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ISLAMOPHOBIA
REPORT
2016

ENES BAYRAKLI • FARID HAFEZ (Eds)

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THE STATE OF ISLAMOPHOBIA IN EUROPE

ENES BAYRAKLI • FARID HAFEZ

This is the second edition of the annual *European Islamophobia Report* (*EIR*) which was presented for the first time in 2015. New countries are included in this year's *EIR*; while 25 countries were covered in 2015, the report for 2016 includes 27 country reports. *EIR 2016* is the result of 31 prominent scholars who specialise in different fields such as racism, gender and Islamophobia Studies. In the years to come we will attempt to include more countries in our report. Our final aim is to cover and monitor the developments of Islamophobia in all European countries.

Islamophobia has become a real danger to the foundations of democratic order and the values of the European Union. It has also become the main challenge to the social peace and coexistence of different cultures, religions and ethnicities in Europe. The country reports of *EIR 2016*, which cover almost all the European continent from Russia to Portugal and from Greece to Latvia, clearly show that the level of Islamophobia in fields such as education, employment, media, politics, the justice system and the Internet is on the rise. Since the publication of the last report there is little improvement. On the contrary, one can see from the country reports that the state of democracy and human rights in Europe is deteriorating. Islamophobia has become more real especially in the everyday lives of Muslims in Europe. It has surpassed the stage of being a rhetorical animosity and has become a physical animosity that Muslims feel in everyday life be it at school, the workplace, the mosque, transportation or simply on the street.

The refugee movement and the turmoil it has created in Europe, the unprecedented rise of far right parties all across the continent and the UK's Brexit decision, which took many by surprise, have revealed the importance and relevance of this report, which covers incidents and developments in 2016. The short-term political significance of Islamophobia is as much relevant as Islamophobia's structural dimension. As mentioned before, small successes can be witnessed in some European countries yet great challenges lie ahead for deepening the values of human rights and freedom of religion in Europe.

The Rise of Islamophobia

As a survey conducted by the Chatham House Europe Programme shows, public opposition to any further migration from predominantly Muslim states is by no means confined to Trump's administration (implementation of the 'Muslim-Ban'). Respondents in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Spain and the UK were presented with the statement 'All further migration from mainly Muslim countries should be stopped'. As the report reveals, the majorities in all but two of the ten states agreed to this statement, ranging from 71% in Poland, 65% in Austria, 53% in Germany and 51% in Italy to 47% in the United Kingdom and 41% in Spain. In no country did the percentage that disagreed surpass 32%.[1]
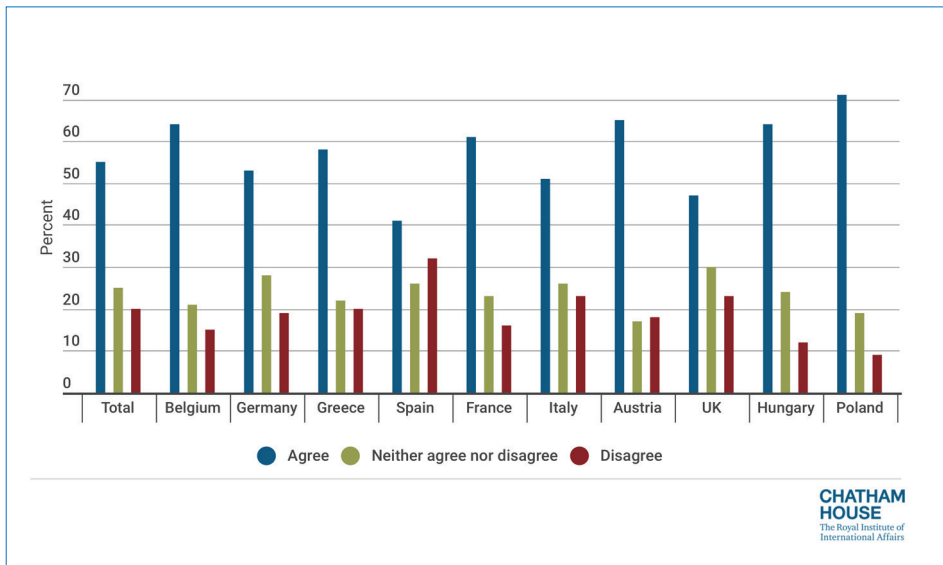

Figure 1: Public opposition to any further migration from predominantly Muslim states in Europe.[2]

The findings of this report go hand in hand with similar surveys on this topic. The Ipsos Perils of Perception Survey 2016 found that the current and the future Muslim population in Europe are enormously overestimated in most countries. Out of the list of all 20 countries where respondents overestimated the Muslim population by more than 10%, 12 are European, while the USA and Canada are among the remaining 8 countries. When asked "Now thinking about 2020, out of every 100 people, about how many do you think will be Muslim?", the top 20 countries where proponents overestimated the Muslim population again were in majority European (11). The average guess in France is that 40% of

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1. https://www.chathamhouse.org/expert/comment/what-do-europeans-think-about-muslim-immigration#sthash. O6J7kQrj.dpuf

2. Chatham House, https://www.chathamhouse.org/expert/comment/what-do-europeans-think-about-muslim-immigration

the population will be Muslim in 2020 when the actual projection is 8.3%. Italy comes third with 26% overestimation, and Belgium and Germany fourth with 24% overestimation.[3]

Connecting this to a survey conducted by the Pew Research Center, we can suggest that this overestimation is connected to unfavourable views regarding Muslims. The report states,

> "Opinions of Muslims vary considerably across Europe. Half or more in Hungary, Italy, Poland, Greece and Spain have a very or somewhat unfavorable view of Muslims. And in Italy (36%), Hungary (35%) and Greece (32%), roughly a third hold very unfavorable opinions. Majorities in the other nations surveyed express positive attitudes about Muslims. Nonetheless, at least a quarter in each country have negative views of Muslims."[4]

These numbers are not shocking if we look at the incidents of Islamophobia and its pervasiveness in power structure across Europe. Muslims are seen as the enemy 'within'. There is wide consent in Western societies to Muslims not being seen as equal citizens. Othering and differential treatment may also overlap with the dehumanization of Muslims. Thus, physical attacks and political restrictions can often be carried out and even defended in an atmosphere of wide distrust and enmity. Islamophobia is by no means confined to the working poor or the middle class, who have been misinformed about Islam and Muslims. It is especially true for the so-called educated elite. Discriminating policies like the ban of the hijab for certain professions, the ban of the niqab in public, bans of minarets and other laws restricting Muslim's freedom of religion speak volumes. If politicians can take such decisions and the media, along with large parts of society, accept them, why should we wonder about the strong opposition to immigration of Muslim people in Europe?

Hence, these numbers reveal the necessity of the *EIR*, which looks at the challenge of Islamophobia from a qualitative and not a quantitative research perspective. Its aim is to document and analyse trends in the spread of Islamophobia in various European nation states. There cannot be a claim of full comprehensiveness, since European nation states by majority still lack data collection. Hence, a central recommendation of the *EIR* is that Islamophobia or anti-Muslim hate crime should be included as a category in European nation states' statistics – a development that has not occurred as of yet. The *EIR*'s primary contribution is to reveal the tendencies of Islamophobia and to give representative examples of its overall unfolding in the investigated states.

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3. https://www.ipsos-mori.com/Assets/Docs/Polls/ipsos-mori-perils-of-perception-charts-2016.pdf

4. http://assets.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2016/07/Pew-Research-Center-EU-Refugees-and-National-Identity-Report-FINAL-July-11-2016.pdf

Recognition of Islamophobia

There are various definitions of Islamophobia. However, the definition of Islamophobia used by the *EIR*, as defined by its editors, is as follows,

> "When talking about Islamophobia, we mean anti-Muslim racism. As Anti-Semitism Studies has shown, the etymological components of a word do not necessarily point to its complete meaning, nor how it is used. Such is also the case with Islamophobia Studies. Islamophobia has become a well-known term used in academia as much as in the public sphere. Criticism of Muslims or of the Islamic religion is not necessarily Islamophobic. Islamophobia is about a dominant group of people aiming at seizing, stabilising and widening their power by means of defining a scapegoat – real or invented – and excluding this scapegoat from the resources/rights/definition of a constructed 'we'. Islamophobia operates by constructing a static 'Muslim' identity, which is attributed in negative terms and generalised for all Muslims. At the same time, Islamophobic images are fluid and vary in different contexts, because Islamophobia tells us more about the Islamophobe than it tells us about the Muslims/Islam".[5]

We think that with this definition, we clearly address many of the suspicions, which are put against the term as such. As a matter of fact, while supranational institutions such as the OSCE embrace the terminology Anti-Semitism, the OSCE still refuses to use Islamophobia, which we see as part of the problem. Again, we recommend that Islamophobia/anti-Muslim Racism or anti-Muslim hate crime should be included in the collection of "equality data" in all European states. Institutions such as the OSCE need to establish solid monitoring and recording mechanisms for discrimination, hate crime and hate speech towards Muslims. In order to have reliable data, it has to be segregated by bias/category and also segregated by gender. This is even more problematic in countries that do not allow collection of data on religion or race. This seemingly egalitarian approach in reality hides the discrimination of Muslims. Also, response mechanisms seem to be unclear and not adequately used. When there is an incident of discrimination/hate crime/hate speech, there are different response mechanisms available, yet, none of these are familiar to the vast majority of Muslim citizens of European countries. Thus, we recommend that response mechanisms should be made more available, accessible and clear. Last but not least, an empowerment of the Muslim community is needed to strengthen critical citizenship and help European states deepen their democracies.

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5. Enes Bayraklı & Farid Hafez, *European Islamophobia Report 2015*, Istanbul, SETA, 2016, p.7.

Policy Recommendations for European Countries

The authors of every respective national report have suggested specific recommendations regarding the country they have covered. The following list of recommendations serves to underscore some of these recommendations and to add some additional suggestions on the supranational level.

We think it is important for civil society to understand that Islamophobia is a problem of institutional racism. The illusion that Europe is a post-racial society prevents large parts of European societies from recognising the severe challenge of Islamophobia to local societies. The focus has to shift from Muslims' actions to those of European societies. Racism, including Islamophobia, tells us more about the racists than about their imagined scapegoat or their victims. Hence, Islamophobia reveals aspects of Europe and the internal problems European societies continue to face. A recognition and a critical consciousness of this societal disease is of utmost importance to be able to create more just societies in Europe. At the same time, Muslims must be allowed to enjoy their spaces of freedom like other dominant religious and political groups in European societies without being securitised or criminalised. The securitisation of Islam, especially policies countering violent extremism and their impact on the freedom of religion of belief for Muslims, and even freedom of movement or free assembly have to be challenged by all democratic forces in Europe. Communities must be consulted and human rights frameworks must be respected. National security is not among the criteria that should permit the limitation of freedom of religion or belief.

We especially urge politicians to speak out against Islamophobia as one of the most pressing forms of racism in our days. Europe needs more courageous politicians who do not only challenge the politics of right-wing populist parties, but also challenge institutionalised forms of racism targeting Muslims in the fields of employment, education, state bureaucracy, and media. We also call for journalists and editors to challenge Islamophobic reporting in their news media and give space to more balanced views. Generally, the issue of religious literacy is a huge problem that does not only concern media but also the police, prosecutors and civil servants. We see that people simply lack basic knowledge on Islam and Muslims' practices. We see a need for the introduction of more comparative religion courses, or religious teaching, in a formal and informal educational setting.

We see that Muslim women are among the most vulnerable direct victims of Islamophobia. ENAR has conducted a report on the impact of Islamophobia on Muslim women and presented 37 recommendations, which we can only underscore given the findings of our report.[6] Women who are visibly Muslim are socially are socially ostrasised in many places. The combination of internal community prob-

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6. http://www.enar-eu.org/IMG/pdf/forgottenwomenpublication_lr_final_with_latest_corrections.pdf

lems, discrimination (education and employment) and hate crimes against Muslim women (data shows that it is 70% more likely for a muslim woman to be attacked in the street) are leaving their horrible mark on Muslim women. Hence, the protection and the empowerment of Muslim women have to be on the central agenda of states and NGOs. The ruling of the European Court of Justice regarding Esma Bougnaoui's dismissal by a French company for wearing a hijab when dealing with clients as unlawful discrimination is an important step towards equality and an anti-discriminatory society.[7] At the same time, the case of Belgian Samira Achbita vs. Belgium, where it was argued that a dismissal due to the headscarf would be permissible against the backdrop of a general prohibition of all outward signs of political, philosophical and religious beliefs exhibited by employees in the workplace, is worrying and challenges the reality of a diverse Europe.[8]

7. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/14/world/europe/france-head-scarf-court.html?_r=0

8.http://curia.europa.eu/juris/document/document.jsf?text=&docid=179082&pageIndex=0&doclang=EN&mode=lst&dir=&occ=first&part=1&cid=678370

ISLAMOPHOBIA IN
GERMANY
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Executive Summary

The year 2016 stands for several concerning developments in Germany. Germany experienced its first series of successful terrorist attacks by supporters of the so-called Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (DAESH). The salience of anti-Muslim racist discourses and practices has reached an unprecedented scale.

Anti-Muslim sentiments are supported by roughly half of the population in Germany. It has become apparent that a significant proportion of about 20% are now also prepared to translate these views into political action. The right-wing populist party, *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD), whose political leadership explicitly mobilised around Islamophobic sentiments in 2016, parachuted into five regional parliaments, achieving between 12 and 24% of the vote. Furthermore, a quarter of the population in former East and former West Germany approve the political agenda of the social movement PEGIDA ('Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the Occident'), with several marches each week across the country. The number of violent attacks against refugee shelters, which quadrupled in 2015, remained at an alarming peak in 2016. Seventeen assaults per week were registered by the authorities, and an average of thirty-seven attacks per week was reported in local media.

Just as other group biases that are salient in a society at a time, Islamophobia is – often unintentionally – reproduced through institutional processes in various areas of public life. This report discusses quantitative and qualitative evidence for systematic patterns of both direct and indirect structural discrimination in the German labour market, the education and criminal justice systems, as well as within print and social media. Diverse datasets in these areas indicate either persistence or an increase in differential treatment of Muslims and individuals who do not necessarily self-describe as Muslim, but are perceived by others as belonging to the Islamic faith.

The trends outlined in this report are expected to significantly impact on the election campaigns and the outcomes of the German national election in 2017.

Zusammenfassung

Das Jahr 2016 steht für eine Reihe besorgniserregender Entwicklungen in Deutschland. Zum ersten Mal wurde eine Serie von Anschlägen von Unterstützern des „Islamischen Staates im Iraq und Levant" (DAESH) erfolgreich durchgeführt. Zudem hat die Salienz antimuslimischer rassistischer Diskurse und Praktiken ein bisher unbekanntes Ausmaß erreicht.

Islamfeindliche Einstellungen finden bei der Hälfte der Bevölkerung Unterstützung. In 2016 wurde deutlich, dass ca. 20 % dieser Personen nun auch bereit ist, diese Haltung in ihrer Wahlentscheidung auszudrücken. Die rechtspopulistische Partei Alternative für Deutschland (AfD), deren politische Führungsriege in 2016 explizit mit islamfeindlichen Aussagen mobilisierte, erzielte in Regionalwahlen zwischen 12 und 24 Prozent der Stimmen, woraufhin sie in fünf Länderparlamente einzog. Ein Viertel der Bevölkerung in den neuen und alten Bundesländern unterstützt zudem die Ziele der Protestbewegung PEGIDA („Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes"). In 2016 gab es pro Woche mehrere Demonstrationen dieser oder ähnlicher Gruppierungen. Die Zahl fremdenfeindlicher Anschläge auf Unterkünfte für Geflüchtete, die sich in 2015 im Vergleich zu den Vorjahren vervierfacht hatte, blieb 2016 auf einem ähnlich alarmierend hohen Niveau: öffentliche Statistiken sprechen von einem deutschlandweiten Durchschnitt von 17 Anschlägen pro Woche, während eine Auswertung von Berichten in Lokalzeitungen sogar einen Durchschnitt von 37 Angriffen pro Woche verzeichnet.

Institutionelle Abläufe schreiben – häufig unbeabsichtigt – Islamfeindlichkeit, wie auch andere zeitgenössische Formen der Voreingenommenheit, in verschiedenen Lebensbereichen fort. Der vorliegende Bericht diskutiert den quantitativen und qualitativen Wissensbestand zur Manifestation von direkter und indirekter struktureller Diskriminierung im deutschen Arbeitsmarkt, dem Bildungssystem, dem Rechtssystem wie auch in der Berichterstattung in den Print- und Sozialen Medien. Die Datenlage in diesen Bereichen des öffentlichen Lebens verdeutlicht entweder einen Fortbestand oder sogar eine Zunahme der Ungleichbehandlung von Menschen, in deren Selbstbeschreibung Zugehörigkeit zum Islam eine Rolle spielt, oder die von anderen als Muslime wahrgenommen werden.

Es ist zu erwarten, dass die in diesem Bericht ausgeführten sozialen Entwicklungen den Wahlkampf und den Ausgang der Wahlen zum deutschen Bundestag im Herbst 2017 nachhaltig beeinflussen werden.

Introduction

Anti-Muslim racism is not a novel phenomenon in Germany. Generalised, derogatory and Orientalist depictions of Islamic populations can be traced back to Germany's colonial history and beyond.[1] Contemporary manifestations of anti-Muslim racism have become particularly salient in German public debates in the 21st century. Anti-Muslim tropes, as this report will show, currently gain mainstream approval to the degree that Islamophobia has become the most commonplace expression of racist prejudice in Germany. And while xenophobic sentiments are not novel either,[2] there is now considerable evidence that a growing proportion of the population in Germany not only holds these views, but is prepared to translate them into multiple forms of political action. This report will sketch the events and trends of 2016, give evidence of the notable rise in Islamophobic attitudes and practices, and sketch how structural and everyday anti-Muslim racism is reproduced in key areas of public life, including education, employment, politics, the media or the criminal justice system.

Significant Incidents and Developments

The content of anti-Muslim tropes can currently be traced most prominently in the public debate that emerged in response to the human rights crisis at the European border. This crisis had reached one of its climaxes in September 2015, when the German government agreed to receive an additional 800,000 refugees from Syria. Faced with the choice to either reintroduce heavily policed border controls in post-Schengen Europe, or to suspend the Dublin regulations temporarily, Chancellor Merkel decided for the latter. This initiative was very much ad hoc and constituted an emergency response that had been negotiated with the Hungarian and Austrian political leadership. The German government subsequently argued that a higher intake of Syrian refugees not only reflected the international humanitarian commitment of one of Europe's wealthiest countries, but was also instrumental in helping to close demographic shortages in specific sectors of the labour market, such as, for instance, the provision of care for older people. While Chancellor Merkel's liberal response to the humanitarian crisis at the European border turned out to be unique within Europe, it certainly was responsive to the receptive social climate in Germany at the time.

In 2016, unprecedented levels of hands-on volunteering, assistance and political support for the settlement of Syrian refugee communities in Germany continued. However, the political debate around the social consequences of Chancellor Merkel's refugee policy also mobilised high levels of critique and political protest. This issue

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1. Iman Attia, *Die 'Westliche Kultur' und ihr Anderes. Zur Dekonstruktion von Orientalismus und antimuslimischem Rassismus*(Bielefeld: Transcript, 2009); Yasemin Shooman, *'…weil ihre Kultur so ist' Narrative des anti-muslimischen Rassismus* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2014).

2.Oliver Decker/Johannes Kiess/Elmar Brähler (eds.), *Die enthemmte Mitte. Die Leipziger Mitte Studie 2016* (Gießen: Psychosozial Verlag, 2016).

continues to polarise German society, which also found expression in the reactions to the events of 2016. The beginning and the end of the year thereby stood out in terms of public and media attention.

The New Year's celebrations in 2015/2016 marked a tensing of the atmosphere. Women attending public festivities in several German cities, most prominently Cologne, were subject to a series of violent assaults including theft, sexual attacks and rape. Public debates immediately connected these events to the ongoing discussion on immigration from Muslim-majority countries, and new arrivals from Syria were alleged responsible before any arrests had taken place.[3] Arbitrary depictions of the perpetrators as 'Muslim men' maintained a discursive link between the events and immigration policy, notably hardening anti-Muslim prejudice.

The polarisation became also noticeable when the Southern German states of Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg experienced a series of violent attacks in July 2016, two of which were attributed to supporters of the so-called Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (DAESH). A teenager wounded five people on a train in Würzburg, and a man in his twenties whose asylum claim had been rejected, blew himself up outside a music event in Ansbach injuring 15 people. Both had been radicalised via the Internet, obtaining guidance and advice from DAESH online. The other cases involved a teenager who killed nine people in a mass-shooting in a shopping centre in Munich, and another man in his twenties who killed a woman in a domestic argument in Reutlingen. The public debate focused largely on the relevance or irrelevance of the perpetrator's links to or origin in Muslim-majority countries, and Chancellor Angela Merkel's receptiveness of refugees was subject to heightened critique.

Towards the end of the year, in December 2016, this debate resurfaced, when a 17-year-old man raped and stabbed a woman in a park in Freiburg. As with the discussion staged in summer, there was a controversy as to whether the Afghan refugee's cultural background was accountable for the crime. This perspective rests on a racialisation of violent behaviour which is constructed as more 'intrinsic' to Islamic cultures. Political party representatives from the Christian Social Union (CSU) of Bavaria and the *Alternative für Deutschland*, the AfD, reproduced this assumption in their narration of the incident as a direct outcome of immigration from Muslim-majority countries.

Finally, the year came to a mournful conclusion when an attack was launched against the Christmas market on Berlin's Breitscheidplatz, whereby 12 visitors were killed and 53 people wounded by a lorry that crashed into the stalls. Before anything

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3. 183 individuals were subsequently arrested in connection with the mob violence. They were of varying formal status, including 73 applicants for asylum, 36 not formally legalised individuals, and 11 with a residence permit; the majority was of North-African origin, thus from refugee communities who due to the attention on Syrian refugees hardly had a chance to obtain asylum in Germany (55 were of Moroccan, 53 of Algerian, 22 of Iraqi, 14 of German, and 14 of Syrian origin), see M. Amjahid/C. Fuchs/V. Guinan-Bank/A. Kunze/S. Lebert/S. Mondial/D. Müller/Y. Musharbash/M. Nejezchleba/S. Rieth, "Was geschah wirklich?," *Zeitmagazin*, Nr. 27, 23.06.2016.

was known about the political background of the attack, or the victims had been identified, the event was instrumentalised for political purposes: Markus Pretzell of the AfD spoke of 'Merkel's dead' on Twitter, and CSU party leader and Bavarian Prime Minister Horst Seehofer demanded 'reconsidering the entirety of our immigration and security policies'.[4] Upon raiding the refugee accommodation in Berlin's former airport Tempelhof, the Police admitted that the Pakistani refugee who they had arrested on the spot was innocent. With considerable delay, DAESH claimed responsibility for the attack. The man whose DNA was subsequently found in the driver's cabin turned out to have held a criminal record in Tunisia, Italy and Germany, and had been under the security services' watch for a good chunk of time. The public debate that followed rehearsed a series of by then well-known generalisations that directly link current immigration policy to rising levels of violence: 'Why would Europe, most notably Germany, admit hundreds of thousands of people who originate from backward, paternalistic, partly pre-enlightened regions to our high-end society? Why do we saddle ourselves with people who have been brutalised and traumatised, who are likely to suffer from a cultural shock, repulsion and religious radicalisation upon their arrival?'[5] Typically, this 'us vs. them' narrative reproduces perceptions of a sense of superiority and cultural inclination to non-violent behaviour of those who formally are members of German society; refugees, in contrast, are stereotyped as originating in less civilised parts of the world, on which grounds they are attributed a higher propensity to delinquency.

Thus, several of the events in 2016, notably the individuals who acted in the name of DAESH in July, as well as those involved in the attack on the Berlin Christmas market in December, constituted a sad novelty in that they marked the first successful series of terrorist acts in Germany. What they have in common with the number of not explicitly politically motivated incidents of violence, such as the rampage of Munich or the murder of Freiburg, is that any of these developments triggered a knee-jerk discussion of the appropriateness of the current government's receptiveness of refugees, which is underpinned by unsustainable and stigmatising assumptions about cultural drivers of violence.

Discussion of Islamophobic Incidents and Discursive Events

An arson attack on a mosque and verbal abuse directed at Dresden's major Dirk Hilbert and Chancellor Angela Merkel during the national celebrations of Germany's reunification in Dresden attracted high levels of public attention in October 2016. These instances reflect an alarming broader trend, namely the high currency

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4. S. Braun/N. Fried/C. Gammelin/W. Wittl, "Konjunktiv einer Katastrophe," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 21.12.2016.

5. J. Bittner, "Das Gegenteil von Dankbarkeit," *Die Zeit*, 25.12.2016. (Translated by the author)

of anti-Muslim hatred-inspired political action in 2016. Compared to the events described in the previous section, and apart from singular instances such as the national celebrations in Dresden, anti-Muslim racist political violence, despite its weekly occurrence across the country, hardly receives related levels of media coverage, and does not stimulate speculations about a 'cultural proneness' to violence.

Pronouncedly Islamophobic social movements, such as the 'Patriotric Europeans against the Islamization of the Occident', which have gained prominence within the local movement of PEGIDA in Dresden, retained their prominence in 2016. They mobilised particularly successfully in the context of the events of New Year's Eve and the terrorist attacks of July and December. In the first half of 2016, public authorities noted 129 Islamophobic marches across the country,[6] which adds up to an average of 3 – 4 demonstrations per week. PEGIDA in Dresden, as well as its less well-known offshoots such as MAGIDA in Magdeburg, LEGIDA in Leipzig, BÄRGIDA in Berlin, HAGIDA in Hannover, KÖGIDA in Cologne, DÜGIDA in Düsseldorf, BOGIDA in Bonn to just name a few, appeal to mainstream milieus within the local population, many of whom have not previously turned up to right-wing extremist gatherings.[7] Despite these movements' local focus, survey data shows that the aims of Dresden's PEGIDA are supported by about a quarter of the German population across the country.[8] Research has also established links between the endorsement of a movement like PEGIDA and approval of violence for political means.[9] Participants of PEGIDA and related marches have also been charged for physical attacks on mosques and refugee shelters.

The disproportionate rise of violent assaults directed at asylum shelters or Islamic worship facilities that was noted in 2015 remains at an alarming peak in 2016. The Federal Criminal Police Office (*Bundeskriminalamt*, BKA) had registered 199 violent attacks on asylum shelters in 2014. By 2015, the number of attacks quadrupled to 1,031. This trend continued in 2016, when 921 attacks were officially recorded by December.[10] The Amadeu-Antonio Foundation that documents right-

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6. Welt.de, "Weniger Angriffe auf Moscheen und Muslime in Deutschland," *Die Welt*, (August4.2016), retrieved January 9, 2016, from https://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article157480290/Weniger-Angriffe-auf-Moscheen-und-Muslime-in-Deutschland.html.

7. Gudrun Hentges, "Pegida – Deus ex Machina?" Karim Fereidooni/Meral El (eds.), *Rassismuskritik und Widerstandsformen* (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2016), p. 689-708; Alexander Häusler/Jan Schedler, "Neue Formen einer flüchtlingsfeindlichen sozialen Bewegung von rechts," Aleksandra Lewicki (ed.), Bürgerschaft in Europa: Grenzziehungen und soziale Bewegungen in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft, *Forschungsjournal Soziale Bewegungen*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (2016), p. 11-20.

8. O. Decker/J. Kiess/E. Eggers/E. Brähler, "Die ‚Mitte‘ Studie 2016: Methode, Ergebnisse und Langzeitverlauf," O. Decker/J. Kiess/E. Brähler (eds.), *Die enthemmte Mitte. Die Leipziger Mitte Studie 2016* (Gießen: Psychosozial Verlag, 2016), p. 64.

9. A. Yendell/O. Decker/E. Brähler, "Wer unterstützt Pegida und was erklärt die Zustimmung zu den Zielen der Bewegung?," O. Decker/J. Kiess/E. Brähler (eds.), *Die enthemmte Mitte. Die Leipziger Mitte Studie 2016* (Gießen: Psychosozial Verlag, 2016), p. 150.

10. "BKA Statistik: Mehr als 900 Angriffe auf Flüchtlingsheime," *Tagesschau*, 28.12.2016.

wing extremist violence reported in national but also local media, counted 1,963 attacks directed at refugees and accommodation facilities in 2016, 102 of which were arson strikes. These figures add up to an average of 17 violent assaults per week that have been registered by the authorities, and an overall of 37 of attacks per week reported by local media.

Violent assaults against Muslim worship facilities had risen from 23 to 75 in 2015. In 2016, the Federal Criminal Police Office accounted for 91 attacks directed at mosques in Germany, which suggests an average of one to two attacks per week.[11] According to Muslim associations in Germany, many assaults remain unreported, which means the actual number of incidents may be even higher. These figures do also not include hate crimes against individuals, which are not systematically documented.

Anti-Muslim attitudes do not only find expression in right-wing populist Islamophobic marches and extremist political violence, they have also reached a concerning level of support among the mainstream population in Germany. Oliver Decker, Johannes Kiess and Elmar Brähler's representative 'Mitte' studies (centre studies), that have been conducted every other year since 2002, draw a detailed picture of the German population's approval of nationalist, chauvinistic and xenophobic views. In their most recent edition of this research, Decker, Kiess and Brähler note a very modest rise in this attitude set across the country; however, they find a notable strengthening of focus onto hostility towards asylum applicants and Muslims.[12] In 2016, every other person, thus 50% of the population, 'felt like a stranger in their own country due to the large number of Muslims', while 40% would 'prohibit Muslim immigration to Germany'.[13]

Such hostile attitudes towards Islam, the 2016 study shows, directly account for the support of the right-wing populist party AfD, *Alternative für Deutschland*, or of social movements like PEGIDA: 85.9% of those who said they felt like a stranger in their own country due to the high Muslim presence, and 80.3% of those who want to prohibit Muslim immigration to Germany, also stated that they would vote for the AfD. Similarly, 80% of those respondents who supported the aims of PEGIDA also scored highly on the two Islamophobia items.[14]

Thus, quantitative surveys show that anti-Muslim racist attitudes appeal to a growing number of the population in Germany; a significant amount of those who

11. Deutscher Bundestag, 18. Wahlperiode, Drucksache 18/9310, Antwort der Bundesregierung, 01.08.2016, Bundesministerium des Inneren, Schriftliche Fragen Monat Januar 2017, retrieved February 2, 2017 from http://www.monika-lazar.de/fileadmin/user_upload/dokumente/schriftlichefragen/AW_SF_168_169.pdf.

12. O. Decker/E. Brähler, "Vorwort," O. Decker/J. Kiess/E. Brähler (eds.), *Die enthemmte Mitte. Die Leipziger Mitte Studie 2016* (Gießen: Psychosozial Verlag, 2016), p. 8.

13. In 2014, these items were at 43% and 36.6% respectively. Decker, Kiess, Eggers and Brähler 2016, p. 49.

14. The data indicates overlapping concerns between AfD and PEGIDA, in that the AfD is the most popular party among those who support PEGIDA, while 70% of AfD voters also supported PEGIDA. A. Yendell et al. 2016, p. 140.

hold Islamophobic opinions, the data also indicates, are now prepared to translate their views into political action, for instance by voting for a political party, supporting social movements and in some cases even justifying political violence that focuses specifically on this issue. However, as the following sections will discuss, Islamophobia not only finds expression in explicit political choices, demonstrations and extremist violence. Just as other group biases that are salient in society at a time, it is also – often unintentionally – reproduced through institutional processes in various areas of public life.

Employment

Compared to other European contexts, we have less systematic knowledge about discrimination in the German labour market. A 2010 study into discrimination on grounds of ascribed Islamic religiosity and an 2013 evaluation of unequal treatment in the labour market by the Federal Antidiscrimination Agency (*Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes*, ADS) both highlighted the lack of officially collected representative datasets on religious affiliation which posed an obstacle to tracing patterns of discrimination beyond selective qualitative case studies.[15] These studies indicated that individuals who are perceived as Muslims tend to find themselves in a particularly disadvantaged position in the labour market, especially in comparison to other post-migration population groups. Both evidence bases point to a tendency among employers to attribute lower abilities to Muslim applicants, as well as a prevailing disinclination to employ hijab-wearing Muslim women. Both studies relied, among other sources, on the number of discrimination cases reported to the Federal Antidiscrimination Agency as well as to regional and local Discrimination Advice Agencies. More recent figures indicate that the number of complaints in relation to anti-Muslim discrimination in the labour market has further increased in recent years, at least in large cities such as Berlin.[16]

A representative survey of 5,000 individuals with migration experience collected by the Institute for Employment Research (*Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung*, IAB) showed that respondents from Muslim-majority countries report significantly higher levels of discrimination experiences in comparison to respondents from European Union member states.[17] Unfortunately, the novel dataset generated by this study hardly remedies the aforementioned data gaps, as it largely focuses on the effect of language skills or professional qualification on labour market mobility,

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15. M. Peucker, *Diskriminierung aufgrund der islamischen Religionszugehörigkeit im Kontext Arbeitsleben – Erkenntnisse, Fragen und Handlungsempfehlungen* (Berlin: Antidiskriminierungstelle des Bundes, 2010). *Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes, Diskriminierung im Bildungsbereich und Arbeitsleben* (Berlin: Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes, 2013).

16. *Antidiskriminierungsnetzwerk Berlin des TBB, Antidiskriminierungsreport 2014 – 2015* (Berlin: ADNB, 2016).

17. I. Tucci/ P. Eisnecker/ H. Brücker, "Wie zufrieden sind Migranten mit ihrem Leben?,"*IAB Kurzbericht* (Nürnberg: Institut für Arbeitsmarkt und Berufsforschung, 2014).

while discrimination figures as self-reported indicator of life satisfaction. Systematic disadvantages such as the ethnic or religious penalty, which have been documented for other European contexts, remain unaccounted for, not least due to deficits in official data collection.[18]

A 2016 correspondence testing study closed some of these knowledge gaps by offering representative evidence of the occurrence of discrimination against Muslim women in the labour market. Weichselbaumer investigated the effects of discrimination on multiple grounds such as ethnic origin and Islamic religiosity.[19] 1,474 responses to comparable announcements of vacancies in white-collar office jobs were sent out, including to adverts for positions requiring lower, higher and management skills. All applications contained a picture of the same model. In one third of the applications, the woman had a German name, in the second third she had a Turkish name but did not wear a hijab, while in the final third she was given the same Turkish name and wore a hijab. The hijab was tied in a modern binding that did not cover her throat to suggest she 'was not particularly strict with her religion'. The experiment revealed that the veiled candidate had to send 4.5 as many applications as the same woman with a German name and identical qualifications.[20] The applicant with the Turkish name but no hijab was consistently by 5-6 points less successful in her efforts, while the veiled candidate was 15% less likely to be invited to a job interview. The difference was even more significant across different occupations: applying for a management role, the applicant wearing explicitly Islamic garments had to send 7.6 times as many applications as the candidate with the German name. Weichselbaumer's study verified that veiled women faced significant discrimination in the German labour market, and that Islamic religious attire is apparently particularly likely to be considered inappropriate for roles of higher occupational status.

Beyond the way in which Islamophobic attitudes underpin systematic biases in recruitment decisions, there is also evidence of regional and sector-specific institutional discrimination. In Berlin, for example, public servants employed in the education or the criminal justice system are legally bound to refrain from publicly displaying religious symbols, which discriminates against veiled Muslim women and effectively imposes a ban of these occupations on those who consider the wearing of a hijab as an expression of their religiosity. Anti-discrimination agencies highlight

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18. See also: Linda Supik, "Statistik und Diskriminierung," Albert Scherr (ed.), *Handbuch Diskriminierung* (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2017).

19. D. Weichselbaumer, "*Discrimination against female migrants wearing headscarves,*" IZA Discussion Paper 10217 (Bonn: Institute of Labour Economics, 2016).

20. The applicant with the German name received positive feedback from 18.8 % of the companies she applied to; the applicant with the Turkish name without a headscarf was contacted by 13.5 % of the employers; and the woman wearing a hijab received 4.2% positive resonance. Ibid., p. 12.

that the ban has a normative spill-over effect on other sectors of the labour market, as employers openly reject hijab-wearing women's applications, even if the job profile is outside the law's remit.[21]

Another example is a national legal barrier within the welfare sector. A significant proportion of health and social care services are provided by the two main Christian Churches' welfare organisations, Caritas and Diakonie. Together the Christian Churches therefore constitute the second largest employer (after the state) in Germany. They successfully lobbied for the inclusion of Article 9 into the General Equal Treatment Act (*Allgemeines Gleichbehandlungsgesetz*, AGG), which allows them to discriminate on grounds such as religion in the entirety of their employment practices, including in professions that do not involve the propagation of faith.[22] This legal discrimination privilege constitutes a significant obstacle for health practitioners of non-Christian faith, especially in locations where Christian faith-based organisations offer the only available employment in this line of work. The UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination expressed its concern about the indirect discriminatory effect of Article 9 AGG on groups such as Muslims, who are currently particularly affected by discrimination.[23] This constellation is aggravated in that Germany faces considerable labour shortages in the care sector due to its current demographic 'ageing'. The German government, as well as the Christian welfare organisations have therefore taken to financially supporting targeted programmes to further qualify recently arriving refugees to work in senior care. Those who decide to pursue such a career are likely to experience difficulties in accessing suitable employment or will be unable to progress to leadership positions in faith-based organisations.

In summary, there is considerable evidence for systematic patterns of both direct and indirect discrimination in the German labour market, which, due to the salience of anti-Muslim stereotypes particularly affects Muslim communities and whose who may be perceived as belonging to the Islamic faith. There is a need for further qualitative and especially quantitative research into discrimination on grounds of actual or perceived Muslim religiosity; for instance, we need to know more about its dynamics within different sectors of the labour market, and learn about the gender variation of the bias.

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21. „Antidiskriminierungsnetzwerk Berlin des TBB", p. 14. See also: Y.Shooman, "Wie neutral ist das Berliner Neutralitätsgesetz?" in IQ (ed.), *Alles schon fair? Mit Recht zu einem inklusiven Arbeitsmarkt* (München: Fachstelle Interkulturelle Kompetenzentwicklung und Antidiskriminierung, 2016), p. 59.

22.Aleksandra Lewicki, "Das Christentum als kulturelle Wiege der Demokratie und Gleichbehandlung? Die deutschen Kirchen und das Allgemeine Gleichbehandlungsgesetzes (AGG),"*Forschungsjournal Soziale Bewegungen*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (2015), p. 122-129.

23. Institut für Menschenrechte, Vereinte Nationen Ausschuss zur Beseitigung von Rassendiskriminierung, Schlussbemerkungen zu 19. Und 22. Staatenberichten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, (not dated), retrieved January 6, 2017, from http://www.institut-fuer-menschenrechte.de/fileadmin/user_upload/PDF-Dateien/Pakte_ Konventionen/ICERD/icerd_state_report_germany_19-22_2013_CoObs_2015_de.pdf.

Education

The German education system continues to be subject to critique regarding the discriminatory effects of several of its structural features. Research has highlighted that socially dominant stereotypes were particularly likely to influence opportunities of access to education, mechanisms of assessment, or transition to secondary schooling. The Federal Antidiscrimination Agency's triennial report, for instance, indicated that that the capacities and achievements of Muslim girls who wore the hijab were frequently underestimated in school and higher education settings.[24] The current legal situation too is not satisfactory in that the German Equal Treatment Act does not offer protection from discrimination in education.

The German Institute for Human Rights has recently shown that, if adopted, International Human Rights laws offer some legal protection from discrimination. It published a research report in 2016 that further elaborated on the institutional reproduction of salient forms of discrimination in the German education system, specifying structural barriers impeding the availability, accessibility, acceptability and adaptability of education under conditions of growing ethnic and religious diversity.[25] The study recommended a more explicit anchoring of equal treatment within educational procedures, the curriculum or teacher training.

Research into the content of curricula has demonstrated that German schoolbooks predominantly contained negative depictions of Muslims, which involved distancing attributes such 'strange', 'premodern', 'traditional' etc., that reinforce perceptions of inferiority and otherness.[26] The Federal Commissioner for Immigration, Refugees and Integration, Aydan Özoğuz, published a study in 2016 that confirmed these findings.[27] Focusing particularly on narratives of migration and integration, the study noted that immigration as well as the Islamic religion tended to be depicted as a problem, e.g. as a source of conflict.[28] Instances in which the Muslim minority's right to exercise their religion is contested are narrated as 'conflicts emanating from the Islamic faith', including the 'hijab controversy', local resistance to mosque building plans or Islamic holidays. The study also found that discrimination, racism or structural barriers found hardly any mention in German schoolbooks.

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24. "Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes 2013", p. 16.

25. M. Niendorf/S. Reitz, *Das Menschenrecht auf Bildung im deutschen Schulsystem. Was zum Abbau von Diskriminierung notwendig ist* (Berlin: Deutsches Institut für Menschenrechte, 2016).

26. S. Kröhnert-Othman/M. Kamp/C. Wagner, *Keine Chance auf Zugehörigkeit? – Schulbücher europäischer Länder halten Islam und modernes Europa getrennt; Ergebnisse einer Studie des Georg-Eckert-Instituts für internationale Schulbuchforschung zu aktuellen Darstellungen von Islam und Muslimen in Schulbüchern europäischer Länder* (Braunschweig: Georg-Eckert-Institut für Internationale Schulbuchforschung, 2011).

27. Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration, Schulbuchstudie Migration und Integration (Berlin: Bundeskanzleramt, 2016).

28. Ibid.,p. 28.

Karakaşoğlu and Wojciechowicz's research traced how anti-Muslim racism is institutionally reproduced within qualification programmes for young teachers.[29] Germany's Constitutional Court, as elaborated in last year's Islamophobia report, has ruled that regional headscarf bans were unconstitutional, and clarified that teachers could be prohibited from wearing headscarves in exceptional cases.[30] However, stigmatising perceptions about hijabs as expressions of either 'religious fundamentalism' or as a 'symbol of oppression' prevail in wider society and continue to shape teacher's everyday experiences in schools. Karakaşoğlu and Wojciechowicz describe how individual teachers or parents consider it their entitlement or even their civic obligation to verbalise their disapproval of the hijab and impose an elaboration of the significance they attribute to it.[31] Beyond being objectified, classified and lectured about the associations others connect with their religious practice, young women are further subject to specific control and supervision.

In summary, there is considerable evidence for structural impediments to equal treatment in education, and an array of studies that have pointed to a variety of ways in which socially dominant stereotypes limit the educational progression and professional development of post-migration minorities in general and Muslim communities in particular.

Politics

The *Alternative für Deutschland*, AfD, scored momentous results in five regional elections that took place in 2016, and parachuted into regional parliaments with a significant number of seats. Originally a political party targeting Eurosceptic audiences, the AfD repositioned itself over the course of the last two years and now mobilises specifically around issues in relation to Islam in Germany. Alexander Gauland, co-founder and deputy spokesperson of the AfD, has for instance demanded the immediate restriction of Muslim immigration.[32] Party leader Frauke Petry suggests that recent 'mass migration seriously endangers achievements of the reformation and the enlightenment, such as religious tolerance, women's rights and civic freedom'.[33] Besides provocative statements, AfD representatives, similar to other right-wing populist movements across Europe, seek to gain media attention with small performances that are to 'break with the taboos of political correctness'. Wiebke Muhsal, for instance, disrupted a session of the regional parliament in Thuringia by entering the parliamentary debate in a full-face

29. Yasemin Karakaşoğlu/Anna Aleksandra Wojciechowicz, "Muslim_innen als Bedrohungsfigur für die Schule – die Bedeutung des antimuslimischen Rassismus im pädagogischen Setting der Lehramtsausbildung," Karim Fereidooni/ Meral El (eds.), *Rassismuskritik und Widerstandsformen* (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2016), p. 507-528.

30. Anna Esther Younes, Islamophobia in Germany: National Report 2015, Enes Bayraklı & Farid Hafez (eds.), *European Islamophobia Report 2016* (Istanbul: SETA, 2016), p. 180-198.

31. Ibid.,p. 516.

32. J. Burger/J. Simon, "Neue deutsche Welle," *Zeitmagazin*, Nr. 52 (January 5, 2017), p. 45.

33. E. Finger/S. Schirmer, "Populismus ist kein Schimpfwort", *Die Zeit* , Nr. 40 (October 22, 2016), p. 50.

veil and taking it off in front of the MPs. 39,000 viewers subsequently watched her performance on YouTube, in which she 'expressed her concern of the Islamization of Germany' and demonstrated 'what it meant to be faceless'.[34] Beyond reinforcing negative stereotypes of Muslims, scenarios of a 'cultural take over' invert actual proportions of the distribution of the population in Germany (4.7 million Muslims live amongst a population of 80.6 million inhabitants),[35] and deliberately misrepresent Muslim communities' economic, political or cultural capacities to influence public life.[36]

The AfD strives to limit the rights of Muslims in Germany, including the most fundamental ones: Hans-Thomas Tillschneider, who prior to his parliamentary career taught Islamic Studies at the University of Bayreuth, suggested for example that the 'German basic law has not been made for Islam'.[37] The AfD also passed a new manifesto in 2016, in which it stated that 'Islam did not belong to Germany', objected to recognising Islamic organisations as 'corporations of public law' (a status that the Christian Churches and the Jewish community hold), demanded the closure of all University Institutes of Islamic Theology, called for a ban of 'symbols of Islamic domination in the public', such as minarets, the call to prayer, or full-face veils, and recommended to prohibit public servants from wearing hijabs.[38]

In spring 2016, the AfD made it to second place by mobilising 24% of the vote in the regional parliamentary election in Saxony-Anhalt. In Baden-Württemberg and Rheinland-Palatinate, the party achieved 15% and 12% respectively. In Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, the Chancellor's home-state, the AfD came second with 20%, beating Angela Merkel's Christian Democrats to third place. Even in Berlin's state elections, where the Social Democrats, the Green Party and the Post-Socialist *Die Linke* continued to receive high support and formed the regional government, the AfD mobilised significant votes in the outskirts of the city, entering Berlin's Senate with 14% of the vote.

In all instances, it was largely the mainstream parties of the Christian or the Social Democrats, who lost voters to the AfD. These shifts in the German party system, as longitudinal research on political attitudes in Germany documents, can hardly be explained with a disproportionate increase in racist or nationalist orientations. Rather, those segments of the population who expressed such views in the past but

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34. Burger and Simon 2016, p. 41.

35. A. Stichs, *Wie viele Muslime leben in Deutschland? Eine Hochrechnung über die Anzahl der Muslime in Deutschland zum Stand 31. Dezember 2015 (Nürnberg: Bundesamtfür Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2016), p. 11.*

36. For an analysis of the role of apocalyptic invasion scenarios within Anti-Muslim narratives see also: Shooman 2014, p. 150.

37. M. Machowecz, "Wir sind dagegen", *Die Zeit*, (August 25, 2016), retrieved January 12, 2017, fromhttp://www.zeit.de/2016/36/afd-sachsen-anhalt-landtag-erfahrungen.

38. Alternative für Deutschland, Programm für Deutschland, "Programm für Deutschland. Das Grundsatzprogramm der Alternative für Deutschland", (not dated), retrieved September 19, 2016, fromhttps://www.alternativefuer.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2016/05/2016-06-27_afd-grundsatzprogramm_web-version.pdf, p. 49-50.

located themselves in the centre of the political spectrum now feel increasingly inadequately represented by mainstream political parties and therefore support a political platform that foregrounds such concerns in its political mobilisation.[39] At the end of the year 2016, 20% of the German population stated that they would vote AfD, if national elections were taking place then.[40] It is thus highly likely that the AfD's political agenda will have an impact on the electoral campaigns of all political parties in the run-up to the national election in autumn 2017.

Media

The previously mentioned polarisation of German society can similarly be noted in media reporting. In recent years, German news media have increasingly engaged critically with their contribution to spreading negative stereotypes of minority groups, and the implications of relating incidents of crime to information about ethnicity, for example, are now more widely considered as problematic. However, as anti-Muslim racism is salient in wider society, its narratives are also reflected in news accounts.

Popular tropes in this regard are an alleged incompatibility of what is dichotomously constructed as 'Islamic' and 'European' values, customs and lifestyles, the perception that individuals from countries in which Islam constitutes a majority religion cannot be 'integrated' into German society, and predictions of a possible demise of German culture. Following the events of New Year's Eve 2015/2016, the tabloid press, but also high standard newspapers reproduced such stereotypes by engaging in a debate on cultural explanations for violent attacks. Even in instances where such claims were critically evaluated, the investigation of the question itself was rendered worthwhile. The weekly high quality paper *Die Zeit*, for instance, asked in its title 'Under Suspicion: Who is Arabic man?'[41] Several contributions to this edition then reflected (in many instances critically) on the question whether and how Arabic culture upheld a coherent cultural script that is specifically instructive of violent and aggressive behaviour.

The centre-left national paper *Süddeutsche Zeitung*'s weekend edition printed a drawing of a white female shadow whose genitals were covered by a black hand that reached between her legs.[42] (Figure 1)

Figure 1: Front cover of Süddeutsche Zeitung.[44]

39. Decker/Brähler 2016, p. 8.

40. Bittner 2016.

41. *Die Zeit*, 14.01.2016, p. 1.

42. *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 03.01.2016.

43. Spiegel, '"Süddeutsche" entschuldigt sich, "Focus" nicht', *Spiegel Online*, (January 12, 2016), retrieved February 14, 2017, from http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/focus-und-sueddeutsche-zeitung-eine-entschuldigung-eine-rechtfertigung-fuer-titel-a-1071334.html.

The image was accompanied by a citation suggesting that 'many young Muslim men are not able to have a relaxed encounter with the other sex. Such encounters are always highly sexualised'.[44] The paper then offered a critical reflection on arbitrary attributions of the label 'Muslim' and of deterministic reifications of culture, but nevertheless chose to draw attention to its treatment of the subject with an illustration that is suggestive of filthy dark paws that smear the purity of the white woman. A similar image was used by the weekly magazine *Focus* that had a photograph of a naked female body on

Figure 2: Focus front cover of 8 January, 2016.[47]

its cover, who was covered in black handprints. The title suggested: 'Women accuse. After the sex-attacks of migrants: Are we still tolerant or already blind?'[45] (Figure 2) Linking the message 'dark hands' and sexual abuse directly to the terms of integration policy, this title also racialised a group of individuals' behaviour as representative of wider cultural religious collectives.

This reflex also resurfaced following the DAESH inspired attacks in summer 2016. In response to the incidents in Southern Germany, the country staged what remained a controversial media debate about the introduction of a new ban on 'symbols of Islamic oppression', such as full-face veils (niqabs or burkhas) or full-body swimming costumes (burkinis) in the German public. The context within which this issue became salient points to contradictory discursive links between what is stereotyped as a tendency within Islam to reject 'basic democratic values', such as gender equality, and the attempt to reassert these values by limiting the rights of movement of those who in this narrative are at the receiving end of the oppression, thus women who wear the garment. Invisibility is further equated with a loss of the ability to assess and control the assumed outlaw hiding underneath. Anne Will, the presenter of an evening TV talk show, invited a fully veiled woman to her studio, who indeed took a fundamentalist religious stance in the television debate. Will's

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44.Meedia Redaktion, "Schwarzer Mann bedrängt weiße Frau", *Meedia.de,* January 8, 2016, retrieved January 9, 2017, from http://meedia.de/2016/01/11/schwarzer-mann-bedraengt-weisse-frau-sz-chef-wolfang-krach-entschuldigt-sich-fuer-illustration/.

45.*Focus*, 09.01.2016, p. 1.

46. Available from http://meedia.de/2016/01/08/schwarze-haende-auf-nackter-blonder-frau-focus-wegen-populistischem-cover-im-shitstorm/ (retrieved February 14, 2017).

reflections of their encounter show that not just the statements, but rather the dress itself is associated with the refusal of basic rules that determine social co-existence in Germany as well as a personal rejection: 'It is more than weird to talk to a fully veiled woman. And I personally perceive the full-face veil as a rejection. I get the impression that my collocutor denies a real conversation – to me and all other viewers. This is highly disturbing. (…) What Ms Illi demonstrates this way is that she rejects one of the basic principles of our open society. Because it is a feature of our open society to literally show your face.'[47]

While this debate has not yet lead to legislation, it has had an impact on women's rights, for instance in the case of a student who was denied access to an educational facility. The evening school in the State of Lower Saxony had initially accepted the woman but then reversed its decision when it became apparent that she wished to cover her face in class. In August 2016, the Osnabrück Administrative Court requested that the woman was to appear in person at the hearing to present her case. The incident received extensive media coverage, on which grounds the woman did not want to appear in public and did not attend the hearing in person. The court subsequently argued that, under the circumstances, the only action possible was to deny her claim. It decided that she was not allowed to wear a full-face veil in class.[48]

In summary, while journalists increasingly critically engage with their possible contribution to reproducing prejudice, anti-Muslim racist images and narratives continue to shape media debates. It should be added that media debates reflect rather than create a spectrum of views that are socially dominant at any given time.

Justice System

Modalities of law enforcement, and specifically the work of the police forces in Germany has received heightened attention over the course of the last years, particularly in the context of the ongoing trial against Beate Zschäpe, a member of the rightwing extremist group 'Nationalist Socialist Underground' (NSU). In the case of nine politically motivated murders in which the NSU targeted ethnic minority victims, most of whom were of Turkish origin, various regional German police forces suspected the victim's kin- and friendship networks, rather than considering the possibility of a racist crime. It became obvious that police officers' generalising presuppositions of ethnic minority delinquency prevented them from treating the victim's families with respect, impeded them from bringing the series of racist murders to a halt, and precluded the perpetrators' arrest. Although the police's inability to identify the murders in question as racist crimes involved police teams in several federal states and

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47. I. Radisch, "Anne Will: Man macht mit einer solchen Sendung eine Gratwanderung,"*Die Zeit*, Nr. 47, (November 10, 2016), p. 57.

48. C. Bleiker, "Court verdict: no niqabs in German school", *Deutsche Welle*, (August 22, 2016), retrieved January 12, 2017, from http://www.dw.com/en/court-verdict-no-niqabs-in-german-school/a-19492907.

stretched over the period of a decade, the systematic differential treatment of victims depending on their background was characterised by the first Federal Parliamentary Select Committee in 2013 as a series of glitches and errands of individual officers, as opposed to an institutional failure of equal treatment in police investigations.

In 2016, while the Zschäpe trial continues to unfold at Munich's Higher Regional Court, as well as federal and regional inquiries by Parliamentary Select Committees are ongoing, Amnesty International has revisited this issue by publishing recent research findings from a study of hate crime investigation procedures in Germany.[49] This report shows that police officers across the country continue to give insufficient attention to the possibility that violent incidents may have a racist background. This is detrimental in the current climate of anti-Muslim racism, in which, as outlined above, Islamophobic marches and hate crimes directed at refugee accommodation or Islamic places of worship are particularly frequent.

Amnesty's report highlights that, although the German police had considerable experience with securing facilities that are particularly likely to become a target of political hate crimes, such as synagogues, risk analysis mechanisms and subsequent perimeter protection are less effective in cases of potential attacks on mosques or asylum shelters.[50] The report further specified institutional procedures that systematically impede due regard to racist political violence, including the German classification system of political crimes that includes a high threshold for the local police to recognise, classify and pass a case on to the responsible department. The report presents case studies, in which victims of racist and anti-Muslim hate crimes have tried to alert the police or the courts to direct abuse uttered by the perpetrators, but where not taken seriously or even reprimanded. A research report by the NGO *Inssan e.V.* further assembled research findings that relate racialised accounts of delinquency to a higher likeliness to face arrest, higher charges and heavier sentences.[51]

Significant media attention turned to the practice of racial profiling at the end of 2016. In response to the events on New Year's Eve 2015/2016, Cologne police adopted preventive measures during the 2016/2017 New Year's celebrations. The deployment of pointedly higher numbers of officers was widely appreciated. Participants arriving at the celebrations, however, were looked up and down, whereby a majority was asked to use the left entrance, while about 2,000 individuals with 'North African appearance', if not accompanied by a woman, were asked to step to the right for a background check, where they were held for hours. The police announced

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49. Amnesty International, *Leben in Unsicherheit. Wie Deutschland die Opfer rassistischer Gewalt im Stich lässt* (London: Amnesty International, 2016).

50. Ibid., p. 53.

51. A. Y. Arani, "Anti-Muslim racism and Islamophobia in Germany," *Netzwerk gegen Diskriminierung und Islamfeindlichkeit*, (March 2015), retrieved January 10, 2017, from http://www.institut-fuer-menschenrechte.de/fileadmin/user_upload/PDF-Dateien/Pakte_Konventionen/ICERD/icerd_state_report_germany_19-22_2013_parallel_INSSAN_2015_en.pdf.

on Twitter that they were currently 'systematically checking up on several hundred NAFRIS at the main station'. The term NAFRI was explained as a 'police procedure internal terminology' that stood for '*Nordafrikanischer Intensivtäter*' (North African intensive perpetrator). While the police leadership admitted that the term was an 'unfortunate choice of words' and expressed their regrets, the selection on the basis of ethnic attributes as opposed to grounds of behaviour was defended as justified.[52] Commentators observed that just the 'internal use' of the term *NAFRI* within policing procedures indicated the institutional reproduction of racist distinctions.[53] Observers highlighted that racial profiling was illegal and deviated from the Basic Law's equal treatment provisions,[54] while others, among them Beatrix von Storch from the AfD suggested on Twitter that it was either 'racial profiling or mass rape of German women'. In response to this debate, Amnesty International, whose aforementioned report noted a more systematic occurrence of racial profiling within policing practices in Germany, reminded the police of the requirement to further embed equal treatment in their daily routines and procedures.[55]

In summary, there is considerable evidence that anti-Muslim racism is structurally reproduced in policing procedures. Significant institutional barriers to recording right-wing extremist attacks persist even if hate crimes directed at religious groups will be specifically accounted for from 2017 onwards. Practices such as racial profiling, as well as the prevailing perceptions of 'foreigners' or 'Muslims' as particularly disposed to criminal behaviour, thereby impede impartial investigations.

Internet

International networks of so-called 'Cyber Hate' distinctly contribute to spreading anti-Muslim racism. An in-depth study of these networks' argumentation and mobilisation strategies observed that they created a separate 'information universe'. In Germany, blog posts on 'Politically Incorrect' or 'Michael Mannheimer' present themselves as mouthpieces of 'ethnic Germans'. They gather and repost fake news to provide evidence of what they narrate as impending infiltration and subjugation of Europe through Muslims. Shooman's study traced some of the prevailing narratives in these German blogs: bloggers describe established media, political and economic elites as complicit in paving the way for an imminent 'genocide' of the German people; they conflate Islam and Islamism in equations of DAESH with 'authentic

52. Die Zeit Online, "Polizeipräsident bedauert Begriff 'Nafris'," *zeit.de*, (January 2, 2017), retrieved January 7, 2017, fromhttp://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2017-01/koeln-silvesternacht-polizei-nafris-vorwuerfe.

53. M.Storkowski, "Fragen bleiben erlaubt", *Spiegel Online* (January 3, 2017), retrieved January 7, 2017, fromhttp://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/koeln-und-nafri-debatte-fragen-bleiben-erlaubt-kolumne-a-1128365.html.

54. e.g. G. von Randow, "Auf den ersten Blick", *Die Zeit* (January 5, 2017), p. 6.

55. Amnesty International, "Kölner Polizeieinsatz ist eindeutiger Fall von Racial Profiling,"*Amnesty International Online*, (January 2, 2017), retrieved January 7, 2017, fromhttp://www.amnesty.de/2017/1/2/koelner-polizeieinsatz-ist-eindeutiger-fall-von-racial-profiling.

Islam'; they further draw on culturally deterministic narratives that ascribe backwardness and inferiority to Islamic communities, but at the same time reproduce biologistical arguments by attributing disproportionate fertility rates and political supremacy to Muslims.[56]

Attempts to politically mobilise supporters via social media have gained significant traction. Shooman's 2016 study notes up to 120,000 daily visitors on one of the German blogs. She also highlights that Islamophobic movements such as PEGIDA tend to assemble their supporters via Facebook. The Federal Office of Justice's statistics, which at the time of the completion of this report were only accessible for 2015, show that online incitement to racist hatred has disproportionately increased. In 2015, the number of persecuted criminal offences on grounds of incitement to racist hatred (*Volksverhetzung*) and depictions of violence (*Gewaltdarstellungen*) increased by 130% in comparison to 2014. A majority of these instances involve online based crimes, which rose from 500 to 2,300 per year.[57] The figures also indicate that only a third of the charges that are pressed actually lead to criminal convictions, as the identity of the perpetrators can rarely be established.

In summary, the anonymity of the Internet enables right-wing extremists to share and spread otherwise marginalised views, to build networks and to mobilise supporters for political action. Despite an explosion of online incitement to hatred, only a small proportion of these instances can be brought to court.

Civil Society and Political Initiatives Undertaken to Counter Islamophobia

Just as they are being used for spreading anti-Muslim racist narratives, social media have provided a forum for the struggle against racism. Racist depictions of violence against women that appeared on the covers of mainstream news outlets in early 2016, for instance, generated a lively protest on social media that inspired Wolfgang Krach, the *Süddeutsche* Zeitung's chief editor, to publicly apologise.[58]

The Berlin based '*Netzwerk gegen Diskriminierung und Islamophobie*' (Network Against Discrimination and Islamophobia), established by *Inssan e.V.*, a non-governmental organisation that specifically focuses on the struggle against anti-Muslim racism and Islamophobia, documents the occurrence of discrimination,[59] offers advice to victims of anti-Muslim hatred and discrimination, assists in bringing cases and precedents to court, and reaches out to Muslim communities to increase

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56. Ibid., p. 139-142.

57. M. Meisner, "Hetze im Netz nimmt zu. Oft kommen die Täter straflos davon", *Der Tagesspiegel*, November 28, 2016, retrieved January 10, 2017, from http://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/rechtsextremismus-hetze-im-netz-nimmt-zu-oft-kommen-die-taeter-straflos-davon/14903238.html.

58. Meedia Redaktion 2016.

59. See for instance: Arani 2015.

their awareness of their rights. Furthermore, *Inssan e.V.* organises various events and meetings to strengthen social dialogue. In 2016, the NGO developed new training materials and delivered a 'train-the-trainer' workshop for individuals who wish to offer education sessions on issues in relation to anti-Muslim racism and Islamophobia. The individuals involved in this initiative also work with local authorities to reduce discrimination in public services, another area that is not covered by German anti-discrimination legislation. A wide array of Muslim organisations in Germany also regularly bring discrimination against Muslims to the attention of political representatives and the media.

In summary, awareness of the implications of racism seems to have increased in German public debates, whereby social media provide a platform to publicly express concerns about racist practices. Apart from those affected by it, Islamophobia tends to be less widely recognised as a contemporary manifestation of cultural racism.

Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

This report presented research evidence of the currently alarming rise of Anti-Muslim hatred and discrimination in Germany, which is manifested in significant levels of violence against refugee shelters and mosques, participation in demonstrations across the country, high electoral support for right-wing populist parties such as the AfD, and soaring attempts to incite hatred online. Anti-Muslim racist views, held by roughly half the population, increasingly inform political action, but also influence the ways in which public institutions operate. Research has found that socially dominant stereotypes influence procedures and outcomes in educational settings, shape employment opportunities and career progression, are reflected in media reporting and lead to biases in policing procedures. In many of the instances and processes described above, discrimination occurs on several grounds at a time, including perceived ethnicity, religiosity, age, gender and so on. The following policy recommendations therefore focus on sensitising the overall population through instigating processes of institutional learning and embedding measures of equal treatment in various areas of public life.

- Systematically collect official statistics on ethnicity and religion, conduct analyses of disadvantage in various areas of public life.
- Extend national and regional anti-discrimination laws, legislate specifically for legal protection from discrimination in public services, law enforcement, education and welfare provision, adopt and adjust protection from religious discrimination in line with European Union laws.
- Include critical engagement with contemporary manifestations of racism and discrimination in textbooks and teacher training.
- Incorporate positive measures of non-discrimination and equal treatment in hiring and career progression procedures.

- Provide training sessions, workshops and specific briefing materials for the implications of discrimination to a variety of professional groups, including health professionals, staff in all sectors of education, public administration, police, the criminal justice system, journalists etc.
- Extend risk assessment mechanisms and police presence for refugee accommodation and facilities of Islamic worship.
- Diversity mainstreaming initiatives in various areas of institutional life should explicitly include the prevention of religious discrimination and anti-Muslim racism.

Chronology

January
- New Year's celebrations in 2015/2016 evoke a debate about sexual violence.

May
- Publication of the AfD *Manifesto Programm für Deutschland.*

July
- Violent attacks in Southern Germany, two of which involved supporters of DAESH.

August
- Osnabrück Administrative Court rules that wearing of full-face veil is not allowed in an educational setting.

October
- Reunification celebration in Dresden disrupted by abuse and violent attacks.

December
- Terrorist attack on the Berlin Christmas Market on Breitscheidplatz; racial profiling during New Year's Eve celebrations in Cologne.

This is the second edition of the annual *European Islamophobia Report (EIR)* which was presented for the first time in 2015. New countries are included in this year's *EIR*; while 25 countries were covered in 2015, the report for 2016 includes 27 country reports. *EIR 2016* is the result of 31 prominent scholars who specialise in different fields such as racism, gender and Islamophobia Studies.

Islamophobia has become a real danger to the foundations of democratic order and the values of the European Union. It has also become the main challenge to the social peace and coexistence of different cultures, religions and ethnicities in Europe. The country reports of *EIR 2016*, which cover almost all the European continent from Russia to Portugal and from Greece to Latvia, clearly show that the level of Islamophobia in fields such as education, employment, media, politics, the justice system and the Internet is on the rise. Since the publication of the last report there is little improvement. On the contrary, one can see from the country reports that the state of democracy and human rights in Europe is deteriorating. Islamophobia has become more real especially in the everyday lives of Muslims in Europe. It has surpassed the stage of being a rhetorical animosity and has become a physical animosity that Muslims feel in everyday life be it at school, the workplace, the mosque, transportation or simply on the street.

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.