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Europe's Backfiring Weapon: Exclusion and Discrimination

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Contents:

Abstract

With the end of the Cold War, the radical and extremist tendencies have increased in Europe. These nationalistic approaches which have impacts on both social and political levels have escalated in the post-9/11 era. Thus, Europe became the scene of exclusionary and discriminatory practices during the 2000s. Those practices which emerged in the form of xenophobia, islamophobia and anti-immigrationism at the social level have also played a crucial role in political choices. In this regard, far right parties have somewhat joined ruling coalitions in their countries and the political agenda of the center-right parties has begun to slide to extremism and racism. In this atmosphere, the definition of the "other" which is shaped with a viewpoint based on fear and hatred is affected by economic crises and it damages multicultural perspectives.

This discriminatory and exclusionary structure mentioned above has also become a threat for the existing order by going beyond the act of targeting immigrants, foreigners and Muslims. As it has been seen in the recent attack in Norway, the otherization has become a gun which is used against the ideal Western society. In this way, it has become a possibility that every individual might be proclaimed as an outsider because of any element within the system of values with which he/she describes himself/herself. This constitutes a problem for democratic regimes.

In Chapter I, firstly nationalistic trends in Europe will be examined with the aim of determining the essential parameters of exclusion and discrimination. Then, islamophobia and its extensiveness in Europe will be dealt with; and racism and discrimination whose social and political basis expands in Europe will be studied. The second part is devoted to discussions occurring around the definitions of "other", which are shaped in the environment described in Chapter I. In this context, the impact of economic crises in defining "other", the failure of multiculturalism as a social model and the rise of the far right in the political scene will be analyzed.

Key Words: Discrimination, Exclusion, Introversion, Racism, Xenophobia, Islamophobia, Multiculturalism, Far Right

Introduction

Norway witnessed one of the biggest massacres of its history in July 2011. It was understood that behind the massacre there were the problems of exclusion and discrimination affecting the whole Europe. Anders Behring Brevik, who seems to consider his opinions and way of life as "example", concluded death penalty for those who did not have the same opinions with him and acted in this way. As a result, more than 90 individuals were murdered. With this massacre, it was seen clearly how dreadful results the definition of "other" fed by hatred and enmity can bring about.

Although the concept of "other" is defined by looking at different ethnic, religious etc. groups, it naturally brings about exclusionary and discriminatory practices stemming from hatred. "Other" is created as a product of situations and conditions lived through. But when it is looked at its roots, a common mental structure is discovered in each definition of "other". In other words, the "other" which is formulated as a result of dynamic processes is created actually as a product of a way of thinking which is fixed and is not open to change. In this point, it is claimed that the hostile practices which are going through a process of shaping individual and collective mind might destroy comprehensive elements such universalism, openness and human values. In the cases the "other" exists and is accepted as expression of hatred, it seems impossible to internalize the idea of living together with the other.

In the point Europe has reached today, there seems to be problems in the culture of living together with the "other", caused by the effect of the globalization process and intensive migration. Facing the "other" in the type of society, in which good European people want to live and which is defined from a narrow perspective, points to a problem. The transition from a homogenous life to a heterogeneous order faces political and social

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obstacles. In the European-like societies, which centralizes itself and adopts a hierarchical approach, it is expected from the "other" to keep up with the established order, whose rules were determined previously. Otherwise, the "other" might become a threat posing insecurity. In this context, the demands of the "other" such as expressing itself and choosing its own way of life are met according to how this connection between freedom and security is defined.

If freedom and security are considered as parallel processes, it is assumed that security increases with the expansion of freedoms.[1] In this case, the possibility of the "other's" becoming an "issue of security" decreases and it is even considered as an element contributing security. In the cases in which security is preferred to freedom, freedoms are sacrificed for the sake of security. With the effect of the September 11 attacks, Europe has entered a period in which fears have been institutionalized and freedoms are sacrificed for the sake of security. The practices of this attitude are conducted as actions against the "others" such as immigrants and Muslims. In other words, the existence of the "others" in Europe has become the source of legitimacy for restricting freedoms. This process has been supported by the people in Europe; so, the political parties making on this ground have begun to gain the support of people.

In this study, it is aimed to explain the definition of "fear" in Europe and to dwell on the debates of "other" in Europe. This will be done through explaining the exclusionary and discriminatory tendencies in Europe with an emphasis on concrete policies and practices. For this purpose, in the first part, the elements reflecting the fears of Europe will be analyzed by concentrating on growing tendency of introversion, islamophobia, racism and xenophobia. In the second part, the effect of the 2008 global financial crisis on the definition of "other" in Europe will be analyzed, the opinions that multiculturalism has been collapsed will be mentioned and the increase in the support for the far right will be studied.

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I. Transformation of Fears in Europe

It can be said that the emergence of national worries in Europe are related to the end of the Cold War. Facing a new and unknown international system and the necessity of economic and political change imposed by the system made the protective reflexes in Europe more apparent and forced Europe to adapt to the new age quickly. Since this difficulty was not overcome in the societal level, the tendencies of nationalism, racism and xenophobia increased. Therefore, the responses to the progression of the integration process, cosmopolitanism and wealth-sharing, in other words to the redefinition of Europe by the Europeans, began to be expressed through concentrating on fears. In Europe, the policies which faced difficulty in overcoming the problems of political and social integration policies reflecting the national perspective became more prominent especially after 2000. It can be said that the refraction caused by the September 11 attacks deepened this tendency of introversion and almost made it an acute disease. It can also be said that new threats and fears were added by the September 11 events to this problematic structure.

Islamophobia as well racism and xenophobia which spread throughout the world in the aftermath of the September 11 events affected deeply Europe which became more introverted. In this point, it was entered to a new period in which the fears of Europe were defined over Muslims, foreigners and especially immigrants. In other words, the tendencies of introversion began to be formulated with the attitude held towards Islam and with the way of treatment applied to foreigners.

A. Return to Nationalism: Tendencies of Introversion

When the recent history is studied, it is seen that far rightist movements began to gain ground in Europe from the 1990s. This new situation emerged

with the disappearance of the Cold War conditions and coincided with the emergence of the pains of integration in Europe. It was closely related to social transformation and policies of integration. The fear of losing the status and the worry on the possible deterioration of economic life, which were widespread among European citizens, were decisive factors in the rise of the far right. With the social chaos caused by the European integration; identity problems, social isolation and worries on wealth-sharing hindered interaction with different cultural groups. Thus, the responses of European citizens, who were affected by the integration largely in economic terms, to the enlargement of the European Union paved the way for the rise of the far right.

The Maastricht Treaty which was accepted at the beginning of the 1990s and the Amsterdam Treaty in 1999 were important landmarks in the integration process in Europe. Meanwhile, negative attitudes held toward immigrants and foreigners had continued to exist among the citizens of the Union. In this context, it can be said that treating the integration process only from the economic interest perspective without considering its effect on cultural identities deepened differences and fears. Denmark had caused a political shock in Europe by not accepting in the referendum of 1992 the Maastricht Treaty, which transformed the European integration into a "union". It is observed that the nationalistic worries of Denmark at that time are shared today by the other countries. The Copenhagen administration ratified the treaty in the second voting in 1993 with the four reservations. It still prefers today to act differently from the EU in the fields of immigration, security and common currency and continues to have nationalistic tendencies. The far rightist parties managed to benefit from the exclusionary tendencies fed by the nationalistic prejudices and strengthened their voting bases as well as their racist and discriminative rhetoric by claiming that the integration projects weakened the structure of nation-state. Such far rightist leaders as Jörg Haider and Jean-Marie Le Pen used the apparent domination of immigrants in cheap labor market as the basis of their anti-immigration policies. The National Front led by J. M. Le Pen proposed sending immigrants back to their countries, ending multiculturalism in the education system and indoctrinating students with the consciousness of national culture by issuing a manifesto in 1993. Austrian racist leader J. Haider declared that he would submit a decree to the City Council to prevent the Muslims from building mosques and minarets in the city of Carinthia where he was the mayor. He also stated that he would launch initiatives to prohibit building mosques and minarets in the other regions of Austria as well.[2] In the opinion of both

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far rightist leaders, the immigrants coming from the Third World countries threatened the security and economic wealth of EU citizens and harmed the balance of Europe by causing increase in crime rates. However, this rhetoric did not reflect the realities regarding the position of immigrants who contributed the wealth and prosperity of Europe. It was only used as a pretext for cultural exclusion.

In connection with the changes brought about by globalization in political, social and economic structures, the increase in unemployment and worries about the future have created an atmosphere of social insecurity in Europe. EU citizens want to benefit the products of globalization in economy in return for social globalization. But they hold an egoist attitude in sharing the cake with the immigrants. It is possible to say that these worries which develop in parallel with the activism of immigrants in the labor market nourish the tendencies of exclusion and discrimination. The public surveys conducted in the last ten years demonstrate that the fear of future and unemployment is considerably high in those who have exclusionary and discriminatory tendencies. They believe that the integration process of the EU harms national identity. In line with this development, far rightist groups try to impose the cost of the integration process on refugees, immigrants and asylum-seekers and thus create the basis for discrimination and exclusion.

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The Schengen Treaty dated as 1995 which aims to the removal of customs and police control in the borders can be given as an example of this political and social basis. The citizens of the Union, who had been pleased with the practical removal of the national borders and the freedom of movement at the beginning, began to face immigrants more frequently and to have various worries in relation with them. In this point, the European democracies, which were proud of building a multicultural structure, approached immigrants and refugees as potential threats and associated them with terrorism.

The rapid increase in the exclusionary and discriminatory practices in different countries, which was caused by the rise of far rightist movements in Europe in the post-September 11 period, threatens basic rights and freedoms. It had previously been expected that the accession of the new ten countries in the EU in 2004 would strengthen multiculturalism and interaction between the nations, but it was paradoxically observed that nationalist reflexes were became more prominent. This created the need to launch a large-scale struggle against exclusion and discrimination through comprehensive programs. It was emphasized in the report of *Human Rights*

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Watch titled as "Stuck in a Revolving Door" that unacceptable restrictions were brought on human rights of migrants and refugees in Europe because of the terrorism threat and that many examples of bad treatment appeared as a result of this development.[3] In the post-September 11 period, the citizens of the Third World countries and especially Muslims were subjected once more to though security measures after the terrorist attacks in Madrid in 2004 and in London in 2005.

In the EU, the rightist populism began to shift toward the centre from the 2000s and was shared by large masses. With the reinforcement of anti-Islamism, the crimes of hatred against the Muslim migrants having Asian and African origins began to escalate. The votes of the National Front in France increased and the Young Democrats Party in Hungary, which came to power with a two third majority, made important changes in the constitution to protect national culture. The Northern League of Italy and the Freedom Party of Austria tried to benefit from the existing atmosphere by hardening further their political attitudes toward the European integration process and migrants. It is expected that the racist Freedom Party of Austria will be the largest party in the 2012 elections by defeating its rivals.

The public opinion polls which have been conducted recently in Germany show that the far rightist movements who hold hostile attitudes toward foreigners are rising rapidly. According to one of these researches, the number of Nazis, which was 2200 in 2000, reached 5600 in 2010. This gives an idea on the increasing strength of the racist approach. The rightist Platforma Party in Spain, which is known with its anti-immigration character, increased its votes considerably in the latest elections. It will be no surprise if Spain has a far rightist government after the next elections. Moreover, the Northern European countries, which are seen as the symbol of social wealth and peace, are rapidly shifting to the rightist tendencies. It is worrying as well as surprising. The fact that the far rightist parties gained about 20% of the total votes in the general elections in the last five years played a key role in shaping the European political life and caused anxieties in migrant groups. In the Netherlands, the coalition government could be formed with the outside support of the Freedom Party of Geert Wilders known with anti-Islam and anti-Muslim racist approach. In Norway, Denmark and Sweden, the far rightist parties were able to have seats in the parliaments by increasing their votes. The common characteristics of the Development Party in Norway, the People's Party in Denmark and the Swedish Democrats in Sweden is having far rightist ideas and hostility to foreigners.[4]

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The worries felt on the increase in the votes of far rightists bring about new debates. Various political groups claim that the immigrants and refugees who are the weakest and most disadvantageous section of the society resist cultural integration. These groups actually concentrate on immigrants to cover up the failure of EU policies. The racist attack in Norway turned the eyes of the European public opinion again to far rightist movements. The attack conducted by A. B. Breivik was registered as the biggest massacre witnessed in Norway after the Second World War. Norway had in fact been warned by the Council of Europe since 1998 on the increase of racist and anti-Islamist actions in parallel with the rising power of far rightist movements in the country. The organ of the Council in fighting against racism and xenophobia, ECRI, mentioned in its 2009 report the far rightist movements in Norway in details and called the authorities to take necessary measures immediately. It was pointed out in the report that islamophobia was becoming more common in the country. The report also proposed legislative changes in fighting against racism and discrimination. The trial of far rightist groups which propagated through internet sites was demanded on the ground that they disseminated racist opinions and provoked the racist hatred. But no steps were taken until the massacre. The Council of Europe called Norway to ratify Additional Protocol 12 of the European Convention of Human Rights to fight against racism and racist discrimination. But Norway has not ratified this protocol though it signed it in 2003.

It can be said that the nationalistic tendencies which emerged in Europe in the post-Cold War period increased discriminatory and exclusionary practices. With the additional effect of the September 11 attacks, one of the sources of fears in Europe became Islam. The number of people who thought that Islam did not have place in the culture of coexistence increased. Thus, the increasing visibility of Islam and Muslims in the European continent became additional elements creating fear.

B. The September 11 Syndrome: Islamophobia

The concept of islamophobia, which has continued to be a serious problem in the European societies, means generally "fear of Islam" and constitutes the basis of exclusionary and discriminatory practices against Muslims. Islamophobia continues to be an important phenomenon while the prejudices stemmed from misunderstanding Islam and Muslims are manipulated by some centers of power. According to many experts, the fear of Islam, which had already deep roots in Europe, was externalized in real

sense for the first time in the post-September 11 period. The terrorist attacks in Madrid, London, Bali and Istanbul accelerated the process in which the "fear of Islam" turned increasingly to "anti-Islamism" and Islam began to be mentioned with terrorism and violence in the European continent.

The report published by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) include detailed information on elements of discrimination and islamophobia regarding Muslims in the EU countries.[5] It is emphasized in the report that European Muslims are subjected to discrimination in jobs, education and sheltering regardless of their ethnic identities or/and religious beliefs. It is suggested that the hostility toward the Muslims should be dealt with more comprehensively in the context of immigrants, minorities, xenophobia and racism. In the report, it is also stated that Muslims are subjected to various actions of islamophobia from verbal threats to physical attacks and this caused the feelings of desperation and social exclusion in Muslims. The statistics in the EUMC report demonstrate that the success rates of European Muslims in education are under the average and their rate of unemployment is above the average. The same report underlines that the racist and discriminatory attitudes toward the Muslims constitute serious threats for integration and social communication.

The Muslim immigrants including the Turks who rushed to the European countries beginning from the 1960s undertook important roles in the wealth and development of Europe. As a result of massive migration whose 50th anniversary was commemorated recently, the economic and social structure of Europe began to change and the number of Europeans converting to Islam increased considerably. Today, with their number reaching 23 million, the Muslims constitute 4.5% of the European population. After the September 11 attacks, migration to the West was interrupted sharply and the migration policy of Europe began to be shaped in the basis of security. It is clear that the EU's practices of asylum and migration in the last ten years have excessive security perception and contradict with the human rights law. The "right of asylum", which is considered as one of basic human rights, is guaranteed by international conventions. But a new process in which Europe closes its doors to asylum-seekers is emerging. Thus, strict migration policies have begun to be implemented as a result of the worries on possible increase in the number of refugees coming to the European continent. The studies show that the rate of Muslims within the European population will reach 20% in 2050.

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The results of a public opinion poll conducted in Belgium in 2009 demonstrated that islamophobic tendencies constituted a serious risk in the Flemish region. The experts felt the need to study the reasons for this tendency. Similar public opinion polls in Britain showed that more than half of people demanded the prohibition of such dresses as chador and burqa. Although Britain seems more liberal than the continental countries in terms of protecting basic rights, researches point to the negative change in the British society.

Anti-Islamism which is exhibited by far rightist politicians to get votes of people in elections is not limited to these countries. In France, the fear of Islam is fueled through such symbols as veil and head scarf. The Nicolas Sarkozy government, which wanted to steal the votes of the National Front, proposed prohibiting the veil covering the whole face in public places and it was accepted by the Council of State. According to this prohibition, women who wear veils in the streets will be punished with a fine of 150 euros and attending the courses of citizenship.[8] In relation to this prohibition, 200 women were taken to the court in six months. Three women who took their children to school were taken to police headquarters with the complaint of school officials. These examples demonstrate that the social structure has been damaged.

Encouraged by the example of France, anti-Islamist politicians in other countries initiated efforts to introduce similar prohibitions in their countries. In Italy, such movements as the racist Northern League, which use anti-Islamism as a political tool, managed to bring a draft law requiring the prohibition of veil and burqa to the Parliament. In addition, the spokesman of the Italian parliament, Gianfranco Fini, called Muslims to conduct their prayers in Italian for the sake of integration and defended that worshiping in Italian would prevent hatred and violence. It is believed that such proposals have an aim of humiliating Islam and they fuel the hatred of Muslims against far rightist movements.

In Germany, which is one of the European countries having dense Muslim population, the member of the administrative board of the German Central Bank, Thilo Sarrazin, attracted criticism by saying that "Muslims destroyed and downgraded Germany". Although he is a social democrat, his views attracted the support of the far rightist parties. Sarrazin, who developed a rude and racist rhetoric, used highly cynical words against Muslims while he claimed that the migrants were not clever enough since they

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belonged to different races. According to him, the fact that birth rate among migrants is higher than the birth rate among the Germans constituted a great threat for the future of the country. The results of the opinion poll conducted immediately after these racist statements demonstrated that anti-Islamism became an effective tool in gaining the votes of people. 18% of the individuals who participated in the opinion poll stated that they wanted to see Sarrazin as the prime minister of the country in the future.[9]

In the Netherlands, where islamophobia has escalated seriously, Geeert Wilders, the leader of the Freedom Party, continues to attract criticism with his anti-Islamist statements and declarations. He puts forward such radical proposals as taxing women wearing headscarf and prohibiting Quran. Acting on islamophobia, Wilders actually aims to gain the votes of especially youngsters by holding Muslims responsible for all actions of violence in the country. Therefore, he never gives up his populist rhetoric targeting Islam and Muslims. In Spain where a more moderate approach was adopted toward Muslims, a series of events symbolizing anti-Islamism appeared with the effect of the September 11 attacks and the bombings in Madrid. It is seen that especially local politicians have a tougher attitude in this issue. In the island of Mallorca in the east of Spain, the municipality of SaPobla having the population of 12.700 has prohibited wearing chador and veil in the public places. Thus, the number of the municipalities enacting this prohibition in Spain has reached 13. While the decision taken by the City Council of Sa Pobla, in which the rightist People's Party has the majority, prohibits wearing chador and veil in the public places, it has been declared that the women whose identity cannot be known because of the dresses they wear will be fined 50 to 200 euro. It is also stated that the punishment can be increased to as much as 3 thousand euro if they resist security forces. The mayor said the following while defending the prohibition: *"We do not aim religious discrimination and we do not want to initiate a cultural debate. This is a measure related to security. We want to encourage integration, living together and respecting rights of women."* These are the sign of that the similar security syndrome in other European countries have been transformed here to racist and discriminative policies against Muslims.[10] This practice was followed by examples in other local governments. Thus, the approaches having anti-Islamist tendencies have begun to reach critical levels. Fatima Mohamed, who had worked in the city council of a district of Seville by wearing headscarf, was forced by the People's Party to give up her headscarf and was not made candidate in the next elections since she refused it.

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In Switzerland, anti-Islamism became a material of election campaigns with the use of anti-Islamic posters. The symbols offending Muslims were used in billboards in the propaganda campaign conducted for the referendum on allowing the minarets in Swiss streets. In these campaigns led by the Freedom Party, minarets were turned to a tool of propaganda to fuel anti-Islamism and to increase far rightist votes. The results of the referendum in Switzerland caused reflection in a short time in Austria and the Freedom Party in this country used the results as a tool in internal politics.

A social phobia which turns anti-Islamism to a paranoia exists behind the diseased state of mind of Breivik, the Norwegian killer. Breivik's effort of legitimizing his massacre by expressing that he was fighting against Islam points to the dramatic results of islamophobia which rose in Europe in the post-September 11 period. In the opinion of French Professor Vincent Geisser, politicians and intellectual played an important role in the last ten years in seeing the anti-Islamic rhetoric as normal.[11] Geisser defends that the roots of the individual attack in Norway should be searched in the anti-Islamic rhetoric rising in Europe after the September 11 attacks. He also states that similar attacks can be seen in other European countries. By saying that the news and comments seen in the Western media immediately after the Norwegian attacks reflect prejudices toward Muslims, Geisser underlines the existing practice of double standard and otherization.

Spokesmen of the international society put forward various proposals in fighting against islamophobia. Jorge Sampaio, the High Representative for the Alliance of Civilization, propose further cooperation between the Council of Europe and the Alliance, spreading intercultural education and strengthening interreligious communication to fight against islamophobia.[12] When it is taken generally, it can be talked of preventive and controlling role of various mechanisms in blocking the transformation of islamophobic perceptions to racist and anti-foreigner attitudes by getting strength. The European Convention of Human Rights ratified by the Council of Europe and the European Court of Human Rights, which is the judicial organ of the Convention, are main mechanisms. They have a great role in preventing human rights violations stemming from racist violence and xenophobia. In addition, the country reports prepared regularly by the Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe and the monitoring activities conducted by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) have a deterring effect. The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe mention frequently the practices of ethnic and religious discrimination

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which Muslim immigrants face in Europe and criticize the efforts of prohibiting religious symbols in Switzerland and France. Nevertheless, the expectation is that those mechanisms will be more functional and an organized struggle will be conducted against islamophobia.

In addition to the fear of Islam, it is stated that the effect of racism and xenophobia increases as the source of fears in Europe. In this sense, it is seen that the differences of ethnicity, religion, race etc. are denied totally. In such an atmosphere, some of exclusionary and discriminatory attitudes come up within the context of the struggle against racism and xenophobia.

C. Never Ending Struggle: Racism and Xenophobia

It is important to identify correctly the factors behind the emergence and rise of racism and xenophobia, which has become almost an epidemic disease in Europe in the last ten years. There are various social factors which affect behaviors and attitudes amounting to xenophobia and racism. Far rightist movements which constitute the institutional aspect of racism and xenophobia try to implement exclusionary policies aiming the isolation rather than integration of the migrants. This appears as an important problem on its own. While Europe faces economic crises frequently, a considerable part of the European community, which is worried about the growth of unemployment problem, considers the existence of foreigners as an element deepening economic and financial problems. They use it as the pretext of socio-economic exclusion.

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According to one research conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) with 23500 individuals from the EU countries; racism, discrimination and islamophobia against the migrants in these countries reached terrifying levels. More than 80% of people whose opinions were asked in the research said that they did not inform the authorities on the discrimination they faced since they thought that they would not achieve any results. The Director of FRA, Morten Kjaerum, stated that he was surprised by the extent of the discrimination identified in the report though he had been working in the field of human rights for 25 years.[13]

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The statements of ECRI which express its worries on the racist tendencies in the European countries underline irresponsible attitudes of politicians in the issue of xenophobia. According to the ECRI report published in June 2011, racial discrimination and xenophobia are observed extensively in Europe in various fields including politics and economy.[14]

A series of country report published by the ECRI in 2010 underline worrying situations related to racism and xenophobia in Europe. In its monitoring report on Poland, the Commission states that the Roman people in Poland are defenseless since this country does not have a comprehensive anti-discriminatory law to prevent racism. The monitoring report on France criticizes the tough and unacceptable attitude of the police toward minorities and states that the statements which include prejudices and discrimination toward the Muslims are worrisome. In addition, the ECRI warns that sharp ethnic discrimination and racism against the Roman people in Macedonia continue.[15]

The ECRI, which issued its monitoring report on racism and xenophobia in Southern Cyprus, stated that ethnic discrimination in this country reached the worrying level. It is emphasized in the report that racism in Southern Cyprus target Turkish Cypriots and Roman people in addition to migrants, asylum-seekers and refuges living in the southern part of the island. In the report, it is stated that racism has begun to be voiced in the public sphere more openly in comparison with the past, the far rightist parties are in the rise and the media reflects racist rhetoric of these parties. The report points to the fact that representatives of the far rightist party titled as ELAM disseminated the following rhetoric in the public opinion through the media: "We do not want the Greek race to mix with other races any more". This is presented by the report as the sign of racism. The report calls the Greek Cypriot government to prevent the use of internet to spread racism and xenophobia. Finally, in the ECRI report, the difficulties faced in the schools by the children of Turkish Cypriots living in the southern part of the island are mentioned and the negative results of racism and ethnic discrimination in education are underlined.[16]

There are examples of countries where racist parties harm social integration by provoking prejudices against migrant minorities. Austrian Minister of Internal Affairs Maria Fekter proposed cutting family allowance for immigrants who could not find jobs. The Secretary-General of the Party of Union for Austria's Future supported taking though measures against foreigners by proposing to deport foreigners who did not work. The rightist populism began to escalate in the Netherlands and Belgium as a result of the wave of nationalism. Xenophobia in Belgium is in the rise not only as limited to Muslim migrants. The far right represented by the Vlaams bloc defends the division of the country by fueling ethnic differences between the Flemish and other ethnic groups. Gaert Wilder, who is the symbol of

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European societies do not see xenophobia, which is one of the important tools used in elections and political competition, as a type of cancer. They actually want to transform it to a factor feared by the masses.

racist hatred in the Netherlands, continues to increase his votes by playing on xenophobia. While far rightist tendencies were represented previously in France only by the National Front of Le Pen, President Nicolas Sarkozy has joined the competition in voicing far rightist opinions in the recent period. Sarkozy uses an exclusionary language of hatred for the Romans who have been living in the country for years. He initiated the practice of forced deportation of Romans to their origin countries. France, which is the first country where the policy of mass deportation was implemented after a long time, is also the EU member which has problems with the Muslims at the highest level.[17] The migration laws enacted in France and Germany are concentrated on preventing family reunions and include racist elements. This is in fact a blow for socio-cultural integration. Applying discriminative sanctions to those coming to the country through family reunions is not a new thing. Those who will be allowed to live in Germany have to know German. In the French practice, they have to know French and have to be subjected to DNA test. It is seen that such racist and exclusionary practices against migrants harm the feeling of mutual trust in the society. Such approaches affect negatively the visibility of the social benefit expected from policies of socio-economic integration.

Since political, economic and cultural problems causing racism and xenophobia have multi-part character changing from country to country, it does not become possible to formulate an integrated strategy of struggle. Another problem in the fight against racism and xenophobia is the disunity of policies which cannot be integrated in the EU level. The chance of success of the institutional mechanisms which work in disarray is almost zero within a cumbersome bureaucratic structure. Therefore, it does not become possible to make the legal arrangements within the Union legally binding in the fight against racism and to complete the institutional structure.

Leading politicians of Europe tried to understand the problems rising in the last ten years, in which political integration experienced a sharp refraction, by hiding behind the rhetoric of islamophobia and xenophobia. However, approaching to the issues with such a search of solution prevents facing the reality and hinders the effective fight against racism and xenophobia. Given the existing political atmosphere, many leaders do not hesitate to use racism and xenophobia for their political interests and to resort to populism. European societies do not see xenophobia, which is one of the important tools used in elections and political competition, as a type of cancer. They actually want to transform it to a factor feared by the masses. All these serve the rise of the far right and racism. Therefore, politicians

who try to obtain political gains by interpreting current political events with a focus on foreigners restrict greatly the will needed for the fight against racism. Different political perceptions and state practices have a role disabling the fight against racism. In addition, the exclusionary rhetoric of nationalist-rightist parties blocks the political process aiming to develop social integration. Therefore, European leaders should consider racism and xenophobia as main structural problems threatening multiculturalism. It is also important to study the relationship of such intermixed problems as migration, unemployment and security concerns with racism and xenophobia. The approaches which will strengthen fears in the society should be avoided.

The discriminatory and exclusionary aspect of racism and xenophobia, which is a political issue, is important. But individual and social factors paving the way for social confrontation should also be taken into consideration. So, policies and economic measures implemented to fight against racism and xenophobia and legal arrangements enacted for the same purpose should have a character annihilating social insecurity. In order to expand the influence area of legal arrangements, pro-active action plans should be implemented and these kinds of projects should be supported by non-governmental organizations. While the effects of the 2008 economic crisis deepen increasingly, it seems difficult for the EU to realize its goals regarding economic integration. The fear of future is reflected in the streets in the European countries which are under the heavy burden of debts. Those who suffer the worst from this insecure environment are immigrants. While Greece has reached almost the point of bankruptcy, the financial problems experienced by the two important members of the EU, Spain and Italy, create a panic atmosphere among the EU members. Political tensions will inevitably escalate in deteriorating economic conditions. In such an atmosphere, foreigners will become scapegoats in the social level. Therefore, a political will which will emerge in fighting against racism and xenophobia should care about the balances of economic and social life and should work to eliminate negative conditions.

Defining the "other" through the fears which are based on tendencies of introversion, the fear of Islam, racism and xenophobia point to a problematic structure. It is known today that there are economic, political and socio-cultural backgrounds of the problem. Therefore, the environment shaped by economic conditions and wealth-sharing, far rightist policies and the obstacles to social practices manifest the parameters of the relationship of the EU with the "other".

While the effects of the 2008 economic crisis deepen increasingly, it seems difficult for the EU to realize its goals regarding economic integration. The fear of future is reflected in the streets in the European countries which are under the heavy burden of debts. Those who suffer the worst from this insecure environment are immigrants.

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II. Debates of "Other" in Europe

It is not possible to consider the debates of "other" in Europe independently from migrants, black people, Muslims etc. because those elements point to Europe's current "other".

It is not possible to consider the debates of "other" in Europe independently from migrants, black people, Muslims etc. because those elements point to Europe's current "other". It is lived through a period in which accepting its own social order and its way of life as ideal and imposing them on the others are considered as legitimate in Europe. It is acted as if nobody objects the diversity, but seeing those who are different in the streets, schools or other public areas is not welcomed. Moreover, a process of discrimination and exclusion is functioning by going as far as holding those, who are different, responsible for the existing economic, political, social and cultural problems. When security policies or measures of unemployment fall short of solving problems, anger is felt toward the "other" and those, who are different, are perceived as threats. In this part, in order to make evaluations on Europe and the others in Europe, the effect of the 2008 crisis in spreading hatred and its relationship with the process of dissolution in the European welfare states will be analyzed. After the role of the global financial crisis in incorporating radical tendencies to the social and political life is mentioned, it will be concentrated on the debates on the bankruptcy of multiculturalism. In fact, the concept of multiculturalism represents an important phase in defining the living space of the other. Finally, the far rightist parties which try to legitimize discrimination and exclusion applied to the "other" in Europe and which widens its basis further at each passing day will be analyzed and its areas of influences in Europe will be pointed out.

A. The Economic Reason: the 2008 Crisis and its Effects

The global financial crisis in 2008 spread to the whole world with the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers. One of the regions which were affected

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from the global crisis at the highest level was Europe which experienced economic problems. In 2010, the concrete results of the crisis began to be felt in Europe and it became apparent what extent the debt burden of Europe would create insecurity. While the Central and Eastern European countries received support from international institutions to overcome the crisis, the austerity measures such as reducing public expenditures and increasing taxes were put into practice in such countries as Britain and Germany.

The first crisis erupted in Greece among the European countries which had high rates of debts in the global financial crisis and which received loans from each other. Greece was followed by Ireland and Portugal. These countries applied to the EU and demanded aid to overcome the crisis. However, Germany objected at the beginning to the aid given with the cooperation of the EU and IMF. Although the reasons for the crises were different in different countries, some member states including Germany did not prefer the use of their tax revenues for this purpose.[18] The doubts expressed by Germany on the future of euro and its hesitancy on aid packages created a short-term insecurity, but financial aid packages were ratified at the end.

Facing such crises pointed to the necessity of cooperating in the economic and financial fields at higher levels. The crises caused by debts in Italy, Spain, Belgium and Southern Cyprus proved that a stable economic and financial structure was needed. Therefore, the aids wanted to be institutionalized by creating the European Financial Stability Mechanism, the Balance of Payments Facility, the Pooled Loans, the European Stability Mechanism, the European Financial Stability Facility, the Competitiveness Pact and the Euro Plus Pact.

The most important problems of Europe are budget deficit and unemployment. Financing budget deficits with cuts in such fields as education, health and social security create social unrest. The European perception that migrants benefit from the sources of the welfare state at the highest level has become one of the reasons for discrimination and exclusion. Therefore, foreigners have been held responsible for the deterioration of social security conditions. The issue of unemployment is one of the areas in which the otherization is at the highest level in Europe. It is thought that immigrants are responsible for the decrease in job opportunities, but immigrants generally belong to the low income groups. Immigrants are generally employed as cashier, security personnel and cleaners. In this sense, it can be said that

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immigrants are mostly in the service industry, working in the jobs which are not preferred by the Europeans. Moreover, it is known that those apply for jobs are eliminated just because of their names and are not employed because of their ethnic and religious origins. Therefore, holding immigrants responsible for unemployment is highly unfair attitude. In fact, immigrants who face difficulties in finding jobs and who work at the lowest level of economic life are subjected to unequal treatment.

Table I: Unemployment Rates in the EU Countries
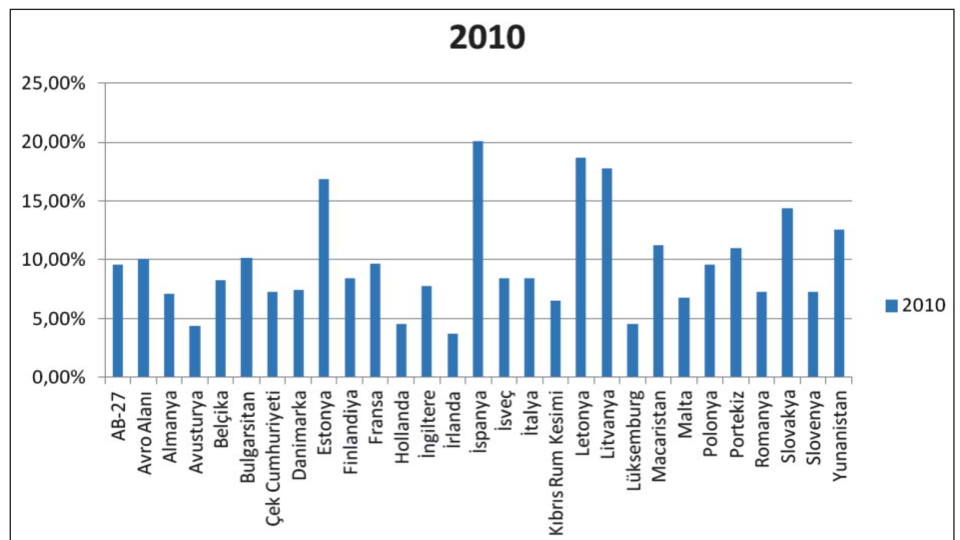
Source: Eurostat

According to the graph sequence: EU 27, Euro Zone, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, the United Kingdom (UK), Ireland, Spain, Switzerland, Italy, Greek Cypriot Administration, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Greece.

It is stated that the decreasing birth rates in Europe affect the relationship between the economic situation of Europe and immigrants. The need for qualified labor increases in Europe especially in the fields requiring expertise. It is not possible to say that the policies of encouraging population growth, which are implemented by the European countries, solve the problem in many countries including Germany. Therefore, foreigners are needed to work in the EU countries. However, an atmosphere in which foreigners are discriminated and excluded is not attractive for foreign workers. When it is looked at such debates in Germany which demand qualified labor, such an absurd conclusion comes out: "foreigners should work in Germany, but they should not come to Germany." It can be said that this attitude is not

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different from the attitude held toward foreign workers who were invited to the country in the 1960s. Those who came in that period were considered as workers rather than human beings, but it was later accepted systematically that it was not the case. Therefore, given that the qualified labor demands good and suitable working conditions, it is debated what extent Europe will be preferred by them.

Table II: Rates of Population Growth in the EU Members
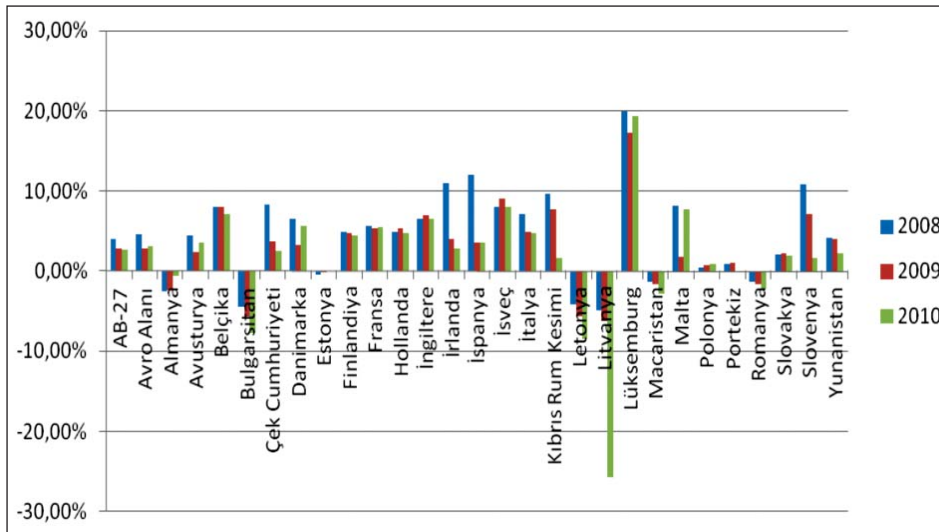
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According to the graph sequence: EU 27, Euro Zone, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, the United Kingdom (UK), Ireland, Spain, Switzerland, Italy, Greek Cypriot Administration, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Greece.

Economic crises bring about political crises since they shake reliability and persuasiveness of the existing governments. When the effort of coping with the crisis causes political deadlock as it was seen in Ireland and Portugal, snap elections are held. The election results reflect the demands of people who are affected by radical movements for changes in the political structure in the same direction. The situation of Europe is understood better when it is seen that rightist nationalistic tendencies advance in parallel with economic crises. Far rightist tendencies will increase in Europe unless solutions are produced for such problems as economic growth, debt burden and unemployment.

It can be said that the reflections of the 2008 financial crisis in Europe have gone beyond economic problems and that the crisis has influenced social

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and political structures considerably. However, saying that the economic crisis lies at the centre of debates of "other" will not be correct for a Europe, which always created an "other" for itself in history. Therefore, it is not possible to say that economic crisis "created" the discriminatory and exclusionary tendencies in Europe on its own. Nevertheless, it can be claimed that the occasions of economic crisis strengthen the tendencies of concentrating on national elements by developing nationalistic approaches. Rhetoric and policies based on national references gain support as branches to cling among people who are distressed under the effect of the economic crisis. Therefore, it can be said that discrimination and exclusion widen the area of political legitimacy in the periods economic difficulties are experienced. In a sense, the existing xenophobia and racist thoughts and feelings are aroused to take revenge on the "other" for the economic crisis. So, economic crises contribute the definition of the "other" in Europe, but it is not a factor which creates the "other" directly.

One of the debates concerning the "others", which emerge in the atmosphere of isolation created by the economic crisis, is the one made on multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is a project designed for the European communities, but it has not been achieved yet. In the recent period, the opinion that the project has failed has been voiced by political authorities.

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B. The Social Model: the Bankruptcy of Multiculturalism

Perceptions of multiculturalism points to one of the hottest debates in today's Europe. German Chancellor Angela Merkel said in various occasions that multiculturalism went bankrupt. In the Munich Security Conference in February 2011, British Prime Minister David Cameron stated that the policy of multiculturalism failed. In this speech, Cameron announced that financial sources of radical groups would be cut to fight against every type of radicalism including Islamic fanaticism and that measures would be taken to prevent the spread of those approaches in the institutional level. In addition, he claimed that different sections of the society lived separately because of the practices of multiculturalism and this triggered anarchy. In his opinion, the remedy for this situation was to build a powerful national identity. Politicians who defend that multiculturalism falls short of arranging the lives of the European societies find support in many European countries including Denmark and France in addition to Germany and Britain.

There are right points in the statement of the British prime minister, but the solution proposed by him is the reason for discrimination and exclusion

in Europe today. Multiculturalism which means in its shortest form the coexistence of more than one culture in one country underlines cultural differences apart from legal statuses. In the opinion of Alexandrine Brami Celentano, multiculturalism means the followings: expressing radically the characteristics of the way of life, belief or language; emphasizing belonging to an ethnic, lingual or religious group around a common identity; and giving up the myth of unified nation-state.[19] In other words, multiculturalism can be defined as the diversification in daily life and in cultural values caused by ethnic, religious and racial factors and emphasizing this diversification in the public sphere. It might be expected that this structure will create pluralist societies and will restrain the tendencies of homogenization. The model of pluralist society stipulates a civil society in which different communities interact with each other peacefully and they become increasingly interdependent on each other politically and socially.[20] This model exists in Europe theoretically, but it faces problems in practice. It is not easy to say that inter-communal communication and transactions which are supposed to exist in pluralist society does exist in Europe today. As it is stated by David Cameron, ruptures and disharmony are observed frequently in the European societies. Those who are different live their cultures in their ghettos and interact with the others at the lowest level. Those who are in majority exclude differences. As a result, those who are different retire into themselves and lean to extremist tendencies. In addition, it can be said that retiring into its shell is determined by the level of unifying policies pursued by the nation-state. Migrants and foreigners are relatively more "comfortable" in the countries having liberal tradition such as Britain whereas the problems of coexistence are observed in the countries such as France where the perception of nation-state is powerful.

The concept of multiculturalism refers to what ought to be. The reason for considering it as the biggest problem of the 21st century is the dissolution caused by the present practices. It is thought that, as contradictory to its meaning, multiculturalism brings about "division, dissolution, non-recognition, exclusion, disharmony, confrontation".[21] It is ironic that the failure of multiculturalism is expressed by those who make and implement policies. Therefore, it is seen that the rhetoric of multiculturalism has stayed in the conceptual level. In addition, it is not possible to say that the model of multicultural society has been put into practice as a result of intellectual processes.

Europe, which had entered the process of reconstruction in the aftermath of the Second World War, attracted migration from the outside from the

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1950s when it needed labor. Creating a multicultural environment had not been important before the War. Using the rhetoric of multiculturalism at that atmosphere in which the "other" had not existed had been easy. When a large number of foreigners entered Europe as labor force in the post-war period, it was observed that policies of multiculturalism brought about unexpected results. When it was realized that those who came from foreign countries would be inhabitants rather than visitors, the new and complicated process of building identity came into prominence. In a sense, the habits of living together could not be developed because of the awareness of the difficulties of living together with others and the inadequacy of "policies of multiculturalism"; as a result, a picture was created with everybody living in his/her own environment. The "others" did not turn back to their countries in the economic crisis atmosphere of the 1970s. So, the way was paved for the emergence of far rightist rhetoric and exclusionary practices in the 1980s. With the rise of uncertainties and insecurities in the post-Cold War period, Europe shifted further toward the far right. The fracture caused by the September 11 attacks brought about total questioning of multiculturalism.

Whether Europe adopted multiculturalism in the historical perspective is a different debate. However, the thing which is pointed out here is that the fear and threat-oriented approaches encouraged by the political mechanisms in Europe have made it impossible to create and sustain a multicultural environment. It can be said that a fear-oriented approach has been developed on the ground that those who are different constitute threats for the European societies. In other words, the "others" have been made an issue of security. In such an atmosphere in which different ones are considered as threats, it is talked of eliminating threats rather than living together. Such European politicians as French President Nicolas Sarkozy reinitiated the debates of national identity in order to eliminate threats. In this way, policies of unification want to be implemented through building national identity. For example, the efforts of constructing European Islam amount to that Muslims' types of attitudes are defined by state authorities. In this context, the following measures are suggested: not getting dressed like Muslims, performing prayers privately and not being visible in the public sphere (the prohibitions of burqa and minaret can be considered in this sense). In other words, the pre-migration Europe wants to be continued with migrants. In this line, such policies as aggravating conditions of citizenship, work permit and residence permit and tightening visa procedures are proposed. It is expected that those who have different cultural, ethnic and/or religious origins will give up their originalities and will become Europeanized. If this cannot be achieved voluntarily, enforcing it through state policies is

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legitimized and it is supported by people. For example, sending the Roman people back to their countries is legitimized on the ground that they do not (cannot) adapt to European norms. In addition, to protect Europe better and to prevent the entrance of those are not wanted to Europe, stretching the Schengen arrangements or totally suspending them "from time to time" are proposed. The increase in the number of immigrants coming from Northern Africa to Europe because of the uprisings there created problems. When Italy could not cope with the coming migrants on its own, it gave them the Schengen visa and allowed them to go to other European countries. This caused serious disagreement between European countries and reconsidering the Schengen arrangements began to be discussed. After France resumed the border controls, the German state of Bavaria resumed controls in the border with Austria and Denmark did the same thing in the borders with Switzerland and Germany. Stepping back in the Schengen treaty means harming the principle of movement of freedom, which is one of the main foundations of the European integration. It also points out that the feelings of solidarity and trust between the member countries favoring integration have been shaken. Therefore, not only migrants, but also other foreigners within the countries (other Europeans) are otherized.

It is thought that prejudices play an important role in the process of otherization. For example, it is known that curious, exclusionary and occasionally hostile approaches are developed toward Islam and toward those who adopt this religion. This perception was strengthened by the bombings in Istanbul in 2003, in Madrid in 2004 and in London in 2005. Contrary to the prejudice associating Islam and Muslims with violence, it is stated that there has been a decrease since 2006 in the attacks conducted by those who are considered as Islamists in Europe. It is also pointed out that the great majority of the attacks were committed by extremist Christian / nationalist groups.[22] It has been proved that the murders which were committed in Germany between 2000 and 2006 and which were known as "döner murders" were actually committed by Neo-Nazi groups. The events in which 8 Turks and 1 Greek were murdered had been defined as "döner murders" to present them as an issue of tribute and mafia and as an issue between the Turks. However, it was discovered that the serial murders were committed by an organization called as the National Socialist Underground Group. This put Germany to its trump. The fact that well-organized fascist and racist structures constitute obstacles to the construction of a multicultural environment and they have connection with state authorities demonstrate how complicated the matter is.

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Such resurgence of nationalistic tendencies cannot be considered independently from the social support. The transformation of discriminatory and exclusionary approaches of European people into systematic policies happens through political parties in the state level. Therefore, the increase in the votes of far rightist and radical nationalist parties captures the attention. These political parties which aim to produce protectionist economic policies, discriminative social security system and homogenous cultural structures are living their golden age after the Second World War.

C. The Political Environment: the Rise of Far Right

It is known that the far right had risen in Europe from the 1980s in parallel with economic and social policies implemented. This tendency increased with the end of the Cold War and became visible when the far rightist party became the coalition partner in Austria in the beginning of the 2000s. In addition, far rightist policies which received marginal support in the 1990s shifted increasingly to the centre in the 2000s. In line with this development, the centre-right parties in Europe began to follow the agenda of the far right.

When the far rightist party led by Jörg Haider became the coalition partner in 2000, Europe and the world public opinion were surprised. Strong reactions were shown to it especially from Europe and pressures were put on Haider to force him to withdraw from the coalition. It can be claimed that Europe will not show the same reaction to such a development today. In fact, the far right which shifted to the centre entered the parliament by increasing its votes and came to power as coalition partners.[23]

It will not be right to attribute the rise of the far right to only one reason. Given that the hardships experienced in many fields led Europeans to far rightist choices, it is possible to mention of an extremely complicated processes. Europe struggled with economic crises in the 1970s. Neo-liberal economic policies implemented by Europe from the 1980s harmed the concept of social state considerably. The decrease in social security expenditures as a result of increasing economic problems affected the lives of the Europeans directly. Such results as insecurity, loneliness and deprivation of state protection encouraged nationalistic tendencies. In such an atmosphere, immigrants emerged as a problem and they were perceived as threats. The nationalistic tendencies which were deepened with the effect of all these economic, social and cultural factors were united with political populism. Thus, the legitimization of exclusion and discrimination as a result of the

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reemphasis put on the national identity became the new tendency in Europe. The following developments can be given as the examples of this fact: Sarkozy reinitiated debate on secularism; the framework proposed by him and anti-integration policies pursued by him found support among people; and lootings occurred in Britain.

The concrete results of these developments were the voting rates political parties received in elections. The far rightist rhetoric becomes influential increasingly on the masses in some countries. It can be derived from this that the political and social structure of Europe is dominated by the far right and nationalism. In the examples of France, the Netherland, Finland and Hungary, far rightist parties shift to the centre rapidly and the far right receives an intensive popular support.

It can be said that the socio-economic transformation process which France is going through and the populist political environment have made the French elections interesting. When the 2012 presidential elections are added to this scene, it seems that a serious political competition will occur in this country. The extent of this competition became apparent with the cantonal elections on 20 and 27 March. The election results are an important indicator which demonstrates the political tendencies of the French people before the presidential elections. The Socialist Party which received 50% of the votes came out the elections as the most advantageous party. The Union for a Popular Movement faced a decline in the elections by gaining 35% of the votes. The success of the National Front, which increased its votes constantly since 2002, in the 2011 elections was remarkable; it got 11% of the votes. Marine Le Pen, who replaced his father Jean-Marie Le Pen as the president of the party in January 2011, actually gained a victory in the local elections. Although the National Front did not nominate candidates in some districts and nominated only few candidates in some other regions, its success of getting 11% of the votes was an important political development which should be underlined. Marine Le Pen was elected as the new and changing face of the party. It was expected that she would widen the base of the party by pursuing a relatively moderate and broad-perspective policy and will affect the choice of the rightist electorate. In fact, Le Pen whose chance of reaching the second stage of the presidential elections is high have emphasized frequently that they have party programs at a broad spectrum extending from economic and social fields to ecology though their party was traditionally known with its emphasis on security and migration issues. Le Pens defends the followings: the EU should remain as a weak integration and even only as a cooperation model; France should leave

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the euro zone; border controls should be reestablished; and the French national identity should be redefined. The approach of the president of the National Front is one of the important examples which carried the far right to the centre.

Another European country in which the far right is in the rise is Hungary. Jobbik (the Movement for a Better Hungary) became the third biggest party in the April 2010 elections by getting 17% of the votes. Jobbik, which is known as the radical national party in Hungary, did not have a powerful support when it was established in 2002. The big growth rate of the vote of the party, which received only 2.2% of the votes in 2006, points to the level of support which it receives from people. The fact that Fidesz, which is situated at the center-right and which gives priority to protecting Hungarian values and culture, came to power in 2010 demonstrates the strength of the rightist tendency in Hungary. Fidesz and Jobbik share the same opinions in many issues such as anti-Semitism, hostility toward Roman people, praising Christianity and granting privileges to people having Hungarian ethnic origin. The closeness between the far rightist party and the central rightist party in Hungary can be considered as an indicator of the shift of the far right to the centre.

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In the April 2011 elections of Finland, the rates of the votes of the parties were the following: the Conservative National Coalition 20.4%, the Social Democrat Party 19.1%, True Finns 19%, and the Central Party 15.8%. The True Finns, which oppose migration, European integration and euro and which defend the nationalistic approach, gained representation in the parliament as the third biggest party. The party, which defends not compromising national sovereignty, caused worries in the process of providing financial aid to the EU countries. The reluctance of the True Finns in saving the other European friends and their nationalistic tendency endangered the ratification of the aid packages in the parliament. It can be said that the European skepticism and radical rhetoric, which have found an increasing support in the Finnish society, have carried the far right to the centre.

In the Netherland elections in 2010, the parties got the following voting rates: the Liberal Party 20.4%, the Social Democrat Labor Party 19.6%, the Netherlands Freedom Party 15.5% and the Christian Democrats 13.6%. Thus, the Freedom Party led by Geert Wilders who is known by Muslims with his movie 'Fitna" has become the biggest party. Although Muslims made official complaints about Wilders, who defends his anti-immigration

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and anti-Islamist policies on a hard ground, because of his statements containing insult and hatred against Muslims, the Netherland authorities judged that no case could be lodged about Wilders in the court. Moreover, the limits of the Netherlands' liberal culture were forced by the Van Gogh murder and by the developments lived through after it. The division of the society as Muslims and non-Muslims and the tension between the sides caused by the murder showed what extent the Dutch people tended to the far right. It can be said that the election results reflected this political tendencies and environment.

Table III: The Voting Rates of the Far Rightist Parties in Europe

Countries			
Switzerland[24]	Swiss People's Party (the biggest political group in the Federal Assembly since 1999)	23 October 2011	% 26.6
Norway[25]	The Progress Party	14 September 2009	% 22.9
Finland[26]	The True Finns Party	17 April 2011	% 19.1
Austria[27]	The Freedom Party	28 September 2008	% 17.5
Netherlands[28]	The Netherlands Freedom Party	9 June 2010	% 15.4
France[29]	The National Front	27 March 2011 – local elections, the second round	% 11.5
Denmark[30]	Denmark People's Party	15 September 2011	% 12.3

When the above examples are examined, it is seen that the far right has been in the rise in the recent period and has increased its votes. The fact that the far rightist parties which were not able to pass election thresholds have able to enter parliaments as powerful parties brings about grave results. It is not difficult to predict that the –ethnic, religious etc. - codes of living together will become invalid in a political atmosphere in which the rhetoric of radical parties is considered as normal. As a result, the tendencies of discrimination and exclusion increase in parallel with the rise of the far right. It can be reminded in this point that the majority of the governments in today's Europe is composed of conservative / rightist parties if not extremist or radical ones. In addition to the Scandinavian countries which had been ruled by leftist / social democrat parties for decades, in the whole European continent extending from Italy to Ireland, from Britain to Bulgaria, the rightist parties have formed the governments or they are coalition partners.

Many arrangements have been made and many institutional mechanisms have been created in Europe to fight against discrimination and exclusion.

The fact that the far rightist parties which were not able to pass election thresholds have able to enter parliaments as powerful parties brings about grave results.

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Conclusion: the Aftermath of the Norwegian Attack?

There is a possibility that the need to debate and reconsider social practices might encourage extremist and radical tendencies. Therefore, it requires taking social and political responsibilities into consideration.

However, it is not possible to say that such initiatives prevent discriminatory and exclusionary practices in today's Europe. The codes of coexistence with the "others" in Europe need to be reconsidered. Inclusive rhetoric and policies should be developed. Instead of defining the threat strictly and categorically over Muslims, foreigners and migrants; creating a social structure in which those groups are perceived as a reality is important. In addition, accepting discrimination and exclusion in Europe as a phenomenon and creating a general opinion on it should be seen as a priority.

There is a possibility that the need to debate and reconsider social practices might encourage extremist and radical tendencies. Therefore, it requires taking social and political responsibilities into consideration. Acting on this, hatred and hostile approaches should be left, prejudices should be given up and differences should be dealt with inclusively. Moreover, there is a need to adopt a culture of coexistence which is redefined at every opportunity and which adapts itself to new situations. The practices which deepen social dissolution and rupture should be avoided and common practices should be encouraged.

While social life is shaped, the transition from an order in which everybody lives within his/her own community to a social model based on partnership is a necessity.[31] In this context, the works which will remove social polarization and oppressive social practices are important. To prevent social dissociation, compromise instead of fear and hatred should be made the basic foundation of social life and a long-term and comprehensive strategy should be developed for this purpose. Implementing such initiatives requires a suitable political environment and a powerful political will. Otherwise, as it

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is the case today, the common denominator of the communities throughout Europe will continue to be fear of Islam, xenophobia, racism, extreme nationalism and, in short, the process of "otherization".

In this context, making a choice between expanding the freedom area of different groups and sharing common social values is not a compulsory thing. Creating a model including both of them can contribute the solution of problems. In fact, creating a value of system having universal character is important to allow the European societies to live together with those who are inside and with those who will come from the outside. On the other hand, discriminatory and exclusionary practices fed by an intellectual structure based on hatred and hostility will create new problems for Europe. In this case, hatred and hostility which will emerge in the European societies will harm them at the first place. As it is proved by the Norwegian example, the accumulations of social anger might turn to the European societies as a weapon ready to be fired.

With the racist murders in Germany, it has become apparent that extremist groups having tendency of violence such as Neo-Nazis are supported by some concealed structures within the state mechanism. The lack of coordination between the security forces, the intelligence services and the judicial authorities has demonstrated that the sufficient care has not been taken to take necessary measures and that those structures are protected by some state organs. On the other hand, the following events have created hopes for the continuation and future of the democratic struggle: the German president promised to organize a memorial service for those who died; the German chancellor labeled the events as disgraceful; the homage was paid in the Federal Assembly and the State Assembly to those who died; the German people showed their reaction by organizing demonstrations; and limiting material and legal sources of the National Democrat Party was demanded.

Acting on that discriminatory and exclusionary practices in Europe might transform into a democracy test, it can be said that redefining the culture and habits of coexistence will in fact contribute the redefinition of democracy. In the context of the new democratic order, creating a political and social model in which every individual will see himself/herself as an equal part of his/her society is important.

Making a choice between expanding the freedom area of different groups and sharing common social values is not a compulsory thing. Creating a model including both of them can contribute the solution of problems.

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