UCOII

UNIONE DELLE
COMUNITÀ ISLAMICHE
D'ITALIA

Islamophobia in Italy

Numero Zero · November 2026

Hostility, discrimination and responses in the sources analysed

Sources and observation periods are specified in the chapters and in the methodological note.

Table of Contents

An initial account of the evidence 3

1 — Islamophobia, citizenship and rights 5

2 — Incidents and the geography of hostility 8

3 — Muslim women and multiple discrimination 20

4 — Employment and access to opportunities 23

5 — Housing, healthcare and services 25

6 — Schools and younger generations 27

7 — Communities, places of worship and local areas 29

8 — Politics, Parliament and institutions 35

9 — The press and online news 39

10 — Television and radio 46

11 — Social media and public representation 54

Factsheet A — UCOII: plurality, autonomy and the circulation of accusations 61

Factsheet B — The hijab and access to recruitment 67

Factsheet C — Freedom of worship and urban planning rules 68

Factsheet D — One radio statement, two proceedings 70

Factsheet E — Gaza and belonging in public discourse 72

Factsheet F — Protection, participation and prospects 74

Methodological Note 78

An initial account of the evidence

Numero Zero has a specific purpose: to start building a documentary record of Islamophobia in Italy. Promoted by UCOII, the report offers an initial, systematic account of the issues concerning Islam and Muslim people: their presence in the news, in the press, on television and radio, on social media, and how they exercise everyday rights such as praying, working, finding a home and taking part in public life.

The starting point is UCOII's own work. Every day it receives reports and requests for support from communities and hears their concerns, and senses a growing concern about a climate that many people describe as increasingly hostile. This report turns that perception into a research question: what forms does hostility take, where does it manifest itself, who is targeted and how do people and institutions respond?

To answer this, Numero Zero analyses the materials collected — namely news records, press articles, television and radio segments, posts and comments — and describes their content, language and recurring patterns. Alongside this work, the report draws on authoritative research already available: the survey by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), experimental studies on access to work and housing, and court rulings. These are original contributions by other authors and institutions, cited here and brought into relation with one another to provide a broader and more solid context.

The findings are valuable because they are specific: each figure describes what emerges from the sources collected, while the spread of the phenomenon at national level and its trend over time remain to be measured through dedicated surveys. It is precisely from this that the report derives a clear direction for its work.

The objective is to establish a dedicated, autonomous and independent national observatory, capable of building continuous, comparable data series. With these tools it will be possible to follow the evolution of the phenomenon, test the hypotheses that emerged from this first survey and give institutions, the media and citizens a shared evidence base. Numero Zero represents the first step on this path: a shared starting point from which to measure, over time, the road travelled together.

Key findings at a glance

Classification of the press, television, radio and social media corpora used automated tools, with targeted and partial human review; independent coding by two human reviewers and overall validation of the corpora are planned. Specifications and limitations are described in the Methodological Note.

The news census gathers 73 records of episodes of anti-Muslim hostility that occurred in Italy between 1 April 2024 and 6 November 2026; the records document episodes, with distinct legal qualifications and states of verification. Graffiti and symbolic acts, threats and intimidation, online hate and pickets prevail. The recurring targets are three: places of worship, even before opening; people recognisable as Muslim, in particular veiled women, local administrators and candidates; and moments of prayer.

In the 2021–2022 FRA survey on Italy, 23% of Muslim respondents report discrimination on any ground in the past year and 34% in the past five years. Among those who experienced it in the previous twelve months, only 2% reported at least one episode.

In work and housing, two experiments conducted in earlier years provide experimental contextual evidence and show a gap already at the first response: in the 2013–2014 experiment, fictitious CVs of first-generation candidates received positive responses in 5.39% of cases, compared with 11.85% for Italian candidates; in the 2010 experiment, rental enquiries with an Arab-Muslim name received 17.6 percentage points fewer responses. The name signals a perceived origin and possible religious affiliation, distinct from the actual faith of the writer; the study measures the treatment of these intertwined signals.

In the 1,343 documents of the press review, news reporting, criticism and inclusion prevail: 961 news reports (71.56%), 171 criticisms of specific subjects (12.73%) and 168 inclusion texts (12.51%). Hostile

texts number 43 (3.20%) and are concentrated in a few outlets, mostly in commentary, headlines and hosted opinion pieces.

On television and radio, who speaks matters. Of the 147 relevant and classifiable windows in the programming sample, selected from 5,372 extracted windows, 4 are hostile (2.72%), all with a reply. Of the 1,710 segments flagged by the alerts, 255 are hostile (14.91%), mostly from guests and political figures. The hosts reply in 21 of the 31 segments attributed to listeners and in 2 of the 81 attributed to politicians. In broadcast political events, a reply is missing in 26 out of 28 cases.

On social media, hostile texts account for 15 of the 74 posts (20.27%) and 121 of the 330 comments (36.67%); 34 posts and 161 comments of specific criticism are classified separately. Recurring themes include calls for expulsion based on belonging, exclusion from places of worship and violence attributed collectively.

These threats affect everyday rights: worship, employment, housing and participation. They also meet responses: the Constitutional Court removed the Lombardy barriers to places of worship, courts have recognised discrimination in employment and online, and mayors, parishes and trade unions have expressed solidarity.

1 — Islamophobia, citizenship and rights

Hostility towards Muslim people in Italy affects citizens, residents, students and workers who encounter obstacles in the exercise of ordinary rights: working, finding a home, praying, studying, taking part in public life. This volume describes it with three tools: a shared European definition, comparative surveys and Italian documentation ranging from court judgments to local news.

A definition centred on people

The point of reference is revised General Policy Recommendation No. 5 of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), adopted on 8 December 2021 and devoted to preventing and combating anti-Muslim racism and discrimination. At its centre is not a religion in the abstract, but Muslim people or people perceived as such, even merely on account of their name, appearance or origin.

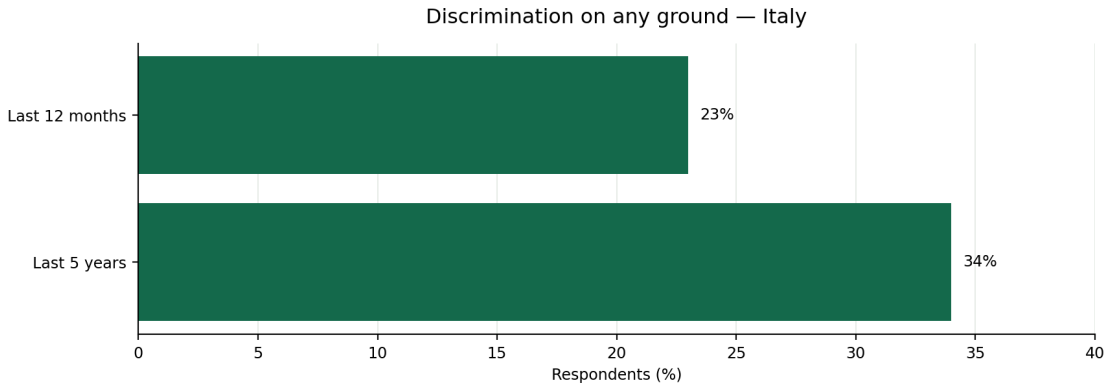
In this volume, Islamophobia means the set of prejudices, hostility, discrimination and violence directed against Muslim people or people perceived as such, including acts against their property, institutions, places of worship and signs of belonging when the target is real or attributed Muslim identity. The phenomenon may be individual, collective, structural or institutional, when the obstacle stems from rules, selection practices or public decisions (Factsheets B and C), and it often intertwines with racism, xenophobia, gender, origin, citizenship and migration status.

Criticism, even severe criticism, directed at Islam or at texts, practices, movements, States, organisations or individual Muslim persons is not in itself Islamophobia. It becomes so when, in the circumstances, it collectively attributes inferiority, dangerousness or unworthiness to Muslim people, calls for their exclusion, discrimination or violence, or produces a disparity of treatment lacking objective and reasonable justification. The definition serves research and classification purposes and does not determine whether an act constitutes a criminal offence.[1]

Italy in the European data

The main comparative source used is the survey *Being Muslim in the EU* (2024) of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), which collects experiences reported by the people themselves. In Italy the interviews took place from 29 October 2021 to 2 October 2022, hence before 7 October 2023, with 883 respondents self-identifying as Muslim, selected through probability sampling: 683 of North African origin and 200 of Sub-Saharan origin.

FRA indicator, Italy	Value
Discrimination on any ground, last 12 months	23%
Discrimination on any ground, last 5 years	34%
Respondents who reported at least one incident to a reporting channel, among those who told the survey they experienced discrimination in the past 12 months	2%
Awareness of UNAR	17%



Muslim respondents in Italy who report discrimination on any ground in the last 12 months and in the last 5 years (%). Source: FRA, «Being Muslim in the EU» (2024), pp. 37 and 58; survey conducted 2021–2022, 883 Muslim respondents; weighted percentages calculated on the bases applicable to the questions.

Roughly one respondent in four reports discrimination in the last year, one in three in the last five. These shares cover all grounds, from age to gender, in addition to religion, and describe the 2021–2022 survey round; religious discrimination alone and national prevalence in 2026 remain to be measured. Among those who told the survey they had experienced discrimination in the previous twelve months, barely two in a hundred had reported even one incident to a reporting body: within the sample, experiences only rarely reach the reporting channels.

The average conceals significant differences. Over the twelve months the share is 19% among respondents of North African origin and 32% among those of Sub-Saharan origin; over the five years it is 29% and 47% respectively. Skin colour, origin and material conditions combine in shaping the experience. The design, however, has declared limitations: after the exclusion of low-density areas it covers 42% of the North African target population and 40% of the Sub-Saharan one, and 96% of respondents were born abroad, so the experiences of those born in Italy remain barely visible.

Turning to recorded incidents, the ODIHR report on Italy for 2024 lists 893 alleged offences registered by the police for all bias motivations, of which 543 for racism and xenophobia, with no separate category for anti-Muslim hostility. The 253 reports from civil society constitute a separate dataset and cannot be added to the police data.

A long and non-linear history

Public debate on Islam, belonging and integration predates 11 September 2001. The conciliar declaration *Nostra aetate* of 28 October 1965 regards "the Muslims with esteem" [«con stima i musulmani»] and condemns discrimination, including on religious grounds. In 1990 and 2000 the then archbishops of Milan and Bologna framed the relationship with Muslim immigration in different ways: the former urged against attributing to the individual person the abstract characteristics of a religion; the latter proposed Christian affinity as a criterion for selecting migrants, that is, a religion-based selection formulated in public discourse; the source does not document its translation into administrative measures. With the 2006 synthesis of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), attention shifted to what happens to people in employment, housing and security.

Intimidation, too, has documented precedents: in the summer of 2007 two incendiary devices struck the Islamic centre of Abbiategrasso, with a motive not established by the sources; between 2015 and 2018 pigs' heads were left in front of places of worship in Abano Terme, Giugliano in Campania, Cornuda and Veggia di Casalgrande; in 2023 burnt pages of the Quran were sent to the Darus Salaam centre in Monfalcone. Some argumentative patterns span the decades, such as integration deemed incompatible with a religion as a whole, Muslim visibility read as replacement, and the attribution to the individual of a collective political will; what changes are the settings in which they are applied, from job selection to the school calendar, from the use of buildings to associative representation (Factsheet A) and the debate on Gaza (Factsheet E). Alongside the hostility there is a history of responses: religious solidarity, community

mediation, recourse to the courts, constitutional review. The resulting picture does not measure the national prevalence of the phenomenon: it is a reading grounded in diverse sources, each reliable for what it observes, which the following chapters apply to the episodes and the spheres of everyday life.

Reported experiences by origin

This reproduces data from the FRA 2021–2022 survey already discussed in the chapter, on the same base of Muslim respondents in Italy. The values are reported experiences of discrimination in the last twelve months and in the last five years. The comparison between origins is descriptive: it does not attribute a causal effect to origin and must not be extended to other groups.

Origin of Muslim respondents	Any discrimination, 12 months	Five years
North Africa	19%	29%
Sub-Saharan Africa	32%	47%

Key sources

- ECRI, revised General Policy Recommendation No. 5 on preventing and combating anti-Muslim racism and discrimination, 8 December 2021.
- FRA, *Being Muslim in the EU* (2024), pp. 37, 58, 124, 127: https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2024/being-muslim-eu
- FRA, survey technical report, p. 62: https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2024-immigrants-survey-technical-quality-report_en.pdf
- OSCE/ODIHR, *Italy 2024*, 2024.
- UN, Rabat Plan of Action, annexed to A/HRC/22/17/Add.4, paragraphs 29–30.
- Legislative Decrees 215/2003 and 216/2003; Criminal Code, Article 604-ter.
- *Nostra aetate*, 28 October 1965, §§ 3 and 5.

---

1. The civil protections against discrimination (Legislative Decrees 215/2003 and 216/2003), the aggravating circumstance under Article 604-ter of the Criminal Code, the rules on audiovisual and radio services and the six-factor test of the United Nations Rabat Plan of Action are distinct instruments, each with its own preconditions. ?

2 — Incidents and the geography of hostility

The news census of the UCOII Observatory selects 73 records on episodes of anti-Muslim hostility that occurred in Italy between 1 April 2024 and 6 November 2026. Another seven cases requiring further investigation, outside the totals, are presented separately in the box at the end of the chapter. The six records with the EXTRA- prefix are included in the 73 total; the seven cases in the box appear without a public identifier.

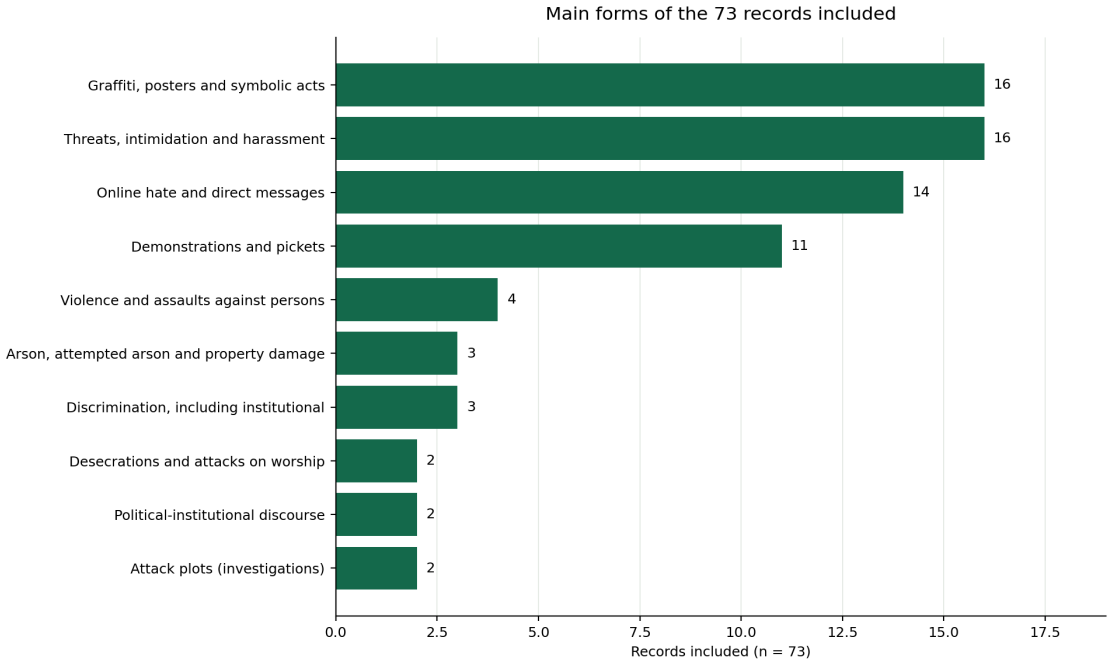
The records gather facts reported by the news media, direct reports and documents of varying evidential strength: they range from a civil judgment to a news item from a single outlet.

A record is included when the fact falls within the adopted definition (chapter «Islamophobia, citizenship and rights») and presents at least one indicator of prejudice. Inclusion is not equivalent to the establishment of a crime or a motive. The 73 records have different levels of verification: 43 targeted human validations of 13 November 2026 and 30 prior inclusions. For three records (NZO-2026-086, NZO-2026-093 and NZO-2026-100) the anti-Muslim relevance had provisional status. On 14 November 2026 the commissioning body validated their inclusion, because it deemed them directed against Muslims or places of worship under the adopted definition. This is a human judgment on relevance: the specific facts and documentary details retain the verification limits indicated in the individual records. The validation concerns the relevance of three records already included in the 73: NZO-2026-086 and NZO-2026-093 fall within the 43 validations of 13 November, NZO-2026-100 within the 30 prior inclusions. The partition therefore remains 43 + 30 = 73. Counts and recorded decisions remain unchanged. The seven reports in the final box remain outside the totals pending verification of what happened or of the link with anti-Muslim hostility. The analysis is descriptive: it does not estimate the national frequency of the phenomenon or its trend. The complete list of records, ordered by main form, is reported in the chapter.

A repertoire of conduct that goes beyond violence

Main form	Records included
Graffiti, posters and symbolic acts	16
Threats, intimidation and harassment	16
Online hate and direct messages	14
Demonstrations and pickets	11
Violence and assaults against persons	4
Arson, attempted arson and property damage	3
Discrimination, including institutional	3
Desecrations and attacks on worship	2
Political-institutional discourse	2
Attack plots (investigations)	2
Total	**73**

Each record is attributed only once, to its main form, but many behaviours combine with one another. A pig's head in front of an Islamic centre is at once a desecration and a threat, and online exposure often accompanies events that took place in the street. The weight of graffiti, intimidation, messages and pickets indicates that the hostility recorded acts above all on the symbolic and relational level: it communicates to a community that its presence is unwanted.



Main forms of the 73 records included

The chart summarises the 73 records included in the census, covering the period from April 2024 to 6 November 2026. Each record is attributed a single form. The most recurrent are graffiti, posters and symbolic acts (16) and threats, intimidation and harassment (16). These are followed by online hate and direct messages (14) and demonstrations and pickets (11). The records document episodes, not established crimes or motives, and do not measure national frequency or trends. Seven cases, treated separately, do not appear in the chart.

A wide geographical spread, not a risk map

Of the 73 records, 66 concern events localised in 14 regions; the other 7 refer to events that occurred online, at national venues or in multiple regions.

Region	Records	Region	Records
Lombardia	18	Campania	3
Emilia-Romagna	11	Sardegna	3
Veneto	8	Umbria	2
Lazio	6	Liguria	2
Piemonte	4	Toscana	1
Marche	3	Friuli-Venezia Giulia	1
Puglia	3	Basilicata	1
National, online or multiple regions	7		

Lombardy, Emilia-Romagna, Veneto and Lazio together account for 43 records, more than half. The concentration may reflect the presence of communities and places of worship in these regions. It may, however, also depend on the differing territorial coverage of the sources consulted.

The same repertoire features large cities and small municipalities, streets, municipal councils and digital platforms. In the absence of consistent territorial denominators, the number of records does not make it possible to rank the regions by dangerousness.

Political-institutional discourse

Source: census register of the UCOII Observatory, revised on 13 November 2026, and Analytical Tables. The 73 records comprise 43 targeted human validations and 30 prior inclusions. A record is not an established crime. Each record reports ID, date and place (with the day when the source indicates it), the fact and its limits, and the bibliographic reference of the source. This applies to the following lists.

ID	Date and place	Reported fact and limits	Source
EXTRA-SASSO-2026-02	June–September 2026 **National political and media venues**	Campaign by the same member of parliament against the "Islamisation of schools" ["islamizzazione delle scuole"] and "Islamic propaganda" ["propaganda islamica"], counted as a single record under the aggregated-campaigns rule described in the Methodological Note.	Radio Radicale, 14 June; Radio 24, 3 July; Chamber of Deputies, VII Committee, 22 July; the deputy's notes, 14 and 16 September 2026
EXTRA-SASSO-2026-01	20 October 2026 **Chamber of Deputies**	In a speech on the floor, a deputy of the Mixed group describes raids as a "typical Islamic custom" ["tipica usanza islamica"].	Chamber of Deputies, verbatim record of sitting No. 729, 20 October 2026, p. 27

Threats, intimidation and harassment

Same criteria and caveats as the first list; records, not crimes.

ID	Date and place	Reported fact and limits	Source
NZO-2024-003	Night between 9 and 10 April 2024 **Forlì**	On the night marking the end of Ramadan, a few dozen metres from the mosque, unknown persons put up a banner with crusade-style language against the "infidels" ["infedeli"] and commit acts of vandalism against Islam; the Carabinieri remove it and report it to the Digos.	ForlìToday, 10 April 2024
NZO-2025-011	February 2025 **Sant'Antimo (NA)**	A former colleague repeatedly shows up with a knife and a bat at the workplace of a young Pakistani worker to threaten her because she wears the veil; the Carabinieri arrest him.	la Repubblica, Naples edition, 11 February 2025
NZO-2025-019	Night between 13 and 14 May 2025 **Rome**	Militants of Azione Frontale, a neo-fascist group, post leaflets outside four Islamic centres on the eastern outskirts bearing the words "Respect the cross or go back to your own home" ["Rispettate la croce o tornate a casa vostra"] and claim the action as directed at all Muslims. The postings of the same night count as a single episode.	la Repubblica, Rome edition, Domani and RomaToday, 14 May 2025; Cronache di ordinario razzismo
NZO-2025-035	9 November 2025 **Milan, Niguarda**	In the forecourt of the Vittorio Locchi primary school, during a reading of fairy tales in Arabic as part of the Io Leggo Perché initiative, a parent protests against the reading, mistaken for a reading of the Qur'an, with placards against Islam and insults directed at a teacher; other people present intervene.	Fanpage, 20 November 2025, based on the account of a witness
NZO-2025-036	25 November 2025 **Milan–Como train**	On a regional train, near Cadorago, a passenger reports having been insulted and threatened by another passenger, who was travelling with a child, "for being Egyptian, Muslim" ["per essere egiziana, musulmana"]; she issues an appeal for witnesses.	QuiComo, 27 November 2025
NZO-2026-045	27 January 2026 **Ravarino (MO)**	About fifteen fake sticks of dynamite are left in the courtyard of the future Islamic cultural centre; the person in charge reports it on 23 February and says he notified law enforcement.	Il Resto del Carlino, Modena edition, 23 February 2026; Cronache di ordinario razzismo
NZO-2026-048	21–22 February 2026 **Ravarino (MO)**	At the same cultural centre, fake explosive devices and a threatening note in Arabic are left. The episode is reported to the Carabinieri and the mayor condemns the intimidation. The news reports do not judicially establish either the perpetrator or the motive.	Il Resto del Carlino, 23 February 2026 (source read); TV Qui Modena and Gazzetta di Modena (historical references in the register, not independently verified)

ID	Date and place	Reported fact and limits	Source
NZO-2026-066	31 May 2026 **Rome, Villa Gordiani**	During the celebration of Eid al-Adha an influencer enters the park with a porchetta sandwich and provocative remarks about the rite and attire; the organisers respond with irony.	Fanpage, 31 May 2026; Corriere della Sera, Rome edition, 1 June 2026; Open; Il Giornale d'Italia
NZO-2026-067	June 2026 **Turin**	An MEP circulates the video of a verbal confrontation with a woman in a niqab accompanied by a minor. According to the woman, the filming took place without her consent. According to DC News, the MEP presents the video as a denunciation of the full-face veil and of the Islamisation she claims is under way in some neighbourhoods. The historical sources report a collective complaint (29 June) and a complaint by an association (20 July). These complaints have not been verified; the background, consent to filming and possible street harassment have not been established. The online exposure and the street confrontation remain reported, not verified, conduct.	La Luce, 29 June 2026; DC News, 29 June 2026 (the MEP's position); Libero, Milano Quotidiano and DC News, June–July 2026
NZO-2026-076	8 July 2026 **Brescia**	A severed pig's head is hung on the front door of the future Islamic centre; the forensic police (Scientifica) and the Digos intervene.	Giornale di Brescia, Il Giorno, BresciaToday, la Repubblica, Corriere della Sera Brescia edition and Bresciaoggi, 8 July 2026
NZO-2026-082	4 September 2026 **Venezia-Mestre**	According to the register, the same influencer from Villa Gordiani sings the national anthem over a collective prayer in a park; tensions follow, along with a criminal complaint for disturbing a religious service and a removal order issued by the questore. The Corriere del Veneto report of 19 September retrospectively describes the interruption of the prayer with the anthem and a sandwich, and a Daspo ban; the video has not been viewed, the case files have not been obtained, and the precise date, the complaint and the appeal are not verified with this source.	Corriere del Veneto, 19 September 2026 (retrospective reconstruction read); register references: Corriere del Veneto, 5 September 2026; La Nuova Venezia; Sky TG24; Adnkronos
NZO-2026-086	18–19 September 2026 **Venezia-Mestre**	In front of the entrance to a school attended by many pupils of foreign origin a banner appears reading "Your integration, our marginalisation" ["La vostra integrazione la nostra emarginazione"]; according to the community, the children were affected by it. The explicitly anti-Islam graffiti is attributed by the news reports to the Piraghetto park, not to the school: the specifically anti-Muslim link of the banner remains to be corroborated, without denying its xenophobic content. On 14 November 2026 the commissioning body validated the inclusion of the record, judging it directed against Muslims or places of worship under the adopted definition. This is a human judgment on relevance, not a new documentary finding, and leaves unchanged the distinction between the banner in front of the school and the graffiti in the Piraghetto park.	Corriere del Veneto and Il Gazzettino, 19 September 2026
NZO-2026-090	23–24 September 2026 **Rome, Municipio V**	Far-right influencers burst in against the municipal district's act on Islamophobia; one of them insults a councillor.	la Repubblica, Rome edition, 24 September 2026
NZO-2026-093	28 September 2026 (register date, not verified) **Rome, Municipio V**	During the sitting that approves the motion against Islamophobia, a far-right influencer tears up a Palestinian card and is then slapped; the police intervene. The insults against the Muslim community women present and the Digos report to the public prosecutor's office, recorded in the register, are not verified: the specific anti-Muslim conduct remains to be corroborated. On 14 November 2026 the commissioning body validated the inclusion of the record, judging it directed against Muslims or places of worship under the adopted definition. This is a human judgment on relevance: the date, the insults and the Digos report retain the verification limits indicated.	Rai TGR Lazio, 29 September 2026; Fanpage, 28 September 2026; Il Messaggero; la Repubblica, Rome edition
NZO-2026-099	Around 19 October 2026 **Civitavecchia (RM)**	According to the news reports, based on a preview of the video (not viewed directly), the same influencer enters the premises housing the "Iqrah" association, used as a place of prayer, and eats mortadella in front of those present; the alleged urban-planning irregularities are claims by the source, not verified findings.	Etruria News, 19 and 20 October 2026; Civonline, 20 October; TalkCity, 21 October 2026

ID	Date and place	Reported fact and limits	Source
NZO-2026-104	1 November 2026 **Morbegno (SO)**	In front of the entrance to the Centro islamico di pace, a pig's head and a sheet with the words "You are no longer welcome" ["Non siete più i beneaccetti"] are found. The Carabinieri carried out an on-site inspection and investigations are under way: no outcomes are known, nor any attribution of a perpetrator or motive. The date is that of the reported discovery, not the established moment of placement.	Il Giorno, 2 November 2026 (verified report); historical references not independently verified: SondrioToday, 1 November 2026; Corriere della Sera, Milan edition; ANSA

Arson and property damage

Same criteria and caveats as the first list; records, not crimes.

ID	Date and place	Reported fact and limits	Source
NZO-2024-005	18–24 June 2024 **Montello (BG)**	A man sets fire with flammable liquids to the entrance of the Pakistani community's Islamic centre and scrawls graffiti against mosques and against the mayor; the person in charge of the centre puts out the flames. The Carabinieri report a man and indicate a religious-hatred motive.	Rai TGR Lombardia and Fanpage, 26 June 2024; L'Eco di Bergamo; Il Giorno
NZO-2026-069	Night between 10 and 11 June 2026 **Cagliari**	In front of the Al Hoda mosque, several planters burn and the flames also reach the entrance. Residents extinguish the fire and the Carabinieri open investigations. Flammable liquid and an ignition device are not verified. The motive has not been established: the definition of "attack" ["attentato"] is UCOII's. The episode is a prior inclusion, not re-examined on 13 November 2026.	ANSA, 12 June 2026; L'Unione Sarda and La Nuova Sardegna, 11 June 2026; CagliariToday; Rai TGR Sardegna; SardiniaPost, 12 June 2026 (verified corroboration)
NZO-2026-073	Early July 2026 **Castano Primo (MI)**	One of the promoters of the Islamic cultural centre has his car tyres slashed and his number plates blacked out; the centre's signs are also torn down. A criminal complaint follows.	Malpensa24, 5 and 6 July 2026; La Provincia di Varese, 5 July 2026

Desecrations and attacks on worship

Same criteria and caveats as the first list; records, not crimes.

ID	Date and place	Reported fact and limits	Source
NZO-2024-007	July 2024, by the 10th **Monfalcone (GO)**	Two pages of the Qur'an, one burnt and one defaced, arrive at the Darus Salaam Islamic centre with an offensive message.	Il Fatto Quotidiano and TriestePrima, 10 July 2024
NZO-2026-083	10–11 September 2026 (exact date not verified) **Reggio Emilia**	According to the news reports, an influencer tears up and burns a copy of the Qur'an in the street and circulates the video on Instagram with a hostile caption; the author's party of reference distances itself. The hearing at the Questura and the complaint by the city's Muslim associations, recorded in the register, are not verified with the source consulted; the video has not been viewed directly and the judicial outcome is not known.	Il Resto del Carlino, Reggio Emilia edition, 12 September (not 11 as indicated in the register): the only source read. Historical references in the register, not independently verified: Corriere di Bologna, la Repubblica Bologna edition and 24Emilia, 12 September; Gazzetta di Reggio, 13 September 2026

Violence and assaults

Same criteria and caveats as the first list; records, not crimes.

ID	Date and place	Reported fact and limits	Source
NZO-2025-009	Late January 2025 **Foligno (PG)**	According to the account of a Tunisian woman, after an argument over a bicycle the owner of a commercial establishment allegedly threatened and assaulted her and her husband, attempting to tear off her hijab; the woman states that she was attacked "because I am Muslim" ["perché islamica"]. The person concerned radically contests this version. The second news report refers to the opening of a case file at the Spoleto public prosecutor's office for aggravated threats; no definitive findings exist, nor have original case documents been obtained.	Rai TGR Umbria, 3 and 5 February 2025
NZO-2025-024	25 June 2025 **Piacenza**	After a demonstration on security, two brothers of Algerian origin, worshippers at the mosque, are beaten with belts and bottles amid racist insults. An intersectional episode: the anti-Muslim motive is asserted by the local Islamic community and has not been judicially established; the investigations also concern a brawl and the dynamics are disputed.	Libertà, 27 June 2025; Corriere di Bologna, 26 June 2025; Cronache di ordinario razzismo, 25 June 2025
NZO-2025-027	7 July 2025 **Bologna**	According to the news reports, in a supermarket a man insults a young Bengali woman and violently tears off her veil. The news reports state that the man was reported for battery with the aggravating circumstance of racial motives; the outcome has not been established.	Il Resto del Carlino, Bologna edition, 9 July 2025
EXTRA-OLBIA-001	16 September 2026 **Olbia (SS)**	A woman reports having been threatened with a knife, with xenophobic remarks telling her to go back to her country, and targeted with containers thrown without hitting her; no injuries have been established. The Islamophobic characterisation is that of the UCOII Presidency on the basis of the video viewed, not of the complaint.	Carabinieri, Olbia Centro Station, complaint report of 16 September 2026 and supplement of 21 September 2026, copy in the restricted archive

Online hate and direct messages

"UCOII Archive": internal documentary source; caveats as in the first list.

ID	Date and place	Reported fact and limitations	Source
NZO-2025-013	26–27 February 2025 **Jesi (AN)**	After the opening of the new premises of the Islamic cultural centre, the mayor receives hate messages and threats on social media ("lead" ["piombo"]) and announces a legal complaint; a 74-year-old man is later reported to the authorities. Episode by association.	ANSA, 27 February and 12 March 2025; CentroPagina, 12 March 2025
NZO-2025-014	March 2025 **Ravenna**	During the election campaign, a Muslim candidate for mayor receives online abuse linked to her religion; she states that she will not file a complaint. No consequences outside the online sphere are reported.	Il Resto del Carlino, Ravenna ed., 8 March 2025
NZO-2025-020	30 May–2 June 2025 **Assisi (PG)**	A municipal councillor receives online insults because of their Muslim faith; the mayor expresses solidarity.	Cronache di ordinario razzismo, 2 June 2025
NZO-2026-044	19–26 January 2026 **Online; Court of Turin**	Posts by a journalist and politician against Muslims. In July the Court of Turin rules them discriminatory, beyond the limits of religious criticism, and orders the author to pay 20,000 euros to ASGI. The judgment is not a second episode.	Il Post, 21 July 2026
EXTRA-FB-YB-2026-01	5 May 2026 **Online, private message**	A private message orders the President of UCOII to disappear because he is Muslim.	Screenshot kept in the confidential file
EXTRA-FB-YB-2026-02	19 May 2026 **Online, private message**	A second sender insults the President of UCOII and adds "they should come and take you all away" ["vi devono venire a prendere a tutti"].	Screenshot kept in the confidential file
NZO-2026-060	5–6 May 2026 **Castelfranco Veneto (TV)**	During the campaign for local elections, a council candidate of Moroccan origin, a point of reference for the Muslim community, is insulted on social media ("dirty Muslim" ["sporco musulmano"], "go back to your country" ["torna al tuo paese"]); the list's mayoral candidate announces a complaint.	La Tribuna di Treviso, 6 May 2026
NZO-2026-065	27–29 May 2026 **Crema (CR)**	Thousands of offensive comments against Muslim worshippers praying for the Feast of Sacrifice and against the regional councillor who had published the post after taking part.	CremonaSera, 29 May 2026

ID	Date and place	Reported fact and limitations	Source
NZO-2026-068	1–3 June 2026 **Turin**	After a video at the Eid al-Adha celebration, the deputy mayor receives Islamophobic insults ("you are selling us to Islam" ["ci vendete all'Islam"]). Episode by association; the insults directed in the same week at a councillor of foreign origin are a separate matter.	la Repubblica, Turin ed., 3 June 2026; TorinoToday, 4 June; Corriere della Sera, Turin ed., 5 June 2026
NZO-2026-078	12–13 July 2026 **Genoa**	A Muslim municipal councillor receives hundreds of hate messages ("a Muslim to be eliminated" ["musulmano da eliminare"], "to be beaten up" ["da pestare"]) after several posts by a party concerning him. The clipping reports the announcement of legal complaints, but the filing is not verified. Documentary limitation: the available printed copy breaks off mid-sentence and the digital copy does not carry the text of the article; this limitation does not cast doubt on the reported threats nor annul the inclusion decided in the review of 13 November 2026.	Il Secolo XIX, 13 and 14 July 2026
NZO-2026-089	21 September 2026 **Naples**	A regional political figure publishes the photograph of a woman wearing a full-face veil, taken in the street at Porta Nolana, as an example of the "danger of Islamisation" ["pericolo islamizzazione"].	la Repubblica, Naples ed., 22 September 2026
NZO-2026-095	October 2026, before the 20th **Online, Telegram chat**	In a preparatory chat of a right-wing group there is talk of "defending Milan from the Islamics" ["difendere Milano dagli islamici"]; to take part, according to the article's headline, a video of insults against the Prophet would allegedly be required. The chat is an episode distinct from the subsequent demonstrations.	La Stampa, 20 October 2026
NZO-2026-098	1–2 October 2026 **Bari**	A municipal councillor publishes the photograph of three veiled women with children at a bus stop, with a hostile comment ("here is who for…" ["ecco per chi…"]).	la Repubblica, Bari ed., 2 October 2026
EXTRA-BAYAN-2026-01	1 November 2026 **San Giovanni Lupatoto (VR)**	According to the PDF of the forwarded email, the Bayan Institute received an intimidating message expressing anti-Muslim hatred and exclusion at 23:14. The message arrived on the evening a television report about the Institute aired. Neither the headers nor the sender's identity have been verified. No link with the broadcast has been established.	PDF of the forwarded email, kept in the confidential file; it is not the technically verified original

Graffiti, posters and symbolic acts

Same criteria and caveats as in the first list; records, not criminal offences.

ID	Date and place	Reported fact and limitations	Source
NZO-2025-018	By 3 May 2025 **San Bonifacio (VR)**	On the electrical substation at the entrance of the Muslim cultural association La Fraternità, graffiti against Islam, Nazi symbols and a reference to the Christchurch attacker appear; a complaint is filed and the Digos investigates against persons unknown.	L'Arena, VeronaSera and Rai TGR Veneto, 3 May 2025
NZO-2025-021	Early June, year to be verified **Faenza (RA)**	The CGIL posters for the citizenship referendum are defaced with graffiti which, according to the transcription reported by the secondary source (not from a photograph), read "No to a Muslim Italy" ["No all'Italia musulmana"] and "citizenship is not a gift" ["la cittadinanza non si regala"]; the trade union files a complaint. The year indicated in the register (2025) does not match that of the secondary source's URL (2024): the date must be verified and cannot be used in time series.	Ravenna Notizie, picked up by Cronache di ordinario razzismo, 4 June (year to be verified)
NZO-2025-028	August 2025 **Parabiago (MI)**	Offensive graffiti against Allah and against North Africans repeated along the cycle path of the Villoresi canal and on the information panels.	LegnanoNews, picked up by Cronache di ordinario razzismo, 13 August 2025
NZO-2025-031	2–3 September 2025 **Sestri Levante (GE)**	"No Islam" graffiti in front of the Catholic chapel of Riva Trigoso, which a rumour indicated as a future Muslim prayer venue; the Pastoral Council denies this and condemns the act. The hostility strikes a Catholic building associated with imagined Muslims.	Primocanale, 3 September 2025; ANSA; Prima il Levante, 3 and 7 September 2025

ID	Date and place	Reported fact and limitations	Source
NZO-2025-032	14–15 September 2025 **Jesi (AN)**	The sign of the municipal road-safety campaign, featuring a female silhouette perceived as a woman in a burqa, is burned; the mayor speaks of a hate campaign. A symbolic act, distinct from attacks on people and places of worship.	ANSA and AnconaToday, 15 September 2025; Corriere Adriatico, 16 September 2025
NZO-2025-033	October 2025 **Teggiano (SA)**	Offensive spray-painted graffiti against Muslims on a historic fountain.	SalernoToday, picked up by Cronache di ordinario razzismo, 20 October 2025
NZO-2025-037	Early November 2025 **Jesi (AN)**	The sign of the same campaign, replaced after the first burning, is burned again in front of the Monte Tabor school, most likely during the night between 1 and 2 November; the news report distinguishes the fact from the September burning, which occurred in another part of the city. The mayor speaks of an attack on democracy.	Corriere Adriatico, 3 November 2025
NZO-2025-042	24 December 2025 **Brescia**	Graffiti reading "No mosque" ["No moschea"] and "Remigration" ["Remigrazione"] on the walls of the future Islamic centre; they are removed on 26 December.	Giornale di Brescia, 26 December 2025
NZO-2026-043	By 14 January 2026 **Bologna**	The premises of Plus, an LGBT association, are covered with stickers carrying homophobic and Islamophobic content. An intersectional episode and one by association: the direct target is not Muslim.	BolognaToday, 14 January 2026; Gay.it, 16 January 2026
NZO-2026-059	1 May 2026 **Bologna**	Before Friday prayer, stickers reading "Allah snack bar" ["Allah snack bar"], "Remigration" ["Remigrazione"] and "Infested area" ["Zona infestata"] appear on the road signs in front of the Annur prayer venue; the community is reporting the episode and asking for the stickers to be removed.	Il Resto del Carlino, 1 May 2026 (source read); BolognaToday, la Repubblica, RaiNews and ANSA (historical references of the register, not independently verified)
NZO-2026-074	By 7 July 2026 **Brescia**	Stickers about "remigration" ["remigrazione"] and against the mosque in the city: a symbolic act, distinct from the pig's head of the following day.	Giornale di Brescia, 7 July 2026
NZO-2026-075	July 2026 **Capoterra (CA)**	Two graffiti against the "Muslim invaders" ["musulmani invasori"] near the homes of Tunisian and Pakistani families; the mayor calls for vigilance.	L'Unione Sarda, 21 July 2026
NZO-2026-077	Night between 10 and 11 July 2026 **Mozzate (CO)**	Swastikas and Celtic crosses painted on the outer walls of the Islamic cultural centre, present for thirteen years; the centre's leaders file a complaint.	La Provincia di Como, 12 July 2026
NZO-2026-081	6 August 2026 **Coreglia Antelminelli (LU)**	At Piano di Coreglia, on the wall of a building, xenophobic graffiti appear, signed with an acronym and accompanied by Nazi symbols and blasphemous phrases. The parish and the Municipality condemn the act and the owner files a complaint. The text of the verified news report does not record phrases against Islam or Muslims; the photograph published by the same outlet shows the word "ISLAM" next to a swastika, but it is neither an independent confirmation nor autonomously dated or geolocated: the anti-Muslim link remains to be corroborated at the documentary level.	La Nazione, Lucca ed., 7 August 2026 (verified news report); historical reference not independently verified: SerchioInDiretta, 7 August 2026
NZO-2026-084	17–20 September 2026 **Venice-Mestre**	According to the register, in Piraghetto park, where the community gathers for prayer with Police authorisation, graffiti reading "No Islam" ["No Islam"] and large crosses painted on the ground appear; erased, they reappear at least twice more with phrases against the Quran; the Digos examines the camera footage and the Patriarch of Venice speaks of episodes of intolerance. The Corriere del Veneto report of 19 September documents the graffiti on the ground "No Islam Italia" ["No Islam Italia"] and a cross on a wooden structure, not on the ground, and reports Digos investigations; the reappearances, the phrases against the Quran and the examination of the cameras are not verified, nor are there any established attributions or judicial outcomes.	Corriere del Veneto, 19 September 2026 (source read); register references: La Nuova Venezia, 18 and 19 September 2026; Il Gazzettino, 21 September 2026

ID	Date and place	Reported fact and limitations	Source
NZO-2026-105	5 November 2026 **Milan, Affori**	On the outer wall of an Islamic association, a cross appears together with the graffiti "Out with the Arabs, long live Jesus. Remigration. Italian Milan" ["Via gli arabi, viva Gesù. Remigrazione. Milano italiana"], removed within a few hours; the police are called.	Il Giorno, 6 November 2026

Discrimination, including institutional

"UCOII Archive": internal documentary source; caveats as in the first list.

ID	Date and place	Reported fact and limitations	Source
NZO-2025-022	June 2025, by the 28th **Mola di Bari (BA)**	A group of users of the multipurpose centre for the elderly contests, with an open letter drawing on stereotypes, the granting of a room to a Muslim faith association; the mayor defends the decision.	BariToday, 28 June 2025; la Repubblica, picked up by Cronache di ordinario razzismo
NZO-2025-030	September 2025, by the 12th **Gorla Maggiore (VA)**	A mother of Moroccan origin publicly denounces that her seven-year-old son was excluded from the summer oratory, supported by the Municipality, because he is Muslim.	Malpensa24, 12 September 2025
NZO-2025-039	13 November 2025 **Bergamo**	According to the register's sources, the Court of Appeal rules discriminatory a resolution of the Lombardy Region concerning the former church earmarked as a mosque. The outcome is reported as historical data from the register and has not been re-verified here: the register's prior documentation contains neither the text, the case references nor the operative part of the judgment, so the decision remains to be corroborated at the documentary level. This documentary caution does not negate the institutional discrimination historically described. The date is that of the decision.	BergamoNews, 13 November 2025; RaiNews, 15 November 2025

Demonstrations and pickets

"UCOII Archive": internal documentary source; caveats as in the first list.

ID	Date and place	Reported fact and limitations	Source
NZO-2025-023	5 June 2025 **Turin, Barriera di Milano**	March against the mosque of the Barriera di Milano neighbourhood, blocked and escorted by law enforcement; tensions with counter-demonstrators.	Torino Cronaca, 5 June 2025
NZO-2025-029	19 August 2025 **Bernalda (MT)**	At Metaponto, Forza Nuova militants hold a picket and distribute leaflets against the mosque near the place of worship.	ANSA, 20 August 2025; Ufficio Stampa Basilicata (regional news website), 19 August 2025
NZO-2026-051	6 March 2026 **Venice-Mestre**	Forza Nuova militants appear with megaphones and placards at the gate of the area earmarked for the future place of worship of the Bengali community, while the faithful are preparing it for the end-of-Ramadan celebration; the Digos intervenes.	La Nuova Venezia and VeneziaToday, 6 March 2026; Cronache di ordinario razzismo
NZO-2026-053	31 March 2026 **Venice-Mestre**	The police chief (questore) bans the march against the mosque and the counter-march; a picket takes place at the station with the banner "No to the mosque" ["No alla moschea"].	La Nuova Venezia, 30 March 2026; Il Gazzettino and Corriere del Veneto, 31 March 2026
NZO-2026-056	18 April 2026 **Milan**	At a demonstration of right-wing parties, three chants against Muslims are shouted, including "Raise your hand high, remigrate a Muslim" ["Porta in alto la mano, remigra un musulmano"] (analysis in chapter 8, section "In the squares, exclusion moves from religion to people"). Three utterances in the same march count as a single episode.	Rai News, Il Fatto Quotidiano and Open, 18 April 2026
NZO-2026-064	22 May 2026 **Foggia**	In the afternoon, Forza Nuova militants hold a picket in front of the Villa Comunale against the proposed mosque, with a banner against the mosque and a speech by the movement's national leader; the day before, the Municipality had urged against fuelling tensions.	FoggiaToday and l'Immediato, 22 May 2026; Rai TGR Puglia, 21 May 2026

ID	Date and place	Reported fact and limitations	Source
NZO-2026-070	13 June 2026 **Rome**	During the march for "remigration" ["remigrazione"], a group of participants chants "Muslim piece of s…" ["musulmano pezzo di m…"] (chapter 8, section "In the squares, exclusion moves from religion to people").	Agenzia Vista, 13 June 2026; Il Fatto Quotidiano, 14 June 2026
NZO-2026-088	20 September 2026 **Pontida (BG)**	On the stage of the Lega's annual rally, a scene with women in burqas, the chant "take it off" ["levalo"] and slogans against "Islamisation" ["islamizzazione"]. It is an organised performance, not harassment of real people.	il Giornale and Il Messaggero, 20 September 2026; La Stampa, 21 September 2026
NZO-2026-100	19 October 2026 **Turin**	In front of the former Nebiolo site, Fratelli d'Italia holds a rally against the large mosque project, facing a counter-picket; the news reports describe opposing chants and a peaceful confrontation lasting about an hour, with no incidents. It is distinct from the march of June 2025. On 14 November 2026 the commissioning body validated the inclusion of the record, judging the rally to be directed against Muslims or places of worship under the adopted definition, which distinguishes hostility from criticism of a project (chapters 1 and 7). It is a human judgement on relevance, not a new verification of the facts: the description of the peaceful confrontation remains that of the news reports.	ANSA, 19 October 2026; Rai TGR Piemonte, TorinoNews24 and Corriere della Sera, Turin ed., 20 October 2026
NZO-2026-101	24 October 2026 **Brescia**	Picket promoted by Brescia ai bresciani, a far-right group, in front of the future Islamic centre, with slogans about "remigration" ["remigrazione"] and "ethnic replacement" ["sostituzione etnica"]; no incidents.	Corriere della Sera, Brescia ed., 24 October 2026
NZO-2026-102	25 October 2026 **Zola Predosa (BO)**	During the pastoral visit of the Archbishop of Bologna, a banner is displayed reading "Islam belongs in the Mosque and NOT in school" ["l'Islam sta in Moschea e NON a scuola"]. A symbolic demonstration and one by association: the addressee is the archbishop.	Il Resto del Carlino, 26 October 2026; News Istruzione, 26 October 2026

Planned attacks

Prosecution hypotheses at the investigation stage; caveats as in the first list.

ID	Date and place	Reported fact and limitations	Source
NZO-2026-091	25 September 2026 **Several Italian cities**	The Ros and the Digos search seventeen people, including fourteen minors, under investigation for propaganda and incitement to commit offences on grounds of racial and religious discrimination with the aggravating circumstance of terrorist purpose. In the chats circulate manuals for explosive devices and the glorification of perpetrators of mosque massacres; the proposals to attack a mosque, a synagogue and a school are attributed to some youths not yet identified, not indiscriminately to the seventeen suspects. This is neither a completed attack nor a conviction; the case files have not been examined.	ANSA, la Repubblica, Il Fatto Quotidiano and Sky TG24, 25 September 2026
NZO-2026-103	29 October 2026 **Milan metropolitan area**	According to the ANSA report of 29 October 2026, a 22-year-old resident of San Giuliano Milanese was arrested. The plan hypothesised by investigators would also have concerned an Islamic prayer centre in San Donato Milanese, a municipality distinct from that of residence. The charges are at the precautionary stage: this is neither a completed attack nor a conviction. The investigation files have not been examined.	ANSA, MilanoToday, Il Fatto Quotidiano and RaiNews, 29 October 2026 (only the ANSA report has been verified; the other sources in the register have not been verified)

Places of worship, exposed individuals, public discourse, responses

The first cluster concerns places of prayer. In Montello (BG), in June 2024, a man sets fire to the entrance of the Islamic centre of the Pakistani community and scrawls graffiti against mosques; the Carabinieri report him and indicate a motive of religious hatred. In Brescia, the same building, earmarked as a future Islamic centre, is struck four times in ten months: graffiti reading "No mosque" ["No moschea"] and "Remigration" ["Remigrazione"] on 24 December 2025, stickers against the mosque at the beginning of

July 2026, a pig's head hung on the main door on 8 July and a picket by a far-right group on 24 October; in the meantime the Municipality has authorised the change of intended use of the building. In Morbegno (SO), on 1 November 2026, in front of the Islamic Centre of Peace, a pig's head and a sheet with the words "You are no longer welcome" ["Non siete più i beneaccetti"] appear. Three further records concern the provocations by the same influencer during prayer, in Rome, Mestre and Civitavecchia.

The second cluster concerns people recognisable as Muslim or close to the community. In Piacenza, in June 2025, two brothers who worship at the mosque are beaten amid racist insults: the anti-Muslim motive is asserted by the local Islamic community, while the dynamics are disputed. Muslim councillors and candidates, or those perceived as such, receive online insults in Genoa, Assisi, Ravenna and Castelfranco Veneto; in May 2026 the President of UCOII receives two private messages from different senders, one of which contains the phrase "they should come and take you all away" ["vi devono venire a prendere a tutti"]. According to Il Post's reconstruction, for the post by a journalist and politician in January 2026 the Court of Turin recognised, in civil proceedings, its discriminatory character, with an order to pay 20,000 euros to ASGI.

The third cluster is public discourse. At the demonstration of 18 April 2026 in Milan, some participants chant "Raise your hand high, remigrate a Muslim" ["Porta in alto la mano, remigra un musulmano"]; in the Chamber of Deputies, on 20 October 2026, a deputy describes raids as a "typical Islamic custom" ["tipica usanza islamica"]. On a different plane lie two investigations of 2026 which hypothesise attack plans encompassing Islamic places of prayer: on 25 September seventeen people, mostly minors, are searched; on 29 October a 22-year-old is arrested in the metropolitan area of Milan. These are prosecution hypotheses at the investigation stage, not completed attacks nor convictions.

The fourth cluster concerns responses to hostility: the motion against Islamophobia approved by Rome's Municipio V, the solidarity expressed by mayors and parishes, the ban imposed by the police chief (questore) of Venice on both the march against the mosque and the counter-march in Mestre.

The recurrence of the same targets and the same formulas in contexts far removed from one another suggests a shared repertoire rather than a sum of isolated episodes. It is an interpretation argued from the cases, not proof of coordination nor a measure of the nationwide spread of the phenomenon.

> **Seven cases requiring further investigation, outside the totals**
>
> Seven reports require further verification of the dynamics or of the link with anti-Muslim hostility. They are leads for further investigation, presented separately from the main count. The three records NZO-2026-086, NZO-2026-093 and NZO-2026-100, by contrast, remain in the totals: on 14 November 2026 the commissioning body validated their inclusion under the adopted definition, subject to the documentary cautions indicated in the individual records.

- **Turbigo (MI), 9–10 April 2024.** According to La Stampa (11 April 2024), graffiti against Ramadan and Islam appear on the walls near the sports field granted, after a dispute, for the end-of-Ramadan prayer.
- **Crema (CR), around 10 April 2024.** According to La Provincia di Cremona, picked up by Cronache di ordinario razzismo, a Muslim woman shopping for the end of Ramadan with her mother and sister is accused of theft without evidence by the shop manager, detained until the arrival of the Carabinieri and insulted ("go back to your country" ["tornatevene nel vostro Paese"]); a complaint follows.
- **Sassuolo (MO), 30 June 2025.** According to Il Resto del Carlino, picked up by Cronache di ordinario razzismo (1 July 2025), during the discussion in the Municipal Council of a question concerning the purchase of a building by the Islamic community, a racist shout directed at the community comes from the public gallery.
- **Catanzaro, November 2025.** A parliamentary question presents the prayer space opened at the Magna Graecia University as a step towards "Islamisation" ["islamizzazione"]; according to ANSA, its closure is later claimed politically. In the statement of 7 November 2025 the rector reports only the

removal of the "Mosque" ["Moschea"] signage, denies any link with the question and describes the space as authorised by the university.

- **Bergamo, 10 April 2026.** According to BergamoNews (12 April 2026), on a city bus a man threatens a Muslim lady and, when a passenger intervenes in her defence, spits in her face amid racist insults.
- **Bologna, 19 September 2026.** According to UCOII's internal summary of the account given by the injured party, delivered to UCOII together with the documentation of the access to medical care, at the entrance of a place of prayer a young man addresses the worshippers asking what they are doing there and pushes one of them to the ground.
- **Rome, Centocelle, 25 September 2026.** According to RomaToday (2 October 2026), a man of Moroccan origin is struck with a punch to the face, suffering a broken nose and injuries to the eye socket, and insulted over his origin; his lawyer announces a complaint. The news report consulted contains no religious references and the anti-Muslim link remains to be corroborated.

Key sources

- News census of the UCOII Observatory, 1 April 2024–6 November 2026; complete list of the records in the chapter.
- Rai TGR Lombardia and Fanpage, 26 June 2024 (Montello).
- Giornale di Brescia, 26 December 2025 and 7–8 July 2026; Corriere della Sera, Brescia ed., 24 October 2026; il Giornale, 31 October 2026 (Brescia).
- Il Giorno, 2 November 2026 (Morbegno).
- Il Post, 21 July 2026 (Court of Turin).
- Chamber of Deputies, stenographic record of sitting No. 729, 20 October 2026, p. 27.
- ANSA, 25 September and 29 October 2026 (investigations into planned attacks).
- Magna Graecia University of Catanzaro, statement of 7 November 2025: https://web.unicz.it/it/news/124751

3 — Muslim women and multiple discrimination

The experiences of Muslim women vary according to religious practice, migration history, social position and exposure to violence. Gender, origin and religion can combine into a single unfavourable treatment. When it is worn, the veil becomes a visible signal for those who discriminate, but it does not measure the autonomy of the woman wearing it. To understand an experience, one needs the woman's voice and the context in which she lives.

The veil as a condition of access

An applicant was screened out of a trade-fair job because she did not intend to remove her hijab. The Court of Appeal of Milan protected her choice against the client's aesthetic preference (Factsheet B; chapter "Employment and access to opportunities"). In this case gender and religion intersect: access to work was made conditional on renouncing a sign of belonging, without any demonstrated professional necessity.

The FRA survey allows a broader comparison, but on aggregated data for the countries included, not estimated for Italy. Women who wear traditional or religious clothing report racial discrimination when looking for work, over the past five years, in 45% of cases. Among those who do not wear it, the share is 31%. Among women aged 16–24, the comparison by use of head coverings such as the hijab or niqab is 58% versus 38%.

These are associations between responses, not causal effects of the veil. Experiments on job applications vary gender and origin but not clothing, and therefore do not isolate the effect of clothing.

Exposed in public space

Again on a European basis, FRA reports inappropriate stares, offensive gestures, insults and assaults that women associate with wearing the veil. The same survey shows that the link between religious clothing and violence also concerns men, who are more often stopped in police checks and more often interpret them as ethnic profiling. Exposure changes form depending on gender, but it does not disappear.

The news census (chapter "Incidents and the geography of hostility") records episodes consistent with this picture. They are based on news reports or complaints, not on judicial findings:

- **Bologna, July 2025.** A man insults a young Bangladeshi woman in a supermarket and tears off her veil.
- **Foligno, early 2025.** A Tunisian woman recounts that the owner of a shop tried to tear off her hijab; the person concerned disputes this version.
- **Sant'Antimo (NA), February 2025.** A former colleague repeatedly shows up with a knife and a bat at the workplace of a young Pakistani worker to threaten her because she wears the veil. The Carabinieri arrest him.

Another form of hostility is the public exposure of a woman's image:

- **Naples and Bari, September–October 2026.** Political figures publish photographs of veiled women taken in the street. In Naples the photo is presented as an example of the "Islamisation danger" [«pericolo islamizzazione»], in Bari it is accompanied by a hostile comment.
- **Turin, June 2026.** A Member of the European Parliament circulates the video of a verbal confrontation with a woman in a niqab accompanied by a minor. The woman states that she was filmed without her consent and asserts her own choice; the MEP, according to DC News, presents the video as a denunciation of the full-face veil and of the Islamisation she believes is under way in certain neighbourhoods.
- **Pontida, 20 September 2026.** On stage, a performance is staged with women in burqas and the chant "take it off" [«levalo»], which constructs the same symbolic figure.

- **The case of the aid worker, 2020.** According to the REASON/Mediavox monitoring, the conversion of an aid worker who had been kidnapped and then freed became an occasion for anti-Muslim content: an Italian woman rendered symbolically foreign through her own faith.

Listening to women's choices

A 2025 study by Di Gesto, Guidi, Policardo, Nerini and Matera involved 120 Muslim women living in Italy, recruited through social media and cultural centres, without random sampling. In the sample, a climate perceived as more hostile is associated with lower social well-being. Feeling recognised by society and by friends is associated with higher social well-being. Recognition by the family also shows a positive, weaker correlation, but in the multivariate model its effect is not significant.

It is not a national sample, and the study does not establish which condition precedes the other. It does indicate, however, that networks of recognition are not interchangeable.

Correlations between social well-being, perceived Islamophobia and recognition

Variable	Correlation with social well-being (r)
Perceived Islamophobia	–0.26
Social recognition	0.61
Recognition by friends	0.43
Recognition by the family	0.28

The values are bivariate correlations between each variable and social well-being, calculated on a non-probability sample of 120 Muslim women living in Italy. They are not percentages, they do not indicate causal effects and they do not represent national data.

Source: Di Gesto et al. (2025), table 2, consulted via Europe PMC (PMC12562204).

In the cases of public exposure of women's images described above, the woman is treated as a public symbol of a religion, while her choice and her experience fade into the background. In the Turin case, however, the person concerned spoke out publicly.

Effective protection must do three things: assess the concrete effect of the requirements imposed; distinguish between domestic violence, religious discrimination and barriers in services, which may overlap; and prevent the "liberation of women" [«liberazione della donna»] from becoming a reason to exclude them from work, education or participation.

Three sources, three questions

The table sets side by side sources that answer different questions: a judicial decision, an experiment on job applications and a survey of reported experiences. The indicators do not add up and cannot be compared directly. Full references are in the chapter and in Factsheet B.

Source	What it observes	What it does not isolate
Ruling on the trade-fair job	Exclusion linked to the refusal to remove the hijab, with examination of the job duties	National frequency of similar exclusions
Job-application experiment	Differential responses to signals of gender and origin	Personal faith and use of the veil
FRA	Reported experiences, clothing, generation and other characteristics	Causal effect of clothing alone

Key sources

- FRA, *Being Muslim in the EU* (2024), pp. 53–54, 72, 78, 84–90: https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2024/being-muslim-eu
- Court of Appeal of Milan, judgment 579/2016, copy published by ASGI.

- Di Gesto, Guidi, Policardo, Nerini and Matera, *Mattering perceived Islamophobia and well-being Muslim women Italy*, 29 September 2025.
- Il Resto del Carlino, Bologna ed., 9 July 2025; Rai TGR Umbria, 3 and 5 February 2025; la Repubblica, Naples ed., 11 February 2025.
- la Repubblica, Naples ed., 22 September 2026, Bari ed., 2 October 2026; La Luce, 29 June 2026; DC News, 29 June 2026 (Turin, the MEP's position).

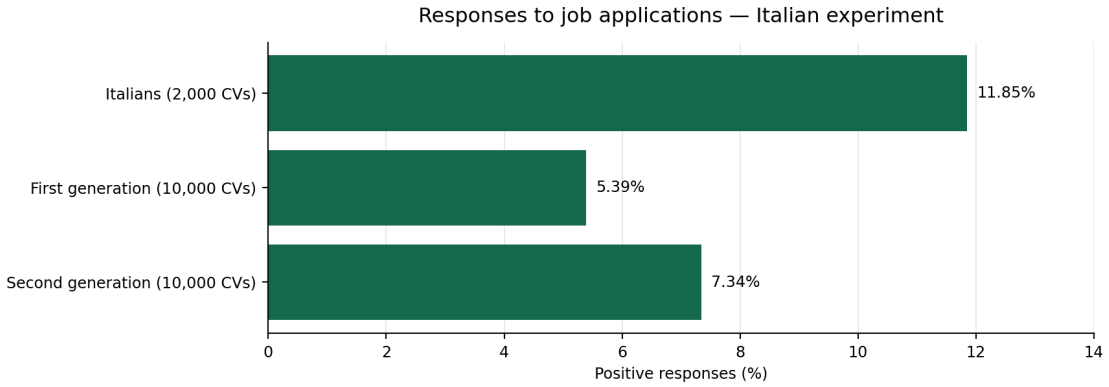
4 — Employment and access to opportunities

Exclusion from employment can occur before any interview, in a silence that applicants do not know how to interpret. Three sources make it visible from different angles: an Italian experiment on responses to job applications, a court ruling on the hijab, and the experiences collected by the FRA survey. Age, qualifications, networks, recognition of credentials and administrative status also affect employment differentials. Each source manages to isolate only part of these factors.

The CV that receives no reply

Between July 2013 and October 2014, Busetta, Campolo and Panarello sent 22,000 fictitious CVs in response to 1,000 job advertisements. With identical qualifications, the CVs varied only in the gender and origin of the applicants. The study, published in 2018, counts contact requests and interview invitations.

Profiles	CVs sent	Positive responses as a share of all CVs sent
Italians	2,000	11.85%
First generation	10,000	5.39%
Second generation	10,000	7.34%



Positive responses to job applications by applicant group (% of total CVs sent per group): Italians (2,000 CVs) 11.85%, first generation (10,000 CVs) 5.39%, second generation (10,000 CVs) 7.34%. Source: Busetta, Campolo and Panarello (2018), Table 3; experiment with 22,000 fictitious CVs sent in response to 1,000 advertisements between July 2013 and October 2014.

The disadvantage is greatest for the first generation and diminishes, without disappearing, for the second; the experiment compares origin and does not isolate the effect of religion.

The Moroccan profile signals an origin and a name, not a randomly assigned faith. The authors nonetheless point to Islamophobia as a possible additional explanation for those profiles. Chinese profiles are also penalised, while German ones turn out to be favoured: what matters is perceived origin, not being generically foreign. For the second generation, the authors observe, the lower success rate may reflect employers' preferences and prejudices, not merely doubts about skills.

According to the study, in the subset of companies that responded to at least one profile, women receive fewer responses than men in all three groups. The disadvantage increases in certain public-facing roles, especially for the first generation. The preference attributed to customers can therefore be anticipated by those doing the selecting and become a barrier already at this stage.

When the judge distinguishes the preferable from the essential

In February 2013, an applicant for two days of leafleting at the MICAM trade fair states that she does not want to remove her hijab and offers to match it to the uniform; she is screened out at the initial stage. The recruitment company invokes the aesthetic requirements requested by the client, including long, visible hair. In 2016 the Court of Appeal of Milan, in judgment 579/2016, finds direct discrimination; the full judicial history is reconstructed in Factsheet B.

The Court looks at the effect of the treatment, not at the intention declared by those doing the selecting. Visible hair was not indicated as indispensable either in the advertisement or in the client's request, and a preference, however much expressed by the client, does not thereby become an essential and determining requirement. The protection concerns the possibility of being considered in a selection process, not the right to obtain that job.

Reported experiences

In Italy, 13% of employed Muslim respondents report racial discrimination at work in the twelve months preceding the interview (2021–2022 survey). In FRA's definition, racial discrimination includes skin colour, ethnic or migratory origin and religion. The news census adds extreme cases, such as the armed threats suffered by a female worker in Sant'Antimo, described in the chapter "Muslim women and multiple discrimination".

The three sources complement one another. The survey captures what an experiment cannot see: job duties, promotions, harassment, renunciations. The experiment detects a barrier that the real applicant does not know about, because they receive only silence. The judgment makes it possible to assess the invoked exception on its merits.

Together, these sources show that equality is already at stake in the phase that precedes the contract. It is the phase in which disparity is hardest to recognise and to prove.

Key sources

- Busetta, Campolo and Panarello, *Immigrants and Italian labor market*, 2018: experiment with 22,000 fictitious applications, July 2013–October 2014, Table 3.
- Court of Appeal of Milan, judgment 579/2016, published on 20 May 2016, RG 1239/2014, copy published by ASGI.
- FRA, *Being Muslim in the EU* (2024): https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2024/being-muslim-eu

5 — Housing, healthcare and services

Housing, healthcare and services pose problems of a different nature, which must be kept distinct. Overcrowding describes a living condition. The refusal of a rental concerns the treatment received by a person. Access to healthcare also depends on rules, resources and language.

Distinguishing these levels helps in choosing appropriate responses. The housing indicators of the FRA survey, an experiment on the rental market and the available documents on services each illuminate one part of the picture.

Housing conditions and economic hardship

For the FRA housing indicators, the unit of analysis is the people living in the households of Muslim respondents, who do not necessarily all share the same faith. The Italian interviews date from 2021–2022.

Indicator	Households of Muslim respondents, Italy	Italian general population	Years
People in overcrowded housing	53%	25%	FRA 2022; Eurostat 2021
People in housing deprivation	16%	17%	FRA 2022; Eurostat 2020

Overcrowding affects 53% of people in both the North African–origin group and the sub-Saharan–origin group. That is 28 points more than the general population. It is a gap in living conditions, not a measure of religious discrimination.

Housing deprivation considers deficiencies such as damp, the absence of an indoor bathroom or a dwelling that is too dark. The overall figure is in line with the national one, but within the sample the sub-Saharan group (24%) is worse off than the North African one (14%).

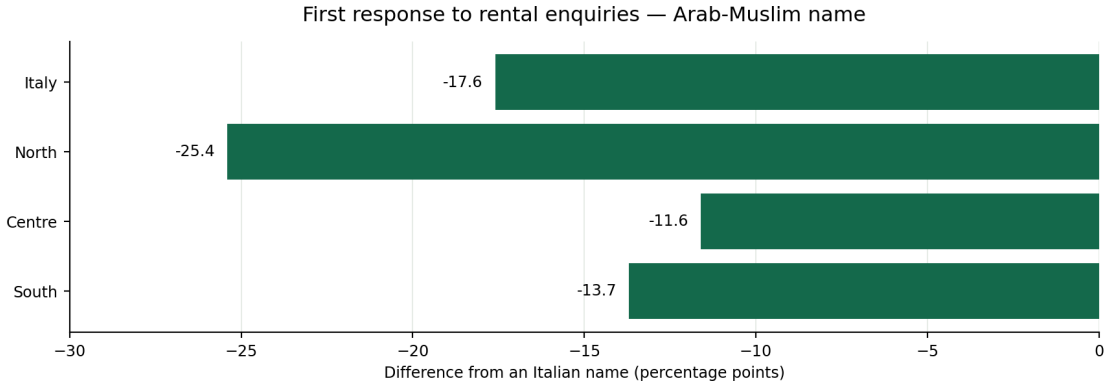
In Italy, among those who looked for housing in the last five years, FRA records reported racial discrimination in 45% of cases among those who make ends meet with difficulty and in 20% among those who do so with ease.

The association can work in two directions. Limited resources narrow choice and expose people to segmented markets; a discriminatory refusal, in turn, worsens opportunities and costs. Anti-discrimination protection and housing policies are therefore not alternatives: they act on different components of the same problem, which can compound one another.

The name that closes the door

In 2010 Baldini and Federici sent 3,676 rental enquiries in 41 Italian cities. The enquiries varied the applicant's name (Italian, Arab-Muslim or Eastern European) and gender. The results that follow concern the 3,051 correctly written enquiries and measure the first response to the advertisements: the step at which a name can become a barrier even before any meeting.

Comparison with the Italian name	Italy	North	Centre	South
Arab-Muslim name, both genders	–17.6	–25.4	–11.6	–13.7
Arab-Muslim name, men	–22.1	–29.7	–19.6	–15.4
Arab-Muslim name, women	–13.0	–20.9	–3.7	–11.7
Eastern European name, both genders	–12.5	–19.8	–7.3	–8.4



Difference in the first-response rate to rental enquiries between senders with an Arab-Muslim name and with an Italian name, in Italy and by macro-region (percentage points). Source: Baldini and Federici, CAPP No. 77, Table 2; 2010 experiment in 41 cities, 3,676 total enquiries; chart base: 3,051 correctly written enquiries, senders of both genders.

The widest gap is recorded in the North (−25.4 points), the narrowest in the Centre (−11.6); the name signals both perceived origin and possible religious affiliation, without making it possible to separate the two factors.

The values are differences in percentage points in positive responses. Not all cells are statistically significant: that of women with an Arab-Muslim name in the Centre, for example, is not.

The disadvantage of Arab-Muslim names is clear-cut but not uniform. Men are more penalised than women and the gap is wider in the North. Eastern European names also receive fewer responses. Positive information about work, family and references attenuates some gaps without eliminating them.

The authors consider the residual discrimination compatible with preferences and prejudices, as well as with incomplete information. A name, after all, signals both perceived origin and a possible religious affiliation.

Access to healthcare and the organisation of services

For healthcare, the available Italian sources are scarce. For Italy, FRA reports that 6% of respondents aged 16–64 with a need for an examination or treatment did not have it met in the last year. This is a material condition, not a measure of religious discrimination.

Burials during the 2020 pandemic show a problem different from the individual refusal of a service. The sources describe waits, transfers and negotiations with local authorities. In this case, the availability of spaces and the agreements between municipalities make the same right practicable or difficult, and planning prevents each family from having to seek an emergency solution on its own.

Communal spaces can also become grounds for conflict. In Mola di Bari, in June 2025, a group of people who use the local centre for older people object in an open letter, using stereotypes, to a Muslim association being given use of a room. The mayor defends the decision.

Overall, housing and services show how disadvantaged material conditions and discriminatory treatment can compound one another without coinciding. This is why distinct responses are needed: access policies for the former, protection instruments for the latter.

Key sources

- FRA, *Being Muslim in the EU* (2024), pp. 48, 50, 108–109, Figures 37–38: https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2024/being-muslim-eu
- Baldini and Federici, working paper CAPP No. 77, Table 2, pp. 3–16: https://iris.unimore.it/retrieve/c4491fe8-d5e4-4959-9ab0-775b9b391129/Capp_p77.pdf
- BariToday, 28 June 2025 (Mola di Bari).

6 — Schools and younger generations

Schools are one of the places of everyday Muslim presence, but also a space in which that presence can be turned into a symbol. A school calendar, a fairy-tale reading or a banner outside a gate can become national questions about religion and integration.

The issue is not new. On 10 March 1993, in an address to the school community, the then Archbishop of Milan called for knowing the story of every pupil "avoiding generic categories" [«evitando le categorie generiche»]. In the same text, however, he set the increase in students of Arab-Islamic origin alongside the decline of "our children" [«nostri ragazzi»].

Pioltello: a calendar choice that became national

The Iqbal Masih comprehensive school (Istituto comprensivo) in Pioltello (MI) has about 1,300 students; the figure refers to the whole institute, not to Muslim pupils alone. The school suspended lessons on 10 April 2024, the day of the festival marking the end of Ramadan. The original documents make it possible to reconstruct the decision.

Date	Document	Documented content
19–28 May 2023	Resolution 14, cited in circular 234	Initial calendar, with the presumed date of the end of Ramadan and three school closure days adjoining holidays or weekends (26, 29 and 30 April)
25 March 2024	Extract from minutes 8, resolution 1	16 votes in favour, no abstentions or votes against; suspension on 10 and 26 April
26 March 2024	Circular 208, prot. 4348	Communication of the replacement calendar and of the educational reasons
5 April 2024	Transparent administration section	Publication of the link to the resolution

The initial choice predates 7 October 2023 and the war in Gaza. The circular of 28 May 2023 already indicated, provisionally, 8 April for the end of Ramadan, if it fell on a weekday.

The March 2024 revision changed the dates, the number of closures and the explicit rationale. The resolution justifies the suspension of 10 April with the "very high foreseeable absence rate" [«altissimo tasso di assenza prevedibile»] due to the "customs of the school population" [«consuetudini della popolazione scolastica»] and links it to the effectiveness of teaching activities.

Different readings confront one another around the decision. The educational reading looks at the expected absences and expresses an organisational rationale, distinct from the establishment of a holiday. The ministerial reading insists on competences and rules: in the statement reported by RaiNews, the Minister of Education and Merit, Giuseppe Valditara, acknowledges the correction and argues that true inclusion requires open schools, while the term "supposed" [«supposte»], referring to the educational needs, expresses a criticism of the decision, not hostility towards Muslims.

The identitarian reading, by contrast, extends the controversy from the school's choice to the Muslim presence as such, portrayed as an invasion, with a shift that does not appear in all the statements; local parish priests and trade unions, on the contrary, consider the choice consistent with the local community. The controversy thus cuts across religious and institutional affiliations, without dividing Muslims in favour from non-Muslims against. RaiNews also reports insults and threats against the head teacher.

Schools in the news census

The records in the chapter "Incidents and the geography of hostility" show three ways in which schools enter the conflict.

The first is educational activity mistaken for proselytism. On 9 November 2025, outside the Vittorio Locchi primary school in Milan's Niguarda district, a reading of fairy tales in Arabic took place. According

to the account of a witness, a parent contested it believing it to be a reading of the Quran, with signs against Islam and insults directed at a teacher.

The second is the presence of pupils of foreign origin turned into a target:

- **Mestre, September 2026.** A banner appears outside a school reading "Your integration our marginalisation" [«La vostra integrazione la nostra emarginazione»]. The content is xenophobic; the specifically anti-Muslim link remains to be corroborated at the documentary level. On 14 November 2026 the commissioning party validated the inclusion of the record in the census according to the adopted definition: this is a human judgment on relevance, not a new verification of the facts.
- **Zola Predosa (BO), 25 October 2026.** During the pastoral visit of the Archbishop of Bologna, a banner is displayed reading "Islam belongs in the Mosque and NOT in school" [«l'Islam sta in Moschea e NON a scuola»].
- **Gorla Maggiore (VA), September 2025.** A mother publicly denounces that her seven-year-old son was excluded, because he is Muslim, from the summer parish youth programme supported by the municipality.

The third is the university. The prayer space at the University of Catanzaro appears among the cases requiring further investigation, in the box within the same chapter.

Parliamentary policy proposals and institutional responses

Between June and September 2026 a deputy of the Mixed Group conducted a campaign against the "Islamisation of schools" [«islamizzazione delle scuole»], recorded in the census as political-institutional discourse. On 22 July 2026 the Culture Committee of the Chamber of Deputies approved, in identical text, as reformulated by the competent undersecretary, his resolution (8-00103) and that of a deputy of the Lega (8-00104). The deputy presents the act as a ban on "Islamisation" [«islamizzazione»], but the approved text concerns pluralism, informed consent of families, school activities and the prevention of indoctrination: it is an act of direction addressed to the Government and does not contain that ban.

The same institutions also produce protective responses. On 8 April 2026, replying to a parliamentary question, the minister responsible acknowledged the right to education and the autonomy of the Sassetti Peruzzi Institute in Florence and ruled out grounds for further intervention; the rejoinder of the questioner, who generalises an incompatibility between Muslims and Western values, remains a distinct voice.

Schools make evident a distinction that runs through the entire volume. Criticism of an administrative choice, political direction and hostility towards a minority are different planes, which public debate tends to conflate. In the documented cases, the exposure of the new generations arises when a pupil becomes the symbol of a conflict that does not concern them.

Key sources

- Iqbal Masih comprehensive school of Pioltello: circular 234 of 28 May 2023; extract from minutes 8 of 25 March 2024; circular 208 of 26 March 2024. RaiNews, March 2024.
- Fanpage, 20 November 2025 (Niguarda); Corriere del Veneto and Il Gazzettino, 19 September 2026 (Mestre); Il Resto del Carlino, 26 October 2026 (Zola Predosa); Malpensa24, 12 September 2025 (Gorla Maggiore).
- Chamber of Deputies, Culture Committee, 22 July 2026, pp. 147–149 and 167–172: https://documenti.camera.it/apps/commonServices/getDocumento.ashx?idLegislatura=19&sezione=bollettini&tipoDoc=pdf&anno=2026&mese=07&giorno=22&file=leg.19.bol0715.data20260722.com07
- Chamber of Deputies, sitting of 8 April 2026, pp. 39–40: https://documenti.camera.it/leg19/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0640/stenografico.pdf

7 — Communities, places of worship and local areas

A stable place to pray is the material precondition for the collective exercise of religious freedom. A right recognised on paper can be hollowed out by procedures with uncertain timelines or by constraints imposed solely on religious activities. At the same time, a centre attended by hundreds of people has an impact on the territory and requires building permits and safety measures. The decisions examined in this chapter separate two planes: the general barrier imposed by a rule and the regulation of the concrete use of a building. Alongside the two judgments of the Constitutional Court stands a group of twelve decisions by the administrative courts, chosen to highlight the recurring conflicts between urban planning rules and the exercise of worship. Alongside the decisions, local news reports show a conflict that also affects buildings still awaiting opening and essential services such as burials.

The Constitutional Court removed the barrier of Lombardy's planning rules

With judgment 254/2019, ruling on questions raised by the Regional Administrative Court (TAR) for Lombardy in the appeals of two Islamic associations, one of them in Castano Primo (MI), the Constitutional Court declared unlawful two provisions of Lombardy Law 12/2005 as amended in 2015. The first made every new religious facility, even a small private hall, subject to the plan for religious facilities (PAR), in a manner disproportionate to the actual impact and with a constraint that weighed only on religious facilities, unlike other associative activities. The second tied the approval of the PAR to the general territorial plan, making the response to applications uncertain and indefinitely postponable. On the basis of Articles 2, 3 and 19 of the Constitution, and recalling precedent 63/2016, the Court states that freedom of worship is guaranteed regardless of an agreement (*intesa*) with the State and regardless of belonging to the majority. Religious planning remains lawful when it pursues urban planning purposes and takes the right of worship into account.

The result is clear-cut: a barrier to the exercise of worship can arise from a regional rule, as well as from individual conduct, and can be removed through constitutional review. The procedural reconstruction of these cases is in Factsheet C.

The other territorial measures collected, distributed across Lombardy, Piedmont, Veneto and Friuli-Venezia Giulia, confirm that outcomes must be read one by one. In Magenta (MI) the annulment of a 2020 refusal obliges the municipality to re-examine the application. In Varallo (VC) a 2009 order on the burkini was revoked, while the challenge to another order was dismissed. The 2019 Milan plan and the 2023 Turin pact are acts of recognition.

Twelve administrative court decisions illustrating the disputes

In addition to Constitutional Court judgments 63/2016 and 254/2019, the chapter examines twelve decisions by the administrative courts, relating to nine disputes distributed across seven regions. The starting point is a register of 57 records, which collect documents of various kinds, including an overview of the case law of the European Court of Human Rights. From the records, thirteen decisions were selected: eleven administrative ones and the two of the Constitutional Court. To these is added, as an update external to the register, Council of State judgment 8060/2026 of 5 November 2026 on the Casalpusterlengo case. The decisions coded in the framework are therefore fourteen: twelve administrative and two constitutional; other rulings, such as the decision of the Plenary Assembly of 31 July 2026 on Darus Salaam, are discussed in the text as context. The latter remain distinct and are excluded from the territorial counts.

The selection is purposive and illustrative, not statistically representative. It was constructed to illustrate the recurring conflicts (between building regulations and the exercise of worship, between first instance and appeal, between the annulment of a measure and its re-adoption); the frequency with which

communities prevail remains outside its scope. The figures that follow describe only the subset examined: they cannot be used to calculate success rates or make national estimates.

The territorial distribution of the twelve administrative decisions is as follows.

Region	Decisions	Disputes	Localities
Lombardy	5	3	Rogno (BG), Cantù (CO), Casalpusterlengo (LO)
Liguria	2	1	Ventimiglia (IM)
Tuscany	1	1	Pisa
Veneto	1	1	Venice
Piedmont	1	1	Turin
Emilia-Romagna	1	1	Parma
Friuli-Venezia Giulia	1	1	Monfalcone (GO), Baitus Salat association
Total	**12**	**9**	

Nine decisions were handed down by regional administrative courts: two each by the TAR Lombardia, Brescia seat, the TAR Lombardia, Milan seat, and the TAR Liguria; one each by the TAR Toscana, the TAR Piemonte and the TAR Emilia-Romagna, Parma section. The other three are from the Council of State. Eight are first-instance rulings, one was rendered in judgment-enforcement proceedings and three on appeal.

With respect to the position of the community concerned, nine decisions have a favourable outcome, one has a mixed outcome and two have an unfavourable outcome. This figure requires three caveats. First of all, several decisions may concern the same case: the two rulings on Rogno, the two on Ventimiglia and the two on Casalpusterlengo each refer to a single community and a single conflict, and should be read as a single case. Secondly, a favourable outcome coincides only in some cases with the recognition of a harm. In Turin the TAR Piemonte (1139/2011) declared inadmissible the appeal brought by third parties, with a merely procedural advantage for the community. In Parma the TAR (187/2015) rejected the claim for damages that third parties had brought against the municipality, with a ruling limited to that claim: the recognition of harm to the community remains outside the decision. Finally, TAR Brescia judgment 3522/2010 on Rogno is classified as a mixed outcome: it partially upholds the appeal, with an annulment of an urban planning nature relating to the territorial governance plan, but confirms the refusal of retrospective regularisation.

What the decisions recognise

Within the administrative subset, two rulings expressly address restrictions on worship, and with differing scope. The TAR Milano, with judgment 483/2024 on Cantù (§ 16.2), states that the ground for the refusal conflicts with the regional law and with the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of worship. Its finding therefore concerns the violation of the freedom of worship; discrimination under Article 20 of the Constitution, suggested in a commentary on the judgment, remains outside the scope of the ruling. The TAR Toscana, with judgment 663/2020 on Pisa (§ 2a), recognises that the amendment to the local plan created a significant obstacle to the exercise of worship, making that freedom very difficult to exercise, and that the administration had not taken this into account in weighing the interests at stake. The court mentions a suspicion of discrimination that the administration should have dispelled; the point remains a step in the reasoning, distinct from a finding of discrimination. These are therefore two rulings on the compression of worship: their finding concerns the freedom of worship, and the characterisation as Islamophobia remains external to the decisions. For both, whether they have become final (res judicata) remains to be verified.

Overall, a finding of discrimination as such remains absent from all twelve decisions. The annulments are based on defects of fact-finding, reasoning, procedure or urban planning, and a discriminatory intent

requires a finding distinct from the annulment. This outcome indicates only that the cases examined were decided on other grounds; the existence of actual discrimination remains an open question.

Finality, re-adoption and the limits of individual rulings

Finality (res judicata) is considered proven only when a subsequent decision expressly attests to it. This occurs in two cases. TAR Brescia judgment 3522/2010 is declared final by judgment 344/2016 of the same court; TAR Liguria judgment 551/2020 is indicated as having become res judicata between the parties by judgment 652/2021. Both concern aspects other than a finding of discrimination. For nine decisions, finality remains to be verified, while TAR Milano judgment 832/2024 was reversed on appeal. Proof of finality requires an express attestation, beyond the fact that a ruling comes from the Council of State, beyond the formula with which the court rules definitively, and beyond the order of execution.

Rogno and Ventimiglia show that a conflict can reopen even after a final judgment. In Rogno the TAR Brescia, in judgment-enforcement proceedings, found disproportionate the conditions through which the municipality had implemented the final judgment. In Ventimiglia the TAR Liguria annulled a new refusal because it was incompatible with the rule on the relationship established by the previous decision.

Two other cases clarify the boundaries of what the courts have decided. In Casalpusterlengo the Council of State, with judgment 8060/2026, reversed TAR Milano judgment 832/2024 and annulled the municipal measures on grounds of the indeterminacy of the order and the lack of fact-finding. The decision remains confined to the annulment of the measures: the issuance of a building permit, retrospective regularisation and a finding against the municipality for discrimination remain outside its operative part. In Venice, with judgment 3803/2020, the Council of State ruled in favour of the association because, in the specific case, the change of use of the building was irrelevant for urban planning purposes and the increased demand on local infrastructure and services had remained unproven. The ruling remains confined to the specific case: a general exemption for social promotion associations remains outside the decision.

The following table summarises the twelve decisions; references to the texts are listed among the key sources.

Place	Decision	Outcome in practice	Finality
Rogno (BG)	TAR Brescia 3522/2010, first instance	Mixed outcome: partial upholding with an annulment of an urban planning nature; refusal of retrospective regularisation confirmed	Proven (attested by TAR Brescia 344/2016)
Rogno (BG)	TAR Brescia 344/2016, judgment-enforcement proceedings	Favourable: municipal conditions found disproportionate in implementing the final judgment	Not verified
Ventimiglia (IM)	TAR Liguria 551/2020, first instance	Favourable: measure annulled for procedural defects; compatibility of the project with the municipal urban plan (PUC) recognised	Proven (attested by TAR Liguria 652/2021)
Ventimiglia (IM)	TAR Liguria 652/2021, first instance	Favourable: new refusal annulled because incompatible with the previous decision	Not verified
Pisa	TAR Toscana 663/2020, first instance	Favourable: significant obstacle to worship omitted from the weighing of interests; no finding of discrimination	Not verified
Venice	Council of State 3803/2020, appeal	Favourable: change of use irrelevant in the specific case, additional demand on local infrastructure not established	Not verified
Turin	TAR Piemonte 1139/2011, first instance	Favourable on procedural grounds: third-party appeal inadmissible	Not verified
Parma	TAR Parma 187/2015, first instance	Favourable: third-party claim for damages against the municipality rejected	Not verified
Cantù (CO)	TAR Milano 483/2024, first instance	Favourable: violation of the freedom of worship and defects of fact-finding and reasoning in the refusal	Not verified
Casalpusterlengo (LO)	TAR Milano 832/2024, first instance	Unfavourable: appeals rejected	Reversed (Council of State 8060/2026)

Place	Decision	Outcome in practice	Finality
Casalpusterlengo (LO)	Council of State 8060/2026, appeal	Favourable: measures annulled for indeterminacy of the order and lack of fact-finding	Not verified
Monfalcone (GO), Baitus Salat	Council of State 2822/2025, appeal	Unfavourable: the municipality's appeal upheld on grounds of the increased demand on local infrastructure and services	Not verified

In Monfalcone building regulations prevailed, and the duty of cooperation stands firm

The two Islamic centres of Monfalcone lost their premises at the end of separate proceedings. For the Baitus Salat association, the Council of State, with judgment 2822/2025, upheld the municipality's appeal against the annulment of the order prohibiting the use as a place of worship of premises designated for commercial use. Decisive was the increase in the demand on local infrastructure and services due to the influx of worshippers. The disparity of treatment compared with other denominations was held to be unproven in the decision. The same judgment at the same time invokes Article 19 of the Constitution, pluralism and a duty of loyal cooperation that binds both the administration and the associations, and includes the search for alternative premises that are accessible and dignified. Within the framework of the twelve administrative decisions, it is one of the two with an outcome unfavourable to the community; whether it has become final remains to be verified. The stages of this proceeding are reconstructed in Factsheet C.

For the Darus Salaam centre, the Council of State sitting in plenary session, on 31 July 2026, held lawful the acquisition of the building into the municipal estate: the deadline for complying with the restoration order had already expired when the association obtained its first favourable ruling. For the judges, the penalties applicable to the property remain unchanged even in light of the constitutional significance of worship, and the judges did not decide whether the municipality had discriminated. On 18 September 2026 the association handed over the keys.

The two rulings document a concrete loss of spaces. Read together with the Lombardy judgment, they establish two compatible rules: an association remains subject to building regulations, and administrations take the needs of worship into account in planning and cooperate in the search for suitable spaces, while applying building regulations in the cases provided for.

Local disputes also affect places yet to open and essential services

Local news reports show that hostility can also strike a building still awaiting opening. In Brescia, while the administrative procedure for the future Islamic centre was under way, a pig's head was found at the building. The reports collected document the investigations by the police unit DIGOS and the condemnations by local political groups; any judicial determination of perpetrators and motive requires an updated verification. The municipality subsequently authorised the change of use. In Sestri Levante, graffiti against Islam appeared at a Catholic chapel that local rumours indicated as a future mosque; the Pastoral Council denied the rumour and condemned the graffiti, as reported in the news census (chapter 2). The target can therefore be a Muslim presence that is awaited or merely imagined.

The life of the communities goes beyond conflict. A Sky TG24 report of 25 July 2026 from Bologna describes a community dinner and "the tradition of the Sadaka accompanied by the reading of the Quran" [«la tradizione della Sadaka accompagnata dalla lettura del Corano»], that is, the offering of food to family members and friends during mourning. Mourning itself also reveals a material obstacle. In January 2026 a municipal councillor of Paullo called for regional coordination after three deaths in the south-east of the Milan area. The three cases were resolved with a repatriation financed by the community, a burial in a nearby municipality and a derogation obtained in Bergamo. The Welfare Directorate-General of the Region points to municipal competence over cemetery plans. It is a dispute over access to a service; any discrimination remains to be ascertained. The verified rulings of the subset

examined concern matters other than burials: the Paullo case is documented by news reports and is excluded from the counts. The figure describes only the selection; the existence of decisions on this matter in Italy remains outside its scope.

The most recent initiatives reopen the regulatory front. On 16 October 2026 the regional councillors of the Lega presented in Lombardy a bill that would stop prayer in warehouses and shops, strengthen mayors' powers and make collective religious activities conditional on an agreement (intesa) with the State. At present this is a proposal, which will have to be measured against the principles of judgments 63/2016 and 254/2019. In Piedmont, against the mosque project in Turin, a regional amendment on distances between places of worship was announced in October. On 3 November the Region replied to a parliamentary question by invoking land remediation constraints on the area, contested by the promoting community.

The picture that emerges requires case-by-case readings. Some regulatory barriers have been declared unconstitutional; some municipal orders have been held justified, others annulled for defects of fact-finding, reasoning or proportion; some hostilities strike projects before they even exist. It is precisely this variety that makes it possible to identify, case by case, where the concrete obstacle lies: in a law, in a procedure, in a missing service or in an intimidating act.

The outcomes of judgment 254/2019

Summary of Constitutional Court judgment No. 254 of 2019, already discussed in the chapter, on the provisions of Lombardy Law 12/2005 as amended. It concerns only the rules examined by the Court; the general regulatory state of affairs on places of worship remains outside its scope.

Provision examined	Outcome 254/2019	Central reason
Article 72, paragraph 2, Lombardy Law 12/2005 as amended	Constitutional unlawfulness	Absolute PAR requirement for every new religious facility, without proportion to the impact
Article 72, paragraph 5, second sentence	Constitutional unlawfulness	Required simultaneity with the general plan/general variant, uncertain timelines and unreasonable compression
Article 72, paragraph 1	Questions inadmissible	Religious planning as a whole is not annulled

Key sources

- Constitutional Court, judgment 254/2019 (full text published by ASGI); judgment 63/2016.
- Council of State, section II, judgment 2822/2025 (full copy hosted by Il Sole 24 Ore); Council of State, Plenary Assembly, decision of 31 July 2026.
- Eleven administrative decisions of the framework, texts retrieved from giustizia-amministrativa.it: TAR Brescia 3522/2010 and 344/2016 (Rogno); TAR Liguria 551/2020 and 652/2021 (Ventimiglia); TAR Toscana 663/2020 (Pisa); Council of State 3803/2020 (Venice); TAR Piemonte 1139/2011 (Turin); TAR Parma 187/2015 (Parma); TAR Milano 483/2024 (Cantù) and 832/2024 (Casalpusterlengo); Council of State 2822/2025 (Monfalcone).
- Council of State, judgment 8060/2026 of 5 November 2026 (Casalpusterlengo): full text in PDF provided and kept in the UCOII archive; absent from the texts retrieved on the official website of the administrative justice system.
- il Giornale, 18 September 2026; Il Piccolo, 19 September 2026.
- Sky TG24, report from Bologna, 25 July 2026.
- Il Giorno, 3 January 2026, "Muslims without a burial" [«Musulmani senza una sepoltura»]; Il Fatto Quotidiano, 18 January 2026, "Burial for Muslim citizens, still obstacles in Italy" [«Sepoltura per i cittadini musulmani, ancora ostacoli in Italia»].

- Il Giorno, 16 October 2026; Affaritaliani and il Giornale, 17 October 2026; la Repubblica, Turin edition, 6 October 2026; Corriere della Sera, Turin edition, 16 October 2026; Torino Cronaca, 3 November 2026.
- Regional Council of Veneto, record of proceedings 27/2016: https://www.consiglioveneto.it/web/crv/res-verb-dettaglio?anno=2016&catStruttura=RESCON&numero=27&tab=0

8 — Politics, Parliament and institutions

In political and institutional documents the Muslim presence is treated in three ways: as an interlocutor, as an object of regulation and as a suspect collective bloc. The three registers do not correspond to distinct political camps or periods: they coexist within the same institutional system and sometimes within the discussion of a single issue. To attribute responsibility it is therefore necessary to distinguish laws in force from proposals, administrative acts from statements, generalisations about the religion from criticisms of specific choices. Likewise, the individuals who speak must be distinguished from the bodies that deliberate.

Institutional dialogue coexists with suspicion towards the organisations

The National Pact for an Italian Islam, signed on 1 February 2017, recognises a public role for the signatory organisations, including UCOII. In exchange it requires commitments on the Constitution, transparency, dialogue and participation. It is neither exclusive recognition nor an agreement (*intesa*) under Article 8 of the Constitution, but it constitutes a form of stable dialogue between the State and the communities.

Alongside this dialogue, collective suspicion finds space in public debate. On 7 and 8 January 2025 Il Tempo published two pieces on the Muslim electorate of Monfalcone, a web article and a commentary. The issue is not the discussion of an electoral orientation, but the shift from citizens who vote to a religious bloc described as alien to the civic body. The use of the category "extracomunitari" [«extracomunitari»] to speak indiscriminately of voters obscures precisely the legal title that allows them to vote. The accusations of the then mayor and the framing added by the columnist are distinct voices. The articles precede the municipal vote of 13–14 April 2025 by roughly three months. They document a pre-electoral controversy; they do not measure its intensity.

The May 2026 report on organisations linked to the Muslim Brotherhood in Italy extends the suspicion to UCOII and its activities on Gaza. The comparison between the authors' theses, the evidence adduced and the elements pointing in a different direction contained in the same document is developed in Factsheet A. The 2025 French report, which does not mention the Union, is also addressed there. On the political level the risk is a single one: extending suspicion from individual conduct to an organisation and, from the organisation, to the communities that take part in it. The Union's declared identity, decision-making structure and autonomy are examined in Factsheet A.

Parliamentary initiatives on worship and security

The regional laws on places of worship, such as Lombardy's Law 2/2015 and Veneto's Law 12/2016, are rules in force in the parts not struck down by the Constitutional Court. The initiatives presented in Lombardy and Piedmont in autumn 2026 are instead proposals or announcements (chapter 7, "Communities, places of worship and local areas"). At the national level, as of 10 September 2026, the parliamentary records document six proposals on worship, face covering, religious denominations without an agreement (intesa) and prevention of extremism. None is law.

Act	Subject	Status as of 10 September 2026
A.C. 1018 (first signatory from Fratelli d'Italia)	Worship; text amended during the parliamentary process compared with the original exclusion of denominations without an agreement (intesa)	Approved by the Chamber on 7 May 2024; transmitted to the Senate as A.S. 1134
A.C. 2195 (Lega)	Face covering, not the simple hijab	Assigned to Committees I and II
A.C. 2357 (Regional Council of Friuli Venezia Giulia, first regional signatory from the Lega)	Proposal for national legislation by regional initiative	Voted by the Regional Council on 18 March 2025; assigned to Committee II
A.C. 2562 (Fratelli d'Italia)	Also contains provisions against religious hate propaganda	Under joint examination in Committee I since 3 March 2026

Act	Subject	Status as of 10 September 2026
A.C. 1385 (Lega)	Religious denominations without an agreement (intesa)	Under joint examination in Committee I since 3 March 2026
A.C. 2702 (Lega)	Prevention of radicalisation	Under joint examination in Committee I since 3 March 2026

On 23 July 2026 a hearing was held; an expert's critical opinion remains an assessment, not a ruling.

In Fratelli d'Italia's press releases of 8 October 2025 announcing A.C. 2562, the target declared by the proponents is separatism or imposition, which they distinguish from religious freedom; A.C. 2702, likewise, does not concern all Muslims.

On schools, too, the acts do not reflect a uniform position, and their examination is in the chapter devoted to schools. On the calendar of the Istituto comprensivo Iqbal Masih in Pioltello, adopted unanimously by the School Council on a proposal from the Teachers' Board, Minister Giuseppe Valditara expressed criticism of the calendar choice: it is a position on a school decision, not a judgment on the faithful. In his reply to the Chamber on 8 April 2026 the same minister protects the autonomy of the Istituto Sassetti Peruzzi in Florence. The general circulars on pluralism, 5836 and 6545, are signed by the leadership of the department responsible and are not bans on Islam.

In the assemblies, generalisation remains one voice among others

The verbatim records make it possible to gauge the weight of the voices without extracting only the most polemical sentences. On 1 February 2016 Turin City Council discussed the pact with the Islamic community. Of the ten speeches reported, five support dialogue and shared citizenship: those of the member of the municipal executive responsible for the matter, the then mayor and three councillors from the governing majority. Four, from the opposition, express political or religious criticism: they question who has authority, whether privileges are being granted and how the organisations are overseen. Only one attributes to the group an unwillingness to integrate and a will to impose its own model. Criticism of an act is not equivalent to exclusion of the faithful.

The same distinction applies in the Chamber of Deputies. On 8 April 2026, immediately after the ministerial reply on the Sassetti Peruzzi, the rejoinder by a deputy of the Mixed Group, from the right-wing area, generalises an incompatibility to the followers of Muhammad: it is the deputy's voice, not the Government's. On 20 October 2026 a deputy of the Mixed Group describes raids as a "typical Islamic custom" [«tipica usanza islamica»] (verbatim record, sitting No. 729, p. 27). The same deputy had conducted, between June and September, a campaign against the "Islamisation of schools" [«islamizzazione delle scuole»]. In that campaign he presented as a ban on "Islamisation" [«islamizzazione»] a committee resolution that contains no such ban.

In the streets, exclusion moves from the religion to the people

Among the 73 news records included in the census, eleven concern demonstrations and pickets, two political-institutional discourse and three discrimination, including institutional discrimination. The records gather news reports and alerts with varying levels of corroboration and allow a descriptive analysis, not a measurement of the phenomenon.

On 18 April 2026 in Milan, according to Rai News and Il Fatto Quotidiano, during a march by right-wing parties three chants were shouted: "Christian Europe, never Muslim" [«Europa cristiana, mai musulmana»], "Raise your hand high, remigrate a Muslim" [«Porta in alto la mano, remigra un musulmano»] and "Whoever doesn't jump is a Muslim" [«Chi non salta musulmano è»]. In these formulas the opposition between religious affiliations becomes expulsion of persons. On 13 June in Rome, during the march for "remigration" [«remigrazione»], Agenzia Vista and Local Team describe an insult against Muslims chanted by a group. The sources do not attribute it to all those present nor to the

organisers; UCOII denounced the slogans in a press release. On 27 October the secretary of the Lega identified Islam as the main threat, or according to other outlets "political Islam" [«Islam politico»], and called for the closure of "illegal mosques" [«moschee abusive»]. il Giornale, HuffPost Italia and IlSussidiario report different wordings, and the statement remains attributed to the respective news reports.

Taken together, these acts and these words show that the institutions do not speak with a single voice. The Pact, the judgments and the Government's replies protect rights and autonomies. The legislative proposals regulate defined behaviours. In the documents examined, generalisation appears in individual speeches, press releases and chants. Political responsibility is therefore measured on the single act and the single voice: it is there that the shift from criticism to exclusion becomes visible and verifiable.

The positions in the council debate

The ten speeches are those of the council debate analysed in the chapter; codes and roles are already published. The class indicates the position expressed by each speaker. The debate is a case study and does not represent Italian institutions. Source and context are indicated in the chapter.

Speaker	Class of the speaker's own position
C1 – member of the municipal executive (giunta) responsible for the matter	Inclusion/countering
C2 – opposition councillor (right)	Political or religious criticism
C3 – opposition councillor (right)	Political or religious criticism
C4 – opposition councillor (right)	Political or religious criticism
C5 – majority councillor	Inclusion/countering
C6 – opposition councillor (right)	Hostility towards the group
C7 – opposition councillor (centre-right)	Political or religious criticism
C8 – majority councillor	Inclusion/countering
C9 – majority councillor (woman)	Inclusion/countering
C10 – then mayor	Inclusion/countering

Key sources

- National Pact for an Italian Islam, 1 February 2017: https://www.interno.gov.it/sites/default/files/patto_nazionale_per_un_islam_italiano_1.2.2017.pdf
- UCOII Statute: https://ucoii.org/chi-siamo/statuto
- Chamber of Deputies, bills A.C. 1018: https://www.camera.it/leg19/126?idDocumento=1018&leg=19 ; A.C. 2195: https://www.camera.it/leg19/126?idDocumento=2195&leg=19 ; A.C. 2357: https://www.camera.it/leg19/126?idDocumento=2357&leg=19 ; A.C. 2562: https://www.camera.it/leg19/126?idDocumento=2562&leg=19 ; A.C. 1385: https://www.camera.it/leg19/126?idDocumento=1385&leg=19 ; A.C. 2702: https://www.camera.it/leg19/126?idDocumento=2702&leg=19
- Chamber of Deputies, verbatim record of 8 April 2026, pp. 39–40: https://documenti.camera.it/leg19/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0640/stenografico.pdf ; verbatim record of 20 October 2026, sitting No. 729.
- Regional Council of Friuli Venezia Giulia, press release of 18 March 2025: https://www.consiglio.regione.fvg.it/pagineinterne/Portale/comunicatiStampaDettaglio.aspx?ID=887396
- City Council of Torino, record of the sitting of 1 February 2016; Il Tempo, 7 and 8 January 2025.
- Roma, 13 June 2026: https://www.agenziavista.it/tempo-reale/2026/1008919_musulmano-pezzo-di-m-a-coro-al-corteo-per-la-remigrazione-a-roma/ ; https://www.localteam.it/video/corteo-pro-remigrazione-coro-offensivo-contro-musulmani-1781362445271 ; https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2026/06/14/corteo-remigrazione-roma-saluti-romani-notizie/8418769/ ; https://www.napolisera.it/

wp/2026/06/14/manifestazione-remigrazione-e-riconquista-lucoii-denuncia-slogan-islamofobi-e-nostalgie-fasciste/

- Milano, 18 April 2026: Rai News; Il Fatto Quotidiano. Statements of 27 October 2026: il Giornale, HuffPost Italia, IlSussidiario.

9 — The press and online news

The press is where the Muslim presence becomes news, commentary and sometimes a target. To observe it, this chapter uses three materials of different kinds. The first is the press review of the UCOII Observatory between 6 July and 31 October 2026, which collects articles selected by topic. The second is a sample of three daily newspapers in the weeks from 3 to 23 August, which also makes it possible to see what the outlets publish without touching the topic. The third is a selection of front pages published between 13 September and 25 October 2026, read in qualitative terms. The three materials are not additive and are not compared month by month; together they show where hostility appears and, above all, how much space is occupied by reporting, criticism and inclusion.

Category	Number	Percentage of the sample
Anti-Muslim hostility	43	3.20%
Specific criticism	171	12.73%
Reporting	961	71.56%
Inclusion	168	12.51%

The press review documents above all reporting, criticism and inclusion

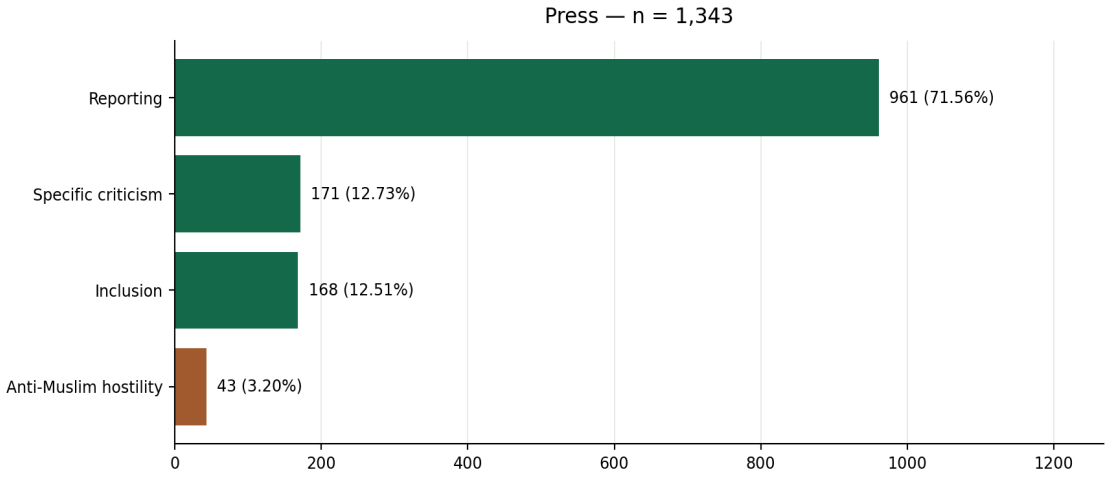
In the period under review, the press review records 2,119 acquisitions, attributed to 395 distinct names for outlets, editions and republishing portals: not 395 independent publishers. Many texts circulate across several outlets, and a republication is not a new voice. The final sample comprises 1,343 relevant and classifiable documents; the exclusions (texts that could not be assessed, off-topic, ambiguous, lacking adequate support, duplicate copies of the same acquisition) are described in the methodological note.

Among the 1,343 documents, reports number 961 (71.56%), criticisms aimed at specific policies, practices or organisations 171 (12.73%), and texts of inclusion or countering hostility 168 (12.51%). The documents containing anti-Muslim hostility, according to the definition of Islamophobia in Chapter 1, number 43 (3.20%).

The annotation signals the presence of a hostile passage in the acquired text. It does not indicate a verified case, nor an automatic position of the outlet, nor a measure of its overall output. The press review is a thematic selection, with texts accessible to an uneven degree: the percentages describe the sample and do not extend to the Italian press, to the editorial line of the outlets or to trends over time. Within this sample, hostility is a minor part of the documents, and specific criticism does not coincide with it.

Distribution of annotations

The chart shows the classes of the 1,343 documents in the final sample: reporting 961, specific criticism 171, inclusion 168, hostility 43. Documents that are not relevant, aimed at other targets or ambiguous remain in the register and are described in the methodological note, but do not enter the sample.



Distribution of corpus annotations

The ten national news brands

Source: press review of the UCOII Observatory and Analytical Tables; 202 documents of the final sample, collected between July and October 2026. The percentages describe each brand's sample, sometimes very small: a zero in the H column indicates only the absence of annotations in the sample, not in the outlet's output. The table is not a ranking.

Outlet	Sample analysed	H	H / sample
Avvenire	17	0	0.00%
Corriere della Sera	16	1	6.25%
Il Fatto Quotidiano	16	0	0.00%
Il Sole 24 Ore	1	0	0.00%
La Stampa	19	0	0.00%
La Verità	11	1	9.09%
Libero	27	6	22.22%
il Giornale	76	12	15.79%
il manifesto	13	0	0.00%
la Repubblica	6	0	0.00%

Distribution of annotations and attribution of voices

The 43 annotated documents are listed under 20 outlet names. The main comparison group comprises the ten brands of national general-interest and financial daily newspapers with the highest paid circulation according to the ADS data of June 2026. For these brands the final sample comprises 202 documents, 20 of which are annotated as hostile (9.90%), distributed across four outlets: il Giornale, Libero, La Verità and Corriere della Sera. In the other six brands of the group no annotations appear; the complete distribution of the ten brands is shown in the table.

A hostile passage may belong to a commentator, an interviewee, a reader or a hosted press release. The June material, collected separately, shows this well: among the annotated texts there are readers' letters and a signed political press release. It also shows that the reply, by itself, does not neutralise a frame. In il Giornale of 3 June 2026, the responses of the Partito Democratico are reported, but the candidates' faith is presented as the "Islamisation" ["islamizzazione"] of the electoral lists. In the same material La Nuova Sardegna, on 12 June, defends the right to worship after the fire at the Cagliari mosque, and La Tecnica della Scuola, on the 25th, proposes educational pathways against religious prejudice.

The press review by stratum and format

Source: press review of the UCOII Observatory and Analytical Tables; 1,343 documents of the final sample. The strata are disjoint and sum to the total. The percentages describe the material collected, not the editorial output. The H figures are annotations on individual documents, not judgments on the outlets.

Stratum and format	Sample analysed	H	H / sample
News agencies · Digital	76	1	1.32%
Aggregators and portals · Digital	106	3	2.83%
Thematic reviews and aggregators · Digital	4	0	0.00%
Blogs · Digital	10	1	10.00%
Local editions of national news brands · Digital	19	0	0.00%
Local editions of national news brands · Print	102	0	0.00%
Bodies and organisations (not news outlets) · Digital	9	0	0.00%
National or supra-local digital news · Digital	157	8	5.10%
Local news · Digital	238	3	1.26%
Panel: ten national news brands · Digital	98	13	13.27%
Panel: ten national news brands · Print	104	7	6.73%
Periodicals, trade outlets and supplements · Digital	70	0	0.00%
Periodicals, trade outlets and supplements · Print	0	0	—
National financial daily outside the panel · Digital	3	1	33.33%
Other national general-interest dailies · Digital	42	4	9.52%
National sports daily · Print	1	0	0.00%
Regional and multi-regional dailies · Digital	122	2	1.64%
Regional and multi-regional dailies · Print	151	0	0.00%
Shared portal of regional dailies · Digital	7	0	0.00%
Websites of radio and television broadcasters · Digital	24	0	0.00%
Type not determinable · Digital	0	0	—
Total	1343	43	3.20%

Outlet names with H annotations

Source: press review of the UCOII Observatory and Analytical Tables: 20 outlet names with at least one of the 43 H annotations of the final sample. The selection depends on the presence of H: it is not a general distribution nor a ranking. The percentages describe each sample listed under that name, often of only a few documents, not its output or its editorial line. Aggregators and republications are not independent newsrooms; the annotated passage may belong to a quoted voice.

Outlet	Sample analysed	H	H / sample
Agenzia giornalistica Opinione	20	1	5.00%
Corriere della Sera	16	1	6.25%
Cosenza Post	1	1	100.00%
Giornale di Brescia	9	1	11.11%
Grognards 2011 (blog)	3	1	33.33%
IMG Press	2	2	100.00%
Il Giornale d'Italia	19	1	5.26%
Il Primato Nazionale	3	1	33.33%

Outlet	Sample analysed	H	H / sample
Il Roma	3	1	33.33%
Il Sussidiario	17	2	11.76%
Il Tempo	11	1	9.09%
ItaliaOggi	3	1	33.33%
L'Opinione delle Libertà	14	3	21.43%
La Nuova Bussola Quotidiana	5	2	40.00%
La Verità	11	1	9.09%
Libero	27	6	22.22%
MSN (aggregator)	88	3	3.41%
OnTuscia	1	1	100.00%
TerniToday	1	1	100.00%
il Giornale	76	12	15.79%

In the August sample, authorial hostility is circumscribed and not uniform

The sample starts from 5,097 publications by Avvenire, il Giornale and Il Giorno issued between 3 and 23 August 2026. From these, 442 articles were read, with an extraction that over-represents texts containing terms on the topic. Among the articles read there are 91 reports, 36 specific criticisms, 17 inclusive texts, 266 texts without the topic, 6 texts with hostility aimed at other targets, 11 ambiguous texts and 11 that could not be assessed. The hostile generalisations formulated in the author's own voice number four, all from il Giornale. They associate Islam with a political faction, present an ordinary religious formula as a terrorist sign, collectively attribute a socio-cultural threat to religious immigration, and describe the spread of halal as a surrender of national identity.

Class (panel 3–23 August 2026)	Articles read
H — anti-Muslim hostility in the authorial voice	4
C — specific criticism	36
R — reporting	91
I — inclusion	17
N — topic absent	266
O — hostility towards other targets	6
A — ambiguous	11
U — not assessable	11
Total	**442**

Each article read has a single class; the classes sum to the 442 articles read. Source: UCOII Observatory archive.

The additional readings concern weeks outside the 3–23 August panel and are in addition to its 442 articles, with different windows for each outlet; the results that follow are descriptive readings of each window. For il Giornale, in the week of 24–30 August, 91 articles were read: 53 deal with the topic and 14 present hostility in the authorial voice. The recurring passages associate political participation, requests for places of worship and demographic presence with conquest or cultural replacement; several articles follow the same Venetian controversy, and the frame also surfaces in the questions of an interview. For Avvenire, 170 articles were read over five additional weeks: four contiguous weeks between 6 July and 2 August (40, 32, 37 and 27 articles) and the week of 24–30 August (34 articles). Of these, 32 are relevant, none presents authorial hostility, and 17 highlight inclusion, solidarity or countering hatred. For Il Giorno, in the additional week of 31 August–6 September, 42 texts were read, distinct from the 124

articles sampled in the panel: 5 are relevant and none is hostile. The presence of the term "Gaza" in the panel weeks is analysed in Factsheet E.

Outlet	Period of the additional readings	Articles read	Relation to the 3–23 August panel
il Giornale	24–30 August 2026	91	Additional to the 200 sampled articles
Avvenire	6 July–2 August 2026 (four weeks) and 24–30 August 2026	170 (40 + 32 + 37 + 27 + 34)	Additional to the 118 sampled articles
Il Giorno	31 August–6 September 2026	42	Additional to the 124 sampled articles

The differences are descriptive and not statistically demonstrated. They do indicate, however, that the Muslim topic can be covered without hostility, and that, in the subsamples read, where hostility appears it tends to be concentrated in commentary and in a few bylines.

Panel of three dailies, 3–23 August 2026: publications, sample and presence of terms from the historical thematic dictionary

For each of the three outlets: enumerated publications (5,097 in total), sampled articles (442) and usable text bodies (5,046) according to the archive filter, which does not guarantee their completeness. The last two columns count the publications with at least one match from the historical thematic dictionary in the headline or in the body, identified from archive metadata. These figures do not count individual occurrences or classify tone, and they are not the results of the new word list used for the lexical frequency tables (revision 41). The extraction over-represents thematic terms and republications have not been removed. Source: UCOII Observatory archive.

Outlet	Publications	Sample	Usable article bodies	Headlines with terms	Bodies with terms
Avvenire	519	118	519	0	28
Il Giornale	2130	200	2127	15	106
Il Giorno	2448	124	2400	2	12

Descriptive reading: the values indicate how many publications of the three outlets contain at least one term from the historical thematic dictionary in the period 3–23 August 2026. They are not national shares nor measures or comparisons of hostility.

The front pages

The front pages are a qualitative selection, not a count. UCOII monitoring identified 14 front pages of five national dailies, published between 13 September and 25 October 2026, with headlines that the Union flagged as hostile to Islam and Muslims. Between 8 and 9 October, four of these present a private arbitration chamber as an "Islamic tribunal" ["tribunale islamico"]; on 25 October three link the unrest at a demonstration to Islam. On 27 October UCOII filed three complaints with the Disciplinary Councils of the Order of Journalists.

In the material collected and in the subsamples analysed, reporting, criticism and inclusion prevail. The hostility annotations are concentrated in a few outlets and, in the samples read, above all in commentary, in headlines and in hosted voices; readers' comments on social media are examined in Chapter 11. The indications for intervention follow from here: distinguishing reporting from commentary, making it recognisable who formulates a generalisation, checking headlines, allowing room for a response and moderating comments. The recommendations to publishers and to the Order of Journalists are collected in the concluding chapter; definitions and reading criteria are described in the methodological note at the end of the volume.

Three headlines and the voices they report

The three headlines are qualitative examples, chosen for the lexical recurrence of "islamizzazione" (Islamisation). They are not a representative sample nor new documents. They are reported as acquired in the UCOII archive, with archival dates, without a new live verification or facsimiles. They remain annotated as reporting (R): the statements belong to the voices reported, not to the outlets, and are not presented here as true.

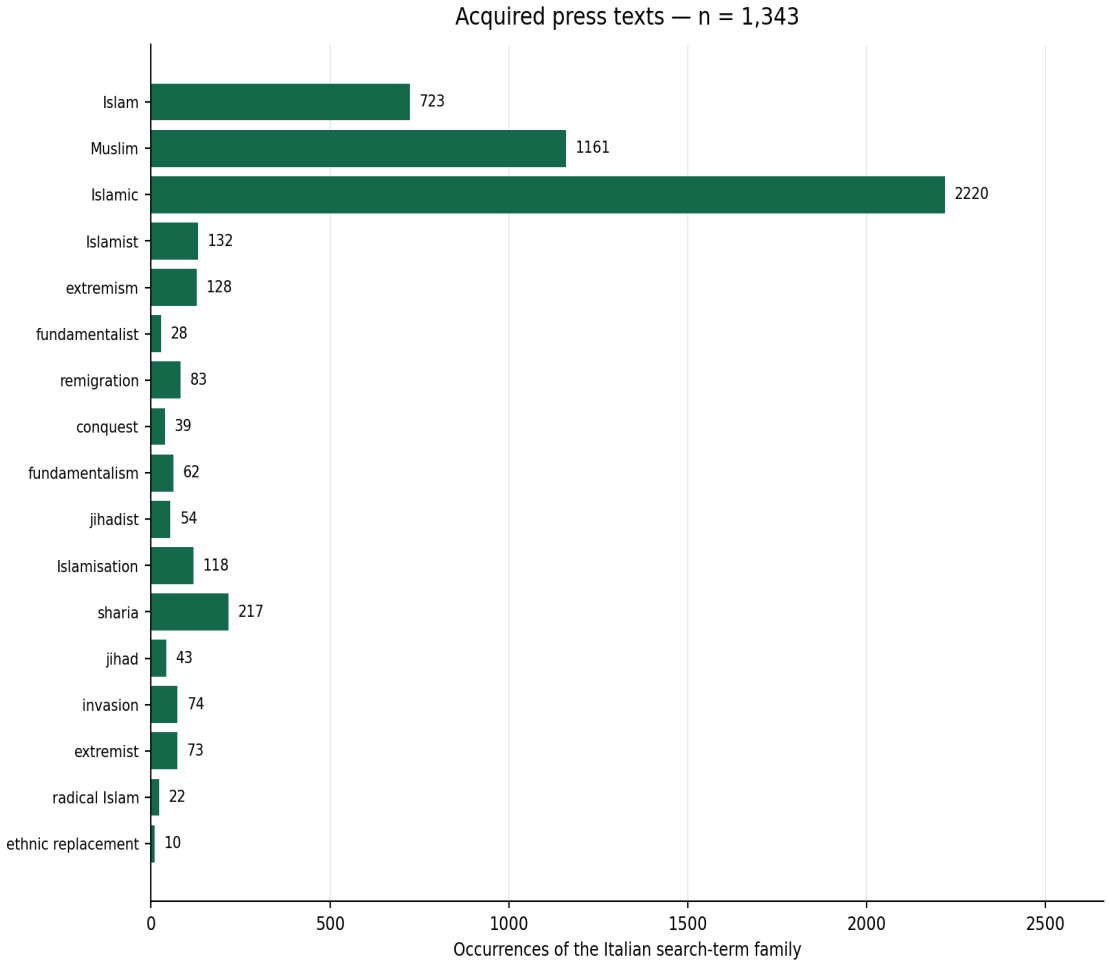
1. Ceccardi and the League's crusade: Let us rebel against Islamisation [“Ceccardi e la crociata leghista Ribelliamoci all’islamizzazione”]
   Il Tirreno, 2026-07-14, ID Dcc9a902d91a8. It is an interview with a political figure: the reported formula is attributable to the interviewee.
2. Schools: the Chamber approves the "anti-Islamisation" resolution. The majority exults: "Let's stop the propaganda". Unions and opposition: "It's a witch hunt" [“Scuola, alla Camera approvata la risoluzione ‘anti-islamizzazione’. La maggioranza esulta: ‘Fermiamo la propaganda’. Sindacati e opposizione: ‘È caccia alle streghe’”]
   Orizzonte Scuola, 2026-07-24, ID Dc2b84deb2590. The headline reports the position of the majority and the reply of the unions and the opposition.
3. FDI – FRATELLI D'ITALIA * CHAMBER: "IMMIGRATION, KELANY (FDI): WHILE CONTE AND THE PD OPEN THE DOOR TO ISLAMISATION, FRATELLI D'ITALIA BLOCKS SEPARATISM WITH LAWS" [“FDI – FRATELLI D’ITALIA * CAMERA: «IMMIGRAZIONE, KELANY(FDI): MENTRE CONTE E IL PD APRONO ALL’ISLAMIZZAZIONE, FRATELLI D’ITALIA BLOCCA IL SEPARATISMO CON LE LEGGI»”]
   Agenzia giornalistica Opinione, 2026-09-03, ID Dfdee99020f60. The headline explicitly attributes the statement to Kelany (FDI).

Descriptive lexical frequencies

Period and units: from 6 July to 31 October 2026. The table counts the texts of the 1,343 documents of the final sample and, in a separate stratum, their 1,343 headlines. For each term it reports the occurrences and the number of units containing it at least once. The presence of a term does not indicate hostility. Overlapping families and phrases are not additive. The 22 duplicate acquisitions are removed; distinct republications are retained.

Term/family	Acquired texts occ.	Texts containing the term	Headlines occ.	Headlines containing the term
Islam	723	389	49	49
musulmano/a/i/e (Muslim)	1161	473	32	31
islamico/a/i/he (Islamic)	2220	797	147	145
islamista/i/e (Islamist)	132	77	12	12
estremismo/i (extremism)	128	105	2	2
fondamentalista/i/e (fundamentalist)	28	26	1	1
remigrazione (remigration)	83	64	2	2
conquista/e (conquest)	39	32	2	2
fondamentalismo/i (fundamentalism)	62	50	3	3
jihadista/i/e (jihadist)	54	32	1	1
islamizzazione/i (Islamisation)	118	82	18	18
sharia	217	113	22	22
jihad	43	26	1	1

Term/family	Acquired texts occ.	Texts containing the term	Headlines occ.	Headlines containing the term
invasione/i (invasion)	74	54	0	0
estremista/i/e (extremist)	73	59	2	2
Islam radicale (radical Islam)	22	15	2	2
sostituzione etnica (ethnic replacement)	10	9	0	0



Lexical occurrences in the acquired texts

Reading notes. The dates are working or archival dates and not all correspond to verified publications. The texts vary in completeness and not all include the full article body. Headlines may be repeated within the texts, so the two strata should not be added together. The lexical families overlap (for example "Islam" and "Islam radicale"). The sensitivity check for identical wording does not remove all duplicates with the same meaning.

Key sources

- Press review of the UCOII Observatory, 6 July–31 October 2026.
- ADS, circulation data for daily newspapers, June 2026.
- Sample of Avvenire, il Giornale and Il Giorno, 3–23 August 2026; additional readings: Avvenire, 6 July–2 August and 24–30 August 2026; il Giornale, 24–30 August 2026; Il Giorno, 31 August–6 September 2026.
- il Giornale, 3 June 2026; La Nuova Sardegna, 12 June 2026; La Tecnica della Scuola, 25 June 2026.
- Front pages of the national dailies, 13 September–25 October 2026, UCOII archive.

10 — Television and radio

Television and radio show with particular clarity three distinct phenomena: talking about Muslims, expressing hostility towards them and responding to that hostility. The archive of the UCOII Observatory makes it possible to observe them separately. It records and transcribes 25 national broadcasters, 13 television and 12 radio, between 1 May and 31 October 2026. It allows us to examine where hostility appears, who voices it and how often it meets a response, without measuring its spread across the entire Italian television and radio output.

Category	Number	Percentage of the sample
Anti-Muslim hostility	4	2.72%
Specific criticism	21	14.29%
Reporting	106	72.11%
Inclusion	16	10.88%

The programming sample

The tone of the content is observed in the programming sample, drawn by broadcaster, month and time slot. The final sample comprises 147 relevant and classifiable five-minute windows, 84 television and 63 radio; the selection process is described in the methodological note. Most are reports (106, 72.11%). These are followed by 21 criticisms directed at specific facts, organisations or persons (14.29%) and 16 inclusive or stereotype-countering contents (10.88%). The windows with anti-Muslim hostility, in the sense of the definition in Chapter 1, number four (2.72%): three in talk shows and one in a segment featuring messages from the public. In all four the text contains a reply. The percentages describe the sample, not the entire national programming; with four units no rankings by network or by programme can be built.

The three television and radio datasets

Source: Analytical tables of the UCOII Observatory. The three datasets use different units and cannot be added together; the oversample, enriched with thematic passages, must not be combined with the main sample. The classes are assigned on automatic transcriptions. Each base includes only the relevant and classifiable units (H, C, R, I): the percentages are descriptive, unweighted and not comparable across bases selected with different criteria; the alerts, in particular, are built to search for hostility.

Base	Unit	Sample analysed	H	H / sample
Alerts	passage	1710	255	14.91%
Main	5-minute window	147	4	2.72%
Oversample	5-minute window	559	25	4.47%

The main sample by format

Source: Analytical tables of the UCOII Observatory; 147 windows of the final main sample. The bases by format are small: the percentages describe the sample and are not rates of the programming.

Format	Sample analysed	H	H / sample
In-depth programmes	22	0	0.00%
Conferences and seminars	2	0	0.00%
Political or institutional events	1	0	0.00%
Fiction and films	4	0	0.00%
Entertainment	4	0	0.00%
Mixed segments	16	0	0.00%
Not determinable	1	0	0.00%

Format	Sample analysed	H	H / sample
News bulletins	50	0	0.00%
Calls and messages from the public	3	1	33.33%
Press reviews	24	0	0.00%
Religious content	4	0	0.00%
Talk shows and opinion debates	16	3	18.75%
Total	147	4	2.72%

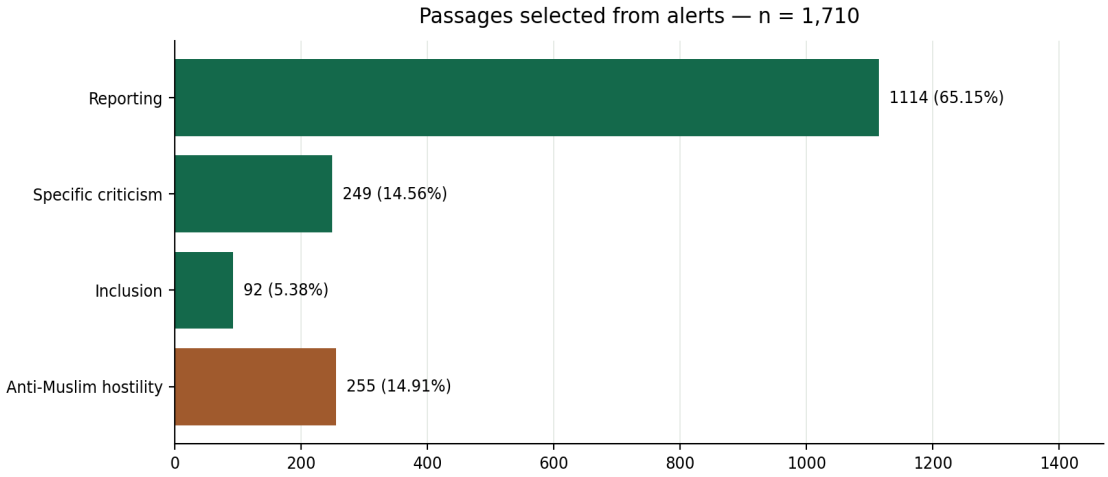
The main sample by broadcaster

Source: Analytical tables of the UCOII Observatory. Base: 147 windows of the final main sample. The percentages per broadcaster are descriptive: periods and coverage differ from one channel to another, and four H windows do not allow rankings among broadcasters.

Broadcaster	Sample analysed	H	H / sample
Canale 5	5	0	0.00%
Cielo	1	0	0.00%
Il Sole 24 Ore TV	4	1	25.00%
Italia 1	3	0	0.00%
La7	2	0	0.00%
RTL 102.5	1	0	0.00%
Radio 105	1	0	0.00%
Radio 24	19	2	10.53%
Radio Capital	2	0	0.00%
Radio Deejay	1	0	0.00%
Radio Radicale	19	0	0.00%
Radio Vaticana	1	0	0.00%
Rai 1	8	1	12.50%
Rai 2	8	0	0.00%
Rai 3	18	0	0.00%
Rai News 24	9	0	0.00%
Rai Radio 1	11	0	0.00%
Rai Radio 2	2	0	0.00%
Rai Radio 3	6	0	0.00%
Rete 4	6	0	0.00%
Sky TG24	20	0	0.00%
Total	147	4	2.72%

In the flagged passages, format and speaker matter

To observe the moments in which hostility concentrates, the archive has an alert system, whose flags were read together with the preceding and following context. This yields 1,710 relevant and classifiable passages, of which 255 are hostile (14.91%): 155 filed under television labels and 100 under radio labels. They are not independent statements, because some may correspond to retransmissions of the same stream, and they do not measure prevalence: the selection is deliberately built to search for hostility and must not be confused with the sample.



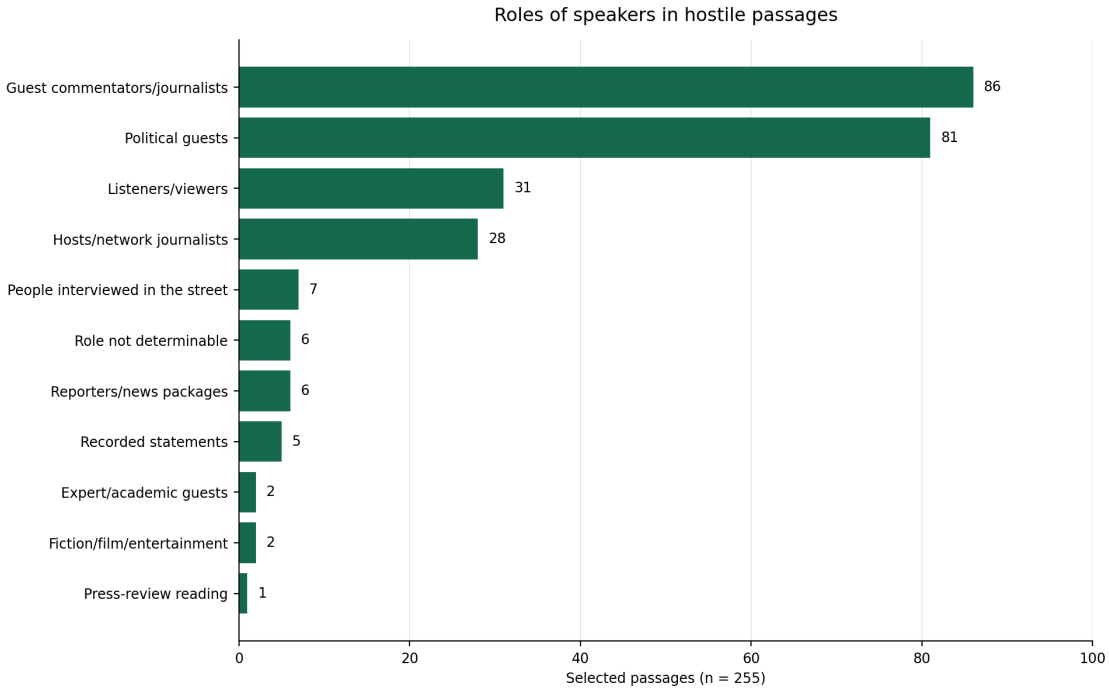
Classes of the 1,710 relevant and classifiable passages selected from the 2,796 usable passages, associated with 3,640 TV/radio alerts after the advertising filter (3,669 original alerts), across 25 channel labels (May–October 2026), by exclusive class: H 255, C 249, R 1,114, I 92. Assisted classifications: they are not judicial cases nor independent statements, they include unresolved rebroadcasts and do not measure national prevalence. Source: UCOII Observatory archive.

An alert flags content to be examined and does not in itself amount to established hostility.

The clearest result concerns formats. Hostile passages cluster in talk shows (117 out of 269, 43.49%), in in-depth programmes (42 out of 228, 18.42%), in contributions from the public (33 out of 75, 44.00%) and in broadcast political events, such as party congresses and assemblies (28 out of 45, 62.22%). In news bulletins and press reviews the hostile passages selected are 17 out of 981 (1.73%).

The voices are also recognisable. Two passages out of three are spoken by guests: commentators and journalists (86) and political figures (81). These are followed by listeners and viewers (31) and the hosts or the network's own journalists (28). The role is inferred from the speech, because the transcriptions do not indicate who is speaking, and the report does not name individuals. Staged contributions in satirical segments, such as calls from fictional characters, are classified as fiction and entertainment and kept separate from those of listeners. In the coding of the prevalent form of the hostile passages, the frame of "invasion", "replacement" or "Islamisation" ["invasione", "sostituzione", "islamizzazione"] is the one most often assigned, to 80 of the 255 passages. It is followed by cultural incompatibility, assigned to 53 passages. Among the passages collected, explicit threats or incitement to violence are rare.

The response varies greatly depending on who is speaking. The hosts counter or correct the statement in 21 of the 31 passages attributed to listeners, in 18 of the 86 attributed to guest commentators and journalists and in 2 of the 81 attributed to political figures. These figures concern only the intervention of the host: replies by other voices present on the programme are not included. The measurement concerns the transcribed window around each passage, not the entire episode, and must be read with caution. Within that window no reply is observed in 109 of the 255 passages (42.75%). Where the format provides for debate, a response is more frequent: it is present or partial in 80 passages out of 117 in talk shows and in 24 out of 33 in programmes featuring the public. In broadcast political events, by contrast, it is missing in 26 passages out of 28. A reply, when it occurs, does not erase the hostile statement.



Roles of speakers in 255 hostile passages selected by the alert system on TV and radio, May–October 2026: 86 guests (commentators/journalists), 81 politicians, 31 listeners, 28 hosts, 29 other roles (including 6 not determinable). Selection from alerts, not a programming sample: it does not indicate national prevalence. Roles inferred from speech, not verified identities. Possible retransmissions: these are not 255 independent statements. Source: UCOII Observatory archive.

Alerts by format

Source: Analytical tables of the UCOII Observatory. The alerts arise from automated searches: they do not describe the programming and cannot be added to the sample. One case may comprise several alerts. The base is the 1,710 relevant and classifiable passages: the percentages describe the selected passages, not the frequency of hostility by format in the programming.

Format	Sample analysed	H	H / sample
In-depth programmes	228	42	18.42%
Conferences and seminars	7	1	14.29%
Political or institutional events	45	28	62.22%
Fiction and films	33	0	0.00%
Entertainment	34	8	23.53%
Mixed segments	31	9	29.03%
Not determinable	3	0	0.00%
News bulletins	549	12	2.19%
Calls and messages from the public	75	33	44.00%
Press reviews	432	5	1.16%
Religious content	4	0	0.00%
Talk shows and opinion debates	269	117	43.49%
Total	1710	255	14.91%

Reply and voice in the selected passages

Source: Analytical tables of the UCOII Observatory. Broadcasters are indicated according to the archive label: two passages filed as Rai 3 and Radio 24 present attribution anomalies and have not been reassigned. The reply is assessed only within the observed window, not over the entire episode. Counts based on transcriptions, not rates or rankings.

Channel	H passages	Reply present	Partial	Late	Not observed	Muslim voice	H with verified title
Rai 1	6	3	1	0	2	0	4
Rai 2	3	1	2	0	0	3	0
Rai 3	26	9	7	2	8	8	7
Rete 4	69	11	14	9	35	22	22
Canale 5	5	2	1	0	2	1	3
La7	9	5	2	1	1	0	1
Sky TG24	5	0	1	0	4	0	2
Il Sole 24 Ore TV	32	13	9	1	9	13	23
Rai Radio 1	3	0	1	0	2	0	1
Rai Radio 3	2	1	0	0	1	0	1
Radio 24	46	20	20	2	4	9	22
Radio Radicale	44	0	3	1	40	0	2
InBlu2000	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Radio 105	4	2	1	0	1	0	2
Total	255	67	63	16	109	56	90

The values per broadcaster depend on the selection: the three bases differ in the amount of material and the selection criteria, and the values describe the materials collected under each label, which is distinct from a measure of the broadcasters' hostility towards Islam or Muslims. In the alerts, under the Rete 4 label there are 69 hostile passages out of the 193 relevant and classifiable ones (35.75%); for Il Sole 24 Ore TV the values are 32 out of 72 (44.44%), for Radio 105 4 out of 10 (40.00%). In the oversample Rete 4 records 9 hostile windows out of 31 (29.03%); in the main sample 0 out of 6. A passage filed under a broadcaster may be spoken by a guest, a political figure or a listener, or reported as a quotation: the voices must be distinguished, as the roles described above show. For Rete 4, in the observed window, no reply is observed in 35 of the 69 passages and a Muslim voice appears in 22.

Two passages

The two passages below are verified qualitative examples. They are not new cases to be added to the 255 already counted. The texts are reproduced verbatim from the automatic archival transcription and do not certify the audio. Any retransmissions have not been resolved. The times indicated are archival labels of the segments, not a certified local time: the metadata carry the Z suffix, but the context does not specify the zone. The voices are attributed by role, inferred from the speech, without independent identification of the persons.

Canale 5, Mattino5, 18 May 2026, label 09:17. A guest commentator, introduced as a journalist, states: "no Christian, Jew, Buddhist or Hindu gets into a car with a knife in hand, historically it's others" [«nessun cristiano ebreo e buddista o induista sale su un'auto col coltello in mano, storicamente sono altri»]. In the following segment (label 09:18) another guest, not the host, replies: "well, I find the exploitation of [name omitted] shameful" [«ma io trovo vergognosa la strumentalizzazione di [nome omesso]»]. The first statement generalises: it attributes a type of violence to those who do not belong to the religions listed, leaving implicit the reference to Islam evoked in the context. The reply contests the political use of the episode and traces it back to mental distress. *ID TV260518-canale5-0916-0006; transcriptions 219061 (quotation), 219062 (reply). Editorial omission: in the reply the automatic transcription reports a surname, replaced with [name omitted] under the rule that attributes the voices of the transcriptions by role; the rest of the quotation is reproduced verbatim. The class concerns the statement.*

Radio 24, 10 June 2026, label 18:55 (programme title not verified for this passage). A listener says: "let's hope this Islamisation from below stops. Haven't you realised how many kebab shops have opened

right under your backside?" [«speriamo che smetta questa islamizzazione dal basso. Non vi siete resi conto di quanti kebabari vi sono aperti sotto il culo?»]. The host replies: "But the thing is, kebab shop owners are people who work, come on, stop busting our balls." [«Ma è che i kebabari sono gente che lavora, su, non rompere il cazzo.»] The listener links the spread of commercial businesses to a presumed process of Islamisation. The reply shifts the discussion to the work of those who run those shops. *ID TV260610-radio24-1855-0567; transcription 477360.*

Talk radio: provocation, response and responsibility

Talk radio concentrates these elements in exemplary fashion. Among the programmes whose title is verified in the transcribed speech, La Zanzara gathers 45 hostile passages under the Radio 24 and Il Sole 24 Ore TV labels. They are voiced mainly by listeners and commentators, and in 34 cases they are followed by a present or partial reply. The format gives ample space to provocation and at the same time hosts pushback: it is precisely this combination that makes it instructive.

An episode from the broadcast of 15 September 2026, documented by the official podcast, offers a concrete example. A guest proposes the demolition of mosques and, when asked whether the intention also covers existing ones, answers: "all of them, we tear them all down" [«tutte, le abbattiamo tutte»]. The host immediately challenges him and calls the proposal violent. The words are the guest's, not the broadcaster's. The case shows that the reply can be prompt and sharp, and that nonetheless the programme offered a platform to a proposal to destroy the places of worship of an entire community.

The relationship between reply and responsibility was defined by two separate proceedings concerning the 28 November 2024 episode of the same programme, reconstructed in Factsheet D. In civil proceedings, the Court of Turin established the discriminatory nature of the statements made by a guest journalist: the judgment concerns the guest, not the broadcaster. With resolution 104/25/CONS, AGCOM instead sanctioned the publisher as the service provider, holding that the co-host's objections and the continuation of the interview were not sufficient to distance it from the content. The principle on the provider's responsibility derives from the AGCOM resolution alone: the presence of the airing of an opposing view does not, in itself, rule out editorial responsibility.

Hearing opposing views as a measure of the quality of public debate

In the archived windows, hostility concentrates in a few formats and passes above all through guests and political figures, that is, voices holding public roles. A reply is recorded more often after statements by listeners than after those by commentators and, above all, by political figures; in broadcast political events it is almost always missing in the window examined. From this follows an interpretative reading: beyond the quantity of hostility, what matters is its distribution among voices with different roles and the varying degree of counter-argument they encounter. The data do not explain why the reply is missing and do not establish a causal link with the episodes documented in the news census.

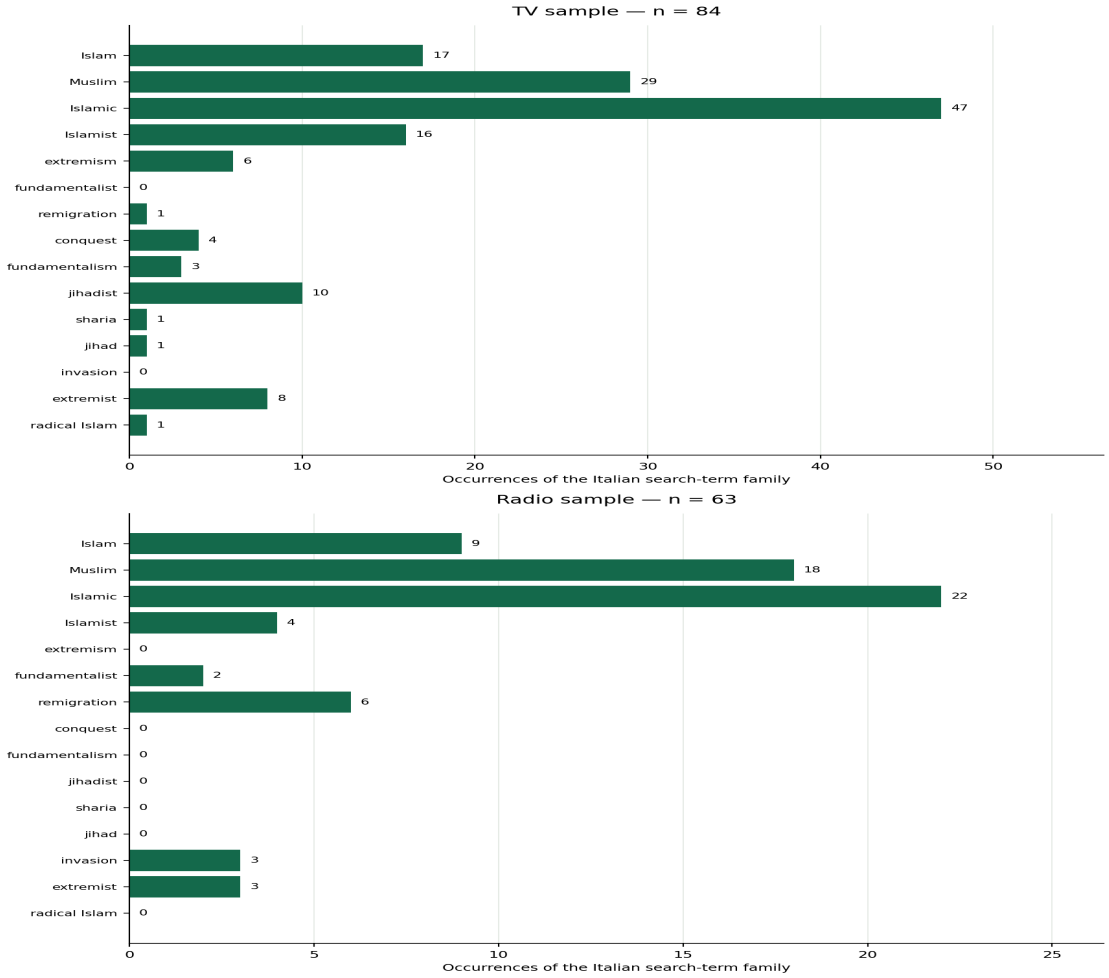
UCOII's position is that freedom of debate on religious matters, even harsh debate, must be defended. UCOII asks, however, that the same attention given to listeners' phone calls be applied to the generalisations voiced by those holding public roles. It further asks that Muslim voices be present in the programmes that discuss them: a Muslim voice appears in 56 of the 255 archived passages. The absence of a reply in a transcribed window is an indicator to be verified against the full recording, not proof of a violation. For this reason how well programmes present and respond to opposing views should be a regular part of editorial assessment. How the bases of the sample and of the alerts are built is explained in the methodological note at the end of the volume.

Descriptive lexical frequencies

Period and units: for TV, 84 segments from 1 May 2026 (08:10) to 31 October 2026 (06:35); for radio, 63 segments from 8 June 2026 (08:45) to 31 October 2026 (10:40). These are the 147 windows of the final main sample. For each term the table reports the occurrences and the number of segments

containing it. Occurrences do not indicate hostility. Overlapping families and phrases cannot be added together.

Term/family	TV segments occ.	TV segments containing the term	Radio segments occ.	Radio segments containing the term
Islam	17	14	9	8
musulmano/a/i/e	29	9	18	15
islamico/a/i/he	47	33	22	14
islamista/i/e	16	13	4	4
estremismo/i	6	4	0	0
fondamentalista/i/e	0	0	2	1
remigrazione	1	1	6	3
conquista/e	4	4	0	0
fondamentalismo/i	3	3	0	0
jihadista/i/e	10	5	0	0
sharia	1	1	0	0
jihad	1	1	0	0
invasione/i	0	0	3	3
estremista/i/e	8	8	3	2
Islam radicale	1	1	0	0



Lexical occurrences in TV and radio segments

Reading notes. The units are segments with automatic transcription, not whole programmes or documents. Rebroadcasts have not been resolved: the sensitivity check for textual identity is not equivalent to semantic deduplication and does not identify all rebroadcasts. Absolute frequencies must not be compared between TV and radio or with other channels.

Key sources

- Archive of TV/radio transcriptions of the UCOII Observatory, 1 May–31 October 2026 (programming sample and alert corpus).
- Radio 24, La Zanzara, episode of 15 September 2026, official podcast.
- Court of Turin, First Civil Section, judgment of 5 December 2025, NRG 23393/2024 (copy published by ASGI).
- AGCOM, resolution 104/25/CONS and press release of 16 April 2025.

11 — Social media and public representation

This chapter analyses the discourse on Muslim communities on social networks drawing on three distinct sources. The first is the social media archive sample: 74 posts and 330 comments, acquired between March and September 2026. The second is the paid campaign, reconstructed on the basis of an external study. The third is a small group of five examples, reproduced as anonymised clippings. Three concern the arrest of 29 October 2026: a news post and two comments published on 29 and 30 October, all acquired on 1 November 2026. The other two are comments captured on 16 March 2026, whose publication dates have not been established. One of these comes from the original sample and is shown only as an example; the others remain outside it. The examples have illustrative value only. They are not added to the sample data nor to those of the external study.

Category	Posts (n = 74)	% posts	Comments (n = 330)	% comments
Anti-Muslim hostility	15	20.27%	121	36.67%
Specific criticism	34	45.95%	161	48.79%
Reporting	18	24.32%	13	3.94%
Inclusion	7	9.46%	35	10.61%

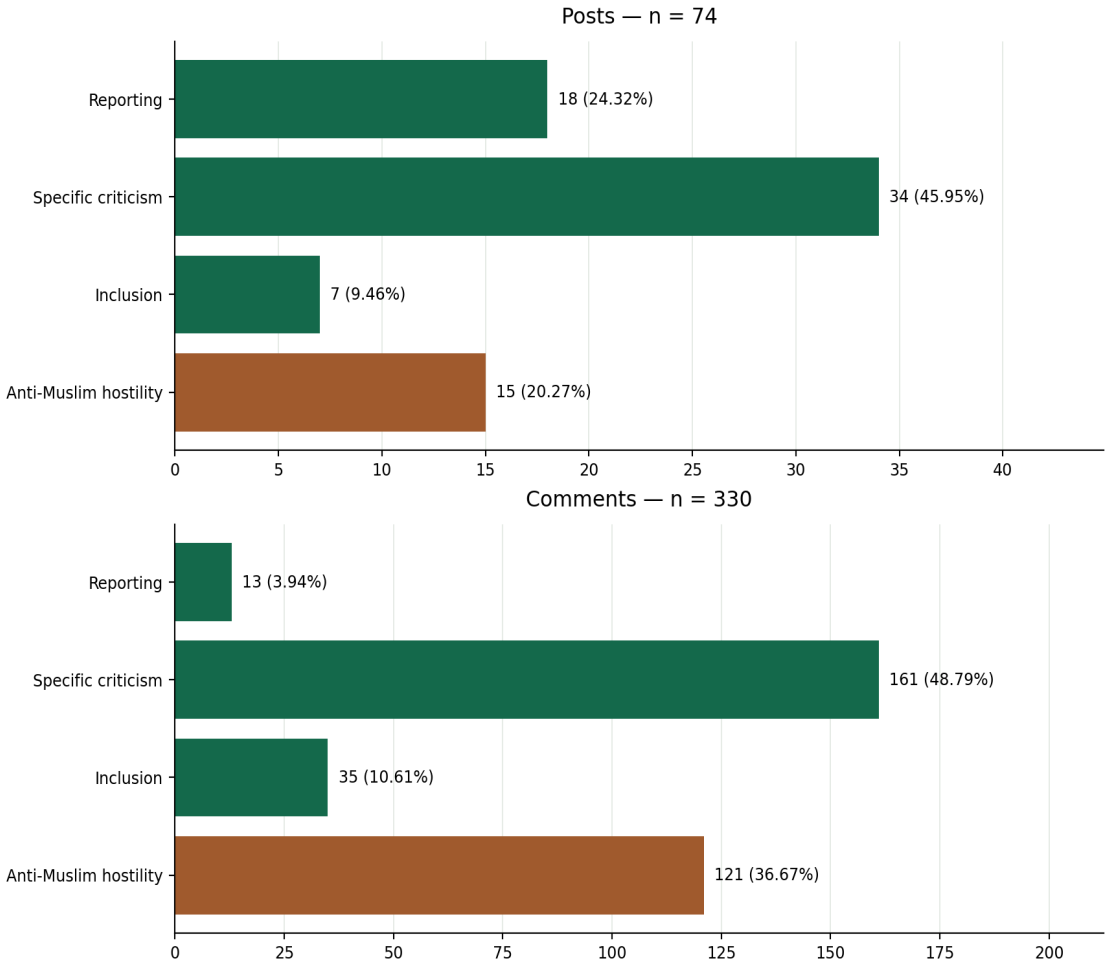
A sample that distinguishes posts, comments and criticism

The original sample comprises 600 posts and 1,200 comments drawn from Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, X and YouTube, extracted separately from a collection of 3,627 posts and 21,298 comments. The final sample, after the exclusions described in the methodological note, comprises 74 posts and 330 relevant and classifiable comments. The posts were acquired between 14 March and 10 July 2026, the comments between 13 March and 7 September. The dates refer to acquisition, not publication: the collection also includes older content, so it does not measure how much hate was published in 2026.

The classification, conducted on texts alone, identifies anti-Muslim hostility, according to the definition in chapter 1, in 15 posts out of 74 (20.27%) and in 121 comments out of 330 (36.67%). The two bases remain distinct. Images and videos were not examined. The percentages therefore describe the texts in the sample and should not be translated into a prevalence of hate on the platforms.

The most significant finding is the boundary drawn between hostility and criticism. Alongside the hostile content, the sample records 34 posts (45.95%) and 161 comments (48.79%) of criticism directed at governments, organisations, practices or specific individuals: specific criticism is the largest class in both bases. Criticism, even harsh criticism, was not equated with hate. Likewise, a target's religion was not inferred from nationality or from a name.

Among the hostile comments, three patterns recur: the demand for expulsion on the sole grounds of being Muslim, exclusion from places of worship, and the collective attribution of violence.



Classes of posts and comments, separate bases

The chart shows the classes of the 74 posts and 330 comments in the final sample, in distinct bases. Among posts, the largest classes are specific criticism (34) and reporting (18); among comments, specific criticism (161) and hostility (121). The October examples are not included.

Posts and comments by platform

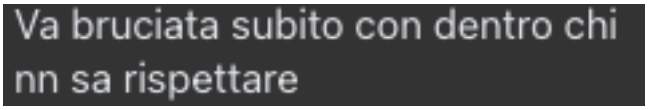
Source: UCOII Observatory social media archive; 74 posts and 330 comments from the final sample, acquired between March and September 2026. The platforms have different and often small bases: the percentages describe the sample, not the prevalence on the platforms. The classes concern text only.

Platform	Posts	Posts H	H / posts	Comments	Comments H	H / comments
Facebook	27	9	33.33%	125	63	50.40%
Instagram	8	1	12.50%	65	32	49.23%
Tiktok	3	0	0.00%	13	0	0.00%
X	25	5	20.00%	25	6	24.00%
Youtube	11	0	0.00%	102	20	19.61%
Total	74	15	20.27%	330	121	36.67%

An explicit call to violence

Among the cases observed outside the social media sample, one shows with particular clarity the shift from hostility to incitement. Next to the reproduction of a newspaper page about the mosque in Piacenza, in a Facebook post, a third-party user wrote: "It should be burned down at once with those who can't show respect inside it" [«Va bruciata subito con dentro chi nn sa rispettare»]. The comment cannot be attributed to the person who published the post. The accusations reported on the page are not verified

facts. The text does not announce an operational plan, but calls for setting fire to a place of worship with people inside. The date of the comment has not been established. This is a single example, which does not describe the national picture.

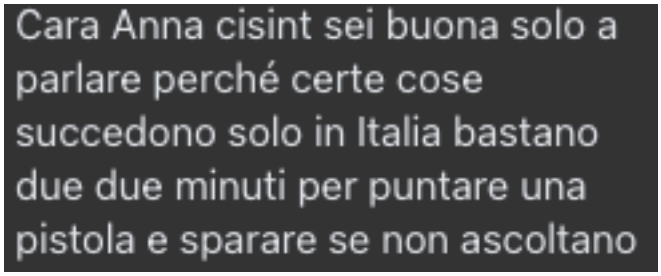


Facebook comment calling for the mosque in Piacenza to be burned down with people inside

The comment, cropped without alterations from an archived copy of the post. The author's name and image and the other comments are excluded. Capture of 16 March 2026.

A call to shoot

A third-party user writes under the photo of a newspaper page reporting accusations, not established facts, against an imam in Lecce: "Dear Anna cisint you're only good at talking because these things only happen in Italy it takes just two two minutes to point a gun and shoot if they don't listen" [«Cara Anna cisint sei buona solo a parlare perché certe cose succedono solo in Italia bastano due due minuti per puntare una pistola e sparare se non ascoltano»]. The comment cannot be attributed either to Cisint or to the outlet. The target remains implicit in the context: it should not be extended to all Muslims nor read as a verified operational plan.



Anonymised comment

Authentic body of the comment, without the commenter's name or avatar. Capture of 16 March 2026. Publication date not established: "12 sett." is a relative indication. The comment comes from the original sample (ID SV2-comment-5876). It is shown here as an example: no new case to be added.

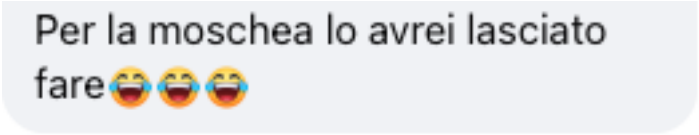
Outside the sample: two comments on the news of the arrest of 29 October 2026

On 29 October 2026 two Facebook pages reported the arrest of a 22-year-old accused of spreading supremacist propaganda. According to what was reported in the posts, the young man is also alleged to have planned attacks against a mosque and a synagogue in Milan. These are accusations reported by the posts and not independently verified. TgLa7 published the news at 12:57 (post). Matteo Piantedosi issued an announcement on his own profile at 14:30, Italian time (post). Both posts are informational content and express no support whatsoever for violence. The two comments reproduced below were written by third parties. They cannot be attributed to the authors of the posts and remain outside the social media sample analysed in the report. They serve only to illustrate two individual cases and allow neither frequency estimates nor generalisations.

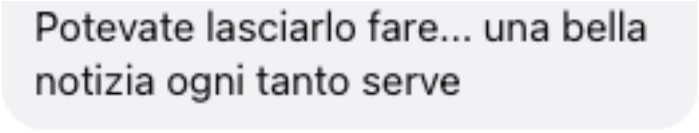
The first comment appears under Piantedosi's post. According to the archival metadata it was published on 29 October 2026 at 18:56, Italian time. The text is "As far as the mosque goes, I would have let him do it😂😂😂" [«Per la moschea lo avrei lasciato fare😂😂😂»]. The author regrets that the attack attributed to the arrested man was not carried out and explicitly points to the mosque as the target. The second comment appears under the TgLa7 post and was published on 30 October 2026 at 07:05, Italian time. The text is "You could have let him do it... a bit of good news is needed every now and then" [«Potevate lasciarlo fare... una bella notizia ogni tanto serve»]. Here too the author presents the attack described in

the accusations as a missed opportunity, but does not say which of the two places of worship he is referring to. Neither of the two texts contains an operational threat or an explicit call to commit acts of violence. Their significance lies in the way they treat the attack discussed in the posts. They present it as an outcome to be regretted: in the first case with laughing emoji, in the second by calling it "good news" [«una bella notizia»].

The screenshots were acquired on 1 November 2026. The images reproduced are crops of the comment bodies only, from which names, avatars and interface controls are excluded. The preserved pixels have not been modified and no part of the image has been reconstructed.



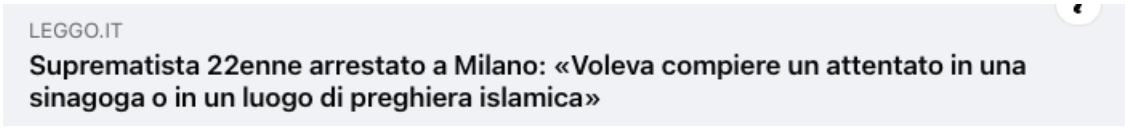
Comment on Matteo Piantedosi's post of 29 October 2026 (anonymised crop).



Comment on the TgLa7 post of 29 October 2026 (anonymised crop).

The news post about the arrest

On 29 October 2026 the Facebook page of Leggo publishes a post (captured on 1 November) headlined: *22-year-old supremacist arrested in Milan: "He wanted to carry out an attack in a synagogue or an Islamic place of prayer"* [*Suprematista 22enne arrestato a Milano: «Voleva compiere un attentato in una sinagoga o in un luogo di preghiera islamica»*]. It is a journalistic report, not incitement nor an independent verification of the accusation. The quotation cites a source that the clipping does not identify. The two comments of regret already illustrated in this volume do not come from this post, but from other posts on the same episode, published by Piantedosi and TgLa7.



Headline of the Leggo post

Authentic crop of the headline only, with no identifiable persons.

A paid campaign that also reached Italy

Alongside spontaneous content there is organised propaganda. The study *Manufacturing the "Great Replacement"* by Marc Owen Jones and Sohan Dsouza, published by Dysinfluence on 29 October 2026 and revised on 2 November, reconstructs a covert, paid advertising campaign. Between October 2023 and October 2026 the campaign spread racist, anti-Muslim, anti-migrant and anti-Qatar content in 30 countries, mostly European. The figures that follow are the authors' own and are not added to the report's sample. The total of recorded and estimated exposures amounts to approximately 533 million. It is a composite sum of impressions, reach and views, which also includes a share estimated by the analysts and does not correspond to a number of people.

The message echoes the "Great Replacement" [«Grande Sostituzione»] conspiracy theory. The Muslim presence is portrayed in it as an invasion directed from Qatar to "Islamise" [«islamizzare»] Europe: the entire Muslim population thus becomes the instrument of a scheme. In the first phase no ads targeting Italy are recorded. In the third, between October 2025 and October 2026, the authors attribute to Italy 76.2 million exposures from 356 ad placements. The country ranks third by number of placements and fourth by attributed exposures. Around half of these exposures come from 36 YouTube videos, whose

views are assigned to Italy on the basis of the country chosen as the advertising destination and not of where viewers were located. Among the comments on the YouTube videos written in Italian, the authors count 45% support for the message and 37% opposition: a balance not observed in the other languages analysed. The figure concerns the comments collected, not public opinion.

The authors conclude, with a moderate-to-high degree of confidence, that the campaign originated in Israel, with other actors involved as contractors. The commissioning party has not been identified. The study further specifies that the first two phases are linked by advertising transparency data, while the groups of the third phase, the one concerning Italy, are connected to the rest by narrative and method, not through common payers or beneficiaries. This report relays the conclusion as the study's conclusion, without adopting it as its own and without extending it to persons or institutions not indicated by the authors.

The study also documents the platforms' transparency limits. On Meta/Facebook the data on the payer disappear when an ad is removed for a violation. Google and TikTok do not publish spending data, and on TikTok the payer field is unverified free text. Users' reports had varied outcomes: in some cases no response, in others a communication that there was no violation or that no action would be taken, in one case the announcement by Google Ads of a removal within 24 hours.

From online content to the people affected

The social media sample describes content; the census of incidents, by contrast, tracks facts affecting identifiable people and institutions. Among the records of the census, described in chapter 2, some have online hate or direct messages as their main form. They show attacks on the public participation of Muslim candidates and administrators, the exposure of veiled women as symbols of danger, and the direct intimidation of individuals and organisations. In other cases the network amplifies a provocation that arose in the street or during prayer.

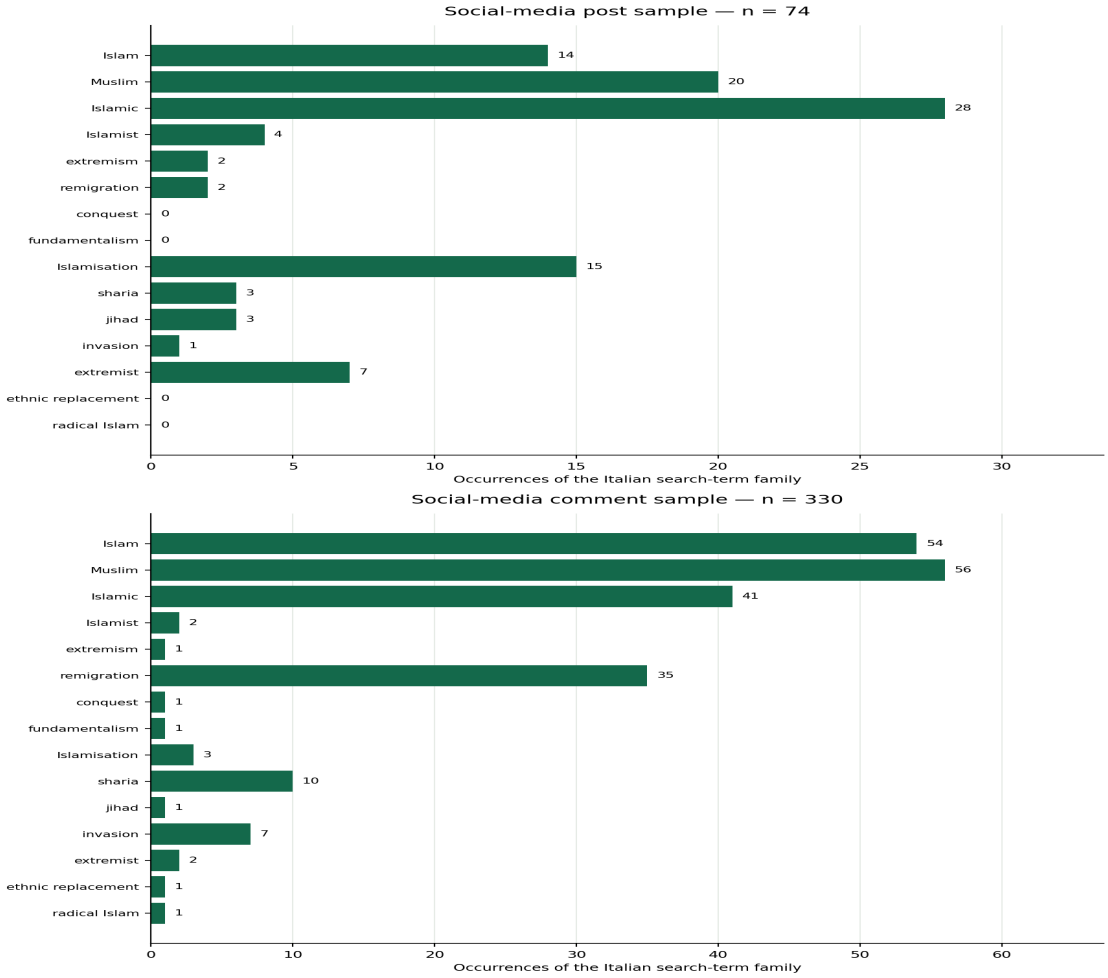
The report keeps three levels of analysis distinct, which must not be conflated. The first is the study of the paid campaign, conducted on sponsored content. The second is the social media sample, with 74 posts and 330 comments in the final sample. The sample and the external study rest on distinct quantitative bases, whose data should not be compared as if they were homogeneous. The third level is the five illustrative examples. They comprise the materials on the arrest of 29 October 2026 and the two comments captured on 16 March 2026, one of which is drawn from the original sample. They have illustrative value only, are not added to the sample data nor to those of the external study, and say nothing about the spread of the phenomenon. The report establishes no causal link between the campaign, the content of the sample and the individual comments. UCOII reiterates that criticism of Muslim organisations, including UCOII itself, is legitimate and part of democratic debate. For the same reason it calls for transparency about who promotes and finances paid campaigns targeting Muslim communities.

Descriptive lexical frequencies

Period and units: the 74 posts of the final sample, acquired between 14 March and 10 July 2026, and the 330 comments, acquired between 13 March and 7 September 2026. The dates refer to acquisition, not publication. For each term the table reports the occurrences and the number of posts or comments containing it. The presence of a term does not indicate hostility. Overlapping families and phrases cannot be added together.

Term/family	Post occ.	Posts containing the term	Comment occ.	Comments containing the term
Islam	14	13	54	45
musulmano/a/i/e	20	19	56	37
islamico/a/i/he	28	20	41	38
islamista/i/e	4	4	2	1

Term/family	Post occ.	Posts containing the term	Comment occ.	Comments containing the term
estremismo/i	2	2	1	1
remigrazione	2	2	35	4
conquista/e	0	0	1	1
fondamentalismo/i	0	0	1	1
islamizzazione/i	15	14	3	3
sharia	3	3	10	8
jihad	3	3	1	1
invasione/i	1	1	7	7
estremista/i/e	7	5	2	2
sostituzione etnica	0	0	1	1
Islam estremista	0	0	1	1



Lexical occurrences in posts and comments

Reading notes. The comments lack a publication date. The archival publication metadata of the posts are not verified on the platform. The families overlap (for example "Islam" and "Islam estremista"). The sensitivity check for textual identity is not equivalent to semantic deduplication. The absolute frequencies should not be compared with other channels.

Key sources

- UCOII Observatory social media archive, original sample of 600 posts and 1,200 comments, acquired between 13 March and 8 September 2026; final sample of 74 posts and 330 comments.

- UCOII document archive, acquisitions of 1 November 2026: Facebook posts by TgLa7 (29 October 2026, 12:57, post) and by Matteo Piantedosi (29 October 2026, 14:30, post); screenshots of third-party comments published on 29 and 30 October 2026 (assets/social_OCT01_anonimo.png, assets/social_OCT02_anonimo.png). The commenters' identifiers are confidential and kept in the archive.
- M. O. Jones, S. Dsouza, *Manufacturing the "Great Replacement"*, Dysinfluence, 29 October 2026 (rev. 2 November 2026): https://thegreatreplacement.dysinfluence.com

Factsheet A — UCOII: plurality, autonomy and the circulation of accusations

The Union of the Islamic Communities of Italy (UCOII) brings together Islamic centres present in Italy and is a partner in dialogue with public institutions. It promotes this report and is a party to some of the events analysed in it. This factsheet first reconstructs the organisation's profile through its statute, religious acts and relations with institutions. It then examines the accusations that circulate about it and the answers that the documents allow to be given. Two voices remain distinct in the text: the positions that the Union expresses as its own institutional voice, always attributed as such, and the verifications conducted on the documents.

A plural confederation by statute

The UCOII was established on 9 January 1990. The statute filed in 2020, in Article 1, defines it as a confederation of Italian Islamic centres. It is a religious and worship organisation that also carries out cultural and welfare activities and does not represent any particular Islamic school. It undertakes to respect doctrinal traditions in all their articulations, in harmony with Italian, European Union and international legislation. Article 3 indicates as its purpose integration into Italian society in respect of the Constitution, the legal order and fundamental rights. It also provides for dialogue and collaboration with bodies and associations in Italy and abroad. Under Article 7, the Assembly elects the President and the Executive Council and approves the budgets.

On this structure the Union bases its position. It claims as a founding choice the plurality of the communities that compose it, diverse in origins, languages and legal schools. It affirms that its decisions are taken freely by its elected bodies and that it is not subordinate to States, organisations or external agendas. It specifies that autonomy does not mean isolation. The statute in fact provides for relations with foreign entities, and engagement with institutions and scholars from other countries is part of its religious and intellectual life.

Religious acts addressed to the public

On 31 July 2005, in Bologna, the Union issued a fatwa against terrorism. The text unequivocally condemns terrorism and the killing of innocents and calls for respect for the laws of the State. It indicates as duties the prevention of violence and education for peace and considers humanitarian and democratic action lawful. On 3 June 2021 the UCOII and the Fatwa Commission of the Associazione Italiana Imam e Guide Religiose declared forced marriages unlawful. The opinion requires free and voluntary consent and prohibits all coercion. It considers an imposed marriage invalid and specifies that parental advice is not binding. These are religious opinions: they guide the faithful and do not replace the law of the State. Precisely for this reason, according to the Union, they show how it understands its own authority, that is, as the formation of consciences within a democratic legal order.

The guidelines *Moschee e imam in Italia* translate the same orientation into the life of mosques. Article II requires loyalty to the Republic, democracy, security and dialogue. Article X considers knowledge of the Italian language an indispensable requirement for the imam. Article XXII defines Italian as fundamental in sermons, on a par with Arabic, in communities that remain multilingual. Article XXVII prohibits offending persons and bodies and abusing the pulpit for polemics. Article XXIX calls for sermons that foster a positive presence and citizenship. These are associative rules that set a public benchmark against which the Union asks to be judged. The same texts cite the European Council for Fatwa and other religious authorities. In the Union's reading, international intellectual dialogue is part of the method and does not imply dependence.

From the request for an agreement to the Pact: a partner in dialogue with public institutions

The Union's archive preserves the outgoing copy of a letter dated 5 November 1992. With it, the UCOII asked the President of the Council of Ministers to initiate the procedures for an agreement (*intesa*) provided for by Article 8 of the Constitution. A letter from the Interministerial Commission of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, dated 28 July 1997 (protocol 2.5/4430/20), communicates that the Commission has resumed its work and that the Union's request will be considered. The correspondence attests to an institutional dialogue; it does not show that negotiations began or that an agreement was reached.

The experience of other denominations shows that a diverse religious tradition can be represented by several entities. Within the vast Buddhist sphere, the State has concluded two agreements with different organisations. The first, with the Unione Buddhista Italiana, was signed on 4 April 2007 and approved by Law of 31 December 2012, No. 245. The second, with the Istituto Buddista Italiano Soka Gakkai, was signed on 27 June 2015 and approved by Law of 28 June 2016, No. 130. The analogy does not guarantee an outcome for Italian Islam, but it demonstrates that an agreement does not require a single organisation for all the faithful.

The *National Pact for an Italian Islam* [*Patto nazionale per un Islam italiano*], signed at the Viminale on 1 February 2017, includes the UCOII among the signatory organisations. The text recalls the Constitution and commits the associations to the training of religious guides, the accessibility of places of worship, transparency, dialogue and participation. It does not confer exclusive representation nor is it equivalent to an agreement (*intesa*): it is an instrument of dialogue, signed by the Union alongside other organisations.

Dialogue also takes place through services. In 2020 the pandemic had suspended the repatriation of bodies. The Union then prepared a guide on cemetery areas, model conventions with local authorities and a dedicated contact point for families, acting as an intermediary with the municipalities; the activity is described by ISMU. The material obstacles to burials are examined in Chapter 7, "Communities, places of worship and local areas" [«Comunità, luoghi di culto e territorio»].

Statute, religious opinions, guidelines for imams, requests for an agreement and services outline an organisation that presents itself as part of Italian citizenship and asks to be judged on verifiable acts. The accusations examined below must be measured against these acts.

The recurring accusations

A number of recurring accusations circulate around the UCOII. The first is that the Union is the Italian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood and receives directions from it. The others maintain that it uses a public language of dialogue and a more extreme internal one, and that foreign funding determines its choices. It is finally claimed that criticism of the Gaza war conceals hostility towards Jews. The pages that follow examine these accusations against the documents that support them, starting from a report of May 2026, and against the French report often invoked by analogy. They show how the profile just described is reinterpreted in the accusations of subordination and saying one thing in public and another in private, and what limits those readings present.

The May 2026 report: from networks to responsibility

The document examined, *Report: Muslim Brotherhood Organizations in Italy*, is a 60-page copy dated May 2026 and attributed to the Israeli Ministry for Diaspora Affairs. On page 3 it defines the UCOII as the main Brotherhood organisation in Italy. In the following pages it seeks confirmation in associative histories, positions held by individuals, European networks and public content. These elements, however, have different weight. A shared office may document a connection; a historical sympathy does not demonstrate a current relationship of command. A parliamentary question documents what a

parliamentarian asks, not the verification of its premise. To qualify the nature of an organisation, an explicit chain is needed linking organisations, persons, period and conduct.

The report itself contains elements that weaken this chain. On page 7 it places the initial phase of the networks between the 1960s and the 1980s. On the same page the authors acknowledge that there is no estimate of how many Italian Muslims identify with the Brotherhood and that the organisations declare no affiliation. On page 8 the report dates to 1990, in Ancona, the reconstitution of the Union in its current form, thus partly distinguishing the earlier networks from the organisation. The continuity it attributes between antecedents and the organisation, however, must be argued: the biographies of individual persons and the histories of earlier associations do not in themselves coincide with the identity of the organisation. On the same page the authors credit the Union with social activities, services, welfare, mediation and a contribution to the construction of an Italian Islam. On page 9 they attribute to it a more rigid doctrinal reading. Article 1 of the statute, recalled above, documents another dimension: the declared pluralism of the organisation, which represents several schools. The degree of rigidity of a doctrinal reading is a separate question: the authors' thesis requires defined criteria and documented practices.

Again on page 3, the report includes among the organisations discussed the Associazione dei Palestinesi in Italia. It describes it, however, as not directly connected to the Brotherhood organisations in the country. The proceedings that would concern it therefore cannot be extended to the UCOII by mere proximity in the text. The journalistic coverage examined, which presented the report as confirmation, interviewed scholars whose research is cited in the report itself: for this reason it remains distinct from independent corroboration.

Public acts and discourse on Gaza

In the report, the accusation of saying one thing in public and another in private rests on an explicit hypothesis. On page 54 it is stated that a more extreme internal discourse than the public one cannot be ruled out: it is a possibility, not a finding. To become a result, it would require authentic internal communications and a comparison with public ones. If every sign of dialogue is read as a façade, no contrary evidence can count. The Union has instead bound itself publicly with the 2005 fatwa, the opinion on forced marriages and the guidelines for imams, which offer verifiable benchmarks.

On page 30, examining the social media posts of the last two years, the authors find no direct calls to violence against Jews or Israelis nor antisemitic statements. They nevertheless read some messages as implicit support for terrorism. This observation applies to the social media sample, not to the Union's other activities. Among the positions on Gaza cited by the authors are demands addressed to a State and its choices: sanctions, boycott, protection of the flotilla, cessation of military operations. On the analytical level, criticism of a State and antisemitism remain distinct. Asking to halt the transfer of arms to a government is a political proposal. Hostility towards Jews as such must instead be ascertained, or excluded, on the individual text. The public treatment of this distinction is discussed in Factsheet E.

Funding: different units and scopes of comparison

On page 45 the report lists, according to its authors, 45 projects, 43 affiliated mosques and at least 30 million attributed to the UCOII. Projects, places of worship, beneficiary associations and monetary flows are, however, different units, which require distinct registers; the figures are those given by the authors. The report further maintains that the funding would have been approved under point 10 of the National Pact for an Italian Islam. That point calls for maximum transparency in the management and documentation of funding originating from Italy or abroad. It does not indicate amounts, beneficiaries or donors, nor does it authorise individual payments. It therefore proves neither that a particular payment was authorised nor that it was clandestine. On page 46 the report compares the 2020 budget of the national organisation with multi-year projects of a network of communities, that is, figures covering different activities and periods. The gap, by itself, does not indicate hidden funds. For the same reason,

the amounts attributed to the network of communities must not be treated as income of the national organisation.

The name recurring in the accusations is that of Qatar Charity, not to be confused with Qatar Foundation. On its own website Qatar Charity presents itself as a humanitarian non-governmental organisation founded in 1992. This qualification does not demonstrate total separation from politics nor the absence of state regulation. A charitable earmarking requirement or a reporting obligation, however, do not coincide with interference in the decisions of the recipient.

The Union declares that the funds received are declared, traced and managed transparently. It further declares that donations are accepted for the needs of the communities, without political interference, subordination or external agendas. As early as December 2022, the Florentine imam Izzedin Elzir had told the local press that the funds coming from Qatar were traced through bank channels and intended for the improvement of places of worship. These are institutional statements, not an independent financial audit. The UCOII does not have access to the Italian "eight per thousand" tax allocation scheme (otto per mille); support for the communities is based on other forms of collection and donation.

The French report: a different scope

On 21 May 2025 the French Ministry of the Interior published the report *Frères musulmans et islamisme politique en France*. The document was drafted by a mission of senior officials commissioned in 2024, with the support of the administrations. It is therefore not an intelligence services report: the text itself specifies that its conclusions are independent of the work of the specialised services. In the report's 76 pages the UCOII does not appear, neither under its Italian nor its French name. The report mentions the Bayan institute, which it locates in Italy, and attributes to it funding of Kuwaiti origin. The statement concerns that institute and cannot be extended to the Union. The bibliography includes a study on Italy, which remains a cited source and not an independent verification of the Italian case. Invoking the French report against the UCOII therefore means transferring by juxtaposition theses formulated about other countries and other organisations. It is a step that the document itself does not take.

From relations to proof

Consistently with the principle that autonomy does not mean isolation, the Union considers that international relations, including donations received by the communities, should be documented and assessed one by one. On the analytical level, a relationship or a donation, by itself, is not enough to demonstrate direction or political influence, which requires specific elements. As long as this step is entrusted to the juxtaposition of names, dates and networks, the accusation remains a hypothesis and not a result.

> A review of social media publications from the past two years by organizations identified with the Muslim Brotherhood presents a complex picture. For the most part, these organizations appear to seek to project a moderate image, one that supports religious pluralism and opposes extremism and violence. Their content does not include direct calls for violence against Jews or Israelis, antisemitic statements, or similar expressions. At the same time, in certain cases these organizations portray the State of Israel as a genocidal state and encourage its boycott. In several instances, their publications also convey an implicit message of support for terrorism, including calls for the release of prisoners detained in connection with terrorist activity.

Original clipping, p. 30, «Muslim Brotherhood Organizations in Italy» (May 2026): 60-page copy attributed to the Israeli Ministry of Diaspora Affairs, publisher unverified. The authors find in the two-year social media sample no direct calls to anti-Jewish or anti-Israeli violence nor antisemitic statements, but attribute implicit support for terrorism to some posts.

Israeli report, p. 54 — original quotation: *it cannot be ruled out that in practice their internal, non-public discourse — in mosques, meetings among activists, and closed communication groups - promotes a more conservative and more extreme ideology than is outwardly presented.*

UCOII response. The hypothesis of an internal discourse of the organisations more extreme than the public one does not constitute documentary proof of internal communications. This is not equivalent to absolving the organisations: it indicates only that that specific hypothesis is not demonstrated by documents.

> Ce rapport préserve les travaux menés par les services spécialisés et les constats qu'il établit en sont indépendants. Ils ne sont pas le reflet ou la justification des actions décidées par les gouvernements successifs contre des organismes de la mouvance. Les citations ne sont pas référencées mais une bibliographie est jointe en annexe 1.

Original clipping, printed p. 7 (p. 8 of the PDF), «Frères musulmans et islamisme politique en France», report of the ministerial mission of 21 May 2025. The paragraph illustrates the mission's independence from the specialised services and clarifies the treatment of unreferenced quotations and of the bibliography.

French report, printed p. 31 (PDF p. 32) — original quotation referring to Bayan: *a bénéficié de financements koweitiens, à travers International Islamic Charity Organisation.* [English translation: "received Kuwaiti funding through International Islamic Charity Organisation."]

UCOII response. The authors of the report attribute the Kuwaiti funding to Bayan, not to the UCOII. It is an attribution by the authors, not an independent verification.

Key sources

- UCOII, Statute: https://ucoii.org/chi-siamo/statuto
- UCOII, Fatwa against terrorism, Bologna, 31 July 2005: https://www.ucoii.org/uploads/documents/La-Fatwa.pdf
- UCOII and Fatwa Commission of the Associazione Italiana Imam e Guide Religiose, Fatwa on the unlawfulness of forced marriages, 3 June 2021: https://ucoii.org/uploads/documents/Fatwa-sullilliceita%CC%80-dei-matrimoni-forzati-nellIslam-IT-AR.pdf
- UCOII, *Moschee e imam in Italia*, guidelines, n.d.: https://www.ucoii.org/uploads/documents/MOSCHEE-E-IMAM-IN-ITALIA_LINEE-GUIDA_doc-UCOII-3.pdf
- UCOII archive: letter to the President of the Council of Ministers, 5 November 1992; letter from the Interministerial Commission, 28 July 1997, protocol 2.5/4430/20
- Ministry of the Interior, *Patto nazionale per un Islam italiano*, 1 February 2017: https://www.interno.gov.it/sites/default/files/patto_nazionale_per_un_islam_italiano_1.2.2017.pdf
- Ministry of the Interior, Religions and the State: https://www.interno.gov.it/it/temi/cittadinanza-e-altri-diritti-civili/religioni-e-stato
- Law of 31 December 2012, No. 245: https://www.normattiva.it/eli/id/2013/01/17/13G00015/ORIGINAL
- Law of 28 June 2016, No. 130: https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2016/07/15/16G00143/sg
- ISMU, reconstruction of Muslim burials during the pandemic (2020)
- *Report: Muslim Brotherhood Organizations in Italy*, May 2026, 60-page copy attributed to the Israeli Ministry for Diaspora Affairs; identity of the publisher of the copy unverified
- Ministère de l'Intérieur, presentation of the report, 21 May 2025: https://www.interieur.gouv.fr/actualites/dossiers-de-presse/publication-du-rapport-freres-musulmans-et-islamisme-politique-en-france
- Ministère de l'Intérieur, *Frères musulmans et islamisme politique en France*, PDF: https://www.interieur.gouv.fr/sites/minint/files/medias/documents/2025-05/2025-05-02-rapport-freres-musulmans.pdf
- Qatar Charity, What We Do: https://www.qcharity.org/en/global/home/what-qatar-charity-do

- La Nazione, Firenze, 15 December 2022: https://www.lanazione.it/firenze/cronaca/limam-ci-saremo-come-ogni-venerdi-e-sui-fondi-dal-qatar-tutto-tracciato-7d9eb9d9
- Agenzia delle Entrate, recipients of the otto per mille: https://infoprecompilata.agenziaentrate.gov.it/portale/otto-cinque-e-due-per-mille

Factsheet B — The hijab and access to recruitment

A 2016 judgment of the Court of Appeal of Milan concerns the exclusion of a candidate from a recruitment process process before she was even assessed. The case dates back to 2013.

An application matching the advertisement

In February 2013 the company Evolution Events srl was looking for staff for two days of leafleting at the MICAM trade fair, on 3 and 4 March. The company screened applicants for a client, who had the final say. The candidate met the stated requirements. After sending her photograph, she was asked whether she would be willing to remove her veil. She explained that she wore it for religious reasons and offered to match it to the uniform. The company maintained that it was following the client's aesthetic requirements, including long, visible hair.

On 7 July 2014 the Court of Lodi dismissed the application, finding no intention to discriminate. The Court of Appeal, which ruled on 4 May 2016 and published judgment 579/2016 on 20 May, looked instead at the treatment received and its effects, not at the stated intention.

The occupational requirement test

The Court recognises the link between the hijab and religious affiliation and finds direct discrimination in access to employment. The religious ground emerges from the exchange of messages about the veil and is not inferred from a name. The exception for a genuine and determining occupational requirement calls for an assessment of the actual job. On this point the reasoning separates what the client preferred from what was indispensable: visible hair appeared as a condition neither in the advertisement nor in the client's request. A generic aesthetic preference is therefore not enough to justify excluding someone who wears a religious symbol.

The protection concerns the possibility of being considered at the screening stage, not the right to obtain that assignment. For this reason the compensation remains modest: the Court awards 500 euros in non-pecuniary damages.

The significance of the decision

The value of the decision lies in the method more than in the sum awarded. The Court applies a principle of necessity and proportionality to the concrete case: an image requirement that excludes those who wear a religious symbol is permitted only if it proves indispensable to the performance of the work, and a client's generic preferences are not enough to justify it.

Key sources

- Court of Appeal of Milan, judgment 579/2016, RG 1239/2014, decided on 4 May 2016 and published on 20 May 2016; an eight-page copy published by ASGI.

Factsheet C — Freedom of worship and urban planning rules

The right to pray in a stable place is often decided in technical offices and administrative courts, more than in the streets. Two decisions, with opposite outcomes for the associations involved, show where the legal system draws the line between land-use governance and religious freedom. The first is a judgment of the Constitutional Court on a Lombardy regional law. The second is a judgment of the Council of State on a centre in Monfalcone.

In Lombardy, a regional rule struck down

With judgment 254/2019, filed on 5 December 2019, the Constitutional Court decided two questions together. In Castano Primo, in the province of Milan, the Associazione culturale Madni had obtained a building permit for worship activities on 15 January 2016. The permit was annulled ex officio on 13 March 2017, because the plan for religious facilities was missing, and the association challenged the annulment. In the second case, concerning the Associazione Culturale Islamica Ticinese, the issue was the referral of applications to the new general plan.

The Court strikes down Article 72, paragraph 2 and paragraph 5, second sentence, of regional law 12/2005, in the version amended in 2015. It declares the questions on paragraph 1 inadmissible. According to the reasoning, the correct criterion is the actual urban-planning impact of an activity, not its religious character. The law instead imposed an absolute prior constraint even for small private spaces and referred everything to a discretionary revision of the plan. This produced a restriction on freedom of worship without a corresponding planning objective. The parameters on which the challenge was upheld are Articles 2, 3 and 19 of the Constitution.

Planning is not abolished. The plan for religious facilities remains lawful if it pursues urban-planning purposes and takes account of the right of worship, and building permits do not become automatic. The Court places itself in the line of judgment 63/2016, which had already censured other provisions of the same law without overturning it entirely. The decision therefore documents an obstacle of legislative origin and its removal through constitutional review.

In Monfalcone, a restoration order upheld

Judgment 2822/2025 of the second section of the Council of State, decided on 11 February 2025, concerns the Municipality and the Islamic cultural association Baitus Salat. The association used rented premises, which a municipal order returned to commercial use, prohibiting their use as a place of worship. The case is distinct from the proceedings concerning the Darus Salaam centre and from the threatening letter of 2024, dealt with elsewhere in the volume.

After the interim phase, the Regional Administrative Court (TAR) annulled the order on the merits, holding that a necessary precondition had not been demonstrated. The Council of State reversed that decision and dismissed the original application.

The decisive factor is the increase in the demand on local infrastructure and services: the technical report and the inspection records attest, on different days, a significant influx of people, which concerns the use of the premises and not episodes of hostility. Having decided the case on this ground, the court did not need to examine the municipality's other grounds. The association had argued that other denominations used similar premises, but the objection was not upheld because it was late, generic and unproven. The dispute matters for the collective conditions of worship, not as a finding of discrimination.

The guarantees that both decisions preserve

Despite their opposite outcomes, the two judgments share a framework. Both invoke Article 19 of the Constitution, pluralism and the need for adequate spaces. The Council of State distinguishes the

discretionary governance of land use, which must take these needs into account, from the repression of an abuse in the cases provided for by law. It also separates the stable use of premises from occasional use, which does not automatically change the designated use. Finally, it describes loyal cooperation as a mutual duty of the administration and the associations. The search for dignified alternatives therefore remains compatible with upholding the order concerning the particular premises.

Two guarantees follow, and they apply together: a religious association remains subject to building regulations, and an administration cannot use those regulations to make worship unreasonably impossible. The Lombardy judgment shows that the second can be enforced even against a law; the Monfalcone judgment, that the first can prevail in the concrete case.

Key sources

- Constitutional Court, judgment 254/2019, filed on 5 December 2019.
- Council of State, section II, judgment 2822/2025, Baitus Salat, RG 7670/2024, decided on 11 February 2025; full copy hosted by the Sole 24 Ore.

Factsheet D — One radio statement, two proceedings

On 28 November 2024 a well-known journalist, a guest on the programme La Zanzara on Radio 24, commented on news events that had occurred in a Milan neighbourhood with remarks directed at Muslims. Two separate proceedings arose from that episode. A civil case against the guest ended at first instance with a finding of discriminatory harassment. A proceeding by the Communications Regulatory Authority ended with a fine imposed on the broadcaster's publisher. The quotations that follow come from the case files.

The civil case against the guest

The Court of Turin, first civil section, ruled in a judgment of 5 December 2025 (NRG 23393/2024), a copy of which is published by ASGI, the claimant. The claims were based on Article 28 of Legislative Decree 150/2011 and Article 44 of Legislative Decree 286/1998. The judge applied the notion of harassment under Article 2, paragraph 3, of Legislative Decree 215/2003. The operative part reproduces the remarks found to be discriminatory, including the extension to Muslims of a claim of racial inferiority and the phrase "I would shoot them in the mouth" [«gli sparerei in bocca»]. The transcript also records the objection of another participant, "It's not as if, being Muslims, they're all thieves and murderers" [«Non è che in quanto musulmani son tutti ladri e assassini»], to which the guest responded by insisting.

The defendant did not contest the facts. He invoked the programme's provocative and satirical style and a "correction" [«rettifica»] of 2 December 2024. The judge rejected the defence based on satire. He read the correction as a reply to a reader that left the judgment of inferiority intact. He further clarified that civil protection does not depend on the existence of a criminal offence.

The judgment finds the conduct discriminatory and orders the guest to pay 20,000 euros to ASGI. It orders the publication of the operative part, once, in a national daily newspaper at the defendant's expense. It rejects, however, as generic, the request for further measures: the court therefore grants most, but not all, of the relief sought.

The fine imposed on the publisher

With resolution 104/25/CONS, announced on 16 April 2025, AGCOM imposed a fine of 150,000 euros on Il Sole 24 Ore S.p.A., the broadcaster's publisher. The legal basis is Article 30 of the Consolidated Law on audiovisual media services and the Authority's regulation on fundamental rights. The alleged regulatory breach concerned remarks by both the guest and a listener who made generalisations about Moroccans.

The publisher invoked the satirical tone, the unpredictability of live broadcasting, the co-host's objections and the subsequent initiatives. The Authority ruled out unpredictability, because recordings of the same guest had already been aired in the same episode. It further held that the tone and the continuation of the interview were not enough to distance the broadcaster. It recognised a partial mitigation for the subsequent initiatives, but judged it insufficient to reduce the fine.

Two distinct responsibilities

The civil judge assesses one person's words; the Authority assesses how the service provider handled that content. The fine does not attribute the guest's opinions to the hosts, but establishes that objections voiced on air are not enough to exclude editorial responsibility. The 20,000 euros in compensation payable by the guest and the 150,000 euros in fines payable by the publisher are measures of a different nature stemming from a single event.

One detail remains useful for anyone looking for the audio today. According to the resolution, from 13 December 2024 the publisher removed from the online episodes of 28 November and 3 December the

parts containing the guest's contributions. The podcast currently available may therefore be an edited version, and the absence of those remarks does not disprove that they were broadcast.

Key sources

- Court of Turin, first civil section, judgment of 5 December 2025, NRG 23393/2024; copy published by ASGI.
- AGCOM, press release of 16 April 2025 and resolution 104/25/CONS, published on 28 April 2025.

Factsheet E — Gaza and belonging in public discourse

Since 7 October 2023 the war in Gaza has been one of the contexts in which Muslims are talked about in Italy. The materials collected do not say whether episodes of hostility have increased. They do, however, make it possible to observe the arguments used, who voices them and what responses they receive. Two features emerge: the continuity of repertoires that predate the war, applied to new objects, and, alongside these, concrete signs of inclusion.

Earlier repertoires, new objects

The association between Muslims and terrorism, the idea of cultural replacement and that of an essential incompatibility with the West did not originate with Gaza. The REASON/Mediavox research, based on surveys between September 2019 and May 2020, already describes them. The same research cites a 2019 petition that depicted Islam as an evil capable of penetrating society. The lexicon of submission and conquest that appears in the press of 2024–2025 thus takes up an existing argumentative structure.

In the case of the interfaith march in Bologna, between December 2024 and January 2025, the news coverage focused on the initiative, while in the subsequent commentary the discussion shifted to the political nature of Islam and the communities' position on Israel. Two signed opinion pieces published by the Carlino offer opposite readings of the same event, and a representative of the Bologna Islamic community replied in the first person. A Palestinian flag, taken on its own, indicates neither anti-Jewish hatred nor Islamophobia.

When belonging becomes suspicion

The 53 articles read in full across five windows between September 2023 and September 2026 come from a targeted search and do not measure the outlets' output. They do, however, offer precise textual examples. On 19 September 2023 an article in il Giornale moves from the threats received by a political figure, after her criticism of the veil, to a judgment by the author on the incompatibility of Muslim culture with European values. The threats target one person, while the generalisation concerns an entire religion: these are two different targets. After 7 October, the piece headlined "And on the websites of Egyptians in Italy the attack is being celebrated" [«E nei siti degli egiziani d'Italia si festeggia l'attacco»] derives from a selection of comments "the sentiment of hatred that animates the Muslim people in Italy" [«il sentimento d'odio che anima il popolo musulmano in Italia»]. The article "Hunting Jews" [«Caccia agli ebrei»] instead locates the origin of the hatred also in the "homes of the two billion Muslims" [«case dei due miliardi di musulmani»]. These are collective attributions, not measurements of their prevalence. The antisemitic threats reported in those articles remain real and are not imputed to the journalists who condemn them.

Readings that turn political and associational activities on Gaza into clues of a suspect organisational affiliation are examined in Factsheet A.

Inclusion and replies in the same period

The counter-evidence is concrete. In addition to the reply by the representative of the Bologna Islamic community, on 27 September 2023 Avvenire reports from Qaraqosh on aid and hospitality offered by Christians, Muslims, Kurds and Arabs. These documents do not disprove the hostility, but they show that the period cannot be read through a single narrative.

Literal presence of Gaza in the usable bodies of text

Outlet	3–9 August	10–16 August	17–23 August
Avvenire	6/189	13/144	18/186

Outlet	3–9 August	10–16 August	17–23 August
il Giornale	13/749	11/683	15/695
Il Giorno	0/841	0/679	4/880

For each daily newspaper, the number of publications with at least one literal occurrence of "Gaza" (not the number of occurrences), out of the total publications with a usable body of text according to the archive's filter. Unit: publication ID; duplicates were not removed. From 3 to 23 August 2026, 5,097 publications were enumerated. Of these, 51 are excluded from the denominator: 3 have no body of text and 48 have a body present but suspended for quality reasons. The overall denominator is therefore 5,046. The availability of the body of text does not guarantee its completeness. Source: archive of the UCOII Observatory, three-newspaper panel.

The table counts the presence of the term and measures neither its tone nor its hostility. It covers three daily newspapers over three weeks, all after 7 October 2023. It therefore does not describe the national trend, nor does it allow a before/after comparison with respect to that date.

The international framework and its limits

On 16 September 2025 the United Nations Independent International Commission of Inquiry, in document A/HRC/60/CRP.3, concluded that Israel committed genocide in Gaza between 7 October 2023 and 31 July 2025. The Commission adopted the reasonable-grounds standard and distinguished State responsibility from individual criminal responsibility. It is the conclusion of a commission of inquiry, not a judgment of the International Court of Justice. As verified on 9 September 2026, the South Africa v. Israel proceedings recorded no ruling on the merits, and the provisional protection of plausible rights does not amount to a finding of genocide. The international context explains why the issue weighs on the debate, but it does not measure what happens in Italy. Neither the reasoned use of that term nor solidarity with Palestinians constitutes antisemitism in itself. Likewise, criticism of Israel does not automatically become evidence against Muslims.

Key sources

- United Nations Independent International Commission of Inquiry, A/HRC/60/CRP.3, 16 September 2025.
- REASON/Mediavox report, survey September 2019–May 2020.
- Documentary repertoire of the Observatory: 53 articles across five time windows, 2023–2026.

Factsheet F — Protection, participation and prospects

The hostility documented in the report meets norms, judges, oversight authorities and local communities capable of removing obstacles. Favourable decisions coexist with outcomes unfavourable to the applicants and with a wide gap between lived experiences and requests for protection. Together they reveal two distinct problems: the effectiveness of remedies when they are activated and the difficulty of reaching them. The factsheet first reconstructs the existing tools and responses, then the priorities on which the report's evidence converges. The aim is to make facts and proceedings traceable and to broaden access to protection. It is also necessary to guarantee equal and proportionate conditions in employment, housing, worship and schooling. Finally, editorial responsibility must be strengthened in the formats in which hostility has been observed.

Norms and decisions that remove obstacles

The legal system offers distinct tools. Article 604-bis of the Criminal Code, introduced by Legislative Decree 21/2018, covers among other things incitement to commit, or the commission of, discriminatory and violent acts, including on religious grounds. Article 604-ter provides an aggravating circumstance for discriminatory or hate-driven purposes. On the civil side, Legislative Decree 216/2003 protects religion and personal beliefs in public and private employment, while Decree 215/2003 covers race and ethnic origin. The Rabat Plan of Action, published by the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, helps to assess context, the speaker's position, intent, content, reach and likelihood of harm. It thus makes it possible to distinguish those who report a hostile statement from those who promote it.

The decisions reconstructed in the factsheets show these tools operating on different planes. The civil courts can recognise discrimination in access to employment (Factsheet B). The Constitutional Court has removed barriers erected by regional laws on places of worship in Lombardy and Veneto (judgments 63/2016, 67/2017 and 254/2019). The administrative courts can order a fresh assessment, as in Magenta in 2025, or rule in favour of the municipality, as in one of the Monfalcone proceedings (Factsheet C). In the radio case, the civil judgment concerns the guest, while the AGCOM sanction concerns the provider's editorial responsibility (Factsheet D). These remedies are not substitutes for one another: each acts on a different level of the same obstacle.

Institutional and civic responses

Alongside court rulings, some local measures offer recognisable procedures and interlocutors. Milan's 2019 Plan for religious facilities is in force, even though it does not guarantee that the buildings will be built. The pact approved unanimously by Turin in 2023 with the Islamic cultural centres remains valid until 31 December 2026.

The news reports also record immediate responses on the ground. In Montello, the Carabinieri reported the alleged perpetrator of an attempted arson. In Coreglia Antelminelli, the parish and the municipality condemned the graffiti that appeared. In Morbegno, the mayor, the parish and the trade unions expressed solidarity with the intimidated Islamic centre. In Assisi, the mayor expressed support for the councillor insulted for his faith. These examples do not measure how widespread such responses are across the country. They do show, however, that religious communities, local administrations, law enforcement and trade unions are capable of reacting.

Participating without becoming a symbol

Cultural and sporting participation depends on proportionate rules and on the possibility of speaking in the first person. In football, IFAB Law 4 permits head covers that meet conditions of colour, consistency with the kit and safety, with no protruding parts. The prohibition of religious slogans and images

concerns messages on equipment, not the head covers provided for by the Law. An exclusion must therefore be assessed against the requirement actually contested, not the mere presence of the veil.

In Marsala, at the beginning of 2025, the local press reported shared meals among Muslims, Christians and atheists promoted by the association Badia Grande. The direct voice, however, is that of a priest, and the Muslim participants are named without being quoted. Being present is not the same as being able to recount one's own participation. The tensions and dialogue surrounding the peace march in Bologna are examined in Factsheet E.

From experience to reporting

The surveys cited in Chapters 1 and 3 gather experiences of discrimination that, as Chapter 1 shows, only rarely reach the reporting channels. The gap does not measure unpunished crimes, but it indicates that protection remains distant from many experiences. An effective norm works for those who manage to activate it. Knowing the channels, receiving guidance and being able to count on support through the procedures are part of protection, not an accessory to it.

Protection exists and produces results. Making it more accessible does not remove every obstacle, but it reduces the burden that today falls on the individual called upon to litigate or on the community called upon to negotiate. Making it measurable as well is the first objective of the priorities that follow. For each one, the person or body responsible, an action and a verifiable indicator are identified. It is proposed that future editions report on any recommendations transmitted, the responses received and the trend of the indicators.

Public data and access to protection

In the ODIHR overview for 2024, Italy does not have a stand-alone category for hate offences against Muslims. The Ministry of the Interior, through OSCAD, can publish one, separating it from other religious motives. The Ministry of Justice can resume the transmission of data on proceedings and decisions, which has been missing since 2018. Without these data, the path from complaint to outcome remains invisible.

UNAR, working with networks of community organisations, can raise awareness of its service in the languages and places frequented by the communities. It can also publish a breakdown of enquiries concerning religion by self-reported affiliation, setting and outcome. The baseline values are those of the FRA survey cited in Chapter 1. An increase in contacts may indicate greater trust; for this reason it matters to measure how many cases receive a traceable response, how quickly and with what outcome. The Italian Data Protection Authority may be asked for guidance on the processing of data relating to religious beliefs in civil society monitoring systems.

Employment and housing

For employment and housing (Chapters 4 and 5), the priority is to make selection criteria verifiable. Employers, agencies and landlords can adopt proportionate and transparent criteria that do not turn preferences attributed to others into requirements. Advice desks and associations can guide those who are excluded and open a dialogue with employers' and landlords' organisations. Indicator: observation, by the advice desks, of the recurring refusals reported, without any claim to statistical measurement.

Equal conditions for worship, burials and schooling

The decisions on places of worship recalled above point to a clear line for Regions and municipalities. Urban planning criteria must be the same for all faiths, and refusals must be justified by concrete impact. The plans approved and the refusals annulled in court make this verifiable. For burials, municipalities can provide for sections for the Islamic rite in their mortuary police regulations and cemetery plans. A national census of these sections is currently lacking and could be launched with ANCI. The Ministry of Education and Merit and the regional school offices can offer guidance on organising the calendar and

absences for religious holidays. Such guidance must be given in keeping with the school autonomy defended in the parliamentary answer of 8 April 2026.

Editorial responsibility and platforms

In the radio and television passages examined in Chapter 10, hostility is concentrated in talk shows, in audience interventions and in broadcast political events. In the latter, a reply is almost always absent in the transcribed portion. From this follows a recommendation to public and private broadcasters: adopt editorial guidelines on generalisations about religious groups, on timely replies and on the presence of Muslim voices. Attention should focus above all on formats with audience interventions and on live political broadcasts. AGCOM, which in the radio case has already sanctioned a publisher (Factsheet D), can include anti-Muslim hostility in its monitoring and publish the results.

For the press (Chapter 9), on 27 October 2026 UCOII filed three complaints with the Order of Journalists, the outcomes of which are not yet known. The Order and publishers are asked to recall, in training and in ethical oversight, the prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, including in headlines and comment pieces. On social media (Chapter 11), within the framework of the European Digital Services Regulation, platforms should treat reports of illegal content as a priority and give reasons for their decisions, distinguishing such content from legitimate criticism.

A Permanent Observatory

The Numero Zero delivers tools to be made permanent. The census comprises 73 records gathering news events and reports with varying strength of the supporting evidence; seven cases requiring further investigation are tracked separately. The next step is to consolidate each record with primary sources and outcomes. What is then needed is a double independent human reading, with publication of the degree of agreement between the assessors, and the release of the codebook and aggregate data. A register of corrections and the preservation of the identifiers of the audio recordings must also be established. Comparison with the full text of articles acquired in partial form is also required. Positive developments will be collected under the same protocol as the incidents. The rules for building the datasets are set out in the Methodological Note at the end of the volume.

Alongside the Observatory, the establishment of the National Centre for Countering Islamophobia is scheduled for 15 November 2026; its tasks, structure and resources will be defined in the founding instruments. Future work will have to keep at its centre two elements that emerged throughout the report. The first is Muslim plurality, which does not coincide with a single organisation, origin or political position. The second is the concrete effects of hostility on people, to be documented together with the protections and inclusive practices that already exist.

Key sources

- Legislative Decree 21/2018, Article 2: https://presidenza.governo.it/USRI/confessioni/D.Lgs.%201%20marzo%202018%2C%20n.%2021%20_art.%202_comma%201%20let_i.pdf
- Legislative Decree 215/2003: https://www.parlamento.it/parlam/leggi/deleghe/03215dl.htm
- Legislative Decree 216/2003: https://www.parlamento.it/parlam/leggi/deleghe/03216dl.htm
- OHCHR, Rabat Plan of Action: https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Issues/Opinion/SeminarRabat/Rabat_draft_outcome.pdf
- Constitutional Court, judgment 63/2016: https://www.cortecostituzionale.it/scheda-pronuncia/2016/63
- Constitutional Court, judgment 67/2017: https://www.cortecostituzionale.it/scheda-pronuncia/2017/67
- Constitutional Court, judgment 254/2019, ASGI copy: https://www.asgi.it/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/2019_254_Corte_Costituzionale_discriminazione_religione.pdf

- Council of State, Section VII, judgment 1710/2025, in Diritto e Religioni: https://www.rivistadirittoereligioni.com/wp-content/uploads/2025/07/12025-Giurisprudenza-amministrativa.pdf
- AGCOM, press release on resolution 104/25/CONS: https://www.agcom.it/comunicazione/comunicati-stampa/comunicato-stampa-28
- Comune di Milano, Plan for religious facilities: https://pgt.comune.milano.it/pgt-previgente/pgt-milano-2030-approvato-e-successive-modificazioni/piano-le-attrezzature-religiose-milano-2030
- Città di Torino, resolution on the pact with the Islamic cultural centres: https://www.comune.torino.it/media/200
- IFAB, Laws of the Game 2026/27, Law 4: https://www.theifab.com/laws/latest/the-players-equipment/
- Camera dei deputati, verbatim report of 8 April 2026, pp. 39–40: https://documenti.camera.it/leg19/resoconti/assemblea/html/sed0640/stenografico.pdf
- OSCE-ODIHR, hate crime data, Italy 2024 country page
- FRA, *Being Muslim in the EU* (2024)
- Regulation (EU) 2022/2065 on digital services

Methodological Note

The volume brings together sources of different kinds: judicial and administrative acts, institutional statistics, studies, news reports, press, television, radio and social media. Each figure refers to a single unit of analysis, and different units remain separate in the counts. This note explains how the bases were built, how the contents were classified, what human verification was carried out and what limitations follow from it. The definition of anti-Muslim hostility and the distinction between criticism and hostility are presented in the first chapter.

Sources, units and periods

Source	Unit	Base and period	What it describes
FRA survey	Person interviewed	883 Muslim respondents in Italy, 2021–2022	Self-reported experience, weighted data
ODIHR	Recorded offence; reported incident	Italy, 2024: 893 police records for all motivations; 253 civil society reports	Official data and unofficial reporting
News census	Episode record	73 records; 1 April 2024–6 November 2026	Events and reports supported by evidence of varying strength
Press review	Publication document	2,119 documents; 6 July–31 October 2026	Thematic corpus, non-probabilistic
Press panel	Article	442 articles out of 5,097 publications of Avvenire, il Giornale and Il Giorno; 3–23 August 2026	Sample of the enumerated publications
Television and radio	Five-minute window; archived segment	25 broadcasters; 1 May–31 October 2026	Presence of the topic, stratified sample, alerts
Social media	Post; comment	600 posts and 1,200 comments acquired between 13 March and 8 September 2026	Acquired collections, not the platforms

Each source counts for what it attests, according to its specific nature. Official acts (laws, resolutions, judgments) are primary sources; when the copy published by a party to the proceedings is used, this is indicated. Institutional statistics are reported with their base and their period, scientific studies with the design and limitations declared by their authors. For each news episode the source, of varying nature, is identified, and repeat reports of the same event are merged into the same event. Sources from parties involved, including press releases from UCOII and the communities, are recognisable as such and require further corroboration to prove the facts. Official data and civil society reports remain distinct, as in the ODIHR framework. Judicial decisions document individual proceedings and remain confined to them.

The news census

Episodes were collected through repeated searches by month, by place and by type of conduct. The searches also used the press review and the «Cronache di ordinario razzismo» database. The census includes an event when it affects Muslim persons, property, places or rites, or persons perceived as Muslim, and presents at least one indicator of prejudice. The indicators are words or symbols, the choice of target, coincidence with a religious observance or the victim's substantiated perception. The counting unit is the record. As a rule, one record corresponds to one episode, that is, to an event in one place and on one date. Multiple articles on the same event and its judicial developments remain in the same record. Aggregated campaigns constitute a declared exception: interventions by the same author on the same topic, within a delimited period and in different venues, form a single record, such as EXTRA-SASSO-2026-02 (June–September 2026). The total of 73 is therefore a total of records, with units of varying extension. The EXTRA- prefix identifies six records added outside the sequential NZO numbering system and included within the 73 total: EXTRA-SASSO-2026-01 and -02, EXTRA-OLBIA-001, EXTRA-FB-YB-2026-01 and -02, EXTRA-BAYAN-2026-01. The seven separate reports, outside the totals, appear in the public box of chapter 2 without an identifier; their identifiers remain in the internal register.

The main count comprises 73 records: 43 validated in the human review of 13 November 2026 and 30 earlier inclusions, retained and excluded from the re-examination carried out on that occasion. Seven records requiring further investigation are presented separately, outside the count. The 73 records therefore have distinct levels of verification: targeted human validation and retained prior inclusion. Three records (NZO-2026-086, NZO-2026-093 and NZO-2026-100) had provisional relevance, because the specifically anti-Muslim indicator remained to be documented; on 14 November 2026 the commissioning body validated their inclusion through a targeted human decision, described below. Counts and recorded decisions remain unchanged. The seven separate records await corroboration about what happened or about the link with anti-Muslim hostility.

The 73 records document episodes; legal qualifications and the ascertainment of motives follow the documented status of each case. They gather documented news reports and accepted notifications, with heterogeneous evidence, and severity is assessed on an axis distinct from that of evidence; the relevant distributions are reported in the separate Analytical Tables. The distributions by form and by region appear instead in the tables of chapter 2, those of the corpus classes in the table of this note. Since the sources consulted are heterogeneous, the distribution of the records over time and by region describes the collection; trends remain to be measured.

Press, television, radio and social media

For the press there is a single selection path. From the 2,119 acquisitions of the press review, 249 non-assessable documents (U) are excluded, yielding 1,870 usable documents; after excluding 441 not relevant, 11 directed at other targets and 15 ambiguous, 1,403 documents classified H, C, R or I remain. A further 16 documents whose relevance lacks corroboration in the body of the text are then excluded (1,387), along with 22 documents for integrity reasons documented in the register (1,365). Finally, 22 duplicate copies of the same acquisition are removed (20 R and 2 I); distinct republications are retained. The final sample comprises 1,343 documents: 43 H, 171 C, 961 R, 168 I. The 43 H documents are those admitted; the other 16 H documents of the intermediate base were excluded for insufficiency of textual support and retain their original class. The H documents are also read qualitatively, by examining the documented passages. The month indicated is that of the press review, which may differ from that of publication. The August panel allows comparisons only between the enumerated publications of the three newspapers in the three weeks observed.

For television and radio the volume works on automatic transcriptions; systematic listening to the audio remains outside the method. The original trace comprises 535,707 five-minute windows, in which a dictionary flags the presence of the topic. It is a lexical inventory, preserved in its original form, advertising included, and kept distinct from the analytical bases. The analytical bases are three and remain separate.

The first is the stratified sample of the programming: 5,372 original windows in 316 strata. After removing 306 advertising windows and 426 non-assessable ones, 4,640 usable windows remain; of these, 4,493 are off-topic or not classifiable as H, C, R or I, and the final sample comprises 147 windows (84 television and 63 radio): 4 H, 21 C, 106 R, 16 I. The analyses exclude the weights of the original design: the four hostile windows describe the sample, remain confined to it and remain extraneous to rankings between broadcasters. The second is an enriched oversample of thematic segments, which remains separate from the main sample: from the 715 original windows, after removing 6 advertising and 5 non-assessable ones, 704 usable windows remain and, excluding 145 not relevant or not classifiable, 559 final windows (25 H, 43 C, 441 R, 50 I). The third gathers 2,822 segments grouped from 3,669 automatic alerts: after removing 26 advertising segments, 2,796 usable ones remain, associated with 3,640 alerts, and, excluding 1,086 not relevant, directed at other targets, ambiguous or not classifiable, 1,710 final segments (255 H, 249 C, 1,114 R, 92 I). Since the selection seeks out hostility, these segments describe who speaks, what the presenters do and whether a reply follows; the frequency of hostility in the programming remains outside their scope. Fifty-six of these segments have textual overlaps with others:

they are therefore interdependent units, and the number of distinct sentences remains to be determined. Trends over time remain to be verified for all the bases.

For social media, posts and comments form separate samples. The 600 original posts come from a collection of 3,627, the 1,200 comments from a collection of 21,298. Of the 600 posts, after excluding 300 non-assessable ones, 300 usable ones remain; after excluding 98 not relevant or directed at other targets and 52 ambiguous, 150 remain; finally, after excluding 76 posts without a documented religious reference, the final sample comprises 74 posts (15 H, 34 C, 18 R, 7 I). Of the 1,200 comments, after excluding 60 non-assessable ones, 1,140 remain; after excluding 301 not relevant or directed at other targets and 358 ambiguous, 481 remain; after excluding 151 without a documented religious reference, the final sample comprises 330 comments (121 H, 161 C, 13 R, 35 I). The final sample legitimately contains, alongside hostile texts, specific criticism, reporting and inclusion. These values describe the acquired collections, with uneven accessibility of the texts; circulation on the platforms remains outside their scope. The dates are those of acquisition, which may differ from those of publication, and the analysis concerns text only: images and videos remain excluded from the examination. The October examples are anonymised qualitative material, separate from the sample closed on 8 September.

Identical texts on social media. In the final sample there are 10 repetitions of identical texts beyond the first occurrence, in 6 groups: 4 in different contexts and 6 under the same post. With the synthetic identifiers it remains to be established whether these are duplicate acquisitions or texts repeated by users; the repetitions have been retained and deduplication is therefore partial. In a sensitivity check that excludes the 6 repetitions under the same post, the comments fall to 324 and the hostile ones remain 121 (37.35%). The main result remains the one calculated on the 330 comments.

From collection to final sample

Source: Analytical Tables. The following table reconstructs, for each base, the passage from the original sample to the usable intermediate base and to the final sample of relevant and classifiable units (H, C, R, I), on which the percentages relating to these corpora are calculated. The intermediate base is a technical step; the denominators are the final samples. For press and social media, the zero in the advertising column indicates the absence of a specific filter; the possible presence of sponsored content remains to be verified. For the alerts, the unit is the segment.

Base	Original	Advertising excluded	U excluded	Usable intermediate	Final sample
Press, review	2119	0	249	1870	1343
TV and radio, main sample	5372	306	426	4640	147
TV and radio, oversample	715	6	5	704	559
TV and radio, alerts	2822	26	0	2796	1710
Social media, posts	600	0	300	300	74
Social media, comments	1200	0	60	1140	330

The next table is an archival inventory: it reports the classes assigned to the original acquisitions of press and social media, including the non-assessable ones, before the final stages of selection. The volume's results are to be read on the final samples. The columns remain separate. N is off-topic, U indicates missing information, O other targets, A uncertain cases kept separate. The H+C+R+I row is the intermediate step from which the final samples are derived. The 42 posts without text are a subset of the 300 U posts.

Class	Press	Posts	Comments
H	59	15	121
C	174	98	305
R	999	30	16

Class	Press	Posts	Comments
I	171	7	39
O	11	8	154
N	441	90	147
A	15	52	358
U	249	300	60
Total	2119	600	1200
H+C+R+I (intermediate step)	1403	150	481

How to read exclusions and denominators

Each base starts from the original sample, visible in the selection table: every exclusion of documents, posts or comments is declared. The exclusions are documented in this note; the results tables report the final samples. The selection preserves the register: the raw acquisition and classification registers, including the excluded units, are kept internally and remain open to re-examination. The classes indicate what can be stated about each unit and serve to describe it, leaving the base intact.

Advertising is excluded from the television and radio bases before the analysis. Non-assessable units (U) signal a lack of information: inaccessible, incomplete or insufficient text on which to decide. For the press, the recorded causes include documents acquired with the title only, non-editorial bodies such as privacy notices, summaries behind paywalls and discrepancies between the acquired unit and the article; for some cases the cause remains implicit in the register. For television and radio, automatic transcriptions reduced to noise and fragments prevail. For social media, truncated texts, pages empty or reduced to the interface, titles without text and fragments prevail. U units indicate only a lack of information: their content remains undetermined as to neutrality, hostility and veracity. Their exclusion may introduce distortions, if the inaccessible texts differ systematically from the readable ones.

Non-relevant content (N) is off-topic and functions as a negative control. Excluding it from the analysis of tone means asking a different question; media that deal with other matters, or that speak of the topic without hatred, remain part of the documented material. They remain necessary to describe how much space the topic occupies in the collected material. Ambiguous cases (A) are kept separate in a class of their own, distinct both from hostility and from the other classes. Class O gathers hostility directed at other targets, which remains outside the adopted definition.

Each final sample brings together the relevant and classifiable units (H+C+R+I): hostility, specific criticism, reporting and inclusion. Specific criticism and reporting remain classes distinct from hostility. Changing the denominator means changing the question: the usable intermediate bases (1,870 documents; 4,640 and 704 windows; 2,796 segments; 300 posts; 1,140 comments) include off-topic, ambiguous or non-classifiable units and serve as technical steps. The percentages relating to these corpora are descriptive and unweighted, with the denominator explicit in the final sample of the base to which they refer: 1,343 documents; 147 windows of the main sample and 559 of the oversample; 1,710 segments; 74 posts; 330 comments. They describe those samples and remain confined to them, distinct from national output and from the editorial line of outlets and broadcasters, and the bases remain separate.

Lexical frequencies are calculated on the available text of the same units of the final samples: they count words; judgments are entrusted to the classification. The distinction between counting terms and assessing meaning is general: the volume's lexical tables use only the units of the final samples, classified H, C, R or I.

Assisted classification and human review

Each content item receives a single prevailing class. The classes are: hostility (H), specific criticism (C), reporting (R), inclusion (I), hostility towards other targets (O), not relevant (N), ambiguous (A) and non-assessable (U). Only H content falls within the definition. In the volume, "hostile" denotes, in a specific sense, anti-Muslim hostility according to the operational definition of Islamophobia presented in chapter 1 ("Islamophobia, citizenship and rights", section "A definition centred on people"). A hostile quotation reported in order to denounce it remains reporting. The speaker, whether guest, listener, interviewee or author, is recorded separately, because the class concerns the sentence, distinct from the outlet or broadcaster. To establish a Muslim target, elements beyond criticism of a government, a party or migration are required, and nationality remains a datum distinct from religion.

The classification of the contents, the compiling of the news records and part of the drafting made use of automatic text-analysis tools, with recorded definitions and instructions. For the television and radio corpora, a subset that over-represented the difficult cases was re-read by the same tool blind to the first outcome. Agreement on the class is 83.8% in the alerts and 86.4% in the sample, with a kappa of 0.80 and 0.83. These values measure the stability of the automatic classification; its validity remains to be verified. The role of the presenters, which requires interpreting the course of the exchange beyond the single sentence, shows the lowest agreement and should be read as indicative.

On 13 November 2026 the commissioning body carried out a partial, targeted and internal human review. In the census it produced the 43 validations indicated above; in the media it covered a limited number of records. On 14 November 2026 the commissioning body then validated in a targeted manner the inclusion of records NZO-2026-086, NZO-2026-093 and NZO-2026-100, deemed directed against Muslims or places of worship according to the adopted definition. The decision concerns the relevance of three records already included within the 73: according to the human review register, NZO-2026-086 and NZO-2026-093 fall within the 43 validations of 13 November, NZO-2026-100 within the 30 prior inclusions. The partition remains 43 + 30 = 73 and the totals remain unchanged. It is a human judgment on inclusion, not a new independent verification of the facts; the documentary details of each record retain the corroboration limits indicated.

Status of the classifications. This caveat applies to the entire volume; the opening summary carries a brief reminder of it, while the full specifications appear here. The corpus classes derive from an analysis assisted by automatic tools; blind and independent coding by two human reviewers and the overall validation of the corpora remain to be carried out. The results therefore have the value of classifications or annotations, distinct from judicial findings. The case-by-case cautions on the attribution of voices, on replies and on ongoing investigations remain.

Essential limitations

The Observatory's detection infrastructure ensures partial coverage of the content and cases in press, television, radio and social media. It will be strengthened to broaden coverage and improve the quality of the samples. All the bases describe the materials collected; national representativeness remains to be built. The sources cover the territory unevenly. The census captures little of the discrimination in employment, housing and services. The data on self-reported experiences predate 2023, and historical denominators for estimating trends are lacking. The percentages for the different media should each be read within their own base. UCOII promotes the report and is a party to some of the events analysed. To limit the effect of this position, the volume keeps in the text the sources and decisions unfavourable to UCOII’s position and separates sources from parties involved from independent ones. An external review of method and data is planned, as is the correction, with a dated note, of errors reported after publication.

Personal data and confidentiality

The report processes eight categories of personal data: religious beliefs, actual or attributed; offences and proceedings; roles of public figures and codes of journalistic bylines; social media content of private

users; voices of guests, listeners and presenters on TV and radio; persons involved in the news episodes; private messages and documents handed over to the Observatory; minors. The main risks are indirect identifiability through place, date, broadcaster, programme or verbatim quotations, reputational harm and the exposure of sensitive data, including health data.

The report must protect the identity of private individuals and minors. For minors, any direct or indirect identification must be excluded. Confidential documents must remain separate from the text. Quotations must be considered searchable even without a name. Complaints and investigations must always be distinguished from findings and convictions. These measures reduce the risk of recognition; a margin of residual risk nevertheless remains.

Selection of decisions on places of worship (chapter 7)

Chapter 7 is based on a reasoned and partial selection of decisions. The starting point is a register of 57 records, which gathers documents of different kinds: the records number 57, the judgments a subset of them. Thirteen decisions were included, eleven administrative and two of the Constitutional Court; to these is added, as an update external to the register, judgment 8060/2026 of the Council of State, for a total of fourteen decisions coded in the framework; other rulings cited in the chapter are discussed as context. Attached in XLSX format are the complete register of the 57 records and an analytical register organised in two separate sheets: the first devoted to the twelve administrative decisions, the second to the two decisions of the Constitutional Court. For each decision included, the full text or the relevant extracts of the reasoning and the operative part were verified. The remaining 44 records remain outside the coding of outcomes. The analytical review of the content of the full set of 57 records remains to be carried out. A new nationwide search remains to be conducted.

Outcomes are coded from the point of view of the community concerned. They describe only the selected subset and remain confined to it, distinct from a success rate. Discrimination is recorded only if the decision establishes it as such: annulment, on its own, is insufficient. A final judgment (res judicata) is considered proven only if a subsequent decision expressly attests to it. Instance, body, concluding formula and enforcement order remain, on their own, insufficient to infer it. The territorial counts exclude the decisions of the Constitutional Court. The absence from the subset of decisions on burials concerns only the selection.

Key sources

- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), 2021–2022 survey.
- OSCE/ODIHR, hate crime data, Italy, 2024.
- Observatory Protocol and separate Analytical Tables.