Heterotopias of Nationalist Youth Organisations in Poland: Communitarisation and Entry/Exit System

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Abstract

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Keywords

discourse analysis, nationalist discourse, nationalist youth organisations, community, heterotopia

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Introduction

There are many studies that analyse nationalist discourse in traditional media (e.g., Chan, 2012; Costelloe, 2014; Łyszczarz & Marcinkiewicz, 2019) and virtual media (e.g., Baruh & Popescu, 2008; Udupa, 2019). Some researchers focus on the divides on the "we-they" axis (Bishop & Jaworski, 2003 – analyzing nationalist-motivated divides; Weis & Lombardo, 2010 – analysing racially-motivated divides), while others place specific groups or societies in the centre of interest (Bozdağ, 2020 – refugees; Mir, 2011 – young Muslim women). Specific events often constitute the backdrop for such studies like, for example, the World Trade Centre attack (Mir, 2011) or the Euro2020 football matches (Bishop & Jaworski, 2003).

In this article, we analyse discourse around two Polish youth organisations - All-Polish Youth and the National Radical Camp. They are amongst the most active national organizations in Poland and are very often mentioned in the media (further explanation on why these two organizations were selected is offered in the methodology section) and are therefore also often analysed by researchers. Wiszniewski (2009) studies the attitude of the APY to the Church and to Catholic Social Teaching, Wrzosek (2015) focuses on the patterns of behaviour proposed by the members of the APY, while Pielużek (2015) compares the ideological images of the universe of nationalist and anarchist milieus, and the ways in which nationalist environments communicate. Malendowicz (2016) places the Independence Day March in the centre of

interest and analyses this phenomenon. An analysis of nationalist discourse that takes the "we-us" category into account is also undertaken by Ciesek-Ślizowska (2018) who takes a closer look at the creation of the "other/stranger" in nationalist content posted on selected websites. In Polish literature on nationalist discourse analysis in the press, most researchers reach for Polish national press titles like "Gazeta Wyborcza," "Polityka," "Do Rzeczy," and "Newsweek Polska" (i.e., Łyszczarz & Marcinkiewicz, 2019; Zarzycka, 2005).

These works show the scope of the latest research in Poland and theoretical concepts important for our analysis of nationalist discourse in Poland. They help us understand the categories and contexts within which Polish nationalist organisations operate, their communication patterns, and the media that deal with them the most.

However, a review of the research to date reveals a lack of analyses that would combine the above issues: first, an analysis that takes into account materials of different genres (created by youth organisations and press materials). Second, a study of the structure of the multidimensional category of "we" in the context of a specific event, that is, the celebrations marking the 100th anniversary of Poland regaining independence and various dimensions of the communities in nationalist organisations. Third, so far, despite the rich literature of "heterotopia studies", the concept of heterotopia has not been applied in studies on the structure of communitarisation in the context of citizenship. For this research citizenship is understood as something more than formal status (Isin & Turner, 2002; Isin et al., 2008) and it is rather a social construct that can be changed (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) and one of its components is membership in a community. Following this assumption, we try to investigate discursive aspects of this membership on the example of selected organisations. We assume that the heterotopias of citizenship are manifest on the discursive level, revealing in the language and symbolic layer specific relationships between an individual and the community/communities, inclusion and exclusion operations, and discursive strategies of the authorisation and legitimisation of actions. We are examining the structure of the community through the prism of two heterotopic principles. They are the system of openness and closedness, which isolates while retaining permeability, and the principle of various different heterogenous spaces overlapping in one space.

Therefore, this article presents the results of an analysis of the discursive constructions of a community in the context of the celebrations of the 100th anniversary of Poland regaining independence in 2018. Within the conducted analysis, we were looking for the answer to the question of how the "we" community is construed in the materials published by Polish youth organisations: The All-Polish Youth and the National Radical Camp, and in the press statements of activists belonging to these organisations. The organisations that have been considered are recognised as national movements whose actions are widely reported, particularly during the Polish National Independence Day celebrations on 11th November. The completed study is part of a broader research project wherein we reconstruct the heterotopias of citizenship of selected youth organisations.

The article comprises of five parts. After a brief introduction, we present the adopted theoretical assumptions, empirical material, and the results of its analysis: the system of openness and closedness and various spaces of the community construed in selected nationalist youth organisations. The article ends with general conclusions in relation to the concept of heterotopia.

Theoretical Assumptions

We have adopted several basic assumptions in the presented research. First, we treat the discursive structures of communities as an element of the discourse of citizenship. Our point of departure is citizenship approached broadly, according to which it is a multi-level

construct that is associated with membership in a community (understood in different ways) (Lister, 2007; Morelli, 2019), construing values, positioning participation in political and social life (De Groot & Veugelers, 2015), and knowledge about the functioning of society (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). In effect, an analysis of construing the community "us" has become an element of the study of the broader phenomenon of the citizenship of youth.

Secondly, we are setting communitarisation in the theoretical context of a topographical turn in discursive research (see Ostrowicka, 2019). It is based on the adoption of an assumption that culture, along with history and geography, is manifested in discourse and may be perceived as text along with its formal and generic principles, tracks, and topographies (see West-Pavlov, 2009). The adopted theoretical optics directs the reflection outside the discourse carried out according to binary, normative oppositions (i.e., civic passivity – activity; good – bad citizen, etc.).

Thirdly, we refer to Michel Foucault's (2005) concept of heterotopia who points to six heterotopic principles. They include: (1) Heterogeneity in what is universal, (2) a variable location in relation to time, (3) the overlapping of various, often disparate orders, (4) heterochrony: both the cumulation and transience of time, (5) the system of openness and closedness that isolates, retaining permeability, and (6) the functionality of heterotopias in relation to other spaces (see Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986). In "The Order of Things," Foucault (1994) enunciates the meaning of heterotopia as text. In association with the approach to heterotopia as places of resistance present in "Of Other Spaces," it is possible to show the function of heterotopias in relation to all other spaces – problematising the order on which the production of knowledge rests (Topinka, 2010). The category of heterotopia is useful in describing the issue of citizenship and, more narrowly, communitarisation, as it allows the spaces of knowledge and existing discourses to be mapped. This is because we assume that citizenship is a form of a cultural "spatialisation" that is complex in nature, and a youth organisation can, on the one hand, be a type of Foucaultian "operating table," in other words, a space that is supported by the order of discourse and the ability to shape it and, on the other hand – a heterotopia that reveals the rules constructing the dominant discourse of citizenship. Out of the six heterotopic principles identified by Foucault, we are focusing here on two of them: (1) On the principle of openness and closedness, and (2) on the principle of juxtaposing several different, heterogenic spaces in one. We analysed the collected research material through this prism.

And finally, fourthly, in situating the concept of heterotopia within the studies on discourse we are assuming that heterotopias of citizenship come to the fore in naming, classification, identification, and differentiation procedures in spaces where social identity is constructed. That is why the reconstruction of heterotopias assumes the form of an analysis of discourse, placing the problem of communitarisation in the field of phenomena mediated by language.

Regarding the above, in order to identify the contemporary forms and ways of understanding citizenship in youth spaces, it is necessary to reach places where young people express themselves in communitarisation categories. Based on the initial assumptions, we are trying to answer the question of whether and how the heterotopic principle of openness and closedness is manifested in the spaces of the studied organisations and we are attempting to identify different communities to which the representatives of the youth organisations are referring and trying to get a picture of its dimensions.

Following the lead of the "Archaeology of Knowledge" and the post-Foucaultian analysis of discourse (Ostrowicka, 2021), we began our analysis from the question of the surfaces of emergence of the subject of discourse on communitarisation and their heterotopic meanings. In the next step, the study consisted of identifying the discursive strategies applied to discourses referring to constructing the "we" strategy. A discursive strategy is a systematic

way of using language intended to achieve specific social, political, or psychological objectives (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). To this end, we analysed the ways in which the image of youth organisations is constructed (nomination strategies) and the traits attributed to them (predication strategies).

Research Material

The article presents the results of the analysis of texts published in the period from 1st January 2018 to 31st December 2018, thus, at a time when Poland was celebrating its 100th anniversary of regaining independence. The research material covers texts produced by the studied organisations and statements (quotes) of the representatives of these organisations in the press. The research material was collected between January 2021 and May 2022.

In reference to the first type of texts, both documents (e.g., statutes, issued statements, and ideological declarations), as well as posts on websites and in social media – on Facebook (page entries and posts) were subject to analysis. The posts posted on Facebook by the All Polish Youth were searched at the beginning using the key word of "march" and "2018" (in relation to the year 2018), and supplemented by a manual search of Facebook content in the discussed year. The website articles published by National Radical Camp were searched manually. A total of 13 documents, 298 website articles and 109 APY's posts on Facebook were analysed[1].

In relation to the mentioned above group of texts, the selection of press titles was purposeful and included nationwide and the most opinion-making press in 2018 (Institute of Media Monitoring, 2018): five dailies (*Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Dziennik Gazeta Prawna*, *Rzeczpospolita*, *Super Express*, and *Fakt*), as well as three weeklies (*Newsweek Polska*, *Do Rzeczy*, and *Sieci*). The gathered research material contained texts of varied length (the shortest was several sentences long, and the longest several pages) and genres (e.g., press release, reportage, interview, and column). The authors of the articles include journalists, politicians, and experts (historians and lawyers). The press materials were selected using three key words: "Independence Day," "anniversary of regaining Independence," and "Independence Day March." A total of 838 press articles were collected, 599 of which were published in journals and 239 in weeklies. Out of this number, 27% directly and indirectly referred to youth organisations and/or the participants of Independence Day celebrations. The remaining texts contained the above-mentioned key words in various contexts, which are not related to the activities of youth organisations.

Only 14% of all the texts (115) containing references to the centenary celebrations of Poland regaining its independence had direct references to youth organisations. The two most mentioned organisations there are the All-Polish Youth and the National Radical Camp. They were the most visible in the collected press materials for several reasons: first – due to their long operational history and references to pre-War nationalist organisations, second – both initiated Independence Day marches and, with time, established the Independence March Association, third – they are the highest represented and, fourth – the collected texts concern the celebrations of the 100th anniversary of Poland regaining its independence.

Looking for texts containing direct statements (quotes) of the representatives of these two youth organisations, 18 press articles were qualified for the proper analysis. We are aware that the selection of quotes for an article published in the press is a secondary choice in relation to the original journalistic selection. However, the very fact of specific statements of youth organisation activists being present in the media is, in our research, an important source of

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[1] In 2018, the National Radical Camp was banned by Facebook and therefore they were not included in the analysis.

information. 18 press texts containing direct statements (quotes) of organisation's members were chosen for analysis. Originally, journalists were the ones who picked statements to be quoted in the articles. This, in turn, means that the selection of statements - in this part of our empirical material - is limited to the ones chosen by the journalists who quoted them.

Therefore, the results of the analysis presented below cover a total of 420 texts of varying genre: organisation's documents, posts on websites and in social media, statements in the press articles. Atlas.ti 9 software was used to conduct this research. We searched the gathered material for all fragments that refer to WE and THEY categories – all fragments in which members of the selected organisations identify with the organisation and/ or other communities, and all fragments in which they talk about OTHERS. Although we searched for both categories (WE and THEY) this article mainly focuses on WE. "They" is only our reference point. Then, during the next step of our research, we analysed collected material using discursive strategies implemented by Reisigl and Wodak (2001) which are nomination, predication and argumentation. It allowed us to reconstruct different types/dimensions of communities/groups created by the members of the organisations.

The System of Openness and Closedness of Nationalist Organisations and an Overview of the Nationalist Movement in Poland

According to the assumptions of the concept of heterotopia, they are not places that are easily accessible, such as public places. Entering them relates to an obligation, a certain rite that has to be passed in order to become one of them; a seemingly simple and easy entry that sometimes is an illusion (Foucault, 2005). This refers to the system of openness and closedness that makes a given place both permeable and isolated.

We begin our description of the currently applicable rules of "entry" and "exit" into the nationalist youth organisations of interest to us from a brief description of them both. The All-Polish Youth and the National Radical Camp belong to the largest and most formalised nationalist organisations in Poland.

The All-Polish Youth was founded in 1989 and has been operating as a formal association since 2003. Its activists are striving to educate youth in the spirit of Catholic and nationalist values. It is hierarchical (the central bodies comprise: the president, the general board, the general chapter, the main review panel, and the peer tribunal) and has a developed regional and local structure. It is very active both in the virtual media, through its website and social media channels where it posts new content every day, as well as in traditional media through its published *Wszechpolak* magazine. The APY gathers people aged 15 to 30 years who have the status of ordinary members. Older people can be contributing or honorary members. It operates both in Poland and Polish society living abroad. It is estimated that the APY currently has around 1,000 members (Pasztelańska, 2016).

The National Radical Camp was established in 1993, and it has been operating as an association since 2012. It brings together young Poles who value Catholic, nationalist, and family values as well as Polish history. Contrary to the APY, based on the information available it is difficult to fully recreate its governing bodies, membership, and organisational rules. It can be surmised, based on the available information, that it has voivodship branches (brigades) and one foreign branch. It posts regularly on its website and on Twitter. In 2018, NRC activity was banned from Facebook because of its violent nature. On its website, the organisation encourages visitors to become familiarised with other portals with similar content: kierunki.info.pl and narodowyhoryzont.pl. The membership size of the NRC, similarly to the APY, is estimated at 1,000 persons (Pasztelańska, 2016).

Entry into the youth organisations studied by us is open, but not for everyone, because those wanting to become a part of them have to meet certain conditions. Openness means that

anyone can apply to join by completing a recruitment form available on the APY and NRC websites. However, this openness has certain limitations as the NRC expects a lot of information already on its application form that makes open access conditional – candidates are requested to provide data about their level of education, the persons who inspire them, their approach to the Catholic Church, disclosure of their motivation to join the NRC, as well as what the candidate him/herself intends to contribute to the organisation. Therefore, it can be stated that the organisation, although seemingly open to everyone, accepts members with a highly specific profile. It can be added that there are also other limitations to enter the organisation like, for instance, nationality (a person with Polish nationality), age (an ordinary member can only be a person aged 15 to 30 or younger with the consent of their parent or legal guardian) or professed values (acceptance of Polish national and Catholic values). Another dimension of thinking about entering an organisation as one that is open to everyone is the possibility of joining it irrespective of the place of stay or residence – the APY and the NRC operate in the territory of the Republic of Poland and among Poles living abroad (the APY – territorially operating units include districts and circles and, in the case of the NRC – brigades). Both organisations directly encourage young people to join them.

The very process of entry into the organisation relates to certain rituals that should successfully be completed. A candidate for an ordinary member of the APY must undergo a six-month period of internship, become familiar with the reading list and pass an exam during the said internship, followed by taking an oral oath of membership in the company of other members and, finally, to sign a membership declaration. When entering the organisation, they can take part in its activities as an ordinary, contributing or honorary member.

The process of leaving the APY organisation occurs automatically because of a member resigning, loss of civic rights, incapacitation, and in the case of honorary member, it must be complemented by a ritual – this membership ceases as a result of a resolution being passed by the APY General Chapter by a 2/3 majority of all its members. The described system of openness and closedness that isolates the studied organisations also retains the permeability of various semiotic orders through a discursive permeation of heterogeneous communities.

Various Heterogenic Spaces in an Organisation

According to Ciesek-Ślizowska (2018), the hallmark of nationalist discourse is that it divides the world according to the "we" and "they" categories: "the distinguishing feature of nationalist discourse is a specific use of language serving to shape a discursive picture of the world (particularly including naming an ideological opponent), where the *Other/Stranger* category can be very strongly observed" (p. 375), and its constant presence in this discourse leads to a dichotomous divide into *Our Own* and *the Other/Stranger*.

Specific events (very often the Independence Day March) constitute the context for this divide and this divide is accompanied by value references. In the analysed material, two – different and not necessarily separable – surfaces where the community ("we") emerges in the discourse of the studied organisations can be identified. The first of them is a community of a given organisation understood literally ("we-the organisation"), in other words, "we-the All-Polish Youth," "we-the National Radical Camp," and the second is a community understood as every collectivity other than the organisation ("we-the community"). The first category is constructed through the prism of the actions undertaken by the chosen youth organisation and reveals which actions and activities are undertaken by the members of this organisation. In turn, the second category refers to other communities to which the youth activists consider themselves as belonging. These communities emerge precisely because of the dichotomous divide into "Our Own and the Other/Stranger" (Ciesek-Ślizowska, 2018). The next two parts present what young people say about themselves as the organisation and about themselves as

members of communities other than the organisation, which dimensions of communities come to the fore, and the discursive strategies they use.

We-The Organisation

An analysis of the collected materials leads to the conclusion that the members of the APY and the NRC are highly active and there are two dimensions to this activity. It firstly comprises external actions related to the everyday functioning of the organisation like, for instance, participating in meetings, cleaning up meeting places, singing together, preparing, and celebrating special occasions, and recording videos on YouTube. Secondly, it entails broadly understood external activities like, for instance, organising the Independence Day March or actions taken to help others, oftentimes vulnerable social groups, for example, assisting pupils in their studies, collecting money for school starter kits, and blood donation events. "We-the organisation" usually means the entire organisation, thus, the APY and NRC, however regarding posts on websites very often it specifically refers to given brigades (NRC), for example the NRC activists from the Upper Silesian Brigade and, somewhat less often, specific people like, for instance, the President of the APY.

> Then, the APY activists from Greater Poland, delegations from other Districts, including Mazovian, Lublin, Kuyavian-Pomeranian, and Lesser Poland, as well as invited guests made their way to the site of the Convention where the passing term of office of the Management Board was summed up, the actions within the district from the past year and the plans for next year were presented. (APY, Facebook, 2018)

It follows from the analysis of the statements of the members of youth organisations that their functioning is well organised, works on a grassroots level, and is not externally funded. Such activity is very commonly accompanied by ideological assumptions that are discussed by the youth during member meetings of the organisation and to which they refer through their actions that are visible on the outside:

> At the beginning, there is the prayer of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland: "May a Great Poland emerge from the graves of our soldiers, fallen on fields throughout the world." They sing the Youth Anthem (Polish: "Hymn młodych") of the All-Polish Youth. (Spurek, 2018)

The community forged by them within the organisation fulfils various functions, including an educational, entertainment and integrational one. Member meetings are spaces for discussing important and current issues concerning family life, for instance, the chance of presenting one's own creativity or sometimes singing together, drinking beer or preparing feast days and holidays.

One thing that is evident when analysing the statements of the members of the organisation is their distinctness from others which is emphasised by the frequent use of the "our" pronoun: "But our March will take place. We invite the President to take part in our March" (*Super Express*, 2018).

The statements of the representatives of the youth organisations indicate that they feel a strong bond with their organisational community while, at the same time, separating themselves off from other communities, however sometimes (NRC posts on its website) they stress their cooperation with other nationalist organizations. Based on their statements, it is evident that what counts for them is their actions and work at the grassroots, and their activities

include a large variety of forms of actions. The Independence Day March is particularly important to them, of which they are proud and for the organisation of which they feel responsible. They seem to be convinced about their own uniqueness: "Liberalism, hedonism, and consumerism reign among the public. We are the avant-garde. We do not confine ourselves to trite slogans about love of country but act for Great Poland" (Brzuskiewicz, 2018).

Apart from the community understood through the prism of belonging to the organisation, they also point to other communities with which they identify. This differentiation is often in opposition to other communities ("they").

We-The Community

In the collected materials, young people refer to many different communities. The dimensions that emerge here are: sex (a community of women/a community of men), religion (a community of believers), the geographical location (a community-Poland, a community of Central and Eastern European States), political affiliation (a community in opposition to the people in power), national identity (a community of the nation, a community of Poles), worldview (a community of nationalists, a community referring to historical figures, a community supporting the traditional family model), activity (a community of participants of the Independence Day March but also of other marches – The Silesian Insurgents' March, the Warsaw Uprising March – in the case of All-Polish Youth content), other political events (the reaction of Israel to the amendment of the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance in Poland), and others (a community of couples in romantic relationships/All-Polish couples/wardens of the foundations of our civilisation). The above communities have different shades, for example, youth organisations refer to a community of Independence Day March participants, particularly those who are politically independent or to a community that values specific historical heroes. Communities are also created on the level of the opposition: we-women/they-men. This catalogue is not separable.

Many references can be found to a gender community in the statements of current and former members of the APY and NRC when women-activists talk about themselves in the context of a community of women belonging to the nationalist milieu, or when they talk about their own views on the place and role of women both in a small community (organisation) and in society. Thinking about the position of women is sometimes set in opposition to men, where such men are perceived in different ways – as "enemies," as those who are "worse," but also completely neutrally, where the differences between women and men are insignificant to the activities of the activists:

> Within the organisation, on Christmas Eve, at a convention, I can make some biscuits. My friends tuck in and enjoy! Me too. While they have university classes and lectures, extra-curricular activities, go to the gym, do martial arts – I don't think any of them would go home in the evening and think: "Oh, I'm going to make some biscuits." At the APY, what counts is action without any division into women and men. Common values and objectives connect people, and the nation is the most important value. Several marriages and long-standing friendships have already emerged from the All-Polish Youth. (Spurek, 2018)

The statements in the press about a gender community also included utterances of men activists. The declarations of the youth speak to a certain progressiveness in their perception of male and female roles in the organisation and in society; whereas, the actual breakdown of duties that they talk about presents a typical, traditional pattern where it is the women who first and foremost tend to do the cooking and cleaning in the organisation, while the men run the

meetings and, when it comes to celebrating events together, they are more inclined to doing the shopping than the cooking. The perception of a woman as someone who is delicate, created to foster the hearth of the home, and who is somewhat on the sidelines can be seen in various statements of the activists of national organisations. However, there is one exception here – men perceive women as more conscientious, and it is to them that the duty of recruiting new members is passed on.

References in the press to a community of women and a community of men are common. Women also appear in a slightly different context as those who block the Independence Day March. Here, this opposition of "we/they" occurs on two different axes and gender, and of the specific event of the Independence Day March: "Women trying to "block" the Independence Day March sentenced to a fine! And rightly so! There is no consent for disturbing patriotic and national gatherings!!!" (APY, *Facebook*, 2018).

However, referring to the APY and NRC worldview, a man and a woman are equal, and they are a foundation of the traditional family model being supported by APY and NRC. Another dimension other than the gender community is the community of origin where there are direct references to the community of Central and Eastern Europe states, the community of "the true Europe"; the community related to being a member of a nation-a community of Poles, as well as a community related to nationality and communities in opposition to the above – of the Union, Russian, and of the North Atlantic Treaty. The Ideological Declaration of the NRC states as follows:

> The time has now come to safeguard the political, economic, and military sovereignty of Poland. We will do this by initiating genuine cooperation between the Central and Eastern Europe States that are linked by a common, often painful and full of mutually caused harm, history and experiences. (…) We do not link our future and State security to Atlantic guarantees, EU bureaucracy, and servilism towards Russian imperialism. (ONR, n.d.)

The opposition, which is being negatively assessed here, also constitutes specific nations – the Jews, German, and Ukrainians. The activists of nationalist organisations make themselves out to be victims of these nations. Poland, on the other hand, is a country that must renounce its territorial heritage in the East. Here is one such example:

> (...) Nobody will accuse the Jews of nationalism, yet Israel was established precisely on the basis of Jewish nationalism and the discrimination of Palestinians. (…) A vast number of Poles were murdered during the Second World War the whole country was destroyed and yet in public opinion we remain second- or third-rate victims. And surely the Slavs were also written off by the Nazis! Why have the Poles had to explain themselves for years on account of their past, while the Germans are focusing on the future? (Spurek, 2018)

An important aspect that sets more communities apart is worldview, which is evident in their references to themselves in opposition to the people in power or to the ruling Law and Justice Party, but not just them, because here too an opposition can be seen in relation to the left-liberal worldview, an opposition towards LGBT+ group. The governments of the Law and Justice Party are accused of their "passivity towards anti-Polonism" (*Rzeczpospolita*, 2018), "hunting immigrants from Ukraine and the Far East, and their servile policy in relation to the USA and Israel (…)" (APY, *Facebook*, 2018).

Thinking about constructing a community through the prism of worldviews, young people refer to themselves as nationalists and invoke historical heroes who are important to them – i.e., the Cursed and Indomitable Soldiers of the anti-communist underground. They emphasise in the documents the role that faith and the teachings of the Catholic Church plays in their way of thinking – "directing a person towards the Truth and sets the ethical framework of other religions" (ONR, n.d.) and they defend the representatives of the Catholic Church who are being attacked in the media (MW, *Facebook*, 2018 – a post referring to the pedophile scandals and the negative image of priests in Wojciech Smarzowski's film "Kler" [The Clergy]).

The nation and society are communities with a relatively broad reach, and it is to them that the activists of youth organisations refer to very often. In the Poland of Tomorrow Ideological Declaration of the NRC (ONR, n.d.) one can read that:

> The role of political parties as harmful institutions putting the interests of groups before the common interest of the Nation, leading to artificial divisions and conflicts at the heart of the community will be limited. We reject every form of totalitarianism, including liberal democracy, as political regimes that are extremely harmful to the national community. (ONR, n.d.)

Specific persons or institutions that foster other values and have a different worldview appear in opposition to the activists of the APY and NRC. The former President of Warsaw, Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, President Andrzej Duda, Ukraine's Minister of Internal Affairs Arsen Awakow, or institutions like the TVN television station, the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine can be mentioned here, for instance.

In the discourse of both organisations, one can also point to the activities that constitute a certain context for the creation of communities. The most evident here are the communities of the participants of the Independence Day March, but also of other marches – the Silesian Insurgents' March, the Warsaw Uprising March, the March for Life and Family, and a community in opposition to the March of the National Corpus organised in Lviv. Political events, such as the reaction of Israel to the amendment of the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance in Poland, are also an important axis of division of communities.

The scope of the constructed communities overlaps and complements each other, providing their further dimensions like, for instance, a community of couples in romantic relationships or married couples who are activists in the studied organisations, a community of ethnically homogeneous people, an All-Polish community (understood differently from a community-organisation), and a community of National Radical Campers, etc. The above catalogue does not cover all the communities created by the studied organisations.

The basic dimensions of the construction of a "we" community are, however, the spaces of the organisation, nation, state, and of gender. The use of various kinds of discursive strategies exposes their uniqueness and special status – a specific exclusivity. Examples of such discursive elements (nomination and predication) have been presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Nomination and Predication: I/we – They

	I/We		They	
	Nomination	**Predication**	**Nomination**	**Predication**
Nationalist organisations/movements		"There are a great many women who support to acceptability of abortion" "They are not just anti-leftist; they are opposed to the political right" "They complete tasks for the nation" "Nationalism is the utmost value" "It works on a grassroots level, with no financial support" "We have made a sovereign decision to resign from the picket, this does not mean that we are resigning from criticising the government" "We do not accept Poland unconditionally renouncing its heritage in the East"	"Pro-life organisations" "Each of the governments" "left-wing politician" "the Law and Justice government" "left-liberal circles"	"Use the most drastic images of dead foetuses, playing on emotions, 'neglect'" "supports entrepreneurs, neglects the poorest people" "does not want to rent a hall" "refuses to visit children's homes" "passivity towards anti-Polonism and interference in Polish politics"
I/We - women nationalists		"Is not a feminist" "likes to look nice" "likes tidiness" "is not set on getting rid of female traits" "too progressive for the political right, too conservative for the political left" "too rightist for the left, too leftist for the right"	"men" "male friends" "feminists" "fanatics" "girls from the Women's March"	"They have university classes and lectures, extra-curricular activities, go to the gym, do martial arts" "jokingly call her a national feminist"; "would behave as though they had a screw loose" "anti-feminine"

	"I would not go to fight" "when I was small, I wanted to have a rich husband, I would be bringing children up" "they cut themselves off from feminism, overall, they are not foster the hearth of the home. They study, work, and are very active"		

	"tries not to blare out every step of the way: 'God, honour and country'" "the showpiece of the organization" "is redrafting our history"		
All-Polish Youth	"Action is what counts without any breakdown into women and men" "common values and goals connect people, and the nation is the most important one"		
We-the nation	"A lasting, organic cultural community of past, present and future generations" "constitutes the highest temporal value" "everyone who feels that they are a Pole feels an attachment to Polish tradition and history and is recognised by the national community as a compatriot. By condemning biological racism, we are postulating preserving the state	'Ethnically different"	

	of ethnic homogeneity"		
March Organisers - Nationalists	"We are not going to argue but we're not going to let ourselves be pushed out of the crowd" "they have a banner ready 'God, honour and fatherland'" "they want to retain the grassroots, social nature of the march" "we are also in the right and we are holding our march"	"President Kaczyński and President Duda and Prime Minister Morawiecki" "the police" "the government"	'Are walking at the front' 'will not catch out' 'they used the ban of President Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz'
Countries in CEE	are linked by a common, often painful and full of mutually caused harm, history and experiences.	"The EU" "the Atlantic Treaty" "Russia"	"bureaucracy" "servilism"
We, the NRC	"are the avant-garde. We do not confine ourselves to trite slogans about love of country but act for Great Poland"	"the general public"	"Liberalism, hedonism and consumptionism reign"

Note. Own elaboration.

The exceptionality of a community is constructed based on four main pairs of opposition – national organisations, nationalist women, organisers of the Independence Day March, the State (or group of countries) are being opposed to the government (or their representatives), feminists, left-wing liberal milieus, the EU, and other transnational organisations. Young activists use dichotomous divisions harnessing nomination, examples of which have been presented in Table 1. The applied predication strategies clearly indicate positive valuing of "us/ours" and negative of "they/theirs." The crux of the argumentation is the topos of inalienable differences which is based on the fundamental assumption on the natural character of social differentiation and is expressed in the following paraphrase: 'If actions that unify the social world are being undertaken then one should oppose them.' An example of an argumentation pattern of inalienable differences is the statement of one of the female activists:

> I am not racist; the world is beautiful because it's diverse. But we should speak
> out about the fact that we are different, strong in our diversity. Because

otherwise a grey mass will emerge – when everyone will mix with everyone. However, exceptions are allowed but it is mass migrations that are dangerous. Now it's Syrians, earlier it was Ukrainians. I'm not saying that they're worse, simply... different. (Spurek, 2018).

At the same time, ethnic homogeneity, as the NRC nationalists put it, is conducive to social harmony and state stability.

Conclusions

Based on the analyses carried out, it can be concluded that the nationalist discourse of youth organisations (APY and NRC) reveals them to be spaces depicting two heterotopic principles: (1) The openness and closedness of a community or communities, and (2) Comparing several different heterogeneous spaces within one organisation. These spaces are where different orders are confronted and clash with the dominant knowledge about the nationalist community. The heterotopia of youth organisation communities reveals the attitudes that this order is based on gender, religion, geographic location, political affiliation, national identity, and worldview. In relation to the studied cases, it is worth recalling the operating table metaphor in the summary:

Objects become knowable because the space between objects on the operating table allows us to separate them into discrete entities. By juxtaposing and combining many spaces in one site, heterotopias problematize received knowledge by revealing and destabilizing the ground, or operating table, on which knowledge is built. (Topinka, 2010, p. 56)

Nationalist youth organisations are both open and closed, accepting everyone but with the obligation of fulfilling certain rules that concern, for instance, nationality, age, worldviews, or professed values, hence, they are open, but not to everyone. They require that their members fulfil certain rituals of "entrance" and "departure" from an organisation, thereby reflecting what Foucault (2005) referred to as the system of opening and closing of heterotopias. The opening and closing pattern of the "we-our," "they-their" category allows them to simultaneously isolate themselves within the space of choice and to retain for a different space the ability to permeate it. This is what happens when, for example, young nationalists allow the gender discourse to come through (along with its standards and language) and construe a community of women and men, both inside and outside the organisation. Youth organisations juxtapose several incompatible spaces in one space of the organisation that they form. Different communities meet within it, which are constructed in many dimensions: gender, religion, geographic location, political affiliation, national identity, worldview, activity, and political events.

Attempts of changing the dominant order of knowledge about the youth nationalist movement in Poland as a space that merges with all other spaces, extending and at the same time complicating nationalistic discourse can be noticed here. This is evidenced by the applied discursive strategies that are harnessed by young activists to create their special role and the experience of uniqueness. The categories mentioned above become a kind of mirror that gives them their own visibility and alternative way of looking at themselves and who they are. As written by Foucault (1994), heterotopias make legible the ground on which knowledge is built by complicating that ground (c.f., Topinka, 2010). The heterotopic principle allows the integrity of a community to be perceived where it realistically does not exist, presenting an alternative way of looking, a reflection "in glass" (see Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986; Topinka,

2010). In this sense, communities (i.e., nationalist organisations, nationalist movements) are constructed by the "shadow" of the real "us." "They" are a kind of mirror in the analysed discourse that gives the organisation its own visibility. Their specific characteristics and peculiar uniqueness become visible and possible only in this structural, dichotomous but also necessary relationship. If the researchers commenting on Foucault are right (e.g., Hetherington, 1997; Johnson, 2006), heterotopias constitute the fulcrum for resistance and opposition to the dominant order of knowledge. The discourse of the studied youth organisations, while remaining related to the dominant representation of the national movement community, also creates new ways of forming knowledge. It is neither utopia nor the reality of the dominant order of nationalist discourse.

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