Co-funded by the
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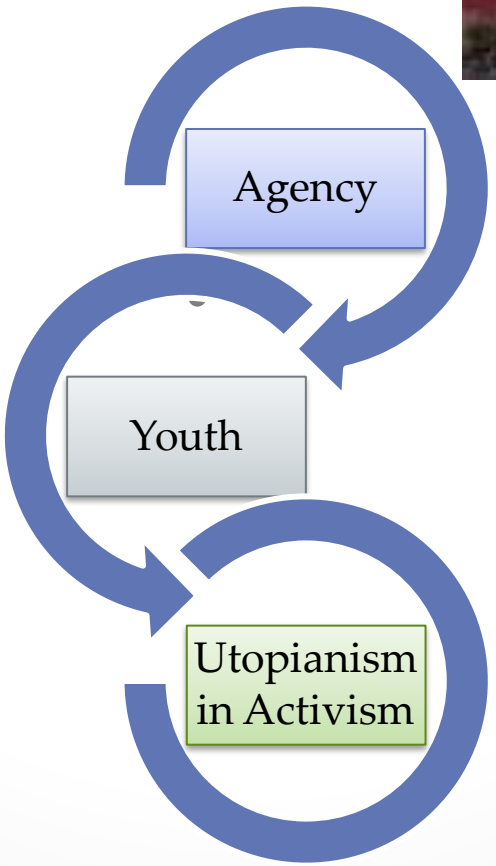
Tackling the Impact of Hate Speech on our Lives and Society: a Comprehensive Approach towards Prevention of Hate Involving Policy Makers and Young People
Cluj-Napoca, 25.06.22

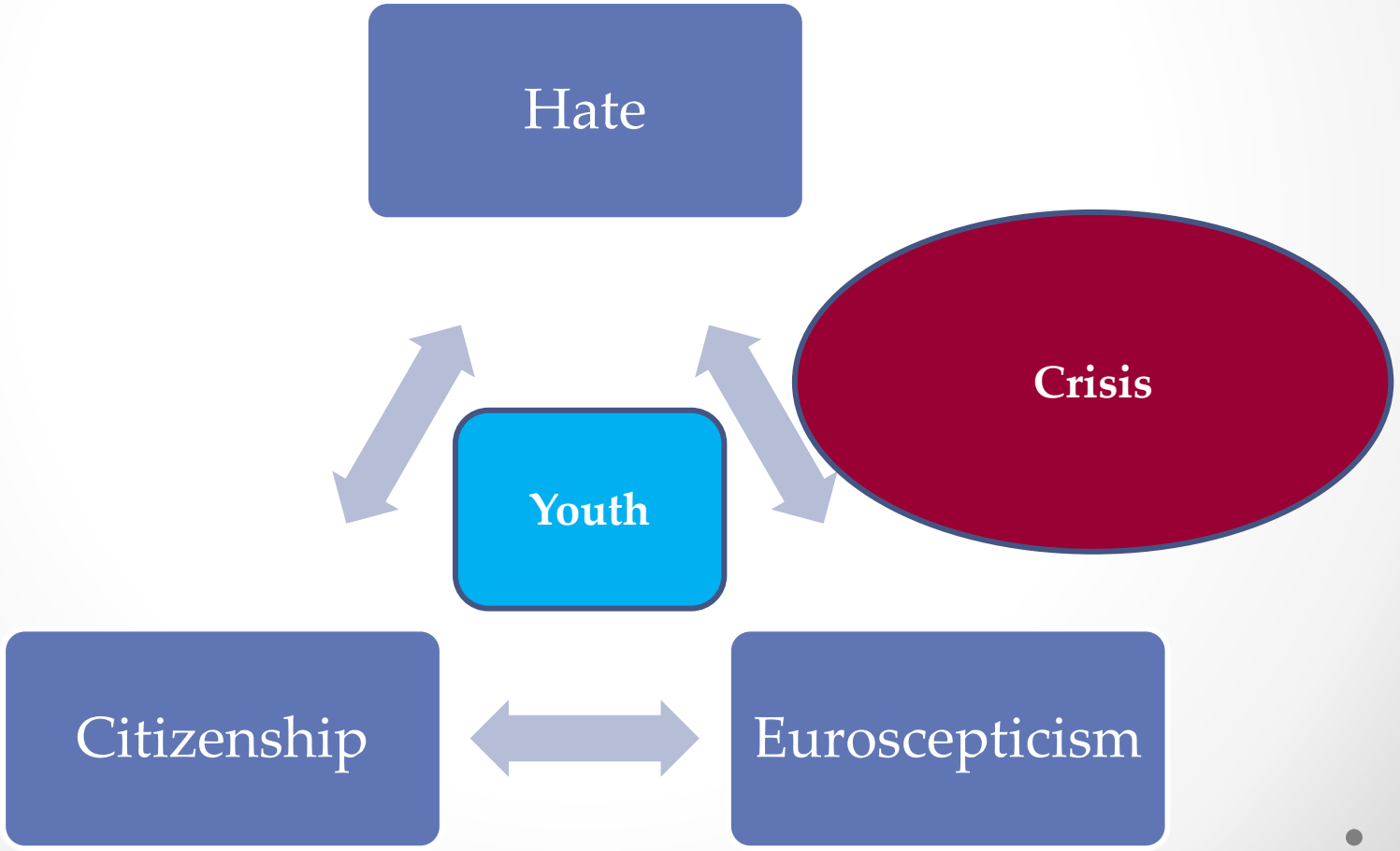
Hate, Euroscepticism, Citizenship: the Youth Connection

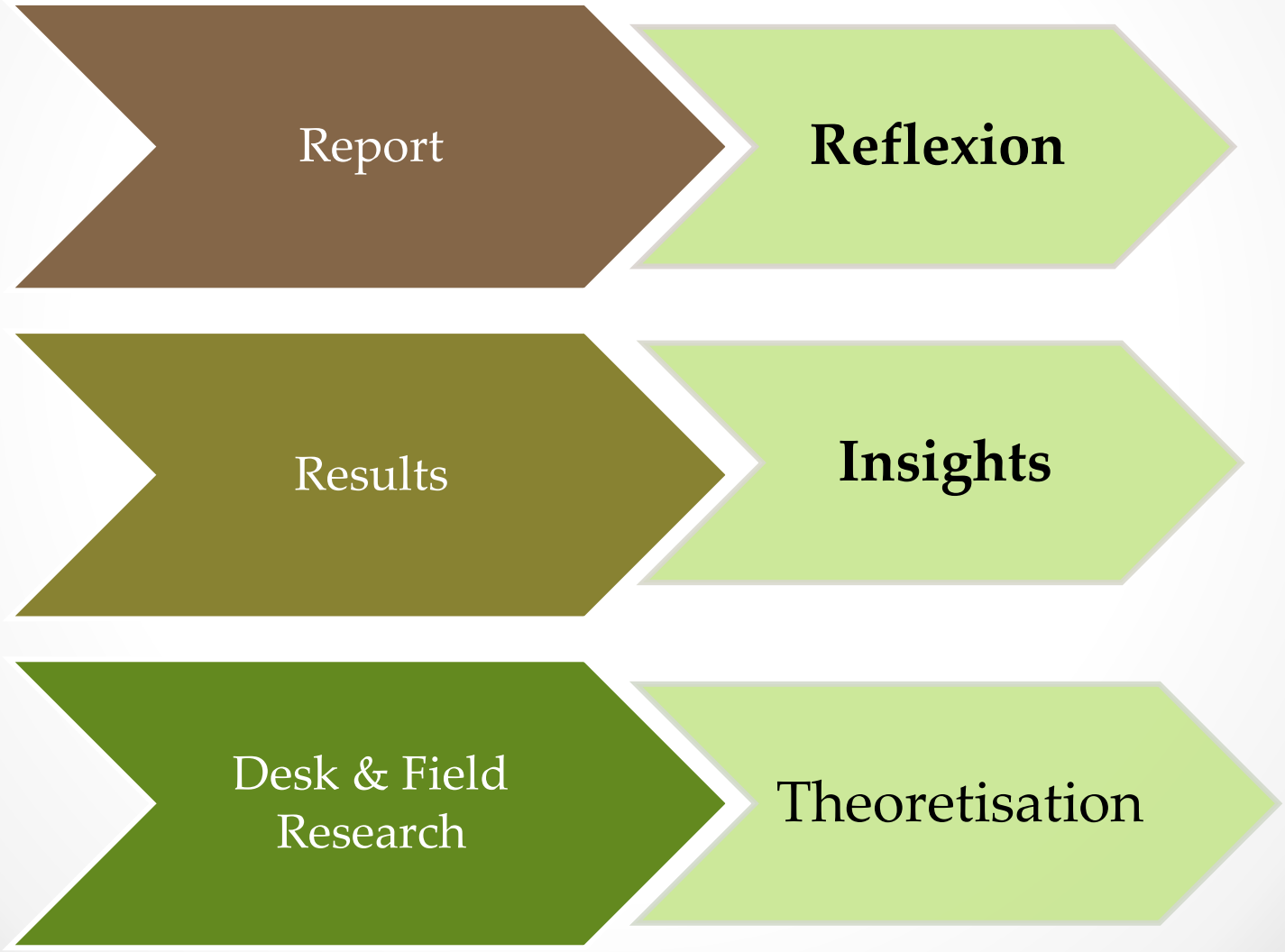
Anna Krasteva

‘I feel I can change the world’



Conceptual cluster




Report
Reflexion
Results
Insights
Desk & Field Research
Theoretisation

Social Sciences vs Social Change

Hate

Countering

Reifing?

N.B. Roma – promoters of anti-Roma hate speech

'?'

Euroscepticism

Not to reify

Eurooptmism

Europragmatism

Citizenship

Reify/boost

Concept

Practice (activism)

Politics vs Policies

Politics

- Hate
- Euroscepticism
- Civic activism

Policies

- Anti-Hate
- Anti-discrimination

Concepts

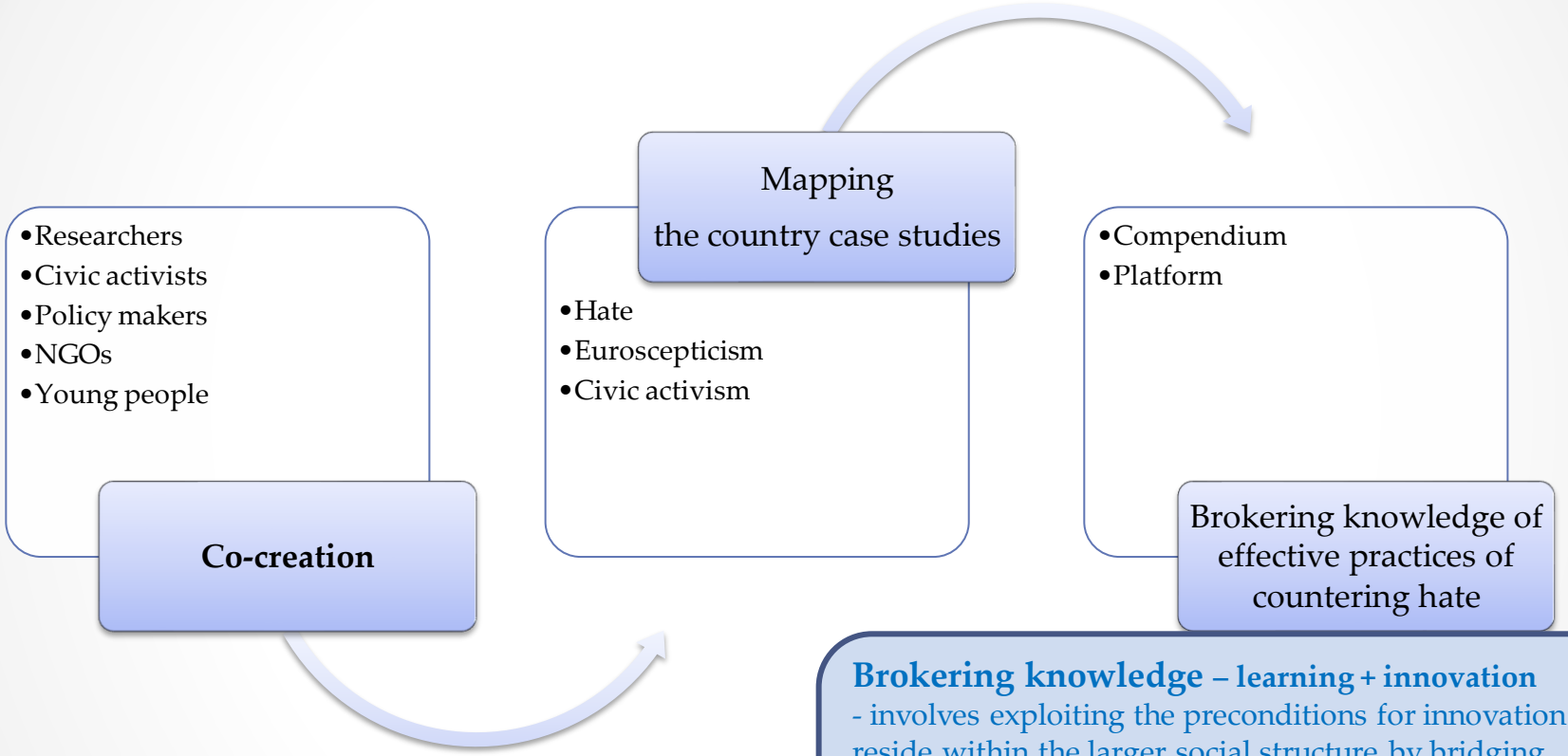
different types

Hate	Euroscepticism	Citizenship
Legal definition	Academic definitions	Academic
EU & national standards	'moving target concept' (Nicholas Startin)	New meaning of an old concept

Methodology

• • •

Concept & Expected Impact



Brokering knowledge – learning + innovation
- involves exploiting the preconditions for innovation that reside within the larger social structure by bridging multiple domains, learning about the resources within those domains, linking that knowledge to new situations, and finally building new networks around the innovations that emerge from the process. (Andrew B. Hargadon)

Enhance synergies & cooperation among partners for mapping effective practices of civic activism countering hate

Communicative dialogical approach

Gómez, A., Puigvert, L., & Flecha, R. (Eds.). (2011). Critical Communicative Methodology: Informing Real Social Transformation Through Research[Special Issue]. *Qualitative Inquiry, 17*(3).

Aim	• Informing real social transformation through research
Action research +	• Social reality has been constructed in communicative ways through social interaction.
Dialogical relation among the researcher and social actors	• *Researcher* – contributing to the academic knowledge • *Social actors* - interpretations from the common sense of their *lifeworlds*

Hate

Hate
European Union

- "(a) publicly inciting to violence or hatred directed against a group of persons or a member of such a group defined by reference to race, colour, religion, descent or national or ethnic origin;
- (b) the commission of an act referred to in point (a) by public dissemination or distribution of tracts, pictures or other material;
- (c) publicly condoning, denying or grossly trivialising crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes as defined in Articles 6, 7 and 8 of the Statute of the International Criminal Court, directed against a group of persons or a member of such a group defined by reference to race, colour, religion, descent or national or ethnic origin when the conduct is carried out in a manner likely to incite to violence or hatred against such a group or a member of such a group;
- (d) publicly condoning, denying or grossly trivialising the crimes defined in Article 6 of the Charter of the International Military Tribunal appended to the London Agreement of 8 August 1945, directed against a group of persons or a member of such a group defined by reference to race, colour, religion, descent or national or ethnic origin when the conduct is carried out in a manner likely to incite to violence or hatred against such a group or a member of such a group."

Vs

Romania & Estonia criticised for too narrow definitions of hate speech & crime

Spiral of Hate

- ‘Hunting’ refugees

- Vigilante
- ‘arresting’ refugees

New ‘genre’

From refugees to Roma

From foreigners to neighbours

- Fight for interpretations

Who	• Actors
Why	• Reasons
Whom	• Targets
Where	Public space/s

Targets

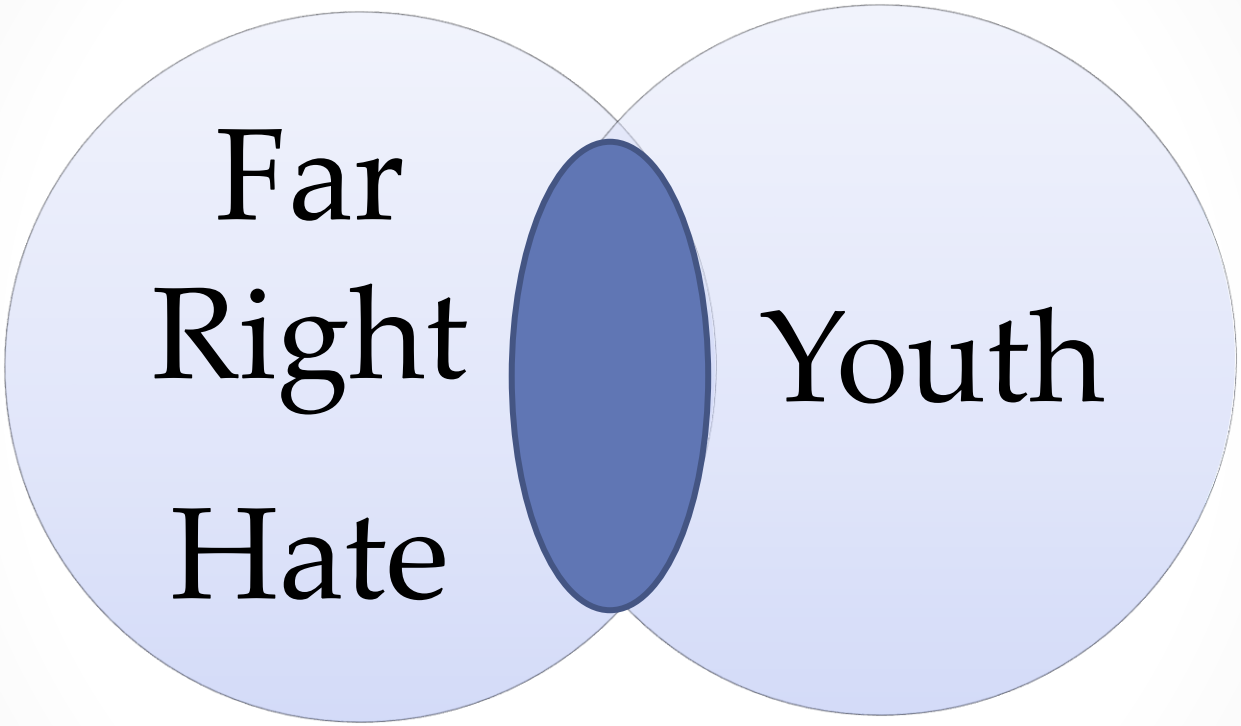
- Roma
- LGBTQI+
- Russians
- Turks
- Muslim
- Immigrants/Refugees/Asylum seekers
- Serbs
- Hungarians
- Jews

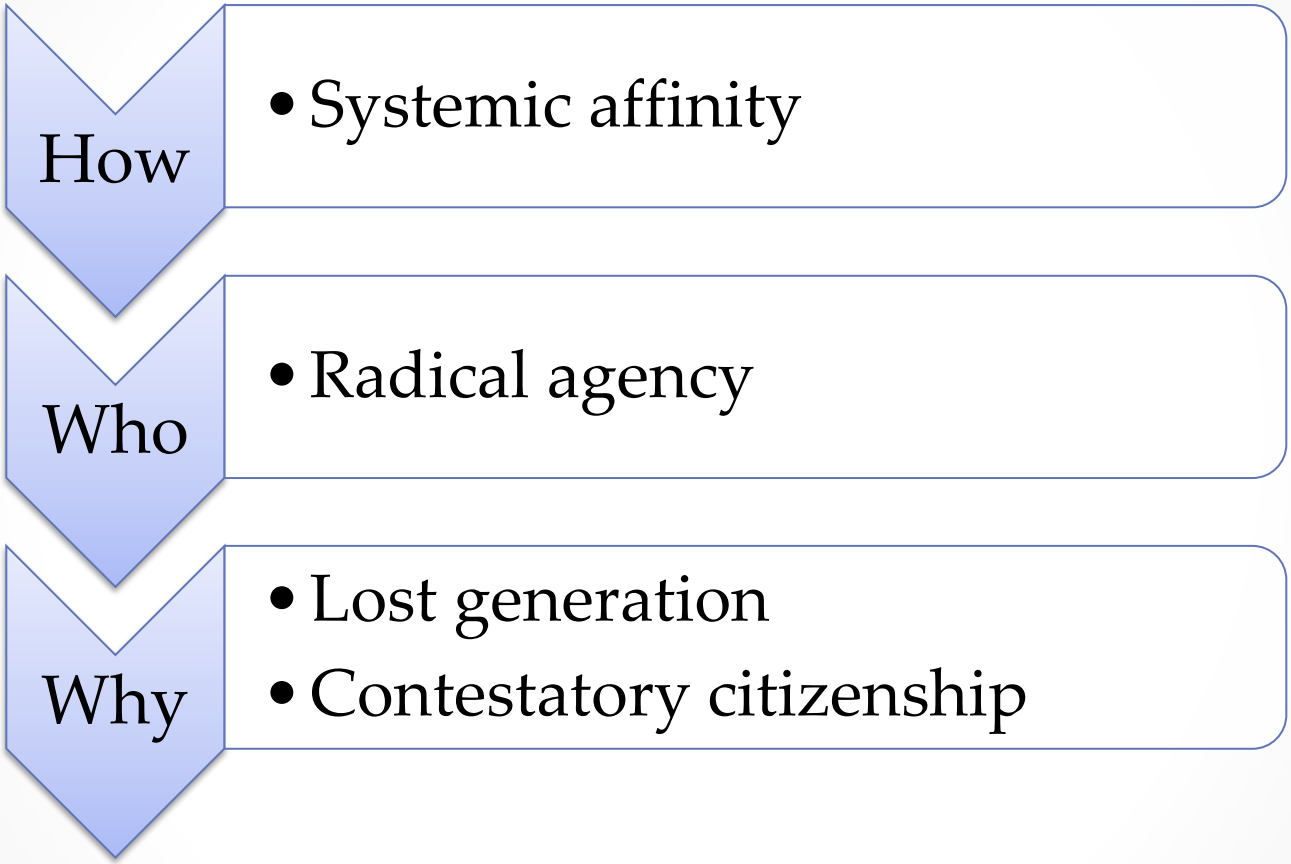
There are no Jews
but there is anti-Semitism

Nous n’avons pas besoin de votre politique de la jeunesse,

la jeunesse est notre politique.

Les Identitaires


Far
Right
Hate
Youth


How
• Systemic affinity
Who
• Radical agency
Why
• Lost generation
• Contestatory citizenship

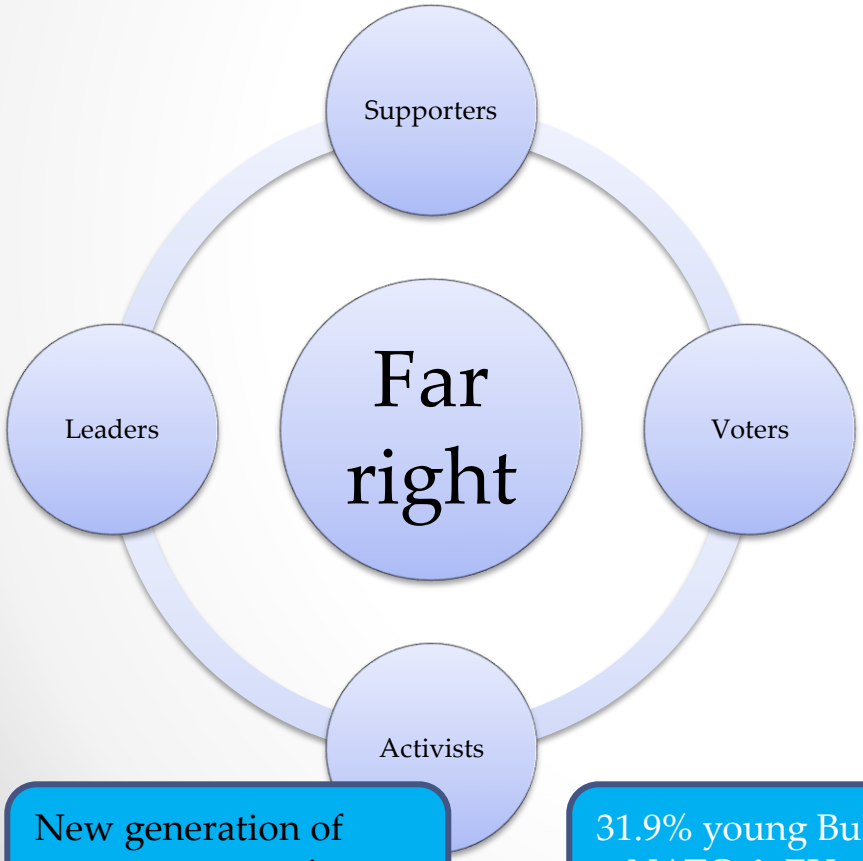
How

• • •

Systemic affinities

The youth connection

Youth –
both favorite target
and privileged agent



24% of Jobbik supporters – too young to vote

Extremism

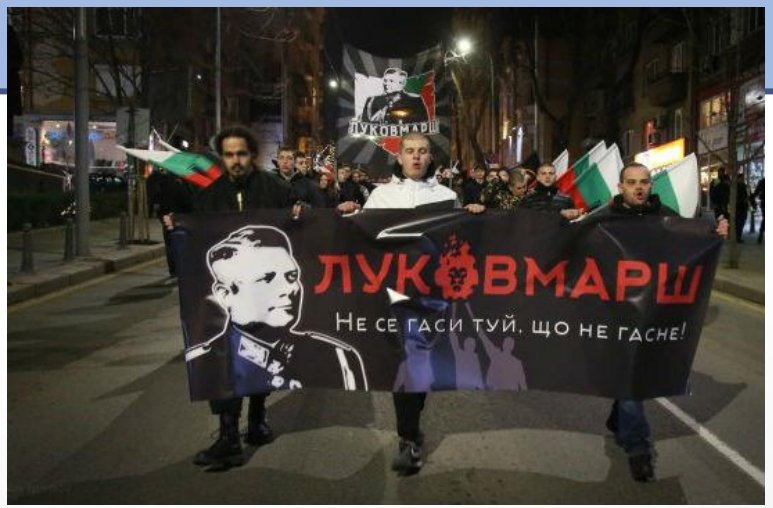
Citizenship

New generation of young conservative politicians in Romania

31.9% young Bulgarians - NATO & EU seriously undermine Bg nat interest

Political identity

We are, first of all, a youth organisation
and, second, a nationalist organisation
Leader of the Bulgarian National Union



Who

Re/De/Constructing the Radical Agency of Hate

From outside

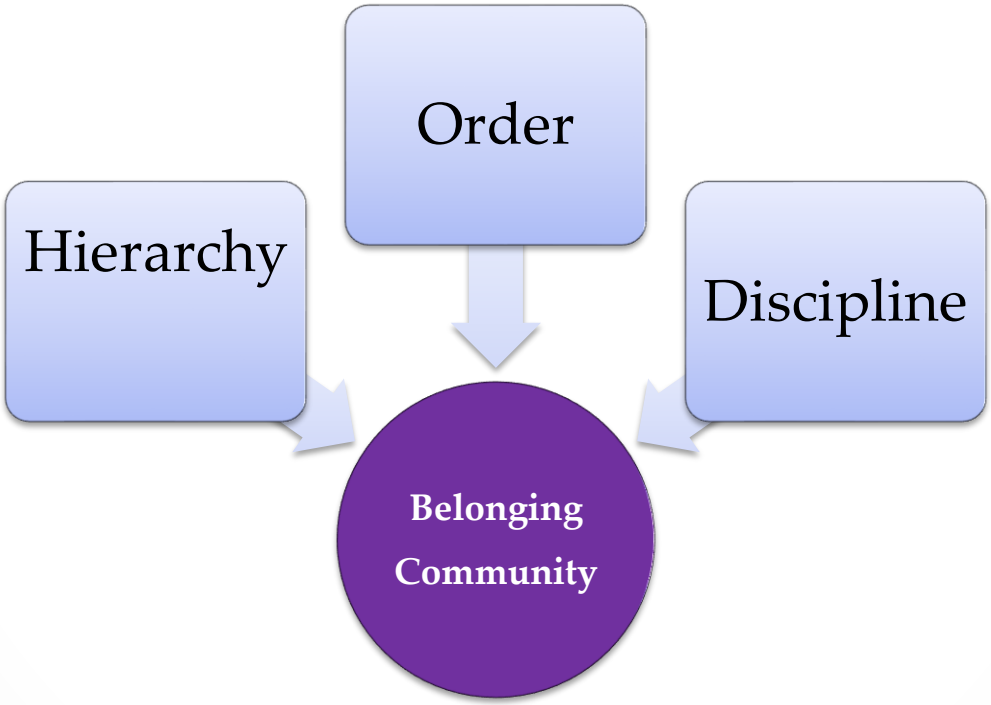
- The more formally structured the organization, the less attractive it is to young people. It applies to all youths, not just to those of the extreme right
  - ***Mudde*** *2014: 3*

From inside

- What I like very much is that there is a clear order and discipline.

  17 year old activist of BNU
- We are guided by the unity-of-command principle … no voting … Decisions are made by the person responsible…
  - *Leader of the BNU*

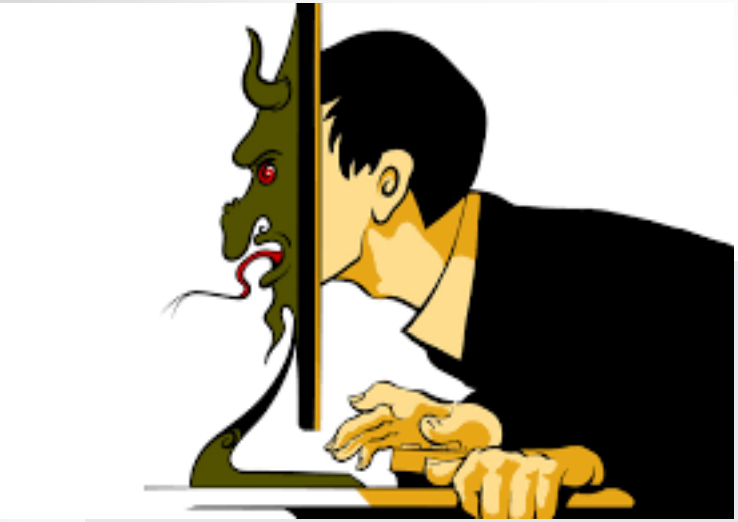
Why so much logging for order and discipline?



There is a place for everybody and everybody should stay in his place

Body politics vs party politics

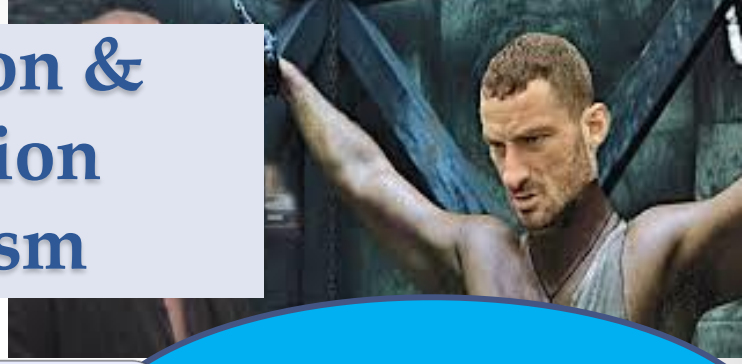
- Body – affective and effective
- Structures and hierarchises the agency
- Organic understanding of politics



Public Space of Hate

Streets
Schools
Public transport
Media
Internet

Mediatisation & aesthetisation of extremism



If the vigilante & skinheads did not exist, media would have created them

Media and extremism – (un)happy marriage

Extremist activists –

Images & imaginaries of bad guys

Average extremists into heroes

Media heroes into images & imaginaries of bad guys

Aesthetization and glorification

New followers

Performativity

Violence:

- refugees
- Roma
- women

Digitalisation of hate and tweeterisation of extremism

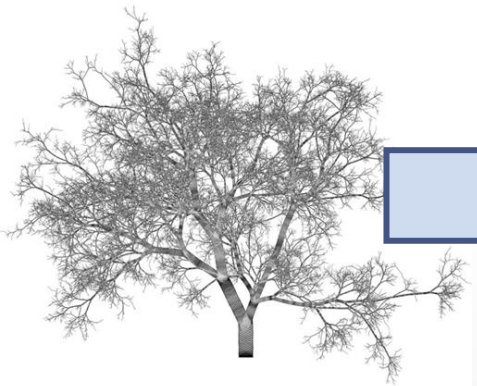
- Hacker spirit and youth extremism
- Empowerment through crowdsourcing and cloud mobilisation
- From arborescent to rhizomatic networking

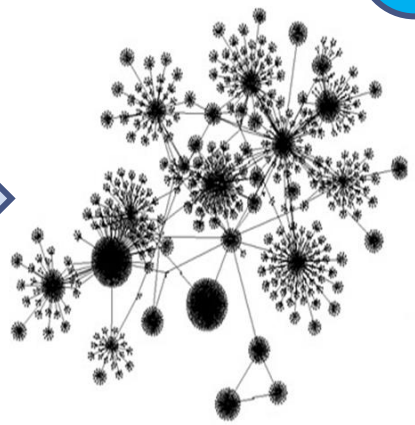
Power o f Digital Hate

-extremist party (Revival) – 207.853 followers

-liberal reformist party (We continue the change **)** – 73,548

Internet
- the favourable public space of hate

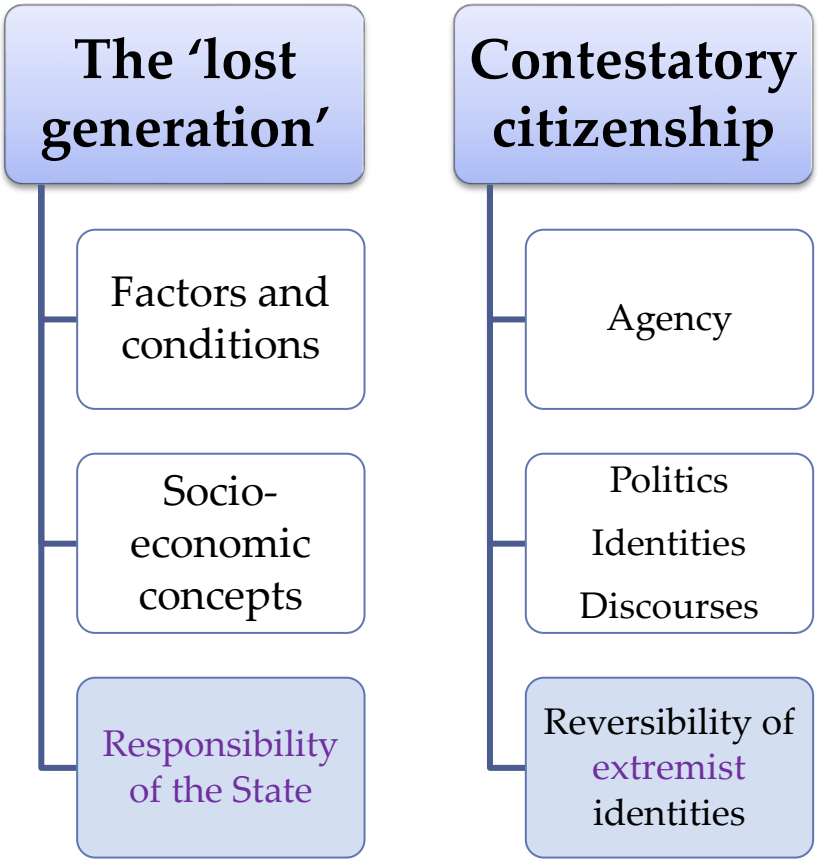




Why

• • •

Two models


The 'lost generation'
Factors and conditions
Socio-economic concepts
Responsibility of the State
Contestatory citizenship
Agency
Politics
Identities
Discourses
Reversibility of extremist identities

If the crisis did not exist,
it would have been invented by populist leaders.

Sartre

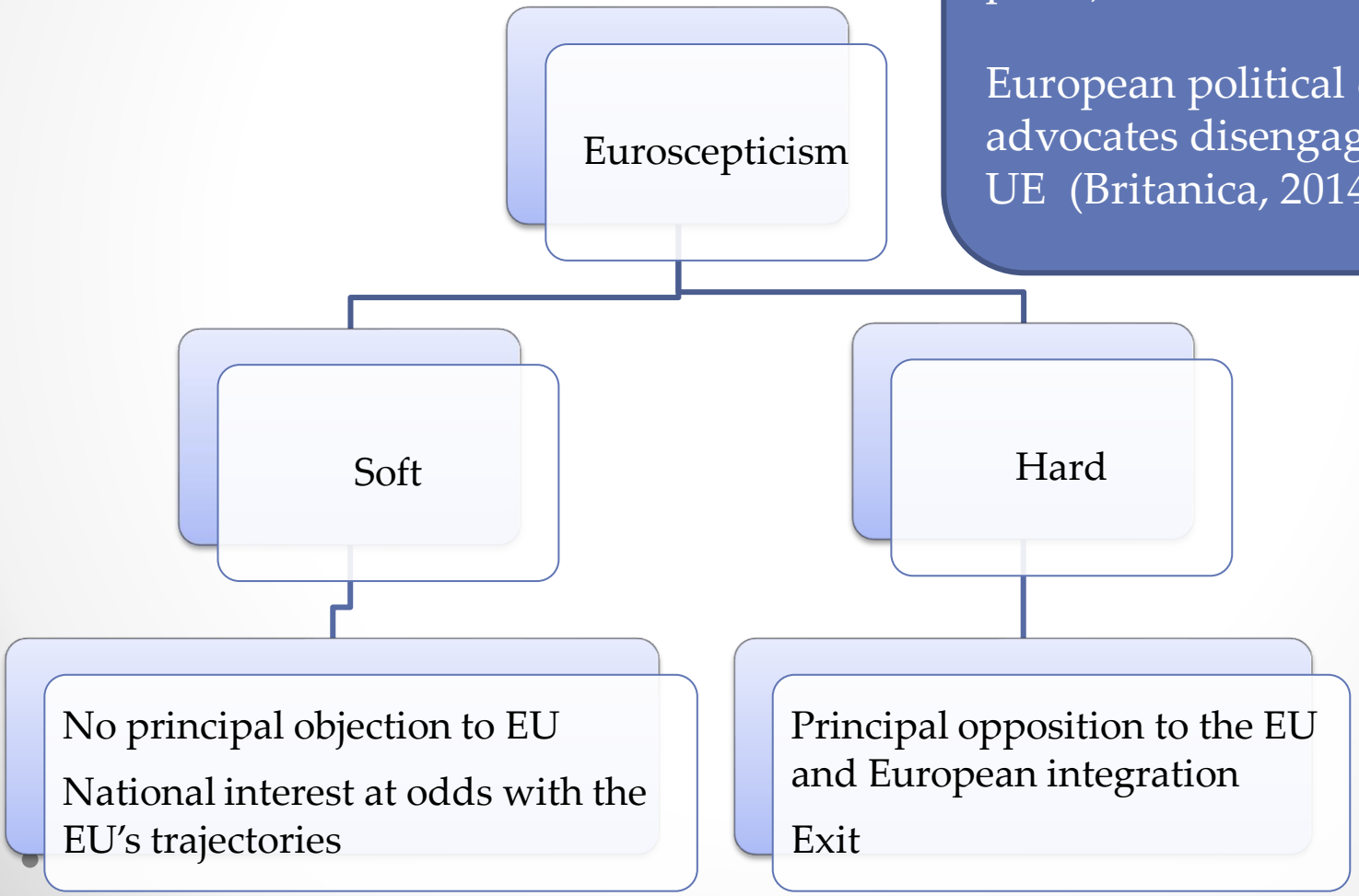
Crisis

Euroscepticism

Euroscepticism

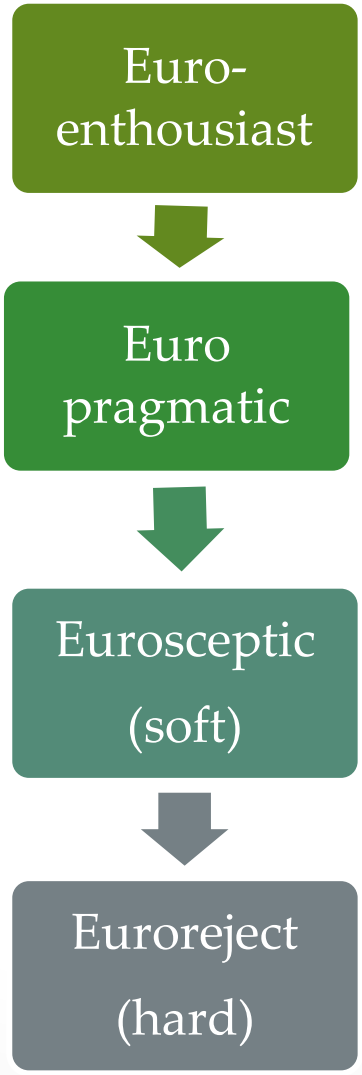
Opposition and doubt to the process of European integration (Taggart 1998, p.365)

European political doctrine that advocates disengagement from UE (Britanica, 2014)



4 categories

(Kopecky and Mudde 2002)



- Which category prevails in your country?

=- Examples of parties for each category?

Anti-EU Arguments

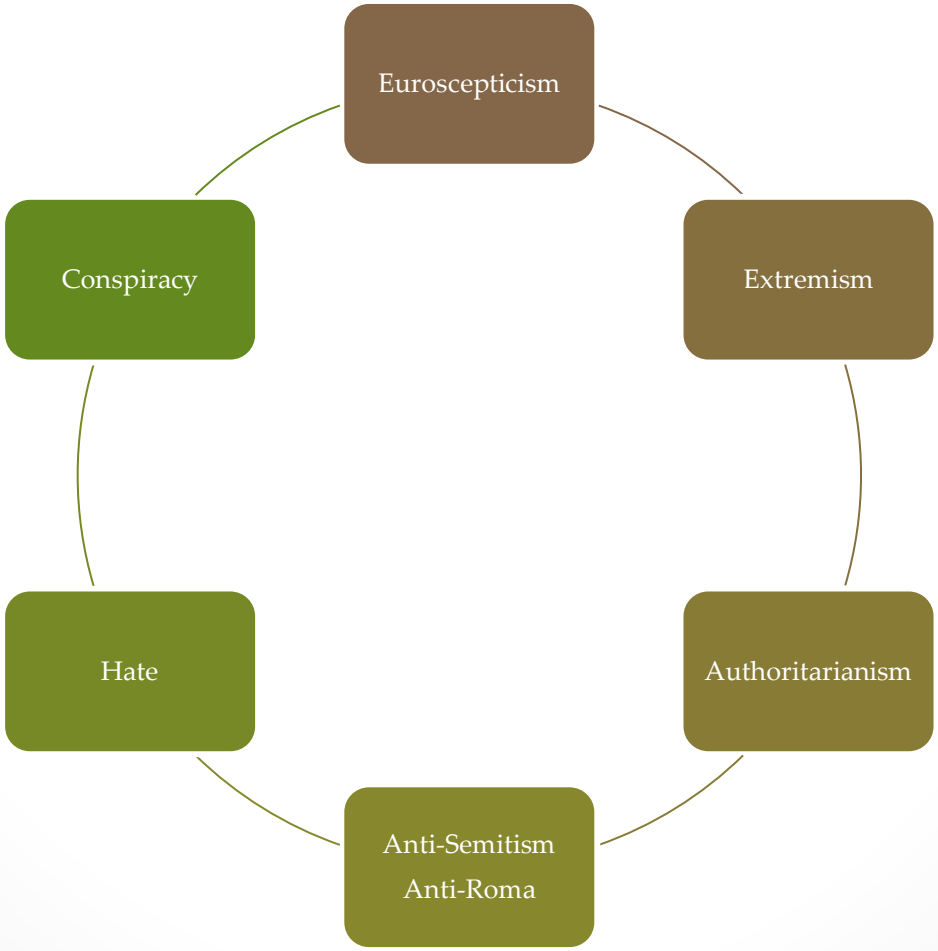
Legitimacy	•Democratic deficit •Insufficient efficiency of EU institutions
Cultural values	•Christianity vs Islam vs Immigration vs Security
Sovereignty	•Transfer of national sovereignty to EU institutions •Centralisation of decision-making
Socio-economic	• Euro-crisis • National debts • Fiscal sovereignty

Examples?

Forms

Sovereignist	• National State should not be called into question by EU
Anti-liberal	• Criticizes EU as neo-liberal, threatening the national welfare states
Left-wing	• 'Voice' (Hischman) • Criticizes EU • But not 'Exit'

The Euroscepticism – …Isms Nexus



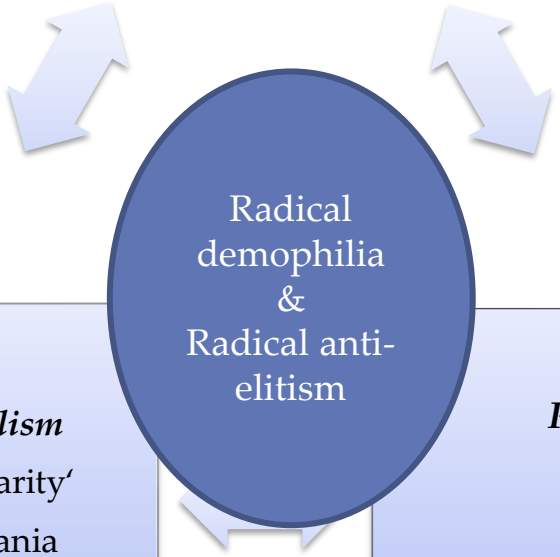
Symbolic cartography

Identitarianism

Politics of fear

Othering

Radical far-right (Mudde&Kaltwasser 201)t:
-natalism,
-authoriarianism
-populism



Post-secularism

Religionization of nationalism

Ataka, Bg - "Orthodox solidarity'

7 Orthodox priests in Romania

Lutheran, Catholic churches -Latvia

Statism

Politics of sovereignty

Nationalism

vs

'neo-colonialism'

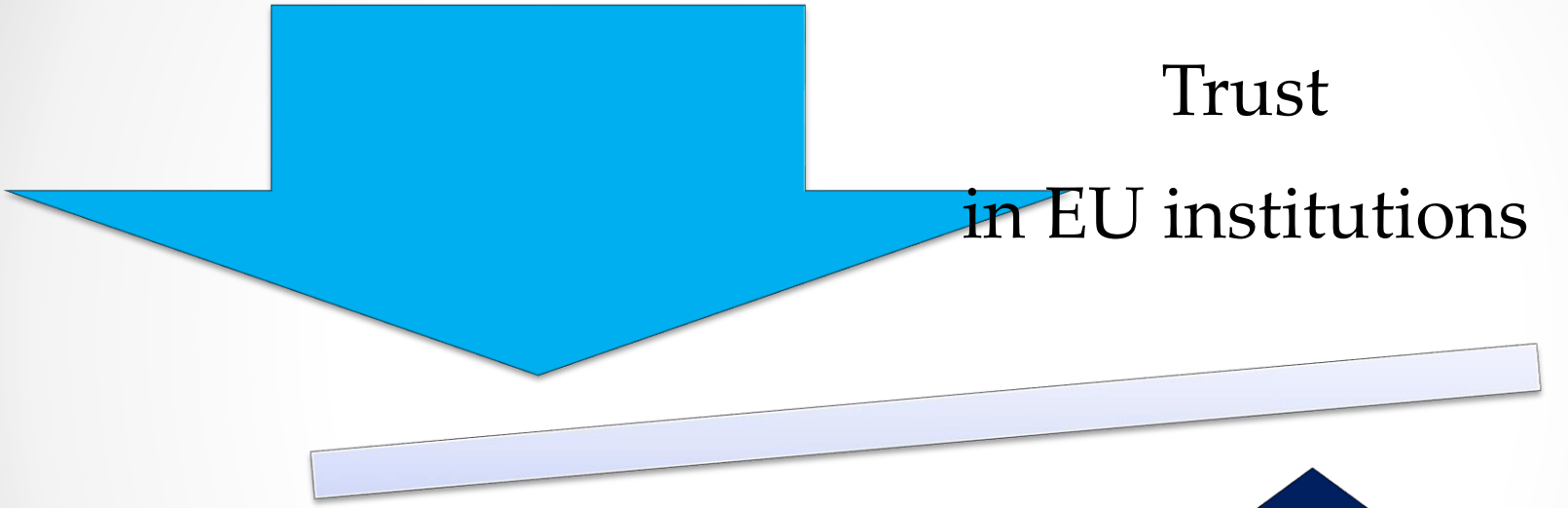
Anti-Europeanism

Croatia – ban in selling land to foreigners

Elastic post-secularism

Trust in Institutions

Baltic & Balkan States



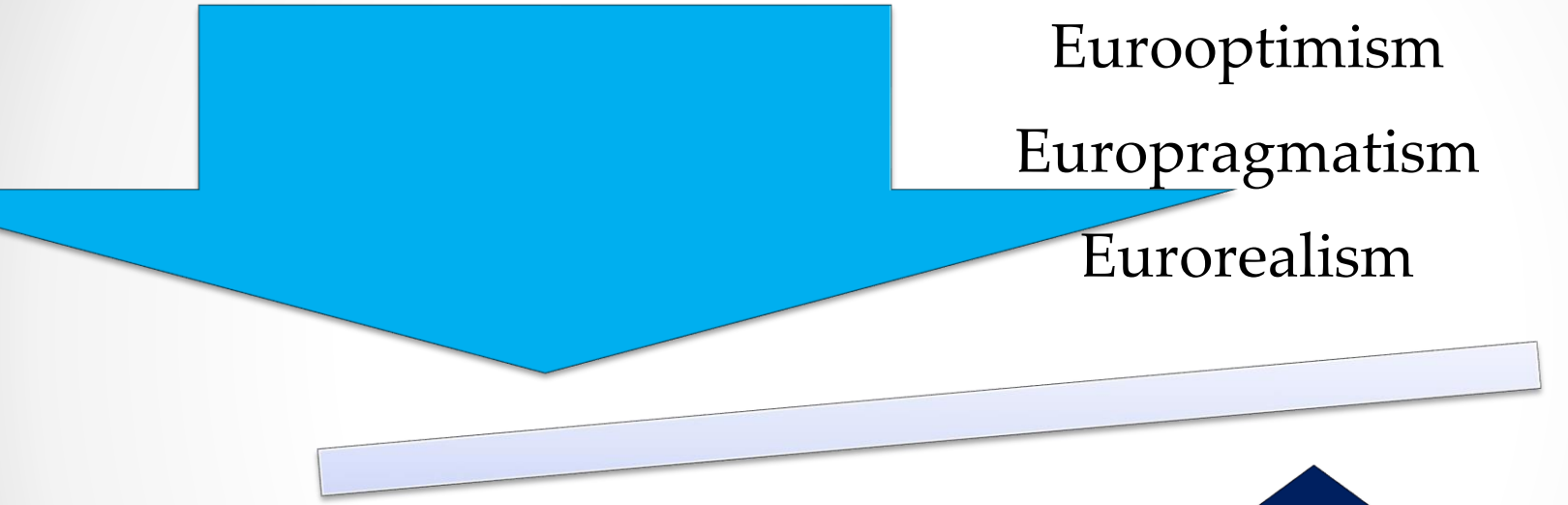
Trust

in EU institutions

Trust

in national institutions

Baltic & Balkan States



Eurooptimism

Europragmatism

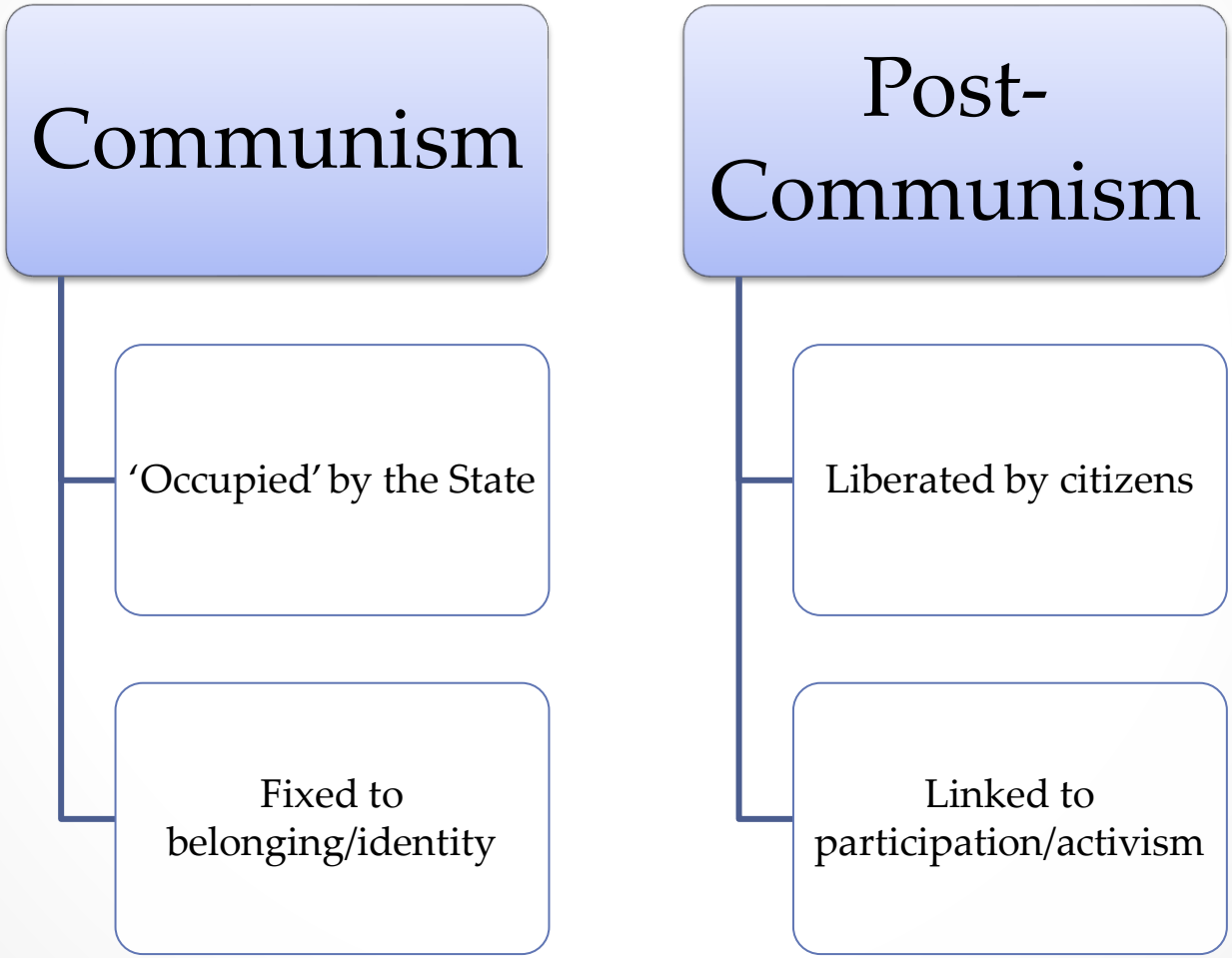
Eurorealism

Euroscepticism

Citizenship

- Citizenship remains a significant site through which to develop a **critique of pessimism** about political possibilities' (Isin and Nyers 2014, p. 9)

Post-communist discovery of citizenship as engagement



Forms of citizenship

- Greening of activism
- Fight for cleaning nature = against pollution of politics
- Intercultural gardens as green bridges

- Contestatory citizenship
- ‘Occupy’

- Solidary
- Pro-migrants, minorities,

Solidary citizenship

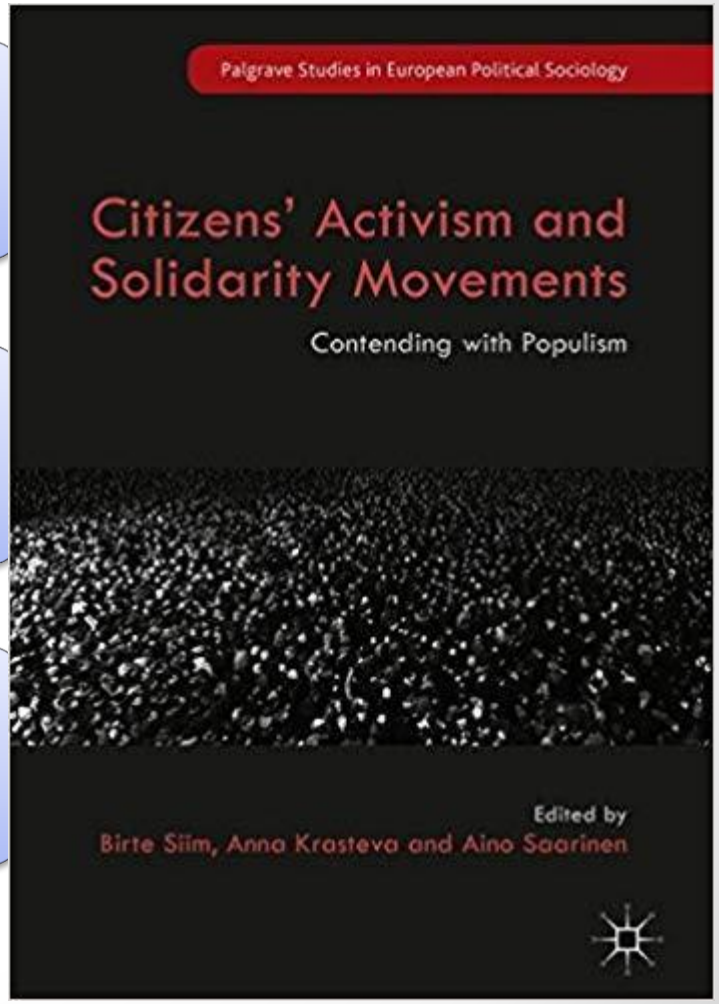
or is a counter—hegemony possible?

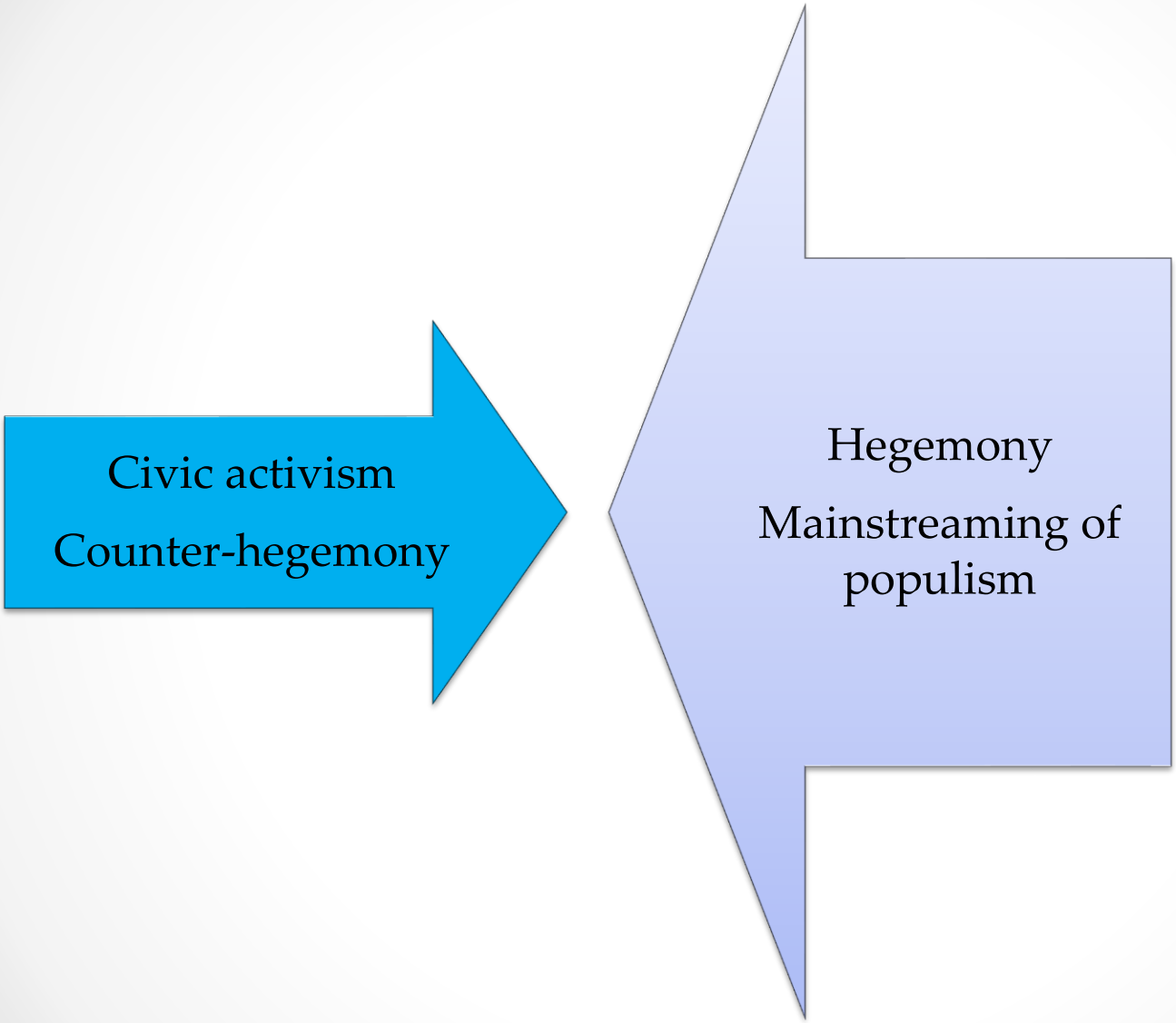
Our responsibility toward Others makes our own existence meaningful.

- E. Levinas

Strong exclusive intersectionality vs. strong? inclusive intersectionality

Creative citizenship – art & activism




Civic activism
Counter-hegemony
Hegemony
Mainstreaming of populism

Mobilisation	Adversary	Citizenship
Eco, envirenmental	Business lobbies	Green
Occupy, mass protests	State capture	Contestatory
Humanitarian Anti-racism Human rights	Mainstreaming of populist hate	Solidary

Art as Activism

Stanislav Belovski
'The Other People'

Graffiti of inappropriate content

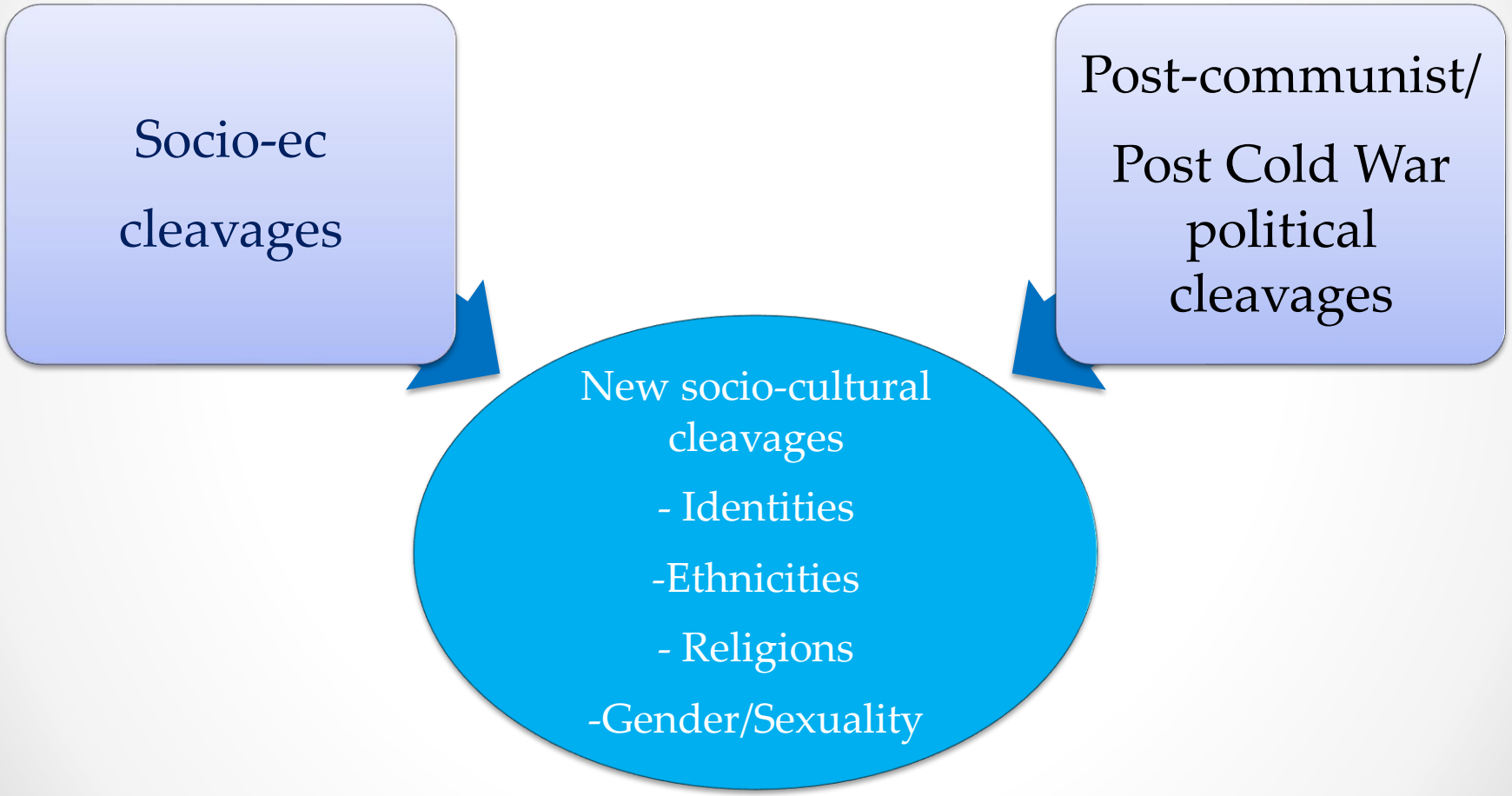
Osijek
Croatia

Imaginative street paintings

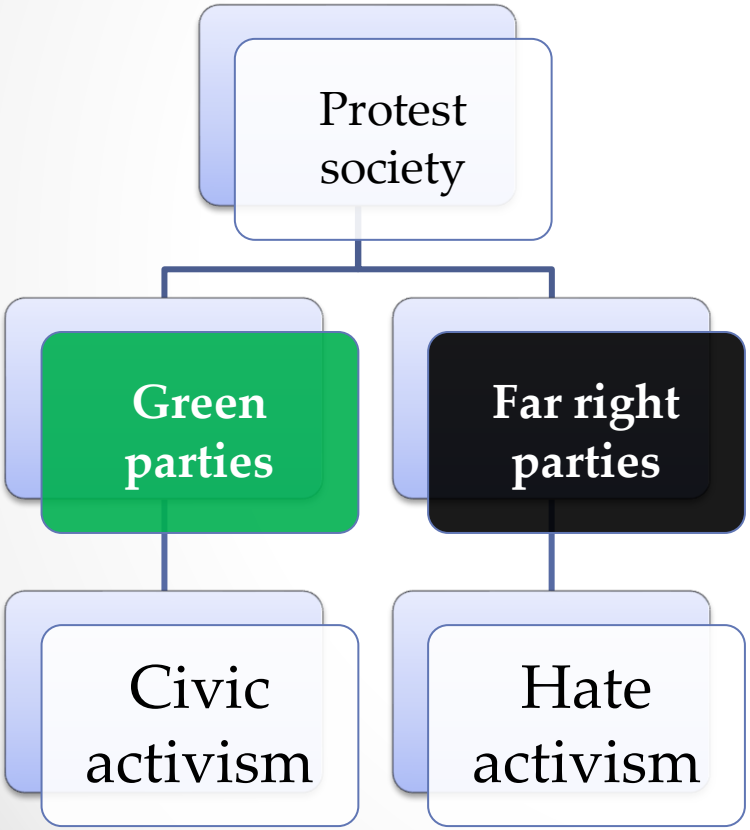
Final remarks

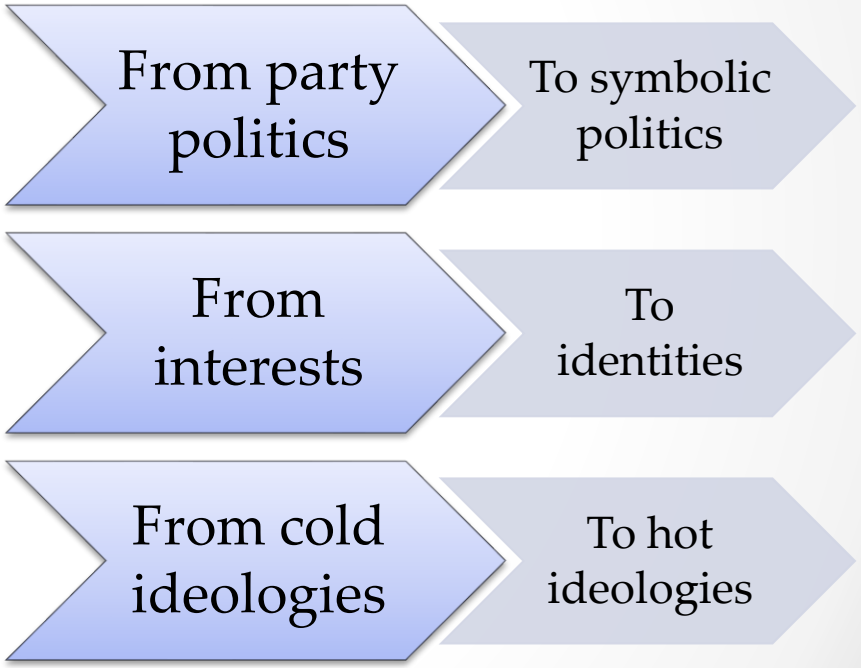
street art Cluj

New generation of cleavages



2 types of activism
- similar transformation of politics





Civil society – resilient, creative, active

- Making the elites accountable for anti-hate policies
- Countering mainstreamed populist hate
- Re-imagine & recreate a civic digital agora
- Transforming solidarity from a 'wave' phenomenon to a permanent phenomenon
- Creating & strengthening alliances for inclusive intersectionalality.

“Things are getting better”