By gathering 39 local scholars, experts, and civil society activists specialized in racism and human rights, the fourth edition of the European Islamophobia Report addresses a still timely and politically important issue. All 34 country reports included in this book follow a unique structure that is convenient, first, for comparing country reports and, second, for selected readings on a particular topic such as politics, employment, or education with regards to Islamophobia across Europe.

The present report investigates in detail the underlying dynamics that directly or indirectly support the rise of anti-Muslim racism in Europe. This extends from Islamophobic statements spread in national media to laws and policies that restrain the fundamental rights of European Muslim citizens. As a result, the European Islamophobia Report 2018 discusses the impact of anti-Muslim discourse on human rights, multiculturalism, and the state of law in Europe.

This fourth edition of our report highlights how European societies are challenged by the rise of violent far-right groups that do not only preach hatred of Muslims but also participate in the organization of bloody terror attacks. The rise of far-right terrorist groups such as AFO (Action of Operational Forces) in France or the network Hannibal in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland confirms EUROPOL’s alarming surveys on the growing danger of right-wing terrorism.

This year, SETA worked in cooperation with the Leopold Weiss Institute, an Austrian NGO based in Vienna dedicated to the research of Muslims in Europe. In addition, the European Union has funded the European Islamophobia Report 2018 through the program “Civil Society Dialogue Between EU and Turkey (CSD-V)”.

About SETA
Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research (SETA) is a non-profit research institute based in Turkey dedicated to innovative studies on national, regional and international issues. SETA is the leading think tank in Turkey and has offices in Ankara, Istanbul, Washington D.C. and Cairo. The objective of SETA is to produce up-to-date and accurate knowledge and analyses in the fields of politics, economy, and society, and inform policy makers and the public on changing political, economic, social, and cultural conditions. Through research reports, publications, brainstorming sessions, conferences and policy recommendations, SETA seeks to guide leaders in government, civil society, and business, and contributes to informed decision making mechanisms.
ABOUT EDITORS

Enes Bayraklı
Enes Bayraklı earned his BA, MA and PhD from the Department of Political Science at the University of Vienna, and conducted research for his PhD thesis at the University of Nottingham in Britain between 2009 and 2010. He was a deputy director at the Yunus Emre Turkish Cultural Center in London in 2011-2013. Bayraklı also served as the founding director of the Yunus Emre Turkish Cultural Centers in Constanta and Bucharest, Romania in August-December 2012. He has been a faculty member at the Department of Political Science and International Relations at the Turkish-German University since 2013. Currently he is also the coordinator of SETA Brussels office and director of European Studies at SETA Foundation. His fields of research include Islamophobia in Europe, far-right movements in Europe, the transformation of Turkish foreign policy, foreign policy analysis, and German foreign policy.

Farid Hafez
Farid Hafez, PhD (Political Science, University of Vienna), is currently lecturer and researcher at the University of Salzburg, Department of Political Science and Sociology and senior researcher at Georgetown University’s “The Bridge Initiative” at the School of Foreign Service. He defended his habilitation thesis on “Islam-Politics in the Second Republic of Austria” at the University of Salzburg. In 2017, he was a Fulbright visiting professor at the University of California, Berkeley and in 2014, he was a visiting scholar at Columbia University, New York. Since 2010 he has been the editor of Islamophobia Studies Yearbook, and since 2016 the co-editor of European Islamophobia Report. Hafez has received the Bruno Kreisky Award for the “Political Book of the Year” for his anthology Islamophobia in Austria (co-edited with John Bunzl). He has more than 80 publications in leading journals such as Politics and Religion, Patterns of Prejudice, and German Politics and Society. His latest publications are Islamophobia in Muslim Majority Societies (Routledge, co-edited with Enes Bayraklı) and Feindbild Islam. Über die Salonfähigkeit von Rassismus (Böhlau).

For more information about the EIR:

www.islamophobiaeurope.com
islamophobia@setav.org
ISLAMOPHOBIA IN
NETHERLANDS
NATIONAL REPORT 2018

LEYLA YILDIRIM
The Author

**Leyla Yıldırım** is a PhD candidate at the Department of Sociology, Institute of Social Sciences at Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University, Istanbul. She graduated from the Master’s program, “Islam in the Contemporary West” at Leiden University in the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, she worked at the Islamic University of Applied Sciences Europe, as an education coordinator and program developer of BA and Master’s degrees in Islamic Spiritual Care and Islamic Theology. Yıldırım’s research interests are Muslims in Europe, Islamophobia, race, racism, and cultural secularism. Besides her native languages Turkish and Kurdish, she also speaks Dutch, English, and reads German. Email: leyla_yildirim@hotmail.com

**Disclaimer:** Statements of fact and opinion in the national reports of the *European Islamophobia Report* are those of the respective authors. They are not the expression of the editors or the funding institutions and do not necessarily reflect the views of the European Union and Ministry of Foreign Affairs-Directorate for EU Affairs.

Executive Summary

The previous year’s Islamophobic rhetoric overshadowed the elections in 2018. Yet, a few political parties like NIDA and DENK, which gave a platform for the excluded Muslims to speak out against their experiences of marginalization as a result of Islamophobia, took part in the elections too. The result was that these parties were able to capitalize on Muslim experiences and win seats in the parliament.

The three important national reports by the Verwey-Joncker Institute, the Dutch Security Agency (AIVD), and the National Coordinator for Counterterrorism and Security (NCTV on the role of far-right groups were another important development in 2018. These reports gave a picture of the mutual effect of far-right parties like the PVV (Partij voor Vrijheid) and the FvD (Forum voor Democratie) on these groups. The report published by The Jonker-Verwey Institute warned about the growing political and social influence of far-right groups. On the other hand, the report published by the Dutch Security Agency (AIVD) also warned about the influence and danger of these far-right extremist movements. They underlined that these groups pass an essentialist negative judgement on Islam to stereotype Muslims and to justify vandalizing their buildings. The problem is that in this report the ideology and the practices of the far-right groups are not connected to racism but to certain anti-Islam debates. Neither their connection nor their influence on the far-right political parties like the FvD and the PVV is mentioned in the AIVD report. The report by the NCTV, on the other hand, did notice that “[t]here is growing self-confidence among far-right extremists.”

Every year the Ministry of Internal Affairs publishes its annual report on registered discrimination. According to the report the Anti-discrimination Agencies (ADVs) reported that 7% of discrimination was related to religious discrimination: from these two thirds consist of discrimination because of the Islamic faith. The same report indicates that 91% of a total of 151 incidents of religious discrimination reported to the police were related to Muslims. The Anti-discrimination Agencies received 304 reports of religious discrimination, two thirds of which were directed against Muslims. Police registrations often involved aggression in the living environment, while Anti-discrimination Agencies also registered reports which include many experiences like labour market discrimination.

Finally, attacks on mosques by Islamophobes continue to take place. Far-right groups regularly vandalize the buildings and organize protests against them. Despite the existence of more institutions in recent years which are monitor Islamophobia, there is still a large number of people who do not report Islamophobic incidents.
ISLAMOPHOBIA IN NETHERLANDS

Samenvatting

Net als de verkiezingen in 2017 overschaduwde de islamofobe retoriek de verkiezingen van 2018. Echter, de aanwezigheid van enkele lokale partijen zoals NIDA of de nationale partij DENK vulde de lacune op van een partij die het behartigen van de belangen van de Moslims als zijn eerste prioriteit beschouwde. En tijdens deze verkiezingen hebben ze dit voornamelijk benadrukt en hierdoor zetels veroverd.

Een belangrijke ontwikkeling van dit jaar waren enkele rapporten die gepubliceerd werden over de rol van extreemrechtse groepen. Ze gaven onder andere een beeld van het wederzijdse invloed die rechtse partijen zoals PVV en FvD en deze extreem rechtse groepen op elkaar hadden. Een van deze rapporten was publiceerd door het instituut Jonker-Verwey waarin werd gewaarschuwd voor de groeiende politieke en sociale invloed van deze extreemrechtse groepen. Volgens een ander rapport gepubliceerd door de Nederlandse veiligheidsdienst, de AIVD, blijkt dat rechts-extremistische bewegingen een specifieke interpretatie gebruiken van de islam om moslims hiermee te stereotyperen en hun gebouwen te vernielen.

Een nieuwe stem was gehoord in het afgelopen jaar van de politici Sigrid Kaag, minister van Buitenlandse Handel en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking. Ze hield een lange toespraak tijdens haar Abel Herzberg lezing die een grote publieke hit werd. Ze betoogde dat er in Nederland een ‘donkere en dreigende stilte’ heerst als het gaat om opkomend populisme en zijn bedreigingen voor de democratische rechtsstaat. Het maakte een grote indruk omdat sinds lange tijd weinig politici zo’n uitgesproken kritiek had geuit op racisme die specifiek gericht is op moslims.

Ten slotte, ondanks dat er in de afgelopen jaren meer instellingen bestaan die islamofobie monitoren, bestaan er nog steeds een groot aantal slachtoffers die nog steeds niet rapporteren. Er bestaat nog steeds een sterke opvatting dat het geen zin heeft. Zoals we gewend zijn van de afgelopen jaren, waren dit jaar de moskeeën opnieuw het doelwit van islamofoben. De observatie van afzonderlijke segmenten in de samenleving laten zien dat moslims nog steeds problemen hebben vanwege hun religie bij het vinden van een baan of een stage omdat ze een hoofddoek dragen. Het dragen van een hoofddoek kan vrouwen volledig uitsluiten van bepaalde soorten onderwijs, opleiding of banen.
Country Profile

Country: Netherlands

Type of Regime: Parliamentary representative democracy, constitutional monarchy and a decentralized unitary state.

Form of Government: Constitutionally consists of the King and the Cabinet Ministers; King’s role is limited to the formation of government.


Last Elections: 2018 municipal elections. In terms of seats, the D66 (Liberal Democrats) was the biggest loser in this election, losing 6 of its 14 seats. The SP (Socialist Party) lost half of its 6 seats in the previous council, and the PvdA (Labor Party) dropped from 10 to 5 seats. The animal rights party PvdD gained two seats, going from 1 to 3. The VVD (Liberal Centrist Party) and the CDA (Christian Democrats) all remained stable. The new far-right party FvD of Thierry Baudet won 3 seats.

Total Population: 17.2 million people (in 2018)

Major Languages: Dutch

Official Religion: No official religion (Secularism)

Statistics on Islamophobia: The majority of religious discrimination reports, two-thirds of the numbers, come from Muslims who were confronted with discrimination because of their religion. In addition, in 2018, the police registered 151 reports of discrimination on religious basis. From the 151 reports, 90% were directed against Muslims. The reports registered by the police were mostly aggression-based ones.

Statistics on Racism and Discrimination: In 2018, the ADVs (Anti-discrimination Agencies) registered 304 reports on religious discrimination. The majority of these reports, two-thirds of the numbers, come from Muslims who were confronted with discrimination because of their religion. In addition, in 2018, the police registered 151 reports of discrimination on religious basis. From the 151 reports, 90% were directed against Muslims. The reports registered by the police were mostly aggression-based ones. The reports by the Anti-discrimination Agencies consist of discrimination in the labor market and most are due to wearing a headscarf.

Major Religions (% of Population): Christianity (40%), No religion (50.1%), Islam (4.9%), Judaism (0.1%).

Muslim Population (% of Population): 825,000 (5% of Dutch population, Source: CBS)

Main Muslim Community Organizations: Contactorgaan Moslims en Overheid (CMO); Unie van Marokkanse Moskeeorganisaties in Nederland (UMMON); Stichting Platform Islamische Organisaties Rijnmond (SPIOR); Samenwerk-
Main NGOs Combating Islamophobia: Meld Islamofobie, Collectief tegen Islamofobie, SPIOR

Far-Right Parties: PVV, FvD

Far-Right Movements: Voorpost, Identitair Verzet, Pegida.nl, Erkenbrand

Far-Right Terrorist Organizations: N/A

Limitations to Islamic Practices

- Hijab Ban: No
- Halal Slaughter Ban: In 2018, restrictions were set in place by the law. According to the new law, if an animal is not insensitive to pain within 40 seconds of slaughter, based on measures called “induced eyelid reflex” and “corneal reflex,” it must be shot.
- Minaret Ban: No
- Circumcision Ban: No
- Burka Ban: On 26 June, 2018, the Dutch Senate approved the bill ‘Partial Prohibition of Face-Covering Clothing.’
- Prayer Ban: No it depends on local decision since the European Court of Justice ruled in March 2017 that employers can ban staff from wearing visible religious symbols, including taking time off from prayers.
Introduction

The public attention on anti-Muslim hatred is a recent phenomenon in the Netherlands. In earlier reports, one could observe from national and international research that there was a steady increase in Islamophobia in the Netherlands. But recent national reports show a different picture. According to the latter, there is a decline in Islamophobia. Nevertheless, there are indications that this decline does not show the whole picture, as will be elaborated in this report.

When we look separately at each sector, such as the labor market or politics, it becomes even more clear that the number of incidents reported to the police gives us insufficient insight into this phenomenon. According to certain surveys there is still a lack of reports on discrimination. An additional important explanation of the decline in numbers described in these reports is that Islamophobia has become more normalized in society and internalized by both Muslims and non-Muslims. Correspondingly, Kennisplatform integratie en Samenleving (Knowledge Platform of Integration and Society, from now on KIS) carried out a survey amongst the youth (between 16 and 20 years). The survey was conducted to evaluate the anti-discrimination guidelines developed by KIS in collaboration with the Netherlands Institute for Human Rights, the National Ombudsman, the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Internet Discrimination Hotline (MiND), and the National Association Against Discrimination. This survey showed that 94% of young people who had experienced discrimination did not report this to any authority. These young people think that it will not make any difference to report their experience. Therefore, the number of


6. KIS, Jongeren melden discriminatie niet: “het heeft toch geen zin”
cases of Islamophobia should by no means be restricted to the number of incidents that are known to the police.

Every year the Ministry of Internal Affairs publishes its annual report on registered discrimination. The report provides insight into the cases and experiences of discrimination that have occurred in that year and which have been registered by official agencies. The report’s multi-agency approach is a result of the collaboration between police, different Anti-discrimination Agencies, and the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations. According to the report the Anti-discrimination Agencies reported that 7% of discrimination was related to religious discrimination; from these cases, two thirds consist of discrimination because of the Islamic faith.

According to the same report, 91% of a total of 151 incidents of religious discrimination reported to the police, were related to Muslims. The Anti-discrimination Agencies received 304 reports of religious discrimination, two thirds of which were directed against Muslims. Police registrations often involved aggression in the living environment, while Anti-discrimination Agencies also registered reports which involved other experiences like labor market discrimination. Women constitute the majority of the victims, especially when they wear headscarves. The Human Right Institute received 17 requests for an opinion on religious discrimination and 146 questions about religious discrimination. According to this report most of the discrimination cases were about race.

Nevertheless, one can also observe positive developments in the Netherlands. The research done by “PEW” states that compared to residents from other European countries, the Dutch have the slightest objections to a Muslim or a Jew in the family. This is shown by a series of studies conducted by the Pew Research Center between 2015 and 2017 among nearly 56,000 adults (18 years and older) in 34 Western, Central, and Eastern European countries. There are fewer objections to Jewish family members in almost all European countries than to Muslim family members (Fig. 1).
Discussion of Islamophobic Incidents and Discursive Events

Physical and Verbal Attacks

On behalf of the Anne Frank Foundation, the Verwey-Joncker Instituut published the 7th report on racism, anti-Semitism, and far-right violence in the Netherlands.\textsuperscript{13} This report also includes an overview of the past five years, the period between 2013 to 2017. The themes they took into consideration were the quantitative development of anti-Semitic, racist, and anti-Muslim incidents in the police registration system. Additionally, they discussed the far-right organizations and violence. Furthermore, they examined whether the number of incidents of discrimination was related to social events. With this they wanted to gain insight into what extent the changes in numbers of discrimination incidents are explained by social events. The data indicated that in recent years there was a certain degree of habituation among the public due to the terrorist attacks in the name of Islam. When an attack happened in the name of Islam it does not always lead to an anti-Muslim incident. But it is also possible that anti-Muslim incidents still take place and are not known to the police.\textsuperscript{14} Furthermore, they stressed that racist and anti-Muslim incidents are taking

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{13} Tierolf, Drost and van Kapel, Zevende rapportage racisme, antisemitisme en extreemrechts geweld in Nederland.

more serious forms. One can also observe this in numbers: in 2016, 4% of the racist incidents included violent acts. This increased to 11% in 2017.\textsuperscript{15}

In the second part of the report they focused on the decrease of membership in far-right groups. The authors suppose that this could be explained with the habituation to terror attacks in the name of Islam and low migrations which resulted in a shift towards lower membership. But what is worrisome is the growing political and social influence of these far-right groups. Far-right ideas get normalized as any other political thoughts. They gain entrance to public and social debates. Political parties like the PVV of Geert Wilders and the Forum voor Democratie (FvD) disseminate ideas that fit in well with the world of ideas of the far-right and normalize these ideas. This is partly reflected in the report, namely that the PVV actively distances itself from far-right groups but the FvD does not dissociate itself “too sharply” from them.\textsuperscript{16}

In its 2018 report, the Dutch Security Agency (AIVD) also drew attention to the slight revival of far-right extremism in the Netherlands. Whereas in the past this was mainly characterized by a neo-Nazi, fascist, and anti-Semitic philosophy, nowadays it is characterized by an anti-Islam philosophy. In addition, the alt-right ideology is being spread from the United States. The (online) language they use is becoming increasingly violent and there is a great fascination with weapons. Generally speaking, violence is not quickly adopted, but the risk of loneliness or small groups reaching for violence is greater than in the past.\textsuperscript{17}

In addition, in 2018, the research office Labyrinth published the report Reporting Evaluation Regional Meetings, Guide for a Safe Mosque on behalf of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment. According to this report, 21 out of 55 respondents from 18 different mosques reported that their mosque had occasionally been the target of hostile attacks.

In total, these mosques had to deal with 47 incidents, including 11 threats, the depositing of a pig’s head occurred 7 times, and 6 times drawn with hurtful lyrics or symbols or verbal aggression against mosque visitors. All 21 respondents (every respondent represent one mosque) indicated that they experienced at least once an incident. In response to the incidents, sometimes the mosque board only had a talk about the incident with the police and 19 of them reported once an incident. Only


\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.

four of the 21 communicated with the media about the incident and only 1 reported the incident to the local anti-discrimination provision.\(^{18}\)

The fact that mosques are targets of Islamophobes has not changed in 2018 - what has changed is the modality of the targeting. In the past, banners were hung up, graffiti was used on the walls and pig heads were dropped at mosques. The upcoming new trend is not only targeting the building but also targeting the mosques’ worshippers. In 2016, the perpetrators who threw a firebomb at the mosque in Enschede, during a children’s Quran classes, were sentenced to four years imprisonment. This year, in February, the four perpetrators went to high court and while the prosecutor asked again for four years, the court decided to reduce it to three years.\(^{19}\)

Another example which must be mentioned is the case of As-Sunna Mosque in The Hague. On 5 October, 2018, a perpetrator planned to drive into the mosque during Friday prayer in order to both ruin the building and kill the worshipers. According to a board member of the mosque, it was only due to a quick investigation by the police that the perpetrator was stopped before carrying out his plan (Fig. 2).

\[\text{Figure 2: Facebook post of board member As-Soennah Mosque in The Hague.}^{20}\]


\(^{20}\) Abdelhamid Taheri, Facebook, 5 October, 2018, https://www.facebook.com/abdelhamid.taheri, (Access date: 1 September 2019). Further explanation of Figure 2: poster by Indenitair Verzet (Holland-based part of extremist right group Generation Identity) which called people to protest before the mosque in the Hague (left). A WhatsApp conversation in which they warned the mosque about an attack (right top). Twitter account of Pegida in which they listed the protest dates and places of mosques (right bottom).
This same mosque has been the target of far-right groups several times. The poster above (Fig. 2) belongs to far-right groups and invites people to demonstrate against this mosque. The same group hung up banners on the mosque several times.21 This mosque in not alone: at other mosques, other far-right groups hung posters on which they call for de-Islamization and the forbidding of halal slaughter which they consider as barbaric (Fig. 3). This kind of organized protest actions with banners and posters are a common trend used by far-right groups.

Figure 3: Posters at the front of a mosque in the city Ede by the far-right group Voorpost.22

A link between social events like terror attacks or political debates and anti-Muslim attacks is not always observed. Attacks on mosques occur in the form of protests on a regular basis and are often well-organized. The attacks and protests are announced on social media and nearly each municipality has its own movement, or they are mobilized on national level by national groups like Pegida.nl. Thus, Islamic schools and mosques are targeted by groups operating on both local and national levels. The members of these far-right groups are no longer afraid of being identified. On the contrary, they write their names on the posters they put up and try to catch the media’s attention (Fig. 3). All of this indicates that far-right groups are not only aiming for the normalization of their actions but are portraying these attacks as legitimate (political) protest actions.

Employment
For Muslims in the Netherlands discrimination on the job market is a problem which mostly manifests itself in parallel with ethnic background. In recent years according to a report published in 2018 there is an increase in the unemployment of Muslims.23 Letters of application with a Muslim name are regularly refused while the

21. Ibid.
same letters using a Dutch name lead to an invitation for an interview.\textsuperscript{24} The report *Discrimination Numbers 2018 (rapport Discriminatiecijfers 2018)* showed that at least 103 of the discrimination reports (34\%) concerned experiences in the labor market. It often concerned women who were rejected because of their headscarves during an application. It is striking that in various cases those who later reported the incident started a conversation about how they could wear their headscarves in accordance with company rules, but the employer was not open to it.\textsuperscript{25}

Research was carried out by the Verwey-Jonker Institute into abrasive values; the research involved a literature survey and interviews with a small number of people. Their main question was the following: do values, norms, and behaviors cause friction due to different religious background and how do employers deal with religious frictions in practice? The conclusion of this research was that each company has its own coping strategy in dealing with a particular situation. Some wait until this kind of problem takes place and then intervene. But sometimes they avoid employees with Islamic background through explicitly describing the identity of their organization. This is mostly the case in the educational sector. When they need a teacher they explicitly express the Christian identity of the school. One remarkable situation described in this research describes a respondent in a municipality who talks about a Muslim colleague who deliberately makes a detour to the prayer room to escape intimidating glances from colleagues.\textsuperscript{26}

The principle of separation of church and state is sometimes also used by institutions. This is mostly the case with women who want to wear a headscarf.\textsuperscript{27} Despite the ruling of the College of Human Rights (*College Rechten van de Mens*) to allow women with headscarves into police departments, the police still rejects women wearing headscarves. In Rotterdam, this year, political parties such as NIDA and other leftist parties such as the PvdA, Groenlinks and SP tried to vote in favor of allowing the headscarf in the police. But far-right-wing parties had the majority and they voted against it.\textsuperscript{28} Another instance of problematizing the headscarf occurred when in the city of Tilburg an alderwoman wore a headscarf. A man from Tilburg applied to the College of Human Rights and assumed that by allowing an alderwoman to wear a headscarf...
headscarf, College van B en W of Tilburg (The College of Tilburg) was violating the principle of separation of church and state. But the B and W announced that the alderwoman must be seen “as a reflection of our city”, “let it be known now.” Furthermore, the B and W stated, “Tilburg is a very diverse city with room for different views. Alderwoman Lahlah has been appointed by the city council to implement the ‘Healthy and Happy Board.’”

In January 2018, the television consumer program Radar showed that discrimination by temporary employment agencies still occurs (Avrotros, 2018). Radar’s editors appeared during the broadcast as employees of a company that is looking for people for a temporary call center job. The editors called 78 temporary employment agencies. In the conversation the editors said that the office recently had an unpleasant experience with Moroccans, Surinamese, or Turks and asked the agencies whether they could take this into account. From the 78 temporary employment agencies approached, 47% answered positively, 14% explained that it was the client’s responsibility, 36 percent said ‘no’, and 3% made no decision.

Education
School is preeminently the place where young people have to learn to deal with differences, by practicing how to deal with conflicts and to impart respect for those who think differently. Unfortunately, the growing segregation of schools makes it impossible for children to acquire these skills. This was already mentioned in our Islamophobia report of 2017 but the problem continues and is increasing in 2018. In the recent report of the Education Council (Onderwijsraad) it was stressed that “the typical separation between school types, learning paths and study programs for the Netherlands means that pupils with different social backgrounds meet each other less automatically.” As a result of this, education can only make a limited contribution to social cohesion.

Another problem which deserves focus is the educational material which is in use at secondary schools. In 2014, people were stunned by a school textbook which was widely used at secondary schools. It also caught the media’s attention in 2015 when


31. The Education Board is the advisory body of government and parliament in the field of the education. The council is independent and advises, both solicited and unsolicited, on the main lines of policy and application of legislation. It advises on the broad field of education, from preschool education to post-initial education and continuing education. In special cases of local education policy, municipalities can call upon the Education Board.

researcher Ineke van der Valk paid attention in her report *Monitor Moslim Discriminatie* (Monitoring Muslim Discrimination) to the discrimination in education; she also discussed the book in question in her report. The book chapter contained gender stereotypes and prejudices towards Moroccan boys. It contained questions like ‘Are all Moroccan boys criminals?’ The book was intended to familiarize young people with multicultural society. Especially in the section about “growing up between two cultures” the section ‘Boys and Girls’ emphasized social divisions by origin and gender and stimulated ‘us-them’ thinking by imprinting stereotypes and prejudices. According to the textbook, the Quran expected the girls to behave submissively while the boys were expected to behave as mature men at a young age. The textbook stated further that headscarves “emphasize the differences between boys and girls” but sometimes there is criticism about this. Then it is stated that a headscarf shows that women are being oppressed. After two years it appeared that this textbook still contains prejudice and stereotypes although this time Malmberg, the publisher, has issued a statement that they will not sell the book for the next school year. They also offered their apologies to people that felt hurt about the way the material was presented in the textbook.

For this report I also went through a few textbooks of history, social studies, and philosophy, and one textbook of citizenship from middle vocational school. When compared to Malmberg books, a clear improvement has occurred. But the teachers of citizenship and social studies, whom I spoke to, stressed that the information given in the books is inadequate. They argue that during lessons the role of teachers’ knowledge about Muslims and Islam has become very important as a result of the brief information given in the textbooks. The teachers have the freedom to choose the textbooks they consider more suitable.

In one of the textbooks used for social studies lessons at secondary school, social problems and phenomena are discussed. In the same textbook, attention is given to different religions. In the part about Islam, it first gives a summary of Islam and then gives information about the life of a Muslim (Fig. 4). A Muslim woman introduces herself and tells about her religious actions and at the end she explains that she started to wear a headscarf when she felt ready for it and she underlines that everybody was encouraging her by that they admire her for taking on a challenge like this. Then, she says that according to Islam women have to cover their heads, but she adds that if some women do not want to wear it, they are free to refuse it. Her ideas are ex-
pressed in a manner that implies ‘otherness’ and difficulty in carrying out Islamic duties. It gives the message that you need a lot of courage to wear a headscarf because it is something to be considered ‘not normal.’ Muslims with headscarves are not a new phenomenon for people in the Netherlands. Moreover, it creates a distance between Muslim girls and others by placing more emphasis on differences than common aspects of life. And having the prejudices about the headscarf as the symbol of being oppressed in mind this could unwillingly contribute to bigotry. The other textbooks I observed did not have any Islamophobic content, but as the teachers stressed the information was too brief. This makes the dependence on the teachers’ knowledge and attitude towards Islam crucial.

Figure 4: Picture of the textbook of social studies (maatschappijleer) the picture of the discussed textbook in which brief information about Islam and a story of a Muslim is offered.

Another persistent problem is the difficulty faced by Muslim girls in finding an internship. This is stressed by the Minister of Education Ingrid van Engelshoven who sent the new research to the House of Representatives. Fewer than half of the students with a non-western background (48%) can get an internship position with their first application. According to a study by the Research Center for Education and Labor Market (ROA) of the University of Maastricht, 11% of them had to apply four times or more before getting a job. Girls wearing a headscarf are most

affected by this problem. A student with a headscarf was refused by a school which offered hairdressing training. Although pupils are not officially refused at the hairdressing course at the school (RAI) according to the student, this is implicitly the case. Students have to practice on each other, and in doing so, a headscarf is an obstacle. Those who cannot participate in practical lessons cannot follow the course, the school trainers told her. And they could not offer her the option of doing her practice on a doll. The school does not consider this as discrimination, but rather something practical. If she wished to be enrolled in the education program, she had to take her scarf off during practical trainings.

As is mentioned in the newspaper of the Education Council (AOB), Islamic schools often have the image of a closed stronghold of Quran schools with veiled girls. The impression is that these Islamic primary schools exclude pupils from society. However, according to researcher and teacher Marietje Beemsterboer this is not right. This was asserted in her dissertation which she successfully defended at Leiden University in Summer 2018. “Education at these Islamic schools contributes to integration and prepares students for a life in the Dutch society,” she wrote. She also states that the Islamic identity of the school gives students a sense of security. “At these schools, it is not strange to ask for halal food. A child can be himself without having to defend himself continuously, and parents too. From this sense of security, the school can offer educational content that can be experienced as exciting.”

Politics

The year 2018 started with elections - as the year 2017. This time it was about city councils at municipalities. Similar to national elections, at these local elections, the far-right party of Wilders won a clear victory. The same party participated in 2012 in just two municipalities but this time, in 2018, it won in 30 municipalities. The party stands on 74 seats in the parliament. This party led its campaign again with anti-Islam publicity. Wilders broadcasted a campaign video which was aired by the NPO (Nederlandse Publieke Omroep, Dutch broadcast) during broadcasting time for political parties, and which sparked the outrage and anger of Muslims and non-Muslims. With horror music in the background, in red letters, a text which read that Islam stands for hate against Jews, Christians, women, and homosexuals was displayed. At the end of the video, the words ‘Islam is

deadly’ written with red letters and this time with dripping blood on the screen appeared (Fig. 5).41

![Figure 5: PVV broadcast campaign with the text: “Islam is deadly.”](https://islamophobiaeurope.com)

However, this campaign quickly instigated awareness. Instead of criticizing, the public actively took part in the discussion and on some boards slogans such as “Islam is great” with similar letters to those of the PVV campaign were written and disseminated. (Fig. 6).

![Figure 6: Contra campaign with the text: “Islam is Great.”](https://islamophobiaeurope.com)

Others made a counter-video in which the beautiful aspects of Islam were explained. Also, non-Muslims expressed their anger about this film. Many politicians, organizations, and people attempted to press charges against Wilders, which gave Wilders the attention and publicity he hoped to gain. Wilder’s next move was to hold a cartoon contest on Prophet Mohammed. Although he claimed to have decided to cancel the competition because of death threats he had received.44 The anti-discrimination bureau RADAR and four Islamic umbrella organizations RADAR, the CMO (Contact

42. PVV broadcast campaign “Islam is Dodelijk” (Islam is deadly) in Koning, Huis en haat de activerende werking van de racistische propaganda van de PVV.
43. Contra campaign towards Wilders campaign of “Islam is deadly.” Some Muslim wrote with the same letters “Islam is Great!” in Koning, Huis en haat de activerende werking van de racistische propaganda van de PVV.
organ Muslims and Government), SPIOR (Foundation Platform Islamic Organizations Rijnmond), SMBZ (Cooperating Mosques Brabant and Zeeland) and SIORH (Foundation Islamic Organizations Region Haaglanden) wanted PVV leader Geert Wilders and his party to be prosecuted for the ‘Islam is deadly’ campaign. These organizations jointly started so-called Article 12 proceedings. Previously, the Public Prosecutor ruled that it saw no reason to prosecute the PVV for group insult or hate speech. 45

In recent years, the SGP (fundamentalist Christian party) has been getting closer to other anti-Islam parties. During the national elections it included anti-Islam rhetoric in its campaign through publishing an ‘Islam manifesto’ in which it called for the banning of radical Muslim organizations, restricting the number of asylum seekers in the Netherlands, and banning the call to prayer that includes faith texts. According to this manifesto, the Netherlands must also not allow any Muslim holiday to become official and revoke asylum seekers’ right to shelter if they are guilty of hate or violence. 46 This year, the SGP filed a motion regarding the right to refuse participation in school trips which involve visiting religious institutions (like mosques, churches, and synagogues) which is part of the school curriculum. Parents can apply for an exemption for their kids but the schools are not obliged to comply with the exemption request. The SGP proposed to remove this non-commitment and, therefore, proposed a change in the law. 47 By calling a ban on Muslim call for prayer, issuing the manifesto, and excluding visiting mosques, it is apparent that the SGP is attempting to split society in general and exclude Muslims in particular. First, they took steps against the call for prayer for Muslims, they continued with the Islam manifesto, and now they are against mosque visits. What confirms their anti-Islam position, is that they filled this motion after a commotion arose about the booklet Classes on the Knees for Islam by the SCC (Stichting Civitas Christiana), which aims to protect the norms and values of western civilization, rooted in Christianity, through the Culture Under Fire campaign. This foundation is known as a very conservative and mission-oriented Catholic. 48 In this booklet, they argue that imams give instruction to pupils during the school visit to mosque to get on their knees and recite the Islamic creed - something they consider as a first step to conversion. 49


Media

Although critical voices about the Dutch media for stereotyping and excessively reporting on Muslims in a negative way have been heard for years; unfortunately, there has been little research carried out on this subject. A new initiative has been taken by The Hague Peace Projects$^{50}$ in collaboration with Ewoud Butter$^{51}$ and Nieuw Wij,$^{52}$ which investigates the way the four largest newspapers portray Muslims. The project aims with this new exploratory study to fill the gap with the following research question: how are Muslims portrayed in the four largest Dutch newspapers? The researchers’ method was to analyze the published background articles between November 2018 and March 2019.$^{53}$ The results indicate that in the Volkskrant, a leading newspaper, 55 reports were directly or indirectly concerned with women with a (possible) Muslim background. In 28 of these reports the image of the oppressed Muslim woman persists.$^{54}$ Only the Muslim as ‘terrorist’ scores more hits on the list. The Muslim as a ‘terrorist’ is still the favorite subject when it comes to reporting on Muslims in Volkskrant. This does not only apply to this newspaper. As far as ‘terror’ is concerned, it does not matter whether you read the AD, the NRC or De Telegraaf. In the four mainstream newspapers investigated, ‘terrorist Muslims’ are the most common topic if you specifically focus on Muslim reporting. More interesting is the way De Telegraaf writes about the way one can recognize a terrorist. It poses questions like: Where do you have to seek them? In refugee camps? Or questions like: Is he Moroccan? Or a Turk? After raising these question, they suggest that most terrorists have a Moroccan background and less have a Turkish background (Fig. 7).$^{55}$

50. The Hague Peace Projects was brought to life by four individuals who all work in the field of human rights and conflicts.
51. Ewoud Butter is an independent researcher, consultant, manager, project leader, trainer, and writer. He has been working in these positions since 1990 in the areas of diversity, emancipation, Islam, discrimination, and radicalization.
52. Nieuw Wij is an online platform of various academics and journalists. Their goal is to create an online platform where one can find articles, interviews, videos, and information about making connections between different groups in society. https://www.nieuwwij.nl/
54. Ibid.
De Telegraaf also paid extensive attention to a PhD research on Salafists. This research turned out to be problematic in the sense of keeping scientific standards. But apparently this was not important for De Telegraaf. In its article, De Telegraaf tried to rely on a ‘scientist’ to convince Dutch people that Salafists in the Netherlands are dangerous and are not integrated into society. The headline used for the article on this PhD research read, “Mosque Visitor: ‘The Netherlands Is a Venomous Snake That Is Constantly Lurking.”’ (Fig. 8).

56. Balçik, 99% kans dat Telegraaf moslims aan terreur koppelt
Justice System
The ritual slaughter and the burka ban are the main topics which are discussed in the context of law regulations and which, according to most Muslims, restrict their religious freedom. Ritual slaughtering has been discussed for years, but finally in 2018 restrictions were imposed by the law.58 According to the new law, if an animal is not insensitive to pain within 40 seconds of slaughter, based on measures called “induced eyelid reflex” and “corneal reflex,” it must be shot. The animal rights activists and the animal rights party who has seats in the Dutch parliament are the driving forces behind this law. An agreement was present in this law on the development of a system which ensures that no more animals are ritually slaughtered in the Netherlands than necessary to meet the actual needs of the religious communities.59 Some Muslims have become suspicious of the repeated interference in their diets and consider these discussions to be more about the quality and quantity of their food than the well-being of the animals.60 The intention of these animal activists and the Animal Party are probably not to be anti-Islam, but their ideas about animal protection are taken over by far-right groups to bully Muslims, as we can see from their posters in front of mosques (Fig. 3). In their posters, these groups refer to ritual slaughter as ‘Halal=barbaric’ (Fig. 3). They take advantage of the susceptibilities of people and use this to bully Muslims. Again, in this case we see that they try to take advantage of every opportunity to create an anti-Islam voice in politics.

Another topic which is fully discussed was the burqa-ban in the public sector. Many critics describe this as ‘symbol politics.’ The ban was speedily accepted at the parliament but it is not clear when the law will be implemented. Consequently, it raised many questions such as how could someone not be accepted at hospitals and schools? Refusing these services to women with a burka will contradict their other constitutional rights which these people can lean on. According to Prof. Tom Zwart, the government banned face-covering clothing because they assume that it will raise communication problems and this can have negative consequences for the quality of services and safety. But, he states that, “in the field, no problems have occurred in the past. Moreover, in these sectors, neither the house rules nor other tools are sufficient to solve eventual problems. According to the Council of State (Raad van State), the government has not demonstrated the necessity of the law. The burqa ban is simply a solution in search of a problem.”61 Municipalities such as Amsterdam, Utrecht, and Rotterdam declared that

61. Tom de Zwart, “Het Demasque Van Boerka Verbod”, De Nederlandse Grondwet, 19 December 2018, https://www.denederlandsegrondwet.nl/id/vkuef46djq1/nieuws/het_demasque_van_het_boerkaverbod/bcld=IwAR1QH-bA4bxIKdbTF5y2Or1IWJH5wQwvVBxR8PSz1OPlF1TZxL_i7XuXRg, (Access date: 4 September 2019).
the pending ban on face-covering clothing such as the burqa in public buildings will not be a priority to enforce. Femke Halsema told local broadcaster AT5 that she would not enforce the ban in the Dutch capital. “I don’t think it really fits in with our city,” she said. “Instead, police capacity would be better used elsewhere.”62 The cabinet criticized the mayor of Amsterdam’s attitude. “No one is above the law, not even the mayor of Amsterdam,” said Secretary of State Visser (Defense). “It is not the case that you can shop in the law and say: what is important to me and what is not?” As it happens it seems that this decision was not made properly and the parliament did not think about how this will be practiced in daily life in the public sector.

**Internet**

The Internet has become the most important platform where Islamophobes find each other and spread their word. As Ineke van der Valk stated in her report, which we discussed in our report of 2017, GeenStijl is still one of the foremost Internet sites that frames Muslims as cultural and political threats. Not only Muslims, but also people who supported them or had any connections with them were portrayed negatively.63

Far-right groups such as Erkenbrand, Pegida.nl, and Identitair Nederland make full use of Facebook and Twitter. They use these platforms to inform their fans about upcoming events like protests in front of mosques and to share their ideas. Important for these groups are the online publications of other alt-right groups especially American ones.64 The activities of these groups vary from spreading hate to committing violence against Muslims.

![Figure 9: Screenshot of Facebook group of the far-right-wing terrorist Vincent T.](image)


65. Extreme right terrorist suspect Vincent T. was a member of this Facebook group “Eis Ruim 3 Jaar Cel Tegen Terreuvendachte Vincent T.” Omroep GLD, 23 November, 2018, https://www.omroepgelderland.nl/nieuws/2382816/Eis-ruim-3-jaar-cel-terreuvendachte-Vincent-T/ (Access date: 3 September 2019).
On Tuesday, 28 December, the court of Oost-Brabant sentenced a 48-year-old man from Haren (NB) to a work sentence of eighty hours. He was sentenced after a complaint to Internet Complaint Line MIND, about his messages on Facebook between October and December 2015. He was guilty of incitement, group insult, and incitement to discrimination and violence. In his Facebook posts, he called on Dutch people to “arm themselves” and spoke about the “extermination” and “burning” of Muslims and black people. Facebook has now removed the messages. 66

Another man, Vincent T, was sentenced by the court in Zutphen to 40 months of unconditional prison. The 44-year-old man is suspected of preparing a terrorist attack on Muslims. Vincent T has been detained in the heavily guarded prison in Vught since May. He was active at the Facebook group ATB Special Forces. His goal was to set up a civilian watch to protect the Dutch people against Muslims. According to the Public Prosecution Service Vincent T tried to recruit members and sought weapons. 67

Central Figures in the Islamophobia Network

In the Netherlands, some political figures foster Islamophobic campaigns and for years they stirred debates and lobbied for laws which restrict the life of Muslims. One prominent figure Geert Wilders is known worldwide and has close alliances with other Islamophobes. Besides Wilders, a new political figure Thierry Baudet...
from the party *Forum voor Democratie*, appeared to gain popularity with his anti-Islam attitude. These two political parties came under special attention in 2018 because of the Verwey-Jonker Institute’s report. This report indicates that there is mainly recognition and sympathy from far-right organizations for their ideas and ideology. This recognition has grown in recent times, especially in the direction of *Forum voor Democratie* (FvD). Both parties have generated ideas that fit in the ideological world of far-right groups. The researchers also argue that the PVV cooperates with parties with a long history of racism and anti-Semitism, such as the AFD, FPO, Front National, Lega Nord, and Vlaams Belang in Europe. An important sidenote is that the pronounced pro-Jewish and pro-Israeli character of the PVV clashes with the often implicit or explicit anti-Semitic ideas within many far-right-wing organizations. It seems that their anti-Semitic utterances are often received negatively but in the case of their statements about Muslims this negative reaction disappears.

Additionally, Wilders has always been very mysterious about the financial support of his own party. However, in 2018, Haaretz showed from a review of tax forms from the San Francisco Jewish Federation that the federation supported far-right extremist groups. The far-right-wing extremist Geert Wilders, leader and sole member of the political party PVV, has also received money from the fund.

The far-right groups which are also mentioned in the report by Verwey-Joncker Institut are Identitair Verzet, Voorpost, Pegida.nl, and Rechts in Verzet that play huge roles in protests against mosques and Islamic intuitions. They organize these and other actions and are the main forces exerting influence on politicians and states. As this report has also stressed their ideas seem to be increasingly stripped of the legacy of National Socialism in the Second World War and are gradually being perceived as yet another political opinion. The latest findings suggest that while their ideas about Islam and Muslims are accepted, their anti-Semitic and anti-Israel positions make even Thierry Baudet and Geert Wilders distance themselves from them. Other figures who take part in Islamophobic rhetoric are the radical Christians like Stichting Civitas Christiana, which is a very conservative and mission-oriented Catholic association. They are primarily known for their action against the anti-Black Pete

69. Tierolf, Drost and van Kapel, *Zevende rapportage racisme, antisemitisme en extreemrechts geweld in Nederland*.
70. Ibid.
72. Sommer, *From Project Veritas to the Tea Party San Francisco Jewish Federation Also Funding Far-Right Fringe Groups, Not Just Canary Mission*.
73. Tierolf, Drost and van Kapel, *Zevende rapportage racisme, antisemitisme en extreemrechts geweld in Nederland*.
movement. But this year they gained attention with their report about school trips to mosques as a part of citizenship lessons. Based on their report, the SGP filed a motion in the lower house of the Dutch parliament. This is another example of the way anti-Muslim groups gain influence in the parliament.

**Observed Civil Society and Political Assessment and Initiatives**

During the 29th Abel Herzberlezing, Sigrid Kaag, Minister for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation, gave a long speech which made a big impression. She argued that there is a “dark and threatening silence” in the Netherlands when it comes to emerging populism and its threats to the democratic constitutional state. She felt sad when sometimes in the Netherlands she had to confirm that her daughter who looks different is indeed her daughter. She added, “because of my marriage [she married a Palestinian man] and career, I am treated as a foreigner in my own country.” Without mentioning the PVV and the Forum for Democracy explicitly by name, the minister criticized the ideas of Geert Wilders and Thierry Baudet. Kaag thinks that these ideas receive too little reaction. “There is a certain silence in the society, in politics. The silence of hearing what is told, but not talking about it, and not really doing anything about it.” Kaag referred, among other things, to plans to ban the Quran, or the construction of new mosques, as the PVV had recently proposed. The D66 minister also warned that “people are tempted with a deceptive notion of romantic 19th-century nationalism.” That is an open hint to the far-right party Forum for Democracy. The minister also sees a silence outside politics that she does not like, from comedians who dare not make certain jokes out of fear of threats, to people who dare not protest against racist remarks.

Meanwhile, the ‘Nora’ project started on Friday, 23 February. Nora was a Dutch Muslim and a digital character - eloquent and expert. In the run-up to the municipal elections of 21 March, she registered Islam-related statements by (mainly) politicians, journalists, and opinion makers. Via e-posters she commented almost on a daily basis on statements that were discriminatory, stigmatizing or Islamophobic - or got close to it (Fig. 11). She explained her statements on

74. The anti-Black Pete movement is a group of people who are against the famous Dutch tradition of St. Nicholas and his black slaves called Black Pete. Generally, this movement considers Zwarte Piet to be part of the Dutch colonial heritage, in which black people were subservient to whites. Those portraying Zwarte Piet usually put on blackface make-up and colorful clothes, in addition to curly wigs and bright red lipstick.
75. van Oordt, SGP: Scholier Niet Laten Knielen Voor Allah.
76. The debate center ‘De Rode Hoed’ in Amsterdam and the newspaper Trouw have been organizing the lectures named after Jewish journalist and jurist Abel Herzberg (1893-1989) since 1990. They are held every September.
social media more extensively via the website www.noraspreekt.nl. The main goal of ‘Nora’ was to create more awareness about Islamophobia, stigmatization, and discrimination during the elections. The team of Project Nora consists of experts and people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, both men and women. It is an initiative of Enis Odaci/Stichting Human Islam and next to him the core team consists of two women and one man.\(^78\) The *Nora Spreekt* initiative is subsidized by the Democracy and Media Foundation (SDM) within the framework of a Muslim discrimination tender.\(^79\)

![Screenshot of the Internet site of noraspreekt.nl.\(^80\)](http://noraspreekt.nl/)

Other important initiatives to monitor Islamophobia, also mentioned before, were The Hague Peace Projects in collaboration with Ewoud Butter and Nieuw Wij. They are investigating the ways the four largest newspapers write about Muslims in the Netherlands. Unfortunately, there has been little research done in the Netherlands on this topic.

\(^78\) http://noraspreekt.nl/, (Access date: 4 September 2019).


\(^80\) See: http://noraspreekt.nl/, (Access date: 3 September 2019)
Mainly thanks to the efforts of social initiatives such as the Collective against Islamophobia and Discrimination (CTID), the Meldpunt Islamofobie, SPIOR, and Al Nisa, recently more attention has been paid to the subject and Muslim discrimination has been registered separately for several years by the police. Meanwhile, various hotlines have been established. Researchers such as Martijn de Koning and Ineke van der Valk have also devoted great attention to the subject. Ineke van der Valk started a new research together with Roemer Oordt and Ewoud Butter for the next monitoring, with a great deal of attention to the labor market discrimination of Muslims.  

Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

In the last two years, election campaigns have dominated the political scene of the Netherlands. During the election campaigns, Islamophobic groups and parties challenged the borders of free speech. They instrumentalized freedom of speech to target Muslims and misused various terror attacks and the so-called worldwide refugee crisis to gain popularity. In general, in politics there are parties that are openly anti-Islam and anti-Muslim like the PVV and the FvD. Other parties received much criticism in the local elections in 2018 for adapting populist tones to gain votes from right-wing parties.

In 2018, it was not only Muslim-related terrorist acts that gained attention but also far-right groups. Generally, one can speak of two groups who were active against Islam and Muslims: First, groups like the far-right who operated in the field, for example in front of mosques. Second, anti-Islam politicians acting in the political parties and in the parliament. The two influence each other and there is a certain interaction between them which we discussed in this report. In the same year, civil society groups, on the other hand, took many initiatives to combat Islamophobia.

While writing this report I discovered that important work has to be carried out in the field of education. The schoolbooks contain insufficient information about Muslims. With an eye on many negative images about Muslims, it is very important that what is written about them is formulated very carefully; otherwise, this can only feed prejudices instead of combating them. In this sense, more attention is needed in education on the issues of racism and diversity in society. The solutions seem to be distributing manuals against hate speech, human rights education to young people and teachers, and training teachers to recognize and effectively fight racism and discrimination. Combating Islamophobia in education is an urgent step since according to a report by Kennisplatform integratie en Samenleving (Knowledge Platform of Integration and Society) 94% of young people who have experienced discrimination do not report this to an authority.

We see more often that events of scholars from conservative angles that are thought to preach hatred are discussed by municipalities that also consider stopping them. These are often discussed in the context of the violation of the rule of law. One municipality has even discussed the closure of mosques that invite such scholars. But little is discussed when it concerns the far-right groups. Their possible violation of the rule of law or hatred towards a group in society is not discussed to the same extent. There is clearly a double standard. The municipalities must take more responsibility here and all forms of violation of the law by any group should be discussed proportionally - not only Muslim groups should be discussed in this sense.

Finally, one can conclude that still little attention is being paid to far-right groups and their danger to Dutch society. However, we could observe that the poor attention paid to these groups in reports, does not describe the real problem. This is most evident in the report published by the Dutch Security Agency (AIVD). The fact that they published a report about far-right groups is a good development but the problem is that their growth and attendance is linked to the anti-Black Pete movement and Islam which, in turn, has legitimized these groups and given them a protest group profile, which will cover up their danger and their dangerous worldview.

Chronology

- **18.01.2018**: Decapitated and blood-stained doll put before the Emir Sultan Mosque in Amsterdam.
- **03.02.2018**: Mosque under construction in the Hague grafitied with swastika.
- **07.02.2018**: Windows of a Moroccan mosque in Roosendaal were smashed (unclear if this was a hate crime).
- **10.02.2018**: Arson at Islamic center in Drachten.
- **23.02.2018**: The ‘Nora’ project launched. ‘Nora’ was a Dutch Muslim and a digital character - eloquent and expert. In the run-up to the municipal elections of 21 March, she registered Islam-related statements by (mainly) politicians, journalists, and opinion formers.
- **10.03.2018**: Dozens of crosses where placed on mosque construction site by Pegida.nl Netherlands.
- **12.04.2018**: The mosque board of a mosque in Enshede had plans to rebuild the mosque. far-right group Rechts in Verzet (Right in Resistance) placed banners and protest signs against this decision.
- **12.04.2018**: Far-right group Rechts in Verzet put banners against new mosque in Houten.
• 06.06.2018: Far-right group Pegida.nl placed banners against new mosque in Assendelft.
• 07.06.2018: Pegida.nl canceled its protest pork barbecue before the Lale Mosque in Rotterdam at the last minute after resistance from neighborhood.
• 02.07.2018: Far-right movement Rechts in Verzet put banners against mosque in Oosterhout.
• 08.07.2018: Anti-discrimination bureau RADAR and four Islamic umbrella organizations want PVV leader Geert Wilders and his party to be prosecuted for the ‘Islam is deadly’ campaign. They took a legal action against Wilders.
• 22.08.2018: Far-right movement Rechts in Verzet took action at a mosque in Nijmegen. Police intervened.
• 09.09.2018: Stone thrown at window of Yunus Emre Mosque in Alblas-erdam.
• 25.09.2018: Mosque in Nieuwerkerk aan den IJssel smeared with tomato sauce.
• 01.10.2018: Pegida.nl demonstrated with gruesome video against mosque in Enschede.
• 05.10.2018: The police foiled attack on As-Soennah Mosque in The Hague. Board member of the mosque posted on his Facebook page that a man had plans to attack the mosque.
• 08.10.2018: Demonstration by Pegida in Utrecht prematurely ended.
• 28.10.2018: Far-right movement Identitair Resistance (Identitair Verzet) protested at the mosque in Leiden.
• 17.11.2018: Posters against Islamization at mosque in Ede.
• 24.11.2018: Far-right group Voorpost again put posters with Islamophobic texts like ‘Halal slaughtering is barbaric’ and ‘stop Islamization’ at Turkish mosque Ede.