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XENOPHOBIA, RADICALISM AND HATE CRIME IN EUROPE
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Xenophobia, Radicalism and Hate Crime in Europe, 2015.

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The book analyses major manifestations of hatred in the European space in 2015, as well as factors that influenced the demand for radicalism in society. Special attention was paid to how European governments respond to modern challenges. Analysis is given on the basis of 8 EU countries (France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland and the United Kingdom), as well as Russia and Ukraine, as countries who play a significant role in political and economic processes in Europe.

FOREWORD

2015 was a year characterised by an unprecedented migrant crisis, escalated terrorist activity, and increased influence of radical political parties. Growing xenophobic tensions were accompanied by the rise of populist parties on the one hand and the radicalisation of Muslim youths on the other, which played a significant role in the attitude and treatment of refugees and immigrants this year. These trends have been observed against the background of anti-Semitic and Islamophobic sentiments, which have already been high for several years, as well as institutionalised racism in public and law enforcement bodies. Given these observations, it can be said that the European society is not only in the midst of racial and religious stratification, but also faces serious changes related to the transformation of identity and the growing civilizational conflicts.

The conducted study aimed to analyse the most prominent manifestations of hate in European countries in 2015 and to identify factors that affect the demand for radicalism in society. The study also focused on the preparedness and responses of governments to modern challenges. Research was conducted in 8 EU member states (France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, and the United Kingdom), as well as Russia and Ukraine, as countries who play a significant role in political and economic processes in Europe.

The study involved researchers from various universities and research centres across Europe: Department of History at Northampton University, UK; Teesside University, Centre for Fascist, Anti-Fascist and Post-Fascist Studies, UK; Department Chair of Social Research Methodology at Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), Faculty of Social Science; Political Capital Institute in Budapest; Pantheon University of Athens; Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and

Law Enforcement; Jagiellonian University, Dept. of History, Krakow; Russian Institute of the National Policy and Inter-Ethnic Relations Studies, Moscow; Ukrainian Institute of the Political Analysis and Management; Human Rights Centre "Religion and the Law", Kiev.

Analysis was conducted in the following areas: legislation affecting minorities, law enforcement practices, treatment of human rights activists, hate crime statistics, xenophobic sentiments in the population, and government responses to modern challenges, such as the refugee crisis and the threat of radical Islamism. These observations form a basis for recommendations, which outline the steps to improve the situation regarding minority rights and de-escalating public tensions.

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1. LEGISLATION.

1.1. Discriminatory trends in European legislation.

One of the most significant elements contributing to discriminatory trends in European legislation is the *non-recognition of racial or religious hatred as an aggravating circumstance* in a crime. Of the countries under review in 2015, four had lacked such a provision – France, Greece, Hungary, and Poland. Until recently, the German legal system had a similar deficit, where Article 46 of the Criminal Code left it to the discretion of the court.[1] However, on March 19, 2015, the

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[1] http://www.iuscomp.org/gla/statutes/StGB.htm

Criminal Code had been updated to include Art. 46.2., according to which "hate motives" are to be considered during sentencing.[2] In Ukraine, criminal responsibility for a hate crime is linked to "direct intent", which must be proved. In Italy, hate views only affect sentencing if the crime was committed with the aim of influencing the broader public in order to "change its behaviour", which is also difficult to prove in court.[3]

A no less important discriminatory element in European legislation is the *unequal legal treatment of specific religions.* For example, Greek legislation allows for discrimination of non-traditional religions with Article 13(2) of the Constitution, which states that "all *known* religions shall be free and their rites of worship shall be performed unhindered and under the protection of the law." Paragraph 3 of the same article has the same qualifier, which deals with "insulting Christianity or any other *known* religion."

It is worth noting that Greece legally recognises only three religious organisations: The Greek Orthodox Church, *Thracian* Muslims, and the Jewish community. Other organisations that consider themselves religious are excluded from this status and thus cannot own property as legal religious bodies.[4]

Hungarian Law "On the right to freedom of conscience and faith, religion, church, and religious organisations" (2011)

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[2] https://www.bundestag.de/dokumente/textarchiv/2015/kw12_de_nsu/364372

[3] Italy is the only country under review that, over the past 10 years, has reduced the punishment for hate crime from 3 to 1.5 years, setting the maximum fine of 6,000 euros for racial discrimination or hate speech (Law N 85/2006).

[4] http://cm.greekhelsinki.gr/index.php?sec=194&cid=3834

also created problems for new religious organisations that have not been present in the country for more than 20 years and who have less than 1000 followers permanently residing in Hungary.

German legislation also provides for inequality of some religious organisations, dividing them into "*corporate bodies under public law*" and others. *Corporate bodies under public law* have the right to collect their part of the Church Tax, which is derived from the taxable income by the regional financial body (*Finanzamt*) and given to the community. Other religious organisations are deprived of this status, which presumes that a religious community is guaranteed long-term existence by its statute and the number of followers. Currently, such status is applied to various Christian denominations, including Orthodox Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses, as well as the Jewish community, and the Union of Religious Communities that consists of several smaller communities and sects (predominantly Christian). Meanwhile, the Muslim community in Germany, which has more than 4 million members (almost 5% of the population), does not fall under the status of a corporate body under public law, despite meeting all necessary conditions.

Similar issues can be observed in Italy. In this country religious communities that have not entered in a concordat (e.g. Muslims) with the government encounter various problems.

Ukraine amended its Law "On freedom of conscience and religious organisations" in 2012, making registration of religious organisations more difficult and providing various government bodies with the authority to monitor and control their activities (including Prosecution, Ministry of Culture, and other local and central bodies). 2012 amendments also introduced a procedure for conducting peaceful public religious events, which contradicts Article 39 of the Ukrainian Constitution.

It is worth mentioning the Law "On protecting religious feelings," adopted by Russia in 2013.[5] The law is characterised by its vague wording, essentially opening up the possibility of prosecuting criticism or disrespectful portrayal of religious organisations in art. For example, the law introduces the concept of "public actions displaying clear disrespect towards a community and committed in order to insult religious feelings" (Article 148.1 of the Criminal Code)[6], but does not further expand on its meaning, which allows for misuse of the law, particularly towards atheists and members of "non-traditional" religions.

However, the most significant problems in European legislation are laws regulating inter-ethnic relations.

There are several countries in Europe that do not recognise *the presence of ethnic minorities* as such, which deprives them of corresponding rights that may differ from the regular human rights. Ethnicity and self-determination of minorities are excluded from the legal and political vocabulary in countries like France and Greece (excluding Western Thrace). The argument for this practice is that granting "special rights" to certain national minorities would escalate racism and inequality on ethnic grounds. Thus, France and Greece have been reluctant to join the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Meanwhile, de facto national minorities in France and Greece constitute for at least 10% of their populations. Their

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[5] Official title: Law "On introducing amendments to Article 148 of the Russian Criminal Code and several legislative acts in order to combat insults of religious beliefs and feelings of citizens".

[6] http://www.rg.ru/2013/06/30/zashita-site-dok.html

presence is officially unrecognised, and therefore, their rights are not protected.

This problem exists in various shapes and forms in other monitored countries, except Russia, which has more than one hundred different nationalities. However, Russia adopted a completely different nation-state model, which it inherited from the Soviet Union as a state founded on an idea, rather than traditions of the titular nation.

Non-indigenous peoples – particularly immigrants – are affected by this the most. However, there also millions of citizens in Germany, for example, who were born in these countries, but not recognised as national minorities due to not identifying themselves as any of the 4 accepted ethnic groups. These are Turks, former Yugoslavians and people of Asian and African origins, who are excluded from the Framework Convention.

These factors indicate that the rights of most national minorities in Europe are not observed on a legislative level.

1.2. Changes to counter-extremism and minority rights legislation

Legislative changes in Europe this year were predominantly aimed at solving the following issues: a) rapid illegal immigration; b) integration of legal immigrants; c) social radicalisation; d) terrorism. This was done by introducing tougher migration and anti-racism legislation, and combating various forms of hate crime. The European Union also continued to liberalise LGBT relations. However, countering terrorism has been the main objective of European legislators in recent years.

France, which has the highest number of radical Islamist groups in the European Union and has suffered most from

extremism in the region, had adopted a Security and Counter Terrorism Act in December 2012. The law provided for much tougher punishment for people complicit in terrorist activities.[7] On November 4, 2014, France adopted another counter-terrorism law that allowed its authorities to confiscate passports and prohibit exit for people who are leaving for Syria and Iraq with the intention to join radical Islamist organisations. The law also allowed for extra-judicial blocking of Islamist websites.[8]

In 2015, France furthered its anti-extremism legislation by adopting a surveillance act (July 24, 2015), which among other things allowed the security services to plant so-called "black boxes" at internet service providers in order to "monitor traffic and suspicious behavioural patterns through the real-time analysis of metadata."[9]

Note that the French were particularly critical of the United States Counter Terrorism Act, adopted following the 9/11 attacks and containing similar provisions. Thus, following the adoption of the French counterpart of the Act, President François Hollande sent the bill for the approval of the Constitutional Council, which found it corresponded to the French Constitution.[10] This was an unprecedented step since the Council's establishment in 1958.

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[7] https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000026809719&categorieLien=id

[8] https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000029754374&categorieLien=id

[9] *Loi n° 2015-912 du 24 juillet 2015 relative au renseignement,*
https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000030931899&categorieLien=id

[10] *Décision n° 2015-713 DC du 23 juillet 2015 - Loi relative au renseignement,*
http://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/conseil-constitutionnel/francais/les-

It is fair to say that French and American anti-extremism legislation formed the model for counter terrorism legislation in many countries around the world.

In 2015, Germany[11] and the United Kingdom[12] adopted new counter terrorism acts. Italy and the Netherlands also tightened their counter terrorism legislation during the monitored period.[13] In 2016, Russia is to follow their example.[14] In 2015, Russia had increased fines for the production of media containing the justification of, or public calls for, terrorist or extremist activities[15].

Analysing modern European counter terrorism legislation reveals several of its key elements:

1) Possibility of temporary border control or closure.
2) Introduction of pre-trial ban on travel and confiscation of travel documents, based on security intelligence.
3) Legalisation of internment, deprivation of citizenship, and deportation of persons complicit in terrorist activity (amendments to the Citizenship Act of the Netherlands allows for the annulment of citizenship in the interest of national security).
4) Increased online surveillance.

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decisions/acces-par-date/decisions-depuis-1959/2015/2015-713-dc/communique-de-presse.144139.html

[11] http://statewatch.org/news/2015/jul/germany-terror-laws.html

[12] http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/bills/cbill/2014-2015/0127/en/15127en.htm

[13]http://www.nctv.nl/onderwerpen/tb/actieprogramma-integrale-aanpak-jihadisme/

[14]http://static.kremlin.ru/media/events/files/ru/Q7t146BkLNBDUXEsAPvOdb44JdrQPQPt.pdf

[15] http://base.garant.ru/71001234/#ixzz3iUYmRMdT

5) Tougher measures to combat the funding of terrorist activities.
6) Closer monitoring of suspicious activity or behaviour through cooperation with ISPs, transport, medical and other services.
7) Bans on social welfare for so-called "Jihadi tourists."

Another group of legislative changes in Europe in 2015 focused migration flows.

In July 2015, Germany tightened its Refugee Act, introducing criminal liability for providing false information when seeking asylum. Illegal migrants can not only be arrested, but also have their passports taken away until further notice. Federal Minister of the Interior Thomas de Maizière (Christian Democratic Union) said that strict treatment of new migrants is necessary to ensure that the public agrees with immigration and entry of people who are really in need of Germany's protection.[16]

In July and August, Hungary amended its border regulations and introduced criminal responsibility for illegally entering the country.[17] It also recognised Servia as a "safe third party", which allowed for a quick return of transit refugees to that country. The law introduced army presence at the border and allowed the use of non-lethal measures against migrants and refugees, including rubber bullets and tear gas.

Russia is taking measures to streamline the immigration process. As of May 2015, Russian authorities rejected entry for 1.35 million foreign nationals who violated the regulations of

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[16]http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/germany-registers-sharp-increase-in-attacks-on-asylumseekers-a-1045207.html
[17] https://www.hrw.org/ru/world-report/2016/country-chapters/286136#383e61

stay. Registration of foreign nationals has been somewhat improved. Previously, many migrant workers were registering in so-called "rubber flats" – addresses that have no relation to their actual place of residence. Such flats often officially housed hundreds of migrants, who actually lived in other places, or did not have housing at all. Since the adoption of a corresponding law, the number of rubber flats was reduced from 10,090 to 1,160.[18]

On September 17, 2015, British Parliament introduced a new Immigration Bill, which was the result of a Conservative policy aimed at attracting Eurosceptics and those concerned with the increased flows of refugees.[19] This policy culminated in summer 2016, when following a national referendum Britain voted to leave the European Union. The Immigration Act was criticised by the British public, as it was aimed at reducing the number of immigrants and people seeking asylum by reducing social welfare and tightening the control over the housing and labour market.[20]

In 2015, the British government announced a plan to increase youth employment. It was proposed that jobseekers aged 18 to 21 will be sent to work boot camps – doing community service for 30 hours per week, four weeks per year, or face losing their Jobseekers Allowance.[21]

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[18] http://kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/49417
[19] http://www.parliament.uk/business/news/2015/october/immigration-bill-commons-second-reading/
[20] http://www.migrantsrights.org.uk/blog/2015/09/immigration-bill-2015-what-you-need-know
[21] https://www.theguardian.com/society/2015/aug/17/unemployed-young-people-work-boot-camp-tory-minister

This sparked criticism from the public, including the fact that the bill would have been primarily aimed at national minorities and immigrants, as these groups have the highest levels of youth unemployment. For example, youth unemployment in black communities in the country is more than 50%.[22]

France had also transformed its immigration legislation in 2015. Applications for asylum have been sped up from the maximum of 24 months to 9 months. At the end of this term, asylum seekers are to be granted asylum or deported from the country. Asylum seekers are now placed in special camps across the whole country (easing the burden on the Paris region), and under threat of losing social assistance and other privileges. In addition, the French parliament started considering a new bill on the rights of foreign nationals.[23]

The third group of legislative changes adopted in 2015 was aimed at streamlined integration of legal immigrants.

In June 2015, Greece adopted a law that automatically granted Greek citizenship to children of foreign nationals born in

[22] http://www.irr.org.uk/news/workfare-and-the-legacy-of-structural-racism/
[23] *Loi 7 mars 2016 relative au droit des étrangers en France,*
http://www.immigration.interieur.gouv.fr/Immigration/Loi-du-7-mars-2016-relative-au-droit-des-etrangers-en-France. For English language report about the initial proposals, see: „New French law aims to boost foreigners' rights", *The Local,* 20 July 2015, http://www.thelocal.fr/20150720/france-foreigners-rights-visas-immigration-new-law and *France: National Assembly Adopts Immigration Bill,* 9 September 2015, http://www.loc.gov/law/foreign-news/article/france-national-assembly-adopts-immigration-bill/.

the country. This bill affects almost 200,000 second-generation immigrants.[24]

A similar bill was adopted in Italy. At the time of writing, it is awaiting the Senate's approval. The so called *ius soli* act also provides citizenship to children of foreign nationals, provided they are permanent residents in the country. The law specifically mentions that it is targeted at non-EU citizens.[25] Experts believe that this law means that the new generation of Italians who are almost fully integrated into society (with knowledge of language, traditions, and having received education in Italy) will finally be able to identify themselves as part of the nation.

European governments have been taking measures to encourage immigrants to adapt to new realities. However, these measures often result in outright forced denouncement of their identities. This was most apparent in the Netherlands, which adopted amendments to its integration legislation that affected non-EU citizens seeking residency. The new bill requires people who have been residing in the Netherlands for several years to pass a language exam and demonstrate knowledge of the local labour market. Some human rights observers believe that these exams are of no practical help to immigrants; rather, they demonstrate negative attitudes towards immigrants and facilitate isolationist tendencies. For example, migrants from Maghreb and Africa are asked what they would do "if they saw two men kissing on the street." Expressing negative views in this

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[24]http://grreporter.info/en/greece_grants_citizenship_100000_children_immigrants/12824
[25]https://www.repubblica.it/politica/2015/10/13/news/legge_cittadinanza_senato-124967907

case often results in failing the exam.[26] As a result, many refuse to take the exam altogether.

This is a typical example of how European governments try to speed up the integration of legal immigrants, where integration comes in the form of assimilation and loss of traditional identities.

Russia has been seeking to improve the conditions for the employment of migrant workers. Since January 2015, people from countries with a visa-free agreement with Russia can seek employment outside quotas by acquiring a work patent (permit), provided they have indicated "work" as the reason for entry in the country. Thus migrant workers have been divided into two categories, which was supposed to improve the position of migrants from visa-free countries. However, the project turned out to be fraught with bureaucratic problems (see Section 2).

Finally, the fourth legislative trend in 2015 was related to combating radicalisation, racism, xenophobia, and facilitating peaceful religious relations.

On September 25, 2015, Poland introduced amendments to the Law on National, Ethnic Minorities, and Regional Languages (January 6, 2005). The proposed Article 9 of the Law on Supported Languages states that a minority language may be used in communication with municipal authorities to the same extent as the official language. This condition applies to municipalities where a "supported" linguistic minority group

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[26]http://www.ncbopleidingen.nl/cursusnederlands/nieuwe-regels-voor-inburgeringsexamen-of-staatsexamen-nt2

constitutes for 20% of the population or above.[27] President Duda, however, had vetoed the bill citing the "high cost of implementation." It is to be reviewed in parliament in 2016.[28]

In 2015, the German Criminal Code was amended with Art. 46.2, which instructed the courts to consider racist, xenophobic, or other discriminatory motives as aggravating circumstances in the commission of a crime.[29] This is an important development, since previous German legislation did not cover these factors when dealing with violent crime, stating instead that the courts *may* take them into consideration during sentencing.

In Greece, a proposed amendment to the Criminal Code (Article 361B) introduced criminal responsibility for refusing goods and services on the basis of race, colour, national or ethnic origins, religion, disability, sexual orientation, and gender identity. The article came into force in July 2016[30], and is predominantly aimed against the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn party, which regularly organised giveaways to "pure" Greeks during Orthodox holidays.[31]

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[27] http://administracja.mac.gov.pl/adm/baza-jst/843,Samorzad-terytorialny-w-Polsce.html

[28] See: President's veto, Druk nr 3999, October 26, 2015, http://orka.sejm.gov.pl/Druki7ka.nsf/0/0489813F186FFD08C1257EEE003190C2/%24File/3999.pdf

[29]https://www.bundestag.de/dokumente/textarchiv/2015/kw12_de_nsu/364372;http://www.antidiskriminierungsstelle.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/aktuelles/20150407_Rechtsgutachten_Hasskriminalitaet.pdf;jsessionid=388532642DBE44BD106E5531442542A8.2_cid340?__blob=publicationFile&v=1

[30] http://rvrn.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Report_2015eng.pdf

[31]https://greekhelsinki.wordpress.com/2016/07/09/%CF%85%CF%80%CE%BF%CF%85%CF%81%CE%B3%CE%B5%CE%AF%CE%BF-%CE%B4%CE%B9%CE%BA%CE%B1%CE%B9%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%8D%CE%BD%CE%B7%CF%82-%CE%B4%CE%B5%CE%BD-

The decade-long debates surrounding the construction of a cathedral mosque and a mosque at a Muslim cemetery in Athens continued in the Greek parliament throughout 2015. The issue was first raised in 2006 and finally approved by parliament on August 3, 2016.[32] Advocates for the mosque argue that the project has more social than religious connotations, as it is aimed to improve the position of minorities in Greece. Education and Religious Affairs Minister Nikos Filis argued that Greece should avoid mistakes made by other European policymakers that left many migrant communities socially isolated and vulnerable to the threat of extremism. "It is truly the elephant in room: Europe has not accepted that Islam is a reality," he told parliament. "The existence of makeshift mosques (in Athens) is a disgrace for our country."[33]

France has taken significant steps in combating xenophobia and hate crime in 2015, introducing the New National Plan of Action to Counter Racism and Anti-Semitism for the period until 2017.[34] The plan was published on April 17, 2015 and contains the following elements: organisation of a public awareness campaign in support of national minorities;

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[32] http://www.dailysabah.com/diplomacy/2016/06/25/greek-approval-of-mosque-construction-in-athens-may-better-relations-with-turkey

[33] http://www.dailysabah.com/europe/2016/08/04/greek-parliament-approves-mosque-construction-in-capital-athens

[34] *La République mobilisée contre le racisme et l'antisémitisme - Plan d'action 2015-2017. Dossier de presse,* http://www.gouvernement.fr/sites/default/files/liseuse/4040/master/projet/La%2DR%C3%A9publique%2Dmobilis%C3%A9e%2Dcontre%2Dle%2Dracisme%2Det%2Dl%2Dantis%C3%A9mitisme%2D%2D%2DPlan%2Dd%2Daction%2D2015%2D2017.pdf

physical protection of Jewish and Islamic schools, places of worship, etc.; establishment of a national department to combat hate speech online, and others. However, more importantly, the plan proposes a prompt modification of the French criminal law to introduce racism and anti-Semitism as aggravating circumstances in all violations. On October 8, 2015, President Hollande instructed the Justice Minister to prepare a formal proposal of this bill by the end of the year.[35] The bill is currently being reviewed by parliament. There is also a possibility that sexism will be included, alongside racism as an aggravating circumstance in the commission of a crime.[36]

On November 23, Russian President Vladimir Putin signed a law that prohibited recognising the main Christian, Muslim, Jewish, and Buddhist texts as extremist. The law will apply to the Bible, Koran, Tanakh, and Kangyur.[37] The law became necessary when Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk City Court recognised a Muslim book "Dua to God: its purpose and place in Islam" as extremist, finding that the book promoted the superiority of Islam over other religions. In November, the decision was overruled, and the bill prohibiting the recognition of ancient religious texts as extremist followed shortly afterwards.[38]

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[35] Rof, Gilles, „François Hollande veut davantage punir le racisme", *LeMonde.fr,* 8 October 2015, http://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2015/10/08/hollande-veut-davantage-punir-le-racisme_4785604_823448.html

[36] See here: Le sexisme, bientôt circonstance aggravante des crimes et délits, *Libération.fr,* 17 June 2016, http://www.liberation.fr/direct/element/le-sexisme-bientot-circonstance-aggravante-des-crimes-et-delits_40164/

[37] http://kremlin.ru/acts/news/50759

[38] https://meduza.io/news/2015/11/23/putin-zapretil-iskat-ekstremizm-v-korane-i-

In 2015, a whole range of bills aimed at harmonising ethnic and religious relations have been adopted in Ukraine. However, some of them have sparked criticism among human rights activists and minority groups. On August 25, 2015, President Petro Poroshenko signed the Decree № 501/2015 "On the Approval of the National Human Rights Strategy".[39] The strategy listed several systemic problems in Ukraine related to human rights and freedoms and focused on preventing and combating discrimination, as well as "ensuring the rights of indigenous peoples and national minorities", aiming to bring Ukraine's anti-discrimination legislation in line with international standards.

On November 12, 2015, the Ukrainian parliament (Verkhovna Rada) introduced amendments to the Labour Code in order to harmonise anti-discrimination legislation with the European Union.[40] The bill prohibited any form of discrimination in the workplace, including sexual orientation, gender identity, disability and others.[41]

In December 2015, the intergovernmental Ukrainian-German commission was established to deal with affairs relating to German nationals living in Ukraine.[42]

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biblii?utm_source=email&utm_medium=vecherka&utm_campaign=2015-11-23

[39] http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/501/2015

[40] http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/785-19

[41] http://newsradio.com.ua/rus/2015_11_12/Vmeste-s-zapretom-na-diskriminaciju-v-KZoT-zakrepili-polukrepostnoe-pravo-Zaborin-9603/; http://www.segodnya.ua/opinion/eduardbagirovcolumn/zakon-protiv-diskriminacii-seks-menshinstv-nichego-ne-izmenit-666922.html; http://zavtra.ru/content/view/ukraina-prinyala-zakon-o-zaprete-trudovoj-diskriminatsii-seks-menshinstv/

[42] http://zakon5.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1075-2015-п

However, on November 23, 2015, the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers adopted a Decree № 1393-p which approved the Action Plan on the Implementation of the National Human Rights Strategy for the period up to 2020.[43] Among other important provisions, the Action Plan proposes to remove a paragraph from Article 161 of the Criminal Code, which provides criminal responsibility for discrimination. Instead, it proposes administrative and civic responsibility in the form of fines for damages.[44] This measure is indicative of the shortcomings in the country's policy towards prevention and counteraction of ethnic discrimination. It is worth noting that in May 2015, the Ukrainian Cabinet adopted a Decree №333, which dissolved the National Expert Commission on the Public Morality Affairs.[45] The Commission was the last remaining body that had the right to monitor media and public events to identify incitement to hate crime, in accordance with the law "On the Protection of Public Morality" (20/11/2013).[46] In other words, the aforementioned commission was equipped to provide legal assessment of a public action, which had to be considered by court during trials. This included incitement to ethnic and religious hostilities, blasphemy, and desecration of places of national and religious importance. Since its dissolution, Ukraine does not have a state body capable of assessing actions in this field.

On May 14, 2015, the government of Ukraine reduced state funding for cultural publications in minority languages.

The law "On Local Elections" (14/07/2015) has deprived the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) from the Donetsk,

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[43] http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/uk/cardnpd?docid=248740679
[44] http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/uk/cardnpd?docid=248740679, page 214
[45] http://zakon5.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/333-2015-п
[46] http://zakon5.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1296-15

Luhansk, and Crimea regions of the right to vote in elections of the regions they are registered in. There are certain exceptions in special constituencies. Some publications, citing the Central Election Commission of Ukraine, reported that IDPs will be able to participate in local elections in their regions only after the conclusion of the armed conflict.[47] Critics noted that the law is in conflict with the law "On the Provision of Rights and Freedoms of Internally Displaced Persons", according to which IDPs can participate in local elections by changing the constituency they vote in.

Shortly thereafter, the Ukrainian Cabinet adopted the Decree №736 (24/09/2015) relating to the "questions regarding the Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol".[48] The Decree specified the steps to ensure the rights and freedoms in a territory no longer under Kiev's control. It also stressed the need to create conditions for the "free development of the Crimean Tatar language, languages of other indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities residing on the temporarily occupied territory of Ukraine", as well as to "facilitate the satisfaction of cultural and educational needs, development of ethnic identity" of national minorities in the region. Interestingly, such measures have not been brought up until after the annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014.

Lack of a cohesive anti-discrimination legislation remains a problem for Russia. "Discrimination" as a term is only contained in the Russian Criminal Code and is poorly defined as the violation of citizens' rights, freedoms, and legal interests. However, according to international law, violation of rights and freedoms can be one of the goals or consequences of

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[47] http://cxid.info/bolee-milliona-pereselencev-iz-donbassa-i-kryma-lishila-prava-golosa-n124697

[48] http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/uk/cardnpd?docid=248514004

discrimination, but not its form. In addition, Russian legislation does not specify what constitutes as a "violation of rights", does not identify forms of discrimination, differences between direct and indirect discrimination, victimisation, and does not prohibit discrimination by officials, or discrimination based on nationality. A whole range of important legislative documents did not contain the prohibition of discrimination at all. Normative acts that prevent informal discrimination in employment, housing, education, healthcare, etc. are virtually non-existent.

To summarise, we have observed the following legislative trends relating to combating hate crime across Europe in 2015:

- Tougher counter terrorism legislation, sometimes to the point of violation of civil rights.
- Tougher criminal legislation with the aim to protect minority rights and establish hate motives as an aggravating circumstance in the commission of a crime.
- Tougher immigration legislation with the aim to reduce illegal immigration.
- Easing of the naturalisation process for legal immigrants, under certain conditions – their knowledge of state language, respect for local traditions, and familiarity with the labour market.
- Tougher anti-racism and anti-discrimination legislation.

These factors certainly demonstrate a shifting situation, comparing to previous years, when hate crime and related offenses were handled solely through police measures and occasional declarations. In this regard, the situation in Ukraine is

particularly alarming, after the country removed criminal responsibility for discrimination and dissolved the last body responsible for assessing the public sphere and identifying incitements to violence. Ukraine's treatment of IDPs in terms of the right to vote in local elections is also concerning. Another worrying fact was the Polish President's veto on the Law on National, Ethnic Minorities, and Regional Languages, which would have introduced the term "supported languages" to the legal vocabulary of the country. Anti-discrimination legislation in Russia leaves a lot to be desired and has a negative impact on a whole range of vulnerable groups.

Certain legislative measures taken in 2015 have worried human rights observers, who regard them as a direct threat to civil rights. The new British Immigration Act has been widely criticised as discriminatory, along with the proposed measures to deal with unemployment among young adults, 50% of whom are national minorities. Counter terrorism laws in several countries have been criticised for excessive surveillance and encroaching on the private life of citizens. Amendments to the Integration Act in the Netherlands have introduced compulsory exams for immigrants that can be regarded as insulting to religious feelings and secular traditions of some countries.

Several legislative measures in 2015 have been aimed at liberalising LGBT relations as part of the general EU policy protecting LGBT rights. On December 22, 2015, Greece finally recognised civil partnerships among same-sex couples. The new law, supported by the SYRIZA party, allows same-sex couples to enjoy some of the same rights as traditional married couples, such as medical proxy and the right to inheritance. On the other hand, transgender people are still excluded from these rights. Greece had also abolished the obsolete provision that prohibited "unnatural indecency" in public (Art. 347 of the Criminal Code).

On the same day, Greek parliament started working on a law that would recognise gender self-identification.

The Netherlands, where same-sex marriage has been legal for several years, adopted two new legislative acts in 2015, which provided certain rights to the transgender people and provided the right to adoption for lesbian couples.[49]

Meanwhile, Poland rejected a bill on civil partnerships (May 26, 2015). 215 out of 385 members of parliament have voted against the proposition, 146 voted in favour and 24 abstained from voting.[50]

LGBT rights is still an issue in countries like Northern Ireland, Hungary, Germany, Italy, Russia, and Ukraine. Therefore, it can be concluded that countries with more widespread Christian traditions are more socially conservative and are not yet prepared to accept new western trends.

2. LAW ENFORCEMENT PRACTICE

Law enforcement practice is influenced not only by the legislative norms concerning minorities, but also by the level of professionalism and personal views among law enforcement officers. In 2015, law enforcement practices aimed at combating hate crime, discrimination, and radicalism revolved around the following priorities:

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[49] http://www.government.nl/issues/gay-rights/news/2015/07/31/security-and-justice-is-joining-the-canal-parade-for-the-first-time-with-its-own-boat.html
[50]http://www.sejm.gov.pl/sejm7.nsf/agent.xsp?symbol=glosowania&NrKadencji=7&NrPosiedzenia=93&NrGlosowania=1

- Prevention of extremist activity.
- Combating illegal immigration and establishment of infrastructure for refugees.
- Combating xenophobia and racism, ensuring peaceful inter-ethnic relations.
- Integration of refugees and Roma (travellers).

Often, progress in one area had led to deficits in another. For example, measures of *terrorism prevention* often encroached on minority rights, while measures against illegal immigration violated the rights of asylum seekers.

Following a wave of terrorist attacks, Europe adopted a series of counter terrorism laws in 2015, which resulted in a wave of repressions against persons suspected of extremist activity. In January 2016, French President Francois Hollande reported that in 12 months, French security services have prohibited 200 people from leaving the country and 50 people have been denied entry on suspicion of links to extremist groups. From November 2015, when a state of emergency was introduced across the country until mid-January 2016, French police had carried out 3,336 administrative searches, 290 people have been placed under house arrest, and 344 people have been arrested.[51]

British, German, and Italian law enforcements were following similar policies in 2015, albeit not as strict.

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[51] „France: 3336 perquisitions administratives", *Le Figaro,* 9 February 2016, http://www.lefigaro.fr/flash-actu/2016/02/09/97001-20160209FILWWW00269-etat-d-urgence-3336-perquisitions-administratives.php.

These measures have sometimes impacted law-abiding citizens. Human rights observers note that most cases are related to national or religious minorities that were suspected of links to the so-called Islamic State (ISIS). One of the most notable cases occurred in the United Kingdom, which had recently adopted a 2015 Counter Terrorism and Security Act that places a statutory duty on schools and colleges to prevent people being drawn into terrorism.[52] There, a 10-year-old Muslim boy who misspelled a word during an English lesson, wrote that he lived in a "terrorist house." The primary school pupil meant to write that he lived in a "terraced house", but this did not stop the police carrying out a thorough search of the house and examining the family computer. Both police and social services had carried out extensive interviews with the boy to establish whether or not his family has any ties with extremist organisations.[53] Another Muslim schoolboy was questioned about Islamic State after the 14-year-old used the term "ecoterrorism" during a classroom discussion about environmental activism.[54] In another ironic incident, Muslim postgraduate student of counter-terrorism, Mohammed Umar Farooq, was falsely accused of being a terrorist after an official at Staffordshire University had spotted him reading a textbook entitled Terrorism Studies in the college library. According to his

[52] http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/bills/cbill/2014-2015/0127/en/15127en.htm
[53] http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2016/01/20/muslim-child-terrorist-house-spelling-error_n_9025336.html
[54] https://www.theguardian.com/education/2015/sep/22/school-questioned-muslim-pupil-about-isis-after-discussion-on-eco-activism

own accounts, he was questioned about attitudes towards homosexuality, Islamic State, and al-Qaida.[55]

In Russia, certain religious organisations have also suffered under overly broad counter extremism measures. This was particularly true for Jehovah's Witnesses (48 cases in 2015; 13 in 2014). Many observers believe that this is largely due to the leaders of traditional Russian religions regarding Jehovah's Witnesses as a totalitarian sect funded by the US and demanding strict control over their organisation. In addition, their religious tradition denies army service, political and public participation, which contradicts the accepted lifestyle in Russia. Most of such cases were related to confiscation of literature, regarded as extremist and the rejection or annulment of registration of certain religious communities. However, on June 1, the Ministry of Justice officially re-registered a Jehovah's Witnesses organisation in Moscow, which was eliminated in 2004.[56]

The number of reported cases of discrimination against Muslims in Russia has almost halved to 15 cases in 2015. Most cases were related to the cancellation of previously issued permits for the construction of mosques in Ussuriisk[57] and Kazansky district of Tyumen region[58] (those were usually accompanied by public protests); demolition of illegal mosques, such as one in Novy Uregnoy[59]; detention of praying Muslims for

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[55] https://www.theguardian.com/education/2015/sep/24/student-accused-being-terrorist-reading-book-terrorism
[56] http://www.jw-russia.org/news/news.htm
[57] http://www.islamnews.ru/news-449269.html
[58] http://www.islamnews.ru/news-452105.html
[59] http://kavpolit.com/articles/v_novom_urengoe_slomali_mechet-16393/

questioning and fingerprinting (Balashikha, Moscow region[60], Prokopyevsk[61]); and confiscation of religious literature, suspected of being extremist in nature (Komsomolsk-on-Amur[62]). Similar cases of discrimination have been observed in relation to Protestants (4), Catholics (1) and new religious organisations – Mormons, Scientologists, Krishna, and others (10).

A difficult situation remains in Ukraine, where property belonging to the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) is being seized and transferred to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Reverse actions are being carried out in the separatist regions.

Measures to prevent separatism have resulted in a restriction of rights of certain groups, particularly the voting rights of internally displaced persons (IDPs) from the eastern regions of Donetsk and Luhansk, as well as Crimea (see above). There have been attempts to change the layout of constituencies in order to prevent the representatives of Carpathian Hungarians from entering into parliament, which was criticised by the Hungarian government in 2015.[63]

Above instances indicated that counter extremism legislation more often than not negatively affects certain minorities, despite being directly aimed against terrorism, thus facilitating the growth of xenophobic sentiments.

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[60] http://www.interfax-religion.ru/?act=news&div=59568
[61] http://www.islamnews.ru/news-479189.html
[62] http://www.islamnews.ru/news-474921.html
[63] http://hvylya.net/news/digest/vengriya-zayavila-o-narushenii-tsik-ukrainyi-prav-natsmenshin-na-zakarpate.html ;
http://www.mukachevo.net/ua/news/view/133484

European countries have taken considerable steps in *developing the infrastructure for refugees*, with financial support from the UN and national governments in the region. France has rebuilt one of its largest refugee reception centres in Calais, which housed 6000 refugees as of October 2016.[64] The situation in Greece had also improved. After an agreement was reached with Turkey, refugees were allowed free movement within temporary housing centres, given free medical care and certain benefits for vulnerable groups. UNHCR and other organisations funded the construction of refugee hostels. The situation in Italy is developing in a similar fashion.

However, there is still a distinct lack of refugee reception centres. In Greece alone, the law requires 13 such centres to be operational, but only 5 are currently working. This causes extremely long queues for asylum applications, while centres themselves are physically incapable of dealing with so many requests (according to various sources, Greece had received 911,471 refugees in 2015, compared with 77,163 people in 2014; 612 people died trying to cross the Mediterranean).[65] As a result, many refugees are being arrested and deported as illegal immigrants or for not possessing identification documents.

Existing refugee centres are almost always overpopulated. This is true in Greece, Italy, Hungary, France, and Ukraine.

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[64] Legendre, Jacques and Gorce, Gaëtan, L'*Europe au défi des migrants. Rapport d'information n° 795 (2015-2016) fait au nom de la commission des affaires étrangères, de la défense et des forces armées*, 13 July 2016, http://www.senat.fr/rap/r15-795/r15-795_mono.html.

[65] http://www.synigoros.gr/resources/docs/epistrofes_en_2015.pdf

Russia faced a different problem, related to the introduction of a patent system for migrant workers from countries with a visa-free agreement with the Russian Federation. In 2015, migrant workers were faced with an unprepared bureaucratic system, which was unable to handle applications within their deadline (30 days). The cost of such patents had also skyrocketed. Furthermore, the patent is restricted by region – working in other regions leads to deportation.[66]

Hungary was experiencing difficulties with the influx of refugees in 2015. Around 150 thousand applications for asylums had been registered that year, compared to 2014. The Hungarian government decided to tackle the issue by building a fence along its Croatian and Serbian borders – the latter is a country which they had recently declared as a safe country. By the end of October, more than 500 people have been sentenced for illegal border crossing and sent to migrant detention centres to await deportation (often to Serbia). Hungarian authorities also introduced a fast-track system for asylum application, which only provided a 3 day deadline for appeals. In September 2015, clashes were reported at the Serbian border, with Hungarian forces using teargas and water cannons against refugees. Attacks against reporters have been also reported; three journalists were forced into the country and accused of illegal border crossing. Reporters were denied entry into refugee reception centres under the pretext of protecting refugee's private lives.[67]

Ukraine struggled with internally displaced persons (IDPs) fleeing the armed conflict in its eastern regions and

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[66] http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2709017
[67] https://www.hrw.org/ru/world-report/2016/country-chapters/286136#383e61

Crimea (approximately 1 – 1.7 million people, according to various estimates). Most of them are women (66%), children, and elderly people. Experts and volunteers note that state support for IDPs is ineffective, failing to tackle unemployment or encourage business. The Ministry of Social Policy is poorly equipped to help IDPs, lacking any sort of register that would allow to accurately estimate the number of such people and lacking a coherent programme and government body responsible for tackling this issue.[68]

A similar situation has arisen at the regional level. For example, on March 26, 2015, the Vinnitsa region had launched a project to establish a centre for adaptation of entrepreneurs and IDPs from Crimea and the conflict zones, supported by the local Department for Regional Development and the Private Investors of Ukraine Association. The project aimed to create 720 new jobs, with the help of 323 thousand euros to be contributed by the European Union. However, the project was never realised, after the first instalment of EU money (245.3 thousand euros, received in May 2015) was simply absorbed into the regional budget, following the decision of the Vinnitsa Regional Council. No funds were directly allocated to IDPs or other partners of the project. On September 14, 2015, the Regional Council severed the grant contract with its partners. By the end of November, the EU and Ukraine both launched corresponding investigations.[69]

Notable changes were observed in policies related to *combating xenophobia and racism*. In 2015, most of them were related to new counter terrorism laws that established stricter online surveillance and punished certain online publications. For example, the number of hate crime cases in Russia has grown by

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[68] http://rian.com.ua/analytics/20151012/375100902.html
[69]http://www.ostro.org/general/economics/articles/489359/

28% in 2015, most of such cases, however, were related to hate speech on the Internet. Such offences are usually punished by non-custodial sentences, and repeat offences are unlikely. During the monitored period, 494 people have been sentenced for hate crime in Russia (509 in 2014), 352 of which were given non-custodial sentences. However, the general number of violent hate crime fell by 14% compared to the previous year (115 in 2015; 134 in 2014). This decrease is largely due to effective preventative policies carried out across the country.

Law enforcement in France, Italy, the Netherlands, and the UK launched closer surveillance of the Internet traffic. However, in these countries freedom of speech often outweighs security concerns in court decisions – certain cases of hate speech have yet to be punished by any serious means. For example, the Netherlands has only recently started prosecuting anti-Semitic and Islamophobic hate speech on Facebook.[70] Nevertheless, charges brought against the offenders were overly light. Meanwhile, the manager of Holland's football club was not prosecuted for provocative posts at all, as he promptly removed them on the police's request. It is worth noting that in 2015, out of 15 thousand reports of violent hate crime only 105 have reached trial (0.7%).[71] This is only 20 cases more than in 2014.

After the discovery of the National-Socialist Underground in Germany in 2011, and particularly following its trial in 2013, German police started paying more attention to

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[70] http://www.dutchnews.nl/news/archives/2015/01/dutch-prosecutor-acts-on-anti-muslim-facebook-comments/
[71] Amnesty International, The Netherlands, Police Oversight, Police and Human Rights Programme – Short Paper Series No. 2 (2015).

extreme right-wing groups. Increased hate crime and frequent attacks on refugee centres (more than 200 in 2014) have prompted German authorities to reinforce the security of such institutions. In the first months of 2015, German police conducted raids across the country and arrested four men who were planning attacks on mosques and refugee housing centres. Police say that the suspects were affiliated with a recently established right-wing extremist group that calls itself the Old School Society. The four suspects had purchased explosives with the plan to carry out terrorist attacks, police said.[72]

In an attempt to control and contain hate crime and discrimination against immigrants and minorities, the Italian police force (Carabinieri and State Police) established an Observatory for Security against Acts of Discrimination (OSCAD) that is responsible for monitoring manifestations of discrimination, racism, and hate crime. We found no evidence of police abuse or institutional racism against foreign nationals or local minorities during the monitored period, which was fairly common in 2014. Generally, we are observing a considerable improvement in law enforcement practice in Italy when it comes to observing and protecting minority rights. It seems that local authorities realised that immigration is an important part of the economic and social processes in Italy.

Poland continues to face the problem of misclassification of hate crime as regular crime. This issue is also prevalent in France, Greece, Italy, and Ukraine. Often, police officers make these decisions to consciously avoid "dealing with politics", as

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[72]https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2015/05/09/in-germany-are-anti-muslim-terrorists-the-real-thre1at/

well as due to lack of training and inability to distinguish a hate crime. However, there have been cases of outright institutional racism or even hate crimes committed by law enforcement officers themselves.

One of the more blatant examples of institutional racism in police occurred in spring 2015 in Hannover, Germany, when a police officer force-fed pork to two Muslim immigrants.[73] Racial profiling is implicit in the German Federal Police Act, which could lead to racial discrimination, particularly given the arbitrary conditions it provides, such as the "feeling for a particular situation" and the need to be guided by "physical appearance of a suspect".[74] The High Commissioner for Human Rights, Nils Muiznieks drew attention to these provisions.[75]

Another issue is ineffective investigation of hate crime cases. For example, Ukrainian human rights observers say that violence motivated by ethnic or racial hatred are severely underreported by victims. Investigation of reported hate crime offences is often ineffective, which is regarded as the root cause for victims' mistrust of the law enforcement.[76]

As already mentioned, there are issues with the lack of training among the police force in dealing with hate crime. In these cases, hate motives are usually ignored. Ukraine was a leading example in such practices during the monitored period. On August 19, a young boy of African descent was attacked near a Kiev metro station. The attack was reportedly accompanied by

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[73]http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/hanover-police-officer-allegedly-tortured-two-refugees-a-1035098.html

[74] http://www.dw.com/en/berlin-denies-institutional-racism-among-german-police/a-18571585

[75] Ibid.

[76] http://www.gumilev-center.ru/38698/

pro-Nazi slogans. Similar cases occurred during football matches, in attacks clearly motivated by racism that have been investigated as hooliganism. On June 12, 2015, a group of armed men attacked foreign students near their university halls. Five people have been detained in relation to this incident, but were charged with "hooliganism" and were released. Police did not regard this attack as a hate crime.[77] It is important to understand that in 1998 and 2015, Ukraine dissolved state institutions responsible for assessing the nature of crime. Furthermore, to incite a hate crime case, premeditated motives must be proven. Multiple acts of vandalism committed at a historical memorial complex Babiy Yar remain unpunished and despite multiple requests by the Jewish community, police are yet to establish CCTV surveillance and appropriate security in the complex.

According to our observations, in 2015 only one hate crime case in Ukraine resulted in a guilty verdict. On March 24, 2015, the Odessa District Court sentenced a 19-year-old coordinator of a nationalist movement Young Sentence to seven years in prison for beating an LGBT person to death.[78]

Efforts to ensure peaceful *religious relations* should be mentioned separately. This is an acute issue in many countries subject to this monitoring due to deep-rooted traditions that do not allow recognising large ethnic groups as national minorities (see above). There have been positive trends in this regard: the favourable end to the decade-long debate over the construction of a cathedral mosque in Athens, Greece, Roma integration

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[77] http://www.segodnya.ua/regions/kharkov/parney-zaderzhannyh-za-izbienie-inostrannyh-studentov-v-harkove-otpustili-626426.html
[78] http://vesti-ukr.com/odessa/93621-glavarju-odesskogo-modnogo-prigovora-dali-7-let

programmes in Italy (see below), and the three-fold increase of funds allocated to support minorities in Hungary. Russia has introduced courses of Islamic Studies for many regional officials across the country. The federal Republic of Ingushetia has re-introduced a programme to return and resettle the Russian-speaking population for 2010-2015, which improved the living conditions for more than 50 Russian-speaking families who returned to this republic.[79]

Ukraine faces a lot of challenges in this regard. Its diverse population requires a corresponding national policy, based on principles of non-discrimination and tolerance.

Despite this fact (14 million people or 30% of the population of Ukraine are part of ethnic or linguistic minorities, according to the 2001 census), and despite recommendations of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, Ukraine is yet to establish a government body responsible for working with minorities (to replace the State Committee for Minority Affairs and Religions, dissolved in 2011). Ukraine does not monitor the situation with the rights of national and linguistic minorities (which has been a key factor in Crimea and Donbass), and holds no official statistics related to this issue. The country also lacks a policy regulating the media treatment of national minorities and hate speech. Implementation of certain provisions in the Law "On the Principles of State Language Policy" has been blocked through administrative, bureaucratic and political means (provisions protect the rights of 18 national and linguistic minorities, including the right to information, communication, and education in mother tongue). Implementation of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, ratified by Ukraine, is in the same situation. Provisions of the Law of

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[79] http://islam.ru/news/2015-06-01/14307

Ukraine "On National Minorities" and "On the Principles of Prevention and Counteraction of Discrimination in Ukraine" are also not fulfilled.

Speaking at a Council of inter-ethnic harmony, organised by the Ukrainian Cabinet on March 5, 2015, representatives of Roma, Azerbaijani, Armenian, Belarus, and several other ethnic groups reported cases of discrimination in certain regions, including difficulties celebrating national holidays, lack of facilities, etc.[80] Ukraine is yet to establish a national-cultural autonomy – a form of cultural development of ethnic minorities adopted in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. This issue has been raised by Russian, Hungarian, Polish, Armenian, and Crimean Tatar communities on multiple occasions in 2015, as well as Rusyns, who are still demanding recognition of their community as a national minority.[81] However, President Petro Poroshenko has only reacted to Crimean Tatars, which was more likely motivated by political interests, particularly given that Crimea is currently under Russian control. In July 2015, he talked about the need to enshrine the autonomy of Crimean Tatars in the Constitution of Ukraine and called on members of parliament to support corresponding changes.[82]

Integration of refugees and Roma people is another aspect of law enforcement practice that is closely related to harmonising inter-ethnic relations. Italy, Hungary, Ukraine, and Greece faced considerable problems in this regard. The first three countries have developed special integration plans for Roma communities, while Italy is the only country which is implementing a special integration plan for refugees.

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[80] http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/ru/publish/article?art_id=247992289&cat_id=244843950
[81] http://rian.com.ua/interview/20151218/1002250301.html
[82] http://ru.krymr.com/a/news/27795020.html

Roma is among the most vulnerable minority groups. We continue to observe eviction of Roma from illegal homes without the provision of alternative housing. Roma are subjected to close police attention and institutional discrimination in healthcare, education (school segregation), employment, and so on. For example, the European Roma Rights Centre has documented a practice in Hungary, where police fine Roma for minor offences, such as lack of certain equipment on a bicycle, arresting those who are unable to pay the fine.[83] In Ukraine, Roma are often the subject of extortion. Knowing that many do not possess identification documents, police follow and arrest Roma at their place of residence and demand a bribe in return for release.[84] Various media outlets continue to portray Roma as criminals and drug traffickers, perpetuating hate speech against this minority group.

Refugees face similar challenges and similar stereotypes. Many countries, primarily Greece and Hungary, establish refugee schools within refugee housing centres, rather than regular schools, which can be regarded as similar to segregation of Roma. Therefore, understanding the cultural and historical differences between the two groups, solutions to Roma and refugee issues remain similar.

The most systemic solution to this problem was developed in Italy. At the regional level (in Lazio, for example), the country started integrating migrants into the workplace. This is carried out through local authorities, which fund minimum wage salaries for new migrants. As a result, migrants are successfully adapting to their new lives and have additional

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[83] https://www.hrw.org/ru/world-report/2016/country-chapters/286136#383e61

means of sustenance.[85] Italy adopts a similar approach to Roma integration through the Programme to promote mutual understanding between the Roma and the Italian population, supported by the European Social Fund as part of the Europe 2020 plan. However, implementation of these projects is yet to bear any tangible results.

3. XENOPHOBIA.

The roots of xenophobia often lie in legislative and law enforcement practices, caused by deep traditions and processes that change the socio-cultural environment.

Xenophobia lies in the motives of all hate crime. It has been present in all monitored countries in various shapes and forms. Observations made during 2015 allow us to identify 4 common forms of xenophobia.

- Ethnic and religious xenophobia – the dislike towards members of a certain ethnic or religious group
- Anti-immigration sentiments – hostility towards immigrants, refugees, etc.
- Homophobia – prejudices against sexual minorities.

Each of these will be covered by this review.[86]

🔱 Ethnic and Religious Xenophobia

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[84] Interview with Elena Marchuk, a refugee from Sverdlovsk of Luhansk region. Kharkov, 16 October, 2014. Archive ADC "Memorial"-
http://diversipedia.org.ua/ru/diversity-in-ukraine
[85]https://www.integrazionemigranti.gov.it/regioni/Documenti%20programmazione/Determinazione%20regionale%20Lazio.pdf;
https://www.sitiarcheologici.lavoro.gov.it/Area
[86]https://www.gfk.com/fileadmin/user_upload/dyna_content/UA/Molod_Ukraine_2015_UA.pdf

Anti-Roma sentiments is the most common expression of this type of xenophobia.

According to various opinion polls, negative attitude towards Roma has been expressed by 82% in Italy (86% in 2014), 67% Greece, 64% Hungary (70% in 2014), 61% France (60% in 2014), 54% Ukraine (60%), 47% Poland (48%), 45% United Kingdom (37%), 40% Germany (34%), 37% Netherlands, and 22% in Russia (23% in 2014). Aside from Germany and the United Kingdom, most countries maintained neutral or negative trends compared to 2014.

Fig. 1. Anti-Roma sentiments in 2014 and 2015.[87]
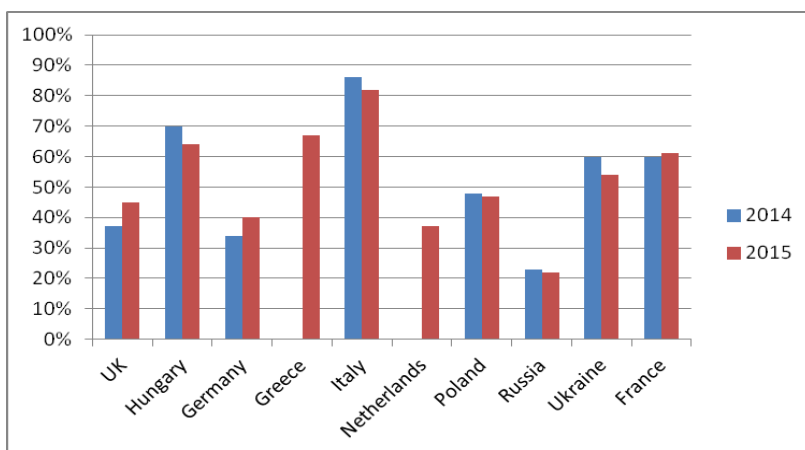
[87] For 2014, see: http://www.nationalpolicy.ru/obshcheevropeyskiy-doklad/DOCLAD2_1.pdf
For 2015, see: http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2016/07/Lede-chart-2.png;
http://www.levada.ru/2015/08/25/ksenofobiya-i-natsionalizm/;
https://www.gfk.com/fileadmin/user_upload/dyna_content/UA/Molod_Ukraine_2015_UA.pdf

There have been positive developments in terms of *anti-Semitism*.

We observed a general decline in levels of anti-Semitism in most countries, except for France, Hungary, and Italy. The number of people expressing such views in Greece is 55% (69% in 2014), 35% in Hungary (31% in 2014), Italy 24% (21%), Poland 24% (28%), France 10% (7%), Russia 7% (8%), Ukraine 7% (there is no data available for 2014, however in 2013 this figure was 38%, according to Anti-Defamation League), United Kingdom 7% (7%), Germany 5% (9%), and the Netherlands 4% (5%). It must also be noted that the level of anti-Semitism in Europe is directly affected by tensions in the Middle East.

Fig. 2. Anti-Semitic sentiments in 2014 and 2015.[88]
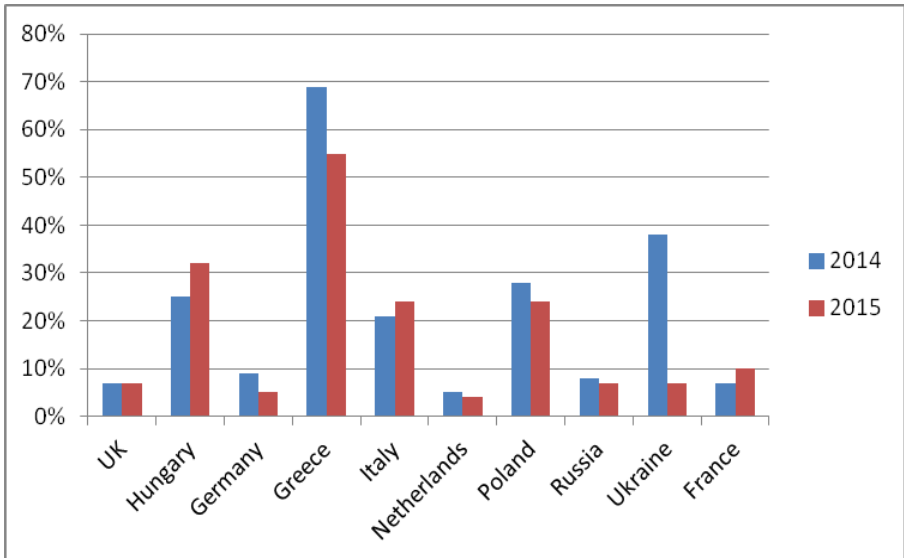
[88] Ibid.

Indicators of *Islamophobia* paint a different picture.

There has been an increase of anti-Muslim sentiments in 2015, with Hungary demonstrating the highest level of Islamophobia at 72%. It is followed by Italy 69% (61% in 2014), Poland 66% (56%), Greece 65%, the Netherlands 35%, Germany 29% (24%), France 29% (24%), UK 28% (19%), Russia – 23% (18%), and Ukraine 19%.[89]

Fig. 3. Anti-Muslim sentiments in 2014 and 2015.
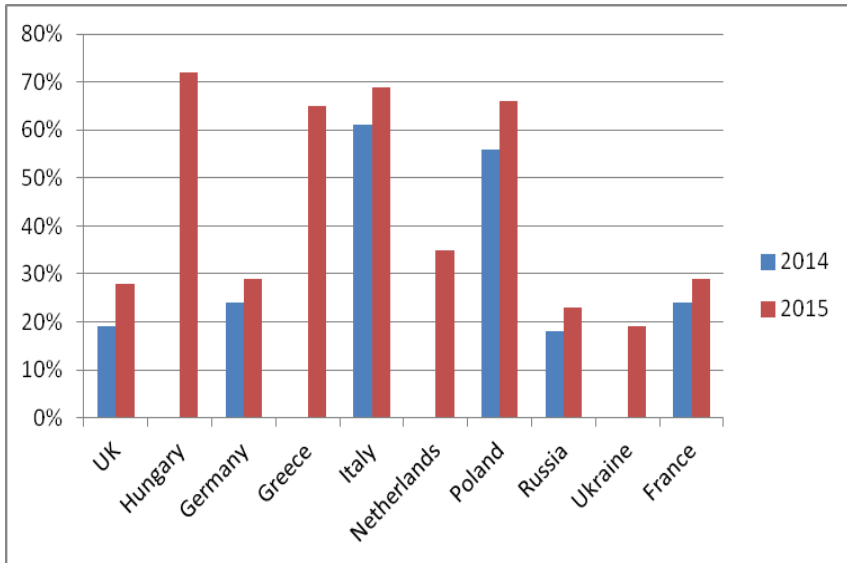
[89] For 2014, see: http://www.nationalpolicy.ru/obshcheevropeyskiy-doklad/DOCLAD2_1.pdf
For 2015, see: http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2016/07/Lede-chart-2.png;
http://www.levada.ru/2015/08/25/ksenofobiya-i-natsionalizm/;
https://www.gfk.com/fileadmin/user_upload/dyna_content/UA/Molod_Ukraine_2015_UA.pdf

It is worth noting that while Italy, Greece, UK, Germany, France, and Russia have proportionally high Muslim and refugee populations, they are much lower in Hungary and Poland. Therefore, the rising anti-Muslim sentiments in these two countries can be attributed to discussions of the refugee crisis in the media, first of all state media.

In many cases, Islamophobic sentiments were escalated by extreme right parties and groups, speculating on various phobias.

There is another factor, that is less commonly discussed. In spring 2016, the American Pew Research Center conducted an interesting survey among EU residents. Respondents were asked whether being Christian is truly important to be considered a true citizen of their country. The question was answered positively by 54% of Greeks, 32% of Poles, 30% of Italians, and 29% of Hungarians. More than 80% of citizens of other countries subject to this review responded negatively.[90] In the same survey, respondents answered whether they believe that the majority of Muslims in their countries support the so-called Islamic State (ISIS). 71% of Greeks held such a belief, along with 85% of Italians, 85% of Hungarians, and 88% of Poles.[91]

If we compare this information with figures 2 and 3 above, which demonstrate attitudes towards Muslims and Jews, we see that these sentiments are not affected by the number of immigrants or Muslims in the country, but rather the strength of Christian traditions in the population. It is these countries that have the strongest extreme right-wing parties. Of course, this

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[90]http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2016/07/GA_2016.07.11_national_identity-01-07.png
[91]http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2016/07/GA_2016.07.11_national_identity-02-04.png

does not mean that the Church is responsible for the growth of xenophobic sentiments, but the key to tolerance is largely in the hands of the Church.

♣ Anti-Migrant Sentiments.

Presently, hostile attitudes towards migrants is the most common type of xenophobia, present in most European countries, including those not covered by this review.

In general, the level of such sentiments has fallen since 2014, excluding Hungary and Poland. Anti-immigration attitudes remained on the same level in Greece, and have fallen slightly in Ukraine (this mostly relates to IDPs from Crimea and the eastern regions). Figure 4 below demonstrates a sharp increase of migrantophobia among Hungarians and Poles, which was caused by certain political parties and their policies.

The general decline in anti-migrant sentiments in other countries indicates that their residents became more sympathetic towards migrants fleeing the atrocities in Syria and Iraq. Government policies and rhetoric also contributed to this improvement. Respondents in these countries do not associate the term "migrants" with "Muslims", even though the majority of refugees are followers of Islam. Furthermore, we noticed that many of those who fear migrants are nevertheless prepared to help them. For example, according to a survey conducted by the Greek Polling Company in January 2016, more than 60% of Greeks living in cities and towns expressed solidarity with refugees against 40% of Greeks living in the countryside.[92]

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[92] http://www.dianeosis.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/immigration_04.pdf

This is in many ways related to public awareness policies conducted by local governments and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. For example, in 2015 UNHCR organised a survey among refugees in Greece.[93] It assisted in creating a sociological portrait of an average Syrian migrant. It turned out that 86% of refugees are educated to a secondary or higher level – students were the largest group among respondents. Many were separated from and lost contact with their families, 6% were unaccompanied or separated children. 5% were victims of torture, 65% said that they have no special needs.

Fig. 4. Anti-migrant sentiments in 2014 and 2015.[94]

[93] http://www.dianeosis.org/2016/02/to-profil-twn-prosfygikwn-rown-pros-tin-ellada-to-2015/

[94]http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2016/07/Lede-chart-1.png; http://www.voxeurop.eu/en/content/news-brief/4932007-map-showing-eu-countries-attitude-towards-foreign-immigration; http://www.levada.ru/2015/08/25/ksenofobiya-i-natsionalizm/
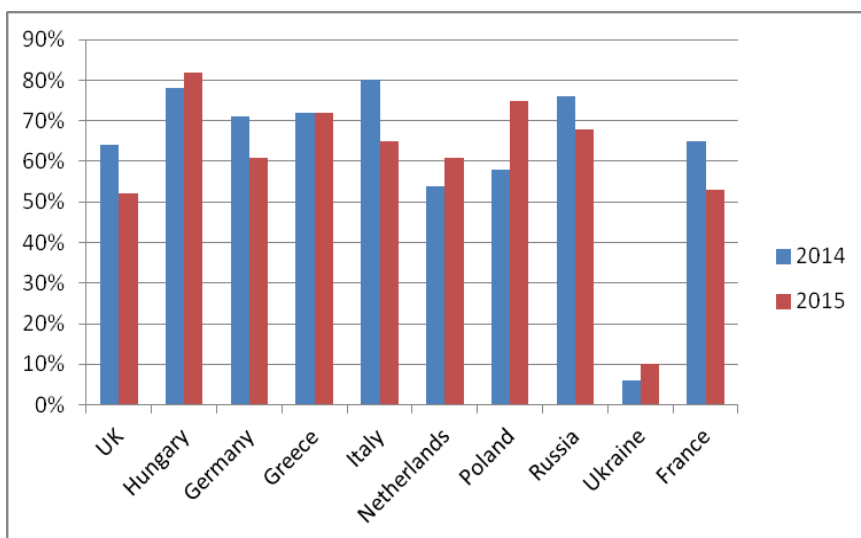
The majority of surveyed refugees intended to seek asylum in other EU countries – predominantly in Germany.

Furthermore, it has to be noted that people are not hostile to migrants in general, but are fearful of certain consequences that their presence may lead to. For example, Hungarians, Greeks, Italians, Poles, and the French are concerned with migrants taking their jobs; more than half of respondents in the monitored countries, except the French, fear that an influx of immigrants would raise the threat of terrorist attacks. Less than 50% of respondents believe that immigrants affect the crime rate (majority believe this about the Roma community).[95] At the same time, most respondents in the monitored countries were unhappy with EU policy regarding refugees.

Amnesty International reported that 94% of citizens in Germany, 84% in Britain, and 83% in Greece believe that refugees must be assisted, but placed in safe *third* countries.[96] Consequently, this was the catalyst for the European Commission introducing quotas in refugee placement across the EU.

Interestingly, the issue of migrants in the eyes of the Russian population is gradually falling to the background, despite being one of the top issues a few years ago. According to the All-Russian Public Opinion Research Centre (VTsIOM), only 1% of respondents in 2015 considered Russia's migration policy as a relevant problem in the country.[97] The Levada Centre survey of spring 2015 revealed 9% of respondents who still
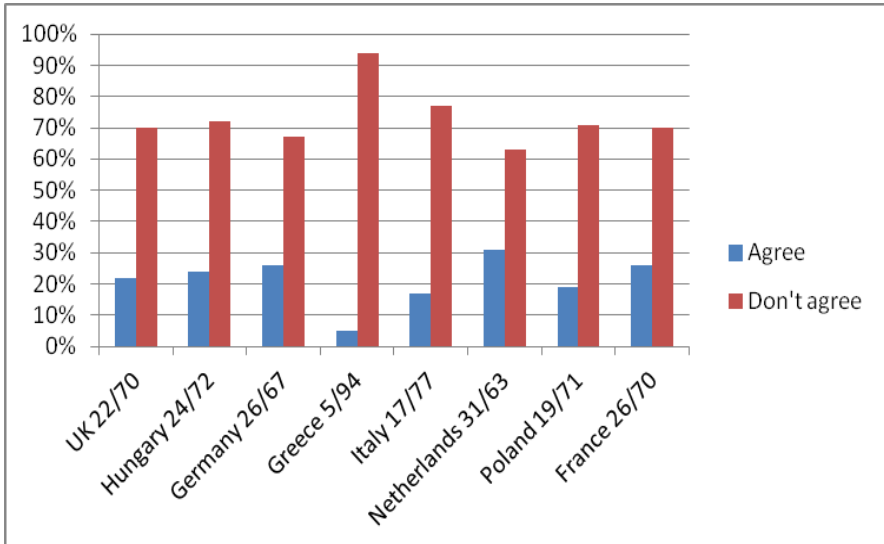
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[95] http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2016/07/Lede-chart-1.png
[96] https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/05/refugees-welcome-index-shows-government-refugee-policies-out-of-touch/

believed that "influx of migrants" is the most important problem in their life.[98]

Fig. 5. Opinions about the EU refugee policy (2015)[99]

🞣 **Homophobia.**

Figure 6 demonstrates high levels of homophobia in countries that have more widespread Christian traditions. These are: Russia (65%; 74% in 2014), Hungary (51%); Poland (48%);
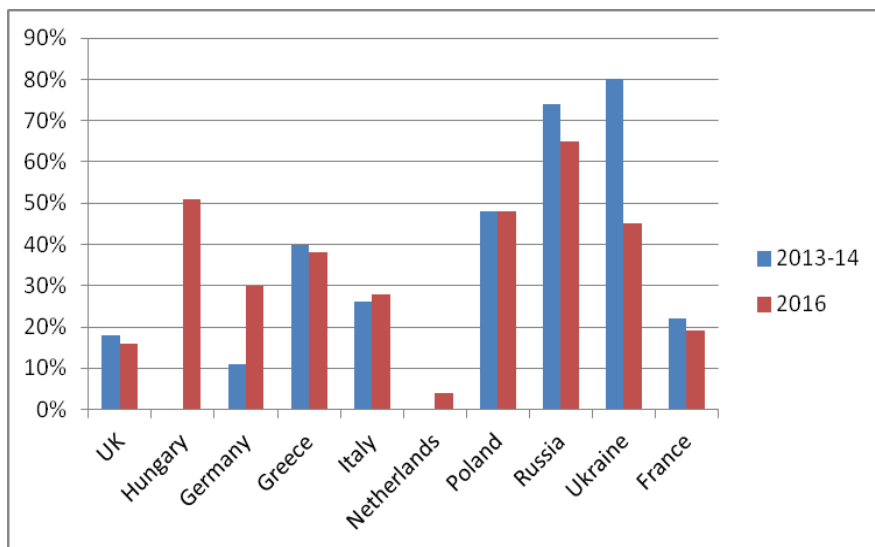
[97] http://wciom.ru/index.php?id=236&uid=115209, http://wciom.ru/index.php?id=236&uid=115151
[98] http://www.levada.ru/16-03-2015/trevozhashchie-problemy-i-pretenzii-k-pravitelstvu
[99] http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/06/07/euroskepticism-beyond-brexit/

Ukraine (45%; 80% in 2013[100] - this is explained by the different age groups of respondents, where people under 35 years old are more tolerant towards LGBT[101]), Greece (38%; 40% in 2014). It must also be noted that such sentiments more often than not are disseminated through various media platforms that use hate speech against minorities.

Fig. 6. Negative attitudes towards sexual minorities.[102]

[100] http://newsplot.org/id/2013/09/10/ukraina-ne-evropa-otnoshenie-k-odnopoloj-lyubvi-v-ukraine-takoe-zhe-kak-i-v-musulmanskih-stranah/

[101] The survey conducted in Ukraine in 2015 focused on people aged 18-35.

[102] http://www.pewglobal.org/2013/06/04/the-global-divide-on-homosexuality/; http://www.ilga-europe.org/sites/default/files/2016/full_annual_review.pdf; https://www.gfk.com/fileadmin/user_upload/dyna_content/UA/Molod_Ukraine_2015_UA.pdf; http://www.levada.ru/15-05-2015/nevidimoe-menshinstvo-k-probleme-gomofobii-v-rossii

Figure 6 demonstrates high levels of homophobia in countries that have more widespread Christian traditions. These are: Russia (65%; 74% in 2014), Hungary (51%); Poland (48%); Ukraine (45%; 80% in 2013[103] - this is explained by the different age groups of respondents, where people under 35 years old are more tolerant towards LGBT[104]), Greece (38%; 40% in 2014). It must also be noted that such sentiments more often than not are disseminated through various media platforms that use hate speech against minorities

<center>***</center>

Thus, analysing information relating to xenophobia in 2015 shows that Islamophobia was the main issue in the monitored countries, the level of which has risen since 2014 by 10-15% on average. This has been largely related to the wave of terrorist attacks and the rising terrorist threat associated with ISIS, as well as reports of Muslims leaving European countries to fight for this extremist organisation. Extreme right-wing parties have aggravated this situation, using Islamophobia to gain voter support.

At the same time, hostile attitudes towards Roma and Jewish people are on the gradual decline, which could be due to these sentiments being replaced by Islamophobia. It must also be noted that there is a clear correlation between anti-Semitism in European countries and operations carried out by Israel in the Middle East. Israel did not conduct any large military operations in 2015, which also affected the decline of anti-Semitism. At the

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[103] http://newsplot.org/id/2013/09/10/ukraina-ne-evropa-otnoshenie-k-odnopoloj-lyubvi-v-ukraine-takoe-zhe-kak-i-v-musulmanskih-stranah/
[104] The survey conducted in Ukraine in 2015 focused on people aged 18-35.

same time, 80% of terrorist attacks in recent years (for example in Belgium and France) have been aimed against Jews.

The level of anti-migrant sentiments has fallen, despite the unprecedented refugee crisis in 2015. This was a result of a wide awareness programme conducted by local governments and the UNHCR, effective integration programmes (such as the one conducted in Italy), and due to refugees unwilling to stay in countries of entry. Refugee placement quotas, implemented across the EU, were also an important factor.

4. RADICALS

Radical parties and groups are a catalyst for xenophobic attitudes in society, capable of directing them into protest actions and even hate crime. They can only exist in conditions of perpetuated fears of "foreign influence" and perceived threats to identity. In Europe, extremist groups can be split into the radical right-wing and Islamists.

Right-wing extremists are against EU membership, advocating closed borders, deportation of refugees, etc. Their positions are aggressively nationalist, Islamophobic, anti-Semitic or anti-Roma. The difference between moderate and extreme nationalists is in the level of their radicalism towards those whom they consider responsible for their problems – minorities.

Radical nationalist rhetoric is often used by Islamists to recruit European Muslims and refugees to their views. Their activity is becoming more open and aggressive every year. Their task is to recruit as many followers as possible and to provoke ethnic clashes which would continue to divide the society along ethnic and religious lines.

Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT) is an example of a pan-Islamist political party that freely operates in all countries subject to this review, except Russia[105] and Germany[106]. The party actively conducts propaganda campaigns among Muslim communities around the world, portraying the western civilization as hostile to Islam. In the UK, one of Hizb ut-Tahrir leaders engaged in media relations, Ibtihal Bsis (known for holding educational lectures for Muslim women), stated in 2015 that counter terrorism laws in Europe are targeted specifically against Muslims and that Islam in Britain has been "essentially outlawed". She claimed that Muslims have become "second-class citizens" and that their phones and online posts are being controlled by the government. She claimed that the West is using ISIS to establish Muslims as the enemy. Listening to such claims, one may conclude that the West has declared a war on Islam, and if so, then "Islam is equally at war with the West and Muslims must pick a side."[107] Such propaganda, conducted in mosques and on social networks, generate fear and outrage among Muslims. Hizb ut-Tahrir conducts similar propaganda in other countries that have sizeable Muslim populations.

Alongside Hizb ut-Tahrir and other groups that do not have apparent ties to the Islamic State, there are numerous organisations that are directly affiliated with this terrorist group. Most of them are outlawed. Al-Muhajiroun is one such organisation, established in Britain in 1996 by Omar Bakri Muhammad – former Hizb ut-Tahrir senior. His organisation adheres to the Salafist interpretation of Islam and rejects the democratic principles of equality, freedom of speech, elections,

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[105] Hizb ut-Tahrir is recognised as an extremist party in Russia

[106] Banned for not recognising Israel as a state Urteil des Bundesverwaltungsgerichts vom 25. Januar 2006

[107] "*HOPE Not Hate*", January-February 2016, Issue no.23, p.41.

and others. Followers of Al-Muhajiroun are prohibited from voting, insuring vehicles, and serving in police. The organisation advocates for peaceful subversion of the government and Britain's accession to the World Islamic Caliphate. Al-Muhajiroun is most active on university campuses and other educational institutions, encouraging Muslims to actively resist integration. Such groups are one of the main reasons for the increasing unpopularity of voluntary assimilation among Muslims in Europe. In addition, Al-Muhajiroun is actively recruiting Islamist fighters and promotes radical Islamism. Since 2001, the organisation has been banned throughout the United Kingdom, but continues its activities underground. Currently, more than 100 people known to be affiliated with the group have been convicted by British courts for crimes related to terrorism.[108] Some experts, such as Raffaello Pantucci, say that 50% of all planned and successful terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom have been committed by people associated with Al-Muhajiroun.[109]

A similar system exists in France, where ISIS cells operate, as well as in Italy, Greece, Russia, Ukraine, and many other countries. However, while France and Russia, for example, are regarded as "lands of jihad" by Islamists, Greece and Italy are countries that are used for logistical purposes. ISIS and Al-Qaeda cells in these countries are engaged in preparing forged documents, financing terrorist activities, and transporting fighters. Italian Prosecutor Stefano Dambruoso said that Al-

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[108] Ibid, p.42
[109] http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/radical-islamist-group-al-muhajiroun-linked-to-half-of-british-terror-attacks-in-past-20-years-10128492.html

Qaeda regards Italy as a large factory for forged documents.[110] However, some experts note that recently Islamists have started influencing the Muslim community in the country. Muslims are the second largest religious group in Italy, consisting of 1.7 million people.[111] Local law enforcement notes that the radicalisation of Muslims in the country has only just begun; their response will be paramount to the fate of the country.

Greece has a similar problem, aggravated by the fact that local government is unwilling to recognise and legalise the numerous Muslim minority. Given that Greek Muslims find themselves in an unequal position (see Section 1) and that the country has at least 100 unofficial houses of worship, it must be said that this country remains vulnerable to Islamic extremism.

In modern world, intelligence services are finding it increasingly difficult to combat the spread of ideological Islamist propaganda, since the monopoly of hierarchical radical organisations in recruiting people to their views has been undermined by the internet. In particular, this refers to the so-called "lone wolves" – young Muslims, who arrived to jihad at their own will, through Islamist websites. They act independently from each other and from any specific organisation. This trend exists across the world and is fuelled by the feeling of isolation and discrimination among Muslims, which is actively cultivated by extremists. According to a well-known Italian expert on radical Islam Lorenzo Vidino, "lone

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[110] Stefano Dambruoso and Guido Olimpio, *Milano-Baghdad* (Milano: Mondadori, 2004), p. 53 (transl.); cfr. Lorenzo Viadino, *Il Jihadismo autoctono in Italia: Nascita, Sviluppo, e Dinamiche di Radicalizzazione,* (Roma: ISPI, 2014).
[111] https//:www.ilpot.it/2015/05/29/terrorismo-islamico-italia/

wolves" constitute for 50% of potential terrorists who will show themselves in the nearest future.[112]

Islamists pay attention to Russia. According to various sources, there are at least 38 Islamists websites conducting propaganda in the Russian language; however, social media sites and messaging clients remain the most effective tools for radical recruiters.[113] Islamist organisations are actively recruiting in universities – predominantly in North Caucasus, which has a predominantly Muslim population.[114] In autumn 2015, there were numerous reports regarding recruitment to ISIS from secondary schools in the Krasnodar region.[115] The so-called Islamic State is recruiting fighters to take part in the war in Syria. According to official law enforcement sources, there are around 3,000 Russian citizens currently fighting for Islamists in Syria.

Part of the Muslim and Crimean Tatar youth in Crimea is under the influence of radical movements in Islam, particularly the aforementioned Hizb ut-Tahrir. Its influence was particularly strong while Crimea was part of Ukraine, as the organisation is not under any official ban in the country.[116]

Hizb ut-Tahrir cells exist across the whole of southern Ukraine (Odessa, Nikolayev, Kherson, Zaporozhye regions), as well as in Dnepropetrovsk, Kirovograd, Kharkiv, Donetsk, and

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[112] Lorenzo Vidino, *Il Jihadismo Autoctono in Italia: Nascita, Sviluppo e Dinamiche di Radicalizzazione* (Roma: ISPI, 2014).
[113] http://kazan.mk.ru/articles/2015/11/17/kto-stremitsya-prevratit-tatarstan-v-islamskuyu-respubliku-islamisty-ili-etnokratiya.html
[114] http://www.blagovest-info.ru/index.php?ss=2&s=3&id=61654
[115] http://www.interfax-religion.ru/?act=news&div=61009
[116] http://www.segodnya.ua/regions/krym/Ukraina-stala-pribezhishchem-dlya-islamistov-iz-Hizb-ut-Tahrir-465811.html

other regions.[117] The Ukrainian branch of the organisation is estimated to consist of at least 5 thousand people.[118]

The Security Service of Ukraine (SSU) reports that Hizb ut-Tahrir often acts as a gateway to other Islamist terrorist organisations, such as Al Qaeda, ISIS, and others,[119] SSU estimates that Hizb ut-Tahrir is predominantly recruiting Crimean Tatars and persons of Syrian, Azerbaijani, and Turkish descent, including both citizens of Ukraine and citizens of these countries. Recruited combatants are sent to participate in the armed conflict in Syria and Iraq. Currently, between 30 and 200 former residents of Ukraine are participating in this war. For example, on October 3, 2015, a student from Jordan, Mohhamed Dalain, conducted a terrorist attack in Han-Bani Saad (30km from Baghdad), killing 24 people and injuring more than 60. According to his father, Mohhamed Dalain was recruited by two Azerbaijani nationals in Kharkiv.[120]

Voluntary units of the Ukrainian Army have several battalions consisting of Muslim soldiers – 2 Chechen and 1 Crimean Tatar: 1. J. Dudayev Battalion (50-300 people; first commander, Isa Munaev, died under Debacle; Current commander: Adam Osmaev). At least one of the fighters in this battalion is affiliated with ISIS – a Japanese Muslim, Shamil Tsuneoka Tanaka; 2. Seikh Mansour Battalion, part of the "Right Sector" (200-300 people; commander – Muslim Cheberloyevsky;

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[117] http://15minut.org/news/100428-mechet-v-dnepropetrovske-mogut-otdat-krymskim-hizbam
[118] http://vozrojdenie.crimea.ua/womens/393-vtoraya-jenskaya-conferenciya.html
[119] http://news.allcrimea.net/news/2009/9/23/1253704500/
[120] http://gordonua.com/news/localnews/al-dzhazira-obnaruzhila-verbovshchikov-igil-v-harkove-100808.html

based in Mariupol).[121] Most fighters in this battalion are radical Muslims, fought in the Caucasus and Syria. In 2014, two of its soldiers were arrested in France for their affiliations with ISIS; 3. Crimea Battalion, part of the Dnepr-1 regiment, consisting of Crimean Tatars and Ukrainian Muslims (up to 100 people; commander: Isa (nickname)); 4. Chechen battalion called "Smert" ("Death") fought on the separatist side, along with other Chechen units. However, no ties to Al Qaeda or ISIS have been revealed on their part.

At the same time, Islamist fighters have been gradually leaving Ukraine since the ceasefire. However, it is reported that groups affiliated with the Islamic State are recruiting volunteers experienced in Russian military technology.

SSU also reports that between June 2014 and June 2015, Ukrainian intelligence found and arrested 18 ISIS supporters in the country and arrested 6 more at the border.[122] The Ukrainian Security Service blocked entry to 59 persons who took part in the war in Syria. They were deported to countries of their nationality.

On November 13, 2015, SSU supposedly neutralised two groups suspected of planning a terrorist attack. One of the leaders of the Syrian terrorist organisation, heading a local Front an-Nursa cell, was arrested in Kiev.[123]

While Islamist organisations are largely outlawed throughout Europe, this cannot be said about the extreme right-wing parties and groups. Radical right-wing organisations are not only enjoying the benefits of democracy, but often enjoy government support and funding – particularly when they are

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[121] http://navoine.info/shamil-jap.html
[122] http://112.ua/statji/ukrainskiy-sled-v-islamskom-gosudarstve-264263.html

represented in the legislature in one way or another.

As was already mentioned, these organisations exploit the refugee crisis and increased migration (targeting Muslims, Jews, Roma or other ethnic groups), and demand exit from the European Union. Right-wing organisations in Ukraine have different priorities, fighting against Russia and "Russian influence". However, anti-Semitic, anti-Roma, anti-Hungarian and other sentiments can also be observed. Today, the right-wing movement in Ukraine is mostly divided (at least 59 parties, public associations, informal groups). In 2015, the largest groups have gained popularity. In October local elections, Svoboda (Freedom) party received 6.7% of votes - 5th largest in the country.[124] This is a significant 2% gain since 2014. Right Sector party maintains its support at 3.1% – 3.7%[125] (almost doubling its support since 2014)[126].

Many members of Ukrainian radical formations gained combat experience in the eastern regions and are often armed and ideologically motivated. Many of their leaders have legitimised themselves in 2014 and 2015 by taking positions in government, army, and law enforcement.[127] This happened after the establishment of the National Guard, which was formed from former soldiers and fighters who emerged during Maidan.

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[123] http://gordonua.com/news/politics/poroshenko-sbu-obezvredila-v-ukraine-dve-gruppirovki-imeyushchie-otnoshenie-k-mezhdunarodnomu-terrorizmu-106531.html

[124] http://www.kiis.com.ua/?lang=rus&cat=reports&id=571&page=1&y=2015

[125] http://www.kiis.com.ua/?lang=rus&cat=reports&id=571&page=1&y=2015

[126] http://ru.slovoidilo.ua/articles/5399/2014-10-23/sociologicheskij-opros-rejtingi-partii-pravyj-sektor.html

[127] http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/politics/3450094-v-sety-poiavylos-foto-luidei-s-zyhoi-v-zdanyy-kyevskoi-mylytsyy

Ukraine's right-wing movement has a fairly large social base. In 2015, it consisted of at approximately 25-60 thousand activists and 2-3 million supporters.[128] During the monitored period, we observed more than 74 public events, where right-wing activists incited hostility towards other groups (mostly towards Russians). Members of other extreme right organisations from around the world are also present in Ukraine and are receiving combat and organisational experience.[129]

At the same time, according to extreme right organisations themselves, more than 300 of their members have been arrested or are being investigated on criminal charges.[130] Extreme right activists are being prosecuted in Ukrainian regions as well, but these processes are less apparent.[131] Pressure from the international community resulted in Ukrainian extreme right organisations being cut off from private sources of finance – oligarchs, small businesses, etc.

However, right-wing rhetoric and hate speech is becoming more frequent amongst the national democratic parties, such as the People's Front, Petro Poroshenko Bloc, Batkivschina ("Fatherland"), UKROP party, and others. These parties together constitute for about 60% of the electoral support.

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[128] http://ukr.segodnya.ua/politics/pnews/pravyy-sektor-naschityvaet-10-tysyach-chelovek-i-ohvatyvaet-dazhe-krym-yarosh-510161.html; http://texty.org.ua/pg/news/textynewseditor/read/63067/Rezultaty_miscevyh_vyboriv2015_Najbilshe_vtratyla_Samopomich_dodaly

[129] http://hrabro.com/62663

[130] http://una-unso.com/korysno-znaty/htotakyi-stavislav-krasnov-i-yaku-spravu-yomu-shye-ch-kgb.html

[131]http://censor.net.ua/news/351036/lidery_pravogo_sektora_i_avtomayidana_v_odesse_zaderjany_reshaetsya_vopros_ob_izbranii_im_mery_presecheniya

In Russia, neo-Nazi organisations have been considerably weakened in recent years due to several factors. First of all, efforts of Russian law enforcement prevented explicit radicals from registering political parties (based on the Law "On Political Parties" of 2012). Many of these organisations were banned as extremist. In November 2015, this happened to the extreme right movement "Russkiye" (Russians).[132] Second, Russia's nationalist sector had split following the events in Ukraine in 2014, with some supporting Russia's actions, while others opposed. Third, it was the split between the liberal movement and nationalist groups, who previously united under anti-Putin slogans. This ended the general trend of de-marginalisation of the nationalist movement. Finally, a considerable part of radical activists left Russia in 2014 and 2015 to participate in conflicts in Eastern Ukraine and Syria.

As a result, in 2015 this camp was mostly represented by moderate nationalist parties, such as LDPR, Rodina (formerly fairly popular among radical nationalists, but recently adopting more civilized policies), Russian People's Union, Great Fatherland (Stalinist, anti-West ideology), and Democratic Choice. Many of these parties are exploiting anti-migrant sentiments but act within the law and do not have large influence over the political situation in the country. Latest polls indicated that only LDPR enjoys 7% support, other extreme right parties could not surpass the 2% bar.

The situation in the EU is rather different. Here, every country has a registered radical right-wing organisation. Almost all of them have at least one radical right-wing party: UKIP (UK), Front National (France), Jobbik (Hungary), Golden Dawn (Greece), People's Movement (Ruch Narodwy – Poland), Lega

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[132] http://basmanov.livejournal.com/1229202.html

Nord (Italy), Alternative for Germany, the National Democratic Party and PEGIDA (Germany), and the Freedom Party (Netherlands).

Many large established parties see nationalist ideas gaining popularity among the electorate and start drifting towards the right wing themselves. Thus, these parties are sloping towards national-patriotism, which inevitably affects their policies. A glaring example of these processes is the United Kingdom's exit from the EU (Brexit). Brexit followed a referendum organised by the ruling Conservative party, seeking support of the more nationalist electorate – people who normally vote for UKIP. The referendum resulted in a close, but definitive vote to leave the EU and a subsequent resignation of Prime Minister David Cameron. The French Republican Party, led by former President Nicolas Sarkozy, is currently trying to gain support among the Front National voters. The Hungarian Fidesz party practically borrowed Jobbik's anti-migration rhetoric in 2015 and raised xenophobic sentiments in the country to record levels. The Polish ruling party Law and Justice (PiS) also borrowed some rhetoric form the People's Movement. As was already mentioned, almost all parliamentary parties in Ukraine, except Opposition Bloc, were actively using the slogans of the neo-Nazi Svoboda party during the 2014 campaign.

In 2015, we observed several large radical parties dial down their rhetoric to position themselves as more moderate defenders of liberal values. This was true for UKIP, Front National, Lega Nord, Freedom Party, Jobbik, and others. Thus, they managed to attract more moderate supporters.

The Front National in France, led by Marine Le Pen since early 2000s, has been trying to disassociate themselves from the image of their former leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen. By 2015, these efforts have greatly benefitted the party. Recent terrorist attacks

and the refugee crisis allowed the party to abandon old racist, anti-Semitic[133], homophobic, royalist and petainistic[134] slogans. Jean-Marie Le Pen himself was excluded from the party for his anti-Semitic statements. Meanwhile, the Vice-Chair of the party is Florian Philippot, who is openly gay. Party Advisor Eric Domard proposed all homophobic voters to emigrate to Afghanistan or Saudi Arabia – countries that share their values.[135] Party rhetoric focused instead on "France for the French", which implies preservation of French traditions and combatting immigration and Islamisation. Thus, the party gained support among such groups as women, Jews, sexual minorities – people who would have never voted for the party previously. Around a third of officially registered same-sex couples have supported Front National in recent local elections.[136]

For Better Hungary (Jobbik) party followed a similar direction. Seeking more support for the 2018 general elections, Jobbik is also changing its image by abandoning racist and anti-Semitic rhetoric. It is now positioning itself as a party for the "concerned middle class", focusing on welfare and security.[137]

[133] Mahrane, Saïd, „Marine Le Pen fait la cour aux juifs", *Le Point,* 3 December 2011, http://www.lepoint.fr/politique/marine-le-pen-fait-la-cour-aux-juifs-03-12-2011-1403435_20.php.

[134] Pétainism (fr.) – movement to rehabilitate Marshal Petain, who capitulated to Nazi Germany and started collaborating with Adolf Hitler.

[135] Plummer, William, „La réponse cinglante d'un conseiller de Marine Le Pen à un courrier homophobe", *Le Figaro,* 15 January 2015, http://www.lefigaro.fr/politique/le-scan/couacs/2015/01/15/25005-20150115ARTFIG00266-la-reponse-cinglante-d-un-conseiller-de-marine-le-pen-a-un-courrier-homophobe.php#xtor=AL-155-[Facebook

[136] Bastié, Eugénie, „Un tiers des couples homosexuels mariés a voté FN aux régionales", *Le Figaro,* 5 February 2016, http://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2016/02/04/01016-20160204ARTFIG00287-un-tiers-des-couples-homosexuels-maries-a-vote-fn-aux-regionales.php

[137] http://www.cicero.de/weltbuehne/jobbik-die-suessen-rechtsextremen-aus-ungarn/59136

Along these lines, slogans against "Gypsy crime" and "immigrants taking their jobs" have completely different connotations.

In the Netherlands, the Chair of the Freedom Party is trying to position himself as an advocate for Jewish and women's rights, while focusing against Muslims and migrants. Thus, his traditional statements about the "lowest Islamic culture", "Muslim invasion,"[138] and "Tsunami of Islamic terrorism"[139], he is increasingly often appealing to the female, Jewish and gay audience as a defender of European liberal values[140]. This would have been unheard-of several years ago.

These political strategies and concerns surrounding the refugee crisis have resulted in traditional radical parties gaining momentum. Meanwhile, Director of the Budapest Political Capital Institute Peter Kreko points to occasional anti-Semitic and anti-Roma statements made by Jobbik party MPs on social networks. These same people are positioned by the party as advocates for European values.[141] The same can be said of regular members of the French Front National, according to the press reports. The media noted that Marine Le Pen herself had supported a meeting of European extreme right parties and insisted on establishing close ties with the Greek Golden Dawn party, along with Italy's Lega Nord and Germany's PEGIDA.[142]

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[138] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1xP9twIbLrw

[139] http://www.euronews.com/tag/geert-wilders/

[140] De Koster, W., Achterberg, P., Van der Waal, J., Van Bohemen, S., & Kemmers, R. (2014). Progressiveness and the new right: The electoral relevance of culturally progressive values in the Netherlands. West European Politics, 37(3), 584-604.

[141] http://www.cicero.de/weltbuehne/jobbik-die-suessen-rechtsextremen-aus-ungarn/59136

[142] Février, Renaud, „Le Pen soutient un rassemblement où Aube Dorée côtoie Pegida", *Nouvelobs.com,* 5 March 2015,

Nevertheless, general elections in the *United Kingdom* have resulted in UKIP receiving 12.64% (3,881,129) votes, which is 4 times more than in 2010.[143]

Local elections in *France* in 2015 placed Front National first in 43 municipalities out of 101 and 6 regions out of 13. Marine Le Pen's personal rating is growing as well – 26.27% in 2015, compared to current President Hollande's rating of 20.09%.[144] Until December last year, Le Pen's rating was not exceeding 15%.[145]

The *Greek* Golden Dawn party has been experiencing a decline in recent years due to lack of state funding and arrests of their leaders. However, it still managed to get 7% of votes – 18 seats in parliament – in 2015 general elections.[146]

The popularity of radical right-wing parties in *Poland* has somewhat risen. The People's Movement party (Ruch Narodowy), opposing the EU and advocating for "reinforcing Polish national identity," received 5 parliamentary seats in 2015, which is a big victory for the party.[147] The success of the People's Movement and the PiS party in 2015 elections indicates that Polish society has drifted to the right wing. The refugee crisis has been a common topic during election campaigns, paramount to People's Movement's success.

The refugee crisis was also used by the ruling party in *Hungary*. In 2015, Fidesz initiated a tendentious public opinion

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http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/politique/20150305.OBS3957/le-pen-soutient-un-rassemblement-ou-aube-doree-cotoie-pegida.html.

[143] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/election/2015/results

[144] http://www.tns-sofres.com/dataviz?type=2&code_nom=lepenmarine

[145] http://www.tns-sofres.com/dataviz?type=1&code_nom=hollande

[146] http://greece.greekreporter.com/2015/09/21/voter-turnout-in-greek-elections-drops-to-new-historic-low-infographic/

[147] http://ruchnarodowy.org/

poll about reception of refugees in the country, which correlated immigration with terrorism. During this poll, posters aimed against migrants were installed across Budapest.[148] This biased poll gave predictable results – the majority expressed against taking in refugees. The campaign itself has led to a rise in xenophobia against migrants and Muslims, which was reflected in the rise of hate crime – three times higher than in 2014 (see Section 5). Characteristically, Fidesz justifies its anti-migrant position with the fact that Hungary has to deal with the integration of Roma, who are already present in the country, before it can focus efforts on refugees. The opinion poll served two purposes: to gain the support of the electorate to negotiate new refugee quotas in the EU and to increase the popularity of the ruling party. Both of these objectives have been achieved. Its rating has exceeded 30%, while Jobbik party's rating is at 14%.[149] As was mentioned before, exploitation of anti-Muslim and anti-immigration sentiments in Poland and Hungary resulted in an increase of xenophobia in both countries in 2015.[150]

The *Italian* Lega Nord (Northern League) followed suit, mixing anti-immigration and anti-Muslim rhetoric with claims to protect European values. As a result, in 2015 local elections the party won in almost all regions of the country, including Tuscany – a traditionally left-wing region.[151] According to a poll

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[148] https://www.hrw.org/ru/world-report/2016/country-chapters/286136#383e61

[149] http://www.tarki.hu/hu/news/2016/kitekint/20160727_valasztas.html

[150] http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2016/07/Lede-chart-1.png; http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2016/07/Lede-chart-2.png

[151] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/01/noerthern-league-gains-italian-elections-matteo-salvini

conducted in March 2015, 18% of Italians are prepared to vote for Lega Nord in general elections, compared to 17% in 2014.[152]

The public opinion poll by ARD Deutschlandtrend Voter (*Germany*) indicated that Merkel's government is losing support from 57% in July 2015 to 38% in February 2016, while Alternative For Germany (AFD) increased its standing from 1% to 10%.[153] Half of respondents consider AFD, closely related to extreme right PEGIDA, as a positive force in German politics.[154] 29% believed that processions and other events organised by PEGIDA are completely justified, because Islam is increasing its influence in the country and the government fails to react.[155]

Alternative for Germany (AFD) was established in 2013 and received 7 seats in the European parliament in 2014. In 2015, the party gained 8 seats in Hamburg legislature (6.1% votes) and 5.5% of votes in Bremen.[156]

The National Democratic Party (NDP) is also gaining momentum. Being one of the oldest neo-Nazi parties in Germany, NDP holds 5 seats in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, and thus has the right to receive federal subsidies. Attempts to ban this party have been continuous, yet unsuccessful, despite their involvement in neo-Nazi violence and adherence to neo-Nazi ideology. The last attempt came after an

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[152] https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2015/03/03/sondaggi-lega-nord-15-05-per-cento-dopo-manifestazione-roma/1473993;
https://www.polisblog.it/post/355113/sondaggi-politici-17-luglio-2015
[153] https://www.rt.com/news/330075-pegida-coalition-mass-protest/
[154] http://www.pewglobal.org/2015/06/02/chapter-4-the-rise-of-nontraditional-eurosceptic-parties/
[155] http://www.dw.com/en/survey-finds-one-in-three-germans-supports-pegida-anti-islamization-marches/a-18166667
[156] http://www.dw.com/en/germanys-euroskeptic-afd-elects-conservative-leader-petry/a-18561912

attempted arson of a refugee reception home in Troglitz, in April 2015.[157]

According to a survey conducted by Peil.nl in the *Netherlands* in January 2016, the Freedom Party would have received 42 seats in parliament, if the elections were held at the time of the survey. This is 27 more than it had following the 2012 general elections.[158]

The popularity of Islamist organisations is difficult to judge. British ICM Research organisation conducted a survey in France, which revealed that 16% of its citizens have positive views about the Islamic State. This figure was 27% among young people aged 18-24.[159] It is difficult to judge whether these findings reflect the real situation or not. French observers justifiably argue that 16% of the population is almost 11 million people, which seems an exaggerated figure.

In any case, radicals have been generally gaining momentum in 2015. Both Islamists and extreme nationalists were feeding off each other and exploiting the socio-political processes in European countries to fuel hatred and hostility towards Muslims and refugees on the one side, and the local population on the other side. Extremists skilfully promoted their views to their audiences, to the detriment of ordinary people, since both types of extremist activities lead to another wave of violence, uncertainty, and instability.

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[157] http://www.dw.com/en/talk-of-banning-far-right-party-heats-up-in-germany-after-tr%C3%B6glitz-refugee-home-attack/a-18363656
[158] http://politiek.tpo.nl/2016/01/24/peiling-pvv-groenlinks-hoogste-score/
[159] http://europe.newsweek.com/16-french-citizens-support-isis-poll-finds-266795?rm=eu

5. HATE CRIME

Hate crime is a prejudice-motivated crime that occurs when a perpetrator targets a victim because of his or her perceived membership in a certain social group. Examples of such groups include but are not limited to: ethnicity, gender identity, disability, language, nationality, physical appearance, religion, or sexual orientation.

Environmental factors also play an important causational role in hate crime. They include factors like activity of radical organisations and hate speech in the media. Conducting a comparative analysis of crime rate and detection rate in different countries is extremely challenging, as the accuracy of sources and the availability of data, varies depending on the country.

For example, hate crime statistics in Great Britain, Germany, France, Poland, Russia, and Ukraine are held to certain standards and are available in the public domain (although some human rights observers doubt the validity of data in the latter two countries); however, countries like Hungary, Italy, Greece, and the Netherlands do not publish such data or do not record hate crime at all. Non-governmental institutions in these countries also do not record accurate hate crime statistics.

All countries that have "closed" or "semi-closed" access to such data are prone to misclassification of hate crime as everyday crime. Although, such cases are still fairly frequent in countries with open statistics, too. Furthermore, classification of hate crime also differs depending on the country, as there are no universal standards. Thus, some countries would include crimes based on gender identity, for example, while others would not. Therefore, the results of comparing hate crime levels in different

countries are bound to be inaccurate – often, countries that provide open access to their hate crime data would display the highest levels of hate crime, whereas countries that hide these statistics would display better results.

This section provides statistical information relating to hate crime, sourcing information from open government institutions, where possible, and data provided by non-governmental organisations.

England and Wales saw a rise in hate crime by 18%, compared with 2014 (52,528 cases against 44,471 in 2014). Hate crime motivated by racism (82% of all hate crime) increased by 15% (42,930 vs 37,466). Religion-based hate crime saw a 43% increase in 2015 (2,269 vs 2,269).[160] In addition, 6,202 hate crime cases were related to the LGBT minority (5,177 in 2014), of those 605 (555 in 2014) were against transgender people.[161] British statistics also uses the term "racist incidents", which include "any incident, including any crime that is regarded as racist by the victim or any other person." This indicator grew by 10% in 2015.[162] The number of hate crimes involving violence has also increased. Official data shows that they constitute for 30% of all committed crimes, which is a questionable figure, as it has remained unchanged for many years and is not supported by any additional data. However, according to official statistics, there were 13,344 violent hate crime cases in 2014[163], and 15,758 in 2015.[164]

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[160]https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/467366/hosb0515.pdf

[161] Ibid.

[162] Ibid.

[163] http://www.report-it.org.uk/files/home_office_hate_crime_data_201314.pdf

The Police Service of *Northern Ireland* does not classify hate crime in the same way. Data published by PSNI in 2015 showed a 4.9% decrease in hate crime (from 2,281 cases in 2014 to 2,169 in 2015).[165] At the time of writing, the *Scottish* government has not released their hate crime statistics.[166]

Community Security Trust (CST), a non-governmental organisation that aims to provide security for the Jewish community, reported 924 anti-Semitic incidents in the UK in 2015, which is 22% less than in 2014 (1,179).[167] However, it has to be noted that 2014 saw a large counter terrorism operation conducted by Israel in Gaza, which raised the level of anti-Semitism throughout Europe.

Another British NGO, *Tell MAMA*, which collects data about hate crime against Muslims in the UK, found 548 anti-Muslim incidents (584 in 2014), most of which (402) are online incidents, i.e. committed on social networks.[168]

In early 2016, the Ministry of the Interior of *France* published hate crime statistics for 2015. According to the report, there have been 808 anti-Semitic incidents (851 in 2014), 429 anti-Muslim incidents (133 in 2014) and 797 acts against Christians (678 in 2014).[169]

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[164]https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/467366/hosb0515.pdf

[165] https://www.psni.police.uk/globalassets/inside-the-psni/our-statistics/in-year-performance-against-policing-plan/documents/performance-summary-2015-16---end-of-year-report.pdf

[166] http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Statistics/Browse/Crime-Justice/PubRacistIncidents

[167] https://cst.org.uk/public/data/file/1/9/Incidents_Report_2015.pdf

[168] http://tellmamauk.org/category/reports/

[169] CNCDH, *Les Essentiels. Rapport sur la lutte contre le racisme 2015*, 2 May 2016, http://www.cncdh.fr/fr/publications/les-essentiels-rapport-sur-la-lutte-contre-le-racisme-2015, p. 6.

According to the European Roma Information Office, there has not been any hate crime against Roma in France in 2015[170] (the same source reported 1 case in 2014, where a child was murdered[171]; although other sources also report about a Roma teenager being beaten in a Paris suburb[172]). There are no official sources regarding hate crime against Roma or other ethnic groups.

Unlike Britain, where we saw a 22% decline in anti-Semitic incidents, France did not have a significant fall in such crime – only 5%. At the same time, it must be noted that this figure had increased in 2014 by 101%.

Fig. 7. Hate crime in France (2014 – 2015.)
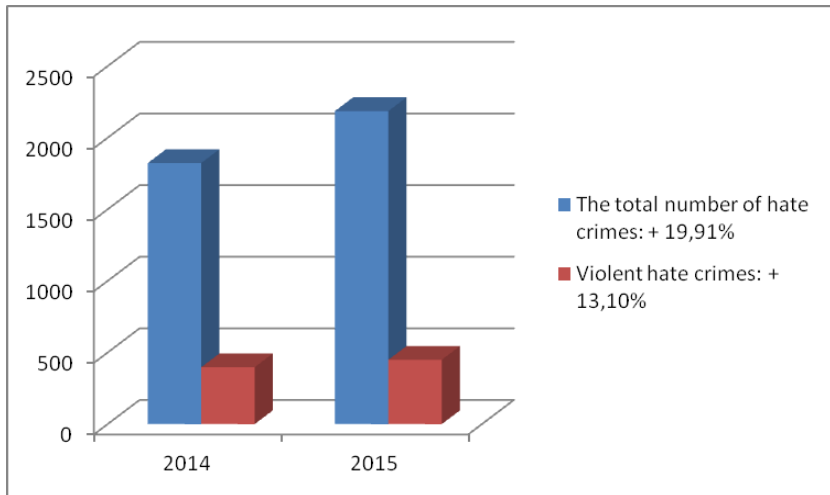
[170]http://cloud2.snappages.com/ecc3fa83da15cf423fe3aaa342f545fa355b24f3/Human%20Rights%20Abuses%20and%20Discrimination%20against%20Roma_2015.pdf
[171] http://hatecrime.osce.org/france
[172]http://www.bbc.co.uk/russian/international/2014/06/140617_france_teenager_attack_hollande.shtml

As mentioned above, this can be correlated with the events in the Middle East; however, the relatively peaceful period between Israel and Palestine in 2015 had barely affected the level of anti-Semitism in France.

Meanwhile most anti-Muslim incidents occurred early in 2015, following the attack on *Charlie Hebdo*.

SOS Homophobie, a non-governmental organisation engaged in LGBT rights, found 152 violent incidents against LGBT persons in 2015 (161 in 2014).[173] In total, there have been 2,186 cases of extremist crime (1,823 in 2014). Of those 449 involved violence[174] (397 in 2014[175]).

It has to be noted that at the end of December 2015, an ethnic clash between Corsica nationalists and a group of Arab youth occurred in the town of Ajaccio.[176]

The Prosecutor on Racist Violence in *Greece*, Helen Touloupakis said in summer 2015 that she had investigated 80 racial incidents and threats between September 2014 and July 2016.[177] The Racist and Violence Recording Network reports

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[173] SOS Homophobie, *Rapport sur l'homophobie 2016,* https://www.sos-homophobie.org/sites/default/files/rapport_annuel_2016.pdf.

[174] http://www.antisemitisme.fr/dl/2015-EN.pdf, p.29.

[175] https://www.scribd.com/fullscreen/253859922?access_key=key-0UVFT1Tqs99tIuOt2uhY&allow_share=true&escape=false&view_mode=scroll, p.22.

[176] For Corsica march: Hundreds defy protest ban after Muslim prayer hall attack", see: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35187901; For "Muslim prayer hall attacked in Corsica", see: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35179198.

[177] https://racistcrimeswatch.wordpress.com/2016/07/03/34-%CE%B4%CE%B9%CE%BA%CE%BF%CE%B3%CF%81%CE%B1%CF%86%CE%AF%CE%B5%CF%82-%CE%B3%CE%B9%CE%B1-%CF%81%CE%B1%CF%84%CF%83%CE%B9%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B9%CE%BA%CE%AC-

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that 305 cases of hate crime have been observed in Greece in 2015 (41 were incidents involving violence).[178] When it comes to vandalism, 4 cases were anti-Muslim, 2 anti-Roma, 185 anti-LGBT, and 75 were aimed against immigrants.[179]

Fig. 8. Hate crime in Greece (2014 – 2015)
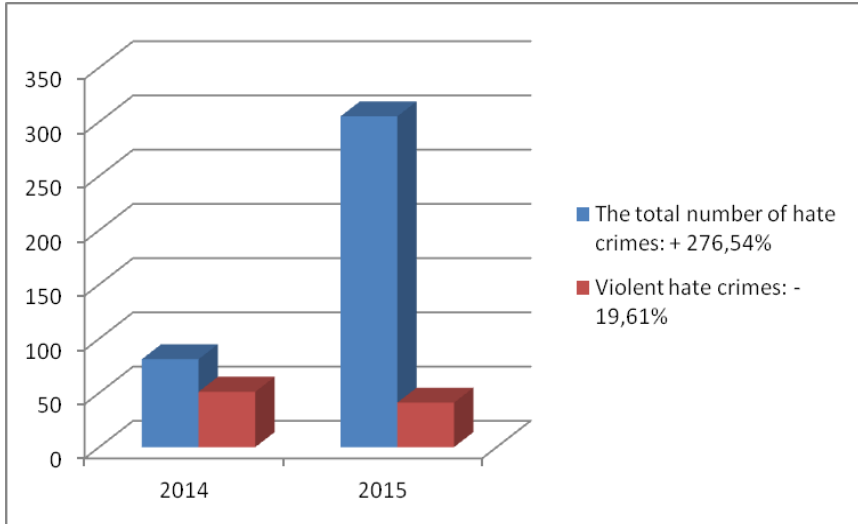
There have been 15 attacks by the extreme right on human rights activists and 16 racist incidents committed by police.[180]   OSCE reports, citing various NGOs, that there have

%CE%B5%CE%B3%CE%BA%CE%BB%CE%AE%CE%BC%CE%B1%CF%84/

[178] https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G15/271/41/PDF/G1527141.pdf?OpenElement

[179] https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G15/271/41/PDF/G1527141.pdf?OpenElement

[180] Ibid.

been 92 hate crimes in 2014[181], of which 51 involved violence[182]).

In *Poland*, the Ministry of Internal Affairs reported 953 hate crime incidents in 2015, which is three times more than in 2014 (315 incidents; 176 in 2013).[183] More than 50% of those involved violence.[184] 236 cases were committed against Roma (176 in 2014); 208 against Jewish people (207); 37 against Ukrainians (26); 12 against Germans (12); and 10 against Russians (22).[185] The Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs does not hold statistics for crimes committed against the LGBT community. However, human rights organisations report 22 such incidents in 2014, of which 8 involved violence and 9 involved vandalism.[186] There is no such data for 2015.

Italy is one of the countries that is reluctant to share its hate crime statistics. The most recent data available to the OSCE covers 2014. According to this source, 596 hate crime incidents occurred in Italy that year.[187]

According to human rights organisations, 54 hate crime incidents involved violence.[188] At the time of writing this report, Italy has not published official data for 2015. However, NGO *Lunaria* reported 735 hate crime incidents for that year, of

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[181] http://hatecrime.osce.org/greece

[182] Ibid.

[183] http://www.sejm.gov.pl/sejm8.nsf/komunikat.xsp?documentId=B1E9CD52DE15EC2DC1257FA300428F6B

[184] Ibid.

[185] http://www.sejm.gov.pl/sejm8.nsf/biuletyn.xsp?documentId=85690E6B6256F6A2C1257FB10047D016
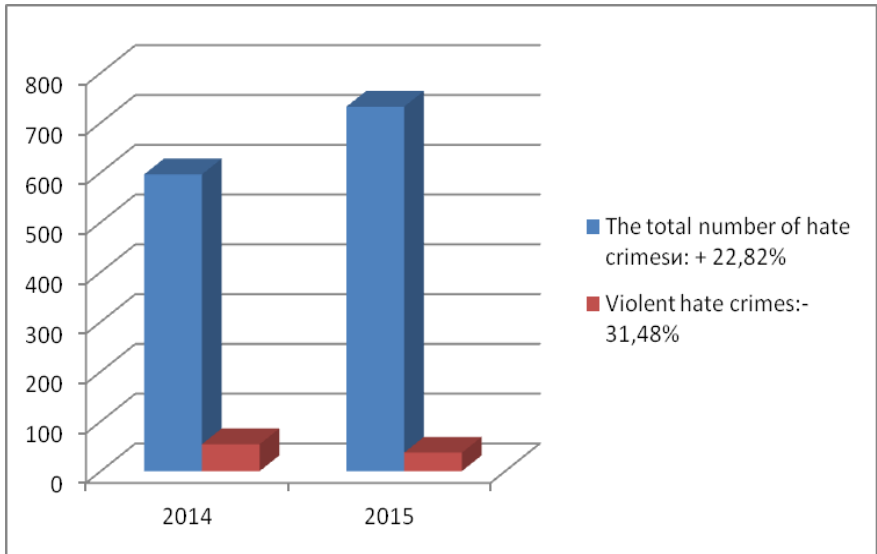
[186] http://hatecrime.osce.org/poland

[187] http://hatecrime.osce.org/italy

[188] Ibid.

which 484 involve the promotion of racism and 35 cases of physical violence (2 ended in deaths).[189]

Fig. 9. Hate crime in Italy (2014 – 2015)

Therefore, if this information is valid, Italy has experienced a decline in violent hate crime and a relative increase in non-violent hate crime. This indicates that despite the general growth of xenophobic sentiments in the country, the Italian government is so far successful in keeping the situation under control, including through preventative measures against incitement to hatred and hate speech.

[189] www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org;
https://www.favacarpediem.wordpress.com/2016/07/08;
https://www.poliziadistato.it/articolo/22017/

Germany continues to publish hate crime statistics as part of statistics for <u>politically motivated crime</u>, which conceals the true scale of racist violence. Consequently, racist incidents and institutional discrimination is hidden in general statistics. Nevertheless, the Interior Ministry report contains some important figures.

According to the report, there have been 38,981 politically motivated crimes in 2014, which is a 19% increase since 2014.[190] Of those, 8,518 were "xenophobic crimes" (hate crimes) – 8,209 committed by local extreme right activists, 77 by foreign nationals and 232 by persons of no political affiliation.

Fig. 10. Hate crime in Germany (2014 – 2015)
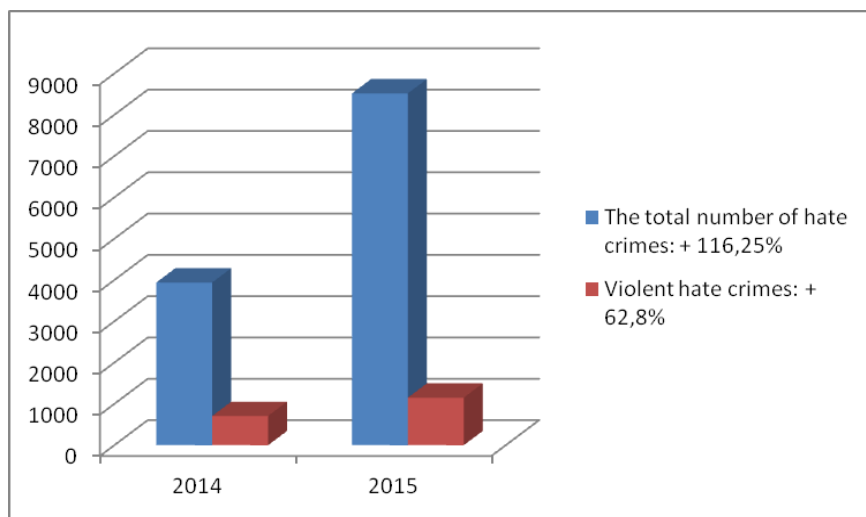
This is a huge figure, given that there have been only 3,939 such cases in 2014 – an increase of 116.25%! Of those,

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1,51 involved violence (707 in 2014)[191]; 20 of those were attempted murders.[192] Attacks on refugee centres have increased fivefold, from 199 in 2014 to 1,031 in 2015. This includes 4 attempted murders, 60 incidents with bodily harm, 94 acts of vandalism and 8 cases involving explosives.[193] The Amadeu Antonio Foundation reports that 288 protest actions have been held near refugee centres in Germany in 2015 (292 in 2014).[194]

There have been 1,213 incidents motivated by racism in 2015 (807 in 2014), of which 174 involved violence (141 in 2014).[195] There have been 1,361 anti-Semitic incidents (1,589 in 2014), 1,112 incidents motivated by religion (696 in 2014).[196] The number of such incidents has increased by 60%, which can be explained by the growing Islamophobia in the country. However, the type of data provided by the federal government does not allow us to conclude this with certainty. Furthermore, 222 crimes have been committed against the LGBT community

[191] http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Nachrichten/Pressemitteilungen/2016/05/pmk-2015-hasskriminalitaet.pdf%3Bjsessionid%3DD24B56A09330DC7DD969AE4C5FD0E938.2_cid373%3F__blob%3DpublicationFile&usg=ALkJrhjfBI7Kx2CE0e6vSN6S0G2QwpRpFw

[192] http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Pressemitteilungen/DE/2016/05/pks-und-pmk-2015.html

[193] Ibid.

[194] https://www.amnesty.nl/sites/default/files/public/hate_crimes_in_germany.pdf

[195] http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Nachrichten/Pressemitteilungen/2016/05/pmk-2015-hasskriminalitaet.pdf%3Bjsessionid%3DD24B56A09330DC7DD969AE4C5FD0E938.2_cid373%3F__blob%3DpublicationFile&usg=ALkJrhjfBI7Kx2CE0e6vSN6S0G2QwpRpFw

[196] Ibid.

(184 in 2014) and 19 crimes against disabled persons (26 in 2014).[197]

As we can see, the only positive trend in these statistics is the decrease in hate crime against disabled persons. 2015 saw an explosive growth in all other indicators. German Interior Minister Thomas de Maiziere admitted this during his presentation in May 2016.[198]

It is worth adding that in September 2015 an ethnic clash occurred between Turks and Kurds in Frankfurt, resulting in dozens injured.[199]

Since 2014, the government of the *Netherlands* does not publish official hate crime statistics. OSCE provides the last available data, which covers 2013. According to this source, there have been 3,614 "hate incidents", of which 83 resulted in criminal investigations. In 2014, non-governmental sources found 60 such incidents, which seems low, because this figure does not include non-violent incidents.[200] In 2015, according to information gathered by our experts, there have been 289 such incidents. The Israeli Centre for Information and Documentation reported 126 cases of anti-Semitic attacks in the Netherlands (171 in 2014).[201] Dutch Islamophobia Hotline registered 158 anti-Muslim incidents in 2015. 90% of those were directed against women wearing hijabs.[202] Dutch expert on radical nationalism and Islamophobia, Ineke van der Valk, said that 39%

[197] Ibid.
[198] Ibid.
[199] http://rudaw.net/english/middleeast/turkey/110920151
[200] http://hatecrime.osce.org/netherlands
[201] http://antisemitism.org.il/article/105666/2015-antisemitism-report
[202]http://www.nltimes.nl/2016/04/15/muslim-women-frequently-targeted-netherlands-hate-crimes/

of all 475 mosques in the Netherlands have been targets of vandalism, including arson.[203]

In December 2015, there was an attack on five homosexual refugees, who had to transfer to another holding facility, fearing another attack – committed by other refugees[204] In October 2015, another wave of violence hit the Netherlands, after the leader of the right-wing Freedom Party, Geert Wilders, called on his supporters to "resist" the establishment of new refugee centres. However, hate crime statistics for this period are missing.[205]

Hungary is another country that does not publish hate crime statistics. Non-governmental organisations cover this to some extent, but there are concerns about the accuracy of this information.

According to several NGOs (Action and Protection Foundation[206], Forum Against Anti-Semitism and on International Religious Freedom Report for 2015, Hungary, Bureau of Democracy, and Human Rights and Labour[207]), there have been 83 anti-Semitic incidents in Hungary in 2015, including 3 physical attacks, 1 threat of assault and 36 acts of vandalism (29 involved graffiti). There have been 43 non-violent incidents related to hate speech – most committed online. International Religious Freedom Report for 2015, Hungary (Bureau of Democracy and Human Rights and Labour), cites

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[203] http://www.euro-islam.info/2015/04/26/monitoring-muslim-discrimination-pdf-report/
[204] http://www.dutchnews.nl/news/archives/2015/12/gay-refugees-placed-in-separate-accommodation-after-attacks/
[205] http://www.dutchnews.nl/news/archives/2015/10/dutch-political-party-leaders-call-for-calm-in-refugee-debate/
[206] http://tev.hu/en/publikaciok-2/

sources within the Muslim community and reports attacks on 15 Muslim women. None of them have appealed to the police, fearing for her and her family's safety. Finally, according to various reports in the press, there have been 11 violent incidents against LGBT persons in 2015[208]. According to the above information, there have been 109 hate crime cases in Hungary in 2015, of which 25 involved violence (72 and 10 respectively for 2014.[209]

Fig. 11. Hate crime in Russia (2014 – 2015)
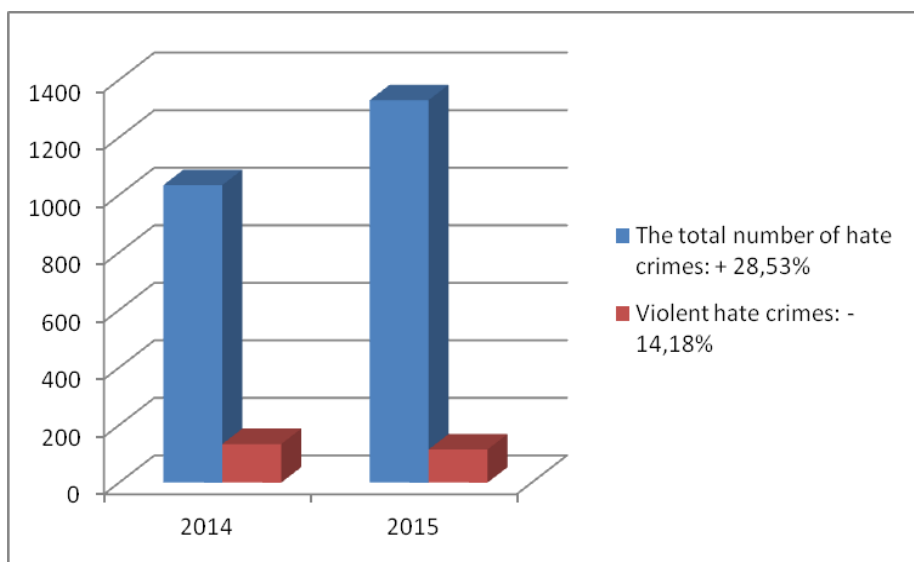
According to the *Russian* General Prosecution office, there have been 1,329 "crimes of extremist nature", which is 295

[207]http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/religiousfreedom/index.htm?year=2015&dlid=256197#wrapper

[208] http://444.hu/2015/05/18/egeszen-zavarba-ejto-fejtegetesbe-kezdett-orban-viktor-a-homoszexualisok-helyzeterol/

[209] http://hatecrime.osce.org/hungary

more than in 2014. This growth is largely due to a rise in non-violent incidents, such as hate speech and incitement to hatred, most of which were committed online. On the other hand, the number of violent hate crimes has decreased from 134 to 115, of which 97 were attacks.[210]

Non-governmental organisations reported 70 hate crime attacks. The difference in figures is probably due to different methodologies used in assessment or different criteria for hate crime. NGOs report that 81 people were victims of violent hate crimes in 2015, resulting in 16 deaths and 65 injuries (in 2014: 101 violent hate crime incidents, resulting in 35 deaths and 146 injuries).

Unfortunately, Russian law enforcement do not provide data on different categories of hate crime. However, the Russian Institute of the National Policy and Inter-Ethnic Relations Studies reports 20 attacks on LGBT members, resulting in 3 deaths (73 such cases in 2014).[211] In addition, there have been 10 attacks on Jehovah's Witnesses (2014: 9)[212]; 13 anti-Semitic attacks, resulting in 2 murders and 11 acts of vandalism (2014: 18)[213]; 22 anti-Muslim attacks (2014: 17)[214] – 3 deaths (all imams) and 6 people (4 imams) injured, 14 cases of vandalism; 1 attack on an Orthodox priest. In total, there have been 93 cases of xenophobic vandalism in 2015 (106 in 2014). We can also

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[210] Data obtained from the Prosecutor General's Office, Russia.
[211] http://hatecrime.osce.org/russian-federation
[212] http://nationalpolicy.ru/rossiya/obshchestvo/nasilie_i_terror_na_pochve_nenavisti/napadeniya/
[213] http://hatecrime.osce.org/russian-federation
[214] Ibid.

note two attempts to incite an ethnic conflict (10 such attempts in 2014). Both were unsuccessful.[215]

Thus, violent hate crime has been on the decline in Russia for the past two years, as well as cases of vandalism. At the same time, the number of non-violent hate crimes is growing, committed primarily online. As mentioned before, this rise is due to three factors: preventative measures conducted by the law enforcement, empowered by the changes to the counter terrorism legislation that allowed them to prevent serious crimes by punishing smaller hate speech offenses committed online; split of radical nationalists related to the events in Ukraine; and departure of many radical activists to fight in Syria and Ukraine.

According to non-governmental organisations, law enforcement in *Ukraine* is extremely reluctant to initiate hate crime cases, preferring to prosecute them on other charges, or not prosecute them at all. In official police reports on criminal cases related to racial, national or religious intolerance that have been investigated by police in 2015, only 5 criminal violations had been committed during that whole year: 1 attempted murder, 1 case of torture, 2 cases of discrimination; and 1 desecration of a grave.

Simultaneously, the analytical department of the General Investigative Department of the National Police of Ukraine reports 79 cases of discrimination (violations of Art. 161: "Violation of equality of citizens based on their race, nationality, religion, disability, and other characteristics"). Criminal cases

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[215] http://vk.com/wall26268330_231161; http://www.gubernia.com/mesto-proisshestviya/proisshestviya/v-garnizone-pod-khabarovskom-voennosluzhashchie-zabili-ofitsera-zapasa/

have been initiated in 49 of these incidents (33 in 2014).[216] Therefore, there have been 54 registered cases of hate crime. Given that Ukrainian law enforcement practice essentially ignores non-violent hate crime, and Article 161 does not include criminal responsibility for discrimination, it can be assumed that Ukraine's government only records violent hate crime offences. Meanwhile, various NGOs report 343 hate crimes in Ukraine in 2014.[217]

Congress of national minorities of Ukraine presented a report entitled "Two Years of War: Xenophobia in Ukraine in 2015," which recorded 19 victims of hate crime that year, one of whom was murdered.[218] In 2014, the same organisation reported 24 victims of such crime. This data did not include victims in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. The organisation also provided their own figures regarding vandalism based on national or religious hatred: 34 in 2015 (23 anti-Semitic) and 27 in 2014.[219]

According to the information held by authors of the report, there has been one violent anti-Muslim incident (6 in 2014)[220]; 26 anti-Semitic incidents – 3 attacks, 23 acts of vandalism (46 in 2014)[221]; 10 incidents against Christians – including 9 acts of vandalism; 3 attacks on LGBT (132 in 2014[222]); and 7 racist incidents (34 in 2014[223]).

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[216] http://forbiddentoforbid.org.ua/uk/policiya-navchit-svoikh-slidchikh-viyavlya/

[217] http://hatecrime.osce.org/ukraine

[218] http://eajc.org/data//file/Xenophobia_in_Ukraine_2015.pdf

[219] http://eajc.org/data//file/Xenophobia_in_Ukraine_2015.pdf , C.14.

[220] http://hatecrime.osce.org/ukraine

[221] Ibid.

[222] Ibid.

[223] Ibid.

Given the above, it is impossible to give an accurate number of non-violent hate crime incidents in Ukraine in 2015. Lack of official statistics in this area and conflicting sources make it difficult to assess the real situation in the country. Furthermore, there are serious suspicions that Ukrainian authorities are refusing to record such incidents and incite criminal cases, particularly after the amendment of Art. 161 to remove criminal responsibility for discrimination and the dissolution of the last government body responsible for monitoring manifestations of xenophobia (see Section 2).

Summarising all the above information, we can conclude that the rate of hate crime has increased in all monitored countries in 2015. This particularly relates to *non-violent* offences, which indicates growing xenophobic attitudes and increased activity of radical organisations. At the same time, it must be noted that trends of *violent* hate crime offences have been different, depending on the country. Russia, Italy, and Greece demonstrated a decreasing trend, while all others - increased. To understand the real situation, a comparative analysis of both violent and non-violent hate crime trends must be conducted.

An increasing trend of non-violent offences with a decreasing trend of violent offences indicates the effectiveness of law enforcement in preventing the latter, as they are able to break the escalation at the level of, say, hate speech online, before it turns into actions. Most criminals guided by xenophobic feelings have previously expressed those sentiments on social media, trying to find friends and accomplices, fighting with their opponents, and insulting members of certain social groups. At this stage, police have to stop the offender before he escalates to violence. In other cases, these trends indicate the lack of influence of radical groups or displacement of xenophobic

sentiments in society with other priorities, such as economic or domestic issues. In addition, possible statistical errors have to be kept in mind, particularly where governments refuse to publish official data on hate crime.

The increasing general trend of hate crime offences always indicates a critical mass of people dissatisfied with the current situation. This could lead to a quick transition to violent actions, like it happened in Germany recently and has been happening in Hungary, Greece, and Czech Republic for some time.

Both increasing trends are particularly dangerous, indicating the process of rapid radicalisation of the population. It indicates that an increasing number of people holding xenophobic views are prepared to use physical violence. This situation is currently occurring in Germany, where the general quantity of hate crime offences has increased by 116.25% and violent hate crime offences increased by 62.8%. This is not just an exponential spread of hatred, but a sharp increase in the amount of those ready to inflict physical harm against "others". It also indicates that the government's policy towards refugees and national minorities is failing and police are unable to deal with the problem. Indirect, unconfirmed sources indicate similar trends in Hungary. However, the scale of events in that country are, of course, incomparable to Germany.

Small difference in the dynamics of the two trends is also dangerous. It indicates that government is unable to slow down manifestations of hate crime at the level of racist propaganda, and that xenophobic sentiments are quickly manifesting as physical aggression. France faces the most difficult situation in this regard, where the difference between the two trends is only 6.8% (see Fig. 7).

Breaking hate crime cases into different motivations, we can observe that cases of *anti-Semitism* were most numerous in Germany (1,361 in 2015, 1,589 in 2014). It is followed by the UK (1,179 and 924 respectively) and France (808 and 851). In general, however, the situation has improved since 2014, when Israel launched a military operation in Gaza.

**Fig. 12. Crime motivated by anti-Semitism (2014 – 2015)**
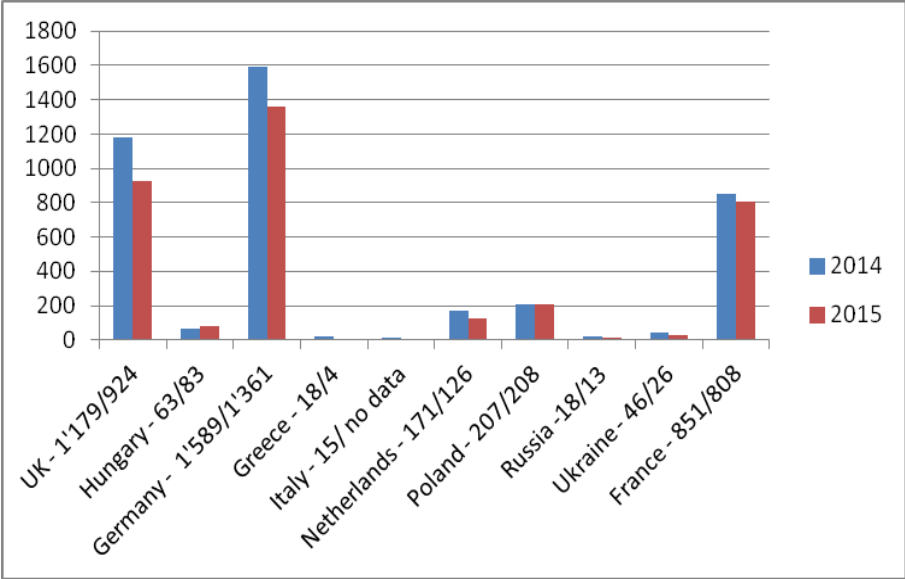
*Islamophobia* was most prevalent in the United Kingdom.

The *Tell MAMA* organisation reported 584 anti-Muslim incidents in 2015 in UK (548 in 2014). It is followed by France – 429 incidents (133 in 2014), though it must be noted that most were committed early in 2015, caused by the *Charlie Hebdo*

attack. Poland follows with 198 incidents (188 in 2014), as well as the Netherlands with 158 (24 in 2014).

Fig. 13. Crime motivated by Islamophobia (2014 – 2015)
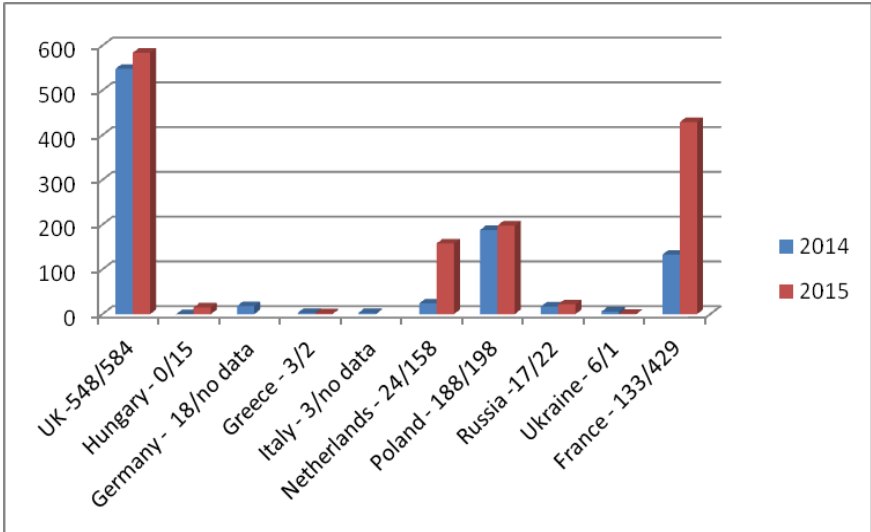
Fig. 14. Crime motivated by homophobia (2014 – 2015)
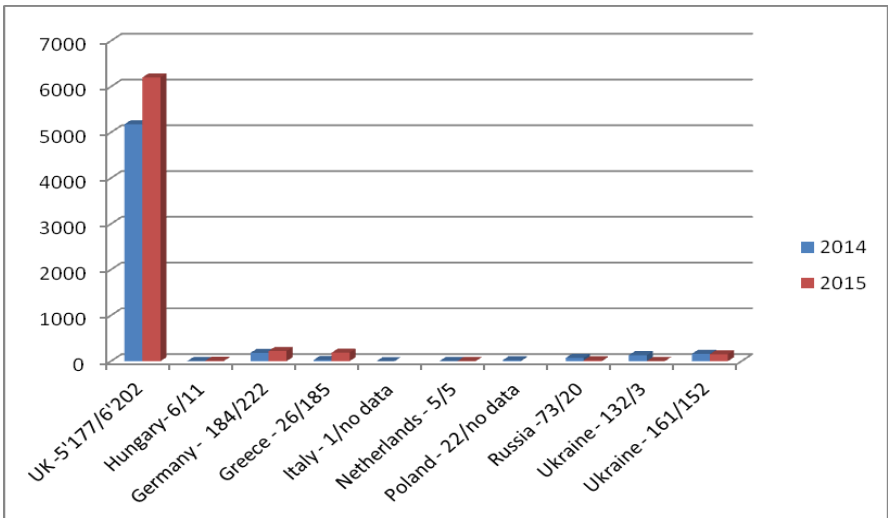
The United Kingdom is also leading by the number of *homophobic* incidents committed in 2015 – 6,202 cases (5,177 in 2014). It is followed by Germany – 222 (184 in 2014), Greece – 185, and France – 152.

6. CONCLUSION

Conducted analysis indicates a growing crisis of tolerance in Europe. This is revealed by the explosive growth of hatred, which is expressed in widespread xenophobic attitudes, increased popularity of radical parties and groups, sharp increase in hate crime and extremist activities, and so on. European society is currently on the brink of a conflict between two civilizations, a split along ethnic and religious lines and a "war of values". This crisis mostly affects large European countries, such as France, Germany, and the UK. However, Poland, Hungary, Ukraine, and the Netherlands are also experiencing difficulties. Greece, Italy, and Russia are so far successful in dealing with the problem due to subjective and objective conditions. In these countries, violent incidents motivated by xenophobia have decreased since 2014, but this does not guarantee them from explosions of violence in the future.

In almost all countries, this crisis is caused by their unpreparedness to change their approach to national policy and national minorities. First of all, this relates to a lack of legal recognition of many ethnic minority groups (and therefore their rights), as well as shortcomings in integration policies, which is currently based on the principle of forced assimilation.

France, as a country with the highest number of radical Islamists within its borders, faces an extremely difficult situation. In recent years, this was expressed by a record

number of terrorist attacks. The lack of a systemic governmental approach in dealing with national minorities has left French intelligence services powerless. The French government does not even hold any official record of the populations of ethnic minorities that reside in the country. Official questioning of the population about their ethnic and religious origins is prohibited by law, and indirect data is insufficient to paint an accurate picture.[224]

By distancing from national and religious education, French authorities have created a vacuum that was filled by movements with values that are foreign to Europe, including those of extremist nature. By not recognising the presence of minorities, the government freed itself from dealing with their issues, but received a much bigger one, related to the security of its citizens.

The French Constitution states that all citizens are equal until one group declares its special interests. It assumes that the French nation-state is based on the French national-cultural tradition. This means that traditions of the titular (French) nation form the basis of the whole French nation. Therefore, the titular nation has a monopoly on privileges. Other national groups in the country have only one privilege – become French, albeit of a different ethnic or religious origin – i.e. voluntarily assimilate. This status quo was formed in the 19th century, but France's political elite is reluctant to modernise. For example, in 1999 France had signed the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages, but has yet to ratify it. According to this document, France was supposed to provide certain language

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[224] *Statistiques ethniques : que peut faire la statistique publique ? Que fait-elle ?,* September 2015, http://www.insee.fr/fr/insee-statistique-publique/default.asp?page=statistique-publique/statistiques-ethniques.htm

rights to traditional regional minorities, such as Basques, Bretons, Catalans, Corsicans, Dutch, Germans, and Provencals. But even in this form, the Charter turned out to be unacceptable. The adoption of a corresponding law would require amendments to the Construction, which has been consistently denied by the Senate. Last such decision was made on October 27, 2015. It must be stressed, that this would have only affected minorities that are culturally and historically close to the French.

Other countries have a similar situation. Greece does not recognise national minorities. Germany only recognises Serbians, Danes, Frisians, and German Roma as minorities, provided they are also German citizens. The Netherlands only consider Frisians as an ethnic minority group. Italy recognises Provencals, French, and Walserians. The UK legally recognises only traditional minorities – the Irish, Scottish, and Welsh. Nevertheless, this is still more progress than France and Greece, but what about millions of Arabs, Indians, Pakistanis, Turks, etc.? They do not fall under the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities or the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages, which was ratified in all aforementioned countries (except France and Greece) – some with reservations.

So far, most people belonging to unrecognised national minorities are willing to accept the European model of integration, as it has been for centuries. In France, for example, most 77% of Muslims consider themselves as French (to various degrees) first, before Muslim.[225] However, 25% (which is a large number of people) are not prepared to accept this model. This group prioritises their ethnic, religious, and geographic origin.

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[225] http://councilforeuropeanstudies.org/critcom/the-diversity-of-muslims-in-france-pre-and-post-charlie-hebdo/

They do not consider themselves French, despite the fact that for many France is their place of birth, and many hold a French passport. Thus, the state built a strict boundary, excluding those who can be arbitrarily named as victims of globalisation and international conflicts – they are unwilling to change their identity and prefer to bring up their children in accordance with their traditions, but were forced to leave their countries for one reason or another. In the condition of strict integration, these groups prefer to isolate themselves and create a sort of cultural ghetto. This does not only refer to first generation immigrations, but also their descendants, who are left in an ideological and cultural vacuum. The problem is also in the fact that a lot of these people consider Europe as their home (as many of them were indeed born there), but seek to change the identity of Europeans to correspond to their traditions. This, in turn, creates xenophobia, mutual disaffection, discrimination, and extremist movements on both sides.

Greece is in a better position than France for two reasons. First, its government is starting to realise that ignoring the presence of Islam in their countries is wrong and even criminal, and that the presence of a hundred underground mosques is a potential avenue for extremism. Second, Greece (and Italy) is so far used by Islamists as a base for preparing extremist actions in countries like France, Belgium, and Germany. They are therefore not interested in escalating the situation in the country. However, this situation may change, as is argued by intelligence agencies, which report a gradual ideological infiltration of Islamists into Greek and Italian Muslim communities.

Russia is the only country subject to this review that has a completely different situation. 25 years since the collapse of the Soviet Union, it still adheres to the Soviet principles of national policy: each national republic in the Russian Federation has a

language of its titular nation as a second state language, there is a wide network of schools with a national-cultural focus, there is a law on national-cultural autonomies, and a large number of media outlets in minority languages. Religious organisations receive similar support, albeit under a tight control of the state in order to remove the possibility of foreign influence over religious and educational institutions. However, Russia has a different constitutional tradition, other values, and another nation-state model – mostly inherited from the Soviet Union.

The second cause of the crisis of tolerance is the refugee crisis, which resulted in more than one million migrants arriving in Europe from Asia and Africa. Here, the problem lies in the unpreparedness of infrastructure to receive new refugees, in the aforementioned assimilation model of the integration policy, and the reaction of locals, which are not prepared to deal with the changing socio-cultural environment. This, in turn, led to xenophobic sentiments in the population.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that in 2015 many European countries eliminated some of the more pressing gaps in legislation, which established rights for refugees, improved the social environment, and introduced new counter terrorism measures.

The third cause of the crisis of tolerance is the activity of radical organisations, which are a catalyst of xenophobic sentiments. They are one of the main reasons the current European integration model is failing. Radicals have gained momentum in 2015, achieving confrontations between various ethnic and religious groups. This was reflected in the increased hate crime rate, with some countries facing serious risks to social stability, and may lead to a change in political landscape in the near future.

Given all the above, efforts of the law enforcement and the legislature, or improvements of infrastructure to receive and integrate migrants, are not enough to resolve this situation. Today, the number of immigrants and their descendants who are unwilling to assimilate is such that a cosmetic approach is insufficient to solve the problem.

A global approach is required. Countries subject to this review must change their approach to national minorities. Significant changes are required to the approach to cooperation with ethnic and religious groups. This does not only require large investment into culture and education systems – Europe has to change their constitutional traditions and legislation regarding national minorities. This issue can only be resolved at a national level or any attempt to federalise Europe is bound to be ineffective – we are already seeing strong opposition in Britain, along with several other EU countries. Otherwise, this crisis will continue to escalate and civic conflicts will continue to rise.

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