## Carlos Gómez del Tronco

Supervisors: Prof Anne White & Dr Richard Mole (UCL), Kateřina Králová (CUNI) FATIGUE programme





# How the fear of Muslim refugees and Islamophobia stole the Czech political agenda

SSEES Research Student Seminar Series University College London 23 May 2019

This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skodowska-Curie grant agreement No 765224.





"No to Islam. No to terrorists. A safe country for each [one]" October 2017 Parliamentary Election



"Haviřov without migrants!"

October 2018 Municipal elections



"STOP Immigrants and Drahoš [his opponent]. This country is ours! Vote for Zeman!" January 2018 Presidential Election



"Refugees? I do not want a single one"

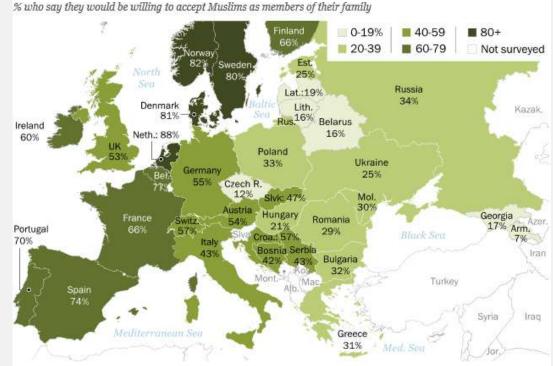
September 2018 – ANO movement's official newspaper

## The puzzle Is Czechia an infertile ground for prejudice?



#### Attitudes towards Muslims and "refugees"

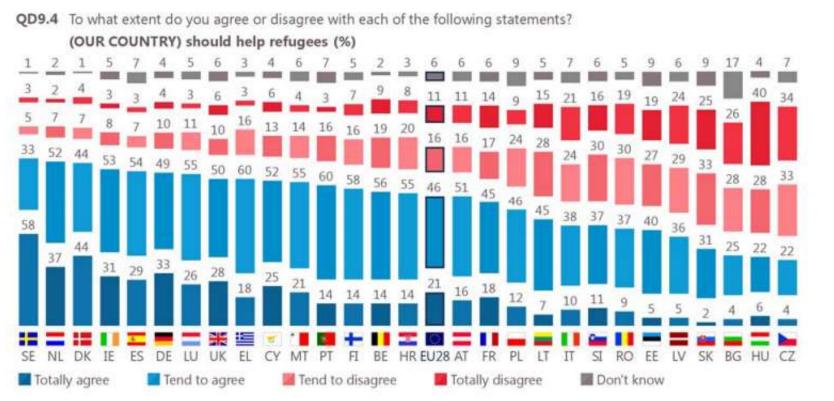




Vast differences across Europe in public attitudes toward Muslims

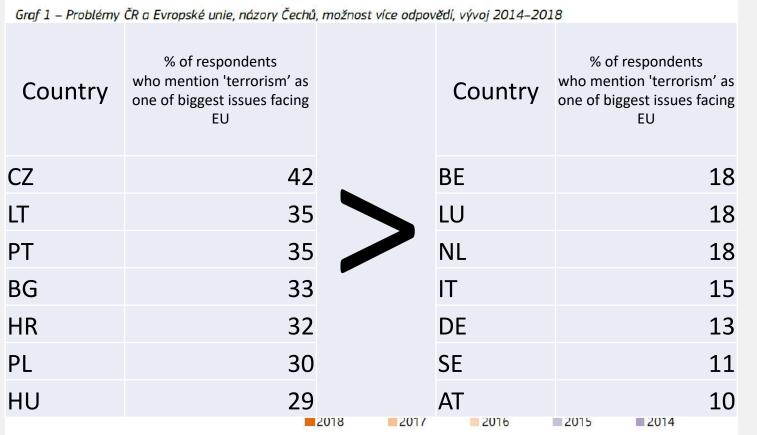
Note: This question was not asked of Muslims. Source: Surveys conducted 2015-2017 in 34 countries. See Methodology for details. "Eastern and Western Europeans Differ on Importance of Religion, Views of Minorities, and Key Social Issues"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER



Source: Standard Eurobarometer 89 (Spring 2018)

Ŵ



Source: Standard Eurobarometer 90 (Autumn 2018)

Â

The Czech lands have a history with Islam...

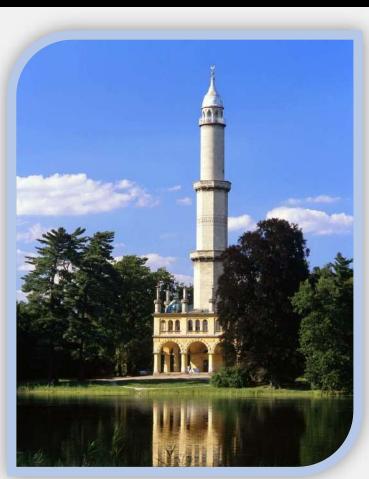


Statue to the founders of the Trinitarian Order, Prague



Schwarzenbergs' coat of arms





#### Minaret in the gardens of the Palace of Lednice

Alois Musil





#### Post-1989 Islamophobia: some relevant events









### POST 1989

Islamophobia from non-state actors Pro-Israeli turn

### **FIRST WAVE (2001-2009)**

Specialised websites

Debates on multiculturalism and terrorism

Public opinion against Turkish accession

### **SECOND WAVE (2009-2014)**

Anti-Islamic social media proliferation

Co-operation with far right



In the near future, the issue of Islam is unlikely to become crucial for extreme right politics in East-Central Europe, unless something extraordinary were to happen (e.g., an Islamist terrorist attack in the area with major consequences)"

(Mareš, 2014, p. 220)





June 2014

January 2015

January 2015



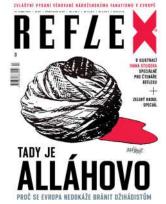
November 2015

NYE 2015-6

## 

## **Media**

- Sensationalism and manipulation
- Key role of social media
- Lack of national expertise on Islam
- Islamophobia hijacks Czech content on Islam









Krvavá lázeň v Bruselu



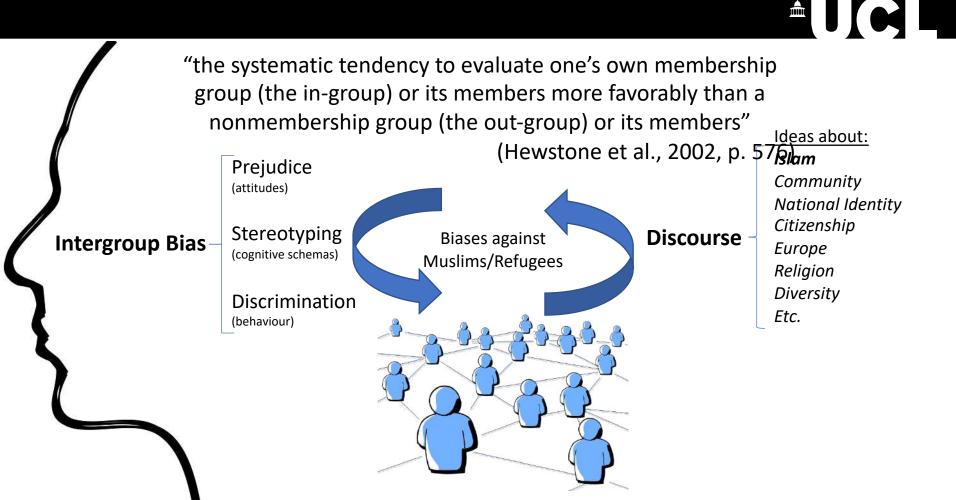
## 

## **Politics**

- Activities of anti-Islamic groups
- Popularity of populist radical-right
- Co-option of mainstream actors
- Key role of President



SPD rally in Prague (April 2019)





To understand the **societal root-causes**, as well as the **political and cultural strategies** applied by various actors, that brought anti-refugee and Islamophobic sentiments to the forefront of mainstream Czech politics, particularly from 2015 onwards

## <u>Demand</u>

Who holds more/less negative attitudes?

What bigger ideas lie behind these attitudes?

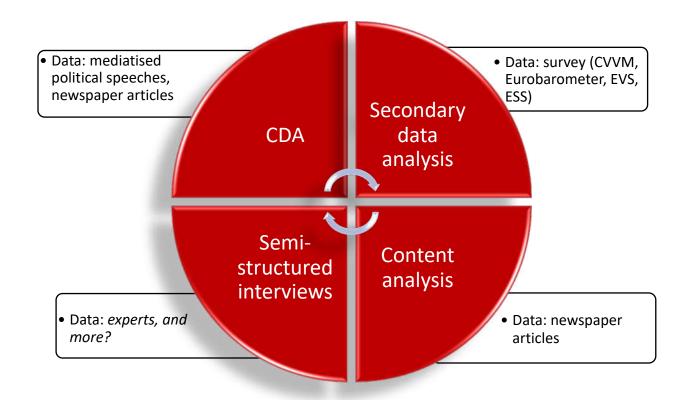
## <u>Supply</u>

How and why did politicians and newspapers contribute to the construction of the threat?

Which appeals/strategies were used by discrete actors?

The methods which I am considering to use





## Questions | Comments

## c.deltronco@ucl.ac.uk





This research is part of a project that has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No. 765224

## BIBLIOGRAPHY



Bayrakli, E., Hafez, F., & Foundation for Political, E. and S. R. (2017). European islamophobia report 2016.

Bayrakli, E., Hafez, F., & Siyaset, Ekonomi ve Toplum Araştırmaları Vakfı (Eds.). (2016). European islamophobia report 2015. Ankara: SETA.

Bayraklı, E., Hafez, F., & Siyaset, E. ve T. A. V. (2018). European Islamophobia report 2017.

Čada, K., & Frantová, V. (2017). Workstream 1: Dominant Islamophobic Narratives – The Czech Republic. *Counter-Islamophobia Kit, Wokstream* 1(Working Paper 6), 29.

Čeněk, J., Kompérová, A., & Smolík, J. (2018). Selected Attitudes of Muslims Toward Life in the Czech Republic in the Context of Their Faith. Politické Vedy; Bratislava, (2), 116–137.

Chalániová, D. (2019). Visual Securitization of Mediterranean Refugees in the Czech Republic.

Dvořáková, K., & Stojanová, K. (2018). Ztracena v Praze: postoje kolemjdoucích k osobě muslimského vyznání. *Psychologie pro praxi, 52*(2), 43–57.

Hanzelka, J., & Schmidt, I. (2017). Dynamics Of Cyber Hate In Social Media: A Comparative Analysis Of Anti-Muslim Movements In The Czech Republic And Germany.

Herczeg, J. (2017). Freedom of Speech, Hate Speech and Hate Speech Legislation in Czech Republic and European Union,. JURA, 1, 63.

Hesová, Z. (2016). The Mainstreaming of Islamophobia in the Czech Republic. *Aliberty.Eu Review*, 4.

Hrdina, M. (2016). Identity, Activism and Hatred: Hate Speech against Migrants on Facebook in the Czech Republic in 2015. Naše Společnost, 1(14), 38.

Jourová, V. (2019, February). Factsheet - 4th monitoring round of the Code of Conduct. European Commission.

Kalmar, I. (2018). 'The battlefield is in Brussels': Islamophobia in the Visegrád Four in its global context. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 52(5), 406–419.

Lemmen, S. (2013). Noncolonial Orientalism? Czech Travel Writing on Africa and Asia around1918. In J. Hodkinson, J. Walker, S. Mazumdar, & J. Feichtinger (Eds.), Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History. From Germany to Central and Eastern Europe (p. 20). Boydell & Brewer, Camden House.

Lisy-Wagner, L. (2013). *Islam, Christianity and the making of Czech identity,* 1453-1683. Farnham, Surrey, England: Burlington, VT : Ashgate.

Mareš, M. (2014). The Extreme Right's Relationship with Islam and Islamism in East-Central Europe: From Allies to Enemies. *East European Politics and Societies:* And Cultures, 28(1), 205–224.

Mareš, M. (Ed.). (2015). Ne islámu! protiislámská politika v České republice (1. vydání). Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury.

Mendel, M., Ostřanský, B., & Rataj, T. (2007). Islám v srdci Evropy: vlivy islámské civilizace na dějiny a současnost českých zemí (Vyd. 1). Praha: Academia.

Moreno, L. (2010). Fearing the Future: Islamophobia in Central Europe. The New Presence, (4), 73–80.

Musil, P. A. (2015). Czech Public Opinion on Turkey's 71 95 Accession to the EU: An Analysis through the Lenses of Sociological and Discursive Institutionalism. 26.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Naxera, V., & Krčál, P. (2018a). Populistická konstrukce národa ohroženého migrací: CAQDAS volebního diskurzu českých parlamentních voleb v roce 2017. Sociológia, 5.

Naxera, V., & Krčál, P. (2018b). "This is a Controlled Invasion": The Czech President Miloš Zeman's Populist Perception of Islam and Immigration as Security Threats. *Journal of Nationalism, Memory & Language Politics*, 12(2), 192–215.

Ostřanský, B. (Ed.). (2017). Islamofobie po česku: český odpor vůči islámu, jeho východiska, projevy, souvislosti, přesahy i paradoxy (Vydání první). Praha: Vyšehrad.

Prokůpková, V. (2019). Two Mobilization Waves of the Czech Anti-Islam Movement. Intersections, 4(4).

Rosulek, P. (2018). Islamophobia on Facebook: The Current "Migration Crisis" and the Songs of the Czech Singers Critical of Islam, Muslims and Refugees. *Connections - EEGA, Understanding and Explaining Islamophobia in Eastern Europe.* 

Sayyid, S. (2018). Islamophobia and the Europeanness of the other Europe. Patterns of Prejudice, 52(5), 420–435.

Slačálek, O. (2019). The Leadership of the Czech Far Right 1990-2017: Changes in Practical Ideology? Intersections, 4(4).

Slačálek, O., & Svobodová, E. (2018). The Czech Islamophobic movement: beyond 'populism'? *Patterns of Prejudice*, 52(5), 479–495.

Strapáčová, M., & Hloušek, V. (2018). Anti-Islamism without Moslems: Cognitive Frames of Czech Antimigrant Politics. *Journal of Nationalism, Memory & Language Politics*, *12*(1), 1–30.

Tamchynová, K. (2017). Securitizing Migration, Europeanizing Czechs? Central European Journal of International and Security Studies, 11(4), 26.

Topinka, D. (2016). Muslimové v Česku: etablování muslimů a islámu na veřejnosti (První vydání). Brno: Barrister & Principal.

Vogel, J. (2019). Attitudes and Activities of Czech Society, Churches and Religious Communities in Contemporary European Refugee Crisis.