Manifestations of Online Hate Speech

Reports on antisemitic, antiziganistic, homophobic and anti-Muslim Hate Speech

International Network Against Cyber Hate (INACH)

IN@CH

Hate speech is intentional or unintentional public discriminatory and/or defamatory statements; intentional incitement to hatred and/or violence and/or segregation based on a person's or a group's real or perceived race, ethnicity, language, nationality, skin colour, religious beliefs or lack thereof, gender, gender identity, sex, sexual orientation, political beliefs, social status, property, birth, age, mental health, disability, disease.

Executive Foreword

Today, 23 years after the internet took off in earnest, its everyday reality has become almost indistinguishable from our physical world. There are meetings, games, traffic jams, writers, bloggers, collectors, pornographers. There is graffiti, well-behaved and not so well-behaved citizens, politicians, matchmakers, traders, banks, shops, cinemas...and an ever-growing army of trolls and haters. During the first 20 years, we have been pretty much driving clear, well maintained roads, and the hate we saw coming was well defined and positional.

Alas, no more. Our modern hybrid digital/physical world, in which the social media rule the day and handhelds (tabs, pads, smartphones) have become the (necessary) vehicles of living, is unsafe in such a way that it now also creates reality based on lies and disinformation.

Although often not realized, navigating the modern Net is a risky task for the current and new generations. The pitfalls are often not or not clearly visible or recognizable and the cesspools, back-alleys and lunatic asylums of old have morphed to become part of an everyday 'normal' landscape. Added to this *hatescape* is an overlay of those who – for political or other reasons – boost hate and fakery.

During the age of explorers, the maps that were produced all had white areas on them; terra incognita, unknown land. Invariably, there would be a drawing of a giant octopus or another fabled animal, with the caption 'Here be monsters'. Early internet users knew where those monsters were and their names: Stormfront. Thule Netz. Free Historical Research. Radio Islam. Front14. The contemporary net is no longer mappable for concentration-points of hate. Sure, there are new main boosters although they are relatively young. Breitbart, Alt-Right, VK.com, Daily Stormer, to name a few. But online hate and incitement are now all over, embedded in blogs, postings, snaps, tweets, profiles, groups and grams. It can be found at the left and at the right, coming from religions, ethnicities or 'simply' from bias-groups.

The next years will bring new challenges in the form of augmented reality and AI-based systems, the latter being taught by humans, and inescapably ending up with human bias. Our tasks are clear; to guide users in navigation, to keep the streets clean and to put up warning

signs, to train users in what is real and what is fake, empower them to act against hate and where possible, to shield them from hate by removal.

This publication, part of our project Research – Report – Remove: countering cyber hate Phenomena, aims to contribute to the effective recognition and countering of several categories of hate speech.

Amsterdam, August 2017

Ronald Eissens,

project manager of "Research – Report – Remove: Countering Cyber Hate Phenomena" and board member of INACH.

Contents

1. Introduction

This report has been written in the framework of the project "Research – Report – Remove: Countering Cyber Hate Phenomena" coordinated by the "International Network Against Cyber Hate" (INACH). It is in line with, and draws amongst others upon other reports written in the framework of this project and INACH such as the "Relevance of Cyber Hate in Europe and Current Topics that Shape Online Hate Speech"[1] , the "Quarterly Reports on Cyber Hate"[2] and the report "Kick them back into the sea" – Online hate speech against refugees"[3].

The report applies the definition of cyber hate and online hate speech used by the project. It is based on and expands the Recommendation of the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers from 1997.[4] For the project, all discriminatory and/or defamatory statements, intentional or unintentional, published online are seen as online hate speech. This includes incitement to hatred and/or violence and/or segregation based on a person's or group's real or perceived race, ethnicity, language, nationality, skin colour, religious beliefs or lack thereof, gender, gender identity, sex, sexual orientation, political beliefs, social status, property, birth, age, mental health, disability and disease and all content published online expressing any other forms of hatred based on intolerance. However, this list is not meant to be exhaustive and unchangeable. It is meant to be open to include all new possible forms of cyber hate expected to appear with coming social and technological changes.

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[1] INACH. 2016b. *Relevance of Cyber Hate in Europe and Current Topics that Shape Online Hate Speech*. Available at: http://www.inach.net/fileadmin/user_upload/Relevance_of_Cyber_Hate_in_Europe_and_Current_Topics_that_Shape_Online_Hate_Speech.pdf

[2] All publications of the project "Research – Report – Removed: Countering Cyber Hate Phenomena" can be accessed here: http://www.inach.net/detail.html?tx_news_pi1%5Bnews%5D=34&cHash=7e57b373b1af8dc318b4e6eee7a0221a.

[3] INACH. 2016a. *"Kick them back into the sea" – Online hate speech against refugees*. Available at: http://www.inach.net/fileadmin/user_upload/Refugee_Report20161.pdf

[4] Council of Europe Committee of Ministers. 1997. Recommendation No. R (97) 20. Available at https://rm.coe.int/1680505d5b

All six organisations participating in the EU-project have contributed to the content by providing examples of cyber hate from their country. Three out of the participating organisations have been responsible for drafting this report: ZARA (Austria), Licra (France) and jugend-schutz.net (Germany).

The aim of this report is to illustrate, on the basis of online hate speech examples from six countries[5], patterns of cyber hate against four communities. The topics that will be subsequently analysed are: antisemitism, antiziganism, homophobia and anti-Muslim hatred. Each section will follow a similar pattern by first offering a definition of the central terms, analysing the context and transnational trends and then highlighting country-specific aspects.[6] The label "country specific" should not imply that those aspects are in any way country exclusive. However, they show different emphasis and peculiarities in the participating countries.

This report illustrates the transnational analysis of the cyber hate phenomena. A complemented version of it detailing the information and cases provided by the participating organisations in national reports is available at http://www.inach.net/fileadmin/user_up-load/Manifestations_of_online_hate_speech.pdf.

The Methodology and process of data collection will be explained in the following section. An overview of current trends and interesting initiatives will be presented before the conclusion. Additional information about the project and its participants can be found in the An-nex.

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[5] Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Spain

[6] The section of "Country specific aspects" is not included in the chapter on antisemitism, as no country specific aspects could be identified for this hate phenomenon.

2. Methodology

This report relies on the information provided by organisations dealing with antisemitism, antiziganism, homophobia and anti-Muslim racism. Within several methodological discussions among the project partners responsible for this report (jugendschutz.net, Licra and ZARA) the approach, topics to be asked and form of inquiry were discussed and developed. In conclusion of the discussions we decided that the focus of the data gathering should be on three topics: contextual information on the different hate types in the countries, events triggering online hate speech and up to three examples illustrating the different forms of online hate speech.

Standardised form:

For the information gathering, a questionnaire for the collection of the required information was developed. This form functioned as a tool structuring the communication among the project partners and the different organisations we requested information from. Besides informing the organisations about the purpose of the inquiry, the main part outlined what kind of information we were interested in. This has been information on:

- trends related to the different hate types,
- events related to the different hate types,
- and up to three examples of online hate speech

For the examples, we asked for the basic details on the cases, a short description, whether the case was deemed illegal by the organisation and by other authorities, what actions have been taken and the outcome of these actions.

Part of the questions on the examples have been open ended, others offered possible answers to tick. A simple pre-test was arranged among the partner organisations not involved in the process of developing the approach and form and their suggestions have been implemented.

Country coverage:

The main focus has been on the six countries covered by the project partners: Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Netherlands and Spain. Each project partner was responsible for gathering information on the different hate types for their countries. If the information was not available within the own organisation, national organisations with expertise concerning the respective hate type had to be contacted and asked to fill out the form. This was the case for Austria. With this approach, information and exemplary cases for all hate types from nearly all included countries could be collected. Table 1 provides an overview of the organisations which provided information for our inquiry.

Table 1: Organisations providing context and background information and cases

Organisation	Link	Group-oriented hatred	Country
Dokumentations- und Beratungsstelle Islamfeindlichkeit und antimuslimischer Rassismus	https://www.dokustelle.at	Anti-Muslim Racism	Austria
Forum gegen Antisemitismus	http://fga-wien.at/	Antisemitism	Austria
Homosexuelle Initiative Wien	http://www.hosiwien.at	Homophobia	Austria
Romano Centro	http://www.romano-centro.org/	Antiziganism	Austria
Viennese Anti-Discrimination office for LGBTI issues	www.wien.gv.at/kontakte/wast	Homophobia	Austria
ZARA – Zivilcourage und Anti-Rassismus-Arbeit	https://www.zara.or.at/	Anti-Muslim Racism	Austria
Unia – Interfederal Centre for Equal Opportunities	www.unia.be	Antisemitism, antiziganism, Homophobia and anti-Muslim hatred	Belgium
Licra – Ligue Internationale Contre le Racisme et l'Antisémitisme	http://www.licra.org/	Antisemitism, antiziganism, Homophobia and anti-Muslim hatred	France
jugendschutz.net	http://www.jugend-schutz.net/	Antisemitism, antiziganism, Homophobia and anti-Muslim hatred	Germany
MiND - Meldpunt Internet Discriminatie	www.mindnederland.nl	Antisemitism, antiziganism, Homophobia and anti-Muslim hatred	Netherlands
Magenta – Dutch Complaints Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet	http://www.meld-punt.nl/site/page.php?lang=1	Antisemitism, antiziganism, Homophobia and anti-Muslim hatred	Netherlands
MCI - Movement Against Intolerance	http://www.movimien-tocontralaintoleran-cia.com/	Antisemitism, antiziganism, Homophobia and anti-Muslim hatred	Spain

3. Transnational report on Antisemitism

Introduction

Antisemitism is the oldest form of 'racial' discrimination known and has a long ugly history. Sadly, antisemitism is again widely prevalent nowadays, having gained a 'new life' by use of internet.

The word antisemitism was first coined by the radical publicist and agitator Wilhelm Marr in 1879, in an anti-Jewish pamphlet called "Der Weg zum Siege des Germanenthums über das Judenthum" (The Way to Victory of Germanism over Judaism). The same year, Marr founded the League of Antisemites (Antisemiten-Liga), the first German organisation committed specifically to combating the alleged threat to Germany posed by the Jews and advocating their forced removal from the country. Marr's racial theories about Jews became a cornerstone for the development of Nazi-ideology. This does not mean antisemitism was invented by Marr. Anti-Judaism, as it was known for some time, goes back 2000 years. The first anti-Jewish pogrom took place in Alexandria in the year 38 C.E., instigated by the Roman Governor, the Greek inhabitants and the Greek Publicist Apion, who wrote one of the first blood libels about Jews.[7] From early Christian times, (3rd century C.E.), anti-Jewish feelings were institutionalised and canonized by the Catholic Church, mainly based on the accusation that Jews had been responsible for the murder of Jesus.

In the post-Holocaust era, antisemitism still frequently presents Jews as responsible for "why things go wrong": European history is full of sinister examples of this constant. Even if antisemitism is always prevalent amongst far-right extremists and branches of neo-Nazis, we can observe that new trends are becoming more popular among European societies and promote the antisemitic online proliferation: the resurgence of conspiracy theories; the popularity of Holocaust denial and Holocaust distortion theories; the stereotypes from the Middle Ages that are resurging today and the development of the trend called "the hidden antisemitism" whereby people who affirm that

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[7] Flavius Josephus, early second century C.E., *Against Apion*, book II, para 8. Available at: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2849/2849-h/2849-h.htm.

they are anti-Zionist are in reality antisemitic. This trend has taken its roots in the geopolitical situation of the Middle East and is linked to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but is also used and propagated by IS and other terrorist or extremist groups, but also by left-wing organisations, BDS[8]-organizations and radical Islam. This phenomenon is even more complex as the Muslim segment of populations can also be victim of online hate speech and offline hate crimes.[9]

Antisemitism, originating from very different perpetrator groups, now metastasizes also in non-traditional places, like mainstream internet sites and the social media, in this way rapidly becoming 'mainstream' and 'normalized'. There is an increasing overlap between Islamist, neo-Nazi and extremist left-wing rhetoric and even rhetoric by some of the mainstream labour parties, e.g. UK labour, the Swedish Social Democrats, and the Belgian PS when it comes to antisemitism and Holocaust denial, uniting old enemies. The common ground for online hate-mongers is called Jews.[10]

Definition

The most recent definition of antisemitism was created and adopted in 2016 by the 31 member countries of IHRA, the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance.

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[8] Launched in 2005, the BDS is a global movement of boycott, divestment and sanctions against Israel coordinated by the Palestinian BDS National Committee, active in some European countries as United-Kingdom, Spain and France. The BDS main objectives are: "ending its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands occupied in June 1967 and dismantling the Wall; recognizing the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality; and respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN Resolution 194." This movement has been defined as anti-Zionist for many years. (Get the trolls out. 2016b. *BDS activists condemned for antisemitic excesses: Ousted Trolls of the Month - April*. Available at http://www.getthetrollsout.org/what-we-do/troll-of-the-month/item/72-bds-activists-condemned-for-antisemitic-excesses-ousted-trolls-of-the-month-april.html)

[9] Schmidt, P., 2016, Antisemitism on the web: current situation and remedies. In *Justice No. 58 – Fall Winter 2016.* Available at http://www.inach.net/fileadmin/user_upload/publications/Sfinal1.pdf.

[10] Eissens, R., 2007, Common ground for hatemongers: Incitement on the internet. In Fineberg, M., Weitzman, M. & Samuels, S. (Eds.), *Antisemitism – the generic hatred: essays in memory of Simon Wiesenthal*. VMbooks, Great Britain. p. 109-118.

The Working Definition of Antisemitism[11] as it is called, is based on the earlier EUMC definition, and states:

> *"Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities."*

The Working Definition lists as an example: "Manifestations might include the targeting of the state of Israel, conceived as a Jewish collectivity. However, criticism of Israel similar to that leveled against any other country cannot be regarded as antisemitic."

On 1 June 2017, the European Parliament adopted a resolution calling on member states and their institutions to adopt and apply the IHRA working definition.[12]

Context and transnational trends

We observe that the internet can be used as a tool for developing and spreading antisemitic messages with a wide attention. Many aspects of antisemitic hate can be found amongst countries participating in this analysis (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Netherlands and Spain).

Far-right "traditional" antisemitic speech

The first most prevalent trend is the constant online presence of the far-right "classical" antisemitic speech. Antisemitism has always been prevalent amongst far-right extremist and neo-Nazi speech. This trend is composed of historical-revisionist conspiracy theories, of

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[11] IHRA, 2016. *Working Definition of Antisemitism.* Available at https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/press_release_document_antisemitism.pdf.

[12] IHRA, 2017. *European Parliament calls on countries to adopt working definition of antisemitism.* Available at https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/media-room/news-archive/european-parliament-calls-countries-adopt-working-definition-antisemitism.

distortion or denial of the Holocaust for antisemitic purposes, of promotion of Nazi theories with promotion of strict codes and symbols and of glorification of the Nazi regime.

The far-right traditional antisemitic speech is well organized and structured around several types of personalities: pseudo-Historians, political personalities, denialist activists, comedians, etc. It also promotes the use of the same concepts, as for example the "Holo-Hoax", and of the same conspiracy theories, for example Norman Finkelstein and his book "The Holocaust Industry".[13] Another key element of this trend is the "pro-Nazi nostalgia": glorification of the Third Reich regime, hope for the return of Hitler and idolization of Nazi symbols and codes.

In addition, it may be noted that right-wing extremist speech is usually based on old sinister stereotypes and negative character traits from the Middle Ages. It has also integrated new elements as for example the "echo symbol". The (((echo))) sign has been used online to highlight people with Jewish background. Google used to have a plug-in that could detect these triple brackets to make it easier for antisemites to find Jewish people on the internet.[14]

Example: Ursula Haverbeck 1 (Germany)

The website "trutzgauer-bote.info" is one of the right-wing extremist channels specialized in the spread of antisemitism, conspiracy theories, historical revisionism, Holocaust denial and National Socialist propaganda. In the article "Ursula Haverbeck erneut wegen 'Volks-

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[13] Holo-hoax: play on words between "Holocaust" and "hoax" meaning the Holocaust has been invented, it is a joke. "The Holocaust Industry" is a book written by Norman Finkelstein in 2000. According to Omer Bartov book review (New York Times, August 6th 2000, A tale of two Holocaust), "(...) the main argument is based on a distinction between two phenomena: the Nazi Holocaust and 'The Holocaust', which he [Finkelstein; author's note] defines as 'an ideological representation of the Nazi holocaust.' [...]And why was 'The Holocaust' fabricated? Because it legitimizes 'one of the world's most formidable military powers,' Israel, allowing it to 'cast itself as a 'victim' state,' and because it provides 'the most successful ethnic group in the United States,' the Jews, with 'immunity to criticism,' leading to 'the moral corruptions that typically attend' such immunity".

[14] Get the trolls out project. 2016a. *UK and other countries: (((Echo))) symbol to single out names of Jewish people*. Available at: http://www.getthetrollsout.org/item-list/search.html?searchword=echo+symbol&categories

verhetzung' verurteilt" (Ursula Haverbeck convicted once again of 'incitement to hatred') published in November 2016, the statement is made that the Holocaust is a made-up story by "Zionists" to weaken and enslave the German people. The reference point is the conviction of Ursula Haverbeck for denying the Holocaust. Ursula Haverbeck, dubbed the "Nazi grandma" by the tabloid press, is a famous German right-wing extremist that is prosecuted and convicted for denialist theories and presented as a "martyr of the movement". She claimed concentration camps were merely labour camps, and called survivors "alleged witnesses". She was convicted of Holocaust denial and sentenced to two and a half years in prison.
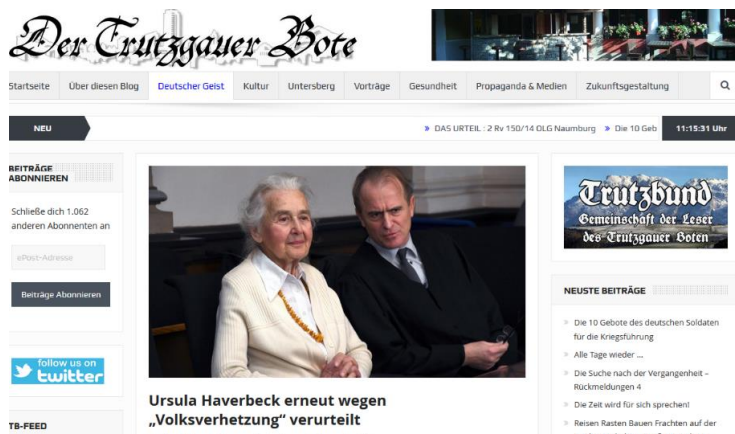
Screenshot of the article mentioned: "Ursula Haverbeck erneut wegen "Volksverhetzung" verurteilt"

Example: Blanche Europe (France)

The white supremacist website "Blanche Europe" (White Europe) promotes racial theories in direct connection with the racial theories of the 19th century, followed by the Nazi theory of race superiority: "We need to preserve the existence of our people and the future of our White children". It proposes several categories as for example the "Jewish question".

Pictures proposed for the article titled "Brexit: The Jew Laurent Cohen-Tanugi wants to abolish the democracy" published in June 2016

Conspiracy Theories

Already present in the first trend, the antisemitic conspiracy theories go far beyond the far-right "classical" antisemitic universe. Their resurgence and proliferation on today's internet reflect their popularity; despite the significant number of theories, the mechanism is almost the same: "Jews" are responsible for the most tragic historical and social events in order to supposedly control the world. Since the 19th century with the publication of the famous "Protocols of the learned Elders of Zion", the idea of a Jewish – sometimes Judeo-Masonic – domination controlling the main powers (Government, Finance and Media) is the cornerstone of every popular conspiracy theory.[15]
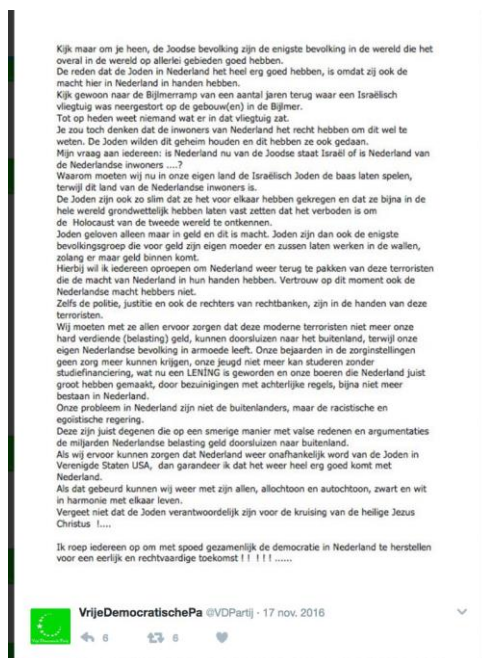
Example: VDP, Free Democratic Party (Netherlands)

VDP (Vrije Democratische Party: Free Democratic Party) led by Turkish immigrant Burhan Gökalp was a political party founded in November 2016 with many controversies in their discourse: antisemitic and homophobic statements mainly. In a tweet posted in 2016, the message was: Jews are responsible for the Second World War and for all the victims of this war in order to hold the power. Now, they are responsible for all the problems in the Netherlands.

Every kind of social event is used to blame Jews. Online, one of the first conspiracy theories concerned the attacks on 9/11: Jews were informed in advance and were behind the attacks. Today, one of the most popular theories is the "weapon of immigration" for explaining the current "refugee crisis"[16] in Europe. The main idea is that Jews are

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[15] "The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion" is a classic in racist literature. "Presented as the confidential minutes of a Jewish conclave convened in the last years of the nineteenth century, it has been heralded by antisemites as proof that Jews are plotting to take over the world. Since its contrivance around the turn of the century by the Russian Okhrana, or Czarist secret police, it has taken root in bigoted, frightened minds around the world. The booklet's twenty-four sections spell out the alleged secret plans of Jewish leaders seeking to attain world domination. They represent the most notorious political forgery of modern times. Although thoroughly discredited, the document is still being used to stir up antisemitic hatred". Anti-Defamation League (ADL). n.d. *A Hoax of Hate: The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion.* available at: https://www.adl.org/education/resources/backgrounders/a-hoax-of-hate-the-protocols-of-the-learned-elders-of-zion

[16] According to the report "'Kick them back into the sea' – Online hate speech against refugees", the term is normatively charged, because it suggests that refugees themselves

preparing a "Great replacement" with millions of refugees in order to weaken white and Christian Europeans.[17] This Zionist plan has been developed for the Jewish control of the world.

Kijk maar om je heen, de Joodse bevolking zijn de enigste bevolking in de wereld die het overal in de wereld op allerlei gebieden goed hebben.
De reden dat de Joden in Nederland het heel erg goed hebben, is omdat zij ook de macht hier in Nederland in handen hebben.
Kijk gewoon naar de Bijlmerramp van een aantal jaren terug waar een Israëlisch vliegtuig was neergestort op de gebouw(en) in de Bijlmer.
Tot op heden weet niemand wat er in dat vliegtuig zat.
Je zou toch denken dat de inwoners van Nederland het recht hebben om dit wel te weten. De Joden wilden dit geheim houden en dit hebben ze ook gedaan.
Mijn vraag aan iedereen: is Nederland nu van de Joodse staat Israël of is Nederland van de Nederlandse inwoners ....?
Waarom moeten wij nu in onze eigen land de Israëlisch Joden de baas laten spelen, terwijl dit land van de Nederlandse inwoners is.
De Joden zijn ook zo slim dat ze het voor elkaar hebben gekregen en dat ze bijna in de hele wereld grondwettelijk hebben laten vast zetten dat het verboden is om de Holocaust van de tweede wereld te ontkennen.
Joden geloven alleen maar in geld en dit is macht. Joden zijn dan ook de enigste bevolkingsgroep die voor zijn eigen moeder en zussen laten werken in de wallen, zolang er maar geld binnen komt.
Hierbij wil ik iedereen oproepen om Nederland weer terug te pakken van deze terroristen die de macht van Nederland in hun handen hebben. Vertrouw op dit moment ook de Nederlandse macht hebbers niet.
Zelfs de politie, justitie ook en de rechters van rechtbanken, zijn in de handen van deze terroristen.
Wij moeten met ze allen ervoor zorgen dat deze moderne terroristen niet meer onze hard verdiende (belasting) geld, kunnen doorsluizen naar het buitenland, terwijl onze eigen Nederlandse bevolking in armoede leeft. Onze bejaarden in de zorginstellingen geen zorg meer kunnen krijgen, onze jeugd niet meer kan studeren zonder studiefinanciering, wat nu een LENING is geworden en onze boeren die Nederland juist groot hebben gemaakt, door bezuinigingen met achterlijke regels, bijna niet meer bestaan in Nederland.
Onze probleem in Nederland zijn niet de buitenlanders, maar de racistische en egoïstische regering.
Deze zijn juist degenen die op een smerige manier met valse redenen en argumentaties de miljarden Nederlandse belasting geld doorsluizen naar buitenland.
Als wij ervoor kunnen zorgen dat Nederland weer onafhankelijk word van de Joden in Verenigde Staten USA, dan garandeer ik dat het weer heel erg goed komt met Nederland.
Als dat gebeurd kunnen wij weer met zijn allen, allochtoon en autochtoon, zwart en wit in harmonie met elkaar leven.
Vergeet niet dat de Joden verantwoordelijk zijn voor de kruising van de heilige Jezus Christus !....

Ik roep iedereen op om met spoed gezamenlijk de democratie in Nederland te herstellen voor een eerlijk en rechtvaardige toekomst ! ! ! ! ! ......

VrijeDemocratischePa @VDPartij · 17 nov. 2016

A message saying that Jews are responsible for the Second World War, all the victims of the Second World War and that Jews hold the power and cause all the problems in the Netherlands.

are problematic or that welcoming refugees per se is critical. However, in our understanding, "refugee crisis" addresses the highly confrontational public debates, the increasing 'scandalization' of migration and the hate filled atmosphere towards refugees. The report is available at http://www.inach.net/fileadmin/user_upload/Refugee_Report2016f.pdf).

[17] Great replacement has been theorized by Renaud: France is being colonized by Muslim immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa, which threatens to "mutate" the country and its culture permanently with the help of the government and the media.

Example: "Unzensuriert" (Austria)

Unzensuriert.at is an Austrian far–right news channel which publishes articles developing the idea of the "Refugee Industry": A video posted on the website explains how the "Jews" benefit from the arrival of refugees in Austria.

Example: Ursula Haverbeck 2 (Germany)

In this example, the same kind of conspiracy theory is promoted: Jews are responsible for the "refugee crisis". On the website brd-schwin-del.org, a right-wing extremist channel, a video of Ursula Haverbeck about the "Hooton Plan" has been published. According to her, "The Hooton plan" has five steps:

> "1) Germany shall be divided up into several pieces. We have that now, you only have to look at the maps. 2) All of the German educa-tion shall be destroyed. We have that. We know the chaos that "Gender Mainstreaming" is creating in the schools. 3) Destroy the Na-tional-Socialism in Germany. That has been done. 4) Birth-rates, and by that is meant pure German, to drastically reduce these. We have that now. We have hardly any children any more compared with in the past. 5) Having millions of foreigners coming into the country with the aim of genetically mixing the Ger-mans, thereby breeding the Germans away. So we are right in the middle of this".

She describes the migrant crisis of 2015 as a result of a Jewish plan for the elimination of the European and especially German people. She states that after the "Jewish century of lie", now is the last chance to "wake up" and defend Germany and Europe before the Jewish "glob-alism" succeeds in reaching its goal.

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Ursula Haverbeck – Kommentar zum Hooton Plan

In the video Ursula Haverbeck talks about the "Hooton Plan".

The "hidden antisemitism", an anti-Zionism hiding a real antisemitism

The line between anti-Zionism, anti-Israel feelings and antisemitism is sometimes unclear. Anti-Zionism could be defined as "the refusal, in principle, to accept the existence of a Jewish State, independent of the Palestinian question".[18] Actually, it may refer "to criticism of Israel that questions Israel's right to exist as a Jewish State".[19] Anti-Zionism is not entirely associated to antisemitism. However, because of the influence of the geopolitical situation of the Middle East, sometimes anti-Zionism is used as "political correct" form of antisemitism. This new trend shares most of its traits with the old ones: caricatures, stereotypes and conspiracy theories. The influence of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in Europe has a lot of consequences in the development of the new trends: It is popular among some people from Muslim

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[18] CEJI. 2015. Guidelines for identifying and monitoring antisemitism online and offline. Available at: http://www.getthetrollsout.org/antisemitism.html

[19] Idem

communities and also among some movements of the extreme left-wing.

Example: Palästinensische Jugend Österreich (Austria)

On this Austrian pro-Palestinian Facebook page, an image has been posted referring to the event of the Gaza flotilla.[20] Since then, it is often published online especially on social media whenever Israel is in the media. In this image, a boat named "Freedom" is attacked by a giant octopus marked with the Israeli flag except that the Star of David was replaced with a swastika. To be noted, the octopus has been associated to Zionism since the 1930s. In addition, Israel is compared to the Nazi regime which is a classical element of this "hidden antisemitism".

On this image, a boat named "Freedom" is attacked by a giant octopus marked with the Israeli flag except that the Star of David was replaced with a swastika.

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[20] In 2010, in order to stop the blockade organized by Pro-Palestinian humanitarian boats named "flotilla free Gaza", the Israeli army decided to launch a military operation.

EXAMPLE : BDS 34 OF MONTPELLIER (France)

In 2016, the Court of first instance of Montpellier condemned two BDS activists (Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement) for "incitement of racial hatred" and "Holocaust denial". Launched in 2005, the BDS is a global movement of boycott, divestment and sanctions against Israel coordinated by the Palestinian BDS National Committee, active in some European countries as United-Kingdom, Spain and France. This movement has been defined as anti-Zionist for many years. However, the line between anti-Zionism, anti-Israel feelings and antisemitism is not very clear. [21] In France, some judicial cases have underlined the presence of antisemitic activists.

In this case, which dated back to August 2014, two members of the local BDS of Montpellier have shared a photomontage comparing Israeli army to the Nazis on their public Facebook accounts. They also published these comments: "Nazis and Zionists are the two faces of the same coin" and "What Hitler has done to the Jews: it was done intentionally for giving them rights and making them look appealing to the world". On their Facebook pages, there were also public photos of dead Israeli soldiers with antisemitic comments, and photos of the gesture of the "quenelle"[22] behind Jewish names of cities.

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[21] Get the trolls out. 2016b. *BDS activists condemned for antisemitic excesses: Ousted Trolls of the Month – April*. Available at http://www.getthetrollsout.org/what-we-do/troll-of-the-month/item/72-bds-activists-condemned-for-antisemitic-excesses-ousted-trolls-of-the-month-april.html.

[22] The "Quenelle" gesture was popularised by French comedian Dieudonne and can be considered an "inverted Nazi salute". (Get the trolls out. 2015. *Ousted Troll of the Month: Dieudonné M'bala M'bala*. Available at http://www.getthetrollsout.org/what-we-do/troll-of-the-month/item/35-trolls-of-the-month-november.html)

Caption: "It was stronger than me, I could not resist and bam in your face". This BDS member is making the gesture of the "quenelle" behind the town entrance signal of the city of "Feuges", a city's name which phonetically means "Jews" in French slang.

The proliferation of the concept of the "double standards"

The concept of "double standards" has been popularized quite recently with the public debate of what constitutes freedom of speech. The general idea behind this concept is that the Jewish community is protected and it is forbidden to "criticize" them, "use humour" or provocation. However, this is not the case for other communities, especially for the Muslim community. The phenomenon is complex because the segment of the population who might be attracted by this concept can also be victim of hateful acts and speech. Indeed, those who denounce the idea of a "double standard" between Jews and Muslims are in fact directly encouraging antisemitism.[23] They consider Jews as "untouchables" because they are Jews. When they intend to criticise this "double standard", there is a risk for them to adhere to antisemitic theories (conspiracy theories mainly). This trend has a lot of negative consequences for the proliferation of cyber hate.

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[23] Schmidt, P., 2016, Antisemitism on the web: current situation and remedies. In *Justice No. 58 – Fall Winter 2016*. Available at: http://www.inach.net/fileadmin/user_up-load/publications/Sfinal1.pdf

Antisemitism and terrorist groups

The internet is one of the perfect tools for spreading hateful and violent messages against a group and for "recruiting" people. The use of antisemitic vocabulary online is one key element of radical groups' hateful communication. This is because violent antisemitic contents are easily accessible on a global level: from the social media to the dark web. Moreover, it is used as a driver for recruiting and radicalizing people online especially in countries where strong Jewish communities live as for example France and Belgium. Jihadist groups usually exploit the conflicts in the Middle East and connect these to the responsibility of Jews/Israelis. According to jugendschutz.net's analysis, "each time when there were new outbreaks of violence in the conflict between Israel and Palestine the propaganda became more extensive and drastic. The Islamists present Israel as the sole guilty party in the armed conflict and as a state that slaughters innocent Palestinian children. They portray Jews as demons, as 'infanticide nation' and thus asperse them as inhuman. In this context you would often find statements reflecting conspiracy theories like: 'The Jews are conspiring against Islam and intend to destroy all Muslims'."[24]

Conclusion

In conclusion, our analysis of the antisemitic online trends showed how this type of hate is a "social polymorph that is not minimized by its continuous re-invention in hatred"[25]. Conspiracy theories, Holocaust denial, "hidden antisemitism", amongst others trends, demonstrate this reality. Significantly, our research underlines the transnational aspect of each trends: Even if national peculiarities exist, there are real common antisemitic online trends. Moreover, their online proliferation and influence are significant in each country that participated in this survey.

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[24] jugendschutz.net. 2015. *Islamism on Internet, propaganda, infringements and counter-strategies*. Available at: http://www.inach.net/fileadmin/user_upload/Islamism_on_the_Internet.pdf

[25] CEJI, 2015, Guidelines for identifying and monitoring antisemitism online and offline. P. 3. Available at: http://www.getthetrollsout.org/antisemitism.html

4. Transnational report on Antiziganism

Introduction

For the Alliance against Antigypsyism, the stigmatisation of Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize as "gypsies" is a historical heritage linking different countries across and beyond Europe. Depending on the historical context, it takes different forms but always serves the same goal, to justify unequal treatment. Either seen as slaves like in Romania until the 19th century, combined with the ideology of race as "gypsy race" or homogenously condensed as "ethnicity", "heritage" or "culture", Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize are universally socially constructed as an inferior "other" and minority contrasting a superior "self" and majority.

The negative consequences of these processes of "othering" are severe. Beside slavery, it also led to invasive measures of population control, like the coercive sterilization of Romnija and Sintize, and to the genocide by the National Socialist Party in Germany and its allies, distinguished as Porajmos by Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize activists and in many countries receiving very late recognition. However, to this date, Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize face a lot of hate, exclusion and repression in Europe. Due to these historical legacies, the Alliance against Antigypsyism argues that "[...]the ideological justifications of the unequal treatment of Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize and other groups, and the practices of discrimination and persecution of them, have been shaped and reshaped over and over and should be understood against the backdrop of particular historical developments and events."[26]

Today, the socio-technological development of the internet towards Web 2.0 plays an important role in giving antiziganist sentiments new momentum. It is now easier than ever before to spread and enforce stereotypes and prejudices against Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize. These communication technologies offer new ways of threatening and

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[26] Alliance against Antigypsyism. 2016. *Antigypsyism – A reference paper*. p.7 http://antigypsyism.eu/?page_id=17

stigmatising groups into inferior "others" and constitute a new manifestation of antiziganism, which more attention has to be paid to.[27] The collection of exemplary online cases collected in this report illustrates some recent manifestations of antiziganism spread using various tools and devices, from email, blogs to platforms like Twitter. The additional country information offers possible considerations on how certain contexts may fertilise online hate against Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize.

Definition

Following the literature on antiziganism, the precise definition as well as the appropriate label summarising hate speech and crime against Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize is still debated and fluid. Besides antiziganism, the labels antigypsyism and Romaphobia[28] are used in public documents (e.g. in the European Parliament resolution on the situation of the Roma in the European Union[29]) and by equal rights organisations (e.g. Alliance against Antigypsism[30]). Beyond the topic of labelling, there are also other unresolved issues. The question, how antiziganism is manifested and its many implications for Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize, is still not fully explored. Also what antiziganism entails and its relation to other forms of hate and discrimination is still open for debate. For the project "Research – Report – Remove", a definition offered by Valeriu Nicolae, Representative of the Secretary General for Roma Issues of the Council of Europe, in the anthology "Roma Diplomacy" is used as basis for further analysis:

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[27] A first overview on online antiziganism in the countries covered by the project "Research – Report – Remove" is given here: INACH. 2016b. Relevance of Cyber Hate in Europe and Current Topics that Shape Online Hate Speech. Available at: http://www.inach.net/fileadmin/user_upload/Relevance_of_Cyber_Hate_in_Europe_and_Current_Topics_that_Shape_Online_Hate_Speech.pdf.

[28] The use of "phobia" in this and similar contexts is problematic and misleading. See for more on this also the chapter on "Homophobia" in this report.

[29] European Parliament. 2005. *European Parliament resolution on the situation of the Roma in the European Union*. Available at http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P6-TA-2005-0151+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN.

[30] The website of the Alliance against Antigypsism. Is available at http://antigypsism.eu/?page_id=55.

"[...] Anti-Gypsyism is a distinct type of racist ideology. It is, at the same time, similar, different, and intertwined with many other types of racism. Anti-Gypsyism itself is a complex social phenomenon which manifests itself through violence, hate speech, exploitation, and discrimination in its most visible form. Discourses and representations from the political, academic, and civil society communities, segregation, dehumanization, social stigma, social aggression, and socio-economic exclusion are other ways through which anti-Gypsyism is expressed. Anti-Gypsyism justifies and perpetrates the exclusion and supposed inferiority of Roma and is based on historical persecution and negative stereotypes."[31]

To structure the many possible manifestations of antiziganism, Hristo Kyuchokov differentiates between three forms of antiziganist prejudice and racism: "individual/personal", "institutionalised" and "institutionalised personal antigypsyism"[32]. Focusing on cyber hate, most examples illustrated below take the form of "individual/personal antigypsyism". The other two forms, however, form the context for flourishing cyber hate, often serving as blueprints for individual outbursts of racist slurs. As the country cases below illustrate, publicly reproduced antiziganist prejudices and stereotypes do not always meet adequate social and public repercussions. This enables policy makers on the local (e.g. in Austria) or the national level (e.g. in

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[31] Nicolae, Valeriu, 2007: Towards a Definition of Anti-Gypsyism. In: Nicolae, Valerie; Slavik, Hannah: *Roma Diplomacy*. Puchheim: IDEA. p.21f

[32] Kyuchokov, Hristo 2015: Preface. In: Selling, Jan; et. al.: Antiziganism. *What's in a Word?*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing. p.xi

France) to utilise and reinforce prejudices for their own political benefit. Taking into account also policy measures aiming directly against Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize (e.g. the evictions of 11,118 people from 111 camps in France in 2015), Miriam Staffansdotter Langmoen argues that antiziganism has to be seen as a kind of "socially accepted racism"[33].

For Valeriu Nicolae the element of dehumanisation is at the core of antiziganist racism, that "[...] Roma are often seen as a subhuman group closer to the animal realm than the human realm"[34]. This dehumanisation morally legitimises to withhold basic human rights.[35] In this sense, the cases below are examples of how a certain kind of "conceptual gypsy"[36] is projected onto allegedly Roma/Romnija, Sinti/Sintize, travellers or the poor in general by taking away their human traits and insinuating animalistic behaviours.

The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance includes these constitutive elements in their policy recommendation on „Combating Anti-Gypsyism and Discrimination against Roma", offering the definition: "[...] anti-Gypsyism is a specific form of racism, an ideology founded on racial superiority, a form of dehumanisation and institutional racism nurtured by historical discrimination, which is expressed, among others, by violence, hate speech, exploitation, stigmatisation and the most blatant kind of discrimination."[37]

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[33] Langmoen, M. S., 2014. Socially Accepted Racism: How European Antiziganism Prevails. In *bluestockings magazine*, Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island: http://blue-stockingsmag.com/2014/07/08/socially-accepted-racism-how-european-antiziganism-prevails/

[34] Nicolae, Valeriu, 2007. p.22

[35] In the report on Antigypsyism in Austria, Romano Centro also observed: "The incidents documented here show a shocking degree of conceptual dehumanisation through positive references to Nazism, instigating murder and extermination fantasies." Romano Centro. 2015. *Antigypsyism in Austria*. p.28. Available at http://www.romano-centro.org/down-loads/Antigypsyism_in_Austria_2015.pdf

[36] Kyuchokov, Hristo 2015: Preface. In: Selling, Jan; et. al.: *Antiziganism. What's in a Word?*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing. p.xi

[37] European Commission against Racism and Intolerance. 2011. *ECRI General Policy Recommendation No.13 on Combating Anti-Gypsyism and Discrimination against Roma*. Available at http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/activities/GPR/EN/Recommendation_N13/e-RPG%2013%20-%20A4.pdf.

Context and transnational trends

The collected examples from six different countries (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Netherlands and Spain) illustrate a wide variety of antiziganist sentiments and include illegal and tendentious statements. They cover reinforcements of negative stereotypes, incitement to violence as well as an openly expressed lack of any compassion towards Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize[38]

The reinforcement of negative stereotypes is one central theme present in the examples from all countries. In these, Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize are characterised as "dirty"[39], "thieves"[40], "beggars"[41], or as a group of people one has to be warned about[42]. This unanimous view across the different countries supports the notion of Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize as Europe's "quintessential minority"[43], facing prejudices and exclusion similar in form across all of Europe.[44]

Many of the exemplary hate posts also show how Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize are dehumanised by equalising them with animals and

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[38] An extreme case of a severe lack of any compassion was given by the French partner, where a politician commented reports on the death of a Roma/Romnija baby with: "A Roma baby died in her mother's arms who was begging in Lille. Use a baby as a bait includes some risks!"

[39] For example, several online articles published in Germany claim that Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize are responsible for pollutions in the neighbourhood accompanied by user comments claiming that Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize "want to live in dirt und mud".

[40] For example, an article on a news webpage from the Netherlands on the exceptional outcome of an IQ test of a Romnija girl contained the statement: "Instead of being genius in stealing materialistic goods she stole the hearts of the genius British with her IQ of 162."

[41] For example, in Austria on a local public complaint service webpage one user stated: "Hordes of Gypsies storm tramways, harass the passengers, and even small kids offensively beg people.[...] Please take effective action against this menace." This was published in response to reports on arson attacks on tent camps in the same federal state.

[42] For example, an email distributed in France warned of the presence of "Roma people" and "camps of Roma people" in the neighbourhood and recommended "to close your doors and windows [...] and the access doors".

[43] Goldston, J. A. 2002. ''Roma Rights, Roma Wrongs.'' *Foreign Affairs 81 (2)*. p.146-162.

[44] The Spanish entry into the right-wing encyclopaedia *metapedia* is an accumulation of stereotypes and prejudices culminating in the statement that Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize are the most despicable race in the world.

vermin, e.g. calling them "Asian parasites"[45] or "primates"[46]. Coupled with hate posts explicitly calling for violence against Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize, e.g. that they have to be "beaten up"[47], put into "concentration camps"[48], or "burned"[49] and posts showing no compassion in case of tragic occurrences[50], a hateful and hostile tone against Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize is created and normalised which in the worst case can lead to assaults like the late arson attacks in Austria and the riots after a demonstration in Spain in 2014.

The majority of the posts have been triggered by local events, either by certain policy measures (France), the presence of camps (Austria, Germany), or attacks on Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize (Austria). In our cases, this distinguishes antiziganistic cyber hate from other racist hate speech like anti-Muslim hatred which is more frequently triggered by national and international events and development.

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[45] For example, in Austria an Email has been distributed blaming Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize for the arson attacks against their settlements containing several dehumanising expressions: "Roma = Gypsy = Asian parasite! Thiefs, rascals, work-shy welfare scroungers."

[46] An article on the evictions of so-called slum houses in Duisburg-Marxloh published on a German right-wing webpage was accompanied by hateful user comments calling Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize, amongst others, "primates".

[47] An article published on a German right wing Facebook page was accompanied by several user comments calling for violence one stating: "we need to beat them up".

[48] For example, a French politician and member of the National Front party published this statement on his webblog: "But what can the Minister of the Interior do--apart from concentrating these foreign people in camps--where life would undoubtedly be so below what they counted on that they would prefer to flee such inhospitable territory?"

[49] A user in Austria commented a report on Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize published on the Facebook page of a local municipal department with: "„There is still place in the WAV, huge oven." WAV is an acronym for a local waste recycling plant.

[50] See the example from France (Footnote 38) on the politician cynically commenting the death of a Roma/Romnija baby. In Austria, some showed no compassion at all after arson attacks on temporary settlements, but rather further insulted Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize and exercised the reversal of blame. In an open Email responding to the reports on the attacks, the author asked: "Who can be sad about this?"

Country-specific aspects

As stated in the context information provided by the different organisations, antiziganist sentiments are not just spread by online hate posts. Also mass media[51] as well as politicians occasionally rely on stereotypes and prejudices when reporting or talking about Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize.

In Austria, some politicians at the local level tend to equalise Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize with poverty and organised crime in public speeches and election campaigns. This is not just the case for politicians from the right-wing party, but also from the conservative party. For example, during an election in Salzburg in 2014 one party warned about "bands of beggars" on their election posters. Also assaults on Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize have not stopped since the deadly attack in 1995 which cost the lives of four people. The latest have been several arson attacks on provisional tent camps.

In France, not just politicians at the local level reproduce stereotypes and spread hate against Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize, but also at the national level, like the then Minister of Interior in 2013 who publicly advocated the deportation of all Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize out of France and the European Union. Also the head of the right-wing party in France publicly equalised Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize with thieves. A situation similar to Spain where the Fundación Secretariado Gitano (FSG) points out that antiziganism is growing despite penal codes forbidding discrimination due to an atmosphere of "absolute impunity".

The widely spread and re-enforced notion of Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize as a threat also unites countries like France and Belgium in their attempts to delimit their freedom of movement, e.g. by building a wall around a reception zone for camping cars. One example from Belgium, a prolific Twitter user focusing mainly on spreading hate against Muslims but also aiming occasionally at other minorities e.g. by publishing the statement "Roma have to be gassed, right as it

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[51] For this see also the two cases from the Netherlands, where one online newspaper uses the derogative term "gypsy" and the other, completely unrelated to the topic of article, accuses a girl a tendency to thievery just because of her Roma/Romnija origin.

happened during WWII", illustrates that antiziganism often goes hand in hand with hate against other groups and minorities.

In Germany, antiziganist hate is also spread by right wing "news"-pages like "Politically Incorrect News". Reports about local events like the eviction of houses in Duisburg-Marxloh openly antagonise the residents using a vast variety of antiziganist slurs. In these narratives, antiziganist labels function as a tool to invert the question of responsibility and insinuates that it is the residents' own fault for being poor. The triggered online hate against Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize accompanying these articles is indeed part of their publication strategy.

Conclusion

The internet and social media is used to further stereotype and to spread prejudice against Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize and not just by anonymous users but also by politicians and political parties. In doing so, they re-enforce the image of Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize as "dirty", "beggars", "thieves", "less than human" and as inferior "other". An image historically used to legitimise oppression, deportation and extermination. Besides stereotyping, fantasies of violence are verbally acted out using the image of the "conceptual gypsy" mixed with explicit incitements to violence. These different online manifestations of expressed hate against Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize illustrate just how alive and well the "gypsy threat narrative"[52] still is in Europe.

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[52] Loveland, M. T. and Popescu, D., 2016. "The Gypsy Threat Narrative: Explaining Anti – Roma Attitudes in Europe". In *Humanity and Society Humanity & Society 2016, Vol. 40(3)*. P. 329-352. Available at http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0160597615601715.

5. Transnational report on Homophobia

Introduction and Definition

According to the European Commission, "Homophobia is a mixture of negative attitudes and feelings towards lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people".[53] Referring to this phenomenon of "negative attitudes and feelings" as homophobia is by no means meant to be an acknowledgment of it as a phobia in the clinical sense (based on physiological reactions) or as an individual rather than a social prejudice.

The aim of this chapter will be to analyse, on the basis of the online hate speech examples provided by the six participating organisations, the context and transnational trends and to highlight country-specific topics of homophobia.

Context and Transnational Trends

The rights of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex (LGBTI) people have been strengthened over the last decade in the six participating countries and social acceptance seems to be growing. Some countries for example allow legally registered relationships, enabling same sex couples to marry or to adopt a child, and introduce co-maternity legislation.[54] LGBTI public figures start being more visible, the Austrian entertainer Conchita Wurst or the former Ministers Elio di Rupo (Belgium) and Guido Westerwelle (Germany) are just a few examples. The results of a poll carried out in 2016 in Belgium for Unia – the Interfederal Centre for Equal Opportunities – even shows that 60% of the respondents neither have a problem with the concept of LGBTI as such, nor with public expression of homosexuality.

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[53] European Commission. 2017. *Homophobia*. Available at http://ec.europa.eu/justice/fundamental-rights/homophobia/index_en.htm.

[54] FRA. 2016. *Fundamental Rights Report 2016*. P.69. Available at http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2016/fundamental-rights-report-2016.

At the same time, nearly the same share of the respondents to the poll admitted that their friends make jokes about "gay".[55] One could thus believe that the acceptance for LGBTI people goes hand in hand with the acceptance of anti-gay slurs in daily life, but the picture is obviously more complex.

In its annual report 2017, ILGA-Europe points out numerous examples of bias-motivated hate speech.[56] According to a study by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), in 2013, two thirds of LGBTI people still concealed their sexual orientation. A great number (91%) of participants to the study recall poor treatment and harassment of LGBTI students or students that were perceived as gay. Furthermore, according to this study, about half of the respondents tends to avoid certain places for fear of being harassed, threatened or attacked on grounds of their sexual orientation or gender identity.[57] Notwithstanding the legal and social improvements that should have benefitted LGBTI people, the community thus still seems to feel insecure and discriminated against. The examples provided by the different participating organisations suggest that, at least in the online world, the *de jure* improvements do not necessarily lead to a *de facto* improvement for LGBTI people.

For the sake of clarity in this section, we will present the examples of homophobic and transphobic hate speech online in three categories: expressions of everyday hate speech and the spreading of stereotypes (1), adverse consequences of the legal improvements and the subsequent increase in visibility of the LGBTI communities (2) and the hate speech linked to external events that can lead to the intersection of different protected characteristics (3).

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[55] Unia & iVox. 2016. *L'homophobie en Belgique anno 2016 : rapport de recherche*, p.3. Available (in French and Dutch) at http://unia.be/files/Documenten/Artikels/Sondage_FR_perception_homosexualité_-_iVOX_.pdf.

[56] ILGA-Europe. 2017. *Annual Review of the Human Rights Situation of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex People in Europe 2017*. Available at: http://www.ilga-europe.org/sites/default/files/2017/full_annual_review.pdf.

[57] FRA. 2013. *EU LGBT survey*. Available at http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2013/eu-lgbt-survey-european-union-lesbian-gay-bisexual-and-transgender-survey-results.

Everyday hate speech and the spreading of stereotypes

Homophobic slurs seem engraved in everyday speech and authorities do not appear to have the means to counter such sentiments.[58] In the Belgian poll mentioned above, more than half (60%) of the respondents admitted that their friends make jokes about "gay".[59]

HOSI Vienna, an Austrian Anti-Discrimination Unit for Same-Sex and Transgender, alongside the increase of homophobic comments, points out that "the emotional threshold to post homophobic comments recedes". When public figures, whether they are politicians, artists or sportsmen, spread or share homophobic content online their fans and followers seem to actively like and share them. One could consider that this increased visibility of homophobic hate speech contributes to legitimizing it and by that rendering it socially acceptable. The influence public figures can have should thus not be underestimated. This has been recognized by the Dutch Court of Den Bosch who found guilty the rapper "Ismo" for the lyrics of one of his songs: "I don't give faggots a handshake". Interestingly enough, the same song was not found worth be taken down by YouTube yet. In Germany, the far-right party NPD (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschland) employed the hashtag #nohomo which stems from teenage slang. It is a defence from being homosexual after expressing appreciation for a same sex person but is also used to express the rejection of homosexuals as such.

Alongside the acceptance for "mainstream" homophobic hate speech and slurs, old habits seem to die hard. Stereotypes depicting LGBTI people as mentally and physically ill who need to be cured, still seem to be widely spread. For example, the political program published at the end of 2016 by the newly founded "Free Democratic Party" (VDPartij) in the Netherlands contained an openly homophobic and

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[58] INACH. 2016b. *Relevance of Cyber Hate in Europe and Current Topics that Shape Online Hate Speech.* P.13. Available at http://www.inach.net/fileadmin/user_upload/Relevance_of_Cyber_Hate_in_Europe_and_Current_Topics_that_Shape_Online_Hate_Speech.pdf

[59] Unia & iVox. 2016. *L'homophobie en Belgique anno 2016 : rapport de recherche.* P.3. Available (in French and Dutch) at http://unia.be/files/Documenten/Artikels/Sondage_FR_perception_homosexualité_-_iVOX_.pdf

antisemitic agenda. One aspect was that homosexuality was considered as an illness: "Homosexuality is an infectious disease that we need to get rid of fast, otherwise our posterity will be in danger". The account of the party has been successfully reported to Twitter. At present, neither the party nor its front man are publicly active anymore. Another Dutch example rose after LGTBI people had been attacked in spring 2017. In one of the cases, the assailants were youngsters. The following message was posted on a Moroccan forum in the Netherlands: "The children have bravely defended themselves from the AIDS bombs". In Spain, the far-right group "Blood and Honour" also presented homosexuality as an illness to be cured.

In other countries, LGBTI people are pictured as something abnormal. In Germany for example, the rainbow symbols are perverted to show homosexuality as something abnormal which society needs to be protected from. The means by which society can protect itself are depicted as an umbrella preventing the rainbow rain, but it can also be depicted as a rainbow pistol pointing at the traditional family (see the first and second example from Germany below).

Adverse consequences of the legal improvements and increase in visibility

A certain number of homophobic hate speech has been triggered by what can be considered as positive developments for the LGBTI community. Those developments encompass the growing presence of LGBTI public figures such as the Austrian singer Conchita Wurst as well as the above-mentioned legal developments in favour of the equality of LGBTI people. A comment published under an Austrian press article[60] about the 21st Rainbow Parade provides a good example of this by stating: "It seems that today you can't be gay without rubbing it in everyone's face day in day out. I am not surprised that so many normal people are bugged by those persons".

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[60] Kronen Zeitung. 2016. *Gedenken an Orlando. 130.000 Menschen bei Wiener Regenbogenparade,* 18/06/2016. Available at http://www.krone.at/oesterreich/130000-menschen-bei-wiener-regenbogenparade-gedenken-an-orlando-story-515784

When it comes to legal developments such as same-sex marriage or right to adoption, most of the participant organisations observed criticism from the defenders of the traditional family and in some countries in the form of a real outcry. Depending on the country, those groups can be fostered by religious and/or political believes and have a variable degree of organisation. The French "Manif pour tous" (demo for all) deriving from the "Mariage pour tous" (marriage for all), is probably the most prominent example of those movements and has also spread to other countries. As the name of the movement suggests, the creation of the movement derived from advancing improvements of the rights of LGBTI people, namely the possibility to get married on equal footing with heterosexual couples. Those movements advocate the traditional nuclear family with conservative gender roles which they see under attack and in need of defence. Created in 2012, this heterogeneous gathering is composed by right-wing as well as far-right groups and conservative Catholics amongst others. In 2016, it developed into a proper political party called "Sens commun" (common sense).

The Spanish organisation "Hazte Oir" (get heard),[61] also refers to the nature of human beings in its campaign by stating the following: "Boys have a penis. Girls have a vagina". It also underlines the destiny linked to it: "If you're born as a man, you're a man. If you are a woman, you will keep being a woman". This message was spread by online and offline campaigns, amongst others on a bus touring around the country before being found "transphobic" by court. The campaign by Hazte Oir aimed against syllabi sensitising school children to LGBTI topics.

In Germany, the topic of the protection of children was also put forward by similar movements. The "Demo für alle" (demo for all) movement, which is similar to the French movement "Manif pour tous", appeared as a reaction to the announcement of regional education reforms inserting teaching modules about gender and sexual identity. This movement developed online and offline campaigns against the

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[61] Information on Hazte Oir is available at https://go.citizengo.org/firmamanifiestoliber-taddeexpresion.html

"harmful indoctrination of children through gender mania". With the claim that an allegedly early sexualisation of children harm their development to become a "normal" person and as a consequence depicts homosexuality as abnormal. While registered civil partnerships existed in Germany since 2001, same-sex marriage was adopted on 7th July 2017 and will enter into force on 1st October 2017.

In Belgium, same-sex marriage has been in force since June 2003 and thus did not raise popular concerns in the period covered by this report, namely 2015-2017. However, some messages relating to same-sex marriage keep circulating. Such as a message received by an educator on Facebook by one of his students using a pseudonym after changing the profile picture to commemorate the Orlando attacks: "Fuck you dirty faggot fuck your mother you're fucking with X he's sucking your very small dick". The reconsideration of the traditional family picture, amongst other via the adoption by same-sex couples or the co-maternity legislations, has led to a certain extent of opposition as well. On the Belgian site of the Turkish organization Yeni Vatan,[62] an author compares homosexuality to paedophilia and states that adoption by homosexual couples has to be forbidden because their only aim would be to abuse the children. Aside from these extreme positions, the results of the above-mentioned poll commissioned by Unia showed that about 10-15% of the respondents who did not consider themselves as homophobic felt uncomfortable about some expressions of homosexuality. Respondents seem to consider those expressions more problematic when they arise from people that are part of their sphere of life.[63]

Intersection of different protected characteristics

Some participating organisations noticed the appearance of homophobic comments in combination with hate speech about other char-

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[62] Information on Yeni Vatan is available at http://www.yenivatan.be/homoseksuellere-evlatlik-cocuk-verilmez/

[63] Unia & iVox. 2016. *L'homophobie en Belgique anno 2016 : rapport de recherche.* P.3. Available (in French and Dutch) at http://unia.be/files/Documenten/Artikels/Sondage_FR_perception_homosexualité_-_iVOX_.pdf

acteristics. This phenomenon has been named "intersectional protected characteristics" by Burnap and Williams (2016) who explored the likelihood of the appearance of hate speech against several characteristics at the same time. Their results suggest that for example "people posting this content were targeting more racist content towards a black homosexual man than they were targeting homophobic remarks to a black heterosexual man". [64]

In France, Belgium and Austria for example, homophobic hashtags are used with reference to the Holocaust (#BurnAllTheGaysOnLegion88, #Gaystapo). Holocaust denial and homophobic hate speech thus seem to "join forces". In Austria, after having shared a news report about LGBTI refugees and services offered to them by a local project, HOSI saw the following comment appear on its website: "Homosexuals? Should be gassed. You are absolute filth! Go into the jungle, fuck apes, then there will be new illnesses! Wish you can pass on to us".

Since the summer of 2015, subsequent to the increase in migration, an increase in online hate speech has been noted throughout Europe. [65] Alongside messages targeted specifically at refugees, it led to a general increase of hate speech stemming amongst others from the so called "identitarian movements" [66] which flourish in the aftermath of the "refugee crisis". Several organisations submitted examples of homophobic online hate linked to the "refugee crisis", amongst others by questioning the "real homosexuality" of the refugees. After a report about support actions for LGBTI refugees, an Austrian Broadcasting Company received the following comment on its Facebook page: "Another reason for tolerance! It will get around quickly. Now they are all like gay. At least the women in our country don't have to worry anymore".

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[64] Burnap & Williams. 2016. Us and them: identifying cyber hate on Twitter across multiple protected characteristics. In *EPJ Data Science (2016) 5:11*. P.11. available at http://link.springer.com/article/10.1140/epjds/s13688-016-0072-6.

[65] INACH. 2016. *Kick them Back Into the Sea. Online Hate Speech Against Refugees.* available at http://www.inach.net/fileadmin/user_upload/Refugee_Report20161.pdf

[66] You can find more information on the identitarian movements here

Country-specific aspects

Even though a certain number of transnational trends can be put forward, alongside the common factors, the local events and contexts determine the patterns of homophobic hate speech inside those trends. This section will provide a few national examples of those specificities. More detailed examples are available below.

HOSI, the Austrian respondent, pointed out that homophobic hate speech in Austria is influenced by Eastern European politics. This external influence by the speeches of foreign political figures has not been mentioned as such by the other project partners. This specificity might stem from the geographical proximity to the sometimes difficult environment for LGBTI people in Eastern Europe as pointed out in INACH's relevance report.[67]

The political discussions initiated towards adopting more inclusive legislation seem to have led to an increase in homophobic hate speech in most participating countries. Depending on the degree of legal development and the topics raised, the contents are different. The protection of children is put forward as an argument against awareness-raising in schools in Germany, the same-sex marriage in France and adoption against homosexual couples in Belgium. However, the origin of this hate speech seems to stem either from right to far-right political organisations or religious groups defending the traditional family and traditional role models. In certain countries, such as in France, the movements fighting against the erosion of the traditional family picture have developed into a proper political party whereas in Belgium or Germany, amongst other things due to the federal structures of the state, reactions seem to stem more from local branches of movements.

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[67] INACH. 2016b. *Relevance of Cyber Hate in Europe and Current Topics that Shape Online Hate Speech*. P.13. Available at http://www.inach.net/fileadmin/user_upload/Relevance_of_Cyber_Hate_in_Europe_and_Current_Topics_that_Shape_Online_Hate_Speech.pdf

Conclusion

Homophobic online hate speech might not be the most prominent one in terms of registered numbers and visibility, nevertheless it seems well anchored on the web and in real life. It contributes to creating a context of fear and uncertainty for LGBTI people. Maybe the lack of perception stems from a relatively low emotional threshold for using stigmatizing vocabulary and expressions towards LGBTI people pointed out by some contributors. Homophobic slurs that appear in political debates, artistic performances and on sports grounds seem to play a role in the legitimisation of hateful and stigmatizing vocabulary in daily-life.

LGBTI people have felt and are still feeling adverse consequences of legal improvements that are supposed to favour their equality. The legal recognition and debates that arose around it have also had a polarizing effect. The reactions to the legal improvement that happened over the last two decades came, inter alia, from groups and movements defending traditional family values and images.

Inside a context of legal improvements for LGBTI people, a climate of homonegativity seems to spread in most participating countries. As highlighted above, a certain number of groups in the population defend heteronormativity and spread negative and fearful feelings about the LGBTI community.

Most countries seem to face an increasing number of intersections between characteristics, especially since the "refugee crisis". This intersection sometimes appears in line with random hateful comments or specifically labelling refugees as rapists or all Muslims as intolerant. In Austria, messages putting into doubt the real "homosexuality" of the refugees have appeared. In France, Belgium and Austria language and hashtags use Holocaust denial references.

Finally, LGBTI people, as most other population groups affected by online hate speech, face the consequences from the general increase of hate speech after the increased migration and terrorist attacks.

6. Transnational report on anti-Muslim hate

Introduction and Definition

The fourth hate phenomenon analysed by the project "Research – Report – Remove: Countering Cyber Hate Phenomena" is anti-Muslim hate. The relevance of this phenomenon has been underlined by the Quarterly Reports on Cyber Hate published by this project. In the research conducted by the project partners, anti-Muslim hate consistently ranked among the three most widespread online hate types.[68]

There are various terms describing hateful attitudes and behaviour towards Muslims. However, the definitions of and distinctions between those terms are neither clear-cut nor universally accepted. The term most commonly used is "Islamophobia". This term was originally defined as "unfounded hostility towards Islam" by the Runnymede Report in 1997 (p. 4). The report further explained that the term "refers also to the practical consequences of such hostility in unfair discrimination against Muslim individuals and communities, and to the exclusion of Muslims from main-stream political and social affairs".[69]

This definition and the use of the term Islamophobia in general has since been contested in academic discourse. On the one hand, researchers criticize that the suffix "-phobia" (Greek for irrational or unfounded fear) would put this term in context with mental illnesses and anxieties, thereby not adequately describing the underlying attitudes.[70] Pfahl-Traughber argues that the connection to "fear" would

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[68] INACH. 2017a. Quarterly Report on Cyber Hate (May, June and July 2016).

INACH. 2017b. Quarterly Report on Cyber Hate (August, September and October 2016).

INACH. 2017c. Quarterly Report on Cyber Hate (November and December 2016). Available at http://www.inach.net/detail.html?tx_news_pi1%5Bnews%5D=47&cHash=fffd0e27d4e038690831f154e89ad21a.

[69] Runnymede Trust (Ed.), 1997. *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All*, London.

[70] Kahlweis, L. & Salzborn, S., 2012. „Islamophobie" als politischer Kampfbegriff. Zur konzeptionellen und empirischen Kritik des Islamophobiebegriffs. In: Pfahl-Traughber, A. (Ed.): *Jahrbuch für Extremismus- und Terrorismusforschung 2011/12*, p. 248 – 263. Brühl.

describe a feeling which had to be distinguished from tangible attitudes or behaviour towards people.[71] Another criticism on the term Islamophobia is that it focuses on negative attitudes towards the Islam as a religion, instead of the individuals who are affected by corresponding behaviour. He therefore introduced the term "Antimuslimismus"[72] ("antimuslimism") to describe depreciative and discriminating attitudes or behaviour towards Muslim people based on their religious belief.

In the context of the project "Research – Report – Remove: Countering Cyber Hate Phenomena" the focus on people rather than the religion is seen as an important aspect. In order to better reflect the project's objective to analyse hate phenomena in the terminology of the report, the project partners drew on the above considerations and chose the term "anti-Muslim hate" to reflect online and offline hate against Muslim individuals or communities based on their religion.[73]

Context and transnational trends

Some aspects of anti-Muslim hate can be found across all or most of the countries participating in this analysis. One of the most prevalent trends is the lacking differentiation between refugees, Arab people and Muslims, resulting in the attribution of prejudices against one of those groups to members of all groups. Therefore, hate against refugees or anti-Arab hate often employs anti-Muslim hate speech. Consequently, the current "refugee crisis" is one of the main drivers of anti-Muslim hate. This connection cannot only be observed in online discussions, but also in offline incidents. In Belgium and the Netherlands pigs' heads have been left at mosques and refugee camps alike over the past few years. Not only are dead animals traditionally seen

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[71] Pfahl-Traughber, A., 2010. Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede von Antisemitismus und "Islamophobie". Eine Erörterung zum Vergleich und ein Plädoyer für das "Antimuslimismus"-Konzept. In: Pfahl-Traughber, A. (Ed.): *Jahrbuch für Extremismus- und Terrorismusforschung 2009/2010*, p. 604-628. Brühl.

[72] Ibid. p. 612

[73] INACH. 2016b. *Relevance of Cyber Hate in Europe and Current Topics that Shape Online Hate Speech*. Available at: http://www.inach.net/fileadmin/user_upload/Relevance_of_Cyber_Hate_in_Europe_and_Current_Topics_that_Shape_Online_Hate_Speech.pdf.

as a death threat, but the pig is also viewed as impure by Islam, suggesting an anti-Muslim motivation for those acts.

The second prominent driver of this hate phenomenon are the Islamist terrorist attacks that struck European countries in recent years. After each of the attacks in Belgium, France and Germany participating organisations reported an increase in anti-Muslim hate speech in the Social Web. In Belgium, events like the war in Syria, the emergence of the so-called IS, Belgian "IS" fighters and terror attacks in Europe created a climate of fear and led to a certain "legitimisation" of anti-Muslim hate in the Belgian society. These developments also led to a general association between Muslims and terrorists in certain parts of the online community. For example, on her private profile a Facebook user spread hateful and fearful messages about Muslims and people with another national origin (mostly from the Sub-Saharan region). Among other posts she wrote: "The 'good(?)' Muslims do very little against the extremists of their ooooh sooo 'peaceful belief'... why don't they go massively onto the streets to go against them? Because they – if it comes down to it – are all guilty; they leave it to these extremists so that they can say they had nothing to do with it."

In an example from France, a video was posted on several social media platforms associating Muslims and Arab people with terrorists. The video is 13 minutes long. An excerpt reads: "Always another Mokhtar in Orlando. Another Mokhtar with a camel face who characterize you so well and who killed 50 homosexuals (...). And then, in the wake, a new Mohamed, who rushed his 19 tons truck in the crowd of Nice".

Examples for posts equating Muslims with terrorists

Article titled "For avoiding the French genocide, we must deport Muslims!" on "Riposte Laïque"; July 18th 2016

Another aspect which can be found in all countries participating in this analysis is the prejudice of all refugees being potential rapists. Due to the lacking differentiation between refugees and Muslims, this prejudice is also directed against Muslims. It often stems from an insinuated disregard of women's rights by Muslim culture and the implied inability of Muslims to adapt to Western norms and values. The sexual assaults on women during New Year's Eve 2015/2016 in Cologne and other cities in Germany by men of, according to police reports, "Arab or North-African appearance" were often perceived as an expression of this culture and further fuelled hate speech in this context. The German movement "European Patriots against the Islamization of the Occident" (PEGIDA) for instance created a hashtag "#rapefugees" which equates refugees with rapists. However, the repercussions of this event were felt in other countries as well. But the ability of Muslims to integrate is not only denied when it comes to women's rights. In Germany, jugendschutz.net observed prejudices against Muslims linking them with generally sexist, antisemitic and homophobic worldviews and criminal behaviour.

Example of posts about Muslims not being able to adapt
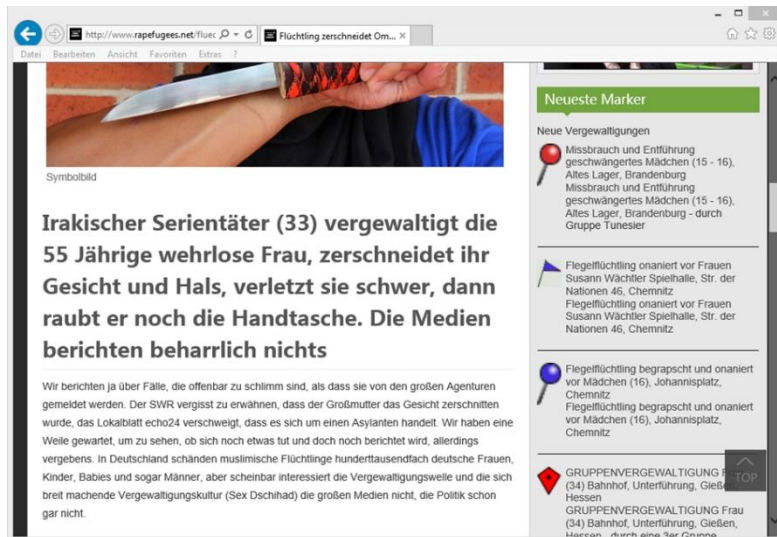
A blogger claims on https://deutschelobby.com/ (a blog filled with hate speech) that a leaflet asking people not to walk their dogs in order to respect the large Muslim community was spread in the city of Manchester. As a response he demands to forbid "Muslim keeping" instead of "dog keeping" and to ban "foreign bodies that cannot be assimilated".

Closely connected to this is the emergence of a general distrust in mass media and politicians by parts of the population. This leads to a rise of "alternative news" websites and online posts spreading fake news and hatred against Muslims. For example, the Facebook page of the Flemish Defence League claimed to be a news website with the aim to "prove what Islam really is and the crimes the Sharia commits against Human Rights, the Rights of Children and Woman". Hate-mongers frequently spread fake news about sexual assaults on women by refugees and Muslims. While in Germany and Austria these stories are usually situated in the respective countries, French fake news about this topic are usually situated in Sweden or Germany.

Distrust in politicians is also transferred to state personnel and official state authorities. It leads to a growing radicalisation of online discussions, in which people are urged to arm themselves and vigilante justice is propagated. This shows the threat of online hate resulting in offline violence.

Example of fake news about refugees being rapists

In this article on the anonymous website "rapefugees.net" Muslim refugees are assumed to rape German "women, children, babies and even men hundred thousand of times" because of their "culture of rape (sex dschihad)".

Furthermore, it has to be noted that in many countries hate speech particularly targets Muslims wearing religious clothes or symbols (e.g. women wearing headscarves) as this is seen as an unwillingness to integrate. In France, the value of "laïcité" adds to this phenomenon. Laïcité stands for secularism, the separation between State and religion and a ban on the display of religious symbols in public schools, but also for freedom of religion. Nevertheless, it is being used by the far-right and nationalist movement in online campaigns against the Islamic veil or the burkini. In Austria, the ban on burkinis in some French cities in the aftermath of the terror attack in Nice has sparked

heated debates both online and offline. In September 2016, the city swimming pool of Vienna banned burkinis on its premises.

Conspiracy theories also form a significant aspect of anti-Muslim hate transnationally. Though there are differences in the details, a common narrative is the fear of Muslim immigrants taking over the western world. In France, this is reflected by the theory of "great replacement" propagated by Renaud Camus. This conspiracy theory describes a "colonization" of France by means of replacing the population with Muslim immigrants. In Germany, the PEGIDA movement is holding weekly demonstrations and online discussions about the "Islamisation" of Germany and the Western World. During the presidential elections campaigns in Austria (see above) right-wing candidate Norbert Hofer spoke of an "invasion" and in Spain some people are talking about a "crash of civilization".

Examples of posts promoting the theory of "great replacement"

Twitter comment by Robert Ménard, mayor of the city of Béziers: "#StartOfSchool: the most obvious proof of the #GreatReplacement is ongoing. Just take a look at the old pictures of classroom..."

On the 5th of September, LCI, a TV channel, tweeted this statement of Robert Ménard: "In a city-center classroom of my city, 91% of Muslim children. Of course it is an issue".

Country-specific aspects

Some of the trends in anti-Muslim hate appear across countries but show country-specific peculiarities. An example for this is online hate speech disseminated by political right-wing populist parties and tabloid newspapers. This happened especially in times of election campaigning. In Austria, the presidential elections in 2016 were preceded by a xenophobic, anti-Muslim and anti-refugee campaign of the right-wing freedom party FPÖ. During his campaign FPÖ candidate Norbert Hofer inter alia proclaimed a need to "stop the Muslim invasion". FPÖ politicians also used social media and especially Facebook to incite to hatred and call on their followers to write hate postings against refugees, Muslims and foreigners in general. France faced a similar increase in radical and extremist statements in the run-up to the presidential election campaigns 2017. A polarized political debate ensued, discussing immigration, integration, liberalism, secularism and the welfare system. Unlike in Austria, Twitter was the platform most frequently used to spread online hatred. In the Netherlands, the Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV) increasingly campaigned for a ban on re-

ligious symbols of Islam like headscarves, the Qur'an or the construction of mosques. In 2016, Geert Wilders, the leader of the PVV, was found guilty for incitement to discrimination for his comment "we want less Moroccans". Tabloids engaging in anti-Muslim campaigns and negative stereotyping of Muslims included "BILD" in Germany and the Austrian "Kronenzeitung". Both are the (tabloid) newspapers with the highest circulation in their respective countries.

The attempted coup in Turkey and subsequent news coverage on anti-democratic developments lead to an increase in hate speech against Turks and Muslims in Austria and Belgium. In Austria, for example, Muslims are increasingly being equated with Turks and labelled "Erdogan supporters", irrespective of their actual origin or political affiliation. In the Netherlands, this event also had an impact on online discussions. However, hateful comments in those discussions were not specifically targeting Muslims. Rather, the followers of Gülen and Erdogan were spreading hateful comments about each other.

Post-colonial resentments and prejudices in France and the Netherlands give an example on how anti-Arab and anti-Muslim hate are connected. While negative stereotypes and prejudices mainly target people from former colonies, their religion gained importance as a motive for hate speech in recent years.

A quite unique form of anti-Muslim hate can be observed in Spain. During the Middle Ages, large parts of Spain were under Muslim reign for more than 700 years. Historians agree that this was a peaceful and tolerant era in Spanish history granting religious freedom to all citizens. However, there are revisionist views claiming it was a time of occupation and oppression until Spain was "reconquered" by Catholic kings. This revisionism is frequently used to spread hatred against Muslims currently living in Spain. The Spanish far-right band "Estandarte88" published a song claiming: "The Reconquista is over. The moors are coming again. Spain is fucked". It is important to notice that this song uses slang expressions.

Conclusion

Our research showed that anti-Muslim hate is a complex phenomenon. Some negative stereotypes of Muslims – e.g. as terrorists, rapists or generally not being able to adapt to western values – as well as conspiracy theories are prevalent in all countries. "Alternative" and fake news websites emerged spreading hatred against Muslims. Other aspects of anti-Muslim hate like campaigns by right-wing populist parties show different characteristics in every country. It is further important to notice, that historical developments and historical revisionism can strengthen anti-Muslim sentiments in some countries.

7. Current developments: New actors and tools

After looking in detail at specific manifestations of cyber hate, some cross-cutting developments that spread cyber hate against all four of the discussed communities and beyond should also be discussed.

Fake news have gained considerable attention in recent years, especially after the last presidential elections in the USA. Propagators of fake news benefit from a growing distrust in mass media in parts of the population. This caused the emergence of "alternative" and fake news websites, published mostly – though not exclusively – by right-wing groups.

Some examples of this are the German websites "Deutschland DECKT AUF" (Germany uncovers), "Tägliche Einzelfälle" (Daily cases), "Politically Incorrect News" and "Die Wahrheit '24h News'" (The truth '24h news'"). Those sites use a mixture of fake news, rumours and reports from reliable news websites which have been taken out of context to give the websites a guise of credibility, thus influencing the political views of their readers more effectively. The Austrian website "unzensuriert.at" employs similar tactics. While not publishing actual fake news, they use biased news selection to publish negative and tendentious articles about e.g. immigrants, journalists and refugees.[74] Since April 2017, "unzensuriert.at" is also being published in Germany under the label "unzensuriert.de".[75] In the Netherlands, hate speech can often be found on the websites "Geen Stijl" and "PowNed". "Geen Stijl" describes itself as "tendentious, unfounded and unnecessarily offensive".[76] "PowNed" is a news broadcaster closely connected to "Geen Stijl".[77] Both websites publish hateful articles and

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[74] Winter, J. & Brodning, I. 2016. unzensuriert.at: Wie die FPÖ-nahe Site systematisch Stimmung macht. In: Profil, 30. 11. 2016. Available at https://www.profil.at/oesterreich/wie-fpoe-site-unzensuriertat-stimmung-7709776

[75] Meisner, M. 2017. "Die rechte Blase im Netz wächst". Die FPÖ-nahe Plattform "Unzensuriert" expandiert aus Österreich nach Deutschland. Im Bundestagswahlkampf könnte sie AfD-Propaganda machen. In: Der Tagesspiegel, 04.04.2017. Available at http://www.tagesspiegel.de/medien/plattform-unzensuriert-die-rechte-blase-im-netz-waechst/19612102.html

[76] Geen Stijl website. Available at http://www.geenstijl.nl/

[77] PowNed. n. y. Oorsprong. Available at https://www.powned.tv/over-powned/oorsprong

comments, most of which target women, refugees, Muslims and es-
pecially people of Moroccan descent. The hateful comments are used
to discredit, degrade, humiliate, insult and shock people. Often used
terms are neologisms borrowed from the discourse of Geert Wilders,
leader of the right-wing populist political party PVV.

A relatively new actor in the field of (online) hate, the *Identitarian
movement* is active in many European countries. A common strategy
of Identitarian groups is the use of pop-cultural and "hip" elements
(e.g. memes, graffiti and music) to reach a broader audience and es-
pecially young people. In May 2017, members of the Identitarian
movements of several European countries worked together to block a
ship of the NGO "SOS Mediteranée" which was rescuing refugees from
drowning in the Mediterranean. They also used the action to create
promotional material resembling campaigns of popular environmen-
tal activists like Sea Shepherd or Greenpeace. It can be seen as a test
run for the Identitarians' "Defend Europe" campaign lasting from July
to August 2017. The aim of "Defend Europe" was to monitor and block
rescue ships of NGOs which the Identitarians accuse of cooperating
with human traffickers.[78] After a series of setbacks and local resistance
they ended the campaign on 17 August 2017.[79]

The French Identitarian movement emerged at the beginning of the
new century and is often seen as the root of Identitarian movements
in other European countries. An important topic for different Identi-
tarian groups in France is the promotion of regional values. Their
dominating concerns are the "growing presence of Islam in France"
and the "destructive multiculturalism". Antisemitism seems to be less
present, although some groups are clearly promoting neo-Nazi theo-
ries. In Austria the Identitarian movement was founded in 2012. While
officially distancing themselves from National Socialism, references to

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[78] HOPE not hate. 2017a. *Defend Europe Report*. Available at http://hope-
nothate.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Defend-Europe-Briefing_210717.pdf.
[79] HOPE not hate. 2017b. *Failed Defend Europe mission comes to an end*. Available at
http://hopenothate.org.uk/2017/08/17/failed-defend-europe-mission-comes-end/.

NS personnel and fascist movements in other countries are common.[80] In Belgium, Identitarian groups exist alongside well-established extreme right political parties like the Vlaams Belang in Flanders or the Front National in the French speaking part of the country. Most Identitarian groups are locally organized. However, there are some groups which cover one of the linguistic territories of Belgium. In Germany, the Identitarian movement portrays itself as 'innocuous' and '0% racist', while spreading a xenophobic ideology. They refrain from using traditional extreme right vocabulary and instead use neologisms. Their main platforms are social media, where they share videos of their campaigns and discuss with their predominantly young audience.[81]

An internationally successful example on how Identitarian actors use pop-culture to attract a large audience is the French band "Les Brigandes". The messages they convey in their songs are chiefly anti-globalist, fundamentalist and based on conspiracy theories. Choreographed songs, clear voices and femininity bring a "breath-of-fresh-air effect"[82] to the mostly masculine and sexist fachosphère and have boosted their international success.[83] Their music videos on YouTube have been subtitled in several languages.

Both fake news and the Identitarian movement do not primarily address a traditional far-right audience but aim to disseminate their ideology to the general public by disguising it as "harmless". They thus pose a special challenge to NGOs combatting racism and to civil society as a whole.

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[80] Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance. n. y. Identitäre Bewegung Österreich (IBÖ). Available at http://www.doew.at/erkennen/rechtsextremismus/rechtsextreme-organisationen/identitaere-bewegung-oesterreich-iboe

[81] jugendschutz.net. 2017. *Network of hatred – How right-wing extremists use Social Media to court young people*. Available at http://www.hass-im-netz.info/fileadmin/user_upload/Network_of_Hatred.pdf

[82] Ligue Internationale Contre le Racisme et l'Antisémitisme. 2016. Are 'Les Brigandes' the "new stars" of the fascist scene? Available at http://www.getthetrollsout.org/what-we-do/articles/item/64-are-%E2%80%98les-brigandes%E2%80%99-the-new-stars-of-the-fascist-scene.html

[83] Ibid.

8. Conclusion

The period covered by this analysis is a particular one due to the density of events that took place. Since 2015, subsequent to the terrorist attacks and increased migration, an advancing growth of online hate speech has been noted throughout Europe.[84] Alongside messages targeted specifically at "refugees" and "Muslim terrorists", it led to a general increase of hate speech stemming amongst others from the so called Identitarian movements which flourished in the aftermath of the aforementioned events. Those movements played a major role in establishing a polarized environment in which Western values such as Human Rights, the Rights of Children and Women are seen as being threatened by "outsider" communities representing values allegedly incompatible with the values of modern societies and the Western ways of living. In that context, Muslims are depicted as not being able to integrate or not belonging to our societies, LGBTI people as unable to form a "normal family", Jews as responsible for "why things go wrong" and Roma/Romnija and Sinti/Sintize as quintessential embodiment of self-inflicted poverty and wildness not deserving any compassion or support. Moreover, in the countries covered, the impact of the geopolitical situation of the Middle East and of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has contributed to the growing proliferation of hateful theories especially of antisemitic nature. Those perceptions led amongst others to a resurgence of conspiracy theories in which "foreign communities" take over "our community".

In many of those narratives, the world is divided into two categories: "them and us" or "normality and deviance", without any nuances. One of the most prevalent trends seems to be the lacking differentiation between refugees, Arab people and Muslims, resulting in the attribution of prejudices against one of those groups to members of all groups. Therefore, hate against refugees or anti-Arab hatred often employs anti-Muslim hate speech. Furthermore, most participating organisations noticed an intersection of characteristics expressed

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[84] See for example the report: INACH. 2016a. *Kick them back into the sea. Online Hate Speech Against Refugees*, available at: http://www.inach.net/fileadmin/user_upload/Refugee_Report20161.pdf

within the hateful messages. Frequently, references to what happened during the Second World War are used as online threats against Jews and other communities by for example presenting gas chambers as a suitable solution for Roma/Romnija, LGBTI people and Muslims. Holocaust denial and distortion are also quite popular online. Furthermore, the likeliness to be targeted by cyber hate seems higher for individuals or communities which are perceived as combining different characteristics. Another issue is the concept of a "double standard", which asserts that the Jewish community is better protected against discrimination and criticism than other communities. This concept can encourage victims of cyber hate to spread hate speech on another target group themselves.

Finally, when it comes to the sources of cyber hate, alongside politically and belief motivated messages stemming from local movements, one should not underestimate the power of public figures. In Austria and France, the positions adopted by political parties as well as candidates running for presidential office have triggered a lot of hate speech. Some of this hate speech expresses a general distrust in politicians by parts of the population. On the other hand, the stigmatization spread by political figures themselves and the legitimizing power it might have can be considered as particularly harmful by lowering the emotional threshold for posting hateful messages. Other public figures such as artists, journalists or TV hosts also have an important influence in shaping mindsets. With their statements and behaviours, public figures may contribute to making hate speech and discrimination against minorities appear to be more and more socially acceptable.

9. Initiatives countering cyber hate

The transnational analysis of four online hate phenomena showed the complexity of the subject cyber hate. The quantity and diversity of messages and approaches pose a challenge to the organisations devoted to creating a respectful online environment that is in line with human rights. Disparate legal bases across countries, business interests of Social Media Companies and the difficult position of the topic between various fundamental rights add to the challenge of transnationally combating online hate speech.

Several EU Member states have not yet adopted specific legislation concerning cyber hate, which makes addressing the phenomenon in front of the judiciary difficult. Determining who is liable, for how long and to what extent are only some out of many questions that need to be addressed. Finding a solution is further complicated by the global nature of the internet and, thus, the transnational nature of cyber hate.[85]

Public authorities and law enforcement actors have an important role to play when it comes to combating cyber hate. Common initiatives and exchange of knowledge allow to strive for changes in international legislation and social media guidelines. A good example of this approach is the EU's "Code of conduct on countering illegal hate speech online". By agreeing to comply with the Code of Conduct, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Microsoft promised to assess most user notifications within 24 hours, respect European and national legislation concerning hate speech and remove illegal messages. Furthermore, feedback procedures and transparency should be improved.[86]

During two monitoring exercises in 2016 and 2017, civil society organisations – many of them members of the International Network Against Cyber Hate (INACH) – worked together with the EC to test Facebook's, YouTube's and Twitter's notice-and-takedown mechanisms

[85] Schadauer, Andreas (2017). Transnational online hate and incitement to hatred – the problem in brief, in: *ZARA Racism Report 2016*. https://www.zara.or.at/_wp/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Zara_RR16_Englisch_web_fin.pdf (last accessed August 2017)

[86] European Commission, 2017a. *Countering illegal hate speech online #NoPlace4Hate*. Available at http://ec.europa.eu/newsroom/just/item-detail.cfm?item_id=54300.

to assess their implementation of the Code of Conduct. While some improvements in feedback and removal rate could be observed, more needs to be done. This is especially true when notifications are sent by general users rather than organisations having attained a "trusted flagger" status with the IT companies.[87]

The probably most prominent attempt of national legislation in this field was undertaken by the German Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection. The "Act to Improve Enforcement of the Law in Social Networks" (NetzDG) obliges Social Networks with more than two million registered users to publish half-yearly reports on their "handling of complaints about unlawful content".[88] Reporting mechanisms have to be improved. Furthermore, Social Media Companies have to remove "manifestly unlawful"[89] content within 24 hours and other illegal content within a week. In cases of doubt, cases can be referred to a "recognised self-regulation institution".[90] If Social Media Companies do not comply with those obligations, they face fines up to five million Euro.[91] This act met with considerable opposition by advocates of freedom of speech who fear censorship by corporations frightened by the prospect of heavy fines.

A different approach has been adopted in Austria. In spring 2017, the State Secretary of the Austrian Federal Chancellery, Muna Duzdar, initiated the formation of a counselling service against online hate – a low-threshold service for victims and witnesses of online hate speech, cyber mobbing and other forms of violence online. The offered service includes, amongst others, an initial assessment of the matter at hand, information on possible options on how to proceed

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[87] European Commission, 2017b. *Code of Conduct on countering online hate speech – results of evaluation show important progress*. Available at http://ec.europa.eu/news-room/just/item-detail.cfm?item_id=71674.

[88] German Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection. 2017. *Act to Improve Enforcement of the Law in Social Networks*. Available at https://www.bmjv.de/SharedDocs/Gesetzgebungsverfahren/Doku-mente/NetzDG_engl.pdf;jses-sionid=9BB3C5791301B0299B0782B5FA761B79.2_cid334?__blob=publicationFile&v=2.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid.

and support for dealing with and actions against instances of online hate. The counselling service started its work in September 2017 and is located at and organized by the INACH Member ZARA – *Civil Courage and Anti-Racism Work*.

Beyond legal regulations and policy measures, civil society is also working together to transnationally combat cyber hate. The International Network Against Cyber Hate (INACH) has been active in this field for 15 years. INACH currently unites 21 members in 18 countries. The participating organisations exchange information and best practice via regular meetings, e-mail discussions and conference calls. Joining forces is necessary, not only because of the complexity of the phenomenon but also regarding the diversity of tools and levels where organisations fighting cyber hate need to be active.

INACH supports groups and institutions who want to set up a complaints bureau. Alongside the establishment of complaint bureaus, a multidimensional approach of sensitizing Internet Service Providers, developing educational tools to raise awareness and promote attitude change in civil society, as well as awareness raising and lobbying activities on national and European political level is of outmost importance.

Numerous INACH members are involved in EU and international projects. For example, INACH members CEJI (Belgium) and Licra (France) participated in the education program for young people "Get the trolls out" as coordinators for their country. Some members have started working on counter speech initiatives. In Austria, ZARA set up the "CounterACT" platform which offers easily accessible guidelines for people wanting to analyse or react to cyber hate. Furthermore, INACH members like CEJI, Magenta, Unia and ZARA are involved in the development of tools for "Facing Facts!", a civil society initiative that aims to improve the recognition, recording of and responses to hate crime and hate speech at the national level and beyond by working across civil society and public authorities.

Whether these measures and actions, their impacts and effects lead to more democratic and inclusive communication, have no effect or even unintended and contrary effects and whether they (uninten-

tionally) breach fundamental rights, has to be continuously monitored and evaluated. Keeping the balance between the different fundamental rights at stake is of outmost importance and fundamental for all these activities. However, freedom of speech and fighting cyber hate are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, not taking actions against cyber hate in the name of freedom of speech would crucially underestimate the damage cyber hate can cause and in consequence would harm freedom of speech itself.

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11. Annex

The EU-project *Research – Report – Remove: Countering Cyber Hate Phenomena* (2016-2017), developed by the International Network Against Cyber Hate (INACH), aims to provide a solid basis to draw sound conclusions on the concept of cyber hate.

Systemic knowledge about the phenomenon, its origins and sources, as well as forms and influences will be gathered through comparative research. By this cooperation, the project partners will jointly gather evidence about current trends in cyber hate and subsequently identify EU wide dynamics.

Furthermore, the project aims at developing standards to document and analyse cyber hate and to improve takedown procedures.

This will be done by establishing guidelines for Internet Service Providers (ISPs) and social network sites as well as by providing support and advice to the political, legal and educational communities.

Establishing a central contact point will help to develop a sustainable and effective cross-border online complaint mechanism available worldwide to all users from their home or mobile device.

Regularly undertaken monitoring activities shall furthermore help developing an early warning system by continuously observing and analysing hateful content on the internet.

The project partners will particularly focus on the monitoring of anti-semitism, hate against Roma and Sinti, hate against Muslims and homophobia.

Table 2: Project Partners

Logo	Organization	Country
	International Network Against Cyber Hate	Netherlands
	Interfederal Centre for Equal Opportunities (UNIA)	Belgium
	Magenta Foundation (MAGENTA)	Netherlands
	jugendschutz.net	Germany
	International League against Racism and anti-semitism (LICRA)	France
	ZARA – Zivilcourage und Anti-Rassismus-Arbeit (ZARA)	Austria
	Movement Against Intolerance (MCI)	Spain

A complemented version of the report detailing the information and cases provided by the participating organisations in national reports is available at http://www.inach.net/fileadmin/user_upload/Mani-festations_of_online_hate_speech.pdf.

Or scan the QR-Code: