

BRATISLAVA INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF LIBERAL ARTS

**Masculine Democracy?
Through the Lens of Slovak Values**

BACHELOR THESIS

Mária Dudžáková

Bratislava, 2019

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Declaration of Originality

I hereby declare, that this bachelor thesis is the work of my own and has not been published in part or in whole elsewhere. All literature used is attributed and cited in references.

In Bratislava, February 15, 2020

Mária Dudžáková

Abstract

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This thesis focuses on evaluating the quality of Slovak democracy through the concept of masculinity of Slovak society. Masculinity is defined through a dominant relationship between males and females, traditional gender roles and homophobia. Maintaining traditional gender roles and negative attitudes towards LGBTQI+ rights results in an unequal distribution of human rights among the citizens. This results in a part of a society not living a life in full dignity. The quality of democracy then suffers, because only through improving the quality of life of citizens through granting them equality and individual freedoms, the quality of democracy overall can improve. Masculine society is less tolerant, less open towards otherness, which impacts its social capital, trust, and hence level of cooperation and efficiency.

The results indicate that the Slovak society is indeed more masculine as being more traditional in regard to gender roles and more homophobic. Such values can lead to violations of human rights of a particular group of people, which means that the overall quality of democracy in Slovakia is low.

Abstrakt

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Táto práca sa sústreďuje na hodnotenie demokracie na Slovensku použitím konceptu maskulinity. Tá je definovaná na základe dominancie vo vzťahu mužov žien, tradičných rodových rolí a homofóbie. Zachovávanie statusu quo v stereotypných očakávaníach od mužov a žien a neuznávaní LGBTQI+ práv môže viesť k porušovaniu ľudských práv určitej skupiny osôb. Práve títo ľudia nežijú svoje životy v dôstojnosti, a preto si nemôžu užívať ani slobodu a rovnosť. Týmto sa kvalita demokracie znižuje, nakoľko práve uplatňovaním slobody a rovnosti sa jej kvalita dá zlepšovať. Maskulínna spoločnosť je menej tolerantná a otvorená k inakosti. To negatívne pôsobí na dôveru ľudí voči systému, ochotu spolupracovať a následne i na výkonnosť spoločnosti.

Výsledky naznačujú, že Slovensko je maskulínnou spoločnosťou, nakoľko vykazuje tradičné vnímanie rodových rolí a výraznejšiu homofóbiu. Takého nerovnosti vedú k porušovaniu ľudských práv a preto z dôvodov už opísaných táto demokraciu nemôže využiť svoj potenciál a preto trpí.

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Introduction

Slovakia is known to be a traditional society when it comes to gender roles and LGBTQI+¹ rights. However, this may have an effect on the quality of Slovak democracy. Scholars and institutions designed several ways in which democracy can be measure and evaluated. Diamond and Morlino, for examples, proposed eight dimensions for measuring the quality of democracy. Freedoms and equality are among the selected criteria (Diamond & Morlino, 2004). It is important to strive to improve all of the dimensions as they are linked and consequently to increase the quality of democracy. Moreover, people's opinions and perspectives need to be taken into consideration while examining the quality of democracy as they pay more attention to freedoms and equality (Logan & Mattes, 2010).

To reduce inequalities among citizens, socioeconomic conditions should be improved. By doing so, the values of a society will gradually shift towards post-industrial ones which focus on tolerance, acceptance, and self-expression (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). This kind of society is more stable and involves more responsible citizens which lead towards a higher quality of democracy. Inequalities are formed also through different expectations and discrimination of some citizens. To avoid them, there is the concept of human rights as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The international community is responsible for ensuring the protection of the human rights as it leads to improving the lives of individuals. Human rights, as we perceive them nowadays, are based on a concept of dignity, which means that every individual should be respected in the same way and valued equally. Therefore, no group can be valued as less (Donnelly, 2013). States and their governments are responsible for respecting, protecting, and fulfilling human rights (Eide, 2006). Since human rights and dignity are equal, one cannot be enjoyed without the other. Therefore, violating human rights leads to life without dignity, which can in turn

¹ Minority of people who identify as non-heterosexuals.

L – lesbian

G – gay

B – bisexual

T – transgender

Q – queer

I – intersex

+ – other identities

account for psychological problems affecting the general well-being of citizens (Fuller, 2006).

Even though in theory everyone is equal, in practice, it is much more complicated. There are groups which are still considered and treated as inferior, whether knowingly or not. Women and the LGBTQI+ community belong among them. The perception of both of them can be measured through a concept of masculinity, which refers to a set of social practices derived from female and male differences (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2007). Even though, there are multiple masculinities, which differ across cultures (Connell, 2001), they generally take with themselves a notion of men dominating women, which is derived from traditional gender roles connected to female and male bodies. The fact that they are connected to bodies led people to believe they are natural (McWhorter, 2004). Nevertheless, both masculinity and gender roles are learned behaviours shaped throughout the process of socialization. Besides the stereotypical gender roles about men being superior to women, masculinity can be defined also through homophobia, as homosexual people resist the main characteristics of masculinity – the relationship between men and women (Connell, 2001). That is the reason why this thesis analyses how masculine the Slovak democracy is.

Firstly, it looks at the development of the position of women in this territory. Their status has always been connected to their role as a wife and a mother (Bahna, et al., 2006). And even though their status increased when granting them political rights including general suffrage hundred years ago, and equal opportunities in the labour market (Škorvanková, 2019), the perception of the traditional role of a woman as a care taker did not change. Nowadays, there are still different expectations of men and women which is shown in the big data researches where people describe their view on how a woman and a man should be (Bútorová, 2008; European Commission, 2017). Women are perceived as more vulnerable and though it has changed and it is slowly continuing to change with younger generations, stereotypical perceptions still prevail (Valkovičová, 2020).

Secondly, the thesis takes a look at the position of the LGBTQI+ community. Theirs is much worse than the position of women, because while with women we are talking about stereotypes, double standards, and inequalities, we come across discrimination from all sides towards the LGBTQI+ community. After the fall of communism, there has been a real increase in activism, but with lack of willing from

the officials, the only legal measure in favour of this community was a ban of discrimination (Sirotnikova, 2019). Their status has not improved much at all. The Ministry of Justice even issued thirty-five instances when an unmarried couple is disadvantaged (Ministry of Justice, 2019).

Education has the potential to positively shape the perceptions and values. The Slovak education system, however, does not seem to perform this task. Textbooks in Slovakia have turned to be stereotypical when it comes to gender roles, showing women in their “traditional” positions as mothers and wives (Osad’an, Belešová, & Szentesiová, 2018). Additionally, there is also a lack of showing women, and LGBTQI+ at all. What is more, there is no willingness from the officials to change this (Valkovičová, 2020).

This thesis works with the theories of comparative politics and appropriate texts about the quality of democracy within this field. However, it is also an interdisciplinary thesis, utilizing sociology as well. The research is conducted through a questionnaire focused on the values of Slovak society regarding gender roles and LGBTQI+ rights. There are many demographic indicators, through which it can be determined which groups of people share similar values and which differ. The questionnaire is divided into three parts: perception of gender roles, perception of LGBTQI+ rights and demographics. There are up to 400 respondents in the survey. The limitation of this questionnaire is the method of data gathering which is the method of snowballing. These results in having very specific groups of people are not reflective of the whole society. This limitation has been remedied by using the programme R which is able to precisely determine the connections between different indicators and the significance of these connections. This thesis also looks at the results of EUROBAROMETER, which published a recent study (2019) about perceptions of the Slovak people towards gender roles and LGBTQI+ minority and social distance towards the “other”. This study more precisely reflects the actual situation in the society. The findings from the questionnaire and EUROBAROMETER are supported by two interviews with experts in the field of sociology who are able to provide an insight into the values of society and the situation regarding gender roles, LGBTQI+ rights and quality of democracy in Slovakia.

One of the main factors of an advanced democratic country is tolerance among people. Values of a society, including perception of gender roles and tolerance

towards LGBTQI+ minority can determine the quality of democracy. These values can be measured through the concept of masculinity. This thesis establishes that Slovakia is a masculine democracy because:

- 1) the perceptions of gender roles remain traditional (disadvantaging towards women),
- 2) the tolerance towards LGBTQI+ people is low.

Chapter 1: Quality of Democracy Through Minority Rights

The quality of democracy can be measured, among other things, through individual freedoms granted to citizens (Diamond & Morlino, 2004). The state is obliged to implement and protect these freedoms as they are universal human rights and result in a life of dignity which is inalienable from anyone (Donnelly, 2013). High quality democracy emphasises the values of tolerance and self-definition. These values make for more aware citizens, and responsible voters with higher social security (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). Such values can be measured through the concept of masculinity as defined by the relation between males and females, including the perception of gender roles, and the perception of LGBTQI+ people, since homophobia is one of the characteristics of masculinity (Connell, 2001; Donaldson, 1993; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2007). That is the reason that homosexual people do not comfort into the relation between males and females.

Gender roles and gender stereotypes are present in everyday life. They are a social representation of bodies, which compels many people to think they are natural (McWhorter, 2004). Since they are created through interactions starting in childhood, they are socially conditioned and constructed. Therefore, they are some expectations of females and males, as their bodies differ. However, this creates differences in social roles which can lead to inequalities between men and women (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2007). There is a lot of pressure to maintain the status quo when it comes to social roles. However, they can differ among countries and cultures (Bartky, 1990).

As women can be discriminated through traditional gender roles, there are other vulnerable groups which can suffer violation of their human rights. Human rights are based on the concept of dignity, which means that all people are equal in their value, no group of people should be ranked higher or lower, and each and every

one has these rights by nature of being human (Donnelly, 2013). For enjoying a life in full dignity, people need firstly to be recognized. States are responsible for ensuring that all citizens' rights are respected, protected, and fulfilled (Eide, 2006). States need to respect the freedoms of individual and their ability to choose what will satisfy their needs. Protection means that states are supposed to protect these freedoms from violations and also from using them against other people. Lastly, fulfilment refers to a "a way of facilitation or direct provision" (Eide, 2006). If there is a failure to do so and some people cannot live a life in dignity, it can account for some of their psychological problems and general lack of well-being (Fuller, 2006).

1.1 Democracy

Democracy, in general, is defined by universal adult suffrage, recurring free competitive and fair elections, more than one serious political party, and alternative sources of information (Diamond & Morlino, 2004). Even though there are many democratic countries, the quality of democracy among them differs. There is no absolutely objective way of assessing it according to Diamond and Morlino (2004), however they developed eight dimensions according to which a democracy can be assessed: rule of law, participation, competition, vertical and horizontal accountability, responsiveness, freedoms, and equality. Democracies may differ due to the fact that they will not all grant the same importance to these dimensions (Diamond & Morlino, 2004). All of these dimensions are densely linked and it is sometimes hard to recognize the borders between them, because by improving one, the others will also improve and vice versa. High quality democracy represents a balance between them.

Logan and Mattes used these dimensions in assessing African regimes. In their research, they updated the dimensions and incorporated citizens' opinions and perspectives into the evaluation of democracy (Logan & Mattes, 2010). They claim that public opinion data need to be taken into consideration alongside the experts' evaluation as they are closely linked even though they may differ (Logan & Mattes, 2010). According to Diamond and Morlino, states and governments should strive to improve the quality of each dimension and essentially the democracy in their country for three reasons:

1. Because it is a moral good, maybe even an imperative.
2. Reforms to improve democratic quality are essential if democracy is to achieve the broad and durable legitimacy that marks consolidation.
3. Long-established democracies must also reform if they are to solve their own gathering problems of public dissatisfaction and even disillusionment. (2004, p. 20)

The quality of democracy can be determined by the level of civil and political freedoms, political equality, and popular sovereignty. Freedoms are defined as political, civil and social rights that need to be ensured by the government to everyone regardless of one's gender, race, ethnicity, religion, political orientation or other irrelevant conditions (Diamond & Morlino, 2004). These freedoms, when evenly distributed, contribute to the equality of citizens. At the same time, citizens pay more attention to equality and the protection of freedoms and rights. They rate these rights more highly than experts when assessing democracy (Logan & Mattes, 2010). Even though perfect equality is almost impossible to achieve, the goal of each state should always be trying to decrease the inequalities among citizens (Rueschemeyer, 2004). Even the most democratic leaders are unable to please everyone. However, political equality is closely linked to socioeconomic equality. When there are big economic inequalities, it puts into an advantage those with wealth even greater advantage because they are more capable of shaping the policy-making processes. On the other hand, striving for drastic measures to get rid of economic inequalities could lead to destroying democracy. For example, high taxation of wealthy people could lead to a revolt of this group of people and to an attempt to turn the democracy into an authoritarian regime (Rueschemeyer, 2004). Therefore, it is important to keep a balance between the dimensions of democracy, so that one group, even a wealthy one, will not have a total control over each dimension.

Improving socioeconomic conditions of the people contributes not only to an improvement of political equality but also to the values within a society (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Rueschemeyer, 2004). Such developments account for not only an improvement of already existing democracies, but can help develop new ones where there are currently undemocratic regimes. The highest pace of socioeconomic development is in post-industrial countries, nevertheless the differences in the values between them remain due to the different backgrounds and cultural traditions (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). Values of self-expression values belong among these post-industrial societies. People with awareness of self-expression, which can be only

accomplished through appropriate freedoms provided by the government, develop a sense of “higher existential security and individual autonomy” (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). These people tend to be more active citizens and voters and they are more challenging towards their elites. Moreover, social security leads to higher trust towards institutions, higher social cohesion and less polarization which essentially gives more credibility and legitimacy to government. This all creates a more stable and stronger democracy (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005).

People with higher education and social status belong among the most influential people, the elites. Politicians are oftentimes part of these elites. Nevertheless, they will mostly shape opinions only of the people with the same values and political affiliations as themselves—leftist politicians will influence only leftist voters and rightist politicians, rightist voters (Matsubayashi, 2013). This fact is shown in the public opinion data as well. However, people’s opinions can give a more apprehensive picture of a democracy as people tend to differ from expert ratings judging from their everyday reality (Logan & Mattes, 2010). Nevertheless, it is important to have an autonomous press and research to arrive at as accurate an assessment as possible. Moreover, it is important to educate citizens and provide them with essential freedoms in order for them to become more aware and participating citizens in public life. Such communities are then more tolerant and trusting and that in turn contributes to higher quality of life (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005).

1.2 Masculinity

The concept of masculinity is relatively a new one and still not the clearest one. It is a socially constructed concept as it does not exist “prior to social behaviour” (Connell, 2001). People need to act and interact with each other to develop a set of behaviours and patterns of social practices which define masculinity. They are being established every day as it is a learned behaviour through social expectations. There are different characteristics which can be ascribed to masculinity across cultures. However, “courage, inner direction, certain forms of aggression, autonomy, mastery, technological skills, group solidarity, adventure and considerable amount of toughness in mind and body” are the most common (Donaldson, 1993, p. 644). Generally, this set of patterns of behaviours is related to a relation of dominance of men over women (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2007). The reason for it is that the concept was connected

only to bodies in the past. While it is precisely male bodies which satisfy expectations of the masculine concept, it was men who gained the dominant position over women. However, since the concept is established by society, it does not matter what kind of body one has, but only what kind of behaviour they have learned (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2007). At the same time, the society has not moved from associating masculinity more to males than females. This concept carries a lot of connotations and even though there are not only negative, but also positive ones, the truth remains that in recent public discourse it is connected with rather “toxic effects” such as rape, domestic violence against women, homophobic violence, racism, etc. (Connell, 2001). However, it is a contextual concept, which can vary according to the field in which it is being used, since it can be used in many, for example studying sports, gender representation in media or organizational structures (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2007).

A different culture or time in history can also influence the concept of masculinity as well as the field of study. Throughout the time, it was discovered that there is not only one type of masculinity, but multiple and they are put in a hierarchy (Connell, 2001). The reason being, that masculinity represents some standards of a man and not every man conforms into these standards. Moreover, some men are more representative in masculinity than other. As it represents behaviours which subsequently develop one’s identity, boys and girls can move in and out of the concept across countries, cultures and generations. Therefore, even the most homogenous countries will not end up with only one understanding of masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2007). Thus, a hierarchy of masculinities is necessary, and it gives a way for establishing a hegemonic masculinity, as some men will represent the masculine characteristics in the most visible way. Males with hegemonic masculinities are distinguished by not only direct personal power over women but over other masculinities as well (Connell, 2001). Other masculinities are “in tension” with the hegemonic one, however these relations can develop since masculinities are changeable over time and circumstances. Hegemonic masculinity is not a “self-reproducing” concept, but with external influences it is able to change (Donaldson, 1993). It does not simply adapt but it is capable of hybridization to become more suitable for new conditions over the course of history (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2007).

One consequence of changes within masculinities may be the reshaping of gender roles, for example in families. However, an urge to keep a “traditional” hierarchy of genders and power relations can lead to dehumanizing one group of people (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2007). It does not necessarily have to be a group of women. The topic of oppression of a group of men opened up with the gay liberation movement as it was seen as a threat to the traditional gender roles (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2007). As Donaldson writes “heterosexuality and homophobia are the bedrock of hegemonic masculinity” (1993, p. 644), because masculinity is based on stereotypical male roles and homophobia derives from these stereotypes. Some cultures regard homosexual sex as another characteristic of masculinity, while others do not. However, prevalence of heterosexuality came with the Western concept of masculinity (Connell, 2001). It sees homosexuality as counter-hegemonic in three ways: “hostility to homosexuality is seen as fundamental to male heterosexuality, homosexuality is associated with effeminacy, the form of homosexual pleasure is itself considered subversive” (Donaldson, 1993, p. 647).

The need for rethinking the concept of masculinity has been brought up not only in relation to different sexualities but also to different identities, such as transgender people as well (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2007). More emphasis needs to be put on the actual interests of individuals and not only on their bodies. The concept sets standards for what constitutes a man (Connell, 2001). However, the individualities of men get lost within the concept which represents behaviours a man can adopt in particular moments. Nevertheless, it does not mean that every man will be the same based on the prevailing masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2007).

It does not take into consideration layered relations between genders as it puts emphasis on stereotypes. Women also contribute to establishing masculinities by playing their roles in a society as mothers, wives, sisters, teachers, etc. (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2007). Reshaping and deconstructing the concept would need a movement joined by dissatisfied men who do no longer want to be seen through these stereotypes (Donaldson, 1993). A recently established paternity leave could be seen as an example of such a movement. Hegemonic masculinity is confirmed in fatherhood, when they do not develop emotionally as deep relationships with children as mothers do (Donaldson, 1993). Therefore, paternity leave and changing the social roles within a family pushes the concept of masculinity to be reformulated.

Changes in the definition of masculinity can be made on three levels: local, regional, and global (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2007). The local level refers to immediate surroundings, such as family, community in a neighbourhood, or church etc. On this level, the most influential people besides the immediate family are also priests, psychiatrists, activists, coaches, teachers, etc. Those people are able to shape identities of young boys and girls. The regional level, represents a state. Therefore, journalists, advertisers, politicians, designers, playwrights, film makers, actors, novelists, musicians, academics, and sportsmen belong among those who are the most influential for people. People see them on television, they know how they move, speak and act and they can mimic this behaviour (Donaldson, 1993). The last level, global, refers to a globalized world, which has influenced not only masculinities but gender as such, since the most powerful group of people are international businessmen, politicians, heads of corporations, etc. (Connell, 2001). It is easier for them to shape not only the concept of hegemonic masculinity and the hierarchy among masculinities, but gender as well.

1.3 Gender

Gender is another concept, which is socially constructed. It is defined as a “living system of social interactions” (Connell, 2001, p. 14). It was developed in a particular time in history had not existed before. It originates from the idea of “sexualized body-regimes” proposed by Foucault, who claimed that bodies are being controlled as they serve as an anchor for exercising power (McWhorter, 2004). Power is being understood as a set of events or relations. It is present everywhere and it represents a tension created when people try to pursue different goals which in turn creates tension (McWhorter, 2004). Bodies can be controlled by setting exact rules of movement, in school, military, work or in advertisement (Bartky, 1990). However, these rules started to be different for female and for male bodies. Since the creation of these differences, and consequently gender as a concept, people tend to think of themselves as naturally sexual (McWhorter, 2004). The lack of formal institutions, which would impose these stereotypes may create an impression of gender being natural instead of constructed (Bartky, 1990). At the same time, these stereotypes have become essential parts of our lives. Gender is being created from childhood, through toys, in school, and by interactions with other people (Connell &

Messerschmidt, 2007). They create a framework through which we see the world around us. We are able to differentiate and categorize people on a basis of gender which is important for us for our own self-definition and self-understanding (Connell, 2001; Verdery, 1994; McWhorter, 2004). Gender is a social demonstration of biological differences between sexes. McWhorter defines sex as creating “a set of power relations that gives society its current order and human beings their current self-images” (2004, p. 47). However, with the shifts of power, our identities which are based on this power can change as well (McWhorter, 2004).

Gender needs to be always created as a relation between two counterparts, it cannot be a single phenomenon (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2007). The counterparts being men and women. Even though people are born only male or female, as primary opposite sexes acknowledged by society, their femininity and masculinity through which gender is performed and established are learned behaviours which represents socially defined gender roles (Bartky, 1990). While the perception of gender roles has been changing throughout the years as a result of women’s liberation movements, men still remained “the principal holders of economic and political power” (Connell, 2001, p. 13). The traditional society puts a lot of pressure to maintain the gender roles. The pressure can be made, as already mentioned, through bodies and norms on how one’s male or female body should look like. Those pressures are harder on women since it is based on current standards of woman’s beauty, which usually reflect an unrealistic body shape for the majority of women (Bartky, 1990). A woman’s body reflects her subordinate role in the hierarchy of genders (Bartky, 1990).

Gender roles can differ in some characteristics among countries and cultures in the same way as masculinities. The post-communist countries represent a specific example. Socialism officially increased gender equality. Its main premise was that all people are equal and they needed everyone for labour, women no longer had to stay at home, but were allowed to work and provide for their families as well as men (Verdery, 1994). With this shift in the roles in family, their authority also increased. Nevertheless, the power and the division of labour in a state remained gendered. Women could have worked, but it was almost impossible for them to take higher positions within the Communist Party. Since the discrimination based on gender was replaced by the discrimination based on who was a better party member, it was expected of women as well as of men to take part in party politics. However, they were assigned only positions more “suited” for women, such as education, culture,

health care, etc. (Verdery, 1994). At the same time, their expected duty to do domestic work and take care of children did not decrease. Therefore, they actually had two jobs and the work balance between men and women was not equalized. With the increase of nationalism during communism, the policies and perceptions of gender roles started to be more divided. Some were supporting women doing the same labour as men, while the others were promoting motherhood and pushing women back into the households to reduce the costs of child care. After communism, the situation reversed completely, as communism and its equalizing of gender roles were seen as damaging for men. It was claimed that socialism made men weak and it started an anti-feminist movement by reducing reproductive rights and enforcing patriarchy back into the states and households (Verdery, 1994). Women were considered the bearers of traditions; therefore, they needed to stay home and take care of the family.

1.4 Human Rights

Though some socially constructed concepts account for discrimination between people, there are other concepts which are used to reduce this discrimination. Among such concepts are human rights. Today, human rights are understood as defined, for example, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This document binds the international community to promote these rights in order to improve the quality of people's lives. Human rights, as we understand them today, derive from a concept of dignity which even though not precisely defined means an inherent respect towards an individual (Donnelly, 2013). People need to be firstly recognized with full dignity. Recognition is essential for sense of self-respect, feeling of belonging to a community, and consequently a better life. When one group is not being recognized, there is a need for people outside of the group to step up and support the disadvantaged (Fuller, 2006). Lack of dignity can even result in psychological problems and influence the well-being of an individual (Fuller, 2006). By giving respect to others, one helps ensure receiving the same respect in turn.

Human rights and dignity are interconnected, as the former cannot be fully enjoyed without the latter. They cannot be separated from each other and their importance needs to be evaluated equally. By not providing all of the rights, one is being deprived of living a life in full dignity. It is important to realize that, while individuals possess human rights, these rights cannot be taken out of the context of a

society (Fuller, 2006). Therefore, politics and law play a crucial role in following the principle of treating people with respect and dignity. As this concept is universal, neither individuals, nor states and law can alienate them (Fuller, 2006). Governments have three obligations in association with human rights: “to respect, to protect, and to fulfil”, the last one meaning that they need to facilitate and provide these rights (Eide, 2006). This prohibits them from interfering into people’s personal, social, and political lives. They need to provide goods, services and opportunities to their citizens. The legitimacy of the state can be measured through the implementation of these rights (Donnelly, 2013). However, sometimes politicians put their own interests first, such as winning elections, before the protection of individual rights and freedoms. If such actions result in insufficient regulation of the state’s obligations, people can be harm as their rights may be violated. Any kind of discrimination based on race, sex, colour, religion, political or other opinion, age, language, national or social origin, birth, property, or other is seen as a violation of human rights and that counts as “a violation of the Covenant” (Eide, 2006). That is why, there is a need in society to have impartial advocates of human rights who will protect citizens from violations of their rights by states (Fuller, 2006).

Based on the concept of human rights, Amartya Sen developed *The Human Development Approach*, and Martha Nussbaum elaborated on it and she called this elaborated version *The Capabilities Approach*. She claims that everyone has inherent freedoms, which can be called capabilities. There is a need for government to provide opportunities for everyone in order to fully enjoy these capabilities for better quality of life (Nussbaum, 2013). It follows the concept of dignity and respect towards everyone regardless of their religious or political preferences and other characteristics. She created a list of ten essential capabilities without which one cannot live a life in dignity. Those capabilities are: life, bodily health, senses, imagination and thought, emotions, practical reason, affiliation to people, other species (such as animals), play (free time) and control over one’s environment. She is working with a concept which is focused on an individual, not a group of people. Therefore, these opportunities need to be provided equally among everyone, so every citizen is able to enjoy their capabilities freely. They are as interconnected as human rights, hence no one of them is to be granted higher priority (Nussbaum, 2013). The right implementation of these capabilities is conditioned by providing freedom of choice. When given a sufficient amount of options, people are fully capable of choosing for themselves. It is not

enough to provide people only the bare minimum. On the contrary, all of these ten capabilities need to be fully fulfilled and equally distributed and only then can we talk about a well-functioning democracy.

1.5 Assessing the Slovak democracy

The quality of democracy needs to be improved even in long-lasting democracies, first of all, it is important and prosperous, it gives more legitimacy to the government and it improves people's lives. An essential step in improving the quality of democracy is granting every citizen their individual freedoms and ensuring equality by protecting human rights which are based on human dignity. Dignity is universal and therefore belongs to each and every person. Equality can be accomplished by improving the socioeconomic conditions of citizens. By doing so, a society and its values will shift towards post-industrial ones which include more tolerance and self-awareness, which protect the interests of most vulnerable groups. These shifts are generally a result of generational changes. Younger generations are usually more tolerant and open. At the same time, socioeconomic improvement can be also seen with generational change. When there is a socioeconomic growth, people feel more secure (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). Even though, there should be no vulnerable groups in theory, as human rights are universal, in practice it does not work that way. By an uneven distribution of the opportunities afforded by the state, and a lack of protection of human rights, some groups of people are disadvantaged compared to the others. It may occur because of discrimination based on race, sex, religion or other features, or on different socioeconomic backgrounds of people. Such vulnerable groups require "special protection" from states (Eide, 2006). Women and the LGBTQI+ community are considered vulnerable groups when it comes to human rights as in most states there are reoccurring violations of human rights of these groups. However, there can be other vulnerable groups, which are not a result of discrimination as well, for example children, elderly people, sick, or disabled. Human rights are the tool of equalization of these groups of people.

As Mattes and Logan suggest, it is important to look at public opinions while evaluating democracy. That is why this thesis will look at the values of Slovak society towards women and the LGBTQI+ community not only from expert points of view, but also through an immediate questionnaire of people. The purpose is to find out how

masculine the Slovak society is. The reason being that masculinity can be defined through the dominance of males over females, and therefore preserving traditional gender roles in a society, and homophobia as another inevitable part of masculinity. Furthermore, we will look whether there is a connection between masculinity and people's perceptions of the LGBTQI+ community. The perception of the people towards the two vulnerable groups alongside with evaluating the data from larger research, such as from Eurobarometer can mirror the values which prevail in Slovak society. From these perceptions, the situation of these two groups in Slovakia can be derived and evaluated.

Besides the improvement of socioeconomic conditions, it is important to create positive attitudes towards the values and policies implemented by the government. Through channelling positive emotions states can head towards their goal in a more efficient way as they create more stability and security in the society over time (Nussbaum, 2013). Nussbaum suggests that though all kinds of political regimes need to work with emotions, liberal democracy has not mastered that very well. According to her, it is easier for other regimes to work with negative emotions, such as disgust, anger, and hatred (Nussbaum, 2013). Nevertheless, in liberal democracies, the exact opposite is necessary—to work with positive emotions. Positive emotions can serve as a counter balance to the negative ones and ensure an increase in the quality of democracy. It is important to lead people to feel positive emotions about the laws and policies and not only to believe them. When citizens feel more positively oriented towards their state's laws, it makes for a more stable state (Nussbaum, 2013). It is considered important especially nowadays, when there are more educated and active people globally. They are more critical of governments. At the same time, populism and extremism are on the rise as well and therefore it is important to work with emotions for liberal democracy as the opposition of populism and extremism, or undemocratic regimes. The most effective way to channel positive emotions is through education. It can serve as the counterreaction towards the negative emotions as it has the potential to cultivate the values of the society into one that is more tolerant, inclusive, and humane.

Chapter 2: The Situation in Slovakia

When examining the state of democracy in Slovakia through minority rights, it is important to analyse the perceptions of these groups. This chapter focuses on the historical development of the status of women in the area of the current Slovak Republic, as history influenced present narratives. Consequently, the current state of perception of gender roles will be discussed. Slovakia demonstrates traditional and stereotypical values when it comes to the perception of gender roles. The status of women shaped by the historical development shows that it is highly connected to the role of a mother and a wife. Even though, some progress has been done in equalizing the rights of men and women, especially in the labour market, the perceptions and values of the society regarding gender roles have not advanced much.

The situation for the LGBTQI+ community has been even worse, considering that even the legislation has not moved forward. The only measure taken was passing the anti-discrimination act, banning discrimination of any people, and yet a high number of LGBT people have experienced discrimination not only in their work place. Moreover, there is a lack of social movement as well as willingness of politicians to change the status quo. Therefore, human rights of this group of people are often not assured and even violated, which results in a negative perception of the public and negative values towards LGBTQI+ community and vice versa, these negative perceptions are used as an excuse for the violations.

Education should be the way how to change these stereotypical perceptions of gender equality and negative responses towards LGBTQI+ people. Unfortunately, research shows that Slovak educational system, in particular textbooks which are used, do not break the stereotypes and narrative. On the contrary, they seem to perpetuate the exact stereotypes which are present in the society.

2.1 Historical Development of the Status of Women in Slovak territory

The status of women on the Slovak territory has always been connected to their social status and the expected role of a mother. Women have always had an inferior status compared to men from the feudal state. At that time, but also before, women were compared to objects as they could be acquired by rape, or “given in marriage” for some kind of payoff—either money or cattle (Bahna, et al., 2006). In medieval Hungarian state a woman was an object of law, however still considered a

property of a man. Firstly, she belonged to her father until marriage, when she became a property of her husband. Considering, that women were treated as weaker, they could not decide for themselves even when they reached adulthood but were not married. In this environment, domestic violence was more than common, nevertheless not discussed in public as it was entirely up to the “head of family”. There were some exceptions when women succeeded in displaying their equality, mostly women with highest social status such as queens. In such cases they were supposed to be equality punished for crimes or for delinquency. Not surprisingly, the exceptions appeared here as well, as they were not judged the same for adultery, for women the punishments were much tougher, considering that at that time men’s adultery was not really taken as misbehaviour (Lengyelová, 2004).

During the times of many wars, when men had to be in battlefields, women had to take over the properties and households and consequently the perception of their capabilities increased. Education started to be more available for women starting in craftsmanship. With the beginning of the Enlightenment and its progressive ideas, one would assume that the status of women would advance as well. While the efforts for emancipation took part, they were accompanied with emergence of “scientific reasons for their inferiority” (Bahna, et al., 2006) . It was medical science in particular which tried to prove that women’s bodies are “naturally” inferior, hence their status being inferior as well. Nevertheless, education of women did not stop and it led to their gradual emancipation. It was inevitable that with higher education, women started to be interested in politics and public issues. Women starting to be more involved, which led to implementing acts that gave them more freedom as unmarried adults (Dudeková, 2004). However, these acts were not general and were implemented only in some parts of Austria–Hungary. They also gained their right over their children in a very restricted sense— only when the child was illegitimate or a woman became a widow.

Marriage remained the main purpose of women. As they were economically dependent on their husbands, it was very hard to get out of even an abusive relationship. In some ways, this situation persists even in the present day. For this reason, there was a movement in the nineteenth century to establish better education for women, which had been only primary and insufficient for their independence until then. However, there was a lack of students, which consequently led to the end of this effort of education for women. Nevertheless, with the available education, they were

capable of trying to acquire some jobs. When doing so, their status increased as it was respectable when women displayed a willingness to work out of households (Bahna, et al., 2006). With more involvement in the public life, they gained more opportunities. For example, by being involved in charity, they gained access into fields such as healthcare and education (Bahna, et al., 2006). However, considering that in Hungary at that time, there was no universal suffrage even for all men, the start of a movement for equal political rights was very complicated.

The change came with the establishment of the first Czechoslovak Republic, when equal rights for women were guaranteed in the constitution including the universal suffrage (Škorvanková, 2019). Education was made more available and equality was ensured in work environment. At the time, women were involved in politics and their position within families was more equal to men than before. Nevertheless, it was not straight forward, as a lot of women themselves were opposed the idea of equality which was based on lack of education for women about their own rights (Bahna, et al., 2006).

As Škovranková writes, this position lasted only during the Czechoslovak Republic. After the establishment of the Slovak State, the status of women changed again and their position was used for political purposes. The authoritarian regime adopted rhetoric of a “traditional woman” who should not work, and only rely on her husband. They claimed that married women who are working are only taking jobs from young men. Women were made redundant and encouraged to take care of their families and children. Multiple measures supporting “traditional” families were implemented, such as financial support for families with two and more children, etc. The highest state’s representative spoke about women who should take over their “natural” role in a society which represented a wife, a mother and a good Christian woman (Škorvanková, 2019).

Socialism is generally considered an era of equalization for women. They had more opportunities to work as one’s social status was more important than gender. Socialism put emphasis on everybody working regardless of their gender (Verdery, 1994). However, women were still expected to bear children and take care of a household. That put double burden of work on women who had to take two “shifts”, at work and then at home. While women did move into the labour market, men did not move back to the households and the perceptions of gender roles remained very much traditional (Valkovičová, 2020).

In 1980's, the differences between the concepts of sex and gender started to be acknowledged in the West, which led to the reassessment of the “traditional” gender roles among people. In Central and East Europe this debate came much later, as there was still communist regime at the time (Bútorová, 2008). However, after the Velvet Revolution in 1989, there were a lot of changes in the society. Before, the majority of the people were employed, however after the Revolution, a lot of companies collapsed and the unemployment increased. The economic situation shifted alongside with the perception of a success in society (Bútorová, 2020). On the other hand, there was liberalization, boom of civic engagement, and activism. A lot of non-governmental organizations promoting equality and human rights started to be active with the financial support also from the Western countries (Valkovičová, 2020). The time period before becoming a member state of the European Union was crucial regarding the equalizing legislature in Slovakia. Slovakia needed to fulfil some criteria and adapt the European standards for gender equality (Slovakia, n.d.) to qualify for the accession. However, the majority of the measures were carried out in the economic sector, which means in the labour market. That is why Slovakia has solid gender equality provisions there. On the contrary, lesser attention was paid to the stereotypes and equalizing other opportunities for women (Valkovičová, 2020).

2.2 The Current Perception of Gender Roles in Slovakia

Historical evolution of gender roles, especially the role of women, has influenced how people perceive them today. There are different expectations put on men and women. The differences between the perceptions of gender roles mainly come from the labour market, family, media, and church (Bútorová, 2008). It is visible even in the Special Eurobarometer regarding gender equality, that traditional stereotypes about gender roles are still present in Slovakia. This research showed that 73% of Slovak population thinks that “the most important role of a woman is to take care of her home and family. While 75% of the population perceives earning money as “the most important role of a man” (European Commission, 2017).

Another research was conducted by Zora Bútorová and others who focused on comparing attributes which were ascribed to an “ideal woman” and “ideal man” (Bútorová, 2008). In Table 2.1, we can see the four attributes which reflect also the historical narrative of gender roles on the Slovak territory. Firstly, it is the ability to

take care of the household. At the first sight, one could say that the numbers are positive, as while in 1995, there was 86% of people who thought that this was an important attribute for an “ideal woman”, in 2006 the percentage dropped to 70%. However, when we look at an “ideal man”, the percentage also dropped from 46% in 1995 to 44% in 2006. There is still a 26% difference in perceiving who should take care of a household. Another interesting phenomenon can be seen when looking at the “ability to provide for the family”. In 1995, 92% of people ascribed this attribute to an “ideal man” and the number significantly decreased to 79% in 2006. Nevertheless, the percentage dropped also in perceiving this attribute as important for an “ideal woman” from 23% in 1995 to 18% in 2006. It can be concluded that while some changes in perceiving what is important for a woman and a man in Slovak society has occurred, overall, there is still a big emphasis on women being those who take care of a household and men being the providers for a family.

These numbers correspond with the previously mentioned research conducted by the European Commission in 2017, which reflects the traditional perception of gender roles in Slovakia.

Table 2.1 Comparison of attributes ascribed to an ideal woman and an ideal man by Slovak population in 1995 and 2006 (%)

| | Ideal woman | | Ideal man | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|------|-----------|------|
| | 1995 | 2006 | 1995 | 2006 |
| Ability to take care of the household | 86 | 70 | 46 | 44 |
| Authority at home, within the family | 40 | 35 | 53 | 46 |
| Ability to succeed professionally | NE | 32 | NE | 63 |
| Ability to provide for the family | 23 | 18 | 92 | 79 |

Note: NE- was not examined. This table is not a full version of a table adapted from “She and He in Slovakia” by Zora Bútorová et al., 2008, p. 21. Copyright 2008 by the Institute for Public Affairs.

Stereotypes persist in perceiving women as more vulnerable than men (Valkovičová, 2020). What is more, women are also expected to be more caring about others, which puts pressure on them to take care not only of their children but other members of a family as well. Slovak society generally would like to see more women in politics, but it does not put any pressure on particular political bodies or parties to

commit to equalizing the positions of men and women (Bútorová, 2020). Traditional stereotypes are deeply rooted in cultural and institutional background of the society and therefore there is no real push from citizens to change the perception of gender roles. Nevertheless, there is a visible positive change in younger generations as this trend is according to Bútorová generational, which shows that some shifts to post-material values there has been. Younger generations put more emphasis on education for both men and women and on professional success (2020).

Yet, the lack of initiative from citizens results in rather slow pace of a change regarding attitude towards gender stereotypes. Generally, women are still considered as objects for men (Valkovičová, 2020). Even though, the topic of sexual harassment of women is one of few which started to be present in Slovak consciousness, there are very much material consequences for gender stereotypes. One of such consequences is that people who should be helping harassed women, such as police men doctors, lawyers etc. also have these stereotypes. Often it can be hard for these women to even report crimes as they do not trust institutions (Valkovičová, 2020).

One of the ways how to shift the public discourse about stereotypes is through media (Baluchová, 2010). Though, the importance is often not realized by the media themselves. Therefore, there are repeating cases of gender inappropriate language in Slovak media. For example, female pronouns are often left out while announcing news. Men are shown in more leadership positions. Advertisement is in many cases stereotypically showing women in households and men in work. Moreover, in some cases there are even sexist ads where women are shown only as objects of beauty or sexual attraction (Baluchová, 2010). These cases are connected with the fact, that there is a lack of investigation of gender inequalities, sexism, sexual harassment of women, or even gender stereotypes (Valkovičová, 2020). Considering the presence of gender stereotypes in everyday lives, and their effects on gender equality in Slovak society, media should put more emphasis on dealing with these issues. Even though they serve as a tool to mirror the behaviour of the society, they also have a potential in changing the narratives and stereotypes established by the society.

2.3 The Position of LGBTQI+ Community in Slovakia

The illegality of the same-sex sexual act was abolished in 1961 (Šípošová, Jójárt, Daučíková, & al., 2002). Even though, the situation of LGBTQI+ community

in Slovakia is incomparably worse to the position of women in the society (Bútorová, 2020). There is a legacy of narratives especially from medical and religious backgrounds. Those claimed that being non-heterosexual was an illness, sinful or abnormal (Wallace-Lorencová, 2003). After the fall of communism, the situation looked promising with the emergence of a growing number of activists and non-profit organizations which would develop a part of civil society concerned with LGBT rights. Besides that, magazines regarding related topics started to be published as well (Šípošová, Jójárt, Daučíková, & al., 2002). However, these organizations would come across constant opposition from political parties and their unwillingness to incorporate the suggestions made in order to increase the quality of life for LGBT people in Slovakia (Wallace-Lorencová, 2003). Except for the banning of discrimination at a work place, there has not been done much legislatively to equalize this community. In fact, Slovakia is one of only six countries in the EU which have not legalized registered partnerships (Sirotnikova, 2019). Even the Ministry of Justice has issued a list of thirty five situations in which the unmarried couples are disadvantaged in their everyday lives. Those include things as lack of information about the health condition of a partner, inheritance, or adoption of one partner's child by the other partner (Ministry of Justice, 2019). The ombudswoman of Slovakia is constantly pointing to violations of human rights by not progressing the legislature. She also points out the unwillingness of the politicians to listen (Sirotnikova, 2019). The only progress which has been made had to be done through international measures, such as the ruling of the European Court of Human Rights that every state in the EU needs to ensure the same rights for a same-sex couple that enters into a legal partnership in one of the states which allows it. The fact that Slovakia has not been making any progress and is violating human rights can be seen through international organizations which constantly monitor the situation in the territory (Wallace-Lorencová, 2003).

The topic of LGBT rights is used by the populist and far-right parties, especially with the upcoming elections. They are using the narratives of “LGBT propaganda” which represents a threat to a “traditional” family (Sirotnikova, 2019). By traditional family they mean the description of marriage defined in the Slovak Constitution – marriage is a relationship between a man and a woman (Šípošová, Jójárt, Daučíková, & al., 2002). This definition was constitutionalized by social-democratic party SMER-SD and Christian-democratic party KDĽ (Kováč, 2014). Such narratives may result in some threatening situations, as a report on

discrimination of gay, lesbian and bisexual people from 2002 shows. The report states that 46% out of 251 respondents from the LGBT community hide their sexuality even from their parents, 43% of the respondents had experienced harassment because of their sexual orientation, 30% were discriminated against in their own family, and 76% would leave the country if it was convenient because of their orientation (Šípošová, Jójárt, Daučíková, & al., 2002).

According to the sociologist Zora Bútorová, the perception of the public and its tolerance towards the LGBTQI+ community has worsened after the Referendum on Family (2020). Report carried out by the European Commission in 2019 clearly demonstrates that when it comes to tolerance, Slovakia is the last out of all EU countries. Asking the question whether gay, lesbian and bisexual people have the same rights as others, 59% of the Slovak people disagreed (European Commission, 2019). This may also be the result of a narrative that LGBTQI+ rights are not considered an important topic to deal with in Slovakia, especially by politicians (Gehrerová, 2019). Consequently, it is still perceived as a taboo topic which results in not many people actually claiming their sexuality. In turn, that influences the lack of awareness among the public towards tolerance, as many people claim that they do not know any LGBT person (Bútorová, 2020). Although it seems that the situation will not move forward any time soon, there is a difference in perception between the capital and other parts of Slovakia, which results in many LGBT people moving from their hometowns to the capital. However, many people who claim they are tolerant with same-sex couples, are so only while these couples do not show their affection in public (Bútorová, 2020). That is why it is positive that in 2019 there were 10,000 people attending the now annual Bratislava Pride march, which is the highest number of participants yet (Sirotnikova, 2019).

2.4 The Influence of Education

As already mentioned, education plays a crucial role in serving as a counterpart for the negative emotions, which are often misused in authoritative regimes and by populists even in democracies. Democracy needs to use education to cultivate positive emotions and change the values in a society (Nussbaum, 2013). As school serves as a secondary socialization, right after family, it has a lot of impact on gender roles. Textbooks play a crucial role in the gender development (Osad'an,

Belešová, & Szentesiová, 2018). They contain a representation of model situations in life, according to which young people can behave later. Negatively, the educational system including textbooks is still stereotypical when it comes to gender roles. These stereotypes account for the unequal gender hierarchy between men and women (Bosá, 2004). Even though textbooks have a potential to regulate the stereotypes, at the same time they usually strengthen and reproduce them, as in the case of Slovakia (Bútorová, 2020).

The research analysing mathematics textbooks and readers for third and fourth years of a primary school found out the most stereotypical gender roles which those textbooks perpetuate. Firstly, there was an image of a woman as a mother and carer of a family. She is the one who is shopping, cooking and taking care of a household. This shows the uneven division of labour inside of a family. On the other hand, men are shown as physically more fit and working in physically demanding jobs. While girls are portrayed as better in reading and learning, boys are better in sports. Moreover, girls are often shown as those beautiful and neat and women in general are more submissive. They do not fight as it is unacceptable, and generally they are depicted as weaker (Osad'an, Belešová, & Szentesiová, 2018).

While gender development is important in a child's life, such stereotypes and prejudices can limit the potential of an individual which in turn have an influence on the whole society (Osad'an, Belešová, & Szentesiová, 2018). For example, research has shown that girls are brought up from a young age to be ready to sacrifice their own individual interests in order to have a family. They are generally more willing to give up their plans for self-realization (Bosá, 2004). Then, there is the problem of non-representation of women in the textbooks. It is called a "symbolic annihilation", which can have a potentially negative influence on their development regarding their self-image (Osad'an, Belešová, & Szentesiová, 2018).

As textbooks include norms of behaviour, they influence the perceptions and future behaviours of young people (Osad'an, Belešová, & Szentesiová, 2018). When filled with gender stereotypes, they can lead to discriminatory behaviour against a group of people based on gender and have the potential to repeat inequalities between men and women (Kemp, 1977). In my research, I analysed two textbooks. The first one was a civics textbook for the final year of a grammar school, and the second one was a textbook for Catholics called *Human Dignity* for the eighth grade of primary school. The former was chosen because it is a subject about society and the only one

which includes a section about human rights, and the latter because the church is one of the main influencers which put different expectations for men and women. As it was not an in-depth analysis, I only focused on how and whether (at all) women were portrayed regarding their roles in a society. In the civics textbook, there was almost no specific mention about women. There were only two specific occurrences regarding women. The first one was in the context of marriage and family. According to this textbook, the purpose of a man and woman is in getting married and starting a family is to have children. The second one was an example of a social role: “for example, a woman can be a wife, a mother, a lawyer, etc.” (Bocková, Ďurajková, Feketeová, & Sakáčová, 2006). It is visible that there is a lack of references to women and those which are present still stereotypically point at women firstly being wives and mothers. The second textbook showed even more gender stereotypes and gender hierarchy. According to the textbook, a woman desires three things: to love and to be loved; to have an irreplaceable place in an adventure (to be helpful); to search for her beauty (not only the inner beauty). Moreover, all of her desires need to be in sync with the desires of a man² (Reimer, 2017). These examples show that the Slovak education system continues to preserve gender stereotypes. It is also the result of a narrative which does not give gender equality in education much importance (Osad'án, Belešová, & Szentesiová, 2018).

The Ministry of Education in Slovakia has not paid enough attention to women's and LGBTQI+ rights in the textbooks for years. However, the content of the textbooks and what they say about gender roles and LGBTQI+ rights depends on the author as well (Valkovičová, 2020). Even though gender roles are portrayed stereotypically, they cannot be even compared with the mention of the LGBTQI+ community, which are non-existent. Although sexual education has its own history in Europe, Slovakia does not have a subject of its own for sexual education. In the past, sexual education has gone through stages of different focus, from only biological differences, through health, to marital preparation. Now, the issues which are supposed to be a part of sexual education are divided between Civics, Biology, Ethics, and Religion (Bosá, Minarovičová, Bosý, & Lukáč, 2015). The focus is still mainly

² The whole Slovak text can be seen in Image 2.1 What a woman desires

on biology and health. However, there is a lack of focus on reproductive rights, different sexualities, or gender stereotypes (Bosá, Minarovičová, Bosý, & Lukáč, 2015). Even though the World Health Organization issued guidelines for teaching sexual education at different age, there is still general international ignorance and disregard towards the LGBTQI+ issues in textbooks. Nevertheless, the guidelines from WHO include topics such as same sex couples as soon as between four to six years of age (Smestad, 2018).

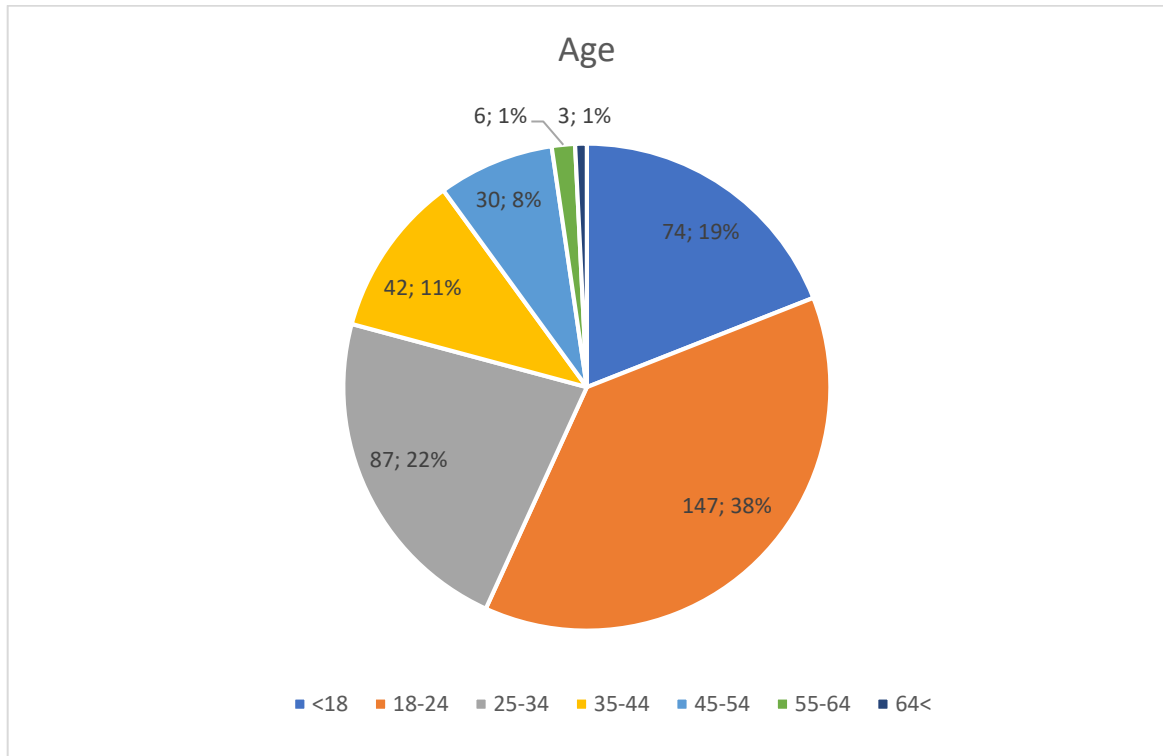
The education system, including textbooks, should be a way how to change society's values and create more space for positive emotions and tolerance in a society. However, the previous examples show that the Slovak educational system is not prepared to do serve this purpose. It displays a lot of examples of teaching gender stereotypes which can have negative influence not only on individuals and their potential but on the society's dynamic all throughout. It can perpetuate gender inequalities. Furthermore the "symbolic annihilation" of women, and even more so of the LGBTQI+ community can lead not only to a negative self-image of these groups of people but also to discrimination towards them. Textbooks are tools which mirror everyday-life situations and behaviour, and they also have the potential to change these behaviours. However, in Slovakia there is no sign of improvement, neither is there a willingness from the authorities to change the narratives of gender roles, nor women's and LGBTQI+ rights in the textbooks.

Chapter 3: The Research

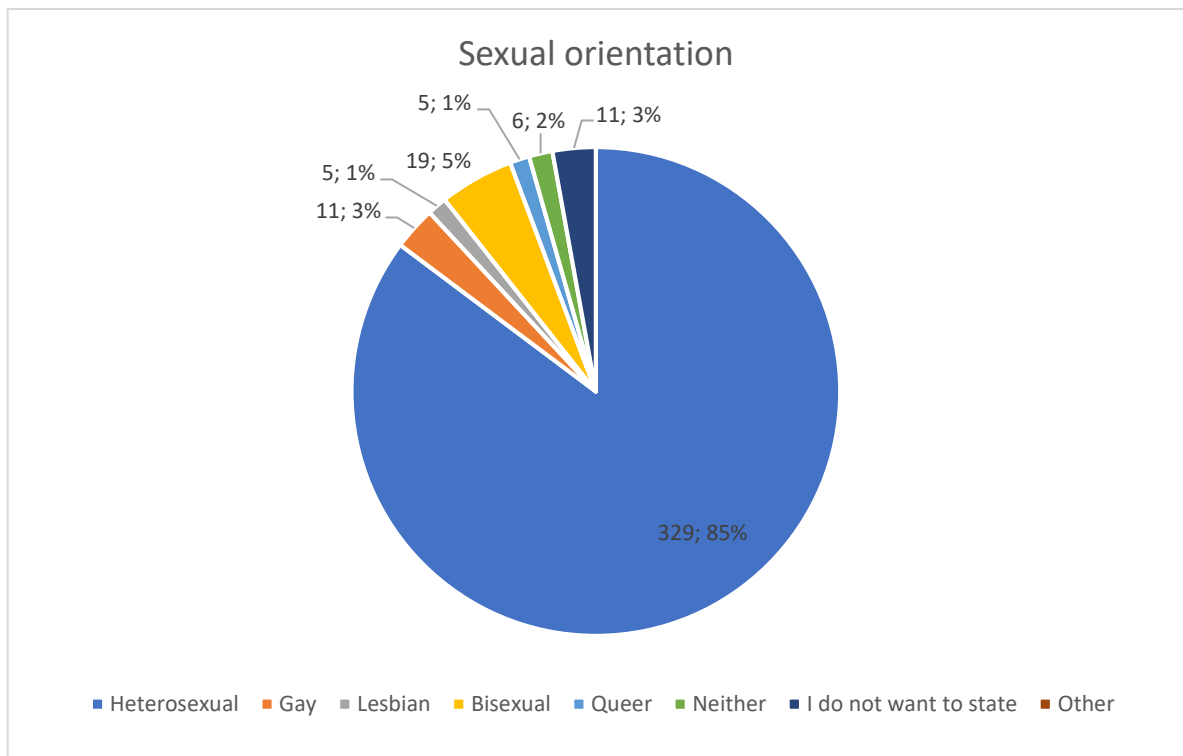
A questionnaire was used as the main research for this thesis. Its focus was on the values of the Slovak people regarding gender roles and LGBTQI+ rights. The data was collected from 389 respondents. From all of the respondents, there were 234 (60.2%) of self-identified women, 149 (38.3%) self-identified men and 4 (1%) of respondents who did not want to reveal their gender. In regard to age, the highest number of respondents was from the range of 18 to 24 years (37.8%), and the lowest was from the category of 64 years of age and above (0.8%). The whole age distribution can be seen in Graph 3.1. As the questionnaire asks also about the LGBTQI+ rights, we asked about their sexual orientation as well. There were 329 (84.6%) of heterosexuals, 11 (28%) of gay men, 5 (1.3%) of lesbians, and 19 (4.9%) of bisexual people. The further data, you can find in Graph 3.2. However, it is important to mention that this data is not a representative sample, as the method of data collection was snow-balling, therefore the sample does not mirror the population of Slovakia. Nevertheless, it is still a sufficient sample to find out whether there are correlations between the answers, patterns in the ways people think and what attitudes they hold on these subjects.

Firstly, we are going to look at the questions individually, to see what is the prevalence in values among the respondents. Then, we used structural equation modelling (SEM), which is a common use in social sciences (Cuttance & Ecob, 2009). By using latent factors, this method can eliminate errors in statistics and show the correlations we are looking for. As the data distribution is not normal, we used the WLSMV method, which means weighted least squares mean and variance adjusted. It uses models in order to find out the compliance with the data (Kline, 2005). Only models which have sufficient compliance can be statistically interpreted. For discovering compliance, we used the CFI index (comparative fit index) which needs to be between 0.90 to 0.95 to be considered sufficient. To compare the correlations, we are using the RMSEA index (root mean squared error of approximation) and SRMS index (squared root mean of residuals). Both need to be between 0.08 to 0.05 to be considered as sufficient correlations.

Graph 3.1 Age distribution of the respondents



Graph 3.2 Sexual orientation of respondents



3.1 Primary Observations

The first class of questions, which have a mutual correlation, was focused on perceptions of masculinity in relation of gender roles. This factor included questions, where respondents were supposed to determine whether they agree or disagree with the following statements:

1. Women ought to stay at home and take care of their family.
2. Men ought to work in order to provide for their family.
3. Both partners, regardless of their gender, should be able to choose their position within family.
4. Women and men can have the same positions.
5. Men may take a parental leave as well as women's maternal leave.
6. Men are better in higher working positions.

The summary of respondents' answers is in the Table 3.1. It shows how many respondents reacted to the statements in which way. As we are trying to discover how masculine the values are, we analyse whether the respondents answered in ways which confirm the traditional gender roles prevailing in Slovakia. From the table, we can see that there is a much higher emphasis on the traditional role of men providing for family, as 218 respondents agree with the statement. While only 40 respondents think that women ought to stay at home and take care of their family. People generally agreed with statements which suggest gender equality in positions. However, when it comes to the statement whether men are better in higher working positions, 44 respondents agreed and 75 did not know. There were 20 men (13%) and 22 women (9%) agreeing, 33 men (22%) and 42 (18%) women did not know. This suggests that gender prejudices³ are not gender conditioned.

Table 3.1 Summary of respondents' answers regarding masculinity of gender roles

| Statement: | Agree | Do not know | Disagree |
|--|-------|-------------|----------|
| 1. Women ought to stay at home and take care of their family. | 40 | 30 | 319 |
| 2. Men ought to work in order to provide for their family. | 218 | 28 | 143 |
| 3. Both partners, regardless of their gender, should be able to choose | 364 | 9 | 16 |

³ General negative attitudes without a prior knowledge about an individual based on gender.

| | | | |
|---|-----|----|-----|
| their position within family. | | | |
| 4. Women and men can have the same positions. | 353 | 9 | 27 |
| 5. Men may take a parental leave as well as women maternal leave. | 346 | 23 | 20 |
| 6. Men are better in higher working positions. | 44 | 75 | 270 |

The second class of questions created another factor, masculinity of emotions.

This part included again an evaluation of following statements:

1. Only men should be aggressive, competitive, and dominant.
2. Women ought to be empathetic, protective, and calm.
3. Men should not cry.

The summary of the answers in the Table 3.2 suggests that the respondents do not show high level of masculinity when it comes to emotions and less “traditional” views on emotions among genders are prevalent. However, while only 9 people (2%) think that men should be aggressive, competitive and dominant, 35 people (9%) do not know. When we count respondents, who answered “agree” and “do not know” regarding the statement that women ought to be empathic, protective and calm, it is only 6% of the respondents. And lastly, doing the same with the statement whether men should not cry, we find 8% of the respondents who agree with this statement. We can conclude that there are still more traditional perceptions of men when it comes to emotions and attributes than those of women.

The last question regarding gender roles was asking the respondents whether they feel limited choosing their future (or present) employment on the basis of their gender. There were 25 people who feel limited (6.4%), out of which 18 were women; 38 people who do not know (9.8%) out of which 34 were women; and 326 people who do not feel limited (83.8%) out of which 182 were women. Generally, we can conclude, that even though people from this sample do not feel that their gender is a factor based on which they should be limited in choosing their employment, there is still more women who do feel limited or do not know whether they are limited.

Table 3.2 Summary of respondents' answers regarding masculinity of emotions

| Statements: | Agree | Do not know | Disagree |
|--|-------|-------------|----------|
| 1. Only men should be aggressive, competitive, and dominant. | 9 | 35 | 345 |

| | | | |
|--|----|----|-----|
| 2. Women ought to be empathetic, protective, and calm. | 12 | 14 | 363 |
| 3. Men should not cry. | 18 | 14 | 357 |

The third class of questions focused on LGBTQI+ rights, creating a factor based on individual rights. This factor included more statements with which the respondents were supposed to express their agreement or disagreement:

1. LGBTQI+ people have the same rights as everyone else.
2. I would feel that my rights would be threatened if LGBTQI+ rights were to be accepted.
3. Homosexuality is an illness, which can be cured.
4. Every person, regardless of their sexual orientation, has a right to choose their own partner.

The summary of all answers can be seen in the Table 3.3. Even though we can see that the majority of the respondents agree that LGBTQI+ rights are the same as other people, there are still 77 respondents who disagree and 54 who do not know, which makes up for almost 34% of all respondents. Only 7% of the respondents think their rights would be threatened should LGBTQI+ rights be fully implemented. Interestingly, one respondent wrote that they answered “do not know” because of the TQI+ part in LGBTQI+ rights. If it was only concerning the LGB people, they would not feel threatened. That suggests that while prejudices about the LGB people are less visible, prejudices about the TQI+ people still remain. Only 18 people (5%) think that homosexuality is an illness, and 32 people (8%) do not know. The highest level of agreement among the respondents is in regard to the statement that every person has a right to choose their own partner. Only 12 people (3%) disagree, and 22 people (6%) do not know.

Table 3.3 Summary of respondents' answers regarding LGBTQI+ individual rights

| Statement: | Agree | Do not know | Disagree |
|---|-------|-------------|----------|
| 1. LGBTQI+ people have the same rights as the rest of people. | 258 | 54 | 77 |
| 2. I would feel that my rights would be threatened when LGBTQI+ rights were to be accepted. | 27 | 40 | 322 |
| 3. Homosexuality is an illness, which can be cured. | 18 | 32 | 339 |
| 4. Every person, regardless of their sexual orientation, has a right to choose their own partner. | 355 | 22 | 12 |

The last factor was created out of the fourth class of questions focused on LGBTQI+ family rights. This included statements:

1. Marriage is a relationship between a man and a woman.
2. Every person, regardless of their sexual orientation, has a right to get married.
3. Every person, regardless of their sexual orientation, has a right to raise children.

The summary of the answers is in the Table 3.4. As we can see, when it comes to the rights related to family, people tend to be more “traditional”. There are 146 respondents (37.5%) who think that marriage is a relationship between a man and a woman and 64 people (16%) who do not know if marriage is a commitment for any two people. However, when it comes to having a right to get married, regardless of one’s sexuality, only 33% do not agreed. This can be explained that while again individual rights are accepted, the actual image of a marriage is influenced by the “traditional” rhetoric used in Slovakia. A bit more of respondents do not agree with the right to raise children (40%), which again can be explained that the issue of raising children has been negatively perpetuated against the LGBTQI+ people in Slovakia.

We can conclude that while, there are meaningful positive attitudes towards individual rights of the LGBTQI+ people, when it comes to family rights, including marriage and raising children, there are significant negative attitudes.

Table 3.4 Summary of respondents’ answers regarding LGBTQI+ family rights

| Statement: | Agree | Do not know | Disagree |
|---|-------|-------------|----------|
| 1. Marriage is a relationship between a man and a woman. | 146 | 64 | 179 |
| 2. Every person, regardless of their sexual orientation, has a right to get married. | 260 | 54 | 75 |
| 3. Every person, regardless of their sexual orientation, has a right to raise children. | 234 | 65 | 90 |

The last set of questions does not have sufficient correlation to create one factor. These questions focused on discrimination against the LGBTQI+ people. There are 73.8% who think that LGBTQI+ people are discriminated against in Slovak society. However, only 66.3% think that it is important to point out to concrete cases of discrimination against such people. And even less, only 55.8% of the respondents

think that the situation of LGBTQI+ people has improved over the last couple of years.

3.2 Models for discovering correlations

The first model is focused on discovering whether there is an influence of responses showing masculinity of tolerance on responses displaying sensitivity towards discrimination. We are using the four factors⁴—masculinity of gender roles, masculinity of emotions, LGBTQI+ individual rights, LGBTQI+ family rights. Moreover, we are using the four questions⁵ about discrimination separately, as they do not form a unified factor. The hypothesis in this model is that the more the respondents showcase masculine perceptions, the less tolerant and sensitive towards discrimination they are. This model has sufficient compliance with the data (CFI=0.97, RMSEA=0.057, SRMR=0.054).

The data suggests⁶ that masculinity of gender roles has the greatest influence. The more respondents showed the masculine tendencies towards social positions of men and women, the less (statistically significantly) they were tolerant towards LGBTQI+ individual rights ($\beta = -1.03$, $p < 0.001$) and towards their family rights ($\beta = -0.52$, $p < 0.001$). At the same time, these people show significantly that they do not perceive discrimination based on gender ($\beta = -0.18$, $p = 0.002$) or discrimination against the LGBTQI+ people in Slovakia ($\beta = -0.34$, $p < 0.001$), that they do not deem it important to point out particular cases of discrimination against LGBTQI+ ($\beta = -0.48$, $p < 0.001$), and that they believe the situation of the LGBTQI+ people has improved in Slovakia over the last couple of years ($\beta = -0.27$, $p = 0.010$). Therefore, we can conclude that people with a more masculine views on gender roles are statistically significantly less tolerant towards the LGBTQI+ individual and family rights and furthermore, they are less sensitive towards discrimination.

⁴ All four factors and their corresponding questions are introduced in part 3.1: Primary Observations

⁵ Do you feel limited in choosing your future (or present) employment?

Do you think that non-heterosexual people are discriminated against in Slovakia?

Do you think it is important to point out to concrete cases of discrimination of LGBTQI+ people in Slovakia?

Do you think that the position of LGBTQI+ people has increased in Slovakia over the last couple of years?

⁶ The whole dataset you can see in Appendix 1

On the other hand, no such correlation was proven between the people who tend to be more masculine in regard of emotions.

When it comes to demographics, such as gender, age, education, the size of the commune, there is no statistical relation between them and people's tolerance towards LGBTQI+ individual and family lives. However, older people show statistically higher feeling that there is not discrimination of LGBTQI+ people in Slovakia ($\beta = -0.10$, $p = 0.02$). Therefore, younger people tend to be more sensitive when it comes to discrimination of LGBTQI+ people.

The second model focuses on the relationship between masculinity and prejudices towards LGBTQI+ people. For examining masculinity, we are using the two factors related to it⁷, and for examining the prejudices, we used the question for measuring social distance where the respondents were supposed to point of the scale from 1 to 10 how comfortable (1 being the least comfortable and 10 the most comfortable) they would feel if LGBTQI+ person would be their neighbour, colleague, supervisor, mayor, prime minister, head of parliament, president. The hypothesis is the more masculine the respondents are, the higher prejudices towards LGBTQI+ people they have. This model has sufficient compliance with data (CFI=0.89, RMSEA=0.059, SRMR=0.060).

The dataset⁸ shows that regarding the LGBTQI+ prejudices only masculinity of gender roles is statistically significant factor. The more masculine the respondents are in this regard, the more prejudices they have ($\beta = -0.93$, $p < 0.01$). Again, there is no correlation between prejudices and masculinity of emotions. Furthermore, when it comes to demographics, the only significant influence is with education. Respondents with higher education have less prejudices than those with lower education ($\beta = 0.27$, $p = 0.017$).

The third model examines the influence of a source of information about LGBTQI+ people on masculinity. Once again, for measuring masculinity we are using the two factors related to it⁹, and for the sources of information, we asked the respondents a question: "Who has the greatest influential on your views of the

⁷ Described in part 3.1: Primary Observations

⁸ The whole dataset in Appendix 2

⁹ Described in part 3.1: Primary Observations

LGBTQI+ people? Parents, school, friends, work, media, politicians, social media, or your personal experience?”. The options were presented in drop-down menu. The answers for this question showed correlations. However, they did not form one factor, but rather three: 1. Social background (parents, school, work), 2. External sources (media, politicians, social media), 3. Personal experience (friends, personal experience). The hypothesis is that masculinity will be showcased by the respondents who place higher emphasis on social background as a source of information. This model shows sufficient compliance with the data (CFI= 0.94, RMSEA= 0.065, SRMR= 0.072).

The dataset¹⁰ shows that people who declare that the most influential source in viewing LGBTQI+ people was the social background (1.), have higher masculine tendencies regarding gender roles ($\beta = 0.74$, $p = 0.002$) and emotions as well ($\beta = 0.97$, $p = 0.001$). The exact opposite is true for the people whose primary source of information is their own personal experience (3.). People who are influenced by their friends or their own personal experience show lower masculinity towards gender roles ($\beta = -0.79$, $p < 0.001$) and towards emotions as well ($\beta = -0.82$, $p < 0.001$). The last factor—external sources (2.)—does not show any significant correlation with masculinity.

When it comes to demographics, men show statistically higher masculinity when it comes to emotions than women ($\beta = 0.28$, $p = 0.014$). However, they do not show statistically higher masculinity of gender roles. There is also a difference between generations, as older respondents show higher masculine tendencies towards both: masculinity of gender roles ($\beta = 0.09$, $p < 0.031$) and masculinity of emotions ($\beta = 0.22$, $p < 0.001$). Respondents with higher education show statistically significantly lower masculine tendencies towards gender roles ($\beta = -0.10$, $p = 0.037$).

The last model looks at the influence of a source of information about LGBTQI+ people on tolerance towards LGBTQI+ people. For examining the source of information, we are using the same question about social distance as from the third model, in which we had three factors: social background, external sources, and personal experience. For measuring tolerance towards LGBTQI+ people, we have two

¹⁰ The whole dataset in Appendix 3

factors: individual and family rights¹¹. The hypothesis is that people with personal experience will show more tolerance towards LGBTQI+ people. This model has sufficient compliance with the data (CFI=0.96, RMSEA=0.067, SRMR=0.071).

The analysis of the data¹² shows that the factor of “social background” is statistically significant. The more respondents declare their source of information about LGBTQI+ people being family, school, or work, the less tolerant towards individual rights they are ($\beta = -1.08$, $p < 0.001$) as well as towards family rights ($\beta = -0.69$, $p < 0.001$). Another statistically important factor was the “personal experience” factor. The more people show that their source of information is their own personal experience, or their friends, the more tolerant they are towards individual rights ($\beta = 0.98$, $p < 0.001$) as well as family rights ($\beta = 0.66$, $p < 0.001$). Neither the last factor “external sources”, which represents media, politicians and social media, nor demographics have a significant influence on tolerance towards LGBTQI+ rights.

¹¹ Described in part 3.1: Primary Observations

¹² The whole dataset in Appendix 4

Conclusion

To improve democracy, it is important to improve individual rights and freedoms of citizens. For that, it is necessary to switch people's values towards more tolerance and acceptance. We can see whether such values are changing through perceptions of people towards the most vulnerable groups, such as women and the LGBTQI+ community.

As shown in this thesis, the perception of women has improved over the centuries. While a hundred years ago, women were only granted the right to vote in this territory, today's legislature equalizes them in the labour market and other spheres as well. However, the perceptions of their gender roles are still very much traditional. People see them primarily through the position of a "wife" and "mother". They are expected to take care of their family, to be more vulnerable and emotional. While there is much more emphasis on men being strong, hide emotions, and be the providers for their families.

Traditional views of gender roles lead to less tolerance towards LGBTQI+ rights. This was proven through our analysis of the questionnaire, when we could see there are correlations between how people perceive gender roles and the LGBTQI+ community. There is less tolerance towards their individual rights as well as family rights. This pretty much mirrors the situation in Slovakia, where there is a lack of willingness to change the status of this community. Even though, discrimination based on gender or other characteristics, including sexual orientation, is forbidden, there is still a significant number of people from this community being discriminated against, not only in a work place, but in their family life as well. People see same-sex partnerships as a threat to the 'traditional' family and this discourse has become an official one from politicians, especially in the time around election time.

Slovakia is a masculine democracy. When we analyse masculinity through gender roles and perceptions of LGBTQI+ rights, it can be concluded that Slovak population is masculine in its perceptions. That means that its society has not moved towards the post-industrial values of tolerance and acceptance, however, there are generational changes, as younger generation starts to display this shift. Individual rights, especially of LGBTQI+ people but also of women, are often violated and freedoms are not ensured. Democracy cannot evolve in such an environment. Even though education is a tool which potentially could improve this situation, it is not

automatic. Textbooks in Slovakia are stereotypical towards gender roles, and not telling at all about different sexualities. That means that it does not help towards improving people's perceptions of women's and LGBTQI+ people's positions. On the contrary, it perpetuates stereotypes about gender roles, which can lead to homophobia. Nevertheless, the research also showed that people with higher education do showcase more tolerant views towards the LGBTQI+ people, therefore any education is in this case better than none. However, there is also a difference between the perceptions of the LGB and the TQI+ people, therefore further research in this regard would be needed.

Failing to implement and protect freedoms and rights for these two groups of people may result in a reverse effect in values and regress of democracy. By not protecting all of human rights, groups of people may end up not living life in dignity, which results in not using their whole potential. Also, it contributes to a culture where human rights and tolerance are secondary. Not improving the quality of democracy is followed by a low trust of citizens, further polarization of the society, higher social distance, and lower social cohesion. That can all reflect in worse quality of life for citizens. Therefore, the whole democracy and society suffer. When it comes to LGBTQI+ rights, Slovakia shows one of the lowest acceptance rates among the EU member states. This suggests that there needs to be a change in political culture in order to improve the situation. The literature suggests that both education, as a tool of improving values, and generational change can contribute to a shift towards a more tolerant society. People also need a positive experience with the institutions in order for their trust towards them to increase. Data shows that there is a slowly growing generational difference in values, as well as between the capital and the rest of Slovakia. However, further research would be needed.

This thesis also proves that protecting the rights of the most vulnerable groups of people is one of the crucial components of a healthy democracy. All democracies need to focus on improving the rights of such groups in order to function properly. When they fail to uphold the rights of the most vulnerable, including advanced democracies in the current age, they tend to regress.

Resumé

Táto bakalárska práca sa zaoberá otázkou, do akej miery je slovenská spoločnosť maskulínna. Zameriava sa na postoje ľudí k právam dvoch menšín—žien a LGBTQI+. Tieto dve menšiny sú vybraté práve preto, že koncept maskulinity sa dá merať ako vzťah dominantnosti mužov nad ženami a mierou homofóbie, ktorá je súčasťou definície maskulinity. Hodnoty nastavené k týmto menšinám sa následne odrážajú na uplatňovaní ich ľudských práv, čo má priamy dosah na kvalitu demokracie. Ak sú práva určitých ľudí nedostatočne dodržiavané a napĺňané, kvalita demokracie klesá a spolu s ňou klesá aj dôvera ľudí v spoločnosť. To má dosah na potenciál spoločnosti ako takej. Táto práca pracuje s hypotézou, že Slovensko je maskulínna spoločnosť, nakoľko u jej obyvateľstva prevládajú tradičné pohľady na postavenie žien v spoločnosti, a vykazuje známky homofóbie. To značí, že kvalita demokracie na Slovensku má značný priestor na zlepšenie.

Prvá kapitola, ktorá je teoretická vysvetľuje štyri koncepty: demokraciu, maskulinitu, rod a ľudské práva. Demokracia má osem dimenzií, podľa ktorých sa dá ohodnotiť jej kvalita. Medzi tieto dimenzie patria aj sloboda a rovnosť. Ak niektoré, z týchto dimenzií nie sú napĺňané, ostatné tým trpia rovnako, nakoľko všetky sú medzi sebou prepojené. Avšak, je potrebné pozerať sa aj na hodnoty ľudí, na základe ktorých sú jednotlivé politiky taktiež vytvárané. Na to, aby sa tieto hodnoty zlepšovali a posúvali k väčšej miere tolerantnosti a otvorenosti, je okrem iného potrebné, aby štát zabezpečil zlepšovanie sociálno–ekonomických ukazovateľov.

Maskulinita je pomerne mladý pojem, ktorý sa stále rozvíja a má viacero definícií. Neexistuje jedna univerzálna definícia maskulinity, keďže je to forma naučeného správania a nie niečo biologické. Maskulinity sa líšia na základe krajiny a kultúry, v ktorej sa vytvárajú. Zároveň, keďže tento koncept odzrkadľuje to, ako by mal vyzeráť „ideálny“ muž, nie všetci muži do nej zapadajú rovnako. Preto maskulinity predstavujú istú škálu, kde muži, ktorí sa blížia k jej hornému pólu sú spoločnosťou považovaní za mužnejších ako tí, ktorí sú od horného pólu ďalej. Medzi základné faktory pre definíciu maskulinity patrí dominancia muža nad ženou a homofóbne orientácie.

Rod je sociálne vykonštruovaný koncept, ktorý sa definuje ako systém sociálnych interakcií. Je vytváraný počas procesu socializácie. Tento koncept je spojený s mocou, ktorá môže byť preukazovaná na ľudských telách—tie sa dajú

ľahko ovládať prostredníctvom určitých konkrétnych pravidiel. Preto je tento koncept neoddeliteľný od ľudskeho tela. Nakoľko je tu už po storočia, a neexistuje jedna konkrétna oficiálna inštitúcia, ktorá by sa ho snažila nanútiť, ľudia ho začali prijímať ako niečo biologické a prirodzené. Keďže mužské telá sú všeobecne silnejšie a inak stavané ako tie ženské, sociálne mužský rod nadobudol takisto silnejšiu pozíciu ako ženský.

Ľudské práva boli vytvorené na ochranu jednotlivcov. Ich súčasná definícia je ukotvená napríklad vo Všeobecnej deklarácii ľudských práv. Ľudské práva v dnešnom ponímaní vychádzajú z konceptu dôstojnosti, na základe ktorej sú si všetci ľudia rovní, už len z faktu, že sa narodili ľuďmi. Hocijaké rozdiely medzi nimi spôsobené biologickými, či sociálnymi rozdielmi nie sú podstatné. Medzinárodné spoločenstvo a jednotlivé štáty sa zaviazali dodržiavať a uplatňovať ľudské práva, aby všetci ľudia mohli viesť dôstojný život. Avšak, aj napriek tomu, porušovania ľudských práv nie sú ničím nezvyčajným. Život bez dôstojnosti môže mať psychické, ale aj fyzické dôsledky na kvalitu života jednotlivcov.

V neposlednom rade prvá kapitola predstavuje model hodnotenia demokracie na Slovensku. Vysvetľuje, že táto práca skúma hodnotové nastavenie spoločnosti voči ženám a LGBTQI+ ľuďom. Na základe tohto hodnotového nastavenia je možné zhodnotiť, či je slovenská spoločnosť maskulínna.

Druhá kapitola dáva čitateľovi možnosť spoznať pozadie slovenskej spoločnosti. V prvom rade sa pozerá na historický vývoj postavenia žien v spoločnosti, kde prichádzame k tomu, že pozícia žien bola vždy úzko prepojená na jej úlohu manželky a matky. Napriek tomu, že jej pozícia vzhľadom na politické a ekonomické práva stúpala až do bodu, že oficiálne je väčšina opatrení v prospech rodovej rovnosti, hlavne v zamestnaní, hodnotovo táto spoločnosť stále vníma ženu hlavne cez jej úlohu matky a manželky. V druhom rade sa pozeráme na postavenie LGBTQI+ komunity. Tu prichádzame k tomu, že ich postavenie sa nezlepšilo ani v hodnotovom nastavení ľudí, ani legislatívne. Keďže slovenská ústava má v sebe definované manželstvo ako zväzok muža a ženy, Slovensko je jednou z mála krajín Európskej únie, ktoré nemajú povolené registrované partnerstvá. Okrem toho je tu mnoho ďalších situácií, v ktorých sú diskriminovaní, vrátane psychického a fyzického napádania týchto osôb. V neposlednom rade sa v tejto kapitole dozvedáme aj to, ako slovenské učebnice na základných a stredných školách neprispievajú k hodnotovému posunu spoločnosti k rodovej rovnosti a tolerantnosti. Učebnice, ktoré majú potenciál

vychovávať mladých ľudí k týmto pozitívnym hodnotám, v skutočnosti opakujú rodové stereotypy, ktoré sú ukotvené v spoločnosti. Taktiež sa nezmieňujú o iných ako tých tradičných identitách, vrátane iných sexualít.

Tretia kapitola predstavuje originálny výskum, zrealizovaný dotazníkom, poskytnutý respondentom online. Respondenti odpovedali na otázky súvisiace s postavením žien a mužov, LGBTQI+ právami, a diskriminácii. Otázky boli rozdelené podľa toho, ako ich odpovede korešpondovali navzájom, a tým pádom vytvorili určité faktory: maskulinitu rodových rolí, maskulinitu emócií, toleranciu k individuálnym LGBTQI+ právam, toleranciu k rodinným LGBTQI+ právam. Výsledky ukázali, že zatiaľ čo pohľady vybraných respondentov vykazujú pozitívnejšie pohľady na postavenie žien, ich vnímanie typických mužských charakteristík v rámci rodových rolí, ale taktiež emócií sú stále maskulínne, čiže tradičné. Títo respondenti pozitívnejšie vnímajú individuálne práva LGBTQI+ ľudí, no ich nastavenie voči ich rodinným právam vykazuje negatívnejšie orientácie. Avšak je dôležité spomenúť, že táto vzorka nie je reprezentatívna k celkovej spoločnosti Slovenska. V neposlednom rade sme sa pozreli na korelačné vzťahy medzi vyššie spomenutými štyrmi faktormi. Výsledky ukazujú, že čím viac ľudia vykazujú maskulínne hodnotové orientácie voči rodovým rolám a emóciám, o to menej sú tolerantní voči LGBTQI+ právam a rovnako menej vnímaví voči diskriminácii.

V závere tejto práce sa konštatuje, že hypotéza sa potvrdila a Slovensko je maskulínna spoločnosť. Vykazuje stále tradičné vnímanie postavenia mužov a žien, nedostatočne pripravené školstvo, aby sa to zmenilo, a hlavne netoleranciu k LGBTQI+ ľuďom. Títo ľudia, ale aj ženy, sú častokrát diskriminované v spoločnosti ako aj oficiálnou legislatívou. Preto kvalita demokracie na Slovensku stagnuje, nakoľko ľudské práva určitej časti ľudí nie sú napĺňané a ochraňované. Títo ľudia nemajú možnosť využitia svojho potenciálu, a preto trpí spoločnosť ako taká.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Dataset for Model 1

Regressions:

| | Estimate | Std.Err | z-value | P(> z) |
|------------------|----------|---------|---------|---------|
| discOSOBpohl ~ | | | | |
| MASC1 | -0.186 | 0.061 | -3.075 | 0.002 |
| MASC2 | 0.064 | 0.058 | 1.113 | 0.266 |
| sex | -0.180 | 0.073 | -2.473 | 0.013 |
| age | -0.018 | 0.040 | -0.437 | 0.662 |
| edu | -0.012 | 0.038 | -0.305 | 0.761 |
| site | -0.004 | 0.033 | -0.129 | 0.897 |
| discSLOVhomo ~ | | | | |
| MASC1 | -0.340 | 0.094 | -3.600 | 0.000 |
| MASC2 | -0.043 | 0.071 | -0.608 | 0.543 |
| sex | 0.056 | 0.077 | 0.718 | 0.473 |
| age | -0.102 | 0.033 | -3.058 | 0.002 |
| edu | 0.052 | 0.036 | 1.425 | 0.154 |
| site | -0.021 | 0.048 | -0.430 | 0.667 |
| discSLOVpotreb ~ | | | | |
| MASC1 | -0.482 | 0.103 | -4.678 | 0.000 |
| MASC2 | 0.003 | 0.072 | 0.040 | 0.968 |
| sex | -0.055 | 0.077 | -0.712 | 0.476 |
| age | -0.029 | 0.034 | -0.855 | 0.393 |
| edu | 0.060 | 0.040 | 1.520 | 0.129 |
| site | 0.042 | 0.047 | 0.896 | 0.370 |
| discSLOVzlep ~ | | | | |
| MASC1 | -0.270 | 0.105 | -2.561 | 0.010 |
| MASC2 | 0.177 | 0.090 | 1.964 | 0.049 |
| sex | 0.106 | 0.085 | 1.253 | 0.210 |
| age | -0.021 | 0.047 | -0.439 | 0.660 |
| edu | 0.023 | 0.043 | 0.543 | 0.587 |
| site | 0.004 | 0.050 | 0.087 | 0.930 |
| TOL1 ~ | | | | |
| MASC1 | -1.031 | 0.102 | -10.139 | 0.000 |
| MASC2 | 0.124 | 0.084 | 1.477 | 0.140 |
| sex | -0.072 | 0.107 | -0.678 | 0.498 |
| age | 0.008 | 0.050 | 0.169 | 0.866 |
| edu | 0.007 | 0.054 | 0.126 | 0.900 |
| site | 0.015 | 0.063 | 0.234 | 0.815 |
| TOL2 ~ | | | | |
| MASC1 | -0.520 | 0.084 | -6.215 | 0.000 |
| MASC2 | 0.059 | 0.047 | 1.240 | 0.215 |
| sex | -0.075 | 0.062 | -1.211 | 0.226 |
| age | -0.035 | 0.029 | -1.213 | 0.225 |
| edu | 0.045 | 0.033 | 1.370 | 0.171 |
| site | 0.034 | 0.037 | 0.942 | 0.346 |

Appendix 2: Dataset for Model 2

Regressions:

| | Estimate | Std.Err | z-value | P(> z) |
|-----------|----------|---------|---------|---------|
| PREDSUD ~ | | | | |
| MASC1 | -0.932 | 0.223 | -4.173 | 0.000 |
| MASC2 | -0.326 | 0.185 | -1.762 | 0.078 |
| sex | -0.073 | 0.207 | -0.354 | 0.723 |
| age | 0.057 | 0.088 | 0.642 | 0.521 |
| edu | 0.266 | 0.111 | 2.389 | 0.017 |
| site | 0.042 | 0.122 | 0.344 | 0.731 |

Appendix 3: Dataset for Model 3

Regressions:

| | Estimate | Std.Err | z-value | P(> z) |
|---------|----------|---------|---------|---------|
| MASC1 ~ | | | | |
| PUBLIC | 0.123 | 0.090 | 1.365 | 0.172 |
| OSOB | -0.787 | 0.174 | -4.513 | 0.000 |
| SOC | 0.738 | 0.236 | 3.129 | 0.002 |
| sex | 0.088 | 0.093 | 0.945 | 0.345 |
| age | 0.091 | 0.042 | 2.161 | 0.031 |
| edu | -0.097 | 0.047 | -2.091 | 0.037 |
| site | -0.078 | 0.056 | -1.397 | 0.162 |
| MASC2 ~ | | | | |
| PUBLIC | -0.067 | 0.106 | -0.635 | 0.525 |
| OSOB | -0.819 | 0.197 | -4.166 | 0.000 |
| SOC | 0.974 | 0.306 | 3.177 | 0.001 |
| sex | 0.276 | 0.112 | 2.462 | 0.014 |
| age | 0.223 | 0.059 | 3.797 | 0.000 |
| edu | -0.117 | 0.060 | -1.957 | 0.050 |
| site | -0.021 | 0.067 | -0.307 | 0.759 |

Appendix 4: Dataset for Model 4

Regressions:

| | Estimate | Std.Err | z-value | P(> z) |
|--------|----------|---------|---------|---------|
| TOL1 ~ | | | | |
| PUBLIC | -0.070 | 0.104 | -0.673 | 0.501 |
| OSOB | 0.980 | 0.198 | 4.950 | 0.000 |
| SOC | -1.077 | 0.289 | -3.728 | 0.000 |
| sex | -0.072 | 0.104 | -0.690 | 0.490 |
| age | 0.009 | 0.049 | 0.178 | 0.858 |
| edu | 0.006 | 0.053 | 0.115 | 0.909 |
| site | 0.014 | 0.062 | 0.231 | 0.817 |
| TOL2 ~ | | | | |
| PUBLIC | -0.085 | 0.064 | -1.321 | 0.187 |
| OSOB | 0.658 | 0.142 | 4.644 | 0.000 |
| SOC | -0.694 | 0.189 | -3.666 | 0.000 |
| sex | -0.078 | 0.064 | -1.229 | 0.219 |
| age | -0.036 | 0.030 | -1.206 | 0.228 |
| edu | 0.045 | 0.034 | 1.341 | 0.180 |
| site | 0.035 | 0.038 | 0.941 | 0.347 |