THE PHENOMENON OF ISLAMOPHOBIA IN SOCIAL AND CULTURAL WORLD OF UKRAINE

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Abstract. The growth of anti-Semitism, anti-Christianity and Islamophobia related to the discrimination, the intolerance as well as the hatred on the ground of national origin, gender, sexual and age is illustrative to the modern society. The analysis of Islamophobia is an integral part of the formation of the civil society in modern Ukraine. The outlook of Ukrainian studies of Islam requires the understanding of the symbolic meaning of Islam in social and cultural space of the country. The coverage of the media image of Islam allows to determine the specificity of the political ontology of Islamophobia in Ukraine.
Keywords: Islam, islamophobia, Ukraine, society, Ukrainian society, Islam in media, politic, Islam study.

Introduction

The phenomenon of Islamophobia means a rejection of the historical, theological and intellectual experience of Islam. The first use of the term Islamophobia was done by ayatollah Khomeiny during the Islamic revolution in Iran (Khiari, 2004). The disparaging attacks on Islam and Islamic countries were marked by the term. The Islamic community is one of the major social groups in the modern Ukraine as well as in the world. The territorial centers of Islam are located in Simferopol, Kyiv and Donetsk. The term "Islamic space" in the Soviet Union and Ukraine is used in the academic discourse to lay special emphasis on Islam in the former Soviet and in the post-Soviet communities. Besides the Ukrainian reflection of Islam in the context of the globalization is considered within the allied terms "civilization space of Islam" and "Islamic world" (J. Granat, M. Zubrytska, V. Lipkan, B. Parahovsky, V. Smoliy) (Hranat, 2013).

The social phenomenon of the Ukrainian Islam resolves into the regional institutional factors which indicate the phrase "Islamic revival" during the public discussions in Ukraine. The main directions of Islamic stratification in the Ukrainian society are the integration of Crimean Tatar people, ensuring of peace, cultural and educational activities of the Islamic organizations in the country. A distinctive feature of the Islamic stratification in Ukraine is that the collective conceptualization emphasized the issues of ethnic and national identity for the members of the Islamic community as well as its political history and its role in the mending of interfaith fences. The theological outlook, the impact of migration on the Ukrainian Islamic community, the symbolic meaning of Islam in the social and cultural spaces are the only potential areas of Ukrainian studies of Islam.

Method

The problems and challenges of Islam stratification in Ukraine is under consideration in a number of the scientific works: O. Gnes studies the stereotyping of Islam in the Ukrainian media space, O. Boitzova, M. Kyryushko, M. Prorok investigate the religious situation within Crimean Tatars as well as V. Hryhor'yants, S. Chervona, M. Rubachuk and M. Clesanalyze the Islamic factor on the territory of the former Soviet Union. The researchers lay special emphasize on the role of Islam first of all in the Crimean Tatar community. Islam is considered to prevent social inter-ethnic and inter-confessional conflicts, to contribute to the development of democratic values in the Ukrainian society as well as to form the Ukrainian national identity.

The outpouring of Islamophobia in the context of the racial and ethnic hatred as well as the intolerance in the Ukrainian society is one of the most important lines of social research elaborated on by M. Butkevych, S. Kovbasiuk and I. Fedorovych. The formation of the Islamic identity in Ukraine as well as the civilization and the European experience of Islam are being examined by O. Afanasyev, N. Belitser, I. Zahrebelnyi,

S. Gerasymchuk, M. Podzharskyi, T. Hazyr-Ogli etc. The Focus of the present research is the highlighting of the media image Islam has on the Ukrainian society.

The term "Islamophobia" is mainly used in the media resolving into the biased coverage of the migration processes and inter-religious relations in the European Union as well as the evaluation of the US foreign policy. A number of the expert assessments of the phenomenon of Islamophobia mostly show the interest in extending the sphere of influence some social groups and institutions make. The specificity of the Ukrainian context is that the phenomenon of Islamophobia is determined by the problem of the deported people, the Crimean Tatars.

Results

1. The political ontology of Islamophobia.

The genealogy of the political ontology of Islamophobia in the modern Ukraine should be considered in the context of the post-Soviet quasi-identity. The ordinary perception of the Islamic communities as a kind of national outskirts was caused by the standard of life and the infrastructure development in the Soviet Union. Therefore these regions were interested rather because of the domestic tourism development strategy than because of implementing the objectives which the international politics has in a multiethnic state.

The problem of Islamophobia was not perceived by the society. It was due to the officially sanctioned concepts of "the brotherhood of the peoples in the Soviet Union". There was another element of ethnic peace: suppression and warnings about the consequences of Stalin's deportation of the peoples.

As a result, the inter-ethnic relations were in a state of unstable equilibrium. On the one hand they were balanced with the help of repressive actions the government made against any kind of national consciousness, on the other hand folklore and ethnographic items of every nation in the country were being encouraged. The ethnic factor with the accordance to the socio-cultural characteristics of the region was taken into account in the process of party building.

The Soviet community has its own past, present and future. It was separated from the other humanity with the conception of a new historical community, the Soviet people. As the political aim the Ukrainian society has is forming of a multinational community which is to be directed towards prosperity and democracy, so searching the way to prevent extremism in all spheres of social life, including the religion, is rather important.

The Iron Curtain was another important factor for Islamophobia to be ignored. The closed borders allowed to defend the imaginary space from the consequences of the globalization. The world capitalism's decadent image consisted of the migration processes, the urbanization as well as some demographic changes. Even the environmental safety, at least until the Chernobyl disaster, considered to be only a by-product of the industrial development and the irrational economic management within the context of the state-controlled economy.

Nevertheless the political challenges of the globalization caused by the penetration of the market principles into the political processes and, as consequence, by the decline of the ideological influence had some far-reaching implications on the USSR. The Soviet Union started a struggle to redistribute the global rule and entered its troops into Afghanistan. American ruling class might not take into account the value of Islam. So called anti-European bias could play a major role in the case. Trying to fulfill its historical mission during the Cold War, The United States began funding some Islamic groups and movements as well as a number of authoritarian political regimes in the Middle East. The Euro-Atlantic media created the image of "Mujahidin" who stood against the "Evil Empire". And such a situation remained unchangeable until the collapse of the USSR.

2. Denial of Islam in the post-industrial and post-modern community of Ukraine.

The modern Ukrainian society cannot imitate the Soviet model of the perception of Islam. Islam has to become a part of national Ukrainian history in the modern Ukraine. Official data shows that there are from 200.000 to 5.000.000 Muslims in the structure of the Ukrainian population. The data confirm the presence of some uncertain status Islam has on the territory of Ukraine. It can be a source of Islamophobia. The presence of Islam in the social space is not observable. Muslim religious buildings and structures, their historical heritage still remains unfamiliar and ignorant. Muslim education and Muslim parenting are not regarded as a part of the Ukrainian community. They are likely to be the internal affairs of the religious organizations. That is the primary source of the social discrimination. It can gradually develop into Islamophobic sentiments.

The imperception of some social groups with reference to their religion preferences is being constructed by the educational system, manufactured in the media scene and become perpetuated in the everyday in the post-Soviet societies in general and in Ukraine in particular. Therefore, the phenomenon of Islamophobia itself expresses some samples of the imperception: structural and medial. It also conveys time-honored objections.

The constructive negation is being produced throughout the intellectual substructure of the discourse of redistribution. It takes it from the matrix symbols of Ukrainian historical memory in the world and the "national" histories ("Ukrainian", etc.). Military confrontation has some advantages before the trade and cultural exchanges in the world history (the Arab conquests, the Crusades, the Ottoman expansion, the Russo-Turkish Wars, the conquest of the Caucasus and the Balkan wars). The Ukrainian history accumulates the ethnographic and folklore vision the titular nation has (the Cossack Mamay, the Tataric raids, Roxolana) while the history of the peoples who have lived in Ukraine continue to be a secondary element of the national history. In such a case Islam is to be regarded as something external or even a bit hostile. The fact of Ukraine having been a historic battleground part of the Islamic Crimean Khanate and the fact of Ottoman Empire are extremely ignored. They uphold the same position according to the fact that the lands of Ukraine were important for trading between the Islamic East and West, North and South of Europe. The Islamic states played a key role on the territory. The media vision of the modern Islam is being worked out with the reference to the abovementioned historical vision.

The media negation is caused by the fragments of scientific discourse in the comments or creation of the information flows. Both are based on the visual scripts. It is worthy while drawing attention that the differentiation of the imperception has been attested directly or symbolically. Islam is being discriminated in the media. The direct discrimination is referred to the use of terms that can instigate the audience and the Internet-users to form the negative image of Islam or to become insecure or scary. For example they use the following terms: "jihad", "Islamic terrorists", "Shakhids", "Islamic factor", "Islamization", etc.

The symbolic discrimination creates associative arrays of the pejorative or negative connotations. There are some entertainment shows in the post-Soviet TV broadcast and the social networking websites, TV and social media which promote the discrimination. For example, the immigrants from Central Asia have the images of cunning, irresponsible and malicious workers in the popular Russian TV-show. The intelligibility of the images is based on the exaggeration of the distinctive features such as language, appearance or mutual relations. A number of publications in which the responsibility of the migrant workers is contrasted with the responsibility of local workers as well as the publications place emphasis on the illegal infiltration of the migrants into the proper social space are the examples of the negative connotation. One of the distinctive features the media negation gains is the transversion of the religion and the culture. The transversion demonstrates the systematic negative attitude. The latter can be formulated in the following was: the confrontation of "our natural options" with "their nature, their origin and their customs". The knowledge, communication, lifestyle pretends to become the natural differences of Islam and Christianity in the media. At the same time their common ancestry, the Abrahamic monotheism, is ignored or hushed up.

The discrimination and the imperception are being preserved in the everyday inuring the xenophobic, racist and pejorative connotations into the verbature. For example, during the process of communication the ethnic images and invectives are used as well as the terminology based on the accidental characteristics (origin, language, appearance) is implemented to define the essence. The word forms to emphasize the connection between the individual's appearance and his or her place of origin, the usage of the diminutive forms (e.g., "a native of the Caucasus", "a person of Caucasian nationality", "a native of Central Asia", "stiff") are widely spread. Finally, the religious affiliation is considered to be a natural virtue, a kind of an irritating difference which is determined by the place of birth.

Thus, the phenomenon of Islamophobia can detracts from understanding of the nature the social development issues have in the modern social and cultural world of Ukraine. Among the issues are the sustainability of democratic institutions, the place and role of the country in the globalization, the ability to use institutional factors to overcome the various signs of social hatred, intolerance and discrimination.

3. The strategy of intimidation by Islamization: the media-discrimination.

The democratic societies are particularly vulnerable to the threat of Islamophobia whilst the totalitarian and authoritarian regimes use the differences to manipulate the public opinion. The Ukrainian society inherited the Soviet totalitarian experience which is marked by the indefiniteness towards the institutional factors and the use of media technologies. The Ukrainian community as a democratic and open society has no

practice in the field of public discussion on the theme referred to the institutional factors in overcoming xenophobia. But maintaining the uncertainty, including the intimidation, is a manipulative strategy in the Ukrainian media space.

The strategy of deterrence supports the uncertainty and does not permit to initiate the discussions dedicated to the theme of Islamophobia in the general context of social discrimination and human rights violations. It is carried out in fits and starts and it looks like a performance in politics and sports. The main means of its implementation are the "thoughts" given by the experts.

For example, Yurii Pershykov, a journalist and a member of the Cossack movement in Crimea, was an expert on Islam in the program "Ukrainian Jihad" during the TV show "Krytychna Tochka" (television channel "Ukraine", 09.12.2013, broadcast time 16:00) (TRK Ukrayina, 2013). The journalist was introduced as the head of the news agency "Novoross" (data portal Novoross.info) in the program "The Islamites want to form a caliphate in Crimea" during the newscast "Podrobnosti" (Inter TV Channel, 09.12.2013, broadcast time 16:00) (Inter, 2013). There is one more "expert" in the field of Islamization. He is RuslanBelbek, a chairman of the public association "Generation of Crimea", a member of the Public Council of The Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. He is also a political opponent of Mustafa Dzhemilev, Refat Chubarov and of the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar (VR Ukrainy, 2013). R. Belbek argues that the primary purpose the Islamic organizations carry out is to receive an appointment in public control and administration authorities as well as to get the impact on the youth education. The witnesses of the Islamization are mostly anonymous people who converted to Islam, neighbors and colleagues. Each statement must confirm the opinion of the specialists and experts. The fragmentary interviews with the Islamist political organizations must convince the society that Ukraine is becoming a "greenhouse" for the global terrorism as a result of the most loyal legislative act in the world, the Law of Ukraine "On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations". To substantiate this fact they interviewed Fazil Amzayev, the head of the information office of "Hizbut-Tahrir" in Ukraine and discussed the renewal of the Islamic way of life with the help of political means. A member of an Islamic organization "Rayid Al" Seran was asked about the use of force.

The programs of television channel "Ukraine" and Inter TV Channel are similar in the composition of their participants except one point. Y. Pershykov took part in the program broadcasted by Inter TV Channel on October, 6. And F. Amzayev participated in the program made by television channel "Ukraine" on December, 9. The Crimean Tatar people were represented by M. Dzhemilev in the program on October, 6. His political opponent, R. Belbek, represented the Crimean people on December, 9. The head of the religious community "Itifak" Server Asanov (Server-aga) told about the counterstand to the Islam radicalization. This is the element which is different in the both programs. In addition, the complexity of the struggle against the Islamic threat in cases when the separate individuals but not the organizations take the consequences was highlighted in the program broadcasted on October, 6. The head of the "Hizbut-Tahrir" Asman Bahash qualified the essence of the Islamic threat as a revival of the Caliphate. There are the following consequences of Islamism: the murder of children and minors, recruiting of mercenaries, the threat of civil war like in Syria. The international conference was reported to be hold by the political party "Hizbut-Tahrir" in Simferopol on October, 7. It was the final piece of reporting made on October, 6. Thus Islamophobia is a media construction in the modern social space of Ukraine.

The strategy of Islamophobia in the Ukrainian society is a part of the emotive-intuitive criticism to the democratization of social institutes. It uses the concealment of the actual state of things. For example, the problem to integrate the deported peoples into the social and cultural life in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea is still unresolved. The segregation of people with the reference to the religions views throw discredit on the principles of the democratic political regime and advocates the idea to limit the personal rights and liberties in favour of the imaginary community. The human who accepts the idea positively or demonstrates the loyalty should identify himself or herself with it.

So the political ontology of Islamophobia is being created. It is based on the concept of the undesirable changes and the caution against the undesirable diffusion. The perception of Islamophobia is likely to be related with the following fact. Both individuals and groups, both local and regional communities are not ready to perceive the effects of the migration in the globalized world. What is a nation in the global context? Is it a social and cultural community that meets the global challenges or is it a regional community that combines common hopes if not on the earth then in the heavens?

4. The Global-world peace and national communities: belonging and inclusion.

The political ontology of Islamophobia in the modern Ukraine can be explained through the contrariety between the affiliation and the inclusion in the post-Soviet societies. The community affiliation, the system of education, public health service, and justice, participation in the political process and business activity cannot give any guarantees for the person to be affiliated into the community.

For instance the Russian community of Crimea in Ukraine sees itself as a natural unit according to the geographical, ethnic and folk characteristics. Its representatives are trying to keep the cultural identity with the help of the historical memories. They percept themselves as the injured people because of the Soviet collapse. To overcome such segregation is to make the best use of the institutional factors.

The national communities are locked exteriorly in their own borders in the global world, and they are mobilized by the historical myths interiorly. They are inferior in their development in comparison with the dynamics of the open societies. Mutual understanding and coordination can create the way for the civilization interpenetration. Therefore the cosmopolitanism is an alternative to the global network boundaries of the nation states.

All is plain to see that the international and transnational institutions or organizations play a key role in the opposition where discrimination and intolerance take place. During the 1990s and 2000s the UN representatives have repeatedly expressed their concern about the growth of anti-Semitism, anti-Christianity and Islamophobia. They highlight the relation between the abovementioned phenomena with discrimination, intolerance, hatred based on race, sex and age (the UN position is widely presented in the materials placed on the website of the UN Secretariat).

Discussion

Now it can be seen that the current perception of Islam in Ukraine reflects several factors.

The posttraumatic reception of Islam in Ukraine allows the growth of Islamophobia. The injuries the Ukrainian social memory has include unwillingness to remember the fate of the deported peoples and to accept their return, to feel deeply the tragedy of the Afghan war as well as to consider the Chechen war during the 1990s as the external event and to be able to offset the impact of the Chechen threat. They also include inability to think about the global fight against the terrorism only in the context of the consequences of so termed the Cold War.

There is the inheritance of the international military assistance. It is considered to be in the form of Slavic brotherhood or in the other type of unity. There is the nostalgia for the "Soviet peoples' brotherhood" in the political and artistic performance. It opens the door to xenophobia and Islamophobia.

A number of political performances embolden the voluntary mobilization. It can take the following forms: the protection of spirituality and the inner defense. The last one is regarded to be a religious pietism or the Cossack associations formed to defend the Church and morality.

There is the indifferent attitude towards the correlation between Islam and the contemporaneity, between Islam and secular traditions. The democratic values are considered not to meet the realities of social and political life by the certain part of the Ukrainian society. The democracy is regarded to serve as a declarative cover for the unfair redistribution, a colonial expansion of the dominant states (USA, Germany) and their satellites. Therefore the opposition between Western democracies and Islam is an indicator of such domination.

If the Ukrainian society focuses on implementing the political will aimed to establish the responsible democracy, it will provide the ways of mutual recognition.

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