

*Anti-Immigrant Prejudice in Central and Eastern Europe – in  
light of the data of the Demand for Right Wing Extremism Index*

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**DEREX**

## *Why demand matters?*



„The multicultural approach has failed, utterly failed,"



„  
Multiculturalism  
is a failure"



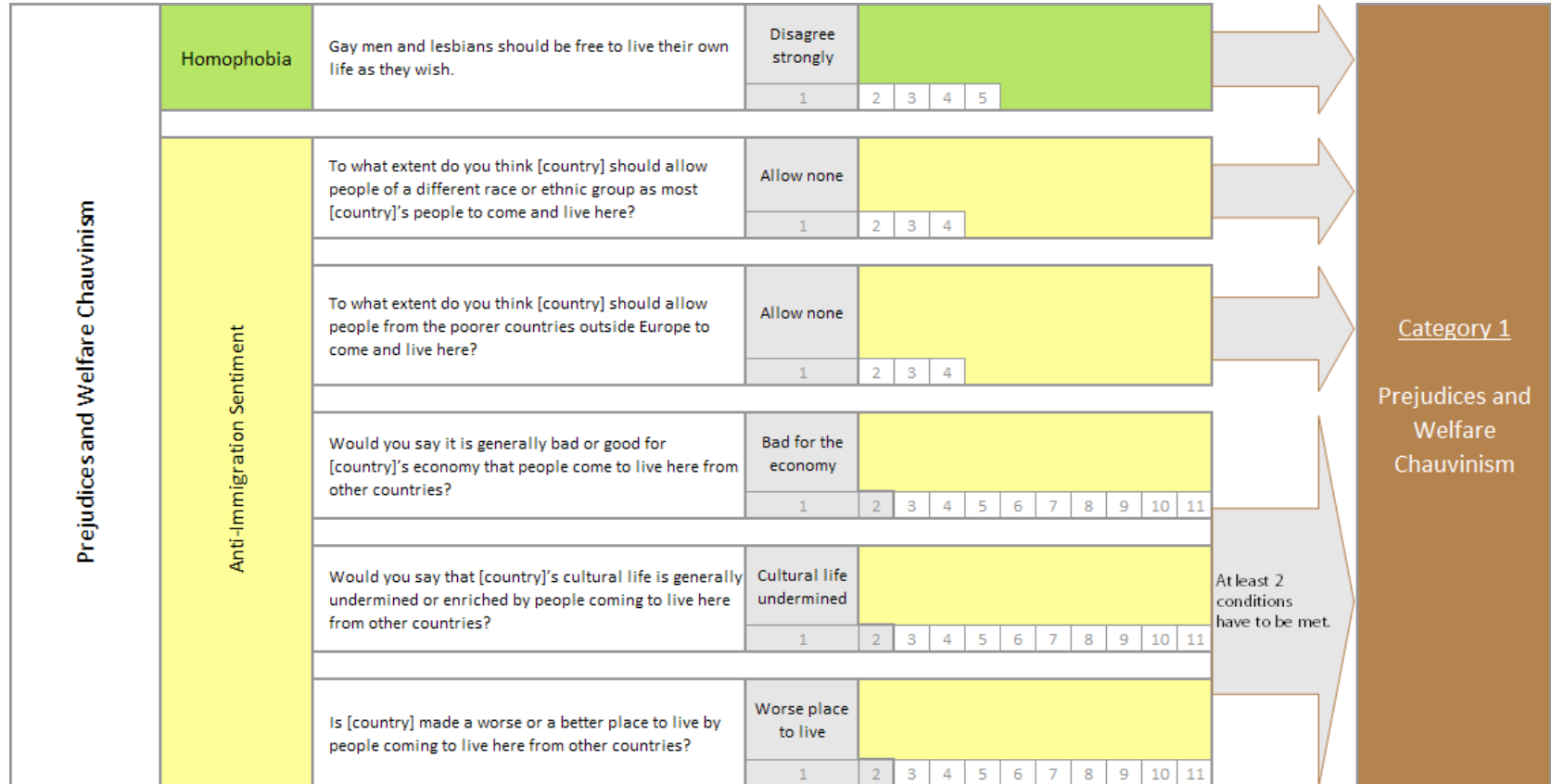
„State  
multiculturalism  
has failed”

Introducing DEREX





# Criteria for getting into a category





## *DEREX Index – What is it?*

The Demand for Right-Wing Extremism (DEREX) Index is the first-ever comprehensive scientific measurement of how susceptible European societies are to right-wing ideology and how strong the immune system of a society is to radical right ideologies.

DEREX Index was first published in February 2010.

### **What does DEREK numbers means?**

The *percentage* of respondents who are psychologically (regarding their attitudes and values) receptive to the xenophobic, chauvinistic, authoritarian and scapegoating ideologies of the far-right: the attitude radicals

### **Why is it important?**

The DEREK makes it possible to track changes in social phenomena that threaten to radicalize a society.

High demand for right-wing extremism poses broad array of risks:

- Low levels of trust can render the democratic system unable to function.
- Anti-elitism and economic protectionism can destroy the investment climate.
- Xenophobia and aggressive nationalism can endanger both domestic and regional peace.
- A prejudicial, nationalist and/or anti-establishment public can push all the political players (even governmental forces) towards a more radical position.



## *Methodology very briefly*

Political Capital designed the Demand for Right-Wing Extremism (DEREX) Index using its own theoretical model and data from the European Social Survey (ESS), a biannual study that tracks changes in societal attitudes and values in 33 countries in (Europe +Turkey, Russia, Israel).

The DEREX Index calculates a society's demand for such extremism as a product of four determinants from 29 variables:

- prejudice and welfare chauvinism**, which includes sentiments toward immigrants and homosexuals;
- anti-establishment attitudes**, such as dissatisfaction with government institutions and democracy;
- right-wing value orientation**, which is defined as support for traditional values, religion and need for order and obedience;
- fear, distrust and pessimism**, from the negative tendencies of state of affairs, existential anxiety and distrust in fellow citizens.

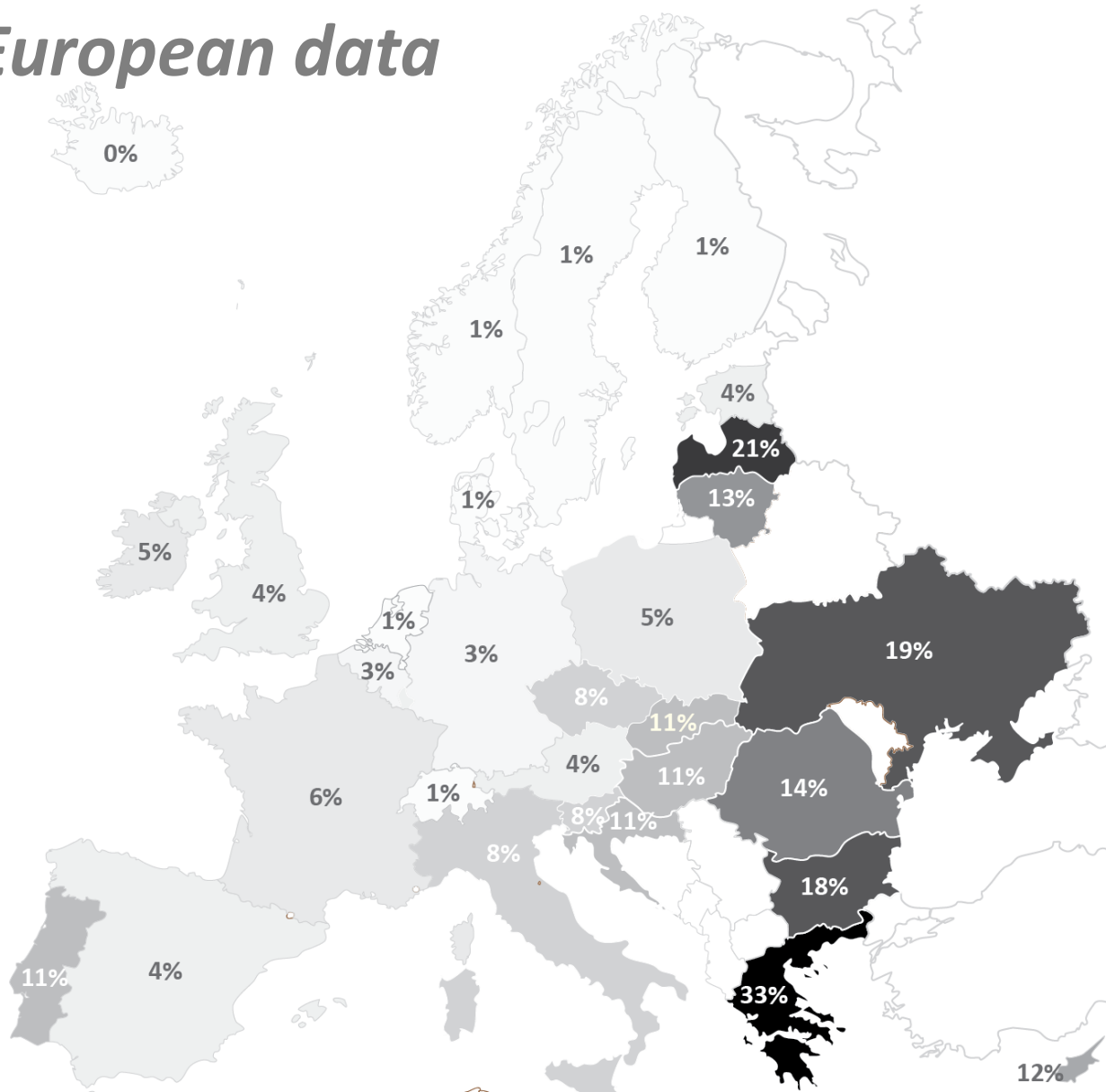
Attitude radicals: answers to the ESS survey questions evince attitudes and ideas that meet the criteria for at least three of the four categories (very strict criteria).

International data





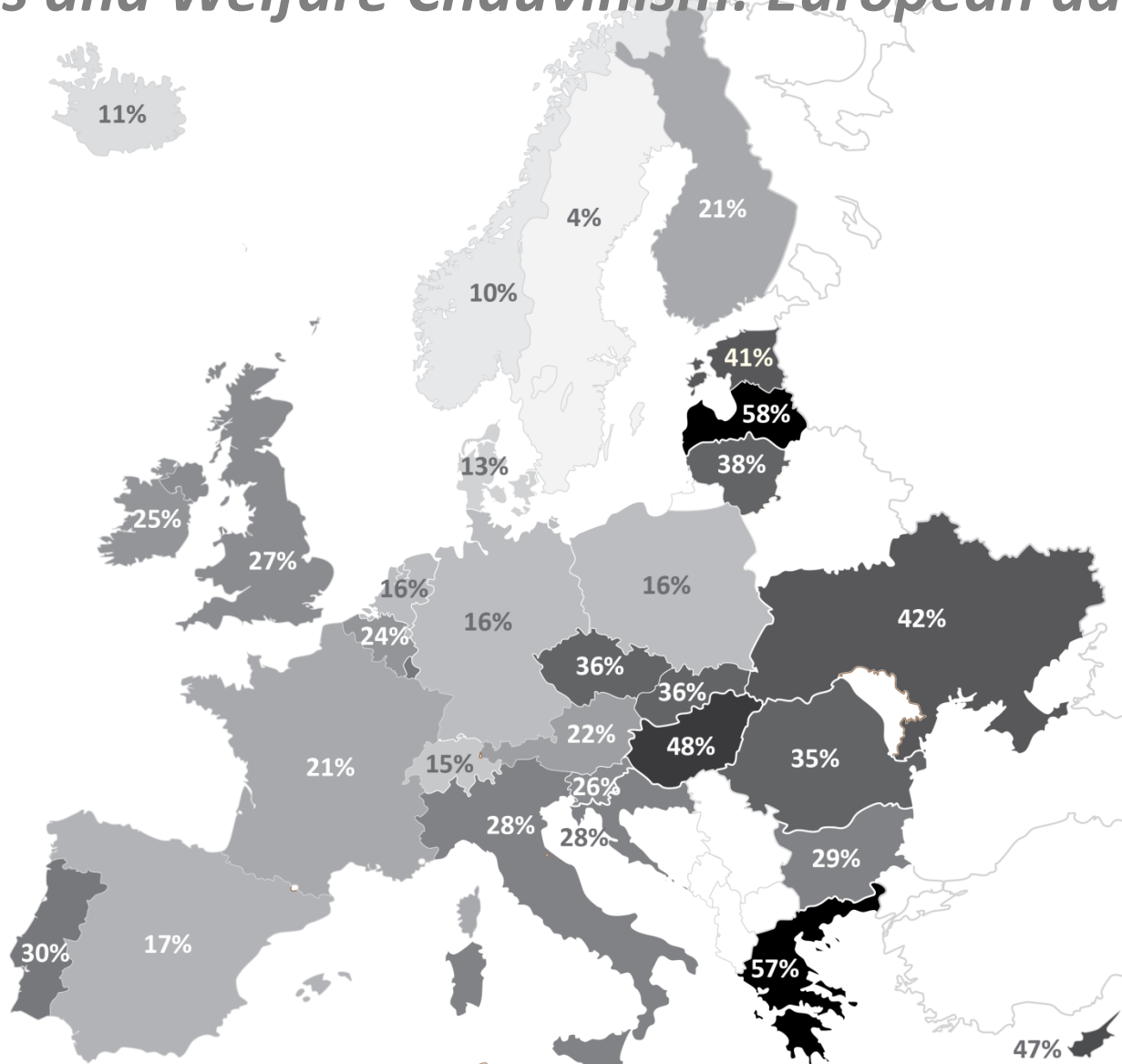
# DEREX: European data







# *(Prejudices and Welfare Chauvinism: European data)*





## Trends: East vs. West

	DEREX	Categories			
		Prejudices	Anti-establishment attitudes	Right-Wing Value Orientation	Fear
Central Eastern Europe	8% (-3%)	26% (-1%)	25% (-8%)	28% (+2%)	16% (-3%)
Western Europe	4% (+1%)	20% (+2%)	16% (+4%)	14% (-)	9% (-1%)

- History matters
- Hectical changes
- More threat on the East and the South
- The crisis is not the most important
- Attitude radicals are not just in the radical right parties!

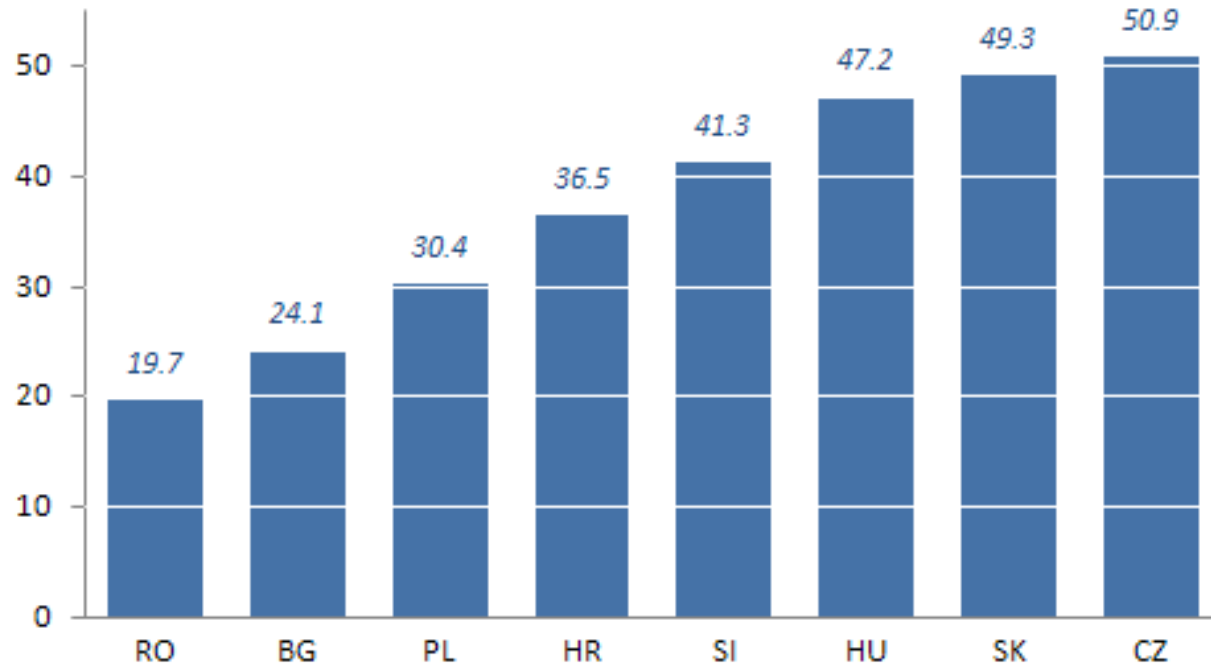


## *Economic-driven anxiety*

- Anti-immigrant prejudice generally has two main sources: Economic anxiety (fear of losing one's job) and cultural anxiety (fear of immigration's impact on the national way of life or aversion to unfamiliar customs and religions).
- **In the CEE8, the economic component of anti-immigrant sentiment far outweighs the cultural component.** These feelings are clearly rooted in fear of the unknown: Attitudes cannot be based upon actual experiences with immigrants because the number of foreign-born people living in CEE countries is still tiny .



## Do immigrants take more from the social-welfare system than they pay in?

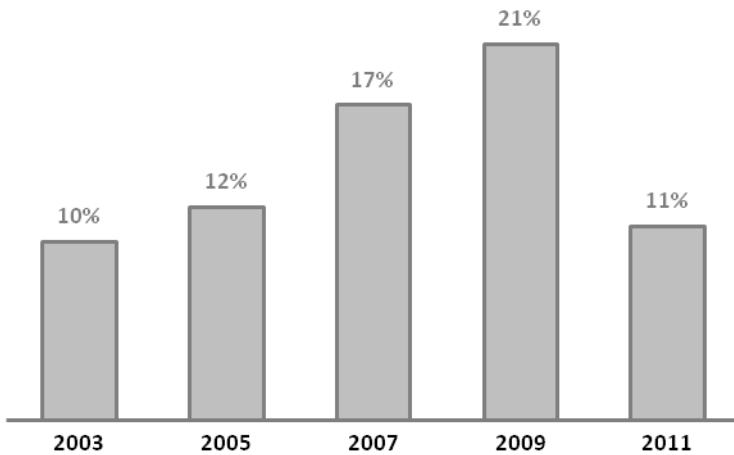


*Question: "A lot of people who come to live in [country] from other countries pay taxes and make use of social benefits and services. On balance, do you think people who come to live in [country] receive more than they contribute or contribute more than they receive?" The above graph shows the percentage of people who gave answers between 0 and 4 on an 11-point scale, where zero was "immigrants take much more from the system than they contribute" and 10 was "immigrants contribute much more to the system than they take."*

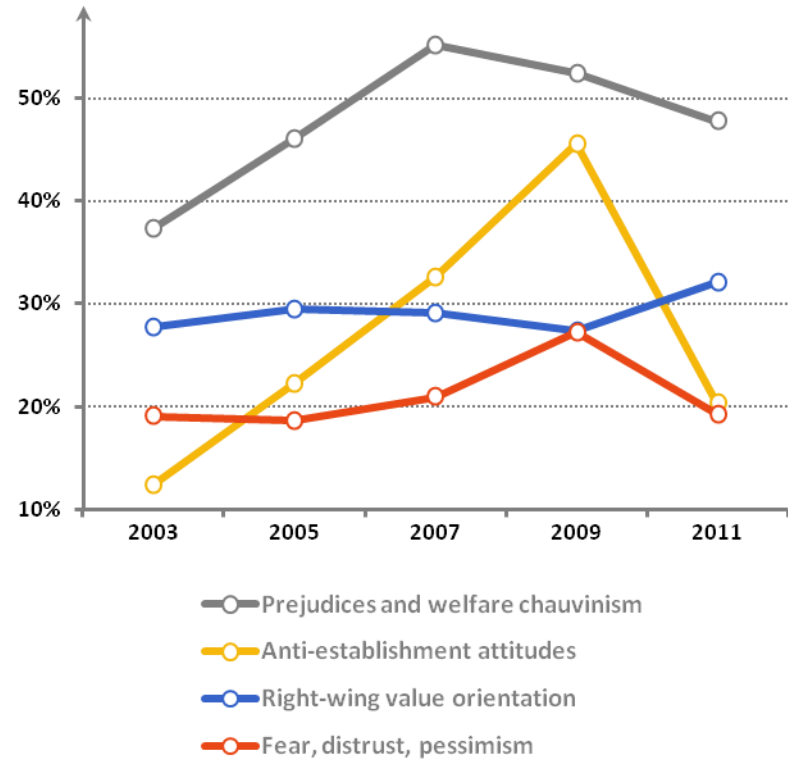


# Hungary: hectic changes

DEREX index - Hungary



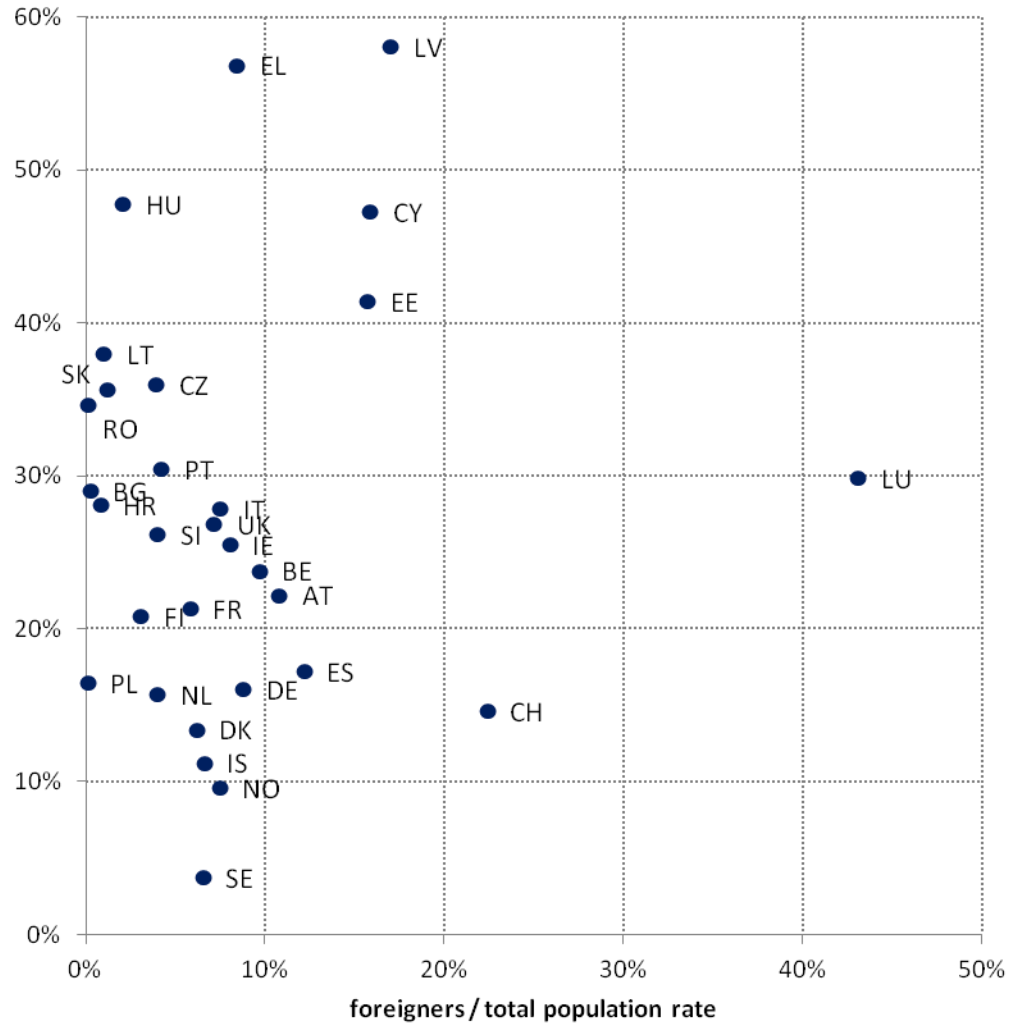
DEREX category scores - Hungary





# The paradox

DEREX - Prejudices and Welfare chauvinism subindex





## *What could be the reason?*

- Contact-hypothesis (Allport, 1954)
- Spiral of silence-hypothesis (Wilders, 2009: “I say what the majority thinks, but doesn’t mere to say”)
- Tolerance of the intolerant - hypothesis (Mudde, 2010)

A closer look on Eastern Europe 





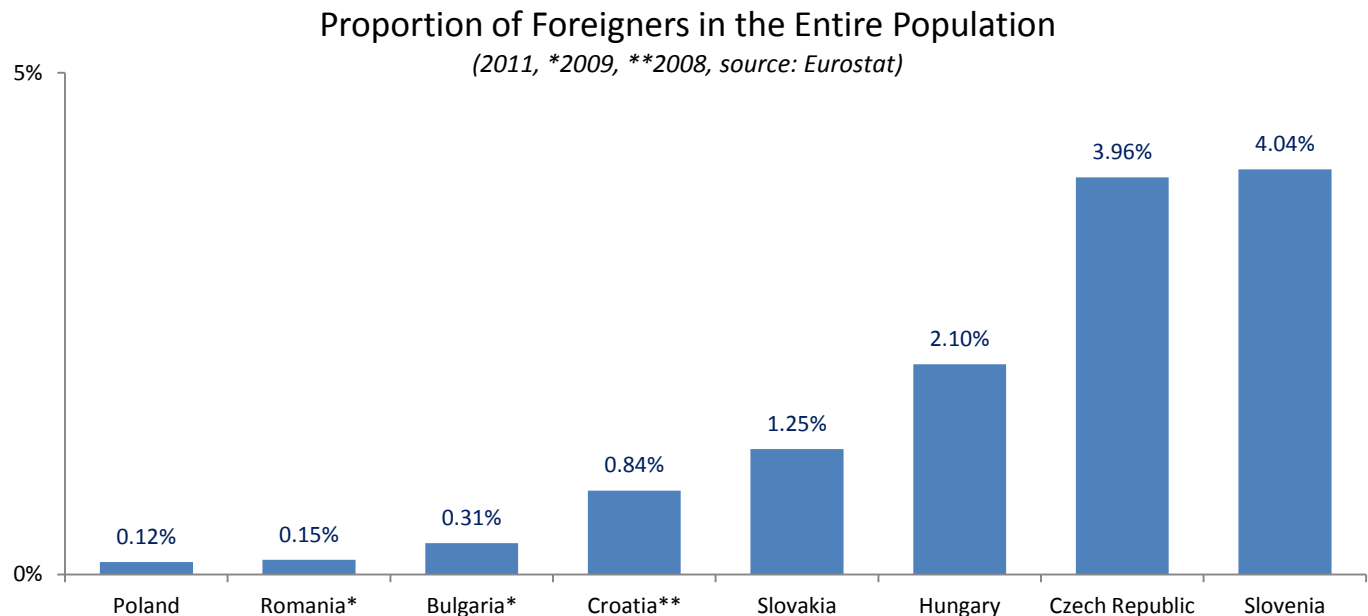
## Champions of ESS 5 (2011)

	DEREX	Prejudices	Anti-establishment	Value Orientation	Fear
1	Bulgaria (18%)	<b>Hungary (48%)</b>	Bulgaria (45%)	<b>Hungary (32%)</b>	Bulgaria (39%)
2	<b>Hungary (11%)</b>	Estonia (41%)	Portugal (37%)	Bulgaria (30%)	<b>Hungary (19%)</b>
3	Portugal (11%)	Czech Republic (36%)	Slovenia (35%)	Poland (30%)	Portugal (19%)
4	Czech Republic (8%)	Portugal (30%)	Czech Republic (28%)	Czech Republic (20%)	Slovenia (14%)
5	Slovenia (8%)	Bulgaria (29%)	Poland (22%)	Spain (20%)	Czech Republic (14%)



## Low ratio of immigrants

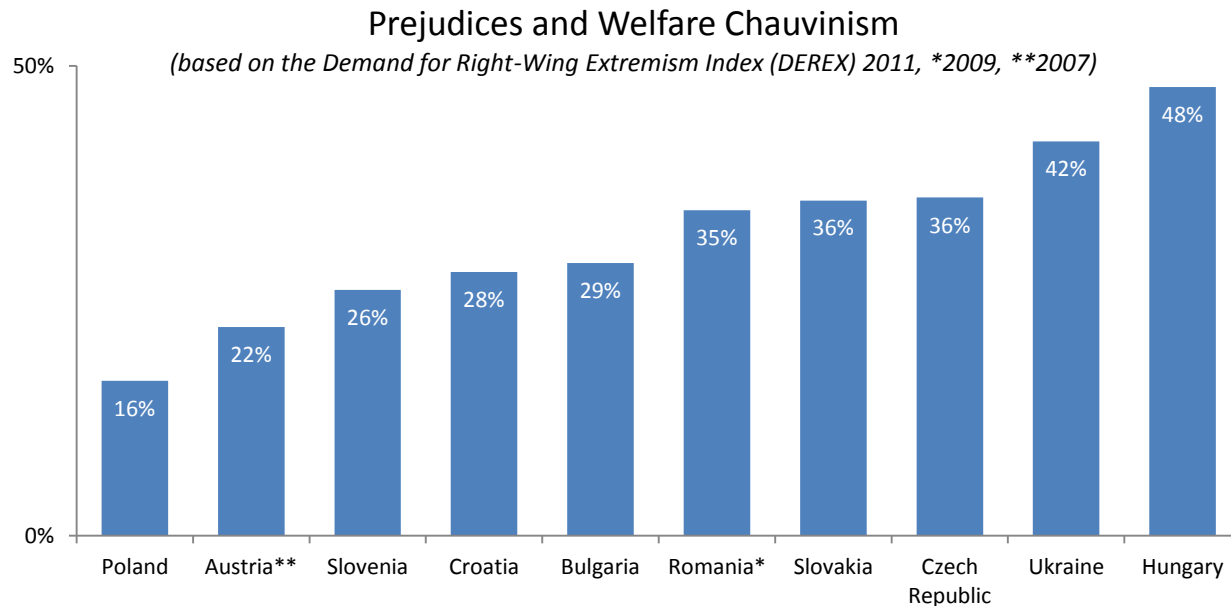
- Immigration is becoming an increasingly prevalent phenomenon in Central and Eastern Europe as rising pensioner populations place higher demands on diminishing workforces
- These countries are unlikely to see a mass influx of migrants anytime soon, people who live in poorer parts of the world increasingly view the CEE region as an attractive destination, much as Western and Southern European countries became immigrant targets in the period following World War II.





## High prejudices and welfare chauvinism

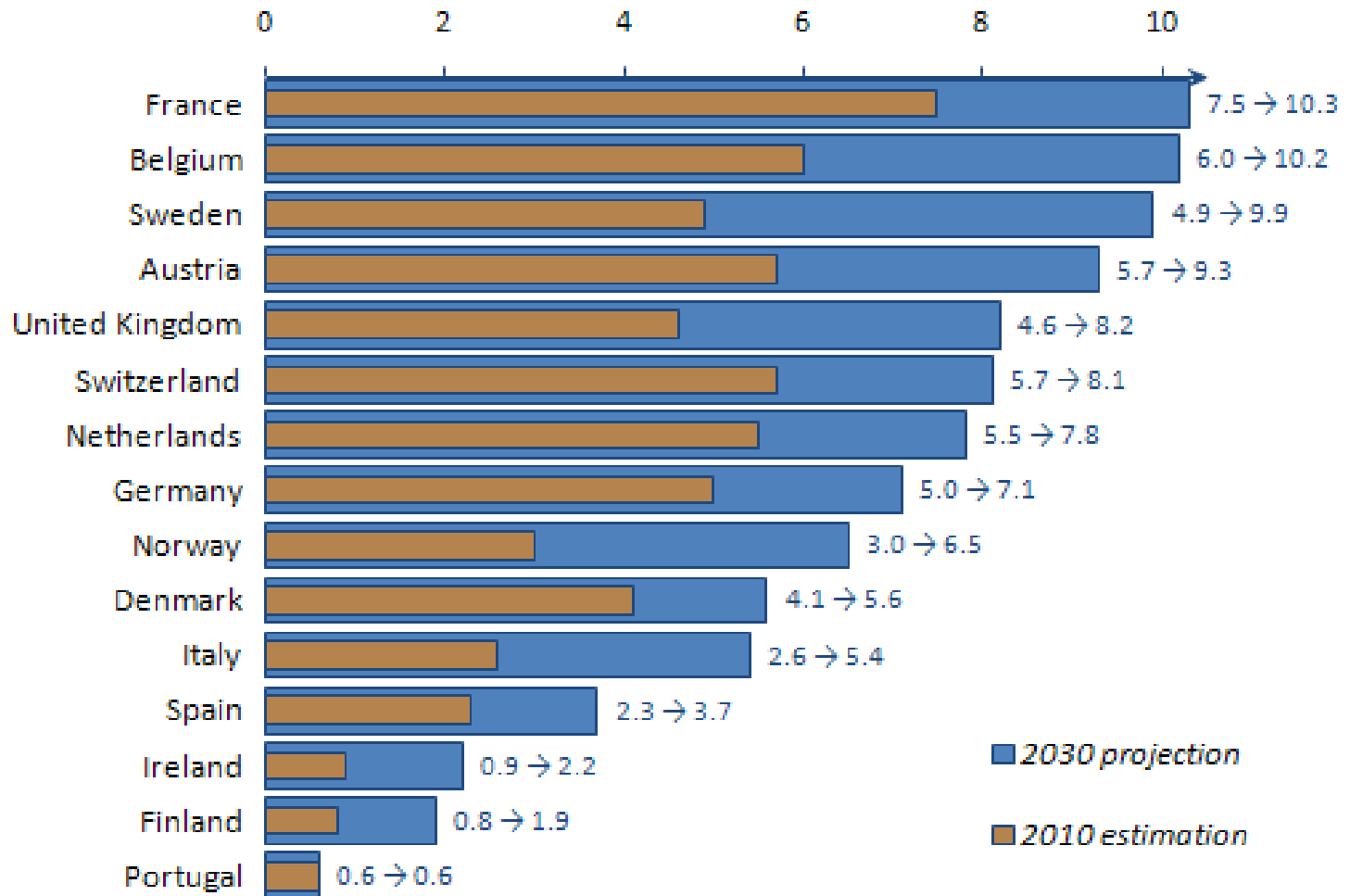
- **Anti-immigrant prejudice and welfare chauvinism is high in the CEE even though the percentage of foreign-born residents is but a fraction of foreign-born resident rates in Western Europe.**
- **CEE's anti-immigrant sentiment is not based on negative experiences with foreigners or cultural worries but on fear of the unknown.**
- **Political leaders are currently doing little to address anti-immigrant fears; instead, they try to make political capital from the (currently nonexistent) problem.**





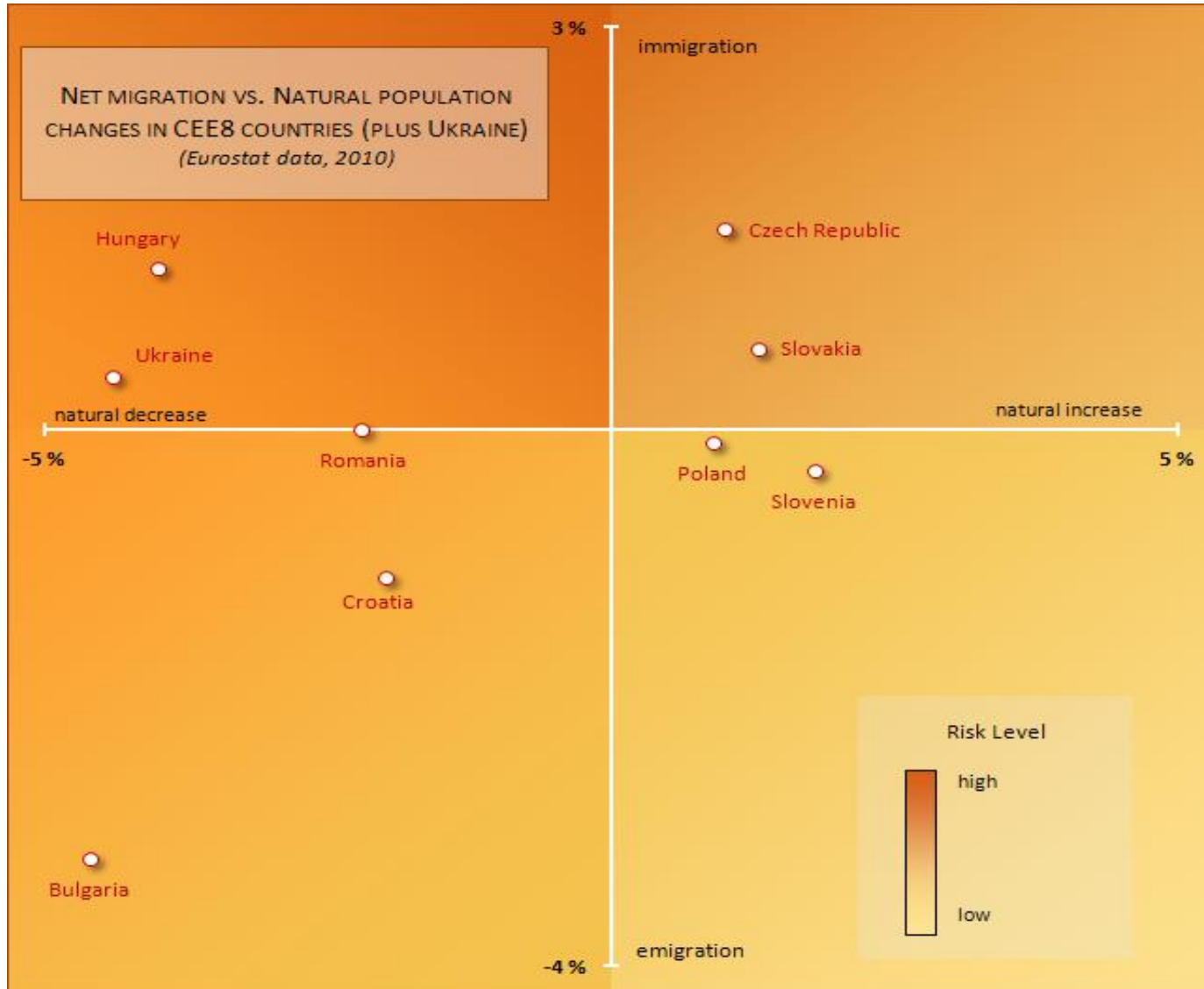
### PROPORTION OF MUSLIM POPULATION

(in European Developed Countries, %)





# Risk threats in CEE



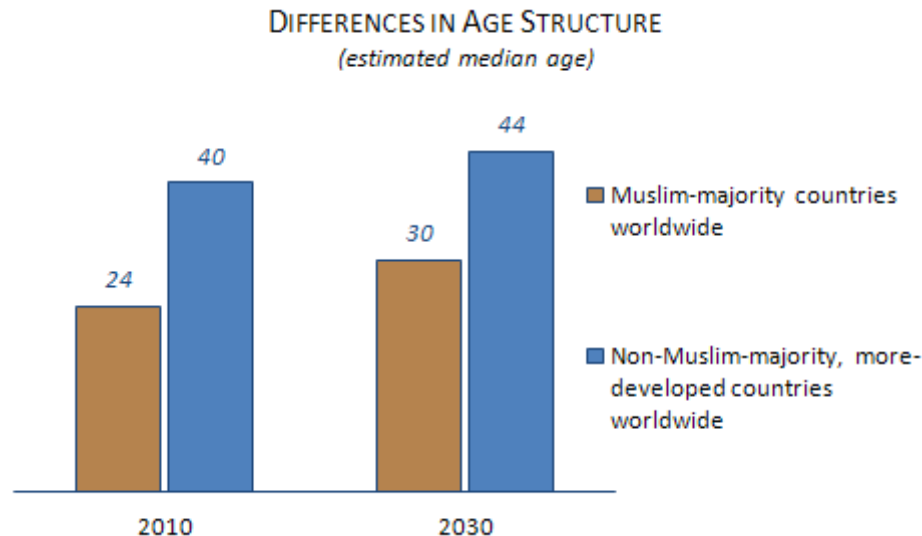


## *Fear of overreproduction?*

***The ratio of Roma population within the total population as per the respondents' estimates (%)***

Twenty years ago	12.35
At present	22.40
Within twenty years	35.35

*Source: Székelyi-Örkény-Csepeli (2001)*





## *Conclusions and consequences*

- Eastern Europe: higher Demand – a Wake-up-call
- Anti-immigrant sentiments can be activated easily
- Destabilizing force: Lack of efficient socialisation in the democratic system
- Demand for chauvinist, xenophobic and anti-establishment ideologies will find their way to the supply side.
- The idea that economic recovery will automatically cure this “social disease” can be written off as a pipedream.
- Sometimes the Roma are playing the role of the immigrant (parasite, criminal, overreproductive) –see the multiculturalism debate
- DEREX can be used as a perfect *diagnostic* tool before starting the „therapy”
- Further plans: extend DEREX to more international surveys (e.g. World Value Survey)

Thank you for your attention!



DEREX