

Reflection of women's attitudes towards feminism and the concept of the private feminism in the Czech Republic

Reflexión de las actitudes de las mujeres hacia el feminismo y el concepto del feminismo privado en la República Checa

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Abstract. The main objective of the present study is to understand better how Czech women construct their views on feminism and also the way they form their feminist identification. The article reflects the development and current situation of feminism in the Czech Republic, which is specific for its historically conditioned connotation. Consequently the study presents the analytical results of the qualitative research. By applying the technique of semi-structured interviews, the author brings up the questions of how Czech women perceive and understand feminism and how they interpret the current situation of women. One of the main objectives of the empirical part is also to find out whether it is possible to apply Aronson's typology (2003) of feminism to the situation in the Czech Republic. Due to the specificity of the Czech environment, the author comes to the conclusion that there can be identified four different approaches to feminism. Within this framework, the analysis of interviews led to the identification of several important factors that affect the construction of feminist consciousness among Czech women.

Keywords: feminism, feminism in the Czech republic, feminist consciousness, qualitative methodology.

Resumen. El objetivo principal del presente estudio es un esfuerzo para comprender mejor cómo las mujeres checas construyen sus puntos de vista sobre el feminismo y también la manera en la que forman su identificación feminista. El artículo refleja el desarrollo y la situación actual del feminismo en la República Checa, que es específico por su connotación históricamente contingente. A continuación el estudio presenta los resultados analíticos de la investigación cualitativa. Al aplicar la técnica de las entrevistas semiestructuradas, la autora plantea preguntas tales como si las mujeres checas perciben y comprenden el feminismo y cómo interpretan su situación actual. Uno de los objetivos principales de la parte empírica es también la averiguación de si es posible aplicar la tipología de Aronson (2003) del feminismo

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a la situación en la República Checa. Debido a la especificación del ambiente checo, la autora llega a la conclusión de que se pueden identificar cuatro actitudes diferentes hacia el feminismo. En este marco, el análisis de las entrevistas dio lugar a la identificación de varios factores importantes que afectan la construcción de la conciencia feminista entre las mujeres checas.

Palabras clave: feminismo, feminismo en la República Checa, conciencia feminista, metodología cualitativa.

Introduction

Feminism is as a social movement, important, but neglected part of the Czech history. Over the years, the feminist movement has earned the right to vote, the right of education, or the right to own property for women. Moreover, the movement also contributed to the change of the social perception and the symbolic status of women. Nowadays, feminism deals with a wide spectrum of themes, and it is not possible to talk about feminism only as a single issue – the opinion diversity of feminism represents the parallel existence of a number of directions that are theoretically different. Despite the diversity of the contemporary feminisms, their common effort is to eliminate gender inequalities and stereotypes.

In comparison to women from Western countries who had to struggle for their gender status; Czech women obtained their equal social status as a part of the political program – a model of socialist emancipation (Wagnerová 1999). Therefore Czech women often do not connect the gender-based inequalities they are experiencing everyday with the issues that feminism is trying to solve (Vodrážka 2006). The problems arising from the gender inequalities are generally perceived as personal problems that can be solved on an individual level rather than recognized as the complex structural shortcomings (Havelková 1999; Sokolová 2004; True in Dudová 2012).

Part of the goal of this article is to outline the history of women's movement before and after 1989 transformation process in the Czech Republic. Consequently, the major objective of this study is to elucidate the question of how women in the Czech Republic construct their views on feminism and how they understand and perceive the feminist movement.

Although the literature on the feminist consciousness in the Czech Republic is limited, foreign researchers have explored the process of becoming feminist in terms of class or education (Aronson 2003; Hercus 2005; Chen 2014). Therefore one of the main objectives of the empirical part is also to find out whether it is possible to apply Aronson's typology (2003) of feminism in the Czech Republic.

Due to the limited amount of research that maps feminist consciousness in the Czech Republic, it was necessary to carry out own empirical research which was conducted on the basis of established theoretical knowledge. The study is based upon the method of semi-structured interviews with women with different socio-demographic characteristics. The research sample is focused on gaining the greatest variability in relation to the education and life trajectories of the respondents.

The present article aims to fill in the gaps left by previous researches and also to contribute to a better understanding of feminism in situations of persistent gender dis-

crimination in various areas of work and family life. Meanwhile, it could be a contribution to the theories of feminist consciousness and it may be relevant for professional gender studies discussions in the Czech Republic.

Women's movement in the czech republic: background

The present situation of the women's movement in the Czech Republic has strong historically conditioned connotations. Therefore before analyzing the content of interviews it is necessary to outline the process of the institutionalization of the women's movement in the Czech Republic. The knowledge of feminist history has a great importance for feminist research that mostly aims to create social change. As Wagnerová points out, the question of the status of the present feminism in the Czech Republic cannot be answered only from the current situation or without a brief reverie back to the past (Wagnerová 1999).

The Czech women's movement has begun to form slowly since the 1830s, however it is possible to discuss its actual boom only since the 1890s (Musilová 2007). Until the achievement of voting right in 1920, the first group of women, significant activists of the women's movement, claimed that women should not use radical forms to achieve their demands – on the contrary, they should "ask and work" (Musilová 2007).

The female representatives of the Czech women's movement were mostly focused on this specific feature of the movement, which included predominantly the patriotic feelings and emphasis on cooperation with men in enforcing national demands. Moreover they have been convinced that the fight for the national rights has taken precedence over the women's rights, they believed that they will reach their emancipatory demands easier if they are subordinate to men in the fight for the rights of the Czech nation (Musilová 2007; Horská 1999). According to their opinion, the society did not need woman's unselfish sacrifice as much as woman's irreplaceable ability to inspire the men to "achieve the higher goals". As Horská (1999) points out, this idea of subordination of women's right to national is one of the specific features of the Czech feminism that continued during WWII and communist regime.

In May 1945 the Council of Czechoslovak Women was renewed by several politicians from various political parties of Czechoslovakia and representatives from women's associations. However with the onset of Communism in 1948, the activities of the Czech women's movement were aborted for a long time by the regime (Kiczková, Kobová 2006). Meanwhile Western societies struggled with ongoing second wave of feminist demands; in Czechoslovakia the communist regime eliminated the discourse of the "feminist question" almost until 1989 (Horská 1999, Havelková 2004). Due to this fact the most important thing was missing - the possibility for women to express their requests alone and in the public debates, which would also mean an opportunity to react and to be interested in the decisions about the government and social policies (Havelková 2004).

Based on the fact that these changes have never been accepted by Czech women, women could not easily identify themselves with the goals of feminism (Vodrážka 2006).

In other words the Czech women did not really consider themselves to be oppressed by the patriarchy, but more by the communist regime. The women, who were supported in their efforts by men, did not want to emancipate against them, but with men against the common enemy – the communist regime what required solidarity among them (True in Dudová 2012).

Immediately after the fall of the regime and the revival of the civil society after 1989, a number of feminist groups and organizations began to emerge. However previously mentioned Czech tradition of the emancipation of women which was part of the emancipation of the nation, took part in the refusal of Czech society to confront feminism after 1989. As Osvaldová points out, even though feminism was not a new concept, it was perceived as the term imported, and imposed to the Czech society by various feminist groups mainly from the USA and Germany (Osvaldová 2004). The ignorance led to the fact that women did not believe that feminism is important and had an impression that feminism deals with fake problems that are not related to them.

Methodology

Research background

The purpose of this part of the article is to explain the methodological aspects of the research of the attitudes of women to feminism, which will draw from the grounded theory and the social constructivism.

In the following part I would like to outline the research method, clarify the research problem and then continue with the analysis and the interpretation of the data. To understand how women construct their attitudes to feminism, it is necessary to penetrate the meanings that the respondents themselves attribute to the reality and also try to interpret their vision of the social reality. The purpose of qualitative research is to gain the access to their own point of view of the social world and to see how they perceive and experience different events in life.

This inductive approach suited these research goals the best, because it assumes the existence of the multiple social realities and various definitions of what feminism means to them. As Charmaz (2003) points out, the researcher cannot claim the knowledge of the general and universal reality, but always understands one particular part of the social reality. Similarly, semi-structured interviews are focused more on the subjective meanings of the respondents and particular experience or phenomenon.

Grounded theory

This study is methodologically based on Glaser and Strauss's grounded theory, which was later modified by Strauss and Corbin (1990). The notion of the research based on the grounded theory is a qualitative research method that uses systematic sub-procedures to

create an inductively derived grounded theory of a certain phenomenon (Strauss, Corbin 1999). As stated above, qualitative methodology has been chosen for this research with the use of semi-structured interviews. This type of the interview is characterized by a defined purpose and a great flexibility of the whole process of obtaining information that enables the comparison.

Research sample

The focus of the research sample resulted from the effort to gain the greatest possible variability in relation to the education and the life trajectories. The sample includes 21 women with age from 23 to 56. The number of interviews was determined by the sample saturation. This study is based on the theoretical sampling, which is the main procedure for collecting the data in qualitative research. As mentioned above, one of the requirements was the variety of the life trajectories in education and employment. 12 respondents have a University education and 9 respondents have completed secondary education.

The conversations were carried out face to face in the locality chosen by the communication partner (most often in the workplace and in the respondents' household) from February to April 2016. The interviews were recorded, except for two cases when the respondents did not agree with the recording, and these conversations were later rewritten. They typically lasted from 30 to 70 minutes, but the majority of them lasted for approximately 40 minutes. As mentioned above, the interviews were conducted in the form of semi-structured conversations to provide enough space to respondents for their comments on the topics they considered important.

Ethics

If the attitudes or the behavior of people are researched, not only values of the researcher must be taken into the account, but also the researchers' responsibility towards the researched people (Silverman 2005). The detailed nature of qualitative research can express the intimate participation in the public and private lives of the individuals. Therefore the respondents were told that it will not be possible to identify the names and the pseudonyms of the communication partners will be used in the analysis. The respondents were informed in advance about the topic of the research and they were asked at the beginning whether they wanted to participate in the interview and whether the interview can be recorded.

Results

One of the research aims of this article is to answer the questions of how women construct their opinion on feminism, how they understand and perceive the feminist movement and what factors influence their identification with feminism in our society.

The starting point of the interviews analysis with the communication partners was an assumption that there are several subjective interpretations of what feminism means - constructed by the respondents themselves on the basis of various social repertoires and life trajectories.

Typology of women's attitudes to feminism

As stated above, the development which the Czech society experienced in relation to feminism during the 1990s was fundamental for the subsequent attitude of the Czech public towards the issue of feminism. Based on the fact that the adoption of the social change was never accepted, women could not easily identify themselves with the goals of feminism (Vodrážka 2006).

The analysis of the conducted interviews was based on the research by Pamela Aronson (2003), who captured the most common emerging categories and created a typology of women's attitude towards feminism. Aronson's study implicates recognition of five different approaches to feminism:

- "I am a feminist"
- "I am a feminist, but..."
- "I am not a feminist, but..."
- "I am a fence-sitter"
- "I never thought about feminism"

Intensive examination of the central themes of the interviews, such as the recognition of the gender inequality, the need of feminism in the present, the evaluation of the historical contribution of feminism or media stereotypes, enabled to typify attitudes into four categories. For the current study purposes topics of interviews were initially selected to find out what connects them and links as social types. Consequently through the analysis of the individual stories it was possible to identify factors which influence the view of feminism. The research results outlined the occurrence and the distribution of the given categories; therefore it was possible to typify respondents' attitudes into the given groups.

On the contrary to Aronson's study (2003), research result implicates the recognition only of four types of attitudes. Moreover it was necessary to complete the fourth category "I am not a feminist", which is specific for Czech local context and was not included in the original typology. The Aronson original categories "I am a fence-sitter" and "I never thought about feminism" were not represented amongst the respondents, what is the major difference between the original study and the findings in this research. In the following part of the study, I would like to outline the distribution and basic features of each one of the categories.

First category "I am not a feminist" was represented by 7 women, of which 4 respondents had university degree and 3 finished secondary school education. Secondly it

was the opinion group "I'm not a feminist, but ..." where most of the women interviewed supported women's emancipation, yet they did not want to be identified with the feminist movement. In this case, 3 communication partners had completed university and 2 secondary school. In the third category "I'm a feminist, but ...", where respondents identified themselves as feminists, but they had certain objections to the movement, 2 respondents were university educated and 3 with secondary school education. Regarding the last "I'm a feminist" category, 3 of them had university education and one communication partner completed secondary school.

"I am not a feminist"

The question guiding this examination is how the development, which the Czech society experienced in relation to feminism, has affected the present public attitude. Consequently this category is one of the major differences between original Aronson's study (2003) and the findings in this research. As it was mentioned above, the Czech women were given their equal status with men from the state as a part of the socialist emancipation (Wagnerová 1999).

The research results implicate that women in this category consider feminism nowadays as unnecessary, especially because they are not aware of any significant inequalities that the feminist movement might be dealing with today. At the same time they feel that they have not met with the discrimination yet, and thus they have not been forced to fight gender problems, and therefore they have never felt importance to deal with feminism.

"I don't feel like being a feminist at the present time...I'm settled with the role of a woman and it suits me. I don't feel as a feminist because I don't fight for the women's rights."
(Darina, 54)

The fact that these communication partners have never felt gender inequality is projected into their opinion on feminism. In interviews, the respondents expressed the impression that nowadays feminism is no longer needed. The results of the interview analysis suggest that the respondents lack the general engagement with the gender issues. Therefore they do not feel the urgency of change, which is resulting in a feeling of irrelevance of feminism. From the statements of the communication partners it is evident that they feel the satisfaction with the present state of the equality. The fundamental finding for our research is that the respondents are not aware of any example of existing gender inequalities against which feminist movement should fight. As Good and Moss-Racusin (2010) suggest, the "invisibility of a male privilege" is one of the main reasons for the denial of feminism.

On the one hand, women evaluate the feminist movement as unnecessary, but on the other hand in their interviews they emphasized that it was historically necessary to increase the pressure to fight for women rights. In their words, the change of social status of women would had never happened, if women would had not fought for women rights, because men would not have initiated it by themselves.

To these respondents, feminism represents a term imported and artificially created that deals with unnecessary issues. Osvaldová talks about the possible causes of this view which persists even today. Feminism was a concept forced to the Czech society by various feminist groups, especially from the USA and Germany. As she points out, the lack of information has led to the fact that women themselves did not regard feminism as important and they mostly had the impression that feminism is dealing with fictive problems (Osvaldová 2004).

"The feminism is an artificially created concept to me, unnecessarily made up..."

(Darina, 54)

An interesting moment during the analysis of the interviews was the situation, when the respondents argued against "the typical women". Women refuse the idea of the collective female identity by referring to their uniqueness. This argumentation that emerged in the interviews implicates that the communication partners in this group understand themselves as a unique individualized women who does not need feminism to "speak" for them, because they can fight their own fight and find their place in the society on their own.

"I am not a feminist, but..."

The research results outline the occurrence and the distribution of the phenomenon that a number of the interviewed women supported the women's emancipation; nevertheless they did not want to be identified with feminist movement. In their view the unwillingness to label themselves as feminists results from the opinions that they have never been directly exposed to discrimination or disadvantaged just because they are women. For this reason these communication partners see no reason to call themselves feminists. But on the contrary to the previous category, they are aware of certain gender problems where the feminist movement might be helpful. This category illustrates quite accurately Tamara's opinion, who states:

"I'd never say that I'm a feminist, but I like some of the thoughts, for example the equality in the working environment, but I don't support it actively at home or in my personal life."

(Tamara, 28)

As demonstrated in the quotation above, respondents consider the engagement to be one of the several assumptions of being feminist and one of the reasons why they do not feel that way. These aspects can be observed in respondents' statements, in which they perceive feminism as a social movement actively striving for the change and which presupposes an initiative. These communication partners do not understand feminism as a life attitude, but as an active movement. According to their opinion, it is not possible to be a part of it if the engagement aspect is missing.

One of the other aspects that discourage the communication partners is the lack of publicly known women who would admit that they are feminists. The fact that they do

not know any feminist movement or their opinion leaders might result in a more negative image of the feminist movement. Similarly according to Jedličková (2006), to the negative connotations of feminism also contributes the fact that only a very few people and institutions appear in the media. Secondly, the media instead of decreasing the gender stereotypes, contribute to their exacerbation by the fact that they present women predominantly in traditional private roles.

However during the analysis of the interviews, I came to the conclusion that although these respondents did not label themselves as feminists, they nevertheless consider feminism necessary for improving present situation. This aspect can be considered as one of the fundamental differences compared to the previous category of the respondents. On the one hand they do not label themselves as feminist, but on the other they are still aware of some obstacles where the feminist movements could help to eliminate the inequality.

"I am a feminist, but..."

These women called themselves feminists but at the same time they raised objections to the movement. In each of these narratives they talked about feminism as about the movement that fights for women's rights and supports their equal rights. On the contrary to previous opinion types, these communication partners do not consider feminism as a movement aimed against the men, what was often mentioned in the previous categories.

"I understand that we want to feel free, that the woman wants to be free. She doesn't want more than the man; she only wants to be free and doesn't want to be trapped by some male preconceptions."

(Marcela, 29)

"I admire them (Suffragettes- author's note) for what they accomplished. I can imagine that it was not easy at that time and they succeeded..."

(Vanda, 52)

In other words these women emphasized the sense of the gratitude they feel towards the Suffragettes. Furthermore the analysis reveals that women in this group perceive feminism as a necessary part of the democratic society, and they believe in its importance even today, especially in terms of improving the status of women. At this point it must be highlighted that although the respondents call themselves feminists, they also raise certain objections against feminism, concerning either radicalism of the movement or the disrespect from men.

The present study implicates ambivalence of the opinion of these communication partners, when on the one hand they feel as feminists, but on the other hand they are discouraged by some aforementioned aspects. For this reason, these women would rather change the form of the movement to less radical, especially because of its negative perception from the public.

"I am a feminist"

The last represented category was the category "I am a feminist" in which the respondents without any objections identify themselves with the feminist movement. However it is necessary to point out that these respondents had been addressed with the knowledge that they will most likely call themselves feminists. These respondents, at least during a certain phase of their career, were dealing with the gender activism. In other words the research goal was to avoid the situation of "studying feminism without feminists".

According to the research findings these women perceive feminism as a basic moral value that should be part of each individual. In their narratives they interpret the theme of justice as one of the meanings and basic principles of feminism.

"To me, it is the same as protecting the environment, when one wants to be environmentally friendly... there is no such thing in person from the birth, it is not part of us... But I think it would be ideal if that was "integrated into the personality", as some basic values, the most basic ones on which our society is built, as well as me as an individual person."

(Laura, 33)

These women perceive feminism as a movement involving number of different approaches and directions that can have various meanings to everyone. Unlike the previous categories, these respondents are aware of the possible radicalism of the feminist movement and consider it a necessary part of the movement. In their opinion it would be impossible to change rigid rules if the feminists would not radically revolt against norms and principles in the past.

One of the significant differences compared to the previous categories is that these women are aware of the gender inequalities at multiple levels of private and working life and they see defects and problems also in spheres, where they have not experienced them personally. Despite the fact that they do not relate to them directly, the respondents feel a great empathy and solidarity with women who have to face these problems.

Furthermore the analysis shows that another uniform sign of women in this category is that they experienced feminism more intensely, especially during the study at the university, where they voluntarily enrolled in a course of gender studies.

"When I started to study I enrolled in an optional course Gender and the New Media and then I fell in love with it...completely."

(Denisa, 38)

Research in the area of feminist consciousness has shown consistent results, according to which the university education provides a perspective and help to frame their own experiences in the feminist discourse (Chen 2014; Williams, Wittig 1997). It should be emphasised that according to these women, the gender studies should be included in the curriculum of each university, or at least in those that are focused on social sciences.

As the above-mentioned research indicates, the academic institutions such as universities engaged in feminism are important reference points in the development of feminist awareness of individuals, as they provide fertile ground to form the feminist ideas (Chen 2014).

The concept of the private feminism

My findings reveal that these opinion categories do not sufficiently reflect the latency of the feminist consciousness. In particular, although most of the interviewed women support feminist ideas, they would never have promoted this attitude publicly. The following analysis gives insight on this tendency. The overall intention is to understand the specific factors why they resist to self-label as feminist. The question guiding this investigation was, why does an individual endorse a feminist goal, but on the other hand, avoid promoting it publicly. It is important to study such differences between opinion groups for which they may reveal about the latency of the attitudes.

Some theories explaining this tendency mainly deal with feminism before the year 1989. For example Osvaldová introduces the concept of the latent feminism, which covers the period between 1948-1989, when the female question was suppressed by the class question (Osvaldová in Havelková, Oates - Indruchová 2014). As it has been already mentioned above the seemingly solution of the female issues stemmed from the efforts of the regime to mitigate the conflicts. Meanwhile the regime has created an illusion that certain problems did not exist at all, or they were only related to a certain group of individuals. Additionally Hanaková's concept of the latent feminism refers to a reflection of gender based on personal experiences and presupposes a possible change of the state of mind, or so-called awakening from "the lethargy to life" (Hanaková in Havelková, Oates - Indruchová 2014). Similarly Oates-Indruchová, who uses the term of protofeminism that unlike the latent feminism may, but may not include some potential for further possible development of attitude (Havelková, Oates-Indruchová 2014).

Although there is considerable research regarding feminist consciousness, given theoretical concepts do not adequately reflect the latency of the respondents' attitudes. Therefore based on an analysis of the interviews, I have come up with the concept of the private feminism. While Hanaková's latent feminism is hidden and unaware, in contrary to it, the concept of the private feminism reflects the consciousness of the attitude (Hanaková in Havelková, Oates-Indruchová 2014). It can be understood as a thoughtful reflection of the gender constructed by the life trajectories in different local contexts, without the ideological or public aspirations to promote this attitude.

These findings are supported by the international studies, according to which considering yourself to be a feminist privately and calling yourself so publicly in the social discourse are two distinct approaches to the membership to the group (Williams, Witting 1997). Witting concludes that the self-identification and public identification reflect the divide of "the faith" in the social acceptability of the concept and also a different link to the collective negotiation (ibid).

Engagement

The research results implicate that the factor characterizing the concept of private feminism is the aspect of engagement in the public sector. I have come to a conclusion that one of the reasons why women often avoid to be labelled as a feminist is a conviction that they are not actively involved in a social change. On the one hand women might be willing to publicly endorse feminist ideas, but on the other they feel that they have never made endeavour or any activity, which leads to the fact that women are avoiding the given label. According to Valdřová, it is not only the problem of the feminist movement, but generally the dimension of the civic engagement is missing in the profile of the current Czech citizens (Valdřová 2001). This view is confirmed by the analysis of the interviews, from which it is apparent in this case that the aspect of engagement is understood as a significant assumption of the active or public feminism. The respondents perceive feminism as a social movement striving for a social change and whose membership is conditioned by an active advocacy for its goals.

For these communication partners, the feminist movement means organized participation of women for their interests in the economic, political, social and cultural spheres. The analysis of the interviews showed that the respondents do not feel the need to publicly advocate these ideas.

“As the institution (feminism - author's note), at the moment it's useless to me. It's the same with the faith, you can believe in something, but you don't need to associate with the church, you don't need the institution as such to belong to it.”

(Nina, 26)

Conclusion

The current discourse about the feminism in the Czech Republic is specific by its historically conditioned connotations. Therefore in this article I tried to outline and reflect the changes that took place after the fall of the communist regime and that had an impact on the creation of the public discourse about feminism. Beginning with a historical background of the feminist movement in the Czech Republic, the aim of the study was to process the image of feminism in Czech public discourse and also to answer the question of how women construct their opinion about feminism, which is characterized by an increasing negative attitude since 1989 in the Czech Republic.

Consequently the major goal of the empirical part was also to find out whether it is possible in the Czech Republic to typify women's attitudes to feminism by the typology of Aronson (2003). The qualitative research method of semi-structured interviews allowed to elucidate the question of how the women understand feminism and the way how they interpret the situation of the women's present status. The research sample included 21

women aged between 23 to 56 years.

On the contrary to Aronson's study (2003), research implicates the recognition only of four types of attitudes to feminism. Comparison of the Aronson original categories and the findings in this research resulted in the major difference – the types “I am a fence-sitter“ and “I never thought about feminism“ were not represented amongst the Czech respondents. Moreover it was necessary to complete the forth category “I am not a feminist“, which is specific for Czech local context and was not originally included in the Aronson's typology.

My results revealed that these opinion categories do not sufficiently reflect the latency of the feminist consciousness. In particular women stated that although they support feminist ideas, they would never have promoted this attitude publicly. Therefore based on an analysis of the interviews, I have come up with the concept of the private feminism. It can be understood as an aimed reflection of the gender constructed by the life trajectories in different local contexts, without public aspirations to promote this attitude. The research findings showed us that it is important to study such differences between opinion groups for what they may reveal about the latency of the attitudes.

In the present situation of persistent gender inequalities, this study might be a contribution to bridging the increasing distance of women from feminism. Women do not connect the gender-based inequalities they are experiencing everyday with the issues that feminism is trying to solve, what results in the negative attitude to the movement.

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