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# Preventing hate speech through youth work

Desk research report  
on the current status  
of knowledge



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# Definition and theory

In discussing hate speech it is important to note that there is no one exact definition of the term (United Nations, n.d). Different definitions have been made depending on the context and view point of those who define it. Paz et al. (2020) made a systematic review of the many different definitions that have been created. There are very narrow definitions, "hate speech is a conscious and willful public statement intended to denigrate a group of people" from Delgado & Stefancic (Paz et al, 2020). Where by definition one could not engage in hate speech without the intent to hurt and where an individual can not be the target of hate speech, Paz et al. (2020) then go on to say how others have added to this, to broaden the definition by adding humiliation of, hatred or contempt toward a person belonging to a group and some definitions also include identifying characteristics.

There is also the issue of to what end the term is being defined. One definition might be applicable in legal terms, although there is not a universal legal definition, another one might apply in common language (Paz et. al. 2020 United Nations. n.d). An altogether new dilemma appears when defining the term in the social sciences. There an attempt might be made to include hate speech that is concealed or harder to spot where the "speaker" might use ambiguous or metaphorical terms or where it is articulated in a socially acceptable stereotypical dialogue so it is to a lesser extent recognised by others. It might also take different forms of verbal, non verbal or symbolic.

The definition used by the Council of Europe is in keeping with this and there an attempt is made to include those factors. It states that "all types of expression that incite, promote, spread or justify violence, hatred or discrimination against a person or group of persons, or that denigrates them, by reason of their real or attributed personal characteristics or status" (Council of Europe, n.d.). There we also find the addition of characteristics attributed to someone. We consider this to be a very important addition because it addresses the nature of discrimination as a process that judges based not on fact but presumption. In reviewing different definitions it becomes apparent that, as is to be expected, the social sciences are inclined to use definitions based on the effect on those subject to hate speech rather than exactly what is said or the provable intent of the speaker.

In relation to hate speech prevention this is the definition that is most applicable as it will have the aim to reduce or eliminate the harmful effects of hate speech and to promote positive, healthy communication.

In discussing hate speech, defining and theorising on it we will be using Affect theory as a framework. Affect theory is a way to realise how complex an issue like this one is. Instead of trying to create simple categories of causations, effects or emotions it allows us to be more flexible in focusing on the emotional as it appears in social context (Wetherell M, 2012).

Affect is not as simple as referring to emotions. Affect can be described as prepersonal, contrasted with the personal. Not conscious or the subjective experiences of an individual in the way emotion is, but rather embodied practices or indirect thinking ,that never quite rises to the level of an emotion“ (Ahäll, 2018). Though some have argued against this distinction between affect and emotions, Sara Ahmed has said, “That we can separate them does not mean they are separate” (2014, 210). She goes on to explain that when someone is recognised as a stranger, an affective judgement is being made. There is a social agreement on what a stranger might mean that has not to do with one's individual emotions or feelings about this stranger but the affective judgement of labelling as ,stranger', that will arouse emotions within the individual. Ahmed claims that nothing can be more dangerous to an individual than being judged in this way as being dangerous, suspicious or something to be feared (Ahmed, 2014).

The way affect and emotion can shape how we draw conclusions and make judgements about people is no less true for our experience of events such as violence or violation. That is, we make judgments on how serious a violent act is or if it even is violent at all. From a historical perspective 'disciplining' has shaped people's views of men's violence against their wives and children. A violent act might have been perceived as criminalised violence by those who witnessed it or it might have been understood as a legitimate correction of behaviour (Husso et al, 2021).

The way affect and emotion have shaped perceptions differently through history brings into mind questions of how affect and emotion might in turn be shaped. People's perception of intimate partner violence as discipline has changed, but what has been the cause of this and what other violent acts might have become more or less serious in people's minds because of changed affects and emotions towards them? We do not propose to answer these questions fully but bring them up as they shed a little light on the complex relationship between affect, violence and hate speech. One of the worrying factors in hate speech is that it is theorised that increased hate speech, affects our emotions towards and conceptions of violence and violating practices (Husso et al, 2021).

# This is hate speech

In the previous chapter we have discussed theory and definitions and we will now move on to discuss in a more practical manner how hate speech is presented and how it is considered by us. In a practical and preventive measure, it seems prudent to include several aspects of what might be considered hate speech, in order to understand its facets and effects completely, and to provide the grounds for any effective counter-strategies. We propose the following:

Hate speech includes, but is not limited to:

- Statements intended to denigrate or humiliate a group of people, sharing a demographic trait.
- Statements intended to promote hatred or contempt towards individuals on grounds of them belonging to a certain demographic group.
- Statements made in such a way that they promote any such intent or ideology to only bystanders “in-the-know” of relevant in-group jargon, whilst simultaneously allowing the perpetrator to feign ignorance of any such offence on grounds of not knowing said jargon. (“Dog whistling”)
- Statements made only to derail or escalate discussions or events pertaining to certain demographic groups, in order to mitigate any constructive or positive democratic debate on or for the group as a topic. (“Trolling”)
- Statements denying or aggressively mitigating historical facts or events having occurred to specific demographic groups, in order to deny them any reparations or historical presence. (“Gaslighting”)

One can commit the actions, but without targeting them at certain demographics for the above mentioned reasons, this analysis shall not consider them hate speech. Statements can also be understood as performances, actions, voting (such as on up/down-vote based websites, e.g. Reddit and more), jokes and other similar statements.

For further insight and understanding into hate speech, its different forms frequency and severity we have created a model based on the pyramid model frequently used to explain rape culture (11th principle: consent, n.d.). It is important to note that the model is not an evaluation of how serious statements belonging to each bracket might be. It is put forth as an attempt to figuratively show the complicated reality of hate speech and hate crime as it is presented in our society. In the lowest bracket there is what we call “casual bias based hate speech” which might include

statements intended to denigrate a group of people, sharing a demographic trait, be it jokes, curses, statements built on misinformation or other. This is probably the most widespread form of hate speech and is therefore put in the lowest and widest bracket. The fact that it is so widespread might cause the affect that it is considered the least serious and for many might invoke the least emotional response. On the other hand, the very fact that it is so common and in so, shapes our society, might be the reason to consider it as indeed very serious. Each bracket can similarly be theorised on, in terms of how widespread it is, it's seriousness for an individual subject to it and to its affect on our societies.



**Casual bias based hate speech:** Includes but is not limited to, statements intended to denigrate a group of people sharing a demographic trait (i.e. jokes, curses, statements built on misinformation or other).

**Gaslighting:** Using possession of power to negate or deny suffering or victimhood of marginalised or powerless groups/individuals.

**Trolling, doxxing, harassing:** Deliberately derailing via provocation, threats or denigration, debaters or debates.

**Statements promoting violence:** Statements legitimising or even necessitating violence against marginalised groups or individuals belonging to or sharing characteristics with those groups.

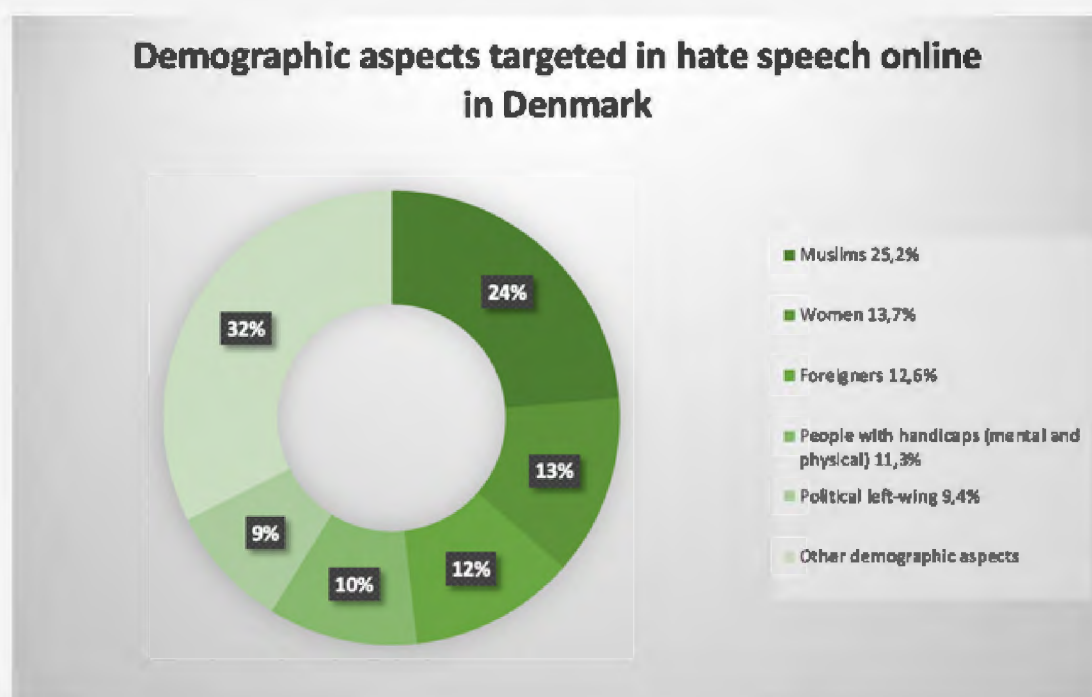
**Ideologically motivated assault:** Violence perpetrated specifically to derail specific movements, demographics etc. from participating in society/democracy.

# Who is and who isn't subject to hate speech

As stated in the previous chapter, hate speech is specifically targeted at certain demographics or at individuals for belonging to those demographics, therefore a distinction should be made between 'online abuse' and hate speech. Online abuse is often defined as any sort of derogatory, aggressive, violent or otherwise particularly negative comment received in or via an online media (Reichelmann et al., 2020; Wachs et al., 2021).

As noted by Notten and Nikken (2016) teenage boys, specially those from single-parent households and/or lacking parental co-use experience of digital media, are prone to engage in environments with online abuse. This in turn does not mean that these young men are proportionally the victims of online hate speech, as they are not targeted for the specific fact that they are young or men. Other demographics face a different reality.

The Danish analytics agency Analyse&Tal, suggest in their 2021 report that some demographic aspects are more often than others, the target of hate speech in online discussions. More than 63 million comments on respectively 199 and 477 Danish politicians' and news media's Facebook-pages were analysed. The results where that ethnic minorities and women especially were the targets of hate speech



A Norwegian study that analysed two large population studies in Norway, similarly concludes that men primarily receive online abuse based on their opinions and attitudes, whereas women primarily are targeted on their gender, which in turn also increases the aggression of the abuse (Nadin & Fladmoe, 2019). Research also suggests that some 33% of young women have been the target of sexualized online abuse (thrice the number of young men) (Pew Research Center, 2021), something that can be seen as hate speech, as it targets a demographic aspect – their gender and sexuality.

These studies don't all take into account the severity of the hate speech, but lend a valuable insight into which demographic groups are targeted most often in digital debate. It has also been claimed that "the more these categories intersect in any single individual, the more likely any public appearance or visible activism on their part will result in targeted hate toward that individual" (Saara Sarama, 2020, p.130). This means that whatever the consequences of hate speech are, they affect some social and demographic groups disproportionately.

## Consequences of Hate Speech

Hate speech is a form of violence and the effects of being subject to hate speech are similar to those of being subject to other types of violence (Sinclair et. al., 2012; Benesch, 2014; Wachs et al. 2022). It frightens, offends, humiliates or denigrates (Benesch, 2014).

Studies suggest that being subject to hate speech has considerable effect on people, lower trust in people, more societal anxiety as well as a propensity to engage in a narrative that justifies hatred or violence against some groups (Reichelmann et. al. 2020). One study also showed that virtual harassment had widespread effects on participating youths' health and that the effect was greater when experienced in conjunction with harassment based on hatred towards their race/ethnicity or sexual orientation (Sinclair et al., 2012). That is the form of online abuse that has been defined here as hate speech. Hate speech has also been shown to have the effect of silencing those who are subject to this online abuse, and making them more cautious expressing their opinions publicly (Nadin M., & Fladmoe A., 2019).



This democratically destructive effect, frequently noted in research (Nadin M., & Fladmoe A. 2019; Institut for Menneskerettigheder, 2017) primarily affects women and ethnic minorities, who abstain from participating in political debates and discussions on social media, because of experienced or expected hate speech targeting their gender or ethnicity. Particularly young women (18–29) are expecting hate speech to such a degree, that some never engage in public political discussions on social media for this reason (Institut for Menneskerettigheder, 2017). The detrimental effects of hate speech on those subject to them is therefore clear and in this review we start to glimpse the societal affect caused by it. Reviewing these consequences of hate speech is leading us to the immense importance of preventing hate speech from happening. Democratic participation is a fundamental right of young people and silencing some members of society is to exclude them from democratic participation. We are of the opinion that Youth works, at its core aims, is prevention work as well as a means to enhance young people's skills to participate in democracy and social life. It is therefore our conclusion that youth workers must understand the impact of hate speech, how it might hinder them from reaching the goals they set for their work and how they can play a part in preventing it. It has been theorised that hate speech has even more widespread consequences than what has already been discussed here. Saresma and colleagues conclude:

*„We claim that discursive expressions of hatred spread through social media are performative acts that shape our understanding of reality; they must thus be taken seriously, as they are not only violent themselves but also pave the way for an ideological readiness to use other types of violence" (Saresma et al., 2021. p 222).*

The Geneva International Centre for Justice shares this concern. That hate speech is dangerous because of its potential to create a norm that legitimises intolerance which could have very violent outcomes (Futtner & Brusco, 2021). In these statements authors are describing an affective form of violence (Saresma et.al, 2021) as it is intended to, and indeed does influence people's conceptions and emotions. Feelings of fear, hatred or suspicion towards any person belonging to certain groups are spread through this dialog.

When dialogue creates a norm in the way it is described here it has been shown to have an impact on how people feel about events that take place. Serrano–Durá and colleagues (2017) did a study on young people's perceptions on violence against women as manifested in chants at football games. There several young people viewed the opinion that the abusive dialogue was okay specifically because it was

normal. They felt this to a varying degree where some felt it was ok only at the football stadium but not elsewhere, others mentioned other situations it might be acceptable. A few participants even justified the case of spousal abuse referenced in the chant, but the study does not reveal a link between that line of thinking specifically and the attitudes surrounding football matches. In terms of our work this serves as a reminder that youth work needs to promote norms that are healthy and inclusive. A youth worker will need to understand not only the effect of hate speech on those targeted by it but also the affective changes that might happen to an environment where hate speech becomes the norm.

## What causes young people to engage in hate speech

In preventing hate speech among youth, one of the most important factors to consider is their motivation for engaging in it. Very little research exists on this but in the last few years a handful of articles have been published on research on the subject. For further support the motivations of youth in other deviant behaviour or that of adults perpetrating hate speech or hate crime can also be considered.

Researchers Wachs, Wettstein, Bilz and Gámez-Guadix (2022) proposed a model of motivations for hate speech committed by adolescents based on psychometric evaluations of self-proclaimed perpetrators of hate speech. Through the representative cohort of 346 Swiss youth, they found that the most often (self-)reported motivation for having committed hate speech was Revenge, the second was Ideologically motivated hate speech and third were Social (group) motivations. The last three subsets were Power, Status and Exhilaration.

Research into the motivations of hate crimes (McDevitt & Levin. 1993; McDevitt, Levin & Bennet, 2002), define four archetypes of motivated perpetrators of hate crime. The distinction could be useful in understanding the motivations for young people to engage in hate speech.

The archetypes and their relevance are:

- Thrill Seeking Behaviour
- Defensive
- Retaliatory
- Mission Offenders

### Defensive Offenders

Perpetrators see themselves as defending themselves, their community or their social group. They do so by targeting or abusing others. Such abuse is seen by perpetrators as not only just but necessary in order to protect (McDevitt, Levin & Bennett, 2002). Potential defensive motivation for youth could arise if similar age-appropriate concerns; such as an early and potentially youthfully overzealous political inclination or as a social adherence strategy, wherein the perpetrator(s) seek to defend their in-group status by alienating others

### Retaliatory Offenders

In the same vein as defensive motivations, current events on both a societal and local scale, can motivate some individuals to commit hate speech to "get revenge". Victims might be targeted as representatives of social groups that the perpetrators now see justification in targeting with hate crime. They will do so both in order to punish the group/person for actions the perpetrators feel they represent. This is also used to perform in-group adherence, to show that they will protect their group from "others". Retaliatory motivations to large degree mimic defensive motivations, but arise out of current events rather than personal ones (McDevitt, Levin & Bennett, 2002).

### Mission Offenders

Perpetrators see themselves as crusaders actively targeting a perceived enemy, trying to eliminate them from a respective forum; society on a large scale, or simply a debate, discussion or conversation, on a smaller one. Such motivations are often carried out in light of overt political views and beliefs like racism, misogyny, etc. (McDevitt, Levin & Bennett, 2002)

### Thrill Seeking

Crimes and abuse motivated to instill a sense of heightened arousal in the perpetrators. Such behaviour is often motivated simply by boredom, or a heightened need for excitement and attention. It is to a certain degree random, and motivated by the perpetrators wanting to engage in antisocial behaviour (McDevitt, Levin & Bennett, 2002). potentially to strengthen in-group relations (Littman & Paluck, 2015). They simply want to stir up trouble and seek out a victim that (to them) stands out, often marginalised groups such as LGBTQ+, racial or ethnic minority, political opposition and so on (McDevitt, Levin & Bennett, 2002).

It is useful to examine these archetypes as hate crime has a strong link with hate speech. In comparing these results confederation must be taken to differences that might be present. The archetypes are based on hate crime offenders and it is possible that only part of those who engage in hate speech take the step into engaging in criminal offences. If that is true there it is plausible that some motivations are stronger than others. It is also possible that the motivations of youth are different than those of adults. That being said, there are similarities to be found. 9

.Revenge is the strongest (self-)reported motivation by the youth in the Swiss research. Statements such as “Because I was made angry by them” to which 19,9% agreed, and 18,5% strongly agreed. Perhaps more interestingly they also state “Because I was hurt/annoyed by others agreed to by 17,9% and strongly agreed to by 15,9% (Wachs, Wettstein, Bilz & Gámez-Guadix, 2022). This might suggest that youth who engage in hate speech find representatives for other people/activities the same way perpetrators in hate crimes do.

Another theme present in both studies are social motivations such as belonging to a certain group or keeping your place in it (McDevitt, Levin & Bennett. 2002; Wachs, Wettstein, Bilz & Gámez-Guadix, 2022). This is in keeping with findings from Wachs et al. (2021) on the effect of social norms on adolescents' engagement in hate speech in an offline setting (school). It has been shown that adolescents' perception of social norms motivates them to participate in deviant behaviour.

Using Bandura's Social Cognitive theory as a guide they theorised that social norms have the same or similar effects on youths hate speech perpetration. Their results do show “that social norms were significantly correlated with adolescents' engagement in hate speech perpetration. More concretely, injunctive anti-hate speech norms were negatively associated and deviant peer pressure positively associated with adolescents' hate speech perpetration”(Wachs & Wright, 2021). This is also described in the study previously covered here, showing that youth would often consider sexist chants at football matches to be normal for the main reason that they were common (Serrano-Durá et.al. 2017). In addition, research continues to show a correlation between being subject to hate speech and perpetrating it, either as the target (Wachs & Wright, 2021) of it or as a witness (Benesch, 2014; Serrano-Durá et.al, 2017; Wachs et. al. 2021). This further suggests that revenge and trying to conform with a group plays a part in motivation. These findings suggest that any preventive measures must understand that regarding adolescents, hate speech can be committed as a spur-of-the-moment abuse, and is to a lesser extent a planned out or thought through strategy to incur a respective political or societal change. Therefore countermeasures must understand that tactics such as education about democratic dialogue and societal responsibility (although important) might be less effective than strategies like communication skill building, emotional control, anger management and assertive techniques etc. The prior would target consciously applied hate speech in appealing to a sense of societal responsibility, whereas the latter would rightfully try to mitigate the sudden outburst quality of the hate speech

Ideological motivations are however also among the themes most often self-reported by youth (Wachs et. al. 2021) as well as being a motivation for hate crime offenders (McDevitt, Levin & Bennett, 2002). When it came to ideologically motivated hate speech there was a marked difference in responses of the youth, where one

item “Because it is my opinion”, had a significantly higher affirmative response rate (19,4% agreed, and 11,6% strongly agreed) than the other item in the ideology subset “Because it corresponds to my beliefs” (8,7% agreed and only 3,2% strongly agreed) (Wachs et al., 2022). This might suggest that adolescents to a lesser extent understand themselves as having “beliefs”, but rather “opinions” or it might stem from their having a limited or different understanding of the word beliefs and therefore not using it. If it is the former it might give rise to hope that they can more easily be convinced to change their minds for example by teaching critical thinking.

Exhilaration / Thrill seeking is also seen in both groups but it seems to a different extent. McDevitt, Levin & Bennett (2002) define Thrill seekers as one of the archetypes but among youth engaging in hate speech it is one of the three themes that youth recognise to a much lesser extent as their motive. This as well as the above mentioned results that youth seem to rather understand themselves as having “opinions” on matters than “beliefs” (Wachs, Wettstein, Bilz & Gámez-Guadix, 2022) raises some questions. It is possible that this means that those who cross the line from hate speech into perpetrating hate crime have different motivations, or these might be the consequence of a different developmental stage in youth and adults, or different understandings of terms. In any case it is clear that further research is needed to gain a better understanding into the motivations of youth engaging in hate speech.

## Existing literature on hate speech prevention

The knowledge base of what is effective in reducing or preventing hate speech is still somewhat small. Research on prevention methods aimed at youth are hard to find. As has been discussed here there are however many similarities between hate speech and other forms of violence, therefore we conclude that it is worthwhile to look into methods that have proved effective in violence prevention in general. A review of evaluations of American prevention programs identified 17 programs that have been shown to be effective. The programs vary but most aim to improve social and emotional competence, i.e. to regulating emotions, communication skills, conflict resolution, using assertiveness rather than aggression, coping in stressful situations and more (Fagan & Catalano, 2013). This is in line with the research mentioned earlier about the effectiveness of assertive coping methods as a way to reduce the likelihood of online hate victims becoming perpetrators.

In relation to hate speech itself research indicates that the use of coping strategies reduces the likelihood of victims becoming perpetrators. Two types of coping strategies were studied, technical (such as blocking or reporting) and assertive (such as defending oneself without aggression). Both strategies were correlated with a weaker relationship between being a victim and a perpetrator of hate speech (Wachs & Wright, 2021). The authors conclude that prevention of hate speech should include both media skills training where young people might learn ,to teach adolescents to pay more attention to who is allowed access to their data, how to block people who are sharing online hate material, how to save messages/pictures as evidence (e.g., copies or screenshots), and how to report online hate material to social networking websites.“ (Wachs & Wright, 2021, p. 123). In addition they suggest that assertiveness training would be beneficial, empowering adolescents to resist pressures to join in online hate and to defend themselves without engaging in hate speech (Wachs & Wright, 2021). We consider the empowerment suggested by them to be one of the things youth could and should learn in participation in youth work. Placing an emphasis on critical thinking and participation in social debate based on one's own judgements, is something youth can learn in a controlled safe environment. This is a way to guide young people in learning how to assert themselves and to resist pressures.

Affecting the environment youth live in is another strategy for hate speech prevention that has been suggested to work. Some attempts have been made to prevent mass violence with active counter speech experiments with media programming to render audiences less likely to become convinced by hate speech, or to act on it. When coming from many different sources Counter speech can also be effective (Benesch 2014; Benesch et al., 2016).”

Another environmental change has been shown to have some use, that is to establish some form of contact between potential speakers with persons belonging to a group/groups they might direct their hate speech against. One research on the impact of empathy on hate speech towards refugees indicated that direct contact where a personal relationship based on spending time together has considerable impact on empathy and reduces propensity to engage in hate speech against refugees. Also effective, but not as much, is vicarious contact, such as exposure to media campaigns or other ways that might give a person insight to the refugees life/personality/feelings or other without meeting them in person (Soral et al., 2022). Another example of contact is the sort of connection people feel with celebrities. Mohammed Salah is a “visibly Muslim Soccer player” (Alrababa’h et al., 2019, abstract) for Liverpool FC. He has been very successful in playing for the team and could be described as a fan favourite. At games chants are sung about his ability to score and frequently discuss his muslim faith in a positive way. The impact reaches outside of the stadium as well having had a significant impact on reducing both hate speech and hate crime in the Liverpool area (Alrababa’h et al., 2019)

In terms of prevention in youth work this is certainly evidence to consider, knowing a group or person belonging to a demographic reduces hatred towards them. Knowing them more, reduces it more and it is certainly possible that admiring them multiplies the effect. Media/photo campaigns or projects to get to know a demographic vicariously are relatively easy to make and it does have some effect. Bringing people of different demographics into youth organisations or a youth work setting might prove a little more difficult. If that is done specifically to reduce hatred or hate speech there are also some ethical issues to consider. Marginalised groups frequently carry a lot of emotional weight in having the responsibility to defend their group or to represent their whole demographic. This is not to say that mixing demographics with this purpose should not be done but rather that there are ethical issues to consider before doing so. A youth worker would have to think about i.e. the emotional work of different participants and that everyone has similar gains from participating. This could also be considered evidence to support the importance of diversity among the youth workers themselves. That is to consider this in every step of planning youth work, including the hiring process.

# Recommendations based on the review

A message from the researchers

This report is made in preparation for creating a hate speech prevention model. This is done to make sure the model created is evidence based. The model is created for youth work but could be used in any educational setting willing to utilise the methods of youth work. This report will in addition be open to anyone and we hope it will be of use to other educators in leading young people through hate speech prevention.



## Use varied methods

In our analysis we have found that there are various reasons for youths perpetrating hate speech and that hate speech can have different effects. The problem at hand is not simple and this means that there is no one simple solution. To tackle this, varying methods should be used.



## Enhance communication skills and teach conflict resolution

Knowing how to use assertive coping mechanisms is one of the methods recommended in prevention work. This has been shown to be an effective way to prevent those subject to hate speech, from using it themselves. It would involve teaching youth to be assertive, to defend themselves without being aggressive and other conflict resolution methods.



## Use counter speech

Speaking in a manner that actively counters hate speech has been shown to reduce it. Perhaps not too surprising as witnessing hate speech is positively correlated with perpetrating it. This means that youth workers can create an environment that reduces the odds of youth participating in hate speech simply with the way they talk with youth and amongst themselves.



## Make connections between people



Usually hate speech will be targeted against people who belong to a group the speaker considers different from themselves. It is not unlikely that this is the reason that making connections between people in different social groups has been shown to reduce their willingness to engage in hate speech towards the groups they have been connected with. It may be thought of as moving people from the group of 'others' to the group of 'us'. This is true of both personal connections where potential speakers get to know people of different groups in person and, to a lesser extent, of indirect contact where potential speakers get to know people of different groups through for example social media, campaigns or film.

## Positive, diverse role models



Highly related to the point above, having positive role models from diverse groups can allow youth to better get to know and to connect with people from different social groups. This in turn can have the effect of reducing their willingness to engage in hate speech.

## Building on experience and insight



As of right now there is still not nearly enough research to build on. A youth worker or youth work organisation will therefore have to continue to rely on their experience, insight and education of prevention work and how to best tend to the well being of their youth. In addition to continuing to follow research with an open mind to any new evidence that might suggest a change in practice.

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