

ISLAMOPHOBIA IN  
**SPAIN**  
NATIONAL REPORT 2021

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SERGIO GRACIA, INÉS BOLAÑOS SOMOANO



## The Authors

**Sergio Gracia** studied law at the University of Córdoba. He holds a Master's degree in "Terrorist Phenomenology: Bioterrorism, Epidemiological Prevention, Cyberterrorism, and Chemical Threats" from the Faculty of Sciences of Granada. He is the director of CINVED (Centro Investigación de Extrema Derecha). Gracia practiced law in Casa Árabe Córdoba and studied at the Department of Constitutional Law. He has extensive complementary education and practical experience in the faith and plurality fields, such as: renewal of religious thought, political Islam in Europe; social changes in the Arab world, Islamic Feminism, fundamental rights and finally the extreme right. He is an academic collaborator with various public and private institutions in Spain. Gracia frequently acts as the invited expert commentator for different national and international media outlets on international relations and right-wing violence issues.

Email: [consultas@cinved.com](mailto:consultas@cinved.com)

**Inés Bolaños** is a visiting researcher at the Institute for Security and Global Affairs at Leiden University, Netherlands, and is currently working on her doctoral thesis in political science on EU terrorism prevention at the European University Institute in Italy. Her research looks at the emergence of prevention of radicalisation as a distinct policy field, its origins in the 11M attacks, and its current adaptation to right-wing violence. Inés uses qualitative interviews, both in person and remote/online, as well as policy analysis. Bolaños earned her Bachelor's degree in English studies in Oviedo, Spain and an Erasmus Mundus Master of Arts in European studies at the Universities of Göttingen (Germany), Olomouc (Czech Republic), and Osaka (Japan).

Email: [ines.bolanos@eui.eu](mailto:ines.bolanos@eui.eu)

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**To cite this report:** Sergio Gracia, Inés Bolaños: *Islamophobia in Spain: National Report 2021*, in: Enes Bayraklı & Farid Hafez, *European Islamophobia Report 2021*, Vienna: Leopold Weiss Institute, 2022.

## Executive Summary

During the 2021 COVID-19 pandemic, hate crimes have increased around those perceived as different, signalled out and used as scapegoats, most frequently through social media.

This discourse has been amplified and legitimised by the growing far-right movement, which has used immigration as a catalyst to exacerbate societal polarisation and hate. Immigrants have been portrayed as stealing work opportunities or carrying diseases. Consequently, there have been repeated appeals for the closure of borders, the “selection” of immigrants, and the tightening of conditions to access full citizenship.

Far-right groups have exploited this Islamophobic environment and channelled it into a securitised discourse, cashing in on a security threat to our rights and freedoms, which strongly draws on the anti-Islam sentiment existent in Spain since the 1990s.

Exposed to such fearmongering arguments, Spanish society has increasingly hindered and discriminated against Muslim-presenting or non-Caucasian looking individuals. Discrimination occurs from partaking normally in the labour market to access to housing or the creation of places of worship.

## Resumen ejecutivo

La llegada de la pandemia no hizo sino acrecentar durante 2021 los delitos de odio en torno al diferente, utilizando y señalando a este como chivo expiatorio, y para ello, el principal medio de difusión fueron las redes sociales debido al confinamiento.

Este discurso ha sido potenciado y legitimado por el creciente movimiento ultraderechista que ha utilizado a la inmigración como catalizador para sacar lo peor de la sociedad, donde se han dedicado a vender que los inmigrantes roban el trabajo o traen enfermedades, y donde han apelado de forma reiterada al cierre de fronteras, a la “selección” de inmigrantes y al endurecimiento de las condiciones para acceder a la plena ciudadanía.

La extrema derecha ha explotado la islamofobia creando en torno a ella un discurso securitario y del miedo, vendiendo una supuesta amenaza de nuestros privilegios, y recuperando para ello el discurso anti islámico que campa por nuestro país desde los años 90.

Ante este discurso del miedo, la sociedad se ha llenado de trabas para toda persona que no reúna los estándares físicos de las sociedades occidentales, donde hay una discriminación generalizada en el acceso al trabajo, a la vivienda o en la instalación de lugares de culto.

Debido a todo esto, durante 2021 tuvieron lugar más de 300 bulos sobre migrantes, refugiados y minorías religiosas en forma de cadenas de WhatsApp, audios, fotos o videos con el único fin de crear odio.

## Country Profile

### EIR 2021

**Country:** Kingdom of Spain

**Type of Regime:** Parliamentary democracy

**Form of Government:** Constitutional parliamentary monarchy

**Ruling Parties:** Coalition of Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE - Spanish Socialist Workers' Party) and Unidas Podemos (coalition of several left-wing parties)

**Opposition Parties:** Partido Popular (right), Vox (extreme right), Ciudadanos (centrist-right)

**Last Elections:** The last general elections, on November 10, 2019, were won by the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE). Results: Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE): 120/350, Popular Party (PP): 88/350, Vox: 52/350, Unidas Podemos (UP): 35/350, Catalan Republican Left (ERC):13, Ciudadanos 10/350

**Total Population:** 47.3 million (INE, April 5, 2022)

**Major Languages:** Spanish (official language); Catalan, Valencian, Basque and Galician (main co-official languages)

**Official Religion:** None. The Spanish Constitution of 1978 established that “there shall be no state religion”. At the same time, Article 16.3<sup>1</sup> outlines that the state will cooperate with religious authorities from several confessions, among which chiefly Catholicism.

**Statistics on Islamophobia:** During 2021, the Spanish Ministry of Interior looked into 1,802 hate crimes, a 41% increase from five years ago. From these crimes, 678 (37.6%) were racially motivated or xenophobic. These statistics are not disaggregated by hate crime type, so they cannot show specific anti-Muslim hate crimes. Nevertheless, the OBERAXE report on hate speech in social media did pick up on an increase of between 9.5% and 14.7% in Islamophobic hate speech. In parallel, the OSCE includes 45 religiously motivated incidents in its 2020 report.

**Statistics on Racism and Discrimination:** The latest statistics come from the 2021 report by OBERAXE, the “Spanish Observatory of Racism and Xenophobia” (*Observatorio Español del Racismo y la Xenofobia- OBERAXE*)<sup>2</sup>

**Major Religions (% of Population):** Practicing Catholics 19.9%; Non-practicing Catholics 39%; Agnostic: 11.7%; Indifferent: 10.8%; Atheists: 14.6%; Other religions: 2.6%. (Report by the “Sociological Research Centre” (*Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas- CIS*) n° 3344/2021, December 2021)

**Muslim Population (% of Population):** 4% of the population, with around 2 million Muslims, of which 42% have Spanish nationality (Observatorio Andalusi 2019).

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1. Article 16.3 of the Spanish Constitution, “Official State’s Bulletin” (*Boletín Oficial del Estado*), [https://www.boe.es/biblioteca\\_juridica/codigos/codigo.php?id=158\\_Constitucion\\_Espanola\\_\\_\\_\\_\\_The\\_Spanish\\_Constitution\\_&modo=2](https://www.boe.es/biblioteca_juridica/codigos/codigo.php?id=158_Constitucion_Espanola_____The_Spanish_Constitution_&modo=2) (Access date: 14 June 2022).

2. From here onwards referred to by its English translation, Spanish Observatory of Racism and Xenophobia.

**Main Muslim Community Organizations:** The Comisión Islámica de España (CIE) is the sole interlocutor with the Spanish state, as well as being part of the Muslim Council for Cooperation in Europe (MCCE)<sup>3</sup>, a representative body in the European Union. The CIE is composed of the Unión de Comunidades Islámicas de España (UCIDE), the Federación Española de Entidades Religiosas Islámicas (FEERI), and other minority federations.

**Main NGOs Combating Islamophobia:** Asociación de Mujeres Musulmanas Bidaya, Asociación Marroquí para la Integración de Inmigrantes, Asociación Musulmana por los Derechos Humanos, European Network of Women of African Descent, Fundación Al Fanar, Fundación Cepaim, Fundación de Cultura Islámica, Fundación Euroárabe, Fundación Ibn Battuta, Musulmanes contra la Islamofobia, Observatorio de la Islamofobia en los Medios, SOS Racisme Catalunya, SOS Racismo Madrid, Stop Als Fenòmens Islamòfobs, Unitat contra el feixisme i el racisme.

**Far-Right Parties:** Vox, Hacer Nación, España 2000, Alianza Nacional, La Falange, Falange Española de las JONS, Alternativa Española, Democracia Nacional, ADÑ, Front Nacional de Catalunya (FNC), Partido Social Patriota, Identitarios, Movimiento Aragonés Social, Renaixença Nacional Catalana (RNC), Som Identitaris, Partido Nacionalsocialista Obrero Español (FNI-PNSOE), Partido Solucionista, Som Catalans, Partido Nacional Bolchevique, and Movimiento Católico Español.

**Far-Right Movements:** Getafe Nacional Revolucionario, Bastión Frontal, El Empecinado, Españoles en Acción, Resistencia Social Alcalá de Henares, Asociación Cultural Fernando III, Distrito Sur, Revolutio España, Hogar Social Madrid, Talavera Nuestra, Sección Asalto, Murtia Magna, Almería Nacional Sindicalista, Paso al Frente, Córdoba Nuestra, Caserna La Jabea, Alcalá 1247, Acción Juvenil Valencia, Acción Social Navarra, Acción Social Galicia, Hibera Genus, A Nosa Coruña, Caserna Don Pelayo, Asociación Cultural Alfonso I Cantabria, Tas Raices, Centro Social y Nacional Salamanca, Juventud Patriota Valladolid, Devenir Castellano, Asociación Rodrigo de Bastidas, In Memoriam Juan Ignacio, Valentia Forum, Somatemps, Hazte Oír, Asociación Cultural Tradicionalista Fernando III El Santo, Defensa Catalunya, Patriotes Catalans, Cedade, Moviment Identitari Català (MIC). A map covering movements and parties can be found at Cinved.

**Far-Right Militant Organizations:** N/A

#### **Limitations to Islamic Practices**

- **Hijab Ban:** No
- **Halal Slaughter Ban:** No
- **Minaret Ban:** No
- **Circumcision Ban:** No
- **Burka Ban:** No

3. Muslim Council for Cooperation in Europe (*Consejo Musulmán de Cooperación en Europa - CMCE*) <http://www.hispanomuslim.es/panya/cmce.htm> (Access date: 9 June 2022).

## Introduction

In the 21st century, and due to several events linked in one way or another to militancy, Islamophobic processes have strongly impacted Muslim communities. These processes are cyclical and recurrent, manifesting themselves as diverse degrees of rejection, phobia, and/or hatred towards the otherised Muslim.

In the aftermath of these events, the “essentialist stigmatisation of the Muslim world” has been reinforced. The academic world has begun to analyse and denounce the ensuing misuse of the label “Muslim”, and the growing Islamophobic actions and attitudes by sectors in society. Mistakenly and with ill intent, the immigrant population living in Spanish society has been likened to the concept of the “terrorist”, creating a national and international alarm that leads to the rejection of everything related to Islam.<sup>4</sup>

These currents - and others - have had a direct influence on the increase in hate speech in the last years, most notably online via social media. The latter have also significantly helped the diffusion of fake news, especially during the months of absolute confinement due to the pandemic in 2020 and 2021.

The rather recent appearance of far-right parties like Vox and movements in the political sphere - openly racist, xenophobic, and Islamophobic - has contributed to the mainstreaming of an intransigent public discourse, which further legitimises the persecution of difference in appearance, creed, and opinion.

## Discussion of Islamophobic Incidents and Discursive Events

### Physical and Verbal Attacks

In 2017, the report on Islamophobia carried out by the Citizen Platform against Islamophobia recorded 546 incidents.<sup>5</sup> The 2020 annual report by the Asociación Marroquí compiled Islamophobic instances according to official sources from security forces and bodies, and noted their increase.<sup>6</sup> Data shows 1,598 incidents in 2018, and an increase of 6.8% in 2019, reaching a total of 1,706 incidents. In parallel, the OSCE includes 45 religiously motivated incidents in its 2020 report, of which 20 were crimes against Muslims.<sup>7</sup>

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4. Javier Rosón Lorente, *La Islamofobia a debate. La genealogía del miedo al islam y la construcción de los discursos antiislámicos* (Madrid: Casa Árabe-IEAM, 2012), p.167-168.

5. Plataforma Ciudadana contra la Islamofobia, *Informe Anual Islamofobia en España* (Valencia: Plataforma Ciudadana Contra la Islamofobia, 2017), p.13.

6. Asociación Marroquí, *Informe Anual 2020 Islamofobia* (Málaga: Asociación Marroquí, 2020), p. 14

7. “Hate Crime Reporting Spain 2020”, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), <https://hatecrime.osce.org/spain>, (Access date: 23 May 2022).



In turn, a report by CEDRE (Consejo para la Eliminación de la Discriminación Racial o Étnica) highlights that only 18.2% of people who have experienced an instance of discrimination report having filled a complaint or report.<sup>8</sup> In recent times, out of concern about the above developments, the Spanish government has prepared a plan of action in the fight against hate crimes and discriminatory attitudes. The plan will receive more than a million euros for its budget from the Ministry of Interior.<sup>9</sup>

The discourse of insecurity pushed by the far right, outlined above, has had a direct impact at the neighbourhood level. As of a few years ago, there has been an increase in the amount of hate crimes committed, either physical or verbal attacks, against businesses or places of worship. Throughout 2021, there were different actions that have caused casualties, endangered the lives of others, or caused structural damages or damages on private goods.

Among these attacks, there was the stoning of the Antigua Mosque in Fuerteventura.<sup>10</sup> A few days later, an aggression took place against a centre for young migrants in Torredembarra (Catalonia)<sup>11</sup>. This was followed by an attack against the San Javier Mosque, in Murcia, which was vandalised, burnt down, and finally graffitied with the words “Death to Islam”.<sup>12</sup>



**Figure 1:** Attack on the San Javier Mosque, Murcia. Source: 20Minutos<sup>13</sup>

8. “Percepción de la discriminación por origen racial o étnico por parte de sus potenciales víctimas en 2020”, CEDRE, <https://igualdadynodiscriminacion.igualdad.gob.es/destacados/estudiopercepcion.htm> (Access date: 25 January 2021).
9. “El Gobierno anuncia un plan para frenar el auge de los delitos de odio: podrían ser el triple de lo que marcan las cifras oficiales”, Cadena Ser, 12 April 2022.
10. “Apedrean la puerta de la mezquita de Antigua”, Diario de Fuerteventura, 18 January 2021.
11. “Destrozan un centro de menores migrantes en Torredembarra (Tarragona)”, EuropaPress, 19 February 2021.
12. “Incendian una mezquita en San Javier donde habían pintado “Muerte al Islam””, 20minutos, 21 February 2021
13. “Incendian una mezquita en San Javier donde habían pintado “Muerte al Islam””, 20 Minutos, 21, February 2021

At the beginning of June, a young man, upon being fired from his job, hit a fellow worker, Moroccan, on his head and back with an iron bar, in Alhama de Murcia, Murcia.<sup>14</sup> Mere days after, a Moroccan young man, Younes Bilal, was shot to death in a cafeteria in Mazarrón, Murcia, explicitly due to his nationality.<sup>15</sup>

In July, the mosque of Cabezo de Torres, Murcia, was attacked. A pig's head, pierced with a knife, was displayed in front of the mosque, together with graffiti stating “Stop the invasion” and “No to Islam”. The display was completed with a flag of Spain with the writing “Spanish sovereignty is not up to negotiation”.



**Figure 2:** Attack on mosque in the town of Cabezo de Torres, Murcia. Source: *La Opinión de Murcia*<sup>16</sup>

These events all took place in the region of Murcia in south-eastern Spain, where several neo-Nazi groups operate and openly display pro-Hitler symbols.<sup>17</sup>

At the beginning of September, a man was assaulted in front of a fast-food restaurant, while he waited for his food. The assailant shouted at him “Do you believe in Alá [Allah]?”<sup>18</sup>

Later, in November, a prosecutor denounced the leader of the neo-Nazi group, Bastión Frontal, for “encouraging” violence against Moroccans and Muslims during a demonstration in front of the Moroccan embassy in Spain.<sup>19</sup>

14. “Cuarto ataque racista en Murcia en menos de un mes: la mezquita de Cabezo de Torres amanece con una cabeza de cerdo y pintadas xenófobas”, *ElDiario.es*, 7 July 2021.

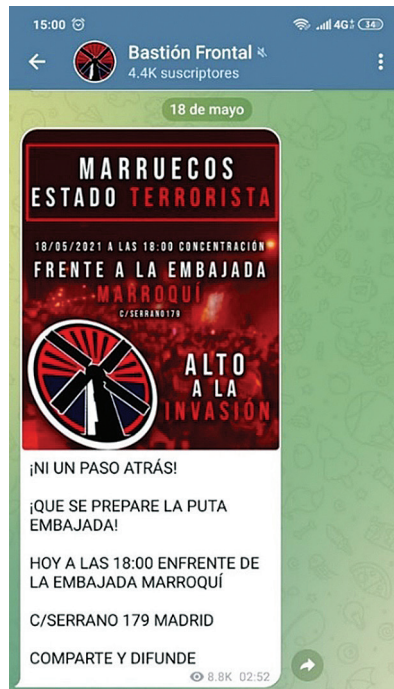
15. “El asesinato agravado por racismo de Younes Bilal”, *El Mundo*, 28 June 2021.

16. “Una navaja, una cabeza de cerdo y pintadas en un ataque xenófobo contra la mezquita de Cabezo de Torres”, *La Opinión de Murcia*, 7 July 2021.

17. “La extrema derecha como contracultura”, *ElDiario.es*, 30 November 2021.

18. “Un hombre denuncia una agresión racista en Madrid: “¿Tú crees en Alá?””, *ElDiario.es*, 1 September 2021.

19. “El fiscal denuncia a la líder de Bastión Frontal por “apremiar” a la violencia contra marroquíes y musulmanes”, *EuropaPress*, 8 November 2021.



**Figure 3:** Screenshot of a message in the *Bastión Frontal* Telegram channel, an anti-Muslim extreme far right group. The message is rallying support for a concentration at the Moroccan embassy protesting its supposed Islamization of Spain.<sup>20</sup>

According to a report by the Fundamental Rights Agency, Roma people, people from the Maghreb, and African-looking individuals in Spain are subjected to racialised police checks well above the average in Europe.<sup>21</sup> This is despite the overall multicultural nature of Spanish society, and testifies to the fact that Spain is not immune to the identitarian speech propagated by the far right.<sup>22</sup>

## Employment

Freedom towards one's personal outward appearance is enshrined in several articles of the Spanish constitution, which refer to the individual's right to dignity and to the development of their personality. These articles also recognised the right to equality and to non-discrimination due to class, race, sexual orientation, gender, religion, opinion, or any other condition.

20. "Bastion Frontal", Telegram.hr, 18 May 2021, t.me/BastionFrontal (Access date: 18 May 2021). The message reads, from top to bottom: "Marrocco terrorist state. Demonstration 18/05/2021 at 18h, in front of the Moroccan Embassy. STOP THE INVASION. The f\*\*\* embassy better prepare. Not one step back! Today at 18h in front of the Moroccan Embassy. Serrano street 179, Madrid. Share and diffuse". All screenshots unless otherwise indicated are by the authors.

21. "Gitanos, magrebíes y negros sufren controles policiales 'raciales' muy por encima de la media en toda Europa". Cadena Ser, 25 May 2021.

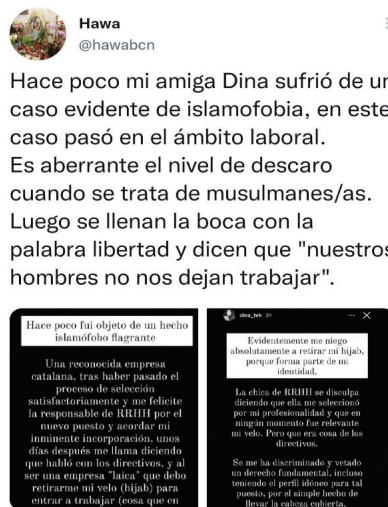
22. Dan Rodríguez-García. "The Persistence of Racial Constructs in Spain: Bringing Race and Colorblindness into the Debate on Interculturalism", *MDPI journals: Social Sciences*, 11(1), 13 (2022).

Posterior laws, such as the Estatuto de los Trabajadores via the Real Decreto Legislativo 2/2015, recognise the right of workers not to be discriminated against, directly or indirectly, due to their faith or personal beliefs, either during the selection process or once employed.

Religious freedom can thus be publicly expressed through clothing or other personal items at the workplace. Nevertheless, this can lead to workplace conflicts between the individual and the company, either at the interview phase or once the individual has joined the company as a worker.

This is especially important in the case of discrimination against Muslim women, who despite their various socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds, often face multiple discrimination as women, sometimes as immigrants, and always as Muslims.<sup>23</sup>

The case of Dina is an example of this type of discrimination. Dina is a Catalan woman who in late June 2021 was selected for a job position, only to be informed days later that the board of directors of the company demanded she renounced her Islamic veil, as it affected the “secular nature of the company”. She was forced to renounce the job.



7:26 · 28 Jun. 21 · Twitter for Android

**Figure 4:** Screenshot of the Twitter account describing the facts surrounding a case of workplace discrimination against a veiled Muslim woman, Dina.<sup>24</sup>

23. Amal Bellejo Belkasem, *El velo islámico, un derecho transgredido*, (Tenerife: Universidad de la Laguna, 2018), p.20.

24. The Tweet reads, from top to bottom: “Recently my friend Dina suffered from a clear case of Islamophobia, in this case it happened in the workplace. The level of effrontery when it comes to Muslims is abhorrent. Then they fill their mouths with the word freedom and say that “our men don’t let us work”. The image below is a first person account by Dina on a different social network, where she explains how she passed a selection procedure for an employment position, only to be told once she had passed successfully, that she would have to take off her hijab while working, as the company is “secular” in policy and practice. “Hawa, Twitter, 28 June 2021, <https://twitter.com/hawabcn/status/1409382579208400899> (Access date: 7 April 2022).

Another type of employment discrimination is not respecting the celebration of Muslim religious festivities. This right is likewise enshrined in Spanish law, in Article 12.2. of the “State Cooperation Agreement with the Spanish Islamic Commission” (*Acuerdo de Cooperación del Estado con la Comisión Islámica de España*).<sup>25</sup>

Nevertheless, far-right parties continue to contest these rights. In September 2021, in Ceuta, far-right party Vox voted against including, among the 2022 constitutionally protected festivities, the Eid al Fitr. According to the Vox President in Ceuta, “the Popular Party (PP) has given itself to the “moroccanization” [of Ceuta], together with its far left pro-Moroccan partners. He is shamelessly and remorselessly open to the Islamization of this city”<sup>26</sup>.

## Education

The Spanish education system considers one of its goals to promote the respect of fundamental rights and freedoms, and the equality of rights and opportunities among men and women. Yet, the prohibition of wearing the Islamic veil due to “internal regulations” instils the very opposite idea.<sup>27</sup>

These types of problems have aroused once again during the 2021-2022 school year, affecting teenagers who chose to wear the hijab. This is the case of Farah, a 13-year-old pupil, who studied at the Liceo Caracense in Guadalajara, Madrid.<sup>28</sup>



**Figure 5:** Protest by the municipal office of education on November 4, 2021, against the municipality’s prohibition to wear the hijab at school. Photo: Plataforma Feminista de Guadalajara, ELDiario.es<sup>29</sup>

25. “Ley 26/1992, de 10 de noviembre, por la que se aprueba el Acuerdo de Cooperación del Estado con la Comisión Islámica de España”, Boletín Oficial del Estado, <https://www.boe.es/eli/es/l/1992/11/10/26> (Access Date: 24 May 2022).

26. “Vox monta un nuevo incendio en Ceuta porque el calendario laboral incorpora otra Pascua musulmana”, ELDiario.es, 23 September 2021.

27. Adoración Castro Jover. “El uso del velo islámico en los centros docentes: ciudadanía y libertad religiosa”, *Cuestiones de Pluralismo*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (2021).

28. “Expulsan a una alumna de un instituto de Guadalajara por llevar hiyab”, ELDiario.es, 8 November 2021.

29. “Expulsan a una alumna de un instituto de Guadalajara por llevar hiyab”, ELDiario.es, 8 November 2021.

A similar case concerns Hana, who sued her high school at the beginning of the school year, as the centre did not allow her to come to class wearing her veil, due to internal regulations.<sup>30</sup> The school management told Hana that due to “hygienic reasons” she could not wear anything on her head. Their discourse was justified using the school’s internal regulation which compared the hijab to any other fashion accessory, in violation of Hana’s fundamental rights. Similar instances of discrimination in schools have continued to occur in 2022 in Málaga, Andalucía.<sup>31</sup>

In these cases, past and future, the focus should be on protecting the religious freedom of the students, as their choice is based on a fundamental freedom.

Another contested area in education is the teaching of Islamic religion as an alternative to Catholic religion in school. Most regions in Spain have started to execute the mandate of the law in this regard, which recognises the students’ right to this subject. According to the Spanish legal framework,<sup>32</sup> Islamic religious teaching in schools is taught by teachers designated by local Muslim communities belonging to the *Comisión Islámica de España* (“Spanish Islamic Commission”) with the approval of their respective federation.

These religious teachings have the goals of arousing the interest of children in good actions, teaching them moral values, participating in festivities and events, and familiarising them with Koranic teachings and characters. These teachings, together with their values, emotions, everyday habits, behaviours and attitudes, constitute an important part of the children’s formation process as human beings.<sup>33</sup>

In actuality, however, accessing these courses is a veritable bureaucratic labyrinth with multiple steps and actors involved.<sup>34</sup>

According to data of the *Observatorio Andalusi* (“Andalusi Observatory”), in their 2020 report, the largest Muslim student population is concentrated in Andalucía, Cataluña, Madrid, and Valencia.<sup>35</sup>

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30. “Hana ha denunciado a su instituto por no dejarle asistir a clase con hijab: “Me siento rechazada y humillada””, *Yasss*, 7 October 2021.

31. “Denuncian que un colegio de Málaga “aisla” a una alumna de 14 años por ponerse el hiyab”, *Europapress*, 7 March 2022.

32. “Resolución de 14 de marzo de 2016, de la Dirección General de Evaluación y Cooperación Territorial, por la que se publica el currículo de la enseñanza de Religión Islámica de la Educación Infantil”, *Boletín Oficial del Estado* (Access Date: 24 May 2022).

33. “Resolución de 14 de marzo de 2016, de la Dirección General de Evaluación y Cooperación Territorial, por la que se publica el currículo de la enseñanza de Religión Islámica de la Educación Infantil”, *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, p.20517-20521 (Access Date: 24 May 2022).

34. “El laberinto burocrático para estudiar islam en Madrid”, *El País*, 29 July 2021.

35. “Informe especial 2020. Institución para la observación y el seguimiento de la situación del ciudadano musulmán y la islamofobia en España”, *Observatorio Andalusi*, <https://ucide.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/isj20.pdf> (Accessed 24 May 2022).

## Politics

Throughout 2021, different parties have carried out Islamophobic campaigns directly targeting the Spanish Muslim community. This is the case, for example, with Vox during the regional Catalanian elections in February. Several Catalanian Islamic communities denounced Vox's promotional videos to the public prosecutor, due to blatant Islamophobic content and attacks against their right to freedom of religion and confession. The videos were framed by the party's "Stop Islamisation" campaign, which eventually led to the temporary closure of the party's official Twitter account. Twitter itself closed the account under charges of "hate speech"<sup>36</sup>.

Among the party members sharing these videos and participating in the campaign, were Jorge Buxadé,<sup>37</sup> a rising politician with national ambitions, and Rocío de Meer,<sup>38</sup> a congress woman from Vox who was caught spreading Nazi propaganda videos.



**Figure 6:** Screenshot and Tweet of an anti-Muslim video, shared by Jorge Buxadé, a rising politician with national ambitions.



**Figure 7:** Islamophobic tweet by Rocío de Meer, congresswoman from Vox<sup>39</sup>

Vox's actions in 2021 do not stop there. During the municipal elections in Madrid, the far-right party displayed posters against "MENA" (*Menor Extranjero no Acompañado* or third-country unaccompanied underage national) immigrants in the city's metro system.<sup>40</sup> The posters helped fuel online hate during the Madrid elec-

36. "Las comunidades islámicas de Cataluña denuncian los vídeos de Vox ante la Fiscalía por "islamófobos"", RTVE, 1 February 2021.

37. "Jorge Buxadé: el fulgurante ascenso del número dos de Vox bajo el paraguas de Abascal, ElDiario.es, 29 September 2020.

38. "Rocío de Meer, la diputada de Vox pillada difundiendo vídeos de un canal de propaganda nazi", El Mundo, 13 August 2020.

39. Rocío de Meer, Twitter, 16 February 2021, <https://twitter.com/MeerRocio/status/1361765628978339847> (Access Date: 17 February 2021). The Tweet reads, from top to bottom: "Yes, we want to fight the growing islamization of Catalonia. And the rest of the country's too. Stop Islamization".

40. "La Fiscalía de Madrid recurre el cartel de Vox contra los mena por 'discriminatorio'", El Confidencial, 1 May 2021.

tions. Furthermore, a congresswoman from the same party starred in a video which presented Muslims in Ceuta, a Spanish city on the north coast of Africa, as a threat to “Christian culture”.<sup>41</sup>



**Figure 8:** Vox's poster featuring a face-off between *MENAs* and Spanish grandmothers, during the 2021 Madrid municipal elections<sup>42</sup>

Another far-right party, España 2000, was also involved in judicial problems because of a possible hate crime against Islam, after a protest on December 18, 2020 in Plaza de los Pinazos (Valencia).<sup>43</sup>

Finally, the 2021 Fundamental Rights Agency report highlights that ethnic minorities, including migrants, are suffering ever-growing discrimination in all spheres of life; that stereotypes and discriminatory attitudes persist among the general population; and that these trends have intensified during the COVID-19 pandemic.<sup>44</sup>

## Media

Media reports on Islamic matters are often incorrect, and outlets become loudspeakers for the far-right and the diffusion of fake news and misinformation. We cannot over-emphasise the key influence of such reporting on creating social polarisation and promoting the view of the immigrant and the “other” as a usurper of national resources.

Indeed, during 2021, a number of news stories published by newspapers were outright fake. This is the case of the newspaper *El Español*, which reported misin-

41. “La diputada de Vox protagoniza un vídeo en el que presenta a los musulmanes ceutíes como una amenaza para la “cultura cristiana””, Ceuta actualidad, 11 August 2021.

42. “El cartel con los ‘menas’ de Vox se debate en el Congreso de los Diputados”, RTVE, 21 April 2021. The poster reads, from top to bottom: “A MENA (third-country unaccompanied underage national), [gets] 4700eur a month. Your grandmother, [gets] 460eur monthly pension. VOX, Protect Madrid. Vote Safe”.

43. “La Fiscalía de Valencia pide juzgar al grupo fascista España 2000 por delito de odio”, El Mundo, 15 March 2021.

44. “Fundamental Rights Report 2021”, European Union Fundamental Rights Agency, 10 June 2021, [https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra\\_uploads/fra-2021-fundamental-rights-report-2021\\_en.pdf](https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2021-fundamental-rights-report-2021_en.pdf), (Access Date: 24 May 2022).



formation on how MENAs were receiving payments from different regional governments in Spain.<sup>45</sup>

Another instance of fake news occurred when the newspaper *ABC*, in mid-May, reported that immigrants arriving in Ceuta had stormed four schools and burnt one of them down.<sup>46</sup>

*Mediterráneo Digital* and *La Gaceta de la Iberosfera*, media outlets allied with Vox, starred in an even more glaring case of fake news. They reported on a physical assault against an underage minor in Ceuta, where the assailants were claimed to be immigrants. Police investigations, however, showed that all assailants were Spanish.<sup>47</sup> These news stories were refuted by *Maldita Migración*, “Damned Migration”, a journalism channel that researches fake news about immigration and refugees, using fact-checking tools to establish the veracity of the claims and counter-factually check the facts.<sup>48</sup>

In a related report “Islamophobia in the Media”, the Spanish-Moroccan association Asociación Marroquí argues that “the hate speech found online can manifest in journalistic pieces, in online forum comment sections, on the number of likes on pictures or news, or on commentary provided by the public.”<sup>49</sup>

The same report also highlights “gendered Islamophobia”, the double discrimination faced by Muslim women. This is often related to the immigrant status, the fear towards the working class and/or the poor, and rampant disinformation. Thus, a perfect storm occurs whereby the media outlets feel justified in attacking immigrants in their publications.<sup>50</sup>

In sum, in the last year, certain political parties used several news channels to advance their interests by means of fake news and misinformation. Vulnerable collectives, such as migrants and religious minorities, have been repeatedly accused of invasion, theft, beatings, or sexual assault. In only a single year, in fact, over 300 instances of such lies have been recorded.<sup>51</sup>

45. “La paga mensual de los ‘menas’ que tanto molesta a Vox va de 400 a 700€: el gasto por autonomía”, *El Español*, 20 April 2021.

46. “Rutas de autobús desde el interior de Marruecos hasta la frontera de Ceuta: «Está todo perfectamente organizado»”, *ABC*, 19 August 2021.

47. “Siete inmigrantes ilegales de origen marroquí apuñalan a un menor para robarle el bolso en Ceuta”, *La Gaceta de la Iberosfera*, 26 July 2021.

48. “Más de 300 bulos y desinformaciones sobre migrantes, refugiados y minorías religiosas que te están intentando colar en el Día Internacional del Migrante”, *Maldita Migración*, 18 December 2021.

49. “Islamofobia en los Medios de Comunicación”, Asociación Marroquí, 2020, <https://www.islamofobia.es/app/download/11086560852/AsociacionMarroqui-IslamofobiaEnLosMedios.pdf?t=1641214965>, (Access date: 24 May 2022).

50. “Extranjeras y subvencionadas: el estereotipo que dan los bulos de las mujeres musulmanas con velo”, *Maldita Migración*, 8 March 2022.

51. “Más de 300 bulos y desinformaciones sobre migrantes, refugiados y minorías religiosas que te están intentando colar en el Día Internacional del Migrante”, *Maldita Migración*, 18 December 2021.

## Justice System

In Spain, the existence of a diversity of confessions among the population is a reality, but the recognition of their full rights is still a work in progress, in the social, educational, and workplace environments. To this end, and especially in the third case, there is a need to count on a strong judicial framework that ensures peaceful cohabitation of the labour organizational power and the fundamental rights of the workers.<sup>52</sup>

Some positive developments have, however, taken place at the national level. On April 8, 2021, Seville's *Juzgado de Primera Instancia* (Court of First Instance) confirmed a sentence against the newspaper *ABC*, for violating the right to have one's honour respected. The ruling was in favour of seven members of Seville's mosque, after having been unfairly linked to a jihadist terrorist attack by the newspaper.<sup>53</sup>

At the end of May 2021, the Public Prosecutor Office in Cantabria requested a sentence of nine months of prison and a fine of 2,400 euros against a citizen of Santander, who was found guilty of a hate crime after stalking and insulting a Muslim citizen in Oviedo, a neighbouring region in the north of Spain.<sup>54</sup>

Finally, and most recently, a woman's request that her children would be allowed to take Islamic religious classes in school was heeded by the *Tribunal Superior de Justicia de la Región de Murcia* ("High Court of Justice of Murcia"). This judicial body considers that the local administration did not act correctly according to the spirit of the law, unnecessarily complicating access to said classes.<sup>55</sup>

Moreover, from the 2021 SOS Racismo report on "Institutional Islamophobia and Securitisation", we can gauge that existent counterterrorism provisions are being linked to an increase in Islamophobia, legitimised by a "coercive legislation" and opening the doors to further discrimination against Muslims in Spain.<sup>56</sup> Chiefly among these counterterrorism practices are the surveillance of social and family environments, and the profiling of citizens based on external appearances or the display of behaviours, usually religious, that are understood as signalling a radicalisation process.

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52. Manuela Durán Bernardino. "La frecuente colisión entre el derecho a la libertad religiosa y los intereses empresariales en una sociedad multicultural", *MODULEMA. Revista Científica sobre Diversidad Cultural*, Vol. 1 (2017), p. 143-163.

53. "Condenan a Diario ABC por vulnerar el derecho al honor de siete personas al relacionarlas con el yihadismo", *El Salto Diario*, 9 April 2021.

54. "Piden cárcel para una mujer por insultar a una musulmana residente en Oviedo que paseaba con 'hiyab' por Santander", *El Comercio*, 22 May 2021.

55. "La Justicia urge al Gobierno de Murcia a dar clases de religión islámica: "Los niños musulmanes también tienen derechos"", *ElDiario.es*, 15 February 2022.

56. Salma Amzian, *Islamofobia institucional y securitización* (Madrid: SOS Racismo, 2021).

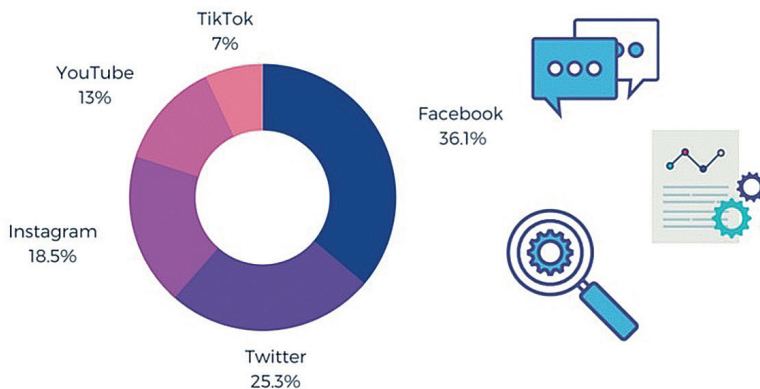
## Internet

Social media has become the perfect vehicle to channel hateful ideology and related political actions, in part thanks to the rise of phenomena such as fake news and the “post-truth”. Many citizens experience real difficulties in distinguishing between plausible information and hoaxes, which, in turn, helps to manipulate them. We refer here to an emotional type of manipulation, which political and media discoursesacerbate with the help of exaggerations, misinformation, and disinformation.<sup>57</sup>

In order to fight this increment in hateful discourses, on March 18, 2021, the *Secretaría de Estado de Migraciones del Ministerio de Inclusión, Seguridad Social y Migraciones* (“Secretary of State for Migration of the Ministry of Inclusion, Social Security and Migration”) presented a new plan to combat hate speech online, the *Protocolo para Combatir el Discurso de Odio Ilegal en Línea* (“Protocol to Combat Illegal Hate Speech Online”). The plan’s highlight is a daily monitoring exercise of the main social media platforms to highlight instances of hate speech.<sup>58</sup>

According to this monitoring, Islamophobia-related hate speech constituted 12.3% of all recorded hate speech in January-February, 11.4% in March-April, 14.7% in May-June, 14.5% in July-August, 9.5% in September-October, and 14.1%, with a rise of de 4.6% respective to previous years, in November-December.

**Figura 1. Porcentaje de notificaciones realizadas a cada plataforma**



**Figure 9:** “Percentage of notifications received for hate speech by each social media platform”, between January-February, 2021. Source: OBERAXE<sup>59</sup>

57. Francisco Javier Cantón Correa y Pablo Galindo Calvo. Posverdad, redes sociales e islamofobia en Europa. Un estudio de caso: el incendio de Notre Dame. *RAEIC, Revista de la Asociación Española de Investigación de la Comunicación*, Vol. 6, No. 12 (2019), p.35- 57.
58. “Protocolo para combatir el discurso de odio en línea”, Spanish Observatory of Racism and Xenophobia (OBERAXE)-Secretary of State for Migration, [https://www.inclusion.gob.es/oberaxe/ficheros/ejes/discursoodio/PROTOCOLO\\_DISCURSO\\_ODIO.pdf](https://www.inclusion.gob.es/oberaxe/ficheros/ejes/discursoodio/PROTOCOLO_DISCURSO_ODIO.pdf) (Access Date: 24 May 2022).
59. “Protocolo para combatir el discurso de odio en línea”, Spanish Observatory of Racism and Xenophobia (OBERAXE)-Secretary of State for Migration, [https://www.inclusion.gob.es/oberaxe/ficheros/ejes/discursoodio/PROTOCOLO\\_DISCURSO\\_ODIO.pdf](https://www.inclusion.gob.es/oberaxe/ficheros/ejes/discursoodio/PROTOCOLO_DISCURSO_ODIO.pdf) (Access Date: 24 May 2022).

Figura 4. Contenidos de discurso de odio según motivo de discriminación

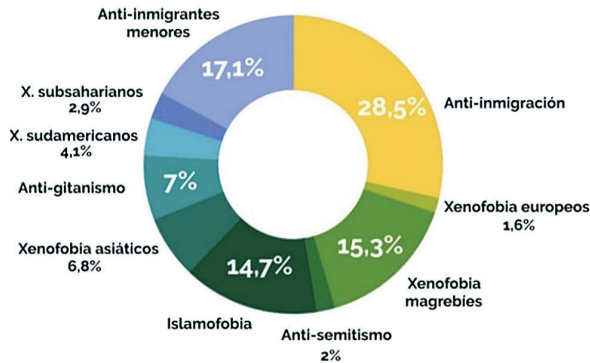


Figure 10: “Hate speech content online disaggregated by type of target”, in May-June 2021. Islamophobia constitutes a 14.7% of all recorded hate speech, but anti-immigration and anti-Moroccan feelings constitute another 28.5% and 15.3% respectively. Source: OBERAXE<sup>60</sup>

The *Toma de Granada*, the conquest of Granada by Christian forces in the 15th century, is one of the recurrent topics for Islamophobic content online. It is particularly relevant among far-right groups and during the namesake festivity.



Figure 11: Screenshot of a tweet by far-right extremist party *España 2000*, commemorating the *Toma de Granada*, the conquest of Granada, by Christian forces in the 15th century. Shared on the 2nd January, anniversary of the conquest<sup>61</sup>.



Figure 12: Screenshot of a tweet by far-right extremist party *La Falange*, also celebrating the conquest of Granada by Christian forces in the 15th century. Shared on the 2nd January, anniversary of the conquest<sup>62</sup>.

60. “Protocolo para combatir el discurso de odio en línea”, Spanish Observatory of Racism and Xenophobia (OBERAXE)-Secretary of State for Migration, [https://www.inclusion.gob.es/oberaxe/ficheros/ejes/discursoodio/PROTOCOLO\\_DISCURSO\\_ODIO.pdf](https://www.inclusion.gob.es/oberaxe/ficheros/ejes/discursoodio/PROTOCOLO_DISCURSO_ODIO.pdf) (Access Date: 24 May 2022)..

61. The Tweet reads, top to bottom: Today is the 530 year anniversary of the Conquest of Granada, which would conclude the *Reconquista* of Spain. But we should stay alert, as Islam is not at all dead or defeated. Today as yesterday, the fight continues”. The accompanying image reads: Even if endogamic leftists want you to forget it... Spain defeated Islam. 2 January, Conquest of Granada. Proud of our History”. *España 2000*, Twitter, 02 January 2022, [https://twitter.com/Espana\\_2000/status/1477644389040242692](https://twitter.com/Espana_2000/status/1477644389040242692) (Access Date: 2 January 2022).

62. The Tweet reads, top to bottom: “Honour to our Catholic Kings on the day of the Conquest of Granada. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1492, the course of our nation’s history changed forever: we defeated Islam and took back Gra-

Instagram has also seen the growth of Islamophobic movements, seen through the rise of hashtags such as #StopIslam, associated with racist and Islamophobic content. This hashtag also served to bring together people interested in demonising Muslims. It proved to be a space hyper-focused on security, politics, and terrorism debates, heightening a sense of insecurity and thus contributing to hate discourses.<sup>63</sup>

## Central Figures in the Islamophobia Network

As mentioned before, there are several media outlets with strong links to far-right political parties and social movements. These outlets promote hate speech against Islam by creating and distributing fake news or misinformation about it. The most prominent such media are, among others, Caso Aislado, Estado de Alarma, Mediterráneo Digital, Libertad Digital, Diario Patriota, Radio Decisión, EsRadio, Alerta Digital, Euskalnews, Periodista Digital, and OKDiario.



**Figure 13:** Screenshot of a tweet by *Decisión Radio*, a far-right sympathising news medium, sharing an Islamophobic journalist Javier García, on the 19<sup>th</sup> October 2020<sup>64</sup>

**Figure 14:** Screenshot of a tweet by *EsRadio*, sharing anti-Muslim statements by journalist Carlos Vidal, who has recently published a book offering a deeply Orientalist reading of the Prophet's life and words<sup>65</sup>.



nada, meaning the end of the Reconquista, and a triumph to Spain and Christianity. Believe again". La Falange, Twitter, 02 January 2022, <https://twitter.com/lafalange/status/1477548136252035081> (Access Date: 2 January 2022).

63. Sabina Civila, Luis M. Romero-Rodríguez y Amparo Civila. "The Demonization of Islam through Social Media: A Case Study of #StopIslam in Instagram". *MDPI journals*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (2020).
64. The Tweet reads, top to bottom: "Editorial by @javiergaciasac: Is Islam compatible with the West? Freedom of expression vs freedom to offend". *Decisión Radio*, Twitter, 19 October 2020, <https://twitter.com/Radiodecision/status/1318118170310397952> (Access Date: 7 April 2022).
65. "A radical Christian prays, but a radical Muslim will take the sword". Javier Somalo interviews César Vidal to find out the secrets of his new book: Muhammad the Guide. César Vidal has a new book. The writer, historian and director of *Es la noche de César*, has faced one of the most controversial characters of our era: Muhammad. After Jesus the Jew and Buddha the Prince, César Vidal completes his trilogy of the great religions with *Muhammad the Guide*, edited by Plaza & Janés. Thus, Javier Somalo has invited him to go through the microphones of Debates in Freedom to discover the many aspects of the life and work of Muhammad as well as his myths and beliefs, mostly unknown in the West". "César Vidal: "Un cristiano radical reza, pero un musulmán coge la espada", *EsRadio*, 8 July 2012.

Among the most representative personalities of the Islamophobic movement in Spain are Javier Esparza, a journalist; Isabel San Sebastián, a journalist; Herman Tertsch, an MEP for Vox; Cristina Seguí, co-founder of Vox party and journalist for *Estado de Alarma*; Javier García Isac, a journalist at Radio Decisión; Yolanda Couceiro, a politician; Javier Negre, a journalist for Estado de Alarma; Noelia de Trastámara, contributor at Periodista Digital, Aquí la Voz de Europa, and El Toro TV; Federico Jiménez Losantos, a journalist at Libertad Digital and EsRadio; and César Vidal, a journalist.<sup>66</sup>



**Figure 15:** Screenshot of a tweet by journalist Alfonso Rojo, complaining against the Catalan immigration policy, shared on the 17<sup>th</sup> August 2017<sup>67</sup>.



**Figure 16:** Screenshot of a tweet by journalist Isabel San Sebastián, who claims there is no Islamophobia and conflates concerns about it with an apology of violent “Islamism”. Shared on the 17<sup>th</sup> August de 2017<sup>68</sup>.

## Observed Civil Society and Political Initiatives to Counter Islamophobia

Since March 2021, the *Fundación Al Fanar* takes part in the MAGIC Project (“Muslim Women and Communities Against Gender Islamophobia in Society”), with the goal of preventing gendered Islamophobia in the media.

Also in March 2021, and as a consequence of the pandemic and the increase in online hate speech, the *Secretaría de Estado de Migraciones del Ministerio de Inclusión, Seguridad Social y Migraciones* (“Secretary of State for Migration of the Ministry of Inclusion, Social Security and Migration”) launched a targeted plan, the *Protocolo para Combatir el Discurso de Odio Ilegal en Línea* (“Protocol to Combat Illegal Hate Speech Online”).

As part of the project SALAM, another organisation, the La Merced Migraciones, works on the promotion of intercultural and interfaith cohabitation, as well as on the prevention of religious-based discrimination.

66. Fernando Bravo López. Islamofobia y antimusulmanismo en España: el caso de César Vidal. *Revista de Estudios Internacionales Mediterráneos*, vol. 8, (2009), p. 1-27.

67. “Perhaps we should be holding accountable the politicians who encouraged the immigration of non-Spanish speakers to Catalonia” (translation). Fernando Rojo, Twitter, 17 August 2017, <https://twitter.com/AlfonsoRojoPD/status/898244837027307520> (Access Date: 9 April 2022)

68. “I see a lot of goody-goody people being more concerned about a non-existent Islamophobia than about murderous Islamism. Not me. It’s a war. Let’s win!” (translation). Isabel San Sebastian, Twitter, 17 August 2017, <https://twitter.com/isanseba/status/898277977175318529> (Access date: 9 April 2022).

Finally, RENADPI 2022 is the national network for awareness, reporting, and prevention of Islamophobia. This network collaborates with different national and regional partners, one of the most relevant being the Asociación Marroquí. Among other services, RENADPI provides legal advice for victims of Islamophobic incidents, so that they might proceed with legal reporting in an environment of safety, trust, and respect.

## Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

First, it is necessary to keep on fighting for the respect and observation of Muslim religious freedom in Spain, as per the signed agreements and legal frameworks already existing in the country.

Furthermore, the diffusion of online fake news poses an important source of polarisation and is an important factor behind the increase in Islamophobic incidents in Spain. National courts are often unable or lack the resources to tackle this issue; thus, there is an urgent need for a supranational institution, which would be able to persecute such hate crimes in all European Union countries.

Spain's biggest challenge in the battle against hate crime is severe underreporting. Only a very small percentage of those affected by discriminatory incidents ends up reporting or denouncing the facts.

In order to deal with the increasingly widespread mistrust of Islam and Muslims, Spanish society also needs workshops, colloquiums, and talks where those affected by discrimination can present their experiences to students, and more broadly, Spanish citizens. Likewise, an equal distribution of Muslim students among the school population is needed to improve overall integration in the country.

## Chronology

- **16.01.2021:** The door of the Antigua Mosque in Fuerteventura (Canary Islands) is stoned.
- **28.01.2021:** Vox launches their “Stop Islamisation” campaign, in view of the regional elections in Catalonia.
- **1.02.2021:** The Public Prosecutor’s Office investigates social media messages that called for violence against migrants in Gran Canaria (Canary Islands).
- **10.02.2021:** The Court of Instruction Number 5, in Ceuta, calls two congressmen from Vox to appear before court, in light of their partaking in Islamophobic and racist message chains.
- **17.02.2021:** A centre for migrant minors is attacked in Torredembarra (Catalonia).

- **21.02.2021:** The door of the San Javier Mosque (Murcia) is graffitied with “Death to Islam” and burnt.
- **15.03.2021:** *España 2000* is brought to court by the Public Prosecutor’s Office for a hate crime, after a demonstration on December 18, 2020 that ran under the slogan “No to Islam”.
- **23.03.2021:** Football player Mario Hermoso retweeted a message calling immigrants “invaders”. He subsequently rectified and deleted it.
- **7.04.2021:** The Public Prosecutor’s Office demanded up to ten years imprisonment for 15 ultras, among them the leader of *Democracia Nacional* en Cataluña, for a crime of harassment against the Muslim community of Nou Barris, Barcelona, and attacks against their mosque.
- **19.04.2021:** A trial date is set for the leader of *Hogar Social Madrid*, after a 2016 attack against the M-30 mosque, in Madrid.
- **21.04.2021:** A man is sentenced to inciting hatred, after distributing messages against Muslims and immigrants through Twitter and Facebook.
- **21.04.2021:** Vox targets 269 migrant minors and polarises the Madrid regional elections’ campaign.
- **4.06.2021:** The Prosecutor’s Office requested a year in prison for a defendant for uttering insults and derogatory phrases towards an Islamic-looking woman who was traveling on the Madrid metro wearing a hijab.
- **5.06.2021:** A former colleague attacks Momoun Koutaibi with an iron bar, in Alhama de Murcia (Murcia) after being fired.
- **13.06.2021:** Younes Bilal is murdered in Mazarrón (Murcia) after being shot three times.
- **22.06.2021:** A man in Cartagena (Murcia), of Moroccan descent, is stabbed twice.
- **28.06.2021:** Vox accuses Muslim representatives in Ceuta’s plenary session of being “pro-Moroccan”.
- **7.07.2021:** Attack on the mosque of Cabezo de Torres (Murcia), which also appears graffitied with the words “Stop invasion” and “No to Islam”, and where a pig’s head with a knife is placed.
- **13.07.2021:** A teacher from Alcalá de Henares (Madrid) was disqualified for six years after accepting the sentence for insulting and beating a person of North African origin.
- **18.07.2021:** Two residents of Castro Urdiales (Cantabria) investigated for uttering racist insults against an Algerian neighbour.
- **31.07.2021:** A woman receives a six-month prison sentence for insulting a veiled Muslim woman walking through Sardinero (Cantabria).
- **6.08.2021:** A Moroccan migrant recounts in court a xenophobic attack suffered last May in Artà (Majorca) by an unknown person.



- **11.08.2021:** A Vox congresswoman stars in a video where she presents Muslims from Ceuta as a threat to “Christian culture”.
- **28.08.2021:** A Frenchman of Algerian origin was attacked by several teenagers shouting “Do you believe in Allah?” in a fast-food shop in Atocha (Madrid).
- **2.09.2021:** The feminist mural of Santurtzi (Basque Country) is vandalised with Islamophobic and Nazi graffiti.
- **27.09.2021:** A 14-year-old girl is prohibited from entering her high-school class at the IES Moratalaz (Madrid) for wearing a hijab.
- **8.11.2021:** The Prosecutor’s Office denounces the leader of Bastion Frontal for “urging” violence against Moroccans and Muslims during a rally held in front of the Moroccan embassy.
- **8.11.2021:** A 13-year-old girl was expelled from her high school in Madrid for wearing a hijab.
- **21.11.2021:** On May 18, two individuals, in broad daylight, shot a Moroccan minor who was walking with fellow compatriots on the street in Ceuta. One perpetrator shot a gun while the other recorded the video with his phone, and they later disseminated it online. After the visualization of this filmed evidence by police forces, the investigation conclude the identity of the presumed perpetrator on the 21st of November.
- **20.12.2021:** A National Police agent was sentenced to two years in prison for torturing and humiliating a detainee in the cells of the police station: “Moors are only given water”.

