

# Weronika Grzebalska

## Ph.D.

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**PROFILES:**  
[Google Scholar](#)  
[ORCID](#)

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## Education

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## Fellowships and Grants

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## Assistant Professor

Department of Research on Social and Institutional Transformations /  
**Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences** / June  
2020-present; Member of HR Excellence in Research Implementation  
Team

Sociologist working on defense, (para)militarism, society-military  
relations, memory of war, and their gender dimensions in contemporary  
Central and Eastern Europe.

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**GSSR, Polish Academy of Sciences** / Ph.D. in Social Sciences / May 2020

- **Thesis title:** *Citizen-Soldiers in a Post-Security State. Militarism, Memory Politics, and Masculinity in 21st Century Poland*
- **Supervisor:** Prof. Dr hab. Andrea Pető, Central European University, **Reviewers:** Dr hab. Joanna Wawrzyniak, University of Warsaw, Prof. Cas Mudde, University of Georgia

**Gender Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences** / Postgraduate Diploma/  
2011

**Institute of Sociology, University of Warsaw** / MA Sociology / 2010  
(summa cum laude)

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**Columnist for 2021** / Social Europe, 2021.

**Rethink.CEE Fellowship** / German Marshall Fund of the United States,  
April 2020- May 2021

**Trajectories of Change PhD Completion Fellow** / ZEIT-Stiftung, 2018.

**The Polányi Centre Junior Researcher** / Institute of Advanced Studies,  
Hungary, Sept-Dec 2017.

**Kosciuszko Foundation Visiting Scholar**/ Political Science Department,  
Clark University, USA, Feb-May 2017.

**Researcher at the Institute of Polish Culture, University of Warsaw** /  
For the grant "Mnemonic dimension of the Political Transformation"  
2016/2017.

**Short Term Scientific Mission** / Gender Studies, Central European  
University, COST Action TA120, Feb-May 2015.

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## Selected Publications

### PAPERS AND BOOK CHAPTERS

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"Gender Politics of 'Illiberal Pragmatics' in the Polish Defense Sector", **Politics and Governance**, *Accepted with minor revisions*, 2022.

"The Grand Return of the Troops. Militarization of COVID-19 and Shifting Military-Society Relations in Visegrad", with Z. Madarova, **Intersections. East European Journal of Society and Politics**, 2021.

"Regendering Defence Through a National-Conservative Platform? The Case of Polish Paramilitary Organizing", **Critical Military Studies**, 2021.

"The gendered *modus operandi* of the illiberal transformation in Hungary and Poland", with A. Pető, **Women's Studies International Forum**, Vol 68 2018. p. 164-172.

"Kobiety i mit męskiego militarizmu" [Women and the Myth of Male Militarism], in: "Niepodległe. Kobiety a dyskurs narodowy" [Independent. Women and the National Discourse], ed. Magda Lipska, **Museum of Modern Art**, Warsaw 2018.

"Zmierzch państwa cywilnego? Słabnące państwo i jego żołnierze", **ResPublica** 3/2017: 23-26 [Published in English as "The weak state and its soldiers", **ResPublica Nova**]

"Resistance and Liberation Movements", in: **Gender: War, Macmillan Interdisciplinary Handbooks**, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017: 117-134.

"Militarizing the Nation: Gender Politics of the Warsaw Uprising", **Gendered Wars Gendered Memories, The Feminist Imagination - Europe and Beyond Series**, Altinay, Pető, eds., Routledge 2016: 121-134

"Od fałszywego uniwersalizmu do fetyszyzacji różnicy..." [From False Universalism to the Fetishization of Difference...], **Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość**, No 2(26)/2015: 139-158.

### BOOKS

**Płeć Powstania Warszawskiego**, [Gender of the Warsaw Uprising], Warsaw: IBL PAN and NCK 2013.

### EDITED ISSUES

"Herstory Revisionism. Writing women's history in times of illiberal revisionism", **Baltic Worlds**, No. 4, December 2017.

### POLICY PAPERS

"Gendered Impacts of Increased Defense Preparations on NATO's Eastern Flank", **German Marshall Fund of the U.S.**, forthcoming 2022.

"Ochrona obywatelska. Edukacja na rzecz obywatelskiej rezyliencji" [Civic protection: Education for civic resilience], co-authored with Jan Zygmuntowski and Wojciech Kuźnicki, **Instrat Policy Paper** 03/2020.

"Poland", co-authored with E. Zacharenko, in: **"Triumph of the Women? The Female Face of the Populist & Far Right in Europe**, FES, Berlin 2018, p. 81-92.

"Thoughts on the contested relationship between neoliberalism and feminism", with A. Gregor, in: **Solidarity in Struggle. Feminist Perspectives on Neoliberalism in ECE**, ed. E. Kováts, FES 2016, p. 11-20.

"Conservatives vs. the 'Culture of Death': How Progressives Handled the

War on 'Gender'", co-authored with E. Soos, **FEPS study**, March 2016.

"Poland" in: **Gender as symbolic glue - The position and role of conservative and far right parties in the anti-gender mobilizations in Europe**, E. Kováts, M. Põim (eds.), FEPS and FES 2015, p. 83-103.

#### OP-EDS AND COMMENTARIES (SELECTED)

"Can the crisis of social reproduction bring the demise of central-European illiberals?", **Social Europe**, 15 Nov 2021.

"On the EU's Belarus border, security and fundamental rights collide", **Social Europe**, 13 Sep 2021.

"As Polish women flock towards volunteer defence, the left remains inept", **Social Europe**, 14 June 2021.

"In Poland, COVID-19 exposes progressing societal militarization", **Baltic Worlds**, 31 May 2020.

"Building radical resilience in place of militarizing the status quo", **Kapitál Noviny**, 6 May 2020.

"Poland: Women", **BBC World Service**, The Compass Series, 12 Feb 2020.

"Gender w przyczółkach prawicy" [Gender in Right-wing Bastions], interview for **Dziennik Gazeta Prawna**, 11 Nov 2019.

"Gdy państwo się zwija, rodzi się paramilitaryzm" [When the state rolls back, paramilitarism emerges], interview for **Kultura Liberalna**, 05/19.

"A curious feminist gaze into the right-wing shift", **Boell Stiftung online**, 3 May 2019.

"Beyond the anti-women backlash. How we can understand women's support for the right in Poland and Hungary", with E. Kovats, **International Politics and Society**, 18 Dec 2018.

"Illiberal Gender Politics in Central Europe", **Progressive Post**, 28 Oct 2018

"In Central Europe, militarised societies are on the march", **The Conversation**, 28 Sept 2017.

"Poland": Green Observatory on Security, **Green European Journal**, 15.06.17

"Gender as symbolic glue: how 'gender' became an umbrella term for the rejection of the (neo)liberal order", with E. Kováts and A. Peto, **Political Critique**, 13.01.2017.

"Why the war on 'gender ideology' matters – and not just to feminists. Anti-genderism and the crisis of neoliberal democracy", **Visegrad Insight**, 7 March 2016.

#### REVIEWS

"Breaking out of the deadlock of neoliberalism vs. rightwing populism. Review of 'Solidarity in Struggle: Feminist Perspectives on Neoliberalism in East-Central Europe'", **Baltic Worlds**, January 2017.

"«Death in the Shape of a Young Girl»: Feminism's Troubled Relationship with Violence", **CritCom: A Forum for Research and Commentary on Europe**, Fall 2015.

"Przerwane milczenie" [Silence Broken], Review of Sonia M. Hedgepeth, Rochelle G. Sidel, eds., "Sexual Violence Against Jewish Women During

the Holocaust”, *Stan Rzeczy*, 2(5)/2013.

“Transformacyjny potencjał historii kobiet, czyli dlaczego warto pytać o kobiety w PRL-u”[The Transformative Potential of Women’s History...], Review of Małgorzata Fidelis „Women, Communism and Industrialization in Post-War Poland”, *Societas/Communitas*, No 13 (2012), p. 347-352.

#### PEER REVIEWER FOR

“Connexe. Les espaces communistes en question”

Critical Military Studies

Europe-Asia Studies

Gender, Work and Organization

Intersections: East European Journal of Society and Politics

NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies

European Journal of Women’s Studies

Polish Gender Studies Association (PTG) MA thesis competition

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#### Public Events

#### TALKS

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“Paramilitaryzm i płeć. Doświadczenia w początku XX i XXI wieku w Polsce” (Paramilitarism and Gender. Comparing 20th and 21th century Polish experiences), Institute of History, **University of Warsaw**, 25 January 2022.

“The Gender Politics of Re-militarization in Central Europe: the Case of Polish Paramilitary Organizing”, **Institute of European Studies and International Relations, Comenius University**, Online, 9 December 2021

“Feminizm i militarizm wczoraj i dziś - meldunek z polskiego frontu” (Feminism and Militarism Then and Now: Dispatches From Poland), **National Museum, Warsaw**, 23 Oct 2020.

“From NGOization of National Security to State-led (Para)militarism? Paramilitary Organizing in Post-1989 Poland”, **Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań**, 21 Jan 2020.

“Children of *Pax Europea* Training for War? Paramilitary Civil Society in Central Europe”, **University of Michigan-Dearborn**, 9 Jan 2019.

"The rise of anti-gender mobilizations in Eastern Partnership states", FEMM Committee Hearing, **European Parliament**, 13 June 2016.

#### PANEL DISCUSSIONS

“The State of Hungarian Defense”, **Visegrad Insight**, Online, 3 March 2022.

Civil-military cooperation in CEE, **International Center for Development and Democratic Transition**, Budapest, 8 July 2021.

“Understanding Societal Resilience”, Civil Engagement and Participation in Defence Conference, **STRATPOL**, 6 May 2021.

“Gender in Military and Security Structures. Eastern and Central Europe”, **Latvian Institute of International Affairs**, 22 Oct 2020.

“Paramilitarism in Central and Eastern Europe: Adjusting State-Society Relations in Times of Insecurity”, **GMF of the US**, 2 Sept 2020.

“The Globalization of 'Traditional Values”, Plenary Roundtable, **ECPG Conference**, University of Amsterdam , 6 Jun 2019 .

“Triumph of the Women? The Female Face of the Populist and Far Right in Europe”, roundtable, **FES EU Office**, Brussels, 29 Nov 2018.

“Gender Politics of ‘Illiberal Pragmatics’ in Polish Defense and Security”, **Gendering and Illiberalism in Post-Communist Europe**, Central European University, Vienna, 5 Nov 2021.

“The Grand Return of the Troops. Militarization of COVID-19 and Shifting Military-Society Relations in Visegrad”, **Security of the future – the future of security**, University of Wrocław, 1 July 2021.

“The European Parliament as a Stage for Anti-Gender Movements”, **Right-Wing Populism and Gender Politics in Europe**, Frankfurt University of Applied Sciences, 27 April 2018.

“Children of Pax Europaea Training for War? (Para)Militarism in 21st-Century Poland”, Paramilitarism and Violence in Global Perspective, **NIOD Amsterdam**, 20 Dec 2017.

“Citizen-Soldiers in a Post-Civilian State? Militarized and Gendered Alternatives to the Liberal Model in 21st Century Poland”, **Gender, Power, Eastern Europe**, Freie Universität Berlin 20-23 Jun 2017.

“Potentials for Resistance to Illiberal States: the case of Hungary and Poland”, with A. Pető, **The Role of State in Varieties of Capitalism**, CEU, Budapest, 10-11 Nov 2016.

“Gendering Illiberalism. Gender Politics in Poland After 2015”, **4th Session of the Polish Gender Studies Association**, University of Warsaw, 14 Dec 2018.

“Feminist Perspectives on Militarism”, **Institute of Polish Culture**, University of Warsaw, 29 May 2017.

Metoda biograficzna w badaniach nad historią kobiet: źródła, metodologia, polityka [The Biographical Method in Women’s and Gender Studies: Sources, Methodology, Politics], **Institute of Literary Research**, Polish Academy of Sciences, 4-6 Nov 2015.

Equality in the Security Sector, **Congress of Women**, Warsaw, 11 Sept 2015.

## SELECTED CONFERENCE PAPERS

## CHAIR/ORGANIZER

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## Awards and Recognition

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**Polish-American Historical Association Student Award**, Chicago, Feb 2019.

**Selected as the “Next Generation Scholar” in Women, Peace and Security** / Women in International Security Symposium, Washington, D.C., 12-19 Nov 2017.

Jan Józef Lipski Master Thesis Competition, 2011, "Otwarta Rzeczpospolita" Prize.

Gender Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences Master Thesis Competition, 2010, First Prize.

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## Affiliations and Memberships

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**National Security Section of the Polish Sociological Association /**  
Member since 2022

**FemGlobal Poland /** Member since 2021

**European Feminist Platform, Boell Foundation/** Member since 2020

**Polish Gender Studies Association (PTG) /** Board Member and President  
2016-2019

**Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS) Young Academics Network /** Member 2014-2016

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## Teaching Experience

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**Gender Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences**

Women and Security. Key Challenges and Debates / 2021/2022

Militarism, War and Gender / 2017/2018, 2018/2019, 2019/2020

**American Studies Center, University of Warsaw /** Militarism,  
Militarization and War / 2020

**International Studies, Pannon University, Kőszeg Campus /** Militarism,  
War and Society. Grappling With Key Debates / 2017

**Institute of Sociology, University of Warsaw /** Men, Women and War /  
2013/2014

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## Skills

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**Qualitative Research Methods:** qualitative interviewing, focus group interviews, narrative interviewing, ethnographic research

**Qualitative Data Analysis:** MAXQDA, ATLAS.ti

**Language:** Polish (Native); English (C2); German (B1)