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Original Articles

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The relationship between self-esteem, aggression and poverty

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Abstract:

Background: The current research literature confirms the link between poverty and psychological characteristics of an individual (Miech, Caspi, Moffitt, Wright, & Silva, 1999). Loix and Pepermans (2009) report criminal behaviour, addiction, low self-esteem, aggression, depression, and suicidal tendencies as subjectively perceived consequences of poverty. Research by Tremblay (2000) and Ezeokana, Obi-Nwos, and Okoye (2014) focused on low-income families has confirmed that long-term poverty is a predictor of physical violence and aggression in children. The relationship between poverty and selected characteristics has been investigated, however, research regarding the moderating effect of poverty on aggression and self-esteem is absent.

Research goal: The presented study had two objectives - to verify whether there is a difference between the poor and non-poor people in self-esteem and aggression; and to verify if poverty moderates the relationship between self-esteem and aggression. The study hypothesized that people included in the group of poor will experience lower self-esteem and higher aggression compared to the group of non-poor, and additionally that poverty will moderate the link between self-esteem and aggression.

Method: The research sample consisted of 86 employed persons (48 women). The inclusion criteria were as follows: (1) aged between 25 and 59 ($M = 33.58$ $SD = 8.10$); and (2) a permanent monthly income. The income was dichotomised, and people with up to 400€ per month were assigned to the group of poor ($N = 24$). The data was obtained using convenience sampling and the actual collection was conducted in person. Two research tools were used - self-esteem was investigated through the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1965) and aggression was assessed using the Buss-Perry Aggression Questionnaire (BPAQ; Buss & Perry, 1992). The reliability of the research tools was verified using McDonald's total omega coefficient – RSES: $\omega_{Total} = .82$; BPAQ: $\omega_{Total} = .91$. Poverty was examined using 4 response categories: 0 - 198.09€ (sum of the minimum living wage in Slovakia from 2016); 198.09€ - 400€; 400€ - 900€; more than 900€. The test battery also collected basic socio-demographic data. The Independent Samples t-test was employed to examine the differences between the groups of poor and non-poor in regard to self-esteem and aggression, supported by the Bayesian Factor with non-informative prior values (0.707) and sequential analysis. A moderated regression analysis was used to verify the effect of poverty on the relationship of self-esteem and aggression.

Results: The Independent Sample t-test found that the poor and non-poor groups did significantly differ in the degree of self-esteem ($t(84) = -3.24$, $p = .002$, Cohen's $d = -0.78$, post-hoc statistical power with $\alpha = .05$ was 89%), with higher self-esteem achieved by non-poor. No significant differences were found between the groups in relation to aggression ($t(84) = 1.20$, $p = .234$, Cohen's $d = 0.29$, post-hoc statistical power with $\alpha = .05$ was 22%). The application of moderated regression analysis in a model describing self-esteem as a criterion, aggression as an independent variable and poverty as a moderator was statistically significant ($F(3, 28) = 10.43$; $p < .001$; $R^2 = .24$).

Despite a strong correlation between aggression and self-esteem ($r = .35$), aggression became a non-significant predictor of self-esteem when poverty was included as a moderator ($t(82) = 0.42$; $b = 0.03$; $p = .672$); the poverty itself was a significant predictor ($t(82) = 3.28$; $b = 3.71$; $p = .002$).

The interaction between aggression and poverty was not a significant predictor, nevertheless the value was borderline ($t(82) = -1.95$; $b = -0.14$; $p = .055$). If the person was not poor, self-esteem got lower with increasing aggressiveness ($t(82) = -4.27$; $b = -0.11$; $p < .001$).

Conclusion: The study confirmed that poverty is a determinant of impaired self-esteem, but based on the available evidence, it is not possible to conclude whether or not poverty affects aggression. Moreover, the effect of poverty on moderating the relationship between self-esteem and aggression was confirmed. The link between aggression and self-esteem was found to be weak in the group of poor people, whereas aggression was shown to be a relatively strong predictor of self-esteem in the group of non-poor people. The limitations of this study are the inclusion criteria for the poor (up to 400€), the sample size and the sampling method.

Key words:

Poverty. Self-esteem. Aggression. Adults.

Introduction

The concept of poverty is defined from an economic rather than psychological perspective. According to the United Nations (1995), poverty can be characterised as an inadequate income and lack of resources to ensure dignity, leading to hunger, poor health and health care, limited access to education, inadequate housing, and social discrimination and exclusion. Similarly, the World Bank (Haughton & Kandler, 2009) defines poverty as income or available resources that are below the minimum living conditions, reflected in poor housing, health and access to food. Additionally, it considers the psychological aspects related to subjective well-being deprivation associated with poverty. Operationalisation of poverty in psychological research is often understood from an economic perspective. It is characterised, for example, as a ratio of income-to-needs equal to or less than 1:1 (Evans & Kim, 2007) or as a household income less than 60% of the median (Emerson & L. Turnbull, 2005). It is also necessary to point out that many researchers often work with constructs related to poverty, namely: socioeconomic status (Hackman & Farah, 2009, Reiss, 2013, Turkheimer et al., 2003, Santiago, Wadsworth & Stump, 2011), low income (Evans, 2004, Riley et al., 2013), material difficulties (Slack et al., 2004; Parish et al., 2008), economic deprivation (Eamon, 2001; Wagmiller et al., 2006) or (material) scarcity (Shah, Mullainathan, & Shafir, 2012; Denny et al., 2004). This research is based on a monetary approach, which considers poverty as the income of a person below a conventional threshold, typically 60% of the median of a national income. Nygard, Härtull, Wentjärvi, and Jungerstam (2016) refer to this as "objective poverty" based on their analysis of secondary data (The 2010 GERDA Survey). Psychological research confirms that living in poverty affects the psychological characteristics of an individual (Miech, Caspi, Moffitt, Wright, & Silva, 1999). Loix and Pepermans (2009) have described several categories of consequences of poverty in addition to social and family problems based on reports of poor people. In line with other researchers (McBride, Paikoff, & Holmbeck, 2003; Davis, Banks, Fisher, & Grudzinskas, 2004), the described behavioural problems included criminal behaviour, addiction, and psychological problems related to low self-esteem, aggression, depression, and suicidal tendencies. If the interest is primarily to confirm the link between living in poverty and aggression, research literature focuses separately on a group of children and a group of adults. Tremblay (2000) and Ezeokana, Obi-Nwos, and Okoye (2014) confirmed that long-term poverty is a predictor of physical violence and aggression in children from low-income families. These studies confirmed that children living in poverty are inclined to psychopathology, difficulties in maintaining social standards, delinquency, theft, violence and drug use. The link between living in poverty and aggression has also been confirmed in the adult population. Keels (2008) notes that aggression in families

with low socio-economic status (income below the poverty line) was significantly reduced following a promotion. Santiago, Wadsworth and Stump (2011) describe that there is strong evidence in favour of the link not only between poverty and psychopathological phenomena such as aggression, narcotics abuse, anxiety, but also low self-esteem. MacLeod (1995) illustrated how self-esteem can be related to the poverty of an individual in the future. The author has introduced a model according to which self-esteem during adolescence can influence teenager's choice of occupation. The author states that low self-esteem is associated with higher levels of anxiety and depression, which consequently hinder adequate inclusion into society. Santiago, Wadsworth, and Stump (2011) argue that these factors (low self-esteem, anxiety, and depression) may be related to individual poverty in the future. The fact that poverty does not necessarily reflect low self-esteem was confirmed by McMullin and Cairney (2004) who argue that lower income is associated with lower self-esteem, but only if individuals consider poverty to be a social stigma.

Overall, the following can be concluded based on the research literature concerning poverty. 1). The research on the link between poverty and selected characteristics of an individual, namely aggression and self-esteem, has been predominantly conducted in countries with a different culture (South America, Africa) and beyond the European research context. 2). The limitation of the research studies is a research sample which consists of children and adolescents, whereas research into aggression among poor adults is rare. 3). Even if the relationship between poverty and selected characteristics (aggression and self-esteem) was examined, the moderated effect of poverty on these variables was not investigated. Aggressive behaviour can potentially lead to aggravated self-esteem. However, it remains unclear whether living in poverty leads to risky behaviour to such an extent that aggression has no longer a significant effect on self-esteem.

Research goal

The presented study has two objectives; namely to verify whether there is a difference between the poor and non-poor people in self-esteem and aggression; and to verify if poverty moderates the relationship between self-esteem and aggression. On the basis of available literature, we assume that people included in the group of poor will report lower self-esteem and higher aggression compared to a group of people not considered poor. Additionally, we assume that poverty will have a moderating effect on the link between self-esteem and aggression.

Research sample

The research sample consisted of 86 professionals (48 women). The inclusion criteria were as follows: (1) aged between 25 and 59 ($M = 33.58$ $SD = 8.10$); and (2) a permanent monthly income. Subsequently, the income was dichotomised, and people with up to 400€ per month were assigned to the group of poor ($N = 24$). The data were obtained using convenience sampling and the actual collection was conducted in person.

Research methods

The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1965) was employed to investigate self-esteem. Participants were asked to answer 10 questions on a 4-point Likert scale (0 = strongly disagree, 3 = strongly agree), while higher score indicates higher self-esteem. Aggression was assessed using the Buss-Perry Aggression Questionnaire (BPAQ; Buss & Perry, 1992). Participants were asked to answer 29 items on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = Extremely uncharacteristic, 5 = Extremely characteristic), with higher score indicating higher aggression. The reliability of the research tools was verified using McDonald's total omega

coefficient – RSES: $\omega_{\text{Total}} = .82$; BPAQ: $\omega_{\text{Total}} = .91$. Poverty was examined using 4 response categories: 0 - 198.09€ (sum of the minimum living wage in Slovakia from 2016); 198.09€ - 400€; 400€ - 900€; more than 900€. The test battery also collected basic socio-demographic data.

Statistical analysis

The normality of data distribution for individual groups was verified by Shapiro-Wilk's test, skewness and kurtosis coefficients, detection of outliers and histogram analyses. The data for each of the groups indicated a normal distribution with only minor deviations, and extreme values in the dataset were not found.

Missing data (less than 1%) were imputed using multiple imputation method ("mice" package in R; Van Buuren & Groothuis-Oudshoorn, 2011). Regression analysis was conducted since its assumptions in terms of homoscedasticity, multivariate normality (tested against Mahalanobis score), and normal distribution of residuals and their independency were met.

The Independent Samples t-test was used to examine the differences between the groups of the poor and non-poor in self-esteem and aggression. Furthermore, Bayesian analysis with non-informative prior value (0.707) (Table 2) and sequential analysis (Figure 1) were calculated.

Results

Table 1 represents descriptive statistics of self-esteem and aggression scales, with focus on individual groups.

Table 1: Descriptive analysis of self-esteem and aggression scales

	M	SD	Min	Max	ω_{Total} (n)	Shapiro-Wilk (p)
Self-esteem	20.76	5.09	4	30	.82 (10)	
Poor	18.04	4.70	4	26		0.94 (.132)
Non-poor	21.18	4.89	10	30		0.97 (.085)
Aggression	73.00	18.28	37	117	.91 (29)	
Poor	76.79	14.51	48	107		0.97 (.747)
Non-poor	71.53	19.45	37	117		0.97 (.108)

Note.: $N_{\text{total}} = 86$; $N_{\text{poor}} = 24$; $N_{\text{nonpoor}} = 62$

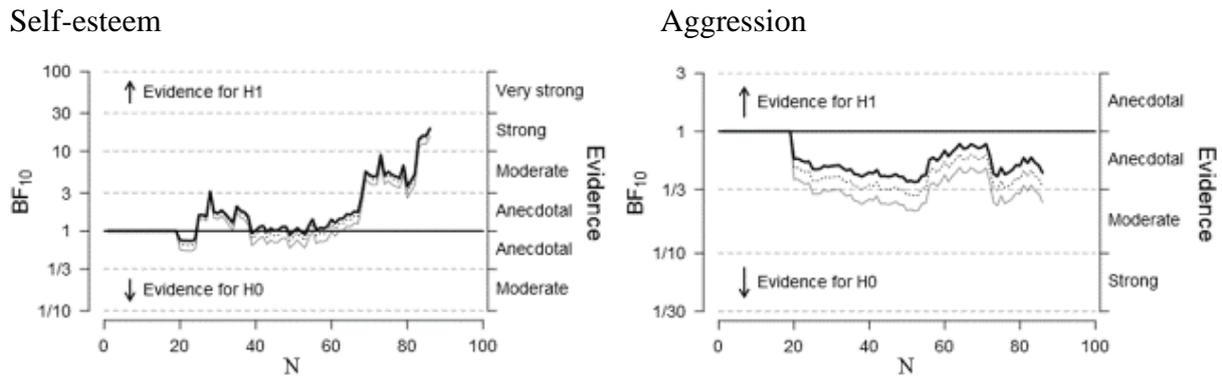
A combination of frequentist and Bayesian approaches was conducted in order to verify the differences between the groups of the poor and non-poor in self-esteem and aggression.

Table 2: Independent Samples t-test and Bayesian factor

	t	df	p	Δ Means	Δ SE	d	BF_{10} (Error in %)
Self-esteem	- 3.24	84	.002	- 3.77	1.16	- 0.78	19.40 (2.3e-4)
Aggression	1.20	84	.234*	5.26	4.38	0.29	0.46 (0.003)

* Significant result of Levene's test ($p < .05$) assumes non-equivalence of variations

Figure 1: Bayesian sequential analysis



Independent Samples t-test shows that the poor and non-poor did significantly differ in the degree of self-esteem ($t(84) = -3.24$; $p = .002$; Cohen's $d = -0.78$; post-hoc statistical power with $\alpha = .05$ was 89%), with the poor achieved higher scores in this variable. This finding was also supported by the value of Bayesian Factor ($BF_{10} = 19.40$), which provides strong evidence in favour of the alternative hypothesis.

With regards to aggression, significant differences between the groups were found ($t(84) = 1.20$, $p = .234$, Cohen's $d = 0.29$, post-hoc statistical power with $\alpha = .05$ was 22%). Considering the Bayesian factor ($BF_{10} = 0.46$) and the sequential analysis, it is important to note that the evidence for the null hypothesis is unambiguous, and in overall, the effect might exist but is potentially too weak to be detected in the research sample due to the low statistical power (the size of the sample was not sufficient to detect small effects).

The moderated regression analysis was conducted to determine the effect of poverty on the link between aggression and self-esteem.

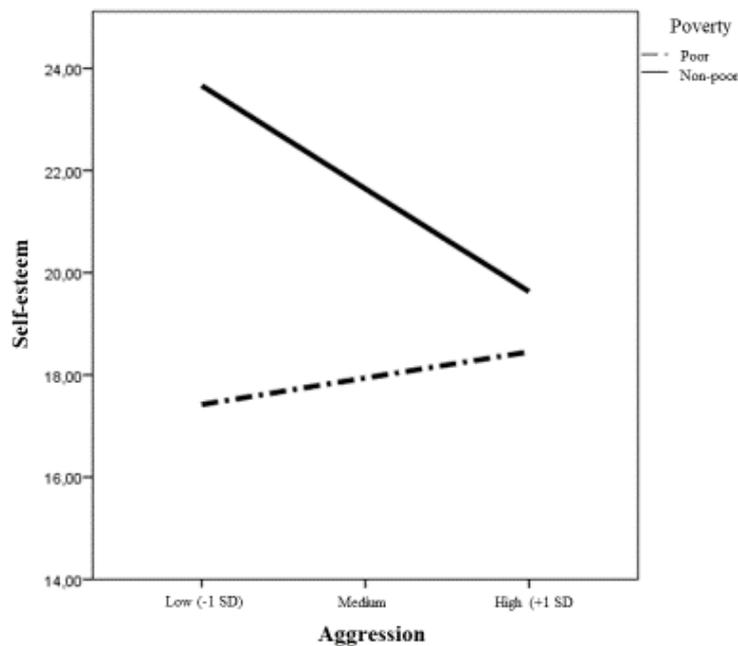
Table 3: Moderated regression analysis with self-esteem as a criterion, aggression as an independent variable and poverty as a moderator

	b (SE)	t	p
Intercept	17.94 (0.98)	18.40	< .001
Aggression	0.03 (.06)	0.42	.672
Poverty	3.71 (1.13)	3.28	.002
Aggression x Poverty	- 0.14 (.07)	- 1.95	.055

$R^2 = .24$
 $F(3, 82) = 10.43, p < .001$

Model self-esteem ~ aggression with respect to poverty (conditional effect)			
Poor	.03 (.07)	0.42	.672
Non-poor	- .11 (.03)	- 4.27	< .001

Figure 2: Graphical illustration of the relationship between aggression and self-esteem in the groups



The regression model was found to be statistically significant ($F(3, 28) = 10.43$; $p < .001$; $R^2 = .24$). Despite the fact that the correlation between aggression and self-esteem in this model was strong ($r = .35$), aggression became a non-significant predictor of self-esteem when poverty was incorporated ($t(82) = 0.42$; $b = 0.03$; $p = .672$; note: due to the nature of regression analysis that includes a categorical moderator, the presented values represent values of people from the group of the poor), whilst poverty itself was a significant predictor ($t(82) = 3.28$; $b = 3.71$; $p = .002$). The interaction term of aggression and poverty was not a significant predictor, however the p-value was marginal ($t(82) = -1.95$; $b = -0.14$; $p = .055$). If the person was not poor, self-esteem declined with increasing aggressiveness ($t(82) = -4.27$; $b = -0.11$; $p < .001$). Overall, based on the results we can argue that poverty is a determinant of impaired self-esteem, however, based on the available evidence, we cannot conclude whether or not poverty affects aggression. With aggression being a predictor of self-esteem, the relationship was found to be weak in the group of poor people, whereas aggression was shown to be a relatively strong predictor of self-esteem in the group of non-poor people.

Discussion

The first goal of the study was to examine the differences between the group of poor and non-poor in selected personality characteristics – we predicted higher self-esteem in the group of poor people and a higher degree of aggression in the group of non-poor. The hypothesis of lower self-esteem among poor was confirmed. Our research, in line with Sapolsky (2004) and Wadsworth and Achenbach (2005), indicates that poverty is a predictor of lower self-esteem. When interpreting lower self-esteem among the poor, it is important to acknowledge the psychological perspective of poverty related to the inability to provide for family, accompanied by feelings of shame and helplessness (Dzator, 2013). It should be noted that the chosen research design describes the relationship between the selected variables and not their direct linear causality. The available literature has not yet confirmed whether low self-esteem

associated with lower aspirations is the cause of poverty, or the persistence of poverty negatively influences one's current self-esteem. In our interpretation of the results, we are inclined to a more complex model of circular causality. Thus, less self-confidence and lower aspirations can lead people to choose jobs that do not provide sufficient financial security. The induced state of poverty can in turn negatively affect self-esteem. In order to verify this circular model, it is necessary to conduct longitudinal research including other variables (e.g., anxiety, shame, helplessness, risk behaviour, addiction), which could more precisely identify the causes and consequences of poverty, while identifying the relevant variables between poverty, self-esteem and aggression.

In contrast to other authors (Costello, Compton, Keeler, & Angold, 2003), we did not confirm the assumption of increased aggression in the group of poor people. Our interpretation of this is, that the available research on the consequences of poverty tend to confuse the concepts of aggression, hostility, and crime. We therefore believe that future research should work with the constructs of aggression and criminality separately. The absence of aggression in the group of poor can be understood as an increased tendency of a person to commit situational crime, which is independent of person's aggression. This hypothesis is supported by a study by Keels (2008), which suggests that the opportunity of the poor to move to a better neighbourhood and increase their socio-economic status was associated with a sharp decrease of crime. Overall, our research indicates that aggression measured by the selected tool (BPAQ; Buss & Perry, 1992) is a stable personality trait that may not be influenced by the current financial situation of a person. The available literature related to the psychological consequences of poverty examines the link between aggression and poverty based on the Berkowitz's (1989) reformulation of the frustration-aggression hypothesis. Our research provides evidence that the state of poverty may not be the reason for a frustration with the consequences of aggression. However, we cannot rule out this hypothesis because it is unclear whether people assigned to the group of poor based on their income subjectively experienced frustration due to the lack of money. Future research that includes this subjective experience of poverty has a potential to provide more accurate answers.

The second research assumption was that poverty has a moderating effect on the link between self-esteem and aggression. In the case of aggression as a predictor of self-esteem, this relationship was shown to be weak among the poor, whereas in the group of non-poor, aggression was a strong predictor of self-esteem. This finding helps to clarify that the presence of poverty affects the relationship between self-esteem and aggression in different ways. It seems that with increased aggression, self-esteem decreases only if the person is not exposed to poverty.

Participants included in the group of poor did not show a decrease in self-esteem when aggression increased. It is plausible that this relationship was not observed due to the fact that the poor have already experienced lower self-esteem, which could have weakened the discriminating ability of self-esteem.

The limitations of this study are the inclusion criteria for the poor (up to 400€). Income of other people in the household could have had an impact on person's financial situation and thus on the results of our research. In terms of methods, the limits are related to the sample size and the sampling method. Due to the sample size and resulting statistical power, a small effect with approximately 20% success rate could be detected. This limitation was largely overcome using Bayesian methods, in particular a sequential analysis that visualises the likelihood of evidence in favour of a hypothesis with respect to the number of observations. Another problematic aspect may be the use of non-informative priors in the Bayesian analysis, however, the study is considered exploratory and further investigation is needed.

These findings need to be replicated in further studies, ideally on larger samples. The need for this is reflected, for example, in examining the differences in aggression between the poor and non-poor, since considering our research findings, conclusions should be drawn with caution.

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Attachment styles: A motivational framework of personality dispositions in selection and counseling

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Abstract:

The aim of the study is to propose a framework based on personality dynamics to interpret the results of a personality questionnaire used by occupational psychologists during management counseling, personnel selection, and employee development. The source for the interpretative framework is the attachment dynamics arising from the adult attachment theory (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007). The study also demonstrates how the interpretative framework may be applied to employees' personality trait data.

The study builds on the results of implemented meta-analyses (Barrick & Mount, 2012; Barrick, Mount, & Judge, 2001) which claim that the question of the relation of personality structure and work behavior criteria, participating in overall job performance, has been resolved. However, the knowledge that is missing is the circumstances under which structural characteristics in the form of traits and dispositions are asserted, i.e. what dynamic personality processes lead to the manifestations of the dispositions which an employee is more or less equipped with, in specific situations. The current results show that one of the theories that offers an insight into motivational processes affecting the manifestation of personality dispositions in work behavior is the adult attachment theory, and in particular the attachment theory in the workplace (Engel & Straatmann, 2017; Harms, 2011; Leiter, Day, & Price, 2015; Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007). The theory originally proposed by Bowlby (2010), and further developed by his colleagues, surpassed the borders of developmental and clinical psychology, and currently finds its applications in other fields; such as psychology of work and organizations. The knowledge on the dynamics of the attachment working models which start to develop in early childhood and continue to develop throughout a person's life was first applied on interpersonal situations at work. These were impacts of experience anticipation in, a) self-efficacy and b) availability of others for relationships as well as immediate experience of relationships. Later findings showed that the impact of prevailing working models of attachment - the so-called attachment styles - affects the behavior beyond the framework of interpersonal situations because the attachment system is evolutionarily older than other systems developing in a person during childhood and adolescence (e.g. exploratory). Through the interpersonal history, the attachment dynamics thus influences the present and anticipated behavior of an individual, thus affecting the relational and nonrelational criteria of work behavior. We assume, in regard to the above mentioned, that the attachment motivational processes shall predict the manifestations of personality traits and dispositions forming a wide spectrum of work behavior. The attachment motivational processes may be operationalized through the major forces of attachment dynamics. The primary and dominant force is to obtain and maintain the real or imaginary closeness of key attachment figures in the situation of danger, threat, and uncertainty. While the success of primary strategy enables the activation of exploratory and other systems of behavior independent on relational topics, a failure hinders the activation of other systems and leads to the perseveration of the security topics and activation of one or two secondary strategies of attachment dynamics also affecting the perception of nonrelational areas (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007). The secondary strategies correspond to the constituents of internal working models of attachment; namely attachment anxiety (the degree of experiencing self-efficacy)

and attachment avoidance (the degree of experiencing the availability of others). The results of the measurements of the experienced attachment anxiety and attachment avoidance may be applied to interpret to what extent work behavior, predicted by Five Factor Theory questionnaires and other directions, will be influenced by the secondary attachment strategies.

The data applied to the interpretative framework was acquired from a set of 185 working population respondents (79 men and 106 women) aged from 20 to 59. The set was compiled having taken into account the gender, age, and education quotas for the Czech population according to the data of the Czech Statistical Office. Respondents' participation in the research was voluntary. The degree of respondents' attachment anxiety and attachment avoidance, as sources of motivation affecting the manifestations of traits in behavior, was verified by a questionnaire titled; Experiences in Close Relationships (Brennan, Clark, & Shaver, 1998; Seitl, Charvát, & Lečbych, 2016). To diagnose the personality traits, we used the widely used Business-Focused Inventory of Personality (Hossiep, Paschen, Hoskovcová, & Vybíralová, 2003) which contains scales corresponding to the Five Factor Theory as well as scales beyond the borders of this theory. The inventory gives static descriptions of 14 personality traits affecting work behavior and conditioning success in different types of occupations. To achieve the aims of the study, the acquired data were evaluated using correlation coefficients and linear regression. Besides the attachment anxiety and attachment avoidance, the predictors were also gender and age which influence the attachment motivational processes during a lifetime. The criterion variables were the traits measured by the Business-Focused Inventory of Personality. Interpreting the obtained predictor effects on criterion variables we used the framework proposed by Fraley (2012). The framework enables an interpretation of the effect of attachment anxiety and attachment avoidance in a parallel manner in the sense of attachment styles. The analysis showed a connection of attachment anxiety and attachment avoidance towards 13 out of 14 observed traits. No connection was identified in the trait Conscientiousness. The results of the linear regression revealed that Flexibility and Self-Confidence were best predicted by the secure attachment style. In Flexibility, a low age has a specific effect; but on the contrary, a higher result on the scale of Self-Confidence is correlated with a higher age and male gender. The secure attachment style predicts Sensitivity, but age does not appear as a predictor there. It is positively correlated with gender, and women in particular show a higher sensitivity. Action Orientation, Sociability, Working under Pressure, and Emotional Stability are predicted by secure and avoidant attachment styles. Action Orientation, moreover, is supported by a higher age, and Sociability by female gender. Openness to Contact, Team Orientation, and Assertiveness are predicted by secure and anxious attachment styles.

The acquired results have been applied to a new interpretative framework that proposes a key based on which respondents will tend to manifest traits identified by a personality questionnaire in their behavior. Whereas in respondents with a secure attachment style the manifestations of personality traits will be connected with the motivators outside the relationships, respondents with anxious attachment or avoidant attachment styles will tend to manifest or not to manifest a personality trait in a specific situation while being influenced by their relational needs. Especially, situations that are in anxious style respondents connected with a lack of support, appreciation, and acceptance or situations that are in avoidant style respondents connected with an emotional load or interpersonally unclear and confusing situations, will exert pressure on the behavior subduing or intensifying the personality traits in favor of reducing unpleasant experience related to the primary attachment system. The results of the study may concurrently be used as a tool in diagnosing the traits and secondary attachment strategies as a functional whole, providing information on the personality traits and situations under which the traits will be manifested in behavior. In particular, the proposed interpretative framework is intended for use in personnel selection and counseling.

Keywords:

Attachment styles. Motivation. Personality-behavior relation. Overall job performance. Personnel selection. Management and career counseling.

Introduction

Organizational psychologists dealing with the prediction of career success, employee development and career counseling employ psychodiagnostic methods aimed at general personality tendencies connected with desirable behavior. Frequently used methods include questionnaires based on the five-factor model, because of their unified terminology and relatively high validity (see Barrick & Mount, 2012; Wiernik, Dilchert, & Ones, 2016; Chamorro-Premuzic & Furnham, 2010), alternative models (Lee & Asthon, 2004; Wagnerová, 2011), and eclectic tools (Hossiep et al., 2003; Schuler & Prochaska, 2000). Although questionnaires provide organizational psychology with relevant information, the results of their scales focus on describing and predicting behavior associated with relatively narrowly defined areas of personality. The findings of the questionnaires usually lack an interpretive framework that would complement the static conclusions on the structure of personality with the information on personality dynamics. The attachment theory, as introduced by John Bowlby (2010) and further developed by his colleagues and followers (Ainsworth & Bell, 1970; Main & Solomon, 1990), may be seen as a variant to the interpretive framework of motivation that moderates the personality-work behavior relation.

This article contributes to the applications of the attachment theory in the workplace. It summarizes the current key knowledge and, having added valuable new data, we introduce the attachment theory as an interpretive framework to be used in predicting the motivational dynamics of behavior on the basis of personality dispositions. In particular, the framework can be applied when the methods for the assessment of personality dispositions are used in personnel selection and counseling.

Theory

Personality–work behavior linkages

Along with the emergence of a unified taxonomy of personality traits, attention has been paid to the relationship between personality and work behavior for the last thirty years (Landy & Conte, 2013). Numerous examples have shown how personality influences successful job performance (Ones, Dilchert, & Viswesvaran, 2012), and personality dispositions or traits have been considered a personality will-do aspect in relation to job requirements. Barrick, Mount and Judge (2001) stated broad conclusions based on the analysis of 15 previous meta-analytic studies. In particular, they labeled two dimensions (emotional stability and conscientiousness) to have a positive impact on overall job performance in all occupations and the remaining three dimensions of the Big Five (extraversion, openness to experience and agreeableness) to have a positive impact on overall job performance in some occupations only. Ones et al. (2012) claimed that the overall job performance represented the expected value of productive and non-productive work behavior, in which employees are engaged, and was related to the specific organization in a defined time period. Although desirable work behavior in the current meaning consists of common patterns for all types of occupations (e.g. emotional stability and conscientiousness), there are also specific requirements for successfully coping with the specific patterns of work behavior in different occupations. Subsequently, such demands on specific behavior are connected to a broad range of personality dispositions (Hossiep et al., 2003), which can go beyond the Five Factor Model and its lower-level facets. Therefore, it can be suitable to consider also other concepts outside the Big Five theory; although its contribution to the validation of personality-work behavior relation is indisputable (Schmitt, 2004).

However, the assessment results and following predictions connected to empirically defined traits are mostly descriptive and static. It is the case of the Five Factor Model, but as well as the case of derived and eclectic constructs. As Barrick et al. (2001) suggested, we still have not had enough valid conclusions on the mechanisms through which the personality influences work behavior. Having thought about the dynamics processes of personality that mediate the relation between personality traits and work behavior, they mentioned three important constructs of motivation. Two constructs were socially oriented (striving for status and striving for communion) and the third construct was non-social in nature (accomplishment striving). Their recommendations for following research on the topic of personality-work behavior advise focusing on just these three motivational fields because it is motivation that is likely to significantly mediate the mentioned relation (Barrick et al., 2001). We are confident that the attachment theory is a suitable concept for explaining the motivational processes and their impact on personality-work behavior. Although the attachment theory uses different terms in comparison with the mainstream in the field of personnel selection, it addresses all the three named motivational constructs.

Adult Attachment Theory

Adult Attachment Theory is primarily a theory of the dynamics of close relationships (Hazan & Shaver, 1987) and of adult relationships in general (Hazan & Shaver, 1994; Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007). Based on biologically coded systems of relationship behavior and the experience from relationships with primary caregivers, close others and other people, human beings develop relatively stable patterns (i.e. internal working models) they apply to build and maintain relationships (Bowlby, 2010).

Innate relationship behavior proceeds from the need to achieve the caregiver's proximity and maintain it in times of apparent or actual threats, insecurity, and exhaustion. Although the possibilities of how the need for proximity is fulfilled vary depending on the situation, the manner in which the need is satisfied just in the existing relationships leads to the anticipation of experiences in future relationships. Since the behavioral system of attachment is one of the first, with other systems following up or directly dependent on this behavioral system, attachment working models also affect areas such as motivation, emotional reactivity, cognitive, and evaluation processes. As Mikulincer and Shaver (2007) noted, the complex of attachment experiences gained during childhood, adolescence, and current relationships created characteristic patterns of behavior that go beyond the scope of relations.

The characteristic patterns of behavior based on the internal working models of attachment fall into four types or styles. One denotes the secure attachment style, while the other three are variations of the insecure style. The secure style develops in response to the continuous fulfillment of the need for closeness of attachment figures and positive evaluations of one's self-efficacy in relational situations. The insecure styles result from problematic experiences in relational situations and/or unfavorable evaluations of one's efficacy in relationships. This article works with the designation of the styles that build on social psychologists' research tradition. The secure style refers to secure attachment, while the anxious, avoidant, and disorganized styles are the styles of insecure attachment. The styles are highly useful in predicting future behaviors beyond the scope of the individual personality dispositions (Geller & Bamberger, 2009; Richards & Schat, 2011) because the styles enable us to identify the motivational processes hidden to individual dispositions.

Conceptualization and Measurement of Attachment Styles

Hazan and Shaver (1987) originally built their conceptualization of adult attachment styles on clearly defined categories derived from different strategies of relational and exploratory behavior observed in children (see e.g. Ainsworth & Bell, 1970). It is, however, the multi-dimensional approach, working with self-report questionnaires, which has gradually gained in popularity (Harms, 2011). While developing the Experiences in Close Relationships (ECR) questionnaire, Brennan et al. (1998) inferred and subsequently verified that the background of attachment styles consisted of attachment avoidance and attachment anxiety. Also the later knowledge on the dynamics of attachment in adulthood has been the crucial point in conceptualizing anxiety and avoidance as the two key dimensions. As Mikulincer and Shaver (2003, 2007) observed, specific behavioral strategies played a major role in attachment dynamics. If the primary strategy aimed at achieving and maintaining the proximity of a caregiver has failed in the relational experience, the person activates secondary attachment strategies. One type involves hyperactivation strategies that manifest themselves as anxious attachment and develop due to inconsistent responses provided by the attachment figure. These strategies are characterized by an increased tendency towards achieving and maintaining proximity, as the close other is available under unspecified conditions. The second type of secondary strategy is deactivation that manifests itself as attachment avoidance resulting from rejection or abandonment by the attachment figure. It is characterized by a desire to avoid situations entailing proximity and the risk of iterative rejection or abandonment (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2003).

When represented orthogonally, the dimensions of avoidance and anxiety form four quadrants that correspond to the four attachment styles. Although the original concept (see Hazan & Shaver, 1990) considers the styles as clearly defined categories in individual assessment, the research context treats the dimensions separately (Fraley, Waller, & Brennan, 2000).

Attachment Styles in the Workplace

Despite limited attention that the attachment theory generally received in the occupational context (Harms, 2011), recent years have seen the emergence of several studies on the application of the theory in organizations. A significant proportion of the research builds on the parallels between attachment to close others and occupational situations containing an attachment component (e.g. Leiter, Day, & Price, 2015). Already the pioneering research by Hazan and Shaver (1990) highlighted the importance of early attachment for exploratory processes. The authors posited that, similarly to children in need of secure attachment in order to successfully explore their environments, adults also needed to be securely attached to handle work-related challenges. Another parallel was pointed out by Hardy and Barkham (1994) who emphasized that self-esteem was closely related to one of the two components of the internal working models of attachment (the experience of one's own self) but also had a major impact on success in professional life. Likewise, emotions, or more specifically emotional control mechanisms typical for the individual styles, are extremely important for the transfer of the attachment working models into occupational situations (Richards & Schat, 2011). The widest parallels were directly postulated for interpersonal issues, in areas such as helping (Geller & Bamberger, 2009), trust (Harms, 2011), and the leader-follower relationship (Popper, Mayseless, & Castelnovo, 2000). Lanziano and Zammuner (2014) even emphasize the inseparability, rather than parallels, of relationships and work. Work is always a relational act implemented within the interpersonal context (Lanziano & Zammuner, 2014).

Newest studies also highlighted the importance of a different attachment levels at work. In addition to general attachment styles, employees show a propensity to establish a specific attachment bonds to important others at work (e.g. leader) or to organization itself (Engel & Straatmann, 2017).

Study

The advantage of the attachment theory is the clearly described relations among needs, motivations, and observable work behavior connected to the personality dispositions. The aforementioned research findings suggest that individuals are motivated to behave in a way which, under the given situation, matches the needs of their style of attachment. Inspired by Harms (2011), we assume that it is possible to expand the interpretation of personality dispositions within the context of job applicant and employee assessment through motivational forces of attachment avoidance and attachment anxiety, i.e. the background of attachment styles. Both dimensions may be considered a conceptualization of deeper elements of personality with motivational power influencing expression of partial personality traits at work.

With respect to previous research (Nofle & Shaver, 2006) and the aforementioned theoretical background of attachment theory, we state the following hypotheses that reflect sufficiently explored aspects of the Big Five theory in our design:

Hypothesis 1: Attachment anxiety is negatively associated with work-related personality disposition defined as Emotional stability.

Hypothesis 2: Attachment avoidance is negatively associated with work-related personality disposition defined as Openness to Contact.

Hypothesis 3: Attachment avoidance is negatively associated with work-related personality disposition defined as Team orientation.

However, the proposed interpretation framework of work-related personality dispositions goes beyond our hypotheses as it works with dispositions behind the borders of the Big Five theory that have rarely been tested. Therefore, having tested the hypotheses, an explorative analysis follows to identify which further personality dispositions manifesting at work and originating in the concepts other than the Big Five theory are predicted by the different attachment styles, especially those derived from attachment avoidance and attachment anxiety.

Method

Participants

The sample comprised 185 participants, namely 79 men (42.7%) and 106 women (57.3%). As regards education, nine participants had primary schooling (4.9%), 137 graduated from high school (74.1%), and 39 were university graduates (21.1%). The mean age of the entire group was 35.6 years, $SD = 11.96$; age range 20 to 59 (in men: $M = 34.61$; $SD = 11.81$; age range 20-59; in women: $M = 36.27$; $SD = 12.07$; age range 20-59). The sample of respondents was obtained from the working population of the Czech Republic, taking into account the gender, age, and education quotas according to the distribution of these variables in the Czech population. Participation in the research was voluntary.

Measures

Experiences in Close Relationships

Attachment was assessed using Experiences in Close Relationships (ECR), a two-dimensional scale with 36 items (Brennan et al., 1998). It contains the scales labeled as Attachment Anxiety and Attachment Avoidance. Each scale has 18 items rated on a seven-point Likert-type scale, ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree”. World-wide, the ECR is proving highly successful (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007). We used the Czech translation and adaptation of the scale. The psychometric properties of the scale were verified using a sample of 1,074 respondents by Seitzl et al. (2016). The reliability of the scales, measured using Cronbach’s α , is .86 for Avoidance and .87 for Anxiety. Due to the good level of psychometrics characteristic, the ECR scale was preferred to the Experiences in Close Relationships - Revised (Fraley et al., 2000) in this study.

Business-Focused Inventory of Personality

Our assessment of work-related personality dispositions relied on the self-report version of the Business-Focused Inventory of Personality (BIP), which identifies the respondent’s levels of fourteen personality characteristics associated with success across a variety of occupations (Hossiep et al., 2003). The results of the different scales are used as predictors of future work behavior. The 210 items, rated by respondents on a six-point Likert-type scale, observe the following characteristics: Achievement Motivation (willingness to set and engage with high standards; motivation to make high demands on oneself), Leadership Motivation (distinct motivation to change something that is subjectively experienced as wrong, and to wish to transform processes and structures according to one’s own views), Power Motivation (distinct motivation to exert influence in a social context; preference for leadership and management tasks), Conscientiousness (careful work habits; high degree of trustworthiness; detailed work style; values conceptual work very highly; prone to perfectionism), Flexibility (readiness to face new situations and to tolerate uncertainty; openness to new perspectives and methods; acceptance of change), Action Orientation (readiness to rapidly transform a decision into goal-oriented activity), Social Sensitivity (a good sense for even the subtlest signals in social situations and capacity for empathy), Openness to Contact (distinct readiness and preference for making contact with both familiar and unfamiliar people, and for building and maintaining relationships), Sociability (distinct preference for social relations which are characterized by friendliness and respect; generous towards a weak interaction partner; distinct wish for harmony with others), Team Orientation (high valuation of teamwork and cooperation; readiness for active support of team processes; willingness to suppress one’s own profile for the benefit of the work group), Assertiveness (tendency to strive persistently to achieve goals even against resistance; highly sensitive to interference), Emotional Stability (balanced and seldom volatile emotional reactions; capacity for recovery from setbacks, defeats and failure; distinct capacity to control one’s own emotional reactions), Working under Pressure (assesses oneself as highly resistant and robust; high degree of readiness to take on even extraordinary tasks, and not avoid them) and Self-Confidence (independence of the judgment of others, and high self-confidence relating to one’s own capacity and performance expectations). These characteristics are divided into four conceptual dimensions of higher-order factors. The reliability of the scales expressed with Cronbach’s α ranges from .75 to .92. The authors (Hossiep et al., 2003) described five observed characteristics as partly corresponding to the factors of the “Big Five” (Conscientiousness, Flexibility, Openness to Contact, Sociability, Emotional Stability), but generally BIP represents an alternative

approach. We converted the raw scores on the BIP scale of the group into T-scores based on the norms for the overall Czech standardization sample (N = 1,053).

Procedure

We verified the hypotheses and other basic relations between the ECR scales and BIP-measured personality dispositions by means of the Pearson correlation. The parallel effects of both the ECR scales as predictors of personality dispositions, together with other complementary variables such as age and gender, were tested using a multiple linear regression analysis. These are hierarchical models, where *Model 1* represents a regression with one or both the ECR scales, while *Model 2* is supplemented with predictors of age and gender. The prerequisites of the multiple linear regression analysis were met. According to the measures of skewness, kurtosis, and histograms, the criterion variables – the BIP questionnaire scale results of the sample – did not deviate significantly from the normal distribution. The same applies to the ECR scales. Although the findings indicate a greater flatness in Age, we see no great consequence due to the size of the sample. Gender is coded as a dichotomous variable (dummy variable); men are coded as 1 and women as 0. Multivariate normality was tested using a histogram of standardized residuals and a scatter plot of predicted values and residuals. The predictors were free of collinearity, with the exception of a weak point-biserial correlation between Gender and attachment avoidance; see the first four rows in Table 1. The relationships between the variables are linear, as verified by the scatter plots of the observed values and residuals and by CERES plots (for Combining conditional Expectations and RESiduals). The data do not indicate heteroscedasticity. Univariate outliers were assessed using the criterion of a mean deviation of $3.29 \pm$ in *z-score*, i.e. <17 and > 83 in *T-score*. Only one participant on the Anxiety scale exceeded this value, scoring 84. Multivariate outliers and influential cases were also assessed in each analysis.

Results

Table 1 shows the means, standard deviations, and correlations between the ECR scales and three traits, regarding to the hypotheses.

Table 1: Pearson correlations among variables in the confirmatory analysis (N = 185)

Variables:			1. Avoidance		2. Anxiety	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	r_{xy}	r^2	r_{xy}	r^2
1. Avoidance	48.8	(10.0)	-	-	-	-
2. Anxiety	51.6	(10.2)	.04	.00	-	-
3. Openness to Contact	49.6	(9.0)	-.52***	.27	-.13	.02
4. Team Orientation	45.4	(7.7)	-.33***	.11	-.06	.00
5. Emotional Stability	45.7	(10.6)	-.07	.00	-.42***	.18

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$. ECR and BIP scale results are in *T-scores*.

As shown in Table 1, the correlation that was obtained supports Hypothesis 1. We found a significant inverse association between attachment anxiety and Emotional Stability as the second highest ($r = -.42$) in the matrix with a common variance of .18. Thereinafter, the finding with respect to Openness to Contact and Team Orientation supports Hypotheses 2 and 3. In the case of Openness to Contact we recognized the highest negative association in the matrix with attachment avoidance ($r = -.52$) with a common variance of .27. Team Orientation was slightly less but still associated significantly in the inverse direction with attachment avoidance ($r = -.33$) with a common variance of 0.11. Table 2 presents the subsequent exploratory analysis, and specifically shows the means, standard deviations, and correlations between the ECR scales and other variables except for those in the hypotheses. Apart from the Conscientiousness scale, we identified a negative connection between all the personality characteristics and one or both of the ECR scales. The correlations between ECR and BIP were mostly identified as negative, which corresponds to the assumption that the Attachment Anxiety and Attachment Avoidance scales weaken dispositions generally regarded as positive.

Table 2: Pearson correlations among variables in the exploratory analysis ($N = 185$)

Variables:			1. Avoidance		2. Anxiety		3. Age		4. Gender 0/1	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	r_{xy}	r^2	r_{xy}	r^2	r_{xy}	r^2	r_{pb}	r^2
1. Avoidance	48.8	(10.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Anxiety	51.6	(10.2)	.04	.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Age (years)	35.6	(12.0)	-0,02	.00	.06	.00	-	-	-	-
4. Gender 0=women/1=men	0.43	--	.20**	.04	.01	.00	-.07	.00	-	-
5. Achievement Motivation	43.8	(10.0)	.01	.00	.17*	.03	.05	.00	.04	.00
6. Power Motivation	42.0	(9.3)	-.11	.01	.15*	.02	-.08	.01	.06	.00
7. Leadership Motivation	42.1	(10.3)	-.28***	.08	.03	.00	-.05	.00	.12	.02
8. Conscientiousness	50.7	(9.4)	.02	.00	.03	.00	.28***	.08	-.17*	.03
9. Flexibility	42.6	(7.3)	-.16*	.03	-.26***	.07	-.19**	.04	-.05	.00
10. Action Orientation	43.5	(11.1)	-.11	.01	-.26***	.07	.34***	.12	-.14	.02
11. Social Sensitivity	48.9	(7.4)	-.35***	.12	-.24***	.06	-.03	.00	-.23**	.05
12. Sociability	52.6	(8.3)	-.13	.02	-.25***	.06	.04	.00	-.29***	.08
13. Assertiveness	44.4	(8.8)	-.21**	.04	-.06	.00	.03	.00	.13	.02
14. Working under Pressure	43.5	(10.6)	-.08	.01	-.37***	.14	.22**	.05	.11	.01
15. Self-Confidence	43.6	(10.2)	-.21**	.04	-.36***	.13	.15*	.02	.21**	.04

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$. ECR and BIP scale results are in *T-scores*.

Further, we interpret the findings from the explorative analysis according to the BIP conceptual dimensions as defined by Hossiep et al. (2003). The results of the regression analysis were interpreted within the context of attachment styles using the ECR-R procedure proposed by Fraley (2012), since the ECR and ECR-R scales share the same principle.

Occupational Orientation Dimension

As shown in Table 2, the Attachment Anxiety showed a weak positive correlation with Achievement Motivation and Power Motivation, although the clinical significance of these relations was negligible. The Attachment Avoidance scale negatively correlated weakly with Leadership Motivation (8% of explained variance), which suggests that low Leadership Motivation was predicted by the avoidant and disorganized styles. It is not advisable, though, to use attachment styles to predict Achievement Orientation and Motivation itself because there was no combined effect of the ECR scales.

Table 3: Prediction of Occupational Orientation ($N = 185$)

DV	IV	Model 1 (ECR only)			Model 2 (ECR + Age/Gender)		
		<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i> of <i>B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i> of <i>B</i>	β
Flexibility	(Intercept)	56.97***	3.60		60.65***	3.82	
	Avoidance	-0.11*	0.05	-0.15	-0.11*	0.05	-0.15
	Anxiety	-0.18***	0.05	-0.25	-0.17***	0.05	-0.24
	Age	---	---	---	-0.11**	0.04	-0.18
		$R = .29$ $R^2 = .09$ $F(2,182) = 8.64***$			$R = .35$ $R^2 = .12$ $F(3,181) = 8.18***$		
					$\Delta R^2 = .03$ $\Delta F = 6.71*$		
Action Orientation	(Intercept)	58.23***	4.09		47.55***	4.30	
	Anxiety	-0.29***	0.08	-0.26	-0.31***	0.07	-0.28
	Age	---	---	---	0.33***	0.06	0.36
		$R = .26$ $R^2 = .07$ $F(1,183) = 13.57***$			$R = .44$ $R^2 = .20$ $F(2,182) = 22.12***$		
					$\Delta R^2 = .13$ $\Delta F = 28.62***$		

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Occupational Behavior Dimension

Attachment styles, represented by the two ECR scales, were not predictors of the Conscientiousness scale (see Table 2). Weak correlations were found in the additional predictors of Age, with which Conscientiousness correlated positively, and Gender, where women appeared to be slightly more conscientious. The ECR scales correlated negatively with the Flexibility scale, and both the scales were statistically significant predictors in the regression model. With the addition of the Age predictor (Model 2), the explained variance increased significantly, to 12% (see Table 3). The Attachment Anxiety scale predicted Action Orientation with a negative coefficient $B = -0.29$, which explained the 7% variance (Model 1). Age (Model 2), with a coefficient $B = 0.33$, had a roughly identical effect on Action Orientation, although it was in the positive direction. As shown in Table 3, the Attachment Anxiety scale, along with Age, explained 20% of the variance.

Table 4: Prediction of Social Competencies ($N = 185$)

DV	IV	Model 1 (ECR only)			Model 2 (ECR + Age/Gender)		
		<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i> of <i>B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i> of <i>B</i>	β
Social Sensitivity	(Intercept)	69.68***	3.46		69.54***	3.41	
	Avoidance	-0.25***	0.05	-0.34	-0.23***	0.05	-0.31
	Anxiety	-0.17***	0.05	-0.23	-0.17***	0.05	-0.23
	Gender	---	---	---	-2.43*	1.01	-0.16
		$R = .42 \quad R^2 = .17 \quad F(2,182) = 19.11***$			$R = .45 \quad R^2 = .20 \quad F(3,181) = 15.01***$		
					$\Delta R^2 = .03 \quad \Delta F = 5.80^*$		
Sociability	(Intercept)	63.18***	3.04		65.10***	2.95	
	Anxiety	-0.21***	0.06	-0.25	-0.20***	0.06	-0.25
	Gender	---	---	---	-4.78***	0.14	-0.29
		$R = .25 \quad R^2 = .06 \quad F(1,183) = 12.69***$			$R = .38 \quad R^2 = .15 \quad F(2,182) = 15.70***$		
					$\Delta R^2 = .10 \quad \Delta F = 17.56***$		

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Social Competence Dimension

Based on our findings, the dimension of Social Competence was primarily determined by attachment avoidance, while Sensitivity and Sociability were also affected by attachment anxiety and gender. Table 4 shows that both the ECR scales were significant predictors of Social Sensitivity with negative coefficients. Gender, however, also generated a statistically significant increase in the hierarchical model, which raised the explained variance in Sensitivity to 20%. Women were more socially sensitive. According to Table 1, Openness to Contact was significantly negatively related only to attachment avoidance, but it was the strongest correlation of all the observed relations ($r = -.52$). It was attachment anxiety that negatively predicted Sociability, with a coefficient of $B = -0.21$. When Gender was added to the model (see Table 4), the explained variance increased to 15%. The Team Orientation and Assertiveness scales correlated negatively with attachment avoidance (see Tables 1 and 2). Lower Team Orientation and lower Assertiveness tend to be expected in people with the avoidant and disorganized attachment styles.

Table 5: Prediction of Psychological Constitution ($N = 185$)

DV	IV	Model 1 (ECR only)			Model 2 (ECR + Age/Gender)		
		<i>B</i>	<i>SE of B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE of B</i>	β
Emotional Stability	(Intercept)	68.33***	3.65		65.91***	3.52	
	Anxiety	-0.44***	0.07	-0.42	-0.44***	0.07	-0.43
	Gender	---	---	---	6.03***	1.36	0.28
		$R = .42 \quad R^2 = .18 \quad F(1,183) = 39.78***$			$R = .51 \quad R^2 = .26 \quad F(2,182) = 31.67***$		
		$\Delta R^2 = .08 \quad \Delta F = 19.53***$					
Working under Pressure	(Intercept)	63.32***	3.76		56.40***	4.11	
	Anxiety	-0.38***	0.07	-0.37	-0.40***	0.07	-0.38
	Age	---	---	---	0.21***	0.06	0.24
		$R = .44 \quad R^2 = .14 \quad F(1,183) = 28.78***$			$R = .44 \quad R^2 = .19 \quad F(2,182) = 21.91***$		
		$\Delta R^2 = .05 \quad \Delta F = 13.13***$					
Self-confidence	(Intercept)	71.91***	4.79		66.86***	4.85	
	Avoidance	-0.21**	0.07	-0.20	-0.26***	0.07	-0.25
	Anxiety	-0.36***	0.07	-0.36	-0.37***	0.06	-0.37
	Age	---	---	---	0.16**	0.05	0.19
	Gender	---	---	---	5.70***	1.33	0.28
		$R = .42 \quad R^2 = .17 \quad F(2,182) = 19.00***$			$R = .52 \quad R^2 = .28 \quad F(4,180) = 17.10***$		
		$\Delta R^2 = 0.11 \quad \Delta F = 12.75***$					

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Psychological Constitution Dimension

The results for the dimension of Psychological Constitution are presented in Table 5. The Attachment Anxiety Scale revealed a significant negative linear predictive relationship to Emotional Stability ($B = -0.44$, $R^2 = .18$). After adding Gender into the model, the explained variance increased significantly to 26%. In male employees, their predicted Emotional Stability grew by about six points in the *T-score*. Attachment anxiety also showed a significant negative linear predictive relationship to Working under Pressure ($B = -0.38$, $R^2 = .14$). Age (Model 2), with coefficient $B = 0.21$, had a slightly smaller effect on Working under Pressure although in the positive manner. Self-Confidence is the only BIP scale to be statistically significantly predicted by all the observed variables.

Discussion

With regard to the presented results, we argue that attachment styles and the findings of personality questionnaires create a functional whole. The analysis of age and gender also yielded theory-congruent findings.

Consistent with our expectations derived from previous research, and as declared by the hypotheses, the attachment anxiety style predicted the expression of a work-related personality dimension defined through emotional stability. Likewise, the attachment avoidance style predicted the expression of work-related personality dispositions defined through interpersonal activities.

Moreover, via exploratory analysis both dimensions showed connections to other, and obviously non-relational, work-related dispositions, i.e., other behavioral expressions of personality at work measured by BIP. The only disposition for which we found no link with the attachment styles was Conscientiousness, which was predicted solely by Age and Gender. In BIP questionnaire, Conscientiousness represents a part of one of the “Big Five” traits, with a particular overlap in carefulness. Despite Conscientiousness being one of the most examined “Big Five” traits in relation to job performance and success (Barrick & Mount, 2012), and being concurrently considered one of the best predictors of overall job performance in terms of personality dispositions (see e.g. Hoffman & Dilchert, 2012; Schmidt, Oh, & Shaffer, 2016), the findings established in relation to attachment styles come as no surprise. As stated by Harms (2011), previous studies rarely found a relationship between Conscientiousness and attachment dimensions. Likewise, Nofhle and Shaver (2006) presented an overview of studies on attachment styles and the “Big Five”. Following Openness to Experience, Conscientiousness was the second most common characteristic with no relation to the attachment dimensions (Nofhle & Shaver, 2006).

Based on the findings it is possible to describe the typical behaviors of applicants and employees with the different styles of attachment. Still, we do not think that attachment styles are substitutes for personality dispositions. In accordance with Harms (2011), we argue that attachment styles are sources of information about the objectives and motifs, and therefore the findings on attachment styles should be interpreted along with the findings on personality dispositions. We also argue that especially the idea working with attachment dynamics appears potentially beneficial. It postulates that employees in a particular situation will tend to manifest or suppress their personality dispositions depending on the extent to which such behavior complies with their attachment-based objectives and motifs arising from their internal working models of attachment. When applying this idea to the three most common styles, and with respect to the procedure proposed by Fraley (2012), the following conclusions can be drawn.

Due to the successful primary strategy, individuals with the secure attachment style are not limited by the interpersonal motifs of the insecure styles of attachment. The secure style especially predicts Leadership Motivation, Action Orientation, Flexibility, Social Sensitivity, Openness to Contact, Sociability, Team Orientation, Emotional Stability, Working under Pressure and Self-Confidence. Behavior resulting from these dispositions will more likely occur in individuals predisposed to act this way based on their personality structure, and in situations that do not interfere with the preferences of the secure style, such as work-life balance.

In situations with a perceived lack of support, appreciation, and acceptance, people with anxiety attachment will demonstrate lower Flexibility, Action Orientation, Social Sensitivity, Sociability, Emotional Stability, Working under Pressure and Self-Confidence. The adverse impact of attachment anxiety is stronger in case of Flexibility amongst older employees, and in younger employees in case of Action Orientation and Working under Pressure. The potential strengths of employees with the anxious style include Leadership Motivation, Openness to Contact and Team Orientation.

In emotionally-loaded situations, interpersonally unclear or confusing situations, or in situations that require major interpersonal involvement, people with avoidant attachment will exhibit lower Leadership Motivation, Social Sensitivity, Openness to Contact, Team Orientation, Assertiveness and possibly also lower Self-Confidence. In contrast, the strengths

in people with the avoidant style include Action Orientation, Emotional Stability and Working under Pressure.

As evident from the above conclusions, we do not consider the anxious and avoidant attachment as globally deficient with regard to career development. The observed personality dispositions are associated with success in various types of occupations, but to a varying degree. With regard to the motivational background of the attachment styles, our results are primarily of use as incentives for counseling and for strategies to manage employees with the discussed styles, in relation to age and gender. The findings on the insecure attachment styles cannot be considered as the rules for selection without the context of other results. At the same time, we believe that understanding attachment styles is an important contribution to everyday life of an organization, team, and leader-follower relationship, because the behavior corresponding to the different styles is a response to subjective interpretations of situations.

Limitations of the Study

The sample size and the nature of the methods used were the limitations of the study. Although the research sample followed the quotas across the economically active population of the Czech Republic, it is still fairly small. Limitations also arise from the application of the ECR scale, which is not primarily designed for the workplace. Despite its relatively good psychometric qualities, the formulation of the selected items lacks face validity for the working environment, which could have reduced the respondent sincerity. The study results are also limited by the lack of an external criterion, such as manager feedback or 360-degree feedback, which would validate the BIP findings. Further research should concern itself with these limitations. Moreover, the results gained via exploratory analysis should be validated by means of confirmatory analysis on a new sample.

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Self-expression values of youth as an indicator of changes in Ukraine (based on the refined Shalom Schwartz basic human values scale)

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Abstract:

The article presents the results of the pilot study of the refined method of basic human values proposed by Shalom Schwartz (translated and adapted into Ukrainian). The methodology has greater possibilities for detailing and evaluation of human values compared to the previous version of the scale. In the modern version of the model, 19 basic values are allocated and placed on the motivational circle organized by the following principle: the neighboring values are the most compatible, the opposite ones - conflict with each other. The English version of the technique was translated into Ukrainian and tested on two pilot studies.

The abridged version of six values (18 statements) was tested during the sociological study "Youth of Ukraine-2017" which was conducted by Centre of Independent Sociological Research "Omega" for the Ministry of Youth and Sports of Ukraine. The survey was initiated within the framework of the State Target Social Program "Youth of Ukraine" for 2016-2020, approved by the Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. The survey was conducted between July 20th and August 10th, 2017.

The research method was a structured interview (face-to-face) conducted by a questionnaire survey among young people aged 14 to 34 (Ukrainian citizens). Respondents were interviewed at the place of their residence. The selection of respondents was carried out by the route method. The research sample was 2,000 respondents aged 14-34, representative of the main socio-demographic characteristics (sex, age, area of residence, size of settlement); standard deviations at a reliable 99 percent and the ratio of variables from 0.1 to 0.5 are 1.73-2.88 percent.

The geography of the study included 24 administrative units of Ukraine and the city of Kiev (except for the occupied territory of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and Sevastopol, and the temporarily uncontrolled territory of Ukraine, where the state authorities temporarily do not exercise their powers both partially and in full).

The obtained results allowed to verify the conceptual and empirical validity of each statement, which are indicators of measurable values. Indicators of quality of the model allow concluding about the best explanatory model of human values measured by Sh. Schwartz. The best quality indicators were obtained during the modification of the model using the ESEM and RI-EFA methods.

The framework of the study was the possibility of constructing a self-expression value indicator, which would characterize Ukrainian youth in connection with its participation in the political and public life of the country, readiness to create its own business, youth mobility, and attitude to migration.

The created indicator distinguishes the sample and allows to characterize young people aged 14 – 34. According to the results, young people with self-expression values declare their willingness to participate in the political life of the country, to hold elected positions, to initiate participation in youth organizations, to create their own business, as well as show readiness for migration with further return after gained experience abroad.

The indicator has a significant statistical connection with the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. The level of inherency and non-inherency of self-expression values differs by age: with age, the proportion of those for whom the value of self-expression is inherent decreases. By regionality, the value of self-expression is more common for young people from the Northern and Southern regions. However, the least inherent values were for young people from the Western and Central regions. The following distribution may indicate that value is less

common in regions where there are other values. For instance, in priority there are "Conservation" values (e.g., "Tradition", "Societal and Personal security", "Conformity" etc.) or "Self-Transcendence" (e.g. "Benevolence", "Universalism" etc.).

Also, the integral indicator makes it possible to distinguish young people by their material situation; more often, the value of self-expression is inherent for more the prosperous category of young people, who evaluate their financial position as "live well, but cannot make some purchases (buy an apartment, car, etc.) yet". The less important value is for the group of young people who evaluate their own financial situation as low: "money is not enough even for buying the necessary products", "enough for food and inexpensive things".

The integral value of "self-expression value" has a meaningful relationship with indicators that measure the attitude of young people to political processes in the country, their participation in public life. More often the proportion of young people for whom the value of self-expression is inherent indicate that they are following political life and the main events in Ukraine. With age, the interest in the political life of the country increases among youth with self-expression values. Consequently, young people compared to elderly are more often monitored for political life and main events in the country (those aged 24 – 28 and 29 – 34).

Young people mentioned their willingness to hold elective positions. More often such a desire is observed among those who have the value of self-expression. For example, the position of people's deputies of Ukraine is more attractive to those who possess the values of self-expression. The same distribution is observed among those, who are ready to occupy elective seats in councils at different administrative levels (regional or local). Among those, who have inherent value, males more often than females say more about their desire to take such positions.

The value of self-expression also has a significant relationship with regards being an entrepreneur or a desire to open one's own business. There is a direct significant connection between an inherent value and desire to become an entrepreneur. Males compared to females and young people aged 14 – 18 and 24-28 are more likely to be ready to open their own businesses (in the short and long-term future).

Research showed that the willingness to leave the locality more often comes from those who have the inherent value of self-expression. Especially, the younger age group of 14 – 18 are more likely to leave their area. Emigrating, but with a view to return to the country, are more likely to be respondents with self-expression value. The real reason for their willingness to emigrate is the desire to emigrate because there is no real democracy and legality in Ukraine and due to military actions in the East of Ukraine.

Based on the results of the received data, recommendations for further adaptation and improvement of the Ukrainian version of the PVQ-57 methodology were formulated in order to have the possibility of using the self-expression value indicator in relation to other variables that will determine the activity of young people and their readiness for change.

Keywords:

Basic human values. Scale of values. Motivational continuum of values. PVQ-57. Self-expression values.

Introduction

Youth is a driving force, whose active participation in a country's socio-political life positively influences its development. The preliminary results of the "Values of Ukrainian Youth" conducted in 2016 showed that young people are sufficiently active and patriotically-minded and concerned about events in Ukraine (Dmytruk, 2016). In addition, it is important to explore value orientations of young people, which reflect the needs and desires associated with the personal and professional development, their freedom etc.

The European Social Survey (ESS) allows studying values of mass consciousness using the specialized methodology for studying values typology (developed by Shalom Schwartz). According to the data of the European Social Survey (ESS 2013) (Center for Social and Marketing Research "SOCIS", 2015), Ukrainians more than citizens of other European countries have values of "security", "universalism" and "benevolence", and less – values of "openness to change", "hedonism" and "power-resources". It is assumed that the situation has changed radically since the 'Revolution of Dignity' (2013 – 2014). Moreover, the latest events in Ukraine could have affected what life priorities may be, including those among

young people. However, new data about the values of Ukrainians is missing, especially using the new improved measurement method proposed by Sh. Schwartz (Schwartz S. , 2012).

The object of the research is a value of self-expression which is one of the indicators for assessing the development of a society. The term "value of self-expression" is proposed by Ronald Inglehart and is used in comparative studies (e.g. "World Values Study"). This indicator allows predicting the democratic development of a single country (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005).

In Inglehart's comparative studies, the value of self-expression is measured by questions that relate to the sense of human happiness, their relation to homosexual relationships, participation in signing petitions, and trust in people (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). In this study, it is proposed to measure this value through the Schwartz group of values. The decision was predetermined by a preliminarily formulated hypothesis regarding a possible unification of the group of six Schwartz's values in the value of self-expression (Schwartz S., 2012). The connection between the values proposed by Inglehart and Schwartz was investigated using the data of WVS (Inglehart method) and ESS (Schwartz method). In the result, the study has shown positive correlations between dimensions "Conservation — Openness" (Schwartz) and "Survival - Self-expression" and "Traditional—Secular-Rational values" (Inglehart). The highest correlation with Schwartz dimension was obtained at the Secular-Rational/Self-Expression diagonal (Dobewall & Strack, 2013).

Other researchers who used multidimensional scaling (MDS) analysis, have shown that autonomous, open to change individuals need to have both self-expressive and secular-rational values, whereas being embedded/conservative involves both traditional and survival values (Dobewall & Rudnev, 2014).

In this study six values were considered that are grouped together on the motivational continuum of Schwartz's values as the "Openness to Change" (self-direction—thought and action, stimulation) and "Self-Enhancement" (achievement, power-resources, power-dominance). The values of "openness to change" and "self-enhancement" are important for understanding young people's moods, readiness for action, desire for change, success, decision-making, independence of thought, and expression of will. "Openness to change" and "self- enhancement", not the passivity of youth and the lack of indifference, in the long run, has an impact on the overall development of the country.

The testing of hypotheses and constructing a self-expression value index for further analysis was carried out using the refined method for assessing the human values of Shalom Schwartz. The refined technique PVQ-57 has already been translated into different languages and tested using data from 11 countries (Schwartz S. , 2012). At the same time, researchers have to make adjustments and modify the model of the set of values, e.g. confirm correspondence with the theoretical model and exclude those statements that worked badly (Schwartz, Butenko, Sedova, & Lipatova, 2012).

Schwartz theoretical model has been repeatedly checked and applied: the circular structure proposed by the classical model was tested in 75 countries, and the sequence of values was confirmed with minor exceptions (Schwartz S. , 2015).

Also, the theory was tested by a Serbian researcher. In order to explore the structure and hierarchy of values of future pre-school and class teachers a survey was conducted (N = 232). The analysis encompassed reliability analysis, goodness of fit, multidimensional scaling, mean rating and ranking, and t-test. The obtained data fits the theoretical model well, and the location of empirical value types can be predicted by the proposed circumplex, except for universalism and benevolence values, which are located in reverse (Marušić-Jablanović, 2017).

The English version of this technique was translated into Ukrainian and tested within the previous two pretests (Nagorniak K. , 2017). The obtained results allowed to verify the conceptual and empirical validity of each statement that are indicators of measurable values. Before the third pre-test of an abridged version of Schwartz basic human values scale (18 statements), the Ukrainian version was improved and adapted based on the obtained results. Namely, the translation of some points of Schwartz's method from English into Ukrainian did not take into account the cultural or linguistic peculiarities of Ukrainian respondents and therefore needs further improvement (Nagorniak K. , 2017).

It gives the possibility to construct an indicator that measures a value of self-expression through the group of values of "openness to change" and "self- enhancement" within the third pretest.

The purpose of this article is to present the results of partial testing (18 statements of the Ukrainian version of the PVQ-57 method), validate a constructed self-expression value in order to characterize of Ukrainian youth aged 14-34 years (N=2000).

Methodology

18 statements were included in the sociological study "Youth of Ukraine-2017" which was conducted by the Centre of Independent Sociological Research "Omega" for the Ministry of Youth and Sports of Ukraine. The survey was initiated within the framework of the State Target Social Program "Youth of Ukraine" for 2016-2020, approved by the Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. The survey was conducted from July 20th to August 10th, 2017.

The research method was a structured interview (face-to-face) conducted by the questionnaire survey among young people aged 14 to 34 (Ukrainian citizens). Respondents were interviewed at the place of their residence. The selection of respondents was carried out by the route method.

The research sample was 2,000 respondents aged 14-34, representative of the main socio-demographic characteristics (sex, age, area of residence, size of settlement); standard deviations at a reliable 99 percent and the ratio of variables from 0.1 to 0.5 are 1.73-2.88 percent.

The geography of the study included 24 administrative units of Ukraine and the city of Kiev (except for the occupied territory of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and Sevastopol, and the temporarily uncontrolled territory of Ukraine, where the state authorities temporarily do not exercise their powers both partially and in full) (Fig. 1).

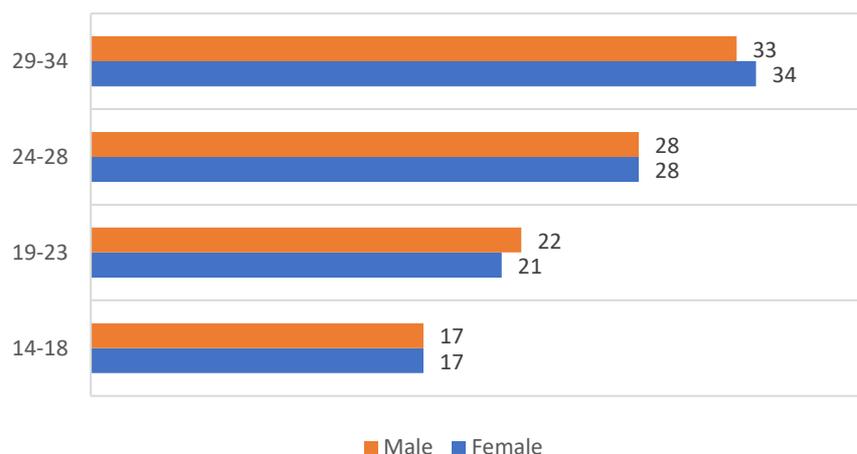


Figure 1: Age distribution among male and female, (N=2000), %

Within the framework of this survey, respondents were asked to evaluate how much a person with a specific set of priorities is similar to them. The question consisted of 18 statements (items) which had to be assessed from the point of view of inherent or non-inherent features of the described person: *"Below there are statements that describe a person, his/her priorities, his/her life position and values. How much does the person from the following description is like or is not like you? Give each assertion its own rating. It is important for a person ...". The scoring scale was used from 1 to 6, where 1 - not at all, 2 - not like me, 3 - rather, it does not look like me, 4 - rather, it looks like me, 5 - similar to me, 6 - exactly like me*¹.

The analysis of the collected data was carried out using the software environment for statistical computing R (version 3.3.3).

Results

Testing of reproducibility of the theoretical model for measuring human values on the survey data among Ukrainian young people aged 14 – 34

This section briefly presents results of testing hypotheses that allowed us to create an index "Values of Self-expression".

Two hypotheses were formulated to verify the reproducibility of the value model using analytical methods:

- 1) Statements (18 tested items) that measure the values of the six values, form six latent factors and reproduce the theoretical model of placement of values on the motivational circle,
- 2) Statements (18 tested items) form one latent factor which combines all six values into one group "Values of Self-expression".

Hypothesis 2 was formulated based on previous findings: a significant correlation between the indicators of six measured values. The results showed that all 18 statements have a significant ($p < 0.01$) positive average (more than 0.3), and high (more than 0.5) correlations.

¹ It's worth mentioning that there is an alternative approach to measuring values using the Schwartz method - the Best–Worst Scaling Approach (BWVr). This is forced method to assess the robustness of the refined theory to the method of measurement (Lee, Soutar, & Louviere, 2008).

The structure of values: factor analysis results (CFA, ESEM, and RI-EFA)

Testing of the theoretical model of Shalom Schwartz's structure of values was carried out using several methods of analysis: confirmatory factor analysis (hereinafter CFA), exploratory structural equation modeling (ESEM) (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2009), and approach of Random intercept exploratory factor analysis (RI-EFA) (Aichholzer, 2014). The last method captures acquiescence as well as the complex item-factor structure typical for personality measures. The choice of methods for analysis is due to the need to find the best solution to the explanatory model of values and its modification.

Table 1 shows the quality of the theoretical model (goodness-of-fit) tested on the pre-test data. Indicators obtained from different analysis approaches allow drawing conclusions about the best explanatory model applied to a specific sample of Ukrainian youth aged 14 – 34. The best quality indicators of the model were obtained during modification of the model using the ESEM and RI-EFA method. The main results of testing four hypotheses are discussed below.

Table 1: Summary of goodness-of-fit indices for different measurement models

	Chi-square	df	RMSEA	SRMR		CFI	TLI
<i>Hypothesis 1</i>							
Model 1 (Output model: 18 statements, latent 6 factors, method - CFA)	968.82 (p= .000)	120	.06	.04		.90	.87
Model 1.1 (Modified model: 18 statements, latent 6 factors, method - ESEM)	939.37 (p= .000)	60	.09	.02		.89	.73
Model 1.2 (Modified model: 18 statements, 6 latent factors, general factor, method - RI-EFA)	266.72 (p=.000)	59	.04	.02		.98	.94
<i>Hypothesis 2</i>							
Model 2 (Output model: 18 statements, latent factors - 1, method - CFA)	1283.77 (p=.000)	135	.07	.05		.86	.84

Note. For all χ^2 values, $p < 0.001$. *df* =degrees of freedom; RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation (goodness of fit $\geq 0.05/0.06$); SRMR = standardized root mean square residual ($\geq 0.07/0.08$); CFI = comparative fit index (≥ 0.95); TLI = Tucker–Lewis Index (≥ 0.95).

Hypothesis 1.

Confirmatory factor analysis examined the hypothesis that statements (18 tested items) which theoretically should measure six values, form six latent factors and reproduce the theoretical model of placement of values on the motivational circle.

The obtained *Model 1* has the following goodness-of-fit indices: $\chi^2 = 968.82$ ($p < 0.001$), RMSEA = 0.06 ($p < 0.001$); SRMR = 0.04; CFI = 0.90; TLI = 0.87. In general, taking into account the criteria for assessing the quality of the model, the given indicators indicate a weak consistency of the model with the data. The regression indices of this model are significant (Table 2).

Table 2: Unstandardized coefficients of Model 1 (CFA)

Observed Variable	Estimate	S.E.	Est./S.E.	Two-Tailed P-Value
Self-direction – thought	BY			
ITEM 1	1.000	.000	999.000	999.000
ITEM 2	1.236	.061	20.273	.000
ITEM 3	1.151	.062	18.537	.000
Self-direction – action	BY			
ITEM 4	1.000	.000	999.000	999.000
ITEM 5	.901	.038	23.504	.000
ITEM 6	.994	.038	26.242	.000
Stimulation	BY			
ITEM 7	1.000	.000	999.000	999.000
ITEM 8	.966	.051	18.766	.000
ITEM 9	1.137	.058	19.592	.000
Achievements	BY			
ITEM 10	1.000	.000	999.000	999.000
ITEM 11	1.007	.038	26.510	.000
ITEM 12	.948	.037	25.467	.000
Power - resources	BY			
ITEM 13	1.000	.000	999.000	999.000
ITEM 14	1.094	.059	18.654	.000
ITEM 15	1.422	.078	18.170	.000
Power - dominance	BY			
ITEM 16	1.000	.000	999.000	999.000
ITEM 17	1.103	.051	21.429	.000
ITEM 18	1.295	.055	23.671	.000

However, the purpose of the analysis is to test the complete set of six values that have been selected to construct a self-expression value. In order to take into account all model factors, eliminate cross-loadings, and modify the model, two approaches have been identified: 1) to take into account residual co-variances using exploratory structural equation modeling (ESEM); 2) to test the model that captures acquiescence using Random intercept EFA (RI-EFA).

The results of the first approach showed that the indicators of goodness-of-fit of the *Model 1.1* significantly improved compared to Model 1: $\chi^2 = 939.37$ ($p < 0.000$), RMSEA = 0.09; SRMR = 0.02; CFI = 0.89; TLI = 0.73.

The correlation between the factors for the ESEM solution has become much smaller with the strongest correlation of 0.7. However, created latent factors consist of statements that do not fully correspond to the theoretical model. For example, statements that measure "power-resources" and "power-dominance" (two of three items) create one factor and may be separate constructs.

The result of the second approach (RI-EFA), which took into account the control of the respondents' attitude to agree with the proposed statements, yielded significantly better results. Goodness-of-fit of the *Models 1.2* are: $\chi^2 = 266.72$ ($p < 0.000$), RMSEA = 0.04 ($p = 0.000$), SRMR = 0.02; CFI = 0.98; TLI = 0.94.

However, statements do not have high loads (more than 0.4) for those factors that measure the value according to the theoretical model. Three statements of each value are loaded on three separate factors which testify to the mismatch of the theoretical model. High loadings are observed on the overall factor (RI/ARS). The average value of the explained variance by the factor which is controlling respondents' attitude to agree to the proposed statements is 33%.

The following results may have at least three explanations: 1) the respondents tend to give socially desirable answers agreeing with each statement of the methodology; 2) high loading RI/ARS factor can be explained by multicollinearity of all items. According to all statements, there is one factor that can explain all 18 statements. As shown in *Model 1.2*, all statements are loading on a general factor; 3) this result may be due to the fact that all 18 statements that measure the neighboring values in the motivational continuum were standing together in the questionnaire. So, respondents giving affirmative answers could perceive them as the one that measures the same value. Further verification of hypothesis 4 gives the possibility of partially confirming or refuting these assumptions.

Hypothesis 2.

The second alternative hypothesis related to the assumption that the statement (18 tested items) that measures six values, form one latent factor "Values of Self-expression".

Model 2 has the following indicators: $\chi^2 = 1283.772$ ($p < 0.000$), RMSEA = 0.07; SRMR = 0.05; CFI = 0.86; TLI = 0.84. The goodness-of-fit of the model is lower than for previous models. At the same time, the model contains significant loadings that are high (> 0.5) and also can be considered (Table 3).

Table 3: Unstandardized coefficients of Model 2 (CFA)

Observed Variable	Estimate	S.E.	Est./S.E.	Two-Tailed P-Value
Values of Self-expression	BY			
ITEM 1	1.000	.000	999.000	.999.000
ITEM 2	1.168	.054	21.722	.000
ITEM 3	1.068	.056	19.080	.000
ITEM 4	1.202	.060	20.114	.000
ITEM 5	1.103	.056	19.586	.000
ITEM 6	1.168	.061	19.253	.000
ITEM 7	1.027	.048	21.475	.000
ITEM 8	.967	.053	18.095	.000
ITEM 9	1.155	.062	18.743	.000
ITEM 10	1.282	.059	21.918	.000
ITEM 11	1.254	.062	20.361	.000
ITEM 12	1.191	.062	19.129	.000
ITEM 13	.934	.053	17.565	.000

ITEM 14	1.072	.056	19.077	.000
ITEM 15	1.314	.061	21.647	.000
ITEM 16	.928	.047	19.583	.000
ITEM 17	1.066	.055	19.407	.000
ITEM 18	1.171	.061	19.170	.000

Testing hypotheses 1 made it possible to assume that one factor contains all 18 statements. According to the fact that statements are measurable indicators of the "Openness to Change" and " Self-Enhancement " values, it is possible to assume that a construct containing 18 statements can serve as an integral indicator of these values. In this study, the combined six values are called "Values of Self-expression". Next, the article presents the results of how the indicator can be applied to describe the sample of youth aged 14 – 34.

The value of self-expression as a measuring construct for assessing Ukrainian youth

As shown above, according to the results of the pre-test, a set of statements could be measured by one latent factor. The created indicator in connection with each of the 18 statements has the following character: the higher degree of similarity with the description of a person which is proposed in each statement relates to the higher level of inherent self-expression value².

Using the integral indicator for the sample of young people, a clustering approach can be used to find groups of respondents who have the closest distance among themselves and may create a separate cluster. Before applying this approach, a hypothesis was formed that there are at least two clusters of respondents: those who possess the value of self-expression and those who do not.

To select the appropriate clusters of youth, a cluster analysis (K-mean method) was used. K-means clustering is a method commonly used to automatically partition a data set into k groups. It proceeds by selecting k initial cluster centers and then iteratively refining them as follows: 1) Each case is assigned to its closest cluster center. 2) Each cluster center is updated to be the mean of its constituent instances (Wagstaf, Cardie, Rogers, & Schroedl, 2001).

It allowed the allocate two clusters of respondents (cluster 1 – 1185 respondents and a cluster 2 – 815 respondents) that are really different from each other in relation to their estimates. The first cluster brings together respondents who are not inclined to agree with statements about the proximity of the person described in the description, the second cluster - on the contrary, those who are inherent to give answers about a similarity to their own priorities.

An assessment of how well the integral indicator is applicable to the analysis of social reality depends on its ability to differentiate the sample population, and on the connection with other indicators that relate to other measuring constructs that are not associated with the valuation of values. The results of the assessment are presented below which allowed describing the sample of respondents according to their characteristics and attitude to specific questions.

The self-expression values of Ukrainian youth

At the first stage of the search for links, it was established that the indicator has a significant statistical connection with the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. The

² The resulting scale is divided into five equal intervals (percentiles) which are grouped by respondents according to their positioning on the integrated scale of measurement, where 1 is the minimum value of the scale and corresponds to the scale of statements that constitute the obtained integral indicator ("not at all similar"), 5 -maximum ("very similar").

level of inherency and non-inherency of self-expression values differs by age (Cramer's V, 0.1; $p < 0.000$): with age, the proportion of those, for whom the value of self-expression is inherent, decreases. By regionality, the value of self-expression is more common for young people from the Northern and Southern regions (44% and 48% respectively). However, the least inherent values for young people from the Western and Central regions is 47% and 46% respectively. The following distribution may indicate that value is less common in regions where there are other values. For instance, in priority there are "Conservation" values (e.g., "Tradition", "Societal and Personal security", "Conformity" etc.) or "Self-Transcendence" (e.g. "Benevolence", "Universalism" etc.).

Also, the integral indicator makes it possible to distinguish young people by their material situation (Cramer's V, 0.1; $p < 0.001$): more often, the value of self-expression is inherent for more prosperous category of young people, who evaluate their financial position as *"live well, but cannot make some purchases yet (buy an apartment, car, etc.) yet"* (46%). A less important value is for the group of young people who evaluate their own financial situation as low: *"money is not enough even for buying the necessary products"* (55%), *"enough for food and inexpensive things"* (42%) (Fig. 2-4).

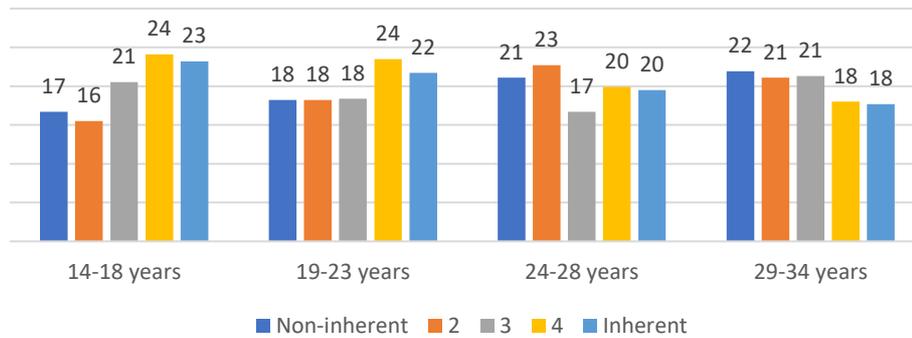


Figure 2: Characteristics of youth by the integral index of "Self-expression values" (among all respondents, N = 2000), by age, %

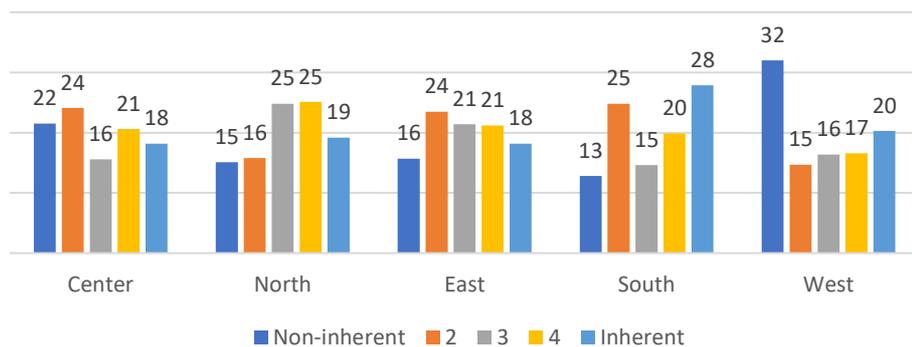


Figure 3: Characteristics of youth by the integral index of "Self-expression values" (among all respondents, N = 2000), by macroregion of residence, %

. Self-expression values of youth as an indicator of changes in Ukraine (based on the refined Shalom Schwartz basic human values scale)

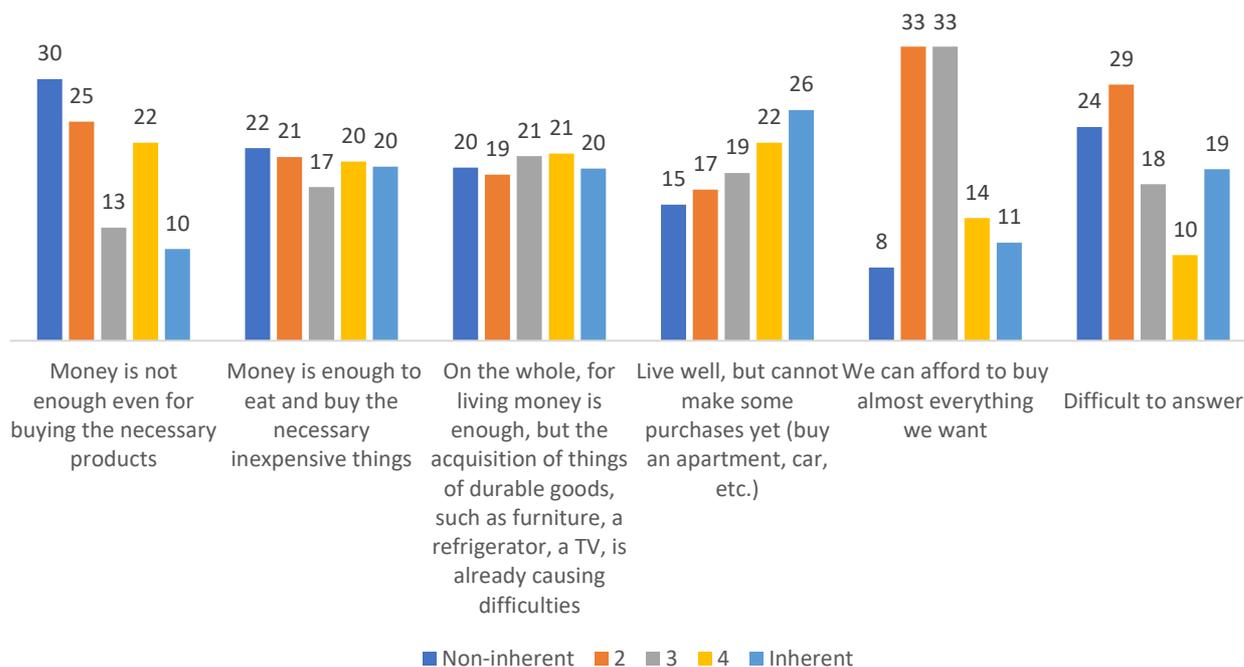


Figure 4: Characteristics of youth by the integral index of "Self-expression values" (among all respondents, N = 2000), by financial situation, %

The value of self-expression also allows describing young people in terms of their activity and involvement in different spheres of the country's life, pro-activity and desire to change the situation in Ukraine. The following are some findings of the connection of the self-expression values with regard to specific questions.

Youth participation in the political and public life of the country

The integral value of "self-expression value" has a meaningful relationship with indicators that measure the attitude of young people to political processes in the country; their participation in public life. For example, answering the question "To what extent are you interested in political processes happening in Ukraine?", more often the proportion of young people for whom the value of self-expression is inherent indicate that they are following the political life and the main events in Ukraine (Cramer's V, 0.1; $p < 0.000$).

With age, the interest in the political life of the country increases among youth with self-expression values. Consequently, young people compared to the elderly are more often monitored for political life and main events in the country (44% of 24 – 28 years, 43% of 29 – 34 years) (Fig. 5).

. Self-expression values of youth as an indicator of changes in Ukraine (based on the refined Shalom Schwartz basic human values scale)



Figure 5: Distribution of answers to the question "To what extent are you interested in the political processes happening in Ukraine?" (among those who have the "value of self-expression", N = 815), by age, %

If young people are asked about their willingness to hold elective positions, more often such a desire is observed among those who have the value of self-expression (Table 6). For example, the position of people's deputies of Ukraine is more attractive to those who possess the values of self-expression (28% vs. 14%). The same distribution is observed among those who are ready to occupy elective seats in councils at different administrative levels (regional or local). Among those, who have inherent value, males more often than females say more about their desire to take such positions.

Table 4: Distribution of answers to the question "Are you ready to apply for the elective position?" (among all respondents, N = 2000), by the integral indicators of "self-expression values", %

	<i>Non-inherent</i>		3	<i>Inherent</i>	
	1	2		4	5
For the post of People's Deputy of Ukraine	7.5	6.3	8.3	12.8	15.0
To the regional council	5.3	6.3	8.3	12.0	15.0
To the district council	6.0	9.3	10.4	11.6	15.0
To the city council	9.5	7.2	13.2	12.3	16.3
To the settlement / village council	11.5	7.0	10.9	11.1	13.0
At the position of city / town / village chairman	9.8	7.2	11.7	9.2	13.5

They are more likely to believe in their strength and the ability to influence a situation in their locality and Ukraine as a whole, young people with the self-expression value (Cramer's V, 0.1; $p < 0.000$). Pessimistic youth with confidence that they cannot influence events are those for whom the value of self-expression is not a priority.

Another finding is that the interest of young people in decision-making through participation in a youth advisory agency with local authorities is observed among those who again possess the values of self-expression. Young people in the younger age group (14 – 18 years old – 33%) often report such readiness, and rarely - older groups aged 29 – 34 (17%) (Fig. 6).

. Self-expression values of youth as an indicator of changes in Ukraine (based on the refined Shalom Schwartz basic human values scale)

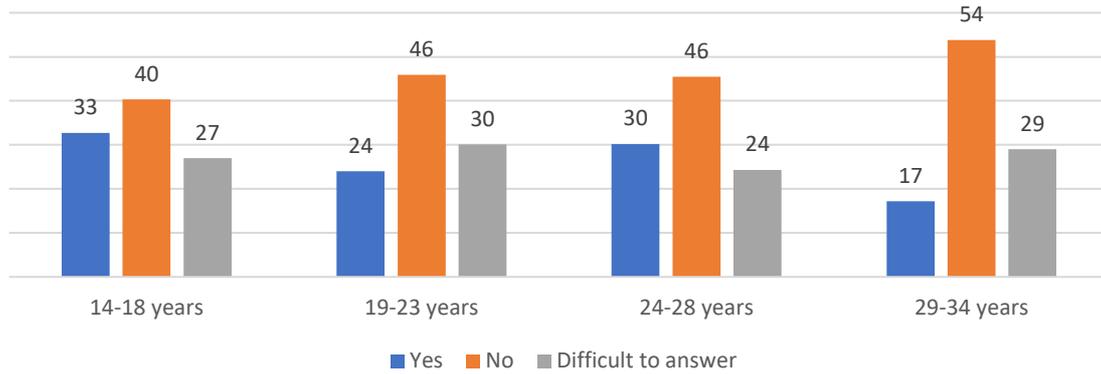


Figure 6: Distribution of answers to the question "Do you wish to participate in the activities of youth advisory agency with local authorities?" (among those who have the "value of self-expression", N = 815), by age, %

Desire to develop own business

The value of self-expression also has a significant relationship with being an entrepreneur or a desire to start one's own business. There is a direct significant connection between inherent value and desire to become an entrepreneur (Cramer's V, 0.2; $p < 0.000$). Males compared to females (52% vs. 49%) and young people aged 14 – 18 (56%) and 24-28 (53%) are more likely to be ready to start their own businesses (in the near future or in the long-term future) (Fig. 7).

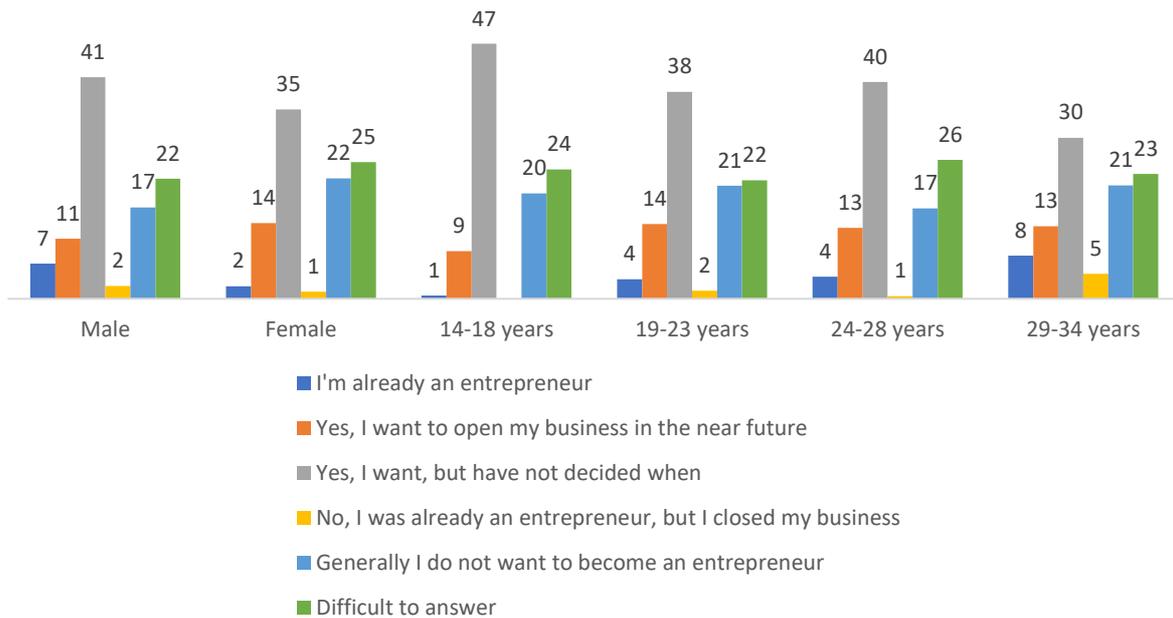


Figure 7: Distribution of answers to the question "Would you like to personally become an entrepreneur, open your own business?" (among those, who have the "value of self-expression", N = 815), by gender and age, %.

Mobility of young people and attitudes to migration

The willingness to leave the locality more often express those who have the inherent value of self-expression (Cramer's V, 0.1; $p < 0.000$). The younger age group of 14 – 18 (51%) are more likely to leave their area (Fig. 8).

. Self-expression values of youth as an indicator of changes in Ukraine (based on the refined Shalom Schwartz basic human values scale)

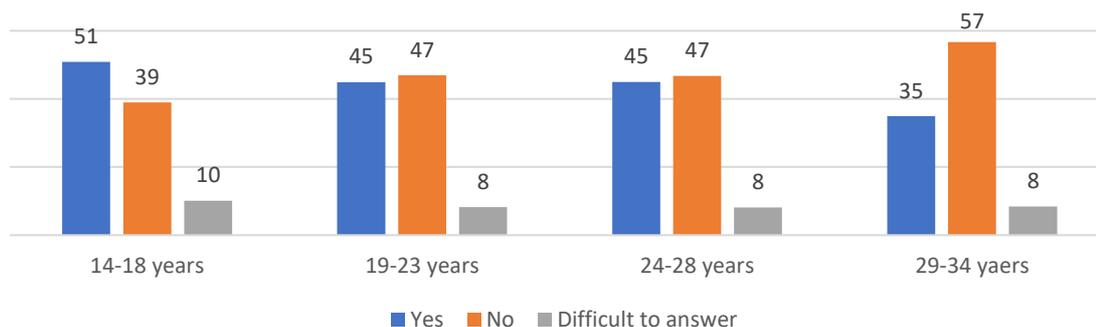


Figure 8: Distribution of answers to the question "Would you like to leave your town/locality?" (among those, who have the "value of self-expression", N = 815), by age, %

It is important to note that the proportion of those, who are ready to move to another region in Ukraine is larger among those, who do not have the value of self-expression (sum of 1 and 2 estimates of the scale – 65.3%) (Cramer’s V, 0.1; p < 0.000). To open broader horizons and move to the EU countries are more often ready those who have an inherent value of self-expression (sum of 4 and 5 – 74.4%) (Table 7).

Table 5: Distribution of answers to the question “If you want to move, where?” (among all respondents, N = 2000), by the integral indicators of “self-expression values”, %

	<i>Non-inherent</i>		3	<i>Inherent</i>	
	1	2		4	5
To another locality in Ukraine	36.7	28.6	21.4	21.6	24.4
To Commonwealth of Independent States	2.3	7.1	3.4	6.3	4.0
To countries of the European Union	38.3	34.8	44.1	42.0	32.4
To other countries	8.6	15.2	11.7	16.5	28.4
I do not know where	13.3	11.6	17.2	12.5	9.1
Difficult to answer	0.8	2.7	2.1	1.1	1.7

Emigrate, but with perspectives to return to the country are more likely ready respondents with self-expression value: 41.2% vs 33.6% (the sum of 4 and 5, the sum of 1 and 2) (Cramer’s V, 0.1; p < 0.01) (Table 8).

Table 6: Distribution of answers to the question “Do you want to emigrate from Ukraine?” (among all respondents, N = 2000), by the integral indicators of “self-expression values”, %

	<i>Non-inherent</i>		3	<i>Inherent</i>	
	1	2		4	5
No, I want to live in Ukraine	69.0	66.3	56.1	59.0	60.3
No, I would like to study abroad for a while, but then I will return to Ukraine	6.5	7.5	6.8	10.1	8.3
No, I would like to work abroad for a while, but then I would return to Ukraine	16.3	17.3	27.0	21.2	20.0
Yes, I plan to do this in the near future	8.3	9.0	10.1	9.6	11.5

Respondents were asked “Why you want to emigrate from Ukraine?” in order to find out the real reason for their willingness to emigrate. Comparing answers of youth who has self-expression values to those don't have, every third respondent for whom non-inherent values want to leave the country due to military actions in the East of Ukraine (13,4% respondents with inherent values).

But, respondents with self-expression value more than others express a desire to emigrate because there is no real democracy and legality in Ukraine (32,6% against 15,2%).

Discussion and conclusions

The results of the pre-test were the first attempts to validate the translated version of Schwartz's refined methods of value. The third pre-test allowed checking the validity of the methodology for representative data among young people aged 14–34. Within the framework of the study, two hypotheses were checked regarding the correspondence of the collected data to the Schwarz theoretical model. Goodness-of-fit indicators of the model are acceptable, but each model required adjustments or the exclusion of individual statements to improve the key indicators of its quality.

The results obtained during the testing of the two hypotheses give grounds for a number of possible explanations on why the theoretical model is not fully reproduced on representative data (sampling of youth aged 14 – 34 years):

- 1) statements are phrased in such a way that respondents are ready to agree with them and give socially desirable answers;
- 2) Schwarz have been criticized (Kuznetsov, 2014) that the statements are phrased in such a way that the respondent understands what it estimates and what value each items measures;
- 3) the third possible methodological problem, may be due to the fact that all 18 statements that measure neighboring values on the motivational continuum in the questionnaire were standing next to each other. That is why respondents giving affirmative answers could perceive items as one value.

A possible solution to the aforementioned problem may be the suggestion to change the approach of evaluating each statement, encouraging respondents to disagree with the statements, given the opposite values on the motivational circle. For example, each statement is refining with the content of value, which is on the opposite pole of the motivational circle proposed by Schwartz. Therefore, each statement should be reviewed taking into account the principle of placement of values on the motivational circle: the neighboring values are the most compatible, the opposite are in conflict with each other. For example, on the opposite pole of the value of "Self-direction" the value of "Tradition" is placed. In this case, a respondent does not consciously face the choice: what can I sacrifice for the priority of this value in my life? This approach was applied within the framework of the second pre-test which greatly improved the distribution of respondents' responses. In particular, respondents did not focus on the extreme parts of the scale. As a result, respondents were evaluating each statement using the entire scale, but not only its parts.

Another approach to solving the methodological problem of respondents giving socially desirable responses can be in implementing the changes in the assessment scale and stimulating respondents to choose one statement with which they would agree, and the other - with which they would not. Thus, one value will be measured by statements using two different assessment approaches.

This conclusion was also made based on the correlation analysis which showed that all 18 statements have a significant positive average (more than 0.3) and a high (more than 0.5) correlation. Adding a general factor (RI / ADS) to the model showed that all statements have high (over 0.5) loadings on this factor (model 1.2). Modeling used confirmatory factor analysis showed a good quality of the model with one factor solution, in which all statements have significant factor loadings on one factor.

It is worth mentioning that within the framework of the pre-test, the hypothesis about the possibility of constructing a self-expression value indicator, which characterizes Ukrainian youth in connection with its participation in the political and public life of the country, readiness to create its own business, youth mobility and attitude to migration, was formulated and tested. Young people with self-expression values declare their willingness to participate in the political life of the country, to hold elected positions, to initiate participation in youth organizations, to create their own business, as well as show readiness for migration while returning after gaining foreign experience.

The integral value of "self-expression value" has a meaningful relationship with indicators that measure the attitude of young people to political processes in the country, with their participation in public life.

Young people mentioned their willingness to hold elective positions. More often such a desire is observed among those who have the value of self-expression. For example, the position of people's deputies of Ukraine is more attractive to those who possess the values of self-expression. The same distribution is observed among those who are ready to occupy elective seats in councils at different administrative levels (regional or local). Among those who have inherent value, males more often than females say more about their desire to take such positions.

The value of self-expression also has a significant relationship with being an entrepreneur or a desire to start one's own business. There is a direct significant connection between inherent value and desire to become an entrepreneur. Males compared to females and young people aged 14 – 18 and 24-28 are more likely to be ready to start their own businesses (in the near future or in the long-term future).

Research showed that the willingness to leave the locality more often express those who have the inherent value of self-expression. Especially, the younger age group of 14 – 18 (51%) are more likely to leave their area. Emigrating, but with a view to return to the country are more likely ready respondents with self-expression value: 41.2% vs 33.6%. The real reason for their willingness to emigrate is the desire to emigrate because there is no real democracy and legality in Ukraine and due to military actions in the East of Ukraine.

According to the International Organization for Migration, among the studied countries of southeast Europe, Ukrainians make up the largest share of migrant workers with higher education (research in 2016). It is the main threat to Ukraine which rapidly loses educated and experienced specialists (engineers, doctors, specialists of the IT sector, agronomists and teachers) (Mostova & Rachmanin, 2018).

Based on the results of the received data, recommendations for further adaptation and improvement of the Ukrainian version of the PVQ-57 methodology were formulated in order to have the possibility of using the self-expression value indicator in relation to other variables that will determine the activity of young people and their readiness for change.

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‘Too much salt’: Czech Swedes, Journalism and (Anti)Xenophobic Discourse

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Abstract:

According to the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), Sweden is at the top of world ranking when it comes to successful integration of immigrants and refugees. However, during the last few years, there have been xenophobic discursive attacks on Sweden, in which it is commonly claimed that Sweden is ‘failing’ when it comes to immigrant integration. Such was the case of Kateřina Janouchová, a Czech-born journalist from Sweden, who was recently in the media spotlight after producing xenophobic rhetoric. Her discourse was countered by Hynek Pallas, another Czech-born Swedish journalist, as the debate (and surrounding textual and video production) spread from Sweden to the Czech Republic and the United Kingdom. This article approaches both the xenophobic and anti-xenophobic discourse of Janouchová and Pallas from a discourse analytical perspective.

Even though it can be said with certainty that accepting large amounts of immigrants and refugees (such as Sweden have done) can be somewhat problematic on the political, societal and economic levels, the xenophobic discourse about Sweden tends to be exaggerated, which will be shown in Janouchová’s rhetoric. On the other hand, the liberal media has a tendency to ‘soften’ the debate, which was seen in the rhetoric of Pallas. Tackling the issue through the theoretical and methodological lens of discourse analysis, we have engaged the diverging discourses of xenophobia and its opposition, and found that the rhetoric of ‘concern’ and ‘fear’ was used to promote an anti-refugee sentiment. Conversely, a more sombre, fact-checking approach was used to alleviate alleged fears. The discourse-oriented perspective is used due to the fact that political viewpoints are primarily promoted via text and talk, and the concentration on the spoken production of the two journalists (based on several hours of their video recordings), as well as their textual production (and consequently, textual production *about* them) has the potential to be politicized. From a discursive perspective, there is relevance in going beneath the first layers of text and talk in order to show the connotative elements of a particular type of rhetoric.

We have thus tackled the topic via the use of a discourse analytical perspective, wherein the rhetoric of the two journalists was analysed through taking a closer look into the type of discourse they produced. From such a perspective, it is of relevance to identify the common ways of framing an issue, i.e. how it is presented, and via what type of wording. This is why Janouch’s rhetoric is described as essentially declarative, whilst Pallas’ is followed by more corroboration.

The topic was chosen for several reasons. First is the fact that Sweden increasingly serves as a hub of mostly Right-wing discursive attacks as a country with a ‘failed’ immigration system. Having in mind the recent upsurge in xenophobia in Europe, choosing Sweden as a case study is currently of high relevance to the issue. Second, the two journalists figure as a central node in this research due to their difference in opinion and the way they presented the same issue. While most research tends to be conducted in a more global fashion (macro-studies), we have chosen to engage what is essentially a micro-level study, as an increase in quantity of micro-level studies can contribute to macro perspectives. Third, the debate between Janouch and Pallas resonated at an international level, and could be seen in Sweden, the Czech Republic, and the UK. Both Pallas and Janouchová have appeared on Swedish and Czech Television, and were reported by the UK media. The resonance of the debate could arguably be put down to the salience of the issue of immigration on a Europe-wide level, especially when the discussion is about Sweden.

In summary, Janouch’s rhetoric focused on two instances: one was worded as ‘concern’ for the future of Swedish society, through which refugees were presented as a danger to Sweden; the other concentrated on ‘potential’ danger, when real troublesome issues were not found. Allegations of an increase of no-go zones in Sweden were stressed, even though it is a common instance in urban development – however despondent it may be – that larger

cities will contain zones with more criminal activity. Through the use of broad generalizations such as claiming that immigrants are 'terrorizing' Sweden, Janouch paints a much grimmer picture than the one corresponding to reality, which gets further distorted in nationally-oriented UK outlets that reported on the controversy, and where it was claimed that 'streets were no longer safe' in Sweden, which is a verifiable falsehood.

Pallas' discourse drew directly on the spoken and textual production of Janouch. Nevertheless, his rhetoric was different, wherein he drew upon ideologies such as cosmopolitanism, through which a humane approach is not reserved for a single people/nation, but for anyone. He dubbed the rhetoric on immigration as seen in Janouch's production as 'shameful', and maintained that even though problems do exist, they are far from being that widespread and not connected to refugees exclusively.

The larger ramifications and implications of the micro-level study we have presented here on the topic of immigration and opposition to it are multi-faceted. On one hand, xenophobia has become an issue of high salience on a wide European level. Sweden is often used as a go-to country for alleged examples of how integration policies are failing, commonly reported by xenophobic outlets in Central Europe, from the Czech Republic, via Slovakia, to Poland. Due to the large number of refugees arriving who are fleeing the conflicts in the Middle East, refugee integration, together with other immigration-related issues, has come into the spotlight, and has been widely used by the Right for the promotion of their own agendas, discourses and policies. From a media perspective, most vitriol against refugees stems directly from the media, via which xenophobic political players tend to promote their agendas, including journalists and editors who assist them. Future studies should not cast aside micro-level studies, not only in Sweden, but in any European country that tackles the same or similar issues. As the arrival of refugees does not seem to be nearing an end in the near future, there is ample material for scholarship to tackle.

Key words:

Xenophobia. Anti-xenophobia. Discourse. Immigration. Sweden.

'Ninety-nine percent of them are refugees from hell, and we are a rich country ... we can take more' (Pallas, in: Uhlová, 2015)

'Politicians are weak, they do not have the power to control it [immigration]' (Janouchova, in: Zahrádka, 2017)

From 2015 to early 2017, two journalists, Hynek Pallas and Kateřina Janouchová (often undersigned as 'Janouch' in Sweden), came into the spotlight in the traditional and online media in Sweden, the Czech Republic, and the United Kingdom. Both are Czech by birth, and both are naturalized Swedes, having lived in Sweden since early childhood. Both are fluent in Czech, Swedish and English. The topic they debated was both highly relevant as well as incendiary – immigration and refugees. Yet their views were diametrically opposite. Whilst Janouchová spoke about 'huge immigration problems' in Sweden, mentioning she needed to 'arm herself', Pallas staunchly negated the issue, claiming that Sweden might not be 'heaven on earth', but that it is tackling the refugee issue with much more competence than Janouchová claimed.

Their views were reported by the Swedish, Czech and UK media, spiking a larger debate that has subsequently engaged a broader media. Being that their views reached an international audience, and having in mind that they tackled a contemporary, important issue, in addition to being an excellent example in how anti-xenophobes discursively combat xenophobes, we judged the issue to be worthy of research, and so we approached this micro-level study from a political discourse analytical perspective.

Xenophobia, discourse and the media

As elaborated by Said, the media play a crucial role in shaping stereotypes, i.e. 'how we see the rest of the world' (Said, 2008). When it comes to discriminatory issues, discourses and practices such as xenophobia, having in mind that it is commonly seen through a 'national' lens, meaning that xenophobic discourses tend to stress the 'attack' or 'danger' to their own nation, state, or nation-state, it would be wise to notice how Anderson already explained the connection between journalism and the birth of the 'nation state' (Anderson, 2006). Journalism is thus a key factor in promoting or stifling xenophobia, as 'in support of the national community, journalism constantly and overtly builds on the idea that there is a common "we", a common frame of reference, to which the news items implicitly refer' (Blaagaard, 2010, p. 3), closely related to Billig's ineluctable phrase, 'banal nationalism' (Billig, 1995).

Xenophobia can be seen as a discursive practice of 'othering', by which rhetorical means are used in order to polarize the distinction between the 'local' and the 'foreigner', be they migrants, guests or refugees. In other words, 'xenophobia can be defined as a complex, multifaceted system of exclusion that produces social inequality between different ethnic groups' (Montali, Colombo, Camussi, Maglietta, & Riva, 2007, p. 1) by forming the discursive Other. In today's world, 'the media is central to this process of "other-ing"' (Al-Rodhan, 2006, p. 37). By discursively stressing or creating differences between the local and the Other, the media can contribute vastly to the creation and promotion of xenophobic sentiments and policies. Scholarly research on the topic has already come to the conclusion that 'in terms of policy activity on immigration, policy-makers are not responding to growing concerns among the public with reforms. Actually, if there is a relation at all, it appears that public concern follows policy activity' (Morales, Pilet, & Ruedin, 2015, p. 1502), including that public concern is, essentially, often created by the media. This is due to the reason that 'the press responds to news and reports on incidents as they occur, thereby reflecting issues pertinent to the broader societal context ... the press also shapes and influences social issues in the ways in which news is chosen, highlighted and covered' (Fine & Bird, 2006). Furthermore, as Van Dijk wrote,

whereas many, if not most, native citizens in most countries have little or no daily interaction with immigrants, information about immigration as well as about ethnic groups, events, and relations is largely based on information from the mass media (or from informal everyday conversations that are in turn based on information from the media) (Teun A Van Dijk, 2000, p. 311).

In other words, without the media, global xenophobia would arguably be much weaker. As Blaagaard elaborated, journalists 'routinely reproduce social imaginaries through repetition of cultural constructions and memories that *may* result in the exclusion of minority groups and/or gloss over unrecognised multiculturalism' (Blaagaard, 2010, p. 3).

Scholarly production has already come to the conclusion that 'the media are an inherent part of the problem of racism' (Teun A Van Dijk, 2000, p. 309), a conclusion put forth by many a researcher (Campbell, 1995; Hartmann & Husband, 1974). We need to keep in mind that in some scholarly work, 'racism' tends to be discursively equated with xenophobia, as is the case with Van Dijk. He further elaborates that

'research has repeatedly shown that the conservative and popular press especially (although not exclusively) indulges in sometimes blatant "foreigner bashing" and the reproduction and affirmation of racist prejudices. Popular resentment against refugees and other immigrants and minorities is thus both legitimated and at the same time exacerbated' (Teun A Van Dijk, 2000, p. 309).

Having said the above-mentioned, the research question posed here is the following: What are the most prominent xenophobic and anti-xenophobic discursive properties of the rhetoric of Kateřina Janouchová and Hynek Pallas?

Methodology

Having in mind that Critical Discourse Analysis is 'a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context' (T. A. van Dijk, 2015, p. 352), it serves as a natural starting point for tackling discriminatory rhetoric such as xenophobia, since the system of exclusion and inequality is primarily produced discursively (Moskovič, 1984). As van Dijk wrote, 'CDA is not so much a direction, school, or specialization next to the many other "approaches" in discourse studies. Rather, it aims to offer a different "mode" or "perspective" of theorizing, analysis, and application throughout the whole field' (T. A. van Dijk, 2015, p. 352). This particular perspective concentrates on the rhetoric of the xenophobe, asking in what manner was xenophobia expounded in spoken and written communication.

As van Dijk noticed, there is a 'continuity of this sociocultural tradition of negative images about the Other that also partly explains the persistence of dominant patterns of representation in contemporary discourse, media, and film' (T. A. van Dijk, 2015, p. 361). When it comes to media discourse in particular,

the discourse of the news media encapsulates two key components: the news story, or spoken or written text; and the process involved in producing the texts. The first dimension, that of the text, has been the primary focus of most media researchers to date, particularly as the text encodes values and ideologies that impact on and reflect the larger world (Cotter, 2015, p. 801),

and it shall be the focus of this article as well. Furthermore, 'the main approaches to the study of media discourse can be characterized broadly as (1) discourse analytic, (2) sociolinguistic, and (3) "non-linguistic"', where 'the "non-linguistic" research involves work in political science, media studies, cultural studies, history, or communication studies paradigms' (Cotter, 2015, p. 798), the latter being primarily used in this article.

The articles used in the analysis come from the debate by Janouch and Pallas, mostly during 2017, but in 2015 and 2016 as well. We concentrate on the articles and videos that have had direct relation to the debate about xenophobia in Sweden and the Czech republic, as due to the constraints of a standardized research article, it is not possible to conduct research on the totality of the discourse(s) of the two journalists at hand. That is why the selection has been made in order to present the most relevant instances in the discursive production, be it textual or in video form. Additionally, concentrating on the 2017 debate, the reverberations of it, such as within the articles published by the *Daily Mail* and *SVT*, are also included in the analysis. Thus, we are concentrating on the discursive production put forth via *SVT*, *Denník Referendum*, *Parlamentní Listy*, *the Spectator*, *the Daily Mail* and *Noviny Chrudim*.

The analysis is divided into two parts, corresponding to the xenophobia vs the opposition to xenophobia division we have already mentioned. The first tackles Janouch's rhetoric in which she propagates what was dubbed within the topoi of 'concern' and 'fear' for the well-being of society 'under attack' by immigration, and concentrates on the discursive features of her rhetoric that promulgate such a view. The other tackles Pallas' opposition to the very xenophobic discourse itself, and the strategies he used to counter xenophobic rhetorics.

The social context

As already mentioned, Sweden has indeed accepted a staggering number of refugees during the last several years. To compare, the Czech Republic received only 1,157 asylum applications in 2016, and mostly from people from Ukraine, Iraq and Cuba (WorldData.info). There is a significant amount of both statistical data (Statistics Sweden, 2016), as well as a growing scholarly production, concentrating on numerous issues and coming from a variety of disciplines (Barlund, Busse, Lenaerts, Ludolph, & Renman, 2017; Holmes et al., 2017; Kelly & Hedman, 2016; Manhica, Berg, Almquist, Rostila, & Hjern, 2017). Since the increase in the number of refugees, a xenophobic sentiment has been developing, leading to the stronger electoral success of Right-wing parties within the country, connected to the disappearance of class voting and the growing distrust of party politics within Swedish society (Rydgren & van der Meiden, 2016, p. 3). In their 2015/6 analysis of electoral support for the *Sverigedemokraterna*, Strömblad and Malmberg have come to the conclusion that 'increased exposure of visible minorities tends to increase xenophobic voting', as well as that 'increasing rates of unemployment may trigger a rapid expansion of xenophobic voting in residential areas that previously have been characterized by a high share of visible minorities but, nevertheless, low levels of xenophobia among representatives of the majority population' (Strömblad & Malmberg, 2016, p. 12). Goldschmidt and Rydgren have noticed that Sweden has seen an increase in anti-solidarity (Goldschmidt & Rydgren, 2017) based on in-group favoritism, that has led to the rise of xenophobia, purported mostly by *Sverigedemokraterna*, but *Moderaterna* (The Moderate Party) as well.

The visibility of the increase in the xenophobic sentiment is arguably best seen in the production of Right-wing online sources, primarily the former *Avpixlat*, nowadays *Samhällsnytt*, a website that could be said to host xenophobic content in its greatest intensity (see: Kaati, Shrestha, Cohen, & Lindquist, 2016; Urniaz, 2016). *Avpixlat* has in the meantime featured as a research topic for a number of M.A. and Ph.D. students across Sweden. Though xenophobic hard-liners commonly do not have access to the majority of the media outlets, occasional instances (such as Janouch's entering the public discourse) of it do happen, and tend to get high visibility in the 'incendiary' nature of the discourse, at least from the perspective of the average citizen. The Janouch-Pallas conflict is one of them.

'Concern' and fear

Janouchová's rhetoric cannot be classified as 'hard-line' xenophobia, such as propounded by Right wing groups Europe-wide. As the discursive elements will show, it is skilfully packed into alleged 'care' for 'failing integration' and 'security'. She claims that, as a security issue/potential threat, among the incoming refugees, 'a large part comprises illegals; men who pretend to be children even if they are over twenty. They end up in homes with real children and they drain the benefits' (Janouchová, in: Horáková, 2017). The Swedish STV responded in a detailed fact-checking expose, saying it was wrong (SVT, 2017b). Pallas simply stated that 'Janouchová made up the lie that 75% of the males that arrive in Sweden are under-age' (Parlamentní listy, 2017). We can thus classify some elements of her discourse as avidly counterfactual.

Janouchová's 'facts' have quickly spread overseas, readily accepted by the Daily Express, who claimed, based on her rhetoric, that 'Sweden is being pushed to the brink by the migrant crisis and the country's streets are no longer safe, an author based in the Scandinavian nation has dramatically claimed' (Stromme, 2017). Note that Janouchová was undersigned as an author based in the Scandinavian 'nation', a rhetorical move which indirectly emphasizes the 'nation',

as the refugees are not members of it. The stress on the 'national' is common for the Daily Express, which often published articles from a 'national' viewpoint (Brookes, 1999), as well as being known for its anti-EU sentiment for decades (Haeussler, 2012). Unlike the SVT, the Daily Express conducted no fact-checking, accepting everything at face-value, including the mentioned 'concern' for the future of Sweden, where the author of the article, Lizzie Stromme, wrote that 'speaking to Czech TV channel DVTV, Kateřina Janouch expressed concern over Sweden's future' (Stromme, 2017). Stromme took over parts of Janouchová's discourse directly, quoting her:

I'm not saying it's the refugees' fault but we are facing a crisis in migration issues. I want to have a debate about what our society should look like. About how we allocate resources in our own country, how we distribute taxpayers' money and which political decisions should be made. I'm talking about what I have seen and it worries me (Stromme, 2017).

Several discursive instances are of interest in the quote above. First of all, there is a connotative denial of xenophobia in the utterance 'not the refugees' fault', i.e. 'the writer of this text is not a xenophobe' In discriminatory discourse, the denial of discrimination (be it racism, xenophobia, homophobia) is extremely typical (Teun A van Dijk, 1992). By claiming she wants a 'debate' and that she is concerned by a 'crisis' and 'resource allocation', she presents herself in a positive light, as the negative presentation of the Other is often accompanied by the positive presentation of the Self (Teun A van Dijk, 1992). Some authors have further stressed this instance, writing how 'positive self-presentation is fundamental to the denial of *our* bad side and *their* good side' (Simai & Baeninger, 2011, p. 9), which can be achieved by a row of semantic structures that 'contribute to the overall strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation. We have seen that precisely such structures may derive from and be geared towards the construction of similar mental structures, that is, negative attitudes and ideologies on minorities and immigration' (T A Van Dijk, 2004). Most of Janouchová's rhetoric concentrate on the abovementioned discursive instances: alleged concern and counterfactual proclamations of problems: 'I want to be able to have food source if Sweden is hit by a crisis. These are not safe times. People are being cut down on the street' (Stromme, 2017). Why there would be an undefined 'crisis' is not elucidated, while the claim that 'these are not safe times' is declaratively corroborated by the claim that people are getting 'cut down' on the street, which is, again, served without proof. Even if proof was to be found, however, how it would be connected to refugees is entirely left to the reader to work out. This type of 'open-ended' discourse is structured in such a way in order for the reader to 'read in' the rest of the unsaid, yet the reader, according to Wodak, might commonly not be in possession of enough knowledge to be able to properly challenge such discourses (Wodak, 1987). This is due to the reason that 'comprehension of news texts is dependent on the *text* itself with respect to form and content on the one hand, and on the cognitive and emotional *predisposition of the listener* on the other' (Wodak, 1987, p. 382). Janouchová is speaking to the xenophobe in the audience. She furthermore claimed the following:

In order for integration to be possible, the number of arrivals cannot be higher than the population of the country. That definitely does not happen, but the immigrant flow is too massive, and they will not be able to integrate. It seems that integration is now failing. When you have a little town where a couple of thousands of residents, and then maybe add a thousand people from a different culture, then the balance of the small town changes towards something that nobody is prepared for (Janouchová, according to: Horáková, 2017).

The lexical choice given in the word 'flow' connotes a force that cannot be controlled, something 'out of our hands', which is yet another typical formation in discriminatory discourse (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005, p. 26). Furthermore, 'the political functions of such a

largely discursive trick are obvious, as was the widespread use, both in politics and the media, of threatening metaphors, such as invasion, and especially flow metaphors, such as floods, waves or tides of refugees' (Teun A van Dijk, 1997, p. 39). The picture of the number of arrivals that 'cannot be higher than the population of the country' is of interest as well, having in mind that she admits that it has not happened. But the discursive implication is that it *could*, and it serves as strengthening of the potential threat. As Van Dijk elaborated, 'immigration is generally defined as a serious problem, as a threat or an invasion, and never as a welcome contribution to ethnic and cultural diversity, the economy, and the demography of Western Europe' (Teun A Van Dijk, 2000, p. 309), thus even if it is *not* a threat, it is commonly *presented* as a threat, or a *potential* threat.

In order to strengthen her rhetoric, Janouchová resorts to a colourful, yet simplistic metaphor, saying that 'when you perhaps put too much salt in the meal, it is not good' (Janouchová, in: Horáková, 2017), thus 'too many' refugees should accordingly be a negative instance. The importance of metaphorical rhetoric has already been stressed in Critical Discourse Analysis scholarship, as Van Dijk explains how 'metaphors in politics will function in a political context, for instance in the attack on political opponents, the presentation of policies or the legitimating of political power' (Teun A van Dijk, 1997, p. 24). In this case, the metaphor of 'too much salt' serves to discursively position refugees in a negative light. As Van Dijk noticed, 'perhaps [the] most subtle and pervasive are the semantic operations that seem to obey a principle of substitution', where they 'use and express a concept different from the one would expect in the present context, as is the case for irony, metonymy and metaphor' (Teun A van Dijk, 1997, p. 35); metaphors can figure as a powerful discursive element.

Another discursive moment is seen when Janouchová said that 'Swedes are very irresponsible to me when they take to their country those men of whom they know nothing about. They can have military training, you know nothing about their motives' (Janouchová, in: Horáková, 2017). Similar to the quotes already mentioned, this utterance serves to instil fear via faux concern for society. She additionally claimed that 'Sweden is no longer handling immigration, criminality is on the rise, as well as fear among local residents' (Janouchová, in: Zahrádka, 2017).

Janouchová's claims were, nonetheless, methodically 'fact checked' by the Swedish SVT. Fact-checking is yet another new and contemporary genre that is only starting to see its day in scholarship. In Graves' words,

fact-checkers are also active participants in an emerging news ecosystem in which stories develop, and authority is constructed, in patterns of citation and annotation across discursive networks of media and political actors ... In seeking to redefine objective practice for a changed media environment, the new genre of fact-checking underscores the essentially defensive nature of what has been called the "strategic ritual" of journalistic objectivity (Graves, 2013).

SVT reported on Janouchová, stating the 'incendiary comments made by Swedish author Kateřina Janouch to Czech TV about migration, including false claims that the country had more than 50 "no-go" zones police were afraid to enter' (Jackson, 2017). Responding positively when she was asked for an opinion on statements such as 'Sweden is a nest of Jihadism', 'Sweden is not managing immigration' and 'Immigrants are terrorizing Sweden', Janouchová answered: 'Yes, everything is, sadly, true ... and even worse' (SVT, 2017a). The same source, after fact-checking, judged five out of six of her statements to have been false, such as the claim that 75% of the young people posing as children, that there is 55 "no-go" zones in Sweden, that Sweden cannot afford to give food to pensioners due to immigration, that Swedes suffering from cancer die as a consequence of immigration, that 150,000 Swedes have emigrated to the USA due to the immigrant situation in Sweden, and that more and more

Swedes are buying weapons to protect themselves. All of these have been categorized as untruths ('*stämmer inte*') by SVT (SVT, 2017b).

Janouch's counterfactual discourse serves to reinforce what Van Dijk wrote at the beginning of the century, that 'refugees and other new immigrants are increasingly defined, also in the press, as impostors, scroungers, or otherwise represented as negative, and increasing limitations of their rights are welcomed or hardly criticized' (Teun A Van Dijk, 2000, p. 309).

Opposition to Xenophobia: Hynek Pallas

Xenophobia has, since the outbreak of the refugee crisis and the creation of the Islamic State, become more and more salient, both in discourse and policy, on a global level, and has thus been studied aplenty, though commonly not from the point of view of discourse analysis. The opposition to xenophobia, on the other hand, seldom becomes a point of interest in scholarly work.

Concentrating on Janouchová's discourse, Hynek Pallas has replied profusely, both on online media, as well as Czech television. Pallas retorted that

she paints a very dark picture of what Sweden looks like. Then she crams numbers, statistics and opinions into it, some are not truthful. Those she made up, some are truthful, but have nothing to do with it. Why Swedes emigrate, why they learn to shoot and so on. I think that this is not fair (Pallas, in: *Parlamentní listy*, 2017),

concentrating on the falsehoods and counterfactuals in her rhetoric. According to Cotter, 'discourse features we may not consciously consider can influence our reading of the news. This includes quantification and numbers' (Cotter, 2015, p. 804), as 'inevitably the figures [and other style factors] blur, becoming impressions rather than facts' (Fowler, 1994, p. 98).

The problem does not lie in having a lot of immigrants, problems are immured into the structure of the Swedish society, the majority society. There are 16% immigrants, which is in absolute numbers approximately a million and a half in 2013. These are people born outside of Sweden, me among them. It takes a generation or two before immigrants start entering society, but we see, for instance, when it comes to Iranians and Bosnians, that it can function quickly and well. The second generation of Iranians is better represented at universities and good callings (medical doctors, dentists) than ethnic Swedes. Their parents have often been intellectuals, they were prepared for this change and integration (Pallas, in: *Uhlová*, 2015).

Both Janouchová and Pallas are immigrants themselves, yet empathy can be seen to figure only in Pallas' texts. Sweden ranks first in the last MIPEX report (MIPEX, 2015) on successful integration of immigrants, counter to what Janouchová tried to present, and in accordance with Pallas' rhetoric. Pallas believe this to be because..

the self-image of the Swedes is that we are solidary, that we are a feminist, non-racist society, which, after all, had Olof Palme, we have fought for South Africa, we have always helped others, as well as being neutral. Our concept of the self, that in reality, we are a 'racist' society, does not sit well with Swedes (Pallas, in: *Uhlová*, 2015).

Pallas' rhetoric sits in accordance with a cosmopolitan *Weltanschauung*, for which it can be said that is much more common in Sweden than in the rest of the world. The difference between Janouchová's and Pallas' rhetoric can be said to stem from the division of 'cosmopolitanism versus identity politics (including xenophobia and religious fundamentalism) – a main dimension of politics almost everywhere in the world now, frequently supplanting the left/right divide' (Eriksen, 2012, p. 19). In other words,

the cosmopolitan individual embodies, in his or her person, a doubling of identity and identification; the cosmopolitan, as an ethic, embodies a commitment, indeed an obligation, to recognise not just the stranger as other, but the other in oneself.

Cosmopolitanism implies and requires, therefore, both reflexivity and toleration. In political terms it demands liberty and justice. In social terms: hospitality (Roger, 2007, p. 14).

This hospitality cannot be seen in Pallas' home country, the Czech Republic, which has so far taken slightly over 3,000 refugees in total, with a severely disproportionate amount of xenophobia within society, media, education and amongst political players (Německý, 2016; Strnadlová, 2017), even before the refugee crisis commenced (Burjanek, 2001; Havlík, 2007), of which he is highly critical:

I am incredibly irritated by the inhuman approach of countries such as the Czech Republic, out of which a million of people ran away during the twentieth century and received help somewhere else. Today, they are bickering about fifteen children, refusing European quotas, when thousands and thousands are dying at sea. It is shameful (Pallas, in: Uhlová, 2015).

These issues, however, need to be put into context for a proper understanding. Going back to Sweden, recently, there has been an increase in criticism of Sweden's immigration and integration policies (onto which Janouchová has 'latched'), prompted mostly by the Right wing media, on websites such as the Trump-supporting *Breitbart* (Tomlinson, 2017), or the tabloid *Spectator*, which reported the following:

For a British boy to be killed by a grenade attack anywhere is appalling, but for it to happen in a suburb of Gothenburg should shatter a few illusions about Sweden. Last week's murder of eight-year-old Yuusuf Warsame fits a pattern that Swedes have come slowly to recognise over the years. He was from Birmingham, visiting relatives, and was caught up in what Swedish police believe is a gang war within the Somali community. Last year, a four-year-old girl was killed by a car bomb outside Gothenburg, another apparent victim of gang violence ... The problems relating to immigration have been building up for years, but the country's left and right were united in maintaining employment regulations and rent controls that kept immigrants unemployed in ghetto-like suburbs (Lifvendahl, 2016).

What is noticeable is the connection made between older immigrant communities and refugees fleeing the ISIS warzones. It is not even elaborated on within the discourse, it is taken for granted, with the goal of presenting Sweden as a state that is failing in regulating immigration. The discursive attack on Sweden, it can be presumed, is of importance for xenophobes on a global level, as, having in mind that Sweden is officially the country that handles immigration best on a worldwide scale, as the MIPLEX report stated, so if *Sweden* should fail, an immediate conclusion would be that immigration *cannot be handled at all*. Pallas countered such rhetoric, saying that

anti-European forces in Europe are using Sweden as a bad example. Thus a row of opinion gets ripped out of the context or given untruthfully. There are problems within the country, yet their majority, according to him, has nothing to do with migration (Parlamentní listy, 2017).

That Janouchová found an outlet in the UK and the Czech Republic seems of small wonder, being that within Sweden, such rhetoric is kept to a minimum, and mostly found on extremist websites such as Avpixlat. To claims that the Swedish Democrats 'are surging to first place in polls' given on *Breitbart* (Montgomery, 2017), Pallas replies sombrely:

Though it is true that the 'racist side' is growing, on the other hand, research has shown that Swedes have fewer racist tendencies than before. I am not able to envisage that in Sweden, somebody would make lists of adult Syrian refugees as potential danger if fifteen sick Syrian children were to be accepted. Something like that would not be done by any politician except a member of the extreme Right wing. With some exaggeration,

it can be said that the 'Swedish Democrats' have similar views regarding people and refugees to Czech social democracy (Pallas, according to: Uhlová, 2015).

When it comes to questions of immigration, refugees and xenophobia, the *Sverigedemokraterna* are generally ineluctable. Described as a 'Right wing populist party' in scholarship (Loxbo, 2008, p. 8), though sometimes even called outright fascist by the press (an exaggeration), such as the 2012 Dagens Nyheter instance by Henrik Arnstad (Arnstad, 2012), the Swedish Democrats have already seen their day in scholarship (Gill, 2012; Sannerstedt, 2015; Stieg & Mikael, 2001) as the strongest voice of xenophobia within the state. According to Pallas,

They [the Swedish Democrats] are using these feelings and fear in a populist fashion. As the party grows, so do the attacks. Last year, extremists attacked an antiracist demonstration in Stockholm, where there were children and strollers. It was in broad daylight and very rough. And, for instance, all of us who write about them, as well as about racism, receive threats by mail, mostly women, but not only them, all profiled journalists get them (Pallas, according to: Uhlová, 2015).

Pallas' characterization of the Swedish Democrats' policies and discourses of emotion and fear is in line with much scholarship on the topics of populism and xenophobia on a broader level (Lederer, Plasser, Scheucher, Lilleker, & Lees-Marshment, 2005; Rydgren, 2003; Wodak, 2015). Unsurprisingly, *fear* is what Janouchová based her discourse on. She further expressed her 'fears' about the 'ghettoisation' of Sweden, a trope that is currently heavily used worldwide in attempts to paint a picture of Sweden as a state with failing immigration policies. Pallas' direct reply is yet again down-to-earth, explanatory: 'There is a row of reasons why in the suburban areas of large cities such as Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmo, ghettos pop up. But I want to emphasize that these are not ghettos in a Czech sense, these are rather poorer suburbs' (Pallas, according to: Uhlová, 2015). The main difference between Janouchová's and Pallas' discursive production is the explanatory, non-emotional rhetoric of Pallas, counter to Janouchová's emotion and fear-driven discourse, non-corroborated and declarative.

Elaborating on those refugees and immigrants for whom integration is a more difficult process, Pallas wrote:

It is something different when Somalis arrive, who have lived their whole lives in camps, some of them cannot read. That society is socially, culturally and economically in an entirely different place, so we have to take into consideration that it will take longer time and need a different approach in working with them. Their view of women is entirely different from the views of the majority of the Swedish society, and that needs to be changed, but it takes a longer time (Pallas, according to: Uhlová, 2015).

As another instance of the already mentioned cosmopolitan hospitality, Pallas' notions agree with a body of research that claims that

a standard for an 'ideal' integration process of immigrants ... is simply impossible, given the wide variety of factors influencing immigration and integration, the immense diversity of migrants and the huge differences in approach of these matters across the EU, also among policy makers (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003),

and that there are differences between particular subgroups. From a xenophobic perspective, the Other is One, so Somalis, Pakistanis, Yemeni, Bosnian, Ukrainian – all are identical to the xenophobe.

Conclusion

Xenophobia is a powerful force at the beginning of the 21st century, and in need of continual analysis on micro, meso, and macro levels. This article explored the former, pitting two immigrant journalists in Sweden 'against' each other, concentrating on the discursive features they accessed in order to present a xenophobic, that is, counter-xenophobic image. The two opposing sides demonstrated a significant divergence in discursive features.

Janouchová's rhetoric promoted worry and fear about immigration. Her discourse was counterfactual, non-corroborating and declarative. Several tropes have been repeated and emphasized, most of them carrying a heavy negative connotation, such as 'fear', 'concern', 'crisis', or alleged immigrant 'criminality'. Rhetorical strategies such as referring to *vis major* such as the 'immigrant flow' were also found, including 'concern' that the immigrants would 'drain benefits', as well as repeated mentioning of their 'illegality', in a creation of a *homo sacer* pathos.

Pallas, on the other hand, did not engage in fear-mongering, keeping a 'down to earth' approach, promoting a cosmopolitan view of hospitality, one that can be said to characterize Sweden - at least on paper. His rhetoric concentrates often on direct opposition to Janouchová's via emphasis on the misuse of statistics and the fact that Janouchová attempted to paint a 'grim picture' of Swedish reality. In Pallas' rhetoric, *explanation* took precedence over *accusation* and *assertiveness*.

Though it was not the immediate ambit of the research, the analysis has also shown that there is a striking difference in how the Czech Republic and Sweden, on a broad level, chose to tackle immigration as a topic. Whilst the Czech Republic – surprisingly, some might say – failed to take a more humane, empathic approach to the incoming refugees, Sweden seems to have confirmed its leading position on the MIPEX list. This, however, is a topic on its own.

Having in mind that both Janouchová and Pallas are immigrants themselves, it seems that Janouchová – who promoted fear and xenophobia – integrated poorly into the receptive Swedish society herself, as she was promoting views that nowadays come from the Swedish extreme Right, which, though vocal, is still a minor voice of exclusion and trepidation. Having in mind that Sweden has recently been put into the spotlight as an alleged country of 'failed integration' by right-leaning politicians and journalists alike on a global level, it is safe to say that we have not seen the last of such rhetoric, and that it needs to be followed carefully.

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Recenzie a anotácie

Reviews and Annotations

Človek a spoločnosť
Individual and Society

NOVÉ

Dana Bittnerová (Ed.). *Etnické komunity: Romové*. Praha : Fakulta humanitných štúdií Univerzity Karlovy, 2013. 223 s. ISBN: 978-80-87398-45-6

Dana Bittnerová. (Ed.). *Ethnic communities: Roma*. Praha : Fakulta humanitných štúdií Univerzity Karlovy, 2013. 223 p. ISBN: 978-80-87398-45-6

In 2013 a publication came out, edited by Dana Bittnerová, which dealt with the issues of the Roma minority in a Czech-Slovakian context. The work is divided into three main themes, and then further subdivided into 11 chapters. It has three main perspectives on the various aspects of the life of this minority, with each chapter focussing on more specific issues.

In the introduction to the publication the editor presents the reader with the thread which binds the various chapters together; the idea of shared not only hetero-, but also auto-stereotypes. It presents this as a dichotomy in the form of a symbolic Roma citizen, who serves as a symbolic 'nobody', against who the success of others is measured. It can be said that this symbolic nobody serves as the metaphor of societal failure, from which one can distance oneself only through rejecting the key notions of being a part of this specific ethnic group. According to author, this is the source of the tension; when members of a certain ethnicity are perceived as not being a failure only if they stop being a part of the aforementioned ethnicity. Then the source of the conflict is not the intrinsically harmful or different lifestyle or values, but the fact that the majority is asking the Roma to conform their social identities to the prevailing ones.

Implied within the first chapter is the notion that even the idea of Roma people as being a homogenous social category, with clearly identifiable characteristics, is not much more than a myth, perpetuated by not only the intrinsic beliefs of members of the majority that such a characteristics exists, but also by the acceptance of these beliefs by the Roma people, who are then internalizing them into auto-stereotypes. This phenomena then forms the fundamental basis of what the author calls "distancing"; a process by which the social identity of the minority is derived on the one hand by the need to define one's own identity as a result of contrasting values with those of the majority, while on the other by accommodating to it, via attempting to revolt against them; thus creating the subdivisions within the minority. These sub-division serve then as tools in an attempt to reject the stereotypes, paradoxically through accepting them. Examples of this phenomenon given by the author include: "degrees of skin colour"; the darkest being "true Roma", most strongly associated with the commonly accepted stereotype, and "cleanliness"; the definition of being either a good or bad Roma based on personal hygiene or tidiness.

In the following chapter the author focuses on the effect of naming the community "Roma" instead of the much older, and more emotionally and socially-charged label "gypsies". This labelling is then tested as the research unfolds into the naming conventions of minorities in the civil discourse, and how it has affected and is still affecting the forming of the stereotypes by the majority. The author presents the results of this research within the broad categories of positive and negative variances in the naming conventions, concluding that adopting the endo-ethnonymic label "Roma" had the effect of allowing policy-makers to be more active in tackling this issue. However, such a conclusion is problematic, since at the same time both terms are

also being used by members of the majority as well as the minority in distinguishing between the stereotypes of good or bad Roma.

The third chapter uses a village in north-east Slovakia to illustrate many of the points made in the previous chapters, in the context of social inclusion and exclusion of its Roma citizens, and their interactions with the majority population. It is shown how even the most seemingly “idyllic” neighbourhood relations between the Roma minority and the majority are contaminated by the shared hetero-stereotypes; starting with the deep-seated disdain that the majority holds for the “other” and how it reflects in every cultural, work, or religious aspect of communal life.

The fourth chapter follows the structure of the previous one, as it delves deeper into the image of rural life within the specific context of a Slovakian village and its Roma inhabitants. The author describes the personal experiences of the observed interactions between the majority and minority member, noting factors such as: age, gender, social status, experiences and underlying motives, and how these affect the many perspectives that one can have when forming an opinion on such a problematic issue.

The next chapter is concerned with the methodological limitations of studies of the Roma minority, due to the lack of objective data and uninformed policy-making. The first barrier the author considers is the inability of researchers to properly define their target population due to the human rights legislation which doesn’t allow studies to be properly aimed at reaching their maximum objectivity. As an example the reader is given the fact that in most of the research the only marker of Roma ethnicity was the “educated guess”, or opinion of the members of the majority. In this vein, it is stated that the whole definition of a “marginalized and ostracized” minority is based solely on personal evaluations of the offices and committees involved, rather than on solid data. What follows is what is perceived by the author as the most pressing areas where the lack of data is felt, and consideration of future research directions.

The content of the sixth chapter illustrates two case studies in which dramatically different outcomes are achieved through using group dynamics and social pressure, rather than just mechanically allocating resources. The studies in question were carried out in two Roma communities near the Czech town of Ostrava, where in one community the inhabitants were given building materials for necessary repairs to their homes, and then were also involved in the manual labour of the repairs, while in the second community all of the cost of materials as well as the work was provided by the city council, and did not require any effort from the Roma themselves. The results were that in the first community the inhabitants had subsequently a much greater appreciation of the work done by themselves, and their community was strengthened, with the overall crime rate dropping, whereas the exact opposite had happened in the other community. This can be broadly interpreted as a testament to the necessity of involving minority members in any attempts to help their situation, and that the paradigm associated with free support needs to change.

The following chapter deals with the tensions that can arise from the attempts to integrate Roma children within the formal education system, and how this process can be either facilitated or hindered by the expectations and stereotypes on the one hand from the teachers’ side, and on the other the psychological “equipment” that their parents are imparting in their children. This duality is shown through three case studies of mothers and their children in which the reader can observe the results of the possible outcomes when children are expected by their teachers

to behave in a certain way, which would lead them away from their ethnic heritage, but at the same time they are encouraged by their parents to hold on to their ethnic pride and identity. The issue of the school system being designed for members of the majority then arises, and therefore to be successful in it requires members of the minority to conform.

The next chapter focuses the readers' attention on the fact that values which are different from the ones shared by the majority are not necessarily inferior, but they do prevent people from succeeding in various aspects of life. The author shows this in the context of education, and then describes the life events important to Roma people. According to the author, the key differences are the value of education, which for Roma doesn't go above secondary school level, and also the non-existence of stigmatization for various phenomena which are in the majority considered to be taboo; for example, child labour or early pregnancy. Minorities without these values as restrictions will lag behind.

In the following chapter, the issues of cultural expectations in regard to conformity are then extended outside of the Czech-Slovakian context to Great Britain. England, a country which was and still is often chosen by Roma immigrants as a target for living in, and is multi-ethnic to a much greater degree than central Europe, is a good example of how these stereotypes and stigmatizations are difficult to overcome. Regarding school entry-level children, in a series of case studies, the author illustrates how Roma children still face the same discrimination in the attempts by teachers to make them conform, while at the same time they show the same kind of dismissive thoughts and prejudices towards refugees, such as Syrians. It is worth noting how deep the stereotyping goes, and how the originator and the target can under varying circumstances switch from one side to the other, all the while maintaining the status quo.

The penultimate chapter consists of research, which presents the reader with the issue of minority members not allowing their children to visit pre-school institutions; which is in the opinion of the author necessary for the adequate development and preparation of children for the school environment. It delves deeper into the dynamics of "us vs. them" mentality, in which these institutions are considered by the minority to be "grounds for acculturation", and therefore an enemy of ethnic identity. The research shows what reasons parents refuse to enrol their children in pre-schools; ranging from a lack of information, to perceived institutional barriers and innate distrust. The author concludes the chapter with suggestions which could improve the perspectives of Roma in pre-school education.

The last chapter synthesizes the narrative of the entire publication (auto vs hetero-stereotypes) into the aggregate of cultural values in the form of a commentary in which the various perceptions are juxtaposed against each other. As an example of this, the author has chosen to focus on Roma music, and how from all of the surface level characteristics of being a Roma this is most likely the only one which is considered, even by the majority, to be entirely positive.

The aim of the publication as a whole is to create a perspective, or one could say a vantage point, from which the problems of the Roma minority could be viewed more objectively, without the innate biases or prejudices which so often cloud the judgement of not just the public. While not necessarily offering any simple or premature solutions, it reflects a paradigm through which the Roma issue can be changed.

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Správy

Reports

***Človek a spoločnosť
Individual and Society***

NOVA

Conference Report “The East is not Exit”, Košice, 28th November 2017

The conference “the East is not Exit” which was organized by the associations Progress Promotion and Apolis in the prestigious cultural hub of Košice’s Kulturpark, can be summed up with: ‘the East [of Slovakia] is waking up’. The event was an apolitical initiative whose organisers were attempting to raise awareness of the massive outflow of young people from this remote region (from the perspective of the capital) and make proposals for possible solutions which would halt this undesired trend. For this reason, the organisers of the conference invited well-renowned professionals from the fields of management, advertising, marketing, self-government, academia, as well as representatives of the third sector and the most important regional employers.

In the first part, the panellists – professor of the Economic Faculty of the Technical University of Košice Oto Hudec, political scientist from the Šafárik University in Košice Alexander Onufrák and consultant Tomáš Hellebrandt – talked about historical determinants and consequences of mass emigration from the region. They agreed that the current flow of emigration is alarming. They pointed out that a reform of the educational system is necessary, as well as support for local pride and the creation of strong urban centres in the region (Košice, Prešov) which would constitute attractive places with high living standards. At the same time they argued that East Slovakia could also profit from immigration from the neighbouring regions of Hungary, Poland, and especially from Ukraine.

In the second part, specialists from the branding and advertising industry, Simona Bubánová, Matej Martovič and Jakub Ptačin took part in the discussion. As none of them comes from East Slovakia, the discussion focused on the image not only of the East, but the whole of Slovakia which is lacking visible commercial successes worldwide. Such successes, for example, the Estonian telecommunication application Skype, are useful for making global comparisons, and despite their absence in Slovakia the panellists agreed that the country has all the necessary conditions for their development. The renowned designer Jakub Ptačin pointed out that East Slovakia is not the most underdeveloped region, but there are many other, far more deprived and remote ones which attract little attention, such as Gemer or Orava.

In the third part, Mišo Hudák (the association Východné pobrežie), Ľudmila Kolesárová (a manager of the organisation Dobrý anjel), Pavol Mirossay (the director of IT Valley) and Veronika Poklembová (Teach for Slovakia) talked about the prospects of young people getting employment in the East. The panellists referred to the many job offers for qualified positions and that young people should attempt to gain the relevant education and skills so that they can apply for such jobs. Many of the panellists called upon the students present in the conference hall not to wait for help from the governmental authorities (such as foreign investments, incentives, transport infrastructure), but instead actively participate in initiatives for improving the entrepreneurial environment in East Slovakia rather than going elsewhere; either home or abroad. The rector of the Technical University in Košice, Stanislav Kmeť said “Eastenders, only we can help ourselves”, which produced applause from the audience.

The main outputs of the conference “The East is not Exit” may have a long- lasting, positive impact on the mentality of the local population.

In contesting the recent stereotypical image of East Slovakia as an unproductive and unattractive region lacking in prospects, whose population only passively waits for a “help from the West”, regional entrepreneurial and intellectual elites are attempting to activate the local potential in ideas and innovations to promote the improvement of living standards. For that purpose, the organisers will in the future initiate a series of conferences, collect relevant data about migration processes and improvement of local living standards and, last but not least, produce an information campaign aimed at young people to prevent further emigration.

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Conference Report “Young Historians Meeting VII: Revised History: Historical Memory – Its Place and Importance in Society“ Košice, 25th October 2017

The seventh yearly conference Young Historians Meeting took place 25 October 2017. The thematic focus was ‘Revised History: historical memory - its place and importance in society’. The scientific event was organized by the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Pavol Jozef Šafárik (therein after FF UPJŠ) in cooperation with the Centre of Social and Psychological sciences of SAV in cooperation with the Historical institute of SAV, Slovak historical society.

The conference took place in the Platon building of FF UPJŠ, in the Meeting Room of the chancellery of UPJŠ, and was divided into two thematic blocks. Altogether nine papers were presented. Seven postgraduate students and one Master's degree student from Slovakia, and one postgraduate from the Czech Republic took part. Each unit was assigned a professional guarantor whose task was to critically comment on all the lectures, pointing out the mistakes the doctor should avoid, as well as giving advice and ideas for further research. There was a discussion after every presented block. The papers were presented in the Czech and Slovak languages.

The event begun by Prof. PhDr. Oľga Orosová, CSc., the dean of FF UPJŠ who highlighted and praised the organization of the annual conference as an opportunity for novice historians to gain new experience and to further their academic careers. After this, all participants were welcomed by Doc. PaedDr. Martin Pekár, PhD., the head of Department of History. The opening was followed by the presentations by the individual authors.

In Block I, Monika Ďud'áková presented the first with the topic *Sarmatov Participation in Markoman Wars based on written sources and artistic monuments*. Then, the paper *Memorial monument and royal gift. Selected aspects of the creation of the oldest documentary phalles in the Hungarian environment* was presented by Marek Druga. Aneta Kubalová presented the topic *Matthias Hoyne von Hoënegg's preaching activity (1580-1645)*, and the block concluded by Vavrinec Žeňuch with the presentation *The formation of the memory of the Uzhorod Union*. The warrantors were Mgr. Drahošlav Magdoško, PhD. from The Department of History FF UPJŠ and doc. Peter Šoltés, PhD. from the Historical Institute of SAV, who specializes mostly in the history of the 19th Century. The commentators focussed predominantly on the second contribution; a subject which is largely absent in Slovak historiography. The contribution was both stylistically and competently mastered, and had an idea that was embedded in a sufficient number of appropriately chosen sources. The strongest comments related to the last contribution, especially the inappropriate choice of title. In the third contribution, it was recommended that the author focus on the other sources, not only Matthiasa Hoë von Hoënegg.

In the afternoon, Block II followed. The warrantors were Prof. PaedDr. Štefan Šutaj, DrSc. and PhDr. Richard Pavlovič, PhD. In the block five presentations were given. The first was by Lukáš Trnkoci with the title *Pavel Križek's Memory*. The next paper was given by Barbara Kacerová under the title *The contribution of resettlement of Czechoslovak families in the context of population exchange between Czechoslovakia and Hungary*.

Marianna Tkáčová presented the topic *Recruiting into East Slovakian Ironworks (Socialist Propaganda and Reality)*. There followed Martin Počátko with the presentation *21st August 1968 as a place of memory of French diplomacy*, and the block and the whole conference was concluded by Lukáš Katriňák who spoke about *Visual Images as a tool for influencing collective memory*. After the first paper, Prof. PaedDr. Štefan Šutaj, DrSc. explained what memory was, what forms it can display, and at the same time commended on the author's flawless text. The following one was equally positively rated, with recommendations that a wider view of other areas would be appropriate in the future. The last two submissions were also positively reviewed, with the content exactly fitting the subject defining memory issues.

Most of the presentations had positive feedback. The warrantors of individual blocks reported on each topic with a critical commentary, drawing attention to mistakes a postgraduate should avoid, as well as giving advice and ideas for future research. All blocks were followed by a discussion producing valuable discussion amongst postgraduates and participants which could help to deepen work on the dissertation theses.

At the end the warrantors evaluated the conference. Doc. Peter Šoltés, PhD, said that there had not been no wider debate throughout the conference. Mgr. Drahoslav Magdoško, PhD. remarked that it is not always easy to look into the topic of the conference, but it is still necessary to accept the given title, and to try to address it. Mgr. Richard Pavlovič, PhD. highlighted the progress. He mentioned how the first year of the conference was a professional commentary which after the introduction, was of benefit and complemented the overall model of the conference. Prof. PaedDr. Štefan Šutaj, DrSc. said they appreciated the auditorium, which was made up of a great amount of students, and throughout the day the hall was full. At the same time, he noted that next year would be part of the Horizont project and therefore the theme of the conference would be more extensive. The good organizational level and the contribution of the scientific event for PhD students were highlighted. The presentations of active participants would be published in the almanac after the review process.

Further information on the conference may be found: <http://www.upjs.sk/filozoficka-fakulta/katedra-historie/9172/>

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Conference Report “Negative consequences of the practising helping professions (Psychological and social aspects of helping people)”, Košice, 19th – 20th October 2017

The conference “Negative consequences of the practising helping professions” was organized by members of the Department of Psychology at the Faculty of Arts of University of Pavol Jozef Šafárik in Košice, on 19th October 2017. The chosen topic was very contemporary, largely concerning the prevention of the burnout syndrome and the accompanying phenomena in the helping professions (psychologists, nurses, doctors, teachers, etc.). The conference was organized with the financial support of the Slovak Research and Development Agency in the framework of the grant project APVV-14-0921 “Self-care as a factor of coping with the negative consequences of the practising the helping professions”.

The conference was opened by the Dean of Faculty of Arts, University of Pavol Jozef Šafárik prof. PhDr. Oľga Orosová, CSc. and by the Head of the Department of Psychology prof. PhDr. Ladislav Lovaš, CSc. 22 participants presented their contributions.

The programme was divided into 5 sections. The first section consisted of contributions about *self-care and negative consequences in helping professions*. Margita Mesárošová presented a model which predicts negative and positive consequences of practising helping professions, supported by structural equation modeling with confirmed predictors – self-care and self-regulation of self-care, that predict a level of positive and negative consequences of the helping professions. The results will be used in intervention programmes. The contributions of Ewa Wilczek-Rużyczka from Poland and the contribution “Self-care in social work in Slovakia”, created by participation in international research with the University of Kentucky, were also presented. Wilczek-Rużyczka with her team studied the impact of empathy and stress on physicians in Krakow. Analysis of regression confirmed that stress and some aspects of empathy exert significant effects on the analysed dimensions of job burnout. Beáta Balogová and Zuzana Poklembová from the University of Prešov approach self-care options as one of the possible tools to prevent the negative consequences of practising helping professions. They cooperated with J.Jay Miller from the University of Kentucky on international research “Self-Care Practices of Social Work”.

The second section dealt with the *possibilities of prevention and intervention*. Monika Piliarová presented methods of her work in “Art as a form of communication”. Art therapy and its healing effects can play a role in burnout prevention, since this form of working with creativity provides an experience that is durable and affects social relationships. Dana Kaufman, a PhD. student from Israel, did a presentation on mindfulness. She suggested, that several of the most known mindfulness techniques (acceptance and commitment therapy, mindfulness-based stress reduction, etc.), can be used as a self-care strategy for therapists. The following presenter, Veronika Pastrnáková, a PhD. student from the Centre of Social Sciences of SAS, delivered a contribution titled “Compassion fatigue and how to profit from positive feedback”. She talked, from her perspective as a school psychologist, about the history of compassion fatigue and described how positive feedback from students to teachers can be used as a coping mechanism. The programme continued after lunch and the third section was related to *self-care in social work*. Lucia Tóthová and Eva Žiaková presented the results of their research in “Selecting ineffective coping strategies as a risk factor in helping

professions”, and described how these strategies might lead to oncological diseases. Soňa Lovašová and Ina Jungová presented “Self-care in social workers and police officers”. The study shows an increased level of self-care in both groups and a correlation with negative phenomenon. With increasing compassion fatigue, there is a growing need for self-care. Ida Želinská gave the audience an insight into case studies from a social worker’s point of view, “Reflection in a dark mirror”, where she discussed how secondary trauma can occur in a child in the network of helping professionals,

The fourth section offered presentations on *work environment factors and negative consequences of helping professions*. Miroslava Köverová, in “Workload, its sources and coping strategies in helping professionals”, investigated the effects of workload in helping professionals; whether they feel increased levels of mental stress, what its subjective measure is, and what coping strategies they use to reduce the workload. Jana Nezkusilová, in a study of 682 participants, discussed the relationship between job satisfaction and perceived stress, secondary stress, burnout, depersonalisation, exhaustion, personal satisfaction in “Positive and negative consequences of helping, in the context of job satisfaction”. The next presenter, Juraj Martonyik, a PhD. student from the Centre of Social Sciences of SAS and a foster care worker, presented a case study on employee turnover, called “Employee fluctuation, its possible causes and impact on foster home functioning”. He used examples of a social worker resigning from her job, and an orphan with depression.

The fifth and final part of the conference consisted of two workshops. Ewa Wilczek-Rużyczka conducted a workshop for 10 participants where she presented a technique of *Balint group that improves contact and prevents burnout* which showed a new perspective on facilitating group dynamics. The second workshop, *Art as a form of communication - intuitive painting in burnout prevention*, was conducted by Monika Piliarová. She showed the participants how to eliminate the negative phenomena in a more creative way. Various musical instruments, painting and drawing techniques were used in order to maximise the choice for all participants.

To conclude, we can say the Conference was a success among the participants and positive feedback led to the organising committee to discuss plans for another interdisciplinary conference at the University.

For more information about the conference: <https://www.upjs.sk/filozoficka-fakulta/katedra-psychologie/konferencia/>

Book of abstracts: <https://www.upjs.sk/public/media/15132/zbornik-abstraktov.pdf>

Programme: <https://www.upjs.sk/public/media/15132/APVV-konferencia-program.pdf>

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