Carlos Gómez del Tronco

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

FATIGUE programme

The mainstreaming of Islamophobia in Czech political discourse, 2010-2020:
strategies, ideologies and processes

Part I:
Introducing the problem

October 2017 Parliamentary Election

January 2018 Presidential Election

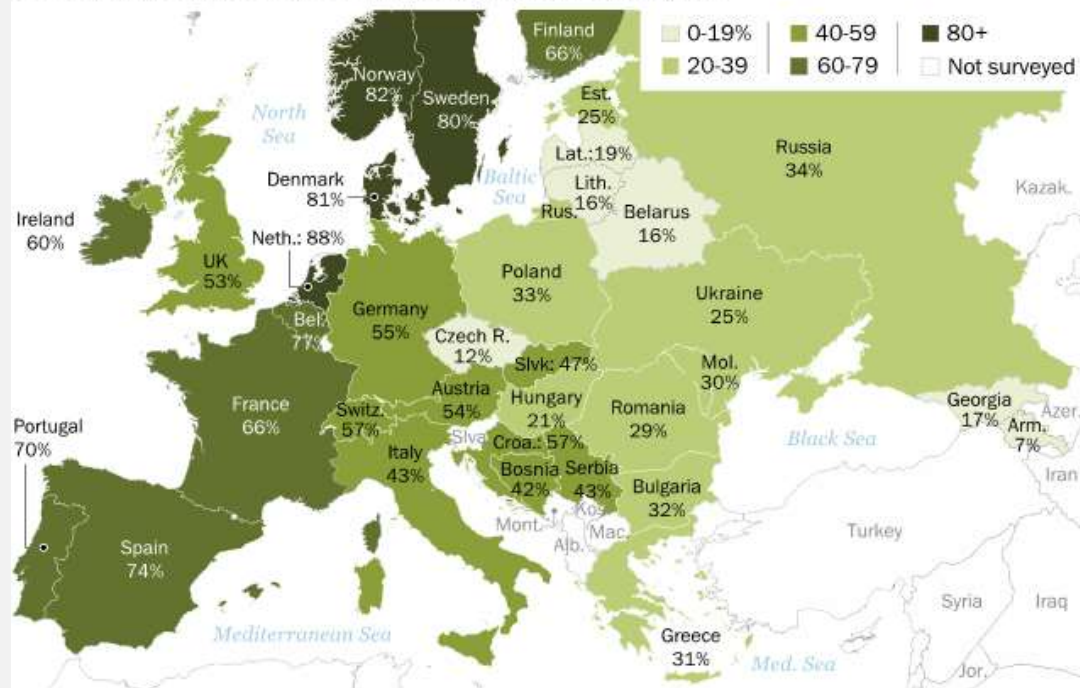*October 2018 Municipal elections*

*September 2014
ODS Congress*

Vast differences across Europe in public attitudes toward Muslims

% who say they would be willing to accept Muslims as members of their family

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

		A Christian person	An atheist person	A Jewish person	A Buddhist person	A Muslim person
	EU28	94%	87%	84%	81%	71%
	BE	92%	89%	82%	84%	69%
	BG	94%	78%	78%	67%	65%
	CZ	87%	78%	66%	51%	27%
	DK	96%	94%	95%	93%	84%
	DE	91%	84%	82%	78%	64%
	EE	91%	85%	78%	68%	50%
	IE	96%	92%	91%	92%	84%
	EL	88%	75%	70%	68%	67%
	ES	97%	94%	90%	90%	81%
	FR	96%	90%	92%	91%	80%
	HR	90%	75%	72%	69%	70%
	IT	94%	85%	82%	78%	61%
	CY	99%	69%	75%	72%	69%
	LV	93%	83%	84%	73%	60%
	LT	95%	77%	74%	62%	57%
	LU	94%	92%	92%	93%	83%
	HU	88%	79%	75%	68%	57%
	MT	91%	75%	74%	71%	62%
	NL	95%	93%	94%	92%	85%
	AT	90%	80%	77%	78%	62%
	PL	91%	82%	79%	77%	66%
	PT	93%	84%	80%	82%	76%
	RO	88%	68%	65%	64%	65%
	SI	89%	81%	78%	77%	74%
	SK	85%	73%	57%	51%	37%
	FI	84%	78%	77%	73%	67%
	SE	97%	96%	95%	95%	89%
	UK	94%	92%	93%	91%	86%

Highest percentage per country — *Lowest percentage per country*
Highest percentage per item — Lowest percentage per item

Special Eurobarometer 437 (2015) – Fieldwork 5-6.2015

Table 2. Comparison of support for Muslim migrants and for migrants from poorer non-European countries, percentages and ratios (2014/15)
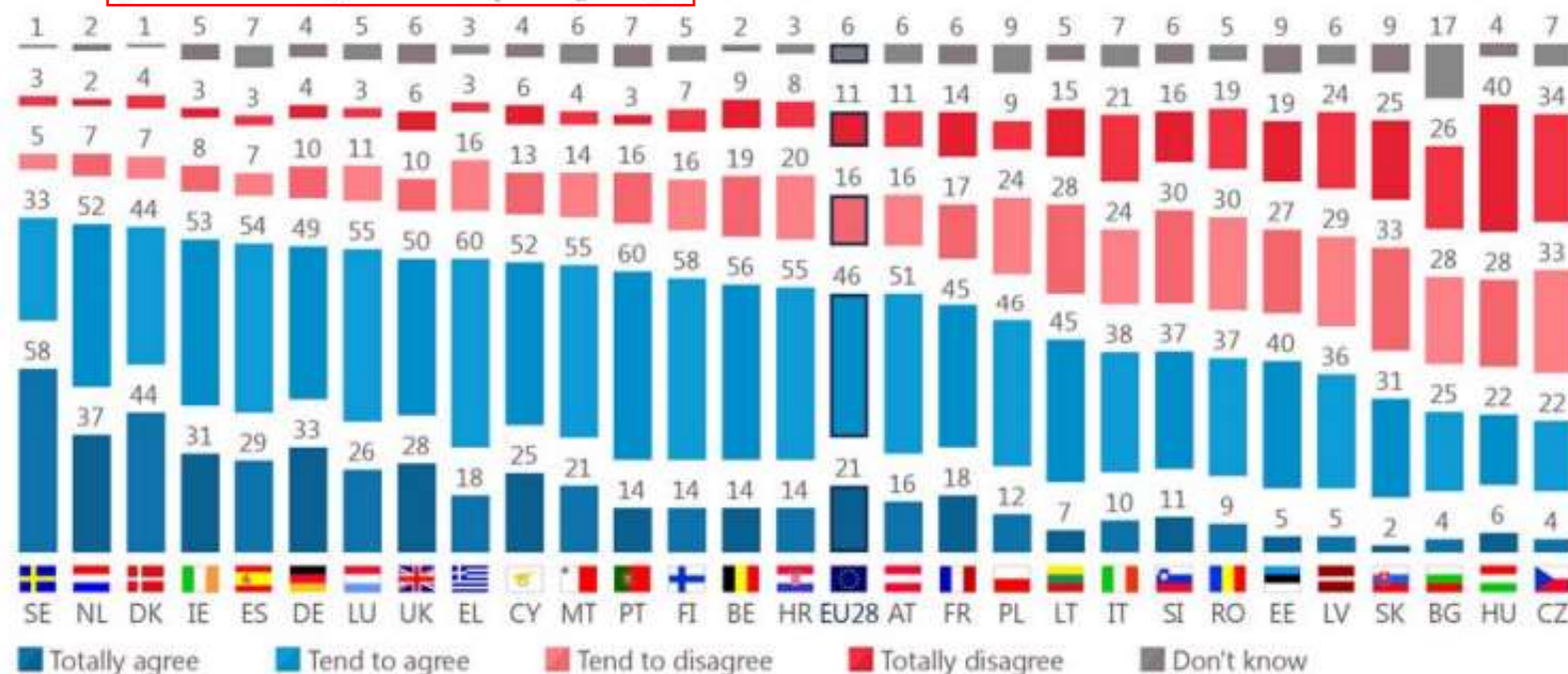
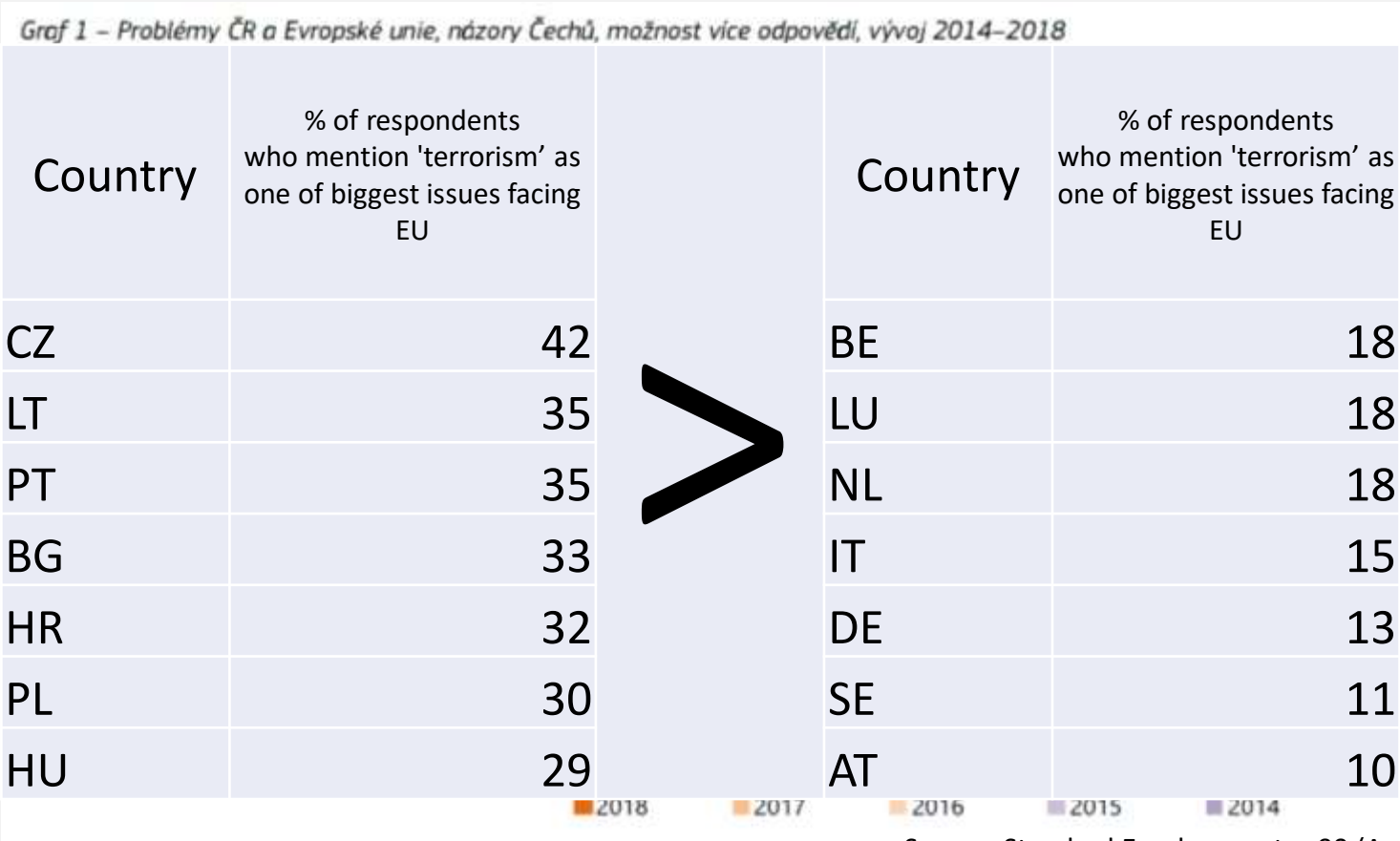|	Percentage willing to allow some or many from poorer non-European countries	Percentage willing to allow some or many Muslim migrants	Ratio of the percentages (Muslim migrants:migrants from poorer non-European countries)
UK	41%	53%	1.28
France	51%	63%	1.23
Denmark	44%	53%	1.20
Germany	66%	70%	1.07
Finland	35%	36%	1.04
Slovenia	49%	51%	1.04
Netherlands	52%	53%	1.01
Belgium	51%	51%	1.00
Austria	42%	42%	1.00
Ireland	42%	42%	1.00
Switzerland	54%	53%	0.98
Norway	67%	65%	0.96
Average	**45%**	**43%**	**0.95**
Sweden	86%	79%	0.92
Estonia	30%	27%	0.90
Hungary	12%	10%	0.83
Spain	49%	39%	0.79
Lithuania	37%	28%	0.76
Portugal	46%	35%	0.76
Poland	50%	30%	0.61
Czech Republic	27%	14%	0.53
Israel	24%	12%	0.49

Note: Muslim respondents are excluded from this analysis.
Source: European Social Survey Round 7, 2014/15 ((all countries participating in Round 7 including Denmark which did not participate in Round 8)

Heath and Richards (2019) – CZ Fieldwork 24.11.14-09.02.15

Attitudes towards Muslims and "refugees"

QD9.4 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

(OUR COUNTRY) should help refugees (%)

Legend: Totally agree | Tend to agree | Tend to disagree | Totally disagree | Don't know

Countries: SE, NL, DK, IE, ES, DE, LU, UK, EL, CY, MT, PT, FI, BE, HR, EU28, AT, FR, PL, LT, IT, SI, RO, EE, LV, SK, BG, HU, CZ

Source: Standard Eurobarometer 89 (Spring 2018)

Graf 1 – Problémy ČR a Evropské unie, názory Čechů, možnost více odpovědí, vývoj 2014–2018

Country	% of respondents who mention 'terrorism' as one of biggest issues facing EU		Country	% of respondents who mention 'terrorism' as one of biggest issues facing EU
CZ	42		BE	18
LT	35	**>**	LU	18
PT	35		NL	18
BG	33		IT	15
HR	32		DE	13
PL	30		SE	11
HU	29		AT	10

■ 2018 ■ 2017 ■ 2016 ■ 2015 ■ 2014

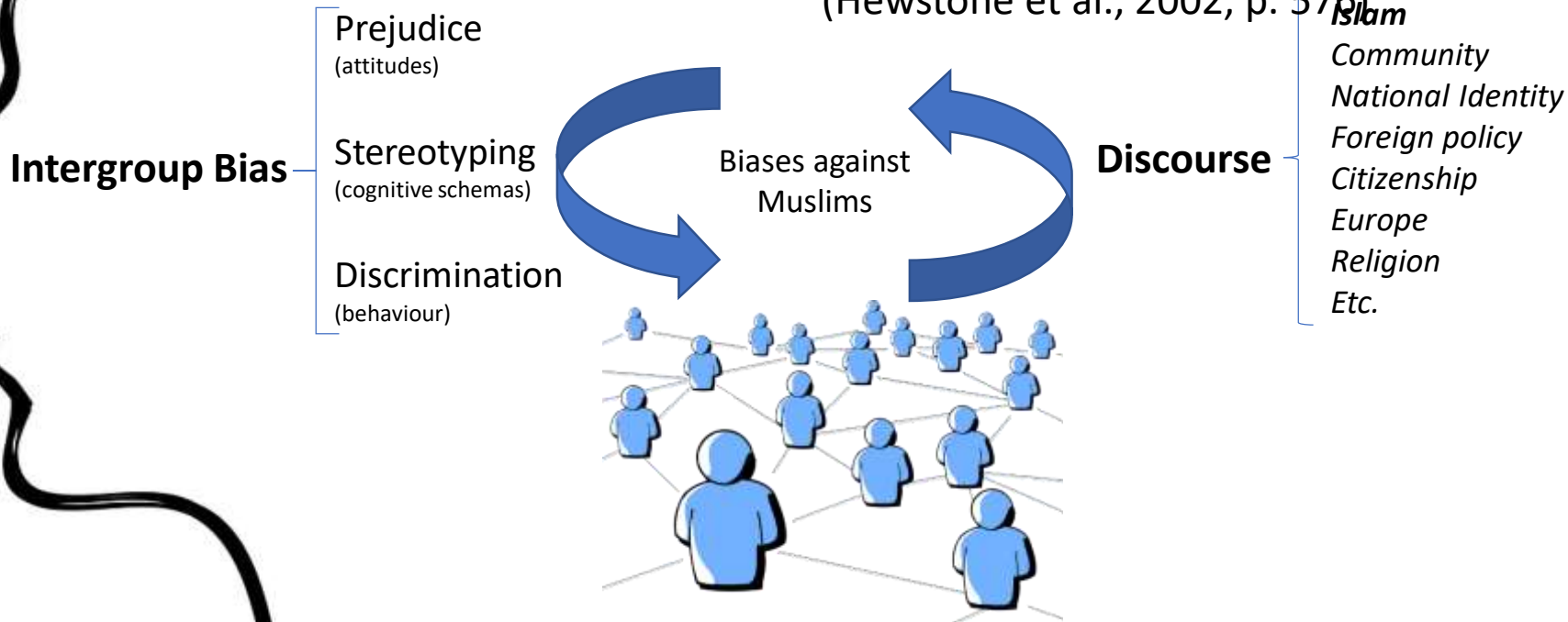Source: Standard Eurobarometer 90 (Autumn 2018)

Part II:
Thinking Islamophobia

"the systematic tendency to evaluate one's own membership group (the in-group) or its members more favorably than a nonmembership group (the out-group) or its members"
(Hewstone et al., 2002, p. 576)

Intergroup Bias

Prejudice
(attitudes)

Stereotyping
(cognitive schemas)

Discrimination
(behaviour)

Biases against Muslims

Discourse

Meanings about:
Islam
Community
National Identity
Foreign policy
Citizenship
Europe
Religion
Etc.

Attitudes

Discrimination

Ideology/meanings

Islamophobia
as a research object

Distinctions	Closed views of Islam	Open views of Islam
1. Monolithic/diverse	Islam seen as a single monolithic bloc, static and unresponsive to new realities.	Islam seen as diverse and progressive, with internal differences, debates and development.
2. Separate/interacting	Islam seen as separate and other – (a) not having any aims or values in common with other cultures; (b) not affected by them; and (c) not influencing them.	Islam seen as interdependent with other faiths and cultures – (a) having certain shared values and aims; (b) affected by them; and (c) enriching them.
3. Inferior/different	Islam seen as inferior to the West – barbaric, irrational, primitive, sexist.	Islam seen as distinctively different, but not deficient, and as equally worthy of respect.
4. Enemy/partner	Islam seen as violent, aggressive, threatening, supportive of terrorism, engaged in 'a clash of civilisations'.	Islam seen as an actual or potential partner in joint cooperative enterprises and in the solution of shared problems.
5. Manipulative/sincere	Islam seen as a political ideology, used for political or military advantage.	Islam seen as a genuine religious faith, practised sincerely by its adherents.
6. Criticism of West rejected/considered	Criticisms made by Islam of 'the West' rejected out of hand.	Criticisms of 'the West' and other cultures are considered and debated.
7. Discrimination defended/criticised	Hostility towards Islam used to justify discriminatory practices towards Muslims and exclusion of Muslims from mainstream society.	Debates and disagreements with Islam do not diminish efforts to combat discrimination and exclusion.
8. Islamophobia seen as natural/problematic	Anti-Muslim hostility accepted as natural and 'normal'.	Critical views of Islam are themselves subjected to critique, lest they be inaccurate and unfair.

Source : Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia (1997) *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All,* Runnymede Trust. Reprinted with permission.

1) A **set of ideas** [ideology] in which the human race is divisible into distinct 'races', each with specific natural characteristics derived from culture, physical appearance or both.

2) A **power relationship** in which, over time, groups are racialized, that is, treated as if specific characteristics were natural and innate to each member of the group.

3) **Forms of discrimination** flowing from this [practices] ranging on spectrums from denial of access to material resources at one end to genocide at the other.

(Garner & Selod, 2015)

Is there a 'Muslim' race?

What if we 'hate' just Islam?

Muslimský politik pomohl sehnat peníze na léčbu pro muže, který mu zasílal rasistické zprávy. Dnes jsou přáteli

Part III:
Islamophobia in Czechia

Statue to the founders of the Trinitarian Order, Prague

Schwarzenbergs' coat of arms

Alois Musil

Minaret in the gardens of the Palace of Lednice

1989-2000

Islamophobia from non-state actors (extreme right)

Pro-Israeli turn

FIRST WAVE (2001-2009)

Specialised websites

Debates on multiculturalism and frames of war on terror

Public opinion against Turkish accession

SECOND WAVE (2010-2014)

Anti-Islamic CSOs and protest

Scandals (veil, raid, UMO)

Mediatisation and politicisation

UCL

"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)"
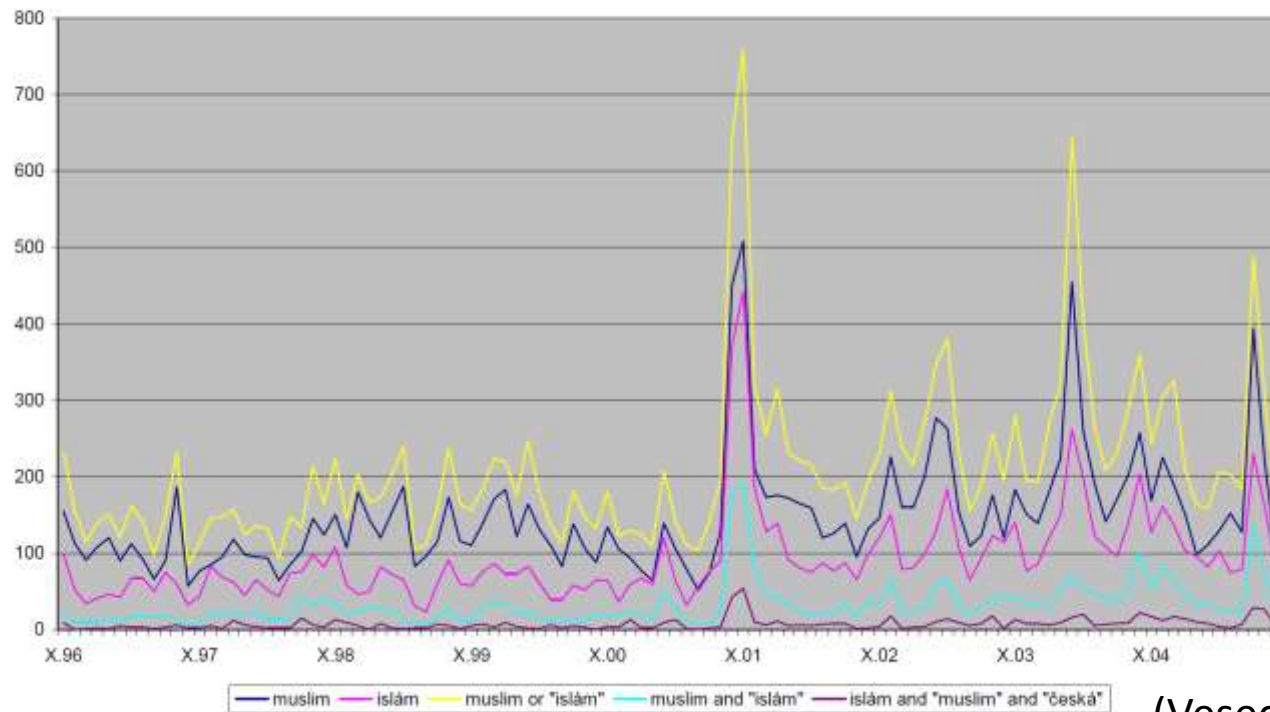
(Mareš, 2014, p. 220)

June 2014

January 2015

November 2015

NYE 2015-6

UCL

- Most coverage about Islam in <u>traditional media</u> tends to focus on **foreign issues** and **conflicts** (Křížková, 2006; Korečková & Lužný in Topinka, 2016); emphases the '**pathological**' aspects (Vesecký, 2006, Čermáková, Janků, Kliment & Linhartová in Topinka, 2016, p. 105), **securitisation frames** (Tamchynová, 2017), **crime** (Prokop, 2019) → *issues of agenda setting + economic model (+ ideology)*

- **Lack** of **national expertise** on Islam, and journalistic **ethics** and **rigour** (Ostřanský, 2017, pp. 17–22) → confussion (e.g. terms, numbers)

- Key role of **social media** [contents + hate speech] (Hanzelka & Schmidt, 2017) and **popular figures** (Rosůlek, 2018)

Graf 1A: četnosti článků v českém tisku podle klíčových slov

(Vesecký, 2006)

- 2010-13: perceptions of coruption lead to → party **volatility** and **populist** party firm successes; **Zeman** erodes public debate.

- 2014/5 - **charismatic** leaders revive Czech **far-right** (Slačálek, 2019) with an issue they own → mainstreaming (Hesová, 2016) + interpreting statistics (Prokop, 2019)

- In the **past**, mainstream [conservative] parties **lenient with discriminatory** and civilisationalist **Islamophobic discourses** (esp. since 2010)
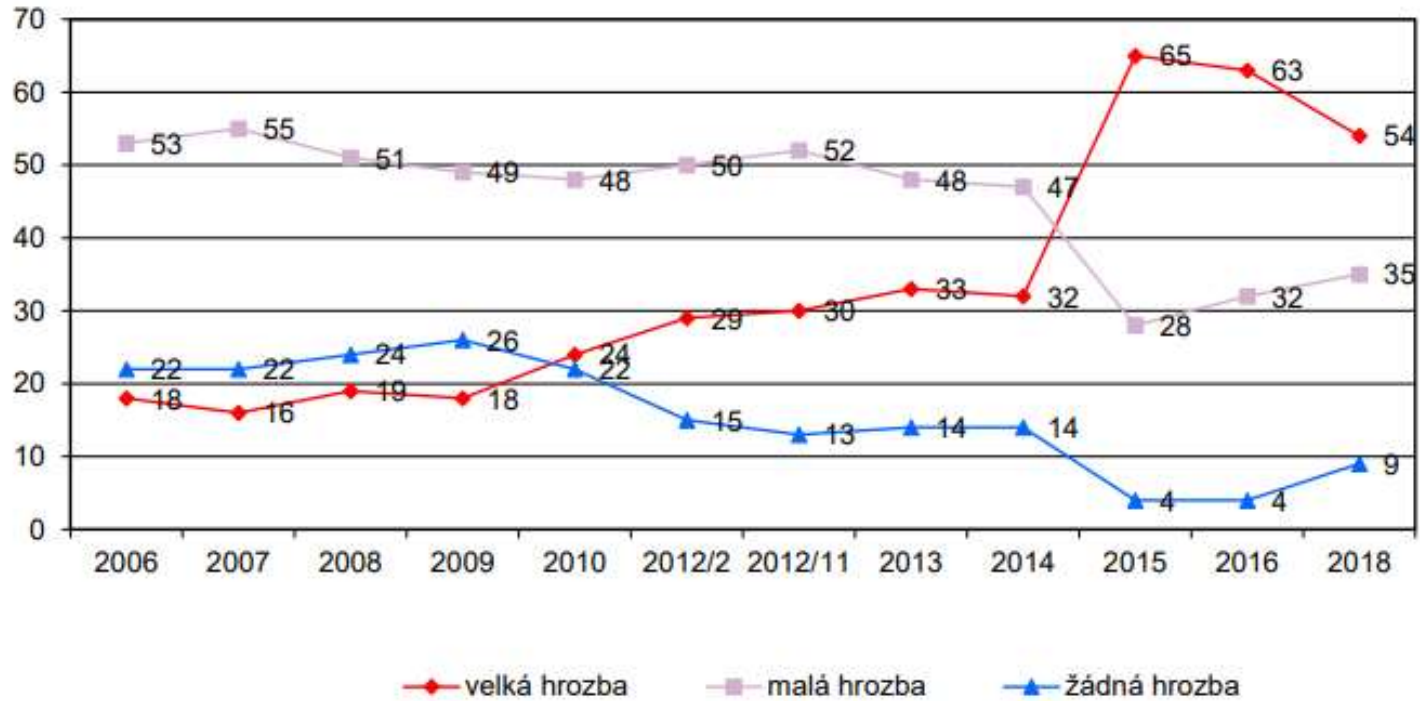

Anti-Islam protest in Prague (January 2015)
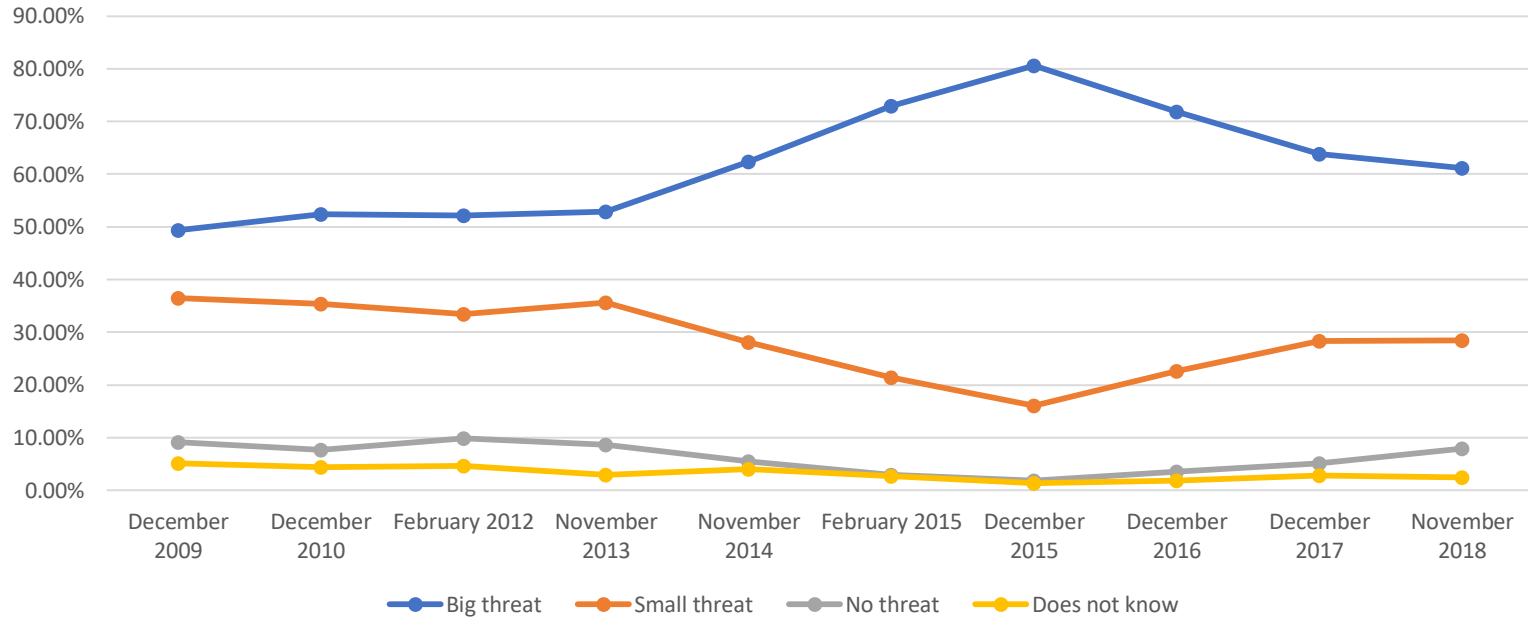
UCL

2015 changes

Islamic fundamentalism as big foreign threat for CR - **56**% (3.2011) to **85**% (9. 2015) [STEM]

Spikes on perceived 'threat to Czechia's security' of: **terrorist** groups/individuals, **wars**, **refugees**.

Graf 3c: Reálnost hrozby pro ČR – uprchlíci (v %)

velká hrozba · · · malá hrozba · · · žádná hrozba

CVVM

Threat of Terrorist groups and individuals to Czech security

CVVM

Threat of Wars to Czech security

Date	Big threat	Small threat	No threat	Does not know

CVVM

2015 changes

Islamic fundamentalism as big foreign threat for CR - **56**% (3.2011) to **85**% (9. 2015) [STEM]

Spikes on perceived 'threat to Czechia's security' of: **terrorist** groups/individuals, **wars**, **refugees**.
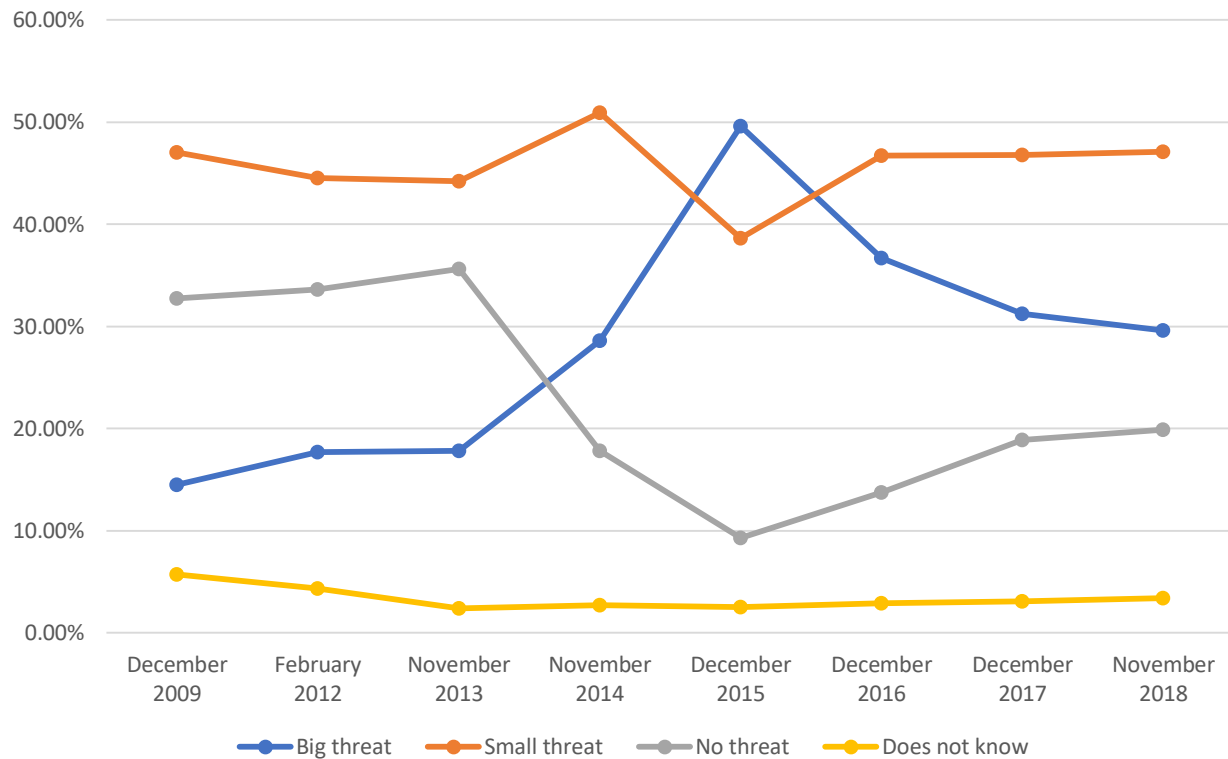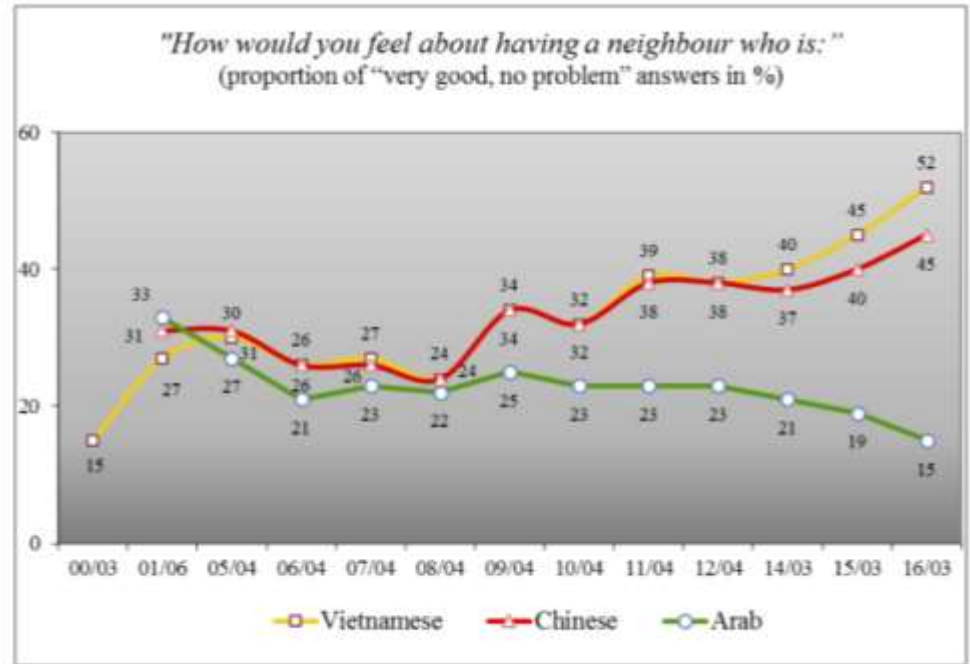
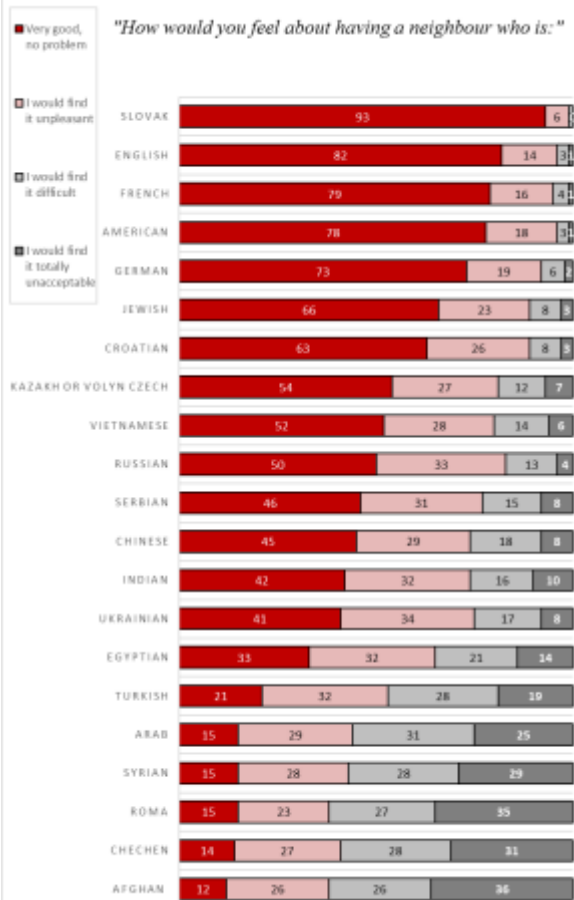### Ethnic & racial groups

Arabs and other **Muslim ethnic groups** disliked for a long time

Not all **Muslims**

"How would you feel about having a neighbour who is:"
(proportion of "very good, no problem" answers in %)

Source: STEM, Trends 2000-2016

"How would you feel about having a neighbour who is: "

Legend:
- Very good, no problem
- I would find it unpleasant
- I would find it difficult
- I would find it totally unacceptable

	Very good	Unpleasant	Difficult	Unacceptable
SLOVAK	93	6		
ENGLISH	82	14	3	1
FRENCH	79	16	4	1
AMERICAN	78	18	3	
GERMAN	73	19	6	
JEWISH	66	23	8	3
CROATIAN	63	26	8	3
KAZAKH OR VOLYN CZECH	54	27	12	7
VIETNAMESE	52	28	14	6
RUSSIAN	50	33	13	4
SERBIAN	46	31	15	8
CHINESE	45	29	18	8
INDIAN	42	32	16	10
UKRAINIAN	41	34	17	8
EGYPTIAN	33	32	21	14
TURKISH	21	32	28	19
ARAB	15	29	31	25
SYRIAN	15	28	28	29
ROMA	15	23	27	35
CHECHEN	14	27	28	31
AFGHAN	12	26	26	36

STEM, Trends 3/2016,

Part IV:
Research Design

Discourse-Historical Approach

1. What **argumentative strategies** do Czech politicians employ to legitimise/delegitimise discrimination against Muslims?

2. **Why** do Czech politicians use **Islamophobic** political **discourse**?

Thematic Analysis of in-depth Interviews

1. Why do Czechs and Muslims living in Czechia believe that a **negative discourse about Muslims became so widespread** across Czech society (particularly since 2015)?

2. Why do Czechs and Muslims living in Czechia think that **Muslims can/cannot successfully become a part of Czech society** or their own **local communities**?

3. Analysing their accounts, how do the respondents (and interviewer) implicitly or explicitly **conceptualise/categorise** 'Muslims' and 'Czechs'?

4. How has the 2015 change in discourse (if any) about Muslims **affected the lives and identities of Muslim** interviewees who have been living in Czechia since before 2015?

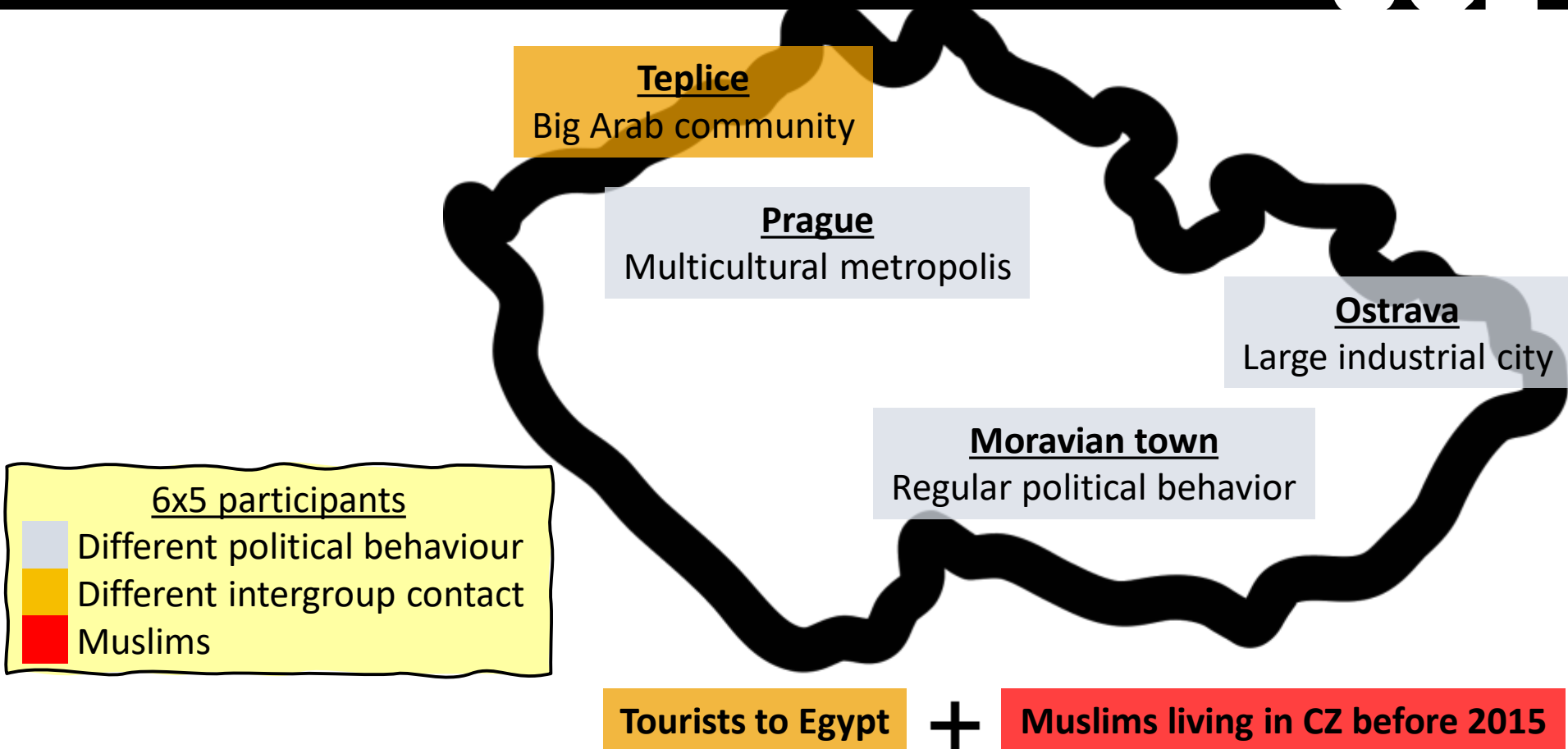# Discourse-Historical Approach

Principles of DHA:

Discourse embedded into **context** (internal, intertextual, social/institutional frames, broader-socio political context)

Four-step **analysis** (genre, themes, strategies and critique)

Three-step **critique** (in-text, socio-diagnostic, socio-prognostic)

Topic	1) Integration/ multiculturalism	2) Events from the Muslim-majority world	3) Terrorism	4) Refugee/ irregular migration flows/ management	5) Synthesis
Case	2010-11 Opposition to construction of Hradec Králové mosque	12/2010 – 08/2011 Reaction to Arab Springs	01/2015 Reaction to Charlie Hebdo attacks	05-09/2015 Conversation around 'refugee quotas'	9-10/2017 Czech General election campaign

Teplice
Big Arab community

Prague
Multicultural metropolis

Ostrava
Large industrial city

Moravian town
Regular political behavior

6x5 participants
Different political behaviour
Different intergroup contact
Muslims

Tourists to Egypt + **Muslims living in CZ before 2015**

Carlos Gómez del Tronco

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

Questions | Comments

c.deltronco@ucl.ac.uk

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