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CHECKIT-HE Scoping Comparative European HE Report: Understanding and Identifying Diverse Campus- based Hate, Abuse and Extremism in Higher Education



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Introduction

This report is part of a series of resources produced for the Erasmus+ European funded project *Countering Hate and Extremism on Campus – Knowledge Innovation and Training in HE*. The project draws together partners including Higher Education (HE) institutions and Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) across six national contexts across Europe and the UK. This report draws upon available information around hate incidents in HE contexts and Europe, using examples from University campuses from the UK, Portugal, Turkey, Finland, Cyprus and Serbia. Examples cited are taken from freely and readily available grey literature and other media, or from published research articles.

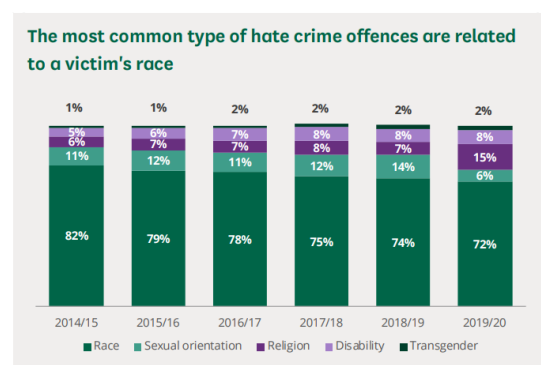
The report intends to achieve two primary objectives. The first is to identify hate incidents and the ways in which these might be framed by specific iterations of far-right ideologies in six national contexts across Europe and the UK. The second is to identify voids in hate incident data and reporting and to unpack how these may also be symptomatic of ideologies specific to national political landscapes across the European spatial terrain.

Hate and Extremism in the UK Context

In 2016 Universities UK published a report which focused on violence against women, harassment and hate crime affecting university students (Universities UK, 2016). The report highlighted the extent of these kinds of incidents on UK HE campuses on the premise that universities have a responsibility for providing a safe environment for students. This premise also informs the report presented here and extends those concerns to experiences of

staff as well as students. In line with this, in the UK context we will consider the extent and impact of hate incidents on campuses as well as the role of extremism in these incidents alongside sexual harassment and sexual assault.

Within the UK context, recent years have seen a consistent increase in hate crime and hate incidents overall, with the most recent available figures showing 105,090 recorded hate crimes in 2019/20, representing an 8% increase on figures for 2018/19 (Home Office, 2020). The documented increase in hate crimes in the last five years appears to have accelerated following the outcome of the referendum which saw the UK vote to leave the European Union (Stop Hate UK, 2018: 3). Hate crimes in the UK are measured against five streams identified as protected characteristics in line with the Equality Act (2010) and these are 'race', gender, sexuality, disability, and religion (Home Office, 2020). The table below demonstrates the proportional split of hate crimes against classifications of 'race', religion, sexual orientation, disability, and transgender in the UK from 2014/15 – 2019/20:



Notes: It is possible for a crime to have more than one motivating factor. For this reason the sum of the percentages of the 5 motivating factors exceeds a 100%.

Data for Greater Manchester Police (GMP) have not been included for 2019/20 because of issues with their data supply following the implementation of new force IT systems.

Source: Home Office, Hate Crime, *England and Wales, 2019 to 2020: data tables*, Table 2.1, 13 October 2020

The table above clearly demonstrates that most hate crimes in the UK have been 'race'-related over the last 5 years (and previously). Whilst it may appear that



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proportionally 'race' related hate crimes are declining, in real numbers the number of all hate incidents has risen consistently from 39,1030 in 2013 to 105,090 cases in 2020. Although there may appear to be some proportional decline in 'race'-related hate crimes, in real terms the number of these incidents is still increasing. It is also worth considering the apparent doubling of religiously motivated hate crimes from 2018/19 - 2019/20, as this may be the result of adjustments in the police recording of incidents which might have previously been classified as 'race' related where minority ethnic religious groups are targeted.

Within the context of Higher Education Institutions in the UK, evidence seems to suggest that issues around hate and extremism are playing out with increases in hate incidents consistent with the wider national trends identified above. This has developed alongside an emergence of far/alt-right ideologies, mobilised around wider public political debates around freedom of speech, but frequently in resistance to diversification of sexuality, gender identification, mobilisations around identity politics and ally-ship in confronting issues of social justice. The Universities and College Union (UCU) published a report in early 2019 which raised concerns in particular around the influence of 'Generation Identity', a far-right Western European movement led by Martin Sellner, filtering onto UK University campuses (University and College Union, 2019: 2). The policy frameworks around extremism in the UK context have primarily consisted of the 'Prevent' duty, which requires specified authorities (including HE institutions) to 'prevent people from being drawn into violent extremism' (Prevent 2015). Since its inception, the strategy has predominantly seen most referrals made for individuals suspected of 'Islamist' extremism even though Muslims make up only 5% of the national population (UK Census, 2011). Whilst in recent years there has been an increase in referrals concerning far-right nationalist ideologies,

these instances are still comparatively small in number. This might suggest that the existing frameworks, having been developed in the wake of the London bombings of 2005, might not provide the appropriate infrastructure to identify and effectively combat new far/alt-right ideologies.

The intersection of this wider public political context and the University as a key space within which public political debates are played out, appears to have resulted in casualties regarding hate incidents framed by the kinds of extreme, conservative far-right ideologies identified above. These have emerged in implicit and explicit ways, and this section will outline some key cases which have played out in public and not-so public spheres in the UK. The extent to which they are informed by an increasing/consistent intolerance to diversity in university settings will also be considered. All the examples and cases here are informed by publicly available information. As such, all insights from individual cases discussed here are based solely on *alleged* information that has been reported and is widely available in the public domain via news media reporting and publicly available social media posts.

[Hate incidents on UK Campuses](#)

Over the last 5 years, it would seem that the most significant proportion of hate incidents on UK University campuses are targeted at victims on the grounds of race or sexuality. An exact figure is difficult to derive, partially because of HE institutions preferring to minimise negative publicity and its possible effects on student recruitment in a competitive HE marketplace. Nevertheless, several racist incidents have made it into the public domain through both mainstream and social media platforms. These incidents range from student peer abuse, to experiences of institutional racism.



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Racist incidents on UK University Campuses

There have been several racist incidents on UK University campuses in recent years, and alongside hate incidents across gender and sexuality, racism constitutes one of the most prevalent forms of extremism in the British HE context.

Case Study: Elizabeth Sawyer

In one of the cases reported in the UK media, De Montfort University (DMU) student Elizabeth Sawyer was subjected to racist abuse whilst out late in the company of a 'friendship group' comprised of fellow DMU students. Over the course of the evening, Miss Sawyer was subjected to fellow students singing a racist rhyme which included references to 'lynching' and offensive racial slurs. Following these events, she was later subjected to the same racial slurs the following day on campus. The incident is significant, having received wide-ranging attention on social media, following Miss Sawyer tweeting her account of events:



It was subsequently reported that one of the primary aggressors in this case allegedly boasted about being 'a racist', saying that her family 'joke about lynching black people' (Hoxha 2018). Whilst this represents a disturbing case of explicit and individually targeted racist abuse, a number of social media users identified the institutional response as problematic. News media reports indicated that De Montfort University took the decision to suspend all parties (*including Miss Sawyer*) following the incident. (see info at National Union of Students, 2018)

The fullest extent of hate incidents on UK HE campuses is likely to remain elusive. However, several incidents reported in UK news media suggest an ongoing problem with racist incidents on UK campuses. In March 2018, an Oxford student who had previously been banned from social events at the University because of previously wearing a Ku Klux Klan outfit was appointed to the University's prestigious boat racing team (Falvey, 2018). The move was met with anger by fellow students, but the University stood by their decision stating 'the incident was dealt with appropriately' (Falvey, 2018). More recently in 2020, first year Manchester University student Zac Adan was filmed being restrained by University security staff for 'looking like a drug dealer' (Freeman-Powell, 2020). Mr Adan described the events as follows:

'I had my ID card in my hand and they tried to snatch it from me. The next thing I know I was being pinned up against the wall. ...There was no conversation. They just pinned me up against the wall and said I looked like a drug dealer. Why? Because I am black and wearing a hoodie?'

Case study: Aberdeen medical students

In addition to experiences on campuses, there have also been reports on incidents which have occurred whilst students were on placement. A number of black medical students on placement whilst studying at the University of Aberdeen wrote an open letter detailing their experiences in July 2020. The open letter detailed one student being publicly 'congratulated' on being able to speak English by a white patient whilst on training (Fazakerley 2020). In another incident documented in the letter, a student described being referred to as a 'monkey' by a patient, and 'instead of saying anything staff just laughed' (Fazakerley, 2020).

The letter received nearly 500 signatures from doctors, alumni and students, and the University responded with the Dean of the



medical school working with one of the students affected, to address the issues raised (Fazakerley, 2020).

The transition to online provision at many Universities at the peak of the Covid-19 pandemic also presented new online arenas within which hate incidents have played out in the student experience alongside those documented in-person on placement or campus. For example, an incident at De Montfort University saw a student post 'black people blame everything on being black' during an online criminology lecture (May, 2020). The University subsequently launched an 'urgent, full-scale' investigation around these events (May, 2020).

Intersections and hate incidents in UK HE

Whilst the legislative frameworks around Hate Crime in the UK context clearly identify 5 protected streams, in reality hate incidents can also occur which involve two more intersections across designated protected characteristics. There are two main implications here, the first being that some hate incidents might be difficult to accurately record owing to the requirement to designate the incident to one stream. For example, where an Islamophobic hate incident occurs, there is a requirement to identify the incident as either 'race'-related or religiously motivated. The second implication is that there will be hate incidents which are nuanced in nature, and which incur a very specific impact as a result of intersections.

Case study: St Mary's College LGBT+ welcome event

In 2020, during the height of the Covid-19 pandemic, an online LGBT+ welcome event for students at St Mary's College at the University of Durham was hacked by anonymous callers who proceeded to shout both homophobic and racist slurs (Moore 2020). St Mary's College LGBT+ Association in partnership with the Durham



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LGBT+ Association and Durham People of Colour Association (DPOCA) stated:

'On Monday 5th October, the Saint Mary's College LGBT+ Association hosted a virtual Zoom event to welcome freshers into our vibrant community. The Zoom link was shared on internal St Mary's channels, and was well attended. Sadly, the call was hijacked by 15-20 anonymous callers. These individuals took it upon themselves to shout a number of homophobic and racist slurs at the participants of this call and proceeded to share sexually explicit videos on their screens, as well as play extremely loud, disorientating music. An investigation has already been launched by the University to find those who are responsible... The participants of this call were left feeling upset, threatened and above all, unsafe. It goes without saying that this kind of malicious behaviour is completely and totally unacceptable. The SMC LGBT+ Association's primary objective is to foster an environment that is welcoming, nurturing and most crucially, safe. This is vital now more than ever, due to the way in which the COVID-19 pandemic has severely limited the ways in which we can interact with and support one another' (Binji, 2020).

Intersections across 'race', sexuality and gender-based hate incidents also played out in a series of events which saw a number of students from Exeter University being expelled (Rawlinson, 2018). This also represented an example of messaging platforms featuring in hate related incidents, as a number of students were reported to have made comments in a Whatsapp group which were later posted by an individual group member who had felt 'moved to act' (Rawlinson, 2018). Comments reportedly shared included 'If you ain't English, go home,' 'bomb the mosques' and 'we need a race war', with students 'joking' about buying slaves from African countries and gang rape (Rawlinson, 2018).



Another example which demonstrates how intersections across identity can impact for individuals is the case of Fatima Diriye, a Politics student at SOAS, University of London (Busby, 2018). Miss Diriye was wearing the *jilbab* (a long loose-fitting item of clothing worn to convey modesty) on campus when two other students took photos and drew sexualised pictures of her (Busby, 2018). She described the events as follows:

'They drew a picture of me because I wear a jilbab – the head to toe piece – so they drew that, and then explicitly exaggerated my figure and wrote: "I like penis."' (Busby, 2018).

Miss Diriye stated that the experience was highly upsetting and made her feel unsafe (Busby, 2018). She also went to recall being confronted by a male peer when taking part in a Student's Union activity:

'He said "You are a Muslim woman. Why are you even speaking? Aren't you normally oppressed?"'

She also described a sense of pressure following news media reporting around terrorist attacks, which would leave her questioning if she would have to act 'friendlier' to 'make sure people feel safe?' (Busby, 2018).

In addition to individual level experiences, we have also seen recent emergent trends recorded across proportions of the HE sector. In May 2019 the *Guardian* reported that across 92 institutions 'hundreds of students have been disciplined or expelled for making racist, sexually explicit or homophobic comments on social media in recent years' (Marsh, 2019). Among those institutions, the University of Central Lancashire and University of Bedfordshire had the highest numbers of disciplinary cases (22 each), Loughborough next with 18 cases (Marsh 2019). It is clear from looking at the cases above within the both



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wider context of overall trends in hate crime in the UK and hate incidents on University campuses, that issues around 'race' and racism represent a persistent and recurring problem in the UK Higher Education system.

Sexual harassment and gender-based violence

Sexual assault reports at UK Universities have more than doubled in recent years, with over 3500 incidents occurring since 2015 (Venn, 2021). The data was elicited following freedom of information requests made to 200 HE institutions, with 45 returning complete datasets (Venn, 2021). Across those institutions who responded, there had been a combined 112% increase in reports of sexual misconduct, with Bath, Brighton, Cardiff, Durham, Lincoln, Nottingham and University of East Anglia all reporting over 110 cases of sexual misconduct since 2015 (Venn, 2021). In particular, the University of Lincoln saw cases rise from 26-149, and despite the Covid-19 pandemic over 1100 cases were reported for the academic year 2019/20 across the 45 institutions which returned data (Venn 2021).

It is important to acknowledge here that the picture above is likely to represent a very limited account of the full extent of instances of sexual assault on UK HE campuses for a number of reasons (not least the fact that only 45 institutions out of 200 returned data in the aforementioned study). It is also important to consider the sensitivity around such incidents, and the ways in which manifestations of trauma and/or stigma might lead some students to seek help outside of their HE institutions, or maybe avoid seeking support at all.

A study in the UK conducted by 'Revolt Sexual Assault' aimed to attain a fuller picture of how prevalent experiences of



sexual assault are in UK Universities. In 2018 a study of 4500 students at 153 HE institutions found that 62% of students had experienced sexual violence, with only 10% reporting the incident to the police or the university (Revolt Sexual Assault, 2018). Furthermore, regarding institutional responses, only 2% of those who experienced sexual violence felt both comfortable and able to report it to their university and were satisfied with the reporting process (Revolt Sexual Assault, 2018).

Another organisation that has sought to draw further attention to incidents of sexual harassment and sexual assault on UK University campuses is 'Everyone's Invited' – an 'anti-rape movement organisation' focused on 'exposing rape culture through conversation, education and support' (Everyone's Invited, 2021). The online platform has seen over 51,000 individual testimonies submitted since the 8th of March 2021, with 84 UK Universities named on the website so far (Sky News, 2021). It was reported that Oxford was mentioned 57 times alongside Exeter (65 mentions), Edinburgh and Leeds (53 mentions each), while 15 Russell Group universities feature more than five times in posts (O'Grady, 2021).

Recent events around the Covid-19 pandemic have also complicated the extent to which students have felt able to report instances of sexual assault. The implementation of national lockdowns and shifting social distancing measures have led to students being 'scared' and 'hesitant' to report instances of sexual assault which have happened outside of coronavirus regulations (Tidman, 2021). This has led to pressure from campaigners, including those affiliated with 'Everyone's Invited', for universities to reassure and inform students that they will not be disciplined for



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Covid-19 breaches which come to light when reporting assaults (Tidman, 2021).

In 2016 the aforementioned Universities UK report *Changing the Culture* set out a range of recommendations for addressing harassment and hate crime and sexual violence across the UK HE sector (UUK, 2016). As part of the strategy for facilitating these recommendations, the Office for Students invested £4.7 million over a three year period to fund 119 projects through the *Student Safeguarding Catalyst Fund Programme* (OFS, 2019). The programme focused on addressing sexual harassment, hate crime (including religious-based hate crime) and online harassment affecting students (OFS, 2019). The scheme was evaluated through a range of independent evaluation reports conducted by 'Advance HE', and these found that the funding has seen a raising of awareness of these issues, and a rise in reported incidences of sexual harassment and hate crime (OFS 2019: 3). One institution saw the reporting of sexual harassment rise by 133%, with the reporting of sexual offences rising 175% as a result of projects delivering a greater awareness of these issues and a greater sense of confidence in the ability to report such incidents (OFS, 2019: 3).

LGBTQ+ experiences in UK Higher Education

As identified with other forms of hate and extremism in HE, outlining an accurate picture of homophobic, biphobic and transphobic hate incidents on UK campuses is challenging due to a lack of confidence in the reporting of incidents to academic or other staff by those affected (Stonewall 2018). These issues with confidence in institutional reporting have meant that resources have been limited. However, the UK-based LGBTQ+ advocacy organisation Stonewall published a report in 2018 which provided



much needed insight into LGBTQ+ experiences in HE. The report identified that 3 in 5 trans students had experienced negative comments from other students as a result of their identity, compared with 1 in 5 LGB students who are not trans (Stonewall, 2018: 3). When looking at intersections across disability, 47% of LGBT disabled students had experienced negative comments or treatment from other students (Stonewall 2018: 3). The report also raised emerging concerns around trans student experiences, with testimonies identifying instances where students are not addressed by staff with their correct name and pronoun, and do not feel able to use facilities because of concerns about discrimination (Stonewall, 2018: 3).

In the last few years, discussion around transphobia in particular at universities have been brought into focus, with the National Union of Students issuing a statement on transphobia in June 2021. The statement drew attention to concerns around ongoing and emerging 'gender-critical' narratives facilitating a 'sharp mainstream increase of transphobia within academic institutions (NUS, 2021). Part of this tension has been played out around external speakers on UK campuses, wider public political debates around freedom of speech, and how this has facilitated transphobic narratives in HE (NUS, 2021). These tensions have also raised questions around institutional transphobia (Adams, 2021), with incidences of HE academic staff being targeted by activists for their views on gender identification (Adam,s 2021).

Whilst there has been some evidence of progress, there are still significant areas of concern. For example, insights from the Stonewall report indicate that interactions with staff have been problematic as well as those with other students, with 36% of trans



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students and 7% of LGB students facing negative comments or conduct from university staff (Stonewall, 2018: 5). Furthermore, 42% of LGBT students disguised that they were LGBT at university out of fear of discrimination (Stonewall, 2018: 5), and 20% of trans students reported being encouraged by staff to disguise that they are trans (Stonewall, 2018: 5). All of the above come together to inform ongoing concerns around the HE sector's ability to respond to the needs of students who are subjected to homophobic, biphobic and transphobic hate incidents.

Hate and extremism in UK HE in 2021

It is clear drawing on the insights above that there are some serious challenges in the UK HE sector with regard to the prevalence of experiences of hate incidents and the underlying extremist ideologies which frame them (such as 'gender critical' and 'Generation Identity' for example.) This has emerged alongside a wider individualised libertarian and populist politics as evidenced by Brexit and tensions around individual liberties raised by national and local measures undertaken in response to the pandemic in the UK. Even within the context of the height of the pandemic, we have seen experiences of hate incidents persist for students who identify in ways which map onto the five protected streams in the UK's hate crime legislation. Furthermore, it is clear that there are ongoing problems with gender based sexual assault and harassment on UK university campuses. We have seen attention drawn to these issues by a number of Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) and charities, and this has done much to add pressure within the HE sector to address the issues raised in this report. However, whilst there is legislation, activity from NGOs and charities as well as a culture of news media reporting on these



types of incidents, it is clear that more needs to be done to address issues around hate, newer forms of extremism and sexual harassment and assault on UK university campuses.



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Cyprus - CARDET

Insights on hate and extremism on university campuses in the context of Cyprus for the purposes of this report has been conducted by CARDET and it is one of the six national reports produced by all partner countries (UK, Serbia, Turkey, Cyprus, Finland and Portugal) in the framework of the CHECKIT HE project.

Hate crime in the context of Cyprus

The term “Hate crime” in the Republic of Cyprus (RoC) has not been defined or addressed in the penal code or any other legislation”, hence, there is no agreed definition of the term. KISA (an NGO organisation in Cyprus which supports and advocates the rights of migrants, refugees, victims of trafficking and racism/discrimination and ethnic minorities) defines hate speech as ‘any discourse or other forms of expression that attacks a person or a group on the basis of imputed or real characteristics such as race, religion, ethnicity, gender, disability, sexual orientation or gender identity, nationality and legal status’ (KISA 2019). In line with insights from the UK context, LGBTQI people, migrants, disabled people, women, and individuals belonging to a certain social class or a specific religion are more likely to be victims of hate crimes in Cyprus more generally (KISA 2019).

Until recently, the only relevant legislation available in the RoC was *The Combating of Certain Forms and Expressions of Racism and Xenophobia by means of Criminal Law*, Law of 2011 (Law 134(I)/2011). Whilst this focused on concern around racism and/or xenophobia, it failed to cover aspects such as homophobia, misogyny, transphobia, ableism, and ageism. An amendment in the penal code in 2015 Law 87(I)/2015 criminalised deliberate public incitement to violence or hatred directed



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against a group of people or a member of that group identified by sexual orientation or gender identity. Hate speech is currently prohibited when it is directed at a person or a group of people based on (or the assumption) of characteristics such as ethnicity, origin, race, religion, gender identity, or sexual orientation and it is motivated, in whole or in part, by the perpetrator’s bias. Bias is a preformed negative belief or attitude toward a group of persons according to their race, gender, religion, disability, sexual orientation, or ethnicity/national background (ECRI, 2016).

Hate speech in the RoC is considered as a historical issue embedded in the country’s background, and which primarily affects vulnerable groups (refugees, migrants, asylum seekers, LGBTQI people, women, Turkish Cypriots, Muslims, individuals with disabilities, persons with serious diseases and health issues). Three main nexuses have been identified regarding hate speech by a report on Public Discourses of Hate Speech in Cyprus. The first is ‘intercommunal’ hate speech. Since the de facto division of the island, in 1974, into two communities (Greek-Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots) many hate speech incidents have been recorded against each community. These incidents are usually enacted by far right supporters or religious authorities. The second nexus is ‘inter-alterity’ hate speech, which emerges from the continuous increase of migrants and the growing insecurity and fear of the native population. The third nexus, ‘inter-gender’ hate speech, concerns hate speech against women and LGBTQI as a result of the predominant patriarchal norms that prevail in the island (Dilmaç, Kocadal & Tringides, 2021).

Reports from civil society organisations and migrant communities indicate that the most vulnerable groups to hate crime are migrants, asylum seekers, refugees and Turkish Cypriots and the most frequent



reported cases are based on the ethnicity and nationality of the group. Nevertheless, official data from police reports on hate crimes do not reflect the aforementioned situation. Despite of amendments made by the police to improve the registry process on hate crimes for the period 2005 to 2018 (Cyprus Police, 2018) the details on such incidents are still inadequate. By way of contrast with the UK, problems with public access to information around hate crimes makes it difficult to identify particular incidents. Furthermore, the fact alone that it seems that the majority of the victims of hate crime allegedly are Greek Cypriots, it indicates that police lack knowledge on the identification and investigation of hate crime offences. Based on reports conducted by NGOs such as KISA, the available statistical evidence does not reflect the reality of hate crimes in Cyprus. The majority of hate crimes are classified in most occasions as offences under the general penal code without acknowledging underpinning hate motive(s) (KISA, 2019; ECRI 2016). Therefore, due to this lack of evidence and information regarding the recording of hate and extremism incidents there is no access to the demographic characteristics of the victims of such incidents, or any other specific information.

The Office for Combating Discrimination (OCD), which is under the Criminal Investigation Office (CIO) of the Cyprus Police is responsible for gathering evidence, investigating the complaints and reports submitted to the police on cases of discrimination regarding Hate Crime in Cyprus. OCD collaborates with the Police and other stakeholders such as NGOs and other governmental institutions in guaranteeing the effective implementation of relevant legislation. However, OCD is understaffed and incapable of monitoring and prosecuting hate crime due to inadequacy in resources. Meanwhile, the response of the criminal justice system is also ineffective as the Attorney General's Office and the courts do not proceed with



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the collection of data on hate crime incidents ((Dilmaç, Kocadal & Tringides, 2021).

A number of organisations play a crucial role in offering support to the victims of hate crime such as KISA, Caritas, AEQUITAS, the Cameroonian Association, the African Diaspora, the Recognised Refugees in Cyprus and ACCEPT LGBT Cyprus. In addition, the Anti-Discrimination Body, which functions under the aegis of the Office of the Commissioner for Administration and Human Rights (Ombudsperson), is an independent institution which aims to combat racism and discrimination and promote equality. However, no statistical data regarding complaints submitted to the Anti-Discrimination Body is available.

Most hate crime incidents remain unresolved and/or not recorded as such due to reasons like (a) inadequacy and/or averseness of police officers to identify (b) police officers' lack of expertise due to lack of training, (c) personal prejudices. This arguably might facilitate a sense of impunity, as criminal law provisions against hate speech incidents are not being applied (KISA, 2019). It should also be noted that in many occasions victims who experience hate crime do not report the incident. This may in part be explained by the vulnerable statuses of those affected (including immigration status or those who are refugees or seeking asylum), or pre-existing stigma around issues such as gender fluid identities and sexuality. As such, incidents remain unreported by the victims mainly because of fear of (a) arrest, (b) detention, (c) deportation, (d) victimisation, lack of confidence in the impact of reporting and lack of aware-ness of rights (Dilmaç, Kocadal & Tringides). The majority of victims of hate crimes are undocumented migrants or migrants with legal resident who are afraid that such report will lead to losing their residence permit (ECRI, 2016). In addition, in many



occasions, the Attorney General, has repeatedly undermined and attempted to reduce the profile given to incidents of hate speech on the basis of public safety and public interest (KISA, 2019).

A recent research study aiming at the identification of the views and attitudes of Higher education students both of local and migrant background towards different forms of hate speech online as well as offline, indicated that more than half of participants had already experienced hate speech, especially the respondents with a migrant background (MATE, 2018). Findings also suggested that hate speech was more frequent in real life and the offensive behaviour encountered was class racism and physical appearance. For the respondents, hate speech is defined as offensive behaviour based on sexual orientation religion, class, ethnicity, and so on. They also identified that its main causes include false notions of superiority, and in certain cases is related to insecurities and life disappointment (MATE, 2018). Individuals who admitted having used hate speech, claimed that they were merely expressing their opinion, with two thirds stating that they did not know hate speech was illegal (MATE, 2018).

LGBTQI people are more likely to be victims of homophobic, biphobic/ and transphobic violence. However, these incidents remain highly unreported mainly because of fear around facing stigmatisation as a result of revealing sexual orientation and/ or gender identity. Additionally, many individuals are not aware of the meaning of the term hate crime. This wider culture of classifying hate incidents under the general penal code is also reflected in public perception of hate incidents, which might be perceived as common crimes. Another explanation for a this wider lack of acknowledgement also lies in the prevalence of hate incidents in the daily lives of those affected, with victims being aware that reporting incidents



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is unlikely to lead to prosecution. This is symptomatic of the police's failure to proceed with proper investigations around such incidents, and resistance to prosecuting offenders under designated hate crime legislation (Research Institute Prometheus, 2015; KISA, 2019; Kamenou, Ethemer, Gavrielides & Bullic, 2019).

More widely, there have been occasions, in which Government and church officials, journalists and politicians in the RoC have employed hate speech in public statements without facing legal consequences (KISA, 2019). In one example, representatives of Orthodox Church of Cyprus made a number of statements reported in news media arguing that homosexuality is a sin and unnatural and that one ought to struggle to overcome it (REF). Also, on a number of occasions, the Archbishop has repeatedly targeted refugees, migrants, asylum seekers, Turkish-Cypriots, homosexuals and the LGBTQI communities (KISA, 2019). Media contexts, have also served as a site for the reproduction of hate speech. For example, newly arrived refugees have frequently been referred to as 'illegals' in media reporting. Politicians have also employed hate speech in public statements, which have targeting Turks, migrants and refugees, with a view to seemingly drawing on discriminatory agendas in their attempts to secure votes. Moreover, in terms of the educational system, the majority of schools do not adopt measures to endorse the integration of migrants. Research has indicated that this has led to cases of racist and xenophobic bullying and violence, with large numbers of children with migrant backgrounds subsequently dropping out of schools (Research Institute Prometheus, 2015).

A recent qualitative study as part of the framework of the *Combating Homophobic and Transphobic bullying project* in Cyprus, revealed that despite the fact homophobic and transphobic bullying is visible, with



both staff and students facing hate speech on the ground, such incidents are often ignored and 'swept under the carpet' (Apostolidou, 2020).

The far-right military-style political movement, National Popular Front (ELAM) was founded in 2008 and was approved as a political party in May 2011. The party promotes Greek nationalism and adopts an antisemitic, anti-Turkish Cypriot, racist and xenophobic agenda while also being openly connected with the Greek far-right political party Golden Dawn. The presence of the far-right Party in parliament, has seen a significant parallel increase in incidents of hate crime carried out by Greek Cypriot racists and extreme nationalists targeting Turkish Cypriots. These incidents included attacks against Turkish Cypriots by Greek Cypriot students in 2015, attacks against Turkish Cypriot taxi drivers in 2016, an arson attack against a Mosque in the same year, malicious damage caused to Turkish Cypriots' cars at Troodos Mountain in 2017, attacks by helmet-wearing fascists during a bi-communal event the same year, as well as repeated attacks by a right-wing affiliated football club against Turkish Cypriots (KISA, 2019, 2019). Another incident in 2015 saw a group of young people representing the far-right organization ELAM beat a 25-year-old Nigerian student in a main street in Nicosia (HIT, 2019). The case was categorised as undetected by the police, as not enough evidence was gathered to proceed with prosecution. These incidents indicate that the presence of ELAM offers a platform for normalising ultra-nationalism and its underpinning elements including racism, hate speech and hate crime, violence and reinforcing the exclusion of communities such as Turkish Cypriots and, by extension, Muslims. In addition, far-right parties seem to have benefitted in times of economic crisis and have been given ground to express their ideological views by committing racist attacks (Research



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Institute Prometheus, 2015; HIT, 2019; KISA, 2019).

Discriminatory speech is also visible in social media platforms. Within these online narrative, asylum-seekers are depicted as lazy and bogus, whilst Muslim asylum-seekers are particularly targeted and connected to the narrative of an 'Islamisation'/Turkification' of Cyprus. The Cyprus Radio Television Authority (CRA) is the authority designated to regulate media content through fines and penalties wherever immediate violation of the law is clear. However, the CRA has not imposed sanctions regarding indirect provocation of xenophobia and racist hate. In addition, the CRA does not have the authority to monitor and impose fines on electronic or social media, which encourages the reproduction of hate speech online. The Cyprus Media Complaints Commission (CMCC) is responsible for both written and electronic news media and investigates complaints or violations of the code of conduct of journalists including hate speech and offensive narratives. It should be noted that from the 33 incidents that were examined in 2018, only one was found to be related to hate speech (KISA, 2019; Dilmaç, Kocadal & Tringides, 2021).

It is evident that the RoC has not proceeded with the adoption and implementation of a zero tolerance policy against nationalism, discrimination, racism and fascism. No effective measures have been taken to prevent or combat hate incidents or hate crimes. At the same time, individuals who experience hate crimes remain unsupported and invisible. The 2015 amendment of the penal code is a positive development in principle in terms of condemning any action that incites violence and/ or hatred against a group of people or a member of such a group, based on sexual orientation or gender identity. However, its implementation has been limited, and contributed very little to alleviating experiences of hate and



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discrimination in RoC. It seems more urgent than ever that there is a need to create a comprehensive and effective strategy for combating nationalism, discrimination, racism and fascism at all levels, from society, economy and education, to legislation, institutions and politics. Representatives from vulnerable communities (migrants, refugees, women, LGBTI persons, disabled persons), will need to collaborate with authorities to prevent and combat all forms of hate crime. Furthermore, the focus should shift towards support for victims, and an active enablement for those affected to pursue their rights. The fact that police investigators, public prosecutors and lawyers in the Office of the Attorney General are not required to be trained in racial discrimination and hate crime, raises serious concerns as to the ability for key institutions to provide an effective application of any legislation regarding hate crimes. Therefore, training for prosecuting authorities will be crucial to ensure that hate speech can be appropriately identified, recorded and prosecuted as such.



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Hate and Extremism in Finland

Extremism in Finland – an overview

In general Finland follows behind of most of Europe in development of extremist movements and actual crime rates considering hate crime or extremist-based crimes. This has been attributed to the wider national strategy, which 'relies heavily on preventive work' according to Ministry of the Interior.

In the past 20 years there has been over 25 ideologically motivated crimes reported in Finland that have resulted in death, with over 180 resulting in injury (Malkki & Sallamaa, 2018). These attacks have not been labelled as terrorism due to the wider public and political preference not to label them as such. This makes Finland statistically one of the safest countries in the world when looking at terrorist attacks. (Malkki and Sallamaa, 2018.)

With regard to extremist-based crimes, the biggest risk of violence in Finland is around the "lone wolf" phenomena, whereby individual actors carry out acts of extreme violence with the intention to cause harm. Such actors are typically linked to extremist social networks and will usually have a record of online activity among such networks via social media, forums and other online platforms. The risk around terrorist crimes in Finland has increased in recent years, and this has mirrored a wider presence of known radical religious and political groups. Within this context, the greatest threat to everyday living is now considered to come from far-right political movements (Ministry of the Interior 2020a.)

Malkki and Sallamaa (2018) have sorted ideologically motivated acts of violence in Finland based on their orientation. Listed categories are school shootings (school shooter -type actors), far-right extremism, anarchist and far-left violence, animal rights extremism and Middle East political grievance linked attacks. Attacks in Finland are usually isolated incidents and therefore easier to disconnect publicly from terrorism. Acts are drawn away from terrorism labels by depoliticizing violence and considering attacks more as social problems than security issues. (Malkki and Sallamaa, 2018.)

The Ministry of the Interior has followed the development of extremist groups in Finland since 2013 and published regular overviews which is based on officials and researcher's knowledge. Overviews are published for the needs of co-operation between different professionals and prevention of extremist radicalization. (Ministry of the Interior 2020a.)

As a quite small country with only about 6 million citizens Finland has also regional differentiation in rates of extremist activity. Single persons or small groups of far right and far left movements are known to be found in every part of the country. Far right movement is quite often related to groups that have activated after European migration crisis in 2015. Far left targets mostly far right and their public gatherings. Highest rates of racist activity, radical thinking and far right or left groups can be found in southern and southwestern Finland. (Ministry of the Interior 2020a.) These are also the areas where majority of citizens and immigrants live.

Prevention of extremism and violent radicalization in Finland is based on National strategy. That includes written



aims and actions that are directed to officials, associations and civil society. After 2010 extremism has been a growing phenomenon also in Finland and marks of its growth has been seen since the beginning of the century. (Ministry of the Interior, 2020b.)

Strategical actions are taken into action on national, regional and local levels. Preventive actions are not focused to specific groups, ideologies or individuals. Communication, open change of information and co-operation between officials and associations, communities and researchers are considered important. Leading the preventive actions is based on knowledge management. (Ministry of the Interior, 2020b.)

Extremism fosters in global, national and local levels and creates a social and security threat to local communities and business. Preventing extremism in Finland is led by a work group of political secretaries. On a local level, actions are based on communication and collaboration between official and unofficial actors (like associations and volunteers). Both permanent multi-professional actions (like Ankkuri/Anchor groups in biggest cities) and temporary and focused actions are possible. Temporary interventions can focus on individuals who are in danger of radicalization. Their family and other close people to them may also need support. (Ministry of the Interior, 2020b.)

In the strategy of preventing extremism in Finland tasks are given to different actors. The strategy defines among other things tasks for planning, co-ordination, collecting information, reporting and encountering people. Official actors like Ministry of the Interior, Police, Finnish Defensive Forces and Security Service have their own tasks and sectors. Social work, Health and



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Wellbeing and Youth work are also considered of importance. The teaching sector and educational institutes are mentioned in the strategy as having a possibility to support every growing citizen. Educational sector has an important role in using research-based methods and following international and local aims and laws in educational work with children and youth. Educational institutes are in close collaboration with officials on local level and have a permanent role in Anchor groups. Education as a sector supports children and youth participation and integration into the society and can have a role in preventing actual societal phenomenon like racism and hate speech. (Ministry of the Interior, 2020b.)

Hate crimes in Finland

Defining hate crimes is not a clear case in Finland. Attempts to define them have been made also in Turku University of Applied Sciences (TUAS). In a Bachelor's Thesis Heikkala (2018) stated that definitions for hate crimes are hard to make because there are no official and verified definitions internationally or in Finnish Criminal Law. That means that what is noted to be hate crime is unclear and can vary depending on who is making the definition.

Rates for racist crimes in Finland have been followed in research reports since 1998 and since 2009 the reports have expanded to cover all hate crimes. Reports are based on Police reports of an offence whether police has declared them to be hate crimes or not. The definition of hate crime in the reports is based on the background of the crime to be prejudice or hatred towards the crime objects real or assumed ethnicity or nationality, religion or



belief, sexual orientation, gender identity or gender expression, or disability. In year 2019 there were about nine hundred reported cases in Finland and almost 75 % of them had background in ethnicity or nationality. (Rauta, 2020.)

Finnish Criminal Law has no specific chapter for hate crimes. Crimes are handled in court by the type of crime in hand and not based on the ideology or motives for the act of crime. Although the criminal law does not separate hate crimes from crimes of other motives there are written grounds for increasing the punishment if specific signs can be proven to have been full filled. For increased punishment the motives are then based on race or skin color, birth status, national or ethnic origins, belief or religion, sexual orientation, disability or some other corresponding ground. (The Criminal Code of Finland, 2015.)

In Finland hate speech is punishable according to the criminal code of Finland. This means that hate speech is not considered as freedom of expression. The penalties for hate speech acts can vary from fine to imprisonment. The Criminal Code of Finland defines punishable hate speech as speech about race, skin color, birth status, national or ethnic origin, religion or belief, sexual orientation or disability.

Situation in Higher Education in Finland

Direct documentation or news relating extremism or hate crimes in Higher Education are hard to find in Finland. Incidents are rare, although they do exist. All HEIs have their own strategies of taking care of their security and dealing with



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possible incidents. Information about known incidents are not made public.

All HEIs in Finland are aiming to be connected in security network. In TUAS and in Finnish society the work within the framework of extremism and hate crime concentrates on prevention. In recent publication (Benjamin & Wallinkoski, 2021) the concerns about radicalization of youth in Finland have been taken into a closer inspection and a guidebook for youth workers, teachers etc. is made. This guidebook discusses the ways extremist thoughts and ideas are born and what kind of signals professionals working with young people should be aware of. Youth workers, teachers etc. are given tools how to face and bring up themes in respectful and supportive manner. TUAS will in the future use the guidebook as background material for teacher, staff and student training for preventing hatred and extremist thoughts on campus.

Universities of Applied Sciences (UAS) in Finland have their own security network which was started in 2011. TUAS security chief is a member in an executive committee in national security network of UASs in Finland. All 22 UAS co-operate in security and safety issues.

In a Bachelor Thesis Atrafi (2020) has studied how the level of language skills of migrant students affects the student's integration into studies and TUAS. Findings say that the lack of language skills makes it hard for immigrant students to feel that they belong to a group and sometimes they feel been left out or undermined by other students and teachers. There are ways to make studies more accessible and strengthen integration. Stronger personal guidance and support in long term is seen to make the immigrant student path easier.



The risk is that without support these students are left alone and they may drop out of studies (Afrati, 2020.) As a result of loneliness and feeling left outside of group severe problems may rise. In worst case extremist ideas and hate towards surrounding communities may occur, and lead to marginalization and radicalization.

Cases and examples relating HEIs

As well as incidents in HEI's have been reported by Finnish national broadcast company YLE, there are also cases in other educational institutes of education (upper secondary school and vocational studies), but those cases are not included in this report.

The University of Helsinki was targeted by a planned attack which was prevented by



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Police. A man and a woman were arrested. Eight of them were students. (YLE, 2014c). In another example in 2014, which police were unfortunately unable to intervene, Professor Esa Saarinen was stabbed on his way to give a lecture in Aalto University. The perpetrator had been attending his lecture before, and the attack was clearly targeted to Saarinen. The perpetrator was not a student and was not convicted on grounds concerning the state of their mental health at the time of the attack (YLE, 2014a; YLE, 2014b.) In another case in 2008, a student opened fire on campus at the University of Applied Sciences in Kauhajoki killing ten people and himself (YLE, 2008). The shooter was said to have experienced severe bullying during his time in school, and that this had been likely a factor.



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Turkey

Although Turkey was established as a nation-state, it is a country with a wide variety of both social and cultural diversity. This diversity can manifest itself in terms of, religion, ideology, sexual orientation, opinion, and disability, as well as in ethnic terms. This diversity in the country is naturally reflected in educational institutions. Especially, universities are the most important educational institutions where such a diversity can be observed. So much so that, students with different ethnic identities such as students with Kurdish, Laz, Circassian, Romani and Armenian backgrounds receive education in universities besides Turkish students. While these students are Turkish citizens, they can reveal their identities in social surroundings. Alawite, Christian, Jewish, or non-believers receive university education in Turkey, even though it is accepted 99% of the country's population is Muslim. This situation is an indication of religious diversity in Turkey. Finally, it is useful to refer to disabled students studying in universities in Turkey. According to the Council of Higher Education's (YÖK) data, there are approximately 48,000 disabled students in universities in Turkey.

Turkey, starting from the 1960s, commenced receiving international students by signing bilateral agreements. In the last 20 years, parallel to the increasing number of universities, there has been a significant increase in the number of foreign students studying at universities in Turkey. In fact, more than 170,000 foreign students are studying at the existing 209 universities in Turkey. It is seen that among these students, students coming from African countries and Turkish republics are the majority. Almost all the foreign students, after completing their education in Turkey,

tend to return to their country to perform their profession. However, the situation is slightly different for Syrian students since they do not have the chance to go back to their country after the university education. As is known, a large flow of migrants from Syria to Turkey has taken place since 2011. Turkey has helped those Syrians who are university-age to take university education by providing every kind of convenience. It is stated that the number of Syrian migrants receiving university education in 2021 is approximately 30,000 according to YÖK's data.

Various extremist incidents, including hate speech and harassment can take place due to the diversity in Turkey. The place where these cases occur most can be presumed to be the campus environment where young people with different backgrounds learn, socialize, make friends, and develop their ideas altogether. Hate speech, extremism, or harassment can be against a religion, race, ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation. So, which are the organizations in Turkey responsible if any extremist hate speech or incident takes place on campus, what kind of rules and regulations exist? At this point, these questions will be answered.

Universities in Turkey, due to the autonomous nature of universities, are bound to the Council of Higher Education (YÖK), unlike primary and secondary education. This council is accountable to the Ministry of Youth and Sports. However, as it is not directly affiliated with the ministry, YÖK is the most important authority in making decisions regarding universities. In this sense, YÖK is subject to constitutional provisions, laws, presidential decrees, regulations, and decisions of the Council of Ministers. In other words, when YÖK takes a decision, it does not have the authority to go beyond these. On the other hand, YÖK has the authority to issue various regulations to manage the events taking place within its body. These



regulations generally concern the structure of YÖK, academic organization, and students. Universities, on the other side, can create their own regulations in line with the principles in the regulations determined by YÖK, but cannot go beyond this limit.

It should be said that there is no specific regulation against hate speech, extremism, or harassment among the 20 regulations concerning students within the body of YÖK. Apart from the laws, the regulation applied when faced with such events is the Student Disciplinary Regulation of Higher Education Institutions. Although notions such as hate speech or extremism are not specifically mentioned in the regulation, people who engage in such activities are punished according to this regulation. Among the mentioned acts above, only sexual harassment cases are included in the regulation. Besides that, there are lessons to be related to hate speech in several universities in Turkey, and, several studies are done in the academic sense. Moreover, conferences on hate speech are held in universities in cooperation with foundations such as Hate Speech in the Media Conference. Yet, it is a fact that there is no regulation to prevent such activities. This poses the main problem in Turkey. Although there are no definite provisions on people who engage in hate crimes or extremism on the campus, these individuals are still investigated under this regulation. Along with the report prepared as a result of the investigation conducted in secret, the required punishment is given by a disciplinary board to the person who committed the crime. Since these investigations are conducted in secret, there is not any statistics about the investigation rate in universities in Turkey. However, it should be noted that this process is aimed at punishing, not preventing hate incidents.

Universities in Turkey are inadequate both legally and academically in terms of hate speech and extremism, despite so much



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diversity that exist. A sufficient number of articles, theses, or reports are not prepared academically and there are no legal regulations regarding the subject in universities. At this point, it is important to detect hate speech and extremism on campus through academic studies and to prevent them with legal instructions.

Scoping Hate and Extremism on University Campuses in Turkey (NEU)

In this report, the notions of hate speech and extremism are defined by considering the resources of both scholarly and official/government nature. Once this has been achieved, the report proceeds to analyze the kind of policies existing in Turkey and the availability of mechanisms aimed at countering hate and extremism both at the national and campus-based levels. Finally, the report will critically evaluate the Turkish scholarly accounts that focus on hate-related topics, including the occurrence of incidents and consequent responses.

Hate speech uses discriminatory expressions to target, otherize and make hostile a person or a group of people because of their differences. Hate speech implies exclusionary, intimidating, and prejudiced attitudes towards the features that evolve around gender, race, religion, ethnicity, skin color, national origin, disability, or sexual orientation. Hate speech is characterized by offensive, depersonalizing, harassing, intimidating, humiliating, and victimizing attitudes towards the targeted groups; as such, it promotes insensitivity and cruelty against these groups. The expression of intolerance and austereness paves the way for hate crime. 'There is no place for you in the society' is the message communicated to the targeted groups repeatedly. A hate crime is a criminal act that is perpetrated against an individual due to his or her actual or perceived race, ethnicity, religion,



national origin, disability, sexual orientation, or gender. The intent of the act is to express condemnation, hate, disapproval, dislike, or distrust. For instance, some mainstream newspapers have sought to portray all Syrians as ungrateful because of a crime committed by one Syrian person. These definitions of hate speech and extremism are not defined by Turkish scholars, yet some of them do refer to them in their work (e.g Parekh, Rayburn and Craig). At this point, it would be useful to look at the Turkish legislation in order to understand how these concepts are defined in the national concept.

The concepts of Hate Crimes and Hate Incidents are defined in the Turkish Penal Code, article 122, entitled “Hate and Discrimination”. According to the article, “any person who (a) prevents the sale, transfer or rental of a movable or immovable property offered to the public, (b) prevents a person from enjoying services offered to the public, (c) prevents a person from being recruited for a job, or (d) prevents a person from undertaking an ordinary economic activity on the ground of hatred based on differences of language, race, nationality, color, gender, disability, political view, philosophical belief, religion or sect shall be sentenced to a penalty of imprisonment for a term of one year to three years.” In addition to the Turkish Penal Code, the Law of Higher Education mentions the concept of hate. Its ninth section, entitled “Discipline and Punishment” states the following: “Printing, duplicating, distributing, or displaying notices, posters, placards, tapes and the like with the purpose of violence or hate in terms of their content, or hanging them in any part of the institution is punished with a reprimand.

The concept of extremism is not defined in any Turkish law. However, according to the Turkish Language Association, extremism is defined as the state of adopting the most extreme form of opinion or attitude.



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Extremism is caused by emotion density that leads to uncontrolled activities that might be dangerous for the lives around and the perpetrator themselves. The bigotry of any idea brings out emotions such as hatred, anger, lovelessness, and cruelty. Just as extremism, the Turkish legal system or any governmental institution does not define the concept of violent extremism. However, different Turkish scholars of security studies seem to have reached a consensus about it. In their view, this kind of extremism forms part of the radicalization process. In security literature, extremism is generally used to describe the processes that “provide the formation of favorable preconditions and grounds for radicalisation.” There seems to be also a consensus on the view that violent extremism is not only about the act itself; it is also about supporting, legalizing, and encouraging other acts that are closely related to violent extremism. In addition, the concept of online extremism is not defined by any law either any governmental body, or any scholars.

Although Turkey was established as a nation-state, it is a country characterized by a wide variety of both social and cultural diversity. This is manifested in terms of ethnicity, ideology, and religion, as well as in terms of disability and sexual orientation. As expected, the diverse outlook of the Turkish state is reflected in educational institutions, especially universities. Students of different ethnic backgrounds, such as Kurdish, Laz, Circassian, Romani, and Armenian, amongst other, receive education in universities alongside their Turkish peers. Moreover, both believers, such as Alawites, Christians, and Jews, and non-believers receive university education in Turkey, along with their Muslim peers. Finally, regarding the accommodation of disability, according to the Council of Higher Education (YÖK), there are approximately 48,000 disabled students in Turkish universities.



Turkey, from the 1960s onwards, commenced receiving international students by signing bilateral agreements. In the last 20 years, parallel to the increasing number of universities, there has been a significant increase in the number of foreign students coming to Turkey. In 2020 alone, there were more than 170,000 foreign students enrolled across 209 universities. Among these students, students coming from African countries and Turkic states represent the majority. Almost all of the foreign students, after completing their education in Turkey, tend to return to their country of origin. However, the situation is slightly different for Syrian students since they have not been able to go back. As per YÖK's data, the number of Syrian migrants receiving university education in 2021 is approximately 30,000. In addition to this, the rate of scholarship recipients among Syrian university students is around 15%.

Various extremist incidents, including hate speech and harassment take place precisely because of diversity. The environment where such cases occur most is the campus environment where young people with different backgrounds learn, socialize, make friends, and develop their ideas altogether. Hate speech, extremism, or harassment happens against a different religion, race, ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation. So, it makes sense to ask, which Turkish organizations are responsible for dealing with incidents that take place on campuses, and what kind of rules and regulations they have at their disposal.

Universities in Turkey, due to their autonomous nature, are bound to the Council of Higher Education (YÖK), unlike primary and secondary schools. YÖK is accountable to the Ministry of Youth and Sports. However, as it is not directly affiliated with the ministry, YÖK is the highest authority in making decisions in relation to the functioning of universities. In this respect, YÖK is subject to



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constitutional provisions (laws, regulations, presidential decrees, and decisions of the Council of Ministers). In other words, while YÖK has the authority to take decisions, it does not have the authority to go beyond those. Universities, on the other hand, can create their own regulations in line with the principles outlined in the regulations determined by YÖK, but cannot go beyond this remit.

It should be said that there is no specific policy that addresses hate speech, extremism, or harassment amongst the YÖK's 20 regulations which concern students. Apart from the legal provisions, the regulation applicable in such events is the Student Disciplinary Regulation of Higher Education Institutions. Although it does not make any specific reference to the notions of hate speech or extremism, anyone engaging in such activities is subject to this regulation. From the above-mentioned acts, it is only sexual harassment cases that are explicitly mentioned in the regulation. Besides that, there are training programs related to hate speech in several Turkish universities, and also, several academic studies have become available over time. Moreover, conferences on hate speech are held in universities in cooperation with foundations with titles such as Hate Speech in the Media Conference. Yet, it is a fact that there is no regulation to prevent such activities, which poses a major challenge. Although there are no definite provisions on those engaging in hate crimes or extremism on campus, they are still investigated under the Student Disciplinary Regulation of Higher Education Institutions. Along with a report, which is based on confidential investigation, the disciplinary board decides on the kind of punishment. Since these investigations are not transparent, there is no proper statistical data about the volume of overall investigation rates and successful outcomes in universities. However, it should be noted that this



process is aimed at punishment, not prevention of hate incidents.

Several associations operate in Turkey to combat extremism and hate speech. However, they do not possess the authority to take binding decisions. Therefore, before outlining their efforts, it is more beneficial to mention the only governmental institution that combats hate speech and extremism at the national level – the Human Rights and Equality Institution of Turkey (TIHEK). It was inaugurated in 2016, with the main mission being to protect and enhance human rights, to ensure the right of people to be treated equally, and to fight torture and ill-treatment effectively. Since its establishment, TIHEK has sought to come across as a reliable, effective, and reputable institution whose policies and decisions seek to reconcile the universal and local values in terms of protection and strengthening of human rights. However, since TIHEK is a young institution and is a nationwide body, it is not directly linked to higher education institutions. With this in mind, it would be reasonable for TIHEK to organize events across the higher education sector to share ideas as to how to combat hate speech and extremism on campuses. It could also outline a “roadmap” for higher education institutions on how to tackle various human rights issues.

In addition to TIHEK, several associations in Turkey operate in the field of countering hate and extremism. For instance, Hrant Dink Association, Mazlum-Der, and TESEV are the ones that stand out. Nevertheless, their activities usually focus on certain groups such as religious and ethnic minorities. This preference makes it hard for them to counter every kind of hate incident both nationwide and on campuses. Annual reports, conferences, and other hate-related events are usually arranged by these three institutions. However, similarly to TIHEK, these organizations operate at the national level, and even if they attract student or academic volunteers, they



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cannot be as influential as it is hoped. One thing that can be done in order to raise awareness and counter hate and extremism on campuses is to create student clubs that would be related to these associations.

It is also important to have scholarly accounts and promote continuous research examining hate and extremism. In the Turkish academia, such topics have gained more relevance since 2012, one year after the outbreak of the Syrian crisis and the growing influx of Syrian refugees. In fact, according to YÖK's data, five Ph.D. dissertations and 57 M.A. dissertations on hate speech, and four M.A. dissertations on extremism have been written since 2012. However, they primarily focus on the national level of hate speech and extremism. Extremism and hate speech on campuses are not that popular in the academic circles. Promoting academic studies on such topics and trying to detect the real problems and deficiencies would also be a way forward aimed at countering different incidents that occur on campuses.



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Serbia

In the Republic of Serbia, the term ***hate crime*** (srb. *krivično delo učinjeno iz mržnje*) was introduced into the legal system through amendments to the Criminal Law (Article 54a) only in December 2012 after the government enduring debates with and initiative coming from the representatives of 2 prominent NGOs in the field of human rights – the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (YUCOM) and Gay Straight Alliance (GSA). Of these amendments, Article 54a of the Criminal Law stipulates that if a criminal act is committed out of hate towards an individual or a group of persons, and due to their race, religion, national and ethnic background, gender, sexual orientation or gender identity, this circumstance will be perceived as aggravating in the court of law. This underpins the punishment of crimes motivated by hate since 2012, however this type of crime is not seen as a distinctive type of crime (as in the US, the UK and Czech Republic) - hate (bias-based) motivation must be proved in a criminal act under investigation rather than constituting a crime for investigation in its own right. Hate crime is sometimes used interchangeably with the terms discrimination and hate speech.

Another observation worth mentioning is related to the argument of NGOs in Serbia that the definition in Article 54a is too narrow and that additional motivators (apart from the 7 personal characteristics mentioned in the Law, i.e. race, religion, national and ethnic background, gender, sexual orientation or gender identity) could also be triggers for hate crimes including, for instance, some of the criteria defined under the Law Against Discrimination Article 2 whereby 19 bases for

discrimination are mentioned including: race, skin colour, ancestry, nationality, national belonging or ethnic background, language, religious or political beliefs, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, disability, property ownership, birth, genetic traits, health condition, marital and family status, history of convictions/sentenced to punishments, age, appearance, membership in political organizations, trade unions and other organizations and other real and perceived personal characteristics. Hence, the improvements of the Law are possible in this respect.

Despite the systemic recognition of a new institute of hate crime and the subsequent training (supported by the EU and OSCE mission to Serbia) introduced to support the judicial system in addressing this change effectively, not many legal cases of this crime act have been processed. As hate crimes occur on a daily bases in different walks of life, the preventive intention of the Article 54a also remains dubious.

The first conviction for a crime motivated by hatred, a case of domestic violence of a father towards his gay son and wife, was delivered in 2018. In between 2012 and 2018 hate motivation was not considered in a single conviction regardless of cases which could be prosecuted under Article 54a being presented from Serbian NGOs. The implementation of Article 54a could thus be assessed as almost non-existent.

Criminal Law does not recognize particular target groups of hate crimes. Evidence of hate crimes is generally problematic as there is no intersectoral system involving the Ministry of interior, prosecution and judicial organs (courts of law) for monitoring and tracking statistics of criminal acts defined as hate crimes in place. Some data are collected, verified and analysed by NGOs, with the methodology for this work being designed



by YUCOM. In addition, due to a lengthy judicial reform process in Serbia, and the general lack of trust in judiciary system, along with the precarious position of victims' who may be intimidated by the lack of data privacy protection, there is a strong tendency for hate crimes to remain unreported. This situation has led to a lack of accurate information on the target groups most vulnerable to hate crimes in Serbia, while it also precludes the prevention of future criminal acts defined as hate crimes.

In response to this, NGOs (especially those working to support the LGBT+ population) stepped in to form their own databases, enabling the victims to report their cases of hate incidence and crimes to them fully respecting their privacy. One of the examples of this kind of database is developed by the NGO Da se zna!

As we have noted with the term hate crime, the term *Hate incident* (srb. *incident motivisan mrznjom*) does not have a formal legal definition in the Republic of Serbia. Bias-based incidents is the term commonly used in the wider (NGOs work and) literature, which recognizes a hate incident as a violation which does not represent a criminal act, but which needs to be registered in order to prevent hate crimes possibly stemming from this kind of behaviour in the future.

The term **extremism** (also in use are the terms *violent extremism* and *right-wing extremism*) in Serbia is normally understood as political extremism. It is often interchangeably used with the term radicalism to represent acts and/or ideologies that fallout from the socially acceptable norms.

Violent extremism is defined in the National Strategy for Prevention of and Fight Against Terrorism for the period 2017-2021 with the Action Plan as "extremism that assumes the use of violence in realization of political goals,



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including with connection, but not limited to, terrorism". The Strategy outlines the following as major risk factors with regard to violent extremism in Serbia:

- Low integration of certain groups into society;
- Weakening of the role of family as a result of global tendencies; and
- (Ab)use of social networks for sharing of extremist attitudes.

On the other side, the notion of civil society and the protection of minority rights and the existing tolerance among the most prominent religious communities are all seen as strengths in fighting terrorism and violent extremism in the Serbian context. Specific challenges related to extremism and terrorism are defined as the following:

- Ethnically motivated extremism and separatist tendencies possibly leading to terrorism especially in the context of self-proclaimed independence of Kosovo* and Metohija;
- Actions of members and associates of radical Islamic movements and organizations, functionally connected with similar movements in the Western Balkans region and beyond;
- Continuous propaganda actions of radical religious speakers, individuals or groups that use interpretation of religious teaching purposefully to spread an ideology of violent extremism as well as promote the radicalization of youth and converts from one religion to another;
- The return of terrorist fighters from conflict areas to Serbia or the Western Balkans;
- Danger of infiltration of terrorists through mass inflows of migrants and refugees that outweigh national capacities for reception.



In the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia from 2019, **ethnic and religious extremism** is mentioned under the chapter on security risks, whereby it is defined as possible generator of separatist tendencies (in Serbia this notion is predominantly linked to Kosovo* and Sandžak Muslim areas).

Right-wing extremism is mostly analysed in the literature by prominent NGOs experts which connect the term to dangerous and rapid growth of right-wing organizations in Serbia and arguing that the notion should be seen in a more comprehensive way than merely through official documents and public discourse mentioning of foreign fighters' engagement of conflict zones in the Middle East, and hate crimes (Kisić, 2020).

Apart from the relevant Constitutional articles prohibiting "every notion encouraging race, national, religious or other inequality, hate and intolerance" (Article 49) and guaranteeing freedom of thought, conscience and religion, as well as freedom of expression (Article 43 and Article 46), it is important to notice that Criminal Law in Article 387, point 4 also prohibits the encouragement of "hate, discrimination or violence against any person or group of persons based on race, skin colour, religious beliefs, nationality, ethnic background or other personal trait", while Article 344a prohibits violent behaviour on a sport game or public assembly.

Online extremism (sometimes also referred to internet extremism or abuse of internet for purposes of terrorism) is not precisely defined in Serbian legal system. It mostly refers to violent extremism taking place in a virtual arena. The term is used somewhat interchangeably with hate speech since hate speech is the most common way in which extremist attitudes are conveyed in the public space. Serbia is a signatory of the international Convention on high technological crime that refers to



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incrimination of acts of racist and xenophobic nature conducted via computer systems and its Protocol, whose purpose is to incriminate the behaviours that are not encompassed in the Convention related to spreading hate and intolerance on the bases of different race, national, religious and other groups and communities, through computer use as communication and propaganda medium.

It is worth mentioning that the Republic of Serbia is in the process of accession to EU membership, with 2 relevant negotiation chapters 23 – Judiciary, Fight against corruption and Fundamental Rights and 24 - Justice, Freedom and Security where further legislative norms are to be expected in the upcoming period in terms of aligning relevant national legislation to the EU *acquis*.

Evidence of incidents involving hate crimes and extremism at HEIs in Serbia (both in Colleges and Universities) is scarce. Not many cases are reported and even less prosecuted and this has to do with the overall above stated trust issues in the system and victims feeling unsafe as a result of a lack of safeguarding around them in the judicial process. But here it is also worth mentioning that HEIs in Serbia have not adopted prevention and intervention strategies/policies to this end, or informed staff and students on any uniform approach to implementation. No commonly agreed system is in place.

A large majority of Serbian HEIs (Colleges and Academies of Applied Studies) has adopted *Code of Academic Integrity* documents whose articles touch upon the principle of impartiality and prohibition of any forms of discrimination in the academic community (normally understood as HEI teaching staff, non-teaching staff and students) as well as harassment.

The Article on the prohibition of discrimination normally defines the term as any unjustified inequality performed openly



or covertly on any bases and especially on the bases of race, nationality, gender, social background, birth, religion, political or other beliefs, property status, culture, language, age, physical or psychological disability. Any type of harassment is prohibited among academic community members. Harassment is normally defined as an act of inappropriate behaviour towards another person such as sexual harassment (either verbal or physical) and the writing of false complaints or any other behaviour meant to inflict personal dignity grievance, interference with the normal conducting of work, the belittling of others and contributing to the forming of hostile work and educational environments.

In line with the principle of impartiality, academic community members must not be influenced by their attitudes and or opinions of other individuals or groups; actions that are not based on experience and rational argumentation but are conversely based on unjustified generalizations; any potential impact on their academic research; and administrative activities. Some HEIs have publicly available Rulebooks on Procedures for Internal Whistleblowing, whereby whistleblowing refers inter-alia to the revealing of information on violating human rights, while others have adopted Rulebooks on discipline and behaviour of HEIs staff (e.g. Faculty of Organizational Sciences and Faculty of Physics of the University of Belgrade whereby the staff member must not harass other staff member/s nor student/s).

Incidents of extremism and hate crime are not mentioned in the analysed HEIs documents. There is also no indication of different classification of incidents (involving different academic community members on the sides of victim and perpetrator).

The Law of Higher Education stipulates students' rights to protection against discrimination and respect of personality,



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dignity, honor and reputation (Article 101). However, there is no clear indication on how is this ensured (this is left on HEIs to define through their rulebooks and codes – normally through internal 5-member commission deciding upon submission of complains by any member of the academic community) nor how the cases could be tracked.

In Serbia predominant discourses in the media related to incidents on university campuses are predominantly focused on sexual harassment. According to a recent study by the Autonomous Female Centre, a prominent NGO in the field, there are arguably only 4 faculties in Belgrade which have adopted Rulebooks on Protection from Sexual Arrestment but even in these institutions incidents are rarely reported and processed. Other faculties state their adherence to the Code on Professional Ethics of the University of Belgrade in such cases, while all indicate that measures which have been put in place for the protection of victims of harassment are weak.

The Centre for Investigative Journalism Serbia (CINS) recently published their article on an incident that was processed as a sexual harassment case involving a male student as perpetrator and a female student as victim. The incident took place whilst the victim was studying at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, and was investigated in accordance with the institutions 2019 adopted Rulebook on protection from sexual harassment and blackmail. In early 2020 the student perpetrator was suspended from classes for two semesters for sexually harassing his colleague.

In exploring the case of HE in the Serbian context, the following sources of information documenting incidents that could be classified as hate crimes and/or extremism at Serbian Universities/campuses were consulted:



- Government Office for Human Rights
- Office of the Commissioner for information of public interest and personal data protection registry
- The office of the Commissioner for Protection of Equality (registry of cases against acts of discrimination in e-form and archived in line with the Law on personal data protection, whereby anonymous legal decisions and verdicts are collected from the courts)
- Available reports and other publications done in the field by the prominent Serbian NGOs,
- Available prominent Serbian NGOs databases on incidents reported directly to them,
- Regulatory body's available official statistical reports,
- Media articles.

It can be concluded that a relatively small number of incidents reported was related to hate crimes and extremism, and even smaller number can be objectively linked to the university system/settings. Possibly relevant list of incidents for the Republic of Serbia is presented in table 1 below.

Portugal

Hate crime in Portugal

Hate crimes are understood as all crimes against people motivated by the fact that the victim belongs to a certain race, ethnicity, colour, national or territorial origin, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, religion, ideology, social, physical condition or mental. Hate crimes are different from other crimes in that they are directed not only at an individual, but rather at a specific group with certain specific characteristics. In this way, target groups of



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hate crimes may feel that they are not welcome, that they are not safe in a particular neighbourhood, community, school or workplace. Typically, hate crime perpetrators aim to threaten and send a hate message to an entire community, and being a member of that community there may be a collective feeling of insecurity and fear. A hate incident refers to an instance where hate incidents become criminal offences, and as such become classified as hate crimes.

Extremism in Portugal

The concept of extremism is considered equivalent to radicalization. Either extremism or radicalization are considered to be a process through which an individual goes through and is transformed, not being a single and spontaneous event, assuming itself as something negative when associated with a process of violence. It is a dynamic process through which an individual comes to accept violence as a possible and even legitimate form of action.

“Violent extremism” is related to the defence of beliefs, attitudes, policies or feelings that are not considered to be accepted by a majority of society and that advocate the illegitimate use of force in a given territory.

Online extremism

In Portugal there is at least one project designed to prevent and combat radicalization online. With the funding of the Internal Security Fund - European Union Police, the Counter@ct project (developed by the NGOs APAV Victim Support Association <https://apav.pt/radicalizacao/>) has the central objective of promoting behavioural changes that deter young people from adhering to content, messages and radical advertising or from incitement to violent extremism, through the development of an



alternative online narrative campaign that conveys positive stories of integration, in particular of young migrants and refugees.

[Hate and Extremism on Portuguese HE Campuses](#)

There is no uniform or agreed system for addressing incidents of hate or extremism on University campuses in the Portuguese context. Any incidents are dealt with on a case by case basis by senior University figures such as the Dean or someone nominated by them such as a Vice-Rector for Education, “Provider” for the students, Provider for the teachers and other staff, or the Academic Senate. In Universities’ regulations (rules of conduct, and mission and values), there is usually an emphasis on human dignity, and the need to promote tolerance, and respect ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity, and to adopt non-discriminatory measures such as prevention of discrimination based on gender, and nationality. To the best of our knowledge, there is not yet in universities regulation any specific reference to the need to respect sexual orientation.

In Portugal, acts of extremism are mainly related to the extreme right groups that promote hate speech against immigrants and ethnic minorities. On university campuses, racist acts are occasionally carried out towards foreign students (mostly towards Brazilians and Africans who are the largest communities of international students at Portuguese universities).

At Portuguese Universities, international students come mostly from Portuguese-speaking countries (former colonies of Portugal) and they constitute an important number in PhD and Master Courses. Allegations of racism are frequently made (on the part of teachers, students, and staff) but these concerns generally do not reach debates in the public sphere, and advocacy groups are not formally



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organized. It has been known for students to use Facebook and other social media platforms to air their concerns about discrimination and racism they face. These incidents are perhaps mostly played out in daily practices rather than representing explicit racist acts and are at times subtle and hard to frame in formal terms (for example, one act of “micro-discrimination” might be concerns around teachers potentially or allegedly posing more demanding evaluation criteria to Brazilian and African students, or holding stereotypes that such students might be less inclined to academic work. In recent years, increasing numbers of students from countries outside Europe (China and Syria, for example) are arriving at Portuguese universities and these groups are also frequently targeted and subjected to stigmatizing, racist and xenophobic attitudes. Acknowledgement of these occurrences also rarely reaches the public, however the circumstances appear to be different when compared to the experiences of more longstanding student cohorts from Portugal’s former colonies. For example, these newer cohorts of international students tend to face difficulty in finding accommodation such as landlords avoiding renting rooms to Chinese students. Brazilian students find support within a settled Brazilian community which has grown over the last 10-15 years, and in different towns across the country the same applies, at some extent, for African groups. However, students from Asia tend to face relative isolation.

[Hate incidents in Portuguese HE](#)

Whilst, as we have seen, there is no agreed universal system for universities to address hate incidents and hate crimes, in recent years a number of hate incidents have come to public recognition, most notably at the University of Minho; University of Beira Interior; ISCTE - University Institute of Lisbon; Catholic University – Lisbon and the University of Porto.



Incidents of Cultural and Linguistic Racism were reported at the University of Minho and at ISCTE in 2020, where several students of African and Brazilian origin reported comparable cases of discrimination and cultural and linguistic racism in their interactions between students and tutors. At the origin of these situations, it was described that the teachers assumed a posture in terms of cultural and linguistic superiority, namely, in the way in which students write Portuguese, which is very marked by the Portuguese-speaking countries of origin. There is a social and cultural demarcation between the Portuguese spoken in Portugal and that spoken in former Portuguese colonies. ISCTE faced further difficulties in 2020 along with the Catholic University of Lisbon, when both institutions saw students painting racist hate messages on the walls of university buildings. The messages included statements such as 'Away with the blacks', 'Europe to the Europeans', 'Long live white Europe' and 'Zucas go back to the favelas.' These phrases could be read on the walls of various educational institutions, including the Catholic University, the ISCTE and secondary schools in Lisbon and Loures.

At the University of Porto in 2020, in responses to the challenges posed by Covid-19, a group of Brazilian students came together to offer support for students facing difficulties with paying University fees, or challenges related to being an international student in context of the pandemic under 'Academic Quarantine' (Quarentena Académica). The group also denounced 'acts of xenophobia and racism' they had observed being committed by other students and also by professors, namely from the Faculty of Engineering of the University of Porto (FEUP), and the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto (FLUP). Students had observed attacks on social media networks, namely in publications on Facebook and Instagram, where Brazilian students were 'portrayed as monkeys and accused of spreading covid-19 at the University of Porto.' In



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another page of posts, Brazilian students were also victims of sexist comments. In these incidents, students took action by sharing the offensive posts and denouncing them. But these problems were not confined to social media spaces, as there were also reports of 'direct attacks in classes', by teachers and colleagues, 'and more silent things, in work, grades and demands.'

In another example of online incidents, students at the University of Beira Interior reported being victims of racist and homophobic bullying in social media spaces. Several students, mainly of Brazilian origin, were victims of racist and homophobic bullying on social networks.

Institutional Responses

Regarding the cases of cultural and linguistic racism above, students reported these situations to the course directors. The teachers involved were alerted to these issues, but without any consequences or effective measures that could, in the future, prevent and prohibit these occurrences. Precisely, students that were victims of those attitudes feel intimidated by the authority that teachers have regarding their academic paths. No concrete outcome emerged from these situations.

Regarding the incidents of racist and homophobic bullying, student perpetrators were called to attention, but without any consequence or prohibition of these acts that had the capacity to affect the social and cultural relations underpinning them. In this sense, all cases were diplomatically resolved by the Universities, without any impact at the 'community level' between students and tutors. In the incidents documented above, it is worth noting that intersectionality was a key factor in student experiences. The nationality of victims, and the association of those nationalities with skin color along with non-heterosexual sexual orientation represented a triad of identity dynamics which was targeted in incidents of racist and homophobic



bullying, and well as the incidents related to racist hate messages.



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These incidents were informed through access to internal reports (not accessible to the public) and informal data gathered from conversations with colleagues (professors and senior researchers) who are recognized experts on racism and extremism in relevant institutions. The information was obtained and compiled from contacts with colleagues from the universities mentioned above, in order to understand the incidents that have occurred in those institutions and how they were subsequently treated. We know some of the incidents were reported in social media, but it is rather difficult to track them since they were disseminated in close circuits (closed Facebook groups). Furthermore, the absence of a uniform or agreed system of reporting in the HE sector means that there are no recorded details that can help us track these incidents. The only way to monitor these situations at present is for tutors and university authorities to retain contact with students who are negatively affected. Universities in Portugal, so far, do not formally acknowledge the occurrence of incidents such as those documented here.



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Conclusions:

This comparative report has highlighted experiences of hate and extremism across the partner countries and wider Europe. There are some main issues that need to be addressed in relation to HE:

1. There is a lack of recognition of hate and extremism on campus. In part this is due to the concepts of hate crime and extremism being poorly formed within different countries' public policies, criminal justice, and legal systems and so forth. HEIs exist within the cultural frameworks already available within their countries and this is problematic in terms of understanding what is going on in HEIs in terms of type and prevalence of incidences.
2. There is a paucity of data. Most HEIs do not gather any data on hate and extremism on campus. Moreover, some of that data will be hidden anyway within other disciplinary matters, such as bullying and harassment. In the main, HEIs keep the issues quiet until they cannot contain the cases – for instance, if they are publicised online or students/staff 'out' cases or fight them within the institution or wider public arenas.
3. Difficulties exist in recognising certain types/forms of abuse, particularly micro-aggressions, verbal abuse and incidences that happen within student groups. Whilst some forms of hate and extremism sometimes are noticed in HEIs, they are less good at dealing with interpersonal abuse and offensive language, which sometimes gets constructed as 'banter' or humour, despite the fear, distress and exclusion it causes to victims/targets. Similarly, discrimination is often treated as nebulous and difficult to detect. This suggests that lived experience is not being taken seriously in understanding these abuses. Disciplinary measures and consequences often do not seem to match the gravity of actions and behaviour.
4. Severe threats of extremism are recognised but are often seen through a wider health and safety lens. However, preparing HEI staff and students to tackle very severe threats is often not visible, despite clear examples across Europe where there have been severe incidences.
5. There are no clear generic training systems around hate and extremism across Europe for HEI staff or students. Whilst in some countries, equality and diversity training and specific equality-strand (in certain countries - protected characteristic) focused training is emerging, this is not widespread across Europe. Trainings that take an intersectional approach, linking different forms of hate and extremism and impacts on targets, is very unusual.
6. More research is needed to understand the extent of hate and extremism 'on the ground' in HEIs across Europe and the impacts and specific issues for HEI contexts.



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Portugal Further links

One very useful document about legislation and regulation in Portugal related to racism, extremism, and hate crime is the 2018 report by the “European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance” (English version can be found here: <https://rm.coe.int/fifth-report-on-portugal/16808de7da>)

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