen by feminists and how they feel to be treated by them. In most cases they talk about female feminists. Feminist milieus are quite often mentioned next to liberal media or the media in general. Feminists call the activists fascist, dehumanize and stigmatize them. They use the ideological terror – they do not see the activists as women and they do not tolerate them because they have different opinions. The far-right activists do not feel that the feminist fight for their rights.

The speakers devote also some time to describe the features of the feminists. Feminists are depicted as persons who lie to reach their goals. They are reproached to be fascist as they are aggressive, fight for abortion on demand and use the ideological terror. The feminist value human life and distinct it in healthy and ill. They are not joyful and state that Poland is an uncivilized country.

The only explicit interest of feminist is liberalization of abortion law, or in their language: murdering children.

The picture of feminists is therefore very negative and homogenized. The speakers do not indicate any common value and statement besides fighting against the domestic violence (which is also not explicit spoken – We also fight against the domestic violence and we also disagree with it.)

4.2.3 Representation

According to Iris Marion Young, one can be represented according to interest, opinions or social perspective (Young 2002, p.123). Following her concept and definition I investigated interests, opinions and social
perspective of the activists who spoken during the picket In the Name of Ladies. Firstly, I coded the text and I make a table containing the relevant text passages (see Appendix 4.).

Four themes are relevant for the category opinions: nation, education, family and religion. Nation seems the most important, then family, religion and education. The activists identify themselves as nationalists, they believe that nation is something worth dying for. They devote their free time for working for the nation. During the speeches, one can hear stories of three ciswomen and they all are presented as persons who work(ed) and fought for Poland. Family relations are also highlighted in the stories. Family is depicted as the source of support and inspiration. The institution of a family is understood in a traditional, heteronormative way. Mother is the one who bears children and take care of the children whereas father is responsible for the feeling of safety. What is important, the first speaker accents that the far-right ciswomen are not only mothers and wives. Another important thing in their lives is education. The speakers stressed the education of the presented heroines. Education is also used as a prove that the ciswomen from their organization are not stupid and they care for personal development. Last but not least, religion plays also a crucial role in their lives. In the short biographies presented during the picket, the religious devotion was very stressed. Saint Jadwiga is depicted as the best king as she was saint – all of other features in this classification are ignored.

Interests of the All-Polish Youth activists which are indirectly communicated are: breaking the stereotypes about them, promotion of the traditional features of ciswomen like subtlety, femininity and gentleness as well as bringing some lady-role-models into the mainstream. They are also against domestic violence. They are proponents of the heteronormative world indirectly. The activists criticize feminists because they fight for liberalization of the abortion
law. They call abortion a murder so one can suppose that they want to delegalize abortion.

According to the first speech, the national activists are concerned because of their stereotypes. On one hand they are seen as passive, stupid housewives, on the other hand they are depicted as fascists who murder. The first stereotype is not true and the second – harmful. The All-Youth activists feel dehumanized and stigmatized by the liberal and feminist societies. The activists presented themselves as the victims of the ideological terror. They believe that feminists do not treat them as woman and that their voice is not heard because it does not comply with feminists’ vision. A special perspective is presented by the last speaker, who is a person with the limited mobility. She talks about the support which she finds within the far-right groups. She feels needed in the far communities whereas the feminist milieus are presented as those who value human life and fight for maintaining the right to abort fetus suspected of the same illness as the speaker is diagnosed with.

The activists from the All-Polish Youth do not feel represented by the feminists as their opinions, interests and social perspective may differ. I operate only on the beliefs outspoken during one picket and only by the far-right ciswomen.

Feminists are a homogenous group in the eyes of the speakers but it is fair to admit that the interest of the major feminist group in Poland is to legalize the termination of pregnancy and make it mostly possible available and affordable. In this point there is a strong conflict of the interest. The only common interest is the elimination of the domestic violence.

The social perspective might be similar as the feminist communities are also stigmatized and called feminazi by their opponents. Another common experience for both groups is being ciswoman in Poland and dealing with the discrimination – although in case of the far-right
ciswomen the inequality of gender, the binarity is often taken for the granted (see Chapter 3).

As the main opinions of the far-right ciswomen are connected to family, nation and religion, it is understandable that they are not feeling represented by the feminists when it comes to opinions. The vision of family, approach to nation and the place of religion in the public life seem to differ too strongly. Although there is a clearly shared value: personal development.

Following the constitutive representation theories, I rely in my research on the beliefs of the group. Only an individual or a group can speak and decide for themselves if they feel represented by someone/something. According to Michael Saward (2010), the representation is a constant process in which makers and the audience interact with each other. The audience can decide on their own if they feel represented – the far-right ciswomen rejected the claims of the feminists. Representation is a creative process in which identities and constituencies are being constructed – the feminists build their constituencies which do not appeal to the far-right ciswomen. Adapting the Saward’s definition of the representative claim: feminists (M) set themselves (S) as the representative for all the ciswomen (O) to the society (A) (Saward 2010, p. 36). The far-right ciswomen reject the claim as they identify themselves as national activists, they approve the heteronormative world with clear gender roles. The makers of the claim are not convincing. It is not enough to be a ciswoman to represent other ciswomen27, one can claim that indeed, but the interests, opinions and social perspective differ significantly in a big group which are ciswomen.

Andrew Rehfeld (2006) also claims that what matters, are the beliefs of the audience. He has created a qualified set (see 3.2.3.) which now

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27 It is possible only concerning substantive representation.
can be tested for the purposes of the research. According to his rules of recognition, the claimant must be seen as qualified, picked according to the Decision Rule and seen as an appropriate person for the function (Selected Agent) (Rehfeld 2006, p. 6). The feminists are therefore qualified and picked according to the Decision Rule because they are activists and everything is placed in a non-elective context. The main problem occurs within the third rule – the feminists are not seen by the far-right ciswomen as appropriate representants.
5 Conclusions and future prospects

In my work I revised a current state of research devoted to far-right ciswomen which I complemented with the context of the Polish far-right scene. Afterwards I took political representation into account. Having started with the classic theory of Pitkin, I then moved on to the contemporary theories of constitutive political representation. Finally, I conducted my research and shared its outcomes in the last chapter.

Ciswomen in the far-right are not a homogenous group and there are many paths which one may follow in order to explain the presence of them in the scene. I decided to focus on the problem of representation. Relying on the constitutive political representation thinkers like Iris Marion Young, Michael Saward or Andrew Rehfeld, I proved that feeling of being represented is decisive. Following Iris Marion Young’s concept, far-right ciswomen do not feel represented by feminists because they have different opinions and interests, even if they share a similar social perspective (Young 2002, p. 123-126). Referring to Saward’s theory, far-right activists reject the representative claims of feminists. Adapting Rehfeld’s rules of recognition, far-right ciswomen do not perceive feminists as appropriate persons to represent them (Rehfeld 2006, p.6).

The sense of political representation is connected with the portrayal of feminists that the far-right ciswomen have. Far-right activists who held their speeches during picket In the Name of Ladies build their image by referring to biographies of historic characters and in a strong opposition to feminists. Feminists are seen as a homogenous, aggressive group whose main interest is legalization of abortion on demand. On the other hand, they feel that feminist communities stigmatize and dehumanize far-right ciswomen as well.

During my work I investigated how ciswomen in the far-right present themselves. The studies of Renate Bitzan (2011) brought heterogenous
self-portrayal of ciswomen in the far-right who may present themselves with regard of traditional gender roles and image, in a little more modern version where profession is central for a ciswoman’s world, as well as sexism-critical perspectives. My studies brought more coherent self-portrayal of ciswomen in the far-right. A reason for that may be my sample which consisted of speeches of ciswomen from the same group, taking part in the same event. Far-right ciswomen present themselves as devoted to the nation and roman catholic religion. They feel stigmatized and want to be seen as normal, clever girls\textsuperscript{28} who are active in political groups. The activists present themselves as courageous, feminine and powerful. The self-portrayal of the far-right ciswomen is situated therefore between modern and sexism-critic model of Renate Bitzan (2011, p. 116).

There are still some aspects to be investigated. At the beginning I was considering interviewing far-right activists, which could lead to more holistic outcomes. I have chosen to analyze already existing data and as it turned out, the case does not exhaust the topic. During the picket In the Name of Ladies there are no explicit racist or homophobic expressions although I have noticed them on the social media platforms of the participants. Furthermore, there are a few questions which still emerge due to my studies. How should feminist communities refer to far-right ciswomen? Should feminists try to communicate far-right ciswomen? How could feminist milieus reach ciswomen from the far-right families and societies?

Feminism is a social movement, which is supported by a number of theories and it promotes gender equality. Feminism is aimed to represent widely understood women’s interest. And yet, it fails to do so. Feminism is not convincing for every ciswoman, even if all ciswomen profit from it. As my research shows, there are many

\textsuperscript{28} In the speeches I analyzed far right ciswomen consistently used the term “girl” or “girls” to refer to themselves. A further analysis to why this is the case could be interesting.
reasons why a ciswoman would join an anti-feministic, far-right movement. Therefore the research can give suggestions to the feminist groups on how to pattern their political agenda. Far-right ciswomen should be studied carefully because the anti-feministic far-right movement grows also thanks to ciswomen engaged in the scene. In the New Right context, it is visible – this movements are becoming more popular and seem less alarming because of ciswomen’s engagement (Elverich 2005, p. 112). My suggestion for a feminist intervention would be highlighting the influence and activity of ciswomen within the far-right scene, who are still not taken seriously by the public opinion because of their gender.
6 Publication bibliography


Döhring, Kirsten; Feldman, Renate (2005): Akteurinnen und Organisationen. Die involviertheit von Frauen in der extremen Rechten. In Antifaschistisches Frauenetzwerk,


# Appendixes

**Appendix 1.** The Translation of the speeches from Polish into English:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The speech in Polish</th>
<th>The speech in English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1</strong> Zacznę może od tego jaki cel ma nasza pikieta-pikieta, która nazywa się pikieta <em>W imieniu dam.</em></td>
<td>I will maybe start with what is the purpose of our picket - picket, which is called picket <em>In the name of the ladies.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Zacznę od tego kim jest dla nas dama współcześnie. To słowo dama zmienia się wraz z wiekiem. Dwieście lat temu dama znaczyło co innego, sto lat temu dama znaczyło co innego, ale dziś zaczynamy się obawiać. Zaczynamy się obawiać o to słowo, dlatego że w dzisiejszych czasach młode dziewczyny inspirują się, mają niekoniecznie dobre wzorce.

Dzisiaj dziewczyny sobie żartują, że damą są wtedy, kiedy potrafią z imprezy wrócić o własnych siłach.

I will start with who the lady is for us today. This word lady changes with age. Two hundred years ago, a lady meant something different, a hundred years ago a lady meant something else, but today we are beginning to be worried. We are beginning to be worried about this word, because nowadays young girls are inspired, they have not necessarily good role models.

Today, girls joke that they are a lady when they are able to come back from a party on their own.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tak, i ten-ten jakby wzór dzisiejszej damy chcemy przełamać i pokazać tą damę z tej nacjonalistycznej strony, bym sobie zażartowała, że chce pokazać trochę nacjonalizm od kuchni [śmiech].</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, and this - this kind of role model of today's lady we want to break and show this lady from this nationalist side, I would make a joke, that I want to show some nationalism from the backstage* [laughs]. *(in Polish literally: from the kitchen)</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<th>Dobra, więc zaczniemy od tego czym jest dla nas dama i jakie ma cechy. Jak już wspominałam wcześniej to głównie w dużej mierze zależy od epoki, ale są kobiece cechy, które są nierozerwalne i towarzyszą nam od kiedy pamiętamy. Tymi cechami jest subtelność, kobiecość, delikatność i my właśnie takie cechy chcemy promować, przede wszystkim.</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Okay, so we will start with what the lady is for us and what her traits are. As I have already mentioned before, it mainly depends on the age, but there are feminine features that are inseparable and accompany us since we remember. These characteristics is subtlety, femininity, gentleness and above all, we just want to promote such characteristics.</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<th>Chcemy też trochę przełamać stereotypy, dlatego, że na początku, jakiś czas temu, kobieta-nacjonalistka była uważana za kobietę, która</th>
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<tr>
<td>We also want to break some stereotypes a bit, because at the beginning, some time ago, a woman-nationalist was considered a woman who</td>
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najchętniej zamknęłaby się w domu z ósemką dzieci, piekła ciastka, była posłuszna mężowi i nie wychodziła na światło dzienne.

Otóż tak nie jest. Bardzo wiele z nas również się rozwija, jest studentkami. To są naprawdę bardzo mądre dziewczyny. I ten stereotyp nie jest w ogóle zgodny z prawda. My również walczymy z przemocą domową, i również się z nią nie zgadzamy.

No teraz, że tak powiem trochę prześmiewczo, ale niestety taka jest prawda, która jest bardzo krzywdząca. Ten stereotyp takiej, że tak powiem kolokwialnie, ciotki-klotki, przeszedł ogromną rewolucję, bo nagle stałyśmy się faszystkami. I z matek-polek, które siedzą i tylko rodzą dzieci, stałyśmy się faszystkami, które mordują, choć [niezrozumiałe, niewyraźne].

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>would like to lock herself at home with eight children, bake cookies, obey her husband and does not come out into the daylight.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well, it is not like that. A lot of us develop, are students. They are really very smart girls. And this stereotype is not at all true. We also fight against the domestic violence and we also disagree with it.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Well, so to speak a bit mockery, but unfortunately this is the truth, which is very harmful. This stereotype of such a colloquially speaking, coughy klatch, went through a huge revolution, because suddenly we became fascists. And from Polish-Mothers*who only sit and bear children, we became fascists who murder, though [incomprehensible, indistinct].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(something like mother-hen, a mother who cope with all of...</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ale teraz tak: jesteśmy nazywane faszystkami przez media, środowiska feministyczne i zaczynamy się teraz zastanawiać kto jest faszystką. Czy kobieta, która poświęca swój wolny czas pracy dla narodu, czy kobieta, która chodzi po manifestacjach i krzyczy *abortacja na zádzanie*? Bo mi faszyzm kojarzy się z agresją, z morderstwem i z terrorem ideologicznym. Niestety dla środowisk feministycznych ten terror ideologiczny polega na tym, że tolerancja, o której one non-stop mówią, kończy się wtedy, kiedy głos zabierają właśnie nacjonalistki.

Wszystkie kobiety mogą mówić co tylko chcą, ale dopóki się z nami zgadzają. Jeżeli przestają się z nami zgadzać, są już wykluczone, nie walczymy już o ich prawa, przestają być kobietami.

But now so: we are called fascists by the media, by the feminist communities and now we are beginning to wonder who is a fascist. Is it a woman who devotes her free time to work for a nation, or a woman who takes part in demonstrations and shouts *abortion on demand*? Because I associate fascism with aggression, murder and ideological terror. Unfortunately for feminist milieus, this ideological terror is that the tolerance, they talk non-stop about, ends when the female nationalists take the floor.

All women can say whatever they want, but as long as they agree with us. If they cease to agree with us, they are already excluded, we do not fight for their rights anymore, they stop being...
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Dochodzi też do-do dehumanizacji nas i do takiej stygmatyzacji, co też jest bardzo krzywizujące. Ale musimy być gruboskórné.</th>
<th>It gets also to the point where there is a dehumanization of us and such kind of stigmatization, which is also very harmful. But we must be thick-skinned.</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Dochodzi do sytuacji, kiedy używają takich sformułowana, właśnie jak mówią, faszystka. Czy faszysta to człowiek? Nie, to zwierzę - przecież nie można go traktować w kategoriach ludzkich. Niestety bardzo duża część społeczeństwa jakby przystaje na to, bo to jest prosty, bo tak prościej sobie skategoryzować osobę.</td>
<td>It comes to the situation when they use such phrases, just as I said, (female) fascist. Is a fascist a human? Nah, it's an animal - after all it cannot be treated in human terms. Unfortunately, a very large part of the society sort of adhere to it, because it is simpler, because it is easier to categorize a person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My chcemy pokazać, że zupełnie tak nie jest, że jesteśmy normalnymi dziewczynami, które pracują, studiują, uczą się, wolny czas poświęcają na pracę dla narodu, na prace charytatywne.</td>
<td>We want to show that it is not like this, that we are normal girls who work, study, learn, devote their free time to work for the nation, to charity work.</td>
</tr>
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Kolejna rzeczą, o której chcę powiedzieć to jest banner.
Wybrałyśmy w tym roku hasło *kobiety ostoja narodu*, żeby właśnie łamać stereotypy i pokazać. Są tu trzy kobiety, bardzo ważne dla nas, jak i myślę dla wszystkich państwa. Jest tu pani Maria Mirecka-Loryś, jest tu święta Jadwiga i jest tu Stefania Firkowska. Oczywiście mogą ją państwo nie kojarzyć, to jest dziewczyna, która walczyła w Narodowych Siłach Zbrojnych.

Kończąc moją wypowiedź, bo jakby nie chcę tego przeciągać i mówić o nudnych frazesach, chciałabym, żeby ten obraz nas, jaki widzicie teraz państwo, został państwu w pamięci i żeby zapamiętali państwo, że to, że ktoś nazwie nas faszystką, bo jest mu wygodniej, nie znaczy, że tak jest i ze naprawdę robimy bardzo dużo-bardzo dużo

The next thing I want to speak about is the banner. We chose this year the slogan: *women - the refuge of the nation*, just to break stereotypes and show. There are three women here, very important to us, and I think for all of you*. There is Mrs. Maria Mirecka-Loryś, Saint Jadwiga is here and Stefania Firkowska is here. Of course, it is possible that you* do not know her, it is a girl who fought in the National Armed Forces.

*formal, very impersonal form towards not-known persons

Ending my speech, because I kind of do not want to drag it and talk about boring phrases, I would like that the image of us, that you* see now to stay in your memory and that you* will remember that the fact that someone call us female fascist because it is simpler for him, it does not mean that it is so and
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dobrych rzeczy, o których niestety się nie mówi, a powinno.</th>
<th>that we really do a lot - a lot of good things about which it is not talked about but it should be talked about.</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2</strong> Szanowni państwo, koleżanki i koledzy! Chciałabym teraz przedstawić bardzo niezwykłą, szczególną i wyjątkową osobę, jaka jest pani Maria Eleonora Mirecka-Loryś, którą możemy zobaczyć tutaj, na środku naszego banneru.</td>
<td>Ladies and gentlemen, friends! I would now like to introduce a very unusual, special and unique person which is Maria Eleonora Mirecka-Loryś, whom we can see here in the middle of our banner.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pani Maria urodziła się w 1916 roku w Ulanowie nad Sanem, na Podkarpaciu jako siódme dziecko z ośmiorga rodzeństwa. W dwudziestym pierwszym roku jej rodzina zamieszkała w Racławicach koło Niska. Dwa lata przed wybuchem drugiej wojny światowej, ukończyła gimnazjum w Nisku i rozpoczęła studia prawnicze na Uniwersytecie Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie. Niestety musiała je przerwać.</td>
<td>Mrs. Maria was born in 1916 in Ulanów on the San River, in Podkarpacie as the seventh child of eight siblings. In the twenty-first year her family started to live in Racławice near Nisko. Two years before the outbreak of the Second World War, she had graduated from the gymnasium in Nisko and began studying law at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv. Unfortunately, she had to quit them.</td>
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<tr>
<td>W ślad za starszym rodzeństwem, zaangażowała się</td>
<td>Following her older siblings, she became involved in the</td>
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w działalność Młodzieży Wszechpolskiej. Od początku okupacji działała w konspiracji. Należała do kierownictwa podziemia narodowego w Centralnym Okręgu Przemysłowym. W czterdziestym roku została komendantką Narodowej Organizacji Wojskowej Kobiet w powiecie niżańskim, a później w całym okręgu rzeszowskim. Była kurierką komendy głównej Narodowej Organizacji Wojskowej. Tadeusz Bór-Komorowski awansował ją do stopnia kapitana. W czterdziestym trzecim roku uczestniczyła w konspiracyjnym odnowieniu ślubów akademickich na Jasnej Górze. W trzydziestosześciuosobowej grupie młodzieży, Maria Mirecka reprezentowała Lwow. W tej samej grupie również, jako reprezentant Krakowa, znajdował się Karol Wojtyła. Dwa lata później, wiosną czterdziestego piątego roku, została komendantką główną Narodowego Zjednoczenia activities of the All-Polish Youth. From the beginning of the occupation, she was involved in a conspiracy. She belonged to the leadership of the national underground in the Central Industrial District. In the 1940s, she became the commander of the National Military Organization of Women in the Nizański powiat, and later in the entire Rzeszów region. She was a courier of the main command of the National Military Organization. Tadeusz Bór-Komorowski promoted her to the rank of captain. In the forty-third year she participated in the underground renewal of academic oaths at Jasna Góra (in church in Czestochowa). In a group of thirty-six young people, Maria Mirecka represented Lviv. Karol Wojtyła was also in the same group as the representative of Krakow. Two years later, in the spring of forty-five, she became the chief commander.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Wojskowego Kobiet. Kilka miesięcy później została aresztowana przez bezpiekę w Nisku. Brutalnie przesłuchiwana, między innymi w Warszawie, trafiła do więzienia na ulicy Montelupich w Krakowie. Więzienie opuściła pierwszego września 1945. roku na mocy amnestii.</th>
<th>of the National Women's Military Union. A few months later she was arrested by the secret police in Nisko. Brutally interrogated, inter alia in Warsaw, she was sent to the prison on Montelupich Street in Krakow. She left the prison on September 1, 1945, due to the amnesty.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Po wojnie wznowiła studia prawnicze na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim. Zagrożona ponownym aresztowaniem, podając się za obywatelkę Luksemburga, w grudniu czterdziestego piątego roku, opuściła Polskę. Z grupa kilkunastu działaczy narodowych przez Czechy i Niemcy dotarła do obozu drugiego korpusu generała Andersa pod Ancona. Tam poznala swojego przyszłego męża, oficera rezerwy, Henryka Loryśa. W październiku czterdziestego szóstego roku, już jako małżonkowie, wyjechali do Anglii, a w styczniu pięćdziesiątego drugiego roku do</td>
<td>After the war, she resumed law studies at the Jagiellonian University. Threatened with the re-arrest, she left Poland claiming to be a Luxemburg citizen in December 1945. With a group of a dozen or so national activists through the Czech Republic and Germany reached the camp of General Anders's second corps at Ancona. There she met her future husband, reserve officer, Henry Loryś. In October of 1947, as a couple, they moved to England, and in January of 1952, they went to the United States. At the beginning they lived in Toledo, then in Chicago.</td>
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<td>From the very beginning, Mrs. Maria was actively involved in the work of Polonia organizations. Among others, she was the head of the national board of the Polish American Congress, and for 32 years she was the editor of <em>Głos Polek</em> (The Voice of Polish Women) - a journal of the Polish Women's Association in America. She collaborated with the Polonia radio in Chicago, for which she recorded weekly columns from the <em>Open Microphone</em> series. She was involved in helping internees under martial law. She was also involved in helping Poles living in the East.</td>
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<td>Brat Pani Marii, Bronisław Mirecki, był księdzem w Nowym Siol nad Zbruczem. To od niego wiedziała jaka bieda panuje na Ukrainie. Już w latach siedemdziesiątych, razem ze Maria's brother, Bronisław Mirecki, was a priest in Nowy Siol on the Zbrucz river. She knew from him about the scale of poverty in Ukraine. Already in the 1970s,</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>USA. Na początku zamieszki w Toledo, później w Chicago. Pani Maria od początku aktywnie zaangażowała się w prace organizacji polonijnych. Była między innymi szefową krajowego zarządu Kongresu Polonii Amerykańskiej, a przez 32 lata pełniła funkcję redaktora <em>Głosu Polek</em> - czasopisma Związku Polek w Ameryce. Współpracowała z polonijnym radem w Chicago, dla którego nagrywała cotygodniowe felietony z cyklu <em>Otwarty Mikrofon</em>. Angażowała się w pomoc dla internowanych w stanie wojennym. Angażowała się również w pomoc Polakom mieszkającym na Wschodzie.</td>
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swoją siostrą Heleną, wyjeżdżała do Związku Radzieckiego z pomocą dla Polaków, szczególnie kombatantów i łagierników.

Ze względu na to, że przewoziła również zabronione wówczas dewocjonalia, zyskała przydomek *boża przemytniczka*.

Kilka lat temu powróciła do rodzinnych Racławic koło Niska. Pani Maria, mimo tego, że obecnie ma 102 lata, nadal angażuje się w pomoc Polakom mieszkającym na Kresach. Bierze udział w uroczystościach patriotycznych. Całym życiem pozostaje w służbie narodowi i ojczyźnie.

Kończąc już, chciałabym podkreślić, że jej niezwykłe, trwające już ponad 80 lat, zaangażowanie w działalność na rzecz narodu, pozwala nam, działaczkom Młodzieży Wszechpolakowskiej, działaczkom

together with her sister Helena, she was going to the Soviet Union with help for Poles, especially veterans and prisoners of Gulag.

Due to the fact that she also shipped prohibited at that time, Catholic devotions, she became the nickname *god’s smuggler*.

A few years ago, she returned to her family home-town Racławice near Nisko. Mrs. Maria, despite being 102 years old, is still involved in helping Poles living in the Borderlands. She takes part in patriotic ceremonies. She lives in the service of the nation and the homeland with all her life.

Finally, I would like to emphasize that her unusual, over 80 years-lasting involvement in activities for the benefit of the nation, allows us, female activists of the All-Polish Youth, national
A teraz przedstawimy drugą z postaci, jest to święta Jadwiga, czyli najlepszy król Polski. Dlaczego jest najlepszym królem Polski, jaki kiedykolwiek był? Bo jest świętym królem. Świętą Jadwigę za patronkę obrały międzywojenne działaczki narodowe. I teraz, dlaczego tak się stało? Przytoczymy kilka faktów, bo wiadomo, że o świętej Jadwidze powstały całe książki i jest taką postacią, o której można naprawdę dużo mówić, a to tylko nasza skromna pikietka, skromne przypomnienie. Ale zacznijmy od tego, że święta Jadwiga miała zwyczaj modlić się pod krzyżem, który do dzisiaj można zobaczyć właśnie w archikatedrze wawelskiej, takiego czarnego Jezusa, i miała

And now we will present the second character, this is Saint Jadwiga, the best Polish king. Why is she the best king of Poland, who ever existed? Because she is a holy king. Saint Jadwiga was appointed by the interwar national female activists as the patron. Now, why did it happen? We will quote a few facts because it is known that there are a lot of books about Saint Jadwiga and she is a person, about who one can talk really a lot, and this is only our modest picket, modest reminder.

But let’s start with the fact that Saint Jadwiga had a habit of praying under the cross, which one can see until nowadays in the Wawel Cathedral, a black Jesus, and
| she considered if she should marry with Jagiełło. What to do? Follow the voice of the heart, reason? And it is believed that Christ spoke from this cross and told her: do what you see. Yes, that is, do good – that good what I am. And just this - do, what you see is the most important call to imitate Christ, which Saint Jadwiga inscribed at this time in the heart and according to this she lived. So she took the wisdom of the cross as the program of her life. Both her personal life and also as the program of her governance. Because Jadwiga was not a puppet on the throne. She had a separate office, she actually exercised power. |
| Ostatnią wybraną przez nas bohaterką jest Stefania Firkowska, pseudonim Felek. Urodzona dwudziestego września 1925. roku w Końskich. Podczas okupacji |
| The last chosen by us heroine is Stefania Firkowska, nickname Felek. Born on September 20, 1925 in Końskie. During the German occupation, together with the |
niemieckiej razem z braćmi służyła w oddziale Narodowych Sił Zbrojnych w Armii Krajowej kapitana Józefa Wyrwy, pseudonim Starego, który wchodził w skład dwudziestego pułku piechoty Armii Krajowej. Była łączniczką dowódcy dwudziestego piątego pułku majora Rudolfa Majewskiego-Leśniaka.

Józef Wyrwa Stary w Pamiętnikach Partyzanta wydanych w Londynie w 1991 roku, tak ją charakteryzuje: młoda szatynka z zadartym noskiem i trochę łobuzerskim wyrazem twarzy, można ją było zaliczyć do tego rodzaju kobiet, o których się mówi, że gdzie diabeł nie może, tam babę wyśle. Właśnie taką babę jak Felę. Można ją było posłać naprawdę wszędzie czy dać udział w akcji. Potrafiła przemawiać takim tonem, że jej się nikt nie sprzeciwiał. Choć była ubrana po kobiecemu, polecenia jej zawsze były

brothers, she served in the troop of the National Armed Forces in the Home Army captain Józef Wyrwa, nickname the Old, who was a member of the Twentieth Infantry Regiment of the Home Army. She was the liaison officer of the commander of the twenty-fifth regiment of the Major Rudolf Majewski-Leśniak.

Józef Wyrwa Stary in Pamiętniki Partyzanta (The Diaries of the Partisan) published in London in 1991, characterizes her like this: a young brown-haired woman with a snubbed nose and a bit mischievous face expression, she could be included in the kind of women who are told that where the Devil cannot go himself, he sends a woman. Just a woman like Fela. It was possible to send her everywhere or to let her participate in the action. She could speak in such a way that no one would oppose
wykonywane, mimo, że nie posługiwała się spluwą, którą zawsze ukrytą nosiła.


Dla nas, Stefania Firkowska jest symbolem odwagi i kobiecości. Zawsze, mimo zagrożenia, posłusznie wykonywała polecenia swoich dowódców. Niejednokrotnie wyjeżdżała jako łączniczka do okupowanej Warszawy.

Ireneusz Górski, bratanek Stefani, wspominając jedną z jej akcji, mówił: *dostarczała broń do oddziału. Potrafiła her. Although she was dressed in a feminine way, her orders were always performed, even though she did not use the hidden gun she always wore.*

Her older sister, Kazimiera Cieślak, mentioned - she mentioned their mother's words: *Stenia, leave these guerrillas, they will kill me all of you - sometimes my mother cried. Stefa just laughed: mom, I will be fine, I'm lucky.*

For us, Stefania Firkowska is a symbol of courage and femininity. Always, despite the threat, she obediently followed the orders of her commanders. She often traveled as a liaison officer to occupied Warsaw.

Ireneusz Górski, Stefania's nephew, recalling one of her actions, has said: *she was delivering a weapon to the*
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<th>przewieźć ze Skarżyska na furze karabin maszynowy, przykryty derką.</th>
<th>ward. She could carry a machine gun from Skarżysko on a cart, covered with a blanket.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stefania została uprowadzona i zamordowana tuż przed Wielkanocą 1946 roku przez funkcjonariuszy UB w Końskich.</td>
<td>Stefania was abducted and murdered just before the Easter in 1946 by the security officers in Końskie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Całą swoją młodość poświeciła walce za ojczyznę. Jej odwaga i poświęcenie powinny być inspiracją dla każdej kobiety w dzisiejszych czasach. Feluś pokazała nam, że kobiecość to nie tylko piękno zewnętrzne, lecz odwaga, dobro i oddanie dla własnego narodu.</td>
<td>She devoted her entire life to fighting for her homeland. Her courage and dedication should be an inspiration for every woman today. Feluś showed us that femininity is not only the external beauty, but courage, goodness and devotion for own nation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(niezrozumiałe) dzieciobójstwa to główny element walki współczesnych feministek. W sposób szczególny, zależy im na tym, aby to prawo obowiązywało wtedy, gdy nienarodzone, lecz żywe dziecko, poczęte w łonie matki, w łonie matki, które jest podejrzane o chorobę lub niepełnosprawność - mogło być zamordowane.</td>
<td>(incomprehensible) infanticide is the main element of the struggle of the contemporary female feminists. In a special way, they care that this law applies when an unborn, but alive child, conceived in the womb of the mother, in the womb, which is suspected of being sick or disabled, it could be murdered.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5
Aby to prawo wciąż obowiązywało, feministki używają przeróżnych kłamstw, co dobitnie pokazał Czarny Protest. Takie jak o zakazie badan prenatalnych.

Więc zwracam się teraz do wszystkich tych, którzy uważają, że można wartościować ludzkie życie, na zdrowych i chorych - kiedy był odpowiedni moment na zabicie mnie? Kiedy?

Wtedy, kiedy byłam już dziesięć miesięcy po drugiej stronie brzucha najwspanialszej na świecie mamy, które, kiedy już moje rące ją obejmowały? Bo wtedy zdiagnozowano u mnie chorobę, jaką jest mózgowe porażenie dziecięce (??????) w postać spastyczna, czyli to jest postać, która łączy się z bólem.

Jaką alternatywę i w jaki sposób takie osoby jak ja powinny być zamordowane? No bo przecież można wartościować ludzkie

| In order for this law to continue to apply, female feminists use all kinds of lies, as the Black Protest showed emphatically. Such as the ban on prenatal tests. |
| So now I turn to all those who think that one can value human life, distinct it in healthy and sick - when was the right moment to kill me?
When? |
| Then, when I was ten months on the other side of the stomach of the most wonderful mum in the world, which, when I have my hands on her - my aching hands were embracing her? Because then I was diagnosed with the disease, which is cerebral palsy (??????) in a spastic form, that is, a form that connects with pain. |
| What alternative and how should people like me be murdered? Well, because you can value human life. Since |
życie. Skoro można nienarodzonych to i narodzonych też. Przecież są chore!

Moi rodzice alternatywę znaleźli, ale wołają(??) o pomoc i okazane mi ciepło. Pamiętam, jak własny tato przychodził co noc i trzymałam go za rączkę, żeby tata dał mi poczucie bezpieczeństwa.

Moje rodzeństwo też wzięło udział w walce o moją samodzielność i rezygnowało z wypadów z znajomymi, aby być ze mną i wspierać mnie. To samo było z moim wujostwem oraz kuzynostwem. Pomagali mi i pomagają do dziś i wyłożyli ogromne środki na moja rehabilitacje, która jest ogromnie kosztowna.

Później, gdy byłam już starsza, pojawili się ci, których feministki i inne lewicowo-liberalne media, nazywają faszystami. I to oni

<p>| you can [value] unborn, then also born. They are indeed sick! |
| My parents found an alternative, but they cry for help and show me warmth. I remember how my own dad came every night and I held him by the hand so that my father would give me a sense of safety. |
| My siblings also took part in the fight for my self-reliance and they resigned from trips with friends to be with me and to support me. The same was with my uncles and cousins. They helped me and help me to this day and have put a lot of financial resources into my rehabilitation, which is extremely expensive. |
| Later, when I was older, there appeared those who female feminists and other left-liberal media call fascists. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>teraz organizują potrzebne zbiórki na moja rehabilitacje.</th>
<th>And they are now organizing the necessary collections for my rehabilitation.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To właśnie po jednym z patriotycznych koncertów, postawiłam pierwsze cztery kroki, mimo to, że w wieku trzynastu lat, bo wtedy miałam trzynaście lat, za bardzo na to szans nikt nie daje.</td>
<td>It was just after one of the patriotic concerts that I took the first four steps, despite the fact that at the age of thirteen, because I was thirteen at the time, no one gives much of a chance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dzięki nim uczestniczę w Marszach-Marszach Niepodległości, a feministki tak często podkreślają, że Polska to taki niecywilizowany kraj.</td>
<td>Thanks to them, I participate in the Marszach-Marszach Niepodległości (Independence Marches) and female feminists so often emphasize that Poland is such an uncivilized country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dzięki nim chodzę, chodziłam nawet po górach, uczestniczę w rajdach i chłopaki niosą mnie niekiedy przez błoto.</td>
<td>Thanks to them I walk, I even walked the mountains, I participate in rallies and the guys carry me sometimes through the mud.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I to jest właśnie najpiękniejsze i ja radość mam właśnie z nich.</td>
<td>And that is the most beautiful thing and I am happy because of them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ale gdzie-gdzie jest ta radość w feministkach?</td>
<td>But where—where is this joy in female feminists?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To właściwie tam spotykam się, właśnie tam z największą życzliwością i czuję się potrzebna mimo swojej niepełnosprawności.</td>
<td>It is there where I experience the greatest kindness and I feel needed despite my disability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jako kwintesencję tych słów - słów, które są okazaniem tego, że niepełnosprawne osoby są potrzebne, niech będą słowa jednego z patriotycznych działaczy: <em>bóg nie dal Karolinie zdrowych nóg, ale dal serce, które musi nosić i tym sercem chce wносić wiarę, nadzieje w życie innych osób.</em></td>
<td>As the quintessence of these words - the words that are demonstrating that disabled people are needed, let be the words of one of the patriotic activists be: <em>God did not give Karolina healthy legs, but he gave the heart which she must carry and with this heart she wants to bring faith, hope into life other people.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A moim działaniom niech patronuje mi Najświętsza Maryja Panna i inne kobiety przedstawione tu wcześniej.</td>
<td>And my activity shall be patronized by the Blessed Virgin Mary and the other women presented here earlier.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix 2. Self-Portrayal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Self-portrayal</th>
<th>&lt;Files\analiza&gt; - § 15 references coded [12,52% Coverage]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Being active</strong></td>
<td>Reference 1 - 1,59% Coverage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We also want to break some stereotypes a bit, because at the beginning, some time ago, a woman-nationalist was considered a woman who would like to lock herself at home with eight children, bake cookies, obey her husband and does not come out into the daylight.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reference 2 - 0,46% Coverage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Well, it is not like that. A lot of us develop, are students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reference 3 - 0,65% Coverage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>And this stereotype is not at all true. We also fight against the domestic violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reference 4 - 1,10% Coverage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>we are normal girls who work, study, learn, devote their free time to work for the nation, to charity work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reference 5 - 0,25% Coverage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>it is a girl who fought in the National Armed Forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reference 6 - 0,16% Coverage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>we really do a lot - a lot of good things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reference 7 - 1,07% Coverage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>she became involved in the activities of the All-Polish Youth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reference 8 - 0,11% Coverage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
she was involved in a conspiracy

Reference 9 - 0,75% Coverage

In the forty-third year she participated in the underground renewal of academic oaths at Jasna Góra (in church in Częstochowa).

Reference 10 - 1,52% Coverage

Mrs. Maria was actively involved in the work of Polonia organizations. Among others, she was the head of the national board of the Polish American Congress, and for 32 years she was the editor of Glos Polek (The Voice of Polish Women) - a journal of the Polish Women's Association in America. She collaborated with the Polonia radio in Chicago, for which she recorded weekly columns from the Open Microphone series. She was involved in helping internees under martial law. She was also involved in helping Poles living in the East.

Reference 11 - 0,84% Coverage

Already in the 1970s, together with her sister Helena, she was going to the Soviet Union with help for Poles, especially veterans and prisoners of Gulag.

Reference 12 - 1,04% Coverage

Mrs. Maria, despite being 102 years old, is still involved in helping Poles living in the Borderlands. She takes part in patriotic ceremonies.

Reference 13 - 1,59% Coverage

Finally, I would like to emphasize that her unusual, over 80 years-lasting involvement in activities for the benefit of the nation, allows us, female activists of
the All-Polish Youth, national female activists to see in Mrs. Maria the authority, inspiration and role model for everyday activities.

Reference 14 - 1,21% Coverage

During the German occupation, together with the brothers, she served in the troop of the National Armed Forces in the Home Army captain Józef Wyrwa, nickname the Old, who was a member of the Twentieth Infantry Regiment of the Home Army. She was the liaison officer of the commander of the twenty-fifth regiment of the Major Rudolf Majewski-Lesniak.

Reference 15 - 0,20% Coverage

It was possible to send her everywhere or to let her participate in the action.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Having power</th>
<th>&lt;Files\analiza&gt; - § 9 references coded [5,76% Coverage]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reference 1</td>
<td>0,48% Coverage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she became the commander of the National Military Organization of Women in the Nizanski powiat, and later in the entire Rzeszów region.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference 2</td>
<td>0,21% Coverage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tadeusz Bór-Komorowski promoted her to the rank of captain.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference 3</td>
<td>0,53% Coverage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two years later, in the spring of forty-five, she became the chief commander of the National Women's Military Union.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference 4</td>
<td>1,59% Coverage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And now we will present the second</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
character, this is Saint Jadwiga, the best Polish king. Why is she the best king of Poland, who ever existed? Because she is a holy king.

Reference 5 - 0,15% Coverage

Both her personal life and also as the program of her governance.

Reference 6 - 1,59% Coverage

Because Jadwiga was not a puppet on the throne. She had a separate office, she actually exercised power.

Reference 7 - 0,39% Coverage

She was the liaison officer of the commander of the twenty-fifth regiment of the Major Rudolf Majewski-Lesniak.

Reference 8 - 0,35% Coverage

She could be included in the kind of women who are told that where the Devil cannot go himself, he sends a woman. Just a woman like Fela.

Reference 9 - 0,49% Coverage

She could speak in such a way that no one would oppose her. Although she was dressed in a feminine way, her orders were always performed, even though she did not use the hidden gun she always wore.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Devotion</th>
<th>&lt;Files\analiza&gt; - § 8 references coded [8,16% Coverage]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reference 1 - 0,28% Coverage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Is it a woman who devotes her free time to work for a nation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We want to show that it is not like this, that we are normal girls who work, study, learn, devote their free time to work for the nation, to charity work.

A few months later she was arrested by the secret police in Nisko. Brutally interrogated, inter alia in Warsaw, she was sent to the prison on Montelupich Street in Krakow.

She lives in the service of the nation and the homeland with all her life.

Ireneusz Gorski, Stefania's nephew, recalling one of her actions, has said: she was delivering a weapon to the ward. She could carry a machine gun from Skarzysko on a cart, covered with a blanket.

She devoted her entire life to fighting for her homeland. Her courage and dedication should be an inspiration for every woman today.

Felus showed us that femininity is not only the external beauty, but courage, goodness and devotion for own nation.

My siblings also took part in the fight for my self-reliance and they resigned from trips with friends to be with me and to
support me. The same was with my uncles and cousins.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Femininity</th>
<th>&lt;Files\analiza&gt; - § 5 references coded [4,74% Coverage]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reference 1 - 0,60% Coverage</td>
<td>but there are feminine features that are inseparable and accompany us since we remember.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference 2 - 0,77% Coverage</td>
<td>These characteristics is subtlety, femininity, gentleness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference 3 - 0,19% Coverage</td>
<td>Although she was dressed in a feminine way, her orders were always performed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference 4 - 1,59% Coverage</td>
<td>For us, Stefania Firkowska is a symbol of courage and femininity. Always, despite the threat, she obediently followed the orders of her commanders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference 5 - 1,59% Coverage</td>
<td>Felus showed us that femininity is not only the external beauty, but courage, goodness and devotion for own nation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Courage</th>
<th>&lt;Files\analiza&gt; - § 4 references coded [3,65% Coverage]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reference 1 - 0,51% Coverage</td>
<td>Of course, it is possible that you* do not know her, it is a girl who fought in the National Armed Forces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reference 2</strong> - 1,59% Coverage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Her older sister, Kazimiera Cieslak, mentioned - she mentioned their mother's words: Stenia, leave these guerrillas, they will kill me all of you - sometimes my mother cried. Stefa just laughed: mom, I will be fine, I'm lucky.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Reference 3</strong> - 0,50% Coverage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Her courage and dedication should be an inspiration for every woman today.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Reference 4</strong> - 1,05% Coverage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Felus showed us that femininity is not only the external beauty, but courage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Obedience</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Files\analiza&gt; - § 3 references coded [3,14% Coverage]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Reference 1</strong> - 1,59% Coverage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>We also want to break some stereotypes a bit, because at the beginning, some time ago, a woman-nationalist was considered a woman who would like to lock herself at home with eight children, bake cookies, obey her husband and does not come out into the daylight.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Reference 2</strong> - 0,68% Coverage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>And just this - do, what you see is the most important call to imitate Christ, which Saint Jadwiga inscribed at this time in the heart and according to this she lived. So she took the wisdom of the cross as the program of her life. Both her personal life and also as the program of her governance.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Reference 3</strong> - 0,87% Coverage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Always, despite the threat, she obediently...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>followed the orders of her commanders.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix 3. Image of feminists:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The image of feminists</th>
<th>&lt;Files\analiza&gt; - § 6 references coded [6,82% Coverage]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Attitude towards the All-Polish Youth activists** | Reference 1 - 0,36% Coverage  
But now so: we are called fascists by the media, by the feminist communities  
Reference 2 - 1,59% Coverage  
Unfortunately for feminist milieus, this ideological terror is that the tolerance, they talk non-stop about, ends when the female nationalists take the floor.  
Reference 3 - 1,59% Coverage  
All women can say whatever they want, but as long as they agree with us. If they cease to agree with us, they are already excluded, we do not fight for their rights anymore, they stop being women.  
Reference 4 - 1,28% Coverage  
It gets also to the point where there is a dehumanization of us and such kind of stigmatization, which is also very harmful.  
Reference 5 - 1,59% Coverage  
It comes to the situation when they use such phrases, just as I said, (female) fascist. Is a fascist a human? Nah, it's an animal - after all it cannot be treated in human terms.  
Reference 6 - 0,42% Coverage  
Later, when I was older, there appeared those who female feminists and other left-liberal media call fascists |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Features</strong></th>
<th>&lt;Files\analiza&gt; - § 5 references coded [5,75% Coverage]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Reference 1 - 1,07% Coverage  
who is a fascist. Is it a woman who devotes her free time to work for a nation, or a woman who takes part in demonstrations and shouts abortion |
on demand? Because I associate fascism with aggression, murder and ideological terror.

Reference 2 - 1,59% Coverage
In order for this law to continue to apply, female feminists use all kinds of lies, as the Black Protest showed emphatically. Such as the ban on prenatal tests.

Reference 3 - 1,08% Coverage
So now I turn to all those who think that one can value human life, distinct it in healthy and sick

Reference 4 - 0,42% Coverage
female feminists so often emphasize that Poland is such an uncivilized country.

Reference 5 - 1,59% Coverage
But where where is this joy in female feminists?

Interests

<Files\analiza> - § 2 references coded [1,90% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0,32% Coverage
woman who takes part in demonstrations and shouts abortion on demand

Reference 2 - 1,59% Coverage
(incomprehensible) infanticide is the main element of the struggle of the contemporary female feminists. In a special way, they care that this law applies when an unborn, but alive child, conceived in the womb of the mother, in the womb, which is suspected of being sick or disabled, it could be murdered.
**Appendix 4. Representation (Young):**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Representation (Young)</th>
<th>Opinions</th>
<th>Nation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;Files\analiza&gt; - § 20 references coded [21,12% Coverage]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reference 1 - 1,59% Coverage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes, and this - this kind of role model of today’s lady we want to break and show this lady from this nationalist side, I would make a joke, that I want to show some nationalism from the backstage* [laughs]. *(in Polish literally: from the kitchen)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reference 2 - 0,28% Coverage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Is it a woman who devotes her free time to work for a nation?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reference 3 - 1,59% Coverage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unfortunately for feminist milieus, this ideological terror is that the tolerance, they talk non-stop about, ends when the female nationalists take the floor.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reference 4 - 1,59% Coverage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We want to show that it is not like this, that we are normal girls who work, study, learn, devote their free time to work for the nation, to charity work.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reference 5 - 1,04% Coverage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We chose this year the slogan: women - the refuge of the nation, just to break stereotypes and show.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reference 6 - 0,63% Coverage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stefania Firkowska is here. Of course, it is possible that you* do not know her, it is a girl who fought in the National Armed Forces</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Coverage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1,59%</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1,13%</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>0,32%</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>0,23%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1,52%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>0,53%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following her older siblings, she became involved in the activities of the All-Polish Youth.

She belonged to the leadership of the national underground in the Central Industrial District. In the 1940s, she became the commander of the National Military Organization of Women in the Nizanski powiat, and later in the entire Rzeszów region. She was a courier of the main command of the National Military Organization.

She became the chief commander of the National Women's Military Union.

Threatened with the re-arrest, she left Poland.

Mrs. Maria was actively involved in the work of Polonia organizations. Among others, she was the head of the national board of the Polish American Congress, and for 32 years she was the editor of Glos Polek (The Voice of Polish Women) - a journal of the Polish Women's Association in America. She collaborated with the Polonia radio in Chicago, for which she recorded weekly columns from the Open Microphone series. She was involved in helping internees under martial law. She was also involved in helping Poles living in the East.

she was going to the Soviet Union with help for Poles, especially
veterans and prisoners of Gulag.

Reference 13 - 1,59% Coverage
Mrs. Maria, despite being 102 years old, is still involved in helping Poles living in the Borderlands. She takes part in patriotic ceremonies. She lives in the service of the nation and the homeland with all her life.

Reference 14 - 1,59% Coverage
Finally, I would like to emphasize that her unusual, over 80 years-lasting involvement in activities for the benefit of the nation, allows us, female activists of the All-Polish Youth, national female activists to see in Mrs. Maria the authority, inspiration and role model for everyday activities.

Reference 15 - 1,17% Coverage
this is Saint Jadwiga, the best Polish king. Why is she the best king of Poland, who ever existed? Because she is a holy king.

Reference 16 - 1,59% Coverage
Saint Jadwiga was appointed by the interwar national female activists as the patron.

Reference 17 - 0,24% Coverage
she served in the troop of the National Armed Forces in the Home Army

Reference 18 - 0,38% Coverage
She devoted her entire life to fighting for her homeland

Reference 19 - 1,59% Coverage
Felus showed us that femininity is not only the external beauty, but courage, goodness and devotion for own nation.
Thanks to them, I participate in the Marszach-Marszach Niepodleglosci (Independence Marches) and female feminists so often emphasize that Poland is such an uncivilized country.

**Education**<br>
<Files\analiza> - § 4 references coded [2,85% Coverage]<br>
Reference 1 - 0,53% Coverage<br>A lot of us develop, are students. They are really very smart girls.

Reference 2 - 1,59% Coverage<br>We want to show that it is not like this, that we are normal girls who work, study, learn, devote their free time to work for the nation, to charity work.

Reference 3 - 0,45% Coverage<br>she had graduated from the gymnasium in Nisko and began studying law at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv.

Reference 4 - 0,28% Coverage<br>she resumed law studies at the Jagiellonian University.

**Family**<br>
<Files\analiza> - § 16 references coded [16,58% Coverage]<br>
Reference 1 - 1,26% Coverage<br>at the beginning, some time ago, a woman-nationalist was considered a woman who would like to lock herself at home with eight children, bake cookies, obey her husband and does not come out into the daylight.

Reference 2 - 0,39% Coverage<br>. And from Polish-Mothers*who only sit and bear children, we became
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Coverage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1,59%</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0,76%</td>
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<td>10</td>
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</table>

Mrs. Maria was born in 1916 in Ulanów on the San River, in Podkarpacie as the seventh child of eight siblings. In the twenty-first year her family started to live in Raclawice near Nisko.

Following her older siblings, she became involved in the activities of the All-Polish Youth.

There she met her future husband, reserve officer, Henry Lorys.

Maria’s brother Bronislaw Mirecki was a priest in Nowy Siol on the Zbrucz river. She knew from him about the scale of poverty in Ukraine. Already in the 1970s, together with her sister Helena, she was going to the Soviet Union with help for Poles, especially veterans and prisoners of Gulag.

A few years ago, she returned to her family home-town Raclawice near Nisko.

and she considered if she should marry with Jagiello.

During the German occupation,
together with the brothers, she served in the troop of the National Armed Forces in the Home Army

Reference 11 - 1,59% Coverage
Her older sister, Kazimiera Cieslak, mentioned - she mentioned their mother's words: Stenia, leave these guerrillas, they will kill me all of you - sometimes my mother cried. Stefa just laughed: mom, I will be fine, I'm lucky.

Reference 12 - 0,94% Coverage
Ireneusz Gorski, Stefania's nephew, recalling one of her actions, has said: she was delivering a weapon to the ward.

Reference 13 - 0,25% Coverage
alive child, conceived in the womb of the mother

Reference 14 - 0,87% Coverage
Then, when I was ten months on the other side of the stomach of the most wonderful mum in the world, which, when I have my hands on her - my aching hands were embracing her

Reference 15 - 1,59% Coverage
My parents found an alternative, but they cry for help and show me warmth. I remember how my own dad came every night and I held him by the hand so that my father would give me a sense of safety.

Reference 16 - 1,43% Coverage
My siblings also took part in the fight for my self-reliance and they resigned from trips with friends to be with me and to support me. The same was with my uncles and cousins. They helped me and help me to this day and have put a lot of
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
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<tr>
<td>financial resources into my rehabilitation</td>
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<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
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<tr>
<td>&lt;Files\analiza&gt; - § 12 references coded [11,62% Coverage]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Reference 1 - 0,07% Coverage
Saint Jadwiga

Reference 2 - 0,75% Coverage
In the forty-third year she participated in the underground renewal of academic oaths at Jasna Góra (in church in Czestochowa).

Reference 3 - 0,43% Coverage
Karol Wojtyla was also in the same group as the representative of Krakow.

Reference 4 - 0,44% Coverage
Maria’s brother Bronislaw Mirecki was a priest in Nowy Siol on the Zbrucz river.

Reference 5 - 1,59% Coverage
Due to the fact that she also shipped prohibited at that time, Catholic devotions, she became the nickname god’s smuggler.

Reference 6 - 1,09% Coverage
Saint Jadwiga, the best Polish king. Why is she the best king of Poland, who ever existed? Because she is a holy king.

Reference 7 - 1,59% Coverage
Saint Jadwiga was appointed by the interwar national female activists as the patron.

Reference 8 - 1,59% Coverage
Now, why did it happen? We will quote a few facts because it is known that there are a lot of books...
about Saint Jadwiga and she is a person, about who one can talk really a lot, and this is only our modest picket, modest reminder.

Reference 9 - 1,59% Coverage
But let’s start with the fact that Saint Jadwiga had a habit of praying under the cross, which one can see until nowadays in the Wawel Cathedral, a black Jesus, and she considered if she should marry with Jagiello. What to do? Follow the voice of the heart, reason? And it is believed that Christ spoke from this cross and told her: do what you see. Yes, that is, do good – that good what I am. And just this - do, what you see is the most important call to imitate Christ, which Saint Jadwiga inscribed at this time in the heart and according to this she lived. So she took the wisdom of the cross as the program of her life. Both her personal life and also as the program of her governance.

Reference 10 - 0,13% Coverage
the Easter in 1946

Reference 11 - 0,79% Coverage
God did not give Karolina healthy legs, but he gave the heart which she must carry and with this heart she wants to bring faith, hope into life other people.

Reference 12 - 1,59% Coverage
And my activity shall be patronized by the Blessed Virgin Mary and the other women presented here earlier.

Interests

<Files\analiza> - § 8 references coded [12,70% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1,59% Coverage
We are beginning to be worried about this word,
because nowadays young girls are inspired, they have not necessarily good role models.

Reference 2 - 1,59% Coverage
Today, girls joke that they are a lady when they are able to come back from a party on their own.

Reference 3 - 1,59% Coverage
Yes, and this - this kind of role model of today's lady we want to break and show this lady from this nationalist side, I would make a joke, that I want to show some nationalism from the backstage* [laughs]. *(in Polish literally: from the kitchen)

Reference 4 - 1,59% Coverage
These characteristics is subtlety, femininity, gentleness and above all, we just want to promote such characteristics.

Reference 5 - 1,59% Coverage
We also want to break some stereotypes a bit, because at the beginning, some time ago, a woman-nationalist was considered a woman who would like to lock herself at home with eight children, bake cookies, obey her husband and does not come out into the daylight.

Reference 6 - 1,59% Coverage
Well, it is not like that. A lot of us develop, are students. They are really very smart girls. And this stereotype is not at all true. We also fight against the domestic violence and we also disagree with it.

Reference 7 - 1,59% Coverage
We want to show that it is not like this, that we are normal girls who work, study, learn, devote their free time to work for the nation, to charity work.

Reference 8 - 1,59% Coverage
(incomprehensible) infanticide is the main element of the struggle of the contemporary female feminists. In a special way, they care that this law applies when an unborn, but alive child, conceived in the womb of the mother, in the
womb, which is suspected of being sick or disabled, it could be murdered.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Social Perspective</th>
<th>&lt;Files\analiza&gt; - § 13 references coded [19,34% Coverage]</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reference 1 - 1,59% Coverage</td>
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<td>Well, so to speak a bit mockery, but unfortunately this is the truth, which is very harmful. This stereotype of such a colloquially speaking, coughy klatch, went through a huge revolution, because suddenly we became fascists. And from Polish-Mothers* who only sit and bear children, we became fascists who murder, though [incomprehensible, indistinct].</td>
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<td>Reference 2 - 0,60% Coverage</td>
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<td>But now so: we are called fascists by the media, by the feminist communities and now we are beginning to wonder who is a fascist.</td>
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<td>Reference 3 - 1,59% Coverage</td>
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<td>Unfortunately for feminist milieus, this ideological terror is that the tolerance, they talk non-stop about, ends when the female nationalists take the floor.</td>
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<td>Reference 4 - 1,59% Coverage</td>
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<td>All women can say whatever they want, but as long as they agree with us. If they cease to agree with us, they are already excluded, we do not fight for their rights anymore, they stop being women.</td>
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<td>Reference 5 - 1,28% Coverage</td>
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<td>It gets also to the point where there is a dehumanization of us and such kind of stigmatization, which is also very harmful.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reference 6 - 1,59% Coverage</td>
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<tr>
<td>It comes to the situation when they use such phrases, just as I said, (female) fascist. Is a fascist a human? Nah, it's an animal - after all it cannot be treated in human terms.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reference 7 - 1,59% Coverage</td>
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</table>
Unfortunately, a very large part of the society sort of adhere to it, because it is simpler, because it is easier to categorize a person.

Reference 8 - 1,59% Coverage
The next thing I want to speak about is the banner. We chose this year the slogan: women - the refuge of the nation, just to break stereotypes and show.

Reference 9 - 1,59% Coverage
Ending my speech, because I kind of do not want to drag it and talk about boring phrases, I would like that the image of us, that you* see now to stay in your memory and that you* will remember that the fact that someone call us female fascist because it is simpler for him, it does not mean that it is so and that we really do a lot - a lot of good things about which it is not talked about but it should be talked about.

Reference 10 - 1,59% Coverage
Then, when I was ten months on the other side of the stomach of the most wonderful mum in the world, which, when I have my hands on her - my aching hands were embracing her? Because then I was diagnosed with the disease, which is cerebral palsy (??????) in a spastic form, that is, a form that connects with pain.

Reference 11 - 1,59% Coverage
My siblings also took part in the fight for my self-reliance and they resigned from trips with friends to be with me and to support me. The same was with my uncles and cousins. They helped me and help me to this day and have put a lot of financial resources into my rehabilitation, which is extremely expensive.

Reference 12 - 1,59% Coverage
Later, when I was older, there appeared those who female feminists and other left-liberal media call fascists. And they are [All-Youth Polish activists] now organizing the necessary collections for my rehabilitation. It was just after one of the patriotic concerts that I took the first four steps, despite the fact that at the age of
| thirteen, because I was thirteen at the time, no one gives much of a chance. |
| Reference 13 - 1,59% Coverage |
| It is there where I experience the greatest kindness and I feel needed despite my disability. |
Eidesstattliche Erklärung

Ich erkläre hiermit an Eides statt durch meine eigenhändige Unterschrift, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit selbständig verfasst und keine anderen als die angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel verwendet habe. Alle Stellen, die wörtlich oder inhaltlich den angegebenen Quellen entnommen wurden, sind als solche kenntlich gemacht.

Die vorliegende Arbeit wurde bisher in gleicher oder ähnlicher Form noch nicht als Magister-/Master-/Diplomarbeit/Dissertation eingereicht.

______________________________________________  _______________________________________
Datum                                             Unterschrift

23.11.2018