

# Fascism and the far right: misogyny and anti-genderism

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The phrase ‘unvetted males’ crops up with predictable regularity in the online messaging of the Irish far right. Males ‘of military age’ are supposedly lurking in migrant housing, ready to attack local Irish women. With its hint at concern for women’s safety, ‘unvetted males’ becomes a fake ‘protecting women’ label covering a vicious racist narrative. As everyone knows, women are far more likely to experience violence in their own homes, and be attacked or killed, not by strangers, but by someone they know.

32 The same trope is used by the Italian fascist party, Fratelli D’Italia. Their leader, Georgia Meloni, now Prime Minister, posted a video during the last election campaign of an asylum seeker raping a woman. “A hug to this woman: I will do everything I can to restore security to our cities” was Meloni’s sick comment under the video. This strategic racism is disgusting. Posting the video, and making such comments, was motivated not out of concern for the victim, but a determination to drive home racist rhetoric. Meloni’s comments came in the wake of the murder of Nigerian street vendor, Alike Ogorchukwu, in the Italian beach town of Civitanova Marche, beaten to death for offering a handkerchief to

his murderer’s partner. Racist violence is on the rise and racist rhetoric helps to drive it. Gary Lineker was right when he recently exposed the Tories’ hate language against refugees – it is horribly reminiscent of 1930’s fascism.

The deliberate racialisation of sexual violence has a long history. Angela Davis has described how, in the US, it was conjured up whenever recurrent waves of violence and terror against the black community were required. In the Southern States, that message lay behind the lynchings and countless barbarities against black men, to stifle opposition.<sup>1</sup> It was a fiction, which shaped post-slavery racism in the US and, as the recent film ‘Till’ recounts, was regularly used to beat down black men.<sup>2</sup>

But the far right care nothing for women. Instead, they deploy misogyny, and attack what they label ‘gender ideology’, to further their own racist project. They oppose women’s reproductive rights and a significant number of their leading figures cut their political teeth in anti-abortion organisations. Justin Barrett, leader of the National Party in Ireland, was previously a key figure in the rabidly anti-abortion Youth Defence, an organisation which

prided itself on its bully-boy tactics against women. In Poland, the Law and Justice party, who came to power in 2015, have anti-immigration, racism, and anti-abortion as their core policies. Their think tank is the ultraconservative, Catholic *Ordo Iuris*, which orchestrated the vicious backlash against abortion and LGBTQI rights there. The Fratelli d'Italia party have appointed a well-known anti-abortion campaigner, Eugenia Roccella, as a government minister.

The far right, particularly across Europe and Latin America, picks on what it calls 'gender ideology', with feminism and LGBTQI rights in its sights. For example, in Hungary, there have been moves to stop the teaching of awareness about sexual orientation and gender identity in schools. In Poland 'trans-free areas' have been declared to 'purify Poland of corrosive cultural influences'. In Brazil, where the anti-gender movement took hold during Bolsonaro's regime: discussion of gender, anti-racism and diversity in schools was labelled a threat to the nation. In Poland and Hungary, 'genderism' is equated to communism and totalitarianism. In Spain, the far right Vox party, now the third largest political force in the country, calls feminists 'feminazis' and is in favour of scrapping legislation around gender-based violence. The neo nazi Alternative für Deutschland (AFD), presently enjoying a

record high of 17 per cent support in opinion polls, and a ruling party in two *Länder* in Germany, runs campaigns against LGBTQI-inclusive sex education, opposes 'the sexualisation of society', and advocates traditional gender roles and family values.<sup>3</sup> Across many US states, a concerted book-banning campaign orchestrated by the right is under way. LGBTQI themed content or books using racially neutral, or 'sexually explicit' language have been censored. In 2022, there were well over one thousand demands to take such books off library shelves, an increase of 38 percent from the year before.<sup>4</sup> In Ireland, too, we have seen transphobic efforts in Drogheda and Swords on the part of the far right, who targeted public libraries for being too LGBTQI friendly in April 2022.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the last few years have seen a proliferation of reactionary views around gender. In some countries, it has captured the political mainstream. The US Supreme Court decision to overturn the federal constitutional right to abortion in June 2022, means that no less than 22 million women and girls of reproductive age live in states where abortion access is now either banned or inaccessible.<sup>5</sup> Turkey has withdrawn from the Istanbul Convention on gender-based violence on the basis that gender is a 'foreign word'. Poland's Law and Justice led government, has embraced

‘anti-genderism’, and introduced not only bans on abortion and on non-directive sex education, but also a country-wide pregnancy register which acts as a database for public prosecutors to hunt out women who have had an abortion. The rise of far right anti-genderism takes different forms in different countries, but its common themes are strident opposition to abortion and assisted reproduction, attacks on LGBTQI rights, non-binary sexualities, and non-heteronormative families. It is built on the gross misrepresentation that oppressed minorities are in the driving seat, in public policy, in schools, across society and that this needs to be stamped out. What all these far right inspired movements have in common, as Polish feminists Graff and Korolczuk point out, is the demonisation of gender.<sup>6</sup>

### **Capitalist disintegration**

How has this misogyny and anti-genderism emerged now, and why?

One explanation lies in the depth and extent of the social crisis we are experiencing. The sharp rise in the cost of living, chronic housing shortages, planetary degradation, floods and severe weather events, wars, and greater militarisation in a more bitterly competitive world, all of these are causing human suffering on a

massive scale. There is widespread disgust at the neoliberal politics-as-usual that has presided over all of this. Political disillusion is rife. For example, the turn-out in the 2022 Italian election, which saw Meloni come to power, was at a historic low; in Naples 60.5 per cent of the population did not vote.<sup>7</sup>

Writing in the 1930’s, Antonio Gramsci described the generalised, systemic uncertainty of his time, as an organic crisis of capitalism, during which the ruling common sense of society begins to break down.<sup>8</sup> Hitherto socially accepted norms become widely contested and the centre cannot hold. Today we see a similar deep unease about the principles which have been the hallmark of the capitalist order over recent decades: the adulation of the rich corporate CEO’s, the wonders of the market, and the infinite possibilities of individualism - all of which increasingly stand revealed as having fuelled new crises and torn society further apart.

Secondly, this many-sided crisis triggers opposition from the right, as well as the left. Some have named this a new populism, although the term is politically imprecise and tends to lump left and right radicalism together, which is misleading. Specifically, concerning the far right, its reaction to the crisis involves a hotchpotch of ideas against global elites which they

put out in the name of ‘the people’. Conspiracy theories, rather than any general social explanation, becomes the easy answer. Anger is expressed, not through collective working-class resistance, but through extreme nationalism and vicious racist scapegoating. Ironically, in this concocted world-view, the victims are the white ‘ordinary’ folk, labelled ignorant deplorables by the liberal order of diversity and ‘woke’ culture.

Leon Trotsky located the origins of fascism in the harsh conditions of capitalist disintegration and a generalised economic impasse in the period after World War One and again during the period of the Great Depression. He identified the lower middle classes and a minority of the most marginalised workers as the social forces behind fascism, who together yearned for change and to tear themselves loose from the ruling social order and their rich backers. This was the social layer who filled the ranks of the new fascist parties, in Italy and in Germany, and made up fascism’s shock troops and street thugs. Trotsky’s acute observation was that while fascism promised the triumph of ‘the little man’, it relied on existing capitalist structures and political parties to win power. Capitalists for their part turned to fascism because, in the end, they saw fascism as less of a threat than socialism.<sup>9</sup> ‘Better Hitler than Blum’ was their refrain

in France, when Leon Blum, a Jewish Social Democrat, became the French Premier in 1936.

We see a similar, if less generalised, dynamic at play in the rise of far right and fascist forces today. They appear to speak for the plain people against the global elites who spout liberal phrases about diversity and inclusion, even as their policies ravage people’s lives. The far right message relates to a minority of declassed workers who, after years of grinding austerity, have become detached from traditional working class organisations. The reason people even listen to racist arguments from fascists and the far right, lies partly in the rotten conditions they are experiencing in late capitalism but also in the political fact that mass organisations of the working class – mainstream social democrat parties, even trade unions – no longer speak on their behalf. If there are no other channels of resistance, people lash out at the easiest targets and can be pulled into blaming the wrong people.



An example of Afd racism, the caption reads “New Germans, we will make them ourselves.”

### Misogyny and racism

36 The racism peddled by today’s fascists and the far right draws on existing divisive ideologies about race, which have always been present in capitalism, but are taken to new levels by the right. Their misogyny also draws on widespread gender discrimination in society, but it is solidified into concoctions of a mythical past in which ‘natural’ gender roles were set in stone and the nuclear family was the core of social stability. Misogyny becomes instrumental to their racist view of the world. Motherhood is fused with nationalism; women are important only as mothers, as the biological and cultural reproducers of the white nation. Their promotion of traditional ‘family values’ fits into this narrative. The AfD in Germany

makes much of a current ‘demographic crisis’ - by which it means a decline in the

birth-rate for white Germans. A recent AfD election poster summed it up. It was a picture of a pregnant white woman with the caption: “*New Germans, we will make them ourselves.*”.<sup>10</sup> Toxic racist misogyny doesn’t come much worse.

Ideas like this are part of the conspiracy theory of ‘The Great Replacement’. This gained traction in the United States among the Alt Right, but its country of origin is France. White supremacist and antisemite, Renard Camus made the claim in his 2013 book, *Le Grande Remplacement*, that French and European people are under threat from

non-Europeans from North Africa and the Middle East, the majority of whom are Muslim, and that this was as a result of the immigration policies pursued by Western liberal governments. Fascist and far right parties in Europe all take up the theme. White women must be in the forefront of resisting this 'population change' and play their 'natural' role as mothers to produce more white babies. Fratelli d'Italia, whose name evokes the nation as family, proposes cutting taxes for larger families to boost Italy's current low birth-rate.

So set are the party on implementing this, that the Italian Ministry for Women has been renamed as 'Family, Natalism and Equal Opportunities'. Meloni, meanwhile, refers to herself as 'un soldato' in the masculine form, or similarly as 'il presidente', instead of 'una soldatessa' or 'la presidente'.<sup>11</sup> Such moves make laughable Hilary Clinton's comment about Meloni's premiership being a 'step forward' for women; it also exposes how little mainstream feminism understands the dangers of the far right.

In sum, far-right misogyny takes on a double form. For white women, it is about knowing their place in society - as mothers and homebuilders - within the glorious,

preserved, white nation. For black and brown women, it is about removing them completely as threats to the nation. Motherhood and home building are not desirable attributes for women of colour, as the far right ploughs ahead with new obstacles in the way of family reunification for refugees and talks about the great replacement of cherished natives. For white women, the far right's misogyny agenda is to bury the post-68 era of civil rights and women's liberation, to reverse the gains made since for reproductive rights, and to make a bygone patriarchal order socially acceptable again. For women of colour, it is to remove them completely from the national *demos*.

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### **Gender politics and 1930's fascism**

These gender-racist themes can be traced back to 1920s and 1930s fascist propaganda. *Kinde, Küche Kirche* – children, kitchen, church – was a mainstay of Nazi ideology. This is not to say that (white) women did not participate in Hitler's National Socialist Party, but where they did, it was based on performing suitably 'feminine' defined roles. The Nazi women's group, the NSF, wanted to draw women into supporting the regime through a range of social programmes, which fitted in with creating a mass Nazi movement, aligning state and society, organising for war, and



implementing the horrific racism of ‘the final solution’. But jobs were given to women only in so far as they were not impeded from performing ‘their most obvious service to society in marriage, family and motherhood’.<sup>12</sup> For ‘approved Aryan families’ in mid-1930s Nazi Germany, it was a deeply gendered, cut-off world, coordinated by women but dominated by men. The family became a domestic Nazi cell on which the regime could depend. Hitler’s speeches often lauded the private female world of home, the basic unit of the people’s community -- the *Volksgemeinschaft* -- and the heart of the white nation. Of course, those not of ‘the pure race’ to all intents and purposes had no families; enforced separation, persecution, concentration camps and ultimately the gas chambers were their fate.<sup>13</sup>

For Italian fascism in its early years, it was ‘population politics’ which was front and centre. Emigration and falling birth rates in the cities were accelerating population decline. In 1927, Mussolini prioritised population growth, transforming Italian families, and preparing the nation for war and colonial expansion. The fascist state introduced prenatal campaigns and laws to stop women working outside the home. They created state agencies for motherhood; even a tax on celibacy was

introduced. Women were to be first and foremost procreators of Italians, within marriage and under male authority.<sup>14</sup> However, these campaigns were singularly unsuccessful in reversing the declining birth rate - an indication that women simply ignored the pressures to produce more children.<sup>15</sup> But the official celebration of motherhood and the elevation of the family as the main cell of society, had other uses for the regime. It represented a blanket ideological offensive aimed at a further atomisation of workers, the reduction of civil society to separate individual units, no longer linked to class, and yet another means – beyond imprisonment and brute repression – of limiting resistance.

### ‘Catholicising fascism’

One of the least explored aspects of fascism in the 1930s is the role played by Catholicism. Pope Pius XII appeased and collaborated with several fascist regimes in the 1930s in order to advance the power of the papacy. In Germany, the Vatican negotiated with the Nazis, the Reich Concordat of 1933, Hitler’s first bilateral treaty with a foreign power, granting him much-needed international prestige. Similarly, the gender politics of Italian fascism cannot be understood without reference to the Catholic Church. The deal

between Mussolini and the Vatican – the Lateran Pacts of 1929 - recognised Catholicism as the official religion of the fascist state. This was extremely important for Mussolini as it delivered a valuable stamp of approval for Italian fascism. The partnership drew together Church and state, a move that some have claimed allowed Italian fascism to endure for twenty years. It cemented the Catholic family as the basic social unit which was, as Alfredo Rocco, the arch-repressive Fascist minister of Justice, put it ‘the primordial cell of the state’s potency and its vital organ of reproduction’.<sup>16</sup> The fascist-Vatican pact stamped women with the sublime vocation of being wife and mother, perfectly suiting the regime’s needs - even if it also made plain the shockingly low moral bar of the Catholic hierarchy.

Ireland, too, in the 1920s and 1930s experienced a similar meeting of minds. The Irish Blueshirts looked to Catholic Europe and saw the potential, in an Irish context, of an entente between fascist forces and the Catholic Church. Mike Cronin argues that the emerging Blueshirts, under Eoin O’Duffy, forged an ideology and a series of policies that were essentially a Catholic-inspired form of potential fascism. Fine Gael (a merger, we should remember, of Cumman na nGaedheal, the small Centre Party and the Blueshirts), and later Fianna Fáil, both sought the support of the

Catholic Church. It was natural for the Blueshirts, in a state in which 95 per cent of the population were Catholic, that they would try to do the same. ‘Catholicising fascism’ meant embracing a view that Ireland should become a corporate state run on vocational, rather than welfare state lines. Blueshirt policies took their cue from papal encyclicals which promoted this specific social order under the ideals of Subsidiarity. This reinforced the traditional view of the nuclear family as well as arguing against all forms of public financial support in the lives of the faithful.

They advocated reducing the role of the state, asserting the common interest of workers and employers, and preserving ‘conservative and catholic values’, including women being primarily wives and mothers. Cronin highlights the influence that a Jesuit journal, *Studies*, had on Blueshirt thinking between 1932 and 1936 and, in particular, the journal’s positive assessment of the transformation of Italian society under Mussolini into a model of the corporate-vocational state.<sup>17</sup>

This Blueshirt-Jesuit mix is often overlooked in accounts of gender discrimination in the Irish Free State mainly because it was the anti-Treatyites, under Fianna Fáil, who definitively institutionalised Catholic misogynistic rule across society. Nevertheless, between the Catholic Church and the Blueshirts, there



was a great deal of commonality as regards how women were viewed. Both advocated prolific families and both disliked the radical, often socialist, women involved in struggles for women's rights in the period following World War One. Tellingly, neither the Catholic Church nor the Blueshirts were averse to exploiting young women and girls for their own purposes: within Catholic Mother and Baby homes in the one case, and for displays of fascist loyalty in the other, as the photo below shows.



Young girls giving the fascist salute in Charleville, Co Cork in April 1934.<sup>18</sup>

### Fascists today

Today is not the 1930s. That period followed massive workers' near-revolutions, whose defeat provided the context for the rise of fascism. In Italy, during the Red Years of 1919-20, there were mass factory occupations, in the aftermath of which socialists and trade unionists were viciously hunted down by the thugs of the fascist *Squadristi*, armed bands whose brutal repression eventually

enabled Mussolini's March on Rome in 1922. In Germany, sailor mutinies at the end of the war were followed by two years of mass strikes and the establishment of workers councils. The movement was brutally put down by armed gangs – the *Freikorps*. Hitler later used street terror, helped by the passive acquiescence of the mainstream parties, to crush not only communists but all voluntary organisations within the state.

This is obviously not the situation today. Today parties with fascist roots are focused mainly on getting elected. Sometimes they resort to street anti-immigrant mobilisations and intimidatory tactics; sometimes their members are caught giving fascist salutes or commemorating their fascist past. But generally, they have smartened up their act in order to slither into the political mainstream. That is not to say that they do not still hold the same ideology as earlier fascism: Marine Le Pen and Georgia Meloni were members of earlier openly fascist organisations and as Mark Thomas has put it, they

‘..... employ a dual discourse, one official and explicit presenting itself as a legitimate part of the political establishment, the other unofficial and implicit, reflecting their anti-democratic authoritarian

agenda. The veneer of respectability must be sufficiently opaque to fool opponents but transparent enough to avoid deceiving its own members'.<sup>19</sup>

Just because they have repainted themselves as democratic parties does not mean that their fascism has gone away. Indeed, calling out their fascism remains an important tool in politically confronting them.

Another difference between now and the 1930's is that expectations around women's rights are more deeply entrenched today. Fascists and the far right, in a distorted way, take account of this. Women are leaders of their parties: for example, Georgia Meloni of the Fratelli, Marine Le Pen, former leader of Rassemblement National (now leader of their parliamentary group), and Alice Weidel, of the AFD.

Female leading figures allow far right parties to soften their image and distance themselves superficially from their fascist past. Marine Le Pen on one occasion described herself as a feminist to the extent that she defends women's rights which are threatened by Islam.<sup>20</sup> Meloni brands herself as 'an ordinary Italian mother' which, as David Broder points out, helps to soften her party's image and frame their agenda as everyday common sense rather

than 'ideological'.<sup>21</sup> Meloni, Le Pen, Weidel - or Gemma O' Doherty come to that - are the female faces for an anti-feminist and racist agenda.

### **The far right and the mainstream**

Far right gender-racist rhetoric has not come out of the blue. There is significant overlap between far right racism and official racist policies against immigration, churned out, ever more stridently, by the political mainstream. Meloni's call for a naval blockade of north Africa to prevent migrant boats from setting sail is not a million miles away from the British Tories 'stop the boats', or the European Union's massive commitment in terms of money and personnel to policing the borders of Europe. Long-standing institutional racism and the rising clamour of anti-immigrant rhetoric from governments, has normalised the language of racism and opened the door to the far right.

Liberal feminism has, in some cases, provided a stepping stone for the language around women used by the far right. 'Defence of women's rights' has been evoked in the past to justify war in the Middle East, as it was by western governments when they invaded Afghanistan in 2001. It has been the cover

for some governments' restrictive visa policies, and for the over-surveillance of non-white families.<sup>22</sup> 'Defending western values' – of which women's rights are held to be part – is also an underlying theme when it comes to placing female refugees in employment in the EU. Sara Farris has detailed how 'femonationalism' informs white policy makers who seek to make female refugees 'assimilate' into western societies. She cites EU migrant agencies which, under the banner of both integration and female empowerment, steer migrant women into jobs in the care industry, despite the low paid and gender-segregated nature of these jobs.<sup>23</sup> They are also required to adopt western dress codes. This is not quite as brazen as Le Pen's racism, but it is Islamophobic nevertheless and reinforces the idea that Western values are about women's rights which plays into the politics of the far right.

Furthermore, the far right's promotion of the gender stereotyped, heteronormative family is not exactly happening in isolation. There has been a rightward trend in mainstream politics which, on both sides of the Atlantic, has become increasingly vocal against same-sex marriage, trans rights and 'woke culture'. Sadly, some feminists, who have an essentialist binary view of gender, have joined in and declared themselves as vehemently opposing trans rights too, which again lends credence to the far right.

### **Taking them on**

Pointing out that racist-inspired gender politics is part of a chain that goes from the centre to the far right is certainly not minimising the seriousness of the far right or fascist threat. But it does show that the roots of the far right and fascism lie within existing capitalist conditions and politics, and that a successful challenge to them will come from outside the political mainstream.

The liberal rhetoric around diversity, coming from governments who, at the same time, demonise migrants as illegal and unwanted, is a smoke screen. Their immigration policies enact the social exclusion of black and brown people and contribute towards a toxic racist political climate. Mainstream political discourse about countries being 'unable to cope' normalises this further – at the horrific cost of increased attacks on refugees.

Equally, a liberal rhetoric around gender equality and diversity, which simultaneously brands migrants as illegal and unwanted, is long on words but weak in practice. The political mainstream has not taken a clear stand in favour of gender and LGBTQI rights and this has left a vacuum which has aided the far right. In the US, the Democrats proved themselves unwilling to clearly oppose the

criminalisation of abortion, never mind mobilise against it. In Ireland, Fine Gael's newfound feminism has also proved to be less than effective when it comes to establishing full access to abortion for everyone. Standing up to Church control of hospitals and schools is out of the question. The neoliberal mantra of the market for everything, including what should be social services, has deepened poverty across society. It has stood firm against free public provision of housing, of childcare, of care for the sick and elderly. As long as governments stick to this tune, the far right will continue to have an audience. This is why challenging them directly and politically is so important.

It requires a political mass movement from below, united across working class communities, trade unions, anti-racist and women's organisations, to mobilise against them, take them head on, and show up the fascist danger they present. As Thomas Hummel puts it, every democratic space that has been won by movements from below must be defended.<sup>24</sup> The stakes are high. Wherever they raise their racist misogyny and anti-genderism – in communities, in schools, in colleges and on the streets - they must be opposed.



Ireland for All anti racist march Dublin February, 18, 2023.

In Ireland, on February 18, 2023, we saw such an initiative, set in motion by anti-racist organisations and People before Profit, which resulted in a huge show of solidarity against racism. It contributed significantly to stalling the far right's recent burst of confidence. It required calling out the far right for their bogus racist and 'unvetted males' arguments and being prepared to mobilise to show that we have the numbers, not them. There is no doubt that, with the present political and social crisis, further such mobilisations will be needed again, in Ireland and across Europe. Anti-racism and taking on the toxic misogyny of the far right are not optional extras, nor issues to be supported on only a sectional basis. Both go to the heart of a different type of society - free of racism and misogyny – and we need a broad, united, movement to win it.

<sup>1</sup> Angela Davis. 1983. *Women, Race and Class*. New York, Vintage Books.

<sup>2</sup> The film recounts the true story of Mamie Till-Bradley, who pursued justice after the murder of her 14-year-old son Emmett, which occurred in August 1955, supposedly because he had made sexual advances towards a white woman.

<sup>3</sup>For this poll see Germany: Support for AfD Climbs to All-Time High; Surpasses Greens — The European Conservative.

<sup>4</sup>Luke Savage. 2023. 'Conservatives are banning books in America not liberals'. *Jacobin*, 3.29.2023 <https://jacobin.com/2023/03/library-book-ban-campaigns-conservatives-liberals>.

<sup>5</sup> Poppy Noor. 2023. UN urged to intervene over destruction of US abortion rights | Abortion | The Guardian 2 March.

<sup>6</sup> Agnieszka Graff and Elżbieta Korolczuk. 2021. *Anti-gender politics in the Populist Moment*. London. Routledge.

<sup>7</sup>Thomas Hummel. 2023. 'Fascism in Italy today'. *Tempest Magazine*, 1 March.

<sup>8</sup> Antonio Gramsci. 1972. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Vol 111, (ed and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith), London, Lawrence and Wishart, p.178.

<sup>9</sup>Leon Trotsky. 'Fascism: What it is and how to fight it. New York. Pioneer Publishers, 1944 (marxists.org).

<sup>10</sup>Katharina Hajek. 2020. The AfD and right-wing (anti-)gender mobilisation in Germany LSE Blog, 27 Feb 2020.

<sup>11</sup> Thanks to Giulio di Basilio for this information.

<sup>12</sup>Kirsten Heinsohn. 2003. 'Germany,' in Kevin Passmore (ed) *Women, Gender and Fascism in Europe 1919-45*. Manchester, Manchester University Press.

<sup>13</sup> Paul Ginsborg. 2014. *Family Politics; Domestic life, Devastation and Survival 1900-1950*, London. Yale University Press, 2014, pp.356-8.

<sup>14</sup> Perry Wilson. 2003. 'Italy' in Kevin Passmore (ed) *Women, Gender and Fascism in Europe 1919-45*. Manchester, Manchester University Press.

<sup>15</sup>Paul Ginsborg. 2014. *Family Politics; Domestic life, Devastation and Survival 1900-1950*. London. Yale University Press, 2014, pp.184-6.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, p.194.

<sup>17</sup> Mike Cronin. 2007. 'Catholicising fascism, fascistising Catholicism? The Blueshirts and the Jesuits in 1930's Ireland', *Totalitarian Movement and Political Religions*, 2007 8:2, pp.401-411.

<sup>18</sup> For this photo, see Maurice Manning 2006. *The Blueshirts*, Dublin, Gill, and Macmillan.

<sup>19</sup>Mark Thomas. 2012. 'Fascism in Europe Today'. *International Socialism*, 2:162, 2012, pp.27-65.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted in Sara Farris and Catherine Rottenberg. 2017. 'Introduction: Righting Feminism', *New Formations*, 91, 2017, pp.5-15.

<sup>21</sup> David Broder. 2023. *Mussolini's Grandchildren: Fascism in Contemporary Italy*, London, Pluto Press. p.24.

<sup>22</sup> Françoise Vergès 2012. *A Decolonial Feminism*, (translated by Ashley J. Bohrer) London, Pluto Press.

<sup>23</sup> Sara R Farris 2017. *In the Name of Women's Rights*, London, Duke University Press.

<sup>24</sup> Thomas Hummel. 2023. 'Fascism in Italy today'. *Tempest Magazine*, 1 March.