



Človek a spoločnosť

[Individual and Society]

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Editorial Comment

V takýchto chvíľach nemyslím na všetko trápenie, ale na krásu, ktorá stále zostáva. V tomto sa s Matkou veľmi odlišujeme. Jej rada zvládnuť melanchóliu znie: „Zamyslite sa nad všetkým utrpením vo svete a buďte vdľační, že nie ste jeho súčasťou.“ Moja rada znie: „Chodťte von, do sveta, užívajte si slnko a všetko, čo príroda ponúka. Chodťte von a pokúste sa znova získať šťastie vo svojom vnútri; myslite na všetku krásu v sebe a vo všetkom okolo seba a buďte šťastní.“

(Anna Franková)

V marci 2020 sa svet zmenil a každý z nás už vtedy podvedome tušil, že to nebude len jednomesačná výhybka z každodennosti... Momentálne sa niekoľko mesiacov delíme o svoje miesto vo svete s pandémiou, očakávame druhú vlnu, počúvame vyhrážky politikov a bezradných susedov. Máme strach a najviac sa bojíme o svojich blízkych, situácia sa javí horšie a beznádejnejšie ... Ako dlho ešte?

Desaťročia si človek užíval dominantné miesto vo svete, no zrazu nám z dňa na deň koruna kráľa ríše padla. Skrývame sa a obávame jeden druhého. Cítime sa ako herci katastrofického filmu... Pravda však je, že jediný kľúč ako túto situáciu zvládnuť nájdeme v sebe samých. Poučme sa z minulosti a hľadajme v nej odpovede. Prečítajme si slová Anny Frankovej a zamyslime sa, čo pre nás môžu znamenať. Vieme v sebe nájsť krásu a šťastie? Dokážeme byť šťastní i v obmedzenom „korona“ svete?

Vety Anny prečítali milióny ľudí, možno v nich nájdete odpoveď aj Vy... Nórskemu skladateľovi Marcusovi Pausovi sa to podarilo, skomponoval na päť slovný výrok celovečerné zborové dielo – „The beauty that still remains...“

Tretie číslo roku 2020 ponúka rôznorodé témy počnúc psychologickými a končiac historickými. V prvej štúdii autorky [S. Karkošková](#) a [G. Mikulášková](#) priblížia čitateľom presvedčenia pomáhajúcich profesionálov v kontexte posúdenia sexuálneho zneužívania detí. V príspevku akcentujú, že v procese posúdenia takéhoto prípadov zohrávajú významnú úlohu presvedčenia pomáhajúcich profesionálov a zručnosti v rozhodovacích procesoch, a že bez cielenej aplikácie efektívnych stratégií na elimináciu rôznych kognitívnych skreslení a predsudkov je kvalita posúdenia predmetných prípadov ohrozená. Hoci obsah štúdie vychádza z výsledkov zahraničných výskumov, v kontexte Slovenska má aplikačný potenciál najmä vo vzťahu k príprave obsahov kontinuálneho vzdelávania profesionálov, vo vzťahu k zameraniu supervízie v pomáhajúcich profesiách, či vo vzťahu k dizajnovaniu slovenských výskumných projektov so zameraním na predmetné otázky.

V príspevku „Vzťah temnej triády a spokojnosti s prácou medzi pomáhajúcimi profesionálmi“ [R. Čopková](#) a A. Araňošová skúmajú vzťah troch averzívnych osobnostných črt – machiavelizmu, narcizmu a psychopatie, ktoré odborníci dnes nazývajú Temnou triádou, s pracovnou spokojnosťou na vzorke pomáhajúcich odborníkov – pedagogických pracovníkov, zdravotníckych pracovníkov, záchranných zložiek a sociálnych pracovníkov. Dospeli k záveru,

že aj pomáhajúci pracovníci, od ktorých sa automaticky očakáva obetavé a nezištné konanie disponujú do istej miery aj averzívnymi osobnostnými črtami, ktoré môžu byť nezanedbateľným prvkom pri tom, nakoľko považuje pomáhajúci profesionál jednotlivé prvky svojej práce za uspokojivé.

Etnokultúrnej situácii v jednom z regiónov českého pohraničia, odkiaľ bolo po druhej svetovej vojne presídlené takmer všetko obyvateľstvo, sa venuje [A. Vaishar](#) a [H. Nosková](#) v príspevku s názvom „Kultúrna štruktúra populácie českého pohraničia 70 rokov po presídlení: prípadová štúdia Tachov“. Podľa autorov údaje o etnickej štruktúre obyvateľstva neodrážajú skutočnú kultúrnu rozmanitosť regiónu. Poukazujú na to, že pohraničie svojím spôsobom slúžilo ako sociálny experiment. Zabránilo sa obnoveniu strednej triedy, čo sa dnes prejavuje nedostatkom vedomostí, motivácie a odvahy podnikáť. Doteraz existuje zvýšená nostalgie za sociálnym zabezpečením v období socializmu.

Zmenám mesta Opava v rôznych režimoch sa vo svojom príspevku venuje [O. Jirásek](#). Analyzuje a porovnáva politiky pamäte a snahy o zmenu symboliku mesta, pričom sa zameriava predovšetkým na projekciu ideológie a identít do symbolickej vrstvy mesta za rôznych režimov v priebehu 20. a 21. storočia. V rámci výskumu využíva koncept mestskej symboliky, ktorá je vyjadrená prostredníctvom rôznych javov, ako sú usporiadanie mesta, architektúra, monumenty a pamätky, názvy ulíc a miest, ako aj rituály, oslavys a sprievody. Autor v príspevku ukazuje, ako sa mestský verejný priestor Opavy prispôsoboval zmenám režimov a ako bola mestská symbolika priamo aj nepriamo modifikovaná. Fyzický a symbolický aspekt mesta bol ovplyvňovaný ideologickými a kultúrnymi hodnotami jeho predstaviteľov a obyvateľov, ale aj špecifickými sociálno-politickými okolnosťami a etnickým zložením obyvateľstva.

Séria štúdií je doplnená recenziou publikácie *Studio Cassoviensia Nova*. Košice vo svetle nových poznatkov.

Mária Ďurkovská, Lucia Heldáková

In these moments I don't think about all the suffering, but of the beauty, which is always present. This is the point where me and my mother have a different opinion. Her advice to cope with the melancholy is: „Think about all suffering in the world and be grateful that you are not the part of it.“ My advice is: „Go out there in the world, take advantage of the sun and everything offered by nature. Go out and try to find again the happiness in your heart; think about all your inner beauty and the beauty around you and be happy.“

(Anne Frank)

In March 2020 the world changed and each of us felt that it wouldn't be only a one-month change from our daily routine. Right now we are sharing our place in this world with a pandemic. We are expecting the second wave. We are listening to the threats of politicians and to helpless neighbours. We worry a lot. Mostly we worry about our relatives. The situation seems to be getting worse and more hopeless. How much longer will it last?

For decades humankind took advantage of its dominant place in the world, but suddenly we have lost the control of our empire. We are hiding and we fear each other. We feel like the actors in a catastrophe movie. The truth is that the only way to deal with this situation will come from inside us. Let's learn from the past and let's search for the answers there. We have to read the words of Anna Frank and think what it means for us. Could we find inner beauty and happiness? Is it possible to be happy in this restricted „corona“ world?

Anna's words were read by millions of people, maybe you can find an answer in them too. The Norwegian composer Marcus Paus could do it when he composed a full-length choral piece with just a five-word statement – „The beauty that still remains...“

The third issue of 2020 offers a variety of topics ranging from psychological to historical.

In the first study, the authors [S. Karkošková](#) and [G. Mikulášková](#) look at the beliefs of helping professionals within the context of child sexual abuse assessment. In the article they emphasize that the beliefs of helping professionals and decision-making skills play an important role in the CSA case assessment process, and that without the targeted application of effective strategies to eliminate cognitive biases and prejudices, the quality of case assessments is endangered. Although the content of the study is based on the results of foreign research, it is also potentially applicable to Slovakia; especially in relation to the preparation of content in the continuous education of professionals, the focus of supervision in helping professions, or the designing of Slovak research projects focusing on these issues.

In the study; “The Relationship of Dark Triad and Job Satisfaction among Helping Professionals”, [R. Čopková](#) and A. Araňošová examine the relationship of three aversive personality traits: Machiavellianism, narcissism and psychopathy – these days known by experts as the Dark Triad – in regards to work satisfaction by using a sample of helping professionals: pedagogical workers, healthcare workers, rescue workers and social workers.

The authors point out that helping professionals, who are automatically expected to be selfless and pro-social, also have some aversive personality traits; which may be a significant element in how helping professionals consider individual elements of their work satisfaction.

[A. Vaishar](#) and [H. Nosková's](#) study, called “The cultural population structure of the Czech borderland 70 years after resettlement: a case study Tachov” looks at the ethno-cultural situation in one of the regions of the Czech borderland, from where almost the entire population was displaced after the Second World War. According to the authors, the data on the ethnic structure of the population does not reflect the real cultural diversity of the region. The authors point out that, in a way, the borderland served as a social experiment. The restoration of the middle class was prevented, which today is reflected in a lack of knowledge and motivation to do business. There is increased nostalgia for the social security of the socialist period.

[O. Jirásek](#), in his contribution, deals with the changes of the city of Opava in different regimes. He analyses and compares the politics of memory and efforts to change Opava’s symbolism. The author focuses primarily on the projection of ideologies and identities onto the symbolic landscape under different regimes during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Within the research, the concept of urban symbolism is looked at, which is expressed through different phenomena; such as the city layout, architecture, monuments and memorials, street and place names, as well as rituals, festivals and processions. The author interprets and shows how urban public space has been adapting to the changes of regimes and how the city symbolism has been modified consciously but also indirectly. The physical and symbolic aspect of the city was influenced by the ideological and cultural values of its representatives and inhabitants as well as by specific socio-political circumstances and the ethnic composition of the city.

The series of studies is supplemented by a review of an interesting new title, *Studio Cassoviensia Nova. Košice vo svetle nových poznatkov* (*Studio Cassoviensia Nova. Košice in the light of the new knowledge*).

Mária Ďurkovská, Lucia Heldáková



Prehľadové štúdie

Review Papers

BELIEFS OF HELPING PROFESSIONALS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE ASSESSMENT

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Abstract:

Background: Child sexual abuse (CSA) is one of the most serious socio-pathological phenomena. However, its identification is challenging and linked to the risk of false positive and false negative conclusions, with far-reaching consequences for the lives of those affected. Incorrect assessments of suspected CSA cases can be made not only by lay people, but also by helping professionals who gather and evaluate information, consider further procedures and make decisions.

Aim: The aim of the presented review study is to summarize current scientific knowledge that answers two key questions. (1) what contributes to errors in the assessment of relevant cases; and (2) how these errors can be prevented.

Method: Previous research has shown that personal beliefs significantly influence the processes by which individuals search for, store, and interpret relevant information (Kahneman et al., 1982). For the purposes of this study, databases of scientific publications were primarily searched for research papers that mapped the beliefs of helping professionals in relation to CSA, as well as papers on strategies to reduce errors in the assessment processes of relevant cases.

Results: We identified three significant groups of beliefs that could lead to misjudgments of suspected CSA cases: (1) Misconceptions about CSA – especially about: (a) the prevalence and nature of CSA (including the assumption that CSA usually involves the use of physical force and sexual intercourse); (b) the CSA perpetrators (e.g., that they are mentally disturbed or sick; that CSA committed by a woman has a less harmful effect on victims than CSA with a male perpetrator; that the victim's peer cannot be the perpetrator); (c) the victims' responses to sexual abuse (including the dynamics of disclosure about CSA experiences; the dynamics of behavior in further contact with the perpetrator); (d) the memory performance of child victims during forensic interview (especially regarding the expected amount of details and consistency of testimony); (e) the way of conducting interrogations with suspected CSA victims (including the sensitivity of professionals to suggestive techniques); (f) the CSA diagnosis method (including the assumption that spontaneous game observation is a good method for assessing suspected CSA); (g) the frequency of false accusations.

(2) Beliefs related to the implications of the case assessment – especially: (a) excessive trust in the testimony of children versus skepticism (some professionals may tend to rule out false accusations and thus disregard the rights of the accused person, while others may approach suspected CSA cases with the a priori belief that a high percentage of CSA cases are untrue and therefore do not take great account of the rights and interests of the suspected victim); (b) beliefs about the functioning of the child welfare system (where distrust in this system may encourage professionals to fail to fulfill mandatory reporting regarding suspected CSA cases); (c) an emphasis on sensitivity versus specificity (i.e. either focusing on minimizing the occurrence of false negative conclusions to prevent the actual victim of the CSA from being identified and cared for, or concentrating on minimizing false positive conclusions to prevent the innocent person from being convicted); (d) beliefs regarding the removal of the child from the family.

(3) Beliefs about one's own objectivity and expertise – especially the frequent false beliefs of professionals that with the increasing length of practice and the amount of experience with CSA cases, the level of expertise

automatically increases. Experienced professionals can be simultaneously prejudiced and convinced of the correctness of their own erroneous beliefs. At the same time, more experienced professionals tend to have a more intuitive approach to assessing CSA cases. In this respect, various cognitive biases (especially patternicity, confirmatory bias, availability bias, anchoring, representativeness heuristic, bias blind spot and the Dunning-Kruger) effect play a negative role.

In the conclusion, the review study recommends several strategies in order to improve the practice and reduce errors in the assessment of the cases in question. It emphasizes the important role of the continuing education of relevant professionals in confronting participants with current scientific knowledge on CSA issues; encourages helping professionals to reflect on their own beliefs, which may influence the assessment of the cases in question, and recommends mastering the so-called Bayesian reasoning and effective methods to eliminate cognitive bias. At the same time, the study considers precise work with hypotheses, weighting evidence, supervision, the submission of expert opinions to independent review and slowing down of work strategies as an effective strategy of eliminating various prejudices. In addition, it proposes a multidisciplinary team approach to CSA case assessment – although the study does note that the impact of the group approach on the final outcomes of the case assessment process has not been sufficiently scientifically examined yet.

Conclusion and implications: The study emphasizes that the beliefs of helping professionals and decision-making skills play an important role in the CSA case assessment process, and that without the targeted application of effective strategies to eliminate cognitive biases and prejudices, the quality of case assessments is endangered. The members of various helping professions (especially educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers, police officers, prosecutors and judges) who come into contact with suspected CSA cases may find the review study useful. Although the content of the study is based on the results of foreign research, it has application potential in Slovakia, especially in relation to the preparation of content in the continuous education of professionals, the focus of supervision in helping professions, or the designing of Slovak research projects focusing on these issues.

Key words: Child sexual abuse (CSA). Personal beliefs. Bias. Heuristics. Decision making.

Introduction

Child sexual abuse (CSA) is one of the serious socio-pathological phenomena, with the potential of a whole spectrum of long-term negative consequences on the quality of life of its victims (Karkošková, 2014). According to one of the latest meta-analysis, the global incidence of CSA ranges from 8 to 31 % in women and from 3 to 17 % in men (Barth et al., 2013). The results of selected studies from 11 European countries show that 2.9 – 10.5 % of girls and 0.6 – 5.5 % of boys experienced penetrative forms of CSA; when using a broader definition of contact forms of CSA, their incidence ranged from 10 to 39.8 % for girls and from 6 to 16.2 % for boys (Lalor & McElvaney, 2011). According to a recent Slovak survey (Karkošková & Ropovík, 2019), by the age of 18, penetrative forms of CSA occurred in 5.6 % of girls and 1.3 % of boys; up to 30.2 % of girls and 11.6 % of boys experienced tactile forms of CSA and 40.6 % of girls and 17.7 % of boys reported experience with non-tactile forms of CSA. More than half of the CSA incidents occurred in the postpubescent period.

The identification of CSA cases is limited by several factors; including for instance whether the child has symptoms that would raise concerns about the child in the social environment and a consequent interest in finding out if something has happened to him or her; whether the child victim confides his or her experience; how the person trusted by the child reacts; whether the case comes to the attention of the competent authorities (child protective agencies and/or law enforcement authorities); how the case is being investigated; whether sufficient evidence can be gathered on the case; and whether the evidence gathered is properly assessed (Karkošková & Mikulášková, 2018).

At various stages of the potential identification of CSA cases, two types of errors may occur (Bridges et al., 2009; Pelisoli et al., 2015): (1) false negative conclusion: the conclusion that a child has not been sexually abused but in fact he/she is a victim of CSA; (2) false positive conclusion: the conclusion that the child has been sexually abused, when in fact this is not the

case. Any erroneous conclusion is highly undesirable – both in relation to victims and perpetrators (Bolen, 2001, p. 229; Staller & Vandervort, 2010). **False positive conclusions** about the CSA can lead to the prosecution of innocent people; to their social stigmatization (expressions of distrust and moral condemnation from the social environment); to disruption of family and other close relationships; to job loss; to financial losses; and/or to other negative consequences to the quality of life of the person concerned and his/her relatives. In addition to the negative consequences for alleged CSA perpetrators, false positive conclusions about CSA can also lead to disruption of the psychosocial development of the alleged victims and other negative consequences on the part of the institutions involved. On the other hand, **false negative conclusions** can disrupt or block victims' access to adequate care and protection; can expose the existing and potential victims of the perpetrator to further abuse in the future; can contribute to the development of the full range of long-term negative consequences to the lives of CSA victims (Ullman & Filipas, 2005) (including disruption of social relations and social stigmatization); can be a source of psychological suffering due to the unenforceability of the law.

An incorrect assessment of suspected CSA cases can be committed not only by lay people, but also by relevant helping professionals (especially educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers, police officers, prosecutors and judges) who gather and evaluate information at various stages, consider further action and make decisions. In this context, the question of what contributes to errors in the assessment of relevant cases seems to be crucial, and consequently the question of how these errors can be prevented.

It is clear that decision-making processes are influenced by various factors, including: (1) factors related to the case under consideration, (2) organizational factors, (3) external influences, and (4) factors on the part of the evaluator (Baumann et al., 2011). As a detailed analysis of all of these factor groups is beyond the limits of this study, the focus is put only on the role of the evaluator's personal beliefs. Indeed, previous research has shown that personal beliefs significantly influence the processes by which individuals search for, store, and interpret relevant information (Kahneman et al., 1982).

1 False beliefs about child sexual abuse

In a study of a sample of Australian police officers who were presented with hypothetical CSA scenarios, Kite & Tyson (2004) found that the participants tended to treat CSA cases differently depending on whether the perpetrator was male or female. They were convinced that CSA committed by a woman had a less harmful effect on victims than CSA where the perpetrator was a man. Such a belief may reduce the recognition of women as CSA perpetrators and lead to an underestimation of the investigation of relevant CSA cases. The findings of Australian researchers confirmed the findings from older English research conducted by Hetherton and Beardsall (1998) on a sample of police officers and social workers in England.

Finnish research (Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al., 2005), involving social workers working with children, child psychiatrists and child psychologists, showed that these professionals are not very familiar with the scientific literature focused on investigating the issue. Although they are involved in the investigation of CSA cases, they show strong beliefs that are inconsistent with scientific knowledge. This may affect their judgment when assessing CSA cases and, ultimately, the overall outcome of the investigation.

Australian researcher Shackel (2008) conducted a review study of existing research that looked at the beliefs of adults about children's responses to sexual victimization. Her study showed that many people in society, including some professionals, are falsely convinced that delayed

disclosure, recantation of the original testimony, and discrepancies in the testimony are unusual and suggest that CSA allegations are fabricated; that CSA victims are usually afraid of the perpetrators and do not express love for them; and that most victims show overt negative emotional and behavioral symptoms of CSA. In addition, many people also falsely believe that most cases of CSA involve the use of physical force and sexual intercourse, and that there are usually physical findings indicating CSA in CSA cases. Shackel (2008) stated that misconceptions about CSA are undoubtedly pervasive.

In particular, in a sample of child psychologists, CSA beliefs were examined by the Finnish team Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al. (2008). Many of the research participants had misconceptions about the proper way to conduct the interrogation and about the ability of professionals to diagnose CSA or detect lies. On average, the participants responded incorrectly to 20 % of 19 factual questions (these were presented in the form of statements whose accuracy or inaccuracy was unambiguous given the current level of scientific knowledge). Only 4.5 % of participants answered all factual questions correctly. A total of 2 % of participants provided incorrect answers to more than 50 % of factual questions. Researchers expressed concern that some misconceptions about CSA investigations are common among psychologists who potentially deal with suspected cases of CSA, and that there are psychologists who do have a large number of misconceptions. This can lead to serious errors in CSA investigations, both in relation to the investigative methods used and in relation to decision-making processes.

Another Finnish research study (Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al., 2009) focused on the level of expertise of three groups of professionals (social workers, child psychiatrists and non-private psychologists) involved in team CSA investigations in Finland. These professionals may participate in all parts of the investigation (including forensic interviewing of children) and contribute equally to the conclusions drawn from the investigation. In addition to questionnaires testing their beliefs about CSA, participants were provided with file materials (related to CSA cases), which to varying degrees included suggestive techniques used in forensic interviews of children, as well as files in which transcripts of forensic interviews were absent. As it turned out, research participants were sensitive to the presence of guiding questions but overlooked other suggestive techniques, while also overlooking the possibility of using suggestive techniques in cases where the transcript of the forensic interviews was absent from the file. According to the researchers, this is an alarming finding, because if professionals do not recognize the suggestive effects as harmful, they cannot take steps to avoid such effects in cases where they conduct forensic interviews of children. Equally dangerous can be the blind trust in other professionals, that they have interrogated the child in a non-suggestive manner although the transcript of the interrogation is not available.

Swedish researchers (Azad & Leander, 2012) conducted research on a sample of prosecutors, investigators (who investigate a case and usually conduct a child forensic interview) and lawyers assigned to victims of sexual offenses in the Swedish legal system and whose main role is to provide assistance to victims and support for their rights and interests in criminal proceedings. The researchers were interested in the beliefs and research knowledge these professionals had on the issue of children's testimonies. Participants were asked to comment on how detailed, consistent and spontaneous children are in CSA testimonies; how repeated abuse affects their testimony; and what the optimal number of children's interrogations is. All three groups of research participants mistakenly assumed that the older a child is, the more details he/she gives in his/her testimony. This assumption can be reflected in the evaluation of the credibility of older children's testimonies. However, empirical findings show that, regardless of age, children may have difficulty reporting CSA and their testimonies may be often fragmented and austere in terms of sexual abuse details (Bidrose & Goodman, 2000; Leander, 2010; Sjöberg & Lindblad, 2002). Research participants also tended to agree with the statement that sexually

abused children are consistent in their testimonies. However, their beliefs contradict scientific findings that consistency of the testimony is not an objective indicator of the veracity of the testimony (Granhang & Strömwall, 1999). Regarding beliefs about the appropriate number of interrogations with children, researchers noted a wide variation in responses both within the group of investigators and within the group of lawyers. Different beliefs between members of the same professional group may lead to the same child being treated differently depending on the beliefs of the professionals involved in the case.

Finnish researchers Korkman et al. (2014) conducted research on a sample of judges. The questionnaire consisted of questions focused on beliefs about the prevalence of CSA in different age groups of childhood, beliefs about perpetrators and victims, and beliefs about the investigation process. About a quarter of judges were mistakenly convinced that the child's biological parent was a typical CSA perpetrator. Three-quarters of the judges mistakenly believed that observing free-play was a good method to assess suspicions of the CSA. Many judges had misconceptions about suggestibility and suggestive techniques; e.g., more than 40 % of judges believed that the use of suggestive techniques in interrogation was useful when the purpose was to get a child to talk about CSA experiences. Half of the judges believed that no professionals use suggestive techniques when working with children. The researchers expressed concern about these results, as they may indicate that judges are unable to identify suggestive techniques potentially present in forensic interviews of children.

Pelisoli et al. (2015) conducted research on a sample of Brazilian and American professionals from the ranks of psychologists, social workers and doctors, as well as on a sample of non-professionals from the ranks of university students. One of the main objectives of the research was to determine the extent to which participants had knowledge of empirical facts that are important for the optimal forensic assessment of CSA cases and for drawing correct conclusions about the validity of CSA allegations. Participants were presented with an 18-item questionnaire, which included statements about the prevalence of CSA in boys and girls, the dynamics of victims' disclosure about their experience, the reliability of clinical judgment, the memory skills of professionals in relation to forensic interviewing they conducted, the impact of training on forensic interviewing conduct improvement, the impact of length of practice on the accuracy of clinical judgment, the ability of professionals to detect lies, and the issue of children's suggestibility. Professionals answered correctly 55 % of items on average. Only 10 % of professionals achieved 80 % or more of correct answers. The researchers found that many professionals are poorly informed about the scientific knowledge that is the key to the proper assessment of CSA cases.

The Spanish research team of Márquez-Flores et al. (2016) focused on examining the knowledge and beliefs about CSA on a sample of teachers working in preschools, primary and secondary schools, in both public and private sectors. The researchers identified various misconceptions among these educators; with a dominant representation of the beliefs concerning the pathological profile of the perpetrators (that they must be mentally disturbed or ill, or highly unstable individuals); beliefs that most CSA cases involve some form of violence; beliefs that the victim's peer cannot be the perpetrator; and that children often fabricate CSA. Researchers noted that such beliefs undermine the ability to identify cases of CSA and lead to secondary victimization, which exacerbates CSA latency.

U.S. researchers O'Donohue & Cirlugea (2016) point out that the method and outcome of investigating cases of suspected CSA may also be influenced by professionals' beliefs about the false accusations incidence. Based on the analysis of previous research related to the subject matter, they found that while some research on this issue was based on professional judgment (of respondents) without clarifying the criteria on the basis of which the judgment was formed, another part of the research used a variety of criteria, many of which were not empirically

confirmed as valid indicators of false allegations. Although there is no scientific evidence to suggest that false (malicious) allegations of CSA are a frequent phenomenon, that they constitute the majority or even a sizable minority of all reported cases (O'Donohue & Cirlugea, 2016), many professionals are convinced about the high incidence of this phenomenon and their ability to recognize it. In this context, several authors point out that false, intuition-based assumptions and beliefs about how a real victim should react to a CSA may lead to inadequate questioning of their credibility (Cossins, 2006; Fanflik, 2007; The Crown Prosecution Service, 2013; National Crime Victim Law Institute, 2014), and to conclusions that the cases are unfounded and/or that they are false allegations (Goodman-Delahunty et al., 2016).¹

2 Beliefs related to the implications of the case assessment

In the above-mentioned Finnish study, researchers Finnila-Tuohimaa et al. (2009) also noted the relationship between the sensitivity of professionals (specifically social workers, child psychiatrists and psychologists) to suggestive elements in children's interrogations and their attitudes towards children and the criminal justice system. The Pro-Child Beliefs scale consisted of items such as "Children don't make up stories about CSA because they don't know anything about such things." Theoretically, achieving a high score on this scale may indicate a tendency to trust children unconditionally and rule out the possibility of false accusation, i.e., to ignore the rights of the accused person. The Anti-Criminal Justice System Scale included beliefs, such as punishments are not severe enough and perpetrators may be released as a result of dubious experts, lenient courts and sophisticated lawyers. The results of the research revealed that individuals who scored high on both scales when assessing suspected cases of CSA more likely assumed that CSA had occurred and believed that the suspect should be convicted in court. At the same time, their strong beliefs reduced their sensitivity to the presence of suggestive elements in children's interrogations. The beliefs and attitudes of professionals involved in clarifying suspected cases of CSA can influence how the evidence is perceived and what decisions are eventually reached.

Negative beliefs of professionals about the functionality of the system may also affect whether helping professionals who come into contact with suspected CSA victims will comply with the statutory reporting obligation at all. For instance, as shown by Swedish research (Talsma et al., 2015), doctors did not fulfill the reporting obligation because only 30 % of them believed that the child welfare office would investigate the case and act properly. Distrust in the child welfare system was also among the dominant causes of non-compliance with the reporting obligation in research carried out on a sample of American teachers. However, the main reason was the fear that they were wrong in their suspicion (Kenny, 2001); from which it can be concluded that they were more convinced of the importance of the presumption of innocence principle and the need to protect the reputation of the suspected perpetrator than of the need to protect the rights and interests of the suspected victim.

U.S. researchers Everson and Sandoval (2011) addressed the oft-observed phenomenon that evaluators examining the same evidence often come to significantly different conclusions in forensic assessment of suspected CSA cases. The aim of their research was to try to identify and quantify the subjective factors that contribute to such discrepancies. The research sample consisted of 1,106 professionals working in various positions, in which they participated in the forensic assessment of suspected cases of CSA (they were experts in the field of child welfare,

¹ Explanation of the so-called counterintuitive reactions of CSA victims is available in Slovak in the study of Karkošková (2015).

mental health experts, police investigators and prosecutors). The researchers found that the evaluators' discrepancies about suspected CSA could be partly explained by individual differences in score levels on scales measuring three attitudes related to forensic decision-making:

1. emphasis on **sensitivity** – i.e., focusing on minimizing the occurrence of false negative errors to prevent the actual victim of CSA from not being identified and cared for;
2. emphasis on **specificity** – focusing on minimizing false positive errors so that an innocent person is not convicted;
3. **skepticism** about children's testimony – individuals with a high degree of skepticism, approach suspected cases of CSA with the a priori belief that a high percentage of CSA cases are false.

Researchers note that skepticism and the emphasis on specificity are interrelated but are not synonymous. Individuals who score high on the scale of skepticism are more likely to emphasize specificity when making decisions. However, the opposite is not always true. One can place considerable emphasis on specificity without being prejudiced against children's testimonies about CSA. Similarly, emphasizing sensitivity over specificity does not require the belief that all (or most) cases of CSA are true (Everson & Sandoval, 2011). In any case, the three attitudes mentioned above act as prejudices or predispositions to perceive suspected cases of CSA as rather true or rather false (Everson & Sandoval, 2011).

When comparing different professions, the researchers found that workers from child protection services achieved significantly higher scores on the scale of specificity and skepticism than other professions, but they scored well below the average on the scale of sensitivity. Based on such results, they can be more likely expected to *not* believe in CSA suspicions. The attitude profile of workers from child protection services does not correspond with traditional views on their role. Suspected cases of CSA, which often enter the system through the child protection service, should be sensitively captured. A more in-depth investigation into whether the suspicions are substantiated should ideally be carried out in cooperation with other players in the system (including the police, the prosecutor's office, the courts, forensic experts). However, in most cases this will not happen. Thus, if child protection service workers set standards for substantiating allegations that are too high, there is a risk of many true cases of CSA being assessed as unsubstantiated, and victims will not receive assistance (Everson & Sandoval, 2011).

Dutch researchers Bartelink et al. (2018) carried out research on a sample of social workers from child protection services. The participants in the research were presented with a hypothetical case in which a primary school teacher filed an incentive with the child protection service to investigate a suspicion that a child was being abused at home. Participants were to determine if they considered the suspicion to be well-founded, to assess the risk to the child and to recommend interventions, including answering the question of whether the child should be removed from the family. It turned out that the decisive influence on their assessment was not the case characteristics or expectations regarding possible interventions (advantages and limitations of different interventions), but above all, subjective beliefs in relation to the removal of the child from the family in general. Professionals who inclined towards the removal of a child from the family, assessed the risk for the child as increased and were more prone to place the child in foster care. Professionals who decided that the child should stay at home emphasized the importance of the biological family. Similarly, earlier Irish research (Spratt et

al., 2015) revealed that professionals tend to subordinate their child welfare decisions to the values they prefer: either child protection or family preservation.

3 Beliefs about one's own objectivity and expertise

Probably the most sophisticated theory of human reasoning, known as dual process theory (Kahneman, 2012), points out that two different systems play a role in our decision-making processes. In the first system, the way of decision-making and finding solutions is based on intuition and association and is therefore very adaptable and fast, because it requires less involvement of cognitive functions. The second system, on the other hand, is more analytical, relies on facts and normative rules, and therefore requires more cognitive resources, which may not be available (Kahneman, 2012). System 1 acts unconsciously in decision-making and automatically processes and interprets the information obtained; it is therefore referred to as an intuitive model. System 2, on the other hand, works with abstract concepts and hypotheses, and its involvement requires concentration, time, and energy; it is often referred to as an analytical model.

Professionals dealing with difficult cases need to extract from the large amount of information those pieces that are needed for the case, having only limited time and cognitive capacity at their disposal. Therefore, many decisions are made through some kind of mental abbreviations (heuristics), leading to the achievement of answers that are fast, but may not always be correct (Martino Baráková, 2020). It is clear that cognitive bias is often behind professionals' decisions (Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al., 2005, 2009; Gambrill, 2008; MacLean et al., 2019; Petherick, 2020), with the following being particularly relevant in the context of CSA suspicions:

- **Patternicity (apophenia)** – the tendency to perceive patterns in the data even when there is no pattern in them (Petherick, 2020); originally defined as the tendency to find meaningful patterns in meaningless noise (Shermer, 2008). It may be the result of an adaptive tendency to reduce complex patterns of information to simplified forms or explanations (Petherick, 2020). This cognitive error becomes particularly problematic when the discovery of a non-existent semantic pattern is combined with confirmatory bias (Petherick, 2020).
- **Confirmatory bias** – the tendency to seek, interpret, prioritize, and recall information in a way that confirms our existing beliefs or hypotheses, with disproportionately less attention being paid to alternatives (Nickerson, 1998).
- **Availability bias** – the occurrence of a certain phenomenon is assessed on the basis of how easily the examples of the given phenomenon come to mind and not on the basis of how frequent the given phenomenon actually is. If some phenomena are often mentioned in private, in the workplace or in the media, they appear to be more widespread than they really are (Tversky & Kahneman, 1973). Professionals may exaggerate the likelihood of certain phenomena, e.g. those they often encounter. This means that those who come across many cases of suspected CSA in their work may tend to overestimate the likelihood of CSA (Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al., 2005).
- **Anchoring** – the tendency to give more weight to the information we encountered initially than to the subsequent information (Kahneman et al., 1982). However, the initial information may not be relevant, complete or true at all and may adversely affect judgment. Professionals are often exposed to conflicting information and may have difficulty reformulating the original hypothesis in the light of information subsequently obtained.
- **Representativeness heuristic (representative thinking)** (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974) – this means that professionals with clinical practice combine a certain problem with a certain characteristic, forgetting that it is possible to have this characteristic without the problem.

Because clinicians may be in a constant contact with people who have a given problem and have a given characteristic, they conclude that each new client with both criteria provides feedback confirming that people with the problem also have that characteristic. For instance, sexualized behavior in children is often considered the evidence of CSA, although according to research, no specific behavioral symptom can be considered definitive evidence of CSA (Friedrich, 1995). This error can only be corrected by clinical practice based on research findings, not on impressions (Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al., 2005).

- **Bias blind spot** – is a cognitive bias in which a person can recognize the effect of cognitive bias in other people, but not in himself/herself. As a result of this bias, the person is subconsciously convinced that his/her views are correct and objective compared to the views of others (Pronin et al., 2002).
- **Dunning-Kruger effect** (Kruger & Dunning, 1999; Krueger & Mueller, 2002) – it states that the relationship between competence and self-confidence may not be directly proportional. When knowledge is low, self-confidence tends to be high because the individual lacks an understanding of exactly how much he/she does not know. With increasing knowledge, self-confidence tends to decrease as the individual begins to comprehend the scope of the problem and admits how little he/she knows about the domain of inquiry. As the level of knowledge increases even more, self-confidence also increases slightly, as the person begins to develop a sense of mastery. Ideally, self-confidence should never exceed knowledge (Petherick, 2020).

Cognitive bias may come from three different categories of sources: (1) a specific case – something about that case causes bias in how the data is perceived, analyzed and interpreted; (2) a specific evaluator – something about a specific person assessing a case (e.g. experience, personality, motivation, personal ideology and beliefs, coping with stress and fatigue, the need to close a case) can cause bias; (3) the natural cognitive architecture of the human brain which we all share regardless of the specific case or the specific person of the evaluator (Dror, 2020).

Uncertainty is an essential element in the investigation of CSA cases. Research on judgment and decision making identified several problems of human judgment in situations of uncertainty, including a wide range of cognitive biases (Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al., 2005, 2009), which can lead to selective information handling, lack of critical thinking, and failure to consider alternative hypotheses, which can reduce the quality of decisions (Gambrill, 2008; Munro, 1999; Saltiel, 2015). When evaluating complex and uncertain information (evidence), professionals should properly start with a judgment based on the base-rate probabilities of a given event or phenomenon and then adjust these probabilities based on new information (the so-called Bayesian approach).² However, this is often not the case (Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al., 2005, 2009). One of the reasons is that professionals do not know the relevant research data on the incidence of certain phenomena, e.g. relevant data on the prevalence of CSA or on the prevalence of false accusations of CSA.

Research studies that also analyzed the relationship between the length of practice, beliefs, scientific knowledge and assessment of one's own expertise on a sample of professionals involved in investigating CSA cases (Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al., 2005) and judicial decisions in relation to CSA cases (Korkman et al., 2014) showed that professionals relied more on their professional experience than on scientific knowledge to assess the level of their own expertise in relation to the assessment of CSA cases. However, relying on professional experience is highly risky. Meta-analyses of studies examining the relationship between experience and the

² For more information on the importance of Bayesian reasoning in the forensic sciences, see e.g. Vrtiška, (2018).

accuracy of clinical judgment concluded that experience alone has a negligible impact on judgment accuracy (Spengler et al., 2009; Faust & Faust, 2012). At the same time, researchers noticed one unfortunate consequence of extensive practice (experience) - namely, that over time, experienced professionals gain an increasing sense of certainty about the correctness of their judgments - and this is happening without a real improvement in judgment (Faust & Faust, 2012; Korkman et al., 2014; Pelisoli et al., 2015).

The length of practice and the associated professional experience with CSA cases is not a guarantee of expertise, as professionals may be prejudicial and may lack objective feedback (Dawes et al., 1989; Garb, 2005; Finnillä-Tuohimaa et al., 2008, 2009; Spengler et al., 2009; Bridges et al., 2009; Korkman et al., 2014; Pelisoli et al., 2015). The individual can only learn from experience correctly if he/she receives unbiased and accurate feedback on the conclusions he/she has reached (Dawes et al., 1989). In this regard, Bridges et al. (2009) note that whenever experts make a mistake in assessing suspected CSA cases, they are unlikely to be aware of it; and without clear feedback on the correctness of their conclusions, how can they use their experience to improve their decisions and methods? An expert who claims that via practical experience, he/she can distinguish between sexually abused and non-abused children, almost certainly bases his/her claim on evidence with serious deficiencies and may suffer from false self-confidence (Bridges et al., 2009). Research shows that professional experience alone does not correct misconceptions and does not increase expertise in relation to CSA issues (Finnillä-Tuohimaa et al., 2008, 2009; Korkman et al. 2014). On the contrary, with the length of professional practice, persuasion in bias can also increase (or in the correctness of one's own misconception) (Pelisoli et al., 2015). More experienced professionals tend to have a more intuitive approach to assessing CSA cases (Finnillä-Tuohimaa et al., 2008). Many professionals may not be aware of the problems associated with learning from experience, as they have been socialised in their profession to believe that their practice is objective, and that prejudice rather concerns others (Finnillä-Tuohimaa et al. 2005; Neal & Brodsky 2014).

Although, in general, professionals by virtue of their profession are not automatically immune to the various cognitive biases in the assessment of the cases they deal with, particular concerns about their objectivity arise in situations where they assess the case on the basis of private requests from those affected. Research looking at the ability of experts to maintain objectivity and accuracy when hired to carry out a private expert opinion has reached alarming conclusions. In such situations, experts tend to "abandon objectivity" and become "advocates" for the party that hired them. Research has shown that different experts can reach conflicting conclusions in relation to the same person under investigation, even if they use procedures designed to increase objectivity and reliability. Although the subject examined achieved the same score in the same test, the results were interpreted differently by different experts (Murrie et al. 2013; Murrie & Boccaccini 2015; Guarnera et al. 2017). This phenomenon also applies to the interpretation of scores in tests designed to assess the risk of sex offenders (Chevalier et al. 2015). The mechanism behind this phenomenon is probably similar to subconscious heuristics and cognitive biases, which disrupt judgment in many other situations as well.

4 How can the assessment of child sexual abuse cases be improved?

In order to improve practice and reduce errors in the assessment of the cases in question, several strategies need to be applied. The starting strategy should be the continuous training of relevant professionals. In order to eliminate widespread misconceptions about CSA, participants should be confronted with current scientific knowledge on CSA issues, encouraged to reflect on their own beliefs that may influence the assessment of cases, get acquainted with the difficulties of human judgment in situations of uncertainty, and be led to the acquisition of the so-called

Bayesian reasoning and effective methods to eliminate cognitive bias (Bartelink et al., 2018; Finnialä-Tuohimaa et al., 2005, 2008, 2009; Korkman et al., 2014; Pelisoli et al., 2015; Petherick, 2020).

The first step in dealing with cognitive biases is to recognize their existence and the impact they can have on hard-working, determined and skilled professionals. In this context, Dror (2020) speaks of the need to get rid of the six misconceptions about cognitive biases that professionals often have: (1) that it is only a matter of personality, integrity and morality (i.e., that bias applies only to corrupt and ruthless individuals); (2) that it is a question of competence; i.e., it only happens to professionals who do not know how to do their job properly; (3) that experts are impartial and immune to cognitive bias; (4) that the use of modern technology or artificial intelligence guarantees protection against human prejudice; (5) that other experts, but not me, are affected by the bias; (6) that if I realize that biases can affect me³, I can control them by force of will.

Precise work with hypotheses is considered to be an effective strategy for eliminating various biases. After a thorough collection and acquaintance with the information on the case, it is necessary to develop a range of alternative hypotheses that take into account each possibility or probability. Subsequently, each hypothesis should be tested on the basis of the available facts, and efforts should be made to refute it rather than confirm it. If, however, there are still several hypotheses that cannot be definitively ruled out, it is necessary to proceed with an exploration of competing hypotheses, in which a summary of the evidence supporting (+) or refuting (-) each hypothesis is made and the hypothesis with the highest support (the most +) is finally used as a working hypothesis for a given case (Petherick, 2020; Berman & Killeen, 2019).

Furthermore, it is necessary to build a culture of evidence, not belief (Petherick, 2020). An effective way of protection against errors and failures is to follow the evidence - to take into account the data available and the data that are missing and to reflect how it limits our analysis and what follows from this in relation to the conclusions drawn in a particular case (Petherick, 2020). Ideally, the evaluator (e.g. the forensic expert) will have information that is highly valid, highly reliable and sufficient. The further the situation moves from the ideal, the more room there is for speculation. In any case, the weight of evidence should be clearly communicated and the evaluator's conclusions should be formulated in probability categories (Petherick, 2020). Undoubtedly, the subject of the supervision of suspected CSA cases should also be the examination of the potential presence and impact of personal beliefs of helping professionals in decision-making processes.

In the case of expert opinions, in order to increase their objectivity, it is recommended to submit a draft to an independent review (Otgaard et al., 2017; Petherick, 2020). The reviewer should not know whose work he/she is evaluating and at the same time the evaluated person should not know who the reviewer is. The reviewer's role is to examine the draft, to determine whether the expert has carefully used the scientific literature and information in the file to support his/her hypotheses and conclusions, and to make critical comments if necessary.⁴

Everson and Sandoval (2011) state that a multidisciplinary approach to case assessment may be particularly useful in order to provide alternative perspectives and reduce individual

³Many professionals mistakenly believe that **introspection** is the most useful strategy to prevent cognitive bias and prejudice. In fact, this strategy is ineffective and may even exacerbate prejudice; when looking inward, the professional does not notice any bias and succumbs to a false sense of reassurance (Neal & Brodsky 2016; MacLean et al. 2019).

⁴ Such an approach (independent review of the draft) is a common practice among Dutch forensic psychologists (Otgaard et al., 2017).

prejudices. However, the impact of such a group approach on the final outcomes of the case assessment process has not yet been sufficiently scientifically examined (Capacity Building Center for States, 2017). In this context, it should be noted that the bias does not affect only the individual in isolation or only one aspect of the work; often the bias cascades from one person to another, from one aspect of work to another and affects various elements of the investigation and assessment of a case (Dror, 2020).

In addition to the above-mentioned strategies, one should bear in mind that activating the analytical model of reasoning (as opposed to intuitive) requires not only an awareness of the risks of various biases, but also sufficient time and energy. In order for evaluators to focus fully on the specific task, “slowing down” workplace strategies are recommended (Neal & Brodsky, 2016, p. 60). An excessive number of assigned cases and time pressure push the evaluator's thinking more into the sphere of intuition and cognitive abbreviations, which can negatively affect the quality of decisions (Martino Baráková, 2020).

Conclusion

CSA cases are often a confusing mosaic of complex data. The present study has shown that the ability to identify, integrate and draw reasonably correct conclusions from multidimensional and complex data without being influenced by cognitive biases and prejudices requires not only expertise but also good decision-making skills reflecting the difficulties of human judgment in situations of uncertainty. Affiliation to a certain helping profession and the length of practice do not in themselves guarantee that the helping professional has knowledge that is in line with the current state of scientific knowledge in relation to CSA. Previous research has shown that members of various helping professions have many misconceptions that can lead to errors in identifying, investigating and assessing suspected CSA cases. If for instance judges are carriers of prejudices or if they do not notice the bias of other professionals who are involved in clarifying CSA cases, judgments may be prone to error (Korkman et al., 2014). Errors in assessing CSA cases cannot be completely eliminated, but to understand how they arise and what far-reaching consequences for the lives of the persons concerned they may have can motivate the introduction of measures to achieve improvements in the processes of assessing these difficult cases. This represents a special challenge for the Slovak context, in which the issue in question has not yet been properly reflected either in application practice or in professional and scientific publications. We consider the main benefit of this study to be the filling of the mentioned gap in the literature.

Given that no research has yet been carried out in Slovakia to map the nature and occurrence of various beliefs of professionals coming into contact with CSA cases, along with the impact on decision-making processes, the present study may be an inspiration for preparing research projects with this focus.

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PRESVEDČENIA POMÁHAJÚCICH PROFESIONÁLOV V KONTEXTE POSÚDENIA SEXUÁLNEHO ZNEUŽÍVANIA DETÍ

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Abstrakt:

Pozadie problematiky: Sexuálne zneužívanie detí (CSA, z angl. *child sexual abuse*) patrí medzi závažné sociálno-patologické javy. Jeho identifikácia je však náročná a späť s rizikom mylne pozitívnych i mylne negatívnych záverov, s d'alekosiahlymi následkami na životy dotknutých osôb. Nesprávneho posúdenia suspektných prípadov CSA sa môžu dopustiť nielen laici, ale i intervenujúci profesionáli, ktorí zhromažďujú a vyhodnocujú informácie, zvažujú ďalšie postupy a prijímajú rozhodnutia.

Ciel: Cieľom predloženej prehľadovej štúdie je sumarizácia aktuálnych vedeckých poznatkov prinášajúcich odpovede na dve klíčové otázky: (1) čo prispieva k chybám vo vyhodnocovaní relevantných prípadov; a (2) ako týmto chybám možno predchádzať.

Metóda: Predošlé výskumy ukázali, že osobné presvedčenia významne ovplyvňujú procesy, pomocou ktorých jednotlivci vyhľadávajú, uchovávajú a interpretujú príslušné informácie (Kahneman et al., 1982). Na účely tejto štúdie boli v databázach vedeckých publikácií vyhľadávané prioritne výskumy, ktoré mapovali presvedčenia pomáhaјúcich profesionálov vo vzťahu k problematike CSA, a následne aj texty pojednávajúce o stratégiách zameraných na redukovanie chýb v procesoch posudzovania relevantných prípadov.

Výsledky: Identifikovali sme tri významné skupiny presvedčení pomáhaјúcich profesionálov, ktoré môžu viesť k nesprávnemu posúdeniu suspektných prípadov CSA:

(1) Mylné presvedčenia o CSA – najmä: (a) o prevalencii a charaktere CSA (vrátane napr. predpokladu, že CSA zvyčajne zahŕňa použitie fyzickej sily a pohlavný styk); (b) o páchateloch CSA (napr. že musí íst o psychicky narušených či chorých jedincov; že CSA spáchané ženou, má na obete menej škodlivý vplyv než CSA, kde páchatelom je muž; že v roli páchatelia nemôže byť rovesník obete); (c) o reakciách obetí na sexuálne zneužívanie (vrátane napr. dynamiky zdôverenia sa o zážitkoch CSA; dynamiky správania sa v ďalšom kontakte s páchatelom); (d) o pamäťovom výkone detských obetí počas forenzného výsluchu (najmä pokial' ide o očakávané množstvo detailov a konzistenciu výpovede); (e) o spôsobe vedenia výsluchu u detí, ktoré sú suspektnými obeťami CSA (vrátane napr. senzitívity profesionálov na sugestívne techniky použité pri výsluchoch detí); (f) o spôsobe diagnostiky CSA (vrátane predpokladu, že napr. pozorovanie voľnej hry je dobrou metódou na posúdenie podozrení z CSA); (g) o frekvencii výskytu krivých obvinení.

(2) Presvedčenia súvisiace s dôsledkami posúdenia prípadu – najmä: (a) prílišná dôvera voči výpovedi detí verus skepticizmus (niektorí profesionáli môžu mať tendenciu vylučovať možnosť krivého obvinenia, a teda neberať veľký ohľad na práva obvinenej osoby, zatiaľ čo jedinci s vysokou mierou skepticizmu pristupujú k suspektným prípadom CSA s apriorným presvedčením, že vysoké percento prípadov CSA je falosných, a teda neberú veľký ohľad na práva a záujmy suspektnej obete); (b) presvedčenia o tom, nakoľko funkčný je systém sociálnoprávnej ochrany detí (pričom nedôvera v tento systém môže podnecovať to, že profesionáli si neplnia oznamovaciu povinnosť vo vzťahu k suspektným prípadom CSA); (c) dôraz na senzitivitu verus špecifickosť (teda bud' sústredenie sa na minimalizáciu výskytu mylne negatívnych záverov, aby nedošlo k tomu, že skutočná obeť CSA nebude identifikovaná a neposkytne sa jej starostlivosť; alebo sústredenie sa na minimalizáciu mylne pozitívnych záverov, aby nedošlo k tomu, že nevinná osoba bude odsúdená); (d) presvedčenia vo vzťahu k vyňatiu dieťaťa z rodiny.



(3) Presvedčenia o vlastnej objektivite a expertíze – najmä časté mylné presvedčenie profesionálov, že s narastajúcou dĺžkou praxe a množstvom skúseností s prípadmi CSA sa automaticky zvyšuje aj úroveň expertízy v predmetnej problematike. Skúsení odborníci avšak môžu byť nositeľmi predsudkov a zároveň byť presvedčení o správnosti vlastného mylného presvedčenia. U skúsenejších profesionálov sa zároveň objavuje tendencia mať intuitívnejší prístup k posudzovaniu prípadov CSA. V tomto ohľade zohrávajú negatívnu rolu rôzne kognitívne skreslenia (najmä dotváranie významu, konfirmačné skreslenie, heuristika dostupnosti a reprezentatívnosti, kotvenie, kognitívna slepá škvRNA a tzv. Dunningov-Krugerov efekt).

Prehľadová štúdia odporúča za účelom zlepšenia praxe a redukovania chýb v posudzovaní predmetných prípadov na záver viacero stratégii. Zdôrazňuje dôležitosť úlohy kontinuálneho vzdelávania relevantných profesionálov v zmysle konfrontácie účastníkov s aktuálnymi vedeckými poznatkami týkajúcimi sa problematiky CSA; povzbudzovanie pomáhajúcich profesionálov k reflektovaniu vlastných presvedčení, ktoré môžu mať vplyv na posúdenie predmetných prípadov; odporúča osvojovanie si tzv. Bayeziánskeho usudzovania a efektívnych metód na elimináciu kognitívnych skreslení. Za efektívnu strategiu eliminácie rôznych predpojatostí zároveň považuje precíznu prácu s hypotézami, váženie dôkazov, supervíziu, v prípade znaleckých posudkov ich podrobovanie nezávislej recenzii a spomalenie pracovných stratégii. Okrem uvedeného navrhuje multidisciplinárny tímový prístup k posudzovaniu prípadov CSA, hoci kriticky konštatuje, že vplyv skupinového prístupu na konečné výsledky procesu posúdenia prípadov zatiaľ neboli dostatočne vedecky preskúmaný.

Záver a implikácie: Štúdia akcentuje, že v procese posúdenia prípadov CSA zohrávajú významnú úlohu presvedčenia pomáhajúcich profesionálov a zručnosti v rozhodovacích procesoch, a že bez cielenej aplikácie efektívnych stratégii na elimináciu rôznych kognitívnych skreslení a predsudkov je kvalita posúdenia predmetných prípadov ohrozená. Obsah prehľadovej štúdie môže byť užitočný pre príslušníkov rôznych pomáhajúcich profesii (najmä pedagógov, psychológov, psychiatrov, sociálnych pracovníkov, policajtov, prokurátorov a súdcov), ktorí v praxi prichádzajú do kontaktu so suspektnými prípadmi CSA. Hoci obsah štúdie vychádza z výsledkov zahraničných výskumov, v kontexte Slovenska má aplikačný potenciál najmä vo vzťahu k príprave obsahov kontinuálneho vzdelávania profesionálov, vo vzťahu k zameraniu supervízie v pomáhajúcich profesiách, či vo vzťahu k dizajnovaniu slovenských výskumných projektov so zameraním na predmetné otázky.

Kľúčové slová: Sexuálne zneužívanie detí (CSA). Osobné presvedčenia. Predpojatosť. Heuristiky. Rozhodovacie procesy.

Úvod

Sexuálne zneužívanie detí (ďalej len CSA, z angl. *child sexual abuse*) patrí medzi závažné sociálno-patologické javy, s potenciálom celého spektra dlhodobých negatívnych následkov na kvalitu života obetí (Karkošková, 2014). Podľa jednej z najnovších metaanalýz sa globálny výskyt CSA pohybuje v rozmedzí od 8 do 31% u žien a od 3 do 17% u mužov (Barth et al., 2013). Výsledky vybraných štúdií pochádzajúcich z 11 krajín Európy ukazujú, že penetratívne formy CSA zažilo 2,9 – 10,5 % dievčat a 0,6 – 5,5 % chlapcov; zatiaľ čo pri použití širšej definície kontaktných foriem CSA sa ich výskyt pohyboval v rozpätí 10 – 39,8 % u dievčat a 6 – 16,2 % u chlapcov (Lalor & McElvaney, 2011). Podľa nedávneho Slovenského výskumu (Karkoskova & Ropovik, 2019) do dovršenia 18-roku veku sa penetratívne formy CSA vyskytli u 5,6 % dievčat a 1,3% chlapcov, dotykové formy CSA zažilo až 30,2% dievčat a 11,6% chlapcov a skúsenosť s nedotykovými formami CSA priznalo 40,6% dievčat a 17,7% chlapcov. Viac ako polovica incidentov CSA sa odohrala v postpubescentnom období.

Identifikácia prípadov CSA je limitovaná viacerými faktormi, vrátane napr. toho, či dieťa vykazuje symptómy, ktoré by vzbudili u sociálneho okolia obavy o dieťa a následný záujem zistíť, či sa mu niečo neprihodilo; či sa detská obet so svojou skúsenosťou zdôverí; ako zareaguje osoba, ktorej sa dieťa zdôverilo; či sa prípad dostane do pozornosti kompetentných orgánov (sociálnoprávnej ochrany a/alebo orgánov činných v trestnom konaní); akým spôsobom sa prípad prešetruje; či sa k prípadu podarí zhromaždiť dostatok dôkazov; a či sú zhromaždené dôkazy správne vyhodnotené (Karkošková & Mikulášková, 2018).

V rôznych štádiách potenciálnej identifikácie prípadov CSA môže dôjsť k chybám dvojakého druhu (Bridges et al., 2009; Pelisoli et al., 2015): (1) mylný negatívny záver (*false negative*): záver, že dieťa nebolo sexuálne zneužívané pričom ale v skutočnosti ono je obeťou CSA; (2) mylný pozitívny záver (*false positive*): záver, že dieťa bolo sexuálne zneužívané hoci v skutočnosti tomu tak nie je. Ktorýkoľvek chybný záver je vysoko nežiadúci – tak vo vzťahu k obetiam ako i páchateľom (Bolen, 2001; Staller & Vandervort, 2010). **Myrne pozitívne závery** ohľadne CSA môžu viest' k trestnému stíhaniu nevinných osôb; k ich sociálnej stigmatizácii (prejavy nedôvery a morálneho odsúdenia zo strany sociálneho okolia); k narušeniu rodinných a iných blízkych vzťahov; k strate zamestnania; k finančným stratám; a/alebo k iným negatívnym následkom na kvalitu života dotknutej osoby a jej blízkych. Popri negatívnich následkoch dopadajúcich na údajných páchateľov CSA, môžu myrne pozitívne závery ohľadne CSA viest' aj k narušeniu psychosociálneho vývoja údajných obetí a k ďalším negatívnym následkom na strane zainteresovaných inštitúcií. Na druhej strane **myrne negatívne závery** môžu narúšať alebo blokovať prístup obetí k primeranej starostlivosti a ochrane; môžu aktuálne a potenciálne obete páchateľa vystaviť riziku ďalšieho zneužívania v budúcnosti; môžu prispieť k rozvoju celého spektra dlhodobých negatívnych následkov na život obetí CSA (Ullman & Filipas, 2005) (vrátane narušenia sociálnych vzťahov a sociálnej stigmatizácie); nevymožiteľnosť práva môže byť sama o sebe zdrojom psychického utrpenia, atď.

Nesprávneho posúdenia suspektných prípadov CSA sa môžu dopustiť nie len laici, ale i relevantní pomáhajúci profesionáli (najmä pedagógovia, psychológovia, psychiatri, sociálni pracovníci, policajti, prokurátori a sudcovia), ktorí v rôznych štádiach zhromažďujú a vyhodnocujú informácie, zvažujú ďalšie postupy a prijímajú rozhodnutia. V tomto kontexte sa ako kľúčová javí byť otázka, čo prispieva k chybám vo vyhodnocovaní relevantných prípadov; a následne aj otázka, ako týmto chybám možno predchádzať?

Je zrejmé, že rozhodovacie procesy sú ovplyvnené rôznymi faktormi, vrátane: (1) faktorov súvisiacich s posudzovaným prípadom, (2) organizačných faktorov, (3) externých vplyvov a (4) faktorov na strane samotného posudzovateľa (Baumann et al., 2011). Podrobnejšia analýza všetkých uvedených skupín faktorov presahuje limity tejto štúdie. Pozornosť preto zameriame iba na rolu osobných presvedčení posudzovateľa. Predošlé výskumy totiž ukázali, že osobné presvedčenia významne ovplyvňujú procesy, pomocou ktorých jednotlivci vyhľadávajú, uchovávajú a interpretujú príslušné informácie (Kahneman et al., 1982).

1 Myrne presvedčenia o sexuálnom zneužívaní detí

Kite a Tyson (2004) vo výskume realizovanom na vzorke austrálskych policajtov, ktorým boli predložené hypotetické scenáre CSA, zistili, že títo mali tendenciu odlišne pristupovať k prípadom CSA v závislosti od toho, či páchateľom bol muž alebo žena. Boli presvedčení, že CSA spáchané ženou, má na obete menej škodlivý vplyv než CSA, kde páchateľom je muž. Takéto presvedčenie môže znižovať rozpoznávanie žien ako páchateliek CSA a viest' k podceňovaniu vyšetrovania relevantných prípadov CSA. Zistenia austrálskych výskumníkov potvrdzovali zistenia plynúce zo staršieho anglického výskumu, ktorý realizovali Hetherington a Beardsall (1998) na vzorke policajtov a sociálnych pracovníkov v Anglicku.

Vo fínskom výskume (Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al., 2005), kde účastníkmi boli sociálni pracovníci pracujúci s deťmi, detskí psychiatri a detskí psychológovia, sa ukázalo, že títo profesionáli nie sú veľmi oboznámení s vedeckou literatúrou zameranou na problematiku vyšetrovania predmetnej problematiky. Hoci sa podieľajú na vyšetrovaní prípadov CSA, vykazujú silné

presvedčenia, ktoré nie sú v súlade s vedeckými poznatkami. To môže ovplyvniť ich úsudok pri vyhodnocovaní prípadov CSA a v konečnom dôsledku aj celkový výsledok vyšetrovania.

Austrálka výskumníčka Shackel (2008) spracovala prehľadovú štúdiu o dovtedajších výskumoch, ktoré sledovali aké presvedčenia majú dospelí ľudia o reakciách detí na sexuálnu viktimizáciu. Jej štúdia ukázala, že mnoho ľudí v spoločnosti, vrátane niektorých profesionálov je mylne presvedčených o tom, že oneskorené zdôverenia sa, odvolanie pôvodnej výpovede, a nezrovnalosti vo výpovedi sú nezvyčajné a svedčiace o tom, že obvinenia z CSA sú vymyslené; že obete CSA sa zvyčajne páchatel'ov boja a neprejavujú im lásku; a že väčšina obetí vykazuje zjavné negatívne emočné a behaviorálne symptómy CSA. Navyše, mnoho ľudí sa tiež mylne domnieva, že väčšina prípadov CSA zahŕňa použitie fyzickej sily a pohlavný styk a že v prípadoch CSA zvyčajne existujú fyzické nálezy svedčiace o CSA. Shackel (2008) konštatovala, že mylné presvedčenia o CSA sú nepochybne pervazívne.

Osobitne na vzorke detských psychológov boli presvedčenia vo vzťahu k CSA skúmané finskym tímom Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al. (2008). Značná časť účastníkov výskumu mala mylné presvedčenia o správnom spôsobe vedenia výsluchu a o schopnostiach profesionálov diagnostikovať CSA či odhaliť klamstvo. V priemere účastníci výskumu odpovedali nesprávne na 20% z 19 faktických otázok (tie boli predkladané vo forme tvrdení, ktorých správnosť alebo nesprávnosť bola jednoznačná s ohľadom na súčasnú úroveň vedeckého poznania). Iba 4,5 % účastníkov zodpovedalo všetky faktické otázky správne. 2% účastníkov uviedlo nesprávne odpoveď na viac než 50% faktických otázok. Výskumníci konštatovali znepokojenie nad tým, že niektoré mylné presvedčenia súvisiace s vyšetrovaním CSA sú bežné medzi psychológmi, ktorí sa potenciálne zaoberajú suspektnými prípadmi CSA, a že existujú psychológovia, ktorí majú vskutku veľké množstvo mylných presvedčení. To môže viest' k závažným chybám vo vyšetrovaní CSA, jednak v spojitosti s použitými metódami vyšetrovania a jednak vo vzťahu k rozhodovacím procesom.

Ďalší finský výskum (Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al., 2009) sa zameral na úroveň expertízy u troch skupín profesionálov (sociálni pracovníci, detskí psychiatri a psychológovia mimo privátnej praxe), ktoré sa vo Fínsku tímovou formou podieľajú na vyšetrovaní prípadov CSA. Títo profesionáli môžu participovať na všetkých častiach vyšetrovania (vrátane výsluchov detí) a rovnocenným spôsobom prispievajú k záverom vyvodeným z vyšetrovania. Účastníkom výskumu boli okrem dotazníkov sledujúcich ich presvedčenia vo vzťahu k CSA, predložené aj spisové materiály (týkajúce sa prípadov CSA), ktoré v rôznej miere obsahovali sugestívne techniky použité pri výsluchoch detí, ako aj spisy, v ktorých transkripty výsluchov absentovali. Ukázalo sa, že participanti výskumu sú senzitívni voči prítomnosti navádzajúcich otázok ale prehliadajú iné sugestívne techniky, a zároveň prehliadajú možnosť použitia sugestívnych techník v prípadoch, kde transkript výsluchu v spise absentoval. Podľa výskumníkov ide o alarmujúce zistenie, pretože ak profesionáli nerozpoznávajú sugestívne vplyvy ako škodlivé, nedokážu podniknúť kroky, aby sa takýmto vplyvom vyhli v prípadoch, ked' sami vedú výsluchy detí. Rovnako nebezpečná môže byť aj slepá dôvera voči iným profesionálom, že výsluch dieťaťa realizovali nesugestívnym spôsobom, hoci transkript výsluchu k dispozícii nie je.

Švédski výskumníci (Azad & Leander, 2012) uskutočnili výskum na vzorke prokurátorov, vyšetrovateľov (ktorí realizujú vyšetrovanie prípadu a zvyčajne aj vedú výsluch dieťaťa) a právnikov, ktorí sú vo Švédskom právnom systéme pridelení obetiam sexuálnych trestných činov a ich hlavnou úlohou je poskytovať obetiam pomoc a podporu ohľadne ich práv a záujmov v trestnom konaní. Výskumníkov zaujímalo, aké presvedčenia a výskumné poznatky

týkajúce sa problematiky výpovedí detí títo profesionáli majú. Účastníci boli požiadani, aby sa vyjadrili, nakoľko sú deti vo výpovediach o CSA podrobne, konzistentne a spontánne; aký vplyv na ich výpoved' má ak boli vystavené opakovanému zneužívaniu; a aký je optimálny počet výsluchov u detí. Všetky tri skupiny účastníkov výskumu mylne predpokladali, že čím je dieťa staršie, tým viac podrobnosť vo výpovedi uvádza. Tento predpoklad sa môže premietat' pri vyhodnocovaní vierochnosti výpovede starších detí. Empirické zistenia však ukazujú, že bez ohľadu na vek môžu mať deti ľahkosť vypovedať o CSA a ich výpovede môžu byť neraz fragmentované a strohé pokial' ide o podrobnosť o sexuálnom zneužívaní (Bidrose & Goodman, 2000; Leander, 2010; Sjöberg & Lindblad, 2002). Účastníci výskumu mali taktiež tendenciu súhlasiť s tvrdením, že sexuálne zneužívané deti sú vo svojich výpovediach konzistentné. Ich presvedčenia však odporujú vedeckým poznatkom, podľa ktorých konzistentnosť výpovede nie je objektívnym indikátorom pravdivosti výpovede (Granhang & Strömwall, 1999). Pokial' ide o presvedčenia ohľadne vhodného počtu výsluchov detí, výskumníci zaznamenali veľký rozptyl odpovedí tak v rámci skupiny vyšetrovateľov ako aj v skupine právnikov. Odlišné presvedčenia medzi príslušníkmi tej istej profesnej skupiny môžu viest' k tomu, že to isté dieťa sa posudzuje odlišne v závislosti od toho, aké sú presvedčenia profesionálov, ktorí sú do prípadu zapojení.

Fínski výskumníci Korkman et al. (2014) realizovali výskum na vzorke sudcov. Dotazník pozostával z otázok zameraných na presvedčenia o prevalencii CSA v rôznych vekových obdobiach detstva, presvedčenia o páchateľoch a obetiach a presvedčenia o procese vyšetrovania. Približne štvrtina sudcov bola mylne presvedčená o tom, že typickým páchateľom CSA je biologický rodič dieťaťa. Tri-štvrtiny sudcov sa mylne domnievalo, že pozorovanie voľnej hry (free-play) je dobrou metódou na posúdenie podozrení z CSA. Mnoho sudcov malo nesprávne presvedčenia týkajúce sa sugestibility a sugestívnych techník; napr. viac než 40% sudcov bolo presvedčených, že použitie sugestívnych techník pri výslchu je užitočné, keď účelom je primäť dieťa, aby rozprávalo o zážitkoch CSA. Polovica sudcov sa domnievala, že žiadni profesionáli nepoužívajú pri práci s deťmi sugestívne techniky. Výskumníci vyjadrili znepokojenie z týchto výsledkov, pretože môžu indikovať, že sudcovia nie sú schopní identifikovať sugestívne techniky potenciálne prítomné vo výsluchoch detí.

Pelisoli et al. (2015) realizovali výskum na vzorke brazílskych a amerických profesionálov z radov psychológov, sociálnych pracovníkov a lekárov a zároveň aj na vzorke neprofesionálov z radov vysokoškolských študentov. Jedným z hlavných cieľov výskumu bolo zistiť, v akej miere účastníci disponujú poznatkami o empirických faktoch, ktoré sú dôležité pre optimálne forenzné posúdenie prípadov CSA a vyvodenie správnych záverov o validite obvinení z CSA. Účastníkom predložili 18-položkový dotazník, ktorý zahŕňal tvrdenia o výskytu CSA u chlapcov a dievčat, o dynamike zdôverovania sa obetí s ich skúsenosťou, o spoľahlivosti klinického úsudku, o pamäťových schopnostiach profesionálov vo vzťahu k realizovanému výslchu, o vplyve školení na zdokonalovanie sa vo vedení výsluchov, o vplyve dĺžky praxe na správnosť klinického úsudku, o schopnostiach profesionálov odhaliť klamstvo a o problematike sugestibility detí. Profesionáli správne odpovedali v priemere na 55% položiek. Iba 10% profesionálov dosahovalo 80% a viac správnych odpovedí. Výskumníci konštatovali, že mnoho profesionálov je nedostatočne informovaných o vedeckých poznatkoch, ktoré sú pre správne posúdenie prípadov CSA kľúčové.

Španielsky výskumný tím Márquez-Flores et al. (2016) zameral pozornosť na preskúmanie poznatkov a presvedčení o CSA na vzorke pedagógov pôsobiacich v predškolských zariadeniach, na základných i stredných školách, tak verejných ako i súkromných. Výskumníci

identifikovali u týchto pedagógov rôzne mylné presvedčenia, s dominantným zastúpením presvedčenia o patologickom profile páchateľov (že musí ísť o psychicky narušených či chorých, resp. značne nestabilných jedincov); ďalej presvedčenia o tom, že väčšina prípadov CSA zahŕňa nejakú formu násilia; či presvedčenia o tom, že v roli páchateľa nemôže byť rovesník obete; a že deti si CSA často vymýšľajú. Výskumníci podotýkajú, že takéto presvedčenia narúšajú možnosti identifikácie prípadov CSA a vedú k sekundárnej viktimizácii obetí, ktorá latenciu CSA ešte umocňuje.

Americkí výskumníci O'Donohue a Cirlugea (2016) poukazujú na to, že spôsob a výsledok vyšetrovania prípadov podozrení z CSA môže byť ovplyvnený aj presvedčeniami profesionálov o frekvencii výskytu krivých obvinení. Na základe analýzy doterajších výskumov týkajúcich sa predmetnej problematiky, zistili, že kým niektoré výskumy sa v tejto otázke opierali o profesionálny úsudok (respondentov) bez priblíženia kritérií, na základe ktorých bol úsudok sformovaný; iná časť výskumov používala varietu kritérií, z ktorých ale mnohé neboli empiricky potvrdené ako valídne indikátory krivých obvinení. Hoci neexistujú žiadne vedecké dôkazy nasvedčujúce tomu, žeby krivé (zlovoľné) obvinenia z CSA boli frekventovaným fenoménom, žeby tvorili väčšinu alebo čo i len značnú menšinu (*sizable minority*) spomedzi všetkých oznamených prípadov (O'Donohue & Cirlugea, 2016), mnohí profesionáli sú presvedčení o vysokom výskyte tohto javu i o svojej schopnosti ho rozpoznať. V tejto súvislosti viaceri autorov podotýka, že mylné, na intuíciu založené predpoklady a presvedčenia ľudí o tom, ako by skutočná obet' mala na CSA reagovať, môžu viest' k neadekvátnemu spochybňovaniu ich dôveryhodnosti (Cossins, 2006; Fanflik, 2007; The Crown Prosecution Service, 2013; National Crime Victim Law Institute, 2014), a k záverom o tom, že dané prípady sú nepodložené a/alebo že ide o krivé obvinenia (Goodman-Delahunty et al., 2016).¹

2 Presvedčenia súvisiace s dôsledkami posúdenia prípadu

Vo vyššie zmieňovanej fínskej štúdii si výskumníci Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al. (2009) všímali aj súvis medzi citlivosťou profesionálov (konkrétnie sociálnych pracovníkov, detských psychiatrov a psychológov) voči sugestívnym prvkom vo výsluchoch detí a ich postojmi voči deťom a trestnoprávnemu systému. Škála dôvery voči deťom (*Pro-Child Beliefs scale*) pozostávala z položiek ako napr. „deti si nevymýšľajú príbehy o CSA, pretože o takých veciach nič nevedia“. Teoreticky dosiahnutie vysokého skóre v tejto škále môže poukazovať na tendenci bezpodmienečne veriť deťom a vylučovať možnosť krivého obvinenia, teda nebrať veľký ohľad na práva obvinenej osoby. Škála negatívnych postojov voči systému trestnej justície (*Anti-Criminal Justice System Scale*) obsahovala presvedčenia typu: tresty nie sú dostatočne tvrdé a vinníci môžu byť prepustení v dôsledku pochybných odborníkov, zhovievavých súdov a dômyselných obhajcov. Výsledky výskumu odhalili, že jedinci dosahujúci vysoké skóre na oboch škálach pri posudzovaní suspektných prípadov CSA vo väčšej miere predpokladajú, že k CSA došlo a sú presvedčení, že podezrivá osoba by mala byť pred súdom usvedčená. Ich silné presvedčenia zároveň znížili ich senzitivitu voči prítomnosti sugestívnych prvkov vo výsluchoch detí. Presvedčenia a postoje profesionálov podielajúcich sa na objasňovaní suspektných prípadov CSA, môžu ovplyvniť to, ako sú dôkazy vnímané a k akým rozhodnutiam sa napokon dospeje.

¹ Vysvetlenie tzv. kontraintuitívnych reakcií obetí CSA je v slovenskom jazyku dostupné v štúdii Karkoškovej (2015).

Negatívne presvedčenia profesionálov vo vzťahu k funkčnosti systému môžu taktiež ovplyvniť to, či si pomáhajúci profesionáli, prichádzajúci do kontaktu so suspektnými obeťami CSA, vôbec splnia zákonom stanovenú oznamovaniu povinnosť. Napr. ako ukázal švédsky výskum (Talsma et al., 2015) lekári si neplnili oznamovaciu povinnosť aj preto, že iba 30% z nich malo dôveru v to, že úrad sociálnoprávnej ochrany detí prípad prešetri a bude náležite konáť. Nedôvera v systém sociálnoprávnej ochrany detí patrila medzi dominantné príčiny neplnenia si oznamovacej povinnosti aj vo výskume realizovanom na vzorke amerických pedagógov; hlavnom príčinou však bol strach, že sa vo svojom podozrení mýlia (Kenny, 2001); z čoho možno usudzovať, že boli viac presvedčení o význame princípu prezumpcie neviny a potrebe chrániť dobré meno suspektného páchateľa, než o potrebe chrániť práva a záujmy suspektnej obeť.

Americkí vedci Everson a Sandoval (2011) sa zaoberali často pozorovaným fenoménom, že hodnotitelia, ktorí skúmajú rovnaké dôkazy, často dospejú k podstatne odlišným záverom pri forenznom hodnotení prípadov suspektného CSA. Cieľom ich výskumu bolo pokúsiť sa identifikovať a kvantifikovať subjektívne faktory, ktoré prispievajú k takýmto nezhodám. Výskumnú vzorku tvorilo 1106 profesionálov pôsobiacich na rôznych pozíciah, v ktorých sa podieľali na forenznom posudzovaní suspektných prípadov CSA (boli to odborníci z oblasti sociálnoprávnej ochrany detí, odborníci na duševné zdravie, policajní vyšetrovatelia a prokurátori). Výskumníci zistili, že rozpory posudzovateľov ohľadne podozrení z CSA možno čiastočne vysvetliť individuálnymi rozdielmi vo výške skóre na škálach merajúcich tri postoje súvisiace s forenzným rozhodovaním:

1. dôraz na **senzitivitu** (*emphasis-on sensitivity*) – t.j. sústredenie sa na minimalizáciu výskytu mylne negatívnych záverov (*false negative error*), aby nedošlo k tomu, že skutočná obeť CSA nebude identifikovaná a neposkytne sa jej starostlivosť;
2. dôraz na **špecifickosť** (*emphasis-on-specificity*) – sústredenie sa na minimalizáciu mylne pozitívnych záverov (*false positive error*), aby nedošlo k tomu, že nevinná osoba bude odsúdená;
3. **skepticizmus** voči výpovedi detí – jedinci s vysokou mierou skepticizmu pristupujú k suspektným prípadom CSA s apriórnym presvedčením, že vysoké percento prípadov CSA je falošných.

Výskumníci poznamenávajú, že skepticizmus a dôraz na špecifickosť spolu súvisia, ale nie sú to synonymá. Jedinci, ktorí dosahujú vysoké skóre na škále skepticizmu s väčšou pravdepodobnosťou pri rozhodovaní kladú dôraz na špecifickosť. Avšak opačne to nie vždy platí. Človek môže klásiť značný dôraz na špecifickosť bez toho, aby bol predpojatý voči výpovedi detí o CSA. Podobne, zdôrazňovanie senzitivity oproti špecificite nevyžaduje presvedčenie, že všetky, alebo väčšina, prípadov CSA je pravdivá (Everson & Sandoval, 2011). Každopäťne, tri vyššie zmienené postoje fungujú ako predsudky alebo predispozície vnímať suspektné prípady CSA ako skôr pravdivé alebo skôr nepravdivé (Everson & Sandoval, 2011).

Pri porovnaní rôznych profesií výskumníci zistili, že pracovníci úradov sociálnoprávnej ochrany detí dosahovali výrazne vyššie skóre na škále špecifickosti a skepticizmu, než iné profesie, zatiaľ čo na škále senzitivity skórovali hlboko pod priemerom. Na základe takýchto výsledkov u nich možno predpokladať zvýšenú pravdepodobnosť neveriť podozreniam z CSA. Postojový profil pracovníkov sociálnoprávnej ochrany nezodpovedá tradičným názorom na ich úlohu. Suspektné prípady CSA, ktoré do systému vstupujú často práve cez orgán sociálnoprávnej ochrany, by totiž mali byť citlivou zachytávané. Dôkladnejšie prešetrenie toho, či sú podozrenia podložené, by sa mali ideálne realizovať v spolupráci ostatných hráčov

v systéme (vrátane polície, prokuratúry, súdov, súdnych znalcov). Avšak vo väčšine prípadov k tomu ani nedojde. Teda ak v súvislosti s tým, v ktorých prípadoch sú podozrenia z CSA považované za opodstatnené, pracovníci sociálnoprávnej ochrany nastavujú laťku príliš vysoko, vzniká riziko, že mnoho skutočných prípadov CSA bude vyhodnotených ako neopodstatnené a obetiam sa nedostane pomoci (Everson & Sandoval, 2011).

Holandskí vedci Bartelink et al. (2018) realizovali výskum na vzorke sociálnych pracovníkov z úradov sociálnoprávnej ochrany detí. Účastníkom výskumu bol predložený hypotetický prípad, v ktorom učiteľka základnej školy podala úradu sociálnoprávnej ochrany podnet na prešetrenie podozrenia, že dieťa je doma zneužívané. Účastníci mali určiť, či podozrenie považujú za podložené, mali posúdiť riziko vo vzťahu k dieťaťu a odporúčať intervencie, vrátane zodpovedania otázky, či je potrebné dieťa vyňať z rodiny. Ukázalo sa, že rozhodujúci vplyv na ich posúdenie nemali charakteristiky prípadu, ani očakávania v súvislosti s možnými intervenciami (výhody aj obmedzenia rôznych intervencií), ale predovšetkým to, aké subjektívne presvedčenia vo vzťahu k vyňatiu dieťaťa z rodiny vo všeobecnosti zaujímajú. Profesionáli, ktorí majú pozitívny názor na vyňatie dieťaťa z rodiny, vyhodnocujú riziko pre dieťa ako zvýšené a sú náchylnejší umiestňovať dieťa do náhradnej osobnej starostlivosti. Profesionáli, ktorí sa rozhodli, že dieťa by malo zostať doma, vo väčšej miere zdôrazňovali dôležitosť biologickej rodiny. Obdobne aj starsí Írsky výskum (Spratt et al., 2015) odhalil, že profesionáli majú tendenciu podriaďovať svoje rozhodnutia v oblasti sociálnoprávnej ochrany detí hodnotám, ktoré uprednostňujú: buď ochrana dieťaťa alebo zachovanie rodiny.

3 Presvedčenia o vlastnej objektivite a expertíze

Pravdepodobne najprepracovanejšia teória ľudského uvažovania, známa pod označením teória dvoch procesov (*dual process theory*) (Kahneman, 2012) poukazuje na to, že v procesoch nášho rozhodovania zohrávajú rolu dva odlišné systémy. V prvom systéme je spôsob rozhodovania a hľadania riešení založený na intuíciu a asociáciu a je tým pádom veľmi adaptabilný a rýchly, pretože vyžaduje menšie zapojenie kognitívnych funkcií. Druhý systém je naopak viac analytický, spolieha sa na fakty a normatívne pravidlá, a preto vyžaduje viac kognitívnych zdrojov, ktoré však nemusia byť k dispozícii (Kahneman, 2012). Systém 1 pri rozhodovaní pôsobí nevedome a automaticky spracováva a interpretuje získané informácie; býva preto označovaný ako intuitívny model. Systém 2 naopak pracuje s abstraktnými pojмami a hypotézami a jeho zapojenie vyžaduje sústredenie, čas a energiu; býva tak označovaný ako analytický model.

Profesionáli zaoberajúci sa riešením náročných prípadov musia z veľkého množstva informácií extrahovať tie, ktoré sú pre daný prípad potrebné, pričom disponujú iba obmedzeným časom a kognitívou kapacitou. K mnohým rozhodnutiam preto dochádza prostredníctvom akýchsi mentálnych skratiek (heuristik), vedúcich k dosiahnutiu odpovedí, ktoré sú sice rýchle, ale nemusia byť vždy správne (Martino Baráková, 2020). Je zrejmé, že za rozhodnutiami profesionálov často stoja kognitívne skreslenia (Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al., 2005, 2009; Gambrill, 2008; MacLean et al., 2019; Petherick, 2020), pričom v kontexte podozrení z CSA sú obzvlášť relevantné nasledovné:

- **Dotváranie významu** (*patternicity; apophenia*) – tendencia vnímať vzorce v údajoch aj vtedy, keď v nich žiadny vzorec nie je (Petherick, 2020); pôvodne definovaná ako tendencia nachádzať zmysluplné vzorce v nezmyselnom hluku (*meaningless noise*) (Shermer, 2008). Môže byť výsledkom adaptačnej tendencie redukovať komplexné vzorce informácií do

zjednodušených foriem alebo vysvetlení (Petherick 2020). Obzvlášť problematicou sa táto kognitívna chyba stáva, ak sa objavenie neexistujúceho významového vzorca spojí s konfirmačným skreslením (Petherick, 2020).

- **Konfirmačné skreslenie** (*confirmatory bias*) – tendencia hľadať, interpretovať, uprednostňovať a vyvolávať si z pamäti informácie takým spôsobom, ktorý potvrdí naše už existujúce presvedčenie alebo hypotézu, pričom sa venuje nepomerne menšia pozornosť alternatívnym možnostiam (Nickerson, 1998).
- **Heuristika dostupnosti** (*availability bias*) – výskyt určitého javu je posudzovaný na základe toho, ako ľahko nám príklady daného javu zídu na um a nie na základe toho, aký častý daný jav v skutočnosti je. Ak sa o niektorých javoch napr. často hovorí v súkromí, na pracovisku či v médiách, javia sa byť rozšírenejšie než v skutočnosti sú (Tversky & Kahneman, 1973). Profesionáli môžu zveličovať pravdepodobnosť určitých javov, napr. tých, s ktorými sa často stretávajú. To znamená, že tí, ktorí sa pri svojej práci stretávajú s mnohými prípadmi suspektného CSA, môžu mať tendenciu nadhodnocovať pravdepodobnosť CSA (Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al., 2005).
- **Kotvenie** (*anchoring*) – tendencia priklaďať informáciu, s ktorou sme sa stretli prvotne, väčšiu váhu, než nasledujúcim informáciám (Kahneman et al., 1982). Prvotná informácia však vôbec nemusí byť relevantná, úplná či pravdivá a môže úsudok ovplyvňovať negatívnym spôsobom. Profesionáli sú často vystavení rozporuplným informáciám a môžu mať ľahkosť preformulovať pôvodnú hypotézu s ohľadom na neskôr nadobudnuté informácie.
- **Heuristika reprezentatívnosti** (*representativeness heuristic, representative thinking*) (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974) – znamená to, že profesionáli s klinickou praxou kombinujú určitý problém s určitou charakteristikou, pričom zabúdajú, že je možné mať túto charakteristiku aj bez daného problému. Pretože klinici môžu byť kontinuálne v kontakte s ľuďmi, ktorí majú daný problém a zároveň majú aj danú charakteristiku, dospejú k záveru, že každý nový klient s oboma kritériami predstavuje spätnú väzbu potvrdzujúcu, že osoby s daným problémom majú aj danú charakteristiku. Napr. sexuálizované správanie u detí sa často považuje za dôkaz CSA, aj keď podľa výskumných poznatkov nemožno žiadny špecifický behaviorálny symptom považovať za definitívny dôkaz CSA (Friedrich, 1995). Túto chybu môže napraviť iba klinická prax založená na výskumných poznatkoch, nie na dojmach (Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al., 2005).
- **Kognitívna slepá škvRNA** (*bias blind spot*) – predstavuje kognitívne skreslenie pri ktorom človek dokáže rozpoznať vplyv kognitívnych skreslení u iných ľudí, ale nie u seba samého. Vplyvom tohto skreslenia je podvedome presvedčený, že jeho názory sú v porovnaní s názormi iných tie správne a objektívne (Pronin et al., 2002).
- **Dunningov-Krugerov efekt** (Kruger & Dunning, 1999; Krueger & Mueller, 2002) – vypovedá o tom, že vzťah medzi kompetenciou a sebadôverou nemusí byť priamo úmerný. Keď sú znalosti nízke, sebadôvera zvykne byť vysoká, keďže jedinec nechápe ako veľa toho vlastne nevie. So zvyšujúcimi sa znalosťami má sebadôvera tendenciu klesať, keďže jedinec si začína uvedomovať rozsah problému a priznávať si, ako málo toho vie o danej oblasti skúmania. Keď sa miera vedomostí ešte viac zvýši, sebadôvera sa mierne zvýši tiež, keďže človek sa začína v problematike orientovať. V ideálnom prípade by sebadôvera nikdy nemala presahovať vedomosti (Petherick, 2020).

Kognitívne skreslenia môžu prameniť z troch rôznych kategórii zdrojov: (1) konkrétny prípad (*specific case*) – niečo na onom prípade spôsobuje skreslenie v tom, ako sú údaje vnímané, analyzované a interpretované; (2) konkrétny posudzovateľ – niečo týkajúce sa konkrétnej

osoby, ktorá prípad posudzuje (napr. skúsenosti, osobnosť, motivácia, osobná ideológia a presvedčenia, zvládanie stresu a únavy, potreba vec nejako uzavrieť) môže spôsobiť skreslenia; (3) prirodzená kognitívna architektúra ľudského mozgu, ktorú všetci zdieľame, bez ohľadu na konkrétny prípad alebo konkrétnu osobu posudzovateľa (Dror, 2020).

Neistota (*uncertainty*) je nevyhnutným prvkom pri vyšetrovaní prípadov CSA a výskum týkajúci sa úsudkov a robenia rozhodnutí identifikoval viaceré problémy ľudského úsudku v situáciach neistoty, vrátane širokého spektra kognitívnych skreslení (Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al., 2005, 2009), ktoré môžu viesť k selektívemu zaobchádzaniu s informáciami, nedostatočnému kritickému mysleniu a opomenutiu zvážiť alternatívne hypotézy, čo môže znížiť kvalitu rozhodnutí (Gambrill, 2008; Munro, 1999; Saltiel, 2015). Zatial čo správne by mali profesionáli pri vyhodnocovaní komplexných a neistých informácií (dôkazov) začínať s úsudkom, ktorý sa opiera o základný odhad pravdepodobnosti (*base rate probabilities*) danej udalosti alebo javu a až následne tieto pravdepodobnosti upraviť na základe nových informácií (tzv. Bayeziánsky prístup, z angl. *Bayesian approach*),² často sa tak nedeje (Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al., 2005, 2009). Jedným z dôvodov je, že profesionáli nepoznajú relevantné výskumné údaje o miere výskytu určitých javov, napr. relevantné údaje o prevalencii CSA alebo o prevalencii krvíckych obvinení z CSA.

Vo výskumoch, ktoré analyzovali aj vzťah medzi dĺžkou praxe, presvedčeniami, vedeckými poznatkami a hodnotením vlastnej expertízy na vzorke profesionálov podielajúcich sa na vyšetrovaní prípadov CSA (Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al., 2005) a súdnych rozhodnutiach vo vzťahu k prípadom CSA (Korkman et al., 2014) sa ukázalo, že profesionáli sa viac spoliehali na svoju profesionálnu skúsenosť než na vedecké poznatky keď mali posúdiť úroveň vlastnej expertízy vo vzťahu k posudzovaniu prípadov CSA. Spoliehanie sa na profesionálnu skúsenosť je však značne riskantné. Metaanalýzy štúdií, ktoré boli zamerané na skúmanie vzťahu medzi skúsenosťou a správnosťou klinického úsudku dospeli k záveru, že skúsenosť sama o sebe má na správnosť úsudku zanedbateľný vplyv (Spengler et al., 2009; Faust & Faust, 2012). Výskumníci si zároveň všimli jeden nešťastný dôsledok rozsiahnej praxe (skúsenosti) – a sice, že časom skúsení odborníci nadobúdajú stále väčší pocit istoty ohľadne správnosti svojich úsudkov – a deje sa to bez toho, aby k skutočnému zlepšeniu správnosti úsudku naozaj dochádzalo (Faust & Faust, 2012; Korkman et al., 2014; Pelisoli et al., 2015).

Dĺžka praxe a s ňou súvisiaca profesionálna skúsenosť s prípadmi CSA nie je sama o sebe zárukou expertízy, pretože odborníci môžu byť nositeľmi predsudkov a môže im chýbať objektívna spätná väzba (Dawes et al., 1989; Garb, 2005; Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al., 2008, 2009; Spengler et al., 2009; Bridges et al., 2009; Korkman et al., 2014; Pelisoli et al., 2015). Zo skúsenosti je možné sa správne učiť, iba ak jedinec pritom dostáva nepredpojatú a presnú spätnú väzbu na závery, ku ktorým dospel (Dawes et al., 1989). V tejto súvislosti Bridges et al. (2009) poznamenávajú, že zakaždým, keď odborníci urobia chybu pri posudzovaní prípadov suspektných CSA, pravdepodobne o tom nevedia; a bez jasnej spätej väzby o správnosti ich záverov, ako môžu použiť svoju skúsenosť na zdokonalenie svojich rozhodnutí a metód? Odborník, ktorý tvrdí, že vďaka skúsenostiam z praxe dokáže rozlísiť medzi sexuálne zneužívanými a nezneužívanými deťmi, takmer určite zakladá svoje tvrdenie na dôkazoch s väzonymi nedostatkami a môže trpieť falošnou sebaistotou (Bridges et al., 2009). Výskumy ukazujú, že profesionálna skúsenosť sama o sebe neopraví mylné presvedčenia a nezvýši odbornosť vo vzťahu k problematike CSA (Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al., 2008, 2009; Korkman et

² O význame Bayeziánskeho usudzovania vo forenzných vedách bližšie pozri napr. Vrtiška (2018).

al., 2014), naopak s dĺžkou profesionálnej praxe môže zároveň narastať aj utvrdzovanie sa v predpojatosti (resp. správnosti vlastného mylného presvedčenia) (Pelisoli et al., 2015). U skúsenejších profesionálov sa objavuje tendencia mať intuitívnejší prístup (*more intuitive approach*) k posudzovaniu prípadov CSA (Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al., 2008). Mnohí profesionáli si nemusia byť vedomí problémov súvisiacich s učením sa zo skúsenosti, keďže vo svojom povolaní boli socializovaní k tomu, aby verili, že svoju prax vykonávajú objektívne a že predpojatost' sa skôr týka iných (Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al., 2005; Neal & Brodsky, 2014).

Hoci všeobecne platí, že profesionáli z titulu svojej profesie nie sú automaticky imúnni voči rôznym kognitívnym skresleniam pri posudzovaní prípadov, ktorími sa zaoberajú, osobitné obavy o ich objektivnosť vyvstávajú v situáciach, kedy posúdenie prípadu robia na základe súkromných žiadostí osôb, ktorých sa prípad dotýka. Výskumy, ktoré sledovali schopnosť znalcov zachovať si objektivitu a presnosť, ak sú najatí na vyhotovenie súkromného znaleckého posudku, dospeli k znepokojuivým záverom. U znalcov sa v takýchto situáciách prejavuje tendencia „opúšťať objektivitu“ a stať sa „obhajcami“ strany, ktorá si ich najala. Výsledky výskumov ukázali, že rôzni znalci môžu dospieť k protichodným záverom vo vzťahu k tej istej vyšetrovanej osobe, dokonca aj vtedy ak používajú procedúry určené na zvýšenie objektivity a reliability. Aj keď vyšetrovaná osoba dosiahla v rovnakom teste rovnaké skóre, výsledky boli rôznymi znalcami interpretované odlišne (Murrie et al., 2013; Murrie & Boccaccini, 2015; Guarnera et al., 2017). Tento jav sa napr. vzťahuje aj na interpretáciu skóre pri testoch určených na posudzovanie rizikovosti sexuálnych delikventov (Chevalier et al., 2015). Mechanizmus, ktorý je v pozadí tohto javu, je pravdepodobne podvedomým heuristikám a kognitívnym skresleniam (*cognitive biases*), ktoré narúšajú úsudok aj v mnohých iných situáciach.

4 Ako možno zlepšiť posudzovanie prípadov sexuálneho zneužívania detí?

Za účelom zlepšenia praxe a redukovania chýb v posudzovaní predmetných prípadov je potrebné aplikovať viacero stratégii. Východiskovou stratégiou by malo byť kontinuálne vzdelávanie relevantných profesionálov, pričom v záujme eliminácie rozšírených mylných presvedčení o CSA by mali byť účastníci konfrontovaní s aktuálnymi vedeckými poznatkami týkajúcimi sa problematiky CSA; povzbudzovanie k reflektovaniu vlastných presvedčení, ktoré môžu mať vplyv na posúdenie predmetných prípadov; oboznamovaní s t'ažkosťami ľudského úsudku v situáciach neistoty, a vedení k osvojovaniu si tzv. Bayeziánskeho usudzovania a efektívnych metód na elimináciu kognitívnych skreslení (Bartelink et al., 2018; Finnilä-Tuohimaa et al., 2005, 2008, 2009; Korkman et al., 2014; Pelisoli et al., 2015; Petherick, 2020).

Prvým krokom ako sa s kognitívnymi skresleniami vysporiadat' je uznať ich existenciu a vplyv, ktorý môžu mať aj na pracovitých, odhodlaných a kvalifikovaných odborníkov. V tejto súvislosti Dror (2020) hovorí o potrebe zbaviť sa šiestich mylných presvedčení, ktoré profesionáli o kognitívnych skresleniach často mávajú: (1) že je to iba otázka osobného charakteru, integrity a morálky (teda, že zaujatosť sa vzťahuje iba na skorumpovaných a bezohľadných jedincov); (2) že je to otázka kompetencie; teda že to stáva iba profesionálom, ktorí svoju prácu nevedia správne vykonávať; (3) že experti sú nestranní a voči kognitívnym skresleniam imúnni; (4) že používanie moderných technológií alebo umelej inteligencie zaručuje ochranu pred ľudskými predskukami; (5) že skresleniami sú ovplyvnení iní experti,

ale nie ja; (6) že ak si uvedomujem, že skreslenia ma môžu ovplyvňovať,³ silou vlastnej vôle ich dokážem mať pod kontrolou.

Za efektívnu stratégiu eliminácie rôznych predpojatostí (*bias*) sa považuje precízna práca s hypotézami. Po dôkladnom zhromaždení a oboznámení sa s informáciami k prípadu je potrebné vypracovať spektrum alternatívnych hypotéz, ktoré zohľadňujú každú možnosť alebo pravdepodobnosť. Následne by každá hypotéza mala byť otestovaná na základe dostupných faktov, pričom by úsilie malo byť smerované skôr k jej vyvráteniu než potvrdeniu. Pokial napriek tomu stále zostáva niekoľko hypotéz, ktoré nemožno definitívne vylúčiť, je potrebné pristúpiť k explorácii konkurenčných hypotéz, pri ktorej sa vykoná súhrn dôkazov podporujúcich (+) alebo vyvracajúcich (-) každú hypotézu a hypotéza s najvyššou podporou (najviac +) je napokon používaná ako pracovná hypotéza k danému prípadu (Petherick, 2020; Berman & Killeen, 2019).

Ďalej je potrebné budovať kultúru dôkazov nie presvedčení (*culture of evidence not belief*) (Petherick, 2020). Účinný spôsob ochrany pred chybami a zlyhaním je riadiť sa dôkazmi – zohľadňovať údaje, ktoré sú k dispozícii i údaje, ktoré chýbajú a reflektovať, ako to limituje našu analýzu a čo z toho plynie vo vzťahu k záverom vyvodeným v konkrétnom prípade (Petherick, 2020). V ideálnom prípade bude mať posudzovateľ (napr. znalec) k dispozícii informácie, ktoré sú vysoko validné, vysoko reliabilné a dostatočné. Čím viac sa situácia vzdáľuje ideálu, tým väčší priestor vzniká pre špekulácie. V každom prípade by váha dôkazov mala byť jasne komunikovaná a závery posudzovateľa by mali byť formulované v kategóriách pravdepodobnosti (Petherick, 2020). Predmetom supervízie suspektných prípadov CSA by nepochybne malo byť aj preskúmanie potenciálnej prítomnosti a vplyvu osobných presvedčení pomáhajúcich profesionálov na rozhodovacie procesy.

V prípade znaleckých posudkov sa za účelom zvýšenia ich objektivity odporúča podrobenie konceptu (*draft*) posudku nezávislej recenzii (Otgaard et al., 2017; Petherick, 2020). Recenzent by nemal vedieť, čiu prácu hodnotí a zároveň ani hodnotený by nemal vedieť, kto je recenzentom. Úlohou recenzenta je preskúmať koncept, zistiť či znalec na podporu svojich hypotéz a záverov starostlivo použil vedeckú literatúru a informácie v spise, a v prípade potreby uviesť kritické pripomienky.⁴

Everson a Sandoval (2011) uvádzajú, že za účelom poskytovania alternatívnych perspektív a redukovania individuálnych predsudkov môže byť užitočný predovšetkým multidisciplinárny tímový prístup k posudzovaniu prípadov. Aký vplyv má takýto skupinový prístup na konečné výsledky procesu posúdenia prípadov avšak zatial nebolo dostatočne vedecky preskúmane (Capacity Building Center for States, 2017). V tejto súvislosti treba podotknúť, že zaujatosť (*bias*) nemá vplyv iba na jednotlivca izolované alebo len na jeden aspekt práce; často zaujatosť kaskáduje od jednej osoby k druhej, od jedného aspektu práce k ďalšiemu a ovplyvňuje rôzne prvky vyšetrovania a posúdenia prípadu (Dror, 2020).

Okrem vyššie uvedených stratégij treba mať na pamäti, že zaktivizovanie analytického modelu uvažovania (oproti intuitívнемu) vyžaduje nielen uvedomovanie si rizík rôznych skreslení, ale

³ Mnohí profesionáli sa mylne domnievajú, že **introspekcia** je najužitočnejšou stratégiou na prevenciu kognitívnych skreslení a predpojatosti. V skutočnosti je táto stratégia neúčinná a dokonca môže predpojatosť ešte viac zhoršiť; profesionál pri pohľade do vlastného vnútra žiadnu predpojatosť nezbadá a podľahne falošnému pocitu uistenia (Neal & Brodsky, 2016; MacLean et al., 2019).

⁴ Takýto prístup (nezávislé recenzovanie konceptu posudkov) je bežnou praxou medzi holandskými forenznými psychológmi (Otgaard et al., 2017).

tiež dostatok času a energie. Aby sa posudzovatelia mohli plne sústrediť na špecifickú úlohu, odporúča sa spomalenie pracovných stratégii (“*slowing down*” workplace strategies) (Neal & Brodsky, 2016, s. 60). Nadmerné množstvo pridelených prípadov a časový tlak posúva uvažovanie posudzovateľa viac do sféry intuície a kognitívnych skratiek, ktoré môžu negatívne ovplyvniť kvalitu rozhodnutí (Martino Baráková, 2020).

Záver

Prípady CSA sú často neprehľadnou mozaikou komplexných dát. Predložená štúdia poukázala na to, že schopnosť identifikovať, integrovať a vyvodiť primerane správne závery z viaceromerných a komplexných údajov bez toho, aby boli ovplyvnené kognitívnymi skresleniami a predsudkami, vyžaduje nielen odborné znalosti, ale aj dobré rozhodovacie zručnosti, reflekujúce ľažkostí ľudského úsudku v situáciach neistoty. Príslušnosť k určitej pomáhajúcej profesií a dĺžka praxe pritom sama o sebe ešte nie je zárukou, že profesionál disponuje poznatkami, ktoré sú v súlade s aktuálnym stavom vedeckého poznania vo vzťahu k problematike CSA. Doterajšie výskumy preukázali, že príslušníci rôznych pomáhajúcich profesií sú nositeľmi mnohých mylných presvedčení, ktoré môžu viest' k chybám pri identifikácii, vyšetrovaní a posudzovaní suspektných prípadov CSA. Ak sú nositeľmi predsudkov napr. súdcovia, alebo ak si nevšimnú predpojatosť iných profesionálov, ktorí sa na objasňovaní prípadov CSA podieľali, aj rozsudky môžu byť náchylné na chyby (Korkman et al., 2014). Chyby pri posudzovaní prípadov CSA nie je možné úplne eliminovať, no pochopiť ako vznikajú a aké ďalekosiahle následky môžu mať na život dotknutých osôb, môže motivovať k zavedeniu opatrení na dosiahnutie zlepšení v procesoch posudzovania týchto náročných prípadov. Uvedené predstavuje osobitnú výzvu pre Slovenský kontext, v ktorom predmetná problematika nebola dosiaľ náležite reflektovaná ani v aplikačnej praxi ani v odborných a vedeckých publikáciách. Za hlavný prínos tejto štúdie považujeme práve vyplnenie uvedenej medzery v literatúre.

Vzhľadom na to, že na Slovensku dosiaľ neboli realizovaný výskum, ktorý by mapoval povahu a výskyt rôznych presvedčení profesionálov prichádzajúcich do kontaktu s prípadmi CSA ako aj ich vplyv na rozhodovacie procesy, predložená štúdia môže byť inšpiráciou pre prípravu výskumných projektov s takýmto zameraním.

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Štúdie

Original Articles

THE RELATIONSHIP OF DARK TRIAD AND JOB SATISFACTION AMONG HELPING PROFESSIONALS

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Abstract:

Background: While the personality of helping professionals has been the subject of research for quite some time, the approach towards this has changed over this period. While most research (e.g. Bakker et al., 2006; Mlcák & Záskodná, 2008) focuses more on adaptive personality traits - the so called „bright side“ (Oluf & Furnham, 2015) -, less attention was paid to the fact that, as with every person, a helping professional possesses, to some degree , maladaptive personality traits, or a „dark side“. The job attitude of the helping professional results from two motivating factors detected in the workers in human services; one is perceived satisfaction and a positive feeling from helping others (Kopřiva, 1997); the other is a desire for power and control over the client (Guggenbuhl-Craig, 2007). The question that naturally arises is whether the helping profession can satisfy even the *darker* needs of the worker if it follows that perceived job satisfaction does not necessarily have to be related only to the granting of aid, but may also be due to such darker motivation.

Aim: The aim of the present study was to examine the relationship of three aversive personality traits: Machiavellianism, narcissism and psychopathy - nowadays known by experts as the Dark Triad (Paulhus & Williams, 2002) - ; with work satisfaction on a sample of helping professionals - pedagogical workers, healthcare workers, rescue workers and social workers.

Method: The study was conducted on a sample of 151 participants from different sectors of the helping professions ($M_{age} = 37.13$; $SD = 11.83$). Females represented 71.5% of all respondents ($N = 108$), aged 19 to 65 ($M_{age} = 38$; $SD = 12.6$). Males represented the remaining 28.5% of respondents ($N = 43$), aged 20 to 62 ($M_{age} = 34.9$; $SD = 9.5$). Four groups of helping professionals were identified: pedagogical workers (PG) - kindergarten teachers, elementary school teachers, secondary school teachers (47.7%); healthcare workers (HC) - doctors, nurses, physiotherapists, sanitary workers, dental technicians (21.9%); rescue workers (RS) - policemen, firemen, rescuers, soldiers (23.8%); social workers (SW) – social workers, psychologists, special pedagogues (6.6%). A convenience and purposive sampling method was used. The Slovak version of Short Dark Triad - SD3 (Jones & Paulhus, 2014; Čopková, in review) and the Slovak version of Job Satisfaction Survey (Spector, 1985; Mesárošová, 2016) were administered. The Slovak version of Short Dark Triad consists of 27 items that saturate three subscales – Machiavellianism, narcissism, psychopathy. Each dimension consists of 9 items. The respondent responds to a 5-point likert scale (1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree). The indicators of the internal consistency of the scales expressed by the McDonald's omega coefficient were as follows - $\omega_m = 0.745$; $\omega_n = 0.619$; $\omega_p = 0.792$. Slovak version of Job satisfaction survey is based on the original Job satisfaction survey (Spector, 1985; Mesárošová, 2016)), which is aimed at capturing job satisfaction in the humanitarian sectors, so its use is suitable for a sample of helping professionals. It contains 36 items. The respondent answers on a 6-point scale (1 = strongly disagree; 6 = strongly agree). Nine factors of job satisfaction are saturated with four items in the questionnaire, and these are distributed across the – pay, promotion, supervision, benefits, rewards, conditions, co-workers, nature of work, and communication. The indicators of internal consistency of the scales expressed by

the McDonald's omega coefficient were satisfactory - $\omega_{f1} = 0.807$; $\omega_{f2} = 0.629$; $\omega_{f3} = 0.826$; $\omega_{f4} = 0.659$; $\omega_{f5} = 0.713$; $\omega_{f6} = 0.602$; $\omega_{f7} = 0.722$; $\omega_{f8} = 0.791$; $\omega_{f9} = 0.776$; $\omega_{jss} = 0.899$.

Results: Significant negative relationships were identified between Machiavellianism and satisfaction with co-workers ($r = -0.342^{**}$), nature of work ($r = -0.162^*$), communication ($r = -0.343^{**}$). Narcissism had a significant positive relationship with the satisfaction with promotion ($r = 0.224^{**}$), but had a negative significant relationship with satisfaction with co-workers ($r = -0.262^{**}$) and communication ($r = -0.173^*$). Psychopathy had negative significant relationships with satisfaction with supervision ($r = -0.224^{**}$), co-workers ($r = -0.296^{**}$), the nature of work ($r = -0.306^{**}$) and communication ($r = -0.236^{**}$). Machiavellianism ($r = -0.227^{**}$) and psychopathy ($r = -0.173^*$) have a significant negative relationship with overall job satisfaction. The Dark Triad had only very weak relationships with those elements of work related to financial and non-financial remuneration, such as pay, benefits and rewards. The analysis of the relationship between the Dark Triad and working conditions led to the same results. The Dark Triad concept predicted a 38.2% variation in job satisfaction among helping professionals. The regression analysis indicated that the Dark Triad significantly predicted overall job satisfaction ($F(3/147) = 3.013$; $p = 0.032$; $R^2 = 0.058$), satisfaction with co-workers ($F(3/147) = 8.093$; $p < 0.001$; $R^2 = 0.142$), communication ($F(3/147) = 6.842$; $p < 0.001$; $R^2 = 0.123$), promotion ($F(3/147) = 3.437$; $p = 0.019$; $R^2 = 0.066$) and the nature of work ($F(3/147) = 5.438$; $p = 0.001$; $R^2 = 0.100$).

Conclusion: In spite of some limits, we consider the results of our study to be beneficial as they have shown that helping professionals, who are automatically expected to be selfless and prosocial, also have some aversive personality traits, which may be a significant element in how helping professional consider individual elements of their work satisfaction. Therefore, it is equally important and interesting to consider how the aversive traits of helping professionals are related to their job satisfaction. In particular, the clarification of the predictive strength of the Dark Triad traits in relation to helping professionals' job satisfaction is a valuable finding of our research.

Key words: Dark triad. Machiavellianism. Narcissism. Psychopathy. Job satisfaction. Helping professionals.

Introduction

Helping professions are represented by a wide variety of professions in our society, the main aim of which is to help others improve their physical or mental health, protect or help them on their way to recovery and direct their lives towards a steadier path. Personality characteristics such as kindness, empathy, patience, willingness or flexibility seem to be effective predictors in the helping process (BACP, 2018; Heinonen et al., 2012; Wampold & Carlson, 2011).

The personality of a helping professional has been the subject of research for quite some period, but the approach has changed over time. While most research (e.g. Bakker et al., 2006; Mlcák & Záskodná, 2008) focus more on adaptive personality traits- the so-called „bright side“ (Oluf & Furnham, 2015) - , less attention was paid to the fact that, as with every person, a helping professional possesses, to some degree, maladaptive personality traits, or a „dark side“. This has led us to contrast the classic approach to personality study represented by the Big Five theory (Oluf & Furnham, 2015) with the Dark Triad concept (Paulhus & Williams, 2002; Čopková & Araňošová, in preparation). The essence of this idea was the assumption that the job attitude of the helping professional results from two motivating factors detected in the workers in human services; the perceived satisfaction and positive feeling from helping others (Kopřiva, 1997), and the desire for power and control over the client (Guggenbuhl-Craig, 2007). The question that naturally arises is whether the helping profession can satisfy even the *darker* needs of the worker; as it follows that perceived job satisfaction does not necessarily have to be related only to the granting of aid, but may also be due to such darker motivation. This is the reason why our study, through using a sample of helping professionals, aimed to answer the question about the relationship between the dark personality traits known as the Dark Triad – Machiavellianism, narcissism and psychopathy – , and job satisfaction.

The Dark Triad and Helping Professions

Although the phenomenon of the Dark Triad (Paulhus & Williams, 2002) is a relatively new concept when compared to classical personality theories, its individual components – Machiavellianism, narcissism and psychopathy – have been much longer examined by experts. While the concepts of narcissism and psychopathy are based on clinical literature and are still perceived as personality disorders in diagnostic systems, the construct of Machiavellianism has a completely different story as it originates in philosophy (Furnham et al., 2013; Wilson, Near & Miller, 1996).

The reason why this model was conceptualized was the previous approach focused more separately on the negative personality traits. This created a significant contrast to models such as the Big Five, which is primarily focused on the brighter side of personality (Oluf & Furnham, 2015), and additionally conceptualizes it into a certain system of personality traits.

Machiavellianism, narcissism and psychopathy do not have a common origin in research. Present findings point out that despite a different basis, the personality characteristics in the Dark Triad concept share certain common characteristics, such as self-assertion, emotional coldness, lack of honesty, absence of humility, a socially mischievous character with behavioral tendencies to support oneself, insincerity and aggression (Lee & Ashton, 2005; Paulhus & Williams, 2002). Machiavellianism is characterized by emotional separation and a tendency to manipulate in order to achieve personal goals regardless of others (Al Aïn, Carré, Fantini-Hauwel, Baudouin, & Besche-Richard, 2013). Narcissism is characterized by exaggerated self-love, inflated self-confidence, a sense of importance and superiority over others, an extremely positive but at the same time vulnerable self-image (Morf & Rhodenwalt, 2001). Psychopathy is characterized by high impulsiveness, excitement-seeking, low empathy, low anxiety (Paulhus & Williams, 2002), lack of concern for others, lack of guilt and remorse and emotional shallowness (Forsyth & O'Boyle, 2012). However, it must be emphasized that in all three aversive traits we are talking about subclinical features. That is, the behavior of individuals exhibiting these characteristics is not extreme enough to attract the attention of clinical psychologists or psychiatrists.

The work of a helping professional is defined as an interaction between a professional and a client. The aim of this interaction is supporting the growth or resolution of an individual's physical, psychological or intellectual problems and improving his or her condition in many ways (Graf, Sator, & Spranz-Forgasy, 2014). Thus, helping professions are also characterized as helping an individual through a helping worker using their interpersonal relationship (Kopřiva, 1997). Géringová (2011) considers doctors, medical staff, psychologists, social workers, psychotherapists, educators, speech therapists and, in a certain way, policemen, rescuers or firefighters to be workers in the helping professions. Those seeking help - whether from doctors, social workers, psychologists or others – are automatically put in a subordinate role to the assisting person. Seligson's (1992) findings suggest that narcissism is often a preferred personality structure in psychologists. Bakir et al. (2003) pointed to the reality where people within the healthcare professions commonly experience recklessness, egoism, and a greater interest in themselves than in the welfare of the patient. Bucknall et al. (2015) identified significantly higher narcissism in surgeons, and psychopathy in nurses. Pegrum and Pearce (2015) reported significant psychopathy in surgeons and, surprisingly, pediatricians. Bratek et al. (2015) report low levels of Machiavellianism in professional care practitioners, but pointed out the dynamics of Machiavellianism in practice, as higher levels of Machiavellianism in their study were reported by medical trainees compared to experienced doctors. The authors suggested the level of Machiavellianism declined with the length of practice. In their work, Adams and Maykut (2015) discussed the potential dangers of inappropriate care of nurses and

other medical staff if they had *dark* features. Lenkov, Rubtsova, and Nizamova (2018) recorded the highest incidence of dark personality traits among university teachers. More detailed results showed a significantly higher level of psychopathy among elementary and secondary school teachers. In the case of Machiavellianism and narcissism, university teachers have the highest results. It is important to note that, for example, police officers' traits, such as stress-resistance, low anxiety, courage or high self-confidence, are welcomed features due to the difficulty of the profession, and despite it being characteristic of subclinical psychopathy. Those traits work as a protection against the traumatic experiences of police work (Babiak, 1995).

The Dark Triad and Job Satisfaction

The study of job satisfaction among helping professions is of great importance for the quality of the work itself, the productivity and the performance of the professional, which in turn affects the satisfaction of the clients with the care provided. Therefore, job satisfaction is an essential part of occupational psychology research, expressing the extent of how people like their work (Spector, 1997). This construct clearly includes the emotional aspect of work-relatedness, which is dependent on many phenomena occurring in the workplace. In a number of research studies nurses have stated their job satisfaction as depending on: the relationships at the workplace, the interaction quality with co-workers, the satisfaction with the care they have provided, the working culture, the perceived sense of work, the work content, the salary, the financial and non-financial benefits and, last, but not least, the tolerance of the organization and supervision of neglectful behavior of other employees in the organization (Dockery & Barns, 2005; Dockery & Barns, 2005; Gurková, 2012; Kožuchová & Vargová, 2015; Mcneese-Smith, 1999). For social workers, the perceived significance of the work, importance of the work and the length of practice in relation to acquiring a sense of competence over the years in this profession, played an important role in job satisfaction (Hricová, Nezkusilová & Mesárošová, 2017). Carers were satisfied with the positive team communication, the team's cohesiveness and its effectiveness (Vermeira et al., 2017). Within the teaching profession, the possibility of advancement among university teachers has proved to be an important factor of job satisfaction (Chmelárová & Prekopová, 2012; Lukáčová, 2013); for secondary school teachers it was the rewards and opportunity to work with young people (Chmelárová & Prekopová, 2012; Sharma & Joyti, 2009). For the police, the nature of work, satisfaction with the leader, and quality interaction with co-workers were important (Lokesh, Patra, & Venkatesan, 2016). Fleury, Grenier, and Bamvita (2017) carried out a job satisfaction study with social workers, psychologists, psychotherapists and nurses, where the benefit of the team proved to be key to overall job satisfaction.

The intention of occupational psychologists dealing with aspects of the interaction between personality and work initially drew attention to research into the positive aspects of personality, which are suitable predictors of work behavior and performance (Bolton, Becker & Barber, 2010). Only in recent times has research begun to focus more on the pathological aspects of personality in the workplace, due to the sometimes catastrophic consequences of working behavior or the amount of illegal behavioral manifestations in the workplace. For this reason there is an increased interest of researchers in the negative impact of dark personality traits on work behavior (Jonason, Slomski, & Partyka, 2012; O'Boyle et. al., 2012; Spain, Harms, & LeBreton, 2013). However, there are contrasting opinions saying that darker side of personality does not always have to work in a destructive way in the workplace (Judge & Le Pine, 2007). In the Abbas and Kant study (2017), employees with higher narcissism levels also showed a higher level of job satisfaction compared to colleagues whose subclinical narcissism levels were lower. It is probably related to the fact that narcissists are generally optimistic about their personal performance at work, but collaboration with others is beyond the spectrum of their

interests that are broadly and personally oriented (Williams & Williams, 2017). Another study (Benson, Jordan, & Christie, 2016) showed the negative impact of lower job inclusion of narcissists on their job satisfaction. Here, lower job satisfaction was reflected in a lower willingness to engage in group behavior and negative responses to the role of the subordinate. This is also based on the assumption that narcissistic workers consider themselves to be overqualified and therefore believe that it is best for them to hold senior roles (Benson, Jordan, & Christie, 2016). Power is very important to narcissists, so Mead et al. (2018) assume that narcissists tend to abuse this power at work. The performance of the helping profession automatically accumulates this power in their hands and ensures the satisfaction of the need for power.

Bakir et al. (2003) showed a lower job satisfaction of Machiavellist physicians compared to the general population. The authors suggested an immediate explanation; the older the doctors are, the lower the score of Machiavellism is and, therefore, job satisfaction increases, which is predicted through their increasing position at work and thus the financial income - which is particularly important for Machiavellists. The findings of the negative correlation of Machiavellianism and job satisfaction are not only related to the medical profession, but also exist in various other occupations (Wilson, Near, & Miller, 1996) outside human services. Gamble and Topol (1987) recorded higher Machiavellianism scores in women who reported less job satisfaction than men with lower Machiavellianism rates. Another important finding that explains why Machiavellists are dissatisfied at work is research examining Machiavellists as subordinate. The authors proceeded from the assumption that their great interpersonal tactics provide Machiavellists with the unlimited possibility of manipulation with their supervisor for subsequent greater control of the workplace. They found that there was a negative correlation in satisfaction with the supervisor as they are likely to be conflicting in such a relationship, even more so with those superiors they consider to be better than themselves (Walter, Anderson & Martin, 2005).

Based on an analysis of the relationship between psychopathy and job satisfaction, Boddy (2011) concluded that job satisfaction is decreasing with increasing psychopathy. This is also because people with higher psychopathic characteristics derive less social reward than those with lower psychopathic scores (Foulkes et al., 2014).

O'Boyle et al. (2012), who dealt with psychopathy and work behavior, suggest that such individuals can prosper in jobs that require them to behave rationally and ruthlessly. The nature of the work that provides freedom, risk, excitement, power or the possibility of practicing irresponsible behavior is an attraction for them. Subclinical psychopaths, through the emotional coldness that characterizes them, act with little concern for the welfare of others. In addition, they are emotionally cold towards others, including co-workers and their superiors, and unless the situation is beneficial for their own interest, psychopaths do not show real interest in others. Because of their problematic behavior, subclinical psychopaths often do not receive organizational rewards such as salary increases or higher positions (O'Boyle et al., 2012; Spain, Harms, & Lebreton, 2013), which can greatly affect their overall job satisfaction. However, employees with higher psychopathy scores have been observed, and positively evaluated their communication skills, strategic thinking or creativity. Therefore, it is not surprising that such individuals usually hold management positions within organizations. Therefore Babiak, Neumann, and Hare (2010) assume that a distinctive blend of psychopathy may be compatible with good performance and job satisfaction.

In formulating the research aim, we proceeded from the design of a conceptual model of antecedents and consequences of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction, which was proposed by Ghazzawi (2008). According to this concept, the antecedents of job satisfaction are motivation, social influence, life satisfaction, values and personality. It is here that we find the meeting point and justification for conducting research that would examine the relationship between the

features of the Dark Triad and job satisfaction. An equally crucial fact that supported the idea of examining this relationship in a sample of helping professionals was that in addition to commitment and personal well-being, organizational citizenship behavior is an important consequence of job satisfaction, which includes essential behavioral elements for the helping profession, such as altruism, courtesy, sportsmanship, or conscientiousness (George & Jones, 2008). It follows from the above that low job satisfaction can negatively affect the performance of the helping professional, which due to its nature can put the client at risk. In this context, we have set as the aim of this study the examination of the relationship between the Dark Triad traits and job satisfaction among helping professionals – namely pedagogical workers, healthcare workers, rescue workers and social workers.

Method

Sample

The research sample consisted of 151 participants from different sectors of the helping professions. Their age ranged from 19 to 65 ($M_{age} = 37.13$; $SD = 11.83$). Females represented 71.5% of all respondents ($N = 108$), aged 19 to 65 ($M_{age} = 38$; $SD = 12.6$). Males represented the remaining 28.5% of respondents ($N = 43$), aged 20 to 62 ($M_{age} = 34.9$; $SD = 9.5$). The duration of the respondents' practice ranged from 1 to 42 years with an average value of 12.74 years ($SD = 11.74$). Due to the broader spectrum of representatives of various helping professions, we have merged some professions into larger groups for further analysis according to the key focus of the particular profession. Four groups were identified in this way: pedagogical workers (PG) - kindergarten teachers, elementary school teachers, secondary school teachers (47.7%); healthcare workers (HC) - doctors, nurses, physiotherapists, nurses, sanitary workers, dental technicians (21.9%); rescue workers (RS) - policemen, firemen, rescuers, soldiers (23.8%); social workers (SW) - social workers, psychologists, special pedagogues (6.6%). The convenience and purposive sampling method were used.

Measures

Short Dark Triad (Čopková, in review). The scale is a Slovak version based on the original Short Dark Triad (Jones & Paulhus, 2014). It consists of 27 items that saturate the three subscales - Machiavellianism ("Most people can be manipulated."), narcissism ("I insist on getting the respect I deserve.") and psychopathy ("I like to get revenge on authorities."). Each dimension consists of 9 items. The respondent responds to a 5-point likert scale (1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree). For each of the subscales, the score is calculated separately as the sum of the points indicated by the respondent. There are 5 reverse coded items in the questionnaire, which must be reversed before calculating the final score. The indicators of the internal consistency of the scales expressed by the McDonald's omega coefficient were as follows - $\omega_m = 0.745$; $\omega_n = 0.619$; $\omega_p = 0.792$. *Job satisfaction survey* (Mesárošová, 2016). The questionnaire is a Slovak version based on the original Job satisfaction survey (Spector, 1985), which is aimed at capturing job satisfaction in the humanitarian sectors, so its use is suitable for a sample of helping professionals. It contains 36 items, respondent answers to a 6-point scale (1 - strongly disagree; 6 - strongly agree). Nine factors of job satisfaction are saturated with four items in the questionnaire, and these are distributed across the questionnaire. The nine factors by which the questionnaire determines job satisfaction are : pay (F1) ("I think I am fairly rewarded for the work I do."), promotion (F2) ("In my job, promotion opportunities are really weak."), supervision (F3) ("My supervisor performs his/her work competently."), benefits (F4) ("I'm not satisfied with the benefits I get."), rewards (F5) ("When I do a good job, I get the deserved recognition. "), conditions (F6) ("We have a lot of internal rules and procedures that

complicate quality work. ")), co-workers (F7) ("I like the people I work with").), nature of work (F8) ("Sometimes I feel that my work is meaningless.") and communication (F9) ("Communication at our workplace is good."). Before calculating the final score, 18 items are reverse coded and must be reversed. In addition to the final score for the entire questionnaire - overall job satisfaction (JSS) – one can also work with a score of individual factors saturating the questionnaire.

The indicators of internal consistency of the scales expressed by the McDonald's omega coefficient were satisfactory - $\omega_{f1} = 0.807$; $\omega_{f2} = 0.629$; $\omega_{f3} = 0.826$; $\omega_{f4} = 0.659$; $\omega_{f5} = 0.713$; $\omega_{f6} = 0.602$; $\omega_{f7} = 0.722$; $\omega_{f8} = 0.791$; $\omega_{f9} = 0.776$; $\omega_{jss} = 0.899$.

Procedure

The questionnaires were submitted to respondents in the period March- April 2019 in an electronic version created in the Google Docs-Form web application. Respondents were informed that completing the questionnaire is voluntary, without financial compensation and anonymous, and that data will only be processed in the framework of this research study. All respondents expressed their agreement to participate in the research. It took around 15 minutes to fill out the questionnaire. The collected data were analysed in IBM SPSS Statistics 21 and IBM Amos 23 software.

There were no missing data in the dataset. Testing the normality of data distribution using the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test showed that the data are normally distributed ($p \geq 0.05$). Descriptive indicators of the normality of data distribution indicated that the value of the skewness and kurtosis did not exceed the criterion $> \pm 1$. The internal consistency was determined using Cronbach's alpha (Cronbach α). The obtained data were described using other descriptive indicators (mean, standard deviation). The relationships between variables were tested by Pearson correlation coefficient; complex relationships between variables were tested by multiple linear regression and structural equation modeling (SEM).

Results

In the first step of the analysis, we have examined the relationship between Dark Triad traits and job satisfaction factors for helping professionals. The correlation analysis revealed several significant relationships. The exact values of the correlation coefficients are shown in the table (Table 1).

Table 1: Correlation matrix of Short Dark Triad and Job Satisfaction Scale

	M	SD	MACH		NAR		PSY	
			26.13	6.42	22.82	4.90	18.34	6.56
F1 - pay	11.15	5.05	-	-0.088	-	0.064	-	0.051
F2 - promotion	11.69	4.10	-	0.004	-	0.224**	-	0.136
F3 - supervision	17.04	5.00	-	-0.149	-	-0.143	-	-0.224**
F4 - benefits	12.32	4.36	-	-0.021	-	0.030	-	-0.070
F5 - rewards	12.28	4.83	-	-0.102	-	-0.058	-	-0.052
F6 - conditions	12.72	3.56	-	-0.109	-	-0.092	-	-0.007
F7 - co-workers	17.20	4.19	-	-0.342**	-	-0.262**	-	-0.296**
F8 - nature of work	19.39	3.99	-	-0.162*	-	-0.100	-	-0.306**
F9 - communication	16.55	4.72	-	-0.343**	-	-0.173*	-	-0.236**
Job satisfaction	130.33	25.7	-	-0.227**	-	-0.088	-	-0.173*

*MACH=Machiavellianism; NAR=narcissism; PSY=psychopathy; M =mean; SD=standard deviation; *p<0.05; **p<0.01*

Significant negative relationships were identified in Machiavellianism and satisfaction with co-workers, nature of work, and communication. Narcissism had a significant positive relationship with the satisfaction with promotion, while narcissism had a negative significant relationship with satisfaction with co-workers and communication. Psychopathy had negative significant relationships with satisfaction with supervision, co-workers, the nature of work and communication. Machiavellianism and psychopathy have a significant negative relationship with overall job satisfaction. The Dark Triad had very weak relationships with those elements of work that relate to financial and non-financial remuneration, such as pay, benefits and rewards. The analysis of the relationship between the Dark Triad and working conditions led to the same results.

Based on these relationships, we were interested in the extent to which we can consider the Dark Triad and its individual components as predictors contributing to the variability of job satisfaction and its individual factors. Therefore we analyzed the data by multiple linear regression, where the basic model consisted of three independent variables - the aversive traits of Machiavellianism, narcissism and psychopathy. The results of multiple regression analysis suggested a total of 5 significant models. The Dark Triad explained 5.8% variability in overall job satisfaction ($F(3/147) = 3.013$; $p = 0.032$; $R^2 = 0.058$); 6.6% of promotion ($F(3/147) = 3.437$; $p = 0.019$; $R^2 = 0.066$); 14.2% of co-workers ($F(3/147) = 8.093$; $p < 0.001$; $R^2 = 0.142$); 10% of nature of work ($F(3/147) = 5.438$; $p = 0.001$; $R^2 = 0.100$) and 12.3% of communication factor ($F(3/147) = 6.842$; $p < 0.001$; $R^2 = 0.123$). Table 2 presents results of regression analysis in detail.

Table 2: Regression analysis

	R²		β	t	p
F1 – pay	0.026	MACH	-0.178	-1.823	0.07
		NAR	0.094	0.958	0.34
		PSY	0.092	0.894	0.37
F2 – promotion*	0.066	MACH	-0.147	-1.540	0.13
		NAR	0.246	2.546	0.01*
		PSY	0.080	0.797	0.43
F3 – supervision	0.052	MACH	-0.040	-0.423	0.67
		NAR	-0.023	-0.238	0.81
		PSY	-0.190	-1.866	0.06
F4 – benefits	0.011	MACH	-0.001	-0.013	0.99
		NAR	0.093	0.936	0.35
		PSY	-0.118	-1.141	0.26
F5 – rewards	0.011	MACH	-0.098	-0.995	0.32
		NAR	-0.019	-0.196	0.84
		PSY	0.009	0.088	0.93
F6 – conditions	0.021	MACH	-0.121	-1.237	0.22
		NAR	-0.094	-0.950	0.34
		PSY	0.105	1.020	0.31
F7 – co-workers*	0.142	MACH	-0.236	-2.578	0.01*
		NAR	-0.088	-0.953	0.34
		PSY	-0.127	-1.313	0.19
F8 – nature of work*	0.099	MACH	-0.027	-0.293	0.77
		NAR	0.093	0.985	0.33
		PSY	-0.342	-3.443	<0.001**
F9 – communication*	0.123	MACH	-0.303	-3.267	<0.001**
		NAR	0.006	0.067	0.95
		PSY	-0.082	-0.845	0.40
Job satisfaction*	0.058	MACH	-0.200	-2.083	0.04*
		NAR	0.053	0.553	0.58
		PSY	-0.098	-0.972	0.33

*MACH=Machiavellianism; NAR=narcissism; PSY=psychopathy; *p<0.05; **p<0.01*

The results presented above led us to the idea of testing the acquired data more comprehensively. By analyzing the relationship between the Dark Triad and job satisfaction among helping professionals, we tried to answer the question of how the features of the Dark Triad contribute to perceived job satisfaction in individual spheres, which are represented by factors F1 - F9. We tested the hypothetical model by using structural equation modeling, but the indicators of model fit did not reach the necessary values (Table 3). By analyzing other indicators that helped us identify sources of low model fit, we modified the hypothetical model by adding four covariations to the indicator residues that, according to theoretical assumptions, seemed to be the most appropriate (pay - rewards; promotion – benefits; supervision – communication; co-workers - communication).

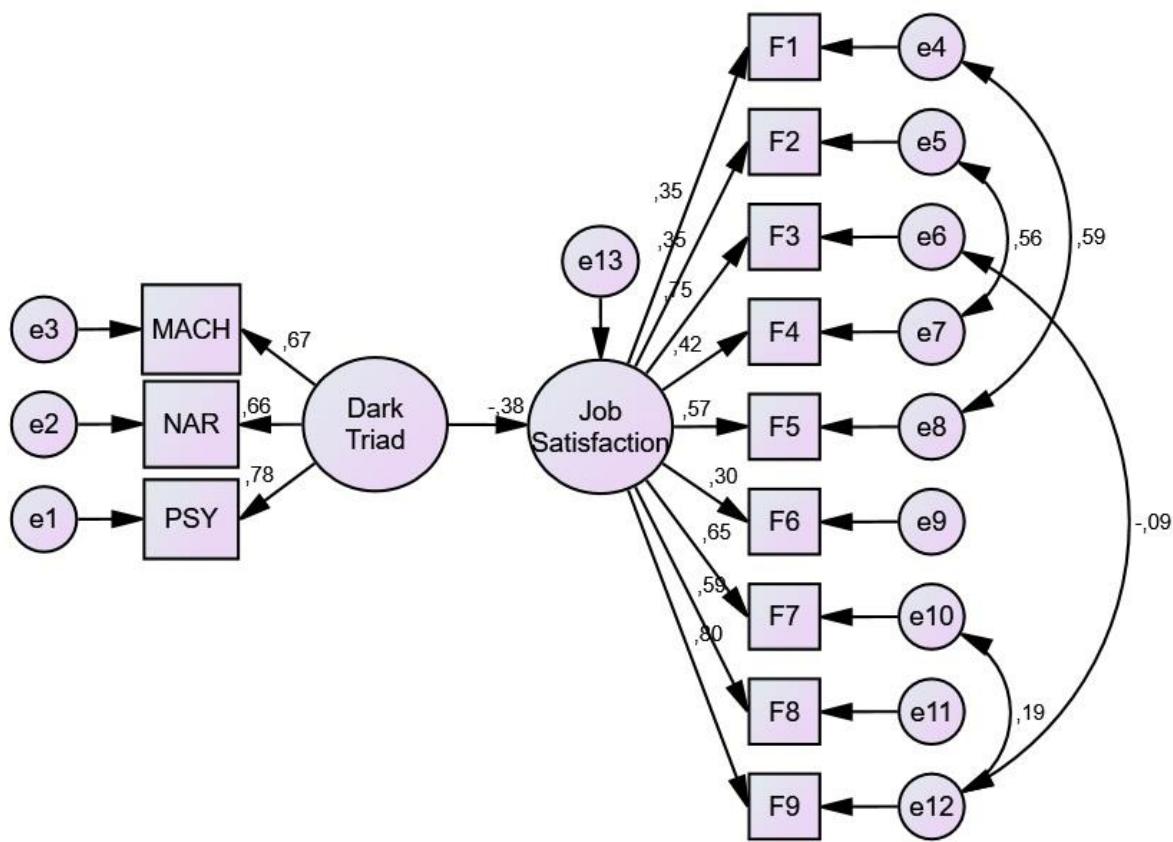
By re-testing the new modified model, we were able to obtain better model fit values (Table 3). However, the values of the individual parameters still do not reach the ideal value.

Table 3: Model Fit (N=151)

model	N	χ^2	df	p	χ^2/df	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	SRMR
Model	151	267.156	53	<0,001	5.041	0.666	0.585	0.164	0.132
Modified model	151	165.108	49	<0,001	3.370	0.819	0.756	0.125	0.117

According to the modified model, the Dark Triad features explained 38.2% ($R^2 = 0.382$) variations of job satisfaction factors in helping professionals. The following figure (Figure 1) presents a modified model with standardized parameter estimates.

Figure 1: Modified model – standardized estimates



MACH=Machiavellianism; NAR=narcissism; PSY=psychopathy

Discussion and conclusion

The primary aim of the presented study was to examine the nature of the relationship between the features of the Dark Triad – Machiavellianism, narcissism and psychopathy – to job satisfaction among helping professionals – pedagogical workers, healthcare workers, rescue workers and social workers.

Although the performance of the helping profession and the personality of the helping professionals are automatically associated with positive personality traits, such as empathy, compassion, willingness to help, and dedication, (BACP, 2018; Heinonen et al., 2012; Kusý, 2020; Wampold & Carlson 2011), the helping professions also dispose by job specific elements that either require some degree of depersonalisation or directly encourage a person who has considerable reserves in the above-mentioned positive qualities to choose this profession. This suggests that aversive personality traits could be detected in helping professionals as well. The basic starting point of these ideas was the fact that the help of a helping professional is sought by the person who is experiencing the problem situation (Kopřiva, 1997), which places him/her in a subordinate position to the professional who gains power over situation (Guggebnuhl-Craig, 2007). It is the accumulation of power and its demonstration that is one of the basic needs and tendencies of people exhibiting the features of the Dark Triad, and the functions of the

helping professions clearly provides an opportunity (Bakir et al., 2003, Bucknall et al., 2015; Seligson, 1992).

Testing the relationship between Dark Triad features and job satisfaction factors has yielded several significant results. These suggest that individuals with higher levels of Machiavellistic features are significantly less satisfied with supervision, co-workers, the nature of work, workplace communication, and overall job satisfaction. Bakir et al. (2003) obtained similar results; they identified lower job satisfaction among Machiavellian doctors as compared to the general population. Walter, Anderson and Martin (2005) also pointed out the dissatisfaction of the Machiavellists with their leaders, which they explained by perceiving him/her as competition. A similar source suggests their dissatisfaction with co-workers, as pointed out by Vecchio (2000). The nature of the work in which a helping professional is expected to raise the patient's needs beyond their own needs, according to Bakir et al. (2003) encourages dissatisfaction. In our research, higher narcissism has been associated with greater satisfaction with promotion, but with less satisfaction with co-workers and workplace communication. Our results don't meet the findings of Abbas and Kant (2017) who found that employees with higher narcissism levels showed higher level of job satisfaction, because we did not find any significant relationship among narcissism and overall job satisfaction. According to Benson, Jordan and Christie (2016), they consider themselves to be overqualified and therefore believe that it is better for them to get senior roles, which is reflected in their unwillingness to engage in behavior beneficial to the group. The most significant relationships were in the case of psychopathy, positively associated with the promotion and negatively with satisfaction with supervision, co-workers, nature of work, communication in the workplace and overall job satisfaction. This result corresponds to that of Boddy (2011), who also points out that job satisfaction decreases with increasing psychopathy. According to O'Boyle et al. (2012) people with psychopathic features need work whose nature allows them freedom, risk, excitement, power or the possibility of practicing irresponsible behavior. They also show emotional coolness towards colleagues and superiors (O'Boyle et al., 2012).

We find it rather interesting that the features of the Dark Triad had no relationship with satisfaction with those aspects of work connected with financial and non-financial rewards. Conversely, satisfaction with those aspects of work that require social interaction was in a significantly negative relationship with the Dark Triad. However, this result is fully consistent with the fact that individuals with these features increasingly appear to be emotionally cold, busy, superior or overly-confident when in contact with others (Al Aïn et al., 2013; Forsyth & O'Boyle, 2012; Lee & Ashton, 2005; Morf & Rhodenwalt, 2001; Paulhus & Williams, 2002). According to our results, the Dark Triad significantly contributes to the prediction of overall job satisfaction of helping professionals at the rate of 5.8% (of which 2.8% is Machiavellianism), satisfaction with promotion is at 6.6% (of which 4.1% is narcissism), satisfaction with co-workers is at 14.2% (of which 3.9% is Machiavellianism), the nature of work is at 10% (of which 7.2% is psychopathy) and satisfaction with communication in the workplace is at 12.3% (of which 6.3% is Machiavellianism). Taking a closer look at the components of the Dark Triad, we can conclude that Machiavellianism significantly predicted overall job satisfaction, which corresponds to the findings of Bakir et al. (2003); satisfaction with co-workers and communication in the workplace, where we refer to similar results as Vecchio (2000). Looking at the essence of the social functioning of a Machiavellistic personality, these results are not surprising. Given the desire to manipulate and tendency to exploit other people for their own benefit (Al Aïn et al., 2013), it is not surprising that Machiavellianism appears to be an important predictor of those factors of job satisfaction related to social interaction. The other two components of the Dark Triad are different, focusing on other aspects of job satisfaction. Quite predictably, narcissism has proven to be a predictor of job satisfaction, reflecting the character of narcissists as personalities who show signs of

inflated self-confidence, a sense of importance and superiority over others (Morf & Rhodenwalt, 2001). This result reflects the egocentrism of narcissists; with a focus on themselves. Psychopathy significantly predicted satisfaction with the nature of work, reflecting psychopaths' lack of interest in social interaction and emotional shallowness; they do not address themselves or others, they are more coldly focused on the performance of the profession (Forsyth & O'Boyle, 2012).

Although the complex model of Dark Triad and job satisfaction relations indicated a 38.2% rate of Dark Triad's contribution to the variation of job satisfaction factors, the model fit indicators did not reach the required value. This result can be justified by an insufficiently large research set, although opinions on this parameter differ in literature; the most common operation is with at least 200 cases (Kline, 2011), while a sample of 100-150 cases is required to be sufficiently large (Tabachnik & Fidell, 2001), it is not exceptional to encounter relatively small samples that are considered sufficient to be used with this method (e.g. 5-10 cases / parameter; Kline, 2011). Another factor could be the diversity of helping professions in the research set. As already mentioned, while some professions, such as health professionals are expected to have empathy and a human approach (Géringová, 2011), firefighters or police officers also appreciate their ability to cut emotionally from the situation (Babiak, 1995).

We perceive some limitations to our study in the representation of individual types of helping professions, which forced us to merge them into larger groups with a similar focus. Another problem may be the very categorization of helping professions; since not everyone includes professions such as a fireman or a police officer. It should also be borne in mind that in some helping professions, to some extent, it is considered desirable that its practitioners carry cooler and more detached personality traits (Babiak, 1995). While interpreting the results we have to keep in mind that we did not examine the relationship of job satisfaction and Dark Triad in the context of other important variables that might influence this relationship. Also, the context of the research was very specific. It means that our results are hard to generalize. Further options for improvement are discussed below. In spite of these limitations, we consider the results of our study to be beneficial, as they have shown that assisting workers, who are automatically expected to be selfless and prosocial, also have some aversive personality traits, which may be a significant element in the individual elements of their work satisfaction. Therefore, it is equally important and interesting to consider how the aversive features of the practitioner of the helping profession are related to their satisfaction with the job. In particular, the clarification of the predictive power of the Dark Triad traits in relation to the job satisfaction of helping professionals is a valuable result. In the future it is important, in our opinion, to deal with specific helping professions in relation to the features of the Dark Triad; to focus on one group of helping professionals and collect more homogeneous data in this regard, and look in detail at the potential risks that individuals exhibiting aversive personalities pose to their clients. We highly support the idea of appropriate selection in high schools and universities of aspirants who wish to work in the helping professions, because we consider the present practice during interviews as insufficient. In Slovakia there is weak emphasis on examining the personality of helping professionals or the students in these kind of fields. Furthermore, the employers should pay more attention to their employees. Currently, unfortunately, there is weak or little control of the approach of helping professionals in regards to their clients, for example in monitoring their way of communication.

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CULTURAL POPULATION STRUCTURE OF THE CZECH BORDERLAND 70 YEARS AFTER RESETTLEMENT A CASE STUDY: TACHOV

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Abstract:

This study focuses on the ethno-cultural situation in one of the regions of the Czech borderland, from where almost the entire population was displaced after the Second World War. Ethnographic, historical and geographical methods were used for the research.

The studied region consists of the small town of Tachov and 12 surrounding municipalities, which include a total of 38 settlements. Before the Second World War, the Tachov area was inhabited almost exclusively with people of German ethnicity. After the war, most of these people were displaced to Germany under the Potsdam Agreements. The region also lost most of its Jewish population as a result of the Holocaust and the emigration of those remaining abroad. The area was then inhabited by various groups of Slavic inhabitants from the Czechoslovak interior and other countries, including Czechs and Slovaks from the Czechoslovak interior who were looking for a chance for a new life across the border, and repatriates from the Czech or Slovak minorities in Volhynia, Hungary, Romania. The numbers were supplemented by Ruthenians, who took advantage of the possibility of resettlement after the transfer of Transcarpathian Ukraine to the Soviet Union, by Romanians and Bulgarians who came to the region as forestry experts, and individuals of other ethnic groups.

The original population was far from being replaced, nor was resettlement considered as due to a lack of local economic resources and the border position. The loss of about a third of the population was concentrated in the town of Tachov along with the extinction of a number of original settlements due to the protection of the state border, the construction of the Lučina waterworks, or unsuccessful settlements. The result is an extremely low population density of 15 people per km².

The western part of the area includes a very sparsely populated landscape of the protected landscape area of the Upper Palatine Forest, while in the eastern part of the area, the Tachovská brázda Furrow is used for agriculture. There are practically no mineral resources. The economic base of the region lies in its manufacturing sector, especially in the processing of plastics in Tachov, which is reflected in its weaker educational structure. The sphere of services is undersized. Unemployment is not high, as Bavaria's proximity allows people to cross-border commuting.

Although an ethnically almost homogeneous Slavic population emerged, the socio-cultural levels of the settlers were different. The following ethnocultural groups in particular were singled out and characterized in the territory: Czechs from Czechia, Slovaks from Slovakia, Czechs from formerly Ukrainian Volhynia, Czechs from formerly Polish Volhynia, Slovaks from Transylvania, Ruthenians from Romania, Ruthenians from Transcarpathian Ukraine, and Romanian and Bulgarian forest workers The Roma. German and Jewish ethnocultural groups disappeared, while a new Vietnamese ethno-cultural group formed. A military-police ethnocultural group was also set aside as a remnant of settlers who came to the area within the protection of its state borders.

The events of the twentieth century completely changed the ethnic and cultural structure of the population of the Tachov region, when the original majority groups practically disappeared and a completely new structure was

created. The study shows how the seemingly ethnically homogeneous structure of the population is in fact culturally differentiated. This had consequences for the entire post-war development of the region. The relationship of the locals to the landscape, to the settlements, and to the land was broken and it took some time for a new local community to form. Moreover, the borderland, in a way, served as a social experiment. The restoration of the middle class was prevented, which today is reflected in a lack of knowledge, and entrepreneurial drive to do business. There is an increased nostalgia for the social security of the socialist period. This is reflected in an increased proportion of votes being cast for non-systemic parties in elections.

It turns out that the data on the ethnic structure of the population do not reflect the real cultural diversity of the region. It is necessary to use other statistical data that describe the cultural structure indirectly. Above all, however, it is necessary to carry out ethnographic research which can both characterize the current state and contribute to its explanation using the historical method.0

At present, the possibilities of migration are open. Czechia is becoming a destination for economic migrants from the East and potentially also seniors from the West, or refugees from the South. The experience of this study shows that the assimilation of people from different cultures is a long-term process. People of foreign cultures have a natural tendency to concentrate and separate from domestic culture in order to maintain their own culture. However, intercultural enrichment can only occur if they cooperate with the original culture and gradually integrate into it.

Key words: Ethno-cultural structure. Ethnicity. Religiousness. Immigration. Czech borderland. Tachov.

Introduction

Ethnic and religious population structures are often the subject of geographical analyses. Such analyses usually serve political science purposes. In the past, they were often a basis for the demarcation of regional state borders. However, people are often pressured to declare or change their declaration of nationality for political reasons.

At the present time, ethnicity and religion has ceased to be the main force of political development, while the importance of nation-states is declining despite repeated attempts to accentuate the issue. Nevertheless, the culture connected with ethnicity and religion is still important, and it will almost certainly survive nation-states. Neither ethnicity nor religion, however, is able to explain cultural differences completely. In general, different cultures are the results of different attitudes, values and skills (Inglehart, 2018).

Apart from the two mentioned factors, many other circumstances play a role in cultural differences: region of origin, education and social structure of population, historical experience, physical-geographical situation, relation to other cultures in the same region. It is known that believers of the same religion or members of the same nation from different regions have different cultures. People from the highlands have different cultures than people from the lowlands. There are cultural differences between people of different social classes and different education levels. This means that the ethnic and religious population structure alone is not sufficient to explain cultural development.

Massive international migration has caused changes in the ethnic and religious population structure. South-to-North and, less visible, East-to-West migration (Kopnina, 2019) streams prevail in contemporary Europe. Different ethnic and religious population groups are mixing with both positive and negative consequences. The concept of multiculturalism has been intensively discussed, likewise its political consequences. Its perception has changed from being viewed as a solution to Europe's problems rather than a cause of its problems, which leads to a certain crisis (Chin, 2019). Prato (2016) highlights the conflict between cultural identity and individual choice. She is of the opinion that ethnic identity can acquire a positive value only under the condition that it does not overshadow the universal identity of a citizen

who shares the common norms and values of the society they live in. In general, however, problems are mainly connected with the immigration of non-Europeans to Europe.

Migration is not a new factor in Europe. The Czech borderland (except for the part next to Slovakia) is a territory where almost the entire population was exchanged after WWII on an ethnic basis. The majority of its population (Germans) was expelled at that time - their evacuation and the following re-settlement process has been described, for example, by Gerlach (2017). The majority of the post-war population consisted of new settlers. They came not only from the Czechoslovak inland, but also through re-emigration of Czechs and Slovaks from foreign countries. Outwardly, a new ethnically relatively homogeneous population structure (Slavonic) arose in the borderland areas. Although ethnically homogeneous, the population that arose there was culturally quite heterogeneous. The new population was of a different and various social origin, age, and education.

The coexistence of different cultures and their assimilation into the Czech borderland took place under the conditions of a non-democratic society. The levelling of the society, including the ethnic structure, was supported by the political system. Additionally, those features related to specific cultures which did not fit communist politics were suppressed – namely religion among others. Thus, the circumstances of the multicultural society were impacted by the regime, and the data and information about cultural structures are not easily accessible.

The research question of this paper regards which cultural groups formed the post-war population, and how the present situation can be characterized from this viewpoint. We aim to show that not only ethnic or religious, but also social structures form different cultures. The investigation was done in the Tachov micro-region on the western borderland of Czechia.

Theory: Ethnicity and Culture

Of three generally used definitions of culture (Storey, 2018), we use the following one: *culture is a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period or a group*. Cultural studies are oriented toward the analysis and practical critique of concrete, contemporary cultural distinctions that are based on and that propagate differentials in economic and political power (Surber, 2018). The concept of culture includes non-material manifestations and customs as well as material artifacts (Berger, 2016). Even if the original population disappears, the remnants of material culture remain as a rule.

According to Mosse (2018), culture possesses a soul, while civilization includes an external and artificial state, of which humanity is capable. European civilization was connected with Christianity in the medieval age, after which it changed with nationalism. However, what does civilization mean in the period of globalization? Mozaffari (2017) argues that the pressure of accelerating globalization will tend to some unification of civilization. He hopes that the present civilization level originates from the youngest one, which is European and Western. Could it be interpreted that the civilization level could be measured on the following scale; religious – nationalist – European? Higher levels of civilization do not regulate the previous ones, but include them within themselves. So Europeanization includes both religion and ethnicity, but it no longer places them in a decisive position.

The declarative character of statistical evidence of ethnicity is a key problem for cultural investigation. Moreover, these questions are often subjects of political pressure and intention. Assimilation tendencies lead parents to register their children in schools with the ethnic majority for practical reasons. While statistical evidence of ethnicity in population census

seems to have the character of hard data, in fact, these data are actually very soft. That is why official statistics about ethnicity can only have an auxiliary function.

Ethnicity is considered to be an important cultural aspect. However, we are of the opinion that ethnicity forms only one part of the regional culture. Baer, Grabb and Johnston (1993) show with the example of the USA and Canada, that cultural differences do not precisely respect ethnic borders. This means that there are some additional aspects which differentiate regional cultures. Additionally, Desmet et al. (2017), based on the results of a survey in 76 countries, are of the opinion that ethnic and cultural diversity are unrelated. At the same time, however, ethnicity is defined by a specific culture among other factors.

The intricate development of the ethnic structure of Central-Eastern Europe was analyzed by Eberhardt (2015), who noted the extreme differentiation and variability of the ethnic and religious structure of this part of Europe, which led to a number of conflicts in the 20th century. Central Eastern Europe, perceived as a more or less homogeneous post-Soviet bloc, is in fact very culturally differentiated.

Religiosity seems to have a closer relationship with culture. However, how should official census data about religious belief be interpreted; through a declaration of faith, or dedication to a church or simply to a tradition to maintain social habits? Which viewpoint is true in individual cases is not always clear. The situation is complicated by the fact that according to the last population census, only 14% of the Czech population reported an affiliation with a church, while 7% are believers without any relation to a church. On the other hand, 35% of the population reports that they are unbelievers and the remaining 44% did not answer the question. So, statistically it is difficult to evaluate religiosity in Czechia. In our opinion, the share of believers indicates a more or less traditional society than one relating to faith.

Regional cultures are sometimes highlighted in relation to exogenous regional development (Kockel, 2017). This could manifest itself through entrepreneurial culture (Fritsch & Wyrwich, 2019), social acceptance and encouragement of entrepreneurs and their activities in a region (Šebestová et al., 2015), or as Benner (2017) discusses, the systemic role of culture in local conditions, including diversity, creativity, and experimentation, and its impact on local or regional development in areas such as economic growth and employment.

The borderland which was occupied by the German Third Reich as a result of the Munich Agreement (1938) is incorrectly named Sudetenland. In this sense, the borderland is rather a sociological concept than a geographical one. It is possible to compare this with Reed's concept of the US South (Reed, 1982).

Methodology: Ethnological Research

Our research used mainly ethnographic methods; namely using extracts from documents, interviewing, largely, witnesses, consulting museums as well as municipal offices, and also visiting cemeteries which testify the history of the local population. The use of these methods is complicated in the study area. The territory along the iron curtain was a very special area during the socialist period of 1948 – 1989. Written materials are incomplete, often confidential, or they are archived out of the reach of researchers – sometimes in inaccessible archives in Russia. The towns Tachov and Bor were excluded from the detailed research because the social systems of the towns are formed by a different method, and are more mixed.

Each social situation has to be anchored in the respective time and space. That is why historical and geographical methods complete the ethnographic ones. They include research in archives, elaboration of statistical data, as well as mapping and analysis of regional circumstances. The procedure included the delimitation of the territory of study, its geographical characteristics, field research including visits to selected institutions, and generalization of results.

Material: the Tachov micro-region

The micro-region under study includes the small town of Tachov and a part of its rural hinterland. Previously, Blanc (1963) considered the Tachov area as one of the laboratories for the analysis of the re-colonization of the Czech border lands. The territory, defined as the administrative district of the municipal authority with extended competence of Tachov, comprises 12 municipalities, which consist of 38 sections of municipalities (which can be simply considered as settlements), where (without Tachov) about 4,400 inhabitants live in an area of 286 km² which results in an extremely low average population density of 15 persons per km².

In the western part of the territory near the state border there are dense, almost uninhabited parts of the Upper Palatine Forest, where a large part of the territory is formed by the protected Landscape Area Český les. The main watercourse is the Mže River, on which there is a water reservoir Lučina (80 ha). During its construction in the 1970s, the settlement Lučina (Sorghof) was flooded. Mineral resources are virtually absent. Local resources are, therefore, mainly forest and agricultural products. The eastern part of the territory consists of the more agriculturally used Tachovská brázda furrow.

Forest occupies about half of the area. Arable land and permanent grassland each make up approximately one fifth of the area. Other types of land use (with the exception of the so-called *other areas*) occupy insignificant space. The soils are typically not very fertile. The average official price per 1 m² of land in the border regions is approximately CZK 2, towards the Tachov furrow it rises to almost CZK 9. The coefficient of ecological stability of the landscape¹ has a very favorable value of 2.64.

The main traffic routes of the territory are the second-class roads, namely the 198 and 199, on which the border crossing to Bavaria is located at Pavlův Studenec – Bärnau. The nearest town on the Bavarian side is Bärnau (3,179 inhabitants, 2016), 21 minutes by car from Tachov. The nearest D5 motorway exit is just 12 km away. The section of road II / 198 from Tachov towards the highway is the most frequented road in the Tachov area, with an average of 6,571 vehicles passing every 24 hours. The regional railway line Planá – Tachov – Domažlice crosses the territory in the north-south direction. The regional centers are quite distant: on the Czech side is Pilsen, on the Bavarian side are Regensburg and Nürnberg.

The long-term population development of the Tachov region since the first modern census in 1869 is shown in Fig. 1. After an initial growth it is clear that the population was slowly declining until the Second World War. In the post-war period there was an extremely sharp drop to below one third of the Pre-war state, with settlements completely disappearing. The largest of these was Pavlův Studenec, which had 1,400 inhabitants before the war. Blanc

¹ The share of ecologically stable land use (forests, meadows, gardens, waters) and ecologically unstable ones (arable land, built-up and other areas)

(1963) identified the lack of investment as a major problem. In subsequent periods, the population declined only slightly until the situation stabilized in the last 20 years, and there has been a slight increase which is consistent with the prevailing urban-to-rural migration trend in Czechia. At the same time, the town of Tachov, which represented only 15% of the population at the beginning of this period, has been increased by migration from the surrounding countryside since the 1950s, almost tripling by 1990. This shows not only the overall trend of population decline of the micro-region for most of its modern history, but also the concentration of the population in the only city of the micro-region.

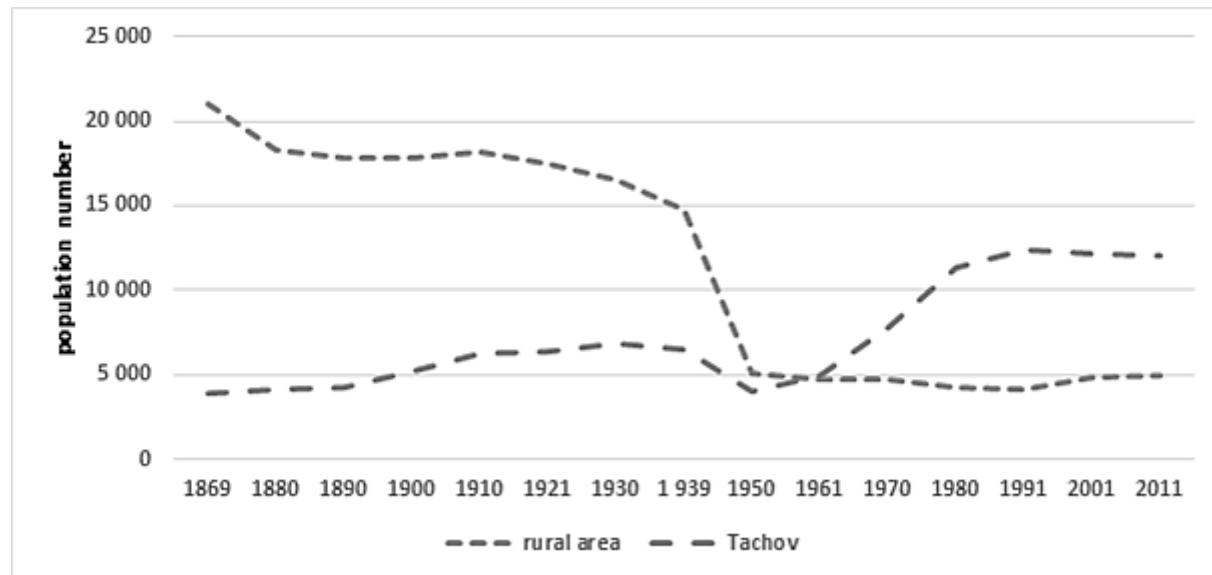


Fig. 1: Long-term population development in the Tachov micro-region.

Sources: *Historický lexikon obcí 1869 – 2011*. Praha: Český statistický úřad pro rok 1939; *Amtliches Gemeindefeverzeichnis für das Deutsche Reich auf Grund der Volkszählung 1939*. Berlin: Verlag für Sozialpolitik, Wirtschaftsfund Statistik.

Recently (2013 – 2017), the population development of the Tachov area has stabilized. Over this period, rural municipalities recorded a natural increase of 51 inhabitants and a migration loss of 52 inhabitants, which is a movement of 1 % of the total population. On the other hand, the town of Tachov (including the connected local districts) recorded a natural decrease of 50 people and a migration increase of 73 people (representing 4 and 6 % of the population). However, the depopulation tendencies stopped, not only in the micro-region itself, but also in virtually all its municipalities. Housing construction is not large; between 2012 and 2016, 157 apartments were built, of which 105 were in Tachov itself. Tourist facilities are also concentrated in Tachov. It has 3 facilities with 56 rooms and 150 beds, in which 1,650 guests spent a total of 5,619 nights in 2017.

The settlement structure of the area consists of one small town and a set of rural settlements, none of which have more than one thousand inhabitants. The only medium-sized village is Halže with 726 inhabitants. The rest of the settlements are 9 small villages and 26 very small villages, of which 23 have less than 100 inhabitants.

At the end of 2016, in the municipalities of the Tachov micro-region there were 9,289 employees, of which 8,685 were employed in Tachov and 604 in other municipalities. 59% of the population of the town of Tachov worked in manufacturing industries (2011), as

did 69 % of the inhabitants of rural villages in its vicinity. The main industry of Tachov is plastics processing. Other industries include agriculture, forestry and fishing (13.1 %, which is well above the national average), and construction (6.7 %). In Tachov, on the other hand, there is an under-average representation of all service sectors as well as transport and logistics. Of the employed, 9.8 % had only a basic education (including uncompleted), 42.5 % were apprenticed, 34.5 % completed a secondary school leaving examination, and 13.2 % had some form of tertiary education. The economic structure of the micro-region thus corresponds to its hitherto predominantly production-oriented character, which, largely, is mirrored by the educational structure. The unemployment rate was 3.2 %. In March 2018, there were 387 job seekers and a corresponding total of 1,185 job vacancies.

In the micro-region, a total of 2,250 inhabitants (13.2 %) declared themselves believers of a faith in the last census (2011). The proportion of believers is similar in Tachov and in the rural settlements in its vicinity. The Roman Catholic Church was the strongest (51.7 % of Believers), and the Orthodox Church was the second most (17.2 %). Stočes and Váně (2017) show the gradual diversion of the Tachov settlers from the faith due to both the anti-propaganda of the communist regime and the loss of contact with their original community. In rural areas, however, the share of both churches is much closer (Roman Catholic 40.3 %, Orthodox 37.8 %). The Orthodox communities are in Lesná, Ctiboř, and Milíře. A total of 157 foreigners live in the rural municipalities, with the highest share being Slovaks (25.5 %). There are 877 foreigners living in Tachov alone, out of which 188 are Slovaks.

Empiric results: Individual ethno-cultural population groups

During the research, we came to the conclusion that mere identification of nationality does not give a credible – or reliable – picture of the cultural composition of society. Culture is a result of social interactions, which come from ethnicity, religion and traditions, the region of origin, and also the social and professional inclusion of the population. Individual cultural groups enter into inter-relationships. At the same time, the culture that bears the strongest hold on its people will prevail – even when it can integrate elements of other cultures. In the study region, cultural population groups were identified, and their dislocation can be seen on the map (Fig. 2).

Czechs from the inner lands were represented by settlers from South Bohemia, Moravia and some other Czech regions. They were mostly small farmers, agricultural workers, and some handicrafts men or industrial workers. Their motivations were different. Some of them were looking for a new beginning, some of them understood it as a political task, and many of them wanted to gain some property and then leave the borderland again.

Slovaks from Slovakia were represented to a relatively small degree due to the distance of the region under study, from Slovakia, and came from the less developed Slovak regions. The interaction of Slovaks from Romania showed that they belonged to a more material and more religious culture, and they were trying to integrate into the milieu of Czech settlers from the inner lands.

Czechs from Volhynia came to the region mostly as former soldiers of the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps in the USSR, who won the right to settle in Czechoslovakia in WWII. They are divided into two groups. The Czechs from the Soviet Volhynia (mostly from the Zhitomir oblast of present Ukraine) had bad experiences with the era of terror and famine under Stalin. That is why they were considered by the Czech communist regime to be unreliable. Czechs from Polish Volhynia (Volyn and Rivne oblast), which fell to Poland on the Treaty of Brest-

Litovsk, formed the second group, and kept more their religious traditions. Czechs from Volhynia were considered to be good land managers. There were 1,283 Czechs from Volhynia in the Tachov region (Nosková, 1999).

Slovaks from Romania (Transsylvania), in total 1,350 people, formed about a half of the Slovak settlers in the Tachov region. They represented a distinct group which kept relatively unchanged folk traditions in the foreign cultural milieu of Romanian and Hungarian languages, orthodox, catholic, and evangelic religions. They had a low level of formal education as a rule. Local people sometimes considered them to be Romanians (Nosková, 2014).

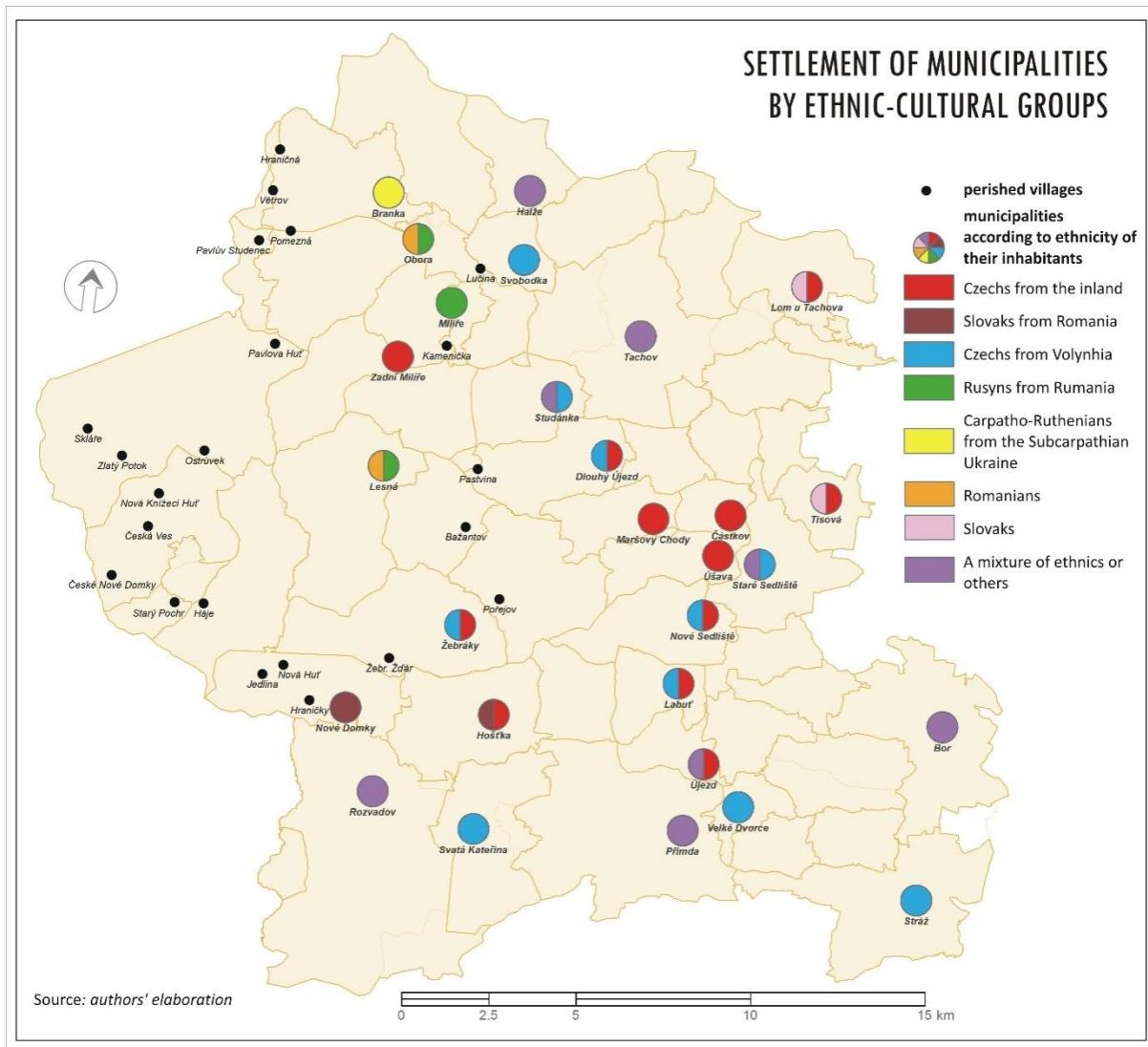


Fig. 2: Settlement of municipalities by ethnic-cultural groups.

Source: Vaishar, Nosková, & Nováková (2019).

Rusyns from Romania represented a less developed cultural group from a civilization viewpoint. They were mostly forest workers who found their existence in the forests of the Tachov region. From a religious standpoint, they were Greek-Catholic, but the Greek-Catholic Church was administratively involuntarily connected with the Orthodox Church according to the Soviet model in 1948.

Carpatho-Ruthenians were from the Subcarpathian Ukraine – one of the lands of pre-war Czechoslovakia. Those who came with the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corpus gained the right to move to Czechoslovakia after the connection of Subcarpathian Ukraine to the USSR. These people totaled 1,200, some of which reported as Slovaks or Ukrainians.

Romanians and Bulgarians were invited by the Czechoslovak government as forest workers, who were much needed in the Tachov region. They represented an exclusive element, not being repatriates, and in the case of Romanians, they were not Slavic either. Individual families lived in peripheral villages.

Before WWII, Germans formed an absolute majority of the population and they dictated the culture of the region. After the expulsion, only a small number remained, were dispersed among different villages, and could not form any strong cultural group. Their descendants – often from mixed matrimony – relatively quickly assimilated, and they do not register German ethnicity at the present time. Renewed contacts of rural municipalities with their former inhabitants in Germany are limited, and function more for nostalgia. However, remnants of material culture remained: the ground plan of settlements, intravilan division, architecture, landscape, and cemeteries, which had not been destroyed.

Jews represented a very important element before WWII, mainly from the religious viewpoint. Ethnically, they identified themselves with the majority – i.e. with Germans. As a consequence of the holocaust, the Jewish culture in the region ceased to exist. Also, in the case of Jews, some elements of the material culture survived, especially cemeteries and rural synagogues.

Roma people do not form any significantly large part of the population of the Tachov region. They do not consider themselves a nationality. The majority evaluates them more as a social than ethnic group. However, within the population census of 1980, the census commissioners estimated the number of Roma (Gypsies according to the terminology of the time) at 182 (2 % of the population). The biggest concentration of them was recorded in towns.

The Vietnamese appeared in the 1990s. Their Buddhist religion does not manifest itself externally. They mostly use contacts which originate from their working stays in Czechoslovakia during the socialist period. They are interested in assimilating with the local population. They are engaged mostly in retail and services as private entrepreneurs. For this reason, they concentrate themselves in more important settlements close to main roads.

The military-police subculture is not pre-conditioned by ethnic or religious factors. It originated as a consequence of the old iron curtain. Officers of the military forces, Border Police, State Security and similar armed bodies often settled with their families in villages close to the state border. They have formed a special culture, until this time, which has been repeatedly confirmed by results of local elections.

In general, Slovak compatriots from Romania, Hungary and other countries found themselves in the role of cultural minorities. In the countries which they emigrated from, these people formed their small enclaves and diasporas. The ethnically related environment of regions in the Czech lands did not become for them a challenge to radically emancipate themselves, but rather a challenge to adjust and preserve a certain identity. Romanian Slovaks brought their own cultural capital to the borderland, which had its roots in their original Slovak home regions – Kysuce, Orava, Gemer and Hont, from where they left to Romania in the 18th century. Their cultural capital was influenced by their affiliation with the Catholic Church thanks to which a part of the liturgy was carried over into folk traditions. It became a regional cultural consciousness and an older variant of Slovak customary law in families and society.

Slovaks in Transylvania preserved their cultural capital through folk customs and traditions from generation to generation in unwritten form for two hundred years, only through their memory and traditions passed down orally. Local Czechs and Slovaks considered the way of life, living, clothing, diet, and farming of the re-emigrants to be old-fashioned and evidence of a lower social class. Their Slovak compatriots preserved their cultural capital until the 1970s – until later generations took over. In the micro-regions of Tachov, Sokolov, Cheb, Kaplice, Jeseník and other regions, folk traditions forming a specific cultural capital of Slovaks from Romania lasted until the 1990s (Nosková & Váchová, 2000).

The German minority became a cultural minority due to the effect of tools of foreign and local politics in Czechoslovakia. The tools consisted of displacement, deprivation of civil rights, and denial of education in their mother language or the development of their own culture. Also, Hungarians, Ukrainians and Ruthenians became a cultural minority in the Czech lands, as did Croatians, Greeks, and Bulgarians. The Roma could have become a cultural minority too, but they were not accepted by the majority. The Poles in the Czech Republic remained a national minority concentrated mainly in the North-Moravian borderland. Some cultural rights of Germans, whose minorities also lived in several border regions, were gradually restored. Hungarians, Ukrainians, Roma, Croatians, Ruthenians, and Lusatian Serbs remained as cultural minorities in Bohemia.

Cultural minorities in the borderland partially mingled with culturally-social minorities. Culturally-social minorities penetrated the majority to a larger extent, and with their border position between a cultural minority and a social group of the majority, they contributed to a mutual tolerance of both the groups or even to incorporation of a part of the cultural minority into the majority. A prerequisite for such incorporation usually was the same social identity of the majority and the cultural minority. The existing background field research shows that border regions were suitable for this inter-mingling. The identity of cultural minorities stayed on the level of individual perception and of a certain manifestation of common attributes.

Discussion: Consequences

Our research shows that in a relatively small area which seems to be relatively homogeneous from an ethnic and religious viewpoint, many different cultures can be found. The most numerous cultures from the Pre-war period – the German and Jewish ones, completely disappeared. This caused some disruption to local culture, cultural identity, the relationship between the people and the landscape and settlements, and also the relationship of farmers to their land as a part of the heritage which should have been inherited by sons and grandsons.

The new settlement took place under the direction of the Communist Party starting in 1945. From an overview, it follows that none of the new cultural groups could be classified as middle class (except maybe Czechs from Volhynia who were strictly regarded, politically, as unreliable elements). The borderland served like a social experiment in creating a society without any spiritually or economically independent population classes. This fact, besides the mixture of people of different cultures from different parts of Europe, was the reason why a specific social situation originated in the borderland areas.

What components does the regional culture actually consist of? According to our findings, in addition to the ethnic and religious factors, a historical experience in different regions can be named. The civilization level including formal education, ways of farming, and social stratification play a role as well. The cultural politics of the state can support or defend cultural identity or assimilation of individual groups.

What are the consequences of such a special cultural population mixture after 60 years? There are only a very limited number of statistical indicators that can be discussed. The religiousness of the population (the sum of believers of all religions and believers without any religion) is 12.4 %, compared to the Czech average of 21 % – although we are speaking about a rural region where a higher religiousness could be presupposed.

The original structure of immigrants is reflected in the current political preferences of the locals. In the last elections into the lower house of Parliament (2017), the participation in the Tachov region was 52.0 % (compared to the national average of 60.8 %). Many more voters elected so-called non-system parties. The party ANO of the prime minister Babiš was supported by 34.8 % (compared to 29.6 % for the entire Czechia), the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia by 12.2 % (compared to the national average of 7.8 %), and ultra-nationalistic and anti-immigration Liberty and Direct Democracy by 12.1 % (compared to 10.6 %). We are of the opinion that such results express some nostalgia for social security.

The relationship between the cultural character of the region and its potential for regional development could be assessed by means of the share of entrepreneurial activities of the locals. In the Tachov region there are 11 active enterprises per 100 inhabitants. The respective value for Czechia is 14. Krupková (1998), comparing the district Tachov with the inner lands districts Písek and Tábor, states a better demographic situation in Tachov (a result of immigration), yet there is less interest in entrepreneurialism. Together with the election preferences, it shows that local people tend to prefer social security and state assistance.

Although the ethnic population structure in the borderland is almost homogeneous at the present time, different cultural origins can differentiate local populations. This is evidenced by the different folk traditions and habits – while the younger generation has also obtained standard education, including university. The question is how deeply is it rooted in its cultural origin?

After 40 years of Communist rule behind the iron curtain, when not only migration but also a visit to the borderland territory was difficult, the border re-opened. New cultural (often quite exotic) elements have impacted the cultural milieu of the Tachov region – immigrants from the East and the South, and later also from the West (seniors living from western pensions easily covering eastern living costs), new religions and confessions. On the other hand, the Tachov region has not yet been discovered by migrants from further afield; and the question is whether and when this will happen.

In general, the question of possible new immigration can be posited. It shows that immigrants usually tend to concentrate in selected villages where they are able to keep their cultural habits and customs and hope for assistance from their co-patriots if necessary. At the same time, such a model protects them from their quick assimilation into the majority. This could be a difficult problem to solve when the culture of immigrants is extremely different from the culture of the majority. Roma villages (sometimes termed, ghettos) in Eastern Slovakia could serve as an example (Mušinka et al., 2013). The same could happen with Islamic immigrants from Africa or the Middle East. Surprisingly, Islamic immigrants from the Balkan or former Soviet Central Asia do not yet represent any serious problem. It seems that it is not the religion itself, but a combination with a specific regional culture that could form a threat. On the other hand, when immigrants are dispersed among the original population, their assimilation can be a question of one to two generations.

Conclusion

Our research showed an interesting picture of the cultural milieu in the region under study, which appears to be quite homogeneous on the outside, but is actually quite diverse on the inside. The differences have persisted for more than 70 years, i.e. more than 3 generations, in the milieu which was more or less protected from external interference. The question is what happens in the present time when the area is open not only to the Bohemian inner lands, but also to Bavaria and Europe in general.

Possible migrations across Europe and their impact on the cultural milieu in individual regions manifest another unknown factor. Is the concept of multiculturalism more suitable or should we seek assimilation of the immigrants as quickly as possible? It is clear that our paper opens further questions which present possible themes for future research.

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Online: http://www.usd.cas.cz/wp-content/uploads/Specialni_mapa_tachovsko.pdf

OPAVA – THE CITY MEMORY CHANGES UNDER DIFFERENT COUNTRIES AND REGIMES

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Abstract:

Opava has always been a city on the border. So there have been many changes of regimes and states to which Opava belonged, as well as changes of the city's ethnic composition. The most numerous and rapid changes happened during the 20th century; whereby the city was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918, then the first Czechoslovak republic until 1938, then part of the German Reich until 1945, then returning to be part of the Czechoslovak republic until 1993 and finally, as part of the Czech Republic till today. Within the century, Opava experienced a constitutional monarchy and periods of liberal democracy alternating with Nazi and Communist dictatorships. In addition to this, the circumstances of the Second World War changed the ethnic composition of the city. Thus, the history and cultural heritage of Opava are interesting sources for studying the politics of memory, the processes of urban space nationalization, as well as the symbolic changes.

The politics of memory are, in certain forms, an expression of ideologies and efforts to fit memory by commemorating chosen cultural moments while other cultural moments are omitted by removing the links that lead to their remembrance. The main power groups try to convince the public of the legitimacy of their government by maintaining an awareness of the history held by the authority position or ideas that justify its legitimacy. In practice, the possibility to decide which elements of the past should be remembered have become an important source of power.

The aim of the paper is to analyse and compare the politics of memory and efforts to change Opava's symbolism. The study focuses primarily on the projection of ideologies and identities onto the symbolic landscape under different regimes during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Within the research the concept of urban symbolism is used in dealing with the city's cultural dimension with a focus on the distribution and meaning of symbols and rituals in relation to the cultivated surroundings. Urban symbolism is expressed through different phenomena, such as the city layout, architecture, monuments and memorials, street and place names, as well as rituals, festivals and processions, as well as myths, novels, films, poetry, music, and websites. All of them can be considered *symbol bearers*.

The study is limited to the analysis of urban public space aspects, such as the destruction and construction of symbolic sites (plaques, statues, monuments, buildings, graves), the renaming of streets and places, and commemorative rituals. In addition to literary sources, chronicles, periodicals and archival sources consulted. Also unrealized plans were taken into account, because especially plans testify to the politics of memory and the effort to change urban symbolism. The ambition of this article is to answer the following questions: How had been changing the politics of memory during the 20th century in Opava? How the city symbolism had been transforming in relation to the changes of jurisdiction to different states or political regimes and how sublimated into present form. How different approaches of political regimes and states to national history and cultural memory?

The paper synthesizes the results of research of urban symbolism and politics of memory in the public space of Opava. It interprets and shows how urban public space has been adapting to the changes of regimes and the city symbolism has been modified consciously but also indirectly. Within all the regimes were obvious significant attempts to "transcode" the urban public space by removal of the sites of memory and the commemorative events and establishing

of new ones. The physical and symbolic aspect of the city was influenced by the ideological and cultural values of its representatives and inhabitants as well as by specific socio-political circumstances and the ethnic composition of the city.

The politics of memory has always been reflected in street names. Each regime attempted to delete the symbols of the previous one. The regime of the first Czechoslovak Republic wanted to change the monarchic Austrian city into a free Czech city (taking into account the German majority) and commemorated mainly prominent Czech individuals and victims of the First World War. Nazi Germany wanted to change the city image into a clearly German one. After the end of the Second World War, Czechoslovakia returned to the ideals of the “first republic” and tried to abolish not only the Nazi but also German past. The communist regime continued with transforming the public space according to socialist ideology. After the Velvet Revolution all symbols connected with communist dictatorship were removed from public spaces, and once again we can see a return to the ideals of the “first republic”. After the separation from Slovakia in 1993, the politics of memory has not significantly changed and public space is further shaped and transformed with the same approach to the urban symbolism.

Despite the fact that the fluctuations between Germany and Czechoslovakia changed significantly the city symbolism from 1945 until today, some similar aspects can be traced, such as commemorating the victims of both wars, celebrating important Czech individuals, heroes and Soviet liberators. Likewise, all these regimes left the cultural memory of the unpleasant history associated with the persecution against Germans after the Second World War. And finally, the regimes of the first Czechoslovak Republic, German Reich and the third Czechoslovak Republic, all tried to make the national identity in the city stronger through a searching of the national architecture.

Key words: Opava. Czech Silesia. Politics of memory. Urban space. Public space. Urban symbolism.

Introduction

The politics of memory are, in certain forms, expression of ideologies and efforts to fit memory by commemorating chosen cultural moments, while other cultural moments are omitted by removing links which lead to their remembrance. Many power groups try to convince the public of the legitimacy of their government by maintaining an awareness of the history of the held authority position, tenure in it or ideas that justify its legitimacy. In practice, the possibility to decide which elements of the past should be remembered have become an important source of power. The relative and slow process of gradual changes are disrupted by periods of radical social changes that are reflected in the much more dynamic transformation of the spatial arrangement. Taking a stand on the past in connection with its commemoration, and forming an attachment to it becomes actual, especially in situations of sudden reversal in society.¹ In this time, the order determining the identity of the community is questioned. Therefore, it is necessary to reconstitute its position using shared history and values and collective memory-shaping through the reinterpretation of the past. A combination of the power and memory need not be oriented only to the past or present, but also to preserve links for future remembrance.²

Opava has experienced several shifts of borders and regime changes. The most numerous and rapid changes happened during the 20th century when Opava firstly belonged to Habsburg Empire until 1918, then to the first Czechoslovak republic until 1938. This was followed by being part of the German Reich until 1945, then to the third Czechoslovak republic until 1948, followed by the Communist regime until 1989 and democracy under Czechoslovakia, and lastly, since 1993, under

¹ CZEPCZYNISKI, Mauriusz. *Cultural Landscapes of Post-Socialist Cities, Representation of Powers and Needs*. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2008.

² ASSMANN, Jan. *Cultural memory and early civilization: writing, remembrance, and political imagination*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2011.

the Czech Republic. Under all the regimes, there are obvious significant attempts to “transcode” the urban public space by the removal of the sites of memory and the commemorative events, and by establishing new ones. In addition, the circumstances of the World War II changed the ethnic composition of the city. Until 1938 there was a large Jewish minority, and till 1945 a strong German majority, both of which have practically disappeared. Nowadays, Opava lies on the edge of the Silesia part of the Czech Republic on the border with Poland and has about 60,000 inhabitants with over 90% of Czech nationality. Thus, the history and cultural heritage of Opava are interesting sources for studying the politics of memory, processes of urban space nationalization, as well as symbolic changes.

The study focuses primarily on the projection of ideologies and identities into the symbolic landscape under the different regimes during the twentieth Century. It aims to analyse and compare the politics of memory and the efforts to change the city’s symbolism from the late monarchic era until today. The paper has an ambition to answer the following questions: How were the politics of memory and urban symbolism in Opava changing during the 20th century? How was the city’s symbolism transforming over the changes of jurisdiction to different countries and regimes in the 20th Century and sublimated into today’s appearance? How did the approaches of the regimes and countries differ in regards to the national history and cultural memory?

In the paper are analysed aspects such as the destruction and construction of symbolic sites (plaques, statues, monuments, buildings, graves), the renaming of streets and places and commemorative festivities. I use the concept of urban symbolism which is a part of the symbolic ecology dealing with the city’s cultural dimension and focusing on the distribution and meaning of symbols and rituals in relation to the cultivated surroundings. Urban symbolism examines relationships between space, power and identity, which are necessarily mediated by symbols.³ A symbol is understood as a concrete reality (a building, a statue, etc.) that communicates something intangible (an idea, a value, a feeling). The urban symbolism is one of the tools for the reproduction and imposing of social values, including ideologies and identities. The concept understands city as a code, a language of symbols that provides insight into cultural norms and values of a community that embodies and shapes the identity of its inhabitants. A place can be considered as “symbolic” whenever it means something to a group of individuals, in such a way that it contributes to giving group identity.⁴ Although different actors attribute space with different meanings, it is ultimately the powerful one which determines the “correct” meaning of the space.⁵ Urban planning, architecture, design or aesthetic character of the environment are not semantically neutral; they are holders of a meaning that physically makes the present. The meaning is thus produced and interpreted only in the context in which it emerges.

The research examines material and symbolic changes in the city. Among other sources were consulted chronicles, periodicals and archive sources. Unrealised plans were also taken into account, because especially large unrealized plans testify to the politics of memory and an effort to

³ NAS, Peter J.M. (ed.) ‘Special issue: Urban Rituals and Symbolism.’ In *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 1998, Vol. 22, No. 4, pp. 545-622.

⁴ MONNET, Jérôme. The symbolism of place: a geography of relationships between space, power and identity. In *Cybergeo: European Journal of Geography [En ligne], Politique, Culture, Représentaions*, 2011, pp. 562.

⁵ POSPĚCH, Petr. Městský veřejný prostor: interpretativní přístup. In *Sociologický časopis*, 2013, Vol. 49, No. 1, pp. 75-100.

change the urban symbolism. Urban symbolism is expressed through different phenomena, such as the city layout, architecture, monuments and memorials, street and place names, as well as rituals, festivals and processions. But we can include also myths, novels, films, poetry, music, and websites. All of them can be called symbol bearers.⁶ The analyses is limited to urban planning, architecture, monuments and memorials, names of street and places and commemorative activities.

Until 1918

Opava became an administrative and religious centre by the decree of Ottokar I of Bohemia confirming its municipal privilege in 1224. From the 18th Century, Opava had a predominantly German character. After the defeat of Maria Theresa in 1742, as a result of which the Habsburg monarchy lost most of Silesia, Opava became the capital of Austria Silesia and enjoyed great prosperity. The 19th Century was for the city a period of industrial development, establishing of associations and institutions and the pursuit of its own university. The Czech character was greatly promoted – exemplified by the establishment of a Czech gymnasium in 1883, which successfully competed with the older German one.

After the loss of most of Silesia during the Prussian-Austrian wars, Opava acquired the status as the provincial capital the city was trying to promote its new found exclusivity. In the first half of the 19th century, following the trend of the other European cities, the medieval city fortification wall was demolished and there were built spectacular public buildings (such as, the City Theatre, schools and state institutions) and new parks. The parks surrounded the whole original historical centre of the city and around them was built a new urban circuit (following the example of the Ringstraße in Vienna). This urbanistic concept was practised almost until the end of the first republic.

The character of the Opava public space was affected by political and economic changes in 1848, the character of public space in Opava changed. New buildings were built with new, artificial decoration (e.g. the Silesian Museum, the Austro-Hungarian Bank, the City Hall, the City Savings Bank), in the city parks were erected monuments to great (especially German and Austro-Hungarian) personalities (e.g. Friedrich Schiller, Josef II) or small architectural structures (e.g. fountains). Intensive building activity also affected the city centre, and streets were straightened and expanded. The demands of its inhabitants matched the city's growth with increased building activity from the citizens themselves. Thus, Opava during the 19th century was increasingly rebuilt and built up. This naturally led to an increase in the interest of architects. Among the most prominent ones in Opava belonged C. Kerna, F. Ohmann, R. Eisler, F. Kachler, Hubert Gessner and Leopold Bauer.⁷ However, it should be added that even though we still speak about the provincial city, Opava was on the periphery of the empire. In addition to this, Opava was one of the less populated cities within the monarchy. Nevertheless, due to its relative remoteness from the centre it is clear that many new trends and opinions were more readily accepted as it lay some distance away from the “Vienna filter”.

⁶ NAS, Peter J.M. – JAFFE, Rivke – SAMUELS, Annemarie. Urban Symbolic Ecology and the Hypercity: State of the Art and Challenges. In NAS, Peter – SAMUELS, Annemarie (eds.). *Hypercity: The Symbolic Side of Urbanism*. London : Routledge, 2006, pp. 1-19.

⁷ ŠOPÁK, Pavel. Zlatá éra. In Müller, Karel et al. *Opava*. Praha : Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2006, pp. 450-452.

The national conflict between the German majority and the Czech minority worsened. The idea of a “Silesian-ship”, which had previously connected city citizens, increasingly segregated them depending on whether they claimed allegiance to Czech or German Silesia.⁸ This environment was also influenced in the form of the acceptable neo-architectural styles typifying Germanic history⁹ while an affiliation of the Czech minority was clear in other architecture (of course, to a much lesser extent). The official “Czech national architecture” at that time was neo-renaissance, with the concept of the “Czech Renaissance” being a flat, non-classical, sgraffito-covered facade, with a high stepped shield and a lunette ledge. In Opava, the Czech Bourgeois School (1909 – 1911) in the adjacent village Jaktař (now city district) is the main representation of Czech national architecture. The meaning of the building for the Czech national movement in Silesia corresponded with the applied Czech-style neo-renaissance on the front façade, decorating the stone reliefs in the segment niches – which was representative of the Czech cultural and pedagogic icons František Palacký and Jan Amos Komensky¹⁰.

The dynastic culture in the public space was reflected where the monarch - especially Joseph II and Franz Joseph - was commemorated. At the beginning of the 20th century, new squares were established (e.g. *Franc-Josef's square* or *Josef's square* in 1900). In the *Franz Joseph's Square* (today, the *Republic square*), there was an unrealized proposal to build a monument commemorating the 60th anniversary of his reign; today only known through a photo of a model of it from 1913. From the 1870s, there was a plinth in *Joseph's park* placed on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Joseph II's ascension to the throne, where the statue of Joseph II was supposed to stand (1890) but instead in the end took place of honour in the *Kaiser Josef-Park* (contemporary *Park of Freedom*). Portraits of Joseph II and Franz Joseph were hung in all offices, schools and other public buildings.¹¹ Apart from local events¹² and religious feasts, the monarch's birthday and the anniversary of the coronation of Franz Joseph I were celebrated when the city was ceremoniously illuminated and decorated with Austro-Hungarian flags.¹³

⁸ GAWRECKI, Dan. Opava znova v čele Rakouského Slezska. In MÜLLER, K. *Opava...*, pp. 234.

⁹ E.g. the building of the City Hall or the City Bank in the Nordic Neo-Renaissance style

¹⁰ Photography of the stone reliefs is available at this page:

http://www.zaopavu.cz/Prilohy/Image/Sochy_opavska/1909_Ceska_mestanska_skola.jpg

¹¹ MÜLLER, K. *Opava...*, pp. 434

¹² Exhibitions of museums, anniversaries of the founding of local associations, anniversaries of prominent personalities associated with the city, opening of public buildings, commencement of railway operations etc.

¹³ KRAVAR, Zdeněk. Opava na počátku 20. století. In *Opava: sborník k dějinám města*. Opava : AVE – Informační centrum Opavska, 1998, pp. 32-36.

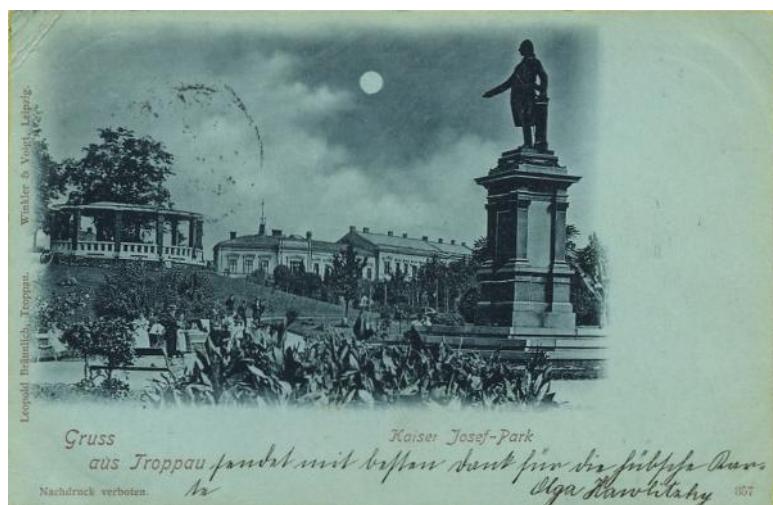


Figure 1: Kaiser Josef-Park (today's Park of Freedom) with the statue of Josef II.

The First Republic 1918 – 1939

The first Czechoslovak Republic was built on the ideas of T. G. Masaryk. It was thus characterized by oppositional tendencies towards the monarchist regime. The basic principles of the new political system were the ideas of republicanism, democracy, social radicalism, anti-Catholicism and so called "Czechoslovakism".¹⁴ In Opava, the establishment of Czechoslovakia was welcomed with enthusiasm within the Czech ethnic group. However, Opava was still the centre of German political and cultural life in the western part of Czechoslovak Silesia. The German majority feared losing its privileged position and demanded the right to self-determination. After an unsuccessful attempt to build the Sudetenland province, they had to accept the settlement of the First World War and the new state organization. The national disputes seemed to be often decisive.¹⁵ For instance, in 1924 president Masaryk was welcomed by the mayor in the "German city". In addition, within the German majority among activists there was a strongly dominated affiliation with negativist parties, and the influence of the Nazi coup in Germany only strengthened the position of radical nationalists. The Jewish community had to face anti-Semitism from Germans throughout the whole period.¹⁶

When Czechoslovakia gained its independence, the names of streets, squares, and army barracks connected with the Habsburg monarchy or sympathetic to Opavian Germans or historically Prussia were changed.¹⁷ In the new nomenclature, we can see a celebration of the new freedom of Czechoslovakia, promoting significant Czechoslovak personalities and the translating of German

¹⁴ BALÍK, Stanislav et al. *Politický systém českých zemí 1848 – 1989*. Brno : Masarykova univerzita, 2004, pp. 44-47.

¹⁵ GAWRECKI, D. *Opava znova v čele ...*, pp. 271.

¹⁶ KLENOVSKÝ, Jaroslav. *Historie a památky židovské obce v Opavě*. Krnov : Občanské sdružení Krnovská synagoga, 2009, p. 8.

¹⁷ GAWRECKI, D. *Opava znova v čele ...*, pp. 274.

names into Czech. In 1919 the *Kaiser Josef-Park* was renamed the *Park of Freedom (Sady svobody)*, *Herrengasse* to *Masaryk's street (Masarykova třída)*, *Franz Josef-Platz* to *Republic Square (Náměstí republiky)* – *Republikplatz* and *Oberring* to *Horní náměstí (Upper square)* – *Oberring*¹⁸. The last two examples show that even when there were significant efforts to use only Czech names, the special character of ethnicity in Opava was taken into account and German version of the names or even former nomenclature were left in the names and were also written on the street signs - although after the Czech ones.

In 1924, Opava became a statutory city, but a few years later, in 1928, Silesia was re-connected with Moravia, and Brno became the capital of the Moravian-Silesian region. The loss of the provincial capital status did not give much hope for improving the position of the city and its prospects for the future, but economically the development of the previous century continued. The marginalization of the city was not felt by its citizenry who still felt Opava as the capital of Silesia. This self-confidence was inherent not only within those identified as German but more and more within the Czechs. The aspirational development in interwar Opava reveals its unwillingness to give up the position that the city had held in the region before World War 1 and neither its competition with the nearby richer Ostrava to be the capital of Czech Silesia. The city wanted to impress on a metropolitan scale and character.¹⁹ Ambitious administrative building projects remained, for economic reasons, mostly only on paper, including proposals for building a representative house (the *Stadthaus*), a new town hall, a city hotel²⁰ and the plan for a garden city on *Kylešovice hill (Kylešovský kopec)*.²¹

However, there were realised symbolic projects including the biggest department store in the then Czechoslovakia *Breda & Weinstein* (1927 – 1928) and *Church of St. Hedvika* (1933 – 1938), the patron saint of Silesia, both by architect *Leopold Bauer*. The church more represented the ideological values of that time. For the Opavians of the 1930s, its construction was clearly political, social, and national symbol visualizing the Silesian idea, which connected the Czech and German Silesians. Additionally, it was a memorial to the victims of the First World War.²²

¹⁸ KNAPÍKOVÁ, Jaromíra – KRAVAR Zdeněk. *Opavský uličník: historie a současnost ulic a náměstí*. Opava : Statutární město Opava, 2017.

¹⁹ JIRÁSEK, Zdeněk. Opava město na hranici. In *Opava – město na hranici: sborník k dějinám města : [konference k dějinám města, 15. dubna 2014, Slezská univerzita v Opavě]* Opava : Statutární město Opava ve spolupráci s Maticí slezskou, 2014, pp. 9-11.

²⁰ ŠOPÁK, Pavel. Opavská architektura 1800 – 1950. In Müller, K. *Opava...*, pp. 28.

²¹ According to the design concept of Czech architect Jindřich Freiwald it was abandoned at the beginning of the 1920s. Instead of it were built blocks of traditional rental houses, residential blocks and houses for state employees or solitary villas. The most significant example is the development of a new, stylishly integrated urban complex for state employees on Peter Roseggergasse's street (later Božena Němcová's) in the middle of 1920s, or a block of apartment houses near st. Hedvika in 1930s.

²² GEBAUER, Josef. Chrám sv. Hedviky v Opavě. In *Vlastivědné listy Slezska a Severní Moravy*, 1994, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 21-23.; ŠOPÁK, Pavel. Kostel sv. Hedviky v Opavě I. In *Časopis Slezského muzea*. B, (XLVIII). 1999, p. 224.



Figure 2: Department store Breda & Weinstein (left) and Church of St. Hedvika (right) by architect Leopold Bauer

In this period, is obvious restoring of local architects mainly of German origin linked to the Viennese artistic circles by Czech architects through official orders by government.²³ Vienna, which had determined the architectural appearance of Opava, was replaced by Prague. Attempts to develop a new national style and demonstrate the dynamics of the emerging young Czechoslovakia are most evident again within the construction of Czech schools in Opava. The most significant example of that interwar Czech neo-classicism is the building of *Masaryk Higher Agricultural School* (H. Zápal 1924 – 1928). The hallmark of its national manifestation was also in the symbolic date of the school opening ceremony on March 6, 1927, the day before T.G. Masaryk's seventy-seventh birthday. As Pavel Šopák has written: “*If we are looking for building in Opava, which should express an unwavering conviction about the stability of the republican values and democratic ideas of the first Czechoslovak Republic, then it is this school.*”²⁴ Nevertheless, architects of German origin were able to express themselves; for example, Karl Schmelzer and Hans Kalitta (architects of the officer houses on *Kylešovský kopec*, 1922 – 1924) or Karl Gottwald (*Masaryk Second City School* on *Rieger street* or the so-called *Franciskaneum*, 1928 – 1930).²⁵

In private buildings, there are obvious differences between German and Czech architects. While for Germans decorativism and classicism is typical, Czechs turned away from decorativism to purism and functionalism. Such examples of this are the rebuilding of the historical post office by Miroslav Kopřiva (1927 – 1929)²⁶ or the outdoor swimming pool by Otto Reichner, (1930 – 1931)

²³ E.g. Čeněk Brada, Hanuš Zápal, Miloslav Kopřiva, Jaroslav Stockar-Bernkopf.

²⁴ ŠOPÁK, Pavel. Sestup z výsluní: meziválečná éra. In Müller, K. *Opava...*, pp. 463.

²⁵ VYBÍHAL, Jaroslav. *Opavská architektura v letech 1918 – 1929*. ČSM-B 35. 1986, pp. 166-184.

²⁶ ŠOPÁK, Pavel. Moderní architektura Opavy v historické reflexi. In *Acta historica et museologica Universitatis silesiae Opaviensis*. 5, 2000, pp. 264-282.

²⁶ KANIOVÁ, Petra et al. *Průvodce architekturou Opavy*: Opava architecture guide. Ostrava : Národní památkový ústav, územní odborné pracoviště v Ostravě, 2011.

in the *Municipal Park (Městské sady)*. Both expressing the freedom, modernity and new democratic lifestyle.²⁷

All the symbols of monarchy had to be removed and replaced by new symbols aligning better with the ideology and promoted social values of Czechoslovakia. However, at that time this did not apply to references to German past and culture. Thus, the statue of Josef II could be replaced by the statue of Friedrich Schiller in the *Park of Freedom (Sady svobody)*. In public space started to appear orders of Czech patriotic themes through the Bohemization of cultural and social life. A completely new phenomenon were Czech memorials like the memorial of Bedřich Smetana in *Smetana's park* (Otakar Španiel, Stanislav Sucharda, 1927)²⁸, the memorial of Božena Němcová (Bedřich Neužil, 1927)²⁹ and the memorial plaque *T.G. Masaryk* on *Masaryk street* (Vincent Havel, 1935).³⁰ Commemorations of important Opavians were also built, and here we can see the competition between Czech and German nationalism again. In 1937 was unveiled the *fountain of Emil Rochowanski*, German mayor of Opava 1892 – 1908, which had been planned since 1909. The unveiling was criticized by the Czech minority; there was no Czech text on the fountain label and there was no speech made in Czech. In the same year, thanks to a purely Czech initiative, was erected the monument commemorating the establishment of the first Czech firefighting brigade, and its founder Rudolf Gudrich.³¹ A frequent phenomena of the time was commemorating of the victims of the First World War, presented as heroes who sacrificed their lives for the freedom of Czechoslovakia. Here we should mention at least the sculpture of the statue of the *Sacred Heart of Jesus* in the cemetery in Jaktař,³² *monuments to the First World War victims* in the cemeteries in Opava and Kateřinky,³³ or the above-mentioned church of st. *Hedvika*.³⁴

Under Nazi-rule 1938 – 1945

The Munich Agreement³⁵ sealed the fate of Czechoslovakia. The Sudetenland was detached from Czechoslovakia and annexed to the German Empire. Opava became part of the “Reich” and the capital of the *Eastern Sudetenlands*. All political power went into the hands of the Nazi administration.³⁶ Most of the Jewish community immediately left the borderland.³⁷ The German

²⁷ JUNG, Jiří. Architektura Opavy a Ratiboře v meziválečném období – paralely a rozdíly. In *Opava – město na hranici...*, pp. 23-28.

²⁸ The memorial is situated in formal place of statue of Friedrich Schiller.

²⁹ SKALÍK, Tomáš. *Opavské sochy II.: tiché dominanty veřejného prostoru – opavská předměstí*. Opava : Za Opavu, 2013, pp. 141.

³⁰ SKALÍK, Tomáš. *Opavské sochy I.: historické centrum: tiché dominanty veřejného prostoru*. Opava : Za Opavu, 2012, pp. 123.

³¹ SKALÍK, T. *Opavské sochy II...*, pp. 88-89.

³² SKALÍK, Tomáš. *Opavské sochy III.: Tiché dominanty veřejného prostoru – umění opavských hřbitovů*. Opava : Za Opavu, 2015, pp. 38.

³³ SKALÍK, T. *Opavské sochy III...*, pp. 43, 109.

³⁴ ŠOPÁK, P. *Kostel sv. Hedviky...*, pp. 224.

³⁵ September 30, 1938

³⁶ VALÍK, Matěj et al. (eds.) *Matěj Valík: Německé Opavy sláva a pád (1938 – 1945)*. Opava : Slezská univerzita v Opavě, 2016, pp. 291.

³⁷ OSTERLOH, Jörg. *Nacionálněsocialistické pronásledování Židů v říšské župě Sudety v letech 1938 – 1945*. Praha : Argo, 2010, pp. 438.

population still prevailed there and welcomed the annexation. But despite the fact that German majority in Opava wanted to be part of the *Reich*, the Opavian Czechs preferred the new Czechoslovak Republic.³⁸ The German troops entered Opava on October 8th, 1938, warmly welcomed by the German community, and immediately accompanied by a wave of anti-fascist, Jewish and Czech activist arrests.³⁹



Figure 3: Welcoming of the Nazi troops in the Upper Square.
Taken from SIOSTZONEK, Jiří. Fotografické zápisky 1937 – 1967.

Character of the city was changed again with the new regime. Celebrations connected with the previous regime, especially the anniversary of the establishment of Czechoslovakia, or the anniversary of Masaryk's birthday⁴⁰ were simply cancelled. In December 1942, the usual processions and pilgrimages were forbidden, so that the Czechs could not meet, associate, sing or pray in Czech.⁴¹ Also, the honorary citizenship of the former head of the district office Josef Michalek and president Masaryk were cancelled. In contrast, the Nazis took great pleasure in celebrations accompanied by decorating the city with Nazi symbols. During this period, there were regular German commemorations, especially including the military successes of the regime and also the honouring of fallen war heroes and victims. More especially, the celebration of the capitulation of France at the end of June, 1940⁴²; the 11-year anniversary of Nazi rule on January 30th, 1944⁴³; a defence of fighting day "Wehrkampftag" organized by the SA on September 17th,

³⁸ VALÍK, M. Matěj Valík..., pp. 50-72.

³⁹ MÜLLER, K. Opava..., pp. 291.

⁴⁰ VALÍK, M. Matěj Valík..., pp. 121.

⁴¹ VALÍK, M. Matěj Valík..., pp. 136.

⁴² VALÍK, M. Matěj Valík..., pp. 89.

⁴³ VALÍK, M. Matěj Valík..., pp. 147.

1944⁴⁴; or on October 19th, 1944 when *gauleiter Konrad Henlein* justified the necessity of setting up the *Volkssturm* and urged the Germans to fulfil their last duty towards their homeland.⁴⁵ Of a festive nature were the glorified official visits by leading German statesmen and celebrities; for example, the Reich Finance Minister Count Schwering von Krosigk and *gauleiter Konrad Henlein* in order to officially appoint dr. Jacke as President of the Chief Financial Directorate on May 9th, 1939,⁴⁶ and the visit by “Reich Schatzmeister” Franz Xaver Schwarz on August 11th, 1942⁴⁷. In 1940, fallen soldiers of the Second World War were commemorated with the participation of marshal Eduard von Böhm-Ermolli at the city cemetery. At the end of 1941 marshal, Eduard von Böhm-Ermolli died and Hitler organized a state funeral for him in Vienna, Opava also buried him with great public honour. At a public funeral for the victims of the second bombing attack in Opava (December 18, 1944), when a monastery on *Olomoucká street* was hit, there was a mourning procession with portraits of the dead victims on December 18th, 1944.⁴⁸

Germans also maintained their cultural traditions in Opava. This was especially true musically. The most prominent was the Mozart festival⁴⁹ organized at the end of 1941. His music was highly appreciated by Nazi cultural policy as a symbol of German cultural tradition.⁵⁰

Nazi symbolism was immediately reflected in the renaming of the streets and places. New names were only in German and according to Nazi patterns, ideals and heroes. *Upper square–Oberring* was renamed *Adolf Hitler-ring*, *Republic square–Republikplatz* as *Hermann Göring-Platz*. The new names were used to strengthen the German present and future, but also to bridge the Czechoslovak past by using former German names. Thus, *Masaryk street* obtained its former name *Herrengasse*. Within the new nomenclature, the *Park of Freedom-Freiheitpark* was an exception because the name, clearly linked to the values of Czechoslovakia, remained until 1943; this was possible because the former title included also the German name, and the meaning of “freedom” was transcoded into a symbol of liberation of local Germans from Czechoslovak power.⁵¹ It was renamed *Bürgermeister Kudlich-Park*,⁵² but the statue of Friedrich Schiller was left in its place because of its symbolism to German culture as well as the German past of Opava.

The first half of the 1940s showed the leanings towards a radical urbanistic change of the historic centre according to Nazi “*Heimatstil*” and “*Reich classicism*”⁵³. However, it was unrealized because of the war circumstances. So, even though there was abundant urban development during the period, we mostly cannot find a significant conscious transcoding of the public space connotative meaning, but instead a reaction to the circumstances of the current time and an urban space adaptation. However significant ideological reasoning can be seen in the destruction of the buildings, which did not match the ideological foundations of the new regime. During the

⁴⁴ VALÍK, M. *Matěj Valík...*, pp. 154.

⁴⁵ VALÍK, M. *Matěj Valík...*, pp. 155.

⁴⁶ VALÍK, M. *Matěj Valík...*, pp. 73.

⁴⁷ VALÍK, M. *Matěj Valík...*, pp. 132.

⁴⁸ ŠVÁBENICKÝ, František. *Troppau 1945: Opava v roce nula*. Opava : Opavská kulturní organizace, 2016, pp. 39-40.

⁴⁹ It was organized to commemorate the 150th anniversary of his death.

⁵⁰ VALÍK, M. *Matěj Valík...*, pp. 107.

⁵¹ VALÍK, M. *Matěj Valík...*, pp. 46, 72-107.

⁵² German mayor of Opava (1908 – 1919) killed on the eastern front on August 25th, 1943. On September 12th, a memorial ceremony was organised for him in Opava and the park was given his name.

⁵³ Authors were mostly architects Thony Thiele and Louis Gaillard.

“Kristallnacht”, the synagogue in the city centre of Opava was set alight on early morning November 10th, 1938.⁵⁴ After the “Kristallnacht”, a number of anti-Jewish orders and later even anti-Semitic laws were adopted.⁵⁵ Many of the Jewish buildings were looted, damaged and burned.⁵⁶

Sculptures and memorials connected with the values of “the first republic” were removed from public space. Both, directly for ideological reasons and indirectly by Czechs fighting against the new ideology. The best example of the direct ideological impact is the removal of the statue from above mentioned *Dr Emil Rochowanski's Fountain* in 1940 by the sculptress Marie Melzerová, because of her Jewish origins.⁵⁷ An indirect impact was the removal of artworks by Czech patriots wishing to save them from destruction by the Nazi regime.⁵⁸

Post-war period 1945 – 1948

The Red Army liberated Opava on April 22nd, 1945. The German nation was accused of “collective guilt”. The same persecution applied by Nazis against the Jews and “non-Aryan nations” was then applied, to a certain extent, to the German community.⁵⁹ Opava was liberated on April 22nd, 1945, but the war brought great losses. Opava was after the Second World War one of the most destroyed cities in Czechoslovakia. The population was significantly reduced and also its national character was changed. Its revival began, but the city has never achieved such prestige again. After a three-day bombing and battles within so called Ostrava-Opava operation was destroyed about 70 % of the city. Streets were covered with dead soldiers and civilians. For dead Red Army soldiers were created improvised burial grounds in various places.⁶⁰

In addition, the city had to cope with the transformation of the cultural and social situation. The fate of the German nation was sealed, accused of “collective guilt”.⁶¹ At the end of May 1945 a decree was issued requiring all people of German nationality over the age of 6 to be identified by the letter N.⁶² Large-scale arrests occurred and there was internment for those considered guilty in camp-type facilities. The detention and labour camp for Germans was firstly called “concentration camp”.⁶³ It was set up in the former *Böhm-Ermolli Barracks*. This was followed by a relocation to

⁵⁴ LHOTOVÁ, Markéta. *Synagogy v plamenech: křišťálová noc 1938 v českém pohraničí*. Liberec : Severočeské museum, 2013, pp. 53-54.

⁵⁵ It included the removal of Jewish driving licenses and the banning of access to various public spaces.

⁵⁶ LHOTOVÁ, M. *Synagogy v plamenech...*, pp. 53-54.

⁵⁷ VALÍK, M. *Matěj Valík...*, pp. 93.

⁵⁸ E.g. the *bust of Božena Němcová*, *Bedřich Smetana memorial*, *memorial plaque for Masaryk's visit*.

⁵⁹ Státní okresní archiv Opava [State District Archives Opava], fund: Ústřední Národní Výbor Opava, inv. no. 135, cart no. 1.

⁶⁰ ŠVÁBENICKÝ, F. *Troppau 1945...*, pp. 167.

⁶¹ SIOSTZONEK, Jiří. *Fotografické zápisky 1937 – 1967: Opava – město mezi poezíí a tragédií: doposud nezveřejněné práce anonymních opavských amatérských fotografů ze sbírky Rudolfa Dybowicze*. Opava : Institut tvůrčí fotografie a Centrum multimediální tvorby FPF Slezské univerzity v Opavě ve spolupráci s Opavskou kulturní organizací, 2016.

⁶² According to the decree, the obligation to bear the label did not apply to Austrians, unless they were members of the above-mentioned organizations, or to German anti-fascists and persons in mixed marriages. Formally, persons who were not of legal age at the time when their nationality was decided were also exempted from the obligation to bear the label.

⁶³ Zemský archiv v Opavě [Opava Regional Archive], fund: Pracovní tábor Opava (PT Opava, Fund Working Camp) inv. no. 5, cart no. 1.

the newly-built wooden houses at *Svatopluk Čech square*. By the end of April 1946, there were more than 6,000 people.⁶⁴ The camp was officially closed in May 1946 and without further public mention, disappeared from the collective memory.



Figure 4: Labor camp for Germans
Taken from SIOSTZONEK, Jiří. Fotografické zápisky 1937 – 1967.

The urbanist structure of Opava was damaged by the war in many places throughout the city, and a number of narrow streets disappeared. Despite this, part of the Czech public perceived the destruction of the centre positively as a suppression of the city's German character. As most of the German population was displaced, the new administration sought to remove all German symbols. Opava had to be restored in terms of "Czech" modern architecture. The new city representatives wanted to create a completely new Czech city.⁶⁵ Between 1946 and 1947, Adolf Liebscher worked out a regulatory plan that imagined a radical re-visioning of the rest of the historical centre. The plan considered only medieval or Baroque monumental buildings as valuable, while the architecture of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century was rejected as too closely related to the German past. Thus only the most important buildings were selected for preservation. Liebscher planned Opava as modern city of the future, which should present Czech character in its architecture. According to his view, the "*self-serving hobby of conservationists and lovers of old times*" should not be re-stored. He wanted to leave only the *Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary* (*kostel Nanebevzetí panny Marie*), the theatre and *Hláska* on the *Upper square*. They should be surrounded by completely new public and residential buildings. The public spaces and streets were planned to be transformed into spacious and airy boulevards and squares and should not follow the then scheme of a historic street network. There were planned new streets that had to sacrifice a significant part (even undamaged) of the existing build environment.⁶⁶ But Opava

⁶⁴ ŠVÁBENICKÝ, F. *Troppau 1945...*, pp. 177-191.

⁶⁵ E.g. Jaroslav Pelan, Bohuslav Fuchs, Zdeněk Alexa, Adolf Liebscher, Oldřich Liska. Of the pre-war architects, who knew Opava's conditions, only Erich Geldner and Josef Krischke remained, who were recognized as loyal and were not subject to deportation.

⁶⁶ KANIOVÁ, P. *Průvodce architekturou Opavy...*, pp. 27-28.

needed to invest a lot to liquidation of ruins and to put into operation the main functional city features, so finally in these 3 years there were realized just few small segments of the plan.

At the end of the summer 1945, new signs appeared on most streets and squares, for the first time in the history only in Czech.⁶⁷ Immediately in the first days after the liberation by the Red Army, the names of the most important streets and squares were quickly changed, and soon was established a commission for general renaming. Ideologically inappropriate names associated with the Nazis, but in general also with the German past, were changed and a new Czech street-naming was established. The renaming was characterised by honouring prominent Czech people. National (*Čapek*) and regional personalities (*Prasek*), but also foreign artists (*Pushkin*) scientists (*Linné*) victors against Nazism (*Churchill*), important days (*May 1st*), groups of interest (the *Silesian Movement*) and important places (*Lidice*) appeared on street names. *Herrengasse* became again *Masaryk street*, *Adolf Hitler-ring* was renamed *Dr. E. Beneš Square*⁶⁸ and *Hermann Göring-Platz* returned to *Republic square*, and then in 1946 was renamed *Stalin Square*.

Artworks that had been saved by Czech patriots, were returned to the public space. There were new memorials erected commemorating mainly dead soldiers and victims of the Second World War, e.g. in *Republic Square (Náměstí republiky)* was unveiled the Red Army monument on July 8th, 1945.⁶⁹ The above mentioned statue from *Dr Emil Rochowanski's Fountain* was returned without its original German label and the symbol of Dr. Rochowanski and the narrative of the statue have disappeared from cultural memory with the displaced Germans. However, the statue of Friedrich Schiller was removed from the *Freedom park (Sady svobody)* because of his German origin.



Figure 5: Republic square with the monument and mass grave of the Red Army

⁶⁷ SIOSTZONEK, J. *Fotografické ...*, pp. 56.

⁶⁸ Czechoslovak president 1935 – 1948 and leader of the Czechoslovak resistance.

⁶⁹ *Opavský věstník*, 8. 7. 1945, Vol. 1, No. 18, Odhalení ruského památníku, s. 7.

Communist Regime 1948 – 1989

After the coup in 1948, a communist regime was established in Czechoslovakia and the development was more concentrated in nearby Ostrava, which was an industrially important city. Soon after taking the power, the Communist Party leaders “solved” the nationalist problems by the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat through class struggle against the “bourgeois elements”. It was followed by the liquidation of the middle and the rest of the higher social classes, a preference of manual labour and heavy industry, artificial political processes, collectivization and other typical phenomena of the so-called foundation period of the Communist regime. The commemorative events were mainly for the celebration of Czech and Soviet military successes⁷⁰, and important days connected with Soviet or Czech socialism.⁷¹ In the event of the death of important political and cultural figures, remembrance ceremonies took place in the city centre.⁷²

As a result of the regime change and the nationalization of private companies, the way of work and possibilities of architects and construction companies had completely changed. Private design companies ceased to exist and architects were obliged to associate in design institutes. In architecture, Stalin's socialist realism prevailed; thus in 1948 the war-damaged theatre's facade was rebuilt changing from neo-renaissance to the socialist realist style. In addition, this architecture of post-February Czechoslovakia was applied to several larger residential areas, to the individual development of damaged residential blocks on the periphery, as well as in the city centre itself.

With the fall of socialist realism, the ideas of late-modernism, and late international style returned to architecture from the mid-1950s. During the 1950s and 1960s, most of the gaps in the city centre were gradually filled. The shortage of apartments prompted a wave of rapid construction, using every available space in the city centre. The issue of the historic town future prevailed with a reconnection of the Czech Opava dating back from the Middle Ages. The wounds of the past were slowly healing with modern concepts in urban planning and architectural realizations. Despite the cultural revival of the 1960s, demolitions continued. At that time, it could not be justified by war damage. There were cases of demolitions of historicist or Art Nouveau buildings of exceptional architectural quality⁷³. Opava began expanding in size and, as in many other cities in the then Czechoslovakia, new panel-built housing estates were established on the outskirts of Opava in the mid-1960s.

All the symbols referring to the previous regime, but also to the German past of the city, had been removed and replaced to reflect the ideology and values of the new regime. In 1958, in the *Park of Freedom (Sady Svobody)* in the previous place of the statue of Frederick Schiller and before Josef II was erected new statue of a half-dressed woman representing the *Reborn Opava* by Vincenc Havel. His sculpture entitled *Victory of Socialism* also complemented the new “SOREL” appearance of the theatre. Within public space were also erected new monuments of personalities

⁷⁰ E.g. celebrations of the Great October Socialist Revolution on November 7th; Laying of wreaths on memorials of fallen heroes of the Soviet Army at the City Cemetery and the Liberation Memorial at Liberators Square, or commemorating events on the anniversary of Slovak National Uprising (SNP), took place in Opava.

⁷¹ Birthday of J. V. Stalin, anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party, etc.

⁷² Commemorative ceremony for Antonín Zápotocký (communist prime minister) in 1957 or for Petr Bezruč (Silesian poet esteemed by the Communist regime) in 1958.

⁷³ PLAVEC, Leopold. Obnova budovy bývalého dominikánského kláštera a kostela sv. Václava v Opavě. In *Slezsko I.* 2, 1969, pp. 5-6.

of political and cultural life. The statue of communist president Klement Gottwald (by Havel again) was erected in *Smetana's park* (*Smetanovi sady*) in 1955. In 1967 in *Bezruč's park* was erected the monument to Petr Bezruč as a joint work by Vladimír Kýn, Jaroslava Lukešová and Jan Benetka. There were also several monuments built and memorial plaques for the fallen soldiers and victims of the Second World War. At the former headquarters of the Gestapo a commemorative plaque was unveiled with a text resembling "Nazi torture".⁷⁴ Also sculptures with new themes and abstract forms began to appear in public space, such as the *Opavian Sphere* in the fountain in the main square which was built in 1971 by Ivo Klimeš. It became one of the main symbols of the city.



Figure 6: Sculpture of Opavia Sphere in the Upper Square in the background with the building of the City Theater rebuilt in the style of socialist realism.

In 1970 was built in *Liberators' Square* (*Náměstí Osvoboditelů*) the monument of Opava liberation by the Red Army – *Lime of Freedom*. The abstract sculpture did not correspond to the taste of the communist leaders, and thus on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the liberation of Opava, a new monument to the Red Army soldier by Ivan Kalvoda and Jaroslav Hampl was built there and *Lime of Freedom* was relocated to the city park. In contrast, the afore-mentioned Monument to the Red Army in *Republic Square* (*Náměstí republiky*, see Fig. X) was actually removed and replaced as a parking space for clients of the new hotel *Kamišin*.

⁷⁴ SKALÍK, T. *Opavské sochy III...*, pp. 114.



Figure 7: Monument to the Liberation of Opava – Lime of Freedom – and then the Red Army soldier in Liberators' Square (Náměstí Osvoboditelů)

Regarding place names, the main square was renamed from *Dr. E. Beneš Square* to *May 1st Square*. Although street names did not undergo many significant changes right after the coup, some small changes reflect in the loosening up of society during the 1960s and then the more severe normalization period of the communist dictatorship after the Soviet occupation in 1968. For instance, *Stalin Square* was renamed *Defenders of Peace* (now *Liberation Square*) in 1962. *Victorious February street* (*Třída Vítězného Února*) was renamed *Masaryk street* in 1968, and again to *Victorious February* in 1973.⁷⁵

Since 1989

After the Velvet Revolution on November 17th, 1989, the Communist regime fell and democracy was established again. In 1990, Opava regained its statutory city status. The establishment of a liberal capitalist system has brought changes to social values again. Urban changes and the architecture created under the regime, including the artworks as a part of housing estates, were preserved and only façades were changed. The separation of Slovakia in 1993 did not change the politics of memory or city symbolism.

From the point of view of politics of memory, in the renaming of the streets it is possible to see the preference of the First Republic values, when the names from this period were returned. Thus, *Victorious February street* (*Třída Vítězného Února*) became again *Masaryk street* (*Masarykova třída*), *May 1st Square* (*Náměstí prvního Máje*) was renamed again to *Upper square* (*Horní náměstí*) and *Defenders of Peace* (now *Liberation Square*) to *Republic square* (*Náměstí republiky*).

Architecture and artworks without overt symbolism of the communist regime were preserved, and only the insulation of the building's façades were changed. But symbols with clear connotative

⁷⁵ KNAPÍKOVÁ, J. *Opavský uličník...*, pp. 103.

meaning directly linked to the previous regime had to be removed. Thus, the *Municipal Theatre* façade including two statues in the style of socialist realism on *Upper square* were rebuilt again back to the former neo-renaissance style. Memorials of communist regime representatives were removed, including the afore-mentioned *statue of Klement Gottwald*.

During this era were again honoured victims and heroes of both World Wars, but now also of the communist regime. In 1994, a *Memorial to victims of totalitarian regimes* by Jiří Klíma was unveiled, where an annual act of piety now takes place. In 2000, the *Commemorative Plaque of general Heliodor Píka*⁷⁶ was unveiled in the *Upper square*, where commemorative acts take place every year. In 2012 a *Commemorative Plaque of Jan Kubiš* was unveiled in the Town Hall, the former military barracks. The plaque is a reminder of his military service in these buildings.⁷⁷ In 1999 a new commemoration to German soldiers was unveiled at the Municipal Cemetery. It is a mass grave of 472 German soldiers killed in WW2.⁷⁸ Monuments of the Red Army remained in public space till today, only the *Monument of Red Army soldier* was during its reconstruction moved from its pedestal in the middle of the *Liberators Square* to a secluded corner. However, every year commemorations to the liberation take place there. In addition, in 2007 in the same place, a *memorial to Czechoslovak soldiers* who also contributed significantly to the liberation of the region was erected. Additional commemorative acts associated with paying tribute to the heroes and victims of previous wars and regimes, and a return to the values of the First Republic, can be observed, as exemplified by the laying of flowers at Masaryk's memorial plaque on March 7th (Masaryk's birthday).

The German (non-Nazi) past is no longer ignored; an example could be again seen in *Liberators square* where a monument of J.M.Olbrich⁷⁹, and a replica of a fountain in Darmstadt were built in 2008. This place of memory has over time significantly changed in its meaning and today it refers not only to German past, but also to the liberation of Opava by the Red Army and at the same time by Czech soldiers.

The above-mentioned *Lime of Freedom* changed location again in 2009 and, with some irony, it was moved to *Joy Adams Park*, formerly *Svatopluk Čeh Square*, the work camp for Germans. Narratives of the place and the meaning of the monument have disappeared from the collective memory. On the other hand, the history of the city's Jewish population and their Nazi persecution is still commemorated. In 2013 the former place of the Opavian Synagogue became a place of memory with the erection of the monument referring to the Jewish minority and their persecution by the Nazis. Also the street name recalls the former function of the place – *U Synagogy*. The realization of the monument was initiated by two Opavian activists and financed by a private Israeli pharmaceutical company *TEVA* with a branch in city district *Komárov*.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Representative of foreign anti-Nazi resistance and a victim of the communist regime.

⁷⁷ A member of the group who assassinated the Reich Protector Reinhard Heydrich.

⁷⁸ SKALÍK, T. *Opavské sochy III...*, pp.130.

⁷⁹ Famous German architect and local native.

⁸⁰ See https://ostrava.idnes.cz/pamatnik-na-vyhorelou-synagogu-v-opave-d9o-/ostrava-zpravy.aspx?c=A130709_1949287 ostrava-zpravy_jog.



Figure 8: The burning synagogue during Kristallnacht (left) and the Monument of the Synagogue (right).

Conclusion

Opava has been always a border city what affecting its public space. Its physical and symbolic aspect was influenced by ideological and cultural values of its representatives and inhabitants, but also by specific socio-political circumstances and the ethnic composition of the city. Urban space has adapted to the changes of regimes and the city symbolism has been modified consciously but also unconsciously. Politics of memory has always been reflected, at least, in street names. Each regime attempted to delete the symbols of the previous one. The first Czechoslovak Republic wanted to transcode the monarchic into a free Czech city (although it took into account the German majority) and commemorated mainly Czech prominent personalities and victims of the First World War. Nazi Germany wanted to change the city image to a clearly German one. Nazi ideology was reflected, apart from street names, especially in unrealized plans for rebuilding the city. In addition, it was reflected in the removal of Jewish symbols. After the end of the war, Czechoslovakia returned to the ideals of the first republic and tried to abolish not only the Nazi but also German symbols. However, the plans to rebuild the city in a purely Czech style have also never been realized due to the time-consuming need to remove the damage of WW2. With the advent of the Communist regime, everything was subordinate to regime ideology. Socialist realism became a national architecture, and monuments of great personalities compliant with the regime ideology were built. After the Velvet Revolution, the Communist dictatorship symbols were removed from the city, and once again, there was a clear return to the ideals of the CSR1. Opava commemorates victims and heroes of both world wars and Nazi and Communist crimes against Czechs. However, the liberation by the Red Army is still commemorated. However, the persecution of Germans in labour camps just on the basis of their ethnicity has not been commemorated since its removal, and quickly disappeared from the cultural memory. The separation of Slovakia in 1993 did not change the politics of memory. Despite the fact that the fluctuations between Germany and Czechoslovakia

have significantly changed the city's symbolism, from 1945 until today, some similar aspects can be noted, such as commemorating the victims of both wars, celebrating important Czech personalities, heroes and Soviet liberators. Likewise, all these regimes omitted from the cultural memory the unpleasant history associated with the persecution against Germans after WW2. The CSR1, The German Reich and CSR3, all tried to make the national identity in the city stronger through national architecture. Since the Velvet Revolution, new architecture and public space artworks are more ideologically neutral and instead reflect the emphasis on artistic and aesthetic values rather than national identity.

In the list of sculptural works in individual periods, one name resonates, which has influenced urban symbolism for several generations. It was Vincent Havel, whose art work appeared in public space during the First Republic and whose works were both removed and re-erected for ideological reasons until the last regime change. His works reflected the politics of memory in individual stages almost throughout the entire 20th century. The memorial plaque of President Masaryk was removed after the annexation of Opava by the German Empire and after the war it was returned again and still serves as a place for reverence. After the communist coup, in a public space his sculpture of the Victory of Socialism in front of the city theatre was erected, this was followed by the statue of President Gottwald and the statue of the reborn Opava, which unlike the previous two survived the so-called Velvet Revolution and became one of today's symbols of Opava.

Chosen symbolic bearers in Opava between 1918 and 2018

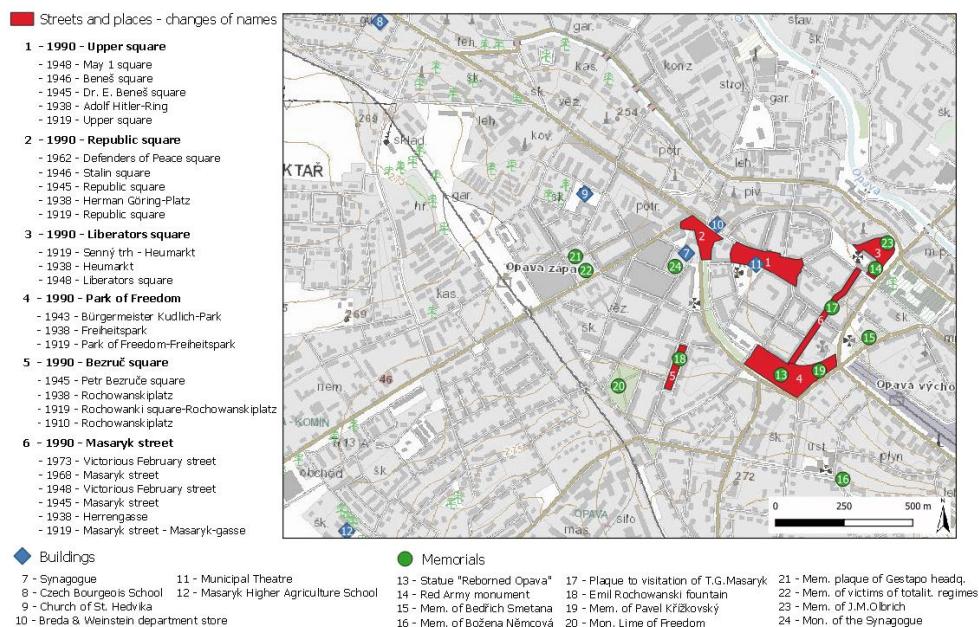


Figure 9: Map of chosen symbolic bearers in Opava between 1918 and 2018

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Recenzie a anotácie

Reviews and Annotations

SZEGHY Gabriel (ed.) *Studia Cassoviensia Nova. Košice vo svetle nových poznatkov.*
Košice : Dejepisný spolok v Košiciach, 2020, 192 s. ISBN 978-80-971895-7-0.

Dejepisný spolok v Košiciach (The Historical society in Košice) commemorated its 25th anniversary in 2019, which was a good opportunity to stop and reflect on the current state of research in the rich history of Košice in the form of a scientific conference held in October 2019. The papers presented here were published in the proceedings in 2020 under the title *Studia Cassoviensia Nova. Košice vo svetle nových poznatkov* (*Studia Cassoviensia Nova. Košice in the light of the new knowledge*). The city of Košice is the second largest in Slovakia, the center of the eastern part of the country with a history dating back to the period of prehistory, yet it still lacks a comprehensive monograph. The conference itself and the reviewed book are therefore welcomed as beneficial, as they covered a wide range of historical periods and topics. The book contains a short introduction by the compiler and chairman of the Historical society in Košice, Gabriel Szeghy, and a foreword by Daniel Černý, a native of Košice and director of the Slovenský historický ústav v Ríme (The Slovak Institute of History in Rome), who took over the auspices of the conference. In the introduction, Szeghy briefly described the circumstances of the conference and the origin of the proceedings, while Černý pointed out the long-standing relationship since its inception between the institute and Košice, as well as Slovakia. The book comprises of 10 chronological articles, nine of which were written by one author and the other one by two co-authors. It is commendable that the first half of the articles deals with the medieval and modern times of the history of Košice, because these periods can be considered as neglected in the historiography of Košice.

The first article, entitled *Najstaršia šachta prevetu z historického centra Košíc* (*The oldest shaft of the prevet in the historical center of Košice*, p. 11-20), by Eva Sendeková and Peter Šimčík brought to the attention a rare find of the shaft of the prevet in the Levoča House in Košice during archaeological research that took place there in the winter of 2018. The research was publicized in the past due to the finding of *Košický strieborný poklad* (*Košice silver treasure*), however another, and no less important finding, was that of the shaft. Furthermore, the article also illustrates the use of toilets in the Middle Ages which was an interesting contribution to the everyday history of not just Košice. The second contribution called *Príspevok k topografii chotára a stredovekých Košíc* (*A contribution to the topography of the district and medieval Košice* p. 21-36) was written by Košice's medievalist Drahoslav Magdoško. In it, Magdoško focused on two local toponyms, Biely Kostol (White Church) and sv. Žofia (St. Sophia), Košická Nová Ves, that were recorded in the medieval court books but had not previously been the subject of research. The author divided the paper into two parts; the first deals with an analysis of the location and function of the Biely Kostol in the north-eastern part of Košice. In the second part Magdoško confirmed the hypothesis that the toponym sv. Žofia can be identified as part of today's city district and its church Košická Nová Ves. The third contribution, entitled

Charakter trestov a miesta ich realizácie v Košiciach v 16. – 19. storočí (The nature of punishments and the place of their execution in Košice in 16th – 19th century p. 37-60), was written by Richard Papáč and it should be noted that his topics of law, the judiciary and punishments are very relevant in current Slovak historiography. In his article, Papáč, firstly, introduced contemporary legislation, and then focused on punishments, such as the use of pillory and the *cage of shame*, imprisonment, and community service. The next article, called *Cech krajčírov v Košiciach v období 18. – 19. storočia (The Tailor's Guild in Košice in the period 18th – 19th century, p. 61-77)*, is by Anikó Bajuszová, and divided into two chapters. The first chapter offers an overview of the history of the Tailor's Guild in Košice, while the second chapter contains analysis and a description of the books of the tailoring company, which are part of the collection of the East Slovak Museum in Košice. The fifth article by Diana Kunderová *Činnosť a pôsobenie verejných notárov v Košiciach, (Activities and functioning of public notaries in Košice, p. 78-93)*, deals with a period of one hundred years from the middle of the 19th to the middle of the 20th century. Kunderová described the origins of the notaries in Košice, their activities as well as their obligations. She then elucidated the archive sources that are the result of the work of notaries, and introduced those figures related to it. Viktor Szabó is an author of another article *Najnovšie výskumy košického vojnového „cintorína hrdinov“ z prvej svetovej vojny (The latest research on the Košice war „the hero cemetery“ from the First World War, p. 93-120)*, which is most extensive in that Szabó also covers the present state of the cemetery. The article was written in chronological order and it also contains a rich graphic appendix and various tables. *Bývalí uhorskí verejní zamestnanci v Košiciach v roku 1924 (Former Hungarian public employees in Košice in 1924, p. 121-137)*, is the seventh article in the reviewed proceedings. The author Veronika Szeghy-Gayer investigates and analyses the fate of the Hungarian public employees from two groups, teachers and postal employees, in Košice during the turbulent times after the establishment of the first Czechoslovak republic in 1918. This paper is enriched by several graphs, diagrams and tables. The article titled *Prínos košických tanecných majstrov k posilneniu statusu tejto živnosti v období 1. ČSR na podklade periodika Terpsychore (The contribution of Košice dance masters in strengthening this profession in the period of the first Czechoslovak republic based on the Terspsychore magazine, p. 138-162)* by Eleonóra Blašková could be considered as the most original one in the book. This is because it is the first attempt to map the existence and functioning of dance schools in Košice after 1918. Following this, Alena Hrabinská contributed to the proceedings with the article *Znovu objavená sgrafitová výzdoba 19. storočia na historických fasádach v centre Košíc (Rediscovered sgraffito decoration of the 19th century on historic facades in the center of Košice, p. 163-180)*. This paper consists of several parts; the first one presents case studies of two buildings on Hlavná street; another explains the methodology and practice of the restoration of the historic facades. The final article by Miroslav Kleban, entitled *Medzinárodný presah košickej umeleckej zbierky – analýza diela pripisovaného Jakubovi Bogdanovi zo zbierky Východoslovenskej galérie (An international overlap of the Košice art collection – the analysis of the work attributed to Jakub Bogdan from*

the collection of the East Slovak Gallery, p. 181-191) deals not only with an analysis of the strategy of building a fine arts collection in the context of the regional cultural tradition of Upper Hungary but also with the life, work, and significance of the baroque artist Jakub Bogdan.

The proceedings *Studio Cassoviensis Nova. Košice vo svetle nových poznatkov* are important and beneficial for the historiography of Košice, not only for its multidisciplinary character and involvement of Košice's several cultural and historical institutions but also because the authors presented new and original findings within their respective fields of study. The shortcoming of the reviewed book is its outdated graphic design, specifically the cover and the background of the text, which is grey despite the current trends. As a result, attached images and maps may have lost their functionality, and the book may be less attractive to the general public, which the Dejepisný spolok v Košiciach should take into future consideration.

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Správy

Reports

Open Conference Report: “CEEA – Cities in the Enlarged European Area: Joint Development of Capacities of Public Institutions by Slovak-Ukrainian Cross-border Cooperation and Improving Integrity in Public Affairs”, October 8, 2020, online

The Open Conference on the project “Cities in the Enlarged European Area: Joint Development of Capacities of Public Institutions by Slovak-Ukrainian Cross-border Cooperation and Improving the Integrity in Public Affairs (CEEA)” took place online on October 8th, 2020. Participating, were 25 representatives from national and foreign institutions who were cooperating on the project. These came from: the Municipality of Košice, the Centre of Social and Psychological Sciences of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, the International cooperation department of Kharkiv City Council, the Department for international cooperation and innovations of Uzhhorod city council and the Office of the Government of the Slovak Republic.

The international project CEEA, which started on July 20th, 2020 in cooperation with 4 cities – Košice, Uzhhorod, Kharkiv and Kirkenes – benefits from a grant from Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway administered through the EEA Grants scheme, and was co-financed from the State Budget of the Slovak Republic to the amount of 15%. The Project Promoter and the main organizer of the conference is the Municipality of Košice. The subject of the conference was the presentation of the project partners, their tasks, roles, expectations and contributions. The four main activities discussed during one session of the conference were: Activity 1: Open and transparent cities: Promoting institutional accountability and transparency through networking and exchange of experience; Activity 2: Innovative social and green cities: Promoting new forms of green and social entrepreneurship; Activity 3: From analysis to practical usage: improving the integrity and accountability of cities and building capacity to support the social and circular economy, and Activity 4: Encouraging citizens to bring public institutions closer – capacity building and good governance.

The project partners aimed to achieve increased integrity and accountability of public administrations in Slovakia and Ukraine, the development of cross-border institutional cooperation, the promotion and creation of new networks and partnerships aimed at the rapprochement of Ukraine with Europe and to establish long-term and sustainable cooperation between public institutions. Moreover, through cooperation in specific areas of business infrastructure development and pursuing the vision of socially coherent and environmentally and climate-friendly cities, they wished to focus on capacity building and support for long-term sustainable urban development.

The project builds on the existing successful cooperation between Košice and Uzhhorod and extends it to other initiatives in the area of governance, transparency and improving the integrity of public administration. The project will also benefit from the involvement of the Norwegian partner, by sharing and transferring their knowledge, experience and best practices. The involvement of the other Ukrainian partner – the city of Kharkiv – creates a space for supporting and building capacities, by establishing the «Ukrainian-Slovak House», with the aim to become a centre of cooperation – in terms of business, public issues, politics, information exchange and

humanitarian issues – between the region of Kharkiv (Ukraine), Slovakia and other regions interested in establishment and development of such cooperation.

During the conference the CSPS SAS discussed its analytical inputs relating to documentation of best practices and the transfer of knowledge from theory to practice. The other point of the conference was the TRIANGEL FORUM – a forum of culture, education, economy and security which will be held in all three cooperating cities – Košice, Uzhhorod and Kharkiv.

The implementation of the project will contribute to the fulfillment of the main slogan of this programming period: “Working together for a green, competitive and inclusive Europe”.

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Conference Report “DREAM ROAD – Interreg Danube Transnational Programme”

Kik-Off Meeting, October 7, 2020, online

The initial kick-off meeting of the Interreg Danube Transnational Programme DREAM ROAD took place online on October 7th, 2020. The name of the project Dream Road stands for “Danube REgion for improved Access and eMpowerment of ROmA Development”.

The underlying premise of the project is to empower members of the Roma community through implementing innovative approaches to bridge the existing gap between the Roma and non-Roma inhabitants of the region in the field of information, digital and functional literacy, and, thus, advance the basic and varying education levels obtained by the members of Roma minority across the region. This should provide them with a long-term possibility to contribute to their own personal and economic development, as well as the development of society as a whole.

The leading partner of the project is the Research and Educational Centre Mansion Rakican (Slovenia). In the project there are another 14 project partners involved – which are well-renowned and established organizations – who are dealing with Roma inclusion. These come from: the Czech Republic, Hungary, Austria, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Moldova and Ukraine. Besides these, there are another 14 local associative partners participating in the implementation of the main project objectives.

The methodology to achieve the project outputs involves developing a TOOLBOX of smart participatory methods aimed at achieving greater participation and involvement of Roma people. The participation toolbox will facilitate the development and operation of LEARNING LABS, which are community spaces where information, functional and digital literacy is strengthened. They rely heavily on the work of mediators, who will spark the interest that is needed to create a community around these mobile/pop-up or fixed LEARNING LABS. The final methodological approach is the empowerment of local communities, authorities, and public bodies to overcome the existing mental barriers, while also enhancing their skills in working with Roma people.

The Center of Social and Psychological Sciences of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (CSPS SAS), recognizes that there is an urgent need to build new foundations for future educational strategies aimed at the Roma; particularly in view of their high rates of illiteracy or semi-literacy, their high school drop-out rate, the low percentage of students completing primary education and the persistence of features, such as low school attendance. The newly- developed content, training and learning methods, as well as pilot activities envisioned in the project, will then be incorporated into it. The new tools, activities, and knowledge will be used to offer better education opportunities for Roma people.

At the kick-off meeting on October 7th, 2020 the leading partner presented the main objectives and working packages to the project partners. At the same time, the respective partners briefly presented their professional profiles and specified their contributions to the implementation of the project outputs. CSPS SAS together with the associative partner, the City of Košice, intends to introduce



a LEARNING LAB at the local Roma district Luník IX. Besides this, CSPS SAS will be responsible for providing knowledge on social sciences methodology development to the other project partners due to its status as an educational research facility.

The leading thematic expert from the CSPS SAS is Ivana Studená from the Institute for Forecasting CSPS SAS (Bratislava) and Slávka Macáková from ETP Slovensko (Košice) as the external expert. Anna Kalistová from the Institute of Social Sciences CSPS SAS (Košice) participated as the project manager, and Ondrej Ficeri as a communication manager.

Note: The report is elaborated on with the use of the project material provided by the leading partner.

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