

Anti-Semitism 2.0

Opinions, attitudes and perception on anti-Semitism in Visegrad countries on the online sphere



This project is funded by the Rights, Equality and
Citizenship Programme of the European Union (2014-2020)

"The content of this report represents the views of the author only and is his/her sole responsibility. The European Commission does not accept any responsibility for use that may be made of the information it contains."

Anti-Semitism 2.0

**Opinions, attitudes and perception on anti-Semitism in
Visegrad countries on the online sphere**

Authors

Michal Vašečka
Viera Žúborová
Radomir Sztwiertnia
Judit Székely
Karina Veltzé
Imrich Vašečka

Translation

Ingrid Borárosová
Lee Buchan
Alexandra Telepčáková

Combat Anti-Semitism in Central Europe (ComAnCE)

Duration of the project: 07/2019-06/2021

Type of action: REC-AG-2018/REC-RRAC-RACI-AG-2018

Contents

ANTI-SEMITISM 2.0 IN V4	3
ANTI-SEMITISM 2.0 IN CZECH REPUBLIC	17
ANTI-SEMITISM 2.0 IN HUNGARY	31
ANTI-SEMITISM 2.0 IN POLAND	47
ANTI-SEMITISM 2.0 IN SLOVAKIA	58

Anti-Semitism 2.0 in V4

CONTENT OF THE STUDY

The summary report of the survey poll on Antisemitism in the Online Sphere in Central European countries analyses the current state of modern antisemitism in the so-called Visegrad countries: the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia. The report presents the result of a survey that measures attitudes towards Jews, to those who are considered to be Jewish, and it measures stereotypes within particular countries in general. The survey, at the same time, deals with social media platforms and it describes how people use them and how they act within these platforms.

Although internet offers many advances, both internet and social media have simultaneously facilitated the spread of hate to a mass audience. Recent reports on digital hate worldwide has shown that antisemitism flourishes especially on internet and this is even more topical for V4 countries. Antisemitic hate speech is an age-old phenomenon that now thrives on social media platforms and instant messaging apps, which can become breeding grounds of hatred. While antisemitic hate-crime and bullying are generally speaking not widespread in V4 countries, hate speech and cyber-bullying encountered online are on rise and serious problem not satisfactory tackled by authorities.

The research team decided to analyse antisemitic stereotypes and attitudes in a specific area of interaction - in an online world. The reason is the fact that majority of the incidents are observed in the online environment. Online research has been selected by a research team also due to the fact that we are able to gather data with marginal or zero cost. Besides that, on-line research is rather flexible in the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches very important for our approach.

Overall, 4137 people completed the online questionnaire. Age groups were approximately evenly distributed and only persons over 15 years filled in the questionnaire. The lowest age groups were slightly overrepresented in all 4 countries what reflected characteristics of social network users. The selection of respondents also reflected the administrative division of countries and in all four cases respondents from all regions of the country were represented. Information on age, education, and status distribution as follows:

Steven
Berkoff
(1937)

Anti-Semitism has never gone away; it will always be there because it's a very convenient prejudice.

The gene of it, the original DNA, is buried deep within our history. And even within some Jews as well.

Table 1. The research sample according the predetermined control characters.

		Czech republic	Hungary	Poland	Slovakia
SEX	Men	51.3	48.9	51.4	47.6
	Women	48.7	51.1	48.6	52.6
AGE	15-24 years	18.2	18.6	19.2	21.7
	25-34	21.7	20.4	24.6	28.3
	35-44	21.5	21.1	22.7	26.1
	45-54	16.4	16.3	15.0	14.8
	55-64	14.8	16.6	14.3	6.7
	65 and more	7.6	7.1	4.1	2.3
EDUCATION	Primary	8.1	5.6	3.9	5.6
	Secondary without <i>Maturita</i> exam	11.1	12.6	16.4	10.1
	Secondary with <i>Maturita</i> exam	49.6	53.0	38.9	47.9
	Tertiary	31.3	28.8	40.7	26.4
STATUS	Employed	52.2	56.3	64.3	62.9
	Self-employed	5.7	6.8	6.1	6.7
	Unemployed	1.3	4.5	3.4	4.0
	Retired	11.4	12.9	8.9	4.4
	Unable to work due to long standing health problems	4.2	2.6	3.4	3.8
	Student	15.1	9.7	7.1	12.3
	Fulfilling domestic tasks	6.9	5.5	5.2	4.6
	Other	3.1	1.7	1.7	1.3

AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim of the project is therefore to investigate the scope and significance of anti-Semitic attitudes in Central Europe, and to enhance standards of the research of antisemitism, and broadly disseminate comprehensive results. In spite of the fact that anti-Semitism appears in various forms in all V4 countries practically every day, citizens tend to criticize every effort that is related to the justification of antisemitic behaviour in their own societies. Though, they see these attempts as unjustified and detrimental to the reputation of their country. Intellectual responses to anti-Semitic excesses in the country are widely criticized and the society in general believes that their comments are unnecessarily unloaded. Combating anti-Semitism in these days in Visegrad countries is a crucial part of a broader fight against radicalisation of societies, where stereotypes of hatred are the core stone of political preferences for extremists, radicals, fascists, and far-right populists.

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Antisemitism in Central Europe is just one of many forms of non-inclusiveness towards those who are “different”. Public sphere in Central Europe is ethnicized and core part of CE societies is ethnicized, build upon tribal and exclusively ethnic principles. The problem, liberal democratic regimes are based on conviction that everybody should have a chance to become part of the core in all aspects of life - social, societal, economic, cultural, and symbolic. Non-Jews become increasing objects of antisemitism and this phenomenon reflects the conspiratory character of a modern world. Antisemitism, consequently, serves certain functions for people suffering by various insecurities of a modern world where social cohesion fades away. Antisemitism helps these people to understand better logic of a modern world. Antisemitism is therefore inherently interconnected with a modern society - consequences of growing social mobilization brings still more and more isolated groups of people into new, wider, and more interconnected communication networks.

Most of Visegrad societies have considered and still regard the issue of antisemitism as a marginal issue not so important to speak about. However, the reality of the citizens perception differs, nationalist, anti-transformation activist, politician and journalist have managed to awake Judeophobia and antisemitism in its various forms. For instance, anti-Soros campaign in all these counties, most visible in Hungary and Slovakia, produced their first victims - hatred against activists and non-governmental organizations.

Antisemitism in V4 countries has been playing a key role in the political battle over open society and liberal democratic regimes since dawn of modernity. Although not perceived as a pressing problem by V4 countries, antisemitism serves as a function of exclusion and disqualification of liberal elites fostering liberal pluralism and multicultural society. Antisemitism also serves as a powerful tool towards the radicalisation of the society, but generally not directly towards the Jews, but towards the protectors of liberal values and liberal culture. Various political actors on the national level are openly involved into these societal discourses and feeding the society with intolerance and hatred. The state authorities and police forces are helpless, because their laws, regulations and directives react only on visible antisemitic accident towards the Jewish community. It is harder to counter and combat antisemitic hate speech in societies where antisemitism is not seen as a relevant topic that needs to be further deal with and addressed.

ACTIVITY ON INTERNET AND SOCIAL MEDIA

These cybercrimes most often take the form of antisemitic hate speech and account for over 90 percent of all recorded incidents. Research shows that in all V4 countries rather few people engage into Facebook debates. The results show also that education does not affect the rate of both kinds of activity in significant way. Nor does it appear that people with more radical attitudes towards minorities are more likely to interact with other users or to express their views on the Internet. Education does not seem to play a crucial role here either, only in case of persons with secondary education without state exam there is more indecision to agree or disagree.

The research shows Facebook-users are well-aware of existence of violent, hateful content on internet. Majority of respondents in all countries tend to agree that online hate speech reflects the tensions within a society. And, even more importantly, majority of respondents opposed hate speech, they reject the view that cyber hate speech is just harmless words. Interestingly enough, mostly more senior respondents tend to disagree with this notion. Research, at the same time, clearly shows that people talk about different things when they communicate online, than they do in person. Digital anonymity could be especially harmful for children and teens. In our research we wanted to find out, whether the respondents find it easier to present their views, even if they might be controversial. Vast majority of respondents agree that anonymity on the Internet encourages strong opinions and emotions.

Despite of prevalence of various conspiracy theories respondents, in general, claim that they understand the role social media play in shaping the information and content they see and search. At the same time, majority respondents in all V4 countries are confident that they are capable of communication and sharing.

GENERAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS MINORITIES

Research conducted in all V4 countries shows that negative attitudes towards Jews correlate with general attitudes towards other minority groups. Ethnization of public space and historical traditions lacking existence of the political nation leads to exclusion of others from mainstream society. Relations between attitudes towards minorities and consumption of online content regarding Jewish people are interlinked as well and research proved these connections. In all V4 countries diversity is not perceived as it should and could be - as natural thing, but it is rather perceived by respondents as a negative phenomenon for each of these countries. Out of all types of diversities (ethnic, religious, cultural, and linguistic) only cultural is perceived rather positively in Poland and Slovakia and linguistic diversity as positive feature in the Czech republic. Increasing age push attitudes towards diversity to even more negative numbers.

As far as individual minorities are concerned, research has been testing four minorities that tend to be viewed in some negative connotations - Roma, Jews, Muslims, and Black people. Research results show that negative attitudes prevail mostly towards Roma in all V4 countries, with slightly less occurrence in case of Poland that have significantly less Roma than other 3 researched countries. Both Slovakia and the Czech republic show rather high levels of islamophobia, while both Hungary and the Czech republic are slightly more open toward Black people than Slovakia and Poland.

Attitudes toward Jews differ within the V4 countries, but most present is striking dominance of ambivalent answers in all four countries. The Czech republic, though, is visibly more positive about Jews in comparison to other three V4 countries - only 6% of respondents argue that Jews are not likeable to them in the Czech republic, while Jews are generally speaking sympathetic to 38% of respondents.

Table 2: Respondent's attitudes towards selected minority.

		<i>Czech republic</i>	<i>Hungary</i>	<i>Poland</i>	<i>Slovakia</i>
Roma	absolutely likeable	1.8	3.3	6.3	1.6
	Likeable	3.3	6,2	17.8	4.9
	Neutral	30	43.1	57.8	40.1
	not likeable	38.3	26.7	13.9	33.3
	not likeable at all	26.6	20.8	4.2	20.1
Jews	absolutely likeable	9.0	6.7	4.5	5.9
	Likeable	28.6	16.2	9.5	20.1
	Neutral	56.2	62.2	61.9	62.1
	not likeable	3.7	9.4	17.5	8.3
	not likeable at all	2.5	6.5	6.7	3.5
Muslim	absolutely likeable	1.9	3.4	9.6	1.1
	Likeable	4.3	6	20.3	5.2
	Neutral	33.7	50	55.3	43.5
	not likeable	28.8	22.9	11.5	28.6
	not likeable at all	31.3	17.7	3,4	21.6
Black people	absolutely likeable	6.1	6.8	2.4	4.6
	Likeable	24.5	18.1	4.4	20
	Neutral	53.1	58.4	55	57.7
	not likeable	11.9	10.9	27.3	12.6
	not likeable at all	4.4	5.8	11	5.2

In all V4 countries only a small number of respondents have personal experience with Jews. This is mostly true for Poland and that might be perceived as surprising in a country that once used to have one of the largest population of Jews in the world. On top of it, rather small group of people in these countries are able to identify somebody who can serve as a source of information about Jews. Relatively large number of respondents in respective countries claim that they do not look for information about Jews at all - with an exception of Poland where these figures are the smallest, or in other words – Polish respondents tend to search for information about Jews more than respondents from other V4 countries. As for other sources - TV, traditional printed media and literature tend to be main source of information for respondents in respective countries. Rather limited number of respondents claim that celebrities' and other public authorities' opinions and statements are relevant sources of information as well. Finally, social media tend to be an important source of information in most of these countries, with an exception of the Czech republic.

Table 3: Sources of information about Jews (only YES answers).

	<i>Czech republic</i>	<i>Hungary</i>	<i>Poland</i>	<i>Slovakia</i>
Personal contact with Jews	14.1	16.5	1.1	10.9
My family and close friends opinions and statements	17.3	21.1	32.4	18.7
Celebrities and other public authorities opinions and statements	11.9	15.7	23.2	14.6
Press/ radio/ Tv	38.8	36.6	42.4	43.1
Social Media	15.9	36	38.4	23.1
Literature	37.3	36	40.7	35.7
Cinema	32.9	36.3	35.8	40.1
Cultural institutions and events (e.g. museums, exhibitions)	29.1	26.7	28.4	28
I'm not searching for such information	34.2	23.5	18.7	25.5

NEGATIVE EMOTIONS TOWARDS JEWS IN COMPARISON

Events in Poland that cause negative emotions towards Jews

In case of Poland respondents in closed, specified questions clearly admit that they feel more comfortable and confident being online than speaking face to face about sensitive issues. Also because of that, most likely, they tend to choose middle-answers, neutral ones. In Poland respondents know that hate-speech is harmful, but in spite of that many of them repeat harmful stereotypes. Unlike in other V4 countries Jews are more disliked minority among those suggested, although there are 2 minorities hated even more by respondents in Poland - LGBT community and Muslims. Generally speaking, many respondents believe in Jewish influence on economy and world management processes. At the same time, the knowledge about Jews mostly comes from traditional media. Respondents view non-democratic behavior of Israel in context of conflict with Palestine.

Open questions brought clear focus on the stereotypes and post-memory phenomenon and revealed high level of conspiratory thinking among Polish respondents. Respondents pay their attention to abusing and from their perspective unreasonable semantic expansion of the word "antisemitism"

There are several common and some specific topics that cause - according to Polish respondents - negative emotions toward Jews. Among specific topics in case of Polish respondents one can name:

1. Act 447 (return of Jewish property);
2. the anniversary of Jedwabne (1941) and any publications connected to the topic (movie "Pokłosie", J.T. Gross book);
3. Uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto anniversary;

4. President Duda's resignation from participating in the anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz concentration camp (January 2020).

At the same time there are several common topics in case of Polish respondents:

1. Jewish Culture Festival;
2. Any statements blaming Poles for the Holocaust;
3. Religious celebrations - rituals, acts of public pray, traditional costumes, and marches;
4. Jewish property devastation (cemeteries and buildings).

Events in Slovakia that cause negative emotions towards Jews

Slovak respondents in open questions followed - in the same way as in other countries - all sets of stereotypes and their memory can be characterized by post-memory phenomenon. They displayed all types of various conspiracy tendencies on antisemitism - alleged power of Jews, Jewish bankers, Jews who are influential over society, and they connect activities of Jews with influence of NGOs and liberal politicians in Slovakia. At the same time Slovak respondents payed their attention to abusing and unreasonable semantic expansion of the word "antisemitism".

Closed questions brought some similar and some of slightly different results in comparison to other countries. Respondents from Slovakia are aware of the fact that hate-speech can be harmful. They claim that their knowledge about Jews mostly comes from traditional media, next from movies and literature, and social media are on the fourth position. Slovak respondents admit that they feel more comfortable and confident speaking face to face than being online, what is different result in comparison to Poland. Equally to other countries respondents from Slovakia believe that Roma people, LGBT, and Muslims are more hated than Jews in Slovakia. Slovak respondents declare that they know how internet and virtual reality works and their confidence is visibly overstated. The most popular kind of hate-speech in Slovakia is connected to harmful stereotypes and especially jokes about Jews, but people still believe in Jewish influence on economy and world management processes. In the same way as in other V4 countries Slovak respondents display tendencies to use middle-answers and therefore not reveal their opinion. In the opinion of Slovak respondents Jews are neither likeable neither unlikeable minority, they put themselves in the mode-answer.

There are several common and some specific topics that cause - according to Slovak respondents - negative emotions toward Jews. Among specific topics in case of Slovak respondents one can name:

1. The murder of journalist Ján Kuciak;
2. Neo-Nazi political party Kotleba ĽSNS;
3. Migration crisis.

As for commonalities with other V4 countries there are several causes shared by Slovak respondents:

1. Money and power (control of the society and media, owning banks, omnipotence of Jews);
2. Holocaust and the historical events during/ after the World War II;
3. Negative emotions are awaking through political rhetoric of selected politicians (former president Kiska or current president Čaputová);
4. Rothschilds family.

Events in the Czech republic that cause negative emotions towards Jews

Open answers concerning negative emotions towards Jews in the Czech republic brought several similarities with other V4 countries. Firstly, there are direct or indirect reflexions of various kinds of conspiracy theories related to antisemitism - supposed or real Jewish wealth, global influence or domination of Jews or those who are considered be Jewish. Intriguing enough, unlike in case of Hungary or Slovakia, Czech respondents focus rather on issues of wealth and money that rules the world than on hidden forces influencing the system through NGOs. There were no remarks about George Soros for instance in responses of Czech respondents. Persistence of antisemitism is reflected mostly in a form of jokes and anecdotes within Czech society. There were several direct remarks condemning antisemitism and pointing out the fact that Jews do not represent an issue or a problem within Czech society.

Closed questions showed many similarities with other countries of the region. As in other V4 countries, respondents showed tendencies of choosing the middle-answers on sensitive questions. As for social media, respondents are clearly aware of the risks and threats they may encounter on the network, and they distinguish real life from life on the internet. Majority of Czech respondents condemn hate speech, according to 70 % of them the hate speech reflects however the real conflicts and tensions in a society. Respondents declare that they know how internet and virtual reality works and they are not, generally speaking, frequent participants in discussions in social networks, more than half never or very rarely writes comments or take part in discussions. In respondents' opinion Roma people, LGBT, and Muslims are more hated than Jews. Unlike in other V4 countries, Jews are generally speaking liked in the Czech republic - only 6 % of them dislike Jews, for 38 % are Jews likeable. It is Roma people who are the most non-likeable minority in the country. Consequently, half of the respondents did not ever encounter any form of antisemitic hate-speech in the Czech republic. Only 14 % of respondents have personal contacts with Jews, people mostly gain knowledge about Jews from traditional media and literature, however, every third respondent does not seek any information about Jews at all. Overall, however, majority of Czech respondents tend to think that diversity is not much positive to the Czech Republic.

There are several common and some specific topics that cause - according to Czech respondents - negative emotions toward Jews. Among specific topics in case of Czech respondents we can see:

1. Migration crisis in Europe
2. Information on Israeli-Palestinian conflict

As for commonalities with other V4 countries there are several causes of negative emotions toward Jews shared by Czech respondents:

1. Issues related to supposed and/or real wealth or global influence or domination of Jews (in general) or specific Jewish people (or those who are considered to be Jewish);
2. Holocaust and the historical events in Czechoslovakia shortly before and during the Second World War (including commemorations, public places designations);
3. Some religious celebrations, rituals, especially related to the Orthodox Jews.

Events in Hungary that cause negative emotions towards Jews

In case of Hungary respondents in closed, specified questions confirmed the most significant theory about Jews is that they are rich, and they control the monetary life. Hungarian respondents, in the same way as in other countries, were also aware of the impact of the media, and that the way they communicate has an effect on antisemitism. Some of answers of Hungarian respondents were focused on rejection of prejudices in case of Hungarians. Many respondents even showed that they do not care about the issue and often they did not have any information about it.

Closed questions showed similar tendencies as in other V4 countries. Respondents have similarly tendencies to choose middle-answers. Hungarian respondents admitted that they feel more comfortable and confident speaking face to face than being online. However, respondents from Hungary were less confident about harmfulness of the online hate-speech than in Slovakia or Poland. Respondents declared that they know how internet and virtual reality works and they did not consider internet to be a safe space. Hungarian respondents showed overwhelmingly that Roma are more hated than Jews as far as Hungary is concerned and Jews are neither likeable nor dislikeable minority. The most present hate-speech, according to Hungarian respondents, is repeating harmful stereotypes/ jokes, though believe in Jewish influence on economy and world management processes is still present.

The knowledge about Jews mostly comes from traditional media, social media, literature and cinema. Among causes that - according to Hungarian respondents - bring negative emotions toward Jews are both historical (connected to events during the World War II) and recent ones:

1. Campaign against George Soros;
2. Anti-Semitic attacks in Western countries;
3. Netanjahu visits Hungary;
4. Premiere of a Holocaust-themed film;
5. Holocaust commemorations;
6. March of the Living;
7. The large menorah at Nyugati Square during Chanukah.

There are various commonalities with other V4 countries that, according to Hungarian respondents, are causing negative emotions toward Jews:

1. Accusations of Jews as powerful people - economy, money, business, power.
2. Expressions that Jewish people are privileged/ exceptional, believe that Jews are always overrepresented, and finally fatigue that Jews always talk about the miseries they were exposed to;
3. Holocaust denial and relativization of history in Hungary, celebrations of antisemitic historical figures from the pre-war times and especially war-criminal Ferenc Szálasi.

NEGATIVE EMOTIONS TOWARDS JEWS IN COMPARISON

1. Significant, though not majority of respondents in all V4 countries tend to accept traditional antisemitic stereotypes, slightly less neutral though banally antisemitic claims, and least they accept openly antisemitic statements.

2. Many of respondents are reluctant to take a stand in case of some openly antisemitic statements, in some cases as many as over 50% of respondents. Except of ignorance in case of some of them it is obvious that they chose not to answer delicate and sensitive questions.

3. As for demographic characteristics, men display, in general, higher vulnerability to agree with antisemitic prejudices than women in all V4 countries. In all of them, equally, antisemitic views are more visible and prevalent with higher age. However, already mentioned high proportion of people from all age groups that are unable to judge the situation and declare any opinion concerning antisemitism is striking. Interestingly enough, social status of respondents does not have any significant influence on prevalence of antisemitic views in all countries, with minor difference of Poland where social status bring less visible antisemitic views.

4. Education, however, influences level and prevalence of antisemitic views in an surprising way. With growing education level there is visible growth of antisemitic stereotypes, though antisemitic statements that are not based on stereotypes are rather dropping down with higher levels of education.

5. Research clearly shows that those respondents who show some objection to system of minority protection display also higher levels of antisemitic prejudices. This result is inter-connected with existence of fixed mental orientations known as authoritarian personality. Our research, indirectly, confirm findings of other studies that identified high prevalence of authoritarian personalities in the region of Central Europe.

6. Research showed that group of respondents, who did not encounter signs of antisemitic hatred and at the same time they reject antisemitic stereotypes, is relatively low in all respective countries.

7. The group of people who have ambivalent attitudes toward Jews is relatively high in all countries, generally over 50 % in every country. The only country that displays visibly positive, one can argue filo-Semitic views, is the Czech republic.

8. The research revealed also an unpleasant truth about attitudes of those who are active on internet. Antisemitic views grow with declared competencies on internet. In other words, hopes

of many in the past that growing internet competencies can cure the disease of various types of hatred has been false.

9. Lack of satisfaction with personal life, according to research, raise probability of respondents to be antisemitic, though general satisfaction with life does not automatically bring it down.

10. Presented research thus showed clearly that defense of personal identity, continuity, and predictability of everyday life is becoming an arena of conflict. People who have been socialized in an anti-Semitic environment and under the influence of an authoritarian personality try to defend their identity by presenting their antisemitic attitudes - at least on the internet and in social media.

CONCLUSIONS, CHALLENGES, AND BROADER CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF THE STUDY

This phase of the research has brought some important insights into the level of awareness and views of respondents on broadly understood topics connected to antisemitism. Attitudes towards Jews and to those who are perceived to be Jewish in all V4 countries are structurally influenced by the ethnization of public space and the protection of the ethnized “nuclear” group. Each society is divided into 'core' and 'out' groups, with people belonging to the 'out' group always trying to penetrate to some degree into the 'core' group. The 'nuclear' group is determined socially, geographically, classically, but in Central European region especially ethnically. For nations that are defined ethnically - as most of Central European nations - the core group is closed not only to those who are different, but often to those who have undergone the assimilation process and have become “native” in their own perception. However, primordial, blood-based “imaginary community” defends itself from “foreign elements”. In all of V4 countries, diversity is not perceived as something natural and desirable, not to mention ethnic diversity. The relationship to otherness is thus a structural problem in V4 countries that cannot be solved without fundamental changes in the perception of the dominant groups. To tackle successfully antisemitism in Central European region is to certain level an illusion under current conditions if the majority would not start to reconfigure their ethnized identities.

Based on data produced within the first phase of the project, it is possible to formulate conclusions, short and long-term challenges for policy makers in all V4 countries, and some broader theoretical considerations.

1. Conclusions

Ignorance and prevalence of stereotypes.

The level of ignorance as far as issues connected to Jews, Jewry, and common public space are concerned is widespread and respondents in all V4 countries display various types of stereotypical thinking.

Cognitive dissonance.

Although majority of respondents showed reluctance to accept in general various types of prejudices about Jews or those who are considered to be Jewish, in many cases they were not showing this rejection as far as internet space and social media are concerned.

Double standards.

Respondents of the study confirmed results of other surveys that are showing double standards significant groups of people tend to apply on Jews. 3D principles were confirmed by the study - first “D” as demonization where Jews are portrayed as inherently evil. The second “D” stands for double standards, which come into play when criticism of Jews, international Jewry, or Israel is applied in an imbalanced or selective manner. The third “D” means delegitimization of Jews and their desires or just activities of every day life.

Pragmatism.

Some of answers that could be analyzed as “don’t know” answers in other contexts cannot be evaluated as such in case of incidents of antisemitism - mostly due to their prevalence. Many of respondents are aware of the general consensus of liberal democracies that antisemitic views do not belong to civilized society. Pragmatic, escaping answers were detected in all V4 countries.

2. Challenges

Follow public opinion.

From the perspective of policy makers, it is desirable to monitor public opinion as far as both factious and virtual world are concerned in order to respond to its major shifts, either by modifying policies or, at least, by changing information strategies.

Develop a broader discussion.

Opening a broader professional debate is desirable, at least, so that discourse is not poisoned so frequently by banally or even openly antisemitic ideological opponents. Although not numerous, anti-Semites in V4 countries tend to influential on internet and consequently in a society due to historical images, archetypes from the past, and dispersed conspiratory thinking.

Anti-antisemitism as part of education.

Antisemitism is being discussed in an education process often only as a supplement to other forms of hatred and intolerance in all V4 countries. Functions of antisemitism and its usage as a code of rejection of liberal democratic regime is unknown and unrecognized in V4 countries.

Language simplification.

In the interest of the main objective of both V4 countries and EU - strengthening social cohesion and building an inclusive society, it is desirable to simplify the language accompanying education in the sphere of tolerance education.

3. Broader Conceptualization

Social-Structural Conclusion

According to Berger and Luckmann (1999), human activity is subject to habitualization and as such tends to be institutionalized. Institutions thus emerge in the process of externalization and once created, they act on the individual as a given, objective reality, capable of putting pressure on the individual. Antisemitism became part of the “symbolic worlds” that people socially construct and which in turn influence their value orientations, beliefs and actions. But symbolic worlds can be not only deconstructed, but also reconstructed and replaced by other symbolic worlds. It requires, however, systematic and well-prepared policies.

Post-Modernist Conclusion

In today's world, the modern man is not only exposed to tests of trust in specific people, but he is also forced to put his trust in abstract systems - impersonal systems of knowledge, technology or bureaucracy. In order to trust people in modern times, they must be convinced of the correctness of the principles on which these abstract systems work. However, accuracy cannot be convinced through theoretical knowledge, but only through the experience of their operation provided by institutions embodying expert systems. However, what if people fall into the belief that the expert systems (in this case liberal democracy) are not working in accordance with the stated objectives? People can stop trusting the whole system and stop trying to be honest. And people always create an image of creatures that are responsible for their misfortunes. In countries that are going through the process of transformation this process is even more intense and visible than and social cohesion even more fragile.

Neo-Marxist Conclusion

According to neo-Marxists, the dynamism of the developed capitalist society creates new forms of social control, which through the media, symbols, codes and signs, spreads control and regulation. This social control strengthens the pressures towards conformity that affects personal life and interpersonal relationships. The conformity of respondents was visible in their avoidance to answer certain questions that made them uncomfortable. However, according to neo-Marxists, the defense of personal identity, continuity and predictability of everyday life against these systemic forces has become an arena of conflict in modern times. In the long term, it is possible to agree with the neo-Marxist notion that large groups of losers of redistribution may have a tendency to engage in collective action against liberal democracy to defend and maintain their traditional identity. In the long run, antisemitism can be utilised by enemies of open society in a de-judaized form.

Structural-Functionalist Conclusion

However, the lack of awareness of many respondents of this study can also be understood as a good sample of the modern “public”, which is gradually turning into a mass society. According to Bell, mass is universally addressed to standardized content, becoming an incompetent assessor of its complicated environment. Moreover, the whole system of mechanized modern society is so functionally interconnected that its individual parts completely lose their autonomy and rightfulness. In such a reorganized world, where people become things and their fates in the files of officials, informed public fades away. Education focused on results in particular fields without bringing more complex views can produces incompetent group of citizens without civic virtues.

Anti-Semitism 2.0 in Czech Republic

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

In the following section results of a survey carried out on Czech sample of the active users of Facebook are presented. As far as the methodology of the research is concerned, the sample of respondents from the Czech Republic was selected by the private research company in the same way as in the other three cases (for the methodology, see the previous sections of the general report).

Data from all four parts of the research are complete and thus comparable, nevertheless in this part, we will focus only on the description of the Czech results. In the first part we will focus on activity of the respondents on the Internet and social networks. Then we will deal with general attitudes towards minorities. In third part, respondents' attitudes towards Jews will be presented.

In total, 1065 people completed the online questionnaire, of which 546 were men and 519 women. Age groups were approximately evenly distributed and only persons over 15 years filled in the questionnaire. The lowest age groups were overrepresented, which basically reflects the characteristics of social network users. The selection of respondents also reflected the administrative division of the state, so respondents from all 14 higher territorial administrative units were represented. Moreover, the research participants were asked to indicate their highest educational level and current life situation, that is whether they are employed, students, retirees, etc.

As regards the level of education, the sample also differs from population as we addressed more than 31% persons with higher education, while in the population of the country it is only approximately 19%. Respondents with primary education form the smallest group in our sample (8% in sample, 14% in population respectively), and actually, 86% of those with primary education fall into age category 15-24 years. They are practically all (97%) high school or university students. Almost half of respondents declared they had completed secondary education with the state examination named "Maturita" (34% in the Czech population respectively). In the table below the sample according to the specified control characteristics is presented.

Federica
Mogherini
(1973)

Anti-Semitism has not
disappeared, and
European Jews have too
often come under attack.

Table 1. The research sample according the predetermined control characters (%)

SEX	Men	51.3
	Women	48.7
AGE	15-24 years	18.2
	25-34	21.7
	35-44	21.5
	45-54	16.4
	55-64	14.8
	65 and more	7.6
EDUCATION	Primary	8.1
	Secondary without <i>Maturita</i> exam	11.1
	Secondary with <i>Maturita</i> exam	49.6
	Tertiary	31.3
STATUS	Employed	52.2
	Self-employed	5.7
	Unemployed	1.3
	Retired	11.4
	Unable to work due to long standing health problems	4.2
	Student	15.1
	Fulfilling domestic tasks	6.9
	Other	3.1

Note: N=1065. Figures in percentages.

Additionally, we have obtained also answers related to respondents' satisfaction with quality of their live and satisfaction with quality of life and with the political situation in the country. This gives us the opportunity to further classify the respondents as basically satisfied and dissatisfied. We assume, that in the case of dissatisfied citizens, as in the case of less educated and less earning (or unemployed), more pronounced tendency towards extremist attitudes might be observed. In our case, 71% of respondents stated that they are satisfied with the quality of their live, whereas only 12% expressed dissatisfaction. In contrary, only 16% of respondents were satisfied with current political situation in the Czech Republic, but more than 57% chose the dissatisfied option.

ACTIVITY OF THE RESPONDENTS ON THE INTERNET AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

As in other countries, in the Czech Republic the vast majority of antisemitic hate crimes occurs currently on the Internet. These cybercrimes most often take the form of antisemitic hate speech and account for over 90 percent of all recorded incidents. For this reason, we consider it important to study how the activity of users in the online environment influence their consumption of information about Jews. We have focused on the online activity of Facebook users who participated in our research, their Internet literacy, knowledge of creating of various online texts (e.g. authentic or manipulative texts, facts or alt-facts), level of criticism towards online hate speech and opinions on Internet anonymity.

According to the survey results majority of the respondents is rather passive in social networks as far as the interaction with other users is concerned. We were not interested in communicating within the closed community or with friends or acquaintances where a higher degree of interaction can be expected naturally, but in situations where a person steps into the virtual public space. For example, posting comments of or discussing under news articles of different media (e.g. Facebook profiles of newspapers and magazines) is such a typical activity. Only 4 percent of respondents write daily or almost daily comments on Facebook posts related to the news, one in five does so at least once a week, one in five writes comments at least once a month, but majority does so only occasionally (34%) or never (20%). There is a trend that older people are more likely to comment. In the youngest age group (15 – 24 years), 30 percent never engage in commenting, while in the oldest one (over 65) it is only 11 percent. In this context, however, account should be taken of the fact that young people are less likely to read newspaper articles and they might not have a coherent view on many things yet. However, the point is that among commentators we can expect older people more often.

The situation is very similar when it comes to engaging in Facebook debates. Only 5% discusses with other users every day, one quarter of respondents reportedly do so at least once a week, while one fifth do so at least once a month. 37 percent of respondents are involved in the debates rarely and 13% actually never discusses with other users in Facebook. In this case, too, we observe that older people tend to do so more often. 50% of people over the age of 65 participate in debates at least two or three times a month, while in the 15-24 age group it is only 27%. The results show also that education does not affect the rate of both kinds of activity in significant way. Nor does it appear that people with more radical attitudes towards minorities are more likely to interact with other users or to express their views on the Internet.

Digital literacy was another relevant issue of our research. We were interested, amongst others, in how familiar Facebook users are with the pitfalls of creating and sharing content in social networks and with possible roles social media play in shaping the information delivered to them. Respondents' answers indicate that two thirds of them understand how the online content (in our case the news in social media) is created and distributed and understand the role of social media in shaping the information and content. The results do not differ in the case of the pre-defined age groups, only respondents aged 25 to 34 showed some degree of scepticism preferring the option that they neither agree nor agree with above mentioned statements (a difference of 10 percentage points compared to the average). Education does not seem to play a crucial role here either, only in case of persons with secondary education without state exam (Maturita) there is more indecision to agree or disagree, similar to the example above.

Furthermore, vast majority of respondents (89%) agree with the statement that they are able to find information and content on social media that they need or want. 76% of research participants are also convinced of the accuracy and appropriateness of their posts, comments and opinions that they publish or share on social networks. 77% of respondents claim as well that they know what to do, if someone acts online in a way they do not like. In all three cases we do not observe different answers as to the age or education of the respondents.

We were also interested in how Facebook users feel in the online environment, whether they recognize manifestations of cyber hate speech, and what their attitude towards them is. As the results show, about a third of respondents feel safe on the Internet, while another third does not. However, four out of ten respondents were unable or unwilling to take a clear position. As the

table below illustrates, the greater security threats on the Internet are being felt by middle-generation users.

Table 2. Perceived online safety by age groups

Age group	disagree	Nor disagree, nor agree	agree
15-24	31	32	36
25-34	29	38	30
35-44	29	46	23
45-54	28	44	27
55-64	25	46	26
65 and more	28	36	35
Total	29	41	29

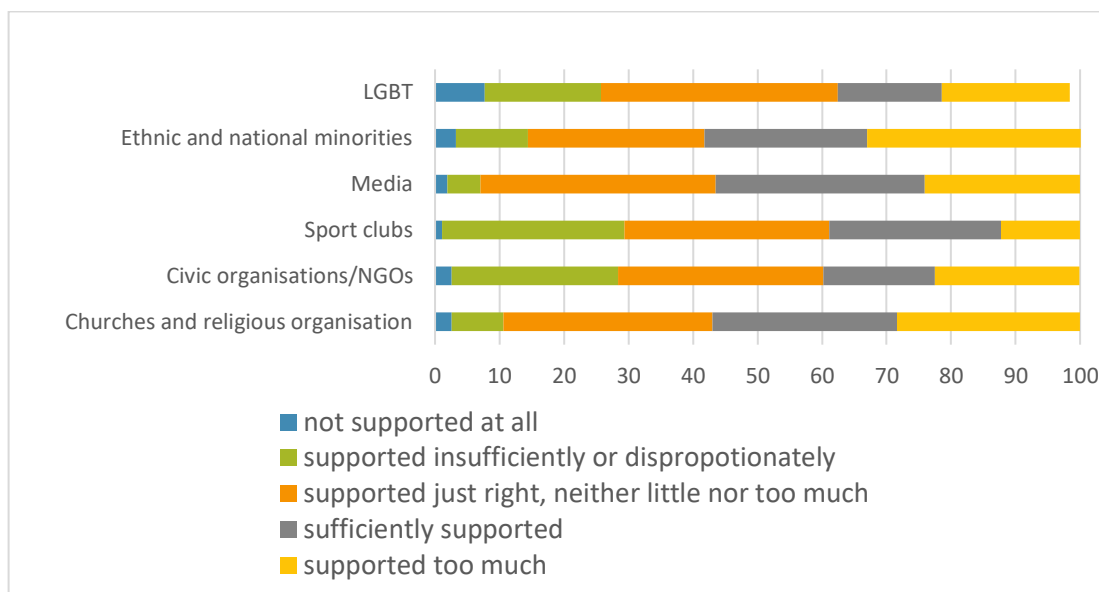
Notes: The percentages given for 'disagree' are for the sum of responses 'strongly disagree' and 'rather disagree', and the for 'disagree' it is the sum of responses 'strongly agree' and 'rather agree'. The response 'don't know' makes up the difference to 100%. Values are rounded. N=1065.

We asked also the respondents if they find other people on the Internet kind and helpful. However, only 15% of them think so, but 36% are of the opposite opinion. Only in the age group over 65 we see greater trust in people, in this case, 30% of participants of the research participants agree that other people online are kind and helpful. As we mentioned above, cyber hate speech is an increasingly common phenomenon that we can encounter on the Internet. Generally, hate speech relies on various tensions, which it seeks to reproduce, exaggerate and amplify. Indeed, 70% of participants of our research agree with the statement that online hate speech reflects the tensions within a society. However, they are clearly opposed to hate speech, two thirds of respondents reject the view that cyber hate speech is just harmless words. Only the age category above 65 years of age deviates from the average on this issue, when 77% disagrees with that statement, which is by 11 percentage points more.

Hidden behind online anonymity some people feel empowered to speak more harshly than they might in the real world. Digital anonymity could be especially harmful for children and teens. In our research we wanted to find out, whether the respondents find it easier to present their views, even if they might be controversial. In total, 40% users disagree, 31% agree, and 28% neither disagree, nor agree with that statement. Here, only the answers of the youngest respondents were different significantly. 32% of them disagree, while 40% agree. Thus, we could argue that the younger generation is more likely to appreciate the anonymity of the Internet. Furthermore, 78% respondents agree (and only 6% disagree) that anonymity on the Internet encourages strong opinions and emotions. The oldest generation have taken the most unequivocal stance on this issue, as 91% agree with that statement.

In this section we will try to inquire into general attitudes of the participants of our research towards the “Others “, especially various minorities. We can assume that negative attitudes towards Jews will correlate to some extent with general attitudes towards other minority groups, as it is very common to exclude others from mainstream society to the social margins. We are also interested in possible relations between attitudes towards minorities and consumption of online content regarding Jewish people.

Graph 1. Level of support for selected groups and organisations



Notes: N=1065. The response 'don't know' makes up the difference to 100%.

We focused on prejudice against selected groups among others. We asked what respondents think about financing selected groups or organisations. The participants were asked whether particular groups were from their point of view sufficiently funded by the state or local authorities. We have predetermined in advance such organisations and groups that are perceived by a part of the public at least contradictory and to whom there is some resentment in the Czech society. We can infer from the answers what degree of prejudice is, at least partially. In the graph below, respondents' opinion on financing of particular groups or organisations is presented. As we can see, the respondents took the most critical stance on funding of ethnic and national minorities and churches and religious organisations.

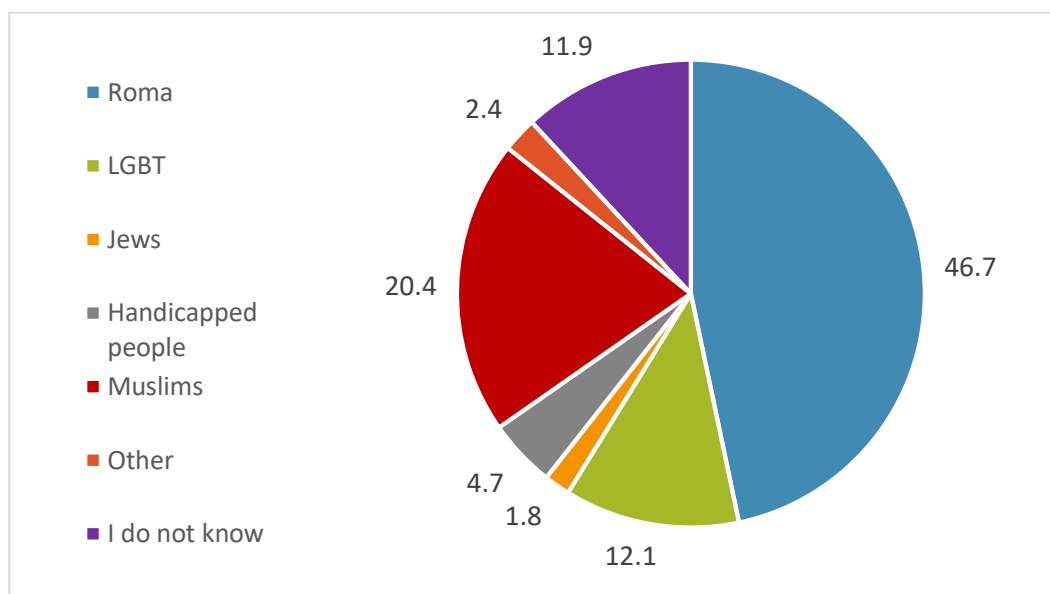
With respect to the knowledge of the context, this is not surprising, as some people believe that especially the Roma minority unduly receives financial support from the state, either in the form of social benefits or other subsidies. Likewise, there exists a negative attitude towards the Catholic Church, especially due to the property-law settlement between the state and the church (so called church restitution), against which a huge wave of protest, supported by some opposition parties, was raised. At the same time, it has not been confirmed that an opinion prevails, as in other countries in the region, that the media and NGOs (which are accused of trying to undermine the state and/or the government) are all too financially supported.

Table 3. Opinion on funding of ethnic and national minorities

age group	Not at all	insufficiently	appropriately	Sufficiently	TOO much
15 - 24	5	19	35	21	20
25 – 34	4	13	27	27	29
35 – 44	3	11	31	22	33
45 – 54	3	7	27	32	32
55 – 64	2	5	19	27	47
65 and more	1	9	16	23	51
Total	3	11	27	25	33

Notes: Values are rounded, given in %. N=1065.

When it comes to the opinion on financing of the Catholic Church, the negative opinion increases in proportion to the age of the respondents. While in the youngest age group only about 20 percent of respondents have a negative attitude towards funding the Church, in the case of people over 65 in total 48 percent think the Church is too much supported. The situation is similar for non-profits - only 14 percent among the youngest, but 51 percent among the oldest think that NGOs are too much supported. This also applies in the case of LGBT (12% vs. 38%) and national and ethnic minorities (20% vs. 51%).

Graph 2. Groups exposed to cyber hate speech according to respondents

Notes: Figures in percentages. N=1065.

However, we do not observe such intergenerational differences in the case of media or sports clubs, around which there is no much controversy. See table below for more detailed data for the case of ethnic and national minorities.

In the next part of the research we were interested in which groups are connected with hate speech by our respondents. We asked: “When you think of a minority group that is exposed on hate speech in the Czech Republic, which group comes to your mind first?” The list of options was closed, but people could list themselves other group they think was most exposed to hate speech. Nonetheless, no conclusions can be drawn from the answers provided by the respondents. As shown in the graph below, almost 47% of respondents identified Roma people as the group most exposed to cyber hate speech. Muslims came second in the survey. 12% consider LGBT community members the main target of cyber hate speech, and in this case, it is necessary to draw attention to the significant differences in the responses of younger and older participants of our research. Among younger respondents (15-24 years), up to 22 percent of them chose LGBT, but only 4 percent of respondents over the age of 65.

It is significant that Facebook users who participated in our survey did not highlight Jews as a group exposed to cyber hate speech. This is also consistent with data from other sources that online antisemitism is not a common phenomenon in the country. We also obtained additional data concerning perception of diversity in the country. Participants were asked if they considered diversity (ethnic, religious, language, cultural) as positive or negative for their country. As shown in the table below, only in the case of linguistic diversity the positive attitudes prevail. We also see that with increasing age attitudes towards diversity tend to be negative.

Table 4. Opinion on diversity – mean values for particular age groups

age group	ethnic diversity	religious diversity	language diversity	cultural diversity	n
15 – 24	2,8	2,76	3,28	3,12	194
25 – 34	2,77	2,73	3,29	3,01	231
35 – 44	2,55	2,59	3,06	2,81	229
45 – 54	2,51	2,6	3,12	2,8	172
55 – 64	2,3	2,49	3,06	2,71	158
65 and more	2,6	2,67	2,99	2,94	81
Total	2,6	2,65	3,15	2,9	1065

Notes: Respondents chose answers on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means very negative and 5 very positive impact for the country. The table shows the average for each age category.

We will focus in more detail on the views on ethnic diversity. People with lower education tend to have a negative attitude towards diversity, compared to university graduates there are 10 percentage points more among high school students without “*Maturita*”, who chose option 1 or 2 (very negative, negative). Negative opinions are more prevalent among unemployed, pensioners.

Table 5. Opinion on ethnic diversity – regional differences

Region	VERY NEGATIVE	GENERALLY NEGATIVE (OPTIONS 1 + 2)	generally positive (4 + 5)	n
HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ	7.4	31.5	26.7	54
PRAGUE	9.5	34	25.1	147
SOUTHERN MORAVIA	9.7	43.6	28.5	121
SOUTHERN BOHEMIA	14.5	37.1	12.9	62
OLOMOUC	14.3	55.6	6.3	63
VYSOČINA	15.7	54.9	7.9	51
LIBEREC	18.6	46.5	16.3	43
MORAVIA-SILESIA	18.5	48.5	8.5	130
ÚSTÍ NAD LABEM	21.2	55.3	16.5	85
Czech Republic	14.2	43.9	14.9	1065

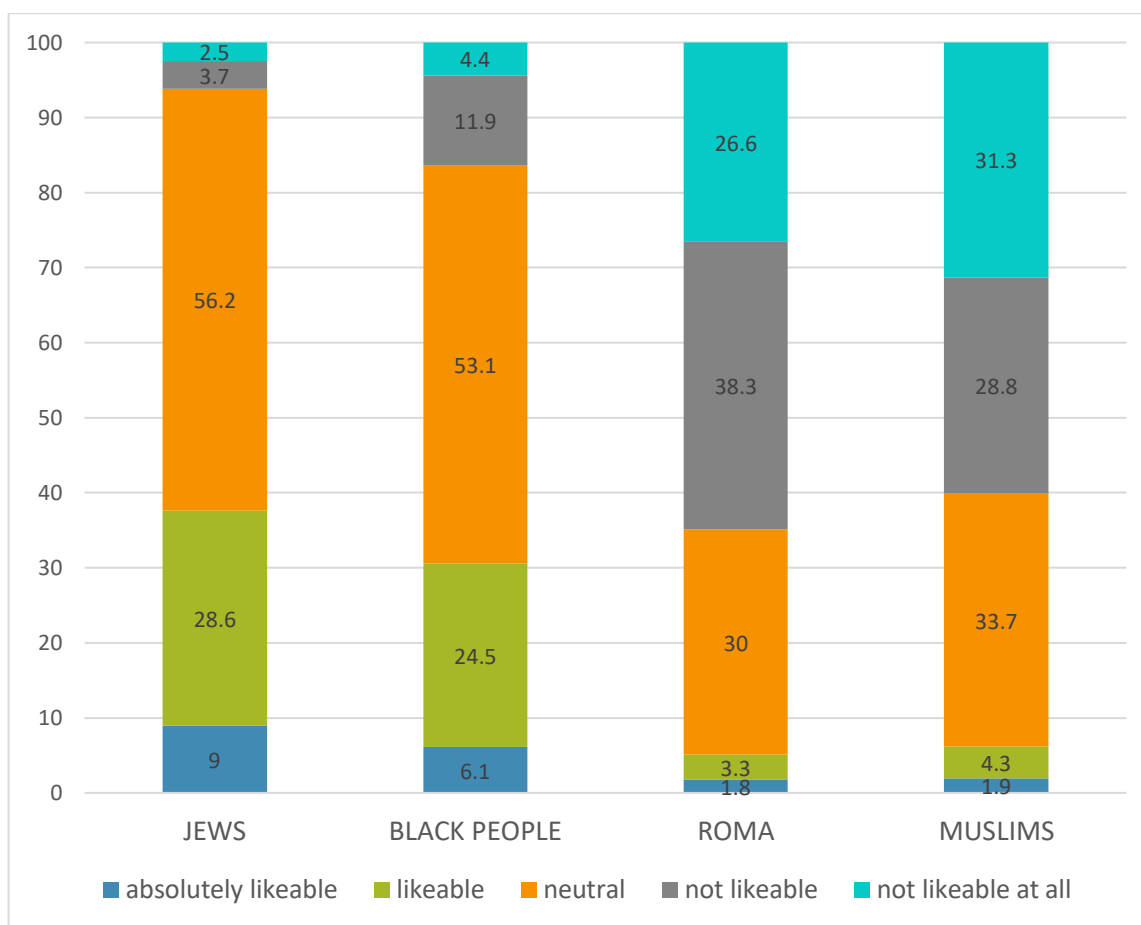
Notes: Respondents chose answers on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means very negative and 5 very positive impact for the country. Five other regions (Plzeň, Karlovy Vary, Pardubice, Zlín, Central Bohemia) were omitted, as the results are close to the overall results for the whole country. The response 3 (neutral opinion) makes up the difference to 100% when adding columns two and three (generally negative and generally positive).

As far as the regional difference is concerned, we can observe the influence of some socio-economic and demographic factors known in the Czech social sciences, which are inter alia related to political behaviour, level of trust, occurrence of some socio-pathological phenomena, etc. In short, some regions are burdened with historical events (so-called Sudetenland), the restructuring of industry after the fall of the communist regime and the associated increase in unemployment, the concentration of low-income people, including members of the Roma national minority. The effect of these factors has been reflected in our research when the most negative opinions on ethnic diversity were observed in Northern Bohemia and Northern Moravia and Silesia (regions of Ústí nad Labem, Liberec, Olomouc, Moravia-Silesia). A lower rate of disapproval of ethnic diversity is noted in the case of the capital city Prague, Southern Moravia and Eastern Bohemia (Hradec Králové), but nowhere do the positive opinions prevail over the negative ones. The least positive perception of ethnic diversity was found in Olomouc Region and Vysočina Region.

The last question in this part of the questionnaire was directed at people's views on individual minorities. Although the selection was limited to four groups and it could be clearly expected that

negative attitudes would prevail in particular towards Roma, we were able to retrieve important data regarding the attitude of Czech society towards Jews. Only 6% of respondents argue that Jews are not likeable to them. On the contrary, for two-thirds of participants of our research, Roma are unsympathetic. Jews are sympathetic to 38% of respondents.

Graph 3. Respondents' attitudes toward selected minorities / groups



Notes: Figures in percentages. N=1065.

We observe more negative attitudes towards the Jews in the case of people under 45 years of age, but the difference is not very significant. Among younger respondents there are 7% to whom Jews are not likeable, and 35% perceive the Jews as likeable. In the group of people older than 45 years, the corresponding values are these: 5% and 43%. According to education, people with higher education who tend to consider the Jews as likeable. 45% people with university degree perceive the Jews as sympathetic, however, majority did not take a stance in this question claiming that the Jews are neither sympathetic nor unsympathetic to them.

Significant differences between the attitudes towards Jews on the one hand, and Roma and Muslim on the other, are due to the fact that Jews are not present in public space. The attitudes towards Muslims have become extremely negative after the so-called migration crisis, which has also been driven some high-ranking political representatives. The attitude to the Roma has been

very negative in the Czech Republic for a long time, for a number of different reasons for which there is no place in this report.

THE JEWS, ANTISEMITISM AND HATE SPEECH - OPINIONS OF THE CZECH RESPONDENTS

At the core of our research were questions about attitudes towards Jews, sensitivity to antisemitism and especially antisemitic cyber hate speech. Only 14% believe that antisemitic hate speech is a common phenomenon. 46% of people are of the opposite opinion and 41% either did not have a clear opinion, or did not know. There are no significant differences between age groups, only the youngest respondents generally question that antisemitic hate speech is a common phenomenon. This fact can be associated indeed with their age, or more precisely with the level of knowledge and understanding, what antisemitic hate speech (and other) actually means.

Subsequently, we were interested in what kind of hate speech towards the Jews our respondents had ever encountered. Approximately only half of the respondents have ever encountered some kind of antisemitic hate speech. It was only 37 percent among the youngest, which is related to the above considerations. Most people have encountered depiction of Jews in a grotesque context or in a form of caricature (31%), then recurrence of antisemitic stereotypes (25%), and insults (21%). The results clearly show the link between personal experience with the manifestations of antisemitism (i.e. encountering it in online environment) and the view that these are a common phenomenon. Those who have not encountered antisemitic manifestations tend to claim that antisemitic hate speech is not common, and vice versa.

Only a small number of respondents (14%) have personal experience with Jews, or have someone within their circle who can to some extent serve as a source of information about Jews. This option is most often mentioned by seniors. One third of respondents claim they do not look for information about Jews at all. For others, TV, broadcast, traditional printed media and literature is the main source of information. Almost four out of ten respondents state that they draw information from these sources. 12% admit that celebrities' and other public authorities' opinions and statements are relevant sources of information as well. And from social media 16% of people gather information. There are significant differences as far as the age groups are concerned, thus we present them in a table below. As given in the table above, middle generation of Facebook users is least interested in this issue, which may be due to work and parental responsibilities. Younger respondents more often than others mention social media and are more often influenced by their relatives or close friends, however, even they rely on traditional media and literature as other age groups do.

Table 6. Sources of information about Jewish people

	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	Over 65	Total
Personal contact with Jews	13	11	11	14	19	23	14

FAMILY AND FRIENDS' OPINIONS / STATEMENTS	25	19	10	20	14	17	17
Celebrities' and other public authorities' opinions / statements	10	10	8	13	18	16	12
Press / radio / tv	35	37	38	46	37	43	39
Social media	22	17	9	18	15	16	16
LITERATURE	43	40	26	42	36	40	37
CINEMA	36	36	27	44	24	28	33
Cultural institutions and events	35	30	24	30	25	35	29
not looking for information about Jews	32	35	42	26	37	24	34

Notes: Values are rounded, given in %. N=1065.

Another crucial part of our research was to find out to what extent respondents agree with predetermined often provocative statements regarding Jews, antisemitic stances and related issues. A summary of questions and a basic breakdown of answers can be found in the table below.

To a certain extent, the results in the case of the assertion that for Jewish people, Israel is more important than Czech Republic were surprising. As in the case of the approval of the claim that if one is somebody is called "Jew" to show his miserliness, it shouldn't be seen as offensive towards real Jewish people in general. We see here a clear repetition of traditional stereotypes, which are deeply rooted in Central European societies. Frankly speaking, if someone is greedy, it is acceptable to call him a Jew. Moreover, we can identify reflection of rooted perception of distinction of the Jews who are other, alien, who separate themselves from the society, not belonging to it, not only because they have their own state where they belong. At the end of this section, a question arises, who is the typical propagator and consumer of cyber antisemitic hate speech? We chose 87 respondents (8%) who could be described as anti-Semites with a great deal of caution, claiming that Jews are guilty of themselves that there is hate speech towards them.

Table 7. Respondents' views on predetermined claims about the issues related to the Jews

STATEMENT	agree	disagree
Hate speech towards Jews is a common phenomenon	14	44
For Jewish people, Israel is more important than Czech Republic	53	8
Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy	30	19
The Jews do not accept people with other religions	10	43
To name somebody as a "Jew" to show his miserliness shouldn't be seen as offensive towards real Jewish people	54	18

The Holocaust still gets too much attention in public debate	16	46
Jews are guilty of themselves, that there is hate speech towards them	8	60
Anti-Semitic stereotypes how, what Jews are really like	8	38
Israel in a non-democratic state that systematically oppressed and displaced Palestinians	16	28

Notes: The percentages given for 'disagree' are for the sum of responses 'strongly disagree' and 'rather disagree', and the for 'disagree' it is the sum of responses 'strongly agree' and 'rather agree'. The responses 'neither disagree, not agree' and 'I don't know' make up the difference to 100%. Values are rounded. N=1065.

This group consists of three-quarters of men. They are evenly distributed as far as age groups are concerned. They are knowledgeable users of the Internet, they are self-confident as they know what to do if someone treats them inappropriately on the Internet. Rather, they prefer the anonymity of the Internet (an absolute majority claims this and only a fifth rejects it). However, they are not particularly aggressive, only a quarter agree that it is acceptable to repay someone on the Internet with hateful or degrading comments. They are rather aware that hate speech is not just words (52%). And they are not particularly active in commenting or discussing on Facebook etc. They are opposed to the funding of churches, non-profits, minorities, including LGBT. For them, diversity is clearly a negative phenomenon. Surprisingly, only a quarter perceive Jews as unsympathetic. On the contrary, they are very much against Muslims. They do not differ from the average when it comes to encounter hate speech on the Internet. They believe in conspiracy theories about the influence of Jews in the world. 15% report having contacts with Jews as a source of information, but 68% do not search for information about Jews at all. Secondary education prevails, but there are 24% of people with higher education. Only 11% are frustrated, dissatisfied with their own lives, 48% of them are dissatisfied with the political situation in the country. So even this does not appear to be a solid guide for understanding the phenomenon of antisemitic cyber hate speech.

THEMES WITH POTENTIAL TO AWAKE NEGATIVE EMOTIONS TOWARDS JEWS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

There are a number of topics, phenomena, or events that can awake negative emotions towards Jews in a part of Czech society. We therefore addressed respondents with a request to estimate such potential of seven listed media topics or events. According to our respondents, two topics have similar high potential to cause negative emotions towards the Jews – migration crisis in Europe and information on Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It is thus likely that in discussions under online news articles or within commentaries under press release or article on Facebook concerning these topics, antisemitic hate speech appear and spread. Topics possibly related to activities of the well-known philanthropist George Soros such as political campaigns or demonstrations supposedly financed by him, do not evoke as negative emotions (according to our respondents), as one might assume from a few isolated but loud statements or texts on the web and public space.

Table 8. Themes with potential to awake negative emotions towards Jews - means

topics, phenomena or event	Whole sample, (mean)	Jews are likeable (Ø)	Jews are dislikeable (Ø)
Information about Israeli-Palestinian conflict	4,28	4,30	4,38
Migration crisis in Europe	4,12	3,9	4,42
Activities of NGOs that are supposedly or actually sponsored by George Soros (People in Need, Amnesty International, Open Society Fund)	3,9	3,8	4,14
Demonstrations against prime minister Andrej Babiš or president Miloš Zeman	3,47	3,27	3,79
Electoral campaign of candidates alike Jiří Drahoš in presidential election 2017	3,38	3,22	3,58
A reminder of the alleged ritual murder of Anežka Hřůzová (the Hilsner Affair of 1899)	3,59	3,55	3,47
Reminder on discrimination against Jews in the period of the so-called Second Republic (1938-1939)	3,55	3,47	3,24

Notes: Respondents chose answers on a scale from 1 to 7, where 7 is the topic that can cause the most negative emotions towards the Jews, 1 the topic that can cause least negative emotions. Figures are means for whole sample (first column), those respondents who stated Jews are likeable (second), and Jews are dislikeable (third). N=1065, 401 and 66 respectively.

However, it is worth to mention, that those topics are much more often emphasized by older participants in our research. In case of activities of NGOs that are supposedly or actually sponsored by George Soros (People in Need, Amnesty International, Open Society Fund) for people over 65 the option 7 (the topic can cause the most negative emotions towards the Jews) was most often chosen (by 26% of respondents). For comparison, in the age groups 15-24 and 25-34 only 4% chose that option.

The topics that can cause least negative emotions are those related to historical events, that are used from time to time to evoke anti-Jewish sentiments. In table below, mean values for listed themes are given. We present these values both for the sample as a whole and separately for those respondents who perceive Jews as unsympathetic and sympathetic. The higher the value is (maximum is seven), the greater is the potential of the topic to evoke negative emotions towards the Jews. Additionally, the respondents were able to add any topic they find relevant in this matter. Although there were only few answers, and no conclusions can be drawn from them, it has been shown that topics with potential to cause tension or negative emotions towards Jews include traditional conspiracy theories that that Jews rule the world and hold its wealth. These traditional stereotypes are still the basis of antisemitic cyber hate speech in the Czech Republic.

Anti-Semitism 2.0 in Hungary

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

The following report presents the result of a survey about how people use social media platforms and how do they act on these platforms. We also focused on the respondents' attitudes towards Jews, stereotypes and hate-speech. The results show that Hungarian people are quite confident about their social media presence. They state that they understand how contents are created on these sites. Even though they say, that they are familiar with social media, they also think that it is not a safe space. As regards to their attitudes towards Jews, the main results are that 16 percent of the respondents said Jews are not likeable, and 62 percent answered "neutral". The most common stereotype about Jewish people that they influence world management processes and economy.

Table 1. The research sample according the predetermined control characters

SEX	Men	48.9
	Women	51.1
AGE	15-24 years	18.6
	25-34	20.4
	35-44	21.1
	45-54	16.3
	55-64	16.6
	65 and more	7.1
EDUCATION	Primary	5.6
	Secondary without <i>Maturita</i> exam	12.6
	Secondary with <i>Maturita</i> exam	53.0
	Tertiary	28.8
STATUS	Employed	56.3
	Self-employed	6.8
	Unemployed	4.5
	Retired	12.9
	Unable to work due to long standing health problems / disability pensioner	2.6
	Student	9.7
	Fulfilling domestic tasks	5.5
	Other	1.7

Note: N=1001. Figures in percentages.

Timothy D.
Snyder
(1969)

I worry about global anti-Semitism - not just as a bad idea that originates from bad people, but also as something that arises as a challenge to global order.

The results contain answers from 1001 respondents, the survey is representative by sex, age and region. Most of the people, 56 percent are employed, 13 percent of respondents are retired and 10 percent are students. By level of education, the majority have secondary level with matura/maturita (53 percent). The selection of respondents also reflected the administrative division of the state, so respondents from all main regions Közép-Magyarország (Budapest- Pest, so called Central Hungary), Közép-Dunántúl, Dél-Dunántú, Nyugat-Dunántú, Észak-Magyarország, Észak-Alföld, Dél-Alföld.

ACTIVITY OF THE RESPONDENTS ON THE INTERNET AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

In the first general part of the questionnaire, Facebook-users were asked whether they perceive violent, hateful content or not. Almost half of the answerers, 47 percent perceives violence on a regular basis. Almost 1/3 of people, exactly 30 percent of those asked did not confirm that they do not see this kind of content on the internet, so we can assume that some of them have come across it. In their case it is possible that they could not define the term 'violence symptom' surely, so they could not clearly tell if they had encountered it. It can be surprising, that 22 percent of those asked stated they do not come across violent content. Although violent content is not useful by any means to any age-group or class, it is of great importance that young people do not see them. But sadly, reality tells us otherwise. Data shows that young people are most likely to see hateful or violent content. From age 15-24, 53% of people perceives violent content, when people aged 65 and older 32 percent of them.

Table 2. Perceived online violence by age groups

Age group	disagree	Nor disagree, nor agree	agree
15-24	53.2	30.1	14.5
25-34	51	27.9	20.5
35-44	45.5	26.1	27
45-54	46.1	36.2	17.2
55-64	45.3	30.7	24.1
65 and more	32.4	35.2	31
Total	47.2	30.3	21.6

Notes: The percentages given for 'disagree' are for the sum of responses 'strongly disagree' and 'rather disagree', and the for 'disagree' it is the sum of responses 'strongly agree' and 'rather agree'. The response 'don't know' makes up the difference to 100%. Values are rounded. N=1001.

One of the most exciting questions from the general parts was about whether the internet-user finds online communication easier than in person. To that, 24 percent of Hungarian Facebook-users answered that online communication is easier for them. This group more than likely formed in the last few decades, due to modern technology. However, this does not mean that this is only due to technology, because it might as well be that these people are having troubles at communicating in person, just this time, they could get an alternative. 30 percent of those asked could not exactly tell whether it is easier for them to communicate in the online sphere or not. However, 45 percent of people rejected the statement that they express themselves easier online.

Here it is also interesting to look at the age groups. Stereotypically, we would say that younger people find it easier to communicate online, as they were raised in the online world too. But looking at the specific age groups, this is not so clear. Understandably, people over 55 said in a greater amount than other age groups that they disagree with the statement that it is easier to communicate online than in person. However, preferring online communication is not the highest in the youngest group, but those from age 25-34. This can be said to 32 percent of them. The youngest group is almost at this number with 28 percent preferring online communication. After them, the older the age group, the more they reject this idea, which from we can assume, that they prefer in person communication more.

The second statement was about if people talk about different things when they communicate online, than they do in person. From answers we can conclude, that Hungarian people talk about the same things in these two cases. 44 percent gave a clear answer to this, while 34 percent did not say they agree, but neither that they disagree. There were 21 percent who stated they talk about different things online than they talk about in person. This raises very interesting questions, regarding why they communicate differently in these two platforms. The most interesting is if we look at the answers by gender: 39 percent of men do not agree with the statement that they communicate differently online than in person, this number among women is 48 percent. In conclusion, a bigger proportion of men communicate different things in the two platforms.

The statement, 'I think that anonymity catalyzes strong opinions and emotions' got less divisive answers. Most of the people, 58 percent thinks that anonymity definitely generates serious emotions in the online sphere. These people probably do not like when some users comment and share information with fake names and fake accounts. The 26 percent in the middle do not say that it does not catalyzes strong emotions and opinions, but neither that it has a strong effect. Only a 15 percent minority believes that being able to express our opinions without a name does not generate stronger opinions. It is important to state here, that they do not say that anonymity is a good thing either, they just think that this is do not make people more likely to express their strong opinions. In this group there could be people who themselves communicate without a name, or simply the ones who are not bothered by that.

Regarding anonymity, there is one more important thing: it is obvious, that it is not accidental that this form of communication generates negative emotions in the majority of the people. Very often the loudest and most provocative commenters use an anonymous profile, so it is not possible to identify where that hurtful message is coming from. Besides that, it is not rare that these posts link with the hate speeches we are to describe in the next chapter. It seems that behind a mask people feel braver to share negative/harmful contents.

Regarding this question there is no big difference between groups of different status. It is interesting however, that unemployed people feel this effect of anonymity the less, 22 percent of them in total.

The second bloc was about hate speeches. The most exciting question here was that the statement 'Hate speech online is just words'. 40 percent of Hungarian Facebook-users do not agree with the statement, they believe there is an aftermath of what has been said online. In the opposite, 25 percent says that these are really just words, so they do not believe they have a significance. A remarkable group of 33 percent actually cannot form an opinion: they do not feel concerned about the isolation of the online space nor the heaviness of the words spoken. It is interesting to add, that among the older groups (age 55-64 and age 65 or older) the number of people who think that online hate speech is not just words is way over the average, to be exact 54 and 56 percent. The most unanimous answers – besides the topic of hate speech - were to the question 'hate speech online reflects the tensions within a society'. 2/3 of them agrees with the statement above. 36 percent cannot decide for sure, so they don't oppose, nor support it. What is outstanding, is that only 9 percent of people thought that this statement is false, so that hate speech does not reflect the tensions in society. In this group the age group 15-24 are over-represented: 12 percent of them thinks this way.

The third bloc's questions were about the usage of social media. One of the questions were about if people understand how they can make and spread messages and content on social media. Here we see that most of the people, 56 percent, thinks they know and understand how they can make and spread content on social media. Only 8 percent states/recognizes that they do not understand at all. What is important to note here, is that 5 percent of people cannot decide whether they understand how social media works.

'I understand the role social media websites play in shaping the information and content I see'. Although there was not a wide consensus regarding this question, we can see that 2/3 of Hungarian people, 66 percent thinks they exactly know how important role some social media sites play in shaping information and contents. On the opposite, there is only a small number of individuals, 6 percent, who said they do not understand these platforms' role in getting information. Here, we can see the most interesting data by status: unemployed people have a higher rate among others – 16 percent - of those who do not understand how big role social media plays in shaping contents.

The next statement was: 'I'm confident creating and sharing my own social media messages'. Looking at the answers we see, that majority of people, 60% thinks that they can communicate and share information with full confidence on social media. However, on the opposite, not negligible 14 percent thinks that they do not have enough knowledge in this field, and they do not see through, how exactly content-sharing works on social media. Lastly, 24 percent do not support nor oppose the statement, so we can assume that majority of them cannot decide how much knowledge they have on the topic. The unemployed and students however show that they have far less power over their personal social media site: only 47 percent of unemployed and 45 percent of students thinks that they can create and share messages in these platforms with confidence.

For the question 'How often do you comment on Facebook posts regarding news?' we may have gotten surprising answers. From the answers we see, that almost all people, 90 percent of those asked, usually, or at least sometimes comment on news on their Facebook feeds. On the opposite

only 10 percent of people fall under the never comment category. 43 percent of people comments on a regular basis, at least once a week, but those who comment 2-3 times per month fall under the usually comments category, their proportion is 10 percent. About 1/3 of the people do not qualify as usual commenters, however sometimes, once a month they also state their opinions in commentary form. Looking at the different results in different statuses, we see that from the people who comment on a regular basis, around 4-5 times a week, the number of students is low, 8 percent of them can be listed as a regular commenter. This has an accordance with that if we look at age groups, only 15 percent of the youngest (aged 15-24) comment at least 4 times a week.

The ratio of getting into arguments with other users in the comment section is greatly different, the number of those who never argue counts at 31 percent. In connection, 41 percent stated that getting into a fight in the comments happens in their lives less than once a month. Overall, we can say that from those asked, about 3/4 does not, or very rarely gets in this situation. This means that those comment-wars under some Facebook news comes from a small group. 18 percent of people asked said that they encounter arguments at least once a week. Looking at age groups here, those aged 25-34 have the highest number of people arguing at least 4 times a week (13 percent). Over age 65 the number of people being in this situation is the lowest, overall, just 3 percent get into arguments in the comment section this frequently.

RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS MINORITIES

In this section we will try to inquire into general attitudes of the participants of our research towards the "Other", especially various minorities. We can assume that negative attitudes towards Jews will correlate to some extent with general attitudes towards other minority groups, as it is very common to exclude others from mainstream society to the social margins. We are also interested in possible relations between attitudes towards minorities and consumption of online content regarding Jewish people. In the next part of the survey, we asked respondents about different groups. They could express their opinion on how sufficient is the state support of the following groups:

Level of support - Churches and Religious organization; 49 percent of the respondents consider these organizations well-supported by the state. The reason could be that in the governmental communication Christianity is presented as an intense identity-maker element, furthermore besides the communication, financial support is also ensured to the religious groups. In this question ratios of men and women are almost equal. In the distribution by age groups is shown that over the age of 35, more than the half of the respondents consider well the extent of the support, but between the age of 15 and 34 this is only 38-39 percent.

Mostly the retired consider well the extent of the support, 63 percent of this group think this, its reason could be that in general the religion is more important to seniors than to younger generations. The regional distribution does not show significant difference among the regions of the country, the Southern Transdanubia region exceeds in a sense which shows that only 38 percent of the respondents consider well-supported the religious organizations. Mostly the university graduates share this opinion, more than the half of this group (56 percent) consider well the extent of the support. This opinion is presented the least among respondents with primary education, only 38%.

Level of support - Civic Organizations/NGOs, 15 percent of the respondents think that civic organizations get good enough support, 11 percent of the respondents from the Central Transdanubia region thinks this, which is the lowest ratio. In the distribution of sex, men's ratio is bigger than the women's, 18 percent of men, 12 percent of women think this about the support of civic groups. 20 percent of the unemployed respondents and 21 percent of the self-employed respondents agree with this standpoint – this is above the average in total population. Furthermore, 23 percent of the respondents with primary education think the same, which compared to the other qualification status is higher 7 percentage points at least. The connection between the results could be the fact that the unemployed people have lower level qualification.

But at the same time, more than the half of the respondents (54 percent) find civic organizations get a lower level of support. The reason could be that the Hungarian society does not find the civic organizations strong enough. The governmental communication offence could contribute to this, in which the government would have liked to reach the legal and financial sabotage of the civic organizations.

Level of support - Sport Clubs, 67 percent of the respondents think that the extent of state support for the sport clubs is high, the distributions of men and women correspond in this opinion. 82 percent of over the age of 65 think that these clubs are supported well, but only 60 percent of the age 15-34 do, which shows a significant difference between the senior and younger generations in connection with this issue. 78 percent of the retired respondents share the same opinion, this is also an outlier. In the regard of the level of the education, respondents with higher level education share this opinion (70 percent). The reason could be that the government ensure a lot of sources for different institutions of sport clubs and also support them in the media constantly.

Level of support - National and ethnic minorities, 36 percent of those asked feels satisfied with the amount of governmental support. The dispersion of demographic traits of the answerers shows a proportionate pattern in this subject. At the same time an interesting figure is that in this topic the answerers spread between the attitudes (low, decent, good) very evenly, there is only a few percent difference between the answers. This expresses that the amount of governmental support of ethnic minorities is a very divisive topic in the Hungarian society.

Level of support – Media, 48 percent of the respondents consider the media well-supported by the state, in this opinion significant difference between the sexes cannot be found. Respondents from Central Transdanubia share this opinion the least, their ratio is under the average (37 percent). Only 41 percent of age of 15-24 think this way, this is also under the average ratio. Examining the qualification, between respondents with primary education and respondents with higher level education a major difference can be found. On the whole, the reason of judgment of the state support for the media can originated from the government's actions around the media, which effect people in everyday life, furthermore, this topic can be found in the government's daily communication also.

Level of support –LGBT, 18 percent of respondents find the state support of LGBT organizations well. This is the smallest group of data, since more than three-quarter of the society consider the state support for this issue just right or low-level. The data which shows 27 percent of the respondents between the age of 35-44 consider the ratio of the support is good/high, is outlier, this is higher with 9 percentage points to the ratio of the whole population. Also an outlier that 7 percent of the students consider the support as good. This is under the average with 11 percentage

points. On the whole, Hungarian society does not share a common viewpoint in connection with state supports for different groups. They consider that sport clubs get the highest support, and – despite of the governmental communication strategy – civic organizations get the lowest. Among these issues, sport and religion is the two most communicated topic by the government, data show that support for these groups is considered good by the major part of the society.

After that, respondents answered the following question: ‘When you think of a minority group that is exposed on hate speech in Hungary, which group comes to mind first?’

50 percent of the respondents consider that Roma people suffer the most from hate speech in Hungary, 62 percent of respondents from Southern Great Plain share this opinion, but only 35 percent of respondents above the age of 65 think the same. In connection with the oldest age group, 39 percent of the retired consider the Roma as the most affected group, which is the smallest ratio compared to other statuses.

The second most affected group is Jews, but only 10 percent of the respondents think this way. Considering the age, the oldest age group think in the largest ratio, that Jews suffer from the hate speech the most (23 percent). The reason could be that the older generation still remember well World War II, which they could have gone through or their ancestors have shared their experiences. In this case the ration among the retired is observable also. Student respondents have the lowest ratio, only 2 percent think that Jews suffer the most from hate speech. Considering the qualification, the lowest ratio belongs to respondents with primary education, only 4 percent of them think this way.

They are followed by Muslims with 9 percent. Respondents over the age of 65 think above the average that Muslims suffer the most from hate speech (17 percent). The retired share this opinion, above the average ratio. Considering the qualification, respondents with secondary level education without matura/maturita think Muslims are the least affected group in this topic (3 percent). 7 percent of the respondents consider the LGBT people as the most exposed. In Central Hungary respondents who think LGBT people at first in this question have the largest ratio (10 percent), considering the status, 11 percent of the students think this way. 12 percent of respondents with higher level education share the same opinion.

Finally, also 7 percent of the respondents think that the most affected group is people living with disability. In this case 15 percent of respondents who are unable to work due to long standing health problems think that disabled people suffer the most from hate speech. The reason could be that the two group have many similarities. According to the Hungarian respondents’ answers the non-Roma minorities give only 33 percent to the answers, which shows well, that the majority of the society associate to Roma people in connection with hate speech. Interesting data that 14 percent of respondents could not give an answer to this question, which is the second largest data set in connection with this topic.

Data which shows how the respondents approach different minorities are related to this topic. In connection with hate speech, half of the respondents answered that first of all Roma people are affected by this, noticeable that 48 percent of the respondents find Roma people not likeable, thus we can conclude that major part of the Hungarian hate speech is against Roma people, because almost the half of the society do not consider this minority likeable. This could be because of several cultural, economic and historical reasons, and many library information can be found

about it. What we can claim surely is that in the Hungarian society there is a significant fraction in the relation to Roma people.

In the case of several minority groups significant differences are noticeable between the ratio of objects of supposed hate speech and the ratio of society's approach towards the minorities. A tenth of the respondents think that Jews are the most affected group by the hate speech. This is only over with 6 percentage points to the expressly negative attitude toward Jews (16 percent). From this data we can see that the ratio of respondents who find Jews not likeable is bigger than the ratio of respondents who think hate speech is against the Jews the most.

This tendency could have historical reasons, antisemitism is a strong taboo, which usually appears in an indirect form in society and in political communication. People ignore this topic, which can cause this discrepancy.

Data connected to Muslims show the most interesting and biggest discrepancy. Only 9 percent of the respondents think that hate speech affects this group the most. But at the same time 41 percent of respondents consider Muslims not likeable in the question of attitudes toward minority groups. This data is lower only with 7 percentage points to the judgement towards Roma people, which can be strange because polemics around Roma people are multiple and historically long existent, and have been determining the Hungarian political discussion for a long while. Antipathetic feelings toward Muslims could be recent, since Hungarians last experience with Muslims have happened in the 16-17th century at the time of the Turkish wars. We can conclude that governmental communication and media coverage in connection with the refugee crisis could contributed strongly to these feelings evolve and become existent endemic. This part of the survey also contained a question about different kind of diversities and respondents could express their opinion on if these are positive or negative for the country.

Ethnic diversity, 24 percent of those asked sees ethnic diversity as a positive thing. 38 percent of the self-employed thinks this way, also in great numbers we see retired people with 34 percent. Linked to them in the means of age, 41 percent of those aged 65 or older.

Religious diversity, 29 percent believes religious diversity is positive. Men (33 percent) think this is an important topic in greater numbers than women (26 percent). 41 percent of the self-employed see this as important, which is a high number compared to the average answer (29 percent). On the other hand, the lowest numbers are from the unemployed, 16 percent of them thinks of this as important.

Language diversity, 45 percent of those asked thinks that this is a positive thing from the country. From those who are aged 65 or above there are 55 percent who believes this. From those fulfilling domestic tasks this number is only 27 percent, but from the self-employed it is 51 percent. From looking at the level of education we can see remarkable differences between different groups: while ones possessing primary level of education 36 percent, those with tertiary education have a number of 50 percent from them thinking positively about linguistic diversity. This can be due to the fact that those with a higher level of education get more access to language learning, on one hand they spend more years in public education, on the other hand, the opportunities given by the more prominent social status.

Cultural diversity, 49 percent thinks that cultural diversity is a positive thing for the country. Those living in Central Transdanubia have a lower number of thinking this is a good thing, only 38

percent. Looking at age groups, we see that 66 percent of those aged 65 or older thinks this is positive, on the other hand from the age group 25-34 this number is only 36 percent. 58 percent of those having a tertiary level of education thinks this is positive, them being the group with the highest number among other educational levels. From the self-employed 69% thinks this way. With that, they are the group with the highest number from the whole population.

From these four categories of diversities, we can see that the ratio of 'positive-negative', is very contrasting. In ethnic (negative 30 percent - positive 24 percent) and religious (negative 23 percent - positive 30 percent) diversity they are more or less proportionate, the only difference is in case of ethnic it is more on the negative, and in case of religious it is more on the positive side. Contrary to that, language (negative 16 percent-positive 45 percent) and cultural (negative 14 percent-positive 49 percent) diversity are notably on the positive side. It is obvious, that the Hungarian answerers believe that from the country's standpoint, language and cultural diversity is much more positive than ethnic and religious. One interpretation of this can be, that protecting religious and ethnic homogeneity is a strong topic in identity-based political communication. At the end of this part of the survey, respondents told their opinions about ethnicities.

48 percent of people asked feel negative emotions towards Roma people. Men (52 percent) are far more negative in this topic, than women (44 percent). Excluding the age group 65 and above, every other age group feels negatively about Roma people the similar amount. From the age group 65 or above, this number is only 27 percent, while other groups are around at 50 percent. Looking at education we see two distinct groups: 39-39 percent of those who have primary or secondary without matura/maturita educational level, and 49-49 percent of those who have secondary with matura/maturita or tertiary educational level feel negatively about Roma people.

41 percent of those asked feel negative emotions towards Muslims. 49 percent of those aged 25-34 feels negatively about Muslims, making this age group the most negative in this topic. Meanwhile those aged 65 or above has the lowest number of people feeling negative emotions, with just 23 percent. The same thing can be said to retired people, the number of people feeling negative emotions from this status is 26 percent. Regarding educational level, the tendency is that those with a higher level of education feel less negatively about Muslims. Half of those with a primary educational level, and 37 percent of those with tertiary educational level do not sympathize with Muslims.

As we said before, the two groups who are the most negatively judged in Hungary are the Roma people (48 percent) and Muslims (41 percent). This data is conspicuous because towards Roma people there is a traditional antipathy in society, while this can't be said about Muslims. From this we can conclude that in the recent past there has been a process which made people develop this antipathy. This could have been the migration-crisis and the political discussion around that.

16 percent of answerers have negative emotions towards Jews. Only 4 percent of those aged 65 or older feels negatively about Jews, by comparison the most negative towards Jews are those aged 25-34 or 35-44, from them 21-21 percent does not sympathizes with them. Looking at educational level, 13 and 14 percent of those with tertiary educational level, and those with secondary with matura/maturita educational level have some negative emotions towards Jews, 19 percent of those with secondary without matura/maturita, and 25 percent of those with only primary educational level feels that.

17 percent of those asked feel negatively about black people. 8 percent of those aged 15-24 feels negative emotions towards black people, this is the lowest ratio from all. From the next 4 age groups we can all see numbers around 20 percent, but those aged 65 or older this number is only 10 percent. Looking at the educational factor, we can say that regardless of educational level the amount of negative emotions is similar. Between groups with different levels of education there is only a minimal difference.

Compared to these two minorities listed above, Jews (16 percent) and black people (17 percent) have the same numbers in people feeling negatively about them, and in themselves these numbers don't make up for one quarter of the answers. This is interesting, because in Europe, having a negative preconception about Jewish people has a thousand-year tradition, while having negative emotions about black people in Hungary can only be linked to globalization. This is because Hungary did not have colonies, so it's population could not start integrating with other skin colored groups, not like e.g. in France.

In conclusion we can see that there is a significant difference between those minority groups who are discussed in the political sphere, and those that are not, or is just indirectly being put in front of the public eye. In the public discussion, the ratio of people who negatively perceive the Muslims and Roma people is the double of ratio of people perceiving black and Jewish people negatively.

THE JEWS, ANTISEMITISM AND HATE SPEECH - OPINIONS OF THE CZECH RESPONDENTS

The third topic of the survey was attitudes towards Jews. In the first questions we asked respondents: 'What kind of hate speech towards Jews have you ever met?'.

Insults; 41 percent of the respondents have already met insults towards Jewish people. According to the research more men (46 percent) met this kind of aggression than women (36 percent). 27 percent of the respondents from the region Southern Transdanubia have ever met with this phenomenon, which is lower than the same data in the other regions with at least 10 percentage points. Other demographic characteristics do not show any kind of extraordinary values.

Showing Jews in a grotesque context/caricature; 35 percent of the respondents have ever met any kind of grotesque caricatures about Jews. According to the respondents' status, the self-employed people said in the highest proportion (46 percent) that they met with this kind of hate speech. In contrast, only 13 percent of the people who fulfilling domestic tasks, said that they have ever seen this kind of aggression. According to the level of the education, we can see that people with tertiary educational level have met this kind of hate speech in a higher proportion (43 percent).

Repeating anti-Semitic stereotypes; 45 percent of the respondents have never met any kind of anti-Semitic stereotypes. 51 percent of men said that they met this kind of stereotypes, while this proportion is only 38 percent among women. 63 percent of people who are older than 65 years have ever met this kind of aggression, while only 40 percent of young people (between 15 and 24 years) have ever heard this kind of hate speech. According to the level of education, we can see that people with higher educational grade have met this phenomenon in greater proportion than those who have primary or secondary without matura/maturita grades: in these groups these

numbers are 29 and 26 percent, while those who have a secondary level with matura/maturia, or tertiary level have met this kind of aggression in a much greater proportion (43 and 58 percent).

Other

1 percent of the respondents have ever met other kinds of hate speech towards Jews in their lives.

I have never met any, 27 percent of the respondents have never met any kind of hate speech towards Jews. Women haven't met with this kind of aggression in a greater proportion (32 percent) than men (21 percent). 30 percent of 15-24-year-old have never met with this phenomenon while this number is lower among those who are older than 65 years (18 percent). This may be because of the experiences and knowledges what older people have gained in their lives. According to the status, 40 percent of unemployment people have never met with this kind of hate speech in their life, while this proportion is only 19 percent among the retired and the self-employed. In the case of the level of education, we can see, that people with higher educational degrees, have met this kind of aggression in a greater proportion. Among those who have primary level, 36 percent of the respondents have never met with this, while only 20 percent of those who have tertiary level have said that never met this kind of hate speech at all. This may be because of the fact that people with higher educational degree have special knowledge that helps them to recognize what could be in this category.

The next questions were in connection with the judgement on Judaism. The ones asked were able to give their opinions whether they agree or not about the classic stereotypes about Judaism. First, they could give their opinion regarding the statement: 'Hate speech towards Jews is a common phenomenon'. 31 percent of people agreed with this sentence. It is worth to look at the results between different educational levels. Those who possess primary education only, have an opinion that is vastly different from the majority. From them, only 16 percent believes, that this is a common phenomenon. Other educational levels do not show big differences, their opinions were close to the majority.

It can be said that 1/3 of Hungarian population believes, that hate speech targeting Jewish people is a continuously existing phenomenon in Hungary. 'For Jewish people living in Hungary, Israel is more important than Hungary' - 38 percent of people agreed with this statement. The opinions differ in the groups of social status. 42 percent of employed people agree with this statement, whilst only 30 and 31 percent of retired people and students. These groups can be partly be seen as age groups, therefore retired people and students are clearly part of an easily defined age group.

'Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy.' - almost half of the people asked, 49 percent agrees with this statement. On the other hand, there were only 11 percent who did not agree. Here too it is important to look at the status, as there are major differences between them. The unemployed and students agree on the statement on a lower level, from them 38 and 37 percent stated their agreement.

'To name somebody as a "Jew" to show his miserliness shouldn't be seen as offensive towards real Jewish people.' - 30 percent of answerers agreed with this statement. Looking at the educational levels, those with primary educational level feel the least acceptant about using „Jew” as a synonym for „miser”. From them only 21 percent agrees with the statement. 'The Holocaust still gets too much attention in public debate.' - 34 percent of people agreed. The most interesting

here, is the numbers between men and women. 40 percent of men thinks the statement is true, whilst only 29 percent of women.

'Israel is a non-democratic state that systematically oppressed and displaced Palestinians.' - 29 percent of those asked agreed with this. What is important to note here, is 23 percent could not answer this question, which is a high rate, and also there is only 14 percent who do not agree with the statement. Looking at age groups we can find rare curiosities. The youngest group (15-24) and the oldest (65+) agrees with this on the lowest level, both on 20 percent, which is less than the average answer. All in all, from the youngest, and the oldest, fewer people think about Israel as being antidemocratic, when compared to the age groups between them.

After showing their attitudes about common anti-Semitic stereotypes, respondents marked the sources where they get their information about Jews. They could circle more options. Only a few, 17 percent of the respondents have personal contact with Jews. In this minority the self-employed are over represented, 31 percent of them, which is above the average, have direct contact with Jews.

Knowledge about Jews is based on family and close friends' opinions and statements – this got only 21 percent of answer 'yes'. It means, 79% of the answerers do not get their knowledge from opinions of family and friends. In this topic the distribution by age shows well that the youngest age-group consider important to get information from their environment, since the ones between the age of 15-24 (30 percent) answered that statements of family and also friends are important to form their opinions.

Only 16 percent of the respondents take into consideration the celebrities' and other public authorities' opinions and statements. It is notable that among students the ratio is under the average, 9 percent of the answers is 'yes'. This research shows that students do not care much about the opinions of celebrities and public life persons. It is also possible that they do not meet with these kinds of statements, since celebrities whose are followed by them, „influencers” do not create similar topics like these. This data can be parallel with the distribution by age, where typically the student age-group (between the age of 15-24) is in which the least popular to get information about Jews from public life persons. Here the ratio is 11 percent in contrast to the average 16 percent.

From tv, radio and the news getting the information about Jews is more common, than in any other categories named earlier. 37 percent of the respondents get their information this way. Strangely, there is a noticeable difference between the sexes. 42 percent of men inform from the traditional media, but the same time only 32 percent of women do this.

Table 3. Respondents' views on predetermined claims about the issues related to the Jews

STATEMENT	agree	disagree
Hate speech towards Jews is a common phenomenon	30.8	23.9
For Jewish people, Israel is more important than Hungary	38.4	18.5
Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy	48.8	11.1

The Jews do not accept people with other religions	21.7	36.5
To name somebody as a “Jew” to show his miserliness shouldn’t be seen as offensive towards real Jewish people	30.0	30.5
The Holocaust still gets too much attention in public debate	34.3	38.5
Jews are guilty of themselves, that there is hate speech towards them	8	62.1
Anti-Semitic stereotypes how, what Jews are really like	11.1	41.2
Israel in a non-democratic state that systematically oppressed and displaced Palestinians	28.8	13.7

Notes: The percentages given for ‘disagree’ are for the sum of responses ‘strongly disagree’ and ‘rather disagree’, and the for ‘disagree’ it is the sum of responses ‘strongly agree’ and ‘rather agree’. The responses ‘neither disagree, not agree’ and ‘I don’t know’ make up the difference to 100%. Values are rounded. N=1001.

Surprisingly, getting information about Jews through social media platforms is least popular in the young generation. 29 percent of the age of 15-24 get their information this way, whereas this ratio at respondents age above 65 is 47 percent, so the big difference is notable. Examining the stereotypes of media consumption, a reversed result is rather expected. The whole average is 36 percent, this ratio shows people who inform themselves about Jews through social media platforms. Exactly the same amount of people gets their information about Jews from literature like who are getting information through social media platforms, which means 36 percent. By level of education, we can see the following differences: the ratio of respondents getting information from literature with primary educational level is 21 percent, with secondary level without matura/maturita is 18 percent, while this same indicator among people with secondary level with matura/maturita or higher level of education is 37 and 45 percent.

Ratio of people getting information from cinema is the same as with the two previous sources. 36 percent of people do get their information from cinema, and 64 percent don’t. Distribution by status shows differences as 44 percent of students, and 49 percent of the self-employed getting information from movies, but only 24 percent of the unemployed marked movies as source of knowledge. Only 27 percent of respondents get information about Jews by cultural institutions and events (e.g. museums, exhibitions). Level of education causes the biggest differences, 18 percent of respondents with primary educational level, and 33 percent with tertiary level get information from cultural institutions and events.

THEMES WITH POTENTIAL TO AWAKE NEGATIVE EMOTIONS TOWARDS JEWS IN THE HUNGARY

In the next bloc the respondents had to rate the events appearing in the media from 1 to 7, depending on what they think about the topic, what emotions they evoked in people towards Jews. 1 being the least negative, 7 being the most negative emotion.

Campaign against George Soros. 46 percent of people thinks that the government’s campaign against Soros evoked very negative emotions towards Jews. Looking at educational levels we can

see that the higher educational level someone has, the more they believe the campaign evoked negative emotions. 32 percent of those with a primary educational level, 44 percent of those with secondary education without matura/maturita, and 45 percent of those with secondary education with matura/maturita and 53 percent of those with a tertiary educational level rated this event with as significant.

Netanyahu visits Hungary. Fewer people think about this event as something that might have evoked negative emotions towards Jewish people, only 27 percent of them feels this way. From the answerers we can highlight the retired, from which 36 percent thinks about Netanyahu's visit this way. Among students, this number is only 21 percent, from those doing domestic work, it is 15 percent.

Holocaust commemorations. It is the retired who thinks about these events as evoking negative emotions towards Jews in the least amount. 24 percent of the whole population thinks these events has an obvious negative outcome; from them this number is only 16 percent. Here, the fact that some of the elderly still personally remembers the horrors of the Holocaust, or their ascendants told them stories about what has happened, can probably play a part in them being less likely to identify with the thought of these memorials could evoke negative emotions.

March of the Living. It is another event that elderly considers to be an event that can cause the least negative emotions: values from 1 to 3 were chosen by 51 percent of the 65 and older age group. 21 percent of the total population think about March of the Living as an event, that can cause strongly negative emotions towards Jews.

The large menorah at Nyugati Square during Chanukah. 20 percent of the respondents think that it causes strong negative emotions. It is worth to take a look at the distribution by regions and check Central Hungary since it is a specifically Budapest-based event. According to the data we see in total population, 20 percent of people from this region think that this event can cause very negative emotions.

Anti-Semitic attacks in Western countries. 39 percent of the answerers think that these attacks can awake negative emotions. By demographic characteristics, this media topic does not divide Hungarian society significantly about their opinion on if it can cause negative emotions towards Jews. In case of regional distribution, fewer respondents (31 percent) chose higher values from Central Transdanubia.

Premiere of a Holocaust-themed film. Lastly, respondents could express their opinion on how negative emotions can be awoken because of a new Holocaust-themed film. 26 percent of answerers think that this kind of event can cause strongly negative emotions. Compared to the results of total population, the eldest think very differently, as only 11 percent of this age group think about it the same way. In connection with that, distribution by status shows, that the retired has the lowest ratio (16 percent) of thinking about it similarly. By the level of education, we can say that the higher the level of qualification, the smaller the ratio of people who think that a premiere of a Holocaust-themed film causes strongly negative emotions.

After that, respondents had the chance to freely add anything else to this list, if they think there is any other event in the media which causes negative emotions towards Jews. Even though, there were not any topic or event which had a great amount of answers, we can conclude from these

answers too, that the most “popular” stereotype about Jews is that they have power/control in economy and politics.

GENERAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS POLITICAL SITUATION AND SATISFACTION WITH LIFE IN GENERAL

At the end of the questionnaire we asked two questions in connection with satisfaction with life: first question was about general satisfaction and then respondents could express, how satisfied are they with the political situation in the country. First, we asked: ‘All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?’. Hungarians are quite divided about general satisfaction, 34 percent of respondents are satisfied, 37 percent said they are not satisfied, neither dissatisfied, and 28 percent is dissatisfied with their life. Generally, men are more satisfied with their life (38 percent) than women (31 percent), but we can see smaller difference by sex in the category “not satisfied, neither dissatisfied” (36 and 39 percent). Respondents living in Western Transdanubia and Central Hungary regions are the most satisfied in the country as 42 and 40 percent said in these regions they are satisfied with their life. The reason is probably that these are one of the most developed regions. The most dissatisfied are the respondents from Southern Transdanubia, there we can find the biggest ratio of dissatisfied people with 34 percent (dissatisfaction in total population: 28 percent). 41 percent of age of 15-24 are satisfied with their life, they are the most satisfied age group. Age of 55-64 are the most dissatisfied (44 percent). The ratio of satisfied students (45 percent) and the self-employed (41 percent) are above the average, the most dissatisfied groups are the unemployed (58 percent) and people who are unable to work due to long standing health problems (65 percent). By the level of education, it can be concluded that respondents with tertiary level are the most satisfied with their life (45 percent), and 30-30 percent of respondents with secondary level with a matura/maturita and without a matura/maturita are dissatisfied with their life recently.

In the last question we asked the respondents opinion about the political situation in the country (‘If you think about the overall current political situation in your country, you would say that you are with it: ‘). 60 percent of the respondents are dissatisfied with the country’s political situation. This is much higher than the ratio of group of people who are satisfied (15 percent) and who are not satisfied, neither dissatisfied (22 percent). Men (19 percent) are more satisfied about this topic than women (12 percent), but degree of satisfaction is under 20 percent in both groups. Dissatisfaction is higher among women (women: 62 percent, men: 57 percent). By region, data distributes evenly. Most satisfied are the respondents from Central Transdanubia, but the ratio is only 21 percent. The most dissatisfied age group is 65 and older as 78 percent of them are not satisfied with the country’s political situation. This value is almost reproduced by the retired respondents (74 percent), probably because of the overlap of the two groups, and being exposed to the political promises and policy changes as they are dependent on the state. The ratio of dissatisfied people among the unemployed is very similar to that, 73 percent. By level of education, we can see that there are quite big differences among the groups: ratio of dissatisfaction in group of respondents with primary level education is 45 percent, while this ratio is 63 percent among answerers with tertiary level.

Aleksander Kwasniewski (1954)

There is simply no room for anti-Semitism in a democratic and law-abiding state.

Anti-Semitism 2.0 in Poland

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

In the following section results of a survey carried out on Czech sample of the active users of Facebook are presented. As far as the methodology of the research is concerned, the sample of respondents from the Poland was selected by the private research company in the same way as in the other three cases (for the methodology, see the previous sections of the general report). Data from all four parts of the research are complete and thus comparable, nevertheless in this part, we will focus only on the description of the Poland. In the first part we will focus on activity of the respondents on the Internet and social networks. Then we will deal with general attitudes towards minorities. In third part, respondents' attitudes towards Jews will be presented.

Table 1. The research sample according the predetermined control characters

SEX	Men	51.4
	Women	48.6
AGE	15-24 years	19.2
	25-34	24.6
	35-44	22.7
	45-54	15.0
	55-64	14.3
	65 and more	4.1
EDUCATION	Primary	3.9
	Secondary without <i>Maturita</i> exam	16.4
	Secondary with <i>Maturita</i> exam	38.9
	Tertiary	40.7
STATUS	Employed	64.3
	Self-employed	6.1
	Unemployed	3.4
	Retired	8.9
	Unable to work due to long standing health problems	3.4
	Student	7.1
	Fulfilling domestic tasks	5.2
	Other	1.7

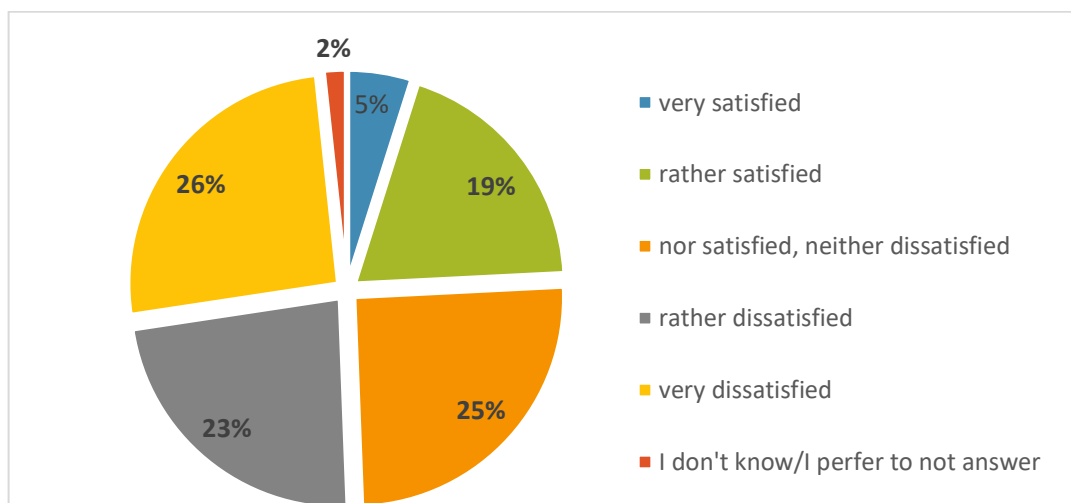
Note: N=1004. Figures in percentages.

The survey, which was the first part of the research stage of the Comance project, was undertaken by 1004 people. Poles who remain

active in virtual space, in particular on the Facebook social networking platform, were invited to complete the questionnaire. This selection factor remains crucial, as we assume that social media is the main place to spread hate speech to different people and groups, and provide easy-to-use tools for spreading and quickly reproducing offensive or harmful opinions.

The majority of the respondents were people in the 25-34 age group, while the least number were seniors over 65. This result reflects the community that creates Facebook users. In terms of gender, men slightly outnumbered – 51.4%. The place of residence of Polish Facebook users, determined by the voivodeship, was also reflected in the results of the questionnaire, as the largest number of people represent the Mazowieckie (15.5%), Śląskie (12.6%) and Małopolskie (8.2%) voivodeships. The smallest representation comes from the Opolskie (2.5%). The largest number of respondents have higher education (40.7%), the least basic (3.9%).

Graphs 1. Level of satisfaction with the current political situation in Poland (%).



Note: N=1004. Figures in percentages.

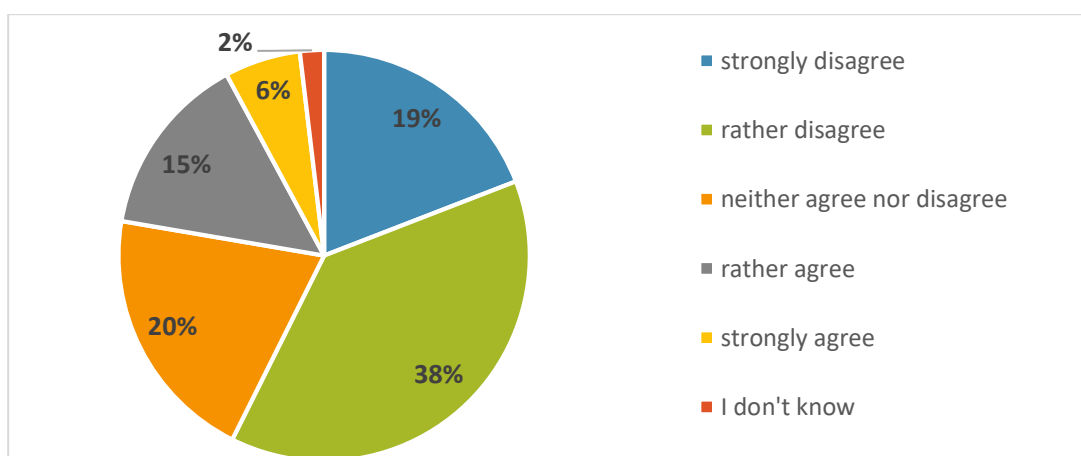
The vast majority of the respondents declared that they are employed (over 60%), some of them are self-employed. The lowest percentage among the indicated possibilities belongs to people who are not able to work due to health problems and the unemployed (3.4% each). From the general questions we also obtained answers to the general satisfaction with the standard of living and the political situation in the country. Half of the respondents indicated "rather satisfied" in the question on living standards, the lowest percentage being "totally dissatisfied". (2.7%). As regards the assessment of the political situation in Poland, the responses were more balanced - options: "rather dissatisfied", "very dissatisfied" and "neither satisfied nor dissatisfied" were indicated by ¼ of respondents. The least number is of those "very satisfied" (4.9%).

ACTIVITY OF THE RESPONDENTS ON THE INTERNET AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

Questions 1 to 5 were to obtain information on how Poles perceive their own functioning in virtual space, as well as their habits in using the range of social media possibilities. The most important

conclusion from the questions asking to respond to the statements given is that Poles feel more comfortable and confident in conducting a conversation or discussion online than face to face - the answer "I rather agree" was indicated by 44% of respondents. However, Polish users seem to be aware that hate speech on the internet is not just words - with this statement "strongly agrees" with almost 1/5 of respondents, 38% of them "rather agree". Responses are similarly distributed in relation to the statement that hate speech reflects real tensions in society, and their release is facilitated by internet anonymity (60% of the indications of "rather agree").

Graphs 2.. Level of awareness of the harmfulness of hate speech (%).



Note: N=1004. Figures in percentages.

Respondents are largely certain of their knowledge of the way social media works and the mechanisms governing it (55% "tend to agree", 18% "strongly agree"). This certainty also applies to the role of social media in creating information about reality. Poles declare that they share posts appearing on Facebook or create their own - over 20% do it every day or almost every day, and almost one fifth two to three times a week. 3.5% admit to not practicing this type of activity. On the other hand, involvement in Facebook discussions under the posts is evenly distributed – 12.5% are active in this area every day, the majority of responses (19.8%) are two to three times a week. The lowest number of responses (6.8%) recorded the "once a month" option.

It is worth mentioning, in the context of the quoted fragment of the questionnaire, that the answers from Polish respondents adopt the trend of the measure. The most frequently indicated option was the one that does not give a clear identification with the proposed statement: "I neither agree nor disagree". It can therefore be concluded that the respondents preferred to remain more balanced in their opinions, avoiding the extreme ones.

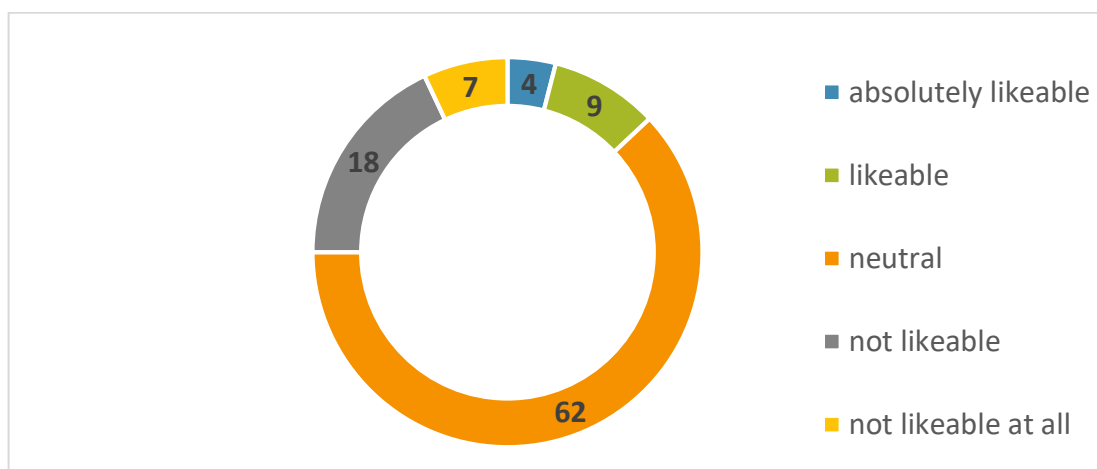
RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS MINORITIES

Questions 6 to 9 provided us with information on how respondents perceive national and ethnic minorities in their country. These were also opinions about attitudes towards diversity and the perception of relations of specific groups with state authorities. Respondents indicated their own

feelings and observations of the environment in this regard. In the perspective of Polish Facebook users, the LGBT community is the minority most vulnerable to hate speech (52.9% of indications). Muslims came second (19.4%) and Jews third (10.7%).

The group least exposed to such activities remains the disabled. Jews are, just following Black people, the group indicated by the respondents as the least popular among those mentioned (6,7% of indications for the "definitely not like" option). Although it is worth noting that they who are the most answers indicating a neutral attitude (61,9% - "they are indifferent to me"). In the free answers, however, Christians and/or Catholics turned out to be the most frequently mentioned group exposed to hate speech in Poland (10 indications).

Graphs 3. Attitudes towards Jews (%).



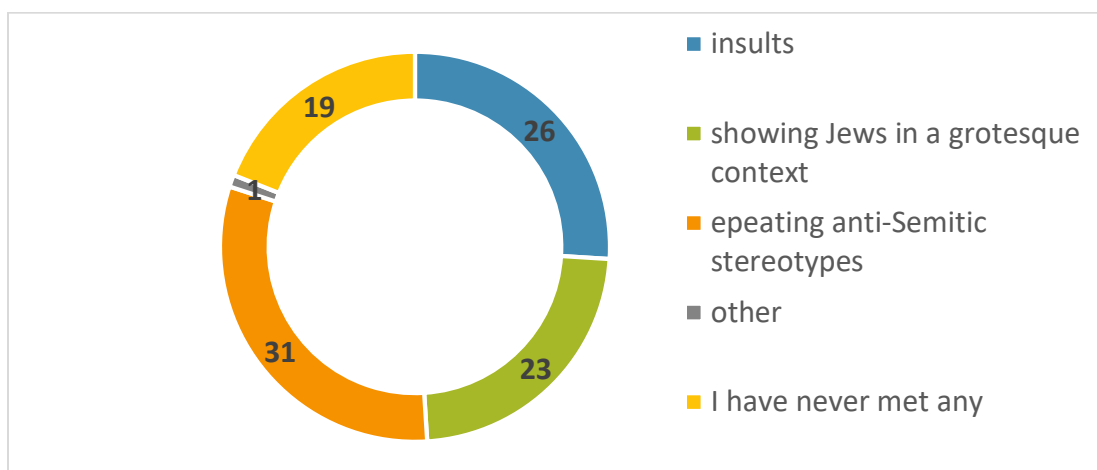
Note: N=1004. Figures in percentages.

According to the respondents in our survey, the least government supported group is the LGBT community. Churches and other religious organizations are seen as the most (or too much) supported. In the case of Jewish organizations, most responses were "neither supported nor unsupported". (32.3%), while the "most supported" option was the least (6.5%).

The attitude of Poles to diversity generally takes on a rather neutral tone. Language diversity is most positively received (24.6%), while religious diversity is the most negative (2.9%). However, most of the respondents do not show extreme emotions on this subject.

THE JEWS, ANTISEMITISM AND HATE SPEECH IN POLAND

The opinion about Jews comes mainly from traditional media: press, radio and television (42.4%). In second place, the respondents indicated literature (40.7%). The least popular source of knowledge about Jews is personal contact with such people (21.1%). Among the free answers there were own observations, origin, a visit to Israel or a school.

Graphs 4.. Types of hate speech towards Jews (%).

Note: N=1004. Figures in percentages.

Almost 40% of the respondents admit that hate speech is a rather common phenomenon in the modern world. Respondents largely agree with the statement that Israel is more important to Jews than the state they currently live in (33.6% - "I rather agree", 27.5% - "I definitely agree"). One fifth of them strongly agree that Jews have a significant influence on world economic and decision-making processes, which confirms the strong position of conspiracy anti-Semitism in the minds of Poles. When asked, however, they disagree with the claim that the Jews themselves are to blame for the speech of hatred directed at them (28.1% - "I rather disagree") and that stereotypes show what they really are (28.1% - "I rather disagree"). It is also worth noting that, according to the answers, people see Israel's undemocratic actions in the conflict with Palestine.

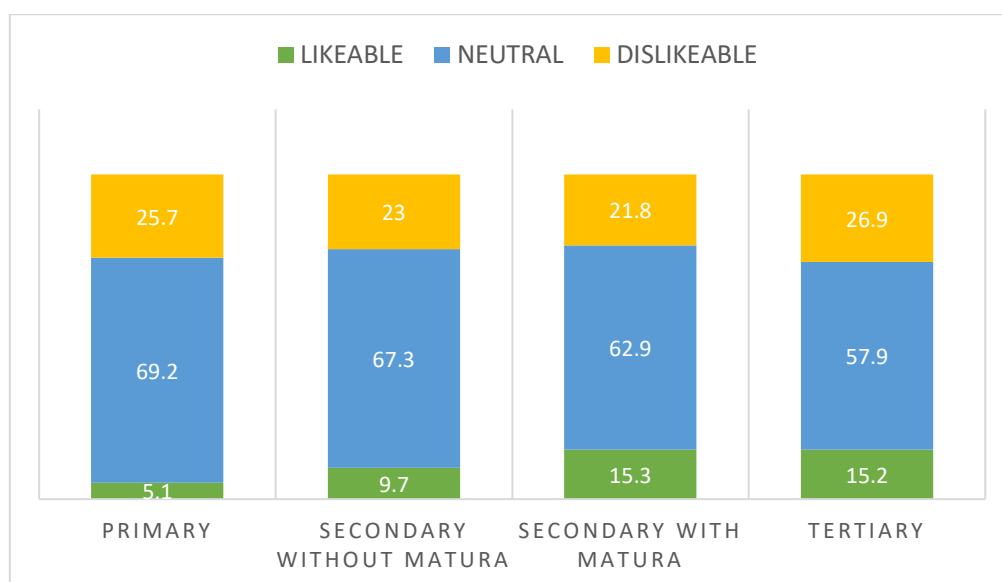
The surveyed users of Polish Facebook had the task of ranking the seven given events, which in their opinion may generate the most anti-Semitic hate speech. However, in the free field of this question, they could suggest their own answers, if any. Of these suggestions, the order of the respondents' suggestions is as follows: 1) Attacks on Polish embassy in Israel, 2) Information about inappropriate behaviour of Israeli citizens in memory places, 3) Information about Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 4) Attacks on Israeli citizens in Poland or all over the world, 5) Amendment of Institute of National Remembrance Act, 6) Celebrations of the anniversaries of liberation KL Auschwitz – Birkenau camp, 7) Celebrations of the outbreak and the ending of the WW II.

In the remaining free answers, the respondents focused on stereotypes and the phenomenon of post-memory, and the reflections of the respondents unequivocally demonstrate the signs of anti-Semitism mentioned by academic authorities: secondary, conspiracy and religious. Especially the conspiratorial type of anti-Semitism remains quite common. The respondents paid special attention to the abuse of the term "anti-Semitism" and its unjustified semantic expansion in media discourse and public debate. At the same time, they emphasize that in terms of perception of anti-Semitism, individual experience and observations of situations that are not media themes have a significant influence on their decision. Their perception is therefore limited to their immediate

environment. Among the most frequently indicated media themes there was the issue of the restitution of Jewish property and Act 447, as well as the anniversaries of the pogrom in Jedwabne.

Attitudes towards Jews and socio-demographic data. The greatest antipathy towards Jews is shown by people with primary education (15.4%) - more than twice as many as among people with secondary or tertiary education, students (14.1%) and people in the 15-24 age group (9.8%). In a table below, we can notice that with increasing level of education, the sympathy for the Jews increases. In terms of gender, these feelings were equally distributed between women and men.

Graphs 5. Antipathy towards Jews according to educational level (%).



Note: N=1004. Figures in percentages.

Note: The values given for 'likeable' are for the sum of responses 'absolutely likeable' and 'likeable', and the for 'dislikeable' it is the sum of responses 'absolutely dislikeable' and 'dislikeable'. The Figures in percentages. N=1004.

The knowledge about the Jews is taken from the traditional media mainly by people with secondary education and passed the high school diploma (45.5%), but let us note that the remaining groups did not differ significantly from this result. Among professional groups, dominate people who are not able to work due to health problems (47.1%), among the age groups, people between the ages of 35 and 44 (45,6%) and men (45.2%). Personal contact with Jews remains the domain of men (25.6%), the age groups 35-44 (22.4%), the self-employed (31.1%) and people with higher education (28.6%). The most ardent believers in the theory of Jewish influence on economic and decision-making processes in the world have higher education (24.4%), are self-employed (32.8%), are in the 55-64 age group and are mostly men (24.2%).

An important aspect of our research is the aspect of life satisfaction of our respondents, which they estimated by themselves using the given scale. The way human life goes - whether its level is satisfactory or whether it is filled with problems and worries in various dimensions (personal, economic) very often influences attitudes and opinions. We checked whether the declared level

of satisfaction with life resonates with feelings connected with the use of the internet and with the opinion about Jews (which is very important in the context of the anti-Semitic speech of hatred spread through virtual way).

Respondents who feel the freest from manifestations of violence on the Internet consider themselves to be "rather satisfied" with their present life (50%). Interestingly, the people who see such threats in the virtual network the most also defined their attitude to the standard of living by choosing the option "rather satisfied". (49.3%). In turn, the respondents who strongly indicated that the Internet catalyses radical opinions and emotions indicated relative satisfaction with life (56.3%), as did their extreme opponents (40%). Such a distribution of responses may indicate that extreme options are not chosen and that respondents are careful. Very dissatisfied with life, they "tend to agree" with the statement that the Internet is conducive to releasing negative emotions (2.5%), although at the same time they feel "rather confident" about their freedom from online threats (2.9%).

The current political situation in the country is equally important for human attitudes. In this case too, we asked the respondents to estimate their level of satisfaction with the current state policy using the given scale. We then compared the results with the answers about attitudes towards Jews and functioning in virtual space. Very satisfied with the situation in the country, they "rather agree" that the internet gives a sense of freedom from violence (5.4%). The least satisfied indicate the same answer (22.9%). The most dissatisfied with the political situation are those who know what to do in the case of behaviour on the Internet that does not meet their own expectations (28.8%). The greatest ignorance in this area is shown by people with a neutral attitude to politics in the country (30.8%). Anonymity on the Internet makes it easier to make controversial statements to those least satisfied with politics (29.8%), which indicates that the Internet can function as an alternative political communication in Poland, especially when talking about views completely different from the official narrative of the government.

Those who strongly support the thesis about the influence of Jews on economic and decision-making processes in the world are the least satisfied with the political situation in Poland (27.4%). Respondents who definitely do not agree with such a statement are very satisfied with political actions in their homeland (12.5%). The data quoted indicate that the way for some to alleviate frustration caused by discontent is to blame other nations, including Jews, with stereotypes established in culture. The situation is similar with the claim that the Holocaust occupies far too much space in the public debate - the most supporters of this thesis are among those most dissatisfied with the political situation in the country (27%), and the least among those most satisfied (9.8%). It is also sceptics of the current situation in the country who see the most undemocratic actions of Israel towards Palestine (31.3%). Interestingly, the same group of dissatisfied people (53.8%) expresses decisive disagreement most often.

Sources of knowledge about the Jews and attitudes towards this nationality

The sources from which we draw our knowledge are extremely important in the process of shaping and organizing information about the reality we come into contact with. This is no difference in the case of Jews, whose presence in public, scientific or private debate seems unquestionable. The twelfth question raised by the respondents was intended to provide us with information from which users actually gain knowledge about Jews. We decided to confront the data received with attitudes towards the proposed statements in question 11. It contained more or less provocative

opinions about Jews, such as repeating stereotypes or conspiracy, religious and secondary anti-Semitism. Thanks to these correlations, we found out which of the statements had the greatest potential to be perpetuated with a specific source of knowledge. The traditional and social media are particularly important from the point of view of the Comance project.

As for the claim that hate speech against Jews is a common phenomenon, in all the sources of knowledge proposed among the answers, the respondents proved to be very agreeable. They indicated that they "tend to agree" with this thesis, the highest result is for the "family and friends" option (48.3%). In general, the number of indications for "rather agreeable" varies between 43.3% and 48.3% for all sources of knowledge. Interestingly, those who had direct contact with Jews strongly disagree with this statement.

When it is claimed that Israel is more important to the Jews than the country in which they currently live, the answers vary somewhat. The data show that personal contact with Jews, family and friends, as well as celebrities and other public authorities, strengthen the extreme opinion among the respondents - in each of these source categories there was a number of indications of "strongly agreeing" between 36% and 36.9%. A slightly milder option, although still supporting the thesis quoted, "I rather agree", was most often indicated by people drawing knowledge from the media, literature, cinema and other cultural institutions (between 35% and 38%). The most people disagreeing with this opinion are those who indicated family and friends as their source of knowledge (3.4%). The largest number of those who agreed with this opinion indicated literature (31.3%).

The belief in the significant influence of Jews on the economic and decision-making processes in the world is shown by the respondents among each of the given sources of knowledge - in all of them the answer "I rather agree" dominates and oscillates between 35.8% and 42% of the indications. The highest score for the 'rather agreeable' option belongs to the group declaring personal contact with Jews, and the lowest to those drawing knowledges from social media. These results show that conspiracy anti-Semitism is strongly established in society, and contact with Jews only intensifies its symptoms. The greatest number of those who strongly disagree with the above opinion is among those who draw their knowledge from social media, and the greatest number of those who strongly agree among those seeking information in literature.

The respondents perceive the thesis that Jews do not accept people of different faiths in a completely different way. This statement is questionable in all sources of information, and the most frequently indicated option is "I rather disagree" (values vary between 23.6% and 29.8%). The source of most indications for this particular option is "cultural institutions" and the source of least indication is "celebrities and other public authorities". Those looking for information in the literature are definitely favorable and unfavorable to this claim at the same time.

The most intriguing cultural and linguistic claim is that the use of the term "Jew" should not be objectionable if we want to point out stinginess to someone. Respondents remain in agreement on this issue, regardless of the source from which they draw their knowledge - the indications of the "rather agreeable" option can be noted between 33% and 36.4%. The lowest score remains with celebrities and public authorities, which may indicate that media personalities have a significant influence on human opinions. The highest score for this category belongs to literature, which makes the quality and type of reading chosen by Polish Facebook users questionable. Again, the strong opposition and at the same time appreciation of such use of the word "Jew" is shown

by literature readers. The use of such a linguistic construction is not opposed by those who are informed via social media.

In the context of the injurious claim that the Jews are guilty of themselves when they are affected by the hate speech, the opinions were most divided if we consider all the proposed claims. The "rather agreeable" option was indicated by those whose main sources of information about Jews are: personal contact with the Jew (28.8%), social media (24.6%) and traditional media (27.2%). The "I rather disagree" option was chosen mainly by those looking for information in other sources - the lowest score for "family and friends", the highest score for "cultural institutions". This thesis is definitely not accepted by the most and at the same time the least frequent readers of literature.

Table 1. Correlations between question eleventh and twelfth.

STATEMENT	Personal contact	Family and friends	Celebrities and authorities	Mainstream media	Social media	Literature	Cinema	Culture institutions
11A	RA 46.7%	RA 48.3%	RA 44.2%	RA 45.5%	RA 47.4%	RA 43.3%	RA 46.2%	RA 45.6%
11B	SA 36.3%	SA 36%	SA 36.9%	RA 38%	RA 35%	RA 37.2%	RA 36.8%	RA 35.6%
11C	RA 42%	RA 40%	RA 38.6%	RA 38.7%	RA 35.8%	RA 39.4%	RA 38.4%	RA 38.2%
11D	RD 25.5%	RA 23.7%	RD 23.6%	RD 27.2%	RD 25.4%	RD 27.6%	RD 27.6%	RD 29.8%
11E	RA 33.5%	RA 36%	RA 33%	RA 35%	RA 34.5%	RA 36.4%	RA 34%	RA 35.1%
11F	RA 24.5%	RD 24%	RD 25.3%	RA 27.2%	RA 24.6%	RD 25.9%	RD 25.6%	RD 27.4%
11G	RD 28.8%	RD 30.8%	RD 29.6%	RD 35.7%	RD 32.6%	RD 31.1%	RD 35.4%	RD 37.2%
11H	RD 30.7%	RD 30.8%	RD 31.8%	RD 37.8%	RD 28.2%	RD 35%	RD 34.5%	RD 36.8%
11I	RA 35.8%	RA 34.2%	RA 33.9%	RA 34.3%	RA 36.3%	RA 31.8%	RA 31.2%	RA 31.6%

N=1004. Figures in percentages.

Notes: RA – rather agree, SA – strongly agree, RD – rather disagree, 11A - Hate speech towards Jews is common phenomenon, 11B - For Jewish people, Israel is more important than Poland, 11C - Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy, 11D - The Jews do not accept people with other religions, 11E - To name somebody as a "Jew" to show his miserliness shouldn't be seen as offensive towards real Jewish people, 11F - The Holocaust still gets too much attention in public debate, 11G - Jews are guilty of themselves, that there is hate speech towards them, 11H - Anti-Semitic stereotypes show, what Jews are really like, 11I - Israel in a non-democratic state that systematically oppressed and displaced Palestinians.

The conformity among those surveyed with the next statement that the Jews are guilty of themselves when they are affected by the speech of hatred softens somewhat the response to the previous question. This time, those surveyed most often and unanimously indicated the option "I strongly disagree" - values ranging from 28.8% to 37.2%. The lowest score was recorded in the group with personal contact with Jews, while the highest score was recorded for those who gained information in cultural institutions. Those who deepened their knowledge about Jews through literature strongly disagree with this statement, while those seeking information from family and friends definitely agree. "I rather disagree" is the dominant option among all the sources of information about the Jews indicated when claiming that stereotypes show what Jews really are like. The indications for this option range from 28.2% for social media users to 37.8% for traditional media. With such a thesis, the greatest number of those who strongly disagree is among those who draw knowledge from literature, and the greatest number of those who strongly support it can be found among those who are informed mainly through social media.

The last claim proposed in question 11 suggested that the State of Israel is applying undemocratic solutions to Palestine. Those drawing on all the proposed sources indicated that they "rather agree" with such an opinion. The highest value is for social media (36.3%) and the lowest for cinema (31.2%). Those who suggest personal contact with Jews definitely do not agree with this opinion, while those inspired by literature do.

All the considerations discussed above are summarized in the table below, where the sources of knowledge about Jews are listed in the vertical axis, and the horizontal axis is marked with letters (in accordance with the questionnaire for respondents) for individual claims concerning Jews. For each correlation the dominant answer was determined with a percentage. It was assumed that this consideration makes sense only for the answers indicating a given source.

THEMES WITH POTENTIAL TO AWAKE NEGATIVE EMOTIONS TOWARDS JEWS IN THE POLAND

The last question, which was the crucial one for designing the media analysis, was to obtain information on particular media events from respondents. Of the proposed seven respondents, were able to create their own list, which, according to their feelings, could reflect the potential for generating negative attitudes towards Jews among Poles. The free response section, on the other hand, left space for the respondents' own suggestions, which were not taken into account by the researchers.

Among the media themes proposed in the question, by far the most frequent indication is the theme of attacks on the Polish embassy in Israel, which became the subject of interest of national media in the beginning of 2018. According to the answers received, negative emotions may equally often accompany reports of inadequate behaviour of Israeli citizens in memorial places. Both such events are rather incidents that the media have lived for a short term. Another case is indicated by the respondents in third place - information about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which is stretched over time and takes the form of a media play. On the other hand, the thread of the amendment to the IPN Act, which sparked a worldwide discussion and even tension (especially between Poland and Israel), was not considered by the respondents to be a matter that could stir extreme emotions towards Jews. Despite such a ranking, however, the subject should not be underestimated, as there is a high probability that, due to the time distance of these events, the recipients of the media did not associate this issue with the Polish-Israeli diplomatic conflict.

Among the free answers there were many interesting suggestions not proposed in the general list of topics. Those most frequently asked indicated that the issue of Jewish claims against pre-war property (more commonly known as Act 447) is a burning issue when it comes to generating negative emotions towards Jews. It is a media theme that is definitely easy to determine and monitor, as well as other indications: the anniversary of the pogrom in Jedwabne or the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. The respondents also mentioned other issues which they feel have an anti-Semitic potential, however, they are too general to be studied with care: religious ceremonies, public prayer rituals, traditional costumes and marches, devastation of Jewish property, accusations towards Poles of co-responsibility for the Holocaust or the Jewish Culture Festival.

Based on current monitoring of the media and observation of international political relations, an additional topic has been identified which is current, short term, but which arouses much emotion. This is the resignation of Polish President Andrzej Duda from participating in the Auschwitz liberation celebrations organized in Israel. The event was famous in the media at the turn of January and February 2020.

Anti-Semitism 2.0 in Slovakia

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

Social media is nowadays a common space which allows the sharing of hate speech, hoaxes and fake news which to some people, who are usually not considered part of the majority of society and are deprived of being equal in society, could be harmful. This research is focused on looking for factors which influence the adoption of anti-Semitic hate speech amongst the users of the digital space.

Table 1. The research sample according the predetermined control characters (%)

SEX	<i>Men</i>	47.6
	<i>Women</i>	52.6
AGE	15-24 years	21.7
	25-34	28.3
	35-44	26.1
	45-54	14.8
	55-64	6.7
	65 and more	2.3
EDUCATION	Primary	5.6
	Secondary without <i>Maturita</i> exam	10.1
	Secondary with <i>Maturita</i> exam	47.9
	Tertiary	26.4
STATUS	Employed	62.9
	Self-employed	6.7
	Unemployed	4.0
	Retired	4.4
	Unable to work due to long standing health problems / disability pensioner	3.8
	Student	12.3
	Fulfilling domestic tasks	4.6
	Other	1.3

Note: N=1067. Figures in percentages.

The aim of this research is to create a toolkit in the field of fight against anti-Semitic hate speech (ASHS) in the digital space for the policy makers, law enforcement and other specialists. All together 1067 users of the digital space in Slovakia participated in the survey. Out of which

Eliot Engel
(1947)

Yet, nearly 6 decades after the Holocaust concluded, Anti-Semitism still exists as the scourge of the world.

52,6% were women and 47.6% men. Younger respondents prevailed in this survey (76.2% in the age range 15-44). Slovakia is divided into 8 regions and we can conclude that all were almost equally represented – Trenčín district at 10.7% up to 14.4% respondents from Prešov district. Based on the population, the respondents are unequally distributed but after a closer look we can see that the number of respondents is relative to the size of the settlement.

Since we do not know the exact numbers in comparison to that of the of Slovak population, who are users of the online environment, the research cannot be considered to be representative. However, according the method used for the selection of the respondents, let us assume that the results are fairly close to the real state of affairs. Realities and tendencies, showed in the results, can serve as a valuable source of hypothesis for more detailed representative research. Some data in tables are lower than 30, which means that the percentage from such a low number cannot be considered to be reflect reality. Such low numbers are considered in representation only when necessary.

ACTIVITY OF THE RESPONDENTS ON THE INTERNET AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

As an activity on the internet, we can also consider commenting and participating in a discussion. The activity can be influenced by the competence of people to act in the online sphere and their ability to be critical to the content on the internet and also the possibility to stay in anonymity online.

Table 1.2. Activity of the users of the digital space through comments under news articles on Facebook

Rate	Activity	Number	%	Sum	
				Number	%
Active	Daily	85	8.0%	149	14.0%
	4-5 times per week	64	6.0%		
An average activity	2-3 times per week	93	8.7%	219	20.5%
	Once per week	126	11.8%		
Sometimes active	2-3 times per month	80	7.5%	181	17.0%
	Once a month	101	9.5%		
Inactive	Rarely	307	28.7%	518	48.5%
	Never	211	19.8%		
Sum		1067	100.0%	1067	100.0%

Note: N=1067. Figures in percentages.

Activity of the respondents through comments can be observed by the data from questions Q4 and Q5. Data in table 1.2 observe that respondents most often choose option “rarely” (28.7%) and “never” (19.8%). Therefore, we can consider 48.5% of the respondents to be inactive. Then from those who are active, the most people choose “once per week” (11.8%) and “2-3 times per week” (8.7%). We can consider those as “an average activity” with representation at 20.5%. After them are those who we can call “sometimes active” (17.0%), this means they participate “2-3 times per

month" (7.5%) or "once a month" (9.5%). And the smallest representation has those who we call "active" (14.0%). And in this group are respondents who chose "daily" (8.0%) or "4-5 times per week (6.0%).

Table 1.3 Activity of the respondents in discussions with other Facebook users.

Rate	Activity	Number	%	Sum	
				Number	%
Active	Daily	82	7.7%	138	12.9%
	4-5 times per week	56	5.2%		
An average activity	2-3 times per week	106	9.9%	228	21.4%
	Once per week	122	11.5%		
Sometimes active	2-3 times per month	113	10.6%	217	20.3%
	Once a month	104	9.7%		
Inactive	Rarely	337	31.6%	484	45.4
	Never	147	13.8%		
Sum		1067	100.0%	1067	100.0%

Note: N=1067. Figures in percentages.

Taking into consideration the activity of respondents on the internet and their agreement with the anti-Semitic speech, there is high number of respondents which are undecided if they agree or disagree with anti-Semitic hate speech. And almost half of them declare to be inactive by writing comments on the Internet. There is also a high proportion of those who cannot answer whether or not they agree with anti-Semitic statements (from 30% to 11%), depending on the kind of anti-Semitic statement. And even here, more than half of them declare that they are not active on the Internet by writing comments. In other words, half of those who do not have a clear view on whether they agree or disagree with anti-Semitic statements are inactive. However, there is a big part of inactive users among those who agree with anti-Semitic statements as well as those who disagree with them. It is very roughly one third in each group. Nevertheless, it is possible to find a link between activity on the Internet and receiving anti-Semitic statements. For anti-Semitic prejudice, the susceptibility to agree with it decreases with decreasing activity on the Internet, but at the same time, it is higher in all types of activity than tendency to disagreement or indecisiveness, or to the "don't know" answer. As Internet activity is declining, tendency to agree to quasi-neutral statements about the Jews also decreases. In a clearly anti-Semitic claim, this connection is lost.

There seems to be some other variable in addition to internet activity. It will probably be a factor which helps some respondents to be active and others less active. For example, a factor of competence, an educational factor, etc. may play a role. Generally, however, it can be stated that with the decreasing activity of respondents on the internet, their tendency to receive anti-Semitic claims decreases.

Competency in Usage of Social Media or Online Applications

Based on the data in table 1.4 we can observe that respondents are not modest when it comes to their competency. But to some extent, they were also critical of themselves because with the rising

demands, their level of perception of their own competency is slowly dropping. Closer attention is paid to it at table 4.4. Confident respondents who have no doubts about their competence have representation of 63.1%.

Table 1.4 Self-evaluation of the competence on social medias and online applications of the respondents – in % and in numbers.

Competency	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Do not know	Sum
I'm able to access the information and content I want on social media (question Q3.1)	81.3% (867)	13.8% (147)	3.9% (42)	1.0% (11)	100.0% (1067)
I understand the role social media websites play in shaping the information and content I see. (question Q3.3)	70.4% (751)	22.4% (239)	5.1% (55)	2.1% (22)	
I know what to do - if someone acts online in a way I don't like. (question Q1.C)	70.4% (751)	18.0% (192)	8.5% (91)	3.1% (33)	
I'm confident creating and sharing my own social media messages. (question Q3.4)	63.1% (673)	23.1% (246)	10.6% (114)	3.2% (34)	

Note: N=1067. Figures in percentages.

From the data from table 1.5 we can observe that the tendency to “agree” with the anti-Semitic claims is enhanced by the declared competencies in digital space. Those who claim to have these competences make up a majority amongst all respondents, and at the same time there are 43.1% of those who express their agreement with anti-Semitic prejudice. At the same time, it cannot be overlooked that among those respondents there are 40.8% of those who “neither agree nor disagree” or have answered “I do not know”. As in other cases, it must be stated that this is a very large group with unclear potential. At the same time, those who disagree with anti-Semitic prejudice are among those who declare their competence at only 16.1%. Table 1.6 also observes that with less awareness of self-competence, the tendency to accept anti-Semitic prejudice also decreases, with an unclear, unprofessional opinion on whether to “agree” or “disagree” with such a statement.

Table 1.5 Users of the digital space, their self-assessment of the competencies on the behaviour on the internet and at the same time rate of agreement with the anti-Semitic claims: “Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy.”

Agreement rate with anti-Semitic prejudice →		Agree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Do not know	Sum
Declared level of competence						
Declared competencies to behave in the digital space	a	43.1% (1021)	16.1% (381)	24.4% (185)	16.4% (390)	100.0% (2369)

Declared incompetent to behave in the digital space	b	36.7% (69)	23.0% (45)	22.4% (42)	17.0% (32)	100.0% (188)
Unclear stand to self-assess own competencies in the digital space	c	29.8% (172)	15.6% (90)	40.8% (236)	13.8% (80)	100.0% (578)
Unwillingness or inability to self-assess the competencies in the digital space	d	28.8% (19)	9.1% (6)	27.3% (18)	34.8% (23)	100.0% (66)

Note: Row „a“: Answers on the questions Q1C + Q3.1 + Q3.3 in variations „mostly agree“ and „strongly agree“ were analysed together, Row „b“: Answers on the questions Q1C + Q3.1 + Q3.3 in variations „mostly disagree“ and „strongly disagree“. Row „c“: Answers on the questions Q1C + Q3.1 + Q3.3 in variations „neither agree, or disagree“. Row „d“: Answers on the questions Q1C + Q3.1 + Q3.3 in variations „don’t know/don’t want to answer“.

Table 1.6 Declared level of the self-competence in the usage of the digital space and their rate of agreement with the anti-Semitic stereotype: “Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy.”

Rate of agreement with anti-Semitic prejudice. → Declared level of confidence in creating and sharing one’s own messages	Agree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Do not know	Sum
Enough confidence	43.7% (294)	16.5% (111)	25.1% (169)	14.7% (99)	100.0% (673)
Not enough confidence	32.5% (37)	27.2% (31)	22.8% (26)	17.5% (20)	100.0% (114)
Not agree neither disagree	35.8% (88)	10.6% (26)	35.8% (88)	17.8% (44)	100.0% (246)
Do not know, or do not want to answer	23.5% (8)	17.6% (6)	23.5% (8)	35.4% (12)	100.0% (34)
Sum	40.0% (427)	16.3% (174)	27.3% (291)	16.4% (175)	100.0% (1067)

Note: N=1067. Figures in percentages.

The data in table 1.6 is not different from that which is in table 1.5. This means that respondents' high self-assessment of their own competences of behaviour in the digital space also imply high tendency to receive anti-Semitic claims. As in the case of Internet activity, it is unclear why the declared high level of self-assessment on the Internet should be the factor that increases the tendency to receive anti-Semitic claims. Also, in this case, we have to deal with a hidden variable in the background that allows most respondents to declare such a high self-assessment on their behaviour on the internet. We can suppose that one of those variables is "subject of the study", more specifically technical education.

Critical and reflexive relationship towards the internet and assessment of the anonymity on the internet

Questions Q1A + B and Q2B + C deal with the critical relationship of the internet and hate speech on it. The question of anonymity on the Internet is dealt with in question Q1G. Based on the data from tables 1.7 and 1.8, it can be generally said that both critical and non-critical (or reflexive and non-reflexive) relationships on the internet do not affect the tendency to receive anti-Semitic

claims. Between the respondents with critical and also non-critical relations is a higher liability to perceive anti-Semitic prejudice (44.7% and 42.8%).

The problem is that it's happening in the online world are perceived by respondents in the sphere of rationality, while they do not take in the consideration irrational and emotive sphere, which is often dealing with hidden or repressed prejudice. And another explanation can be that there is no direct link between the degree of critical and reflexive attitude to the Internet and the adoption of anti-Semitic messages. Whether one option or the other is true, it is a space that is not sufficiently used to prevent anti-Semitic attitudes. This direction of reflection is amplified by the already established low usage of the Internet as a source of information about the Jews.

Table 1.7 Different types of critical and reflexive relationship to the respondents based on the opinion of the users of the digital space

Claims about the internet		Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Do not know	Sum
I feel free from violence symptoms on the internet. (question Q1A)	a	22.2% (237)	44.3% (473)	32.5% (346)	1.0% (11)	100.0% (1067)
I find other people are kind and helpful on the internet. (question Q1B)	b	16.4% (175)	48.4% (516)	33.0% (352)	2.2% (24)	
Hate speech online is just words. (question Q2B)	c	14.4% (154)	22.4% (239)	61.8% (659)	1.4% (15)	
Hate speech online reflects the tensions within a society. (question Q2C)	d	69.6% (743)	19.0% (203)	9.5% (102)	1.8% (19)	

Note: N=1067. Figures in percentages.

Table 1.8 Critical or not-critical relationship of the respondents to the internet and their rate of agreement with the anti-Semitic stereotype "Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy."

Agreement rate with the anti-Semitic stereotype . →		Agree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Do not know	Sum
Relationship with the internet						
Not critical relationship	a	44.7% (220)	17.4% (86)	23.1% (114)	14.8% (73)	100.0% (493)
Critical relationship	b	42.8% (747)	17.3% (303)	24.1% (421)	15.8% (277)	100.0% (1748)
Neither critical nor not critical relationship	c	33.4% (306)	14.5% (131)	35.7% (328)	16.4% (150)	100.0% (915)
I cannot specify my relationship	d	17.8% (8)	4.4% (2)	22.2% (10)	55.6% (25)	100.0% (45)

Note: Q1A, Q2B a Q2C questions were analysed together, Row „a “: variations „strongly agree “, „mostly agree “; Row „b “: variations „strongly disagree “, mostly disagree “; Row „c “: variations „neither agree or disagree “; Row „d “: variations „do not know “.

Table 1.9 Opinion of the users of the digital space on the anonymity of the digital space – in % and in numbers

Claims about the anonymity in the digital space	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Do not know	Sum
It is easier for me to show my opinions, even if they are controversial, because of anonymity in the on-line sphere. (question Q1F)	33.9% (361)	28.4% (303)	36.5% (390)	1.2% (13)	100.0% (1067)
I think that anonymity catalyses strong opinions and emotions. (question Q1G)	67.7% (722)	19.2% (205)	11.9% (127)	1.2% (13)	100.0% (1067)

Note: N=1067. Figures in percentages.

The same can be observed in relation to the anonymity of the digital space, based on the data from tables 1.9 and 1.10: the anonymity of the digital space does not affect the respondents' tendency to receive anti-Semitic claims in itself. Its influence is shown by other hidden variables.

This general statement requires comment. Questions Q1F and Q1G focus directly to the anonymity of the digital space. However, both of them ask about different aspects of the anonymity of the digital space, so the answers also differ. A third of respondents agreed that the anonymity in the digital space makes it easier for them to freely present their opinion, even if it is controversial, a little more than a third disagree with it, and a little less than a third do not have a clear opinion.

Table 1.10 Anonymity in the digital space by the respondents used as a means to more freely express opinions and the agreement rate with the anti-Semitic claims

Rate of agreement with the anti-Semitic claims →	Agree			Disagree			Neither agree nor disagree			Do not know			Sum
Anonymity does (not) ease the presentation of the respondent's opinions													
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Ease	42,9	20,5	29,6	18,0	42,4	15,5	24,4	26,6	26,3	14,7	10,5	28,6	100% (361)
Does not ease	42,6	9,0	19,0	17,2	53,3	13,6	23,0	28,0	33,3	17,2	9,7	34,1	100% (390)
Neither ease, neither does not ease	33,0	11,2	19,5	13,5	31,0	10,9	36,3	44,3	43,5	17,2	13,5	26,1	100% (303)
Do not know	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	100%

	(6)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(4)	(1)	(3)	(4)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(6)	(13)
Sum	40,0			16,3			27,3			16,4			100% (1067)

Note: Columns 2, 5, 8 a 11: Antisemitic stereotype „ Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy “. Columns 3, 6, 9 a 12: Openly antisemitic stereotype „ Jews are guilty of themselves, that there is hate speech towards them “. Columns 4, 7, 10 a 13: Quasi-neutral claim about the Jews: „ Israel in a non-democratic state that systematically oppressed and displaced Palestinians “.

The second question asks about the emotions in connection with the digital space, and in that case 67.7% of respondents believe that the anonymity of the digital space leads to strong opinions and emotions, and 11.9% disagree with them. Data in Table 1.10 answer the question of whether the anonymity in the digital space, relieves or does not relieve the pressure to correctly express oneself on the internet, has an influence on the acceptance or rejection of anti-Semitic claims. From those who think that the digital space relieves them of this pressure, 42.9% of respondents agree with anti-Semitic prejudice. From those who think the digital space does not relieve them of this pressure, 42.6% of respondents agree with anti-Semitic prejudice. As we can see there is no difference. Similarly, with only a lower representation, it is in those who disagree with anti-Semitic prejudice - 18.0% and 17.2%. Some influence can be seen in the claims on clear anti-Semitic claims. Those who claim that anonymity on the Internet does not make it easier for them to present their views have the problem of agreeing with anti-Semitic prejudice (only 9.0% of them) and a significantly smaller is the problem of disagreeing with it (53.3% of them). This means that the anonymity of the digital space does not release a 'rational' reasoned anti-Semitism, which is muted by the transparent social control but releases the irrational anti-Semitism, which works with hidden prejudices and negative emotions. This means that the anonymity of the Internet in itself does not strengthen the tendency to receive anti-Semitic claims, but only amplifies when it is connected with prejudices.

What also draws attention is the data of those who do not have a clear view of the anonymity on the Internet. Nearly half of them did not take a clear stand of the "agreement" or "disagreement" with anti-Semitic claims. It can be assumed that these people are unclear whether they should be guided by prejudice or not or they do not care at all. They, therefore, form a group with unpredictably unstable behaviour, a group that can be captured by a stronger emotion associated with a view presented by the authority. Based on the data from Table 1.10, their number can be estimated from the most unstable approximately 15% of respondents to approximately one third. Although the answers to both questions differ, the tendency to receive anti-Semitic claims is almost identical for both questions. Anonymity in the digital space or its form has no effect on this vulnerability without the influence of other variables.

RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS MINORITIES

As an activity on the internet, we can also consider commenting and participating in a discussion. The activity can be influenced by the competence of people to act in the online sphere and their ability to be critical to the content on the internet and also the possibility to stay in anonymity online. To research the prejudices based on the assessment of the direct questions is not correct. It is a lot more beneficial to use indirect questions.

Table 2.1 Opinion of the respondents – users of the digital space and the support of the given organisations and groups – in % and in numbers

Extent of the support →	Not supported sufficiently or at all	Neither sufficiently nor insufficiently supported	Supported			ΣΣ	Difference between columns 7 (+) a 3 (-)
Type of organisation			Sufficiently	Overdone	Σ		
The churches and religious organisations	10.0% (107)	30.7% (328)	28.6% (304)	30.7% (328)	59.3% (632)	100% 1067	+ 49,3
LGBTQ+	32.0% (342)	28.6% (304)	14.7% (157)	24.7% (264)	39.4% (421)		+ 7,4
National and ethnic minorities	17.9% (191)	35.0% (373)	25.6% (274)	21.5% (229)	47.1% (503)		+ 29,2
Media	13.4% (143)	34.3% (366)	34.6% (369)	17.7% (189)	52.3% (558)		+ 38,9
NGOs	35.5% (379)	35.4% (378)	17.2% (183)	11.9% (127)	29.1% (310)		-6,4
Sports club	42.4% (453)	30.9% (329)	19.8% (211)	6.9% (74)	26.7% (285)		-15,7
SUM	25.2% (1615)	32.5% (2078)	23.4% (1498)	18.9% (1211)	42.3% (2709)	100% (6402)	+17,1

Note: N=1067. Figures in percentages.

Data from Table 2.1 indicates that sport clubs are not supported enough (42.4% of the respondents think that they are not supported sufficiently, in comparison with 26.7% who disagree with it and think that the support is sufficient or overdone). When it comes to NGOs 35.5% of respondents think they are insufficiently supported over 29.1% of those who think they are sufficiently or overly supported. On the other hand, there are organizations and groups, whose results are not possible to see as an everyday outcome and which can often face stigmatization. The support for these organisations is considered to be exaggerated by one fifth to one fourth of the respondents. When it comes to the church and religious organisations 30.7% of the respondents think that the support is overdone, in LGBT organisations 24.7%, in nationalistic and ethnic minorities 21.5% and in media 17.7%. Among those we should be looking for people with prejudices.

Table 2.2 clearly points out that the highest tendency to adopt the anti-Semitic prejudice have those respondents who agree with the anti-Semitic prejudice and at the same time have the objections to the amount of money which is given to the church, religious organisations and national, ethnic organisations (in both cases more than half of the respondents at the same agree with the anti-Semitic prejudice). Data in table 2.6 also show us that those respondents which think that an organisation or a group is overly supported (we can suppose it applies to at least minimal showcase of antipathy to a group or an organisation but probably escalates to the prejudice towards it) increases the risk of those people to agree with the anti-Semitic prejudice.

Table 2.2 Opinion of the respondents – users of the digital space and the support of the given organisations and groups together with their agreement rate with the claim: “Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy” – in % and in numbers

Agreement rate with the anti-Semitic stereotype → Opinion towards the support of the organisations and groups		Agree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Do not know	Sum
The Churches and religious organisations	Over-supported	47.6% (156)	15.5% (51)	20.1% (66)	16.8% (55)	100.0% (328)
	Neither too much nor not enough	33.2% (109)	14.3% (47)	37.9% (124)	14.6% (48)	100.0% (328)
	Not supported	36.5% (39)	16.8% (18)	27.1% (29)	19.6% (21)	100.0% (107)
National and ethnic minorities	Over-supported	51.5% (118)	10.9% (25)	21.4% (49)	16.2% (37)	100.0% (229)
	Neither too much nor not enough	33.9% (126)	14.7% (55)	34.0% (127)	17.4% (65)	100.0% (373)
	Not supported	29.9% (57)	27.2% (52)	23.0% (44)	19.9% (38)	100.0% (191)
Sports clubs	Over-supported	39.2% (29)	17.6% (13)	21.6% (16)	21.6% (16)	100.0% (74)
	Neither too much nor not enough	33.1% (109)	15.5% (51)	34.7% (114)	16.7% (55)	100.0% (329)
	Not supported	44.4% (201)	17.4% (79)	22.3% (101)	15.9% (72)	100.0% (453)

Note: N=1067. Figures in percentages.

Objections towards the support of the groups focused on national, ethnical minorities and churches, religious organisations showcases in a greater extent the tendency to adopt the anti-Semitic prejudices. And on the other hand, those who think that those organisations are insufficiently supported have decreased in adoption of the anti-Semitic prejudice. In other words, we can suppose that higher rate of prejudices increases the tendency to adopt the anti-Semitic claims.

Question Q7 is asking the respondents which minorities are in their opinion the most exposed to the hate speech. The answer of the respondent shows their opinion about the specific minority (“I think that this minority is hated by others” equals to “I hate this minority as well”) or the respondent is truly trying to reflect on the opinions of the others and this does not reflect their opinion to a certain extent. We can also suppose that in combination with question Q11 which focuses on the agreement/disagreement of the respondents with different anti-Semitic claims, these two types of answers differ.

Table 2.3 Opinion of the users of the digital space on which minorities are exposed to hate speech.

Minority group	Number	%
Roma	535	50.2%
LGBT	217	20.3%
Muslims	85	8.0%
Disabled	81	7.6%

Jews	22	2.1%
Others	24	2.2%
Could not think of any minority	103	9.6%
SUM	1067	100.0%

Note: N=1067. Figures in percentages.

Data from table 2.3 showcase the overview about what different minorities are exposed to different hate speech, based on the respondent's answers. It is apparent that for a minority we can consider Roma (50.2% respondents), then LGBT community (20.3%), Muslims (8.0%), and as last the disabled (7.6%). It is noteworthy that Jews are considered to be a minority community only by a small number of the respondents (2.1%). Also, 9.6% of the respondents could not think of any minority.

In combination with the answers to the question Q11, we get a different picture. Data from table 2.4 showcases that from the number of the respondents which agree with anti-Semitic claims the most dominant group are those who think that the anti-Semitic claims focus on Roma. But from the tendency to agree with the anti-Semitic claims dominate those, who consider the minority groups of the Jews (54.5%) and Muslims which are exposed to hate speech. A bit smaller tendency is showcased by those who consider to be minority – disabled (40.8%) and Roma (40.5%). What these two minorities have in common is that the majority thinks that they are very easily recognisable due to the visible physiological differences. However, there is one difference. Many Roma and disabled people are considered by the majority as “ours”. This does not comply to Jews and Muslims, which belong to the group “visible and foreign”. We can assume, that they are perceived as the ones which can be threat to the homogeneity of society and also to its security. This harsher attitude towards them results in deeper prejudices and therefore higher tendency to adopt ASHS.

Table 2.4 Opinion of the users of the digital space on which minorities are exposed to hate speech and their agreement rate with the claim: “Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy” – in % and in number

Agreement rate with the anti-Semitic stereotype →	Agree	Disagree	Neither agree nor	Do not know	Sum
Minorities exposed to hate speech					
Roma	40.5% (217)	16.3% (87)	26.4% (141)	16.8% (90)	100.0% (535)
LGBT	33.2% (72)	23.0% (50)	23.0% (50)	20.8% (45)	100.0% (217)
Jews	54.5% (12)	18.2% (4)	22.8% (5)	4.5% (1)	100.0% (22)
Disabled	40.8% (33)	14.8% (12)	37.0% (30)	7.4% (6)	100.0% (81)
Muslims	53.0% (45)	10.6% (9)	22.3% (19)	14.1% (12)	100.0% (85)
Others	62.5% (15)	8.4% (2)	20.8% (5)	8.3% (2)	100.0% (24)
Do not know	32.0% (33)	9.7% (10)	39.9% (41)	18.4% (19)	100.0% (103)

Sum	40.0% (427)	16.3% (174)	27.3% (291)	16.4% (175)	100.0% (1067)
-----	----------------	----------------	----------------	----------------	------------------

Note: N=1067. Figures in percentages.

Table 2.5 Users of the digital space evaluate the beneficiality of the variety for the Slovak society – in % and in number

Evaluation → Type of variety	Negative	Neither negative nor positive	Positive	Sum
Ethnic	32.8% (350)	50.8% (542)	16.4% (175)	100.0% (1067)
Religious	27.1% (289)	50.6% (540)	22.3% (238)	
Cultural	25.9% (277)	45.0% (480)	29.1% (310)	
Language	21.6% (231)	47.0% (502)	31.4% (334)	
Sum	26.8% (1147)	48.4% (2064)	24.8% (1057)	100.0% (4268)

Note: N=1067. Figures in percentages.

Prejudices are also influencing how we evaluate the variety in society. Data provided in table 2.5 shows how the respondents evaluate different types of varieties in society. From the data, we can see how each of those differentiations is by half of the respondents evaluated neither positively nor negatively. This is a big part of the respondents who do not take a clear stand and it is way too many people to categorize them as “unaccountable”. It is more likely that this shows a discrepancy between what the traditional upbringing says and what is said by the modern society. In here we probably found a space for educational activities which would aim at increasing the toleration.

The other half of the respondents, those who take a clear stand, have aligned their evaluation of traditionally stigmatized and conflicting differences in society (ethnic and religious) evaluate more negatively in comparison with the differences, through which there is cooperation in society running (language and cultural differences). The combination of answers from questions Q8 and Q11 allows us to observe that negative relationships to those different groups increases the tendency to adopt ASHS. In other words, those who evaluate traditional parts of society which are in conflict (ethnic and religious) negatively are more likely to adopt ASHS.

THE JEWS, ANTISEMITISM AND HATE SPEECH IN SLOVAKIA

Every source which provides information is adapting the information based on their own perspective and point of view. Therefore, it is good to know the sources which people use and if it has an impact on their opinions.

Table 2.6 Scale of selected and unselected sources of information on Jews by respondents

Source of information	Sources chosen by the respondents		Sources not chosen by the respondents	
	Number	%	Number	%
Personal contact with the Jews	116	4.5%	951	11.8%
Contact with friends and relatives	200	7.7%	867	10.7%
Famous people	156	6.0%	911	11.3
Traditional media	460	17.8%	607	7.5%
Social media	246	9.5%	821	10.2
Literature	381	14.7%	686	8.5%
Movies	428	16.7%	639	7.9%
Cultural institutions and events	299	11.6%	768	9.5%
Other sources	25	1.0%	1042	12.8%
Does not search for such a information	272	10.5%	795	9.8%
SUM	2583	100.0%	8087	1000%

Data from table 2.6 says that 1067 respondents from the list of provided sources made up of 2583 combinations (respondents could choose more sources). Therefore, an average respondent chose 2-3 sources which they use as a source about the Jews. It represents 24.2% of possible choices what does not lead into a great interest about the information about the Jews. In the structure of sources, which were interesting for respondents, one group is more dominant, which could be called “sphere of culture” (literature, movies, cultural institutions, events, etc.), reaching 43.0%. From the point of view of general sources almost one fifth of the cases (17.8%), of the respondents use traditional media as a source of information. Only 4.5% of the respondents chose a personal contact with Jews. But at the same time, it is the most reliable source of information. It is also interesting to note that the source which have an immediate influence on the respondents, and they are exposed to the environment daily – the personal contact with relatives and friends, the respondents do not consider it to be a significant source about the Jews (7.7% of the choices). Another source, which is important in other contexts “famous people” resonated with the people in very low outcome – only 6.0%. Both these sources we can put into one category “Authorities”. It is interesting to note that society which presents itself by preferring authority, had such a low outcome of the choices which are directly connected to it. Also, social media had a very small outcome as a source of information. Taking into consideration, that the respondents are the users of the digital space, outcome of 9.5%, does not show a high interest in this type of source.

Table 2.7 The difference in the scope of agreement with anti-Semitic stereotype and respondents, which have chosen specific type of source on information about Jews (+) and who didn't (-)

Agreement with anti-Semitic stereotype →	Agree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Do not know
Source of information about the Jews				
Personal contact with the Jews	+ 11,2	+ 2,0	-5,5	-7,7
Contact with friends and relatives	+ 8,0	-0,4	-3,4	-4,2
Famous people	+ 10,8	+ 0,5	-4,9	-6,4
Traditional media	+ 17,9	-1,9	-8,6	-7,4
Social media	+ 9,2	+ 0,5	-1,1	-8,6
Literature	+ 15,8	+ 3,6	-7,7	-11,7

Movies	+ 11,2	+ 2,8	-5,3	-8,7
Cultural institutions and events	+ 13,7	+ 3,3	-8,6	-8,4
Other sources	+ 12,3	-0,3	+ 0,7	-12,7
Does not seek for information on Jews	-23,6	-0,6	+ 7,4	+ 20,4
SUM	+ 7,9	+ 0,7	-4,0	-4,6

Taking into consideration that respondents could choose from every source of their preference it is interesting to observe the relationship between these choices and their agreement or disagreement with anti-Semitic stereotype: “Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy”. From every source which the respondents have chosen it is worth noting that the number of those who agreed with anti-Semitic claim rose higher compared to the share of those, who agreed with the anti-Semitic claim in comparison with the same source where the respondents did not choose it. It looks like all the sources provided to the respondents amplify their tendency to agree with the anti-Semitic prejudice. It starts with the traditional media, then literature, cultural institutions, movies and lastly personal contact with Jews. Schematically more precise it can be seen table 2.7. In that table, we can see that the agreement with the anti-Semitic prejudice is amplified by the chosen source. Also, the disagreement with the anti-Semitic prejudice is amplified with the chosen source – but not by every category and not that significantly but we can still conclude the amplification. The same applies to the respondents which are undecided and do not take any stand towards the anti-Semitic prejudice. To them applies the opposite influence – the indecisiveness in a phenomenon have a higher rate than those who did not choose a source. But these answers are based on the initial assessment do not seem to be truthful. In society, we do not have literature, movies, cultural institutions etc. which could be filled by anti-Semitic content and therefore amplify the tendency to adopt the anti-Semitic prejudices. We can conclude two explanations. Either respondents did not answer truthfully, which could happen with a small portion of the respondents, or from the sources which the respondents chose, they also selectively adopt due to already present anti-Semitic prejudice. The second option is more likely.

The fact that almost half of the choices of which were made by the people which agree with the anti-Semitic prejudice is not a good outcome. Also, almost half of those who did not choose the source are also undecided whether they “agree” or “disagree” with the anti-Semitic prejudice which makes it worse. It means that given resources were unable to convince them to disagree with the anti-Semitic prejudice. Quantitative research, however, is not providing answers to question -which sources influence the respondent’s opinions in a positive way. From a research perspective Q11 is crucial because it studies how the respondents adopt anti-Semitic claims about Jews. Question Q11 (“Please share, on a scale of five, how much do you agree with the following statements.”) is focused on finding out the types of anti-Semitic claims which the users of the digital space most adopt. Types of the claims can be divided to three types:

1. Traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes (it is about the claims which are part of the societal discourse in Central Europe, but are pushed to the back and therefore are not part of the “core” of the social control. They are quietly accepted by society as a necessary evil and majority of the people come across them in their life and will have to take a stand towards them. (For Jewish people, Israel is more important than Hungary/ Czech/ Poland/ Slovakia. Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy. The Jews do not accept people with other religions. To name somebody as a “Jew” to show his miserliness shouldn’t be seen as offensive towards real Jewish people.)

2. Current anti-Semitic claims (it is about the current claims which are undeniably anti-Semitic, they are categorised as second-class antisemitism and are under the social control in sense that it is unbecoming to agree with anti-Semitic claims. (The Holocaust still gets too much attention in public debate. Jews are guilty of themselves, that there is hate speech towards them. Anti-Semitic stereotypes how, what Jews are really like)
3. Current quasi-neutral claims about the Jews (it is about the claims from the present times where the presence of antisemitism is harder to identify, the prejudices are the deciding factor therefore they are not subjected to the social control) (Israel in a non-democratic state that systematically oppressed and displaced Palestinians. Hate speech towards Jews is a common phenomenon.)

From Table 2.8 it can be observed that 39.9% of the respondents are more likely to adopt traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes in the digital space. In significantly smaller rates users are prone to accept quasi-neutral claims (20.9%). The smallest potentiality of acceptance can be observed in open anti-Semitic claims (17.1%). This potential of acceptance of the anti-Semitic claims is only supported by the results on the rate of disagreement. The order is reverse – the highest potential of unacceptance have clear and open anti-Semitic claims (33.6%), the next are the quasi-neutral claims (24.1%) and the lowest potential have traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes (17.1%). Accuracy of the results can be questioned, because of the high range of the answers in which the respondents answered “neither agree nor disagree” or “do not know”. It means that they prefer not to comment given claims, they are unclear etc. Over half of the answers fall into these two categories which have created a negative potential. We may suppose that there is a high rate of people who when are in the environment which is saturated with the anti-Semitic claims, have the tendency to lean towards acceptance or at least not clearly deny the anti-Semitic claims. The highest potential from this perspective have those respondents who chose quasi-neutral anti-Semitic claims. This leads to two possible solutions. Firstly, the control of societal pressure against anti-Semitism will be eased, which can potentially lead to mass spread of open anti-Semitism. If the control will at persist or increase, it will result in strengthening the prevention against anti-Semitism.

Table 2.8 Types of claims about Jews, which the users in the digital space are prone to agree with (Q11)

Agreement with anti-Semitic claims →	Agree		Disagree		Neither agree nor disagree		Do not know		Sum	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	Number	%
Anti-Semitic claims										
Traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes	1704	39.9%	728	17.1%	1014	23.8%	822	19.2%	4268	100.0%
Neutral claims	447	20.9%	515	24.1%	733	34.4%	439	20.6%	2134	100.0%
Anti-Semitic claims	546	17.1%	1075	33.6%	1131	35.3%	449	14.0%	3201	100.0%
Total sum	2697	28.1%	2318	24.1%	2878	30.0%	1710	17.8%	9603	100.0%

From the data in tables, we can conclude that from every type of anti-Semitic claim is possible to take one, which will be representing all types and continue working with only this one. From the category “Traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes” it is best represented by the claim C “Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy.” From the type “Open anti-Semitic claims” is the representative claim G “Jews are guilty of themselves, that there is hate speech towards them.” From the “Quasi-neutral claims about the Jews” is our representative claim I “Israel in a non-democratic state that systematically oppressed and displaced Palestinians.” Based on the observation of the data from both tables we can conclude that claim C “Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy.” had the most diverse answers therefore, it will be necessary to work with it in the next text.

Table 2.9 Claims about the Jews with which the users of the digital space are prone to agree with – based on the number of answers (Q11)

Agreement with the anti-Semitic claims →		Agree (Accept)		Disagree (Do not accept)		(Take into consideration)	Do not know	Sum
		Certainly	More likely	More likely	Certainly			
Anti-Semitic claims								
Traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes	B	243	271	59	34	254	206	1067
	C	177	250	116	58	175	291	1067
	D	64	149	204	99	324	227	1067
	E	226	324	104	54	261	98	1067
	Σ	710	994	483	245	1014	822	4268
	ΣΣ	1704		728		1014	822	4268
Open Anti-Semitic claims	F	96	180	224	130	359	78	1067
	G	37	108	224	235	343	120	1067
	H	28	97	141	121	429	251	1067
	Σ	161	385	589	486	1131	449	3201
	ΣΣ	546		1075		1131	449	3201
Quasi-Neutral claims about the Jews	A	39	165	252	120	373	118	1067
	I	83	160	101	42	360	321	1067
	Σ	122	325	353	162	733	439	2134
	ΣΣ	447		515		733	439	2134
Sum		993	1704	1425	893	2878	1710	9603
		2697		2318		2878	1710	9603

Table 2.10 Claims about the Jews with which the users of the digital space are prone to agree with – in %. (Q11)

Extent of acceptance →		Agree (Accept)		Disagree (Do not accept)		Neutral (Take into consideration)	Do not know	Sum
		Certainly	More likely	More likely	Certainly			
Claims								
Traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes	B	22.8	25.4	5.5	3.2	23.8	19.3	100.0
	C	16.6	23.4	10.9	5.4	16.4	27.3	100.0
	D	6.0	14.0	19.1	9.3	30.3	21.3	100.0
	E	21.2	30.3	9.7	5.1	24.5	9.2	100.0
	Σ	16.6	23.3	11.3	5.7	23.8	19.3	100.0
	ΣΣ	39.9		17.0		23.8	19.3	100.0

Anti-Semitic claims	F	9.0	16.9	21.0	12.2	33.6	7.3	100.0
	G	3.5	10.1	21.0	22.0	32.2	11.2	100.0
	H	2.6	9.1	13.2	11.3	40.3	23.5	100.0
	Σ	5.0	12.0	18.4	15.2	35.4	14.0	100.0
	ΣΣ	17.0		33.6		35.4	14.0	100.0
Neutral claims	A	3.7	15.5	23.5	11.2	35.0	11.1	100.0
	I	7.8	15.0	9.5	3.9	33.7	30.1	100.0
	Σ	5.7	15.2	16.5	7.6	34.4	20.6	100.0
		20.9		24.1		34.4	20.6	100.0
Sum		10.3	17.7	14.8	9.3	30.1	17.8	100.0
		28.0		24.1		30.1	17.8	100.0

Table 2.12 Users of the digital space based on their sex and their agreement with the anti-Semitic stereotype “Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy” – in % and numbers

Agreement with the anti-Semitic stereotype →	Agree	Disagree	Neither agree not disagree	Do not know	Sum
Sex of the respondents					
Male	44.1% (223)	16.6% (84)	24.9% (126)	14.4% (73)	100.0% (506)
Female	36.4% (204)	16.0% (90)	29.4% (165)	18.2% (102)	100.0% (561)
Sum	40.0% (427)	16.3% (174)	27.3% (291)	16.4% (175)	100.0% (1067)

From the data in table 2.11, we can conclude that males are more likely to agree with the anti-Semitic prejudices than females, females are on the other hand more likely to lean towards the opinions which are unclear or unstable.

Table 2.12 Users of the digital space based on their age and agreement with anti-Semitic stereotype “Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy” – in % and in numbers.

Agreement with the anti-Semitic Stereotypes →	Agree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Do not know	Sum
Age of the respondents					
15 – 24 years	27.6% (64)	23.7% (55)	27.6% (64)	21.1% (49)	100.0% (232)
25 – 34 years	34.7% (105)	20.9% (63)	28.5% (86)	15.9% (48)	100.0% (302)
35 – 44 years	41.2% (115)	12.2% (34)	31.2% (87)	15.4% (43)	100.0% (279)
45 – 54 years	53.8% (85)	10.8% (17)	19.6% (31)	15.8% (25)	100.0% (158)
55 – 64 years	53.5% (38)	7.0% (5)	26.8% (19)	12.7% (9)	100.0% (71)
65+ years	80.0% (20)	-	16.0% (4)	4.0% (1)	100.0% (25)
Sum	40.0% (427)	16.3% (174)	27.3% (291)	16.4% (175)	100.0% (1067)

From the data from table 2.12 we can conclude that with the rising age of respondents also directly rises the tendency to agree with the anti-Semitic stereotypes (which accounts for 50%-80% of the age group) and decreases the tendency to disagree with the stereotype (up to 10%-0%) Respondents who “neither agree nor disagree” and “do not know” are evident in every age category and account for around 40%-50%. This is an especially bad signal in relation to the younger generation. This means that the prevention should be focusing especially on younger categories – on “undecided” and those who “agree” with the aim to transfer them to “disagree” category. In older age group the good outcome would be to doubt their agreeing position.

Data from table 2.13 show us that with the rising education level, also the tendency to agree with the anti-Semitic stereotypes rises. It is in conflict with the generally accepted opinion that the higher the level of education, the higher the tolerance. It seems that with the variable “attained education” we shall need to take into consideration “subject of study”. From the available data from this research we are unable to verify it. Although based on the experience, we can suppose that alumni of technological subjects of study can have a lower level of critical thinking. Respondents in this research are people who use digital space therefore, we can suppose that there are more people with technological subject of the study. This theory can be partially proved by the data about the competencies of the respondents and the level of critical thinking with relation to the digital space. However, all these explanations are not substantial enough to validate this result or apply it to the general context. Therefore, we cannot conclude that with the rising level of education also raises the rate of agreement with the anti-Semitic claims.

Data in tables 2.13 and 2.14 show a different picture. In clearly anti-Semitic claim with the rising attained education, the tendency to agree with the anti-Semitic statements drop. Tendency in comparison with the anti-Semitic stereotypes is even lower, which raises concerns. On the other hand, in quasi-neutral claims about the Jews the tendency paradoxically rises independently of the level of attained education and fluctuates at roughly around 25%. It looks like the level of attained education has no influence. The influence of level of education showed in those who answered, “I do not know”, there, with an increased level of attained education we can see the inability or reluctance to take a stand.

Table 2.13 Users of the digital space based on the level of attained education and their agreement rate with anti-Semitic stereotype: “Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy.” – in % and in numbers

Agreement with anti-Semitic stereotype → Attained level education of the respondents	Agree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Do not know	Sum
Primary	25.0% (15)	26.7% (16)	30.0% (18)	18.3% (11)	100.0% (60)
Secondary without maturita	34.3% (37)	16.7% (18)	32.3% (35)	16.7% (18)	100.0% (108)
Secondary with maturita	38.0% (194)	15.7% (80)	30.1% (154)	16.2% (83)	100.0% (511)
Tertiary	46.6% (181)	15.5% (60)	21.6% (84)	16.3% (63)	100.0% (388)
SUM	40.0% (427)	16.3% (174)	27.3% (291)	16.4% (175)	100.0% (1067)

The explanation is provided by different influences of social control. Behind higher acceptance tendency and typical anti-Semitic stereotype. (Table 1.4.1) We can see the influence subtly in the culture of the accepted anti-Semitic prejudices which are not under the pressure of direct social control and are seemingly socially accepted. These did not create strict negative denial from the message carrier. The same influence is showing in the relation with the tendency to accept quasi-neutral claims about the Jews. Those who do not disagree with the claims about anti-Semitic claims give this seemingly negative claim anti-Semitic meaning which translates to a higher rate of agreeability. On the other hand, agreeing with a clear anti-Semitic claim means for the carrier of the message open and clear disagreement with the social background, which is also shown in table. This different influence of the social control is translated through every result of this research. This also shows that main problem is the mere existence of the influence of the subconscious traditional anti-Semitic prejudices which has been following us for many generations and high representation of the respondents (from 43.4% to 63.8% - depends on the anti-Semitic claim), which do not take a clear stand or are unsure. This unusually high representation may be the reason to be cautious but also an opportunity to effectively get rid of traditional antisemitism which increases the non-traditional antisemitism.

2.14 Users of the digital space based on the level of education and their agreement rate with anti-Semitic claim “Jews are guilty of themselves, that there is hate speech towards them” – in % and in numbers

Agreement with anti-Semitic stereotype → Level of education of the respondents	Agree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Do not know	Sum
Primary	13.3% (8)	53.3% (32)	26.7% (16)	6.7% (4)	100.0% (60)
Secondary without maturita	24.1% (26)	23.1% (25)	35.2% (38)	17.6% (19)	100.0% (108)
Secondary with maturita	12.9% (66)	43.8% (224)	32.1% (164)	11.2% (57)	100.0% (511)
Tertiary	11.6% (45)	45.9% (178)	32.2% (125)	10.3% (40)	100.0% (388)
SUM	13.6% (145)	43.0% (459)	32.1% (343)	11.3% (120)	100.0% (1067)

Table 2.15 Users of the digital space based on the level of education and their agreement rate with the claim about the Jews “Israel in a non-democratic state that systematically oppressed and displaced Palestinians” – in % and in numbers

Agreement with anti-Semitic stereotype → Level of education of the respondents	Agree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Do not know	Sum
Elementary	25.0% (15)	15.0% (9)	25.0% (15)	35.0% (21)	100.0% (60)
Secondary without maturita	28.7% (31)	7.4% (8)	42.6% (46)	21.3% (23)	100.0% (108)

Secondary with maturita	20.5% (105)	15.1% (77)	34.5% (176)	29.9% (153)	100.0% (511)
Tertiary	23.7% (92)	12.6% (49)	31.7% (123)	32.0% (124)	100.0% (388)
SUM	22.8% (243)	13.4% (143)	33.7% (360)	30.1% (321)	100.0% (1067)

Table 2.16 Users of the digital space based on region and their agreement with anti-Semitic stereotype “Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy” – in % and in numbers

Agreement with anti-Semitic stereotype → Regional division of the respondents	Agree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Do not know	Sum
Bratislava region	44.7% (63)	18.4% (26)	27.0% (38)	9.9% (14)	100.0% (141)
Trnava region	44.2% (53)	14.2% (17)	23.3% (28)	18.3% (22)	100.0% (120)
Trencin region	40.4% (46)	18.4% (21)	21.9% (25)	19.3% (22)	100.0% (114)
Nitria region	42.7% (53)	12.1% (15)	27.5% (34)	17.7% (22)	100.0% (124)
Zilina region	40.6% (54)	9.8% (13)	28.6% (38)	21.0% (28)	100.0% (133)
Banska Bystrica region	27.6% (35)	21.3% (27)	33.0% (42)	18.1% (23)	100.0% (127)
Presov region	36.1% (57)	21.5% (34)	29.1% (46)	13.3% (21)	100.0% (158)
Kosice region	44.0% (66)	14.0% (21)	26.7% (40)	15.3% (23)	100.0% (150)
SUM	40.0% (427)	16.3% (174)	27.3% (291)	16.4% (175)	100.0% (1067)

Data from Table 2.17 shows that respondents in settlements which have populations up to 1 000 inhabitants and over 20 000 show a higher tendency to adopt the anti-Semitic stereotype in comparison with the settlements which have populations from 1 000 to 20 000 inhabitants. Just like at the attained education, it is not with the commonly used preconception, that with the higher the population in the settlement also increases the tolerance. We can assume that the subject of study plays a big role and in small settlements it is the outflow of young people to bigger settlements.

Table 2.17 Users of the digital space based on the size of the settlement and their level of agreement with the anti-Semitic stereotype “Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy” – in % and in numbers

Agreement with anti-Semitic stereotype → Size of the settlement of the respondents	Agree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Do not know	Sum
< 1 000	44.2% (68)	16.2% (25)	24.0% (37)	15.6% (24)	100.0% (154)
1 000 – 4 999	36.8% (106)	15.6% (45)	31.6% (91)	16.0% (46)	100.0% (288)
5 000 – 19 999	34.3% (57)	19.9% (33)	24.7% (41)	21.1% (35)	100.0% (166)
20 000 – 99 999	41.5% (125)	15.0% (45)	25.9% (78)	17.6% (53)	100.0% (301)

100 000 <	44.9% (71)	16.5% (26)	27.8% (44)	10.8% (17)	100.0% (158)
SUM	40.0% (427)	16.3% (174)	27.3% (291)	16.4% (175)	100.0% (1067)

Table 2.18 Users of the digital space based on their status and their level of agreement with anti-Semitic stereotype “Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy” – in % and in numbers

Agreement with anti-Semitic stereotype → Status of the respondents	Agree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Do not know	Sum
Employed	39.0% (262)	16.4% (110)	27.3% (183)	17.3% (116)	100.0% (671)
Self-employed	52.1% (37)	11.3% (8)	25.3% (18)	11.3% (8)	100.0% (71)
Unemployed	34.9% (15)	18.6% (8)	20.9% (9)	25.6% (11)	100.0% (43)
Pensioner	66.0% (31)	4.3% (2)	23.3% (11)	6.4% (3)	100.0% (47)
Disability pensioner	53.7% (22)	9.7% (4)	31.7% (13)	4.9% (2)	100.0% (41)
Stay-at-home	30.6% (15)	12.2% (6)	47.0% (23)	10.2% (5)	100.0% (49)
Student	28.2% (37)	26.0% (34)	23.7% (31)	22.1% (29)	100.0% (131)
Other	57.1% (8)	14.3% (2)	21.4% (3)	7.1% (1)	100.0% (14)
SUM	40.0% (427)	16.3% (174)	27.3% (291)	16.4% (175)	100.0% (1067)

Table 2.18 is about the correlation between the status of the respondents and their tendency to adopt anti-Semitic stereotype. Due to the decreased participation in the majority of the respondents, it is difficult to draw a thorough conclusion. But we can generally say that “status” as a variable does not influence anything in itself. If there is a hidden variable, then the rate of influence deviates from the average (e.g. sex – stay-at-home, self-employed or age – pension, student). If the variable is not hidden, the rate of influence is coming near to an average – 40% (e.g. status “employed”). Therefore, we will not pay further attention to the status of the respondents. We can perceive and consider the differences in the perception as an opportunity for development or threat. But we can also ignore them or do not take them into account, which could lead to a greater threat of the hidden discrimination towards the minority group. The way how we perceive different people is influenced through our prejudices, our tendency towards conformity and pieces of information which we gather about different people.

Conformity

Tendency towards conformity and the influence of the authority to a certain extent influence how we perceive differences in society and how we react to them. Conformity can be divided to three parts. The first is to copy behaviour of other members of society. The second is the pressured behaviour from the social control. The third is the attempt to not be in any conflict with the dominant part of society. All three types of conformity are overlapping but they are not identical.

Table 2.19 Agreement/disagreement with the respondents of the users of the digital space with the claims about the conformity – in % and in numbers

Claims about the conformity	Agree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Do not know	Sum
I find it easier to be myself online than when I am with people face-to-face. (Q1D)	23.8% (254)	43.7% (466)	31.8% (339)	0.7% (8)	100.0% (1067)
I talk about different things online than I do when speaking to people face-to-face. (Q1E)	26.0% (277)	41.8% (446)	30.9% (330)	1.3% (14)	100.0% (1067)
It is easier for me to show my opinions, even if they are controversial, because of anonymity in the on-line sphere. (Q1F)	33.9% (361)	36.5% (390)	28.4% (303)	1.2% (13)	100.0% (1067)

To research the tendencies towards conformity, we used the answers from questions Q1D, Q1E and Q1F. Question Q1D is asking whether we can be ourselves on the internet, question Q1E is asking whether internet is freeing us from the pressure of the societal control and the demands of correctness. Question Q1F is asking whether thanks to the anonymity, we can freely express our opinion regardless of the opinions of others. Table 2.19 shows that around 40% of the respondents do not agree with the statement that express themselves more freely or in any different way for that matter than in other environments. Almost one third of the respondents did not answer this question clearly. From 23.8% to 33.9% of the respondents agreed with the questions, but it varied based on each individual claim.

We can say that generally between a third and a fourth of the respondents appreciate the anonymity of the internet because it allows them to speak freely without restrictions. In other words, between a third and a fourth of the respondents feel restricted in the real social relations and activities by social control or more precisely by the demands of certain opinions in society. The anonymity of the internet space allows them to ease the societal pressure with which they are not identified with. In a third of the respondents we can expect (in those who “neither agree not disagree” or “do not know”) that in a suitable environment they will lean towards the opinion which prevails in society. In the remaining third of the respondents, who did not agree with the claims we can suppose they do not have a problem with accepting the stance of society as if it was their own. And the tendency towards the conforming behaviour which is enforced by society is lower. One could assume that the respondents, which have the tendency towards conformity, are liberated from the pressure of society which pushes them to conformity and eases their natural behaviour on the internet. However, data in table 2.20 shows that it is not the natural behaviour but behaviour which is influenced by the prejudices which are part of the societal culture but subconsciously, their presence is not conscious.

From the data gathered in Table 2.20 it is clear that amongst the respondents who agree with traditional anti-Semitic claims there are those who are more represented which we can consider to be the respondents with the tendency towards conformity (in questions Q1D, E, F agree with claims about the anonymous and free space on the internet). The difference’s not that significant from 4.3 per cent in question Q1D up to 0.4% in question Q1F in comparison with those who disagree. The difference here means that in the real social relations and actions these people do not encounter a problem when it comes to presenting their own agreement with traditional anti-

Semitic prejudices. Their agreement is not bound by anonymous environment of the internet but is rather bound to subconscious sharing anti-Semitic prejudices in society.

Table 2.20 Tendency towards conformity in respondents – users of the digital space and their agreement with anti-Semitic stereotype “Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy.” – in % and in numbers

Agreement with anti-Semitic stereotype → Tendency towards conformity in different areas yes (+), no(-)		Agree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Do not know	Sum
Question Q1D	Agree (+)	40.0% (112)	15.4% (39)	25.6% (65)	15.0% (38)	100.0% (254)
	Disagree (-)	39.7% (185)	19.1% (89)	23.4% (109)	17.8% (83)	100.0% (466)
	Neither agree nor disagree	37.4% (130)	13.3% (46)	33.7% (117)	15.6% (54)	100.0% (347)
Question Q1E	Agree (+)	41.5% (115)	19.1% (53)	25.2% (70)	14.1% (39)	100.0% (277)
	Disagree (-)	41.0% (183)	17.9% (80)	22.0% (98)	19.1% (85)	100.0% (446)
	Neither agree nor disagree	37.5% (129)	11.9% (41)	35.8% (123)	14.8% (51)	100.0% (344)
Question Q1F	Agree (+)	42.9% (155)	18.0% (65)	24.4% (88)	14.7% (53)	100.0% (361)
	Disagree (-)	42.5% (166)	17.2% (67)	23.1% (90)	17.2% (67)	100.0% (390)
	Neither agree nor disagree	33.5% (106)	13.3% (42)	35.8% (113)	17.4% (55)	100.0% (316)

Notes: Question Q1D: I find it easier to be myself online than when I am with people face-to-face.
Question Q1E: I talk about different things online than I do when speaking to people face-to-face.
Question Q1F: It is easier for me to show my opinions, even if they are controversial, because of anonymity in the on-line sphere.

Similarly, the tendency to conform is also present among the respondents who lean towards open anti-Semitic claim “Jews are guilty of themselves, that there is hate speech towards them” (Q11 G). Respondents with the tendency towards conformity present their agreement with clear anti-Semitic claims in a higher rate in comparison with the respondents who disagree with claims about free internet space. The extensive difference from 7.4% in a question Q1D, 9.2% in question Q1E and even up to 11.5% in a question Q1F. In other words, in a real social relations and activities these people feel to a greater extent to be bound by a social control. And anonymous internet environment enables them to show their “natural” behaviour (to be understood as a behaviour conditioned by the existence of subconscious anti-Semitic prejudices).

To an even greater extent this “freeing” aspect of the internet shows in relation to seemingly neutral claims about Jews. The difference between those who show tendencies to conformity and agree with the claims and those who do not show a tendency to conformity but at the same time agreement with the claims is even greater than in a previous anti-Semitic claim. The difference is from 10.6% in question Q1F, 12.6% in a question Q1D and up to 14.3% in a question Q1E. In other words, in real social relations and activities these people have tendencies to attribute even

seemingly neutrally looking claims anti-Semitic meaning. And it is not a small number either. From 1067 respondents 204 people were accounted for what makes up almost 20%.

Relationship to the Jews is necessary to explore within the context to other minority groups. Question Q9 is asking the users of the digital space about their relationship to Roma, Jews, Muslims and black people. Data provided in Table 3.1 showcase this relationship in numbers. Even though, people are most likely to find the Jews the most likeable minority (26.0%) and then the black people (24.6%), one fourth of the sympathizers does not mean that Jews are highly liked in society. Other two groups – Muslims and Roma people got significantly lower likability (6.3% - Muslims, 6.5% - Roma).

When it comes to “not likeable at all”, the respondents who are users of the digital space chose Roma (53.4%) and then Muslims (50.2%). In category “not likeable” Jews were chosen by 11.8% of the respondents and for 17.8% it is black people. In both categories – likeable and not likeable the range is not very high. Majority of the respondents preferred to be neutral, towards the Jews it was 62.1% and towards the black people 57.7% respondents. This shows us two things. Those who do not have prejudices and do not judge the ethnic group as a group but see the individual people, had no other choice but to state “neutral”. But the same category also chose those respondents who do not see individuals but one group. We are unable to make this distinction based on the data from the survey. But, when we consider two facts: Central European culture and Slovak history, we cannot suppose that there is a high representation of those who chose “neutral” (50.9%) and see the individuals behind the ethnic group and not the group as a whole. In other words, around half of the respondents has an ambivalent relationship with the Jews what entails both positive and negative potential. Whether their stand will be either positive or negative is given by the preferred political discourse – whether towards refrainment from the different or towards cooperation with them and how strong the social pressure to keep the principles about respect and toleration toward others will be. We can observe that the biggest part of ambivalence can be found in the respondents towards the Jews (62.1%). And smallest part of ambivalence can be found respondents towards Roma people (40.1%). Even though, this is the smallest part from the data, it is a very high number. Also, when it comes to the Jews (62.1%).

The relationship between likeability towards a specific minority and their agreement/disagreement with typical anti-Semitic prejudice “Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy”. From the data in the table, we can conclude that the people who agree with the anti-Semitic prejudice and the Jews are not likeable for them are more represented (54.8% of those who declare they are not likeable) but paradoxically also those who think Muslims are not likeable (49.1%) and also 26.0% declare the Roma are not likeable. We can see that with the increase in unlikability towards non-Jewish minorities there is also a rise in agreement with the anti-Semitic prejudice. This only confirms that once a person does not like one minority, they will most likely have the same stand towards other minorities. From this we can conclude that an ambivalent stand towards minorities will increase in the future. Also, the tendency to spread unlikable behaviour towards other minorities not only one minority. This repeatedly amplifies the need to educate people towards toleration and respect.

More than half of the respondents (51.5% - Table 2.21) declares that they never came across hateful behaviour towards the Jews. In Central Europe and especially in Slovakia, it is highly unlikely. If we suppose that all of the answers were truthful, we have two possible explanations. The first, the anti-Semitic hate behaviour that they came across did not categorise in their head as anti-Semitic hate behaviour but as something which is normal and natural. And the second, they live in society where there is no anti-Semitic hate behaviour and they do not pay attention to the outside world. It is unlikely that the second option would encompass more than half of the respondents. But we can specify our answer based on the analysis of the agreement/disagreement of those respondents with their stand towards anti-Semitic prejudices. Because these prejudices are subconsciously part of our everyday cultural.

Table 2.21 Users of the digital space – they came across/did not come across hateful behaviour towards the Jews – in % and in numbers

	Came across	Did not come across	Sum
People, who met with the anti-Semitic hate speech(-a)	48.5% (517)	51.5% (550)	100.0% (1067)

Table 2.22 showcases with which anti-Semitic behaviour, suggested in question Q10, respondents came across or which anti-Semitic behaviour resonated with them the most. Respondents could choose more options. In the first part, there are caricatures of Jews (41.3%), then insults (30.9%) and at last, the anti-Semitic stereotypes (27.8%). It is not surprising that the most attention was gathered by behaviours which are closely connected with emotions. These emotions allow the receiver to feel an artificial feeling of dominance, if they want to feel it.

Table 2.22 Users of the digital space and with which hateful acts towards the Jews they came across – in % and in numbers

People who met with hate speech against Jews →	Came across	Did not come across
Hateful acts toward the Jews		
Caricatures of the Jews	41.3% (313)	30.9% (754)
Insult	30.9% (234)	34.1% (833)
Repetition of the anti-Semitic stereotype	27.8% (211)	35.0% (856)
Sum	100.0% (758)	100.0% (2443)

Table 2.23 showcases to what extent the respondents declared whether they did or did not come across the anti-Semitic hateful behaviour and whether they agree or disagree with specific claims. From the data we can observe that those who declared that they did not come across the hateful behaviour towards Jews are more likely to agree with the anti-Semitic behaviour (e.g. in question Q11 C 41.7% did not come across them) than those who declared that had come across the anti-Semitic behaviour (e.g. question Q11C 34.0% of those who came across). Paradoxically, we can say the same in relation to those who disagree with the anti-Semitic stereotypes. Likewise, in the rest of the questions. Those, who did not come across the anti-Semitic behaviour have higher tendency to disagree with the anti-Semitic behaviour (e.g. question Q11 C 20.7% of the respondent who did not come across it) in comparison with those who declare they came across

anti-Semitic behaviour (e.g. question Q11 C only 11.6% of those who came across). Likewise, in the rest of the questions.

Table 2.23 Users of the digital space which did not come/came across the hateful behaviour the Jews and at the same time agree with the anti-Semitic claims – in % and in numbers

Agreement rate with anti-Semitic claims →		Agree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Do not know	Sum
Anti-Semitic statements with, which the respondents meet or did not meet						
Came across	a	34.0% (176)	11.6% (60)	30.0% (155)	24.4% (126)	100.0% (517)
Did not come across		45.7% (251)	20.7% (11,4)	24.7% (136)	8.9% (49)	100.0% (550)
Came across	b	12.6% (65)	36.8% (190)	34.2% (177)	16.4% (85)	100.0% (517)
Did not come across		14.5% (80)	48.9% (269)	30.2% (166)	6.4% (35)	100.0% (550)
Came across	c	19.7% (102)	11.0% (57)	31.5% (163)	37.8% (195)	100.0% (517)
Did not come across		25.6% (141)	15.6% (86)	35.9% (197)	22.9% (126)	100.0% (550)
Came across	d	9.7% (50)	38.9% (201)	34.6% (179)	16.8% (87)	100.0% (517)
Did not come across		28.0% (154)	31.1% (171)	35.3% (194)	5.6% (31)	100.0% (550)

Notes: A.Claim with a potential to normalise the antisemitism – “Jews are guilty of themselves, that there is hate speech towards them.” B. Anti-Semitic stereotype – “Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy.” C. Openly anti-Semitic claim – “Jews are guilty of themselves, that there is hate speech towards them.” D. Quasi-neutral claim about the Jews – “Israel in a non-democratic state that systematically oppressed and displaced Palestinians.”

From those who declare that they did not come across hateful behaviour towards Jews is 45.7% of respondents who also agree with the anti-Semitic prejudices. Which is above the average rate of agreement (40.0%). Among those who declare that they came across this behaviour “only” 34% also agree with the anti-Semitic prejudice, which is less than average. Similarly, it is in quasi-neutral claims about Jews (between 25.6% and 19.7%). This strengthens the assumption that the respondents who declared that they did not come across the hateful behaviour towards the Jews are more likely to consider anti-Semitic hateful behaviour as something normal what is subconsciously part of our culture. Likewise, we can conclude that those respondents, who did not come across it hesitated to agree with the modern anti-Semitic claims. Amongst them, and at a much higher rate we have those who do not agree with the statements (48.9%) than those who agree with them (14.5%).

This showcases that those who “did not come across” hateful behaviour toward the Jews and at the same time consider anti-Semitic prejudice as something normal, have problems with agreeing

with anti-Semitic claims. And at the same time, they have to go against the public opinion. Those who declare that they “did not come across” hateful behaviour towards the Jews are in comparison with those who “came across” paradoxically more likely to agree with the anti-Semitic prejudice, but also to disagree with them. There is only one explanation— those who declare that they “did not come across” hateful behaviour towards the Jews and at the same time disagree with the anti-Semitic prejudice live in a society which does not include anti-Semitic prejudice and there is no hateful behaviour toward the Jews. There are 114 respondents (10.7%) who represent this category from our research. It is also important to know about the existence of this category and presence in real life like for us despite the fact that they are represented in very low numbers. The need to increase the numbers in this category lead to increased education towards the tolerance and respect, again.

THEMES WITH POTENTIAL TO AWAKE NEGATIVE EMOTIONS TOWARDS JEWS IN THE SLOVAKIA

The most negative emotion towards the Jews create topics “Political Party LS-NS” (52.3%), “Migration crisis in Europe” (47.9%) and “The news about the Israeli-Palestine conflict” (43.7%). When we categorize into the groups all 7 topics offered to the respondents, we can assume, that (see Table 3.1), highly negative emotions towards Jewish are induced by topics burdened by ASHS propaganda, which is present in the media currently and the nearby past. On average, according to 44.0% of respondents among these topics, the main one is 'Migration crisis in Europe' (47.9% of respondents), then 'Reports on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict' (43.7%) and as last 'Reports on NGOs' activities allegedly supported by G. Soros (40.5%).' Historically burdened ASHS claims showcase negative emotions - on average around 38.0% of respondents. The word “on average” is appropriately used because both themes in the group differ significantly in their ability to evoke negative emotions towards the Jews. 52.3% of the respondents raise them with the topic "Political Party LS-NS" and 23.7% of the respondents with the topic "Historical Heritage of the Slovak State". It is obvious that the active participation and participation of the Slovak State in the Holocaust is unknown to many respondents, or it is hidden in the cleric-Fascist mythology.

Interestingly, a group of themes which are not burdened by ASHS propaganda, and are rated by nearly a third of the respondents, are topics that can evoke negative emotions towards Jews. The topics are “Murder of Ján Kuciak and its investigation” (39.4% of respondents!) And “Presidential elections and victory of Zuzana Čaputová” (according to 22.8%). For anti-Semites, both of these and probably many other “neutral” topics are an opportunity to see what is happening is caused by a “Jew”. The data suggests that the number of this group ranges from about a fourth to slightly more than a third of the number of respondents. We can assume that the evaluation of topics that may cause negative emotions towards the Jews in society will have an impact on the adoption of the news and information about the Jews. Tables 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 show that we can talk about such an influence, in other words, the impact of negative emotions on Jews and on how information about them is received.

Table 3.1 Themes, phenomena, events which may lead to triggering negative emotions towards Jews in certain parts of society based on the users of the digital space

Themes, phenomena, events	None or small negative emotions	Average negative emotions	(Extremely) high negative emotions	SUM
Burdened by the modern ASHS propaganda	24.6% (788)	31.4% (1004)	44.0% (1409)	100.0% (3201)
Historically burdened by ASHS	32.0% (683)	30.0% (640)	38.0% (811)	100.0% (2134)
Bearing no burden of ASHS propaganda	44.0% (939)	24.9% (531)	31.1% (664)	100.0% (2134)
SUM	32.3% (2410)	29.1% (2175)	38.6% (2884)	100.0% (7469)

Notes: ASHS – anti-Semitic hate speech

From question Q13, 3 topics were selected, one from each group, which has resonated in public opinion recently. These are the topics "Migration Crisis in Europe", "Political Party LS-NS" and "Murder and Investigation of the murder of Ján Kuciak". The data shows that in each topic, about 40% of respondents who claim that the topic may provoke large to high negative emotions towards Jews (about 50% of respondents) agree with anti-Semitic prejudice (e.g. about a fourth of the total number of respondents). But at the same time, the same can be said about the respondents, according to which the topic evokes no or only a small negative emotion towards the Jews. They are also represented at about 40%. At first glance, the effect of emotions is little to none.

Table 3.2 Agreement rate with hateful and degrading comments on the internet due to triggering behaviour of other users of the digital space

Question	Agree			Disagree			Neither agree nor disagree	Do not know	SUM
	Strongly	More likely	Sum	More likely	Strongly	Sum			
Q2A	2.7% (29)	9.4% (100)	12.1% (129)	33.6% (359)	27.8% (296)	61.4% 655	24.7% (264)	1.8% (19)	100.0% (1067)

Note: Question Q2 A: It is OK to send hateful or degrading messages against someone online if they start to attack you, your friends or family first.

But when we realize that only in the topic "Political Party - LS-NS" it is possible to find a connection with the Jews; the other two themes are not connected to the Jews. It means that in these other two topics there should not be high negative emotions in connection to anti-Semitic prejudice. But they people connect them, and the existence of this connection indicates the existence of some correlation between the two variables. One way to get rid of negative emotions is to find the culprit instead of finding a solution. In the emotions which we experience in relation to what is happening in public space, Jews, sometimes other minorities, are often pictured as such culprits. Table 3.2 shows the proportion of respondents that not only have a tendency to have negative

emotions in relation to this topic but also these negative emotions result in writing hateful or degrading comments. It turns out that 12.1% of respondents admit such a negative emotion and related aggressive behaviour, 24.7% are not sure of their reaction.

How does this negative emotion reflect in the tendency to accept anti-Semitic prejudice or, in other words, in the susceptibility of seeking the culprit in the Jews? The data suggests that the tendency to address the negative emotions acquired on the Internet by writing hateful or degrading messages at the same time increases the tendency to agree with a clear anti-Semitic claim and a quasi-neutral claim about the Jews. But the rate of this interconnection does not exceed the average value for all respondents (39.9%), so it is difficult to talk about any great impact of negative emotions acquired on the Internet. This statement is also supported by the data of the extent of agreement with anti-Semitic prejudice for those who accept the writing of hate messages as a result of internet attacks on their loved ones and those who do not. In both cases, the extent of agreement with anti-Semitic prejudice is virtually the same (41.9% and 41.5%). The tendency to address negative emotions on the Internet by writing hate messages is only marginally related to anti-Semitic prejudice. To some extent, this claim is supported by the fact that there are not many respondents who admit that provoked negative emotions are willing to address hateful or degrading reports on the Internet (see Table 3.2), only 12.1% of respondents and only around 42% declares its acceptance of anti-Semitic prejudice, thus potentially turning their anger towards the Jews.

Table 3.3 Satisfaction rate of the users of the digital space with their own life

Satisfaction rate with one's own life	Number	Sum	%	Sum of %
Very satisfied	176	691	16.5%	64.7%
Rather satisfied	515		48.3%	
Neither satisfied, nor dissatisfied	211	211	19.8%	19.8%
Rather dissatisfied	120	160	11.2%	15.0%
Very dissatisfied	40		3.7%	
Do not know/ Prefer not to answer	5	5	0.5%	0.5%
SUM	1067	1067	100.0%	100.0%

If we talk about the connection of emotions and “agreeing” or “disagreeing” with anti-Semitic statements, then it is not possible to forget such an important emotion as satisfaction. In our case, satisfaction with one's own life and satisfaction with the current political situation in Slovakia. As you can see, only 15% of respondents are dissatisfied with their lives, which is not something concerning. On the other hand, the data in Table 3.4 is not that satisfying. Not surprisingly, 50% of those dissatisfied with their lives agree with the anti-Semitic claim "Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy" and 25.6% "neither agree nor disagree". It is worrying, however, that among those who express their approval of a typical anti-Semitic prejudice (427 respondents), those who are satisfied with their lives are highly prevalent. These are 269 respondents out of a total of 427 respondents, which is 63% and 38.9% respectively of all satisfied. Thus, life satisfaction does not have the power to reduce the respondents' overall tendency to receive the anti-Semitic prejudice (40.0%).

Table 3.4 Satisfaction of the users of the digital space with their own life and their agreement rate with anti-Semitic claim “Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy”. – in % and in numbers.

Agreement rate with anti-Semitic prejudice →	Agree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Do not know	Sum
Satisfaction rate with one's own life					
Satisfied	38.9% (269)	18.7% 129	25.9% (179)	16.5% (114)	100.0% (691)
Dissatisfied	50.0% (80)	10.6% (17)	25.6% (41)	13.8% (22)	100.0% (160)
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	37.0% (78)	12.8% (27)	33.1% (70)	17.1% (36)	100.0% (211)
Do not know	- (-)	• (1)	• (1)	• (3)	100.0% (5)
Sum	40.0% (427)	16.3% (174)	27.3% (291)	16.4% (175)	100.0% (1067)

Table 3.5 Satisfaction of the users of the digital space with current political situation in Slovakia

Satisfaction rate with current political situation in Slovakia	Number	Sum	%	Sum of %
Very satisfied	25	96	2.3%	9.0%
Rather satisfied	71		6.7%	
Neither satisfied, nor dissatisfied	190	190	17.8%	17.8%
Rather dissatisfied	318	743	29.8%	69.6%
Very dissatisfied	425		39.8%	
Do not know/ Prefer not to answer	38	38	3.6%	3.6%
SUM	1067	1067	100.0%	100.0%

A similar picture can be obtained for anti-Semitic claims of a different type than anti-Semitic prejudices. Also, for these claims, the data show the same tendency as the data in Table 3.4. Among those who agree with anti-Semitic claims, those who declare satisfaction with their lives are highly prevalent, and among those who are satisfied with their lives, the representation of those who agree with anti-Semitic claims is the same as the representation of all respondents. Thus, life satisfaction does not have the power to reduce respondents' overall vulnerability to adopt ASHS. This means that dissatisfaction with your life increases the tendency to agree with ASHS, but satisfaction with your own life does not in itself reduce it. In other words, we cannot rely on the country full of happy people will automatically make antisemitism disappear. However, antisemitism may increase if people are dissatisfied with their lives. We get a different picture of satisfaction when we are interested in satisfaction with the current political situation in Slovakia. Table 3.5 shows that almost 70% of respondents are dissatisfied with this situation, almost 18% are unable to decide whether they are satisfied or dissatisfied, and only 9% are satisfied.

Table 3.6 Satisfaction rate of the users of the digital space with current political situation in Slovakia and their agreement rate with anti-Semitic claim “Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy”. – in % and in numbers.

Agreement rate with the anti-Semitic stereotype → Satisfaction rate with current political situation in Slovakia	Agree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Do not know	Sum
Very satisfied	31.3% (30)	22.9% (22)	32.3% (31)	13.5% (13)	100.0% (96)
Rather satisfied	43.4% (322)	16.8% (125)	24.2% (180)	15.6% (116)	100.0% (743)
Neither satisfied, nor dissatisfied	33.2% (63)	13.2% (25)	37.8% (72)	15.8% (30)	100.0%
Rather dissatisfied	31.6% (12)	5.3% (2)	21.1% (8)	42.0% (16)	100.0% (38)
Very dissatisfied	40.0% (427)	16.3% (174)	27.3% (291)	16.4% (175)	100.0% (1067)
Do not know/ Prefer not to answer	31.6% (12)	5.3% (2)	21.1% (8)	42.0% (16)	100.0% (38)
SUM	40.0% (427)	16.3% (174)	27.3% (291)	16.4% (175)	100.0% (1067)

A different picture of satisfaction does not automatically mean a different connection with the agreement rate of anti-Semitic claims. Data in Table 3.6 says that among those who agree with anti-Semitic prejudice and are highly dissatisfied with the political situation it is - 322 respondents out of 427, which is up to 75% representation, which is more than in the previous case of satisfaction with one's own life. The proportion of respondents disagreeing with the anti-Semitic prejudice is also higher among respondents dissatisfied with the political situation (43.4%) than the proportion of respondents among all respondents (40.0%). In case of dissatisfaction with one's own life, it was up to 50.0% and 40.0%, which means that dissatisfaction with the political situation seems to have slightly less power to increase the tendency to receive anti-Semitic prejudice than dissatisfaction with one's own life. But this does not change the fact that both dissatisfactions increase this tendency, but to a different extent. A similar picture, however, at a much lower level of impact, is seen from data on respondents' consent to openly anti-Semitic claims, as well as seemingly neutral statements about the Jews (21.9% and 28.7%, dissatisfied with their lives and 14, 5% and 24.5% for those dissatisfied with the current political situation in Slovakia). In relation to the respondents' satisfaction with the political situation in Slovakia, the same applies to their satisfaction with their own life - dissatisfaction with the political situation in Slovakia increases the tendency of respondents to agree with anti-Semitic claims, but satisfaction with this situation does not in itself reduce it. The survey cannot be considered to be representative. However, the way in which respondents are selected justifies the conclusion that the results are close to the real status quo. The facts and tendencies suggested by the survey may also serve as a significant source for hypotheses for potential in-depth representative research.

From the data gathered in this survey we can observe that:

(1) 39.9% of respondents are prone to adopt traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes. They are less likely to accept quasi-neutral statements (20.9%). Open anti-Semitic statements have the least acceptance potential (17.1%). This potential for receiving anti-Semitic claims is confirmed by the extent of their non-acceptance. The order is the opposite, the clearly anti-Semitic statements (33.6%) have the greatest potential for non-acceptance, quasi-neutral statements (24.1%) have smaller potential and traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes have the smallest (17.1%). The clarity of

these results is doubted by the high range of responses in which respondents did "neither agreed nor disagreed" respectively voted "I don't know". However, there are almost half of those responses, what represents significant negative potential. It can be assumed that these people are unclear about how they should navigate themselves in their lives, whether they should follow prejudices or not or what is also possible is that they don't care at all. They, therefore, form a group with unstable behaviour, a group that can be captured by a stronger emotion associated with an authoritatively presented view. It can also be assumed that they are largely people who are likely to be subject to a tendency to adopt or at least not to reject anti-Semitic claims in the anti-Semitic environment. This has a twofold nature. If the pressure of social control that opposes anti-Semitic prejudice is released, there is a risk of mass spread of open antisemitism. As long as the pressure of social control persists, at least not to increase it, there is room for the necessary preventive action.

(2) Men are more likely to accept anti-Semitic prejudice than women, while women are more prone to opinions that are unclear or uncertain. With increasing age, the respondents' tendency to agree with the anti-Semitic stereotype (up to 50% - 80% of the age group) is increasing and the tendency to disagree with the stereotype (up to 10% - 0% of the age group) decreases. The proportion of respondents who are undecided, unable to take a clear position, is around 40% - 50% in each age group. This is especially concerning information in relation to the younger age groups. This means that prevention should focus primarily on younger age groups - on undecided and in agreement with the aim being to move them to the "disagree" category. For older age groups, it will be a success if their opinion is challenged. Respondents' tendency to adopt an anti-Semitic stereotype is around 40.0% in all regions. Only in Banska Bystrica region is this value significantly lower. This may be a coincidence, but it may also indicate that in a consistently representative survey, regional disparities could play a significant role.

The "status" variable does not in itself affect the tendency to receive anti-Semitic claims. Its influence is conditioned by such variables as age, sex, education, etc. Respondents in settlements below 1 000 inhabitants and over 20 000 inhabitants show a higher tendency to adopt an anti-Semitic stereotype than respondents in settlements from 1 000 to 20 000 inhabitants. It is not in line with the common belief that as the size of the settlement increases, tolerance of population increases as well. Probably the role played by the "subject of study" and the smallest settlements losing younger people with their move to bigger settlements.

(3) The respondents' tendency to agree with the anti-Semitic stereotype is increasing as the level of education increases. For other types of anti-Semitic claims with increasing education, this susceptibility decreases to some extent. It is right to believe that respondents are mostly graduates of technical education, but this explanation of the growing acceptance of anti-Semitic stereotypes with increasing education is not sufficient enough.

There is an explanation of the different effects of social control. Beyond the higher level of acceptance of the traditional and typical anti-Semitic stereotype, the impact of subliminal anti-Semitic prejudices present in the culture, which are not under the pressure of direct social control and as socially acceptable, does not evoke a clear negative condemnation. The same influence is also manifested in relation to the susceptibility to accepting a seemingly neutral statement on Jews. Those who do not reject the validity of traditional anti-Semitic prejudices give this seemingly neutral statement anti-Semitic meaning, which translates into a higher tendency to agree with it. On the other hand, consent to a clear and openly anti-Semitic statement is associated with clear

and open opposition of the social environment to its bearer, which was also reflected in the data in the table. This different effect of social control is blamed as a red thread for the results of the entire survey.

(4) However, it means that the main problem is the existence of subconscious traditional anti-Semitic prejudices that have been following us for generations and the related high proportion of respondents (from 43.4 to 63.8% of respondents depending on the type of anti-Semitic statement) who cannot or are unsure about the stand towards this topic. This unusually high representation is a cause for concern, but also an opportunity to multiply effective efforts to get rid of traditional antisemitism, which indirectly reinforces secondary antisemitism.

(5) In the answers to almost every important question, there is a large proportion of people who do not have a clear opinion. It is usually about half of the respondents. It is also too many people to consider their answers all buck-passing. Rather, this can be seen as disorientation of these people, who have something preached by the traditional education and something else by modern society. There seems to be a lot of room to pursue education focusing on tolerance.

(6) From the point of view of the sources from which the respondents draw information about the Jews, it is interesting not what sources the respondents draw from, but what sources they did not choose. Almost half of those who did not choose were made by those who could not decide whether to agree with anti-Semitic prejudice or not. This means that the sources could not persuade them to reject anti-Semitic prejudice.

(7) The reservations about support for national and ethnic minorities and churches and their organizations are reflected in an increased tendency to accept anti-Semitic prejudice. On the other hand, those who think that these organizations and groups are not supported may see a reduced tendency in receiving anti-Semitic prejudice. It can be assumed that a higher level of prejudice increases the tendency to receive anti-Semitic statements.

(8) The questionable privilege to be “our minority” is taking into consideration Roma and people with disabilities, it does not concern Jewish and Muslims, which belong to the category “visible” and “foreign”. We can assume that they are perceived as those who threaten a homogeneous society and foremost its security. This harsher stance towards them also showcases stronger prejudices, therefore, the higher tendency to adopt ASHS. With this also comes hand in hand how society perceives the differences, those who negatively assess the traditional conflicts in society (ethnic and religious) are more prone to adopt the anti-Semitic claims.

(9) It has been shown that around half of the respondents have an ambivalent relationship with the Jews, this entails considerable negative or positive potential, depending on which direction the policy-makers’ attitudes will evolve - whether towards refrainment or cooperation with others. And how strong the pressure of social control to respect the principles of tolerance and respect for others will be. The greatest share of ambivalence is perceived by respondents in relation to the Jews (62.1% of respondents !! who are unable to decide whether to address them their sympathy or antipathy). And the “smallest” share of the ambivalent relationship is declared by the respondents in relation to Roma (40.1% of respondents). A high proportion of ambivalent attitudes towards minorities, as well as the tendency of respondents to transfer their dissatisfaction from one minority to another, seem to be a challenge for the future. This reaffirms the need for education for tolerance and respect.

(10) There is about 10% of respondents who declare that they have not encountered hate speech against the Jews and at the same time disagree with anti-Semitic prejudice. Apparently, they live in a society in which there is no pre-judgmental thinking and no hate speech against Jews. It is important to know that such an environment exists, although its extent is not large. The need for enlargement is just another reason to amplify the previous finding that - an effective education for tolerance and respect is needed.

(11) With increasing activity on the Internet and increasingly declared competence in behaviour on the Internet, respondents' tendency to accept anti-Semitic claims is increasing. Also, in this case, we have to deal with a hidden variable in the background that allows most of the respondents to declare high Internet behaviours. It can be assumed that such a variable is the technical education. This shows one of the target groups of preventive measures.

(12) Critical or uncritical and reflexive or non-reflexive relationships with the Internet do not affect the susceptibility to receive anti-Semitic claims. In both groups, the average susceptibility is higher than of receiving anti-Semitic prejudice. Probably the problem is that respondents perceive and judge what is happening on the Internet at the level of rationally, and do not appreciate the irrational and emotional layer that is hidden on the second plan which works with their hidden or suppressed prejudices. And another explanation offered is that there is no direct link between the degree of critical and reflexive attitude to the Internet and the reception of anti-Semitic messages. Either way, the digital space is probably the space that is not sufficiently used to prevent anti-Semitic attitudes. This statement is reinforced by the low use of the Internet as a source of information about the Jews.

(13) The anonymity of the Internet in itself strengthens the susceptibility to receive anti-Semitic claims, it is enhanced only in the connection with prejudices.

(14) It is striking that almost a quarter of respondents associate negative emotions towards Jews with topics that have nothing to do with the Jews. It is yet another form of subconscious action of deep-rooted anti-Semitic prejudices.

(15) Dissatisfaction with their lives increases the tendency to accept anti-Semitic claims, but satisfaction with their own lives does not in itself reduce it. In other words, we cannot rely on the fact that if a country is full of happy people, anti-Semitism will disappear somehow by itself. But anti-Semitism can be expected to increase if people are dissatisfied with their lives. The respondents thus seem to remind us of this old truth about the scapegoat and encourage us to prevent anti-Semitism from spreading.

(16) In relation to the respondents' satisfaction with the political situation in Slovakia, the same applies to their satisfaction with their own life - dissatisfaction with the political situation in Slovakia increases the tendency of the respondents to agree with anti-Semitic claims, but satisfaction with this situation does not reduce it.