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The following report gives the overview of the research focus and material, research findings and policy recommendations (where applicable) according to the subtasks listed above, formulated by the researchers themselves.

T. 3.3.1: Political discourse in Hungary and in the European Parliament

Arpad Welker, University of Helsinki

Research focus:

My research examines Hungarian political discourse in connection with religious coexistence and peace, freedom of religion and toleration especially in the context of the so-called migration crisis of 2015. Governmental communication is crucial in that while other political groups did not communicate actively about the issue, the government has used the topic as its central message ever since, making anti-immigration rhetoric the leading topic in its communication.

The time frame of this research is not entirely limited to the past five years (2015-2020). Some of the sub-projects are linked to events took place earlier during the 2010's (the debate of the Hungarian Church Law). The researcher also aimed at extracting specificities connected to the immediate political context by analysing political speech over a longer period (Viktor Orbán's speeches), from 1998 onwards.

Political discourse in the European Parliament is understood as proceedings of different bodies formed by Members of the European Parliament, and how they address questions of religious peace and toleration in present-day Europe.

The main questions of the research are:

- how traditional discursive elements of religious nationalism, evaluation and re-evaluation of Hungary's place in Europe (often explained as deriving from the adoption of Western Christianity) and the World, and historical framing are linked to an understanding of European policies in general and migration in particular.
- to what extent the uncontested ideal of religious freedom and equality actually manifests itself in parliamentary speeches.
- how traditional commonplaces of anti-Semitic propaganda transform into Islamophobia in the anti-immigration speech.

Preliminary research findings

An analysis of political speeches in **Hungary**, most particularly by the prime minister, shows various traits especially relevant from the point of view of the work package and this particular task.

While the prime minister's speeches, published instantaneously on the government's website, encompass very different topics and occasions, some typical themes are regularly present. Amongst those some are directly related to questions of tolerance, while some other more to a wider world view.

In those speeches, the Prime Minister, talking in the name of "Hungarians", describes or contemplates on Hungarian identity and Hungary's place in the world, or world history. There are two major topics that are of interest. One is related to Hungary and Europe as Christian political entities, while the other refers directly to Islam and migration.

In search for a political identity for Hungary and himself, the prime minister has defined and redefined the political system he created, dubbing it famously as illiberal democracy, but the definition, sanctioned by parliament, of Hungary as the System of National Cooperation has always been in the background as well. Later on, however, he renamed illiberal democracy as Christian democracy and most recently as Christian freedom. This takeover of Christianity for political purposes deprives religion of some of its core message. It also makes the notion of religious equality an illusion.

The prime minister, and as a consequence members and experts of his party, employ language that is typical to the anti-immigration forces presenting sweeping claims about Islam and migration.

Connected to the theme of Hungary and Europe as Christian political entities, this kind of rhetoric evokes widespread discourses of historical anti-Semitism quite well-known for the Hungarian public. With topics dating back to the nineteenth century, like the demographic vitality of immigrant communities, fear of epidemies connected to migration etc., the otherwise unknown Western-European anti-immigration rhetoric could be placed in an older context.

The European Parliament, while hardly discussing the state of religious equality in Europe, has addressed the problem through two of its intergroups, i.e. cross-party bodies of MEPs sharing an interest in specific issues: *Anti-Racism and Diversity* (ARDI) and *Freedom of Religion or Belief and Religious Tolerance*. ARDI focuses on the problem of discrimination and its activities include parliamentary questions, reports, briefings and resolutions. Freedom of Religion, however, is understood in the context of the world outside the European Union. It is important to note that both inter-groups enjoy wide political support in the EP and have active members from most political groups.

At the same time in Hungary, in terms of policy debates, the reshuffling of Church Law (effectively the legislation to determine the legal status of the various religious communities) has created major controversies including a European Court of Human Rights ruling, according to which the law violated the right of religious freedom. An analysis of its debate in the Hungarian Parliament shows that the questionable measures of the bill highlighted implicit or even explicit scepticism towards the principle of religious equality among government MPs.

Recommendations:

While it remains unlikely that political forces which find anti-immigration or anti-minority rhetoric lucrative in terms of political gains could be advised against employing abusive language and neglecting historical evidence, there are nevertheless lessons from my analysis, which might work for other audiences than the Hungarian right-wing one.

- There is an interest in distinguishing between occasional uses of intolerant rhetoric or even political speech focused on such language and full-fledged governmental propaganda as in the case of Hungary.
- The consensus in the European Parliament is an asset. Because of its composition and procedure, polarization is less present than in national discourses which leaves room for a

wider consensus on issues such as toleration in particular and European values in general. This is probably a lesser known aspect of the EP, which could be promoted more.

T. 3.3.2: Political discourses on migration in the United Kingdom and in Germany

John Maiden and Stefanie Sinclair, Open University

Research focus:

Our research critically investigates how notions of religious coexistence, toleration and peace have been discursively constructed in the context of political debates on migration in Europe, drawing on recent case studies from the UK and Germany. In particular, our analysis has centred on political discourses employed in the context of debates about refugees arriving in Europe from war-torn areas in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan in the period between 2015 and 2018. Drawing on examples of parliamentary debates and political speeches on this issue as well as party-political campaign materials and their press coverage, our analysis has focused on

- how the politics of memory and narratives of the past have been used to interpret and frame contemporary events and debates; and
- how notions of national (and European) and religious identities and of religious coexistence, toleration and peace have been shaped by different perspectives on and representations of the past and present.

The following initial findings have emerged:

1. In political discourses employed in both Germany and the UK in the context of contemporary debates about the Syrian refugee crisis, frequent historical references have been made to the Nazi persecution of Jews, but in very different ways. In the UK, these discourses particularly draw attention to Britain's actions and responsibilities in the context of the Kindertransport in 1938-39 (giving refuge to Jewish children fleeing the threat of Nazi persecution). In general, the Kindertransport is presented as a subject of national pride and an example to be followed. However, while some politicians argue that Britain's contemporary response to Syrian child refugees should mirror this historic example, others make the case that the number of Syrian children that the UK agreed to take in has been very limited in comparison. However, both interpretations would seem to draw upon an 'idealized' understanding of the Kindertransport, given the limited involvement of the British state in 1938-39 and the wider political response to Nazi persecution of Jews. Whereas in the UK, we find the Kindertransport narrative as a subject of national pride, influencing the contemporary debate on refugees, in Germany, political discourses often frame debates about refugees in terms of Germany's historical duty, guilt and responsibility, defining contemporary approaches in contrast to the atrocities committed by the German Nazi regime in the 1930s and 40s.

2. In order to encourage solidarity and empathy and support a welcoming, tolerant culture for refugees from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan in Germany, many politicians have also drawn historical analogies with the experiences of German refugees and displaced people fleeing eastern Europe at the end of the Second World War. However, others have rejected these analogies and claimed that they are not appropriate as refugees from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan come from a very 'different' cultural background.

3. In both the UK and Germany, across the political spectrum, notions of national and religious identities are constructed in a range of different ways in the context of political discourses used in relation to responses to refugees from Syria. In the UK, there is a strong narrative of growing 'toleration' in history – as evident, for example, in the ways in which Protestant dissenters, Catholics and Jews have secured religious freedoms. On the political 'right' in Britain in particular, there exists a strong sense of historic Christian identity; but while this is often used in support of 'Christian toleration' in political discourse concerning Muslim migrants, this aspect of national identity has been used by others to make the case for a Christians-first or Christians-only attitude towards immigration. In Germany, these discourses primarily refer to Europe's 'Judeo-Christian heritage', which have been exploited – especially by far-right populist parties – to justify the exclusion or 'othering' of Muslims.

4. In both Germany and the United Kingdom, amongst political populists on the right, the migrant crisis – which in Britain has also been a factor in debates about membership of the European Union and 'BREXIT' – negative characterizations, such as the idea of Islam as violent and anti-religious liberty are evident. The political propaganda of both the 'Leave.EU' campaign in the UK and the AfD (Alternative for Germany) in Germany have tended to draw upon these religious caricatures, while also implicitly arguing that Islam is incompatible with the Christian identity of both Britain and Germany. Indeed, during the UK referendum on membership of the European Union, anti-EU discourse sometimes drew upon the German experience; one 'Leave.EU' poster, for example, suggested that the German policy of *Willkommenskultur* ('welcome culture') was enabling an Islamic 'takeover' of Germany.

The potential recommendations we see emerging would be around the following themes and issues:

- The need to recognize that history does not merely have an 'abstract' role, but is utilized in political discourse – for good and ill – and that representations of history can potentially impact on contemporary issues 'on the ground';
- The degree to which representations of history are contested in contemporary debates and the important public role of academic research in offering nuanced, critical perspectives on the past;
- The need to recognize the extent to which religion has been 'weaponized' in recent controversies such as the migrant crisis and the UK EU referendum.
- The need to promote and support the development of historical and religious literacy in education to equip students to critically assess oversimplified representations of the past, and of religious history in particular, and raise awareness of the diversity and complexity of religious traditions.

T 3.3.3: Representations of religious coexistence: past and present. Analysis of political discourse and religious coexistence in Spain

Laura Galián, University of Granada

Research Focus and Material

The focus of this research concerns how the memory of the Islamic legacy in Spain is used in political speech, either to integrate or to deny Islam as part of Spain's historical and cultural roots. This research took place in the span of approximately two years (2018-2020).

The researcher is a scholar of Arab and Islamic Studies and she has conducted her research through exploring different political sources dating from 2000 to 2019 on local, regional, national and supranational levels. Among them:
* 1992 Cooperation Accords with the Spanish Islamic Commission (CIE) when Islam was recognized as a religious minority and gave Muslims rights and duties;
* The Alliance of Civilization Initiative (2005) drafted by ex-prime Minister Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero;
* *Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2007-2010* (Strategic Plan on Citizenship and Integration 2007-2010) (PECI);
* National Strategic Plan to Fight Against Violent Radicalization (PEN-LCRV) (2015) together with the Catalan government's " Prevenció, Detecció I Intervenció de processos de radicalizació als centres educatius" (PRODERAI) protocol for high schools and educators.

To understand the invocation of history in political speech and its correspondence to the new visibility of Islam in the public sphere after 9/11, this research looks specifically at how the political initiatives articulated by the government as reaction to global terrorism are debated in the public sphere – focusing on major 'speculative' speeches in parliament, by leading politicians across the political spectrum, and policies as well as political speeches in other venues.

The research questions that have guided this research are:

- How is al-Andalus invoked in political speeches?
- How does the legislation incorporate this historical legacy and for what purposes?
- What is revealed and what is silenced through the memory politics?
- How does the colonial experience in the North of Africa interact with the al-Andalus legacy?
- How are ethnicity and religion connected and blurred in the speeches?

Research Findings

- Religious pluralism and coexistence has been understood as an important factor in preventing the radicalization of vulnerable and at-risk communities.

- Securitizing and intervening in the subjectivities of Muslims in Spain has become the focus of the agenda to fight radicalization. Governing religious pluralism has been at the forefront of the representation of Islam in the Spanish political discourse (increase in the institutionalization and regulation of Islam and its observance).
- Muslim communities have been shaped by the different policies and initiatives that arose in Spain between 1992 and 2018 (integration policies, anti-Islamophobia initiatives and other counter-narrative approaches) and these policies and discourses fall in the same logic of preventing extremism.
- The politics of memory in Spain in its relation to Islam has not had the intention of correcting misunderstandings in order to reach the historical truth. On the contrary, the use of the memory of Al-Andalus has had different political purposes: at times, to strengthen the relation of Spain with Muslim majority countries of the MENA region, at other times, to reject any possibility of agreement between the two and also, to complete the process of recognition of religious freedom (mainly since 1992).
- The Alliance of Civilization's initiative which had the intention to overcome the increasing hatred of the international relations paradigm of the global "War on Terror", has proven to be unsatisfactory and at times counter-productive when dealing with the uses of the Islamic past of Spain and when looking at its history with Islam that is thought to be a common history but never its own.

Recommendations

1. We suggest that current policies that tackle religious pluralism and Islam in Spain should not focus on "radicalization" as central to counter-terrorism strategies. Through this perspective terrorism is seen through the lens of culture. We suggest that policies should be directed to secure the freedom of observance and practice of the Muslim communities in Spain while also tackling racism and islamophobia as the major problems that these communities are currently facing.
2. We find that the politics of memory in Spain create an "imagined community" where Islam is represented as an integrated but not fully part of the core history of Europe and Spain, perpetuating the exclusionary antagonist paradigm that tries to get the upper hand. Emerging to counteract Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations*, the initiative's uses of the past reinforce the confrontational paradigm and prevents understanding Islam as part of the European identity but also emphasizes the "cultural" problem, as the root of terrorism. The inadequacy of what a civilization is stresses a strong colonial language, rhetoric and thought. It reinforces the confrontational paradigm making the case for understanding the root cause of radicalism and violence at the level of culture and prevents understanding Islam and Arab culture as part of a European identity. We encourage decision makers and politicians to make sensitive use of history and to integrate the Islamic history of Spain as a legitimate part of the Spanish identity and society.
3. We find that there is a lack of visibility of Muslim young people in the contemporary representation of Islam in the political speeches and policies in Spain. Speeches and policies are normally directed towards the problem of radicalization of the Muslim youth, who are always seen as potential criminals and terrorists. This has a major impact in their upbringing and demonizes their natural search for an identity. These political speeches and policies never give the voice or the space to the Muslim youth to express their

problems, anxieties and expectations in the Spanish society. We encourage decision makers and politicians to take into consideration these voices by organizing encounters with Muslim youth associations, look for solutions to the increase in islamophobia and hate speech and prevent these speeches and discourses being normalized also in a political level, as it is the case with same extremist politicians in the Spanish parliament currently.

Conclusions: Recommendations based on the research about political speech

Hungary

- There is an interest to distinguish between occasional uses of intolerant rhetoric or even political speech focused on such language and full-fledged governmental propaganda as in the case of Hungary.
- The consensus in the European Parliament is an asset. Because of its composition and procedure, polarization is less present than in national discourses which leaves room for a wider consensus on issues such as toleration in particular and European values in general. This is probably a lesser known aspect of the EP, which could be promoted more.

United Kingdom and Germany

- There is a need to recognise that history does not merely have an 'abstract' role, but is utilised in political discourse – for good and ill – and that representations of history can potentially impact on contemporary issues 'on the ground';

- Academic research has an important role in offering nuanced, critical perspectives on the past;

- It should be recognised that religion has been 'weaponised' in recent controversies such as the migrant crisis and the UK EU referendum.

- The development of historical and religious literacy in education should be supported and promoted to equip students to critically assess oversimplified representations of the past, and of religious history in particular, and raise awareness of the diversity and complexity of religious traditions.

Spain

- Policies should be directed to secure the freedom of observance and practice of the Muslim communities in Spain while also tackling racism and islamophobia as the major problems that these communities are currently facing.

- Decision makers and politicians should make a sensitive use of history and to integrate the Islamic history of Spain as a legitimate part of the Spanish identity and society.

- Decision makers and politicians should take in consideration the voices of Muslim youth by organizing encounters with Muslim youth associations, look for solutions to the increase

in islamophobia and hate speech and prevent these speeches and discourses being normalized also on the political level, as is the case with some extremist politicians in the Spanish parliament currently.