

# LIGHT ON: CROSS-COMMUNITY ACTIONS FOR COMBATING THE MODERN SYMBOLISM AND LANGUAGES OF RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION

Understanding perception – Research as a tool against racism

WORKSTREAM 2 REPORT



LIGHT ON is a project co-financed by the Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Programme of the European Union

The project “LIGHT ON - Cross-community actions for combating the modern symbolism and languages of racism and discrimination”, funded by the Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Programme of the European Commission, aims to tackle racism and its related images and habits, providing a set of tools for the community and law enforcement professionals, through a preventive and participatory approach.

LIGHT ON is carried out by an interdisciplinary consortium of European actors engaged at different levels in activities to counter discrimination.

LIGHT ON objectives are:

- To challenge the normalization of racism and xenophobia and their acceptance in the dialogue and social dynamics of everyday life, through scientific research that identifies the images that explicitly and implicitly express racism while at the same time analyses how communities perceive them;
- To strengthen the capacity of professionals and authorities against hate crimes and discriminatory behaviours, through a highly specialised training model and a toolbox;
- To encourage citizens to report if they become victims or witness an incident of discrimination.

The editors of this volume are Anna Maria Boileau, Daniele Del Bianco and Ramona Velea, researchers at the ISIG - Institute of International Sociology, Gorizia.

The volume summarizes the main findings of the LIGHT ON research activities, as coordinated by the project Scientific Board, composed by Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem (ELTE) (G. Csepeli), Peace Institute (PI) (V. Bajt) and the Institute of International Sociology of Gorizia (ISIG) (D. Del Bianco).

Main contributions of consortium partners:

#### **Introduction**

Institute of International Sociology of Gorizia (ISIG) (AM. Boileau, D. Del Bianco, R. Velea)

**Mainstream research to combat racism**  
Peace Institute (PI) (V. Bajt, A. Frank)

**Putting a spot on racism: case studies and qualitative analysis**

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem (ELTE) (G. Csepeli, G. Bernath)

Finnish Ombudsman for Minorities (J. Forbom)

Migrant & Refugee Communities Forum (MRCF) (Z. Bralo)

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Peace Institute (PI) (V. Bajt, A. Frank)

**Perceptions and interpretations of racist expressions**

Institute of International Sociology of Gorizia (ISIG) (AM. Boileau, D. Del Bianco, R. Velea)

#### *DISCLAIMER*

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## I. INTRODUCTION

The project “LIGHT ON - Cross-community actions for combating the modern symbolism and languages of racism and discrimination”, funded by the Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Programme of the European Commission, aims to tackle racism and its related images and habits, providing a set of tools for the community and law enforcement professionals, through a preventive and participatory approach.

LIGHT ON is carried out by an interdisciplinary consortium of European actors engaged at different levels in activities to counter discrimination.

### The consortium:

REGIONE  
ABRUZZO



Regione Abruzzo (Italy), Lead Partner



Ombudsman for Minorities (Finland)



United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute, UNICRI



Eötvös Loránd University, ELTE (Hungary)



Institute of International Sociology of Gorizia, ISIG (Italy)



Peace Institute (Slovenia)



European Network Against Racism ENAR (Belgium)



**The Forum**  
Migrant and Refugee Communities Forum

Migrant and Refugee community forum (UK)



Progetti Sociali (Italy)

LIGHT ON objectives are to:

- Challenge the normalization of racism and xenophobia and their acceptance in the dialogue and social dynamics of everyday life, through scientific research that identifies the images that explicitly and implicitly express racism while at the same time analyses how communities perceive them;
- Strengthen the capacity of professionals and authorities against hate crimes and discriminatory behaviours, through a highly specialised training model and a toolbox;
- Encourage citizens to report if they become victims or witness an incident of discrimination.

#### CHALLENGING RACISM ACROSS EUROPE: PROJECT METHODS AND TOOLS

The political and social context that has characterized Europe for the past years worryingly shows that racism is a widespread ongoing phenomenon in EU societies. The increasing number of extreme right movements, such as the Greek Golden Dawn or the Hungarian paramilitary militia of the Jobikk party<sup>1</sup>, and the violent acts related to racist discrimination, reported in the media across the continent, indicates that racism is an issue, both for the political and social sphere. Moreover, it seems that the human-rights tools, used in the fight for banishing racism and discrimination (e.g. The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, Art.21), have driven the racist languages and dynamics in a hidden layer, mostly facilitated by means of the new media and the anonymity that it confers to its users. Therefore new tools and new approaches are needed in order to continue the fight against racist discrimination and its destructive effects.

The LIGHT ON project integrates itself in this context, by further enriching the efforts in the fight to racism through an innovative approach by making racism a matter of common interest for all citizens. Moreover, the project aims at unraveling the new racist languages across Europe, and enhancing a common culture of stigmatization of the phenomenon all through the continent. The strategy implemented in order to ensure the accomplishment of these objectives is that of the promotion of an active role of community actors in contrasting racism and related forms of discrimination. In doing that, several dimensions of the social life are linked and interlaced (i.e. citizens, victims, law enforcements and legal authorities).

The project activities have been developed within a preventive approach to racism, focused on the recipients, with the purpose of helping them to recognize discrimination. The main actions carried out within the six Workstreams of the project were:

- **scientific analysis** of typical and hidden manifestations of racism and relative social perceptions throughout Europe (EU research);
- **targeted supportive actions** for key community stakeholders, such as law enforcement and legal professionals, which strengthened their capacity to recognize the racist disvalue of an offence and correctly report it (training model and transnational pilot, smart toolbox);
- **primary prevention actions**, across the five countries, that promoted the empowerment of citizens (victims, witnesses) to recognize discrimination and self-report cases to relevant authorities or entities (anti-racism smart toolbox, code of ethics for web users).

<sup>1</sup> See “*Scenario Report: Introduction to Racism, Practices of Othering and Discrimination*”, Peace Institute

- **dissemination of positive models** through high impact communication systems, both traditional and innovative (workshops, mobile app, social network based reporting tools, transnational video-documentary with emblematic cases, anti-racism smart toolbox).

One of the strengths of the Light On project consists in the presence of the anti-racism National Watching Points (NWP) in all of the project countries, as core operational centers for all project activities. Through their work of collection and dissemination alike, the NWP ensured a constant contact with the local social scenario in the in the five European macro-areas involved in the project (Central and Eastern Europe, Scandinavia, Mediterranean and UK), embedding all the project activities in an authentic context.

#### UNDERSTANDING PERCEPTION - RESEARCH AS A TOOL AGAINST RACISM

The Workstream 2 of the project was dedicated to research activities and was coordinated by the Scientific Board of the Project Consortium: ELTE, ISIG, PIS. The aim of the Light On research was to investigate and analyze the contemporary expressions of racism and discrimination in EU communities, focusing on the people's perception of symbols, words, attitudes with typical or hidden racist contents and providing a scientific-based knowledge about the strong social disvalue of these manifestations and their dangerous negative influence in the present on daily social life.

The LIGHT ON research was structured in three main parts:

- Desk research - had as an ultimate objective the definition of the social context in which racism is manifested, for each of the five project countries; the activities focused on a transnational secondary data analysis.
- Qualitative research - investigated expressions and perception of racism in the five project countries, highlighting the most common racist, xenophobic and extremist symbols and words, while explaining their original and present meanings.
- Quantitative research - investigated the main perceptions and interpretations of racist visual and language related items among the young population across the five countries.

As all project activities, the research has been developed in a three level scheme:

1. Coordination - implemented by the Scientific Board, implied the design of the research architecture, drafting and dissemination of Guidelines (for desk, qualitative and quantitative research) to National Watching Points, data elaboration and analysis.
2. Data and information collection system - implemented by the 5 National Watching Points, according to the indication given through the Guidelines, implied collection and transmission of data to the Scientific Board.
3. Validation of the research deliverables and results - implemented by the European End-user Advisory Board, for all the research deliverables (Visual database, Glossary of terms, Research Reports).





## 2. MAINSTREAM RESEARCH TO COMBAT RACISM

### INTRODUCTION

The report brings together the most relevant conceptual debates in order to draw up a short glimpse into the field of studies of racism, nationalism, xenophobia, discrimination, intolerance, processes of Othering, and practices of exclusion. The report synthesises secondary data on racism in the five project countries: Finland, Hungary, Italy, Slovenia, and the United Kingdom. Since the LIGHT ON project focuses on contemporary symbolism, languages and manifestations of racial hate and intolerance, a wider mutual understanding of the research object is racism.

Various daily manifestations of racism are a reminder of the continuing importance of this phenomenon as a social and political issue in the contemporary global environment, for racism remains a vibrant influence on current social and political movements, even state policies.

As with other related phenomena, such as nationalism and xenophobia, racism - especially in its contemporary covert forms - has a tendency to become normalised. The widespread trend of considering various xenophobic and racist visual and verbal manifestations in daily life as a normal part of social relations gives cause for concern. Also, studies have shown how media reporting, for instance, can contribute to a perpetuated degrading and exclusion of minority groups. Moreover, rather than revealing the social disvalue of racism, normalization is in direct relation to frequently applied practice of adopting the stance of victimhood in terms of “we are only defending our rights”. A shared “nativist” pan-European root of racism can thus be discerned in various social and economic policies that put “our own people first”.

### NATIONAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AND THE OTHER

National identity contains feelings of belonging to a political and social community which represents a nation organised as a state. National identity describes a condition in which a group of people share the same identification with specific national symbols. It is of crucial importance that the nation is perceived as a community with a shared identity and symbols in order to exist in people’s minds as a social reality. Through the construction of the stigmatised Others, the “real” members of the nation are recognised as striving for the “national interests” and the general national common good. Nation, “race”, religion, etc. play an important role in constructing one another through invoking the “us” versus “them” divide, the exclusion of the Other. Accompanied with prejudice aimed against select groups that are perceived as different and hence categorised as the Other, intolerance is frequently aimed against migrants, Jews, the Roma, and various other minorities and marginalised social groups.

Such prejudiced, nationalistic, racist and/or intolerant attitudes towards the Other are always present among certain segments of any given population, and the selected European states involved in the LIGHT ON project have not been immune to their presence. The recurrent calls for a “pure” Britain, Hungary, Finland, Italy, or Slovenia can be heard, revealing notable similarities in terms of the construction of the various inner and outer “enemies”, i.e. the Others.

## DIFFERENT DEFINITIONS AND APPROACHES TO RACISM.

### HISTORICAL CONTEXT

To see contemporary forms of racism in isolation from the past, it means ignoring the history of racism. The idea of different “races” emerged when European and non-European peoples came into contact in the late 15<sup>th</sup>, early 16<sup>th</sup> century. The European era of exploration and expansion was significantly related to the rise of the African slave trade, resulting in European imperial domination and colonization. The 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe can hence be understood as the cradle of modern racism, when an important turning point occurred in the development of racial thinking. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, racism was developed as a scientific theory and as such used as a pretext and justification to colonise and exploit different parts of the world, mainly - though not only - by the Europeans. Colonial racism postulated the inferiority of colonised people. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup>, start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the idea of white racial superiority was widespread, while this was also the time of the rise of modern anti-Semitism.

After the Second World War, racism and its practices of discrimination became regarded as a breach of human rights and equality. The concepts of “ethnicity” and “ethnic group” were brought in as the word “race” became problematic after the atrocities of the Second World War, the Holocaust, and anti-Semitism. Especially from the 1960s onward, “ethnicity” has replaced the term “race” in English language for its expression of positive feelings of belonging to a cultural group, related to anti-colonial and anti-racist arguments. Yet even though the preferred choice for expressing inter-group differences, even “ethnicity” has become associated with violence (especially because of the so-called ethnic cleansing and “acts of genocide”).

The idea of race as a meaningful biological category has been predominantly dismissed, yet , even though it is a social construct, race exists as a social category. In other words, although racist ideologies have been widely discredited, racism and racial discrimination have remained widespread around the world. Racism as a form of discrimination can exist without the assumption of races, and can be imbedded in the concept of “different cultures”. In differentiating between social groups, it is no longer necessarily race that we think about, but culture.

### LEGAL DEFINITIONS AFTER WW2

After the experience of the Holocaust and the heavy moral burden of the Second World War, a series of definitions were developed in order to recognise and fight racism. According to the United Nations International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Article 1:

*the term “racial discrimination” shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.*

In 2001, the European Union explicitly banned racism, along with many other forms of social discrimination, in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, where the Article 21 of the charter states that:

*any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation shall be prohibited.*

These definitions make no distinction among different forms of personal/individual or social/common characteristics, thus applying the definition of racism in a wider context and in a loose manner.

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## CONTEMPORARY RACISM

Racism has many definitions, from sociological to political and legal ones. Generally, it is understood as beliefs and practices that reflect the idea that human beings are divided into biologically and/or culturally distinct groups, i.e. races, and that some races are superior. The belief in the superiority of one race over another opens the space for different practices of unequal treatment, i.e. discrimination, oppression, exploitation, segregation, exclusion, violence, prejudice and hatred towards members of specific social groups believed to be inferior.

Even though explicit and blatant forms of racial hatred and discrimination, such as physical violence, still endure, a wider definition of racism enables us to understand and reveal more covert or subtle kinds of the phenomenon.

Contemporary racism has also been termed “new” or “cultural” racism. The belief is that cultural differences explain why some groups are backward. Neo-racism is a much more subtle form of racism, one which may induce people to claim that they are not racist. Neo-racism has been especially recognised in contemporary anti-immigrant attitudes, laws and policies. The category of immigration becomes a substitute for the notion of race - it is “racism without races”. The dominant theme is no longer biological heredity but the (inability to overcome the) cultural differences. New racism does not seem to claim superiority of certain groups, it “only” emphasises the damage being done by abolishing boundaries because certain life-styles and traditions are simply not compatible: it builds distinction, exclusion and intolerance based on difference.

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## NEO-RACISM AND IMMIGRATION

As a consequence of stigmatization of racism after WW2, racist practices have frequently been reformulated in less conspicuous forms: race has been replaced with culture; colonialism has been replaced with immigration; assimilation, as colonialism before, is interpreted as progress, emancipation, and the recognition of rights. Neo-racism or “differentialist” racism works here on the pretext of protecting the European culture and the European way of life and values against the immigrants’ “different” way of life and values.

Underneath politically correct claims, unequal treatment of different cultures as inferior can be revealed in rhetoric as well as in certain policies. In this vocabulary, migrants are seen as representing a problem not because they are *inferior* but because they have irreducible “different” characteristics. The neo-racist logic thus concludes that it is best for cultures not to mix, since it harms both the “native” population and the “newcomers”. The practice of direct domination and exploitation abroad in foreign territories has now been replaced by a logic of purification and cleansing/extermination or other measures of protection of the “local” culture directed against the “invasion” of other cultures in the form of various Others (e.g. the migrants).

However, neo-racism has evolved the logic of exploitation, since it is now done in other ways - by physical and psychological maltreatment, racist threats, bureaucratic victimization, threats with deportation, economic exploitation, miserable and unsafe working conditions, breach of workers' rights, ethnic segregation, poor housing possibilities, high rents, no social and health security, etc. Philomena Essed, for example, identifies three forms of racism: *marginalisation*, *the problematisation of the culture or identity of the Others* (i.e. those who are categorised as being ethnically different from the majority population), and *strategies of repression or resistance* that hinder minority groups or oppose their demands.

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#### DISCRIMINATION AND INTOLERANCE AS PRACTICE OF INEQUALITY

Discrimination is a complex phenomenon with many guises and a great number of transformations, closely intertwined with questions of intolerance and hatred.

The most basic forms of categorising discrimination include direct and indirect forms, such as exclusion, where an individual or a group may be treated either *directly or indirectly* unequally. Directly, due to personal circumstances, or *indirectly* within practices that use *seemingly neutral criteria* for differentiation, which nonetheless result in the exclusion of an individual or a group. We can also distinguish between individual and systemic discrimination, embedded in the system itself or in the rules of a certain social institution.

Moreover, hate speech is another common form of discrimination. Hate speech means calling for exclusion and/or marginalization of a certain group or an individual, or inciting physical or verbal attacks and similar action against certain groups or individuals. Kristina Boréus talks about *discursive* discrimination which is exercised through the use of language.

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#### CONTEMPORARY RACISM IN THE 5 PROJECT COUNTRIES: SHORT OVERVIEW

Finland, Italy and UK are countries with large immigration, especially from Muslim/Arab countries from Africa, Middle East and Far East/Asia. In all three countries, the Muslim communities are the most vulnerable victims of racist prejudice and discrimination. Even though Hungary and Slovenia are not dealing with mass immigration, migrants have been frequently used as scapegoat and discriminated against. Moreover, the Roma people are by far the most frequent victims of racist discrimination, but also other communities, like the "erased" of the former Yugoslav republics and Muslims in Slovenia, and Jews in Hungary. Religious and ethnic characteristics seem to reinforce the inequality and discrimination of these communities in an intersectional manner.

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#### GREAT BRITAIN

Great Britain is understood as having one of the most advanced equality and human rights legislation. The UK has also accomplished big cultural and social shifts in attitudes that proactively reject racism. The Race Relations Amendment Act was accepted in 2000. It has a statutory duty on public bodies to promote race equality, and to demonstrate that their procedures to prevent race discrimination are effective. The Equality Act, adopted in 2006 and revised in 2010, put the basis for the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC). Regardless of the legal frame and social counter-discourses against racism, however, the everyday experience of racist discrimination is still a reality and occurs in the form of everyday encounters and institutional discriminatory attitudes. Racism thus affects all life aspects of minorities: on the everyday interpersonal

level racist language, interpersonal discrimination and violence episodes; at an institutional level, regular discrimination is performed by the police, educational institutions, employers, and the politicians.

The economic crisis in recent years has fuelled the rise of far-right groups such as the English Defense League and anti-EU and anti-immigration party Ukip (UK independence Party), which has acquired significant recognition in recent local elections. Among the groups that are most affected by racist discrimination there are ethnic and religious minorities. The existence of Islamophobia affects Muslim communities, which is strengthened by persistently negative and prejudiced coverage of Muslims in the media. Muslim communities are also a special focus of many European Network against Racism reports (ENAR Shadow Reports 2011-12) as well as ENAR shadow report for UK (Schmitz 2011-12).

Racism is affecting also “non-white” ethnic groups of migrants from African, Caribbean, Asian and Middle-Eastern regions. The persistence of discrimination and a lack of perspective for young members of minority groups is also believed to be the cause of the August 2011 riots, which broke out in Tottenham after a protest following the death of Mark Duggan, who was shot dead by police on 4 August 2011. Patterns of racial inequality in conjunction with rising levels of frustration and political disenfranchisement and unemployment in certain communities are intrinsic to understanding the reasons behind the outbreak of civil unrest.

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#### ITALY

Racism remains an unresolved problem in Italy. The Roma population, Muslims, migrants, refugees and asylum seekers are particularly vulnerable, they encounter everyday life discrimination in forms of hate speech, as well as institutional discrimination and violations of their rights in employment, housing, and education. Also media representation fuels discriminatory attitudes towards these minority groups, migrants and asylum seekers. Hate speech is not limited only to media and extremist groups, but is a part of the political discourse of far-right groups which are well represented in the Italian Parliament, particularly *Forza nuova* and the anti-immigration party *Northern League*. The issue upon which the racist discourse develops is the general perception of increasing “undocumented” immigration, which was in part generated by the unrest in the Northern African region for the past two years.

Italy has adopted an Immigration Decree in 1998, which provides a set of amendments against racial, ethnic and religious discrimination. This Decree was the first specific and detailed legislation against discrimination in respect of race, ethnic origin, and religion that has been introduced into the Italian legal system. Before that, the only specific legal tool was criminal legislation on hate speech. In 2004, the equality body in charge of dealing with racist and ethnic discrimination (*Ufficio nazionale antidiscriminazioni razziali* - UNAR - the National Office for Opposition to Racial Discrimination) was established, however, this body is not independent since it was established as a section of the Department for Equal Opportunities of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, which makes it vulnerable to political discourse. Especially Muslim and Roma communities are being in the focus as the most vulnerable groups.

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**FINLAND**

In Finland, overall racially motivated crimes have decreased since 2010; street violence towards Somali immigrants, however, is higher in Finland than anywhere else in Europe, despite Finland having a lower proportion of Somalis than the rest of Europe. Somalis and Muslims are the most negatively affected minority groups in Finland. In December 2012, the Finnish Police reported (YLE News 13.2.2013) an increase in cases of racism and related physical abuse towards migrant and minority communities. In order to deal with rising racist expressions and acts, since 2011 several legal changes have been introduced in order to promote equality and fight racism. The aim of the new Act on Integration of Immigrants (1386/2010) is to promote equality, non-discrimination and positive interaction between different population groups. In the same year, the Criminal Code (511/2011) and Cybercrime Act (TSF 84/2011) were introduced in order to increase the protection of citizens exposed to discrimination, xenophobia, and acts of hate speech. For example, several members of parliament from the True Finns party have committed hate speech crimes in the public media and were subsequently convicted and fined. Whilst internet monitoring has increased, overcoming hate speech in online forums and blogs remains a challenge. Measures have been undertaken to improve representation of minority groups in media forums, such as television and newspapers, to promote diversity.

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**HUNGARY**

In Hungary, the most evident form of racism exists against the Roma and the Jews. The issue of racist discrimination against the Roma and Jews is often not properly tackled and not sanctioned by the state. After the Jobbik, a party known for its anti-Roma propaganda, managed to get into the parliament in 2010 as the third largest party (and the second largest party after the 2014 elections), it used its absolute parliamentary majority to change legislation. The government introduced and passed legislation including the amendment of the Constitution which was widely criticised as violating Hungary's international human rights obligations. Migrants and the Roma continue to face difficulties in accessing rights in the areas of employment, housing, health, education; and accessing public and private services. Although there are various endeavours to facilitate the integration and social inclusion of migrants and Roma, there is no mechanism in place to evaluate the effectiveness of the initiatives. This, coupled with the lack of a comprehensive social inclusion and migration strategies, hinders the ability of these initiatives to reach the most vulnerable groups.

The Jobbik party has ties to a banned paramilitary group, Hungarian guard (Magyar Garda) co-founded in 2007 by Jobbik leader Vona who stated that the group had been set up "in order to carry out the real change of regime and to rescue Hungarians". The insecure economic environment led to the continuation of targeted attacks and violence against members of the Roma community by far-right and radical organizations. As of 2013, over 15 extremist, xenophobic, anti-Semitic, anti-Roma and racist organizations are or were recently active in Hungary (Athena Institute), most of them being declared illegal.

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**SLOVENIA**

The link between racism and nationalism is obvious in the case of Slovenia, where the "erased" people, as well as migrants, the Roma, Muslims etc. are constructed, discriminated against or even persecuted as the undesired Other, frequently on racist grounds.

Xenophobia and intolerance towards Muslims in Slovenia has been a persistent phenomenon since the early 1970s. Originating in the late 1960s, when the Muslims first raised their wish for building a mosque (having lodged the first request in 1969), the question of the Islamic religious and cultural centre in Ljubljana has become a political issue that spurred extensive public debate particularly in recent years. Public debates about the mosque and the Islamic presence more widely went from latent to explicit xenophobia. A significant history therefore exists of a revealing spectrum of anti-Muslim prejudice and populist calls against building of the mosque. Even though the Constitutional Court blocked the referendum on building a mosque in Ljubljana municipality (which represented a blatantly Islamophobic attempt to thwart the Muslims' religious rights) and even though the latest developments show that the Islamic Community is getting close to having its mosque built, the Muslims nevertheless feel they are being treated as second-class citizens.

After years without a comprehensive and systematic approach or coordinated policies in areas such as education, accommodation, employment and social security, the situation of Roma has failed to improve. Police surveillance and neglected areas of municipalities continuously strengthen long lasting historical discrimination and the constitutional guarantee is not implemented (ENAR Slovenia).

The Italian and Hungarian minorities also face problems in enforcing their rights due to a lack of necessary infrastructure. According to the Ombudsman's report, in many cases these groups and communities encounter institutional discrimination and racism, which is often exploited for political agitation and for spreading hatred among the public.

The attitude towards most of these groups, especially migrants, the erased and Muslims is closely connected to the common history of once living in the federal state of Yugoslavia. After the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the Slovenian national identity has been promoted as distanced/different from the Balkans, from the so-called southern nations. And since most of the migrants, the erased and the Muslims of Slovenia have ties to other Yugoslav republics, they have been stigmatised as "non-Slovenians" and vilified as the Other.

In the past years, the rise of discrimination has been detected, including intolerance toward nationals of former Yugoslavia, attacks on migrants, Islamophobia, homophobia, as well as sexist and racist incidents. Racism, as well as nationalism, is affected by several factors: apart from the economic and general social crisis, hate speech in the media and politics, which is almost never sanctioned, plays an important role. Racist theories are spread by politicians and extremist right-wing movements and organizations, which declare themselves patriotic. Hate speech stems also from the National Assembly.

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#### THE ERASED

One of the key milestones of xenophobia, nationalism and racism is connected to the silent and secret removal of more than 25,000 persons from the register of permanent residents of Slovenia that took place in February 1992. This illegal and unconstitutional administrative measure later became known as the "erasure". The issue of the erasure became public only as consequence of the self-organization of the erased persons in 2002 and their consequent appearances in the mass media, yet it took even longer than a decade for the public to gradually start realizing the full scale of what had happened to those people. Namely, the erased persons' fundamental human rights had been violated and people were left without any legal status; they were not even awarded the status of a legally residing "foreigner". Most of the erased or at least one of

their parents were born in other republics of the former Yugoslavia, which hints at the erasure being based on ascribed ethnic origin.<sup>2</sup> The result of this administrative act left 25,671 people status-less - without documents, healthcare and social security. Since without documents they had no right to work, they were forced to resort to undeclared labour. Consequently, the erased were in constant fear of persecution and subjected to exploitation: the act of erasure factually constructed these once-permanent-residents as illegal migrants. This was an act of systematic violations of human rights and subsequent strategies of justifications (Dedič et al. 2003, Kogovšek Šalamon 2012).

In 2004, a referendum sponsored by the country's right-wing parties rejected an attempt at restorative legislation and the political climate has been very intolerant towards the erased, who are still vilified and made a scapegoat by various populist politicians. The erased were interpreted as those who refused to request the Slovenian citizenship in the early 1990s, since they were allegedly pro-Yugoslav, or even portrayed as enemies of Slovenia. In the period 2004-2008, the right-wing government systematically thwarted the issue of the erasure, negating or at least minimizing what had happened in 1992. In all the subsequent years, the authorities attempted to downplay, even negate this unconstitutional act. Some of the populist tactics employed included challenging the self-assertive name with the idiom "so-called erased" (to allude to the erased people exaggerating their plight), and generally accusing the erased of being conniving calculating misfits if not downright national traitors and Yugoslav People's Army aggressors (Bajt 2010). Moreover, the erased have not only been stigmatised and demonised, but also strongly ethnicised/racialised into many variants of "non-Slovenians".

## CONCLUSION

In all five states the perceptions of cultural characteristics of minority and immigrant communities are perceived as an essential "problem" or threat that represents something fundamentally different from the majority population. The logic of racism operates in a neo-racist manner as cultural differences now conveniently replace conventional biological racism of the past, allowing schizophrenic condition of the present (Bajt 2010). Race supremacy theories have been replaced with cultural differences, underlining a wide gap between different civilizations. Formerly promoted race hierarchy has been replaced by theories of cultural supremacy of Europeans.

To conclude, racism has many forms and it is therefore more fitting to speak of racisms in plural (Baskar 2004). In other words, "Islamophobia, anti-Semitism, anti-Black, anti-Roma (...) racism are distinctive phenomena, (yet) they are nonetheless varieties of racism" (Hervik 2013, 43) - which is precisely why no single one uniform definition exists. Racism can thus be understood to describe discrimination on ethnic, cultural, religious, or national basis, independent of whether these differences are described as racial in terms of a biological category of "race". Definitions of contemporary racism thus also include discriminatory behaviours and beliefs based on cultural, national, ethnic, religious, and other stereotypes. To further complicate things, racism does not manifest itself in exactly the same way in each country but is inherently situated in a specific socio-historical, political, cultural, and economic context.

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<sup>2</sup> People with permanent residence in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia prior to 1991, whose citizenship was of any state other than the former Yugoslavia, did not experience the same drastic measure.



## II. PUTTING A SPOT ON RACISM: CASE STUDIES AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

This chapter focuses on the data collected by the five Light On NWP, under the coordination of the Scientific Board. The data were collected accordingly to a standard template, designed by the Scientific Committee and elaborated for the purpose of drafting project deliverables.

### METHODS AND INSTRUMENTS

The Light On research aimed at investigating the contemporary expressions of racism and discrimination in EU communities, focusing on the people's perception of symbols, words, attitudes with typical or hidden racist contents. For this purpose, within the phase of desk research, the Scientific Board drafted specific standard templates in order to facilitate both the collection and the analysis of the items and case studies.

Such an "inventory" of the racist expressions that circulate within the project countries has allowed, on one hand, to have a more accurate overview of the social contexts under analysis, and on the other hand, permitted the drafting of the quantitative survey, which deepened further the analysis of the racist languages and manifestations in the project countries.

The data collection was carried out by the five NWP, under the coordination and assistance of the Scientific Board. The objects on the focus were:

- visual items with a racist meaning (i.e. symbols and images);
- language expressions with a racist meaning (i.e. words and statements);
- manifestations of racism in daily life (i.e. case studies regarding racist episodes, but also "virtual" online episodes of racism - hate speech on line in forums, blogs, websites, social networks etc)

The instrument used for collecting the racism instances mentioned above, was a detailed grid of questions.

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#### DATA COLLECTION TOOL

The following questions represent a methodological tool to be implemented by the National Watching Points in their gathering of data concerning racist symbols, language and manifestations.

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#### A. SYMBOLISM

##### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE SYMBOL (PLEASE COPY THE PICTURE OR PROVIDE A DIRECT LINK)

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- 1.1 Is it an image? Describe:
- 1.2 Is it an icon? Describe:
- 1.3 Does it have a caption? State it (include translation and explanation of the context if necessary):
- 1.4. Is it a local/regional or internationally common racist symbol?
- 1.5. Explain the original meaning, the contemporary discriminatory disvalue, and the social perception in your country

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS SYMBOL RACIST?

- 2.1 Does it convey a message of hierarchy/scapegoating/identity/attitude towards policies/other?  
Describe why and how
- 2.2. How known is the symbol in the society? (e.g. does everybody recognise it?)  
For whom does it convey the message?
- 2.3 Does the caption use a derogatory discourse (i.e. speaking ill, hate speech)?

## 3. DESCRIBE THE SITUATION IN WHICH IT APPEARS

- 3.1 Specify the context in which it has been used (i.e. political campaigns, advertising, sport events, cultural events, media, etc.)
- 3.2 To which historical context does it refer? (please describe if possible)
- 3.3 Specify the medium (or describe the manner) in which it has been conveyed (i.e. traditional media, 2.0 media, face-to-face, etc.)

## 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

- 4.1 What are/were the reactions: from the victims/from the general public/from institutions?
- 4.2 Is there a legal case for prosecution? If yes, what is the reference legal framework?
- 4.3 Were prosecution actions undertaken? If yes, by whom and how? Please report on the case. If no, why?

## B. LANGUAGE

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE LANGUAGE

- 1.1 Is it a word? Describe and translate, provide the context to explain the meaning:  
Does it have a meaning only in relation to a specific/wider context? Please, explain
- 1.2 Is it an expression? Describe and translate, provide the context to explain the meaning
- 1.3 Is it a sentence? Describe and translate, provide the context to explain the meaning
- 1.4. Is it local/regional or internationally common racist language?
- 1.5. Explain the original meaning, the contemporary discriminatory disvalue, and the social perception in your country.

### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS LANGUAGE RACIST?

- 2.1 Does it convey a message of hierarchy/scapegoating/identity/attitude towards policies/other...?  
Describe why and how
- 2.2 Does it use a derogatory discourse (i.e. speaking ill, hate speech)?
- 2.3. Does it use “double speech” (it is positive when related to “us” and negative when related to “them”)? How?

### 3. DESCRIBE THE SITUATION IN WHICH IT APPEARS

- 3.1 Specify the context in which it has been used (i.e. political campaigns, advertising, sport events, cultural events, media, interpersonal interaction, etc.)
- 3.2 Specify the medium (or describe the manner) in which it was conveyed (i.e. traditional media, 2.0 media, face-to-face, etc.)
- 3.3. Is it related to the crisis and/or austerity measures?

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

- 4.1 What are/were the reactions: from the victims/from the general public/from institutions?
- 4.2 Is there a legal case for prosecution? If yes, what is the reference legal framework?
- 4.3 Were prosecution actions undertaken? If yes, by whom and how? Please report on the case. If no, why?

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C. MANIFESTATION

1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

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- 1.1 Describe the event (time, location, participants, etc.)
- 1.2 Specify the context in which it took place (i.e. political campaigns, advertising, sport events, cultural events, media, interpersonal interaction, etc.)
- 1.3 Which symbols, what language have been used (please describe using cues from previous sections or make a reference to the description already provided in the previous section)?
- 1.4. Is it a local/regional or internationally common racist manifestation?
- 1.5. Please provide information/description about “perpetrators”, “targets and/or victims”, and “bystanders”
- 1.6. Explain the original meaning, the contemporary discriminatory disvalue, and the social perception in your country

2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

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- 2.1 Does it convey a message of hierarchy/scapegoating/identity/attitude towards policies/other...?  
Describe why and how
- 2.2 Does it use a derogatory discourse (i.e. speaking ill, hate speech)?
- 2.3. Does it use “double speech” (it is positive when related to “us” and negative when related to “them”)? How?
- 2.4. Is it related to the crisis and/or austerity measures?

3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

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- 3.1 Specify the medium by which the information on the manifestation was conveyed (i.e. traditional media, 2.0 media, face-to-face, etc)  
In what format was the information relayed? (E.g. news item; commentary, op-ed; blog; status update; etc.)
- 3.2. Was the information accompanied by a commentary?  
If yes, how was it portrayed (e.g. as an understandable, possibly “natural” reaction of the local population; as problematic; as necessary to condemn, possibly prosecute; etc.)?
- 3.2. Was the overall public reaction neutral, positive or condemning the manifestation?  
Please, describe. (State if there was no public reaction and list reasons for this if possible.)

4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

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- 4.1 Were people hurt? (Provide information on casualties, injuries, damages to property, etc.)
- 4.2. What are/were the reactions: from the victims/from the general public/from institutions?
- 4.2 Is there a legal case for prosecution? If yes, what is the reference legal framework?
- 4.3 Were prosecution actions undertaken? If yes, by whom and how? Please report on the case. If no, why?

NB:

Please use this “Data Collection Tool” in conjunction with the “Guidelines on study / reporting / research selection for the National Watching Points”, where more detailed explanation is avail-

able. Also, please feel free to add to the above categories if needed or elaborate in a more narrative form. The Scientific Board team is always happy to assist you should any additional questions arise.

#### RACISM UNDER LOUPE: KNOWING FOR COUNTERACTING

Collecting and analyzing the different expressions of contemporary racism is essential for understanding the phenomenon in order to design new strategies for contrasting it. The analysis of such expressions (in terms of visual and language inputs, and also concrete daily life manifestations) allows for the identification of the dimensions within which the phenomenon develops. For example, the desk research revealed that in all five countries under focus, explicit and hidden expressions of racism populate the places, spaces and daily interactions. Also, media, both traditional and 2.0, formal and informal, seem to be the most popular stage of display for such expressions.

The following paragraphs show the methods, the instruments and the outputs of the elaboration and systematization of the collected items.


#### VISUAL RACISM: THE LIGHT ON VISUAL DATABASE

The collection and the systematization of the items relative to visual inputs of racism expressions in the five project countries, allowed for the drafting of a Visual Database, which is an open collection of symbols, images and pictures with racist and discriminatory meaning. The deliverable is an interactive and dynamic one: it is available on the project website ([www.lighton-project.eu](http://www.lighton-project.eu)) and it allows continuous contributions during the project period thanks to the constant monitoring by the National Watching Points, the possible proposals of the End-User Advisory Board and the spontaneous suggestions by people through the project website (section “Spot a racist symbol”).

The Visual Database is structured in standard forms, dedicated to each symbol, in which the main information are provided. The forms have 2 parts: the grey section provides the basic information, while the yellow section provides further explication. The Database is organized per project country with a consecutive reference numbering.

Figure 1 - Structure of the form for visual inputs

Insert here symbol/image/picture	<b>COUNTRY</b>	Insert here the Country of origin of the symbol
	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	Describe here the symbol/image/picture and its meaning. Please provide the translation of the text.
	<b>TARGET GROUPS/VICTIMS</b>	Please specify the category of victims
	<b>WHY RACIST?</b>	Describe the racist meaning of the symbol
	<b>TAGS</b>	Insert key-words
	<b>BACKGROUND</b>	Describe the context and the situation where the symbol/image/picture has appeared
	<b>ANTI-RACIST REACTIONS AND LEGAL CONSEQUENCES</b>	Describe the reaction of the community and if any legal consequences took place
<b>SOURCE</b>	Indicate the source where the symbol/image/picture has been taken	

 Ref. no: VD XXXX

LANGUAGES OF RACISM: THE LIGHT ON BLIKI AND GLOSSARY OF RACIST TERMS

The collection and systematization of the items relative to language inputs of racism expressions in the five project countries (i.e. words and statements), allowed for the drafting of a “Glossary of racist terms”. The deliverable is structured in standard forms, dedicated to each item, in which the main information are provided, as shown in the Fig. 3:

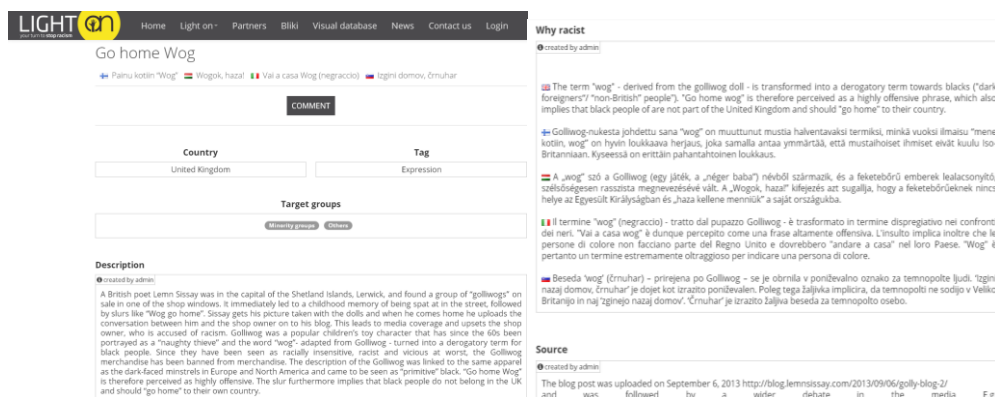
	<b>It's your turn to stop racism!</b>
<b>Item (original language)</b>	
<b>Item (English language)</b>	
<b>Item (Finnish language)</b>	
<b>Item (Italian language)</b>	
<b>Item (Hungarian language)</b>	
<b>Item (Slovenian language)</b>	
<b>Category</b>	
<b>Country</b>	
<b>Target groups/Victims</b>	
<b>Description</b>	
<b>Why racist?</b>	
<b>Why racist? (Finnish language)</b>	
<b>Why racist? (Italian language)</b>	
<b>Why racist? (Hungarian language)</b>	
<b>Why racist? (Slovenian language)</b>	
<b>Source</b>	

Figure 2 - Structure of the form for the Glossary of racist terms

The “Glossary” (downloadable from the project website - [www.lighton-project.eu](http://www.lighton-project.eu)), represents the basis of another dynamic and interactive project deliverable: the Light On Bliki ([www.lighton-project.eu](http://www.lighton-project.eu)). Just as for the “Visual Database”, the collection of the most relevant racist expressions in terms of language was made available in the form of a collaborative editor: the Light On Bliki.

The LIGHT ON Bliki was created to raise awareness on the words and expressions of the contemporary racist rhetoric, both explicit and hidden<sup>3</sup>.

The Bliki contains input from the project partners (mainly NWP and Scientific Board), but is opened to the contribution of the wide public. New terms and comments on existing entries can be performed by the Bliki users, but in order to prevent any abuse, users are required to sign up. All material is available in all of the project languages (English, Italian, Slovenian, Hungarian and Finnish).



The screenshot shows the 'Go home Wog' entry on the Light On Bliki website. The entry includes a title, a comment section, a 'Country' field (United Kingdom), a 'Tag' field (Expression), and a 'Description' section. The description explains the origin of the term 'Wog' and its use as a derogatory term for black people. The entry also includes a 'Source' section with a link to a blog post from September 6, 2013.

Figure 3 - Light On Bliki structure - an example

## SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL PATTERNS OF EXCLUSION IN FIVE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE

Exclusion in the world of human beings is far from being exceptional. In contrast, humans are in need to differentiate within themselves because they lack the genetic mode of differentiation that is common between animal species. Being members of the same species called “homo sapiens”, in order to identify their peers humans have to resort to the means of the mimetic mode to determine who is the friend and who is the enemy. Consequently, there is not much wonder in finding cognitive and emotional patterns of differentiation between people in contemporary Europe.

Dealing with patterns of differentiation in terms of ingroup and outgroup one point, however, has to be taken in account. Modern psychological culture stems from the intellectual heritage of the Enlightenment which has created the legal reality of the individual human being. As the Declaration of Human Rights in Article 1 states “all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood”. Moreover, in Article 2 the Declaration expresses, that “everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the

<sup>3</sup> Hidden refers to words and expressions with offensive and/or racist connotations, which entered into the lexicon and/or jargon of the mainstream society, being thus “socially or culturally accepted” in the country of origin.

basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it is independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty”.

The problem we face in contemporary Western societies including the European Union stems from the contradiction between the *particularism* of the social psychological need to differentiate between groups and the *universalism* denying any distinction made on the bases of any kind of group belonging. The clash between anthropological facts and legal norms has led to many tragedies in modern life.

Contemporary patterns of differentiation on the basis of clustering people as a result of categorization, stereotyping and prejudice come from the “Gemeinschaft” mode of existence in primordial times. Racism, chauvinistic nationalism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, anti-Roma sentiments - just to mention a few among the manifestations of exclusion - are rooted in the history of mankind. All of these manifestations presuppose the orientation of social dominance implying that “some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.” The central element of the patterns of exclusion has always been the attribution of superiority to the ingroup and inferiority to the outgroup.

The opposite of the social dominance orientation would be the belief that “all groups should be given an equal chance in life” that means that “no group should dominate in a society” (Sidanius, Pratto, 1999).

The qualitative research we are reporting is about the “state of war” between forces of social orientations of equality and inequality between different groups in contemporary Europe with a special emphasis on Roma, Jews, and migrants.

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## RESEARCH METHOD

Developing the qualitative research in 2012-2014 the NWP operating in the project countries were focusing on various aspects of racist and discriminatory manifestations such as socialization factors, identity issues (the need to belong), extremist subcultures (in music, sports, leisure), alternative world views (modern paganism), dress codes and ritual identification codes (gestures, proxemic codes).

The aim of the qualitative research was to provide data on racism and discrimination that stem from unequal relations between majority and minority groups. In the framework of the Light On project those topics were selected that fitted into the focus of the project. Discrimination and hate against vulnerable, minority groups manifested as overt or covert aggression were under study. Most interestingly, the subjects involved are individuals but they act as collective agents. The personalization and individualization of the collective motivation was the focus of the case study report from real life situations in order to develop the set of items to be investigated in the course of the quantitative investigation. One very important function of the qualitative research was the testing of what was used, in order to develop the right quantitative survey items (objects, questions, scales, multiple choice questions).

The Light On qualitative research was conducted in each of the project countries, namely, UK, Italy, Slovenia, Hungary and Finland were the participating countries. The aim of the qualitative research was to investigate the main contents and procedures of the racist mind in Europe. The

qualitative research can be considered as an alternative to quantitative research. The two approaches, however, are not contradicting each other. The hypotheses of quantitative research are stemming from qualitative research that is more sensitive to the realities of everyday life. The qualitative research is free of the constraints of statistical rigor and representativeness. The data collected by qualitative research came from unobtrusive methods.

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## CASE STUDIES

A case study is an inquiry into a controversial event occurring in the society. The case study results through systematic research, analysis and reporting. Case studies cite professional or scientific sources and they are often used in developing new means of public policy to deal with the problem they are related to. They are designed to ask the questions “what”, “when”, “how” and “why” of an event, procedure or phenomenon.

Observation and questioning were the major methods for preparing the case studies. In the course of the case study the origins have been explored (the core conflict). The series of events connected to the core conflict were written down as accurately as possible. The environment (scenarios, symbols, clothes, behavioural patterns, songs, rituals, durations) were characterized.

Case studies were conducted on the internet as well. Racist sites and the audiences were investigated by simple monitoring or by intervention. In the latter case the researcher disguised himself/herself as a problem carrier and then the analysis of the elicited texts followed.

Visual, textual, ritual manifestations of racism, xenophobia, discrimination were described and explained holistically by demonstrating real cases consisting of persons, scripts, procedures, actions, intents, motivations, symbols, rituals, traditions, norms, values, subcultures.

The advantage of the case study is that it investigates the subject within its real-life context.

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## POINTS OF INTEREST IN THE CASE STUDY RESEARCH

### SYMBOLS

The word “symbol” comes from the Greek *symbolon* meaning “token” or “watchword”. The word is an amalgam of syn- “together” + bole “a throwing, a casting, the stroke of a missile, bolt, beam”. In the communication theory symbols are considered as carriers of specific meaning depending upon context. Symbols are not just digital signs which have no inherent meaning. The meaning of the symbol is culturally and historically defined. Symbols are codes of reality containing colours, icons, figures of animals and natural objects.

Racist symbols refer to social dominance, superiority and inferiority of groups defined as races. Anti-Semitism, xenophobia, chauvinism, homophobia, anti-Roma sentiment inform the content of symbols collected and recorded in the course of qualitative research.

### RITUALS

A ritual is a fixed sequence of symbolic activities performed by members of a community involving gestures, words, and objects, performed in a sequestered place, and designed to express collective identity. Rituals can be easily documented due to their formalism, invariance and fixed order of performance.



Racist groups tend to perform activities that convey meanings that are threatening for outsiders. Parades, oaths of allegiance, dedication or commemoration ceremonies, holidays, marriages, funerals, and even sport events can be loaded by symbolic meanings aimed at to express superiority and social dominance.

Rituals can be very well documented by audiovisual means. “You tube” is full of rituals of paramilitary groups that are the primary carriers of racist contents.

#### SONGS

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The music and the text of the songs cultivated by extremist groups were collected and coded according to overt and covert racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia. If, for example, the text of a song refers to the “people of revenge”, it is easy to associate it with the Jewish people without being overtly anti-Semite.

#### HUMOUR/CARICATURES

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Jokes, caricatures were collected and coded according to the degree of negative sentiment directed against the outgroup in question. Gypsies, Jews, migrants are the special targets as categories representing undesirable outgroups for the members of the ingroup forming the majority.

#### PRINTED MATTER

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Magazines, periodicals, newsletters, hand-outs, books: samples of these printed materials have been collected and analysed by the structure of racist content they render to the audience.

#### VIRTUAL SCENES (INTERNET)

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Racist contents can be identified on many public places. First, and foremost, there is the internet, where racist sites are rampant. By means of qualitative research, visual and textual contents can be found on these sites. Google is an ideal tool for searching racist contents.

#### PUBLIC PLACES

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Populist bands’ concerts, graffiti, soccer play scenes (before and after the game), parades, ceremonies, social gatherings of right wing extremist organizations.

The gatherings of soccer fans are especially rich in producing racist songs, texts and visual images. Rites of extremist parties and movements are also worth to be observed and documented.

## THE COLLECTED CASE STUDIES

## SLOVENIA

## HOMOPHOBIC ATTACK ON CAFE OPEN (25 JUNE 2009)

## 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

During the Pride Parade Week in 2009, a homophobic attack on Cafe Open (a homosexuals-friendly cafe in Ljubljana) took place on 25 June 2009, while a literary evening was taking place. It was a first attack of this kind: the attackers were armed, masked, well prepared, and organised in a group of approx. 8 attackers. By screaming homophobic slogans the attackers attacked the place of the event and threw into the bar burning torches, while the bar was full of people. Mitja Blažič, a gay activist was hurt. The attackers fled the scene in an organized manner with two vehicles, while Blažič was taken to the hospital/emergency. Three of the attackers were later arrested and convicted in the court process as for the rest there were not enough evidence since the attackers were masked during the attack. At least five attackers are still free.

Several incidents accompanied the court process and the conviction. On 22 November 2009, Cafe Open was again attacked at 4 a.m., when someone threw a granite cube into the window of the café and broke it. On 20 March 2010 a group of neo-Nazi held a protest in front of the District Court in Ljubljana, protesting against the “harsh” sentence issued to the perpetrators of the homophobic attack. In the week of 26 July 2010, Cafe Open was attacked three times, this time by throwing Molotov cocktails into the wall of the café. In addition, the walls of the café were covered with homophobic graffiti (stating 'death to fags!', 'a bump is a bump, fag!' - Smrt pedrom! Buška je buška peder!). In the same time the same graffiti appeared on the walls of the house of the judge who presided over the criminal procedure against the three perpetrators of the Cafe Open attack and who found the perpetrators guilty of a crime of incitement to hatred, violence and intolerance and on 10 March 2010 issued each perpetrator a sanction of imprisonment of one year and six months. However after the appeal of the perpetrators, their sentences have been reduced to 7 and 5 months of prison in 2011.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

The attack was the first of this kind in Slovenia: it was an organised crime full of hatred against people with different sexual orientation. The events that accompanied the trial showed connections with radical racist neo-Nazi groups, since the organizers of the supporting marches in front of the court during the trial supported neo-Nazi ideology, neo-Nazi French politician Le Pen, and neo-Nazi band Battle Flag. For this reason we count this case as a manifestation of racism, since Nazi and fascist ideologies were a combination of racist, xenophobic and also homophobic ideologies. The attackers used hate speech with graffiti against homosexuals; while the supporters in front of the court labelled the attackers as “heroes”. The language is overtly bullying people with different sexual orientation.

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

The event received noted media and public attention. The news was conveyed by media (TV, journals, online) but also through individual and organizational comments online. In the majority of cases, the event was portrayed as problematic, with comments condemning the event. Some reactions were also supportive, though, particularly the manifestations of support by the radical group members.

The attack received reactions, mostly condemnation from the political parties, media, civil society and general public. The information was conveyed over TV, internet and printed media. It was the first attack of racist and neo-Nazi hatred to be prosecuted. Several civil society organisations issued a common public statement condemning the attack. Some groups, on the other hand, expressed support for the attackers, like the ones who gathered in front of the court during trial.

#### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

Mitja Blažič was the immediate physically hurt victim of the action, while other people attending the literary evening on 25 June 2009 were bullied and suffered psychologically. Mitja Blažič suffered physical injuries to his head, bruises over his body and burns to his neck due to burning torches. He also suffered from psychological consequences, since he has been afraid of walking around since the attack. He was also consequently threatened to remove the accusation in the court - which he would not. However state institutions prosecuted the perpetrators by official duty. The victim/s condemned the attack and stated that this would not stop them from fighting for human rights and openness. Victims at the café stated that this is a result of previous hate speech. The café was also damaged from inside and outside as a result of the first and following attacks.

The prosecution was initiated by the police and prosecutors and taken to the District court in Ljubljana. The perpetrators were sentenced to one and a half year of prison, which was reduced to 5 and two times 7 months after appeal. After the first trial some of the perpetrators also apologised to Mitja Blažič in court stating they did not want to hurt anybody. The attackers admitted they are members of the football club Green Dragons. The attackers never revealed the identity of other people involved in the attack.

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#### ROMA FAMILIES OSTRACISED

##### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

Because in 2001 a family of Roma origin purchased a house in one village, the president of the local community set up a meeting to discuss the fact. It was decided that the Roma family is not welcome in their village and another person collected signatures among the villagers to confirm their decision at the meeting - i.e. expulsion of the Roma family.

Similarly, in 2005 the city of Lendava, a small town in the Eastern Slovenia, accepted one of the Roma families to reside in the municipality - to which one person reacted with a message published on the web site from his private computer stating: "Hitler would be needed!!!! Let's kill all the gypsies!!!" Three persons were convicted at the court for provoking ethnic intolerance and received suspended sentences.

In October 2006 in Ambrus tense relations between a local Roma family and the local non-Roma inhabitants occurred; with the non-Roma inhabitants claiming that this particular Roma family endangers them. One of the locals said in an interview for a national TV: “There will be a massacre up there, I’m dead certain of it. It will be a massacre a hundred per cent. I’ll burn everything down and I’ll slaughter them. I shall say this here, in front of the camera, it will happen one hundred per cent. If they do anything to one of my children or to me, I’ll burn everything down. There will be no more discussions on this; one hundred per cent not”. The Roma family (which counts around 30 members) has been divided and since then living on various locations around Slovenia, lastly they have settled in Ljubljana surroundings. They have been trying to return to their village, however other villagers opposed many times their return, organised louse guards (vaške straže) and human wall (živi zid), and even attacked police officers.

Another case of exclusion of Roma happened in January 2010, when a hundred person strong mob gathered in a settlement in the Dolenjska region to prevent the burial of a Roma woman at the local cemetery. Later on, the police secured the funeral, which took place with a delay. Upon an initial investigation, the Human Rights Ombudsman condemned the locals.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

Roma people (as further confirmed in the analysis of symbols and language) are rejected by many Slovenians. In these cases the expulsion of Roma families reminds of Nazi practices (although similar practices are present also in the so-called civilised European West, for example France, which in recent years has expelled many Roma families from French territories - this is a very severe racist manifestation, which is becoming even normalised in the “democratic”, but in reality hypocritical, western Europe (EU)). Roma people are scapegoated as the main problem of local communities, they are constructed as villains who endanger “peaceful” local Slovenians, and Roma culture is constructed as completely incompatible with Slovenian culture, values and habits and is therefore essentialised. The hatred against Roma is so deep, as the “symbolic” rejection of burial shows that Roma people are not accepted neither as dead people.

This is not, at least not directly, related to the crisis and/or austerity measures, but “locals” constantly blame Roma families to abuse the social benefits of the state.

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

The manifestations were physical; they had a lot of media attention (TV, journals, online) and also through individual and organizational comments online.

The reactions for these acts were twofold. While some people supported such acts and surrounding racist discourses, many human rights organisations and individuals have protested and reacted against these acts, which were clear violations of human rights and the constitution. Especially the expulsion of the Roma family from Ambrus in 2008 gained nationwide resonance. Many individuals (activists, academics, and publicly renowned people) have publicly protested against these unconstitutional acts and their comments have appeared in media daily (Dnevnik) and weekly news (Mladina).

## 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

The police and state institutions have been discriminating against the Roma family in this case, since they did not defend the family from furious Ambrus co-locals from being expelled, but simply did not react and implicitly caused that the Roma family had no other choice than to leave Ambrus just to be placed in the refugee centre in Postojna.

The Roma families were not only scapegoated and publicly attacked with racist and hate speech attack, but one of the families (the family from Ambrus) was forcefully removed from their environment and settled (by the decision of the state) in another town in the centre of Slovenia (Šentvid pri Ljubljani). Because of the racist hate speech of one of the locals, the case was brought before a local first instance court, which rejected the indictment due to a lack of evidence and stating that this action did not constitute a criminal offence (incitement of ethnic hatred), since the defendant's statement was aimed at only one Roma family and not at the Roma community as a whole. According to the Higher Court, the first instance court wrongly concluded that the defendant's act displayed no criminal offence and returned the case to the first instance court for further proceedings, which are not yet finalized. There were also people hurt, mostly because of provocations and fights between the "Slovene locals"<sup>4</sup> and the Roma.

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### SYSTEMIC (STATE) RACISM TOWARDS ROMA CHILDREN: SCHOOL SEGREGATION

#### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

In 2005 in the elementary school Bršljin in Novo Mesto, parents of non-Roma children rebelled under the leadership of Silvo Mesojedec (then member of the Social Democratic Party (SDP), and also the leader of a local anti-Roma civil society initiative). These parents threatened the school leadership and the Ministry of Education under the leadership of Vice-president of SDP Milan Zver that they will not send their children to school, if Roma children are not separated from their children. The Ministry has therefore prepared the "Bršljin model", which provided for separate teaching of Roma and non-Roma children. The model was embraced by Bršljin Elementary School; they even went so far as to have a separate entrance to the school opened up for Roma children. Parents of Roma children first opposed this model, but they were persuaded to accept it. This model was then quickly embraced by many other elementary schools, which have also Roma children among the pupils. Thirty-three academics wrote a statement, undersigned also by the Ombudsman and the Association of Directors of elementary schools, stating that this practice is "contrary to the profession and to the law". Also the president of the Republic of Slovenia Dr. Janez Drnovšek expressed his opposition describing the introduction of such a model as a step "in a completely opposite direction, away from the value system, which Slovenia adopted." And finally, when he visited Slovenia in 2006, the Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe, Alvaro Gil-Robles, suggested to the Slovenian authorities to review and modify the implementation of the model, which has been adopted for Bršljin, and to ensure full integration of Roma children into regular classes in all subjects.

The model should be revised in consultation with education experts and representatives of the Roma. The "Bršljin model", which has been prepared for a period of three years, expired in 2008.

<sup>4</sup> It is not correct on NWP opinion to talk about Slovenes or locals on one side and Roma on the other side, since this way of categorization reproduces one group as "original" and the other as foreigners and outsiders, newcomers. On the contrary, most of the Roma population in Slovenia has been living here for decades/centuries and they are Slovene citizens, thus they also represent locals and Slovenes. Due to the construction of these two groups as different, the neoracist discourse strengthens itself and this is precisely what "locals" are trying to do: to construct Roma as outsiders who are not part of Slovenian society.

A similar segregation has been reported in other elementary schools across Slovenia, in one of them (Osnovna šola Leskovec pri Krškem) Roma children were regularly washed-up before entering the class, and in another one (Osnovna šola Frana Metelka Škocjan), Roma children were regularly taken out of the classes and taught separately or just left to wander at the premises of the school. Violence against Roma children was also reported among pupils, and teachers did not react to these cases.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

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The practice of segregation is one of the most visible and harsh methods of manifestation of racism. Physical segregation in schools is a degrading attitude, which clearly constructs one group of people as a priori incapable of following the curricula, i.e. as ignorant. Furthermore, by washing children it conveys the meaning of contagiousness, illness and backwardness. Regardless of the problems Roma children might have within their families (who were supposedly not sending them to school - this being interpreted as the reason why Roma children cannot follow regular curricula programme) this is a symptom of long term exclusion and segregation of Roma families in society, that has its consequences in concrete cases like the schooling system - indeed Roma themselves were blamed for not being willing enough to be educated and to follow the school programme. The segregation of Roma children in schools thus perpetuates and reinforces the very problem it claims to cure with a tailored studying model for children of Roma, i.e. children with “problematic” origin, culture and habits, which are all essentialised as being “the” culprits for their incapacity to integrate.

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

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The manifestations were physical; they had a lot of media attention (TV, journals, online) and also through individual and organizational comments online.

Most of the public did not react, since there are many communities who support segregation, removal, or any kind of expulsion of Roma people from their vicinity. Except for some academics, some political figures and some media, there are many people who actually support such practices. Many think this is the only possible way to deal with Roma, who are essentially incapable of integration and the only thing they do is harming local communities by stealing, occupying private property, threatening, etc.

## 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

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Roma families and parents of Roma children in these particular school(s) reacted against such treatment and degradation. However parents were very much alone in their struggle, since the institutions (schools) themselves do not accept any accusations and defend(ed) their practices as legitimate - blaming the necessity for such practices and treatment of course on Roma themselves - i.e. they are not attending school, they are dirty, etc. In these cases no prosecution or police inquiry has ever taken place, at least not that we could find information.

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<http://www.mladina.si/53642/integrirano-segregirani-otroci/>  
<http://www.mladina.si/53738/zavedam-se-da-je-to-tudi-nasilje-nad-otroki/?cookieu=ok>

## ATTACKS AND GRAFFITI AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LJUBLJANA (FACULTY OF ARTS AND FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES)

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

In the last decade, numerous racist, hate speech or hate crime cases gained public visibility, however, these cases did not end up as court cases.

Among them is a group of self-proclaimed National Socialists who interrupted a round table on hate speech, nationalism and neo-Nazism at the Faculty of Arts on 8 April 2009, protesting against the negative depiction of the topic discussed. They physically attacked the cameraman at the round table who happened to record the incident.<sup>5</sup>



Image 1 – Attacks and graffiti at the University of Ljubljana  
Source: <http://www.mladina.si/49019/kljukasti-krizi-nafdv/>

In the same year, an unknown perpetrator sprayed a swastika and extremist slogans on a toilet wall at the Faculty of Social Sciences, saying: “In democracy, there should also be a place for anti-democrats and racists” and “The one who persecutes National Socialism is the one who persecutes National Socialism in himself”. Similar racist and intolerant graffiti have been appearing, as well as people with “blood and honour” symbols on their clothing have been reportedly seen on the faculty.

A culmination of these events happened on 12 November 2009 during an international event on *Consulting new challenges to global security*, with the presence of the Armed Forces in uniforms. Their presence was criticised and protested by some students as well as Faculty members, who later wrote a petition to remind the Faculty leadership about all the problems and events.

### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

The freedom of speech and especially the public remembrance and debate of the atrocities of Nazism and fascism are being mocked and violated in a violent manner. In the last 20 years it was actually the first attack of this kind (violent attack at the University) and these is a real cause of concern, since the university as a place of freedom of speech and thought (although debatable, of course) is one of the untouchable instances of democratic conduct. When these instances are being attacked, and in a manner that “defends” anti-democratic tendencies, racism, and Nazism as “legitimate” ideologies, i.e. when they are being normalised as acceptable phenomena, the strength and potential of such ideologies is very much visible and of course a cause of concern - especially as Slovenia is a country that has suffered major losses during (and after) the second world war at the hand of the Nazi, Fascist and anti-democratic ideologies. Slovenia thus clearly did not manage to reflect upon the damage such ideologies inflicted, right the opposite; young people seem to feed upon these ideologies and breed hate, xenophobia, and even violence.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

Both cases were conveyed by media (TV, journals, online) but also through individual and organizational comments online.

<sup>5</sup> Supposedly they were members of “Here is Slovenia”.

The cases gained wide popular, media and state reactions. Mostly they were reactions of condemnation of these acts. For example, in the second case, the Social Science Faculty students and academic members have also issued a statement/petition condemning similar events, which seemed to become a regular practice at the Faculty (Nazi symbols, Nazi clothing, intolerant statements, disguised patriotism/xenophobia - like the Carantanian panther,<sup>6</sup> etc.). The Senate of the Faculty of Social Sciences already in the past (in 2006) recognised that at the Faculty neo-Nazi attitudes - in the form of intolerant statements during lectures, writing of neo-Nazi slogans and graffiti, wearing neo-Nazi symbols and the like - regularly occurs.

According to the writers of the petition the situation hasn't changed much since then and at the Faculty neo-Nazi graffiti, signs and labels with neo-Nazi content (for example, numbers 28 or 2888, which represent a subtle expression of belonging to an extremist and racist organization Blood and Honour; 28 and 2888 indicate the sequence of letters in the alphabet and, therefore, represent BH or BHHH, Blood and Honour, Heil Hitler) still appear. The Faculty employees in the petition fiercely criticised the presence of uniformed military personnel at the Faculty. A group of students also protested the militant character of the event. However, some of the protesters were threatened and physically attacked by a group of extremists under the guise of patriotism.

Reactions also pointed to the fact that neo-Nazi and neo-fascist organisations act disguised under the label of local patriotism and that this is being tolerated. In the petition it is also stated that employees at the faculty suspect that members of the extremist far-right groups are also students of the Faculty, since some of them wear signs and symbols of organisations "Here is Slovenia" and "Hervardi". The undersigned also think that the leadership of the Faculty is not doing enough to prevent, research and sanction such actions.

#### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

There were no injured people; however, in the first case at the Faculty of Arts, the cameraman who was recording the round table was physically attacked but he was not injured; only his camera was destroyed. The police was called and took official minutes, however no prosecution has ever taken place for this attack (not even by the official duty of the prosecution; indeed, the first prosecution of a similar attack of patriotic/homophobic/neoNazi/neofascist organised attacks is the prosecution in the case of Café Open).

In the second case people were threatened and physically attacked, however no information on injuries and prosecution is available.

#### SOURCES AND REFERENCES

<http://antifa1107.wordpress.com/category/antifa-novice/pozor-fasisti/neonacisticni-napad-na-ff/>

<http://petitions.tigweb.org/poziv>

<http://www.24ur.com/novice/slovenija/smo-nacionalsocialisti.html>,

<http://www.delo.si/clanek/78875>.

<http://www.mladina.si/49019/kljukasti-krizi-na-fdv/>

<http://www.mladina.si/80549/09-04-2009->

[na\\_filozofski\\_fakulteti\\_incident\\_z\\_obritoglavci/?utm\\_source=dnevnik%2F09-04-2009-](http://www.mladina.si/80549/09-04-2009-na_filozofski_fakulteti_incident_z_obritoglavci/?utm_source=dnevnik%2F09-04-2009-)

<sup>6</sup> The Carantanian panther per se is not a racist symbol, however due to its use among groups who express not only patriotic but also xenophobic and racist attitudes it can be understood as a symbol used to strengthen these attitudes, all of course in the name of "patriotism" which is often normalised as innocuous.



na\_filozofski\_fakulteti\_incident\_z\_obritoglavci%2F&utm\_medium=web&utm\_campaign=oldLink, <http://www.dnevnik.si/kronika/1042258409>

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## ERASURE - LEGAL AND STATE DISCRIMINATION

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

On 26 February 1992, over 25,000 people (all from republics of former Yugoslavia) were illegally and secretly removed from the register of permanent residents of the Republic of Slovenia. This was an unconstitutional administrative act since no legal basis has ever existed that would allow for such an act. This illegal and unconstitutional administrative measure later became known as the “erasure” and became a public issue only in the last decade as a consequence of the self-organization of the “erased” persons in 2002 and their consequent appearances in the mass media, yet it took even longer than a decade for the public to gradually start realizing the full scale of what happened to these people. Namely, the “erased” persons’ fundamental human rights had been violated and people were left without any legal status; they were not even awarded the status of a legally residing “foreigner”. The result of this administrative “erasure” left 25,671 people status-less: without documents, healthcare and social security, and they had no right to work. They were rather forced to resort to undeclared labour. Consequently, they were in constant fear of persecution and subjected to exploitation. Factually, the act of the “erasure” constructed these once permanent residents as illegal migrants. This was an act of systematic violations of human rights and subsequent strategies of justifications (Dedič, Jalušič and Zorn 2003; Kogovšek Šalamon 2012a).

### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

Although it happened more than two decades ago, the event of the erasure is still a very actual theme in Slovenia. Not only because the state is reluctant to correct the injustices and violations of human rights of the Erased, but also because the erased (more than 25.000 people) are still regarded by many people in Slovenia as villains, who deserved what has happened to them. Many people today still do not understand the basic difference between the permanent residence and citizenship, since many people claim that the Erased should have (but did not) apply for Slovenian citizenship and they have got what they deserved.

This discourse is also part of a larger discourse against the Balkans, the Balkan people, the southerners, immigrants from former Yugoslavia since only “foreigners” from former Yugoslavia were erased, while other people with permanent residence in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia prior to 1991, whose citizenship was of any state other than the former Yugoslavia (thus having the same status as those from the former republics), did not experience the same drastic measure. Since most of the “erased” or at least one of their parents were born in other republics of the former Yugoslavia, the act hints at the “erasure” being based on ethnic origin and thus xenophobic and racist in its intent.

Taking into account that Slovenia has not shied away from openly ethnocentric policies and exclusivist practices that clearly discriminate against the “other” (e.g. the “erased”), the self-assertive “patriotic” discourses that claim to be “protecting” the supposedly “threatened Slovenian nation” should not be mistaken for merely a benign positive affirmation of a particular national identity (i.e. the Slovenian). On the contrary, such frequently populist rhetoric promotes unmistakably exclusionary and discriminatory policies against the “foreigners” (i.e. the immigrants, the former Yugoslav co-nationals), the Roma, the Muslims, the LGBT community etc. Here, the erased in particular have continuously been rejected as non-members, as “foreigners”, and their

assigned difference treated as “otherness” that needs to be eliminated, removed. As a group of people whose situation has long been misunderstood, their plight downplayed, and their precariousness attributed to their own doing, the erased played a particularly handy scapegoat for any kind of populist mongering, including discrediting attitudes of a number of politicians.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

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While for many years, almost a decade, the faith and lives of the erased have been basically unknown and undocumented, only in late 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s their stories have begun to gain publicity. Many media articles and scientific researches have been conducted on the issue. The life of the erased was, as the word erasure literally suggests, erased - they were basically non-existing people. They could not get education, work, health insurance, bank accounts - nothing. Many of them tried to survive by leaving the country; others were living in illegal position. Many have not been able to get health care, many become indebted.

The reaction of many of Slovenians (lay as well as professional people, also media) to the claims and stories of the erased was that of denial and blame - the erased were the absolute culprits and deserved what happened to them. Although the Constitutional Court and the European Court ruled against such a mentality, many people still don't believe this was a severe violation of human rights and dignity.

On the other hand, many organisations, individuals, and the media were constantly warning and explaining about the gravity of the violation. With self-organisation but also with the help of various civil society organisation (e.g. the Peace Institute helps them at the European Court), the erased have very slowly gained public recognition, though not an apology (the state, except from some individuals, is not eager to even apologies to them, let alone take care of reparations and arrangement of status). The state claims that their status should be solved individually, since among them “there are speculators and criminals, who did not want to get citizenship”, and/or who were “acting against the Slovenian state during independence war”.

Even if they would have been criminals, no state that claims to function under the rule of law, should unlawfully take action against “criminals” (for acts that indeed have nothing to do with someone's criminal record) but judge them according to the relevant laws and the crimes they have committed. Thus erasing the residence of people has no relevance for their “criminal” offences - if any, since this is very much also a construction of the erased as threat for Slovenians. Therefore, the decision of the state was a completely arbitrary decision, which took place within internal orders and had no legal basis at all.

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

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The erasure caused immediate and large scale victims, first in terms of status and property (lost social security, job and right to education), secondly many people (erased) who were not able to get medical treatment witnessed deteriorating health conditions, even death. Especially, people suffered long term psychological illness (e.g. depression).

When the case of the erasure gained public attention, the reactions of people were twofold - there are people who critically approached the violation of basic human rights by the state, while others tried to blame the erased for what happened.

After the erasure in 1992, the first time that the issue was treated at the state level was in 1999 when the Constitutional court ruled that the erasure was an act against the law and as such an

unlawful act of state authorities. In 2003 the Constitutional court again confirmed its conclusions from 1999, adding the decision that the state must remedy the violations. In 2004 the parliament passed a “technical law” on the erased and right wing parties called for a referendum (against the law that was to implement constitutional rulings to arrange the status of the erased), which happened in 2004 and where (with 31.45% voter turnout) 94.68% of the voters voted against the technical law. In 2010, right wing parties (Social Democrat Party and Slovenian National Party) lodged a request for a referendum against a law amendment which would arrange the status of the erased. In the same year, the Constitutional Court stopped the referendum.

On 26 June 2012, the Grand Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights in its judgment in the case: Kurić and Others vs. Slovenia ruled against the Republic of Slovenia, stating that Slovenia has violated the rights of the erased according to articles 8, 13 and 14 of the European Convention on Human Rights. The Court adopted a pilot judgment and ordered the state of Slovenia, within a year, to develop a specific mechanism for the recognition of compensation for the erased. Six (out of ten) of the complainants have also been recognized a compensation for non-material damages in the amount of EUR 20,000 per person and reimbursement of expenses in the amount of EUR 20,000. The judgment is final and it cannot be appealed.

Since then the state of Slovenia has been delaying an effective solution and even the implementation of the court decision. Based on the pilot ruling, other erased have been organizing to file another case in front of the European court against the state of Slovenia. The issue is therefore on-going.

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<http://www.mirovni-institut.si/izbrisani/en/>

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#### RACIST ATTACK AGAINST AN AFRICAN

##### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

On 2 July 2001, an African person (Inacio Bintchende), at the time famous for his role on a Slovenian TV show, and also as an Amnesty International activist, was attacked by a group of skinheads outside of his apartment in Ljubljana. First, he was faced with verbal racist assaults (“What the fuck, you motherfucker Negro, go home!”), but then skinheads slapped Bintchende in the face and started to beat him. Witnesses, except for a child, did not react or interact to stop the attack, however a bar owner called the police. Bintchende called his visiting friends from his apartment and when they came, a fight among the two groups began.

##### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

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The manifestation is overtly racist due to its verbal racist assault (“What the fuck, you mother-fucker negro, go home!”), and also the physical assault as a consequence of racist attitudes. We could say that in a way also the media and the judiciary behaved in a racist way.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

When the case came into court, the skinheads were not at all prosecuted, indeed only Bitchende and his friends were being prosecuted as participating in a fight. Also the police and the media reported the case as a “bar fight” between two groups. Thus at first, the incident was not recognized as racist by the police and court. The judge claimed “these kinds of things happen”. It was covered by media, although the story was conveyed in the opposite manner - i.e. foreigners in Slovenia are violent and involve in street fights. The magazine Mladina started to problematize the case. It was only after a protest by Amnesty International that the incident got a wider media attention and is now considered as a racist attack.

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

Members from both groups were also physically hurt, however with no severe injuries. Reactions at the beginning were actually trying to “neutralise” the event, however, after time and many critical reproaches, it now counts as a racist attack. Nonetheless it never reached a court epilogue, as other similar cases of racist attacks on black people in Slovenia. Judges indeed deny the recognition of such events and attacks for what they are, i.e. racist attacks.

### SOURCES AND REFERENCES

<http://www.mladina.si/93704/>  
<http://www.mladina.si/93827/>  
<http://www.mladina.si/144654/>

## RACIST ATTACK ON CUBANS

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

On 11 July 2010, another racist attack/incident occurred. Skinheads (approximately a groups of 30 people) first verbally assaulted a group of people (4 men, 2 women), who were mainly from Cuba, shouting at them that they should go back to the jungle. They threw chairs, bottles/glasses and stones at the victims, while one of the Cubans was also physically attacked. Slovenians were also amongst the group with Cubans, since one of the Slovenians is married to a Cuban girl. The man was also lightly physically injured.

### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

The attack was racially motivated, since the attackers were shouting degrading words (e.g. monkeys and negroes) thus constructing a hierarchy of humans vs. animals. The attackers also demanded the Cubans to leave/to go away, i.e. back to the jungle. These are actually very extreme racist expressions, supported by a huge physical attack, which is alarming.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

The Minister of the Interior condemned the incident, stating that it was obviously motivated by racial intolerance. Other public reactions were also critical about the attack stating that similar attacks are becoming more common and are “normalized”, which was also the conclusion of the police. However, there is no information about whether the case has been prosecuted.

#### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

One of the victims, a Cuban man, was hurt in his head. Due to the fear of retaliation, they did not want to reveal their identity at the interview on TV. Institutions, as the Minister of the Interior, reacted with condemnation, so did the media and particular individuals and human rights organizations, however there is no available public information if the case has been prosecuted, as well as no follow-up of the incident.

#### SOURCES AND REFERENCES

<http://www.24ur.com/novice/crna-kronika/so-napadalce-na-kubance-posnele-kamere.html>  
<http://www.rtvsllo.si/crna-kronika/nestrpnezi-napadli-drzavljana-kube/234556>

### ATTACKS ON RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS (MUSLIM, JEWISH)<sup>7</sup>

#### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

On 7 November 2008, the police received notice that the Muslim graveyards at the military cemetery from the First World War in Log pod Mangartom was sprayed with Serbian nationalistic symbols by an unknown perpetrator. On 19 January 2009, graffiti were daubed on Maribor Synagogue, saying “Juden raus” and “Gaza”.

#### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?



Image 2 - Attacks on religious symbols  
[http://img.rtvsllo.si/upload/Slovenija/pokopalisce\\_1\\_show.jpg](http://img.rtvsllo.si/upload/Slovenija/pokopalisce_1_show.jpg)

Most of the above mentioned attacks have elements of racism and xenophobia, as well as Nazism and fascism (e.g. Juden Raus, a Nazi anti-Semitic expression for extermination and expulsion of Jews during the Second World War; while the case of Serbian nationalistic symbols is connected also to the war in former Yugoslavia, i.e. ethnic cleansing of Muslims). The synagogue graffiti include also the word “Gaza” (Gaza Strip in Palestine), alluding to illegal seizure of land of Palestinians by Israel. However, the illegal actions of the state of Israel is no excuse for legitimization and support of the genocide against Jewish people during WW2, as the suffering

of Jewish people is not an excuse for Israel to legitimate their actions in Gaza against Palestinian people.

#### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

The reactions of the religious communities involved were (mostly through the media) condemning all these acts, which are full of hatred, intolerance and xenophobia as well as representing an exclusionary attitude of the perpetrators.



Image 3 - Attacks on religious symbols  
[http://siol.sdn.si/sn/img/09/019/633679777481433115\\_sinagoga.jpg](http://siol.sdn.si/sn/img/09/019/633679777481433115_sinagoga.jpg)

<sup>7</sup> These attacks should be understood within the general context of anti-Semitism and islamophobia

#### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

The religious communities were hurt and disappointed; the acts were condemned in online and traditional media. The police started investigation; however no further information about any prosecution is available. Also general reactions in Slovenia were condemning the attacks.

#### SOURCES AND REFERENCES

[http://img.rtv slo.si/upload/Slovenija/pokopalisce\\_1\\_show.jpg](http://img.rtv slo.si/upload/Slovenija/pokopalisce_1_show.jpg)  
[http://siol.sdn.si/sn/img/09/019/633679777481433115\\_sinagoga.jpg](http://siol.sdn.si/sn/img/09/019/633679777481433115_sinagoga.jpg)

### RACISM/ANTI-BALKAN DISCOURSE IN SPORTS

#### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

On 11 February 2012 in Maribor, a north eastern city of Slovenia, during a handball match between a Slovene local handball club and a Bosnian local handball club, some fans of the Maribor sports club, called Viola fans, shouted racist slogans to the Bosnian sportsmen and fans. The slogan “knife, wire, Srebrenica” (nož, žica, Srebrenica) is actually a Serbian slogan excusing the genocide of Muslims in Srebrenica during the recent Yugoslav war. Slovene fans have been shouting it on the match and despite being warned they did not stop until some of the fans were expelled from the sport venue.

#### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

The event is racist because it glorifies a genocide committed against a group of people in one of what is known as the worst ethnic wars after the Second World War, i.e. the genocide of Srebrenica.

#### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

The reactions were condemning the event: the players of the sports club Maribor and their trainers and directors criticised the event; the media also reported on the event in condemning tone as an event that shamed Slovenia. Also Bosnian and Serbian media reported on the case stating that they did not expect a state and people members of EU to behave in this way.

#### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

No people were injured; however the Bosnian team was very upset; one of the players of the Bosnian team was born in Srebrenica and has lost his father and other relatives during the genocide. Also members and trainers of the Slovenian team were very upset and condemned the event as outrageous. No prosecution has been undertaken; the only thing that happened is that the police fined two of the fans who incited this behaviour on the ground of violation of public law and order.

#### SOURCES AND REFERENCES

<http://www.24ur.com/sport/ostalo/neokusno-navijanje-skupinice-mariborskih-navijacev-noz-zica-srebrenica.html>  
<http://www.dnevnik.si/sport/rokomet/1042509356>

### PATRIOTIC/RACIST SYMBOLS ON FOOTBALL MATCHES

The appearance of the Carantanian panther



Image 4 - Patriotic/Racist symbols on football matches  
<http://www4.slikomat.com/10/0425/mkn-Vknapi.jpg>



Image5 – Patriotic/Racist symbols on football matches  
[http://www.fotoultras.si/wp-content/gallery/rudarmaribor\\_vm\\_201314/rudarmaribor\\_vm\\_201314\\_01.jpg](http://www.fotoultras.si/wp-content/gallery/rudarmaribor_vm_201314/rudarmaribor_vm_201314_01.jpg)



Image 6 - Patriotic/Racist symbols on football matches  
[http://www.fotoultras.si/wp-content/gallery/slovenijabih\\_p\\_201213/SlovenijaBIH\\_2013\\_14.jpg](http://www.fotoultras.si/wp-content/gallery/slovenijabih_p_201213/SlovenijaBIH_2013_14.jpg)



Image 7 - Patriotic/Racist symbols on football matches  
[http://www.fotoultras.si/wpcontent/gallery/rudartbvojljezagorje\\_cb\\_201213/RudarZagorje\\_CB\\_201213\\_01.jpg](http://www.fotoultras.si/wpcontent/gallery/rudartbvojljezagorje_cb_201213/RudarZagorje_CB_201213_01.jpg)



Image 8 - Patriotic/Racist symbols on football matches  
[http://www.mladina.si/media/www/slike/2013/10/\\_610/ti-hitler-navija\\_i-t.jpg](http://www.mladina.si/media/www/slike/2013/10/_610/ti-hitler-navija_i-t.jpg)

1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

On many football matches the fans of various football teams display racist symbols. The symbols vary from so called “local” symbols (Carantanian panther to “Here is Slovenia” graffiti), to very internationally known symbols as for example Hitler’s portrait.

2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

The appearance of the Carantanian panther is not directly a racist symbol, since it is mostly connected with patriotic feelings. However, if we take into account that most of the self-defined patriotic groups who use the Carantanian panther as a symbol often actually display very xenophobic and racist feelings and attitudes in their language, messages and behaviour, we could conclude that Carantanian panther is often used in connection with these xenophobic and racist attitudes, i.e. local patriotism is marked with exclusionary discourse against foreigners, migrants, people of different ethnic origin and similar.

As was mentioned in further analysis of the examples, “Here is Slovenia” is a group that promotes exclusionary attitudes towards non Slovenians, usually scapegoating “Other” people. On football matches the appearance of such graffiti is not necessarily leading to xenophobic and racist behaviours, however it shows that members of the group are also active members of football club fans. The internal dynamics of these groups (racist and football clubs) is actually not researched and thus unknown. However, very common expressions of local and patriotic affiliation implicitly alludes to exclusionary feelings against specific groups of people as foreigners, migrants, etc.

Image 8 is an example of an although not so famous Hitler’s portrait from the times of the First World War. Besides the picture there is also a caption on the left that says: “club of lovers of”

alluding to the meaning of club of lovers of Hitler. The meaning of the other caption on the right, using the logo of Absolut vodka actually states: “absolute jerks”. It is not exactly clear to what the message of this caption refers, since the detailed message inside the bottle is not clear enough to be interpreted. The flag with Hitler’s portrait and the statement “club of lovers of” however explicitly glorifies Hitler as a person. Glorifying Hitler usually has no other meanings than glorifying his attitudes and his deeds and for this reason this manifestation could be interpreted as racist.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

There are actually no reactions to these kinds of manifestations. Except for the Hitler’s portrait, which was noticed by the weekly Mladina pointing to the fact that probably nobody knows this particular portrait of Hitler, since it is a picture from his youth, other manifestations and display of racist symbols are not at all debated in public.

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

People were not hurt, as well as no prosecution or police case has ever been opened for the public display/manifestation of these symbols on football matches.

### SOURCES AND REFERENCES

<http://www4.slikomat.com/10/0425/mkn-Vknapi.jpg>

[http://www.fotoultras.si/wpcontent/gallery/rudarmaribor\\_vm\\_201314/rudarmaribor\\_vm\\_201314\\_01.jpg](http://www.fotoultras.si/wpcontent/gallery/rudarmaribor_vm_201314/rudarmaribor_vm_201314_01.jpg)

[http://www.fotoultras.si/wpcontent/gallery/slovenijabih\\_p\\_201213/SlovenijaBIH\\_2013\\_14.jpg](http://www.fotoultras.si/wpcontent/gallery/slovenijabih_p_201213/SlovenijaBIH_2013_14.jpg)

## HUNGARY

### STATEMENT OF THE MAYOR OF DEBRECEN

#### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

“No avail the UEFA says “respect” and “mankind” and “friendship” and no avail human rights organizations are talking their very nice slogans, irrespectively of this the refugees are rather unpeaceful people (at least in this sense)” - Lajos Kósa, mayor of Debrecen, one of the leading figures of governing party Fidesz said on 29<sup>th</sup> of June, 2013 after a smack-up in the Debrecen refugee camp.

The context was a TV interview; derogatory, stereotyping language on refugees has been used. The stereotype of unpeaceful immigrants is internationally known. The criticized terms are of the international anti-racist discourse. It is an openly stereotypical, generalizing and offensive notion, which also attempts to ruin the credibility of anti-racism.

The perpetrator is the mayor, the targets are refugees, but also Human Rights organizations and international bodies that are fighting against racism.

#### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

It conveys derogatory message toward refugees but also toward anti-racist policies.

#### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

Although the statement gained publicity, it did not receive reactions neither from the side of political parties, or Human Rights NGO’s in Hungary, nor from the side of international bodies.



No commentaries were found.

#### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

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There were no reactions.

No prosecution actions were undertaken, because according to Hungarian regulation no violation of existing laws happened.

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### NAZI SLOGANS AND ATTEMPT OF PHYSICAL ASSAULT AT THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

#### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

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A group of 10-20 persons shouted Nazi slogans and 3 of them also intended to physically assault Jewish representatives at the World Jewish Congress (the assault was stopped by police agents).

The local event gained international publicity.

The perpetrators were neo-nazi activists, mainly young men; no report available on the targets.

#### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

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It uses a derogatory discourse.

#### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

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The case gained huge publicity in all kind of media, after the perpetrators were convicted.

The court decision was commented in a supporting tone by the mainstream media.

Although there were no polls on the case, a general condemnation can be expected from the press coverage.

#### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

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Police intervention protected the victims from physical injuries; the court made a decision with an expedited procedure.

One of the perpetrators was sentenced to three years in jail and the other two, were each handed a suspended sentence of two years. The man who was sent to jail received a tougher sentence because of earlier convictions for violence.

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### DEMONSTRATION BY THE FAR-RIGHT PARTY JOBBIK AGAINST “BOLSHEVISM AND ZIONISM”

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

A demonstration was organized by the far-right party Jobbik against “bolshevism and zionism” with the timing to the Jewish World congress held in Budapest on the 4<sup>th</sup> of May, 2013. The speakers focused on Hungary invaded by the Jews, and that the Jews of Hungary should ask for forgiveness because of the “Hungarian-killings” committed by them during communist dictatorships.

Openly racist language was used, combined with hidden assumptions i.e. to the ethnic origin of several former communist leaders and/or the so called Jewish ambitions to invade the world . Linking bolshevism and Jewish people is an internationally followed pattern of the extreme right wing. One of the most stubborn prejudice in Hungary toward Jewish people is that communism is the invention of Jews, and this is supposedly proved by the high percentage of high ranking decision makers with Jewish origin. This issue is very often used by the extreme right-wing political forces.

Perpetrators were the speakers of the demonstration. No record on reactions from victims or bystanders.

### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

It conveys a message of hierarchy/scapegoating and also identity: beside Roma, Jews constitute out-groups in Hungary.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

The case gained huge publicity in all kind of media, mainly as news.

The information was accompanied by overall condemnation of the demonstration from political parties.

The reaction - upon mainstream media coverage - was mainly negative.

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

No reaction reported. Timed to the demonstration, a group of 30-40 people (including opposition socialist party members) organized a flashmob against the demonstration nearby.

Upon request from the prime minister the police banded the demonstration earlier. The organizer Jobbik went to court, which diminished the banning decision.

There were no prosecutions after the demonstration, since according to Hungarian regulations no violation of existing laws happened.

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## INSULTS AT AN INTERNATIONAL FOOTBALL GAME

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

On the 15<sup>th</sup> of July, 2013 a group of football fans of Budapesti Honvéd on an international game scanted “Gypsies, Gypsies, dirty Gypsies!”; “Vojvodina homosexual” and insulted the Cameroon born Abubakar Oumarou by ululation. Racism in football stadiums is a widespread phenomenon

also in Hungary, other targets are black players and also Jews (even in the forms of joking on Holocaust).

The football team condemned the action in a press release and - as a protest - decided to close for the next match the sector where the incident happened. The UEFA also started a procedure. Anti-gypsy, racist and homophobic offensive language was used.

Although there are differences between different countries in offensivity, language and symbols, the fact that this incident happened on an international match, highlights how it is an international problem.

The perpetrators are those fans who were shouting. The straight target was Abubakar Oumarou, then the Vojvodina fans, but also Roma and the LGBT community. Bystanders are usually silent in these cases.

This is open racists hate speech and threats of violence: it has no hidden meaning. Although it is widely condemned and efforts are being made to stop this kind of behaviour, it is still regular occurrence and no one is surprised when it happens.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

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This is open racists hate speech and threats of violence: it has no hidden meaning. Although it is widely condemned and efforts are being made to stop this kind of behaviour, it is still regular occurrence and no one is surprised when it happens.

It highlights how the perpetrators are not afraid to express racist hate speech in public and fear no consequences; it is violent and threatening.

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

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The case gained significant publicity only after the press release of the Football Club and the news that international sanctions may be taken.

No commentaries were found. It is usual, that penalties generates much wider debates than the insults which led to them.

Strong reactions and interventions on racism in football are a relatively new phenomena in Hungary, while racism in the stadium is so widespread, that the general public tends to accept it as something "natural".

## 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

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There is no data on how the targets reacted.  
Procedure is on progress at UEFA.

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PLANS FOR A MARCH TITLED "GIVE GAS" ON THE SAME DAY OF HOLOCAUST-VICTIMS REMEMBRANCE

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

Marches used to be organized by a group of Motorcyclists. The plan (a disguised racist demonstration/provocation which intended to pass in front of the city's main synagogue) caused a huge wave of objection from the side of the Jewish community and also the political parties. Upon the Prime Minister's call (saying the protest would be an affront to human dignity) the police banned the march on the planned route.

A hidden racist language was used: the bikers, who describe themselves as "patriotic," called it a "simple demonstration," according to a posting on their Facebook page.

It is obvious that the title refers to the Holocaust: the organizers wanted to make a provocation on the basis of the double meaning of the notion. It was also their intention to test the borders of the possibilities of using such languages.

"(...) unequivocally refers to the tortuous deaths of more than 400,000 of our compatriots killed in Auschwitz with poisonous gas and is a call to repeat these harrowing deeds," the Hungarian Jewish group Mazsihisz said in a statement on its website.

The planned march follows an internationally spread pattern: similar demonstrations were held under the same title in Germany before.

Perpetrators were the organizers, targets are the Jewish community and the society.

### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

It is obvious that the title refers to the Holocaust: the organizers wanted to make a provocation on the basis of the double meaning of the notion. It was also their intention to test the borders of the possibilities of using such languages.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS?

The case gained huge publicity in all kind of media with general objections to the plan (except the right wing extremist media of course); commentaries mainly supported the banning.

The overall public seemed to be a supporter of the decision, no major opposition from the mainstream community occurred. In some cases, also a debate started upon whether the prime minister has the right to ban the demonstration, but after the police did so, a court annulled the decision.

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

There were no major opposition to the banning of the demonstration (except from the side of right wing extremist groups). Jewish community leaders, the US based Anti-Defamation League and also the ambassador of Israel greeted the banning. At the same time NGOs for Civil Liberties expressed concerns on the fact that the prime minister had no right to ban a public rally on the basis of such reasons - and if he could do so now, he could do the same in the case of even an anti-government demonstration.

There were no prosecutions after the demonstration, since according to Hungarian regulations no violation of existing laws happened.

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## NEO-NAZI MARCH IN A ROMANI NEIGHBORHOOD

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

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On 5 August 2012 1,000 neo-Nazi demonstrators organized a march in the Romani neighborhood of Devecser, a small town with 5000 inhabitants. "You are going to die here!" the marchers shouted, throwing their water bottles and stones at what they thought might be Roma homes. The police did not intervene.

The Parliamentary party Jobbik also took place on the demonstration, their MP Gabor Ferenczi said: he wanted to see peace, order and safety in Devecser. This, he said, would be the reward for "normal" Hungarians who defended themselves against Roma. He urged villagers to call on the paramilitaries to help them. Laszlo Toroczka of the far-right Sixty-four Counties group, told them there were three options: "To emigrate, to become slaves of the Gypsies, or to fight."

Openly racist language which is also threatening has been used, one of the speeches even openly calling for violent actions against Roma. The fact that 1000 neo-nazis marched in a small town caused fear in Roma inhabitants. Also physical assaults happened when a group of demonstrators started to throw stones at what they thought might be Roma homes.

Perpetrators were the demonstrators, targets are the Roma community. It is a local manifestation following a nationwide pattern but also gaining international publicity.

### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

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It uses "double speech": the threatened majority have to protect themselves from Roma.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

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The case gained huge publicity in all kind of media with general objections toward the action (except right wing extremist media of course); commentaries condemned the event.

There is no record on the reaction of the overall public, there were no public reactions, mainstream media coverage condemned the action.

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

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Ironically, one thrown stone hit a right wing extremist leader. No other injuries are recorded. There were demonstrations at the Police headquarters because of not intervening in the case. Human Rights activists also expressed concerns and wrote a petition toward the police; the Ministry of Interior stuck to the viewpoint that the demonstration "did not lose its peaceful character".

The Commissioner for Fundamental Rights found in the case that "fundamental rights were injured" concerning the police activity.

The Police closed the investigation by stating: there were no criminal offenses.

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 RIGHT-WING EXTREMIST PARLIAMENTARY PARTY'S PROPOSAL
 

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 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION
 

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A proposal from the right-wing extremist parliamentary party was presented by 3 MPs, asking that (similar to Holocaust-denial) the denial of "Gipsycriminality" should be punished by law. Judicial language was used, with the assumption of a parallelism between "Gipsycriminality" and Holocaust.

Perpetrators were the 3 MPs who elaborated the proposal, targets are Roma

The manifestation is predominantly regional: "gipsycriminality" is a common focal issue of racist extremism in Central and Eastern Europe, and these groups try to keep it on the agenda by all means. According to a survey conducted by Nézőpont [Viewpoint] Institute in August 2008, results show that 'Roma criminality' exists according to 91% of the respondents, while 77% agrees that Roma have more inclination to commit crimes than non-Roma.

 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?
 

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It conveys stereotype of "gypsies as criminals", and supposes a parallelism between "Gipsycriminality" and Holocaust.

 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS
 

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The case gained huge publicity in all kind of media with general objection to the proposal (except right wing extremist media of course)

No record on the reaction of the overall public.

 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?
 

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The Parliament did not support the proposal. Some politicians openly condemned the idea. There were no prosecutions, since according to Hungarian regulations no violation of existing laws happened.

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 BANNER "IN MEMORIAM CSATARY LASZLO" AT A HUNGARIAN SOCCER MATCH
 

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 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION
 

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Image 9 - Source: Banner "In memoriam Csatory Laszlo" at a Hungarian soccer match

On 17<sup>th</sup> of August, 2013 a banner with the text "In memoriam Csatory Laszlo", honouring the memory of the "most wanted" Nazi, Laszlo Csatory, was displayed at a Hungarian soccer match by fans of the Ferencvárosi TC. Csatory died just over a week before at the age of 98 while awaiting trial in Hungary – he was accused of torturing Jews and sending over 15,000 to their deaths at the Auschwitz Nazi death camp. In 1948 he was convicted *in absentia* in Czechoslovakia for war crimes and sentenced to death. Jewish human rights group, Simon Wiesenthal Center, labeled Csatory as the world's 'Most Wanted' Nazi.

A "neutral language" was used, but honouring an accused war criminal.

It was a "locally understandable" manifestation for the general public, then it gained international publicity.

The perpetrators are those fans who were showing the banner, the straight target was the Jewish community. Bystanders are usually silent in these cases, even the state TV commentator did not say a word about it.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

Honouring the most wanted Nazi is an openly racist manifestation. It highlights also how right wing extremist invaded some of the soccer fans groups and stadiums in recent years. All the fan groups of FTC took responsibility for the action.

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

The original information was relayed in a stadium, gained small publicity on TV, and much bigger through the criticism and condemnation.

Most of the commentaries condemned the action.

Strong reaction and intervention on racism in football is a relatively new phenomena in Hungary, while racism in stadium is so widespread, that the general public tends to accept it as something as "natural".

## 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

The incident was condemned not only by Jewish organizations but Ferencváros TC (FTC) was levied with an HUF 800,000 fine by Hungarian Football League authorities.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> of September the police made a decision that they would not investigate the case, since it was not a criminal offence.

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MP OF RADICAL RIGHT PARLIAMENTARY PARTY REQUESTS A CERTIFICATE OF GENETIC DIAGNOSTIC

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

A MP of radical right parliamentary party, Jobbik requests - and receives - a certificate from a genetic diagnostic company attesting that the MP did not have Jewish or Roma ancestry. The company Nagy Gén scanned 18 positions in the MP's genome for variants that it said were characteristic of Roma and Jewish ethnic groups and concluded that Roma and Jewish ancestry could be ruled out.

It was a medical investigation published in the media; the symbolism of the action recalls the "racial purity" issue of the Nazis. The "racial purity" was a core issue of the Nazis. The request of the Jobbik MP shows the party links to biological racism, while the fact that a scientific laboratory made the test, and gave a certification shows the low level of antiracist and also scientific standards.

### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

The message is about biological racism and "racial purity"; it conveys biological racism.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

The case gained huge publicity in all kind of media with general objection (except right wing extremist media of course)

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

In May, when the certificate appeared online on a right-wing website, the Hungarian media widely publicized the story, though without the name of its subject, which was blacked out.

The use of genetic testing to establish racial origins for political purposes is not scientifically valid and also unethical and should be condemned, the European Society of Human Genetics (ESHG) said on June 14.

Professor Béla Melegh, President of the Hungarian Society of Human Genetics added: "We were shocked to hear that a laboratory authorised to carry out genetic analysis for diagnostic purposes".

One of the firm's financial partners, the Jewish three-time Olympic water-polo gold medalist Tibor Benedek, ended his involvement with the company.

Nagy Gen posted a statement on its website saying it "rejects all forms of discrimination, so it has no right to judge the purpose for which an individual will use his or her test result, and so for ethical reasons it could not have refused to carry out the test" They expressed their sorrow and stated: their result were improperly used by the MP.

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## AWARDS TO A NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE EXPRESSED ANTI-SEMITIC SENTIMENTS

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

Handing out awards to a number of people who have expressed anti-Semitic sentiments. Ferenc Szaniszló, who received the Táncsics Prize, had used television broadcasts to discuss anti-Semitic conspiracy theories. He also compared members of Hungary's Roma minority to monkeys. In 2011, the country's media supervisory body reacted to those comment by fining the broadcaster Echo TV. The archaeologist Kornél Bakay, who is well known in Hungary for his anti-Semitic theories, also received the Táncsics Prize. His theories include one in which Jews organized the slave trade in the Middle Ages. Rock singer Janos Petrás of the band Kárpátia received the Golden Cross of Merit. Kárpátia is regarded as the house band of the radical -right Jobbik party. The lyrics of some of its songs call for an "unblemished nation" or the use of violence to extend Hungary's borders. It also took part in a march organized by the banned paramilitary organization Hungarian Guard.

This awarding practice of the government confirms a cultural canon.

From the side of those, who think anti-Semitism and racism have no place in the state's official literary canon, perpetrators are governmental decision makers, and victims are not only Jewish and Roma communities, but the whole society.

Honouring these profiles shows that the government does not see perceive as unacceptable the anti-Semitic and racist statements, and even more so appreciates them.

### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

It conveys a message of the relativisation of racism in Hungary .

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

The case gained huge publicity all across media causing a huge political debate: with general objection of the awards on left wing and liberal media and partly acceptance or silence in right-wing oriented media: mainstream media coverage differed upon political affiliation.

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

Harsh criticism focused mainly on awarding Ferenc Szaniszló. Several previous recipients of Táncsics award have returned their awards in protest. Israel asked the government to withdraw the prize from Szaniszló. After the strong criticism Zoltán Balog, minister of Human resources, whose ministry is responsible for handing out the Táncsics Prize, asked Szaniszló to return the prize. Szaniszló did it, Bakay and Petrás kept the prize.

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## WRITER JÓZSEF NYIRŐ IN THE BASIC SCHOOL CURRICULUM

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

The government includes writer József Nyirő (1889-1953) in the basic school curriculum.

Nyiró was a very controversial figure not only when it comes to literature but also in current politics. In 1941, after the Second Vienna Award, which made the decision that North Transylvania will be a part of Hungary again, József Nyiró became a member of the Hungarian parliament and he was the editor of a right-wing weekly. After the Nazi arrow-cross movement and Szálasi take-over, he remained a member of parliament and became one of those who followed Szálasi in his flight to the west. His critics call him a fascist and anti-Semite who has no place in the state's official literary canon, while his apologists try to minimize his political involvement. Nyiró's ideas showed a close relationship to the Nazis' racism. "Long live Adolf Hitler," Nyiró told in parliament on one occasion. Jews are "foreign to Hungarian spirituality and soul (MAGYAR LELKISÉG)," he said, and liberal Jewish tradition "has infected many Hungarians and must disappear from Hungarian life."

Nyiró even in exile kept in close contact with those members of Szálasi's inner circle who were not sent back to Hungary by the Allies.

For those who think a fascist and anti-Semite has no place in the state's official literary canon, perpetrators are governmental decision makers, and victims are not only the Jewish community, but the whole society.

Honouring someone as Nyiró József shows that the government encourages the whitewashing of Nazi supporters and the relativising of their responsibility.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

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It conveys a message of the relativisation of Hungary's Nazi past.

It partly uses "double speech", by stating we should differentiate between the quality of someone's works and his/her political activity.

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

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The case gained huge publicity across media causing a huge political debate: with general objection to the plan on left wing and liberal media and acceptance in right-wing oriented media; mainstream media coverage differed upon political affiliation.

## 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

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The plan was condemned not only by Jewish organizations but also by democratic opposition and several NGOs.

Holocaust survivor, and Nobel Peace Prize winner Elie Wiesel renounced a state award given to him by Hungary in 2004 after hearing that Laszlo Kövér, co-founder of Fidesz and current speaker of the parliament, had attended a ceremony honoring Nyiró in late May. In a letter to Kövér, Wiesel called Nyiró "a fascist ideologue."

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WEARING T-SHIRT WITH THE CAPTURE: I'M OLDER THAN SLOVAKIA



Image 10 - source: Wearing t-shirt with the capture: I'm older than Slovakia  
[http://turania.hu/catalog/product\\_reviews\\_info.php?products\\_id=2247&reviews\\_id=472](http://turania.hu/catalog/product_reviews_info.php?products_id=2247&reviews_id=472)

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

Everyday street wear. "I'm older than Slovakia" is factual language without expressive verbs, however conveys cultural superiority. The capture is in Hungarian, can be understood in the region. Perpetrators are those who wear these t-shirts, targets are mainly the Slovakian people. Cultural superiority over neighbouring countries looks back a long history in Hungary. Similar forms can be found over Romanians or Serbs. In this case extremist groups gained one more possibility to express this, since Slovakia is a relatively new state.

### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

It conveys a message of hierarchy.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS?

No major reactions are recorded in Hungarian press. No significant level of public reactions is reported.

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

No reactions are reported. Hungarian laws do not restrict the promotion of such messages.

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## PIGS' FEET INTO THE SHOES OF A HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL.

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION



Image 11 - Pigs' feet into the shoes of a Holocaust memorial.

2009, June: Unidentified persons placed pigs' feet into several of the shoes of a Holocaust memorial. The memorial is made up of 60 pairs of abandoned shoes, fashioned in steel, marking one of the many spots along the Danube River where Arrow-Cross soldiers once stripped and shot their Jewish victims and threw their bodies, some still alive, into the icy waters. Many of the steel shoes are filled with flowers from time to time.

It was a racist provocation, using a very brutal symbolism, associating victims of Holocaust with pigs.

We have no information on similar actions, although the imagery of Jews in contact with pigs or representing the devil was common in Germany.

Perpetrators are unidentified; targets are the Jewish community and the society.

### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

The meaning is direct and clear: deface and desecrate Holocaust victims memorial.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS?

The case gained huge publicity in media with general objection and commentaries condemning the action .

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

Peter Feldmayer, chairman of the Association of Hungarian Jewish Religious Communities, or Mazsihisz, the country's largest Jewish organization, declared, regarding the case, that the country has not experienced this much anti-Semitism since the 1940s. But he emphasized, in an address delivered to a conference of the European Jewish Congress in Geneva after the EU elections, that in his view, the major Hungarian political parties cannot be blamed for this development.

All major Hungarian political parties and democratic civil groups condemned the action. The police started investigation in the case without any success .

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## ITALY

### ACID ATTACK AGAINST A ROMA CHILD IN NAPLES

#### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION



Image 12 - A policeman showing the T-Shirt of the girls assaulted with acid

October 15<sup>th</sup>, 2013. A Roma little girl, only 20 months old, was burnt by acid in Naples. The corroding liquid was spilled by an unknown person onto the child and her mother, who was asking for alms in Via Andrea Doria, in Fuorigrotta, a neighbourhood of Naples. The acid shower dissolved the clothes worn by the little girl making huge holes in the tee-shirt, and causing second-degree burns to skull, face and upper limbs of the little girl. Some sketches of acid have also hit the mother, which refused to be treated by doctors. The

child has been hospitalized under observation at Santobono, a paediatric hospital, near the place of attack. The little girl and her mother were immediately rescued by passers-by, and accompanied at a pharmacy where they received first aid and later accompanied by ambulance to the emergency room.

It is not easy to reconstruct what really went on behind the scenes. Different media sources reported that acid attack followed other aggressive behaviours carried out in the same place in

the previous days by the same individual: the mother and the little girl have been the targeted with throws of hot water and bleach showers, as it has been said by many eyewitness. Police opened an investigation on the inhabitants of the palace and seized a bottle of acid to unclog sinks. No public notice has been made regarding the identification of the perpetrator.

The social context in which this episode took place was everyday life in Naples. The attack has been perpetrated in a working class neighbourhood, and the place was close to an elementary school.

Opera Nomadi, which is a relevant NGO concerned in promotion of social integration of Roma, reports that episodes of racism against Roma are growing in Naples as well as in the whole country. However, similar cases were not reported.

Perpetrators have not been prosecuted yet, but police is still investigating on the inhabitants of the building: at the moment policemen found a bottle of acid, commonly used to unclog sinks, which has been seized. As the local newspaper "Il Mattino" states in an update, Police has identified a woman as the possible responsible of the attack, but she refuses to make declarations.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

This episode should be considered as strictly related to hostile attitudes against Roma that are much diffused in Italy as well as in other European countries. The presence of members of this ethnic group in cities is perceived as a social problem: Romani are alleged for steals, begging, exploiting children as well as women, beat and segregate woman, and in general they are accused to have not any consideration for laws and social norms. In general, they are often treated as perfect scapegoats for micro-criminality episodes. In a survey carried out in Rome in early 2000's by the sociology department of "La Sapienza" University, citizen were interviewed about urban security and crime as a perceived risk. The results of the survey showed that Roma people were considered by Rome inhabitants as a relevant social issue (Beato, 2003).

Stereotypes on Roma communities are widespread among the mainstream majority and many scholars witnessed a strong normalization of hate towards this group. In newspapers forums, there could be found many comments that partially justify aggression as a result of the climate of intolerance that would be responsible for the Roma themselves, according to a racist premise "I'm not racist , but... "

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS?

Some witnesses identified the woman as responsible for the incident: she was a resident on the third floor of the building, who was already known for other attempts to drive away Romani while they stand near her home to ask for alms.

"I saw the child invested in full by a blue liquid. She was crying, screaming, holding her hands over her eyes while on the jacket appeared huge holes of the little girl asked some water to the attendant of a gas station, so when they came out and they have been exposed the perpetrators thrown liquids".

Opera Nomadi NGO in Naples declared to be outraged by the episode. "Il Mattino", a local newspaper gave a wide coverage to the episode, also reporting a declaration by Antonietta Caroscio, president of the NGO "It's a shocking story, which leaves us bewildered and saddened. We are getting in touch with Santobono Hospital to know the conditions of the child. It seems to be a

strange affair, to be clarified. We are trying to reconstruct the history, which leaves us unprepared. Naples is a very tolerant city, but it is clear that the climate of creeping racism and intolerance is increasing in some neighborhoods of this city. In Naples, in recent times the attitude towards Roma citizens is changing for the worse and certainly there is less tolerance.”

The first reaction of passers-by was to help the victims, blaming the perpetrator. As “Il Messaggero” reported, there was a strong reaction by passers-by, that railed loud against the responsible of the attack.

Although some newspapers have reported that it may have been an accident (suggesting that the woman was just using the acid to wash her balcony), there are not many doubts about real intentions behind the gesture. Another eyewitness declared: “It is not a case. We are angry with them”.

#### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

The child suffered for second-grade burns on head, face, arms and shoulders. After a medical examination, doctors said she will be discharged by hospital in at least ten days. The mother was hit by some acid on her face, but she won't be treated by physicians.

There is a legal case for the prosecution and the reference legal framework is the criminal code. The alleged crime could be “personal injury” aggravated by the permanent damage caused by acid; in that case the prosecutor doesn't need a statement to proceed. Any other alleged crime depends on the subsequent investigations. If it could be found that the reason of the crime has been the ethnic origin of the woman and her child, the reference legal framework would be supplemented by the aggravating circumstance provided by the Law Mancino.

At the moment, the police is investigating the case. If the episode is found to be an accident, the victim will receive a compensation according to Italian laws, and in the case it will be found to be a crime, the defendant will be punished.

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## THE SOCCER AND RACISM DEBATE

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

On October 16<sup>th</sup>, the Federal Council of the Italian Football Federation introduced the probation about sanctions inflicted for racial and territorial discrimination<sup>8</sup>. In contrast to UEFA expectations on tougher penalties - up to the suspension of the stadium, the outcome was a warning to be applied to the soccer club whose supporters will be involved for the first time in racist incidents. Recent norms regarding racism and discrimination proposed by UEFA generated much anxiety and bafflement among soccer club managers and team support. In particular, team managers expressed fear that small organized groups may blackmail clubs by staging racist manifestations or riots in stadiums during soccer matches in order to influence clubs to obtain undue advantages, such as lower prices tickets. These concerns also focused on the possibility to push clubs to take publicly position against the law issued to control violent hooligans as the DASPO or the “fan card”<sup>9</sup>.

In recent times, in Italy have been recorded hundred of racist episodes organized by violent supporters that occurred during soccer events. Here a brief list of some relevant examples from Premier League (Serie A):

- During the match Lazio - Juventus (18<sup>th</sup> august), Lazio supporters repeatedly insulted the players of African descent of Juventus F. C. Pogba, Asamoah and Ogbonna with choirs and boos. Lazio curve was disqualified for a match.
- On September 14<sup>th</sup> Inter supporters targeted again African descent players of Juventus F.C. with racist songs. The sport judge sentenced Inter Club to close one of the rings of his stadium in the next match.
- 19<sup>th</sup> May: while Roma and Milan were playing the match, some of the supporters in the south curve of Olympic Stadium shouted racist slur against Mario Balotelli. The judge closed the curve for the following match.

Other episodes of racism involved even players and referees too. A soccer player of the young team of Clusone was first expelled and hence disqualified for ten matches for a racist insult against an African descent player of the opponents of Pontirolese, after a tackle. During the match of woman’s soccer (Napoli - Verona) a male referee addressed to some players and managers with sentences such as “What language do you speak? Where are you from? Won’t you wash your ears?”, thus expelled two players and three staff members. Napoli complained to the Women's Football Division and UEFA.

According to Mauro Valeri, an Italian sociologist and UNAR<sup>10</sup> officer, in the course of time, racism has become “a structural phenomenon of Italian football”. The researcher observed how racism began to appear in Italian soccer since the 90s, also due to the attempts of far-right movement to carry on new forms of propaganda in stadiums. The rising of racism was also favoured by the lack of a strong condemn by sport authorities, that had frequently tried to downplay or hide

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<sup>8</sup> FIGC introduced even territorial discrimination to prosecute on racism between North and South of Italy (e.g. invocations to the Vesuvio Vulcan to destroy Naples and “purify” Italy)

<sup>9</sup> DASPO is the acronym of “Divieto di Accedere alle manifestazioni SPOrtive” (“ban to enter in sport events”). The fan card, indeed, is a nominal document which is obligatory to buy tickets for soccer event, in order to control and prevent violent riots in stadiums and even touts.

<sup>10</sup> UNAR is the National Anti Racist Discrimination Bureau, a governmental Authority monitoring racism cases in Italy.

these phenomena. In one of his books, Valeri has collected a large amount of data about racist manifestations, to outline that in the championships between 200 and 2010 there were reported 530 incidents of racism in Italian soccer, in which were involved at least 99 sports clubs and their supporters (Valeri, 2010). The soccer supporter's environment appears to be a relevant cradle for Italian racists. Moreover, there is need of further analysis of the phenomenon of the normalization processes triggered by racism manifestations in soccer events, as soccer has a very high popularity among the Italian society. From quite some time booing or throwing bananas against African descent players as well as exposing banners against Jews have become tolerated behaviours among certain supporters groups, and this seems to result as the beginning of a diffusion process of some racism attitudes from the soccer curves to the entire society. In addition, racism in soccer events may be interpreted such as a display of power and impunity by racist groups that provided a very effective recruiting strategy for far right movements.

The symbols of soccer racism are many: e.g. throwing objects (as bananas, peanuts), booing, shouting racist slurs. It's an international habit very diffused among some supporter's organized groups.

In Italian soccer, some supporters groups have assumed a strong racist connotation as Hellas Verona, Lazio (Rome), Juventus (Turin), Atalanta (Bergamo) Roma and some supporters groups of other teams. Their clubs are frequently sentenced for penalties due to racist slurs or violent behaviours. Some of them openly recognize a fascist ideological background (Lazio). The intended targets of these racists groups are all African descent players (Boateng, Balotelli, Pogba, Asamoah, Ogbonna) and members of Roma communities (Pirlo, Ibrahimovic, Quaresma, Van der Vaart) as well Jews (Winter). Other supporters are scared by possible violent reactions from these groups. Reactions against instigations to racism are not frequent. In addition, the internet is a very popular scene for advocacy in favour of racism in soccer (e.g. Facebook pages, soccer forums).

Booing is definitely the most common racist behaviour in soccer events. It is almost entirely addressed to African descent players and is often accompanied by racist slogans or choirs, throwing of bananas or peanuts as symbols of defiance.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

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Usually, racist manifestations in soccer refer to essentialist/biological racism, as it's intended to affirm a difference among human races and consequently a hierarchy.

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

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These racist manifestations are always reported properly by broadcast media as well as in the Internet (Facebook, Twitter etc).

News coverage of racist episodes in soccer matches is generally brief and concise. It is reported only that an episode has occurred, where and when, without detailed specifications about racial slurs, and sometimes the short news are accompanied by some photos of the banners or thrown objects, without comments. Only in case of a serious incident (involving famous players, or causing reactions from authorities or UEFA) newspapers and TV news devote more time and space to news coverage, often including some "ritual condemn" in commentaries by columnists. These



leading articles are used to express a general critique toward soccer world and organized supporters, frequently using moralistic tones. Journalistic in - depth inquiries on racism in stadium are more uncomfortable and expensive for news organizations and hence they are very rarely provided by mainstream media. However, the acts of defiance and racism are frequently defended by supporter's radio stations, which are very active and influential among Italian Ultras. Journalists are frequently attacked by soccer supporters and sometimes receive serious threats, which are generated by the critical attitude toward teams or supporters.

Reaction from general public became very unusual along the time, and public manifestations of outrage are increasingly rare in big soccer events. This has to be interpreted definitely as one of the most relevant examples of the meaning of the concept of "normalization", that as even to be intended as a generalized "inurnment" to racism, able to cause a lack of reactions from public toward offensive behaviours.

Nevertheless, reactions can result in the adoption of good practices from team fellows, as a warning to spectators to quit the match in case of repeated racial slur. An interesting recent example was provided by the Rioveggio team, playing in the Third Category championship. All team members played the match with a black make up on their faces, to express their solidarity on behalf of Teibou Koura, a team player coming from Togo. In the precedent match, an opponent of the Casalecchio has insulted the African descent player by telling him "shut up, nigger" so they decided to join this singular form of protest against racism.

#### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

These racist manifestations generally fall within the sphere of competence of the sport judges, which could issue administrative deeds in order to inflict penalties to involved soccer teams for their supporter's behaviours. When the racist incident involves acts of violence or other crimes it may have an intervention of judges against the responsible, which could also receive a DASPO by prefecture and could be banned from any sports event. In addition, racist slur inciting to violence and hatred are considered as an aggravating circumstance in trials, according to the 1993 Mancino Law.

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#### BEATEN AND INSULTED BECAUSE BLACK

##### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

Pieve di Cento (Bologna), October 2013: Sourakhata Dioubate, a Guinean musician, whilst he was driving his cycle, was hit by a car that did not comply with the stop signal. After the collision, the driver came out of the car holding an iron bar with a wooden handle, which has been used

to hit repeatedly the man, causing him a fracture to a hand. After the unknown driver slapped him in the face, he addressed to the Guinean man with racial insults and threats “shitty dirt nigger, go back home” and other slurs, then he has beaten him and tried to flee away, risking to hit again the man whilst he was lying down on the street. The aggression was followed by many eyewitnesses and someone tried to disarm the offender and to block him.

The racist episode has occurred in a common situation of driving accidents, and in a context of interpersonal interaction in everyday life of a little city.

“Sporco negro merdoso” (“Shitty dirt nigger”) was the language used. The Italian word *negro* (nigger), as its correspondents in many languages, has a widespread derogatory and racist connotation, and most dictionaries report this word as actually offensive.

The offender seems to be a male of an approximate age of 70 years old. The victim is a musician coming from Guinea, respected and highly valued among his colleagues and acquaintances, which is married to an Italian woman and is father of 4 children, living in Italy for the past 13 years. The witnesses to the violent episode did not intervene, except one. However, solicitors say that there are many eyewitnesses willing to refer to authorities.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

Mr. Dioubate was beaten, insulted and threatened because the colour of his skin. Nowadays, these kinds of aggressions are growing in Italy, suggesting that offenders could easily flee away and remain unpunished. Moreover, the lack of significant reactions from bystanders could also encourage other aggressions: it also suggests that offenders may count on fear as well as on implicit consent toward racist violence.

This racist aggression was openly intended to establish a hierarchy among races, when one of the parts claimed for legitimate rights: indeed, the victim told the aggressor he would wait for municipality police in order to allow them to investigate on the car accident, fact that triggered the aggression. This episode is significant for identifying the following perception: law is not equal for all, minorities and foreigners shouldn't claim any legal right and must therefore suffer in silence acts of abuse and violence by (white) Italians. This attitude toward law is part of a wider thought on immigration, which could be summarized in the sentence “masters in our house” frequently heard in informal conversations and drawn on some political poster by far-right movements and above all by populist parties as Lega Nord, which used it as a slogan in political campaigns. Hence, the offender may have thought that an Italian should be not subjected to annoying and time-wasting investigations from police authorities only because an African was accidentally injured, thus he reacted violently<sup>11</sup>.

The word “negro” has undoubtedly a derogatory connotation, as well the expression “go back home” actually means that immigrants or Africans are not allowed to consider Italy as their home.

In this case, the verbal and physical violence was partially due to the combination of “situational” anger with pre-existing racist feelings and attitudes.

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<sup>11</sup> Please note: no evidence of relation between the offender and Lega Nord was found or reported by any source.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

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The news story about the aggression has been published in local and national newspapers and in many blogs after the solicitor presented a formal complaint to the authorities.

In Italian journalism is very difficult to find a clear distinction between news and commentaries, nevertheless in the articles prevails a tone of firm condemn toward aggressor and an abundance of cues intended to present Mr. Dioubate as a positive example of integration, even by referring to his reputation at work and as a family man. The “Resto del Carlino” newspaper also specified that Dioubate is a “Griot”, a relevant figure in West Africa that is appointed to bequeath traditional culture to new generations and to play the role of peacemaker in social conflicts.

After presenting the complaint to law enforcers, Dioubate held a press conference to tell what happened and make a public denouncement. Many friends and activists attended at the event: musicians, writers, and anti racist NGOs representatives which would express their solidarity towards the assaulted man.

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

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Mr. Dioubate suffered severe physical and psychological injuries: he received a fracture with a 25 days prognosis, and moreover he will be forced to stop playing percussion drums for at least 4 to 5 months. In addition, he was subjected to a strong psychological distress and he remained a long time at home avoiding any social contact, including answering phone calls from friends, musicians and music students.

The victim reported that he felt a great discomfort and humiliation. He was also incredulous that he could have been victimized in a racist aggression such as this, after so many years in Italy. Initially, Mr. Dioubate would have not pressed charges against the offender, and only owing to his friend and solicitor (that was also the former Mayor of the city of San Pietro in Casale) he took his decision, given the seriousness and the ferocity of the attack. According to the main newspaper of Bologna - “Il Resto del Carlino” the solicitor stated that the episode “was born into a culture that, even if it is hard to believe it, still exist”.

The legal case will provide many allegations: unintentional injuries; severe intentional injuries; beating; attempted severe intentional injury, threats and insults with the aggravating circumstance of racial discrimination.

The offender was traced by police, identified and recognized in photos by many eyewitnesses. He will face a trial soon.

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## POSTER AGAINST IMMIGRANTS ON MUNICIPAL BUILDING

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION



Image 13 - "Agli italiani nessun tetto. Agli africani un bel ghetto. Razzismo". "No roofs for Italians. A beautiful ghetto for Africans. Racism."

The posting of the bill have been made by Forza Nuova militants (National right movement) on 12 sep 2013 in one of the seats of Montesilvano city hall (PE) to protest against the district lack of measures about what the organization defines as the "ghetto of Via Ariosto", a street where many non-EU citizens reside.

The billposting doesn't concern a particular event, but a generic campaign against migrants and Roma that Forza Nuova conduces in the districts of Pescara, with a high migrants concentration.

Examples of bills texts used by Forza Nuova to promote their opinions:

1. *Italiano, vergognati! Tu, che con i tuoi soldi incrementi la presenza di cinesi, africani ed altri immigrati a Montesilvano, sappi che sei solo una merda - Chi si astiene è complice. Ribellati* (Italian, shame on you! You, who with money increase the presence of Chinese, African and other immigrants in Montesilvano, know that you're just a shit - who abstains is complicit. Rebel!)
2. *L'immigrazione uccide. No ius soli. Kyenge dimettiti!* (Immigration kills. No ius soli. Kyenge resign!)
3. *Stop al razzismo anti-italiano. Presidio contro la violenza sulle donne da parte degli immigrati.* (Stop anti-Italian racism. Garrison against violence towards women by immigrants).
4. *La loro integrazione la nostra distruzione, ogni popolo ha la sua terra, ogni terra ha il suo popolo.* (Their integration our destruction, every nation has its own land, every land has its own people).

Forza Nuova promotes messages which hint to a future degradation of the Italian society due to the integration of immigrants.

The language used it's a message against the local government discrimination towards Italian citizens, that supports resident immigrant population.

It's a local racist expression, as it is an initiative promoted by the local Forza Nuova seat and it's addressed to a specific district, but it express a common opinion for many local realities.

In this case perpetrators are members of a political party that has achieved a irrelevant result in the past elections, but they keep expressing their own dissent against integration forms about immigrants or civil rights recognition in support of unmarried or gay couples. Their proposals ask for more protection for Italian people than for all the resident citizen. The victims are identified as the local African community, a considerable group in that area, especially in the city of Montesilvano and Città Sant'Angelo.

The meaning of this demonstration is connected to the general feeling shared by a part of citizens that identify the presence of a foreign population like a social conflict towards the poorest classes of the society for the fruition of social services.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

Certainly immigrants are identified in this message like scapegoats of a disastrous social policies, in which it's easy to drive the dissent, blaming foreign citizens for the lack of efficiency in local government, supposing an improvement of the social conditions in absence of immigrants.

The poster uses an incitement to hatred; people living in the town could be influenced by this language containing two information without any connection between them.

This is a double speech that presumes a right recognized to Italian citizens (the right for abode), but denies the right of foreign citizens to live in a particular district.

This idea is surely increased by economic crisis and by requisites necessary for public housing allocation.

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

No reactions were reported.

## 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?



Image 14 - Town without racism

The demonstration has been condemned from local government that disposed the poster removal and the application of an antiracist bill at the city entry. In this case the symbol used by the municipality it's clearly identifiable. It's a ban symbol above the silhouette of a man doing the typical roman-fascist salute, to mean that fascists were racist and so there's a prohibition about racism in all the district.

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## BANGLA TOUR: PUNITIVE RAIDS AGAINST IMMIGRANTS

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

November 23<sup>rd</sup> 2013: after the publishing of a journalistic inquiry by the national newspaper "La Repubblica", newspaper and TV news reported some shocking news about dozens of assaults against immigrants, carried out by far-right militants in Rome. Episodes such as these went on for at least one year. Offenders were used to take car trips around the neighbourhoods most frequented by immigrants in order to start physical aggressions against them. These raids were planned in order "to fight illegal immigration" and to recruit new members for far-right organizations. As it was reported by media, the meeting point was in front of the Forza Nuova headquarters, a far-right movement.

According to the media, the case regards not only a single attack but several similar episodes, which remind the “modus operandi” of the droog’s gang in the Kubrick’s movie “Clockwork orange”. These repeated assaults have been accidentally discovered: during an aggression an eye-witness called police, which found a cell phone at the crime scene. Starting from this clue, law enforcers have traced the aggressors, which have been convicted and sentenced as guilty. This last aggression took place on 18<sup>th</sup> May, 2013, in via Muzio Oddi, in Tor Pignattara’s neighbourhood. According to “La Repubblica” it was not a single case, and it’s estimated that there were dozens of assaulted immigrants. Other beatings were carried out while immigrants were waiting for the bus, whilst they were selling necklaces, bracelets or toys, or simply walking in the streets, and in a case the victim was attacked with a knife. According to Repubblica, the steal of cell phones and goods that occurred in some beatings may be considered as a proof to certify the aggression was effectively carried out. All assaults took place in the east neighbourhoods of Rome, (Centocelle, Tor Pignattara, Casilino) where lives a large population of immigrants from Bangladesh, chosen because “they wouldn’t complain to Police”, as stated by one of the two convicted men.

Far-right movements are usually alleged to be involved in violence against immigrants. As it has been reported by “La Repubblica” many underage boys participated to these raids. Single Bangladesh citizens were targeted as intended victims because they do not usually present complaints to law enforcers. Victims have been usually hit by three or four individuals.

As it was reported by media, these raids started by pronouncing a watchword: “*Camerata della destra romana, azione!*” (“Comrade of the Roman right, action!”) and one of the two convicted said this was “just a hobby to pass time”.

Raids against Bangladeshi immigrants have been frequently reported by the local press in Rome for the past fifteen years, yet it was unusual to deal with organized and protracted actions such as the described ones. The beating style reminds a nasty teen game called “knockout” and it’s reported in the USA (NJ), which consist in knock on the floor somebody at random.

According to “La Repubblica” law enforcers accidentally discovered this violence chain. The newspaper dedicated an inquiry on these episodes, publishing updates and new articles day by day. At the moment the extent of the phenomenon is not clearly known, in terms of numbers of victims and perpetrators. It’s also expected that publication of this news in “La Repubblica” and on NGO’s websites should encourage some silent victims to present complaints to Police.

In a succeeding article of “La Repubblica”, an interview of one of the two convicted is reported – an underage. He said that Bangladeshi people were chosen because “they are quiet and they withstand beating”, according to a common stereotype about the Bangladeshi immigrants as mild and submissive.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

These episodes are related to racist attitudes, and in particular the attempt to establish a hierarchy through violence. It is also a way to legitimize violent assaults against immigrants by presenting aggressions as a way to fight against illegal immigration, with the declared aim to discourage it. In addition, this could even be interpreted as an alarming signal about the recruiting strategies which some far-right movements are carrying out. As it was stated by Massimiliano Scaringella, the solicitor of the underage aggressor (one of the two convicted), the invitation to

beat an immigrant may be intended as a challenge, a “rite of passage” (a kind of proof of courage) necessary to access these organizations as well as a form of indoctrination of younger people toward far-right ideology.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

In some assaults perpetrators slurred against immigrant “Stronzo negro, torna a casa tua” (“f\*\*king nigger, go back home”). Both slurs and physical aggression are clearly a form of intimidation against immigrants.

The publication of La Repubblica’s enquiry has been followed by some cautious reaction of condemn by NGO’s involved in immigration and even by some comments by far-right sympathizer.

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

It has been told that one of the two perpetrators (the underage boy) is now in the care of a psychiatrist and also under treatment, as psychological troubles emerged after the conviction. First reactions to the case came from Ignazio Marino, the center-left mayor of Rome. He said: “Rome will never be the capital of discrimination and hatred. For this reason, it is a duty for all of us to ensure that the culture of welcoming may become a predominant value in our society. The bigger grief is knowing that these attacks are carried out by boys, in some cases even underage”. Many other municipality councillors both from majority and opposition, declared to be shocked and worried and expressed a firm condemn of such violence.

The leader of Forza Nuova has indirectly refused any allegation toward the organization by posting a message on Facebook and Twitter, in which he also called the enquiry a “journalistic cowardly act”.

In a press release issued by the movement it has been affirmed that “Forza Nuova has no ties with the *Bangla Tours*. We have never preached violence and our political movement did not justify it. We are not involved in these violent raids against immigrants, at contrary, in our base of via Appia<sup>12</sup>, which is a literary cafe with no Nazi flags hanging, our debates are often targeted to carry out measures toward foreigners in need. We’re sorry that Forza Nuova has been associated with these *anti-immigration crusades* when we work, especially the young people, in constructive initiatives not based on the contempt of others.”

In the following days, the attention of media and institutions grew: on 27<sup>th</sup> November the solicitor of the Bangladesh community in Italy Mr. Carlo Scepi, told that the journalistic inquiry pushed many Bangladeshi to denounce further assaults. He declared they went to his office to report the violence they suffered. According to Scepi, the estimated number of aggressions is at least 50 episodes occurred between November 2012 and November 2013, more than 4 every week.

In the meanwhile, Khalid Chaouki, member of the Democratic Party and coordinator of the Parliamentary commission on immigration has posed a question to the Minister of the Interior Angelino Alfano about the measures that will be taken to counteract the racist aggressions and to stop these acts of brutality and cowardly against the defenceless immigrants - making a direct reference to the involvement or to a direct liability of Forza Nuova as responsible of the attacks.

<sup>12</sup> Please note: “La Repubblica” wrote that one of the two convicted stated that the meeting point for *Bangla Tours* was in front of Forza Nuova base.

Some weeks later, Bangladeshi community organized a demonstration: on 8<sup>th</sup> December over 500 people marched on a parade from piazza della Marranella to piazza del Pigneto to protest against racial violence of *Bangla tours* and evictions against immigrants.

*Bangla tours* lead to the opening of a judiciary investigation by Public Prosecutor's Office of Rome. Investigators are now assessing evidences, complaint and documents in order to sift through allegations and various criminal offences provided by Italian crime code. The legal framework regards assault, which is provided by the criminal code as personal injury and the penalty depends on the level of damages occurred. The possible charges for the responsible of such aggressions range from incitement to commit crimes to serious injury with the aggravating circumstance of racial motivations. The investigation started after a parliamentary question was submitted to the Interior Minister Angelino Alfano from the Democratic Party Member of Parliament Khalid Chaouki, coordinator of an inter-group Parliamentary Commission on immigration.

Two persons were prosecuted. One of them was adult and the other minor. According to the lawyer, who was the minor's defender, the case took place in front of the competent Court for Minors, and the trial, regarding the minor accused for assault without discrimination aggravating, was been suspended for taking place of probation. The minor has carried out a voluntary job in favour of an association involved in migrants integration. After the probation, as it was a successfully result, the Court decided to not sentence the minor, pronouncing no cause for legal proceedings.

None information regarding the prosecution about the adult involved in the case, but it is possible that the charge includes also the discrimination aggravating.

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#### RACIST AGGRESSION: FATHER AND SON REMANDED FOR TRIAL

##### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

On 24<sup>th</sup> June, 2012 two men, father and son engaged in a road quarrel with a Senegalese citizen while they were in a car. The aggression was due to road circulation reasons. First they insulted



the immigrant, then they threatened him and finally they blocked him to force to stay there and beat him breaking his left arm, which received permanent damages.

According to law enforcers, the Senegalese man was walking down a street with his car on the South-West outskirts of Milan when, as the road was partially obstructed by a building site, found himself in front of another car coming from the opposite direction, with two men on board. The fight began in order to establish who had the priority and who should let the other car pass. Immediately, the two men began to insult the immigrant by calling him “shitty nigger what the f\*\*k do you drive? [...] shut up, you cannot understand a fucking prick, shitty nigger [...] asshole [...] ]” and in addition a frightening threat “you’re a dead man, I know where you inhabit, it’s better you’ll move away”. They also hampered the immigrant to restrain him to flee away, then hitting with a fist on the temple and twisting his arm backward till it was broken.

As it frequently happens, random road fights could easily reveal a deep racist background, which easily could degenerate into racist slurs and sometimes in an open violence. The language used draws on a common repertory of insults against immigrants, as the substantive “nigger” is reinforced with the adjective “shitty”, “asshole” (or prick head, in a literary translation) and so on. Moreover, such language is intended to belittle and silence the other, in order to establish a hierarchy among races and a “natural” subjection of the African descent people while they face a “real (white) Italian”.

The Italian word *negro* (nigger) as its correspondents in many languages, has a widespread derogatory and racist connotation, and almost dictionaries report this word as actually offensive. The information about the perpetrators are very poor: it's only known that the two offenders are male, aged 44 and 22 and they are father and son. There are very few information regarding the victim. It is only known that the victim has 36 years old and lives in the area where the attack took place.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

This was an openly racist aggression intended to establish a hierarchy among races, and moreover to consider African descent people as suitable subjects for violent beating in case they do not passively accept an injustice. In any case, such disproportionate use of force has become an increasingly common reaction, in which violence is intended as an ultimate instrument to reaffirm that immigrants, and in a special way African immigrants do not have equal dignity and legal rights than Italians.

This assault conveys a hierarchy message, intended to intimidate and threaten through verbal and physical violence.

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

The news was conveyed by traditional media as the Milan local editions of *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della Sera*, even through their websites. The news has been even reported by blogs, news aggregators and anti racist NGO's websites.

The news has been treated by both newspapers in the typical crime news style, reporting only some detail and avoiding comments and explicit standpoints. The pronounced similarity between the two articles nevertheless suggests that the two newspapers should have used the same source, as an agency news or a press release.

No reactions have been reported. It may depend on the fact that the news was published for the first time in September to underline the possibility that the two convicted could be charged even for racism as an aggravating circumstance, and they risk up to 18 years of jail for severe injuries and racist motivation.

#### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

The victim suffered for a compound fracture and will no longer recover the functionality of the limb. This can also result in a claim for damage in a succeeding civil lawsuit.

According to Italian Crime code the case is suitable for the following crimes: severe injuries and threats. The two defendants could face a sentence that provide for a penalty up to 18 years (12 years for the charge of serious injury, increased by half for the aggravating circumstance of racism according to Mancino Law).

After the investigation, leaded by the investigating prosecutor Enrico Manzi, they have been remanded for a trial by the judiciary prosecutor Alessandro Gobbi. They will attend the trial, scheduled for February 2014.

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### BLACK ON BOARD: A SELECTIVE TICKET INSPECTION PRACTICE

#### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

Mr. N. was born in Guinea-Bissau, and lives in Italy for 16 years, first with temporary permits then as an Italian citizen. In 2001 he married R., an Italian woman, and the couple had two sons. He obtained the Italian citizenship due to the marriage with R., and now he is a skilled worker, employed in Rome Fiumicino Airport (FCO) company, and his main task is disabled passengers assistance.

When travelling with the commuter train, which connects Rome to the airport: he was wearing the working uniform of the Airport Company (as almost all Fiumicino's workers do) and he was sitting in the train with other co-workers, which were dressed with the same uniform. But he also was the only African on that railroad coach. A ticket inspector, just climbed on board, immediately targeted Mr. N. asking him the ticket in an insistent and annoying tone, although he should have been advised about Mr. N. as well as every Fiumicino's worker do, will have subscribed a monthly or annual train pass. The controller, in fact, had not asked ticket to anyone else in that coach, except him, despite the fact that he was dressed in the garish uniform of airport workers and he displayed the FCO's badge on the chest, as the other co-workers sitting around him did. Mr. N. got a little bit nervous and disappointed because of the challenging behaviour of the controller, so he calmly, but firmly, refused to show him his subscription, triggering a little squabbling in the coach which has been ended only by Carabinieri at the final Station.

The episode happened on the commuter train for Fiumicino Airport. The airport is served by two different lines: a non-stop luxury train with departure from Termini railway station (the main and the bigger in Rome) and a commuter line, which stops at all the urban stations and is heavily used by commuters (including immigrants) working in the airport and by Roma people who live in camps along the line. Probably, the administration of the railways has noted the presence of many free-riders without tickets, and it intensified controls on board, but this should not allow episodes such as this.

This episode should be interpreted only taking in account the fact that Mr. N. was the only African person in the coach, and that that inspector asked first and only him for the pass. Even if he was in the full right to ask for tickets, his selective behaviour toward the only African person would suggest a prejudice against African people or immigrants in general.

When Mr. N. refused to show his ticket to the inspector, the latter insisted again. The co-workers of Mr. N. have tried to explain that they were only going to work, that Mr. N. was a part of their team, and all of them should have begun their working shift soon. Anyway they said that all of them got a railway pass, including of Mr. N. Maybe the working fellows should have thought that the inspector was carrying on his job in a singular way, and Mr. N denied to show his pass till the ticket inspector called police (Carabinieri). When the train arrived in the airport station police simply tried to clarify the misunderstanding by pointing out at the uniform of Mr. N as well on his badge, rather than his statements and the testimony of his co-workers. No formal complaints have been filed.

It is quite frequent to see similar episodes on other public transports as bus, metro, in which controllers often check tickets only of immigrants or African people. This happens even on taxis: for example, it is known that some taxi drivers in Rome (a minority) do not accept immigrant or African passengers.

In 2011, a ticket inspector of Apulian - Lucania railways was filmed on the Altamura-Matera line while he was addressing some immigrants with racist slurs and calling they'd to be beheaded and sent to crematorium by Hitler. The publishing of the video on online newspapers triggered a scandal, but the ticket inspector was suspended ten days only.

These episodes seem to be arisen by a deeply rooted prejudice against immigrants as well as from an inclination toward abuse of authority by some public officers.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

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The above-mentioned story should be interpreted as an openly discriminatory behaviour, because it combines a strong (and evident) individual prejudice against African people with the authority of a public officer's role. Moreover, due to the required impartiality of public officers, episodes like this are actually controversial, because officer duties could be improperly justify a discriminatory (or a racist) attitudes or behaviours.

More than double speech, this episode seems to entail a *double standard* in public officer's procedures,

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

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Data and information were collected in a personal interview with Mr. N.

Mr. N. felt very quiet while he was interviewed. He reported the happened just as a bothering localized event, as a kind of exception to the rule. During the interview he referred about an overall good relationship with Italian people since he arrived in Italy.

No public reaction has been mentioned, except for the advocacy of the co-workers team.

#### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

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The gently and firm reaction by Nr. N and his co-workers prevented an abuse.

Nobody has felt necessary or appropriate to present a formal complaint.

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interview with Mr. N.

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### RACIST SLURS AGAINST ROMA COMMUNITIES, FORTHCOMING TRIAL AGAINST BORGHEZIO

#### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

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On the 8<sup>th</sup> April 2013, the Chamber of Deputies' Speaker, Mrs. Laura Boldrini, received some Roma Communities' representatives. The day after, a member of Lega Nord, political party, was interviewed, saying about Roma communities that "Not all Roma are thieves but a lot of thieves are Roma (...) a big percentage", and concerning the institutional meeting, "Hope they don't take away the Chamber of Deputies décor, because it is full of precious paintings and decorative objects...". The interview was inside a radio program called "la Zanzara" (the mosquito).

The perpetrator is a member of Lega Nord, political party distinguished by a political action against immigration and favourable for separation between North and South Italy. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 2013 he was expelled from the EFD (EU Parliament group) because of the words referred to the Minister Cécile Kyenge.

The word "thief" in connection to Roma communities is a common racist manifestation, because of the nomadic way of life is often connected to a stopgap livelihood. The social perception of nomadic way of life in Italy is based on instability of residence tied to lack of livelihood without any property, specifically land property, therefore they are more involved in moving labour, and a life on the move doesn't allow to build social relations with the stable residents.

#### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

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It conveys a message of identity, because it refers directly to a particular community giving it an only negative distinction.

#### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

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The information was conveyed by website. The information was accompanied by a commentary as necessary fact to condemn. Moreover, a comment has been added regarding the use of interviews on the ground that they are "catchy" to the general public. The comment states that

a journalist should not invite a politician like Borghezio because it is foreseeable the racist reaction, therefore the interview is not a possible debate, but just a “hot type” declaration. There was a generic condemn of manifestation, because the Borghezio's declarations are not relevant. They contain the same slanderous words and accompanied by the same comments.

#### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

The Roma associations (UPRE ROMA, SUCAR DROM and NEVO DROM) have sued Borghezio, both in criminal and civil proceedings.

The legal framework is Law Mancino.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of November 2013, according to “il Giorno” newspaper, the prosecutor is investigating for the violation of the art. 3 of Law 654/1975, which provides for a punishment in case of racial hatred incitement, and also for slander aggravating by discrimination, as provided by Law Mancino.

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## THE ROSARNO RIOT

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

From 7<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> January, 2010 a violent riot has shaken the Rosarno town in Calabria (Southern Italy) due to the explosion of a latent and powerful ethnic conflict between immigrant farm workers and (part of) local population. The spark that triggered the revolt was the wounding of Ayiva Saibou, an immigrant from Togo who was hit in the groin by an air rifle bullet on the State Road 18. The diffusion of such news encouraged other immigrants to engage in a violent protest against exploitation and racism, which were hindered by some organized groups. Over 400 immigrants marched on the streets of Rosarno to protest, uprooting signals (see picture above), destroying trash bins and damaging cars. Clashes continued till night and some foreign citizens were arrested. According to some media sources, the diffusion of some rumours about a pretended aggression against a pregnant woman who would have aborted and a second woman who would have been hit by a heart attack because of an assault while she was driving home, have helped to create an ideal climate for a violent confrontation between immigrants and local population.



Image 15 - The Rosarno riot

The following day there has been a pacific rally of about 700 immigrants in order to denounce publicly the way they were victimized in various episodes of violence. Unfortunately, the same day was heavily marked out by the violent responses of Italian population, such as shooting to intimidate, trying to throw bins against immigrants with a bulldozer and a man that voluntarily ran over an immigrant with his car. Two immigrant men were also injured by gunshots (see Ceretti and Cornelli, 2013: 87 - 93). The revolt has put under siege the city for three days and ended with violent revenges to-

wards the immigrants that required a massive intervention by the law enforcers. The police intervened several times with charges to disperse immigrants, both in the centre of the village on the neighbouring streets. Immigrants were quickly evicted by police from their houses or shacks, hence carried away from Rosarno and finally they were moved to centres for asylum seekers. On 10<sup>th</sup> January the authorities began to use bulldozers in order to dismantle the immigrants' settlement near two abandoned factories at the peripheries of Rosarno, where many immigrants lived in inhumane conditions. These measures were justified by authorities as a consequence to the threats received to immigrants by such organized group of residents. This measure was taken for protecting them from announced retaliation. The entire operation of eviction and demolition as well as the forced resettlement of immigrants have been defined by an authoritative and independent source as The Guardian as an "Ethnic cleansing". Indeed, in the day following the end of the revolt, this daily describes Rosarno literally as "*the world's only entirely white town after a bloody ethnic cleansing that produced scenes reminiscent of the old American deep south.*"

To better understand the Rosarno riot is necessary to provide some information about the background in which the revolt took place. First, the economy of the city of Rosarno (15.000 inhabitants) is mainly based on the cultivation of oranges, which largely supplies the soft drink industry. When orders are scarce, farmers use to resort to EU community aids. It happened frequently that the price paid to farmers was so low that they considered as more worthwhile to let the oranges rot away on the trees rather than sell them to industry. The harvest of oranges also is done almost entirely by immigrants, often illegal, that are forced to undergo the *caporalato*, which according to the definition provided by Garzanti dictionary is a "system of directly hiring farm labour for very low wages by landowner's agents"<sup>13</sup>. Second, the city of Rosarno is the third Italian town in the ranking for density of foreigners on native inhabitants and this created some prerequisite conditions which would have fed the conflict between locals and foreigners. Third, the town is located in the Piana of Gioia Tauro, an area in which the 'ndrangheta (a criminal organization, such as the mafia) is deeply rooted in almost all the economic and commercial activities (including agriculture, exploitation of farm work and the *caporalato* itself) and his municipality has been put under temporary receivership by authorities due to the relevant mafia

<sup>13</sup> Recently, an enquiry by "La Repubblica" reported that *caporals* in Piana di Gioia Tauro pay only 1 euro to pick up a 20kg crate of tangerines and 0,5 euros for a crate of oranges.

infiltrations. In this situation ethnic conflict matured as a consequence of labour exploitation, poverty, generalized discrimination and open hostility of a part of the resident population. Indeed, media reported mocking, bullying and various aggressions against the immigrants since some years before the riot would take place<sup>14</sup>. To complete the scenery, as it has also been told by some media in the weeks that preceded the revolt, hunting “niggers” with air gun rifles has become a kind of sport for some local louts and crooks.

A similar case happened in 12<sup>th</sup> December 2008, when two Ivorian men were wounded by gunshots, and a pacific manifestation was promoted by immigrants, being able to receive a high degree of solidarity and consent from the majority of the inhabitants of the town. Subsequently, the two victims have recognized Andrea Fortugno as the assailant. He was belonging to a gang of local 'ndrangheta who was sentenced at first instance to 16 years of jail. This incandescent climate of ethnic hatred and rising feelings of revenge, proved to be a fertile ground for the social bomb to explode as it actually happened in the beginning of January 2010.

No particular symbols were used. In the climax of the revolt, the violence has been the only language spoken both from organized groups of residents and from immigrants. Moreover the revolt has consisted in a great physical clash with some other worrying episodes like the man-hunt against immigrants and the attempt to set on fire an abandoned house in the farmland, used by them to sleep. It is worth mentioning that immigrants were also reported as responsible for some aggressions as well as for the damaging of hundred cars.

The Rosarno riot constituted a unique and glaring episode that summarized and amplified the features of various minor racism-related riots that took place in Italy. It has become the paradigm of the consequences of ethnic conflict, both in political debate and immigration studies.

In Rosarno riots is somewhat difficult to distinguish exactly the victims by the perpetrators. We should consider that violence happened from both sides; therefore the analysis should not result in an unfair and unilateral judgment about what actually happened. In fact, journalistic reports (as well as images) have documented indiscriminate acts of vandalism by immigrants (street signs uprooted, bins destroyed or set on fire, damaged cars) but even a lot of violence by some groups of residents, like the above mentioned attempt to burn some immigrants sleeping in an abandoned house and the threats with guns. It is worth noticing that some of the local offenders arrested for the violence are linked to local gangs of the 'Ndrangheta.

As it was resumed by John Hooper, a journalist of The Guardian *“after two days and nights of violence that began with the apparently motiveless shooting of two African workers, the number of injured stood at 53, comprising 18 police, 14 local people and 21 immigrants, eight of whom were in hospital. Some of the crop-pickers had been shot; others had been beaten with metal bars or wooden clubs as local people took indiscriminate vengeance after a riot of Thursday in which more than 100 Africans caused extensive damage in the town to protest at the shootings.”*

In another article, Rachel Donadio from the New York Times reported about the tight links between illegal job hiring and local mafia *“Human rights groups say that many African immigrants come to Italy with what appear to be legal offers of work in the agricultural sector in the south, often by paying middlemen more than \$10,000 for the opportunity. When they arrive, the rights groups say, the immigrants often find that the agricultural outfits refuse to honor their end of*

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<sup>14</sup> A smaller protest was performed by the immigrants following the shoots against two Ivorian orange pickers in 2008 (Mangano, 2009).

*the bargain, instead compelling the migrants to work under the table at wages far below the legal minimum wage. Often, the outfits that hire them have links to organized crime”.*

The climate of heavy exploitation, the repeated intimidation and the violence against immigrant seasonal workers have nourished a situation of open discrimination and racism against them, which triggered the revolt as an ultimate resource to claim for their rights.

The Rosarno riot allowed for unravelling a situation of widespread discrimination in work place, in the enjoyment of the rights established by law as well as dreadful forms of racism: African immigrants were treated as inferior beings, unable to react to harassment to the point of being used as target of shooting for fun and / or for intimidation purposes.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

Violence against immigrants could be depicted as a part of a racist system created to support an ineffective economy, to affirm a hierarchy between locals and immigrant and to defend an unequal status quo based on injustice, which has even been compared to what happened in the southern State of U.S.A. before the civil right season of the sixties. A representative of an anti-racist organisation defined it as a state of semi - slavery. African immigrants were treated as they would be lacking any civil rights, including the right to be fairly paid for their work and the right of being not shot as targets in a shooting gallery.

In a certain sense, it could be said that the economic crisis that involved the oranges farming industry and local economy, has been used by *caporals* to impose lower wage for immigrant seasonal pickers, even fostering the power of organized crime toward immigrants through intimidation.

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

The Rosarno Riot was first covered by local then by national media, till to become the opening news on TV and the Front Page main headline in the majority of Italian daily newspaper from the 7<sup>th</sup> January evening, and for at least a week. The events raised a great attention of public opinion, politicians and NGO's.

In the initial phase the riot was framed prevailing as an unjustified violent attack on locals carried out by immigrants, but in a succeeding phase the dailies, the news agencies and the TV news began to understand the real nature of the protest and the emerging role of the 'Ndrangheta mobsters attempting to lead the counter - revolt and maybe to kill somebody as a demonstrative act (see above). Then the media coverage turned in a certain degree of partisanship and sympathy toward immigrants, by denouncing job exploitation as well as the economic background of citrus farming and the exploitation of UE aid funding mechanisms (see Morcellini et al., 2010).

A large part of the Italian press and public opinion had clearly understood the social and human drama behind the uprising and took up the defense of immigrants, also keeping in account the discomfort suffered by the majority of population of Rosarno. Even a newspaper as “Il Giornale” traditionally deployed against immigration (often spiced with a little bit racist-fashioned standpoint) in its own way has recognized the reasons of immigrants. The main headline of the front



page in those days states precisely “Ma questa volta hanno ragione i negri”<sup>15</sup> (literally: “But this time niggers are right”).

#### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

Rosarno riot had a weighty toll. It was reported by various sources the rioters caused severe damages to people, cars, bins and homes. Making a reference to the reconstruction provided by the Questura of Reggio Calabria<sup>16</sup> 7 immigrants were put under arrest on 7<sup>th</sup> January, one Italian man was denounced for the intimidator shoot, another 2 men were alleged of attempted homicide (the man of the bulldozer and the man that ran on an immigrant with his car) on 8<sup>th</sup> January. 2 immigrants were hospitalized for gunshot wounds received from an unknown person and another unknown person has threatened at least 15 immigrants with a handgun. A total of 21 immigrants, 14 Rosarno citizens and 10 law enforcers received first aid in Hospitals, 7 immigrants and 3 Rosarno citizens were arrested and 1.128 foreigners were forced to leave Rosarno for asylum centres of Crotona, Bari or leave Calabria for Northern Italy.<sup>17</sup>

The former Northern League's Minister of the Interior Roberto Maroni has reported first time in Parliament about the Rosarno clashes on 8th January 2010. His speech was bitterly contested from left opposition representatives especially because he had essentially reduced the revolt to a mere question of law and order and disturbance, assigning the liability of the fact almost exclusively to immigrants. He has also called for “zero tolerance” policies to solve the problem.

Various anti-racist and immigrant advocacy NGO's as Libera, Solidarietà e Cooperazione CIPSI, TerreLibere, Naga and ChiAma l'Africa strongly criticized Mr. Maroni, addressed as responsible for having ignored the inhumane conditions in which immigrants lived in Rosarno before the riots. The NGO also accused the Berlusconi's Government for the lack of policies towards helping immigrants, and even to be very ineffective in preserving legality and the enjoyment of civil rights for such group. These NGO's even reported the inquiries and the denouncements carried out by Medecin Sans Frontieres (MSF) and by the blog Fortress Europe on the very poor housing and health condition of immigrants in the dismissed factories of Rosarno.

Many journalists and intellectuals have taken a position on the revolt of Rosarno to express solidarity towards immigrants and to urge the policy to pay greater attention to their exploitation in the agricultural sector. A number other parliamentary questions have been presented in both two rows of the Italian Parliament during the succeeding weeks and months. In addition, similar parliamentary questions have repeatedly insisted on the fact that many of the immigrants involved in the uprising (some of which were expelled) would have had all the necessary requirements to be recognized as asylum seekers by the authorities. The Rosarno riot of 2010 triggered definitely a widespread debate in Italy on immigration, asylum seekers and Government policies to prevent such revolts and to grant immigrants a better treatment in the job market: the extent and the variety of standpoints and proposals makes it actually impossible to be summarized in a few pages.

<sup>15</sup> Please note: the term “negro” in Italian language has a strong racist connotation, which perfectly fits the BE or AE term “nigger”.

<sup>16</sup> The *Questura* is a General Headquarter of Italian State Police (P.S.), in which are located major investigative and bureaucratic offices: it supervises the Police Stations and operates in direct coordination with the Ministry of the Interiors.

<sup>17</sup> The reconstruction of the events provided by the Questura of Reggio Calabria was published by “Il Giornale”

The Rosarno revolt has even become a relevant matter for the European Commission: Luigi De Magistris (former ALDA representative in the EU Parliament) addressed a written question (# P-0571/10 4<sup>th</sup> February 2010) to solicit the Commission to take measures “to strengthen legal migration policies in the EU and the protection of legal and illegal migrants from exploitation and racism, and to step up the fight against organised crime”.

The Rosarno riots resulted in a number of legal cases, involving likewise locals and immigrants which were charged for specific crimes. As far as it's known, the only verdict which has been issued by a Court regards a trial for attempted homicide: the man who tried to run over an immigrant with a car was sentenced in June 2010 to 6 years of jail. Unfortunately, at the moment there is only little information available about the trials. As it results from a report issued by ECRI, the investigations carried out by prosecutors resulted in various crimes, committed under the aggravating circumstances provided by 1993 Mancino Law *“As far as the events that occurred in January 2010 in the Municipality of Rosarno, the Procura of Reggio Calabria started investigations to inquire criminal conducts, including discriminatory and xenophobic attitudes and actions, that led to the adoption of preliminary measures in respect of 31 individuals in relation to instigation to illegal immigration and labour exploitation, as well as private and personal injuries against non EU citizens, damaged and forced to leave from their houses. In all the cases also aggravating circumstances of crimes committed for the purpose of discrimination or ethnic and racial hatred were claimed in violation of Art. 3 of Act No. 205/1993”*. (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, 2012: 73).

The Rosarno case has been decisive for the approval of a new decree against the caporalato first time recognized as a new specific crime: illicit labour brokering and exploitation (DL 12 138/2011)

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## SANTANCHÉ SENTENCED - FREEDOM OF SPEECH

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

September 20<sup>th</sup> 2009: Daniela Santanché, a member of Italian Parliament, organised an exhibition against burqa dressed by the Muslim women residing in Italy. The exhibition was organised in occasion of the traditional worship for celebration end-of-Ramadan prayers. According to the media, the case regards the exhibition organised by the Member of Parliament, without the necessary communication to Police Headquarters as requested by the law regarding security.



Image 16 - Santanché Sentenced - Freedom Of Speech

The case took place in a cultural and religious event. The symbol of the manifestation was the burqa, which was discussed without any explanation regarding the different meanings of the veil. The language used “If this is freedom, block the entrance with burqa at the end-of-Ramadan prayers” indicated burqa as a lack of freedom.

Generally, manifestation against Muslims is conducted using burqa as symbol of lack of freedom at national and international level.

As regards to the perpetrators, it is important to highlight that Daniela Santanché is a member of political party (PDL)

characterized by a politics against migrants coming from Maghreb. These specific groups were targeted because of their religion (Muslim) as PDL party identifies itself as defender of catholic values.

In that manifestation there isn't a discriminatory disvalue, because the Italian legislation provides for freedom of expression, therefore its possible organize a manifestation to express one's own opinion regards other different opinions. In that particular situation the manifestation organized by Daniela Santanchè had the purpose of highlight the lack of freedom into Muslim religion.

### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

This manifestation is racist because it conveys a message of identity tied up to freedom. The message indicates burqa as lack of freedom, without any deep and necessary explanation regarding the meaning of burqa in the Muslim religion. But the message cannot be identified as racist as regards law, because it is not a direct attack against Muslim religion.

.2 Does it use a derogatory discourse (i.e. speaking ill, hate speech)?

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

N/A

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

During the manifestation, a participant of end-of-Ramadan prayers, an Egyptian citizen, hit Daniela Santanché causing harm to her; he justified his action saying “None assault. She aimed to pull out the veil dressed by women.” After the visit to the hospital, she needed 20 days' rest.

The only prosecution regarded for penal sanction was the lack of communication to the local authorities in charge of security (Police Headquarters). The legal framework is the R.D. 773/1931 (approved during the fascist dictatorship) regarding all the laws on public security.

Daniela Santachè was sentenced of 4 days arrest and 100 Euro fine. Using a particular proceeding she converted the arrest in 1.000 Euros, so the total fine was been 1.100 Euro, with probation. During the trial, Daniela Santanché declared that the manifestation was directed to obtain the respect of Italian law regarding security which prohibits staying in public places with covered face. The Egyptian citizen involved, has been sentenced to 2.650 Euro trial costs and 10.000 Euro for damages caused to Daniela Santanché.

Daniela Santanché reacted to the sentence, comparing her situation relative to manifestations organized by “social centers” which are indicated as associations often linked to anarchist or communist political movements.

At national level, several newspapers have been reported the news, as a relevant fact regarding a Member of Parliament, who has been defended by the other members of her political party.

At international level, the sentence has been indicated as “absurd”, but the website involved can be described as racist, because the main message conveyed is “It isn't Islamophobia when they really are trying to kill you”.

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#### KEBAB RESTAURANT BLAZED AFTER RACIST SLURS AND THREATS

##### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

31<sup>st</sup> December, 2013. During the night a Kurdish kebab restaurant was blazed by some unidentified young people in Cisterna (town in the province of Latina, near Rome), probably using gasoline.

After a first xenophobic manifestation, the owner of the restaurant wrote a letter to the major of the town: “We have been victims of violent assault by more than 30 persons who threatened me, my partners, the workers and the clients; moreover they destroyed some furniture, shouting racist slurs and threatening to come back to burn the restaurant in case of a complaint. But we are honest workers and we don't want suffer threats and violence without reasons, just because we are foreigners: for this reason we have reported to the competent authorities. Now we wouldn't be left alone.”

The manifestation took place in interpersonal interaction.

To set fire to restaurants or other business trades is an international common racist manifestation; in Italy it is used also as intimidating purpose, but generally the meaning is related to refusal, order to leave, or simply, attack to specific group/social identity.

Fifteen days before this arson, on the December 14<sup>th</sup>, some young people (about 30 as estimated), the same perpetrators spoke to the owner of the Kurdish restaurant, using racist slur and threats with these specific words reported to the police: “If you report to the police, we come back to burn everything. And then, we burn also your houses”. The Major of the town spoke about the fact as brag, but the following arson attack definitely showed that it was a criminal offence.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

The manifestation conveys a message of identity, because the blazed attack was directed to particular representatives of Kurdish community. The Kurdish citizen, who is owner of a restaurant, represents a foreigner integrated in the Italian society, and the cruel attack against him means that his community is not accepted and must leave the town.

The double speech used in this case seems to show that the restaurant can be work in the town, but just if they are managed by Italians.

It could be a symbol to drive out or ban the business trades managed by foreigners, even though this case seems to be not directly connected to the downturn, because the small trades as a kebab restaurant would not represent a threat for local and Italian economy.

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

Information was relayed by local media, as regional broadcast news and local editions of the most diffused dailies. In the following days, once it was clearly recognized the racist background of the arson, the news was also reprised by national pages of such media.

## 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

The restaurant was totally burned. The amount of the estimated damages passed ten thousands euro.

There is a legal case for prosecution and the reference legal framework regards an injury of offence. Maybe even for arson (see article 449, comma 1 of the Italian criminal code)

The Police are investigating on the case, but not for a crime regarding discrimination or racial hatred, because, as serious crime aggravated by means, it is possible to prosecute without suit submitted by the victim and probably racial hatred will be considered as another aggravating during the proceeding.

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## PIGS' HEADS DELIVERED TO SYNAGOGUES BEFORE THE HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL DAY

## 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION



Image 17 - "Hanna Frank is a great liar": writing appeared in Piazza Sempione two days before the Memorial Day

On 24th January, 2014, only three days before the Holocaust Memorial Day, a well-organized racist demonstrative action has been carried out against Roman Jews. Three pig heads were sealed in vacuum-sealed plastic bags, packed and delivered anonymously to Jewish symbolic places as the Great Synagogue of Rome, the Israeli embassy and the Museum of History in Rome, where it was just holding an exhibit to celebrate the Shoah. Furthermore, on 26th January two men were arrested by Police after they wrote on walls anti-Semitic sentences addressed to Riccardo Pacifici, and the re-

cently dead former Prime Minister of Israel Ariel Sharon, as well as against Jews in general. These actions have caused great anger, outrage and frightening among Roman Jews. Many representatives of Institutions, first of all the President Mr. Giorgio Napolitano have expressed their strong disdain for the events occurred in Rome, as well as to blame the authors of such racist manifestations.

These anti-Semitic provocations are not news: in recent year many similar episodes have been occurring straddle the Memorial Day. These blatant forms of racism immediately seemed to be rooted in the extremist wing of Italian far-right movements, as Stormfront and Militia, which also were involved in the street writings episode and in similar past episodes. Indeed, one of the two arrested men was a militant of Stormfront, previously charged of racism in another ongoing trial and some of these writings were signed with the symbol of "Militia Nazionale" a far-right movement that was formerly involved in similar manifestations that took place in 2010 and 2011.

The pig heads are a powerful racist symbol at least for three main reasons. First, according to the Talmud, pigs are considered by Jews as impure animals, therefore they should not be eaten in any form and every contact with pork has to be considered forbidden. According to Jewish dietary norms (Kosher or Kasher) which are contained in the book of Pentateuch, the pig (as rabbit, horse, sea eels and other seafood) is not "suitable" as a food: by way of example it could be reminded how in many traditional Roman-Jewish recipes dried beef is used instead than the bacon. So, the attempt to bring pork meat in a sacred place as the Synagogue assumes definitely the meaning of a profanation. Second, in many cultures comparing somebody to a pig or calling him as a pig is actually considered as an insult, especially among Muslims and Jews. Third Mafia is known to use beheaded animal for threatening or intimidating messages, in order to force their victim or enemies to behave as they want. In a famous scene of the Coppola's movie "The Godfather", a Hollywood producer had found his own horse's head in his bed, which was left there by two mafia criminals. This was the ultimate threat launched against him by the protagonist of the movie, the boss Don Vito Corleone (a proposal that he couldn't refuse).

As far as it is known one of the two men arrested for the writings would be a member of Stormfront and the other one should belong to "Militia". Both the two men were previously accused by judiciary for inciting racial hatred. However, no evidence was found that allows to link with absolute certainty the pigs' heads to such Nazi organizations, even though this episode reasonably seem to be cast in the same mould

of the former threats against Jews issued by other Nazi groups in recent years. In particular, far right groups seem to have targeted once again Mr. Riccardo Pacifici, the leader of the Jewish community of Rome, who is an intended victim of such organizations. Once again the Jewish community of Rome is under the fire of anti-Semitism. It has been reported the same reaction both from the Jewish community and politicians.

In their whole, these two racist intimidations look like a successful attempt to gain wide media coverage and a huge amount of visibility in public space with a minimum organizational and logistic effort. Indeed, all Italian media as many international media (especially from Israel) have given a wide coverage to pigs' head episode. In this sense, the authors of this gesture acted as press-agent of themselves, to reach the aims of: 1) creating a great sense of anger and threat among the victimized group (the Jews), 2) to be internationally known among Jew organization as from Nazi groups, 3) to obtain a certain degree of legitimacy even on behalf of the same politicians who have strongly criticized them. This hypothesis could find a partial confirmation in Pacifici's words: "We must have the strength and courage to ignore this infamous gesture" that is a way to refuse this kind of provocations by denying them to have the publicity they are looking for.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

The choice of dates and landmarks symbolically relevant for the Rome's Jewish community is intended to remark the taunt toward the persecution suffered by Jews during WWII and even before. At the same time, the use of the pig's head as a symbol, reinforced by the graffiti appeared on the walls in several Roman neighbourhoods, have to be intended as a denial of the Nazi extermination of Jews, a hymn to the Negationism, and it also represents an explicit expression of a mighty anti-Semitic hatred. Some of the writings indeed were blaming Anne Frank as a liar as to claim that the Holocaust was just a global lie.

It uses certainly a derogatory discourse: as mentioned above, the comparison to the pigs is particularly offensive because of the impure character attributed to this animal by the Jews. However, people would also assess these episodes as a really cruel way to mock the Jews themselves. In addition, the overall message that result from the pig heads and writings sound like a warning on the pretended strength of anti-Semitic hatred in Italy.

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

All Italian media immediately relayed the news by placing it in front pages or the website's homepage, or as the opening news in broadcast news editions. Nevertheless media did not publish any picture of the pigs' heads; the episode has obtained a great attention, and were even reported many official declarations by Jews' representatives, Holocaust survivors, and politicians of all parties. The event had a large echo even in the Israeli press, and Tel Aviv's foreign minister's office released an official declaration by defining to ANSA the act as "intolerable and brutal".

As told above, the racist intimidation solicited many interventions from public personalities and Jews representatives: Riccardo Pacifici, the leader of the Jewish community of Rome - an "historical" target for such intimidations - said they "have to be ignored". In an interview with "Il Messaggero" a national daily, the Chief Rabbi of Rome said, "Who has sent these packages does not represent the city [...] I think that the novelty of the media format, expresses the creativity of the gesture, that nonetheless fits into the flow of an anti-Jewish hostility never completely eradicated. This has several backgrounds: political, both from the left than the right, religious, and Islamic". The President Napolitano, in his official discourse of the Memorial Day has defined

the episode as a “miserable provocation”, even adding that the insult was “only comparable [...] to the same disgusting material used in those parcels”. Emma Bonino, the Italian Foreign Minister expressed her “firm condemnation of the reprehensible acts of anti-Semitism, which confirm once again the need to multiply our efforts, especially towards younger generations, to keep the memory of the Holocaust alive”. On the whole all voices expressed a firm condemn of such episodes, and an absolute majority of declarations has also required a quick and strong reaction from Police to find the responsible and to give them an exemplary punishment.

The overall reactions expressed a definitely condemn of the episode also wishing that the Police could individuate as soon as possible the responsible.

#### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

No material damages have been reported over the wall writings that have been quickly deleted by the Rome’s municipality.

The Rome’s procure has opened a formal investigation which has been put in the hands of the DIGOS, the Police department dealing with political security and terrorism. On January 31th, Police put under investigation a man, aged 29, who was tied in the past to the far-right movement Forza Nuova, an organization which was involved in different episodes of racism, already reported by the Italian NWP. According to the detailed reconstruction provided by the daily “La Stampa”, the man would have sent the pig’s heads to build a good reputation among far-right organizations and to be credited as the leader of a new anti-Semitic group. He has sent the parcels by using the pseudonym of Giovanni Preziosi, who was one of the most virulent anti-Semitic personalities of the fascism, a minister of State of Mussolini regime and later he became the General Inspector for demography and race in the RSI (Italian Social Republic). The young man received a search warrant by authorities: during the inspection at home Police found many racist propaganda materials and other compromising stuff, as La Stampa wrote. Investigators are still continuing their inquiry to verify if there is a group and other accomplices behind the young man, who soon will be questioned by prosecutors.

Law enforcers are still investigating to individuate all the responsible for the delivery of pigs’ heads. The workers of TNT courier were interrogated by police as witnesses, in order to provide useful hints to identify the persons which have gone there to send such packages. The authors of the wall writings were apprehended in flagrante. All the investigated men will face a trial, and be judged for violating Mancino’s Law (inciting to racist hatred).

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## POLITICAL PARTIES AGAINST ROMA COMMUNITIES

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION



Image 18 - The PDL (Party of liberties) keeps one's commitments. Roma and offenders out of social housing

On the 1<sup>st</sup> May 2012 in Pescara (Abruzzo region), a man, who was a supporter of the local football team, was killed by a member of Roma community, who has been sentenced for homicide with other three offenders.

After the killing, the cohabitation between citizens and Roma communities (whose members are Italian citizens too, called Sinti) become more complicated. The local Roma community live in a particular neighbourhood called Rancitelli and often it is object of political attack and political campaign regarding public security and social services.

The local section of “the party of liberties” used the banner described above to promote its political activity against Roma community.

It happened during the political campaign, which was not connected to administrative election, but just to promotion of the actions implemented by the local government

The language used the word “offender” connected to members of Roma community indicating also that, even if they are resident in the town, they may not access social benefits regarding housing.

It is an international common racist manifestation: discrimination based on ethnic origin.

The perpetrators are members of a political party which includes discrimination and prevents immigration as regards public security.

The victims are members of Roma community, which lives in Pescara since 1300.

### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

It conveys a message of attitude towards criminal activities, therefore keeping excluded Roma community from social benefits is justified by this reason.

Not directly related to the economic crises, but generally the social benefits are relevant items in local political agenda, as they are related to available economic resources.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

The information was conveyed by traditional media, as newspapers and also by website.

The information appeared in the “Il Fatto Quotidiano” website, and it was accompanied by several commentaries distinguishing into favourable and unfavourable. Those in favour were concentrated on the respect of principle of equal treatment. Those non in favour illustrated the necessary respect of the Italian law by the Roma community and the difficulty of social integration.

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

The victims, represented by the Association “Rom Sinti @ Politica Abruzzo” (a NGO engaged in advocacy of Roma minority) and supported by ASGI (Association of Judicial Studies on Immigration) submitted a claim requiring a compensation (25.000 Euro) towards the bill posted by PDL and the press release of the local section of Lega Nord Political Party, which invited the local government and institutions to approve a forced evacuation of Roma community from Pescara, identifying Roma as a “damage which affects from time immemorial and increasingly violent”

The political party SEL (left, ecology and freedom) submitted a petition to public prosecutor regarding racial hatred.

The local bishop and the local police commissioner explained their disapproval.

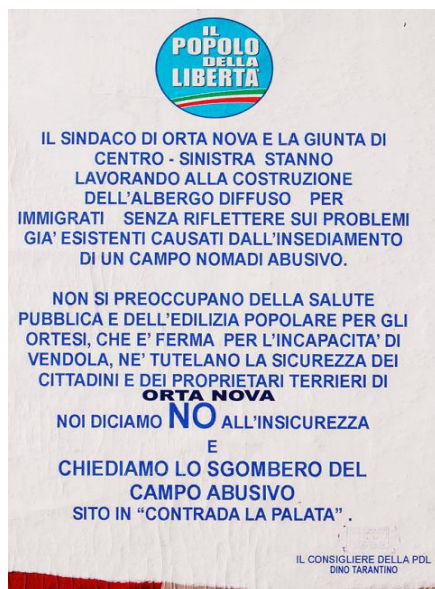
The local section of Democratic Party said: “The party of freedom (PDL) tagged as offenders all members of Roma community and is getting ready to expel all who have that ethnic origin and, who knows, it proposes to build again concentration camps and slaughter.”

Santino Spinelli, who is a University lecturer belonging to Roma culture and member of Roma community said: “I did not expect it to arrive so, this is political profiteering.” He also added: “The neighbourhood where Roma community lives is object of gathering votes, even by the same political party approving bills like that”.

The members of political party who commissioned the bill accounted for saying that the message was wrong, the message should regarded just the political action against squatting.

The reference legal framework is Legislative Decree n. 215/2003 dealing with equal treatment and the compensation in case of discrimination

The judgement explains the discriminatory feature of the bill and the spread press release, ordering the removal of the bill, without any compensation as required.



Orta Nova's Major and the local government of centre-lefty coalition are working to build a scattered hotel for migrants without thinking about problems caused by squatting Roma campsites. They don't worry about public health and free housing for Orta Nova's citizens, which

Drive away the Roma campsites from Ponticelli. The continuous increase of Roma campsites in several areas of neighbourhood has become unbearable. A severe emergency in healthy, social and environment is aggravating the life conditions in our neighbourhood with the guilty unthinking of

has been stopped cause of Vendola's incompetence, neither have they guarded the citizens and landowners security. We say NO to insecurity and we ask the evacuation of the squatting campsite in "Contrada la Palata". (the Party of liberties)

the institutions. A territory, already signed by spread of lawlessness and by rooted criminal activities risks to see failing definitively every requalification opportunity. Daily, there are violations about basic security rules on environment, with concrete risks for public health, kept more severe by the next summer. The Municipality, the Prefecture, law enforcement and health institutions, finally, should give answers to the questions since now no heard, for an immediate dismantling of campsites and replacing security. (Democratic Party)



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340 2175008



For the public security, away the Gypsies of our land. Immediate evacuation (Lega Nord)

Be carefully ! Roma campsite. Danger! Assault, robbery, rapes... (Forza Nuova)

Image 19 - Other posters showing how the Roma community is "exploited" by political parties

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#### PUNISHING EXPEDITION: ROUGHHOUSE BETWEEN ITALIANS AND ROMANIANS

##### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

January 18, 2014: during the evening three Italians and three Romanians were discussing about national customs and the Italians referred that the Romanians are not addicted to work and

their life is based on expedients. According to “la Repubblica” newspaper, the discussion deteriorated and after Romanians' leaving, Italians organized a punishing expedition with other seven Italians.

The context was the interpersonal interaction (daily life).

The stereotyped identification of a particular nationality with a lazy attitude is an internationally common racist manifestation, especially when it comes out during a discussion in a public places where people take place to rest and discuss.

The original meaning is related to the difference based on nationality: the social perception of foreigners in Italy is connected to the great value given to “our” country of origin, as it is common among Italians to give much relevance of the region of origin.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

It conveys a message of identity: the Romanians should be hit because they were considered loafers and they had been ashamed in discussion with the Italians.

Not directly related to the economic crisis, but people coming from foreigners countries are often considered just as workers, therefore they are accepted because they work and it is difficult to consider that they need social benefits, too.

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

N/A

## 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

Two Romanians were hit. A 20-years-old man was stabbed on the head, and a 27-years-old man was hit with a baseball stick.

No reactions are reported.

There is a legal case for prosecution; the legal framework is the injury offence provided in the criminal code, but in this case it is aggravated by the number of people involved and by the racist hatred.

A person was arrested with charge of attempted murder.

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## UNITED KINGDOM

WOMAN ARRESTED AFTER VIDEO SURFACES OF BLACK WOMAN MAKING RACIST COMMENTS ABOUT WHITE PEOPLE ON A LONDON BUS” (AUGUST 2012)

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

In August 2012, a 34-year-old woman was arrested by Scotland Yard, on suspicion of a “racially aggravated” public order offence on a London bus. The police investigation was regarding claims about a middle-aged black woman that made racist comments about white people. The woman was telling passengers on the bus how she “hates white people” who “all want to be f\*\*\*ing

black". Furthermore, she goes on shouting "the only reason I was born in this country is because ! you f\*\*\*ing people brought my people here. "My parents are f\*\* African, born in Jamaica. And I'm f\*\*\*ing African, born in England and I can't stand you white people, I tell you. The whole lot of you are programmed, f\*\*\*ing puppets. Not this one, I'm black and proud".

She then spits on the floor and picks up her phone and can be heard describing those around her as "f\*\*\*ing doughnuts and puppets on the bus." (...) ... she continues, "they (white people, red.) all want to be f\*\*\*ing black, they all put fat in their lips and their bottoms and sit down on the sun bed to be black". She finalises by complaining about the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, and states that the same f\*\*\*ing diamond she has in her head, my people suffered for that. Free speech. I hate white people. I can't stand any of you."

The incident took place on a London bus in August 2012 and was recorded by a fellow passenger, who subsequently posted the footage on YouTube on August 17, after a number of similar public rants by women appeared on various forms of London transportation earlier this year and last year - the footage has had more than 440,000 views.

Insulting, discriminating and condescending language is used. Shouting expletives and making racial comments about white people, for bringing "her people" to the UK to imply that they *were forced to come to the UK through e.g. enslavement*. Furthermore, white people are in a derogatory and racial manner referred to as "programmed puppets and doughnuts". The perpetrator is being disrespectful towards the Queen of England when stating that "her people" have suffered through hard work digging for the same diamonds to be found in the Royal Crown Jewels. The actual incident is a local manifestation, since it took place on a London bus; however it went global when uploaded on the internet.

The perpetrator was a middle-aged black woman, most likely residing in the area of Hackney (Daily Mail). She is British born with Jamaican born parents and targeted her anger towards white people. The onlookers tried to ignore her.

The implied meaning in this statement is condescending and suggests that all white people are to be held responsible for what happened to "her people".

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

It conveys a problematic attitude towards freedom of expression. This is implied in the fact that she justifies her abuse towards the public due to "free speech".

The perpetrator directs words such as "puppets" and "doughnuts" in a derogatory manner towards the other passengers which is disrespectful.

The perpetrator is making a racial segregation between "her people" and white people. The language used is negative and denouncing when directed towards white people and positive when the perpetrator speaks about "her people".

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

The incident was a public interaction since it took place on a London bus and was directed towards the other passengers. Subsequently, it was posted on YouTube and reported about through newspaper publications.

The incident was portrayed from a fairly negative perspective in its description of the woman. Words as "becomes increasingly more aggressive" and, "... she looks both in shock and disgusted as she continues her tirade of abuse sitting down" does imply negative connotations towards the perpetrator.

The overall public reaction had mixed feelings about the episode, where several have condemned the woman for acting out like she did; one stating that you cannot be racist against white people. Other reactions have pointed out that she must have been either drunk or high during the incident and needs help, while others have taken a more defensive approach towards

the incident and puts a lot of emphasis on her being black. This is done through offensive comments such as “give her a banana” or “go back to Africa”.

#### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

The fact that the footage was uploaded online resulted in the arrest. Furthermore, a large number of people have become familiar with the episode online and shared their opinion about it. It could be seen as a legal case for prosecution according to public order section 4 offences. After the footage had been uploaded on the internet, it was brought to the attention of the police who assessed it, then arrested the woman and put her in custody. Despite the article mentioning that the woman *could* face prosecution, it does not provide any further information on whether this arrest was followed by any prosecuting actions.

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#### WOMAN IN YOUTUBE RACIST RANT ON TRAM GIVEN COMMUNITY SENTENCE (NOVEMBER 2011)

##### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

On November 28<sup>th</sup> 2011, a video clip was uploaded on to YouTube revealing a racist rant taking place on a tram ride between Croydon and Wimbledon in West London. The perpetrator, a 34-year-old mother-of-two, Emma West, was shouting racist abuse at fellow passengers; “what has this country come to? A load of black people and a load of f\*\*\*ing Polish, You ain’t English. No, you ain’t English either. You ain’t English, f\*\*\* off’ and ‘get back to your own countries”. None of you’s f\*\*\*ing English. It’s nothing now. Britain is nothing now. My Britain is f\*\*\* all now”. While holding her son, West looks around and points at the passengers saying, “someone’s got to talk up for these lot. Look, the whole \*\*\*\*ing tram, look at them”. A woman asks West to mind her language due to the presence of little kids.

As a response, West points to her son on her lap and says, “I’ve got a little kid here”. She then threatens the woman, who is black, by daring to kick her off the tram and shouts, “go back to \*\*\*\*ing Nicaragua, or wherever you come from, “you aren’t British, you’re black” - one of the passengers reacts towards this and asks, “what’s wrong with that?” West replies by saying, “because it’s all black and \*\*\*\*ing brown people” (Croydon today, Metro, BBC news).

The incident took place on a tram ride between Croydon and Wimbledon in West London in November 2011. It was a face to face interaction between the perpetrator and the other passengers. The incident was secretly recorded by one of the onlookers and uploaded on to YouTube - it had been viewed by more than 2.2 million people around the world within 24 hours after its release and commented by 88,000 members of the public.

Derogatory, insulting and racial language is used. She calls passengers “not British, you’re black and brown people”, thereby subjecting them in a racial manner, to imply that they don’t belong here due to their skin colour and should “f\*\*\* off and get back to your own countries”. In court, her use of language during the abuse was described as being “threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour”.

The actual incident is a local manifestation, since it took place on a tram in London. After the footage of the manifestation had gone public, it was viewed and commented on by a large range of people. It could be seen as a “common” local manifestation in terms of being one out of several similar incidents filmed by members of the public and uploaded on the internet. Most of

the attitudes demonstrated in the actual abuse can be said to be locally common as typical choice of language towards people not belonging due to their race, religion etc.

The perpetrator is a 34-year-old mother of two from New Addington, South London. She is a former dental nurse from New Addington, Croydon, in South London.

Some of the other passengers described West “reeking of alcohol” during the abuse (Metro). Furthermore, West pleaded guilty in court to the abuse seen as a racially/religiously aggravated section 4 public order offence. One of the judges stated that West “was clearly suffering from mental health problems at the time of the outburst and had unwittingly overdosed on the medication she took for depression” (Metro).

The victims were some of the other passengers and they did interfere in the sense that one of them secretly filmed the incident and posted it on YouTube. Two other passengers asked West to mind her language due to the presence of little kids and commented on her abuse, and was threatened to be kicked off the train. The man defending West in court proclaimed that West was taking anti-depressants and that her behaviour “was out of character”.

Subsequently, the defender said that West does not hold any racist views and had subconsciously had a large glass of wine before the actual abuse took place. West’s prosecutor said that many of the onlookers had been “upset” by West’s behaviour where several described themselves as being “shocked and disgusted” by the incident (BBC News).

The woman’s behaviour is pointing towards a certain attitude to be found in many different places, directed at foreigners. In this case, the abuse had most likely been triggered by her personal issues and is not necessarily her “normal” way of thinking.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

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The manifestation is highly racist, since West maintains a condescending attitude towards passengers that, according to her, are “non-British” because of their “black or brown” skin colour. She excludes these passengers as a non-belonging group of UK citizens, when shouting they go should go back to where they belong.

Her use of language is derogatory and she is speaking ill when she refers to people as “black and brown”.

It is not “double speech” directly, but she does make a distinction between “belonging and not-belonging”.

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

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The manifestation took place as a face to face interaction between the perpetrator and the victims. It was shared with members of the public when it was secretly filmed and uploaded on the internet.

Because of its content, the incident was portrayed in a less positive way.

The incident was condemned by some members of the public.

## 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

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No physical injuries in this case, but West did attack her partner with an ornamental knife, puncturing his lungs and causing several other minor injuries.

The incident in the tram and the assault cases (towards her partner) were adjourned until June 24 pending pre-sentence reports. Recorder of Croydon Judge Warwick Mckinnon indicated he would pass a community sentence for the three offences that will not face jail.

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“IF YOUR COUNTRY IS SO GOOD F\*\*\* OFF BACK THERE”: VIDEO SHOWS FOUL-MOULDED RACIST RANT BY WOMAN ON THE TUBE” (APRIL 2013)

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

The three-minute long manifestation took place on an eastbound District line train in London 2013. A woman started shouting racist abuse towards one of the passengers sitting next to her, telling him, “if your country is so good, f\*\*\* off back there”, further screaming, “You come in this country you f\*\*\*ing mother f\*\*\*ers c\*\*\*”, “You want everything on a plate f\*\*\*ing c\*\*\* and expect us to take this”, “You are all racist c\*\*\*s, you want to take over the world”, “You’re so thick you don’t even get it”. The event was secretly filmed by one of the other passengers and uploaded on YouTube on April 11 2013, but it is unclear when the actual incident took place (Daily Mail).

The incident took place on a London tube in 2013 and was secretly recorded by a fellow passenger, who uploaded the footage on YouTube on April 11. The abuse was carried out as a face to face interaction, since it was directed towards the passenger sitting next to the perpetrator (Daily Mail).

The perpetrator swears a lot and talks to the passenger in a derogatory and disrespectful manner. When shouting, “You want everything on a plate...” the woman refers to the impression that when “non-British” people arrive to the UK they take advantage of the welfare system and don’t contribute in any way, in other words, they expect to have everything “served” on a plate. This statement is highly derogatory, since it is based on a generalising accusation. Furthermore, the perpetrator is being racist when directing the abuse towards the passenger, whom from the video footage looks like someone of Asian origin and therefore must be “foreign” in the eyes of the perpetrator. The choice of language also implies that because the victim is “non-British” he is not welcome in the UK, since he does not belong there and should “f\*\*\* off back” to his own country.

The abuse took place in the UK. This type of abuse can be seen as locally “common”, since there has been reported a number of similar incidents in London. However, it could easily be seen as common around the world as well.

The perpetrator was stated unidentified after the video footage had been leaked. The police released a “cry for help” to encourage witnesses to provide any useful information to help with the investigation. It is unclear what caused the verbal attack or what the victim said to the perpetrator during the abuse (Daily Mail).

The social perception of foreigners taking advantage of the welfare system has for many British residents turned into a false perception of how things really are. This is often supported by the



media, which in many cases highlights a few incidents to help create and maintain a generalising disvalue targeting people coming to the UK.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

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The perpetrator can have a certain attitude towards “non-British” people in general, but could have felt pressured into exercising this type of abuse due to the financial crisis, private issues etc. This often leads to scapegoating, in this case towards people who are perceived as “non-contributors” to British society.

The abuse is dominated by a derogatory discourse; the perpetrator does refer to the passenger, seen as an outsider, as “you”. In this sense it refers to “all of you” and not only him.

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

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One of the passengers secretly recorded the incident and uploaded it on YouTube. In this way it went public and an image of the woman was released.

As in many similar cases, the incident is not portrayed as positive. The word “shocking” and details of the woman’s actions were included in the description of the incident.

British Transport Police underlined that they “treat all allegations of racism very seriously” and urged people to help in providing information for the further investigation. The incident was both condemned and encouraged by members of the public. More than 1200 people have commented on the incident online.

## 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

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The fact that the footage was uploaded online resulted in a police investigation. Furthermore, a large number of people have become familiar with the episode online and shared their opinion about it.

There could be a legal case for prosecution according to public order section 4-5 offence.

Since the woman was unidentified there has not been given any information on prosecuting actions. However, the police was keen on gathering more information in order to get a better picture of what really happened.

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LIVERPOOL FAN DENIES RACIST SLUR TOWARDS PATRICE EVRA (JANUARY 2012); ‘MONKEY GESTURE’ FAN ARRESTED ON SUSPICION OF RACIALLY ABUSING BLACK PLAYER AT CHELSEA MATCH” (OCTOBER 2012); SUNDERLAND FAN ARRESTED OVER RACIST MONKEY GESTURE AT WEST BROM PLAYER ROMELU LUKAKU (NOVEMBER 2012)

## 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

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Image 20 - Fans are making “monkey gestures” during different football matches and shouting racially abusive slurs

As the pictures above are showing, three individual fans are making “monkey gestures” during different football matches and shouting racially abusive slurs directed towards players, opposing fans and disabled supporters.

The three incidents took place during sport events, namely the Blue’s League Cup, Premier League and the FA Cup Tie in January, October and November 2012.

Derogatory, offensive and racial (body) language is used. Two of the perpetrators (pic. 1 + 3) did not speak or have direct contact with the victims, but used their body language to racially abuse them by making a “monkey gesture”. The third perpetrator (pic.2) did the monkey impression as well, but this was supplemented by a term of abusive language in French and English such as, “Tu es petit noir homme merde” (“You little black shit man”), “pikey, pikey twats, pikey bastards, pikey c\*\*\*\* and f\*\*\* off you spastic mutants” (Huffington Post).

All three incidents were local manifestations, since they took place during sport events in the UK, and racism in football is common around the world.

The identity of the 28-year-old Chelsea fan (pic. 1), Gavin Kirkham, was tracked down by the Sun newspaper after his identity had been exposed on the internet. He lives in Letchworth Garden City in Hertfordshire and aimed his “monkey gesture” at United’s black striker, Danny Welbeck, during the Blue’s League Cup. Kirkham had been photographed and caught by CCTV during his gesture. The other perpetrator (pic.3), a Sunderland fan named Liam Jones, directed his gesture at West Brom’s striker, Lukaka. Jones is 21, from Hendon, Sunderland, and was also caught by CCTV. The pictures were uploaded on the internet, especially social media, subsequently leading to a police investigation of all cases - the police also received a complaint about this incident after the match. The last perpetrator was a 58-year-old Liverpool FC fan, named Phillip Gannon from Heol Meirion, Barmouth, North Wales. He directed his abuse towards disabled supporters, fans and Belgium club captain Patrice Evra, from Manchester United.

“Monkey gesture”: the “monkey gesture” is very offensive and racist. Directing a monkey impression towards a black person is insulting and racist, since it implies that the person looks like or is related to a monkey due to his skin colour and race and acts like one because of the implied characteristics.

This is derogatory and refers to the victim as being primitive and less developed compared to non-white races.

“Tu es petit noir homme merde” (“You little black shit man”): the French slur is demeaning and racist; more specifically found in the words “little black shit”.

“Pikey”: the term “pikey” derives from the British word “turnpike”, referring to places where “gypsies” or people from the traveller community used to camp near settlements. It is generally

perceived as an ill term, since it refers to these people being “tasteless”, living in caravans, filthy, stealing, claim all sorts of benefits, speak in an unintelligible manner etc. (Urban Dict.).

The use of the following words, “...bastards/c\*\*\*\*/twats (an offensive term for a person)” further enhances the negative connotations of the term “pikey”.

“F\*\*\* off you spastic mutants” (Huffington Post): according to witness, the perpetrator was shouting this at disabled Manchester United supporters. The language used here is very offensive, insensitive and discriminatory towards people with disabilities. It implies that they are “not normal” in terms of their disabilities and don’t belong in a setting with non-disabled.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

The abuse and gesture can be seen as a direct attack towards people’s race and has connotations of hierarchy in terms of a certain attitude towards black people. Furthermore, scapegoating could have been an issue, since it took place during a football game and the abuse was directed towards rivals from the other team.

The words “spastic mutants”, the “monkey gestures” and “pikey...” are very derogatory terms. The abuse directed towards disabled people and other fans can be seen as hate speech.

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

The incidents had been photographed, caught and broadcasted by CCTV/ITV - then uploaded on social media (Twitter) and could be found on several newspaper websites catching the attention of the police, who had also received complaints about the incidents.

The three incidents have been described in a negative way by several newspapers, calling the incident(s) “disturbing” and the abuse as being a “sickening taunt by a disgruntled supporter”. Kirkham has been branded as “an idiot” by several football fans and Chelsea Football Club stated that “they take the strongest possible action, including supporting criminal prosecution” of the incident. The Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) has underlined that they “take any allegation of racist chanting and/or behaviour very seriously and if any matters are brought to attention they will of course be thoroughly investigated” (Huffington Post). Furthermore, the case of Kirkman has especially been highlighted, since several news distributors have posted some of Kirkman’s “pastimes” from Facebook and Myspace online, showing a less serious side of Kirkman dressing up in different costumes. West Brom head coach, Steve Clarke, pointed out that there is “no place in the game or any walk of life” for racism, ([the Telegraph](#)). Chief Executive, Ged Grebby, from the “Show Racism the Red Card (SRtRC) said, “we are confident ...that this was an isolated incident and that the campaign to rid football and society of racism is working well”.

Based on the news distributors online, combined with reactions from fans and clubs, it seems like the wider public is condemning the incidents.

## 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

Judging from the choice of language and the actual abuse, especially towards the disabled supporters, one could imagine people became emotionally affected by the incident. There was no information about physical injuries or attacks during these matches.

Gannon was handed a four-year “football banning order” towards attending England and Liverpool games, additionally banning him from being in Liverpool city four hours before and after a match. In court, despite Gannon pleading not-guilty, he was found guilty of racially abusing or/and “two counts of using abusive or insulting words within the hearing or sight of a person likely to have caused alarm or distress”. Finally, he was fined to pay 180 pounds and cover prosecution costs of around 300 pounds. Defending himself, Gannon proclaimed that “he was unaware of the connotations of the term he used”.

Kirkman was investigated by the police, who gathered witness statements and worked on getting him charged with a racially aggravated public order offence. However, due to lack of evidence the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) dropped the charges and no further action was taken. To support this decision, CPS said that, "it is our decision that, having looked closely at video footage, an image of the incident and witness statements, the evidence does not demonstrate this to the standard required for prosecution". The Chelsea club has banned Kirkman from Stamford Bridge, where the incident took place. The banning will continue, since the club argues that Kirkman was not eligible to sit where he was sitting during the gesture in the first place, since he is not a Chelsea fan.

Jones, the Sunderland fan, was arrested after the incident had been uploaded on the internet. When protesting his innocence, Jones claimed that the impression was not of a "monkey", but that he was doing a "chicken dance". Directing racist gestures towards the football player had not been his intention, since he was not racist, saying, "I have black friends and black cousins...If I was racist, I wouldn't pay to watch Sunderland because they have black players". Jones has been released on bail until January after being arrested on charges of a racially aggravated intentional harassment (Daily Mail). Sunderland AFC has banned Jones from watching matches until the outcome of any court case has been decided.

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- <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-merseyside-18541916>
- [http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2012/06/22/liverpool-fan-guilty-racially-abusing-evra\\_n\\_1618401.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2012/06/22/liverpool-fan-guilty-racially-abusing-evra_n_1618401.html)

YOU'RE COMING HERE AND PLEADING POVERTY WHILE WE'RE PAYING TAXES': SHOCKING RANT OF WOMAN AGAINST FOREIGN STUDENTS IN HOSPITAL WAITING ROOM CAUGHT ON MOBILE" (FEBRUARY 2013)

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

On February 2, 2013 at 7.30pm at Ipswich hospital in Suffolk, a woman went on a rant in one of the hospital's waiting rooms. The rant lasted for around 2 minutes and was directed towards two "foreign looking" students sitting in the same room. The woman was shouting at the students, "where do you come from" followed by "you are coming over here and you're pleading poverty. What has happened to this f\*\*\*ing country. We are paying taxes you a\*\*\*holes and we are going down in the crisis". Another 20 patients and friends or relatives were present in the room when the abuse took place.

The manifestation was a face to face interaction between the perpetrator and the victims. The language used is derogatory, humiliating and racist. The perpetrator accuses the students of coming to the UK to plead poverty. This accusation is racist since it implies that due to their "foreign" appearance, they are not British and are therefore in her eyes not seen as taxpaying contributors to the British economy. Continues by calling them "a\*\*\*holes", which is condescending and disrespectful. The abuse is based on a stereotypical and discriminating perception of people who are not believed to be of British origin and are therefore perceived to be "bad influence" for this country.

It can be seen as a common manifestation in the sense that there have been several other cases of similar abuse towards "non-British looking" people. The fact that the abuse took place in a hospital setting is not necessarily seen as common.

The perpetrator is a woman and was one of the people located in the same waiting room as the victims. The abuse was directed at the two students, Gina Thompson, 23, from Nigeria, and her 21-year-old friend from Spain. They were in the hospital because of Thomson's friend who had sprained her ankle. Thompson is from Port Harcourt in Nigeria and is studying film and media at the University Campus Suffolk. She has been residing in the UK for the last two years. Her friend from Seville in Spain arrived last September. There were about 20 other people in the waiting room.

### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

The incident can definitely be seen as a case of scapegoating, since the perpetrator refers to "what has happened to this country", in other words saying that Britain should not accept foreigners - often seen as non-contributors - to live off the UK welfare system. Mentioning the crisis could also be seen as a push factor in letting out her frustration towards "foreign looking" people.

The abuse is dominated by a derogatory discourse. The perpetrator does say "we" as in British people and "you" as in you foreigners.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

As the video clip reveals, one of the onlookers filmed the abuse with his/her mobile phone and posted it online. The manifestation itself was a face to face interaction.

MailOnline called the incident "shocking" and posted it online as an "exclusive" news item. Some of the language used was highlighted.

There have been made some comments about the incident, where several are condemning the woman's actions.

#### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

The victims were emotionally affected by the abuse. Thompson said: “It made me feel low about myself. I had to go back home and question why it was wrong I was here. My friend was surprised. She was scared, she was terrified. She kind of felt unsafe afterwards. She is Spanish and her English is not perfect, but she could sort of understand what the woman was saying. When she got back home, she said: “Are we in trouble?”

The woman spoke directly at Thompson, asking her where she comes from and Thompson replied, “what does it matter where I'm from?” The woman said: ‘we are paying taxes you a\*\*\*holes and we are going down in this crisis’, before Thompson replied: “I will not accept that. Don't call me a\*\*\*hole. Don't come to my face and insult me. You won't do that. Calling me a\*\*\*hole? Are you alright?” The woman said back: ‘don't accept it, you fat a\*\*\*’, before a voice off camera said the police had been called.

Thompson's friend commented on the woman's behaviour by saying, “this woman was a very normal looking woman who you wouldn't think would abuse you. How many people are the same like that? I'm scared”. Thompson added, “She said I've come here to claim poverty. That's not true. I'm an international student and I pay £13,000 a year in tuition fees”. After the incident, Thompson told MailOnline, “I was so embarrassed and I couldn't do anything because I was stuck in the situation, so we just had to laugh about it. All the attention was on us”.

A group of nurses, paramedics and security guards seized the woman, saying, “there's a revolution going on here”.

The woman was arrested on the same evening the abuse took place. She was charged with assault on a police officer (happened shortly after the incident), two counts of “racially aggravated assault” and two charges of assault. She has to appear at court on 20<sup>th</sup> of February.

#### SOURCES AND REFERENCES

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2273150/Rant-woman-Suffolk-students-Spain-Nigeria-Ipswich-Hospital.html>

#### WOMAN FINED FOR RACIST ASSAULT ON BURKA WEARER (JUNE 2013)

##### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

On 29<sup>th</sup> of June 2013, a Somali woman was shopping with her daughter in Woolwich, when she was verbally and physically attacked by a woman, Tracy Davies. Davies shouted racist remarks at the woman before hitting and punching her. Other people witnessed the attack.

The incident took place in the South East district of London, Woolwich.

The articles do not provide specifics about language used only saying it was “racist and repugnant remarks”.

The attack was a local manifestation in the UK, however similar attacks can surely be found around the world. It is difficult to say whether it should be seen as a “common” incident, but similar cases have taken place in the UK.

The perpetrator was a 46-year old woman, Tracy Davis, from Charlton Lane. The victim was a Somali woman, wearing a Burka. She was shopping in Woolwich with her daughter when the attack took place.

Without details of the specific language used it is not possible to explain the original meaning, however the attack could point towards the perpetrator having a certain attitude against “foreigners”. The articles state that the attack was only triggered due to “sheer bigotry” mainly because the victim was wearing a Burka.

##### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

Since the remarks were racist and repugnant the language used could have been hate speech, dominated by a derogatory discourse.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

Members of the public, shopping at Woolwich at the time of the incident, immediately came to the rescue of the victim. They also provided witness statements to the police. Superintendent Parm Sandhu commented on the issue by saying, "I am satisfied with the result of our investigation and happy that the victim was able to see Davies charged and taken to court".

The month of June was described as a "sensitive time" for residents in Woolwich, since the attack had been perceived as completely unprovoked but only due to "sheer bigotry".

The case was conveyed through the press as a news item; the words "sheer bigotry" was highlighted.

The incident was condemned by residents in Woolwich.

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

The perpetrator not only abused the victim verbally, but did also hit and punched her in the face several times.

The incident had been tweeted and put on Facebook, but no comments had been posted together with the articles.

The police arrested Davies and charged her with a racially aggravated common assault. She was found guilty, and had to pay compensation costs of 100 pounds, together with a 150 pounds fine and cover other costs worth 105 pounds. Davies pleaded not-guilty.

### SOURCES AND REFERENCES

<http://www.lbc.co.uk/woman-fined-for-racist-assault-on-burka-wearer-79168>

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-24398104>

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## ISLAMOPHOBIC DVDS SENT TO MOSQUES (27<sup>TH</sup> AUGUST 2013)

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION



Image 21 - A video clip of the least offensive/graphic parts of the hour-long DVD can be found at:  
<http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/uk-videos-news/3347/>

A number of mosques and Islamic organisations in London and the UK more broadly have been sent an Islamophobic DVD with highly graphic and offensive content.

We know nothing about the perpetrator(s) other than that they are very anti-Islam. So the context at the minute seems to be an individual or group of individuals pushing their own Islamophobic message/agenda.

The video contained pornographic images, media footage about Islamic extremists, a skull with snakes and rats labelled "Prophet Mohamed" (pictured below), and Nazi footage. The skull is shown with signs saying "I'm a c\*\*t" and "false prophet". The video also equates Islam with paedophilia, incest and rape.

It is a local manifestation directed at UK mosques and Islamic organisations.

We don't know anything about the perpetrators, as they haven't been caught. The targets are mosques and Islamic organisations in the UK.

### SOURCES AND REFERENCES

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-23808038>

[http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2013/08/27/mosques-dvds\\_n\\_3821260.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2013/08/27/mosques-dvds_n_3821260.html)

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<http://www.iengage.org.uk/news/2741-leicester-mosque-latest-to-receive-islamophobic-dvd>

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## ANTI-SEMITIC GRAFFITI IN DUBLIN (JUNE 2013)

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

During the night, vandals broke into a derelict building site (abandoned Anglo Irish HQ) and spray-painted large, anti-Semitic messages.

This was an individual incident but it clearly had political as well as racist motivations. Until we know more about the perpetrators (if we find out more), it is unclear if or what groups/movements they are acting with.

We don't know much about the perpetrators, as they have not been caught. The targets are Jewish people.

Statements used:

- "Zionist engineered global financial holocaust"
- "Jewish supremacist destruction of indigenous Europeans"
- "Zionist global financial terrorism"
- It was a local incident but the themes and comments are internationally common racist manifestations.

Meanings and discriminatory disvalue:

- i. Zionist conspiracy theories
- ii. Throughout history, conspiracy theories have been propagated to scapegoat Jewish people for a number of social problems, specifically financial. Conspiracy themes were used in Nazi propaganda to turn the German public against Jewish people and "justify" Nazi persecution.
- iii. Many people reference the Holocaust when attacking Jewish people and Zionists. In this context especially, it undermines the importance and devastation caused by the Holocaust. The very personal connection between Jewish people and the Holocaust, and the violence, scale and historical significance of it makes references to the Holocaust in hateful attacks particularly offensive.
- iv. Threat to indigenous Europeans

The idea of "indigenous Europeans" is used to attack many racial and religious groups. The idea that Jewish people had a conspiracy to threaten this "indigenous" group is also a fascist trope from the 30s, possibly even earlier.

iv. Contemporary discriminatory disvalue/social perception in the UK

These are offensive and old-fashioned fascist tropes targeting Jewish people. The reaction online seems to be largely against the views demonstrated in this graffiti and there is confusion over how/why this would happen in Ireland.

### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

It scapegoats Jewish people and Zionists for the global financial crisis and threatening the "indigenous Europeans". So there is also the suggestion that non-Jewish people have more of a right to call Europe "home" than Jewish people.

Direct hate speech is used



It directly links Jewish and Zionist “conspiracies” to the global financial crisis and situation of Europe.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

This was a case of criminal defacement of property in a highly visible public space. The information was relayed on theJournal.ie website and also reported on the No Hate Speech Movement’s Hate Speech Watch reporting board.

The main article was mainly about the building’s security - how had someone managed to break in etc.? But the accompanying comment section was reassuringly condemning of the message of the graffiti. They included: “Is this 1930s Germany? There is no place for this s\*\*\*e in Ireland today”; “This is just ridiculous ignorance”

To which someone responded: “It is, but crazy racist conspiracy theories run rampant on the web, which is probably where these knuckle-heads were educated”

This demonstrates both an awareness of the offensive nature of the graffiti and a rejection of its sentiment, but also awareness of hate speech and the internet.

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

Removal was dealt with quickly and there is an investigation into the break-in and damage, but there is no specific mention of a hunt for the perpetrators or whether the property’s management is more concerned about damage and security, than the messages this damage transmitted.

There is a legal case for prosecution, on trespassing and criminal damage to property.

The perpetrators have not been caught yet.

### SOURCES AND REFERENCES

No Hate Speech Movement (2013), Hate Speech Watch reporting board,

<http://www.nohatespeechmovement.org/hate-speech-watch/report/4>, accessed 12/09/13

The Journal.ie (2013), “Unfinished Anglo Irish HQ defaced with anti-Semitic graffiti”, Jun. 5th, Errore. Riferimento a collegamento ipertestuale non valido., accessed 12/09/13

‘YOUR TRIBE NEED TO BEHAVE LIKE PROPER ENGLISH CHILDREN’: BBC’S MISHAL HUSAIN WAS TOLD BY SHOPPER IN SUPERMARKET (MAY 2011)

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

In 2011, the BBC Radio 4 presenter Mishal Husain was the victim of racist abuse in a branch of Waitrose supermarket in North London. An ‘older’ man told her that her children or ‘tribe’ needed to behave like ‘proper English children’. Mishal Husain consequently posted on Twitter “Joy of the supermarket: irritable older gentleman tells me my tribe need to behave 'like proper English children' “(Guardian) which informed the public about the event.

The context was an interpersonal interaction which was shared on social media and then because of the high profile of the BBC presenter featured in the mainstream media.

Offensive language is used. Describing her children as a “tribe” is used as a derogatory term to imply that they are not civilised or belong in the community. He also suggests that they are not “proper English children”, again implying that they don’t belong and are not respected as true citizens. “Tribe” also has racist connotations. Here the perpetrator refers to the immigration debate and suggests that Mishal Husain and her children don’t belong in the UK as a result of their race. The language used is very segregating.

This case is a local manifestation in the actual abuse but global in how it was communicated; Ms Husain has more than 100,000 followers on Twitter

The perpetrator was an “older gentleman” (Guardian) in a rather affluent area of North London. Mishal Husain is an established news reporter, she is British born and her parents were born in Pakistan.

The implied meaning in the statement is derogatory and suggests that she doesn’t belong ‘here’

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

It conveys a message of hierarchy that her children need to improve in order to become like “proper English children”. It questions their identity as British citizens, and suggests racist attitudes towards immigrants.

The perpetrator uses the term “tribe” in a derogatory manner and thus disrespects Mishal Husain and her children.

The language used suggests Mishal Husain and her children are different to other English people and that this is why the children are misbehaving.

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

Initially the event was a face to face interaction, Mishal Husain then posted about the incident on Twitter; “Joy of the supermarket: irritable older gentleman tells me my tribe need to behave 'like proper English children' “ which informed the public and was then reported on by various national news publications.

In the initial event, Husain reported the event to the staff at Waitrose supermarket, who “handled it well” (Telegraph).

The news articles reporting on the event all highlight how the event is problematic and are sympathetic to Husain’s anger.

The overall public reaction condemned the manifestation.

## 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

Husain responded powerfully to the manifestations, complaining to the manager of the supermarket and ensuring they reacted to the manifestation. She also informed the public (her twitter followers) about the incident, ensuring it didn’t go unnoticed and highlighting how this behaviour is unacceptable.

The news institutions condemned the manifestation as a result of Husain’s twitter post.

Husain complained to the manager of the supermarket but didn’t report the incident to the police.

## SOURCE: AND REFERENCES

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2013/jul/16/mishal-husain-bbc-radio-4-today>

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/8500954/BBC-news-presenters-children-racially-abused-in-supermarket.html>

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1384665/My-children-racially-abused-supermarket-says-BBCs-Mishal-Husain.html>

WOMAN JAILED OVER RACIST RANT ON TUBE - JACQUELINE WOODHOUSE SENTENCED TO 21 WEEKS IN JAIL FOR RACIAL ABUSE OF CENTRAL LINE PASSENGERS WHICH WAS POSTED ON YOUTUBE (MAY 2012)

## 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

Jacqueline Woodhouse drunkenly shouted racist and abusive language to members of the public on a London tube in January 2012. This was filmed by members of the public and posted on YouTube, the video went viral, with more than 200,000 views.

Judge Michael Snow sentenced Woodhouse to 21 weeks in jail in May 2012, saying that anyone hearing her “grossly offensive” language would feel a “deep sense of shame.”

The incident took place on a London Underground Train in Central London at around 11pm on 23<sup>rd</sup> January.

Woodhouse used a plethora of racist and derogatory language, including numerous expletives. At her trial the judge described her language as “grossly offensive”. She also victimized individuals by repeatedly asking them where they were from and whether they were “legal”.

There are numerous examples of clips of racist individuals on YouTube. The Jacqueline Woodhouse case occurred in central London on the underground train.

Woodhouse was 42 at the time of the incident and is from Romford in Essex. She had been fined for a previous offense in 2008 on the DLR, when she verbally abused a male passenger while on a train to Stratford. She asked whether he had paid taxes, adding: “I have had enough of it. Why don't they go back to where they come from?”

She targeted various individuals around her on the tube. She focused on their ethnic background and asked accusingly whether they were illegal immigrants. All the bystanders on the tube were affected by her offensive language and expletives. The bystanders included children.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

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Woodhouse is victimising the public using racist language and accusations; she uses highly offensive racist, derogatory language and expletives. She segregates the public and suggests that people are not British and should leave England.

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

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The video was posted on YouTube and consequently appeared on various news reports and articles. The original recording has now been removed from YouTube due to its offensive content but it can still be found on other platforms.

Woodhouse was originally filmed by a passenger on the train who was offended by her actions. Mr Juttla was the man who filmed the outburst and has explained that he wanted to show the public her behaviour so that she could be stopped in future. Outside court, after Woodhouse’s trial, Juttla explained “I was pretty shocked, and I don’t want to go through anything like this again,” he said. “I was born in this country, and I don’t accept any of this behaviour.”

The video was watched over 200,000 on YouTube and ultimately led to the prosecution of Woodhouse.

Overall, the public condemned the manifestation.

## 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

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Initially the public on the tube with Woodhouse are very passive and ignore her exclamations. Mr Juttla asks her to stop her offensive behaviour and that she has had too much to drink. The general public were shocked by the incident, as the over 200,000 views of the YouTube clip demonstrates. The news reports on the incident also all condemn Woodhouse’s actions.

Woodhouse handed herself into the police as the footage began to circulate. She has been convicted and Judge Michael Snow sentenced Woodhouse to 21 weeks in jail in May 2012, saying that anyone hearing her “grossly offensive” language would feel a “deep sense of shame.”

## SOURCES AND REFERENCES

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[www.youtube.com/watch?v=bsQjh4DNMmg](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bsQjh4DNMmg)

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2151576/Woman-jailed-21-weeks-racist-Tube-rant-seen-YouTube.html>

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2012/may/29/tube-passenger-jailed-race-rant>

## UKIP COUNCILLOR ERIC KITSON'S 'RACIST' FACEBOOK POSTS PROBED

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

The UK Independence Party local authority Councillor Eric Kitson is alleged to have shared offensive cartoons and 'jokes' on his social media page. Eric Kitson, who won the Stourport-on-Severn seat on 2 May, said he shared racist cartoons and jokes only to show people how "disgusting" they were.



Image 22 - UKIP councillor Eric Kitson's 'racist' facebook posts probed

The content was shared on the social media site 'Facebook'.

Kitson is alleged to have shared, among other things, a cartoon of Muslim people being burnt at the stake with copies of the Quran fuelling the flames.

It is internationally recognised as a racist and offensive manifestation. The reach of social media means that this material could also have been circulated internationally.

The perpetrator, Eric Kitson won the Stourport-on-Severn seat for the Ukip party on 2 May.

The targets and victims are any people affected by the offensive material in Kitson's posts. By standers could include any individuals who could access/ view the material on Kitson's social media site.

### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

It conveys a message of disrespecting Muslims and contains incitement to racial and religious violence.

It uses explicitly racist language, but highly derogatory symbols, images and 'jokes'.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

The racist manifestation was conveyed using the social media site Facebook. Information about the racism was relayed in news items.

The information was portrayed as problematic and necessary to question and condemn. It highlighted how Kitson attempted to defend his actions, but also noted how the problem had been acknowledged by UK Independence Party - Ukip, who are dealing with the problem at a national level and how West Mercia police force had also been contacted about the matter.

As Kitson has deleted his Facebook page as a result of the enquiry, it is difficult to assess exactly how the public reacted to the initial manifestation; however the information was relayed by news articles which clearly condemn Kitson's behaviour.

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

It is unclear what the immediate reaction was to Kitson's posts as he has since deleted his facebook page.

With regards to this case Jayne Salt, Head of the West Midlands CPS Complex Casework Unit, said:

"In order to prosecute any case, according to the Code for Crown Prosecutors, we have to be satisfied that there is sufficient evidence to provide a realistic prospect of securing a conviction and that it is in the public interest to pursue the prosecution. In this case there was insufficient evidence to provide a realistic prospect of securing a conviction.

"In order to prove an offence of inciting religious hatred, firstly the words, material or behaviour must be threatening. Language, images, and behaviour that may be considered abusive or insulting are not covered by these provisions. Secondly the requirement in all cases is that the

person intended to stir up religious hatred. A mere likelihood that this may result is not sufficient in law.”

The police have been contacted about the incident, and a spokesperson for the West Mercia police said that they have “asked for further information to be supplied so that we can look at it properly”.

On 31<sup>st</sup> July it was reported that: “Shamed former Ukip councillor Eric Kitson will not be charged with a criminal offence, after he admitted publishing offensive and racist comments online. The West Midlands Crown Prosecution Service today said there was “insufficient evidence” to charge the 59-year-old with inciting religious hatred.

Mr Kitson quit his position on Worcestershire County Council in May just days after securing one of two Stourport seats up for grabs on the council.

A series of anti-Semitic and anti-Islamic posts were discovered on Mr Kitson’s Facebook profile page, sparking concerns from fellow councillors and constituents that they were ‘inciting racial hatred’.

SOURCE:

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-hereford-worcester-22516724>

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2324335/UKIP-councillor-Eric-Kitson-said-Islam-cancer-racist-Facebook-page-step-down.html>

<http://www.expressandstar.com/news/politics/2013/07/05/shamed-ex-ukip-councillor-eric-kitson-will-not-face-charge-over-offensive-comments/>

<http://www.cps.gov.uk/publications/prosecution/rpbcbook.html>

“IF YOU ARE ALLERGIC TO BLACK PEOPLE, DON’T COME IN” (JULY 2013)

1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION



Martha-Renee Kolleh felt she was the victim of insidious racism when people entering her cafe would turn around and leave, or treat her with disrespect as a result of the colour of her skin. She therefore reacted by putting a sign up on the front door of her shop saying ‘If you are allergic to black people, don’t come in’.

The manifestation took place in the town of Ossett, Yorkshire in England. This event was reported in both the local newspaper and nationwide papers such as The Guardian and The Mail Online.

“People would come in, open the door, look at me and turn round and go outside. At first I said to myself ‘Maybe I’m being paranoid’.” But she said she realised customers were reacting differently to white members of staff she hired. (Yorkshire Post)

This is a local manifestation in Yorkshire. However Lola Okolosie, who wrote the article for the Guardian, highlights how the most prevalent forms of racism “which many black people experience today” are the insidious and more subtle types. These include, she states, sideways looks, questioning of your knowledge and experience, and examples similar to Kolleh’s.

The perpetrators are those who entered Marthda-Renee’s shop and discriminated against her without using obvious forms of racism, hateful speech or abuse. The Yorkshire Post reports that Kolleh doesn’t believe Ossett is a racist town, as there are “some people who are extremely nice” alongside those who are “extremely horrible”. She has however been victimized by those entering her shop who treat her unequally as a result of her race.

Image 23 - "If you are allergic to black people, don't come in" (July 2013)

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

It portrays a message of inequality. Kolleh is subject to discrimination in her own shop and she feels victimized as a result of her race.

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

Matha-Renne's reaction manifested in a sign on the front of her shop that confronted all the people in Ossett she believed were discriminating against her.

The information about this was reported in local and national newspapers and online.

*The Yorkshire Post*- this report is very neutral, highlighting Martha Renee's opinion on the event. Comments on the online article are that Kolleh's reactions are understandable but that she is "jumping to the conclusion that it is about her ethnicity" and thus her actions are problematic and perhaps encouraging "segregation".

*The Guardian*- the reporter Lola Okolosie is sympathetic to Martha- Renee Kolleh's experiences of racism and points out that, as a black woman herself, she understands the regularity and damaging effect of insidious racism. Comments on the online article are mixed in opinion; people are generally sympathetic to Kolleh but unsure about whether her reaction was the best way to handle the situation. Some comments have been removed by the guardian website for being offensive.

There is little comment about the racist manifestation but rather how appropriate Marta-Renee's reaction was to the discrimination she felt.

## 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

N/A

## SOURCE AND REFERENCES

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2013/jul/11/black-people-racism-martha-renee-kolleh>

<http://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/news/main-topics/beware-black-cafe-owner-inside-1-5839844>

The Guardian. "If you are allergic to black people, don't come in"- Lola Okolosie

The Yorkshire Post. "Beware- Black café owner inside"

## COMMUNITY SECURITY TRUST (CST) REPORT 2012

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

The CST has been monitoring and reporting on Anti-Semitic incidents in the UK since the 1980s. The following incidents are taken from their 2012 report. The contexts were mostly interpersonal interactions with some online hate speech, and vandalism - all individual rather than organised attacks.

Incidents:

- February 2012 (Leeds) - Swastikas drawn on the door of a business named after Jewish owners
- March 2012 (London) - a) Swastikas drawn on university student's campaign posters; b) Bacon put on synagogue door ... a lot of swastikas drawn on Jewish sites/properties; c) 'A person living next door to a synagogue set up a Wi-Fi network with the name "Auschwitz Fan Club".'
- April 2012 (London) - e-mail sent to a number of Jewish organisations with the subject "Israel jock drinks Christian blood", and including phrases such as "the Shylocks Gazette" and "the Masonic Zionist Kikester lobby."

- May 2012 (Hertfordshire) - Someone shouted to Jewish schoolchildren from a car: “Hitler should have gassed you all!”
- May 2012 (London) - a) Twitter debate on Israel-Palestine included the post: ‘Fuck off you Jew’ and “Keep your Jewish nose out of my business”; b) A car drove past a Jewish school and shouted “Heil Hitler” and “fucking Jews” while doing Nazi salutes.; c) “Zionists control the banking system” graffiti on the side of a bank.
- July 2012 (Manchester) -Twitter “Jew hive”, “I want to be back there and laugh/gass them” - this was settled in a restorative justice process.
- July 2012 (Newcastle) - Non-Jewish student in fedora shouted at small boys “smelly Jew, go back to your own country.”
- July 2012 (London) - Anti- Semitic graffiti in public toilet “7/7 and 9/11 Zionist conspiracies”
- November 2012 (London) - Tweet “Stamford Hill has this unbearable stench of Jews man p\*sses me off almost every time. Ugly creatures.”

These were all local incidents within the UK, but the themes and comments are internationally common anti-Semitic manifestations.

There were a wide variety of targets including children, adults, organisations, Synagogues and even a non-Jewish person in one case. There are not many details about the perpetrators but those that were mentioned were young, white males.

- i. Swastikas and Holocaust references
- ii. The very personal connection between Jewish people and the Holocaust, and the violence, scale and historical significance of it makes references to the Holocaust in hateful attacks particularly offensive. In the list of incidents from the CST report, there were numerous references to Hitler, Auschwitz, gassing Jewish people and so on. Whether meant or not, this is highly violent and offensive and it either diminishes the horror of the Holocaust by poking fun at it, or demonstrates support for Nazi policies in 2013.
- iii. Blood libel
- iv. This is a very old racist conspiracy about Jewish people killing Christian babies to use their blood in rituals. The reference to this is in the e-mail incident “Israel jock drinks Christian blood”.
- v. Zionist conspiracies
- vi. Throughout history, conspiracy theories have been propagated to scapegoat Jewish people for a number of social problems, specifically financial. Conspiracy themes were used in Nazi propaganda to turn the German public against Jewish people and “justify” Nazi persecution.
- vii. Smells and physical comments
- viii. There are references made to Jewish people having a distinguishable smell and their noses - a feature commonly over exaggerated in Nazi propaganda and other racist drawings.
- ix. Kikester
- x. “Kikester” is a derivative of “Kike”, a very offensive term for Jewish people with unclear origins. It has certainly been around since the 1800s though.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

All of the incidents display an aggressive attitude towards people of the Jewish faith. There is some scapegoating in the conspiracy comment re: 7/7 and 9/11, as it scapegoats Jewish people as the architects of major terror attacks that led to a number of wars in the Middle East.

Yes. It uses offensive terms such as “kikesters” and suggests that Hitler “should have finished the job”

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

A mixture of face-to-face and online incidents, and acts of vandalism.

It was all in the CST report, so it was all condemned. Wider public reactions are unknown.

Uncertain because this was the CST 2012 report so they do not include comment sections or points on other people’s reactions.

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

There were some violent incidents in the report but none explicitly linked to these verbal attacks. As these cases are all included in the CST 2012 report, all victims reported the incidents. The CST has a long history and good working relationships with local police forces, especially Greater Manchester.

Some cases have been settled through restorative justice processes but a lot of the perpetrators are hard to track down.

Restorative justice is an approach that involves the attacked individual or community, and the perpetrator(s) to discuss and work through the crime and what they feel is a suitable settlement (within reason). It also involves talking with the perpetrators about the offence, why it was wrong, why they did it, and tackling their attitude towards the crime and/or victim(s).

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## CASE STUDY ON HATE GROUPS: ENGLISH DEFENCE LEAGUE - EDL

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

The EDL is an organisation and emerged in the aftermath of a protest by a handful of Islamist extremists at the homecoming parade of the Royal Anglian Regiment through the town. It now has thousands of supporters across the country.

There has been a culture of Islamophobia in the UK since the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and 7/7. This has been present in political campaigns and resulted in the growth of extremist groups. Hate groups such as EDL have grown as a result of these attitudes. Recently, the murder of off-duty soldier Lee Rigby in Woolwich, south London, in May 2013 has been used by EDL as an opportunity to increase the support of the organisation. EDL’s leader Stephen Lennon went to Newcastle on the 25th of May 2013 to address over 1,500 people at an already planned march. A social media led organisation, many people judge the size of the EDL primarily on its Facebook page(s), and the main FB page has 154,557 likes. The EDL has certainly gained a massive boost to its numbers on social media sites since Drummer Lee Rigby’s murder, but building an accurate picture of its “membership” has also proved difficult.

Swastikas and racist graffiti have been found painted on Mosques in the UK next to ‘EDL’. This reference to the Nazi party is very offensive, particularly painted on a sacred building. Signs held in demonstrations include- ‘Ban the Burka”, this is clearly a disrespectful symbol as it devalues Muslim beliefs and culture.



Racist and derogatory language is used on social media and at demonstrations. EDL supporter Jack Beasley was found guilty of “using threatening words or behaviour with the intent to cause fear or provoke unlawful violence” at a protest in Walsall and has been banned from displaying any banner or placard with writing or a logo which is likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to any other person. This reflects the behaviour of many EDL supporters.

EDL’s official website does not use explicitly offensive or racist language or symbols. It describes itself as a “human rights organisation”, stating that it only opposes Islamic extremism and wants to promote a “balanced picture of Islam”. However it uses highly manipulative language which suggests that the proponents of radical Islam have a stranglehold on all Islamic activity in the UK and therefore segregates a great number of individuals from the British community, entirely based on their religious beliefs.

The images on the main Facebook page are combination of English nationalist images and threatening and offensive images against Islam.



Image 24 - Example of offensive image from EDL Facebook

The EDL organises street protests all over the UK. It is also reported that EDL are developing links with right-wing groups in America, Denmark, The Netherlands, Norway and Canada.

Perpetrators are the organisers and supporters of the group, the numbers of which are hard to accurately predict.

The victims are all Muslims in the UK as EDL discriminatory behaviour encourages racism and segregation of society.

Many groups are joining together in condemn the behaviour of the EDL. According to <http://www.islamophobiawatch.co.uk/> EDL has attempted to march in Tower Hamlets in east London three times.

On each occasion trade unions, Muslim, Christian, Jewish, other faith groups, LGBT communities, local elected politicians and many more stood together and prevented them from entering the borough.

EDL uses hate narrative similar to hate groups in the past such as National Front which is offensive and damaging for good community relations and spreads prejudice and lies about targeted minority group. EDL also organises protests and demonstrations where there is potential for violence against minorities.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

It uses Muslims as a scapegoat as it blames them for the actions of a very small number of violent extremists...

It uses varying degrees of derogatory language depending on the situation- i.e. If it’s on the official website it targets extremist Muslims, but in protests and via social media the discourse

is much more offense and extreme. The disrespectful treatment of Mosques- I.e. covering them in graffiti of EDL and racist symbols is highly derogatory and offensive.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS



Image 25 - Picture from 20th July article about clash with the police  
<http://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/local-news/violence-at-edl-birmingham-rally-5165256>

This manifestation is conveyed through various media; protests, social media, the EDL website.

Information about the EDL and its actions are relayed in news items, on anti-racism websites and blogs such as “Hope not Hate”, social media.

As information about EDL is relayed in varying formats and from various sources, the commentary is extremely varied. On EDL social media groups there is extensive support for their policies and activities. However in many news items and anti-racist websites the commentary is very different, with many condemning the policy and actions of EDL and its supporters.

Reactions to EDL are polarised, however the mainstream media often condemn the violence which occurs at protests organised by EDL.

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

There are numerous cases of violence and anti-social behaviour occurring at EDL rallies.

Police made 20 arrests at an EDL rally in Birmingham city centre in July 2013. Cans, bottles, broken glass, pieces of slate and other objects were thrown at officers by EDL supporters, some wearing balaclavas. There were a total of three hospital admissions for minor injuries, one of which was a police officer who received head injuries after being hit by bricks.

On 24<sup>th</sup> August 2010 the founder of EDL Stephen Lennon was convicted of leading a “street brawl” between 100 football fans in Luton. He was sentenced to a 12-month community rehabilitation order, 150 hours of unpaid work and given a three-year football banning order. He was also ordered to pay £650 in costs. He was charged with using threatening, abusive or insulting behaviour and accused of leading Luton's hooligans into a fight.

There have been reports that ‘EDL’ graffiti has been found newly painted on a Mosque that was burnt down in June 2013. Scotland Yard specialist investigators are conducting a fingertip search of the area in Muswell Hill and trying to establish if the daubed paint was linked to the fire, which is currently being treated as “suspicious”.

A man who allegedly revealed his tattoo of a mosque being blown up at an English Defence League rally in Birmingham has been arrested. Sean Reah, of South Shields, South Tyneside, has been arrested on suspicion of inciting racial hatred. The 39-year-old was reportedly recently pictured lifting up his T-shirt to reveal an image of a Muslim place of worship with 'BOOM!' displayed across it.

Smoke bombs, cobble stones, bottles and coins were hurled at police as the English Defence League and their opponents descended on Birmingham city centre for simultaneous demonstrations. One policeman suffered concussion during scuffles with protesters at Paradise Circus while other demonstrators were left bloodied by missiles and clashes with police in the shadow of the city's new library. An estimated 2,000 EDL supporters poured into Centenary Square on Saturday chanting hate-filled, anti-Islam slogans.

In Birmingham, Councillor Waseem Zaffar, said: “We are obviously disappointed that the EDL chose Birmingham to host this demonstration.” “My message to the EDL would be to stay away from Birmingham - your message of hate divides communities and is not welcome.” The EDL has a reputation for violence, as reflected in Zaffar's comment.

Individuals have been prosecuted as a result of being involved in EDLs violent and discriminatory protests.

EDL leader Tommy Robinson was arrested and released on police bail after he and another leader were arrested by police in Central London. A spokesperson for the Metropolitan police said: "Two men aged 30 and 44 have been released on bail to a date in mid- August pending further enquiries." Tommy Robinson had shouted, "You are enforcing Sharia law", at officers who held him on suspicion of obstructing police as he tried to enter the London borough of Tower Hamlets

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#### FINLAND

##### PREFACE

In Finland, large part of the racist discussion, debate and manifestation, happens on the Internet, especially on certain discussion forums.

The most important element of the mainstream political discourse is that the parties share the motivation to present Finland as a country that respects the rule of law, the dignity, equality and equal opportunities of its people, and the welfare model where the public sector takes strong responsibility of the well-being, health and education of the citizens, and where no discrimination, let alone hate towards any ethnic group or sexual, religious, political or other minority can prevail. According to this macro-ideology, Finland also welcomes immigrants and foreign people irrespective of their origin or status, and treats them equally, and racism or ill-speech is not tolerated.

Under this macro-level of mainstream political discourse, *three levels of resistance* can be recognized. This is a concept created solely for the purpose of this data collection to explain the connection between the different counterparts of racist discourse and activity. This concept is applied throughout the report.

The word “resistance” is used when referring to the different forms of dissent and protest against the mainstream political discourse.

The first, *level 1*, is the populist project of the Finns party, the Finnish version to the populist wave of right-wing political parties that have been gaining weight in Europe in recent years. The Finns cannot easily be described as a right-wing party because of the wide range of political backgrounds and thinking of its members. Its economic policy can, to some degree, be described leftist, but its standing on current social issues such as marriage equality, labour market support, gender equality, climate policy, strengthening of the EU, stepping up development aid, and especially solidarity towards humanitarian immigrants and asylum seekers is highly conservative and negative.

Inside the party, there is a faction whose agenda on immigration and asylum policy is very strict. The faction’s main representatives, such as MPs Jussi Halla-aho and Olli Immonen, can be described as xenophobic, even racist politicians. Both actively debate on the issues of “foreigners”, as they themselves say, and have no hesitation in promoting intolerance, discrimination or even hate towards humanitarian immigrants, especially asylum seekers and their family members. Hence, they actively oppose the macro-ideology described above especially when it comes to the solidarity towards or treatment of people born outside Finland.

Halla-aho is also an active blogger, has been for many years. The discourse of his virtual identity is much more austere, ruder and pitiless than that of MP Halla-aho. He writes about the threat of Islam, of what he calls the problem of multiculturalism, of how the country is threatened by foreign elements that are allowed to infiltrate into the society.

One important internet forum of racist rant is the *Hommaforum* that was originally formed around the followers and commentators of Halla-aho’s blog. When the discussion grew bigger than the blog itself, a new forum dedicated to the opponents of current immigration policies, Islam and Muslim asylum seekers, and multiculturalism was established. *Hommaforum* has since gained reputation as the place where the most notorious, loudest and most pitiless racist debaters voice their resistance.

The concept *homma*, the pet name for the forum, is familiar to many regular people, but its content is not - for several years now, the forum has been closed for those not registered, and even you become a member - who is possible for anyone - it is difficult to follow the conversations. The threads are often built on current news reports concerning immigration, asylum policy or something closely connected to these, but they soon take a life of their own, following a strange logic of thinking that only those familiar with the forum’s shared worldview can relate to and understand. Basic human values and premises that guarantee dignity and rights to all people, not just those born in your country or, at the most extreme, only those that agree with you on everything, are absent in this worldview, and anything can be said of anybody without being blamed for inhumane attitudes.

*Hommaforum* is, thus, the epicentre of what one would call the *level 2* resistance. This is the level that many regular people that want nothing to do with racist or xenophobic activity are aware of, at least on the surface - meaning, they recognize the term *hommaforum*, know that it is the home of loud racists debaters, but are not actually familiar with the content or discourse of the forum. Similar xenophobic rant can be found on other, more public discussion forums such as *Suomi24 (Finland24)* or on online forums of major newspapers, but *Hommaforum* is clearly the most important medium for the complex ranks of xenophobic, anti-Islamic and anti-immigrant people.

The existence and content of *Hommaforum* can be seen as a significant, although not the only manifestation of the intensifying anti-immigration, xenophobic, anti-human and anti-human rights debate and campaigning in Finland. The discussion or debate on the forum cannot be directly considered, at least not any more, to be part of the political work or campaigning of the MP Jussi Halla-aho, even if many of the participants may consider themselves his supporters, or supporters of his colleagues in the xenophobic, anti-immigrant segment of the Finns party. Rather, the existence of the forum and its debate is an on-going manifestation or expression, or proof, of the fact that a strong anti-immigrant, anti-Islamic tendency is a reality in the society and that there are groups of people willing to express themselves openly as opponents of any traditionally acceptable discourse in regards to immigration, and especially people of different ethnicity or religion. This tendency or public and fearless dissent is, however, an important back rest for the more prominent public figures, such as MP Halla-aho and his colleagues, who are willing and ready to promote the same ideological currency, and as such the online debate must not be overlooked.

*Hommaforum's* members - there are altogether some 8.500 of them - represent what we can call the loud, but not so dangerous racists. They certainly go into great trouble to make their point clear and they are not afraid of being held as extremists. For them, MP Halla-aho is a hero for being so brave and saying all the right things, and still making it to the highest level of political discourse. They cherish his and MP Olli Immonen's paranoia of Islam and Muslim immigrants and measure the comments of others, that is, more moderate politicians, academics and journalists, against those of their heroes. *Not so dangerous* refers to the very nature of their resistance: it's loud; it's annoying; it's worrying; it may well be blamed for poisoning the public discourse on humanitarian social issues; it broadcasts hate, ethnic discrimination and segregation and it probably attracts many unemployed, uneducated young people that feel displaced and frustrated in our society, and it can be labelled propaganda. As propaganda, its goal is to maintain Finland free of any "foreign" elements, free of any elements of Islam or of Muslims, free of any immigrants than those that can clearly prove their usefulness to the Finnish society - an attribute that is never elaborated or explained in concrete on the forum's discussions.

The existence and content of the forum itself can be seen as a significant, although not the only manifestation of the intensifying anti-immigration, xenophobic, anti-human and anti-human rights debate and campaigning in Finland. However, the existence of the forum and its debate is an on-going manifestation or expression, or proof, of the fact that a strong anti-immigrant, anti-Islamic tendency is a reality in the society and that there are groups of people willing to express themselves openly as opponents of any traditionally acceptable discourse in regards to immigration, and especially people of different ethnicity or religion.

But, the debate or the propaganda on *Hommaforum* remains on the *level 2 resistance*, because it is not a call to join a war, whereas the activism on the level 3 is. *Level 3 of resistance* is essentially the underground level of racist, xenophobic and islamophobic activity. In many ways this activism is about circulating the ideology of white supremacy, racism, anti-multiculturalism and anti-Semitism and, indeed, mixing all these discourses together into a matrix of ideological resistance and even hatred against the rule of law. It fights to protect Finland as a Nation free of neo-Marxist multicultural ideology.

## A RACIST ACCUSATION OF RACISM

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

Part of an online debate entry:

*"I refer to the blatant racism of certain immigrant groups towards certain other immigrant groups as well the occurrence of misogyny and chauvinism among the same racist groups, and the apparent subordinate position of women in those groups. Not to mention the way Finnish women that do not wear the burqa or similar thing are treated."*

The paragraph has been copied from *Hommaforum*, where an endless stream of polemic on immigration, asylum policy and asylum seekers, refugees, those promoting human rights as well as the 'biased' media takes place.

The language is notable as it strives to code immigrants, i.e. the opponents, outrageous and hateful. This is a common strategy.

The debate on *Hommaforum* is not widely known or followed but the existence of this opposition is well known and can be referred to as "those people on Homma", although not many people would have real knowledge of what goes on in the debate. *Hommaforum*, on the other hand, is one of the most open forums of xenophobic debate - many fringe groups with much more concise and dangerous agenda run their own, much more secretive webpages.

Perpetrators on *Hommaforum* would be a considerable and anonymous group of debaters - altogether 8.578 members - willing to profess a strangely consistent, ideological Crusade against useless, dirty and aggressive foreigners, politicians with an anti-Finnish agenda and media infiltrate by leftist traitors. *Targets* of the debate include foreigners - especially asylum seekers and their family members - as well basically everyone supporting them or any policy, practice or trend promoting or advancing humanitarian immigration or even basic human rights. *Victims* are a different matter; I can easily find myself mentioned dozen times on the forum, but this doesn't directly threaten me. However, very violent language attacking any person with Muslim faith, for instance, can also be easily found. A strong tendency of misogynist and homophobic discourse is also easily observed. Anyone not reacting to the manifestations of the debaters could basically be named a *bystander*, but the issue is more complex. It is not easy to know how to tackle a continuation of virtual debate without also limiting the freedom of expression.

### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

The goal of this manifestation is to state a racist argument by blaming the victims for racist attitudes. The paradox is that while the manifestation itself is racist, it also positions racism as the ultimate 'bad' that people can be exposed to. Racist attitudes are paralleled with *misogyny and chauvinism* and the victims of all three are seen to suffer from a *subordinate position*. And yet, by randomly blaming *certain immigrant groups* for racism towards *certain other immigrant groups*, the manifestation aims to stereotype immigrants and reserve the right to define what their attitudes are and how they behave without providing any proof or explanation. The writer of the manifestation thus positions the racist mind-set outside himself; by a strange mechanism of outsourcing, the writer tries to build a racist argument by blaming his victims of racism. This, however, is a racist procedure, because it is based solely on a hostile stereotype.

It uses a strongly derogatory discourse and, to some degree, "double speech". A racist mind-set blamed on the debaters is believed to lose its edge when it's moved outside the debaters, but in reality it only gains strength during the process. Also, the misogyny and subordinate position of women is believed to be much more severe violation than the mere online debating on the 'problematic nature' of some immigrant groups. Thus, according to the debaters' train of

thought, they cannot be blamed for racism, because ‘in reality’ the immigrants themselves are the problem, and the debaters only serve the society by reporting this.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

This particular entry is a solid instance of 2.0 media and virtual/online or social media debating. The debate on Hommaforum is a constant stream of argument, comments and debating. Every entry is accompanied by intensive commentary, although the original opinions expressed in the entries are hardly ever challenged in comments that follow. Rather, the discussion is a breathtaking continuum of unanimity and consensus with every debater amplifying the narrow-minded worldview of the previous ones.

The public reaction to this sort of debate is confused and elusive but also silently accepting, or neutral at its best. No real counter-debate takes place in the wider public context, and the harmfulness of the racist debate is not widely considered a significant social issue.

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

No real people were hurt as a result of this debate, but a connection to people willing to proceed towards, say, physical violence against immigrants cannot be excluded.

## BLAME IT ON THE ENEMY

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

Motto of a forum debater

*“All problems derive from the racism and attitudes of the mainstream population.”*

This is a blatant expression of the kind of discourse that the openly racist and xenophobic people are willing to construct - everything that you are blamed for can be referred to your opponents, and the only rationalisation you need is that, if they blame you for racism, they are obviously trying to limit your freedom of expression and they must therefore have a discriminative attitude towards you.

### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

It is curious how the mainstream is blamed here, while it is one of the main ideological power sources, if you like, of the group of debaters on *Hommaforum* that they are defending the mainstream, normal, national and healthy attitudes, lifestyles and values of the society against the alternative and ‘foreign’ ideas, attitudes and behaviours that ‘fringe groups’ such as Muslim asylum seekers represent. In this motto, however, the mainstream is coded the hostile counterpart. One could almost infer that for some debaters, the attribute ‘racist’ would be considered positive when related to them. To explain this, let’s take the motto at its face value; let’s assume the *mainstream population* is racist; let’s also assume that this racism implies that not all opinions or attitudes can be freely expressed, or that it is a testimony of the mainstream population’s racism that it is forbidden in the society to talk about problems of humanitarian immigration. To the debater with the motto it would then be a sign of courage and resilience to keep on talking about the problems, and to carry the stigma of racism without fear. Actually, to take this little bit further, for the motto to make sense for the debater, he has to be able to admit that his willingness to proclaim the problems may be understood by the mainstream society as racist. But, since he’s incapable of accepting that, a) there are no problems, and b) the problems will not be solved if the society refuses to face them in the way that he promotes, he is willing to carry the stigma, and even carry it with pride.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

See the previous entry above.

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

No real people were hurt as a result of this debate, but a connection to people willing to proceed towards, say, physical violence against immigrants cannot be excluded.

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## A SENSELESS RANT OF DEFAMATION

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

Part of an online debate entry:

*"I came upon this shitty thought on family re-unification, that an underage asylum-seeker can be real cute, but their family may be very problematic in terms of adapting to the Finnish society, if the father is an extreme Muslim, mother wears the burqa and the six teenage children are jihadists who read the Quran all day long. Jussi [i.e. Förbom, the author of this report] can then really think hard about what the hell Finland needs this kind of assholes for. They should stay in their shitstan [i.e. -stan as in Afghanistan] or go to Förbom's home to be provided for. For some part this is something that should be noted when dealing with family re-unification, namely how well the family will adapt to the Finnish society, for it may be the best interest of both Finland and the child to be taken into custody or to be returned back to the homeland."*

The paragraph has been copied from *Hommaforum*, where an endless stream of polemic on immigration, asylum policy and asylum seekers, refugees, those promoting human rights as well as the 'biased' media takes place (see the Preface above).

As we can see, the debate often turns personal on certain individuals, the kind of 'household names' of the opponent. i.e. the supporters of the multicultural society and equal human rights. I myself have become one of these people that are referred to regularly due to my work as journalist and author and as a prominent figure Amnesty Finland. The 'household names' and their pro-immigration arguments - ridiculed on the forum as delusional - are used as a proof of the seriousness of the situation the country and its culture have entered into.

The language is typical of this kind of forum debate. Many keywords such as *extreme Muslim, burqa, jihadists and Quran* are used deliberately. It seems the use and repetition of these keywords is often more important than the context of their use at a given time. The words themselves have become symbols of the message that is being conveyed - *burqa* is a symbol of the foreign religion and its foreign customs as well as the way the debaters believe women are treated inside the religious culture. Therefore, use of the term *burqa* is a symbol of both the xenophobia of the debaters and the alleged misogyny they want to denounce - without realising they themselves commit the same stereotyping misogyny.

### 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

The racist implications are plentiful. Stereotyping, the exorbitant use of concepts meant to convey a racist message such as *extreme Muslim, burqa and jihadists*. Scapegoating the Muslim family as a problem in itself, and the parents as inadmissible, therefore the supposed inability to adapt and integrate to Finland is implied the fault of the people themselves. The people are labelled dangerous, dirty and completely alien. The policy concerning the people in question is labelled useless in terms of tackling the problems the people will bring with them. Their homeland and hence their heritage is labelled nothing else than faeces.



The religion of the victims is labelled militant, misogynistic and dangerous along with the customs and lifestyles attached to it, whereas the 'original' Finnish culture and customs are indirectly referred to as good and healthy, something that the victims would tarnish should they be allowed to stay. Customs and lifestyles, the way people are, is positive on 'our' side and negative on 'their' side.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

This particular entry is a solid instance of 2.0 media, virtual/online debating as well as the ambiguous social media phenomenon.

The debate on *Hommaforum* is a constant stream of arguments, comments and debating with the same problematic going around in circles.

Even this kind of unreasonable discourse on other human beings does not create a huge public reaction as long as it remains in the relatively hidden sphere of online debate. There have been cases when politicians connected to the same ideological reference group have used similar language in their public statements, blog posts or even interviews, and no particular counter-reaction has been observed in mainstream public discussion. People may be privately disgusted or alarmed, but there are few channels where a solid reaction against the racist discourse could be directed. One can write to a newspaper that publishes letters from the public, one can express their opinion on social media, or one can start publishing a blog or write entries to discussion forums. Very often, however, when the racists are reproached or reprimanded in the same medium they use, like an Internet forum, the counterpunch is pitiless - these racist people are capable of unprecedented obscenity and hate speech against anyone who tries to object their attitudes. Many academics, for example, refuse to take on any rebuttal with racist debaters that denounce them or their work online - the resentment and frustration any rebuttal would cause after the racists get back to you is just too exhausting. And the racists never stop filing in their counter-argument.

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

There are no obvious victims.

## OPEN RACISM ON A PUBLIC FORUM

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

*"Tuo EI = 4 % ovat kaikki ilmeisesti heimolaisia ja ryöstelyn ja loiselämiskulttuurin kannattajia."*  
(*"That 4 % saying NO are all probably supporters of gypsies and thievery and the culture of spongers and parasites."*)

An entry by a debater on a public discussion forum Suomi24, or *Finland24* owned by the Danish company Aller Media and started in the year 1998; it's one of Finland's largest online social networking websites. Visited monthly by more than 3 million people, and more than 1,5 million people per week, it has more than 1,7 million registered users. The most popular feature, along with dating and email services, is the conversation forum, with topics varying from peer-to-peer consumer support and relationship, marriage or family counselling to tips on home decorating, house building, gardening, travelling and basically anything at all. Many conversations are just an on-going rant about whatever goes on in Finland or elsewhere in the world, and a very wide variety of opinions is expressed - one can say that Suomi24 is all the opinions an worldviews you can possibly find in Finland, put together and condensed in a virtual form. According to statistics of the forum, more than 20 000 new opinions - i.e. discussion entries or comments - are published daily.

The discussion in question is about a simplistic survey on a tabloid webpage. The question was, should public begging be prohibited in Finland, a recurring political and public issue in Finland. 96 % of respondents supported the prohibition, 4 % opposed it.

The context is the recurring, tenacious debate about the status and rights of the Roma people from Romania and Bulgaria that in recent years have travelled to Finland, like elsewhere in Europe, and that mainly support themselves by begging, playing music in the street, selling flowers or collecting bottles. The debate has centred on the issue of begging that has been deemed 'inappropriate' in the Finnish urban culture. The debate has repeatedly become a political issue on both national and local level, especially in Helsinki, when several law proposals have been made and many renowned politicians have used their platform to condemn the existence and behaviour of the Roma. Media has been eager to report on the issue, and a lot space has been given to politicians promoting the racist discourse against the Roma. According to my monitoring, many different opinions have been given space in the media, and NGOs such as Amnesty who have been active in countering the simplistic, even racist arguments of populist politicians, have been able to get their voice heard in both newspapers and on TV. The media hasn't taken a clear stand, but hasn't rejected the hard-liners, either.

The more ambiguous context is the long history of the Finnish Roma minority, dating back to the 1400th Century, and their discriminated status in the country. The obstinate label attached to the Finnish Roma is that they are unreliable, ill-behaving, dishonest and even criminal. This entry on a discussion forum is an illustrative example of the way this long history of discrimination and even hate towards our 'own' Roma people is being mingled together with the reaction caused by the 'foreign' Roma people.

The words used are typical of the anti-Roma discourse - *thievery, culture of spongers, parasites*. These are also shared widely in hate speech towards Roma all over Europe. Also, the recurring tendency to despise those that even in most minimal way show support towards the 'problematic people' in question is apparent here; this discourse is repeatedly used on forums such as *Hommaforum* as mentioned above. It is also used to intensify the debater's own message and attitude, and here the logic goes as follows: it must be evidence of the lousy nature and cunningness of Roma/Somalian people/any foreign ethnicity to be able to decoy some people to support them and speak up for them.

This manifestation stems from the local Finnish debate but it has many international dimensions in relation to the status of the Roma people.

The perpetrators are the majority of people condemning or at least averting the existence and behaviour of 'foreign' Roma people in the urban environment. A negative attitude towards the Finnish Roma people is mixed in with the reaction. The victims are all Roma people, but especially those from Romania and Bulgaria, that have been a target of ill-speech and dissent ever since they started to arrive in Finland. The victimization has been verbal and political but also to some extent aggressive and violent behaviour. In many ways, the bystanders are the same people as the perpetrators because the mainstream population takes part in dismissing the 'foreign' Roma - it is socially acceptable to say that the Roma are a problem and that tougher measures should be taken to deal with the problem.

The Roma carry a strong label of discrimination and even hate, and the arrival of the Romanian and Bulgarian Roma has intensified and complicated the mainstream population's relationship to the Roma population in general. The immediate social perception among large proportions of the mainstream population is not that something should be done about the label of discrimination, but that something should be done about the 'Roma problem'.

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## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

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The case is obvious. Strong language such as *thievery, culture of spongers, parasites* is used, and strong indication is given that the Roma are seen as sordid and contemptible. In Finland, the Roma minority has long been labelled guilty of their own discrimination. This has been a process of scapegoating, where the train of thought has been that as long as their anti-social, ill behaviour continues, they will be ostracized and they only have themselves to blame for that. Little attention has been paid before the last 10, 15 years to the fact that discrimination forces people into a subordinate position, which then leaves the discriminated little choice as to how to cope. With the arrival of Romanian or Bulgarian Roma, the Roma issue, i.e. the long tradition of discrimination and its silent acceptance, has surfaced again. The attitudes toward the Finnish Roma minority have improved significantly during the last 10, 15 years, but with the “foreign” Roma people, it has become more acceptable again to scorn the Roma people.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS?

This manifestation was part of an online discussion and part of the on-going and intensifying debate on the ethnic minorities in Finland in general and the ‘foreign’ Roma people in particular. The message and the commentary are very hard to differentiate - the stream of debate just moves on.

The public reaction would be mildly indignant, but in the end, neutral at its best.

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

No-one was directly hurt, but the manifestation indicates a potential readiness by fringe groups to wage more serious action than just online blasphemy.

The victims themselves, especially the Roma from Romania and Bulgaria, remain totally silent. The general public acknowledges ‘the Roma problem’, and several politicians have proposed tougher legal measures to tackle ‘the problem’. Thus, the public reaction has not been limited to media or other public debate. The prohibition of begging has been the most popular proposal, and at least two such bills have been presented in the Parliament in the last three, four years, and a proposal has been made in Helsinki City Council to tackle the “problem of begging” somehow. None of these proposals have led to any concrete measures - the Romanian and Bulgarian Roma are EU citizens and their staying in Finland is legal.

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## POPULIST DENOUNCING OF HUMAN INTEGRITY

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

*“I have listened to this debate today, and it seems that many in this room have been reading a few too many declarations of human rights, and all sorts of beautiful pamphlets that are being declared out there throughout the world. The picture you get is that you should go more amongst the ordinary people and listen what people think out there on the streets and in towns, listen a bit to the way in which people relate to the whole thing [immigration and asylum seekers], because it’s a quite decisive factor in how behave in this country.*

*To my mind, a large part of the group that’s praising and making it sound beautiful that we should think about and follow human rights and all that better than anything and nothing should be done by our own legislation but the borders should be opened for everyone, whoever they might be... yes, the well-off Finnish people are really being conned here again. They really think we are a bit stupid and happy to all the bills of all those who enter and even push them 10 euros a day for the fact that the Roma from Slovakia come here, yes, the whole family will get 10 euros per head every day. And by the way, someone is taking care of that business. They [the*

*Roma] don't fly for free or of their own free will, but there is probably someone who has a bit of airline points and who can use those to transport the crowd into here, or however they'll come here, it's an organised thing, and someone is telling them to go there and there and do it in this way. Otherwise it would not go like this. We are thought of as having solidarity and as liking the human rights. Probably we are me as well as the rest of us. We will certainly act in such a way that will take care of human rights, and we stand in solidarity with the people, but a line need to be drawn somewhere. In my opinion, drawing the line in whether we are gullible, or whether we can be cheated, or whether we have solidarity is what is essential, and that's what we have tried to argue about today, about the line and where it should be drawn, and that is what the committee has tried to do as well in this matter. I'm not rebuking the report of the committee as such. Partly, I support the express deportation in the way that Sweden is doing it, but also the fact that human rights must be treated correctly in these matters. But how many genuine refugees do we have in this country that is a good question. I wish someone would bring us the number directly and tell us the truth - who are the real refugees, and who have come here in the hope of better faith."*

This is a speech given by Tero Rönni, an MP from the Social democrats April 14th 2004, during a Parliamentary session dealing with a law reform concerning immigration and asylum. This is a rough translation of the speech given in spoken language.

This is a part of the political discourse dealing with asylum policy in Finland, derived as an example from my book concerned with the subject. Speeches like this are not rare in the Parliament, and they may be given by MPs from several parties, not only, say, the populist, anti-immigration groups such as the Finns. Part of the political background is that large groups of Roma people from Slovakia, Romania and Bulgaria had arrived to Finland to seek asylum, although as EU citizens, they had no such possibility. Politicians on a wide scale had the opinion that this kind of 'abuse of the asylum system' should be prohibited.

The language is doubtful of human rights, of equal treatment of asylum seekers and of the sincerity or 'genuineness' of their case. The speech implies severe abuse of the legislation and the asylum system by the 'non-genuine' asylum seekers.

Here, the politicians with narrow-minded, even xenophobic attitudes are *the perpetrators* wanting to confine the way human rights and equal asylum procedure apply to different groups of people. *The victims* are the vulnerable groups of people whom the legislators want to deny equal treatment. *The bystander* is the society, whose public opinion and debate on immigration and asylum is limited to the problematic, not the equality or fairness of the policies.

The social perception on asylum and asylum seekers is confused; fear of the 'foreign' people and their status in the country is a common reaction, and because the policies and administrative systems are unfamiliar to people - the immigration law is one of the most complicated legal pieces of jurisprudence in the country - people may easily believe not all asylum seekers are being totally sincere. By this I mean, it is easy to think that a person whose situation, status and circumstances are difficult to comprehend, is somehow exploiting the legal system to his or her own advantage. This is directly connected to how difficult it is for anyone living in a rich European country to understand in how dire and hopeless a situation a person from, say, Eritrea finds himself. The spinal reaction of rich European may well be that the Eritrean must be exaggerating and only trying to con the sincere authorities of the rich country.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

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The racism is implicit. The speaker clearly shows he doesn't know much about who he is talking about, and he believes refugees for the large part have no sincere motivations. He is clearly afraid of the 'foreign' groups of people and he is not trying to conceal his fear. On the contrary, he is trying to convince his listeners that fearful and doubtful attitude is in place here. He is promoting xenophobic views and attitude, if not racism as such.

The way the people are being described is meant to present them as dishonest and problematic.

### 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

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The speech is part of the on-going political debate on immigration and asylum.

People may easily believe not all asylum seekers are being totally sincere, and it may be much easier for them to believe the Finnish politicians condemning the asylum seekers than the asylum seekers themselves. Of course, it's also much easier for a regular Finn to come across the opinions of politicians than anything that asylum seekers have to say, as the latter are only rarely profiled or interviewed in the media. The politicians' opinions prevail, they are everywhere, whereas the other perspective, that of the asylum seekers themselves, is largely absent. Thus, it may be hard for people to outright condemn the politicians, but this doesn't mean that people are willing to accept racist beliefs against foreign people. To be unsure as to who the asylum seekers really are or to suspect that they are not acting totally honestly is different than pure racism - it may be fear of the unknown or confusion, but it's not a discriminative sentiment.

### 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

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People were not directly hurt in consequence of the speech. However, all of the changes made to the immigration law - i.e. the jurisdiction that determines how the administration deals with the asylum seekers - during the last six-seven years have made the law more rigorous. This has been most visible in the context of family reunification, where it is now possible to reject an application of, say, a Somalian family only because the passports they have been ordered to obtain have been found invalid by the authorities - even if the one family member already living in Finland is a child.

There is no substantive counter-force in the mainstream public debate against the political hard-liners.

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## NEO-NAZI ATTACK TO A BOOK EVENT

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANIFESTATION

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On the evening of January 30th 2013, there was a book event underway in the auditorium of the public library of Jyväskylä, a town some 400 kilometres north of Helsinki. The book in question was the recently published study on Finnish far-right movements, written by three known left-wing activists and politicians Mikael Brunila, Li Andersson and Dan Koivulaakso. Brunila is a journalist, Andersson is the chair of The Left Youth of Finland (an affiliate of the Parliamentary party and coalition member Left Alliance), a member of the City Council of Turku and a candidate in the elections to the EU Parliament in 2014, whereas Koivulaakso is the previous chair of the Left Youth and a member of the City Council of Helsinki. The book is the first comprehensive analysis of the ideology, activism and undertakings of the Finnish far-right as well as its connections to the European context, and a lot of attention was paid to movements such as the Finnish Resistance movement. In fact, no other report has come close in disclosing how the movement operates. This has obviously infuriated the activists that want to cherish the secrecy of their movement.

Following the event, the organizers of the event sent the following press release (translation informal):

“January 30 2013, Li Andersson and Mikael Brunila arrived at Jyväskylä City Library to present their book *The Extreme Right in Finland*, published in November 2012. The debate was scheduled to start at 6 pm. The auditorium was full with about hundred people present.

After the opening words had been voiced, glass breakage was heard from behind the doors at the back of the auditorium. The atmosphere became tense when it became known that three members of the neo-Nazi organization Finnish Resistance Movement were trying to force their way in. The threat of interference had been well known for the organizers and six people responsible of the safety of the event had been placed outside the auditorium in case there would be an attack. The caretaker of the library had also been informed of potential threats.

When the Nazis were verbally prevented from entering the auditorium, they attacked the guards by their fists and by a bag full of bottles. They were also carrying a bladed weapon that was used to stab one person. He was released from the hospital the following morning.

It was decided to proceed with the event despite the incident, even though the atmosphere in the auditorium was confusing. No one knows what could have happened had the Nazis been successful in entering the event. The situation was loosely monitored by the organizers all through the one and a half hour event. People went home peacefully, even though they had been advised to move in groups of several people. The Nazis that had attacked the library had escaped, and their movements were unknown in the evening.

The violence used by the Nazis was arbitrary, and it is not entirely certain how they will act in similar events in the future, or on the streets. Although the movement is small, it's organized and aims to increase its power by creating an atmosphere of fear. This time they were armed, and thus threatened dozens of random people that were present. We must remember, however, that in silence, the violence of the radical right has threatened immigrants and those working against racism for many years - in other words, their attack was no coincidence.”

The reason the three intruders were not allowed to enter the auditorium was the fact that the organisers recognised at least one or two of them as members of the Finnish Resistance Movement. According to the organisers they were aware that the Resistance Movement had been active in Jyväskylä.

The event was organised by Jyväskylä DIY, a non-profit subculture collective that organizes punk rock gigs, video screenings and other events such as exhibitions and debates.

The event was a part of on-going social debate on the seriousness of the threat of far-right activity and movements in Finland. The book that was being presented in the library was a significant effort to try and warn the society of the threat that the far-right can bring, but it did not stir the kind of public discussion that the authors probably hoped for. On the other hand, it can be seen that the authorities, such as the police, have downplayed the threat have not really taken it seriously.

This event can be seen as part of the activity and propaganda of *the level 3 resistance*, explained above in the Preface to this part as well as part A. This event indicates that the activists on level 3 are prepared to go further than just distributing propaganda or recruiting people to form a group of like-minded people with a shared goal - they are ready to step out in the public and attack “the enemy” physically.

It's been seen in different countries that groups representing the far-right are extremely sensitive to any kind of reports, let alone criticism of their undertakings, and may well take on harsh methods to make their arguments and even anger towards their enemies known.

The perpetrators are the three young men that stormed into the library and attacked the organizers' representatives. The attackers are believed to represent the Finnish Resistance Movement or at least have strong sympathies and inclination towards the *level 3 resistance*. The organizers themselves have publicly announced that they are aware of the intruders' membership in the movement, and that the attack was a revenge for the fact that the authors of the book had

exposed the ideologies and undertakings of the movement. This way, the whole movement can be labelled the perpetrator.

The primary targets or victims are the people in the library that were directly attacked, especially the person that was stabbed. They were there to make sure the event could take place and that people were safe, and they were attacked. The authors of the book may also be seen as primary targets, since it was their work that had actually evoked the anger of the perpetrators, and the revenge was aimed at them. The secondary victims are the people present in the event, who might have been in danger had the intruders been able to enter the auditorium. They are also victims due to their participating in an event that is part of the activity against far-right movements - the fact that people had gathered to discuss the book and its findings was a signal to the intruders that their ideology and undertakings was being protested against.

An attack like this is very much out of place in the Finnish society - an incident where someone wages a violent attack on other people based solely on ideology is unheard of in this country since the troubled war time. The social perception corresponds with the actual experience - people find it difficult to comprehend what an event like that would actually mean. The response is highly condemning.

## 2. WHY DO YOU CONSIDER THIS MANIFESTATION RACIST?

The manifestation is racist because of the racist ideology and activism of the perpetrators. The motivation for the attack stems from the fact that the authors of the book have exposed the Finnish Resistance Movement and their segregated, racist ideology and propaganda. The attack is the ultimate “kill the antifa” incident, an extreme expression of the hate and condescension the movement’s activists want to expose the society to.

It can be argued that the perpetrators claim that violence, when used against their enemies, is acceptable, but any kind of protest against their undertakings is a valid pretext for violence.

## 3. DESCRIBE THE REACTIONS

The attack was reported quickly and widely in the traditional and social media, and the developing reporting, follow-up reporting and debate went on for several weeks, even months.

The next day after the event, the country’s highest police commissioner Mikko Paatero commented that also in Finland fringe groups are threats that have to be prepared for. The interior minister Päivi Räsänen, for one, said that the background of the attack and the perpetrators will be thoroughly investigated, but that it was important that no further conclusions are made of the event before the police investigation was complete. She also said that before the attack the Security Police had been concerned about the increase of extremist activity and confrontation between different groups. The Security Police had estimated that the activity did not yet pose a risk to the safety of the wider society.

Also the next day, it was reported that Juho Eerola, an MP and vice-chair of the Finns party and a member of the party faction that can be labelled *the level 1 resistance* had posted the following on his Facebook page after the event: “And to the patriots: next time, don’t look like ‘patriots’ when trying to enter an event like that. Also, don’t go in a group, but negligently amongst other people.” The comment was interpreted as an advice in infiltration. Eerola denied any such interpretation.

The overall public reaction was very condemning, although some comments were suspicious of the motivations of the victims. MP Juho Eerola, for instance, said that such an v

## 4. WHAT ARE/WERE THE CONSEQUENCES?

One person was stabbed to the back and taken to hospital. His injuries were not serious. The reaction across the society has been highly condemning - violence is not tolerated.

The next day after the attack, police reported they had apprehended some people and that they were investigating a case of aggravated assault and assault. No further details were provided. A few days later, it was reported that police had not gotten hold of everyone involved. Also, the police did not confirm that the perpetrators had any connections to the far-right.

On February 4th 2013, the district court of Jyväskylä imprisoned a 27-year-old local activist of the Finnish Resistance Movement on suspicion of aggravated assault and attempt to violate political rights. An eye-witness appointed the man as one of three perpetrators.

On February 18th 2013, police reported that the same man was also under suspicion of collecting an unlawful register of people. The data, gathered mainly from the Internet, related to the social, political or religious belief of more than 300 people.

All through the year 2013, police reported that they had not made contact with one of the three perpetrators and that this man was wanted by police.

So far, no further legal action has been seen as the investigation is still underway.

## PATTERNS OF EXCLUSION IN THE INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES

### SLOVENIA

In Slovenia racism takes the form of identification of Europe with the “white race”. The study of the blogspot “anslovenija” has shown an unusual manifestation of white racism disguised as “protection”. The Slovene source attempts to reverse the meaning of racism, interpreting it as “a disguise for anti-white action, for destruction and extermination of our culture, our people and our homes”. In another internet site the white race consciousness is expressed by the eagle of the Nazi Third Reich

“Europe in Slovenia” is a formation that rejects Arabs and their Islamic religion. According to the “anslovenija” site, Slovenes say no to “Euroarabia” and they want to stop what they call as “Islamisation of Europe and the spread of Islamic extremism”.

There are reports in the weekly *Mladina* where black people identified as Africans, Muslims, Arabs are seen as inferior races. What is striking is that in this language racism has been overtly expressed rejecting the claims of equality of all men declared by the declaration of human rights.

“Čefurji” is special cluster of people excluded from the community of Slovenian citizens. These are the people who are descendants of former Yugoslav citizens who have moved to Slovenia. There are several cases showing the tendency to keep social distance between “čefurji” and the rest of the Slovenian nation. They are considered as “second rate citizens” contrasted with the “true citizens”.

A study of graffiti in public place has revealed anti-Roma attitudes in Slovenia. According to the graffiti the Roma minority is unwelcome in Slovenia. The graffiti used the German word “raus” an allusion to the Nazi expression “Juden Raus”. The study of everyday Slovenian discourse on Roma has shown that the members of this minority are seen as dirty, uncivilized, stupid and deviant.

The Roma, although they have been living in Slovenia for centuries, are discriminated in schools, workplaces and public places.

The study of the Blood and Honour Organization’s discourse has shown the merge of anti-Muslim and anti-Jewish attitudes accusing the Muslims and the Jews of being intolerant. The Blood



and Honour concerts are the scenes where followers can convey the message disguised as a means of legal protest.

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## HUNGARY

According to the results of the qualitative research on exclusion, the primary target group of derogation and discrimination is the Roma minority which - like in Slovenia - has been living in Hungary for centuries. In the years of the transition from state socialism to liberal democracy and market economy the Roma have become more vulnerable because of the lack of the necessary skills and discrimination. A case study dealing with the text written by a professor of international relations at Corvinus University has revealed the presence of prejudice in university textbook. As the professor states, the Roma are mentally ill because "in Roma culture it is permitted for sisters and brothers or cousins to marry each other or just to have sexual intercourse with each other." In the following scandal the professor (who has been Ambassador of Hungary to Norway) rejected the accusations of racism but he was requested not to take part in a Holocaust conference to be held in Oslo.

The attribution of cultural inferiority is not uncommon among leading conservative intellectuals when speaking about the Roma. Zsolt Bayer a leading journalist and a close friend of the prime minister, has written that "a significant part of the Roma are unfit for coexistence. They are not fit to live among people. These Roma are animals, and they behave like animals. When they meet resistance, they commit murder. They are incapable of human communication. Inarticulate sounds pour of their bestial skulls. At the same time, these Gypsies know how to exploit the 'achievements' of the Western world. But one must not retaliate rather than tolerate. These animals shouldn't be allowed to exist. That needs to be solved—immediately and regardless of the method." These plain words referred clearly to the "Endlösung", the cover word used by the Nazi to mean the extermination of the European Jewry. The words of Bayer, however, were not rejected by the political elite. The Media Council fined with 850 Euro the daily where these words were published.

The extremist racist website "kurucinfo" regularly refers to the Roma as "genetic trash".

Another target group of racism is the Jewish minority which was decimated in 1944 in Hungary as a result of the Holocaust. Nevertheless, anti-Semites continue to believe that Hungary is under Jewish yoke. Budapest, the capital city of Hungary has been called by anti-Semites as Judapest, and the name is still in usage. It conveys a message that Budapest was invaded and controlled by the Jews. The present government has started to play with this anti-Semite sentiment launching the project of decentralizing the government and moving the ministries to the "Judenfrei" countryside. According to the results of a study on parliamentary discourse the extreme right wing party Jobbik is openly playing the anti-Semitic card.

Studies of slang show that the Roma and the Black people are frequently treated together as members of inferior races. The term "meadow negro" unites the two references. The Roma are subjects of hostile video representations where the actors are Roma themselves without being aware of their role. Anti-Roma and anti-Jewish caricatures and Photoshop are rampant in various internet sites visited by hundreds of thousands viewers per month.

## ITALY

In Italy the major targets of exclusion are the immigrants. A case study was carried out regarding a blog of hatred. Immigrants landing in Southern Italy (Lampedusa) in August 2013 were depicted as rapists. The malignant news, however, were published only in the local media and were not transmitted by the news agencies and the mainstream media. Immigrants generally are depicted by the media in Northern and Southern Italy as offenders, potential aggressors. This representation of the immigrants is absolutely irritating to women who are prone to be anxious of sexual insults.

The criminalization of the immigrants has been demonstrated as one of the most powerful rhetorical devices in anti-immigration propaganda. Just like in the Lampedusa case, in other cases as well increased attention was paid by the media to all violent crimes committed by immigrants. As a result immigration has turned to be a criminal issue. A strong illusory correlation has been formed in the Italian majority audience between the minority status of the immigrants and their deviant behaviour reported by the media. A blog was investigated which was specialized on collecting all the Italian crime news in which immigrants are involved. The resulting image of the “deviant immigrant” serves the goal to elicit fear and anxiety among native Italians making them to believe that they are under a terrible threat.

An interesting case study was carried out into the blog [www.vownews.it](http://www.vownews.it) that publishes mainly false news about immigrants. The aim of the blog is to elicit hate against immigrants and defame liberal persons and institutions who are working for integration and multiculturalism.

Racism has reached government levels in Italy. The Northern League’ senator Roberto Calderoli launched a racial slur against Mrs. Cecile Kyenge, minister of integration and social solidarity, born in Congo. Calderoli said in Bergamo that Mrs. Kyenge looks like an orang-utan. (“I love animals - bears and wolves, as is known - but when I see the pictures of Kyenge I cannot but think of the features of an orang-utan, even if I am not saying that she is one.”) Calderoli was brought to the court. Most of the racist taunts - “Congolese monkey”, “Zulu” and “the black anti-Italian” - have come from far-right groups. Racist taunts have been frequently used by right wing soccer fans as well during football matches. During the football match Catania-Milan played in Catania in December 2013 Mario Balotelli, a black Italian soccer player, claimed to be a victim of a racist slur by Nicolas Spolli. Balotelli accused Spolli by calling him “negro di merda” (shitty nigger).

Apart from the immigrants, Roma are also targeted. An image coming from Facebook was under study showing a photo of a Roma couple under investigation in Greece for supposedly kidnapping a little blonde white girl. The Celtic Cross was to be seen as well, which is widely used throughout Europe as the symbol of the pure Europe. The legacy of Fascism was shown by the case study of the allegedly kidnapped girl. An image was perpetuated on Facebook showing the blonde girl performing the Fascist salute with her arm held out forward straight.

Anti-Semitism can be found also in public discourse in Italy. Contemporary anti-Semitic statements recycle the most frequently used slurs of the Nazi newspapers (Stürmer, Völkische Beobachter). The idea of the international word conspiracy of the Jews against Italy is certainly not new. In an interview with La Repubblica newspaper in December 2013, the Italian populist Andrea Zunino, spokesman for the Forconi, or Pitchforks Movement, came out and declared his nation’s enslavement to the Jew bankers in clear terms. Zunino said: “We want the government

to resign ... We want the sovereignty of Italy, which today is slave to the bankers, like the Rothschilds. It is curious that five or six of the richest people in the world are Jews, but this is something I need to investigate.”

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## GREAT BRITAIN

Observation of football matches provides a rich source of racism in Great Britain (and elsewhere in Europe). Opposing fans are making “monkey gestures” during matches and this can be considered as an act of dehumanization. The studies indicate that anti-Semitism is involved also in football matches. Making hissing sound to simulate to the noise of gas chambers and shouting “Hitler was a cockney” occurs not infrequently in matches of Tottenham Hotspurs, which have a wide Jewish fan base. The hissing sound refers to the Holocaust during 1942-1944 where millions of Jews were killed by taking them to gas chambers in annihilation camps; the Hitler remark is due to the idea that, since Hitler was against Jews, he is considered a supporter of West Ham.

The case of a city broker manifested another type of racism. The broker of Pakistani origin was for a number of years racially offended by his colleagues and manager, calling him “curry-muncher”, making Nazi salutes and laughing when the abuse took place. As the research has revealed the term “curry-muncher” is full of discriminatory disvalue and racist devaluation. The implication of the term is that they eat and smell of curry all the time. The stereotyped perception of Indians and Pakistani is that they are dirty, polluted, smelling.

Graffiti such as “Ban the Burka” aims at disrespecting and devaluing Muslim beliefs and culture.

A case study was carried out on a hate group in Britain. The group named The English Defence League was founded in 2009. Since then the group’s main activity is to arrange street demonstrations against Muslims living in Britain. Although the members of the group claim that they oppose only Islam terrorism, the activity of the group enhances the level of tension between Muslims and non-Muslims in the communities. The group has thousands of supporters across Britain. This case is a good example of how collective behaviour such a parade can be interpreted as a manifestation of hate against a whole category.

Hate groups such as EDL have been mushrooming since the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and 7/7. The murder of an off-duty soldier Lee Rigby in Woolwich in May 2013 elicited a wave of support for Islamophobic hate groups in Britain. Social media played a crucial role. According to the result of the study the main FB page of EDL has reached 154,557 likes.

The term “muncher” can also be perceived as an ill term denoting male homosexuals.

Homosexuals in Britain are targets of humiliation by linguistic means. They are called “bender” and other terms referring to sexual acts perceived as perverse by the majority.

Sexual relations between members of different races also serve as pretexts for the manifestation of racism. In one case the British Miss Newcastle, and the football striker of the Newcastle United were attacked due to their relationship. Daily Mail for instance referred to the relationship as “sickening”.

A case study was carried out concerning the tweet of Lord Allan Sugar who uploaded a comment and a picture of a crying Asian child on Twitter, writing that “the kid in the middle is upset because he was told off for leaving the production line of the iPhone5.” A member of the public handed a complaint to the police. The fact was pronounced as a “hate incident” but the investigation has not lead to a criminal case. The case is a good example of how jokes are perceived as condescending and racist. Making fun of someone’s ethnic background might offend the identity

of persons of the given background. Actually this happened with the public member, who is of mixed White/Chinese origin and her husband and children are Chinese.

The UK Independence Party local authority councillor Eric Kitson has used offensive cartoons and 'jokes' ridiculing Muslims but he said afterwards that he wanted to demonstrate how "disgusting" these jokes were.

Manifestations of Anti-Semitism were found in a series of interpersonal cases. Incidents of hate speech, vandalism and other individual rather than organized attacks were identified. The results of these studies have shown that all the elements of the stock of anti-Semitic knowledge were involved in the attacks. Swastika, Holocaust references, blood libel, scapegoating, Zionist world conspiracy, derogatory name calling were found.

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## FINLAND

In Finland the focus of the qualitative research on the pattern of exclusion was on language. Words as it is well known can have meanings that are well beyond just substituting the object referred. Words can refer to modes of interpersonal as well as intergroup relations. In our case those Finnish words were investigated which refer to negative intergroup emotions. The linguistic perpetrator is the Finnish speaker who using the given word is committing an insult against a human being who as a result of the reference has been degraded and excluded from the community of "true" Finns.

Sometimes the discriminatory allusion is quite subtle as it can be observed in the case of the word "maahanmuuttkritiko" ("immigration critic"). The persons who identify themselves as sceptical in immigration affairs in reality are deeply anti-humanitarian. They pretend that their agenda is not racist and that they just want to be honest and open to question the ability of migrants to become the full-fledged citizens of Finnish society. The danger of the wording is that it has become gradually part of the mainstream public discourse.

Another example of subtle exclusionist speech is the term "rauhan uskonto" ("religion of peace") which is an ironic reversion referring to Islam and especially to people from Somalia; the term aims at to ridicule those who are for multiculturalism and speaking openly against stereotypes of Muslims that depict them as 'militant' and 'aggressive'. Actually the term is reinforcing the stereotyped negative image of Muslims and its usage is especially widespread in the social media. Interestingly enough, members of the Parliament are reluctant to use this word but then switch quickly into the language of racism when they are communicating in blogs. The case of Hallaho, an active blogger was investigated. Caught on racism he stated that "I have a right to my opinion", "I was only speculating". This case is good examples of how resistant are adherents of racist speech against opponents.

"Ankkurilapsi" means literally "anchor child". In contrast to "rauhan uskonto", this term has been used frequently in the Finnish Parliament when handling the legislation on the humanitarian aspects of immigration, particularly on asylum seekers or family reunification. The term has been used by MPs to imply that the Somali families send their children off to Finland just for getting the right to family unification. The term as a speech act can be considered as racist defamation.

Apart from migrants, LGBT people are targeted as well by linguistic means. The word “homosaatio” conveys the fear that there is an invasion of homosexuals in the Finnish society especially in the media and entertainment. The perception of “invasion” is pretty much similar to the pattern of perception concerning the Jews and/or Roma in other European countries. Homosexual behaviour is not considered to be part of “Finnishness” that is defined strangely enough not in positive terms but negatively (“You are Finnish if you are not homosexual”).

The Finnish examples are to demonstrate how the white, heterosexual, non-foreign majority maintains the impression of normalcy by means of linguistic terms. Lastly, a subtle example of intergroup derogation by linguistic means will be shown. *Ryssia* is a Finnish verb meaning “to mess up”, “to make mess of something” or “to make a major mistake”. The word, however, is about more than just meaning to make mistakes. It conveys the message that Russian people are on a lower position in the social hierarchy. Anyone who is referred by this term becomes subject of ridicule and rebuke.

#### GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF EXCLUSION IN CONTEMPORARY EUROPE

We have seen from this report summarizing the results of the qualitative research in five countries of contemporary Europe on racism and exclusion based on intergroup principle that the cognitive, affective and behavioural manifestations of discrimination against persons perceived as members of outgroups is rampant across Europe. In the following section we shall try to gather the common aspects recognized in the five countries investigated.

#### OTHERING

The precondition of the exclusion is the creation of the Other who afterwards will be differentiated and excluded. First, as we have seen from the report, there is the naming process. Without being named the Other cannot exist. The name, however, serves not just the purpose of denoting the out-group but it implies a negative evaluation as well. Following the legacy of ethnocentrism, *othering* in the modern society makes possible for in-group members to make distinctions between the Good and Evil, Normal and Abnormal, True and False. As soon as the basis of intergroup comparison has been created, in-group members compare themselves to the Other. As a result of comparison they can identify themselves as Good, Normal and True as opposed to the others (migrants, foreigners, homosexuals) who are seen as Evil, Abnormal and False.

The function of *othering* is to create a sense of social distance between in-group and outgroup members who otherwise are living in the same economic and political space (Bajt, 2005). Through the lenses of xenophobia even persons living in close vicinity seem to exist in distance.

#### DEINDIVIDUATION

In all instances of our research cases, we have been witnessing *deindividuation*, which makes the perpetrator insensitive to the injustice of derogation, discrimination and exclusion. *Deindividuation* denies the right to be an individual to the member of the group involved. Once human beings are deprived of the right to be treated as humans, they are subjected to the treatment reserved for animals. Moreover, due to the nature of malignant comparison, *deindividuation* results in judgment of the others as parasites and agents of harm. The due treatment in these cases means liquidation.

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#### CREATING THE BODY OF THE OTHER

The qualitative study of the patterns of exclusion has found out many images of the Other justifying the claims of superiority and orientation to social dominance. The body of the Other is represented as distorted, unclean, emanating pollution and dirt. The objective of the disgusting representation is to maintain the social distance and to reduce the motivation to get into acquaintance with him/her. The visual archetype of the Other is the image of the “Ewige Jude” which was one of the most powerful psychological weapon of the Nazis in their war against the European Jewry in 1939-1944.

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#### FEAR AND ANXIETY

No matter who is exactly the Other he/she is seen as an invader intruding and disturbing the life of the in-group. The attribution of aggression and invasion intents of the outgroup serves as a justification of hate and aggressive emotions of the in-group. The accusation of intrusion makes the in-group members to believe that hate against *Them* is just an expression of love for *Us*. Defence becomes the disguise of attack. This perverse logic permeates the narratives of the Other constructed by visual and textual means. Scapegoating forms an organic part of this narrative, making easy to cope with the moral burden of aggression turned against the Other in forms of speech act, aversion, discrimination and collective violence.

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#### NEGATIVE IDENTITY (WHAT WE ARE NOT)

Ironically enough, the image of the collective self could not be strong enough without confrontation with Other. The mirror is more important than the model. Moreover, the self alone would be insecure and imbalanced. Helped by the negatively represented Other the self gets security. The major default of the collective self stems from its inability to develop the means of positive self-esteem. Instead, the experience of certainty of the self comes from the sense of certainty of not being the Other.

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#### ATTRIBUTION OF CRIMINALITY

Crime is a rip in the social tissue. The attribution of criminality to any subjects is a means of degradation and justification of exclusion. The results of our study have demonstrated in all countries under investigation that the targets of hostile *othering* were identified as nests of delinquency. The involvement into the criminal justice makes the devaluation and exclusion of the targeted groups (migrants, Roma, deviants) normal and socially accepted.

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#### SARCASM

Our results have demonstrated the sarcastic use of words and visual images in relation to the target groups. According to our observations, the ridicule or mockery was used harshly, often crudely and contemptuously, for destructive purposes. Self-esteem and identity are the targets of sarcasm aiming at destroying the reputation of the involved group.

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#### DETERRENCE

In the course of the research we registered many instances where exclusion was realized not just by symbols, words, images but by performing behavioural patterns. Groups like the Magyar

Gárda in Hungary, Golden Dawn in Greece or the English Defence League in Britain want to be seen as collective entity marching in uniform, singing military songs, shouting racist slogans and performing Nazi salutes. Parades, commemorations, meetings are used to deter the members of minority groups, sending them the message that they are not needed.

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#### RECYCLING

Despite the fact that the corpus of the research has been emerging in 2012-2014, the results have been hardly surprising. The new extremists cannot be distinguished from the old ones. Contemporary anti-Semitism has not produced anything that can be considered as unprecedented, except Holocaust denial and Israel bashing. Homophobia has been part of the conservative right wing political discourse disguising repressed MSM fantasies. Compared to the nationalist messages of the Nazi and Fascist era there is not much innovation either in contemporary manifestations of exclusive nationalism stressing the importance of being “true”, “clean” and “real” members in the nation.

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#### NEW AUTHORITARIANISM

There is difference, however, in the political and sociological context. In Europe today the new authoritarianism does not have the support of the state and the family. Both institutions are in decline. Authoritarianism is supported by the sense of insecurity triggered by globalization. It is up to the institutions of political education in the countries of the European Union to develop the messages of the future that could compete with the messages of the past enabling the new generation to face with the challenges of living in Europe in the era of globalization. In order to fight with the pattern of exclusion, rational means of persuasion are not enough. New patterns of identity, new ways of constructing the social reality and - last but not least - new channels of social mobility should be provided.

### III. PERCEPTIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF RACIST EXPRESSIONS

The LIGHT ON European survey has been conducted in each of the 5 project countries - UK, Italy, Slovenia, Hungary and Finland - and aimed at investigating the main dimensions in the perceptions and interpretations of racist expressions (images, statements, symbols and words).

Given this goal, the research is qualified as “exploratory research” and the sample was not a random representative one, but it was “built on purpose”, with reference to the relevance of the subjects to be included.

For this purpose an English questionnaire has been drafted and circulated through the NWP, which were responsible for the collection of the quantitative data in their country.

#### MATERIALS, INSTRUMENTS AND METHOD

Each NWP was responsible for:

- selecting 4 items, already identified during the desk research activity (1 image, 1 short statement, 1 symbol and 1 word/appellative), to be used in the national questionnaires;
- translating the English questionnaire in the national language; ISIG created the online questionnaire for each NWP in its national language, providing each NWP with a direct link to the Survey Monkey platform;
- contacting specific structures/units (such as high-schools and universities), in order to identify and reach the sample;
- assuring the data collection by means of the questionnaire.

The items inserted in the questionnaire have been selected by each NWP from the items previously gathered for the purpose of the Desk Research and included into the **Visual database** (available on the project website: <http://www.lighton-project.eu/site/main/news/detail/13>) and the **Glossary of Racist Terms** (available on the project website: <http://www.lighton-project.eu/site/main/glossary/index>).


#### THE PROPOSED ITEMS

##### IMAGES




Finland	Hungary	Italy	Slovenia	UK
				
	Wake up, Budapest! Is this what you want?		“Let’s maintain Slovenia” changed into “Let’s defend Slovenia”	ISLAM = EVIL



STATEMENTS

<b>Finland</b>	That 4% saying NO are all probably supporters of gypsies and thievery and the culture of spongers and parasites.	
<b>Hungary</b>	Significant parts of the Roma are unfit for coexistence. They are not fit to live among people. These Roma are animals, and they behave like animals. When they meet with resistance, they commit murder. (...) They are incapable of human communication.	
<b>Italy</b>	Roma kidnap our children	
<b>Slovenia</b>	<p>EUROARABIA? NO, THANKS! Let's stop the Islamisation of Europe and the spread of Islamic extremism. EUROPE TO EUROPEANS</p>	
<b>UK</b>	That Romanians are toothless scroungers who want to steal your job, or failing that, they will steal from your country social security system.	

SYMBOLS

Finland	Hungary	Italy	Slovenia	UK
				
Farewell, antifascist	Warning! Aggressive Gypsies 1000 ms.	Total Ethnic Self-defence	Here is Slovenia	English Defence League. No surrender

WORDS

<b>Finland</b>	Anchor child	<b>Slovenia</b>	Cigani raus
<b>Hungary</b>	Genetic trash	<b>UK</b>	Go home
<b>Italy</b>	Illegal migrant		

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 THE QUESTIONNAIRE
 

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The questions of the questionnaire are consistent for the five project countries

The questionnaire investigates the following dimensions:

- Personal profile (gender, age, place of residence/domicile);
- Familiarity with the item (previous knowledge of and experience with each item);
- Perception of racist symbols and language (meanings the subject attributes to each item; meanings the users of each item are supposed to intend to convey; meanings the targets are supposed to perceive);
- Social disvalue (possible future social scenarios resulting from the systematic, wide-spread use of each item);
- Respondents' personal experience with discrimination and/or racism.

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 LIGHT ON - EUROPEAN SURVEY
 

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*The project LIGHT ON is co-funded by the Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Program of the European Commission.*

*The LIGHT ON European survey is conducted in each of the 5 project countries:*

- *Finland*
- *Hungary*
- *Italy*
- *Slovenia*
- *UK*

*It and aims at investigating the main perceptions and interpretations of expressions (words, statements, symbols and images) among the young population of high school and university students.*

*We kindly ask you to devote a little of your time to contribute to the survey by answering the present questionnaire.*

*We guarantee that the answers will remain anonymous*

1. Gender

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Male  
 Female  
 Other

2. Year of birth

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|\_|\_|\_|\_|

3. Place of residence/domicile

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(city & country):

4. Population size of your city:

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- Less than 5000 inhabitants
- From 5000 to 15.000 inhabitants
- From 15.000 to 50.000 inhabitants
- From 50.000 to 100.000 inhabitants
- From 100.000 to 500.000 inhabitants

- From 500.000 to 1 million inhabitants
- Over 1 million inhabitants

PLEASE LOOK AT THIS IMAGE AND ANSWER THE QUESTIONS BELOW



5. Have you ever seen this image?

- Yes
- No (if NO, go to question 12)

6. How often during the last year?

- Once
- 2-5- times
- 6-10 times
- many times

7. Was the image displayed by:	Yes	No
General public	1	2
Politicians	1	2
Sports fan	1	2
Extremist groups (e.g. political groups )	1	2
Music bands/Music fans	1	2
Celebrities		

8. In what context/ through which medium?		
Mass media	1	2
2.0 Media (e.g. social media, internet)	1	2
Street art/ Graffiti	1	2
Public event (e.g. parade, rally, ...)	1	2
Recreational event (e.g. show, concert, sport event, ...)		
Tattoos/ Clothes	1	2
Posters	1	2

9. What was the reaction of onlookers, and how often did it occur?	Very often	Rather often	Some times	Rarely	Never
Signs of revolt	1	2	3	4	5
Signs of discomfort	1	2	3	4	5
Indifference (no reaction)	1	2	3	4	5
Signs of approval	1	2	3	4	5
Active sharing of the message	1	2	3	4	5

10. What was the reaction of the targets, and how often did it occur?	Very often	Rather often	Some times	Rarely	Never
Signs of panic/fright	1	2	3	4	5
Signs of concern	1	2	3	4	5
Indifference (no reaction)	1	2	3	4	5
Signs of discomfort	1	2	3	4	5

Signs of revolt	1	2	3	4	5
Action against	1	2	3	4	5

11. What was the reaction of the public opinion, and how often did it occur?	Very often	Rather often	Some times	Rarely	Never
Action against	1	2	3	4	5
Signs of revolt	1	2	3	4	5
Signs of discomfort	1	2	3	4	5
Indifference (no reaction)	1	2	3	4	5
Signs of approval	1	2	3	4	5
Action in favour	1	2	3	4	5

## 12. What does the image represent for you?

- An idea to be fought against
- An idea to be refused
- A way of showing off
- An idea to share/promote
- An idea to put into practice

13. What is the meaning you attribute to this image?	Yes	No
Discrimination	1	2
Exclusion	1	2
Pride	1	2
Dehumanization	1	2
Ties to the historical past	1	2
Scientific truth	1	2
Identification of enemies	1	2
Attribution of responsibility	1	2
Support for the target group	1	2
Superiority/Inferiority	1	2
Proposal of an action plan	1	2
Unverified scientific position	1	2

## 14. In your opinion, what does the image represent for those using it?

- An opportunity to show off
- A message to share/promote
- A personal commitment to action
- A call to action

15. In your opinion, what did the users of the image intend to convey?	Yes	No
Discrimination	1	2
Exclusion	1	2
Pride	1	2
Dehumanization	1	2
Ties to the historical past	1	2
Scientific truth	1	2
Identification of enemies	1	2
Attribution of responsibility	1	2

Support to the target group	1	2
Superiority/Inferiority	1	2
Proposal of an action plan	1	2
Unverified scientific position	1	2

16. In your opinion, what is the meaning perceived by the targets?

Discrimination	1	2
Exclusion	1	2
Pride	1	2
Dehumanization	1	2
Ties to the historical past	1	2
Scientific truth	1	2
Identification of enemies	1	2
Attribution of responsibility	1	2
Support to the target group	1	2
Superiority/Inferiority	1	2
Proposal of an action plan	1	2
Unverified scientific position	1	2

17. What feelings does this image arouse in you?

- Drive to action against
- Revolt
- Discomfort
- Concern
- Indifference
- Understanding/acceptance
- Drive to action for

18. What feelings do you think the image arouses in its targets?

- Panic
- Fright
- Concern
- Indifference
- Discomfort
- Revolt
- Drive to action against

19. Imagine that this image is systematically displayed (in public) and spread in your society/country. Please indicate how likely, in your opinion, would each of the following scenarios occur.

	Very likely	Rather likely	Do not know	Rather unlikely	Very unlikely
Social exclusion of the target group (e.g. members of the target group are often denied work because of their belonging; are blocked from having the same access to healthcare as the members of mainstream society, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
Cohesion among different target groups (e.g. two or more different target organize associations/coalitions to act against, the mainstream majority society attacks/defamation, etc)	1	2	3	4	5

Appeal to law enforcement by target groups ( <i>e.g. systematic complaints of the target group members to police, politicians, courts, etc</i> )	1	2	3	4	5
Cohesion within the target group ( <i>e.g. cultural/ethnic associations are formed in order to strengthen the cultural identity and the self-support of the target group</i> )	1	2	3	4	5
Softening of laws against discrimination and hate speech ( <i>e.g. the systematic use of the image makes law makers to soften the legal status on discrimination, as it becomes a general accepted social practice</i> )	1	2	3	4	5
Self-segregation of the target/ target groups ( <i>e.g. the members of the target group choose to interact only with representatives of the same group; marriage bonds are made only among representatives of the target group, etc</i> )	1	2	3	4	5
General social cohesion ( <i>e.g. target group and mainstream society develop common attitudes against the message of the image, etc</i> )	1	2	3	4	5
Public manifestation of disapproval by target groups and supporters ( <i>e.g. protests against the message of the image are organized</i> )	1	2	3	4	5
General social conflict ( <i>e.g. a chain reaction of violent/aggressive episodes, etc</i> )	1	2	3	4	5
Stiffening of laws against discrimination and hate speech ( <i>e.g. law makers consider that (new) laws against discrimination are needed in order to fight the message of the image</i> )	1	2	3	4	5
Urban segregation of target groups ( <i>e.g. forming of ethnic neighbourhoods; social pressure towards the target group in order to avoid mixed neighbourhoods, etc</i> )	1	2	3	4	5
Appeal to law enforcement by the public opinion ( <i>e.g. public opinion condemns the message of the image and thus applies to authorities, etc.</i> )	1	2	3	4	5
Public manifestation of approval and support for the message ( <i>e.g. manifestations are organized by supporters of the message expressed by the image</i> )	1	2	3	4	5

PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT AND ANSWER THE QUESTIONS BELOW

*Statement*

20. Have you ever heard/read this statement?

- Yes
- No (*if NO, go to question 27*)

*q. 21 to q. 34 - the same as q. 6 to q. 19*

PLEASE LOOK AT THIS IMAGE AND ANSWER THE QUESTIONS BELOW

*Symbol*

35. Have you ever seen this image?

- Yes
- No (*if NO, go to question 42*)

*q. 36 to q. 49 - the same as q. 6 to q. 19*

PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT AND ANSWER THE QUESTIONS BELOW

*Word*

50. Have you ever heard/read this statement?

- Yes
- No (*if NO, go to question 57*)

*q. 51 to q. 64 - the same as q. 6 to q. 19*

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

65. Do you feel like you belong to:

1. Mainstream majority society
2. Ethnic/cultural/religious group and/or minority group
3. Both

*If the answer is 2 (minority group) or 3 (both):*

66. Do you feel that your ethnic group is a target of	Very often	Rather often	Some times	Rarely	Never
Occasional discrimination	1	2	3	4	5
Systematic discrimination	1	2	3	4	5
Social exclusion/segregation	1	2	3	4	5

Racism	1	2	3	4	5
67. As a member of your group, how often have you personally experienced:	Very often	Rather often	Some times	Rarely	Never
Occasional discrimination	1	2	3	4	5
Systematic discrimination	1	2	3	4	5
Social exclusion/segregation	1	2	3	4	5
Racism	1	2	3	4	5

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR KIND COOPERATION!

#### THE SAMPLE

The intended subjects were young persons, aged from 14 to 25 years, in the five project countries. This target group had been chosen on the grounds that the young population has a great relevance for the topic of the research as main users and “consumers” of the main platforms of racist discrimination occurrences (e.g. social networks, public manifestations, sport events, music concerts, etc.).

The survey was carried out online, by means of a direct link to the Survey Monkey platform; the NWP took care of presenting the overall project and the fieldwork to specific locations (high schools, university courses, etc.), disseminating the link to the questionnaire on the platform.

Due to several logistic constraints (especially different school calendars) and to the material impossibility for the NWP to control the access of the subjects to the platform and the full completion of the questionnaire, in the five countries the total number of respondents was different; moreover, some of them did not go through the full questionnaire.

The final sample whose answers were analysed is detailed in Table 1.

Age group	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
14-16 ys	35 11,7%	0 ,0%	3 6,8%	0 ,0%	12 6,1%	50 6,3%
17-19 ys	113 37,8%	75 34,9%	17 38,6%	2 5,1%	123 62,1%	330 41,5%
20-22 ys	109 36,5%	54 25,1%	7 15,9%	12 30,8%	28 14,1%	210 26,4%
23-25 ys	33 11,0%	50 23,3%	12 27,3%	7 17,9%	20 10,1%	122 15,3%
over 25 ys	9 3,0%	36 16,7%	5 11,4%	18 46,2%	15 7,6%	83 10,4%
Total	299 100,0%	215 100,0%	44 100,0%	39 100,0%	198 100,0%	795 100,0%

Table 1 - Table 1 - Sample composition according to age group and country

#### ANALYSIS PROCEDURES



The totality of the collected data has been processed with Factor Analysis (Osgood, C.E., Suci, G.J., Tannenbaum, P.H. 1967; Fruchter 1968), in order to find out the “dimensions” - that is the “mental categories” - the young subjects use to process, decode and interpret the occurrence of verbal and visual racist language: each dimension “explains” the pattern of homogeneous answers to a specific group of questions.

The Factor Analysis has been used to identify four groups of dimensions: those used in ascribing meanings to the proposed items (“*meaning ascription*”); those involved in interpreting the communication purposes of the users (“*meaning intentions*”); those used to understand the perceptions of the targets (“*meaning eteroperception*”, that is the “description” of what one believes the others perceive), those involved in figuring out the possible future scenarios (“*social value/disvalue*”).

For the extraction, the method of principal component analysis has been adopted; rotation has been performed with the varimax method with a maximum of 25 rotations for convergence. The obtained dimensions have been interpreted and labelled on the basis of the rotated component matrix: “interpretation” refers to the attempt at recognizing the common underlying “criterion” on which each pattern of homogeneous answers is dependent; this effort is based both on the sense of the answers which “go together” and on the level of the saturation coefficients obtained from the analysis, that measure the strength of the connection between the answers to a specific question and the underlying dimension. Depending on the interpretation, to each identified dimension a “label” is assigned, which summarizes and conveys conceptually the results of the interpretation efforts.

The order in which the dimensions are presented as output of the analysis is an “order of importance”: the first obtained dimension is the one which better explains the variance of the collected answers, and so on.

Starting our analysis, we can expect to find three possible configurations of the dimensions:

1. proposed contents (i.e. discrimination, exclusion, identification of enemies, etc.) tend to cluster inside the dimensions, rather irrespective of the type of the analysed item (image, statement, symbol or word);
2. proposed contents tend to cluster in separate dimensions with reference to the specific type of item (verbal - statement and/or word - or visual- image and/or symbol);
3. proposed contents do not show a definite pattern of clustering.

The following step in the analysis is to use the identified dimensions as “variables”, to analyse to which extent the subjects have recourse to this meaning dimensions in the overall interpretation of the proposed items. To do that, for each subject and each dimension, individual scores have been calculated as the mean of the answer values to the questions which better define each dimension. For calculating the individual scores, only variables with a saturation coefficient  $\geq .50$  in just one dimension have been included.

The different levels of recognition of each dimension shown by different groups of respondents have then been scrutinized, in order to find out significant differences (Pearson Chi-Square significance  $\leq .05$ ) between genders, among age groups, between majority/minority memberships, among countries.

## MAIN FINDINGS

### PREVIOUS KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE WITH THE PROPOSED ITEMS

As shown by Table 2, not all the subjects had a previous experience with the proposed items. Generally speaking, statements and especially words were more commonly known, particularly over Italy, but in Finland none of the respondents heard the statement before answering the survey. Symbols and images tend to be “rather unknown objects”: the Slovenian respondents appear the most acquainted and the Italian ones the less acquainted with the symbol, while the proposed images were unknown to about the 90% of the subjects.

		country					Total
		Hun-gary	Slove-nia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Have You ever seen this image? (n=795)	Yes	11,4%	8,8%	2,3%	5,1%	12,1%	10,1%
	No	88,6%	91,2%	97,7%	94,9%	87,9%	89,9%
Have you ever read/heard this statement? (n=726)	Yes	12,4%	20,4%	0,0%	52,9%	85,6%	33,9%
	No	87,6%	79,6%	100,0%	47,1%	14,4%	66,1%
Have You ever seen this symbol? (n=647)	Yes	13,7%	86,2%	22,7%	53,3%	5,7%	29,4%
	No	86,3%	13,8%	77,3%	46,7%	94,3%	70,6%
Have you ever read/heard this word? (n=597)	Yes	28,1%	29,5%	21,1%	88,9%	98,6%	47,4%
	No	71,9%	70,5%	78,9%	11,1%	1,4%	52,6%

Table 2 - Previous knowledge of the items per country

The NwPs had proposed the items to be included in the survey considering them “critical” among those collected during the preceding stages of the research exercise; through the survey findings, we can suppose that a part of them - particularly the visual ones - even if “critical”, is not extensively known among the young people and their diffusion and sharing is probably restricted to “specialized circles”.

The declared scant experience with the items gives to our survey also the “added value” of being investigating the cognitive dimensions that operate when young people are for the first time faced with language issues that can be interpreted as “hate speech”, especially when these issues are unfamiliar icons.

### DIMENSIONS OF MEANING ASCRIPTION

The general notion of “meaning ascription” refers to the answers to the four sets of questions “*What is the meaning you attribute to this [image/statement/symbol/ word]?*”

Through Factor Analysis, 15 dimensions have been identified; the component matrix is presented in the Annex A. After rotation (the Rotated component matrix is presented in the Annex B), 13 out of the 15 dimensions have been interpreted and labelled. Table 3 gives a summary presentation of the dimensions, together with the main variables (questions) whose sense and saturation coefficient contributed to the interpretation. In the table, only variables with saturation coefficients  $\geq .50$  have been included.

Label	Most important defining variables
1. Symbolized Refusal	[symbol] Personal meaning: Discrimination [symbol] Personal meaning: Exclusion [symbol] Personal meaning: Superiority-Inferiority [symbol] Personal meaning: Dehumanization [symbol] Personal meaning: Identification of enemies
2. Exalted past	[symbol] Personal meaning: Ties to the historical past [statement] Personal meaning: Ties to the historical past [symbol] Personal meaning: Pride [word] Personal meaning: Ties to the historical past
3. Scientific truth	[word] Personal meaning: Scientific truth [statement] Personal meaning: Scientific truth [symbol] Personal meaning: Scientific truth [image] Personal meaning: Scientific truth
4. Unverified scientific position	[word] Personal meaning: Unverified scientific position [statement] Personal meaning: Unverified scientific position [symbol] Personal meaning: Unverified scientific position [image] Personal meaning: Unverified scientific position
5. Figurative historical conflict	[image] Personal meaning: Attribution of responsibility [image] Personal meaning: Proposal of an action plan [image] Personal meaning: Ties to the historical past [image] Personal meaning: Identification of enemies
6. Discursive discrimination	[statement] Personal meaning: Exclusion [statement] Personal meaning: Discrimination [statement] Personal meaning: Superiority-Inferiority
7. Scapegoating	[statement] Personal meaning: Attribution of responsibility [word] Personal meaning: Attribution of responsibility [statement] Personal meaning: Identification of enemies
8. Rejecting Labelling	[word] Personal meaning: Discrimination [word] Personal meaning: Exclusion [word] Personal meaning: Dehumanization
9. Figurative discrimination	[image] Personal meaning: Discrimination [image] Personal meaning: Exclusion [image] Personal meaning: Dehumanization
10. Helpfulness	[statement] Personal meaning: Support for the target group [image] Personal meaning: Support for the target group [word] Personal meaning: Support for the target group
11. Action Call	[statement] Personal meaning: Proposal of an action plan [word] Personal meaning: Proposal of an action plan [symbol] Personal meaning: Proposal of an action plan
12. Social conflict	[word] Personal meaning: Superiority-Inferiority [word] Personal meaning: Identification of enemies [symbol] Personal meaning: Attribution of responsibility
13. Pride	[statement] Personal meaning: Pride [image] Personal meaning: Pride [word] Personal meaning: Pride

Table 3 - Dimensions of MEANING ASCRIPTION

With reference to our starting hypothesis, we realize that some dimensions tend to cluster around one specific type of item (e.g. the first dimension concerns the symbol, the fifth refers to the image, the eighth to the word); other dimensions tend to cluster around the ascribed meaning, rather irrespective of the type of item (e.g. the third and the fourth dimensions include all the type of items); other dimensions show a mixed pattern of clustering.

Here we have to note that, some of the items introduced as “symbols” and “images” in the questionnaire were in fact complemented by a (sometime important) verbal component; this makes difficult to ascertain whether the iconic content gets over the verbal message or vice versa.

One general remark we can present, looking at the composition of the identified dimensions, is that young people tend to **not** perceive discrimination, exclusion, dehumanization and even superiority/inferiority as distinct, analytically separated contents conveyed by the messages: all the contents tend to merge into the same dimension - symbolized, discursive, rejecting or figurative, according to the nature of the evaluated stimulus.

It is worth noting that the dimension labelled “symbolized refusal” - that is, the criterion underlining the decoding of the symbol - is the most important in explaining the variability of the answers about the meaning personally attributed to the different items. The importance of the dimension stresses the “weight” of symbols and symbolic messages as components of “hate speech”. The second most important dimension is the “exalted past”, involved in the decoding of symbols, statements and words: in a sense, we can suppose that young people try to find the roots of the possible meaning in the past (may be mythical) history, either accepting or refusing the presence of this bond, but in any case using it as an important analytical tool.

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#### SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN ASCRIBING MEANING TO THE ITEMS

Using the dimensions as variables and examining their distributions across the age groups, in general we did not find particular patterns associated to age; in any case, a few significant differences emerged.

According to our results, the young respondents up to 20 years of age tend to identify more symbolized refusal, less exalted past and more action call in decoding the message items; the age group from 17 to 22 years is more ready to identify the social conflict.

Considering the gender as the independent variable, we find six significant differences in the meaning ascriptions: compared to men, women identify slightly more the exalted past, the discursive discrimination and the social conflict; scientific truth, unverified scientific positions, historical conflicts are identified slightly less. The partial emphasis on discursive discrimination and social conflict can be interpreted as a persisting effect of a “feminine” socialization pattern focused on the importance of emotional and relational feelings.

Less than 5% of our respondents declared themselves as “feeling as to belong to an ethnic/cultural/religious group and/or minority group” and a further 13,5% as feeling to belong both at the mainstream majority and to a minority group. Comparing their overall answers with those of the mainstream majority, among them we find - as a significant characteristic- a higher proportion of respondents identifying the message items as “helpful”, supportive.

Table 4 presents analytically the distributions of the ascribed meaning dimensions by country, but the significance of the differences has been evaluated only among Hungary, Slovenia and

Italy, due to the limited number of valid answers for Finland and UK; significance coefficients have been calculated excluding Finland and UK.

Comparing the answers across countries, we find that differences are significant for 12 out of the 13 identified dimensions. The only dimension which presents the same pattern over the countries is the “rejecting labelling”.

Here we have to consider that differences among countries are clearly explained by the specific presented items, that were differently but explicitly connected to history, to current events, to supposed actual behaviours, to political positions, to pseudo-scientific statements, etc.

Symbolized Refusal	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	58,2%	40,2%	60,0%	26,1%	40,7%	49,7%
Yes/no	31,1%	24,7%	13,3%	47,8%	25,2%	28,8%
Definitely no	10,7%	35,1%	26,7%	26,1%	34,1%	21,4%
Exalted past	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	3,0%	43,3%	26,7%	8,7%	23,7%	15,6%
Yes/no	34,8%	48,5%	40,0%	56,5%	56,3%	43,2%
Definitely no	62,2%	8,2%	33,3%	34,8%	20,0%	41,1%
Scientific truth	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	5,0%	2,1%	,0%	,0%	,0%	3,0%
Yes/no	17,1%	16,5%	13,3%	,0%	6,7%	13,7%
Definitely no	77,9%	81,4%	86,7%	100,0%	93,3%	83,3%
Unverified scientific position	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	6,7%	14,4%	26,7%	,0%	1,5%	7,0%
Yes/no	23,7%	28,9%	33,3%	8,7%	11,9%	21,4%
Definitely no	69,6%	56,7%	40,0%	91,3%	86,7%	71,5%
Figurative Historical conflict	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	6,7%	14,4%	26,7%	,0%	1,5%	7,0%
Yes/no	23,7%	28,9%	33,3%	8,7%	11,9%	21,4%
Definitely no	69,6%	56,7%	40,0%	91,3%	86,7%	71,5%
Discursive discrimination	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	79,6%	87,6%	86,7%	82,6%	73,3%	79,8%
Yes/no	8,4%	6,2%	6,7%	8,7%	13,3%	9,1%
Definitely no	8,4%	6,2%	6,7%	8,7%	13,3%	9,1%
Scapegoating	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	27,1%	38,1%	53,3%	21,7%	23,0%	28,5%
Yes/no	25,8%	35,1%	20,0%	17,4%	34,8%	29,0%
Definitely no	47,2%	26,8%	26,7%	60,9%	42,2%	42,5%
Rejecting labelling	country					Total

	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	38,1%	58,8%	60,0%	52,2%	54,8%	46,7%
Yes/no	35,5%	17,5%	20,0%	21,7%	33,3%	30,9%
Definitely no	26,4%	23,7%	20,0%	26,1%	11,9%	22,3%
Helpfulness	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	4,0%	19,6%	53,3%	4,3%	1,5%	7,4%
Yes/no	22,1%	24,7%	33,3%	4,3%	20,0%	21,6%
Definitely no	73,9%	55,7%	13,3%	91,3%	78,5%	71,0%
Action call	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	15,4%	44,3%	20,0%	21,7%	28,1%	23,7%
Yes/no	33,1%	41,2%	6,7%	21,7%	23,0%	30,9%
Definitely no	51,5%	14,4%	73,3%	56,5%	48,9%	45,3%
Social conflict	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	49,2%	61,9%	40,0%	26,1%	48,9%	50,1%
Yes/no	32,4%	24,7%	40,0%	13,0%	28,1%	29,5%
Definitely no	18,4%	13,4%	20,0%	60,9%	23,0%	20,4%
Pride	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	11,4%	30,9%	40,0%	4,3%	3,7%	13,4%
Yes/no	24,4%	34,0%	33,3%	13,0%	17,0%	24,1%
Definitely no	64,2%	35,1%	26,7%	82,6%	79,3%	62,6%

Table 4 - Distribution of the dimensions of "ascribed meaning" by country (n=569)

In Slovenia, compared to the other two countries, we find the highest tendencies to "read" the "messages" in terms of symbolized refusal, exalted past, unverified scientific position, historical conflict, discursive discrimination, scapegoating, pride, represented refusal, action call and social conflict, but also of helpfulness.

The Hungarian sample shows also a high level of identification of symbolized refusal and scientific truth, contrasted by the lower levels of exalted past, represented refusal, action call and social conflict.

In Italy, we find the lowest levels of ascribed scientific truth, unverified scientific position, historical conflict, discursive discrimination, scapegoating, helpfulness, social conflict and pride, contrasted by the highest level of represented refusal. Here, too, a glimpse to the items proposed into the questionnaire will easily help to understand the reasons for these significant differences.

#### DIMENSIONS OF MEANING INTENTIONS

The general label "meaning intentions" refers to the answers to the four sets of questions "What did the users of the [image/statement/symbol/word] intend to convey?"

Through Factor Analysis 12 dimensions have been identified; Annex C presents the obtained Component matrix after rotation (the Rotated component matrix is presented in the Annex d),

the 12 dimensions have been interpreted and labelled. Table 5 gives a summary presentation of the dimensions, together with the main variables (questions) whose sense and saturation coefficient contributed to the interpretation. In the table, only variables with saturation coefficients  $\geq .50$  have been included.

Label	Most important defining variables
1. Historical Conflict	[word] Users meaning: Scientific truth [statement] Users meaning: Scientific truth [symbol] Users meaning: Scientific truth [word] Users meaning: Attribution of responsibility [statement] Users meaning: Ties to the historical past [word] Users meaning: Proposal of an action plan [image] Users meaning: Attribution of responsibility
2. Symbolized Refusal	[symbol] Users meaning: Discrimination [symbol] Users meaning: Exclusion [symbol] Users meaning: Identification of enemies [symbol] Users meaning: Superiority-Inferiority [symbol] Users meaning: Dehumanization
3. Rejecting Labelling	[word] Users meaning: Discrimination [word] Users meaning: Superiority-Inferiority [word] Users meaning: Exclusion [word] Users meaning: Identification of enemies
4. Scapegoating	[statement] Users meaning: Identification of enemies [image] Users meaning: Identification of enemies [statement] Users meaning: Superiority-Inferiority [statement] Users meaning: Attribution of responsibility
5. Exalted past	[symbol] Users meaning: Pride [symbol] Users meaning: Ties to the historical past [statement] Users meaning: Pride [image] Users meaning: Pride [word] Users meaning: Ties to the historical past [word] Users meaning: Pride
6. Figurative Refusal	[image] Users meaning: Exclusion [image] Users meaning: Discrimination [image] Users meaning: Dehumanization [image] Users meaning: Superiority-Inferiority
7. Helpfulness	[statement] Users meaning: Support to the target group_ [word] Users meaning: Support to the target group [image] Users meaning: Support to the target group [symbol] Users meaning: Support to the target group
8. Discursive Discrimination	[statement] Users meaning: Exclusion [statement] Users meaning: Discrimination
9. Unverified scientific position	[statement] Users meaning: Unverified scientific position [word] Users meaning: Unverified scientific position [symbol] Users meaning: Unverified scientific position
10. Action call	[symbol] Users meaning: Proposal of an action plan [statement] Users meaning: Proposal of an action plan
11. (Discursive) Dehumanization	[statement] Users meaning: Dehumanization [word] Users meaning: Dehumanization

12.(Figurative) Historical Conflict	[image] Users meaning: Scientific truth [image] Users meaning: Proposal of an action plan [image] Users meaning: Ties to the historical past [image] Users meaning: Unverified scientific position
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Table 5 - Dimensions of MEANING INTENTIONS

Here too, we find some dimensions that tend to cluster around one specific type of item (e.g., the second dimension concerns the symbol, the third refers to the word, the sixth and twelfth to the image, the eighth to the statement), but no dimension is a cluster of ascribed meaning irrespective of the type of item, while the mixed pattern of clustering is more frequent.

The first identified dimension, labelled as “historical conflict”, leads us to think that - when characterizing the meaning intentions of those using “hate speech” - the first attempt of the young potential audience is to try to read it as the continuation of past conflict events that tend to be reminded and perpetuated in social behaviours.

The “symbolized refusal”, that was the most important dimension used in ascribing meaning to the items, for this area is the second most important in explaining the variability of answers: this finding stresses once more the “weight” of symbols and symbolic messages as components of “hate speech”.

The **non-distinction** among discrimination, exclusion, superiority/inferiority and identification of enemies is confirmed also for this area: symbolized refusal, rejecting labelling, visualized discrimination, discursive discrimination, are dimensions where - clustered around a specific item - all this contents tend to converge. In a sense, the analytical distinction among the contents, those scholars propose and discuss in detail, are somehow blurred in everyday life and in the “normal” perception of daily occurrences.

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#### SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN INTERPRETING THE MEANING INTENTIONS OF THE USERS

Considering the differences among the age groups in singling out the possible meaning intentions, we find significant differences for 7 out of the 12 dimensions.

More in detail, we find that the group aged 20-22 years is the “turning point” in identifying both the symbolic refusal and the rejecting labelling, which are growingly recognised from 14 to 22 years of age, then decrease to reach the minimum after 25 years of age.

The youngsters, the 14 to 18 years old, are more wavering in recognizing the scapegoating dimension, which is then growingly perceived as long as age grows.

The identification of an exalted past is constantly growing with age: as an explanation, we can guess that either the youngsters do not know the national history which is supposedly the basis of the message, or they are (still) immune from the ideological glorification of that history.

On the contrary, we realize that the identification of discursive discrimination declines when age grows: this could be interpreted as a signal of adjustment to discourses as long as time goes on, hence of “normalization” of hate speech.

The group aged 14-16 years is proportionally more ready to identify unverified scientific positions and figurative historical conflict, which in turn is less recognized over the 25 years of age.



Looking at gender differences, just two dimensions - exalted past and action call - show a significant differentiated cognitive behaviour: both are identified more by women than by men, as if women are more sensitive to the potentially “aggressive” hints.

Those who declared themselves as belonging to minorities identify helpfulness and figurative historical conflict more than the majority members; the remaining 10 dimensions do not reveal significant differences by gender.

Table 6 presents analytically the distributions of the dimensions of meaning intentions by country, but here too the significance of the differences has been evaluated only among Hungary, Slovenia and Italy, due to the limited number of valid answers for Finland and UK; significance Coefficient have been calculated excluding Finland and UK.

Comparing the answers across countries, we find that differences are significant for 9 out of the 12 identified dimensions. Those that present the same pattern over countries are the rejecting labelling, the scapegoating and the discursive dehumanization.

We have to remind - as already expounded for the Ascribed Meaning area - that differences among countries are clearly explained by the specific presented items.

Historical conflict	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	25,4%	29,9%	20,0%	4,3%	4,4%	20,2%
Yes/no	40,1%	46,4%	66,7%	34,8%	29,6%	39,2%
Definitely no	34,4%	23,7%	13,3%	60,9%	65,9%	40,6%
Symbolized refusal	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	63,5%	36,1%	53,3%	34,8%	43,7%	52,7%
Yes/no	30,4%	36,1%	33,3%	43,5%	28,1%	31,5%
Definitely no	6,0%	27,8%	13,3%	21,7%	28,1%	15,8%
Exalted past	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	22,1%	82,5%	46,7%	69,6%	36,3%	38,3%
Yes/no	29,4%	11,3%	53,3%	17,4%	38,5%	28,6%
Definitely no	48,5%	6,2%	0,0%	13,0%	25,2%	33,0%
Visualized discrimination	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	37,1%	21,6%	26,7%	43,5%	62,2%	40,4%
Yes/no	46,5%	35,1%	26,7%	56,5%	31,9%	40,9%
Definitely no	16,4%	43,3%	46,7%	0,0%	5,9%	18,6%
Helpfulness	Country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	4,7%	22,7%	40,0%	0,0%	1,5%	7,7%
Yes/no	21,4%	52,6%	60,0%	13,0%	23,7%	27,9%
Definitely no	73,9%	24,7%	0,0%	87,0%	74,8%	64,3%
Discursive discrimination	Country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	75,6%	53,6%	53,3%	56,5%	83,7%	72,4%

Yes/no	11,7%	22,7%	26,7%	30,4%	10,4%	14,4%
Definitely no	12,7%	23,7%	20,0%	13,0%	5,9%	13,2%
Unverified scientific position	Country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	20,1%	17,5%	0,0%	8,7%	3,0%	14,6%
Yes/no	26,4%	27,8%	26,7%	17,4%	11,9%	22,8%
Definitely no	53,5%	54,6%	73,3%	73,9%	85,2%	62,6%
Action call	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	56,9%	63,9%	80,0%	65,2%	72,6%	62,7%
Definitely no	43,1%	36,1%	20,0%	34,8%	27,4%	37,3%
Figurative historical conflict	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	35,5%	28,9%	33,3%	17,4%	23,7%	30,8%
Definitely no	64,5%	71,1%	66,7%	82,6%	76,3%	69,2%

Table 6 - Distribution of the dimensions of "meaning intentions" by country (n=569)

Significant differences through countries do not emerge for the identification of rejecting labeling, scapegoating and discursive dehumanization as intended meaning of the proposed items.

Interpretations in terms of discursive discrimination and action call show a relatively high level in all the countries, while the levels of identified helpfulness and unverified scientific position tend to be relatively low everywhere.

Despite this common trends, the Slovenian sample, more than the Italian and Hungarian ones, is ready to report the highest proportions of historical conflict, exalted past, and helpfulness; on the other side, Slovenians report the lowest levels of symbolized refusal, visualized discrimination and discursive discrimination (in any case, recognized by more than 50% of the respondents).

The Hungarian young people recognize the highest level of symbolized refusal and figurative historical conflict as users' intentions, while are the less "perceptive" in terms of exalted past and action call.

As for the Italian sample, we find that among the respondents the proportions attributing to the users the intentions of visual and discursive discrimination and action call are the highest, while those attributing to the users the conveyed meanings of historical conflict, helpfulness, unverified scientific position and figurative historical conflict are the lowest.

#### DIMENSIONS OF MEANING ETEROPERCEPTIONS

The general label "meaning eteroperceptions" refers to the answers to the four sets of questions "What is the meaning perceived by the targets?" Here, the term "eteroperception" is used to refer to the "description" of what respondents believe the targets perceive.

Through Factor Analysis 14 dimensions have been obtained, as presented in Annex E. After rotation, whose matrix is presented in Annex F, 13 components out of the 14 have been interpreted and labelled. Table 7 gives a summary presentation of the dimensions, together with the

main variables (questions) whose sense and saturation coefficient contributed to the interpretation. In the table, only variables with saturation coefficients  $\geq .50$  have been included.

Label	Most important defining variables
1. Societal Refusal	[statement] Targets meaning: Identification of enemies [word] Targets meaning: Identification of enemies [statement] Targets meaning: Superiority-Inferiority [image] Targets meaning: Identification of enemies [word] Targets meaning: Dehumanization [word] Targets meaning: Superiority-Inferiority [symbol] Targets meaning: Identification of enemies [statement] Targets meaning: Dehumanization
2. (Scientifically motivated) Pride	[symbol] Targets meaning: Pride [word] Targets meaning: Pride [statement] Targets meaning: Pride [image] Targets meaning: Pride [word] Targets meaning: Scientific truth [image] Targets meaning: Scientific truth [symbol] Targets meaning: Scientific truth
3. Symbolized Hierarchy	[symbol] Targets meaning: Discrimination [symbol] Targets meaning: Exclusion [symbol] Targets meaning: Dehumanization [symbol] Targets meaning: Superiority-Inferiority
4. Unverified scientific position	[statement] Targets meaning: Unverified scientific position [symbol] Targets meaning: Unverified scientific position [image] Targets meaning: Unverified scientific position [word] Targets meaning: Unverified scientific position
5. Exalted Past	[statement] Targets meaning: Ties to the historical past [symbol] Targets meaning: Ties to the historical past [image] Targets meaning: Ties to the historical past [word] Targets meaning: Ties to the historical past
6. Scapegoating	[word] Targets meaning: Attribution of responsibility [statement] Targets meaning: Attribution of responsibility [symbol] Targets meaning: Attribution of responsibility [image] Targets meaning: Attribution of responsibility
7. Figurative Hierarchy	[image] Targets meaning: Discrimination [image] Targets meaning: Exclusion [image] Targets meaning: Dehumanization [image] Targets meaning: Superiority-Inferiority
8. Helpfulness	[statement] Targets meaning: Support to the target group [symbol] Targets meaning: Support to the target group [image] Targets meaning: Support to the target group [word] Targets meaning: Support to the target group
9. Labelling	[word] Targets meaning: Discrimination [word] Targets meaning: Exclusion
10. Discursive Discrimination	[statement] Targets meaning: Discrimination [statement] Targets meaning: Exclusion
11. (Figurative) Action Call	[image] Targets meaning: Proposal of an action plan
12. (Discursive) Action Call	[word] Targets meaning: Proposal of an action plan

	[statement] Targets meaning: Proposal of an action plan
13.(Symbolized) Action Call	[symbol] Targets meaning: Proposal of an action plan

Table 7 - Dimensions of MEANING ETEROPERCEPTIONS

Inside this area, too, we find all the three possible configuration patterns: two dimensions (symbolized discrimination and represented hierarchy) gather together the contents identified for a specific type of item; four dimensions (unverified scientific position, exalted past, scapegoating and helpfulness) gather the same contents identified across items; the remaining nine dimensions show a mixed pattern of clustering.

Asked to envisage the meanings perceived by the targets of hate speech occurrences, our subjects have recourse to the idea of “societal refusal” as the most important concept, then to pride (maybe “scientifically” motivated) expressed by the users and, thirdly, to symbolized discrimination.

The “symbolized refusal” was the most important dimension used in ascribing meaning to the items and the second most important in reading users’ intentions; for the area of eteroperceptions we find again a refusal dimension as the most important one, but here the included contents are more articulated and definitely stress the overall, “global” rejection that targets are supposed to perceive. The non-distinction among discrimination, exclusion, dehumanization and superiority/inferiority is confirmed also for this area.

#### SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN INTERPRETING THE ETEROPERCEPTIONS

Comparing age groups, we find significant differences in four factors. For the exalted past, even significant among groups, the differences do not show a clear tendency at change on varying of age. The eteroperceptions of societal refusal and symbolized discrimination tend to grow with age up to the age of 20-22, then to decrease; the eteroperception of helpfulness - even if not so high - is declared mainly after 22 years of age. These two trends allow for further consideration of the hypothesis of the progressive “normalization” of hate speech, as far as maturing subjects become accustomed to its presence.

As for gender particularities, four factors show significant differences on the “women side”: societal refusal, rejecting labelling, discursive discrimination and figurative action call; this evidence can be a confirmation of the already expressed suggestion that women are more socialized at paying attention to emotional and relational feelings. Minority’s members tend to identify, more than the mainstream majority, unverified scientific positions and helpfulness.

Table 8 presents analytically the distributions of the dimensions of eteroperceptions by country, but once more the significance of the differences has been evaluated only among Hungary, Slovenia and Italy, due to the limited number of valid answers for Finland and UK; significance coefficients have been calculated excluding Finland and UK.

Comparing the answers across countries, we find that differences are significant for 11 out of the 13 identified dimensions. The two dimensions that present the same pattern over countries are the rejecting labelling and the pride. We have to remind - as already indicated for the previous areas - that differences among countries are obviously explained by the specific presented items.

Societal refusal	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	53,2%	66,0%	46,7%	34,8%	40,7%	51,5%
Yes/no	33,8%	32,0%	53,3%	30,4%	48,1%	37,3%
Definitely no	13,0%	2,1%	,0%	34,8%	11,1%	11,2%
Symbolized discrimination	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	81,6%	68,0%	60,0%	47,8%	57,8%	71,7%
Yes/no	13,7%	16,5%	13,3%	21,7%	10,4%	13,7%
Definitely no	4,7%	15,5%	26,7%	30,4%	31,9%	14,6%
Unverified scientific position	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	5,7%	19,6%	20,0%	,0%	1,5%	7,2%
Yes/no	19,1%	27,8%	20,0%	8,7%	16,3%	19,5%
Definitely no	75,3%	52,6%	60,0%	91,3%	82,2%	73,3%
Exalted past	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	13,4%	16,5%	20,0%	4,3%	11,1%	13,2%
Yes/no	32,1%	56,7%	66,7%	30,4%	45,2%	40,2%
Definitely no	54,5%	26,8%	13,3%	65,2%	43,7%	46,6%
Scapegoating	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	28,4%	48,5%	60,0%	26,1%	31,1%	33,2%
Yes/no	24,7%	21,6%	13,3%	21,7%	24,4%	23,7%
Definitely no	46,8%	29,9%	26,7%	52,2%	44,4%	43,1%
Represented hierarchy	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	75,6%	87,6%	60,0%	91,3%	69,6%	76,4%
Yes/no	16,7%	5,2%	,0%	8,7%	22,2%	15,3%
Definitely no	7,7%	7,2%	40,0%	,0%	8,1%	8,3%
Helpfulness	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	6,0%	19,6%	53,3%	4,3%	3,7%	9,0%
Yes/no	13,7%	19,6%	20,0%	17,4%	32,6%	19,5%
Definitely no	80,3%	60,8%	26,7%	78,3%	63,7%	71,5%
Discursive discrimination	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	86,3%	93,8%	73,3%	87,0%	85,2%	87,0%
Yes/no	10,0%	4,1%	20,0%	13,0%	8,1%	9,0%
Definitely no	3,7%	2,1%	6,7%	,0%	6,7%	4,0%
Represented action call	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	41,8%	54,6%	80,0%	30,4%	28,1%	41,3%
Definitely no	58,2%	45,4%	20,0%	69,6%	71,9%	58,7%
Verbalized action call	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	

Definitely yes	30,4%	44,3%	40,0%	21,7%	27,4%	32,0%
Definitely no	69,6%	55,7%	60,0%	78,3%	72,6%	68,0%
Symbolized action call	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
Definitely yes	34,4%	44,3%	73,3%	26,1%	51,9%	40,9%
Definitely no	65,6%	55,7%	26,7%	73,9%	48,1%	59,1%

Table 8 - Distribution of the dimensions of "meaning eteroperceptions" by country (n=569)

As a general consideration, we can remark that recognition of unverified scientific position and of helpfulness is relatively low over all countries (the maximum levels are 19.6% in Slovenia for both dimensions), while eteroperceptions of represented hierarchy and discursive discriminations are relatively high over all countries (87,6% and 93,8% of the respondents, respectively, in Slovenia). Among the Slovenian sample, eteroperceptions are systematically higher than in Hungary and Italy for nine dimensions: societal refusal, unverified scientific position, exalted past, scapegoating, represented hierarchy, helpfulness, discursive discrimination, represented and symbolized action calls.

Hungarian respondents seem to be more perceptive for the symbolized discrimination, while showing the lowest levels of eteroperceptions for exalted past, scapegoating and helpfulness. The Italian sample is characterized by the highest level in symbolized action call and the lowest levels in societal refusal, symbolized discrimination, unverified scientific position, represented hierarchy and represented action call.

#### DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL VALUE/DISVALUE

The general label "social value/disvalue" refers to the answers to the four sets of questions "*Due to the systematic display and spreading of the [image/statement/symbol/word], how likely would each of the following scenarios occur?*". Through Factor Analysis 14 dimensions have been identified, as presented in Annex G. After rotation (Rotated Component matrix presented in Annex H) all the dimensions have been interpreted and labelled.

Table 9 gives a summary presentation of the dimensions, together with the main variables (questions) whose sense and saturation coefficient contributed to the interpretation. In the table, only variables with saturation coefficients  $\geq .50$  have been included.

Label	Most important defining variables
1. Segregation	[image] Future scenario: Self-segregation of the target-target groups [image] Future scenario: Urban segregation of target groups [word] Future scenario: Self-segregation of the target-target groups [symbol] Future scenario: Self-segregation of the target-target groups [statement] Future scenario: Self-segregation of the target-target groups [word] Future scenario: Urban segregation of target groups [symbol] Future scenario: Urban segregation of target groups

	[statement] Future scenario: Urban segregation of target groups
2. Minorities' Coalitions	[statement] Future scenario: Cohesion among different target groups [word] Future scenario: Cohesion among different target groups [symbol] Future scenario: Cohesion among different target groups [image] Future scenario: Public manif. of disapproval by target groups and supporters [image] Future scenario: Cohesion among different target groups
3. Mainstream Legality	[statement] Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by the public opinion [symbol] Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by the public opinion [image] Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by the public opinion [word] Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by the public opinion
4. Social Conflict	[word] Future scenario: General social conflict [statement] Future scenario: General social conflict [symbol] Future scenario: General social conflict [image] Future scenario: General social conflict
5. Hate speech "normalization"	[symbol] Future scenario: Softening of laws against discrimination and hate speech [word] Future scenario: Softening of laws against discrimination and hate speech [image] Future scenario: Softening of laws against discrimination and hate speech [statement] Future scenario: Softening of laws against discrimination and hate speech
6. Social exclusion	[word] Future scenario: Social exclusion of the target group [statement] Future scenario: Social exclusion of the target group [symbol] Future scenario: Social exclusion of the target group [image] Future scenario: Social exclusion of the target group
7. Hate speech acceptance	[statement] Future scenario: Public manifestation of approval and support [image] Future scenario: Public manifestation of approval and support [symbol] Future scenario: Public manifestation of approval and support
8. Hate speech outlawing	[statement] Future scenario: Stiffening of laws against discrimination and hate speech [symbol] Future scenario: Stiffening of laws against discrimination and hate speech

	[image] Future scenario: Stiffening of laws against discrimination and hate speech [word] Future scenario: Stiffening of laws against discrimination and hate speech
9. Minorities Legality	[statement] Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by target groups [word] Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by target groups [statem.] Future scenario: Pub. manif. of disapproval by target groups and supporters
10. General social cohesion	[symbol] Future scenario: General social cohesion [image] Future scenario: General social cohesion [word] Future scenario: General social cohesion [statement] Future scenario: General social cohesion
11. Radicalization	[word] Future scenario: Public manifestation of approval and support [word] Future scenario: Public manif. of disapproval by target groups and supporters
12. Targets intra-group solidarity	[image] Future scenario: Cohesion within the target group [image] Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by target groups
13. Minorities mobilization	[symbol] Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by target groups [symbol] Future scenario: Pub. manif. of disapproval by target groups and supporters
14. Targets intra-group cohesion	[statement] Future scenario: Cohesion within the target group [word] Future scenario: Cohesion within the target group [symbol] Future scenario: Cohesion within the target group

Table 9 - Dimensions of SOCIAL VALUE/DISVALUE

In the area of forecasting future scenarios, the pattern of clustering put first the content of hate speech, irrespective of the type of item proposed as “getting the scenarios off the ground”. As a first, general remark, we can consider that our respondents in the five countries are well aware of the “social disvalue” of widespread hate speech: the most important dimension used in envisaging future scenarios is “segregation”, which is foreseen as very or rather likely to occur by more than 50% of the young people over the five countries. In addition to that, other dimensions are present that evaluate supposed “negative outcomes”, i.e. social conflict, social exclusion, radicalization. Other dimensions, even though organized around less heavy conjectures, speculate about outcomes that in any case suppose a social confrontation, either between mainstream majority and minorities (minorities coalitions, hate speech normalisation, minorities legality, minorities mobilization, targets intra-group solidarity, targets intra-group cohesion) or among different factions of the mainstream majority (mainstream legality, hate speech acceptance, hate speech outlawing). Just one dimension evaluates the possibility of a positive outcome, i.e. general social cohesion, which is forecasted by about one third of the overall sample.



SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN FIGURING OUT FUTURE SCENARIOS

Comparing the distributions by age group, we find out significant differences in five expectations. Growing age seem to influence negatively the forecast of mainstream legality and minorities' mobilization: the youngest respondents seem to be more optimistic, but the proportion of those figuring out these possibilities decreases rather regularly as far as age grows, as if scepticism substitutes confidence in the public opinion "maturity of judgment". Three more scenarios confirm the tendency to growing scepticism, even if the age critical turning point shifts: trust in hate speech outlawing, general social cohesion and targets intra-group cohesion appears growing up to 18-22 years of age, then decreasing in the following age groups. With reference to gender, women seem more perceptive toward the "social disvalue" of hate speech, since envisage, more than men, possible future scenarios of social conflict, social exclusion and radicalization.

The outcome of the significant differences between majority and minorities members inside our sample leads us to guess the existence of polarized perceptions inside both groups. The majority members express the highest proportion of beliefs in hate speech acceptance and targets intra-group cohesion but, at the same time, they are divided between the "very likely" and "very unlikely" feasibility of hate speech outlawing: outlawing is in apparent contradiction with the acceptance hypothesis and this can result from the perception that formal stiffening of the laws will continue to be contrasted by widespread approval and support of hate speech.

Looking at the answers of those that feel to belong to minorities groups, we find that they express the highest levels of dichotomization ("very likely" versus "very unlikely") both in minorities legality and general social cohesion, while showing the highest level of uncertainty ("do not know") for targets intra-group cohesion. As possible explanations for the evidence, we can think of an "internal split" between optimist and pessimist/sceptic attitudes, between those who rely on hope and those who generalize past experiences.

Table 10 presents analytically the distribution of the dimensions of social value/disvalue by country. Individual scores for every dimension have been calculated as the mean of the individual scores (from 1 to 5) in the identifying variables with a saturation coefficient  $\geq .50$  in just that dimension, thus obtaining also in-between scores that are presented in the table; as a conceptual reference, we bear in mind that the "full score" values are: 1 = very likely; 2 = rather likely; 3 = do not know; 4 = rather unlikely; 5 = very unlikely.

Once more the significance of the differences has been evaluated only among Hungary, Slovenia and Italy, due to the limited number of valid answers for Finland and UK; significance coefficients have been calculated excluding Finland and UK.

Comparing the answers across countries, we find that differences are significant for all the identified dimensions. We have to remind - as already indicated for the previous areas - that differences among countries are evidently explained by the specific presented items.

Segregation	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
1	12,7%	6,2%	,0%	8,7%	3,0%	8,8%
1,50	12,0%	8,2%	,0%	13,0%	5,2%	9,5%
2	19,1%	16,5%	13,3%	17,4%	20,7%	18,8%
2,50	15,4%	22,7%	13,3%	30,4%	18,5%	17,9%
3	16,7%	21,6%	40,0%	17,4%	31,1%	21,6%

3,50	8,0%	16,5%	13,3%	4,3%	9,6%	9,8%
4	7,7%	5,2%	13,3%	8,7%	8,9%	7,7%
4,50	4,0%	3,1%	6,7%	,0%	3,0%	3,5%
5	4,3%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,3%
Minorities coalitions	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
1	13,7%	5,2%	,0%	4,3%	6,7%	9,8%
1,50	19,4%	10,3%	13,3%	13,0%	10,4%	15,3%
2	24,4%	21,6%	20,0%	13,0%	24,4%	23,4%
2,50	11,4%	15,5%	,0%	17,4%	14,8%	12,8%
3	10,0%	26,8%	40,0%	13,0%	23,0%	16,9%
3,50	5,4%	7,2%	13,3%	26,1%	5,9%	6,9%
4	6,0%	12,4%	6,7%	13,0%	8,1%	7,9%
4,50	2,3%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	1,5%	1,8%
5	7,4%	,0%	6,7%	,0%	5,2%	5,3%
Mainstream legitimacy	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
1	3,7%	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,2%	2,5%
1,50	14,4%	8,2%	26,7%	,0%	4,4%	10,7%
2	9,4%	9,3%	6,7%	13,0%	11,1%	9,8%
2,50	15,7%	32,0%	26,7%	30,4%	32,6%	23,4%
3	7,4%	20,6%	6,7%	17,4%	20,0%	13,0%
3,50	18,1%	15,5%	20,0%	17,4%	20,7%	18,3%
4	9,7%	8,2%	6,7%	8,7%	5,2%	8,3%
4,50	14,0%	5,2%	6,7%	13,0%	3,7%	9,8%
5	7,7%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	4,2%
Social conflict	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
1	20,1%	12,4%	,0%	8,7%	8,1%	14,9%
1,50	21,7%	18,6%	13,3%	4,3%	5,9%	16,5%
2	23,1%	14,4%	20,0%	13,0%	26,7%	22,0%
2,50	6,7%	13,4%	20,0%	17,4%	16,3%	10,9%
3	13,0%	15,5%	26,7%	26,1%	24,4%	17,0%
3,50	5,4%	10,3%	6,7%	8,7%	6,7%	6,7%
4	3,7%	12,4%	,0%	21,7%	8,1%	6,9%
4,50	2,7%	1,0%	6,7%	,0%	2,2%	2,3%
5	3,7%	2,1%	6,7%	,0%	1,5%	2,8%
Hate speech normalization	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
1	,0%	3,1%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,5%
1,50	2,7%	2,1%	,0%	4,3%	,0%	1,9%
2	6,4%	7,2%	6,7%	8,7%	1,5%	5,4%
2,50	9,0%	9,3%	6,7%	4,3%	13,3%	9,8%
3	14,7%	27,8%	6,7%	17,4%	25,2%	19,3%
3,50	20,1%	19,6%	6,7%	13,0%	19,3%	19,2%
4	15,1%	19,6%	33,3%	39,1%	18,5%	18,1%
4,50	16,4%	10,3%	20,0%	13,0%	13,3%	14,6%
5	15,7%	1,0%	20,0%	,0%	8,9%	11,1%

Social exclusion	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
1	26,8%	15,5%	,0%	21,7%	31,1%	25,0%
1,50	18,7%	11,3%	,0%	26,1%	24,4%	18,6%
2	20,4%	20,6%	33,3%	21,7%	21,5%	21,1%
2,50	6,0%	10,3%	20,0%	8,7%	7,4%	7,6%
3	9,4%	23,7%	13,3%	4,3%	11,1%	12,1%
3,50	5,7%	10,3%	13,3%	8,7%	,7%	5,6%
4	8,4%	5,2%	6,7%	8,7%	1,5%	6,2%
4,50	2,3%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	1,5%	1,8%
5	2,3%	2,1%	13,3%	,0%	,7%	2,1%
Hate speech acceptance	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
1	4,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	1,5%	2,5%
1,50	14,4%	14,4%	13,3%	8,7%	8,1%	12,7%
2	15,4%	11,3%	,0%	13,0%	8,9%	12,7%
2,50	22,4%	29,9%	33,3%	13,0%	34,1%	26,4%
3	6,0%	16,5%	6,7%	8,7%	14,8%	10,0%
3,50	13,7%	15,5%	20,0%	47,8%	20,7%	17,2%
4	7,4%	10,3%	,0%	4,3%	5,2%	7,0%
4,50	11,4%	2,1%	13,3%	,0%	5,9%	8,1%
5	5,4%	,0%	13,3%	4,3%	,7%	3,5%
Hate speech outlawing	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
1	7,4%	1,0%	,0%	,0%	,7%	4,2%
1,50	12,7%	3,1%	,0%	,0%	1,5%	7,6%
2	20,4%	12,4%	40,0%	4,3%	17,8%	18,3%
2,50	8,4%	10,3%	,0%	8,7%	13,3%	9,7%
3	14,4%	35,1%	40,0%	30,4%	27,4%	22,3%
3,50	10,0%	5,2%	,0%	8,7%	14,1%	9,8%
4	9,0%	24,7%	6,7%	34,8%	16,3%	14,4%
4,50	4,3%	7,2%	6,7%	8,7%	5,9%	5,4%
5	13,4%	1,0%	6,7%	4,3%	3,0%	8,3%
Minorities legality	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
1	34,1%	15,5%	13,3%	4,3%	15,6%	24,8%
2	42,1%	40,2%	13,3%	30,4%	23,7%	36,2%
3	6,4%	23,7%	20,0%	30,4%	18,5%	13,5%
4	9,0%	19,6%	26,7%	34,8%	25,2%	16,2%
5	8,4%	1,0%	26,7%	,0%	17,0%	9,3%
General social cohesion	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
1	2,3%	2,1%	6,7%	,0%	,0%	1,8%
1,50	6,7%	2,1%	6,7%	,0%	2,2%	4,6%
2	14,0%	19,6%	26,7%	8,7%	17,8%	16,0%
2,50	8,0%	13,4%	20,0%	8,7%	21,5%	12,5%
3	13,4%	23,7%	20,0%	34,8%	22,2%	18,3%
3,50	10,7%	15,5%	13,3%	17,4%	14,1%	12,7%

4	14,7%	18,6%	6,7%	26,1%	11,1%	14,8%
4,50	15,1%	5,2%	,0%	4,3%	5,9%	10,4%
5	15,1%	,0%	,0%	,0%	5,2%	9,1%
Radicalization	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
1	17,4%	12,4%	6,7%	8,7%	11,1%	14,4%
2	37,5%	24,7%	26,7%	34,8%	31,1%	33,4%
3	14,7%	33,0%	46,7%	21,7%	31,9%	23,0%
4	16,1%	24,7%	13,3%	26,1%	14,8%	17,6%
5	14,4%	5,2%	6,7%	8,7%	11,1%	11,6%
Targets intra-group solidarity	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
1	34,8%	32,0%	20,0%	60,9%	16,3%	30,6%
2	39,1%	38,1%	46,7%	17,4%	51,9%	41,3%
3	8,7%	15,5%	20,0%	13,0%	20,7%	13,2%
4	9,0%	12,4%	6,7%	8,7%	5,9%	8,8%
5	8,4%	2,1%	6,7%	,0%	5,2%	6,2%
Minorities mobilization	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
1	32,8%	10,3%	20,0%	8,7%	9,6%	22,1%
2	42,8%	27,8%	6,7%	26,1%	27,4%	35,0%
3	7,0%	34,0%	40,0%	26,1%	29,6%	18,6%
4	10,7%	24,7%	20,0%	34,8%	25,9%	17,9%
5	6,7%	3,1%	13,3%	4,3%	7,4%	6,3%
Targets intra-group cohesion	country					Total
	Hungary	Slovenia	Finland	UK	Italy	
1	41,8%	29,9%	13,3%	21,7%	19,3%	32,9%
2	32,4%	46,4%	53,3%	43,5%	37,0%	36,9%
3	6,7%	15,5%	20,0%	26,1%	23,7%	13,4%
4	9,0%	6,2%	,0%	8,7%	16,3%	10,0%
5	10,0%	2,1%	13,3%	,0%	3,7%	6,9%

Table 10 - Distribution of the dimensions of "social value/disvalue" by country (n=569)

The Hungarian sample is characterized by the highest proportions of respondents forecasting segregation, minorities coalitions, social conflict, social exclusion, minorities legality, radicalization, targets intra-group solidarity, minorities mobilization and targets intra-group cohesion; at the same time, they show the lowest levels of reliance on mainstream legality, general social cohesion, minorities mobilization. From this evidence, we can conclude that the Hungarian young people are definitely aware of the social disvalue of hate speech, since they forecast generally negative scenarios as outcome of the widespread use of the proposed message items. In apparent contradiction with the preceding overall scenario, they also do not trust in future hate speech acceptance and hate speech normalization, but we have to consider that "acceptance" has been defined as "public manifestation of approval" and "normalization" as "softening of laws"; the result is coherent with the already presented pattern, if we consider the current socio-political situation in the country, that seems to leave little room for a legal positive approach to deal with inter-ethnic conflict. In any case, we must remind that the proposed examples of hate speech were definitely concerning two "minorities", the Roma and Jews, thus contributing to organize future scenarios around the two suggested "targets".

The Slovenian sample is characterized by the highest levels of uncertainty (“do not know”) about minorities coalitions, hate speech acceptance, minorities legality, general social cohesion, radicalization and minorities mobilization; at the same time, results into the sample show the lowest levels of forecasted segregation, social conflict and targets intra-group cohesion. Generally speaking, the Slovenian young people seem rather uncertain about the future outcomes deriving from widespread occurrences of hate speech.

As for the Italian sample, the Italian young people are more optimistic in forecasting mainstream legality, hate speech normalization and general social cohesion, but the most pessimistic for what refers to outcomes of social exclusion, minorities legality, minorities mobilization and targets intra-group cohesion; they also appear more uncertain about future social conflict and targets intra-group solidarity. Here too, the specific items proposed as examples of hate speech can explain the findings, since examples were rather general and in just one case a definite minority target was indicated.

#### SOME IMPLICATIONS FROM OUR RESEARCH FINDINGS

The LIGHT ON project, even from its title, stresses “actions for combating the modern symbolism and languages of racism and discrimination” and among its objectives points to “challenge the normalization of racism and xenophobia and their acceptance in the dialogue and social dynamics of everyday life”. From this point of view, from our field research we can select some findings that are relevant for planning future actions. Age has been found a relevant factor in differentiating both perceptions and future forecasts, with - generally stated - scepticism and pessimism growing in parallel with age.

The aims of the project are the necessity to work with the young, to make them well aware and well convinced about the social disvalue of racism and xenophobia and to convince them of the need of positive actions - at the individual as well as collective and social level - to fight against hate speech. Women have been found paying more attention to emotional and social aspects and to ‘potentially aggressive’ meanings of the messages.

It is worth underlining the opportunity to pay attention to interpersonal, emotional and relational aspects/consequences of hate speech, which could be blurred in the general discourses about collective, societal dimensions of the “social disvalue”.

The specific differences found among countries are obviously dependent on the “local” past history and actual inter-ethnic social and legal framework; moreover, we pointed to the relevance of the specific proposed items in framing/structuring perceptions and future forecasts. In a broad sense, we found that the most “clear” is the proposed situation (clearly identified targets, clearly directed icons and statements, etc.), the most definite is the set of perceptions and forecasts.

As a general suggestion drawn from these hints, we would underline the opportunity to better articulate the “actions for combating the modern symbolism and languages of racism and discrimination”, clearly identifying/analysing specific issues/incidents that involve a definite minority and proving the connections among these issues and the more general problem of racism and xenophobia, but also the need to make clear the racist/ xenophobic consequences that general issues entail for different, definite minority groups.



**ANNEX A - MEANING ASCRIPTION - Component Matrix(a)**

	Component														
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
q0058_0007 Personal meaning: Identification of enemies	0,582	-0,016	0,020	-0,349	0,107	-0,115	0,061	0,043	-0,020	0,204	-0,010	-0,117	-0,058	-0,324	0,063
q0043_0007 Personal meaning: Identification of enemies	0,562	-0,226	-0,292	-0,179	-0,063	0,152	-0,233	0,000	0,078	-0,037	-0,156	-0,027	0,116	-0,098	-0,052
q0028_0007 Personal meaning: Identification of enemies	0,554	-0,005	-0,007	-0,371	0,056	-0,084	-0,146	0,173	0,091	-0,060	-0,184	-0,049	-0,021	-0,162	0,031
q0043_0010 Personal meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,535	-0,320	-0,128	0,012	-0,111	0,180	-0,273	-0,114	0,155	-0,160	0,010	0,073	0,033	-0,013	-0,033
q0028_0010 Personal meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,507	-0,284	-0,007	0,004	0,168	-0,227	-0,051	0,128	-0,042	-0,205	0,013	0,007	0,191	0,092	-0,156
q0058_0004 Personal meaning: Dehumanization	0,507	-0,206	0,113	0,034	0,305	-0,019	0,190	-0,259	0,053	0,236	0,005	-0,276	0,052	0,045	0,147
q0058_0008 Personal meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,487	0,162	-0,048	-0,287	-0,080	0,064	-0,108	-0,032	-0,153	0,201	0,397	0,099	-0,161	-0,094	0,163
q0043_0008 Personal meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,487	0,069	-0,120	-0,226	-0,106	0,057	-0,116	0,030	0,058	0,217	0,055	0,112	0,066	-0,142	-0,295
q0058_0010 Personal meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,459	-0,232	0,077	-0,176	0,243	-0,112	0,160	-0,147	0,143	-0,112	-0,008	-0,203	0,142	-0,203	-0,241
q0013_0007 Personal meaning: Identification of enemies	0,452	-0,019	-0,223	-0,215	-0,196	-0,287	0,139	0,157	0,192	0,120	-0,044	-0,080	0,091	0,087	-0,050
q0028_0011 Personal meaning: Proposal of an action plan	0,444	0,245	0,091	-0,173	0,103	-0,075	-0,060	0,069	-0,124	-0,127	0,117	-0,118	-0,256	0,368	-0,217
q0028_0008 Personal meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,443	0,151	-0,058	-0,364	-0,150	-0,050	-0,317	0,057	-0,027	0,020	0,021	-0,028	-0,128	0,011	0,435
q0028_0001 Personal meaning: Discrimination	0,443	-0,289	0,300	0,127	0,277	-0,019	-0,076	0,297	-0,283	-0,024	-0,011	0,220	-0,064	-0,064	-0,129
q0028_0002 Personal meaning: Exclusion	0,440	-0,356	0,267	0,150	0,269	0,009	-0,045	0,372	-0,297	0,006	-0,042	0,201	-0,064	-0,076	-0,075
q0058_0002 Personal meaning: Exclusion	0,439	-0,292	0,187	-0,069	0,321	0,038	0,235	-0,288	-0,033	-0,123	0,004	0,238	-0,088	0,049	0,209
q0058_0012 Personal meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,423	0,095	-0,246	0,166	-0,247	-0,230	0,318	-0,187	-0,251	0,020	0,135	-0,001	0,013	-0,174	0,001

q0028_0012 Personal meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,418	0,179	-0,154	0,220	-0,331	-0,119	0,062	-0,036	-0,364	-0,056	0,052	-0,032	0,118	-0,053	0,149
q0043_0004 Personal meaning: Dehumanization	0,406	-0,320	-0,241	0,343	-0,040	0,267	-0,099	-0,104	-0,025	0,232	-0,169	-0,241	0,006	0,062	-0,066
q0058_0011 Personal meaning: Proposal of an action plan	0,394	0,279	0,223	-0,252	-0,172	0,085	0,002	-0,155	-0,150	-0,022	0,244	-0,124	-0,165	0,186	-0,174
q0013_0011 Personal meaning: Proposal of an action plan	0,394	0,098	-0,307	0,045	0,025	-0,341	0,200	-0,001	0,081	-0,099	0,090	0,216	-0,164	0,293	-0,256
q0058_0001 Personal meaning: Discrimination	0,391	-0,374	0,194	-0,049	0,339	-0,032	0,169	-0,315	-0,028	-0,105	0,112	0,171	-0,021	0,100	0,275
q0013_0008 Personal meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,391	0,048	-0,334	-0,024	0,031	-0,252	-0,151	0,053	0,140	0,327	-0,120	-0,029	-0,148	0,164	0,077
q0043_0011 Personal meaning: Proposal of an action plan	0,389	0,217	0,140	-0,166	-0,157	0,105	-0,203	-0,309	0,018	-0,258	-0,193	-0,004	-0,077	0,185	-0,219
q0013_0012 Personal meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,370	0,005	-0,130	0,354	-0,262	-0,280	0,255	-0,118	-0,004	0,027	-0,096	0,164	0,056	-0,065	0,052
q0013_0002 Personal meaning: Exclusion	0,352	-0,300	0,289	0,162	-0,314	0,106	0,224	0,282	0,181	0,049	0,055	0,104	-0,082	0,056	0,035
q0013_0005 Personal meaning: Ties to the historical past	0,305	0,212	-0,220	-0,023	-0,007	-0,191	0,038	0,037	0,100	0,140	-0,302	0,286	0,061	-0,046	0,071
q0043_0003 Personal meaning: Pride	0,217	0,496	0,437	0,163	-0,041	0,004	-0,132	-0,116	0,133	-0,191	-0,187	-0,012	-0,123	-0,174	-0,008
q0043_0001 Personal meaning: Discrimination	0,350	-0,484	-0,270	0,229	-0,024	0,347	-0,221	-0,036	0,024	-0,106	0,086	0,002	0,000	0,081	0,054
q0028_0005 Personal meaning: Ties to the historical past	0,286	0,474	0,286	0,062	-0,019	-0,048	-0,076	0,081	-0,048	0,040	-0,145	0,050	0,323	0,137	0,153
q0043_0009 Personal meaning: Support for the target group	0,155	0,469	0,456	0,068	0,094	-0,155	-0,148	-0,042	0,155	0,106	-0,015	0,147	0,101	-0,154	-0,057
q0028_0003 Personal meaning: Pride	0,297	0,442	0,010	0,299	0,079	-0,041	-0,087	0,289	0,064	-0,248	-0,007	-0,319	-0,124	-0,071	0,138
q0043_0002 Personal meaning: Exclusion	0,404	-0,438	-0,162	0,270	-0,018	0,363	-0,199	-0,017	0,069	-0,059	-0,066	0,106	-0,008	-0,044	0,004
q0058_0009 Personal meaning: Support for the target group	0,236	0,429	0,104	0,239	-0,015	0,208	0,001	0,009	-0,050	0,346	0,145	0,138	-0,145	0,065	-0,163



q0028_0006 Personal meaning: Scientific truth	0,156	0,417	-0,334	-0,120	0,165	0,325	0,158	0,232	-0,008	-0,089	0,010	-0,013	0,034	0,279	0,272
q0043_0005 Personal meaning: Ties to the historical past	0,332	0,414	0,308	0,040	-0,036	0,067	-0,003	-0,068	-0,106	-0,086	-0,403	0,050	0,074	0,143	0,072
q0043_0006 Personal meaning: Scientific truth	0,186	0,402	-0,225	0,009	0,048	0,241	0,327	0,214	0,137	-0,060	-0,107	0,187	-0,135	-0,188	-0,066
q0013_0003 Personal meaning: Pride	0,195	0,380	-0,215	0,306	0,173	-0,303	-0,060	0,086	0,112	-0,262	0,038	-0,147	-0,066	0,066	0,085
q0058_0003 Personal meaning: Pride	0,325	0,372	0,051	0,141	0,174	0,215	0,163	-0,049	0,095	-0,161	0,192	-0,246	-0,173	-0,360	-0,022
q0013_0004 Personal meaning: Dehumanization	0,281	-0,137	0,428	0,175	-0,255	0,127	0,204	-0,070	0,191	0,324	-0,195	-0,217	-0,186	0,117	-0,036
q0013_0006 Personal meaning: Scientific truth	0,126	0,264	-0,373	0,034	0,277	0,243	0,278	-0,149	0,048	0,015	-0,242	0,024	-0,126	0,051	-0,037
q0013_0001 Personal meaning: Discrimination	0,220	-0,333	0,365	-0,034	-0,337	0,145	0,220	0,226	0,315	-0,081	0,065	0,092	-0,130	0,071	0,165
q0043_0012 Personal meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,382	0,117	-0,106	0,198	-0,433	0,030	-0,050	-0,153	-0,348	-0,185	-0,032	0,026	0,000	-0,129	0,001
q0013_0009 Personal meaning: Support for the target group	0,146	0,248	-0,117	0,305	0,322	-0,139	-0,249	-0,201	0,257	0,117	0,120	0,177	0,049	0,002	0,018
q0058_0006 Personal meaning: Scientific truth	0,180	0,397	-0,235	-0,147	0,118	0,450	0,278	0,157	-0,061	-0,034	0,072	0,011	0,288	-0,006	-0,103
q0028_0009 Personal meaning: Support for the target group	0,183	0,364	0,013	0,388	0,081	0,042	-0,251	0,022	0,226	0,160	0,391	0,076	0,113	0,022	0,011
q0028_0004 Personal meaning: Dehumanization	0,334	-0,319	0,091	0,252	0,177	-0,162	0,041	0,218	-0,199	0,145	-0,008	-0,356	0,154	0,126	-0,006
q0058_0005 Personal meaning: Ties to the historical past	0,238	0,391	0,265	-0,131	0,032	0,252	0,039	-0,067	-0,126	0,169	0,039	0,002	0,432	0,130	-0,005
q0013_0010 Personal meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,336	-0,157	0,108	-0,044	-0,238	-0,075	0,141	0,018	0,358	-0,265	0,282	-0,023	0,364	0,061	-0,001

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 15 components extracted.

## ANNEX B - MEANING ASCRIPTION - Rotated Component Matrix

	Component														
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
q0043_0001 Personal meaning: Discrimination	0,749	-0,222	0,017	0,064	-0,053	0,119	0,036	0,135	0,073	0,035	-0,006	-0,105	0,009	0,094	0,071
q0043_0002 Personal meaning: Exclusion	0,742	-0,072	0,022	0,066	-0,007	0,198	-0,014	0,126	0,152	0,060	-0,088	0,006	-0,013	0,005	-0,018
q0043_0010 Personal meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,667	0,017	-0,073	0,077	0,096	0,083	0,153	0,138	0,090	0,030	0,111	0,128	-0,004	-0,080	0,189
q0043_0004 Personal meaning: Dehumanization	0,639	-0,044	0,026	0,166	0,096	0,021	-0,082	0,009	0,107	0,057	-0,009	0,081	-0,014	0,412	-0,198
q0043_0007 Personal meaning: Identification of enemies	0,606	0,048	0,088	0,065	0,237	0,084	0,270	0,001	-0,046	-0,118	0,042	0,264	-0,052	0,026	0,129
q0043_0005 Personal meaning: Ties to the historical past	-0,011	0,707	0,130	0,118	0,080	0,053	0,015	0,080	0,061	-0,056	0,157	-0,034	0,112	0,000	-0,106
q0028_0005 Personal meaning: Ties to the historical past	-0,133	0,650	0,129	0,100	0,081	0,078	0,135	-0,032	0,000	0,175	0,024	-0,093	0,082	0,123	0,142
q0043_0003 Personal meaning: Pride	-0,077	0,591	-0,076	0,059	-0,106	-0,029	-0,006	0,000	0,127	0,183	0,132	0,187	0,360	-0,234	-0,123
q0043_0009 Personal meaning: Support for the target group	-0,266	0,528	-0,102	-0,045	0,020	0,085	0,052	-0,011	0,031	0,410	0,024	0,203	0,087	-0,129	0,013
q0058_0005 Personal meaning: Ties to the historical past	-0,089	0,523	0,325	0,039	-0,146	-0,004	0,121	0,012	-0,043	0,202	0,141	0,043	-0,246	0,207	0,158
q0058_0006 Personal meaning: Scientific truth	0,019	0,118	0,777	0,056	-0,073	-0,011	0,029	-0,098	-0,105	0,061	0,074	0,103	-0,066	0,023	0,130
q0028_0006 Personal meaning: Scientific truth	0,015	0,074	0,695	-0,061	0,107	-0,095	0,221	0,030	-0,085	-0,009	0,083	-0,269	0,207	0,062	0,026
q0043_0006 Personal meaning: Scientific truth	-0,044	0,046	0,602	0,100	0,173	0,025	-0,019	-0,070	0,127	0,067	-0,032	0,159	0,176	-0,280	-0,134
q0013_0006 Personal meaning: Scientific truth	0,101	0,019	0,520	0,017	0,219	-0,166	-0,159	0,180	-0,147	-0,008	0,040	0,083	0,107	-0,016	-0,295
q0058_0012 Personal meaning: Unverified scientific position	-0,012	-0,087	0,084	0,732	0,166	-0,010	0,053	0,113	0,006	0,051	0,073	0,171	0,037	0,070	0,032
q0028_0012 Personal meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,094	0,147	0,064	0,687	0,051	0,061	0,176	-0,043	-0,025	0,015	0,056	-0,078	0,109	0,117	0,066

q0043_0012 Personal meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,264	0,180	-0,018	0,659	-0,062	0,029	0,096	-0,088	-0,001	-0,058	0,150	-0,016	0,062	-0,098	-0,025
q0013_0012 Personal meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,071	0,076	-0,048	0,575	0,339	0,018	-0,126	0,127	0,176	0,088	-0,113	0,029	0,069	0,007	0,052
q0013_0008 Personal meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,163	-0,039	-0,023	0,032	0,600	-0,028	0,269	-0,006	-0,025	0,136	0,071	0,019	0,088	0,205	-0,127
q0013_0011 Personal meaning: Proposal of an action plan	-0,004	-0,163	0,114	0,232	0,572	0,108	-0,128	0,143	-0,016	0,109	0,378	-0,008	0,120	-0,094	0,141
q0013_0005 Personal meaning: Ties to the historical past	0,028	0,229	0,146	0,158	0,529	0,036	0,108	0,031	-0,046	0,053	-0,146	0,060	-0,007	-0,117	-0,055
q0013_0007 Personal meaning: Identification of enemies	0,044	-0,031	0,070	0,155	0,528	-0,021	0,211	-0,068	0,159	-0,089	0,107	0,207	0,000	0,157	0,268
q0028_0002 Personal meaning: Exclusion	0,180	0,032	-0,037	0,025	0,001	0,817	0,056	0,167	0,149	-0,009	-0,004	0,061	0,004	0,102	-0,050
q0028_0001 Personal meaning: Discrimination	0,153	0,076	-0,066	0,023	-0,004	0,784	0,039	0,182	0,103	0,039	0,072	0,088	0,001	0,052	-0,030
q0028_0010 Personal meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,248	0,018	-0,078	0,075	0,230	0,421	-0,009	0,175	-0,063	-0,074	0,141	0,155	0,088	0,150	0,363
q0028_0008 Personal meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,139	0,179	-0,022	0,058	0,166	-0,047	0,753	0,061	0,009	-0,056	0,120	-0,045	0,126	-0,029	0,027
q0058_0008 Personal meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,040	-0,058	0,130	0,223	0,016	0,075	0,639	0,118	0,035	0,256	0,271	0,112	-0,102	-0,036	-0,015
q0028_0007 Personal meaning: Identification of enemies	0,189	0,190	0,050	-0,059	0,280	0,206	0,428	0,039	0,026	-0,177	0,091	0,362	0,117	-0,031	0,106
q0058_0001 Personal meaning: Discrimination	0,139	-0,011	-0,074	0,019	-0,009	0,181	0,089	0,789	0,063	-0,006	0,038	0,039	-0,058	0,076	0,107
q0058_0002 Personal meaning: Exclusion	0,143	0,054	0,036	0,045	0,032	0,211	0,059	0,761	0,107	-0,048	0,065	0,098	-0,057	-0,026	0,016
q0058_0004 Personal meaning: Dehumanization	0,152	0,063	0,010	0,041	0,089	0,018	0,092	0,507	0,107	0,088	0,044	0,306	0,024	0,503	-0,025
q0013_0001 Personal meaning: Discrimination	0,104	-0,012	-0,056	-0,056	-0,041	0,083	0,099	0,128	0,756	-0,119	-0,003	-0,035	-0,018	-0,094	0,221
q0013_0002 Personal meaning: Exclusion	0,154	-0,004	-0,016	0,114	0,046	0,243	0,014	0,043	0,706	0,012	0,003	-0,009	-0,031	0,035	0,149

q0013_0004 Personal meaning: Dehumanization	0,091	0,228	-0,139	0,030	0,030	-0,072	-0,092	0,068	0,659	0,025	0,127	0,154	-0,062	0,303	-0,214
q0028_0009 Personal meaning: Support for the target group	0,067	0,104	0,064	0,040	-0,009	-0,014	0,055	-0,090	-0,010	0,739	0,020	-0,072	0,194	0,041	0,117
q0013_0009 Personal meaning: Support for the target group	0,094	0,100	-0,044	-0,052	0,225	-0,048	-0,053	0,162	-0,244	0,582	-0,069	0,012	0,183	-0,040	-0,017
q0058_0009 Personal meaning: Support for the target group	-0,041	0,190	0,239	0,143	0,025	0,076	0,016	-0,109	0,148	0,520	0,241	-0,011	-0,047	0,030	-0,279
q0028_0011 Personal meaning: Proposal of an action plan	-0,022	0,113	0,098	-0,015	0,161	0,190	0,151	0,061	-0,011	0,027	0,684	0,016	0,198	0,087	0,025
q0058_0011 Personal meaning: Proposal of an action plan	-0,050	0,176	0,071	0,159	-0,096	-0,035	0,244	0,040	0,112	0,081	0,651	0,126	-0,043	0,026	0,033
q0043_0011 Personal meaning: Proposal of an action plan	0,270	0,436	-0,040	0,059	0,064	-0,114	0,026	0,063	-0,027	-0,080	0,516	0,118	0,030	-0,181	0,019
q0058_0010 Personal meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,149	0,007	-0,012	-0,002	0,086	0,134	-0,044	0,287	-0,009	-0,095	0,116	0,613	0,035	0,149	0,246
q0058_0007 Personal meaning: Identification of enemies	0,023	0,050	0,074	0,108	0,197	0,179	0,483	0,163	0,065	-0,041	0,044	0,531	-0,004	0,132	-0,026
q0043_0008 Personal meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,226	0,067	0,131	0,110	0,252	0,123	0,242	-0,144	0,022	0,178	0,205	0,370	-0,228	-0,052	0,069
q0028_0003 Personal meaning: Pride	0,003	0,214	0,165	0,109	-0,008	0,084	0,116	-0,153	0,037	0,135	0,069	0,033	0,718	0,095	-0,002
q0013_0003 Personal meaning: Pride	-0,050	0,058	0,064	0,141	0,239	-0,017	-0,037	-0,001	-0,197	0,189	0,066	-0,059	0,628	0,031	0,092
q0058_0003 Personal meaning: Pride	0,005	0,058	0,323	0,154	-0,245	-0,034	0,069	0,096	0,071	0,242	0,118	0,416	0,445	-0,044	-0,091
q0028_0004 Personal meaning: Dehumanization	0,122	-0,034	-0,111	0,092	0,051	0,376	-0,042	0,061	0,070	-0,039	-0,008	0,059	0,127	0,631	0,087
q0013_0010 Personal meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,138	0,029	-0,011	0,109	0,029	-0,067	0,011	0,111	0,290	0,051	0,052	0,136	0,028	0,002	0,700

**ANNEX C - MEANING INTENTIONS - Component Matrix(a)**

	Component											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
q0060_0008 Users meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,621	0,098	-0,220	-0,225	0,042	0,133	-0,126	0,030	-0,044	-0,160	-0,024	-0,168
q0060_0007 Users meaning: Identification of enemies	0,618	-0,116	-0,136	-0,368	0,042	0,072	-0,005	0,136	-0,176	-0,103	-0,060	0,072
q0030_0007 Users meaning: Identification of enemies	0,592	-0,122	-0,091	-0,215	-0,065	-0,030	0,287	0,046	0,242	-0,073	-0,173	0,026
q0030_0010 Users meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,557	-0,136	0,081	-0,256	-0,235	0,036	0,103	0,054	0,207	-0,074	-0,170	0,044
q0060_0006 Users meaning: Scientific truth	0,549	0,183	-0,245	0,112	0,080	0,116	-0,417	-0,060	0,016	-0,012	0,024	-0,089
q0030_0008 Users meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,545	0,142	-0,074	-0,187	0,109	0,015	0,068	-0,174	0,154	-0,023	-0,196	-0,344
q0045_0010 Users meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,539	-0,266	-0,187	0,000	-0,257	-0,233	0,106	0,046	-0,009	-0,072	0,029	0,042
q0045_0007 Users meaning: Identification of enemies	0,519	-0,268	-0,377	0,021	-0,080	-0,235	0,121	0,080	-0,029	-0,148	0,020	-0,136
q0045_0008 Users meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,512	0,018	-0,169	0,042	0,132	-0,279	-0,008	0,089	0,000	-0,141	-0,124	-0,218
q0060_0002 Users meaning: Exclusion	0,510	-0,324	0,009	-0,283	-0,093	-0,003	-0,184	-0,057	-0,164	0,277	0,158	0,140
q0030_0003 Users meaning: Pride	0,499	0,391	0,099	0,007	-0,259	0,136	0,274	-0,178	0,013	0,101	-0,010	-0,062
q0060_0010 Users meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,498	-0,260	-0,035	-0,286	-0,171	0,165	-0,105	0,059	-0,118	-0,109	0,013	0,215
q0060_0011 Users meaning: Proposal of an action plan	0,497	0,184	0,040	-0,248	0,255	0,044	-0,254	0,235	-0,136	-0,038	0,034	-0,084
q0060_0003 Users meaning: Pride	0,490	0,241	0,033	-0,086	-0,249	0,191	0,158	-0,129	-0,247	0,033	0,184	0,008
q0060_0004 Users meaning: Dehumanization	0,487	-0,240	0,255	-0,017	-0,072	0,160	-0,122	0,078	-0,215	-0,286	-0,262	0,264
q0030_0006 Users meaning: Scientific truth	0,479	0,270	-0,152	0,208	0,013	0,139	-0,313	-0,248	0,130	0,081	-0,073	-0,111

q0045_0006 Users meaning: Scientific truth	0,476	0,227	-0,151	0,268	0,215	-0,110	-0,279	-0,078	-0,017	0,036	0,062	-0,076
q0045_0011 Users meaning: Proposal of an action plan	0,476	-0,031	-0,009	-0,128	0,189	-0,371	-0,048	0,324	-0,072	0,371	-0,062	0,019
q0045_0002 Users meaning: Exclusion	0,473	-0,412	-0,165	0,275	-0,287	-0,266	-0,082	-0,014	-0,017	-0,082	0,079	-0,052
q0030_0011 Users meaning: Proposal of an action plan	0,464	0,200	-0,050	-0,224	0,077	-0,009	-0,113	0,213	0,245	0,323	-0,144	-0,031
q0015_0008 Users meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,460	0,278	-0,248	0,048	0,108	-0,061	0,068	-0,089	0,109	-0,113	-0,059	0,037
q0015_0011 Users meaning: Proposal of an action plan	0,441	0,273	-0,095	0,032	0,076	-0,104	0,025	0,080	0,337	0,274	0,043	0,325
q0015_0007 Users meaning: Identification of enemies	0,429	-0,093	-0,102	-0,061	0,276	0,057	0,322	-0,105	0,234	-0,189	0,046	0,043
q0060_0005 Users meaning: Ties to the historical past	0,427	0,331	0,228	0,047	0,076	-0,072	-0,163	-0,223	-0,314	-0,100	-0,038	-0,131
q0030_0005 Users meaning: Ties to the historical past	0,426	0,320	0,209	0,051	0,169	0,075	-0,112	-0,280	-0,010	-0,024	-0,210	0,082
q0015_0003 Users meaning: Pride	0,418	0,393	-0,058	-0,025	-0,178	0,026	0,325	-0,257	0,049	0,053	0,175	0,058
q0015_0005 Users meaning: Ties to the historical past	0,407	0,228	-0,119	0,060	0,219	0,113	-0,106	-0,210	0,059	-0,083	0,228	0,204
q0015_0010 Users meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,355	-0,258	0,102	-0,135	0,310	0,086	0,215	0,072	0,091	-0,325	0,288	0,162
q0015_0012 Users meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,331	-0,053	0,023	0,194	0,240	0,182	-0,028	0,283	0,090	0,119	0,020	0,187
q0015_0001 Users meaning: Discrimination	0,232	-0,599	0,285	0,164	0,311	0,101	0,052	-0,139	0,028	0,015	0,174	-0,208
q0015_0002 Users meaning: Exclusion	0,288	-0,522	0,249	0,143	0,308	-0,003	0,097	-0,092	0,102	-0,018	0,262	-0,224
q0030_0001 Users meaning: Discrimination	0,350	-0,510	0,293	-0,020	-0,185	0,094	-0,043	-0,132	0,141	0,254	0,044	-0,087
q0015_0009 Users meaning: Support to the target group	0,223	0,474	0,157	0,113	-0,257	-0,147	-0,050	0,139	0,272	-0,126	0,227	0,091
q0045_0001 Users meaning: Discrimination	0,415	-0,465	-0,183	0,334	-0,299	-0,212	-0,060	-0,013	0,066	-0,058	0,129	-0,042

q0060_0001 Users meaning: Discrimination	0,388	-0,432	0,086	-0,215	-0,137	0,124	-0,198	-0,044	-0,233	0,181	0,284	0,048
q0060_0009 Users meaning: Support to the target group	0,271	0,414	0,411	0,092	-0,192	-0,088	-0,175	0,242	-0,041	-0,134	0,165	-0,092
q0030_0002 Users meaning: Exclusion	0,368	-0,410	0,241	-0,035	-0,197	0,035	-0,077	-0,185	0,239	0,279	-0,017	-0,100
q0045_0005 Users meaning: Ties to the historical past	0,365	0,405	0,145	0,055	0,103	-0,340	0,122	-0,226	-0,271	0,036	-0,047	0,069
q0045_0009 Users meaning: Support to the target group	0,180	0,436	0,508	-0,106	0,009	-0,161	0,004	0,264	0,058	-0,055	0,027	-0,061
q0030_0009 Users meaning: Support to the target group_	0,250	0,411	0,422	0,117	-0,259	-0,008	-0,102	0,198	0,238	-0,207	0,182	-0,100
q0045_0004 Users meaning: Dehumanization	0,352	-0,353	0,033	0,443	-0,069	-0,235	-0,035	0,050	-0,141	-0,114	-0,199	0,202
q0045_0012 Users meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,313	0,066	-0,085	0,427	0,020	0,013	0,317	0,307	-0,291	0,248	0,004	-0,051
q0015_0004 Users meaning: Dehumanization	0,254	-0,389	0,397	0,034	0,442	-0,173	0,100	0,077	0,027	0,001	-0,066	0,022
q0060_0012 Users meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,333	0,047	-0,151	0,178	-0,016	0,494	0,180	0,297	-0,210	-0,064	0,103	-0,185
q0030_0012 Users meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,369	0,110	-0,019	0,382	-0,051	0,486	0,162	0,238	0,038	0,177	-0,185	-0,114
q0045_0003 Users meaning: Pride	0,379	0,307	0,232	-0,100	0,020	-0,194	0,388	-0,160	-0,315	0,178	-0,026	-0,030
q0030_0004 Users meaning: Dehumanization	0,273	-0,329	0,382	0,223	-0,129	0,156	-0,049	-0,123	0,043	-0,101	-0,443	0,100
q0015_0006 Users meaning: Scientific truth	0,330	0,179	-0,059	0,337	0,169	0,098	0,000	-0,121	0,022	0,071	0,112	0,406

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.  
a. 12 components extracted.

## ANNEX D - MEANING INTENTIONS - Rotated Component Matrix

	Component											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
q0060_0006 Users meaning: Scientific truth	0,700	0,154	0,205	0,066	-0,031	-0,059	0,079	0,031	0,126	0,079	-0,002	0,141
q0030_0006 Users meaning: Scientific truth	0,680	0,073	-0,017	0,091	0,083	-0,119	0,072	0,197	0,114	-0,011	0,051	0,181
q0045_0006 Users meaning: Scientific truth	0,612	0,205	-0,013	-0,036	0,126	0,077	0,096	-0,055	0,072	0,168	-0,025	0,203
q0060_0008 Users meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,480	0,111	0,390	0,385	0,071	0,003	0,064	-0,055	0,143	0,074	-0,024	-0,072
q0030_0005 Users meaning: Ties to the historical past	0,443	-0,170	0,017	0,128	0,333	0,035	0,129	0,054	-0,028	0,031	0,312	0,185
q0060_0011 Users meaning: Proposal of an action plan	0,406	-0,097	0,400	0,123	0,061	0,129	0,211	-0,151	0,089	0,333	0,003	-0,045
q0015_0008 Users meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,376	0,141	-0,012	0,360	0,186	-0,060	0,047	-0,142	0,056	0,063	-0,018	0,227
q0045_0001 Users meaning: Discrimination	0,080	0,765	0,095	0,039	-0,096	0,125	-0,012	0,240	0,063	-0,051	0,051	0,065
q0045_0002 Users meaning: Exclusion	0,126	0,761	0,146	0,049	-0,013	0,103	0,007	0,185	0,028	0,000	0,090	0,013
q0045_0007 Users meaning: Identification of enemies	0,155	0,611	0,183	0,348	0,044	0,094	-0,110	-0,064	0,091	0,109	-0,074	-0,063
q0045_0010 Users meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,023	0,591	0,262	0,292	0,110	0,016	0,012	0,097	0,026	0,094	0,040	0,045
q0045_0004 Users meaning: Dehumanization	0,028	0,577	0,008	-0,083	0,041	0,151	-0,047	-0,010	0,072	0,095	0,470	0,144
q0045_0008 Users meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,355	0,360	0,015	0,295	0,124	0,128	0,062	-0,143	0,036	0,258	0,037	-0,106
q0060_0001 Users meaning: Discrimination	0,034	0,190	0,641	-0,114	0,033	0,204	-0,074	0,351	0,020	0,034	-0,030	-0,005
q0060_0010 Users meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,055	0,176	0,634	0,233	-0,019	0,006	-0,003	0,103	0,034	0,013	0,187	0,068
q0060_0002 Users meaning: Exclusion	0,102	0,198	0,611	0,016	0,116	0,099	-0,106	0,345	-0,059	0,223	-0,008	0,093



q0060_0007 Users meaning: Identification of enemies	0,182	0,135	0,589	0,379	0,109	0,060	-0,043	-0,076	0,093	0,205	0,097	-0,020
q0030_0007 Users meaning: Identification of enemies	0,033	0,223	0,184	0,662	0,108	0,063	0,019	0,130	0,075	0,161	0,111	0,069
q0015_0007 Users meaning: Identification of enemies	0,111	0,080	0,047	0,534	0,087	0,342	-0,076	-0,053	0,058	-0,033	-0,012	0,228
q0030_0010 Users meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,020	0,174	0,303	0,525	0,054	-0,012	0,162	0,256	0,026	0,103	0,215	-0,001
q0030_0008 Users meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,450	0,010	0,027	0,513	0,229	0,079	0,019	0,139	0,053	0,114	-0,005	-0,157
q0045_0003 Users meaning: Pride	-0,004	-0,026	0,061	0,126	0,763	0,051	0,097	0,005	0,070	0,172	0,007	0,005
q0045_0005 Users meaning: Ties to the historical past	0,227	0,067	-0,034	0,009	0,660	0,000	0,143	-0,147	-0,112	0,158	0,083	0,125
q0030_0003 Users meaning: Pride	0,174	0,001	0,052	0,315	0,507	-0,168	0,254	0,223	0,254	-0,081	-0,002	0,124
q0015_0003 Users meaning: Pride	0,129	0,051	0,045	0,322	0,497	-0,139	0,171	0,100	0,107	-0,139	-0,192	0,278
q0060_0005 Users meaning: Ties to the historical past	0,463	-0,010	0,134	-0,070	0,476	0,071	0,229	-0,065	-0,015	-0,001	0,174	-0,069
q0060_0003 Users meaning: Pride	0,147	0,057	0,367	0,141	0,462	-0,104	0,173	0,107	0,250	-0,146	-0,071	0,097
q0015_0002 Users meaning: Exclusion	0,042	0,196	0,044	0,047	-0,029	0,753	-0,048	0,249	0,052	-0,017	-0,009	-0,016
q0015_0001 Users meaning: Discrimination	0,037	0,135	0,070	-0,033	-0,052	0,749	-0,149	0,298	0,086	-0,057	0,103	-0,051
q0015_0004 Users meaning: Dehumanization	-0,074	0,041	0,020	0,063	0,050	0,651	-0,019	0,050	-0,070	0,304	0,287	0,020
q0015_0010 Users meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	-0,065	0,057	0,313	0,331	-0,036	0,546	0,070	-0,156	0,011	-0,071	0,004	0,224
q0030_0009 Users meaning: Support to the target group_	0,116	-0,009	-0,039	0,066	0,053	-0,022	0,801	0,071	0,075	-0,064	0,039	0,036
q0060_0009 Users meaning: Support to the target group	0,151	0,011	0,083	-0,111	0,175	-0,027	0,721	-0,037	0,083	0,067	0,060	-0,036
q0015_0009 Users meaning: Support to the target group	0,095	0,090	-0,075	0,100	0,083	-0,181	0,653	-0,015	-0,025	-0,008	-0,102	0,249
q0045_0009 Users meaning: Support to the target group	0,000	-0,212	-0,018	0,053	0,231	0,057	0,646	-0,068	-0,023	0,250	0,073	-0,057

q0030_0002 Users meaning: Exclusion	0,044	0,182	0,143	0,124	-0,005	0,196	0,004	0,674	-0,039	0,072	0,131	-0,015
q0030_0001 Users meaning: Discrimination	-0,041	0,191	0,226	0,058	-0,014	0,288	-0,012	0,650	0,031	0,035	0,151	-0,036
q0030_0012 Users meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,175	-0,003	-0,069	0,135	0,011	-0,039	0,068	0,167	0,746	0,049	0,185	0,124
q0060_0012 Users meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,132	0,047	0,223	0,109	0,010	0,067	0,047	-0,104	0,716	-0,106	-0,049	-0,021
q0045_0012 Users meaning: Unverified scientific position	-0,026	0,282	-0,072	-0,091	0,290	0,053	-0,007	-0,086	0,609	0,251	0,001	0,118
q0045_0011 Users meaning: Proposal of an action plan	0,104	0,205	0,185	0,074	0,164	0,100	0,039	0,039	0,024	0,732	-0,034	0,047
q0030_0011 Users meaning: Proposal of an action plan	0,275	-0,085	0,130	0,315	0,008	-0,116	0,140	0,200	0,096	0,515	-0,049	0,099
q0030_0004 Users meaning: Dehumanization	0,018	0,112	0,011	0,079	-0,001	0,143	0,014	0,313	0,076	-0,081	0,710	-0,020
q0060_0004 Users meaning: Dehumanization	0,073	0,147	0,456	0,120	0,042	0,124	0,099	-0,016	0,088	-0,011	0,627	0,037
q0015_0006 Users meaning: Scientific truth	0,226	0,064	0,011	-0,036	0,155	0,048	0,010	-0,044	0,141	-0,004	0,108	0,614
q0015_0011 Users meaning: Proposal of an action plan	0,169	0,047	-0,003	0,263	0,089	-0,109	0,164	0,118	0,023	0,366	-0,069	0,548
q0015_0005 Users meaning: Ties to the historical past	0,416	-0,014	0,167	0,119	0,130	0,104	0,062	-0,077	-0,004	-0,086	-0,073	0,436
q0015_0012 Users meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,109	0,014	0,102	0,044	-0,132	0,200	0,057	0,002	0,319	0,258	0,128	0,331

**ANNEX E - MEANING ETEROPERCEPTION - Component Matrix(a)**

	Component													
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
q0031_0007 Targets meaning: Identification of enemies	0,573	-0,219	-0,243	0,184	-0,157	-0,121	-0,060	0,170	-0,046	-0,115	-0,080	0,178	0,133	-0,095
q0046_0007 Targets meaning: Identification of enemies	0,561	-0,268	0,047	-0,078	-0,287	-0,138	0,172	0,260	-0,043	0,027	-0,103	0,137	-0,001	0,027
q0061_0007 Targets meaning: Identification of enemies	0,558	-0,239	-0,194	0,223	-0,186	-0,020	0,020	0,045	-0,204	-0,156	0,018	0,062	0,010	-0,097
q0061_0008 Targets meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,551	-0,019	-0,193	0,147	-0,239	0,045	0,260	-0,299	0,081	-0,027	-0,016	0,037	-0,194	-0,154
q0031_0010 Targets meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,521	-0,319	-0,015	0,142	-0,022	-0,128	-0,196	0,040	-0,069	-0,073	-0,104	0,008	-0,165	-0,106
q0016_0007 Targets meaning: Identification of enemies	0,519	-0,213	-0,063	-0,002	-0,031	-0,306	0,010	0,240	0,064	-0,138	-0,001	0,070	0,266	-0,138
q0046_0010 Targets meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,498	-0,319	0,252	-0,112	-0,239	-0,082	0,118	0,136	-0,185	-0,047	0,055	0,064	-0,165	0,048
q0046_0008 Targets meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,484	0,032	-0,186	0,023	-0,185	0,044	0,371	-0,049	0,012	0,238	-0,065	0,121	-0,180	0,228
q0031_0008 Targets meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,482	-0,002	-0,398	0,179	-0,162	0,106	0,137	-0,158	0,277	-0,185	-0,108	0,104	-0,119	-0,072
q0061_0004 Targets meaning: Dehumanization	0,471	-0,357	-0,046	0,210	0,033	0,156	-0,336	-0,020	-0,186	0,110	0,004	-0,077	0,087	-0,111
q0046_0012 Targets meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,464	0,145	-0,066	-0,442	0,030	-0,006	-0,166	-0,160	-0,095	0,121	0,073	0,280	-0,192	0,198
q0016_0010 Targets meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,459	-0,225	-0,199	0,015	0,187	-0,102	0,099	0,069	0,100	-0,122	0,260	0,045	-0,066	0,062
q0061_0010 Targets meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,456	-0,384	-0,015	0,326	-0,075	0,057	0,032	-0,051	-0,280	-0,079	0,110	0,050	0,030	0,088
q0016_0008 Targets meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,454	0,029	-0,131	0,059	-0,185	-0,293	0,173	-0,242	0,309	-0,024	0,171	-0,057	0,029	0,072
q0061_0011 Targets meaning: Proposal of an action plan	0,454	0,058	-0,291	-0,052	0,007	0,388	0,066	-0,074	-0,041	0,048	0,108	-0,420	-0,028	-0,168

q0031_0011 Targets meaning: Proposal of an action plan	0,454	0,023	-0,287	-0,105	-0,104	0,203	-0,124	0,280	0,058	0,019	-0,211	-0,319	0,212	-0,033
q0046_0004 Targets meaning: Dehumanization	0,449	-0,213	0,317	-0,314	-0,039	0,014	-0,031	0,143	-0,307	0,070	0,028	-0,212	-0,157	0,017
q0016_0011 Targets meaning: Proposal of an action plan	0,444	0,032	-0,040	-0,041	-0,171	-0,205	-0,090	-0,053	0,134	0,142	0,183	-0,428	0,244	0,132
q0046_0011 Targets meaning: Proposal of an action plan	0,439	0,157	-0,274	-0,107	-0,003	0,069	0,145	0,235	-0,040	0,426	-0,019	-0,208	0,046	0,316
q0061_0012 Targets meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,425	0,128	-0,162	-0,333	-0,021	0,301	-0,244	-0,353	0,048	-0,033	0,056	0,079	-0,010	-0,039
q0046_0005 Targets meaning: Ties to the historical past	0,416	0,282	0,245	-0,008	0,171	-0,316	0,165	-0,101	-0,155	0,200	-0,168	0,050	-0,047	-0,009
q0016_0012 Targets meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,406	0,070	-0,180	-0,392	0,188	-0,103	-0,156	-0,125	0,162	0,038	0,125	0,235	0,114	0,222
q0031_0005 Targets meaning: Ties to the historical past	0,393	0,249	0,209	0,065	0,239	-0,335	0,001	-0,277	-0,169	0,101	-0,381	-0,032	0,062	-0,110
q0061_0005 Targets meaning: Ties to the historical past	0,372	0,356	0,059	0,080	0,280	0,111	0,120	-0,341	-0,134	0,154	0,059	-0,054	0,009	-0,228
q0061_0006 Targets meaning: Scientific truth	0,350	0,503	0,061	-0,012	-0,027	0,209	0,183	-0,075	-0,111	0,002	0,116	0,085	0,023	-0,178
q0061_0009 Targets meaning: Support to the target group	0,369	0,481	0,182	0,024	0,068	0,152	0,082	-0,120	-0,001	-0,281	0,083	-0,185	-0,012	0,045
q0031_0006 Targets meaning: Scientific truth	0,283	0,471	0,027	-0,093	-0,088	0,141	0,124	0,053	-0,046	-0,081	-0,370	0,088	0,354	-0,030
q0046_0006 Targets meaning: Scientific truth	0,284	0,466	0,068	-0,218	-0,025	0,054	0,194	0,129	0,054	0,137	-0,106	0,072	0,051	-0,196
q0061_0001 Targets meaning: Discrimination	0,163	-0,457	0,256	0,255	0,049	0,308	-0,044	-0,245	-0,007	0,157	0,070	0,108	0,364	0,163
q0031_0003 Targets meaning: Pride	0,296	0,444	0,148	0,094	-0,010	0,169	-0,152	0,340	0,108	-0,011	-0,062	0,200	-0,137	-0,050
q0061_0002 Targets meaning: Exclusion	0,273	-0,440	0,197	0,320	0,090	0,210	-0,084	-0,178	-0,089	0,132	0,120	0,213	0,284	0,131
q0046_0009 Targets meaning: Support to the target group	0,261	0,430	-0,089	0,318	0,287	0,067	-0,053	0,139	-0,092	-0,105	-0,207	0,027	0,023	0,388
q0016_0006 Targets meaning: Scientific truth	0,217	0,421	0,157	0,016	-0,088	-0,189	-0,024	0,082	0,048	0,119	0,259	0,070	0,262	-0,172

q0061_0003	Targets meaning: Pride	0,392	0,409	0,273	0,164	0,090	0,243	-0,023	0,077	-0,020	-0,052	0,273	0,065	-0,138	-0,140
q0046_0003	Targets meaning: Pride	0,254	0,383	0,112	0,340	0,216	0,148	0,062	0,342	0,135	0,331	0,117	0,122	-0,066	-0,036
q0016_0009	Targets meaning: Support to the target group	0,318	0,376	0,257	0,149	-0,109	-0,166	-0,083	-0,125	0,056	-0,222	0,150	-0,147	-0,094	0,337
q0016_0003	Targets meaning: Pride	0,248	0,373	0,296	0,123	-0,202	-0,004	-0,310	0,235	0,283	-0,057	0,273	0,006	-0,019	-0,027
q0046_0002	Targets meaning: Exclusion	0,282	-0,365	0,541	-0,281	-0,153	0,199	0,105	-0,003	0,022	-0,081	-0,058	0,000	0,009	0,066
q0046_0001	Targets meaning: Discrimination	0,256	-0,352	0,521	-0,351	-0,208	0,174	0,179	0,016	0,068	-0,077	-0,031	-0,064	0,048	-0,005
q0016_0001	Targets meaning: Discrimination	0,115	-0,366	-0,054	-0,176	0,533	0,053	0,305	0,131	0,123	-0,194	0,057	-0,001	0,127	-0,087
q0016_0002	Targets meaning: Exclusion	0,336	-0,332	0,052	-0,196	0,507	-0,008	0,165	0,084	0,095	-0,244	0,113	-0,016	0,070	-0,086
q0016_0004	Targets meaning: Dehumanization	0,370	-0,165	-0,195	-0,089	0,497	-0,079	0,078	0,195	-0,142	-0,031	0,157	-0,021	-0,123	0,097
q0016_0005	Targets meaning: Ties to the historical past	0,321	0,200	0,165	0,011	0,085	-0,583	-0,064	-0,137	0,016	0,027	0,050	-0,086	0,115	-0,098
q0031_0004	Targets meaning: Dehumanization	0,443	-0,262	0,010	0,051	0,165	-0,096	-0,455	-0,004	-0,086	0,100	-0,094	-0,140	-0,289	-0,144
q0031_0012	Targets meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,419	0,079	-0,170	-0,412	0,016	0,088	-0,453	-0,037	0,142	0,007	-0,124	0,194	0,084	-0,048
q0031_0002	Targets meaning: Exclusion	0,278	-0,344	0,247	0,183	0,099	-0,025	-0,065	-0,040	0,462	0,100	-0,227	-0,074	-0,149	-0,014
q0031_0001	Targets meaning: Discrimination	0,238	-0,394	0,248	0,145	0,219	0,123	0,034	-0,049	0,452	0,157	-0,262	-0,068	-0,110	0,031
q0031_0009	Targets meaning: Support to the target group	0,306	0,450	0,105	0,090	0,079	0,099	-0,082	-0,031	-0,069	-0,491	-0,249	-0,103	0,012	0,224

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 14 components extracted.

## ANNEX F - MEANING ETEROPERCEPTION - Rotated Component Matrix

	Component													
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
q0031_0007 Targets meaning: Identification of enemies	0,711	0,045	-0,015	0,101	-0,005	0,201	0,099	0,004	0,089	0,020	0,100	-0,029	0,068	0,173
q0061_0007 Targets meaning: Identification of enemies	0,660	0,016	0,081	0,001	0,016	0,279	0,072	0,064	0,139	-0,086	0,030	0,116	0,037	0,005
q0031_0010 Targets meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,612	-0,004	0,127	0,104	0,124	0,079	0,070	0,042	0,041	0,225	0,014	0,068	-0,024	-0,151
q0016_0007 Targets meaning: Identification of enemies	0,558	0,043	0,106	0,060	0,075	0,044	0,288	-0,055	-0,006	0,041	0,319	-0,096	0,001	0,232
q0061_0004 Targets meaning: Dehumanization	0,545	0,021	0,039	0,132	0,047	-0,091	0,013	-0,042	0,375	0,146	0,001	0,323	0,024	-0,104
q0061_0010 Targets meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,529	-0,041	0,146	-0,091	0,018	0,188	0,096	0,101	0,419	-0,057	-0,009	0,063	0,076	-0,164
q0046_0007 Targets meaning: Identification of enemies	0,528	0,048	0,415	0,048	0,035	0,206	0,068	-0,075	-0,019	0,051	0,096	-0,139	0,251	0,149
q0031_0004 Targets meaning: Dehumanization	0,492	0,019	0,042	0,244	0,212	-0,161	0,027	-0,006	-0,015	0,334	-0,018	0,243	-0,012	-0,339
q0046_0003 Targets meaning: Pride	0,001	0,708	-0,191	-0,106	0,115	0,001	0,062	0,012	0,074	0,143	-0,030	-0,003	0,313	0,024
q0061_0003 Targets meaning: Pride	0,030	0,686	0,093	0,048	0,127	0,104	0,049	0,237	0,069	-0,068	-0,003	0,165	-0,061	-0,090
q0031_0003 Targets meaning: Pride	0,125	0,627	-0,007	0,140	0,007	-0,033	-0,097	0,224	-0,153	0,091	-0,106	-0,046	0,086	0,139
q0016_0003 Targets meaning: Pride	0,074	0,616	0,066	0,100	-0,127	-0,080	-0,197	0,189	-0,076	0,093	0,361	-0,048	-0,104	-0,035
q0061_0006 Targets meaning: Scientific truth	-0,057	0,467	0,053	0,104	0,238	0,266	-0,014	0,146	-0,001	-0,262	-0,020	0,212	0,017	0,171
q0016_0006 Targets meaning: Scientific truth	-0,001	0,453	-0,032	0,053	0,211	-0,020	-0,063	-0,053	-0,008	-0,205	0,392	-0,045	-0,035	0,163
q0046_0006 Targets meaning: Scientific truth	-0,085	0,392	0,108	0,140	0,256	0,122	0,002	-0,014	-0,233	-0,077	0,017	0,092	0,143	0,353
q0046_0001 Targets meaning: Discrimination	0,001	-0,024	0,793	0,031	-0,047	0,029	0,084	-0,042	0,124	0,158	0,054	0,028	-0,076	0,123

q0046_0002 Targets meaning: Exclusion	0,044	-0,011	0,759	0,069	-0,026	-0,001	0,069	0,031	0,200	0,187	-0,019	-0,014	-0,063	0,062
q0046_0004 Targets meaning: Dehumanization	0,263	0,038	0,616	0,115	0,182	-0,161	0,096	0,025	-0,031	-0,019	0,023	0,208	0,181	-0,169
q0046_0010 Targets meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,429	0,050	0,582	0,029	0,065	0,141	0,067	0,000	0,039	-0,014	0,040	-0,081	0,120	-0,128
q0031_0012 Targets meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,217	0,078	0,015	0,743	0,003	-0,064	0,002	0,010	-0,069	0,104	0,048	0,113	-0,021	0,192
q0046_0012 Targets meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,073	0,103	0,186	0,693	0,188	0,139	0,034	0,064	-0,042	-0,121	-0,021	-0,042	0,213	-0,137
q0016_0012 Targets meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,027	0,015	-0,017	0,658	0,074	0,086	0,262	0,045	0,041	-0,022	0,218	-0,101	0,151	0,036
q0061_0012 Targets meaning: Unverified scientific position	0,027	0,065	0,074	0,650	0,026	0,223	-0,016	0,096	0,089	-0,039	0,002	0,338	-0,075	0,038
q0031_0005 Targets meaning: Ties to the historical past	0,130	0,009	-0,015	0,080	0,782	0,007	-0,020	0,197	0,005	0,129	0,061	0,019	-0,005	0,127
q0046_0005 Targets meaning: Ties to the historical past	0,065	0,184	0,117	0,053	0,669	0,081	0,042	0,112	-0,045	0,021	0,084	-0,093	0,186	0,031
q0016_0005 Targets meaning: Ties to the historical past	0,146	0,072	-0,024	0,059	0,521	-0,017	0,049	0,060	-0,106	0,005	0,481	-0,116	-0,087	-0,039
q0061_0005 Targets meaning: Ties to the historical past	-0,093	0,292	-0,087	0,106	0,519	0,215	0,101	0,084	0,154	-0,074	-0,010	0,349	-0,017	0,000
q0061_0008 Targets meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,295	0,062	0,078	0,070	0,151	0,690	-0,029	0,023	0,027	0,065	0,042	0,200	0,019	-0,007
q0031_0008 Targets meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,332	0,037	-0,148	0,156	-0,089	0,635	0,054	0,132	-0,037	0,172	0,013	0,132	0,007	0,137
q0046_0008 Targets meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,155	0,068	0,134	0,099	0,111	0,536	-0,014	0,018	0,036	0,018	-0,022	-0,017	0,497	0,022
q0016_0008 Targets meaning: Attribution of responsibility	0,143	0,000	0,006	0,107	0,105	0,506	0,061	0,052	-0,003	0,087	0,504	-0,030	0,057	-0,025
q0016_0001 Targets meaning: Discrimination	-0,001	-0,115	0,083	-0,036	-0,034	-0,008	0,768	-0,085	0,063	0,118	-0,080	0,034	-0,036	0,102
q0016_0002 Targets meaning: Exclusion	0,128	-0,023	0,185	0,093	0,060	-0,011	0,741	0,021	0,069	0,135	0,023	0,062	-0,090	0,003

q0016_0004 Targets meaning: Dehumanization	0,239	0,028	-0,033	0,128	0,108	-0,043	0,602	0,058	-0,019	-0,029	-0,046	0,072	0,264	-0,215
q0016_0010 Targets meaning: Superiority-Inferiority	0,315	0,054	0,011	0,132	-0,052	0,239	0,460	0,027	0,053	0,036	0,171	0,003	0,110	-0,166
q0031_0009 Targets meaning: Support to the target group	0,066	0,137	0,001	0,088	0,127	0,027	-0,007	0,778	-0,093	-0,025	-0,021	0,074	-0,060	0,187
q0046_0009 Targets meaning: Support to the target group	0,084	0,226	-0,317	0,024	0,149	-0,045	0,058	0,603	0,065	0,023	-0,096	-0,051	0,328	0,097
q0016_0009 Targets meaning: Support to the target group	-0,010	0,222	0,099	0,043	0,135	0,122	-0,136	0,568	-0,010	-0,017	0,368	-0,077	0,023	-0,184
q0061_0009 Targets meaning: Support to the target group	-0,100	0,333	0,108	0,055	0,178	0,173	0,067	0,522	-0,038	-0,096	0,140	0,244	-0,061	0,065
q0061_0001 Targets meaning: Discrimination	0,068	-0,073	0,163	-0,011	-0,048	-0,007	0,032	-0,053	0,804	0,182	0,011	0,028	-0,017	0,030
q0061_0002 Targets meaning: Exclusion	0,238	0,012	0,099	0,020	0,010	0,013	0,084	-0,046	0,766	0,121	-0,014	-0,041	-0,005	-0,055
q0031_0001 Targets meaning: Discrimination	0,031	-0,009	0,164	-0,030	0,039	0,092	0,174	-0,042	0,210	0,747	-0,038	0,019	0,047	-0,006
q0031_0002 Targets meaning: Exclusion	0,144	0,021	0,144	-0,021	0,054	0,100	0,073	-0,021	0,114	0,723	0,080	-0,029	-0,030	-0,058
q0016_0011 Targets meaning: Proposal of an action plan	0,156	-0,017	0,091	0,096	0,073	0,041	-0,031	0,070	0,054	0,052	0,660	0,264	0,225	0,008
q0061_0011 Targets meaning: Proposal of an action plan	0,130	0,099	0,035	0,098	-0,038	0,242	0,128	0,057	0,007	-0,026	0,059	0,726	0,171	0,026
q0031_0011 Targets meaning: Proposal of an action plan	0,353	0,029	0,023	0,154	-0,137	-0,050	0,037	0,104	-0,105	0,114	0,145	0,444	0,291	0,363
q0046_0011 Targets meaning: Proposal of an action plan	0,093	0,104	0,005	0,143	0,053	0,075	0,054	0,020	-0,025	-0,014	0,164	0,224	0,758	0,096
q0031_0006 Targets meaning: Scientific truth	0,013	0,190	0,032	0,126	0,222	0,065	-0,101	0,279	-0,037	-0,117	-0,025	0,068	0,096	0,643



**ANNEX G - SOCIAL VALUE/DISVALUE - Component Matrix(a)**

	Component													
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
q0049_0002 Future scenario: Cohesion among different target groups	0,580	0,212	-0,076	0,004	0,011	-0,264	-0,244	-0,304	-0,058	0,072	-0,259	0,041	0,048	-0,195
q0049_0008 Future scenario: Public manifestation of disapproval by target groups and supporters	0,539	0,323	-0,191	-0,141	-0,060	-0,013	-0,077	-0,293	0,046	-0,070	-0,187	-0,105	0,131	-0,014
q0064_0002 Future scenario: Cohesion among different target groups	0,532	0,195	-0,062	-0,174	0,033	-0,366	-0,298	0,158	0,015	0,008	0,028	0,212	-0,129	-0,184
q0049_0009 Future scenario: General social conflict	0,520	-0,011	-0,353	0,032	-0,179	-0,040	0,209	-0,230	-0,034	-0,189	-0,020	-0,226	0,095	0,148
q0034_0002 Future scenario: Cohesion among different target groups	0,514	0,273	-0,122	0,014	0,151	-0,074	-0,216	0,077	-0,155	0,139	-0,161	0,019	-0,075	-0,370
q0064_0009 Future scenario: General social conflict	0,509	-0,084	-0,329	-0,010	-0,015	0,051	0,007	-0,018	-0,213	-0,330	0,288	-0,268	0,011	0,156
q0034_0009 Future scenario: General social conflict	0,509	-0,065	-0,377	0,161	0,009	0,131	0,131	0,044	-0,240	-0,173	0,042	-0,293	-0,017	-0,163
q0064_0003 Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by target groups	0,478	-0,011	0,030	-0,447	-0,112	0,278	-0,083	0,138	-0,127	0,009	-0,052	0,231	-0,139	0,293
q0019_0002 Future scenario: Cohesion among different target groups	0,478	0,210	-0,085	0,129	0,301	-0,321	0,124	0,023	-0,114	0,016	-0,079	0,102	-0,137	-0,008
q0064_0008 Future scenario: Public manifestation of disapproval	0,470	0,346	-0,174	-0,184	-0,134	-0,077	-0,172	0,001	-0,095	-0,221	0,043	-0,031	-0,114	0,106
q0019_0009 Future scenario: General social conflict	0,469	0,013	-0,168	0,185	0,304	-0,039	0,253	0,024	0,002	-0,226	-0,016	-0,209	-0,132	-0,019
q0064_0013 Future scenario: Public manifestation of approval and support	0,462	0,149	-0,102	0,123	-0,173	-0,311	-0,103	0,360	0,030	-0,101	-0,059	0,021	0,009	0,291

q0049_0011 Future scenario: Urban segregation of target groups	0,458	-0,439	-0,140	0,041	-0,230	0,157	0,088	-0,027	0,234	-0,040	-0,141	-0,041	0,026	-0,011
q0049_0001 Future scenario: Social exclusion of the target group	0,454	-0,366	-0,111	-0,066	-0,169	-0,032	0,037	-0,333	-0,083	0,218	-0,139	0,082	0,045	0,065
q0049_0003 Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by target groups	0,448	-0,022	0,056	-0,345	-0,012	0,290	-0,010	-0,227	0,100	0,022	-0,416	0,121	0,019	0,069
q0064_0007 Future scenario: General social cohesion	0,446	0,207	0,395	-0,058	0,080	0,082	-0,184	-0,258	-0,012	-0,229	0,064	-0,089	-0,169	0,125
q0049_0012 Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by the public opinion	0,446	0,206	0,418	-0,086	-0,149	-0,028	-0,022	-0,134	0,274	0,131	0,013	-0,280	0,176	0,039
q0064_0010 Future scenario: Stiffening of laws against discrimination and hate speech	0,443	0,307	0,004	-0,214	-0,378	-0,100	0,230	0,130	0,108	-0,139	0,130	0,139	-0,088	-0,170
q0064_0012 Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by the public opinion	0,427	0,191	0,351	-0,249	-0,149	-0,185	-0,024	0,196	0,206	0,113	0,019	-0,180	-0,151	0,036
q0064_0004 Future scenario: Cohesion within the target group	0,413	-0,341	-0,090	-0,193	0,222	0,010	-0,176	0,342	0,030	-0,167	0,252	0,132	0,258	0,077
q0019_0003 Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by target groups	0,387	0,262	-0,095	-0,081	0,314	-0,139	0,184	-0,064	-0,143	0,189	0,043	0,116	0,150	0,263
q0019_0008 Future scenario: Public manifestation of disapproval	0,361	0,353	-0,156	-0,006	0,347	-0,215	0,046	-0,018	0,011	0,114	-0,083	-0,052	-0,095	-0,135
q0064_0006 Future scenario: Self-segregation of the target-target groups	0,401	-0,553	0,104	-0,003	0,079	-0,061	-0,043	0,134	0,122	-0,105	0,084	0,079	-0,211	-0,080
q0034_0006 Future scenario: Self-segregation of the target-target groups	0,390	-0,525	0,091	0,112	0,029	0,051	-0,050	0,005	0,011	0,032	0,095	-0,020	-0,134	-0,241
q0019_0011 Future scenario: Urban segregation of target groups	0,364	-0,513	0,223	0,193	0,109	0,074	0,161	-0,004	0,100	-0,007	-0,094	0,082	-0,188	0,012
q0034_0011 Future scenario: Urban segregation of target groups	0,385	-0,492	-0,112	0,147	-0,189	0,069	0,007	0,005	-0,001	0,178	0,012	-0,050	-0,016	-0,102

q0049_0006 Future scenario: Self-segregation of the target-target groups	0,406	-0,491	0,135	0,090	0,015	0,115	-0,039	-0,179	0,245	-0,201	-0,051	0,010	0,029	-0,059
q0034_0010 Future scenario: Stiffening of laws against discrimination and hate speech	0,257	0,466	-0,160	-0,030	-0,214	0,287	0,381	0,000	-0,045	0,090	0,183	0,183	-0,017	-0,224
q0064_0011 Future scenario: Urban segregation of target groups	0,434	-0,459	-0,091	0,015	-0,251	0,016	-0,095	0,234	0,200	-0,068	0,043	0,084	-0,152	0,007
q0019_0006 Future scenario: Self-segregation of the target-target groups	0,327	-0,431	0,136	0,146	0,256	0,073	0,272	0,066	0,195	-0,053	-0,202	0,056	-0,219	0,009
q0034_0001 Future scenario: Social exclusion of the target	0,375	-0,428	-0,131	0,078	-0,159	-0,179	0,034	-0,192	-0,245	0,306	0,172	0,017	-0,040	-0,003
q0064_0001 Future scenario: Social exclusion of the target	0,392	-0,418	-0,105	-0,070	-0,164	-0,162	-0,207	-0,117	-0,138	0,317	0,326	0,137	0,031	0,124
q0049_0010 Future scenario: Stiffening of laws against discrimination and hate speech	0,330	0,394	-0,200	0,075	-0,220	0,151	0,304	-0,141	0,168	-0,084	0,155	0,318	0,151	-0,032
q0019_0001 Future scenario: Social exclusion of the target group	0,350	-0,363	0,140	0,182	0,121	-0,050	0,197	-0,204	-0,251	0,203	0,073	-0,022	-0,139	0,176
q0019_0007 Future scenario: General social cohesion	0,116	0,337	0,084	0,252	0,289	0,093	-0,156	-0,227	0,060	-0,024	0,273	0,205	-0,221	0,121
q0049_0005 Future scenario: Softening of laws against discrimination and hate speech	0,352	0,011	0,521	0,170	-0,191	-0,127	0,007	0,060	-0,179	-0,178	-0,172	0,036	0,260	-0,119
q0064_0005 Future scenario: Softening of laws against discrimination and hate speech	0,364	-0,001	0,510	0,047	-0,221	-0,144	0,010	0,206	-0,273	-0,142	-0,138	0,092	0,147	0,078
q0019_0005 Future scenario: Softening of laws against discrimination and hate speech	0,224	0,036	0,412	0,325	-0,092	-0,081	0,161	0,026	-0,409	-0,037	-0,042	-0,009	0,057	0,036
q0034_0007 Future scenario: General social cohesion	0,376	0,256	0,400	0,023	0,156	0,239	-0,243	-0,007	-0,052	-0,150	0,047	0,000	-0,118	-0,051
q0019_0012 Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by the public opinion	0,364	0,244	0,372	-0,010	0,091	-0,133	0,169	-0,003	0,257	0,288	0,134	-0,132	0,054	0,142

q0019_0013 Future scenario: Public manifestation of approval and support for the message	0,183	0,205	-0,152	0,562	0,074	0,142	-0,105	0,168	0,228	0,182	-0,164	0,057	0,036	0,183
q0034_0005 Future scenario: Softening of laws against discrimination and hate speech	0,145	0,091	0,403	0,493	-0,126	0,204	0,046	0,065	-0,218	-0,035	0,043	0,187	0,220	-0,095
q0049_0013 Future scenario: Public manifestation of approval and support	0,217	0,269	-0,301	0,484	-0,254	-0,010	-0,274	0,025	0,219	0,009	-0,070	0,015	0,020	0,151
q0034_0013 Future scenario: Public manifestation of approval and support	0,232	0,229	-0,277	0,473	-0,179	0,113	-0,150	0,267	0,104	0,242	-0,050	-0,074	-0,014	0,042
q0019_0004 Future scenario: Cohesion within the target group	0,270	-0,028	-0,131	0,022	0,465	-0,084	0,199	0,152	0,085	-0,083	-0,148	0,076	0,263	0,181
q0034_0004 Future scenario: Cohesion within the target group	0,387	-0,245	-0,004	-0,059	0,390	0,239	-0,144	0,227	-0,037	0,108	0,135	-0,023	0,331	-0,165
q0034_0003 Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by target groups	0,412	0,071	-0,004	-0,340	0,074	0,514	0,023	0,185	-0,239	0,212	-0,167	0,038	-0,059	0,119
q0034_0008 Future scenario: Public manifestation of disapproval	0,370	0,400	-0,237	0,037	0,038	0,407	-0,131	0,135	-0,165	0,111	-0,011	-0,115	-0,041	-0,097
q0019_0010 Future scenario: Stiffening of laws against discrimination and hate speech	0,349	0,339	-0,001	-0,078	0,029	-0,116	0,477	0,069	0,207	0,011	0,114	0,214	0,000	-0,106
q0049_0007 Future scenario: General social cohesion	0,241	0,295	0,218	0,255	0,134	0,202	-0,256	-0,390	0,158	-0,120	0,252	0,154	0,015	0,012
q0034_0012 Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by the public opinion	0,365	0,294	0,407	-0,105	-0,015	0,119	0,102	0,153	0,129	0,263	0,193	-0,424	-0,009	-0,039
q0049_0004 Future scenario: Cohesion within the target group	0,376	-0,346	-0,090	-0,168	0,141	-0,059	-0,126	-0,109	0,217	-0,002	0,095	-0,001	0,454	-0,119

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 14 components extracted.

**ANNEX H -SOCIAL VALUE/DISVALUE - Rotated Component Matrix**

	Component													
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
q0019_0006 Future scenario: Self-segregation of the target-target groups	0,718	-0,002	0,031	0,004	0,042	-0,045	-0,017	-0,027	0,063	-0,018	-0,078	0,286	0,000	-0,038
q0019_0011 Future scenario: Urban segregation of target groups	0,712	-0,045	0,036	-0,010	0,161	0,144	-0,016	-0,056	0,049	0,050	-0,052	0,137	0,002	-0,008
q0064_0006 Future scenario: Self-segregation of the target-target groups	0,678	0,080	0,021	0,047	0,018	0,160	-0,114	-0,074	0,006	0,020	0,205	-0,013	-0,090	0,182
q0049_0006 Future scenario: Self-segregation of the target-target groups	0,632	-0,068	0,026	0,103	0,080	0,079	-0,039	-0,048	-0,057	0,145	0,002	-0,053	0,291	0,206
q0034_0006 Future scenario: Self-segregation of the target-target groups	0,605	0,136	0,031	0,103	0,086	0,262	-0,046	-0,062	0,005	0,025	-0,061	-0,139	-0,065	0,187
q0064_0011 Future scenario: Urban segregation of target groups	0,581	-0,011	0,011	0,091	-0,027	0,190	0,151	0,061	0,081	-0,120	0,356	-0,171	0,016	0,159
q0049_0011 Future scenario: Urban segregation of target groups	0,564	-0,082	0,033	0,192	-0,023	0,165	0,158	0,111	0,086	-0,166	0,056	-0,084	0,315	0,123
q0034_0011 Future scenario: Urban segregation of target groups	0,477	0,028	0,009	0,145	0,048	0,400	0,161	0,005	0,050	-0,168	-0,051	-0,135	0,062	0,133
q0034_0002 Future scenario: Cohesion among different target groups	0,019	0,729	0,071	0,115	0,090	0,033	0,161	0,083	0,189	0,056	0,003	0,021	0,052	0,113
q0064_0002 Future scenario: Cohesion among different target groups	0,057	0,628	0,109	-0,026	0,011	0,108	0,018	0,132	0,040	0,096	0,472	0,034	0,027	0,160
q0049_0002 Future scenario: Cohesion among different target groups	0,012	0,627	0,086	0,098	0,126	0,199	0,099	0,040	-0,013	0,145	0,092	0,071	0,462	0,018
q0019_0008 Future scenario: Public manifestation of disapproval	-0,057	0,539	0,164	0,132	-0,108	-0,040	0,072	0,107	0,009	0,088	-0,019	0,349	0,021	-0,014

q0019_0002 Future scenario: Cohesion among different target groups	0,098	0,479	0,047	0,153	0,106	0,080	0,068	0,119	-0,022	0,107	0,132	0,466	-0,031	-0,075
q0034_0012 Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by the public opinion	-0,014	0,079	0,800	0,113	0,120	-0,036	0,035	0,100	0,182	0,070	-0,085	-0,027	-0,115	0,054
q0049_0012 Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by the public opinion	0,039	0,043	0,696	0,020	0,188	0,031	0,044	0,076	-0,002	0,141	0,040	-0,029	0,327	0,079
q0019_0012 Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by the public opinion	0,032	0,045	0,662	-0,098	0,092	0,084	0,060	0,144	-0,022	0,148	0,019	0,280	0,023	0,015
q0064_0012 Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by the public opinion	0,110	0,198	0,641	-0,036	0,086	-0,018	-0,042	0,077	0,113	-0,015	0,341	-0,022	0,031	-0,047
q0064_0009 Future scenario: General social conflict	0,097	0,005	-0,012	0,746	-0,012	0,185	0,004	0,048	0,092	0,107	0,229	0,059	0,020	0,182
q0034_0009 Future scenario: General social conflict	0,203	0,234	-0,061	0,695	0,061	0,096	0,148	0,121	0,113	-0,083	-0,080	0,024	0,000	0,104
q0049_0009 Future scenario: General social conflict	0,108	0,013	0,045	0,602	-0,009	0,206	0,103	0,201	-0,014	-0,055	0,111	0,147	0,371	-0,028
q0019_0009 Future scenario: General social conflict	0,312	0,221	0,070	0,499	0,006	-0,098	0,065	0,082	-0,028	0,078	-0,025	0,354	-0,027	-0,010
q0049_0005 Future scenario: Softening of laws against discrimination and hate speech	0,131	0,109	0,179	-0,010	0,735	-0,036	-0,038	0,027	-0,058	0,012	0,093	-0,036	0,176	0,082
q0064_0005 Future scenario: Softening of laws against discrimination and hate speech	0,101	0,044	0,181	-0,027	0,710	0,033	-0,071	-0,004	0,111	-0,039	0,289	0,032	0,059	0,020
q0019_0005 Future scenario: Softening of laws against discrimination and hate speech	0,042	0,025	0,090	0,101	0,675	0,129	0,005	-0,012	0,000	0,062	-0,052	0,108	-0,099	-0,151
q0034_0005 Future scenario: Softening of laws against discrimination and hate speech	0,050	-0,077	-0,016	-0,062	0,673	0,003	0,233	0,153	0,007	0,216	-0,182	-0,060	-0,101	0,069
q0064_0001 Future scenario: Social exclusion of the target	0,183	0,036	0,026	0,018	-0,034	0,753	0,000	-0,035	0,046	0,034	0,216	-0,057	0,013	0,239

q0034_0001 Future scenario: Social exclusion of the target	0,258	0,103	-0,015	0,150	0,060	0,717	-0,010	0,001	-0,025	-0,093	-0,008	0,000	0,016	0,031
q0049_0001 Future scenario: Social exclusion of the target group	0,304	0,072	-0,019	0,075	0,033	0,539	-0,016	0,032	0,128	-0,077	-0,012	0,052	0,404	0,007
q0019_0001 Future scenario: Social exclusion of the target group	0,353	-0,024	0,069	0,139	0,191	0,492	-0,073	-0,108	0,066	0,099	-0,133	0,268	-0,052	-0,115
q0034_0013 Future scenario: Public manifestation of approval and support	-0,015	0,137	0,067	0,112	0,016	0,048	0,750	0,085	0,057	-0,038	0,025	-0,046	-0,090	-0,014
q0019_0013 Future scenario: Public manifestation of approval and support for the message	0,076	0,038	0,012	-0,040	0,036	-0,079	0,742	0,007	0,019	0,128	-0,051	0,208	-0,001	-0,009
q0049_0013 Future scenario: Public manifestation of approval and support	-0,056	0,078	-0,040	0,121	-0,010	0,020	0,718	0,073	-0,130	0,148	0,197	-0,068	0,164	-0,064
q0034_0010 Future scenario: Stiffening of laws against discrimination and hate speech	-0,154	0,114	0,074	0,149	0,031	0,005	0,102	0,739	0,243	0,052	-0,135	-0,037	-0,047	-0,071
q0049_0010 Future scenario: Stiffening of laws against discrimination and hate speech	-0,081	-0,015	-0,014	0,117	0,030	0,013	0,195	0,728	0,027	0,180	0,048	0,094	0,208	0,025
q0019_0010 Future scenario: Stiffening of laws against discrimination and hate speech	0,055	0,161	0,231	0,008	0,012	-0,075	-0,036	0,635	-0,027	0,007	0,079	0,318	-0,012	-0,020
q0064_0010 Future scenario: Stiffening of laws against discrimination and hate speech	0,043	0,198	0,238	0,136	0,103	-0,025	-0,057	0,614	0,066	-0,051	0,360	-0,108	0,067	-0,052
q0034_0003 Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by target groups	0,061	0,086	0,117	0,089	0,032	0,046	0,008	0,075	0,824	-0,031	-0,036	0,088	0,053	0,100
q0064_0003 Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by target groups	0,131	-0,001	0,071	0,029	0,015	0,141	-0,100	0,123	0,684	0,072	0,394	0,043	0,141	0,067
q0034_0008 Future scenario: Public manifestation of disapproval	-0,153	0,297	0,080	0,310	-0,016	-0,065	0,338	0,160	0,471	0,130	-0,104	-0,060	-0,029	0,090
q0049_0007 Future scenario: General social cohesion	-0,016	0,046	0,095	0,000	0,091	-0,009	0,138	0,120	-0,060	0,753	-0,071	-0,039	0,151	0,089

q0019_0007 Future scenario: General social cohesion	-0,064	0,100	0,006	-0,030	-0,056	0,004	0,138	0,081	-0,008	0,676	-0,010	0,157	-0,131	-0,082
q0064_0007 Future scenario: General social cohesion	0,105	0,123	0,319	0,176	0,209	-0,046	-0,141	-0,059	0,156	0,548	0,164	0,003	0,196	-0,074
q0034_0007 Future scenario: General social cohesion	0,089	0,210	0,245	0,058	0,274	-0,180	-0,012	-0,028	0,273	0,491	0,052	-0,063	0,001	0,073
q0064_0013 Future scenario: Public manifestation of approval and support	0,039	0,147	0,135	0,175	0,183	0,044	0,352	0,042	0,005	-0,094	0,587	0,202	0,020	0,025
q0064_0008 Future scenario: Public manifestation of disapproval	-0,134	0,281	0,094	0,354	-0,001	0,013	0,043	0,153	0,193	0,170	0,436	-0,008	0,169	-0,026
q0019_0004 Future scenario: Cohesion within the target group	0,128	0,054	-0,035	0,090	0,004	-0,135	0,058	0,004	0,029	-0,060	0,026	0,614	0,083	0,286
q0019_0003 Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by target groups	-0,175	0,172	0,129	0,093	0,025	0,213	0,013	0,153	0,165	0,112	0,051	0,586	0,069	0,090
q0049_0003 Future scenario: Appeal to law enforcement by target groups	0,233	0,109	0,089	-0,041	-0,010	-0,012	-0,085	0,083	0,481	0,052	0,014	0,076	0,576	0,013
q0049_0008 Future scenario: Public manifestation of disapproval by target groups and supporters	-0,095	0,330	0,163	0,308	-0,018	0,037	0,093	0,176	0,124	0,124	0,092	0,083	0,539	0,036
q0034_0004 Future scenario: Cohesion within the target group	0,221	0,151	0,077	0,093	0,052	0,062	0,029	-0,079	0,243	0,027	-0,157	0,128	-0,082	0,675
q0064_0004 Future scenario: Cohesion within the target group	0,266	0,002	-0,036	0,135	-0,001	0,088	-0,064	-0,031	0,145	0,002	0,342	0,150	-0,088	0,664
q0049_0004 Future scenario: Cohesion within the target group	0,231	0,060	0,079	0,063	-0,076	0,191	-0,081	0,000	-0,110	-0,031	0,007	0,071	0,329	0,619



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LIGHT ON is carried out by a consortium of European actors engaged at different levels in activities countering discrimination. The consortium consists of:



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# LIGHT ON: CROSS-COMMUNITY ACTIONS FOR COMBATING THE MODERN SYMBOLISM AND LANGUAGES OF RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION

The LIGHT ON project (Cross-community actions for combating the modern symbolism and languages of racism and discrimination) is funded by the Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Programme of the European Commission.

LIGHT ON (January 2013 – December 2014) aims to tackle the normalization of racism and its related images and habits, providing a set of tools for the community, but also for law enforcement professionals, through a preventive and participatory approach calling everyone to put discrimination in the spotlight and combating it.

The general objective of the project is to create a culture that denounces racism and promotes an active role of individuals against related forms of intolerance.

**More information on the project**  
[www.lighton-project.eu](http://www.lighton-project.eu)



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