Yearbook of Muslims in Europe, Volume 8

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Introduction

In 2015, when in the wake of the increased migration to Europe, Lithuania accepted the European Commission quota of 1,105 displaced persons from Syria, Iraq, and Eritrea to be resettled on its territory as refugees over a two-year period, the country started living in anticipation of an imminent increase of Muslims in the country. As the number of Muslims in Lithuania, following the latest census, was fixed at just 2,727, the arrival of potentially over 1,000 new Muslims was seen by the public as significantly altering the situation.

However, by late 2015, it became clear that the Lithuanian authorities were not keen on rushing through the resettlement scheme and by the year's end only a single family of four—Sunni Iraqis from Baghdad—had been relocated from Greece.² Privately, state officials also revealed that Lithuania prefers non-Muslim refugees. Ultimately, the early heightened anxiety about potential rapid increase in the number of Muslims in Lithuania has been suppressed and the attention on displaced people shifted to terrorists who might use Lithuania as a transit, or maybe even a target country, particularly in the aftermath of the 13 November Paris attacks in 2015.

In any case, daily life and activities of Lithuanian Muslim communities were not affected to any notable degree by the processes of migration and reactions to them elsewhere in Europe. Local Muslim communities continued patterns established in previous years with low profile activities mainly targeted at the community members and thus, as a rule, hidden from the public eye. On the other hand, a certain increase in educational and missionary activities may be observed for 2015, with the (re)launching of two weekend schools, the organising of a summer camp, and an open door day held at the Kaunas mosque being the most prominent.

¹ Egdūnas Račius is Professor of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies at Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas, Lithuania. He has extensively written on Muslims in Lithuania.

^{2 &}quot;Lithuania receives first refugee family", The Baltic Times, 16 December 2015, www.baltic times.com/lithuania_receives_first_refugee_family/, accessed 24 March 2016.

Public Debates

There was a visible increase in public debates in 2015 related to the Muslim presence in Europe and the potential arrival of migrants and asylum seekers to Lithuania. Starting in the middle of 2015, all Lithuanian national media regularly devoted time and space to reflect on the refugee and migrant crisis. Though part of the coverage was devoted to the EU and its member-states' policies in this regard, much of attention was given to the general rhetorical question of the "integrability" of Muslims in Europe (and particularly Lithuania). Additionally, the national media continued reporting extensively on the developments in the Middle East, particularly around the so-called Islamic State. The coverage directly connected the resilience and a seeming strengthening of ISIs to the growing threat of political violence in Europe. Armed attacks on civilian targets in and around Paris in January, and particularly November 2015, provoked an unprecedented intensification of reflections and analysis of the threat stemming from the so-called Islamic State specifically, and radicalised Muslims in general.

In many, if not most, reflections, analyses and discussions, journalists, and self-appointed experts in their assessments of ISIS-related developments, including mass migration to Europe of people from the Middle East, manifested latent Islamophobia. Several political scientists and top politicians of junior governing coalition partners expressed ideas amounting to cultural racism vis-à-vis people of a Muslim background.³ In the end, 2015 witnessed a mass increase in Islamophobic rhetoric in the Lithuanian public space, particularly in the form of anonymous commenting by members of the public on the events and processes related to migration to Europe of people of a Muslim background.⁴

In the wake of these tendencies, Lithuanian Muslim leaders kept a rather low profile, with the Mufti and several other prominent indigenous Muslim Tatars agreeing to only a few interviews in which they shunned any controversies and squarely placed themselves within the framework of tolerant and peaceful Islam, thus not allowing themselves to be dragged into possible wider

³ Sabatauskaitė, Birutė, Eglė Urbonaitė Tilindienė and Karolis Žibas, "Islamophobia in Lithuania: National Report 2015", in Enes Bayraklı and Farid Hafez (eds.), *European Islamophobia Report 2015* (Istanbul: SETA, 2016), pp. 340, 343, www.islamophobiaeurope .com/reports/2015/en/EIR_2015.pdf, accessed 29 March 2016.

⁴ Sabatauskaitė at al., "Islamophobia in Lithuania", p. 344.

prolonged public discussions.⁵ The NGO Education and Heritage placed a statement on its website immediately after the 13 November Paris attacks, where it unequivocally stated that the Lithuanian Muslim community condemns any violence in the name of religion.⁶

Transnational Links

Lithuanian Muslims, particularly converts, increasingly seek cooperation with their coreligionists in Latvia and Estonia through organising joint seminars, lectures, and the like. Lithuanian Muslims are also more often visited by Muslim preachers and speakers from Western Europe and beyond. In 2015, at least one of them paid a visit to the Kaunas mosque and delivered a public lecture on Islamic issues.⁷

Lithuanian Tatars maintain quite close relations not only with their ethnic kin in neighbouring Poland and Belarus but also Tatarstan in the Russian Federation, though their interaction has less religious colour and is more about cultural and academic exchanges. With the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation, anti-Russian Crimean Tatars became quite frequent guests in Lithuania, welcomed not only by the local Tatar leadership (the Lithuanian Tatar leader Adas Jakubauskas is a Lithuanian representative in the Crimean Tatar Majlis) but also by Lithuania's political establishment.⁸

⁵ Samoškaitė, Eglė, "Lietuvos musulmonų muftijus: tai nusikaltėliai", *Delfi.lt*, 8 January 2015, www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/lietuvos-musulmonu-muftijus-tai-nusikalteliai.d? id=66846264; "Lithuanian Muslim Mufti: Terrorists will go to hell", *The Lithuania Tribune*, 18 November 2015, http://en.delfi.lt/lithuania/society/lithuanian-muslim-mufti-terrorists-will-go-to-hell.d?id=69602732; "Muftijus Romas Jakubauskas: netapatinkime musulmonų su teroristais", *Žinių radijas*, 17 November 2015, www.ziniuradijas.lt/epizodas/2015/11/17/ muftijus-romas-jakubauskas-netapatinkime-musulmonu-su-teroristais/51035; "Ромас Якубаускас: Сегодня имаму очень важно интегрироваться в обществе, *Медина аль-Ислам*", № 157–158, Ноябрь—Декабрь 2014, 17 February, www.idmedina.ru/medina/?6204, all accessed 24 March 2016.

^{6 &}quot;Mes, musulmonai, sakome NE—TERORIZMUI!", islamasvisiems.lt, 14 November 2015, http://islamasvisiems.lt/ne-terorizmui/, accessed 29 March 2016.

⁷ A lecture by Sami Al Jaffal from Saudi Arabia on 10 August 2015, http://islamasvisiems.lt/paskaita-islamo-tiesa-penkiais-zingsniais/, accessed 29 March 2016.

^{8 &}quot;Crimean Tatar leader: If all European countries were like Lithuania, Ukraine crises could have been prevented", *Delfi.lt*, 10 March 2015, http://en.delfi.lt/central-eastern-europe/crimeantatar-leader-if-all-european-countries-were-like-lithuania-ukraine-crises-could-have-been-prevented.d?id=67394922; "Krymo totorių lyderis Mustafa Džemiliovas: nesustabdžius agresijos, ji gali pasirodyti bet kur", 15min.lt, 10 March 2015, www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/

Law and Domestic Politics

Though no concrete legal actions were taken in 2015, Lithuanian Members of Parliament reacting to the security related developments in Western Europe—both immigration- and terrorism-related—discussed measures to be adopted to bolster Lithuania's security. One of the proposed measures was voiced by the Chairman of the Lithuanian Parliament's National Security and Defence Committee Artūras Paulauskas who proposed to consider a ban on wearing of the "burqa" (sic!) in public. However, with most politicians sceptical about the move, the discussion on the ban of face-covering clothing was soon abandoned.

The Muslim community, in the person of the Muftiate, has been pursuing the objective of building a mosque in Vilnius on a plot to be allocated by the municipality as compensation for the nationalised (during the Soviet period) land on which the Vilnius mosque once stood. Though the City Council had proposed a number of plots, the Muftiate was not satisfied with the offers and has rejected them. The current mayor Remigijus Šimašius (of the Liberal Movement) made public comments in which he assured the public that the City Council will not for the time being consider the mosque issue. ¹¹

In 2015, as in previous years, the Lithuanian government allocated an annual subsidy for the officially recognised nine "traditional" religious communities, among them Sunni Muslims, who received a modest sum of \in 3,500. Although there is no law requiring the Government to allocate any money to religious communities, the Government has been doing so for some 20 years. The amounts paid vary but their share depends on the estimated number of adherents of the "traditional" religions.

pasaulis/krymo-totoriu-lyderis-mustafa-dzemiliovas-nesustabdzius-agresijos-ji-gali-pasirodyti-bet-kur-57-489923; "Mustafa Dzhemilev met Sweden's and Lithuania's Ministers", *QHA*, 18 November 2015, http://qha.com.ua/en/politics/mustafa-dzhemilev-met-sweden-s-and-lithuania-s-ministers/134904/, all accessed 29 March 2016.

When asked during a discussion with the author on radio if he actually meant only burqa or other face-covering clothing like the niqab, Paulauskas insisted that he means burqa and appeared not to be able to distinguish between hijab, burqa, niqab, or other types of covering used.

[&]quot;Arturas Paulauskas calls for ban on the burqa in Lithuania", *The Baltic Times*, 13 August 2015, www.baltictimes.com/arturas_palauskas__regulating_wearing_the_burqa_in_public_will_prevent_any_potential_misunderstandings, accessed 29 March 2016.

[&]quot;Simasius—no plans for mosque in Vilnius", *The Baltic Times*, 25 September 2015, www .baltictimes.com/simasius_-_no_plans_for_mosque_in_vilnius/, accessed 24 March 2016.

Activities and Initiatives of Main Muslim Organisations

Though for the best part of its existence the Muftiate, which is officially recognised as the representative organisation of Muslims in Lithuania, has kept a low profile and organised very few activities, in 2015 its leadership was much more visible than in previous years. This, first of all, happened because of the heightened interest in Islam and Muslims by Lithuanian media, particularly in the aftermath of terrorist attacks in Paris. The Mufti also would comment to the media on immigration and the potential resettlement of Muslim refugees from the Middle East. The Tatar leadership publicly pledged assistance integrating asylum seekers of Muslim background into Lithuanian society and offered its services to state agencies involved in the European Union resettlement scheme. ¹²

Though with no historical roots, since the 2000s, it has recently become an annual tradition among the Lithuanian Tatar communities to organise *sabantuj* (gathering)—a one or two-day cultural event which, among other things, has a religious dimension in the form of communal prayer and an occasional Islam-related lecture. The rest of the festivities are composed of sports, games, and concerts and are open to the public.

In April of 2015, the Muftiate, together with the Turkish Presidency of Religious Affairs (*Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı*), organised in a rented hall a *mawlid* celebration—something that has not been traditionally celebrated publicly in Lithuania. The event included prayer, Qur'an recitation, lectures, a Sufi music concert, and a "whirling dervish show" (as announced in the programme).

In 2015, the most (if not altogether, the sole) active Muslim religious organisation was the Kaunas mosque-based NGO Švietimas ir paveldas (Education and Heritage), established in 2014 by a group of young Muslims (mainly converts but also some young Lithuanian Tatars) devoted to both spiritual counselling for new converts and the promotion of Islam among the Lithuanian-speaking population. Throughout 2015, the organisation was active in maintaining Qur'an and Arabic language weekend classes in the Kaunas mosque and on the premises of the Islamic Cultural and Educational Centre. The organisation also organised occasional public lectures, workshops, and other meetings primarily aimed at local Muslims but open to the general public. It was also instrumental in organising celebrations of the two major Islamic feasts,

[&]quot;Lietuvos totoriai žada padėti integruoti pabėgėlius", Lietuvos žinios, 25 September 2015, http://lzinios.lt/lzinios/Lietuva/lietuvos-totoriai-zada-padeti-integruoti-pabegelius/ 209491, accessed 29 March 2016.

'Id al-Fitr and 'Id al-Adha around the country but particularly in Kaunas¹³ with the meat of slaughtered animals during 'Id al-Adha immediately distributed among Muslims in Kaunas.

Education and Heritage also organised a day-long open door day at the Kaunas mosque which, though planned in advance, was held on 28 November, shortly after the 13 November Paris attacks. Another function organised by Education and Heritage in 2015 was a two-part bus tour of Muslim sights (primarily mosques and cemeteries) around the country. Though the tour was first of all aimed at Lithuanian converts to Islam it was also open to non-Muslims. The organisation's website islamasvisiems. It remained the sole website regularly updating information (mainly in Lithuanian though occasionally also in English) on upcoming events in 2015.

While most of these events and functions might appear regular and ordinary elsewhere in Europe, most of them are quite recent to Lithuania as the majority of Lithuanian Tatars shy away from organised religion-related activities. It took more than two decades for a Muslim religious organisation, like Education and Heritage, not controlled by the established Tatar leadership, to emerge and start organising Lithuanian Muslim communal life so that it may draw together Muslims of various backgrounds and also non-Muslims. Education and Heritage has many more plans—like opening an Islamic kindergarten, publishing Islamic literature and the like—to further organise Muslim religious life in Lithuania.

Muslim Population: History and Demographics

The history of Islam in Lithuania dates back to the 14th century when the first migrants—political refugees—from the Golden Horde (and later, the Crimean Khanate) came to the then Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Soon they were joined by new arrivals, consisting chiefly of mercenaries hired by Lithuanian grand dukes, more refugees and prisoners of war who, once freed, chose to stay. The immigrants, the majority of whom were recently Islamised Turkic

[&]quot;Celebrate Eid-ul-Fitr together", *islamasvisiems.lt*, 15 July 2015, http://en.islamasvisiems .lt/celebrate-eid-ul-fitr-together/; "Muslims in Lithuania celebrated Eid ul Adha", *islamasvisiems.lt*, 30 September 2015, http://en.islamasvisiems.lt/muslims-in-lithuania-celebrated-eid-ul-adha/, all accessed 29 March 2016.

[&]quot;Open day at Kaunas mosque", Daiva Repečkaitė *blog and portfolio*, 1 December 2015, https://www.daivarepeckaite.com/en/2015/12/open-day-at-kaunas-mosque/, accessed 24 March 2016.

speakers (eventually to be called "Lipka" (Lithuanian) Tatars), settled in the Northwestern parts of the Duchy, mainly in village communities around the capital Vilnius. Upon settlement, the Tatar elite were granted the rank of nobility and given tracts of land to be used as fief that later became their personal possession.

Despite or because of the fact that Muslims have been only a tiny minority of the citizenry of the Duchy (though precise data are not available, it can be safely assumed that at no time in history did the Muslim population of the Grand Duchy exceed 100,000), they enjoyed most of the rights and freedoms that their Christian fellow citizens did. Throughout the centuries, with a few brief exceptions, Lithuanian Tatars were allowed to publicly observe practically all Islamic duties and rituals. It is believed that mosques on the then territory of the Grand Duchy were being built as early as the late 14th or beginning of the 15th century.

After the final partition of the Republic of Two Nations (formed with Poland in 1569) in 1795, most Tatars of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania found themselves subjects of the Russian Empire and the local Tatar community was entrusted to the care of the Simferopol-based (Crimea) Mohammedan Spiritual Governing Board. It appears, however, that the Muslims of the lands of the former Grand Duchy vehemently insisted on retaining their religious independence. Finally, in 1851 the Russian government accepted Tatars' requests and officially allowed them to elect *mullas* from among themselves. An attempt by some local Muslims in the middle of the 19th century to convince the Russian government to establish a separate spiritual governing body (muftiate) for the Muslims of the Western provinces, however, failed.

In interwar independent Lithuania the Muslim community was still comprised mainly of Tatars, though its numbers had been drastically reduced (the number hovered around 1,100) because Muslims living in Vilnius and surrounding areas became citizens of Poland which controlled the Vilnius region until the end of 1939. However, it was the interwar period during which the first brick mosque in Lithuania (in the interim capital Kaunas) was built—it opened its doors in the early 1930s. During the Soviet period Muslim communal life, due to anti-religious state policies, came to a virtual standstill despite a significant influx (counted in tens of thousands) of people of Muslim backgrounds from the Soviet Caucasus and Central Asia. With the regaining of independence in the early 1990s, the Lithuanian Muslim Tatar community regained its mosques and revived its communal activities.

The sole source to gain demographic and statistical (though not necessarily very reliable) information on Lithuania's Muslim population is the official Lithuanian Census carried out every ten years which includes a question on religion. The data of the last Lithuanian Census of 2011 provides information on

the age, gender, national background, and the geographical spread of Muslims across the country.

Muslim Population

Officially less than 3,000 Sunni Muslims (2,727 or 0.1% of population, according to 2011 census). 15

No official data on Shi'is or other groups exist. The Shi'i segment may be around 400 nominal Shi'is, mainly from Azerbaijan, but also some Lebanese. Mosque attendance on Fridays and involvement in community activities suggest a much lower number of practising Muslims (around 500).

Ethnic/National Backgrounds

The overwhelming majority of Muslims in Lithuania are Lithuanian citizens.

Largest ethnic/national groups (according to 2011 census):

Tatar: 1,441 (52.8% of all Sunni Muslims) Lithuanian: 374 (13.7%)

Russian: 73 (2.7%)

Others: 794 (29.1%, from among 157 Uzbeks, 144 Kazakhs, 93 Arabs, 88 Turks, 84 Bashkirs, 76 Chechens, 43 Tajiks, 30 Turkmen, 29 Egyptians, 19 Pakistanis, 18 Kyrgyz and 10 Afghans).

Inner-Islamic Groups

No official data available on other Muslim groups as the published census results include only Sunni Muslims. There is, however, a more than 600 person strong Azerbaijani community and some among them could be at least nominal Twelver Shi'is. There are also several dozen Shi'i immigrants from Lebanon and Iran but there is no specific Shi'i congregation, and some individual Shi'is pray at the Sunni mosques. The Hizmet (Gülen) Movement has a presence in the country, however, the number of its adherents (chiefly Turkish citizens) is not

Department of Statistics, *Gyventojai pagal tautybę, gimtają kalbą ir tikybą* (Population by Ethnicity, Native Language, and Faith) (Vilnius: Statistikos departamentas, 2013), p. 14, https://osp.stat.gov.lt/documents/10180/217110/Gyv_kalba_tikyba.pdf/1d9dac9a-3d45-4798-93f5-941fed00503f, accessed 15 January 2015.

known. There is a small group of Inayat Khan's Sufi tradition, however, they do not identify themselves as Muslims. The Ahmadiyya movement, although making an appearance in the country in the beginning of the 1990s, failed to gain followers and is represented by just several families of immigrants and converts.

Geographical Spread

Almost half of Lithuania's Muslims live in the capital city Vilnius (pop. 540,000) and its districts, followed by the centrally located second largest city of Kaunas (pop. 340,000), Southern Alytus (both with around 13%), and Western Klaipėda (10%) districts.

Number of Mosques

Four purpose-built historical mosques (three wooden, built in the 19th and early 20th centuries, 16 and one brick, built in the early 1930s) owned by local Lithuanian Tatar congregations, of which only the mosque in Kaunas (Totorių Street 6) is regularly used for Friday prayers and is served by a Turkish imam paid by Diyanet. The other mosques, in the villages of Raižiai, Nemėžis, and Keturiasdešimt totorių, are open mainly during religious festivals, although during warm seasons occasional Friday prayers also take place with local Tatar imams leading the prayers.

In addition, in the capital Vilnius there is a spacious prayer hall (and a separate one for women) at the premises of the Muftiate / Islamic Cultural and Educational Centre, which is open throughout the day. It has a Turkish state supplied imam whose salary is paid by Diyanet.

Vilnius City Municipality has offered various plots of land for the purpose of building a mosque in Vilnius over the past decades. However, since the current mayor assumed office in 2014, the negotiations between the Mufti and the city authorities

The interior of these mosques can be viewed at www.panoramas.lt/index.php?page_ id=133&pan_type=242&show=yes&search_katalog=mosque, accessed 24 March 2016.

have been discontinued due to mayor's dismissive position.

Muslim Burial Sites

The main burial place for Lithuanian Muslims is a sprawling cemetery in Raižiai village (Alytus district) in the South of the country. Raižiai is the location of one of the historical Tatar mosques, and this particular mosque was the only one which functioned during the Soviet period. Nemėžis (another village with a mosque) also has a cemetery which though still in use, has limited capacity. Muslims of the Western seaport city Klaipėda have recently secured a section in the city's public cemetery. Many Tatars, particularly more secularised, however, bury their deceased in cemeteries used by people of different faiths.

"Chaplaincy" in State Institutions

Though by law Sunni Muslims in state institutions may seek spiritual guidance, there has so far been no demand for Muslim chaplains in the armed forces or hospitals. The few Muslim inmates serving terms in the Lithuanian penitentiary system who sought imam's counselling have been occasionally visited by the Mufti.

Halal Products

There were by 2015 a number of retail stores selling halal products, both imported and locally procured. A number of Lithuanian meat processing plants have halal certificates issued by the Lithuanian Mufti, however, most of their produce is exported as there is very little demand for halal products in Lithuania. An increasing number of kabab stalls serve purportedly halal meat though they dot carry any certification papers confirming that claim.

Places of Islamic Learning and Education

Lithuanian Muslims still have no institutions of formal education and only run weekend schools in both Kaunas and Vilnius where the basics of religion and Arabic and Turkish languages are taught. In 2015, the organisation of these schools was stepped

up—the one in Kaunas was given a name *Iqra* and a formal curriculum created and announced publicly. Plans to found a kindergarten in Vilnius were also considered for the near future. Hizmet has its own course programme, which, however, is only peripherally related to Islam. Lithuanian converts to Islam prefer informal study groups that regularly meet at someone's home.

Muslim Media and Publications

The sole printed publication (also available online) produced by local Muslims is the Tatar-run *Lietuvos totoriai* (Lithuanian Tatars) which has sections in Lithuanian, Russian and Polish and is aimed at an exclusively Tatar readership. Strictly religious topics tend to be irregular and scarce with the bulk of articles focused on the history and heritage of the Tatars of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Though it used to be a regular monthly publication, by 2015, it has become an irregular publication with only two issues published that year. ¹⁷ In the 20 years of its existence, *Lietuvos totoriai* has released 159 issues.

Islamasvisiems.lt is an informational-educational-missionary website maintained by the NGO Education and Heritage. In 2015 was practically the sole public channel of communication of the local Muslim communities.

Main Muslim Organisation

Spiritual Centre of the Lithuanian Sunni Muslims—Muftiate (*Lietuvos Musulmonų Sunitų Dvasinis Centras—Muftiatas*, Smolensko 19, Vilnius, headed by Mufti Romas Jakubauskas, tel.: ++370 674 17710, ramadan@inbox .lt). This is an umbrella organisation of the mainly Tatar-established and controlled Muslim communities around the country (as of 2015—a dozen)

¹⁷ www.tbn.lt/files/File/Tiurkai/Laikra154-6_internetas.pdf; www.tbn.lt/files/File/Tiurkai/Laikra157.pdf, both accessed 24 March 2016.

that submit to the authority of the Muftiate and whose representatives serve as members of the Muftiate's board. No alternatives to the Muftiate organisations have yet been established.

- Islamic Cultural and Educational Centre (*Islamo kultūros ir švietimo centras*, Smolensko 19, Vilnius, chairman Romas Jakubauskas, tel.: ++370 679 03415).
 In 2013, the Muftiate, jointly with the Turkish Diyanet, established a separate organisation which formally runs the premises where its, the Muftiate's and the Vilnius Tatar community's offices are located.
- Education and Heritage (Švietimas ir paveldas, Lygybės 21–86, Kaunas, Chairperson Ms. Nelli Mažitova, tel.: ++370 612 30735, info@islamasvisiems. lt, www.islamasvisiems.lt). Founded by converts and young Tatars in 2014, it has its base in the Kaunas mosque and has become the most active Muslim organisation in the fields of Islamic religious education, publication, and outreach in both Kaunas and Vilnius.