

THE END OF THE BEGINNING

Report of the Evaluation and Follow-up Conference of the
No Hate Speech Movement youth campaign



Includes
**Past Reflections and
Future Directions
for the No Hate
Speech Movement**
by **Dr Gavan Titley**

European Youth
Centre, Strasbourg
27 to 30 May 2015





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OF THE NO HATE SPEECH MOVEMENT YOUTH CAMPAIGN

EUROPEAN YOUTH CENTRE, STRASBOURG

27 TO 30 MAY 2015

REPORT

Including Past Reflections And Future Directions for
the No Hate Speech Movement Campaign
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Evaluation and Follow-up Conference of the No Hate Speech Movement youth campaign was organised in the European Youth Centre Strasbourg between 27 and 30 May 2015, bringing together some 140 participants from 41 countries including activists, campaign co-ordinators, educators, government representatives, Council of Europe officials, youth leaders, journalists, and more. The aim was to evaluate the Campaign at European, national and local level, consolidate the achievements, and to discuss ways to follow it up.

The No Hate Speech Movement (NHSM) – youth campaign for human rights online – is a project initiated by the Council of Europe’s youth sector in 2012. The campaign itself was launched in March 2013 and was expected to run until 2015. It aimed to combat racism and discrimination in the online expression of hate speech by equipping young people and youth organisations with the competences necessary to recognise and act against such human rights violations.

According to the decision of the Joint Council on Youth, the European youth Campaign was due to come to an end on 31 March 2015. The Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, however, decided to continue the Campaign until the end of 2017 within the framework of the Plan of Action against violent extremism and radicalisation leading to terrorism.

An external evaluation of the European Campaign was prepared by Hilde van Hulst-Mooibroek and Lise Paaskesen, the results of which were presented at the conference, where the participants provided insight with respect to the results and achievements of the youth Campaign, the learning points, and potential improvements to be considered for future action.

During the three days of the Conference, the participants reviewed achievements, shared campaign tools, evaluated the results and processes of the Campaign, and outlined plans for the follow-up and continuation of the Campaign. Activists and other actors showed their commitment to the cause of protecting human rights and to making further efforts to fighting hate speech as a form of human rights violation and abuse. The Movement is and will be expanding further, well symbolised by the fact that the number of followers of the NHSM youth campaigns on Facebook reached and surpassed 20,000 during the conference!

ABOUT THIS REPORT

This report aims to give a summary of the main issues presented at the Conference in a synoptic and complete manner, including achievements and concerns of campaign activists and partners, examples of good practice and challenges faced by different stakeholders, their reflections on the evaluation of the Campaign, and recommendations for follow-up and ways to continue the combat against hate speech online and offline.

A special appendix to this report is the article written by Dr Gavan Titley as a contribution to the reflection about the achievements of the campaign and the future agenda, notably in view of the debates on



radicalisation and its connections with hate speech and human rights, online and offline. Gavan Titley has been a regular supporter of the campaign since its inception. His reflections remain fully relevant after the evaluation conference.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The conference was the result of a collective effort shaped by each and every contribution from participants, partners, guests and organisers. We would like to thank in particular facilitators, resource people and rapporteurs of working group sessions.

1. ABOUT THE EVALUATION AND FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCE

Antecedents: the history of the Campaign

The No Hate Speech Movement – youth campaign for human rights online – was a project run by the Council of Europe between 2013 and 2015. It aimed to combat racism and discrimination in the online expression of hate speech by equipping young people and youth organisations with the competences necessary to recognise and act against such human rights violations. The European Campaign was launched by the Secretary General of the Council of Europe on 22 March 2013 and officially came to an end on 31 March 2015. However, campaign activities are still running in many countries. What is more, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe recently decided to continue and extend the Campaign until 2017.

The Campaign so far has been co-ordinated by the Youth Department of the Council of Europe and implemented in member states by non-governmental and governmental partners in more than 40 national campaigns. Partnerships with other European and international institutions have secured synergies with other initiatives and amplified the outreach of the campaign in denouncing, educating and mobilising young people and society against hate speech and other human rights abuse online.

The campaign has been shaped through consultation events involving young people, youth workers and youth organisations. These events have been combined with online and offline co-ordinated action by the online activists and national campaign committees, particularly on the occasion of European Action Days, each of which addressed a specific issue of campaigning related to hate speech, online safety and net citizenship. Activists have also campaigned for the establishment of 22 July as a European Day for Victims of Hate Crime.

The Campaign has connected with other instruments and initiatives of the Council of Europe, the latest being an Action Plan on the fight against violent extremism and radicalisation leading to terrorism¹. Many youth organisations have run pilot projects funded by the European Youth Foundation or study sessions at the European Youth Centres in support of the Campaign. Partners across Europe have co-organised activities and run their own projects within the framework of the Campaign. The responsibility for addressing hate speech as the manifestation of underlying social tensions and as a gateway to further potential violations of human rights has also been picked up by some other organs of the Council of Europe including the Parliamentary Assembly, which established the No Hate Parliamentary Alliance².

The campaigners for human rights online have succeeded in raising awareness and reducing the acceptance of online hate speech as being normal, acceptable or inevitable. Another measure of success for the Campaign has been the outreach to children and young people – raising awareness about human rights online and net citizenship. The publication of *Bookmarks*, the manual for combating hate speech online through human rights education, has greatly supported the work of activists and educators committed to contributing to the Campaign. Such efforts need to be intensified to make sure that more people are reached and have access to human rights education.

1 The document is available here: <https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=2323223&Site=COE>

2 For more information, see <http://website-pace.net/web/apce/no-hate-alliance>



The No Hate Speech Movement is an extremely rich and diverse Campaign, taking place online and offline and involving a multitude of actors from various sectors. Although the Conference was originally planned to officially close the Campaign, evaluate the results and make plans for follow-up, recent developments at the Council of Europe altered the focus of this Conference. The Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe decided to enhance and extend the No Hate Speech Movement youth campaign for three more years under its Action Plan on the fight against violent extremism and radicalisation leading to terrorism adopted on 19 May 2015. Therefore, the Conference was not only to plan the follow-up but also to define the future of the Campaign and start to develop strategies.

The campaign evaluation and follow-up Conference brought together some 140 participants, representatives of the stakeholders involved in the Campaign, to create a space to evaluate the results of the No Hate Speech Movement youth campaign, develop a follow-up strategy, and identify measures to sustain the results in youth, human rights, education and media-related policies. It took place in Strasbourg at the European Youth Centre between 27 and 30 May 2015.

The Conference had the following objectives:

- take stock of the achievements of the No Hate Speech Movement at local, national and European levels, including the work of online activists, national campaigns and European partners
- assess the Campaign based on the external evaluation and on a critical assessment by stakeholders of the Campaign
- learn from the Campaign experiences and share good practices and resources
- further support networking among the activists and partners involved in the Campaign and consolidate partnerships and networks initiated through and for the Campaign
- reflect on improvements for future endeavours and identify areas for further co-operation at all relevant levels
- draft follow-up / continuation strategies for the future, and prepare participants for the implementation of such strategies.

PROGRAMME AND WORKING METHODS

The Conference was structured thematically around three dimensions: achievements of the Campaign, assessment of the Campaign and planning the future. The formal programme included speeches and presentations by Council of Europe representatives, campaign partners, representatives of no hate speech campaigns outside of Europe, external experts, representatives of French governmental bodies and institutional organisations, and other stakeholders; working group sessions; and other activities, including social events and a ceremony of recognition of youth involvement and activism. In working group sessions, participants had the opportunity to share and discuss in detail their experiences, successes, challenges, achievements, and ideas related to the No Hate Speech Movement youth campaign, as well as recommendations and plans for the future. The significance of the conference was emphasised by the presence of high-profile speakers including Thorbjørn Jagland, Secretary General, Snežana Samardžić-Marković, General Director of Democracy, Anne Brasseur, President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, and many more.

2. ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NO HATE SPEECH MOVEMENT YOUTH CAMPAIGN

The participants looked into the past and reviewed the achievements of the Campaign so far by sharing their experiences as well as challenges, and tools developed for the Campaign. They also learned about similar campaigns running outside of Europe, especially in Mexico and Morocco.

The ground for this sharing was set by **Jean-Christophe Bas**, Director of Democratic Citizenship and Participation of the Council of Europe, who officially opened the conference, and **Antonia Wulff**, former Chairperson of the Advisory Council and of the Joint Council on Youth (2011-2013), who shared her experience about how the Campaign was born.

In his opening speech, Jean-Christophe Bas pointed out that hate speech has become a very serious concern in contemporary societies. This was recognised by the Council of Europe when the Committee of Ministers decided, on 19 May 2015, to enhance and extend the No Hate Speech Movement youth campaign for three more years under the Action Plan on the fight against violent extremism and radicalisation leading to terrorism. He expressed his appreciation to the actors, including online activists, national campaign committee co-ordinators, partners, institutions and other organisations including UNESCO. He emphasised the importance of this Campaign, being paralleled by similar campaigns beyond Europe. As one of the main achievements of the Campaign, Jean-Christophe Bas highlighted the engagement of a wide range of actors. In conclusion, he called on actors to keep working together and maintain the multi-dimensional nature of the movement involving various stakeholders. His advice for the following days was that participants should unleash their creativity and “dream big” on how to exploit this wonderful circle of people to reach a wider audience.

This conference is evidence that all those present stand ready to look at the next steps, and it is only the end of the beginning.

Jean-Christophe Bas

Antonia Wulff has sometimes been referred to as the mother of the NHSM youth campaign as she was among the first activists who realised that working on hate speech was of utmost importance, and led the efforts of the statutory bodies to see the Campaign happen. She gave an inspirational speech to participants talking about how the idea of working on hate speech issues had become a reality at a time of difficulties due to ongoing organisational restructuring at the Council of Europe.

In 2011, racism and racist political parties were gaining strength, partly due to racist groups using the Internet in smart ways, and hate speech was becoming increasingly prevalent, with young people as the primary targets. It seemed a good idea to create an online counter-community, build the capacity of young people and develop tools to defend human rights online. It was not an easy task to convince Gérard Stoudmann,



then Special Representative of the Secretary General for Organisational Development and Reform, to support this endeavour. However, as a result of combining the priorities of Gérard Stoudmann with those of the Youth Department, the importance of combating hate speech online was recognised and approved by the Joint Council on Youth and the campaign turned into reality.

We want to reclaim the online public space.

Antonia Wulff

Antonia Wulff challenged participants to consider three conflicting ideas related to hate speech:

- Individual vs collective: are racism and other similar issues due to an individual's ignorance and miseducation, or to problems of society being linked to ideologies and political power? How do we as a movement reconcile this?
- A dialogue works only if people see each other as equals and respect each other. But how can we deal with people with whom we do not agree at all?
- Reconcile human rights work with the institutional level: how can we integrate the diversity of the movement and respond to local realities without an institution pushing us into certain directions? How do we choose how to frame our movement? Should we also link our movement to the fight against terrorism?

Who controls the movement? The funders or the activists?

Tweet of a participant

2.1 SHARING ACHIEVEMENTS IN WORKING GROUPS

Inspired by the morning's speakers, participants were ready to share achievements of the Campaign from their own experiences in different roles and capacities; they did this in 10 working groups. Achievements as well as challenges were discussed at different levels: personal, organisational, campaign committee and European levels, especially those the participants themselves directly contributed to. Additionally, some groups also developed recommendations for the continuation of the Campaign. Later, the groups gave feedback in plenary on some of the most outstanding – the most extravagant, bitter-sweet, funny or unexpected – achievements.

Achievements

Achievements were described primarily in terms of the kind of activities performed, products created, and processes carried out, but also in terms of impact: visibility, outreach, learning, and perceived changes in the target audience or in the participants themselves.

The means of campaigning and actual achievements in different countries depended very much on local realities, the availability of funds, the involvement and attitude of governmental actors, and on other factors. For example, in Ireland no specific public funds were available, yet still they managed to run the Campaign! The list of achievements shared by participants of working groups would run on for pages, so only those which seemed typical or special will be mentioned here.

The following general achievements stood out as most repeatedly mentioned by participants:

- definition and understanding of hate speech
- putting hate speech on the political and public agenda
- reaching out to various audiences and encouraging people to take action
- network of actors who are committed to fighting for a hate-speech-free world and relationships
- engagement of a very diverse group of people and institutions in fighting hate speech, and cross-sectorial co-operation at local and national levels
- starting a campaign from scratch and running it.

A sample of other achievements discussed by the working groups is presented below according to areas where campaign-related changes were manifest, with some specific examples:

Activities carried out under the Campaign included actions (often concentrated on action days), flash mobs, conferences, meetings, radio programmes, and services provided to some target groups, for example, anonymous psychological support is provided through an online platform to children experiencing hate speech in Bulgaria.

Changes observed and (at least partly) attributed to the NHSM youth campaign included higher awareness of hate speech and its consequences, empowerment and mobilisation of young people to combat hate speech, involvement of high profile people such as politicians, singers, actors, athletes, journalists (e.g. in Serbia) to support the Campaign, and synergies reached by combining efforts to combat hate speech and create a safer Internet (Iceland).

Education, including human rights education, and training to potential target groups (women in Serbia, school children in many countries) on how to protect themselves against human rights abuses including hate speech, and the training of multipliers such as activists, teachers, youth leaders, and other beneficiaries, were mentioned by many participants among achievements, although no estimates on indirect impact were provided.

Influencing policy makers and policies is not an easy task; nevertheless, some specific successes have been achieved in a few countries. Hate-free spaces have been created such as the 'Hate-Free Elections' and hate-free youth centres in Finland, politicians were involved as supporters and actors in the Campaign in a number of countries, ministries were persuaded to take part in the Campaign in the Netherlands, and a bill on hate speech was proposed in Albania. Political recognition of hate speech issues and political commitment to tackle related problems have increased, and this was recognised as largely due to the NHSM youth campaign.

Learning to campaign: at a European level, the Youth Department of the Council of Europe learned how to use the online space, and at all levels, activists acquired skills and competences to fight effectively against



hate speech. Specific lessons were learned, for example, that campaigning would be more efficient if local needs were addressed; education against discrimination and hate speech should start at an early age as prevention is more effective than dealing with established attitudes and stereotypes. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the situation is very difficult due to the recent war, activists applied a human rights narrative by using an “us” rather than “us vs them” framework.

Personal development (becoming less biased, more aware of the problem and its potential consequences, more careful with one’s own speech), realisations (“haters are not monsters”, “awareness goes hand in hand with personal development”, etc.) and positive experiences (being able to keep a friend in another country despite armed conflict; observing a change of attitudes in others) were also mentioned among achievements by many working group members.

Processes themselves, if implemented under the Campaign, were considered achievements. For instance, the fact that a wide range of actors started dialogues to discuss hate speech and related issues, and then co-operated or collaborated with one another for shared objectives, was mentioned by many participants. The organisation and co-ordination of campaign events, cross-sectorial networking and media monitoring put in place in several countries including Turkey, Finland, and the Netherlands, as well as immense work done by volunteers, were among other processes appreciated by actors.

Products created for and through the NHSM are the most visible results of the Campaign efforts, including monitoring and reporting tools, educational materials, translation of *Bookmarks*, websites to provide information on the Campaign and share ideas and experiences, research tools, articles, blogs, videos, and hate-free platforms, for example the ‘Like it’ platform in Serbia.

Social media presence, to enhance the visibility of the problem and of the Campaign, has increased considerably, evidenced by significant indicators. For example, the Polish campaign involved 80 organisations from different backgrounds and managed to collect 3,000 Facebook fans, 4,000 YouTube views, 2,000 followers, 13 webpage views, and 300 Twitter followers.

Target groups campaigners have managed to reach include university and high school students, children, politicians, journalists, teachers, youth workers, and other stakeholders. Examples of working with (potential) victims of hate speech, such as education on self-protection against hate speech or providing psychological support in Bulgaria, were mentioned by few participants only.

Challenges

Some working groups discussed **challenges** encountered during the Campaign and still present today:

- The movement has brought a big and manifold group together. How can we maintain these connections? How lasting will the network be?
- Did we promote hate speech by countering it and focusing on it?
- How can we expose individuals to experiences of meeting different people and cultures so that they would question their stereotypes?

Recommendations

Based on the learning elements identified, some working groups came up with recommendations, including the following:

- continue efforts that proved to be effective, and use best practices
- address real problems, not just “spreading love”
- identify needs properly in order to develop relevant tools
- work more with mainstream media
- engage governments
- work more on raising awareness of the importance of combating hate speech and on implications between the online and offline spheres
- build indicators regarding what hate speech is, how big the problem is and when freedom of expression starts to become hate speech
- create and use indicators to measure impact
- provide online and/or offline training to build capacity of the different groups involved in the Campaign, especially of multipliers
- make sure that the information that we give is valid and practical
- have more video material.

2.2 THE CAMPAIGN BEYOND EUROPE

In addition to sharing achievements in groups, participants had the opportunity to learn about campaigns targeting hate speech outside Europe, and about the work of EEA and Norway Grants, a strategic partner of the Council of Europe in its efforts to protect human rights and to combat hate speech online. Two national campaigns were presented in plenary: #SinTags in Mexico and the No Hate Speech campaign in Morocco. The work of Respect Zone was also presented as an example of progress and success since the launching of the European Campaign.

The Mexican national campaign, #SinTags — *Discrimination Does Not Define Us* was presented by Ricardo Bucio Mújica, President of the National Council for the Prevention of Discrimination. The campaign, with both online and offline elements, was launched in September 2014 in response to discrimination and hate speech becoming widespread in the country: nine out of 10 people are affected by these problems and 70% of the population have been victims of discrimination. It is a movement based on voluntary participation, which seeks to show how hate speech on the Internet has become commonplace and how users can raise their voices together to prevent discrimination and violence online. The campaign aims to raise awareness and mobilise people to boost equality and non-discrimination in social networks, and to combat hate speech. The offline Campaign is led by an operation team composed of a national co-ordinator, three regional co-ordinators and 30 youth ambassadors trained with the support of the Council of Europe. Offline activities include training courses, seminars, conferences in schools on human rights and youth rights, biking parades, sporting events, music concerts, environment protection activities, action days, and so on.



The Campaign has already reached millions of people through social media sites including the #SinTags website³, Facebook, Twitter, as well as media outlets, and has managed to involve political and social actors, celebrities, and business companies as strategic partners. Also, there are ways to denounce accounts or profiles with discriminatory attitudes on Twitter and Facebook. They plan to increase awareness with a TV series ‘#SoyYo’ to be released in September 2015 to address the issues of discrimination, and hate speech on social media and in everyday life.

The No Hate Speech campaign in Morocco, presented at the conference by Ihssane Oucheghrouchen and Adyb Saliki (Forum méditerranéen des jeunes et de l'enfance) (FOMEJE), was started by four young multipliers trained by the Council of Europe during the project on Democratic Youth Participation in the South Mediterranean. The campaign brings together activists and organisations to ensure intergenerational and intercultural exchange and have national impact in five areas:

- awareness raising (10 members of Parliament have been engaged)
- workshops (12 clubs in 10 cities)
- slogans on the NHSM
- serious debate with children aged 9-14 in rural areas
- artistic expressions and workshops

At national level, the campaign aims to encourage public debates on the fight against hate speech and initiatives to promote education on human rights. On a broader scale, it's aim is to extend the range of the

3 <http://sintags.conapred.org.mx>

No Hate Speech Campaign in the Arab-Muslim world through exchange projects and conventions with Arab youth associations and organisations organised by FOMEJE and to initiate and strengthen dialogue between Moroccan youth and Sub-Saharan students who pursue their studies in Morocco through student clubs at universities and graduate schools.⁴

The campaign Respect Zone⁵, launched initially in France, was presented by Philippe Coen, founder and President of the Hate Prevention Initiative. The aim is to create “respect zones” where some common values are respected. The Respect Zone campaign is based on the following simple assumptions:

- Cyberviolence is everywhere on the web
- Positive education is the solution
- The need to stand up for a global cause rather than specific ones
- Changing behaviours online impacts on behaviours offline

Companies and trade associations are now proud of being parts of such respect zones. Some schools too want to be considered safe zones. Adopting the Respect Zone label sends a signal that your online space is a zone of respect and encourages online users to use their words with moderation, ensure freedom of expression for all users, and to protect vulnerable groups from hate speech online.

In order to wear the Respect Zone label, partners have to commit themselves to the following guidelines:

- I do not publish or support any discriminatory content and if someone did, I choose to withdraw or mark my distance from this content.
- I promise to intercede if I witness other people behaving in a disrespectful way offline.
- The Respect Zone label is shown on my homepage or at the top of the page, with a link to the official www.respectzone.org website.
- I take care not to misuse the Respect Zone label.

Actions include video games events, school activities, TV and radio programmes, monitoring social media and traditional media for hate speech. The campaign has succeeded in gaining the support of some popular bloggers, collecting thousands of followers, hundreds of individuals, and dozens of companies and trade associations wearing the label, and ensuring an active presence on social networks.

Philippe Coen called on participants to help and translate their one-page Internet-friendly warning⁶ related to *Mein Kampf*, which will become free of copyright, enabling any publisher to publish the book freely as of 2016, suggesting that publishers wishing to publish Adolf Hitler’s book should add an educational warning to their edition.

Finn Denstad, Inter-institutional Co-ordinator presented projects of the **EEA and Norway Grants**. He introduced the Civil Society Programme of the EEA and Norway Grants, which supports activities contributing to

4 Link to video produced in the campaign: www.youtube.com/watch?v=p_cIC1ZvSUE&feature=share

5 www.respectzone.org

6 Available here: <http://hateprevention.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Preface-english.pdf>



democracy, human rights, anti-discrimination, multicultural dialogue, good governance, gender equality, the fight against poverty, environmental concerns, and social exclusion. At least 10% of funds are supposed to finance children and youth-driven organisations and/or activities. Some EUR 60.4 million goes directly to NGOs and consortia based on open calls for applications. In recent years, hundreds of projects on combating hate speech have been carried out across the beneficiary countries with funding from the EEA and Norway Grants. Countries other than these 16 beneficiary countries are not eligible for support. Examples of such projects are:

- awareness-raising activities of all kinds, both online and through being visible in the streets
- training activities, both for youth bloggers and young people in general
- conferences
- surveys and studies.

EEA and Norway Grants are the initiative of Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway aiming to contribute to reducing the disparities in Europe and to strengthening bilateral relations with 16 countries in Central and Southern Europe. Key areas of support include the environment and climate change, green industry, civil society, human and social development, cultural heritage and diversity, research and scholarships, decent work, justice and home affairs.

The EEA and Norway Grants have been a strategic partner to the NHSM from the beginning. They have mobilised the NGO Programme Operators (PO) to be active in the field of hate speech:

- all POs have organised training courses for youth bloggers
- several POs have conducted studies or surveys on hate speech in their countries
- POs in Poland, Spain and Hungary have translated, or are translating, the Bookmarks manual into their local language
- the EEA and Norway Grants have also contributed to activities organised at a European level.

As Antisemitism and Islamophobia are on the rise in Europe, the EEA and Norway Grants consider actions to combat such threats as even more important. Finn Denstad expressed his appreciation of the resolution of the Committee of Ministers to extend the Campaign until the end of 2017. As the donors of the EEA and Norway Grants are currently negotiating with the EU about a new programme cycle, no specific details can be disclosed yet on future resources and priorities. Nevertheless, he assured participants that combating discrimination in all forms would be of major concern to the donors in the future as well.

One of the projects funded by EEA and Norway Grants was a video experiment dedicated to promoting a newly launched website www.svetimageda.lt. The website is a digital “handbook”, full of advice on how all of us can react to racial, homophobic and other kinds of bullying and hate speech, not only online, but also in the offline world.⁷

⁷ The video is accessible here: www.youtube.com/watch?v=qNX1256eVw8

2.3 SHARING TOOLS DEVELOPED FOR THE CAMPAIGN

Sharing of achievements continued in thematic workshops, where participants discussed various tools developed for the Campaign and made an assessment of the way they were used, and their strengths and weaknesses, and considered how the tools could be further improved and used in the future.

Using NHSM tools we can save lives not only in the war scenes but also in peaceful environments.

A participant from Ukraine

These workshops included:

- Campaign videos
- Arts against hate speech
- Monitoring tools
- Training activists and campaigners
- Bookmarks
- Influencing policies
- WediActivists game
- Supporting action and funding projects
- Action Days and partnerships

Campaign Videos

This workshop looked at videos developed within the Campaign, assessed the way they were used, and explored how they could be used in the future. Participants watched six videos and agreed that the video - *A Story About Cats, Unicorns and Hate Speech*⁸ created by the group No Hate Ninjas (Portugal), was an excellent example of educational material, and was used in other national campaigns and workshops as well. Several other examples of videos (from Spain, Montenegro, Croatia, etc.) stemming from national campaigns were presented.

Some challenges have been overcome, while others are still present. In Albania, it was difficult to persuade officials to start the campaign, but it was actually launched just recently and will be active till the end of 2017. Videos are used by NGOs who are collaborating with the Ministry of Education to incorporate no hate speech education into the curriculum, which is considered the greatest achievement of the Albanian campaign. A general remark was that although a lot of tools had been created, they are not shared sufficiently. Videos should go more viral, and be disseminated more efficiently. Adding subtitles would allow an outreach to a wider audience.

The group proposed that all the videos made during the Campaign should be collected and put on a common platform (e.g. on the NHSM web page), with the following information:

⁸ www.youtube.com/watch?v=kp7ww3KvccE



- title of the movie
- copyright issues
- data about the producing country, with the name of the producer
- language, length
- short description of the content
- what to use it for
- contact person
- information about how to add subtitles.

Arts against hate speech

In this working group, participants looked at some art-based tools created in different countries and at how art could be used with young people in relation to hate speech. The group also produced pieces of art on the spot to be used as campaign tools.

Forms of art employed by the participants for combating hate speech included music, drama, video, comics, hip-hop music and dance, graffiti, community art projects, caricatures, light 'drawings', invented costumes and stories about hate speech, street theatre, forum theatre, photo exhibition (e.g. in Hungary, showing how the Roma are represented in the media), and a photo competition.

The group raised the question of why it would be a good idea to use arts against hate speech. Some of the benefits mentioned included the following: using arts stimulates and materialises emotions, provokes thought, can work through symbols, and involves people in community arts projects.

Monitoring tools

The group aimed at sharing experiences regarding the use of hate speech monitoring tools, identifying best practices, and developing ideas of how current NHSM monitoring practices could be improved. Two intervention tools were presented and discussed: Proxi and Digidust.

Proxi is a project against online xenophobia and intolerance, funded by the EEA and Norway Grants in Spain to promote active citizenship. It helps to:

- identify and analyse hate speech
- provide counter-arguments and narratives
- prevent hate speech.

Digidust is a smartphone application to report discrimination and hate speech online. This application is now in the creation phase and is not yet available. The application would be active against 20 types of discrimination, identified by the creators, and it would be available free of charge.

A challenge was pointed out by participants in relation to monitoring and reporting: activists are sometimes scared and fail to make interventions when countering hate speech.

Some conclusions drawn by the working group:

- successfully implemented monitoring of hate speech is only one side of the coin; it is crucial to

ensure proper follow-up, which is usually missing.

- there is a strong interest within civil society and society in general to work on hate speech monitoring online (i.e. 500 applicants for Proxi's training courses by young people who want to learn how to combat hate speech).

Training activists and campaigners

The group discussed various examples of training and good practices at European, national, regional and local levels. In particular, a complex training programme for activists realised in Finland was presented in detail as good practice. The programme consists of two rounds of two-day training courses, with the first one for 12 activists already working on hate speech issues, and the second one for the same 12 with the addition of 35 new trainees. The training focuses on the following elements:

- introduction of the campaign
- defining and understanding what hate speech is (to be able to recognise it, and where / when / why it happens)
- understanding the consequences of hate speech
- campaigning skills
- advocacy.

After the training course, activists split into four thematic groups, including communication (mainly social media, blogging, journalism), events (mostly offline, festivals, living library, etc.), a gaming group, and a materials group (focusing on production of promotional materials, flyers, bags, badges, etc.). In the second round, one more thematic group is added: peer training. In the follow-up phase, the "older" trainees act as mentors.

The group focused on the following issues in subsequent discussion:

- how to find / engage / motivate the activists
- how to create and maintain a network / active group
- how to ensure the long-term skill-building of the activists.

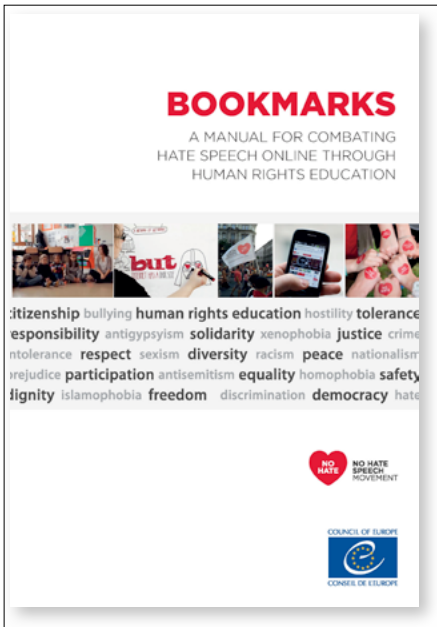
Based on the examples reviewed, the group concluded that it was always a good idea to start with an assessment of needs and available tools, clarify expectations of the participants, and tell them what they might gain and how they could develop through the training course and campaigning. It is essential to keep in touch and continue working with them afterwards. Giving activists the ownership of the process, for example, letting them decide how they will communicate after the training, is a major motivator. Long-term commitment and active participation in actions may be enhanced by providing opportunities for them to grow and develop further, acknowledging their efforts and achievements, and good follow-up. Concerning skills, the ability to identify and deconstruct hate speech is of key importance.

They also concluded that it would be impossible to say what the perfect way to carry out an effective training course for activists / campaigners would be, as it depends on the local context, the aims and objectives of the training course, and the participants' expectations as well as their previous competences and experiences.

The group members suggested keeping in touch and sharing different practices. The use of games as an

innovative and interactive approach, and the translation of a particular game called Tolerado⁹ developed in Bulgaria for understanding and building knowledge on the topic of hate speech and human rights, were recommended.

Bookmarks



Bookmarks is a human rights education manual¹⁰ for young people from 13 years of age. It aims to encourage and empower young people to start taking action for human rights both online and offline. It is not only a manual with 21 activities for combating hate speech, but it can be used in different ways to address a wide range of different topics. The manual has already been translated into several languages and further translations are underway. There have been training courses in several countries on how to use the manual (e.g. Belgium, Russia, and Hungary). The group discussed their experiences using *Bookmarks* with different groups (schools, online activists, trainers, and NGO representatives) and suggested possible improvements and ideas for using the manual in the future.

Some of the recommendations developed by the working group on using *Bookmarks* were as follows:

- When working with schools it is important to explain to educators the meaning of terms regarding hate speech and other related concepts such as cyber bullying.

- There is a need to update the manual regularly, and contextualise it.
- Translations should be published online as soon as possible.
- Modules should be created as examples for how to combine activities (e.g. for a two-day training course, or a one-day training course at school).
- Advisors should help teachers in adapting the manual to their local environment.

Supporting action and funding projects

The main question of this workshop was how to find and involve new resources to continue the Campaign. Participants shared their comments and experience on searching for resources and working with different foundations. They concluded in addition to grant schemes, there were many alternative ways of funding, for example, crowd funding, co-marketing and donations by business companies. Resource people gave presentations on the following funding opportunities:

⁹ Available on the Tolerance platform at www.ontolerance.eu

¹⁰ Downloadable here: <http://nohate.ext.coe.int/Campaign-Tools-and-Materials/Bookmarks>

- European Youth Foundation funding opportunities¹¹
- Civil Society Development Foundation, Romania (EEA and Norway Grants operator)¹²
- Open Society Foundation, Bulgaria (EEA and Norway Grants operator)¹³

Examples of other funding opportunities were mentioned by the participants, for example, the Anna Lind Foundation¹⁴. Representatives of foundations stressed that it was important to co-operate with grantors, build a strong communication bridge, submit good quality applications and have a good reputation in order to gain support.

Influencing Policies

The group discussed tools developed in three countries: Finland, Norway and Turkey.

- **Hate Speech Free Youth Stage (Finland)**: This project started in April 2015. The goal is to create hate-speech-free space in youth centres run by municipalities. Since this is a new project, no evaluation on the impact can be made yet. Expected results are as follows:
 - engagement of youth and youth workers
 - creative process for young people
 - involvement of local governments
 - visibility and awareness of hate speech issues at a local level.
- **ELSA Norway** developed two tools related to hate speech. The European Law Students' Association (ELSA) is the world's largest independent law students' association. ELSA Norway, one of 42 national ELSA groups, carried out research on hate speech online which looked at related legislation in 17 countries. The report on the research results is also available online in English.¹⁵ A practical set of guidelines¹⁶, based on case law of the European Court of Human Rights, for web moderators on how to moderate hate speech online was also developed. In its rulings, the Court points out elements that indicate whether an expression is protected under the European Convention of Human Rights.

Some successes of the project:

- hate speech issues have been put on the agenda in Norway
- findings of the report used at a European level
- several legal rules were never used; now they are visible
- the guidelines are used by the government and legal bodies in several countries.
- **The Hrant Dink Foundation** in Turkey developed two tools:

Media Watch on Hate Speech: monitoring 1,000 printed Turkish media outlets since 2009, and publish

¹¹ see www.coe.int/hu/web/european-youth-foundation

¹² www.fdsc.ro/eng/despre-fdsc

¹³ www.opensocietyfoundations.org/about/offices-foundations/open-society-institute-sofia

¹⁴ www.annalindhfoundation.org

¹⁵ http://files.elsa.org/AA/Final_Report_OHS.pdf

¹⁶ http://files.elsa.org/AA/OHS_Guideline.pdf; short summary of the guidelines: http://files.elsa.org/AA/OHS_Poster.pdf



periodical reports including statistical analyses every four months. The main purpose is to raise awareness. Ten universities in Turkey have adopted a syllabus on hate speech.

Some successes:

- decrease in hate speech in mainstream media
- increased interest and requests for support from the media: Why do you say this is hate speech? How can we change it?

Challenges:

- shortage of human and financial resources
- hidden hate speech: hatred against Jewish people has risen, although the volume of hate speech has not
- attacks by extremist newspapers (e.g. by publishing the activists' names).
- **Hate Speech Laboratory:** Experiences with the Media Watch tool indicate that there is a need for more tools. The aim is to develop possible projects about hate speech and tools by using advice from experts. Planned activities include the following:
 - analyse hate speech in political discourse
 - training for youth, teachers and journalists on hate speech / dangerous speech / discriminative speech
 - involve more actors in media monitoring.

The working group formulated a recommendation: invite university students who have to write their thesis to contribute to related research efforts.

WediActivists game

The working group discussed how, why and for whom the board game was created, and what difficulties they faced in relation to using it. WediActivists¹⁷ is a board game and an educational tool for raising awareness of cyber citizenship, designed by four young Belgians in the No Hate Speech Movement, and it is especially good for working with young people (from 12 years of age). One game lasts for about two hours and the number of players can be from four to 20 people.

The group came to the following conclusions:

- the game should be translated and adapted to local realities
- the development of an interactive version could be useful
- an English version should be created
- the game should be used at a European level
- it would be a good idea to organise international training courses to improve the content and develop different ways to use the game
- it would be important to highlight the importance of training trainers / facilitators and provide instructions on how and with whom the game should be used.

¹⁷ Read more in French: www.duventdanslescordes.be/projets/wediactivists

Action Days and partnerships

The group reviewed experiences and challenges they faced in relation to action days. For example, some action days in Slovakia went quite unnoticed, while in Norway there were too many activities. Although the principle was to have one action per action day, some countries ended up with up to seven actions per day. Campaigners also found that it was difficult to focus on all the elements, and sometimes it was easier to work with NGOs and European institutions than with national campaign committees.

The group developed some suggestions:

- the Council of Europe should organise study sessions for organisers of Action Days and link them to the NHSM youth campaign
- online and offline actions should be interconnected
- there should be fewer action days, but each with fixed partners and well-prepared actions
- a coalition of partners would need to be built by the Council of Europe
- content that was produced for Action Days and best practices should be shared for further awareness-raising and education purposes.

2.4 RECOGNISING COMMITMENTS

The highlight, and perhaps the most pleasant part of sharing achievements was a social event: in recognition of youth involvement and activism, collective and individual efforts and achievements of the campaigners, a ceremony was held on the evening of the first working day of the Conference, where **Antje Rothemund**, Head of the Youth Department, and **Thorbjørn Jagland**, Secretary General of the Council of Europe, awarded each participant with a certificate. Antje Rothemund thanked the attendees for participating in the Campaign, putting hate speech on the agenda and making it mainstream among youth. Thorbjørn Jagland emphasised the importance of the work done so far by activists in raising awareness and involving young people in the combat against hate speech. The ceremony was concluded by drinking a toast to the movement and was followed by a No Hate Dress party.

It is a movement; it cannot stop!

Thorbjørn Jagland, Secretary General of the Council of Europe

3. EVALUATION OF THE CAMPAIGN

The European Campaign was evaluated by external experts and their findings were presented at the Conference. Also, the campaign(s) at European, regional, national and local levels were critically assessed by participants in working groups. This assessment was supplemented by feedback from campaign partner Twitter, and a presentation on the Council of Europe's recent online survey on hate speech.

3.1 EXTERNAL EVALUATION

In December 2014, an external evaluation of the European youth campaign was initiated, including a multitude of layers and levels of consultation and analysis. The goal was to gain insight into the results and achievements of the Campaign, the learning points, and potential improvements to be considered for future action. The evaluation was carried out by two consultants, Hilde van Hulst-Mooibroek and Lise Paaskesen. Over 100 people gave their input into this evaluation. Data for the evaluation was gathered through semi-structured interviews as well as qualitative questionnaires and correspondence by email, sometimes followed up with a telephone call.

The summary of the external evaluation¹⁸ of the Campaign was made available to the participants before the conference so that they could familiarise themselves with the outcome. The main results of the external evaluation were presented at the Conference by **Hilde van Hulst-Mooibroek**. She presented the main points and learning of the evaluation through personal examples and metaphors. For instance, she referred to a proverb about a thirsty horse in order to underline the necessity of matching needs and solutions, relevant also in the case of combating hate speech.

One can lead a horse to water, but one cannot make it drink. (English proverb)



The assessment of the achievements of the NHSM youth campaign shows a mixed picture, with many significant results, but also with numerous unexploited opportunities due to a lack of clarity over purpose, vision, strategy and tactics.

The following output / products were highlighted by the evaluators:

- the visibility of the Campaign has increased online: on the NHSM website, Facebook, and Twitter, for example
- a group of very motivated and active online activists, trained by the Council of Europe, has been

¹⁸ The summary version can be consulted at www.coe.int/youthcampaign

created; these people are very instrumental for national campaigns

- training of multipliers
- creation of educational material: Bookmarks, written in English, but (to be) translated into several languages
- 18 national campaign committees have run full-swing campaigns with full online presence, and seven countries had campaigns without online presence
- three regional networks
- there are many tools that the evaluators learned about through conversation with actors, but not reported by the Council of Europe
- the new action plan approved by the Committee of Ministers recently is in itself an achievement, and is expected to bring more partners on board
- the setting-up of the No Hate Alliance in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, which proves political commitment.

Hilde van Hulst-Mooibroek drew attention to some learning points:

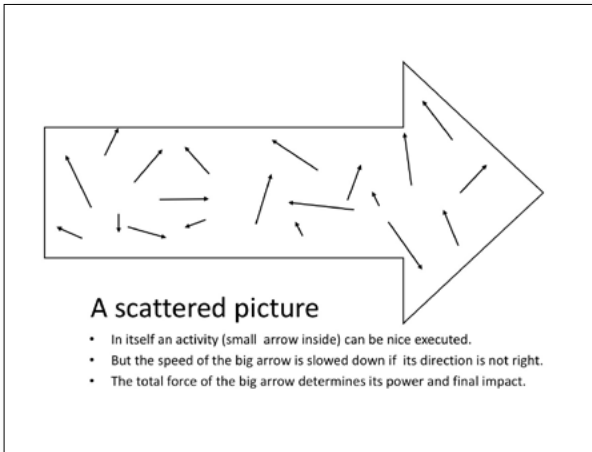
- The Campaign has been activity-centred, and less impact-orientated. However, for a good campaign one needs to have an image of the intended future. It is imperative to decide what impact the Campaign should have. Not only should the present situation be analysed, but future problems should also be assessed in order to address them in time.
- Throughout the Campaign so far, there has been a blur between online / offline, and between subject and process. These should be clarified.
- Having too many ideas may be counterproductive, so priorities need to be set, based on the expected impact.
- Sharing expertise, experience and so on is important in optimising the use of resources.

Conclusion and overall recommendations by the evaluators:

- build on the collective knowledge already in place, as there is much to build upon
- strike a good balance between central and local campaign efforts; let the mother campaign only do what is transcending
- each party / NCC / stakeholder should have a clear understanding of what the new Campaign expects from them
- everybody can be more explicit in playing their own roles; both big and small contributions are important, but the key is that efforts should be combined and synergies used by turning arrows into the same direction in order to reach shared purposes
- attention should be paid to connections and links, to make them work for the sake of unity and force
- stakeholders should aim for shared successes rather than individual success.

All in all, Hilde van Hulst-Mooibroek recommended that future actions should be focused on the expected impact. The present and future possible situations and needs should be identified first and then the intended impact (how to meet needs) should be defined. Efforts to reach this goal should be harmonised. The more aligned the various efforts are, the greater the impact. She pointed out that the Campaign had a huge potential waiting for actors to exploit.

3.2 CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE CAMPAIGN IN WORKING GROUPS



The presentation of the results of the external evaluation was followed by a critical assessment by the participants in working groups, where they reflected on the achievements and the challenges of the overall Campaign, beginning with the conclusions of the evaluator, and bearing in mind the different levels of the Campaign (European, national and local), activities realised by partners, as well as online and offline dimensions. One of the working groups was joined by the representative of Twitter to reflect also on the co-operation with social partners in the

Campaign. Groups analysed strengths, weaknesses, and threats as well as opportunities, and identified challenges faced during the Campaign. Major findings are presented below.

Strengths:

- many competences, and a good deal of knowledge and experience have been accumulated
- better understanding and definition of hate speech
- putting hate speech on the agenda
- creation of a network of activists.

Weaknesses:

- poor co-ordination, co-operation, and communication among actors at all levels
- lack of a good campaign strategy based on an analysis of current circumstances, needs and demands
- lack of evaluation tools and methodologies.

Threats:

- uncertainty of whether the Campaign would continue, which is especially problematic regarding activists' commitments
- government involvement slows down the action and imposes more obstacles
- frustrations, for example, a lack of response from the Council of Europe.

Opportunities:

- the external report shows the huge potential of the Campaign and presents many pragmatic recommendations
- collaboration and partnership with Mexico, UNESCO, and other stakeholders
- existing competencies, awareness, network(s) to build on in the future.

Challenges:

- Can local realities be aligned with common goals? Should they be? How can we balance different agendas?
- How can we get commitment from politicians?
- How can we plan when we do not know the future of the Campaign?
- How can we measure outcomes especially for “long-term change”?

Recommendations generated by working groups concerning the follow-up and continuation of the NHSM youth campaign are presented below, broken down by stages of campaigning:

1. Planning

- analyse the current situation and circumstances: use existing research and invest into new research at national and European levels to analyse stakeholders, real impact and the dimensions of hate speech, the benefits / impact of combating hate speech in order to understand where we are and to help in convincing potential partners, for example, governments, to act
- consolidate the outcomes of the Campaign, and check who the new stakeholders are
- build on existing practices, initiatives and NGOs
- ask hate speech target groups how they want these issues be confronted and what kind of support they need; carry out analyses on target groups and their perception of related issues
- develop sound strategies at all levels, with an evaluation framework (indicators to measure efficiency / impact)
- ensure national actions go deeper to address the root of the problem, as hate speech is only a symptom
- explore how to help activists as well as lawyers working with hate speech, and how to support victims
- improve understanding of what success would look like, and set SMART (i.e. specific, measurable, achievable, results-focused, and time-bound) objectives, with small targets
- ensure (more) funding is made available
- redefine roles of actors of NCCs, of all participants in the Campaign, and clarify responsibilities and ownership
- assign a Council of Europe level co-ordinator (or co-ordination team), and appoint NCC co-ordinators
- involve more stakeholders (e.g. universities, business organisations, media, etc.), especially taking into consideration the enhancement of the Campaign
- invest more into capacity building and networking
- focus on solutions, instead of problems
- create common tools and means for gathering information
- clarify rules and responsibilities of governmental representatives.

2. Implementation

- improve co-ordination, co-operation, collaboration, communication, and sharing at all levels: between Council of Europe and NCCs, NCCs and activists, between different NCCs, as well as with various national actors, international organisations (e.g. UNESCO), and campaigns outside Europe



- make the NHSM platform more practical and interconnected, and ensure comments are responded to
- hand over ownership to activists, who need more autonomy
- organise more offline activities to reinforce network
- ensure more visibility of available tools, for example, ESLA report, campaigns, activities, results, and so on
- reinforce (regional) networks, organise meetings, common activities, training courses (also at a national level) to support each other
- strengthen partnerships between governmental and youth structures
- stay focused; do not deviate from the path
- continue to work with the youth ambassadors, taking on board young people and giving them opportunities to learn and continue this work
- add more stakeholders: private companies (Google, Facebook, Twitter, AOL, etc.), universities, journalists, social network managers, newspapers, bloggers, and so on
- set up a central database, for example on the platform, of logos, reports, events and actions, active organisations and people involved in the Campaign in every country / region to find synergy
- find space to present the voices of the targets of hate speech
- make available more materials in national languages; Bookmarks should be adapted to local realities even after its translation;
- use common tools and means for gathering information
- ensure more financial and political autonomy for the national campaigns
- set up an action team / action workshop before European Action Days for preparation
- widen and involve national committees better

specifically, the Council of Europe should:

- provide different means of support (financial and educational) as well as tools and methodology to countries, including guidelines and assistance to NCCs for developing and co-ordinating national campaigns and carrying out activism
- push countries more to encourage them to commit to tackling the issues at hand
- help NCCs to redefine their roles
- make reporting simple and clear to all, and follow up with the reports
- increase the budget: for a long-term and sustainable strategy, a budget is needed in order to contract people who can be fully devoted to the Campaign, organise training courses for multipliers, and so on
- inform stakeholders in case of changes in the campaign team.

3. Evaluation

- have national evaluation means with standard information from each country, and with the results represented at an international level

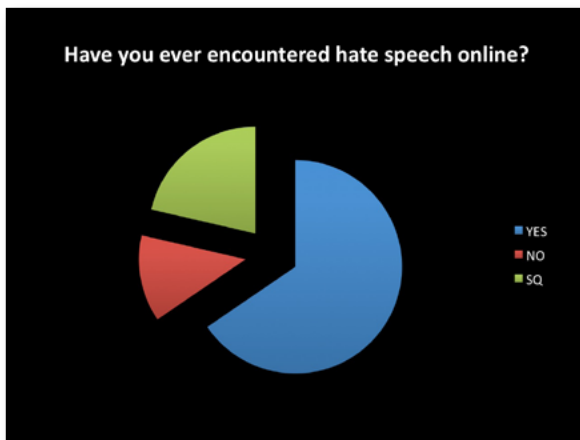
- evaluate the performance of national campaign co-ordinators and campaign committee members as well
- monitor results including offline campaigning and actions; make visible and recognise work / results, and the involvement of NGOs and institutions
- have online forms to evaluate each local action, such as the one for European Action Days
- identify best practices (e.g. how national campaigns approach governments).

3.3 FEEDBACK FROM CAMPAIGN PARTNER TWITTER

Patricia Cartes, Head of Global Trust and Safety Outreach, representing campaign partner Twitter at the Conference, talked about how they became involved in the Campaign and in what ways they want to influence change. In response to rising hate speech, Twitter changed its reporting mechanisms and modified its policy related to violence. Twitter has clear rules on hate speech and is committed to enforcing them. While it is essential to maintain anonymity and free flow of information, it is also important to avoid abuse. She reminded participants that about 10% of people are at the extremes of any ideology, and that those people are nearly impossible to influence. However, there is another 80% in the middle who can be influenced.

Patricia Cartes pointed out that when we encounter speech online that seems abusive we have to look at the context as it is key to determining the right reactions. One of the most important weapons against hate speech is counter-speech, which can only work if it is constructive and meaningful.

3.4 COUNCIL OF EUROPE'S ONLINE SURVEY ON THE PERCEPTION AND IMPACT OF HATE SPEECH

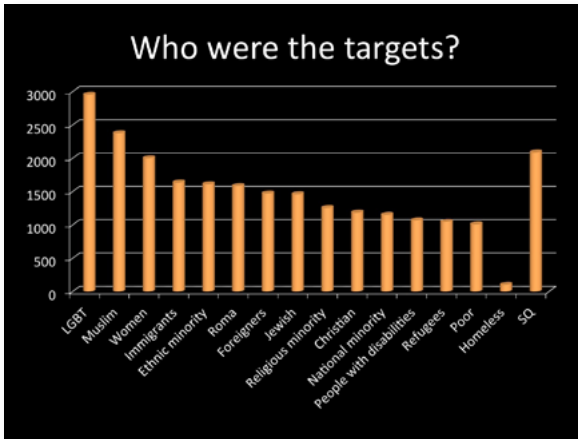


The assessment of and feedback on the Campaign was supplemented by a presentation by **Dr. Gavan Titley**, lecturer at the National University of Ireland on the **Council of Europe's recent online survey** on the perception and impact that hate speech has among young people.¹⁹ More specifically, the survey looked into *experience with hate speech online*, evaluation of and *responses to hate speech* (i.e. what strategy do young people have to deal with it) and *responses to the Campaign*. The survey was available in 28 languages. Respondents did not constitute a representative sample, so their views do

¹⁹ www.nohatespeechmovement.org/survey-result

not necessarily reflect those of the entire population. Gavan Titley reminded the participants that the data collected was of a very general nature, so no far-reaching conclusions should be drawn, but that the results could serve as a basis for learning and guidelines for national campaign committees.

The presenter compared data from this year’s survey to those of a previous similar survey carried out in 2012 and concluded that the two surveys had very similar demographics in terms of age range (25 to 30 year olds), gender identification, employment, frequency of online presence (with most respondents being in almost constant online connectivity), and devices used for online communication.



According to the survey results, LGBT people, Muslims and women are the three top targets of hate speech; this seems to be a transnational phenomenon.

Concerning the reaction to hate speech, the “skip rate” (the proportion of those not answering a question) and ignore rate are quite high. Regarding Internet governance, 90% answered that safety was necessary, and 50% said that some restrictions should be present. Concerning the response to the Campaign, it should be noted that two thirds of respondents had not heard of the NHSM or did not answer the question, which

should be taken into consideration when we look at the answers.

Gavan Titley pointed out that the more specific the question on whether particular speech should be considered hate speech, the more people tend to skip the question: this is probably because hate speech is a difficult concept, with an unclear meaning to respondents, and this survey had not provided a working definition of hate speech.

4. FOLLOW-UP / CONTINUATION OF THE NHSM YOUTH CAMPAIGN – FUTURE STEPS

MISSION AND PRIORITIES OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE IN COMBATING HATE SPEECH

Antje Rothemund, Head of the Youth Department of the Council of Europe presented the Action Plan on the fight against violent extremism and radicalisation leading to terrorism adopted by the Committee of Ministers, which also prescribes the continuation of the Movement until the end of 2017. Usually, action plans are created when there is a need for a concentrated effort of all the sectors of the Council of Europe in a specific country. It is the first thematic (and not country specific) action plan of the Council of Europe.

This Action Plan has two objectives:

1. to reinforce the legal framework against terrorism and violent extremism
2. to prevent and fight violent radicalisation through specific measures in the public sector, in particular in schools and prisons, and on the Internet.

To meet the second objective the Council of Europe has decided, amongst other measures, to extend the No Hate Speech Movement youth campaign for three more years.

The No Hate Speech Campaign will be enhanced and extended for three more years (2015-17). Future activities and developments in the fight against online hate speech will in part be based on new approaches, such as a “zero tolerance” approach involving all citizens, but especially young people, and a universal “call to act”. The extended No Hate Speech Campaign will focus on continued support to existing and new National Campaign Committees, including providing institutional support and practical tools to national authorities wishing to train educators, youth and social workers and law enforcement staff, and in the production and wide dissemination of distribution items to children, young people, parents and other adults through schools, universities, youth clubs and youth organisations. There is potential to build on and increase the impact of the campaign by extending it to hate speech offline.

From the Action Plan approved by the Committee of Ministers on 19 May 2015

As this resolution is only a recent development, there is no budget allocated for, nor other concrete information about the future of the Campaign. Antje Rothemund assured the participants that she would recommend in further negotiations the continuation of national training programmes and study sessions for youth organisations as well as maintaining Hate Speech Watch, supporting the database of good practices, and further creation of tools.

Regarding the **mission and priorities of the Council of Europe** in combating hate speech, **Anne Brasseur**, President of the **Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe**, talked about the No Hate Alliance and also her strong personal commitment to the Council of Europe's NHSM youth campaign. She believes that members of this Alliance should not only talk, but should go home to their countries and visit schools to remind young people of the dangers of online hate speech, and give them tools to protect themselves. She highlighted the need for a widespread no hate alliance, extending to politicians and everyone as well, as intolerance is undermining democracy. Anne Brasseur herself works in favour of our Campaign not only as part of her job, but she goes out of her way to reach as many people as possible, spread the word among students and others, and convince members of governments and other parties including religious leaders to become involved and support the Campaign.



Anne Brasseur's highly inspirational speech was followed by contributions of Ambassadors **Dirk Van Eeckhout** (Belgium) and **Almir Šahović** (Bosnia and Herzegovina), previous and current Chairs of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe.

Dirk Van Eeckhout reminded the participants that it was absolutely crucial that we learn how to live with one another and how to have different opinions. Having rules, respect and empathy are of key importance.

He reminded us that dialogue is a two-way street and that we need to listen with empathy, imagine ourselves in the shoes of the other, and make an effort to understand why other people think the way they do.

Almir Šahović assured conference participants of the importance given by the Committee of Ministers to this Campaign. Peace, democracy and human rights are basic values but should not be considered as guaranteed. The recent history of the Balkans showed the cruelty of the contrary. All start with hate speech, and when one realises things are going in the wrong direction it is often too late. Hate speech violates fundamental rights, including that to life.

Concerning the work of the Council of Europe related to hate speech, Almir Šahović reminded us of the Committee of Ministers' resolution on hate speech in 1997, still valid today, and two very recent developments including the conference *Tolerance Trumps Hate* on 8 May 2015 organised by the Belgium Presidency of the Council of Europe²⁰ and the new Action Plan approved on 19 May, both seeing the fight against hate speech as a way to tackle the growing threat of terrorism, and underlining the need for an approach of "zero tolerance" to hate speech and hate crime. He reconfirmed his commitment to implementing this Action Plan and fighting against hate speech in order to guarantee human rights.

²⁰ See the results of the *Tolerance Trumps Hate* conference here: HLC draft Chair conclusions

All **bodies and institutions of the Council of Europe** promote the Council's mission and priorities concerning hate speech. Speakers representing the European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), the Conference of International NGOs, the Steering Committee on Media and Information Society, and the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities explained how their respective structures contribute to the fight against hate speech.

Barbara John, Vice-Chair of ECRI explained that this commission worked through country reports and recommendations, relations with civil society and specialised bodies, and general policy recommendations (GPRs), which are principles on what should be done in certain fields such as sports, human rights, or combating hate speech. The latest GPR actually deals with hate speech and should be published during 2015. She called attention to the urgency of action against hate speech and the importance of cohesion, without which there is no society, only a group of people living together.

A knife can kill a man or woman, but hate speech can kill entire communities.

Barbara John, Vice-Chair of ECRI

Concerning conflicts of human rights, namely that between the freedom of speech on the one hand, and the right to dignity, the protection from discrimination, or the right to privacy on the other hand, Barbara John stated that although freedom of speech is one of our main values, it is not an absolute right or value. Saying that combating hate speech goes against free speech means protecting violence, such as fighting with fists. According to the Vice-Chair, hate speech is a violation of human rights and manifestation of power.

The **Conference of International NGOs** was represented at the evaluation and follow-up conference by **Anne Kraus**, who congratulated the actors of the NHSM youth campaign and said that this Campaign was very well designed, was a good example of co-management, and had huge educational value and a major impact in general. She praised the energy and enthusiasm of young people, and said that we should stay positive to combat negativity. Young people should grow up without discrimination and we should teach people including children and young people how to manage their emotions, speak with respect, and express themselves in a constructive manner, even if they disagree.

She talked about the Conference of INGOs²¹, which is an institution of the Council of Europe with 320 INGOs with participatory status and constituting civil society's pillar in the Council of Europe "quadrilogue" with the Committee of Ministers, the Parliamentary Assembly and the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities. Anne Kraus called attention to an event running concurrently with this evaluation conference. The European Symposium on No Hate Speech was organised by the Conference of INGOs together with the International League against Racism and Antisemitism (LICRA) and brought together some 200 participants, including students, experts, academics and the education community, Internet experts, associations, INGOs and politicians, in order to look at tools and practices to eradicate hate speech, online and offline. She concluded by committing to the combat against hate speech being a priority and asking participants to combine forces to build bridges and tear down walls!

²¹ For more information on the Conference of INGOs see www.coe.int/t/ngo/conf_intro_en.asp



We should use the Internet to tear down walls and build bridges.

Anne Kraus, representing the Conference of INGOs

Maja Rakovic, Chairperson of the **Steering Committee on Media and Information Society** shed light on the function of this body, related legal framework, and documents adopted in this area by the Committee of Ministers, including among others Recommendation no. R (97) 20 on hate speech²² and Recommendation CM/Rec(2014)6 on a Guide to human rights for Internet users²³. Furthermore, a new draft of intergovernmental strategy is underway.²⁴

She emphasised that, although having the legal framework available was good news, implementation was just as important. She invited participants to visit the plenary meeting of the Steering Committee in June and other bodies and events of the Steering Committee. She ensured participants that their comments or suggestions would be welcome.

On behalf of the Secretariat of the **Congress of Local and Regional Authorities**, **Sedef Cankocak**, Secretary of the Current Affairs Committee explained to participants about guidelines currently being developed for local authorities on how to respond to hate speech. She said that the Congress Secretariat would be in contact with the Council of Europe to decide how to co-operate in the future regarding the combat against hate speech. She underlined that young people should be considered as allies of the Council of Europe and means of change.

4.1 ENGAGING FURTHER WITH YOUNG PEOPLE TO PREVENT AND COMBAT RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION

Follow-up strategies, or rather continuation strategies for the future were prepared in 10 thematic working groups. However, before this last but most difficult stage of the Conference, two introductory speeches were given, one by **Dr. Gavan Titley**, from the National University of Ireland, and another by **Jane Braden-Golay**, President of the European Union of Jewish Students.

Gavan Titley reminded the audience that everybody is responsible for protecting the public good, which is undermined by hate speech. Therefore, the No Hate Speech Movement youth campaign may and should be understood as a campaign to protect public good. He shared some ideas on how hate speech, racism and radicalisation are connected.

²² www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/media/doc/cm/rec%281997%29020&expmem_EN.asp1997

²³ <https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=2184807>

²⁴ For other relevant Council of Europe documents see www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/media/Themes/Internet_en.asp

A sense of security in the space we all inhabit is a public good. Hate speech undermines this public good.

Jeremy Waldron in The harm in hate speech, quoted by Gavan Titley

He pointed out that nobody considers themselves haters, but rather lovers: “haters” tend to love their country, their community, their religion, their traditions, and so on. Hate speech can be considered a means of active self-protection. Also, many people tend to feel accused when we discuss racism. Stakeholders should bear this in mind and see hate speech as a manifestation of deeper problems.

Some people think racism is part of the past. Gavan Titley gave examples of modern-time racism, from tooth-paste commercials to the tragedies of immigrants in the Mediterranean region. Just because racism now has other forms and is expressed in other ways, it does not mean it does not exist. Racism is a social and political issue, a social product emerging when there is structure of domination and hierarchy in society.

In order to fight effectively against hate speech, we as activists should be able to complete the sentence: No hate speech **because**...

Gavan Titley

The assumed link between racism, radicalisation, extremism, terrorism and hate speech suggested by the Council of Europe’s new policy papers and Gavan Titley’s presentation provoked a debate among participants in plenary, working groups and on social media sites, with some participants and other actors questioning why the NHSM is now taking on “radicalisation”, “terrorism” and “extremism”. Some participants noted that we should be very careful when using some terms such as ‘radicalisation’ or ‘jihadism’, as they are politically loaded and often abused.

Radicalisation is a way of talking about politics without talking about politics.

Gavan Titley

Jane Braden-Golay, President of the European Union of Jewish Students, gave a motivational boost to participants by inviting them to focus on the strengths of the Campaign and raised the following question: What to you is the special super-power of the NHSM? Answers included the following:

- diversity, and solidarity between different groups
- a willingness of young people to be more active
- teams, networks
- respect, commitment, critical assessment
- a grassroots approach, building bridges
- we can actually do it differently
- a shared cause that unites all of us despite our diversity



- belief in what we are doing
- building bridges between offline and online
- to see that many people in institutions actually need us
- intuition.

Jane Braden-Golay supplemented the list by her idea of a special power of the NHSM youth campaign. She said that the will-power and the alliance of actors made this movement powerful and unique. Under this Campaign, a common concern brings together all kinds of people, which is rare in any endeavour and has a huge potential. In conclusion, she recommended that stakeholders keep building such alliances at national and regional levels, and formulate local and regional strategies.

Beautiful beautiful hopeful words on NHSM superpowers

Tweet by a conference participant on Jane Braden-Golay's contribution

4.2 DEFINING THE FUTURE OF THE CAMPAIGN - DEVELOPING FOLLOW-UP / CONTINUATION STRATEGY IN WORKING GROUPS

Having shared achievements, assessed results and learnt about recent developments at Council of Europe level, and being inspired by Gavan Titley's enlightening presentation and Jane Braden-Golay's energising contribution, participants were ready to draw conclusions and discuss plans and further steps regarding the continuation of the Campaign against hate speech. Follow-up / continuation strategies for the future were prepared in 10 thematic working groups. The results of the working groups focusing on these specific themes were presented in plenary. Their plans and recommendations are summarised below, by theme:

1. The future of online activists and partnerships

The objective of the group was to develop ideas and proposals for the follow-up and continuation of the Campaign with the involvement of the online activists and different partners as well as to define the roles of activists and partners for the new phase of the Campaign. Participants raised and discussed some important questions, for example, "Do we need to enlarge and/or refresh the group of activists? If yes, who should be responsible? How can we deal with difficulties related to co-ordinating and training a larger group of activists?" The group agreed that the roles of all the campaign actors should be (re)defined, the list of activists updated, and a door for new people be kept open.

Specific recommendations put forward by the group were as follows:

- ensure online activists are independent and able to pick their roles or choose from activities suggested by the Council of Europe

- define roles of different actors (activists, supporters, NCCs partners, etc.) in the Campaign
- have a networking officer for online activists and partners to co-ordinate between the campaign actors
- define the functions of online community manager, networking officer and campaign manager
- define minimum requirements for the National Campaign Committees, campaign partners and online activists
- define who to contact if activists need assistance
- promote regular consultation between the follow-up group, the Council of Europe colleagues and online activists
- run training courses and give guidelines provided by the Council of Europe on the protection of security of online and offline activists
- provide training for online activists to be multipliers
- create a pool of (online) activists (similar to the trainers’ pool), with junior and senior levels
- regularly refresh the pool of activists “to keep the wave”
- put out a call for new partners
- improve communication chains to avoid excessive numbers of mails
- create a central information bank: who is who, what expertise they have, what they have done, and include pool of knowledge of online activists and partners, and so on
- introduce a competition / prize for the most active activist, partner, city, and so on, as a motivational tool
- ensure organic co-ordination and communication between online activists, the Council of Europe, partners, NCCs and others; create this, and update it regularly
 - › a database of online events
 - › guidelines on who to inform
- simple tools for reporting activities (before and after) and asking for help / support
- but, before all this, it is necessary to revise the objectives and match competencies and functions in the pool of activists with the campaign objectives.

The group urged partners / actors to express their recommitment to the NHSM youth campaign and the Council of Europe to provide guidelines for partners.

2. Hate speech monitoring

The working group discussed what monitoring is and what challenges it raises. Various practices of monitoring and reporting were reviewed. The work of Hate Speech Watch was evaluated and proposals generated on how to improve Hate Speech Watch and make it sustainable in the future.

Monitoring is not a mirror, but a window that you decide to open or not. And then, you need to deal with what you see.

From the working group report

The Group agreed to interpret monitoring as having two levels or meanings: one is passive and only involves information gathering; the other is a more complex process including data collection and some kind of action. Monitoring may also be understood as the first filter when working on a problem, an absolutely necessary one for understanding the scope of and specific issues related to this problem, and for developing solutions. Participants proposed a working definition of monitoring: *monitoring* is gathering information on a specific issue in both active and passive ways in order to evaluate the progress towards the goal.

Participants discussed various challenges related to monitoring:

- to monitor something we have to have a clear definition of what we are monitoring; it is hard to define what hate speech is and where the thin line between jokes, freedom of expression and hate speech is
- in the case of the automatic detection of hate speech, the challenge is that words can have multiple meanings; furthermore, context and attitudes are difficult to evaluate by technological means
- linguistic barriers
- cultural differences
- political situation (“normalisation of hate speech” at a national level).

Participants identified several problems with hate speech monitoring and formulated the following recommendations to solve them:

- use various channels of monitoring at a national level
- keep the European platform as a unifying tool for further advocacy for national and European measures against hate speech online
- invest in strengthening Hate Speech Watch, more specifically:
 - › remove compulsory registration, because it exposes the reporter’s identity and makes the procedure of submitting a report long and uncomfortable; the goal is to see a general picture and make it easy for people to report cases of online hate speech
 - › make hate speech submissions more visible: visualisation of Hate Speech Watch through graphs, charts, mapping of hate speech by thematic groups and showing how many reports were submitted
 - › make response time shorter, which would require a team that works only on report evaluation
 - › set up special training for online activists who work with these issues
 - › use software (e.g. USHAHIDI) to track hate speech words and combinations, which will be checked by the online activists
 - › use hashtags: retweet with @tag, which automatically sends the report to a person who checks the report on hate speech content
 - › take reports from Instagram, although it is hard to monitor visual content (challenge remains)
 - › professionally develop the website in terms of structure, user-friendly appearance, short reporting procedure and practical content
 - › co-operate at a local level: reports should be checked by “insiders”, that is, locals, who can understand the local context
- monitoring is different from reporting, so track hateful content and decide carefully what to report.

3. Training of multipliers

The working group reflected on achievements regarding the training of multipliers and articulated some specific proposals for national, regional and European level follow-up. In an effort to grasp the concept of ‘multiplier’ the group decided that anyone could be a multiplier, either directly or indirectly, so that multipliers do not have to carry out specific actions, but change their behaviour and thus indirectly influence others.

The group outlined objectives and developed recommendations for activities to meet those objectives. The following objectives were discussed:

- ensure regional contact points to provide monitoring and support structures
- create an environment for co-operation through sharing tools and best practices
- spread the message to engage new groups of people
- co-operate at a regional level to exploit synergies
- develop an information sharing system (methodologies, best practices, curricula)
- develop / provide tools for proper analysis, monitoring, evaluation, needs assessment (for different target groups), and impact assessment
- encourage peer education, not only in training but also in follow-up
- provide mentoring and resources to the multipliers, and support for follow-up
- encourage and empower youth to take action while ensuring their safety
- provide opportunities for youth (multipliers) to develop and build their capacities
- train young journalists while providing them with space and opportunity to publish, and in this way promote the Campaign
- promote non-violent communication
- translate Bookmarks and promote its use in non-formal and formal educational environments.

The following specific actions were suggested:

- a training / study session for No Hate Speech actors to develop a training strategy, including online learning, and develop quality standards and indicators for these training courses
- involve different actors from the Campaign (NCCs, activists, and other people with know-how and expertise) and externally competent people who would act as advisors (experts, trainers)
- make available a group of external experts / advisors who could provide support to campaign activists
- organise international youth camp / youth meeting by Council of Europe or NCCs (possibly funded through schemes such as Erasmus+) to bring young people (local activists, youth involved at a grassroots levels, beneficiaries, etc.) from different countries together, provide space for their development and encourage / empower them to participate in the Campaign
- develop an inventory of training courses and other activities by the NCCs and Council of Europe, session outlines and training plans, along with comments, suggestions and feedback on the activities (what does or does not work) to ensure a flow of information to/from different directions (bottom up, top down, and horizontally), so that everyone can contribute and use best practices
- develop curricula, modules and activities on how to work with target groups, and how to empower and engage them to act as multipliers and/or activists.

4. Tackling radicalisation leading to terrorism, the role of youth work and non-formal education

The group spent time defining what they understood as manifestations of violent extremism and terrorism in today's Europe, and the connections they see with hate speech and hate crime. While no direct, case-based links could be established, the group reflected that hate speech can serve as an indicator for hate crime potential. They also highlighted the fact that there is always a spike in hate crime and hate speech following terrorist attacks, in the context of a rise of Islamophobia in Europe and the presence in the public sphere of an un-challenged connection between Islam and terrorism. The group examined forms of radicalisation that they observe, and highlighted the facts that violent extremism is not a new phenomenon, that extreme right wing movements are falling out of the public debate although they are on the rise, and that also the measures that states take in terms of 'protection measures' could be qualified as a form of radicalisation.

The group discussed how such concerns can fit with the Campaign and what role the Campaign should have in such a discussion.

The group came up with several recommendations:

- act as voice of reason: the Campaign has enough tools to be more present in the public debate and re-shape it by focusing on rational arguments, facts, and mobilising / calling for reasonable responses within a human rights framework as opposed to emotional responses within a framework of fear-raising politics
- highlight that young people are not by default potential extremists, and re-shape the debate about the role of young people
- organise training courses for youth workers to deal with the issue of extremism and causes that lead to it (poverty, discrimination, lack of access to social rights)
- the group also highlighted that we need to bring into the Campaign those organisations which have consistent experience in working with young people that are either at risk of becoming violent extremists or have been radicalised, in order to have proper tools and expertise.

5. National campaigns: future profiles, actions and co-operation

The participants discussed their own experiences with national campaigns and NCCs in their countries. The situation is very different from country to country in terms of campaign activities, co-ordination, funding, actors, and so on. Some campaigns have already terminated; others were launched recently, or will only start next year. The group also reflected on the ambiguities related to the future of the Campaign and the problems of planning without a clear framework.

The working group came up with specific recommendations concerning partnerships and support from the Council of Europe.

- Partnerships:
 - › make available a short list of organisations most active in the Campaign, with contact people so that serious partners can be found easily
 - › use Erasmus+ for exchange or strategic partnership

- › carry out more regional co-operation both online and offline, and implement exchange programmes for activists
- › hold European action days, with countries deciding what to take part in.
- Support from the Council of Europe:
 - › a NCC meeting should be organised in the second half of 2015 to build on the conclusions of this conference and elaborate on some proposed activities, maybe during the International Blogger Meeting in Romania or in Montenegro
 - › Council of Europe and EEA and Norway Grants should insist that participating organisations use the campaign logo everywhere
 - › organise the training of trainers to improve understanding of the Campaign and the movement in general
 - › Council of Europe representatives and European co-ordinators should travel to Morocco for a study visit and develop a partnership
 - › the Council of Europe should send information to co-ordinators of national ministries and to local youth organisations, and communicate with them as with online youth activists
 - › have an open call for national co-ordinators / NGO representatives
 - › provide advice on influencing policies
 - › organise training courses (educational activities) for national activists
 - › ensure recognition of active NGOs and activists
 - › make the website more youth friendly
 - › update co-ordinator contacts on the website
 - › share a calendar of independent campaigns and regional NCC meetings.

6. Reaching out to new target groups

- The group considered potential new target groups and partners, and discussed related challenges:
 - › how to motivate partners
 - › how to define radicalisation
 - › how to address the root of problems
 - › how to make the Campaign more diverse
 - › how to keep the values of the Campaign while inviting new stakeholders on board.

Regarding radicalisation, the group underlined the danger of focusing on a particular group and of seeing this phenomenon as the problem itself rather than as a symptom. The participants suggested that radicalisation should be interpreted broadly as it was not just about particular groups, but was a sign of societal problems.

The following groups are recommended as new targets and partners:

- › migrants
- › people with poor media literacy
- › unemployed people
- › media / journalists (training in PR ethics and code of conduct)



- › commercial and marketing agencies
- › police
- › private companies which provide security services.

The following groups are recommended as partners:

- › LGBTQ, men, Muslim community or religious groups, immigrants, depending on the local context
- › media / commercial companies
- › the police.

The working group generated ideas related to targets in three different settings: the police, media and education.

With regard to police, the following are seen as channels to reach this group: research, learning about the target group, exchange programmes, personal communication, sharing ideas and working together, finding common ground, and support from higher authorities.

With regard to journalists, the group recommends training courses in order to encourage media workers to evaluate professionally their use of language and choice of material. The dialogue between media / journalists and different groups of society should be promoted, counter-narratives based on truth (not half-truths and false information) should be developed and an awareness of the responsibility of editors should be raised.

Concerning work at schools, the group suggested that national ministries and the Council of Europe should take the initiative to include media literacy in teacher education and in school curricula. Materials and trainers should be readily available. Schools could be approached through communication with parental committees, parent meetings, class representatives, school boards, and so on. It may be a good idea to make available a trust person in schools for students and teachers, to provide support in cases of bullying or hate-related attacks or threats.

7. Common Actions, including the future of 22 July, European Day of Victims of Hate Crime

This working group concentrated on the upcoming action day on 22 July and drafted recommendations and concrete plans for an action week around that time, but also for long-term activities. They listed tasks with responsibilities and deadlines (for details, see Annex X).

Concerning actions related to this year's European Day of Victims of Hate Crime on 22 July, the group made the following recommendations and plans:

- Secure the support of
 - › the Secretary General (video of support and translation of video in various languages)
 - › the President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Anne Brasseur, especially as her announced visit to Norway will attract media coverage
 - › the No Hate Parliamentary Alliance (make a statement on supporting the day)
 - › OSCE / ODIHR
 - › governmental / intergovernmental organisations.
- Create materials

- › create a concept paper and information relevant to the day and background information on hate crime, and make available a workshop report
- › collect stories of hate crime at national level and translate them; announce a call for such stories to NCCs, workshop participants and international organisations
- › create other materials and translate them into various languages
- Use a unifying motto (e.g. “Anyone can be the target”)
- Create special content on the website for 22 July.

With regard to long-term plans, the group suggested that the Council of Europe should organise educational events (training and study sessions) for 10-20 participants to share stories from all over Europe, build capacity and create materials on hate crime, including the concept paper mentioned above.

Other ideas suggested: online voting, a petition, visual identity for the day, collecting stories of victims of hate crime, and inviting people to write to their government based on these stories, similarly to Amnesty International’s letter writing campaigns. As best practice, an online flash mob in the Ukraine on the European Action Day against Fascism and Antisemitism on 9 November 2014 was mentioned²⁵.

8. Youth participation in Internet governance and developing net citizenship

The aim of this working group was to come up with ideas on how to build on achievements, to recommend specific actions by different stakeholders and create an action plan for youth participation in Internet governance. In order to do so, the following objectives were identified:

- inform young people about their rights and responsibilities on the Internet
- involve youth in Internet governance structures, strategies and decision-making processes
- involve youth in (self-)monitoring process including the development of (new) tools
- lobby for implementing international conventions and soft laws at a national level.

One challenge was highlighted by participants: politicians tend to say “yes” at a European level and “no” at a national level.

Recommended actions at a national level:

- consult with relevant stakeholders about youth in Internet governance
- analyse existing monitoring tools and, where necessary, create / modify them
- lobby for implementation of strategies on hate speech
- provide school programmes on net citizenship
- implement human rights education in schools through NGOs.

Recommended actions at a European level:

- launch an awareness-raising campaign about the human rights of Internet users
- create user- and youth-friendly versions of international documents related to Internet governance and human rights

²⁵ www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=773741592692139&id=747403015325997



- have consultations about youth participation in Internet governance
- lobby stakeholders and institutions
- co-operate with the Internet Governance Forum and EURODIG and get involved in the implementation of the new Internet governance mechanisms of the Council of Europe
- organise a European symposium on net citizenship
- have a clear strategy and communicate it to national campaign partners.

9. European co-ordination and communication

The group discussed how the Council of Europe has co-ordinated the Campaign so far and how it should co-ordinate and communicate with different stakeholders in the future. The Council of Europe should have a clear strategy and should define its role better: what the organisation wants, what it can do and what it can lead in the Campaign. The roles of its staff should also be clarified. Furthermore, there is an urgent need to work on communication among activists, national campaign co-ordinators and the Council of Europe, and the co-ordination and communication at a European level should be improved in the extended Campaign.

Recommendations regarding co-ordination:

- more guidance by the Council of Europe to national campaign committees and improved guidelines to match the actual needs of the NCCs, including the expected impact of the Campaign
- more security for people and the website, with training courses on security matters
- more people should be involved in the Movement. Specifically, people with IT skills are needed who can create and/or help creating digital content that could be used by everybody
- self-training courses in English and in other languages to spread the results of our work and reach more people
- regular meetings at a regional level among NCCs to exchange practices, as well as a meeting involving all various players and actors such as this Conference
- the Council of Europe should set up a co-ordination team with four different roles:
 - › an IT professional (web, digitalisation)
 - › a communications professional (pictures, videos, etc.)
 - › a manager (facilitation, NCC)
 - › an administrator (internal Council of Europe staff member)
- The IT and the communications professional should work together and report back to the manager.

Recommendations regarding communication:

- a database including national co-ordination contacts, different activities that the national campaigns have put into place and contact information for different organisations involved at national level
- a clear and appropriate message from the Council of Europe on the Movement and its objectives
- model reporting, with a clear definition of what we need; improved visibility and communication and more structured reporting system

- a self-facilitating website that is more accessible and user-friendly, and easy to manage
- the Council of Europe should encourage political parties in each country to accept and recognise the definition of hate speech.

Other recommendations:

- each one of us has the possibility to give input and speak up; we have to see where we stand, who we are and what we do; we have to empower ourselves
- have transversal co-operation with different bodies inside the Council of Europe and outside (such as UNESCO, the UN, and the EU) to exploit synergies.

10. Counter-narratives

This working group explored the questions of what a counter-narrative is, what it is good for, how to create it, and what the NHSM has to do with it.

The following definition has been created: 'counter-narrative' is a narrative that counters hate speech by,

- making a causal connection
- responding to hate speech
- reframing the debate initiated by hate speech
- providing truth against lies, including facts and figures
- providing protection for and solidarity with the insulted
- ... while not increasing the visibility of hate speech.

Objectives of the No Hate Speech Movement youth campaign in terms of using counter-narratives: the NHSM should produce, promote and disseminate counter-narratives and share related good practices throughout the Campaign, and train participants on how to use counter-narratives.

The group decided that it was very important to approach hate speech with counter-narratives through values, culture, beliefs and identity. Some "tools" of counter-narratives mentioned by the group include the following:

- humour and sarcasm
- evidence, including facts and statistics backed by science and research
- actions of solidarity
- identifying typical mistakes / patterns in hate speech
- using the arguments of hate speech against hate speech
- artistic expressions
- positive narrative
- ignorance / no reaction
- providing alternative approaches
- undermining the ideas behind hate speech
- engaging in dialogue
- questioning statements.

The group put forward the following recommendations concerning counter-narratives:

- invite different academics (of sociology, psychology, pedagogy, political science, communication)



- to form an expert task force who would further research and study the core issues of hate speech (reasons, mechanisms, patterns, needs and consequences on social and personal levels), and would also produce a high quality study that can form the basis for producing counter-narratives and further education for the actors / activists of the Movement
- create an online bank that contains good practices and examples of counter-narratives, and ways of debunking myths (regularly updated)
 - provide training courses to enhance competences of producing and using counter-narratives against hate speech (and provide tools, mentoring, follow-up, indicators to evaluate impact, training modules)
 - ensure proper evaluation.





5. CLOSING THE CONFERENCE

After formulating recommendations and making plans for the future concerning the continuation of campaign efforts to curtail hate speech, there was nothing left but to close the Conference, and return to the “battlefield” to protect human rights. The Conference was concluded officially by **Snežana Samardžić-Marković**, General Director of Democracy, Council of Europe and **Paulo Pinheiro**, Chairperson of the Advisory Council on Youth.

Snežana Samardžić-Marković thanked the actors – including staff of the Youth Department, the follow-up group, friends from outside Europe, reporters, speakers, online activists, NCC co-ordinators of the NHSM Campaign – for their achievements so far and for plans outlined during the Conference on how the participants want to see the future of the Campaign, and also Twitter and Facebook for their support. Although there are questions still open regarding the Campaign (e.g. How will member states buy in? Who will take over the hate speech Campaign?), she assured those present that their hard work would be worthwhile, and their results would be taken into consideration when implementing the Action Plan. The Council of Europe will continue to support the Movement in various ways including, but not limited to, practical tools and the education of multipliers and law enforcement personnel.

She expressed her conviction that the NHSM would have a lasting legacy. The Committee of Ministers as well as the members of the No Hate Parliamentary Alliance are committed to this Campaign. She underlined the importance of human rights education and citizenship education in countering hate speech. In view of rising Islamophobia, there will be attempts under the new Action Plan to gather together religious leaders, and have them formulate a counter-narrative against Islamophobia. In conclusion, Snežana Samardžić-Marković reminded participants that there was a long way to go, so we have to keep working together.

Politically, it is impossible to stop the Campaign.

Thorbjørn Jagland, Secretary General of the Council of Europe

Paulo Pinheiro, Chairperson of the Advisory Council on Youth, continued the above line of thought by saying that together we can make a difference! Unfortunately, this Campaign was needed because the reality is bad as hate speech has not decreased either online or offline. Referring to the Action Plan on the fight against violent extremism and radicalisation leading to terrorism approved by the Committee of Ministers, he underlined that the No Hate Speech Movement youth campaign was about everyday threats, while terrorism was a much wider problem. On the other hand, we can tackle terrorism through the Campaign but also other issues related to hate speech. He reinforced the connection between the combat against hate speech and human rights education as the culture and mentality of hate speech, and that hate crime can only be addressed through human rights education. Finally, he invited participants to commit themselves to the continuation of the fight against human right threats including racism, Antisemitism, discrimination, radicalisation, Islamophobia, homophobia, nationalism, prejudice, hostility, terrorism, and hate crime.

The closing words were pronounced by **Antje Rothemund**, Head of the Youth Department, who ensured the participants that the Youth Department would try to transform the participants' suggestions into concrete proposals to be discussed in the autumn, and activists and actors could count on the Council of Europe in the further development, co-ordination and support for the No Hate Speech Movement youth campaign, although actual implementation would largely depend on future funding opportunities and contribution of members states.

She stated that there was no need for uniformisation, but that the Campaign should remain a "beautiful chaos", or rather "a nice diversity", although obviously there was need for synchronisation. Although some national campaigns have stopped or will stop soon, the Council of Europe and all actors should learn from and build on them. The Youth Department will remain a party other actors can count on in such endeavours.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The Conference signified a very important stage in the life of the Council of Europe's No Hate Speech Movement youth campaign. It took place at a sensitive moment just a few days after the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe had proposed to extend and enhance the No Hate Speech Movement youth campaign under its brand new Action Plan on the fight against violent extremism and radicalisation leading to terrorism. As a result of this change in the European policy landscape regarding the combat against hate speech, what was originally planned to be a closing event became, in a way, a starting point, marking the end of the beginning rather than the beginning of the end. The Conference was the culmination and conclusion of concerted efforts of two years of campaigning, but it was also the starting point of an enhanced and broader campaign planned to run for another three years.

In the participants' opinion expressed in working groups, the greatest achievements of the Campaign so far have been the following:

- a definition and understanding of hate speech
- putting hate speech on the agenda
- reaching out to various audiences and encouraging people to take action
- a network of actors who are committed to fighting for a hate-speech-free world
- engagement of a very diverse group of people and institutions in fighting hate speech, and cross-sectorial co-operation at a local and national level
- starting a campaign from scratch and running it
- the creation of tools for combating hate speech, including videos, arts projects, monitoring tools, training programmes, educational materials, advocacy and policy, online platforms, psychological support services, games, and various actions.

The Conference was a success, mainly due to the commitment and enthusiasm of the participants, but also due to the hard work of the facilitators and the organisers. It was a success because it managed to reach all of its objectives, so participants:



- took stock of the achievements of the No Hate Speech Movement at local, national and European level, including the work of online activists, national campaigns and European partners
- assessed the Campaign based on the external evaluation and on a critical assessment by stakeholders of the Campaign
- shared good practices and resources
- strengthened the network among the activists and partners involved in the Campaign and consolidated partnerships and networks initiated through and for the Campaign
- reflected on improvements for future endeavours and identified areas for further co-operation at all relevant levels
- drafted follow-up / continuation strategies for the future, and prepared for the implementation of such strategies based on what they had learned from their Campaign experiences.

The implementation of ideas and plans will largely depend on how the Council of Europe would redefine its role and what budget would be available for the renewed Campaign. It is clear that participants believe in the importance of countering hate speech and are highly committed, but most of them need support and co-ordination by the Council of Europe. The Council of Europe along with activists, campaign co-ordinators, educators, youth leaders, partners, and other stakeholders will keep working for a hate-speech-free world together in partnership and ensure the Campaign goes ahead.

APPENDIX 1 – LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

PARTICIPANTS

Name		Country	Organisation
Luis	BEKTESHI	Albania	National Campaign (Committee)
Brisida	KERTUSHA	Albania	National Campaign (Committee)
Iana	MINOCHKINA	Albania	Perspektiva
Jehona	VARFI-ROKA	Albania	National Campaign (Committee)
Ramon	TENA PERA	Andorra	National Campaign (Committee)
Erna	BALASANYAN	Armenia	PINK Armenia
Nelli	GISHYAN	Armenia	National Campaign (Committee)
Hripsime	MKRTCHYAN	Armenia	National Campaign (Committee)
Nvard	PETROSYAN	Armenia	National Campaign (Committee)
Mergim	SADIKU	Austria	National Campaign (Committee)
Afet	HASANOVA	Azerbaijan	National Campaign (Committee)
Darya	MIRON	Belarus	Republican Student Association
Siarhei	RUKAN	Belarus	Chief Adviser – Youth Department
Jane	BRADEN GOLAY	Belgium	European Union of Jewish Students
Annabel	CHAMPETIER	Belgium	European Union of Jewish Students
Amal	HAMICH	Belgium	WediActivists
Amandine	LAMBOTTE	Belgium	Local Partner
Joël	LE DEROFF	Belgium	European Network Against Racism
Manu	MAINIL	Belgium	National Campaign (Committee)
Emin	MAMMADLI	Belgium	Voice of Young Refugees in Europe
Imre	SIMON	Belgium	European Youth Information and Counselling Agency
Neringa	TUMENAITE	Belgium	OCEANS Network
Olav	VOGT ENGELAND	Belgium	European Law Student Association
Gerda	VAN ROELEN	Belgium	National Campaign (Committee)
Dragana	GAJIC	Bosnia and Herzegovina	National Campaign (Committee)
Nadina	BALAGIC	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Centre of Cultivating Dialogue
Andelija	KOVACEVIC	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Youth center 'Auctus' Banjaluka



Name		Country	Organisation
Danijela	TOPIC	Bosnia and Herzegovina	National Campaign (Committee)
Marina	KISYOVA DE GEUS	Bulgaria	Open Society Institute – Sofia
Maria	MARINOVA-ALKALAY	Bulgaria	Infinite Opportunities Association
Mariya	STANCHEVA	Bulgaria	National Campaign (Committee)
Adnan	DELIC	Croatia	National Campaign (Committee)
Ivana	FURLIC	Croatia	National Campaign (Committee)
Vesna	KATALINIC	Croatia	National Campaign (Committee)
Elma	MURIC	Croatia	National Campaign (Committee)
Denijal	SAHINOVIC	Croatia	Local Partner
Lana	VELIMIROVIC VUKALOVIC	Croatia	National Campaign (Committee)
Jan	HUK	Czech Republic	National Campaign (Committee)
Jozsef	MARTON	Czech Republic	Phiren Amenca / Ternype
Tereza	ZADRAZILOVA	Czech Republic	National Campaign (Committee)
Riikka	KAUKINEN	Finland	ALLIANSI
Cristina	NENONEN	Finland	European Online Activist
Saila	RUUTH	Finland	European Online Activist
Sampo	VILLANEN	Finland	National Campaign (Committee)
David	ALEXANDRE	France	Respect Zone
Isabelle	AUGUSTIN	France	Lycée René Cassin – Strasbourg
Valentina	AULISO	France	Youth Express Network
Marie	BARAGER	France	National Campaign (Committee)
Océane	CAKICI	France	National Campaign (Committee)
Philippe	COEN	France	Respect Zone
Omar	DIDI	France	MAG Jeunes LGBT
Clément	DOLISI	France	Chargé de mission Europe et projets européens à la Ville de Strasbourg
Sylvie	FROIDEFOND	France	Local Partner
David	GACHET	France	Lycée Fustel de Coulanges de Strasbourg
Giorgio	LODO	France	National Campaign (Committee)
Edouard	PORTEFAIX	France	National Campaign (Committee)
Muhsine	SENART	France	National Campaign (Committee)
Jordan	TEIB	France	Hate Free Zone / Respect Zone
Claire	USZYNSKI	France	National Campaign (Committee)

Name		Country	Organisation
Alfred	ZIMMER	France	Comité de Strasbourg du Mouvement contre le Racisme et pour l'Amitié entre les Peuples (MRAP)
Maryam	BERDZULI	Georgia	National Campaign (Committee)
Saba	CHARGEISHVILI	Georgia	National Campaign (Committee)
Otar	KHUTSISHVILI	Georgia	National Campaign (Committee)
Nodar	TSERETELI	Georgia	Human Rights Association
Patrizia	DEIALA	Greece	ANTIGONE – Information and Documentation Centre on Racism, Ecology, Peace and Non-Violence
Stella	IOANNOU	Greece	Youthnet Hellas
Marina	TOMARA	Greece	Bodossaki Foundation
Egon	BUDAI	Hungary	National Campaign (Committee)
Barnabas	GULYÁS	Hungary	National Campaign (Committee)
Bálint	JOSA	Hungary	Foundation of Subjective Values
Lilla	NEDECZKY	Hungary	National Campaign (Committee)
Zsuzsanna	RUTAI	Hungary	National Campaign (Committee)
Solveig	KARLSDOTTIR	Iceland	National Campaign (Committee)
Hrefna	SIGURJONSDOTTIR	Iceland	National Campaign (Committee)
Ian	MCGAHON	Ireland	European Online Activist
Julia	NGADI	Ireland	National Campaign (Committee)
Aiste	SLAJUTE	Ireland	National Campaign (Committee)
Anne	WALSH	Ireland	National Campaign (Committee)
Patricia	CARTES	Ireland	Twitter
Emilia	ASTORE	Italy	Human rights Education Youth Network
Alessandra	COPPOLA	Italy	APICE – Associazione di Progettazione Integrata per la Calabria in Europa
Cristina	MANCIGOTTI	Italy	European Online Activist
Mara	VINESCU	Italy	Latte Creative
Luisa	ZAPPALA	Italy	Partner
Luljeta	SHALA	Kosovo*	Partner
Neringa	JURCIUKONYTE	Lithuania	National Campaign (Committee)
Indre	MARSANTAITE	Lithuania	National Campaign (Committee)

*All reference to Kosovo, whether to the territory, institutions or population, in this text shall be understood in full compliance with the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1244 and without prejudice to the status of Kosovo.



Name		Country	Organisation
Romina	TOLU	Malta	International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Youth and Student Organisation
Valeria	BERUMEN ORNELAS	Mexico	National Campaign (Committee)
Blanca	JIMENEZ SEGURA	Mexico	National Campaign (Committee)
Marina	BRINZA	Moldova	National Campaign (Committee)
Vanja	KONTIC	Montenegro	National Campaign (Committee)
Krsto	VUKADINOVIC	Montenegro	National Campaign (Committee)
Yassine	ISBOUIA	Morocco	National Campaign (Committee)
Ihssane	OUCHEGHROUCHEN	Morocco	National Campaign (Committee)
Adyb	SALIKI	Morocco	National Campaign (Committee)
Ben Yerrou	BEN AHMED	The Netherlands	National Campaign (Committee)
Nienke	VERHOEKS	The Netherlands	National Campaign (Committee)
Ingrid	ASPELUND	Norway	National Campaign (Committee)
Eirik	RISE	Norway	National Campaign (Committee)
Ewa	CYLWIK	Poland	RAN network Polish Never Again Association
Jan	DABKOWSKI	Poland	National Campaign (Committee)
Dariusz	GRZEMNY	Poland	National Campaign (Committee)
Stepan	PORIZEK	Poland	European Online Activist
Urszula	WIERZBICKA	Poland	Co-ordinator of Polish Activists
C. Alves	CORREIA	Portugal	National Campaign (Committee)
Ana Rita	MAGALHÃES	Portugal	National Campaign (Committee)
Camelia	NISTOR	Romania	United for Intercultural Action
Marian	PANAIT	Romania	National Campaign (Committee)
Vera	ULARU	Romania	National Campaign (Committee)
Natalia	CHARDYMOVA	Russian Federation	National Campaign (Committee)
Vladimir	NIKISHIN	Russian Federation	National Campaign (Committee)
Nikola	BOZANOVIC	Serbia	Club for youth empowerment 018 (KOM 018)
Tamara	DJORDJEVIC (LIBERO)	Serbia	NGO Libero
Ivana	ZIVKOVIC	Serbia	National Campaign (Committee)
Andrea	BILA	Slovakia	Nadácia Otvorenej Spoločnosti Open Society Foundation (NOS-OSF)
Miroslava	GAJDOSOVA	Slovakia	National Campaign (Committee)
Peter	KUPEC	Slovakia	National Campaign (Committee)

Name		Country	Organisation
Viera	TOMANICOVA	Slovakia	National Campaign (Committee)
Sara	KARBA	Slovenia	National Campaign (Committee)
Neza	REPANSEK	Slovenia	National Campaign (Committee)
Bruno	DEL MAZO UNAMUNO	Spain	National Campaign (Committee)
Demetrio	GOMEZ AVILA	Spain	Forum of European Roma Young People
Lidia	SERRANO TUR	Spain	PROXI
Claudio	RECUPERO	Switzerland	National Campaign (Committee)
Jean-Marie	BOUVERAT	Switzerland	National Campaign (Committee)
Roman	HELPER	Switzerland	National Campaign (Committee)
Sasho	KOCHANKOVSKI	"The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia"	Partner
Matej	MANEVSKI	"The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia"	European Online Activist
Milosh	RISTOVSKI	"The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia"	Partner
Tome	SEKERDZIEV	"The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia"	National Campaign (Committee)
Zorica	STAMENKOVSKA	"The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia"	National Campaign (Committee)
Elif Irem	AZ	Turkey	Hrant Dink Foundation
Mehmet	CETINKAYA	Turkey	YINFO Gençlik Bilgi Merkezi
Tirse	ERBAYSAL FILIBELI	Turkey	Hrant Dink Foundation
Mustafa	GUNDOGDU	Turkey	European Online Activist
Steven	LOCKHART	Turkey	European Online Activist
Andrii	SKULBEDA	Ukraine	National Campaign (Committee)
Olha	VYHOVSKA	Ukraine	NGO Association 'KVN of Ukraine'
Kateryna	ZEZIULINA	Ukraine	National Campaign (Committee)
Michael	HATFIELD	United Kingdom	National Campaign (Committee)



RESOURCE PEOPLE - SPEAKERS - FACILITATORS

Veronika	JUHASZ	Rapporteur
Gavan	TITLEY	University of Ireland, Speaker
Pawel	LIBERA	Video Producer
Hilde	VAN DER HULST	Consultant
Ricardo	BUCIO MUJICA	President of CONAPRED
Antonia	WULFF	Education International, Speaker
Nadine	LYAMOURI-BAJJA	Facilitator
Anton	BATTESTI	Facebook

PREPARATORY AND FOLLOW-UP GROUP OF THE CONFERENCE

Laurence	HERMAND	European Steering Committee on Youth
Gubaz	KOBERIDZE	Representative of the European Online Activists
Sergio	BELFOR	Advisory Council on Youth
Maria Margarida	SACO	European Steering Committee on Youth
Youssef	HIMMAT	Advisory Council on Youth
Satu	VALTERE	Consultant
László	FÖLDI	Online campaign co-ordinator

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

Finn	DENSTAD	EEA-NORWAY GRANTS Inter-Institutional Co-ordinator
Cristina	FINCH	OSCE/ODIHR Head of Antidiscrimination Department
Rosario	SORAIDE	Assistant project officer of the NET-MED Youth Project UNESCO
Ahmed	ZAUCHE	UNESCO

COUNCIL OF EUROPE

Anne	BRASSEUR	President of the Parliamentary Assembly
Thorbjørn	JAGLAND	Secretary General
Almir	SAHOVIC	Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina Chair of the Committee of Ministers
Dirk	VAN EECKHOUT	Permanent Representative of Belgium
Snezana	SAMARDŽIĆ-MARKOVIĆ	General Director of Democracy
Jean Christophe	BAS	Director of Democratic Citizenship and Participation
Barbara	JOHN	Vice-Chair European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance speech
Maja	RAKOVIC	Chair of the CDMSI
Anne	KRAUS	Conference INGOS, Coordinatrice du groupe ad-hoc "Jeunesse"
Paulo	PINHEIRO	Chairperson of the Advisory Council on Youth
Emanuel	ALFRANSEDER	Member of the Advisory Council on Youth
Dimitris	MAKRYSTATHIS	Member of the Advisory Council on Youth
Antje	ROTHEMUND	Head of the Youth Department
Tina	MULCAHY	Executive Director – Youth Department
Jean-Claude	LAZARO	Head of the European Youth Foundation
Rui	GOMES	Head of division – Youth Department, Education and Training
Bridget	OLOUGHLIN	Co-ordinator NHSM – Youth Department
Marina	FILARETOVA	Programme Officer – Youth Department
Ruxandra	PANDEA	Educational Advisor – Youth Department
Menno	ETTEMA	Educational Advisor – Youth Department
Mara	GEORGESCU	Educational Advisor – Youth Department
Nina	KAPOOR	Assistant – Youth Department
Kati	ORMOS	Administrative assistant – Youth Department
Estelle	GLESSINGER	Assistant NHSM – Youth Department
Eliza	DANKO	Trainee – Youth Department
Sara	SPADA	Trainee – Youth Department



APPENDIX 2 - PROGRAMME

WEDNESDAY, 27 MAY 2015

Arrival of participants

17:00 Registration at European Youth Centre

19:00 *Dinner*

20:30 Welcome evening

THURSDAY, 28 MAY 2015

08:15 Registration at the European Youth Centre

09:15 OPENING of the Conference by **Jean-Christophe Bas**, Director of Democratic Citizenship and Participation of the Council of Europe

- Presentation of participants
- Programme and working methods of the Conference

09:45 THE CAMPAIGN: from ideas to practice, with Antonia Wulff, Education International, former chairperson of the Joint Council on Youth

10:15 REVIEWING THE CAMPAIGN(S): sharing achievements with different stakeholders, in working groups

12:30 Lunch

14.15 Feedback / Sharing of achievements

14:30 THE CAMPAIGN BEYOND the Council of Europe:

- #Sintags, the campaign in Mexico, presented par Ricardo Bucio Mújica, president of the National Council for the Prevention of Discrimination (Conapred)
- The campaign in Morocco, with Ihssane Oucheghrouchen and Adib Saliki (Forum méditerranéen des jeunes et de l'enfance)
- Projects of EEA-Norway Grants, by Finn Denstad, Inter-institutional Co-ordinator

15:30 SHARING WHAT WORKS – workshops proposed by participants

1. Campaign Videos, with Jehona Roka (Albania), Indre Marsantaite (Lithuania), No Hate Ninjas (Portugal), Neringa Jurciukonyte (Lithuania), Catarina Correia (Portugal)
2. Arts against hate speech, with Iana Minochkina (Albania) and Nikola Bozanovic (Serbia)
3. Monitoring tools, with Lidia Serrano (Spain) and Sylvie Froidfond (France)
4. Training activists and campaigners, with Jan Dabkowski (Poland) and Satu Valtere (Finland)

5. Bookmarks: training and education approaches, with Dariusz Grzemny (Poland), Nadine Lyamouri-Bajja (France) and Mara Georgescu, Council of Europe Youth Department
 6. Influencing policies, with Sampo Villanen (Finland), Olav Vogt Engeland (European Law Students Association) and Tirse Erbaysal (France)
 7. “Wedi” game activists, with Manu Mainil and Amal Hamich (Belgium)
 8. Supporting action and funding projects, with Marina Kisyova de Geus (Open Society Foundation, Bulgaria), Vera Ularu (Civil Society Development Foundation, Romania), and Maria Actieri, Natalia Chardymova, and the European Youth Foundation (Council of Europe)
 9. Action Days and partnerships, with László Földi, online campaign
- 17:30 Introduction to Networking and Partnership and information about the evening
- 17:45 PARTNERSHIP AND NETWORKING time
- 19:00 Dinner
- 20:30 RECOGNITION of youth involvement and activism in the Campaign, with **Antje Rothemund**, Head of the Youth Department, Council of Europe, and **Thorbjørn Jagland** Secretary General of the Council of Europe, ceremony with drinks
- 21:30 “NO HATE DRESS PARTY”

FRIDAY, 29 MAY 2015

- 09:15 Introduction to the programme of the day
- 09:20 EXTERNAL EVALUATION of the Campaign, presentation of the main results, by **Hilde van Hulst-Mooibroek**, consultant
- 09:50 CRITICAL ASSESSMENT of the Campaign by the participants (in working groups)
- 12:00 FEEDBACK from campaign partners:
- Twitter, with Patricia Cartes, Head of Global Trust and Safety Outreach
- 12:20 ONLINE SURVEY: figures, questions and lessons, by **Gavan Titley**, National University of Ireland.
- 13:00 Lunch
- 14:30 THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE Action Plan to combat extremism and radicalisation leading to terrorism and the role of the Campaign therein – introduction by **Antje Rothemund**, Head of the Youth Department, Council of Europe
- 14:50 MISSIONS AND PRIORITIES of the Council of Europe in combating hate speech, dialogue with:
- Anne Brasseur, President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
- Ambassadors Dirk Van Eeckhout (Belgium) and Almir Šahović (Bosnia and Herzegovina),



- previous and current Chairmen of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe
- 15:50 Break
- 16:20 The role of other bodies and institutions of the Council of Europe:
- European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance speech, with Barbara John, Vice-Chair
 - The Conference of International NGOs, with Anne Kraus
 - The Steering Committee on Media and Information Society, with Maja Rakovic, Chair
 - The Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, with Sedef Cankocak, Secretary of the Current Affairs Committee
- 16:50 THE ROAD AHEAD, **Respect Zone** – update by **Philippe Coen**, President
- 17:00 THE ROAD AHEAD: missions and plans for national and regional action
- 18:15 Departure for the evening in Strasbourg
- 19:00 RECEPTION at the city hall of Strasbourg, welcome words by **Roland Ries**, Mayor of Strasbourg
- 20:00 MEETING at the École nationale d'administration, with
- Representative of the Interministerial co-ordinator of the fight against racism and Antisemitism (France)
 - Nathalie Bajos, Higher Council for Equality between Men and Women, France
 - Nawal Rafik El Mrini, deputy to the Mayor of Strasbourg
- BUFFET DINNER with musical entertainment (together with the participants of the conference No Hate Web)

SATURDAY, 30 MAY 2015

- 09:15 Introduction to the programme of the day
- 09:30 Feedback from the critical assessment by Ruxandra Pandea, Educational Advisor to the Council of Europe
- 09:45 ENGAGING FURTHER with young people to prevent and combat racism and discrimination, introductory speeches by:
- Gavan Titley**, National University of Ireland
 - Jane Braden-Golay**, President of the European Union of Jewish Students
- 10:30 THE FUTURE – planning follow-up strategies of the Campaign
- 10:30 DEFINING THE FUTURE of the Campaign
- Working groups on:
1. The future of online activists and partnerships
 2. Hate speech monitoring (surveys, hate speech watch, etc.)

3. Training of multipliers and national and regional level
4. Tackling radicalisation leading to terrorism, the role of youth work and non-formal education
5. National campaigns: future profiles, actions and co-operation
6. Reaching out to new target groups (children, parents and other adults, schools communities, universities, youth clubs, etc.)
7. Common Actions, including the future of 22 July, European Day of Victims of Hate Crime
8. Youth participation in Internet governance and developing net-citizenship
9. European co-ordination and communication
10. Counter-narratives

13:00 *Lunch*

14:30 Defining the future of the Campaign (continued)

15:15 Presentation of the follow-up strategy - working groups results

16:30 CLOSING session of the Conference with

- Snežana Samardžić-Marković, General Director of Democracy, Council of Europe
- Paulo Pinheiro, Chairperson of the Advisory Council on Youth

17:30 Departure of participants

20:00 *Barbeque dinner*

22:00 *Music and dancing evening with Prémvadászok*

SUNDAY, 31 MAY 2015

Departure of participants



APPENDIX 3 - LINKS TO TOOLS

CAMPAIGN VIDEOS

Albania:

- www.facebook.com/nohatespeechalbania/videos/1598169003729562/?video_source=pages_finch_main_video
- www.facebook.com/nohatespeechalbania

Lithuania:

- http://youtu.be/gltgZJQH_vo
- <http://youtu.be/pJmJ3NlLan8>

Portugal (No Hate Ninja videos):

- 'A Story About Cats, Unicorns and Hate Speech Online'
www.youtube.com/watch?v=kp7ww3KvccE
- 'Dance for a Better World' (11 February - Safer Internet Day)
www.youtube.com/watch?v=92vSGVLxkxk&feature=youtu.be

Montenegro:

- Video with students
www.facebook.com/kzmcg?fref=nf
- Video with a young artist for the International day of Human Rights
www.youtube.com/watch?v=QH32kBBtGhE
- Video 'No Hate Speech Regional Bus tour – Day 5, Podgorica'
www.youtube.com/watch?v=m0H2eSn1qb0

Croatia:

- Official video made by professionals, starring campaign ambassador and promoters:
www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tp7pSoAl3rk
- video made by primary school students:
www.youtube.com/watch?v=0bUvdpnGcUc
- video made by secondary school students:
www.youtube.com/watch?v=6l_9MsUqUuM

ART AGAINST HATE SPEECH

- Graffiti against hate speech
- Poland) www.youtube.com/watch?v=wGk5VPZfhRA
- Hate Speech Destroyer (Finland) <https://vimeo.com/72886961>
- No Hate Ninjas www.tumblr.com/search/nohateninja



- Comics www.respect.com.mx/en/comix
- Photography www.nohatespeechmovement.org/photo-competition
- Dance www.youtube.com/watch?v=92vSGVLxkxk
- No Hate Fighters, all materials www.kom018.org.rs

LINKS TO SOME MORE HATE FIGHTERS PRODUCTS

Videos:

- Official song of Hate Fighters programme: <https://youtu.be/Oi0oI0WcHZU>
- Official Stop Hate Speech choreography <https://youtu.be/eMWCVVKWkJY>
- Stop Hate Speech choreography (flashmobs, workshops): <https://youtu.be/klo7f0lxct4>
- Hate Fighters 2014: <https://youtu.be/Zz7R49gIHb4>
- Ambassador of Hate Fighters programme: <https://youtu.be/glyA9HSYI70>

Photo material:

www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.10151777257448145.1073741844.271670583144&type=3

Comics material:

www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.10151785401858145.1073741846.271670583144&type=3

Photo and graphics workshops:

www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.408602889309094.1073741837.231805426988842&type=3

Booklet:

<http://kom018.org.rs/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/HateFighters-Booklet-final.pdf>

DETAILS ON ART PROJECTS

Polish Graffiti example:

Using the messages of “I love; I support; I react; I don’t hate” they painted a positive mural next to the stadium frequented by far right football hooligans who see themselves as above the community and used to marking their territory. They spat on it when they passed it. It was painted over by the football crowd within two months. They then did a “Through your stomach to your heart” mural project depicting different types of foods. The public engaged with it by adding their hand-prints. This lasted five months as the football crowd didn’t seem to easily read it as making commentary against their behaviour. They noted that they needed to have the planning in place before they communicated with the local community. These were actions planned six weeks in advance and in collaboration with authorities as it would have been dangerous to do it spontaneously. More recently their work has turned to local action. An African café had discriminatory graffiti painted on it and a group came together very quickly, almost spontaneously, to paint over it.

- In Finland they did a “destroying hate graffiti” art project during a musical festival in Helsinki, which



was videoed and widely distributed. In it they painted hate speech symbols and then invited people to cover them in positive messages. Many people participated. It was influenced by the story of a woman in Hungary who regularly paints over any hate speech she sees.

Graffiti projects in Serbia:

Children from different social backgrounds come together and they paint on each other's walls; this is often about changing negative messages.

- More details of the Serbian project:

A youth empowerment NGO working with disadvantaged young people use art a lot in their work to engage them. Starting from the premise of respecting young people's own ideas, they give young people the definition of hate speech and the legal perspective about it and invite them to think about youth activism and then explore their ideas. Early on they came up with a logo that incorporates the No Hate heart but also says "Fighting hate speech" in a very dynamic image.

They use a range of different art methods: they turned some of the images produced by the young people into magnets, which are very cheap to make and end up on the fridge, so they have a long life to instil their messages. They also use the logo extensively and on T-shirts and at events. They hold an event every year at a stadium that would usually be a no-go area, and by using the logo they send out a message that it is a cool project to get involved in. They don't refuse anyone.

- They have 10 staff members and 100 volunteers, and an extensive training programme. Through this method, in two and a half years, 1,500 young people have been educated about hate speech. Their staff includes a professional photographer, an artist, a break-dancer and singers. Young persons from 14 to 22 years of age remain active in their organisation for several years. They are usually from disadvantaged backgrounds. The activists do not talk about hate speech straight away but first try to engage the youngsters through art-work or their interest in being part of the group. Their No Hate Speech Movement projects last from one to six months, depending on the art form being explored. They run a training course over one week. However, they also do projects that last just one day. Photo comic projects take three to five days. They invent the story first (an example was a Muslim girl and Christian boy who are in love and experience hate, but come together in the end). They use key characters in all their work who represent Hate: Dr Hate and Mrs Jinx; both of these have costumes and they are involved in every story that is made.
- They think their organisation contributes to the No Hate Speech Movement in an unconventional way, by producing a product, even though the process is what is considered important. They are not just an art organisation, but making art is encouraged. They have three large rooms where the young people can hang out. All of them have problems at home. The aim is to involve them actively in society. When running training courses they do thematic workshops in the morning and creative ones in the afternoon. They use the Albatross activity on cultural diversity to explore stereotyping and discrimination. They describe hate speech as discrimination plus action (threat).

MONITORING TOOLS

- Intervention I: Proxi (project against xenophobia and intolerance online funded by EEA-Norway Grants to promote active citizenship (www.observatorioproxi.org; info@observatorioproxi.org))
- **Intervention II:** Digidust – a smartphone application to report discrimination and hate speech online (organisation's page: www.digidust.com) — *the application is now in the creation phase and is not yet available online.*
- No Hate Speech Watch <http://nohatespeechmovement.org/hate-speech-watch/report/submit>

TRAINING ACTIVISTS AND CAMPAIGNERS

- Tolrado game, Bulgaria: www.ontolerance.eu
- BOOKMARKS
 - The manual is downloadable in English and French here: <http://nohate.ext.coe.int/Campaign-Tools-and-Materials/Bookmarks>
- INFLUENCING POLICIES
 - http://files.elsa.org/AA/Final_Report_OHS.pdf
 - http://files.elsa.org/AA/OHS_Guideline.pdf
 - http://files.elsa.org/AA/OHS_Poster.pdf
- WEDIACTIVISTS GAME
 - www.duventdanslescordes.be/projets/wediactivists (in French)
- SUPPORTING ACTION AND FUNDING PROJECTS
- EYF funding opportunities (attached in separate files)
- Civil Society Development Foundation, Romania www.fdsc.ro/eng/despre-fdsc
- The CIVIC Arena magazine (on NHS) of Civil Society Development Foundation, Romania can be found here: http://fondong.fdsc.ro/civic_arena/?utm_source=news#p=8
- Open Society Foundation, Bulgaria www.opensocietyfoundations.org/about/offices-foundations/open-society-institute-sofia
- Anna Lind Foundation www.annalindhfoundation.org



Dr. Gavan Titley

7. NO HATE SPEECH CAMPAIGN: PAST REFLECTIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

DR. GAVAN TITLEY

I. INTRODUCTION

The *No Hate Speech* campaign, a youth campaign for human rights online, is now described as in the process of becoming a 'movement'. *But what kind of movement is it, and what kind of movement could, and should it be?* This article revisits key debates and questions at the heart of the campaign, and discusses them in relation to two major directions suggested for its future in a tense and complex political environment in Europe. This article does not aim to evaluate the campaign to date, as wide-ranging evaluations have been conducted. Nor does it attempt to do justice to the diversity of events and initiatives gathered under the rubric of the campaign. Rather, it is a response to an invitation to this author to continue thinking about the core ideas and directions of the campaign, a process of thinking I have been lucky to be included in from the campaign's inception. It is primarily a reflection on how the campaign has animated the idea of hate speech; the possibilities and limits of these guiding ideas; and how these ideas might be integrated with more expansive political frameworks in the future.

The first two sections reflect, in broad terms, on how the campaign has developed guiding ideas and assumptions about hate speech, and on how these approaches deal with the irreducible tensions and complexities of the concept. The first section, then, reflects on how the campaign has come to work with the ambiguous and conflicted idea of hate speech. The second section extends this discussion by reflecting on how these guiding understandings underpin the public nature of the campaign.

The last two sections discuss the more politically overt applications that may shape the campaign in the future. Departing from the strengths and limitations examined in these past reflections, the third section proposes an argument; that for the campaign to become a movement, the idea of hate speech must be understood as one dimension of a wider anti-racist mobilization. The fourth section also proposes an argument; that for the campaign to become a movement that can *move with* young people, it cannot afford to become an instrument of the 'counter-radicalisation' agenda.



II. MOBILISING THE IDEA OF HATE SPEECH

The first phase of the campaign, from March 2012 until March 2015, concentrated on awareness-raising, peer education, and selected, tactical events designed to draw attention to the proliferation of 'hate speech' in and through the networks of connective media that young people shape and are also shaped by. It responded in large part to a focus on 'online hate speech' that had come to the fore on political agendas in north and west Europe, particularly after events such as Anders Behring Breivik's terrorism in Norway on July 22nd 2011, an atrocity fomented in the 'echo chambers' and 'blogapelasgos' of radical rightist online networks.¹ While the influence of these political formations is important to understand and confront, the campaign, from its inception, refused one assumption central to this emerging political agenda. It refused to conceptualize the Internet as a space 'out there'; a space beyond society that needed to be, in effect, civilized by extending established social norms and rights into its wild territories. Instead, it recognized that the 'online' is folded into the 'offline' in multiple ways, to an extent that it renders this distinction increasingly less useful for understanding social life, and acting on it. In the lives of many young people, 'hate speech' is not (only) spectacular or extreme, but an everyday dimension of their 'micro-networks', the flows of mediated content they produce, assemble, circulate and engage with in increasingly subjective ways.²

Recognising this everydayness, the sociality of 'hate speech', is not to trivialize it, or suggest that it is banal. Instead, it is to understand that educational and mobilizing approaches to 'hate speech' cannot be defined by the horizon of spectacular and extreme events, and the sensationalism that comes with responses to these events. Rather, 'hate speech' must be approached with an attention to practices, to how young people, in an often bewildering diversity of ways, become perpetrators, targets, witnesses and actors against discriminatory speech and communications in a connective media environment where norms and routines of participation are constantly shifting and evolving.

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- 1 For an authoritative discussion of these networks and the wider political environment in which they thrive, see Sindre Bangstad's (2014) *Anders Breivik and the Rise of Islamophobia*.
 - 2 The media sociologist Ingrid Volkmer uses the idea of 'micro-networks' to capture how individual media experiences are increasingly shaped by the merging of content on individualized platforms, where 'the global and the national and even the local are no longer distinct spheres but merge in particular... across diverse sites of subjective micro-networks' (2014: 3). In practice, Volkmer's point is that the convergence of mobile technologies and social networking sites, which work to aggregate and organize content through the ongoing accumulation of data and 'preferences', ensures that young people's media environments are increasingly shaped by the interplay of subjective choices and 'techno-social' interfaces, where flows of 'local', 'national' and 'transnational' content combine in 'micro-networks' – networks in that they are aggregations of flows of content, but 'micro' in that they are individualized and subjective. José van Dijk makes a similar observation in describing the 'social' of 'social media' as produced through the human connectedness of webs of association, and the automated connectivity of systems that 'engineer and manipulate' these associations (2013: 11).

Taking experience seriously as a basis for young people's agency and action is central to youth work in the European context. Unsurprisingly then, this attention to practices – to what young people do, and what they think about it - provided the initial basis for youth work based on participation, shared action and the value of intercultural engagement. But, on reflection, there is another important dimension of this approach that is particularly suited to engaging the question of hate speech.

Research on hate speech is dominated by *normative questions* (what, and under what conditions, constitutes hate speech, and how can such a recognition be reconciled with a fundamental right to freedom of expression) and *legal considerations* (what forms of prohibition and remedy should stem from a legislative recognition of the category of hate speech). It does not take away from their importance to point out that, in comparison, as Sindre Bangstad argues, "...we know little about to what extent hate speech succeeds in excluding those targeted from participation in the processes of public deliberation which are among the foundations of a liberal and secular democracy. Nor do we know much about when and how hate speech actually manages to silence the speech of those targeted by it".³ In other words, and beyond Bangstad's specific focus on hate speech as a barrier to political participation, the experience of hate speech, and its social consequentiality, are under-researched and insufficiently examined.

The campaign, unfortunately, did not integrate a consistent research stream capable of addressing this gap. But its methodology of seminars, group work and nonformal educational approaches ensured that sharing and interpreting experiences of hate speech was central to participants' motivations and the focus of the campaign. In providing a shared basis of diverse experiences from which participants could work together, the campaign negotiated the most difficult aspect of working with, and campaigning through, the conflicted and difficult notion of *hate speech* – the constant instability of its meaning, and endlessly conflicted evaluation of its significance.

Campaigns are usually defined by clear aims and goals, and tightly defined concepts that can be shared among those mobilized around it, and clearly communicated to those targeted by it. In the *No Hate Speech* campaign, there is, at least on paper, a clear, guiding definition of 'hate speech':

"Hate speech, as defined by the Council of Europe, covers all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin".⁴

3 Sindre Bangstad (2015) "Hate speech: the dark twin of free speech"
<http://www.sindrebangstad.com/hate-speech-the-dark-twin-of-free-speech/>

4 As quoted on the campaign website: <http://www.nohatespeechmovement.org/campaign>



The Council of Europe's definition bears the clear imprint of the history of the institution and the slow emergence of the concept of hate speech in the decades following World War 2. As Erik Bleich has shown, laws aimed primarily at curbing racist expression took shape in German and Austrian post-war prohibitions of National Socialist propaganda, and were extended during the 1960s and 1970s to specifically prohibit publications aimed at inciting hatred against 'racial or religious groups'. Beyond countries with a recent past of fascism, the 1960s saw similar developments in, countries experiencing prolonged, violent and ongoing withdrawal from territories they had colonized. By the end of the 1960s, Bleich summarizes, many western European countries had enacted laws that provide for 'wide latitude for curtailing public expression of racism'.⁵

At the international level, the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights presaged the European Convention of Human Rights' emphasis on interlocking rights to both freedoms of opinion and expression, and also from discrimination or incitement to discrimination. As Bleich notes, the 1965 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) was an attempt to resolve the tension inherent in the UDHR between "...two strands of values: does limiting racist speech abridge core freedoms, or do expressions of racism undermine other fundamental rights?" Consequently, ICERD states that signatory states should "condemn all propaganda and all organisations which are based on ideas or theories of superiority of one race or group of persons of one colour or ethnic origin, or which attempts to justify or promote racial hatred or discrimination in any form".⁶

These articles and definitions are structured around assumptions that, arguably, any meaningful understanding of hate speech must engage with: power relations in the context of modern history and the society of the nation-state, specifically the influence of race-making and racism; the capacity of public communications to contribute to situations where historically minoritized or marginalized groups are vulnerable to violence or active forms of discrimination; the significance of public communications in cultivating climates where racialized or stigmatized groups are held up as objects of suspicion and hostility. Arguably, however, these guiding definitions are not particularly central to how campaign engagements with the concept of hate speech play out.

One arena of activism I observed closely over the three initial years of the campaign was the use of Facebook groups by activists involved in the campaign to share information, draw attention to cases or incidents in different countries, and rally awareness and support for different initiatives or rapid responses. A consistent dimension of this activity was the need for a constant commentary on what dimension of the incident or event *constituted hate speech*, an act of translation not only between different linguistic contexts (and almost exclusively into English), but also between divergent socio-political contexts, contexts in which hate speech may be understood

5 Erich Bleich, (2011), *The Freedom to be Racist* p. 20-21

6 *ibid* p. 22

and evaluated in overlapping but also radically different ways. In a general flow of ad hoc posts, this ensures that the Facebook group serves as an ambient version of the general experiential methodology. For anyone who pays attention, these spaces serve as micro discourse laboratories, in which the concept of hate speech *was being made to mean* through practice and negotiation, and also through contest and conflict.

During the 2014 Gaza war, for example, over the course of several weeks, multiple posts on the Facebook page were ‘called out’ by other participants as constituting hate speech, or, alternatively, as too broadly political, and not relevant to a group focused solely on *hate as speech*. For the purposes of this general observation, the details of the posts are unimportant. What is important to note is the way in which the understanding of hate speech being offered were inseparable from the wider political antagonisms being played out. It is possible, while immensely difficult, to provide useful guiding definitions of hate speech that are less legalistic and more attuned to communicative exchanges, for example, as “speech or expression capable of instilling or inciting hatred of, or prejudice against, a person or group of persons on a specified ground”.⁷ Yet it is also the case that under conditions of conflict, almost any form of speech about *the Other* can be interpreted or recast as a form of hate speech – as misrepresenting or misunderstanding the Other to such an extent that it amounts to instilling prejudice or hatred.

In some ways, the online context of the Gaza occupation is an extreme example⁸, however it would be a mistake to evaluate these intensive exchanges reductively as ‘politically motivated’ (what is not?), or simply lacking an understanding of hate speech. Instead, it is worth relating this general reflection on a Facebook group to the dynamics discussed by David Boromisza-Habashi in an essay on the linguistic analysis of racist hate speech. Naming ‘hate speech’, he argues, is always more than a form of analytical categorization, it is an irreducibly political act:

...accusations of racist hate speech and responses to such accusations occur in particular social, cultural, political and discursive contexts, and are designed to achieve particular sociopolitical ends. Those who allege hate speech strive to achieve two social ends: to sustain a political and moral order in which hate speech is not tolerated, and to challenge another speakers who violated that political and moral order”

If naming something as hate speech issues a political challenge, it is inevitable that this challenge will, in turn, be responded to. In the early days of the campaign, there was much discussion of this in relation to the reception of the campaign – a recognition that the imperative *no hate speech* is also an invitation to *more hate speech*, in that the campaign would inevitably be integrated into the communicative and political dynamics it seeks to counter. Boromisza-Habashi’s argument is

7 Katharine Gelber, (2011) *Speech Matters: Getting Free Speech Right*.

8 For a discussion of the integration of social media to the conflict, see Kuntsman, Adi and Rebecca L. Stein (2015) *Digital Militarism: Israeli Occupation in the Social Media Age*



derived from an analysis of party political discourse, but the dynamics he identifies have wider relevance:

In response to such accusations, speakers may respond with a counterchallenge. Speakers may argue that the communicative act their challengers characterized as hate speech did not occur or it did not qualify as hate speech. They may further attempt to... claim that the accusation itself constitutes hate speech.

In other words, the irreducibly political dimension of hate speech as a category can be turned against those who employ it. While, as discussed previously, most theoretical and legal definitions of hate speech have an implicit theory of unequal power relations, this anchoring does not hold in the unfolding of political discourse, and Boromisza-Habashi has in mind here the ways in which *nationalist movements are adept at claiming the status of victims, strangers in our own land, now silenced through hate speech directed at us and our way of life*. Thus, he argues, employing the concept of hate speech may work to amplify political antagonisms:

The use of the term tends to result in social and political polarization between speakers and the groups they represent. In the context of such polarization, the very act of defining hate speech reinforces the social division between those who advocate a particular definition and those who interpret that definition as an accusation targeting their brand of political expression.

Boromisza-Habashi's argument is worth quoting at length as it captures, beyond the public sphere of charged political rhetoric, the political dynamics that deploying the concept of hate speech sets in motion (dynamics experienced, most likely, by anyone who has typed "that's hate speech" into a Facebook thread). Using the category 'hate speech' is in itself a communicative act that inevitably becomes part of the discursive and political processes it seeks to challenge. Employed in a context of political difference and antagonism, the fanciful notion of a shared understanding of the concept recedes even further from reality. In this argument, the consequences of this process is problematic:

In some contexts, the political use of the term hate speech and debates surrounding its proper definition have led to such an expansion in the term's meaning that it can be used to label any kind of public expression a political actor finds objectionable. This expansion becomes a practical communication problem for antidiscrimination advocates.⁹

However, what I wish to propose in this reflection is the opposite; that this expansion became a practical communication solution for the campaign, precisely because no tightly defined,

⁹ 'Hate speech', David Boromisza-Habashi, in *The International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction*, ed. Karen Treacy et al, John Wiley. p. 716

shared concept – regardless of constant symbolic reference to the Council of Europe definition – *could work* across the linguistic and socio-political contexts of a wider Europe. This should not be taken to suggest that hate speech just means whatever people want it to mean, or that all such understandings are relative. Instead, it is to argue that recognizing the inherently political, unstable and contested nature of the concept positions it as a framework to mobilize, and mobilize through in the context of a campaign seeking both national-level activation and European level recognition.

Stanley Fish summarises the challenges of working across such levels when he argues that: “... there is no generally accepted account of (1) what hate speech is, (2) what it does (what its effects are) and (3) what, if anything, should be done about it... (these questions are unanswerable) ‘...because hate speech is a category without stable content’.”¹⁰ The only way to deal with this instability is to embrace it; to recognize that it will be given meaning through mobilization, through embracing the process of negotiation, through accepting its irreducibly political, contested and unstable nature, and through accepting that coherence cannot be established through top-down direction but can only emerge through the quality of participation. Therefore, as Marcel Maussen and Ralph Grillo summarise:

Hate speech (the very existence of the category, how it is interpreted and operationalized) is best conceptualized as a social, cultural and political construct, its meaning dependent on the context in which it is deployed, and from whose perspective. 11

In conclusion to this section, then, I think that the general approach of the campaign embraced this form of recognition, and provided an institutional framework and a mobile campaign ‘brand identity’ in relation to which participants had to work to co-negotiate understandings adequate to the issues they were taking on. And, this embrace of the campaign as a political actor fully implicated in deploying a constructed and contested category has a further consequences. Firstly, there was never any (unrealistic) expectation that a definition of hate speech that is not in constant tension and conflict with the principle of freedom of expression could be developed. If ‘hate speech’, as Sindre Bangstad observes, is the ‘dark twin’ of free speech, then constant contextual negotiation of the relation between the two is also a constant dimension of the campaign. This is particularly important in a context where the ‘limits’ of freedom of expression has become a potent source of conflict and, increasingly, political provocation, in Europe. The assault on free expression – through corporate capture, state surveillance and impunity, and extremist intimidation – is real. And it is also the case, under these conditions, as Priyamvada Gopal argues, that:

¹⁰ Stanley Fish, ‘Going in circles with hate speech’, *New York Times*, 13 October 2012

¹¹ Marcel Maussen & Ralph Grillo (2014) ‘Regulation of speech in multicultural societies’, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 40: 2 pp. 174-193



“Free speech” – rather than being the nurturing and encouragement of real courage and the opening up of the imagination to new possibilities – is in danger of becoming one of the great banalities of our day, trotted out much more by the establishment for explaining its more degraded moves than a channel for producing meaningful dissent that could lead to material alternatives for the majority.¹²

Freedom, as Gopal argues, is a practice rather than a ‘thing’, and the campaign needs to continue to embrace and work with the tension between understandings of hate speech and free expression – and the different, contextual ways in which this tension plays out – *as a practice of freedom*, not as a potential limit to it.

III. WHAT HATE SPEECH DOES

Participants in the No Hate Speech campaign are united by the assumption that hate speech matters, that it has an impact, that it entails consequences. At the same time, it has been my impression at events I have attended that very few campaign participants believed that forms of prohibition, a route normally suggested when hate speech *is held to have consequences*, could be of value to the campaign.

Definitions of the character and content of hate speech are inseparable from presumptions or predictions of the consequentiality of that speech, an idea, in turn, based on a general theory of language and communication as a ‘type of action’ – it does something in the world, and does something to people in that world.¹³ The literature on hate speech generally approaches this consequentiality through the idea of *harm*, and a great deal of energy has been expended on exploring *how speech causes harm* and what kind of harm is being claimed.

As Ishani Maitra and Mary Kate McGowan explore, theories of hate speech posit different kinds of agency to speech, with some researchers focusing on how “...racist hate speech (merely) *causes* harm, while others claim that it also *constitutes* harm”. For speech to constitute harm, it must directly precipitate or legitimate a causal action, say for example incitement to racial hatred at a political rally that results in violence against those racialized in that context. That speech causes harm, on the other hand, amounts to an equally complex but more ambiguous claim than that of constituting harm, in that “...speech can harm not just directly, such as by causing fear and anxiety in its targets, but also somewhat indirectly, by affecting the positions of groups to which those targets belong within the social hierarchy”.¹⁴

12 Priyamvada Gopal (2015) ‘How free are we really?’ <http://theconversation.com/how-free-are-we-really-49966>

13 Mausén & Grillo op. cit. p.179

14 ‘Introduction & overview’ in *Speech & Harm: Controversies over Free Speech*, ed. Ishani Maitra & Mary Kate McGowan, pp.6-7.

The campaign, of course, is predicated on the contention that hate speech causes harm, but rightly, I think, it has not been preoccupied with endlessly complex discussions of *how to establish harm*. This is, arguably, as a result of the human rights education framework of the campaign. A key mobilizing idea of the campaign has been that ‘online’ space is public space, and thus a space where human rights apply. This is simultaneously a powerfully simple claim, and a deceptively simple formulation. But what is striking about the general approach of the campaign is how closely it mirrors one of the most influential liberal discussions of harm, published while the campaign was in full swing.

The legal scholar Jeremy Waldron, in his recent book *The Harm in Hate Speech* (2012), introduces his book through an imagined scenario, albeit one that is a thinly veiled reference to actual events.¹⁵ In his treatment, a father and daughter of Muslim background take the New York subway and encounter political advertisements: “Muslims and 9/11. Don’t serve them, don’t speak to them, don’t let them in”. ‘What does this mean, papa?’ asks the girl, as her father hurries them along.

Waldron continues by posing the question ‘what is the point of these signs?’¹⁶ While this may appear self-evident – ‘they express hate’ - these signs, in his argument, send out two interlocking messages. The first is to those who, as Muslims or ‘Muslim-looking’ people, are the targets, those who can be made a subject of the imperative demand of the message. To them, Waldron argues, the sign says “Don’t be fooled into thinking you are welcome here. The society around you may seem hospitable and nondiscriminatory, but the truth is that you are not wanted. . . .” At the same time, the addressee of the message is *also* the non-Muslim, specifically the ‘silent majority’ that is both constructed and spoken for through such radical right-wing rhetoric. For those who are asked to recognize themselves in this position, the advertisement is an invitation: “We know some of you agree that these people are not wanted here. Know now that you are not alone”.

The purpose of this loosely fictional treatment is to make an argument as to the potential consequentiality of such a message in public space. Waldron’s general concern, as a legal scholar, is with arguments as to when and how liberal democracies should use their legislative apparatus to intervene in the dissemination of ‘harmful’ speech and communications. But his argument here is of interest because he grounds his treatment of these questions in particular conceptions of social life and the public good. Waldron is dismissive of the argument - made by people who will not experience the impact of such messages in particular places and political contexts - that the targeted should just learn to live with this state of affairs. Not only

15 Between 2011 and the present, for example, various groups affiliated to the Stop Islamization of America movement have paid for Islamophobic ads to be posted in the New York subway and in other US cities: <http://www.islamophobiatoday.com/2013/01/19/talk-back-to-hate-campaign-targets-pamela-gellers-anti-muslim-nyc-subway-ads/>

16 This and all subsequent quotations from Waldron, Jeremy (2012) *The Harm in Hate Speech*, Harvard University Press, pp. 2-5. A summary of the book’s argument may be found in the following Eurozine essay: <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2012-04-24-waldron-en.html>



does this assume that those targeted must pay a price to defend a definition of the collective good - of freedom of speech, a cost that will never be incurred by those not targeted - but it assumes that there are no other goods damaged by making "...these messages part of the permanent visible fabric of society".

In Waldron's argument, other public goods are at stake. The first is what he terms a *public good of inclusiveness*. In general terms, a 'public good', such as a public park, or municipal library system, is a good that can be used without reducing its availability to others and from which no one is excluded. Waldron takes this material idea and uses it to think about the interdependence of social life in globalized, multicultural societies, which is dependent on everyone accepting that "...the society is not *just* for them; but it *is* for them too, along with all of the others".

This idea of a collectively cultivated sense of legitimacy for all in public space is curiously abstract, in one very important way – it is at odds with the layers of supposed entitlement built up through ethnic membership of the nation-state. Historically the nation functions to encourage a collective identity vested in the idea - and feeling - that society is digital media space, if not just for *them*, mainly for them, and always more so than all of the others (this is why it is so easy, as we can see in the current borders crisis, to frame refugees as guests who must be grateful for whatever kind of 'hospitality' they receive, and therefore to frame what they do receive as a form of loss, as something taken away from the 'ordinary' people).

Nevertheless, Waldron's idea resonates with the philosophy of intercultural learning so central to European youth work; that

this shared collective good of 'assurance' must be constantly cultivated by all, and that this takes work, work which is most successful when it is barely noticed.

'Hate speech undermines this public good', he argues, because it 'creates something like an environmental threat to social peace', a 'slow-acting poison' that undermines this work and diminishes the energy contributed to it.

The second consequence can be understood as a form of targeted violence; it prevents those subjected by the message to go about their daily life with dignity, and thus lessens their standing as members of society. Dignity, in this understanding, is a person's "social standing, the fundamentals of basic reputation that entitle them to be treated as equals in the ordinary operations of society". Again, issue could be taken with Waldron placing so much significance in the slippery notion of dignity, and with the thinness of his social description. The ideological positions locked down in these public advertisements are positions derived from formative histories and practices of injustice; that is, from existing practices of unequal treatment in the ordinary operations of society. They endure beyond their ideological fixing in particular messages.

Nevertheless, the argument continues by recognizing the unequal power relations critical in definitions of hate speech.

The circulation of hate speech undermines and corrodes dignity because it imposes a collectivized burden,

and it does this by "... associating ascriptive characteristics like ethnicity, or race, or religion with conduct or attributes that should disqualify someone from being treated as a member of society in good standing". Or, expressed in less legally derived language, it forces people to reckon with stereotypes, smears, threats and accusations that they cannot avoid, because these messages have a collectivizing logic and drive. All Muslim or 'Muslim-looking' people are forced, in this example, to reckon with the consequences of messages that hold 'them' up as problem population.

As such, Waldron argues, the violence of hate speech is at once political, but also intimate – "its aim is to compromise the dignity of those at whom it is targeted, both in their own eyes and in the eyes of other members of society". Waldron's story of everyday injury provides useful ways for thinking about a central thrust of the campaign so far. Firstly, as we have seen, it locates the consequence of harm in a human rights framework. Secondly, the 'virtual' space of the online and the digital corresponds to Waldron's metro station in a number of ways, and this provides a useful metaphor for discussing the public dimension of the campaign strategy.

Firstly, both spaces are public in that they are *spaces of frequently random encounter*, and of interaction on terms that we are not individually free to decide upon. In the early days of Internet utopianism, there was a form of political hope that saw it as a space where the body could be transcended, and where forms of freedom beyond bodies and the physical and cultural markers used to place us as particular kinds of social subjects – or problem populations – could be forged. This hope was vested in the interactive forms of that time, in the far more circumscribed spaces of chat rooms and listservs. However contemporary networked digital media are *convergent*; material circulates in and across networks, platforms are integrated into other platforms, and increasingly, our 'social media' identities are spread across these convergent spaces.

In interacting in these convergent spaces, users produce data, and this increases the searchable, reachable, and locatable dimensions of these hybrid public identities. Further, people increasingly recognize the performed and fashioned nature of their mediated identities, but also the difficulties of controlling where these identities circulate, and how they are interacted with. The social media theorists danah boyd and Alice Marwick have used the idea of 'context collapse' to capture the experience of random encounter situated by Waldron in the metro station: "social media technologies collapse multiple audiences into single contexts, making it difficult for people to



use the same techniques online that they do to handle multiplicity in face-to-face conversation”.¹⁷

In other words, while people are acutely aware of the need to cultivate particular versions of themselves online, the convergence and networking of sites and platforms ensures that there is no stable ‘audience’ to which they can adjust, never mind control, this performance of themselves. Further, this ‘context collapse’ within and across social media platforms increases the density of random encounters with material and users who may target on the basis of identities and their attachments.

All of this points to second way in which

digital media space is also public space, in that it is occupied, inhabited and moved through by people in ‘real’ ways.

In other words, it is experienced in ways that produce personal and emotional investments, and thus to be targeted in these spaces is to risk – because of course, there is no social interaction free of risk – an injury to what Waldron terms ‘dignity’. For all its ambiguity, the dignity of the human is a key concept in human rights, and for Waldron’s argument it also has a further important valence. Very often, the responses of people targeted on line are reduced to the idea of being ‘offended’; a moralistic and subjective concept that suggests they should simply learn to be more robust in the give-and-take of public life. Waldron’s notion of dignity is designed to suggest that hate speech has consequences beyond offering ‘offence’ to a system of beliefs or moral values - that it has the capacity to undermine and unsettle in far more profound ways.

Whatever we choose to call it in the context of mediated spaces of interaction, we know that our selves are present and invested in these interactions and their dynamics. This recognition has, as previously noted, underpinned the campaign’s refusal of the still prevalent political assumption that the ‘internet’ is something out there, a wild place beyond society and social norms, an add-on to people’s experience of the real world. The interactivity of the digital experience, Adrian Athique argues, “must be understood as an intimate affair, a form of mass communication that is radically individualized in both its function and appearance”.¹⁸ Interactivity, therefore, is not a form of de-personalization, but of shifting and emerging forms of personal engagement that are felt and lived in intimate and subjective ways.

It is this recognition that underpins the third dimension, *that mediated and interactive spaces are public in that they are political*. In Waldron’s example, the public space of the metro station is intimate, the father must explain to his daughter, and respond to her anxiety as well as to his own. And it is political, as the messages reinforce a relation of power that undermines their perceived

17 Alice Marwick & danah boyd (2011) “I tweet honestly, I tweet passionately; Twitter users, context collapse, and the imagined audience”. *New Media & Society*, 13(1) 114-133

18 Adrian Athique (2013) *Digital Media and Society*, p 67

legitimacy in public space. Given the scale of encounter with racist, homophobic and misogynist communications reported during the campaign, it is not difficult to transpose this sense of the intimate/political to thinking about the question of 'harm' in the campaign. In the campaign, the harm of hate speech is *intimate*, in that it is recounted through experience, but the basis for combatting it is through a shift to the *political*, treating it as a block to participation, to being legitimately present in public.

Waldron's framework, then, provides a useful focus for consolidating what appears to me as the main drive of the campaign as a public intervention. His framework, as noted, does have weaknesses, and, inevitably, its relevance to the campaign is limited. In what remains of this section, I will discuss two ways in which the metro station does not resemble the public space of networked media, and propose that the campaign needs to do more in relation to these dimensions in the future.

The first point is somewhat obvious, which is that the dominant platforms that significantly shape online sociality are not public utilities, but private enterprises. Much as metro stations may be both public in terms of access, and private in terms of ownership and management, social networking and content circulation sites are both public in that they facilitate user connectivity and private, in that they shape this connectivity for profit. Further, their dependence on the logic of *sharing* blurs some conventional distinctions between the public and the private, with critics pointing out that dominant commercial platforms work through the 'barter' of personal privacy and acceptance of surveillance for the capacity to access these new and influential modes of sociality.

As José van Dijck points out, these tensions produce ambivalence: "Obviously, social media services can be both intensely empowering and disturbingly exploitative; sociality is enjoyed and exercised through precisely the commercial platforms that also exploit online social activities for monetary gains"¹⁹ At the same time, as she points out, users are often very conscious of these tensions and trade-offs, and the dominant platforms are subject to constant user challenge on privacy issues and the control of personal data. And, there is certainly an acute awareness of these issues among campaign participants also.

However, it is worth posing the question as to what extent the tactics of the campaign are adequate to the scale and complexity of social networking sites. In the first instance, while major platforms have sent representatives to campaign events, and engage, to varying degrees, with the question of their platform responsibility for hosting and facilitating hateful material, commercial prerogatives; corporate philosophies that fully identify freedom of speech with market freedoms; and the share scale of automated moderation and invisible labour²⁰ combine to ensure that reporting mechanisms and community consultations are rarely more than ritual actions.

19 *The Culture of Connectivity. A Critical History of Social Media*. Oxford University Press. 2013. p. 17

20 See Sarah T Roberts' research on content moderation practices: <http://illusionofvolition.com/2012/02/26/social-media-dirty-work-contextualizing-the-facebook-screening-controversy/>



It is clear that, for example on Facebook and Twitter, a wide variety of activist actions are constantly ongoing against hate groups of various kinds. Unlike the campaign idea of a 'hate watch' – which allows for isolated instances of communications to be reported on the campaign website – such activist actions are 'native' to the platforms they work through, and adequate to their logics and affordances.

Arguably the campaign needs to pay more attention to understanding tactics that work from inside-out, as opposed to strategies that work from the outside-in.

That is, most of the campaign's tactics depend on externalizing content, on holding up to public scrutiny random examples extracted from the overwhelming flow of content on platforms, and using them as test cases for reporting or as educational fragments.

This sense that more attention must be paid to the specificity of the platforms and sites that are under campaign surveillance applies also to the 'speech' in 'hate speech'. In Waldron's example, the instance of hate speech is historically established – a written message, displayed in public space. However, in digital culture, the written text is only one dimension of an environment where the expressive practices and affordances of forms of communication are overlapping and divergent. It is one thing to say that existing definitions of 'speech' can be expanded to include 'all forms of communication', it is quite another for this to make sense in practice. A campaign aiming to work across convergent digital media cannot constantly refer back solely to a definition developed in relation to the broadcast voice and the published word. Digital cultural production is shaped by copying, mixing, and imitation; by parody and pastiche; by bricolage and inter-textual combination of image-text-sound.

Further, as José van Dijck points out, "patterns of behavior that traditionally existed in offline (physical) sociality are increasingly mixed with social and sociotechnical norms created in an online environment, taking on a new dimensionality".²¹ Beyond the obvious iconography and modes of representation associated with the extreme right online, or the overt racism and misogyny and homophobia associated with particular bulletin boards and discussion sites²², the campaign needs to consolidate more knowledge of how this 'new dimensionality' shapes understandings of what constitutes hate speech in overlapping digital platforms and spaces.

In its next phase, therefore, I suggest that the campaign needs to pay more attention to specific modes and practices of communication. These modes are public, but they also complicate our understanding of the public, and what is public. Consequently, they extend and complicate our understandings of hate speech, and require more targeted and delineated strategies of awareness-

21 op.cit. p. 19

22 See for example recent developments with Reddit: <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2015/reddit-shuts-down-some-racist-anti-semitic-web-forums#.VjDFqJgd2Us.twitter>

raising and intervention. The offline is folded into the online, but the 'online' is still mediated, it is structured, governed and experienced by and through different logics. *More attention to the texture and dynamics of communication will be crucial if the emerging focus on counter-narratives is to be effective.*

IV. HATE SPEECH AND EUROPEAN SOCIO-POLITICS

For some Europe is currently experiencing a resurgence of racism, for others, it is more accurate to regard racism as a defining dimension of how 'Europe' is dominantly imagined. One thing that is clear is that

in the current political conjuncture, the active production of 'problem populations' is a pronounced aspect of politics in Europe.

Racisms in Europe, as Nicholas De Genova argues, can be found in the answers posed to the question "what, then, do we do with *them*?" – and of course, in the question itself.²³ Often, the answers to that question are expressed in hateful and overtly discriminatory ways. For this reason alone, a campaign against hate speech is a necessary response to the assumption that openly racist desires, projects and fantasies can be expressed in public without opposition.

Equally often, racism is expressed in reflexive and coded ways, or not expressed at all, but enforced through the 'muted racism' of structures of disadvantage and institutional discrimination.²⁴ A campaign against hate speech is inadequate to these political realities and dynamics, as

hate speech is but one dimension of contemporary racisms in Europe.

It is the argument of this section that a future direction for the campaign could be to integrate a focus on 'no hate speech' into a wider, renewed anti-racism youth campaign. This argument is developed, in the first instance, through a discussion of two recent high-profile incidents in Germany.

In mid-October 2015, the *New York Times* carried a prominent article entitled "Anti-immigrant violence in Germany spurs new debate on hate speech".²⁵ Published shortly after the stabbing of Henriette Reker –who was subsequently elected Mayor of Cologne - and highly publicized

23 Nicholas De Genova (2010) 'Migration and race in Europe: the trans-Atlantic metastases of a post-colonial cancer', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 13(3) p. 416.

24 Dana Ain-Davis (2007) 'Narrating the Mute: Racializing and Racism in a Neoliberal Moment. Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture and Society.

25 <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/22/world/europe/anti-immigrant-refugees-violence-in-germany.html?ref=world&r=2>



comments at a Pegida rally in Dresden by the writer Akif Pirincci, that “unfortunately the concentration camps are closed right now”, the article reported how “officials drew a straight line between hateful language and violence” in the aftermath of the attack on Reker and attacks on asylum seeker accommodation centres.

The borders crisis that has intensified in mid-2015 has resulted in an often under-reported solidarity drive among people in Europe, responding to the incredible will of people on the move to surmount the obstacles – and tear down the fences – between them and the possibility of a decent life. It has also, of course, intensified the dynamics of already pronounced anti-immigrant politics in Europe, providing fresh impetus for a variety of far-right street movements, opportunities for racist grandstanding by ‘populist’ radical right politicians, some of who are in government across Europe; and of course, endless opportunities for discussion threads, the comment sections of news reports and many other digital spaces to be filled with overtly racist hate speech, misinformation, and ‘calls to patriotic action’.

Interestingly, for the emerging campaign focus on ‘counter-narratives’, public discourse on the borders crisis has been engaged by multiple initiatives designed to ‘change the narrative’ from the problem of numbers and cultures towards a focus on ‘people seeking asylum’. *Al Jazeera*, for example, announced in early September 2015 that it would no longer refer to ‘migrants’ in its reports of human movement in the Mediterranean and Balkans, but solely to ‘asylum-seekers’.²⁶ In the same period the Finnish public service broadcaster YLE circulated a video showing asylum seekers to Finland reading hateful and abusive social media messages directly to camera, a now common media tactic designed to contrast the humanity of the speakers with the dehumanizing threats and insults circulated endlessly in what politicians like to term ‘open debates about immigration’.²⁷

The idea of hate speech that animates the campaign emerges, as previously noted, as a framework for limiting overt expressions of racism and incitement to racial hatred in the second half of the twentieth century. As Maussen and Grillo have summarized, European governmental approaches to racist hate speech have for decades been focused on ‘the public speech of extreme right activists and political leaders’.²⁸ As such, it is clear that the campaign is in a good position, within its current framework, to develop a response to the flood of anti-migrant propaganda being generated on and circulated in social media platforms, and being triggered and legitimated by political actors. Waldron’s metro message is being directed at people seeking asylum and “asylum-seeker looking people’ intensively, and, as they seek to construct people as excess, burdensome and

26 The Al Jazeera editorial is linked here: <http://www.aljazeera.com/blogs/editors-blog/2015/08/al-jazeera-mediterranean-migrants-150820082226309.html> For a critical discussion see here: <http://asacultureseccion.org/2015/09/14/of-refugees-and-migrants-stigma-politics-and-boundary-work-at-the-borders-of-europe/>

27 YLE video: <http://areena.yle.fi/1-3018834>

28 op.cit. p. 180

even dangerous, it is critical that these torrents are publicly opposed and strategically engaged. A special thematic focus within the campaign would be a good start.

However, a singular focus on hate speech now concentrated on the capacious figure of the 'migrant' is an insufficient form of anti-racism in the context of European youth work. One way to illustrate why is to take a second, related example from Germany. Also in October 2015, a news discussion show on ARD – a public service broadcaster – decided to illustrate a debate on whether Germany should introduce a quota for refugees with a photoshopped image of Angela Merkel wearing a chador.²⁹ Jokingly referred to by some as a 'Merka' – illustrating, as does the visual choice of the chador, how very different Muslim headscarves have simply become floating symbols of unacceptable difference beyond their contextual specificities - the backdrop image received a significant number of complaints.

For some, the image was far too suggestive of the kind of mocked-up images being used by Pegida and far-right demonstrators to suggest that Merkel and other politicians were acting treacherously in admitting 'too many' refugees. In response to the criticism, the producers of the programme 'Report from Berlin' released a statement that "We are pleased with the numerous criticisms of our graphics and are very sorry that some disagreed with our view of the chancellor or they have even misunderstood."

This kind of image is clearly not hate speech, and the justification of its producers is framed as a contribution to freedom of expression, a provocative form of satire designed to elicit strong reactions and opinions on a 'controversial subject'. However, whatever the intent of the producers, the association made by viewers between the media image and the tense and violent political dynamics encountered in the first example is important. Firstly, the viewer protests noted how this kind of satirical image references the kind of protest images being disseminated by the far-right, which are heavy with imaginings of a 'Eurabian' or forcibly 'Islamified' future (a reference the producers were surely not unaware of). This act of referencing is significant as it illustrates how rhetoric, memes and discourse associated with 'extremists' actually flow and circulate across the media and political spectrum in ways that are often regarded as too uncomfortable to dwell on.³⁰

Beyond this resonance, if this is an image intended to signify, through its combination of the chador and the Chancellor, a future where the numbers of asylum seekers have not been 'controlled', it works by setting up a number of stark oppositions. Angela Merkel is German, the chador is foreign, and in this contrast it stands in for all asylum-seekers, regardless of their background or faith. As a symbol of foreignness, of *not-being-German*, it works to undermine, in the first instance, the

29 <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/angela-merkel-in-muslim-headress-photo-sparks-anger-in-germany-a6683051.html>

30 For a discussion of the ideological crossover between the 'internet' far right and 'mainstream' right, see my essay 'They called a war, and someone came' in the Nordic Journal of Migration Research, open access at the link: <http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/njmr.2013.3.issue-4/njmr-2013-0014/njmr-2013-0014.xml>



legitimacy of those who identify as both German and Muslim. Further, it is a gendered symbol, a symbol that has been progressively made to stand for 'un-freedom' in contemporary Europe. So here it also presages a clash of values and civilization – German values of freedom and equality, embodied by a female Chancellor, versus non-European/Islamic/asylum-seeker values of *less or no freedom*.

Thus the program's image links to a broad flow of exclusionary associations at play in public cultures in Europe. The movement of people seeking asylum from the disastrous conflicts in Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq has led to an overt fusion of anti-migrant and anti-Muslim racism. The 'Islamic migrant' of anti-refugee rhetoric is not just a 'bogus' free-loader, but also a cultural, sexual and civilizational problem, as established images of the asylum-seeker as 'parasite' are being fused with more recent discourses of the 'Islamic take over of Europe'. This is an acute development, but it is not unprecedented, rather it is coherent with the idea of racism as a '...scavenger ideology, which gains its power from the ability to pick out and utilize ideas and values from other sets of ideas and beliefs in specific socio-historical contexts'.³¹

A prime example of this is the shifting ways in which 'migrants' are constructed as social enemies. The 'migrant' is not a descriptive category reserved for people who move between political territories, it is, as Etienne Balibar wrote in the early 1990s, a racialized category, including 'not all foreigners and not only foreigners'. And, it is this racialization of people who migrate that the German television image depends on, but it is one justified in civilizational terms, and as an important exercise in free expression.

What we are witnessing in contemporary Europe, then, is the current focus on de-legitimizing asylum-seekers fusing with and animating other forms of racism against 'migrant-looking' people, those who, in Stuart Hall's phrase, may be *in* but will never be *of* Europe. In this context, the rhetoric of Hungary's prime minister Viktor Orbán concerning the need to 'defend Europe's Christian values' against refugees may have attracted criticism, but it is nothing more than an exaggerated refinement of the transnational anti-Muslim and anti-migrant racism most pronounced in the post 9/11 period. While the far-right in Europe must be defeated, it would be a profound mistake to focus solely on these violent movements and their spectacular pronouncements to the exclusion of a wider understanding of, and mobilization against, racism.

One of the most challenging dimensions of racism is that it is always dynamic, shifting in historical contexts and through social and political relations, a "...plastic or chameleon-like phenomenon which constantly finds new forms of political, social, cultural or linguistic expression".³² In Europe, this plasticity conflicts with a progressive sense that European societies have overcome racism, or at least confined it to the political margins. The location of the margins, of course, always depends

31 Solomos, J & L. Back (1996) *Racism and Society*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 213

32 Neil Macmaster (2001) *Racism in Europe 1870-2000*, p.2

on who is imagining themselves at the centre. In the current border crisis, western Europeans compare their apparent openness to the right-wing nationalist governments of central and eastern Europe, and reassure themselves that *racism lives over there*. In states across these regions, the political centre points to the extremes of neo-Nazis, street movements and ‘populists’ and pronounces – *racism lives over there*.

However, in a Europe where the borders crisis intersects with a prolonged period of political economic turmoil, the production of racism is more encompassing, more structured, and more complicated, than this. As the anthropologist Ghassan Hage has recently argued, ‘ethno-nationalist ideologies’ have come to play an important role in securing the social cohesion of the nation-state. His argument is worth quoting at length:

Economic globalization has meant that very few Western nations are left with a predominantly national economic structure that works as a solid basis for securing the togetherness of the nation regardless of what people within the nation think or believe. In this sense Western nation-states are beginning to resemble the Third World nation-states they have helped to artificially create in the process of colonization. This has meant, among other things, a relative increase in the importance of the function of the ideological (for example national values, national histories) as a centripetal force securing both the practical and the ideological unity of the nation-state...the role of the ideological in securing you to the nation in which you exist becomes far greater. Because of this centrality of the ideological, the social forces that take on the task of protecting ethno-national ideologies develop an increased racist intolerance towards forms of identity and lifestyle otherness that are increasingly constructed as centrifugal forces of disintegration.³³

A consequence of these structural conditions, Hage argues, is that racialized Others become regarded as a burden, as harmful, as requiring exclusion, or “...if they are already physically within the nation, dominant forms of racism work hard at portraying them to be symbolically on its outside”. Thus, even though migration takes place under a system where forms of residency and access to citizenship and social rights are deeply stratified and themselves productive of significant inequality, ‘migrants and migrant-looking people’ are easily cast as the symbols and catalysts of the profound anxieties that exist as to the social futures of contemporary societies.

Under these conditions, the proper relation of the two German examples becomes more evident. The incidents of racist hate speech at political rallies must be tackled on their own terms, but they must also be understood as derived from a much broader and deeper discourse of racial ordering and exclusion, the same order that symbolizes an anxious national future in the juxta-

³³ Ghassan Hage (2014) ‘Recalling anti-racism’ in *Alter-Politics: Critical Anthropology and the Radical Imagination*



position of German chancellor and non-German symbol of problematic difference. The mode of expression varies drastically in its violence and disdain, but the similarities in imagination are also important, and uncomfortable.

For this reason, it is critical to understand

combatting hate speech as a dimension of anti-racism, but not as a sufficient form of anti-racism on its own.

Unfortunately, because of the broader political ground that can be built against 'hate speech' as a series of extreme utterances - as opposed to against the forms of racism that hate speech exaggerates, but that, in their logic of racial ordering, implicate European political actors well beyond the extremes - it is often the case that opposing hate speech is regarded as the same as combating racism. This assumption needs to be challenged. One way of doing so is to reinvigorate the forms of trans-border solidarity, peer education and intersectional working together that has characterized European youth work's anti-racism in the past. It is this that could meaningfully make the campaign into a movement.

V. AGAINST RADICALISATION

As it moves into its second phase, the project has come to be associated with policy initiatives designed to counter 'extremism and radicalisation'. Writing in a personal capacity, I contend that this is unequivocally a mistake, for two reasons. The first is that 'radicalisation' is an impossibly slippery concept, freighted, as discussed below, with all sorts of problematic assumptions and associations that it is not the job of youth work, and youth activists, to untangle in practice. Secondly, and relatedly, existing radicalisation frameworks have depended heavily on using formal and informal educational structures and actors as points of surveillance and information-gathering about already marginalized and racialized communities. Both the ambiguity of radicalisation, and the mode of politicization it involves, will act to delegitimize youth work and nonformal education.

At the evaluation conference in May 2015, I was struck by the inability of those actors from the Council of Europe and French local government, who attended the seminar to introduce this new priority, *to explain what radicalisation means*. For the most part, they stuck to repeating a guiding definition, before moving on to emphasizing the importance of the priority, and outlining possible future actions. This is a criticism, but it is also an understandable problem. As Mark Sedgwick points out in an essay on the historical development of the term, while its "...ubiquity suggests an established consensus about its meaning", the variety of ways in which the term

is used, and the different contexts in which it is used, produces serious confusion even within research and policy circles.³⁴

Beyond these specialist circles, the confusion is more pronounced. In a study by Hoskins and O'Loughlin of the use of the term in news reports in the UK, they contrast the confident narrative of 'a cast of radicalizers and the vulnerable radicalized' employed by some security consultants and journalists, with a near total lack of audience confidence, who report themselves as uncertain about how the term is being used, and why.³⁵ Given this, a minimum responsibility of a campaign aiming to use this as a framework to engage with young people must surely be to get to grips with the reasons for this confusion prior to any such engagement.

A starting point is to review the emergence of the term. Several studies note that the idea of radicalisation does not have a history of being used to describe an individual or collective process in relation to 'radical' politics, even those movements from the reactionary right and revolutionary left that engaged European states in violent struggle in the latter decades of the twentieth century. Instead, it is a product of the post 9/11 period, when, as Arun Kundnani has demonstrated, hundreds of research articles delineating radicalisation as a "psychological or theological process by which Muslims move towards extremist views" were produced in just a few years.³⁶ Peter Neumann, one of the leading researchers in this field, explains the concept's rapid inflation by reference to a particular problem encountered in the aftermath of the September 11th attacks – *the constant conflation of any explanation of violent attacks with justification of those attacks*:

There is a long and well-established discourse about the root causes of terrorism and political violence that can be traced back to the early 1970s. Following the attacks on the United States on 11 September 2001, however, it suddenly became very difficult to talk about the 'roots of terrorism', which some commentators claimed was an effort to excuse and justify the killing of innocent civilians...it was through the notion of radicalisation that a discussion...became possible again.³⁷

Comparatively, Mark Sedgwick describes a marked increase in the media and policy use of the term in the UK and elsewhere after the terrorist attacks in London on July 22nd 2005, and after the murder in Amsterdam of the film maker Theo Van Gogh in late 2004. Given this, it is somewhat predictable that the term has become central to the response of the French state to the attacks in Paris of January 2015, and in Denmark in the aftermath of the Copenhagen shootings in March of the same year, and that as a consequence it has been insisted upon as a European

34 (2010) 'The concept of radicalisation as source of confusion', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 22: 479-494.

35 'Media and the myth of radicalisation', *Media, War & Conflict*, 2(2): 107-110.

36 (2014) 'The myth of radicalisation' in *The Muslims are Coming: Islamophobia, Extremism and the Domestic War on Terror*

37 Neumann op. cit.



priority. And it is also understandable; societies that have traumatic violence visited upon them seek answers and explanations for that violence, and state authorities have to seek ways of predicting the likelihood of any such future violence, and work on figuring out how to stop it.³⁸

A critique of this turn to *radicalisation* as a framework is not an attempt to delegitimize looking for answers, or seeking to prevent violence. Nor is it to deny the significance of networked communications online in organizing and integrating young people into violent political movements. Rather, it is to agree with a significant body of research that suggests that radicalisation is too contingent as a framework, shaped by so many political presuppositions and analytical exclusions that make it difficult to provide any such meaningful answers. To adopt it into youth work is to adopt these presuppositions and exclusions, and to accept their consequences in terms of credibility with young people, and the question for the campaign is whether it is prepared to pay this price.

I will briefly discuss three articles here – Kundnani’s ‘The myth of radicalisation’; Neumann’s ‘The trouble with radicalisation’, and Sedgwick’s ‘The concept of radicalisation as a source of confusion’. This is obviously a selection of critical articles, but they are selected because each has aimed to map and evaluate the state of research, and therefore the shared emphasis in their titles is striking, although the extent and focus of their critique differs in significant ways.

For Peter R. Neumann, radicalisation cannot be dismissed as a myth – of the authors selected, he is the most invested in the concept and field - but it is a concept structured around a central ambiguity that has serious consequences in practice. The ambiguity stems from tension between approaches that emphasize ‘extremist beliefs’ over those that focus on ‘extremist behaviours’ – what he terms, respectively, ‘cognitive radicalisation’ and ‘behavioural radicalisation’. Thus, while both approaches configure ‘radicalisation’ as a process, they imagine very different end points for that process: as the belief in and espousal of ideas that are ‘radically’ at odds with dominant ideas about society and governance, or, as the *violent actions in which those ideas result*. These are *radically* different end points, and they trigger further controversies over the relation of thought and action.

Neumann summarises research that is critical of the idea that there is some kind of unidirectional process from ‘cognitive radical’ to ‘terrorist’, an assumption that ignores that there will always be many more ‘radicals’ than violent actors, and which also ignores the demonstrable fact that terrorists do not always have or proclaim strong political beliefs - ‘...being a cognitive extremist, in other words, is neither sufficient nor necessary as a condition for becoming a terrorist’.³⁹ At the same time he is critical of approaches that assume that a definite separation between political beliefs and political actions can be made, and approaches that isolate people and their actions from ‘the social

38 And, as Arun Kundnani points out: “Today counter-radicalisation is a career, as young scholars enter the mini-industry of national security think tanks, terrorism studies departments, law enforcement counterterrorism units, and intelligence services to work on modeling radicalisation”

39 op.cit p. 879

and political context in which they emerge'. These academic debates are important, Neumann argues, because they are reflected in dominant political approaches to 'counter-radicalisation'.

The dominant European approach - in his general sketch - 'aims to confront cognitive and behavioural radicalisation, but places more emphasis on the former'. In other words, not only is the assumption that 'extremist' ideas lead to violence implicit in this approach, but 'extremist' ideas, *tout court*, are regarded as a political problem. Neumann rightly places this emphasis in the post-war tradition in western Europe on defending democracy not just through strong constitutional arrangements, for example, but through civic education and 'democracy promotion'. And it is this heritage, of course, which shapes the values and practices of European-level youth work. The problem, however, is that the project of countering dangerous ideas is a political project which is there to be struggled over, and shifts in emphasis and focus over time. Therefore, the focus on *preventing radical ideas* is open to overt political abuse, but more profoundly, has anti-democratic consequences:

*The principal concern is that (the European approach) may be used by governments to suppress dissent and harass political opponents. Because cognitive extremism is about ideas, not behaviour, the parameters for who and what should be considered a threat to the constitutional order can be changed and redefined quite easily. What constitutes subversion, in other words, is subject to the same political judgments, preferences and biases that apply to concepts like extremism and radicalisation, which means that decision-makers can 'draw the line' in entirely different places. Even in unquestionably democratic countries, therefore, the European approach can be too vague and subjective to avoid overreach. (Karl) Popper's demand 'not to tolerate the intolerant' may be a beautiful sentiment, yet—in the hands of the wrong people—it can be a slippery slope, producing a society that is less tolerant of opposing views and, therefore, less democratic.*⁴⁰

In contexts of conflict and tension where ideas are regarded as indicative of future problems, then dissent and political difference are vulnerable to state surveillance, criminalization and populist scapegoating. There is ample evidence of how the War on Terror era demand that "you are with us or against us" has been applied to dissenting ideas in Europe, and disproportionately so to Muslim populations in Europe, who are constantly required to submit themselves to formal and informal tests of loyalty, integration and cultural compatibility on account of the unchecked assumption that their faith or cultures have a *propensity* for violence. It is no accident that items of Islamic faith – headscarves, minarets, Halal – have been so spectacularly politicized in Europe in the post 9/11 period. If ideas are potentially dangerous, then any dimension of life associated with those ideas, or that symbolizes those ideas, can be held up as suspicious or problematic. And it

40 Neumann op. cit. p.891



is here that the focus on the predictive character of 'extremist' ideas intersects with pronounced anti-Muslim racism in Europe.

To understand this further, it is necessary to draw on Mark Sedgwick's discussion of different domains and agendas that lay claim to the 'radicalisation' framework; the security context, the integration context, and the foreign policy context. The *security context* is concerned with radicalisation posing direct or indirect threats to citizens and the security of the state. The *foreign policy context* is related to and often an extension of the security one, though the ways in which western powers have simultaneously created and supported some radical movements, while working to contain or destroy others, is beyond the scope of this paper. Thirdly, the *integration context*, Sedgwick argues, has emerged from the resurgence of 'neo-nationalism' in Europe, which positions immigration as a source not only of potential security threats but as a threat to socio-cultural cohesion, and has thus given rise to a political insistence in many states on integration as adherence to 'shared values'. Sedgwick notes the tensions between these contexts as they deploy different *markers* of radicalisation:

In the same way that a group or individual that is a problem in integration terms may not be a threat in security terms, a group or individual that is a threat in security terms may not be a problem in integration terms. As is well known, many home-grown terrorists have been apparently well integrated into European societies, and a disproportionate percentage of Islamist terrorists have been converts to Islam.⁴¹

The integration agenda emphasis on 'shared values' is unsettling for the European youth work framework of promoting the shared values of human rights, because the political reality is one where 'shared values' do not operate as an invitation to shared participation, but as a mode of surveillance and discipline. Universalist values are now claimed as the sole preserve of Europe, or the defining property of the nation, and dominant political discourse constantly requires those of 'immigrant background' to display their fidelity to these values. From the criminalization of high school students' dissent in France in the aftermath of January 2015, to the absurdity of kindergartens in the UK being required to report on how they are 'promoting British values', the question *what do we do about them* is now being answered through a coercive language of values, and a focus on *those that do not share our values*.

However, values in all societies, particularly in unequal and politically polarized societies, are contested and conflicted. The result of the intersection of assimilationist 'integration politics' and path-dependent visions of radicalisation is that full citizenship and political participation are closed off to some on the basis of their (perceived) ethno-religious identity. The anti-democratic consequences of this are clear, and therefore youth work dedicated to the critical, autonomous development of young people, and to real solidarity through democratic values in practice cannot afford to become associated with this framework.

41 Sedgwick op. cit. p.41

For an example of these consequences, research on the impact of counter-radicalisation measures in British universities is salutary. When young British Muslims cast as a population uniquely vulnerable to ‘radicalisation’, the space for radical politics and criticality open to non-Muslim and white students is closed off. In Brown and Saeed’s research with British Muslim women of Pakistani background studying in universities in England, they situate their experiences within the context of the post-2005 Prevent Agenda in the UK. In their summary:

As the processes involved remain undetermined, radicalisation is frequently reduced to the profiling of traits or attributions of signs of radicalisation in ‘vulnerable’ or ‘at-risk’ populations...for example, not living a ‘British’ lifestyle renders a Muslim (or community) disenfranchised or rebellious and therefore a suspect-radical...consequently ‘radicalisation’ encompasses a broad concern with a way of life rather than specific behaviours or actions, which has allowed for the securitization of ordinary or unexceptional lives, including those of students.⁴²

Because a background in higher education has been a characteristic of some terrorists, and because of the campus presence in some universities of radical Islamic groups, universities in the UK have been under pressure to commit to ‘counter radicalisation’ measures, including staff being encouraged to note potential signs of radicalisation in the written work of students and their participation in campus societies and events. A renewed ‘Prevent agenda’ in 2015 places a duty on universities to ‘prevent people from being drawn into terrorism, and to conduct risk assessments of radicalisation risks, and staff awareness training:

We would expect appropriate members of staff to have an understanding of the factors that make people support terrorist ideologies or engage in terrorist-related activity. Such staff should have sufficient training to be able to recognise vulnerability to being drawn into terrorism, and be aware of what action to take to take in response.⁴³

These new expectations are being met with significant organized resistance among staff and students. The reasons are clear; under such conditions academic staff are in effect expected to keep students under surveillance, and ‘suspicious’ students find themselves, like the women in Brown and Saeed’s research, negotiating the shifting signs as to what constitutes a ‘moderate’ or ‘radical’ Muslim. For the veiled women who responded to the study, their participation in student life is consistently questioned and seen as a ‘threat’ to the ‘liberal values’ of the university. Ironically, while many lay claim to their political freedom through reference to liberal ideas of academic freedom and traditions of student activism, radicalisation discourse ensures, as Brown and Saeed

42 Katherine E. Brown & Tania Saeed (2014) ‘Radicalisation and counter-radicalisation at British universities: Muslim encounters and alternatives. *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, p. 2.

43 See <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/universities-must-assess-risk-of-students-becoming-terrorists-says-home-office/2019067.article>



conclude, that they cannot be completely seen as part of the nation, but are instead folded into a 'securitized student life'.⁴⁴

Arun Kundnani's review of radicalisation models and theorizing offers a detailed consideration of the emergence of what he terms 'theological-psychological process' models. In general, Kundnani argues, radicalisation models begin from an exclusion of politics as an explanatory framework for violence, "answers to the question of what drives this process are to exclude ascribing any causative role to the actions of Western governments or their allies in other parts of the world; instead individual psychological or theological journeys, largely removed from social and political circumstances, are claimed to be the root cause of the radicalisation process".⁴⁵

Approaches that focus purely on religious theology, he argues, have been overtaken by more complex approaches that factor in group processes, social bonds and 'social psychological journeys'. The new stress on social networks as predictive dimensions may lessen the dependence on individual psychological approaches, but they in effect justify 'suspicion by association', adding an emphasis on group dynamics to the resilient but flawed assumption that certain ideologies or beliefs are inherently violent. Claiming social bonds as a driver of terrorism, Kundnani argues, is inadequate because "...if we accept the implication that terrorism spreads like a virus from a person already infected to his associates, all we have done is explain the process of infection, we have said nothing of why the virus exists in the first place". But if the question of politics is ruled out of radicalisation discourses as inadmissible, then the virus may remain unexplained.

The problem is that while the path to becoming a terrorist can at best be reconstructed after events, the preemptive drive of radicalisation thinking keeps searching for general explanations that lack credibility, but in their capacity to criminalize thought and to marginalize 'radical' young people, have significant political and social consequences. The challenge for law enforcement, Kundnani concludes, is to focus on 'active incitement, financing or preparation of terrorist violence rather than belief systems which are wrongly assumed to be it precursor".

The challenge for the campaign, on the other hand, is how to maintain credibility and independence from a political agenda centered on a slippery, ambiguous and dangerous concept, and one that will, if prior evidence is a guide, place youth workers in the position of surveying and risk assessing young people in ways that further compound their status as the problem we have to do something about.

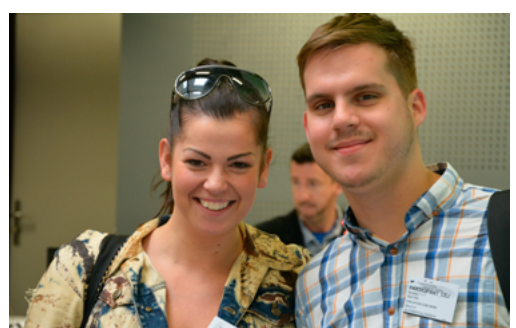
November 2015

Call-outs of the responsibility of the final editor

44 op.cit. p. 11

45 Kundnani op. cit.







The No Hate Speech Movement – youth campaign for human rights online – is a project of the Council of Europe Youth Department launched in March 2013 which was expected to run until 2015. It aims to combat racism and discrimination in the online expression of hate speech by equipping young people and youth organisations with the competences necessary to recognise and act against it. In 2015 the Committee of Ministers decided to continue the campaign until the end of 2017 within the framework of the Council of Europe Plan of Action against violent extremism and radicalisation leading to terrorism.

This report gives a summary of the main issues presented at the evaluation and follow-up conference of the first phase of the campaign held in May 2015. It lists the achievements and concerns of campaign activists and partners, examples of good practice and challenges faced by different stakeholders, their reflections on the evaluation of the campaign, and recommendations for follow-up and ways to continue the combat against hate speech online and offline.

A special appendix to this report is an article written by Dr Gavan Titley in November 2015 as a contribution to the reflection about the achievements of the campaign and the future agenda, notably in view of the debates on radicalisation and its connections with hate speech and human rights, online and offline. He reminds us hate speech is but one dimension of contemporary racisms in Europe and combatting it is a necessary, but not sufficient, approach to counter racism and discrimination today.

Combating hate speech in all forms and media remains a task for anyone concerned by universal human rights in Europe and beyond. The experiences, practices and lessons reflected in this report should serve as inspiration and motivation for further action.



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The Council of Europe is the continent's leading human rights organisation. It comprises 47 member states, 28 of which are members of the European Union. All Council of Europe member states have signed up to the European Convention on Human Rights, a treaty designed to protect human rights, democracy and the rule of law. The European Court of Human Rights oversees the implementation of the Convention in the member states.

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