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## **You should/mustn’t be a mother: intersectionalities of gender and sexuality within non-heteronormative women families**

**H**omosexual persons are not able to establish a family as natural, basic unit of society’ (*Stenographic transcript from the joint session of the Commission on Social Policy and Health and the Commission on Legislation and Law and Order, no. 165., on 10<sup>th</sup> February 2004, n.d., p. 25, own translation*). This statement of one of Polish parliamentarians, given at the Commissions’ session in 2004 might serve as an illustration of the shape of the majority of public discourse on same-sex relationships and non-heteronormative families in Poland, relying on patriarchal and heteronormative attitudes to femininity, non-heterosexuality and family.

The topic of same-sex relationships and ‘families of choice’ as Weston defined families beyond heteronormative model (Weston, 1991), has been raised in numerous heated debates in Poland in recent years in relation to appeals for the recognition of LGBTQ citizens’ rights, introduction of civil partnerships and addressing the opportunities and rights of families created by same-sex couples. In order to understand the reason, for which families of choice are such a burning issue, particularly in relation to families composed of female same-sex couples with children, one needs to study the challenges

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that families of choice constitute to the heteronormative patterns of femininity, motherhood and family. The concept of 'family' itself is an interesting point to consider and how it got applied when discussing relations of non-heterosexual persons. Parsons' definition of a family as a unit of mother, father and children, left out relationships such as friendships and extended kinships and secured a heterosexual union (Gabb, 2008, p. 14). Many years of studies on diverse relationship constellations have proven that such a construct, based on biological grounds, does not stand for and will never represent the variety of family forms. However, even though the potential for alternative thinking of 'family' has appeared with considering it as 'networks of intimacy' (Jamieson, 1998, p. 77) or considering 'family practices' (Morgan, 1996) instead of 'the family', it seems that still socially, culturally and politically the concept of 'family' is sustained. When we take a look at public discussions, media representation and research done in Poland on non-heterosexual couples, 'the family' is almost automatically there. Activists appealing for civic partnerships and/or rights of 'rainbow families' (being one of the coined terms to discuss same-sex couples with children) and journalists publishing same-sex couples' stories both treat 'family' as a stable, long-term relationship of two persons. What is interesting within the Polish context, is that public debates on civic partnership and the right of same-sex couples to have children have been conducted simultaneously, so the absence or presence of a child as prerogative to talk about a same-sex couple as a 'family' has not been brought up. Still, 'family' seems to be the basis to discuss same-sex relationships and advocate for their rights; the social campaign's 'Rainbow Families' slogan is 'We are family. Share!' ("Tęczowe rodziny", n.d.), media publications speak about 'gay families, 'lesbian families' or 'homofamilies'; the last-mentioned seems to be a specific Polish-language construct to encompass nonheterosexuality of persons establishing a family. The cultural norm of the family is not destroyed, contrary to fears of conservative public figures; just the opposite – it is strengthened with the focus on potential of same-sex couples to have children. Within this text, I also utilize the term 'families' to speak about non-heteronormative women couples with child/children, based on how non-heterosexual persons think of same-sex relations. 85,5% respondents of the study 'Families of Choice' regarded their partners to be their family and 87,6% think that a same-sex couple without children is a family (Mizielińska, Abramowicz, & Stasińska, 2015, pp. 58–59). The plural form 'families' used throughout the text is intentional, as I would like to emphasize the awareness of a variety of family forms. Still, the question remains if the concept of 'family' itself will be

eventually dropped or extended with acceptance for diverse relationship forms. So far, the latter seems to be more probable.

When discussing motherhood, it is important to notice that non-heteronormative motherhood questions the hegemony of discourse on motherhood, which takes heterosexuality of a mother for granted (DiQuinzio, 1999) and disqualifies as mothers those who do not adhere to this norm. Mothers who are promoted and supported by family laws, social structures and cultural representations are those who are heterosexual, married and with a child, who is the result of marital intercourse. This hegemony excludes non-heteronormative families created by women. Moreover, it judges women who are non-heteronormative mothers as bad, immoral and deviant. What needs to be investigated here specifically is the general construct of the identity of each individual woman, which in patriarchal view is related to motherhood and marriage: 'Motherhood is important in all women's lives, whether or not they are or want to be mothers, because women are defined in terms of their relationship to motherhood.' (Woollett, 1991, p. 62) and assumes 'compulsory heterosexuality' (Rich, 1981). This system of privilege of heterosexual mothers and oppression of those who do not conform to the norms shapes public discourse, social and legal regulations, which deny recognition of the social and legal status of non-heteronormative mothers. This oppression of intersecting patriarchy regarding motherhood and heteronormativity affects day-to-day functioning of such families, leaving them vulnerable to marginalization and violence (Goldberg, 2007). Intersectionality, being the theory used by feminists in analysing the relationships between various dimensions of social life, appears to be appropriate framework here in order to study the intersectionality of gender and sexuality within non-heteronormative women families and its influence.

In this paper, I aim to illustrate the intersectionality of sexuality and gender within non-heteronormative women families with usage of intersectionality framework from the classical text of Kimberle Crenshaw 'Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color' (Crenshaw, 1991). In order to analyse the dimensions of violence against women of color, Crenshaw provides a multidimensional model of three types of intersectionalities: structural, political and representational, which are intertwined with each other and altogether create a dense web of interdependencies, relations, patterns, which serve as basis for persistent inequalities within a social realm. Structural intersectionality reflects on barriers faced by women of colour within political and social system when seeking for support in case of experience of domestic violence,

battering and rape. Crenshaw argues that position of women being 'at the intersection of race and gender' differentiates their experience of violence from white women. Political intersectionality refers to separate approach to race and gender in politics, which leads to ignorance of specificity of women's of colour issues and not responding to their needs in politics, which in the United States 'have functioned in tandem to marginalize issues facing Black women' (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1245). Representational intersectionality concentrates on images of race and gender in culture, which either completely misses women of colour or depreciate them. Taking into consideration the impossibility to embrace all identity constructs and intersections between them (McCall, 2005), I am going to focus on two dimensions: gender and sexuality, which, as I will try to illustrate, are crucial for studying realities of inequalities faced by non-heteronormative women parents in Poland. My arguments will refer to existing analyses of non-heteronormative families, including Polish research on media discourse (Arcimowicz, Wasiak-Radoszewski, & Dębska, 2014; Mizielińska & Stasińska, 2014).

I decided to apply the Crenshaw's framework as I regard it as useful for illustration of intertwinement of inequalities experienced by female couples raising children in Poland within three realms: structural, political and representational. Bearing in mind the specificity of experiences of women of colour and mechanisms of race and gender, I would like to nevertheless claim that certain similarities of inequalities' operation in experiences of women allow for application of this framework when discussing realities of non-heteronormative women who raise children. They experience ignorance and barriers in the social and political system, deal with lack of recognition of their specific needs and struggle with popular imageries which don't represent their experiences comprehensively; and I will try to provide an illustration of these mechanisms below.

## **Structural discrimination**

Economic, political and social structures treat non-heteronormative families through heteronormative lens, which reproduces and maintains heterosexuality as the obvious and normal way of living one's sexuality, as well as entering intimate relationships and creating families. One of the most vivid evidence of heteronormativity is the inability to provide the number of non-heteronormative families in Poland as they are not taken into consideration in Polish population censuses. Non-governmental organizations pro-

vide the estimate number of 50 thousand children being raised by same-sex couples (Campaign Against Homophobia, 2010, p. 5). Besides the statistics, Polish law does not recognize non-heteronormative mothers as a legitimate family considering only the biological mother as a legitimate mother, which excludes non-biological mothers from legal recognition – they are just invisible or rejected when trying to validate their position. These experiences of discrimination are unfamiliar for heterosexual mothers who do not need to act for recognition but have it per se. Such experiences were recalled in Rawsthorne's study where participants mentioned that their families do not fit official terminology as rubrics in the official documents provide spaces only for a man and a woman, husband and wife (Rawsthorne, 2009). The structure of the family itself leaves out a biological mother, as Majka-Rostek explains: 'In family structure embracing two generations, three possible parental roles and positions can be distinguished: biological, social and legal. In traditional families they usually exist together. In case of lesbian families, it is a common rule to break these three elements. As far as a biological mother fulfils parental role also in a social and legal aspect, non-biological mother's situation is complicated. Her position is mostly limited to social aspects, and even they are not clearly defined' (Majka-Rostek, 2014, p. 72). As non-heteronormative couples cannot register their relationship because of lack of civil partnerships or marriage equality law, they cannot access all the privileges which heterosexual women in a relationship are granted with (Mańkowska & Lipska, 2013). Also, as for societal recognition of families established by same-sex couples, citizens of Poland do not approve of the right of same-sex couples to get married or adopt children – 1/3 of respondents of the public opinion study acknowledge the right to get married, whereas 11% accepts the right for adoption of children (Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej, 2017, p. 4); but it is worth paying attention to a slight increase in comparison to 2013 (26% and 8% respectively). In the situation of families where children are from previous heterosexual relationship of one of partners, the legitimate guardian of a child is its father; even if he is absent in its daily live, he is granted more rights than a woman partner who takes care of a child and participates in daily duties. This validation of a father might contribute to difficulties in negotiating division of parental care when men try to gain an exclusive custody of a child, justifying it with potential damage that a same-sex relationship of his ex-partner may do to a child. Moreover, social programmes of support reproduce injustice when it comes to support for non-heteronormative mothers who need to hide their sexuality in order to receive support and pretend to be single mothers, otherwise they are vulnerable

not only to rejection of support, but also to homophobic comments. Internalization of the heteronormative structure of the family, which excludes the possibility of two mothers or fathers in the same-sex couples, is visible in naming strategies and choices; in only 6% of cases a child or children call a biological mother's partner 'mum/mother', where in 1/3 of families it is 'aunt/uncle' and in 60% a child/children call a biological parent's partner by their name. (Mizielińska et al., 2015). These choices show how solid the construct 'there is only one mother/father' is. However, even in cases where two female partners decide to have a child and understood both of them as mothers, the surrounding is ready to remind that a social mother is not a 'real' mother (Wojciechowska, 2015, p. 130).

Health care institutions and healthcare law also strengthen the web of inequalities towards non-heteronormative mothers with limiting reproduction opportunities for those who plan motherhood. The same reproductive chances and medical support are taken for granted by couples who fit to the heteronormative model of couple and parenthood. Refunding of in-vitro procedures is not accessible to non-heteronormative couples, and they are not recognized at all in law regarding in vitro procedure. In child's registration documents, women are enforced to heterosexuality in medical questionnaires, where 'father's' name, even if 'unknown' must be provided. Non-heteronormative women might also encounter discrimination at birth schools and hospitals, which are targeted towards heterosexuality and do not recognize the specificity of diverse family constellations. Heteronormativity, which is present in all health services, hampers the freedom of reproductive choices for non-heterosexual women planning motherhood, whose options are limited to in-vitro or donor insemination and when choosing, they may not count on health care institutions' support. While discussing the limits imposed by heteronormativity, it is also important to note that private in-vitro clinics or donor insemination services are only accessible for persons with adequate financial resources, which leads to economic exclusion and inequalities among non-heteronormative families' population, where economic conditions make it impossible for some women to realize the wish to have children (Wall, 2011). Intersections of class and sexuality might have an impact on family strategies, as in Gabb's research where one of the findings pointed to the fact that lesbian parents who had fewer resources navigated their parental roles and child care arrangements according to financial concerns such as work hours and need to scheduling (Gabb, 2008; Goldberg, 2007). Therefore, working-class queer families might apply different strategies in relation to mother identity, division of parental roles, everyday functioning, disclosure or hiding the family structure than middle-

class families. The differences in structures of non-heteronormative families, diversity of identities embraced or rejected by partners, class conditions and opportunities might create tensions within these families and among them, and therefore should be recognized and addressed in research and media discourses. So far, intersections of class and sexuality are rarely touched upon in research and are recommended to be studied, as influence of social capital and opportunities on non-heteronormative families might turn out to be critical for their functioning and influence daily decisions on maintaining family life.

Educational systems are also not adjusted to include family constellations which are beyond the norms, which might be demonstrated in school curricula, ignorance or open hostility towards non-heteronormative families at school celebrations or school meetings. Curriculum for Religious Education in high school indicates that a student possesses relevant knowledge, develops skills and shapes attitudes. As for knowledge, a student is to 'mention health risks related to homosexual intercourse'; within skills, a student 'characterizes homosexual intercourse as being against nature', and expresses 'opposition towards propagation of homosexual behavioural patterns' ("*żyć, aby wierzyć i kochać*": *Program nauczania religii dla liceum i technikum*, 2013). The curriculum also highlights that same-sex relationships and adoption of children by same-sex couples are among 'threats to contemporary family' ("*żyć, aby wierzyć i kochać*": *Program nauczania religii dla liceum i technikum*, 2013).

In my own research<sup>1</sup>, the participants – social mothers – were recalling situations of being discriminated against on the basis of one's sexuality and the status of non-biological mother, who is equated with being a stranger for a child by school officials: '(...) when it comes to school faculty, there is some mockery. Once we encountered an unpleasant situation when I heard 'As you decide', not 'As we decide', even though my partner was there as well.'. Homophobic and sexist attitudes intertwine in diverse social settings, reminding non-heteronormative women of inappropriateness of their relationship and hindering the realization of their autonomous decision to have a child/children or every-day functioning in public spheres. Such experiences might be unbearable and lead to decision on moving to another city or even immigration as in case of Kamila and Beata, heroines of the article in *Newsweek*, where they describe homophobia in Poland as main reason for immigration (Mańkowska & Lipska, 2013).

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<sup>1</sup> In 2013 I conducted a qualitative study as part of MA thesis research, entitled 'Sexuality, intimate and parenting relationships of women being in a relationship with a woman' (unpublished), in which I interviewed five non-heteronormative women couples, who maintain an intimate relationship and bring up a child/children together (child/children from previous heterosexual relationships of one of the partners).

## Discrimination in policies

Structural barriers faced and managed by non-heteronormative families described above are interrelated with politics as they provide the legal basis for heteronormativity and strengthen patriarchy through laws rejecting recognition of and support for families of choice, as well as sustaining the ideal of women as exclusively heterosexual. Sexism and homophobia shaped the concept of a woman (whose most important role is mother) and family in Polish politics. First of all, manifestation of a traditional, heterosexual pattern of a Polish family is claimed to be rooted in the interpretation of article 18 of the Polish Constitution, stating: 'Marriage, being a union of a man and a woman, as well as the family, motherhood and parenthood, shall be placed under the protection and care of the Republic of Poland.' (*The Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2nd April, 1997*, n.d.). This article is evoked many times in parliamentary and media debates regarding civil partnerships' law and interpreted as basis for rejecting marriage equality law including same-sex couples, as article 18 is claimed to protect heterosexual union and family. Apart from public justifications, the constitution is instrumentally used in judiciary cases of rejecting the acknowledgement of rights of same-sex couples appealing for recognition of their relationship as family and acclaiming them with same rights to health insurance, paying taxes together, recognition of marriage entered into abroad, among others (Mizielińska & Stasińska, 2014). This lack of legal and institutional recognition discredits the sense of feeling as parents (Butterfield & Padavic, 2011). As argued in a Polish study on the public discourse on families of choice, there are several topoi visible in public discussions regarding the illegitimacy of same-sex couples' postulates: topos of threat; sin; uncovering the true nature of things and unjustified demands (Arcimowicz et al., 2014). Topos of threat, one of the most prevalent in public debates, reflects on non-heteronormative couples and acclaiming their right to marriage, as posing a threat to the longevity of a relationship, traditional marriage and social order in general, because non-heterosexual persons are argued to not be able to create and maintain durable relationship. Topos of uncovering the true nature of things concerns projects of civil partnership laws, which are argued to be a 'smokescreen' hiding the real goal of homosexual marriage and adoption of children. What is also worth mentioning, is the rhetoric of the Polish Church officials, which highly influences public parliamentary debates, using the threat strategy justified with necessity of fighting for keeping



a traditional family and protecting the family from gender ideology and homosexual propaganda (Civil partnerships in the ethical and moral assessment, 2013, as cited in Arcimowicz et al., 2014). Polish parliamentarians have been using Church argumentation as the topos of authority, claiming homosexual relationships to be sinful. Debates on projects of civil partnerships mainly present families of choice as a threat to traditional family, depreciate issue of law regulations for same-sex couples as there are more burning issues and underline that such relationships would never be treated as marriage and would not lead to the introduction of law on adopting children by non-heteronormative couples. The only definition of a family which has been used is the normative definition understood as durable marriage with children, as compared to same-sex couples who are said to be unable to fulfil the basic reproductive function of a family. Such definitions and excluding convictions have an impact on same-sex couples. 30% of respondents in the study 'Families of choice in Poland' answered in a survey that they did not want to have children because same-sex couples cannot have children or because of intolerance and social discrimination (Mizielińska et al., 2015).

## **Discrimination in media imagery**

Women, who maintain an intimate relationship and bring up a child/children together, are trapped in a specific paradox when it comes to their representations in media, social and cultural fields. As Thompson argues, 'lesbian mother' is an oxymoron, 'deriving from the "fact" that lesbians are presumptively non-procreative and mothers presumptively heterosexual' (Thompson, 2002, p. 6). As women, they are encouraged/forced to have children, but when uncovering their non-heterosexuality they are condemned as non-heterosexual for the desire to have children (Majka-Rostek, 2014, pp. 62–64). Therefore, non-heterosexual mothers break a pattern of obligatory heterosexual, married woman with children and violate norms of femininity connected to motherhood. As a consequence of not conforming, these women fail recognition at the aforementioned political and structural levels, face discrimination and are not addressed in media representations. Mainstream representations of femininity and women sexuality take heterosexuality for granted, presenting articles, advertisements, campaigns only from a perspective of woman, who either is or desires to be in a relationship with man, obviously leading to marriage and having children. When relating to sexuality and choice of partner, media

representations also fail to use language, which would be inclusive for non-heterosexual experiences.

Representations of non-heterosexual women mothers include also pathologization of non-heterosexual women and describing harm they are doing to children. Non-heterosexual women are claimed to be unable to maintain long-term relationships, because they are immoral, egocentric and never able to fulfil their sexual desire to the fullest. (Hequem-bourg, 2007). In the Polish context particularly the Church discourse of sin has its power, yielding the moral value to one's intimate choices, along with conservative discourse of politicians, which relates on the one hand to Church teachings and to pathologization and psychologization on the other. The statement of one of Polish conservative politicians may serve as an illustration to pathologizing discourse: 'I reserve myself a right to speak loudly that such unions and relationships are fraught with a huge risk of pathology. I think that lesbians raising a child together is the same dysfunction as an alcoholic parent' (Gaşior, 2014). This discriminatory opinion is also supplemented with inability of two women to fulfil all child's needs because of lack of father and male role model, and what is more, they treat the child instrumentally to fulfil their egoistic needs. Therefore, as a result of these representations, non-heteronormative women parents continuously fight for their recognition as legitimate parents, particularly non-biological/social mothers, who did not give birth to a child and so are 'denied access to any socially sanctioned parental category'. (Gabb, 2008, p. 594).

As disvussed by Park, the whole discourse on real and true mothers is deeply rooted in a biological approach to motherhood, which recognized only the woman who gave birth to a child as the real mother (Park, 2013, p. 8). Also, binary division of parental roles into 'mother' and 'father' causes difficulties in the self-identification of women who did not give birth to a child as they fit in none of the already established categories and navigate diverse self-definitions such as co-parent, social mother or relate to themselves as lesbian fathers or dyke daddies as way of freeing themselves from gendered concepts of mother and father, thus revisioning gender in the concept of family itself: 'Where were the butch moms, I wondered? [So]that night at the dinner table I began, for the first time, to name (and defend) my parental self from a position of slightly other than mother. Doing so helped me realize how much my emotional access to parenthood was predicated on my feeling comfortable with the title mother and the femininity that presumably went along with it' (Pagenhart, 2006). Regardless their own definitions, for the general public it is still incom-

prehensible to accept the existence of two female parents and might evidence rejecting reactions such as in Dunne's study: 'Well if you're not the biological mother, then what the hell are you?' (Dunne, 2000, p. 24).

Non-heteronormative families therefore utilize strategies to navigate representations which negate their existence and try to locate them in a heteronormative reality. They may enter discourses of resilience to norms or accommodation, as being aware of cultural mechanisms of motherhood, parenthood and adjusting to them for various reasons. When referring to Polish realities, it might be noticed that the strategy which is mostly used by non-heteronormative couples when describing their relationships and families, is normalization of parenting experience, described by Hequembourg which evokes through description of a relationship and family as ordinary and normal, not being different from a heterosexual one (Hequembourg, 2007). Heroines of press reportages refer to sameness of their practices and experiences to heterosexual couples:

'I've noticed that it works better, when instead of, for example, ostentatiously introducing myself, I normally talk about my life (...) It occurred to me that it can be better, if instead of waging this war, I will be talking about how we are doing. So my mother would understand, that homo and heterosexual people share the same problems: washing machine, fridge, shopping, stains on the tablecloth. It worked'. '(...) As we for sure need law regulations regarding our life together. In that respect we are also same as everyone else.' (Cieśla, 2011, own translation). The ordinariness is also brought up while talking about changes of general societal attitudes: 'If more people will come out of the closet and show that we are ordinary people, and the only 'homosexual lobby' that exists is the one which fights for our rights and doesn't recruit anyone, the chances are bigger for gradual acceptance and normal life in Poland' (Justyńska, 2012, own translation). The rhetoric of sameness, ordinariness and normalization of one's experience in a specific Polish context might serve for various reasons. As the aforementioned statements show, normalization is helpful for managing private relationships and for increase in acceptance of non-heteronormative families. On the other hand, what is not noticed, conforming to the norms and trying to assimilate with heteronormative society might exclude non-heteronormative families which do not identify themselves with the image of ordinary and do not find themselves in the ideal image of being identical as heteronormative family. Park notices this danger of internal exclusion, paying attention to the fact that desire for recognition and approval which might lead to normalization and trials of assimilation, neutralizes the image of non-heteronormative families and eliminates the potential for radical politics (Park, 2013, p. 8). However, in a specific Polish context, as Mizielińska and Stasińska argue in their study of different cases, presenting one's relationship, family is a political manifestation (Mizielińska & Stasińska, 2014).

## Conclusions

Non-heteronormative motherhood casts light on the interrelatedness of diverse aspects of the concept of family: political, legal, cultural and biological ties and the assumed heteronormativity within their principles. Families, which are created by non-heterosexual women thus pose a challenge to norms regarding sexuality, femininity, motherhood and family and face rejection and discrimination because of not conforming to these norms. In this paper I tried to illustrate, how intersectionalities of sexuality and gender privilege heteronormative families and disfranchise non-heteronormative women families and affect their everyday functioning by limiting their opportunities. Heteronormativity shapes attitudes towards femininity, motherhood and family, thus putting non-heterosexual women in an ambiguous position, which makes them conform to feminine role and have children, but excludes them from motherhood role because of their sexuality. Heteronormative attitudes to sexuality and gender are envisioned in legal regulations regarding family, which do not recognize the existence of non-heteronormative mothers and refer to marriage as only possible constellation for performing a family. Moreover, the principle of biology adds to the social exclusion within non-heteronormative families, legitimizing only biological mothers and causing further difficulties in everyday recognition of both women partners as legitimate parents. Non-heteronormative families face also ideology of homosexuality as perverse and immoral, which claims that such families are impossible to exist, as they violate motherhood ideal. These inequities in social, cultural and legal realms are navigated differently in order to gain recognition, understanding and acceptance for diverse family forms. However, the portrayals of families which stem as outcome of these strategies, might also turn out to be normative, as they don't pay attention to potential intersections of sexuality and gender with class, ethnicity and ability in families, which are not visible in public representations. Therefore, conducting further studies of intersectionalities among non-heteronormative families is valuable for understanding of complexity of interdependencies and relations within them, their forms and challenges which families of choice face not only while tackling homophobic, patriarchal attitudes of the outside world and paradoxes of heterosexual femininity and motherhood, but also among groups of 'families of choice' to bring up representations of families, which remain so far silent and unnoticed.

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## **You should/mustn't be a mother: intersectionalities of gender and sexuality within non-heteronormative women families**

In this paper I aim to illustrate the intersectionality of sexuality and gender within non-heteronormative women families using intersectionality framework from the classic text of K. Crenshaw 'Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color', which analyses structural, political and representational intersectionalities. Taking into consideration the impossibility to embrace all identity constructs and intersections between them, I am going to focus on two dimensions: gender and sexuality, which, as I will try to illustrate, are crucial for studying realities of inequalities faced by non-heteronormative women parents in Poland.

### **Keywords:**

intersectionality, non-heteronormative families, same-sex relationships, nonheteronormativity, nonheteronormative motherhood

## **Powinnaś/Nie wolno ci być matką: intersekcjonalność gender i seksualności w rodzinach nieheteronormatywnych kobiet**

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie intersekcjonalności seksualności i gender w rodzinach nieheteronormatywnych kobiet w oparciu o metodologię klasycznego tekstu K. Crenshaw „Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color”, w którym analizie poddana została intersekcjonalność strukturalna, polityczna i reprezentacyjna. Biorąc pod uwagę niemożność uchwycenia wszystkich konstruktów tożsamościowych i ich wzajemnych relacji, skupię się na dwóch aspektach: płci kulturowej i seksualności, które jak postaram się zobrazować, mają decydujący wpływ na nierówności napotymane przez nieheteronormatywne kobiety-rodziców w Polsce.

### **Słowa kluczowe:**

intersekcjonalność, rodziny nieheteronormatywne, związki jednopłciowe

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