Openness of the Public to Right-Wing Extremism and Social Distance to Minorities

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Openness of the Public to Right-Wing Extremism and Social Distance to Minorities. The article informs of the results of research for the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic. Its main aim was to state the measure of risk of right-wing extremism in the Czech Republic and to define the most endangered groups. One of the phases of the project was a questionnaire research (n = 2056, population older than 15 years, probability selection). Through personal interviews has been found that in the Czech Republic there are 2.5 % of inhabitants who share ultra-right ideas and they are willing to support the parties offering a radical solution only with their votes. People sharing ideas characteristic of right-wing extremism and at the same time willing to actively support a party offering a radical solution represent 6 %. From the research then results that the main risk from the viewpoint of the fight against right-wing extremism is represented by the second mentioned group. Both high-risk groups show the highest measure of social distance to the Jews, black people and the Ukrainians, but also to homosexuals. The high-risk group is statistically significantly more distant to the Romas as well. The Romas represent the group that the studied high-risk groups perceive with the biggest antagonism.

Key words: right-wing extremism, inequality, foreigners, minorities, hate crime, Romas, social distance

Otvorenosť verejnosti voči pravicovému extrémizmu a sociálnej vzdialenosti k menšinám. Článok informuje o výsledkoch výskumu pre Ministerstvo vnútra Českej republiky. Jej hlavným cieľom bolo uviesť mieru rizika pravicového extrémizmu v Českej republike a definovať najviac ohrozené skupiny. Jednou z fáz projektu bol dotazníkový prieskum (N = 2056, populácia staršia ako 15 rokov, pravdepodobnostný výber). Prostredníctvom osobných rozhovorov bolo zistené, že v Českej republike je 2,5% obyvateľov, ktorí zdieľajú ultrapravicové myšlienky a sú ochotní podporiť strany, ktoré ponúkajú radikálne riešenie prostredníctvom ich hlasov. Ľudia, ktorí zdieľajú myšlienky charakteristické pre pravicový extrémizmus a zároveň aktívne podporujú strany ponúkajúce radikálne riešenie, predstavuje 6%. Z výskumu vyplýva, že hlavné riziko z hľadiska boja proti pravicovému extrémizmu je tvorí druhá spomínaná skupina. Obe vysoko rizikové skupiny vykazujú najvyššiu mieru sociálnej vzdialenosti k Židom, černochom a Ukrajincom, ale aj voči homosexuálom. Rovnako do tejto kategórie spadajú Rómovia. Rómovia predstavujú skupinu, ktorú skúmané vysoko rizikové skupiny vnímajú s najväčším antagonizmom.

Kľúčové slová: pravicový extrémizmus, nerovnosť, cudzinci, menšiny, neznášanlivosť a kriminalita, Rómovia, sociálna vzdialenosť

INTRODUCTION

On the research

The main aim was to ascertain the extent of a hidden expansion of right-wing extremism in the Czech public and to define threatened groups that can be touched most by high-risk actions. The customer approached the whole research complexly and thus enabled to combine both qualitative and quantitative methods. The research had therefore been in progress for ten months and had several follow-up phases: literature study, a content analysis of ultra-right web sites, depth interviews with experts, discussion groups and, finally, questionnaire research. The starting point was literature study that offered an insight into the trends of the hitherto sociological research and its findings. At the same time, we made an analysis of web sites of the Czech ultra-right what elucidated to us thinking of these people and the topics they deal with. Through interviews with experts, we better defined the concept of the right-wing extremism. This concept was included in a series of statements that were subsequently tested in discussion groups and in the questionnaire research. However, the analysis of open resources, interviews with experts and discussion groups did not serve only to identify the concept of right-wing extremism but, at the same time, it helped us to slightly reveal topics that could be important in the effort to comprehend right-wing extremism problems. These thematic units were elaborated in the questionnaire research[1].

The submitted text deals only with the questionnaire research results and – owing to the extent of the research aim – only with part of the studied problem. Since the questionnaire research was only an abstract peak of all preceding phases, it will be necessary to elucidate at least roughly some findings of the preceding stages (they often form starting points for the questionnaire research) in the text.

As for the questionnaire research methodology, 2,056 respondents older then 15 years of age took part in interviews. The technique of respondent selection was a probability method[2] within the whole Czech Republic (58 %

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[1] The questionnaire dealt only with the following themes: the extent of the Czech population agreement with the ideas of right-wing extremism, perception of high-risk minorities (from the right-wing extremism viewpoint) by the Czech public, the extent of prejudice and personal experience entering the perception of minorities, openness to radical solutions and active support of parties offering radical solutions, problems of the so called inadaptable inhabitants, the perception of extremism risk rate, the evaluation of action of state power bodies against the right-wing extremism.
[2] The selection was based upon the *Register of Census Districts and Buildings*; the respondents were given specific house addresses, selective household designation and its member.

rate of return)[3]. Totally, 367 constant respondents of the company STEM were included in the research. The interviewing was carried out through personal standardized interviews. Questionnaires were collected at the turn of September and October 2010.

Scale construction – right-wing extremism ideas

To find out the openness of the public to the ideas of the ultra-right, we had to first decompose this phenomenon in individual dimensions, and then to transfer them in an indicator system. As mentioned in the previous chapters, there is no unified definition of this concept, and we had to create our own definition. The questionnaire research had therefore been preceded by several phases of qualitative research that, among others, aimed to find out individual dimensions of ultra-right attitudes in the Czech Republic. At the same time, these dimensions had to fulfil the condition of their being able to be transferred in a scale applicable in the questionnaire research.

When identifying the concept of right-wing extremism, we issued in particular from O. Decker (2006), R. Stöss (1994) and Š. Danics (2003) because we view them as the most comprehensive. The differences in the approach of these authors can clearly be seen in the following table.

Table 1: **Identification of right-wing extremism**

O. Decker (2006)	**R. Stöss** (1994)	**Š. Danics** (2003)
Anti-Semitism	Anti-Semitism	Anti-Semitism
intercession for right-wing authoritarian dictator	Authoritarianism	Authoritarianism
Chauvinism	Nationalism, expansionism	Extreme nationalism
Animosity towards foreigners	Ethnocentrism	
	Chauvinism of prosperity	
Social Darwinism	Racism	Racism
Trivialization of national socialism	Sympathy to national socialism	
	Anomy	

The problem of identification of ideas characteristic for the Czech ultra-right scene was devoted the key attention in interviews with experts[4].

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[3] The reasons of unrealized interviews: rejected (46 %), 3 x not found at home (38 %), a nonexisting address (8 %), other reasons (8 % – mainly object inaccessibility, respondent disease during interviewing, etc.).

[4] In total, we spoke with four experts from among academicians, policemen and NGOs.

Possibilities and limits of applicability of concepts of Decker, Stöss and Danics in the Czech milieu were discussed with experts. As emerged from the interviews, in the Czech milieu it would be best to study the ideas of the right-wing extremism by help of the following eight dimensions: *authoritarianism, nationalism, racism, animosity towards foreigners, anti-Semitism, anti-Gypsyism, homophobia, and collectivism.* These are all the same dimensions that appeared in various modifications also in literature and in the three chosen concepts. Excluded are only the dimensions of anti-Gypsyism, homophobia and collectivism. Anti-Gypsyism[5] is considered by the experts as the key topic of the Czech ultra-right; moreover, most of them recommend to separate anti-Gypsyism from racism because, in their view, anti-Gypsyism embodies a specific phenomenon in the Czech society[6]. As recommended by the experts, we decided to study racism and animosity towards foreigners separately as well. According to the views of some respondents, these are phenomena that draw from different attitudes, and therefore it is necessary to study them individually. Based upon the interviews with experts, we enriched the set of dimensions contained in literature with homophobia and collectivism. According to the experts, these ideas are characteristic for the Czech ultra-right thinking, and it is necessary to implement them in the scale measuring the ultra-right attitudes.

The eight-dimensional model of ultra-right ideas was operationalised in 25 statements. They were mostly of general character so as not to collide with respondent knowledge regarding specific cases. To put the research tool to the validity test, we tested the created scale in discussion groups (on sympathizers

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[5] Anti-Gypsyism is a term coined by a Roma activist Václav Miko (2009) to denominate anti-Roma attitudes.

[6] This fact is confirmed also by long-term time sets of STEM. *Anti-Gypsy attitudes* have some common features with xenophobic and rasistic attitudes, but in their essence and at the same time also in their development they differ from each other. In the perspective of public opinion development in the last 15 years when STEM has been studying the attitude of the Czechs to both national and ethnic minorities, two elementary development „turns" appear: the entry of the Czech Republic in the EU in 2004, and the period of our EU presidency in 2009. Thus it results from our long-time sets that the Czechs are more tolerant to minorities in the time when they experience a feeling of security that is intensified by a period when supranational institutions oversee the rights of the Czechs (or if they have a feeling of influence on the activity of these organisations – the EU presidency). In the above mentioned periods, the tolerance increase applies all studies groups except the Slovaks and Romas. The fact that the perception development of the Romas and Slovaks differs from that of evaluation of national and ethnic minorities is the evidence that the Czechs view these two groups in a completely different way. The Slovaks are permanently and maximally possibly accepted by the Czechs, whereas the Romas are not.

of radical solutions and on the DSSS electors). By means of discussions, we excluded those statements that were incomprehensible for the respondents and differentiated insufficiently among them. The resulting scale is formed by 15 statements (Table 2), when each dimension is represented by two statements (only the dimension of *animosity towards foreigners* is represented by one statement). We realise that a test with fifteen statements is not able to cover

Table 2: **Operationalisation of the phenomenon „The ideas of right-wing extremism"**

Anti-Semitism	The Jews are a bit strange and peculiar and they do not go well together with us.
	The Jews have a too big influence on the functioning of economy and finance of our state.
Animosity towards foreigners	Foreigners are only a source of criminality and all kinds of problems.
Racism	Lives of some nations and ethnic groups are owing to their backwardness and non-civilization less valuable than those of us, the Europeans.
	Equally as in nature, also the most competent nations and ethnic groups should rule over those less capable ones.
Homophobia	Homosexuals represent danger for the future of a nation and there is no place for them in our society.
	People with homosexual orientation should not hold public offices or work with the youth as teachers, for instance.
Anti-Gypsyism	The police and law courts should treat the Romas harder than other citizens.
	The Romas who do not work for a long time or do not visit requalification courses should lose their right to social benefits.
Nationalism	High state offices should be held only by the true-born Czechs.
	The interests of the Czech Republic should be definitely given precedence over the interests of the European Union.
Authoritarianism	At the head of the state we should have a leading personality who will rule the Czech Republic with a firm hand and in accordance with the interests of all.
	Better then to discuss how to solve individual problems of the Czech Republic, it should be far better if there were one person who would decide on behalf of all.
Collectivism	If the interests and needs of an individual get contrary to the ones of a group or a nation, the individual has to fully conform to them.
	There is nothing as important as a nation and in case of need individuals have to be willing to sacrifice themselves for it.

fine nuances in the ultra-right ideas in detail, but that was not our aim. From the beginning, we tried to reach an acceptable compromise between the tool validity and its extent. The aim was a scale that generally covers the basic ideas of the ultra-right and with its extent it will be simultaneously feasible for a questionnaire research. The scale with fifteen statements, represented in the following table, fulfils these requirements.

In the questionnaire research, the respondents express their rate of agreement with the individual statements of right-wing extremism in a four-point scale (*4 – total agreement, 3 – partial agreement, 2 – partial disagreement, 1 – total disagreement*).

FINDINGS

The scale of right-wing extremism ideas

As evidenced by Tables 5 – 8, most Czechs agreed with statements measuring *animosity towards foreigners, anti-Gypsyism, nationalism and collectivism.* Most respondents also agreed with one of the statements measuring *authoritarianism ("At the head of the state, we should have a leading person who will rule the Czech Republic with a firm hand and in accordance with interests of all.").* A minority of the public agreed with the rest of the statements. The respondents´ answers at the 15 statements present various combinations. The aim of a deeper analysis must therefore be to find the least number of summarizing characteristics that optimally depict the basic types of attitudes of our public to the whole set of the studied questions.

The structure of these attitudes was stipulated based upon a factor analysis. Through an unrotated solution we will ascertain that all fifteen statements fall into a common factor, what supports the thesis that in the background of the test with fifteen statements stands a unifying phenomenon – the idea of the right-wing extremism. Nevertheless, it is clear from Table 3 that the right-wing extremism idea scale is most fed by anti-Semitic, authoritarian, anti-Gypsy and racist statements and by that dealing with animosity towards foreigners. On the other hand, the weakest are the statements: "The Romas not working for a long time or not visiting retraining courses should lose the right of social benefits and support." (anti-Gypsyism, factor load 0.24), "If the interests and needs of an individual clash with the ones of a group or nation, the individual has to completely submit to them." (collectivism, factor load 0.37), and "The Czech Republic interests should unequivocally be given precedence over the European union interests." (nationalism, factor load 0.38).

Table 3: **Factor analysis of ideas of right-wing extremism, non-rotated solution**

	Factors			
	1	2	3	4
The Jews are a bit strange and peculiar and they do not go well together with us.	0.66	-0.23	-0.20	0.22
Foreigners are only a source of criminality and all kinds of problems.	0.65			0.21
Equally as in nature, also the most competent nations and ethnic groups should rule over those less capable ones.	0.62			-0.24
The Jews have a too big influence on the functioning of economy and finance of our state.	0.62	-0.27		0.23
Better then to discuss how to solve individual problems of the Czech Republic, it should be far better if there were one person who would decide on behalf of all.	0.62			-0.57
The police and law courts should treat the Romas harder than other citizens.	0.61	0.26		0.22
At the head of the state we should have a leading personality who will rule the Czech Republic with a firm hand and in accordance with the interests of all.	0.58			-0.57
Lives of some nations and ethnic groups are owing to their backwardness and non-civilization less valuable than those of us, the Europeans.	0.58		-0.20	
People with homosexual orientation should not hold public offices or work with the youth as teachers, for instance.	0.55	-0.48		0.20
High state offices should be held only by the true-born Czechs.	0.50	0.44		
The Romas who do not work for a long time or do not visit requalification courses should lose their right to social benefits.	0.24	0.62		0.35
Homosexuals represent danger for the future of a nation and there is no place for them in our society.	0.56	-0.57		
The interests of the Czech Republic should be definitely given precedence over the interests of the European Union.	0.38	0.46		
If the interests and needs of an individual get contrary to the ones of a group or a nation, the individual has to fully conform to them.	0.37		0.77	
There is nothing as important as a nation and in case of need individuals have to be willing to sacrifice themselves for it.	0.46		0.69	

Source: STEM pro MV ČR, Postoje k pravicově extremistickým myšlenkám, 09/2010, 2056 respondents.
Note: The analysis of the main components.
Only the values of factor load higher than 0.2 can be found here to make it clear.

Table 4: **Factor "The analysis of ideas of right-wing extremism", rotated solution**

	Factors			
	1	2	3	4
Homosexuals represent danger for the future of a nation and there is no place for them in our society.	0.78			
People with homosexual orientation should not hold public offices or work with the youth as teachers, for instance.	0.72			
The Jews are a bit strange and peculiar and they do not go well together with us.	0.69			
The Jews have a too big influence on the functioning of economy and finance of our state.	0.68			
Better then to discuss how to solve individual problems of the Czech Republic, it should be far better if there were one person who would decide on behalf of all.		0.81		
At the head of the state we should have a leading personality who will rule the Czech Republic with a firm hand and in accordance with the interests of all.		0.80		
Equally as in nature, also the most competent nations and ethnic groups should rule over those less capable ones.		0.57		
Lives of some nations and ethnic groups are owing to their backwardness and non-civilization less valuable than those of us, the Europeans.		0.47		
The Romas who do not work for a long time or do not visit requalification courses should lose their right to social benefits.			0.74	
High state offices should be held only by the true-born Czechs.			0.62	
The police and law courts should treat the Romas harder than other citizens.			0.59	
The interests of the Czech Republic should be definitely given precedence over the interests of the European Union.			0.55	
Foreigners are only a source of criminality and all kinds of problems.			0.52	
If the interests and needs of an individual get contrary to the ones of a group or a nation, the individual has to fully conform to them.				0.84
There is nothing as important as a nation and in case of need individuals have to be willing to sacrifice themselves for it.				0.79

Source: STEM pro MV ČR, Postoje k pravicově extremistickým myšlenkám, 09/2010, 2056 respondents.
Note: The analysis of the main components, roration Varimax with Kaiser´s normalisation.
Only the values of factor load higher than 0.45 can be found here to make it clear.

In the rotated solution (rotation: Varimax), we will find totally four factors standing in the scale background (commonly exhaustive 57 % variation). They are **limiting of difference impact** (18 % variation), **selectivism** (14 %), **elitism** (14 %), and **collectivism** (10 %). Thus the eight original dimensions "thickened" in four factors through the factor analysis. This fact documents that respondents react analogously on some of the original dimensions and use comparable frames in their rating.

Besides statement testing in discussion groups, the test validity is supported also by the analysis of respondents scoring in individual factors from the viewpoint of openness towards radical solutions. It is characteristic for the respondents who *scored in all four studied factors more distinctly* that in a general position they prefer resolute and radical solutions to a gradual and deliberate one. This way of thinking should have been detected by the scale, and this result thus supports the scale validity.

Before we concentrate on the structure of individual factors and their composition, we find it useful to mention which the public agrees most with. The respondents reacted positively primarily on *selectivism* (coefficient[7] 3.1) and mostly also on the statements measuring *collectivism* (coefficient 2.6). On the other hand, the Czechs rather did not agree with the statements dealing with *limiting of difference impact* (coefficient 2.1) and *elitism* (coefficient 2.4).

Limiting of difference impact

The first, strongest factor[8] unified both anti-Semitic and homophobic attitudes. Through a more detailed study of statements falling into this factor, it is possible to find that one common idea stands in their background – the will to reduce the impact of those who are "different".

Even though it is a factor that exhausts the most variance from the whole right-wing extremism idea scale (i.e. it has the most important position in the scale), it fills it with statements that the Czech population rather does not agree with (coefficient 2.1). Since our aim is to cover to a certain extent a rare phenomenon, this combination (an important factor that a majority of population rather does not agree with) is desirable. *Limiting of difference*

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[7] By individual factors, summary scores were counted and divided with the number of the summed-up statements. Thus a *coefficient* referring to the agreement measure of the Czechs with the statements of a given factor was obtained. A theoretical coefficient minimum is 1 (the public totally does not agree), and maximum is 4 (the public totally agrees). The coefficient 2.5 means that the society is divided into two uniform groups, one half of the population mostly agrees with the statements, the other one does not.
[8] It exhausts the biggest measure of the scale variability.

impact forms a substantial part of the scale with agreement with right-wing extremism ideas.

Table 5: **Factor „Limiting of difference impact"**

Dimensions	Attitudes	Responses *(row percents)*			
		Total agree-ment	Partial agree-ment	Partial disa-greement	Total disagree-ment
Homophobia	Homosexuals represent danger for the future of a nation and there is no place for them in our society.	4	15	37	44
Homophobia	People with homosexual orientation should not hold public offices or work with the youth as teachers, for instance.	13	23	35	29
Anti-Semitism	The Jews are a bit strange and peculiar and they do not go well together with us.	7	23	41	29
Anti-Semitism	The Jews have a too big influence on the functioning of economy and finance of our state.	7	23	44	25

With the statement falling into the factor of *limiting of difference impact* agree more often men, people with elementary education, qualified workers, citizens in a bad financial situation, and people who feel they are restricted or bothered by different problem groups of inhabitants.

Selectivism

The factor called *selectivism* combines in itself ideas of dimensions of *anti-Gypsyism, nationalism* and *animosity towards foreigners*. All five statements falling in the studied factor are unified by the opinion that people belonging to various groups (national, ethnic, etc.) should be "measured with a different meter", and diverse rights should be exercised (some groups are accorded bigger rights, whilst others are denied their rights).

The group composition is interesting as well. The statements refer mostly to national groups, foreigners or the European Union, but statements concerning Romas fall concurrently into the same factor as well. It is possible to presume from this fact that the Czechs perceive the Romas to a considerable extent more as foreigners than their own fellow citizens. The analysis showed that the

dimension of *anti-Gypsyism* does not fall into the same factor as the statements measuring *racism*.

Table 6: **Factor „Selectivism"**

Dimensions	Attitudes	Responses *(row percents)*			
		Total agree-ment	Partial agree-ment	Partial disa-greement	Total disa-greement
Anti-Gypsyism	The Romas who do not work for a long time or do not visit requalification courses should lose their right to social benefits.	62	28	8	2
Anti-Gypsyism	The police and law courts should treat the Romas harder than other citizens.	26	31	29	14
Nationalism	The interests of the Czech Republic should be definitely given precedence over the interests of the European Union.	37	42	17	4
Nationalism	High state offices should be held only by the true-born Czechs.	41	41	15	4
Animosity towards foreigners	Foreigners are only a source of criminality and all kinds of problems.	16	41	33	10

In bold letters are the statements that a majority of population agrees with.
Source: STEM pro MV ČR, Postoje k pravicově extremistickým myšlenkám, 09/2010, n= 2056

Out of all four factors, the statements falling into this factor were accepted by the Czech population with the biggest consent (coefficient 3.1). With statements falling into this factor most often agreed people with elementary education, qualified workers, the unemployed, entrepreneurs, and citizens who more often declare they feel to be bothered by different people from the so called problematic inhabitants. In this factor, as in the only one, also more often scored people who had had a major conflict with members of minorities or of some problematic groups.

Elitism

Besides the statements measuring *authoritarianism*, this factor also includes *racism*. The elitism, standing behind both dimensions, refers in the case of

authoritarianism rather to the social context, while in the case of racism rather to the biological one. Nevertheless, the principle remains the same.

The statements falling into the factor of *elitism* reached, right after the factor of *limiting of difference impact*, the second lowest respondent response (coefficient 2.2). The Czechs largely rather do not agree with this factor. Also this time, people with elementary education, trained workers and the unemployed (both short- and longtime) more often scored in this factor. A bigger score was reached again by people with the feeling of being bothered by various problematic groups of inhabitants.

Table 7: **Factor „Elitism"**

| Dimensions | Attitudes | Responses *(row percents)* | | | |
		Total agree-ment	Partial agree-ment	Partial disa-greement	Total disa-greement
Authoritarianism	At the head of the state we should have a leading personality who will rule the Czech Republic with a firm hand and in accordance with the interests of all.	21	39	25	15
Authoritarianism	Better then to discuss how to solve individual problems of the Czech Republic, it should be far better if there were one person who would decide on behalf of all.	9	29	37	25
Racism	Equally as in nature, also the most competent nations and ethnic groups should rule over those less capable ones.	9	30	37	24
Racism	Lives of some nations and ethnic groups are owing to their backwardness and non-civilization less valuable than those of us, the Europeans.	8	30	32	30

In bold letters are the statements that a majority of population agrees with.
Source: STEM pro MV ČR, Postoje k pravicově extremistickým myšlenkám, 09/2010, n= 2056

Collectivism

The fourth factor consists of statements of one dimension of right-wing extremism without their being added to by statements of other dimensions. Concurrently, this is a factor that the Czech population rather agrees with (coefficient 2.6).

Table 8: **Factor „Collectivism"**

Attitudes	Total agreement	Responses *(row percents)*			
		Total agree-ment	Partial agree-ment	Partial disagree-ment	Total disagree-ment
Collectivism	If the interests and needs of an individual get contrary to the ones of a group or a nation, the individual has to fully conform to them.	16	50	27	7
Collectivism	There is nothing as important as a nation and in case of need individuals have to be willing to sacrifice themselves for it.	12	44	35	9

In bold letters are the statements that a majority of population agrees with.
Zdroj: STEM pro MV ČR, Postoje k pravicově extremistickým myšlenkám, 09/2010, n= 2056.

Collectivism is represented by a single factor in which markedly do not score people feeling to be bothered by problematic population groups. Nevertheless, with the statements of this factor more often agree people (as in the preceding three factors) preferring resolute and radical solutions of the problematic coexistence with inadaptable inhabitant groups. In the factor of collectivism, men score more often as well. The agreement rate increases with higher age.
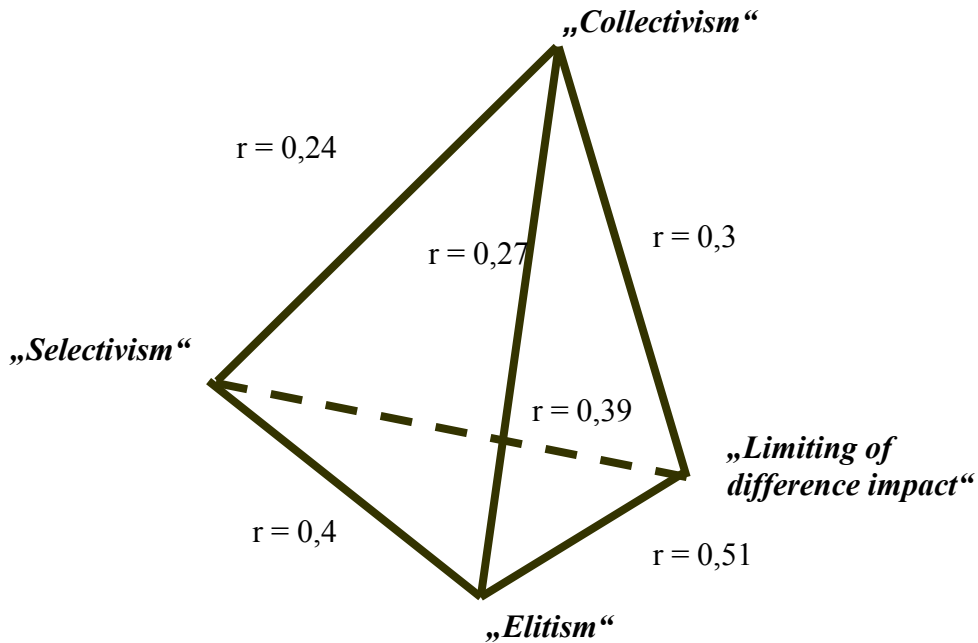
It is clear from the enumeration of characteristics typical for respondents scoring in the individual factors that the factors of *limiting of difference impact, elitism* and *selectivism* are very similar as for the profile of supporters of these ideas. The *collectivism* factor is slightly distant from these phenomena. A lower importance of collectivism is confirmed also by the analysis of relations between the individual factors. It is possible to find out through a correlation analysis[9] of the individual summary scores that people scoring in the *elitism* factor often score also both in the *limiting of difference impact (r = 0.51)* and *selectivism* (r = 0.4) factors. People scoring in the *selectivism* factor often score also in the factor referring to the *limiting of difference impact (r = 0.39).* The relation between these three factors is thus relatively strong – they are pillars of the right-wing extremism ideas. There appears also a connection between the above-mentioned three factors and collectivism, but it is weaker.

Collectivism does not form the central factor of the right-wing extremism scale but it is its important component. On account of this, statements to all four

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[9] Calculated by help of Pearson´s correlation coefficient (r) when the value 0 attests to the absence of a linear relation, and the value 1 attests to a very strong linear relation.

factors will be used to calculate individual scores that will measure openness towards the right-wing extremism ideas.

Diagram 1: **Ideas of right-wing extremism – closeness of partial factors**

„Collectivism"

r = 0,24

r = 0,27

r = 0,3

„Selectivism"

r = 0,39

„Limiting of difference impact"

r = 0,4

r = 0,51

„Elitism"

The risk group from the right-wing extremism viewpoint

To identify the high-risk group of the Czechs from the right-wing extremism viewpoint, it is necessary to calculate individual summation scores. The respondents for each of the fifteen statements (the range of ideas of right-wing extremism) expressed a degree of agreement with a particular statement as follows: (scale: 4 – totally agree, 1 – totally disagree). We get the score between 15 to 60 points in total[10]. Those with the highest score agreed with the

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[10] The unrotated solution showed that all fifteen statements are connected by one dimension. In the calculation of individual scores, neither the discovered factors (the rotated solution), nor their loads will be taken into consideration. In case of a repeated research, the chosen method will enable to compare the results (also in the case that the load of individual dimensions within the tool will be changed). The rotated solution was thus first of all a heuristic aid that elucidated the inner structure and relations within the scale.

ideas of right-wing extremism the most. The following graph shows the result division.

Graph 1: **Agreement with right-wing extremism ideas – division of individual scores**
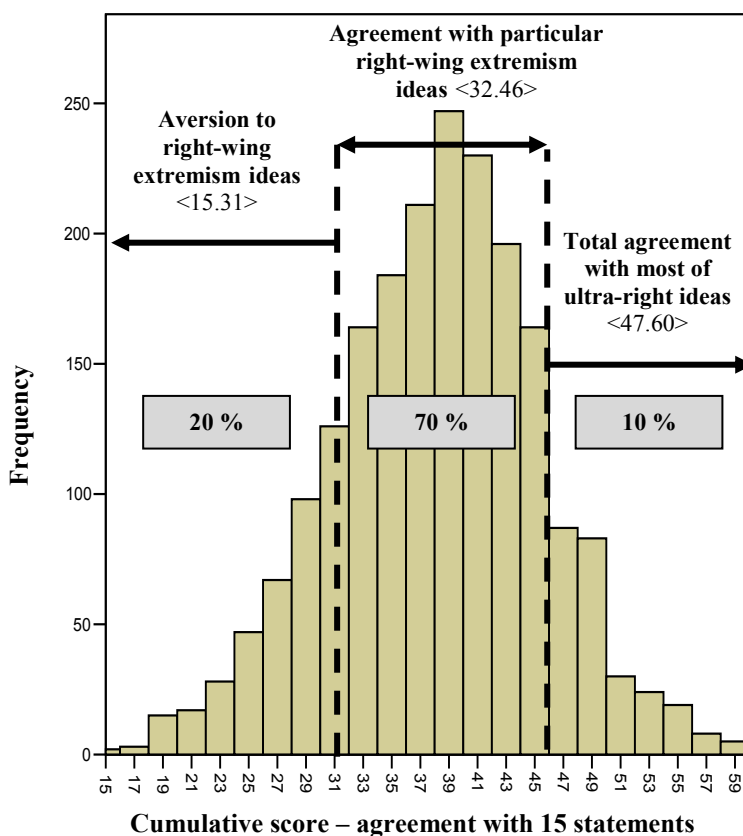
Source: STEM pro MV ČR, Postoje k pravicově extremistickým myšlenkám, 09/2010, n = 2056.

There are two turning points in the course of the function: on the 31st and 46th points. In the vicinity of these points, the numbers of respondents change perceptibly. We can form boundaries from these turning points which will serve to create typology of access to right-wing extremism ideas. The first group of respondents (20%) does not agree with most of the statements, so we can speak of *aversion to right-wing extremism ideas*. In the second group (70%), *agreement with particular right-wing extremism ideas* can be observed to different extent. It is a wide range of people: from those who *mostly agree* with one or two statements, to those who *rather agree* with all statements or

definitely agree with a half of them. Generally, people agree with particular topics, and not with the entire complex of the ideas which is according to literature and experts characteristic for thinking of ultra-right supporters.

The third group (10 %) refers to the respondents who totally *agree* with most of *ultra-right ideas*. In this group, it is no particular annoyance, but animosity including most of the topics and objects contained in the scale. From the right-wing extremism viewpoint, this group is considered as high-risk[11].

The scale we have constructed is devoted only to the agreement with right-wing extremism ideas (statistical level of the problem). However, those can be held latently as well, i.e. no behaviour that could in its impact endanger somebody (e.g. verbal attacks, economic handicap, mobbing etc.) needs to be expressed. To reveal the real risk, we have to, in our view, connect the agreement with right-wing extremism ideas also with a tendency to ventilate hatred itself, to want to solve the felt problems etc. (dynamic level of the problem). The contemporary theoreticians follow a similar direction in their thoughts (e.g. Danics 2003)[12].

To connect the ideological ultra-right background with the will to actively do something in the given case, the question *"Which political party offering resolute and radical solution in the question of a problematic coexistence with inadaptable inhabitant groups would you be willing to support…?"*[13] The possible involvement in this direction has been transformed into three categories. The variant *Only through voting* deals with the respondents who would support such a party in the election but they do not mean to take an

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[11] Equally according to Miroslav Mareš, it is possible to follow attitudes through which is the right-wing extremism defined, in a „broader" part of society by politicians than only by the ultra-right. Contrary to common public, the right-wing extremists bring these attitudes or concepts in the social and cultural milieu in a „cumulated" form. (Mareš 2003: 22)
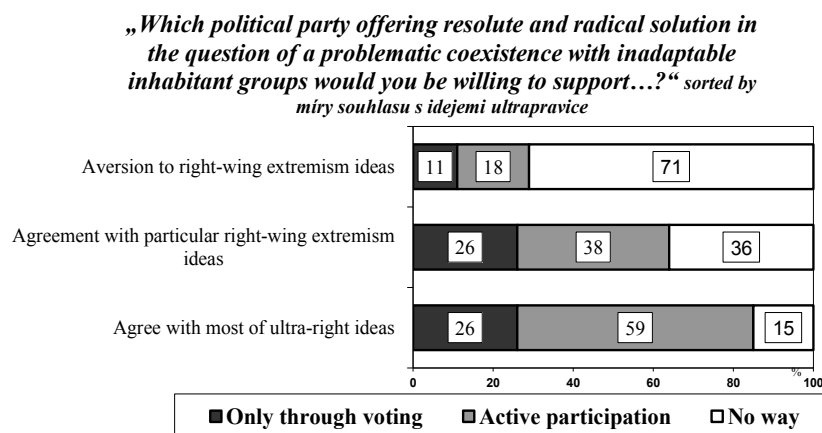
[12] According to Danics, to be able to „identify bearers of unambiguous views with the right-wing extremists, it is necessary to show our attitudes in our behaviour (public protests in the spirit of right-wing topics, emmbership in ultra-right subjects, or election preference of these subjects). Such public behaviour clearly expresses the effort to deny the existing system of parliamentary democracy and to build society on a national or rase principle with a strong leader." (Danics 2003: 10-11)

[13] There are various ways of support when respondents expressed themselves to each of them by dint of variants of *yes* and *no*. The studied ways of support and frequency of willingness to support in this way a party offering resolute solutions are as follows (to make it clear, the statements have been ranged according to the agreement frequency): a) through voting (53 %), b) through participation in a quiet demonstration or march (27 %), c) through help by organising actions or distribution of leaflets (24 %), d) through participation in actions whose aim is to restore order in the affected localities, even by force (13 %), and e) through active membership in this party (10 %).

active part in its activities (24 % of people). The category of *Active participation* unites the respondents who are willing to support such a party either in a demonstration/march or helping in a leaflet distribution, by active membership in the party, or participating in actions whose aim is to restore order in the affected areas (even by force) (38 % of people). The variant *No way* unites the respondents who would not be willing to support such a party in no way (38 % of people).

It is evident from the following graph that out of the people who showed *distaste* for the tested ultra-right ideas, almost three quarters are not willing to support in no way a party offering a radical solution; an active participation is admitted by 18 % of people. By people *agreeing with particular ideas* or *with most of ultra-right ideas*, the willingness to participate is twice that high (30 %). A distinctive majority of those who *share the whole complex of ultra-right ideas* (59 %) is open to an active participation in demonstrations or actions that are to restore order.

Graph 2: **Ideas of right-wings extremism, openness to active participation – crosstabs**

„Which political party offering resolute and radical solution in the question of a problematic coexistence with inadaptable inhabitant groups would you be willing to support…?" sorted by *míry souhlasu s idejemi ultrapravice*

	Only through voting	Active participation	No way
Aversion to right-wing extremism ideas	11	18	71
Agreement with particular right-wing extremism ideas	26	38	36
Agree with most of ultra-right ideas	26	59	15

■ **Only through voting** ▨ **Active participation** ☐ **No way**

Source: STEM pro MV ČR, Postoje k pravicově extremistickým myšlenkám, 09/2010, n = 2056

Though the election potential is similar both by respondents agreeing with particular ultra-right ideas and by those sharing most of these ideas, as high-risk is considered mainly the second mentioned group. People sharing only the particular ideas will support a political party with more radical views in the election, but though they hold only some ultra-right ideas it need not be an ultra-right party. They can be electors of parties with more emphatic rhetoric

exalting a particular delicate theme (e.g. work of immigrants, coexistence with the Romas etc.).

From the viewpoint of right-wing extremism, as high-risk are therefore considered people sharing ultra-right ideas, and at the same time willing to support parties offering a resolute and radical solution with their votes, active participation in such a party, support in demonstration/marches, or in some action with violent overtones.

In the Czech Republic, there are 2 % of those sharing at the same time ultra-right ideas and willing to support parties offering a resolute solution (the group of *Only potential electors*) with their votes. People holding ideas characteristic for the right-wing extremism and at the same time willing to support a party offering a radical solution through their membership or participation in demonstrations/marches or in various actions whose aim is to restore order, represent 6 % (the group of *Action participants*). Cattacin reaches a similar share in a sample of the Swiss population. (Cattacin et al. 2006: 6)

In the Czech population, there are about 8 % of people that can be *in a various measure* considered as potentially high-risk from the right-wing extremism view. However, the main risk is represented by *Action participants*. The rest is formed by a non-risk part of the population (92 %).

Graph 3: **High-risk groups from the viewpoint of right-wing extremism: agreement with the ultra-right ideas and willingness to actively support parties offering radical solutions**
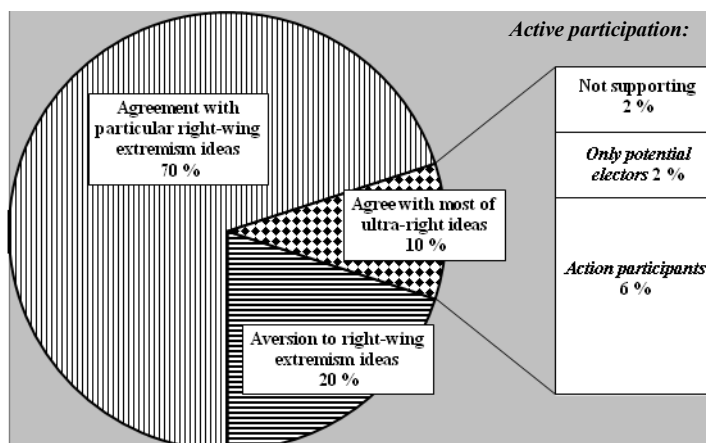
Source: STEM pro MV ČR, Postoje k pravicově extremistickým myšlenkám, 09/2010, 2056 respondentů

Broader contexts – minority perception and prejudice measure

Both perception of minorities and attitudes towards them have been measured by dint of the Scale of social distance (E. S. Bogardus, 1925). Through this seven-point scale, respondents express themselves to individual groups. The biggest openness means respondents´ willingness to accept a member of the studied group in their families, on the other hand, the biggest distance represents the will of respondents to move members of this group abroad.

The results show that from the studied groups the Slovaks and handicapped people are the closest to the Czechs who are *open to the closest relation* with members of these two groups, i.e. most respondents would accept them in a family or as friends. *Openness to a personal contact*, i.e. most people would accept them as near neighbours, is declared by the Czechs towards the Germans a Jews.

A bigger distance is felt by the Czechs towards homosexuals, black people, the Ukrainians, Vietnamese, immigrants, foreign workers, homeless people, and prostitutes. However, most Czechs consider also these groups as equals. This relation shall be called *openness to coexistence in one country.*
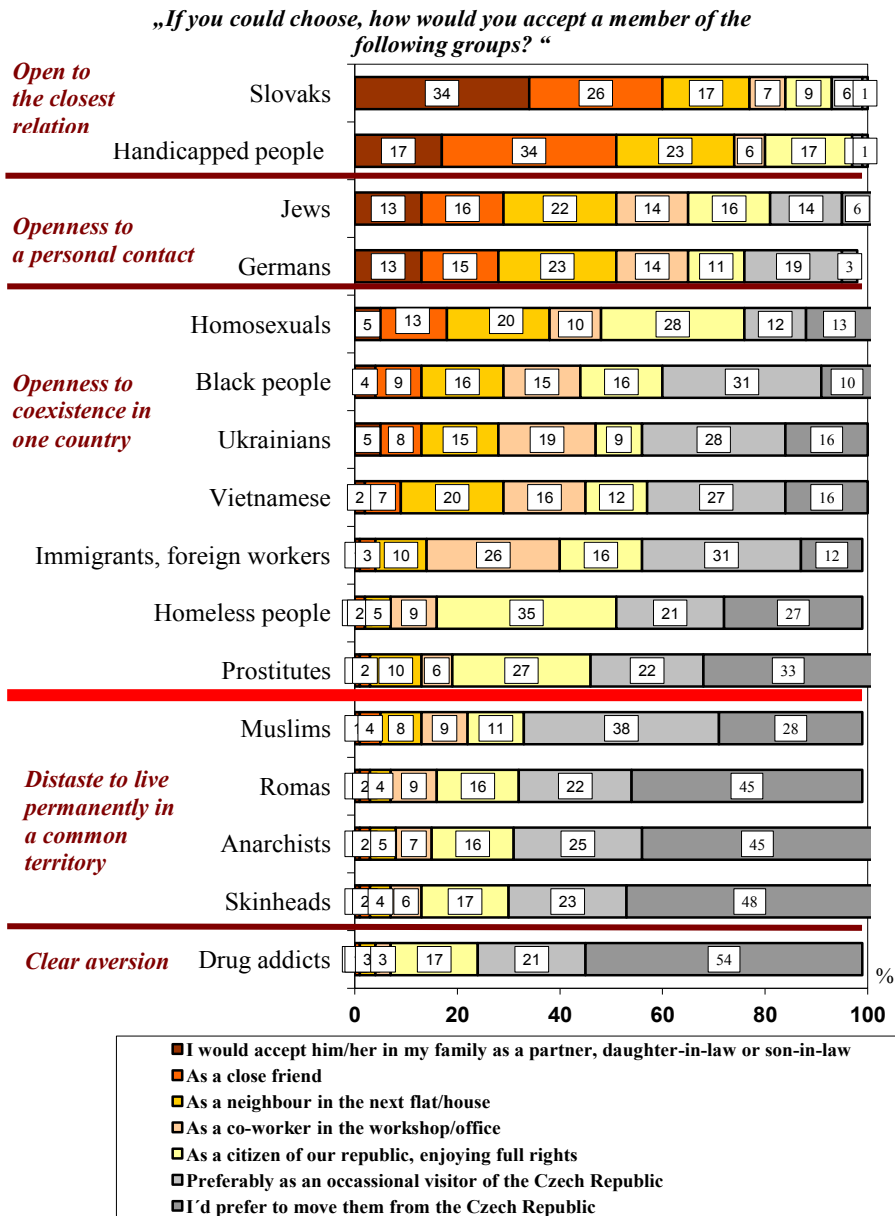
Most Czechs declare mostly rejecting attitudes to other groups. As for members of such groups as the Muslims, Romas, anarchists and skinheads, most people express distaste to live with them *permanently in a common territory*.

Clear aversion is aimed at drug addicts. Most of our population chooses the extreme pole of the scale towards them – *"preferably, I would move them out of the Czech Republic"*.

The biggest measure of social distance[14] is shown by people with the lowest education (elementary, apprentices), and by the long-term unemployed. A linear dependence has been found in both the income and age. The measure of social, ethnic and race distance increased with an increasing age and decreasing income.

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[14] An individual summation score of social distance towards all studied groups.

Graph 4: **Public – a measure of social distance**

„If you could choose, how would you accept a member of the following groups? "

Category	Group	Data
Open to the closest relation	Slovaks	34 / 26 / 17 / 7 / 9 / 6 / 1
	Handicapped people	17 / 34 / 23 / 6 / 17 / 1
Openness to a personal contact	Jews	13 / 16 / 22 / 14 / 16 / 14 / 6
	Germans	13 / 15 / 23 / 14 / 11 / 19 / 3
Openness to coexistence in one country	Homosexuals	5 / 13 / 20 / 10 / 28 / 12 / 13
	Black people	4 / 9 / 16 / 15 / 16 / 31 / 10
	Ukrainians	5 / 8 / 15 / 19 / 9 / 28 / 16
	Vietnamese	2 / 7 / 20 / 16 / 12 / 27 / 16
	Immigrants, foreign workers	3 / 10 / 26 / 16 / 31 / 12
	Homeless people	2 / 5 / 9 / 35 / 21 / 27
	Prostitutes	2 / 10 / 6 / 27 / 22 / 33
Distaste to live permanently in a common territory	Muslims	4 / 8 / 9 / 11 / 38 / 28
	Romas	2 / 4 / 9 / 16 / 22 / 45
	Anarchists	2 / 5 / 7 / 16 / 25 / 45
	Skinheads	2 / 4 / 6 / 17 / 23 / 48
Clear aversion	Drug addicts	3 / 3 / 17 / 21 / 54

0   20   40   60   80   100   %

- I would accept him/her in my family as a partner, daughter-in-law or son-in-law
- As a close friend
- As a neighbour in the next flat/house
- As a co-worker in the workshop/office
- As a citizen of our republic, enjoying full rights
- Preferably as an occassional visitor of the Czech Republic
- I´d prefer to move them from the Czech Republic

If we focus on the differences in attitudes of high-risk groups[15] towards the studied minorities, we can find out that the members of the groups *Only potential electors* and *Action participants* show a bigger measure of social distance towards the Jews (the difference between the averages[16] of D = 1.3), homosexuals (D = 1.1), black people (D = 1), and the Ukrainians (D = 1). For the high-risk groups (from the viewpoint of the straggle with extremism), these are the minorities that are a thorn in their side more then the rest of the population. On the other hand, just as the rest of the population, the groups of *Only potential electors* and *Action participants* accept the Slovaks (D = 0.1) and skinheads (D = 0.1).

One of the hypotheses we entered the research with was that a high-risk group will declare a significantly bigger measure of social distance towards the Romas than the rest of the population. We have found that the high-risk group is really statistically significantly more distant towards the Romas (D = 0.8) but this difference is not so conspicuous as towards the Jews, homosexuals, black people and the Ukrainians. The reason consists probably in the fact that negative attitudes towards the Romas can be observed throughout the population. This fact has been observed by the company STEM for a long time in time rows (since 1993).
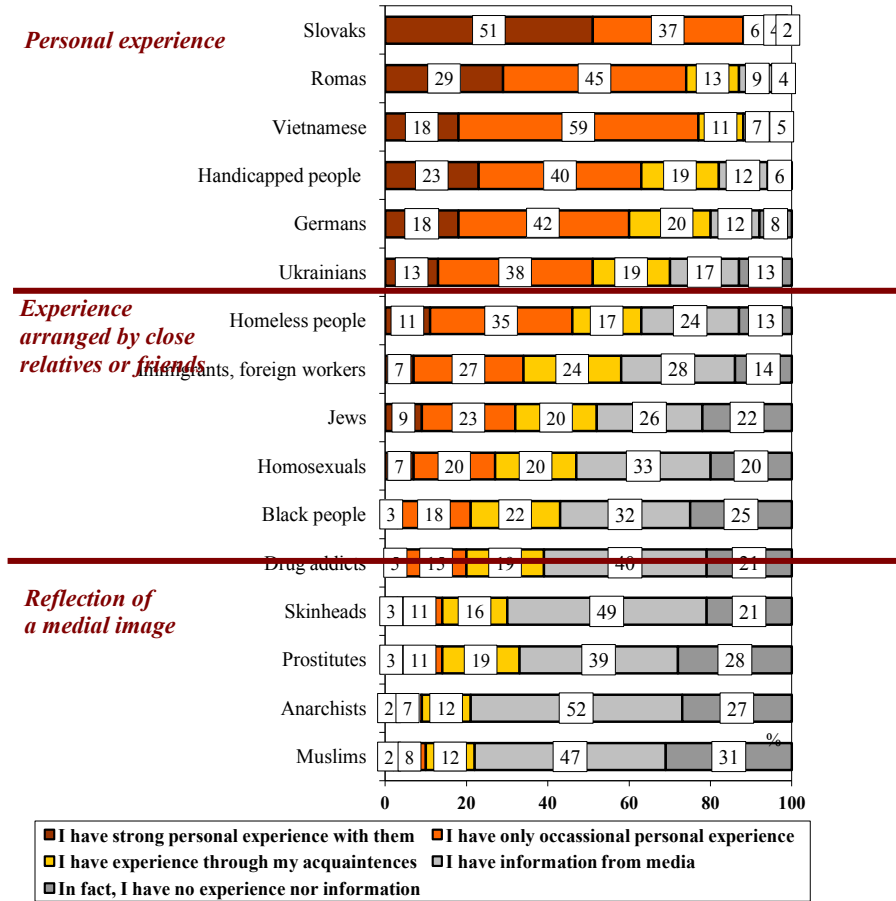
At the same time, besides the measure of social distance, we also studied what personal experience people have with the members of individual groups. Most Czechs have *personal experience* with the Slovaks, Romas, Vietnamese, handicapped people and Germans. Occasional *personal experience* combined with *experience arranged by close relatives or friends* is a matter of, first of all, the Ukrainians, homeless people, immigrants, the Jews, and homosexuals. Experience of most Czechs with other minorities comes mostly from the information from media, or they have no information about them. The absence of information or a *reflection of a medial image* regards concretely black people, drug addicts, skinheads, prostitutes, anarchists, Muslims, and groups of militant radicals.

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[15] With the aim to obtain a bigger number of respondents for the statistical classification, both groups of *Action participants* and *Only potential electors* were joined. Two groups were created: a high-risk group (8.3 %) and the rest of the population (92.7 %). For each group, an average measure of social distance has been calculated, and these values have been tested by a T-test. The average measure of social distance has been acquiring values 1 through 7.

[16] Summed up by the value difference of the average measure of social distance of the high-risk group and the same values in the rest of the population.

Graph 5: **Public – a measure of personal experience**

„Again, I will name you the same groups of people, and you will be so kind to tell me what personal experience you have with them"

Personal experience

	Slovaks	51	37	6	4	2
	Romas	29	45	13	9	4
	Vietnamese	18	59	11	7	5
	Handicapped people	23	40	19	12	6
	Germans	18	42	20	12	8
	Ukrainians	13	38	19	17	13

Experience arranged by close relatives or friends

	Homeless people	11	35	17	24	13
	Immigrants, foreign workers	7	27	24	28	14
	Jews	9	23	20	26	22
	Homosexuals	7	20	20	33	20
	Black people	3	18	22	32	25
	Drug addicts	3	13	19	40	21

Reflection of a medial image

	Skinheads	3	11	16	49	21
	Prostitutes	3	11	19	39	28
	Anarchists	2	7	12	52	27
	Muslims	2	8	12	47	31

0   20   40   60   80   100
%

■ I have strong personal experience with them   ■ I have only occassional personal experience
■ I have experience through my acquaintences   ■ I have information from media
■ In fact, I have no experience nor information

Source: STEM pro MV, Postoje k pravicově extremistickým myšlenkám, 09/2010, n= 2056

People living in Prague have more often personal experience with members of the studied groups[17], then, with a distinctive distance, people from other regions. Also people living in municipalities with population of more than 50,000, men, traders, entrepreneurs, those having subordinates, and people with a higher cultural capital (measured by book number in a household) have more frequent personal experience. The measure of personal experience increases also with education and income, and, by contrast, it decreases with higher age.

The lowest measure of personal experience has been declared by people living in small villages, old-age pensioners and long-term unemployed people.

The highest measure of personal experience has been declared by the *Action participants*, followed by non-risk citizens from the right-wing extremism viewpoint, and the lowest measure of experience has been found among the *Only potential electors* of the ultra-right.

A very important information is obtained in the moment when the knowledge dimension and the social distance is crossed. A four-field graph has thus been obtained where in the orange field called *Positive experience* fall groups whose representatives most Czechs know personally and regards them with favour. They are the Slovaks, handicapped people and the Germans.

The light-blue rectangle called *Negative experience* contains those groups of people whom most Czechs have personal experience with. Since, at the same time, they have a reserved relation, their experience will probably be mostly negative. It deals mainly with the Romas, but with the Vietnamese as well. It will be difficult to work with this type of displeasure (e.g. by campaigns, education, etc.) because it proceeds mainly from personal experience. To reach a change in perception of the groups falling in this quadrant, either the values of the public (e.g. towards multi-culturalism), or the expression of the groups that people object to will have to change.

The following two quadrants refer to the groups that are perceived mostly with prejudice, i.e. most Czechs have no direct experience with them. On the borderline between the negative experience and the negative prejudice are the Ukrainians, homeless people, immigrants and foreign workers. The Czechs have mostly negative relation to these groups, and part of it proceeds from personal experience, while approximately the same portion proceeds from prejudice (it nurtures ignorance or the medial image of these groups). That part of the population which in its evaluation proceeds from prejudice will be an easier target of contingent communication.

The rectangle called *Negative prejudice* joins the groups perceived mostly negatively by the Czechs. However, most people have no personal experience

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[17] The individual summation score of knowledge of all studied groups, acquiring values 17 through 85.

with the members of these groups. First of all, it is a matter of anarchists, skinheads, the Muslims, drug addicts, prostitutes, black people, but also of homosexuals. Since here it is the case of prejudice, a possibility to work with a negative evaluation and to interfere with it is offered. In fact, the negative evaluation does not proceed from the real experience basis.

The red rectangle called *Positive prejudice* (it is already dealt with by G. W. Allport) refers to the groups that are perceived mostly positively, but most people have no personal experience with them. None of the studied groups falls completely entirely in this category, but the Jews can be included here partially.

In the sub-groups of *Action participants* and *Only potential electors*, the matrix of minority perception is divided similarly, it is only more radical. First of all, it is a matter of homosexuals, the Ukrainians and the Romas, but also of the Muslims and the Vietnamese. The Jews have transferred from the quadrant of the positive prejudice into the negative one. The transfer is also obvious in case of black people who have remained in the quadrant of the positive prejudice but have transferred into the place with a lesser personal knowledge and a bigger social distance.

Chart 1: **Perception of minorieties by the public – a measure of prejudice and its evaluation**
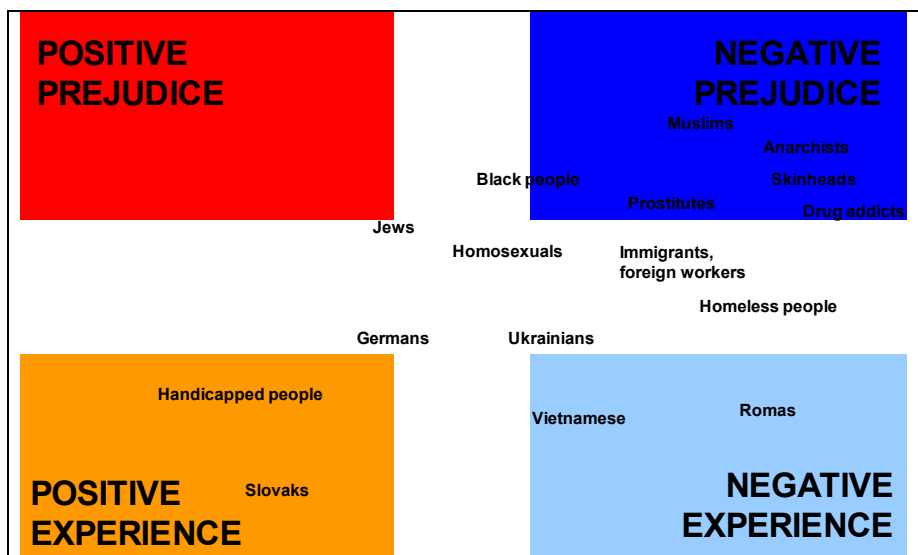
Note.: The axis x refers to the measure of social distance, where *positive* relation M <1;3,5> and *negative* relation M <4,5;7>, while the axis y refers to the measure of personál experience, where *experience* M <1;3,5> and prejudice M <4,5;7>.

Chart 2**: Perception of minorities by the action participants and potential voters – the measure of prejudice and its evaluation**

SUMMARY[18]

In the background of the right-wing extremism ideas, four principles of thought (factors) can be found: 1. _limiting of impact of differing people_, 2. _a different meter_, be it called _selectivism_ (people belonging to different groups should have different rights), 3. _elitism_ (preference of a certain group), and 4. _collectivism_ (a group is more important than an individual). The Czechs agree the most with the selectivism, and largely with the collectivism as well. On the other hand, most Czechs reject the limiting of impact of differing people, and largely rejects elitism as well.

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[18] This study has originated in response to and in collaboration with Professor Ladislav Macháček, coordinator of the Slovak part (University of Ss. Cyril and Methodius – UCM – in Trnava) of the research team of MYPLACE. Memory, Youth, Political Legacy And Civic Engagement. Collaborative project. Large-scale integrating project SSH-2010-5.1.1 Domocracy and the shadows of totalitarianism and populism: the European experience. Grant number: FP7-266831. It was presented at the WP3 and WP4 leaders meeting in Frankfurt (Germany, 27 – 28 November, 2011). Translated by Marián Pochylý (Faculty of Social Sciences, UCM in Trnava.

The research results show that anti-Gypsy attitudes (one of the dimensions of the right-wing extremism ideas) do not fall in the same factor as racist attitudes. In the Czech public, the anti-Gypsyism is not too related to racism, but rather to nationalism and animosity towards foreigners (it seems that the Czechs perceive the Romas more than foreigners than their own fellow citizens). In the minds of the citizens of the Czech Republic, anti-Gypsyism is related in an essential way to criminality and unadaptability, and thus it has a strong social dimension.

Twenty per cent of the Czechs do not agree with a great majority of the right-wing extremism ideas. Agreement with some postulates of the ultra-right can be observed by 70 % of the public. It is agreement with both individual and partial topics, not with the whole complex of ideas that is, according to literature and experts, characteristic of the ultra-right adherents. Ten per cent of people agree with a great majority of the ultra-right ideas.

As high-risk from the right-wing extremism viewpoint are considered people who share the ultra-right ideas and, at the same time, are willing to support the parties offering resolute and radical solutions either through active participation in such a party, or through support in demonstrations/marches or in some action with a violent overtones. In the Czech Republic, there are 2.5 % of those who share ultra-right ideas and are willing to support the parties offering a resolute solution only with their votes at the same time *(Only potential electors)*. There are 6 % of people holding the ideas characteristic of right-wing extremism and, at the same time, willing to support a party offering radical solutions both with their membership and participation in demonstrations/marches, or in various actions whose aim is to restore order (active *Action participants*).

Only potential electors and *Action participants* of extremist forces show the highest measure of social distance towards the Jews, black people and the Ukrainians, but, for instance, also towards homosexuals. The high-risk group is statistically significantly more distant towards the Romas as well. The Romas embody the group that the groups of *Only potential electors* and *Action participants* perceive with the biggest antagonism.

In their attitudes and evaluations, people can proceed from their personal experience or prejudice (i.e. they have no direct experience with the evaluated group). *The evaluation can then be totally positive or negative.* Most Czechs have *positive experience* with seriously handicapped people. As for nationalities, both the Slovaks and Germans are positively mentioned. Citizens have *negative experience* with both the Romas and Vietnamese. In the eyes of the public, the Ukrainians, homeless people, immigrants and foreign workers move on the borderline between negative experience and negative prejudice. *Negative prejudice* is felt by most people against anarchists, the Muslims,

skinheads, drug addicts, male prostitutes, black people, and homosexuals. The Jews appear *on the borderline of positive prejudice* with the Czech public.

In the sub-groups of *Action participants* and *Only potential electors*, the matrix of minority perception is divided similarly, but it is more radical. Radical attitudes can be observed first of all in case of the Ukrainians, Romas, black people, and homosexuals as well. Increasing prejudice against the Jews can also be observed.

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