



Safer Queer Cities

Report on Understanding Online Safety for LGBTQ+ Individuals in Reykjavik



The Safer Queer Cities Program

In recent years, Iceland has made significant progress in securing legal rights and protections for gender equality. Reykjavík, as the nation’s capital, has long been a frontrunner in advancing equality and human rights for all. Yet, despite these achievements, new challenges are emerging—especially in digital spaces. Online hostility, polarised debates, and targeted hate speech have increasingly affected the sense of safety and belonging among queer individuals in the City of Reykjavík.

This report, Safer Queer Cities – Reykjavík, was initiated to better understand these dynamics: how online hostility toward LGBTQ+ people manifests, how it spreads, and how it shapes everyday life offline. By combining social media analysis with lived experiences, the study provides a comprehensive view of the patterns and consequences of anti-LGBT+ hate and threats in Reykjavík.

The City of Reykjavík and Nordic Safe Cities recognize that the findings presented here are concerning. They confirm that strong legal frameworks do not automatically translate into equal safety, wellbeing, and inclusion in daily life. The analysis shows that discussions around hate speech—particularly online—are complex and sensitive. These results are concerning, but they also point to ways forward.

By noticing the patterns, listening to those affected, and working across city services and civil society, we can act early—before harmful rhetoric becomes routine in our public conversation. In doing so, we protect freedom of expression while addressing harassment and hate prohibited under Icelandic law, in line with Reykjavík’s Human Rights Policy and its emphasis on the equal status of all genders and minorities.

This report is part of the Safer Queer Cities Program, which aims to enhance the safety and resilience of LGBTQ+ individuals by equipping the municipality and organisations in Reykjavík with up-to-date knowledge and tools to combat online and offline threats and harassment against minorities.

The project is run by Nordic Safe Cities and The City Of Reykjavík in cooperation with Cybernauterne (Denmark) and C-REX – Center for Research on Extremism (Norway) and is financed by the Nordic LGBTI Fund.

Following this analysis, City of Reykjavík and Nordic Safe Cities will lead an action track: convening local stakeholders to co-develop concrete recommendations and measures for Reykjavík and sharing these with Nordic cities to help create safer Nordic cities for queer people.

We hope you find the report insightful

Nordic Safe Cities & Reykjavík Municipality



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Summary

6 key findings on online safety in Reykjavik



#1

Despite Strong Legal Protections, Queer People Face Lower Wellbeing

Iceland ranks third in Europe for LGBTQ+ rights and first on trans rights, yet queer people in Reykjavík continue to face lower wellbeing and higher exposure to violence. A 2024 city study found that queer residents report worse mental and physical health, including higher rates of anxiety, depression, PTSD, and chronic fatigue, and are more often victims of mental, physical, and sexual violence.

Schools remain a critical weak point: 33% of queer youth feel unsafe due to sexual orientation and 25% due to gender expression, while 21% of queer ninth graders skipped school recently—more than double their non-queer peers. Hate crimes also persist: in 2023, police recorded nine cases targeting LGBTQ+ people, and civil society groups documented 21 incidents, including five violent attacks.

Despite Reykjavík's structured equality policies and national legal strength, the data show a gap between legal protection and lived experience, where safety, health, and inclusion remain uneven for LGBTQ+ people.





#2

Almost One in Ten Comments on LGBTQ+ Topics is Openly Hateful

Public debate on LGBTQ+ issues in Iceland has intensified sharply over the past four years, reaching its highest engagement level in 2025. More people than ever are reacting to, commenting, and sharing posts related to LGBTQ+ topics, indicating that the conversation is expanding well beyond activist or niche spaces.

Yet this growing visibility has come with a clear shift in tone. The language used in online comment sections has become increasingly negative and polarised, with sharper exchanges between those who support and those who oppose LGBTQ+ rights. The debate is not only more active, it is also more confrontational.

Crucially, analysis of comment content shows that nearly one in ten (9.4%) of all comments about LGBTQ+ topics on Facebook are openly hateful toward queer people. This demonstrates that anti-LGBTQ+ sentiment is not limited to closed or extreme groups but circulates openly in the wider public debate.

Because deleted or moderated comments are not included in the dataset, the real proportion of hate speech is likely even higher.



9.4%

Nearly 1 in 10 comments about LGBTQ+ on Facebook is hateful (**9.4%**) toward the LGBTQ+ minority.

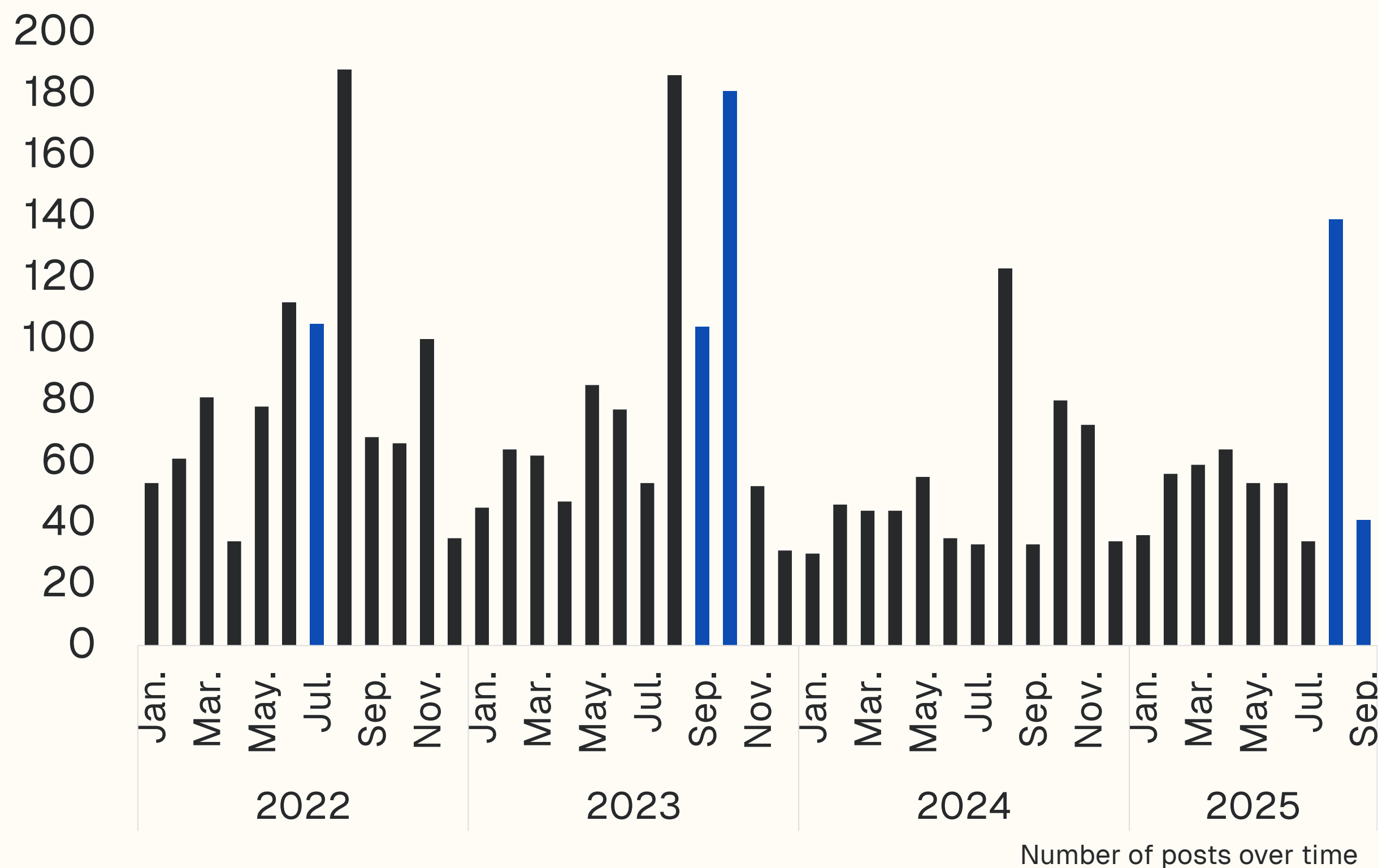
#3

Online Hostility Peaks Around Trans Women in Sports, Access to locker rooms and LGBTQ+ Education

Public conversations about LGBTQ+ issues in Iceland tend to spike around specific flashpoints. While Pride events generate overwhelmingly positive engagement—with most posts expressing solidarity and celebration—hostile narratives surge around trans inclusion in sports, LGBTQ+ education in schools, and access to gender-neutral facilities.

The tone shifts sharply on these topics. When Iceland’s Swimming Association supported international restrictions on trans women in women’s sports, online debate erupted, framing trans participation as a threat to “fairness” or women’s safety. Similar rhetoric appears in discussions on education and public facilities, where queer visibility is portrayed as harmful to children. Comments include terms like “grooming,” “indoctrination,” and “woke brainwashing,” echoing culture-war narratives spreading across the Nordic region and beyond.

Even though Pride remains a strong symbol of public support, these recurring flashpoints reveal how anti-LGBTQ+ narratives cluster around children and women, portraying inclusion as danger rather than equality. The pattern mirrors a broader Nordic and global trend, where online hostility intensifies less around queer existence—and more around what that visibility represents in public life.



Number of posts over time

#4

Five Hate Frames Normalize Stigma and Exclusion

Across Icelandic online debate, five recurring frames drive hostility toward LGBTQ+ people: dehumanization/pathologisation, transgender denialism, binary-gender narratives, LGB-versus-TQ+ separation, and dismissal of youth gender dysphoria. Together, they legitimise stigma, lower empathy, and make social and institutional exclusion appear reasonable.

Dehumanising and pathologising comments portray queer and trans people as “sick,” “freaks,” or “dangerous to children”, framing them as less than human or mentally unwell. Denialist and binary narratives insist there are “only two genders,” reclassifying trans women as men and trans men as women—language that invalidates identity and normalises exclusion from facilities, sport, and services.

Groups like Samtökin 22 (now known as LGB Samtökin) promote a separation between “LGB” and “TQ+,” portraying trans advocacy as harmful to women and children. Relatedly, some commenters attempt to erase trans people’s sexual orientation—redefining a trans woman attracted to women as a “straight man”—undermining LGBTQ+ terminology and legitimacy.

Finally, youth gender dysphoria is routinely dismissed as a “phase” or “social contagion,” with adults accused of “indoctrinating” or “abusing” children.



#5

Online Hate Doesn't Stay Online – It Spills Into the Streets

Interviews with local organisations that in different ways organize queer youth show how digital hostility translates into real-world fear and restriction. All interviewees agreed that being young and queer in Reykjavík has become harder, with several noting a steady decline in safety and acceptance over the past three to five years—and a sharper deterioration in the last year.

Participants described a direct link between heated online debates and offline consequences. Spikes in online conflict—especially around trans rights, sports participation, and healthcare—are followed by more flag vandalism, verbal harassment, and public incidents. As one interviewee put it, “the wounds are bleeding out from the internet and into the streets.”

Young LGBTQ+ individuals increasingly avoid public transport, sports, or nightlife and report that their sense of safety varies by time of day, location, and visibility. Buses, downtown areas at night, and gender-segregated swimming pools are often seen as unsafe. Some now hide their identity in public, “bringing their incredible selves in a bag just to feel safe”, as one interviewee said.

“

The wounds are bleeding out from the internet and into the streets.



#6

Nordic Anti-LGBTQ+ Narratives Shape Iceland's Debate

Rising anti-LGBTQ+ rhetoric across the Nordic region increasingly shapes the Icelandic debate. Interviewees from both municipalities and NGOs describe how online narratives “travel” across borders, influencing local attitudes and amplifying division. When false claims about LGBTQ+ education spread in Reykjavík in September 2023, activists said they had already “seen this movie play out” elsewhere in the Nordics—demonstrating how Iceland is now part of a shared digital climate of backlash.

Across the region, data point to the same trend. In Denmark, hate speech toward sexual and gender minorities on Facebook has risen by 50% and 19% respectively since 2021. In Norway, nearly half (47%) of all engagement on trans-rights discussions on Twitter is hostile. In Finland, hate crimes linked to LGBTQ+ identity grew by 54% from 2022 to 2023, with two-thirds of Pride events (66%) reporting harassment or hate speech. In Sweden, bullying of LGBTQ+ youth in schools has jumped from 36% in 2019 to 58% in 2023.

These patterns are also visible in Pride-related hostility—with parades across the Nordics increasingly targeted by counter-protests and online misinformation that falsely associate Pride with harm to children. The rhetoric blends “protect the children” and “trans panic” narratives, echoing U.S.-style culture wars and turning Pride from a symbol of inclusion into a site of moral panic.





Ways Forward: Building Digital Safety and Inclusion in Reykjavík

The City of Reykjavík and Nordic Safe Cities see this report as a foundation for further action.

The findings highlight both the strength of Reykjavík’s human rights framework and the growing challenges around digital hostility and safety for LGBTQ+ youth. With this knowledge, we now have a clearer picture to act upon.

The purpose of this analysis has been to provide new, action-oriented knowledge that can strengthen civil society, public institutions, and digital platforms in the prevention of hate and discrimination against minorities.

By uncovering when and how online hostility toward queer people emerges and spreads, we can act upon that knowledge and gain the tools to prevent and counter it.

What civil society calls for:

Through the process of conducting this report, we have received valuable input from civil society, offering concrete and practical ideas for strengthening safety and inclusion. These proposals point to where we can build together in the next phase of work

Civil society actors representing queer youth in Reykjavík emphasise the need for stronger digital safety and visibility initiatives.

Their suggestions point to both structural and community-based solutions. Key proposals include creating an online outreach platform for queer youth to connect beyond the physical youth centre’s opening hours, and ensuring active moderation of comment sections—particularly by media outlets, municipalities, politicians, and government institutions—to curb hate speech and harassment.

They also call for a designated queer spokesperson in every school with real authority to drive change, and for more open classroom discussions about hate speech and digital behaviour. Finally, interviewees highlight the importance of amplifying positive “love-bombing” responses—countering hate with visible solidarity online.



The Structure of this Report

This report has four parts and tries to answer this question How does online debate in Reykjavík about queer people affect young queer people’s safety—both online and offline?

Part One: A Status of LGBTQ+ Rights and Issues in Iceland and Reykjavík

Drawing on existing data, the City of Reykjavík’s Office of Human Rights and Democracy has shared information on the current state of queer rights, well-being, and safety in the city.

Part two: Online Attitudes Toward LGBTQ+ Communities in Iceland

All Facebook posts from political, societal, and media pages were collected for the period January 1, 2022 – September 12, 2025. This analysis provides insight into which topics are discussed, what arguments are used, and when the debate intensifies.

Part Three: The Nordic Picture

This part takes a qualitative look into nordic trends online. Understanding Reykjavík’s online climate means viewing it as part of a shared Nordic digital ecosystem—one where rising anti-LGBTQ+ rhetoric, often framed around “protecting children” or restricting trans rights, reinforces the very dynamics described throughout this report.

Part Four: How the online debate effects everyday life of young queer people in Reykjavík

Drawing on three qualitative interviews with local professionals and representatives who know the target group well, we explore how young LGBTQ+ people in Reykjavík perceive safety. The interviews focus on how online debates affect young queer people and what they need to feel safer—both online and offline.

1.

The City of Reykjavík

Background on LGBTQ+ rights and realities in
Reykjavik





Reykjavík Today: Population & Human Rights Framework

Reykjavík has a clear, long-standing human-rights foundation that explicitly focus on equal status across genders. The city's policy and dedicated expertise (incl. Rainbow Certification) show a structured approach to equal treatment across services, with a specific focus on ensuring the rights of LGBTQI+ people. The current Action Plan against Violence underlines that hate speech is not protected—and that responsibility for free expression includes not harming marginalised groups.

- Population and governance context. Reykjavík, Iceland's capital (pop. 138,772: 68,043 women; 70,613 men; 116 non-binary), grounds its municipal human rights work in both the Icelandic Constitution and international conventions.
- Policy framework and continuity. The City Council adopted a Human Rights Policy in 2006 and renewed it in 2016; the Office of Human Rights and Democracy is responsible for implementation, anchoring the policy in equal treatment across a wide range of protected characteristics, including sexual orientation, gender identity/expression, and sex characteristics.
- Citywide human rights approach. The policy commits Reykjavík to consider human rights in all municipal work and to lead on these issues, with a stated emphasis on equal status across genders.
- Explicit focus on gender identity and characteristics. Chapter seven addresses discrimination based on gender identity, gender expression, or sex characteristics, signaling targeted attention within the broader equality framework. (1)
- Dedicated LGBTQI+ capacity and tools. The Human Rights and Democracy Office employs an LGBTQI+ expert and runs a Rainbow Certification for City workplaces that includes employee education on LGBTQI+ issues—an operational mechanism to embed inclusion.
- Position on hate speech within the 2025–2028 action plan. The City's Action Plan against Violence recognizes the sensitivities around hate speech and freedom of expression, notes that Icelandic law prohibits expressions of hatred, and underscores that hate speech targets specific—often marginalized—groups. (2)

Status and Trends in Wellbeing

Reykjavík operates in a national context that is world-leading on paper: Iceland ranks third on ILGA-Europe’s Rainbow Map and first on TGEU’s Trans Rights Index (30 of 32 indicators met). (3) Yet the Ministry of Justice underscores a central tension—legal protections do not fully translate into lived equality. This gap between statutes and everyday experience frames the city’s present challenge.

Two recent strands of evidence point in the same direction. National mapping and a 2024 Reykjavík study on health and well-being show that queer people, compared with non-queer peers, report poorer physical and mental health, including higher rates of anxiety, depression, PTSD, and chronic fatigue. They also face greater exposure to mental, physical, and sexual violence. In healthcare, trans and non-binary residents still encounter resistance around something as basic as name and gender registration, indicating that service practices can lag behind gender-autonomy law. (4) (5)





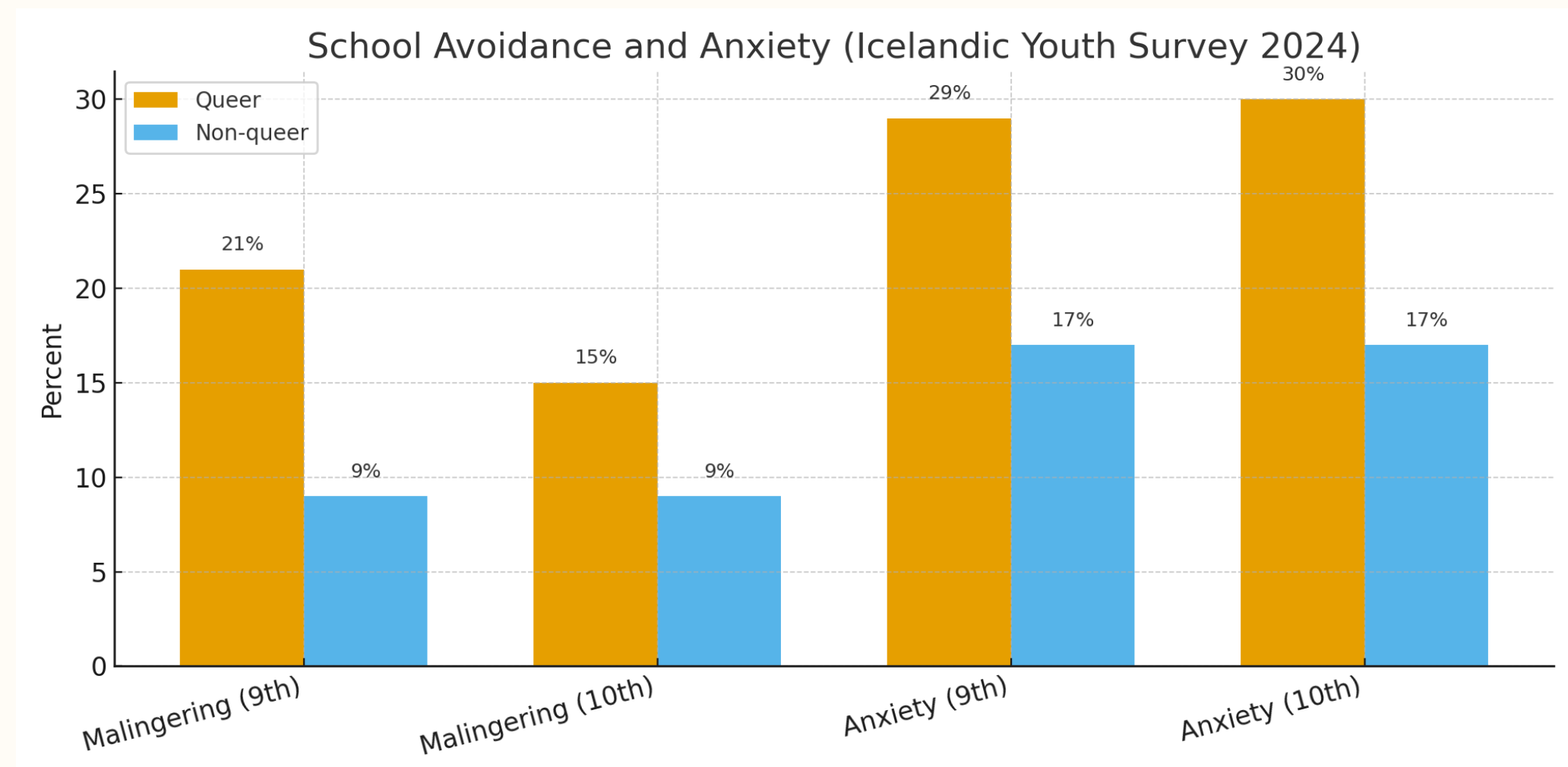
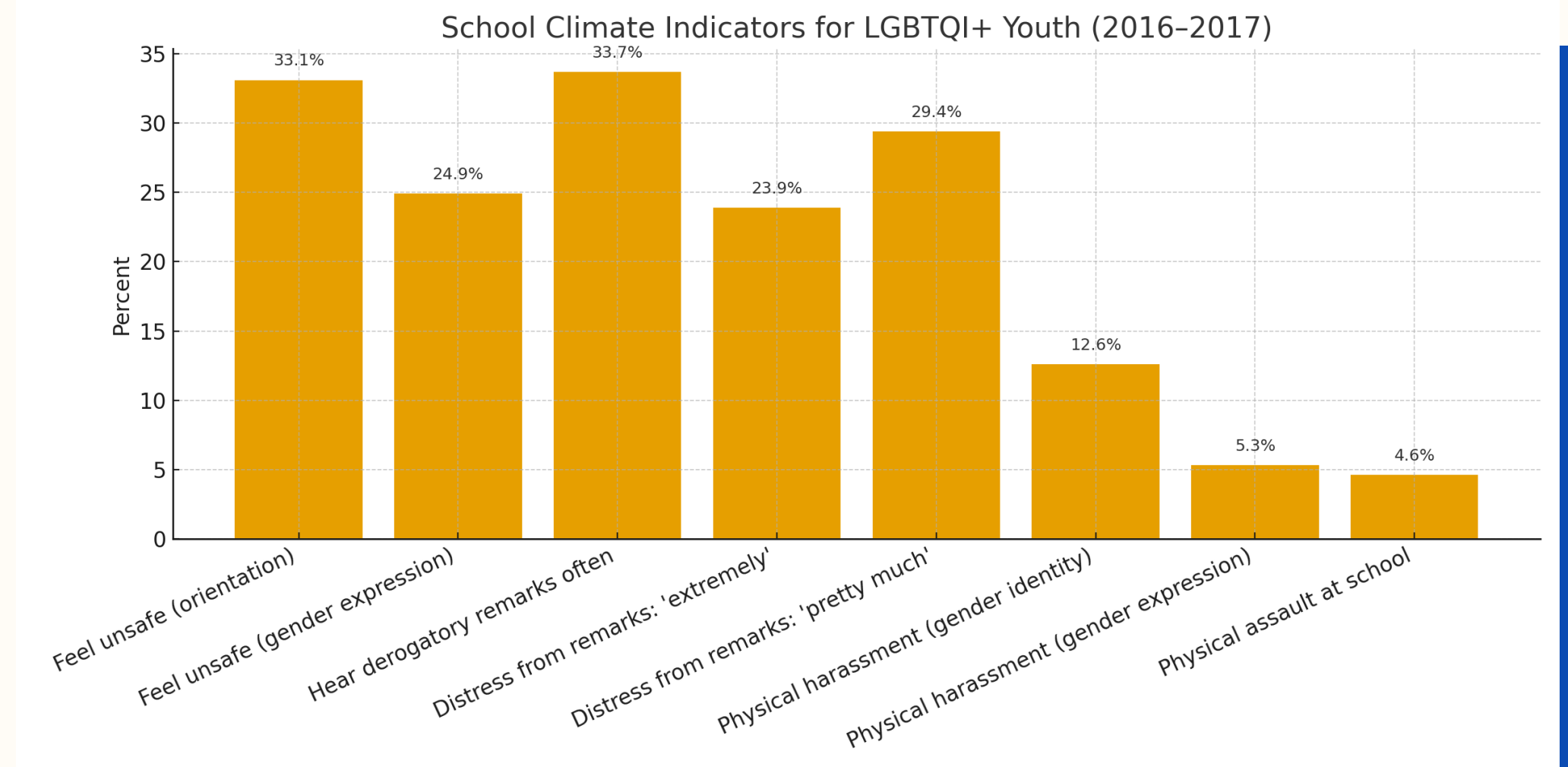
Youth: School Climate & Local Support

Schools emerge as a critical risk environment. In the 2017 National School Climate Survey, one-third (33.1%) of queer youth felt unsafe at school due to sexual orientation and a quarter (24.9%) due to gender expression. Hostile speech is common (33.7% hear homophobic remarks often/frequently) and measurably harmful (23.9% “extremely” distressed; 29.4% “pretty much”).

While outright physical assault is less frequent (4.6%), physical harassment tied to identity is not rare (12.6% gender identity; 5.3% gender expression). The report also notes that not all negative incidents are clearly attributed, suggesting under-recognition and under-reporting. (6)

Current youth data signal unmet support needs. In 2024, queer students were more likely to avoid school—21% queer vs 9% non-queer (grade 9) and 15% queer vs 9% non-queer (grade 10) had skipped a full day in the prior two weeks—and experienced higher near-daily anxiety (29% queer vs 17% non-queer in grade 9; 30% queer vs 17% non-queer in grade 10). (7)

Importantly, this is not a niche population: 14.9% of students in grades 9–10 identify as homosexual, bisexual, pansexual, or asexual.





Legal Framework and Recorded Hate Crimes in Reykjavík and Iceland

Iceland's legal protection against hate speech and hate crimes is well established in national law. Article 233(a) of the General Penal Code No. 19/1940 makes it a criminal offence to engage in hate speech on the basis of gender characteristics, sexual orientation, or gender identity. Under Article 70 of the same Act, an offence motivated by these factors carries a heavier penalty, reflecting Iceland's intent to treat bias-motivated crimes as aggravating circumstances. (8)

Despite this strong legal foundation, recorded incidents show that hate-motivated acts continue to occur. According to the Office of the National Commissioner, there were 47 registered cases of potential hate crimes in 2023, of which 18 were related to sexual orientation or gender identity.

Data reported by the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) for the same year list 15 hate crimes recorded by police, including 9 directed at LGBTQ+ people. Of these, one was an assault, one a robbery or theft, two acts of vandalism, and five involved threats or threatening behavior. ODIHR also notes that Iceland has not reported hate crime data from prosecution or the courts, so outcomes from the judicial process remain unavailable. (9)

Civil society monitoring provides a complementary picture. Samtökin '78, Iceland's national LGBTQI+ organization, reported 21 hate-motivated incidents in 2023, including five dangerous attacks, five threats or cases of intimidation, and 11 attacks on property.

Taken together, these numbers suggest that while Iceland's legislation provides comprehensive legal protection, hate crimes targeting LGBTQI+ people remain a visible and measurable reality, with underreporting and data gaps likely obscuring the full scope of the problem.

2.

Online Attitudes Toward LGBTQ+ Communities in Iceland

The digital debate on LGBTQ+ issues in Iceland





Chapter Overview

2.1 Data Collection and Method

2.2 The Debate is Intensifying and Growing More Polarised

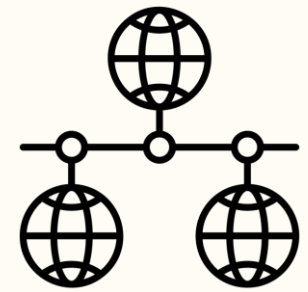
2.3 These Events Spiked the LGBTQ+ Debate on Social Media

2.4 Ways Hatred are Expressed against LGBTQ+ Online

2.1 Data Collection and Method



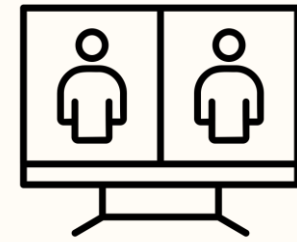
The process



Data Collection

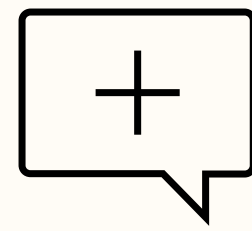
All Facebook posts from political-, societal- and media Facebook pages have been collected from the period of **January 1st 2022 – September 12th 2025**.

In total we collected **435,110** posts.



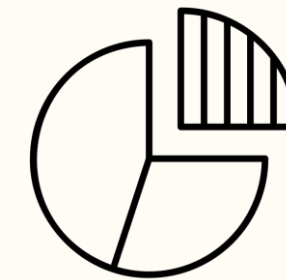
Search Key

Out of all posts, **3,156 posts** matched our LGBTQ+ search terms (i.e., they concern LGBTQ+ topics).



Collecting comments

For these 3,156 posts, we retrieved every available comment. **35,672 comments** in total.



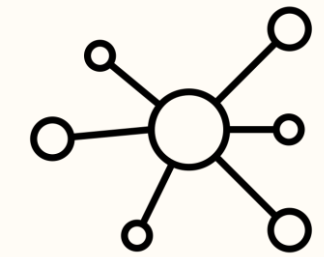
Sentiment annotation

Using a large language model, we annotated each of the 35,672 comments for sentiment on a scale **from –1 (negative) to +1 (positive)**.



Manual annotation of hate against LGBTQ+

We manually annotated a randomised sample of 500 comments to estimate the proportion containing hate speech directed at LGBTQ+ people.



Quantitative and qualitative insights

All posts and comments were analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively to generate the findings presented in the report.

Definition of Hate Speech

The report takes its point of departure in European Council on Human Rights (ECHR) definition of hate speech.

In the report, the definition of hate speech is used to classify whether a comment contains a hate speech expression or not.

“

Hate speech is understood as all types of expression that incite, promote, spread or justify violence, hatred or discrimination against a person or group of persons, or that denigrates them, by reason of their real or attributed personal characteristics or status such as “race”, colour, language, religion, nationality, national or ethnic origin, age, disability, sex, gender identity and sexual orientation.

–ECHR (European Council on Human Rights)



How the Language in the Comment Sections Was Scored for Sentiment

Sentiment Scores

Sentiment scores are the sum of negative, positive and neutral expressions in every sentence.

A comment with mainly negative language will be rated as having negative sentiment and vice versa for a mostly positive comment.

Approach

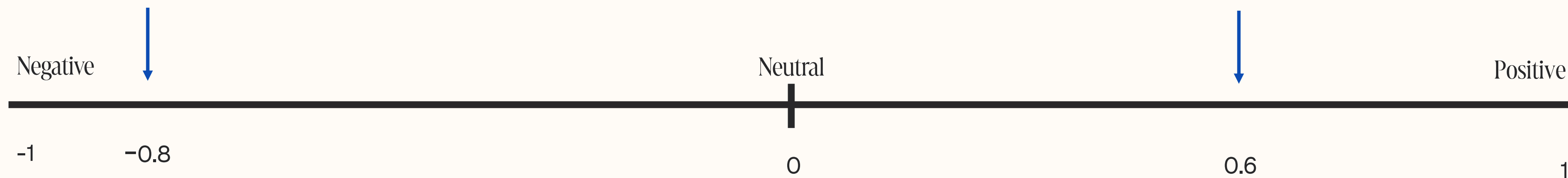
All 35.000+ comments were analysed for sentiment using gpt-4.1-mini.

The model assigns every comment a sentiment score from -1 (most negative) to 1 (most positive). Neutral comments get a 0

"I don't really care, but I find it disgusting that people go through these procedures..."

"I can't answer what I don't understand."

"We don't need any offense towards people, just kindness."



Examples of Sentiment Scores from the Model

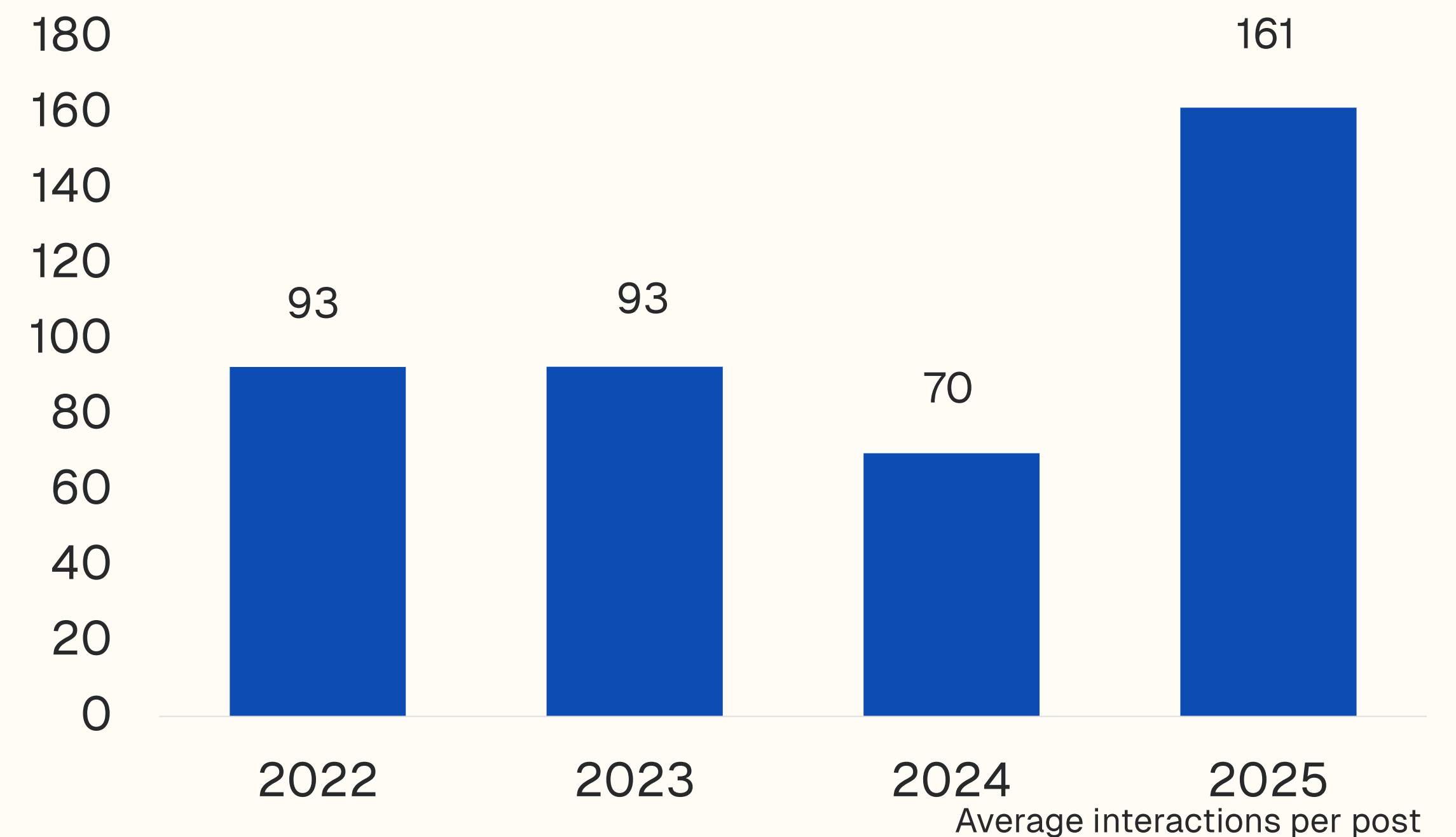
2.2 The Debate is Intensifying and Growing More Polarised



The Debate is Intensifying

Over the past four years, 2025 shows the highest average interactions per post. This suggests more people are reacting, commenting, and sharing LGBTQ+- related posts than in previous years.

This pattern indicates that online public debate on LGBTQ+ issues in Iceland is intensifying.

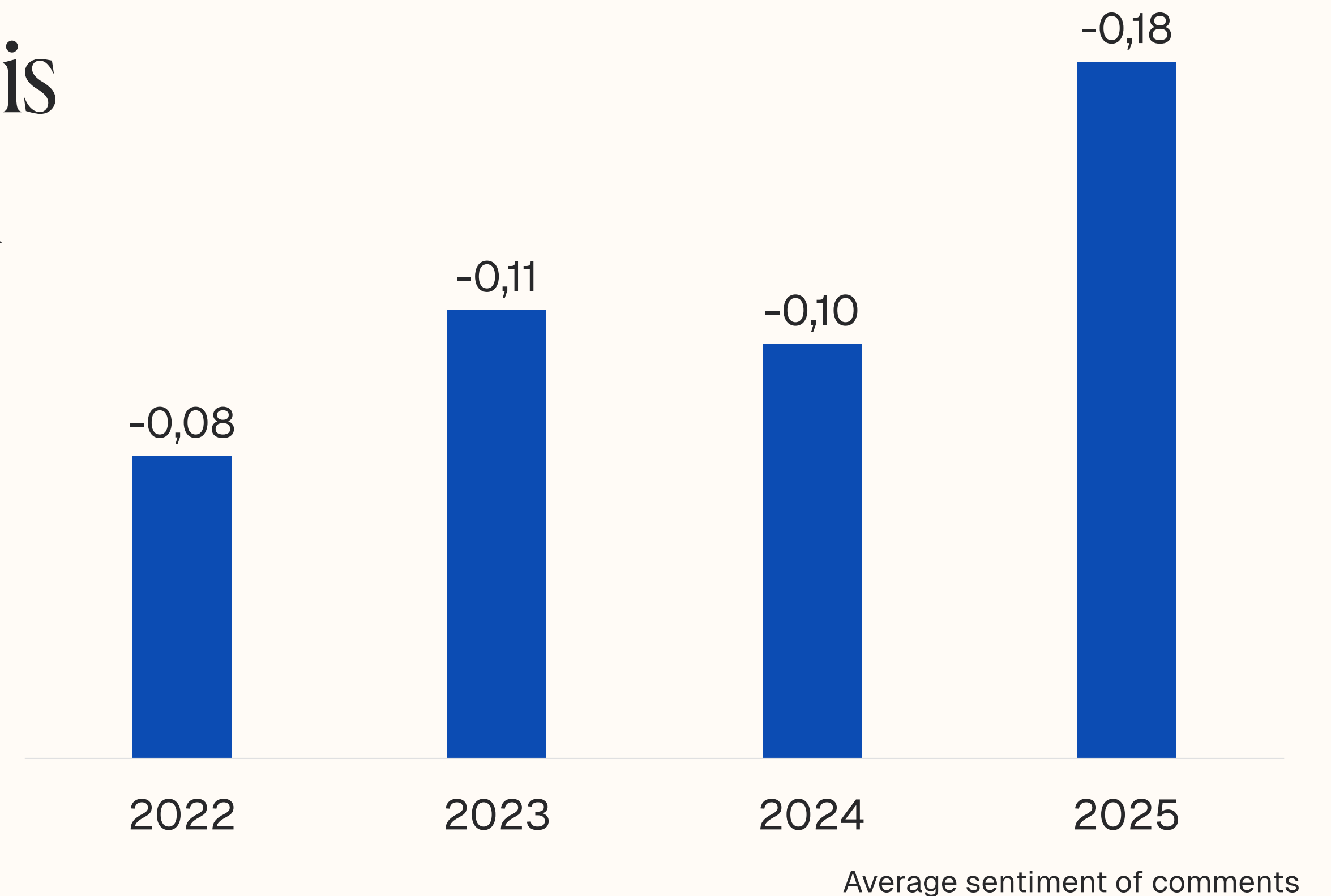




The Debate in the Comment Section is Becoming Increasingly Negative and Polarised

Analysing how people talk to each other in the comment sections shows a clear shift: the language has become harsher and more polarised over time.

This pattern holds across comments on posts about LGBTQ+ issues. Exchanges between those who oppose and those who support LGBTQ+ rights have intensified, and the rhetoric has become more confrontational.





This is Reflected in the Comment Sections Where People Engage in Shouting Matches

*These comments have been translated from Icelandic to English

COMMENTS

“These faggot organizations should be banned.”*

“No one is banning them from competing, you idiots. They just have to compete in their own B-division like the rest of us. It’s called EQUALITY.”*

“Maybe she's not but all people around that let this situation around are mentally disturbed, parents, the ppl, the guy taking the picture, the crowd around, everyone who's not calling the cops in this situation is a groomer and need to be checked by a psychiatrist.”*

REPLIES

“[name], they ought to ban hateful and prejudiced assholes like you as well.”*

“[name], the only idiot is you for commenting without knowing what the hell you’re talking about”*

“[name] what a shallow fucking life someone must lead to have that kind of warped mindset”*

“[name] And that's why it is best you stay in your own little self-created garbage dump and keep your dark, toxic hate to yourself



Nearly 1 out of 10 Comments about LGBTQ+ is Hateful

Nearly 1 in 10 comments about LGBTQ+ on Facebook is hateful (9.4%) toward the LGBTQ+ minority. This shows that anti-LGBTQ+ hostility is not confined to closed groups but flourishes openly in the wider public debate.

Furthermore, because moderated and deleted comments aren't counted, the number is potentially higher.

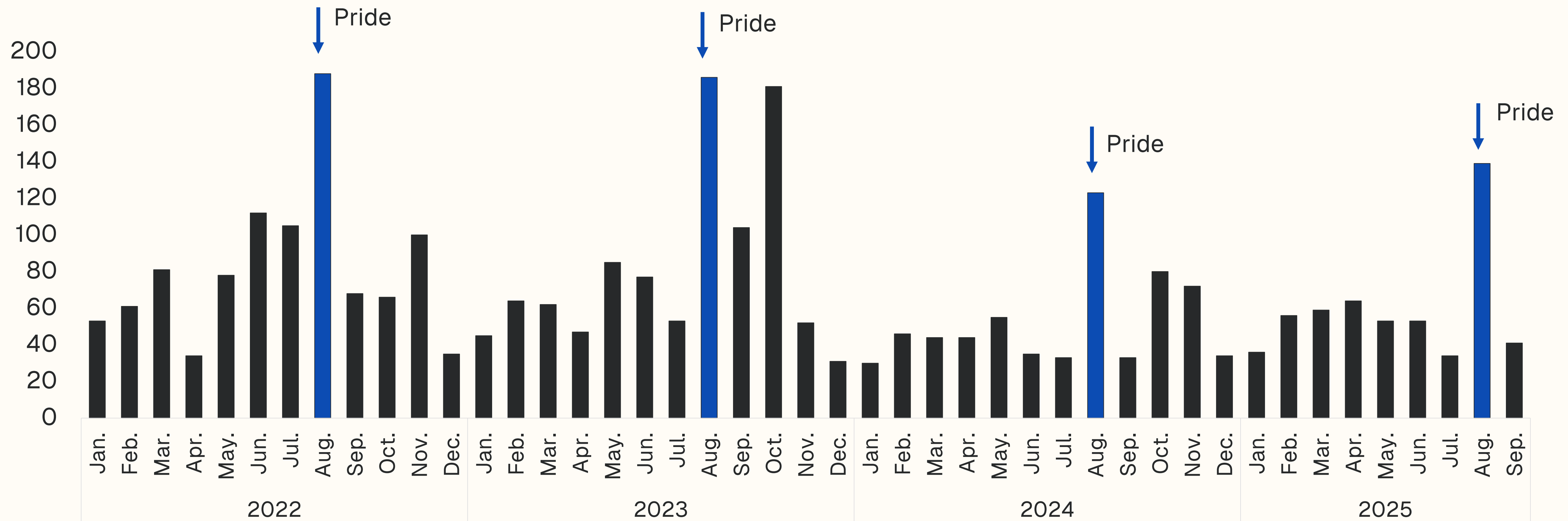
9.4%

A large blue rounded rectangle with the text "9.4%" in white, centered within it.

2.3 These Topics Drive the LGBTQ+ Debate on Social Media



The Annual Pride is the Primary Driver of LGBTQ+ Conversations on Facebook



* Data until Sep 12, 2025

Number of posts over time



Overall, the Annual Pride Generates Support for the LGBTQ+ Community

Across 2022–2025, most posts during Pride are positive and supportive of LGBTQ+ people.

Content ranges from explicit statements of solidarity with LGBTQ+ minorities to simple “Happy Pride” greetings.

The post shown on the right, by the Icelandic pop singer Páll Óskar, is the post with most interactions of all LGBTQ+ related posts during the period of 2022-2025.

Overall, Pride generates substantial public support for the LGBTQ+ community.

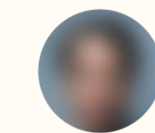


*the post text has been translated into English



And Pride Vandalism is Generally Met with Sympathy for the LGBTQ+ Community

Across 2022–2025, incidents of Pride vandalism were recorded each year. In every case, online reactions were broadly supportive of LGBTQ+ people and condemned the vandalism.



Facebook User

“I just don’t understand why it’s anyone’s business how other people are. Do these people have nothing better to do with their lives than to obsess over it?”*

2024



Facebook User

“Well done. Of course, such behavior should be reported to the police.”*

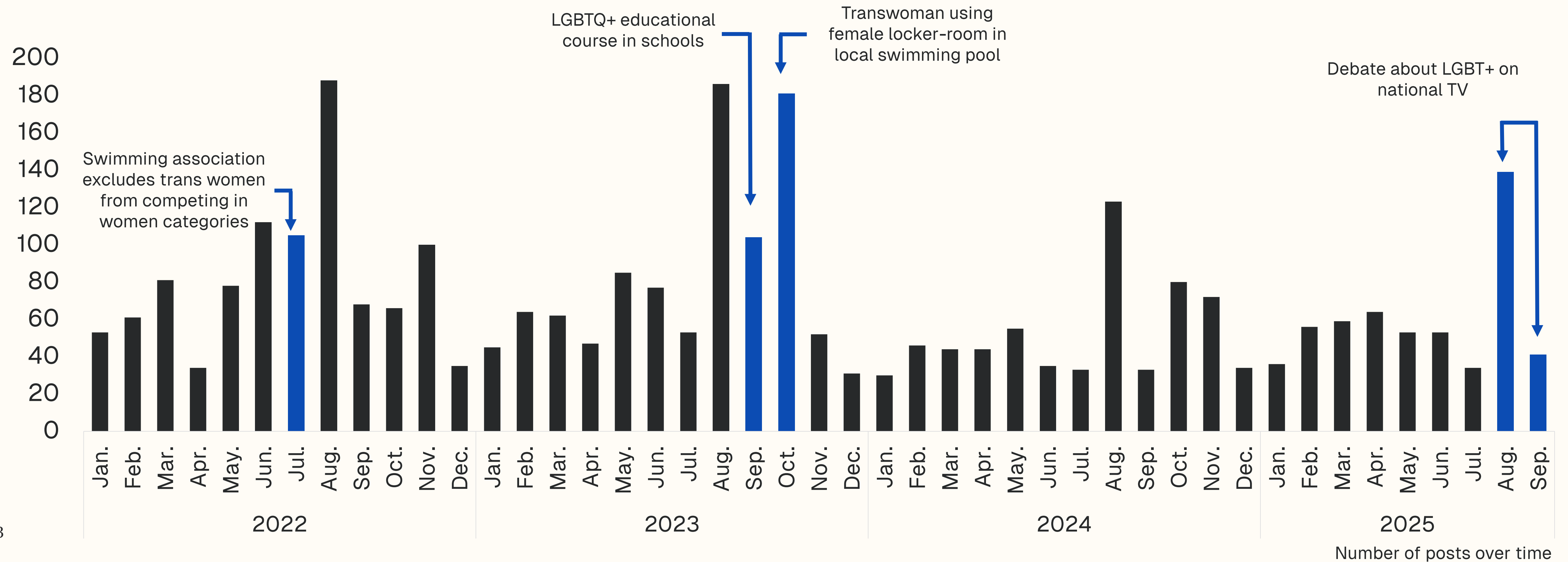
2022



*the posts text have been translated into English

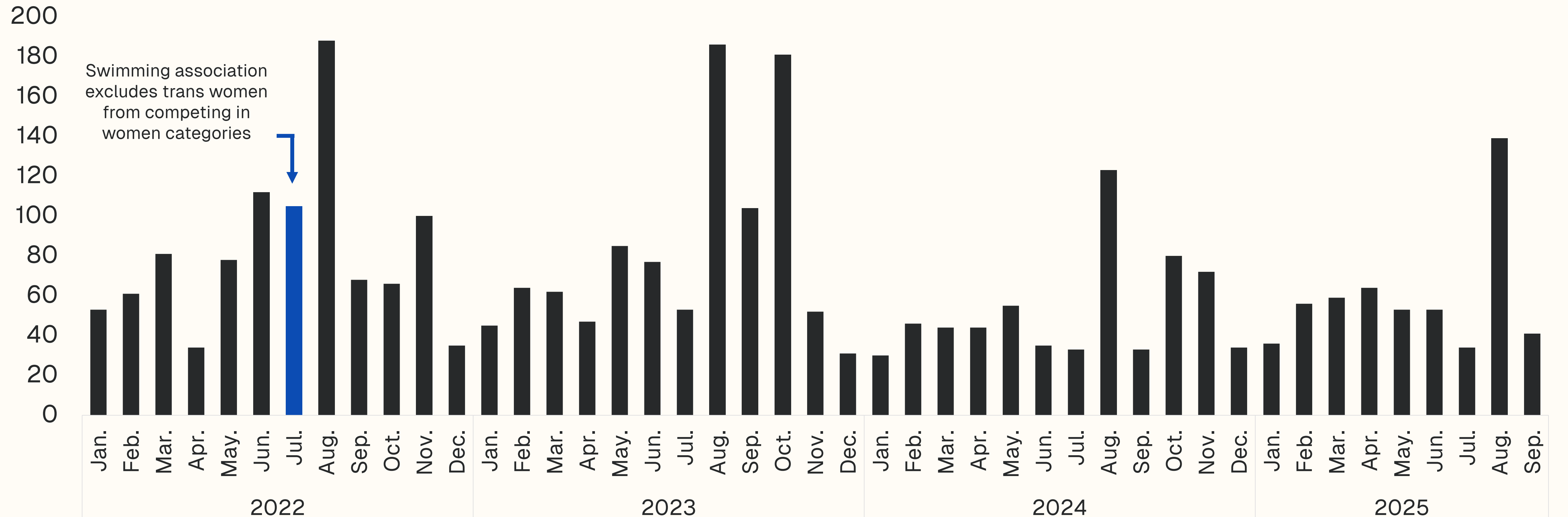


But the Debate is More Polarised Around Topics Such as LGBTQ+ Education, Women's Categories in Sport and Locker-Room Access





July 2022: The Icelandic Swimming Association Excludes Trans Women From Competing in Women's Categories

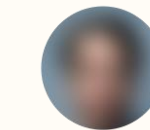




July 2022: The Icelandic Swimming Association Excludes Trans Women from Competing in Women's Categories

In July 2022, Iceland's Swimming Association confirmed it had voted in favor of World Aquatics' (then known as FINA) new gender-inclusion policy, which restricts the eligibility of trans women in the women's category at world-level events unless transition began before puberty.

The decision drew immediate pushback from LGBTQ+ organizations and prompted calls for the association to withdraw its vote. It sparked widespread debate across Icelandic social media and received significant coverage in local news at the time.



Facebook User

"Women's sports are being destroyed"*



Fréttablaðið
6. júlí 2022 · 🌐



"By banning trans people from competing in elite sports, this extremely marginalised group is being pushed even further to the margins, and even back into the closet."*



FRETTABLADID.IS

Sundsambandið breyti atkvæði um trans fólk

👍 🥰 🙄 256

223 kommentarer 6 delinger

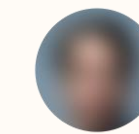


July 2022: The Icelandic Swimming Association Excludes Trans Women from Competing in Women's Categories

Most comments framed the decision in terms of “fairness” and biology, claiming that trans women would “destroy” women’s sport.

This framing appears across sports, not only swimming. The middle comment originates from a cycling debate about trans women, and the image refers to discussion around Imane Khelif’s participation at the Paris 2024 Olympics.

Overall, participation by trans women in sports are depicted as inherently illegitimate.



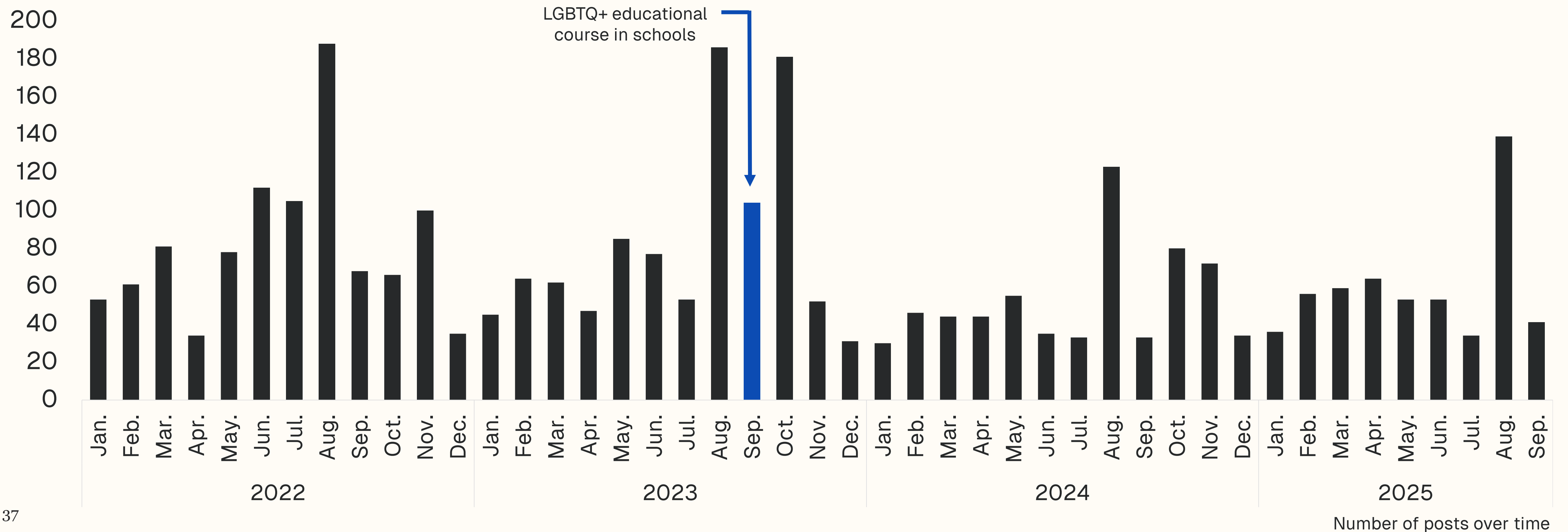
Facebook User

“Women's sports is not a Retirement plan for failed Men Athlets. Women have been training hard for any sports competions. Then comes a Trans indendified as a woman....is Proud of wining in Women competions. Sorry DUDE you're still A man. 🙄”





September 2023: Debate Regarding LGBTQ+ Education in Reykjavík Primary Schools





September 2023: Debate Regarding LGBTQ+ Education in Reykjavík Primary Schools

A broad discussion on sex education and queer education in primary schools took place in September 2023. Some people and groups started to protest against the content of LGBTQ+ education in schools. This prompted broad discussion on social media and in the press. Supporters of the education described it as inclusion and factual teaching within the curriculum; critics argued it was ideological and framed it as "sex education" and "indoctrination" and claimed it should be limited or removed. The debate centred on curriculum content, the role of schools versus parents, and the age at which such topics should be taught.

The online debate also unfolded through memes, such as the one on the right portraying LGBTQ+ education as propaganda imposed on people.

Heimildin 17. september 2023 · 🌐

"Some look back nostalgically to a time when children were taught nothing about diversity of gender identity and sexuality. I grew up with such ignorance. That was a time when children and young people died from our lack of knowledge, they died because of our prejudice." writes Magnús Karl Magnússon.*



HEIMILDIN.IS
Banvæn vanþekking

72



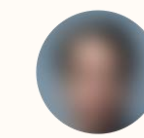
*the post text has been translated into English

September 2023: Portraying LGBTQ+ Lessons as “Indoctrination” and Harm

In the comments, hostility clustered around claims that schools “groom” children, and that the lessons are “woke brainwashing”, that “trans ideology” must be kept away from children. Some went further, alleging links to pedophilia and claiming that such support will “harm” children.

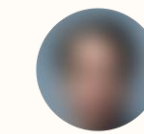
Multiple comments used degrading language such as faggot and idiots, to dehumanise the LGBTQ+ people.

Collectively, these narratives aim to delegitimise LGBTQ+ education and portray it as a threat to children.



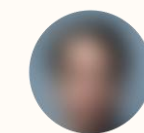
Facebook User

These pervert organisations should be banned*



Facebook User

Promoting paedophilia is the same as being a paedophile — to the gallows with the scum*

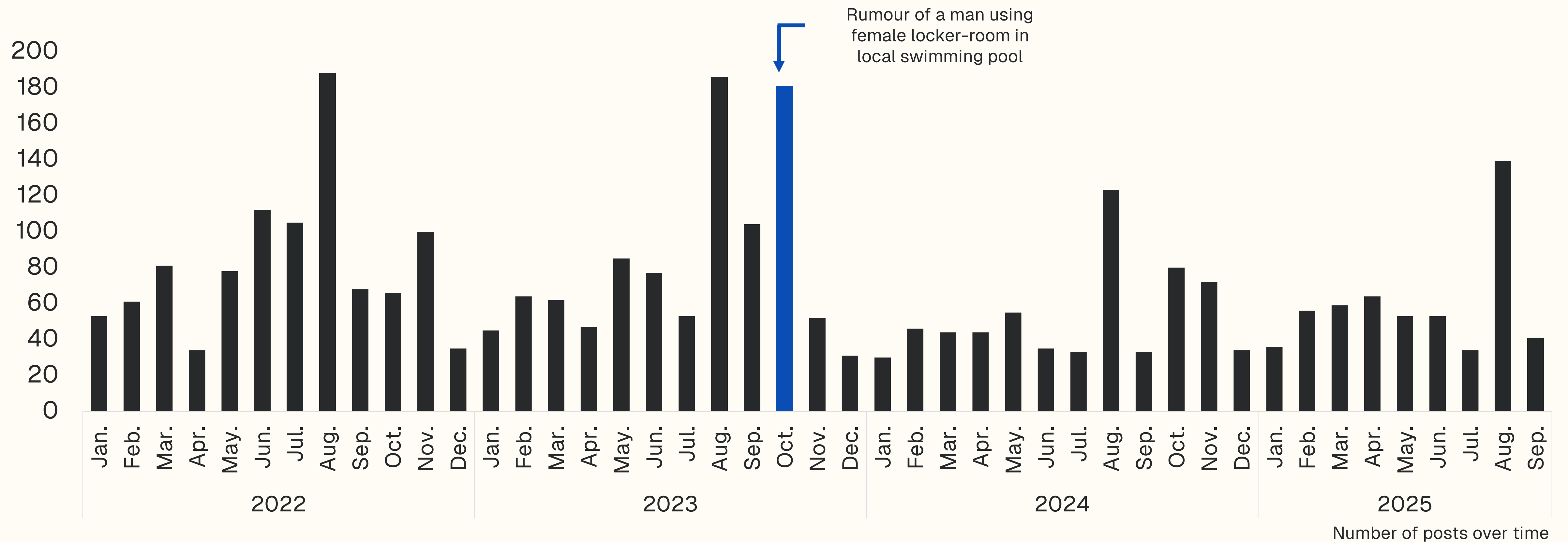


Facebook User

If these sheeps weren't raping the ideology onto our children in schools, everybody wouldn't give a shit — but they always have to go too far*



October 2023: Debate Flared After a Misleading Report of a man using the Women's Changing Room at a Local Swimming Pool

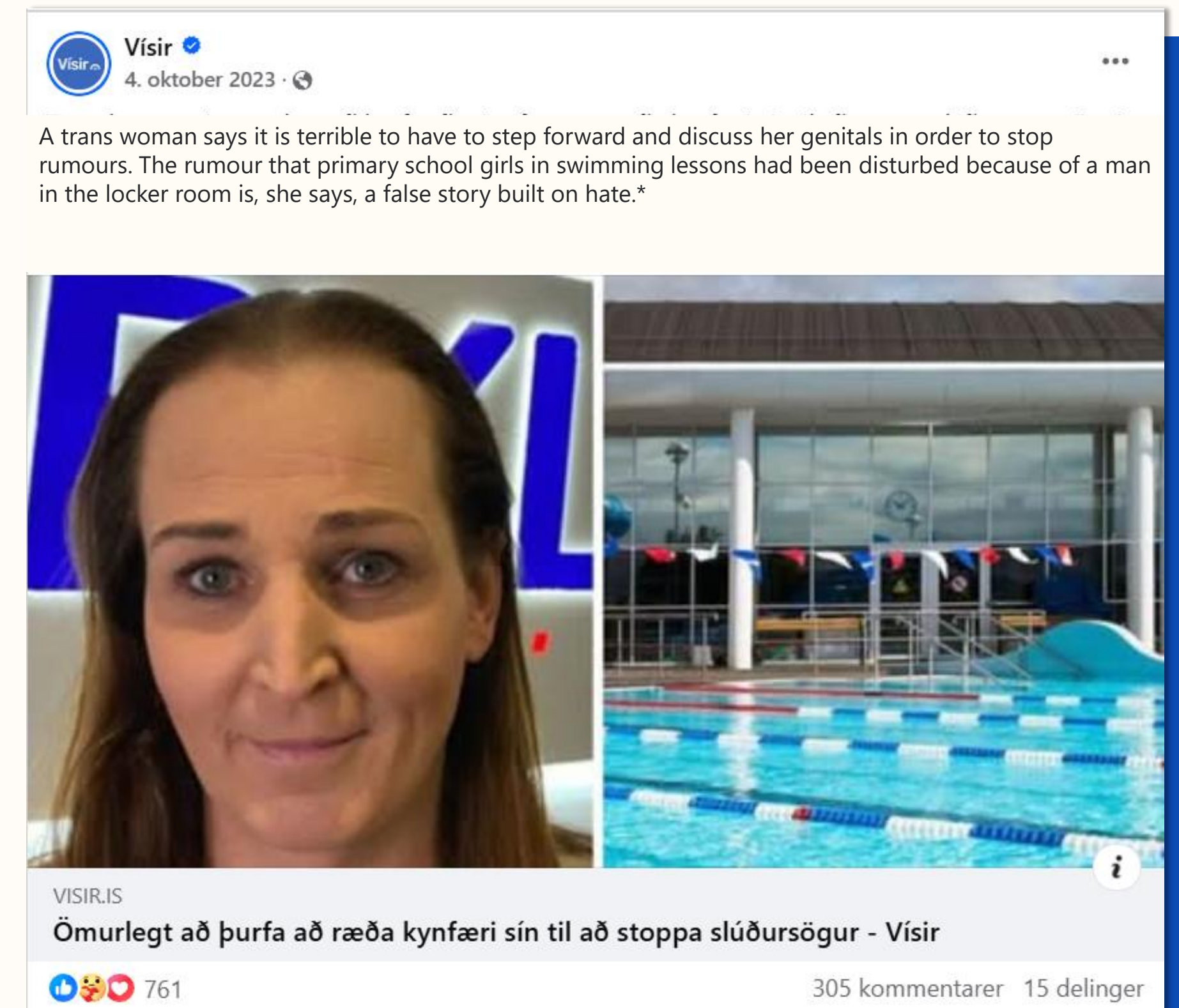




October 2023: Debate Flared After a Misleading Report of a Trans Woman Using the Women's Changing Room at a Local Swimming Pool

A rumour circulated that a man had used the women's changing room at a local swimming pool during a school swimming lesson. Veiga Grétarsdóttir later identified herself publicly as the person referred to, and stated that the story was false and driven by hate and nothing else.

The episode sparked heated discussion across Icelandic social media about access to sex-segregated changing rooms and trans rights.



*the post text and comment have been translated into English

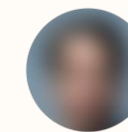


October 2023: As a Result, the Comment Section Flared with Hatred Toward the Trans Community

Within the comments, trans women were portrayed as indecent or predatory, by using phrases such as “naked in front of little girls”, casting the episode as a threat to children.

Several comments used a male-intruder frame, with some hinting at vigilante reactions e.g. “I wouldn’t be responsible for my actions”.

A third strand focused on dehumanising and pathologising trans people, by describing them as “sick people” and calling for segregation as necessary a to protect children.



Facebook User

Completely immoral rabble/scum who feel the need to show themselves naked in front of little girls.*



Facebook User

Aren’t you the advocates for adult men being allowed to use the same shower facilities as young girls if they identify as women? If I saw an adult man go into the same shower room as my 12-year-old daughter, I wouldn’t be responsible for my actions.*

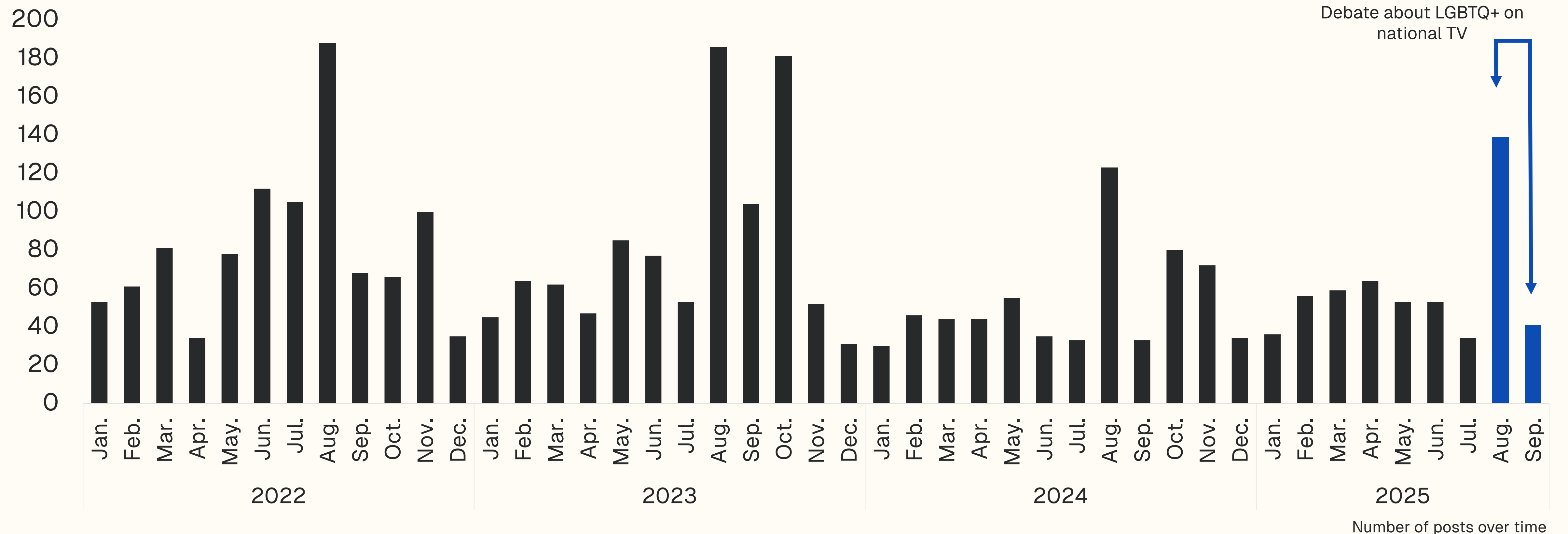


Facebook User

How fk sick u need to be to cut your dick off xD wtf ffff and he Gets angry when kids asks wtf is he xD why in da f they even need to see this sick people ???? Can't iceland government make a special swimming pool for all them sick people?? So they don't fuck up very young kids morals



August & September 2025: Debate on TV About LGBTQ+ Issues Resulted in a Huge Online Discussion



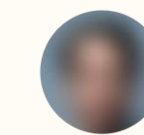


August & September 2025: Debate About LGBTQ+ on National TV

[A debate on national TV between Samtökin and a parliamentarian](#) results in huge online debate. The debate erupted after a Member of Parliament, made statements widely perceived as dismissive or hostile toward LGBTQ+ rights. The member of parliament denied responsibility for their rhetoric and defended their stance in televised debates. The debate sparked a wave of reactions in the comments, dominated by two positions.

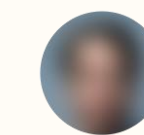
Supporters argued that the parliamentarian was simply exercising his right to free speech, while critics saw his talk of LGBTQ+ as an “ideology” as prejudice that trivialised LGBTQ+ people and normalised hostility.

The City Council of Reykjavík approved unanimously to stand with trans people and the whole of the queer community in their fight to enjoy equal status, respect and self-evident human rights. The City council condemned all forms of prejudice and discrimination and stated that the city would continue to work towards a community where everyone feels welcome and safe.



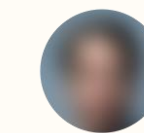
Facebook User

Snorri's performance was remarkable, he was brave, clear and eloquent! More people need to be like him and have the courage to speak directly! Keep on going Snorri Másson*



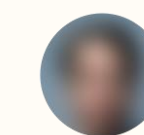
Facebook User

I didn't see the show in question, but why can't people have their own opinions? Aren't we allowed to have freedom of speech and opinion?*



Facebook User

Prejudices are not opinions! Forward trans rights!*



Facebook User

This prejudiced guy should not express himself!*



2.4 Ways Hostility and Hate Are Expressed Against LGBTQ+ Online

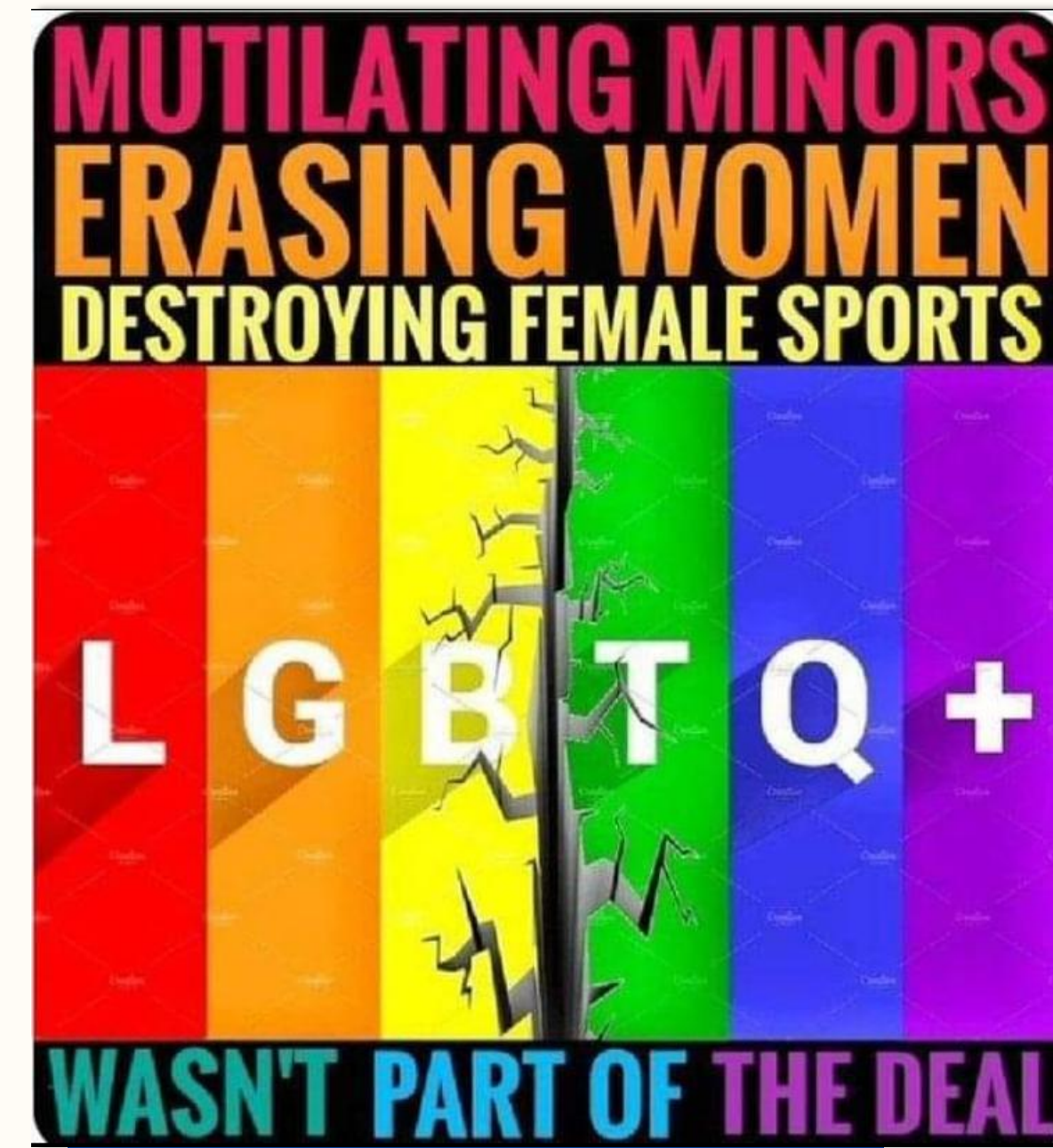


Dehumanisation And Pathologisation

Dehumanisation reduces LGBTQ+ people to less than fully human e.g. animalising labels, “it/thing” language, predator tropes, or portraying a social threat.

Pathologisation frames LGBTQ+ identity as illness or deviance that should be “treated”, “cured” or contained.

Together they normalise stigma and harassment, lower public empathy, and make exclusion from services, facilities and civic life appear reasonable.

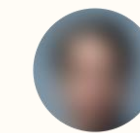




In the comment sections, LGBTQ+ people were frequently described in ways that stripped them of their humanity or framed them as mentally ill. Some comments dismissed trans people as “freaks” or “not in their right mind”, while others portrayed them as dangerous or unfit to be around children.

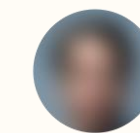
These comments also pathologised LGBTQ+ identities, calling them “sick” or “mentally ill” and suggesting they required treatment.

Together, these comments illustrate how hostility moves beyond disagreement into active attempts to dehumanise LGBTQ+ people and portray their existence as illegitimate.



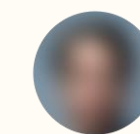
Facebook User

you know what, you and people like you is the reason why I don't have kids, cause I will definitely end up in jail if a freak like you gets near them



Facebook User

you are mentally ill and need help! You are not a woman not even a Trans woman! You are a man with a mental illness! The only thing that you guys need is to be told the truth! You need to snap back to reality and understand that you are not trans you just have a disturbed view on reality!



Facebook User

This man isn't in his right mind; doesn't he remember that he got his wife pregnant — with a scrotum and a penis — three times back in the day? You won't get me to call you a woman, even if you throw on a dress and a wig*

*the comment has been translated into English

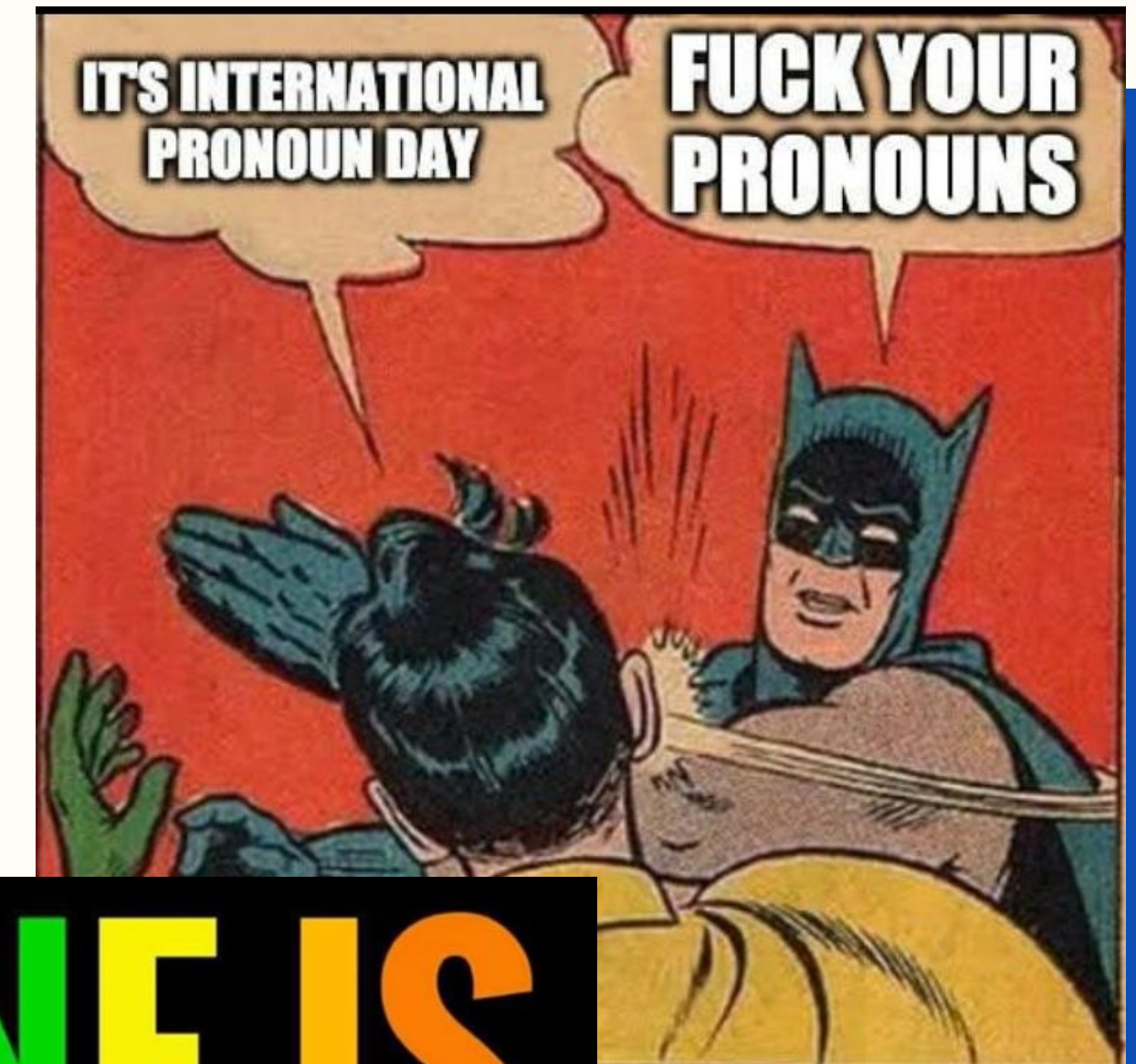


Transgender Denialism

Across the dataset we identify a cluster of narratives that deny or downgrade the legitimacy of transgender identities. These frames reassert biology as destiny, split LGB from trans under the guise of “protecting gays and lesbians”, and rewrite trans people’s sexual orientation back to their sex assigned at birth. Together they normalise exclusion, justify hostile language, and shift debate from wellbeing and inclusion to policing identity.

The report will elaborate on three narratives:

1. The binary narrative - only two genders
2. Samtökin 22: LGB-only advocacy and rejection of the ‘queer’ umbrella
3. Erasing trans people’s sexual orientation



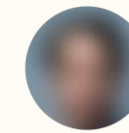
**NO ONE IS
BORN IN THE
WRONG BODY**



Transgender Denialism: The Binary Narrative

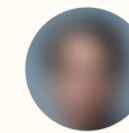
The binary narrative is reoccurring and persistent in the comments. It states that sex/gender is strictly binary and immutable. It treats sex assigned at birth as the only legitimate category and rejects trans identities.

This shows up in statements like there are “only two genders” and in relabelling trans women as men and trans men as women. By casting transition as impossible or fraudulent, the frame legitimises exclusion—from facilities, sport, documents and services—and normalises dismissive, mocking language. It lowers empathy and shifts debate from people’s wellbeing and rights to policing identity.



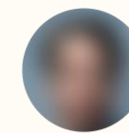
Facebook User

That a man thinks he’s a woman has as much validity as a man who thinks he’s a dog.



Facebook User

There’s no need to complicate matters with any trans nonsense. There are only two genders: either man or woman.*



Facebook User

trans women are men—what’s wrong with you, man?*

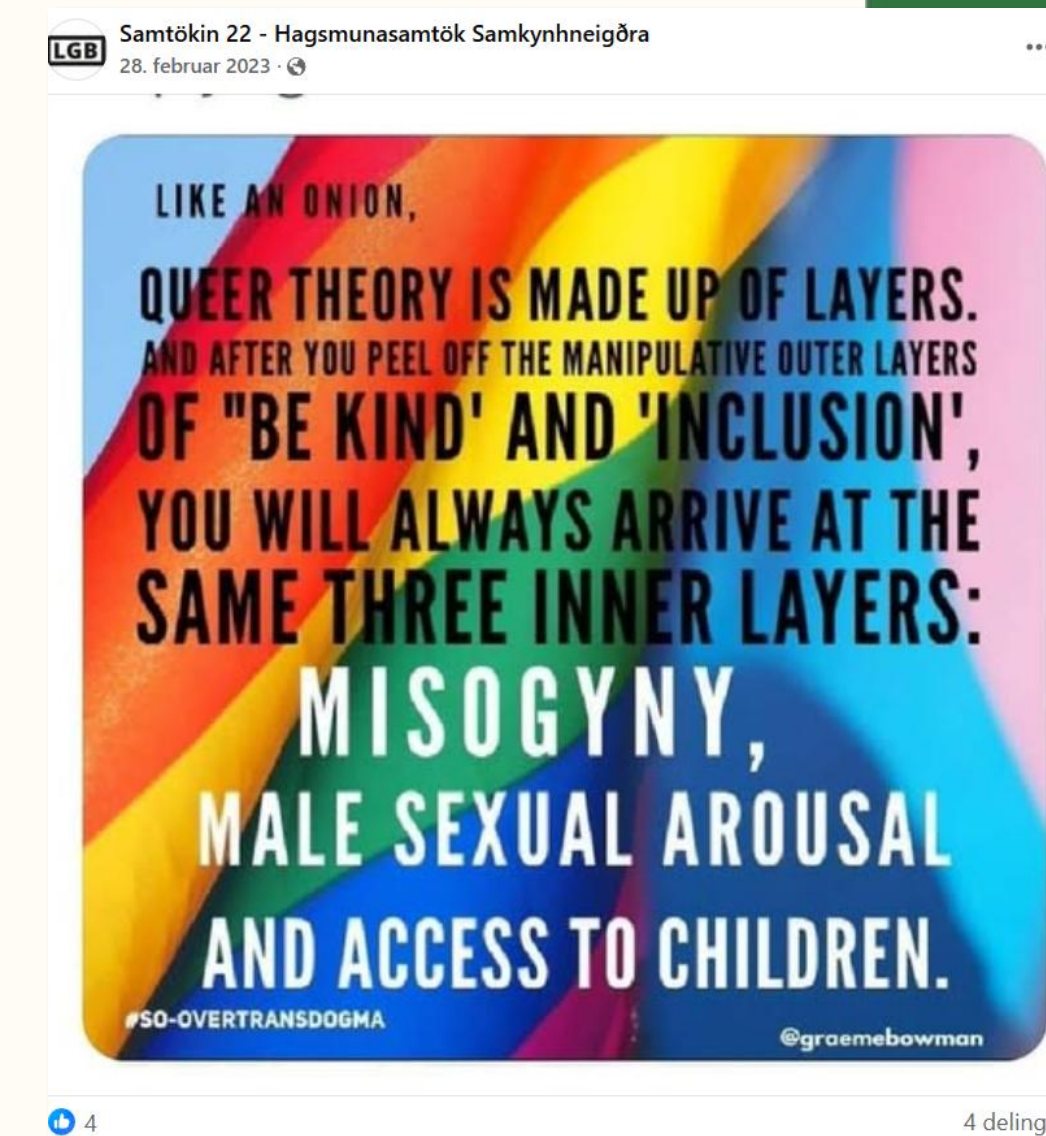
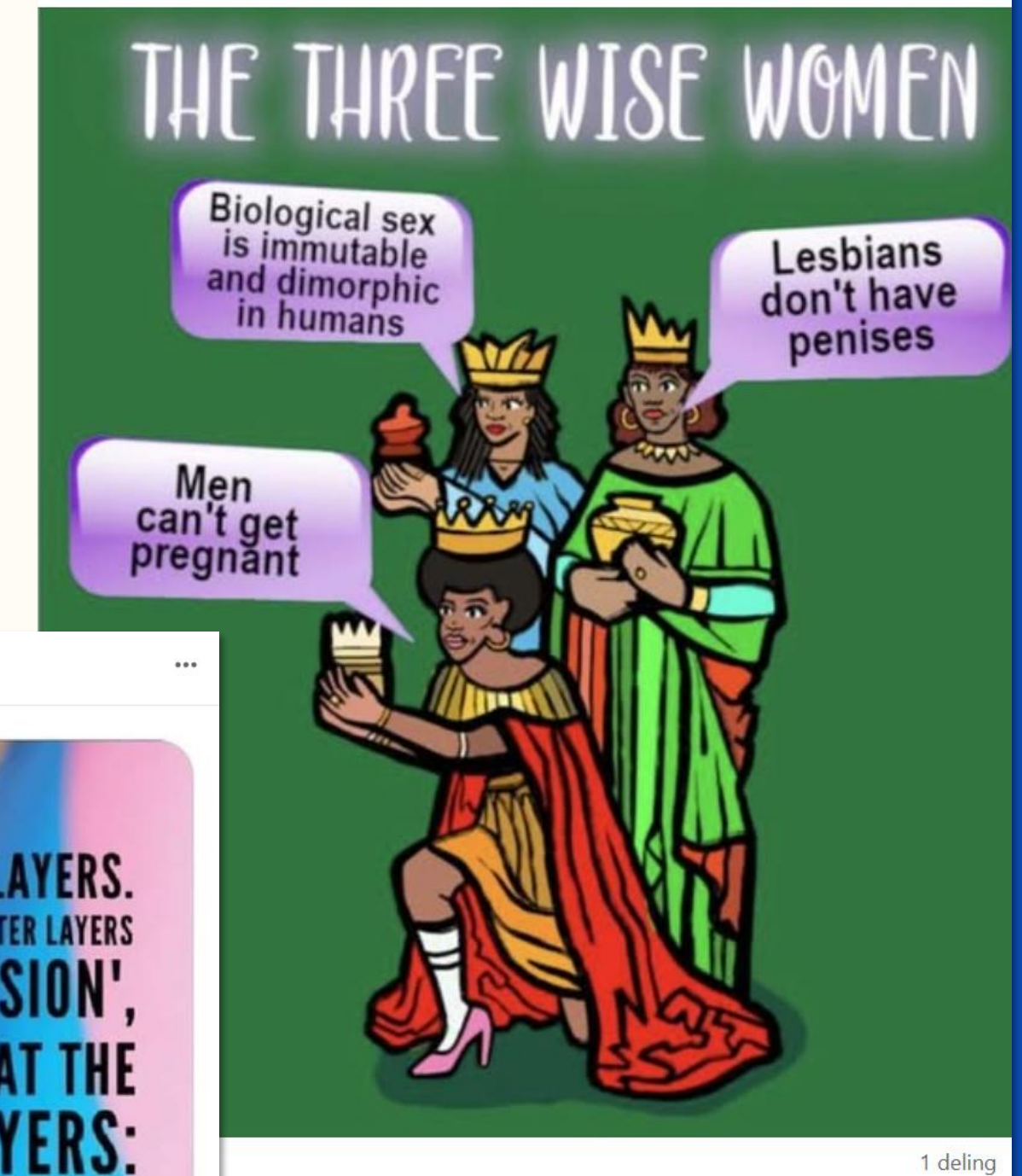
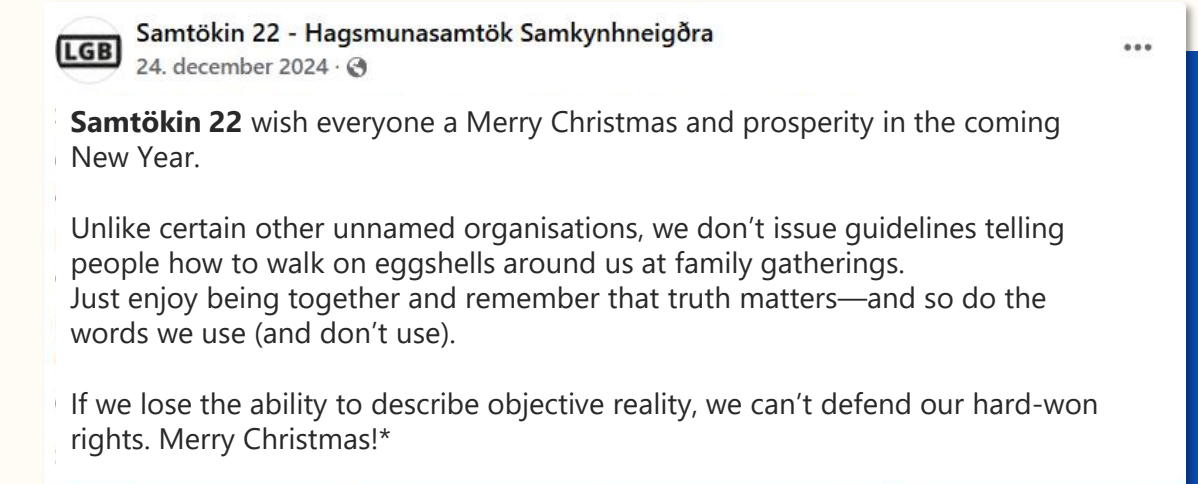
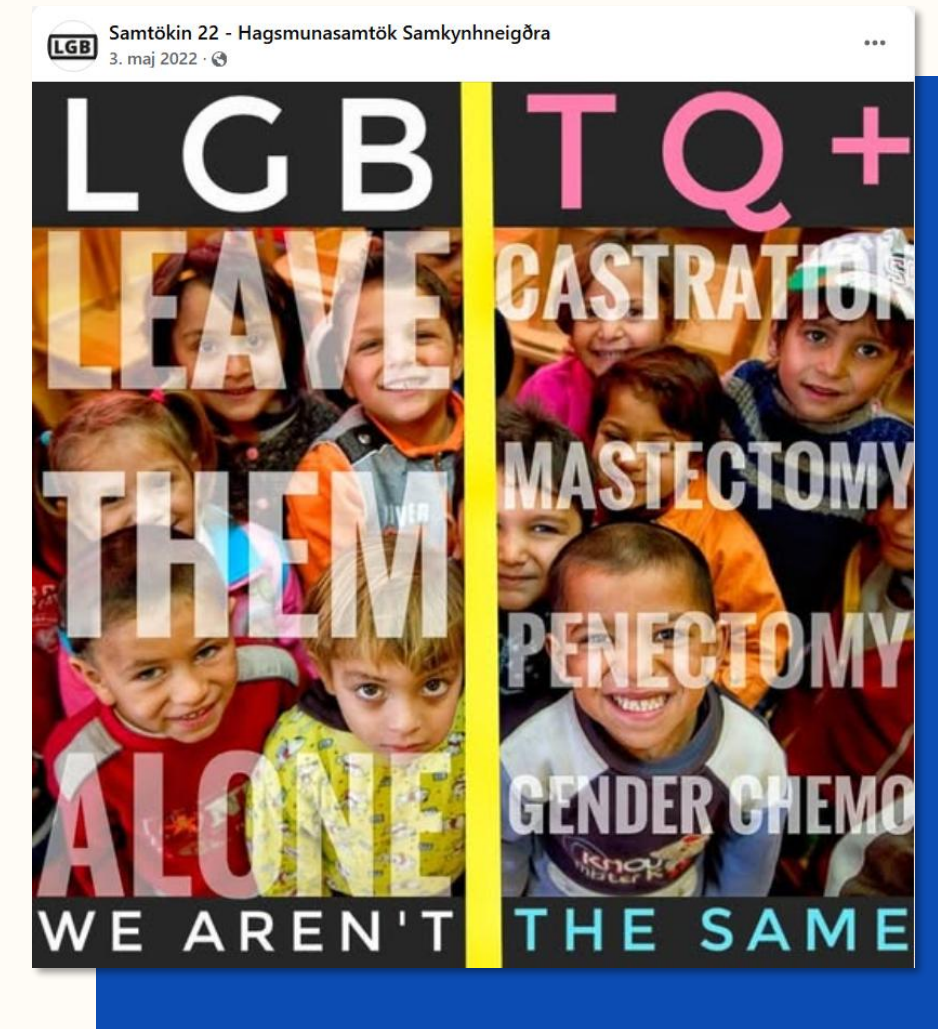


Transgender Denialism: Samtökin 22: LGB-only Advocacy And Rejection Of The ‘Queer’ Umbrella

The organisation, Samtökin 22 (now known as LGB Samtökin), presents itself as an LGB advocacy group and positions “queer” politics and trans rights as something separate from—and harmful to—lesbian, gay and bisexual interests.

In their posts they argue that LGB should be detached from the broader LGBTQ+ umbrella and insist that sexual orientation is about sex rather than gender identity. Their messaging repeatedly stresses “we aren’t the same” and frames trans advocacy as a danger to women’s spaces and children. The slogan “leave them [children] alone” is used to portray trans inclusion as an indoctrination of and danger to children.

This elevates separation and exclusion as safeguards, potentially normalises dismissive talk about trans persons, and fuels a polarised LGB-versus-TQ+ narrative in Icelandic debate.





Transgender Denialism: Erasing Trans People's Sexual Orientation

A third pattern seeks to strip trans people of the terms they use for their own sexual orientation.

Here, a trans woman attracted to women is redefined as a “straight man”, and a trans man attracted to men is recast as a “straight woman”. Orientation is thus recalculated according to sex assigned at birth, not affirmed gender.

This rhetorical move does more than quibble over labels: it delegitimises same-gender identities among trans people, undermines established LGBTQ+ terminology and communities, and portrays trans self-descriptions as deceitful or absurd. It narrows who is allowed to call themselves gay or lesbian and increases stigma around relationships involving trans partners.

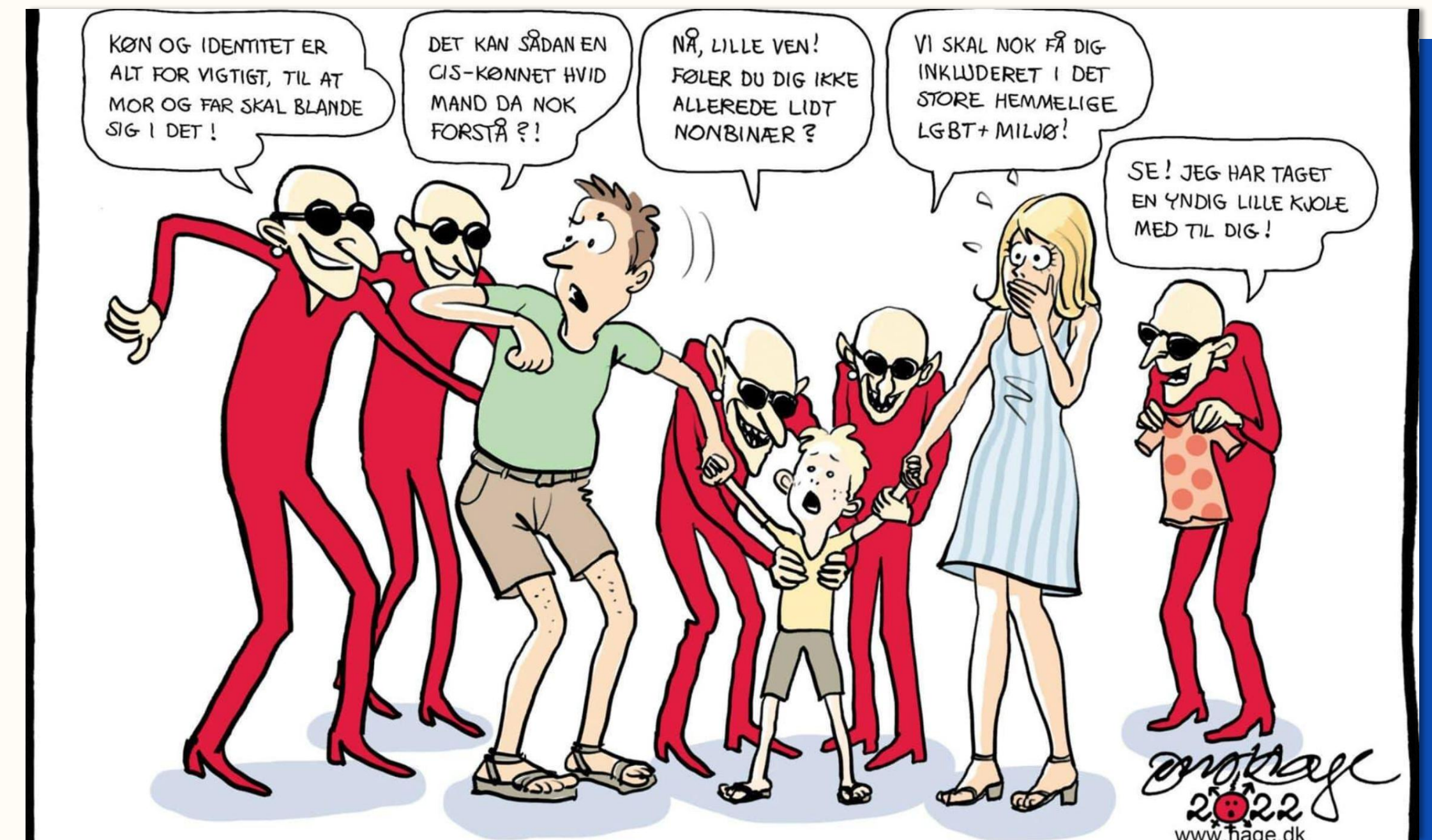




Dismissing Youth Gender Dysphoria

Dismissing youth gender dysphoria frames adolescents' experiences as trivial, transient or externally induced rather than a legitimate form of distress; it questions the need for recognition, assessment or care.

In Iceland, debate around youth gender dysphoria has often framed it as a “phase” or “social contagion”, blaming peer pressure, TikTok and alleged school “indoctrination”.



Even though the picture is written in Danish, it has found its way to the Icelandic online debate about youth gender dysphoria. It depicts figures representing the LGBTQ+ community, here trying to indoctrinate a small boy into the trans community against his or his parents' will.

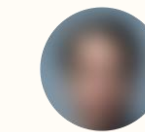


Dismissing Youth Gender Dysphoria

In the data, dismissing youth gender dysphoria appears in several forms.

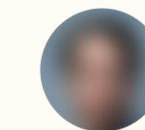
Commenters write that supporters “indoctrinate” children or brand them “paedophiles”, shifting the debate from care to criminal insinuation. Others frame gender-affirming care as “child abuse”, with adults acting without a child’s consent. Finally, some trivialise dysphoria with dismissive comparisons such as “I thought I was a dog at four.”

Such framing normalises scepticism, lowers empathy, discourages disclosure and help-seeking, and undermines family support and trust in professionals.



Facebook User

[name] is an idiot who supports trans indoctrination of children and thus/thereby paedophilia*



Facebook User

It has become so sad how control is taken from innocent children; they have no say in it. What will happen to their lives in the future when they start forming their own views and might not be able to change it back... ugh, I don’t want to follow that thought to the end*



Facebook User

I thought I was a dog when I was four—clearly the right age to make a decision that will disfigure you and shape your entire life!*



Facebook User

The power of the left’s ‘woke’ brainwashing on children*

3.

The Nordic Picture

Anti-LGBT+ Sentiment in the Nordic Countries





Anti-LBGTO Rhetoric On The Rise In The Nordic Region

The patterns observed in Reykjavík mirror a broader Nordic trend. The growing online hostility, polarised debates, and moral panic around queer visibility seen in Iceland reflect narratives spreading across the region.

When misinformation about LGBTQ+ education appeared in Reykjavík in 2023, local actors recognised it instantly—they had seen the same story unfold in other Nordic countries. This shows how digital narratives, memes, and rhetoric travel easily across borders, shaping local attitudes and fuelling the same fears.

Understanding Reykjavík’s online climate therefore means viewing it as part of a shared Nordic digital ecosystem—one where rising anti-LGBTQ+ rhetoric, often framed around “protecting children” or restricting trans rights, reinforces the very dynamics described throughout this report. In 2024 [ILGA Europe documented](#) a stark rise in anti-LGBT+ rhetoric from politicians across the European Union, much of it targeting trans people. The Nordic Countries, often seen as progressive forerunners, are no exception. Here we also find a picture of increasing hostility and growing anti-LGBT+ rhetoric is clear.

In **Denmark** verbal attacks and hate speech towards gender- and sexual minorities [on Facebook have risen with 50 and 19% since 2021](#). The number of comments and the share of the debate about LGBT+ people had increased with around 30%.

The Norwegian online debate on queers has exploded in size, especially due to the polarized discussions on trans rights, where 47% of the engagement on the topic on Twitter is hostile. But also comments on pride are seeing increased hostility, according to a report from 2023 .

In **Finland** the number of hatecrimes, including harassment and hatespeech [increased with 54% between 2022 and 2023](#) (10). [66% of Finlands Pride events in 2023](#) (11) reported the events had been subject to hate crimes or hate speech.

In **Sweden** a growing the number of youth reporting they’re being bullied in school for being LGBT+ Has increased [from 36% in 2019 to 58% in 2023](#), a trend that is mimiced in Denmark and Sweden.

”Think Of The Children...”

According to ILGA, there is a broader trend in using protection of children as a rhetorical tool to back up anti-LGBTQ+ rhetoric. The narrative about LGBTQ+ people being a threat to children is seen across the Nordics. focusing on two main themes: Trans minors and LGBTQ+ visibility among children and youth. Many of the themes are heavily inspired by US culture wars, focusing on the dangers of pride flags, books and drag queens near kids.

Politicians have suggested banning pride flags in schols in Norway (13) and Denmark (14), and it’s an ongoing debate in Sweden. Books for kids about trans identities have also been met with suggestions of bans (15) or even organising public book burnings. (16)

Both Denmark, Finland, Sweden and Norway have seen protests, media frenzy and even engagement from politicians around the topic of drag queens performing for kids, accusing them of “grooming” the children they perform to.

The rhetoric around grooming kids also frames the debate on medical and gender affirming care for trans minors, with a documentary like “The trans train” in Sweden setting a precedent (17) for the idea that young people are being uped into dangerous and untested treatments.

Hun står bag demonstration mod dragshow: Det er ikke noget, vores børn skal se

Der er arrangeret både en demonstration mod et omdiskuteret børneshow på Frederiksberg Bibliotek samt en moddemonstration.

 kosmopol Udarbejdet af [TV 2 Kosmopol](#)



Police remove agitators from Helsinki Pride event at Oodi library

The protestors attempted to disrupt a story time event hosted by a drag queen for children aged 6-10.

Dragshow for barn:

Ønsker forbud: - Kaller det indoktrinering

Remi Johansen Hovda (31) turnerer med dragshow for barn. Slike show er blitt møtt med kraftig raseri av kritikere. - De skjønner ikke helt.

 Sverigedemokraterna · Følg

7. maj 2023 · 🌐

Är det rimligt att skattefinansierade dragqueens ska läsa sagor för barn?

Vi tycker att det är orimligt att en dragqueen som kallar sig "Skamlös Vinhora" får läsa sagor för barn på ett kommunalt bibliotek och få betalt för det. Är det barnen som önskat detta, eller de vuxna?

Se översättning

**Varför ska dragqueens få skattepengar för att läsa sagor för barn?**

**Jimmie Åkesson**
Partiledare

SD

 3,2 tusind

617 kommentarer 284 delingar

The Trans Panic

Aside from concern for minors, the debate on trans people is mostly centered on the narrative that trans women pose some form of threat to women and girls in particular.

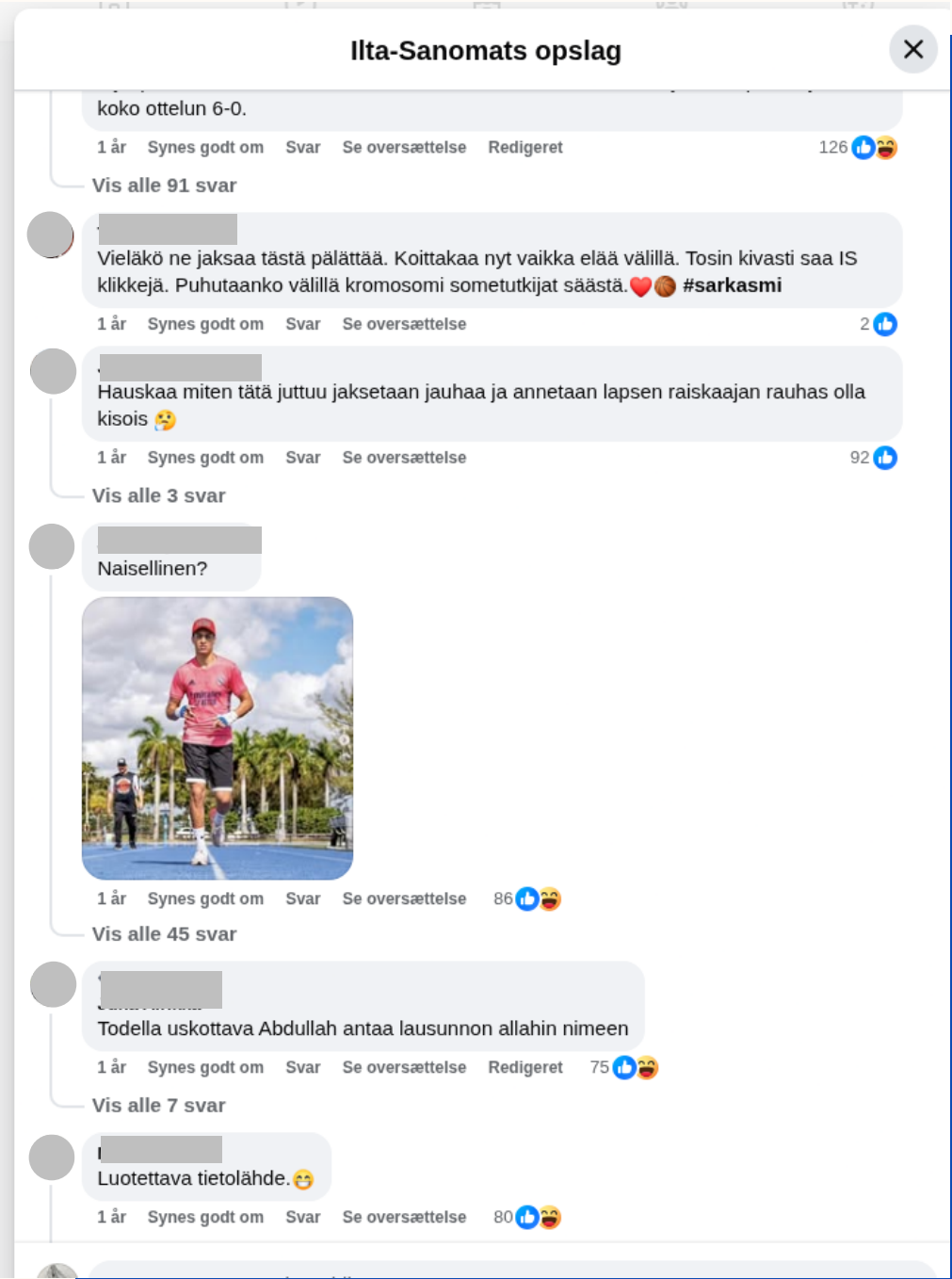
The narratives center around portraying trans women as men “dressing up” to enter womens only spaces. This can take the form of accusing trans women form of sexualised harassment of lesbians, a debate that is regularly featured in both Norway (18) and Denmark(19), but also extends to discussions on anything from prisons to saunas.

One topic that is continuously covered by media and sparks outrage in the comment sections is trans women participating in sports. The narrative is generally that the few trans women athletes that compete are mediocre men trying to trick women out of their medals. In some instances, the accusations are leveraged towards ciswomen who are deemed to be masculine, like the boxer Imane Khelif. This case received wide media coverage in all Nordic countries, from local (20)to National newspapers (21)



Comment section from Swedish tabloid Aftonbladets article on Imane Khelif

An article on Imane Khelif shared on finnish Tabloid Ilta-Sanomats Facebook page garners 676 comments, mostly derogatory and accusing her of being a man. Posts on the finnish tabloid’s Facebook averages are between 30 (lowest) and 300 (highest), all posts about imane Khelif were 300+ comments. Similar patterns in other media, stories about “men in womens sports” get mass engagement in the comments.



Inappropriate Pride

Pride parades are seeing an increase in hostilities, a turn after politicians and mainstream organisations started supporting prides in the Nordics through the 10’s.

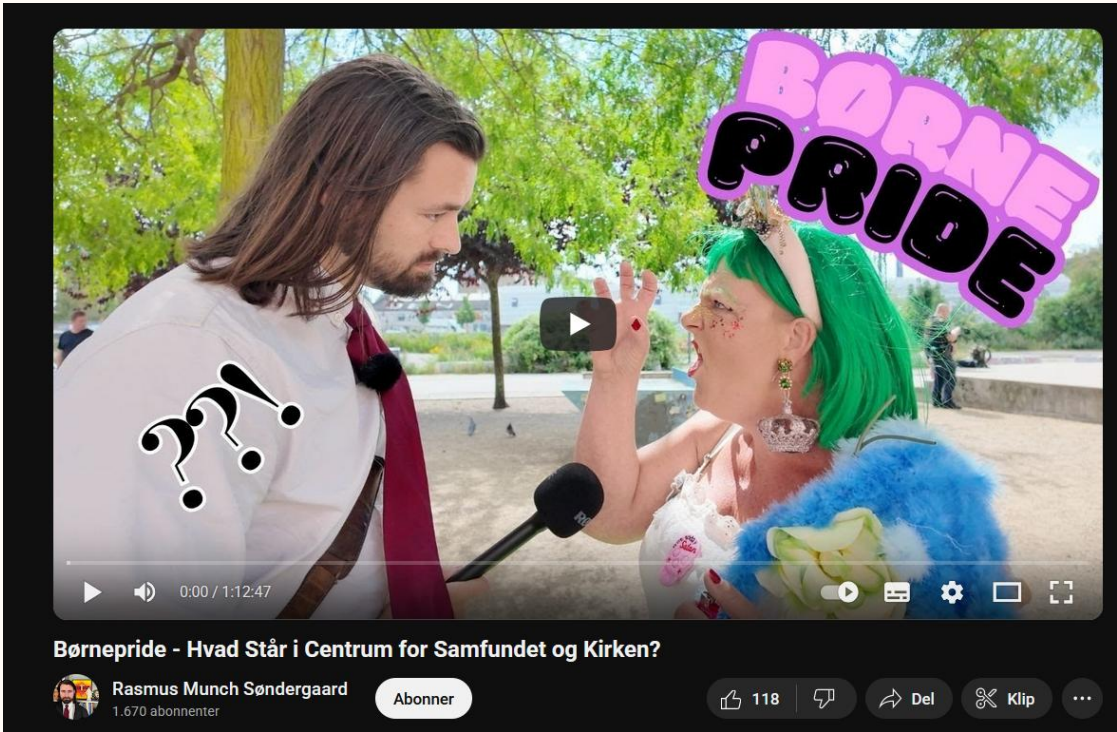
Increasingly, however, pride events are accused of being inappropriate, celebrating pedophilia and pushing sexual perversions into innocent bystanders, especially children.

The narrative is often pushed by fringe religious, conspiracy or political groups, but also echoed in local media and sometimes elected politicians in the time around pride parades. For instance, Swedish Democrat Björn Söder shared images of adult men in fetish gear falsely claiming they were from Stockholm Pride and involved kids. (22) These and similar photos are shared to disparage pride events globally, according to a fact check from Reuters.(23)

In Finland, 21 out of 56 pride events (24) reported olitical opposition, either online, on the City Council and in local media in 2024.

Far-right counterprotesters are regularly tagerting parades in both Stockholm, Copenhagen (25), Sweden (26) and Finland (27).

A local pride event for kids is met with accusations of inappropriateness on Facebook. The event was also targeted by far right counterproters and content creators.



Nordiska motståndsrörelsen demonstrerade mot bögparaden

Författare: Redaktionens E-post: redaktionen@nordfront.se Publicerad: 2024-08-04 10:30

Article on Nordic neop-nazi website Nordfront on counterdemonstrating against Stockholm Pride in 2024

4.

How Online and Offline Worlds Interact

Exploring Lived Experiences Through Qualitative
Interviews





Qualitative Interviews : Lived Experiences in Reykjavík

To better understand how safety is experienced by LGBTQ+ individuals in their daily lives, qualitative interviews were conducted as part of the report's methodological foundation. This approach allows for new perspectives and deeper insights that quantitative methods alone cannot provide, adding nuance to the statistical findings.

In these interviews we chose a specific focus on youth and how they experience daily lives as LGBTQ+ individuals in Reykjavik. However, qualitative methods are limited in that they reflect only what is known to the interviewees. In this case, the interviews were conducted not directly with young queer individuals, but with professionals who work closely with them.

Three key actors with direct contact and expertise in queer youth issues were interviewed:

- **Samtökin '78** – An umbrella organization for LGBTQ+ people in Iceland with broad experience of queer living conditions.
- **Trans Ísland** – An organization for trans people working both politically and to create safe meeting spaces.
- The Queer Youth Center – A dedicated space offering weekly activities and support for queer youth.

The interviews lasted between 30 minutes and one hour and covered themes such as living conditions, safety, and incidents affecting feelings of safety online and offline. Two interviews were conducted in person in Reykjavík and one via video call. All were held in English. The following section summarizes the main findings from these interviews.

Queer People are Feeling Less Safe

All interview participants described a worsening situation when asked about how it is like to be young and queer in Reykjavik.

Several noted that this decline has been evident over the past three to five years, with a marked deterioration during the last year. This supports the digital analysis findings, which show a clear shift toward harsher and more polarised online language.

All interviewees emphasised that the tone of online debate affects young people broadly - not only those who identify as queer.

Negative online narratives influence some children to adopt more hostile attitudes toward queer peers, while queer youth themselves report feeling less safe.

Participants pointed out that anti-queer content is not new, but it has changed in scale and visibility. What once appeared as occasional comments has now become a normalised and recurring feature of everyday online life.

“

Young people or young kids are parroting the things that are being said online by adults. So they're saying trans people are mentally ill, trans people are pedophiles, they're grooming children, the queer propaganda, you know, all of that stuff that is prevalent in many social media spheres. It doesn't take very much for kids to get caught up in the algorithm of these sites.

“

I have been in this position for 10 years. This is the first time I've experienced so much hatred and so much, you know, just... violence on the Facebook platform or on the social media platform towards queer kids.

Online Events Bleed Into the Offline World

Findings from the digital analysis reflect the same themes raised in the interviews, showing how online debates increasingly spill over into physical spaces.

Discussions around trans rights, healthcare, and participation in sports were described as particularly toxic within the queer community. As one interviewee expressed, these conflicts are “wounds bleeding out from the internet and onto the streets.”

A recurring example illustrates this connection well.

In recent years, queer people in Iceland have reported being barked at in public—imitating dogs—an act inspired and spread through social media.

This behaviour tends to resurface during periods of heightened online hostility, described by interviewees as almost an “epidemic of barking.”

Similarly, online debates about queer symbols and rainbow flags have been mirrored offline through acts of vandalism.

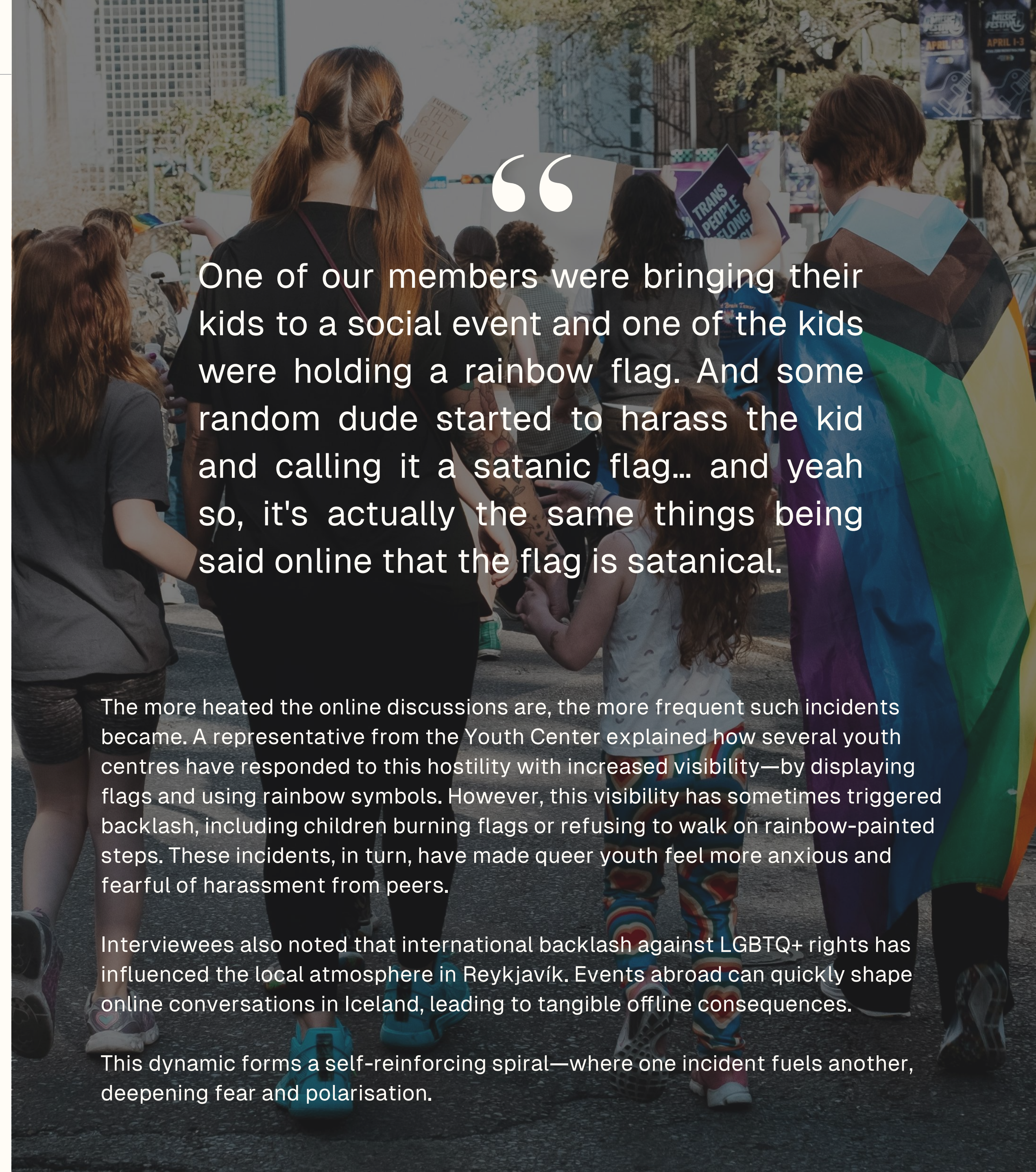
“

One of our members were bringing their kids to a social event and one of the kids were holding a rainbow flag. And some random dude started to harass the kid and calling it a satanic flag... and yeah so, it's actually the same things being said online that the flag is satanical.

The more heated the online discussions are, the more frequent such incidents became. A representative from the Youth Center explained how several youth centres have responded to this hostility with increased visibility—by displaying flags and using rainbow symbols. However, this visibility has sometimes triggered backlash, including children burning flags or refusing to walk on rainbow-painted steps. These incidents, in turn, have made queer youth feel more anxious and fearful of harassment from peers.

Interviewees also noted that international backlash against LGBTQ+ rights has influenced the local atmosphere in Reykjavík. Events abroad can quickly shape online conversations in Iceland, leading to tangible offline consequences.

This dynamic forms a self-reinforcing spiral—where one incident fuels another, deepening fear and polarisation.



Safety in Offline Spaces

All interviewees described how the sense of safety for young LGBTQ+ people in Reykjavík varies by location, time of day, and degree of visibility. Being visibly queer often increases the risk of harassment in public spaces.

Many young people feel unsafe at school but find refuge in dedicated safe spaces such as community events or weekly meetings at the Queer Youth Center.

Reportedly unsafe environments include public transport (especially buses), downtown areas at night, and swimming pools without gender-neutral changing rooms. Classrooms were also mentioned as unsafe for queer students.

Mainstream youth centres, leisure activities, and sports are often perceived as not fully inclusive, leaving queer youth with only a few genuinely safe spaces in the city.

“

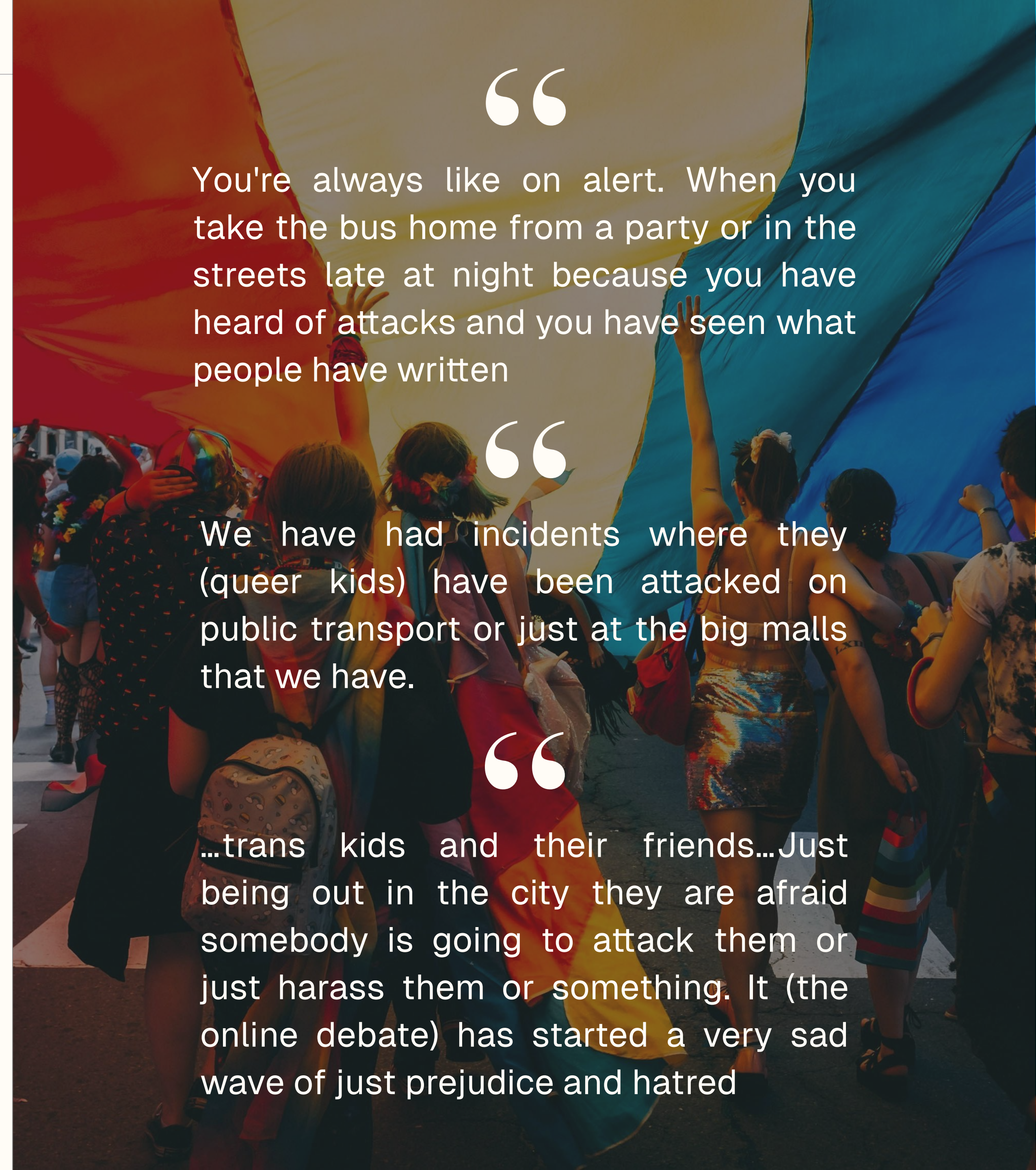
You're always like on alert. When you take the bus home from a party or in the streets late at night because you have heard of attacks and you have seen what people have written

“

We have had incidents where they (queer kids) have been attacked on public transport or just at the big malls that we have.

“

...trans kids and their friends...Just being out in the city they are afraid somebody is going to attack them or just harass them or something. It (the online debate) has started a very sad wave of just prejudice and hatred



Online Hostility Shaping Everyday Safety

All interview participants agreed that the growing hostility in online debates directly affects the safety of young queer people.

Wearing queer symbols such as rainbow flags, having brightly coloured hair, or dressing outside gender norms can make them more vulnerable to harassment.

As the online climate has intensified, many queer children have begun concealing their identities in public. A representative from the Youth Center described it as “bringing their incredible selves in a bag just to feel safe.”

This sense of insecurity limits fundamental rights—freedom of expression, freedom of movement, and freedom of speech—showing how digital hostility translates into real-world restrictions.

“

“People take precautions walking downtown late at night(...) Wear dull clothes over their shiny ones, not hold hands, try to make themselves smaller in the public space.”

“

“Just because they have maybe blue-collared hair or dress in a goth way or something. Because they (queer youth) say that they feel like they give people permission (to harass them) based on how they act or dress.

We have had a couple of kids who are just dressing you know mainstream in the day and then they come to us with their clothes and their makeup in a bag and then they dress up as they feel like(...)kids have always just come to the youth center and just been their incredible self, but now they are bringing their incredible self in the bag just to feel safe”



5.

Ways Forward

What Civil Society Calls For

Suggestions for Ways Forward

At the end of the interviews, participants were asked to suggest initiatives that could strengthen the sense of safety for queer youth online.

Several ideas were highlighted:

- **Online outreach and platforms:** Establishing a digital meeting place for queer youth to complement the physical Youth Center and increase accessibility beyond opening hours.
- **Stronger moderation:** Ensuring active moderation of comment sections managed by media outlets, the municipality, politicians, and government institutions.
- **School representation:** Appointing a queer spokesperson or representative in each school with a clear mandate to promote inclusion and address discrimination.
- **Education on hate speech:** Increasing discussions and awareness about hate speech and its impact within schools.
- **Positive visibility:** Strengthening existing “love bombing” initiatives in social media—encouraging supportive comments to counter online hostility.

“

When you see a group of people coming to the comment section where a lot of hate has been written and like drowning it in positive stuff and hearts.. that is really good to see and I think it actually works.. to drown the negative voices. Instead of discussing just love pumping. That is one positive we can do more of



Footnotes

1. <https://reykjavik.is/sites/default/files/2022-10/Mannr%C3%A9ttindastefnaenska2016.pdf>
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