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Dear readers,

In your hands, you are holding the last issue of *Social Pathology and Prevention*. It is based on three expert studies, two reports on literature and an example of good practice.

The current issue lead article is by Dagmar Markové *Are moral dilemmas related to the axiological constructions of partner love?* and presents selected results of research that dealt with the area of intimate relations and quality of life of adolescents and young adults. Outlines the problematics of moral dilemmas in the context of different axiological constructions in the field of intimacy and partnership, i. e. whether the moral dilemmas that men and women deal with in their relationships are related to their constructions of partner love.

The second article, a large-scale study by Renáta Sedláková, is devoted to outlining the issue of xenophobic perceptions of the Roma ethnicity as a function and/or consequence of communicatively constructed stereotyping through media representation in the main TV news programme of the public broadcasting service media. The text presents selected results /findings from a content analysis examining how Roma discourse is constructed in TV news discourse and how the created media representation is transformed over time.

The third is a study by Adéla Lemrová, Ivana Olecká, Ester Hladíková and Kateřina Ivanová *Anonymous births: a conflict of three rights – or which one wins?* It thematizes the complex and inherently contradictory issue of anonymous births and its main dimensions. Apart from the legislative situation in the Czech Republic, it describes alternative legal frameworks in several other countries. The embedded case study report attempts to present an argumentative framework for considering the introduction of anonymous births into Czech legislation.

Contributions by Kamil Janiš are brief reviews of two publications related to the field of human sexuality. The first, *Sex work in the Czech Republic: development, trends and challenges*, is devoted to the issue of prostitution in the Czech Republic, both from a theoretical and empirical perspective. The first part of the presented publication deals with the phenomenon of prostitution per se, from its historical outline to legislative and regulatory aspects. The second part of the publication presents the results of a survey of university students' attitudes towards prostitution and the findings of a qualitative study with four women engaged in some form of sex work.

The second review presents the publication *Sex, violence, and society. Consensual sadomasochism as part of culture* deals with the changes and current forms of consensual violence, especially sexual, as a cultural phenomenon from the perspectives of sociology, ethnography, and law.

Marta Kolaříková's text is dedicated to a structured description of an example of good practice and describes some of the possibilities of Assistance to individuals with mental disabilities and behavioral disorders during fidgetiness. The text is based on a review of the findings given in Jiřina Nováková's Bachelor thesis, including the methodology for helping nonprofessionals who can find themselves in very difficult situations when caring for a family member with a mental disability and behavioral disorder.

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MEDIA CONSTRUCTION OF DEVIANCE – OTHERING OF ROMA MINORITY IN TELEVISION NEWS DISCOURSE

Renáta Sedláková

Abstract

How was the Roma minority represented in the main evening news program *Události* of Czech Television, the public service media, between 2000 and 2015? This article focuses on the visual representation of Roma and the key signs used in television news reports. It presents findings from analysis based on quantitative content analysis and semiotic analysis. Visual representation of the Roma on television news is dominated by images of groups, children and young adults and shots of the environment and places where they live including clutter and ramshackled houses. On the contrary, representations of Roma as authorities are missing. Analysis revealed a long-term repeated thematization of Roma otherness. Although the voice-over is correct, the visual signs used in reports connote negative meanings and stereotypes. Through such visuals Roma are constructed as culturally different. Thus news accentuated and reproduced negative attitudes that a large part of the Czech majority maintains towards Roma.

Keywords

Roma/Gypsy, othering, news discourse, visual analysis, Czech Television

“Roma people have a different mentality than whites, they express themselves differently, and they also look different. They don’t behave like normal people. ... Gypsies should live like us, obey the laws, the rules of the game,” (Leudar, Nekvapil, 2000, p. 488). These are some of the statements from four television debates broadcast between 1990 and 1995, analyzed by Leudar and Nekvapil (2000). According to the authors, the dominant frame used by the Czech media to represent Roma people is the discourse of difference. The predicates reflected the mental stereotypes that Czechs have towards the Roma people. Most were negative towards what the Czechs considered desirable and what they think of themselves. According to the authors their purpose is not to express the truth about the Roma people, but to achieve their social rejection and exclusion (Leudar, Nekvapil, 2000, p. 507).

According to the results of public opinion polls, the Czech population has a long-term tendency to be closed and to a greater degree their concern towards strangers and others (Čížek, Šmídová, Vávra, 2017, p. 180). According to Prudký et al. (2009, p. 248), who has long been researching the value orientation, two-fifths of the Czech population can be described as xenophobic. Among those who have long been least liked are the Roma people. In 2020, almost three quarters (71%) of the surveyed respondents described Roma as (rather or very) unlikeable, while only twenty respondents (Tuček, 2020) said they were likeable. A comparison with the results of previous surveys shows that the relationship with the Roma people has not changed. In a survey by the Institute of Sociology in November 2015 (i.e. from the period after the peak of the so-called migration crisis), Roma people were identified as the most unattractive, immoral, dirty, violent, stupid, law breakers, lazy and indecent. The only exception was the positive assessment of their social cohesion.

At the same time, Czechs have inaccurate information about the Roma population (Čížek, Šmídová, Vávra, 2017, p. 149). Most Czechs only meet the Roma population occasionally and do not know anyone in person;¹ only a fifth of respondents have friends or acquaintances among them (TNS Opinion & Social network 2015). However, the research does not ask the source from which the respondents draw their information about the Roma population. According to a number of authors (e.g. Čížek, Šmídová, Vávra, 2017, p. 182; Poláková, Spálová, 2013; Weinerová, 2015; Kostlán, Ryšavý, 2014) the perception of the Roma population is influenced by the media, as they are a key source of information in the late modern society and in many cases it is also the only source. Stereotypical, biased, racist sensational media messages not only reinforce the Roma stereotypes and negative attitudes, but it also encourages discrimination (The Congress of Local and Regional Authorities 2016, p. 10).

This article is part of a project examining how the discourse on the Roma population was constructed in the main evening news program *Události* (Events) of Czech Television, the public service media and how the representation of the Roma population in this session changed between 2000 and 2015. The analysis was based on a media constructivist approach (Schulz, 2000; Luhman, 2000) and the semiotic tradition of news discourse (Hartley, 1982; Fiske, Hartley, 1996; Dahlgren, 1986). This article is part of the media and public discourse that is constructed in Czech society in connection with this minority. Due to the negative meanings and connotations that are associated with it, I do not use the wording 'Roma issues/problems' in this article. To describe the people, the analyzed news discourse speaks about, I use the term 'Roma' or the 'Roma minority', which refers to the ethnicity and to the disadvantaged social position they occupy in Czech society. It is also unclear how to define who the generalizing designation 'majority' refers to. It is not a specific group sharing a common identity and defined by clear boundaries. It refers to the ethnically dominant population of the Czech Republic.

¹ Those who have friends among the Roma people perceive them more positively (less they attribute negative qualities such as laziness, stupidity, selfishness or irresponsibility) and less negatively evaluate their coexistence (Šmídová, Vávra, Čížek, 2017, p. 162).

Theoretical framework of the study

Representation of Roma in news discourse

Published Czech and foreign researchers on media representation of Roma give similar findings (Erjavec, 2001; Homoláč, Karhanová, Nekvapil, 2003; Růžicka, Radostný, 2006; Sedláková, 2007; Schneeweis, 2009; Homoláč, 2009; Vašát, 2010; Madroane, 2012; Kluknavská, Zagibová, 2013; Křížková, 2013; Kroon, Kluknavská, Vliegenthart and Boomgaarden, 2016; Sedláková, 2022). In general, it can be said that the representation of Roma in the Czech, Slovak, Hungarian or British (news) media contributes to the spread of a one-sided and stereotypical image. Studies point to the unjustified reporting of the ethnicity. Křížková (2013) believes that although journalists are aware of the overuse of the ethnicity of the actors in the events, they work with it as a news value that increases the newsworthiness of the event. Journalists use the ethnicity to increase the attractiveness of the report. Many events would probably not have been printed if journalists could not have introduced the ethnicity of the actors which brings negative meaning to the report.²

The Roma themselves do not usually comment on the events in the media. News related to crime and problematic behavior has mainly been published, according to the findings. Information on other Roma activities, e. g. cultural events, are published less frequently, similar to cases of discrimination against members of a minority (Křížková, 2013). Due to the repeated association of Roma with crime or the difficulties they cause, the Roma representation emphasizes negative connotations. According to Tremlett, McGarry (2013, p. 8) discourses shared by the majority usually construct Roma as a source of the problems. They report on 'Roma problems' or on problems with Roma, not on the problems faced by the Roma. Thus, media representations reproduce the division of society into Us (the majority) and Them (the minority).

Representations of Others reproduced by mainstream media reflect the majority's idea of themselves (Andreasen, 2005, p. 6). An analysis of the news broadcast in the main evening news program *Události* (Sedláková, 2022) revealed that viewers learnt not only about the Roma - about Them, but also about Us. The analysis of the framing of the news reports, their stylistics and syntax shows that a significant part (55 %) of them were framed as activities of the majority. Although the reports referred to the Roma minority, they reported on what the non-Roma thought or did, or what they did for Them, or what they decided about Them. The Roma are only secondary in the news. They are represented as objects of non-Roma activities, such as those on which it is oriented, or those who are affected by the decision. They are the ones that the majority must take care of and spend its resources on. In the news structured according to the opposition Us – They, the Roma are in the position of the Others, with regard to whom members of the majority construct their identities (Sedláková, 2022).

² Cf. Richardson (2006); Kostlán, Red (2014).

Us and the Others

Duality of Us and Them can only be understood in opposition to each other. Them - the Others - are an imaginary entity, a social construct created by Us. Entity to which we define ourselves, and thus at the same time show what we think who we are (Baumann, 1996, 44n; Barth, 1969). We have limited knowledge of the Others usually. However, we are suspicious, prejudicial, and xenophobic towards them because they are not like Us (nor can they ever be). They are strangers and different to us. However, their otherness is emphasized in the social and media representations created by us and culturally shared. News is an example of ethnocentric discourse (Hartley, 1982). In the news discourse, individuals and groups are represented from the majority perspective so the recipients accept this ideology as their own. If the news discourse systematically constructs the Roma as inadaptatable, different Others marginal in our society, as those who do not want to adapt, their otherness and social exclusion is confirmed in this way. According to van Dijk (2000), the end of the 20th century is characterized by thinking and declaring it as anti-racist. However, it is denying the presence of racism in everyday practices and discourses and reproduce racism in the power structure of society. Subtle symbolic discriminatory practices maintained by socially shared representations – stereotypes, prejudices, and ideologies – are tacitly accepted by most members of the dominant majority, including its top representatives (van Dijk, 2000, p. 34). Van Dijk calls it new racism, Blažek (1995) wrote about soft racism in the Czech context. The opposition of Us and Them lays in its core. The Others are not defined by race, but by cultural otherness. They do not have to be members of ethnic groups only, but other minority social groups.

Every culture and social group sets its socio-cultural norms – rules (different customs, moral orders, and legislative measures) that regulate the behavior of its members in certain situations, and under the threat of sanctions require their observance. Things that are historically common are considered as normal and they become the norm in a given society (Vágnerová, 2004). If individuals do not meet these norms, they are considered abnormal or deviant. The line between normal and abnormal is variable, it changes over time and according to the current social context. Although no norm is ever followed exactly and in the same way by everybody, no society tolerates significant social deviations in the long term.³ Adherence to norms is subject to social control. And conduct deviating from the norm is not apriori considered deviant. The deviant is what is called as deviant by the society members. The deviance is not the quality of the act, but as the result of a sanction imposed on an individual by the society (Becker, 1963). However, behavior of certain members is judged less strictly than the same one conducted by the others. In the case of minorities, even a single breach of the norm or deviating from normalcy

³ Behavior that is not conform to the social norm that is accepted by the majority in a given historical period is referred to as social deviance (Janebová, 2013).

can lead to their labeling,⁴ stigmatization, strengthening of social prejudices against them, their subsequent discrimination and social exclusion.⁵

Conformity control is a power tool used to sanction deviant behavior, strengthen social order, and to reproduce the power of the powerful.⁶ It is a tool for labeling, stigmatizing and pathologizing those who do not comply with the norms and may be exposed to discrimination or to social exclusion because they are labeled as the Others. While in stigmatization, labeling usually takes place on the basis of visible differences (Goffman, 2003), otherness can only be ascribed. Particular social norms are social constructs, as well as what is signified as different, other, socially deviant or pathological. As described by Pickering (2001) the selected people are signified as the Others by those who can speak about them publicly in the process of defining otherness. This leads to their symbolic exclusion from our group (Pickering, 2001, p. 48). The exercise of symbolic power and the social exclusion of the culturally inferior and unimportant, or even potentially dangerous, takes place through the processes of signification and classification (Hall, 1997, p. 259). Media are involved in the process of reproducing social norms and labeling Others. In the process of representation media show the desired norms and patterns of action or appearance (Janebová, 2014, p. 19). The repetition of representations establishes difference as natural and naturalizes it. Repetitively issued representations not only create a semblance of universal validity and truthfulness, but they also contribute to the reproduction of the social order (Fiske, 2001).

How about the representation of Roma people in the news discourse of Czech Television? Is it the way of informing about Roma based on the otherness that deepens their social pathologization? I will answer this question on the basis of the knowledge gained from the analysis on the visual part of the news reports from the selected sample of the broadcast program *Události*.

⁴ According to labelling theory, each individual sometimes acts in a deviant way. It depends on the reaction of the society whether it is labelled as deviant. As a result of the of this label, the person in question, under the pressure of social expectations, often acts in a way that is considered deviant. „This phenomenon can be observed, for example, in Romani children, for whom the social expectation that they will act criminally or violently leads to them becoming perceived as „criminals“ and thus begin to act“ (Janebová, 2014, 21).

⁵ Mechanisms of social exclusion allow one group to protect its resources and privileges and to confine itself to members of other groups, based on their power declaration as undesirable. By strengthening the awareness of one's own difference and closing oneself, social boundaries are created between the group of Us and the Others.

⁶ Foucault (2000) writes about the power of discipline, through which specialized institutions (such as school, prison etc.) force humans to obey. Human subjects are formed using partitioning practices based on binary classification: normality - deviation.

Methodology

The findings presented are the result of analysis of all news programs broadcast from 1 January to 31 December 2000, 2012 and 2015. While in 2000 the *Události* program lasted on average 25 minutes, on 1 April 2012 it was significantly visually modified (acquired a new logo and slogan and other graphic changes) and was extended to 45–48 minutes, which was reflected by its thematic agenda. One news report was set as a basic research unit. The sample was created by the sequential monitoring of individual sessions and searching for relevant contributions. The procedure of identification by a third party (Fónadová, 2014), i.e. the so-called attributed Roma, was used to identify the relevant messages. Selection of relevant research units was based on an assessment of the significant features of the depicted people and the environment or context in which they were depicted.⁷ Out of a total of 444 reports meeting the set criteria, 93 articles reported primarily on other topics and the reference to the Roma minority was only a mention⁸ and were excluded from the analysis. In 351 research units, coded as the main and secondary topic (in more detail below), the Roma were marked or depicted repeatedly and a significant share of the report was mainly focused on them. In one tenth (33) of the news, members of the Roma minority were marked only verbally and the report did not contain a visual representation. The following data therefore relates to the 318 news reports in which the Roma were depicted.

In this article I will present part of the results obtained by the methods of content analysis (Neuendorf, 2002) and semiotic analysis (Chandler, 2002).⁹ While the strength of the quantitative approach is the ability to cover large samples, qualitative analysis allows us to pay attention to selected cases in detail (for more details, see Sedláková, 2014). I will focus on the question, how the Roma were portrayed in the main evening news program *Události*. Via the analysis of the visual representation I will point out the types of shots that have been used repeatedly, those that do not usually occur in connection with the majority population and those that refer to the otherness of members of the Roma minority and reproducing stereotypes about the Roma.¹⁰

When analyzing the content of news discourse, it is necessary to take into account that the construction of (audiovisual) news is a relatively arbitrary process. This is structured and limited both by socially shared conventions on the form of news and by standard media routines¹¹ in the production of this type of media messages. The most common

⁷ The two criteria assessed were: i) the presence of a language sign based on the word Roma* in the sense of Roma, Romani or adjectives, or Gypsy in a news report and ii) the presence of signs (in the semiotic sense), most often visual shots, which refer to Roma people

⁸ An example is the listing of the Roma in the list of topics to be addressed by the Chamber of Deputies at its next session at the end of the article Government Meeting in the program Events on June 7, 2000.

⁹ Semiotic analysis (Chandler, 2002) views the analysed documents as texts composed of symbolic signs referring to their speakers, and thus communication meaning. It focuses on the meanings generated by the text and tries to understand the social use of signs in a social context.

¹⁰ The purpose of the analysis was not to assess the factual accuracy of the contributions or the correspondence of the broadcast information with the lived reality of the outside world.

¹¹ The concept of so-called media logic, also known as media / journalistic routines, refers to the internal rules of media organizations operation and conceptualizes the procedures of creating news (Altheide, Snow, 1979).

type of television news report – reportage – is built in the connection of the reporter’s words and quotations of the event’s actors with visual footage. Although it is sometimes assumed that the visuals have an illustrative function in television news, because the main weight of the message lies on the verbal level, Lapčík (2012, 2014) shows how distinctive the visual component is. He proved that the visuals are in many cases appended to ad hoc, which activates the polysemy potential of the used signs and the generation of alternative meanings.

In this text I will show how the visuals contribute to the creation of an overall Roma representation in the public service medium. Public service media coverage aspires to set the bar for professional quality of journalists’ work with its information standards and is legislatively bound by Act 483/1991 Coll. on Czech Television.¹² Based on the acquired knowledge, I will assess the extent to which Czech Television’s news discourse reproduces otherness and contributes to the perception of the Roma as socially different.

Findings – Images of Roma

Visual representation of Roma broadcast in the *Události* are based on group shots that capture Roma as members of larger groups (see Table 1). A fifth of reports (22%) represents Roma as individuals.¹³ Only one person was depicted in a tenth of the reports. In a third (31%) Roma were shown in groups of ten, twenty or more than fifty. These shots are not exclusive for news about cultural events or piety events, but they were often used to characterize Roma’s everyday life: shots from the vicinity of Roma residence, from housing estates, hostels or socially excluded localities, especially in 2012, when the news covered the protests, a higher share of reports with visuals of large groups were evident (see Graph 1).

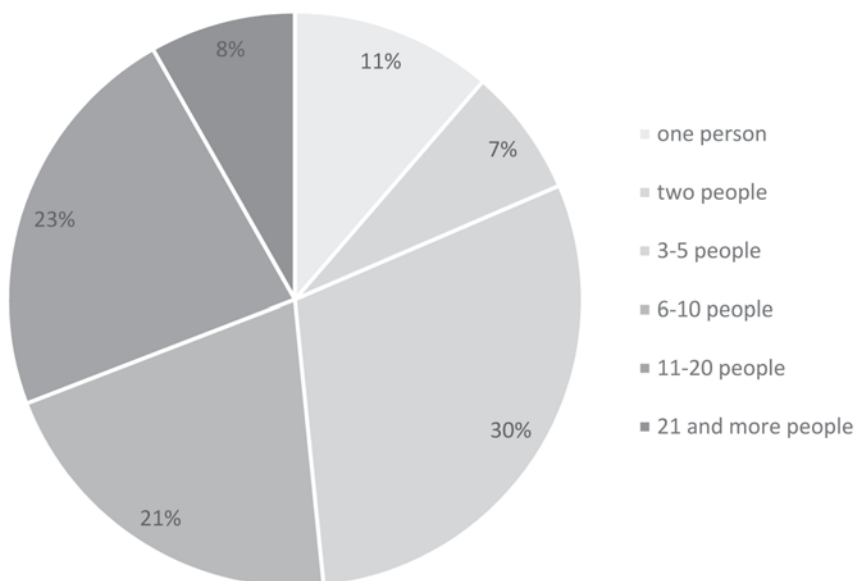
¹² Act 483/1991 Coll. Czech Television imposes in „§2 (2): a) the provision of objective, verified, comprehensively balanced and comprehensive information for the free formation of opinions,... d) the development of the cultural identity of the population of the Czech Republic, including members of national or ethnic minorities,...“

¹³ This does not mean that the report represented only one individual; different people can be displayed in each shot

Table 1 Representation of Roma in news reports

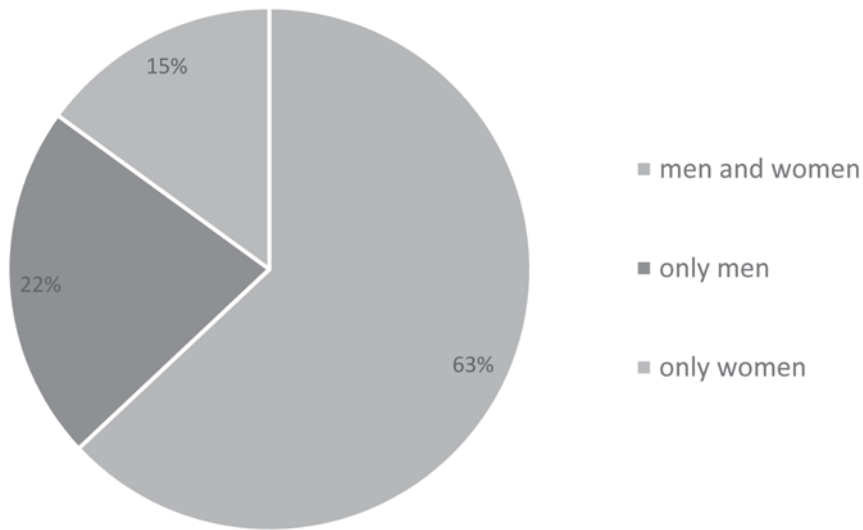
	total		2000		2012		2015	
	absolute frequency	relative frequency	absolute frequency	relative frequency	absolute frequency	relative frequency	absolute frequency	relative frequency
total	318	100%	67	100%	154	100%	97	100%
individuals	71	22%	13	19%	38	25%	20	21%
within a group	87	27%	15	22%	41	27%	31	32%
individuals and groups	160	50%	39	58%	75	49%	46	47%
one person	36	11%	6	9%	16	10%	14	14%
two people	23	7%	7	10%	14	9%	2	2%
3-5 people	95	30%	22	33%	41	27%	32	33%
6-10 people	66	21%	20	30%	30	19%	16	16%
11-20 people	72	23%	7	10%	37	24%	28	29%
21 and more people	26	8%	5	7%	16	10%	5	5%
men and women	200	63%	44	66%	102	66%	54	56%
only men	69	22%	15	22%	29	19%	25	26%
only women	49	15%	8	12%	23	15%	18	19%

Graph 1 Number of Roma represented in news reports (relative frequency)



The majority (63%) of news reports contains visuals in which both men and women are represented (see Graph 2). Men are visually present in the vast majority of the news (86 %). Women are captured by cameras less often and only women were displayed in 49 reports. However, the share of images with women has slowly increasing in the researched period. There is no comparable analysis of the Czech television news, which would indicate the structure of the displayed people in terms of their gender or age. However, analyzes of gender representation in the media stated a general overrepresentation of men over women (see, for example, Renzetti, Curran, 2003; Dines, Humez, 1995).

Graph 2 Gender of Roma depicted in news reports (relative frequency)



News reports generally did not provide information about the age of the filmed people¹⁴ and the categorization of people into age groups was estimated in order to capture the age structure of the represented minority. Most often, in three quarters of the reports, adults were shown, also young adults and preschool children were represented often (See table 2). Teenagers are significantly less frequently caught in visuals; it is possible that when journalists take footage during the day, teenagers are at school and not in public places, so cameras cannot capture them. However, the older people¹⁵ were the least 'visible' group. They were only shown in one-sixth of the news. The absence of older people in the television content is generally documented.¹⁶ In the case of the Roma minority, however, their absence can also be explained by the demographic structure of this population and the lower life expectancy in comparison to the majority. Thus, older Roma people are also missing socially, not only in the news visuals.

¹⁴ Conversely, data on the age are common in the printed media.
¹⁵ At the same time, members of the Roma minority usually look older than members of the majority. The experience of anthropologists and social workers testifies to this, as there are no official statistics on the health of the Roma population.
¹⁶ For example, according to the study *Mass Longevity - a Good Story* (1998), people over the age of 60 make up only a tenth of people shown on television screens.

Table 2 Age groups shown in the news reports¹⁷

	total		2000		2012		2015	
displayed:	absolute frequency	relative frequency	absolute frequency	relative frequency	absolute frequency	relative frequency	absolute frequency	relative frequency
children (approx. up to 10 years)	181	57%	32	48%	96	62%	53	55%
teen (approx. 11 - 17 years)	108	34%	39	58%	40	26%	29	30%
young adults (approx. 18 - 25 years)	193	60%	47	70%	100	65%	46	47%
adults (approx. 25 - 55 years)	238	75%	40	60%	127	82%	71	73%
seniors (over 55 years)	51	16%	7	10%	32	21%	11	11%

I also coded¹⁸ the overall appearance of the represented people. I focused on visuals in which were shown people who differed significantly in appearance from how the members of the Czech population are usually displayed. We are used to see individuals in formal wear (suit, uniform) and with combed hair (or make-up, shaved, etc.) in the news. Even more formal both in appearance and in the form of speech, are the statements of official state representatives from majority or its spokespeople. My goal was not to evaluate the appearance of particular people, but to find out whether and to what extent unusual visuals are present in mainstream news in case of Roma people. Visuals that depicted people incompletely dressed or in dirty clothes, untidy, disheveled, or otherwise unusual in appearance were coded, because such visuals are deviating from the usual standard of representation. According to the established news discourse and unwritten standards of the public service media we assume that represented speakers would act (more or less) formally and their appearance would be well-tended. However, this is not always the case of speakers from the Roma minority. News also contain their informal statements taken at home or visuals of speakers who were not fully dressed, as we would expect from a person being shot with a television camera. An example is the shot of an undressed man from July 2012 (see Fig. 1). However, such visuals were included only marginally in the research sample, and Graph no. 3 shows that the visuals of people who differ from the usual standard are in decline. While in the initial year of the survey untidy people in older, pulled-out clothes, with uncombed hair or bad teeth were shown in a quarter (26%) of news reports, in 2015 in a twentieth (4%) only. Generally, the majority of people were depicted in everyday

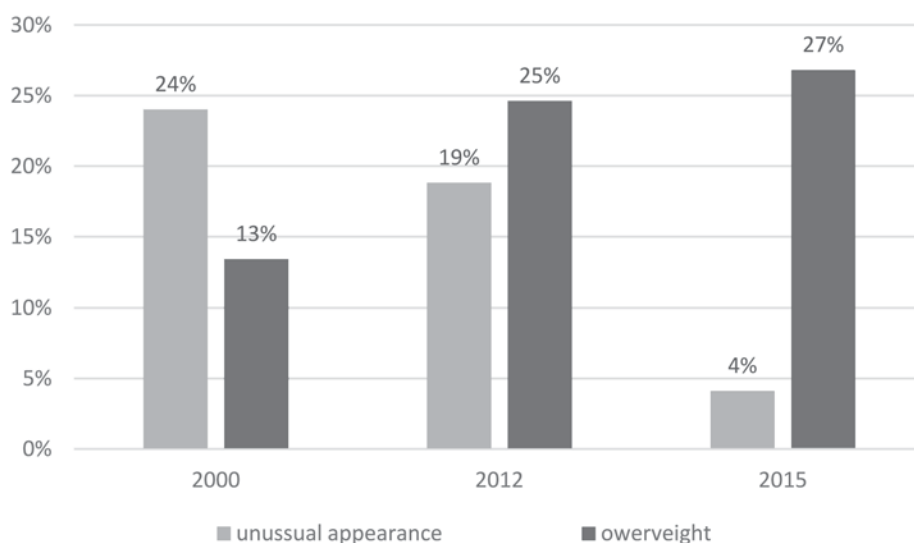
¹⁷ The total exceeds the number of contributions, because different age groups could have been shown in individual shots of the reports. Their (non)presence was coded as dichotomous variables, (e.g. children under 10 years were or were not depicted).

¹⁸ I am aware that any assessment of the appearance of others is subjective.

usually clean and tidy clothes without significant unusual features. The otherness that has been made visible by visuals has disappeared. This trend is so significant that regardless of the subjectivity intervening in the coding of this variable, it is a substantial finding. Two explanations are possible: i) It is possible that the social conditions and standard of living of the Roma population in 2000 were more different from the majority, but over time their living standards and appearance converged to the Czech ethnic.¹⁹ ii) It is also possible that journalists work less with visibly different people, as filming with people who are socialized in the majority culture and meet its standards are easier and less time consuming for them. Maybe the more non-conformed individuals are less available for shooting,²⁰ they refuse to communicate with journalists and shut themselves off from them, for example out of fear of stigmatization or secondary victimization or due to unpleasant experiences. Due to the fact that I do not have any data from the journalists themselves reflecting on the procedures of creating news articles, the explanations given are only hypothetical.

The last quantitatively coded variable measured representation of the Roma population in terms of overweight. It showed a completely opposite trend (see Graph 3). According to available data, the increase in obesity is a current problem in the Czech population; the data on visuals show that it is also the case of the Roma minority.

Graph 3 Appearance of Roma represented in the news reports



¹⁹ At the same time, there may be a process of convergence of the Czechs to a common denominator.

²⁰ Quite analogically, there are only exceptional representations of, for example, homeless people or the disabled in the television news discourse.

I focused on shots that work with similar visual features in the analysis. When monitoring news reports about the Roma minority systematically and repetitively, it is not possible to overlook the visuals in which larger or smaller groups of children and adults, men and women stand on sidewalks in front of houses or sitting on railings, stairs or on park benches.²¹ (see Fig. No. 2) Visuals of people hanging around taken from a greater or lesser distance contained a third of the sample. The presence of Roma in public spaces (in front of houses, in parks etc.) can be described as one of the features systematically used in the construction of reports on the Roma minority. As the data in Table 3 shows, this type of footage is a stable feature referring to the everyday life of Roma across the period studied. It is a sign that connotes meaning: look, they do nothing, hang out on the streets, sit in parks, chat, smoke and waste time. Such conduct is understood at odds with the rationality of modernity and capitalism driven by the slogan: time is money.²² These visuals highlight otherness and distinguish Us – a Western rational advanced society, from communities that are seen as pre-modern in their organization, less developed, emotional and irrational. This sign connects Roma with the freedom to stay outside (in the open air). Its connotations can evoke the non-settled nomads, the associated stereotypes and negative meanings. The possibility that the depicted people probably have nowhere else to spend their time, as they do not possess their own land (garden or cottage), is not thematized nor mentioned in the news. Likewise, the different perception of private and public categories among the Roma population is not addressed. Similarly, the media does not explain the specifics of spending time together in communities that have their own social hierarchy across generations. The significance of Roma footages in the streets and urban areas is the result of the absence of another type of location in which they are (or could be) depicted. While members of the majority usually perform in official positions, e.g. in footage from offices taken in connection with their profession, Roma (with a few exceptions) are not represented in these types of footage. As showed Lapčík (2014), journalists are under pressure to obtain visuals for the reports. It is possible that journalists do not have enough contact to Roma people to be able to address people who can comment on the event / topic, and therefore improvise. As a result, the news reports are supplemented by footage shoot on the streets without direct contact with particular representatives. This partly explains the frequent use of shots of anonymized groups taken from a greater distance.

²¹ Some cities regulate or prohibit similar acts, and as such these regulations are described as discriminatory (see e.g. Figure no 2).

²² Cf. Weber, 1998.

Table 3 Visuals used in news reports

	total		2000		2012		2015	
frequency	absolute	relative	absolute	relative	absolute	relative	absolute	relative
unkempt places, disheveled houses	107	30%	7	9%	65	39%	35	33%
people in public places	117	33%	22	28%	62	37%	33	31%
people on balconies or at windows	60	17%	6	8%	31	19%	23	22%

Another specific type of visuals that was present in the reports is the shots of people at their windows or on balconies, present in 17% of the sample. To some extent, this could be considered as a specific variant of the previously mentioned type. The people represented in this way did not currently show any activity too. At the moment, however, they are not present in public places, but are leaving their privacy. An interview with them in this position is not an exception. It is possible that it reflects the difficulties for journalists to obtain a statement from the minority on camera and this type of shot is a consequence of Roma closure to journalists, who have no choice but to address those who are available, at least in part. These shots were used in a wide range of represented events. This is a specific example of vox populi, where people standing on balconies or at windows comment on the event. Compared to the majority population, representation of these speakers is very non-standard. It is not only a different type of representation of the representatives of the majority and minority, but at the same time a repeatedly used signature shots creating the difference.

The last type of visuals I will discuss is the environment in which Roma are depicted. They show significant similarities in what they show. Although these visuals should refer to the place where the represented event took place,²³ they also carry information about the environment in which Roma live and act and anchor the message in context. They show the living conditions of the Roma population and become important signs communicating meaning of Roma’s everyday life.

A third (107) of the news reports contained visuals of the dilapidated places: houses with doors boarded up by planks, with broken windows, torn beams hanging from the ceilings, ripped out wires, etc. or dirty nooks filled with garbage and broken things. (See Fig. 3 and 4) It is precisely these shots that communicate otherness. At the same time, they were present in the news that did not depict Roma, but referred to them only verbally. As they are associated with the Roma minority through long-term use, they become signifiers of the minority. The use of these shots does not decrease, but on the contrary,

²³ However, some of them have been used repeatedly as illustrative shots.

their presence in the news has tripled compared to the year 2000 sample. It is obvious that at least a part of the Roma population still belongs to the socially weak and live in unsatisfactory conditions that are non-standard for the mainstream Czech population. Anthropologists would probably point out that what is shown in the footage and what is sometimes (mistakenly) associated with the Roma population is the culture of poverty, which established itself in some localities in the Czech Republic after 1989 (Jakoubek, 2008). The Culture of Poverty (Lewis, 1966) is not exclusively bound by nationality or ethnicity, but affects both Czechs and Roma. Even footage from the analyzed news shows that members of both ethnic groups live in such houses or hostels.

Only in half of the cases were shots of such dilapidated places used in news on excluded localities or social work; the second half consisted of reports about crime, social policy, education, racial discrimination, migration and urban policy. The analysis suggests that these visuals are used without a direct connection to a represented event / topic. They serve as a background or filling to complete the visual part of the report which must be present in audiovisual news. They are probably not shots from the place where the event occurred,²⁴ but through the work of journalists, they are related to the event. The use of such visuals in unrelated cases is unjustified and is a manifestation of soft racism. According to Blažek (1995, p. 270), it is characteristic of non-verbal communication and for audiovisual media, which make it possible to present meaningfully divided messages. Although the verbal level of the news is correct, the visual signs used to communicate meaning refer to ethnic stereotypes.

Reports from 2012 on various aspects of housing were characterized with visuals of houses in disrepair (with ripped out wiring, leaking water, smashed windows, clutter, etc.), or the interior of hostels. At the same time, these news reports often contained images of two very contrasting environments: outdoor and indoor. While on the outside the houses were gray, peeling paint, with fallen plaster, walled up windows or boarded up openings, when journalists are allowed to enter the apartments, the cameras show a different world. The interior of the flats and their equipment are not significantly different from the standard of Czech households. Of course, we could find the difference in decoration style, but not in cleanliness or tidiness (see Fig. no. 5). The difference in the cleanness of the external and internal places can be partly explained by the findings of anthropologists about the perception of space by members of the Roma minority. In very simple terms, this is a marked contrast to the Roma's approach to what they understand as their own and what belongs to others' or to the public. While I take care of the first, I am not interested in the second. The most frequently displayed non-residential spaces or common areas of tenement houses are often untended.²⁵ However, at the same time, these are the very places where there is a mess that the cameras show to the viewers of the news.

²⁴ See for example, a report *Belgium warned the Czech Republic* issued on April 10th, 2000 about visa and migration policy.

²⁵ Problems with cleaning of shared non-residential places and reluctance to participate in their maintenance or cleaning is also known from houses managed by the Community of Flats Owners of the non-Roma population.

Lastly, I need to mention a shot of a groomed elderly woman (see Fig. no. 6) cooking on an open fire in an apartment in an opening in a chimney (in a disheveled house in the Předlice locality in Ústí nad Labem). This one was completely unique in the whole sample. But it is precisely this one that acts as an imaginary exception to the rule. The visual is so different from the usual standards of the Czech population that it will not be perceived as a sign of poverty and low social status, but as a stereotype of Roma who destroy flats and cook on an open fire inside.

Conclusion

Visual representation of the Roma population in the main evening news program *Události* of Czech Television between 2000 and 2015 is dominated by footage of groups, children and young adults, their environment and lifestyle. On the contrary, there are no representations of Roma as authorities, people holding a formal position or representing the majority society.

The Roma were often represented in public places, or in the vicinity of their homes, which may refer to the nomadism, being outside, freedom and detachment. The shots of the Roma standing or sitting in public work as a sign that makes them different from the majority population, whose representatives are not depicted in this way. The presence of young children in the visuals can connote not only higher fertility, but they were also unrestrained, unmanageable and noisy. The fact that Roma are often shown in groups connotes their belonging to larger social units - communities, and can create a feeling of danger, especially if mainly (young) men are depicted. The visuals of disheveled houses and unmaintained non-residential places amplify the negative valence of reports. The majority viewer would probably not want to live there. These visuals communicate information about the environment and the living conditions of the Roma population and become important signs of the representation of Roma's everyday life. It is these shots that communicate otherness and emphasize stereotypes about the Roma. Based on the available data, it is not possible to explain whether this happens by accident or whether it is the intention of the journalists.

Due to the high level of non-acceptance of Roma by members of the majority population, it can be said that, from a visual point of view, viewers find clues in the news that allow them to interpret messages within the framework of shared stereotypes. From the point of view of the general representation of the Roma in the news discourse, there is a long-term repeated thematization of their otherness, and thus its symbolic reproduction. It is the visual signs that contribute to the reproduction of negative meanings and attitudes that a large part of the majority maintains towards Roma, and thus can contribute to their discrimination and social exclusion in everyday life.

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Figure 1 Události, Czech television, July 7th 2012



Figure 2 Události, Czech television, April 3rd 2015



Figure 3 Události, Czech television, May 13th 2012



Figure 4 Události, Czech television, August 3rd 2012



Figure 5 Události, Czech television August 19th 2012



Figure 6 Události, Czech television, November 6th 2012



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Anonymous Births: A Conflict of Three Rights – Which Prevails?

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Abstract

The aim of the text is to describe the possibilities of solving the predicament related to unwanted pregnancy and subsequent childbirth under the legislation in several European countries. The paper presents a case study, which portrays a typical situation that indicates that the possibilities of solving such a situation are not sufficient in the Czech Republic. A secret birth was not possible for the woman due to the presumption of paternity; she did not see any other legal way and the child died due to unprovided medical care. Based on the case analysis, the introduction of anonymous births, which allow complete confidentiality of the mother's identity without any other obstacles, appears to be an alternative option for the presented situation. However, anonymous births cause a debate about the conflict of three rights: the child's right to know his or her parents, the mother's right to choose to be a mother, and the child's right to life. As is clear in the examples of solutions to similar situations across Europe, there is no consensus on an ideal solution, but there is a tendency to protect the child's life in the first place.

Keywords

childbirth, anonymity, secret birth, child rights, women's rights, violent deaths, baby box

Legislative framework of mother anonymity in the Czech Republic

Under the current legislation in the Czech Republic, there are two options for a woman who decides to conceal the fact that she has given birth. The first option is to give birth in a hospital facility in a secret mode. The other alternative is to give birth outside the medical facility and place the baby in a baby box after delivery. However, both alternatives carry significant limitations and risks.

According to Act No. 422/2004 Coll.¹ and §37 of the Health Services Act (Act No. 372/2011 Coll., The Act on Health Services and Conditions for their Provision), a secret birth is allowed only to women with permanent residence in the Czech Republic, and it cannot be a woman whose husband is evidenced by the presumption of paternity (according to §776 and following, Act No. 89/2012 Coll., Civil Act). Any negation of the presumption of paternity must be proved by a court decision on divorce in the case of a divorced woman or by presenting the death certificate of the husband. The wording of the law thus determines that the possibility of a secret birth is available to only some pregnant women. If the woman meets the specified conditions and is interested in a secret birth, she submits a written request to the provider of the medical service to keep her identity confidential during the birth and fills in a declaration that she does not intend to care for the child. The woman's identity is registered separately from the medical records related to the pregnancy and secret birth. After the hospitalization, the medical documentation and information about the woman are placed in a sealed file. The opening of such sealed medical documentation is possible only on the basis of a court decision; this does not apply if a woman who has given birth secretly requests the opening of the medical records. If we thus take a closer look at the confidentiality processes, it can be assumed that the steps that need to be taken may seem complicated to women, and the subsequent administration may not seem reliable to keep the information secret.

The other alternative, placing the child in a baby box, carries especially social and health risks for women. If a woman gives birth to a child in a medical facility, or if her surroundings learn in any way that she has given birth, it seems difficult to put the child in a baby box, as the absence of the child raises a number of unpleasant questions for the woman. The delivery outside a medical facility also poses significant risks of health complications. Moreover, both of these options assume women's awareness of these alternatives, which may seem problematic, especially for women with low health literacy. In view of these facts, it is evident that there is a risk that women, in an effort to conceal their pregnancy and childbirth, will opt for conduct that is illegal (e.g. leaving a child in a public place) and may lead to the death of the child, whether committed intentionally or as a result of failure to provide care² (Olecká, Ivanová, Lemrová, 2017).

¹ Act amending the Act No. 20/1966 Coll., on public health care, as amended, Act No. 301/2000 Coll., on registries, name and surname and on the amendment of some related laws, as amended, and Act No. 48/1997 Coll., on Public Health Insurance, as amended

² In UZIS statistics (2021), the apparent violent deaths of children are included under Chapter XIX.- Injuries, poisonings and some other consequences of external causes. About 11 children die this way each year in infancy (2019, 16; 2018, 12; 2017, 6; 2016, 13; 2015, p. 9). Naturally, statistics do not record any latent crime, which may be hidden in cases of a child's death, for example, under the diagnosis of SIDS (Olecká et al., 2018). The Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS) is an unexpected death of a baby within one year of age that occurs in sleep and cannot be explained by autopsy or laboratory results (Busuttill, 2009; Enid Gilbert-Barness, 2013; Krous, 2004). Based on the available data, it is also not possible to determine the number of unwanted and intentionally abandoned children. Only records of the number of children placed in baby boxes are available (a total of 228 children from 2006 to 3 November 2021), but surprisingly the statistics in the Czech Republic do not record the number of secret births.

Anonymous childbirth as a conflict of three rights

In discussions about the possibilities of concealing the mother's identity, we come across an effort to comply with three rights at the same time: the child's right to know his or her parents, the mother's right to choose to be a mother, and the child's right to life.

The right to life is a fundamental human right in our (Western) civilization today and is included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The woman's right to decide on her motherhood is embedded in the Act of the Czech National Council on Abortion (Act No. 66/1986 Coll.), which defines the conditions under which a woman may request an abortion. The right of the child to know his or her parents is included in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), Article 7 (*"Every child is registered immediately after birth and has the right to a name, the right to a nationality, and, if possible, the right to know and be cared for by his or her parents."*) as well as in the European Convention on Human Rights (1950), specifically Article 8, which states that *"everyone has the right to respect for his or her private and family life, home and correspondence"*. The right to respect for private life also applies to mothers, who, for various reasons, are in favor of this possibility. Despite the available contraceptive options, women may still find themselves in a situation where they become pregnant unintentionally or find it impossible during pregnancy for them to take care of a child. Fearing the reaction of the community, they decided to keep the pregnancy and subsequent birth secret.

If the mother is prevented from maintaining full confidentiality of the birth in the medical facility, she feels compelled by the circumstances to give birth outside the facility. This poses several risks for both the mother and the baby. The first one, that is generally discussed and evident, is the absence of professional medical care, which leads to the fact that the child and the mother may be endangered for health and life. Another risk lies in the mother's attempt to conceal the existence of the newborn child, which she may do by putting it in a baby box, leaving it in a public place, but also committing murder.³ In the context of the above-mentioned, it can be assumed that the possibilities for abandoning the baby anonymously after giving birth so as not to endanger the health

³ Infanticide, the killing of a child, most often a newborn, is a crime going back to the roots of humanity. The crime is gender-specific, the murderer is the mother of the child (Tinková, 2003). The motivations that lead women to such extreme solutions have been the same for centuries - fear of not being able to take care of the child, lack of social support, poor living conditions, and the impossibility of terminating the pregnancy in time. Efforts to care for and protect illegitimate and unwanted children have existed in our culture since antiquity (Olecká et al. 2017). Outlines that are similar to those we still know today then this system acquired during the Enlightenment, when anonymous births were allowed in the St. Apollinaris Hospital in Prague. The degree of anonymity was determined by the financial possibilities of the woman. The maternity hospital also provided a spiritual and educational service to these women. For many women, however, this option was unfeasible, especially outside of large cities. A woman in the village was often known to be pregnant and in a critical situation. Because of the well-known negative attitude of society at the time towards illegitimate children, help could often not be expected from either the family or the village. Thus, for many women, infanticide may have seemed the only option. (Lenderova et al., 2009). The Czech Criminal Code (Act No. 40/2009 Coll.) also deals with this specific situation, in Section 142 (Murder of a newborn child by a mother) states that *"a mother who, in the excitement caused by childbirth, intentionally kills her newborn child during or immediately after childbirth shall be punished by imprisonment for three to eight years"*. However, both of these conditions must be met simultaneously. The state of agitation is examined by an expert. (Šámal et al., 2012).

of the baby and the mother should be expanded. The option of anonymous childbirth is one of the possibilities. Anonymous births are an accentuated mother's right to her anonymity and at the same time a disclaimer of the child's rights to know its biological parents. However, the current European legislation and case law in neighboring countries seek to find a balance between these rights, with an emphasis on the right to life. This option is not legally anchored in our country (and is not practically possible). However, in other European countries, this alternative is more or less established.

Alternative legislation of European countries

Germany

Since the late 1990s, it has been possible in Germany to give up children without providing information about the mother under the concept of anonymous births. However, according to opponents, the legality of submitting the child anonymously to adoption is legally problematic because it damages the children's rights to know where they come from (Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989). Advocates of anonymous births state that they help women who would otherwise give birth alone and subsequently kill their children. If they need to hide their pregnancy from their parents or violent spouses, it is often out of the question for them to identify themselves in a medical facility when giving birth. The Central Committee of German Catholics said that anonymous births in hospitals had saved children's lives and offered mothers safety and a sheltered space for childbirth. Despite the tolerated existence of anonymous births, pregnant women who tried to conceal their condition did not have many options available. Only about 130 hospitals offer anonymous births in Germany (Isenson, 2009; Bleiker, 2017).

Another option for mothers occurred after 1999, when two dead newborns were found in Hamburg. It provoked new debates about the possibilities of protecting children whose mothers, for various reasons, are afraid or do not want to give birth in public. Thus, in Germany the first boxes where it has been possible to leave the baby safely, Babyklappe. Since 1999, more than 500 babies have been anonymously submitted for adoption in hospitals or baby boxes (Babyklappe), which are run mainly by church groups (Schmollak, 2010). The first hospital in Germany with a baby box (opened in 2000) was the Waldfriede clinic in Berlin. Among other things, this clinic offers women the possibility of a completely anonymous birth.

To expand the assistance to women in need, in May 2014 the German government introduced the possibility of the so-called confidential births. According to the law, a woman can anonymously call a toll-free helpline available 24/7, where the professionals refer her to the nearest counselor. The counselor will administratively go with her through the confidential birth. The information about the mother is known to the counselors. Both the mother and the baby are provided with medical care at birth, and the baby can later find out where he or she came from. The mother's identity will not be revealed to anyone else during pregnancy or after giving birth. However, when the child reaches the age

of 16, he or she can access the mother's personal data and contact her. Between 2014 and 2016, there were 335 confidential births in Germany – more than 100 per year. Experts say that the measure will not help all women in need. The Association of Midwives also stated that the Confidential Birth Act should not fully replace other options such as placing a child in a baby box or a fully anonymous birth. Confidential childbirth requires women to go through a specific process, which involves disclosing their identity when registering with their counselor, which could discourage some women. One of the chaplains of the Waldfriede clinic in Berlin, Gerhard Menn, compares his work at the clinic with that of a priest receiving a confession: *„Some women who come to us are ashamed to be pregnant. If they come from a Muslim background, the issue of honor killings should also be considered. Some experience domestic violence or rape. They do not want a government agency to have their information so that they know they are pregnant. This does not work for a confidential birth.“* (Isenson, 2009).

Italy and Belgium

In Italy and Belgium, the Civil Code allows for birth in anonymity, but this does not prevent the mother or child from seeking each other later on. (Maratou-Alipranti, 2009). In Italy, there is a debate as to whether a mother's right to confidentiality is higher than a child's right to know his or her background. This is a contradiction between the adopted person's right to know his or her biological background and the mother's right to anonymity, which also appeared in the Strasbourg court decisions. In the Godelli case (2012), the European Court of Justice condemned the Italian legal system, which does not include the right balance between competing rights and unconditionally favors the mother who wishes to remain anonymous. According to the judicial decision, this preference for the mother's right to anonymity should be revoked in case of her death. Therefore, it can be said that after the death of a mother who gave birth anonymously, the mother's interest should give way to the adopted child's right to know his or her biological origin (Coscarelli, 2021).

France

One of the aims of the French system is the right to respect life, to protect the health of the mother and child during childbirth, to avoid abortions, especially the illegal ones, and abandonment of a child. The term "Childbirth under X" – (l'accouchement sous X) is used for childbirth in a medical facility where the mother asks for her identity to be kept secret. §326 of the Civil Code guarantees the mother the right to request the birth in an anonymous manner. Furthermore, according to §57 of this Act, a woman should state the first names she wishes to be given to the child (Légifrance: Code Civil, 2006). At the same time, however, since 2002 the mother has been allowed to provide her data in a sealed envelope, which can be passed on to the child later, but always only with the mother's consent. It is a concept somewhere between anonymous and secret birth. If the staff knows the mother's identity, they are bound by confidentiality.

Therefore, the identity of the mother cannot be revealed in France without her consent (Accouchement sous X, 2021).

On the basis of the judgment in the case of *Odièvre v. France* (2003), relationships with adoptive parents are as important as those with the biological parent, and not knowing one's biological mother is not a violation of Article 8 of the Convention on Human Rights. Thus, a mere biological bond cannot be considered sufficient to claim that the knowledge of a biological mother is guaranteed by the right to know one's family. The family in this case is represented by the complainant's adoptive parents, with whom the complainant has close personal, family relations. The complainant had never met her biological mother and her mother had not shown any interest in her in the past.

Austria and Luxembourg

As in France, Luxembourg and Austria distinguish between biological and legal motherhood. In this case, an unmarried woman first needs to recognize the child to become a mother, and this does not happen automatically. The law allows a woman to remain officially unknown even though she is the biological mother of the child. The law protects the right of a woman to give birth in a maternity hospital (Maratou-Alipranti, 2009).

Since 2001, it has been possible to give birth to a child in a hospital anonymously in Austria, and medical care can be provided to the mother anonymously even before the birth. Anonymous childbirth is designed to ensure the health of the mother and child through medical care and social counseling. It is necessary to ensure that expectant mothers who wish to give birth anonymously are not unintentionally encouraged to disclose personally identifiable information. A child with the status of a foundling is usually placed by the Child and Youth Care Agency with the adoptive parents. However, the facilities that provide such care have to cooperate with the agency. After the birth, the child is first taken over by the Social Welfare Authority. The mother has six months after giving birth to report herself. If the mother remains anonymous, the adoption becomes final (Rechtsinformationssystem des bundes, 2001).

Case study

As demonstrated above, the Czech Republic does not offer an option corresponding to anonymous childbirth for women. Its introduction is contradicted by arguments about the impossibility of repressing the child's right to know his or her parents. However, as can be seen from various rulings of the European Court of Human Rights, this option is not legally inadmissible. We demonstrate the arguments for its introduction in a case that depicts a model situation.

The case was identified within the project Retrospective analysis of mortality of children under 5 years of age who died suddenly, unexpectedly, and violently (IGA_LF_2018_023).

A young 20-year-old mother of Roma origin, who lived in a small apartment with her husband and his entire family, a total of about 8-9 people, became unintentionally pregnant for the fourth time. She was an experienced mother, the mother of three older children. She gave birth for the first time at the age of 16 while still living in an orphanage. She gave up her two older children for adoption, the third one remained in her own care. The overall housing, economic, and social situation of the family was below average, unsatisfactory. These conditions apparently had a great influence on the mother's decision-making: during the interrogation, the mother repeatedly talked about her fear of having another child and of the care that the child would require and would not receive. In poor housing conditions, she was unable to provide the baby with proper care. She was also afraid of her husband's mother, who forbade her to have more children. She did not consider the abortion but could not state any reason for that. According to her own statement, she planned to provide the child for adoption, thus using the same solution that had worked for her in the past. She kept the pregnancy secret, which, according to her, was not difficult, because apart from the weight gain, no other changes were noticeable. She did not go to the gynecologist. The woman stated that she had no contractions until the last moment. During the last 4 days before the birth, her amniotic fluid began to leak and she was in moderate pain. The day before she was taken to the hospital, she went to the bathroom, where a child's hand came out of her vagina when pushed. Probably in panic, she tried to put the hand back in her vagina. However, she still said nothing to anyone about the ongoing birth and went to bed. Only when the contractions became unbearable, she asked the family for a transfer to the hospital. She cited rectal pain as the reason. After being transported to a medical facility, she admitted the pregnancy to paramedics. The baby died during delivery because of asphyxia. According to the conclusions of forensic medicine, the death was violent, in direct causal and time connection with the long-lasting birth. If provided with timely professional medical care, the newborn could most likely be saved.

When asked by the police whether she had been aware that the child could die, she answered that she had, but that she had been scared. Was fear so paralyzing for her that it prevented her from seeking timely medical care when her amniotic fluid began to leak, which she probably recognized as an experienced mother? The woman evidently, under the weight of the situation, thought that she could not afford another child. It is a question why she did not consider the possibility of abortion. Was such a solution culturally / morally / religiously or financially feasible for her, for example? What were the crucial concerns that she decided to keep her pregnancy a secret? Was she so afraid of her mother-in-law that she could get the impression that she and her newborn would be forced to leave the family and would suffer?

A secret birth was not possible for her as an alternative due to the valid presumption of paternity, she could not give birth at home or in the maternity hospital due to her efforts to keep it secret. So, what other options did the woman have?

The first option for a timely resolution of the situation in the Czech Republic is the possibility of abortion, the conditions of which are regulated by law. Such a step would preserve

the woman's right to decide about her motherhood but would violate the child's right to life. From the point of view of Czech legislation, abortion is not a criminal offense if the legal restrictions are met.

Another option is to give birth in a medical facility with subsequent permission to provide the child for adoption. However, this alternative does not offer the woman the necessary anonymity, either during childbirth and hospitalization or after the birth. A woman is also allowed to choose a medical facility far away from her permanent residence, which would reduce the risk of disclosure. However, for some women, this option is not feasible in practice for various reasons.

Given her family situation, anonymous childbirth seems to be another possible optimal solution in this case. Of course, it is debatable whether the woman would subsequently use this option; however, in similar cases, it can be assumed that this alternative could be a suitable solution. It is probable that if the rescue system were in place and the woman received at least basic health and social care, the woman would get rid of some of her fears and, with more information provided, find a medical facility in time.

Conclusion

In the Czech Republic, there are legal and relatively accessible options for protection against unplanned pregnancies, as well as several ways to deal with unwanted pregnancies. However, these solutions will always bring an inevitable conflict among some of these rights: the child's right to know his or her parents, the mother's right to choose to be a mother, and the child's right to life.

The practical realization of the available variants may also seem to be a problem. A pregnant woman cannot always travel to a remote medical facility without informing her surroundings about the pregnancy. The possibility of a covert birth is currently denied to women with partners for the presumption of paternity (married women, women 300 and fewer days since divorce etc.), as in the case study described above. Therefore, these women are in a situation where they are afraid to inform their own family about the pregnancy. The inability to keep one's distance or reasonably view the situation is linked with the lack of knowledge of all available and legal solutions. The terms „secret“ and „anonymous“ birth are misinterpreted by the general public. For women who are considering such a birth, the information about the illegality of an anonymous birth and the rules and restrictions of a secret birth may be surprising (Švecová, 2012). Education of the lay and professional public would improve the situation (Kümmel, 2007). In the case study depicted, the result was a fundamental and irreversible violation of the child's right to life, the conviction and imprisonment of the mother, the reduction of the care of the older child, and possibly even the breakdown of the family. In this particular case, the rights of no party at all have been fulfilled.

Allowing secret births to women who are currently not allowed to give birth under this regime due to the presumption of paternity could motivate women in difficult life situations to give birth in secret, safely, and in a hospital setting.

If a woman could give birth anonymously, the child's right to life would be fulfilled, the woman's right to decide on her parenthood would be fulfilled, but the child's right to know his or her biological parents would remain denied.

It is clear that the option used in neighboring countries to help the mother safely deal with unwanted pregnancy and abandonment of a baby should be extended, either by revising the secret birth legislation and its extensive promotion or by introducing anonymous births.

Anonymous births expand the possibilities of creating a safe environment for mothers, which will provide them with the appropriate help during pregnancy. The doctor's knowledge of the history and course of pregnancy is more important to the child than whether the child knows his or her biological parents, no matter how important such information is.

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SÚVISIA MORÁLNE DILEMY S AXIOLOGICKÝMI KONŠTRUKCIAMI PARTNERSKEJ LÁSKY?

ARE MORAL DILEMMAS RELATED TO THE AXIOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF PARTNER LOVE?

Dagmar Marková

Abstrakt

V rámci projektu APVV-18-030 „Medzníky v tranzíciách intímnych vzťahov a kvalita života v období adolescencie a mladej dospelosti“ skúmame, okrem iného, aj morálne dilemy a kritické etické situácie, ktoré sprevádzajú tranzície v intímnych vzťahoch, a sledujeme spôsoby riešenia morálnych dilem a ich súvislosti s ďalšími faktormi. V tomto príspevku opisujeme čiastkové výsledky, ktoré sa týkajú súvislostí morálnych dilem v oblasti partnerských vzťahov a hodnotových atribútov partnerskej lásky u mužov a žien mladšieho dospelého veku a adolescencie. Získané výsledky poukazujú na to, že odlišné axiologické konštrukcie v oblasti intimity a partnerstiev vedú aj k osobitým dilemám, s ktorými sú v párovom živote muži a ženy konfrontovaní/é.

Klíčové slová

partnerský vzťah, morálne dilemy, láska, sexuálny výskum, hodnoty, morálka

Abstract

In the project APVV-18-030 „Milestones in transitions in intimate relationships and quality of life in adolescence and young adulthood“, we examine, among other things, the moral dilemmas and critical ethical situations that accompany transitions in intimate relationships, and we explore ways to deal with moral dilemmas and their implications to other factors. In this paper, we describe the partial results that relate to the connection of moral dilemmas in partner relationships and the value attributes of partner love of men and women of younger adulthood and adolescence. The results show that different axiological constructions in the field of intimacy and partnerships also lead to special dilemmas that men and women are confronted with in a couple's life.

Keywords

partnership, moral dilemmas, love, sexuality research, values, morality.

ÚVOD¹

Láska býva častým predmetom teoretických explorácií aj výskumu, skúmaná v rámci rôznych paradigiem aj vedných disciplín. Svedčí o tom množstvo literatúry (napr. Giddens, 1992; Bauman, 2003; Sternberg, 1997, 2008; Halwani, 2010; Haavio-Mannila, Kontula, Rotkirch, 2003; Laumann, Michael, 2001; Dieddner, Frost, Smith, 2004; Watts, Stenner, 2005; Featherstone, 1999, a mnohé ďalšie; na Slovensku napr. Lukšík, Guillaume, 2018; Masaryk, 2012; Marková, 2014, atď.), zameranej od teoretických analýz, cez kvantitatívne a kvalitatívne výskumy až po praktické implikácie napr. v poradenských a terapeutických prístupoch. Naopak je to však pri morálnych dilemách. Výskumné údaje o morálnych dilemách v párových vzťahoch sú zriedkavé až ojedinelé. Práve uvedené je jedným z dôvodov realizácie nášho výskumu.

Naše východisko v tomto texte sa opiera o to, že morálne dilemy sú ukotvené v širších hodnotových a morálnych rámcoch, a keďže skúmame práve morálne dilemy v partnerských vzťahoch, tak samozrejme zahŕňajú, okrem iného, s tým spojené axiologické a morálne konštrukcie párového života, lásky, sexuality a mnohých ďalších k tomu sa vzťahujúcich oblastí. Jednou z nich je aj partnerská láska. Preto sme sa v tomto článku zamerali na súvislosti morálnych dilem s niektorými axiologickými konštrukciami partnerskej lásky, tu nazvanými ako hodnotové atribúty párovej lásky.

Pri definícii morálnych dilem pritom nevychádzame z pomerne úzkych tradičných etických vymedzení, ale aby sme zmapovali rozmanitosť a diverzitu v tejto oblasti, vychádzali sme vo výskume z chápania morálnych dilem u samotných respondentov a respondentiek. Takto sme kategorizovali 11 hlavných tematických oblastí morálnych dilem v partnerských vzťahoch (Marková, Turčan, 2021): 1. nevera, 2. nedôvera, klamanie vo vzťahu, žiarlivosť, 3. rozchody/rozvody, 4. neistota, pochybnosti o láske partnera/partnerky, strach zo straty partnera/partnerky, 5. blízkosť, sloboda, 6. ja verus partner/partnerka, resp. vzťah, 7. terajší verus minulý vzťah, 8. kvalita partnerského (príp. sexuálneho) vzťahu, 9. budúcnosť partnerského vzťahu, 10. vhodnosť a výber partnera/partnerky, 11. externé faktory (financie, zdravie a pod.). V tomto článku však budeme prezentovať výskumné zistenia z kvantitatívnych dát.

¹ Text vznikol vďaka podpore grantu APVV-18-0303: Medzníky v tranzíciách intímnych vzťahov a kvalita života v období adolescencie a mladej dospelosti.

VÝSKUM

V článku prezentujeme parciálne výsledky pilotného výskumu, ktorý sa, okrem iného, týkal morálnych aspektov sexuálnych a párových vzťahov, morálnych dilem, lásky a medzníkov v intímnych vzťahoch ako aj ich súvislostí s ďalšími faktormi. V tomto texte sa zameriavame len na analýzu tých dát, ktoré sa týkali morálnych dilem v partnerských vzťahoch a opisujeme súvislosti výskytu nami sledovaných morálnych dilem s axiologickými preferenciami v oblasti partnerskej lásky.

Čo sa týka výskumného nástroja, i keď sme vo výskume využili viaceré metódy kvalitatívneho aj kvantitatívneho charakteru, tu analyzujeme len tú časť výsledkov, ktoré sme získali pomocou nami skonštruovaného dotazníka, ktorý sme administrovali online formou.

Výskumný súbor tvorilo spolu 315 respondentov a respondentiek mladšieho dospelého veku a adolescencie (vekový priemer = 24,01, najčastejšie sa vyskytujúci vek = 21 rokov, 60 % ženy a 40 % muži).

VÝSKUMNÉ ZISTENIA

Výsledky výskumu – axiologické atribúty partnerskej lásky

V rámci výskumu sme zisťovali, čo považujú v súčasnosti, na základe vlastnej skúsenosti, respondenti a respondentky za dôležité v partnerskom intímnom vzťahu. Na päťstupňovej škále mali vyznačiť mieru dôležitosti, ktorú pripisujú jednotlivým atribútom partnerských vzťahov, pričom škála sa pohybovala od 1 = málo dôležité po 5 = veľmi dôležité. Jednotlivé položky, ktoré opýtaní/é muži a ženy posudzovali, sme vyprofilovali z pilotného výskumu o konštrukciách lásky (pozri napr. Lukšík, Guillaume, 2018), pričom sme sa zamerali len na tie, ktoré sa týkali partnerských vzťahov, a taktiež z výskumu axiologických a morálnych preferencií v partnerských vzťahoch (pozri napr. Marková, 2015a,b) tak, aby sme pokryli súčasné hlavné hodnotové atribúty partnerskej lásky. Identifikovali sme týchto 21 atribútov:

1. previazanosť s partnerom/partnerkou
2. pocit lásky
3. atraktívnosť pre partnera/partnerku (partner/partnerka sa páči druhému partnerovi/partnerke)
4. sexuálna príťažlivosť
5. sexuálne uspokojenie
6. vášnivosť
7. pocit bezpečia
8. pochopenie pre partnera/partnerku
9. oceňovanie pozitívnych stránok partnera/partnerky
10. záujem o blaho partnera/partnerky

11. rovnováha medzi partnermi v uspokojovaní potrieb a záujmov
12. pocit zodpovednosti starať sa o partnera//partnerku
13. dôvera, môcť veriť partnerovi//partnerke
14. splynutie s partnerom/partnerkou
15. obetovanie sa
16. osobné obohatenie
17. spoznávanie seba samého/samej
18. vnútorná harmónia medzi partnermi/v partnerskom vzťahu
19. otvorenie sa, rozprávanie dôverných vecí
20. uznanie a vytváranie priestoru pre slobodnú realizáciu sa partnerov
21. spoločné aktivity s partnerom/partnerkou

Na základe hodnoty priemeru sa ukazuje, že všetkým posudzovaným hodnotovým atribútom párovej lásky je prisudzovaná vysoká dôležitosť (hodnota priemeru sa pohybuje od 4,7 po 3,5). Ako najviac dôležitú hodnotia opýtaní/é muži a ženy dôveru (môcť veriť partnerovi//partnerke) – priemer je 4,7. Potom nasleduje pocit lásky (priemer je 4,59) a tretím najdôležitejším atribútom párových vzťahov je pochopenie pre partnera/partnerku (priemer je 4,5). Naopak, osobné obohatenie (priemer je 3,5), spoznávanie seba samého/samej (priemer je 3,7) a vnútorná harmónia (priemer je 3,99) boli uvádzané ako menej dôležité v partnerstve, i keď je nutné brať do úvahy, že rozdiel v hodnotách priemeru je pomerne nízky a aj tieto výsledky poukazujú na pripisovanie vyššej dôležitosti týchto atribútov v partnerských vzťahoch (tab. č. 1).

Tabulka 1 Deskriptívny ukazovateľ (priemer) – hodnotové atribúty partnerskej lásky

Variable	Descriptive Statistics
	Mean
1	4,23175
2	4,58730
3	4,03175
4	4,38730
5	4,15556
6	4,26032
7	4,46349
8	4,50159
9	4,27302
10	4,35873
11	4,36190
12	4,17460
13	4,70794
14	4,23492
15	4,00635
16	3,53016
17	3,71746
18	3,98730
19	4,41587
20	4,14603
21	4,24762

Legenda: Hodnotové atribúty partnerskej lásky: 1. previazanosť s partnerom/partnerkou, 2. pocit lásky, 3. atraktívnosť pre partnera/partnerku, 4. sexuálna príťažlivosť, 5. sexuálne uspokojenie, 6. vášnivosť, 7. pocit bezpečia, 8. pochopenie pre partnera/partnerku, 9. oceňovanie pozitívnych stránok partnera/partnerky, 10. záujem o blaho partnera/partnerky, 11. rovnováha medzi partnermi v uspokojovaní potrieb a záujmov, 12. pocit zodpovednosti starať sa o partnera/partnerku, 13. dôvera, môcť veriť partnerovi/partnerke, 14. splynutie s partnerom/partnerkou, 15. obetovanie sa, 16. osobné obohatenie, 17. spoznávanie seba samého/samej, 18. vnútorná harmónia medzi partnermi/v partnerskom vzťahu, 19. otvorenie sa, rozprávanie dôverných vecí, 20. uznanie a vytváranie priestoru pre slobodnú realizáciu sa partnerov, 21. spoločné aktivity s partnerom/partnerkou.

Výsledky výskumu – morálne dilemy v partnerských vzťahoch

Pri koncipovaní posudzovacej škály výskumu morálnych dilem v partnerských vzťahoch sme sa opierali o výskum Pragerovej (2014), ktorá identifikovala 3 hlavné okruhy dilem v intímnych vzťahoch: radosť verus ochrana pred zranením (Joy versus Protection from Hurt), ja verus my (I versus We) a minulé životy v súčasnosti (The Past Lives in the Present). Vychádzajúc z jej výskumu sme vypracovali škálu, v ktorej sú zastúpené dilemy, ktoré reprezentujú tieto tri oblasti.

Oblasť „radosť verus ochrana pred zranením“ je reprezentovaná týmito dilemami:

- túžba po hlbokej blízkosti s partnerom/partnerkou vs. strach zo zranenia a sklamaní
- túžba odhaliť svoju intimitu, byť úprimný/á a otvorený/á voči partnerovi/partnerke vs. strach z odmietnutia, nezáujmu, nepochopenia partnerom/partnerkou, zneužitia úprimnosti
- túžba po zmene, vyvolaná frustráciou z vyhasnutého, rutinného spolužitia vs. strach meniť vzťah a vystavovať sa novým rizikám
- strach z osamelosti vs. strach zo závislosti vo vzťahu
- nenaplnená túžba po hlbokej intímite v partnerskom vzťahu vs. strach z rozpadu vzťahu, osamelosti a samoty

Druhá oblasť „Ja verus My“ je sýtená dilemami:

- túžba naplňať svoje vlastné sny a plány vs. túžba naplňať spoločné životné ciele a zámery s partnerom/partnerkou
- vlastná ochota prispôbovať sa partnerovi/partnerke v záujme harmonického vzťahu vs. ochota a schopnosť partnera/partnerky prispôbovať sa
- potreba byť prijatý/á partnerom/partnerkou vs. potreba byť sám/sama sebou (taký/á, aký/á naozaj som)
- dávať vo vzťahu vs. brať vo vzťahu

Tretia oblasť „minulé životy v súčasnosti“ je sýtená dilemami:

- vlastné očakávania od partnerského vzťahu vs. miera a podoba ich skutočného naplnenia
- túžba nájsť celoživotného/ú partnera/partnerku vs. strach znovu zažiť sklamanie, zlyhanie ako v minulých vzťahoch
- snaha odpustiť partnerovi/partnerke vs. príliš hlboké zranenie od partnera/partnerky
- nádej, že sa partner/partnerka zmení vs. vzdanie sa naplnenia vlastných očakávaní vo vzťahu

Účastníčky a účastníci výskumu mali ku každej príslušnej dileme v oblasti intimity podľa častosti, v akej ju zažili, resp. riešili vo svojom partnerskom živote priradiť číslo na škále od 1 po 7, kde: 1 = vždy (t.j. riešil/a takúto dilemu/situáciu v každom partnerskom vzťahu) a 7 = nikdy (t.j. neriešil/a takúto dilemu/situáciu v žiadnom partnerskom vzťahu).

Výsledky v tab. č. 2 poukazujú na to, že všetky skúmané dilemy sú v partnerských vzťahoch riešené (hodnota priemeru sa pohybuje od 4,0 po 4,7). Opäť je rozdiel v hodnotách priemeru nízky. Najčastejšie sa v párových vzťahoch respondenti a respondentky stretli s dilemou „vlastná ochota prispôbovať sa partnerovi/partnerke v záujme harmonického

vzťahu vs. ochota a schopnosť partnera/partnerky prispôsobovať sa“ (priemer je 4,0) a najmenej často bola uvádzaná „nenaplnená túžba po hlboknej intimitate v partnerskom vzťahu vs. strach z rozpadu vzťahu, osamelosti a samoty“ (priemer je 4,7).

Tabuľka 2 Deskriptívny ukazovateľ (priemer) – morálne dilemy v partnerských vzťahoch

Variable	Descriptive Statistics
	Mean
41	4,10828
42	4,18730
43	4,39048
44	4,42857
45	4,71111
46	4,14921
47	4,00952
48	4,24762
49	4,46032
50	4,19048
51	4,10476
52	4,32381
53	4,38413

Legenda: Morálne dilemy v párových vzťahoch: 41. túžba po hlboknej blízkosti s partnerom/partnerkou vs. strach zo zranenia a sklamaní, 42. túžba odhaliť svoju intimitu, byť úprimný/á a otvorený/á voči partnerovi/partnerke vs. strach z odmietnutia, nezájmu, nepochopenia partnerom/partnerkou, zneužitia úprimnosti, 43. túžba po zmene, vyvolaná frustráciou z vyhasnutého, rutinného spolužitia vs. strach meniť vzťah a vystavovať sa novým rizikám, 44. strach z osamelosti vs. strach zo závislosti vo vzťahu, 45. nenaplnená túžba po hlboknej intimitate v partnerskom vzťahu vs. strach z rozpadu vzťahu, osamelosti a samoty, 46. túžba naplňať svoje vlastné sny a plány vs. túžba naplňať spoločné životné ciele a zábery s partnerom/partnerkou, 47. vlastná ochota prispôsobovať sa partnerovi/partnerke v záujme harmonického vzťahu vs. ochota a schopnosť partnera/partnerky prispôsobovať sa, 48. potreba byť prijatý/á partnerom/partnerkou vs. potreba byť sám/sama sebou (taký/á, aký/á naozaj som), 49. dávať vo vzťahu vs. brať vo vzťahu, 50. vlastné očakávania od partnerského vzťahu vs. miera a podoba ich skutočného naplnenia, 51. túžba nájsť celoživotného/ú partnera/partnerku vs. strach znovu zažiť sklamanie, zlyhanie ako v minulých vzťahoch, 52. snaha odpustiť partnerovi/partnerke vs. príliš hlboké zranenie od partnera/partnerky, 53. nádej, že sa partner/partnerka zmení vs. vzdanie sa naplnenia vlastných očakávaní vo vzťahu.

Výsledky výskumu – hodnotové atribúty partnerskej lásky a morálne dilemy v párových vzťahoch

V rámci výskumu sme zisťovali aj súvislosti výskytu morálnych dilem v párových vzťahoch s prisudzovaním dôležitosti sledovaných hodnotových atribútov partnerskej lásky. V tabuľkách č. 3.A, 3.B a 3.C sú uvedené výsledky, ktoré sa týkajú korelácií² preferencií hodnotových atribútov partnerskej lásky opýtaných mužov a žien vo vzťahu k výskytu morálnych dilem, ktoré riešia v ich partnerských vzťahoch, a to v rámci troch skúmaných oblastí: radosť verzus ochrana pred zranením (Joy versus Protection from Hurt), ja verzus my (I versus We) a minulé životy v súčasnosti (The Past Lives in the Present).

Čo sa týka prvej sledovanej oblasti morálnych dilem - radosť verzus ochrana pred zranením (Joy versus Protection from Hurt), naše výsledky (tab. č. 3.A) poukazujú na to že:

- čím vyššiu dôležitosť opýtani/é muži a ženy prisudzovali *previazanosti s partnerom/partnerkou, záujmu o blaho partnera/partnerky a splynutiu s partnerom/partnerkou* vo svojich partnerských vzťahoch, tým menej riešili vo svojich partnerských vzťahoch dilemu *nenaplnená túžba po hlbokoj intimite v partnerskom vzťahu vs. strach z rozpadu vzťahu, osamelosti a samoty*,
- a naopak: čím vyššiu dôležitosť opýtani/é muži a ženy kládli na *vášnivosť* vo svojich partnerských vzťahoch, tým viac riešili vo svojich partnerských vzťahoch dilemu *nenaplnená túžba po hlbokoj intimite v partnerskom vzťahu vs. strach z rozpadu vzťahu, osamelosti a samoty*,
- čím väčšiu dôležitosť opýtani/é muži a ženy pripisovali *sexuálnemu uspokojeniu a vášnivosti vo párových vzťahoch*, tým častejšie riešili vo svojich partnerských vzťahoch dilemu *túžba po zmene, vyvolaná frustráciou z vyhasnutého, rutinného spoluzitia vs. strach meniť vzťah a vystavovať sa novým rizikám*,
- čím vyššiu dôležitosť opýtani/é muži a ženy pripisovali *pocitu lásky, pocitu bezpečia a vášnivosti vo párových vzťahoch*, tým častejšie riešili vo svojich partnerských vzťahoch dilemu *strach z osamelosti vs. strach zo závislosti vo vzťahu*.

Čo sa týka druhého okruhu morálnych dilem - ja verzus my (I versus We), získané výsledky (tab. č. 3.B) poukazujú na to že:

- čím vyššiu dôležitosť respondenti a respondentky prisudzovali záujmu o blaho partnera/partnerky, vnútornej harmónii, uznaniu a vytváraniu priestoru pre slobodnú realizáciu sa partnerov, tým menej riešili vo svojich partnerstvách dilemu *dávať vo vzťahu vs. brať vo vzťahu*,
- a naopak: čím vyššiu dôležitosť opýtani/é muži a ženy prisudzovali *vášnivosti* vo svojich partnerských vzťahoch, tým viac riešili vo svojich partnerských vzťahoch dilemu *dávať vo vzťahu vs. brať vo vzťahu, ako aj túžba naplňať svoje vlastné sny a plány vs. túžba naplňať spoločné životné ciele a zámary s partnerom/partnerkou*,
- čím viac zdôrazňovali dôležitosť atribútov v partnerstvách *pochopenie pre partnera/partnerku, dôvera partnerovi/partnerke a spoznávanie seba samého/samej*, tým viac riešili vo svojich partnerských vzťahoch dilemu *vlastná ochota prispôsobovať*

² Výsledky je nutné interpretovať vzhľadom na príslušnú použitú odpovedňú škálu vo výskumnom nástroji

sa partnerovi/partnerke v záujme harmonického vzťahu vs. ochota a schopnosť partnera/partnerky prispôsobovať sa,

- čím vyššiu dôležitosť opýtané osoby pripisovali pocitu zodpovednosti starať sa o partnera/partnerku a vášnivosti v partnerstve, tým častejšie riešili vo svojich partnerských vzťahoch dilemu *potreba byť prijatý/á partnerom/partnerkou vs. potreba byť sám/sama sebou (taký/á, aký/á naozaj som).*

A napokon, vo vzťahu k tretej skúmanej oblasti morálnych dilem - minulé životy v súčasnosti (The Past Lives in the Present), nižšie uvedené dáta (tab. č. 3.C) ukazujú že:

- čím vyššia dôležitosť bola prisudzovaná záujmu o *blaho partnera/partnerky*, tým menej často bola v párových vzťahoch riešená dilema *snaha odpustiť partnerovi/partnerke vs. príliš hlboké zranenie od partnera/partnerky,*
- čím viac bolo zdôrazňované *uznanie a vytváranie priestoru pre slobodnú realizáciu sa partnerov ako dôležitá hodnota* v partnerstve, tým menej často sa vyskytovala dilema *nádej, že sa partner/partnerka zmení vs. vzdanie sa naplnenia vlastných očakávaní vo vzťahu,*
- a naopak: čím vyššiu dôležitosť opýtani/é muži a ženy pripisovali vášnivosti vo svojich partnerských vzťahoch a *atraktívnosti pre partnera/partnerku*, tým častejšie riešili vo svojich partnerských vzťahoch dilemu *vlastné očakávania od partnerského vzťahu vs. miera a podoba ich skutočného naplnenia.*

Tabulka 3A Výsledky korelácií: – hodnotové atribúty partnerskej lásky a morálne dilemy v partnerských vzťahoch v oblasti „radosť verzus ochrana pred zranením“

Variable	Spearman Rank Order Correlations MD pairwise deleted Marked correlations are significant at $p < .05000$				
	41	42	43	44	45
1	0,076390	0,056399	0,061599	0,099375	0,146740
2	-0,059435	-0,029976	0,011950	-0,118052	0,026790
3	-0,008792	0,006975	0,014637	-0,022940	-0,070851
4	-0,032928	0,018556	-0,069775	0,023214	-0,083098
5	0,013194	-0,037847	-0,117823	0,023971	-0,072549
6	-0,085256	0,015863	-0,147175	-0,120018	-0,112944
7	0,044591	0,018558	-0,049625	-0,119419	0,037034
8	-0,035370	0,004005	0,029881	0,004731	0,077897
9	0,014154	0,002558	0,046338	-0,017916	0,109598
10	0,008331	0,030287	0,047626	0,061035	0,123455
11	-0,056516	-0,044796	-0,031179	0,031636	0,054019
12	0,006690	0,000318	0,027494	0,004112	0,063803
13	0,026178	0,054738	0,002121	-0,067326	0,045968
14	0,054963	-0,026318	0,030214	0,065438	0,111043
15	0,024857	0,086889	-0,010416	0,007647	0,082730
16	-0,002673	-0,020318	-0,065720	0,005700	-0,046602
17	-0,059530	-0,036942	-0,025472	-0,052797	-0,027753
18	0,022311	0,048546	0,012899	0,024043	0,075314
19	-0,087287	0,052415	0,003051	-0,013802	0,069001
20	0,071556	0,090414	-0,033774	0,038067	0,059986
21	0,110357	0,056843	0,084835	0,035573	0,100259

Legenda: Morálne dilemy v párových vzťahoch: 41. túžba po hlbokej blízkosti s partnerom/partnerkou vs. strach zo zranenia a sklamaní, 42. túžba odhaliť svoju intimitu, byť úprimný/á a otvorený/á voči partnerovi/partnerke vs. strach z odmietnutia, nezáujmu, nepochopenia partnerom/partnerkou, zneužitia úprimnosti, 43. túžba po zmene, vyvolaná frustráciou z vyhasnutého, rutinného spoluzitia vs. strach meniť vzťah a vystavovať sa novým rizikám, 44. strach z osamelosti vs. strach zo závislosti vo vzťahu, 45. nenaplnená túžba po hlbokej intimite v partnerskom vzťahu vs. strach z rozpadu vzťahu, osamelosti a samoty.

Hodnotové atribúty partnerskej lásky: 1. previazanosť s partnerom/partnerkou, 2. pocit lásky, 3. atraktivnosť pre partnera/partnerku, 4. sexuálna príťažlivosť, 5. sexuálne uspokojenie, 6. vášnivnosť, 7. pocit bezpečia, 8. pochopenie pre partnera/partnerku, 9. oceňovanie pozitívnych stránok partnera/partnerky, 10. záujem o blaho partnera/partnerky, 11. rovnováha medzi partnermi v uspokojovaní potrieb a záujmov, 12. pocit zodpovednosti starať sa o partnera/partnerku, 13. dôvera, môcť veriť partnerovi/partnerke, 14. splynutie s partnerom/partnerkou, 15. obetovanie sa, 16. osobné obohatenie, 17. spoznávanie seba samého/samej, 18. vnútorná harmónia medzi partnermi/v partnerskom vzťahu, 19. otvorenie sa, rozprávanie dôverných vecí, 20. uznanie a vytváranie priestoru pre slobodnú realizáciu sa partnerov, 21. spoločné aktivity s partnerom/partnerkou.

Tabuľka 3B Výsledky korelácií: – hodnotové atribúty partnerskej lásky a morálne dilemy v partnerských vzťahoch v oblasti „ja verzus my“

Variable	Spearman Rank Order Correlations MD pairwise deleted Marked correlations are significant at $p < ,05000$			
	46	47	48	49
1	0,105300	0,001471	-0,059072	0,037143
2	0,045934	-0,072682	-0,016526	-0,051835
3	-0,037514	0,078856	-0,088846	0,017961
4	-0,031894	-0,015375	-0,104436	-0,080834
5	-0,053463	-0,021028	-0,077357	-0,060996
6	-0,173794	-0,110022	-0,194159	-0,173259
7	0,091726	-0,027530	0,005051	0,073789
8	0,052579	-0,124149	-0,030395	0,015632
9	0,036552	-0,092031	-0,096914	0,026754
10	0,090810	-0,056233	-0,046902	0,112552
11	-0,023085	-0,097986	-0,083811	-0,056124
12	0,072159	-0,044795	-0,113012	-0,014878
13	0,013708	-0,142837	0,035510	0,019483
14	0,033582	-0,031263	-0,009694	0,078167
15	-0,005967	0,020818	-0,067062	0,053060
16	0,073959	-0,035410	-0,047466	-0,048893
17	0,020825	-0,110548	-0,060857	-0,064732
18	0,098940	-0,067592	0,046132	0,110606
19	0,034905	-0,080311	-0,089657	0,069756
20	0,089692	-0,084425	-0,037718	0,144384
21	0,077294	-0,042033	-0,028318	-0,017110

Legenda: Morálne dilemy v párových vzťahoch: 46. túžba naplňať svoje vlastné sny a plány vs. túžba naplňať spoločné životné ciele a zámery s partnerom/partnerkou, 47. vlastná ochota prispôbovať sa partnerovi/partnerke v záujme harmonického vzťahu vs. ochota a schopnosť partnera/partnerky prispôbovať sa, 48. potreba byť prijatý/á partnerom/partnerkou vs. potreba byť sám/sama sebou (taký/á, aký/á naozaj som), 49. dávať vo vzťahu vs. brať vo vzťahu.

Hodnotové atribúty partnerskej lásky: 1. previazanosť s partnerom/partnerkou, 2. pocit lásky, 3. atraktívnosť pre partnera/partnerku, 4. sexuálna príťažlivosť, 5. sexuálne uspokojenie, 6. vášnivosť, 7. pocit bezpečia, 8. pochopenie pre partnera/partnerku, 9. oceňovanie pozitívnych stránok partnera/partnerky, 10. záujem o blaho partnera/partnerky, 11. rovnováha medzi partnermi v uspokojovaní potrieb a záujmov, 12. pocit zodpovednosti starať sa o partnera/partnerku, 13. dôvera, môcť veriť partnerovi/partnerke, 14. splynutie s partnerom/partnerkou, 15. obetovanie sa, 16. osobné obohatenie, 17. spoznávanie seba samého/samej, 18. vnútorná harmónia medzi partnermi/v partnerskom vzťahu, 19. otvorenie sa, rozprávanie dôverných vecí, 20. uznanie a vytváranie priestoru pre slobodnú realizáciu sa partnerov, 21. spoločné aktivity s partnerom/partnerkou.

Tabulka 3C Výsledky korelácií: – hodnotové atribúty partnerskej lásky a morálne dilemy v partnerských vzťahoch v oblasti „minulé životy v súčasnosti“

Variable	Spearman Rank Order Correlations MD pairwise deleted Marked correlations are significant at $p < .05000$			
	50	51	52	53
1	-0,019736	0,018665	0,025388	0,071831
2	-0,062898	-0,041750	0,000411	0,001702
3	-0,115822	0,065815	-0,012640	0,085661
4	-0,095144	-0,018470	-0,011416	0,088435
5	-0,046635	0,041669	0,028668	0,068621
6	-0,170697	-0,088485	-0,052527	-0,039896
7	0,059822	-0,030924	0,048467	0,005595
8	0,057517	-0,072847	0,018341	-0,049662
9	0,084479	-0,046010	0,081653	0,075200
10	0,040484	0,038549	0,125865	0,087535
11	0,008024	-0,061705	0,047563	0,093814
12	-0,023701	-0,004217	0,050758	0,107736
13	0,039947	0,000897	0,093205	-0,039493
14	0,012985	0,085540	0,100582	0,065033
15	0,082731	-0,032101	0,027573	0,051902
16	-0,004522	-0,046878	0,075960	0,033476
17	0,022501	-0,010554	0,026319	0,078254
18	0,077530	0,025843	0,079284	0,064342
19	-0,016727	0,011954	-0,037056	-0,022244
20	0,071062	-0,006563	0,048066	0,120336
21	0,070101	-0,023468	-0,026689	0,004272

Legenda: Morálne dilemy v párových vzťahoch: 50. vlastné očakávania od partnerského vzťahu vs. miera a podoba ich skutočného naplnenia, 51. túžba nájsť celoživotného/ú partnera /partnerku vs. strach znovu zažiť sklamanie, zlyhanie ako v minulých vzťahoch, 52. snaha odpustiť partnerovi/partnerke vs. príliš hlboké zranenie od partnera/partnerky, 53. nádej, že sa partner/partnerka zmení vs. vzdanie sa naplnenia vlastných očakávaní vo vzťahu.

Hodnotové atribúty partnerskej lásky: 1. previazanosť s partnerom/partnerkou, 2. pocit lásky, 3. atraktivnosť pre partnera/partnerku, 4. sexuálna príťažlivosť, 5. sexuálne uspokojenie, 6. vášnivnosť, 7. pocit bezpečia, 8. pochopenie pre partnera/partnerku, 9. oceňovanie pozitívnych stránok partnera/partnerky, 10. záujem o blaho partnera/partnerky, 11. rovnováha medzi partnermi v uspokojovaní potrieb a záujmov, 12. pocit zodpovednosti starať sa o partnera/partnerku, 13. dôvera, môcť veriť partnerovi/partnerke, 14. splynutie s partnerom/partnerkou, 15. obetovanie sa, 16. osobné obohatenie, 17. spoznávanie seba samého/samej, 18. vnútorná harmónia medzi partnermi/v partnerskom vzťahu, 19. otvorenie sa, rozprávanie dôverných vecí, 20. uznanie a vytváranie priestoru pre slobodnú realizáciu sa partnerov, 21. spoločné aktivity s partnerom/partnerkou.

ZÁVER

Aby sme zodpovedali východiskovú otázku, či súvisia morálne dilemy s axiologickými konštrukciami partnerskej lásky, opierali sme sa o výsledky korelácií medzi nami konštruovanými hodnotovými atribútmi partnerskej lásky (vytvorené na základe našich výskumov napr. Lukšík, Guillaume, 2018, Marková, 2015a,b) a tromi oblasťami morálnych dilem v oblasti intimity (vychádzajúc z Prager, 2014): radosť verzus ochrana pred zranením (Joy versus Protection from Hurt), ja verzus my (I versus We) a minulé životy v súčasnosti (The Past Lives in the Present). Spomedzi 21 sledovaných hodnotových atribútov partnerskej lásky a 13 morálnych dilem v partnerských vzťahoch boli identifikované viaceré štatisticky významné súvislosti.

Naše výsledky naznačujú, že hodnotové konštrukcie partnerskej lásky sú previazané s dilemami, ktoré muži a ženy riešia vo svojich partnerských vzťahoch. Ukazuje sa odlišné axiologické konštrukcie v oblasti intimity a partnerstiev vedú aj k osobitým dilemám, s ktorými sú v párovom živote muži a ženy konfrontovaní/é.

Konštrukcie párových vzťahov ako *previazanosti, splynutia s partnerom/partnerkou*, a dôležitosť záujmu o blaho o toho druhého sa viažu s menším výskytom riešenia dilem ohľadom nerovnováhy medzi dávaním a braním vo vzťahu, ako aj dilem, ktoré sa týkajú *nenaplnenej túžby po hlbokej intimite* verzus opustenia takéhoto vzťahu, resp. strachu z jeho rozpadu, osamelosti či samoty. Na druhej strane, *zdôrazňovanie pocitu zodpovednosti, starostlivosti o partnera/partnerku* súvisí s častejším výskytom dilemy *byť prijatý/á partnerom/partnerkou alebo byť sám/sama sebou*. Dôležitosť hodnôt *pochopenie pre partnera/partnerku, dôvera a spoznávanie seba samého/samej* sa viaže s častejším riešením dilemy vlastného alebo partnerovho/partnerkinho *prispôsobovania sa v záujme harmonického vzťahu*.

Taktiež menej často riešia dilemy dávania a barania vo vzťahu, ako aj tie, ktoré sa týkajú očakávania a nádeje v zmenu partnera/partnerky verzus *vzdania sa naplnenia vlastných očakávaní vo vzťahu*, tí/tie, ktorí/é prisudzujú vyššiu dôležitosť hodnote sebarealizácie partnerov a vytvárania priestoru pre jej slobodnú realizáciu.

Ďalej sme zistili, že čím viac dôležitý je v párových vzťahoch *pocit lásky a bezpečia*, tým častejšie riešená bola dilema osamelosti verzus závislosti vo vzťahu.

Zdôrazňovanie sexuálneho uspokojenia a atraktívnosti ako dôležitých atribútov partnerského vzťahu súvisí s riešením dilem ohľadom naplnenia vlastných očakávaní od partnerského vzťahu, a aj zmeny vyhasnutého, rutinného spolužitia a strachov a rizík s tým spätých. Tento obraz vykresľuje aj kladenie dôrazu na vášeň v párovom vzťahu.

Ideál vášnivého partnerského vzťahu sa ukazuje ako významný faktor, ktorý ovplyvňuje morálne konfliktné situácie v partnerstvách. Na základe našich výsledkov, prisudzovanie vášnivosti ako dôležitého atribútu párového vzťahu sa spája s častejším riešením mnohých dilem v partnerských vzťahoch:

- *nenaplnená túžba po hlbokoj intimite v partnerskom vzťahu vs. strach z rozpadu vzťahu, osamelosti a samoty,*
- *túžba po zmene, vyvolaná frustráciou z vyhasnutého, rutinného spolužitia vs. strach meniť vzťah a vystavovať sa novým rizikám,*

- strach z osamelosti vs. strach zo závislosti vo vzťahu,
- dávať vo vzťahu vs. brať vo vzťahu,
- túžba naplňať svoje vlastné sny a plány vs. túžba naplňať spoločné životné ciele a zábery s partnerom/partnerkou,
- potreba byť prijatý/á partnerom/partnerkou vs. potreba byť sám/sama sebou (taký/á, aký/á naozaj som),
- vlastné očakávania od partnerského vzťahu vs. miera a podoba ich skutočného naplnenia.

Ukazuje sa, že zdôrazňovanie vášnivosti ako podstatnej kvality partnerského vzťahu vedie k situáciám, ktoré vyúsťujú do konfrontácií so subjektívnymi konštrukciami intimity, partnerskej lásky a nepochybne vlastného rastu v partnerstve, ako aj do otázok o kvalite a vývine vzťahu, jeho spochybňovania a prípadného ukončenia, a samozrejme riešenia mnohých morálnych dilem z toho vyplývajúcich. Tieto zistenia sú v súlade s výskumami v danej oblasti (napr. Haavio-Mannila et al., 2003), ktoré poukazujú na to, že ideál lásky, kde má byť vášeň stále intenzívna alebo aspoň prítomná, ako základ dlhého, dokonca celoživotného vzťahu, môže byť v partnerských vzťahoch v dlhodobej, ale súčasne v stále postačujúcej intenzite, problematický – ideál udržať vášeň, ktorá je prchavá, situačná a afektívna, vedie v partnerstvách k výzvam ako ju udržať, k prehodnocovaniu jej dôležitosti vo vzťahu k iným kvalitám vzťahu, a vzhľadom k tomu i k otázkam potreby zmeny či zotrvania v partnerstve.

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Text vznikol vďaka podpore grantu APVV-18-0303: Medzníky v tranzíciách intímnych vzťahov a kvalita života v období adolescencie a mladej dospelosti.

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EXAMPLE OF GOOD PRACTICE

ASSISTANCE TO INDIVIDUALS WITH MENTAL DISABILITIES AND BEHAVIORAL DISORDERS DURING FIDGETINESS

Marta Kolaříková

Adults with mental disabilities in combination with behavioral disorders and special needs can use residential social care services, which in the Czech Republic are called homes with a special regime, or remain in their natural environment. These people often have a very difficult mental state, they may fall into a „period of unrest“, which may culminate in aggressive behavior towards themselves or their surroundings.

I give an example of good practice thanks to the described experiences of two of my students (Jana Hicová, Jiřina Nováková), who worked in a home with a special regime and shared their experiences not only with me, full-time students (workshop organization), but also worked on bachelor's theses. At this point, I would like to briefly present Jiřina Nováková's bachelor's thesis, which also included a methodology for helping nonprofessionals who can find themselves in very difficult situations when caring for a family member with a mental disability and behavioral disorder.

This facility provides basic activities, such as the provision of accommodation, meals, personal hygiene assistance, assistance or support in sociotherapeutic activities and activation activities. According to the Act of the Czech Republic No. 108/2006 Coll. on social services, the social service provider is obliged to update individual care plans of users of services with a risk in behavior, aimed at minimizing risky behavior. In the case of recurrent risky behavior, a section on the prevention of risky behavior and procedures for its elimination should be included in the individual care plan. The individual and risk plan must include all possible primary and secondary prevention procedures considered and a detailed specific description of worker procedures in the event of user risk behavior, including any procedures for action that may be taken. Procedures to eliminate risky behavior include primarily three areas, namely: risk prevention and mapping, distraction, gentle grips, and a safe stay room.

Prevention and mapping of risks of problem behavior

The creation of risk plans takes place individually with the client of the service, with a team of employees, or in multiprofessional teams. Risk situations are continuously evaluated. Preventive measures serve to ensure that the employee is able to identify triggers of risky behavior and choose the appropriate procedure to work with the client. Risky behavior in this sense also includes violent behavior and danger to each other (autoaggression, suicidal behavior).

Measures restricting movement

According to the valid rules for the provision of care, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs of the Czech Republic is not allowed to adopt and apply measures restricting the movement of people in social services. Exceptions are cases of direct threat to the health and life of others. If this measure is taken, it must last very short for the time strictly necessary in the mildest measure. Restrictions on a person's movement must always be preceded by an effort to calm the situation, for example, by listening, distracting, offering an interview, activities, activities. If the client does not calm down, the person must be informed of the restriction of movement. Only trained, accredited personnel may perform physical restraints using gentle grips. Grabbing must not hurt the client and must always be respected his dignity. If sedation does not occur, the person may be placed in a room set up for a safe stay, or medicinal products may be administered on the doctor basis of the called and in his / her presence. An appropriate document must be drawn up without delay in the use of measures restricting movement in social services, and the legal representative must be informed. The practice is that the worker who must intervene first chooses physical grips (known in social services as gentle grips), which must be appropriate to the client's age, size, and gender. It is not appropriate to immobilize the client during the intervention. If even these measures do not help, the worker can use the room set up for a safe stay; if even this measure does not work, the worker will call for medical help.

Once the restrictions on movement have been completed and the mandatory requirements have been met, it is necessary to evaluate the existing risk plan, discuss possible new risks, and follow-up preventive measures to minimize the recurrence of problem behavior.

New approaches in working with users in social services facilities

Various procedures, methods, and approaches to work are sought to improve the lives of users with behavioral disorders living in a home with a special regime. One of these approaches to working with the user is „The Road to Recovery,” written by American psychiatrist Mark Ragins, which describes the stages an individual must go through on the path to change. It is a phase of hope, empowerment, responsibility, and a new role. According to the author, hope is important to see as a positive image of the future, faith in oneself, and in the employee's emotional connection with the client. The task of empowerment is to see the client as a person, not a case, not to moralize, not to punish, to adhere to the two principles of respect and sincerity. It is good for the workers to come out from the role of nurses; they tried to do something different, not to stick to the role in which the client knows them. This will show their relationship to the client and it is possible to create new things. According to the principle of the responsibility phase, it is better to take a risk than to remain in sterility and eternal stress. Involve the client but do not force them to support him in making decisions. It is important to be

aware of your own prejudices that limit client behavior. In the last phase, which is a new meaningful life role, the goal is to help find new life roles in relation to work, family, friends, be less client and more human, start living your own life more (Ragins, 2019).

Employees of the Home with a Special Regime (Jana Hicová, Jiřina Nováková, Home with a Special Regime Pízn, <https://www.nassvetprzno.cz/dzr/>), who studied the bachelor's study program Social Pathology and Prevention at our university, are constantly trying to find new ones challenges, projects, trainings that would help them in their daily work. They have very good experience with the project „Where there is a will, there is a way“, which aimed to find alternative methods to improve the lives of people with mental disabilities combined with behavioral disorders and specific needs. The facility staff were educated under the guidance of excellent lecturers of various seminars, focused, for example on the sexual life of people with disabilities, crisis intervention, assertive techniques, and alternative communication.

Due to the lack of capacity of residential facilities, people with mental disabilities and serious behavioral disorders remain at home, and it happens that their uncontrolled behavior can be threatening for them and their caring family. This was the goal of Jiina Nováková's bachelor's thesis, which, as an experienced worker of a residential facility, wanted to offer home caregivers a methodological guide to the procedure in crisis situations.

We also present an example from the developed methodological manual, which concerns the methodological procedure „Communication with the caregiver during fidgetiness“ and recommended assertive techniques.

When caring for people with mental disabilities, combined with behavioral disorders and specific needs, we often encounter verbally aggressive behavior, which is manifested by anger, shouting, vulgar expression, and threats. The most common causes of this behavior are usually dissatisfaction with some of the basic human needs, stress, fatigue, fear, disappointment, or failure. To manage the verbally aggressive behavior of the caregiver, we can use one of the communication techniques, such as asking about specific circumstances.

and the people who caused the situation, affirming the right to anger, opening doors, listening, mirroring, accepting mistakes, expressing understanding, expressing appreciation. When talking to the cared for in a period of unrest, it is necessary to distinguish how they react to the situation.

Assertive communication techniques

Asking for details

When you ask for details, we show interest in the caregiver. We ask what was causing his agitation, what angered him. We ask for details of the situation. We pay attention to the cared for all the time, we show him our interest, we try to keep him, we calm down and divert attention from anger, but at the same time we try to find the reason what caused his restlessness.

Affirming the right to anger

We agree with the caregiver that if his anger is justified, he has the right to be angry. Otherwise, if your anger is not justified, we will understand and sensitively provide the caregiver with information on how to safely process your anger and resolve the situation.

Opening the door

We will offer the caregiver the opportunity to vent the accumulated negative emotions in a safe environment, for example, in his room, in a room where he feels safe and secure.... Let us be angry, but we must realize that anger is not directed towards us, and therefore we do not take his manifestations of anger personally (insults, insults, etc.).

Listening

We prove that we listen to the caregiver by letting him speak freely. In doing so, we express our interest in what the caregiver is saying, both verbally and gestures. We sensitively show that we perceive, hear, and understand it. For example, we nod or confirm. By listening, we can divert the caregiver's attention from his anger.

Mirroring

Mirroring is a technique in which we describe what he is doing in a suitably angry way or he says, but we do not communicate anything about our feelings and emotions. This technique should help the caregiver decide whether to continue his aggressive behavior or calms down.

Accept error

If the cause of the aggression is the caregiver's fault, it is appropriate for him to admit his mistake and apologized to the caregiver. It is important that there is an equal and responsible approach between people. Admitting our mistake and apologizing can be very important between the two parties, thus strengthening mutual trust.

Expression of understanding

If we find something in the expression of the angry that confirms us that he is justifiably angry, we express our understanding and sincerely say that we understand him. Truthfulness and trustworthiness are very important in this technique. This technique helps the caregiver to perceive a sense of acceptance and understanding and can reduce the symptoms of anger and also develop a relationship between them and the caregiver.

Expression of awards

In angry speeches, we try to find something we can appreciate, such as that he is interested in sharing his feelings, emotions, that he wants to solve the situation, and we emphasize its achievements and the pros.

Good practice

With good communication, we not only learn a lot of information that angered the caregiver, but mainly trust and a relationship between communicators. Gaining trust means that the other person will listen to us and will be willing to cooperate, which will distract from aggressive behavior.

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	REPORT	
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A DIALOGUE FOR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING

Eva Zežulková

In 2021, the team of academic staff of the newly established Institute of Special Education at the FVP SU in Opava is to implement a project of the Ministry of Education and Science – *Practical Model of Primary Prevention of Risky Behaviour in Schools (PRCH-IP-organization_0040/2021)*, which is in line with the long-term concept of the development of scientific and research activities of the Institute. Primary prevention of risky behaviour in schools is an important component of early pedagogical intervention, especially in the context of current trends of inclusive education accompanied by increasing heterogeneity of classroom collectives and increasing demands on pupils' social skills. The priority topics of the scientific and research activities of the Institute of Special Education include: inclusive education with an emphasis on the education of pupils at risk of school failure and pupils with special educational needs, the development of cooperation between the university and practice with a focus on the issue of balancing opportunities for citizens with disabilities in the Moravian-Silesian region, and strengthening the competencies of graduates of special education for the needs of the labour market.

The project concept is based on the needs of school practice to continuously strengthen the development of social skills of pupils. The need to pay increased attention to this topic is made more acute by the consequences of the crisis associated with the COVID-19 pandemic, during which the development of pupils' social competences was put on hold for a considerable period. Pupils who exhibit risk behaviours have serious emotional deficiencies that limit their self-concept and their success in establishing and maintaining appropriate interpersonal relationships. They often face mistrust from classmates and teachers due to uncertainty over how to assess and respond to their risky behaviour. Impaired social skills can significantly disrupt the process of adaptation to the school environment and can also negatively affect educational progress and outcomes. A significant period in the formation of an individual's personality is the period of early school age. Fixed risk behaviours at this age are very difficult to eliminate later on, and the effectiveness of educational approaches often does not correspond to the efforts made by educators.

The project is intended to support the development of professional competences in school counsellors and teachers for intervention work with pupils with problematic and risky behaviour. The aim of the project is to monitor risky behaviour of pupils in the school environment with an emphasis on the analysis of manifestations and causes of risky behaviour, including reflection on effective means of support in dealing with risky behaviours in pupils. The target group consists of primary school teachers and pupils of younger school age (6–12 years) in inclusive education; attention will also be paid to pupils with special educational needs, which can be a predictor of risky behaviour.

In order to develop social skills, the method of working with the target group will be activity-based. In addition to verbal methods (narratives, interviews, discussions about specific stories and situations), activating methods (interactive guided games and didactic games aimed at developing particular social skills in the form of concrete experiences of children, exercises, acting improvisations, common situations of everyday life, etc.) will also be used.

Cooperation with the primary schools supporting the project is long-term and is mainly based on the successfully implemented project *Direct and Clear Support for School Inclusion – the Question of School, Family, Neighbourhood* (2016–2019). The project addressed issues relating to the conditions of inclusive education, with an emphasis on increasing the competences of teaching staff, on cooperation with legal representatives of pupils with special educational needs and pupils at risk of dropping out of education, and direct support for these pupils. Throughout the project, for more than 600 pupils, tutoring was provided directly in the school environment, and, for 55 pupils, individually in the environment of their homes.

The outputs of the implemented project *Practical Model of Primary Prevention of Risky Behaviour in Schools* will be presented in the concrete form of final reports on the results of the monitoring of the manifestations and frequency of risky behaviour of pupils in the school environment, and on the results of the monitoring of the needs of teachers in the field of support in intervention work with pupils with problematic and risky behaviour. The findings will provide the necessary basis for the design of the Interactive Social Skills Development Programme and its pilot testing in school practice. On the basis of the analysis of the pilot validation, measures will be formulated for the implementation of the Interactive Social Skills Development Programme in school curricula, especially in minimum prevention programmes.

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	BOOK REVIEW	
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SEX, VIOLENCE, AND SOCIETY. CONSENSUAL SADOMASOCHISM AS PART OF CULTURE

Kamil Janiš

Špráchalová Skřivánková, L. (2021). *Sex, násilí a společnost. Konsenzuální sadomasochismus jako součást kultury* [Sex, violence, and society. Consensual sadomasochism as part of culture. Plzeň: Aleš Čeněk.

The title of the book can provoke a number of debatable associations, especially in relation to sadism and masochism, which evoke aggression and violence in many people. In practice, this is one of the extreme limits of sexual behavior, which in selected individuals plays a role in mutual communication, although not mass. The author deals with the question of the extent to which consensual sexual violence becomes part of our culture, not only in the environment of partnerships, but also communities and the Internet.

It is somewhat unusual, apart from the chosen and in many respects controversial topic, that in the introduction to the publication the author presented a dictionary of frequented expressions, which may not be sufficiently understandable for some readers.

The chosen topic introduces those interested to the area of somewhat not quite common sexual practices, sexual deviations, especially to the area of sadism, masochism, but also to the issue of Queer, media „popular“ polyamory, vanilla sex, etc.

The whole publication is divided into 6 sub-chapters, of which the first chapter deals with the issue of sadism and masochism as a subject of human interest. Special attention is paid to BDSM, i.e. practices such as bondage, submission, sadism, masochism, sadomasochism, and various combinations thereof.

The second chapter deals with sadomasochism in diagnosis and law. It is clear that these activities have a legal dimension that may not be obvious to all actors. These may be, for example, private law relationships, circumstances which preclude illegality, but also concepts such as „circumstances precluding illegality,“ violence, etc.

The next part of the publication focuses on BDSM as a community. The author very often emphasizes the rules of safe behavior in the BDSM world, as well as the online community, etc. In addition to the perception of BDSM as a community, it discusses the possibility of perceiving actors as a subculture or lifestyle, leisure activities sought after for entertainment? ” (p. 71).

One of the most interesting chapters is the final chapter, which includes the results of research focused on Czech university students and BDSM, tolerance and personal experience. The study involved 379 university students, of whom 74% clearly prefer heterosexual activities. Although the results of the research suggest that Czech society

is opposed to sex violence (p. 226), the research also showed that the Czech online BDSM community is growing significantly in number of its users.

The author also presents an interesting opinion, which may differ from the general opinion of the wider society, where almost 78% of respondents said that in the case of BDSM, it is definitely not violence in a negative sense (p. 205).

The acquired knowledge can be used successfully in the study of social pathology and prevention. In any case, it will contribute to a broader and more comprehensive view of the image of selected sexual deviations, which from time to time fill the front pages of the tabloids. On the other hand, the research points to the fact that petty violence in sexual communication is not condemned by the respondents.

Overall, it can be stated that the issue of BDSM is an interesting topic, especially due to the still relative lack in professional resources of domestic production. The described publication can make a small contribution to improving the orientation of the issue itself.

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SEX WORK IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC: DEVELOPMENT, TRENDS AND CHALLENGES

Kamil Janiš

Křivánková L., Špásová, L., & Ducháčová, A. (2021). *Sexuální práce v ČR: vývoj, trendy a výzvy [Sex work in the Czech Republic: development, trends and challenges]*. Hradec Králové: Gaudeamus

Information about human sexuality, of all kinds, can always attract students to a large extent. Human sexuality and its manifestations have several dimensions. These are not always positive effects, but also a number of problems at the level of relationships, which can affect the life of each individual indefinitely.

The publication entitled Sexual work in the Czech Republic: development, trends, and challenges focuses on two areas, namely sex business and prostitution. The content of the presented publication is, in essence, divided into two relatively separate parts, namely the part focused on the issue of prostitution and the second part, which complements the whole issue with the current results of the prostitution survey in the category of university students.

The introductory part states: "The publication presents the issue of prostitution in the Czech Republic as a complex social phenomenon. It briefly deals with an introduction to the history of prostitution and its development up to the present dated to 2021. In the context of prostitution, the book presents the preventive approaches of the non-profit sector to this phenomenon and their involvement in addressing not only sexually transmitted diseases. The publication provides the reader with up-to-date data on the psychological and social effects of prostitution on practitioners and their immediate surroundings (p. 7).

In relation to the studied field of social pathology and prevention, a comprehensive view of prostitution is particularly beneficial. One of the introductory chapters focuses on approaches to solving prostitution and its regulation (p. 27-36). Given that the history of prostitution dates back to the beginnings of human society, a different approach to each issue being chosen in each period. On the one hand, there was a realistic view that proclaimed the necessity of the social service; on the other hand, prostitution was approached repressively. There is no need to convince each other that this is a big business that brings with it numerous undesirable phenomena, including economic impacts. The authors state on page 25 that in 2017 there were about 10,000 prostitutes in the Czech Republic and it is estimated that in 2003 alone, earnings from prostitution amounted to CZK 8.7 billion. At the same time, the authors present an approximate estimate of prostitutes worldwide, which is around 42 million.

The next chapter (p. 27 onward) focuses on approaches to solving prostitution and its regulation. Regulation can be basically of three kinds: abolition, repressive,

and regulatory. Throughout history, individual approaches have been applied under the conditions of the Czech Republic (or Czechoslovakia). The authors also present examples of individual approaches in various countries outside the Czech Republic. Naturally, the legal areas belong to the monitored areas.

Chapter 3. Forms of prostitution and sexual work as well as the following chapter New forms of sexual work not only in the online space and the next chapter Characteristics of persons working in the field of prostitution (p. 37–58) present well-known facts and clarify a number of relatively well-known terms. However, a new element is emphasized here, which represents cyberspace. The authors draw attention to the danger of psychological deprivation in children, CAN syndrome, but also the motivations that lead to the realization of prostitution. At the same time, there is a great danger to contact with persons engaged in prostitution, especially the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. The effects of a given danger (gonorrhea, HIV, etc.) will in many respects manifest themselves in the later age of individuals and can lead to major problems, such as infertility, etc.

Undoubtedly one of the very interesting chapters is the chapter Sexual work in the environment of interest of the state and the non-profit sector (p. 67–78). On the pages of the chapter, we can get acquainted with ten recommended preventive measures (p. 67–68), such as the fight against poverty and social exclusion, the fight against cultural and spiritual poverty, discussions in schools that are aimed at increasing caution, Sex education in schools, Streetwork, etc.

One of the most interesting parts of the whole publication is the chapter that focuses on Czech college girls and paid sex (p. 79 onwards). It is very valuable to present the results of the research survey among university students (n = 425 respondents – p. 85). The opinion of the respondents about university students who engage in prostitution (according to the number of sexual partners) is interesting. It is mostly about tolerance. The finding concerning the provision of services for remuneration (p. 92) is also interesting, in relation to the number of „own“ sexual partners. Suffice it to say that: „A total of 59.3% of female respondents with more than 21 sexual partners said they could imagine providing paid sexual services and only 40.7% of them would not provide paid sexual services.“ p. 93) The presented data are also very interesting, which relate to the evaluation of respondents' answers to other questions, and from their answers is a very interesting table No. 10 (p. 100), which captures respondents who provided paid sexual activity / intercourse for remuneration. An important part is the number of those who state that the service was perceived as extra income. The faculties in which the respondents studied were also interesting.

In general, it can be stated that the described publication is suitable for all students of social pathology and prevention, as well as students who work with social work. Its advantages include the comprehensibility of the text itself and the presentation of a number of specific examples.

For the sake of objectivity, it should be noted that the chapter on the history of prostitution is too „concise.“ But it is really a „little freckle on beauty.“

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