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ISLAMOPHOBIA
REPORT
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INTRODUCTION

ENES BAYRAKLI • FARID HAFEZ

In June 2014, the website for reporting hate crimes to the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) went public. In 2014, only five states officially reported on hate crimes against Muslims, whereas civil society reported in 21 countries. Still, for the majority of the 57 member countries of the OSCE, there is no official information available. Furthermore, if one were to assess the quality of these state reports, it becomes apparent that the collected data does not always rely on a comprehensive systematic collection.

Since Islamophobia or anti-Muslim racism has become a growing threat in European societies, we – the editors – felt an urgent need to address this problem. In fact, there are still people denying the very existence of racism against Muslims. Many state and civil society institutions have done priceless work to prove and establish the opposite: from the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) to the countless civil society organisations throughout Europe. Yet, institutions like the FRA publish only irregular reports on a restricted number of countries while most civil society organisations tackle racism in general and only few focus on Islamophobia in specific - this is the urgent gap our report wishes to fill.

The *European Islamophobia Report* (EIR) is an annual report, which is presented for the first time this year. It currently comprises 25 national reports regarding each state and the tendencies of Islamophobia in each respective country. The current report features the work of 37 extraordinary scholars. In the years to come we will attempt to cover even more countries. This report aims to enable policymakers as well as the public to discuss the issue of Islamophobia with the help of qualitative data. At the same time, several of its unique characteristic features make a difference to the current state of the debate on Islamophobia.

Contribution of this report

The national reports in the EIR look at significant incidents and developments in each country during the period under review. The authors look at the employment sector: has there been any discrimination in the job market based on the (assumed) Muslimness of a person? They look at education: has Islamophobic content become part of any curricula, textbooks, or any other education material? The political field in a narrow sense is also a central aspect of the EIR: has Islamophobia played any role in politics, from election campaigns to political programmes to personal statements, etc., be it on a regional or national level? Authors also take a close look at a central force where Islamophobia has spread: the media. Which media events have focused on Islam/Muslims in an Islamophobic way? The justice system is also featured in the national reports: are there any laws and regulations that are based on Islamophobic arguments or any laws restricting the rights of Muslims in their religious lifestyle? Cyberspace as a central space for spreading hate crime is also examined: which web pages and initiatives have spread Islamophobic stereotypes? In addition, central figures in the Islamophobia network are discussed: which institutions and persons have, among others, fostered Islamophobic campaigns, stirred up debates or lobbied for laws?

Since the EIR is not content with pointing a finger at the problem, the reports also look at observed civil society and political assessment and initiatives undertaken to counter Islamophobia in the aforementioned fields. This will empower politicians and NGO activists, who want to tackle the issue. Since the EIR is not a purely scholarly work, at the end of every report, authors offer policy recommendations for politics and NGOs. An executive summary at the beginning and a chronology at the end of every report give the reader an overview on the state and the development of Islamophobia in the respective countries.

Since the single reports share broadly the same structure, the EIR offers the possibility to compare Islamophobia in these countries. Despite the fact that the data in specific fields is not available in an identical way for all countries, the report still facilitates an impulse for identifying research gaps.

Studies on Islamophobia have in the past predominantly concentrated on Western Europe. This is especially the case with reports focusing on Islamophobia. The EIR is the first to cover a wide range of Eastern European countries like Serbia, Croatia, Hungary, Lithuania, or Latvia. This will enrich the debate on racism in general and Islamophobia in Europe in specific.

What is Islamophobia?

Although the term 'Islamophobia' has become widely recognised in the Anglo-Saxon world and has become established in academia as can be seen by the numerous conferences, journals, and research projects dedicated to it, in many European countries, there is still a great amount of opposition to the term. One can understand the opposition expressed by the public not merely as an academic debate, but, in fact, as a sign of the hegemonic power of Islamophobic prejudices. Acknowledging this situation,

at the heart of this project lies the following working definition of Islamophobia:

"When talking about Islamophobia, we mean anti-Muslim racism. As Anti-Semitism studies have shown, the etymological components of a word do not necessarily point to its complete meaning, nor to how it is used. Such is also the case with Islamophobia studies. Islamophobia has become a well-known term used in academia as much as in the public sphere. Criticism of Muslims or of the Islamic religion is not necessarily Islamophobic. Islamophobia is about a dominant group of people aiming at seizing, stabilising and widening their power by means of defining a scapegoat – real or invented – and excluding this scapegoat from the resources/rights/definition of a constructed 'we'. Islamophobia operates by constructing a static 'Muslim' identity, which is attributed in negative terms and generalised for all Muslims. At the same time, Islamophobic images are fluid and vary in different contexts as Islamophobia tells us more about the Islamophobe than it tells us about the Muslims/Islam".

Central findings

That Islamophobia works without Muslims and tells us more about the anti-Muslim racists than it tells us about Islam and Muslims, can best be seen in the eastern region of Europe. In countries like Hungary, Finland, Lithuania, or Latvia, where only a small number of Muslims live, Islamophobia functions as a successful means to mobilise people. People not only greatly overestimate the country's Muslim population but, although Muslims have not committed any violent acts in most countries in the name of Islam, they are still often deemed violent and are considered to be terrorists.

It could be observed that both attacks in Paris, which happened in 2015, became a discursive event that shaped the debates on Islam and Muslims throughout Europe. Above that, the so-called 'refugee crisis' was a central topic, which many actors linked to the issue of Muslims invading Europe. For example, the leader of the Hungarian Fidesz' parliamentary club Antal Rogán warned of a future 'United European Caliphate',[1] while former Secretary of State László L. Simon urged Hungarians to return to their Christian spirituality and make more babies in order to counter the negative cultural effects of mass migration such as the envisioned 'impending victory of Islamic parties imposing polygamy and destroying the remainder of European culture'.[2] This strong Islamophobic rhetoric is not restricted to the extreme right. In fact, the *refugee-migration-Islam-terrorism nexus* became the standard argument justifying a number of domestic and international measures. The social democrat Czech President Milos Zeman claimed the influx of refugees into Europe was masterminded by Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood as "an organised invasion" to "gradually control Europe". [3]

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1. Károly Villányi, "Azt akarjuk, hogy unokáink egy európai kalifátusban éljenek?", *Magyar Idők*, 14.11.2015, accessed 03.01.2016, http://magyaridok.hu/belfold/azt-akarjuk-hogy-az-unokaink-egy-europai-kalifatusban-eljenek-5035/.

2. "L. Simon: Szaporodjunk!", *Népszabadság Online*, 05.09.2015, accessed 03.01.2016, http://nol.hu/video/lsimon-a-szaporodasban-latja-a-jovot-1573295?utm_source=mandiner&utm_medium=link&utm_campaign=mandiner_201601.

3. Agence France-Presse, "Integrating Muslims into Europe is 'impossible', says Czech president", 18 January, 2016, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/18/integrating-muslims-into-europe-is-impossible-says-czech-president (accessed 8 March, 2016)

Policy Recommendations

Islamophobia poses a great risk to the democratic foundations of European constitutions and social peace as well as the coexistence of different cultures throughout Europe. Both civil society actors and states should acknowledge the seriousness of this issue and develop concrete policies to counter Islamophobia. Here we have summarised some of the important policy recommendations from the national reports.

- Islamophobia should be acknowledged as a crime and should be included in all national statistics throughout Europe.

- Hate crime legislations should be adopted in all European countries that acknowledge one's religious identity as being a basis upon which one may be targeted.

- In order to collect data about Islamophobic incidents, victims registers must be introduced in all European states.

- In order to help the victims of Islamophobic attacks, counseling services for victims must be established in all European states.

- Journalists, lawyers, Police (security officials) and legal authorities in all European countries should be educated by qualified personnel in regards to Islamophobia.

- Muslim civil society has to be empowered with information to combat Islamophobia, especially in the direction of the creation of a consciousness of the illegality of hate crimes.

- Educational institutions and stakeholders have to work towards creating an alternative narrative of Muslims in the respective countries which will work to dispel the widely accepted negative image of Islam.

- Civil society actors must also push for legislative change in the context of school enrolment policies so that all members of the respective societies are treated fairly when accessing education.

- Governments must draft a policy that ensures that the rights of religious minorities to manifest their faith are respected in education and the workplace; this must not be left to the preferences of individual boards of management or principals.

- Discrimination on the job market towards Muslims and especially Muslims who wear veils is a widespread phenomenon. This should be recognised and seriously addressed by better legal regulations and the creation of a relevant consciousness.

- Civil society actors must engage with media actors/outlets in terms of the publication and broadcasting of standards in order to reduce/minimise the use of racialising discourses vis-à-vis Muslims and other minority communities.

- The civil rights violations experienced by women wearing headscarves should be addressed by lawmakers and politicians.

- An independent media watchdog should be established in order to monitor media reports in real time in all respective countries.

ISLAMOPHOBIA IN
IRELAND
NATIONAL REPORT 2015

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THE AUTHOR

James Carr teaches and researches at the Department of Sociology in the University of Limerick. In 2010 he was awarded a three year scholarship from the Irish Research Council to engage in research into racism directed towards Muslim communities in Ireland. He is a well-known speaker on the topics of Islamophobia and anti-Muslim racism in Ireland. Building on previous publications, in 2016, James published his book Experiences of Islamophobia: Living with racism in the neoliberal era (London and New York: Routledge) which focused on anti-Muslim racism in Ireland set to the international context. James has also recently undertaken and published research with the Immigrant Council of Ireland entitled 'Islamophobia in Dublin: Experiences and how to respond', which was supported by the Open Society Foundations. James.Carr@ul.ie

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Ireland is no stranger to Islamophobia and anti-Muslim racism.[1] This submission on Islamophobia in Ireland for 2015 provides further evidence of anti-Muslim hostility and discrimination in the Irish context at the interpersonal, structural and discursive levels. Reported experiences of anti-Muslim racism provided here draw on data gathered and provided by the non-governmental organisation (NGO) European Network Against Racism (Ireland) (henceforth ENAR Ireland) through its online racism reporting mechanism;[2] and insights are also drawn from research undertaken with Muslim communities on behalf of the Immigrant Council of Ireland (ICI) funded by the Open Society Foundation (OSF).[3] The insights provided by both of these sources detail experiences of physical assault, verbal abuse - on- and offline - as well as institutional discrimination against Muslim men and women in Ireland underpinning a need for broad societal response.

In the context of institutional discrimination, repeated researches have made reference to the manner in which pupils in the Irish education system are exposed to discriminatory enrolment policies, impacting those from minority faith/no-faith backgrounds.[4] Irish Equality legislation allows for educational institutions, primarily those affiliated with a particular faith to refuse entry to those students, who in essence, do not belong to that faith, something particularly problematic in the Irish context as the vast majority of schools remain in the patronage of the Catholic Church.[5] Despite the promise of legislative change in 2015, enrolment policies such as these as well as a lack of national policy in regards to the wearing of the headscarf in school, provides a context wherein Muslim schoolgoers are particularly exposed to institutionalised exclusionary practices. This has to be addressed if the structural underpinnings that facilitate Islamophobia are to be challenged.

The attacks in Paris in January and November, as well as events more locally specific to Ireland resulted with an abundance of media reports in the Irish press of Muslim/Islam related issues. Drawing from a selected sample of print publications,

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1. Carr, J. (2016) *Experiences of Islamophobia: Living with Racism in the Neoliberal Era*, London and New York: Routledge.

2. ENAR Ireland (2016) iReport https://www.ireport.ie/

3. See Carr, J. (2016a) *Islamophobia in Dublin: Experiences and how to respond*, Report for the Immigrant Council of Ireland [online] available: http://immigrantcouncil.ie/files/publications/e9837-islamfinal.pdf [accessed 4th March 2016].

4. See Faas, D., Darmody, M. and Beata Sokolowska (2015) "Religious diversity in primary schools: reflections from the Republic of Ireland", *British Journal of Religious Education*, DOI: 10.1080/01416200.2015.1025700; Hogan, C. (2011) "Accommodating Islam in the Denominational Irish Education System: Religious Freedom and Education in the Republic of Ireland," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol.31(4): 554-573. Holland, K. (2015) "Hindu family fails to get place for child in local school", *The Irish Times*, 13 October, 2015; http://www.irishtimes.com/news/social-affairs/hindu-family-fails-to-get-place-for-child-in-local-school-1.2388898 [accessed: 11 November, 2015].

5. Ibid.

Irish media outlets all too often engage in an 'us vs. them' presentation of Muslim communities in Ireland that incorporates an alleged incompatibility between 'Islam' and European values. While deeper research in this area is required, there is evidence of problematic, at times Islamophobic, uncritical media representations of Muslim communities in the Irish context which need to be addressed.

The year 2015 has witnessed the emergence and increased visibility of groups calling themselves, inter alia, 'Anti-Islam Ireland' and/or 'PEGIDA Ireland'. Some of these have organised campaigns, online and off against the alleged 'Islamification' of Ireland.[6] Although small in number, PEGIDA Ireland and/or 'Anti-Islam Ireland' have organised protests in different locations across the country. On a more positive note, there have also been a number of interventions undertaken by civil society actors to challenge Islamophobia and anti-Muslim racism through community engagement and support; efforts at legislative change; and the recognition of anti-Muslim/ Islamophobic hate crime by the Irish police.

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6. PEGIDA: 'Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamification of the Occident'; the ideals of the group in Ireland resonate with those of the founding movement. For Ireland see: PEGIDA Ireland (2016) PEGIDA Ireland [online] available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5L6ovASzZGI [accessed: 12 February, 2016]; for the UK see Meredith, C. (2014) "Britain First 'Invade' Crayford Mosque Demanding Removal of 'Sexist' Signs in Bizarre Video", *Huffington Post*, 15July, 2014 [online] available:
http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/07/15/britain-first-mosque-video_n_5587353.html [accessed: 7 January, 2016].

INTRODUCTION

Ireland is no stranger to Islamophobia and anti-Muslim racism.[7] This study on Islamophobia in Ireland for 2015 provides further evidence of anti-Muslim hostility and discrimination in the Irish context at the interpersonal, structural and discursive levels. Structured in five distinct yet inter-related sections, this submission details the realities of Islamophobia and anti-Muslim racism in the Irish context for 2015 engaging with: lived reports of anti-Muslim hostility and discrimination; structural exclusion; media discourses; political actors; and finally positive developments in the area of societal challenges to Islamophobia. This report concludes with recommendations on how these challenges may manifest.

REPORTS OF ANTI-MUSLIM HOSTILITY AND DISCRIMINATION

Two sources of experiences of anti-Muslim hostility and discrimination have been drawn on for this report; namely, data provided by ENAR Ireland via its online reporting mechanism which includes self-reported instances of anti-Muslim racism and also those submitted by witnesses and/partner organisations; furthermore, field-work undertaken during the summer of 2015 for a research study for the Immigrant Council of Ireland (ICI), funded by the Open Society Foundation (OSF), also provided insights for this report.[8]

Reports published by ENAR Ireland over the past number of years have revealed the manner in which Muslim men and women in Ireland experience physical and verbal abuse as well as online instances of hate and graffiti.[9] These reports demonstrate the use of weapons including bottles and sticks, as well as examples of people being spat upon on the basis of being identified as Muslim; in one particularly disturbing incident a 10-year-old Muslim girl was "pushed, shoved and hit" by a gang of youths at a playground.

Analysis of instances of anti-Muslim hostility and discrimination reported to ENAR Ireland for 2015 suggest that this pattern is continuing. In all, anti-Muslim incidents accounted for just over ten per cent of reports (41 reports) made to ENAR Ireland in the period under review. While this figure may seem low, it is worth noting that awareness of the relatively new ENAR Ireland online reporting mechanism is still growing and relationships continue to develop with Muslim communities. Furthermore, people may choose not report their experiences for a range of reasons and as a result insights on such incidents are lost.[10] The following comments were

7. Carr (2016).

8. Carr (2016a) .

9. ENAR Ireland (2016).

10. Carr (2016).

submitted in reports made to ENAR Ireland and briefly demonstrate some of the experiences of anti-Muslim hostility and discrimination in the Irish context.

HOSTILITY

> In the washroom of a mall, this old lady, probably in her sixties looked at me (in a headscarf) and started shaking her head and mumbling "they are everywhere". I said sorry, are you saying something to me and she replied "go back to your country. You are everywhere. Bloody Muslims"(Verbatim account by a Muslim woman)

> I am a Muslim woman wearing a head scarf. While I was at Grafton street [Dublin City centre], a man approached me and said "You are a Muslim, aren't you?". I said "Yes", He said "take your Quran book, tear it apart and use it as a toilet tissue to wipe your ass." (Verbatim account by a Muslim woman).

> I was walking with my friend to my home, a stranger (man) came to us and he spit on us, and he abuses us verbally. He saw us wearing hijab (scarf on head), he spit on us and said bad words to us, he said that he saw something on TV about Muslims but I have no idea about what he was talking. (Verbatim account by a Muslim woman).

One particularly terrifying incident, which the witness believed to have an anti-Muslim element, involved a serious assault leaving the victim unconscious. The incident occurred at:

> ...around 10:30 pm two Irish boys were chasing an Afghan boy, when they caught him, they beat him with a hurling stick and an iron bar…. According to the witness the boy fell unconscious on the ground he had no shoes on and they repeated to strike him. The witness said he ran to assist the boy and he was still unconscious and bleeding…. The boy was found to have had broken ribs, broken nose, bruised face and head injury (Partner Organisation).

In the following comments, the people making the reports refer to Daesh/ISIL and the profound impact of the November Paris attacks on the lives of Muslim communities in Ireland. In the first comment below, the assailant started by asking a group of Muslim students:

> ...why [are] you people killing those people in Paris and keep saying they are ISIS… One of the students [had] been assaulted with the same insult 3 times for past week after the Paris incident and she cry on the scene (Partner Organisation).

> The 2 lady was just walking in the street and one taxi man stop in front of

them start assaulting them and ask them to go back to the country and keep asking why you people kill the people. The lady was surprise by this…. the man stop and start verbally assaulting them with so many things and kept blaming them for the Paris incident and claiming [they are] ISIS associated as they are wearing the scarf. One of the lady is an Irish revert but she is wearing scarf so the men associated her with the ISIS too (Partner Organisation).

Separately in September 2015, media reports detailed the manner in which a Saudi Arabian postgraduate student in Trinity College Dublin was assaulted when using public transport in the city. While travelling by bus, she was confronted by a man with the statement 'Allahu Akbar'; the man then proceeded to physically assault her.

Graffiti/Posters/Social Media

In addition to the experiences of lived Islamophobia described thus far, reports were also made regarding instances of anti-Muslim graffiti, posters and social media posts.

Racist graffiti painted on streets around Wellington Road/York Hill area. 'Blacks Out' 'Islam Out' 'Islam Out of Eire' (Partner Organisation).

> Still no denying. A war is coming. Which side are you on?
> #only_good_muslim_is_a_dead_one <-- not a popular opinion, but its mine.
> 14/11/2015, 2:32 a.m. from Dublin City, Ireland

Just after the Charlie Hebdo attack racist posters with the picture of Prophet Mohammed were put all over XXXXX College next to the mosque (Partner Organisation).

Such is the level of anti-Muslim sentiment on social media that it is beyond the capacity of this report to document all occurrences made that involve people in Ireland or relate to the Irish context. Suffice to say that the following comment, reported to ENAR Ireland, provides an insight into some of the content online.[11] Identifiers from the following comment have been omitted deliberately:

DISCRIMINATION

The reports made to ENAR Ireland include experiences of discrimination as well as hostility. In the comments that follow below discrimination in the workplace is clearly in evidence. A participant in the ICI study noted the difficulties faced by Muslim women who wear the hijab when trying to secure employment.

> Yeah, yeah, it's very hard to get jobs when you are wearing hijab…. My cousin, when she take off her hijab she find job; she work… (Muslim woman).

11. Appendix 1.

Participants in the Immigrant Council of Ireland report noted discrimination when accessing work, but also in the workplace by managers and sometimes from colleagues in the form of comments of 'innocent questions'.[12] Similar examples also arose in the reports made to ENAR Ireland during the course of 2015.

> I am an [South-Asian] Muslim working in a very big multinational company. A … colleague commented today that we should have a black flag of your people here in the office - the ISIS flag. I am very upset. This is the second time the guy has made such a comment (Muslim man).

In December 2015, an incident occurred in Dublin that attracted significant media attention and demonstrated the manner in which Muslim men and women in Ireland can and do experience discrimination in the workplace from clients. In this incident, a hospital patient in Tallaght, Dublin refused treatment from two consultants because they were Muslim. The consultant who initially arrived to assist the patient was a Muslim woman wearing a headscarf. The second consultant was a Muslim man. The incident came to light via a social media post by the patient's daughter which noted how her mother insisted on being treated by a non-Muslim physician.[13] The hospital in question refused to comment on specific patient cases but did state that the values of the hospital "emphasise respect" and the "free profession and practice of religion" and an expectation that patients abide by these principles. Media coverage of this event is discussed below.

Finally, a report made to ENAR Ireland in the aftermath of the November attacks in Paris demonstrates the profiling of a young Muslim girl on the basis of her religious identity by the Irish police service. This is not the first time that such practices have been recorded in the Irish context; however, the proximity to the aforementioned events in Paris arguably should serve as a reminder of potential increases in such practices, policy driven or based on the prejudice of individual members of the service, in the aftermath of such occurrences.[14]

> There was a search in the bus… and the Garda search everyone… just briefly, but when it came to this young secondary school girl as she is wearing scarf/hijab she had been search more thoroughly by the Garda, she was scared but she just do what been instructed to her. She feel embarrassed by this incident and she did not want to talk about it, but she feels that it is not fair to search her more than the others but she is scared so she just go along with it (Partner Organisation).

12. Carr (2016a).

13.Appendix 1; Feehan, C. and Kearns, D. (2015) """I don't want to be treated by someone in a hijab'" – Patient refuses care from two Muslim doctors'", Independent.ie; 10 th December, 2015 [online] available: http://www.independent.ie/irish-news/health/i-dont-want-to-be-treated-by-someone-in-a-hijab-patient-refuses-care-from-two-muslim-doctors-34276594.html [accessed: 5th January, 2016].

14. Carr (2016); Migrant's Rights Centre Ireland (2016) *Singled Out*, Report, http://www.mrci.ie/resources/publications/leaflets-reports/singled-out-exploratory-study-on-ethnic-profiling-in-ireland-its-impact-on-migrant-workers-their-families/ [accessed: 4 January, 2016].

EDUCATION AND STRUCTURAL DISCRIMINATION

Participants in the ICI study on anti-Muslim racism in Dublin repeatedly reported experiences of discrimination in the education context.[15] This manifested when it came to accessing education but also for Muslim pupils already in the education system, in primary and secondary levels.[16] Equality legislation in Ireland permits educational institutions affiliated with a particular faith to refuse entry to those students who do not belong to that faith on the basis that their presence may threaten the ethos of the institution.[17] This is particularly problematic in the Irish context as the vast majority of schools remain in the patronage of the Catholic Church.[18]

Legislative change has been promised in this area in the form of the Education (Admission to Schools) 2015 bill which is yet to be enacted, but even this proposed new legislation is problematic as it maintains the possibility for schools to employ discriminatory enrolment policies.[19] This proposed legislative change may mean little in terms of practice provided schools 'prove' that the refusal of a pupil is essential to maintain its ethos, as has been the position up to now.[20] At this point it is worth underscoring that over ninety per cent of primary schools in Ireland remain under the patronage of the Catholic Church as well as more than half of all secondary schools.[21]

Discriminatory policies such as those outlined here do not just impact upon Muslim communities.[22] Nonetheless, for those Muslim men and women who participated in the 2015 ICI study the issue of exclusionary school enrolment policies arose time and again. Taking just one example, for one participant [P], a white Irish convert/revert to Islam, with a neutral Irish accent, the issue of exclusion from sec-

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15. Carr (2016a).

16. Faas et al (2015); Smyth, E., Darmody, M. McGinnity, F. and Delma Byrne (2009) *Adapting to Diversity: Irish Schools and Newcomer Students*, Economic and Social Research Institute; [online] available: http://emn.ie/files/p_201103011110262009_AdaptingtoDiversity_ESRI.pdf [accessed: 7 January, 2015].

17. Holland, K. (2015); Irish Statute Book (2016) Equal Status Act 2000-2008.

18. See footnote 5 above.

19. The Irish Times (2016) "School Admissions Bill: Battle looms over rules on past pupils"; 7 April, 2015 [online] available: http://www.irishtimes.com/news/education/school-admissions-bill-battle-looms-over-rules-on-past-pupils-1.2166728 [accessed: 4 January, 2016]; Department of Education and Skills (Admission to Schools) Bill 2015 – [online] available: https://www.education.ie/en/The-Education-System/Legislation/Education-Admission-to-Schools-Bill-2015.pdf [accessed: 4 January 4th, 2015].

20. The Irish Times (2015).

21. Darmody, M., Smyth, E. and Selina McCoy (2012) *School Sector Variation Among Primary Schools in Ireland*, Report. Economic and Social Research Institute; [online] available: https://www.educatetogether.ie/sites/default/files/school_sector_variation_0.pdf [accessed: 5 January, 2016]; Faas et al (2015). Humphreys, J. (2015) "How the Catholic Church Could Solve the Patronage Problem", *The Irish Times*; 27 July, 2015 [online] available: http://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/how-the-catholic-church-could-solve-the-school-patronage-problem-1.2297551 [accessed: 7 January, 2016].

22. O'Brien, C. (2015) 'Nearly 1,500 parents appeal decisions to refuse school entry', *The Irish Times*, 14 December, 2015 [online] available: http://www.irishtimes.com/news/education/nearly-1-500-parents-appeal-decisions-to-refuse-school-entry-1.2465394 [accessed: 5 January, 2016].

ondary schools for her children was not immediately apparent as she revealed in an interview with the author [JC]:

[P]: …we moved to Dublin, straight away they couldn't get into the secondary school and I had to put them in private school…

JC: And why could they not get into the secondary school?

[P]: Because they weren't Catholic.

JC: Was that communicated to you?

[P]: 'We have to take our own [read Catholic] first', and that was actually from a person who is the sister of a vice president of a secondary school… Initially she said 'oh you can put the boys down for that school' and said 'I'd have a word with my brother, he's the vice president or the vice principal there' and it was a good school and whatever. [Later] I rang up, [they said] 'yeah that's great, no problem' …

JC: Would you have been within the catchment [for pupils]?

[P]: Yes…Oh yeah, yeah, yeah and kids from the primary [school] were going into… it was like a feeder… And so then they said… 'we'll send you out a form and fill it out'. So verbally I was accepted on the phone by the secretary and the principal and when I filled out the form and sent it back in I got a letter within a week, 'sorry we don't have any places and we will not have any places until 2015'…

JC: So they were aware of your Muslim identity from the start?

[P]: No, [only] from the form.[23]

As is well established in the literature, Muslim identities are highly racialised in the contemporary context; and as demonstrated here and elsewhere subjected to regular hostility and discrimination that targets people on the basis of their 'Muslimness'.[24] On this basis it is reasonable to argue, although further research is required, that discriminatory policies such as those outlined above in the context of accessing education may have an increased exclusionary effect on Muslims in Ireland. These enrolment policies may not explicitly espouse Islamophobia but provide a context wherein Islamophobic sentiments can have a direct impact on the life-chances of young Muslims in Ireland.

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23. Carr (2016a).

24. Allen, C. (2010) *Islamophobia*, Farnham: Ashgate; Carr (2016); Awan, I. and Zempi, I. (2015) *We Fear for Our Lives: Offline and Online Experiences of Anti-Muslim Hostility*, Report, [online] available: http://tellmamauk.org/wp-content/uploads/resources/We%20Fear%20For%20Our%20Lives.pdf [accessed: 7 January, 2016].

A final note on the education context in Ireland relates to the experiences of young Muslims in Irish schools. The findings from the ICI fieldwork undertaken in the summer of 2015 revealed the manner in which pupils in Irish secondary schools experience discrimination and abuse from teachers and classmates. A parent noted how every time her son entered the classroom a classmate would "set this off the bomb" sound. One young Muslim man described for the study how he had once been told to "shut up Allah" by his class teacher during a debate about Islam. For young Muslim women, the issue of wearing the hijab in some schools is problematic. One parent described her daughter's interaction with her teacher:

> ...[my daughter] can't hear the teacher, what he talking on the board. [My daughter] told, "sorry, I can't hear you what you said?" and he told her "when you take off that stupid thing [hijab] on your head you can hear me now, ok"...

A young Muslim woman who had finished second level school in 2015 noted how when she informed her principal that:

> "I'm planning on wearing the headscarf tomorrow", which was the first day of school… she was like "no, absolutely not"… I was just shocked, 'cos I [was] just going in to give her a heads up about it, I didn't think that I wasn't going to be allowed… I was like but "we're allowed wear our scarves in school"... I said that to her and she was like "no you're not allowed [to] wear it around your head"… I was really shocked because I didn't expect that at all… I just said why can't I wear it? And she was like "no you'll be excluded [by others] from school".

The debate on wearing the hijab or 'covering' in schools is not new and the position, or lack thereof, of the Irish government towards religious head covering in the educational context has not changed during 2015.[25] The point remains though that the Irish government's "a policy to not have a policy",[26] permits a context wherein young Muslim women are at the mercy of individual school policies and personalities when it comes to manifesting their faith.

MEDIA

The literature demonstrates that in addition to domestic issues, international events such as those involving Daesh/ISIL, the attacks in Paris and Tunisia in 2015, and the ongoing so-called 'refugee crisis' can act as 'triggers' for anti-Muslim acts and sentiment in societies where Muslims are a minority.[27] The manner in which media report on these issues plays an important role in how these events are interpreted by the

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25. Hogan (2011).

26. MacCormaic, R. (2008) "No directive on hijabs in classroom to be issued", *The Irish Times*; http://www.irishtimes.com/news/no-directive-on-hijabs-in-classroom-to-be-issued-1.940516 [accessed: 7 January, 2016].

27. Awan and Zempi (2016); RTE (2016) 'Three Confirmed Dead in Tunisia Attack,' [online] available: http://www.rte.ie/news/2015/0628/711121-tunisia-attack/ [accessed: 7 January 7th, 2016].

general public.[28] There is a pressing need for deeper research that interrogates Irish media outlets and the manner in which they represent Islam and Muslim communities in Ireland. While a detailed analysis of Irish media representations of Muslims/Islam was outside the scope of this report, the Nexis media database search engine was utilised here to study a limited selection of print media reports in the Irish context.[29] This involved the review of content of leading Irish newspapers in the wake of critical international and national events.[30]

News reports and opinion pieces relating to the events analysed and included in this review demonstrate a consistency in the manner in which a selection of articles present Muslims/Islam as a threat in the context of 'us' versus 'them' discourses. The attacks in Europe are portrayed as part of a "clash of civilisations" (November 2015);[31] that in Europe we need to start "flexing our liberal muscles"[32] (June 2015) in the face of attacks premised on a "peculiar brand of Islamania"[33] (January 2015). There is at least some nuance, albeit problematic, in terms of 'good' and 'bad' Muslims in some of the articles reviewed; however the homogenising juxtaposition of 'Islam' and 'Western values' tends to dominate. In the context of the so-called 'refugee crisis' the conflation of Islam and an alleged incompatibility with European values is again in evidence: "Islam. There I've said it, because it seems no one is willing to say the word that is worrying a lot of people" is the first line in an article the headline of which refers to "people [refugees/migrants] whose culture and religion could prove totally at odds with European customs" accompanied by an image of Daesh/ISIL fighters about to execute a Kurdish man.[34]

Arguably more worrying in the publications reviewed is the content published in the section dedicated to readers' letters. As with the rest of this media review, a detailed analysis of these letter sections was not undertaken for this report. However, based on

28. Allen (2010).

29. See Lexis Nexis (2016) Nexis [online] available: http://bis.lexisnexis.co.uk/products/nexis [accessed: 7 January, 2016].

30. National titles reviewed: *Evening Herald*; *Irish Daily Mail*; *Irish Examiner*; *Irish Independent*; *Irish Times*; *Irish Mirror*; *Sunday Business Post*; *Sunday Independent*. Headlines and article leads were reviewed on the date the critical events occurred and for a period of up to eight subsequent days. Events included in the search were: the attacks in Paris in January and November; in Tunisia in July; and the days following the tragic death of Aylan Kurdi. Media reports discussed here were accessed on 21-22 December, 2015.

31. Corcoran, J. (2015) "Paris shows the West has become a soft touch in this clash of civilisations", *Irish Independent*; http://www.independent.ie/opinion/columnists/paris-shows-the-west-has-become-a-soft-touch-in-this-clash-of-civilisations-34222973.html [accessed: 12 February, 2016].

32. Hunt, C. (2016) "I fell in love with the people – but I won't be returning," *Irish Independent*, 28 June, 2016 [online] available: http://www.independent.ie/opinion/columnists/carol-hunt/i-fell-in-love-with-the-people-but-i-wont-be-returning-31335169.html [accessed: 12 February, 2016].

33. Turner, M. (2015) "Charlie Hebdo fought extremism with laughter, satire and free speech", *The Irish Times*, 8 January, 2015 [online] available: http://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/martyn-turner-charlie-hebdo-fought-extremism-with-laughter-satire-and-free-speech-1.2058156 [accessed: 12 February, 2016].

34. Flanagan, P. (2015) "Shadow of Isis hangs over horror of refugee crisis", *Irish Mirror*, 11 September, 2015 [online] available: http://www.irishmirror.ie/news/news-opinion/pat-flanagan-shadow-isis-hangs-6422239 [accessed 12 February, 2016]. [my addition]

the small sample reviewed, criticisms must be made in terms of the outright racialising, anti-Muslim language published in this context and the need for editors to exercise greater care when publishing letters that stereotype and stigmatise communities. The provision of balance in terms of opposing opinions does not justify some of the language used. For example that the number of Muslim refugees coming to the West who allegedly do not and will not share the "values of European society" are part of a "creeping Islamisation";[35] in a context wherein "Islam attempts to impose itself on our culture" and by granting refuge to people fleeing conflict "we would be committing cultural and demographic suicide."[36] The connection between Muslim migrant communities and an alleged welfare dependency is also made in one letter where it is also claimed that second/third generation children in the UK "have grown up feckless and full of hate for women, Jewish people, other non-Muslims, gay people and other minorities."[37]

The connection between Muslims/Islam and welfare dependency is not restricted to the letter pages. In November 2015, outside the time frame of the critical events that formed the basis of the heretofore media review, the print edition of the Weekend Herald ran with the headline "Welfare Islamic State: Wanted terror chief is living off benefits in Dublin."[38] However, this is the only instance to the knowledge of the author of this particular trope in the print media proper. It is important to note that there were also instances wherein journalists wrote and warned against making generalisations and anti-Muslim hostility and Islamophobia in the context of the events discussed.[39]

Media reportage of Muslim/Islam issues in the Irish context concluded with the problematic, and unprompted by international events, coverage of the aforementioned refusal by a patient in a Dublin hospital to receive treatment from Muslim

35. Letters (2015) "We need to look to long term consequences of a creeping Islamisation", *Irish Examiner*, 12 September, 2015 [online] available: http://www.irishexaminer.com/viewpoints/yourview/we-need-to-look-at-long-term-consequences-of-a-creeping-islamisation-353377.html [accessed: 12 February, 2016]; Letters (2015) "EU can't take in more migrants", Irish Independent, 3rd September, 2015 [online] available: http://www.independent.ie/opinion/letters/our-selfish-response-to-the-escalating-refugee-crisis-31498660.html [accessed: 12th February, 2016].

36. Letters (2015) "Ireland cannot handle the thousands of fleeing migrants", *Irish Examiner*, [online] [available] http://www.irishexaminer.com/viewpoints/yourview/ireland-cannot-handle-the-thousands-of-fleeing-migrants-352937.html [accessed: 12 February ,2016].

37. Letters (2015) "Muslims, unlike the Jews in the '30s, are resistant to integration", *Irish Examiner*, [online] [available] http://www.irishexaminer.com/viewpoints/yourview/muslims-unlike-the-jews-in-the-30s-are-resistant-to-integration-352531.html [accessed: 12 February, 2016]; According to Power et al (2016, p.3) The Irish Timesin relation to ideological positioning …The Irish Times… has a 'liberal pluralist' ideological orientation. The newspaper and is owned by a trust and is, is widely considered to be the main newspaper in the Republic of Ireland. The other newspapers are privately owned and occupy centre positions (the Irish Examiner; the Sunday Business Post), centre-right (Tthe Irish Independent; Tthe Sunday Independent) and right-wing populist (the Irish Daily Mail) positions.

38. Williams, P. (2016) "IS Terror Leader in Ireland is Living on Welfare," *Weekend Herald*, 21 November, 2015 [online] available: http://www.herald.ie/news/is-terror-leader-in-ireland-is-living-on-welfare-34221156.html; The Herald title is part of the Independent media group – see Independent.ie (2016) 'Contact us,' [online] available: http://www.independent.ie/service/contact-us-26897641.html [accessed: 12th February, 2016].

39. Hughes, I. (2015) "Man describes 'saddest moment' after getting into taxi with crying Muslim driver following Paris attacks", *Irish Mirror*, 15t November, 2015 [online] [available] http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/man-describes-saddest-moment-after-6834933 [accessed: 12 February, 2016].; McCarthy, J. (2015) "Magic of Christmas is absent for too many children on this island", *The Sunday Times*, 20 December, 2015.

consultants. This issue came to light in a number of print media sources after it was released on social media by anti-racism activists in Ireland. These same activists were critical of initial mainstream media reports on the topic which failed to mention that the original post was made in the closed Facebook group of 'Anti-Islam Ireland';[40] thus denying the public a full insight on the context of the issue.[41]

The relationship between Irish Muslims travelling to Syria and Iraq to join the war there, given the notoriety afforded to 'foreign fighters' internationally, did arise in Irish media and political discourse in 2015.[42] According to various sources, it is reported that approximately thirty people may have made the journey to the region. However, despite these claims, reported numbers of Irish 'foreign fighters' attributed to governmental sources can only be an estimate and it cannot be said with certainty that those who have travelled have joined Daesh/ISIL and not other groups, be they military or humanitarian.[43] Reports also claim that Ireland is a transit route for people wishing to travel to Syria/Iraq, an alleged location where recruiters are based and where funds for Daesh/ISIL are raised. Such reports are at times framed in a manner that not only serves to monger fear but also stigmatise Muslim communities through the use of headlines such as "Muslim extremist money men based in Ireland;"[44] and "Irish jihadi fighters."[45]

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40. See Appendix 1.

41. Feehan, C. (2015) "Patient refuses care from Muslim doctor," *Herald.ie*, 11 December, 2015 [online] available: http://www.herald.ie/news/patient-refuses-care-from-muslim-doctor-34277609.html [accessed: 7 January, 2016]. Irish Central (2015) "Irish patient refuses to be treated by Muslim doctor with hijab", 12 December, 2015 [online] available: http://www.irishcentral.com/news/Irish-patient-refuses-to-be-treated-by-Muslim-doctor-with-hijab.html [accessed: 7 January, 2016]; Dennehy, M. (2015) "Woman refuses care from Muslim doctor", *The Echo*, 11 December, 2015 [online] available: http://www.echo.ie/tallaght/item/woman-refuses-care-from-muslim-doctor [all accessed: 4 January, 2016]; Sound Migration (2016) "anti-Islam Ireland RTE Liveline 11th December 2015" [online] available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mWMbBHVZSj0&feature=youtu.be [accessed: 4 th January, 2016]..

42. Bardon, S. (2015) "Muslim extremist money men based in Ireland set to be targeted by CAB under new powers;" *Irish Mirror,* 15 January, 2015 [online] available: http://www.irishmirror.ie/news/world-news/muslim-extremist-money-men-based-4982432 [accessed: 7 January, 2016]; Dillon, E. (2015) "Isis supporters using Ireland as a base to recruit new followers and raise cash;" *The Sunday World*; 24 November, 2015 [online] available: http://www.sundayworld.com/news/crimedesk/isis-supporters-using-ireland-as-a-base-to-recruit-new-followers [accessed: 7 January, 2016]; Walsh, J. (2015) "ISIS escapee says Irish fighters are used as snipers;" *Irish Central*; 16 February, 2015 [online] available: http://www.irishcentral.com/news/ISIS-escapee-says-Irish-fighters-are-used-as-snipers.html [accessed 12 February, 2016]; O'Keefe, C. (2015) "Frances Fitzgerald 'not surprised' Ireland features in IS video", *Irish Examiner*; 29 November, 2015 [online] available: http://www.irishexaminer.com/ireland/frances-fitzgerald-not-surprised-ireland-features-in-is-video-367568.html [accessed: 8 January, 2016].

43. International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (2016) "Foreign fighter total in Syria/Iraq now exceeds 20,000; surpasses Afghanistan conflict in the 1980s;" [online] available: http://icsr.info/2015/01/foreign-fighter-total-syriairaq-now-exceeds-20000-surpasses-afghanistan-conflict-1980s/ [accessed: 8 January, 2016].

44. Egan, C. (2015) "Irish jihadi fighters – police investigate group using Ireland as base", *Irish Central*; 22 August, 2014 [online] available: http://www.irishcentral.com/news/politics/Fear-of-Irish-jihadi-fighters-as-police-investigate-group-using-Ireland-as-base.html [accessed: 8 January, 2016].

45. Ibid.

ANTI-MUSLIM GROUPS AND POLITICAL STATEMENTS

Ireland has been witness to a number of worrying developments over the course of 2015 in terms of the development of Islamophobic groups who coordinate events via social media. The campaigns and events organised by these groups in 2015 arguably mark an increase in terms of their visibility and political anti-Muslim rhetoric/acts in Ireland. Inspired by international events such as the ongoing so-called 'migration crisis', the Paris attacks, and Daesh/ISIL's campaign in Syria and Iraq, groups calling themselves 'Anti-Islam Ireland' and/or 'PEGIDA Ireland' and associates have emerged to organise campaigns, on- and offline against the alleged 'Islamification' of Ireland.[46] A new political party known as 'Identity Ireland', again with an anti-migrant, anti-Islam ethos, has also emerged; its leader recently addressed the PEGIDA movement in Dresden, Germany.[47] The policies of 'Identity Ireland' on immigration state that the party holds a

...zero tolerance approach towards demands to alter national life, culture and traditions to accommodate minority held beliefs and cultures.[48]

These are some of the central figures in the Islamophobia network in Ireland. For example, 'Anti-Islam Ireland' have organised protests in different locations across the country, including Dublin,[49] but also in smaller locations such as Tralee,[50] Killarney (against the building of mosques in both locations, and Muslim migration),[51] and Waterford with the latter being cancelled arguably as a result of a planned counter-demonstration. Footage of these activities can be found on Youtube; including, in addition to other very public protests, an intimidating 'Britain First' style 'mosque invasion' that took place in Kilkenny. In this incident a small number of individuals arrived unannounced and subsequently interrogated a local

46. Pegida Ireland Facebook (2016) https://www.facebook.com/pegida.ireland

47. Pegida Dresden (2016) Pegida Dresden Live [online] available: https://youtu.be/lwJ3nLcppwo?t=17m5s [accessed: 12 February, 2016].

48. Identity Ireland (2016)Home page [online] available: http://identityireland.org/immigration.php [accessed: 12th February 2016]. See also the Celtic People's Party of Ireland (2016) Home page [online] available: http://www.cppireland.org/ [accessed: 16 February, 2016].

49. See Finn, C. (2015) "Protestor tears up anti-Islam banner at Clonskeagh Mosque march," *The Journal.ie*, 1 February, 2016 [online] available: http://www.thejournal.ie/clonskeagh-mosque-protest-1914647-Feb2015/ [accessed: 7 January, 2016].

50. Lucey, A. (2015) "Irish anti-Islamic group protests mosque in Kerry", *Irish Central,* 10 July, 2016 [online] available: http://www.irishcentral.com/news/Irish-anti-Islamic-group-protests-mosque-in-Kerry.html [accessed: 4 January, 2016];

51. Pegida Ireland (2016) Pegida Ireland [online] available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5L6ovASzZGI [accessed: 7 January, 2016].

imam.[52] The questions put to the imam matched those stereotypical anti-Muslim themed tropes of the alleged 'threat' posed by Islam to Ireland and the purported incompatibility of the faith to the country. It is difficult to ascertain the volume of support for these groups but it is believed to be small.

In addition to these fringe groups, it must be noted that established politicians from mainstream political parties in Ireland have also made comments that can be interpreted as Islamophobic in themselves, or, as fuelling fear-mongering about Muslim communities. In response to the attacks in Paris in January 2015, a former Irish Minister for Justice, Alan Shatter stated that:

It's crucial that we do not in any way underestimate the threat posed by terrorism and, in particular, Islamic terrorism…[53]

In the aftermath of the attacks in Paris in November, resonating with media reports discussed above regarding an alleged link between the so-called 'refugee crisis' and Daesh/ ISIL, Irish Prime Minister Enda Kenny stated that while the majority seeking refuge are "law-abiding", all refugees coming to Ireland would be subjected to a "comprehensive and thorough vetting" by state authorities to ascertain if they pose a terrorist risk.[54]

OBSERVED POLITICAL/CIVIL SOCIETY INITIATIVES UNDERTAKEN TO COUNTER ISLAMOPHOBIA

Throughout the course of 2015 various actions, initiatives and policy changes came into being that may have both a direct and indirect role to play in challenging Islamophobia and anti-Muslim racism. The most direct of these acts occurred early February with various anti-racism activists holding a counter-protest to an 'Anti-Islam Ireland' demonstration outside of the Islamic Cultural Centre of Ireland in Dublin. The confrontation passed off with only minor scuffles. The response of local Muslim men and women was to offer the 'Anti-Islam' protesters tea and dates.[55]

Throughout the year partnerships have been developed with local communities, Muslim and non-Muslim in Dublin to raise awareness of racism and the options

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52. Anti-Islam Ireland (2015) "Anti-Islam Ireland Visit to the Kilkenny imam" [online] available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5b1UI2J3x70 [accessed: 4 January, 2016]; Meredith, C. (2014) "Britain First 'Invade' Crayford Mosque Demanding Removal of 'Sexist' Signs in Bizarre Video", *Huffington Post*, 15 July, 2014 [online] available: http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/07/15/britain-first-mosque-video_n_5587353.html [accessed: 7 January, 2016].

53. Pattison, B. (2015) "Charlie Hebdo: Irish figures react to 'brutal and horrific' killings in Paris, *Irish Mirror*, 8 January, 2015 [Online] available: http://www.irishmirror.ie/news/irish-news/charlie-hebdo-irish-figures-react-4936525 [accessed: 7 January, 2016]. My emphasis.

54. Bray, J. (2015) "Kenny vows 'thorough vetting' of migrants: Paris Carnage: Ireland's Response", *Irish Daily Mail*, 16 November, 2015.

55. Cullen, A. (2015) "Watch Anti-Islam group in clash with counter-protesters at mosque", *Irish Independent*, 2 February, 2015 [online] available: http://www.independent.ie/irish-news/news/watch-antiislam-group-in-clash-with-counterprotesters-at-mosque-30955812.html [accessed: 4 January, 2015].

people have when faced with this pernicious phenomenon. For example, Dublin-based community organisation Canal Communities, working with ENAR Ireland have delivered training on how people can report racism and the supports that are available to them. Partners in this project include the Amal Women's Group and the broader Islamic Foundation of Ireland of which it is part.[56]

As noted above, the ICI, funded by the OSF undertook research in the summer of 2015 to ascertain the perceived needs of Muslim communities vis-à-vis challenging Islamophobia and anti-Muslim racism. The research, published in early 2016, provides recommendations that encompass education, policing, media and employment policies and practices. Public awareness campaigns for Muslim and non-Muslim communities also form part of the recommendations.[57]

In July, researchers in the University of Limerick published a report on the need for hate crime legislation which included draft legislative proposals. The proposed legislation, which would place hate crime, including that directed towards Muslims, as specific named offences was presented to government but has not been acted upon.[58] Finally, and relatedly, facility has now been made for members of An Garda Síochána, the Irish police service, to record crimes they believe to be underpinned by anti-Muslim animus through the use of a specific 'anti-Muslim/Islamophobic' category on their crime recording database.[59] Time will tell in terms of its application in practice.

CONCLUSION

Policy recommendations

This report lays out the realities of Islamophobia in Ireland at the interpersonal, structural and discursive levels for 2015. As noted, a number of civil society individuals and organisations engaged in activities during the year that lay down a challenge to Islamophobia in Ireland concomitantly supporting those who live with this phenomenon daily. The following recommendations are by no means exhaustive but they do provide a platform for further action.

- At the time of writing, a united civil society front seems to be coalescing into fighting the challenge to Islamophobia. This front, inclusive of academics, activists, NGOs and Muslim communities should formally align and work together if this challenge is to succeed.
- Working together, civil society actors must advocate for the implementation of

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56. ENAR Ireland (2016).

57. Carr (2016a).

58. University of Limerick (2016) "UL study finds hate crime must 'come out of the shadows'," [online] available: http://www.ul.ie/law/news/00%5Bnid%5D-ul-study-finds-hate-crime-must-%E2%80%98come-out-shadows%E2%80%99 [accessed: 8 January, 2016].
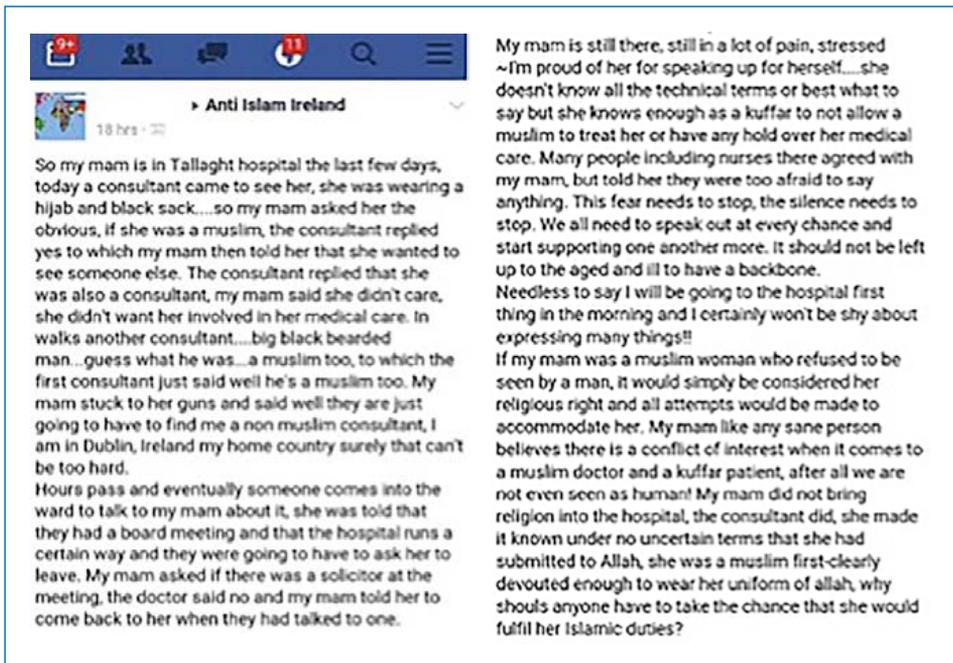
59. Irish Independent (2015) "Gardai recording specific crimes of hate and racism welcomed"; 21 December, 2015 [online] available: http://www.independent.ie/breaking-news/irish-news/gardai-recording-specific-crimes-of-hate-and-racism-welcomed-34304684.html [accessed: 8 January, 2016].

hate crime legislation that acknowledges one's religious identity as being a basis upon which one may be targeted. As noted above, the heavy lifting has been done in this regard and government must be encouraged to take action.

- Civil society actors must also push for legislative change in the context of school enrolment policies so that all members of Irish society are treated fairly when accessing education. Relatedly, the government must be encouraged to draft a policy that ensures the rights of religious minorities to manifest their faith are respected in the school context and not left to the preferences of individual boards of management or principals.

- Civil society actors must engage with Irish media actors/outlets in terms of publication/broadcast standards in order to reduce/minimise the use of racialising discourses vis-à-vis Muslims and other minority communities. Muslim communities are not 'over there' but part of Irish and broader European society, this needs to be the norm reflected in media content.

Appendix 1:

Facebook post relating to the refusal of treatment from Muslim physicians by a patient in Dublin. This post was made by the patient's daughter on the 'Anti-Islam Ireland' Facebook page.

CHRONOLOGY

January
- Problematic media reports in the aftermath of the Charlie Hebdo attacks.
- Report of verbal abuse towards Muslim woman in shopping mall (Dublin), reported to ENAR Ireland, 24/01/15.[60]
- Report of anti-Muslim posters placed near mosque in Dublin, reported to ENAR Ireland, 08/01/15.

February
- Anti-Islam protest outside Dublin mosque.
- Counter-demonstration against Anti-Islam protest outside Dublin mosque.

March
- Mosque 'invasion' and intimidation of imam in Kilkenny city.
- Report of racist and anti-Muslim graffiti on street (Cork), reported to ENAR Ireland, 04/04/15.

April
- Small protest against building of mosque in Killarney, Co. Kerry by 'Anti-Islam Ireland'.
- Publication of Education (Admission to Schools) Bill 2015.

May
- No events in this report relate to this period.

June
- Problematic media reports in the aftermath of the attacks in a resort in Tunisia.
- Research on Islamophobia and anti-Muslim racism – and how to respond - commences with Muslim communities in Dublin.

July
- Research on Islamophobia and anti-Muslim racism – and how to respond - continues with Muslim communities in Dublin.
- Launch of Identity Ireland, political party and Irish affiliate of the PEGIDA movement.
- Presentation to government of draft hate crime legislation.
- Small protest and distribution of leaflets by 'Anti-Islam Ireland' against the building of a mosque in Tralee, Co. Kerry.
- Report of physical assault of Afghan Muslim boy (Limerick), reported to ENAR Ireland, 13/07/15.

60. The reports noted in this chronology refer only to those included in the submission proper.

August

- Research on Islamophobia and anti-Muslim racism – and how to respond - continues with Muslim communities in Dublin.

September

- Assault on Saudi student on public transport in Dublin.
- Problematic media reports relating to the ongoing crisis of people seeking refuge in the context of the death of toddler Aylan Kurdi and his family members.

October

- Report of verbal abuse towards Muslim woman on Grafton St., reported to ENAR Ireland, 24/10/15.
- Report of verbal and physical abuse towards Muslim women (Dublin), reported to ENAR Ireland, 28/10/15.

November

- Problematic media reports in the aftermath of November 13th attacks in Paris.
- Anti-Muslim, threatening comment on Twitter noted in submission.
- Report of verbal abuse towards two Muslim women (Dublin), reported to ENAR Ireland, 14/11/15.
- Report of profiling by member of An Garda Síochána of young Muslim woman on public transport (Dublin), reported to ENAR Ireland, 17/11/15.
- Report of verbal abuse and multiple physical assaults towards Muslim students (Dublin), reported to ENAR Ireland, 19/11/15.

December

- Patient refuses treatment from Muslim medical consultants in Tallaght hospital.
- Problematic media coverage of Tallaght hospital event.
- An Garda Síochána (Irish police) database enabled to record hate crime against a range of targeted communities including anti-Muslim hate crime.
- Legislation addressing exclusionary school enrolment policies still not enacted.

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Islamophobia or anti-Muslim racism poses a growing threat to the democratic foundations of European constitutions and social peace as well as the coexistence of different cultures throughout Europe. Both civil society actors and states should acknowledge the seriousness of this issue and develop concrete policies to counter Islamophobia.

As the leading think tank in Turkey, SETA felt an urgent need to address this problem. In fact, there are still people denying the very existence of racism against Muslims. Many state and civil society institutions, from the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) to the countless civil society organisations throughout Europe, have done priceless work to prove and establish the opposite. Yet, institutions like the FRA publish only irregular reports on a restricted number of countries while most civil society organisations tackle racism in general and only few focus on Islamophobia in particular -this is the urgent gap our report wishes to fill.

The European Islamophobia Report (EIR) is an annual report, which is presented for the first time this year. It currently comprises 25 national reports regarding each state and the tendencies of Islamophobia in each respective country. The current report features the work of 37 extraordinary scholars. In the years to come we will attempt to cover even more countries. This report aims to enable policymakers as well as the public to discuss the issue of Islamophobia with the help of qualitative data. At the same time, several of its unique characteristic features make a difference to the current state of the debate on Islamophobia. Studies on Islamophobia have in the past predominantly concentrated on Western Europe. This is especially the case with reports focusing on Islamophobia. The EIR is the first to cover a wide range of Eastern European countries like Serbia, Croatia, Hungary, Lithuania and Latvia. This will enrich the debate on racism in general and Islamophobia in Europe in particular.

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, brain storming sessions, conferences and policy recommendations, SETA seeks to guide leaders in government, civil society, and business, and contributes to informed decision making mechanisms.

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