

Graffiti – Freedom of Speech?

Tatia TAVKHELIDZE / Sahib KAPOOR

Collaborating across distinct academic disciplines often presents the challenge of identifying a topic that resonates with both scholars' areas of expertise. Our joint work emerged from shared participation in the third Speak Up! conference¹ and Speak Up! Lab!² of the Institut für Demokratiepädagogik, which aims to counter fake news and hate speech online. While both of us are committed to addressing hate, our approaches differ, reflecting the specific perspectives of our respective fields. To establish a common ground, we engaged in a series of idea-generating discussions and ultimately selected the theme of graffiti. This topic bridges our disciplines: it belongs to the realm of visual art, a core focus of Sahib KAPOOR, and simultaneously serves as a tool for hate speech and cultural othering, an area of interest for Tatia TAVKHELIDZE. The essay thus explores graffiti not only as an artistic medium but also as a potential instrument of discrimination when employed with biased intent.

Graffiti, often characterized by its bright, bold, and textually based wall art, serves as a significant medium of communication, conveying strong messages to society. This form of expression has become increasingly popular and is now a common sight in cities around the world. It is a kind of public art one sees in the streets of downtown areas of a metropolis, on the sides of bridges, on the walls of bathrooms and outside the walls of an institution that looks quite appealing at a glance but may not have the same impact, if one tries to understand it. Graffiti, an art form that does not confine to academic art but rather transcends it.

The message this art form carries can be easily overlooked if one ignores the aesthetic expression it conveys. Sadly, graffiti is often considered as vandalism, and is thus reduced to a mere property crime, a problem, governments often fail to deal with and render it into an *illegal* act. Taking India³ and Georgia⁴ as examples, neither country has explicit legal provisions addressing graffiti. However, both constitutions establish a legal foundation for the protection of monuments and sites of artistic or historical importance, once designated by law as nationally significant, against damage, defacement, or destruction. In essence, the legality of graffiti in these contexts largely depends on its physical location—particularly whether it affects protected property or heritage sites. What is often overlooked, however,

is the content of graffiti: even when placed on remote or unregulated buildings without violating property laws, graffiti may still serve as a medium for hate speech, targeting specific groups and inciting discrimination.

Graffiti refers to texts, numbers, and drawings sprayed, painted, or written on the places where the owner (whether of public or private property) does not allow anyone to tag his premises. This prohibited act of expression is therefore deemed illegal.⁵ Why would a lawful citizen try to vandalise buildings and make the household owner suffer? The answer is concealed in the walls. The artist or as some will call them, *perpetrators*, perceive graffiti as a medium of expression, to express the suppressed. The objective is simple, to convey what and how they feel about something. Now this expression can be about anything, a person, a film or an act of government. In addition to the painted graffiti, there are also knitting graffiti (sometimes yarn bombing). This involves wrapping light poles, monuments, statues, and other public structures with wool or yarn. Knitting graffiti does not damage the object, through covering it becomes more appealing / fascinating as a point of gaze. Graffiti serves as a poignant reminder for the fact that art has no boundaries and artists need no canvas for their expressions. A simple classification is quite difficult, as there exist various categories of this art form. The most frequently found are mentioned below:

- Gang graffiti,⁶ often used as a form of expression by gangs to deliver threat messages, and occasionally copycat graffiti, which resembles gang graffiti;
- Tagger graffiti, a street art that can be simple as well as complex;
- Conventional graffiti, often immediate actions by people excited about something, but can be vindictive;
- Ideological graffiti, such as political or hate graffiti, which depicts political ideologies. They may carry racial, religious or ethnic messages.

Stefano BLOCH talking on the composition of this art form mentions that

“those produced by self-described, acknowledged, and active members of the graffiti community in public view with, primarily, the use of aerosol spray paint. Graffiti-murals are also visually thematic in that they cover the entire surface of a wall with a balance of letters, characters, and/or images painted against fully painted backgrounds. Graffiti-muralists [...] are motivated to produce their work for the sake of fame and personal expression in addition to critical concerns for community and artistic concerns for aesthetics. Graffiti-muralists also work independently and illegally...”⁷

Gregory SNYDER discusses the legality of Graffiti and states:

“In the post-train era legal walls have become essential to the progression of the art form [...] many pieces done today are done on legal walls on which writers have been granted permission to paint by the building owner. Legal walls allow writers to take their time, and this results in some really good art”⁸.

A prominent example would be the Graffiti *The Future is Europe*, NovaDead, 2017 on EU parliament in Brussels (Fig 1). The Graffiti states that European Union is the future. The sparrow bird represents community, hard work, peace and freedom, while the yellow and blue colours refer to the colours of the European flag. The Graffiti here highlights that the collective Europe with superpowers such as France, Italy and Germany is destined to be a hyperpower.



Fig. 29: *The Future is Europe*⁹ (Photo: Anne-Kathrin RISCHE)



Fig. 30: Potsdamer Hearts¹⁰ (Photo: Sabrina KIRSCHNER)

Another prominent example of commissioned graffiti is the Berlin Wall¹¹ in Germany that has been frequently analysed for its profound social and political meanings. As noted by Magdalene A. BROOKE, intellectuals have often sought to interpret the paintings on the Berlin Wall, much like sociologists attempting to uncover the secrets of life in Pompeii. These analyses aim to understand what these artworks reveal about the people involved in their creation and the societal contexts from which they emerged.¹² The Wall features more than 100 artists from 21 different countries.¹³ The wall is now scattered throughout Berlin. One image is taken from the part nearby Potsdamer Platz (Fig 2). This image shows four panels, on the right we see three hearts and an iconography for music (which may have been added later). On the left we see a red colour body with a heart shaped head in bikini, thus representing a female. On this side of this image lies also a figure, this time without any significant clothing, the face (eyes and lips), however creates a feministic impression of this image. On the third panel we see a man in red swim trunk with a crown on his head holding a ball, reminiscent of globe with grid lines, that says “enjoy the world”. On the top it says, “NO MORE WALL” and on the left “SAVE ONE WORLD”.¹⁴ Thus the viewers get a hold of the message that the artist wants a world free of borders, he sees the world as one, thus it should be like water that has no natural boundaries. Hearts represent love and with music icon combined

it may be understood that music is the language of love, of togetherness. In this era, where music is not restricted to one group (Luis FONSI's Despacito and PSY's Gangnam Style are featured in global chart busters),¹⁵ people should also transcend linguistic and cultural boundaries. A powerful message indeed.

In a way not like other forms of commissioned artworks, graffiti are frequently not commissioned, therefore they may be a product of the artist's dissatisfaction that he portrays through his artwork. Today, graffiti are in the focus of an array of publications be it scholarly literature or the representation of graffiti in pop culture itself. A renowned graffiti artist BANKSY released couple of books, including *Wall and Piece*,¹⁶ that presents some of his highly criticized artworks. He also directed a documentary, *Exit Through the Gift Shop*,¹⁷ that turned out to enjoy a great popularity. Scholarships on graffiti often use ethnographic approaches examining cultural patterns and expressions across different urban contexts such as FERRELL's study about Denver.¹⁸

Some theoretical methods have also been applied to understand graffiti. For instance, Lisa GOTTLIEB, based on insights from PANOFSKY's model of iconographical analysis¹⁹ designed a method to classify graffiti and street art.²⁰ Graffiti can serve as a multifaceted form of expression. According to FERRELL,²¹ it can be an artistic outlet, while MACDONALD highlights its role in expressing masculinity.²² TAYLOR suggests that graffiti can be a means for individuals to gain recognition among their peers.²³ Additionally, graffiti often functions as a form of resistance and political communication, as discussed by FERRELL²⁴ and WALDNER /DOBRATZ.²⁵ Therefore, graffiti is frequently perceived as a rebellious and revolutionary art form, encapsulating a potent expression of free speech and cultural practice. This medium is capable of conveying a diverse spectrum of emotions and messages, ranging from personal identity and social critique to political dissent. Though graffiti is mostly seen as a form of free speech, none of the scholarship, however, tries to see other side of the coin. This highly free form of expression carries also a negative side within. It can be interpreted as a medium for disseminating hate speech, which, according to the definition used by Sabrina KIRSCHNER and Tomke LASK, constitutes a form of verbal aggression directed at individuals or social groups with the intent to marginalize or discriminate against them.²⁶ Hate speech manifests in both online and offline contexts and typically targets attributes such as ethnicity, national origin, sexual orientation, gender, religion, age, disability, or illness. In this regard, hate speech expressed through graffiti may serve to deny or delegitimize an individual's identity, faith, religious affiliation, or very existence. Consequently, a critical boundary must be recognized—one at which graffiti ceases to be a legitimate form of free expression and instead becomes a vehicle for hate speech or even a prosecutable hate crime. This shift is primarily determined by the intent and motivation behind the graffiti. When

the creation of graffiti is driven by animosity, it surpasses the protections typically afforded to free speech under legal frameworks.

The boundaries are delineated by a multifaceted phenomenon of hatred that encompasses moral, psychological, and legal aspects, making it a complex subject of study. Psychology scholar Ervine STAUB describes hatred as a powerful and obstructive emotion directed against others.²⁷ Robert STERNBERG further explores this concept, linking hatred to emotions such as disgust, anger, and hostility, which may include both expressed and unexpressed desires to eliminate the target.²⁸ The danger of hatred lies not only in its impact as an individual emotion but also in its potential to be transformed into a collective sentiment. When hatred is disseminated as a shared message, particularly through mediums like graffiti, it targets specific groups and can pose significant threats to public order and security by fostering an environment of fear and division.

The term hate speech is one that can mean different things to different people and is often difficult to grasp fully. It's hard to pinpoint exactly when hate speech first emerged. In fact, it's probably fair to say it's as old as humanity itself. Hate speech is a result of feelings of rejection and hostility towards a person. It's important to understand what motivates hate speech so we can better understand the situations and avoid them. It is a concept that almost everyone is familiar with. It doesn't matter if you're a teacher, a businessman, a housewife or a student, you've probably come across hate speech at some point. DUDEN defines hate speech as "speech containing hate messages in public" or "a way of speaking or writing that spreads hate."²⁹ According to WALTMAN and HAAS, *hate speech*, as a legal and social concept, refers to language or expressions that demean, dehumanize, or incite hostility against individuals or groups based on characteristics such as race, religion, ethnicity, or other identifiers.³⁰ Similarly, the United Nations has tried to define hate speech as offensive discourse. "In common language, hate speech refers to offensive discourse targeting a group or an individual based on inherent characteristics (such as race, religion or gender) and that may threaten social peace."³¹ The legal framework typically criminalizes hate speech not merely for its offensive content but for its capacity to incite discrimination, hostility, and violence.³²

It seems fair to say that hate speech is a construct that problematizes race, religion, or gender and thereby attempts to exploit the people concerned. Even though we live in a society that advocates openness and acceptance, the spread of hate speech seems unavoidable. It can be found everywhere, from the media to the street and even in educational institutions, which portray a champion for "free speech" and freedom of expression.³³ The hate speech is not only experienced verbally but can also be present through visual mediums, such as paintings, films and graffiti. Let us focus on graffiti, for they tend to be uncensored, and the artists can exercise full control on it. Graffiti can serve as a vehicle for hate speech when it is

used to spread harmful ideologies or messages, thereby exacerbating social tensions and contributing to an atmosphere of intolerance and conflict. The medium itself has no set of boundaries, since it is by virtue of its nature considered an *illegal* act, they take full control over it. Since 1980s a rise in culture jamming in graffiti can be observed.³⁴ Culture jamming means disrupting, distorting and/or re-configuring the openly displayed artifacts (cultural, religious, and political) to deliver a different i.e. a humorous or mocking message to the viewers. This practise can be seen widely and can be referred as the starting point of the hate speech in this artform. Across the globe, individuals have used graffiti as a medium to openly express hateful ideologies. The following section will examine several recent examples.

A recent incident that was all over the media is the symbol of tilted swastika and Combat 18 signs all over the walls of various buildings in Antrim, UK.³⁵ The tilted swastikas also called *Hakenkreuz* are associated with Adolf HITLER and his Nazi party with references to the neo-Nazi group Combat 18.³⁶ This followed an intimidation from Landlords-NIHE-Housing associations in Antrim to eight immigrant families to move out of their homes.³⁷



Fig. 31: *More immigrants = more crime* (Photo: Susan BENN, Rye News)³⁸

This graffiti on the channel crossing mentions *more immigrants=more crime*. Though this graffiti does not look as hateful in immediate sight, it may conceal a long-lasting effect. While some graffiti (Fig. 1 and Fig. 3) relate to a set of ideology that people relate with and affirm to, Fig 3 does not relate to any ideology. It rather creates a subliminal perception, that may tend to culminate in a bigger problem, if the individual is confronted with a tense situation. If there is a burglary or murder in the neighbourhood, a person with an history of immigration is always thought

to have committed the crime, just because he doesn't belong to the community and his different cultural and moral values or appearance. Clemente AGUIRRE, a migrant escaping violence in Honduras, faced a similar situation in 2004 where he was accused of murdering his neighbours. He was acquitted of the crime in 2018.³⁹

Ulster Herald, a weekly newspaper based in Omagh, County Tyrone, Northern Ireland informs about appearance of a jammed graffiti in the area of Cookstown.⁴⁰ A graffiti of a blonde girl on the beach admiring the sunset, once an image of peace and harmony, with the message to be kind to each other, had been overwritten by a call to hate, the sail of the boat that once represented prosperity and harmony, sporting a Nazi *Hakenkreuz*.⁴¹ Another word starting with *N* (most probably Nazi) has been blurred by the news reporters, in order to prevent the perpetration of hate speech against migrant communities by the newspaper.

Graffiti as other forms of art, are not always simple to decode and may conceal layers of hate speech against different communities. The discussed graffiti differ from the ones in Antrim, where only symbols are used, and no group in particular is targeted. Figure 3 mentions clearly immigrants, whereas the jammed graffiti of Cookstown combines both symbols and words and makes its focus to incite hate speech quite plain.

Overall, the implications of such graffiti are far-reaching. Beyond the immediate impact on the targeted groups, they can also undermine societal cohesion and peace. The presence of graffiti that conveys messages of hatred or exclusion highlights the necessity for a vigilant and nuanced approach to regulating and addressing such expressions. It is essential to distinguish between protected forms of free speech and expressions that cross the line into hate speech or incitement to violence. This distinction is critical not only for maintaining public order but also for protecting the rights and dignity of all individuals within society.

For example, refugees are one of the most targeted groups, with graffiti inciting hatred against them. Instances of such graffiti can be observed with messages like "Refugees out" or, as observed in anti-refugee graffiti in northern coastal regions, "Refugees not welcome".⁴² According to the definitions of hatred and hate speech discussed earlier, these inscriptions are designed to denigrate refugees, portraying them as objects of fear and loathing. Such messages go beyond mere expressions of opinion, contributing to a hostile environment that marginalizes and dehumanizes the affected group.

Such hate graffiti is a powerful, though destructive, expression of societal prejudices and conflicts. It not only causes harm to those targeted but also serves as a visible reminder of the socio-political issues a community is facing. A significant characteristic of graffiti is its temporal relevance, often serving as a reactionary medium that reflects contemporary societal issues. It frequently embodies a hateful response to current events, mirroring the sentiments and tensions present in the world at the time. An example of this phenomenon is a hateful graffiti in response

to the Russian war in Ukraine, where derogatory messages, such as labelling Ukraine as *devil*, were left outside a townhouse in Langley, B.C., which had been displaying a Ukrainian flag.⁴³ Another incident illustrating how graffiti can function as a medium for expressing hostility towards specific groups or nations in response to global events is the increase in anti-Jewish sentiment following recent events in the Israel-Palestine conflict.⁴⁴ This escalation has been marked by a rise in antisemitic graffiti,⁴⁵ reflecting broader societal reactions and prejudices linked to the geopolitical situation.⁴⁶

Thus, while graffiti can be a powerful tool for social commentary and expression, it also has the potential to serve as a medium for hate speech, depending on the intent and content of the message. As such, society must navigate the delicate balance between protecting freedom of expression and preventing the spread of harmful and divisive ideologies. This balance is particularly challenging in diverse communities where differing perspectives on what constitutes acceptable speech can clash. Moreover, the anonymity often associated with graffiti can both empower marginalized voices and, unfortunately, allow for the proliferation of hate without accountability. The role of law enforcement becomes crucial in this context, as police are often tasked with enforcing laws against vandalism and hate speech, as previously discussed cases showed. But in developing democracies, such as India and Georgia, the situation is more complex. For example, in India⁴⁷ and Georgia⁴⁸, while any form of expressing hate speech is forbidden and it is officially the mission of the police to enforce this law, there are no records of persecuting hateful graffiti.

This could be explained by the circumstances that, in both India and Georgia, the police lack the capacity and willingness to fulfil its role. These countries are faced with greater challenges—such as severe hate crimes, including the killing and abuse of Muslims in India.⁴⁹ In Georgia, the country has been highly polarized between the government and opposition over the last decade, which has kept police forces busy arresting protesters in the streets.⁵⁰ In one case, a radical graffiti message left on a police car—was simply washed down, without any attempt to find the perpetrator.⁵¹

Thus, enforcing laws on hateful graffiti is challenging on the one hand, because of the reluctance of police forces to take this task seriously, and on the other hand, because, as discussed earlier, the thin line between the right to free speech and the prohibition of hate speech makes enforcement delicate. Law enforcement must be carried out in a manner that respects civil liberties and does not disproportionately target specific groups or individuals.

As a remedy to the latter issue, it is crucial to engage in ongoing dialogue about the role of public art in society, its impact on community values, and the responsibilities of both artists and viewers.

By fostering a culture of respect and understanding, and ensuring that law enforcement acts fairly and impartially, we can ensure that public spaces remain

inclusive and reflective of a wide range of voices, while also addressing the negative aspects that can arise from unrestricted expression.

Preventing and tackling hateful graffiti is a complex and challenging task. Graffiti, by its nature, is accessible to anyone who has access to spray paint, allowing individuals to easily deface public and private property with prohibited symbols like the *Swastika* or other offensive images and messages. This form of expression can be particularly harmful when used to target specific groups or individuals based on their race, religion, ethnicity, or social background.

Law enforcement agencies are typically guided to approach such incidents not merely as acts of vandalism or hate speech but often as hate crimes, which are more severe offenses under criminal law. A hate crime generally occurs when an individual, motivated by bias or prejudice, targets a victim based on the victim's membership in a particular social group, religion, ethnicity, or race. This is more than just an expression of opinion; it constitutes an act intended to intimidate, harm, or incite violence against the targeted group.⁵²

Therefore, hateful graffiti on walls, specifically aimed at specific individuals or groups, goes beyond mere hate speech and constitutes a hate crime. For instance, on June 10th, 2015, a new mosque was inaugurated in Plevan, Bulgaria.⁵³ The following day, members and supporters of nationalist groups gathered in front of the mosque to express their opposition to this new place of worship. The next morning, the phrase "Allah is a pig"⁵⁴ was found graffitied on the mosque's door. The police promptly began an investigation, treating the incident as a hate crime.⁵⁵ The role of the police in these situations is crucial, as they must investigate and respond to these incidents, ensuring that the perpetrators are held accountable while also providing support and protection to the victims. The classification of such acts as hate crimes rather than simple vandalism recognizes the deeper societal harm they cause, reflecting the seriousness with which they are regarded by both law enforcement and the legal system.

A significant feature of a hate crime law is that it enhances the punishment for violence as prejudice motivated.⁵⁶ Offensive graffiti, while often considered a minor offense, can be a precursor to more serious crimes, such as arson or even homicide. This escalation is supported by research from the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), which indicates that graffiti-related hate crimes serve as "message crimes."⁵⁷ These acts send a clear and hostile message to the victims, their families, and their communities, signalling that they are not welcome or accepted. The impact of such crimes extends beyond the immediate physical damage, striking at the heart of community safety and social cohesion.

Hate crimes, including those involving graffiti, are recognized as significant threats to the security and unity of society. When these offenses are not adequately addressed by the criminal justice system, they tend to proliferate. An unchecked perpetrator is often emboldened to continue committing crimes, potentially

escalating in severity. This progression from minor acts of vandalism to more serious offenses underscore the importance of timely and decisive action by law enforcement and judicial authorities.

Furthermore, the repercussions of hate crimes extend beyond individual victims. They instil fear and anxiety within entire communities, fostering an environment of suspicion and hostility. This can lead to increased tensions and divisions within society, undermining efforts to build inclusive and harmonious communities. The cumulative effect of unchecked hate crimes can erode public trust in law enforcement and the justice system, as communities may feel that their safety and well-being are not being adequately protected.⁵⁸

Addressing hate crimes, including those involving graffiti, is undoubtedly complex. However, the response must be comprehensive to ensure the protection of targeted communities and promote peaceful coexistence within society. While laws criminalize hateful graffiti, a key challenge remains in assessing the effectiveness of police efforts to apprehend and prosecute perpetrators. One significant issue is the often-insufficient public cooperation in providing crucial information to the police, which is necessary for identifying and arresting those responsible.⁵⁹ The underlying issue is the lack of public awareness regarding the societal dangers of tolerating hateful graffiti. Therefore, governments should prioritize educating the public about the impact of such graffiti. For example, in 2014, several European countries, including Austria, Germany, Spain, and the UK, launched a project aimed at providing an Open Information Hub. This initiative utilizes social media technologies to increase awareness among both graffiti writers and the public by offering information and visualizations.⁶⁰

The project's goal is to raise public consciousness about how illegal graffiti can negatively impact entire communities and to highlight legal alternatives that support pro-social activities. To achieve this, the Open Information Hub is being established to leverage social media technologies, thereby maximizing understanding and opportunities among all stakeholders, including graffiti writers. By doing so, the initiative seeks to foster a more informed and proactive approach to addressing the issue of hateful graffiti.⁶¹

However, beyond the involvement of police forces and ordinary citizens, the participation of graffiti artists is crucial in transforming hateful graffiti into positive art. For example, graffiti shop owner and artist Ibrahim 'Ibo' OMARI has developed a unique approach to addressing hateful graffiti. While others might walk past a swastika symbol with dismay, OMARI and other artists creatively transform these symbols into graffiti that brings joy and makes people smile. This artistic intervention not only neutralizes the hateful message but also reclaims the space with positive and inclusive artwork, demonstrating the powerful role of art in fostering a more compassionate society.⁶² There are also some other groups and activities based in Germany like (AFP) a ragtag band of Berlin⁶³ and

Irmela SCHRAMM⁶⁴ who are tirelessly working against these hate filled artworks by beautifying and /or repainting them to promote a safe and inclusive society.

To sum up, graffiti used as a vehicle for hate speech transcends mere vandalism and becomes a significant social issue, often constituting a hate crime. These acts are not just random defacements but deliberate attempts to convey hostile and exclusionary messages, targeting individuals or groups based on identity factors such as race, religion, or ethnicity. The repercussions of such hateful graffiti extend beyond immediate victims, contributing to an atmosphere of fear and division within communities.

Addressing this problem requires a multifaceted approach. Law enforcement must play a pivotal role in enforcing laws against hate crimes, ensuring that perpetrators face appropriate consequences. Public education is crucial to raise awareness about the damaging effects of hateful graffiti, helping to deter such acts and encouraging community reporting. Additionally, engaging graffiti artists in the effort to counteract hate speech through creative expression can transform harmful symbols into positive and inclusive messages, reclaiming public spaces and promoting social harmony.

In conclusion, tackling hateful graffiti demands a collaborative effort from law enforcement, the public, and the artistic community. Through a combination of legal action, educational outreach, and creative solutions, society can work towards eliminating hate speech from public spaces and fostering a more inclusive, respectful environment for everyone. This comprehensive strategy is vital for building a community where all members feel safe and valued.

Bibliography

Duncan AGNEW: *Police investigate anti-Israel graffiti at Haven Middle School*. In: Evanson Roundtable (13.12.2023). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://evansontonroundtable.com/2023/12/13/police-investigate-antisemitic-graffiti-found-at-haven-middle-school>.

ALUMNI PORTAL DEUTSCHLAND: *SDG 16 – Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions*. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.alumniportal-deutschland.org/en/magazine/germany/cultural-tips-2030-agenda/sdg-16-graffiti-peace>.

BANSKY: *Exit Through the Gift Shop*. 2010

BANSKY: *Wall and Piece*. London 2005.

Enes BAYRAKLI / Farid HAFEZ (Hrsg.): *European Islamophobia Report*. Vienna 2016.

BBC NEWS: *Uttar Pradesh: India's Muslim victims of hate crimes live in fear* (21.02.2022). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-60225543>.

- Stefano BLOCH: *The Illegal Face of Wall Space: Graffiti-Murals on the Sunset Boulevard Retaining Walls*, *Radical History Review*, 113(1) 2012, S. 111–126. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.1215/01636545-1504930>.
- Gerard BRAUNTHALL: *Neo-Nazi Groups, Skinheads, and Violence*. In: *Right-Wing Extremism in Contemporary Germany. New Perspectives in German Political Studies*. London 2009, S. 77–116. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230251168_5.
- Magdalena A. BROOKE: *Mauerkunst, Lebenskunst: An Analysis of the Art on the Berlin Wall*. In: *Scripps Senior Theses*, Paper 4 (2007). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: http://scholarship.claremont.edu/scripps_theses/4.
- Alexander BROWN: *What is hate speech? Part 1: The myth of hate*. In: *Law and Philosophy* 36 (2027), S. 419–468. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10982-017-9297-1>.
- BUNDESAMT FÜR VERFASSUNGSSCHUTZ: *Right-wing extremism: Symbols, signs and banned organisations*. Cologne 2022.
- Niamh CAMPPELL: *Anti-refugee graffiti in north coast areas being treated as racist hate crimes*. In: *Belfast Telegraph* (02.06.2023). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/anti-refugee-graffiti-in-north-coast-areas-being-treated-as-racist-hate-crimes/1182413285.html>.
- CAUCASUS RESEARCH RESOURCE CENTER: *Hate crime, hate speech, and discrimination in Georgia, November 2021*. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://caucasusbarometer.org/en/hs2021ge/codebook>.
- JOVY CHAN: *Understanding Free Speech as a Two-Way Right*. In: *Political Philosophy* 1–1 (2024). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.16995/pp.15321>.
- CIVIL GEORGIA: *Liveblog: Resistance 2025 Vol. 1* (04.03.2025). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://civil.ge/archives/649547>.
- Jane CORSCADDEN: *'Increasingly alarming' – Five properties daubed with racist graffiti overnight in Antrim area*, *Belfast Live* (08.07.2024). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.belfastlive.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/five-properties-racist-graffiti-antrim-29497275>.
- Jarlath COWAN: *Cookstown Community Hub Founder Condemns Despicable Racist Graffiti, We Are Tyrone*, published May 28th, 2024. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://wearetyrone.com/news/cookstown-community-hub-founder-condemns-despicable-racist-graffiti>.
- Mark DERY: *Culture Jamming: Hacking, Slashing and Sniping in the Empire of Signs*. Open Magazine Pamphlet Series 1993.
- DUDEN: *Abscheu*. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.duden.de/node/239513/revision/1439994>.

- Ita DUNGAN: *Eight families forced from homes by racist attacks*. BBC News (04.07.2024).
 Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/czkorz5lneo>.
- Vedatrayee DUTTA: *What is Art and What is Not: The Laws Relating to Graffiti in India*. In: Different Truth a Global Participatory Social Journalism Platform (17.11.2017).
 Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.differenttruths.com/wh-at-is-art-and-what-is-not-the-laws-relating-to-graffiti-in-india>.
- Doris M. EPLER: *The Berlin Wall: How It Rose and Why It Fell*. Brookfield 1992.
- EUROPEAN COMMISSION: *Awareness and Prevention Solutions against Graffiti Vandalism in Public Areas and Transport*. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/608152/reporting>.
- Dan FERGUSON: *More anti-Ukraine graffiti spray painted at B.C. townhouse*. In: Agassiz-Harrison Observe (19.03.2023). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.agassizharrisonobserver.com/news/more-anti-ukraine-graffiti-spray-painted-at-b-c-townhouse-2015021>.
- Jeff FERREL: *Crimes of Style: Urban Graffiti and the Politics of Criminality*. New York 1993.
- Nick FORMAN: *Winchelsea Beach shame*. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.ryenews.org.uk/news/winchelsea-beach-shame>.
- GEORGIA TODAY: *Erasing the Canvas: Tbilisi's Heroes Square Loses Its Vibrant Voice* (20.6.2024). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://georgiatoday.ge/erasing-the-canvas-tbilisi-heroes-square-loses-its-vibrant-voice>.
- Lisa GOTTLIEB: *Graffiti Art Styles: A Classification System and Theoretical Analysis*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland. 2008.
- Claire GRAHAM / Eimear FLANAGAN: *Racist graffiti investigated at five sites in Antrim*, BBC News, published July 8, 2024. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cxe2v16vodyo>.
- Nathan HALL: *Hate crime*. London 2011.
- Nathan HALL: *Hate crime* (2nd ed.). London 2013.
- Lorine A. HUGHES / Lonnie M. SCHEIBLE / Timothy KEPHART: *Gang Graffiti, Group Process, and Gang Violence*. In: Journal of Quantitative Criminology 38 (2022), S. 365–384. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-021-09507-8>.
- IMPERIAL WAR MUSEUMS: *Berlin Wall: 30 Years of Art and the Berlin Wall*. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/history/berlin-wall-30-art-and-the-berlin-wall>.
- JUSTICE AND EMPOWERMENT OF MINORITIES: *Hate Speech in India, an Overview* (2023). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.jem.org.in/hate-speech-in-india-an-overview-report.pdf>.
- Sabrina KIRSCHNER: *Friede, Freude, Frittenbude. Ein einleitender Beitrag zu den interdisziplinären und internationalen Speak Up! Tagungen in Ostbelgien und der Arbeit im Speak Up! Lab*. In: Sabrina Kirschner / Tomke Lask (Hrsg.): *Speak Up!*

- Einblicke in das ostbelgische Innovationslabor zum Umgang mit Fake News und Hate Speech. Bielefeld 2026, S. 29–114.
- Sabrina KIRSCHNER / Tomke LASK (Hrsg.): *Speak Up! – Zum Umgang mit Fake News und Hate Speech*. Bielefeld 2023. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783839467695>.
- Anjali LAYMAN: *The Israel-Palestine Conflict Overview: A Two-State Solution?* (2024). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://cssh.northeastern.edu/internationalcenter/wp-content/uploads/sites/41/2025/05/Layman.pdf>.
- LUXEMBURG TIMES: *Berlin activists turn Nazi hate graffiti into art*. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.luxtimes.lu/luxembourg/berlin-activists-turn-nazi-hate-graffiti-into-art/1212300.html>.
- Nancy MACDONALD: *The Graffiti Subculture: Youth, Masculinity, and Identity in London and New York*. New York 2001.
- Keith MOXEY: *Panofsky's Concept of "Iconology" and the Problem of Interpretation in the History of Art*. In: *Interpretation and Culture*, 17–2 (1986), S. 265–274. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.2307/468893>.
- OSCE / ODIHR: *Manual on Joint Crime Training for Police and Prosecutors*. Warsaw 2018.
- Matt PAYTON: *Berlin woman, 70, covers up neo-Nazi hate messages with her own graffiti*. In: *Independent* (19.12.2016). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/berlin-neo-nazi-graffiti-cover-up-70-grandmother-irmela-schramm-a7483136.html>.
- Barbara PERRY: *In the name of hate: Understanding hate crimes*. London 2001. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203905135>.
- POLICE 1: *How police can investigate and prosecute taggers*. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.police1.com/police-products/intelligence-led-policing/articles/how-police-can-investigate-and-prosecute-taggers-tUT7OWXUdc0jwzwK>.
- Simon PRAHL: *Speak Up! vernetzt gegen Täuschung und Hass: Gemeinsame Perspektiven auf Fake News und Hate Speech aus Wissenschaft, Praxis und Zivilgesellschaft. Tagungsbericht zur dritten interdisziplinären Speak Up! Tagung Fake News und Hate Speech als gesellschaftliche Herausforderung* (2023). In: Sabrina Kirschner / Tomke Lask (Hrsg.): *Speak Up! Einblicke in das ostbelgische Innovationslabor zum Umgang mit Fake News und Hate Speech*. Bielefeld 2026, S. 117–130.
- Jeffrey Ian ROSS (Hrsg.): *Street Art*. In: *Encyclopedia of Street Crime in America*. Thousand Oaks 2013, S. 392–393.
- Daniel SANCHEZ: *'Despacito' Officially Surpasses PSY's 'Gangnam Style' In Total YouTube Views*. In: *Digital Music News* (01.08.2017). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.digitalmusicnews.com/2017/08/01/despacito-psy-gangnam-style-youtube>.
- Ervine SAUB: *The origins and evolution of hate, with notes on prevention*. In Robert J. Sternberg (Hrsg.): *The psychology of hate*. American Psychological Association.

- Washington 2005, S. 51–66. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.1037/10930-003>.
- Daniele SELBY: *Why Latinx People Are Uniquely Vulnerable to Wrongful Conviction*, Innocence Project, published July 10, 2022. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://innocenceproject.org/why-latinx-people-are-uniquely-vulnerable-to-wrongful-conviction>.
- Gregory SNYDER: *Graffiti Lives: Beyond the Tag in New York's Urban Underground*. New York 2009.
- Robert J. STERNBERG: *A duplex theory of hate: Development and application to terrorism, massacres, and genocide*. In: *Review of General Psychology* 7–3 (2003), S. 299–328. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2680.7.3.299>.
- Myra Frances TAYLOR / Ida MARAIS / Robyn COTTMAN: *Patterns of Graffiti Offending: Towards Recognition that Graffiti Offending is More than Kids Messing Around Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy*, 22(2), 2012 S. 152–168. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2011.605128>.
- THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN JEWRY AT TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY / THE IRWIN COTLER INSTITUTE AT TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY: *Antisemitism Worldwide Report 2024*. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: https://cftau.ca/wp-content/uploads/IrwinColterReport/AntisemitismWorldwide_2024.pdf.
- THE GAME MAGAZINE: *Fall of the Wall, 35 Years On: How Berlin Became a City for Graffiti* (13.09.2024). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://the-game.imago-images.com/articles/how-berlin-became-a-city-for-graffiti>.
- UNITED NATIONS: *What is Hate Speech?* Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.un.org/en/hate-speech/understanding-hate-speech/what-is-hate-speech>.
- Lisa WALDNER / Betty DOBRATZ: *Graffiti as a Form of Contentious Political Participation*. *Sociology Compass*, 7 (5), 2013, S. 377–389. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12036>.
- Michael WALTMAN / John HAAS: *The communication of hate*. New York 2011. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.3726/978-1-4539-0046-8>.
- X: *Writing ACAB on cop cars during the anti-government protests in Tbilisi, Georgia*. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://x.com/GraffitiRadical/status/1634570347231215617>.

Anmerkungen

- 1 Simon PRAHL: *Speak Up! vernetzt gegen Täuschung und Hass: Gemeinsame Perspektiven auf Fake News und Hate Speech aus Wissenschaft, Praxis und Zivilgesellschaft. Tagungsbericht zur dritten interdisziplinären Speak Up! Tagung Fake News und Hate Speech als gesellschaftliche Herausforderung* (2023). In: Sabrina Kirschner / Tomke Lask (Hrsg.): *Speak Up! Einblicke in das ostbelgische Innovationslabor zum Umgang mit Fake News und Hate Speech*. Bielefeld 2026, S. 117–130.
- 2 For further information on the Speak Up! Lab see: Sabrina KIRSCHNER: *Friede, Freude, Frittenbude. Ein einleitender Beitrag zu den interdisziplinären und internationalen Speak Up! Tagungen in Ostbelgien und der Arbeit im Speak Up! Lab*. In: Sabrina Kirschner / Tomke Lask (Hrsg.): *Speak Up! Einblicke in das ostbelgische Innovationslabor zum Umgang mit Fake News und Hate Speech*. Bielefeld 2026, S. 29–114.
- 3 Vedatrayee DUTTA: *What is Art and What is Not: The Laws Relating to Graffiti in India*. In: Different Truth a Global Participatory Social Journalism Platform (17.11.2017). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.differenttruths.com/what-is-art-and-what-is-not-the-laws-relating-to-graffiti-in-india>.
- 4 GEORGIA TODAY: *Erasing the Canvas: Tbilisi's Heroes Square Loses Its Vibrant Voice* (20.6.2024). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://georgiatoday.ge/erasing-the-canvas-tbilis-heroes-square-loses-its-vibrant-voice>.
- 5 Jeffrey Ian ROSS (Hrsg.): *Street Art*. In: *Encyclopaedia of Street Crime in America*. Thousand Oaks 2013, S. 392–393.
- 6 Lorine A. HUGHES / Lonnie M. SCHEIBLE / Timothy KEPHART: *Gang Graffiti, Group Process, and Gang Violence*. In: *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 38 (2022), S. 365–384. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-021-09507-8>.
- 7 Stefano BLOCH: *The Illegal Face of Wall Space: Graffiti-Murals on the Sunset Boulevard Retaining Walls*. In: *Radical History Review* 113–1 (2012), S. 124. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.1215/01636545-1504930>.
- 8 Gregory SNYDER: *Graffiti Lives: Beyond the Tag in New York's Urban Underground*. New York 2009, S. 97.
- 9 An dieser Stelle bedanken wir uns herzlich bei Anne-Kathrin RISCHE von der Gemeinschaftsschule am Sonnenfeld aus Sachsenheim, dass wir das von ihr aufgenommene Foto nutzen dürfen.
- 10 An dieser Stelle bedanken wir uns herzlich bei Sabrina KIRSCHNER, die während ihres Berlinaufenthalts im Sommer 2025 das Foto für uns aufgenommen hat.
- 11 Doris M. EPLER: *The Berlin Wall: How It Rose and Why It Fell*. Brookfield 1992.

- 12 Magdalena A. BROOKE: *Mauerkunst, Lebenskunst: An Analysis of the Art on the Berlin Wall*. In: Scripps Senior Theses, Paper 4 (2007). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: http://scholarship.claremont.edu/scripps_theses/4.
- 13 IMPERIAL WAR MUSEUMS: *Berlin Wall: 30 Years of Art and the Berlin Wall*. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/history/berlin-wall-30-art-and-the-berlin-wall>.
- 14 THE GAME MAGAZINE: *Fall of the Wall, 35 Years On: How Berlin Became a City for Graffiti* (13.09.2024). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://the-game.e.imago-images.com/articles/how-berlin-became-a-city-for-graffiti>.
- 15 Daniel SANCHEZ: ‚Despacito‘ Officially Surpasses PSY’s ‚Gangnam Style‘. In: *Total YouTube Views*. In: Digital Music News (01.08.2017). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.digitalmusicnews.com/2017/08/01/despacito-psy-gangnam-style-youtube/>.
- 16 BANSKY: *Wall and Piece*. London 2005.
- 17 BANSKY: *Exit Through the Gift Shop*. 2010.
- 18 Jeff FERREL: *Crimes of Style: Urban Graffiti and the Politics of Criminality*. New York 1993.
- 19 Keith MOXEY: *Panofsky’s Concept of “Iconology” and the Problem of Interpretation in the History of Art*. In: *Interpretation and Culture*, 17–2(1986), S. 265–274. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.2307/468893>.
- 20 Lisa GOTTLIEB: *Graffiti Art Styles: A Classification System and Theoretical Analysis*. Jefferson 2008.
- 21 Jeff FERREL: *Crimes of Style: Urban Graffiti and the Politics of Criminality*. New York 1993.
- 22 Nancy MACDONALD: *The Graffiti Subculture: Youth, Masculinity, and Identity in London and New York*. New York 2001.
- 23 Myra Frances TAYLOR / Ida MARAIS / Robyn COTTMAN: *Patterns of Graffiti Offending: Towards Recognition that Graffiti Offending is More than Kids Messing Around Policing and Society*. In: *An International Journal of Research and Policy*, 22–2(2012), S. 152–168. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2011.605128>.
- 24 Jeff FERREL: *Crimes of Style: Urban Graffiti and the Politics of Criminality*. New York 1993.
- 25 Lisa WALDNER / Betty DOBRATZ: *Graffiti as a Form of Contentious Political Participation*. In: *Sociology Compass*, 7–5(2013), S. 377–389. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12036>.
- 26 Sabrina KIRSCHNER / Tomke LASK (Hrsg.): *Speak Up! – Zum Umgang mit Fake News und Hate Speech*. Bielefeld 2023. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783839467695>.
- 27 Ervine STAUB: *The origins and evolution of hate, with notes on prevention*. In: Robert J. Sternberg (Hrsg.): *The psychology of hate, American Psychological*

- Association. Washington 2005, S. 51–66. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.1037/10930-003>.
- 28 Robert J. STERNBERG: *A duplex theory of hate: Development and application to terrorism, massacres, and genocide*. In: *Review of General Psychology* 7–3 (2003), S. 299–328. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2680.7.3.299>.
- 29 DUDEN: *Abscheu*. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.duden.de/node/239513/revision/1439994> (Translation by author)
- 30 Michael WALTMAN / John HAAS: *The communication of hate*. New York 2011. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.3726/978-1-4539-0046-8>.
- 31 UNITED NATIONS: *What is Hate Speech?* Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.un.org/en/hate-speech/understanding-hate-speech/what-is-hate-speech>.
- 32 Alexander BROWN: *What is hate speech? Part 1: The myth of hate*. In: *Law and Philosophy* 36 (2027), S. 419–468. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10982-017-9297-1>.
- 33 Jovy CHAN: *Understanding Free Speech as a Two-Way Right*. In: *Political Philosophy* 1–1 (2024). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.16995/pp.15321>.
- 34 Mark Dery: *Culture Jamming: Hacking, Slashing and Sniping in the Empire of Signs*. In: *Open Magazine Pamphlet Series* 1993.
- 35 Jane CORSCADDEN: *„Increasingly alarming“ – Five properties daubed with racist graffiti overnight in Antrim area*, *Belfast Live* (08.07.2024). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.belfastlive.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/five-properties-racist-graffiti-antrim-29497275>.
- 36 Gerard BRAUNTHALL: *Neo-Nazi Groups, Skinheads, and Violence*. In: *Right-Wing Extremism in Contemporary Germany. New Perspectives in German Political Studies*. London 2009, S. 77–116. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230251168_5, Claire GRAHAM / Eimear FLANAGAN: *Racist graffiti investigated at five sites in Antrim*, *BBC News*, published July 8, 2024. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cxe2v16vodyo>.
- 37 Ita DUNGAN: *Eight families forced from homes by racist attacks*. *BBC News* (04.07.2024). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/czkorz5lineo>.
- 38 An dieser Stelle bedanken wir uns herzlich bei Rye News, die dieses von Susan BENN aufgenommene Foto mit dem Titel *Winchelsea Beach graffiti* auf ihrer Website abgedruckt haben und uns die Erlaubnis erteilt haben, es für diesen Beitrag zu nutzen. Nick FORMAN: *Winchelsea Beach shame*. Letzter Zugriff am:

15. August 2025 über: <https://www.ryenews.org.uk/news/winchelsea-beach-s-hame>.
- 39 Daniele SELBY: *Why Latinx People Are Uniquely Vulnerable to Wrongful Conviction*, Innocence Project, published July 10, 2022. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://innocenceproject.org/why-latinx-people-are-uniquely-vulnerable-to-wrongful-conviction>.
- 40 Jarlath COWAN: *Cookstown Community Hub Founder Condemns Despicable Racist Graffiti, We Are Tyrone*. Published May 28, 2024. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://wearetyrone.com/news/cookstown-community-hub-founder-condemns-despicable-racist-graffiti>.
- 41 BUNDESAMT FÜR VERFASSUNGSSCHUTZ: *Right-wing extremism: Symbols, signs and banned organisations*. Cologne 2022.
- 42 Niamh CAMPBELL: *Anti-refugee graffiti in north coast areas being treated as racist hate crimes*. In: Belfast Telegraph (02.06.2023). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/anti-refugee-graffiti-in-north-coast-areas-being-treated-as-racist-hate-crimes/1182413285.html>.
- 43 Dan FERGUSON: *More anti-Ukraine graffiti spray painted at B.C. townhouse*. In: Agassiz-Harrison Observer (19.03.2023). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.agassizharrisonobserver.com/news/more-anti-ukraine-graffiti-spray-painted-at-b-c-townhouse-2015021>.
- 44 Anjali LAYMAN: *The Israel-Palestine Conflict Overview: A Two-State Solution?* (2024). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 at: <https://d3dbqlgo5pfplw.cloudfront.net/wp-content/uploads/sites/41/2025/05/Layman.pdf>.
- 45 THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN JEWRY AT TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY / THE IRWIN COTLER INSTITUTE AT TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY: *Antisemitism Worlwide Report 2024*. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: https://cftau.ca/wp-content/uploads/IrwinColterReport/AntisemitismWorldwide_2024.pdf.
- 46 Duncan AGNEW: *Police investigate anti-Israel graffiti at Haven Middle School*. In: Evanston Roundtable (13.12.2023). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://evanstonroundtable.com/2023/12/13/police-investigate-antisemitic-graffiti-found-at-haven-middle-school>.
- 47 JUSTICE AND EMPOWERMENT OF MINORITIES: *Hate Speech in India, an Overview* (2023). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.jem.org.in/hate-speech-in-india-an-overview-report.pdf>.
- 48 CAUCASUS RESEARCH RESOURCE CENTER: *Hate crime, hate speech, and discrimination in Georgia, November 2021*. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://caucasusbarometer.org/en/hs2021ge/codebook>.

- 49 BBC NEWS: *Uttar Pradesh: India's Muslim victims of hate crimes live in fear* (21.02.2022). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-60225543>.
- 50 CIVIL GEORGIA: *Liveblog: Resistance 2025 Vol. 1* (04.03.2025). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://civil.ge/archives/649547>.
- 51 X: *Writing ACAB on cop cars during the anti-government protests in Tbilisi, Georgia*. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://x.com/GraffitiRadical/status/1634570347231215617>.
- 52 Nathan HALL: *Hate crime*. London 2011.
- 53 Enes BAYRAKLI / Farid HAFEZ(Hrsg.): *European Islamophobia Report*. Vienna 2016.
- 54 OSCE / ODIHR: *Manual on Joint Crime Training for Police and Prosecutors*. Warsaw 2018, S. 72.
- 55 OSCE / ODIHR: *Manual on Joint Crime Training for Police and Prosecutors*. Warsaw 2018, S. 72.
- 56 Barbara PERRY: *In the name of hate: Understanding hate crimes*. London 2001. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203905135>.
- 57 OSCE / ODIHR: *Manual on Joint Crime Training for Police and Prosecutors*. Warsaw 2018, S. 2.
- 58 Duncan AGNEW: *Police investigate anti-Israel graffiti at Haven Middle School*. In: Evanson Roundtable (13.12.2023). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://evanstonroundtable.com/2023/12/13/police-investigate-antisemitic-graffiti-found-at-haven-middle-school>.
- 59 POLICE 1: *How police can investigate and prosecute taggers*. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.police1.com/police-products/intelligence-led-policing/articles/how-police-can-investigate-and-prosecute-taggers-tUT7OWXUdcojwzWK>.
- 60 EUROPEAN COMMISSION: *Awareness and Prevention Solutions against Graffiti Vandalism in Public Areas and Transport*. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/608152/reporting>.
- 61 EUROPEAN COMMISSION: *Awareness and Prevention Solutions against Graffiti Vandalism in Public Areas and Transport*. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/608152/reporting>.
- 62 ALUMNI PORTAL DEUTSCHLAND: *SDG 16 – Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions*. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.alumniportal-deutschland.org/en/magazine/germany/cultural-tips-2030-agenda/sdg-16-graffiti-peace>.
- 63 LUXEMBURG TIMES: *Berlin activists turn Nazi hate graffiti into art*. Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.luxtimes.lu/luxembourg/berlin-activists-turn-nazi-hate-graffiti-into-art/1212300.html>.

- 64 Matt PAYTON: *Berlin woman, 70, covers up neo-Nazi hate messages with her own graffiti*. In: Independent (19.12.2016). Letzter Zugriff am: 15. August 2025 über: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/berlin-neo-nazi-graffiti-cover-up-70-grandmother-irmela-schramm-a7483136.html>.