Violetta Kopińska

Nicolaus Copernicus University, Torun, Poland

e-mail: violetta.kopinska@umk.pl

ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5255-9995

Representation of Women's Citizenship Activity in the Polish-language Media Discourse. Around the Case of Tomato Soup and van Gogh*

Abstract

The aim of the article is to reconstruct the discursive representation of women's citizenship activity based on the media description and comments in Polish language, referring to the event of October 14th, 2022, organised by Just Stop Oil coalition at the National Gallery in London. The research material covered various genres: articles/information published on the Internet, posts on social media (Facebook), and comments on articles/posts. In total, 70 articles/posts and 3,830 comments were analysed. For the analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in the approach represented by Ruth Wodak and Martin Reisigl was used (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005; Wodak, 2001). The study material sought for applications of discursive strategies (nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivisation, intensification/mitigation) in relation to the act itself and to the social female actors involved in this act. The results show, among others, that the discourse on citizenship activity reconstructed on the basis of the analyses carried out builds many symbolic boundaries that "arrange" the evaluation and the argumentation accompanying it. The features and properties attributed to social female actors, explicitly negatively valued, obscure the act itself, questioning its meaning as a result. On the other hand, the "explanatory," "ironic"

discourse and the discourse of indignation cannot cross the border between private and public spheres at the level of argumentation.

Keywords: citizenship participation, citizenship activity, women's citizenship activity, gender, sexism, Poland, Critical Discourse Analysis.

Introduction

The aim of the article is to reconstruct the discursive representation of women's citizenship activity based on the media description and comments related to a specific event. On October 14th, 2022, two people wearing Just Stop Oil[1] t-shirts: Phoebe Plummer and Anna Holland entered the National Gallery in London, opened cans of tomato soup, and spilled it on Vincent van Gogh's "Sunflowers." Then they smeared their hands with glue, glued their hands to the wall, and Phoebe Plummer spoke the following words:

> What is worth more – art or life? Is it worth more than food? Worth more than justice? Are you more concerned about the protection of a painting, or the protection of our planet and people? The cost of living crisis is part of the cost of oil crisis. Fuel is unaffordable to millions of cold, hungry families. They can't even afford to heat a tin of soup. Meanwhile, crops are failing. Millions of people are dying in monsoons, wildfires and severe drought. We cannot afford new oil and gas. It's going to take everything we know and love(Just Stop Oil, 2022).

The painting was covered with glass (BBC, 2022) and was therefore not damaged. Both people were arrested (National Gallery [@NationalGallery], 2022). As Emma Brown, spokesperson for the Just Stop Oil movement said, the action was planned, and the choice of the painting took into account the fact that it was protected against damage (Jones, 2022).

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[1]   Just Stop Oil is "a coalition of groups working together to ensure that the government commits to ending all new licences and consents for the exploration, development and production of fossil fuels in the UK" – https://juststopoil.org/.

A video of the event has been posted online. Information about this has been reported by many news services. The event was widely commented on, also in the Polish media. It is the Polish-language media discourse that emerged around this event that is treated as the object of research in this article. The aim of the article is not to analyse the course of the event. It is not about the analysis of discursive practices designed for or accompanying this event. I will not analyse what the people participating in this event said and did, and how the press spokesperson of the Just Stop Oil movement commented on it (Jones, 2022), although I also do see considerable analytical potential in it. Within the framework of this article, I set myself a different task. What I mean is the reconstruction of the discourse appearing in the media around this event, referring to the act itself and to the social female actors involved in this act.

Basic assumptions

The basis for the analyses undertaken in this article is the adoption of several assumptions.

Firstly, I assume that citizenship is a construct that, in addition to formal and legal status, also includes community membership, values, participation, and knowledge about the functioning of society, its structures and management processes (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). Community membership does not only mean belonging to a particular political community. Community can be understood in different ways: from local to global level. Membership does not have to be formal. It is rather about belonging, which according to Yuval-Davis (2006) has a social, individual, and emotional dimension. Moreover, belongingness is related to the ethical and political value system by which people judge their own and others' belongingness (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 199). This, in turn, means that belongingness itself is related to valuing on both a personal and publicly oriented level (Antonsich, 2010; Healy, 2020).

Participation, as an element of the construct of citizenship, can be positioned in various ways. This can be clearly seen in various concepts of citizenship. Three concepts are considered to be the most influential in Europe: liberal, civic republican and critical citizenship (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006;

Hoskins & Kerr, 2012). In the liberal conception, participation is a right, in the republican one – an obligation, while in the critical one it departs from the dichotomy: right – obligation (Hoskins et al., 2015, p. 433). Participation itself is not exposed here, but critical analysis and solving social problems cannot do without it (Hoskins et al., 2015, p. 434).

The very concept of citizenship participation is also interpreted differently depending on the adopted criteria. Citizenship participation in the narrow sense is understood as (co-)participation in the decision-making process (Kopińska, 2019). But even in this case, its understanding may be different. For example, the criterion of the subject of action allows for distinguishing the following actions: individual and/or joint and/or in consultation with others. The criterion of the spheres of activity, on the other hand, makes it possible to distinguish political, social, and civil participation. In other words, participation may be limited to decisions made in connection with the position occupied in power structures or aimed at taking such positions, but it may also include participation in the processes of direct or indirect influence on the content of organisational and legal solutions concerning specific groups of people (Kopińska, 2017). In addition, participation is also understood broadly as participation in civil society, community and/or political life based on mutual respect, human rights and non-violence (Hoskins, 2006).

Citizenship activity is a concept related to citizenship participation. If we understand citizenship participation narrowly, then every participatory activity is citizenship activity. However, not every citizenship activity is citizenship participation. It is easy to imagine an action that we consider active from a citizenship perspective, and which does not necessarily meet the participation condition (e.g. using the media understood as an active search for information on political and social issues). Activity is also an important criterion when constructing different typologies of citizenship. In the literature, analyses of active citizenship can be seen in many typologies. For example, Amnå and Ekman (2014) mention active and standby citizenship, while Banaji constructs the following types: excluded; inactive/passive/disengaged; conformist active; anti-democratic active, pro-democratic/ non-conformist active; hyperactive in a progressive/pro-democratic way (Banaji, 2020, pp. 14–16).

In this paper, I also assume that citizenship activity is discursively produced, reproduced and altered by language and other semiotic systems (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970/1990). I consider the very act that is the source of the discourse analysed in this article to be an example of citizenship activity. I also assume that this act is part of the definition of citizenship participation, because it is about drawing attention to a problem with a global dimension and indirectly exerting pressure on legal and organisational solutions at the state level, which are to, at least to some extent, counteract said problem. It is an activity related to the political sphere of citizenship activities, where the political nature of citizenship activity is understood as including all activities that result from a critical assessment of political and social reality, aimed at changing the current situation (Mascheroni, 2017; Pirk & Nugin, 2016; Sveningsson, 2016; Vromen et al., 2015). It is also an unconventional activity that fits into the patterns of citizenship activity correlating with engaged citizenship (Dalton, 2008).

In view of the above, I assume that the discourse analysed in this article is also a discourse on the basis of which knowledge relating to citizenship activity and political participation can be reconstructed.

The potential of the event around which this discourse was created can be additionally analysed from two perspectives:

- firstly, from the perspective of the people who played a major role in this event;
- secondly, from the perspective of the problem to which this event relates.

The first perspective is interesting because social actors are women.

As can be seen from the previous findings, the concept of citizenship, and thus the recognition of a given activity as citizenship, is not universal. I assume that citizenship is differentiated by individuals' identity, social standing, cultural assumptions, institutional practices and sense of belonging (Werbner & Yuval-Davis, 1999). This means that the understanding of citizenship involves many social factors that not only build an individual's idea of what it means to be a citizen in a given place, at a given time, but also taking into account other variables, such as gender, age, (dis)ability, sexual orientation, social

status, ethnicity, nationality, religion/lack of religious denomination, etc. This is not only about individual concepts, but also about collective perception, which translates into discursive practices, which in turn reproduce, but also change this construct. One of the factors that differentiates the understanding of citizenship and citizenship activity is gender. The traditional division into the private and public spheres and linking citizenship activity mainly with the public sphere results in the privilege of some over others. Women's contribution is considered negligible, and they are seen through the prism of their "appropriate" private tasks (Pateman, 1989, p. 10). Non-binary and transgender people, on the other hand, are completely excluded from this discourse. Feminist approaches to citizenship try to redefine this division, seeing it as a source of structural exclusion of women from the public sphere. However, the solutions proposed in this regard are different, e.g. highlighting the difference, politicising motherhood as a basis for promoting women's civil rights claims, redefining the public and private spheres beyond the distinction of difference versus equality, or gender neutralisation of the private sphere (Çela, 2015, pp. 111–113; Siim, 2000, pp. 31–43).

The issue of the relationship between the public and private spheres also applies to the second of the above-mentioned perspectives. Climate protection is a social and political problem that requires, above all, systemic solutions. On the other hand, it is visible that responsibility is shifted to individual consumer decisions. Besides, in Poland, for years the governance discourse has not only placed itself in a defensive position against the EU climate policy, pressing for sovereignty in the field of energy policy, but also uses the issue of climate protection for social polarisation, calling it "leftist" (Rancew-Sikora & Konopka, 2020, pp. 30–31) and presenting it as irrational and disadvantageous both in economic and civil terms.

I assume that the perspectives indicated above may be important both for the discourse relating to the act itself and for the social female actors of this event.

Research questions, material and research method

The following research questions were constructed in the study:

How is the act presented in the researched discourse?

How are social female actors presented in the researched discourse?

For the analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was used in the approach represented by Ruth Wodak and Martin Reisigl (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005; Wodak, 2001). Applications of discursive strategies were sought in the researched material. Discursive strategies are 'a more or less accurate and more or less intentional plan of practices including discursive practices adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological and linguistic aim' (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). The analysis was focused on finding answers to the following questions: What is/are the social act/female actors named (nomination strategy)? How is the act/social female actors valued (predication strategy)? How are possible value cases argued (argumentation strategy)? How are value cases intensified/mitigated (intensification/mitigation strategy)? From what/whose perspective are possible assessments formulated (perspectivation strategy)?

The organisation of the research process was as follows. At the first stage, an analysis of individual texts was carried out, coding them with codes corresponding to individual strategies (6 codes relating to the act, and 6 – to social female actors). At the next stage, the material included in the entire corpus was analysed in detail, focusing on fragments encoded with a specific code. This step refines the predication code. Additional descriptive codes, which are indicated later in the article, have also been distinguished. Atlas.ti 9 software was used in the research. Then, the relationships between the texts were analysed, which resulted in the reconstruction of a discourse model grounded in the collected material.

The research material consisted of: 18 articles published on Internet portals[2] with available comments (393), 17 posts sharing these articles on social media profiles (Facebook) with comments (2733) and 35 posts published on individual Facebook (hereinafter: FB) accounts or FB fanpages with comments

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[2] dorzeczy.pl, biznesalert.pl, onet.pl, PCh24.pl, krytykapolityczna.pl, polsatnews.pl, rmf24.pl, stefczyk.info, tvn24.pl, tvp.info, wpolityce.pl, wp.pl, sieciprawdy.pl.

(704). In total, the material included 70 articles/posts and 3830 comments published between October 14, 2022 (most of the materials) and November 9, 2022. The material was collected using keyword searches: sunflowers, van Gogh, and tomato soup (in Polish).

Analysis results

Presentation of the act

In the analysed material, the nomination strategy was identified in 369 fragments of statements. In 85 fragments (21.46%) the event is simply called an action, activity or protest. At the same time, it is worth emphasising that such naming is usually accompanied by negative predicates, which I will write about later. All of the other nouns used for naming the event are evaluative in themselves. Most often (45%) there is a term associated with destruction (vandalism; demolition; devastation; destruction of a painting, cultural and material heritage, works of art). Nearly 10% of the analysed fragments use intensified terms referring to the rhetoric of aggression and war, such as: attack, fight, terrorism, rebellion, revolution, assassination. In addition, there are also such definitions of an act as: prank, stunt, carrying-on, happening, performance.

The above-described way of naming an event is constructed primarily through comments to articles and posts. Only 12.74% of fragments encoded with the nomination code are found in texts created by news services. Here the results of the analyses are slightly different. In the texts created by the media, which in relation to personal freedom axe are identified as conservative (hereinafter referred to simply as conservative),[3] the act is defined as destruction (or an attempt to destroy), demolition, devastation. The same is true of the

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[3] Conservativeness and liberality of the media is understood here in relation to the identification given to these media taking into account the axis of personal freedom and not economic freedom axis. This means, for example, that krytykapolityczna.pl, which is identified as left-wing, is described here as a liberal medium. As conservative media in terms of the personal freedom axis I indetify: dorzeczy.pl, biznesalert.pl, PCh24.pl, stefczyk.info, tvp.info, wpolityce.pl, sieciprawdy.pl (and their FB portals), and for the liberal ones: onet.pl, krytykapolityczna.pl, polsatnews.pl, rmf24.pl, tvn24.pl, wp.pl (and their FB portals).

entire research material. On the other hand, in the texts of the media created by the media, which in relation to personal freedom axe are identified as liberal (hereinafter: liberal), the event is called in a way that describes the act, i.e. simply dousing/throwing soup, e.g.:

(1)   they threw tomato soup at Van Gogh's "Sunflowers" (Aktywistki_ rzuciły_zupą_pomidorową_w_Słoneczniki_van_Gogha_Onet_wiado-mości_14.10.2022)[4]

(2)   they poured tomato soup on Vincent van Gogh's famous painting "Sun-flowers" (Słoneczniki_van_Gogha_oblane_zupą_pomidorową _rmf24. pl_14.01.2022)

(3)   they threw the contents of soup cans on the work, the price of which is estimated at over 84 million dollars (Aktywistki_klimatyczne_oblały_ Słoneczniki_van_Gogha_w_National_Gallery_zupą_pomidorową_ tvn24.pl_14.10.2022)

As can be seen in examples 2 and 3, although the description of the action itself is neutral, the immediate vicinity of predicates referring to the painting results in an effect negatively evaluating this action. The ordinariness of the tomato soup contrasts here with the fame, and value of the painting and the high position of the gallery where the painting is exhibited. This contrast can be interpreted as crossing the threshold of two spaces: the domestic, familiar one, where tomato soup fits and does not surprise anyone, and the public one, which in this case is additionally a time-accumulating space, a collection space of what is given in a dogmatic way high value, a highly protected space. In the analysed comments, there is even a motif of desecration and profanation

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4   The order of marking quoted fragments is as follows: (1) for articles/information published on Internet portals: publication title_place of publication_date of publication; (2) in the case of comments to articles/posts: publication title (if the comment refers to an article/information)_place of publication_c ("c" indicates a comment); (3) in the case of posts posted on FB individual users' accounts and comments to these posts: FB_indi-vidual_account_ account record number_date of publication (in the case of a post) or _c (in the case of a comment to a post).

of the painting, which further strengthens the symbolism of the relationship between the two spaces.

The analysis of the predication strategy showed that negative evaluation in the analysed material is definitely dominant. Only 13% of all fragments in which the predication strategy was identified in relation to the act (n = 1183) are positive. None of these positive predications are present in the texts produced by the conservative media. Seven of them are present in the texts published by a portal called Krytyka Polityczna. The rest are included in the comments of Internet users: nearly half in texts and comments to posts by individual users, the other half in comments to articles published on news services and shared on FB accounts of these services and websites.

The justifications for a positive assessment of the act focus on its essence. Those who commented indicate that the action is clear, well planned, the idea is understandable, and its goal, understood as the media publicising the action, has been achieved.

The analysis of all fragments of statements in which negative assessment of the act was identified allows us to distinguish several groups of these assessments in the analysed texts. The largest group of predications is related to stupidity. Within this group, there are statements containing such adjectives as: unreasonable, thoughtless, absurd, stupid, idiotic, moronic, dumb. Such terms are sometimes reinforced by the use of capital letters (caps lock) and exclamation marks, and are rarely argued. In addition, the act is sometimes described as naive.

The next group consists of statements indicating the lack of connection between the form of the protest and its demands. Within this group, on the one hand, statements showing indignation are articulated, e.g.:

(4) what does this have to do with the climate… climate defence is very important but devastation has nothing to do with it (FB_TVN24_c)

(5) pouring soup will not make anyone think (FB_Krytyka_Polityczna_c)

On the other hand, there are comments showing the lack of connection between the form of protest and its demands using irony ('let's laugh' code), e.g.:

(6)   it's probably because Van Gogh didn't sort waste (FB_TVN24_c)

(7)   [...] Is it about the fact that it is painted with oil on canvas, or the fact that oil is made from sunflowers? Or the fact that we should paint with tomatoes? So many unanswered questions... (FB_TVN24_c)

In this case, irony also has the function of intensification of the negative predication of the act.

The third group of negative evaluations is associated with hypocrisy. The focus here is mainly on wasting food and using highly processed food as part of ecological activities (*'let me explain'* code). Product placement and financing by the soup producer are also alleged. The act is described as left-wing, leftist, ideological, and is suspected or accused of being financed by Russia and/or oil companies (*conspiracy theories* code). It is defined as fanaticism, further strengthened by references to Nazism and the activities of ISIS. Interestingly, this group of assessments occurs both in the comments to posts shared by liberal and conservative media. When it comes to turnout, nominally there are no big differences: 28 fragments of statements are coded in the case of conservative media and 33 – in the case of liberal ones. However, there is a difference in percentage terms. Coded fragments account for 16.47% of all fragments coded with the *act – negative predication* code in the case of conservative media, and 5.11% – in the case of liberal media.

Another group of negative assessments and the line of argumentation related to them is the ineffectiveness of the act. The dominant line of argument here is that the act caused a media stir focused on the mere pouring of soup on the painting, and not on the purpose of the action. Some of the arguments formulated on this occasion additionally emphasise that this form of protest is harmful to climate activism.

The discourse relating to the act, reconstructed on the basis of the analysis, is presented in Scheme 1.

As shown in scheme 1, I distinguished several perspectives in the analysed discourse: activism, expert, political and class perspective. Activism perspective is noticeable both in the case of unequivocally positive predications of an act, as well as negative predications argued for its ineffectiveness. Applying this
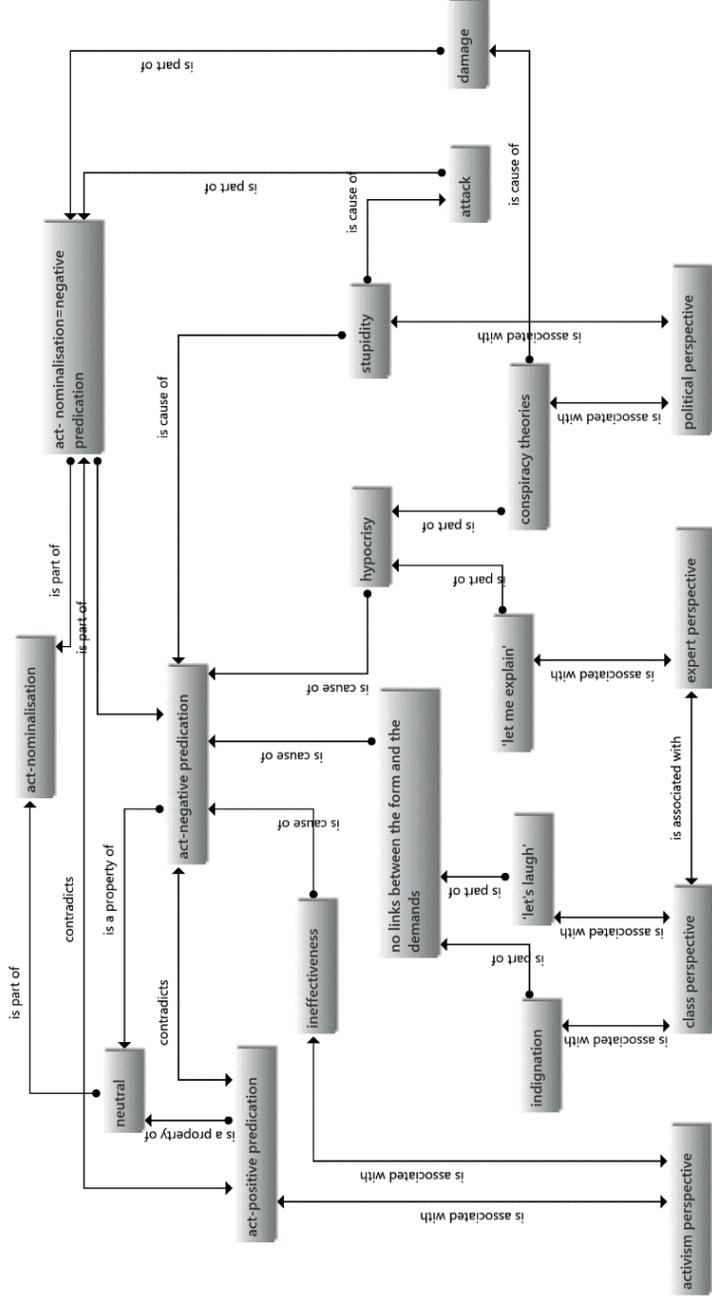
Scheme 1. Discourse relating to the act – reconstruction based on the analysis of discursive strategies

perspective means that statements are formulated from the position of people who deal with and/or have knowledge about climate activism. I distinguish the expert perspective from the activist one. Applying the expert perspective means formulating judgments from the position of experts in the subject, while the focus is not on the phenomenon of climate activism itself, but rather on substantive issues related to climate protection. This perspective is characteristic of the negative predication of an act justified by its hypocrisy. It is in this area that the "explanatory" discourse emerges. Its purpose is to preach. Some of the statements here are substantive, some ostensibly substantive, but they have one thing in common: trying to argue the hypocrisy of the act, they refer to the level of individual consumer decisions and the related responsibility, while the act in question refers, on the substantive layer, to the level of systemic actions in the field of climate protection.

Another perspective identified in this discourse is the political perspective. Arguments relating to the assessment of the act – if they exist at all – are not substantive. This perspective is revealed by assigning a political nature to the action, simply calling it leftist, ideological, etc., or by formulating allegations of hidden political connections between the action and major political and/or economic entities.

However, the dominant perspective present in the analysed discourse is the class perspective. Applying this perspective means formulating statements from the position of the upper class understood in symbolic terms (Lamont, 1992; Lamont & Molnár, 2002). The criterion of superiority-inferiority is determined in this case by emphasising the importance of art (*indignation* code: example 8) and distancing from such a form of protest by ironically speaking about the relationship between demands and the form of protest (*'let's laugh'* code: examples 6 and 7). The class perspective is also related to the expert perspective that uses explanatory discourse (*'let me explain'* code: example 9).

(8) […] doesn't art make our lives more complete. Hasn't art always been linked to a man? Of course it has! In that case, aren't we killing our humanity by destroying art? Pouring tomato soup on Van Gogh sunflowers is a primitive action (FB_individual_account_20_29.102022)

(9)   the best way to strive for environmental neutrality and thus improve the situation in terms of human climate change is to give up those industrial products that we do not need for life (and which production has a negative impact on the environment), e.g … hair dyes (FB_individual_account_18_c).

Presentation of social female actors

The analysis of the material showed that the strategy of nomination and predication, aimed at clearly negative characterisation of social female actors, was used more often than in relation to the act itself (Table 1).

Table 1. Groundedness of the selected codes in the research material

Code	Number of quotations coded by a code
Act – nomination	369
Actors – nomination	1252
Act – positive predication	154
Act – negative predication	1029
Actors – positive predication	20
Actors – negative predication	1847

Source: Author's research.

Table 1 shows that the discourse described in the case referred more than three times to the female actors involved in the act, rather than the act itself. It is worth adding that 97.92% of all marked nominations have a value-setting character. The strategy of nomination in these fragments is thus connected with the strategy of predication (unambiguously negative). At the analytical level, this meant that such fragments were assigned codes referring to both discursive strategies. Neutral nominations in texts posted on news services' websites and in the comments to them: activists, female activists, two female activists, female environmental activists, female activists from the Just Stop Oil movement, eco-activists, environmentalists, greens, girls, women, ladies, two young people, a group, young generation, generation Z, youth. First of all,

they are considered anonymous people categorised by gender and/or function. Less often, however, when *totum pro parte* synecdoche is used, i.e. instead of naming the female social actor participating in the event, the entire age group is indicated – youth or even the generation. Only a few times their first names, surnames and ages appear. In addition, affiliation to a specific organisation/movement is indicated only several times. All specifying information appears exclusively on news services sites.

As Table 1 shows, negative predication of social female actors occurs 1.7 times more often than negative evaluation of the act itself. Of all the fragments coded with the *predication* code, nearly 99% are associated with a negative evaluation. The division into conservative and liberal media does not fundamentally change this distribution, although it is worth noting that in the case of texts shared and commented on conservative media news services and portals, no example of positive predication of social female actors was identified. The situation was slightly different in the case of individual user accounts and comments posted there. Here, slightly more than 7% of positive predications related to social female actors were recorded.

As in the case of passing judgement on the act itself, references to destruction are also present in this case. This time, however, it takes the form of highly evaluative naming of social female actors, who are described as vandals, hooligans, and even offenders, criminals. There are also dehumanising ways of naming, such as: cattle, feral pigs, weeds, garbage, and even racist predications, such as "they came out of the bush" (FB_TVPINFO_c), "go on a raft and to Africa" (FB_TVN24_c).

Within the negative assessment of social female actors, however, three groups are most characteristic – assessments relating to: gender, age and intellect. Identification of these groups of assessments allowed for the construction of three descriptive codes named: *sexism*, *ableism* and *infantilisation*. These codes are interrelated, i.e. sexist statements can also refer to the intellect and/or can infantilise social female actors. On the other hand, infantilising statements may also refer to their intellect. These codes may therefore overlap, but this does not change the fact that there are fragments that can only be assigned to one of these codes.

When it comes to texts created by news services, the above-mentioned codes are present only in texts published by conservative media, and to a small extent (*ableism* code – 4 times, *sexism* code – 2 times, *infantilisation* code – 10 times), but never in the liberal media. This means that references to the gender, age and mental/intellectual condition of social female actors are made mainly by commenting on articles published on portals and shared on FB. It is the commentators who essentially create a discourse that has features of sexism, ableism and infantilisation. The frequency of occurrence of the above-mentioned codes in relation to all fragments coded as *actors-negative predication* is not differentiated by the political identification of the media on whose pages and FB profiles the comments were posted. This means that sexist, ableist and infantilising language is present to a similar extent in comments to articles published in liberal and conservative media. Nevertheless, the frequency of occurrence of individual codes in the entire research material varies. The *ableism* code had the highest turnout. Throughout the material, 481 quotations were encoded with this code. Table 2 shows the analysis results for this code.

The argumentation of the assessments relating to the intellectual condition of social female actors is based on an explanation of why they are the way they are. As justification, the following are mentioned primarily: "stress-free

Table 2. Ableism in the assessment of social female actors in the researched discourse

Analysis of the use of predication and intensification strategies	The use of offensive terms and terms referring to intellectual condition, disease and treatment, e.g.: *stupid, idiots, morons, retards, mad, imbeciles, special needs children, brainless, sick, sick people, not necessarily normal, small little minds, screwed minds, sick minds, people in need of treatment*
	Intensification through the use of exclamation marks, capital letters (caps lock), but also through vulgar vocabulary or aggressive language, e.g.: *What fucking idiots* (FB_TVN24_c); *Bullet in the head, fuckers* (FB_RMF24_c); [...] *and I would embed their hands in concrete and then tear them out* (FB_WP_Wiadomości_c)
	Intensification through the use of irony, e.g.: *Greenhouse gases must have affected the brains too much* (FB_TVN24_c); *They misunderstood the "stop oil" phrase and thought it was about oil paint* (FB_TVN24_c)

Source: Author's research.

upbringing," in particular the lack of corporal punishment, lack of obliga-
tions, the use of the "do what you want"[5] principle in upbringing, prosperity
("they don't have the right order of things in their heads"[6]) are mentioned in
particular. In addition, the theme of attracting attention is also repeated. It is
not about the need to be noticed in the absence of sufficient attention from
others. It's about publicity, fame measured by the number of likes on social
media. Another explanation focuses on the manipulation of social female
actors by others. This type of argument takes a political perspective: leftism
and ideologies are to blame.

The *sexism* code was encoded in 250 fragments of utterances. The results
of analyses related to this code are presented in Table 3.

It is difficult to expect reasoning in the case of negative assessments
containing features of sexism. How should appearance assessments, remarks
about gender and sexual orientation, offensive and derogatory comments
be justified? The only way to argue here is – as in the case of ableism – to
justify why social female actors are the way they are. These arguments can be
reconstructed from Table 3, points 5 and 6 b) and c). So it's about:

- lack of knowledge, intellectual ability, which is indicated as the reason
  for choosing the "wrong" form of protest;
- lack of ability to critically assess the situation, allowing for manipu-
  lation:
- lack of work, occupation, and sexual attractiveness for potential
  partners, which results, according to commentators, in the need to
  seek attention.

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[5] In Polish, this phrase is stylised with a dialect for fun purposes. It is mainly associated
with Jerzy Owsiak, who in the 90s created a television programme for youth entitled "Do
what you want, or a rock and roll ride without a hold." Owsiak is also the creator of a large,
free rock music festival (inspired by the Woodstock festival) and the founder and president
of the largest charity foundation in Poland, "Wielka Orkiestra Świątecznej Pomocy" (Great
Orchestra of Christmas Charity). The slogan "Do what you want" has been criticised by
right-wing circles in Poland as a call to a hedonistic lifestyle and moral relativism.

[6] The phrase used in Polish language referring to the fact that someone has so much
and is well provided for and thus has "made-up" problems and needs. It is used primarily
in a negative way.

Table 3. Sexism in the assessment of social female actors in the researched discourse

Analysis of the use of predication, intensification, and argumentation strategies	1. The use of offensive terms, often vulgar and referring to the sexual sphere and female genital organs: *whores, bitches, sluts, cunts, asses, hags, pussies, cows, shallows.*
	2. Intensification by using additional adjectives and participles with a definite negative connotation or profanity, e.g.: *stupid, mad, dumb, fucked up, slow.*
	3. Direct references to gender and sexual orientation in a negative context, e.g.: *English butches* (FB_TVN24_c); *They are definitely non-binary* (FB_TVN24_c); *Both of these creatures look transgender* (Zupą_z_puszki_w_Słoneczniki_Fala_komentarzy_wpolityce.pl_c).
	4. Commenting on the appearance of social female actors, e.g.: *Why do only ugly girls become activists?* (FB_Polsatnews_c); *Pink head, tattoo* (Zupą_z_puszki_w_Słoneczniki_Wave_komentarzy_wpolityce.pl_c); *Isolate from people, because it's neither pretty nor interesting. Not suitable for the zoo* (FB_PCh24_c).
	5. Deprecating social female actors by:
	 a) challenging their intellectual ability and knowledge, e.g.:
	  I wonder why it's always the women who have mental deviations. (Wylały_zupę_na_dzieło_van_Gogha_wp.pl_c)
	  They protest in such an idiotic way and they do not know that the production of the clothes they are wearing is unlikely to have a very good effect on the environment. Also hair dyes. They ride buses that emit harmful substances etc. (FB_TVN24_c);
	 b) questioning their autonomy, e.g.: *Poor manipulated little girls...* (FB_TVN24_c)
	6. Constructing statements from a position of power in relation to social female actors:
	 a) proposing humiliating physical punishments in public places, consisting of: beating (always: "on the bare ass"), imprisoning women in humiliating conditions with them being exposed to public view, and even suggesting rape as a punishment, e.g.:
	  Whip such a wh..e on a bare ass in the main square and every other one would have thought a hundred times whether to fool around. (FB_PCh24_c)
	  Do not peel them off the wall - let them stand like this and do their physiological needs in their panties. (FB_TygodnikSieci_c)
	 b) indicating what they should do, how they should act, how to protest
	  They could raise money for a single mother's house or do something useful (FB_Polsatnews_c)
	 c) justifying their act by boredom resulting from lack of work and/or sexual interest expressed towards them
	  They haven't had a man in them for a long time, they pour out on paintings (FB_TVPINFO_c)

Source: Author's research.

The third clearly defined code within the negative assessment of social female actors refers to the age of social female actors. Although information about their age appeared in the media, many statements refer to social female actors as children. The infantilisation code was assigned to 168 fragments of texts. The results of analyses related to this code are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Infantilisation in the assessment of social female actors in the researched discourse

| Analysis of the use of nomination, predication, intensification and argumentation strategies | • Using derogatory terms, e.g. *turds, brats, little shits, chits, punks*
• Intensification by using additional verb participles with a definite negative connotation and profanities, e.g. *spoiled, fucked up, corrupted, messed up*
• Describing adult social female actors as children/kids with the addition of predicates emphasizing their lack of autonomy (e.g. *manipulated, brainwashed, stray*), lack of knowledge (*naive, ignorant*), lack of ability to behave in certain situations (*rude*), lack of health (*sick*), laziness, babying, self-centeredness.
• The use of totum pro parte synecdoche - social female actors described as youth or a generation using negative predicates testifying to their immaturity, irresponsibility or in an ironic way (e.g. *Or maybe, instead of devastating, this bright youth would completely give up electricity?* (Wylały_zupę_na_dzieło_van_Gogha_wp.pl_c)
• Referring to social female actors as childish, or using comparisons referring to children, e.g. *Like a kid in a sandbox* (FB_TVN24_c)
• Putting social female actors in the position of children by constructing following statements:
  - disciplining - indicating how to punish them (where particular importance is attributed here to physical punishment – usually quite brutal);
  - evaluating social female actors by comparing to the behaviour expressed towards parents, e.g. *Did they spill in their father's car as well?* (FB_TVN24_c)
  - disciplining parents and/or criticizing them, e.g.: *But this is how stress-free upbringing and lack of interest on the part of parents ends up being* (FB_TVN24_c). |

Source: Author's research.

The analysis presented above allows us to reconstruct the discourse model referring to social female actors (Scheme 2).

As it results from scheme 2, I distinguished five perspectives in the analysed discourse: activism, political, upbringing, expert and sexist. The activism, political and expert perspectives are defined similarly as in the case of the discourse relating to the act, with the difference that in this case they refer to social female actors. The activism perspective is basically marginal because it refers
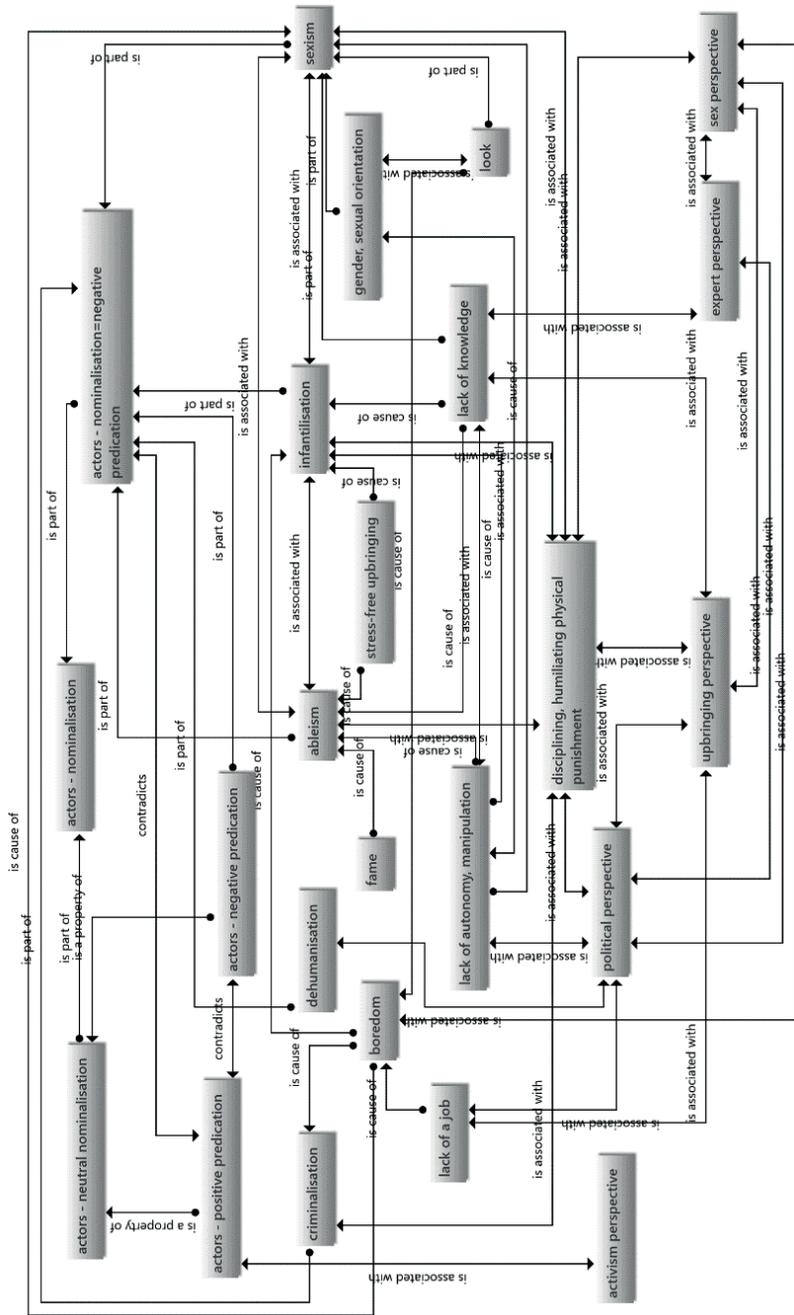
Scheme 2. Discourse related to social female actors – reconstruction based on the analysis of discursive strategies

Source: Author's research.

only to the positive predications of social female actors – there are only few in the analysed discourse. It is worth adding here that this perspective is more characteristic of the discourse relating to the act. This means that statements constructed from this perspective focus on the act itself rather than on social female actors. Other perspectives are connected with the negative predication of social female actors. The political perspective, usually revealed by describing social female actors as left-wing or leftist, is also combined with an upbringing, expert and sexist perspective. Social actors are accused of a lack of autonomy and of manipulation, which is argued by their intellectual condition. Ableist and infantilising language is present in these types of statements. Also in this case, there is a disciplining discourse operating with numerous intensifications that give it the features of violence. The political perspective in some cases also takes on the features of class superiority. There is visible irony referring to the stereotypical features of a "leftist" with a clear display of the commenters' own superiority. In a few cases, the political perspective is combined with the expert perspective. It is characteristic for the political perspective to use nominations and predications dehumanising or infantilising social female actors and to use direct references to gender and sexual orientation. In the expert perspective, the "explanatory" discourse dominates. However, social female actors are not accused of hypocrisy (unless an expert perspective is combined with a political perspective – there are only a few such fragments), but lack of knowledge in the field of climate protection. As with the discourse on the act, the "explanatory notes" refer to climate protection at an individual level, not at a systemic level. The discourse uses infantilising, sexist and ableist nominations and predications.

Most often, the discourse on social female actors is formulated from an upbringing and sexist perspective. The use of the upbirnging perspective means that statements are formulated from the position of an educator/parent who knows how to bring up children, how to discipline them, and also feels entitled to assess the effects of upbringing. At the same time, applying this perspective means that social female actors are treated as children who have no knowledge, are unable to assess the situation and they therefore allow themselves to be manipulated by others, who transgress social norms (which

are inviolable), are a product of prosperity, indulgence on the part of their parents, of liberal style of upbringing. This perspective also uses the stereotype of a modern teenager and their citizenship engagement. According to this stereotype, it is a spoiled child with a smartphone in their hand, uncritically succumbing to fashion, lacking the knowledge and ability to critically assess the situation, self-centred, and therefore not involved in citizenship activities. It is assumed that all manifestations of involvement are manipulated or undertaken for purely selfish reasons. In addition, it is assumed that such involvement should take certain conventional forms, otherwise it is not assessed positively. The upbringing perspective in the analysed discourse has clear features of an authoritarian style of upbringing. In addition, discipline is strongly exposed here – with a large component of corporal punishment. References to corporal punishment, physical abuse, suggesting humiliating punishments, combined with the deprivation of liberty of victims, underlined with a sexual context (exposing intimate parts of bodies, forcing to do physiological needs in a public place) are also very visible in the discourse relating to gender. The use of a sexist perspective means that statements are formulated from the position of the speaker, who gives themselves the right to make an assessment based on gender, while said gender in this particular case is irrelevant to the assessment of a person. The analysed discourse shows prejudice against women regarding their appearance and sexual orientation, assessed in terms of attractiveness to men. In addition, references to gender are associated with infantilising and ableist language. The fact of combining the perspective of sexism with the educational perspective also has an additional depreciation effect on social female actors.

Conclusions

The conducted analyses led to the following conclusions:

1. The analysed discourse does not call the activity it focuses on a citizenship activity. Although the term "activism" and "activists" is used here many times, it is never combined with the adjective "civic." Despite this, the discussion on citizenship activity/participation

(such terms are also not used) takes place in the part of the discourse that concerns the purposefulness/effectiveness of this activity or its motivation.

2. The discourse exposes the identification of "others" (here: social female actors) in relation to self-identification. Symbolic boundaries are marked here by "knowledge," political orientation, class perspective, gender, and age. There is also visible categorisation resulting from social polarisation in Poland. These categorisations overlap, creating a mixture of sexism and adultism combined with references to the intellectual and/or mental condition of "others" and the stereotype of a "leftist." The theme of the act is also significant here. Climate protection, used in public discourse for social polarisation, fits "perfectly" into this stereotype.

3. The relationship between the private and public spheres is visible in the analysed discourse in several areas:
   - tomato soup on the painting is a symbol of crossing the symbolic border between the private and public spheres, and this is negatively valued; the discourse of indignation formulated from the perspective of the symbolically understood upper class maintains the boundary between the two spheres and reveals the dominant concept of citizenship based on duties, an important element of which is obedience to the law and less support for unconventional forms of protest (Dalton, 2008);
   - the issue of climate protection (in the act being the source of the analysed discourse) refers to the public sphere; criticism of the act uses arguments referring to individual, private consumer responsibility; the "explanatory," "ironic" discourse and the discourse of indignation are somehow placed "outside," they cannot overcome the boundary between the individual perspective and the systemic level, which creates the masks of "experts";
   - the discourse is dominated by the focus on social female actors, not on the act itself; and negative valuation concerns much

more often the social female actors themselves rather than the act – and therefore an event from the public sphere is assessed through the prism of the following categories: gender, age, but also many other features/properties attributed to social female actors. These categories, used for unequivocally negative evaluation, thus play the role of factors not only "diminishing" from the contribution to the public sphere, but actually questioning this very contribution. All these attributed properties seem to obscure the act itself and they determine the impassability of the boundary between the private and the public spheres.

4. Although the discourse analysis showed slight differences between the way of presenting the act and social female actors in the media identified in terms of personal freedom axe as liberal and those defined as conservative, it turned out that the language of comments is not differentiated by the political identification of the media on whose pages and FB profiles comments have been posted.

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