



BACK BY POPULAR DEMAND

DEMAND FOR RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM (DEREX) INDEX

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POLITICAL CAPITAL
POLICY RESEARCH & CONSULTING INSTITUTE

Political Capital Policy Research and Consulting Institute
H-1024 Budapest, Fény utca 16.

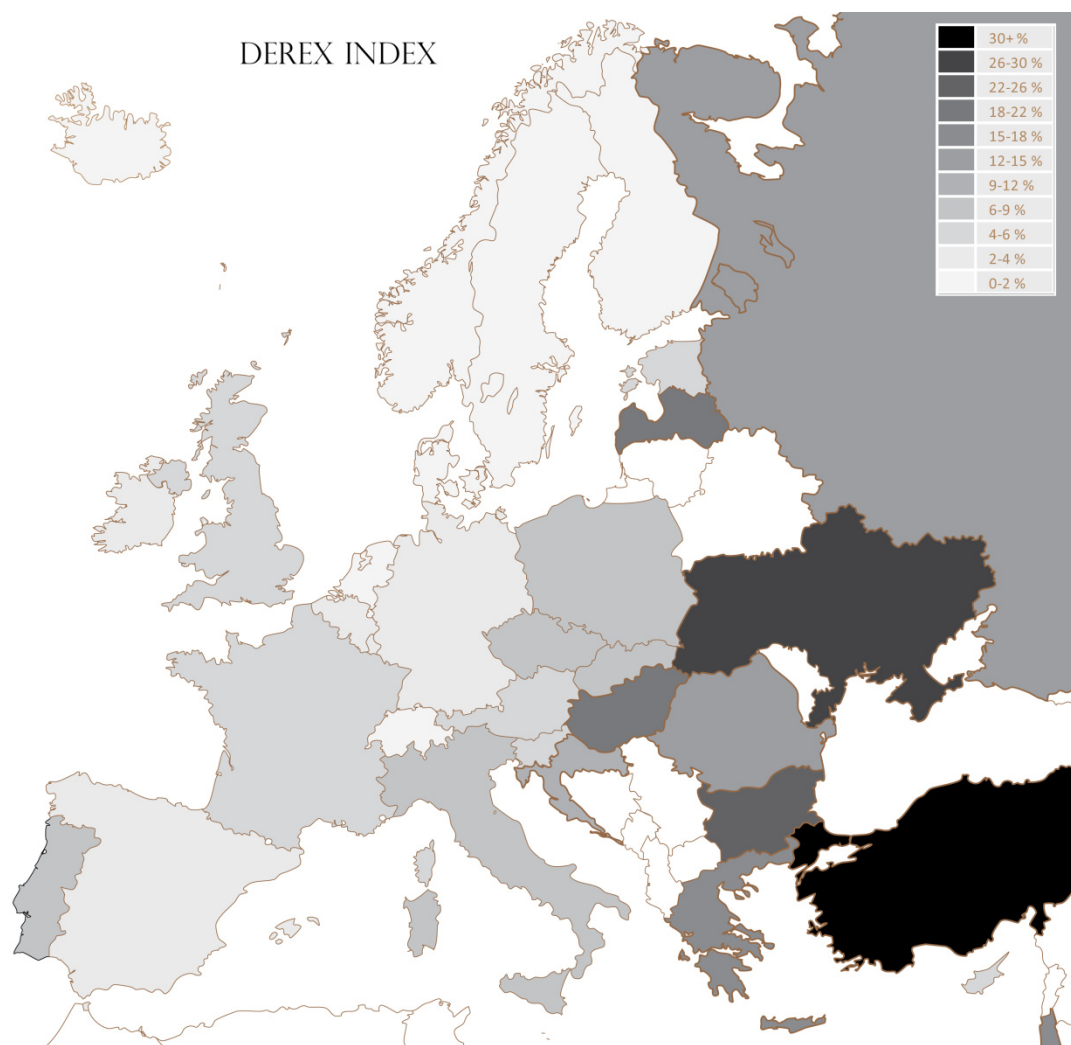
Phone and Fax: +36 1 242 29 13
Email: info@politicalcapital.hu

The extreme-right wing is in demand – at least in Eastern Europe. That’s the conclusion of the Political Capital Institute’s Demand for Right-Wing Extremism (DEREX) Index, which measures and compares people’s predisposition to far right-wing politics in 33 countries using data from the European Social Survey.

This study is updated from the February 2010 version to include the latest (2009) European Social Survey data from seven countries: Czech Republic, Croatia, Greece, Latvia, Romania, Turkey, and Ukraine.

Key Findings:

- Turkey, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Latvia and Hungary show the strongest demand for discriminatory, anti-establishment and authoritarian ideologies. In Hungary, the number of potential right-wing extremists more than doubled from 10 percent in 2003 to 21 percent in 2009.
- Political Capital’s study rebuts the oft-cited notion that the far right-wing’s social base has been expanding across Europe. In this regard, Hungary is the exception that disproves the rule: While the far right is indeed ascendant in several Eastern European countries, its threat is decreasing in Western Europe.
- This is partly because in Western Europe, the extreme-right’s main appeal lies in its anti-immigration policies, a topic that rarely leads people to reject the political establishment as a whole. In Eastern Europe, prejudice and anti-Gypsy attitudes are closely linked to opposition to the entire political system, along with distrust and general malaise. This combination can pose a major threat to stability.
- Of course, rising anti-immigration sentiment in Western Europe poses a threat of escalating ethnic conflict for some countries.
- The era is over when Western Europe exercised ideological influence over the eastern part of the continent, but not vice versa. Now, the East is in a position to export radical ideologies westwards. Radical right-wing parties in the West, envying the success of their eastern counterparts, may adopt some of their ideologies and tools such as paramilitary guard movements. In this process, Western European parties may break through some of the ideological boundaries that have confined their activity so far.
- Another possible channel of influence is that right-wingers in Eastern Europe may find it easier to form alliances with like-minded political groups in the West than in their own backyard. Nationalist parties in neighboring countries (e.g. Slovakia and Hungary) frequently view each other as adversaries, not potential partners. Hungary’s extreme-right Jobbik party formed an alliance with Italian, British, Swedish and Belgian far-right parties in 2009, not its counterparts in the region.



Demand side

German sociologist Ralf Dahrendorf said it takes six months to replace a political system, six years to transform an economic system, and 60 years to change a society. Dahrendorf's maxim takes on new meaning when we examine how people's relationships with their democratic institutions can be transformed in the space of just a few years. The number of Ukrainians who expressed antagonism toward the political establishment skyrocketed from 25 to 65 percent during the four years following the 2005 Orange Revolution – a time when many Ukrainians felt their new leaders had let them down. In Hungary, the proportion of people who were angry with the establishment nearly quadrupled from 12 to 46 percent between 2003 and 2009. This kind of quick, radical shift is not unique to Eastern European countries: Experiences such as wars, terrorist attacks, economic crises or extreme dissatisfaction with the government can quickly reshape a nation's values, even when those values are firmly embedded in the culture. Such principles include tolerance of minorities, trust in fellow citizens and trust in social institutions.

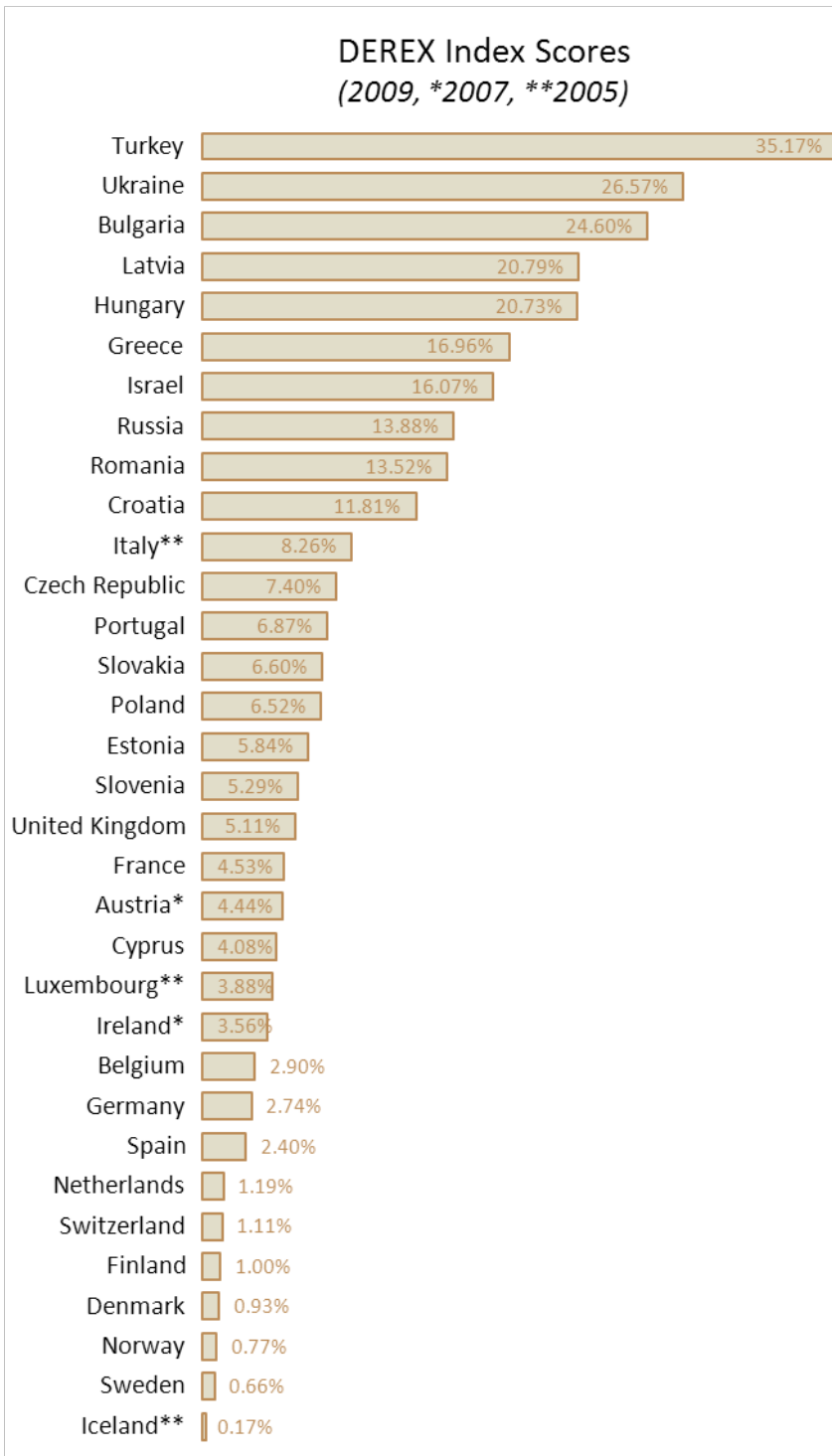
“Champions” of Right-Wing Extremism

The “Champions”	
Highest Prejudices and welfare chauvinism	1. Latvia (58.0%, 2009) 2. Turkey (55.4%, 2009) 3. Hungary (52.4%, 2009)
Highest Anti-Establishment Attitudes	1. Ukraine (65.2%, 2009) 2. Bulgaria (58.2%, 2009) 3. Latvia (52.0%, 2009)
Highest Right-Wing Value Orientation	1. Israel (44.1%, 2009) 2. Turkey (42.0%, 2009) 3. Cyprus (39.2%, 2009)
Highest Distrust, Fear and Pessimism	1. Turkey (52.5%, 2009) 2. Bulgaria (42.9%, 2009) 3. Ukraine (42.7%, 2009)

The DEREK Index 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 for governments:

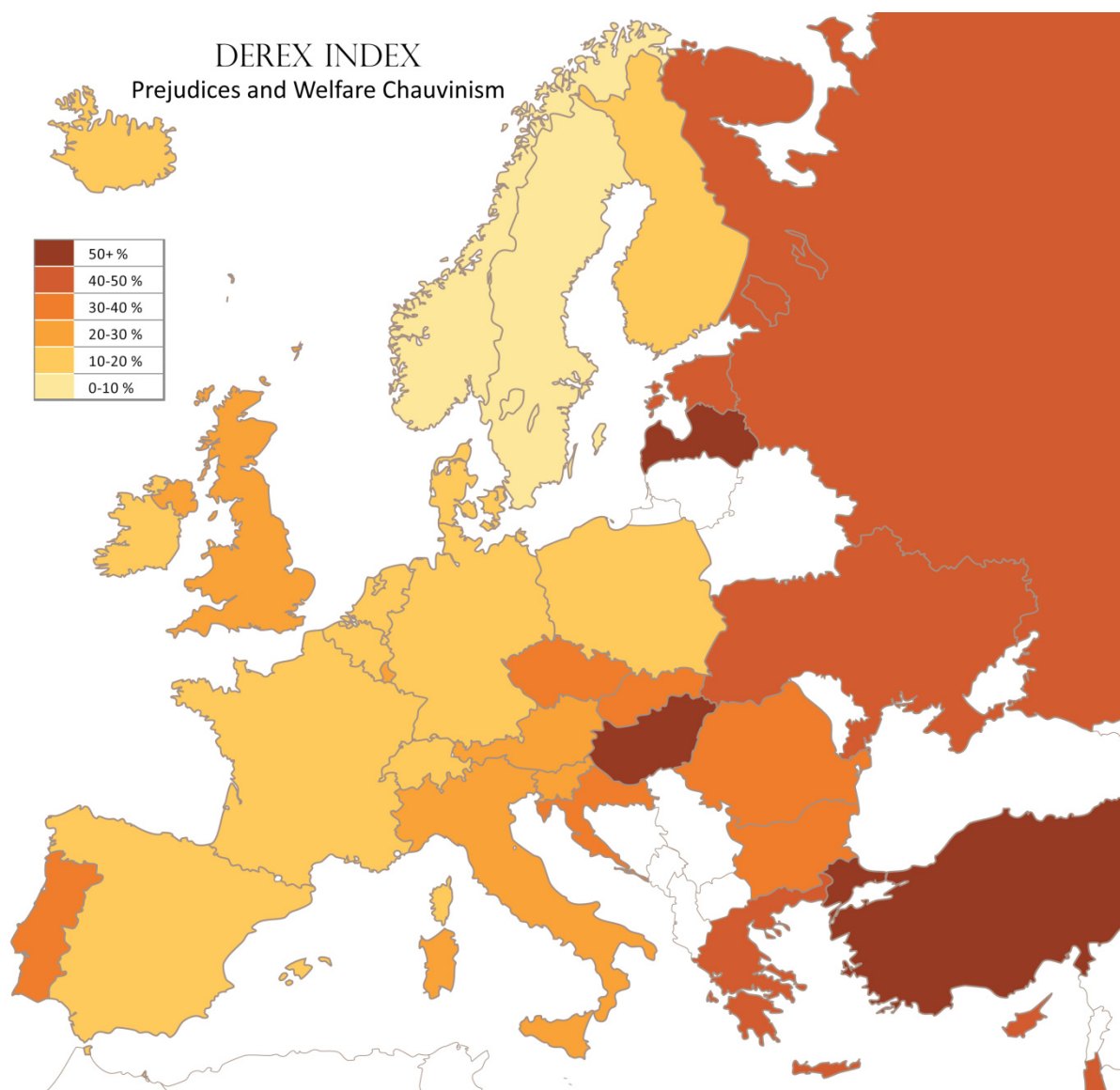
- Low levels of trust can render the democratic system unable to function.
- Anti-elitism and economic protectionism can destroy the investment climate.
- Xenophobia and aggressive nationalism can endanger both domestic and regional peace.
- A prejudicial, nationalist and anti-establishment public can push political leaders toward greater radicalism. A good example is Bulgaria, where Prime Minister Boyko Borisov’s government frequently steps outside democratic boundaries to try to settle scores with opponents. The government’s law-and-order rhetoric, if put into practice, would make Bulgaria look more like a police state than a democracy. However, it meets with widespread public approval.

The danger is most prominent in Europe’s eastern half. Potential extreme right-wing supporters are most numerous in countries that have recently gone through tumultuous periods, such as Ukraine, Hungary, Bulgaria and Latvia. Far-right sympathies also run high in Turkey, Israel and Greece. The index shows that 17 to 30 percent of these countries’ populations are predisposed to right-wing extremism.



Although it may seem that demand for far-right wing politics divides itself along East-West lines, there is also a North-South divide. Southern members of the EU-15 such as Greece, Italy and Portugal have high rates of demand for right-wing extremism compared to, say, Scandinavia, where barely 1 or 2 percent of the population express sympathy for such ideas. Portugal is the only Western European country where demand for right-wing extremism has grown significantly in the past six years; Great Britain registered a smaller increase. In other Western European countries, demand for right-wing extremism has been waning, according to the index.

This runs contrary to conventional wisdom: People may think the far right has been gaining ground because certain components of extremism have strengthened in certain countries – for example, prejudice has risen in Austria and right-wing groups such as the Dutch Party for Freedom have chalked up successes at the ballot box. Yet even if the conflicts over immigration issues may endanger social peace, the overall social base for anti-establishment right-wing extremism has been shrinking in the West. In these countries, there is no risk to the democratic establishment.



Like far right-wing parties, demand for far-right extremism is a many-headed beast that takes different forms in different countries and regions. Former U.S. Health Secretary John W. Gardner, a Republican in U.S. President Lyndon Johnson's Democratic administration, once said, "Political extremism involves two prime ingredients: an excessively simple diagnosis of the world's ills, and a conviction that there are identifiable villains back of it all."

Gardner's two ingredients highlight two different approaches to extreme-right politics: The "simple diagnosis" ingredient corresponds to DEX's "Public Morale" index, which measures people's relationship with their country's political and social institutions, their leaders and their fellow citizens, their views on politics and the economy, and the "state of affairs" in general. The higher a country's score, the lower its public morale. The "identifiable villains" ingredient corresponds to DEX's "Value Judgments" index, which probes people's attitudes towards outsiders and minority groups (homosexuals and immigrants), conformity to social norms, religiosity, and obedience to authority.

In most Eastern European countries, (low) public morale plays a far greater role in people's extreme right-wing proclivities than the people's value judgments. This speaks volumes about the shape Eastern Europe is in 20 years after the fall of communism. East Europe's far right makes political hay from dissatisfaction with the political system, the government and the general state of affairs. (This is increasingly true in Bulgaria and Ukraine.) In most Western European countries (except Portugal), the opposite is true – value judgments play a much bigger role. Western Europe's (neo) populist radical parties usually build their political fortunes on opposition to globalization and demand for authoritarianism, traditionalist chauvinism, and ethnic nationalism.

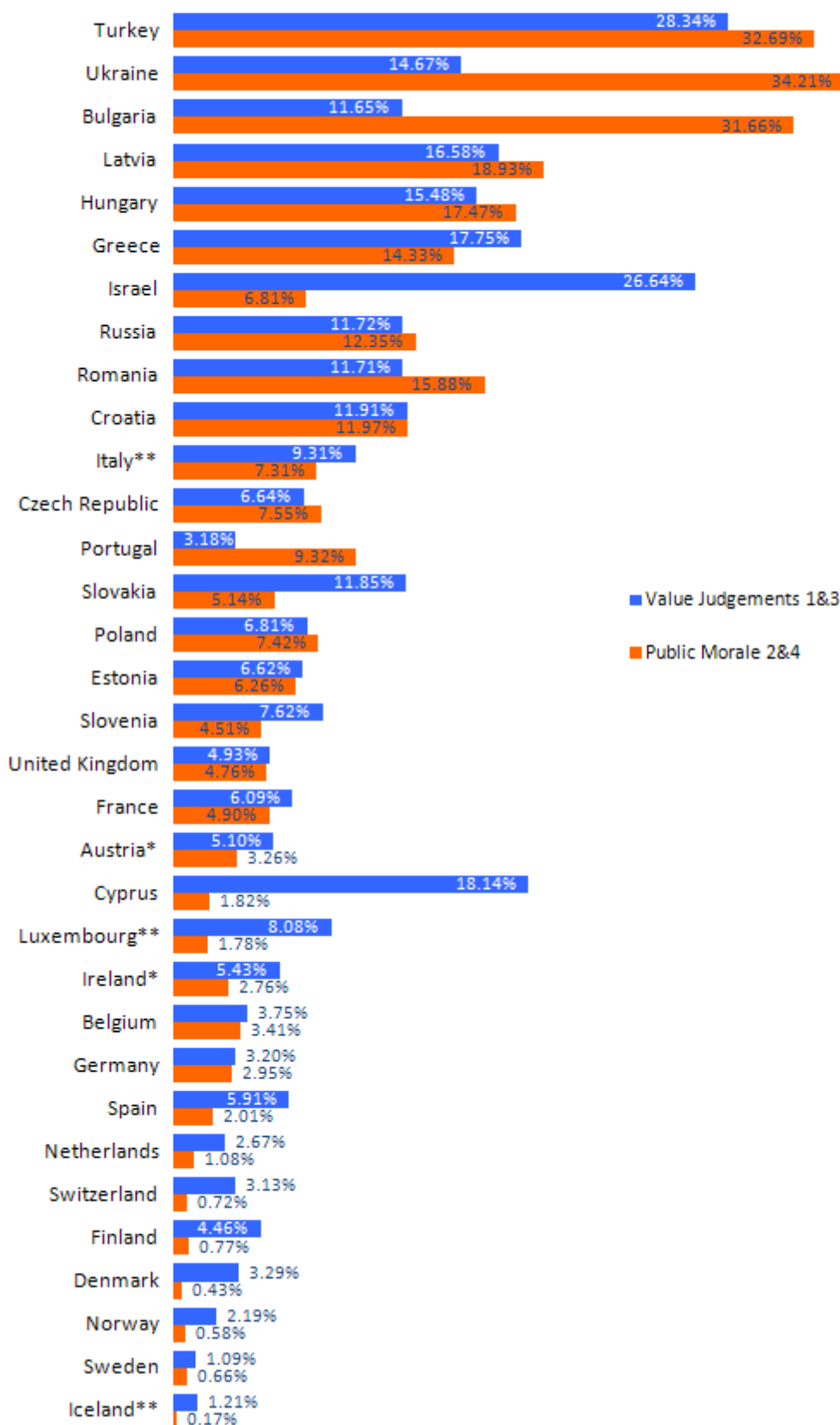
Although Western Europeans' rates of prejudice and xenophobia are more significant than their anti-establishment attitudes, their Eastern European brethren run rings around them in both departments. Paradoxically, opposition to immigration is strongest in countries that have the fewest immigrants. "Virtual" foreigners are apparently capable of generating just as much fear and aversion as the tangible ones.

Western Europe's low levels of prejudice may be somewhat misleading. Geert Wilders, the Dutch politician charged with hate speech against Muslims, was probably right when he said, "I say what the majority thinks, but does not dare to say." Western Europeans feel a strong pressure to be "politically correct;" tolerance is frequently part of school curriculum. Some respondents are therefore probably reluctant to express prejudice toward minorities in front of others, including the European Social Survey's pollsters. Eastern Europeans, on the other hand, are more likely to treat pollsters to a blunt, unvarnished stream of truth-telling. This is a mark of societal development in the West: Hidden prejudice more rarely leads to openly discriminatory behavior – at least not on a conscious level.

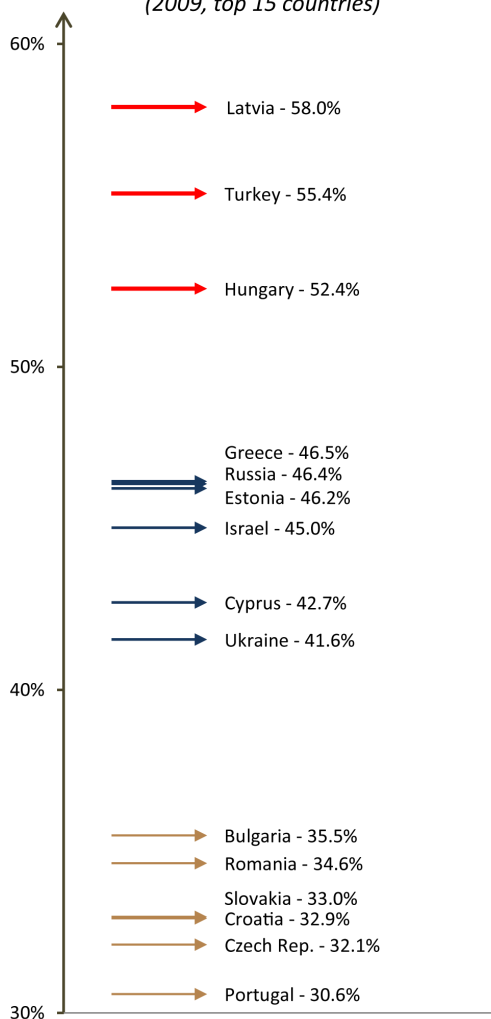
Right-wing extremism not only poses a threat to the majority, but to minorities as well. Minority groups that experience discrimination at the hands of radicals usually become radicalized themselves. For example, 20 percent of Bulgarians belong to the country's Islamic minority, and roughly 16 percent of these are potential extremists, according to DEREK research. This means 4 percent of Bulgarians are potential Muslim extremists. In other words, Bulgaria's ethnic Turkish minority is at risk of radicalization, not just the Slavic majority that may harbor anti-Turkish or anti-Gypsy sentiments.

International conflicts usually expand the social base for extreme right-wing politics. Typically, certain groups feel the need to be "battle ready" at all times. This is not just a European phenomenon: Israel and Cyprus are characterized by high prejudice (especially against immigrants), a strong value for authoritarianism and obedience, and robust right-wing traditionalism. However, these values do not translate into a desire to break with the political system, or its leaders and institutions. Public morale in these countries is generally strong; the far-right wing's main targets are not political institutions, but "outsiders" – peripheral and minority groups. This kind of outlook is primarily the result of a high level of social conflict – the threat of war or terrorist attacks, or antagonism on the diplomatic level. In Cyprus, the Greek-Turkish controversy is a major source of hostility, while in Israel, growing conflicts with Palestine and other Muslim countries plus rising immigration (not just from European countries such as Russia, but poorer countries such as Argentina and Ethiopia) can explain the growing demand for right-wing extremism.

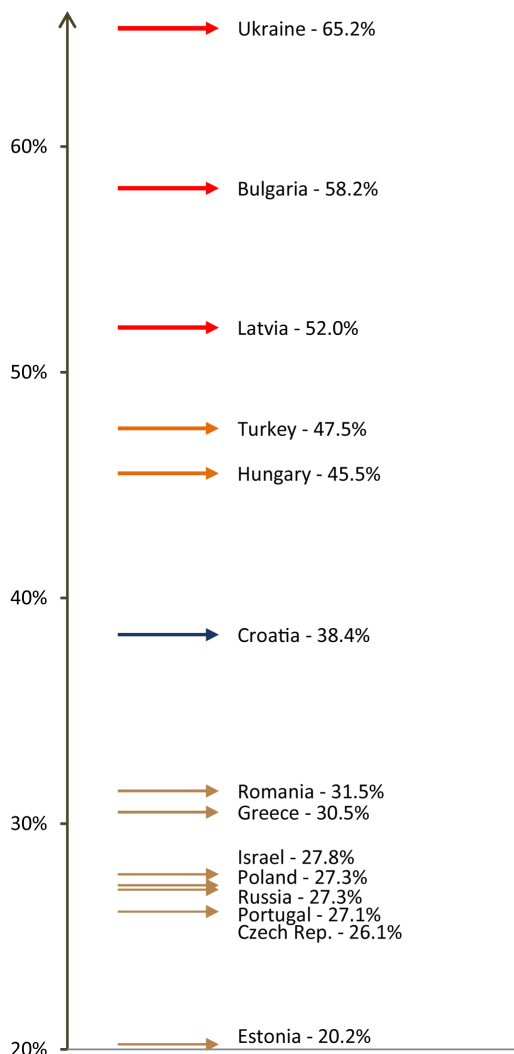
Value Judgements and Public Morale Index
(2009, *2007, **2005)



Prejudices and Welfare Chauvinism
(2009, top 15 countries)



Anti-Establishment Attitudes
(2009, countries with values above 20%)



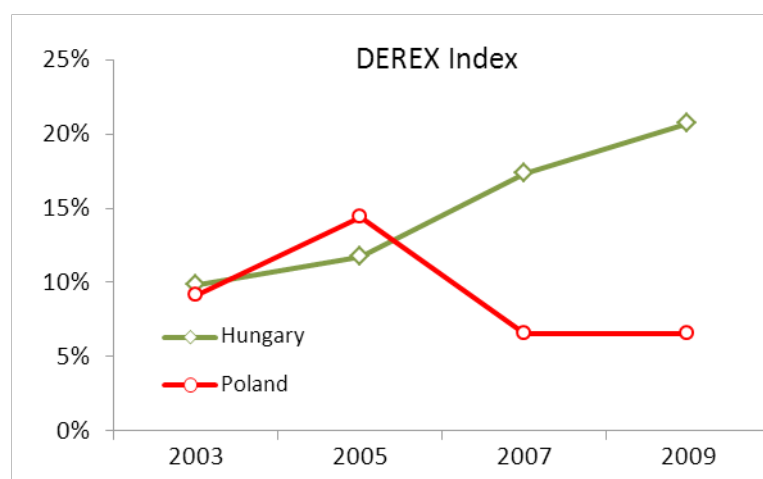
Only one Eastern European country fell into this pattern of hostility. Slovakia's Value Judgments index, meaning prejudice and right-wing values, worsened between 2005 and 2009, while the Public Morale index improved markedly. Slovak Prime Minister Robert Fico's government apparently buoyed public opinion with its mix of nationalism and militant protectionism. This was helped by the fact that a large swathe of the population is pleased with Fico's economic performance, as well as his symbolic victories in promoting a "new Slovak identity."

A comparison of Poland and Hungary may make for depressing reading for Hungarians. The two countries started at about the same base in 2003: 10 percent of Hungarians and 9 percent of Poles were potential supporters of the extreme right. By 2009, Poland's DEREK score had dropped by nearly a third and Hungary's had doubled.

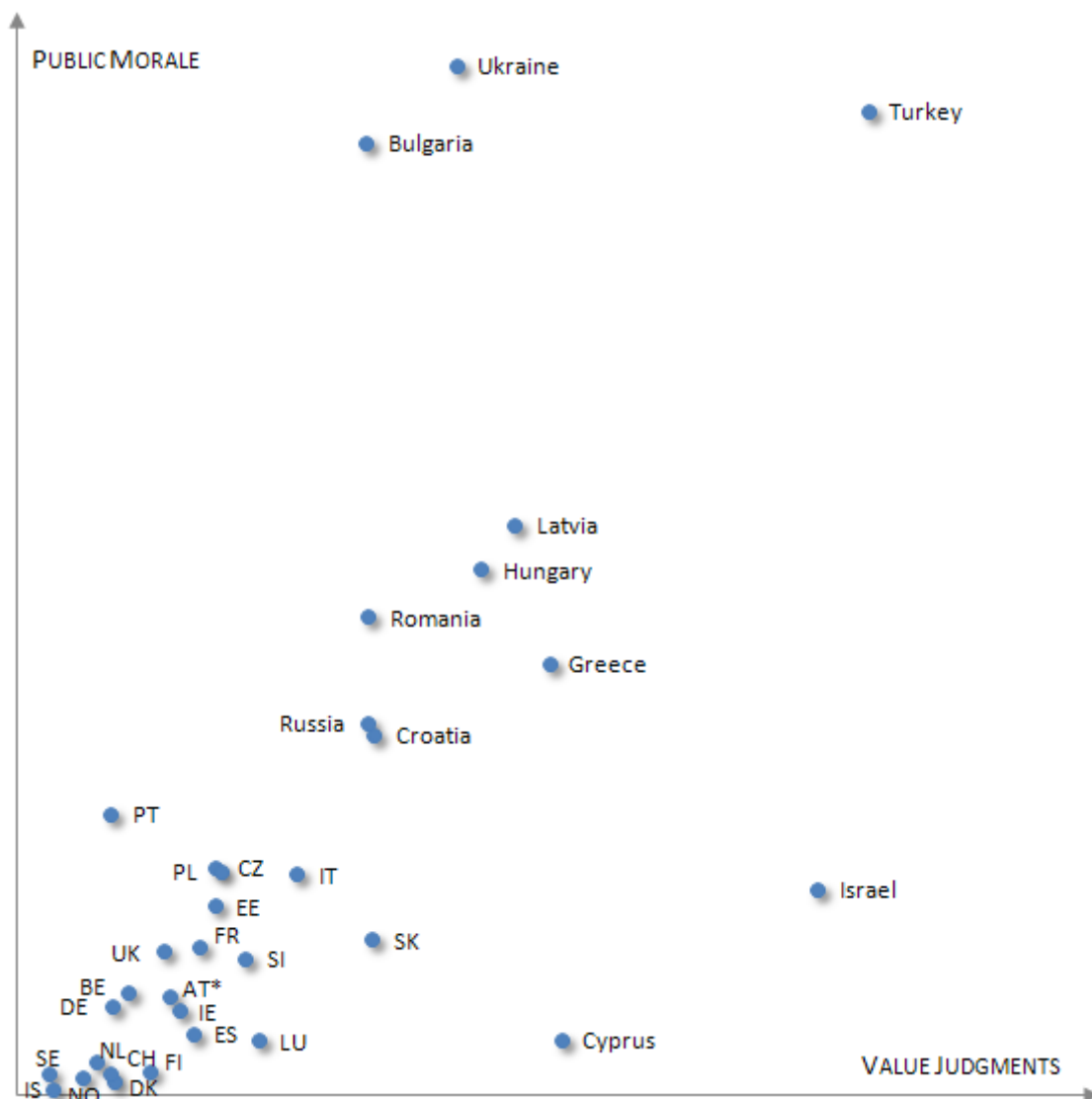
Poland's DEREK ranking peaked in 2005, the year its left-wing government disintegrated amid corruption scandals and was replaced by an alliance of right-wing fundamentalist parties led by the Kaczynski twins. Fulminating anger toward the governing elite drove the index upwards between 2003 and 2005, even as public opinion among the traditionally conservative and religious Poles moved only slightly rightwards. Yet since 2005, the percentage of Poles who support extreme right-wing policies has been on a downward trend. The biggest difference was the improvement in public morale: After 2005, the anti-elite trend began to turn around and people began to feel more positive about the economy. Public opinion was thus "consolidated."

Poland is a good example of how demand for right-wing extremism can be swayed by the success or failure of middle-of-the-road parties, along with changes in consumer confidence. In addition, Poland's two radical-right parties, Self-Defence and the Polish League of Families, largely discredited themselves during their years in Poland's governing coalition (2005-2007). This contributed to the victory of "sobriety" over extreme-right politics.

Meanwhile, Hungarians' predisposition to far-right ideas has been on an uninterrupted rise since 2003. Growth in prejudice – especially anti-foreigner sentiment – has been a major contributor, shooting up from 37 percent of respondents in 2003 to 55 percent in 2007. More importantly, public morale has deteriorated, driven by anger towards politicians and mounting dissatisfaction with the government and the democratic system itself. Distrust has extended to all institutions, including those that only play a minor role in Hungarian public life. For example, the number of people who said they distrust the U.N. nearly tripled from 5 percent to 15 percent between 2003 and 2009. U.S. Health Secretary Gardner's observation on extremists' penchant for "simple diagnoses" rings especially true here: Hungary's extreme right wing is creating a popular ideology out of "everything and everyone is bad."



Country clusters in two-dimensional space.¹



The above chart shows the countries' Value Judgment positions versus their Public Morale scores on a two-dimensional plane. By demonstrating the countries' relative distances, this visualisation helps classify societies by their DEREK values.

¹ We used Ward's method for our hierarchical cluster analysis to group countries, using the most recent data for each country. We used a value transformation that standardized values to a range of 0 to 1. We measured distances by squared Euclidean distance. We structured the cluster analysis in two ways: One that used DEREK's two dimensions (Value Judgments and Public Morale) and one that used its four sub-indices (Prejudice and Welfare Chauvinism, Anti-Establishment Attitudes, Right-Wing Value Orientation, and Fear, Distrust and Pessimism). There were no major differences between the two structures.

Supply Side

Societal demand for right-wing extremism does not automatically create a supply of right-wing extremists, and countries with high DEREK scores do not necessarily have strong far-right parties and movements. There are two reasons for this: On the one hand, Political Capital's indicators measure right-wing extremism's socio-political risk, not its institutional strength; on the other hand, a country's supply of extreme right-wing parties is influenced by numerous factors beyond popular demand. Demand for right-wing extremism is a necessary ingredient for an institutionally strong far-right, but is not sufficient by itself.

The interaction between supply and demand

The supply side of right-wing extremism is certainly not independent of the demand side. This is demonstrated by the fact that Western Europe's radical-right wingers are usually far less critical of the political system than their staunchly anti-establishment friends in the East. DEREK data indicates that most Western Europeans do not harbor strong antagonism toward the establishment as a whole: Their scores in the "anti-establishment attitudes" and "fear, pessimism and distrust" categories are fairly low. There is therefore a clear link between societal demand and political supply in these countries.

In Western Europe, the far-right's main selling point is its anti-immigration stance, reflecting the region's high numbers in the "prejudice and welfare chauvinism" category. Strong anti-foreigner parties exist in Denmark, the Netherlands and Finland, yet the percentage of votes they receive at election time is generally lower than their countries' rankings in the "prejudice" sub-index. Anti-immigration is sometimes packaged together with other policies, but these hardly ever include a wholesale toppling of the political system. This ensures stability.

Generally, Western radicals' rhetoric, ideology and tools are much more moderate than those of their Eastern counterparts. For example, the Dutch Party for Freedom frequently portrays itself as a defender of democracy and focuses its hostility on localized issues. Party leader Geert Wilders targets Muslim immigrants, but strongly rejects anti-Semitism and homophobia. Different levels of demand for right-wing extremism are thus reflected by the characteristics of the radical right-wing populist parties, not by lower support for such parties.

By contrast, prejudice and anti-Gypsy sentiments in Eastern Europe are generally linked to strong anti-establishment attitudes, distrust and weak public morale. This is blatantly obvious in the region's "guard" phenomenon, where right-wing parties support the formation of paramilitary organizations that openly question the state's monopoly on violence. Sometimes, these groups practically call for an alternative state organization. Bulgaria's National Guard organization came first in the summer of 2007, followed by the Hungarian Guard (*Magyar Gárda*) and the Czech National Guard. No such groups have ever cropped up in any Western European country (except Italy). The West's extreme right-wing groups therefore do not threaten democratic stability, while their Eastern European counterparts might.

In this context, it is all the more worrisome that Eastern Europe's extreme right-wing parties are cozying up to Russia, despite their efforts to position themselves as committed anti-communists. This attraction can be explained by their admiration for the Russian political model: Authoritarian, nationalist governance that extends control over strategic economic sectors in the name of the national interest. Many Eastern European right-wing parties view this system as a paragon that is worthy of emulation.

History

History is the primary (though not decisive) factor in determining the supply of right-wing politics in a given country. The question is not just what role the extreme right played in the past, but whether society has been able to come to terms with it. In this context, there are pronounced differences between Western and Eastern Europe.

In the West, extreme-right parties began to break with their fascist roots in the 1960s; the ideology had become widely discredited after people were forced to face their demons from the 1930s and 40s. By the 1980s and 90s, radical-right parties were pursuing a kind of neo-nationalist, neo-populist line centered on anti-immigrant and anti-elite policies. Parties such as France's Front National, Belgium's Vlaams Belang ("Flemish interest," formerly Vlaams Blok), the Austrian Freedom Party, Italy's National Alliance and the Danish People's Party have more or less severed ties with fascism. They attract supporters based upon their ability to provide simple answers to serious questions that affect a lot of people. It is no coincidence that the extreme right has the least room for maneuver in Germany, which had the heaviest burden of guilt to process following World War II. The German ultra right thus enjoys the strongest support in the country's eastern regions, where people have not yet fully confronted this chapter of their history.

The situation is fundamentally different in Europe's formerly communist countries. Here, it was primarily extreme left-wing ideas that were discredited in the decades after World War II. Memories of extreme right-wing dictatorships have grown foggy with time, even more so because people were never forced to come to terms with them. Social classes that are open to extremism in Eastern Europe are therefore more receptive to the extreme right than to the extreme left. The supply of right-wing ideas is also different: Parties brazenly combine elements from pre-1945 fascist movements with ideas from modern neo-populist movements in Western Europe.

Legal restrictions

Legal restrictions are the second important factor affecting the supply of right-wing politics. A nation's legal framework and the strength of the political system can either assist or hinder the development of extremist parties and movements. The structure of a country's electoral system, party-finance restrictions, laws on extremist activities and their enforcement can all make a big difference. Political parties in France and Turkey must pass relatively high vote thresholds to enter parliament, making it difficult for extremists to win seats. German and Dutch law prohibit both extremist movements and "hate speech," and authorities take a vigorous approach to enforcement. By contrast, Italy's Constitution includes a ban on fascist organizations, but enforcement is lax.

Eastern European countries' regulations on extremism are fairly toothless and authorities lack the capacity to enforce them. For proof, one need look no further than the street violence that broke out in Hungary in autumn 2006.

Party structure and strategies against the far-right

The structure of a country's political power base can also affect the development of supply: Who is inclined to enter into an alliance with right-wing extremists, and who is against them? Are there any anti-extremist movements, and how strong are they? What kind of national strategy exists to fight far right-wing groups – do moderate parties team up with the extremists, thereby "taming" them, or do they try to reach out to some of the extremist supporters and bring them into their own camps? Or do the moderates condemn the extremists and distance themselves from the far right?

Cooperation or unification with other parties can spawn internal strife within extreme right-wing parties, as has happened in Austria, Italy and Belgium. Moderate parties also face considerable risk when cooperating with extremists or trying to usurp their voters: If they succeed, the extremists may manage to radicalize some of the moderates' policies.

The moderate "usurpation" strategy has helped stop far right-wingers from gaining ground in recent years, even as the economic crisis created fertile ground for their politics. Poland's center-right government has managed to keep its popularity throughout the downturn, and many former supporters of extreme right-wing parties have gone over to the more moderate opposition party, Law and Justice (PiS). French President Nicolas Sarkozy managed to win over numerous radical-right voters with his rhetoric and his firm-handed policies. The Slovak National Party, which has been weakened in connection with corruption scandals, stumbled even further when its supporters began deserting in favor of Prime Minister Robert Fico's anti-Hungarian, social-populist and authoritarian style of governance. The one place where the strategy failed utterly was Hungary, where the right-wing Fidesz party's "one camp, one flag" campaign failed to stop the ultra right-wing Jobbik party from gaining ground.

Organization-building, resources and tools

Finally, the supply of extreme right-wing politics can be influenced by the extremists' organizational skills and the efficiency of their politicking. A party needs sufficient financial resources, a volunteer network, the capacity to influence public opinion, and perhaps most important of all, a charismatic leader.

It is impossible to categorize the various countries' far right-wing organizations in these terms – we can only analyze them on a country-by-country basis. Still, extreme right-wing parties do have some important general characteristics: They are unpredictable, and they have a knack for building up support quickly – and losing it just as quickly.

There is no far-right part in Eastern Europe that has been able to maintain significant approval ratings over the past 20 years. This turbulence in itself represents a risk: Extreme right-wing parties can appear out of nowhere, as happened with the Greater Romania party at the turn of the millennium, the League of Polish Families in 2005 and Hungary's Jobbik party in the past few years. The DEREK Index shows that societal attitudes can change at an equally frenetic pace, providing a social base for savvy political forces to build upon. This presents a serious challenge for Eastern Europe's young democracies.

Detailed methodology

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 and the Middle East. Our risk-analysis division developed the model, chose the questions, determined subject groupings and set the criteria over the course of roughly one year.

We took both inductive and deductive approaches to constructing the DEREX Index. We began with a theoretical model, relying on the ESS questionnaire and correlations between variables to create the sub-indices.

We developed the methodology in four steps: 1) Building the theoretical model; 2) choosing the appropriate questions to include from the ESS survey; 3) deciding how to qualify the respondents' answers to the survey questions; and 4) assigning numerical values to the answers, which allowed us to calculate scores for DEREX and its sub-indices. At the end of the process we also tested the model's reliability and validity.

Step 1 - Building the theoretical model

Our hypothesis was that demand for right-wing extremism could be divided into four basic categories. We took care to ensure that these four categories describe the concept of "extreme right-wing," both in everyday language and in the language of previous academic studies on far-right extremism. They are:

- 1) Prejudice and welfare chauvinism
- 2) Anti-establishment attitudes
- 3) Right-wing value orientation
- 4) Fear, distrust and pessimism

Our definition of right-wing extremism is thus based upon both ideological and psychological elements. The first three sub-indices (prejudice and welfare chauvinism, right-wing value orientation and anti-establishment attitudes) are inherent parts of extreme right-wing ideology according to practically every author who studied the subject. The fourth (fear, distrust and pessimism) includes emotional factors that typically fuel the first three components, according to previous research. Right-wing extremism is therefore defined by these four qualities; however, we define an individual as a potential right-wing extremist if his answers to the ESS survey questions evince attitudes and ideas that meet the criteria for at least three of the four categories.

Step 2 – Choosing the questions

The questionnaires in the four rounds of ESS (2003, 2005, 2007 and 2009) consist of permanent and rotating modules. The 2009 round included as many as 285 questions, all of which were multiple choice.

DEREX model includes only those questions that ESS surveyors asked in all four rounds. This is the only way to ensure that index values for different years can be compared with one another.

We chose the following 29 questions based upon the criteria outlined above:

Table 1 – Complete list of ESS questions used in the DEREK Index

1. *All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays?*
2. *Apart from special occasions such as weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend religious services nowadays?*
3. *Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?*
4. *How much like you is this person? He believes that people should do what they're told. He thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching.*
5. *How much like you is this person? It is important to him always to behave properly. He wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.*
6. *How much like you is this person? It is important to him that the government ensures his safety against all threats. He wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens.*
7. *How much like you is this person? It is important to him to live in secure surroundings. He avoids anything that might endanger his safety.*
8. *How much like you is this person? Tradition is important to him. He tries to follow the customs handed down by his religion or his family.*
9. *How safe do you – or would you – feel walking alone in your local area or neighborhood after dark?*
10. *How you feel about your household's income nowadays?*
11. *In politics people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself on a scale, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?*
12. *Is [country] made a worse or a better place to live by people coming to live here from other countries?*
13. *On the whole how satisfied are you with the present state of the economy in [country]?*
14. *On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in [country]?*
15. *Please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust politicians.*
16. *Please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust the [country]'s parliament.*
17. *Please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust the European Parliament.*
18. *Please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust the legal system.*
19. *Please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust the police.*
20. *Please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust the United Nations.*
21. *Regardless of whether you belong to a particular religion, how religious would you say you are?*
22. *Thinking about the government, how satisfied are you with the way it is doing its job?*
23. *To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own life as they wish?*
24. *To what extent do you think [country] should allow people from the poorer countries outside Europe to come and live here?*
25. *To what extent do you think [country] should allow people of a different race or ethnic group as most [country]'s people to come and live here?*
26. *Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]'s economy that people come to live here from other countries?*
27. *Would you say that [country]'s cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries?*
28. *Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful or that they are mostly looking out for themselves?*
29. *Would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?*

These questions are divided into the four categories described above (based on "face validity" and correlational data).

- **Prejudice and Welfare Chauvinism** (6 questions)
- **Anti-Establishment Attitudes** (8 questions)
- **Right-Wing Value Orientation** (8 questions)
- **Fear, Distrust and Pessimism** (7 questions)

These groupings make it possible to examine the different aspects of the attitudes that make up right-wing extremism. We can therefore identify country-specific qualities and characteristics in each of the four categories and develop country groups using cluster-analysis techniques.

Step 3 – Determining the Criteria

After choosing the DEREK questions and dividing them up among the four sub-indices, we determined the criteria that would qualify an individual as a right-wing extremist. This process had two levels:

- **Item level:** We determined the answer – or range of answers – to each question that would indicate right-wing radical views.

Example: Criteria for the Prejudice and Welfare Chauvinism sub-index

Question 1: *To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own life as they wish?*

Criterion 1: Respondents who answered “5-Disagree strongly” (from five possible answers)

Question 2: *To what extent do you think [country] should allow people of a different race or ethnic group as most [country]’s people to come and live here?*

Criterion 2: Respondents who answered “4-Allow none” (from four possible answers)

Question 3: *To what extent do you think [country] should allow people from the poorer countries outside Europe to come and live here?*

Criterion 3: Respondents who answered “4-Allow none” (from four possible answers)

Question 4: *Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]’s economy that people come to live here from other countries?*

Criterion 4: Respondents who answered “Bad for the economy” (“0” or “1” on a scale of 0 to 10)

Question 5: *Would you say that [country]’s cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries?*

Criterion 5: Respondents who answered “Cultural life is undermined” (“0” or “1” on a scale of 0 to 10)

Question 6: *Is [country] made a worse or a better place to live by people coming to live here from other countries?*

Criterion 6: Respondents who answered “Worse place to live” (“0” or “1” on a scale of 0 to 10)

- **Category level:** We then established categories, deciding how many of the above answers a respondent had to give, and in what combination, to qualify as a potential right-wing radical voter.

Example: In the Prejudice and Welfare Chauvinism category, we consider any respondent to be “radical” who fulfills any of the following criteria:

Criterion 1, or

Criterion 2, or

Criterion 3, or

At least two of Criterion 4, Criterion 5 and Criterion 6

After categorizing the questions and establishing the criteria, we refined each of the four groups through a qualitative examination of the answers’ correlations with each other, as well as the range of possible answers for each criterion. This was based on a subjective assessment by the analysts who developed the index.

Example: We incorporated questions concerning homophobia and anti-immigrant attitudes into our model while developing the criteria for the first sub-index, Prejudice and Welfare Chauvinism. Homophobia and xenophobia belong in the same category conceptually (see for example the vast amount of research on authoritarianism indicating that there is a strong association between different types of prejudices that have a common root). Correlation between the two groups is significant, but lower than 0.25, indicating a relatively low level of association between the variables. Therefore, evidence of EITHER extreme homophobia OR strong xenophobia was enough to qualify a respondent as an extremist in the Prejudice and Welfare Chauvinism category.

There is a strong correlation between questions #2 and #3 on immigration; nonetheless, we decided that respondents who gave a radical answer to EITHER question #2 OR question #3 would qualify as extremist in the Prejudice and Welfare Chauvinism category. The reason is that people in the countries included in the survey may have a different opinion of immigrants from within Europe and immigrants from another continent. The question concerning people of different nationalities also helps us measure the level of nationalism within a country.

The three questions related to immigration’s impact on a country (#4, #5, and #6) are closely linked; the correlation between any two of these questions is between 0.62 and 0.67. We therefore decided that any respondent who gave a radical answer to at least two of the three questions would qualify as an extremist in the Prejudice and Welfare Chauvinism category (*see above*).

The Pearson correlation matrix for the questions in the Prejudice and Welfare Chauvinism sub-index (data file: ESS4e02, entire sample)

	Q. 1	Q. 2	Q. 3	Q. 4	Q. 5	Q. 6
Q. 1	1	0.213	0.204	-0.194	-0.249	-0.198
Q. 2	0.213	1	0.788	-0.475	-0.464	-0.482
Q. 3	0.204	0.788	1	-0.447	-0.439	-0.462
Q. 4	-0.194	-0.475	-0.447	1	0.622	0.645
Q. 5	-0.249	-0.464	-0.439	0.622	1	0.669
Q. 6	-0.198	-0.482	-0.462	0.645	0.669	1

The distribution of respondents who fulfilled the criteria for questions #1 and #2 (data file: ESS4e02, entire sample)



Step 4 – Calculating index values

Using the criteria outlined above, we determined how many respondents over the age of 15 belong in each of the four sub-indices in each country. We then divided the total number of respondents in each country by the number of respondents in each of the four groups. This gave us a numerical value for each sub-index in each of the 33 countries in the ESS survey.

A country's DEREK score is determined by the rate of respondents who belong to at least three of the four categories: for example, respondents who express anti-immigrant sentiments, anti-establishment attitudes and right-wing values all at once. Using these strict criteria, the DEREK Index examines the percentage of people whose extremist views could destabilize a country's political and economic system – if these views continue to gain credence.

Example: Category and DEREK indices in Hungary, for all four rounds of ESS

	2003	2005	2007	2009
Prejudice and Welfare Chauvinism	37.3%	46.1%	55.1%	52.4%
Anti-Establishment Attitudes	12.4%	22.3%	32.6%	45.5%
Right-Wing Value Orientation	27.8%	29.5%	29.1%	27.3%
Fear, Distrust and Pessimism	19.1%	18.6%	20.9%	27.2%
DEREK	9.9%	11.8%	17.4%	20.7%

The four sub-indices are then divided into two larger categories: Value Judgments, which combines prejudice/welfare chauvinism with right-wing value orientation, and Public Morale, comprising anti-establishment attitudes and fear, distrust and pessimism.

A country's DEREK Index score thus expresses the percentage of respondents who meet the criteria for at least three of the four sub-indices; the Value Judgments and Public Morale indices contain two sub-indices each, and their numerical values indicate the rate of respondents who meet the criteria for both sub-indices.

Example: The development of Hungary's Value Judgments and Public Morale indices through the four rounds of the ESS survey.

	2003	2005	2007	2009
Value Judgments	14.1%	14.8%	18.1%	15.5%
Public Morale	6.4%	8.8%	12.2%	17.5%

Reliability of the model

Although DEREK is an index, not a scale, we examined the model's consistency using Cronbach's Alpha statistic, a scientific indicator that measures reliability using correlational data. All of DEREK's sub-indices significantly exceed a rate of 0.6 that can be regarded as acceptable, the overall index has a rate of 0.868, demonstrating a strong consistency between the items that compose the index. In other words, both the individual categories in the model and the Demand for Right-Wing Extremism Index as a whole can be regarded as psychological constructs.

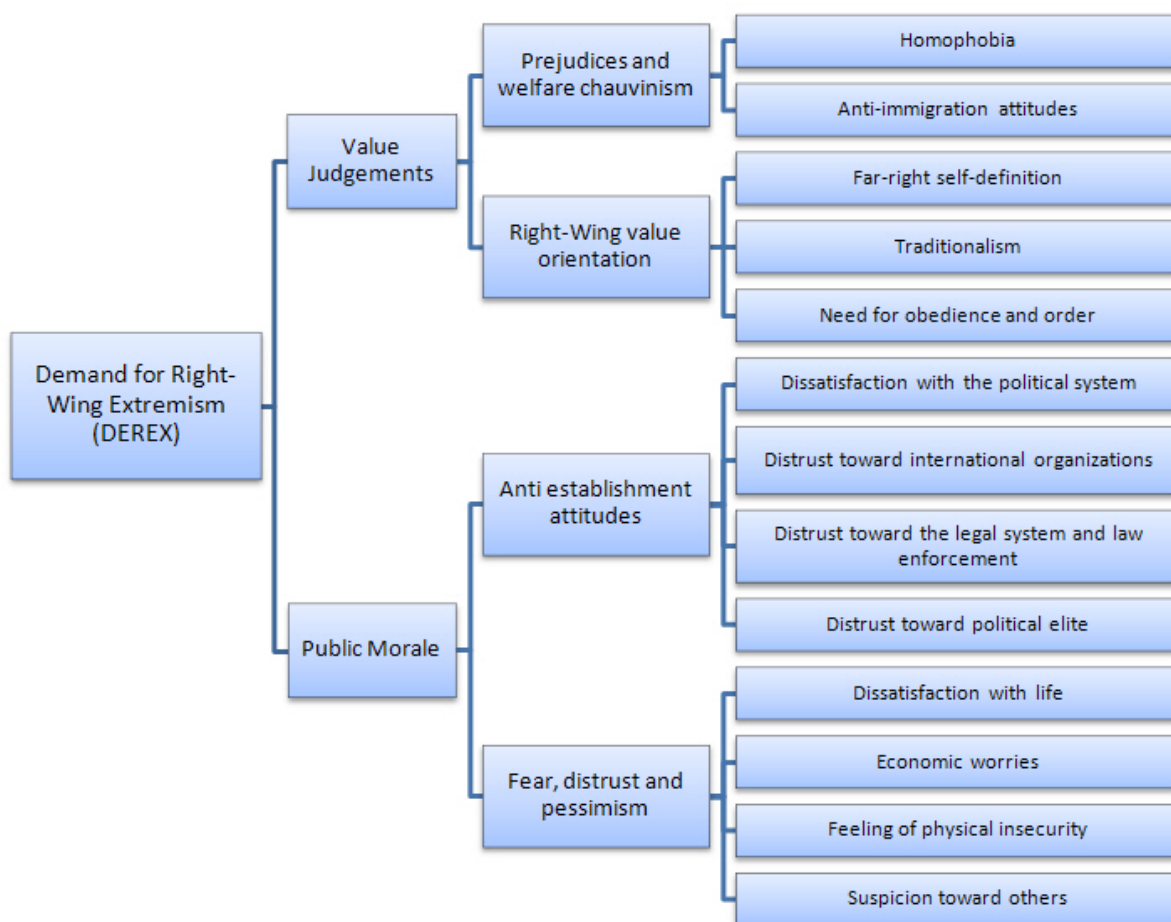
	# of items	Cronbach's Alpha
<i>Prejudice and Welfare Chauvinism</i>	6	0.806
Anti-Establishment Attitudes	8	0.896
Right-Wing Value Orientation	8	0.644
Fear, Distrust and Pessimism	7	0.759
DEREX Index	29	0.868

Validity of the model

The rate of respondents that fulfill DEREX categories can be found in higher proportion in extreme- or radical-right parties' support bases.

DEREX structure

The following hierarchy shows how the 29 questions of ESS are grouped into the different DEREX levels.



Source of Data:

ESS Rounds 1-4 (2003-2009) Norwegian Social Science Data Services, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data.

Data file editions used:

- ESS Round 1: ESS1e06_1 and ESS1IT
- ESS Round 2: ESS2e03_1 and ESS2IT
- ESS Round 3: ESS3e03_2 and ESS3LVRO
- ESS Round 4: ESS4e03