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# Report\_Hate

ERASMUS+ PROJECT 2023-2025

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## Stop Online Hate:

# Cross Country Comparative Analysis

November 2025

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# Report Hate Project - Cross Country Comparative Analysis

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## 1. Introduction

### About the project “Report Hate”

Hate speech online represents a growing threat to democracy and social cohesion. Young people are disproportionately affected. They spend many hours online every day, and almost all of them have already encountered hate speech. The project “Report Hate” addressed this challenge directly: it empowered young people to take action by developing the first transnational reporting portal for hate speech, specifically tailored to their needs.

Coordinated by Youth Agency (Germany), the project brought together seven partner organizations from Slovakia, Israel, Spain, Croatia, North Macedonia, Hungary and

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Germany. Over a period of 24 months (1 November 2023 to 31 October 2025), the partners designed the transnational reporting portal, developed a unified categorization system, built capacities for identifying hate speech, launched the portal in November 2024, and collected and analyzed incoming reports for one year. New reporting offices were established in Hungary and North Macedonia, while in Croatia an existing structure was reactivated and embedded into youth networks. To raise awareness of the issue and build a national network against hate speech in the countries with new reporting portals, two roundtables were held in each of these countries with all key stakeholders. Throughout the entire project duration, the initiative was accompanied by a social media campaign on Instagram.

This comparative country analysis shows which forms of hate speech were reported most frequently in each country, what patterns and differences emerged, and what political contexts shaped the reports. The disproportionately high number of reports from Germany and Israel can be explained by the fact that the reporting offices in these two countries had already existed long before the start of the “Report Hate” project — since 2017 in Germany and since 2020 in Israel. The other partners first had to build communication structures and make their reporting portals known. Germany and Israel had gone through the same process in their early years, which explains the differences in reporting figures. Furthermore, Germany's population is significantly larger than that of all other countries.

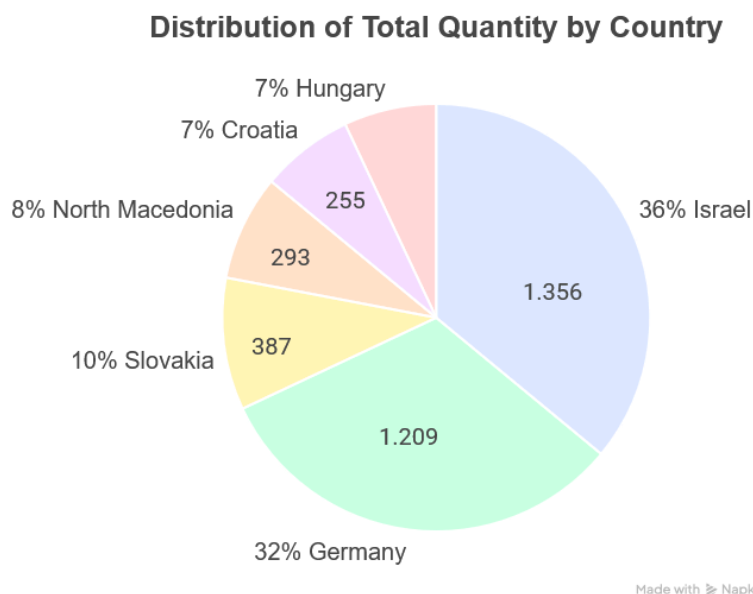
The country-specific analysis in Chapter 3 goes a step further by examining concrete examples of the types of hate speech most frequently reported in each country and placing them in context. This creates a detailed picture of how hate speech manifested itself in different social and political settings and how similar or different the responses and dynamics were across the participating countries.

*Disclaimer: This material contains graphic evidence of toxic, illegal, or extremist content published on social media. None of this material can be used, shared, or propagated for any other than research purposes. The participants in this project hold no responsibility for such content.*

## Cross-country analysis: Uncovering the Unique Signatures of Digital Hate

Understanding the complex landscape of online hate requires moving beyond aggregate numbers to examine the unique “risk profile” of each nation. This profile is shaped by a distinct combination of local history, contemporary politics, and deep-seated social dynamics. A purely quantitative approach risks obscuring the specific nature of the threat, leading to one-size-fits-all solutions that are ineffective against highly localized forms of digital animosity.

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This analysis synthesizes 3,750 reported incidents (by the time this analysis was written) of online hate speech across six nations: Croatia, Germany, Hungary, Israel, North Macedonia, and Slovakia. The data were collected from November 4, 2024 until September 30, 2025 and reveals a significant disparity in reporting volumes, with Germany (1,209 incidents) and Israel (1,356 incidents) collectively accounting for over 68% of the total. This concentration demonstrates that absolute incident counts are a function of the length of time the respective reporting portals have been in existence (see above), of national monitoring priorities, legal definitions, and resource allocation more than the objective prevalence of hate.

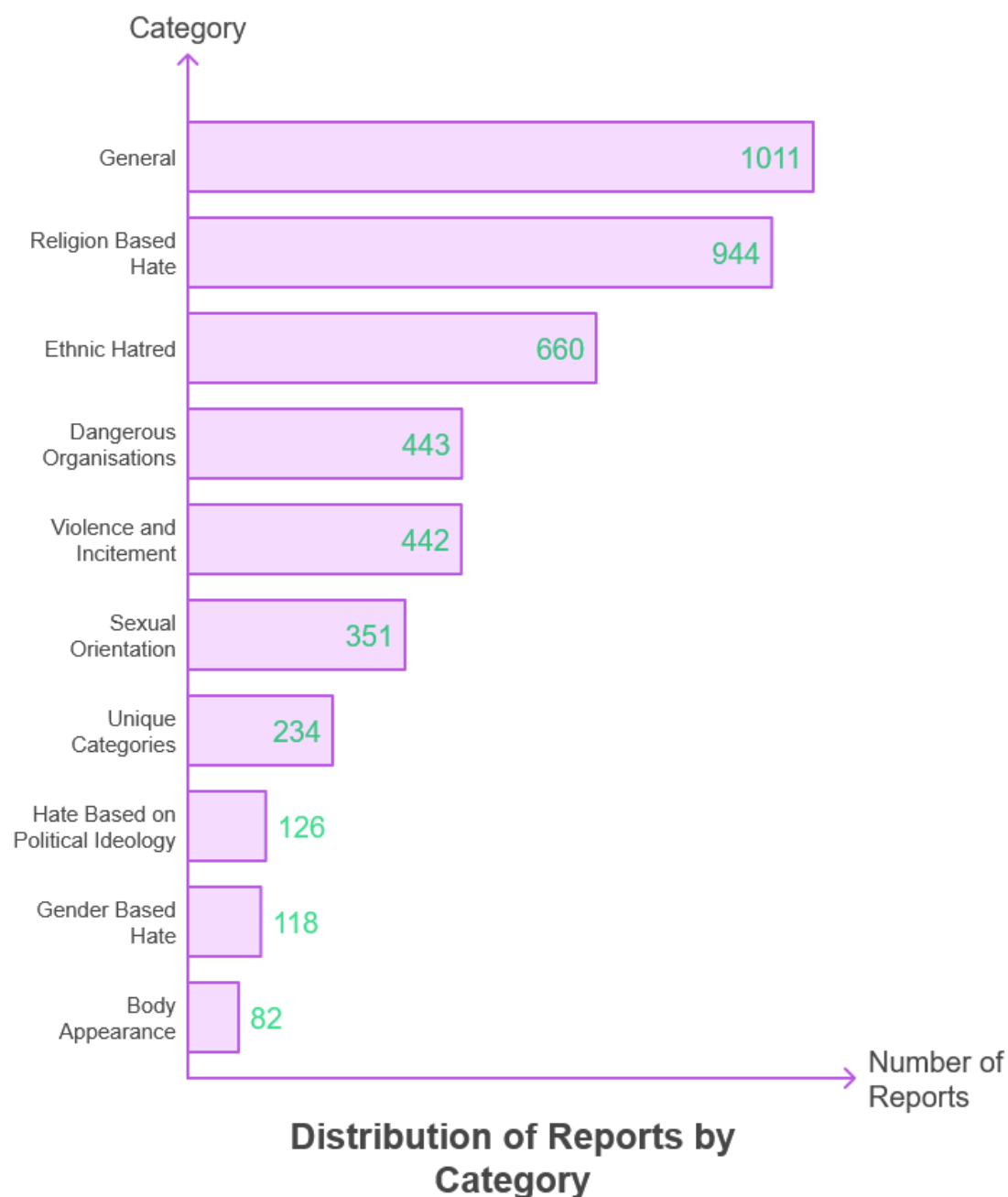
Because of this disparity, a direct cross-national comparison of absolute numbers would be misleading. Instead, this report focuses on the internal concentration of hate types within each country's dataset. By examining which categories dominate each nation's risk profile, we can identify the most urgent local threats. This document merges quantitative data with deep qualitative context to provide a holistic and actionable understanding of the distinct hate speech challenges faced by each nation, thereby enabling the development of more effective, tailored policy and enforcement strategies.

## 2. Comparative Overview: Shared Threats and Divergent Priorities

Identifying both common and country-specific hate speech patterns is strategically vital for coordinating international efforts while respecting local contexts. While the overall landscape is highly diverse, a comparative analysis reveals specific shared vulnerabilities. This section provides a high-level snapshot of these commonalities and divergences before delving into the detailed national profiles that follow.



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The analysis of the top three most frequent subcategories in each of the six nations reveals that only two types of hate speech are a top-tier concern in more than one country. This finding underscores just how localized the most pressing threats are.

**Important Note:** The sum of the numbers presented in this chart may exceed the total number of reports. This is because the data reflects the number of categories assigned to the content. If a single piece of content (incident) is tagged with subcategories from two

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or more different main categories, it will be counted multiple times—once for each main category it falls under.

The two shared threats are:

- Antisemitism: A dominant concern in both Israel, where it ranks as the single most reported subcategory (Rank 1), and Germany, where it is the third most frequent (Rank 3).
- Dehumanization: A common rhetorical tool that ranks as a top-three issue in both Hungary (Rank 3) and Croatia (Rank 3).

Beyond these two points of overlap, the primary threats are unique to each nation's socio-political environment. The following table illustrates the profound diversity in the top-ranked hate speech subcategory reported by each country, highlighting the necessity of localized analysis.

**Table 1: Unique Top-Ranked Hate Speech Subcategory by Country**

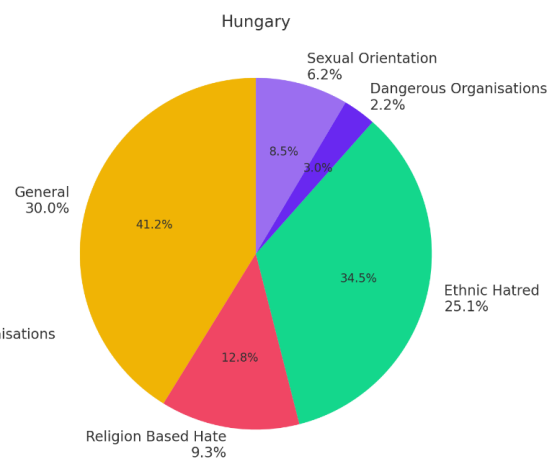
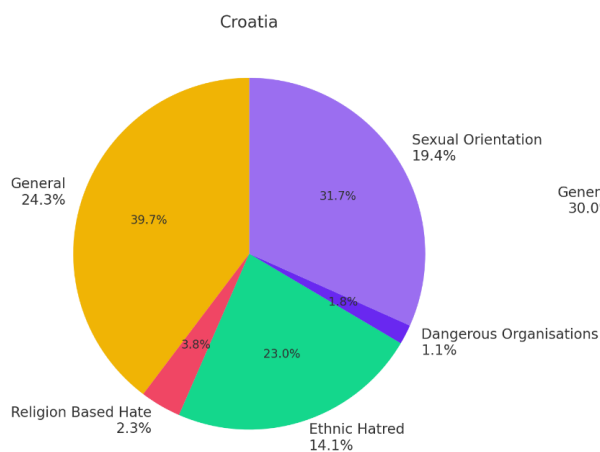
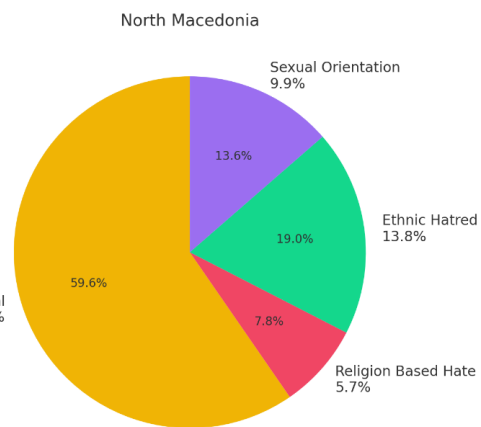
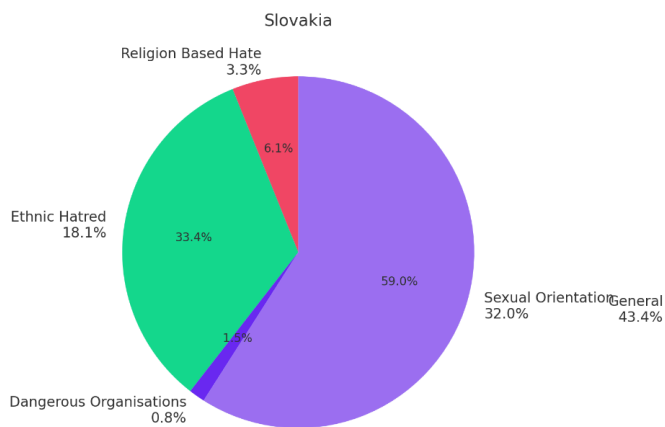
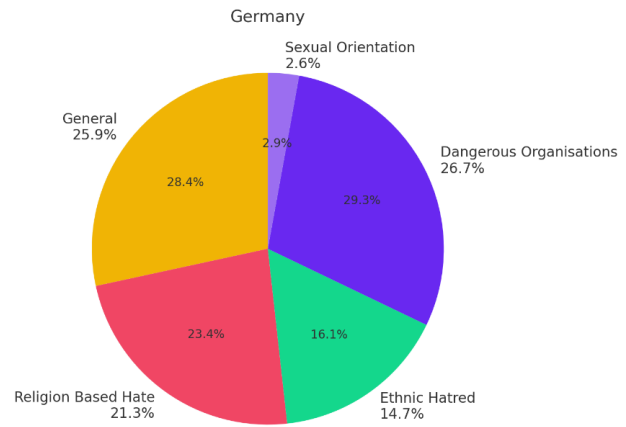
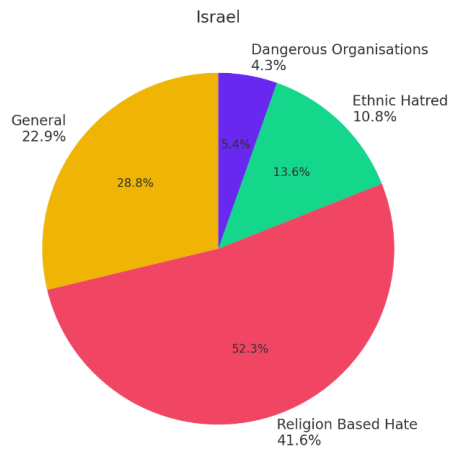
Country	Rank 1 Subcategory (Incident Count)
Israel	Antisemitism (564 out of 1,356)
Germany	Neo-Nazism (366 out of 1,209)
Slovakia	Incitement (224 out of 387)
Hungary	Xenophobia (114 out of 250)
North Macedonia	Memes as Symbols of Hate Speech (93 out of 293)
Croatia	Sexism (Misogyny) (38 out of 255)

**Table 2 : Cross-National Compositional Risk Profile (Main Categories)**

Country	Total Incidents	% General	% Religion Based Hate	% Ethnic Hatred	% Dangerous Organisations	% Sexual Orientation
Israel	1,356	22.90%	41.60%	10.80%	4.30%	0.00%
Germany	1209	25.90%	21.30%	14.70%	26.70%	2.60%
Slovakia	387	0.00%	3.30%	18.10%	0.80%	32.00%
North Macedonia	293	43.40%	5.70%	13.80%	0.00%	9.90%

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Croatia	255	24.30%	2.30%	14.10%	1.10%	19.40%
Hungary	250	30.00%	9.30%	25.10%	2.20%	6.20%



## SOCIAL MEDIA PLATTFORMS

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These findings demonstrate that the most urgent forms of online hate are highly localized, ranging from organized ideological movements like Neo-Nazism and state-influenced Xenophobia to generalized harassment via memes and sexism, as well as specific legal offenses like Incitement. This diversity necessitates the detailed country-specific analysis that follows.

**Important:** These percentages represent the share of incidents falling into each category for that country. Importantly, the category percentages for a given country do not necessarily sum to 100%. This is because some incidents were classified under more than one subcategory, in other words, a single incident could be tagged with two or more different hate speech categories.

Table below: List showing, for each country, the three most popular platforms compared with the three platforms most frequently reported in the Report Hate project.

Country	Top 3 Platform (Number of Users)	Popularity Rank	Top Reported Platform (Reporting Rank 1-3)	Reporting Rank Report Hate	Percentage Share of Reported Content
Israel	YouTube	1	X	1	80.00%
	Facebook	2	Facebook	2	12.00%
	TikTok (Age 18+)	3	TikTok	3	2.50%
Hungary	YouTube	1	Facebook	1	25.00%
	Facebook	2	TikTok	2	23.00%
	TikTok (Age 18+)	3	YouTube	3	13.50%
Slovakia	YouTube	1	Facebook	1	45.00%
	Facebook	2	TikTok	2	26.00%
	Instagram	3	Instagram	3	21.00%
North Macedonia	Facebook	1	Facebook	1	20.00%
	Instagram	2	Website*	3	10.00%
	TikTok (Age 18+)	3	Instagram	2	8.00%
Croatia	Facebook	1	Instagram	1	44.00%
	YouTube	2	Facebook	2	41.00%
	Instagram	3	Website*	3	9.50%
Germany	YouTube	1	X	1	28.00%
	Instagram	2	Facebook	2	23.00%

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	Facebook	3	Others (mainly websites)	3	18.00%
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The discrepancies can be explained by several factors. In some organizations, most reporters are young people, which leads them to focus on platforms popular among their age group (such as TikTok or Instagram). In FOA's case, many members actively monitor X because of the high volume of antisemitic hate speech found there, regardless of the platform's overall popularity in Israel. Furthermore, not all reporting offices were able to document the platform for all reports (some did not provide any information), or many small platforms were reported, meaning that the share of the three largest platforms is nowhere near 100 percent.

### 3. In-Depth Country Profiles: A Synthesis of Data, Context, and Lived Experience

To develop effective interventions, it is essential to understand not just *what* is being said online, but *why* it is being said and *how* it is experienced. The following profiles integrate quantitative data from the incident reports with crucial socio-political context and real-world examples. This approach provides a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the distinct hate speech landscape within each of the six nations.

#### 3.1 Germany: A Dual Threat of Systemic Extremism and Mass Digital Toxicity

##### Hate Speech in Germany

Germany's risk profile is characterized by a dual structure. On one hand, the state maintains a high degree of attention to historically rooted and ideologically organized extremism, driven by its unique legal and moral imperatives. On the other hand, its digital environment is saturated with an overwhelming volume of generalized, non-ideological digital friction, such as cyberbullying.

Germany's top three reported hate speech subcategories are:

- Rank 1: Neo-Nazism (366 incidents)
- Rank 2: Cyberbullying (276 incidents)
- Rank 3: Antisemitism (199 incidents)

Hate speech online is a growing problem in Germany – particularly with a right-wing extremist background. In 2024, the German reporting office RESpect!, to which all the reports from the “Report Hate” portal are forwarded, received just over 30,000 reports of hateful content. Most of these related to posts on X (formerly Twitter), followed by Facebook. Around one third of the reports concerned right-wing extremist content, followed by

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antisemitic and xenophobic content. Cyberbullying was also among the most frequently reported phenomena. Following the Hamas attack on Israel on 7 October 2023, the number of antisemitic posts increased significantly.

More than 11,000 reported items were classified as criminally relevant and forwarded to the Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA). Roughly two thirds of the reports did not exceed the legal threshold of criminal liability and were considered protected by freedom of expression or could not be processed for other reasons. In these cases, individuals submitting reports receive feedback as well as information on counseling services.

The vast majority of criminal cases involved Section 86a of the German Criminal Code (use of symbols of unconstitutional organizations) and Section 130 (incitement to hatred). By the end of September 2024, almost 90 percent of all reports forwarded to law enforcement fell under these two provisions. Typical examples include posting swastikas, displaying the Hamas logo, or denying the Holocaust. Incidents of this kind – such as displaying a swastika – would have immediate legal consequences offline, and the same should apply in the digital space. At the same time, the figures show that a significant proportion of reported content is not criminally relevant. An important part of REspect!'s work therefore also involves protecting legitimate expressions of opinion and strengthening a robust democratic debate culture.

### Analysis of Key Subcategories

This dual-threat landscape requires a complex policy response capable of addressing both specialized enforcement against organized ideological crime and the need for improved platform moderation to manage high-volume digital toxicity.

**Neo-Nazism:** In Germany, there were 366 cases of Neo-Nazism, making up 86.5% of all 423 cases reported across the six countries. This shows how closely Germany monitors far-right extremism, reflecting its unique legal and historical responsibility.

#### Sample post from social media



# Report Hate Project - Cross Country Comparative Analysis

*Facebook, 2025, removed*

Translation: „The fastest asylum procedure in Germany... rejects up to 1,400 applications per minute. “

Context: The topic of migration is the subject of heated debate in Germany. The group of people who are hostile towards foreigners and want to severely restrict immigration has grown significantly in recent years. The image refers to the author's view that too few asylum applications are rejected and too few people are deported.

**Cyberbullying:** Germany also reported 276 cases of cyberbullying, which is 81% of the total across all countries. This suggests that Germany takes a wider view of online harm, treating digital harassment as a serious public safety issue, while other countries focus more narrowly on discriminatory speech.

Sample post from social media



*Messenger App*



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Translation: [Picture] - I want to lick you - 1. First of all that's not me 2. You are an absolutely disgusting, nasty guy. - [tongue emoji 3x] - And who are you? - someone who wouldn't touch you with a ten-foot pole - [sad emoji] - [picture of a penis] - [attempted voice call]

Context: The image shows a typical course of sexual harassment. A man responds to a normal image on social media with a sexual comment without consent. When the woman concerned reacts with clear rejection (and insults), he sends her an unsolicited image of his penis, which is a criminal offense in Germany.

**Antisemitism:** Germany reported 199 incidents of antisemitism. Together with Israel's data, this makes up 92.4% of all such cases in the dataset. In addition, 91 cases of Holocaust denial were recorded only in Germany and Israel. This shows how both countries give special attention to this issue because of historical trauma and the strong need to fight Holocaust revisionism.

## Sample post from social media



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X, 2025, partly still online (<https://x.com/TobiasMull77587/status/1968542537154535578>)

## Translation:

- The majority of Israelis support Netanyahu's genocidal actions. The protests are directed against the government, not against the suffering in Gaza, even though it is only a few kilometers away. There is little empathy for Palestinians within Israeli society.
- That's right, because Palestinians always show so much empathy when tragedy strikes elsewhere (see 9/11).
- That was the Jews, you fool.
- Sure, it's all the Jews...
- Google it yourself. Who owns the companies in Hollywood, the media in the US, who do politicians in the US obey? Blackrock, Vanguard, Rothschild, the 13 families? German Wikipedia doesn't show everything. Who owns Google?
- That's why there are enough idiots like you in Hollywood shouting "Free Palestine" because Hollywood is controlled by the Jews... Got it!
- What kind of bullshit are you talking about? Germany lost. The Holocaust is a lie. The whole of history is one big lie. Who writes history? The winners do. Hitler lost. Heil Hitler.

Context: The conversation reveals common conspiracy theories about Jews: that they secretly rule the world and that they were behind the attack on the Twin Towers in NCQ 2001. The chat history also shows Holocaust denial, which is a criminal offense in Germany.

## 3.2 Israel: Geopolitical Conflict and Security-Oriented Monitoring

### Hate Speech in Israel

Israel's risk profile is fundamentally shaped by security considerations, driven by the imperatives of geopolitical conflict and counter-intelligence. The Hamas attack of 7 October 2023 and the subsequent war intensified this focus, framing the online environment as part of a "digital war" in which antisemitism and disinformation grew exponentially. Hate speech monitoring in Israel is therefore closely linked to national security priorities and the fight against extremist narratives.

Israel's top three reported hate speech subcategories are:

Rank 1: Antisemitism (564 incidents)

- Rank 2: Desecration of Symbols (230 incidents)
- Rank 3: Fake Information (157 incidents)

The October 7th terrorist attack, in which 1,200 civilians of all backgrounds were murdered and 251 people kidnapped, marked a historic turning point. It was the largest mass killing of Jews since the Holocaust. The brutality of the attack and the fact that it was live-streamed

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online created a dual battlefield: physical and digital. Almost immediately, antisemitic incidents and disinformation surged worldwide, both on the streets and online.

In the days and weeks after the attack, antisemitic slurs, tropes, conspiracy theories, Holocaust trivialization, and glorification of Hamas became increasingly widespread across social media platforms. This wave of hate was not limited to Israel itself but affected Jewish communities globally, as the focus of hostility shifted from the State of Israel to Jews in general. Many Jewish people in the diaspora reported living in a climate of fear, facing harassment at schools, in workplaces, and in public spaces.

The escalation of the conflict also fueled geopolitical tensions. Foreign governments faced pressure from parts of their populations to distance themselves from Israel. Political developments such as the recognition of a Palestinian state by several countries further intensified polarizing narratives. The outbreak of the Twelve-Day War with Iran amplified claims portraying Israel and Jewish communities as responsible for a global crisis.

Within Israel, Jewish and non-Jewish citizens alike were directly confronted with the consequences of war. Many people mobilized in solidarity, volunteering to support displaced families, soldiers, and survivors. At the same time, the trauma of the October 7th attack, the prolonged ground war, and the steady influx of antisemitic hate from abroad have left deep scars. These experiences will continue to shape the national and digital climate well beyond the end of the conflict.

Some observers have described this wave of hatred as a “Digital Holocaust.” The term reflects both the unprecedented scale of antisemitic speech online and its global reach, highlighting how modern technology has accelerated and amplified old patterns of hate in new ways.

## Analysis of Key Subcategories

Israel's data profile confirms that its monitoring efforts are primarily geared toward national security and counter-terrorism intelligence, focusing on the digital dimensions of active geopolitical conflict.

**Antisemitism:** With 564 incidents, this is the most reported category. The numbers are closely tied to ongoing geopolitical conflicts, as online antisemitic attacks often increase during times of war. Since October 7, there has been a clear rise in online antisemitism, especially linked to the ongoing war in Gaza.

Sample post from social media

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X, June 2025

Translation from Italian:

*"#israele attacks #iran, #hitler was right to kill you from the oldest to the pregnant woman, you Jews are absolute evil. #palestina. You hide in the asshole of #usa and drop bombs."*

Context: This tweet was posted on the day the war with Iran began, following an Israeli Air Force strike inside Iran. During that conflict FOA's monitoring team recorded a large volume of antisemitic content linked to the Israel–Iran war; many posts contained explicit calls for violence and even the elimination of Jewish people.

**Desecration of Symbols:** Israel makes up 97% of all cases in this category, showing how strongly the conflict is expressed through visual and symbolic acts. Most of these cases come from anti-Israeli or pro-Palestinian demonstrations, where Jewish or Israeli symbols are desecrated.

Sample post from social media

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*Telegram, August 2025*

Context: Content equating Judaism with Satanism and misusing Jewish symbols in a distorted and harmful way, including the appropriation of the Holocaust-era yellow badge (Judenstern).

**Fake Information & Dehumanization:** Fake Information (157 cases) and Dehumanization (81 cases) play a central role in fueling hostility. Fake Information spreads false stories to create justification for attacks, while Dehumanization portrays a group as less than human, making hostility seem acceptable. For example, a Facebook post from Greece used antisemitic conspiracy theories to claim that normal Israeli property investment in Cyprus was actually part of a sinister plot.

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## Sample post from social media



*Facebook, June 2025, Profile is from Greece*

Context: This narrative promotes antisemitic false information by portraying Israeli property purchases in Cyprus as part of a sinister plot to take over the island. Claims of “Jewish-only communities,” “Zionist schools,” and secret expansion plans echo classic antisemitic conspiracy theories, unfairly singling out Israelis while ignoring similar actions by other foreigners. The spread of deepfake videos and social media posts accusing Jews of stealing homes and inflating housing prices further fuels this conspiracy, turning normal migration and investment into a baseless antisemitic narrative.

# Report Hate Project - Cross Country Comparative Analysis

## 3.3 Slovakia: Targeted Social Conflict and Escalating Incitement

### Hate Speech in Slovakia

Slovakia's risk profile is shaped by a persistent fear of "losing values," low trust in institutions, and the normalization of hateful rhetoric by political figures. Key events such as the 2016 migration crisis, the COVID-19 pandemic, and the war in Ukraine triggered spikes in hate speech targeting vulnerable communities, including Roma, migrants, Jews, and the LGBTI+ community. Despite these circumstances, Slovakia continues to lack a dedicated legal framework to address hate speech. Cases corresponding to hate speech are currently addressed under specific provisions of the Criminal Code. In May 2025, the Ministry of Interior announced plans to introduce Slovakia's first national hate speech law, aimed at ensuring faster prosecution. It remains unclear, however, whether the protection of vulnerable minorities will be a central priority. Slovakia's top three reported hate speech subcategories are:

- Rank 1: Incitement (224 incidents)
- Rank 2: Anti LGBTQ (197 incidents)
- Rank 3: Anti Roma (81 incidents)

The country's social climate is influenced by a historical fear of external domination and a strong attachment to national identity. The historical legacy of lacking sovereignty over the centuries has fostered a fear of losing national values and, consequently, a low tolerance for difference, while the period of communist isolation further limited exposure to diversity. These factors, among others, continue to shape today's mistrust not only towards external influences but also towards domestic institutions. Trust in mainstream media remains particularly low. So-called "alternative media" play a growing role in spreading conspiracy theories, hateful narratives, and disinformation. Low levels of digital literacy further increase susceptibility to fake news and encourage openly hateful communication online.

Hateful public discourse is often amplified by political figures who deliberately initiate controversial or sensitive topics and often share them on their social media platforms. This dynamic, unfortunately, contributes to the normalization of hateful language.

Several crises—most notably the migration crisis, the pandemic, and the war in Ukraine—have amplified these dynamics and intensified attacks on specific communities.

Hate speech is most often directed at Roma, migrants (from the Middle East, Africa, and, since 2022, Ukraine), Jews, LGBTI+ people, women, and political opponents. Facebook remains the dominant platform, particularly for people over 45, while Instagram and TikTok are increasingly used by younger audiences.



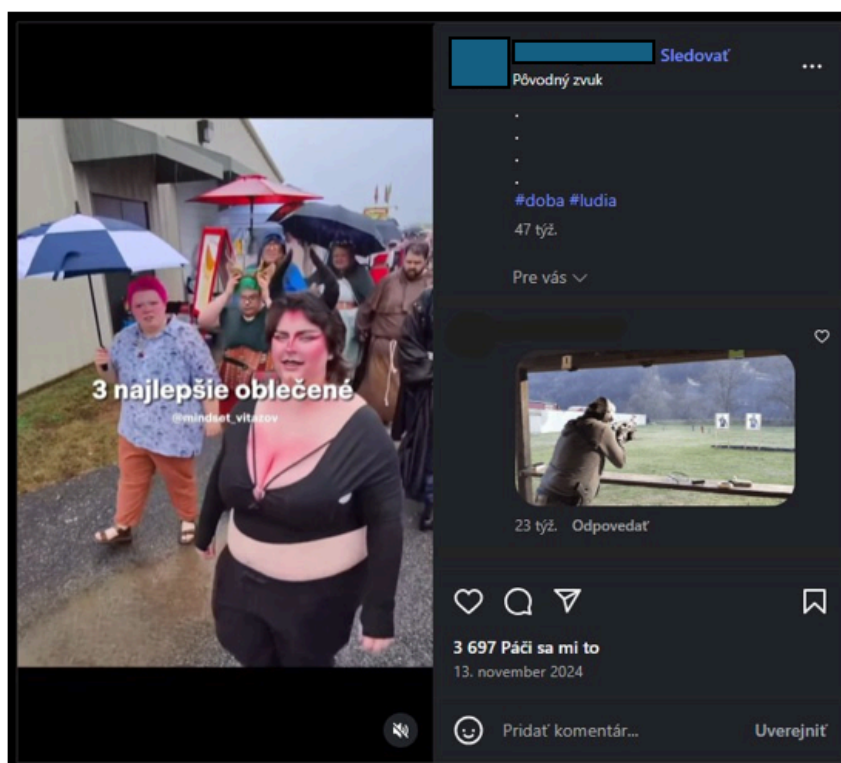
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## Analysis of Key Subcategories

In Slovakia, hate against Roma and other minorities is especially alarming, with direct calls for violence that pose a clear public safety threat.

**Incitement and Anti-LGBTQ Hate:** Incitement makes up 84% of all reported cases, with much of it directly targeting LGBTQ communities. This shows a dangerous, organized campaign that has escalated into open and explicit calls for violence against LGBTQ people, posing a serious and immediate threat to their safety.

### Sample posts from social media



*Instagram, April 2025*

Context: The user posts a GIF depicting a shooter. This comment appears under a video, where a person bullies a group of people, whom he identifies as members of the LGBTIQ community. When GIFs are reported, they unfortunately stay online in most cases, despite creating an openly violent narrative.

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*Facebook, July 2025*

Translation: "You shall be kicked hard in the balls, and so shall everyone who has walked there!!!"

Context: Expression of physical violence against both the target (an opposition politician from a progressive party) and bystanders (Pride participants) based on their support of LGBTQ Pride or their allegiance to this community. The author of the comment reacts to a post by the opposition politician, who attended an LGBTQ Pride, and shared calls for respect and tolerance on his Facebook profile. In 2025, Slovakia has adopted a constitutional amendment that formally recognizes only two genders (male and female), thereby reinforcing anti-LGBTQ narratives in public discourse. In the period leading up to this amendment, the LGBTQ community had already been a frequent target of hateful campaigns by the government and conservative politicians.

In practice, it is often difficult to distinguish between hate speech aimed at people with diverse sexual orientations and those with alternative gender identities. Hateful voices tend to collapse these distinctions, directing their hostility broadly at "LGBTQ people" as a single group, regardless of whether individuals personally identify with that label.

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**Anti-Roma Hate:** Most Anti-Roma hate incidents come from Slovakia (81 cases) and Hungary, together making up over 91% of the total. This points to a severe, localized problem. The language is often extreme and genocidal, yet much of it was not removed by social media platforms despite being illegal.

## Sample post from social media



*Facebook, September 2025*

Translation: "They're not even Gypsies, they're a filthy black stinking parasitic gang ... into the gas."

Context: Racist slurs against Roma with a genocidal reference to extermination ("into the gas"). The comment appears in a Facebook discussion as a reaction to a previous tragic event (September 2025), during which a man was beaten to death by Roma teenagers in Zlaté Moravce, in Western Slovakia. However, the author of the comment targets the entire Roma community, utilizing Nazi narratives, calling for their killing.

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## 3.4 Hungary: State-Influenced Rhetorical Aggression and Ethnic Division

### Hate Speech in Hungary

Hungary's risk profile is shaped by a highly polarized political climate in which hateful rhetoric is often reinforced through state communication. Hate speech is widespread and has intensified significantly as political discourse has radicalized in recent years. Minority groups are frequently targeted as part of broader political strategies, contributing to a hostile environment both online and offline.

Hungary's top three reported hate speech subcategories are:

- Rank 1: Xenophobia (114 incidents)
- Rank 2: Ethnicism (99 incidents)
- Rank 3: Dehumanization (79 incidents)

The primary targets of hate speech are the Roma community, LGBTIQ+ individuals, and refugees or migrants. Long-standing racism against Roma is deeply rooted in stereotypes and social exclusion. LGBTIQ+ people have increasingly faced stigmatization, fueled by divisive political rhetoric and legal restrictions such as the so-called “*Child Protection Act*.” Refugees and migrants are often scapegoated through government communication that frames them as threats, thereby normalizing xenophobic narratives. Antisemitism and attacks against political opponents also remain part of the polarized public discourse. Social media amplifies these dynamics, enabling hate speech to spread quickly and widely.

A defining feature of the Hungarian context is the role of political actors and state-level communication in shaping and legitimizing hate speech. International bodies such as the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) have repeatedly highlighted the increasingly antagonistic tone of official rhetoric toward vulnerable groups. This contributes to weak political will for strict enforcement of sanctions against hate speech.

The legal framework is complex, operating between the protection of human dignity and freedom of expression. The relevant provisions are primarily found in the Criminal Code (incitement against a community), but the Civil Code (protection of personality rights, in particular human dignity) also allows for civil law action against hate speech. The Constitutional Court has historically protected even highly offensive speech unless it directly infringes on individual rights, which limits the effectiveness of legal action.

In this environment, civil society organisations such as the Hungarian Helsinki Committee play a key role in supporting victims and pursuing legal remedies, occasionally achieving systemic impacts. Overall, hate speech in Hungary is closely intertwined with political

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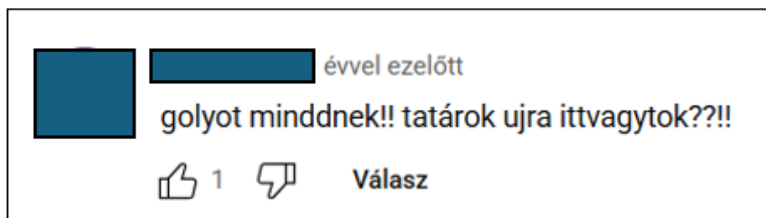
polarization and the scapegoating of minorities, while legal responses remain constrained by constitutional protections for free speech.

## Analysis of Key Subcategories

Hungary's profile indicates a high risk of discursive radicalization, where aggressive online rhetoric, heavily influenced by state-level communication, fuels localized ethnic hostility and deepens social divisions.

**Xenophobia:** This is the top category of hate speech and is strongly fueled by the government's ongoing anti-migrant policies and public messaging. As a result, online discussions often escalate into direct calls for violence against foreigners.

### Sample post from social media



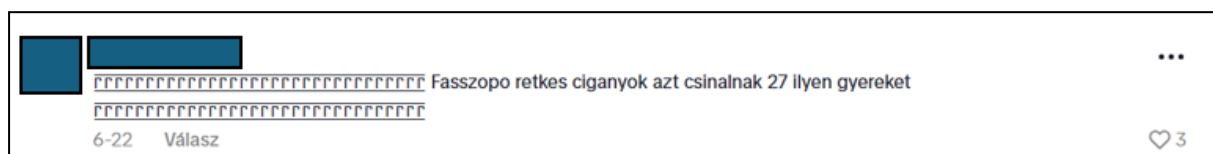
*Youtube 2015, not removed*

Translation: „A bullet for all of them!! Tatars, are you back again??!!”

Context: The comment appeared under a video report about the arrival of migrants in Magyarakanizsa. Hatred towards migrants is common in Hungary, largely due to the government's anti-migrant policies and deliberate attempts to stir up animosity towards them. Some people not only consider migrants to be foreign invaders and attribute unfavorable external and internal characteristics to them, but also openly call for their murder. There are also those who compare their arrival to tragic historical events of the past.

**Ethnicism:** Hate against the Roma community remains one of the most serious problems. Deep-rooted racism shows up online in frequent hostile and derogatory comments directed at Roma people, reflecting a long-standing social issue in the country.

### Sample post from social media



*TikTok, June 2025, not removed*

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Translation: „Cocksucking filthy Gypsies they make 27 such children”

Context: This comment appeared under a video depicting stereotypes about Roma people, claiming that Roma women are rude, aggressive, and domineering. In Hungary, the proportion of the Roma (Gypsy) population within the total population is growing rapidly, while the total Hungarian population is declining. Some people, such as the commenter, resent and oppose this because they associate undesirable and inferior characteristics with Roma people. They see it as a problem that Roma have children.

**Dehumanization:** Dehumanizing language is widely used to portray groups as less than human, making aggression against them seem acceptable. For example, one online comment combined this tactic by targeting both Roma and migrants at the same time, showing how hate speech overlaps and spreads across vulnerable groups.

Sample post from social media



*Website, September 2025, not removed*

Translation: „We have our gypsy animals here – perhaps even more disgusting than migrant lice!”

Context: The comment appeared under an inflammatory article about crime committed by migrants in Sweden. Hatred towards migrants is common in Hungary, largely due to the government's anti-migrant policies and deliberate attempts to stir up animosity towards them. Many people associate migrants with undesirable external and internal characteristics. At the same time, there are those who associate similar or even worse characteristics with Roma people, and consider them to be a kind of migrant. Dehumanizing statements are very common in Hungary towards both Roma people and migrants.

## 3.5 North Macedonia: Coded Hate and Peer-to-Peer Harassment Among Youth

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## Hate Speech in North Macedonia

North Macedonia's risk profile is shaped by its multiethnic composition, polarized political environment, and the dominance of peer-to-peer hate speech among youth. Much of this activity takes place in closed digital spaces such as WhatsApp groups, Discord servers, and private social media channels. This environment is characterized by “soft” forms of hate memes, proxy insults, and body shaming that are often overlooked by traditional monitoring systems but can have severe psychological consequences.

North Macedonia's top three reported hate speech subcategories are:

- Rank 1: Memes as Symbols of Hate Speech (93 incidents)
- Rank 2: Proxy Words (58 incidents)
- Rank 3: Body Shaming (51 incidents)

The political landscape remains highly polarized, marked by long-standing tensions between major parties and slow institutional reforms. Ethnic divisions—particularly between Macedonian and Albanian communities—shape public life and online discourse. Historical identity debates, including the Prespa Agreement with Greece and disputes with Bulgaria, continue to fuel nationalistic rhetoric and hate narratives, which are mirrored in the digital sphere.

North Macedonia is home to a diverse population of ethnic Macedonians, Albanians, Turks, Roma, Serbs, Bosniaks, and others. While the Ohrid Framework Agreement of 2001 provided a foundation for minority rights, ethnic and linguistic tensions persist. Hate speech often targets ethnic identity, language use, or cultural expressions. Among young people, this manifests through mocking accents, stereotypical jokes, and coded language that normalizes exclusion.

Young people aged 14 to 26 are highly active on platforms like Instagram, TikTok, Facebook, and Discord. Their exposure to hate is primarily peer-to-peer, not institutional, but nonetheless harmful. “Soft” hate speech includes body shaming, homophobic slurs disguised as jokes, proxy insults based on religion or socioeconomic status, and memes aimed at individuals or groups. Because this content circulates in private channels, it remains largely invisible to the public and untraceable for formal monitoring mechanisms, though its psychological impact on victims is significant.

Schools and institutions often lack the capacity to address these issues. Teachers are rarely trained in dealing with digital hate, and incidents are frequently treated as private rather than systemic problems. Fear of retaliation discourages young victims from speaking out, reinforcing a culture of silence. While North Macedonia has legal frameworks prohibiting hate speech through the Criminal Code, anti-discrimination law, and media regulation enforcement remains inconsistent. Specialized counter-speech or digital literacy programs are still rare. Civil society organisations such as Youth on Board have played a key role in filling these gaps, launching platforms like *Report Hate*, awareness campaigns, and safe reporting spaces for young people.



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Hate speech in North Macedonia is deeply intertwined with historical, political, and cultural fault lines, but it increasingly manifests in digital youth spaces in subtle, hard-to-detect forms. Addressing it requires more than legal measures: digital literacy education, safe reporting mechanisms, youth participation, and stronger institutional coordination are essential to building a more inclusive and resilient online environment.

### Analysis of Key Subcategories

North Macedonia's risk profile highlights the urgent need for comprehensive digital literacy education and investment in advanced monitoring tools capable of detecting the visual, coded, and vernacular forms of hate that define the online experience for its youth. In North Macedonia, there is a special case where young people are very interested in the topic of hate speech and see a great need for action, but at the same time have very strong reservations about sharing evidence of hate speech. The reason for this is that they understand hate speech primarily as hate in which they know the perpetrator and victim. At the same time, North Macedonia is a very small country, and everyone knows everyone else within schools and communities. For this reason, the North Macedonian reporting office has only collected descriptions of incidents without supporting them with original screenshots. The young people feared that their screenshots could be leaked and that this would reflect badly on the person reporting it. For them, loyalty and protecting closed groups is extremely important. They did not even want to show screenshots or examples to youth social workers whom they have known for a long time and trust. It is likely that trust can be built up here with more time. In addition, the situation would certainly be different in a larger city such as Skopje. Nevertheless, the project in Shtip has been a great success. It has received a lot of positive feedback from young people, teachers, professionals, and administrators, as well as a lot of interest from the media. Particularly interesting: it was reflected that perpetrators can also learn something from the project – namely, how harmful hate speech can be.

**Memes and Proxy Words:** In North Macedonia, hate speech often takes the form of memes and coded words. These tactics are designed to bypass normal monitoring and make it harder to detect. For example, one case involved mocking a person's surname in a way that turned it into an ethnic slur against the Roma community. This shows how hate is being spread in subtle but damaging ways.

### Sample post from social media

English Translation:	Original version:
When I wrote that I go to church, they said: "witch," "go away with that outdated nonsense," "you're disgusting."	Кога напишав дека одам во црква, ми рекоа: „вештерке“, „оде си со тие старомодни глупости“, „погана си“.

Context: In today's secular youth culture, particularly online, religious expression is often ridiculed or marginalized. Young people who openly express their faith are labeled with terms

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like “witch” or accused of being “backward.” Even though religion is not directly mentioned, these proxy terms are used to discredit religious beliefs and personal spirituality.

**Body Shaming:** North Macedonia also reported 70 cases under Body Appearance 51 cases of body shaming and 7 of fatphobia making up 85% of all such cases across the region. This points to a serious problem in the country, where online culture often promotes harmful ideas of physical “perfection” and little awareness about diversity. The impact is especially severe on young people, who face constant pressure and online bullying related to their appearance.

### Sample post from social media

English Translation:	Original version:
I posted a selfie on Facebook. I have some acne and wear glasses. A few people commented: “soup with eyes,” “monkey with glasses,” “disgusting face.” I’m 16 and didn’t leave the house for two days. It was deeply hurtful to read that.	Споделив селфи на Facebook. Имам малку акни и носам наочари. Неколку луѓе ми напишаа: „чорба со очи“, „мајмун со диоптрија“, „погана фаца“. Имам 16 години и не излегов од дома два дена. Беше навистина болно да го читам тоа.

### *Facebook*

**Context:** Acne and glasses – entirely normal aspects of adolescence – become the subject of public humiliation. Comments are designed to shatter the self-esteem of the young person. This reflects the harmful culture of perfection that dominates platforms like Instagram and Facebook, where imperfection is met with mockery and bullying.

## 3.6 Croatia: Friction Around Gender Roles and Sexual Identity

### Hate Speech in Croatia

Croatia’s risk profile is shaped by deep social and political polarization rooted in the country’s recent history. The legacy of the 1990s war, unresolved debates on nationalism, identity, and transitional justice continue to influence both public and online discourse. Nonetheless, these trends arise from already arose from the end of World War II. Hate speech frequently emerges around challenges to traditional social hierarchies, with sexism, misogyny, and homophobia particularly widespread and often normalized.

Croatia’s top three reported hate speech subcategories are:

- Rank 1: Sexism (Misogyny) (38 incidents)

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- Rank 2: Homophobia (32 incidents)
- Rank 3: Dehumanization (27 incidents)

Public debates are frequently framed through stark ideological divisions, between “patriots” and “traitors,” “left” and “right” , which often spill over into personal attacks and hate speech. Sexism and misogyny are deeply embedded in both private and public communication. Patriarchal narratives portraying women as manipulative, dependent, or inferior are common, and feminist voices, women in politics, or gender equality advocates are frequent targets of online harassment. These patterns reflect broader resistance to gender equality reforms in Croatian society.

Homophobia remains widespread, frequently justified through appeals to religion or “traditional values.” Despite EU-level protections, public acceptance of LGBTQ+ people remains low. Online hate speech often takes the form of mockery, pathologization (e.g., referring to homosexuality as a “disease”), and calls for exclusion or violence. While Pride events are increasingly visible, online backlash shows that equality is still perceived as a cultural threat by parts of society. Debates on national, ethnic, or ideological issues often contain dehumanizing language, portraying opponents as “animals,” “psychopaths,” or “enemies of the nation.” These narratives reflect the persistence of post-war divisions and the blurred boundaries between political disagreement and moral condemnation. Hate speech directed at minorities (especially Serbs, migrants, and Roma) or political opponents is rarely sanctioned and often tolerated under the banner of free expression.

Although Croatia has legal provisions against hate speech and discrimination, enforcement remains weak. The polarized media landscape and unmoderated online spaces amplify hateful narratives. Civil society organizations play a central role in documenting and reporting online hate speech, often facing backlash for their work. Overall, Croatia’s online discourse reveals how historical divisions, traditionalist values, and weak enforcement mechanisms combine to create a permissive environment for hate speech.

### Analysis of Key Subcategories

Croatia's data profile indicates that its online friction points are heavily concentrated around challenges to traditional gender and sexual identity roles, highlighting the persistence of digital misogyny and institutional biases.

**Sexism (Misogyny):** Misogyny is the most common form of hate speech in Croatia. Everyday online discussions often include sexist remarks that portray women as manipulative or withholding, reflecting the wider problem of gender inequality in society.

Sample post from social media

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*Facebook, not removed*

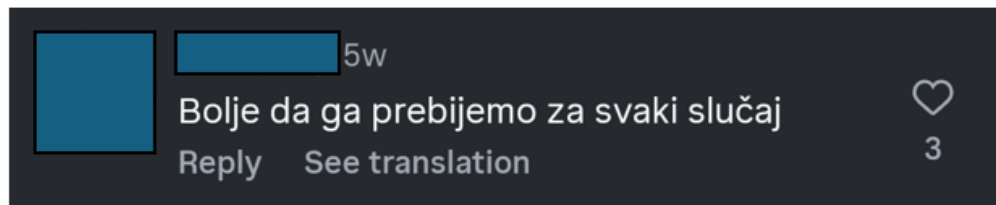
Translation: “A classic story of male-female relations — she doesn’t want to get married, but she needs a fool who will work around the house and do chores in exchange for rent, but she won’t sleep with him. Poor guy has nowhere to live, so he accepts to stay at her place and work, hoping that he’ll get lucky (if you didn’t already, forget it). And that goes on for years until the man finally realizes he’s been a fool working for free, never got to sleep with her, and that nothing was ever really his. He probably went for a beer in front of the store where his buddies explained everything to him and got him properly provoked...”

Context: This comment shows everyday sexism common in Croatian online discussions. It mocks women as manipulative and sexually withholding, portraying men as victims. Such language normalizes misogynistic stereotypes and reflects broader gender inequality in society.

**Homophobia**: Homophobic attitudes remain widespread in the country. Online comments frequently show open intolerance toward LGBTQ+ people, including threats and hostile language, which highlights the stigma and unsafe environment many face.

Sample post from social media

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*Instagram, not removed*

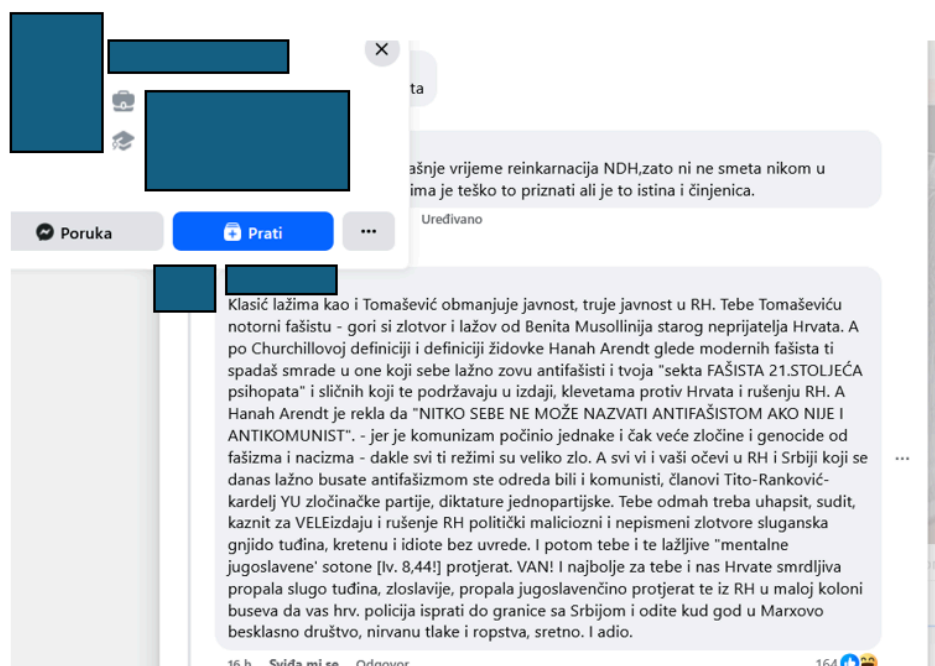
Translation: "I have nothing against homosexuals but I think it's a disease"  
"We better beat him up just in case"

Context: These comments show common homophobic attitudes in Croatia, where LGBTQ+ people are often described as "sick" or treated with hostility. Such remarks, seen frequently online, reflect persistent stigma and intolerance despite growing legal protections.

**Dehumanization:** Online hate is also fueled by political polarization. In Croatia, it is common for people to use dehumanizing language against their political opponents, labeling them as enemies or "less than human." This reflects how deeply divided the political climate is, and how quickly public debate can turn into hate.

Sample post from social media

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*Facebook, not removed*

**Translation:** Classic lies — like Tomašević, you deceive the public, poisoning people in Croatia. You are a notorious fascist — worse and more deceitful than Benito Mussolini, an old enemy of Croats. According to Churchill's and the Jewish philosopher Hannah Arendt's definition of modern fascism, you belong to those who falsely call themselves antifascists — your "SECT OF 21ST CENTURY FASCISTS, PSYCHOPATHS," and similar types who support treason, slander Croats, and work against the Republic of Croatia. Hannah Arendt said, "NO ONE CAN CALL THEMSELVES AN ANTIFASCIST IF THEY ARE NOT ALSO AN ANTICOMMUNIST," because communism committed the same or even greater crimes and genocides than fascism and Nazism — all these regimes are the same evil. And all of you and your fathers, both in Croatia and Serbia, who still falsely beat your chests claiming to be antifascists are actually criminals, members of Tito–Ranković–Kardelj's Yugoslav criminal party, a dictatorship of one-party thugs. You should be immediately arrested, judged, and punished for HIGH TREASON and for politically malicious and illiterate slandering of the Croatian people, you foreign slug, traitor, and idiot — mental "Yugoslav" satanist [Iv. 8,44] monster! I suggest you and your stinking failed Yugoslav gang be permanently expelled from Croatia in a small convoy of buses to the Serbian border, and from there anywhere into Marx's hellhole. Goodbye.

**Context:** This comment reflects politically motivated dehumanization, where opponents are labeled as "psychopaths," "traitors," and "garbage." Such language mirrors the polarized political climate in Croatia, where online discourse often turns hateful and equates ideological opponents with enemies or subhuman "others."

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## 4. Strategic Synthesis and Policy Implications

This multi-national analysis reveals that while digital hate is a universal problem, its manifestations are deeply local. The final step is to synthesize these cross-national findings into a strategic overview and derive actionable policy recommendations that can be tailored to combat these distinct forms of online hate more effectively.

### Comparative Risk Mapping and Policy Focus

The varying risk profiles across the six nations demand strategic responses tailored to the specific nature of the prevalent threat. A uniform approach would fail to address the unique challenges each country faces. The table below maps these distinct risks to their corresponding policy implications.

Table 3: National Risk Mapping by Primary Hate Vector

Country	Primary Risk Vector	Key Subcategory Concentration	Policy Focus Implication
Germany	Right-wing extremism; Cyberbullying	Neo-Nazism, Antisemitism, Cyberbullying	Dual strategy: Education about and consistent sanctioning of right-wing extremism and generalized platform moderation improvements.
Israel	Geopolitical/Security Ideology	Antisemitism, Incitement and desecration of symbols	National security prioritization, advanced content takedown focused on conflict materials.
Slovakia	Social Ideological Conflict	Anti LGBTQ, Incitement	Legislative protection for vulnerable groups; immediate risk mitigation against active incitement.
Hungary	Ethnic/Rhetorical Aggression	Xenophobia, Ethnicism, Dehumanization	Countering radicalization of public discourse and investing in localized ethnic reconciliation efforts.



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North Macedonia	Digital Toxicity/Evasion	Memes , Proxy Words	Investment in advanced non-textual monitoring (image/video recognition, NLP for vernacular coding).
Croatia	Interpersonal/Gender Friction	Sexism (Misogyny) , Homophobia	Combating digital misogyny and institutional enforcement of non-discrimination mandates.

The key takeaway is that an effective response must be precisely calibrated to the nature of the threat. For instance, a country like Germany, facing high-volume harassment, requires solutions focused on platform-level moderation, while a country like Slovakia, facing active and targeted incitement, necessitates immediate legal and security interventions to protect vulnerable populations.

### Core Challenges and Recommendations

Across these diverse landscapes, several core challenges emerge that demand strategic action.

1. **The Data Standardization Imperative:** The massive disparities in reporting volume and inconsistent definitions for categories like "Cyberbullying" make direct cross-national comparisons difficult. This highlights the urgent need for a transnational mandate for data standardization to create a common operational picture of digital hate.
2. **The Challenge of Coded Evasion:** The case of North Macedonia demonstrates the severe limitations of traditional text-based monitoring. Perpetrators, especially youth, increasingly rely on memes, symbols, and local vernacular to evade detection. This requires immediate technological investment in advanced AI/ML tools capable of detecting visual hate and contextualizing coded language specific to local cultures.
3. **The Gap Between Legal Focus and Social Reality:** A structural gap exists where monitoring systems excel at tracking legally defined extremism (e.g., Neo-Nazism, Terrorism Support) but systematically underreport pervasive social harms like sexism, body shaming, and generalized cyberbullying. Policy must evolve to lower reporting thresholds for this widespread social toxicity while simultaneously maintaining strict enforcement against organized ideological hate.

The central task for policymakers is to bridge the dangerous gap between what our monitoring systems are designed to detect and the social reality of how hate is experienced. This is not merely a technical challenge; it is a critical vulnerability in democratic governance. Failing to see and act upon the full spectrum of digital toxicity—from legally defined

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extremism to the corrosive, everyday harassment that silences citizens—is to cede the digital public square to those who would dismantle it. Future policy must therefore be as adaptive, nuanced, and context-aware as the threats it seeks to neutralize, demanding both technological innovation and a renewed commitment to protecting the social fabric online.