

CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE

Faculty of Arts

Department of Sociology

Bachelor's Thesis

Adéla Vašků

Václav Havel as a symbol or a stigma: word expressions *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* in the contemporary Czech discourse

Prague 2020

Thesis supervisor

Mgr. Jakub Mlynář, Ph.D.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Mgr. Jakub Mlynář, Ph.D., who professionally guided me through the whole process of writing a bachelor's thesis. Except for the courses he led me through to help me find my field of interest, he has always been willing to consult my thesis topic and helped me to find the right way of how to analyse the problem I wanted to examine.

My appreciation extends to my university colleagues and friends, who did not hesitate to help me during my studies and who have been a significant emotional and moral support throughout the last three years.

I also cannot be more thankful to my family, which has always supported and encouraged me in achieving my goals and provided me the best environment to focus on my undergraduate studies.

The last but not least thanks go to the Department of Sociology and to all the remarkable professors, who made my seminars and lectures very exciting. I am grateful for being taught by people with a great passion for their job and for the science in general.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis was composed solely by myself, that the work contained herein is my own except where explicitly stated otherwise in the text, and that this work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified.

In Prague

May 2020

.....

Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to examine aspects of the former Czech president Václav Havel's representation in the Czech social, political and media discourse and how the selected Czech news media approach the name of Václav Havel. My aim is to analyse word categories *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid*, which are mainly used as labels of people supporting the same moral values Václav Havel was promoting; justice, love, liberty and peace. Using the critical discourse analysis and discourse historical approach, I will search for the definition of *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* analysing the Czech news media texts containing these expressions, eventually if there are any connotations related to pejorative and negative explanations of these expressions; the expressions are understood as mocking and insulting in certain contexts. Thesis also focuses on the phenomenon of stigmatization and labelling applied on the analysed word categories. Thesis shows, how the selected Czech media approach analysed word expressions, what adjectives and links are used within the media texts and how has the definitions shifted throughout the past decade.

Abstrakt

Bakalářská práce se soustředí na projevy odkazu bývalého prezidenta Václava Havla v českém politickém, sociálním a mediálním diskurzu, a jak k osobnosti Václava Havla český veřejný diskurz přistupuje. Práce se zaměřuje na analýzu slovních kategorií *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* a *havloid*, jež se užívají k označení lidí podporujících hodnoty a ideje, které Václav Havel prosazoval; tedy láska, pravda, mír, spravedlnost. Cílem práce je nalezení definic těchto tří slovních označení a případných konotací, které se vážou k negativnímu a pejorativnímu vysvětlení těchto slovních výrazů; analyzované výrazy jsou v určitých kontextech považovány za urážlivá a výsměšná označení. Práce se soustředí na fenomény stigmatizace a nálepkování, které se mohou u vybraných výrazů objevovat. Práce sleduje, jak vybraná média k těmto výrazům přistupují, jaké přívlastky a příbuzenství používají. V bakalářské práci se neopomínají ani možné změny významu zkoumaných slovních kategorií v rámci českého diskurzu v období posledních deseti let.

Key words

Václav Havel, stigmatization, stigma, Czech discourse, *pravdoláskař*, *havloid*, *havlista*, labelling, news media, Czech society

1	INTRODUCTION	6
2	LITERATURE REVIEW	8
2.1	WORD COMPOSITION AND CONTEXT OF THE SELECTED WORD CATEGORIES	8
2.1.1	<i>Havloid</i>	9
2.1.2	<i>Havlista</i>	9
2.1.3	<i>Pravdoláskař</i>	10
2.2	LANGUAGE, MEDIA AND DISCOURSE.....	11
2.2.1	<i>Media language</i>	12
2.3	STIGMA, LABELLING THEORY AND REAPPROPRIATION	15
2.4	PREVIOUS RESEARCH.....	17
3	METHODOLOGY	19
3.1	SELECTED NEWS MEDIA	19
3.2	CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS.....	20
3.2.1	<i>Discourse Historical Approach</i>	21
4	PRACTICAL PART	24
4.1	OCCURRENCE OF <i>PRAVDOLÁSKAŘ</i> , <i>HAVLISTA</i> AND <i>HAVLOID</i> IN THE CZECH NEWS MEDIA.....	25
4.2	CATEGORIZATION OF <i>PRAVDOLÁSKAŘ</i> , <i>HAVLISTA</i> AND <i>HAVLOID</i>	27
4.3	DEFINITIONS OF THE ANALYSED WORD CATEGORIES	27
4.3.1	<i>Havlista</i>	27
4.3.2	<i>Havloid</i>	30
4.3.3	<i>Pravdoláskař</i>	32
4.3.4	<i>Similarities and major features</i>	36
4.4	DISCUSSION	38
5	CONCLUSION	43
6	REFERENCES	45
6.1	WEBPAGE RESOURCES	48
7	APPENDIX	52
7.1	ANALYSED MEDIA TEXTS	52
7.1.1	<i>iHNed.cz</i>	52
7.1.1.1	<i>Pravdoláskař</i>	52
7.1.1.2	<i>Havlista</i>	53
7.1.1.3	<i>Havloid</i>	54
7.1.2	<i>iDNES.cz</i>	54
7.1.2.1	<i>Pravdoláskař</i>	54
7.1.2.2	<i>Havlista</i>	55
7.1.2.3	<i>Havloid</i>	56
7.1.3	<i>Blesk.cz</i>	57
7.1.3.1	<i>Pravdoláskař</i>	57
7.1.3.2	<i>Havlista</i>	58
7.1.3.3	<i>Havloid</i>	59
7.2	TABLES.....	60

1 Introduction

Václav Havel was not only a politician, but he was also considered as a respected writer, playwright and intellectual. Havel is one of the most important characters and symbols of the democratic transformation in former Czechoslovakia from the 1960s until his demise, a dissident initiating and leading The Velvet Revolution¹ in 1989. During the communist period in former Czechoslovakia, Havel went through a lot of inconveniences such as imprisonment, persecution and social exclusion, since he had been one of the organizers, leaders and signatories of the anti-regime movement Charta 77 (Žantovský, 2014). The idea of Charta 77² movement originated as a reaction to the Czechoslovak communist party and its government signing the peace agreement called The Final Act of Helsinki Declaration in 1975 (Office of The Historian, 2020). This movement assembled a manifesto seeking for human rights (Salomon, 1986) that were being suppressed by the communist government during the 40 years of communist regime in the former Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (Blažek & Schovánek, 2006).

As a former Czechoslovak and afterwards Czech president, he became internationally well-known for his high moral values such as truth, honesty, love and peace, though, always sticking to his principles, appreciating justice and law. He was a symbol of democracy not only for general public but also for famous politicians and public figures from all over the world (Žantovský, 2014). Some people disagreed with his idealistic view of the world, he was also reproached for the decisions he made and lately criticized for the values he supported. The values he was promoting were often targeted by other Czech politicians, such as Václav Klaus³, who for instance claimed that Havel “wanted elitist post-democracy, instead of conservatism and traditional values, he promoted a modern demolition of existing human order” (Aktuálně.cz, 2013)⁴.

Although, Havel is a symbol of democracy and liberty in the Czech Republic, his name has started to be used as an insult or to mock people during the past years. His

¹ A non-violent revolution in the Czech Republic, a democratic transformation from the previous totalitarian regime (Wikipedia, 2020)

² Charta 77 obtained its name after the date of its establishment in 1977

³ A Czech free-market and Eurosceptic economist, co-founder of the Czech Civic Democratic Party (ODS), a former PM and a minister of finance in Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic in the 90s, after elected twice as a president of the Czech Republic, rival of Václav Havel and his ideology. (Wikipedia, 2020)

⁴ Klaus for an online server Aktuálně.cz. Quoted: "místo demokracie chtěl elitářskou postdemokracii, místo konzervatismu a tradičních hodnot prosazoval modernistické boření existujícího lidského řádu". (Aktuálně.cz, 2013)

opponents and critics argued his values are too idealistic. There has been a number of neologisms and nicknames twisting his name to use it as an offensive label.

My thesis focuses on the analysis of some recent Czech expressions related to the legacy of Václav Havel, mostly used in a negative and pejorative way. The word categories analysed in this paper started to appear mainly during the last decade, around the time the former president Václav Havel passed away in 2011. The analysis is focused on three Czech expressions, which are in some contexts understood as offensive, mocking and disparaging. The expressions selected for the analysis, commonly used in the Czech public discourse, are *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid*.

The main goal of the thesis is to analyse, how the usage of the selected expressions has been developing during the last decade, after Havel's demise. The thesis will focus on how the meaning has changed within last years and if the purpose is still to offend or stigmatize people, or more specifically, what is the definition of these labelling word expressions.

To examine the labelling expressions selected for this thesis, I will use the method of critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) complemented by one of its chief approaches, discourse historical approach (DHA). The method of critical discourse analysis will be applied on certain Czech news media to find out and explain, how are the word categories *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* included and arranged in the news media content. The impact of mass media on society is generally known as significant and it can show us, how are the current social and political discourses applied in the media and what definitions they attach to these particular expressions.

News media chosen for the data analysis are the well-known Czech journals *Hospodářské noviny* and *Mladá fronta DNES* and the most read Czech tabloid *Blesk* (MediaGuru, 2020). The selection of news media for the analysis is based on a wide range of readers coverage. The theme range of the examined media is considered as sufficient enough to cover a broad spectrum of social groups and classes.

For a broader understanding of the matter, my thesis describes the word composition of the examined word categories, takes into consideration the role of language, media and theories such as *framing* or *agenda-setting* within social discourse development, and also discusses the sociological theories of stigmatization, labelling and reappropriation.

2 Literature review

2.1 Word composition and context of the selected word categories

The following chapter tries to thoroughly define the composition and context differences or similarities between the analysed word categories, which I have chosen for my discursive analysis. The categories are mainly used in context with the name of the former Czech president Václav Havel.

Further in the analysis, my aim is to compile more complex definitions from the news media sources I am analysing; therefore, this chapter serves its readers to have an insight into the Czech word composition and some sort of social background formed around these expressions.

The expressions choice is primarily grounded on my own decision and my own impression of how frequently the selected words have been used in the Czech social, political and media discourse. As it is explained later in my thesis, there do exist other possible alternations of the examined word categories. However, from my point of view, these categories are not as commonly used as the ones I pay attention to in the analysis.

All the selected categories have been developed within Czech political, media and public discourses and they have usually served to criticize and disparage Václav Havel, his ideas and followers for being overly idealistic (Pynsent, 2013).

The expressions *pravdoláskař*, *havloid* and *havlista* have been used within the Czech society for many years, especially in the past decade, which I focus on in my work. It might be difficult to find the right definition to distinguish the slight and delicate differences among these expressions. Nevertheless, the composition and meaning of each category requires to be explained, hence, the reader can fully understand the position of each word category in Czech political, media and social discourses. Another purpose is to find and elucidate a differentiation among certain attitudes of Czech society towards the analysed expressions. For a more profound analysis and understanding of how the meaning has changed throughout the years, I am going to examine each expression, its origin and word composition. This should serve the reader to recognize the slight but essential differences and, therefore, to distinguish each word category analysed.

One of the sources favoured and used to describe the selected word expressions, is an informal online vocabulary developed mostly in a non-academic environment, more precisely by general public. My intention is to show, how general public on internet feels

about these expressions. Since the analysed word categories have been evolving within the Czech society, general public sources should also be included in the examination.

2.1.1 Havloid

According to the informal online vocabulary of modern Czech slang language developed mainly by the general public, the expression *havloid* describes a person who follows, supports or sympathizes with the former president Václav Havel and his ideas (čeština 2.0, 2015). The expression is mainly understood as pejorative (čeština 2.0, 2015) and abusive. The word itself is composed of the name *Havel* and the suffix *-oid*, which comes from Greek *-eîdos* and Latin *-oides* meaning resemblance or similarity with the original (Schindler, 2014; Wiktionary, 2019). The suffix *-oid* is in this particular political context considered as a defamatory and expressive label (Děngeová, 2010).

A similar expression to *havloid* is *havlojed* (čeština 2.0, 2016) and its translation also has a pejorative subtext. There are two possible approaches, how to explain this label. Firstly, *jed* is the Czech translation for *poison*, which indicates that users of this particular expression consider the ideas of Václav Havel as poisonous. Secondly, the Czech suffix *-jed* is associated with *eaters*. Simply said, Havel's followers are *the eaters of his thoughts and beliefs*.

Chief editor and one of the authors publishing for a *VlasteneckéNoviny.cz*, an online press offensively promoting anti-western, anti-USA and anti-EU ideology (Evropské Hodnoty, 2016), Radek Velička (2015), claimed that he was the original author of the expression *havloid*. According to his article, the expression was used by himself firstly in 2010 or 2011. Velička argues that the expression should not be considered as vulgar but mocking. People, who are labelled as *havloids* are “trying to convince you no matter what to follow their truth using your money and all the possible means, which are usually lies, violence and propaganda” (Velička, 2015).

2.1.2 Havlista

The expression *havlista* has supposedly a more profound background being firstly mentioned in 2001 by a Czech journalist Martina Opltová (Louč, 2014), who was describing this word category as a movement of the “charismatic leader” Václav Havel (Louč by Šmíd, 2014), called *havlismus*. Translated to English as *havlism*, the suffix *-ism* refers to a set of beliefs or a philosophical, political, social, art movement promoting a

certain type of values or ways a certain personality or a group of people represent (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020). *Havlista* and its translation to English as *a havlist* is a framing expression for people who identify themselves with the same values Vaclav Havel represented. The Czech suffix *-ista* is primary feature referring to a political partisanship to a particular politician, with whom we sympathize (Děngeová, 2010). The suffix shows a reference to a proper noun (Novotná, 2013), which is the surname Havel in this case.

The meaning of *Havlistus* is more complex and has not always been understood as pejorative (Louč, 2014). Unlike the word category of *havloid*, *havlista* can be described as a neutral label for people sharing Vaclav Havel's thoughts. However, within many years and a bit of contribution of the society, its media and politics (Louč, 2014), the expression has also obtained the dismissive meaning, which has derived from the criticism of Vaclav Havel and his politics (Opatrný, 2018). According to general public server čeština 2.0 and its contributors, *havlista* is a fanatic admirer of Václav Havel (čeština 2.0, 2018).

2.1.3 Pravdoláskař

The famous symbolic saying of Václav Havel "*The truth and love shall prevail over lies and hatred*" is the essential of the expression *pravdoláskař* (Slabý, 2013). The key thought of Havel and this particular saying is the endeavour to reach the truth (Kovářová, 2014). *Pravdoláskař* is a compound of two Czech words, *pravda* and *láska*. *Pravda* can be simply translated as *truth* and *láska* is the Czech expression for *love*. All put together, *pravdoláskař* or in free translation *a truth-lover* or *a lover of truth*, is another concept referring to the legacy of Havel's thoughts. Another possible translation could be *the people of truth and love*, people who promote these values (Veselá, 2017).

According to public online dictionary, *truth-lovers* are usually liberal (čeština 2.0, 2011) and open to the world, however they can also be seen as "pathetic defenders of democracy" (čeština 2.0, 2011). The latter description displays again the pejorative subtext of how this expression is perceived by Czech society.

Another expression often associated with *pravdoláskař* and the name of Vaclav Havel is so-called *sluníčkář*, which can be translated as *sunny boy* according to Opatrný, 2018. However, even though the definition of *sunny boy* concerns the naivety and childish idealism (Opatrný, 2018), it is a more complex category, which involves all people promoting multiculturalism, anti-racism etc. It is not directly affected by the legacy of Václav Havel. It is noticeable that the definition of *sluníčkář* by čeština 2.0 (2014) does not

contain any mention of Václav Havel. Even more trustworthy resources do not allude to the legacy of Václav Havel; they rather describe *sunny boys* as idealistic and open-minded (Nejedlý, 2017).

2.2 Language, media and discourse

This chapter regards the purpose and usage of language in society. Language has developed amongst humans to communicate and demonstrate their thoughts, emotions or feelings. Regarding these aspects of language, I will describe in the following paragraphs, what is the perception and role of language in people's lives and how is language used to develop specific attitudes towards several topics, situations, values, beliefs or other people. It is important to understand the processes of language and language development to properly define the discourse created around the analysed word expressions *pravdoláskař*, *havloid* and *havlista*.

We use language to express ourselves in a certain context and situation in which we find ourselves. However, at the same time, the language we use, creates the situation in which we occur (Gee, 2014). One way of how to approach and understand society and its *discourse* is through language (Fairclough, 2003). Language figures as a tool to explain our social reality (Tirado & Gálvez, 2007). We use several different approaches to construct our social life (Fairclough, 2001; Gee, 2014). These approaches define our social perspective and social action based on perception of materiality of the world, types of activities we do, ways we present ourselves and ways we act, how we think of time and space, connections we make while talking or acting, forms of consciousness, our values and, last, but not least, semiotics we use in different social groups (Fairclough, 2011; Gee, 2014), in other words the discourse we surround ourselves in (Fairclough, 2011).

Language is one of the key components in developing one's identity. Language provides a discourse people create around themselves to participate in social interactions and develop their role and identity (Davies & Harré, 1990; Menard-Warwick, 2008). Within the social interactions, people are the moderators of their identities through language they apply during conversations as one of the possible ways of social interactions (Davies & Harré, 1990). Individuals use language to assign their identities to similar and also contrasting identities of other interlocutors and to *negotiate their identity* (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Menard-Warwick, 2008) in the social interaction they are attending. Regarding language as a component of identity development, the analysed

expressions *pravdoláskař*, *havloid* and *havlista* are also used to classify and define oneself in the Czech society. These word categories carry certain meanings, which not only label the person, who is considered as one of these, but these meaning are also related to a complex system of that person's values, beliefs and his positioning within society.

There is an unwritten common consensus on how we as people add meaning to words and how words are interpreted within society. People create cultural models out of word expressions, which also attach a story behind that makes everyone understand, what each word represents. The backstory changes throughout the evolution of time and social discourse. For instance, the words that once had a pejorative meaning, could be now used as a neutral label for certain description or carry a different definition than they had carried in the past (Gee, 2015).

Regarding Davies and Harré (1990), there are many types of language, which we use to talk about certain topics. We use a specific type of language, which suits the matter we want to discuss. Language we use is also based on our previous conversations about the discussed matter. We use memories from past conversations to construct present situations and therefore our previous conversations shape the language we choose and the social discourse of a specific topic we are about to discuss. Davies and Harré (1990, p. 44) wrote "Though artificial mnemonic devices such as books and manuals are often understood as evidence for pre-existing knowledge structures independent of any speaker, these only have meaning to the extent that they are taken up by any speaker-hearer as encodings to be attended to. It is the actual conversations which have already occurred that are the archetypes of current conversations".

2.2.1 Media language

The role of media illustrates how has the discourse surrounding the word expressions *pravdoláskař*, *havloid* or *havlista* developed. In the following chapter, I will discuss, how media works in language usage and its distribution. The chapter will describe theories of *agenda-setting*, *framing* and *communication accommodation*, which focus on the discourse established by media and how media approach its audience with information selection. Media create content people absorb as receivers; therefore, media have the ability to direct the attention of its audiences towards media-selected issues (Croteau & Hoynes, 2019). Media are motivated to modify the style of their language based on the audience they are surrounded with (Bell, 1995).

The news content media offer depends on the mood of their receivers. Media have to estimate and bet on what their readers would like to read or see, depending usually on the social and political atmosphere in the society. The mood of media's audience does not rely only on the obscurity or eccentricity of the actual news, but it is actually determined by how the receivers are involved themselves in the news that media share (Lippman, 1946). Also, readers are not passive anymore, they can react actively to media content (Aitchinson & Lewis, 2003). Thus, certain social groups will read and react to certain types of news, which are adjusted to fit exactly readers' requirements and expectations.

The approaches I will discuss in my thesis, work with adjustments and specific language selection to design a specific content overview designated for certain types of readers, usually based on the media focus or the social group of readers, who are the target group of the media. The first two methods of agenda-setting and framing work mostly with the content itself.

Agenda-setting is basically a method that determinates, what news are actually covered in media (Croteau & Hoynes, 2019). Agenda-setting sets *objects* of social interest, which are about to be analysed by media and discussed by society (McCombs, 2007). By *objects*, McCombs (2007) means any public, social or political issue that could concern anything from institutional problems through corporations to brands of goods or actual people. Every *object* has its attributes, which are used to define the issue, some attributes are mentioned more frequently than others (McCombs, 2007).

As Bernard Cohen argued in 1963 (p.13) "the media may not be successful in telling people what to think, it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about". The news media have a great influence on what are the interests of society and what issues are about to be discussed. Initially, the idea of agenda in agenda-setting was not meant as pejorative (McCombs, 2007) and was set in accordance with public opinions (McCombs, 2007; Croteau & Hoynes, 2019). According to several findings, it has been shown that there are correlations found between public opinions or interests and media coverage, however the agenda-setting of news media does not coincide with "real" world issues (Croteau & Hoynes, 2019).

Framing theory can be also called a *second-level agenda-setting*. In fact, it means that framing operates *how* the media coverage is constructed (Croteau & Hoynes, 2019). Its major purpose is the variety of possible explanation of specific information. Framing theory comes with an idea of frames, which are created to develop a concept of how

people perceive received news and how they work with obtained information (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Media set frames serving as references, which are used by its audience to discuss events and issues happening within the society (Scheufele, 1999). Media frames again can be viewed in a positive sense, not only as a negative association. Besides, people also tend to think in frames, which represent their personal beliefs (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Essentially, frames were supposed to extract and emphasize the important information out of news (Scheufele, 1999). Frames help to organize information and make it comprehensible. The complication with framing is that media can construe information the way they need or want people to perceive it. People, who have no other access to obtain information, are reliant on media and its own interpretation of information. Media can use different frames for different situations described. It depends on each media, which information they consider to be highlighted (Croteau & Hoynes, 2019).

The last theory viewed in this thesis is Communication Accommodation Theory (henceforth CAT), a theoretical framework, which concerns with different factors affecting social interactions and understanding others (Giles, 2016). CAT describes how people adjust their communication behaviour within social interactions with others (Dragojevic & Gasiorek, 2015).

As it is described in Gallois and Giles (2015, p. 123) "CAT is a multifunctional theory that conceptualizes communication in both subjective and objective terms. It focuses on both intergroup and interpersonal features and, as we shall see, can integrate dimensions of cultural variability. Moreover, in addition to individual factors of knowledge, motivation, and skill, CAT recognizes the importance of power and of macro contextual factors." Media shape the language use and attitudes towards community; hence it can have an impact on people's communication behaviour and language they use in social interactions. Media as communicators are always endeavouring for approval of their audience (Bell, 1995).

Therefore, according to Bell (1995), the media use language that fits their audience's mood. Media attract audiences with specific types of speech and accommodate their language to fit the receivers' requirements.

In our case, the described theories of media setting the language and theme of news will serve as a possible explanation of how media compile the language and attitudes towards the analysed expressions and people, who are labelled with these expressions. Theories of agenda-setting and framing could show the frequency and

discourse related to the examined word categories *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid*. Communication accommodation theory can help to understand, if there are any language connotations with the analysed expressions and what attitudes are manifested towards or against the analysed labels.

2.3 Stigma, labelling theory and reappropriation

The following part reviews the concept of stigmatization. The definition of *stigma* is important for deeper understanding of the attitudes developed towards and against people, who are labelled as *pravdoláskař*, *havloid* or *havlista* in the Czech social and political discourse.

As it is claimed by the Greeks, *stigma* was used to label people by imprinting obvious unusual physical marks on their body, to let the society know that these people had a lack of good moral status. Afterwards, the expression was used to highlight a physical distinction from others as a disorder or a body mark (Goffman, 2003). As Goffman argued in 1963, contemporary discourse perceive *stigma* as a discrimination possible on any level and in any range. It carries negative stereotypes, beliefs and attitudes of people, who are considered for some reason as deviant for the society. Studies have proven that stigmatization affects many various social groups and social categories (Crocker & Major, 1989). These days, there are no specific people, who are constantly being stigmatized, at some point, stigmatization can afflict anyone (Coleman, 1986).

People unconsciously develop impetuous requirements they expect others to act in an appropriate matter. When the expectations do not fit the actual image of a person we observe, people might after mark the different other as bad, weak or dangerous (Goffman, 2003). Stigmatization of the different other after affects and threatens his personal and social identity (Major & O'Brien, 2005).

Social psychologists Mead and Cooley formed a theory of self-concept and highlighted the importance of *looking-glass self* or *reflected appraisals* (Crocker & Major, 1989) in the evolution of self-reflection, self-esteem and self-appraisal. Individuals perceive themselves based on their own idea of the social attitude towards them, their *self* comes from the interactions with other people (Cooley, 1902). Reference groups and significant others are the mirrors of their self-reflection (Gecas & Schwalbe, 1983). When people receive social evaluation of their selves, they feel and behave according to the imputed reflection (Cooley, 1902).

With regard to Gecas and Schwalbe (1983), self-esteem development also depends on opportunities to develop oneself within a social group. Stigmatized social groups are less likely to gain self-esteem, because they do not have many opportunities to improve or gain any respect (Gecas & Schwalbe, 1983; Crocker & Major, 1989), therefore they consider themselves as weak et cetera.

The perception of *looking-glass self* has been further developed within the labelling theory, which emphasized that imposition of a deviant identity upon a person (Gecas & Schwalbe, 1983). According to labelling theory, deviant behaviour can arise from many other conditions, but “individuals have been labelled or defined as deviants, they often face new problems that stem from the reactions of self and others to negative stereotypes (stigma) that are attached to the deviant label” (Bernburg, 2019, p. 1). Plausibility of the criminal or deviant behaviour becoming stable and chronic are after higher (Bernburg, 2019). Social labels that people assign to certain individuals and after the way these individuals are treated, consequently might amplify the deviancy rather than predetermined biological signs (Becker, 2003).

It is relevant to mention, deviancy can be considered not only in a negative point of view as socially noxious, but it can also be perceived as neutral; a certain diversion from the mainstream. Basically, my thesis focuses on a certain type of mild “deviancy”, which affects people, who follow the moral values related to Václav Havel’s way of thinking. These people were throughout the years labelled as *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* or *havloid*, word categories that concern an abusive and distinctive meaning. The question is, if the labels given by politicians, society and media to this certain social category, are also amplifying the newly originated identity of labelled individuals. Therefore, regarding the idea of reappropriation, these people behave as they are labelled to behave, using the expressions for self-labelling. Besides, that also makes the labelled people more confident about themselves (Galinsky, Wang, Whitson, Anicich, Hugenberg & Bodenhausen, 2013).

2.4 Previous research

Previous research consists of both sociological and linguistic thesis and articles mainly concerned with Czech social atmosphere formed around certain situations, for instance the migration crisis or the Czech political discourse. Some of the previous research on the word categories *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* have been focusing on word composition of these expressions and their role as neologisms in the contemporary Czech vocabulary. Zuzana Děngeová (2009 and after) focused on the neologisms, which are being used to label people supporting some of the local Czech politicians, in our case she also analysed the word expression *havlista*. Děngeová focuses mainly on the suffix -ista, which is used to create a noun motivated by a real name or surname, in our case by the name of Havel. However, *havlista* was one of many other examples, where politicians' names had been twisted to label people or ways of thinking, which were related to these politicians. Hence, the analysis *havlista* itself is not the main focus of Děngeová's work.

Slabý (2013) has mentioned the expressions *havloid* and *pravdoláskař* in his paper about Czech transformation from communism to anti-communism. Slabý describes that the expressions became a significant part of the Czech political discourse and criticism of Havel and its supporters by his opponents, who disagreed with Havel's "non-political politics" (Havelka, 1998). In his work, Slabý explains that there is no particular discourse or nomenclature applied by *havloids* to label in return those using the pejorative expressions.

Another research work concerned with a similar interest is from Nejedlý (2017). Nejedlý analyses the expression *sluníčkář*, i.e. *sunny boy*, describes the complexity of its meaning, its historical roots. He also examines the role of *sluníčkář* in Czech media. Nejedlý also mentions *havlista* as a nomenclature referring to the name of an actual person, Václav Havel. According to Nejedlý, some people labelled as *sluníčkář* carry the expression proudly, although, this expression is usually interpreted in a sarcastic and disdainful way.

The master's thesis of Komrska (2019) examines the Czech tabloid media. His research shows that *pravdoláskař* or *havloid* and other similar nomenclatures are usually related to people, who are supporting the aid of EU to immigrants, mostly incoming around the year 2013 and after. The labelling expressions are again considered as pejorative, negative and showing a lack of respect. Other papers, which mention the expressions *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* are also thematically related to the issue

of migration crisis and the increasing wave of extremism and xenophobia in the Czech Republic.

The bachelor's thesis of Bělohoubek (2017) mentions *pravdoláskař* and *havloid* as labels used within the current Czech socio-political context, where people labelled with these expressions are supposed to be the supporters of Václav Havel and his values. Bělohoubek defines labelling as one of the possible features of *fake news* text.

The article about Czech nationalism cliché from Pynsent (2013) refers to the expression *pravdoláskař* as a dismissive and pejorative label of people supporting idealistic Havel. Václav Havel promoted the values of love et cetera more than any other Czech politician, therefore supported the Czech nationalist cliché with a connection to the shape of heart and to the heart-shaped leaves of the Czech national tree, linden.

The previous research shows that the expressions I focus on in my thesis are well-known in the Czech social, media and political discourse. The matter of labelling with these or other related expressions have been analysed from different perspectives and within very complex topics. However, the previous research shows a lack of more profound attention to what exactly these expressions mean. So far, the existing definitions are wide and quite vague. They do not specifically focus on each expression itself, but on the whole group of related nomenclatures, which are defined broadly and not in a closer context. Any of the previous research papers did not really examine the possible shifts in meaning of *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* throughout the period of the past decade.

It is important to mention that many research papers that take *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* into consideration are usually thesis of a bachelor's or a master's degree. I was not able to find any peer-reviewed articles or books dealing with the topic in detail. There is no further examination of these word categories, their definitions and meanings.

However, the previous research can show us the media and political interest in these expressions, which proves that they are a significant part of the Czech social, media and political discourse. Therefore, my analysis and further examination of these word categories is relevant. The analysis could provide deeper understanding of the expressions *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid*.

3 Methodology

3.1 Selected news media

The following part will familiarize the readers with the news media that have been chosen for the word categories analysis *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid*. I have examined well-known Czech journals, *Hospodářské noviny*, *Mladá fronta DNES*, and the most read Czech tabloid *Blesk* (MediaGuru, 2020). The purpose of this specific selection is to cover the mainstream of journals and tabloids people pick to read. The selected journals are covering a wide range of social groups and classes. Also, the news media used for the analysis are being published both online and in a paper version, which can contribute to and extend their field of range.

The journal *Mladá fronta DNES* (abbreviated to *MF DNES*) presents itself as a serious journalism newspaper with an online version *iDNES.cz* and it is owned by one of the biggest media groups in Czech Republic, MAFRA. MAFRA with its possession of many media means as radio stations, dailies and weeklies, affects a vast part of the Czech audience. The content of *Mladá fronta DNES* is based on usual rubrics, which contain local news, world news, economy, culture et cetera. MAFRA is a part of the media division of Agrofert group (MAFRA, 2020), which is currently related to the trust fund of the Czech prime minister Andrej Babiš. However, before the contemporary prime minister got involved in the Czech political scene and transferred MAFRA into a trust fund, he had bought the media house on behalf of Agrofert (MAFRA, 2020). The seriousness and independency of *Mladá fronta DNES* was therefore doubted and criticized by a range of Czech journalists (*iDNES.cz*, 2013; Pešek, 2013). The criticism of *MF DNES* is for example shown in the article by a Czech journalist Johana Hovorková (2019), who is also publishing for the news server Forum24, which was initially established as a reaction to Babiš's purchase of MAFRA (*iDNES.cz*, 2016).

Hospodářské noviny is a Czech journal that belongs to a well-known Czech media house Economia. Economia owns weekly and daily news media, which are mainly concerned with business, finance, economy, politics and society. Economia presents itself as an independent and objective media house, which provides professional journalism, quality, precise and undistorted information. *Hospodářské noviny* has its own online server called *iHNed.cz* (Economia, 2020). Economia belongs to the possession of a Czech

billionaire Zdeněk Bakala⁵, however, officially according to the ethical codex of Economia, in every article or text related to its owner or his business there is stated information about his media ownership. Bakala is currently not involved in any political activities (HlídacíPes, 2020; Economia 2020). In addition to Bakala's media possession, he owns Vaclav Havel Library in Prague that has a purpose to collect and analyse documents to the life, thoughts and work of the former Czech president Václav Havel (Pražský deník, 2010).

The Czech tabloid *Blesk* is also published daily and has its online form of publishing, which carries the same name as the original journal. As mentioned above, *Blesk* is the most read and also the most purchased journal in the Czech Republic. *Blesk* presents itself as a prompt journal, which does not avoid any type of information and complements its articles with extensive photographic content (iKiosek.cz, 2020). It is in the ownership of Czech News Center, which is considered together with MAFRA as one of the biggest media houses in the Czech Republic (CNC, 2020). *Blesk* is a tabloid, which is concerned with Czech showbusiness scene and its news are usually striking and showy.

For the analysis, I have used the online versions of each journal mentioned above; *iHNed.cz*, *iDNES.cz* and *Blesk.cz*.

3.2 Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) is a very useful theory on how to examine media discourse and it has its roots originated in *critical social theory* of Gramsci, Althusser and the Frankfurt school that all focused on linguistic construction of meaning and sense (Carvalho, 2008). One of the main representatives and inventors of CDA, Teun A. Van Dijk, regards it as a set of pertinent methods, which serve to study severe social problems such as sexism, racism, ageism and many other social inequality demonstrations (Dijk, 2015). In this case, I examine socially constructed word categories, which have been used pejoratively to address and label people with certain moral and social values.

Critical discourse analysis enables us to understand the meaning of language in society (Fairclough, 2003), therefore the societal approach to words and word

⁵ Zdeněk Bakala is one of the wealthiest people in the Czech Republic, a philanthropist and a stakeholder in mining and finance (Wikipedia, 2020), also suspected for shady financial transactions during his ownership of OKD, a Czech coal mine company (Seznam Zprávy, 2019).

expressions or categories, which are used to express and describe the world around us and how the society interprets it (Ainsworth, 2001).

Critical discourse analysis helps us to understand the complexity of social consciousness about certain topics, the social atmosphere and the implications of language to construct people's identities, which are developed through the process of language labelling (Ainsworth, 2001). Critical discourse analysis goes beyond texts and also considers institutional and sociocultural contexts (Carvalho, 2008). The contribution of CDA can expand our understanding of identity development, construction and the effects of language on the world we build around us (Ainsworth, 2004; Gee, 2014).

There are many cases of labelling and creating socially constructive stratification of people based on many various factors. In my examination, I focus on the mentioned Czech word categories developed throughout the years to mark people with certain perception of social and moral values inspired by the opinions and views of the former Czech president Václav Havel.

I use the method of discourse analysis to explain specific language styles and word expressions typical for Czech journalistic discourse concerning social trends in labelling groups of people (Ainsworth, 2001) related to the name and values of Václav Havel. The trends in general seem to respond constructively (Fairclough, 2003) to a societal image, which could be a reaction to a particular style of self-presentation. In my own examination it means, that there must be a specific type of behaviour, which creates, directly or indirectly, the discourse around people, who are considered as *havloid*, *pravdoláskař* or *havlista*. CDA can elucidate the factors on identity construction and its effects (Ainsworth, 2004).

3.2.1 Discourse Historical Approach

Ruth Wodak elaborated a method called discourse historical approach (DHA), which is considered as one of the three main streams of discourse analysis. The approach of DHA is a multifaceted method that emphasizes the historical and political context in text analysis and works with categories, into which the analysed text can be distributed to (Lehečková & Hořejší, 2015; Homoláč, 2017; Reisigl, 2017).

The DHA method focuses on text, discourse and context. Each *text* has a *genre*, which can be explained as “a socially ratified way of using language in connection with a particular type of social activity” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p. 90), therefore, texts use

specific types of language according to the type of information they contain. The other interest of DHA method are *intertextual* and *interdiscursive relationships*, which should examine if the change of discourses is related to socio-political changes. *Intertextuality* focuses on the links and connections among texts. These connections can refer to a same topic, or a main actor, same events or evocations, by applying the same information and arguments in other texts and “transferring the given elements to new contexts” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p. 90), which Wodak and Reisigl (2017) call *recontextualization*. The opposite effect called *de-contextualization* removes an element of a particular context. *Interdiscursivity* refers to if and how are the text discourses linked to each other. Certain topics carry certain discourses that are related to other topics or subtopics concerning or mentioning similar issues. DHA also focuses on *field of action* indicating the social reality as a *frame* of a certain discourse (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017).

The category of *discourse* is divided into 5 subcategories, which are established to examine the choice of words and naming, predication; i.e. feature attribution, argumentation and justification of a word selection, perspectivisation and intensification or mitigation of a certain matter. *Naming* refers to how analysed people, objects, processes or situations are named or labelled in a certain text. *Predication* takes into consideration, what characteristics are attributed to analysed people, objects, processes or situations. *Argumentation* focuses on arguments used to support the choice of words to describe analysed people, objects, processes or situations. *Perspectivisation* describes the author’s position towards analysed people, objects, processes or situations, and if the author expresses any involvement et cetera. *Mitigation* and *intensification* observe, if the language utilization is overly expressive, intensified or, on the other hand, mitigates, neutralizes or even underestimates the seriousness of text (Reisigl, 2017).

DHA focuses mainly on *historical context*, i.e. how texts are related to past. There are three ways of how to approach *context*, each of them proceeds the analysed text a bit differently. The first approach basically compares the texts from present to past, e.g. identifying any occurrence of *recontextualization*. The second approach focuses on the historical interrelationships of texts within a certain period of time. The third approach contains the critical analysis of social actors as politicians, public figures or writers, in our case journalists, and their attitude to the matter of concern, the analysed text (Reisigl, 2017).

In the following analysis, categorization of the examined word categories *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* will help to find the definitions and discourses these expressions carry.

4 Practical Part

The practical part of my thesis focuses on critical discourse analysis of the selected expressions concerning the values, beliefs and attitudes related to the name and character of Václav Havel. For the analysis, I have chosen three expressions, which also work as word categories. As shown in previous research, they carry more than just a word meaning, but also values, labels and approaches towards society; they can be used to categorize people into groups and determine possible judgmental incentives (Jayyusi, 2013).

My aim is to investigate to what extent the public usage of these word categories *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* changed throughout the last ten years, 2010 – 2020. Furthermore, I focus on finding patterns of how the categories are being used and in which contexts. One of my other major concerns is to find the definitions and descriptions, which are being used to categorize these expressions and people that are being marked with the examined labels. Regarding the media, I will describe and elucidate, what are the aspects, attributes and features of being a *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid*, and also what being labelled by one these expressions represents.

Another phenomenon, I will follow within the analysis, is the discourse surrounding the examined expressions. It is necessary to know the context in which the analysed categories are being used.

My interest is focused on news media, which are, as mentioned previously in the theoretical part, shaping the social discourse and presenting their readers the news, they want them to consider and accept. Therefore, I expect that the news media can be one of the optimal sources to use for mapping and describing changes in political and social discourse formed around the analysed word categories *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid*.

Using the critical discourse analysis approach, I am going to focus on the pejorative meaning, which is usually socially related to these word categories and can also carry a certain kind of stigmatization in society. I will pay particular attention to a possible change of the meaning of analysed expressions, which could throughout the years evolve and distinguish from the original pejorative sense, for instance by its carriers; people labelled with the selected expressions. By differentiating from the original sense, I mean a possibility of the meaning transformation by its carriers, who have been presenting the labels as a part of their own identity. Therefore, the stigmatized people have accepted the

label as a demonstrative feature, which defines their selves. With regard to the labelling theory and the theory of reappropriation of stigmatizing labels, the analysis could show us the effect of behaving as being labelled, i.e. self-labelling (Galinsky, Wang, Whitson, Anicich, Hugenberg & Bodenhausen, 2013).

Further, I will describe the analysis procedure and how I approached the examination of word categories *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* usage within the selected Czech news media.

4.1 Occurrence of *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* in the Czech news media

With regard to the possibility of analysing the news articles via internet, I have decided to focus on the online versions of journals mentioned above. The online texts and articles are accessible more easily, and the range of topics is wider than in the printed press. To find the articles containing the observed word expressions, I visited each online server's search engine and started exploring the word categories I wanted to examine. I looked for each expression separately using journal search engines, which presented all the available texts including or using the word expressions of *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid*.

Table 1: Occurrence of the analysed word categories within the selected news media

	<i>iHNed.cz</i>	<i>Blesk.cz</i>	<i>iDNES.cz</i>	In Total
<i>Pravdoláskař</i>	17	7	13	37
<i>Havlista</i>	3	7	10	20
<i>Havloid</i>	2	3	7	12
In Total	22	17	30	69

Altogether, in all three journals, there have been 69 references to articles, commentaries, interviews and other types of texts identified with at least one of the selected word expressions *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* or *havloid*. Most of the articles containing one of these expressions were found in *iDNES.cz*, it was exactly 30 references to texts including any of the analysed word expressions; 24 news articles and 6 interviews. The second one with most frequent usage was *iHNed.cz*, which presented

altogether 22 references to texts containing the expressions; 9 commentaries, 2 interviews and 11 news articles. *Blesk.cz* referenced the analysed word expressions in 17 texts in total; 11 news articles, 1 commentary and 5 interviews.

It has been shown that the category *pravdoláskař* was the most frequently used in all of the selected news media. This expression was involved in 37 texts; 17 times in *iHNed.cz*, 7 times in *Blesk.cz* and 13 times in *iDNES.cz*. *Havlista* was mentioned 20 times altogether; 3 times in *iHNed.cz*, 7 times in the tabloid *Blesk* and 10 times in *iDNES.cz*.

The word category *havloid* was represented 2 times in *iHNed.cz*, 3 times in *Blesk.cz* and appeared 7 times in *iDNES.cz*, which is 12 times in total. That makes this category the least common out of the three examined word expressions.

Afterwards, in each journal examination, I have sorted all the available texts chronologically, so I could see the time range of the expression usage and also compare it to the period of time I focus on in my analysis. All the texts approached in the journals were published within the time period from 2010 to 2020.

Table 2: The first year of occurrence of “*pravdoláskař*”, “*havlista*” and “*havloid*” within the selected news media

	<i>iHNed.cz</i>	<i>Blesk.cz</i>	<i>iDNES.cz</i>
<i>Pravdoláskař</i>	2011	2012	2010
<i>Havlista</i>	2012	2014	2010
<i>Havloid</i>	2017	2015	2015

iHNed.cz mentioned the expression *pravdoláskař* for the first time in 2011, *havlista* in 2012 and *havloid* was firstly used in 2017. *iDNES.cz* used the expressions *pravdoláskař* and *havlista* for the first time already during the year 2010, *havloid* was applied in the texts a bit later, in 2015. *Blesk.cz* referenced to *pravdoláskař* firstly in 2012, *havlista* was used subsequently in 2014 and *havloid* was mentioned in 2015 for the first time. The chronological order of texts using the word expressions shows us that the examined news media encountered the expression *havloid* at the latest. On the other hand, *Pravdoláskař* seems as not only the most used expression, but also the earliest one to be used in the selected news media and its discourse.

4.2 Categorization of *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid*

Applying the method of discourse historical approach, one of the main concepts of critical discourse analysis, I analysed the texts of selected Czech news media to find the definition, meaning and discourse carried with each examined expression. I have considered all the 69 accessible texts in my analysis.

Using the categories of discourse, I have divided each of the accessible texts into 5 categories and 2 subcategories. The category of *naming* refers to the analysed word expressions; *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* or *havloid*. The next category of *predications* is divided into two subcategories of *abstract links* to some values and beliefs, and *specific links* to certain people, places or assemblies etc. *Argumentation* was supporting the used adjectives and other expressions to describe the examined word categories in the texts. *Perspectivisation* and *intensification* or *mitigation* were not represented in every text. These categories have subjective value; therefore, the author is very specific in his texts or quoting very strong and emotional citations.

Categorization using the DHA serves to divide the analysed word expressions into categories to see the attributes and features they carry in their definitions.

4.3 Definitions of the analysed word categories

Within the following section, I will describe the analysed word expressions *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* according to the accessible texts of the Czech news media *Blesk.cz*, *iHNed.cz* and *iDNES.cz*.

The analysis has shown that all of the three examined expressions are in many cases related to similar or even same themes, topics and values. The expressions *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* are also quoted as synonyms or carrying the same attributes and meanings, some people use them as equal expressions.

I am expecting these expressions to be not only related to the name of Václav Havel, but also to the values he represented and to the values that were associated also to the events of The Velvet Revolution, a democratic transformation in 1989.

4.3.1 *Havlista*

The analysis has shown that *havlista* is mainly used in the analysed texts by people, who are being quoted in the texts, therefore, not initially by the author of the text. According to the texts using the expression, *havlista* is a representative and supporters of

Václav Havel's values, seeks for moral values, supports democracy, solidarity, liberty and believes that material values are less important than the ones mentioned above. The definition of *havlista* also carries some attributes linked to specific people, places or ideologies. For instance, Igor Fait, a Czech millionaire, says in the interview for *iHNed.cz* that he considers himself as *havlista* as he "likes democracy and liberty and he has always wanted Karel Schwarzenberg to be elected as the president⁶, he tolerates immigrants⁷, he prefers pro-western and pro-Europe orientation, however not orientation towards China or Russia" (Křeč, 2017)⁸. There are also other specific links to politicians such as Emmanuel Macron or Angela Merkel (Křeč, 2017), who are in general considered as EU supportive.

Havlista is also in some texts meant to be a critic of the Havel's political and ideological opponent Václav Klaus, who is "hated by the supporters of Václav Havel" (Martínek, 2015)⁹. Václav Klaus associated *havlists* with one of the Czech political parties, TOP 09¹⁰, and also to a Czech movement protesting against the current government, *Milion chviliek pro demokracii*, and criticized them for "spreading disillusion" (Zázvorka, 2019)¹¹.

People labelled as *havlists* are usually strongly criticized by their opponents, who disagree with pro-European and pro-western politics. The opponents usually emerge within the Czech political environment, representing extremist, nationalist, anti-immigration and Eurosceptic attitudes. When describing *havlists*, some of the nationalist Czech politicians and controversial public figures as for instance Tomio Okamura, Petr Hájek and Jiří Vyvadil use intensifying expressions as *half-fascists*, *fascistic havlists*, *new*

⁶ Karel Schwarzenberg, a close friend and co-worker of Václav Havel, a Czech politician, a former minister of foreign affairs and a former member of the Czech senate, co-founder of a Czech political party TOP 09, was running for a president in 2013 against Miloš Zeman, unsuccessfully. (Wikipedia, 2020)

⁷ Linking to the migrant wave/crisis as a reaction to the Syrian war, refugees coming to Europe, mainly from 2014 to 2016, (BBC, 2016). The Czech discussion and the Czech government had a negative attitude against refugees coming to the Czech Republic, in general, for instance see (The Guardian, 2018).

⁸ Interview with Robert Fait for *iHNed.cz*, interviewed by Luboš Křeč. Quoted: „Já byl vždycky havlista. Mám rád demokracii, svobodu. Za prezidenta jsem chtěl Karla Schwarzenberga. Preferuji orientaci na Evropu, na Západ, ne na Rusko a Čínu, i když jsou to země, které nám nabízejí řadu obchodních příležitostí.“ (iHNed.cz, 2017)

⁹ Commentary by Dalibor Martínek for *iHNed.cz* about Václav Klaus. Quoted: „Obdivovatelé Václava Havla Klause prostě nenávidějí. A jeden nemusí být "havlista", aby mu Klausova kritika již zesnulého předchůdce v čele státu přišla nemístná.“

¹⁰ TOP 09 is a Czech liberal-conservative party founded by Karel Schwarzenberg and Miroslav Kalousek

¹¹ Interview with Václav Klaus for *iDNES.cz*, interview by Jan Zázvorka. Quoted: „Havlisti a milionkaři chviliek a topkaři vytvářejí deziluzi,“ uvedl. (iDNES.cz, 2019)

*age Bolsheviks*¹², *fanatics, pro-Brussels, multiculturalists*¹³ and associate the expression *havlista* with some of the Czech liberal journalists as Jindřich Šídlo or Saša Uhlová. Another Czech politician, Ivo Strejček has described *havlistism* as “its own system of values and beliefs, which tries to change people” (Šimáček, 2016)¹⁴. *Havlista* is also related to *pravdoláskař* in a *Blesk.cz* article, where a politician Petr Bystron¹⁵ also links the expression to the Czech politician Karel Schwarzenberg and another analysed expression *pravdoláskař*. Bystron argues their attitudes¹⁶ are “moralistic and their vision is being far from what is real” (*Blesk.cz*, 2016)¹⁷.

iDNES.cz informs its readers in 2018 about a comedy play, which is called *Zku****í havlisti*, translated as *Fuc***g Havlists*, about Czech politics discussed by three men in a sauna¹⁸

A good example of non-critical approach to the expression *havlista* is shared in the journal *iDNES.cz* by a Czech dissident Vladimír Líbal, who answered if he labelled himself as *havlista*: “I am not sure, if I could label myself as *havlista*, I do not like labels. Hopefully, I do not spread disillusion¹⁹. However, the character of Václav Havel is closer to me than any other politician. Václav Havel is associated to the ethos of 1989, ethos of freedom, democracy, legal state, justice, also mutual solidarity, respect to diversity and otherness, freedom of individual creativity, responsibility for one’s own life, politeness, virtue and the possibility of having a dignified and decent life in freedom. That is not possible without all the attributes mentioned above” (Nedvěd, 2019)²⁰.

¹² Article for *iDNES.cz*, Petr Hájek labelling the supporters of Václav Havel as Bolsheviks, who manipulate the media and happenings in the Czech Republic. Quoted: Hájek přirovnával stoupence Váckava Havla k novodobým bolševikům, kteří podle něj ovládají dění a média v České republice. (*iDNES.cz*, 2015)

¹³ Article for *Blesk.cz* by Jaroslav Šimáček about Tomio Okamura facing racism. Quoted: „Po více než 20 letech po sametové revoluci se tam najednou musím bát chodit, protože jsem častován různými havlisty, multikulturalismy, probuselisty různými rasistickými a xenofobními narážkami“ (Šimáček, 2017)

¹⁴ Article for *Blesk.cz* by Jaroslav Šimáček, about the members of the Czech political party ODS, who talked about its evolution. Ivo Strejček, a member of ODS, quoted: „Havlistmus nikdy o změnu systému nějak moc nestál, naopak o změnu člověka vždy toužil pochopitelně podle vlastního systému hodnot“ and

¹⁵ The leader of a German right-wing political party AfD (Alternative für Deutschland) with Czech origins, a critic of the migrant crisis policy, critic of *truth-lovers, havlists* etc. (*Týden*, 2015)

¹⁶ The attitudes of *havlista* and *pravdoláskař*

¹⁷ Article about Petr Bystron reacting to quotes of Karel Schwarzenberg in *Blesk.cz*. Quoted: Schwarzenberg má takový ten havlistický pohled, to je přesně havlistická pravdoláska. A ty postoje těch havlistů, pravdolásky a to teď je generálně, to jsou vždycky moralistické pohledy na věc, to nemá se skutečností nebo s realitou téměř nic společného. Ti lidé vždycky posuzují svět podle svých subjektivních, morálních kritérií.“ (*Blesk.cz*, 2016)

¹⁸ Article for *iDNES.cz* about a comedy play *Zku****í havlisti*. (Šťástka, 2018)

¹⁹ Reaction to the quote of Václav Klaus that *havlists* spread disillusion

²⁰ Interview with a dissident Vladimír Líbal for *iDNES.cz*, interview by Jaroslav Nedvěd. Quoted: Právě „Václav Klaus nedávno prohlásil, že havlisti dnes šíří ve společnosti deziluzi. Jste havlista?“ „Nevím, jestli bych se tak označil, nemám rád nálepky, a doufám, že žádnou deziluzi nešířím, ale osobnost Václava Havla je mi bližší než jiní politici. Jeho mám nejvíc spojeného s étosem listopadu 1989. Tím étosem podle mě

Havlists also defend the politics and attitudes of Václav Havel, which are being criticized by his opponents: “We have a different age, age of globalization, information and the wave of refugees. Havel has nothing to do with these happenings. And I would not even blame him for people’s expectations being accomplished or for him not punishing the crimes and felonies of communism²¹. That is a concern of political parties, parliament and political will to deal with the communist era, not a concern of a president” (Šimáček, 2016)²².

4.3.2 *Havloid*

According to the data, the word expression *havloid* is the youngest and less common word category from my selection. The analysis reveals again that *havloid* is linked to the beliefs and values of Václav Havel, the events of 1989, moral values, liberty and solidarity. *Havloids* are also associated with other nomenclatures carrying the same sense and notion, word expressions such as analysed *pravdoláskař* or *sluníčkář* and expressions relating to pro-European attitudes and tolerating or supporting refugees coming to Europe, such as *vítač*; someone, who welcomes refugees. Regarding the article from *iDNES.cz* about these neologisms being a part of the Czech internet discussion²³, all of the expressions are considered by linguists as pejorative labels of people, who excessively promote the values of solidarity and other moral values mentioned previously.

byly svoboda, demokracie, právní stát, spravedlnost, ale také vzájemná solidarita, respekt k jinakosti, uvolnění prostoru pro osobní podnikavost, která nebude svazována a podrážena státem, jak se leckdy dnes děje, vzetí odpovědnosti za svůj život, slušnost a mravnost, a hlavně vytvoření podmínek pro, pokud možno důstojný a svobodný život nás všech. Což bez všech výše zmíněných atributů není možné.“ (Nedvěd, 2019)

²¹ Havel was blamed by the Czech society for letting communists of the previous totalitarian regime without any punishment.

²² Interview with Jan Ruml, a former Czech politician and dissident, talking about his memories of Václav Havel. For *Blesk.cz* interviewed by Jaroslav Šimáček. Quoted: „Jak tedy vnímáte současnou kritiku Václava Havla a jeho odkazu? Být havlistou je pro někoho v současné době takřka nadávka.“ (Šimáček, 2016)

„Doba je jiná, je to doba informačních technologií, pokročilé globalizace, přílivu uprchlíků. S těmito věcmi samozřejmě Havel nemá nic společného. A já bych mu ani jaksi nezazlíval to, že nebyla naplněna očekávání lidí, že nebyly potrestány zločiny komunismu. To byla věc politických stran, parlamentu a politické vůle s tím obdobím komunismu zúčtovat, nikoli prezidenta republiky.“

²³ Article by Zdeňka Trachtová for *iDNES.cz* about Czech neologisms used in internet discussions negatively. Quoted: Objevuje se též výraz *havloid* či *havlobot* jako pejorativní označení příznivců prvního prezidenta České republiky Václava Havla. „Pokud si *sluníčkáři* a *havloidi* myslí, že je *slimáci* ušetří, až to tady ovládnou, hluboce se mylí,“ prohlašuje účastník jedné z diskuzí. „Ulov si svého *sluníčkáře* a *dobrosera*. Tam začíná problém,“ radí další. ... Řada nových slov se vyrojila v souvislosti s uprchlickou krizí. Kromě již známého *sluníčkáře* se v poslední době objevuje také výraz *vítač*. Podle příručního slovníku jazyka českého je *vítač* „ten, kdo byl určen, zvolen k vítání někoho.“ V diskuzích pod články však dostává negativní nádech. „Je to pejorativní označení někoho, kdo něco či někoho (nekriticky) vítá, dnes užíváno zejména v souvislosti s uprchlickou krizí,“ domnívá se Lišková. (Trachtová, 2015)

A more excessive example of negative usage of *havloid* is shown in the title of an interview with a Czech actor Jiří Maryško, who was also insulted by his internet opponents as a *Jew-fascist, illuminate, homosexual, circumcised* and *on drugs*²⁴. Although, there is no other mention of *havloid* during the interview and no further context known (e.g. we cannot tell if the internet discussion was actually associating *havloid* with the other mentioned expressions), the interview title for *iDNES.cz* related *havloid* to other very negative and insulting expressions.

Czech public figures supporting and promoting the legacy of Václav Havel consider him as a symbol of virtue with an ethical and moral dimension that was significant for the democratic transformation in 1989, however they realize that the expression *havloid* or *pravdoláskař* and *sluníčkář* have some pejorative notions²⁵. A famous Czech actor, playwright, filmmaker and musician Zdeněk Svěrák has been known for supporting Havel's thoughts. While he was remembering the events of 1989, he complained about the Czech "democracy being ill, that *pravdoláskař* is an insult these days, that he is considered as one of them and that a new nomenclature has been developed for Havel, *havloid*, therefore, he still is with us" (Kučerová, 2019)²⁶.

Some politicians consider themselves as *havloids*, for example one of the new vice-presidents (2020) of the Czech Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Alexandr Vondra²⁷ labels himself as *havloid*. Vondra says, he wants to protect the values, liberty and rights that were gained in 1989. He, as *havloid*, also does not agree and criticizes the communists active during the previous regime and now are also active in the current Czech politics²⁸.

²⁴ Interview with Jiří Maryško for *iDNES.cz*. Interviewed by Vladimír Mayer. Quoted: „Od oponentů se na internetu dočkal pojmenování homosexuál, iluminát, havloid, židofašista či obřezanec a osočení, že je na drogách.“ (Mayer, 2015)

²⁵ Article for *iDNES.cz* about the conference on The Velvet Revolution anniversary by Tereza Kučerová. President of the Czech Constitutional Court, Pavel Rychetský quoted: „Václav Havel pro mě znamená mravnost,“ vzpomínal v úvodu svého projevu Pavel Rychetský, předseda Ústavního soudu, na Václava Havla a jeho etický a morální rozměr, který byl důležitou součástí přerodu společnosti před třiceti lety. „V mojí zemi se odkaz Havla obrací v opak. Slova jako havloid, sluníčkář či pravdoláskař nezasklívají svůj pejorativní náboj,“ pokračoval. (Kučerová, 2019)

²⁶ Article for *iDNES.cz* by Tereza Kučerová about Czech public figures remembering the events of 1989 within the 30 years anniversary of The Velvet Revolution. Zdeněk Svěrák quoted: „Naše demokracie je taková nemocná. Vznikla nadávka pravdoláskař. Já mezi ně patřím. A taky pro vás vzniklo slovo havloid. To váš možná potěší, že tady s námi pořád jste,“ zakončil Svěrák. (Kučerová, 2019)

²⁷ The Czech politician Alexandr Vondra is considered and considers himself as *pravdoláskař* and *havloid*. He is also closely related to Václav Havel, events of 1989 and the movement Charta 77. He was the spokesman of Charta 77 in 1989 and after he worked as Havel's political advisor. (ODS, 2020)

²⁸ See articles of *iDNES.cz*, or *Blesk.cz* or *iHNed.cz* talking about Vondra being elected as a member of the new executives of ODS and labelling himself as *havloid*. Quoted i.e.: Vondra uvedl, že se jako "Havloid" hlásí do služby. "Pokud dostanu důvěru, zkusím nezklamat," uvedl. Slíbil nekompromisní obranu svobod, práv a hodnot, které si Češi vybojovali v roce 1989. "Dnes, 30 let poté, jsou tyto svobody znovu

Another Czech politician, Pavel Novotný, also labels himself *havloid*²⁹ and determines himself from the nationalist and anti-EU politician, Václav Klaus junior³⁰.

In commentary on *iHNed.cz* by Petr Honzejek talking about the seriousness of *fake news* trend, he describes a person, who would share *fake news* and would negatively label his opponents saying that these types of news are distorted and untruthful as *havloids*. Honzejek claims that according to people, who would share *fake news*, *havloids* are *pseudo-humanists* and they should “wake up” (Honzejek, 2017)³¹.

4.3.3 *Pravdoláskař*

Within the description of *pravdoláskař*, I will be also using its possible English translation *truth-lover*, equally. I have decided to use both versions given the possibility of translation and due to easier word composition within the text.

The word category *pravdoláskař* is a composition of Czech expressions for *truth* and *love*. The composition also reflects in the actual meaning of this word category. The meaning of *pravdoláskař* is a bit more complex because its meaning does not only consider the name of Václav Havel, but also a broad range created by its inclusion of values such as *truth* and *love*. Except for these values, which were claimed by Václav Havel as prevailing over *lies* and *hatred*, *pravdoláskař* also seeks for justice, harmony, humanism and humanity, solidarity, sophistication, morality and willingness to help. The analysis shows that *pravdoláskař* is considered as a synonym of another expression used in the Czech discourse, *sluníčkář* (*sunny boy*), which is usually related to people accepting and supporting immigrants searching for asylum in Europe. *Pravdoláskař* has also gained

oklešťovány a tyto svobody relativizovány," varoval. Ostře kritizoval vládní zmocněnkyni pro lidská práva Helenu Válkovou (za ANO) za způsob její obhajoby v kauze společného článku s komunistickým prokurátorem Josefem Urválkem. (Frouzová & Leinert for *iHNed.cz*, 2020)

²⁹ Interview on *iDNES.cz* with Pavel Novotný, a mayor for Prague-Řeporyje, talking about his view on Václav Klaus jr. Quoted: „S juniorem se neshodnu prakticky v ničem, jsem jeho pravý opak. Jsem proevropský, jsem vítáč, jsem havloid.“ (Kolář, 2019)

³⁰ Son of the Czech politician Václav Klaus, a former member of ODS (excluded from ODS), a founder (2019) of an Eurosceptical and nationalist political movement, TRIKOLORA. (*iDNES.cz*, 2019)

³¹ Commentary by Petr Honzejek for *iHNed.cz* about *fake news*. Quoted: Jeden z mých spolužáků z pedagogické fakulty mi pravidelně posílá texty ze serveru Aeronet a odkazy na neozdrojované informace z diskusí pod články na nejrůznějších webech. "Amerika se pokouší v Evropě rozpoutat třetí světovou," objasnil mi na základě jednoho z takových textů. Vysvětlování, že jeho zdroje informací jsou mírně řečeno obskurní, nemá smysl. Má předem jasno, kdo zpochybňuje jeho zdroje, je "havloid" a "pseudohumanista" a měl by se probrat.

another association with people, who are overly supportive of European Union, *Eurohujer*³², a Czech slang, pejorative and insulting expression labelling *Europhiles*.

In response to that, authors, who consider themselves as *pravdoláskař*, are defining themselves against *Europhobia*. As we can see in the following example, the journalist Petr Honzejek mocks people opposing the European Union by highlighting the word “REC-OM-MEN-DA-TION” to let *Europhobics* know that it the mentioned recommendation is just a recommendation (Honzejek, 2013)³³.

Blesk.cz used the expression *pravdoláskař* as an attribute to describe the willingness and kindness of Arnold Schwarzenegger, “who is, as all Californians, a green *truth-lover* that has been supporting handicapped athletes, rides a bike or has been fighting against global warming” (Blesk.cz, 2017)³⁴. Another case occurred on *iDNES.cz* with a similar usage of *pravdoláskař* was within the context of a film review written on a trilogy about Jan Hus³⁵, who was labelled as *pravdoláskař* in the text³⁶.

An interview for *iHNed.cz*, the interviewer Martin Biben asks a former minister of justice, Robert Pelikán (2017), also considered as *pravdoláskař*: “Is Andrej Babiš³⁷ bringing you up to say after that ANO is not just a *heartless* and *pragmatic* movement, they have Pelikán after all?”, whilst Pelikán replies: “I am not the only one, there is many people sharing the values of *humanism* and *culturalism*” (Biben, 2017)³⁸. This part of the interview shows that *pravdoláskař* also pays attention to feelings, emotions and other intangible assets as it is considered as a component of *humanism*.

It could be for its long existence, familiarity and complexity that *pravdoláskař* is frequently used within the Czech social, political and media discourse. Apparently, from the analysed texts, commentaries on *iHNed.cz* by Czech journalists as Miroslav Hošek or Jindřich Šídlo are a good example of *truth-lovers* standing by their label and striking back

³² The *-hujer* in *Eurohujer* is a link to a character from a famous Czech movie *Marečku, podejte mi pero!*, in English *Marecek, Pass Me the Penn!*. The character of Mr. Hujer is obtrusive and annoying.

³³ Commentary of Petr Honzejek for *iHNed.cz*. Quoted: „Jde o doporučení (pro eurofoby: DO-PO-RU-ČE-NÍ) Evropské komise, ...“ (Honzejek, 2013)

³⁴ Article on *Blesk.cz* about the 70th birthday of Arnold Schwarzenegger. Quoted: „...Arnold je jako všichni Kalifornané tak trochu zelený pravdoláskař – podporuje handicapované sportovce, jezdí na kole či bojuje proti globálnímu oteplování.“ (Blesk.cz, 2017)

³⁵ Famous Czech philosopher and church reformer, burned in 1415 in Konstanz. (People’s World, 2015)

³⁶ Film review on a trilogy about Jan Hus for *iDNES.cz*. Quoted: „pravdoláskař“ Hus svou zarytostí nakonec zdržuje oba tábory...“ (Spáčilová, 2015)

³⁷ Current Czech Prime Minister, president and leader of the political movement ANO (leading political movement in the last Czech elections)

³⁸ Interview by Martin Biben for *iHNed.cz* with Robert Pelikán. Biben quoted: „O vás se říká, že jste jediný takzvaný pravdoláskař v ANO. Není to tak, že si vás Andrej Babiš v té roli tak trochu pěstuje, aby mohl říci, že ANO není pouze pragmatické, bezcitné, vždyť má přece Pelikána?“ (Biben, 2017)

as the reaction to being labelled such way. Jindřich Šídlo³⁹, has written a sarcastic commentary on him being labelled by a Czech extremist nationalist politician Adam B. Bartoš as “*elite pravdoláskař*”, however, he still has not been added to this “list” of *truth-lovers*, how come?” (Šídlo, 2012)⁴⁰.

Truth-lovers also define themselves not only by refusing the ideas the former Czech president Václav Klaus, but also by their criticism of the current Czech president Miloš Zeman⁴¹. For instance, Šídlo discusses in his texts for *iHNed.cz* the expression *pražská kavárna*, translated to English as *Prague café*, which is a nomenclature initiated by the current Czech president Miloš Zeman. According to Šídlo (in 2015)⁴², *Prague café* is a similar and even more popular version of *pravdoláskař*. This pejorative label reflects the aim of Miloš Zeman to divide society and insult his opponents, who “just have enough time to sit around in these Prague cafés and complain about politics etc.” (openDemocracy, 2015)⁴³. Šídlo also claims that Zeman labelled everyone, who voted for Karel Schwarzenberg in the presidential elections in 2013 as members of *pražská kavárna* (e.g. *Prague café*); Zeman considers everyone, who does not vote for him, as an opponent.

Truth-lovers, as we can call them in English, are linked by their opponents to *pseudo-humanism*, *naivety*, *exaggerated idealism*. The expression is considered as an insult in some social groups and can carry a pejorative or even vulgar meaning, as it is stated in an interview with president’s spokesman Jiří Ovčáček for *iDNES.cz*. The author quotes a Czech extremist and nationalist activist Martin Konvička⁴⁴: “Martin Konvička

³⁹ Czech liberal journalist, political analyst, known for his sarcastic commentaries and satires on the Czech social and political discourse. (see Borufka, 2012)

⁴⁰ Commentary by Jindřich Šídlo for *iHNed.cz*, *a request for being added to a list of truth-lovers*. Quoted: „Nedávno jsem si o sobě u stejného autora hrdě přečetl, že jsem “elitní pravdoláskař”, a na seznam to nestačí?!“ (Šídlo, 2012)

⁴¹ Miloš Zeman, a current Czech president, was elected in 2013 after beating Karel Schwarzenberg, then he won again the second election period in 2018 beating another presidential candidate, Jiří Drahoš. Zeman is controversial for his insulting quotes about his opponents and people, who disagree with his ideas. According to surveys, Zeman divides the Czech society and pits people against each other. (*iROZHLAS.cz*, 2019)

⁴² Commentary of Jindřich Šídlo for *iHNed.cz* talking about *pražská kavárna* as a new word to play with in the Czech discourse. Quoted: „Označení je to tak chytlavé, že už skoro vytlačilo oblíbený termín “pravdoláskař”...“ (Šídlo, 2015)

⁴³ See more in the article *The Prague Café: a brief incursion into Czech presidential discourse*. (openDemocracy, 2015)

⁴⁴ Well-known for his anti-islamic activism, co-founder of the anti-islamic nationalist movement „Islám v ČR nechceme“, translated as „We do not want Islam in the Czech Republic“. (Feurebauer for *iDNES.cz*, 2016)

labelled his opinion opponents as *d**ks*, *goodness-shit**rs*⁴⁵, *truth-lovers* and *idiots*" (Wirnitzner, 2015)⁴⁶.

Some journalists and articles use the expression *pravdoláskař* without complementing it by any other adjectives, i.e.: "my Facebook friend, *pravdoláskař* and mathematician"⁴⁷, *pravdoláskař* Tomáš Klus⁴⁸, *pravdoláskař* Alexandr Vondra. It seems that the expression is probably very familiar to anyone reading the article, therefore, there is no need to attach attributes and no need to further explain the meaning of *pravdoláskař*. Also, in the case of Tomáš Klus, there is a specific link related to this musician as he has been promoting the ideas of *truth* and *love* as important for having a harmony in society. *Pravdoláskař* supports these ideas and refuses living in *lies*, *hatred* and *violence*⁴⁹.

Another interesting phenomenon is the occurrence of self-labelling as *truth-lover beyond the grave*⁵⁰, in the case of a Czech businessman Jan Barta, or *the typical truth-lover*⁵¹, in the case of Tereza Ramba, who adds that when she feels her civic duty, she tries to support the good and true side. Therefore, *pravdoláskař* is understood as being compliant to our civic duties.

⁴⁵ Free translation of the czech vulgar expression *dobroser*

⁴⁶ Interview with president's spokesmen, Jiří Ovčáček, for iDNES.cz. Interviewer Jan Wirnitzner quoted: „...Martina Konvičky, který své názorové odpůrce jen v posledních dnech označil – cituji – za naprosté šulíny, dobrosery, pravdoláskaře a idioty?“ (Wirnitzner, 2015)

⁴⁷ Commentary of Petr Honzejek for iHNed.cz. Quoted: „...napsal mi facebookový přítel, pravdoláskař a matematik.“ (Honzejek, 2013)

⁴⁸ Interview with a Czech musician Tomáš Klus for Blesk.cz, who is considered as *pravdoláskař*. (Blesk.cz, 2019)

⁴⁹ See article for iDNES.cz by Martin Jiroušek quoting a Czech musician and actor Jiří Zahuta: „Jsem takzvaný pravdoláskař, a když se tomu někdo vysmívá, tak mu řeknu jediné: A ty vyznáváš co? Lež a násilí? Až pak si totiž lidé uvědomí, co vlastně říkají.“

⁵⁰ See article for iHNed.cz about a Czech businessman Jan Barta, who was a political candidate for communal elections in 2014, labelled himself as a *truth-lover beyond the grave* with his campaign. Quoted: V roce 2014 dokonce kandidoval za zelené v krajských volbách s poněkud odvážným heslem "Pravdoláskař až za hrob". (Šenk & Biben, 2016)

⁵¹ Czech Actress Tereza Ramba labels herself as *the typical truth-lover* in an interview for iDNES.cz. (Zavřelová, 2020)

4.3.4 *Similarities and major features*

The following table was created to summarize the main attributes that occurred during the analysis as repetitive in relation to the examined expressions *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid*. I have observed the recurrence of features such as:

- Being associated with the values Václav Havel has promoted; truth, love, justice, peace, democracy, solidarity
- Relating to the ethos of 1989, the democratic transformation from the previous totalitarian communist regime
- Willingness to help and accept refugees during the migrant crisis
- Criticism of the current president, Miloš Zeman
- Criticism of the former president and Havel's rival, Václav Klaus
- Supporting the previous presidential candidate and politician, Karel Schwarzenberg
- "Fighting" *fake news*
- Supporting EU and pro-western ideologies
- Defining themselves explicitly against the politics of China and Russia
- Pejorative label (in some contexts)
- Being insulted by their opponents
- Being compared to other twisted and pejorative nomenclatures
- Self-labelling

Table 3: Major features of the analysed expressions

	<i>Pravdoláskař</i>	<i>Havlista</i>	<i>Havloid</i>
Václav Havel's values	▪	▪	▪
Ethos of 1989	▪	▪	▪
Idealism	▪	▪	▪
Willingness to help refugees	▪	▪	▪
Criticism of Zeman	▪		
Criticism of Klaus	▪	▪	▪
Against fake news	▪	▪	
EU supportive	▪	▪	▪
Against China or Russia		▪	
Pejorative label	▪	▪	▪
Insulted from opponents	▪	▪	▪
Compared to other labels	▪	▪	▪
Self-labelling	▪	▪	▪

The table above shows that the word categories *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* share in most of the cases the same attributes. *Havloid* and *havlista* carry the majority of attributes, except for the explicit criticism of Chinese or Russian politics, which has not explicitly occurred in the texts including the word expression *havloid*. *Pravdoláskař* differs itself from the other two expressions by the visible criticism of the current Czech president Miloš Zeman. Further discussion of the analysis findings will continue within the next section.

4.4 Discussion

The discussion focuses on the data interpretation with application of the analysis findings and the explained theory. First of all, it is important to emphasize that the news media are selected and cannot cover the whole media discourse including the analysed word expressions. Even though, I have selected three well-known Czech media, I cannot say they fully represent the Czech social, political and media discourse. Another important point to mention is that some of the attributes have occurred within a few texts, which does not mean the whole selection of 69 texts contained the same features to describe *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid*. However, if there is even one mention of the specific attribute related to the certain word category, it is of the same significance because it is somehow linked to the analysed expression. The purpose of my thesis is to find attributes of the selected word expressions, therefore, include all the noted attributes, features, specific or abstract links, contexts, backgrounds and situations.

The analysis demonstrates that the examined expressions of *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* are used in texts concerned with similar information and carrying resembling messages for their readers. In most of the cases, the analysis has demonstrated that these words appear mainly within the Czech political discourse, about which the selected media inform their readers and audiences. The selected word expressions are even used in the texts as synonyms, as we can observe in the texts mentioned previously. As we could notice in the previous section, most of the major attributes are related to all three expressions examined. We could say that the three selected expressions are considered as synonyms in majority of the cases. However, there is an interesting phenomenon showing that only *pravdoláskař* was explicitly associated with the criticism of the current president Miloš Zeman. With regard to this attribute, we can say that Zeman is probably not directly related to *havlista* and *havloid*, hence, the character of Václav Havel. Other than that, except for *havlista*, the texts including expressions of *pravdoláskař* and *havloid* do not explicitly mention any association of these words to the criticism of the politics China and Russia promote. The options of finding some other evidence proving the occurrence of this specific attribute are not eliminated. However, it would need a further examination in the future focusing on different kinds of news media.

During the analysis, I have learned that there are some specific texts giving the expressions another range of understanding. For instance, *pravdoláskař* was associated

with a historical character of the church reformer Jan Hus, or the expression *havlista* was used as part of a comedy play name.

One of the thesis' goals was to find if there was any shift in meaning of the analysed expressions throughout the past decade. The possible changes of meaning can be seen within the contemporary historical events. Within the shift in the definitions of *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid*, we can observe the process of *recontextualization*, where there are new attributes and situational features attached to the existing definitions of the analysed expressions based on the current context in which the attributes are being used. The convincing and valid examples are linked to the migrant crisis and associated with concerning the presidential elections in 2013, when Miloš Zeman won the first of his elections in the second round against Karel Schwarzenberg. All the expressions have been related to the name of Karel Schwarzenberg. The interesting phenomenon is that there are no associations of *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* or *havloid* concerned with the subsequent presidential elections in 2018 and with the other opponent of Miloš Zeman, Jiří Drahoš. We can just guess from the data, if the opponent Jiří Drahoš was not considered to be significant enough to label him in the news media, or if it was just a coincidence that he was not associated with *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* or *havloid* in the accessible analysed texts. Other than that, the main attributes of the analysed expressions remain generally the same within the last 10 years.

When comparing the selected news media themselves, it is apparent that *iHNed.cz* published more commentaries than *iDNES.cz* or *Blesk.cz*. *iHNed.cz* is arranged to give more space to its publishers and journalists to express their thoughts and findings about certain situations happening within the Czech social and political discourse. However, it is a presentation with a subjective *perspectivisation* of the authors themselves.

The expressions *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* have occurred mostly in *iDNES.cz*. The question that arises is, if *iDNES.cz* just informs its audience with a wide range of news, or if there are actually some other intentions to use the labelling expressions *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* on purpose to attract more people. More emotional texts using stronger expressions are more attractive for their audiences. That is for example, how tabloids as *Blesk.cz* proceed to gain attention of the audience. According to the theory of *tabloidization*, there are mechanisms to transform *rationalist* discourses into *sensationalist* discourses, such as using the language of "everyday speech" or using "intensifying lexis" (Connell, 1998, p. 13). A good example could be the author's

introduction into an interview with the Czech actor Jiří Maryško on *iDNES.cz*. The brief introduction mentions *havloid* as one of the insults Maryško got from his opponents on the internet. However, the author puts *havloid* on the same level with the more vulgar insults such as *circumcised* or *on drugs*. Even if the choice of words was just a list of insults of Maryško by his opponents, it can affect readers to relate the other vulgar expressions as features to the meaning of *havloid*.

The tendencies in description of the word category *havlista* are divided into two major streams; the definition of *havlista* by supporters of Václav Havel's values and the definition of *havlista* by his opponents and critics. The attitude of the authors themselves is not that apparent in the accessible texts containing the word category *havlista*. The category of *intensification* is especially visible in the articles and interviews quoting the opponents of Václav Havel. It could relate to their more extremist and nationalist points of view or some needs to intensify their speech to get more attention and to support their position within the social and political discourse. In the case of *havlista*, there was no particular difference of author's approach in different types of the analysed texts such as articles, commentaries and interviews. The commentaries were neutral and seemed more likely as a description of a matter or a situation. *iHNed.cz* has not written much about the more extreme politicians using the expression *havlista* in negative connotations. Articles and interviews focusing on *havlista* are more likely to be found in *iDNES.cz* and *Blesk.cz*.

The expression *havloid* carries mostly same or similar attributes and features as the expression *havlista*. The expressions were used as synonyms in some cases and they are also associated with other expressions with having similar notions. *Havloid* and *pravdoláskař* occur in the same texts in some cases. Even though, *havloid* could seem as more insulting and negative, its occurrence in texts and in the Czech political discourse is not that frequent. One of the reasons could also be its recency. *Havloid* was not used in many texts that would intensify its meaning, except for one accessible example relating *havloid* to other insulting expressions as *Jew-fascist* or *circumcised*. A visible *perspectivization* of the author is shown in the commentary of Petr Honzejek for *iHNed.cz*, where the author positioned himself against the issue of *fake news* spreading. *Havloid* has also occurred as a self-label of people, who support the legacy of Václav Havel. According to the analysis, it appeared that the political and public opponents of Václav Havel do not really use this expression to label and insult Havel's supporters. *Havloid* has also occurred

as a self-label of people, who support the legacy of Václav Havel. According to the analysis, it appeared that the political and publicly known opponents of Václav Havel do not really use this expression to label and insult Havel's supporters. However, the news media texts consider *havloid* as an insult in general.

The discussion developed around the expression *pravdoláskař* seems to me as the most intensified. The authors of commentaries for *iHNed.cz* proudly position themselves as labelled *truth-lovers*, who actively oppose to politicians as Zeman, Klaus and others. We can see clearly the authors' *perspectivisation* in the texts including *pravdoláskař*. The usage of *pravdoláskař* is the most frequent, more than 3 times more in the case of *havloid* and almost twice more in the case of *havlista*. The frequency of occurrence within the analysed texts could be explained as follows. The word itself does not directly refer to the name of Václav Havel, but it refers to much broader and more complex notions of *truth* and *love*. Therefore, people who are considered as *truth-lovers* do not have to be related to the name Václav Havel, as it is in the case of *havlista* and *havloid*, but *pravdoláskař* refers to more abstract values of *truth* and *love*. Otherwise, *pravdoláskař* can also be considered as a synonym to *havlista* and *havloid*, except for the "extra" criticism of Miloš Zeman, *pravdoláskař* carries the same attributes and is associated with the same or similar situational features, thus, the migrant crisis, ethos of 1989, links to Karel Schwarzenberg, promotion of the same values.

The results of my analysis have proven the occurrence of the labelling theory in case of all three expressions. The word categories *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* work as labels to describe people, who represent the values Václav Havel promoted, ethos of the events in 1989, pro-EU and pro-western orientations, criticism of extremism, violence, specific politicians and criticism of pro-Russian or pro-Chinese politics (explicitly in the case of *havlista*). We could also follow the expressions of stigmatization by labelling certain people as *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid*. Comparison of *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* by their opponents to vulgar and negative insults has appeared in many texts quoting Czech politicians, who define themselves against people labelled as *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid*. Some of the attacks describe *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* as exaggerated, overly idealistic, idiots, naïve, fascist, manipulative or intolerant and more. The opponents are usually quite extremist and nationalist; hence, their approach is understandable as it is a part of their militant overall presentation (Wintrobe, 2002). In all three cases, we can also apply the theory of reappropriation on

people, who are labelled as *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* and thereafter self-label themselves using these expressions to demonstrate their beliefs, values, preferences and social or political behaviour. It can be seen as a kind of self-defence as a reaction to their opponents, nonetheless, also as a kind of a show-off of to let other people know, in which values they believe and what to expect from their opinions.

The theories of media influence can be applied on the analysed texts, too. Apparently, the word categories *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* are popular within the Czech public discourse. Media could be using other descriptions of people considered as *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid*, however, they continuously use these specific word expressions. Probably, because everyone can imagine what to expect from these expressions and what values to consider whilst reading a text containing one of the analysed word categories. The theory of framing can be applied precisely on the expressions *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid*. Each of the expression is a possible frame of how to name people with certain beliefs and values.

The text analysis reveals that media continuously disseminate the examined and other similar word expressions within the texts they publish throughout the years. Even though, they might just quote some politics within an article, they definitely support the usage of *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* within the Czech political and social discourse.

For a broader expansion and deepening of the definitions, I would recommend looking at another types of media or internet discussions to further analyse, how the Czech public sphere perceives these expressions. For instance, the future analysis could focus on the current Czech Prime Minister Andrej Babiš, who has been a significant figure of the Czech political discourse for a few years now, however he has not been directly associated with the analysed word expressions, whether negatively or positively, within the selected news media.

5 Conclusion

The main goal of my thesis was to find, what the main attributes associated with the word expressions *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* are, what their definition is within the Czech social, political and media discourse and if there were any shifts in meaning throughout the past decade. I was also interested in certain manifestations of labelling, stigmatization and reappropriation. To define the selected word categories, I decided to focus on the Czech media discourse developed around the expressions. I was concerned with the theories of media approach to language and content, including the framing theory for example.

The analysed expressions *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* are related to the name of the former Czech president Václav Havel, who has been considered as a great symbol of The Velvet Revolution in 1989; the democratic transformation in Czechoslovakia from the previous communist regime. The expressions *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* have been a part of the public discourse in the Czech society for many years now. However, there has been no previous research paying attention to their meaning and definition within the Czech public discourse. The previous research of the selected word expressions considers them as pejorative labels of Václav Havel's supporters; however, these word categories carry much more complex links in their definitions. Previous research principally analysed their linguistic composition or just applied the expressions within a certain phenomenon that was intended to be more profoundly examined.

To find the definition and meaning of the selected word categories, I have used the critical discourse analysis with its discourse historical approach to examine the word expressions in the well-known Czech news media *Mladá fronta DNES*, *Hospodářské noviny* and the tabloid *Blesk*. The selected news media were chosen to cover a wide range of Czech audience and also to represent different Czech media groups. The media used for my analysis have both printed and online versions. That is another benefit for a better audience coverage. The online versions also enabled me to look for the selected word categories in their online search engines, which helped me to arrange better the data of my analysis.

The discourse historical approach was used to categorize the accessible texts, so I could distinguish various attributes, situational features, specific and abstract links more easily.

The analysis of 69 accessible texts containing the word categories *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* has shown that there is a broad range of attributes these word categories carry. Regarding the analysis, I have noticed two main streams of possible definitions; the explanation of *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* by Václav Havel's supporters and the explanation of *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* by his (political) opponents. Supporters of Havel are promoting the moral values Václav Havel was promoting and his opponents are basically criticising his supporters for being so naïve. The main problem I noticed is that these words are used to label and stigmatize people, who just have a certain point of view, believe in certain values or ideas, which are not meant to be bad from the essence of their meaning. Therefore, the labelling and stigmatization have been proved. The word expressions *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* have gained their negative and pejorative meaning from their opponents, who use these labels to insult them. Moreover, the analysis has shown that the process of reappropriation is present. People considered as *pravdoláskař*, *havlista* and *havloid* self-label themselves to define themselves against their opponents.

Media has also played a significant role. The analysis proves that the selected media constantly use these expressions to describe people with specific beliefs, values and ideas; in our case associated with the name and character of Václav Havel. The media might just quote the lines of Czech public figures, which used the expressions. However, the analysed media are continuously applying these labels, so they are still significant in the Czech dictionary and almost inseparable from the Czech public discourse.

6 References

- Ainsworth, S. (2001). *Discourse analysis as social construction: Towards greater integration of approaches and methods*. University of Melbourne.
- Ainsworth, S., & Hardy, C. (2004). Critical discourse analysis and identity: Why bother? *Critical discourse studies*, 1(2), 225-259.
- Aitchison, J., & Lewis, D. M. (Eds.). (2003). *New media language*. Psychology Press.
- Becker, H. (2003). Labelling theory. In *Key ideas in sociology* by Slattery, M., 134-139. London.
- Bell, A. (1995). Language and the media. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 15, 23-41.
- Bělohoubek, K. (2019). *Dezinformace, fake news a jejich šíření na prokremelských webech během amerických prezidentských voleb v listopadu 2016*. Prague.
- Bernburg, J. G. (2019). Labeling theory. In *Handbook on crime and deviance*, 179-196.
- Blackledge, A., & Pavlenko, A. (2001). *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts*, 243-257.
- Blažek, P. & Schovánek, R. (2006). [Ludvík Vaculík]. For the Czech weekly Respekt. *Vznik*
- Carvalho, A. (2008). Media (ted) discourse and society: Rethinking the framework of critical discourse analysis. *Journalism studies*, 9(2), 161-177.
- Chong, D., & Druckman, J. N. (2007). Framing theory. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.*, 10, 103-126.
- Cohen, B. (1963). *The press and foreign policy*. New York: Harcourt.
- Connell, I. (1998). Mistaken identities: Tabloid and broadsheet news discourse. *Javnost-the public*, 5(3), 11-31.
- Cooley, C. H. (1902). Looking-glass self. *The production of reality: Essays and readings on social interaction*, 6.
- Crocker, J., & Major, B. (1989). Social stigma and self-esteem: The self-protective properties of stigma. *Psychological review*, 96(4), 608.
- Croteau, D. & Hoynes, W. (2019). *Media/Society*. Sixth Edition. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE.
- Davies, B., & Harré, R. (1990). Positioning: The discursive production of selves. *Journal for the theory of social behaviour*, 20(1), 43-63.
- Děngeová, Z. (2009). *Nová pojmenování motivovaná vlastními jmény domácích politiků* (Bachelor's Thesis). Prague.
- Děngeová, Z. (2010). *Nové lexikální jednotky motivované jmény českých politiků. „Bohemistyka“*. Prague.

- Dragojevic, M., Gasiorek, J., & Giles, H. (2015). Communication accommodation theory. *The international encyclopedia of interpersonal communication*, 1-21.
- Fairclough, N. (2001). The dialectics of discourse. *Textus*, 14(2), 231-242.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. Psychology Press.
- Galinsky, A. D., Wang, C. S., Whitson, J. A., Anicich, E. M., Hugenberg, K., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (2013). The reappropriation of stigmatizing labels: The reciprocal relationship between power and self-labeling. *Psychological science*, 24(10).
- Gallois, C., & Giles, H. (2015). Communication accommodation theory. *The international encyclopedia of language and social interaction*, 1-18.
- Gecas, V., & Schwalbe, M. L. (1983). Beyond the looking-glass self: Social structure and efficacy-based self-esteem. *Social psychology quarterly*, 77-88.
- Gee, J. (2015). *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideology in discourses*. Routledge.
- Gee, J. P. (2014). *An introduction to discourse analysis: Theory and method*. Routledge.
- Giles, H. (2016). Communication accommodation theory. *The international encyclopedia of communication theory and philosophy*, 1-7.
- Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: notes on the management of spoiled identity*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Goffman, E. [1963]. (2003). *Stigma*. Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství.
- Havelka, M. (1998). „Nepolitická politika“: kontexty a tradice/'Non-Political Politics': Contexts and Traditions. *Sociologický Časopis/Czech Sociological Review*, 455-466.
- Jayyusi, L. (2013). *Categorization and the moral order*. Routledge.
- Koutová, N. (2017). *Mediální obraz uprchlíků* (Bachelor's thesis). Prague.
- Kovářová, K. M. A. (2014). *Etické aspekty v novoročních projevech Václava Havla*. Prague.
- Lehečková, E., & Hořejší, M. L. (2015). Ruth Wodaková. *Studie z aplikované lingvistiky-Studies in Applied Linguistics*, 1(6), 125-142.
- Lippmann, W. (1946). *Public opinion*. (1). Transaction Publishers.
- Major, B., & O'Brien, L. T. (2005). The social psychology of stigma. *Annu. Rev. Psychol.*, 56, 393-421.
- Matheson, D. (2005). *Media discourses*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK).
- McCombs, M. (2002). The agenda-setting role of the mass media in the shaping of public opinion. In *Mass Media Economics 2002 Conference*. London School of Economics.
- McCombs, M. (2007). Agenda-Setting. *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, 1-2.

- Menard-Warwick, J. (2008). 'Because she made beds. Every day'. Social positioning, classroom discourse, and language learning. *Applied Linguistics*, 29(2), 267-289.
- Nejedlý, P. (2017). Sluníčkář. *Naše řeč*, 100(2), 109-111.
- Novotná, R. (2013). Jazyková potencialita: studium na bázi hapaxů legomenon. *Korpus-gramatika-axiologie*, (8), 47-57.
- Opatrný, M. (2018). "White Normativity" and Eastern Europe: Old victims or new oppressors? 2(4). University of South Bohemia.
- Pynsent, R. B. (2013). 'The Heart of Europe': The Origins and Fate of a Czech Nationalist Cliché. *Central Europe*, 11(1), 1-23.
- Reisigl, M. (2017). The discourse-historical approach. In *The Routledge handbook of critical discourse studies*. 44-59. Routledge.
- Reisigl, M. & Wodak, R. (2017). The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA). *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies*.
- Salomon, K. (1986). The peace movement-An anti-establishment movement. *Journal of Peace Research*, 23(2), 115-127.
- Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of communication*, 49(1), 103-122.
- Schindler, J. (2014). *Mikrobiologie: Pro student zdravotnických oborů, 2., doplněné a přepracované vydání*. Grada Publishing a. s.
- Slabý, A. (2013). The demise of anti-communism and its effects on coming to terms with the communist past in the Czech Republic. *Darbai ir dienos*, (60), 251-263. Springer, Cham.
- Tirado, F., & Gálvez, A. (2008). Positioning theory and discourse analysis: Some tools for social interaction analysis. *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung*, 224-251.
- Wintrobe, R. (2002). Leadership and passion in extremist politics. *Political extremism and rationality*, 23-43.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2015). Critical discourse analysis. *The handbook of discourse analysis*, 466-485.
- Veselá, B. (2017). *With Social Media towards Democratic Empowerment? Nationalist Populism on Czech Facebook* (Master's thesis).
- Žantovský, M. (2014). *Havel*. Prague: Argo.

6.1 Webpage resources

Aktuálně.cz. (2013). *Klaus: Za kritikou Václava Havla si stojím, je pravdivá*. Retrieved from: <https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/domaci/politika/klaus-za-kritikou-vaclava-havla-si-stojim-je-pravdiva/r~i:article:771421/>

BBC. (2016). *Migrant crisis: Migration to Europe explained in seven charts*. Retrieved from: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>

Borufka, S. (2012). [Prague Radio International]. *JINDŘICH ŠÍDLA – ONE OF THE COUNTRY'S MOST PROMINENT POLITICAL JOURNALISTS*. Retrieved from: <https://www.radio.cz/en/section/one-on-one/jindrich-sidlo-one-of-the-countrys-most-prominent-political-journalists>

Cambridge Dictionary. (2020). -ism. Retrieved from: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/ism>

Čeština 2.0. (2011). *Pravdoláskař*. Retrieved from: <https://cestina20.cz/slovník/pravdolaskar/>

Čeština 2.0. (2014). *Sluníčkář*. Retrieved from: <https://cestina20.cz/slovník/slunickar/>

Čeština 2.0. (2015). *Havloid*. Retrieved from: <https://cestina20.cz/slovník/havloid/>

Čeština 2.0. (2016). *Havlojed*. Retrieved from: <https://cestina20.cz/slovník/havlojed/>

Čeština 2.0. (2018). *Havlista*. Retrieved from: <https://cestina20.cz/slovník/havlista/>

Charty 77 očima StB. Retrieved from: <http://www.ludvikvaculik.cz/index.php?pid=151&sid=152>

CNC. (2020). *O nás*. Retrieved from: <https://www.cncenter.cz/o-nas>

Economia. (2020). *#contentmatters*. Retrieved from: <https://www.economia.cz/en/>

Economia. (2020). *O nás*. Retrieved from: <https://www.economia.cz/o-nas/>

Evropské Hodnoty. (2016). *Vlastenecké Noviny*. Retrieved from: <https://www.evropskehodnoty.cz/vlastenecke-noviny/>

Feurebauer, V. (2016). [iDNES.cz]. *Facebook zablokoval Islám v ČR nechceme. Odvoláme se, tvrdí Konvička*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/facebook-zablokoval-islam-v-cr-nehceme.A160111_200312_domaci_fer

Guardian, The. (2018). *Migrants to Europe 'need to go home', says Czech prime minister*. Retrieved from: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/oct/25/europe-migrants-need-to-go-home-says-czech-prime-minister>

HlídacíPes. (2020). *Trampoty s oligarchy, díl druhý: Jak Zdeněk Bakala kupoval vydavatelství Economia*. Retrieved from: <https://hlidacipes.org/trampoty-s-oligarchy-dil-druhy-jak-zdenek-bakala-kupoval-vydavatelstvi-economia/>

Homoláč, J. (2017). [czechEncy]. *Kritická analýza diskuzu*. Retrieved from: <https://www.czechency.org/slovník/KRITICKÁ%20ANALÝZA%20DISKURZU>

Hovorková, J. (2019). [Forum24]. *Není to jen šéf ČT. Redaktorku Mf DNES zajímá majetek Babišových kritiků, jeho vlastní ne*. Retrieved from: <https://www.forum24.cz/neni-to-jen-sef-ct-redaktorku-mf-dnes-zajima-majetek-babisovych-kritiku-jeho-vlastni-ne/>

iDNES.cz. (2013). *Agrofert Andreje Babiše koupil vydavatele MF DNES a Lidových novin*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/ekonomika/domaci/babis-koupil-vydavatelstvi-mafra.A130626_160851_ekonomika_fih

iDNES.cz. (2016). *V lednu vznikne zpravodajský web Forum24, šéfredaktorem bude Šafr*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/mediahub/v-lednu-vznikne-zpravodajsky-web-forum24-sefredaktorem-bude-safr.A161117_902126_mediahub_imp

iDNES.cz. (2019). *Centrum spjaté s Klausem ml. si zaregistrovalo značku Trikolóra hnutí občanů*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/vaclav-klaus-mladsi-trikolora-hnuti-obcanu-nova-strana-hnuti-politika.A190604_131458_domaci_lre

iKiosek.cz. (2020). *Blesk 18. 4. 2020*. Retrieved from: <https://www.ikiosek.cz/detail/floowiecnc-pu/428346/1041-blesk-18-4-2020>

iROZHLAS.cz. (2019). *CVVM: Zeman stále rozděluje společnost. Více než polovina Čechů považuje jeho chování za nedůstojné*. Retrieved from: https://www.irozhlas.cz/zpravy-domov/pruzkum-mineni-cvvm-milos-zeman-prezident-hodnoceni-vykonu-funkce_1902051729_pla

MAFRA. (2020). *About the company*. Retrieved from: <https://www.mafra.cz/english.aspx>

MAFRA. (2020). *Mladá fronta DNES*. Retrieved from: <https://www.mafra.cz/portfolio.aspx?y=mafra/portfolio-mfd.htm>

MediaGuru. (2020). *Nejčtenější zůstává Blesk, žádný placený deník čtenost nezvýšil*. Retrieved from: <https://www.mediaguru.cz/clanky/2020/02/nejctenejsi-zustava-blesk-zadny-placeny-denik-ctenost-nezvysil/>

ODS. (2020). *RNDr. Alexandr Vondra*. Retrieved from:

<https://www.ods.cz/profil/alexandr-vondra>

Office of The Historian. (2020). Helsinki Final Act, 1975. *MILESTONES: 1969–1976*.

Retrieved from: <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1969-1976/helsinki>

openDemocracy. (2015). *The Prague Café: a brief incursion into Czech presidential discourse*. Retrieved from:

<https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/can-europe-make-it/prague-caf-brief-incursion-into-czech-presidential-discourse/>

People's World. (2015). *Today in history: Jan Hus burned at the stake 600 years ago*.

Retrieved from:

<https://www.peoplesworld.org/article/today-in-history-jan-hus-burned-at-the-stake-600-years-ago/>

Pešek. (2013). [European Journalism Observatory]. *All Eyes on New Czech Media Mogul: Andrej Babiš*. Retrieved from:

<https://en.ejo.ch/ethics-quality/all-eyes-on-new-czech-media-mogul-andrej-babis>

Pražský deník. (2010). *Bakala koupil dům pro knihovnu Václava Havla*. Retrieved from:

https://prazsky.denik.cz/zpravy_region/bakala-koupil-dum-20100802-6bb6.html

Seznam Zprávy. (2019). *Databáze polistopadových kauz: OKD a Zdeněk Bakala*. Retrieved from:

<https://www.seznamzpravy.cz/clanek/kauza-okd-a-zdenek-bakala-82797>

Šmíd, M. (2014). *Havliismus a havloidi v českých médiích. Louč – komentuje svět žurnalistky a médií*. Retrieved from: <http://www.louc.cz/15/2751218.html>

Týden.cz. (2015). *Rodilý Čech v čele německé strany: Pravidoláskáře šíleně štvu*. Retrieved from:

https://www.tyden.cz/rubriky/zahranici/evropa/rodily-cech-v-cele-nemecke-strany-pravidolaskare-silene-stvu_358850.html

Velička, R. (2015). [VlasteneckéNoviny.cz]. *Jsem autorem slova „havloid.“ Co to slovo opravdu znamená?* Retrieved from: <http://www.vlasteneckenoviny.cz/?p=106257>

Wikipedia. (2020). *Karel Schwarzenberg*. Retrieved from:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karel_Schwarzenberg#Exile,_human-rights_activism_and_career_in_Austrian_politics

Wikipedia. (2020). *Václav Klaus*. Retrieved from:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Václav_Klaus

Wikipedia. (2020). *Velvet Revolution*. Retrieved from:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Velvet_Revolution

Wiktionary. (2019). *-oid*. Retrieved from: <https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/-oid>

7 Appendix

7.1 Analysed media texts

7.1.1 iHNed.cz

7.1.1.1 *Pravdoláskař*

Kyša, L. (2011). [iHNed.cz]. *Tomáš Cíkr*. Retrieved from: <https://archiv.ihned.cz/c1-51424310-tomas-cikrt>

Volf, T. [iHNed.cz]. *Havel byl úžasný a všímavý šéf, vzpomíná ekonom Sedláček*. Retrieved from: <https://byznys.ihned.cz/c1-54251910-havel-byl-uzasny-a-vsivavy-sef-vzpomina-ekonom-sedlacek>

Ples, L. (2011). [iHNed.cz]. *Ivan Havel: Věna není žádný symbol*. Retrieved from: <https://archiv.ihned.cz/c1-54277080-ivan-havel-vena-neni-zadny-symbol>

iHNed.cz. (2011). [iHNed.cz]. *Týden, kdy lidé vzali pravdu a lásku pod ochranu*. Retrieved from: <https://archiv.ihned.cz/c1-54289720-tyden-kdy-lide-vzali-pravdu-a-lasku-pod-ochranu>

Šídlo, J. (2012). [iHNed.cz]. *Žádost o zapsání na seznam exponentů Pravdy a lásky*. Retrieved from: <https://nazory.ihned.cz/komentare/c1-54479440-zadost-o-zapsani-na-seznam-exponentu-pravdy-a-lasky>

Hošek, M. (2013). [iHNed.cz]. *Za klesající ekonomiku si můžeme sami*. Retrieved from: <https://ekonom.ihned.cz/c1-60056870-za-klesajici-ekonomiku-si-muzeme-sami>

Honzejk, P. (2013). [iHNed.cz]. *Zemanovo budování, Klausův humor a to správné macho parkování*. Retrieved from: <https://archiv.ihned.cz/c1-60377310-zemanovo-budovani-klausuv-humor-a-to-spravne-macho-parkovani>

Niedermayerová, J. (2013). [iHNed.cz]. *White Media: Kvůli americké svobodě projevu na webu bují český ultrapravicový extremismus*. Retrieved from: <https://domaci.ihned.cz/c1-60537240-white-media-kvuli-americke-svobode-projevu-na-webu-buji-cesky-ultrapravicovy-extremismus>

Hollan, M. (2013). [iHNed.cz]. *Proklatě nezvládnutý Haškův puč*. Retrieved from: <https://nazory.ihned.cz/komentare/c1-61097180-proklate-nezvladnuty-haskuv-puc>

Klimeš, D. (2015). [iHNed.cz]. *Jak se dělá 51procentní Antizeman*. Retrieved from: <https://archiv.ihned.cz/c1-63637010-jak-se-dela-51procentni-antizeman>

Roze, I. (2015). [iHNed.cz]. *O té diskusi je třeba diskutovat*. Retrieved from: <https://ego.ihned.cz/c1-64580450-o-te-diskusi-je-treba-diskutovat>

Šídlo, J. (2015) [iHNed.cz]. *Barvy moci Jindřicha Šídla: Poslední text o pražské kavárně*. Retrieved from: <https://archiv.ihned.cz/c1-64829520-barvy-moci-jindricha-sidla-posledni-text-o-prazske-kavarne>

Hrličková, L. & Mikulka, M. (2015). [iHNed.cz]. *Západ nedoženeme*. Retrieved from: <https://archiv.ihned.cz/c1-64891040-zapad-nedozeneme>

Biben, M. & Šenk, M. (2016). [iHNed.cz]. *Novým mecenášem ligy je "pravdoláskař až za hrob". Vlastní ale i bulvární weby*. Retrieved from: <https://archiv.ihned.cz/c1-65383960-novym-mecenasem-ligy-je-pravdolaskar-az-za-hrob-vlastni-ale-i-bulvarni-weby>

Biben, M. (2017). [iHNed.cz]. *ANO by nemělo v prezidentské volbě podporovat Zemana, říká ministr Pelikán. Chce vlastního kandidáta*. Retrieved from: <https://archiv.ihned.cz/c1-65619310-ano-by-nemelo-v-prezidentske-volbe-podporovat-zemana-rika-ministr-pelikan-chce-kandidata-vlastniho>

Štětka, J. (2018). [iHNed.cz]. *Komentář Jana Štětky: Jak Babiš kvůli Hradu přichází o náhradníky*. Retrieved from: <https://archiv.ihned.cz/c1-66021740-komentar-jana-stetky-jak-babis-kvuli-hradu-prichazi-o-nahradniky>

Vosto5. (2018). [iHNed.cz]. *TOP SEKRET: Na Hradě je panika, vrchní pravdoláskař se reinkaroval a žije v Praze*. Retrieved from: <https://domaci.ihned.cz/c1-66300980-top-sekret-na-hrade-je-panika-vrchni-pravdolaskar-se-reinkaroval-a-zije-praze>

7.1.1.2 Havlista

Leschtina, J. (2012). [iHNed.cz]. *Jiří Leschtina: Pithartovo NE pracím práškům*. Retrieved from: <https://nazory.ihned.cz/komentare/c1-57889260-jiri-leschtina-pihartovo-ne-pracim-praskum>

Martínek, D. (2015). [iHNed.cz]. *Naše cesta s Klausem*. <https://ekonom.ihned.cz/c1-63788320-nase-cesta-s-klaussem>

Křeč, L. (2017). [iHNed.cz]. *Nechci, aby Česko po volbách dopadlo jako Polsko či Maďarsko. Končící vláda podnikání spíše zkomplikovala, říká průmyslník Fait*. Retrieved from: <https://archiv.ihned.cz/c1-65900040-mam-rad-demokracii-a-svobodu-nehcci-aby-cesko-dopadlo-jako-polsko-nebo-madarsko-rika-prumyslnik-fait>

7.1.1.3 Havloid

Honzejk, P. (2017). [iHNed.cz]. *O marnosti boje s falešnými zprávami*. Retrieved from: <https://archiv.ihned.cz/c1-65683010-o-marnosti-boje-s-falesnymi-zpravami>

Frouzová, K. & Leinert, O. *Vedení ODS je kompletní. Zástupcem Fialy bude Stanjura, Udženija překvapivě neobhájila svůj post*. Retrieved from: <https://domaci.ihned.cz/c1-66708180-zacal-kongres-ods-petr-fiala-prirovnal-babise-k-baronu-prasilovi-opozicni-pravice-stoji-o-spolupraci>

7.1.2 iDNES.cz

7.1.2.1 Pravdoláskař

Dolejší, V. (2010). [iDNES.cz]. *ODS se má po volbách proměnit. Otřesy přežije asi jen Nečas a Vodrážka*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/ods-se-ma-po-volbach-promenit-otresy-prezije-asi-jen-necas-a-vodrazka.A100605_1396782_domaci_taj

Lukavec, J. (2013). [iDNES.cz]. *Psycholog Slavomil Hubálek píše o sobě i o době*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/archiv/psycholog-slavomil-hubalek-pise-o-sobe-i-o-dobe.A130219_092033_kavarna_chu

Ťopek, M. (2014). [iDNES.cz]. *Chtěli debatovat o vizích Havla. A pustili se do Klause*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/pardubice/zpravy/v-litomysli-diskutovali-o-havlovi-i-klausovi.A140414_2056238_pardubice-zpravy_jah

Bezr, O. (2014). [iDNES.cz]. *Jsem pravdoláskař. Nevím, proč bych měl být lžinenávista, říká Ivan Hlas*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/kultura/hudba/ivan-hlas-rozhovor.A141010_143646_hudba_ob

Jiroušek, M. (2014). [iDNES.cz]. *Ostravské stopy: Slezskou Ostravu by mělo chránit UNESCO, míní Zahuta*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/ostrava/zpravy/ostravske-stopy-herce-a-hudebnika-jiriho-zahuty.A141031_2112273_ostrava-zpravy_jog

Spáčilová, M. (2015). [iDNES.cz]. *RECENZE: Dva objevy obří ságy: Jan Hus miloval královnu a koupání*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/kultura/film-televize/recenze-jan-hus.A150529_134905_filmvideo_spm

Trachtová, Z. (2015). [iDNES.cz]. *Sluníčkář je nový pravdoláskař. Zda je to jen móda, experti neodhadnou.* Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/slunickar-je-novy-pravdolaskar.A150716_091217_domaci_zt

Wirnitzer, J. (2015). [iDNES.cz]. *Prezident nikoho z pódia neodstrčí, hájí Ovčáček projev „u Konvičky“.* Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/rozhovor-mluvci-ovcacek-zeman-prezident-albertov.A151119_115813_domaci_jw

Bartošová, A. (2016). [iDNES.cz]. *Tomáš Klus: Žena je nejvíc na světě, díky ženám jsme tady.* Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/onadnes/vztahy-sex/tomas-klus-zena-je-nejvic-na-svete-diky-zenam-jsme-tady.A161123_170116_spolecnost_jup

Turek, J. (2017). [iDNES.cz]. *Proč chtěl Hitler Svátý grál a archeologie za ČSSR nebyla marxistická.* Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/technet/veda/adolf-hitler-svaty-gral-cssr-archeologie.A171116_154804_veda_mla

Kučerová, T. (2019). [iDNES.cz]. *I dnes stačí málo a můžeme o svobodu snadno přijít, varovala Vašáryová.* Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/konference-evropa-bez-zelezne-opony-klaus-genderismus-vasaryova-walesa-zantovsky-havel.A191111_105321_domaci_kuce

Kučerová, T. (2019). [iDNES.cz]. *Nemocná demokracie. Havlův Golf vyslechl vzkazy od Svěráka i Polívky.* Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/automobil-golf-vaclava-havla-pamatnik-ticha-1989-sametova-revoluce-vzpominky-simon-polivka-sverak-pe.A191118_135618_domaci_kuce

Zavřelová, M. (2020). [iDNES.cz]. *Herectví se dobře kombinuje s mateřstvím, řekla Tereza Ramba v Rozstřelu.* Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/kultura/film-televize/rozstrel-tereza-ramba-kniha-dobrodruhum.A200224_101240_filmvideo_kiz

7.1.2.2 Havlista

Wirnitzer, J. (2010). [iDNES.cz]. *Kvůli restitucím ovlivňujete kampaň, obvinil Paroubek katolíky.* Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/kvuli-restitucim-ovlivnujete-kampan-obvinil-paroubek-katoliky.A100428_112422_domaci_jw

Dolejší, V. (2011). [iDNES.cz]. *Sedmdesát perel Václava Klause.* Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/sedmdesat-perel-vaclava-klause.A110616_115459_domaci_mhk

Wirnitzer, J. (2015). [iDNES.cz]. *Vtipálci vyškolili „velitele“ Vyvadila, rozklížili odpor proti konvoji*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/vtipalci-vytrollili-jiriho-vyvadila-a-pratele-ruska.A150323_165019_domaci_jw

iDNES.cz. (2015). *Okamura na mírové akci plísnil USA, Hájek přirovnal havlisty k bolševikům*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/demonstranti-u-prazskeho-hradu-volali-po-miru-a-suverenite.A150502_170754_domaci_fer

Wirnitzer, J. (2015). [iDNES.cz]. *Přijíždí obrněný konvoj větší než „jízda dragounů“. V Česku se nezdrží*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/prujez-konvoje-obrnencu-usa-dunajska-jizda.A150907_120527_zahranicni_jw

Kopecký, J. (2017). [iDNES.cz]. *Piráti, jak je nejspíš neznáte. Strana, v níž mají problémy s NATO*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/pirati-maji-problem-s-nato.A170330_111436_domaci_kop

Šťastka, T. (2018). [iDNES.cz]. *Zku***ní havlisti aneb co všechno dneska zaslechneme v české sauně*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/kultura/divadlo/zkurveni-havlisti-miroslav-hanus-komediograf-sauna.A181026_130740_divadlo_ts

Vaníčková, K. & Pošmura, L. (2019). [iDNES.cz]. *Politici nesli vlajky Tibetu na Sněžku. Pražská kavárna, křičel turista*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/hradec-kralove/zpravy/snezka-vlajka-krkonose-tibet-lidska-prave-cina-rabas-okupace-pec-pod-snezkou.A190309_181339_hrdec-zpravy_pos

Zázvorka, J. (2019). [iDNES.cz]. *17. listopadu 89 mi syn popisoval, co zažil na Národní, vzpomínal Klaus v Rozstřelu*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/rozstrel-vaclav-klaus-revoluce-politika-trikolora.A191007_161609_domaci_zaz

Nedvěd, J. (2019). [iDNES.cz]. *Obávám se, že může být omezena demokracie, domnívá se někdejší disident*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/plzen/zpravy/sametova-revoluce-vladimir-libal-plzen-obcanske-forum-listopad-1989-demokracie.A191029_510843_plzen-zpravy_vb

7.1.2.3 Havloid

Mayer, V. (2015). [iDNES.cz]. *Nikomů už se za vtip s Lidicemi omlouvat nechystám, říká herec Maryško*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/usti/zpravy/herc-jiri-marysko-a-jeho-vtip-s-fotkou-z-filmu-lidice.A150220_132956_usti-zpravy_alh

Trachtová, Z. (2015). [iDNES.cz]. Dobroser, kremrole, slimáci. Webové diskuze jsou líhní nových nadávek. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/novotvary-v-internetovych-diskuzich.A151106_200122_domaci_zt

Kolář, P. (2019). Jako starosta Řeporyjí téměř denně někomu vyhrožuju, říká Pavel Novotný. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/pavel-novotny-ods-reporyje.A190328_114408_domaci_jumi

Kučerová, T. (2019). [iDNES.cz]. *I dnes stačí málo a můžeme o svobodu snadno přijít, varovala Vašáryová*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/konference-evropa-bez-zelezne-opony-klaus-genderismus-vasaryova-walesa-zantovsky-havel.A191111_105321_domaci_kuce

Kučerová, T. (2019). [iDNES.cz]. *Nemocná demokracie. Havlův Golf vyslechl vzkazy od Svěráka i Polívky*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/automobil-golf-vaclava-havla-pamatnik-ticha-1989-sametova-revoluce-vzpominky-simon-polivka-sverak-pe.A191118_135618_domaci_kuce

Kopecký, J. (2020). [iDNES.cz]. *My ten zápas o naši republiku vyhraje, slíbil Fiala. Znovu vede ODS*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/ods-kongres-volba-nove-fiala-volby.A200118_061831_domaci_kop

Kopecký, J. (2020). [iDNES.cz]. *Havloid se hlásí, řekl Vondra ODS. Chce, at' Češi vyberou národního ptáka*. Retrieved from: https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/vondra-volba-mistopredsedu-ods-kongres-originalni-napady.A200118_185306_domaci_kop

7.1.3 Blesk.cz

7.1.3.1 Pravidoláskář

Spáčil, D. (2012). [Blesk.cz]. *Rozhovor s Kocábem: Obermannová zkrátila Havlovi život!* Retrieved from: <https://www.blesk.cz/clanek/celebrity-ceske-celebrity/167641/rozhovor-s-kocabem-obermannova-zkratila-havlovi-zivot.html>

Klempíř, D. (2015). [Blesk.cz]. *Nařkli ho z estébáctví, aby špinili Zemana? Smrtelná pohana, říká otec babyboxů*. Retrieved from: <https://www.blesk.cz/clanek/zpravy-udalosti/352598/narkli-ho-z-estebactvi-aby-spinili-zemana-smrtelna-pohana-rika-otec-babyboxu.html>

Bláha, E. (2015). [Blesk.cz]. *Recenze: Bída porevolučního Česka aneb Pithart o současném marasmu*. Retrieved from: <https://www.blesk.cz/clanek/zpravy->

[kultura/361301/recenze-bida-porevolucniho-ceska-aneb-pithart-o-soucasnem-marasmu.html](https://www.blesk.cz/clanek/zpravy-uprchlicka-krize/437353/jsem-hrdy-slunickar-sef-neziskovky-o-nenavisti-cechu-k-uprchlikum.html)

Šimáček, J. (2016). [Blesk.cz]. „*Jsem hrdý sluníčkář.*“ Šéf neziskovky o nenávisti Čechů k uprchlíkům. Retrieved from: <https://www.blesk.cz/clanek/zpravy-uprchlicka-krize/437353/jsem-hrdy-slunickar-sef-neziskovky-o-nenavisti-cechu-k-uprchlikum.html>

Valeš, M. (2017). [Blesk.cz]. *Arnold slaví 70: Jaké byly jeho nejslavnější role?* Retrieved from: <https://www.blesk.cz/clanek/celebrity-svetove-celebrity/484464/arnold-slavi-70-jake-byly-jeho-nejslavnejsi-role.html>

Blesk.cz. (2019). *Pravdoláskař Tomáš Klus: Ted' vám řeknu, proč jsem lhal Tamaře i vám!* Retrieved from: <https://www.blesk.cz/clanek/celebrity-ceske-celebrity/617104/pravdolaskar-tomas-klus-ted-vam-reknu-proc-jsem-lhal-tamare-i-vam.html>

Blesk.cz. (2019). *Pravdoláskař Tomáš Klus se nechá pokřtít! Tohle jméno si vybral.* Retrieved from: <https://www.blesk.cz/clanek/celebrity-ceske-celebrity/617158/pravdolaskar-tomas-klus-se-necha-pokrtit-tohle-jmeno-si-vybral.html>

7.1.3.2 Havlista

Blesk.cz. (2014). *Schwarzenberg je kazišuk: Proč si to Ransdorf myslí? Kvůli ramlici?* Retrieved from: <https://www.blesk.cz/clanek/zpravy-politika/234283/schwarzenberg-je-kazisuk-proc-si-to-ransdorf-mysli-kvuli-ramlici.html>

Šimáček, J. (2016). [Blesk.cz]. *Klaus se opřel do hlupáků. Od Macka a spol. to schytali ODS, Havel i Babiš.* Retrieved from: <https://www.blesk.cz/clanek/zpravy-politika/389703/klaus-se-oprel-do-hlupaku-od-macka-a-spol-to-schytali-ods-havel-i-babis.html>

Blesk.cz. (2016). „*Schwarzenberg je havlista, Rakušák a můj bývalý soused,*“ říká český šéf AfD. Retrieved from: <https://www.blesk.cz/clanek/zpravy-politika/393809/schwarzenberg-je-havlista-rakusak-a-muj-byvaly-soused-rika-cesky-sef-afd.html>

Šimáček, J. (2016). [Blesk.cz]. *Ruml řekl, jak se praštil do hlavy. A že se Havel zpočátku choval jako král.* Retrieved from: <https://www.blesk.cz/clanek/zpravy->

[politika/422262/ruml-rekl-jak-se-prastil-do-hlavy-a-ze-se-havel-zpocatku-choval-jako-kral.html](https://www.blesk.cz/clanek/zpravy-politika/422262/ruml-rekl-jak-se-prastil-do-hlavy-a-ze-se-havel-zpocatku-choval-jako-kral.html)

Holec, P. (2017). [Blesk.cz]. *Komentář: Páchá Nohavica sebevraždu? Nejdřív StB, pak Zeman, teď Okamura.* Retrieved from: <https://www.blesk.cz/clanek/zpravy-komentare/483947/komentar-pacha-nohavica-sebevrazdu-nejdriv-stb-pak-zeman-ted-okamura.html>

Šimáček, J. (2017). [Blesk.cz]. *Okamura: „Šikmých očí se nezbavím a jsem napůl žlutý.“ Rasismu prý čelí každý den.* Retrieved from: <https://www.blesk.cz/clanek/zpravy-politika/507616/okamura-sikmych-oci-se-nezbavim-a-jsem-napul-zluty-rasismu-pry-celi-kazdy-den.html>

Blesk.cz. (2018). *Holčička s trdelníkem rozhořčila matku Okamurovy poslankyně. Za kritiku to schytává.* Retrieved from: <https://www.blesk.cz/clanek/zpravy-politika/547555/holcicka-s-trdelnikem-rozhorcila-matku-okamurovy-poslankyne-za-kritiku-to-schytava.html>

7.1.3.3 Havloid

Bláha, E. (2015). [Blesk.cz]. *Recenze: Bída porevolučního Česka aneb Pithart o současném marasmu.* Retrieved from: <https://www.blesk.cz/clanek/zpravy-kultura/361301/recenze-bida-porevolucniho-ceska-aneb-pithart-o-soucasnem-marasmu.html>

Veinlich, J. (2018). [Blesk.cz]. *Komunisté to slízli za velebení Havla za mřížemi. „Je to drzost“. Čílí se politolog.* Retrieved from: <https://www.blesk.cz/clanek/zpravy-politika/558599/komuniste-to-slizli-za-velebeni-havla-za-mrizemi-je-to-drzost-cili-se-politolog.html>

Veinlich, J. (2020). [Blesk.cz]. *Staronový šéf ODS Fiala pro Blesk: O novém miminku, podpoře manželky a snu být premiérem.* Retrieved from: <https://www.blesk.cz/clanek/zpravy-politika/632023/staronovy-sef-ods-fiala-pro-blesk-o-novem-miminku-podpore-manzelky-a-snu-byt-premierem.html>

7.2 Tables

Table 1: Occurrence of the analysed word categories within the selected news media

	<i>iHNed.cz</i>	<i>Blesk.cz</i>	<i>iDNES.cz</i>	In Total
<i>Pravdoláskař</i>	17	7	13	37
<i>Havlista</i>	3	7	10	20
<i>Havloid</i>	2	3	7	12

Table 2: The first year of occurrence of “pravdoláskař”, “havlista” and “havloid” within the selected news media

	<i>iHNed.cz</i>	<i>Blesk.cz</i>	<i>iDNES.cz</i>
<i>Pravdoláskař</i>	2011	2012	2010
<i>Havlista</i>	2012	2014	2010
<i>Havloid</i>	2017	2015	2015

Table 3: Major features of the analysed expressions

	<i>Pravdoláskář</i>	<i>Havlista</i>	<i>Havloid</i>
Václav Havel's values	▪	▪	▪
Ethos of 1989	▪	▪	▪
Idealism	▪	▪	▪
Willingness to help refugees	▪	▪	▪
Criticism of Zeman	▪		
Criticism of Klaus	▪	▪	▪
Against fake news	▪	▪	
EU supportive	▪	▪	▪
Against China or Russia		▪	
Pejorative label	▪	▪	▪
Insulted from opponents	▪	▪	▪
Compared to other labels	▪	▪	▪
Self-labelling	▪	▪	▪