



CONTEMPT SPEECH, HATE SPEECH

Report from research on verbal violence
against minority groups

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table of contents

Hate speech, contempt speech in Poland 2016 3

The idea of the research	9
Selection of hate speech examples	10
Analysis of hate speech content	14
Questionnaire survey	17

Content of hate speech against particular minority groups	22
Summary	26

Exposure to hate speech	30
Summary	39
Comparison 2014-2016	41
Summary	52

Perceived offensiveness of hate speech	54
Comparison of perceived offensiveness of hate speech in 2014 and 2016	56
Summary	59

Hate speech against non-heteronormative persons	61
Offensiveness of hate speech and support for a ban of its use	62

Attitudes toward nonheteronormative persons and attitudes toward hate speech	68
Homonegativity and modern homonegativity	69
Summary	76

Hate speech against refugees and Muslims	78
Offensiveness of hate speech and support for the ban on using it	79
Attitudes toward refugees and Muslims and attitudes toward hate speech	85
Attitudes toward arrival of refugees in Poland and support for using violence to solve the migration crisis in Europe	85
Anti-Muslim prejudice and secular criticism of Islam	93
Summary	98

Hate speech toward feminists	100
Questions on hate speech against feminists	100
Offensiveness, support for the ban on, use and encountering of hate speech	101
Demographic characteristics and hate speech	107
Sexism	108

Encountering feminists and acceptance for them	113
Accepting hate speech and discrimination	115
Summary	117

Effects of encountering hate speech	119
Exposure to hate speech and attitudes toward such language	120
Exposure to hate speech and prejudice	122
Exposure to hate speech and acceptance of non-normative behaviour	125
Exposure to hate speech and attitudes toward refugees and support for violent solutions to the “migrant crisis”	127
Exposure to hate speech and political radicalism	130
Summary	132

Reasons for using hate speech	133
Incidence of using hate speech among different social groups	135
Socio-psychological grounds for using hate speech	139
Inter-group emotions and using hate speech	143
Summary	146

Hate speech, contempt speech in Poland 2016

In the early days of October 2016 in Toruń a group of men attacked three Turkish exchange students staying in Poland. One of the attackers hit the Turkish student in his face. In Toruń it was not the first such incident affecting Turkish people – several months earlier seven students were attacked and one of them had to be hospitalised. Violent acts took place on public transport many times: in October 2016 in Łódź an Algerian woman was pushed out of a tram, in September in a tram in Warsaw a university professor speaking in German with his colleague was attacked and beaten, and in December in Bydgoszcz a group of Bulgarian and Turkish students were similarly attacked. Attacks also took place on the streets: in Warsaw a Nigerian PhD student was attacked with paralysing gas, in Gdańsk a British citizen of Egyptian origin was brutally beaten, in Brzeszcze a Ukrainian was attacked, in Rzeszów a Portuguese, in Szczecin an Italian, in Poznań a Pakistani.

What is common with all the attacks, reported in the Polish press in 2016¹, is their clear racial motivation. Almost in all cases, the attacks were preceded by insults spoken against Muslims, Ukrainians or black people. Attacks motivated by ethnicity or race of the victims are of special nature, and are seen as a separate category of offence. Also in Poland, we noticed that psychological effects felt by victims of such violent acts were more serious than with victims of attacks

1. See, Zadworny, A. (2016). Od słów do czynów i na murzynów [From words to acts, and against the Blacks]. *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 6.12.2016; Klauziński, S. (2016). Rektorzy polskich uczelni: Ataki na zagranicznych studentów wywołują wstyd w środowisku akademickim [Presidents of Polish universities: Assaults on foreign students incite shame in academic circles]. *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 1.12.2016.

that are not motivated by racist, religious or ethnic hate.² Coincidence of hate speech, i.e. offensive statements addressed to gay people, Jews, Muslims or Ukrainians, with attacks against representatives of the groups suggest that hate speech can be seen as a justification for violence, making it socially more acceptable.

When we started our research on hate speech in 2016, we wanted to find out about the scale of the phenomenon – after two years from our former, similar survey. We wanted to acquire a deeper understanding of possible effects of encountering hate speech and find out to what extent its presence in the public discourse can lead to discrimination, violence and atrophy of social norms. We tried to analyse how common is hate speech in everyday life of Poles and who are the ones that use it. We also surveyed the incidence of hate speech against groups that were not covered by our former survey of 2014: transsexual persons, lesbians, feminist activists and refugees.

The two surveys led in 2014 and 2016 let us assess to what extent the events that took place during the last two years in Poland changed the attitudes of Poles. It was a time of dynamic political change in Poland – 2015 witnessed parliamentary and presidential elections, and during election campaigns dangers relating to migrations were often highlighted, fear of refugees or Muslims was incited, and anti-Semitic or anti-Ukrainian resentments were exploited. At the same time, Europe faced challenges of receiving and integrating considerable numbers of migrants and refugees.

In spite of the fact that the problem did not affect Poland, it was fiercely discussed in the Polish public debate. Thus, we decided that a new survey led on a representative sample of adults and youth was needed.

Thus, what has changed during the last two years? Where could the most important shifts in attitudes be seen and what are their causes and preconditions? The present report answers these questions. But first, it is worth presenting the main results of surveys led under the project.

In 2016 the most common victims of hate speech were refugees and gay men. Respondents also declared that relatively often they encountered hate speech against Muslims, Romani people and black persons. Hate speech is encountered by Poles mainly on the Internet (in particular by youth), on TV (mainly adults) and in everyday conversations and on the streets.

From 2014 to 2016, a considerable increase can be seen in the percentage of persons encountering hate speech in media and in everyday life. Significantly, hate speech is today more common than two years ago also in traditional media that should supposedly be more responsible for the content they present. In 2014 every fifth adult Pole declared encountering drastic anti-Muslim or anti-Ukrainian statements on TV, and today almost a half of Poles declare that they encountered offensive statements against Muslims on TV, and every fourth Pole encountered hate speech against Ukrainians on TV. Also in the press the increase in incidence of hate speech is visible: the numbers of young and

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adult Poles who encountered offensive statements against Muslims doubled. In recent years Muslims became the most offended group in the press – while the number of Poles reading anti-Muslim articles increased, the number of persons declaring reading anti-Semitic, anti-Romani or racist articles slightly fell.

But it is the Internet that remains the most common source of hate speech. In 2014, roughly half of young Poles encountered anti-Semitic, anti-Muslim or anti-Ukrainian hate speech on the Internet, while today as much as 75% of youth declare that they have seen on the Internet anti-Semitic statements, 80% Islamophobic statements, and 71% anti-Ukrainian statements. After only two years we reached a point where the vast majority of youth is immersed in a reality full of hateful statements against various minorities. The situation has significant consequences. Experimental and correlation research led by the Warsaw University Center for Research on Prejudice indicates growing desensitisation of Poles: the closer contact people have with hate speech in their social environment, the more they become accustomed to it and stop thinking of it as a grave social problem. It is also visible in the analyses presented in the report. Today, anti-Muslim, anti-Semitic or anti-Romani statements are seen as definitely offensive by considerably lower percentages of young and adult Poles (the tendency is visibly stronger among youth). The development is particularly more pronounced in the case of Muslims – i.e. the group for which the increase in incidence of hate speech

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Growing desensitisation of Poles: the closer contact people have with hate speech in their social environment, the more they become accustomed to it and stop thinking of it as a grave social problem.

was the strongest in the last two years (both on TV, in the press, and on the Internet).

Persons encountering hate speech in their environment are more willing to use hate speech themselves. Contact with hate speech is particularly dangerous for youth and results in a kind of atrophy of social norms among them. Youngsters encountering hate speech become more willing to also break other social rules and declare greater willingness to use violence in everyday life or greater support for repressive measures against refugees (using isolation measures, closing frontiers, invigilation).

Most importantly though, the greater incidence of hate speech in a given social environment, the greater willingness to use it. Today, a half of youth in Poland admit to using hate speech against gay men, Romani people, migrants or Muslims. 30% of young Poles admit to using anti-Semitic statements and statements against lesbians or feminists. Young female Poles use such language almost twice less often than young male Poles: 26% of girls admit to using anti-Romani hate speech, 27% – homophobic (anti-gay), 30% – islamophobic, and 17% – anti-Semitic hate speech, which seems to be in line with the results of earlier research, led by the Warsaw University Center for Research on Prejudice, that highlighted particularly problematic behaviour and attitudes of young men among whom prejudice and racist and discriminatory views are much more common than among young women.

Most importantly though, the greater incidence of hate speech in a given social environment, the greater willingness to use it. Today, a half of youth in Poland admit to using hate speech against gay men, Romani people, migrants or Muslims. 30% of young Poles admit to using anti-Semitic statements and statements against lesbians or feminists.

The younger the respondents the more commonly they use hate speech – teenagers most willingly admit to using it (64% of them admit to using one or another form of hate speech), it is a bit less common among twenty and thirty year-olds (but most of them admit to using offensive statements on minorities), and among older people hate speech is very rare (only every fifth of seventy year-olds use such language).

The survey led in 2016 shows that gay men are not protected in Poland by norms of correctness. Most of the respondents are against introducing bans on hate speech toward gay men, lesbians and transsexual persons. Our surveys – like many other surveys – show that men are more distanced from homosexual persons than women, which is particularly visible among youth. Both adult and young men are most distanced from gay men. We got similar results for attitudes towards refugees: it was young men who were most hostile to refugees in their social environment and most supportive of using exclusion and violence to solve the refugee problem.

Finally, we noticed that what is commonly called “hate speech” results from contempt rather than from hatred. It would support our earlier supposition that the phenomenon in question should rather be called “contempt speech”, for it is based on the humiliating emotion that blocks any emphatic reactions and objectifies other persons.³

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3. Bilewicz, M., Kamińska, O., Winiewski, M., Soral, W. (in press) From disgust to contempt-speech. The nature of contempt on the map of prejudicial emotions. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*.

The idea of the research

The present research had two main goals: first, like in the case of the 2014 survey, to diagnose the present attitudes of Poles toward hate speech, and second, to compare the 2016 results with the results of 2014 survey in order to detect changes that took place in the two-year period.

The survey was prepared in such a way as to enable us to conduct a thorough analysis of the phenomenon of hate speech. We wanted to learn where and to what extent Poles encounter hateful statements. We also wanted to analyse the mechanisms of social approval of hate speech or answer the question, who and in what circumstances approve of hateful statements toward different groups? We examined psychological and social effects of being exposed to hate speech. Our 2014 survey had similar goals, but social and political changes that took place in the world and in Poland between 2014 and 2016 made us modify the survey. Polish presidential and parliamentary elections of 2015 and ensuing political changes, as well as the migration crisis in Europe, resulted in grave alterations in both the content and the form of the public debate. When the first survey was conducted in spring of 2014, the expressions “refugee” or “migrant” had completely different connotations than today, and most importantly were not the focus of public opinion. For that reason, the groups were not covered by the 2014 survey, while in the 2016 survey they became one

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of the most prominent social categories in the context of hate speech. There are more such modifications in the present survey.

The 2014 survey covered hateful statements against minority groups – Jews, Ukrainians, Romani people, African/Black people, Muslims and sexual minorities. The last group included in fact only homosexual men.⁴ The recent survey covered not only the above mentioned six groups, but also included questions on respondents' attitudes toward hate speech against refugees, lesbians, transsexual persons and feminists.

SELECTION OF HATE SPEECH EXAMPLES

As in 2014, the hate speech citations were chosen from the database of the Association of Local Knowledge.⁵ For the groups covered by the 2014 survey we used exactly the same examples of hate speech. For the newly added groups we used a separate database, and we also searched comments posted under texts published on the most important Polish media portals, such as onet.pl, gazeta.pl, polityka.pl, wsieci.pl, interia.pl and niezalezna.pl. The portals were selected taking into account diversity of positions taken by their authors. In addition to that, for each minority group we selected 20 statements that had possibly similar subject (within each group) and different intensity of offensiveness, trying to choose 10 statements of high and 10 statements of medium intensity of offensiveness.

4. As a result of the choice of examples of hate speech selected from the Internet database that were used in pilot survey.

5. Raport mniejszości – monitoring polskiego internetu pod kątem „mowy nienawiści” i „języka wrogości” [Minority report – Monitoring of the Polish Internet as to “hate speech” and “resentful language”].

The statements from Internet users were supplemented by two public statements of known persons posted on their blogs, in their articles or covered by media (because of their offensive nature). Most of the examples were known to the general public.

Survey on minority groups

The prepared lists of offensive statements were given for evaluation to competent judges – members of the groups which the statements described. The task of the judges was to evaluate each statement based on three additional questions: 1) Do you think that the statement is harmful to <name of the minority>; 2) Do you think that the statement is hate speech?; 3) Should statements like this be banned on the Internet portals/in nationwide media?

The answers were given using a scale from 1 – “Definitely no”, to 10 – “Definitely yes”.

The whole survey procedure was repeated in exactly the same manner as during the 2014 survey in order to get new descriptions and choose three statements for each group for the survey led on the nationwide sample. As a result, the proper survey used a list of statements that in fact contained hate speech (as the main criterion we took the evaluations of harmfulness of the statements made by the representatives of the minorities).

Minorities about hate speech towards...

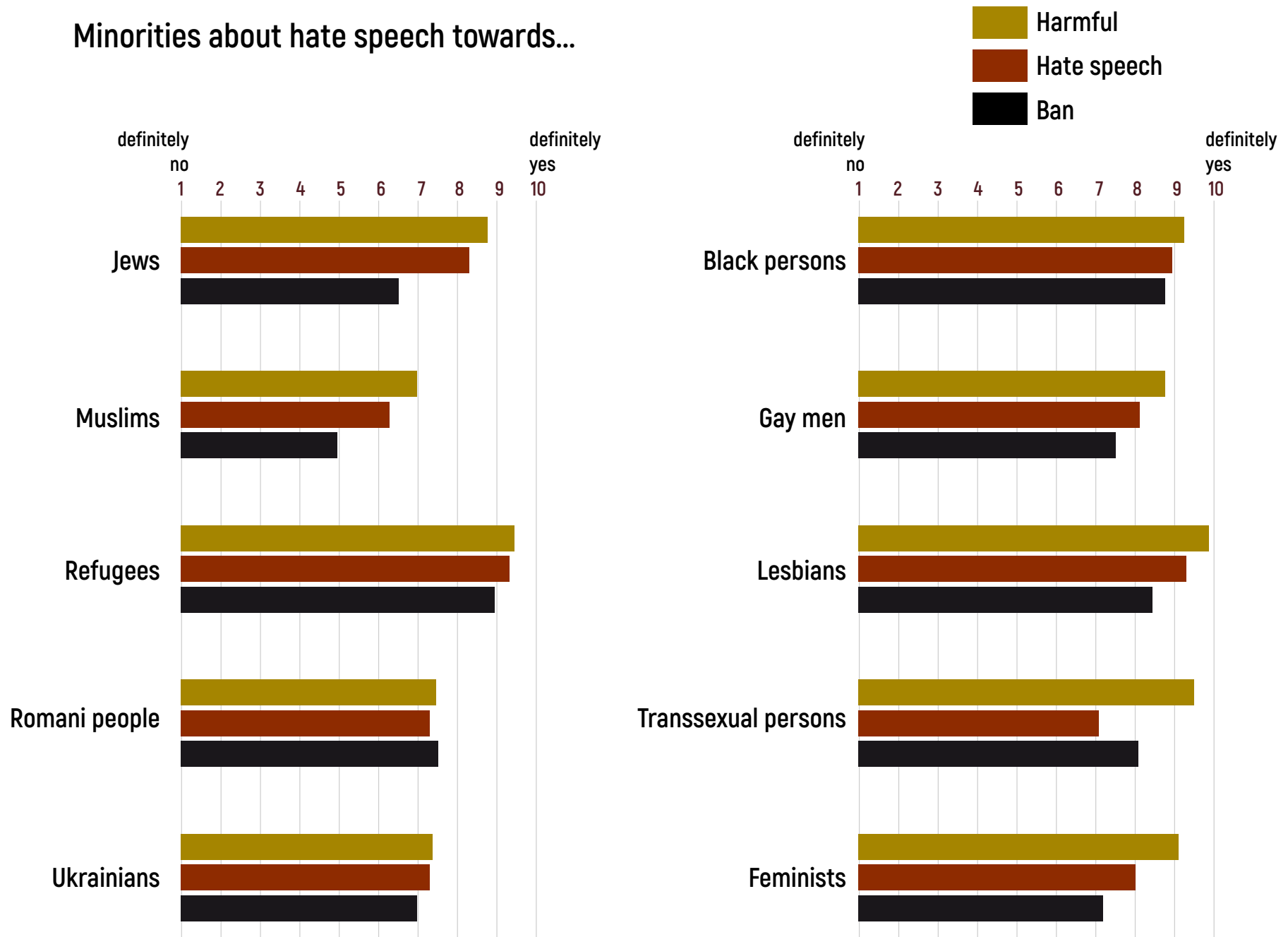


Figure 1. Average evaluations of 22 sample statements by representatives of minorities.

Representatives of all minorities saw the statements presented to them as offensive and described them as hate speech. A ban on such statements was not so common among representatives of the minorities, though it is worth noting that all evaluations visibly exceeded the middle value on the scale which means that according to representatives of the minorities, on average such statements should be banned.

Selection of statements for the questionnaire survey

For the new minorities, evaluations of all statements were summed up. Based on that, like in the 2014 survey, statements evaluated by representatives of minorities as definitely offensive were chosen, representing two categories – typical hate speech statements (containing expressions commonly seen as offensive) and rationalising statements (trying to justify hateful attitude and usually not containing offensive expressions).

Additionally, statements of publicly known persons were chosen. The main criterion was an evaluation of their extremity made by members of the minorities. Out of each two examples we chose the ones evaluated as more harmful and more hateful, and more commonly seen as statements that should be banned.

ANALYSIS OF HATE SPEECH CONTENT

Simultaneously with the initial survey on minority groups, examples of hate speech were analysed as to their content. The aim of the analysis was to examine whether there were differences in the content of hate speech statements directed at different minority groups. We also wanted to find out what content categories of hate speech can be distinguished. To research the above problems, in the first stage of the project we decided to analyse the statements gathered during Internet reviews, using the method of concept mapping that allows for examining the structure of contents gathered using qualitative methods (for example, free comments) with the help of tools used in quantitative research, i.e. quantification and statistical analysis.

The analysed content material consisted of 250 statements directed to eleven groups (Jews, Ukrainians, Russians⁶, Romani people, Muslims, black persons, refugees, lesbians, gay men, transsexual persons and feminists). First, the statements were sorted by seven competent judges – social psychologists specialising in inter-group relations. The competent judges were asked to group all the 250 statements according to content categories proposed by themselves, except that the statements should not be classified using the criterion of social group to which they were directed. The content groups proposed by each of the competent judges were analysed together, and seven relatively coherent categories were distinguished, named after the content of the statements they included (see Table 1).

6. As during the 2014 survey, for technical reasons we omitted certain groups in the further stages of the survey.

Table 1. Categories of hate speech content

Category	Examples
Lack of intelligence, wildness	As you can see, it's not about the colour of the skin, but ethnicity, and it is true that black people are wild
	Most black people, also in Africa, are more or less idiots.
	Your face is so nice, madam, but in your head you have a bird's brain, and I have to apologise to innocent birds for the statement, I meant the size of your brain.
Disgust	Gay people should be made an example of because they are disgusting.
	Faggots, stop showing yourselves off, trust me, it makes normal people sick when they look at you.
	People detest gays.
Abnormal behaviour	Lesbians are mental weirdos.
	Gays are deviants, exhibitionist homosexuals.
	All those feminists, lesbians etc. are perversions of nature.
Historical grounds for hatred	I don't like Ukrainians for what they did to Poles in July 1943.
	Sorry, but Ukrainians have quite a bit of innocent blood on their hands.
	I hate them because they make a business out of the Holocaust (Holocaust industry), they think that during the World War II only they were persecuted, and distort the history trying to fully blame Poles for their extermination.
Justifying hate speech	Impudent hag, she shouldn't have been so rowdy, then people would not react. Now she deserves to endure the anger of others for her rudeness and stupidity
	If Romani people don't watch/give up their own kind for thieving, the perception of them will never change.
	Jews were treated the same as Poles. It was up to them if they wanted to become good Poles. They were hated, but they deserved it ...
Crime	A Gypsy woman tells fortunes with one hand, and steals with the other..
	Cunningness, suspiciousness and duplicity are the characteristics of almost all Russians. What they like the most is to steal, take bribes, booze, show off their golden teeth, live in a tank and live at other people's cost.
	THIS UKRAINIAN IS MEAN. HE IS A WORSHIPPER OF BANDERA!!!!!!!!!!!!!!
Active aggression	The Brute should be shot at once.
	Let's start with stoning lesbians.
	Terrible mess, I said deportation or a bullet in the head. Cultural difference with them is 1400 years, they will never assimilate. (...) We don't need immoral zombies, we have enough of our own.

It is worthwhile to look closer at the categories distinguished using the concept mapping method, for the observed concept groups can be further classified. Thus, the category of offensive statements can include the concept groups “Lack of intelligence, wild” (that dehumanises and plays down intellectual abilities of representatives of a given minority group), “Disgust” (expressing abomination toward members of a minority group) and “Abnormal behaviour” (indicating alleged divergence from a norm of representatives of a given group).

Two other categories: “Historical grounds for hatred” and “Justifying hate speech” can be seen as more abstract. Statements included in the first of them deal mainly with historical – both individual and group – experiences between representatives of the minority groups and Poles. Statements included in the second category are based on the belief that faults characteristic for members of the groups form a “rationale” for hate speech against them, hence the hate speech should not be seen as such.

The next category, called “Crime”, includes statements about breaking social and legal norms by representatives of the minority groups. Statements within this category reflect the belief that persons whom they describe cannot be relied upon and that it is a common knowledge that they are prone to steal and commit other offences.

The last category, “Active aggression”, is the least content coherent one of all the categories. It includes both

statements calling for getting rid of members of minority groups and ones highlighting the willingness of representatives of the groups to take aggressive actions.

QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

The survey was conducted between September 2nd and October 2nd, 2016 by the Public Opinion Research Center on two random samples (simple drawing from the PESEL database): national sample of adults (N = 1052) with the bottom age limit of 18 years and youth sample aged between 16 and 18 (N = 682). In both cases the survey was implemented using the technique of computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI). In order to improve the quality of estimates, in both surveys (post-stratification) weights were used, calculated to take into account sex, age, size of place of residence, education, voivodeship and professional activity of respondents. All the following analyses use the weights.

QUESTIONNAIRE

For both samples, almost an identical questionnaire was used. The whole interview consisted of about 200 different questions. The model of the survey was quite similar to the 2014 survey. The questionnaire was divided into three main parts.

In the first part, respondents answered questions relating to general statements about beliefs on social environment. The following scales were used:

7. Sidanius, J., Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance: An inter-group theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

8. Altemeyer, B. (1998). The other “authoritarian personality”. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 30, 47-92.

9. Buss, A. H., Perry, M. (1992). The aggression questionnaire. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 63, 452-459.

10. Glick, P., Fiske, S. T. (1996). The ambivalent sexism inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70, 491-512.

SOCIAL DOMINATION ORIENTATION (SDO)⁷, or a scale measuring the belief in the need of social structure based on a deeply established hierarchy of social groups.

RIGHT-WING AUTHORITARIANISM (RWA)⁸, or a scale measuring the willingness to succumb to authority and authority figures and the preference to act in line with accepted traditions.

VERBAL AGGRESSION⁹, or a scale measuring the willingness to use verbal aggression, including acceptance of verbal aggression in solving important problems and conflicts.

SCALES OF AMBIVALENT (HOSTILE AND BENEVOLENT) SEXISM¹⁰ measuring favourable attitudes toward women adopting traditional social roles and toward traditional relations between women and men (benevolent sexism) and hostile attitudes toward women and relations between men and women that transgress traditional patterns (hostile sexism).

Then, respondents were presented with the main part of the survey – examples of hate speech against ten social groups (see Tables X in the Appendix). The examples were presented in random order for particular groups. The respondents were asked to specify to what extent they see the statements as offensive, how often they encounter such statements, where they encounter them and similar statements in public life, and then whether they sometimes use such statements and whether, in their opinion, usage of such statements should be allowed.

The last part included questions on possible effects of being exposed to hate speech and on attitudes related to approving of such messages. This part contained various scales measuring prejudice, emotional reactions to members of outgroups, attitudes toward important current social issues and approval of breaking social norms.

11. Bogardus, E. S. (1925). Measuring social distance. *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 9, 299-308.

12. Pettigrew, T. F., Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90, 751-783.

13. Mackie, D. M., Devos, T., Smith, E. R. (2000). Intergroup emotions: explaining offensive action tendencies in an intergroup context. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79, 602-616.

SOCIAL DISTANCE¹¹, or acceptance of minority members in a particular social environment. The questions related to acceptance of representatives of all minority groups covered by the survey – as neighbours, collaborators or family members.

CONTACT with representatives of minorities was measured using questions on being acquainted with persons representing particular categories. Research results show that contact with representatives of outgroups remains one of the most important factors in alleviating prejudice.¹²

INTERGROUP EMOTIONS¹³, or emotions felt toward representatives of outgroups. This is an extremely important component of attitudes which quite easily translates into behaviours, and thus is very helpful in explaining actual behaviours toward members of minorities. To shorten the questionnaire, we covered only four minority groups (Jews, Romani people, Muslims and gay men) and measured seven emotions toward them (pity, anger, hatred, disgust, contempt, envy and admiration).

14. Kofta, M., Sedek, M. (2005). Conspiracy stereotypes of Jews during systematic transformation in Poland. *International Journal of Sociology*, 35, 40–64.

15. Górka, P., Bilewicz, M., Winiewski, M., & Waszkiewicz, A. (2015). On old-fashioned versus modern homonegativity distinction: Evidence from Poland. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 71, 554–575.

16. Imhoff, R., Recker, J. (2012). Differentiating Islamophobia: Introducing a new scale to measure Islamoprejudice and secular Islam critique. *Political Psychology*, 33, 811–824.

17. Winiewski, M., Jurczyszyn, Ł., Bilewicz, M., Beneda, M., (2015) *Podłoże prawicowych preferencji wyborczych młodych Polaków* [Grounds for right-wing election preferences among young Poles], CBU Report, available at: <http://cbu.psychologia.pl/>.

SPECIFIC ATTITUDES TOWARD MINORITIES – like in the 2014 survey, respondents were asked to comment on several statements measuring attitudes toward some of the minority groups. Attitudes toward Jews were measured using the scale of **conspiracy anti-Semitism**¹⁴, relating to contemporary, politically motivated attitudes. In this form of anti-Semitism, Jews are seen as striving to take power and excessively interfering with the social life of a country or the world. At the same time, Jews are seen as a single entity, acting and achieving their common goals, and – equally importantly – operating secretly. Attitudes toward non-heteronormative persons were measured using two scales, of **traditional and modern homophobia**.¹⁵ The first of them relates to hostile attitudes toward homosexual persons based on moral and religious beliefs about homosexuality. In the case of modern homophobia, hostile attitudes toward gays and lesbians result from seeing their political demands as unjustified, alleged lack of discrimination against gays and lesbians in the society, and perceived unwillingness of homosexual persons to assimilate into the heterosexual majority. Attitudes toward Islam and Muslims were measured using the scales of **Islamophobia and secular criticism of Islam**.¹⁶ The first of them measures prejudice and general negative attitudes toward Islam, while the second – rational critical attitudes toward Muslim religious practices.

SUPPORT FOR RADICAL MEASURES¹⁷ – the scale measures acceptance and support for several radical postulates presented by right-wing political parties and movements.

18. Świdarska, A., Winiewski, M., Hansen. K. (2016) *Przemoc jako rozwiązanie? Napływ uchodźców w opiniach Polaków* [Violence as a solution? Opinions of Poles on the inflow of refugees], CBU Report, available at: <http://cbu.psychologia.pl/>

SUPPORT FOR USING VIOLENT MEASURES TO SOLVE THE MIGRATION CRISIS¹⁸, or acceptance of proposals to solve the present migration crisis through use of physical and mental abuse toward migrants by European countries and Poland.

Content of hate speech against particular minority groups

22

One of the aims of hate speech content analysis was to try to find the answer to the question whether statements directed to particular groups form separate, coherent categories. So we examined the correlation between different content categories of statements and particular minority groups that they described. Interestingly, our analyses indicated that the content of hate speech against particular groups corresponded with the most common stereotypes about them.

For the Jewish minority, the most commonly used statements belonged to the category “Historical grounds for hatred” – highlighting Jewish transgressions against Poles and thus justifying hate speech against Jews. Another big set of statements included expressions belonging to the category “Justifying hate speech”, or the ones based on the so-called secondary prejudice.¹⁹ In addition, several statements highlighting duplicity and inclination to criminal offences were also directed to the representatives of the Jewish minority.

Interestingly, our analyses indicated that the content of hate speech against particular groups corresponded with the most common stereotypes about them.

19. Winiewski, M., Bilewicz, M. (2015). Antysemityzm: dynamika i psychologiczne uwarunkowania [Antisemitism: Dynamics and psychological underpinnings]. In A. Stefaniak, M. Winiewski, M. Bilewicz (Eds.). *Uprzedzenia w Polsce [Prejudice in Poland]* (pp.15-39). Warsaw: Liberi Libri

How are minorities offended?

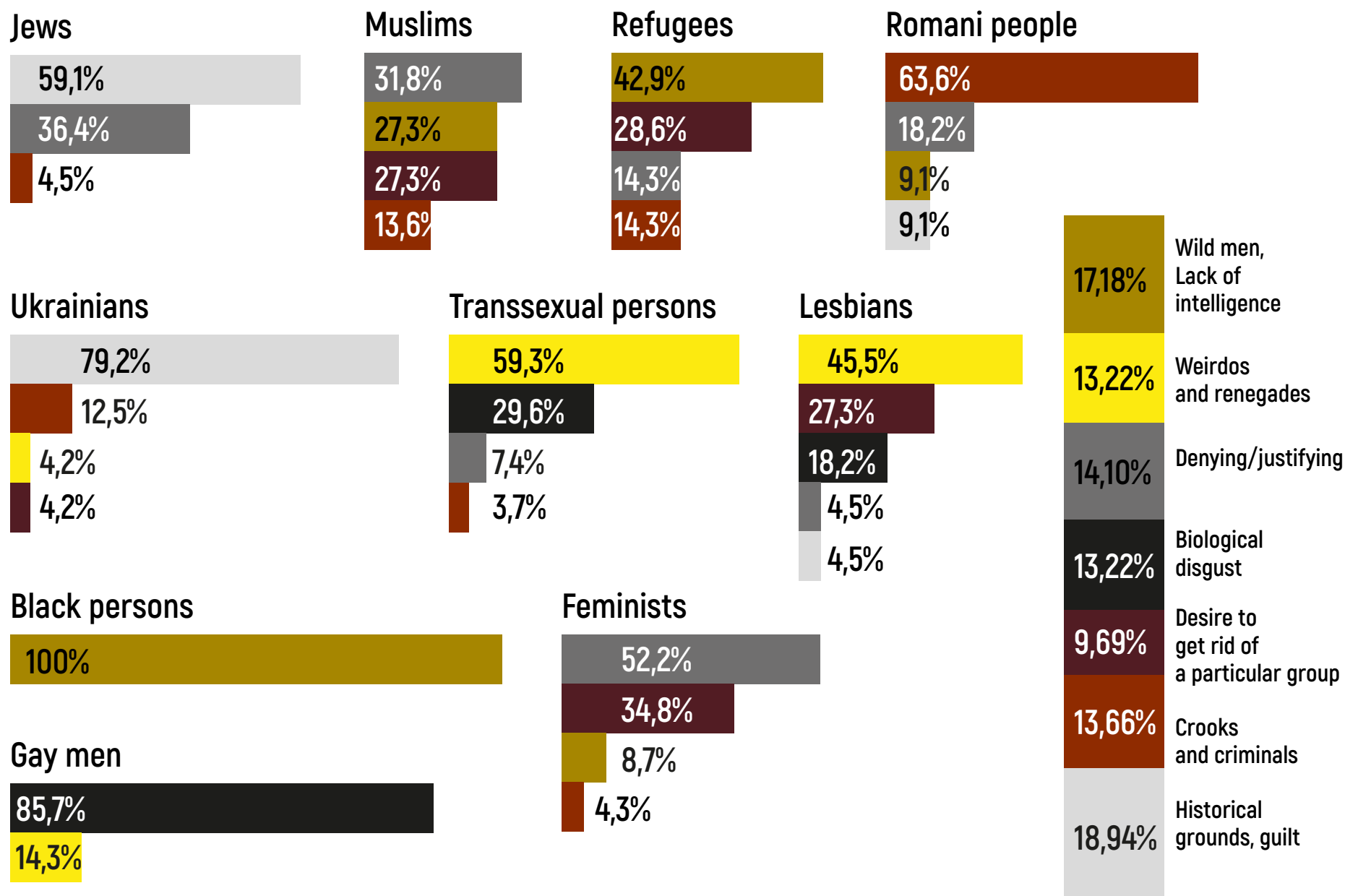


Figure 2. Hate speech content for different minority groups.

For the Ukrainian minority, the biggest set of statements included those highlighting historical transgressions against Poles; less common were statements relating to inclination of representatives of the group to cheating and theft, statements expressing active aggression, and those describing Ukrainians as deviating from the norm.

Hate speech against black people proved to be the least differentiated, for it included only statements indicating low intellectual abilities and the lack of good manners among representatives of the group.

The second most coherent set of statements seemed to be hate speech against homosexual men, for the group was a target of statements that can be classified as “offensive”, i.e. belonging both to the category “Disgust”, and the category highlighting differences between representatives of the group and the rest of society.

For the Romani minority, the most common statements related to their inclination to theft, cheating and crime, which to a great extent remains in line with stereotypical perceptions of the group. In addition to that, statements about Romani people belonged to two categories “rationalising” hate speech: justifying its occurrence and highlighting Romani transgressions against Poles.

Among statements attacking transsexual persons definitely the most common were the ones describing representatives of the group as deviating from normal behaviour, and also, in second place, expressing disgust. Hate speech against transsexual persons is equally offensive as hateful statements against homosexual men.

Hate speech against homosexual women seems to be similarly differentiated. It includes statements highlighting deviations from normal behaviour on the part of members of the group, aggressive messages calling for getting rid of representatives of the group, and statements expressing disgust.

As far as refugees are concerned, the most common are statements about the lack of good manners and low intellectual abilities among representatives of the group, as well as communicating the will to expel them from the society. When we remember the narrative that dominates in the public discourse, the result is rather not surprising.

In the case of feminists, we encounter mainly statements justifying hate speech, as well as ones calling for getting rid of the members of the group. Occasionally, statements suggesting the lack of intelligence and duplicity on their part were also presented.

Anti-Muslim statements are more or less equally divided into three categories. They highlight alleged lack of intelligence of members of the group, their inclination to break the law and cheat, and their proneness to violent action. A significant category is also statements justifying hate speech against Muslims.

SUMMARY

When analysing hate speech against different minority groups, it is worth noting main similarities and differences between used offensive statements. For the majority of the groups – Jews, Romani people, Ukrainians, black persons and feminists – the content pattern is very specific. It also reflects the relations between the majority population and particular minority. But for some groups, quite significant similarities can be detected. Thus, when Muslims and refugees are concerned, statements that are used come in similar proportions from the same four categories in spite of the fact that for each of the groups separate statements were presented during the survey, which may indicate that the groups are very similarly perceived.²⁰ It shows that anti-refugee hate speech, although more recent than hate speech against Muslims, is in fact built on the same content as the former.

Other minority groups for which hate speech has similar content are homosexual women, transsexual persons and homosexual men. For the first two groups, the main content relates to otherness, which so to speak excludes them from the society. Statements expressing disgust also form an important, though not dominating, part of the language. Interestingly, the disgust and otherness elements also hold for homosexual men, but the proportions are inverse. It seems that for lesbians, transsexual persons and gay persons, the content of hate speech has the same grounds, and

20. Offensive statements against Muslims and refugees were chosen in such a way as to contain no matching content.

For the majority of the groups – Jews, Romani people, Ukrainians, black persons and feminists – the content pattern is very specific. It also reflects the relations between the majority population and particular minority.

the differences depend on the gender of persons to whom the statements are directed. Another thing worth noting is the fact that the category of aggression is relevant only for lesbians – women – which can result from the attitudes aimed toward feminists that are expressed by statements belonging to exactly the same category.

The differences in the content of hate speech against other minorities can be explained by inter-group mechanisms. It seems that factors such as group specificity, its social status and – above all – how the group is perceived by the majority, affect the ways of expressing aversion toward its members.

Thus, in the case of hate speech against Romani minority, black persons or refugees, the most important role is played by stereotypes or potential threats from the groups perceived by the majority. When asked about their attitudes toward Romani people, Poles recurrently attribute to them hostile intentions, often calling them thieves and cheats.²¹ Thus, hate speech against this group reflects those perceptions. The situation is similar in the case of refugees. The dominant public narrative highlights potential threats connected with the arrival of members of the group in Poland, and Poles often adopt a stereotypical, negative image of refugees, according to which they do not deserve to be helped.²² Also hate speech against this group echoes to a great extent the stereotype, while black persons are often perceived by the Polish society as incompetent, or even

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21. Winiewski, M., Witkowska, M., & Bilewicz, M. (2015) Uprzedzenia wobec Romów w Polsce [Prejudice against Romani people in Poland]. In A. Stefaniak, M. Bilewicz, M. & Winiewski (Eds.) *Uprzedzenia w Polsce [Prejudice in Poland]* (pp. 65-87), Warsaw: Liberi Libri.

22. Kropiński, M., Hansen, K. (2016). *Jakie skojarzenia ze słowem „uchodźca” mają Polacy? [What associations have Poles when they hear the term “refugee”?]*. CBU Report, available at: <http://cbu.psychologia.pl/>.

23. Bukowski, M. & Winiewski, M. (2011). Emocje międzygrupowe a stereotypy i zagrożenia społeczne: co jest przyczyną, a co skutkiem uprzedzeń [Intergroup emotions and social stereotypes and threats: the causes and the effects of prejudice]. In M. Kořta & M. Bilewicz (Eds.), *Wobec obcych: Zagrozenia psychologiczne a stosunki międzygrupowe [In the face of strangers: Psychological threats and intergroup relations]* (pp. 40-59), Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

24. Bilewicz, M. & Stefaniak, A. (2013). Can a victim be responsible? Anti-Semitic consequences of victimhood-based identity and competitive victimhood in Poland. In B. Bokus (Eds.) *Responsibility: An interdisciplinary perspective* (pp. 69-77), Warsaw: LEXEM.

uncouth and lacking intelligence²³, so no wonder that hate speech statements against this group come exclusively from the category “Wild, lack of intelligence”.

The historical relations between Poles and particular minority groups also seem to be an important factor shaping the content of hate speech against them. For example, historical animosities between Poles and Ukrainians are the reason why aversion toward members of the group is expressed through recalling and highlighting the importance of past events, such as the Wołyń massacre of 1943. The situation is similar for Jews. A good part of hate speech statements against this group also come from the category “Historical grounds for hatred”, which to a great extent results from the rivalry for the status of the major victim²⁴ both during World War II, and before.

So-called secondary prejudice, or perception of a particular group as deserving bad treatment because of their previous bad behaviour, plays an important role in originating hate speech. Thus, in the case of Jews many examples of hate speech are an expression of the so-called secondary anti-Semitism, which is manifested in denying anti-Semitic aversion, playing down the gravity of crimes committed on Jews, and seeing the Holocaust as a tool used by Jews themselves to obtain undue compensations, and gain advantage over other nations. The situation is similar for feminists – but in their case the decisive role is played by modern

So-called secondary prejudice, or perception of a particular group as deserving bad treatment because of their previous bad behaviour, plays an important role in originating hate speech.

25. Swim, J. K., Aikin, K. J., Hall, W. S., & Hunter, B. A. (1995). Sexism and racism: Old-fashioned and modern prejudices. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 68, 199-214.

sexism.²⁵ Its adherents believe that the problem of discrimination of women is non-existent, and in consequence refuse to support systemic solutions intended to alleviate or abolish it. So they see feminists fighting for women's rights as not rational and not serious persons, and hate speech against them reflects those views.

Exposure to hate speech

One of the main goals of the survey was to diagnose to what extent Poles are exposed to hate speech and to find out how often and in what circumstances the respondents encounter expressions that are offensive to minorities. During the questionnaire survey we asked several questions that helped to establish the extent of exposure to hate speech of average Poles. The data gathered let us analyse respondents' subjective perceptions of the incidence and the circumstances of being exposed to such content.

When analysing the results of the survey on perceived exposure to hate speech, a stable profile can be detected that is typical – in spite of differences in incidence of exposure – for both adult and young Poles. Respondents definitely most often²⁶ encounter unfavourable or offensive statements about refugees and gay men; slightly less, but still relatively often they encounter such statements about Muslims, Romani people and black people. For the remaining groups, respondents declared much less common exposure to such statements, which was definitely least common in the case of Ukrainians.

Respondents definitely most often encounter unfavourable or offensive statements about refugees and gay men; slightly less, but still relatively often they encounter such statements about Muslims, Romani people and black people.

26. $F(9,1635) = 235,11, p < 0,001, \eta_p^2 = 0,564$, comparisons of individual averages were made taking into account Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons.

How often do Poles encounter hate speech?

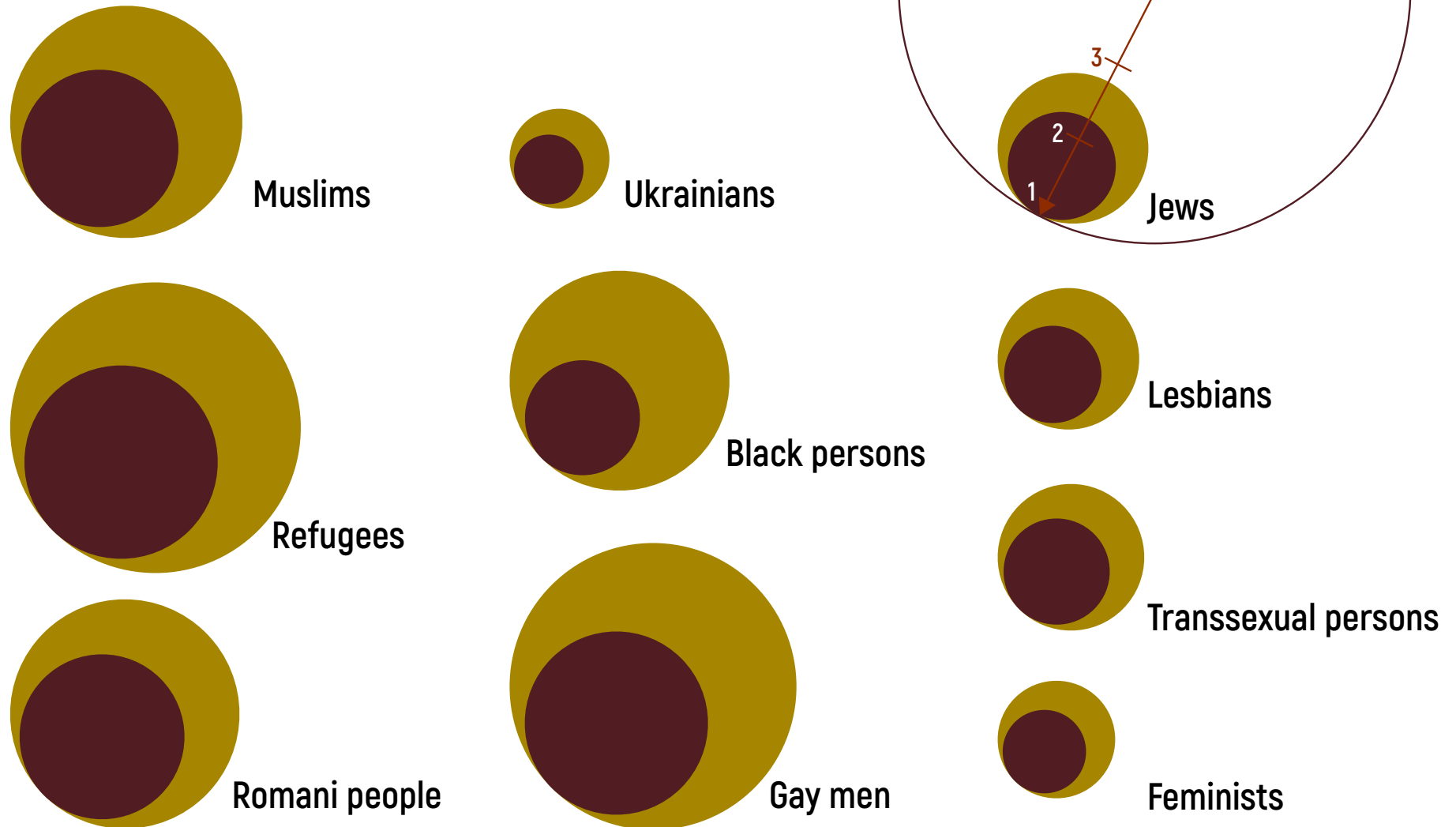


Figure 3. Average perceived incidence of exposure to hate speech against different minorities.

27. $F(9;1635) = 18,02, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,090$.

28. Black persons – $F(1;1643) = 161,10, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,089$;
 Gay persons – $F(1;1643) = 134,47, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,076$;
 Refugees – $F(1;1643) = 93,71, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,054$.

29. Ukrainians – $F(1;1643) = 19,79, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,012$; feminists – $F(1;1643) = 26,37, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,016$.

30. The average number of sources where hate speech is encountered is 2.02 (SD = 1.07) for the youth, and 1.54 (SD = 1.01) for adults $t(1732) = -9.51, p < .001, d = -0.47$.

31. For minorities $F(9,1724) = 142.38, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .426$, for minorities x group $F(9,1724) = 12.12, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .060$.

The results show that young Poles encounter hate speech definitely more often than adults.²⁷ The differences between the general population and the youth are visible for offensive statements addressed to all groups covered by the survey, but for black persons, homosexual men and refugees²⁸ they are relatively large, while for Ukrainians and feminists – relatively small.²⁹

The answer to the question about incidence of Poles' exposure to hate speech can also be obtained from the analysis of objective indications from respondents on where they encounter hate speech. We assume that the more sources from which such content comes to respondents the higher the incidence of their exposure to hate speech. In other words, the more numerous the sources of hateful content, the higher the exposition to hate speech. Of course, the assumption is only an approximation, but it seems to be helpful – the more so because it is based on relatively objective data.

Global analysis shows that young Poles encounter hate speech in definitely more situations than adults. An average young Pole is exposed to hate speech in more numerous situations than an adult (on average two³⁰ situations for youth and 1.5 situation for adults). It is statistically significant and quite a big difference. When analysing in a similar way answers about hate speech directed to particular groups, we obtain a very similar pattern of results.³¹ For every minority, hate speech comes from more sources to youth than to

Global analysis shows that young Poles encounter hate speech in definitely more situations than adults. An average young Pole is exposed to hate speech in more numerous situations than an adult (on average two situations for youth and 1.5 situation for adults).

adults. As for the intensity of hate speech reception for particular minorities, the highest can be observed in the cases of refugees and gay men, and slightly lower in the cases of Muslims and black persons. The respondents declared that hate speech against Ukrainians and feminists is least commonly encountered by them.

When analysing the most common sources of hate speech (see Figure 4), we can detect interesting differences between adult and young respondents.

Adult Poles³² most commonly encounter hate speech on television, slightly less commonly when socialising with their friends, still less commonly on the Internet and in public places (bus stops, public transport etc.). Even fewer adults encounter hateful content on the radio, in the press and on city walls. Hate speech is encountered least commonly by adult persons during demonstrations and sports events.

Young Poles encounter hate speech in slightly different circumstances than their parents:³³ virtually all of them encounter it on the Internet, and about three quarters of them when socialising with their friends, in public places and on the television. The youth slightly less commonly see such content on city walls in the form of graffiti. The next most common sources of hateful content are the radio, the press and demonstrations. Hate speech is definitely least commonly encountered by the youth during sports events. A detailed analysis of differences between adult and young Poles helps to highlight the most pronounced divergences:

32. $\chi^2(9) = 2371,11, p < 0,001$; differences for observation pairs were defined using Marasculi procedure.

33. $\chi^2(9) = 2216,42, p < 0,001$.

Adult Poles most commonly encounter hate speech on television, slightly less commonly when socialising with their friends, still less commonly on the Internet and in public places (bus stops, public transport etc.).

Poles' contact with hate speech

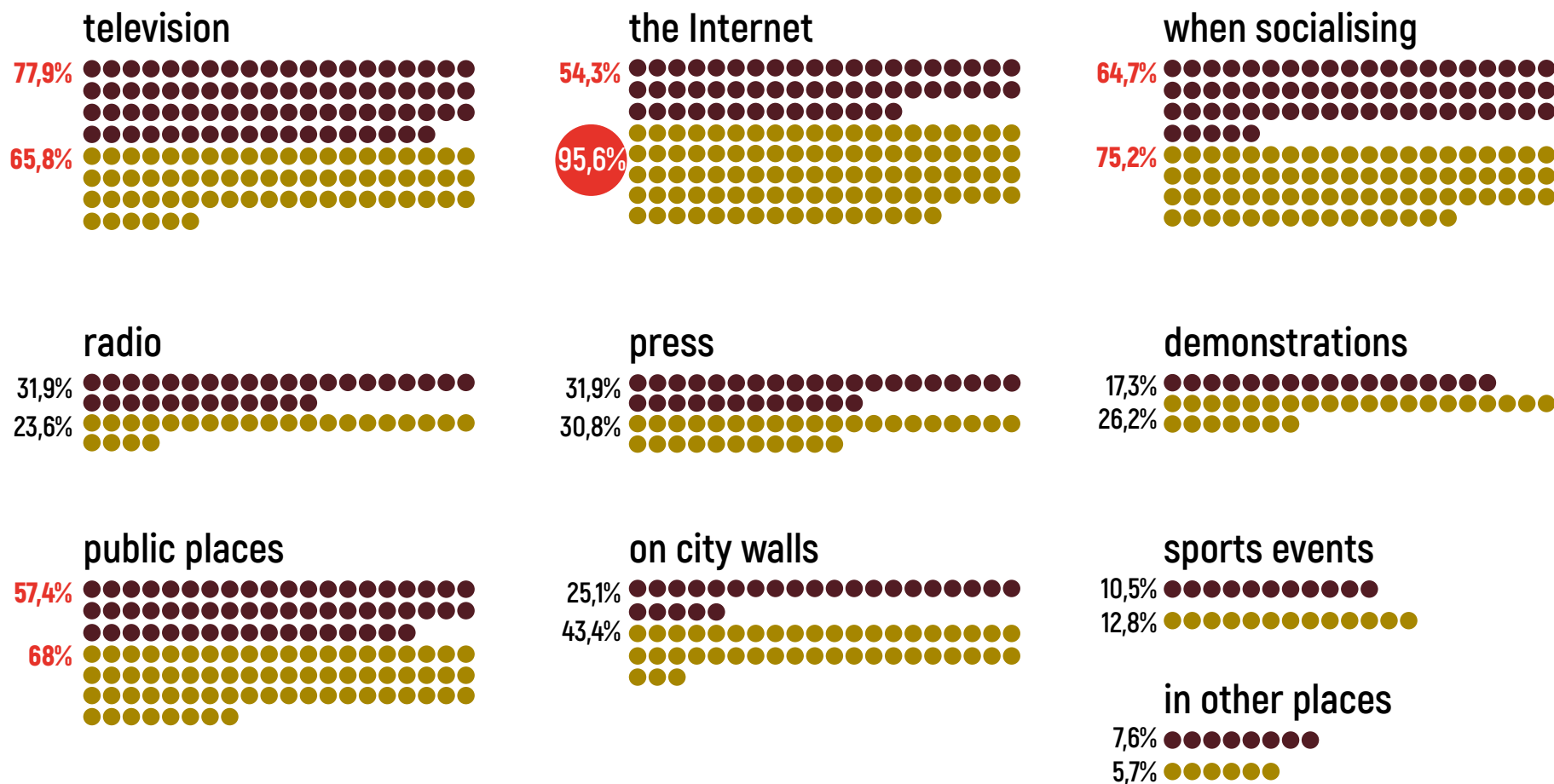


Figure 4. Percentages of Poles encountering hate speech in various public spheres.

Where Polish youth encounters hate speech

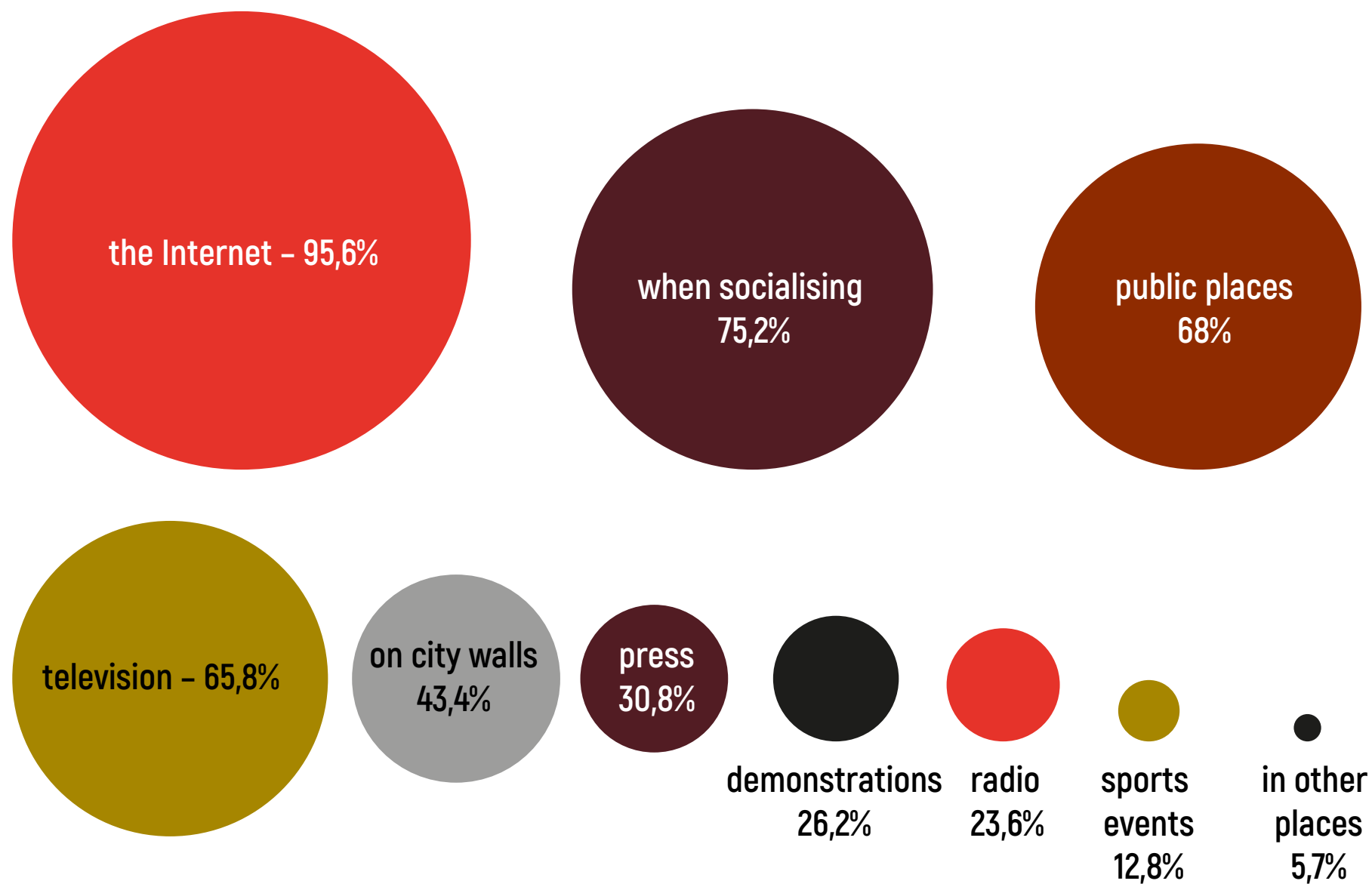


Figure 4b. Percentages of Poles encountering hate speech in various public spheres.

adults definitely most commonly encounter hate speech on television and on the radio, while the youth – on the Internet, on city walls, when socialising with friends and in public places.

If we compare the four main sources of hate speech – television, the Internet, socialising with friends and public places – we can detect significant differences between hateful content directed to particular groups.

In the case of adult Poles, different profiles of encountering hate speech can be detected for different minority groups. Hate speech against Jews, Muslims, lesbians and feminists is encountered mainly on television and on the Internet, and much less commonly in social contacts and in public places.³⁴ Hateful statements against transsexual persons and refugees are most commonly encountered by adult Poles on television, slightly less commonly on the Internet, still less commonly during social contacts, and least commonly in public space.³⁵ Anti-Ukrainian hate speech is encountered by adults mainly on the Internet, slightly less commonly on television, and least commonly during social contacts and in public space.³⁶ In the case of gay men and black persons, relatively small differences can be detected in the incidence of encountering hateful content from different sources. Hate speech against Romani people has definitely the most distinct profile of incidence than the remaining minority groups.³⁷ It is most commonly encountered in social contacts, and then in public space. Anti-Romani messages are much less commonly encountered on the Internet, and least commonly – on the television.

34. Jews - $\chi^2(3)=173,86, p < 0,001$; Muslims $\chi^2(3) = 157,05, p < 0,001$; lesbians $\chi^2(3) = 154,57, p < 0,001$; feminists $\chi^2(3) = 249,98, p < 0,001$.

35. Refugees $\chi^2(3) = 192,74, p < 0,001$; transsexual persons $\chi^2(3) = 365,68, p < 0,001$.

36. $\chi^2(3) = 138,09, p < 0,001$.

37. $\chi^2(3) = 119,76, p < 0,001$.

Hate speech against Jews, Muslims, lesbians and feminists is encountered mainly on television and on the Internet, and much less commonly in social contacts and in public places.

Encountering hate speech against particular groups (adults)

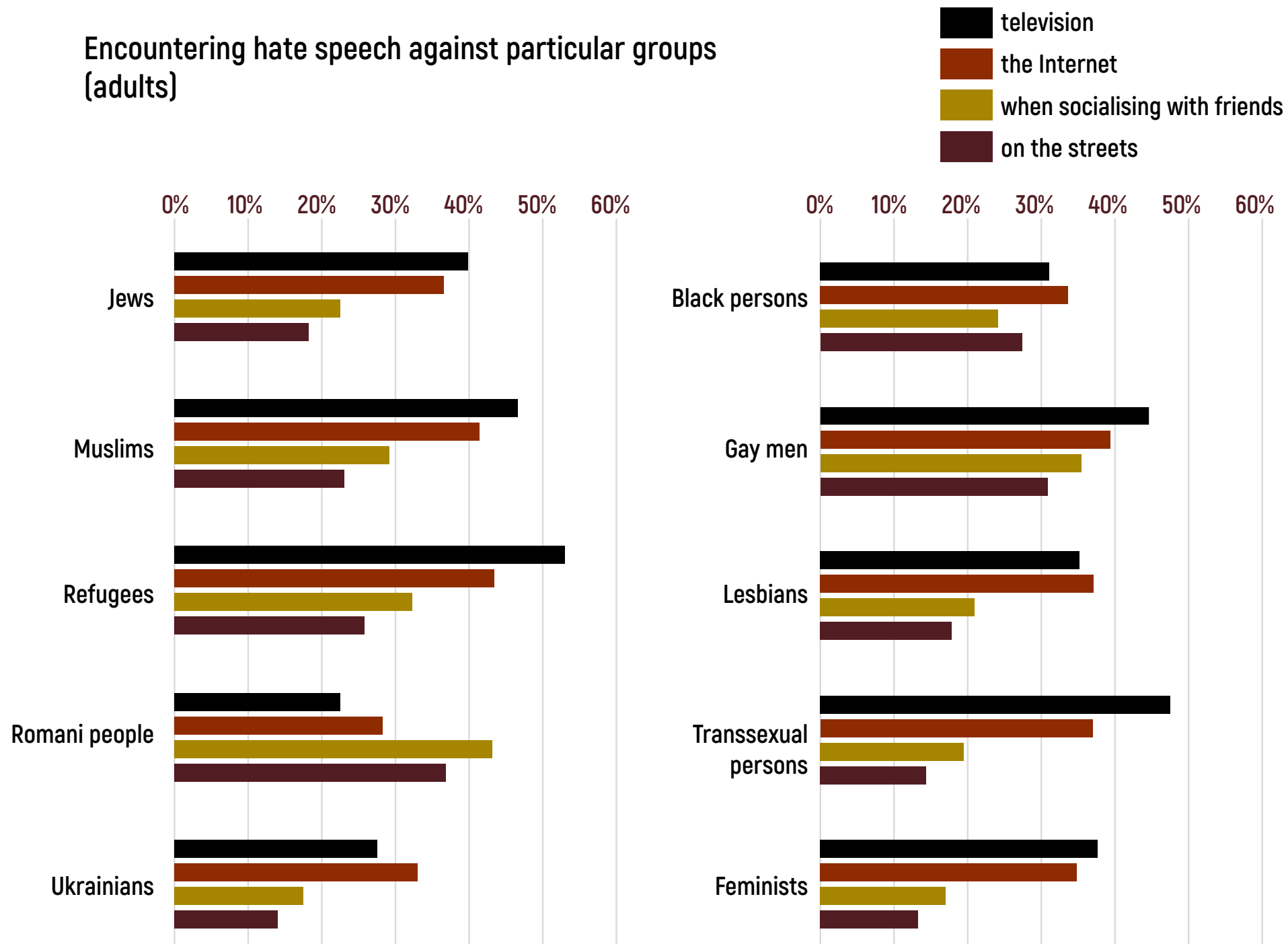


Figure 5: Incidence of encountering hate speech against particular groups (adults)

Encountering hate speech against particular groups (youth)

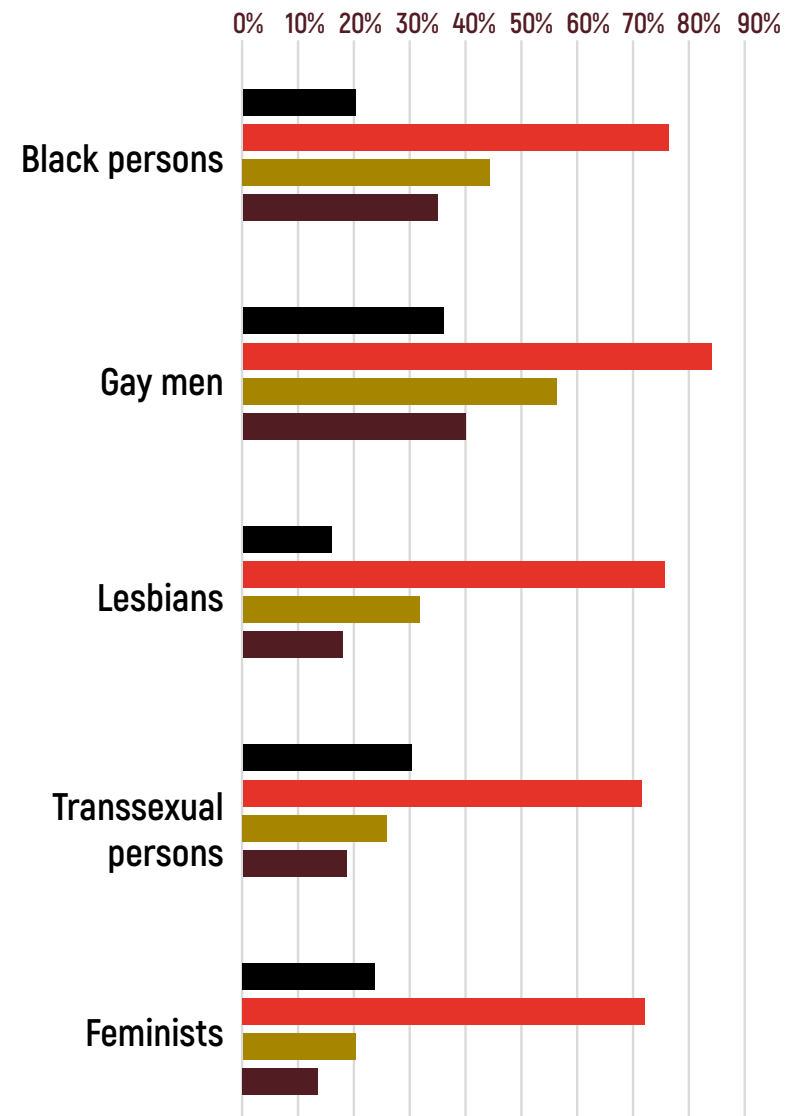
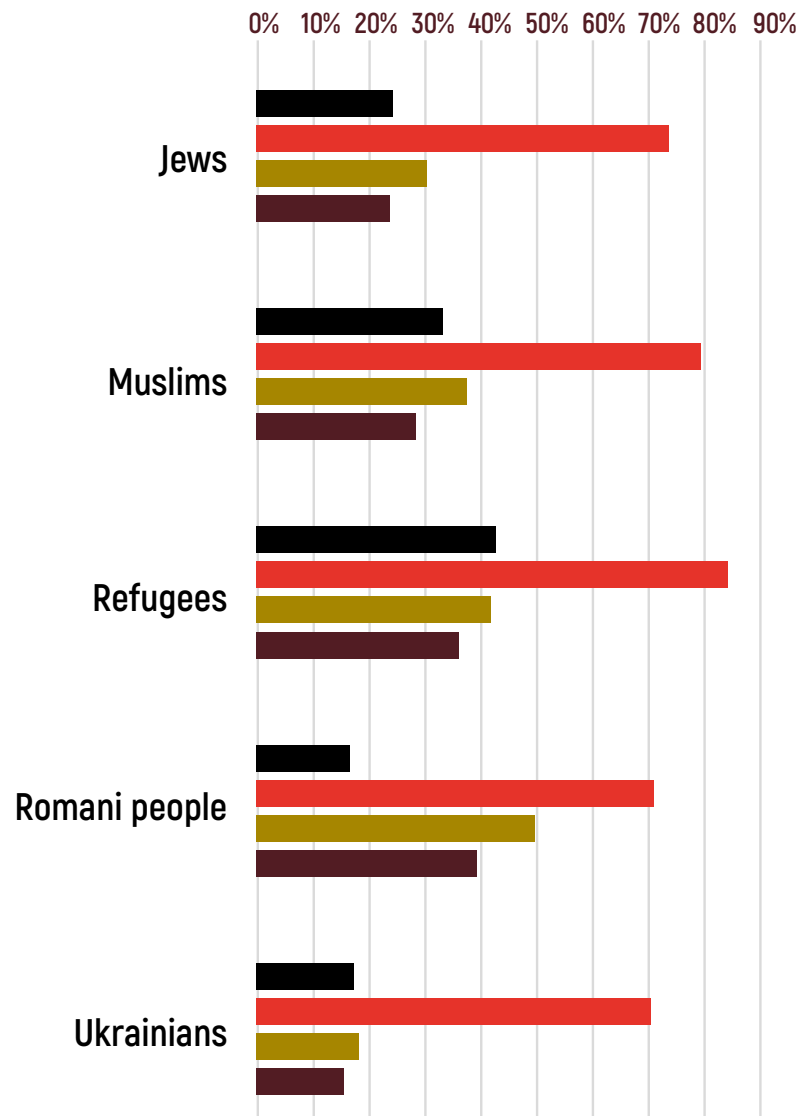
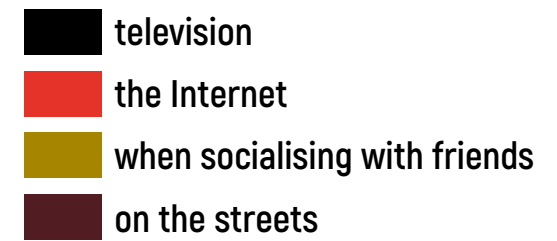


Figure 6: Encountering hate speech against particular groups (youth)

When analysing young Poles' profiles of encountering hate speech against particular groups, it can be seen that – unlike for adults – they are relatively similar (see Figure 6).

Hate speech against all minority groups is most commonly encountered on the Internet (between 70% and 85%). Additionally, for three groups (Romani people, gay men and black persons)³⁸ the next most common source of hate speech after the Internet are social contacts with friends and public space. For the remaining groups the differences between television, socialising and public space are small or even statistically insignificant.

SUMMARY

The general results presented above show that social space is full of hate speech directed against various minority groups. Both young and adult Poles encounter such content in the media, in public places and in their private life. The main source of hateful statements are traditional media (such as television – mainly for adults) and the Internet (mainly for youth). The differences between young and adult Poles – in terms of both the intensity and the circumstances of encountering hate speech – can be explained by a very different structure of media consumption by both groups. The results of surveys on TV audiences³⁹ and on the use of the Internet⁴⁰ show that young Poles watch much less TV than older persons and spend much more time on the Internet. The absolute difference in the incidence of encountering

38. Romani people $\chi^2(3) = 418,53, p < 0,001$, gay men $\chi^2(3) = 391,83, p < 0,001$, black persons $\chi^2(5) = 464,31, p < 0,001$.

39. Data: Instytut Nielsen Audience Measurement, after <http://www.wirtualnemedi.pl/arttykul/coraz-dluzej-ogladamy-telewizje-najwiecej-czasu-przed-szklanym-ekranem-spedzaja-seniorzy-raport>.

40. Feliksiak Michał (2016), Korzystanie z Internetu [The use of the Internet], CBOS, Survey communiqué No. 92/2016.

hate speech between adult and young Poles results most probably from the fact that the Internet – unlike the traditional media – is uncontrolled. A great part of the content on the Internet is created by its users (on forums or social portals), and thus contains more hateful messages that are not controlled by administrators. Psychologists have extensively discussed the process of disinhibition on the Internet: relative anonymity and one-way communication, lack of control and invisibility of posters make people more willing to share the thoughts which they would otherwise prefer to suppress.⁴¹ That is probably the reason why hateful statements are relatively more common on the Internet than in traditional media or in everyday social interactions. But even in the latter areas, hate speech becomes more and more common: it is visibly present in private and public interactions of both young and adult Poles.

Hate speech encountered by both young and adult Poles most commonly refers to refugees and gay men, and least commonly – Ukrainians. For the last two groups, similar results came from the 2014 survey. Refugees were not covered by the 2014 survey because the minority group was rarely mentioned in public discourse before 2015. The finding that gay men are the most common, and Ukrainians are the least common targets of hate speech in Poland is in line with much research on the persistence of stereotypes and on the sources of prejudice in inter-group relations.⁴² On the other hand, the emergence of the so-called “refugee question” in the public discourse was met with intense

Hate speech encountered by both young and adult Poles most commonly refers to refugees and gay men, and least commonly – Ukrainians. For the last two groups, similar results came from the 2014 survey. Refugees were not covered by the 2014 survey because the minority group was rarely mentioned in public discourse before 2015.

41. Suler, J. (2004). The online disinhibition effect. *Cyberpsychology & Behavior*, 7, 321-326.

42. Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J., Glick, P., Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82, 878-902.

reaction from Poles, which led to an increase in the incidence of hate speech against this group to the levels typical for the most commonly offended minority groups in the society. It is another proof supporting the proposition that perceived threats and fears remain the fundamental sources of prejudice. Strong inter-group emotions, such as fear, engender prejudice and discrimination, which is manifested by a greater presence of hate speech, in particular on the Internet, being the area of social disinhibition.⁴³

COMPARISON 2014-2016

By comparing the answers from respondents on the incidence of encountering hateful comments against six minority groups in the media and public space⁴⁴ in 2014 and 2016, we could discover the prevailing trends in this area over the period of the last two years.

Initial general analysis shows an increase in the incidence of encountering hateful statements both for adult and young Poles⁴⁵. The average change for all minority groups is not large. However, in the case of some of them a drastic increase can be seen, while for other groups the change remains relatively small (see Figure 7).

The youth and adults encounter hate speech against different minority groups similarly often (as we already mentioned in the first part of this chapter)⁴⁶. In addition, the results show that the structure remains unchanged over time – groups that were most commonly offended in 2014, still fall victim to hate speech more often than other minorities covered by the survey.

43. Bukowski, M., Winiewski, M. (2011). Emocje międzygrupowe a stereotypy i zagrożenia społeczne: co jest przyczyną, a co skutkiem uprzedzeń [Intergroup emotions and social stereotypes and threats: the causes and the effects of prejudice]. In M. Kořta, M. Bilewicz (Eds.), *Wobec obcych: Zagrozenie psychologiczne a stosunki międzygrupowe [In the face of strangers: Psychological threats and intergroup relations]*, (pp. 40-59). Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

44. In the 2016 survey, as compared to the 2014 one, we added a few new categories of hate speech sources that were often mentioned in the previous survey in the free comments from respondents. But for the purpose of comparison, we used only the five categories featured in both surveys: television, radio, press, Internet and socialising with friends. When doing the comparison, we analysed only examples of hate speech against six minority groups covered by both surveys.

45. Adults $t(2057) = -3,18; p = 0,002; d = -0,15$; youth $t(1333) = -4,83; p < 0,001; d = -0,26$

46. Differences for minorities $F(5;3546) = 286,38, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,288$, differences for minorities x group type $F(5;3546) = 32,96, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,044$, minority x survey year $F(5;3546) = 88,36, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,111$, minority x group x time $F(5;3546) = 0,98, p = 0,431; \eta_p^2 = 0,001$.

It is another proof supporting the proposition that perceived threats and fears remain the fundamental sources of prejudice. Strong inter-group emotions, such as fear, engender prejudice and discrimination, which is manifested by a greater presence of hate speech, in particular on the Internet, being the area of social disinhibition.

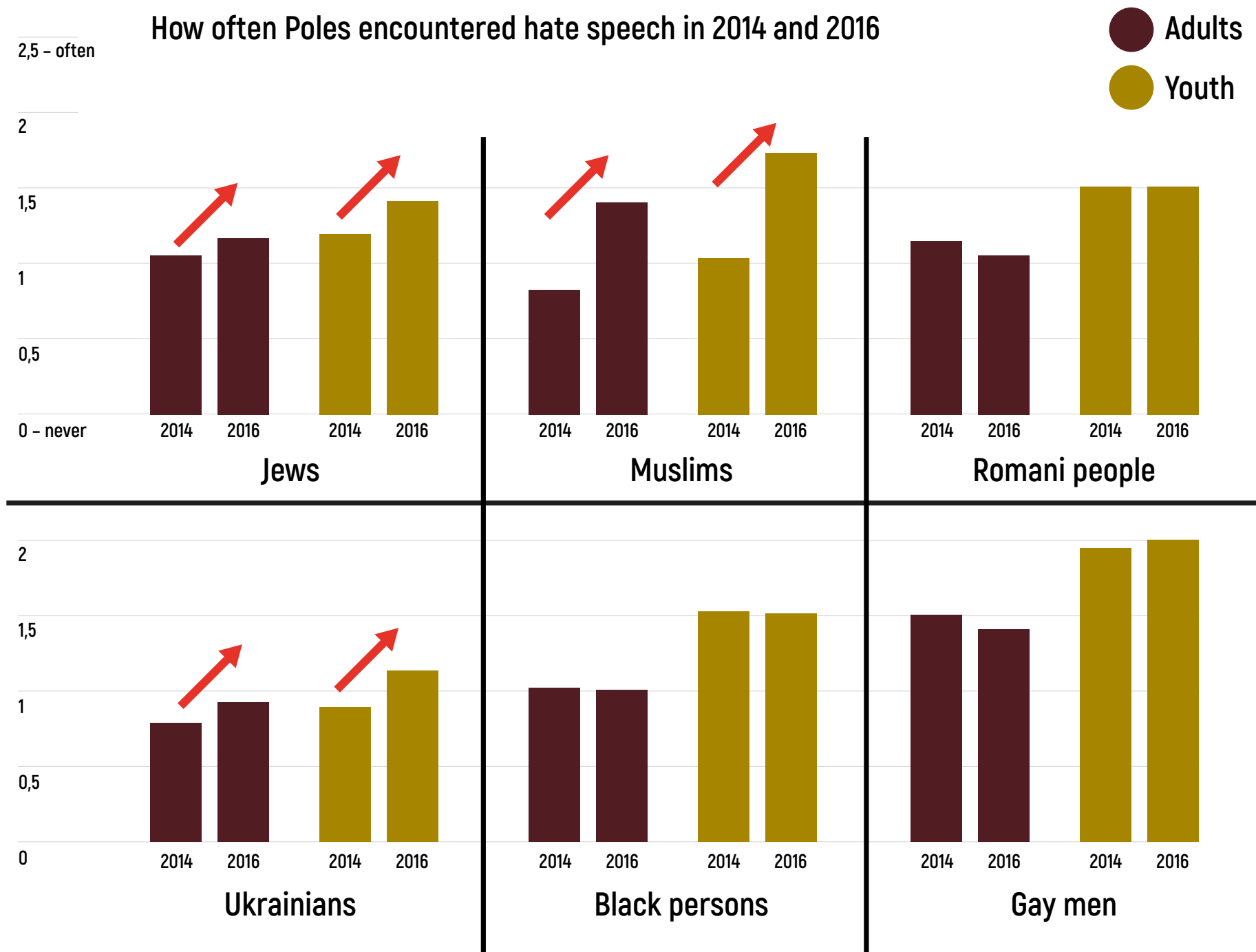


Figure 7. The incidence of encountering hate speech against six minority groups in 2014 and 2016.

47. Muslims $F(5;3550) = 255,42, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,067$, Jews $F(5;3550) = 19,79, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,006$, Ukrainians $F(5;3550) = 34,29, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,010$.

48. $\chi^2(5)=202,4, p < 0,001$; comparison of proportion pairs were made using the Marasculio procedure.

49. $\chi^2(5)=202,4, p < 0,001$.

50. $\chi^2(5)=236,33; p < 0,001$.

51. $\chi^2(5)=142,25; p < 0,001$.

52. Separate analyses (for youths and adults) were performed to examine temporal changes of proportion of occurrence of hate speech directed against each minority. Differences for each pair of measurements were estimated using Marasculi procedure.

Thus the increase in general incidence of encountering hate speech in Poland results from the fact that today Poles have much more contact with content directed against Muslims and (to a slightly lesser extent) against Jews and Ukrainians.⁴⁷ For the remaining groups, no significant changes took place in the case of neither youth nor adults.

Hate speech on the television

When we look at the 2014 data, we can see that among both youth⁴⁸ and adults⁴⁹ the incidence of encountering hate speech against different minority groups on the television reached similar levels (differences between groups are statistically insignificant). The situation was slightly different for gay men being a group significantly more commonly offended on the medium than the remaining minorities.

The picture changed by 2016. Adult Poles⁵⁰, when watching TV, most commonly encounter hateful statements against Muslims and gay men, slightly less commonly against Jews, and least commonly against black persons, Ukrainians and Romani people. As for the youth, the picture is a bit different. Young Poles⁵¹ most commonly encounter on TV hate speech against gay men and Muslims, and definitely less commonly against the remaining groups.

When we analyse differences in the incidence of encountering hate speech against particular groups over time⁵², we notice significant changes. Both young and adult Poles declare considerable increase in encountering hateful statements on TV against Jews, Muslims, Ukrainians and

Both young and adult Poles declare considerable increase in encountering hateful statements on TV against Jews, Muslims, Ukrainians and black persons.

Encountering hate speech on TV

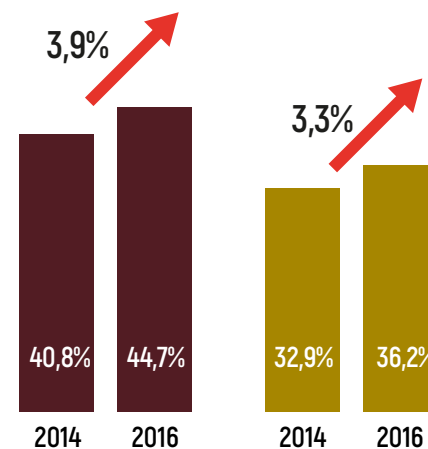
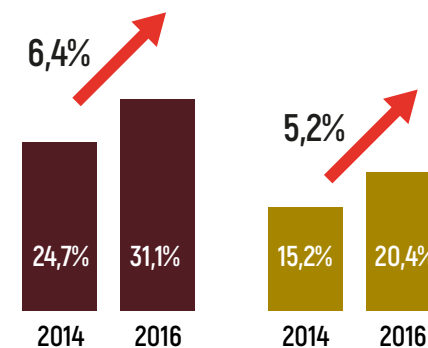
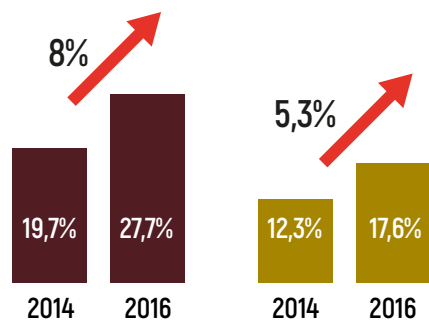
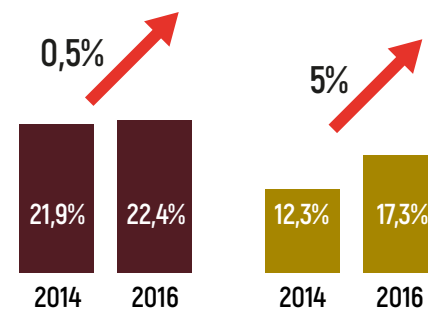
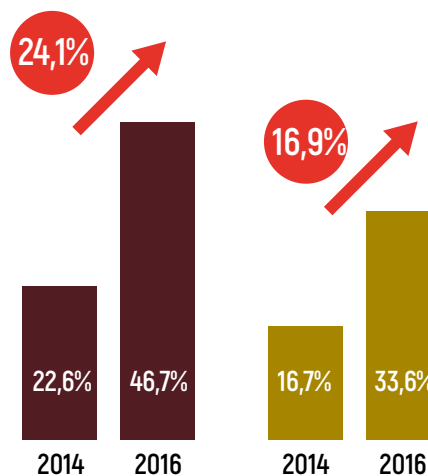
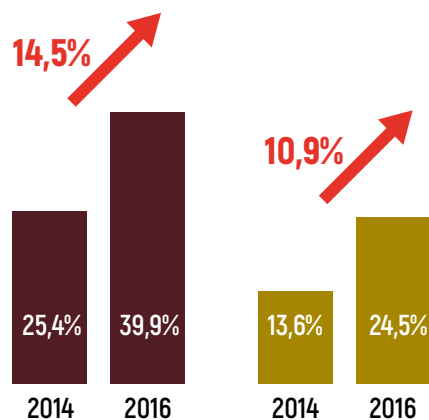


Figure 8. Percentages of adult and young Poles declaring encounters of hate speech against various minorities on the television in 2014 and 2016.

53. Jews - $\chi^2(3) = 182,24$; $p < 0,001$; Muslims - $\chi^2(3) = 249,06$; $p < 0,001$; Ukrainians; $\chi^2(3) = 78,76$; $p < 0,001$; black persons $\chi^2(3) = 77,48$; $p < 0,001$.

54. $\chi^2(3) = 45,02$; $p < 0,001$.

55. Adults - $\chi^2(5) = 68,69$; $p < 0,001$; youth - $\chi^2(5) = 20,87$; $p < 0,001$.

56. Adults - $\chi^2(5) = 49,80$; $p < 0,001$; youth - $\chi^2(5) = 70,65$; $p < 0,001$.

57. $\chi^2(3) = 61,41$; $p < 0,001$.

black persons.⁵³ Increased exposure to hate speech against Romani people was declared only by the youth.⁵⁴ For similar statements against homosexual men no changes were detected.

Hate speech on the radio

In general, respondents rarely encounter hate speech on the radio – on average only 6.38% of them declare hearing it from this source. In 2014 both young and adult Poles⁵⁵ encountered such hateful statements relatively rarely. Only hate speech against homosexual men is significantly more commonly encountered on the radio (13.31% of adults and 5.97% of young Poles). Results from 2016 give a slightly different picture.⁵⁶ Both young and adult Poles significantly more commonly encountered on the radio hate speech against gay men (10.65% of adults and 8.94% of youth), but also against Muslims (10.55% of adults and 9.68% of youth). When analysing developments taking place over the two-year period, we detect no significant changes in the incidence of encountering hateful statements on the radio against particular groups, with the exception of Muslims for whom the incidence of hate speech increased⁵⁷, both among youth (from 2.76% to 9.68%), and among adults (from 5.36% to 10.55%).

Hate speech in the press

Hate speech is also rarely encountered in the press. The analysis of its incidence shows that in 2014⁵⁸ both youth and adults most commonly encountered in the press hateful statements against homosexual men. But anti-Semitic hate speech was equally commonly encountered by adults. Like in the case of the television and the radio, in 2016⁵⁹ the two most commonly offended groups in the press were gay men and Muslims (see Figure 9).

An analysis of changes that took place between 2014 and 2016 surveys showed that today both adult and young Poles most commonly encounter in the press hate speech against Muslims.⁶⁰ Adults slightly less commonly than before encounter anti-Semitic content in the press.⁶¹ For the remaining groups, no significant changes were detected.

Hate speech on the Internet

As we mentioned before, the Internet remains the main platform where young Poles encounter hate speech – 60% of them have exposure to hateful content on the web. But it is also worth noting that the percentage is not that low for adults (30%).

When analysing exposure profiles of hate speech against different groups – or the hateful content encountered by Poles on the Internet – significant differences can be detected both between the youth and adults, and between 2014 and 2016.

58. Adults - $\chi^2(5) = 71,02$; $p < 0,001$, youth - $\chi^2(5) = 51,44$; $p < 0,001$

59. Adults - $\chi^2(5) = 81,79$; $p < 0,001$, youth - $\chi^2(5) = 80,53$; $p < 0,001$.

60. $\chi^2(3) = 36,92$; $p < 0,001$.

61. $\chi^2(3) = 37,34$; $p < 0,001$.

Encountering hate speech in the press

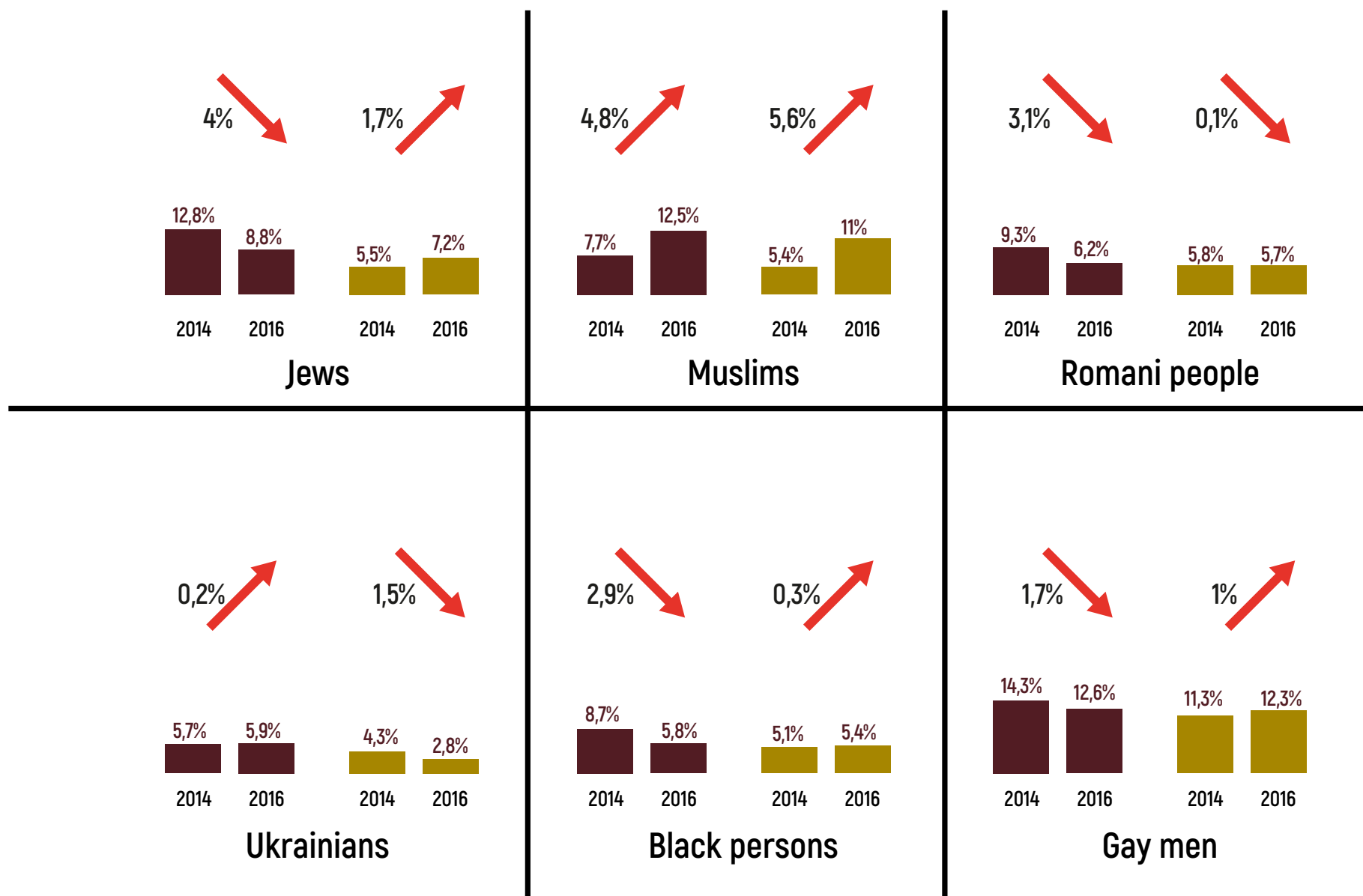


Figure 9. Percentages of adult and young Poles declaring encounters of hate speech against different minorities in the press in 2014 and 2016.

Encountering hate speech on the Internet

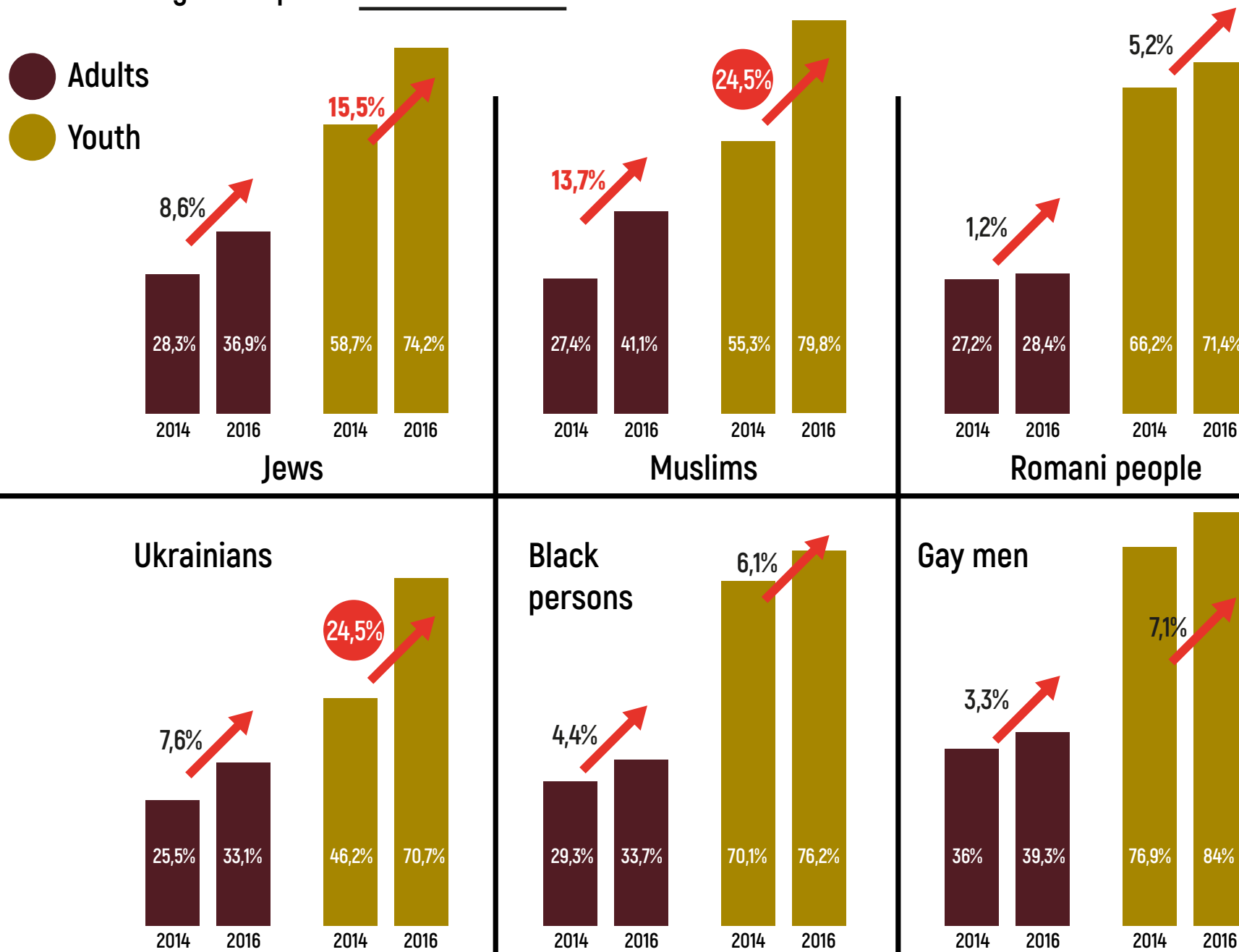


Figure 10. Percentages of young and adult Poles declaring encounters of hate speech against different minorities in 2014 and 2016.

62. $\chi^2(5)=40,42$; $p < 0,001$.

63. $\chi^2(5)=50,89$; $p < 0,001$.

64. $\chi^2(5)=178,68$; $p < 0,001$.

65. $\chi^2(5)=52,52$; $p < 0,001$.

In 2014 adult Poles⁶² more commonly encountered hate speech against homosexual men than the remaining groups (among which results were more or less similar), while in 2016⁶³ Muslims also became the most commonly offended minority – adult Poles were equally as often exposed to both Islamophobic and homophobic hate speech on the Internet. For young Poles, in 2014 the most commonly encountered hate speech on the web⁶⁴ was directed against homosexual men and black persons, and less commonly – against Romani people. Still less common was exposure to hateful statements against Jews and Muslims, and the least common was hate speech against Ukrainians. In 2016 the most commonly encountered hate speech was directed against gay men and Muslims.⁶⁵

When analysing the changes that took place between 2014 and 2016 surveys, we found that their dynamics are different for different minority groups and different recipients. In the case of young Poles, only for Romani people no significant change occurred – for all remaining minorities changes were significant and meant an increase in exposure to hate speech on the Internet. For adult Poles, a significant increase in exposure to hate speech against Jews, Muslims and Ukrainians was detected – for all remaining minorities the changes were not statistically significant.

Hate speech in private social contacts with friends

In everyday social contacts with friends, hate speech against gay men, black persons and Romani people is quite common. The analysis of profiles of exposure to hateful comments against particular minority groups in private social contacts of Poles shows some radical changes that took place over the two-year period and significant differences between adult and young Poles. Interestingly, for some minorities the changes that took place over time were quite similar for both age groups.⁶⁶ In both age groups and in both surveys hate speech was most commonly directed against Romani people and homosexual men, and least commonly – against Ukrainians. The youth, unlike adults, declared common exposure to racist hate speech. In 2014, in private social life of both young and adult Poles offensive statements about Muslims were relatively rare, while in 2016 they became quite common.

Analyses of changes that took place over the two-year period show similar trends for offensive content directed at Jews, gay men and black persons both among youth and adults. In 2016, the percentage of respondents who heard from their friends hate speech against any of the three groups was lower than in 2014. The change for anti-Muslim content is similarly uniform, but for both youth and adults the period between 2014 and 2016 witnessed a significant increase in exposure to such hateful statements: today both

66. Adults 2014 $\chi^2(5)=379,64$; $p < 0,001$; Adults 2016 $\chi^2(5)=237,50$; $p < 0,001$; Youth 2014 $\chi^2(5)=547,21$; $p < 0,001$; Youth 2016 $\chi^2(5)=289,15$; $p < 0,001$.

Encountering hate speech when socialising with friends

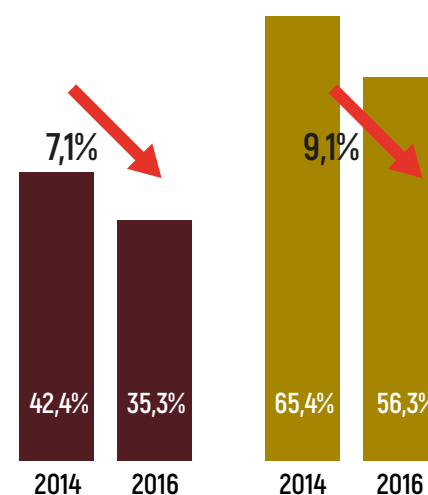
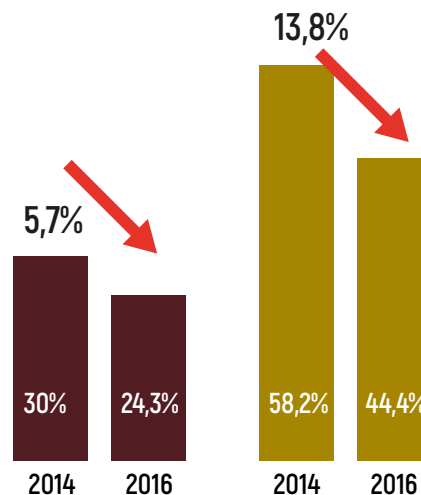
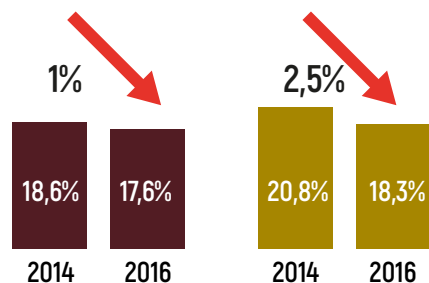
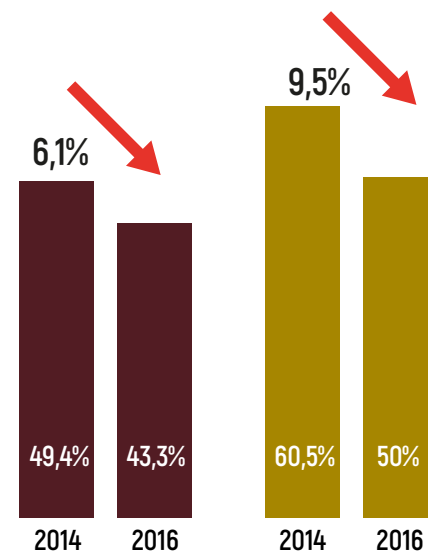
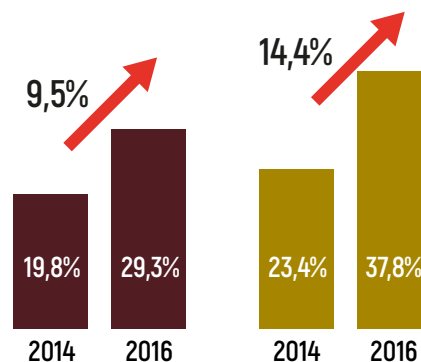
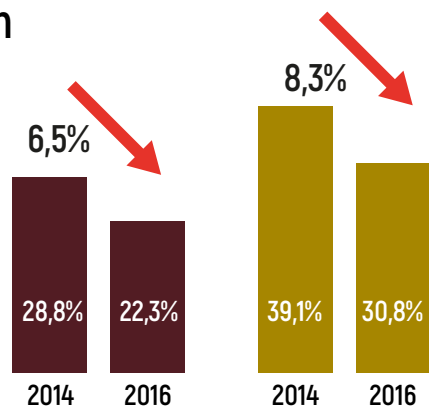


Figure 11. Percentages of young and adult Poles declaring encounters of hate speech against different minorities in their social contacts with friends in 2014 and 2016.

age groups more commonly hear Islamophobic statements from their close friends. In the case of Romani people, a decrease in exposure to hate speech was detected only among youth, while the incidence of encountering anti-Ukrainian content remained unchanged.

SUMMARY

General analyses show a predominant increase in exposure to hate speech against Muslims. The tendency can probably be connected with the present migration crisis in Europe.⁶⁷ The diagnosis seems to be underpinned by content analyses showing great similarities between anti-Muslim and anti-refugee statements. More common exposure to hate speech against this religious group can be connected with the general change in attitudes toward Muslims, visible in the results of surveys on the perceptions of other nations⁶⁸ by Poles led by the Public Opinion Research Center. The surveys show that the attitudes toward Arabs significantly deteriorated by 2016 (8% of Poles declared sympathy, and 67% of Poles declared antipathy) when compared with the previous survey from 2012 (23% declared sympathy, and 46% declared antipathy). The situation is similar in the case of Turks (the only Muslim nation covered by periodical PORC surveys). In 2015, 23% of Poles declared sympathy, and 36% antipathy toward Turks, while only in 2016 the percentages were, respectively, 16% and 45%.

In general, exposure to hateful statements grows on the Internet (for most of the minority groups), while in private social contacts with friends the tendency is inverse (with the exception of hate speech directed against Muslims).

67. European Commission (2015), JOINT COMMUNICATION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE COUNCIL Addressing the Refugee Crisis in Europe: The Role of EU External Action, available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52015JC0040&from=EN>.

68. CBOS (2016) *Stosunek do innych narodów [Attitudes toward other nations]*, Survey communiqué. Warsaw: CBOS

Analyses also show that trends in exposure to hate speech over the two-year period are different for different media and different circumstances. In general, exposure to hateful statements grows on the Internet (for most of the minority groups), while in private social contacts with friends the tendency is inverse (with the exception of hate speech directed against Muslims).

Perceived offensiveness of hate speech

The basic question asked about each example of hate speech statement presented to the respondents was how offensive they are in their opinion. In general, the examples chosen by us were evaluated as very offensive. Among both adults and youth, only about 5.5% of respondents said that the statements are rather not offensive.⁶⁹ The comparison between young and adult Poles shows that the youth sees the presented examples as slightly less offensive.⁷⁰ The results are fully in line with evaluations of the examples by minority groups.

More detailed analyses of the results for particular groups subject to hateful comments show significant differences in perceived offensiveness, depending on to which minority the statements are directed.⁷¹ Both young and adult Poles saw statements against black persons, Ukrainians, lesbians and feminists as most offensive, while hateful statements against homosexual men, then Muslims and Jews were seen by them as relatively less offensive.

69. The respondents evaluated all presented statements on average below the middle of the scale.

70. $t(1731) = 5,48; p < 0,001; d = 0,27$.

71. $F(9;1568) = 176,79, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,504$.

How offensive do Poles find hate speech?

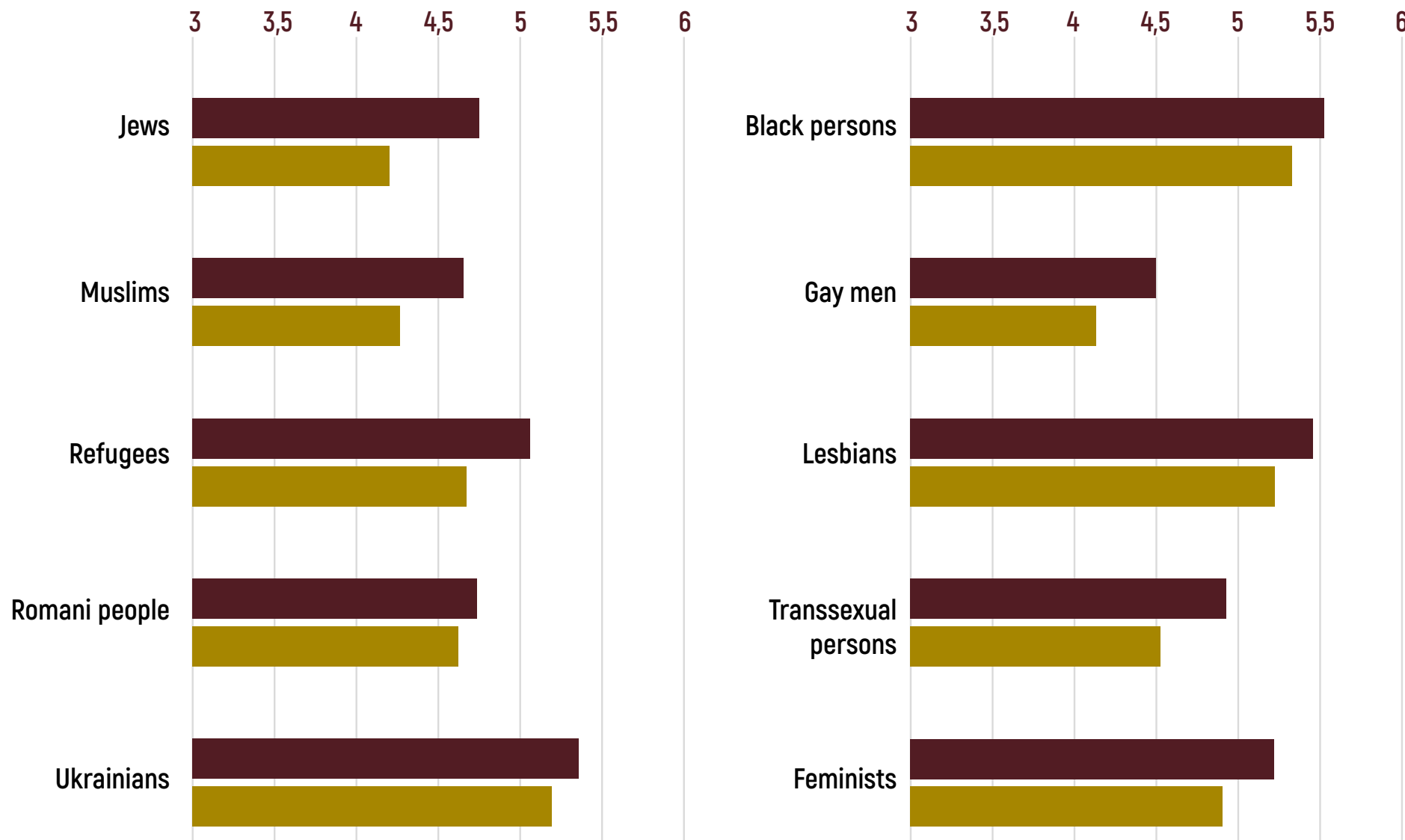


Figure 12. Perceived offensiveness of hate speech against different minorities.

72. $F(9;1568)=6,62, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2=0,037$.

73. Partial eta-squared for contrasts for Jews = .039, for refugees = .025, for the remaining groups not exceeding .016.

74. $F(5;3223)=31,77, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2=0,047$.

Detailed analysis supports the general conclusion that young Poles perceive the presented examples as less offensive⁷², but also some differences among them can be detected for hate speech directed to different minorities. In general, statements about Romani people are similarly evaluated by both youth and adults, while hate speech against Jews and refugees is seen as much less offensive by young Poles than by adults.⁷³

COMPARISON OF PERCEIVED OFFENSIVENESS OF HATE SPEECH IN 2014 AND 2016

The most important result is the comparison of perceived offensiveness of the same statements against six minorities covered by the 2014 and 2016 surveys. In general, we can say that perceived offensiveness of hate speech decreased over the two-year period.⁷⁴

More detailed analysis shows that strong decreases in perceived offensiveness took place only for three out of six minorities (see Figures 13 and 14).

In general, statements about Romani people are similarly evaluated by both youth and adults, while hate speech against Jews and refugees is seen as much less offensive by young Poles than by adults.

"Muslims are despicable cowards they kill only women, children and innocent people"
Percentage of respondents who perceived the above citation as **"definitely offensive"**

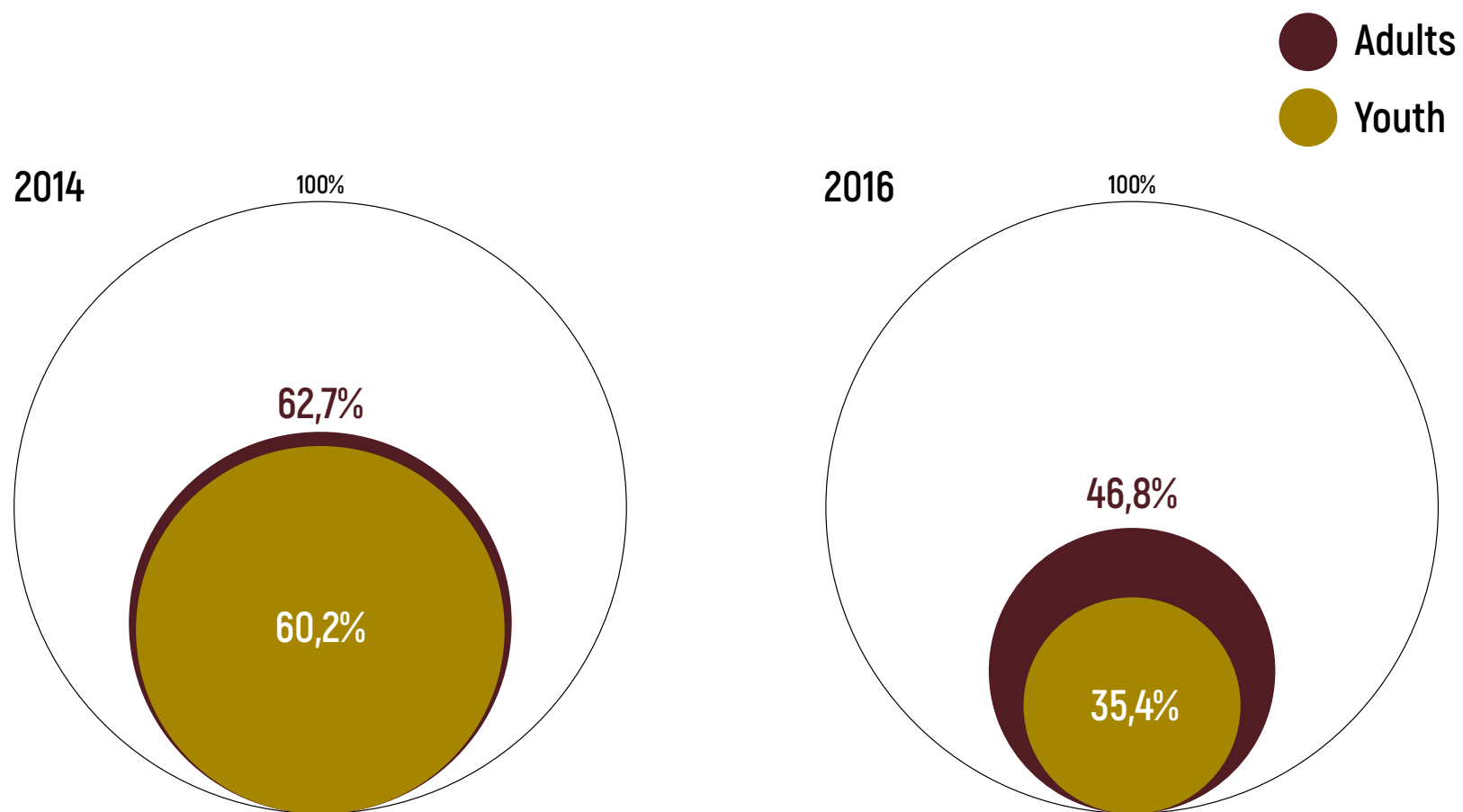


Figure 13

Changes in perceived offensiveness of hate speech between 2014 and 2016

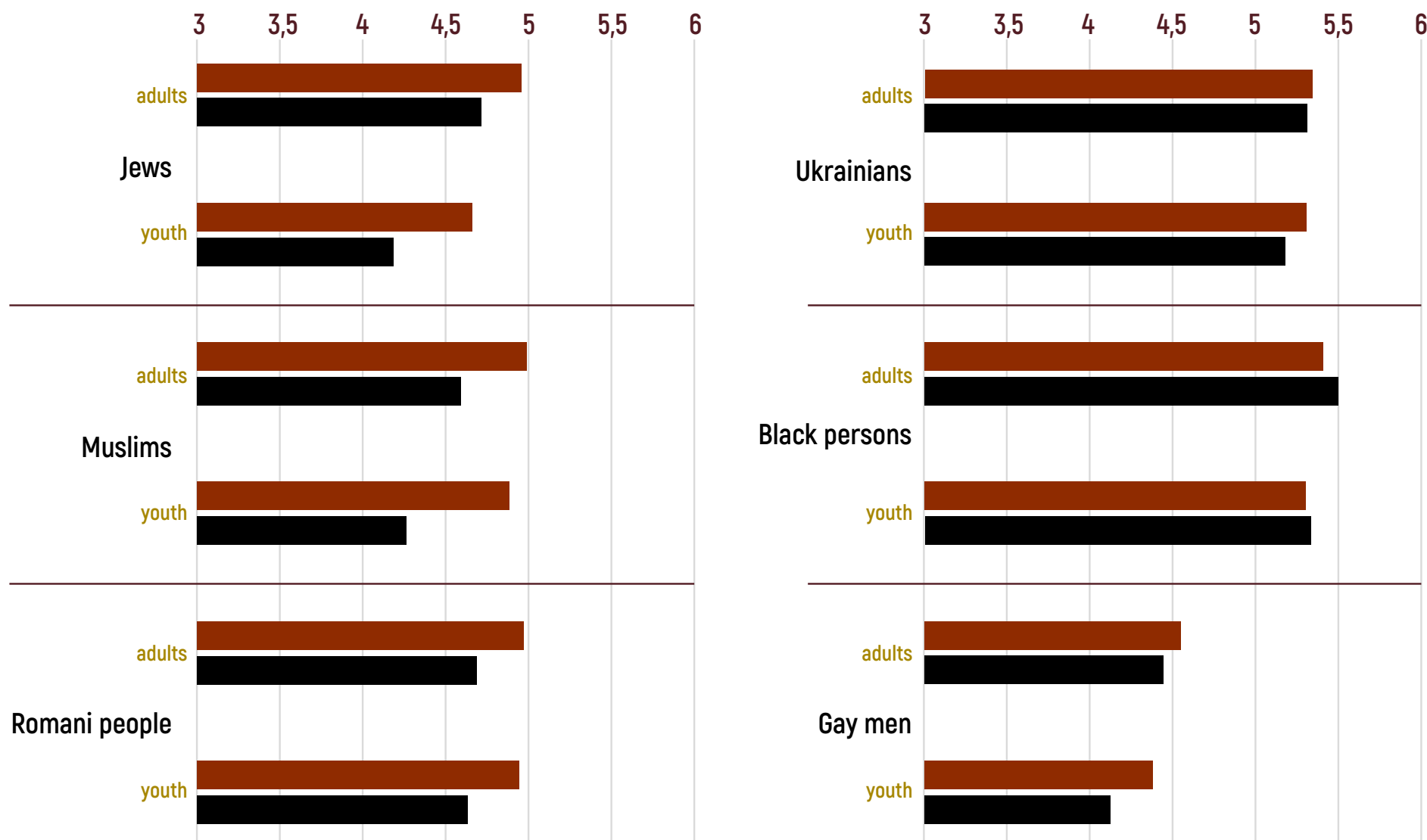


Figure 14. Changes in perceived offensiveness of hate speech between 2014 and 2016.

75. $F(5;3223)=14,81, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,022$.

The changes over the two-year period are very similar for both young and adult Poles⁷⁵, but changes among the youth are definitely stronger. In 2016, respondents evaluated statements about Muslims and Jews as less offensive than in 2014. The decrease in sensitivity to the offensiveness of hate speech was also detected in the case of anti-Romani statements, though the change was less pronounced. Additionally, among youth, sensitivity to homophobic statements fell: in 2016 they were seen as much less offensive than in 2014. In the case of statements against Ukrainians and black persons no changes were detected.

SUMMARY

Most importantly, virtually all statements are seen by youth as less offensive than by adults. Based on the results from the surveys – mainly the 2014 survey⁷⁶ – it can be assumed that the most important reason for that is the fact that the youth are definitely more exposed to hate speech, and thus become more desensitised to such content.

Especially worth noting are the survey results on changes in perceptions of hate speech directed to particular minority groups. Firstly, in both surveys respondents evaluated exactly the same statements, which means that over a period of only two years anti-Semitic or anti-Muslim statements started to be seen by Poles as less offensive. Secondly, the changes occurred only for some groups and thus cannot be seen as a general trend. It cannot be said that radical change

76. Bilewicz, M., Marchlewska, M., Soral, W., Winiewski, M. (2014). *Mowa nienawiści. Raport z badań sondażowych [Hate speech. Report from questionnaire surveys]*. Warsaw: The Stefan Batory Foundation.

took place in the public discourse and suddenly Poles accept more rude or offensive language. Bearing in mind that statements against Muslims and Jews are seen as less offensive, it can be assumed that the development reflects changes in political debate. In the case of attitudes toward Muslims, the change can possibly be connected with anti-Islamic discourse related to the migration crisis in Europe, while in the case of Jews – to the resurgence of anti-Semitic content propagated by right-wing political parties or movements. Their popularity rose simultaneously with the intensifying anti-immigrant feelings, and after the 2015 elections representatives of right-wing parties returned to mainstream politics in Poland.

Hate speech against non-heteronormative persons

77. Za Kampanią Przeciw Homofobii [For the Campaign against Homophobia], <https://kph.org.pl/w-polsce-nie-ma-homofobii-raport/>.

78. Górka, P., Budziszewska, M., Knut P., Łada, P. (2016). *Raport o Polsce: Homofobiczne i transfobiczne przestępstwa z nienawiści a wymiar sprawiedliwości* [Report on Poland: Homophobic and transphobic hateful offences and the justice system]. Warsaw: The Campaign against Homophobia.

79. Makuchowska, M., Chaber, A. (2014). *Różowa księga nienawiści: Przemoc wobec osób LGBTI w Polsce* [Pink paper on hatred: Violence against LGBTI persons in Poland]. Warsaw: The Campaign against Homophobia.

According to police statistics, Poland is a country that is virtually free from crime motivated by homophobia or transphobia.⁷⁷ But research led by non-governmental organisations show quite a different picture. The results of one of the surveys showed that violence motivated by sexual orientation or gender identity and expression of its victims affects most commonly transsexual persons and homosexual men, while homosexual women are slightly less exposed to it.⁷⁸ The most common form of violence is verbal⁷⁹, and its most common manifestation is hate speech. In the previous survey of 2014 we wanted to examine how hate speech addressed to sexual minorities was perceived by Poles. But already at the stage of selecting hateful statements we noticed that the most hateful expressions related exclusively to gay men. Thus, only they were presented to respondents, and we failed to survey perceptions of hate speech directed to other sexual minorities. But in the 2016 survey we also included examples of hateful statements against lesbians. The 2016 survey also included examples of hateful statements directed to transsexual persons. In 2015, Polish media reported on works on the act on gender status adjustment that was supposed to simplify legal procedures for definition of legal gender status. For example, the act was to abolish the requirement for transsexual persons to sue their parents for mistaken recognition of a child's sex. The act

Violence motivated by sexual orientation or gender identity and expression of its victims affects most commonly transsexual persons and homosexual men, while homosexual women are slightly less exposed to it. The most common form of violence is verbal, and its most common manifestation is hate speech.

was vetoed by the president and never came into force, but the information on the problems faced by persons willing to change their sex reached the general public and could influence attitudes of Poles toward that minority.

OFFENSIVENESS OF HATE SPEECH AND SUPPORT FOR A BAN OF ITS USE

Respondents were presented with three examples of hate speech for each sexual minority group: gay men, lesbians and transsexual persons. Statements about gay men were the same as in the previous survey, while statements addressed to lesbians and transsexual persons were specially chosen for the present survey and used for the first time. All the statements are cited below:

STATEMENTS ABOUT GAY MEN:

- 1) I detest fags, they are a perversion of humanity, they should be cured.
- 2) I'm sorry to gays, but they make me feel organically, naturally disgusted... as in every man's DNA
- 3) I understand that one can have homosexual inclinations, it is a kind of disability, weakness.[...] But fag activists who want advantages for gay couples and the right of adoption of children for them, should be fought ...

STATEMENTS ABOUT LESBIANS:

- 1) Lesbians are an insult to nature and should be put against a wall and executed.
- 2) I think we should start with stoning lesbians.
- 3) As for gays, I give up, but I would happily watch lesbians.

STATEMENTS ABOUT TRANSEXUAL PERSONS:

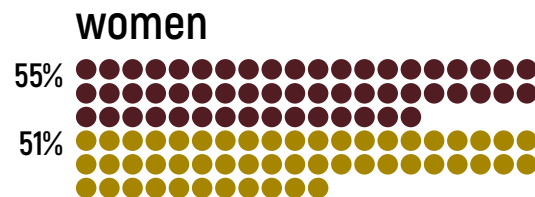
1. A person with such a psyche should be sent for treatment to a gulag in Russia, North Korea or Iran. She would quickly recover there.
2. That's what is called biological natural selection. The species cleanses itself of perverts, nutcases and deviants who obstruct its development, healthy procreation and adjustment to environment (...)
3. This Grodzka, who all the time sat next to me, I said sir, madam, oh sir. He said that he would go to the court of justice, so I replied: Go to the court! When I see a guy next to me, am I to address him "madam"?

After reading the sentences, respondents were first asked to evaluate their offensiveness toward the minorities they related to. Then, respondents were asked to declare to what extent they would support a ban on using such hate speech.

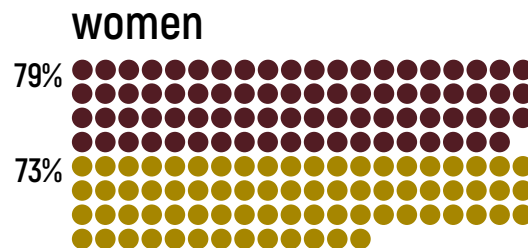
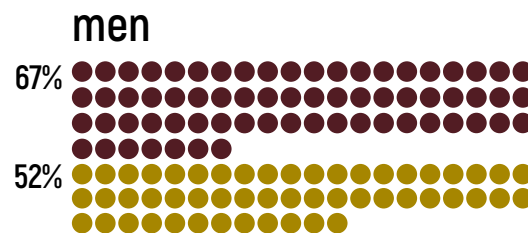
Poles evaluating hate speech towards non-heteronormative people as definitely offensive



Gay men



Lesbians



Transsexual persons

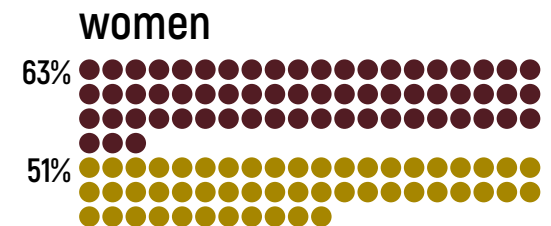
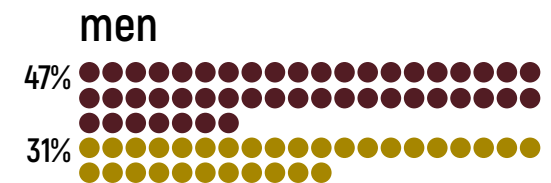


Figure 15. Percentages of adult and young men and women seeing examples of hate speech against gay men, lesbians and transsexual persons as definitely offensive.

Figure 15 shows the percentages of respondents seeing particular statements as *definitely offensive*. In general, more adults than youth and more women than men saw present-
ed statements as *definitely offensive*. The greatest percentage of respondents saw statements directed at lesbians as of-
fensive, and the smallest percentage – statements directed at gay men. More detailed analyses showed that adults more often than youth saw hateful statements directed at all three groups as offensive.⁸⁰ Women, when compared with men, evaluated statements as more offensive.⁸¹ Adult men saw statements directed at gay men as more offensive than young men.⁸²

Next we examined whether perceptions of hate speech against particular groups are dependent on other demo-
graphic variables, such as place of residence of respondents, their religiousness, education and political views. The size of the place of residence proved to be an important factor for perception of hate speech by youth. Young people living in bigger cities saw examples of hate speech as more offen-
sive when compared with their peers from smaller towns and villages.⁸³ The correlation held mainly for statements addressed to gay men, and to a lesser degree – lesbians and transsexual persons. For adults, the size of their place of residence was unimportant, as well as their declared reli-
giousness and participation in religious practices. Among young Poles, greater religiousness was correlated with lesser perceived offensiveness of statements directed at gay men.⁸⁴

80. Gays – $F(1,1710)=17.12$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .010$; lesbians – $F(1,1710)=16.60$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .010$; transsexual persons – $F(1,1710) = 24.84$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .014$

81. $F(1,1710)=220.33$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=.114$; $F(1,1710)=66.94$, $p<.001$; $\eta_p^2=.038$ and $F(1,1710)=120.83$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=.066$, respectively, for average offensiveness of statements addressed to gay persons, lesbians and transsexual persons.

82. Group*Sex $F(1,1710)=7.79$, $p=.005$, $\eta_p^2=.005$ for average offensiveness of statements addressed to gay persons.

83. Youth group – the size of locality of residence and perceived offensiveness of anti-gay statements $r=.13$, $p=.001$, statements against transsexual persons $r=.09$, $p=.018$, statements against lesbians $r=-.09$, $p=.018$.

84. Adult group – declared religiousness and perceived offensiveness of anti-gay statements $r = 0.09$, $p = 0.026$.

85. Adult group – education and perceived offensiveness of anti-gay statements $r=-.07$, $p=.021$, statements against lesbians $r=-.08$, $p=.008$, statements against transsexual persons $r=-.09$, $p=.003$.

86. Political views (left-right) and perceived offensiveness of anti-gay statements $r=-.34$, $p<.001$, statements against transsexual persons $r=-.34$, $p<.001$, statements against lesbians $r=-.22$, $p<.001$.

87. Political views (left-right) and perceived offensiveness of anti-gay statements $r=-.22$, $p<.001$, statements against transsexual persons $r=-.16$, $p<.001$, statements against lesbians $r=-.11$, $p=.002$.

88. Group $F(1,1652)=5.09$, $p=.024$, $\eta_p^2=.003$ for the ban on using hate speech against gay men and $F(1,1652)=7.97$, $p=.005$; $\eta_p^2=.005$ for the ban on using hate speech against lesbians.

89. Sex $F(1,1652)=156.52$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=.087$ for the ban on using hate speech against gay men, $F(1,1652)=116.98$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=.066$ for the ban on using hate speech against lesbians and $F(1,1652)=136.12$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=.076$ for the ban on using hate speech against transsexual persons.

90. Group*Sex $F(1,1652)=8.71$, $p=.003$; $\eta_p^2=.005$ for the ban on using hate speech against gay men.

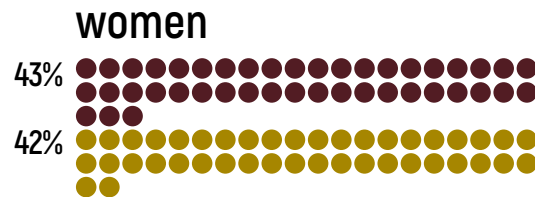
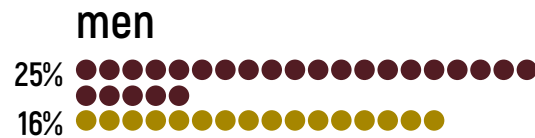
Only adults were asked about their education – the more educated ones saw hate speech as more offensive.⁸⁵ As far as political views were concerned, both adult and young persons declaring right-wing affiliations saw cited statements as less offensive. The correlation was particularly strong for the youth and the examples of hate speech against gay men and transsexual persons, and slightly weaker for statements offensive to lesbians.⁸⁶ Similar correlations were observed among adult Poles, i.e. persons with right-wing political views saw examples of hate speech as less offensive, but the correlation was much weaker than for the youth.⁸⁷

Figure 16 shows percentages of respondents (for different age and sex groups) who declared their strong support for the ban on using hate speech against gay men, lesbians and transsexual persons. The ban on hateful statements was supported by more adults than young people and by more women than men. Adults declared significantly stronger support for the ban than youth in the case of statements against gay men and lesbians.⁸⁸ Women declared stronger support for the ban than men for all three minority groups⁸⁹ (their support was strongest for the ban on using hate speech against lesbians, weakest for the ban on using hate speech against gay men, and medium – when compared to the remaining two sexual minority groups – for hate speech against transsexual persons). Adult men declared greater support for the ban on using hate speech against gay men than young men.⁹⁰

Poles supporting banning hate speech towards LGT people



Gay men



Lesbians



Transsexual persons

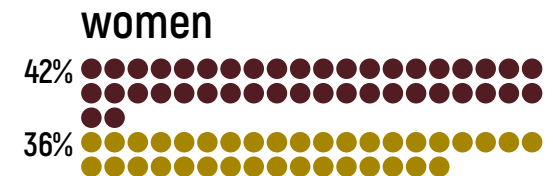


Figure 16. Percentages of men and women among adult and young Poles saying that offensive statements against gay men, lesbians and transsexual persons should be definitely banned.

91. Political views (left-right) and the ban on using hateful statements against gay persons $r=-.23$, $p<.001$; hateful statements against lesbians $r=-.26$, $p<.001$; hateful statements against transsexual persons $r=-.28$, $p<.001$.

92. Political views (left-right) and the ban on using hateful statements against gay men $r=-.14$, $p<.001$; hateful statements against transsexual persons $r=-.12$, $p=.001$.

The support for the ban on hate speech was not correlated with the size of locality of residence, religiousness or education. A correlation was detected with political views, and it was definitely stronger among youth. Young Poles having right-wing political views definitely more strongly believed that such statements against all three minority groups should be allowed.⁹¹ Among adults a similar, but much weaker correlation for hate speech against gay men and transsexual persons was observed.⁹²

ATTITUDES TOWARD NONHETERONORMATIVE PERSONS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD HATE SPEECH

The main goal of the survey was to find out how Poles perceive hate speech addressed to particular minority groups (see also chapter *Idea of the research*), but we were also interested in respondents' attitudes toward those groups. The knowledge on the general attitudes toward surveyed groups can help to better understand reactions of Poles to hateful statements. In psychology, scales measuring homonegativity are often used as a tool in researching attitudes toward homosexual persons. In addition, we asked respondents about their acceptance for homosexual and transsexual persons in everyday life.

HOMONEGATIVITY AND MODERN HOMONEGATIVITY

Attitudes toward homosexual persons can be analysed in the context of traditional or modern prejudice. The traditional prejudice are based on the belief that homosexual persons behave immorally and commit sins, and thus are underpinned by arguments referring to moral rules. Modern prejudice consist in the belief, on the part of prejudiced person, that he or she is not really prejudiced and sexual minorities are not discriminated by the society, and if they experience some negative reactions from other people, it is their fault (see also chapter *Idea of the research*). The following propositions are included in the measurements of the two types of prejudice:

HOMONEGATIVITY:

- 1) If at all possible, homosexual persons should be avoided.
- 2) Homosexual persons are immoral.
- 3) Homosexual persons should not be allowed to work with children.

MODERN HOMONEGATIVITY:

- 1) Homosexual persons became definitely too confrontational in their demands for equal rights.
- 2) Homosexual persons who revealed their orientation should be admired for their courage (inverse question).
- 3) Homosexual persons still have to fight for equal rights (inverse question).

The average level of homonegativity among all respondents was 2.54 (on a scale from 0 to 5, where higher values meant more negative attitudes); the average level of modern homonegativity was slightly higher and reached 3.00.

Attitudes of Poles towards homosexual people

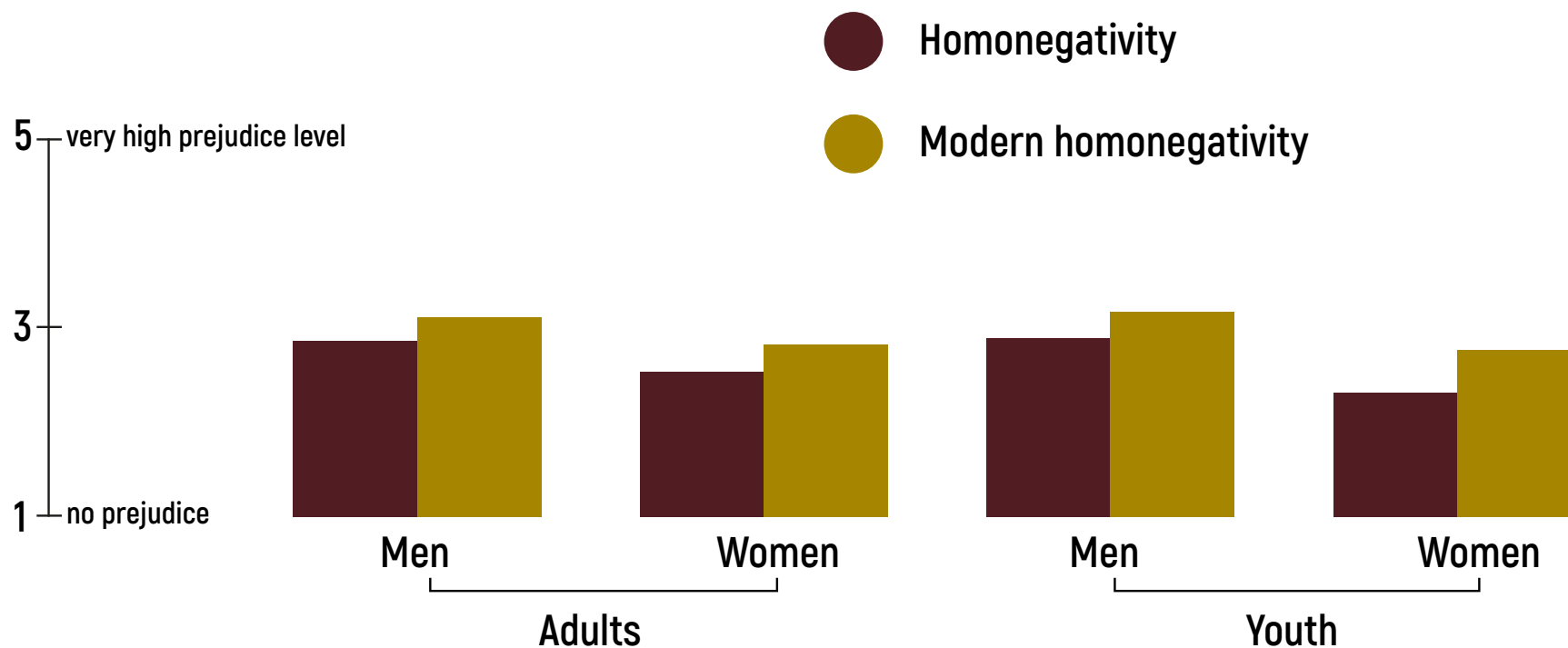


Figure 17. Average answers from men and women in the groups of adult and young Poles to questions included in the measurements of homonegativity and modern homonegativity.

Further analysis revealed more complex correlations. Attitudes of adult Poles were characterised by a significantly higher level of traditional prejudice than attitudes of the youth, and attitudes of women – by a generally lower level of both traditional and modern prejudice than attitudes of men. But for adult women the level of traditional prejudice was significantly higher than for young women.⁹³

To learn more about attitudes of Poles toward persons of homosexual orientation and transsexual persons, we asked about their willingness to accept a gay man, a lesbian or a transsexual person in everyday interactions of different levels of closeness. Respondents answered whether they could accept such persons as collaborators, neighbours, or whether they could accept a relationship between a member of their family and a gay man, lesbian or transsexual person. Figures 18A,B,C shows percentages of adult and young men and women who would (“definitely” or “rather”) accept homosexual persons in three types of everyday interactions of different levels of intimacy. In general, the greatest percentage of Poles would accept lesbians, and more women than men in both age groups declared acceptance for all non-heteronormative persons. Further analyses showed considerable differences between age groups and sexes, mainly in acceptance of gay men and transsexual persons. Adult men declared a higher level of acceptance of gay men and transsexual persons than young men, while young women declared higher level of acceptance of gay men than adult women.⁹⁴

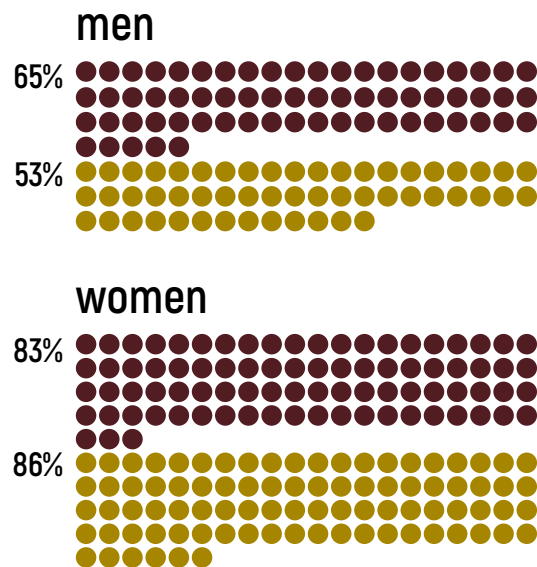
93. Group*Sex $F(1;1439) = 10,1, p = 0,002; \eta_p^2 = 0,007$.

94. Group*Sex $F(1;1798) = 21,02, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,012$ for acceptance for gay men and $F(1;1798) = 5,93, p = 0,015; \eta_p^2 = 0,003$ for acceptance for transsexual persons.

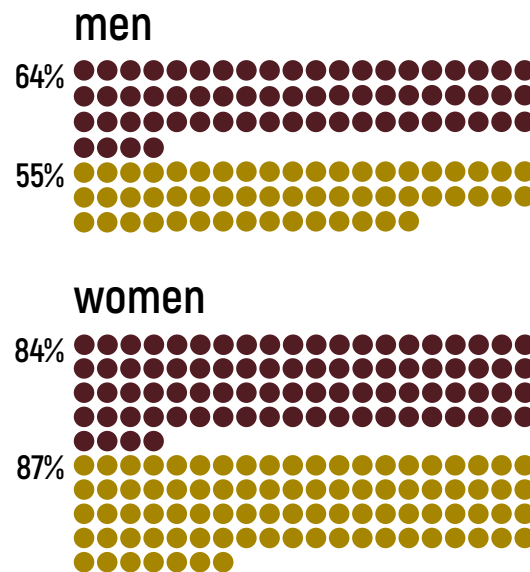
Acceptance for gay men in everyday interactions



Collaborator



Neighbour



Family member

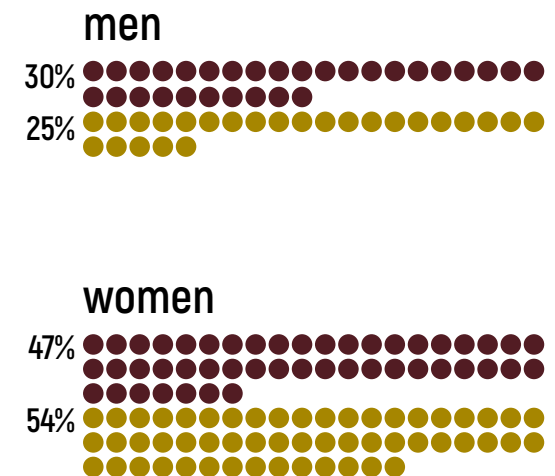


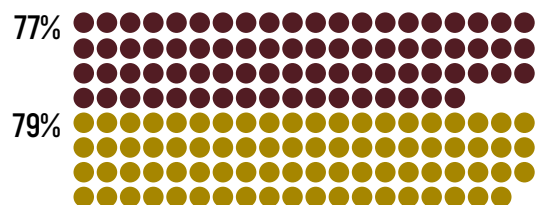
Figure 18A. Percentages of men and women among adult and young Poles declaring acceptance for gay men, lesbians and transsexual persons in everyday interactions.

Acceptance for lesbians in everyday interactions

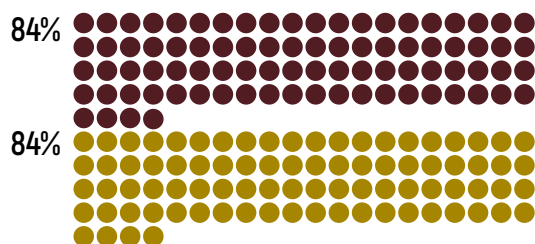


Collaborator

men

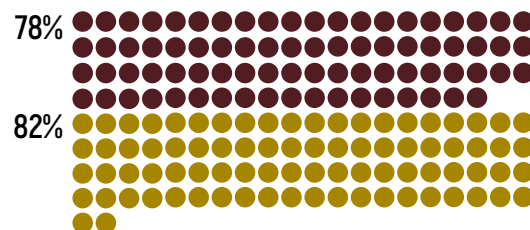


women

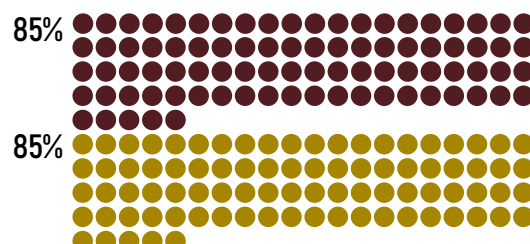


Neighbour

men



women



Family member

men



women



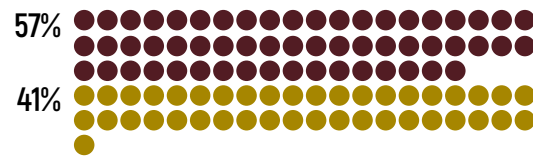
Figure 18B. Percentages of men and women among adult and young Poles declaring acceptance for gay men, lesbians and transsexual persons in everyday interactions.

Acceptance for transsexual persons in everyday interactions

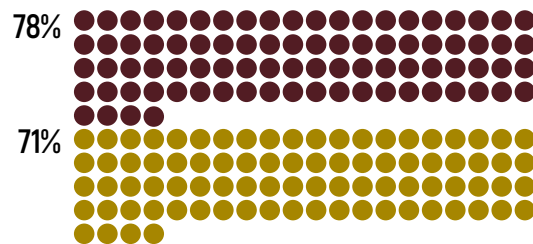


Collaborator

men



women

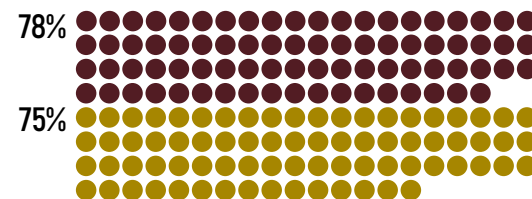


Neighbour

men



women



Family member

men



women



Figure 18C. Percentages of men and women among adult and young Poles declaring acceptance for gay men, lesbians and transsexual persons in everyday interactions.

95. Size of locality of residence and acceptance for – gay men adults $r = 0,21$, $p < 0,00,001$; youth $r = 0,21$, $p < 0,00,001$; lesbians adults $r = 0,26$, $p < 0,00,001$; youth $r = 0,22$, $p < 0,00,001$; transsexual persons adults $r = 0,18$, $p < 0,00,001$; youth $r = 0,18$, $p < 0,00,001$.

96. Education and acceptance for – gay men $r = .29$, $p < .001$; lesbians $r = .30$, $p < .001$; transsexual persons $r = .24$, $p < .001$.

97. Political views (left-right) and acceptance for – gay men adults $r = 0,22$, $p < 0,001$; youth $r = 0,34$, $p < 0,001$; lesbians adults $r = 0,23$, $p < 0,001$; youth $r = 0,19$, $p < 0,001$; transsexual persons adults $r = 0,20$, $p < 0,001$; youth $r = 0,34$, $p < 0,001$.

98. For practicing religion and perceived own religiousness, we asked two separate questions.

99. Participation in religious practices - adults $r = -0,16$, $p < 0,001$; youth $r = -0,15$, $p < 0,001$; faith - adults $r = -0,16$, $p < 0,001$; youth $r = -0,20$, $p < 0,001$.

100. Participation in religious practices - adults $r = -0,25$, $p < 0,001$; youth $r = -0,19$, $p < 0,001$; faith - adults $r = -0,20$, $p < 0,001$; youth $r = -0,22$, $p < 0,001$.

101. Participation in religious practices – adults $r = -0,16$, $p < 0,001$; youth $r = -0,14$, $p < 0,001$; youth $r = -0,16$, $p < 0,001$; youth $r = -0,16$, $p < 0,001$.

102. Homonegativity: $r = .47$, $p < .001$; $r = .39$, $p < .001$ and $r = .45$, $p < .001$, respectively, for evaluations of offensiveness of three examples of hate speech against gay men (scale of offensiveness – the lower the value, the greater the offensiveness) and $r = .33$, $p < .001$ for the ban; $r = .31$, $p < .001$; $r = .28$, $p < .001$ and $r = .27$, $p < .001$, respectively, for evaluations of offensiveness of three examples of hate speech against lesbians and $r = .25$, $p < .001$ for the ban.

103. Modern homonegativity: $r = .36$, $p < .001$; $r = .37$, $p < .001$ and $r = .45$, $p < .001$, respectively, for evaluations of offensiveness of three examples of hate speech against gay men and $r = .36$, $p < .001$ for the ban; $r = .21$, $p < .001$; $r = .18$, $p < .001$ and $r = .22$, $p < .001$, respectively, for evaluations of offensiveness of three examples of hate speech against lesbians and $r = .28$, $p < .001$ for the ban.

Willingness to accept non-heteronormative persons was also correlated with other demographic variables. LGT persons were definitely more accepted by persons living in bigger localities from both age groups.⁹⁵ For adult Poles, greater acceptance was also correlated with higher education.⁹⁶ Acceptance for non-heteronormative persons was also correlated with general beliefs of respondents – i.e. their declared political views and their religious beliefs. Persons describing their views as right-wing were definitely less willing to accept non-heteronormative persons. The correlation was particularly pronounced among youth in their attitudes toward homosexual men and transsexual persons, and a bit weaker – in their attitudes toward lesbians. For adult Poles the correlations were similar, but slightly weaker, and applied to all groups in a similar manner.⁹⁷ Persons describing themselves as religious and practising believers⁹⁸ were less willing to accept in their social surroundings gay men⁹⁹, lesbians¹⁰⁰ or transsexual persons.¹⁰¹ The correlations held for both youth and adults.

Results of analyses of correlation between described attitudes and perception of hate speech showed that respondents from both age groups who saw examples of hateful statements directed at gay men and lesbians as more offensive and who more strongly supported the ban on using such statements showed lower levels of both homonegativity¹⁰² and modern homonegativity¹⁰³, as well as higher willingness to accept gay men, lesbians and transsexual persons in their various everyday interactions.¹⁰⁴

104. Acceptance: $r = -.49$, $p < .001$; $r = -.42$, $p < .001$ and $r = -.43$, $p < .001$, respectively, for evaluations of offensiveness of three examples of hate speech against gay men and $r = .35$, $p < .001$ for the ban; $r = .33$, $p < .001$; $r = .28$, $p < .001$ and $r = .18$, $p < .001$, respectively, for evaluations of offensiveness of three examples of hate speech against lesbians and $r = .20$, $p < .001$ for the ban; $r = .45$, $p < .001$; $r = .45$, $p < .001$ and $r = .43$, $p < .001$, respectively, for evaluations of offensiveness of three examples of hate speech against transsexual persons and $r = .36$, $p < .001$ for the ban.

SUMMARY

Adult Poles and Polish youth saw examples of hate speech statements directed at gay men, lesbians and transsexual persons as definitely offensive. Statements against lesbians were seen as the most offensive, and statements against gay men were seen as the least offensive. Relatively high percentage of respondents from both age groups declared their strong support for the ban on using hateful statements. In general, adults more often than young people saw hate speech as offensive and supported the ban on it.

Attitudes of adults and youth toward homosexual and transsexual persons measured using scales of traditional and modern homonegativity and acceptance in social life proved to be generally negative (e.g. for homonegativity, the average answers were above the middle of the scale which meant moderate attitudes; higher values meant negative attitudes). Attitudes of the youth were on average more negative than attitudes of adults, and attitudes of men were more negative than attitudes of women. The measures of attitudes toward LGT persons helped to better understand attitudes of respondents toward hate speech directed to those minorities: perceiving it as more offensive and stronger support for the ban on it were correlated with lower levels of homonegativity and higher levels of acceptance.

The results – in the group we observed not only the highest acceptance for hate speech against LGT persons, but also the most hostile attitudes toward gay men and transsexual

persons. The results show the well-known phenomenon of adolescent homophobia among boys, described by developmental psychology and pedagogy, which emerges in the process of shaping their sexual identity and has its role in building group relations among boys.¹⁰⁵

105. Plummer, D. C. (2001). The quest for modern manhood: Masculine stereotypes, peer culture and the social significance of homophobia. *Journal of Adolescence*, 24, 15-23.

Hate speech against refugees and Muslims

During the Arab Spring (the period of time between 2010 and 2012), the political situation in many Middle Eastern and North African countries destabilised. Finally, some of the countries faced civil war (e.g. Syria, Libya), and in others drastic street protests led to overturning the existing governments (e.g. Egypt, Tunisia). As a result of the developments, since 2015 a massive influx of refugees from those regions to Europe took place. The process was generally called a “migration crisis” and was constantly discussed in the media, also in Poland. The discussions focused mainly on threats connected with receiving refugees. The popular negative perceptions strengthened after the terrorist attacks that took place in France, and later also in Germany. Unfavourable attitudes of Poles toward refugees from the Middle East and Africa were regularly recorded in surveys led by CBOS. Between December 2015 and October 2016 over half of respondents (between 52% and 61% in the ten-month period) were against receiving refugees from areas affected by military conflicts.¹⁰⁶ In this connection it should be noted that refugees were unanimously associated by Poles with Muslims.¹⁰⁷ When asked about refugees from Ukraine, respondents showed slightly more positive attitudes, while Muslim refugees seemed to be for them a perfect example of a dangerous alien – with a different

106. Public Opinion Research Center (November 2016). *Stosunek do przyjmowania uchodźców. Komunikat z badań [Attitudes toward receiving refugees. Survey communiqué]*. Warsaw: CBOS.

107. Public Opinion Research Center (November 2015). *Polacy o uchodźcach – w internecie i w „realu”. Komunikat z badań [Poles on refugees – on the Internet and in “real”. Survey communiqué]*. Warsaw: CBOS.

108. Stefaniak, A. (2015). *Postrzeganie muzułmanów w Polsce: Raport z badania sondażowego [Perceptions of Muslims in Poland: Report from questionnaire survey]*. Warsaw: Center for Research on Prejudice.

109. Bilewicz, M., Marchlewska, M., Soral, W., Winiewski, M. (2014). *Mowa nienawiści: Raport z badań sondażowych [Hate speech: Report from questionnaire surveys]*. Warsaw: Stefan Batory Foundation.

culture and religion. Muslims themselves were at the time a group that was generally disliked in Poland¹⁰⁸, and attitudes toward them were definitely unfavourable, as shown also by the results of the former survey on hate speech of 2014.¹⁰⁹ Since the refugee problem is still often discussed in the media and many Poles commonly encounter reports on it, in the 2016 survey we wanted to learn more on their attitudes toward refugees. We also surveyed again their attitudes toward hate speech against Muslims and Muslims themselves to find out whether the last two years witnessed any changes in this respect (see chapter *Comparison 2014-2016*). In the presentation of our results we will focus on hate speech and attitudes toward both refugees and Muslims.

OFFENSIVENESS OF HATE SPEECH AND SUPPORT FOR THE BAN ON USING IT

Respondents were presented with three examples of hate speech against refugees and three examples of hate speech against Muslims (the same as in the 2014 survey). All the statements are cited below:

STATEMENTS AGAINST REFUGEES:

- 1) Let the refugees come to Vistula country. We will burn them in our power plants. And if there are too many of them to burn, the rest can be processed into dog food.
- 2) Let me have those suckers, fuck, please!!! I would like to cut them slowly, sprinkle with salt, rub the wounds with lemon. I would like to cut off their balls and push them down their throats, so that the “immigrant” motherfuckers suffocate and suffer, I wish it to them with all my heart.
- 3) Poles have the right to oppose the culturally alien immigrants who rape European women and terrorise drivers.

STATEMENTS AGAINST MUSLIMS:

- 1) Muslims are mean cowards, they murder only women, children and innocent people.
- 2) Every Muslim is not right in the head, there are no exceptions.
- 3) Attacks using caustic acid is an old form of getting even between Muslims.

Respondents were asked to evaluate offensiveness of each of the statements. The statements about refugees and Muslims were quite diverse in their content which might have affected their evaluations. Then, respondents declared to what extent they would support the ban on using hateful statements.

Poles evaluating hate speech towards refugees and Muslims as definitely offensive

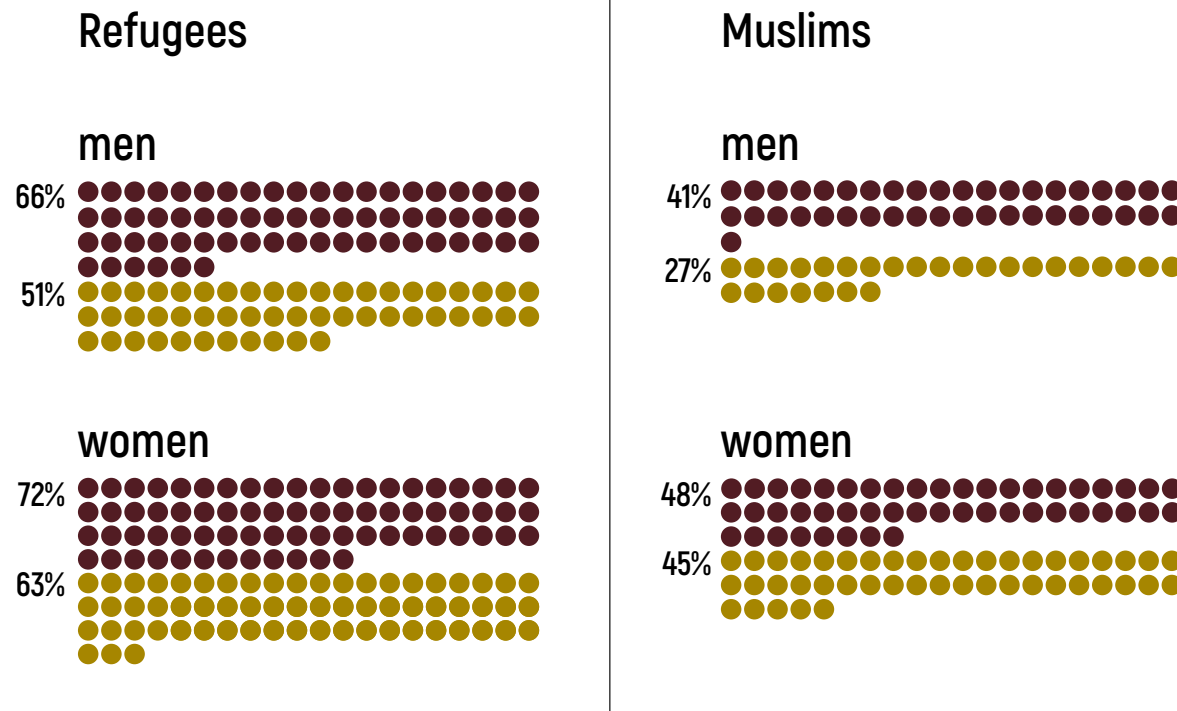


Figure 19. Percentages of men and women among adult and young Poles who evaluated examples of hate speech against refugees and Muslims as definitely offensive.

Figure 19 shows the percentages of respondents, from different age and sex groups, who evaluated statements directed at refugees and Muslims as *definitely offensive*. More adults than young people and more women than men saw the statements as offensive. In general, more respondents saw the statements against refugees as offensive. Further analyses showed that adults saw the statements against both refugees and Muslims as significantly more offensive than young people.¹¹⁰ Women saw the statements as significantly more offensive than men¹¹¹; adult men saw hateful statements against Muslims as more offensive than young men.¹¹² Further analyses showed that the youth from bigger localities saw anti-Muslim statements as slightly more offensive¹¹³ (the correlation did not apply to adults or hate speech against refugees). Anti-Muslim statements were seen as slightly more offensive by better educated adult respondents (the correlation did not apply to statements against refugees). Additionally, perceptions of anti-Muslim and anti-refugee statements were correlated with political views, but not with religious beliefs and participation in religious practices. The results show that young and adult Poles having more right-wing views saw the statements presented to them as less offensive.¹¹⁴ It is worth noting that the correlation was definitely more pronounced among youth.

110. Group $F(1;1780) = 35,98, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,020$
i $F(1;1780) = 16,09, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,009$ respectively, for average offensiveness of statements addressed to refugees and Muslims.

111. Sex $F(1;1780) = 66,30, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,036$
i $F(1;1780) = 90,09, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,048$ respectively, for average offensiveness of statements addressed to refugees and Muslims.

112. Group*Sex $F(1;1780) = 5,95, p = 0,051; \eta_p^2 = 0,003$ for average offensiveness of statements addressed to Muslims.

113. $r = 0,11, p = 0,003$.

114. Political views (left-right) and perceptions of offensiveness of statements against Muslims: adults $r = -.11, p = .002$; youth $r = -.26, p < .001$; against refugees: adults $r = -.12, p = .001$; youth $r = -.28, p < .001$.

Further analyses showed that the youth from bigger localities saw anti-Muslim statements as slightly more offensive (the correlation did not apply to adults or hate speech against refugees).

Additionally, perceptions of anti-Muslim and anti-refugee statements were correlated with political views, but not with religious beliefs and participation in religious practices.

Poles supporting banning hate speech towards refugees and Muslims



Refugees

men



women



Muslims

men



women



Figure 20. Percentages of men and women among adult and young Poles who declared that offensive statements against refugees and Muslims should be definitely banned.

115. Group $F(1;1713) = 8,16$, $p = 0,004$; $\eta_p^2 = 0,005$.

116. Sex $F(1;1713) = 96,11$, $p < 0,001$; $\eta_p^2 = 0,053$ for the ban on using hate speech against refugees and $F(1;1713) = 124,85$, $p < 0,001$; $\eta_p^2 = 0,068$.

117. Age and support for the ban on hate speech against Muslims $r = 0,10$, $p = 0,001$; refugees $r = 0,13$, $p < 0,001$.

118. Political views (left-right) and support for the ban on hateful statements against Muslims: adults $r = -.09$, $p = .016$; youth $r = -.23$, $p < .001$; against refugees: adults $r = -.08$, $p = .039$; youth $r = -.21$, $p < .001$.

Figure 20 shows percentages of respondents, from different age and sex groups, who declared their strong support for the ban on using hate speech against refugees and Muslims. Again, more adults than young people and more women than men declared that hateful statements should be banned. Adults on average declared stronger support for the ban on hateful language against refugees than youth.¹¹⁵ Women more often than men supported the ban on using hate speech against both refugees and Muslims.¹¹⁶

When other demographic variables are concerned, among adults the age of respondents was weakly correlated with the support for the ban on hate speech. Older Poles were slightly more willing to support the ban on anti-Muslim and anti-refugee statements.¹¹⁷ Political views were – weakly among adults and strongly among youth – correlated with the support for the ban on using hate speech. Persons having right-wing political views were less willing to support the ban on hate speech against both refugees and Muslims.¹¹⁸

Again, more adults than young people and more women than men declared that hateful statements should be banned. Adults on average declared stronger support for the ban on hateful language against refugees than youth.

Older Poles were slightly more willing to support the ban on anti-Muslim and anti-refugee statements. Political views were – weakly among adults and strongly among youth – correlated with the support for the ban on using hate speech.

ATTITUDES TOWARD REFUGEES AND MUSLIMS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD HATE SPEECH

The evaluations of offensiveness of hateful statements and the support for the ban on using them are influenced by many factors. To better explain the correlation between attitudes toward hate speech and general attitudes toward refugees and Muslims, in the survey we included questions about present attitudes of Poles toward the groups. We expected that favourable attitudes toward refugees and Muslims should be correlated with perceiving hate speech against them as more offensive and with stronger support for the ban on using it, while unfavourable attitudes toward the groups should be correlated with perceiving hate speech as less offensive and with weaker support for the ban on using it.

Attitudes toward arrival of refugees in Poland and support for using violence to solve the migration crisis in Europe

Answers given by respondents to questions on how life in Poland can be affected by the arrival of refugees helped us to learn about their attitudes toward refugees. In addition, we asked respondents to evaluate several statements about various actions that could be taken by Poland and European Union in response to the arrival of refugees in Poland and Europe. The statements were mainly about

using psychological and physical violence and excluding refugees from local communities, but some of them described positive actions like organising material help for refugees. Below, we present questions used to measure the general attitude of Poles toward refugees and selected statements from a more complex scale used to measure support for using violence:

**ATTITUDES TOWARD ARRIVAL OF REFUGEES
IN POLAND:**

- 1) Would the arrival of refugees in Poland be good or bad for the Polish economy?
- 2) Would the cultural life in Poland be enriched or threatened by the arrival of refugees?
- 3) Would Poland become a better or worse place to live in as a result of the arrival of refugees?
- 4) Would the arrival of refugees in Poland be beneficial or harmful to the country?
- 5) Should Poland receive some of the refugees coming to Europe?

**SUPPORT FOR USING VIOLENCE TO SOLVE
MIGRATION CRISIS IN EUROPE (EXAMPLES OF
STATEMENTS):**

Exclusion: Refugees received in Poland should be placed in special centres isolated from the rest of Polish society.

Psychological violence: In connection with the arrival of refugees, Poland should give additional powers to intelligence services, including means to invigilate and control them in private and religious spheres.

Physical violence: In connection with the arrival of refugees, Poland should give additional powers to uniformed services in the field of using coercive means, including using force.

Positive proposals: Polish state should assign additional resources to help refugees and improve their material situation.

Attitudes toward the arrival of refugees

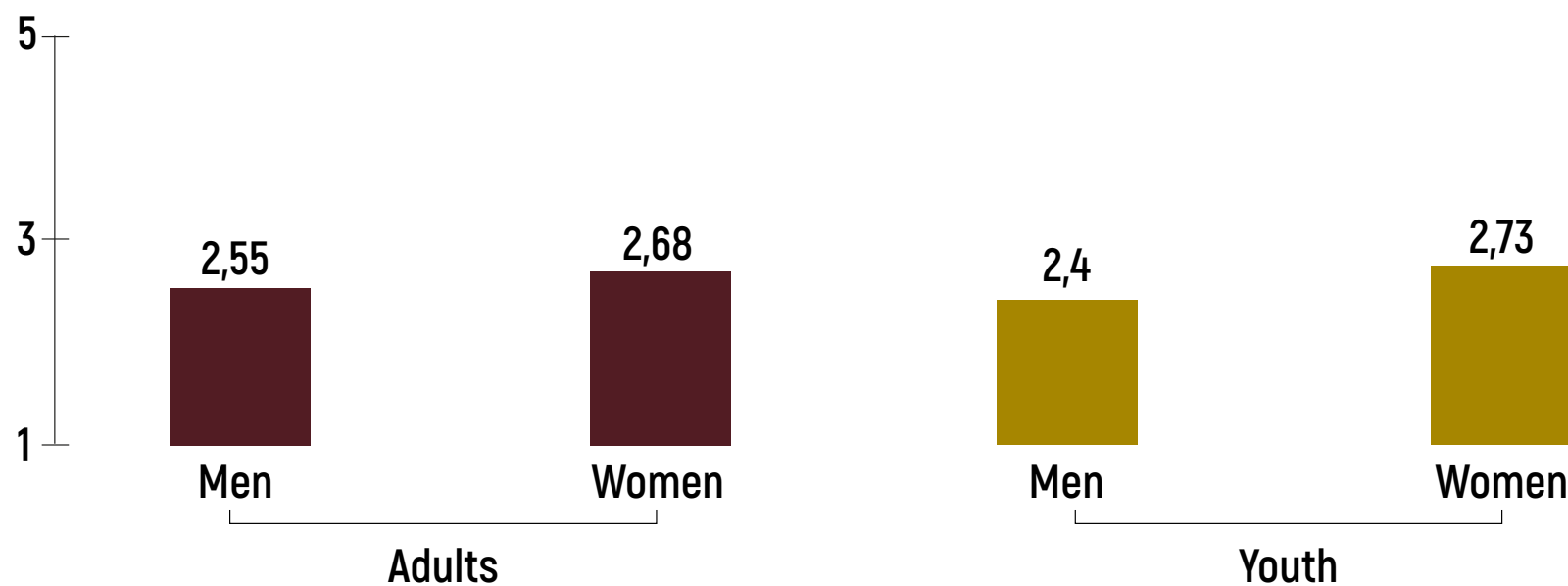


Figure 21. Average answers from men and women among adult and young Poles to questions used to measure the attitudes toward the arrival of refugees in Poland.

The average of answers from all respondents to the questions on their attitudes toward arrival of refugees in Poland was 2.59 (on a six-grade scale where the higher scores meant more favourable attitudes), so they were rather unfavourable, which means that Poles were not willing to receive refugees and believed that their potential arrival in Poland would be harmful to the country.

Figure 21 shows the averages for adults and youth of both sexes. Further analyses showed that women had more favourable attitudes toward the arrival of refugees than men.¹¹⁹

The second scale let us measure the support from respondents for four main types of action toward refugees. Strong support for excluding refugees, isolating them and using psychological and physical violence against them meant unfavourable attitudes. Strong support for constructive action meant favourable attitudes. Support for using physical violence reached 4.57 and for exclusion – 3.58. The average support for positive action was the lowest, reaching only 2.79.

Figure 22 shows the averages of age and sex groups. In general, adult Poles declared significantly stronger support for using psychological violence than the youth, and the youth declared stronger support for excluding refugees than adults.¹²⁰ Women always declared weaker support for all forms of violence and stronger support for positive action than men.¹²¹

119. Sex $F(1;1709) = 11,88$, $p = 0,001$; $\eta_p^2 = 0,007$.

120. Group respectively $F(1;1709) = 15,84$, $p < 0,001$; $\eta_p^2 = 0,009$ i $F(1;1709) = 25,23$, $p < 0,001$; $\eta_p^2 = 0,015$.

121. Sex respectively $F(1;1709) = 10,20$, $p = 0,001$; $\eta_p^2 = 0,006$ for exclusion, $F(1;1709) = 27,23$, $p < 0,001$; $\eta_p^2 = 0,016$ for psychological violence, $F(1;1709) = 41,64$, $p < 0,001$; $\eta_p^2 = 0,024$ for physical violence and $F(1;1709) = 9,48$, $p = 0,002$; $\eta_p^2 = 0,006$ for positive action.

In general, adult Poles declared significantly stronger support for using psychological violence than the youth, and the youth declared stronger support for excluding refugees than adults. Women always declared weaker support for all forms of violence and stronger support for positive action than men.

Poles' support for ways of solving the migration crisis in Europe

- Exclusion
- Psychological violence
- Physical violence
- Positive action

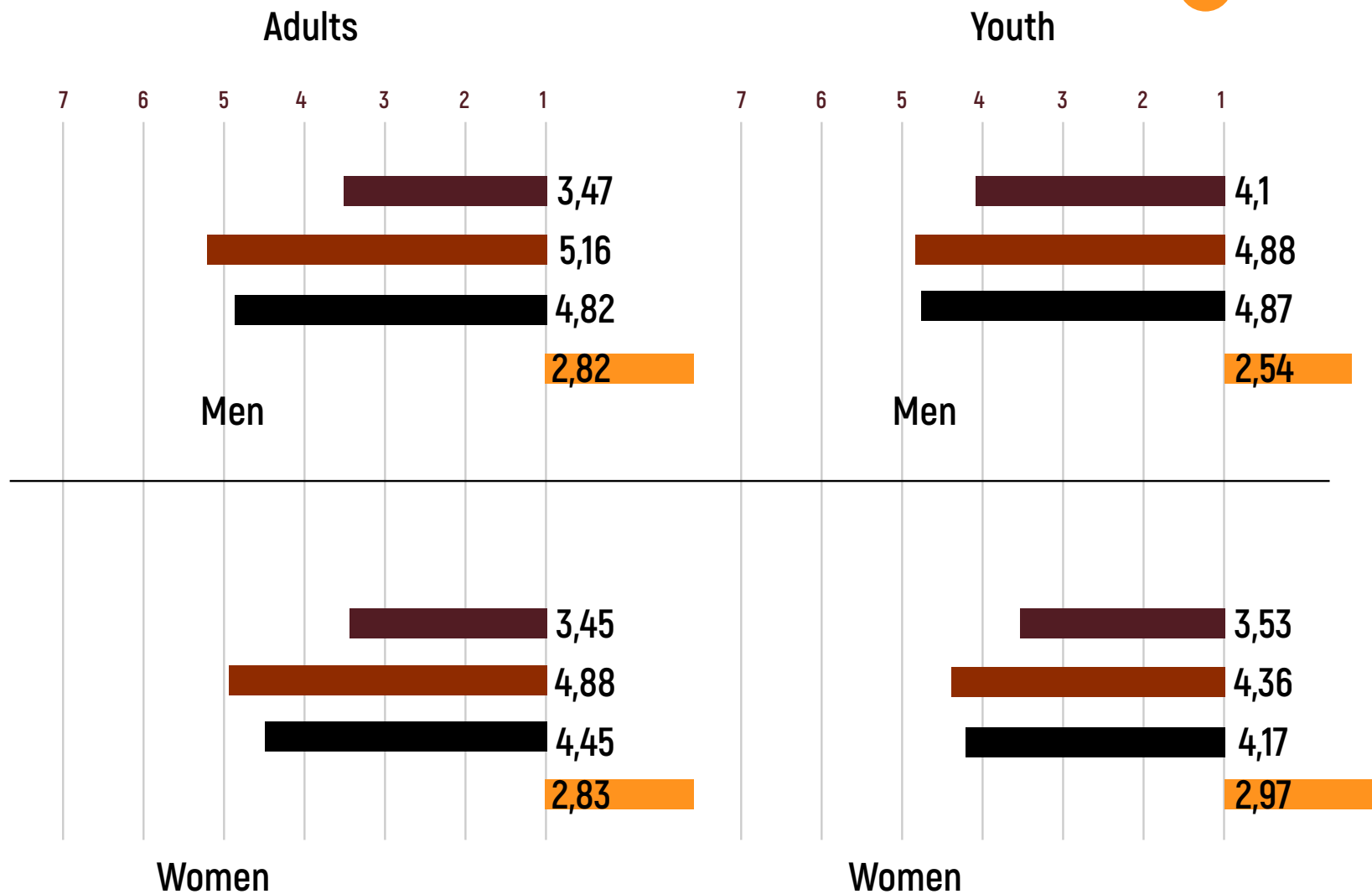


Figure 22. Average answers from adult and young men and women to the questions measuring four main aspects of attitudes toward using violence to solve the migration crisis.

122. Adults $r = 0.13$, $p < 0.001$ and youth $r = 0.11$, $p = 0.003$.

123. $r = 0.09$, $p = 0.004$.

124. Adults $r = -0.14$, $p < 0.001$, youth $r = -0.08$, $p = 0.036$.

125. Positive action $r = .12$, $p < .001$, psychological violence $r = .23$, $p < .001$, physical violence $r = .16$, $p < .001$.

126. Attitudes toward arrival of refugees $r = .22$, $p < .001$, positive action $r = .09$, $p < .004$, exclusion $r = -.25$, $p < .001$, psychological violence $r = -.21$, $p < .001$, physical violence $r = -.24$, $p < .001$.

127. Adults respectively: attitudes toward arrival of refugees $r = -.24$, $p < .001$, positive action $r = -.17$, $p < .001$, exclusion $r = .21$, $p < .001$, psychological violence $r = .18$, $p < .001$, physical violence $r = .22$,

128. Religious practices and attitudes toward arrival of refugees $r = -.16$, $p < .001$, positive action $r = -.08$, $p = .014$, exclusion $r = .14$, $p < .001$, psychological violence $r = .15$, $p < .001$, physical violence $r = .14$, $p < .001$; religious faith and attitudes toward arrival of refugees $r = -.16$, $p < .001$, positive action $r = -.07$, $p = .028$, exclusion $r = .12$, $p < .001$, psychological violence $r = .14$, $p < .001$, physical violence $r = .13$, $p < .001$.

Further analyses aimed at examining correlations between other demographic variables and attitudes toward refugees. Adults and youth from bigger localities had more positive attitudes toward the possible arrival of refugees¹²²; the adults also declared stronger support for positive action in connection with migration crisis.¹²³ Adult and young inhabitants of smaller localities were more supportive of action aimed at excluding refugees.¹²⁴

Also, among adults, age and education of respondents were significant factors. Older Poles were more supportive of positive action, but also of using psychological and physical violence.¹²⁵ Better educated Poles had more positive attitudes toward the arrival of refugees in Poland, more strongly supported positive action and were less supportive of exclusion, psychological and physical violence.¹²⁶

Political views and declared religiousness were correlated with attitudes of both adults and youth. In both age groups, persons having right-wing views had more negative attitudes to the possible arrival of refugees in Poland and were less supportive of positive action and more supportive of exclusion and using psychological and physical violence.¹²⁷

A similar pattern could be detected among adults who more commonly participated in religious practices and saw themselves as true believers: they were more critical of the possible arrival of refugees in Poland, less supportive of positive action, and more supportive of exclusion and violence.¹²⁸

Adults and youth from bigger localities had more positive attitudes toward the possible arrival of refugees; the adults also declared stronger support for positive action in connection with migration crisis. Adult and young inhabitants of smaller localities were more supportive of action aimed at excluding refugees.

The youth who more often participated in religious practices more strongly supported positive action for refugees and were less supportive of using psychological violence against them.¹²⁹

The attitudes toward refugees were also measured by asking the respondents whether they would accept a refugee as their collaborator or neighbour, and whether they would accept a marriage between a refugee and a member of their family.

Figure 23 shows percentages of adult and young respondents of both sexes who answered that they would (“definitely” or “rather”) accept a refugee in three types of everyday interactions of different levels of closeness. About one third of all respondents accepted refugees as a potential collaborator, but the acceptance of refugees as neighbours or family members was lower. Further analyses showed that among adults acceptance of refugees in their surroundings was considerably higher than youth¹³⁰; the same applied for women as compared with men.¹³¹ Adults and women had again more positive attitudes toward refugees.

Adult and young respondents who generally declared higher acceptance for refugees in everyday interactions came from bigger localities.¹³² Adults were better educated.¹³³ In both age groups right-wing political views were correlated with lower acceptance for refugees, and among adults similar correlation was observed for persons seeing themselves as believers and more commonly participating in religious practices.¹³⁴

129. Positive action $r=.09$, $p=.022$ and psychological violence $r=-.10$, $p=.012$.

About one third of all respondents accepted refugees as a potential collaborator, but the acceptance of refugees as neighbours or family members was lower.

130. Group $F(1;1800)=47,20$, $p < 0,001$; $\eta_p^2 = 0,026$.

131. Sex $F(1;1800)=17,99$, $p < 0,001$; $\eta_p^2 = 0,010$.

132. Adults $r=.17$, $p<.001$, youth $r=.10$, $p=.011$.

133. $r = 0,19$, $p < 0,001$.

134. Adults: political views $r=-.13$, $p<.001$, religious practices $r=-.10$, $p<.001$, faith $r=-.12$, $p<.001$; youth: political views $r=-.21$, $p<.001$.

A similar pattern could be detected among adults who more commonly participated in religious practices and saw themselves as true believers: they were more critical of the possible arrival of refugees in Poland, less supportive of positive action, and more supportive of exclusion and violence. The youth who more often participated in religious practices more strongly supported positive action for refugees and were less supportive of using psychological violence against them.

Acceptance for refugees in everyday interactions



Collaborator

men



women



Neighbour

men



women



Family member

men



women



Figure 23. Percentages of adult and young Poles of both sexes who would accept a refugee in three types of everyday interactions.

As we expected, attitudes toward refugees proved to be a crucial factor in explaining attitudes of Poles toward hate speech against this group. Analyses of correlations between attitudes toward possible arrival of refugees in Poland, support for violence as a solution to the migration crisis and acceptance of refugees in everyday interactions on the one hand, and attitudes toward hate speech on the other brought several interesting results. Adult and young respondents who saw examples of statements against refugees as more offensive and were more supportive of the ban on such statements showed a lower level of support for actions aimed at excluding refugees from the Polish society¹³⁵, as well as for action based on using psychological¹³⁶ and physical¹³⁷ violence, and higher acceptance for the group in everyday life.¹³⁸ In addition, perceptions of statements against refugees as more offensive and stronger support for the ban on their use were correlated with more positive attitudes toward possible arrival of refugees in Poland¹³⁹ and stronger support for positive action aimed at helping refugees.¹⁴⁰

ANTI-MUSLIM PREJUDICE AND SECULAR CRITICISM OF ISLAM

In the case of attitudes toward Muslims, we focused on two types of attitudes: negative perceptions of the group resulting from anti-Muslim prejudice based on the belief that Muslims are very different from members of Western culture and their beliefs are dangerous, and negative

135. Exclusion: $r = .26$, $r = .22$ and $r = .25$, respectively, for evaluations of offensiveness of three examples of hate speech (offensiveness scale – the lower the values, the higher the offensiveness) and $r = -.24$ for the ban.

136. Psychological violence: $r = .08$, $r = .07$ and $r = .28$, respectively, for evaluations of offensiveness of three examples of hate speech, $r = -.19$ for the ban.

137. Physical violence: $r = .23$, $r = .20$ and $r = .35$, respectively, for evaluations of offensiveness of three examples of hate speech, $r = -.29$ for the ban.

138. Acceptance: $r = -.35$, $r = -.30$ and $r = -.33$, respectively, for evaluations of offensiveness of three examples of hate speech, $r = .29$ for the ban.

139. Arrival in Poland: $r = -.21$, $r = -.17$ and $r = -.33$, respectively, for evaluations of offensiveness of three examples of hate speech, $r = .27$ for the ban.

140. Positive action: $r = -.18$, $r = -.14$ and $r = -.32$, respectively, for evaluations of offensiveness of three examples of hate speech, $r = .25$ for the ban.

perceptions of Islam devoid of prejudice – or secular criticism of the religion. Statements used to measure the two types of attitudes are presented below:

ANTI-MUSLIM PREJUDICE:

- 1) Islam is an archaic religion that is inadaptable to the modern world.
- 2) Muslims and their religion are so different from us that they should not be allowed to hold some positions in the society.
- 3) When compared with other religions, Muslims are rather primitive.

SECULAR CRITICISM OF ISLAM:

- 1) Separation of religion from the state, like in the Western countries, would bring progress to many Islamic countries.
- 2) We should support Muslims who dissociate from fundamentalist interpretations of Islam.
- 3) It is outrageous that in some Islamic countries people are punished for not observing religious rules.

The average of answers from all respondents to statements measuring the level of anti-Muslim prejudice was 3.41, while the average of supporting secular criticism of Islam was 3.91 (on five-grade scale), which means that respondents generally agreed to statements from both scales, which in turn suggests that Poles' attitudes toward Muslims and their religion were negative.

Poles' attitudes towards Muslims

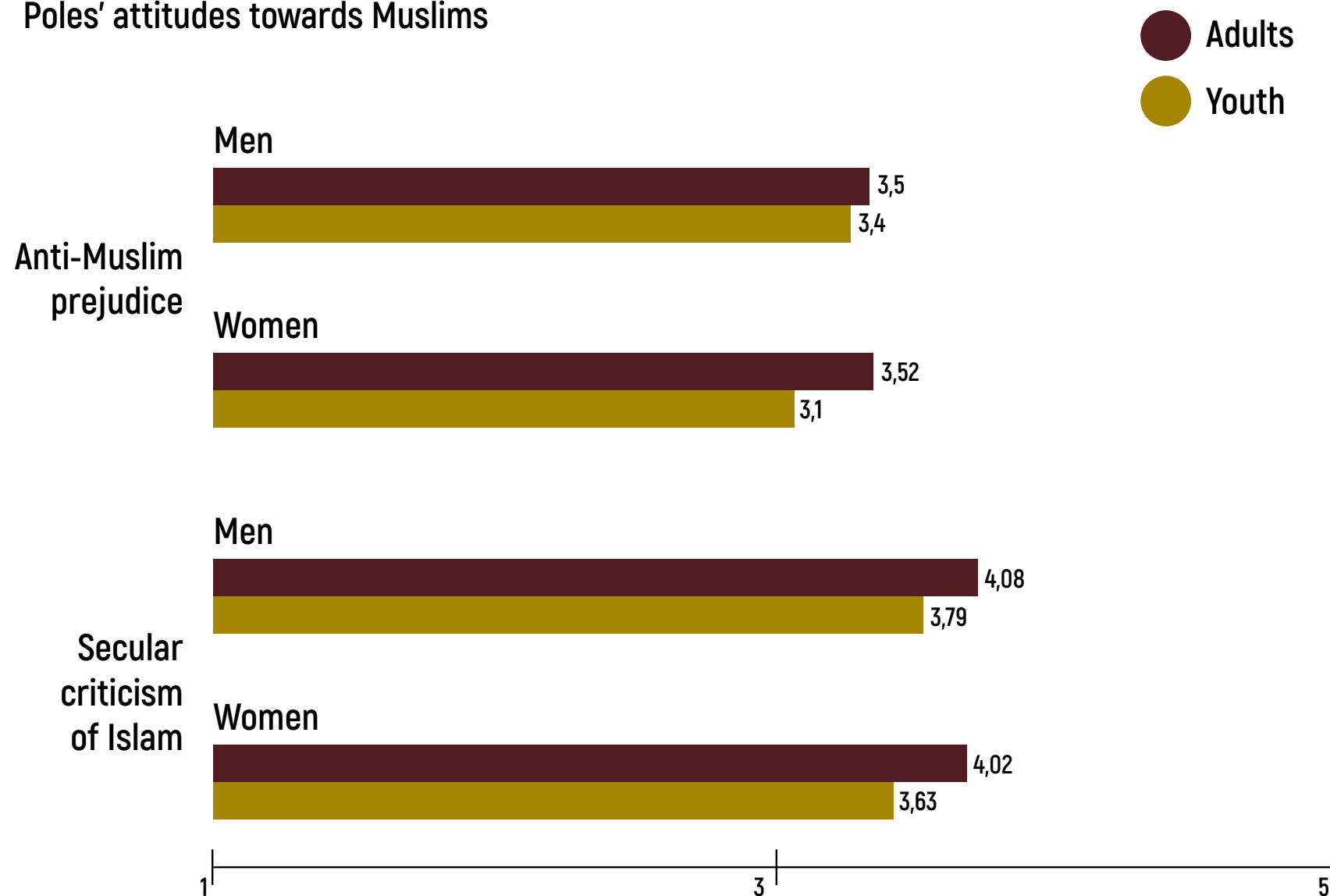


Figure 24. Average answers from adult and young Poles of both sexes to statements measuring anti-Muslim prejudice and rational criticism of Islam.

141. Group, respectively $F(1;1698)=22,12, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,013$
i $F(1;1698)=58,14, p < 0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,033$.

142. Sex respectively $F(1;1698)=7,02, p = 0,008; \eta_p^2 = 0,004$
i $F(1;1698)=6,38, p = 0,012; \eta_p^2 = 0,004$.

143. Group $F(1;1800)=7,81, p=0,005; \eta_p^2 = 0,004$.

144. Sex $F(1;1800)=27,93, p<0,001; \eta_p^2 = 0,015$.

145. Adults: size of locality $r=.13, p<.001$, education $r=.20, p<.001$; youth size of locality $r=.13, p=.001$.

Figure 24 shows that anti-Muslim prejudice and support for secular criticism of Islam are correlated mainly with the age of respondents. Adults were considerably more prejudiced and more strongly supported secular criticism of Islam than the youth.¹⁴¹ Prejudice is in fact correlated with general negative attitudes, but support for secular criticism of Islam means negative attitudes toward particular religious practices, and not necessarily toward the believers themselves. Women were slightly less prejudiced against Muslims and less supportive of secular criticism of Islam than men¹⁴²; again they presented more positive attitudes.

After measuring anti-Muslim prejudice and support for secular criticism of Islam, we asked respondents whether they would accept a Muslim as their collaborator or neighbour, and how they would react to a marriage between their family member and a Muslim.

Figure 25 shows that slightly less respondents than in the case of refugees would accept a Muslim as their collaborator. The closer the interaction the lower the level of acceptance. For age groups and sexes the same correlations held as for refugees: on average, adults accepted Muslims more than the youth¹⁴³, and women – more than men.¹⁴⁴

Other demographic variables were similarly correlated with acceptance of Muslims as in the case of acceptance of refugees. Adults and youth living in bigger localities and better educated adults were more willing to accept representatives of a Muslim minority in their everyday life.¹⁴⁵ In both age groups, more right-wing political views correlated

Prejudice is in fact correlated with general negative attitudes, but support for secular criticism of Islam means negative attitudes toward particular religious practices, and not necessarily toward the believers themselves.

Acceptance for Muslims in everyday interactions



Collaborator

men



women



Neighbour

men



women



Family member

men



women

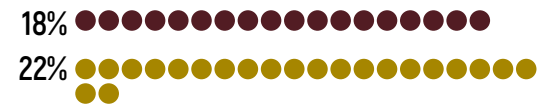


Figure 25. Average answers from adult and young men and women to statements measuring their acceptance of Muslims in everyday interactions.

146. Adults: political views $r = -.15$, $p < .001$, religious practices $r = -.12$, $p < .001$, faith $r = -.12$, $p < .001$; youth: political views $r = -.21$, $p < .001$, faith $r = -.11$, $p = .005$.

147. Anti-Muslim prejudice: $r = .30$, $p < .001$; $r = .31$, $p < .001$ and $r = .31$, $p < .001$, respectively, for evaluations of offensiveness of three examples of hate speech and $r = -.24$, $p < .001$ for the ban.

148. Acceptance: $r = -.46$, $p < .001$; $r = -.43$, $p < .001$ and $r = -.39$, $p < .001$, respectively, for evaluations of offensiveness of three examples of hate speech and $r = .36$, $p < .001$ for the ban.

149. $r = -.08$, $p = 0.002$.

with lower acceptance; among adults, the same correlation held for declared religiousness and observing religious practices.¹⁴⁶

In the case of Muslims, our hypothesis was that the level of anti-Muslim prejudice, support for secular criticism of Islam and acceptance for Muslims should bear on the perceived offensiveness of hateful statements and support for the ban on them. And in fact, adult and young respondents who saw hateful statements as more offensive and supported the ban on using them, showed lower levels of anti-Muslim prejudice¹⁴⁷ and more favourable attitudes toward the presence of Muslims in their everyday life.¹⁴⁸ Stronger support for secular criticism of Islam slightly correlated with seeing only one out of three statements on Muslims as more offensive.¹⁴⁹

SUMMARY

Adult Poles and Polish youth saw examples of hate speech against Muslims and refugees as offensive (especially in the case of refugees). At the same time, most men – both young and adult – were not supportive of the ban on them. The ban was supported by many women – both young and adult.

Attitudes toward refugees measured using the scale of acceptance of their arrival in Poland were definitely negative, and attitudes of youth proved to be even more negative than attitudes of adults. The support for using violence to

Attitudes toward Muslims measured using the scales of anti-Muslim prejudice and secular criticism of Islam should be seen as negative. Adults were more prejudiced than youth, but at the same time more willing to accept Muslims in their everyday interactions. Moreover, attitudes typical for respondents in both age groups influenced their attitudes toward hate speech: seeing hate speech as more offensive and stronger support for the ban on its use correlated with lower level of anti-Muslim prejudice and higher acceptance for Muslims.

deal with the migration crisis was relatively high, and higher for adults than for youth and for men than for women. Information on the attitudes helped us to explain respondents' attitudes toward hate speech: higher perceived offensiveness and higher support for the ban correlated with generally more favourable attitudes and lower support for violence.

Attitudes toward Muslims measured using the scales of anti-Muslim prejudice and secular criticism of Islam should be seen as negative. Adults were more prejudiced than youth, but at the same time more willing to accept Muslims in their everyday interactions. Moreover, attitudes typical for respondents in both age groups influenced their attitudes toward hate speech: seeing hate speech as more offensive and stronger support for the ban on its use correlated with lower level of anti-Muslim prejudice and higher acceptance for Muslims.

Hate speech toward feminists

The 2016 hate speech survey also showed another visible division in Polish society, which emerged in connection with the debate on the law regulating abortion. During the heated discussions, it was said that the decisive dividing factor is an attitude toward feminism, and defenders of the rights of women were called feminists. The 2016 hate speech survey covered hate speech directed at feminists. We also surveyed the level of sexism among women and men and among boys and girls.

QUESTIONS ON HATE SPEECH AGAINST FEMINISTS

As in the case of other groups, respondents were presented with three selected statements, this time about feminists. We asked them to evaluate their offensiveness. Then, we also asked them whether in their opinion such statements should be banned or allowed, how often and where the respondents encounter such statements, and whether they use them themselves (see chapter *Survey Methodology*).

STATEMENTS ABOUT FEMINISTS (ORIGINAL PHRASES)

1. Feminazis should demonstrate under the slogan “We’ll get laid with anyone, because no sensible man wants us”
2. THOSE HAGS SHOULD BE ABORTED FROM THE SOCIETY, IT’S NEVER TOO LATE TO DO IT IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE LIVES OF POLES
3. One always thinks that the idiots can’t surprise us anymore – but here you are! Moronic feminists always demanded that women could work like men. For, as we know, ARBEIT MACHT FREI.

OFFENSIVENESS, SUPPORT FOR THE BAN ON, USE AND ENCOUNTERING OF HATE SPEECH

All three statements were seen as offensive. Reaction to each of them was very similar, so we averaged obtained results. In general, when compared to hate speech directed at other groups, statements against feminists are seen by Poles as more offensive (see the chapter *Perceived offensiveness of hate speech*). As we surveyed hate speech directed at women, we expected that it can be perceived differently by women and men. That is why we analysed the results not only in the context of important differences and similarities between adults and youth, but also between men and women.

As can be seen from the following figures, both adults and youth see presented statements against feminists as offensive (around 5 on the scale from 1 to 7). The situation is very similar as for the support for the ban on using such hate speech against other minority groups (see the chapter

Exposure to hate speech). Only 8% of adults often or very often encounter such statements (and 52% of them – very rarely). For the youth, 12% of them often or very often encounter such hateful statements (and 40% of them – very rarely).

Differences between adults and youth are visible mainly for exposure to hate speech against feminists and using it by respondents themselves. Generally, visible differences can be detected between women and men¹⁵⁰ – among both adults and youth. Women see hate speech against feminists as more offensive, are more supportive of banning it and use it less commonly than men. When the use of hate speech against feminists by respondents themselves is concerned, only 5% of women and 10% of girls admitted that they ever used such statements when speaking or writing (i.e. gave answer higher than 1 – never). Among men, the percentages are 19% for adult men and as much as 30% for boys.

As for exposure to such language, among adults no significant difference can be detected between sexes, while boys are more commonly exposed to it than girls.¹⁵¹ More common exposure to hate speech against feminists among boys and more common use of it by them seems to suggest that boys more often use hate speech against feminists between themselves than in the presence of girls.

150. $F(1,1737) = 108,01; p < 0,001; \eta^2_p = 0,06$

151. $F(1,1737) = 9,24; p = 0,002; \eta^2_p = 0,01$

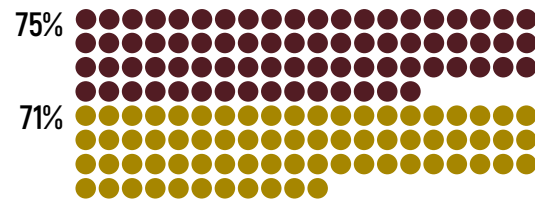
When the use of hate speech against feminists by respondents themselves is concerned, only 5% of women and 10% of girls admitted that they ever used such statements when speaking or writing (i.e. gave answer higher than 1 – never). Among men, the percentages are 19% for adult men and as much as 30% for boys.

Poles' perceptions of hate speech towards feminists

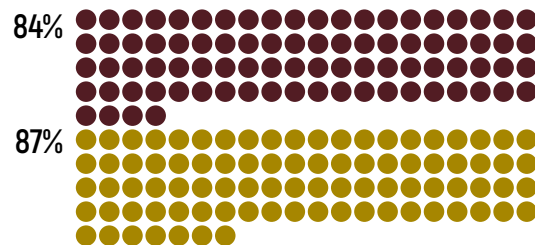


Offensiveness

men



women



Support for the ban

men



women

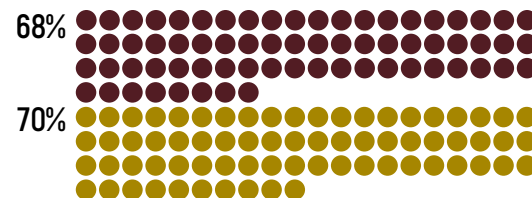
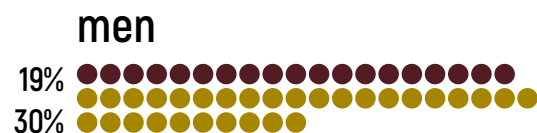


Figure 26. Percentages of persons seeing hate speech against feminists as offensive (from “slightly offensive” to “very offensive”) and supporting the ban on such language (from “maybe banned” to “definitely banned”). Results for sexes and for adults and youth.

Poles' own usage of hate speech towards feminists



Using hate speech



Exposure to hate speech



Figure 27. Percentages of persons using hate speech against feminists (all answers higher on the scale than “never”) and commonly exposed to such language (from “rather often” to „very often”).

Poles are exposed to hate speech against feminists when socialising, but also elsewhere, e.g. when viewing Internet sites and watching television. Our previous observations concerning the other groups seem to be confirmed by the results (see the chapter *Exposure to hate speech*) – Figure 28 shows that the youth encounter anti-feminist hate speech mainly on the Internet, and less commonly on television, while adults are equally exposed to it from both media sources. The third and the fourth most common sources of hateful statements against feminists for all respondents were social contacts with their friends and on the streets or public transport stops.

Places where Poles encounter hate speech towards feminists

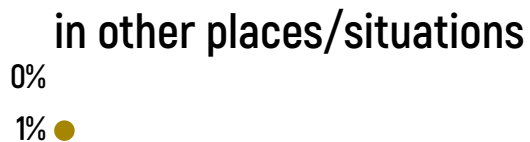
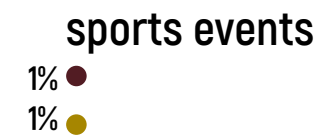
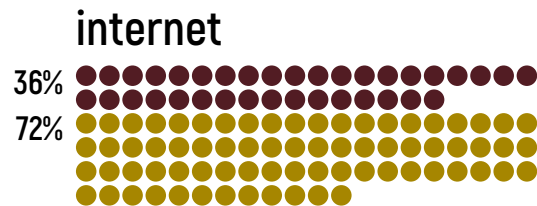
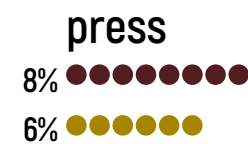


Figure 28. Places where adults and youth encounter hate speech against feminists.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND HATE SPEECH

Different social phenomena, including hate speech, can be perceived differently depending on the size of respondents' locality of residence, their material standing, education or age. But it appears that among adults none of the variables have any significant bearing on their perceptions of hate speech against feminists. Only sex is important in this connection¹⁵²: as we already mentioned, women see anti-feminist language as more offensive and more strongly support the ban on it than men.

The most common exposure to hate speech against feminists is declared by younger persons, coming from bigger localities, more educated and of higher material standing. It could be considered whether in fact all of them more commonly encounter hate speech against feminists or rather they are more mindful of it, remember it and thus report more common exposure to it. It is hard to answer the question based only on one survey. Young persons more commonly use such statements themselves than older ones, and men more commonly than women.

Among adult respondents, perceptions of offensiveness of hate speech and support for ban on it correlated only with sex, while among young respondents in addition to sex¹⁵³ they were also correlated with the size of locality of residence¹⁵⁴ and material standing of their families.¹⁵⁵ Youth from bigger cities and in a better material situation see

152. Offensiveness: $r = -0,21$; $p < 0,001$; ban on use $r = 0,23$; $p < 0,001$.

153. Offensiveness: $r = -0,29$; $p < 0,001$; ban on use $r = 0,28$; $p < 0,001$.

154. Offensiveness: $r = -0,11$; $p = 0,005$; ban on use $r = -0,02$; $p = 0,60$.

155. Offensiveness: $r = -0,10$; $p = 0,009$; ban on use $r = 0,03$; $p = 0,39$.

The most common exposure to hate speech against feminists is declared by younger persons, coming from bigger localities, more educated and of higher material standing. It could be considered whether in fact all of them more commonly encounter hate speech against feminists or rather they are more mindful of it, remember it and thus report more common exposure to it.

presented statements as more offensive (but are not more willing to ban it), while the incidence of encountering hate speech by youth is not correlated with any of the variables except sex. Older youth and youth in worse material situation use such language slightly more often than younger youth and youth in better material situation.

SEXISM

We were interested not only in Poles' attitudes toward hate speech against feminists, but also in their general attitudes toward women. Measuring sexist attitudes is one of the methods to survey perceptions of women. In the past, women were seen as inferior to men and they were bereft of many rights, such as opportunities to study, voting rights, and active participation in political life. Today, the remnants of this outlook are expressed differently, more indirectly. The theory on ambivalent sexism¹⁵⁶ presents two modern manifestations of sexism: hostile and benevolent ones. Hostile sexism consists in directly unfavourable attitudes toward women: for example, some people argue that men are more reasonable, intelligent, and women are more sentimental and complaining without reason. Benevolent sexism holds that women in some respects are better, more gentle and sensitive than men – and men should adore and protect them. The attitude may seem favourable to women, but in fact it is often based on beliefs similar to those underpinning hostile sexism. In both outlooks women are

156. Glick, P., Fiske, S. T. (1996). The ambivalent sexism inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70, 491–512.

seen as incompetent, sentimental, unreasonable, so their rights in the public sphere should be limited, and the natural environment for the “weaker sex” should be the home and with family. Both benevolent and hostile sexism have the same origins, and their variations are often interconnected. Persons manifesting one type of sexism also often subscribe to the other one. But the aversion characteristic to both versions of sexism is directed at two different kinds of women. Traditional women, subscribing to stereotypical sex roles, are perceived favourably by persons supporting benevolent sexism. Modern women who try to develop and pursue their professional careers, or feminists, meet with aversion from persons holding both hostile and benevolent sexist beliefs.¹⁵⁷

When surveying hate speech, we measured the levels of sexism using two scales, each of them comprising of five questions presented below. We asked respondents to choose a score from five-grade scale from 1 – *I definitely disagree* to 6 – *I definitely agree*. Figure 29 shows the results for both types of sexism.

157. Pietrzak, J., Mikołajczak, M. (2015). Seksizm w Polsce [Sexism in Poland]. In M. Bilewicz, M. Winiewski, A. Stefaniak (Eds.) *Uprzedzenia w Polsce [Prejudice in Poland]* (pp. 207-233). Warsaw: Liberi Libri.

STATEMENTS FROM THE SCALES MEASURING HOSTILE AND BENEVOLENT SEXISM:

Hostile sexism

1. Under the cover of equal rights, many women seek special advantages, such as employment policies favourable to them.
2. Most women see innocent remarks or behaviours as sexist.
3. Most women cannot appreciate what men do for them.
4. Women exaggerate problems that they encounter in their workplaces.
5. When women loose a fair competition with men, they usually complain about being discriminated against.

Benevolent sexism

1. Women should be adored and protected by men.
2. Even when successful in his work, a man is not complete without a loving woman.
3. Women seem to be more morally sensitive than men.
4. A man should be ready to sacrifice his own good to support a women who depends on him.
5. Every man should have a female partner to adore.

Sexism among Poles

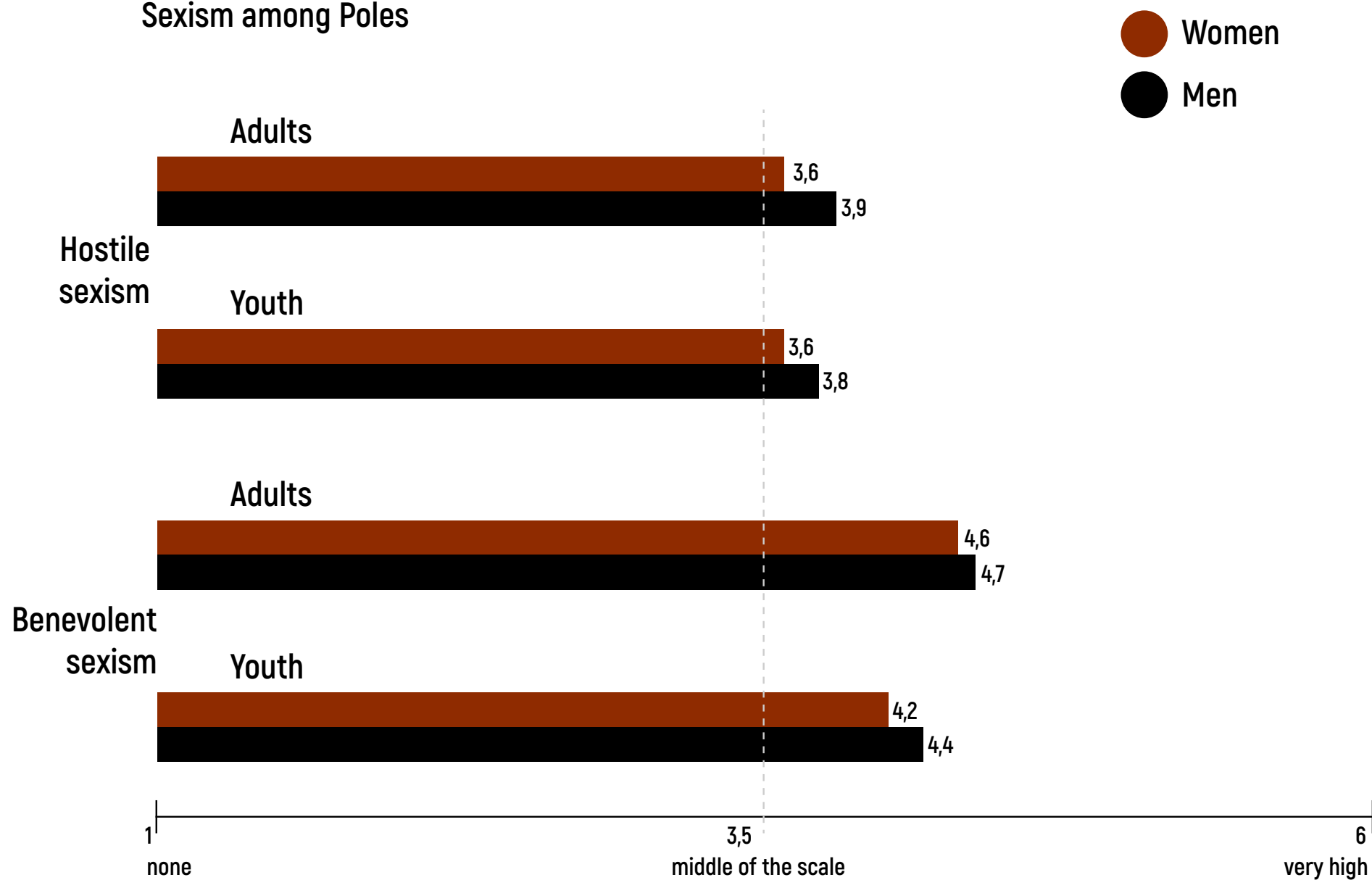


Figure 29. Average levels of hostile and benevolent sexism for adults and youth and men and women.

158. $F(1,1816) = 797,10; p < 0,001$; $\eta^2_p = 0,30$.

159. $F(1,1816) = 21,92; p < 0,001$; $\eta^2_p = 0,01$.

160. $F(1,1816) = 46,50; p < 0,001$; $\eta^2_p = 0,03$.

161. $F(1,1816) = 11,98; p < 0,001$; $\eta^2_p = 0,01$.

162. Hostile sexism: age $r = .07, p = .02$; education $r = -.24, p < .001$; size of locality of residence $r = -.12, p < .001$; material standing $r = .09, p = .004$. Friendly sexism: age $r = .21, p < .001$; education $r = .33, p < .001$; size of locality of residence $r = .17, p < .001$; material standing $r = .10, p = .002$.

163. $r = 0,18; p < 0,001$.

164. $r = -0,09; p < 0,001$.

165. $r = 0,13; p < 0,001$.

166. $r = -0,15; p < 0,001$.

Among both adults and youth, the level of benevolent sexism is visibly higher than of hostile sexism.¹⁵⁸ Adults and youth show similar levels of hostile sexism. In both age groups, men are more sexist than women.¹⁵⁹ Adults are slightly more benevolently-sexist than youth.¹⁶⁰ Among adults no difference can be detected between sexes, but among youth, girls are less benevolently-sexist than boys.¹⁶¹ If we take into account demographic factors, higher levels of both types of sexism are shown by persons who are older, less educated, come from smaller localities and have poorer material standing.¹⁶² It seems that the youth – and in particular girls – can see the negative aspects of benevolent sexism, and thus, are less willing to agree with the presented statements.

In addition to the intensity of shown sexism and differences between sexes in this respect, we also surveyed the correlation between sexism and accepting hate speech. Both adults and youth showing higher levels of hostile sexism (but not friendly) see hate speech against feminists as less offensive¹⁶³, are less supportive of the ban on it¹⁶⁴ and more often use the language themselves.¹⁶⁵ Persons who are more commonly exposed to such language are less benevolently-sexist.¹⁶⁶ There are two possible explanations for the correlation: either exposure to anti-feminist statements raises outrage and lowers sexism, or persons with a low level of sexism more often notice such statements and declare being exposed to them. As we already mentioned, it can be that being tolerant to a particular group helps to notice hateful statements more quickly, and results in the sense of being more commonly exposed to hate speech.

If we take into account demographic factors, higher levels of both types of sexism are shown by persons who are older, less educated, come from smaller localities and have poorer material standing.

There are two possible explanations for the correlation: either exposure to anti-feminist statements raises outrage and lowers sexism, or persons with a low level of sexism more often notice such statements and declare being exposed to them.

ENCOUNTERING FEMINISTS AND ACCEPTANCE FOR THEM

Among both adults and youth, most of them are not personally acquainted with feminists.

After surveying respondents about their exposure to hate speech against feminists, we asked them about encountering feminists themselves. Among both adults and youth, most of them are not personally acquainted with feminists. 15% of adult men and 19% of women declared that they know one or more feminists. Among youth the percentages are higher and reach 23% for both boys and girls, so it seems that feminist views are more popular among youth. It can also be that young people more openly express such views, and thus it is easier for them than for adults to identify among them feminist persons. It is also possible that young people more often use the phrase “feminist” to describe other persons. Perhaps girls use it to describe themselves or their friends, and perhaps also boys use it to describe their female friends (in their presence or only among boys – see discussion above). The answers to the question on acceptance for (or social distance from) feminists in the social surroundings of respondents can be somewhat helpful in clarifying the matter (Figure 30). We asked – as in the cases of other groups – whether respondents could accept a feminist as a neighbour, a collaborator, or a member of their families (see the chapter *Idea of the research*).

It is also possible that young people more often use the phrase “feminist” to describe other persons.

167. $F(1,1796) = 96,96; p < 0,001$; $\eta^2_p = 0,05$.

168. $F(1,1796) = 68,76; p < 0,001$; $\eta^2_p = 0,04$.

169. $F(1,1796) = 21,76; p < 0,001$; $\eta^2_p = 0,01$.

Women and girls were more willing than men and boys to accept feminists in their everyday interactions.¹⁶⁷ The lowest acceptance of feminists is shown by boys, when compared with acceptance of feminists by girls¹⁶⁸, and by adult men.¹⁶⁹ As shown by previous results, it is boys who most commonly use hate speech against feminists and are more commonly exposed to it. So perhaps – when they want to

Acceptance for feminists

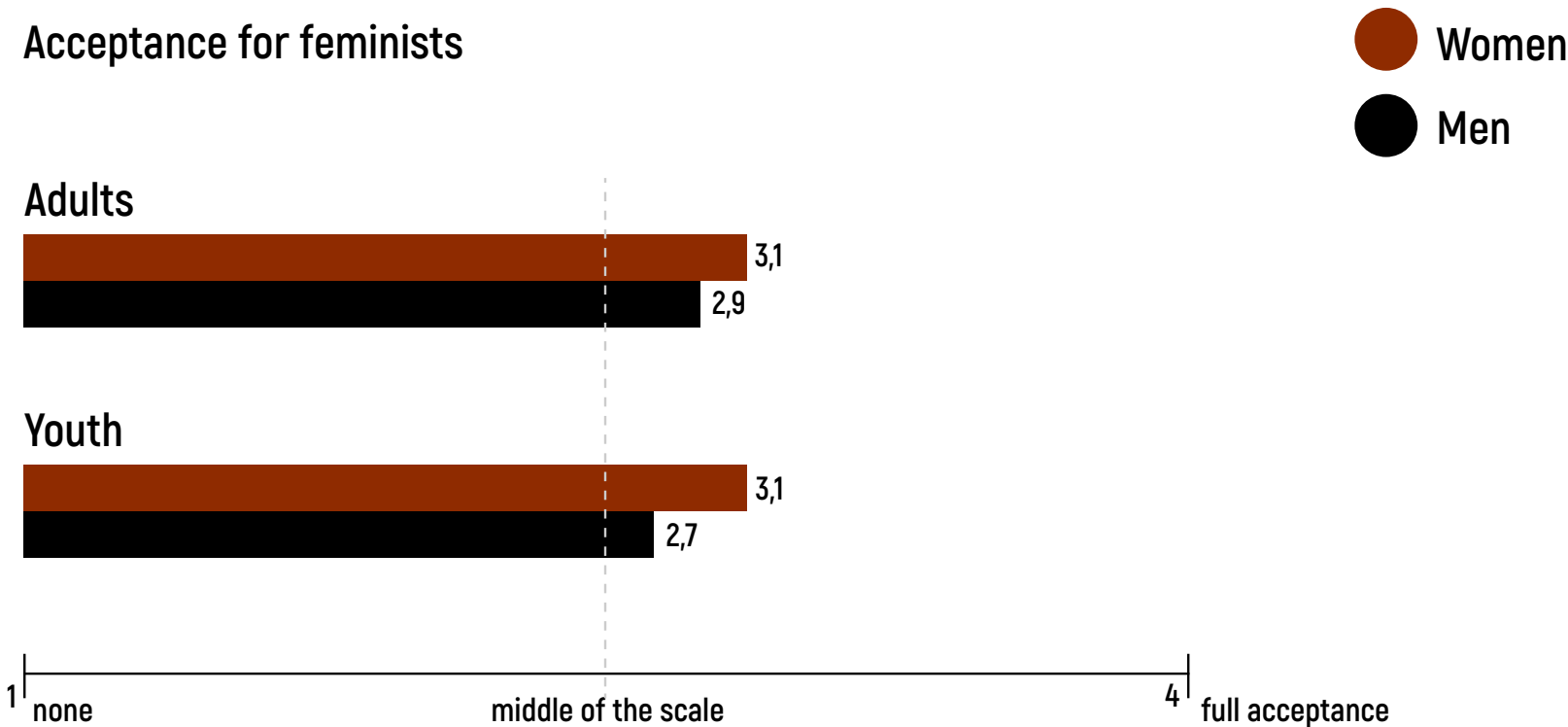


Figure 30. Average acceptance for feminists in respondents' social surroundings among adults and youth of different sexes.

offend someone – they use such statements more often among themselves and against their female friends, which results in a sense that they know more feminists than is the case among adults. It is an interesting question whether the youth use the phrase “feminist” as an insult and offensive expression. It is difficult to answer it clearly without further research, but the available results can suggest that this is the case.

ACCEPTING HATE SPEECH AND DISCRIMINATION

After discussing perceptions and use of hate speech against feminists among young and adult Poles, it is worth examining correlations between them and acceptance or discrimination for members of the group in respondents’ social surroundings. We can analyse the level of acceptance of feminists as a potential result of various views and behaviours. The two following figures show in a simplified way how strongly the phenomena we surveyed are correlated. We should remember that the questionnaire survey, as a research tool, is very useful to diagnose situations and to detect co-occurrence of different attitudes and behaviours, but sometimes it does not allow for proper definition of cause-effect links.

As shown by Figure 31 – the more presented statements are seen by Poles as offensive, the higher their acceptance for feminists¹⁷⁰ (or the other way round – the more they accept feminists, the more they see the statements as offensive).

170. $r = 0,28$; $p < 0,001$.

What is acceptance of feminists correlated with?

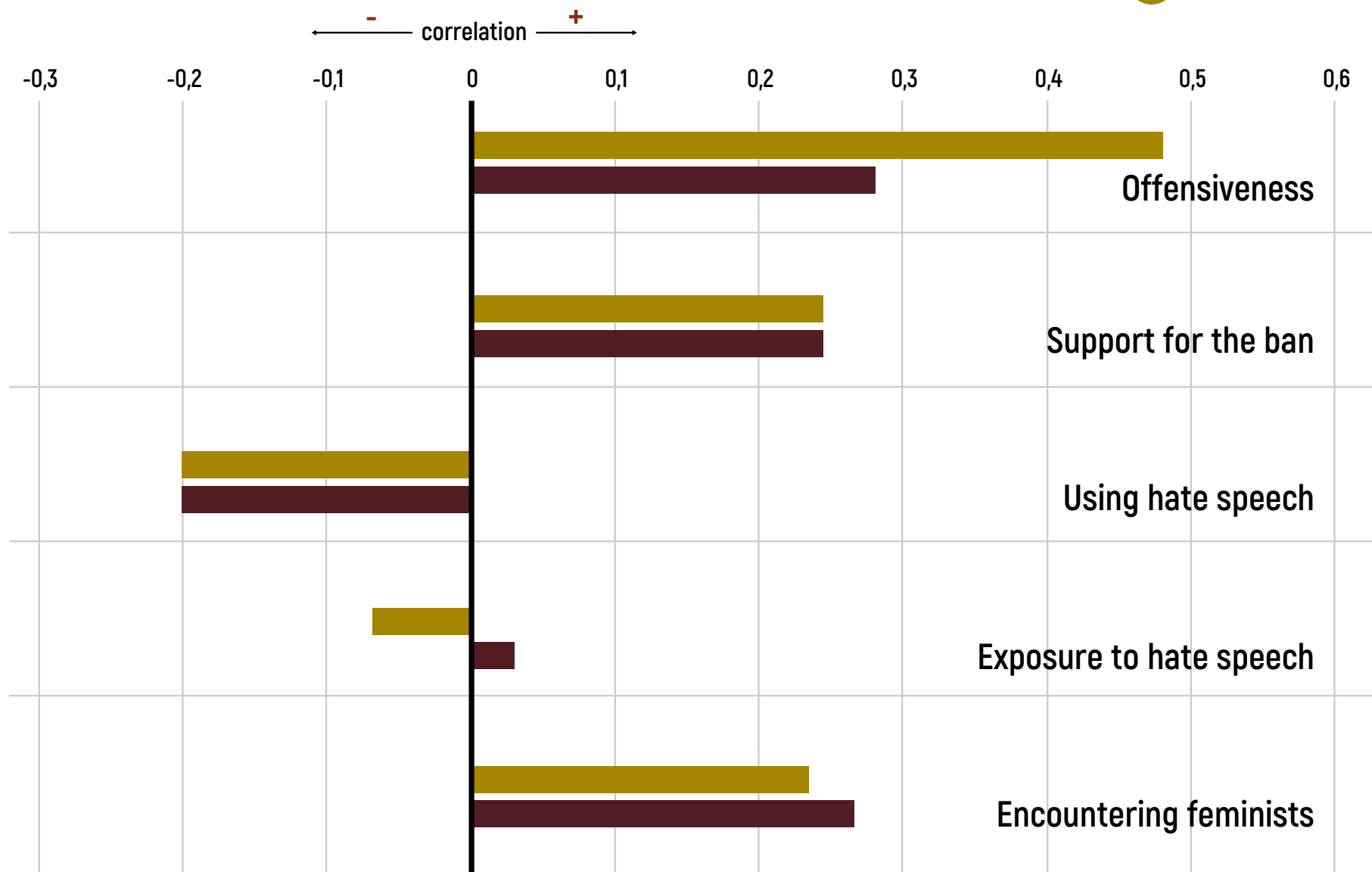


Figure 31. Correlations between surveyed phenomena among adults (left graph) and among youth (right graph).

171. $r = 0,24; p < 0,001$.

172. $r = 0,26; p < 0,001$.

173. $r = -0,20; p < 0,001$.

174. $r = 0,03; p = 0,31$.

175. $r = 0,48; p < 0,001$.

176. $r = 0,24; p < 0,001$.

177. $r = 0,23; p < 0,001$.

178. $r = -0,07; p = 0,07$.

179. $r = -0,20; p < 0,001$.

Similarly, the support for the ban on using hateful statements¹⁷¹ and encountering feminists correlate with the acceptance of feminists.¹⁷² Using hate speech against feminists is correlated with lower acceptance of the minority group¹⁷³, while exposure to such language has no special consequences.¹⁷⁴

Among youth perceptions of offensiveness of the presented statements are very important for the acceptance of feminists: the more the statements are seen as offensive, the higher their tolerance for the minority group (or the other way round – the more feminists are accepted by youth, the more they see the statements as offensive).¹⁷⁵ The remaining results for youth are very similar to those for adults: also among youth the support for the ban on hate speech¹⁷⁶, encountering feminists¹⁷⁷, exposure to hate speech¹⁷⁸ and (less common) use of hate speech¹⁷⁹ are correlated with higher acceptance of the group.

SUMMARY

The survey results show that both adult Poles and Polish youth see hate speech against feminists as offensive and support the ban on using it. Education, material standing or the size of the place of residence of respondents have no bearing on the results. Only sex is an important variable for the attitudes to anti-feminist hate speech: it is opposed particularly strongly by women and girls. The majority of respondents declare not using such language and rarely

Using hate speech against feminists is correlated with lower acceptance of the minority group, while exposure to such language has no special consequences.

being exposed to it; hate speech is most commonly used by boys and it is they who are most commonly exposed to it. It seems that perhaps boys use the expression “feminist” as an offensive phrase. Poles encounter anti-feminist hate speech mainly on the Internet, television and in social interactions with friends.

We also measured sexism of Poles. It is relatively intense (above the middle of the scale) and correlates with perceiving hate speech against feminists as not offensive and not worth banning. Sexist persons also more often use anti-feminist language.

Importantly, perceptions of hate speech are also correlated with discrimination of feminists, but it is hard to clearly establish the direction of the correlation. Perhaps, the less the respondents see the anti-feminist hate speech as offensive, the less willingly they accept feminists. And perhaps it goes the other way round – the more they discriminate the minority group, the less commonly they see the presented statements as offensive. Surveys led in a longer time span could help to settle this issue through examining changes in perceptions of hate speech and aversion to feminists.

Effects of encountering hate speech

In the previous chapters the incidence of hate speech in Poland in 2016 was discussed. In this chapter we will deal with the effects of hate speech. We will try to find out how attitudes and views of Poles are affected by the presence of hate speech in public life. The existing sociological and psychological research indicated that hate speech has many harmful effects, in particular for minority groups. Previous research¹⁸⁰ showed that hate speech is the cause of greater incidence of suicides in immigrant groups in the United States. Negative and simplistic descriptions of minority group members¹⁸¹ hamper their integration with a society's majority. More recent research led by an international team of psychologists¹⁸² showed in turn that exposure to hate speech against homosexual persons strengthens the tendency to distance from and dehumanise them. All the results suggest that when hate speech penetrates the mainstream public debate, it can lead to excluding some social groups and endangering the very foundations of a democratic civil society.

The process can have particularly destructive effects on the youth. It is during adolescence when personal identity is shaped and civil attitudes and views are developed.¹⁸³ For young people the Internet remains the main source of information.¹⁸⁴ The web is also a place where hate speech is most easily encountered (see previous chapters). Thus, we

All the results suggest that when hate speech penetrates the mainstream public debate, it can lead to excluding some social groups and endangering the very foundations of a democratic civil society.

180. Mullen, B., Smyth, J. M. (2004). Immigrant suicide rates as a function of ethnohate: Hate speech predicts death. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 66, 343-348.

181. Mullen, B., Rice, D. R. (2003). Ethnohate and exclusion: The behavioral consequences of cognitive representation of ethnic immigrant groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29, 1056-1067.

182. Fasoli, F., Paladino, M. P., Carnaghi, A., Jetten, J., Bastian, B., Bain, P. G. (2015). Not "just words": Exposure to homophobic epithets leads to dehumanizing and physical distancing from gay men. *European Journal of Social Psychology*.

183. Sears, D. O., Levy, S. (2003). Childhood and adult political development. W: D. O. Sears, L. Huddy, R. Jervis (Red.), *Oxford handbook of political psychology* (s. 60-109). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

184. Park, N., Kee, K. F., Valenzuela, S. (2009). Being immersed in social networking environment: Facebook groups, uses and gratifications, and social outcomes. *CyberPsychology & Behavior*, 12, 729-733.

should pay particular attention to the effects of hate speech on the adolescents who in a few years will gain significant influence on state policies.

During the presented questionnaire surveys we asked not only about hate speech (exposure to, perceived offensiveness, acceptance for its presence in the public sphere), but also about the attitudes of respondents to civil society and its different sub-groups. Analysis of the answers can help us explain the role of exposure to hate speech in inciting prejudice, willingness to use violence, discrimination and radicalism.

EXPOSURE TO HATE SPEECH AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SUCH LANGUAGE

In both questionnaire surveys of 2016 respondents were presented with offensive statements about ten minority groups. For each minority group, respondents declared how often they encountered hate speech against them, whether they used hate speech themselves, and whether they supported the ban on using it.

Analysis of the answers show a general correlation for all the statements: the more often the respondents encountered such statements, the more they saw them as acceptable. In addition, persons more commonly encountering hate speech more often declared that they used it themselves. Figure 32 presents graphically the correlation for adults and youth.

Analysis of the answers show a general correlation for all the statements: the more often the respondents encountered such statements, the more they saw them as acceptable. In addition, persons more commonly encountering hate speech more often declared that they used it themselves.

Based on a single questionnaire survey, it is very difficult to establish which side of the correlation is the cause and which is the effect. It can be that persons accepting hate speech more commonly use and are exposed to it. On the other hand, it is also possible that persons commonly exposed to hate speech, after some time, cease to see it as offensive, shocking and contrary to social norms. They finally start to use such language themselves. Such conclusions can be drawn from research on becoming desensitised to watching violent scenes, which showed that persons frequently watching violent scenes¹⁸⁵, after some time, started to see them as less harmful, and even to accept using violence.

Whichever of the two explanations is the right one, the correlations detected help to understand the mechanism (a kind of vicious cycle) by which, in time, more and more people encounter hate speech in their social surroundings. And in the case of youth, exposure to hate speech is more strongly correlated than for adults with using and accepting it.

185. Carnagey, N. L., Anderson, C. A. (2003). Theory in the study of media violence: The general aggression model. W: D. A. Gentile (Red.), *Media violence and children* (s. 87-106). Westport: Praeger.

On the other hand, it is also possible that persons commonly exposed to hate speech, after some time, cease to see it as offensive, shocking and contrary to social norms. They finally start to use such language themselves. Such conclusions can be drawn from research on becoming desensitised to watching violent scenes, which showed that persons frequently watching violent scenes, after some time, started to see them as less harmful, and even to accept using violence.

To what extent is contact with hate speech related to its acceptance and its use?



Effects of encountering hate speech

122

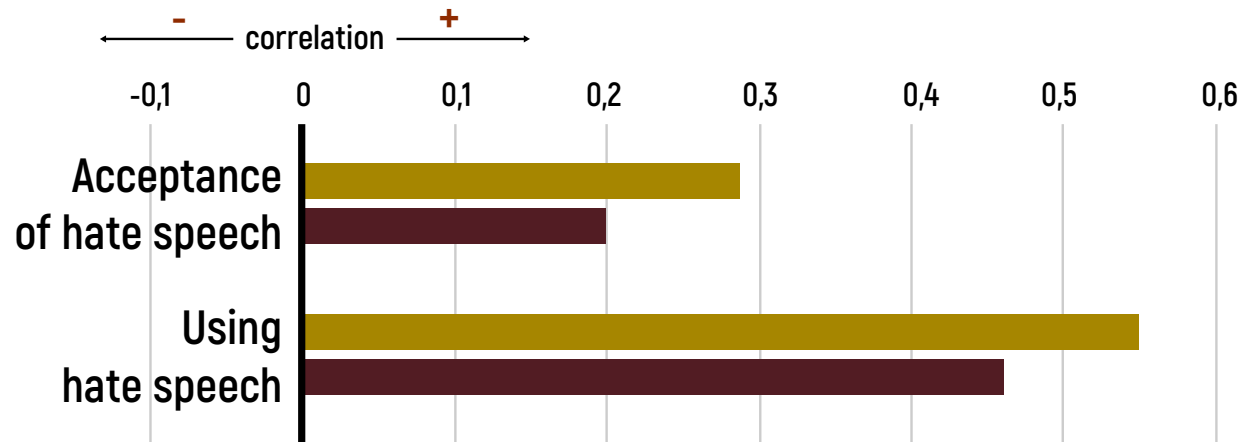


Figure 32 Exposure to hate speech and acceptance of and using hate speech. Presented values are standardised regression coefficients. All bars show significant correlations ($p < 0.05$).

EXPOSURE TO HATE SPEECH AND PREJUDICE

As was already said in the beginning of this chapter, previous research showed that exposure to hate speech leads to people being more prejudiced against minority groups affected by the offensive content. During the questionnaire surveys, in addition to questions on respondents' attitudes toward hate speech, they were also asked about their acceptance of each of the minority groups in their close social surroundings. They were asked to declare whether they would accept a representative of a particular minority group as their collaborator, neighbour or a member of their family.

Does contact with hate speech lead to higher level of prejudice?

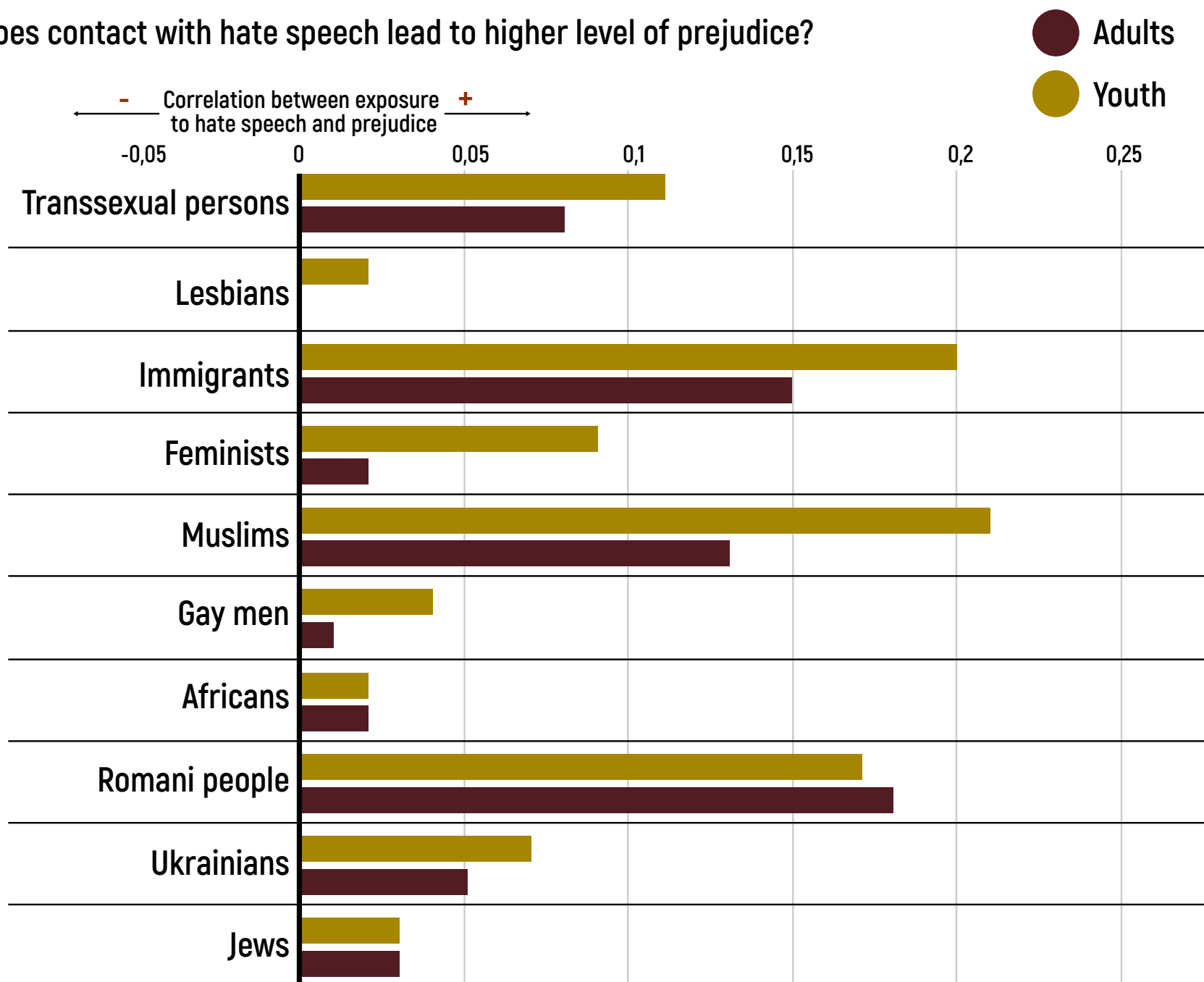


Figure 33 Correlation between exposure to hate speech and prejudice against particular minorities (among adults and youth). The longer the bars the stronger the correlations (from -1 to 1) between hate speech and prejudice against particular minority. Bars above 0.05 and below -0.05 are statistically significant ($p < 0.05$).

Analyses of the results showed that persons commonly encountering hate speech against a particular minority group were more distanced from its members – less willing to collaborate with them or to have them as neighbours or family members. As shown by Figure 33, the correlation proved to be particularly strong – among both adults and youth – for hate speech against Muslims, Romani people, immigrants and transsexual persons. Significant correlations were also detected for anti-Ukrainian and anti-feminist hate speech (in the last case, only among youth). The results show that exposure to hate speech can make people more prejudiced toward offended minority groups, since hateful statements describe minorities as a security threat, inferior and less intelligent, and alienated from society (see *Analysis of hate speech content*).

It is also worth noting that, more so for youth than adults, frequent exposure to hate speech translates to unwillingness to accept minorities in their social surroundings. Hate speech seems to have greater impact on young Poles than adults.

EXPOSURE TO HATE SPEECH AND ACCEPTANCE OF NON-NORMATIVE BEHAVIOUR

In our surveys we also tried to answer the question whether the presence of hate speech leads to a general atrophy of social norms. We wanted to find out to what extent exposure to hate speech can lead to a change in perceptions of various non-normative behaviours that are more or less harmful to other members of society. During the survey respondents were presented with an imagined situation where a taxi-driver commits several morally doubtful acts against his competitor, e.g. prevents him from exiting a parking space, sprays his car with a smelly substance, or damages the brakes in his vehicle. Respondents were asked to evaluate whether they see such behaviours as acceptable (*moral judgement*), whether such behaviours would be met with support in Polish society (*beliefs about social norms*) and how the respondents themselves would behave in a given situation (*behavioural intentions*).

The results of the survey showed that more common exposure to hate speech leads to more favourable evaluations of behaviours that break social norms (see Figure 34). However, a significant difference between adults and youth is worth noting. Adult persons commonly encountering hate speech only more strongly believed that the behaviour of the imagined taxi-driver would be met with support from other Poles, while young persons commonly exposed to hate speech, in addition to seeing the behaviour as socially acceptable, also saw it as morally acceptable and worth following.

Does hate speech contribute to a general increase in violence?

● Adults
● Youth

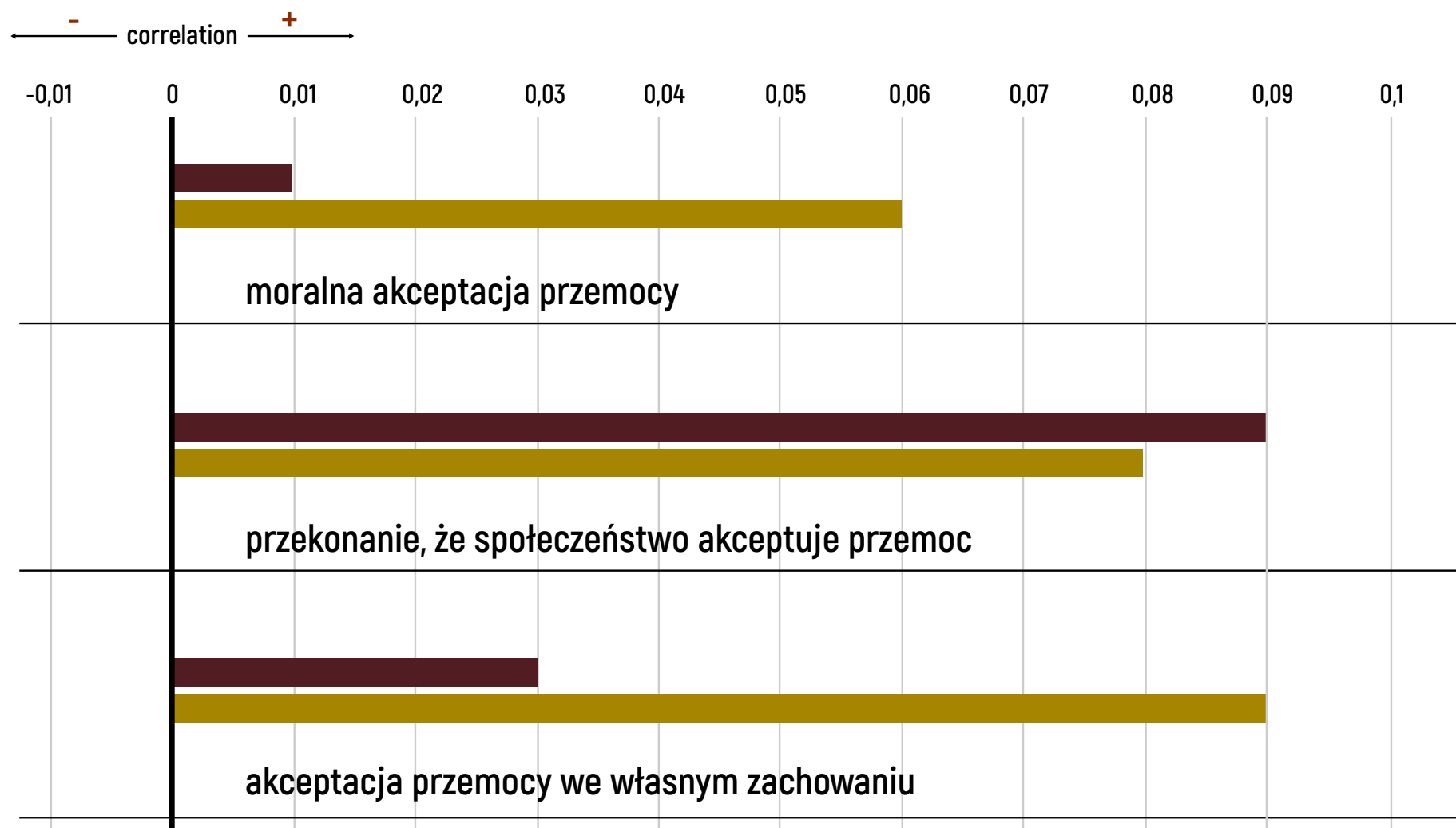


Figure 34. Exposure to hate speech and beliefs on moral acceptability of, social support for, and respondents' own attitudes toward acts of violent nature. The presented values are standardised regression coefficients, i.e. the more negative their value the more correlated is exposure to hate speech with moral acceptance of violence, belief that violence is socially supported, and respondents' own intentions to use it. All bars longer than 0.04 are statistically significant ($p < 0.05$).

186. Keizer, K., Lindenberg, S., Steg, L. (2008). The spreading of disorder. *Science*, 322, 1681-1685.

The results seem to suggest that exposure to hate speech can trigger a similar mechanism as the “broken window” effect described by criminologists¹⁸⁶: watching examples of breaking social norms makes members of the society themselves less willing to stick to them. It is possible that exposure to hate speech – being a breach of a certain social norm – makes persons exposed to it less willing to observe other social norms. Thus, it seems that hate speech affects not only minority groups, but also brings significant negative effects to the whole of society.

EXPOSURE TO HATE SPEECH AND ATTITUDES TOWARD REFUGEES AND SUPPORT FOR VIOLENT SOLUTIONS TO THE “MIGRANT CRISIS”

Exposure to hate speech can influence not only individual attitudes, but also beliefs about how different problems should be solved by the state. Hate speech in public discourse can influence the political life of society when persons holding power succumb to radical messages contained in hateful statements hostile to particular minority groups. During the surveys, respondents were asked about their support for various anti-immigrant solutions of four different types that could be implemented in Poland. The first category included proposals not to offer state assistance to the victims of the migration crisis, the second included demands to invigilate and control activities of refugees received in Poland. The third category consisted of proposals

The results seem to suggest that exposure to hate speech can trigger a similar mechanism as the “broken window” effect described by criminologists: watching examples of breaking social norms makes members of the society themselves less willing to stick to them. It is possible that exposure to hate speech – being a breach of a certain social norm – makes persons exposed to it less willing to observe other social norms.

to close and defend national borders from the influx of migrants, and the fourth included proposals to isolate refugees in closed centres in order to separate them from the rest of the society.

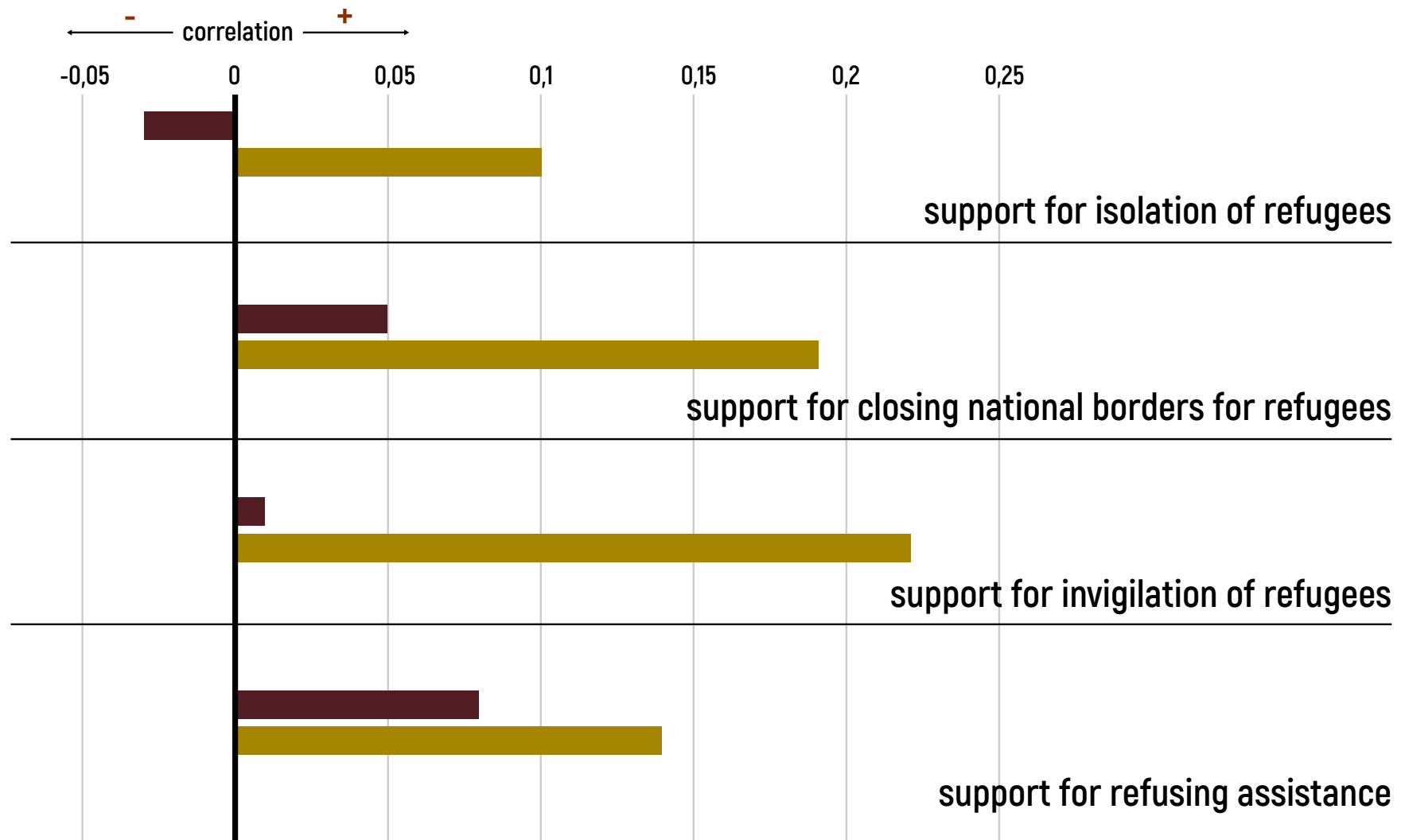
For adults, common exposure to hate speech was correlated mainly with lower support for state assistance for refugees and lower support for policies aimed at integrating refugees with the rest of society (see the left side of Figure 35). The correlation was also visible for youth, but in their case common exposure to hate speech was also connected with support for proposals to close national borders for refugees, to isolate them in closed centres and – above all – to use state services in order to monitor and control refugees settled in Poland (see the right side of Figure 35).

The results show that exposure to anti-immigrant/anti-refugee hate speech – through inciting fear and aversion – can lower the willingness to help migrants and refugees, and also strengthen support for use of violence and invigilation by the state.

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Exposure to anti-migrant hate speech and support for anti-migrant policies

● Adults
● Youth



Rysunek35. Exposure to hate speech and support for various state anti-migrant policies – among adults and youth. The presented values are standardised regression coefficients, i.e. the more negative their value the more correlated is exposure to hate speech with support for particular state policies. All bars longer than 0.06 are statistically significant ($p < 0.05$).

EXPOSURE TO HATE SPEECH AND POLITICAL RADICALISM

Exposure to hate speech can also lead to political radicalism. The phenomenon can have various reasons, e.g. common exposure to violence against minority groups can intensify prejudice against them and encourage people to support political parties promoting anti-minority slogans. Common exposure to hate speech can also desensitise, making anti-minority slogans voiced by radical groups seem less at odds with the existing social norms. It is also possible that common exposure to hate speech, containing simple and aggressive messages, leads to a general radicalisation of views, and thus to a growth of support for parties promoting radical slogans.

During the surveys respondents were asked about their support for various political parties promoting radical slogans of different kinds – anti-systemic (limiting the role of the state, dispensing with bureaucratic institutions, replacement of the existing political establishment), vs. nationalist, xenophobic, homophobic and anti-European.

Analyses of the results for adults (see Figure 36) showed no correlation between common exposure to hate speech and greater support for nationalist or anti-systemic political parties, while for the youth such correlation was visible – common exposure to hate speech was connected with sympathising with nationalist parties. Young people commonly encountering hateful statements declared greater support

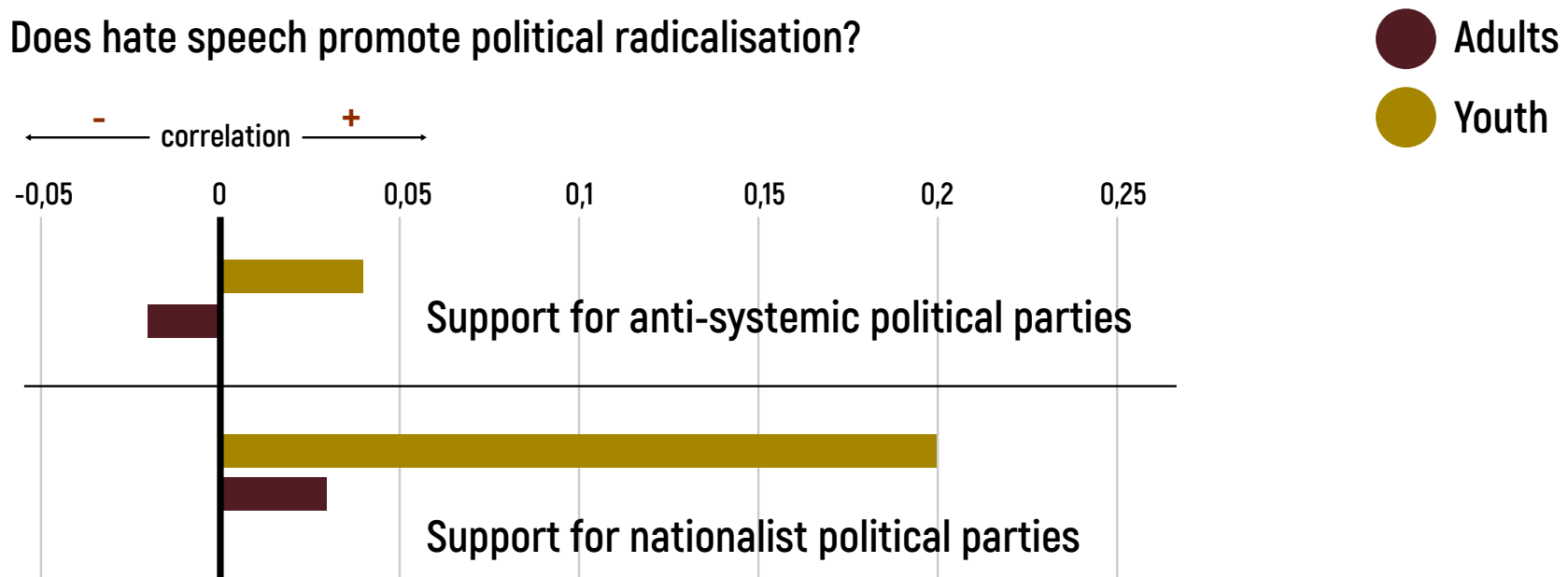
Common exposure to hate speech can also desensitise, making anti-minority slogans voiced by radical groups seem less at odds with the existing social norms. It is also possible that common exposure to hate speech, containing simple and aggressive messages, leads to a general radicalisation of views, and thus to a growth of support for parties promoting radical slogans.

for political parties promoting slogans of national unity and opposing multiculturalism.

The above analyses show that exposure to hate speech can lead to political radicalism, especially among youth, who are at the stage of their lives when their political outlook only starts to develop. Young persons can be attracted by political parties or groups voicing suggestive slogans and offering simple solutions to general social problems and fears. On the other hand, the results can also suggest that young people sympathising with nationalist movements can be most exposed to hate speech. To settle the issue, more research is needed.

Figure 36 Exposure to hate speech and support for nationalist political parties and anti-systemic political parties. The presented values are standardised regression coefficients, i.e. the more negative their value the more correlated is exposure to hate speech with support for the parties. All bars longer than 0.1 indicate significant correlations ($p < 0.05$).

Does hate speech promote political radicalisation?



SUMMARY

In this chapter we described several harmful effects of hate speech on civil society. We found out that common exposure to hate speech is correlated with being more prejudiced, less willing to observe social norms, more supportive of using state violence toward migrants and politically more radical (support for nationalist movements). The correlations are particularly pronounced among youth who at the same time are most commonly exposed to hate speech.

It should be noted that none of the above analyses settles the question of the direction of the cause-effect link – to establish it clearly, additional experimental or longitudinal research is needed. Thus, it cannot be definitely concluded that it is hate speech that leads to changes in civil society. But the presented analyses indicate that a socially harmful process is under way of which hate speech is an indispensable component, being a means of communicating prejudice leading to significant changes in perceptions and attitudes of its recipients.

Reasons for using hate speech

In the previous chapters we focused mainly on reactions to hate speech: its perceived offensiveness, acceptance of it among Poles or their support for banning it. But perhaps the most important question is why some people use hate speech when they write Internet comments or talk to their friends. In this chapter we will try to answer the question. To explain where “haters”, i.e. persons commonly or very commonly using hate speech, come from is very hard in quantitative terms, because the group forms only a small percentage of the whole population. We also cannot expect that a “hater”, when asked during a survey, will declare how often he or she produces hateful statements. But some approximation can be the number of persons who, when asked about using hateful statements similar to those presented during the survey, gave answers other than “never”. Of course, the respondents need not to be “haters” – they can use hate speech very occasionally. Nevertheless, it should be noted that even occasional use of such language throughout society can lead to increased hostility toward minority groups.¹⁸⁷

Below, we will describe demographic characteristics and general views of persons using hate speech. We will also explain the correlation between attitudes of society's majority to particular minority groups and the use of hateful statements toward them.

187. Similarly, the presence among individual members of society of only slight aversion toward “outgroups” leads, on the communal level, to a drastic segregation. See: Schelling, T. C. (1971).

Men use hate speech much more often than women

● Adults
● Youth

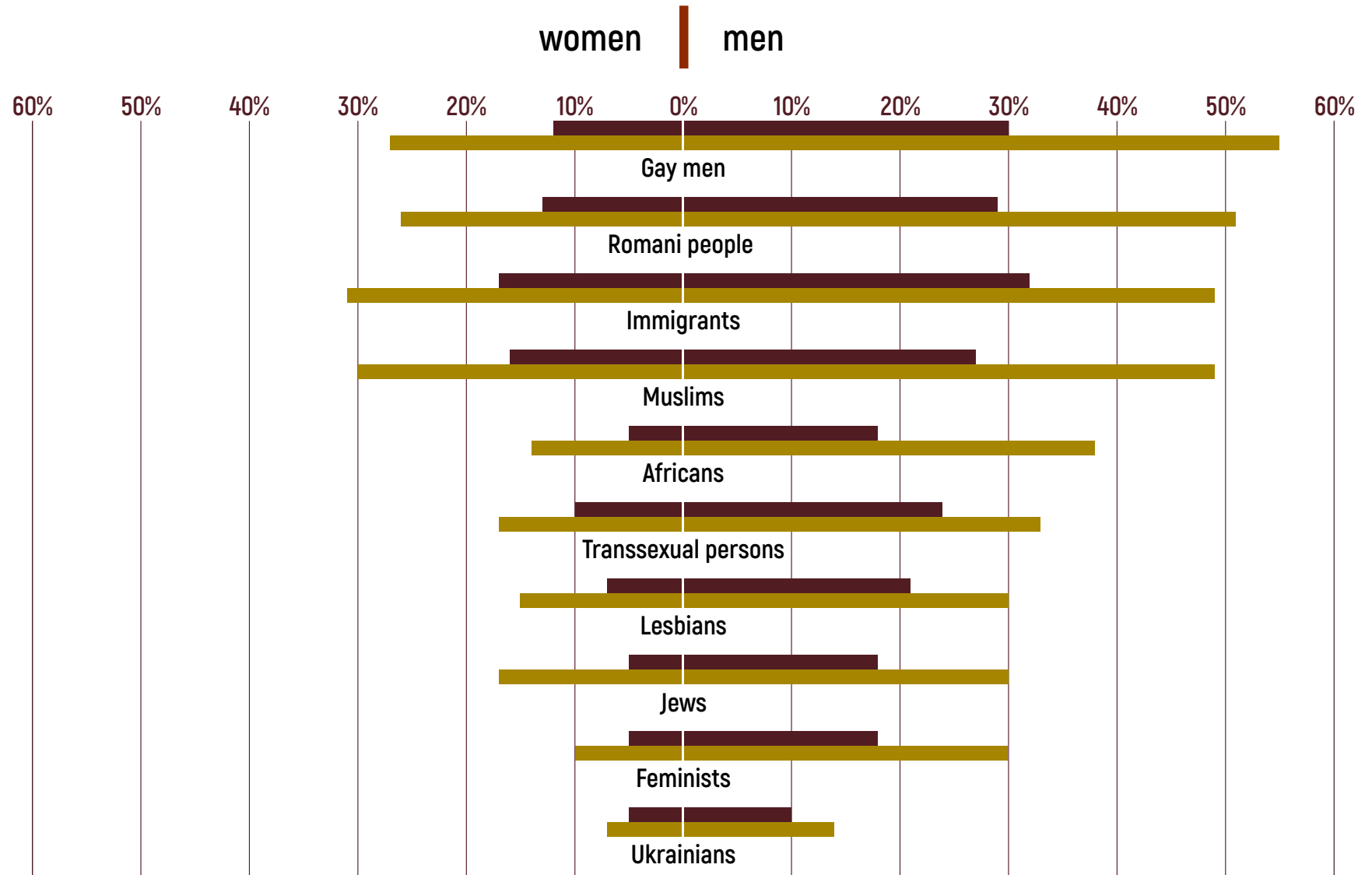


Figure 37. Percentages of women and men among adults and youth who happened to use hate speech against any of the minority groups.

INCIDENCE OF USING HATE SPEECH AMONG DIFFERENT SOCIAL GROUPS

188. Among adults $\chi^2(1)=38,88, p < 0,001$; among youth $\chi^2(1)=42,64, p < 0,001$.

What kind of persons happen to use hate speech? Our analyses showed that men much more often than women admit to saying or writing such content.¹⁸⁸ Among adults, 54% of men and 35% of women declared that at least once they used hate speech against any of the ten minority groups. Among youth, the general percentages for using hateful statements were significantly higher, reaching as much as 76% for men and 52% for women. But for both age groups differences between sexes were similar. Figure 37 shows percentages of women and men declaring using hate speech against any of the listed minority groups.

189. $\chi^2(7)=50,52, p < 0,001$.

Using hate speech was also admitted to more often by younger rather than older persons.¹⁸⁹ As shown by Figure 38, among youth the percentage of persons who at least once happened to use, in speech or in writing, offensive statements against any of the minorities reached as much as 64%, while gradually falling for older age groups – reaching only 22% for seventy-years old respondents. In view of low numbers of respondents aged over eighty and resulting uncertainty of results, the group was excluded from the presentation of results.

No significant differences were detected in declared use of hate speech between persons living in bigger localities and persons living in smaller localities. Also education and religiousness had no bearing on the willingness to use hateful statements against minorities.

Age and own use of hate speech

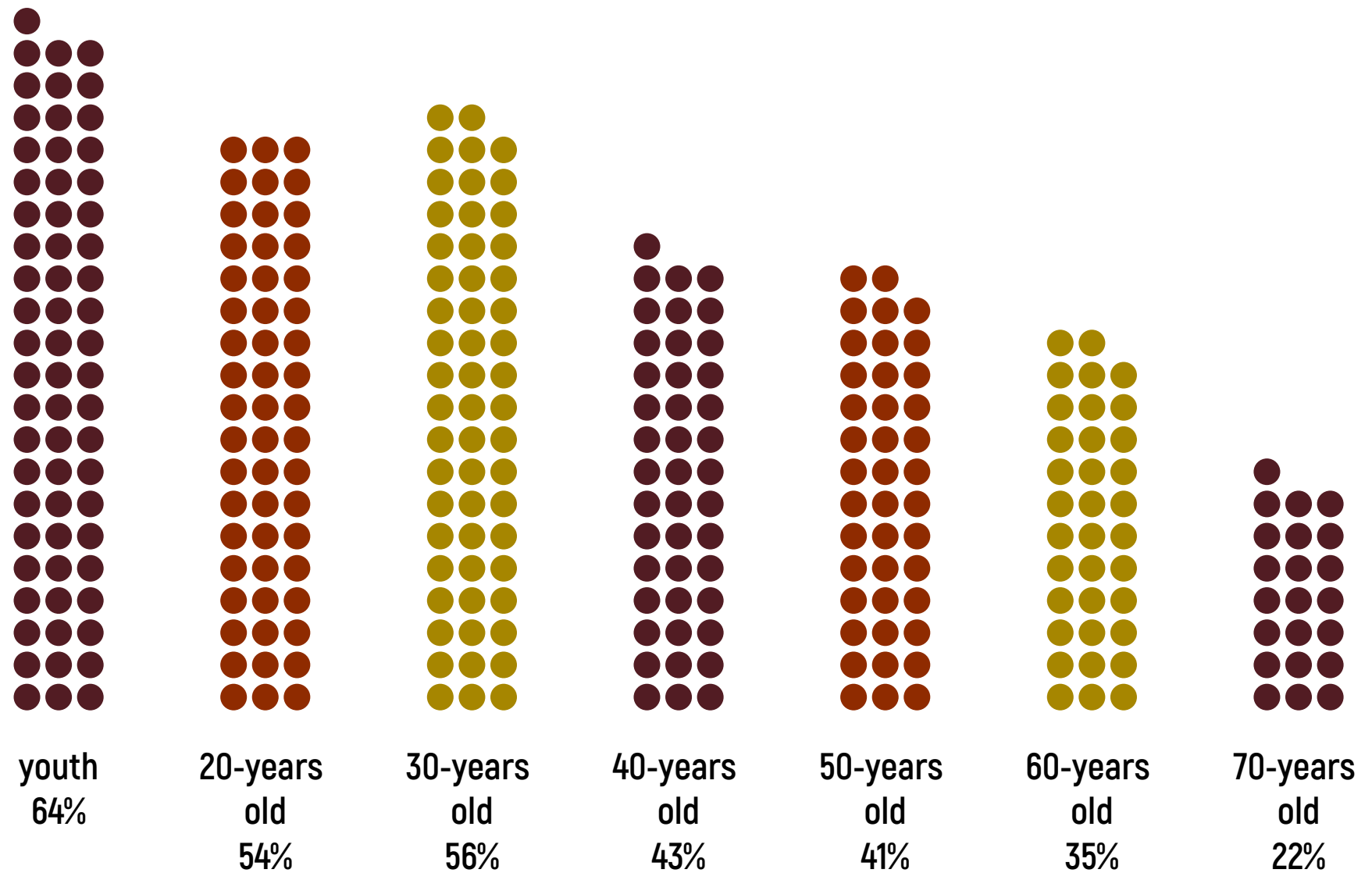


Figure 38. Percentages of persons in different age groups who at least once happened to use hate speech against any of the listed minority groups.

190. Logistic regression coefficient for adults: $b = 0,11$, $SE = 0,05$, $p = 0,03$, $OR = 1,12$; for youth: $b = 0,23$, $SE = 0,10$, $p = 0,02$, $OR = 1,26$.

Among adults and youth, differences in declared commonness of using hate speech were detected between persons having different political views (see Figure 39).¹⁹⁰ Using offensive language against minorities was most commonly declared by persons sympathising with right-wing political movements – the correlation was particularly visible among youth.

Political views and own use of hate speech

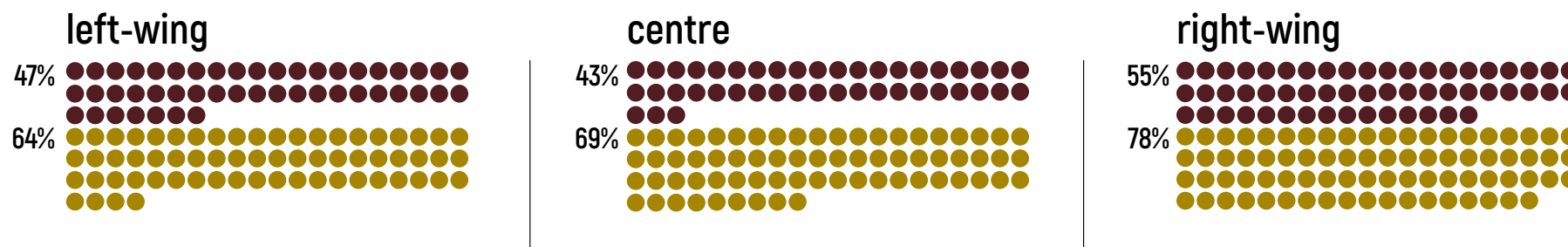


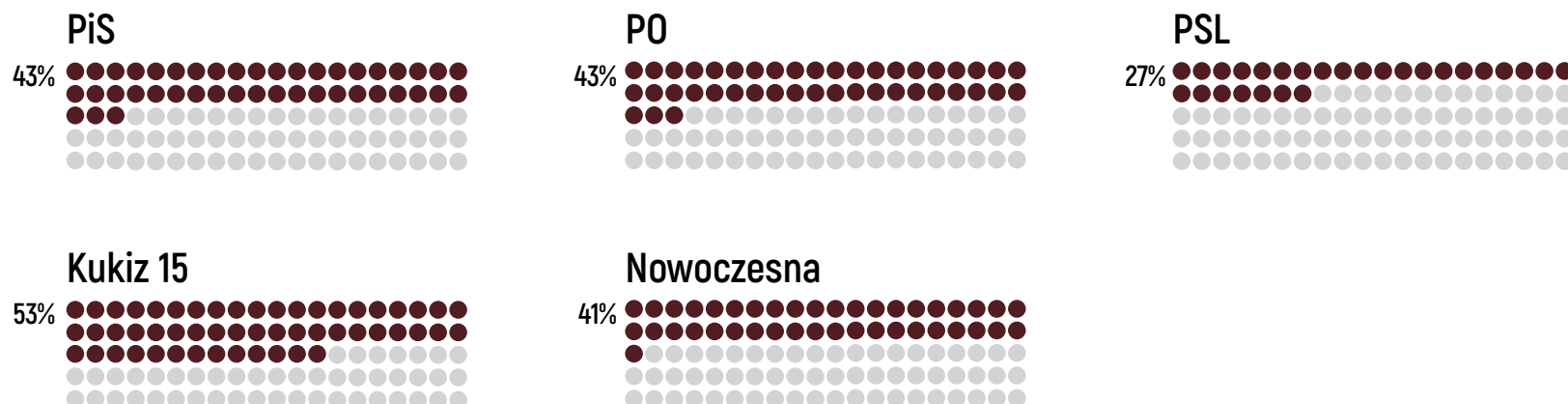
Figure 39. Percentages of persons having different political views who at least once happened to use hate speech against any of the listed minority groups.

191. $\chi^2(8)=16,32, p = 0,03$.

Among adults, significant differences were detected in declared use of hate speech by supporters of different political parties (see Figure 40).¹⁹¹ In this case, only persons that declare casting votes in recent elections for a party that entered the Parliament were taken into account. No differences in declared use of hate speech between supporters of the Law and Justice Party (PiS) and the Civic Platform (PO) were detected. Among the rest of voters, using hate speech was most commonly declared by supporters of the party Kukiz'15, and least commonly by supporters of the Polish Agrarian Party (PSL). However, the results have to be treated with caution, since the numbers of supporters of the last two parties were low, so the results may not be representative.

Figure 40. Percentages of persons supporting political parties present in the Parliament who at least once happened to use hate speech against any of the listed minority groups.

Voting intentions and own use of hate speech



SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL GROUNDS FOR USING HATE SPEECH

Analysis of demographic variables helped to indicate groups of persons most commonly using hate speech, but to identify the mechanism responsible for differences between them various socio-psychological factors should be taken into account. Psychological grounds for using hate speech can relate to individual personality traits, as well as to beliefs of a given person about social order. During the questionnaire survey respondents were asked questions of both types. The first type included questions about individual self-esteem (e.g. respondents were asked to comment on the statement “I believe that I am at least an equally worthy person as other people”) and about verbal aggression (e.g. “When I’m angry with people, I tell them straight what I think”). The second type of questions were aimed at examining respondents’ willingness to yield to authority figures and social norms (so-called *right-wing authoritarianism*), and their attitudes toward social hierarchy (e.g. their reactions to the statement “We should enhance social equality”).

Among both adults and youth, persons with lower self-esteem were more willing to use hate speech. Previous research showed no clear correlation between self-esteem and prejudice or proneness to violence – but they suggested that violence or prejudice can be a means for regaining the sense of being a worthy person or consolidating one’s self-image.¹⁹² Thus the correlation should be subject to further more detailed research.

192. Baumeister, R. F., Smart, L., Boden, J. M. (1996). Relation of threatened egotism to violence and aggression: the dark side of high self-esteem. *Psychological Review*, 103, 5-33.

As shown by Figure 41, in addition to low self-esteem the general level of verbal aggression is a factor that increases the willingness to use hate speech. Persons who are verbally more aggressive more often declared also using hate speech against any of the minority groups.

Personality determinants of hate speech use

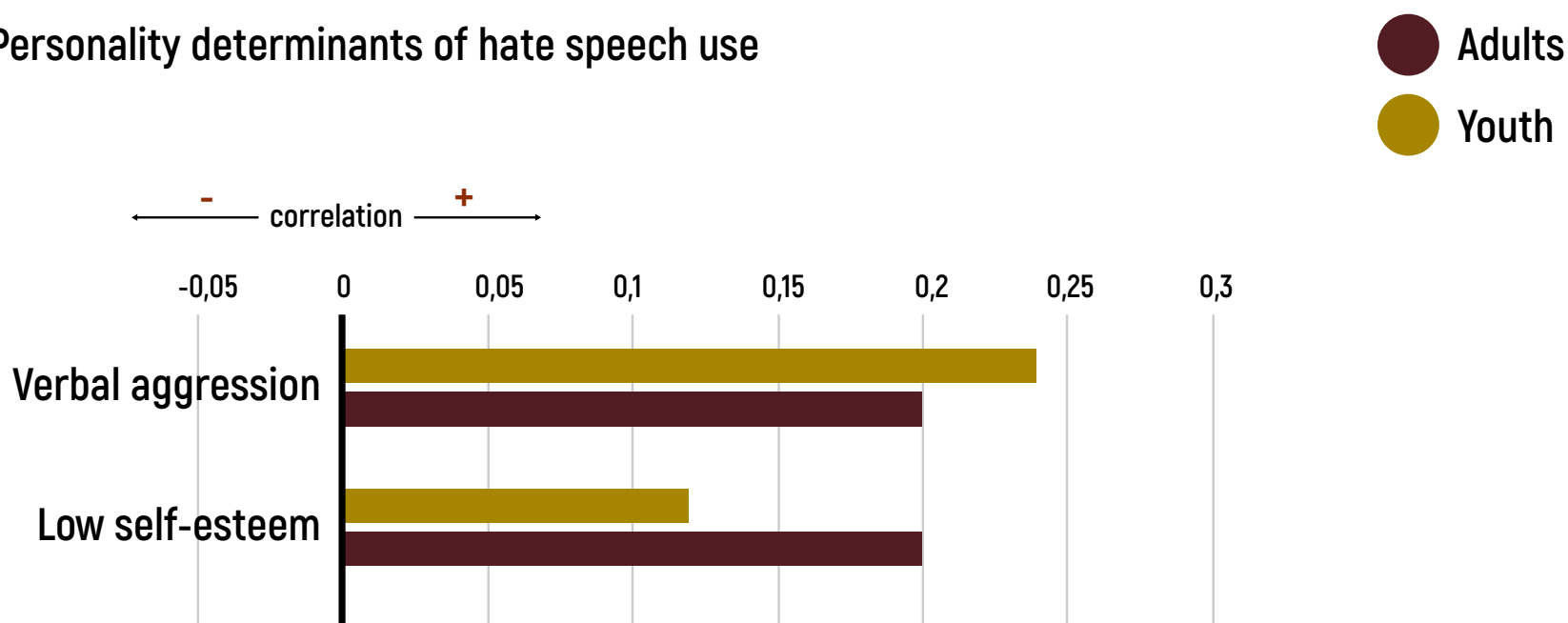


Figure 41. Self-evaluation and verbal aggression vs. using hate speech by adults and youth. D – values for sample of adults, M – values for sample of youth. Positive values (green arrow) indicate that the stronger the characteristics the higher the willingness to use hate speech. Negative values (red arrow) indicate that the stronger the characteristics the lower the willingness to use hate speech. The presented values are standardised regression coefficients. All bars are statistically significant ($p < 0.05$).

Analyses of socio-political views showed that using hate speech is in particular correlated with supporting hierarchical social order (see Figure 42). The existing research on this type of view on society suggested that it is typical for persons viewing the world as a social jungle where all groups (e.g. rich and poor, men and women, white and coloured people) struggle to dominate each other.¹⁹³ In a society seen in that perspective, social norms or feelings of persons belonging to other groups are unimportant. Thus such a view on social order is strongly connected with prejudice and – as shown by the results of the present survey – with a willingness to use hate speech.

Among adults, but not among youth, a correlation between using hate speech and right-wing authoritarianism was detected: interestingly, persons having more authoritarian views less commonly declared using hate speech. Most of the previous surveys indicated that right-wing authoritarianism was correlated with more prejudiced attitudes – which could suggest that authoritarian persons would be also more willing to use hate speech, but in most of the modern societies hate speech is certainly seen as a breach of a binding social norm, so persons particularly attached to social norms (or the highly authoritarian ones) are naturally less willing to use hate speech. The present results and the results of 2014 hate speech survey¹⁹⁴ seem to support this conclusion.

193. Duckitt, J. (2001). A dual process cognitive-motivational theory of ideology and prejudice. W: M. Zanna (Red.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (t. 33, s. 41-113). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

194. Bilewicz, M., Marchlewska, M., Soral, W., Winiewski, M. (2014). *Mowa nienawiści. Raport z badań sondażowych [Hate speech. Report from questionnaire surveys]*. Warsaw: Stefan Batory Foundation.

Socio-political determinants of hate speech use

● Adults
● Youth

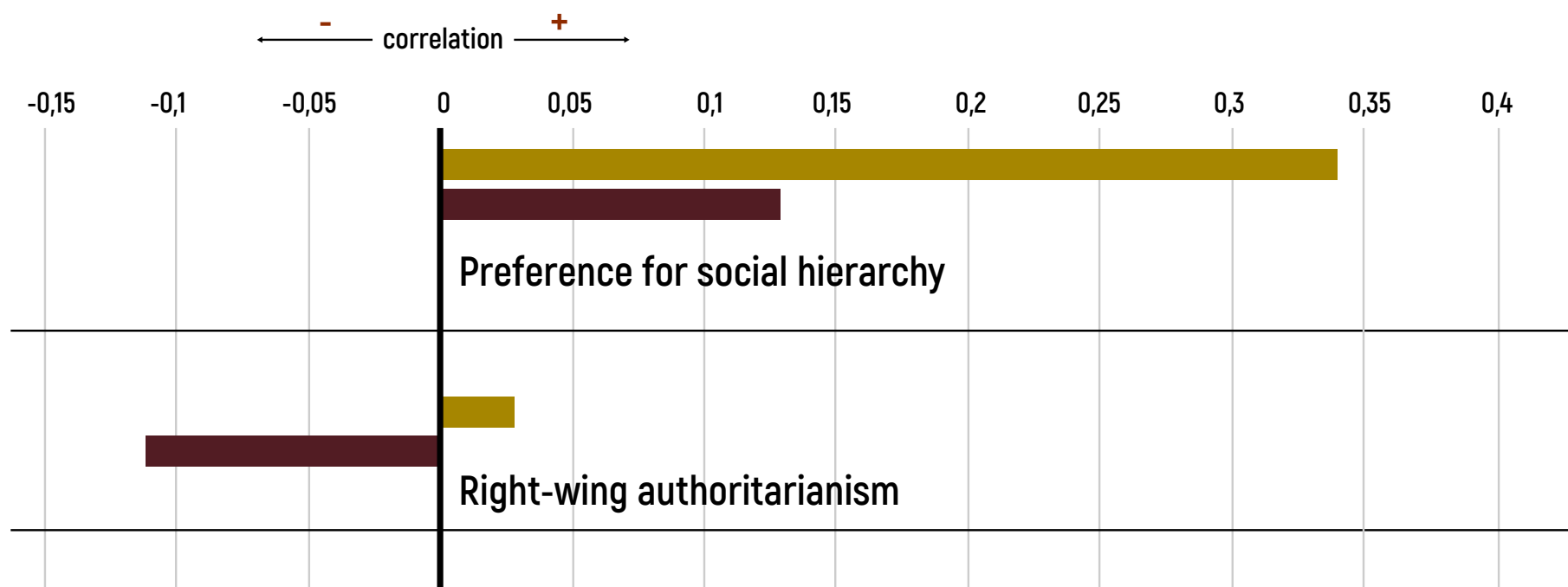


Figure 42. Right-wing authoritarianism and preference for social hierarchy vs. using hate speech by adults and youth. D – values for sample of adults, M – values for sample of youth. Positive values (green arrow) indicate that the stronger the characteristics the higher the willingness to use hate speech. Negative values (red arrow) indicate that the stronger the characteristics the lower the willingness to use hate speech. The presented values are standardised regression coefficients. All bars longer than 0,1 are statistically significant ($p < 0,05$).

INTER-GROUP EMOTIONS AND USING HATE SPEECH

Hate speech is seen as a manifestation of prejudice against minority groups. The socio-psychological types described above, such as authoritarianism and verbal aggression, help to understand what kinds of persons are most commonly prejudice, and as a consequence willing to use hate speech. However it should be remembered that attitudes toward particular minority groups are also dependent on cultural factors, and shaped by interactions with other people, cultural texts, and media. The culturally imposed image of particular minority groups can encourage (or discourage) people to use hate speech.

The present questionnaire survey included questions about acceptance (or lack of acceptance) of members of different minority groups. Every respondent was asked to declare to what extent he or she would accept a representative of a minority group as: collaborator, neighbour or partner of a member of his or her close family. Among both adults and youth, persons unwilling to have in their social surroundings representatives of any minority groups definitely more commonly declared using anti-minority hate speech.

In the case of four groups: Jews, Romani people, Muslims and gay men, respondents were asked what kinds of emotions they feel for them – the questions dealt mainly with the feelings of hatred and contempt (e.g. “Do persons like you feel contempt toward gay people?”). Analysis of the answers showed that among both adults and youth feelings of

hatred and contempt toward a particular minority group are correlated with using hate speech against them (see Figure 43). Interestingly, the feeling of contempt seems to be crucial. Contempt is an emotion connected with disregarding and seeing other people as *small*, worthless and incompetent. Feeling contempt toward another person or social group leads to an atrophy of feelings of compassion, guilt or shame, and instead triggers anger and disgust.¹⁹⁵ Presumably, it is the emotional reactions close to contempt (anger and disgust instead of compassion), culturally connected with particular social groups, that lead to using hate speech.

195. Gervais, M. M., Fessler, D. M. T. (w druku). On the deep structure of social affect: Attitudes, emotions, sentiments, and the case of “contempt”. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*.

Do offensive statements against minority groups come from hatred or contempt?

● Contempt
● Hatred

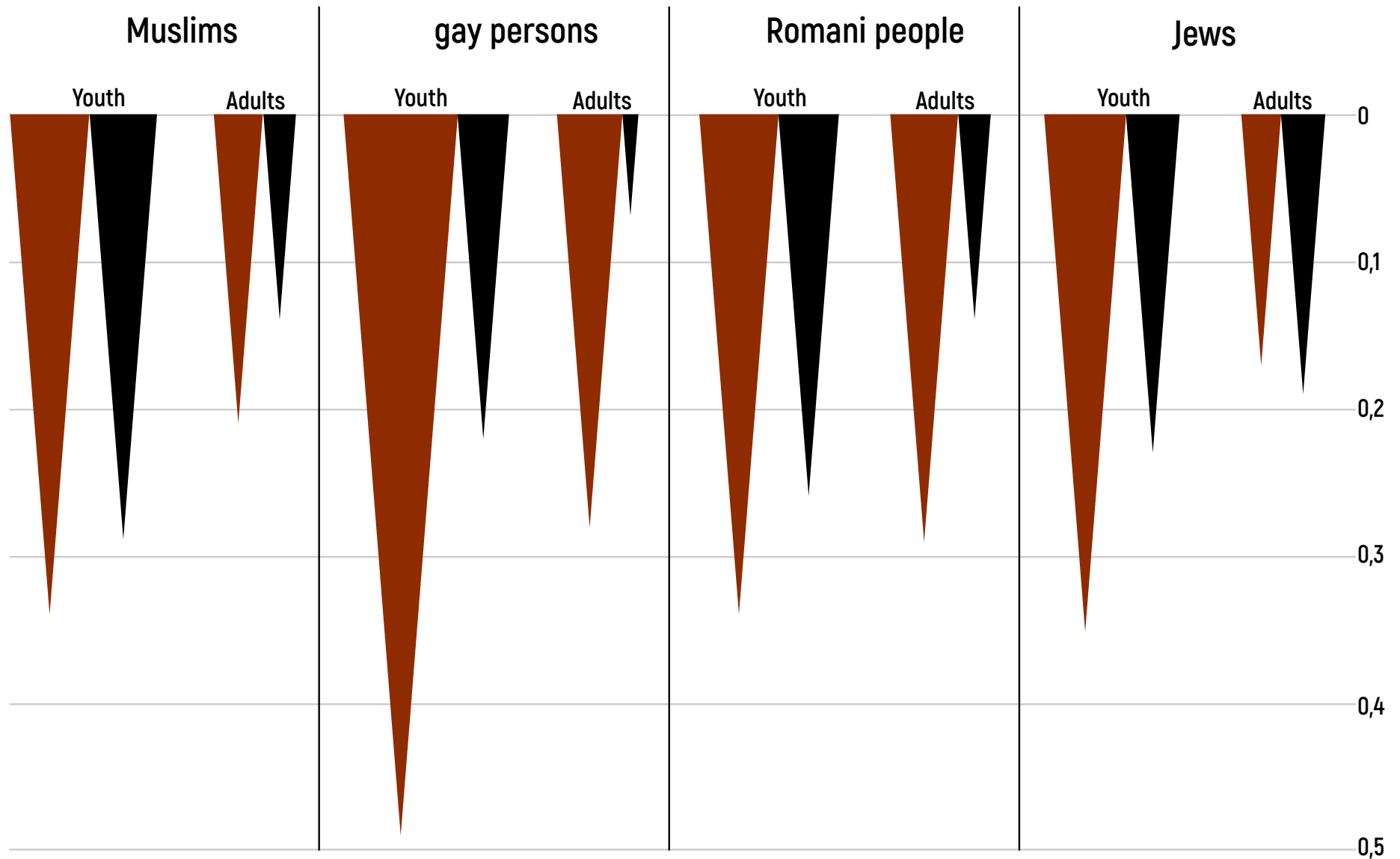


Figure 43. Correlation between feelings of hatred and contempt toward members of four minority groups and using hate speech. Longer bars indicate stronger correlation. The scale presents standardised regression coefficients. All bars longer than 0.1 are statistically significant ($p < 0.05$).

SUMMARY

Analyses of results from questionnaire surveys conducted on samples of adult and young Poles show several reasons why hate speech is used in Polish society. Hate speech is more often used by men than women, is more common among younger than older persons, and remains correlated with right-wing views. The use of hate speech seems to be highly correlated with the support for radical right-wing ideologies justifying social inequalities and with the tendency to dominate minority groups. However, it should be noted that persons supporting right-wing ideologies promoting social peace and order (right-wing authoritarians) are less willing to use hate speech than less authoritarian persons. Thus, the right-wing outlook includes two opposing tendencies: on the one hand to tame, and on the other to incite the use of hate speech.

The very expression “hate speech” suggests that using such language is connected with emotions toward minority groups. Using hate speech is in fact a manifestation of prejudice against the groups, but it is contempt rather than hate that forms its emotional background. Thus, we should speak about “contempt speech” rather than “hate speech” as a phenomenon that spreads epidemically through society, affecting mainly young persons, and leads to general deterioration of attitudes toward minorities.

The very expression “hate speech” suggests that using such language is connected with emotions toward minority groups. Using hate speech is in fact a manifestation of prejudice against the groups, but it is contempt rather than hate that forms its emotional background.

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Appendix 1.

Perceived offensiveness of quotations used – percentage of respondents choosing each response option. Adults.

Minority	Quotation	1 - Definitely offensive	2	3	4	5	6	7 - Definitely non-offensive	Difficult to say	Refusal to answer
Jews	When it comes to Jews and hostile attitudes towards them, this is nothing but a realistic assessment of what they do, these lousy thugs, Star of David fascists.	66,4%	14,2%	6,6%	4%	1,2%	1,4%	2,6%	3,2%	0,4%
	Jews have to finally understand that they triggered Polish hatred themselves with their betrayal and crime. And today they are trying to conceal their faults, blaming us for everything.	37,7%	18,3%	12,4%	9,8%	4,7%	4,4%	5%	7,2%	0,5%
	Jews are blinded with their hatred and thirst for revenge. This was the fundamental reason for them joining the Bolsheviks, then the Soviet secret service in eastern Poland, and the security authorities after the war.	32,5%	16,9%	12%	11,9%	6,1%	3,4%	4,7%	12%	0,6%
Muslims	Muslims are mean cowards, they murder only women, children and innocent people.	46,4%	15,8%	9,4%	6,6%	3,7%	5,2%	7,1%	5,1%	0,7%
	Every Muslim is not right in the head, there are no exceptions.	52,8%	17,6%	7%	6,7%	3,2%	2,7%	4,1%	5%	0,9%
	Attacks using caustic acid is an old form of getting even between Muslims.	35,2%	14,3%	10,2%	8,5%	3,4%	5,4%	7%	14,8%	1,2%
Refugees	Let the refugees come to Vistula country. We will burn them in our power plants. And if there are too many of them to burn, the rest can be processed into dog food.	84,6%	6,7%	1,3%	2%	0,4%	1%	1,5%	2,2%	0,4%
	Let me have those suckers, fuck, please!!! I would like to cut them slowly, sprinkle with salt, rub the wounds with lemon. I would like to cut off their balls and push them down their throats, so that the "immigrant" motherfuckers suffocate and suffer, I wish it to them with all my heart.	87%	5,3%	1,9%	1,1%	0,4%	0,3%	1,1%	1,9%	1%
	Poles have the right to oppose the culturally alien immigrants who rape European women and terrorise drivers.	33,4%	13,4%	9,2%	8,1%	8,1%	8,6%	14,8%	4,1%	0,4%

Minority	Quotation	1 - Definitely offensive	2	3	4	5	6	7 - Definitely non-offensive	Difficult to say	Refusal to answer
Romani people	I myself still believe that gypsies are dirty thieves, members of the mafia and organised crime specialising in theft and begging.	48%	19%	9,2%	7,7%	4,4%	4,3%	4,3%	2,9%	0,2%
	We still see such theft as something abnormal – and gypsies think it's absolutely OK.	39,7%	21,8%	10,1%	9,7%	3,7%	5,5%	4,8%	4,5%	0,3%
	All gypsies are thieves, and that will never change.	51,6%	18,6%	8,5%	6,7%	3%	4%	4,9%	2,4%	0,3%
Ukrainians	All that Ukrainians are capable of is murdering innocent women and children.	61%	15,3%	6,1%	5%	1,5%	2,6%	4,1%	4%	0,4%
	Lousy Ukrainian, probably spawned by the <i>trizub</i> rabble!!	60,6%	16,8%	4,4%	3,4%	2%	1,6%	2,7%	7,8%	
	F: Know what? If my [Ukrainian] was just a little bit prettier, I would be more than happy to rape her. W: Well... I don't even know what mine looks like, she's on her knees all the time.	75,3%	12,4%	2,2%	1,9%	1,4%	0,7%	1%	4,5%	0,7%
Osoby czar-noskóre	A Negro is not a man, he's an ape.	89,3%	5,9%	1%	0,5%	0,8%	0,3%	1,6%	0,5%	0,3%
	If Negroes are equal to everyone else, why haven't they invented anything else for thousands of years apart from a tam-tam drum?	62,3%	15,4%	6,4%	4,2%	1,9%	2,6%	2,4%	4,6%	0,4%
	Ladies and gents, and here we have a Negro. (...) Come here, bro! He hasn't washed himself at all, just see for yourselves!	76,8%	11,8%	3%	1,7%	1%	0,7%	2,1%	2,6%	0,4%
Gay men	I detest fags, they are a perversion of humanity, they should be cured.	57,7%	13%	5,8%	4,5%	3,1%	3,1%	7%	5%	0,7%
	I'm sorry to gays, but they make me feel organically, naturally disgusted... as in every man's DNA	44,7%	17,2%	8,1%	6,7%	5%	3,6%	7,9%	5,8%	1%
	I understand that one can have homosexual inclinations, it is a kind of disability, weakness.[...] But fag activists who want advantages for gay couples and the right of adoption of children for them, should be fought ...	39,1%	14,4%	9%	7%	4,5%	6,9%	12,6%	5,7%	0,7%

Minority	Quotation	1 - Definitely offensive	2	3	4	5	6	7 - Definitely non-offensive	Difficult to say	Refusal to answer
Lesbians	Lesbos are an insult to nature and should be put against a wall and executed.	76,8%	9,1%	2%	2,1%	1%	0,7%	2,6%	4,4%	1,3%
	I think we should start with stoning lesbians.	80,3%	8,7%	1,9%	1,3%	1%	0,4%	1,8%	3,3%	1,2%
	As for gays, I give up, but I would happily watch lesbians.	62,1%	12,5%	5,7%	4,4%	2,4%	2,2%	3,6%	5,5%	1,7%
Transsexual persons	A person with such a psyche should be sent for treatment to a gulag in Russia, North Korea or Iran. She would quickly recover there.	64,2%	12,8%	5%	3,7%	2%	1,2%	3%	5,8%	2,2%
	That's what is called biological natural selection. The species cleanses itself of perverts, nutcases and deviants who obstruct its development, healthy procreation and adjustment to environment (...)	60,7%	14%	6,1%	3,5%	1,7%	1,8%	3%	6,7%	2,5%
	This Grodzka, who all the time sat next to me, I said sir, madam, oh sir. He said that he would go to the court of justice, so I replied: Go to the court! When I see a guy next to me, am I to address him "madam"?	41,2%	12,6%	9,8%	7,3%	4,7%	4,2%	9,7%	8,5%	2,1%
Feminists	Feminazis should demonstrate under the slogan "We'll get laid with anyone, because no sensible man wants us"	65,4%	12,1%	4,3%	4%	1,8%	1,7%	2,7%	6,7%	1,3%
	THOSE HAGS SHOULD BE ABORTED FROM THE SOCIETY, IT'S NEVER TOO LATE TO DO IT IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE LIVES OF POLES	58,6%	15,5%	5,8%	4,9%	2,3%	1%	2,5%	8,1%	1,4%
	One always thinks that the idiots can't surprise us anymore – but here you are! Moronic feminists always demanded that women could work like men. For, as we know, ARBEIT MACHT FREI.	58,8%	13%	6,3%	4,7%	2,7%	1,7%	2,6%	8,7%	1,6%

Appendix 2.

Perceived offensiveness of quotations used – percentage of respondents choosing each response option. Youth.

Minority	Quotation	1 - Definitely offensive	2	3	4	5	6	7 - Definitely non-offensive	Difficult to say	Refusal to answer
Jews	When it comes to Jews and hostile attitudes towards them, this is nothing but a realistic assessment of what they do, these lousy thugs, Star of David fascists.	40,9%	19,4%	11,6%	11,9%	6,5%	2,9%	1,6%	4,8%	0,4%
	Jews have to finally understand that they triggered Polish hatred themselves with their betrayal and crime. And today they are trying to conceal their faults, blaming us for everything.	24,9%	21,4%	18%	12,6%	8,1%	6,3%	5,3%	3,1%	0,3%
	Jews are blinded with their hatred and thirst for revenge. This was the fundamental reason for them joining the Bolsheviks, then the Soviet secret service in eastern Poland, and the security authorities after the war.	17%	19,2%	21,7%	18%	6%	4%	3,8%	9,8%	0,4%
Muslims	Muslims are mean cowards, they murder only women, children and innocent people.	35,3%	17,3%	13,3%	11,7%	7,2%	5%	8,4%	1,8%	
	Every Muslim is not right in the head, there are no exceptions.	45,5%	17,6%	12,9%	9,8%	4,5%	3,4%	5,3%	0,9%	0,1%
	Attacks using caustic acid is an old form of getting even between Muslims.	27,6%	16,9%	17,4%	13,8%	5,7%	4,3%	7,6%	6,2%	0,6%
Refugees	Let the refugees come to Vistula country. We will burn them in our power plants. And if there are too many of them to burn, the rest can be processed into dog food.	69,6%	10,9%	6%	3,8%	2,6%	1,6%	4,1%	0,7%	0,6%
	Let me have those suckers, fuck, please!!! I would like to cut them slowly, sprinkle with salt, rub the wounds with lemon. I would like to cut off their balls and push them down their throats, so that the “immigrant” motherfuckers suffocate and suffer, I wish it to them with all my heart.	78,9%	8,1%	3,5%	2,2%	2,5%	1%	2,6%	0,4%	0,7%
	Poles have the right to oppose the culturally alien immigrants who rape European women and terrorise drivers.	23,5%	14,2%	16,1%	10,4%	8,7%	7,2%	18,5%	1%	0,4%

Minority	Quotation	1 - De- finitely offensi- ve	2	3	4	5	6	7 - De- finitely non-of- fensive	Difficult to say	Refu- sal to answer
Romani people	I myself still believe that gypsies are dirty thieves, members of the mafia and organised crime specialising in theft and begging.	42,5%	20,4%	12,3%	11%	5,7%	4%	3,2%	0,9%	0
	We still see such theft as something abnormal – and gypsies think it's absolutely OK.	34,5%	25,5%	15,2%	11,1%	6%	3,8%	2,9%	0,9%	0
	All gypsies are thieves, and that will never change.	48,4%	21%	12,3%	8,9%	4%	2,2%	2,9%	0,3%	0
Ukrainians	All that Ukrainians are capable of is murdering innocent women and children.	56,7%	18%	9,4%	5,6%	2,9%	2,5%	2,9%	1,5%	0,4%
	Lousy Ukrainian, probably spawned by the <i>trizub</i> rabble!!	49,1%	20,5%	10,6%	6,7%	2,9%	1,2%	1%	7,3%	0,6%
	F: Know what? If my [Ukrainian] was just a little bit prettier, I would be more than happy to rape her. W: Well... I don't even know what mine looks like, she's on her knees all the time.	74,6%	9,1%	6,6%	2,8%	2,3%	1,2%	1%	1,8%	0,6%
Osoby czar- noskóre	A Negro is not a man, he's an ape.	85,2%	7,6%	2,5%	1,2%	1,3%	0,4%	1,8%	0	0
	If Negroes are equal to everyone else, why haven't they invented anything else for thousands of years apart from a tam-tam drum?	51,9%	23%	9,7%	7,5%	3,2%	1,6%	1%	1,8%	0,3%
	Ladies and gents, and here we have a Negro. (...) Come here, bro! He hasn't washed himself at all, just see for yourselves!	64,4%	18,3%	7,6%	3,8%	2,6%	1,5%	0,6%	1%	0,1%
Gay men	I detest fags, they are a perversion of humanity, they should be cured.	52,6%	16,1%	8,5%	6,7%	4,1%	3,5%	6,7%	1,5%	0,1%
	I'm sorry to gays, but they make me feel organically, naturally disgusted... as in every man's DNA	29,3%	18,6%	14,2%	10,4%	9,1%	5,7%	11%	1,3%	0,3%
	I understand that one can have homosexual inclinations, it is a kind of disability, weakness.[...] But fag activists who want advantages for gay couples and the right of adoption of children for them, should be fought ...	29,8%	16,7%	13,8%	11,7%	6,9%	6,3%	11,1%	2,9%	0,7%

Minority	Quotation	1 - De- finitely offensi- ve	2	3	4	5	6	7 - De- finitely non-of- fensive	Difficult to say	Refu- sal to answer
Lesbians	Lesbos are an insult to nature and should be put against a wall and executed.	68,6%	14,8%	7,5%	3,4%	1,3%	1,2%	1,6%	1,2%	0,4%
	I think we should start with stoning lesbians.	69,8%	16,3%	6,7%	2,8%	1,3%	0,9%	0,9%	0,7%	0,6%
	As for gays, I give up, but I would happily watch lesbians.	51,2%	17,2%	9,4%	9,4%	3,5%	3,2%	2,2%	3,5%	0,4%
Transsexual persons	A person with such a psyche should be sent for treatment to a gulag in Russia, North Korea or Iran. She would quickly recover there.	49,4%	17,6%	13,5%	5,9%	2,9%	2,8%	3,8%	3,8%	0,3%
	That's what is called biological natural selection. The species cleanses itself of perverts, nutcases and deviants who obstruct its development, healthy procreation and adjustment to environment (...)	42,5%	21,4%	12%	7,9%	5%	1,8%	3,2%	5,7%	0,4%
	This Grodzka, who all the time sat next to me, I said sir, madam, oh sir. He said that he would go to the court of justice, so I replied: Go to the court! When I see a guy next to me, am I to address him "madam"?	30,4%	16,1%	15,4%	12,3%	6%	5,4%	8,4%	5,4%	0,6%
Feminists	Feminazis should demonstrate under the slogan "We'll get laid with anyone, because no sensible man wants us"	52,1%	17,2%	10,4%	8,2%	2,3%	2,8%	2,5%	3,7%	0,9%
	THOSE HAGS SHOULD BE ABORTED FROM THE SOCIETY, IT'S NEVER TOO LATE TO DO IT IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE LIVES OF POLES	46,3%	18,9%	13,3%	10,1%	3,7%	1,3%	1,6%	4,3%	0,4%
	One always thinks that the idiots can't surprise us anymore – but here you are! Moronic feminists always demanded that women could work like men. For, as we know, ARBEIT MACHT FREI.	49,3%	17%	14,5%	8,5%	2,9%	1,2%	1,2%	5%	0,4%