Monitoring Islamophobia in the Netherlands

-

an explorative study

in cooperation with CIDI and RADAR

Colofon

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1. Introduction

SPIOR was founded in 1988 by 16 mosques in Rotterdam. The main purpose then was to support the member organisations in housing matters. The housing situation of mosques was problematic, both for the mosques themselves and for the municipality. SPIOR acted as intermediary to improve the situation. Throughout the years, SPIOR has grown in size and scope. In 2013, SPIOR has 66 member organisations – mosques and socio-cultural organisations, most in Rotterdam, some in neighbouring towns. In scope, SPIOR has become a social organisation which develops and executes different activities in the fields of education, welfare, employment, social dialogue, emancipation and anti-discrimination. Advocacy and support of grassroots organisations is also part of this. SPIOR still plays an intermediary role. SPIOR does so inspired by its identity and by the conviction that being Dutch citizen and Muslim are not mutually exclusive, but on the contrary: that one can strengthen the other.

SPIOR opposes discrimination on all grounds. Discrimination erodes cohesion in society and hinders individuals in their development. In late years, we have seen how discrimination of Muslims has become more and more evident in Dutch society and therefore needs to be given extra attention. Especially the events of 9/11 have been a turning point in this respect and later events (London, Madrid, murder of Theo van Gogh) have fuelled distrust, fear, hatred and discrimination towards Islam and Muslims. To be able to act adequately against this situation, it is vital to have current and complete data. Therefore, SPIOR initiated this explorative study into Islamophobia in the Netherlands, focused on the question whether there is a need and use for a specific monitor on Islamophobia in the Netherlands and if so, what would be the conditions for it. In this report, we present our conclusions.

We would like to thank all respondents and participants for their cooperation. In specific, we thank CIDI and RADAR for their valuable contribution. The study was set up in consultation with them, because they underline the importance of addressing the situation around Islamophobia in the Netherlands. We want to thank them for their valuable input and feedback throughout the study. Our special thanks goes out to Cyriel Triesscheijn (RADAR) and Guy Muller and Hadassa Hirschfeld (CIDI) for their participation in the supervisory committee.

2. Study design

In this study, several research methods have been used. First of all, a study of literature on Islamophobia. In this, we looked for answers to several questions: What is the scientific view towards Islamophobia? What data are available about the nature and scale of Islamophobic incidents? What are reactions of Muslims, but also of politics and society, to the phenomenon? We distinguished between international, European and Dutch data. A list of used literature is included in annex I.

Secondly, we held interviews with several stakeholders, such as anti-discrimination bureaus (including RADAR), the police, a social scolar and other organisations that are somehow involved in the issue of Islamophobia in the Netherlands. We also looked into experiences in other countries with monitoring Islamophobia, like France and Germany. Below, the questions which were asked during these interviews are listed. A list of respondents is included in annex II.

- What is the working method of your organisation on discrimination in general?
- Does your organisation also work on Islamophobia in the Netherlands?
- What is the working method of your organisation on Islamophobia specifically?
- What are your experiences with registering discrimination in general?
- What are your experiences with registering Islamophobia?
- What data do you have available about Islamophobia?
- What are the success factors and conditions for working with the subject discrimination (including registration) in general?
- What are the success factors and conditions for working with the subject Islamophobia (including registration in specific)?
- Do you think a monitor on Islamophobia in the Netherlands would have added value?
- What do you see as conditions for a monitor on Islamophobia in the Netherlands?

Thirdly, we interviewed CIDI, the Centre for Information and Documentation on Israel in the Netherlands, on their working method. CIDI has been making a specific annual monitor on anti-Semitism in the Netherlands since 30 years and through it, has managed to put the issue on the agenda. There are many similarities between the situation and the minority position of the Jewish and the Muslim population in the Netherlands. They were interviewed about their working method, way of collecting and presenting data, their most important partners and the overall way of monitoring anti-Semitism in the Netherlands.

Finally, we organised an expert meeting on Islamophobia, in cooperation with CMO (Contact body Muslims and Government; national organisation representing Muslim organisations). During this meeting, scientists, Muslim organisations, police and anti-discrimination bureaus exchanged views and experiences on Islamophobia. Aim of the meeting was to discuss the definition and criteria for Islamophobia. The output of the meeting is included in this report.

3. The concept of Islamophobia

3.1 Introduction

Islamophobia is a concept that issues a lot of debate. The concept was adopted by politicians and academics in the last decade of the 20th century. The Runnymede Trust, a British think tank, played an important role in this by publishing the report 'Islamophobia: a challenge for us all' (1997). In studies and reports on the phenomenon, various terms and definitions are used, each evoking different critical reactions. For purposes of clarity and within the scope of this report, we have chosen not to include a complete overview of all different definitions with their arguments and counter arguments, but rather to focus on the definition we started out with, the general criticism on the concept of Islamophobia that we found and the definition we have chosen as the outcome of the process during the study as the most practical working definition.

Starting point for this study has been the definition used by the Council of Europe. The Council of Europe (2006) defines the term Islamophobia as '*The fear of or prejudiced viewpoint towards Islam, Muslims and matters pertaining to them. Whether it takes the shape of daily forms of racism and discrimination or more violent forms, Islamophobia is a violation of human rights and a threat to social cohesion*.' This definition is also used by many other organisations, including research institutions. But does this definition adequately address all aspects of the phenomenon and is it useful to work with in daily practice of registering and fighting discrimination? What is more, is the term Islamophobia itself adequate for this or should we use other concepts, like 'Muslim-hate' or 'anti-Islamism'?

3.2 Arguments against and for the word 'Islamophobia'

The first criticism on the concept of Islamophobia is connected to the use of 'phobia'. 'Phobia' comes from Greek, meaning 'fear'. Nowadays, it is mostly used in the medical, psychological context, referring to a specific and often intense form of fear, mostly irrational. People suffering from a phobia have the desire to avoid this object or situation, whereas in the case of actual discrimination based on Islamophobia, the object is actually directly targeted. Critics also mention that there are types of phobia which are legitimate (or in any event not forbidden), such as claustrophobia. These are seen as a disorder or disease that people are primarily suffering from themselves, whereas Islamophobia refers to a view and behaviour that is perceived as a choice that (can) make(s) others suffer.

This 'etymological' criticism is rejected by others because a lot of words in current European languages have their origin in Greek or Latin, but their use and meaning has been adopted to a contemporary version. The pathological use of the term phobia in medical science is irrelevant in this context, they say. And at the same time, actual fear of Islam and Muslims is a very real part of Islamophobia. It is not the *whole* phenomenon, but certainly is an aspect of it. A parallel can be drawn with the term 'homophobia'. The literal meaning of this word would be 'fear of the same' or 'fear of man' (depending on whether one leads 'homo' back to Greek or to Latin), but in its current use, it refers to expressions and practices which are motivated by feelings of opposition to homosexuals and their interests. The use of a word in modern language is not just about etymology and literal meaning, but about what people understand it to mean in a contemporary context. A parallel can also be drawn with the term 'anti-Semitism'. 'Semitic' historically refers to Semitic peoples[1], including both Jews and Arabs, among others. However, in the current use, everyone uses and understands it solely as referring to hatred and hateful acts against Jews. It is used in that sense internationally since the end of the 19th century.

[1] Which in its turn is derived from a claimed lineage to Sem, one of Noah's sons.

Secondly, the word 'Islam' in the concept of Islamophobia is also criticised, because it might suggest that criticism on the religion itself would by definition be wrong, too. This suggestion is also made in the given definition, speaking about a 'prejudiced viewpoint towards *Islam*, Muslims and matters pertaining to them'. These critics state that it is important to distinguish between (legitimate) criticism or even (irrational) aversion of a religion and discrimination. Though it may be irrational or illegitimate, not every opinion of or criticism on Islam is 'a violation of human rights'. Though we may not agree or may not like it, people have a right to their opinion, protected by the freedom of speech to express it as well. For example, the statement ' Islam is an idiotic religion' is not necessarily discriminatory towards people. This is the opinion of many critics, such as the Anne Frank Stichting in the Netherlands and Amnesty International. They point out the risk of using the term Islamophobia in public debate. From a human rights point of view they underline the importance of distinguishing between Islam and Muslims. As long as individual Muslims are not discriminated against, one is allowed to be afraid of Islam or criticise it. The comparison is made with anti-Semitism: one is allowed to criticise Israel and Israeli politics, but not to discriminate individual Jews. Therefore they prefer the use of terms like discrimination or hate towards Muslims, Muslim-discrimination or anti-Islamism (although the same criticism can be put forward towards this last term).

However, the very comparison that is made to anti-Semitism shows that in general, negative views about Judaism are also referred to as being anti-Semitic and cause wide public debate and concern, even though no laws are actually broken with it. So distinguishing between different aspects of a phenomenon does not have to mean that a different overall term has to be used for it. The term Islamophobia is also well known internationally and in the Netherlands as well. As in the definition we started with, Islamophobia is defined as *both* negative feelings towards Islam and Muslims *and* discriminatory, possibly violent acts based on that. So the distinction is made between *ideas* about Islam and Muslims and *incidents*, actual practices. In actual words: the factual discrimination of Muslims or Muslim-discrimination can be a result of Islamophobia, but is not the same. Discriminatory actions are legally forbidden and punishable, while ideas are not.

3.3 Same word, new definition

We think it is important to monitor both ideas and incidents. The latter are rooted in the first and also have a profound impact on how people feel in society, whether or not they actually experience discrimination. Using the term Islamophobia and at the same time making a clear distinction between ideas, attitudes and actions, gives the opportunity to fight a negative image about Islam and Muslims which can lead to Muslim-discrimination. In the fight against Islamophobia we continue to speak about Islamophobia. Fighting Islamophobia means both tackling prejudices, fear and dislike towards Islam and Muslims as well as addressing concrete discriminatory incidents towards Muslims. The *means* to address these two aspects are different, requiring a preventative approach on the one hand and a curative approach on the other.

Another, very practical, criticism is towards the definition. In order to adequately address the issue of Islamophobia in political and public debate, it is important that the definition is easy to understand and not too long. Through our interviews with respondents and the discussion in the expert meeting, we came to the following definition, which includes both aspects as mentioned above:

'Islamophobia is a worldview based on fear and dislike towards Islam and Muslims which (can) result(s) in practices of exclusion and discrimination.'

It is important to mention that this definition is not only valid in situations of hostilities against Muslims when they are present, but also in situations of hostilities against Muslims even when there are no Muslims present. It is also valid when people are targeted because they are perceived to have Muslim names or a Muslim appearance, even though they are not actually Muslims themselves. These aspects are also taken into account by CIDI in handling anti-Semitic incidents.

3.4 Criteria

It is important to have practical guidelines to be able to determine whether experiences qualify as Islamophobic, again distinguishing the two aspects, which we refer to as ideas and incidents. Not every unpleasant expression of Islamophobia is a case of discrimination of Muslims. That distinction is sometimes difficult to make. Therefore, it is important to develop clear criteria. In scientific research, several criteria to identify Islamophobia have been put forward. In 2006, the former European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC)[2] published a report which described several characteristics of Islamophobia, which in turn had been based on a list formulated by the Runnymede Trust, a British non-governmental organisation, published in 1997 (Conway, 1997). These are used (either or not slightly adapted) by many scientists who are concerned with the subject, like American scholar John L. Esposito (2010). Among them is also Dutch anthropologist Martijn de Koning, who contributed to the discussion on criteria during the expert meeting that was part of this study.

Identifying Islamophobic ideas:

- There is a generalised and substantial idea about Islam.
- This idea about Islam is the exact opposite of the substance of the Dutch/Western/European culture and/or identity.
- Actions of Muslims are explained because of this 'clash between substances'.
- This idea is used for a more ideological argument for hierarchy, superiority and inferiority.
- Islam is presented as a violent religion, threatening and supporting terrorism.
- Islam is seen as a political ideology which is used for political and military profit.
- Any criticism of Western beliefs and society by Muslims or by Islam is rejected.
- Hostility against Islam is used to make discrimination against Muslims more ethical.
- Hostility against Muslims is seen as a natural and common phenomenon.

Islamophobia can result in practices of exclusion and discrimination towards Muslims. This can happen in different ways, in different 'fields'. The following list includes various possible expressions of discrimination of Muslims. The list is formulated in questions so it can be converted into a checklist in a later stage.

Identifying Islamophobic incidents, discrimination of Muslims:

- Did the perpetrator use (extreme) violence for reasons connected to the victim's Islamic beliefs?
- Did the perpetrator use Islamophobic clichés?
- Did the perpetrator describe Muslims as terrorists?
- Did the perpetrator say something negative about wearing the hijab of wearing a beard because of one's Islamic beliefs?
- Did the perpetrator make threats to someone for reasons connected to one's Islamic beliefs?
- Did the perpetrator assault someone for reasons connected to one's Islamic beliefs?
- Did the perpetrator use vandalism against properties of Muslims, like mosques or Islamic school buildings?
- Did the perpetrator insult someone for reasons connected to one's Islamic beliefs, through the phone, by e-mail, social media or direct contact?
- Is there written material which is Islamophobic and aimed at a wide public with a evident Islamophobic motive?
- Are there politics with an evident Islamophobic logic or legitimisation that discriminate or exclude Muslims?

It is important to further specify the use of these criteria. How many criteria must be 'checked' for an expression to be defined as Islamophobic? And should all expressions be given equal weight or is one

[2] Nowadays the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA).

more serious than an other? A further elaboration on these questions is necessary for the further use of these criteria in the practice of registering and monitoring Islamophobia.

It is important to mention here that inciting hatred or discrimination is also a criminal offence. So even if one does not carry out discriminatory acts himself but calls upon others to do so, this is also punishable by law. However, this charge may be difficult to prove because there is a fine line between freedom of speech and incitement of hatred. Traditionally in the Netherlands, the courts interpret the freedom of speech quite broadly. This has been shown in several cases in the last few years, for example in the case against politician Geert Wilders. The most recent ECRI[3] report on the Netherlands (2013) also refers to this case. The court ruled that some of Wilders' comments were addressed to Islam as a religion and other comments, addressed to the believers, Muslims, were made in the context of a social debate. Because of Wilders' role as a politician, the court judged these comments not to cross the boundaries of inciting hatred and discrimination. The European Council does not share the Dutch court's view. In their opinion, comments such as 'You will see that all the evils that the sons of Allah perpetrate against us and themselves come from the Quran', do address believers of Islam in particular and do incite hatred and discrimination.

3.5 Conclusion

Though the concept of Islamophobia evokes several criticisms, it is the most commonly used term for a negative approach towards Islam and/or Muslims. In its use in for example a monitor on this phenomenon, a distinction should be made between ideas, views and concrete incidents of discrimination towards persons based on Islamophobia. Both are part of the overall concept and are intrinsically linked to each other but have different legal consequences and require a different approach in tackling them. For the purpose of registering and monitoring Islamophobia it is necessary to further elaborate criteria in a practical working instruction.

[3] European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, a body of the European Council.

4. The phenomenon of Islamophobia: facts and figures

4.1 Introduction

History has shown many examples of people targeting a particular group within society, especially in situations of economic crisis and/or threats to security. These patterns of discrimination are often based on race, sexual orientation, ethnicity, residence status (e.g. refugees) and/or religion. In the last decades, a rise of discrimination towards Islam and Muslims is noticeable. Several international events have fuelled this. The most striking turning point for most people have been the attacks of 9/11 in the United States. Some historians claim that the perception of Islam and Muslims as 'the enemy' dates back centuries (as far back as the crusades) and current events only give a new impulse to that. In this chapter, we do not claim to give a full historical analysis, but we would like to present a brief sketch of relatively recent events that have played a part in the current phenomenon of Islamophobia.

In 1979, the Shah of Iran was overthrown by the Islamic regime of ayatollah Khomeini. Ten years later, the ayatollah put a price on the head of Salman Rushdie, author of 'The Devil's verses', which sparked fierce protests in Western countries as well. Shortly after, Western countries were involved in Gulf War I (1990). In retrospect, many mark these events as turning points for the rise of contemporary Islamophobia. Some link this to the end of the Cold War at the end of the 1980's and say that that sparked the introduction of a new enemy for the Western world, namely: Islam. Since then, a series of other incidents have taken place which have had a big impact on the perception of Islam and Muslims in Western countries. As stated above, these were mainly the 9/11 attacks. But since then also the war in Afghanistan, Gulf War II, the terrorist attack in Madrid in March 2004, the assassination of Theo van Gogh in the Netherlands in November 2004, suicide attacks in London in July 2005, the 'Danish cartoon riots' and other events have had a negative effect on the perception of Islam and Muslims. The wave of recent protests and revolutions in Middle-Eastern (majority Muslim) countries have been welcomed in Western countries as a call for more democracy in that region, but at the same there are great concerns when parties with an explicit Islamic or perhaps Islamist agenda come to power.

The enemy image of Islam and Muslims in Western countries is illustrated, as well as reinforced by the rise of political parties in Europe with an explicit anti-Islam agenda, such as the Partij voor de Vrijheid in the Netherlands, the Bürgerbewegung pro Deutschland in Germany, Die Freiheit in Germany, the Frond National in France, Sverigedemokraterna in Sweden, Vlaams Belang in Belgium, the English Defence League in the U.K., Dansk Folkeparti in Denmark and Schweizerische Volkspartei in Switzerland. These parties fuel polarisation between Muslims and others, and some of them have a great number of voters/followers.

In the following paragraphs, we present data from several reports in recent years in which attention was given to Islamophobia. We do not pretend to present a complete overview of known data but have selected reports and findings that in our view give a general impression of the phenomenon and are relevant to the question of monitoring Islamophobia in the Netherlands. We distinguish between reports specifically on the Netherlands, European reports and reports from other countries and/or on a global level. We start with the latter and conclude by focusing on what is known of the situation in the Netherlands.

4.2 Information on Islamophobia at the global level

Various studies and reports on a global scale show that concerns of people in (Western) countries about Islam and Muslims often translate into unfavourable views of people with an Islamic identity. The Pew Research Center, a non-partisan fact tank that gives information about issues, attitudes and trends shaping the world, produces surveys from among the world's population about various topics.

In one of their surveys on Islamic Extremism (2005) the attitudes towards and thoughts about different religions and people who follow these religions were presented. In figure 1, the percentage of people in different countries who say they have a 'somewhat or very favourable view of Muslims' is included. Based on this data, the table shows that in Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, Poland, China and India a large part of the population has an unfavourable view on Muslims. It is remarkable that the percentage regarding not favourable opinions about Christians and Jews is significantly smaller (Pew Research Center, 2005).

Views of Christians, Jews and Muslims

	-Christians-		*-- Jews --*		*--Muslims--*	
	Fav	Unfav	Fav	Unfav	Fav	Unfav
	%	%	%	%	%	%
United States	87	6	77	7	57	22
Canada	83	9	78	11	60	26
Great Britain	85	6	78	6	72	14
France	84	15	82	16	64	34
Germany	83	13	67	21	40	47
Spain	80	10	58	20	46	37
Netherlands	83	15	85	11	45	51
Russia	92	3	63	26	55	36
Poland	86	5	54	27	46	30
Turkey	21	63	18	60	83	11
Pakistan	22	58	5	74	94	2
Indonesia	58	38	13	76	99	1
Lebanon	91	7	0	99	92	7
Jordan	58	41	0	100	99	1
Morocco	33	61	8	88	97	3
China	26	47	28	49	20	50
India	61	19	28	17	46	43

Figure 1: Pew Research Center 2005. Views of Christians, Jews and Muslims, based on the following sample of respondents: U.S. 1001, Canada 500, Britain 750, China 2191, France 751, Germany 750, India 2042, Indonesia 1022, Jordan 1000, Lebanon 1000, Morocco 1000, the Netherlands 754, Pakistan 1225, Poland 1024, Russia 1002, Spain 751 and Turkey 1003.

Figure 2 shows data on favourable and unfavourable views of people with an Islamic identity from a comparable survey from the Pew Research Center in 2008. The data show that, within three years, the percentage of unfavourable opinions about Muslims has gone up in most countries.

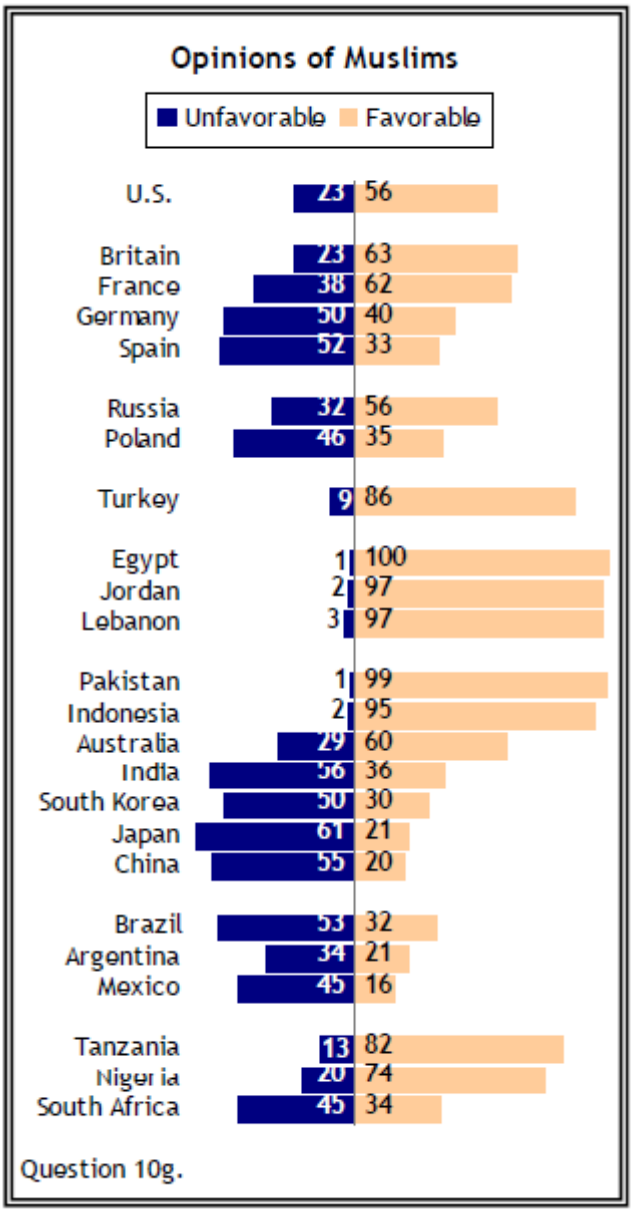

Figure 2: Pew Research Center 2008. Views of Muslims, based on the following sample of respondents: Argentina 801, Australia 700, Brazil 1000, Britain 753, China 3212, Egypt 1000, France 754, Germany 750, India 2056, Indonesia 1000, Japan 708, Jordan 1000, Lebanon 1000, Mexico 805, Nigeria 1000, Pakistan 1254, Poland 750, Russia 1000, South Africa 1001, South Korea 714, Spain 752, Tanzania 704, Turkey 1003 and United States 1000.

Many people who have a unfavourable opinion about Islam and Muslims are also afraid of this religion and his followers. More specifically, they are afraid of the influence of Muslims on society and possible acts of terrorism committed by this group. Connected to this perception, they often see Islam as a violent religion. The survey on extremism (Pew Research Center, 2005) shows that majorities in the U.S.A., Canada and almost every European country, judge that some religions are more prone to violence than others. When those taking this view are asked which religion they think is more violent, Islam is mentioned by large majorities in each of these countries (Pew Research Center, 2005). The percentages per country are included in figure 3.

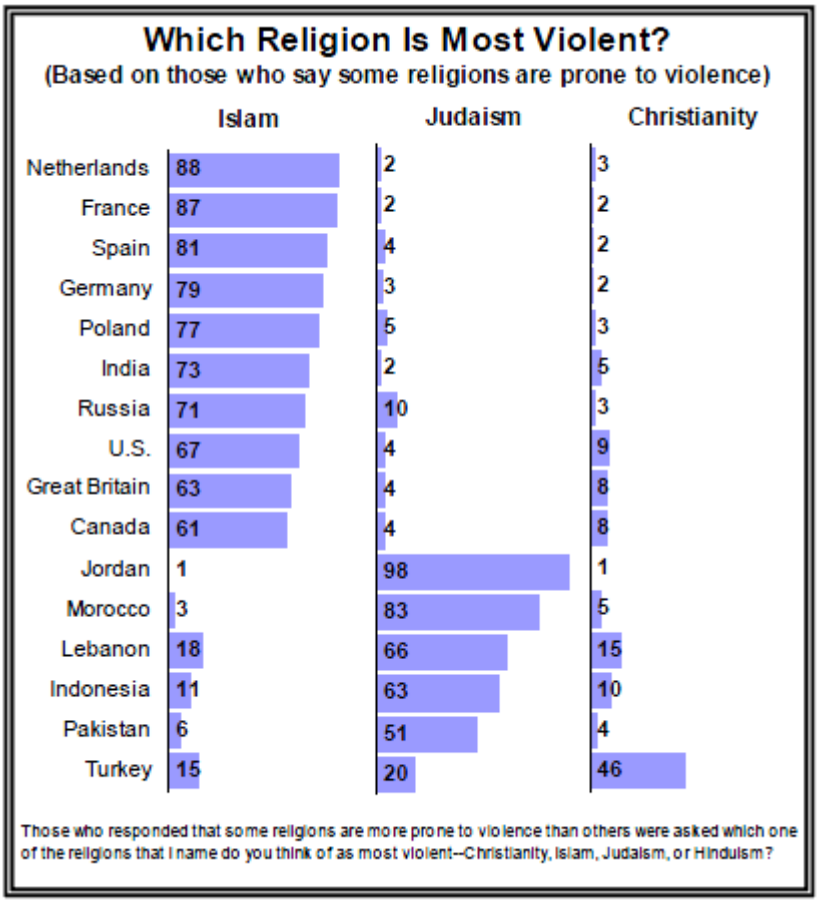

Figure 3: Pew Research Center 2005. Views of which religion is most violent, based on the following sample of respondents: U.S. 1001, Canada 500, Britain 750, China 2191, France 751, Germany 750, India 2042, Indonesia 1022, Jordan 1000, Lebanon 1000, Morocco 1000, the Netherlands 754, Pakistan 1225, Poland 1024, Russia 1002, Spain 751 and Turkey 1003.

Six years later, in 2011, the Pew Research Center produced a similar survey in which the same conclusions were drawn. The view that Islam is the most violent religion is particularly prevalent in Israel, France and Spain, where about nine out of ten people (91%, 90% and 87% respectively) of those who say some religions are more prone to violence consider Islam to be the most violent. At least two thirds of those who say some religions are more violent than others in Germany (79%), UK (75%), the U.S. (70%) and Russia (67%) also select Islam as the most violent. Most of these percentages are higher than in the survey of 2005 and are included in figure 4 (Pew Research Center, 2011).

Which Religion Most Violent?

	Christianity	Islam	Judaism	Hinduism	None (Vol)/ DK
	%	%	%	%	%
U.S.	9	70	2	3	16
Britain	5	75	2	3	16
France	2	90	4	1	3
Germany	7	79	2	3	10
Spain	3	87	4	1	5
Russia	10	67	10	3	9
Israel	3	91	3	0	3
Turkey	45	2	41	2	10
Egypt	4	1	93	1	0
Jordan	2	1	97	0	0
Lebanon	20	0	77	1	2
Palest. ter.	1	0	88	10	1
Indonesia	6	32	56	1	6
Pakistan	9	3	54	29	5

Asked only of those who say some religions are more prone to violence than others.

Figure 4: Pew Research Center 2011. Views of which religion is most violent, based on the following sample of respondents: Britain 1000, Egypt 1000, France 1004, Germany 1001, Indonesia 1000, Israel 907, Jordan 1000, Lebanon 1000, Pakistan 1251, Palestinian territories 825, Russia 1000, Spain 1000, Turkey 1000 and United States 1001.

Due to the afore mentioned perception of Islam as a violent religion, public attitudes towards Muslims and concerns about Islamic extremism are remarkably consistent in Western Europe, the U.S.A. and other countries with sizeable Muslim minorities. Majorities in all Western European countries as well as Canada, India and Russia agree that Muslims coming to their countries want to be distinct from society at large, instead of adopting its customs and way of life (Pew Research Center, 2005; 2008; 2011). In several of these countries, two thirds of the respondents or more take that view, with Germany leading the list (88% agree). In France, nearly six out of ten people (59%) see a desire for distinctness. Americans are somewhat less likely to take this view; 49% thinks Muslims in the U.S. want to be distinct from the larger American society (Pew Research Center, 2005).

Substantial majorities across Western Europe also see resident Muslims' sense of identity as growing stronger. Those who do, think it is a negative development. More than three quarters of the public in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Spain view the growing sense of identity among Muslims as a bad thing for their country. In Great Britain and Eastern Europe, smaller majorities agree. In the U.S., 50% and 51% in Canada perceive a growing sense of Islamic identity; both populations see this as a bad thing for their respective countries. The concerns people express about this growing sense of Islamic identity are varied. Majorities in India, Russia and France, as well as in the U.S., Spain and Poland, cite the fear that it can lead to violence as their primary concern. In Great Britain, Canada, Germany and the Netherlands, the main worry was that stronger Islamic identity would impede Muslims integrating into society (Pew Research Center, 2005).

Muslim women wearing headscarves is often perceived as an expression of Islamic identity. Some countries made the decision to ban the wearing of headscarves by Muslim women in public places. In

non-Muslim countries there is a substantial division between negative and positive opinions about this issue. Majorities in the U.S., Canada and Great Britain, as well as in Spain, Russia and Poland, view such bans as a bad idea. However, in France, a large majority (78%) favours prohibiting. They are joined in this view by smaller majorities in Germany (54%), the Netherlands (51%) and by two-thirds of the Indian public (66%). This support of a ban is related to perceptions of Islamic separatism and concerns about extremism. Across Western Europe and North America, those supportive of the ban register greater concern about Islamic extremism in their countries. People in non-Muslim countries who think a ban is a good idea also are more likely to perceive Muslims in their country as wanting to be distinct from larger society; this is especially the case in the Netherlands (Pew Research Center, 2005). An overview of this data is given in figure 5.

Support for Banning Head Scarves Tied to Extremism Concern

Banning Muslim head scarves is a good idea…	Total	*Extremism Concern in Our Country* Yes*	No	*Diff.*
	%	%	%	
Germany	54	59	36	*+23*
Canada	37	45	27	*+18*
Netherlands	51	55	39	*+16*
Great Britain	29	33	20	*+13*
United States	33	36	24	*+12*
France	78	81	70	*+11*
Spain	43	45	35	*+10*
Poland	37	43	34	*+9*
Russia	33	34	30	*+4*
India	66	67	65	*+2*

* 'Yes' is very or somewhat concerned and 'No' is not too or not concerned at all.

Figure 5: Pew Research Center 2005. Support of banning headscarves tied to extremism concern, based on the following sample of respondents: U.S. 1001, Canada 500, Britain 750, China 2191, France 751, Germany 750, India 2042, Indonesia 1022, Jordan 1000, Lebanon 1000, Morocco 1000, the Netherlands 754, Pakistan 1225, Poland 1024, Russia 1002, Spain 751 and Turkey 1003.

Feelings of dislike and fear towards Islam and Muslims and ideas about Islam as a religion which is the exact opposite of the substance of Western culture and identity, can result in practices of exclusion and discrimination. Through the years, Muslims feel that discrimination against them has grown enormously. For example in the United States, where Muslims are facing discrimination at work, school, the airport and even in their own neighbourhood after the 9/11 attacks. Every year, the number of incidents of Muslim-discrimination is higher or at least in the same range. The Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) reported 107 anti-Muslim hate crimes in 2009, 160 in 2010 and 157 in 2011, the most recent year for which the FBI has released statistics (Council on American-Islamic Relations, 2013). Especially at work, Muslims are facing discrimination more and more. According to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), the number of charges concerning discrimination of Muslims because of their religion has also increased, from 330 in 2001 to 880 in 2011 (Durrani, 2012). Fierce protests were held against the initiative of the socalled 'ground zero mosque' (which was neither a mosque, nor at ground zero). These were mainly organised by the group 'Stop Islamization of America', with spokesperson Pamela Geller. This group also initiated a series of advertorials in the subway in New York in September 2012, connecting photos of the attacks of 9/11 to quotes from the Quran. It should be mentioned that in January 2013, a counter campaign against these advertorials was started with the message 'Don't let hate get the last word'.

4.3 Information on Islamophobia in Europe

In the previous paragraph some numbers on Islamophobia in various European countries were already presented. In this paragraph, we look deeper into reports specifically on the European situation. Evidence gathered by the EUMC, the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia[4], indicates that since 9/11, European Muslims have been seriously affected by an increasingly hostile social climate. In their report 'Discrimination and Islamophobia', complemented by a qualitative study into 'Perceptions of discrimination and Islamophobia' based on in-depth interviews with members of Muslim communities in ten Member States of the European Union, EUMC concludes that Muslims are facing discrimination in access to housing, education and employment but also in the small details of every day encounters. They feel 'worn down' by such daily experiences, which are far more likely to happen when a person is visibly Muslim, such as by wearing a headscarf (EUMC, 2006).

In their report 'Islamophobia', a companion to the '2007 Hate Crime Survey', on the European countries of the OSCE, Human Rights First concludes that 'In 2006, discrimination and violence against Muslims persisted throughout much of Europe. Though the number of registered incidents decreased from a peak level in 2005, after the subway bombings in London, the number of violent incidents remains high.' Human Rights First distinguishes obstacles to religious freedom, attacks on places of worship, assaults on individuals and described both incidents and more general situations that Muslims in several European countries were exposed to, such as:

- Germany, where Muslim women were vulnerable to harassment and discrimination at schools and in the working place when wearing the headscarf and discrimination in spatial planning, by denying building permits to places of worship.
- Norway, where Vidar Kleppe, an political leader in the opposition, pledged to block the building of a new mosque in Kristiansand.
- Spain, where Muslims experienced opposition, sometimes with explicitly racist content, when pursuing plans to open places of worship and in the city of Soria, in January 2006, attackers burned a copy of the Quran and threw other religious books in a trash can outside a mosque. Three months before the outside walls of the same mosque were painted with graffiti.
- Austria, where unknown attackers threw rocks through the windows of a mosque in Linz in September 2005. In 2003, unknown attackers vandalized a Muslim cemetery in the same city.
- Russia, where in the city of Yaroslavl attackers threw gasoline bombs through the window of a mosque during the prayer time in September 2006.

It is also concluded that in personal attacks against Muslims, very frequently a double discrimination of racism and religious intolerance is evident. Within the scope of this study, it is significant to mention that Human Rights First also states: 'A majority of governments in Europe still do not track and record anti-Muslim incidents through official state mechanisms. In nations where the recording of data does take place, many governments still under-report such incidents and significantly under-record official complaints.' (Human Rights First, 2007).

Amnesty International (AI) shared the conclusion that European governments should do more against discrimination of Muslims in their report 'Choice and Prejudice: Discrimination against Muslims in Europe' (April 2012). AI states governments should do more against negative stereotypes and prejudices about Muslims, especially in education and the labour market. The report focused on the impact that discrimination has on Muslims, particularly in those fields, in Belgium, France, the

[4] Which was renamed in 2007 to the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA).

Netherlands, Spain and Switzerland. In previous reports, AI already pointed out the problems in those countries, like the restrictions to the building of houses of worship and the prohibition of face covering clothing. AI found cases of employers refusing Muslim women a job, girls being refused to participate in lessons at school for wearing 'traditional clothing' such as the head scarf and men being fired for wearing a beard, which is linked to Islam. According to AI, existing legislation in Belgium, France and the Netherlands against discrimination in the labour market is not always implemented correctly and thus reality is in direct conflict with the anti-discrimination laws of the European Union. Restrictions to wearing religious or cultural symbols and clothing should be tested on an individual basis – a general prohibition potentially limits access of Muslim girls to education and violates the freedom of expression and religion, AI says. Contrary to states' obligation to protect, respect and execute the freedom of religion, in some European countries the right to building Islamic houses of worship has been restricted. The most famous example is the article that was included in Swiss law in 2010, prohibiting the building of minarets. AI states that this offers a platform to anti-Islam stereotypes and in doing so, Swiss government does not follow international obligations. In Spain as well, Muslims are restricted in the building of houses of worship. In the region of Catalonia, requests to build new mosques have been denied with the arguments that they are incompatible with respect for Catalonian traditions and culture, even though Muslims are forced to pray outside the existing houses of worship because they are too small to accommodate all believers (Amnesty International, 2012).

The views expressed in several opinion polls undertaken in Europe on Muslims or religious practices perceived to be Islamic appear to reflect stereotypical notions. For instance, in France 68% and in Germany 75% of those polled think that Muslims are not integrated in society mainly because they refuse to do so. 68% Of the French oppose the choice of Muslim women to wear the headscarf and half of the Germans oppose the construction of mosques even when there is a need expressed by believers. One third of Swiss see the wearing of the headscarf as humiliating for women. In the United Kingdom almost 70% think that Islam encourages repression of women and more than 70% of Belgians living in Flanders think that Muslim women are oppressed by their husbands. 37% Of Spaniards believe that it is acceptable to expel a student from school for wearing a headscarf and the same percentage of people state that protests against the building of a Muslim place of worship should be supported (Amnesty International, 2012).

In its European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS) of 2009, the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) concluded that migrant groups from countries with predominantly Muslim populations living in 15 EU countries experienced high levels of discrimination. In Italy, more than half of the migrants from Northern Africa had experienced discrimination in 2008, as had 40% in Spain and one third in Belgium. One third of migrants from Turkey living in Germany and one third of those in the Netherlands experienced discrimination in 2008. Of these respondents, 10% associated their discriminatory experiences with religion and 43% with the combination of religion, ethnic origin and migrant status.

A remarkable conclusion was also that the vast majority of Muslims who have been confronted by discrimination, does not report his or her experience. The majority of the participants indicated that they do not see the point of filing a report. They assume that nothing will happen or change if they would (mentioned by 59% of respondents, EU-MIDIS, 2009). Other reasons for not reporting discrimination and the percentage of respondents mentioning those, are:

- Not worth to report; discrimination always happens, it is 'normal' (38%)
- Not knowing how and where to report (33%)
- Anti-discrimination organisations are bureaucratic and problematic, or say they have no time to process the report; there is also concern among participants for negative consequences of filing a report (21%)
- Solving it yourself, with help from family and/or friends (12%)

- fear of intimidation from perpetrators (11%)
- Language restrictions (6%)
- Residence permit problems (2%) (EU-MIDIS, 2009)

In the FRA's annual report on 2012 it was concluded that Finland, France and Sweden registered an increase in attacks against Muslims between 2010 and 2012. Anti-Semitic attacks decreased in France and Sweden during that same period. Other member states are not included in the report because they did not collect or publish comparable data. In the report, it is emphasised that the mentioned trends do not adequately reflect the prevalence of racist, xenophobic and related crimes in member states because most actual incidents remain unreported (FRA, 2012).

The Open Society Institute produced a series of reports on Muslims in eleven cities in seven European countries, amongst which the Dutch cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The report 'Muslims in Europe' contains the comparative analysis of the data gathered from these 11 cities. This report shows that Muslims in those cities are facing discrimination on different levels (Open Society Institute, 2010). Based on data from other research, levels of discrimination directed towards Muslims pointed out to be widespread and increased in the past five years. European-born Muslims, particularly women, are more likely to perceive higher levels of religious discrimination than Muslims born abroad. It is remarkable to notice that European-born Muslim men identify the police as a key source of unfair treatment and discrimination. Almost 10 percent of Muslim respondents in Rotterdam and about 7 percent of the respondents in Amsterdam reported suffering discrimination at the hands of the police. The research suggests that religious discrimination against Muslims affects their sense of national belonging and is a critical barrier to full and equal participation in society.

The United Nations Special Reporter on freedom of religion and belief, Heiner Bielefeldt, criticised Europe for its lack of equal treatment of religions. During an interview, Mr Bielefeldt said that there is a clear difference in treatment of majority and minority religions. Bielefeldt also warned that 'populist politicians, often from opposition parties, are stirring against religious minorities'. He mentioned Dutch politician Geert Wilders as an example (United Nations, 2013). Heiner Bielefeldt also stated that women belonging to discriminated communities often suffer from gender-based discrimination as well. This means that they are exposed to multiple or intersectional forms of discrimination. Bielefeldt mentioned that the ban on the headscarf adversely affects Muslim women. In some countries this may lead to expulsion from schools and universities or discrimination on the labour market. Bielefeldt stated that the freedom to publicly manifest one's religious conviction by displaying visible symbols constitutes an inherent part of freedom of religion or belief. Any limitations to the freedom to publicly manifest one's religion or belief must be 'prescribed by law and necessary to protect public safety, order, health, or morals or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others' (article 18 (3) of the ICCPR). The fundamental objective must be to protect both the positive freedom to manifest one's religious conviction, e.g. by wearing religious clothing, as well as the negative freedom not to be exposed to any pressure, especially from the state or in state institutions, to display religious symbols or perform religious activities (United Nations, 2010).

4.4 Information on Islamophobia in the Netherlands

The Netherlands figure quite prominently in research on Islamophobia globally and at the European level, as shown in previous paragraphs. There is also specific data available on the Netherlands on this topic. For example by Ineke van der Valk, who in her book 'Islamophobia and Discrimination' states that in recent years the climate of public opinion in the Netherlands has deteriorated. Muslims have become more and more isolated, negatively portrayed, and depicted as enemies of society. The assertions by the PVV about Islam and Muslims and the steadily growing anti-Islamic attitude in the extreme right movement has made the general climate in Dutch society more and more Islamophobic (Van der Valk, 2012). This Islamophobic atmosphere results in the increase of incidents against Muslims, although based on registered numbers, there seems to be a decline. Van der Valk

presents numbers on vandalism against mosques: between 2005 and 2010, 117 cases of vandalism against mosques have been recorded. In 43 cases, offensive symbols or slogans were painted on a mosque. In 37 instances, the mosques sustained material damage (for example because of arson). One highly provocative method was leaving body parts and/or insides of dead sheep and pigs (5 instances known). In 99 of the incidents, the perpetrators were not found. In cases where they were, they were almost always youngsters. Besides underreporting, Van der Valk mentions another reason for apparently low numbers on Islamophobic incidents: the shift of medium. The internet plays an important part with regard to shaping opinions and visions. She states that there is a lot of Islamophobic content to be found on the Internet. This is not just on extremist websites, but on many others as well, and they have been the object of a large number of complaints for many years (Van der Valk, 2012).

A report by the government's Social and Cultural Planning Agency on Muslims in the Netherlands (more specifically: on the religious involvement of Turkish and Moroccan people in the Netherlands) shows that the media play a large part in social debate about Islam and Muslims (2004). The media place the religious experience and participation of Muslims within the broad public debate about Islam in the Netherlands. The tone of the media debate about Islam in the Netherlands has changed: from a tolerant, positive tone to a more critical and negative tone. This is shown in an analysis of current and future content in the coverage of ethnic and religious issues by the Volkskrant, one of the main national newspapers, between 1998 and 2002. Religion is by far the most common theme and the share of religious issues in items and opinions about immigrants shows an upward trend. The common thread running through these discussions is the challenge posed to the Dutch tolerance principle by Islamic statements and claims. This results in varying and often conflicting perspectives on the legitimate position of Islam in the Dutch society. Analysis shows that, in the media, one is less often prepared to broaden the limits of this tolerance towards Islam and Muslims. As a result, the public interest in this issue has increased enormously, in a mostly negative way, and there is a increasing gap between Muslims and others in the Netherlands. These developments bring along issues on the field of freedom of religion, discrimination and exclusion. The research shows that these experiences of social exclusion and discrimination go hand in hand with an increased religious practising of Muslims and bonding within the religious community (Phalet & Praag, 2004).

A study by Motivaction on the attitudes and images of native Dutch citizens towards minorities in the Netherlands in 2010 showed that more than a quarter of the 1020 respondents has a negative view on foreigners. About 10% of the respondents even openly recognise to being a racist and 17% states to be a racist 'now and then'. This study refers to research on how the atmosphere in Dutch society affects Muslims living in the Netherlands (Spangenberg, Lelij & Moha, 2009). About 74% of the Muslims find that native Dutch people are looking in a more negative way towards Muslims since the increasing popularity of Geert Wilders in the country. About 57% of Muslims say that they feel less at home in the Netherlands and that they are uncomfortable with the increasing popularity of this politician. Almost a quarter of Muslims in the Netherlands experience discrimination on a regular basis and 39% of them say that they have been discriminated more often since the increasing popularity of Geert Wilders (Spangenberg, Lelij & Moha, 2009).

Once every five years, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) examines the situation concerning manifestations of racism and intolerance in each of the Council of Europe member states. Their report of 2008 shows that Islamophobia has increased dramatically in the Netherlands. National and international events, such as the attacks on 9/11, have been at the origin of a shift in public debate that has a deeply negative impact on the situation of and on public perceptions about the members of minority groups. ECRI stresses that Muslims are the minority group that appears to have been affected most by these events. More and more, Muslims have been the subject of stereotyping, stigmatising, racism and discrimination. Not only by random citizens in public places, but also by politicians, media, security officials and other groups and places.

The 2013 ECRI report on the Netherlands was published very recently and caused quite some public debate, in particular because of the conclusions on racism in Dutch politics. This report shows that discrimination against Muslims again has grown tremendously, with reference to the conclusions of the report in 2008. Especially in the political debate, many Islamophobic statements are present and with the rise of political party PVV (Party for Freedom) led by Geert Wilders, Islamophobia has grown and it is still growing. ECRI concludes that Islam and Muslims in the Netherlands have been portrayed by politicians and media as a threat to Dutch society. For example by politician Geert Wilders, who, according to ECRI, gave several racist speeches and incited to hatred. The media magnify events in which Muslims are negatively involved. This attitude towards Islam and Muslims in Dutch politics and media sets the tone: discrimination against Muslims occurs more often in various forms, perpetrators find it justified and third parties who are involved are less prepared to stop them. For example, when a complaint about racist offences on the internet is submitted to the Registration Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet (MDI) and the website moderator is asked to remove it, more and more they are unwilling to remove such statements. Other examples are the increasing number of complaints submitted by Muslim women wearing headscarves and several incidents of discrimination on the labour market (ECRI, 2013).

The Monitor on Racial Discrimination 2009, commissioned by the ministry of VROM, gave specific attention to discrimination in the Netherlands 'based on the Islamic faith' and showed that violent incidents against Muslims were increasing. This trend has been consistent since 2006. Furthermore, while the total number of violent incidents had decreased, those linked to discrimination based on Islam had gone up from 23% of the total incidents in 2003, to 41% of the total incidents in 2008. One of the conclusions of this report is that during a national survey on discrimination experience in 2005 as well as 2009, citizens with a Turkish and Moroccan background experienced more discrimination based on their religion than other ethnic groups in the Netherlands. The study concludes that most of the registered discrimination incidents based on beliefs concern the Islamic faith (Boog et al., 2009).

Discrimination because of Islamic religious identity has many forms. Research done by the University of Tilburg within three large governmental organisations in 2010 showed that a lot of people with an immigrant background had a hard time finding a job and/or keeping it. In their experience, this was linked to the atmosphere created by negative statements against Moroccans and Muslims of prominent politicians, especially Geert Wilders and Rita Verdonk. Employees with immigrant background received a lower salary on average, compared to their native colleagues. Also, these employees, especially Muslims, are often the last ones to be hired and the first ones to be fired. Furthermore, the research showed that in one of the three organisations, comparing employees from the same age, the same educational background and with the same level of experience, the employees of immigrant background, including Muslims, on average were 1.3 steps behind on the salary scale (Siebers, 2010).

The increasing discrimination of Muslims in the Netherlands is also shown in the previously mentioned report 'Choices and Prejudice: Discrimination against Muslims in Europe', published by Amnesty International in 2012. The report shows that around 40% of Dutch people consider the Western European and the Muslim way of life incompatible, although the same percentage agrees that Muslims could greatly contribute to Dutch culture. Anti-discrimination bureau RADAR provided data for this report about reports of discrimination filed in the region Rotterdam-Rijnmond. In 2010, 52 complaints of discrimination based on religion were filed, 43 of them involved Muslims and 18 involved the wearing of religious and cultural symbols and dress, mostly filed by Muslim women (Amnesty International, 2012).

In the 2012 annual report of the Dutch Registration Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet (MDI), the data for discrimination based on religion were further specified for those to do with Islam and other religions. MDI further analysed these data for the years since 2006, as is shown in figure 6 (MDI, 2013).

Discrimination based on religion	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Islam	473	365	346	182	276	319	196 (of which 93 cases were punishable by law)
Other religions	30	24	49	35	28	17	18

Figure 6: MDI. (2013). Annual report 2012. Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

The large number of incidents based on Islam in comparison to the number of incidents based on other religions is remarkable. The figure also shows that the number of incidents against Muslims have gone down, compared to previous years. The question is whether this means that in 2012 there were less actual incidents or that it is an effect of the afore mentioned underreporting of incidents.

A recent report of the Public Prosecution Service also shows a high number of incidents regarding Muslim-discrimination in relation to incidents of discrimination based on other religions. In 2012, 114 reports of discrimination were filed at the Public Prosecution Service, that led to 110 cases of discrimination (one case can include more incidents of discrimination). Three quarters of these incidents concerned offensive statements about a group based on one of the discrimination grounds. Of this, 45% was discrimination based on race, 28% anti-Semitism, 13% discrimination based on homosexuality, 13% were incidents because of the victim was an immigrant and 11% were incidents because the victim was black (LECD, 2012). For the registration of incidents based on religion, there is a separate category (anti-Semitism is not included in this category, it is a separate category). Although it concerns a low absolute number of concrete incidents, (16 in 2010 and 10 in 2012), the report shows that without exception, all cases in the category religion/belief were about Islam and Muslims (Public Prosecution Service, 2012). This applies for the reports of both 2010 and 2012. In other years, the share of Muslim-discrimination within this category is also high (90% or more).

In October 2013, Amnesty International published a report about ethnic profiling in the Netherlands. This report shows that discrimination is particularly present in proactive police searches, when the police detain citizens without an offence having been committed or without a suspicion. In the report it is concluded that Muslims are one of the groups that are often checked by the Dutch police, because they are in the sight in the context of terrorism. The Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, Council of Europe expressed its concerns about the treatment of the Dutch police towards Muslims. The report indicates that polarisation has grown enormously after 9/11 and several other incidents. Muslims in the Netherlands are seen by most Dutch as a threat to Dutch society and Dutch values. This negative image is not only linked to early immigrants like Moroccans and Turks, but in the last few years also increasingly to people from the Middle East, who are often Muslims (Amnesty International, 2013).

Another fact concerning the presence of Islamophobia was published by research bureau Panteia, commissioned by the Anne Frank Foundation. Their research, into anti-Semitism in secondary education, asked teachers about confrontations with insulting expressions about Jews in their work. For purposes of comparison, insulting expressions about Islam and homosexuality were also included (Wolf, Berger & Ruig, 2013). The results of this comparison are included in figure 7.

	Not (%)		Once or several times a month/year (%)		Once or several times a day/week (%)	
	2004	2012	2004	2012	2004	2012
Student are abusing Jews and the Holocaust	51%	65%	47%	34%	3%	1%
Student are abusing Islam/Muslims	30%	25%	65%	71%	5%	3%
Student are abusing Homosexuals	25%	14%	67%	74%	8%	11%

Figure 7: Wolf, E., Berger, J., & Ruig, L. d. (2013). Antisemitisme in het voortgezet onderwijs. Zoetermeer, the Netherlands: Panteia.

A remarkable result is that teachers reported Islamophobic expressions (71%) more often than anti-Semitic expressions (34%) in 2012. Compared to the percentages in 2004, there is an increase of Islamophobic statements from 65% in 2004 to 71% in 2012 while the percentage of Anti-Semitic incidents is lower in 2012 (34%) than in 2004 (47%) (Wolf, Berger & Ruig, 2013).

4.5 Conclusion

Although Islamophobic incidents are not registered separately, reports from human rights organisations, research institutes, anti-discrimination bureaus and government bodies like the police and the public prosecution clearly indicate that Islamophobia is present in Dutch society in discourse (e.g. in politics and public debate), sometimes even in policies and in discrimination towards Muslims. The data that are available would suggest that Islamophobia is a growing problem. A point of attention to this is that several studies also show that many incidents are not reported, so the real number in all likelihood is larger.

5. Registration and monitoring in practice

5.1 Introduction

This chapter firstly describes the anti-discrimination infrastructure in the Netherlands and the ways data on discrimination are collected by anti-discrimination bureaus and the police. Secondly, a description of the working method of the Centre for Information and Documentation on Israel (CIDI) is included. CIDI has been monitoring anti-Semitism in the Netherlands for 30 years and is a very important stakeholder in putting and keeping anti-Semitism on the political agenda. There are many similarities between the case of anti-Semitism and that of Islamophobia in the Netherlands. That is why it is interesting to study the CIDI's working method, to draw lessons from it to the issue of Islamophobia. Lastly, some specific initiatives on collecting data about Islamophobia in both the Netherlands and abroad are presented.

5.2 Registering discrimination in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands, every municipality is obliged by law to have an independent facility for citizens to report discrimination. Most anti-discrimination bureaus work for several municipalities and so there is a limited number of bureaus responsible for different regions in the country. All bureaus use the same working method for handling reports of victims of discrimination. Other activities they initiate and execute concerning anti-discrimination are similar for the greater part as well. This paragraph will include a description of the working method of these anti-discrimination bureaus in general. Two bureaus that cover a large region are RADAR (region Rotterdam-Rijnmond, southern part of the province of South-Holland and a large part of the province of Brabant; also partner in this study) en MDRA (region of Amsterdam and neighbouring towns). These are also regions of the Netherlands where many Muslims live. Their work and especially the available data on Islamophobia within these organisations are further explained. Furthermore, we look into the work of the MDI, the registration bureau on discrimination on the internet and the role of the police.

5.2.1 The working method of Dutch anti-discrimination bureaus

When an individual or an organisation has the perception of being discriminated against because of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, disability, gender, religion and so on, it can be reported at an anti-discrimination bureau. The victim files a report at the bureau that is active in the city where the incident happened. This can be done via phone, text message, e-mail and even via whatsapp. It is also possible to file the report in person, by visiting the bureau's office. Despite this, research shows that only a small part of people file a report when they feel discriminated. Complaints can also be filed by third parties, for example by a colleague or a witness, if the victim gives permission. Anonymous complaints can only be registered but not given any follow-up. This also applies to a general complaint about 'racism in the Netherlands'. Anti-discrimination bureaus record all complaints of discrimination whether incidents legally count as discrimination or not. Only a small part of the reports received by the anti-discrimination bureaus, will be judged by a court or by the College of Human Rights (this College has a special mandate for binding rulings in cases of discrimination).

Since January 2012, the filed reports of all anti-discrimination bureaus are registered in a nationwide registration program, LBA-net. In this system the discrimination *ground*, the place where the incident occurred and the nature of the incident are registered. Regarding the discrimination ground, a distinction is made between race/ethnicity, religion, belief, nationality, gender, handicap/chronic disease, sexual orientation, age, political affiliation, time of service/working time, employment, marital status and other grounds, also those that are not formally recognised as grounds for discriminaton. Regarding the *place* where the incident occurred, a distinction is made between work, neighbourhood/district, collective facility, commercial service, catering, housing, media/publicity, education, police, politics/public opinion, privacy, sport and recreation, public space, police/public

prosecution, prison and other places. Regarding the *nature* of the incident, a distinction is made between controversial treatment, hostility, threat, violent group confrontation, targeted graffiti, arson, other violent acts, destruction/vandalism, molestation and other types of incidents. Reports are filed in one of the categories of each of the three characteristics based on the information available about the incident. Every anti-discrimination bureau presents an overview of incidents in their working region in an annual report.

Next to registering reports, the second task of anti-discrimination bureaus is to give advice about the handling of the report. The bureau inform the person who has filed it about what they can do themselves and what the bureau can do for them when it comes to legal follow-up to the report. An anti-discrimination bureau will never take action without the explicit permission of the victim and the information about the incident is always treated strictly confidentially. When the victim wants to take further steps, the bureau always applies the principle of 'hearing both sides', provided that there is information and contact information available about the perpetrator. To start with, a complaint letter is sent. The party blamed for discrimination is given a period of two weeks to respond. In most situations, this already leads to a good solution between victim and perpetrator, without legal interference. If not, if desired by the victim, further legal steps will be taken. The victim will either be advised to file a report at the police department and to start a legal procedure in that way or, in specific cases of more complexity or severity, the case can also be presented to the College for Human Rights (College voor de Rechten van de Mens, CRM). The anti-discrimination bureau where the report was filed will support the victim in these steps. However, the bureaus do not have lawyers themselves and cannot start a lawsuit, nor can they offer financial compensation.

Since 2012, Islamophobia is registered in the LBA-net under religion in the subcategory 'Islamic'. At the moment, it is not possible to look into subcategories when presenting an overview of results from the system. One only sees information on the subcategory at the individual caselevel. Because of this, anti-discrimination bureaus can only present the total number of discrimination incidents based on religion. At present, the bureaus are looking into more specified reporting possibilities.

5.2.2 RADAR

RADAR is the office for equal treatment and against discrimination active in the regions Rotterdam-Rijnmond, Central and West Brabant, Brabant-North and the southern part of the province of South-Holland. Since 2012, there is a very close organisational link[5] with Art.1, the national centre of expertise on discrimination. RADAR prevents and resolves feelings and cases of discrimination, looks for cooperation with several important stakeholders and shares knowledge concerning discrimination. RADAR carries out various activities. First of all, RADAR gives advice and support in complaints and reports of discrimination, as described in the previous paragraph. RADAR also does research on discrimination, analyses available data on this topic and reports about it to several stakeholders. With their knowledge about discrimination in the Netherlands, they give advice to several institutions and organisations and aim to influence policy. The bureau also provides educational activities about how to recognise and deal with discrimination, as well as preventative projects. RADAR works together with several governmental and non-governmental organisations in its regions. There is a specific collaboration with the police in three regions. Together, they produce a periodical case screening, scanning all police reports in the system on 35 terms to identify possible cases of discrimination that have not been filed as such. The police is then alerted on 'hits' in the query. Because of this system, the number of reports filed is significantly higher in these regions than in other regions in the Netherlands.

For the purpose of this study, RADAR looked into the individual cases in the category of religion for those connected to Islam. In recent years, there were about 50 reports of discrimination based on

[5] The two organisations share the same director and the same board of trustees.

Islamic background filed in the working area of RADAR. For registration in this category, there has to be a clear link with the religion of the victim. For example because of wearing a headscarf, not being allowed to pray at the workplace or verbal abuse because of the religion. If incidents have no clear link with the Islamic faith, they can be registered in different categories. For example, if a woman is verbally abused because of wearing a headscarf, but a reference is made to her cultural background instead of her religious identity, this could be registered as 'race-discrimination', but Islamophobia could still play a role in such abuse. This kind of information is very difficult to filter in the system. Also, RADAR has reason to believe that the actual number of incidents is a lot higher, especially incidents of discrimination against Muslims. In RADAR's experience, a lot of victims do not file a report, because they do not know where they can do that or because they think there is no use in doing so.

5.2.3 MDRA

MDRA (Meldpunt Discriminatie Regio Amsterdam) is the anti-discrimination bureau in Amsterdam and several neighbouring towns. People living or working in Amsterdam, Uithoorn, Aalsmeer, Amstelveen, Diemen or Ouder-Amstel can file a report or ask for advice on the subject. The bureau promotes equal treatment in society and fights against discrimination. In that capacity, MDRA provides several services, like educational activities on how to recognise and deal with cases of discrimination. They advise several companies and perform research into the nature and extent of discrimination. MDRA also develops and implements several projects aimed at promoting social inclusion and reducing discrimination, such as the project 'Respect competition'. MDRA works together with several governmental and non-governmental organisations in the region.

For the purpose of this study, MDRA was also prepared to look deeper into their registration on 'religion' for Islamophobic incidents. MDRA also indicated the difficulty of separating religion from race or ethnicity: how do we know if someone is discriminated because of his/her religion or because of his/her curled hair and dark skin? Last year, there were 48 reports of discrimination based on an Islamic background filed in the working area of MDRA. MDRA shares the conviction of RADAR that the number of discriminatory incidents against Muslims in fact is higher than shown in the official reports. Many Muslims do not file a report when they have been discriminated against. Victims do not see the importance of filing a report or they do not know where they can do this. The so called 'willingness to report' within the Muslim community in Amsterdam is higher among women than among men, in MDRA's experience. MDRA receives signals that mainly Moroccan Muslim men are discriminated against, while this group is filing relatively little reports. For that reason, MDRA also looks for cases of discrimination based on the Islamic identity proactively. For example, when they notice an incident on the streets, they approach the victim and talk with him about it and stimulate him to file a report. MDRA did observe a temporary rise in reports at the time of two happenings in the political and public debate on Islam and Muslims. First of all in 2002, when politician Ayaan Hirsi Ali became a national celebrity due to her fierce criticism of Islam. In that time, hundreds of reports were filed at MDRA. And secondly in 2008, when politician Geert Wilders released his film 'Fitna', with this view about the dangers of Islam. After this, 89 reports of discrimination because of Islamic identity were filed at MDRA. Though the statements and expressions of Hirsi Ali and Wilders were not identified as discrimination but were allowed within the bounds of the freedom of speech, Muslims did feel discriminated against. It also gives an image of the overall atmosphere in the Netherlands with respect to dynamics of social exclusion and hatred against the Muslim community.

5.2.4 MDI

The main task of the Registration Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet (Meldpunt Discriminatie Internet, MDI) is treating reports of discrimination on the internet, taking action to delete discriminatory expressions or, when that does not work, contribute to legal steps. They frequently give lectures to different organisations and groups. MDI also provides educational activities on discrimination at schools and universities and provides trainings for administrators and moderators

of interactive websites in recognising and tackling discrimination. MDI cooperates with several organisations, including anti-discrimination bureaus and the police.

A report is treated by MDI if it is related to an expression on the internet, made in Dutch, and containing an exact URL. If the report fulfills all these characteristics, MDI will judge whether the expression is legally punishable. If the expression is judged as punishable, the website where the expression is located is sent a request of removal. When the expression is removed from the website, the person who has filed the report is notified. If it is not removed, the MDI can decide to notify the police, but the person filing the report can also do that himself.

MDI uses the same registration system as the general anti-discrimination bureaus, in which 'Islam' is a subcategory of 'religion'. MDI does specify these data in their annual reports (see chapter 4). MDI also believes that the number of reports filed by Muslims is lower than the number of actual incidents.

5.2.5 The police

The police's core task is of course to track crime and uphold the law, also when it comes to discrimination. So in general, the police is not involved in preventative activities, like the anti-discrimination bureaus. The police does act proactively when called for: when they receive reports of incidents at a specific occasion, for example against gay people, police officers are sent over to monitor that event. Recently, the police started working with a new registration system on discrimination, which includes more specific subcategories. The system is still being expanded, based on experiences in the practice of police work, to be able to distinguish different forms of discrimination. A person reporting an incident to the police should inform the police officer that he has been discriminated. But the officer also has the responsibility to be alert to possible cases of discrimination. If it is determined that there is a case of discrimination, the identified perpetrator is approached. When the reports of victim and accused perpetrator contradict, the reports are sent to the public prosecutor in charge of discrimination, who will then judge if the case can and should be brought to court. For that reason, it is not possible to report an incident of discrimination anonymously. The police cooperates with several organisations, also in Rotterdam. There is a close collaboration between the police in Rotterdam and anti-discrimination bureau RADAR. Every six weeks, the police and RADAR have a meeting to exchange information about incidents of discrimination. Information about the reporters of incidents of discrimination is kept anonymous. The only information that the police is allowed to share is the country of birth, gender and sometimes the date of birth. Rotterdam is one of the regions where RADAR runs the query in the police system.

The National Expertise Centre on Discrimination (Landelijk Expertise Centrum Discriminatie, LECD) should be mentioned here as well. The LECD is part of the public prosecution's office and offers information and advice for both the public prosecution and the police (as well as other institutions) on how to handle cases of discrimination. In cooperation with the police and other organisations, LECD developed a instruction about how the police and the prosecution should deal with cases of discrimination. They also developed a specific instruction on identifying and registering anti-Semitism. Such an instruction does not exist for Islamophobia. The LECD also provides information to answer questions from Members of Parliament on discrimination. Regarding Islamophobia, Parliament has asked the minister for more specific information repeatedly. These questions up to now have gone mostly unanswered, as specific data on an aggregated level are lacking.

During the interview for the purpose of this study with Huib Schilt, liaison officer of the police in Rotterdam, he mentioned that the police do not have a connection with an organisation that represents the Muslim community in this area. Cooperation is very important for the police in fighting discrimination of Muslims in Rotterdam. Also for the police, it is sometimes difficult to

determine the exact reason of discrimination and often, several grounds are intertwined. For example, was the discrimination because the person is Muslim or because of ethnic origin? The number of police registrations on discrimination based on religion is very small. In 2012, in total 18 reports were filed in the Netherlands, of which 16 were filed in the region Rotterdam-Rijnmond. The vast majority (80%) of these complaints were cases of discrimination of Muslims. However, on the total number of reports, these 18 reports are just a small number. The police wonder whether this number covers the reality concerning discrimination of Muslims, because they also see that a lot of Muslims do not file a report when they have been discriminated against. On the one hand, they think that nothing will be done with the report and on the other hand, mosques and other Islamic organisations are afraid that by reporting incidents, it will get more attention and that that might actually give people ideas to commit similar acts. So they think it is better if it goes unnoticed.

5.3 Monitoring anti-Semitism in the Netherlands

CIDI, the Centre for Information and Documentation on Israel, is the only organisation with a long tradition on monitoring anti-Semitism in the Netherlands. Their first report was published in 1983. Because of CIDI's experience with monitoring discrimination against one specific (religious) group, we looked into their working methods for the purpose of this study, to draw lessons from it for monitoring on Islamophobia. In this paragraph the working method is described, including the way of collecting and presenting data, important partners and the overall way of monitoring anti-Semitism in the Netherlands.

5.3.1 Definition

The registration of anti-Semitism is complex: the weight of the incidents is very different and not every anti-discrimination organisation uses the same definition of anti-Semitism. For a correct way of monitoring, it is important that all the used data are weighed in the same way and based on the same definition. Therefore CIDI uses a definition of their own: *'anti-Semitism is a different treatment of Jews as an individual person or as a group than other people or other groups, especially a hostile attitude towards Jews based on prejudices'.* This definition is also valid in situations of hostilities against Jews even when there are no Jews present: for example the usage of the word 'Jew' as an invective. Only incidents aimed at people for reasons connected to their Jewish heritage are included in the definition. Criticism or hatred towards Judaism as religion does not count as anti-Semitism because this is a form of freedom of speech and not forbidden by law. Not every unpleasant expression is anti-Semitic, even though it may be hurtful. The distinction is sometimes difficult to make. CIDI developed a checklist with seven questions to verify whether an incident can be defined as anti-Semitic. If one answers one or more questions with 'yes', the incident is defined as being anti-Semitic. These questions are recorded in the framework below.

- Did the perpetrator say that Jews/ Israeli people control the media and the world or conspire to control the media and the world?
- Did the perpetrator use anti-Semitic clichés, for example about 'the' Jews and money?
- Did the perpetrator describe Israel/the Israeli government/ IDF/all Israeli people as Nazis/SS?
- Did the perpetrator say that the things Israel/ 'the' Jews do are the same things that happened during the Holocaust/genocide or that Gaza is a concentration camp'?
- Did the perpetrator say that Israel/'the' Jews should be better than other countries/people because they have 'learned their lesson'?
- Did the perpetrator deny or justify the Holocaust or did he say that 'he still should be murdered'?
- Did the perpetrator say that Jews/Israeli people are the cause of all evil in the world and/or because of that the Holocaust is there 'own fault' or that 'they have earned it'?

5.3.2 Collecting and recording data

CIDI has a registration bureau of their own, where people can file a report on anti-Semitic incidents. A report can be filed by the victim himself, by friends and relatives of the victim or by other witnesses who happen to be present when an incident occurs. All incoming reports are filtered: is it a feeling or a case of discrimination, according to law? Only actual and punishable cases of discrimination of which it can be proven that the incident actually happened, are recorded by CIDI. The filtering of incoming statements is important to avoid incorrect data in the annual report but also to avoid groundless accusations in the court of law. When a statement turns out to be an expression of anti-Semitism, it is recorded in a registration system.

The system consists of 18 categories: violence, threat, destruction of a synagogue or graveyard, plastering of a synagogue or graveyard, other destructions or plastering, name calling, phone calls, letters/faxes/pamphlets/stickers, e-mails, neighbours/
neighbourhood, school, work, sports, media, demonstrations, books/theatre/films/expositions, music and other. Once the statement is placed in a category, other information about the incident is also recorded in the system: a brief summary about the incident in which the incident is specified, the location where the incident took place, the date and time of the incident and information about the victim.

CIDI's own data are combined with data on anti-Semitism of the Amsterdam anti-discrimination bureau (MDRA). A good cooperation with this registration bureau has made it possible to avoid doubles in the data, so that incidents that are reported at both organisations are not counted as two separate ones.

5.3.3 Monitor

Once a year, the recorded data are presented in a report on anti-Semitism in the Netherlands. This report is based on the following premises:

- Differences in interpretation about incidents are possible. In case of doubt, CIDI chooses not to record the incident in the report.
- Series of connected incidents against one person, for example several threatening phone calls, are counted as one incident.
- Anti-Semitic comments published on the internet are not collected in the report because this kind of discrimination is collected by the registration bureau on discrimination on the nternet (MDI).

In the monitor, incidents are classified in four categories. This classification is primarily based on the reporters of an incident and the extent to which they have dealt with anti-Semitism. The category 'real life' concerns personal confrontations in daily life with violence, threat, destruction and plastering, name calling in real life and through the telephone. The category 'environment' concerns incidents which took place in the direct environment: confrontations without physical violence with neighbours in the street or district, at school or at work. The category 'in writing' concerns cases of anti-Semitism through letters, faxes, pamphlets or e-mails. Although this kind of incident is less threatening than other physical incidents, receivers can be appalled and intimidated by it. The category 'social' concerns incidents in the social domain: sports, media etc. Information about individual incidents is presented by an explanation of the incident and quotes from people involved. Also included are tables with numbers of incidents. The monitor also shows the trend in anti-Semitism over the course of several years. CIDI uses the results of the monitor to put the issue on the agenda and put forward solutions for anti-Semitism on political and societal level. They make recommendations, for example on education for various groups and the urge of faster penalties for perpetrators.

5.4 Initiatives on Islamophobia in the Netherlands

5.4.1 SMN

SMN is the 'Samenwerkingsverband van Marokkaanse Nederlanders': Cooperation of Dutch Moroccans. The organisation is based in Utrecht and though it does not formally represent member organisations, at the national policy level they are often involved as representing the perspective and interests of the Moroccan community in the Netherlands. They provide lectures on different socio-cultural topics, lobbying and encourage multiculturalism in the Netherlands. SMN also works on concrete projects, together with several organisations, especially in Utrecht.

SMN finds that there is a lack of reports of discriminatory incidents filed by Moroccan victims at the anti-discrimination agencies in the Netherlands. Therefore, SMN started their own registration center. SMN wants to encourage Dutch people with a Moroccan background to report whenever they feel they are being discriminated against. SMN believes that this group is more inclined to file a report at a 'Moroccan' anti-discrimination organisation than elsewhere. SMN has also a supporting role in giving information about equal treatment, anti-discrimination facilities and addresses/contacts to report discrimination. One can report discrimination by filling out a form on the website, made by SMN. Remarkable is that there is no possibility to report discrimination based on Islam. One can only choose 'discrimination based on religion'. Technically, this initiative is not aimed at registering Islamophobia, but because the overwhelming majority of Dutch Moroccans has an Islamic background, some overlap was to be expected.

For the purpose of this study, SPIOR contacted SMN and received the list of the reports filed. The idea of this registration centre of discrimination was to receive reports from Dutch Moroccans (and Muslim), but in fact the list was, with very few exceptions, full of responses of others, writing with anti-Muslim/-Islamic/-Moroccan statements. So although as a registration center this initiative may be seen as not having succeeded (yet) in achieving its goal, the reactions do indicate the existence of hatred and discrimination against Muslims and Moroccans in the Netherlands.

5.4.2 EMCEMO

EMCEMO is the acronym for Euro-Mediterrean Center for Migration and Development (Euromediterraan Centrum voor Migratie en Ontwikkeling). The organisation is based in Amsterdam and aims to connect migrants and people in their countries of origin, especially in Morocco and the Netherlands. EMCEMO launched a registration center on Islamophobia in June 2013. They promote a registration of Islamophobic incidents as a separate category. For this purpose, a petition was launched. They also want to create more awareness of the existence of Islamophobia and its extent in the Netherlands. This petition was sent to several social organisations, religious leaders, human rights organisations and educational institutions, with the intention to present it to politicians at the national and European level. It is hard to say at present what the outcome will be of EMCEMO's initiative. Given the history, current position and scope of the organisation it is not yet clear whether this will be a sustainable initiative.

5.5 Initiatives on Islamophobia in other countries

As was presented in the previous chapter, Islamophobia is not only present in the Netherlands, but also in other (European) countries. There are also initiatives to tackle this phenomenon in different countries, some with already quite a track record. As part of this study, we have also looked into those initiatives and their experiences. Unfortunately, although several attempts were made, it was not always possible to have direct contact with people involved at the initiatives, so the information below is sometimes based on information on the internet and/or via other respondents of our research.

5.5.1 Netzwerk gegen Diskriminierung von Muslimen, Germany

In August 2010, a network against the discrimination of Muslims was launched in Berlin. So the initiative does not refer to 'Islamophobia', but to 'discrimination of Muslims'. This is a specific registration center for the discrimination of Muslims. The network is a partnership between the Muslimorganisation INSSAN and the general anti-discrimination bureau ADNB (Anti-Discrimination Network Berlin). Muslims who feel discriminated can report and the reports are treated by the experts at the ADNB. The assumption is that because of the involvement of INSSAN, it is easier for Muslims to report. Reports of Muslim-discrimination that are received by the network are registered by INSSAN and ADNB. This information will be analysed and used to influence policy. The exchange of data between the network and other anti-discrimination bureaus is limited. Next to registration, the network invests in educating people within communities and has good contacts with several mosques in Berlin. In those institutions, people are trained to be able to recognise and deal with discrimination. The community has also been informed about the existence of the anti-discrimination agencies. When they experience discrimination, they can report it at the anti-discrimination agencies and they will bring them in touch with the ADNB or INSSAN. It is challenging to maintain the network because the people in the communities are involved as volunteers, which makes time scarce.

5.5.2 Faith Matters, United Kingdom

Faith Matters is a non-profit organisation founded in 2005, which works to reduce extremism, interfaith and intra-faith tensions. Faith Matters develops platforms for discourse and interaction between Muslim, Sikh, Christian, Jewish and Hindu communities across the globe. Faith Matters has offices in the UK, Pakistan and the Middle East (Jerusalem). In 2011, Faith Matters launched the 'TELL MAMA' campaign: Measuring Anti-Muslim Attacks. The campaign aims to support victims of anti-Muslim attacks in England as well as mapping, analysing and collecting data on areas where such attacks are prevalent. In setting up this campaign, Faith Matters also looked at the experience of monitoring hate crimes against Jewish communities in England.

5.5.3 CCIF, France

The Collective Against Islamophobia in France (Collectif Contre l'Islamophobie en France, CCIF) was founded in 2003, in response to a rise in Islamophobic incidents in France. Over the years, the network of CCIF has expanded and it now has branches in several cities of France. In 2011, CCIF established a formal partnership with the OSCE (Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe) and became an advisory member of the United Nations (UN). CCIF has branches in 7 French cities next to the main office in Paris, employs three fulltime lawyers, has over 1000 members and has already dealt with more than 1000 legal cases. CCIF's work is based on four pillars: observing and analysing Islamophobic incidents in an annual report, communication through publications and the organising of events on the topic of Islamophobia, legal support for victims of discrimination based on Islamophobia and psychological support for victims.

5.5.4 IMAN, Europe

IMAN, the Islamophobia Monitoring and Action Network, is an initiative of FEMYSO, the Forum of European Muslim Youth and Student Organisations and CCIF that started in 2013. FEMYSO has 34 member organisations throughout Europe, ranging from (national) umbrella organisations with their own member organisations to local organisations. FEMYSO is also chair of the European Steering Committee of the European Network Against Racism (ENAR) and a contributor to the anti-Islamophobia work of the OSCE. The IMAN project aims to tackle Islamophobia by creating a network of organisations in eight European countries (Belgium, France, Germany, Sweden, Italy, the Netherlands, UK and Hungary), to merge their skills and work to develop common standards for recording incidents, assisting victims with legal tools and training professionals. Europe has many networks dedicated to fighting racism, anti-Semitism and other forms of intolerance, but no networks focusing on Islamophobia. This project aims to create a cooperation network of

organisations working to monitor and raise awareness of Islamophobia in the countries mentioned above and at the European level. SPIOR is a partner for the IMAN project.

5.6 Conclusion

In the Netherlands, there is quite an elaborate infrastructure in place for registering discrimination in general. In the context of this study, it is important to note that data on discrimination connected to Islamophobia can only be found in the registration system used when looking at the individual case level, because they are registered under the general category of 'religion'. Linked to this, a specific instruction for police and the public prosecution on recognising and handling Islamophobic incidents is not available. We mention these points because both (separate category for registration and instruction) are available for anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism has been on the agenda for much longer already in the Netherlands, partly due to the efforts of CIDI in monitoring this ground of discrimination separately. In this chapter, we also looked into their working method as a possible model for monitoring other grounds of discrimination separately, like Islamophobia. There have been some initiatives for starting a separate center for registration and monitoring of Islamophobia or for population groups (Dutch Moroccans) of which the vast majority is Muslim in the Netherlands. These initiatives until now have either not succeeded in achieving their goal (yet) or are very recent and it is hard to say within the scope of this study how it will turn out. In other European countries, there are some initiatives with more experience, with diverging results.

6. Monitoring Islamophobia in the Netherlands

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we draw conclusions and make recommendations about monitoring Islamophobia in the Netherlands. What is the benefit and necessity of having a monitor, how can a monitor be implemented and what are the conditions?

6.2 Discussion and conclusions

Islam and the presence of this religion and Muslims in the Netherlands are a major item in the Dutch political arena, in the media and in the public debate. This mostly negative debate fuels polarisation of ideas and people in society. Many think of Islam and Muslims as alien and a threat to Dutch society and culture. In this situation, an increasing number of Muslim citizens feel uncomfortable, discriminated or violated against in the public sphere. Incidental reports by anti-discrimination organisations or police data show a substantial number of hatecrimes against citizens (perceived to be) of a Muslim background. Because Islamophobic incidents are not recorded as such separately, but are mostly recorded as 'discrimination on grounds of religion or ethnicity', these specific data are difficult to track down. Furthermore, it is known that many victims do not report incident, which frustrates the actual overview of incidents and limits the possibilities for structural action. At the same time, structural reports on opinions of the Dutch population show an increasing perceived social distance between Dutch Muslims and other citizens. Disagreement and confusion on facts and figures and misleading statements on existing opinions are giving room for manipulation of the public opinion, increasing feelings of discomfort and prejudice.

Many Dutch Muslims feel less connected with society and have the sense that they are not welcome anymore, due to hostile attitudes of others. Many 'non-Muslims'[6] on the other hand feel threatened by Muslims and their religion which they publicly exercise and see them as a threat to Western civilisation. They do not know each other and they are inclined to think about each other in negative terms and to approach each other in that same way. Yet, for a healthy society it is important and necessary that all groups know and feel that they are part of society and that it is possible for them to live together in a good and peaceful way and have the same opportunities without discrimination. To achieve this, it is essential that social exclusion and discrimination are challenged and tackled.

In order to be able to do that, there should be a good insight into the nature of specific kinds of discrimination. This certainly applies to Islamophobia in the Netherlands. A good insight into the problem, the number of incidents and the effects on Muslims in the Netherlands, is an important instrument and a solid argument in the fight against Islamophobia on political and social levels. A monitor on Islamophobia in which symptoms, victims, perpetrators and responses to Islamophobic incidents are periodically followed, is such an instrument. A monitor also contributes to the accumulation of knowledge about Islamophobia, especially when a structural monitoring can be ensured. At the same time, the monitor reproduces an image of the developments on Islamophobia in the long term which can be used to make suggestions for solutions on different levels for the.

A monitor on Islamophobia should follow Islamophobia in the Netherlands, by gathering and analysing data and periodically reporting about this subject. First of all, a monitor reports about the symptoms: in what ways is Islamophobia present in Dutch society? In this case there should also be attention for the different expressions of Islamophobia (such as in politics, media, daily life etc). A monitor should attempt to distinguish different sorts of victims and perpetrators (foreigners, natives, people who look like a Muslim, several minority groups etc). The monitor also maps reactions on

[6] We do not think defining groups by negative characteristics, as being 'non-something', is a positive or respectful way to define them. That is why we put this term between quotation marks.

Islamophobic incidents, such as educational and legal reactions. An example of an educational response can be a campaign on schools or in organisations about Islamophobia. Legal responses refer to specific cases of discrimination.

In order to create an effective monitor, it must comply with several conditions.

1. To achieve a complete and realistic image about Islamophobia in the Netherlands, it is important that all available data on the subject are gathered in one place.
2. To do this, it is important that anti-discrimination bureaus, the police, Muslimorganisations and other organisations gathering data on discrimination work together.
3. To gain enough data about Islamophobia in the Netherlands, it is important to tackle under-reporting.

In the following paragraphs, the abovementioned conditions are elaborated.

Throughout the years, many reports and studies have been made about Islamophobia. Most of these reports and studies give a description of the phenomenon, the sources of Islamophobia and provide an atmospheric picture of the social and political climate in a country/countries concerning this subject. However, when it comes to factual and current data about the nature and scope of Islamophobic incidents on a local and national scale, the available information and sources of information are limited and do not represent a complete picture.

With respect to the Netherlands, this lack of data on Islamophobic incidents has several reasons. First of all, many Muslims in the Netherlands do not report Islamophobic incidents, for different reasons. For example, some of them accept the incidents as normal because they are used to it or are afraid to give other people ideas. Others do not know where they can report the incident or think that reporting is useless and nothing will be done with the report.

Secondly, there is no registration bureau for Islamophobic incidents specifically, nor are Islamophobic incidents registered as a separate and legally acknowledged discrimination ground. General anti-discrimination bureaus register Islamophobic incidents in the category ‘religion’ and in the subcategory ‘Islam’. When an Islamophobic incident is reported, it is not always clear whether it is Islamophobic or whether a Muslim for example is discriminated against because he has curly hair and looks like a Moroccan. Only incidents where the perpetrator clearly refers to the religion of the victim are registered in the mentioned category and subcategory. An example of an Islamophobic incident is ignoring someone because she wears a headscarf or a situation in which someone is called ‘a filthy Muslim’. When the perpetrator does not clearly refer to the religion, the incident is usually registered as racial discrimination. Several grounds of discrimination intersect in this. Just like with anti-Semitism, which relates to a group that is referring to both origin and religion, Islamophobia also has several aspects, when it comes to recording purposes.

Data about Islamophobic incidents at Dutch anti-discrimination bureaus and the police are not available to the public or to organisations that have an interest in them. The available data are only shared between organisations when they have an agreement on the matter, for example between anti-discrimination bureau RADAR and the police in the region Rotterdam-Rijnmond. In all other cases, organisations like the police and anti-discrimination bureaus only reveal a summary of the data in their public reports. That makes it very difficult to have insight into the available data on Islamophobic incidents in the Netherlands.

Concerning the fact that there is not much information available about Islamophobic incidents and that an important reason of this lack of data is that Muslims do not report discrimination, it is important to invest in convincing Muslims to report because reporting does make a difference. Not only to the victim, because he or she can tell his/her story and finds relief and support, but also to friends, family and the whole community. After all, by reporting a hate crime when it happens to

yourself or when one sees it happening to someone else, one can help stop Islamophobic incidents happening to other people. It is also important that Islamophobic abuse is reported so that the police and the government realise that it is actually an increasing problem and a concern for public safety. The police and government will then have a better understanding of the level and impact of Islamophobia in the local area and can improve their way of responding to Islamophobic incidents. A registration bureau within the Muslim community, by an organisation which is familiar and trusted by the people, could be an important step in acquiring more data about Islamophobia. If Muslim communities trust this organisation and have faith in the fact that their report will be taken seriously and will be dealt with, this will increase the readiness to report. An additional advantage of a registration bureau for Islamophobic incidents founded within the community is that it gives more room to determine whether a statement is actually an expression of Islamophobia. For example, when a Muslim reports an incident about sitting in the bus and having the feeling that the people around him were watching him in a hostile way, it is easier for a fellow Muslim to explain that is an unpleasant feeling but that it was not discrimination, without the person having the feeling to be not taken seriously or even discriminated again. In other words: reflecting is sometimes easier done by someone 'from within'. In both aspects, the experiences of CIDI are similar.

A second argument for starting a specific registration bureau is that the registration of Islamophobia is very complex. To correctly monitor Islamophobia, it is important that all data are weighed in a consistent manner and based on the same definition. In the registration process, it is very important to make a distinction between an unpleasant expression and an actual incident of discrimination. A checklist can be made with several questions to verify whether an incident should be defined as discrimination on the grounds of the Islamic identity.

It is also very important to have a good cooperation with and between important stakeholders, such as general anti-discrimination bureaus and the police. First of all, because the goal is to gather as many data as possible about the subject to present in the monitor, including data that came in through channels such as anti-discrimination bureaus and the police. A good cooperation between the different bureaus is in this case very important to avoid doubles in the data, so that incidents that are reported at several institutions, are not counted as two separate ones. Besides that, the tasks of the different organisations should be clear: the task of a registration bureau is just to register the incidents. If a victim wants to take further steps, the case should be handed over to another organisation that has the possibility to help the victim in getting their legal rights, like general anti-discrimination bureaus have.

When there is enough data available, the data can be collected and presented in a report on Islamophobia. In a monitor, the incidents should be classified in different categories. This classification should be primarily focused on the reporters of an incident and the extent to which they have dealt with Islamophobia. Although hatred or anger against or fear of Islam as a religion is not by itself discrimination, this type of expression can also be used in a monitor. After all, it does create a feeling of social alienation and isolation among people that belong to that particular religious group. Such incidents and the feelings they incite give a picture of the social and political climate in a country. Possible relations between specific social events and Islamophobic incidents can also be found in a monitor. Data and conclusions from a monitor can be used to place the issue on the political agenda and to make a contribution to tackling the problem, e.g. through research and education about discrimination and Islamophobia.

6.3 Recommendations

Based on the outcomes of this study, we recommend:

1. **To make a specific monitor on negative perceptions of Islam and discrimination of Muslims in the Netherlands**

The research has shown that fear of, hatred of and agression towards Islam and Muslims is a real problem in Dutch society. This is recognised by some stakeholders, like some parties in Parliament, that have repeatedly expressed a need for specific information on this topic. On the other hand, the problem is denied by others and it is a fact that in comparison with other grounds of discrimination, it gets much less attention in policy and public debate. Because of that, no priority is given to tackling the problem. Islamophobia needs a spokesperson (or rather: organisation), like CIDI is for anti-Semitism. This can only be done effectively by gathering and presenting the necessary information in a focused and sustained way. Therefore, a specific monitor on Islamophobia in the Netherlands is recommended.

2. To continue to use the term Islamophobia for this monitor

We define this as: *'Islamophobia is a worldview based on fear and dislike towards Islam and Muslims which (can) result(s) in practices of exclusion and discrimination.'*
Although there are several legitimate arguments against the use of this term, all in all we come to the conclusion that it best covers all aspects of the issue concerned and communication purposes related to it.

3. To make a clear distinction in ideas and incidents in the monitor

Using the concept Islamophobia as the overall 'umbrella' for the monitor, we underline the importance of making the distinction between trends in ideas (as expressed for example in public debate) and concrete discriminatory incidents in it. Both elements are relevant and are also linked to each other but should be clearly distinguished because of different legal perspectives. In that way, the monitor gives a clear insight into different aspects as well as direction to possible (policy) measures to take to tackle the problem.

4. To embed the monitor in existing infrastructure

The Netherlands has quite an extensive infrastructure on registering discrimination and acting on it, on all grounds of discrimination. A monitor on the ground of Islamophobia specifically should be an addition to this existing infrastructure. This means it should be connected to the organisations, both governmental and social organisations, working in this field (of which the main organisations are presented in this report). In other words: their work should not be taken over or duplicated, the monitor should be built upon the results of their work (with possibly some additions, see recommendation no 5). The monitor mainly serves the purpose of putting this specific topic on the agenda.

5. To look into separate categorisation of and instruction on Islamophobia

In this research it has been clearly shown that data on Islamophobic incidents are not only limited, but also hard to 'filter' from the available data because they are all registered under the general category of 'discrimination on grounds of religion', contrary to anti-Semitism, which is a separate category in registration systems. So Islamophobia easily gets 'lost' in the general statistics. Whereas when one *does* look deeper into the actual incidents reported in this category, almost all if not all of them are actually on Islamophobic incidents (as recently reported by the Public Prosecutor's office in the Netherlands). This is problematic in several ways: not only does it make filtering the necessary data for a monitor difficult, but the registration in the first place may not be consistent by different registration bureaus because there is no clarity on what to register as Islamophobia and what not. For this, it is recommended also to have a clear instruction for police, registration bureaus and the public prosecution. Again, a parallel can be drawn with anti-Semitism, for which there is such an instruction. We recommend to further look into this matter and to set up a pilot in the region of Rotterdam with police and the local registration bureau RADAR, starting with a deeper analysis of known cases.

6. **To set up a registration bureau on Islamophobia linked to the monitoring agency**

Experience like that of CIDI has shown that a separate registration bureau for a specific ground of discrimination can be of great added value to general registration bureaus for people to actually report discriminatory incidents. Especially when it is a organisation that is (perceived as) 'of the own community', there is a lower threshold for people to report. It is a known fact that many Muslims and Muslim organisations do not report incidents because they do not know where they can report and/or do not have faith in general registration bureaus (see also recommendation 7). A specific bureau will lower this threshold and so result in valuable additional data to those of the general bureaus. We recommend that this registration bureau only registers incidents; if follow-up (in the sense of legal steps) is wished or called for, the person or organisation can best be directed to a general registration bureau that has the necessary competencies and resources available. On the other hand, it should be noted that there have been several initiatives to start such a specific registration bureau on Islamophobia, that have so far not been successful. It did not result in more reports on Islamophobia. So it is important to determine the conditions for setting up an effective and sustainable registration bureau on Islamophobia beforehand. Looking at experiences so far, we see three main conditions: access, trust and structure. Access refers to extensive and low threshold contacts with Muslim communities. This can be best accomplished by embedding the registration bureau in an organisation that has a central role in Muslim communities, like an umbrella organisation. The second condition is trust; just access is not enough, the organisation should be perceived as being part of the communities, representing their interests. This is also shown to be an important factor by the case of CIDI. Lastly, to be able to organise and execute both the registration point and the monitor, a stable organisational infrastructure is needed. The monitor will only have sustainable influence when it becomes an annual, well known and respected report, not if it is a one time thing. Therefore, there should be a stable organisational structure to support it, with the necessary resources on communication etcetera available. This can be accomplished most efficiently and effectively by linking this to an existing organisation that fulfills all these conditions. In that way, there does not have to be a lot of investment in time and resources for setting up a completely new organisation, but the focus can be on the concrete result of the registration bureau and the monitor from the start.

7. **To start a campaign among Dutch Muslim communities to promote reporting of discrimination**

As mentioned above, many discriminatory incidents towards Muslims and Muslim institutions stay unreported because of lack of knowledge about and lack of trust in the current registration bureaus. For that reason, the previous recommendation was about a separate registration bureau that can fill that gap. In our view, just setting this up is not enough. It should go hand in hand with a communication campaign to inform people about the possibilities (of both the general and the specific registration bureaus) of reporting and the importance of doing so. For this purpose, different media can be used, like information meetings in communities, social media, websites, personal contacts within the community, 'hard copy' flyers, posters etcetera. We recommend to set up a strategy for this campaign deciding on which tools to use.

8. **To continue investing in prevention of Islamophobia**

This report is on monitoring Islamophobia and so prevention may be seen as being somewhat outside the scope of this report. Nevertheless, we think it is important to conclude with a recommendation for prevention. In our view, it is better to prevent than to cure. As long as the problem exists, a 'cure' should also be in place, but we should also look to the roots of the problem and tackle that. That is why we strongly recommend to invest in preventative activities, in education on Islam and social dialogue between Muslims and others. This not only goes for Islamophobia but also for discrimination on other grounds, as are also present among Muslims themselves. The most sustainable results in fighting discrimination and promoting social cohesion are not produced in court, but in building understanding, respect and bonds between people.

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Annex II List of respondents

a. List of respondents interviews

Name	Organisation	Function
Mink, Ilse	RADAR	Research and monitoring
Grunenberg, Sara	RADAR	Research and monitoring
Muller, Guy	CIDI	Anti-Semitism researcher
Silversmith, Jessica	MDRA	Director
Schilt, Huib	Police, Rotterdam-Rijnmond	Contact officer discrimination, advisor to unit management
Valk, Ineke van der	University of Amsterdam (UvA)	Social scientist
Veenboer, Daniël	MDI	
Alkoubhi, Samia	SMN	Project assistant

b. List of participants expert meeting

Name	Organisation	Function
Janssen, Mieke	Art.1 Midden Nederland	Director
Zaanani, Samira	Art.1 Midden Nederland	Complaint Consultant
Aamri, Mohamed	Police, Rotterdam-Rijnmond	Inspector
Bovenkerk, Frank	University of Utrecht	Social Scientist
Ong, Tikho	RADAR	Senior advisor prevention & training
Afasi, Fouzia	RADAR	Prevention employee
Muller, Guy	CIDI	Anti-Semitism researcher
Koning, Martijn de	University of Amsterdam	Social Scientist
Valk, Ineke van der	University of Amsterdam	Social Scientist
Mutueel, Sidney	Police Academy, National Expertise Centre Diversity of the police	Inspector
Evsen, Sinan	Platform INS	Program Manager
Silversmith, Jessica	MDRA	Director
Kust, Delano van der	Police, Amsterdam	Inspector
Coghlan, Tara	EmCeMo	Project Leader
Menebhi, Abdou	EmCeMo	Chairman

Please note: the expert meeting was organised by CMO and SPIOR; employees and/or members of the boards of trustees of these organisations participated in the discussion as well.

Annex III List of abbreviations

AI	Amnesty International
CCIF	Collectif Contre l'Islamophobie en France (Collective Against Islamophobia in France)
CMO	Contact body Muslims and Government (National organisation representing Muslim organisations)
EMCEMO	Euromediterraan Centrum voor Migratie en Ontwikkeling (Euro-Mediterranean Center for Migration and Development)
FEMYSO	Forum of European Muslim Youth and Student Organisations
ICCPR	International Convent on Civil and Political Rights
IMAN	Islamophobia Monitoring and Action Network
MDI	Meldpunt Discriminatie Internet (Registration Bureau Discrimination Internet)
MDRA	Meldpunt Discriminatie Regio Amsterdam (Registration Bureau Discrimination Amsterdam Region)
PVV	Partij voor de Vrijheid (Party for Freedom)
RADAR	Rotterdamse Anti Discriminatie Actie Raad (Rotterdam Anti Discrimination Action Council)
SPIOR	Stichting Platform Islamitische Organisaties Rijnmond (Platform for Islamic Organisations in Rijnmond)
UvA	Universiteit van Amsterdam (University of Amsterdam)