
EUROPEAN **ISLAMOPHOBIA** REPORT 2017

ENES BAYRAKLI • FARID HAFEZ (Eds)



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FOREWORD

SETA is pleased to present the third edition of the annual *European Islamophobia Report* (EIR) succeeding the reports of 2015 and 2016. This year, 40 prominent scholars and civil society actors from various European countries who specialize in different fields such as racism, gender, and discrimination studies, present 33 country reports. In addition to highlighting the developments of Islamophobia in key fields such as employment, education and politics, they provide precious country-specific policy recommendations to counter this phenomenon and a detailed chronology of events. Since every year it applies the same methodological framework on a large number of European countries, the *European Islamophobia Report* (EIR) provides a unique collection of European-wide analyses in regard to anti-Muslim racism in Europe to policy makers, social scientists, and ordinary readers.

Monitoring Islamophobia in Europe became an urgent need in the last few years, since the phenomenon has sensibly increased, following economic recession and the rise of far-right politics. Today, Islamophobia constitutes a serious challenge for European democracies for at least four reasons:

- First of all, Islamophobia is severely impacting the life of millions of European Muslims facing racism at university, in the workplace, the public sphere, etc. In addition to representing a threat to their physical life, this racism undermines their place in society and their sense of belonging in European nation states.

- Secondly, the rise of Islamophobia both reflects and strengthens the normalization of far-right discourse in the political spectrum across Europe. Within a few months, neofascist parties entered the German Bundestag, accessed strategic ministries in Austria, and registered historical results in the French, Dutch and Italian elections.
- Thirdly, Islamophobia poses a problem of internal security as it intensifies tensions between communities, legitimizes hate crimes against individuals, and undermines the European Union ideals of peace and coexistence.
- Finally, Islamophobia represents an obstacle for European international relations, since it mars the EU image of tolerance worldwide and increases tension between EU member states and certain strategic partners, including Muslim countries.

Yet, even if Islamophobia objectively constitutes a threat for European democracies, many European intellectuals and politicians, both left- and right-wing, are still refuting the existence and the validity of the concept. Their worries about terrorist attacks and immigration are preventing them from acknowledging the daily racism that Muslims face in Europe. However, by denying Islamophobia, there is a risk – intended or not – to ignore the unacceptable reality experienced by millions of European citizens.

Based on this observation, as SETA, we decided to annually publish the *European Islamophobia Report* (EIR) in order to provide serious – yet accessible – analyses on a phenomenon that remains widely ignored and misunderstood. We hope this will be a vital contribution in the fight against Islamophobia in Europe.

Burhanettin Duran
General Coordinator of SETA

THE STATE OF ISLAMOPHOBIA IN EUROPE

ENES BAYRAKLI • FARID HAFEZ

This is the third issue of the annual *European Islamophobia Report (EIR)* consisting of an overall evaluation of Islamophobia in Europe in the year 2017, as well as 33 country reports which include almost all EU member states and additional countries such as Russia and Norway. This year's *EIR* represents the work of 40 prominent scholars and civil society activists from various European countries.

In a presentation of the Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey's selected findings on Muslims, the director of the European Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA), Michael O'Flaherty, stressed that their survey clearly contradicts the claim that Muslims are not integrated into European societies. On the contrary, the survey found that the trust of Muslims in the democratic institutions of Europe is higher than much of the general population. Furthermore, O'Flaherty pointed out that "every incident of discrimination and hate crime, however, hinders their [Muslims'] inclusion and reduces their chances of finding work. We risk that we alienate individuals and their community from us, with all possible consequences."¹

1. FRA, "Press Release: Muslims in the EU: High Levels of Trust Despite Pervasive Discrimination", Vienna, September 21, 2017.

As the report based on a survey of 10,527 people who identified themselves as Muslims published by the FRA reveals 76% of Muslim respondents feel strongly attached to the country they live in, while 31% of those seeking work have been discriminated against in the last five years. At the same time, only 12% of Muslims say they have reported cases of discrimination. Hence, we can say with certainty that the extent of discrimination Muslims face in Europe is much greater than the numbers revealed in any report on Islamophobia and anti-Muslim hate crime in Europe. In other words, one can claim that all the available data and statistics about Islamophobia in Europe show only the tip of the iceberg. Therefore, revealing the comprehensiveness of structural anti-Muslim racism lies at the heart of the *European Islamophobia Report* project, which on a yearly basis analyzes the trends and developments in almost all states in Europe from Russia to Portugal, and Malta to Norway.

However, NGOs and projects like the *EIR* cannot provide a European-wide daily monitoring mechanism given the colossal size of the problem and the funds required. Therefore, we think it is the duty of the nation states to put in place monitoring mechanisms and publish yearly data on anti-Muslim hate crimes in their respective countries. Yet, it is clear that we are far from that goal since there is no official documentation of anti-Muslim hate crime in the overwhelming majority of European nation states. Recently, Germany made an important step by including Islamophobia as a subcategory of “hate crimes” in the official police statistics of “politically motivated criminal acts.” We welcome this decision and urge other European nation states to follow suit, since Islamophobia is not only a fundamental threat to the coexistence of different religions and cultures but also a threat to the democratic foundations of Europe. Furthermore, tackling Islamophobia has also become an acute problem given the rise of racist, especially Islamophobic, anti-Semitic and anti-Roma far-right parties and the adaptation of their discourse by mainstream parties in many European nation states.

The first statistics, which were revealed for 2017 by the German State reveal around 71 attacks on mosques and 908 crimes against German Muslims (ranging from verbal to physical attacks and murder attempts). Germany also registered 1,413 attacks on refugees and 93 attacks on aid workers in Germany in the first 273 days of 2017. However, although the German state registered 71 attacks on mosques, the DITIB, which is an NGO, listed 101 attacks on mosques in Germany all throughout 2017. Therefore, bearing in mind also what the FRA revealed about the reluctance of Muslims to report incidents, one can claim that the estimated number of unknown cases might be more than eight times higher. There are various reasons for these phenomena; some of these include:

- Victims may not be aware of the reporting mechanisms.
- The victims' possible social isolation or proximity to the perpetrator.
- The victims' lack of trust in the authorities, due to fears that their claim will not be taken seriously.
- The victims' fear of being victimized again by police officers.

In this regard, the OSCE ODIHR points out to the fact that “governments have a central role to play in ensuring access to justice; from the initial assessment of victims' needs by police officers, to support mechanisms for victims through governmental or nongovernmental institutions.”²

The denial of the very existence of Islamophobia/anti-Muslim racism/anti-Muslim hate crime in Europe by many demonstrates the need for an appropriate effort and political will to tackle this normalized racism and its manifestations that are deeply entrenched in European societies, institutions, and states. Intelligence services, such as the German Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, have realized the important role Islamophobia plays for right-wing extremist parties.³ Still, it is not only the case for extremist groups on the political fringe of the society, but rather far-right discourses have moved to the center of political power. Consequently, it is not only right-wing extremist groups that rely on the means of Islamophobic propaganda and discourse - social democrats, liberals, leftists or conservatives are no longer immune to this form of racism.

The recognition of Islamophobia is of utmost importance in Europe. Therefore, we welcome the Swedish government's decision to launch a National Plan to Combat Racism, which also acknowledges Islamophobia as a problem that needs to be addressed. However, despite this positive step the Equality Ombudsman in Sweden followed the EU Court of Justice in ruling that company policies banning the Islamic headscarf are not discriminatory.

That is also why initiatives such as the report *The Missing Muslims: Unlocking British Muslim Potential for the Benefit of All* by Conservative MP Dominic Grieve, in which the government was urged to adopt a definition of anti-Muslim prejudice along the lines of that adopted in 2016 for anti-Semitism, are so important. Successfully combating Islamophobia requires outspoken and brave initiatives and persons (politicians and activists) who challenge this widespread normalized form of racism.

With the help of the new president of the USA, who defends his “Muslim Ban” by referring to invented terrorist attacks such as the one in Sweden, the imagined figure of the all-time lurking Muslim enemy is kept alive. When Trump tweet-

2. OSCE, “Hate Crime against Muslims”, retrieved March 24, 2018, from <https://www.osce.org/odihr/373441?download=true>.

3. BfV, “What is Right-Wing Extremism?”, retrieved March 24, 2018, from <https://www.verfassungsschutz.de/en/fields-of-work/right-wing-extremism/what-is-right-wing-extremism>.

ed “You look at what's happening last night in Sweden. Sweden, who would believe this? Sweden. They took in large numbers. They're having problems like they never thought possible,”⁴ Swedish officials and reporters were bewildered since there were no major incidents that night. The climate of the age of fake news, which has always been central to the spread of conspiracy theories, is now exaggerated and expanded by leading politicians in the world, while the structural dimension of Islamophobia still exists at the heart of European societies and institutions. This situation requires a need for a clear stance by governing politicians, elites and intellectuals since they are bound by their constitutions and laws, and international and national human rights standards.

In this manner, British Prime Minister Theresa May criticized Trump for reposting material from the far-right Britain First, while the U.S. president answered her with the advice that it would be better if she dealt with the “destructive radical Islamic Terrorism that is taking place within the United Kingdom” rather than focusing on him.⁵ It is quite clear that Europe needs more courageous leaders such as Alexander Van der Bellen, the president of the Austrian Republic, who defended the rights of women to wear a headscarf in a country where the far right has become the leading political power.⁶

Combatting Islamophobia on the European and the Supranational Levels

Combatting Islamophobia on national and regional levels is important but not enough. Therefore, there is a need for a concerted effort to combat Islamophobia first on the European level and second on the supranational level. In this regard both the coordination among different NGOs and the involvement of institutions such as the EU, the Council of Europe, the OSCE and the UN are essential. In 2017, there were some initial positive steps on the EU level, however, given the size of the problem there is still a long way to go.

As an NGO coalition statement following the 4th Roundtable on anti-Muslim hatred, which was organized by the European Commission (EC) and chaired by the EU coordinator on combatting anti-Muslim hatred, David Friggieri, made clear, a “stronger and more concrete commitment and actions”⁷ are needed to combat

4. Chan Sewell, “Last Night in Sweden? Trump’s Remark Baffles a Nation”, retrieved December 12, 2017, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/19/world/europe/last-night-in-sweden-trumps-remark-baffles-a-nation.html>.

5. David Smith, “Donald Trump Attacks Theresa May over Her Criticism of His Far-right Retweets”, retrieved February 9, 2018, from www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/nov/29/donald-trump-theresa-may-tweet-uk-us.

6. Farid Hafez, “Austria’s President and the Islamophobia Debate: The Courage of One Man”, retrieved March 25, 2018, from <https://en.qantara.de/content/austrias-president-and-the-islamophobia-debate-the-courage-of-one-man>.

7. NGO Coalition Statement following 4th European Commission Roundtable on anti-Muslim hatred, retrieved December 18, 2017, from <http://www.enar-eu.org/NGO-coalition-statement-following-4th-European-Commission-Round-Table-on-anti>.

Islamophobia. These civil society organizations argue that “there are still some misconceptions by the European institutions with regards to the issue of Islamophobia. With the generalised suspicion against Muslims, it is of utmost importance for EU policy makers not to fall into the trap of treating Muslims as potential problems but rather as human beings whose fundamental rights can be violated. Combatting Islamophobia is not about preventing radicalism or terrorism [...] it is about politically addressing structural forms of discrimination and racism affecting Muslims or those perceived as such.”⁸

Although the statements of high-ranking politicians such as Frans Timmerman, vice-president of the European Commission, in which he recognized the problem of Islamophobia are positive steps, the European Coalition against Islamophobia still sees a large potential for improvement regarding the fight against Islamophobia on the EU level. According to the European Coalition against Islamophobia, the EU and national legislations provide legal remedies for racist crime and discrimination, yet Muslims still suffer from violence, prejudice and exclusion in Europe.⁹ In this context, the FRA recommends better implementation of the relevant EU and national legislation to combat widespread harassment and hate crime against Muslims.¹⁰

On March 14, 2017, the European Court of Justice (EJC) for the first time made two judgments to rule on non-discrimination at work on religious grounds.¹¹ The EJC ruled that employers would be able to prohibit the wearing of religious garments by their employees. This was despite the content of Article 9, which secures the freedom of thought, conscience and religion of the European Convention on Human Rights. The EJC ruled that banning visible signs of political, philosophical or religious beliefs is “appropriate” to ensure a “policy of neutrality” if systematically applied as a company policy. Obviously, also observant Jews and other religious minorities will be affected by this as much as Muslim women and men. But the verdict has evolved in the context of the complaints of two Muslim women, one from France and one from Belgium. It will be Muslim women who will suffer from this regulation disproportionately. Amnesty International protested against this decision as potentially propelling increased discrimination on the basis of religious identity, especially against Muslim women. Also, many faith communities and vocal Muslim organizations in Brussels and beyond have objected to what they perceive a step towards further institutionalization of Islamopho-

8. Ibid.

9. European Coalition against Islamophobia, “Strengthening Actions against Islamophobia: Next Steps for the European Commission”, retrieved March 25, 2018, from http://www.enar-eu.org/IMG/pdf/2017_one-pager_ec_islamophobia.pdf.

10. OSCE, “Bias against Muslims”, retrieved March 25, 2018, from <http://hatecrime.osce.org/taxonomy/term/230>.

11. Court of Justice of the European Union PRESS RELEASE No 30 /17 Luxembourg, March 14, 2017, <https://curia.europa.eu/jcms/upload/docs/application/pdf/2017-03/cp170030en.pdf>

bia. While this verdict made clear that visible signs of political, philosophical or religious beliefs can be banned in private companies, it left many questions open regarding the decisions to be taken in the future.

As Bülent Senay, personal representative of the OSCE Chair-in-Office on Combating Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims, argued during the Human Dimension Implementation Meeting 2017, on a supranational level, institutions still lack means to fight Islamophobia. Amongst other important recommendations, he called the OSCE states to commit to recording hate crimes against Muslims as a separate disaggregated category. The OSCE ODIHR is also considering the preparation of a guide on hate crimes against Muslims and on the security needs of Muslim communities in the OSCE region. A similar guide has been prepared und published for Jewish communities.¹² We think this would be a positive step to combatting Islamophobia in the OSCE region and, therefore, welcome the preparation of such a guide.

The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance of the Council of Europe publishes an annual report on the ECRI's activities, in which Islamophobia is also analyzed under a separate heading. In the last report, which covered the year 2016, the ECRI points to the fact that "Muslims continue to experience discrimination in various areas of social life, including education, employment and housing."¹³ The ECRI concludes that the "negative experiences of Muslims in Europe can fuel feelings of isolation within a larger community and hinder inclusive societies."¹⁴ However, we think that the Council of Europe, which consists of 47 states, can play a wider role in the combat against Islamophobia in Europe.

The European Coalition against Islamophobia, which consists of 13 NGOs,¹⁵ has published its suggestion for an action plan for 2018-2019 to fight Islamophobia in the European Union. This plan puts the recognition of Islamophobia at its center and among other important recommendations calls the European Parliament to adopt a resolution on combatting Islamophobia as it did on combatting anti-Semitism and anti-Gypsism.¹⁶

12. OSCE, "Understanding Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Addressing the Security Needs of Jewish Communities", retrieved March 25, 2018, from <https://www.osce.org/odihr/317166?download=true>.

13. Council of Europe, "Annual Report on ECRI's Activities", retrieved March 25, 2018, from https://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/activities/Annual_Reports/Annual%20report%202016.pdf.

14. Ibid.

15. The members of this coalition are the following: European Forum of Muslim Women; Forum of European Muslim Youth and Student Organisations; Karamah EU; European Muslim Initiative for Social Cohesion; European Network against Racism; and the Collective against Islamophobia in France.

16. ENAR, "Strengthening Actions against Islamophobia", retrieved March 25, 2018, from http://www.enar-eu.org/IMG/pdf/2017_one-pager_ec_islamophobia.pdf.

A resolution adopted by the UN Human Rights Council on March 23, 2016 (Resolution 31/16) expressed “concern over violent attacks motivated by anti-religious bias, targeting individuals belonging to religious minorities, as well as religious places, and recommended that states prevent, investigate and punish such acts.”¹⁷ Although this is more a general resolution on freedom of religion it is still relevant to EU states which are witnessing an unprecedented rise of anti-Muslim hate crimes in the last decade. More concretely, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Contemporary Forms of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance reported that “the fear of terrorism and racist and xenophobic speech often translate into increases in hate crimes targeting Muslims, migrants, refugees and asylum seekers.” Like many others, the special rapporteur reiterated the importance of collecting disaggregated data on hate crimes targeting Muslims and others.¹⁸

The Rise of the Far Right in Europe

Beyond the supranational level, there are observable trends in different European nation states. Firstly, the far-right political camp has moved from the periphery to the center and become integral to the political landscape in Europe. While most far-right parties are still in opposition, some have gained major influence by becoming governing parties such as in the cases of Austria, Bulgaria, and Finland. While others may still be in opposition, their Islamophobic discourse, which is so central to most of them, has become mainstream since their issues have been co-opted by former centrist political parties. In Sweden, for instance, the once marginal anti-Muslim Sweden Democrats became the third or second largest party in opinion polls, pushing most other parties to adjust their policies accordingly. Secondly, we also observe a stronger cooperation of various Islamophobic parties in Europe. For instance, the Czech Freedom and Direct Democracy Party (SPD) organized a meeting of representatives of its partners from the European Parliament in December 2017 in Prague. Politicians such as Geert Wilders (Dutch Freedom Party) and Marine Le Pen (Front National) were amongst some of the participants.

From Sweden to Greece, from Poland to the Netherlands, the rise of far-right parties is a vital threat to democratic order in Europe. What is more dangerous is the mainstreaming and normalization of the far-right policies within mainstream politics. Austria is a wake-up call and the prime example of this horror story which might repeat itself in many European countries if European societies do not seriously tackle this disturbing trend.

17. OSCE, “Bias against Muslims”, retrieved March 25, 2018, from <http://hatecrime.osce.org/taxonomy/term/230>.

18. Ibid.

The Right Wing in Opposition

As mentioned above in the majority of EU countries far-right parties are still in opposition. However, when in opposition, right-wing political parties are even more explicit about their racist utopia and hence speak out in a harsher and more direct way against Muslims. By doing so, they are playing a crucial role in the normalization of anti-Muslim discourse in Europe.

There are many examples of this blatant anti-Muslim racism, some of which will be presented here. In this context, the Northern League's candidate for president of the Lombardy region of Italy warned that there is a "risk that the white race disappears and is replaced by migrants."¹⁹ In Slovenia, right-wing populist and extremist parties are not strong enough to win elections, however they are very active on social media and in the organization of public events and protests. For instance, Nova 24TV in Slovenia broadcasted the following Islamophobic opinion: "Obviously, we do not have enough terrorists, rapists and other criminals in Europe. It seems that leading politicians want to bring even more. Only this can explain their desire for the ever-increasing inclusion of migrants and Muslims in European countries."²⁰

In Latvia, numerous pre-election programs of various parties for the 2017 municipal elections demonstrated unambiguous Islamophobic positions. In Riga, the Action Party of Eurosceptics (Eiroskeptiķu Rīcības partija) published the following slogan in their program, "We are not against Muslims, we are against the Islamization of Latvia and Europe."²¹ The National Alliance (Nacionālā apvienība) was even more radical in its program in which it stated that it was "in support of not letting into Liepāja illegal immigrants called 'refugees' – potential criminals, terrorists and idlers! There will be no mosques here!"²²

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, anti-Muslim bigotry and negative trends towards Muslims were evident mainly in the educational, political and media sectors. The main generators of Islamophobic discourse and anti-Muslim bigotry are the Bosnian Serb political, media and academic policymakers.

For the first time since 1989 a right-wing extremist party managed to enter parliament in Slovakia. The opposition party 'We Are a Family – Boris Kolar' submitted

19. Milano, "Fontana: 'Razza bianca da difendere'. Poi precisa: 'È stato un lapsus'. Salvini: siamo sotto attacco", retrieved March 25, 2018, from http://milano.corriere.it/notizie/politica/18_gennaio_15/atilio-fontana-immigrati-razza-bianca-difendere-candidato-centrodestra-regione-lombardia-bcf74404-f9e8-11e7-b7a0-515b75eef21a.shtml.

20. Nova 24TV, "Levičarske dobre vile muslimanom odpirajo vrata, Evropa pa hudičeva semena še kar zaliva" (The Left Good Fairies Open the Doors of Europe to Muslims, and Europe Still Waters the Devil Seeds), retrieved November 22, 2017, from <http://nova24tv.si/svet/levicarske-dobre-vile-muslimanom-odpirajo-vrata-evropa-pa-hudiceva-semena-se-kar-zaliva/>.

21. Centrālā vēlēšanu komisija, "Eiroskeptiķu Rīcības partija", retrieved December 27, 2017, from <http://pv2017.cvk.lv/CandidateLists/CandidateList?candidateListId=8k1v7yBEuCMERyWBkqtFTQ%3D%3D>.

22. Centrālā vēlēšanu komisija, "Nacionālā savienība Taisnīgums," retrieved December 27, 2017, from <http://pv2017.cvk.lv/CandidateLists/CandidateList?candidateListId=0zFqpAsLIE456csFZERqxQ%3D%3D>.

a bill to amend the laws to enable a ban on building mosques. Eleven members voted for the proposal, 48 against it, while more than a half of the MPs, 77 in total, abstained from the vote.

In Southern Cyprus, a newly established party, the far-right ELAM (Ethniko Laiko Metopo), which is a sister party to Greece's Golden Dawn, has significantly contributed to spreading Islamophobia in the southern part of the island. Although ELAM is a very small party and only managed to enter parliament in 2016 with 3.71% (allowing them 2 MPs), their views are widespread; the archbishop of southern Cyprus often expresses his agreement with ELAM'S positions.

The successful Swiss right-wing party SVP tried to introduce a full-face veil ban in Sweden. Another parliamentary initiative by National Councillor Yannick Buttet (CVP) demanded a "mandatory labelling of imported halal meat at all stages of sales as well as an increase in the price of imported halal meat."²³ Although the National Council accepted the initiative, the Council of States rejected it.

In Switzerland, the parliamentary motion by Lorenzo Quadri from the regional right-wing party Lega, which was adopted in the National Council, instructed the Federal Council to draw up a bill, which, following the rules that apply in Austria, provides a guarantee for the following: "(1) The prohibition of Islamic places of worship and imams who accept funds from abroad; (2) The obligation for Islamic centers to disclose the origin and use of their finances; (3) The duty to conduct sermons in the language of residence."²⁴

Meanwhile in the UK, UKIP's election manifesto promised a public ban on "face coverings" and proscribed sharia courts in the UK. In the Netherlands, radical parties such as the Dutch SGP (a radical Christian party) published a manifesto,²⁵ which argued that "the love offer of Jesus Christ and Muhammad's use of violence are as different as day and night."²⁶

Beyond political parties, on the more extreme non-parliamentarian level or the grassroots level, far-right groups, such as the Identitarian movement or ones that function underground, pose a threat to Muslims in Europe, especially in their most violent form. Nationalist groups such as, among others, the Finnish branch of the Nordic Resistance Movement and the "Finland First" movement were active in spreading their ideology of hate.

23. The Federal Assembly - The Swiss Parliament, "Motion 15.499: Import of Halal Meat from Animals Slaughtered without Stunning," retrieved January 18, from <https://www.parlament.ch/de/ratsbetrieb/suche-curia-vista/geschaefte?AffairId=20150499>.

24. The Federal Assembly - The Swiss Parliament, "Motion 16.3330: Islamische Gebetsstätten. Verbot der Finanzierung durch das Ausland und Offenlegungspflicht," retrieved January 9, 2017, from <https://www.parlament.ch/de/ratsbetrieb/amtliches-bulletin/amtliches-bulletin-die-verhandlungen?SubjectId=41116>.

25. SGP, "Manifest islam in Nederland", retrieved January 26, 2018, from <https://www.sgp.nl/actueel/manifest-islam-in-nederland/6125>.

26. Ibid., p. 2.

The Right Wing in Power

Currently, there are a few governments in Europe, which include right-wing parties that have focused heavily on using Islamophobia as a means of gaining public support and political power. After the general elections in Norway, the Progress Party, which is often regarded as a right-wing populist party and which had an openly Islamophobic election campaign, governs together with the conservatives in a coalition. Consequently, for the first time in Norwegian history, there are government representatives who do not shy away from using Islamophobic discourse. The Progress Party's minister for immigration and integration, Sylvi Listhaug, suggested a prohibition against hijabs at elementary schools, which was not supported by the coalition partner. The party also proposed to ban the circumcision of baby boys, which also found no support in parliament. A third proposal, a national ban of the face veil in schools and institutions of higher education, won broad parliamentary support and is currently being circulated for consultation.

In the Czech Republic, a new party called ANO won the elections. Its leader supported the notorious Islamophobic politician, Czech President Miloš Zeman. The leader of the right-wing populist party Freedom and Direct Democracy (SPD), which campaigns continuously for a legal ban of Islam, became vice-chair of the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic. Although there is a tiny Muslim community in the country, the 2017 national elections were the first in the history of the Czech Republic, during which attitudes towards Muslims were a central issue.

In Bulgaria, a hostile language towards Muslims is winning ground. Especially, during election campaigns, anti-Muslim rhetoric was at its peak. Many extreme right-wing political parties such as ATAKA, NFSB (National Front for the Salvation of Bulgaria), and IMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization) are part of the current government and form a coalition with the leading party.

In Serbia, there are ministers such as Aleksandar Vulin, minister of defense, and Nebojša Stefanovic, minister of the interior, who attract attention by stirring ethnic and religious hostilities. Today, we can witness a revival of political parties and forces from the 1990s in the political arena. Currently, the strongest parties are those that were the most important players in the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo. A rise in nationalism and hate speech targeting Muslims can be seen in the public sphere. Crimes committed against Muslims are glorified.

Co-option of Islamophobia by Centrist Parties

We observe a general trend within centrist political parties to co-opt the Islamophobic discourse of right-wing political parties. The former president of Romania, Traian Basescu, proclaimed in the midst of a debate on a mosque in Bucharest that this was

“a risk to national security,” and argued that “part of the Islamization of Europe is building mosques everywhere.”²⁷ During a local council election in Bucharest in June 2016, several leading Bucharest mayoral candidates argued for a referendum on the mosque, amongst them the current mayor Gabriela Firea of the Social Democratic Party (Partidul Social Democrat – PSD).²⁸

In Poland, there is no nominal right-wing political party, but a conservative party in power, which nevertheless allows an unambiguous negative image of Islam to be spread in state institutions. State-funded media outlets seem to carefully select their guests, who spread a stereotypical portrayal of Muslims as “violent,” “terrorists,” “Jihadists,” “sexists,” “rapists,” “uncivilized,” “double-faced,” and in general “a threat” to European and Christian values. While a research commissioned by the Commissioner of Human Rights on the attitudes among Polish secondary school students was published in 2017, showing that the majority of the 396 respondents reveal strong anti-refugee, Islamophobic and homophobic prejudice,²⁹ the Ministry of Education shut down anti-discrimination programs in Polish schools and instead promoted programs supporting patriotism and a national and cultural Polish identity.³⁰

In Spain, former president of Madrid and of the senate, and former minister of culture, Esperanza Aguirre, tweeted that January 2 was a glorious day for Spanish women who otherwise would not enjoy any freedom under the rule of Islam.³¹ In Slovakia, former president Robert Fico argued that he will “not allow the creation of an integrated Muslim community in Slovakia.”³²

In Hungary, the ruling conservative Fidesz competed in Islamophobic rhetoric with the far right. It finally managed to make anti-Muslim narratives become un-

27. Gandul, “Băsescu nu vrea moschee la București și-l trimite pe Iohannis să se facă muftiu la Sibiu. România trebuie să rămână creștină” (Basescu Doesn’t Want a Mosque in Bucharest and Sends Iohannis to Become a Mufti at Sibiu. Romania Must Remain Christian), retrieved December 26, 2017, from <http://www.gandul.info/politica/basescu-nu-vrea-moschee-la-bucuresti-si-l-trimite-pe-iohannis-sa-se-faca-muftiu-la-sibiu-romania-trebuie-sa-ramana-crestina-15154001>.

28. Euractiv, “Firea: Moschee în București doar după un referendum local/Orban: Nu voi autoriza moscheea lui Ponta” (Mosque in Bucharest Only After Local Referendum / Orban: I Won’t Authorize Ponta’s Mosque), March 25, 2016, retrieved December 23, 2017, from <http://www.euractiv.ro/politic-intern/firea-despre-construirea-unei-moschei-la-bucuresti-doa-dupa-un-referendum-local-3920>.

29. Gajos-Kaniewska, Dorota, “RPO: młodzież nie chce uchodźców – wyniki badania wśród uczniów szkół średnich”, retrieved January 11, 2018, from <http://www.rp.pl/Edukacja-i-wychowanie/309069922-RPO-mlodziez-nie-chce-uchodzcow---wyniki-badania-wsrod-uczniow-szkol-srednich.html>.

30. Newsweek, “Patrotyzm – tak, tolerancja – nie. Prawicowa ideologia od września wchodzi do polskich szkół” retrieved January 11, 2018, from <http://www.newsweek.pl/polska/spoleczenstwo/koniec-zajeciami-antydiskryminacyjnymi-w-szkolach-edukacja-narodowa-wedlug-pis,artykuly,412809,1.html>.

31. El Diario, “Esperanza Aguirre, sobre la Toma de Granada: “Es un día de gloria para las españolas. Con el Islam no tendríamos libertad,” retrieved October 24, 2017, from http://www.eldiario.es/politica/Esperanza-Aguirre-Toma-Granada-Islam_0_597390772.html.

32. Juraj Koník, “Premiér Fico je opäť svetový, prerazil výrokmi o moslimoch, ktorých k nám nepusti”, *denník N*, (January 8, 2016) retrieved January 8, 2018, from <https://dennikn.sk/338314/premier-fico-opat-svetovy-prerazil-vyrokm-moslimoch-ktorych-nam-nepusti/>.

contested and thus realized a support of an overwhelming portion of the population. Prime Minister Viktor Orbán became famous for the alleged conspiracy of George Soros to Islamize Europe with the help of “hordes of migrants raping Europe.”³³

During the national presidential elections in France in 2017, Islamophobia was omnipresent not only in the campaign of the Front National but also in an array of other candidates’ campaigns. Also during the national elections in the Netherlands in 2017, there was a race between the right-wing populist party of Geert Wilders (PVV) and the center-right party of Mark Rutte (VVD). Some intellectuals, before the elections, discussed whether the number of Muslims could be reduced by deportation. Prominent Law Professor Paul Cliteur was present during the debate and discussed how this could be made possible legally.

In Denmark, the leader of the Social Democrats, Mette Frederiksen, argued that there is no need for Muslim private schools and that they would be strengthening the isolation of Muslims. Frederiksen argued that “a school with a foundation in Islam is not part of the majority culture in Denmark.”³⁴ Bias against Muslims within the oppositional social democratic party intensified. This is also true for the conservatives in Austria. There, the then-leader of the conservatives and now chancellor, Sebastian Kurz, argued that there should not be any private Muslim kindergartens in the country.

Denying the Suffering

In many European countries, the very existence of Islamophobia itself is denied. In countries like Austria and Norway, leading journalists of editorial boards shift the focus from Islamophobia as a problem to Islamophobia as a “combat term,” arguing that the term itself is used by Islamists to delegitimize any debate on Islam and Muslims. Hence, there is a reluctance to use the term “Islamophobia” in the public sphere. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, there is a denial of the anti-Muslim genocide. Nationalist movements and even parts of the Croatian political establishment argue that the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina needs to be territorially divided in order to secure peace and security. Convictions such as in the case of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague fueled Islamophobia within these separatist and nationalist movements. Republika Srpska, continued its separatist policy in 2017 and was supported by visits from abroad, especially members of the right-wing Austrian FPÖ, which now forms a government with the conservative ÖVP.

33. Farid Hafez, “When Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia Join Hands”, retrieved March 24, 2018, from <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2017/08/anti-semitism-islamophobia-join-hands-170809084731114.html>.

34. Andreas Karker and Jacob Friberg, “Mette Frederiksen i brutalt opgør: Luk alle muslimske friskoler”, retrieved February 14, 2018, from: <https://www.b.dk/politiko/mette-frederiksen-i-brutalt-opgoer-luk-alle-muslimske-friskoler>.

The (Mis-)Use of Education and Academia

An unsubstantiated report on an alleged Muslim Brotherhood conspiracy to establish an Islamic State in Sweden was published by a Swedish state agency. The Administrative Court of Appeal later dismissed the report as of “highly limited” value. The author is a senior fellow at the Brussels-based think tank European Foundation for Democracy, which plays a central role in disseminating this conspiracy theory, which helps in defaming Muslim civil society actors. Also in Austria, a report was published on an alleged Muslim Brotherhood conspiracy by another senior policy advisor of the same think tank in cooperation with a state agency. The report had no serious impact, since it was presented a few days before the elections and did not receive major coverage due to other political scandals. The current chancellor of Austria Sebastian Kurz has been central in sponsoring ‘studies’ on Muslims in Austria (one on Muslim kindergartens, the other on mosques), which would serve his increasingly Islamophobic agenda. Also, Islamophobia is a threat, when good initiatives are legitimized for the wrong ends. Albanian Prime Minister Edi Rama defended the need for religious instruction in public schools with the prevention of the radicalization of young Muslims.

Online Islamophobia

Islamophobic groups are especially active on the Internet. Often, the Internet is where right-wing groups emerge before materializing in “real life.” Therefore, better regulations are needed in this sphere to combat the spread of Islamophobic content which is the main source in the radicalization of far-right terrorist groups or lone wolves.

Groups such as the explicitly Islamophobic Identitarian Movement that represents the postmodern face of the New Right, is active in countries like Slovenia, Hungary. Malta witnessed the emergence of its first far-right party, the Għaqda Patrijotti Maltin (Maltese Patriots). While doing poorly in elections, their media campaign and social media advertisements presented many Islamophobic statements. In countries with a negligible Muslim population like Latvia, Islamophobic attitudes are still mostly voiced on the Internet. In Italy, a significant research on intolerance based on an analysis of Twitter realized by Voxdiritti in 2016 ranked Muslims as the fourth most targeted group (6% of all tweets).³⁵

Legalizing Islamophobia

Early in 2017, the Austrian government, made up of social democrats and conservatives, passed a law that outlawed the veiling of the face. Romania followed

35. See VOX, “Ecco la nuova Mappa dell’Intolleranza”, retrieved March 24, 2018, from <http://www.voxdiritti.it/ecco-la-nuova-edizione-della-mappa-dellintolleranza>.

with a legislative proposal for the ban of face veiling in educational institutions initiated by the ruling People's Movement Party (PMP). The asserted aim was the prevention of violence and terrorism. The law was launched by 26 MPs from three parliamentary parties. Also, in Latvia, where – similar to Romania – there are nearly no Muslims, a draft law on the restriction of wearing a face veil was prepared by the Ministry of Justice in 2015 and is still under consideration. In Belgium, the parliament voted for limitations on ritual slaughter including the prohibition of Muslim halal slaughter. Also, a debate on a state takeover of the Grand Mosque of Belgium began. In a small village in Hungary, a mayor passed a law to ban the construction of mosques and minarets, the Muslim call for prayer, the chador, niqab, burqa, and burkini. The mayor argued that he wished to set a positive example for other Hungarian municipalities in order to guarantee the 'centuries-old traditions' of local communities in the face of mass migration to the country.³⁶ After massive protests in the entire country, the mayor had to withdraw the legislation for contradicting a number of basic rights guaranteed by the Hungarian Constitution.³⁷ In November 2017, however, the local council voted in favor of the same legislation that was amended after merely removing any words referring to Islam from the text. Also, the Dutch Christian-Democrats (CDA) included a ban on the financing of mosques from abroad and were wary of "radical Islam" in their campaign program.

In Finland, a citizens' initiative³⁸ was launched to amend a law in favor of a "Burka Ban." Among the initiators was Terhi Kiemunki,³⁹ a former member of the Finns Party, who was convicted of incitement to hatred due to texts on her blog defaming Muslims.⁴⁰ A spokesperson of the initiative was Jukka Ketonen, current chairman of the Finnish Defense League (FDL), who proclaims to be fighting against "Islamic extremism"⁴¹ and is known for other smaller initiatives such as demonstrations against "Islamization" before a school. In Denmark, a ban on full-face veils, a so-called "mask ban" (popularly referred to as the "niqab ban") was proposed by the Danish

36. HVG, "Toroczkai odacsap a bevándorlóknak: megtiltják a mecsetépítést Ásotthalmon", retrieved February 5, 2017, from http://hvg.hu/itthon/20161124_toroczkai_asotthalom_muszlim_tiltas.

37. HVG, "Elmeszelte Toroczkai rendeletét az Alkotmánybíróság", retrieved January 9, 2018, from http://hvg.hu/itthon/20170412_alkotmanybirosag_toroczkai_asotthalom.

38. "Initiative submitted by at least 50,000 Finnish citizens eligible to vote and containing the proposal that an act be enacted" as defined in "MOT Eduskuntasanasto," a multilingual parliamentary glossary, prepared jointly by parliament and the Government Terminology Service of the Prime Minister's Office, retrieved January 31, 2018, from <https://mot.kielikone.fi/mot/eduskuntasanasto/netmot?UI=fied&height=147>.

39. Cf. "Islamophobia in Finland: National Report 2016" in: Enes Bayraklı & Farid Hafez, *European Islamophobia Report 2016*, Istanbul, SETA, 2017.

40. For a detailed description of Terhi Kiemunki's court case, see Ibid.

41. Homepage of the Finnish Defense League, retrieved January 31, 2018, from <http://www.fdl.fi/about/>.

People's Party following the verdict by the European Court of Human Rights.⁴² This initiative was not only supported by the right wing, but also the Social Democrats and the Danish Social Liberal Party, arguing that they would, thus, empower Muslim women. There is also a law prohibiting male circumcision under way in Denmark.

Terrorist Attacks against Muslims

In Europe, the largest number of attacks which could conclusively be affiliated to terrorist organizations were carried out by racists, nationalists and separatist extremists (99), followed by left-wing extremist attacks (27). Nevertheless, Jihadist terrorist attacks (13) and the general Muslim population in Europe associated with it are largely seen as the greatest threat to European societies.⁴³ Irresponsible politicians and media play their part in supporting this trend.

There are worrying signs of far-right terrorist groups and lone wolf far-right terrorists increasing their activities and targeting Muslims in Europe. Attacks against mosques and Muslim institutions have become a daily routine. For instance, according to the DITIB in Germany there were 101 attacks on mosques throughout 2017. However, the attacks against Muslims, persons who are perceived as Muslims, and persons who are vocal in their support for Muslim or refugee rights are becoming more and more frequent and violent. In Germany, the government registered around 908 hate crimes in 2017 against German Muslims, ranging from verbal to physical attacks and murder attempts. As a result of these Islamophobic attacks in Europe, there are already victims of Islamophobic terrorist attacks who have either been killed or severely injured. Below we have summarized the most important attacks in 2017.

On the night of April 15, 2017, the 22-year-old Egyptian student Shaden Mohamed al-Gohary was killed in a hit-and-run incident in Cottbus, Germany. The most shocking part is that while she lay injured on the street, people started insulting her in racist ways, believing she was a refugee. The attackers eventually came back on foot and said things like "Well, they gotta check the street first, since they don't have streets at home. They should fuck off to their damn country."

In Germany, the conservative mayor of Altena, Andreas Hollstein, known for his welcoming stance towards refugees was stabbed in the neck and seriously injured in a knife attack at a kebab restaurant.⁴⁴

42. Lizzie Dearden, "European Court of Human Rights Upholds Belgium's Ban on Burqas and Full-Face Islamic Veils," retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/belgium-burqa-ban-upheld-european-court-of-human-rights-dakir-v-full-face-islamic-veils-headscarf-a7835156.html>.

43. EUROPOL, "European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report 2017: European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation 2017", retrieved March 24, 2018, from www.europol.europa.eu.

44. Samuel Osborne, "German Pro-refugee Mayor Stabbed in Politically-Motivated Knife Attack", retrieved March 25, 2018, from <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/germany-pro-refugee-mayor-andreas-hollstein-altena-knife-attack-politically-motivated-angela-merkel-a8079806.html>.

In Sweden, three members of the national socialist Nordic Resistance Movement were sentenced to up to eight-and-a-half years in prison. The trio was found guilty of bombings of two refugee housings and a libertarian socialist trade union office in Gothenburg, which severely wounded one person. They were trained in urban guerrilla warfare by a Russian radical nationalist and anti-Muslim paramilitary organization. The perpetrators were influenced by Islamophobic and anti-Semitic discourse, which was clear in a recorded video prayer to All-Father Odin in which they vowed to “retake our land” and “take the fight against you who have defiled our country.” “Oh Jew, oh Muslim / We Norsemen have awakened / You should fear us / We are coming after you / The rage of the Norsemen thunder / Be assured / Oh, Jew and Muslim / The Norsemen are coming after you.”⁴⁵ The fact that Islamophobia goes hand in hand with other forms of racism, such as anti-Semitism in this case, should be a symbolic reminder for those, who are aware of European history.⁴⁶ Beyond this example of a right-wing extremist movement, the case of Hungary, where the ruling Fidesz party mobilizes against George Soros while portraying him as a conspirator alongside Muslims to change the European population,⁴⁷ reveals again that racism will eventually target every minority.

On September 27, 2017, four members of the banned neo-Nazi group National Action in the UK were arrested on suspicion of preparing and instigating acts of terrorism. According to the UK's Defense Ministry some of them were soldiers serving in the British army.⁴⁸

In Germany, two supporters of a neo-Nazi terrorist group were arrested on January 14 after 155 kg of explosives were discovered in their home.⁴⁹ On April 27, a German soldier posing as a Syrian refugee was arrested for allegedly planning a “false flag” shooting attack against politicians that would be blamed on asylum seekers.⁵⁰

On October 17, 2017, 10 far-right militants were arrested by French anti-terrorist police in France. According to the TV station M6, they were suspected of

45. Nationella åklagarmyndigheten, Ansökan om stämning, Ärende AM-8443-17, Inkom 2017-06-09MÅLNr: B 618-17, AKTBIL: 206; Säkerhetspolisen, Huvudprotokoll, dnr 0105-K98-16 0105-K8-17 0105-K9-17, Inkom 2017-06-09.

46. Farid Hafez, “Comparing Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia: The State of the Field”, *Islamophobia Studies Journal*, Volume 3, Issue 2, Spring 2016, pp. 16-34.

47. Farid Hafez, “When Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia Join Hands”, retrieved March 24, 2018, from <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2017/08/anti-semitism-islamophobia-join-hands-170809084731114.html>.

48. DW, “Serving British Soldiers among Neo-Nazi Terror Suspects Arrested in UK”, retrieved March 24, 2018, from <http://www.dw.com/en/serving-british-soldiers-among-neo-nazi-terror-suspects-arrested-in-uk/a-40370114>.

49. Lizzie Dearden, “German Police Investigating Neo-Nazi Terror Plot after Bomb Branded with Swastika Discovered”, retrieved March 24, 2018, from <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/germany-neo-nazi-right-wing-extremism-terror-plot-attack-refugees-oldschool-society-explosives-a7527116.html>.

50. Lizzie Dearden, “German Soldier Posing as a Syrian Refugee Arrested for Planning False Flag Terror Attack”, retrieved March 24, 2018, from <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/german-soldier-syria-refugee-false-flag-terror-attack-posing-arrested-frankfurt-france-bavaria-a7705231.html>.

planning attacks on French politicians and on Muslim places of worship.⁵¹

In Russia, between 2012 and 2016, five imams were killed in the Stavropol region. The cases remain unresolved to this day. All the assassinated imams were involved in civic activism and they openly resisted the prohibition of the hijab in the Stavropol region.

On June 19, 2017, a man drove his van deliberately into a crowd of Muslim worshippers leaving the north London Finsbury Park Mosque. As a result of this attack, one person was killed and eleven were injured.

In Poland, a Pakistani Muslim man was severely beaten by a group of men in Ozorków on January 3, 2017. On April 8, 2017, three Pakistani Muslim men were severely beaten in Swidwin Polan.

Threatening the Religious Infrastructure

More than two decades after the Agreements of 1992 between the Islamic communities and the Spanish state, basic rights such as access to religious education or the possibility of burying the Muslim dead in an Islamic cemetery have not been put into practice in most of the Spanish regions; small steps, however, are being taken in this sense. In Malta, there were debates about the legitimacy of teaching Islam to Muslim pupils.

In Slovakia, there has been a parliamentary debate on a draft law that toughened the registration of churches and religious communities and a draft has been submitted by members of the government of the Slovak National Party (SNS). This trend of discrimination against Muslims, who are a small minority in Slovakia and thus directly affected by these amendments, has been noticed by the U.S. Department of State, which in its report on religious freedom in the world noted the disparity in the approach to religious rights in the country. Today, it is impossible for the Muslim community to become an officially registered religious community in Slovakia.

In Greece, three mosques located inside non-governmental organizations belonging to members of the Muslim Turkish minority were closed by the Greek police - one of them had existed for 12 years. Officially, the closures were due to the lack of the necessary permissions to function a house of prayer inside the premises.

In Bulgaria, an indifference from the part of governments to the religious needs of Muslims can be observed. There is a lack of funding by the state be it in the area of religious education, Muslims' attempts to develop a cultural-religious center, or the blocking of Muslims' attempts to regain property ownership of *waqf* properties. Also, many Muslim religious employees, which were formerly and legally paid by the Turkish government, had to leave their jobs because the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria unilaterally cancelled the treaty between Bulgaria and Turkey and did not

51. The Strait Times, "French Police Arrest 10 Far-Right Militants", retrieved March 24, 2018, from <http://www.straitstimes.com/world/europe/10-arrested-in-france-over-suspected-plot-to-kill-politicians-probe-source>.

inform the representatives of the Office of the Grand Mufti, which faced a structural crisis after being informed three months later.

On a European level, the European Citizens' Initiative against Extremism (Stop Extremism) was founded and recognized on June 7, 2017 by the European Commission. Among its initiators are Seyran Ates and Efgani Dönmez, who are known for their notorious Islamophobic positions. Supporters include well-known Islamophobes such as Abdel-Hakim Ourghi, Ralph Ghadban, Saida Keller-Messahli, and Necla Kelek. The initiative, which came under criticism when leaks by the weekly *Falter* revealed that more than 20,000 Euros, the budget specified by the EU Commission, could potentially be used to restrict Muslims' religious activities. Stop Extremism calls for "the introduction of a joint, EU-wide watch list to which individuals and organizations with an extremist background could be added" as well as for the introduction of an "Extremism-free" certification for organizations and businesses.⁵² Initiatives like this seem to target specifically Muslims, not extremists, and to restrain their scope of activities, which ultimately reflects already existing restrictions as discussed above.

Steps Forward and Policy Recommendations

The picture presented here shows us that there is an urgent need to counter these developments. And there is room for hope. Critical assessment of the current situation regarding Muslims in Europe is growing within parts of civil society. Not only are there more and more institutions that are working to bring attention to the rise in hate crime towards Muslims such as the Spain-based Observatorio de la Islamofobia en los Medios⁵³ but there are also favorable developments such as in the Norwegian justice system which has developed positive steps regarding monitoring and convicting cases involving hate speech or discrimination against Muslims. Also, the German Federal Police has made a first important institutional step to combatting Islamophobia by documenting it: for the first time, Islamophobia has been included as a category of hate crime.

There are more and more politicians, who dare to openly speak out against the threat of Islamophobia. President of the Slovak Republic Andrej Kiska stood up for Muslims in his New Year's speech. Also, Austrian President Alexander Van der Bellen took a stance of solidarity with Muslim women wearing the hijab. Finnish Prime Minister Juha Sipilä called people not to respond to "hate with hate"⁵⁴ in the aftermath of the stabbings by a Muslim citizen, which led to increased harassment, violent physical attacks as well as acts of vandalism against Muslim properties van-

52. Stop Extremism, "Six Actions That We Demand to Secure a Safer Europe", retrieved March 24, 2018, from <https://www.en.stopextremism.eu/about>.

53. Observatorio de la Islamofobia en los medios, <http://www.observatorioislamofobia.org/>.

54. Tuulia Thynell, "Pääministeri Sipilä: Teko oli raukkamainen ja tuomittava, mutta vihaan ei pidä vastata vihalla", retrieved January 31, 2018, from <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-9786182>.

dalism towards Muslims.⁵⁵ These examples of political courage give hope that there still exist reasonable politicians, who look beyond their ephemeral political careers, keeping the good of the whole of society in mind. With an increase of alternative right-wing media and social media bubbles as well as a general swing to the right, hate speech is becoming more and more normalised. In an especially extreme incident in the Czech Republic, children in a primary school in the city of Teplice were threatened with death in gas chambers; the class was comprised predominantly of children of Arab or Romani origin. Such incidents call for an unambiguous reaction on behalf of politicians and opinion leaders.

The authors of every respective national report have suggested specific recommendations regarding the country they have covered. This will support all those forces within European societies, who work towards a more equal society and fight every form of racism. The editors of the *EIR* support the following recommendations which were made by the OSCE ODIHR office, the FRA, the ENAR, the European Coalition against Islamophobia, and other NGOs:

- In the face of the increased and generalized suspicion and marginalization of Muslims in the post-terrorist attacks and migration contexts and the deep impact the former have had on Muslims' lives, including newly arrived migrants, the recognition of the specific form of racism targeting Muslims (or those perceived as such) is crucial.
- The misconceptions and demonization surrounding the fight against Islamophobia and visible Muslims, in general, need to be challenged; data, facts and concrete solutions need to be visible in order to improve the recognition of Islamophobia and influence policy changes.
- This should lead to informed anti-racism/anti-discrimination policies and support the implementation of anti-discrimination legislation on the national and European levels. EU institutions need to recognize and address Islamophobia politically as a form of racism that can lead to human rights violations.
- While the issue of Islamophobia has gained more visibility in recent years at the EU level, there is a clear need for stronger actions that will materialize recognition into concrete political actions.
- Considering their competence on the issue of anti-racism and non-discrimination, EU institutions have the possibility to support progress and change in this area. The appointment of the European Commission's coordinator on combatting anti-Muslim hatred following the European Commission's 2015 colloquium on anti-Semitism and anti-Muslim hatred has created a momentum for the EU to act.

55. Marjaana Varmavuori/Maija Aalto, "16-vuotias somalittttö pahoinpideltiin kotirapussa, parturi uhattiin tappaa – maahanmuuttajat kertovat, että täysin sivullisia uhkaillaan nyt väkivallalla Turun tapahtumien vuoksi", retrieved January 31, 2018, from <https://www.hs.fi/kaupunki/art-2000005336689.html>.

- The legal and political recognition of Islamophobia is of utmost importance. Therefore, a European-level conference on Islamophobia should be organized with the support of at least one EU Member State or the European Parliament.
- In this context, the European Parliament should adopt a resolution on combating Islamophobia with concrete policy recommendations and ways forward - as it did to combat anti-Semitism and anti-Gypsyism.
- The adoption of EU standards for National Action Plans against Racism that take into account specific forms of racism, and include specific measures on Islamophobia with objectives and targets is necessary.
- EU member states should adopt national action plans against racism addressing Islamophobia as a specific form of racism.
- The European Commission should develop a roadmap detailing main policy instruments, issues and examples of good practice by Member States. This would function as a standard document that would be the basis for concrete operational objectives and action plans for the EU coordinator on combating anti-Muslim hatred.
- The European Commission's coordinator on anti-Muslim hatred should develop a clear action plan for combatting Islamophobia.
- A high-level roundtable should be organized with the European Commission's coordinator on anti-Muslim hatred and NGOs on the issue of Islamophobia.
- Europe needs courageous leaders and activists who can confront the Islamophobic discourses and narratives in the age of rising far-right parties.
- A Guidance handbook should be developed on the collection methodology of hate crime data for EU Member States in order to ensure that Islamophobia is duly recorded according to the victims' and witnesses' perceptions and lived experiences; other bias indicators should be included in the data collection as well.
- The recording of anti-Muslim/Islamophobic crimes as a separate category of hate crime by the police is essential to uncover the real extent of this problem and to develop counter-strategies to combat it.
- Muslim women's access to employment should be improved since they are the most discriminated group among Muslims. Gender equality departments and the corresponding committees of EU institutions should give specific attention to situations of discrimination affecting Muslim women by documenting the issue and pushing for specific programs and measures to combat it.
- While protecting free speech, developing good guidelines to tackle online hate speech and considering primary legislation to deal with social media offences and online hate speech are also vital since the Internet plays an important role in the spread of Islamophobic discourses and also in the radicalization of far-right terrorists.

- Discrimination in the workplace should be tackled to address the low level of economic activity among Muslims through targeted interventions at the stages of recruitment, job retention, and promotion.
- Preserving the Human Rights Act and the protection of minority rights including religious slaughter, circumcision and the wearing of religious attire or symbols are imperative for a multicultural Europe.
- Counter-terrorism policies should work with Muslim communities, not against them, in the so-called “de-radicalization” programs. These programs should also incorporate the fight against far-right and far-left terrorist groups and should not only target Muslims.

ISLAMOPHOBIA IN NUMBERS

- The overwhelming majority of European states do not record Islamophobic incidents as a separate category of hate crime. The recording of anti-Muslim/Islamophobic crimes by the police as a separate category of hate crime is essential to uncover the real extent of this problem and to develop counter-strategies to combat it.
- In the EU, only 12% of Muslims who have been discriminated against report their cases to the authorities. (Source: FRA) The non-exhaustive list that follows hints at the extent of underreporting of anti-Muslim hate crimes in Europe by states and NGOs, which has serious implications regarding the awareness of Muslims and the bureaucracy to tackle these issues.

DENMARK

In 2016, **56** Islamophobic incidents were reported. 20% of the all hate crime committed in 2016 targeted Muslims, while the group make up 5% of the general population, making Muslims the most targeted minority.

(Source: National Police)

BELGIUM

In the month following the terror attacks in Brussels, **36** Islamophobic incidents were recorded. (Source: CCIB).

AUSTRIA

256 Islamophobic incidents were documented.

(Source: EIR Report, Antidiscrimination Office Styria, ZARA, and Initiative for a Discrimination-Free Education [IDB]).



FRANCE

- **121** Islamophobic incidents were reported.
(Source: Observatory of Islamophobia)
- **19** Muslim places of worship were closed by the government;
749 individuals were placed under house arrest;
over **4,500** police raids were conducted;
and the list of individuals under government surveillance
has reached **25,000**.
- **17,393** individuals were enrolled in the Terrorism
Prevention Database (FSPRT).

GERMANY

- **100** attacks occurred on mosques.
(Source: DITIB and German State)
- **908** attacks took place targeting German Muslims.
- **60%** of all Muslim teaching staff felt discriminated.
(Source: Karim Fereidooni)
- There were **1,906** criminal attacks on refugees
(5.2 attacks per day).
- There were **286** attacks against refugee shelters
(0.8 attacks per day).
- **132** criminal acts and physical attacks against
(refugee) aid workers occurred (0.4 attacks per day).
(Source: German state)

MALTA

- **7%** of Muslims have experienced physical violence.
- **25%** of Muslims have experienced harassment.



NORWAY

- In 2017, **14%** of Muslims experienced harassment.

NETHERLANDS

- **364** incidents of discrimination against Muslims occurred in 2016.

(Source: Verwey Jonker Institute and Anne Frank Foundation)

POLAND

- In 2017, Muslims were the most targeted group representing **20%** of all hate crime cases.
(Source: National Prosecutor's Office)
- Between January and October 2017, there were **664** hate crime proceedings regarding attacks against Muslims.
(Source: Ministry of Interior)
- **193** (29%) of those proceedings resulted in an indictment.
(Source: Ministry of Interior)

SWEDEN

- In 2016, **439** hate crimes with Islamophobic motives were recorded.
(Source: Swedish Crime Survey-NTU)

UNITED KINGDOM

- The terrorist attack in Manchester in May resulted in a **fivefold increase** in Islamophobic hate crime in the Greater Manchester region.
(Source: Greater Manchester Police)
- Hate crime cases targeting Muslims in Greater London for the entire year of 2017 increased to **1,204** from **1,678** in the previous year, which is equal to a 40% rise.
(Source: Scotland Yard)
- Between March and July 2017, the number of **attacks on mosques** climbed to **110** from **47** in the previous year.
(Source: Tell MAMA UK)
- In 2016, **1,223** cases of Islamophobic attacks were reported to Tell MAMA. Twenty percent of these incidents involve physical attacks; **56%** of the victims were women, while two-thirds of the perpetrators were men.

SPAIN

- In 2017, **546** attacks took place against Muslims.
(Source: Plataforma Ciudadana contra la Islamofobia)

ISLAMOPHOBIA IN
ROMANIA
NATIONAL REPORT 2017

BOGDAN GHENEA

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Executive Summary

Almost 65,000 Muslims live in Romania accounting for 0.34% of the total population. The presence and integration of Muslims in Romania remains, as with immigration as a whole, a marginal issue on the political and public agenda. National and international developments during the last two years have facilitated a growing trend of racism and discrimination in Romania. According to 2016 data, 84.6% of Romanians were against refugees or immigrants settling in Romania while in a 2017 study, 24% of respondents were against Arabs coming to Romania, a 6% increase compared to 2015.

The so-called European refugee crisis and the government's decision to approve the building of a large mosque in Bucharest in 2015 were the most high profile and divisive issues concerning Muslims in the last three years in Romania. Protests against refugees and Muslims were organized by small nationalistic parties during this period and media coverage used stereotypical depictions of Muslims and over-emphasized the "Islamic threat."

During 2017, Islamophobic and anti-immigrant articles and campaigns were registered, especially in nationalist and tabloid media outlets, while activities in cyberspace of anti-Islam activists and sympathizers of extremist political parties continued to spread hate speech towards Muslims.

Hate crimes and cases of incitement of hatred remain underreported. Few official complaints are made compared to the large number of people reportedly experiencing incidents of racial/ethnic or religious discrimination. Moreover, public authorities in Romania don't collect disaggregated data on hate crimes and other type of violence directed at immigrants.

The most significant development affecting Muslims in education during the reporting period is the legislative proposal launched by 26 MPs for banning face covering with any material that prevents physiognomical recognition in educational institutions. At the time of writing this report the proposal was up for review in the Parliament.

During 2017 there were no registered employment-related incidents regarding Muslims. Studies have pointed out, however, that as the population's attitude has become more intolerant towards immigrants, particularly Muslims, immigrants who have cultural and historical ties with Romania are perceived as being favoured in the labour market.

Sumar

Aproximativ 65.000 de musulmani locuiesc in Romania, reprezentand 0.34% din populatia tarii. La fel ca si in cazul problematiei imigratiei, prezenta si integrarea musulmanilor in Romania continua sa ramana o tema marginala pe agenda politica si publica.

Evenimentele interne si internationale din ultimii doi ani au dus la accentuarea atitudinilor rasiste si a discriminarii in Romania. Potrivit unui studiu din 2016, 84.6% dintre romani s-au declarat a fi impotriva stabilirii refugiatilor sau imigrantilor in Romania, in timp ce datele unui studiu din 2017 au relevat ca 24% dintre respondenti nu ar dori ca arabi sa se stabileasca in Romania, cu 6% mai multi fata de 2015.

Criza europeana a refugiatilor si decizia guvernului Romaniei de a aproba construirea unei moschei de dimensiuni mari in Bucuresti in anul 2015, au reprezentat cele mai importante si divizante teme care au afectat musulmanii in ultimii trei ani in Romania. In aceasta perioada au fost organizate proteste impotriva refugiatilor si musulmanilor de catre partide politice nationaliste, iar mass-media a subliniat cu precadare potentialele efecte negative ale prezentei musulmanilor in Romania in relatarile sale.

In 2017 au fost semnalate articole si campanii media indreptate impotriva musulmanilor si imigrantilor, indeosebi in publicatiile nationaliste si de tip tabloid, in timp ce in spatiul virtual simpatizanti ai partidelor extremiste si activisti anti-Islam au continuat sa raspandeasca un discurs instigator la ura.

Cazurile de infractiuni motivate de ura nu au fost raportate suficient, fiind inregistrate putine plangeri penale comparativ cu numarul persoanelor care au reclamat faptul ca au fost victime ale discriminarii etnice, rasiale sau religioase. Mai mult, Romania nu inregistreaza date dezagregate privind infractiunile motivate de ura sau alte tipuri de acte de violenta indreptate impotriva imigrantilor.

Propunerea legislativa lansata de catre 26 de parlamentari pentru interzicerea acoperirii fetei cu orice fel de material care ar putea impiedica recunoasterea fizionomiei in institutiile educationale, a reprezentat cea mai importanta initiativa din 2017 care are ca tinta musulmanii din Romania. La data scrierii acestui raport, propunerea urmeaza a fi dezbatuta in Parlament. De-a lungul anului nu au fost inregistrate incidente privind musulmanii in domeniul muncii. Diferite studii au indicat insa ca atitudinea populatiei a devenit mai intoleranta fata de imigranti, indesosebi musulmani, iar imigrantii care au legaturi culturale si istorice mai apropiate cu Romania au fost perceputi ca fiind favorizati pe piata muncii.

Introduction

Romania features mostly as a country of emigration, making immigration a non-issue on the agenda of political parties, which remain silent on the subject. Not being a Schengen member state and being bypassed on the main migration route from Turkey to Central Europe, coupled with poor social services and a low income level, has made Romania an unattractive destination for migrants. This is the main reason for the constantly low number of asylum seekers and third-country nationals. The presence and integration of immigrants in Romanian society remains marginal in the political and public debates.

According to data in the 2011 Census,¹ 86.45% of the population were Eastern Orthodox, 4.6% were Roman Catholic, and 3.19% were Reformed Protestants. Muslims accounted for 0.34% of the population. Islam is one of the 18 registered religious denominations specified in Romanian law.² According to the 2011 Census there were 64,337 registered Muslims in Romania, 49,795 of whom were living in urban settlements. The largest Islamic community is that of Turks and Tartars: 20,561 Turks and 14,376 Tartars live in urban areas, and 6,342 Turks and 5,684 Tartars are registered in the villages of southern Romania. Most Muslims are located in the county of Constanta (43,279) and Bucharest (9,037).

Although Muslims represent under 1% of the total population, extensive media reporting during the last two years on the European debate on so-called refugee crisis, the terrorist attacks in European countries, and populist speeches by politicians have shifted the coverage towards underlining the dangers posed by immigrants. The results of a 2016 survey indicated that over 84.6% of respondents were against refugees or immigrants settling in Romania.³ Moreover, a 2017 survey on the perception of interethnic relations in Romania noted a significant increase in the percentage of Romanians who feel that Arabs should not come to Romania (24% in 2017 vs. 18% in 2015).⁴

1. National Institute for Statistics, "2011 Census – Religion", October 2013, retrieved Dec. 10, 2017 from http://www.insse.ro/cms/files/publicatii/pliante%20statistice/08-Recensamintele%20despre%20religie_n.pdf.

2. Law 489/2006 on Religious Freedom and the General Status of Religions, Jan. 8, 2007, retrieved Dec. 1, 2017 from: <https://legeaz.net/monitorul-oficial-201-2014/legea-489-2006-libertatea>.

3. Mirela Bărbulescu, "INSCOP Survey: 84,6% of Romanians Are against Refugees/Immigrants Settling in Romania (Sondaj INSCOP: 84,6% dintre români nu sunt de acord ca refugiații/ imigranții să se stabilească în România)", *Agerpres*, April 18, 2016, retrieved Dec. 2, 2017 from <https://www.agerpres.ro/social/2016/04/18/sondaj-inscop-84-6-dintre-romani-nu-sunt-de-acord-ca-refugiatii-imigrantii-sa-se-stabileasca-in-romania-12-08-39>.

4. Institutul Național pentru Studierea Holocaustului din România "Elie Wiesel", "Opinion Poll on the Holocaust and Perception of Interethnic Relations in Romania (Sondaj de opinie privind Holocaustul din România și percepția relațiilor interetnice)", October 2017, retrieved Nov. 11, 2017 from http://www.inshr-ew.ro/ro/files/Kantar_TNS_Raport_INSHR_2017.pdf.

Significant Incidents and Developments

There were no major legal developments affecting the rights of Muslims in 2017. The most significant development was registered in December 2017 when a group of 26 MPs from three parliamentary parties (Partidul Miscarea Populara (Popular Movement Party) - PMP, Partidul Alianta Liberalilor si Democratilor (Aliance of Liberals and Democrats Party) -ALDE and Partidul National Liberal (National Liberal Party) - PNL) initiated a legislative proposal banning face covering with any material that prevents physiognomical recognition in educational institutions for the prevention of violence and terrorism. If the law passes, the *burka*, *niqab* or other clothing used to cover the face for cultural (religious or ethnic) or other reasons, except for medical purposes, will be banned in educational institutions. Whoever does not comply with these rules will not have free access to schools or universities and could be fined up to 50,000 lei (10,000 Euro).⁵

Critics of the proposal have pointed out that there are very few women in Romania who wear such coverings.⁶ Furthermore, the president of the national equality body has stated that “the association of the Islamic veil with terrorism is a proof of hate speech against a minority culture in Romania”.⁷

High level politicians have made discriminatory statements about ethnic minorities for gaining political capital during the reporting period. The national equality body, namely the National Council for Combating Discrimination (NCCD), has been active in addressing high profile discrimination cases and taking public positions against racist and populist conduct, thus significantly increasing its visibility. However, the NCCD so far has not developed an operational mechanism to monitor infringements of the legislation or compliance with its decisions. Hence it is difficult to assess the effectiveness of its mandate and the effectiveness of its sanctions.

5. Chamber of Deputies, “Legislative Proposal for the Modification and Completion of National Education Law nr. 1/2011” (Propunere legislativa pentru modificarea și completarea Legii educației naționale nr.1/2011), Dec. 18, 2017, retrieved Dec. 23, 2017 from http://www.cdep.ro/pls/proiecte/upl_pck.proiect?cam=2&idp=16761.

6. According to Islamic studies expert Alina Isak Alak there are only a handful of women wearing the Islamic veil in Romanian educational institutions. Another expert, Fatma Yılmaz, has pointed out that according to data received from the Ministry of Internal Affairs no person wearing the Islamic veil has been registered while issuing ID documentation. See: Florinela Iosip, “Antiburka Law in Romanian Schools: Measure of Security or Manifestation of Hate towards Islam? (Lege antiburka în școlile din România: măsură pentru siguranță sau o manifestare a urii față de islam?)”, *Adevarul*, Dec. 22, 2017, retrieved Dec. 27, 2017 from http://adevarul.ro/educatie/scoala/lege-antiburka-scolile-romania-masura-siguranta-manifestare-urii-fata-islam--1_5a3bdf44d7af743f8d957e58/index.html.

There were no other figures on women wearing the Islamic veil in Romania in the sources consulted.

7. Florinela Iosip, “Antiburka Law in Romanian Schools: Measure of Security or Manifestation of Hate towards Islam? (Lege antiburka în școlile din România: măsură pentru siguranță sau o manifestare a urii față de islam?)”, *Adevarul*, Dec. 22, 2017, retrieved Dec. 27, 2017 from http://adevarul.ro/educatie/scoala/lege-antiburka-scolile-romania-masura-siguranta-manifestare-urii-fata-islam--1_5a3bdf44d7af743f8d957e58/index.html.

Discussion of Islamophobic Incidents and Discursive Events

Politics

Discriminatory statements and negative attitudes towards Muslims were mostly related to discussions about the refugee flow and their integration, and the building of a mosque in Bucharest. This topic decreased in intensity during the reporting period and no new developments have been registered.

During campaigning for local elections in June 2016, leading Bucharest mayoral candidates argued for a referendum on the mosque. Mayor Gabriela Firea of the Social Democratic Party (*Partidul Social Democrat*, PSD), who won the elections, supported a referendum.⁸ Politicians, including former President Traian Basescu, criticized the government's decision to allocate an 11,000-square-meter piece of land in Bucharest to the Muslim community for the construction of a mosque. The former president called the mosque "a risk to national security," also stating that the number of Muslims in Bucharest did not justify the mosque, and that "part of the Islamization of Europe is building mosques everywhere."⁹ Nationalist organizations like the New Right (*Noua Dreapta*) sponsored street protests that were low in turnout and impact.

Justice System

Based on the sources consulted, no information on racially motivated violence and incidents directed at Muslims could be found during the reporting period. Representatives of NGOs who were interviewed mentioned that public authorities in Romania don't collect disaggregated data on hate crimes and other type of violence directed at Muslims. The last report by the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) also raised concerns about Romania's data collection activity when it comes to hate crimes. Of all the EU member states, Romania was the only one which does not collect data according to the alleged motivation of the crime (sex/gender, ethnic affiliation, sexual orientation, disability, etc.).

The absence of information on hate crimes must be seen from the point of view of the authorities' obligations towards the victims of such crimes, and from the perspec-

8. Euractiv, "Firea: Mosque in Bucharest Only After Local Referendum/Orban: I Won't Authorize Ponta's Mosque" (Firea: Moschee în București doar după un referendum local/Orban: Nu voi autoriza moscheea lui Ponta), *Euractiv*, March 25, 2016, retrieved Nov. 23, 2017 from <http://www.euractiv.ro/politic-intern/firea-despre-construirea-unei-moschei-la-bucuresti-doar-dupa-un-referendum-local-3920>.

9. Gandul, "Basescu Doesn't Want a Mosque in Bucharest and Sends Iohannis to Become a Mufti at Sibiu. 'Romania Must Remain Christian'" (Băsescu nu vrea moschee la București și-l trimite pe Iohannis să se facă muftiu la Sibiu. „România trebuie să rămână creștină”), *Gandul*, Feb. 26, 2016, retrieved Nov. 26, 2017 from <http://www.gandul.info/politica/basescu-nu-vrea-moschee-la-bucuresti-si-l-trimite-pe-iohannis-sa-se-faca-muftiu-la-sibiu-romania-trebuie-sa-ramana-crestina-15154001>.

tive of combating the phenomenon as such.¹⁰ The absence of any data collection on hate crimes on the part of the Romanian

justice systems reflects the lack of

interest for the phenomena. Although reports on the activity of the police, prosecution and courts are published each year, these documents do not include data on hate crimes.¹¹

The OSCE ODIHR's (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) reporting on hate crime in Romania also illustrates the shortage of data.¹² (Fig. 1) No information is available for 2017 while the only incident recorded against Muslims was the March 2016 assault on two young Muslim women in Bucharest for wearing the *hijab*. (See Physical and Verbal Attacks section for details).

Employment

Migrant workers in Romania have different experiences when it comes to abuse, exploitation and differential treatment. Several have reported illegal behavior related to individual employment contracts (not having a contract, having fewer working hours registered in the contracts or lower payment recorded in the contract, not being paid for overtime work or delays in receiving their salary) or cases of exploitation (for instance, having to work for longer than 12 hours per day with no weekly rest days). Job scarcity, low wages, lack of language proficiency, and lack of recognized academic degrees and other certifications often result in unemployment or employment without a legal contract and its related benefits and protections.

As the population's attitude has become more intolerant towards immigrants, particularly Muslims, NGOs have pointed out that immigrants with more cultural and historical affinities with Romania (such as those coming from Moldova) are viewed as being more privileged than other groups in the labour market. This is also true for more educated immigrants and those who speak English.

Year	Hate crimes recorded by police	Prosecuted	Sentenced
2016	10	21	50
2015	15	24	59
2014	25	20	Not available
2013	Not available	4	Not available
2012	Not available	Not available	Not available

Figure 1: OSCE ODIHR data on hate crimes.

10. EU Agency for Fundamental Rights, *Making Hate Crime Visible in the European Union: Acknowledging Victims' Rights*, 2012, p. 8, retrieved Dec. 2, 2017 from http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2012_hate-crime.pdf.

11.The lack of data collection was also highlighted by the Center for Legal Resources in its report 'Combating Guide for Hate Crimes Practitioners and Decision-makers' (2015). The report is available at <http://www.crj.ro/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Combating-hate-crimes.-Guide-for-practitioners-and-decision-makers.pdf>.

12.Data on Romania's hate crime reporting to the OSCE ODIHR is available at <http://hatecrime.osce.org/romania> (retrieved Dec. 15, 2017).

A recent study on discrimination of immigrants in Romania which interviewed 30 third-country nationals pointed out that some racist or xenophobic attitudes, especially towards individuals with a different skin colour or those coming from the Middle East, can result in limiting the immigrants' access to certain professions.¹³ Also, interviewed persons who had or have small businesses (especially Arabs) complained about being a preferred target for controls by the Financial Guard.¹⁴ Given the low number of immigrants interviewed and the lack of comprehensive data and studies on exploitation of migrant workers in Romania, we should be careful in drawing conclusions.

Education

Discrimination in educational institutions is rarely observed due to the small number of Muslims. However, incidents were recorded when certain university lecturers inappropriately commented on Islam-related matters.

In October 2017, a professor of Political Science at the University of Bucharest was accused of discrimination after asking a Muslim student not to wear the Islamic veil during class. The professor has stated that he is determined to collect 100,000 signatures for a legislative initiative that will ban the symbols of any religion in public institutions.¹⁵ The Turkish minority representative in Parliament, Husein Ibraim, has filed a complaint against the professor at the National Council for Combating Discrimination. In December 2017, a legislative proposal for banning face covering with any material that prevents physiognomical recognition in educational institutions was launched by 26 MPs.

Media

Although events related to the so-called migration and refugee crisis are often portrayed in the Romanian media as distant and foreign to Romanian society, terrorist attacks in European countries and populist politicians' speeches have shifted the coverage towards underlining the dangers posed by the so-called refugee crisis.¹⁶

The media discourses in Romania, just as in many other Western media, over-emphasize the "Islamic threat" by perpetuating the idea of the imminent "Muslim invasion" and its "dangerous impact" on the European Union.

13. Luciana Lazarescu (et al.), *Discrimination, Abuse and Exploitation: Immigrants' Access to Civil Rights* (Intre discriminare, abuz si exploatare. Accesul imigrantilor la drepturi civile), October 2015, p. 52, retrieved Nov. 11, 2017 from http://sar.org.ro/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/DIM_Raport-cercetare_final_26_10_15.pdf.

14. Luciana Lazarescu (et. al.), *The Impact of Immigration upon the Romanian Labour Market* (Impactul Imigratiei asupra Pietei Muncii din Romania), 2016, p. 100, retrieved Nov. 15, 2017 from http://eminet.cdcdi.ro/sites/default/files/arps/EMINET_Raport%20Impactul%20migratiei%20pe%20piata%20muncii.pdf.

15. Stirile ProTv, "University Professor Accused of Discrimination of a Muslim Student" (Profesor de la Universitate, acuzat de discriminare la adresa unei studente musulmane), *Stirile ProTv*, Nov. 2, 2017, retrieved Dec. 12, 2017 from <http://stirileprotv.ro/stiri/actualitate/un-profesor-de-la-universitatea-bucurec-ti-e-acuzat-de-discriminare-la-adresa-unei-studente-musulmane-ce-i-a-cerut.html>.

16. This is especially true for the position of former President of Romania Traian Basescu.

Once the so-called refugee crisis decreased in intensity, the attention of the media shifted to other subjects, mainly oriented on internal affairs. Contrary to the media coverage in 2015, in 2017 only a small number of media outlets continued to report on immigration issues.

During the year, the well-known newspaper *Evenimentul Zilei* and some obscure and nationalistic publications were particularly active in using stereotypes, bombastic headlines and factual misrepresentations of Muslims for gaining online exposure and traffic. Below are a number of headlines that illustrate this kind of approach.

- Headline in *Evenimentul Zilei*, Nov. 1, 2017: "It's done! Muslim Refugees Are Coming to Romania! We Have All the Details Unknown to Romanians." (E gata! Vin refugiații musulmani în România! Avem toate detaliile neștiute de români) (Fig. 2)¹⁷,
- Headline in *Evenimentul Zilei*, April 6, 2017: "The criminal Illusion of the 21st Century: Islam Can Be Integrated in Western Society... We Are at War." (Iluzia criminală a secolului XXI: ca Islamul poate fi integrat în societatea occidentală...suntem în razboi) (Fig. 3)¹⁸
- Headline in *Evenimentul Zilei*, August 16, 2017: "The Invasion of Immigrants: Muslims Are Storming Romania's Borders"



Figure 2: "It's done! Muslim Refugees Are Coming to Romania! We Have All the Details Unknown to Romanians." (E gata! Vin refugiații musulmani în România! Avem toate detaliile neștiute de români)



Figure 3: "The criminal Illusion of the 21st Century: Islam Can Be Integrated in Western Society... We Are at War." (Iluzia criminală a secolului XXI: ca Islamul poate fi integrat în societatea occidentală... suntem în razboi)

17. Evenimentul Zilei, "It's done! Muslim Refugees Are Coming to Romania! We Have All the Details Unknown to Romanians." (E gata! Vin refugiații musulmani în România! Avem toate detaliile neștiute de români), Nov. 1, 2017, retrieved Dec. 27, 2017 from <http://evz.ro/romania-se-pregateste-sa-preia-refugiati-sirieni-din-turcia.html>

18. Evenimentul Zilei, "The criminal Illusion of the 21st Century: Islam Can Be Integrated in Western Society... We Are at War." (Iluzia criminală a secolului XXI: ca Islamul poate fi integrat în societatea occidentală...suntem în razboi), April 6, 2017, retrieved Dec. 27, 2017 from <http://evz.ro/iluzia-criminala-a-secolului-xxi-ca-islamul-poate-fi-integrat.html>



Figure 4: "The Invasion of Immigrants: Muslims Are Storming Romania's Borders" (Invazia imigranților: musulmanii iau cu asalt frontierele României)

(Invazia imigranților: musulmanii iau cu asalt frontierele României). (Fig. 4)¹⁹

This type of reporting hasn't been widespread, as most popular publications used a balanced discourse in reporting issues regarding Muslims and immigrants, and no other major media campaigns targeting Muslims have been registered during the reporting period.

Physical and Verbal Attacks

Due to the small number of Muslims living in Romania and immigration being a marginal issue on the political agenda, there have been no attacks registered against Muslims during the reporting period. Manifestations of intolerance and hate speech targeting Muslims have been registered mainly in relation with the so-called refugee crisis in Europe and against a 2015 decision made by the Romanian government to offer the Great Mufti's Office of the Muslim Community in Romania land to build a mosque in Bucharest, which would supposedly be the biggest in the European Union.²⁰

Protests against this decision started in July 2015, when over 100 people attended a meeting in University Square in Bucharest. The event manifested a strong nationalist and traditionalist character; many participants carried Romanian flags and some of them were dressed in traditional Romanian costumes.²¹ The organizers of this first protest, who also created a Facebook page dedicated to the cause, with over 20,000 subscribers, continued to organize a series of protests and actions against the construction of the mosque, which included bringing living pigs and

19. Evenimentul Zilei, August 16, 2017: "The Invasion of Immigrants: Muslims Are Storming Romania's Borders" (Invazia imigranților: musulmanii iau cu asalt frontierele României), retrieved Dec. 28, 2017 from <http://evz.ro/invazia-imigranților.html>

20. Several media outlets have pointed out that the construction project indicates that the Bucharest mosque will be biggest in the European Union, and second in size only to the Blue Mosque of Istanbul. Stirile ProTV, "How the Biggest Mosque in Europe Could Be Constructed in Bucharest. The Controversial Proposition of the Candidates to the Mayor's Office" (Cum ar putea fi construită la București cea mai mare moschee din Europa. Propunerea controversată a candidaților la primărie), Stirile ProTV, March 28, 2016, retrieved Feb. 4, 2018 from <http://stirileprotv.ro/stiri/actualitate/construirea-la-bucuresti-a-celei-mai-mari-moschei-din-europa-crestina-a-ajuns-subiect-in-campania-pentru-primaria-capitaliei.html>.

21. Andra Dolana, "Anti-Mosque Protest in the Capital 'The Romanian Nation Is Not a Turkish Province'" (Protest anti-moschee în Capitală: "Neamul românesc nu e pașalâc turcesc"), *Romania Libera*, July 20, 2015, retrieved Dec. 14, 2017 from <http://www.romanialibera.ro/actualitate/eveniment/protest-anti-moschee-in-capitala---neamul-romanesc-nu-e-pasalac-turcesc--386469>.

burying the carcasses of pigs in the land dedicated to its construction, which aimed to offend Muslim tradition.²²

The building of the mosque has received significant media coverage during the last two years and has remained the most polarizing issue regarding Muslims in Romania. In October 2017, five members of *Noua Dreapta* (The New Right) started singing the Romanian national anthem, and shouting “No mosque should be built on Romanian lands” and “Prayers in Arabic language used by Muslim terrorists shan’t be used in a cultural institution” during the opening season performance of *The Armed Man - A Mass For Peace* at the Opera House in Cluj Napoca.²³ The perpetrators were evacuated and fined by the police.

Another incident involving Muslims that received significant coverage was the physical assault suffered by two Muslim women in Bucharest for wearing the *hijab*. In March 2016, three men and two women physically assaulted two young Muslim women in Bucharest for wearing the *hijab*. The attackers tore the victims’ veils, pulled their hair, and caused them minor injuries. The victims didn’t require medical assistance and didn’t press charges. Members of the Muslim and Orthodox communities, including the chairman of the Islamic Cultural Centre, condemned the attacks. Although the victims didn’t press charges, the prosecutors opened an investigation and at the end of the year, the case was still ongoing. At the time of writing this report, there haven’t been any developments in the case.²⁴

Internet

Romania has its own radical groups openly inciting discrimination against Muslims, especially in the context of the so-called refugee crisis and terrorist attacks in Europe during the last three years. Most anti-Islamist activists are closely linked to extremist, nationalistic movements and parties such as the New Right (*Noua Dreapta*) and the United Romania Party (PRU). During the so-called European refugee crisis of 2015 some of these anti-Islamist activists created a Facebook page titled “No to the Islamization of Romania”²⁵ where violent messages are constantly promoted. These include “An Islamist would cut a Christian throat out of conviction” or “The cancer of Islam is spreading in Europe and will swallow Romania.” The page has more than 66,000 followers.

22. Gandul, “Extreme Gesture against the Building of the Mega Mosque in Bucharest” (Gest extrem împotriva construirii mega-moscheii din București), *Gandul*, Aug. 25, 2015, retrieved Dec. 14, 2017 from <http://www.gandul.info/stiri/gest-extrem-impotriva-construirii-mega-moscheii-din-bucuresti-14687901>.

23. Remus Florescu, “Security Forces Intervened at an Opera Show in Cluj. Five Supporters of the New Right Have Made a Circus” („Mascații” au intervenit la un spectacol al Operei din Cluj. Cinci simpatizanți ai Noii Drepte au făcut circ), *Adevarul*, Oct. 1, 2017, retrieved Dec. 16, 2017 from http://adevarul.ro/locale/cluj-napoca/video-trupele-mascati-intervenit-spectacol-operei-cluj-simpatizantii-noii-drepte-facut-circ-1_59d14aa05ab6550cb8b70397/index.html.

24. Digi 24, “Investigation Started after the Assault on Two Young Women from Syria in Bucharest” (Ancheta după agresiunea în capitala două tinere din Siria), *Digi 24*, April 1, 2016, retrieved Nov. 17, 2017 from <http://www.digi24.ro/stiri/actualitate/justitie/ancheta-dupa-agresiunea-in-capitala-a-doua-tinere-din-siria-502387>.

25. The page can be consulted at <https://www.facebook.com/Spunenuislamizarii/> (retrieved Dec. 23, 2017).



Figure 5: “Today Romania paid for the expansion of radical Islam in Europe with another victim. Andreea Cristea, injured in the latest terrorist attack in London has died at 31. Romanian citizens will continue to be victims of terrorist attacks, but on Romanian territory this will not happen. Actions against the Islamization of Romania will be started this month. No Islamic elements will be allowed to enter Romania, safeguarded by policies that have nothing Romanian in them. Let’s see who will oppose us.”



Figure 6: What does Islam offer? (Ce ofera Islamul?)

“What does Islam offer?” (Fig. 6)

Online publications don’t pay special attention to supervising the interaction between readers or to promoting balanced debates and pertinent opinions, and, therefore, discriminatory statements or manifestations of hate speech are not sanc-

The debate on the building of a mosque in Bucharest has prompted a group of anti-Islamist activists to create a Facebook page titled “We don’t want a mega-mosque in Bucharest”²⁶ that has attracted around 23,000 followers. The administrators of the page have also launched a petition against the building of the mosque and post Islamophobic content regularly.

In April 2017, in the aftermath of the London terrorist attacks of March 2017, where Romanian victims were registered, a post on the Facebook page “No to the Islamization of Romania” stated, “Today Romania paid for the expansion of radical Islam in Europe with another victim. Andreea Cristea, injured in the latest terrorist attack in London has died at 31. Romanian citizens will continue to be victims of terrorist attacks, but on Romanian territory this will not happen. Actions against the Islamization of Romania will be started this month. No Islamic elements will be allowed to enter Romania, safeguarded by policies that have nothing Romanian in them. Let’s see who will oppose us.” (Fig. 5)

In October 2017, the “We don’t

26. The page can be consulted at <https://www.facebook.com/NuVremMegaMoscheeInBucuresti/> (retrieved Dec. 23, 2017).

tioned. Moreover, there is a generalized lack of interest by professionals and the industry in undertaking and imposing minimum ethical and professional standards.

Central Figures in the Islamophobia Network

Small, recently emerging nationalistic parties like United Romania Party (PRU) and the New Right (*Noua Dreapta*) are trying to gain public exposure and political support by adopting a strong stance on immigration and xenophobic rhetoric. Both have been active in orchestrating regular protests against receiving refugees in Romania or in opposing the building of a mosque in Bucharest.

MP Bogdan Diaconu, the founder of nationalistic United Romania Party (*Partidul Romania Unita*), has been very vocal in expressing his opposition to refugee quotas and Muslims. While running for mayor of Bucharest in the 2016 local elections, Diaconu stated that his main priority is stopping the construction of the mosque and making sure that “no Muslim migrant would step foot in Bucharest during his mandate.”²⁷ He received 1.4% of votes in the local elections.

Both the United Romania Party (PRU) and the New Right (*Noua Dreapta*) have failed so far to mobilize sufficient people to support their demands, and haven’t received enough votes to meet the electoral threshold necessary to be represented in the parliament.

Former President of Romania Traian Basescu has reinvented himself as a Eurosceptic and a person intolerant towards migrants in his new role as president of the People’s Movement Party (PMP). The PMP received 4.30% of votes in the last parliamentary elections and has been the main initiator of the legislative proposal to ban face covering in educational institutions. (See Significant Incidents and Developments section)

Civil Society and Political Initiatives to Counter Islamophobia

In the period July 2014 - April 2017, the Median Research Centre ran a project involving, among others, moderating online comments inciting hatred or non-observance of certain rights. The Less Hate, More Speech project examined the role political elites and mass media play - intentionally or unintentionally - in reducing or promoting anti-democratic and intolerant discourse among citizens.²⁸

In 2017, a group of eleven Romanian NGOs active in the field of migration, human rights and public policies started a new partnership within the recently launched Coalition for the Rights of Migrants and Refugees.²⁹ The newly established

27. Mediafax, “Bogdan Diaconu Announced His Candidacy for Mayor of Bucharest: ‘No Muslim Migrant Will Step Foot in Bucharest’” (Bogdan Diaconu și-a depus candidatura la Primăria Capitalei: “Nu va călca picior de migrant musulman în București”), *Mediafax*, April 18, 2016, retrieved Dec. 14, 2017 from <http://www.mediafax.ro/politic/bogdan-diaconu-si-a-depus-candidatura-la-primaria-capitalei-nu-va-calca-picior-de-migrant-musulman-in-bucuresti-15264485>.

28. More information on the project is available at <http://lesshate.openpolitics.ro/en/> (retrieved Dec. 6, 2017).

29. Research and Information Center on Immigrant Integration, “The Coalition for the Rights of Migrants and Refugees Has Been Established” (“S-a constituit Coaliția pentru Drepturile Migranților și Refugiaților”), *Research and Information Center on Immigrant Integration*, April 17, 2017 retrieved Nov. 30, 2017 from <http://www.cdcdi.ro/media/s-a-constituit-coalitia-pentru-drepturile-migranților-si-refugiaților-formata-din-organizatii-neguvernametale-din-domeniul-migratiei-drepturilor-omului-si-politicilor-publice>.

coalition aims to improve the access of third-country nationals to basic services and ameliorate the public perception on migrants and refugees.

Free and adequate legal representation and assistance is available through NGO-implemented projects to victims of hate crime and discrimination. The Pro Bono Network for Human Rights, is a pro bono clearinghouse which specializes in human rights, whose purpose is to facilitate the access to justice of vulnerable groups (including asylum seekers and refugees) in Romania.³⁰

The Anti-Discrimination Coalition, a platform of human rights NGOs³¹ advocating and litigating to eliminate all forms of discrimination against any social group, has been active since 2000, when NGOs with anti-discrimination experience jointly supported the adoption of the Anti-Discrimination Law. So far, the coalition has carried out numerous lobby and advocacy actions that have made a major contribution to improving the anti-discrimination legislative framework in Romania; has supported strategic cases of discrimination before the NCCD and in the courts; sent open letters, position papers and memoirs; and organized protests and public campaigns for the defence of human rights in Romania.

Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

The presence of Muslims in Romania remains a marginal issue on the political and public agenda. Although no major internal developments affecting Muslims have been registered during the reporting period, stereotypical portrayal of Muslims in the media and populist speeches by politicians, have facilitated a growing trend of manifestations of intolerance and hate speech towards Muslims, as reflected in public discourse and opinion polls.

Small emerging nationalistic and populist parties have used Islamophobic discourse for electoral purposes. Their impact has been so far minimal but this type of political agenda could gain traction in the future, as reflected by the so called “anti-*burka*” legislative proposal launched in December 2017 to ban headscarves in educational institutions.

No significant incidents involving Muslims have been registered during the reporting period. The national equality body, the NCCD, has been active in addressing high profile cases of discrimination but few official complaints have been made compared to the large number of people reportedly experiencing incidents of racial/ethnic or religious discrimination. Devising special measures to assist specific

30. More information on the activity of the Pro Bono Network for Human Rights is available at <http://actedo.org/the-pro-bono-network-for-human-rights-2015-activity-report/> (retrieved Nov. 20, 2017).

31. The ten members of the coalition are Asociația ACCEPT; Asociația pentru Apărarea Drepturilor Omului în România - Comitetul Helsinki (APADOR-CH); Asociația ActiveWatch; Centrul Euroregional pentru Inițiative Publice (ECPI); Centrul de Dezvoltare Curriculară și Studii de Gen – FILIA; Institutul pentru Politici Publice (IPP); Romani CRISS - Centrul Romilor pentru Intervenție Socială și Studii; Fundația Centrul Parteneriat pentru Egalitate; Centrul European pentru drepturile Copiilor cu Dizabilități (CEDCD); Centrul pentru Inovare Publică (CIP); Societatea Academică din România (SAR); and Liga Pro Europa.

minority groups and collecting disaggregated data on ethnicity in different areas, should be addressed by the authorities.

Based on the findings of this report following recommendations are, therefore, put forward :

- Organize pre-departure programs through partnership agreements between Romania and the migrants' countries of origin in order to provide information on Romanian labour legislation, relevant institutions and mechanisms to notify and sanction cases of abuse, exploitation and discrimination.
- Authorities should devise a comprehensive data collection system on the application of criminal law provisions against racism and racial discrimination. Such a system should record the number of investigations opened by the police, the cases referred to the prosecutor, the number of cases pending before court, and their final decisions, broken down per reference year and per relevant criminal law provision.
- Introducing measures to prevent and combat discrimination among immigrants in the national strategies for immigration and discrimination, such as information campaigns and raising awareness on discrimination and the remedies available when facing discrimination.
- Initiating a collaboration between competent authorities in the field of immigration, labour and institutions combating discrimination, in order to elaborate integrated public policies.
- Sign cooperation protocols and set up efficient case referral mechanisms between state institutions and NGOs.
- Implement a long-term monitoring mechanism to prevent ethnic and Islamophobic hatred in mass media and cyberspace.
- Improve mechanisms for recognizing, recording and sanctioning hate speech.
- Political parties and politicians should strengthen initiatives for cooperation with the Muslim community in Romania and raise awareness of successful cases of Muslim integration.

Chronology

- **30.03.2017:** Two teenage Muslim women wearing headscarves were subjected to insults and assaulted, with the assailants attempting to rip off their veils.³²
- **06.04.2017:** An Islamophobic headline is published in the newspaper *Evenimentul Zilei*: "The criminal Illusion of the 21st Century: Islam Can Be Integrated in Western Society... We Are at War." (*Iluzia criminala a secolului XXI: ca*

32. Digi 24, "Investigation started after the assault on two young women from Syria in Bucharest" (Ancheta dupa agresarea in capitala doua tinere din Siria), *Digi 24*, 04.01.2016, retrieved at 11.17.2017 at: <http://www.digi24.ro/stiri/actualitate/justitie/ancheta-dupa-agresarea-in-capitala-a-doua-tinere-din-siria-502387>

Islamul poate fi integrat in societatea occidentala...suntem in razboi).³³

- **16.08.2017:** An Islamophobic headline is published in the newspaper *Evenimentul Zilei*: “The Invasion of Immigrants: Muslims Are Storming Romania’s Borders” (Invazia imigrantilor: musulmanii iau cu asalt frontierele Romaniei).³⁴
- **11.10.2017:** A professor of Political Science at the University of Bucharest was accused of discrimination after asking a Muslim student not to wear the Islamic veil during class.³⁵
- **01.10.2017:** Five members of *Noua Dreapta* (The New Right) started singing the Romanian national anthem and shouting “No mosque should be built on Romanian lands” and “Prayers in Arabic language used by Muslim terrorists shan’t be used in a cultural institution” during the opening season performance of *The Armed Man - A Mass For Peace* at the Opera House in Cluj Napoca.³⁶
- **01.11.2017:** An islamophobic headline is published the newspaper *Evenimentul Zilei*: “It’s done! Muslim Refugees Are Coming to Romania! We Have All the Details Unknown to Romanians.” (E gata! Vin refugiații musulmani în România! Avem toate detaliile neștiute de români) (Fig. 2)³⁷
- **18.12.2017:** Twenty-six MPs launched a legislative proposal for banning face covering with any material that prevents physiognomical recognition in educational institutions.³⁸

33. *Evenimentul Zilei*, “The criminal Illusion of the 21st Century: Islam Can Be Integrated in Western Society... We Are at War.” (Iluzia criminala a secolului XXI: ca Islamul poate fi integrat in societatea occidentala...suntem in razboi), April 6, 2017, retrieved Dec. 27, 2017 from <http://evz.ro/iluzia-criminala-a-secolului-xxi-ca-islamul-poate-fi-integrat.html>

34. *Evenimentul Zilei*, August 16, 2017: “The Invasion of Immigrants: Muslims Are Storming Romania’s Borders” (Invazia imigrantilor: musulmanii iau cu asalt frontierele Romaniei), retrieved Dec. 28, 2017 from <http://evz.ro/invazia-imigrantilor.html>

35. *Stirile ProTv*, “University Professor Accused of Discrimination of a Muslim Student” (Profesor de la Universitate, acuzat de discriminare la adresa unei studente musulmane), *Stirile ProTv*, Nov. 2, 2017, retrieved Dec. 12, 2017 from <http://stirileprotv.ro/stiri/actualitate/un-profesor-de-la-universitatea-bucurec-ti-e-acuzat-de-discriminare-la-adresa-unei-studente-musulmane-ce-i-a-cerut.html>.

36. Remus Florescu, “Security Forces Intervened at an Opera Show in Cluj. Five Supporters of the New Right Have Made a Circus” („Mascați” au intervenit la un spectacol al Operei din Cluj. Cinci simpatizanți ai Noii Drepte au făcut circ), *Adevărul*, Oct. 1, 2017, retrieved Dec. 16, 2017 from http://adevarul.ro/locale/cluj-napoca/video-trupele-mascati-intervent-spectacol-operei-cluj-simpatizantii-noii-drepte-facut-circ-1_59d14aa05ab6550cb8b70397/index.html.

37. *Evenimentul Zilei*, “It’s done! Muslim Refugees Are Coming to Romania! We Have All the Details Unknown to Romanians.” (E gata! Vin refugiații musulmani în România! Avem toate detaliile neștiute de români), Nov. 1, 2017, retrieved Dec. 27, 2017 from <http://evz.ro/romania-se-pregateste-sa-preia-refugiati-sirieni-din-turcia.html>

38. Chamber of Deputies, “Legislative Proposal for the Modification and Completion of National Education Law nr. 1/2011” (Propunere legislativa pentru modificarea și completarea Legii educației naționale nr.1/2011), Dec. 18, 2017, retrieved Dec. 23, 2017 from http://www.cdep.ro/pls/proiecte/upl_pck.proiect?cam=2&cidp=16761.

This is the third issue of the annual *European Islamophobia Report (EIR)* consisting of an overall evaluation of Islamophobia in Europe in the year 2017, as well as 33 country reports which include almost all EU member states and additional countries such as Russia and Norway. This year's *EIR* represents the work of 40 prominent scholars and civil society activists from various European countries.

The denial of the very existence of Islamophobia/anti-Muslim racism/anti-Muslim hate crime in Europe by many demonstrates the need for an appropriate effort and political will to tackle this normalized racism and its manifestations that are deeply entrenched in European societies, institutions, and states.

This denial is not only the case for extremist groups on the political fringe of the society, but rather far-right discourses have moved to the center of political power. Consequently, it is not only right-wing extremist groups that rely on the means of Islamophobic propaganda and discourse - social democrats, liberals, leftists or conservatives are not immune to this form of racism.

As a survey published by the FRA reveals 76% of Muslim respondents feel strongly attached to the country they live in, while 31% of those seeking work have been discriminated against in the last five years. At the same time, only 12% of Muslims say they have reported cases of discrimination. Hence, we can say with certainty that the extent of discrimination Muslims face in Europe is much greater than the numbers revealed in any report on Islamophobia and anti-Muslim hate crime in Europe.

In other words, one can claim that all the available data and statistics about Islamophobia in Europe show only the tip of the iceberg. Therefore, revealing the comprehensiveness of structural anti-Muslim racism lies at the heart of the *European Islamophobia Report* project, which on a yearly basis analyzes the trends and developments in Europe from Russia to Portugal, and Malta to Norway.

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.

