

MAPPING THE SCENES



THE CHANGING SPACE OF THE GAY AND LESBIAN COMMUNITY IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

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INTRODUCTION

In the Czech Republic homosexuality is no longer a taboo, it does not provoke clear indignation or condemnation, and sociological research on the subject which, however, is still somewhat limited, shows that Czech society is increasingly more tolerant towards lesbians and gays (Janošová 2000). The Czech gay and lesbian community increasingly comprises of generations that do not remember and often do not even have mediated knowledge of the period between the 70s and late 80s when homosexuals were persecuted by the secret police and when no gay and lesbian establishments or organizations could legally exist.¹

Despite these developments a number of gays and lesbians feel that in certain situations they do not have the same rights as the heterosexual majority, or indeed they feel discriminated against (Procházka, Janík, and Hromada 2003). Gays and lesbians are still subjected to stereotyping and stigmatizing labels and representations on the part of outsiders, on the one hand, and creators of distinctive cultural practices or (sub)cultures, on the other.

The space of the gay and lesbian community is in this paper represented by three types of venues, which used to and still play a key role in it, namely public toilets, a gay and lesbian disco and a student civic association.

As a conceptual background I apply the term community conceived as something that provides values, ideals and standards of conduct. It includes social networks with different subgroups, encourages commitment to an exclusive identity and provides a sense of relative security (Stein 1997). In this sense community might also be perceived as an imaginary home that in some cases works as a substitute for the lack of a biological family. Weston (1991) and others referred to such communities as the “families we choose,” since its members provide emotional and

¹ The first openly gay or lesbian institutions appeared only after the fall of communism (1989) with the creation and development of open society.



material support as well as a sense of belonging which are all typical functions of a family.

ETHNOGRAPHY IN GAY AND LESBIAN COMMUNITY

The article uses data gained mainly in ethnographic research. This research employed the technique of semi-structured interviews, participant observation and analysis of personal documents (such as diaries and letters). Observation took place in the years 1996–1999 and 2001–2004, and in the years of 1997 and 2003, and was documented in the form of field notes. In 1997 I conducted 15 semi-structured interviews with 11 gay men and 4 lesbian women whom I tried to select to be representative of three types of venues. In the case of the first, public toilets, a valuable informant was a cleaning lady working in one of these toilets (Marta, a retired woman aged approximately 70) who made it possible for me to look through and gain data from her diaries that she has kept more or less regularly about her work at this place for 10 years.²

Although my empirical data was collected in Brno I consider it significant for the Czech gay and lesbian community in general as these venues create the dominant organizational structures of particular gay and lesbian communities.³ Additionally, the student association STUD Brno has been the most influential gay and lesbian organization in the entire Czech Republic and it is involved in a large scope of internal activities (such as organising informal discussions, operating a helpline, offering library services) as well as external events (such as film festivals, political lobbying, and public campaigns).

PUBLIC TOILETS—HIDDEN UNDER THE GROUND

Public toilets constituted an important part of the gay community before 1989, when officially there were no gay and lesbian establishments, and when lesbians and gays were listed in the records of the Secret Police with the aim of blackmailing them. On the other hand, even today these places have kept their function of being a place where anonymous sexual intercourse might take place. The following quotes show police harassment of gays before 1989, and also an attempt to blackmail them.

² These diaries do not tell us so much about the practices themselves as about the meanings assigned to them and thus about how the older generation views a particular segment of the gay minority. However, the diaries still uncover some interesting points.

³ Brno is the second largest city in the Czech Republic (with 400,000 inhabitants). In the case of the public toilet using the past tense might be more accurate since this institution even though still existing was more representative of the times before 1989.



A guy called me out of the pub where I was having a beer with my friends. We were loud, I know, and we talked about all kinds of things. Outside he punched me in the head, said he was a policemen and that he was going to tell my parents and at my job that I am gay. I said he can do whatever he wants and then he left (Zdeněk, 44).⁴

Once the police came to Richard's [at that time an illegal gay disco.]⁵ Everybody tried to hide somewhere and I happened to jump under a bed with a younger man whom I didn't know much. We were found and it turned out that the boy was under 18. The police was trying to suggest that we had had sex which would put me into big trouble [the age of consent was 18 at that time]. The guy though behaved very cool and said that he didn't know me at all (Mirek, 48).

Public toilets together with other places such as saunas, swimming pool showers, parks and railway stations provided gay men with some of the few possibilities of contacting and meeting people of the same orientation. Lesbian women on the other hand did not have specific venues. They got to know each other more commonly in the environment of the heterosexual majority. Two female respondents stated that women often entered the community following the experience of treatment in a psychiatric asylum where they either directly encountered other similarly oriented women or doctors mediated information about get-together parties at Richard's which were taking place already at that time. A stay at a psychiatric asylum was often a temporary solution to their unhappy situation at a time when homosexuality was dealt with mostly clinically by psychiatrists and sexologists. Previous research also pointed to the tendency that lesbian women were likely to be placed into psychiatric treatment, while gay men were more likely to face criminal penalization (Zaviršek 1997; Nagorna 2004).

Public toilets can provide space for anonymous sex without further commitment. The toilets comprise two parts: the urinals and the cubicles. Sexual encounters mainly take place by the urinals as these cannot be seen from the employees' workroom, as opposed to the area of the cubicles, which are directly in front of this workroom.

A man in work clothes, a daily client, went into cubicle no. 7 and he was immediately followed by a roughly 35-year-old man, well-dressed in a light-coloured overcoat. As I saw it I immediately called out that two of them had gone into the same cubicle and the one in the overcoat quickly left. . . . "F" comes often with a boy of about 15–16,⁶ good-

⁴ A name and the age of the respondent follow each quotation.

⁵ A separate section of the paper is devoted to this venue.

⁶ This is a label that Marta uses to describe homosexuals. It is the abbreviated form of the word fag. It is interesting that inside the homosexual subculture "f" is also often used as an equivalent of the word homosexual.

looking and well-dressed. He always wants cubicle no. 7 and spends at least half an hour in there. This afternoon both of them came. The boy went into cubicle no. 7, I was paying attention and I saw the “professor” standing at cubicle no. 9, I opened the door leading to the cubicles and thus I made it impossible for him to enter no. 7. In short, a noted customer from Jakub’s⁷ thinks that he will have “H” sex [homosexual sex] in the cubicles as it used to happen at Jakub’s. But here it can be kept under control (Marta’s diary).⁸

Although controlling behaviour at the public toilets is not part of her job, Marta’s diaries suggest that her personal beliefs compel her to do so. There was a controversy when employees displayed signs stating that it is forbidden to remain on the premises longer than absolutely necessary. Men seeking sex are disapproved of by female employees and are often referred to a different space, such as the most well-known brothel in Brno which—although mainly frequented by heterosexual men—Marta defines as a place in the same category, i.e. a place for male sexual practices. Thus the expression of male sexual desire is channelled not only into the right objects (in this case, women) but is also directed at a specific place intended for this purpose (a brothel).

In the fight for space and above all for defining what is normal and moral Marta often finds allies: “The homeless hated homosexuals and tried to harm them whenever possible.” Marta narrates how homeless people poured water on so-called fags, splashing a bucket of water through the opening at the bottom of a cubicle in which two men were present at the same time. In this light, public toilets can be seen as an example of a gendered and controlled organization and at the same time as a place where modern power manifests itself through unrelenting surveillance and discipline.

Gay men come here because they may find someone to have sex with, which mainly involves mutual masturbation or oral sex, or they can observe someone else engaged in these activities. Especially older men seem to seek the role of observer perhaps because they do not have too many opportunities to make actual contacts: “a number of times I saw older men give money to youths to watch them masturbate” (Marta). It is not only likely that one will find a sexual partner but it is also likely that one will find someone new, “a new dick, always more exciting” (Jiří, 36).

⁷ Marta’s previous workplace, also a public toilet.

⁸ Marta’s original motivation for writing diaries was to prove to her employer how demanding and often dangerous her job is. She later continued the writing of diaries at my request and she tried to reconstruct her work chronologically. She inscribed the notebook which I gave her for her notes: DON’T TAKE AWAY! I’m writing for sociology, not for my own pleasure.

As it turned out from Marta's notes as well as from the interviews, men usually arrive at the public toilets separately, their meetings not being prearranged: "Someone may come, won't find an accomplice, rushes off 10 seconds later, but still has to pay the one crown" (Marta). Others, in contrast, stay at the toilets until someone arrives and so they can make an approach. Some men stay there for a number of hours a day and some come four times in the morning and four times in the afternoon:

At 3 P.M. "F" Zdeněk came in and at 4:20 P.M. I went to clean the floor (it had rained in the afternoon) and I asked him what he had been doing there for the past hour and 20 minutes, . . . he didn't reply and stayed. During that hour only one man came in, leaving immediately. Men can hang around here but I worry about the things that they could break around the urinals. Zdeněk finally left at 5:15 P.M. after 2 hours and 15 minutes (Marta's diary).

The fact that employees keep finding condoms when cleaning shows the deliberation and the intent to have such a meeting: their presumption is that a sexual encounter may well occur with someone, but they don't know exactly with whom. This function of public toilets might be taken over by new alternative venues and services such as gay saunas and on-line dating.

Public toilets represent a kind of subcultural scene within the gay community, often associated with something hidden, underground or secretive. The specific characteristics of these places result partly from the fact that they are not gay venues officially and this is why participants must constantly solve the problem of their relationships with outsiders who can come to these places at any time as well as outsiders who are employed at these places.⁹

This "underground microcosm" is characterised by specific measures, rules and expectations, I had the opportunity to uncover only partially. The fact that gay men have been meeting in these places, even after "official" gay and lesbian venues and organizations have been in existence for some 17 years indicates that this scene can satisfy certain wishes and needs which did not disappear with the development of other gay places. Public toilets involve activities of which the participants are made ashamed by employees and others, including some gay people. This stigmatizing aspect within the gay community harks back to the totalitarian

⁹ Outsider in this case means a person who enters this place without any knowledge of the (homo)sexual practices taking place. It does not necessarily have to be someone coming in to actually use the toilet as it can be also a plumber coming to fix the facility, a homeless person coming to beg for money or all kinds of cheating sellers coming in to offer their goods, as Marta describes them in her diary.



past when homosexuality was a reason for shame and secrecy, when homosexual activities were exiled to underground exclusion, thus typically reducing homosexuality to the performance of sexual encounters.

RICHARD'S GAY DISCO—TOWARDS COMMERCIALIZATION

Richard's disco is a prime venue for the gay and lesbian community, and was the only gay disco in Brno until 1999. It is situated in the renovated cellar of a family house in a villa suburb. We can see this place as the starting point of gay and lesbian community formation as we know it today:

How did it begin? Once I was waiting for friends in a pub and they were not coming so I was listening to what the guys were talking about at the table. One was saying that he rebuilt the cellar of a family house to turn it into a small club where he invited friends and they listened to music and danced and sex was also involved. I liked the idea, and I thought: I also have a house and so I started doing some things. In 1982 on my 19th birthday I invited friends there. I bought some wine and made sandwiches. Everybody liked it very much and they said "Richard, do it again!" We always made arrangements then when there was an occasion, such as someone's birthday or so. . . . It was not so difficult to make arrangements: we said it would be every first Saturday of the month. Then every other Saturday of the month. . . . Mostly it was our people:¹⁰ My friends who brought their friends, and many people travelled from other cities. . . . How did the group form? Later there were already about 50 people and they got to know each other in a variety of ways. For example, at the station or in the toilets, well, in such public places, more often because no clubs existed at the time. . . . Many people who came at the beginning are now somewhat sentimental and they say that it used to be different before. It had a different atmosphere because it had the mark of something forbidden. Now it is an entirely commercial matter. . . . In 1990 I got a licence, arranged a loan and started my business. For example, before that I could not sell alcohol at all because if the police found out they could accuse me of something called sponging.¹¹ I had to make an arrangement, as if I was selling the alcohol at cost price and the consumers knew that they should give me 10 crowns extra. . . . I was a bit afraid as there were already a lot of people coming here and among them were certainly some secret policemen. Also because at that time the age of consent was 18. Now it is fifteen (Richard, owner of the disco).¹²

Even finding this place requires at least a minimum of local knowledge. There are no neon or other signs on the building, the door is

¹⁰ A term "our" homosexuals is often used for other homosexuals in the Czech Republic.

¹¹ Before 1989 this term referred to a person who was either unemployed or a person making his/her living outside of the state system of employment. Both of these statuses were illegal.

¹² In 1990 the same conditions were set for legal responsibility for heterosexual as well as homosexual behaviour when the age of homosexual consent was lowered from 18 to 15.



locked, and in front of the gate there is a security guard to silence the visitors who are coming and going and thus minimize the number of complaints from neighbours. First you have to ring the doorbell, after which the door is opened electronically and you find yourself in the first room with a bar. Here you are met by an attendant who takes your coat and your entrance fee. The attendant usually knows the guests. If not, the contact with the attendant provides an opportunity of small talk to assess the newcomer at least to some degree. Entirely new visitors are told of the fact that entry is by invitation only. In this way the group creates a defence mechanism against “outsiders,” which is, among other things, demonstrated exactly in the unwillingness to reveal places at which they meet (Humphreys [1970] 1997). This specific ritual of entry reflects on the closure of the gay community which often has very good reasons for such defence practices: “It happened to me a couple of times that I was here, some guys came and sprayed tear gas all around the place and then quickly went away” (Paul, 30).

The whole establishment works as a family business as the owner and founder Richard works at the same time as a waiter, accountant, caterer and cleaner. Richard’s mother, who lives in the house together with him, cooks for the visitors:

This way I save a lot of personnel cost because mum cooks and I try to do everything else myself, however, I still have to pay the cloakroom attendant, the barman, the DJ and the guard. But if I also had to pay an accountant and a waiter, and someone to do the shopping then it would be worse. . . . In the last year or year and a half the income was significantly reduced (Richard, owner of the disco).

The most important position among the staff is probably that of the barman who, if he is good, can attract a circle of regular visitors willing to follow him even if he changes his job (Achilles [1976] 1998). A barman often acts as a mediator in the communication between visitors, most of whom address him by name. Seats at the bar are most frequently taken by visitors who come alone. A typical course of such an evening is that some lonely men are sitting at the bar and one of them starts talking to the barman whom he usually knows from previous visits. The conversation is often so loud and the topic so universal that it is indirectly aimed also at the others at the bar. In this way everyone who is interested can participate in the talk. Barmen are exclusively gay men, and those who gather around them are almost exclusively male guests.¹³ Many accounts show that individuals feel relaxed and that they can shed their masks

¹³ I tackle the presence and absence of lesbians at these places later in the article.



here. A number of gay men are not entirely comfortable with playing the heterosexual masculine role, constructed for a person of the male sex by heteronormative society, as the following account suggests:

You can behave much more naturally there (at the gay disco). I feel much more relaxed there. At other places one has to hold on to a certain concept. That means that I cannot just sit and watch a guy or simply start a conversation with him—and then here I am a priori certain that he is no tough hetero who will immediately hit me. This relaxes me . . . , I don't have to play a tough bloke. I don't have to pretend to be some tough bodied companion, I simply don't have to because this is not expected of me here (Michal, 21).

It is clear from mutual greetings, head nods towards people who enter, brief conversations at different tables on the way to the bar or the dance floor, that visitors know each other at least at some level. Individuals can be expected to be less anonymous in such a place as there are not so many like this, and visitors can thus quickly become regular customers.

There is a very small circle of people who are willing to visit our establishments. They are basically the same who move among Philadelphia, Háčko and the well-known disco at Richard's (Marek, owner of a gay bar).¹⁴

Here everybody knows everything about everybody, from their religious belief to the length of their penis (Ondřej, 25).

The familiarity experienced in gay and lesbian bars and discos can be undesirable and embarrassing when encountered in a different setting:

A friend recently complained that he was walking through town with his mother and run into a group of people including a boy whom he knew from the bar. And that boy looks very twisted, it is plain that he is a fag. And he greeted this friend of mine in a very loud way. Naturally, his mum had no idea, so he grabbed her hand and pulled her away. It was all very embarrassing (Milan, 40).

At the disco we meet both open and closeted homosexuals. Literature often distinguishes between these two types. The former are assumed to be open about their homosexuality not only within the gay community but also in other aspects of their lives. The latter, on the other hand, are rather secretive about their sexuality outside the community (in their families and at their workplaces). I suggest that rather than using these two categories as mutually exclusive labels, we should see them

¹⁴ Philadelphia and Háčko are names of gay bars in Brno.



as (self)labelling strategies that are activated or de-activated to suit the different environments, audiences and purposes of the individuals involved.

One of the visitors of the disco described its specific character as “a hormonal loading point.” The atmosphere is created partly by the practical furnishing and equipment, partly by the very loud continuous music, and above all by male porn videos shown in every room:

Some complain about it [porn video] very much but I think that the majority demands it. The way it happened was that I was on holiday at the seaside and I visited some gay bars where they had video, and if you don't speak the language and don't know the people then you are going to get a bit bored, and thus there was at least something to watch. So I started it at our place as well. I think that people watch it quite a lot as they notice, for example, that I have a new tape, or they tell me that the film has just finished and I should change it. . . . They often ask me why don't I run a sleazy hotel in the house. . . . I thought about that, but it would be too complicated in practice. So I always refer them to a hotel further down. But such fun costs quite a lot. They'd rather have a place where they could go just for an hour or so. It is mostly enough for these things. . . . They go to the park as well. In the summer time something like 2 to 3 couples an evening. Or some do it right here in the toilet. . . . How do I know? It always gets back to me somehow that he was in the park with that one and the other one picked that guy up or some like to boast about themselves (Richard, owner of the disco).

For these reasons in the King's disco (the second gay disco opened in Brno) there is a dark room where anonymous sexual activity is engaged in. The dark room is underground, and the top of the stairs leading there has a sign to stop women from going down. The first few years of gay discos created the impression that this is a space for the community of gay men:

The girls that I know do not come here often, they don't like the porn and the loud music which makes it impossible for them to talk. The ones who do come are mostly “heteras” [heterosexual women] or prostitutes relaxing after work (Iva, 36).

The lesbian community concentrated more in private spaces and constituted of individual informal communities of women linked by personal relationships. This began to change when women started to frequent a second gay disco, King's, opened in 1999. This supports the notion that women were not against going to a gay disco per se but did not find the other place suitable. Between 2000 and 2005 several new discos and bars opened in Brno, some of them only for few months, others lasting for years. Some of these places gained great popularity among lesbian women.



STUDENT ORGANIZATION—ACTIVISM AND ITS LIMITS

The gay and lesbian organization STUD Brno was founded in 1996 as an independent, non-governmental organization which, according to its web presentation, above all unites young people of homosexual and bisexual orientation but also heterosexual supporters. Its main aim is to strive for the full legal and actual equality of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender minorities in society.¹⁵ STUD Brno started as a student association at the Faculty of Arts at the Masaryk University in Brno.¹⁶ In the first years its activities involved the organizations of discussion meetings which gradually moved from the Faculty of Arts to the private spaces of the association's activists. The weekly meetings were at first rather closed in their character, similar to the initial running of gay clubs. Although these meetings were promoted by leaflets at universities, one rather learnt about them from friends. At first it was not easy for an outsider to decide to participate:

I remember how I was standing in front of that door and was thinking whether to ring the doorbell or not. I did not know what to expect, who would be there, what kind of people. Nothing. Then other girls told me that they had similar thoughts and they only rang the bell at the third time (Jitka, 23).

At the beginning, these discussion meetings were mainly the domain of gay men:

There was always a girl who came and saw that there were no other girls so she did not come again. The next time another girl came who was also there alone. These girls did not know about each other (Jarek, 40).

However, in 2002 one of STUD's lesbian volunteers initiated a separate lesbian discussion group which has functioned regularly since then. It has gradually gathered a core of organizational activists and numerous participants. From a silent companion of the gay community, lesbian women turned into a specific autonomous group that reflects the special characteristics of its own situation and is moreover willing and able to transform its otherness into specific programmes, activities and articulations of demands within the gay and lesbian community. It is notable that in the same year the male discussion group ceased to exist due to lack of interest:

¹⁵ See <www.stud.cz> (5 December 2006).

¹⁶ Hence the name STUD which unfortunately also has an explicit sexual connotation in English.



I think that this is also to a large degree due to the Internet. It is simply no longer so necessary to meet in person because there are other ways of staying in touch with people who have similar problems, face similar things. It is interesting though that the girls go and they go in a large number. It depends very much on the people. Among the boys there was no one who would be in charge and who would have a vision (Michal, 26).

In 2000 discussion meetings ceased to be the main activity of STUD Brno although they continued to be presented outwardly as its most important activity:

People no longer feel such a need to talk about how to tell their parents, how they go through this experience, how bad they feel, as homosexuality is no longer such a burden (Martin, 26).

This shift was also reflected in the discussions themselves in which life experiences and views of various groups clashed:

I don't know what you are talking about. Community, what do you mean? It makes me want to throw up when I think of how everybody gossips about other people (Simona, 18).

This account represents a fairly frequent notion of local gay and lesbian community. It still presupposes social ties and networks but rather the negative aspects of them are emphasized. One of the activists of STUD Brno described its change as a shift from a membership organization to a service organization:

A membership organization like the Scouts has a large number of members and the majority of activities that are done are aimed inward. Something targeted outward is done only as a supplement (Martin, 26).

The membership phase describes the period when the major activity of STUD Brno was to organize informal discussion evenings attended by a stable circle of people who knew each other. They then created other forms of meetings for themselves, however their activities did not have the ambition to target a broader circle of participants, nor were they aimed outside of the gay and lesbian community. The service organization on the other hand is more focussed on providing services targeted at a wider imaginary community of gays and lesbians who are not necessarily members of any association. From 2001 STUD Brno has been more oriented to create specific programmes for differentiated target groups within the gay and lesbian community. The project for teenage gays is an example:



For teenage boys there was absolutely nothing in our country. When they came to STUD everybody else was older, they had no one to talk to. Yet there are many of such boys who find out when they are, I don't know, in their teens and then where should they turn to? They will probably not talk about it at school. And often they can't tell their parents either (Petr, 28).

Differentiation of particular subgroups and activities clearly points to the multiplicity of gay and lesbian identities and reflects the non-sustainability of the simplifying notion of a single universal identity. Even in this civic environment of the gay and lesbian community there is a clear tendency to get out of the closet and isolation, attempting to mediate plurality of gay life and culture to the majority society. This happens through such activities as gay and lesbian film festivals which take place once a year in Brno and in Prague, or informative meetings at secondary schools in the form of discussions with students.

Unity has been maintained mainly for political purposes, such as lobbying for the Act on Registered Partnership which was one of the few activities that united activists from the gay as well as the lesbian communities. Everyone was aware that united power had a greater chance of success than individual efforts. At the same time even in this case there was a clear difference in priorities and strategies in the individual segments of the community. This is most marked in the case of measures on relationships with children, being one of the priorities of lesbian women, while gay men were concerned that including this issue into the negotiation strategies might jeopardize the passing of the Act.

CONCLUSION: COMMUNITY THAT NO ONE ENDORSES

The three spaces I have dealt with demonstrate the diachronic change of the subculture which is getting rid of its underground, secretive character as well as of an existence reduced to sexual encounters as represented by public toilets. This shift could also be understood as a change from homosexual identity towards gay and lesbian identities. The adjective "homosexual" rather reflects medical categorization, deviance and stigma that should be handled by particular specialized institutions and discursive practices.

The concept of gay and lesbian identities in this context does not mean a proud membership in some social collectivity or movement. It rather refers to an individual coming out that encompasses a close circle of friends and family. If gay and lesbian community is characterized as a set of social outlets with different subgroups and networks, some of them institutionalized or politicized, then such community surely exists in the



Czech Republic. The sense of belonging to this community is, however, different for different individuals. Many of them don't endorse the community at all, even though they participate in it. It is not surprising then that the community is most widely endorsed by individuals who are active members of gay and lesbian non-governmental organizations.

The bar and club scene, where gay men and lesbian women meet to more or less passively consume fun, does not consider itself to be a community. This is on the one hand shedding the mechanism of exclusion and isolation which is, on the other hand, linked to the destruction of a notion of a homogeneous and unified gay (sub)culture. The gay and lesbian community is a diversified community: in the words of respondents it would perhaps be more appropriate to speak of different "cliques," meaning circles of friends that meet each other mostly in their leisure time for fun, discussion of issues and problems they deal with, and for help—without an ambition to demand and exercise their opposition to the mainstream heteronormative environment.¹⁷ While before 1989 a broader sense of belonging might have been caused by the image of the common enemy of the Communist regime, now when participation in the community has no legal barrier, the term community repels people reminding them of mandatory organizing, warrants and member fees.

Community described in this article represents a varied space and time that includes various groups of participants, creates specific types of identification with a certain group which is increasingly a group within a diverse and changing multicultural society.

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¹⁷ Similar points are also made by Nagorna in the context of Ukraine and Gruszczyńska in the context of Poland (Nagorna 2004; Gruszczyńska 2004).

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