



WP2

National qualitative and quantitative report

United Kingdom

Part I: Analysis of online hate speech in social
networks and digital media

Part II: Qualitative research on counter-narratives

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Race on The Agenda

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PART I: ANALYSIS OF ONLINE HATE SPEECH IN SOCIAL NETWORKS AND DIGITAL MEDIA

CHAPTER 1. ANALYSIS OF ONLINE RACE HATE SPEECH on Social media

Who writes hate speech?

Our analysis found that most online race hate speech, both explicit and more subtle forms of racism, came from individuals associated with far right groups. ...

However, race hate speech online is not exclusive to these far right groups. The terminology is commonly used by trolls: individuals who obsessively attack particular groups, or provoke users with insults and aggressive comments. These profiles are responsible for much of the hate speech on social media. It is difficult to properly gauge the scale of the problem and consequently, design appropriate strategies to comb at it.

Objectives of the analysis

This analysis seeks to source web spaces and social networks that share hate speech in more subtle ways. We want to track people with public profiles and followings, with the ability and intention to influence public and political opinion. With the economic downturn and uncertainties facing Europe, far-right parties have made inroads with voters on the left and right of the political spectrum.

Our objective is to analyse who says **what and how** and come up with new messages and counter-narratives that can mobilise audiences against far right rhetoric.

Sample and analysis methodology

A selection of content was gathered by an algorithm that recognised keywords, descriptors and profiles indicated in each country and each platform. Subsequently, a team analysed and classified the collected sample. For the data gathering of this report, specific keywords have been identified in each country¹.

Each partner has revised the standard keywords to adapt them to their national context and translate them to national languages.

For each theme, the keywords are divided into “search” words and “control” words. For example, a new tweet containing the keyword *migrant* (search word) that also contains *bird* (control word) the new tweet will be discarded.

Collection of the sample and selection criteria

- I. **2 daily online newspapers** analysis of the comments generated about articles on migration and ethnic minorities. The selection criteria to choose the newspapers should include:
 - The existence of space for comments on the article
 - High audience, national coverage, non-extreme editorial line

¹ See the keywords selected for the analysis of this national report in Annexes

- II. **3 Twitter accounts** per country following previously set profiles:
- a) **Political profile:** Institutional or political representatives that often employ anti-immigrant and xenophobic discourses.² Hate speech generated by politicians has greater scope, impact and credibility. Given specific situations, their discourses use discontent and prejudices rooted in different sections of society to articulate racist and hate speech. Brexit and the refugee crisis are clear examples. The absorption of far-right discourses into populist rhetoric is clear to see in the analysis.³
 - b) **Media profile:** well-known political journalists that discuss issues of migration and those affecting ethnic minorities thoughtfully and with respectful language. These are both possible examples of counter narratives but can also trigger hate speech in response. Selected as a “control”.
 - d) **Activist profile:** Pro Human Rights/anti-racism activists identified as using positive counter-narratives that can trigger hate speech responses. Profiles characterized by respectful language and pro Human Rights speech. Selected as a “control”.
- III. **Hashtags:** Analysis of "neutral" hashtags on Twitter generated by institutions and civil society for example **March 21, International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination**, which can be speech triggers.

Frequency and content of the information gathered

- I. **Online media:**
 - Usual information without trigger events
 - Content on immigration, racism or ethnic minorities due to predefined keywords
 - Quantitative approximation for a significant period: One week of informative follow-up, in subsequent weeks; Monday on first week, Tuesday on second week, Wednesday in third week, and so on, starting on February 26.
- II. **Twitter profiles:**
 - Usual information without trigger events
 - Content on migration, racism, ethnic minorities using predefined keywords
 - Quantitative approximation in a significant period: Five weeks of informative follow-up.
- III. **Hashtags:**
 - March 21 and one week onwards.

² In Britain, Prime Minister David Cameron, referred to the arrival of migrants and refugees as 'swarm' or claimed to have a rescue plan for Muslim women. In France, Manuel Valls as Minister of Interior, referred to Romanian people as people 'with customs confronting ours'. In Spain, Juan Ignacio Zoido, Minister of the Interior, is being especially active in criminalizing migrants who arrive on the Andalusian coast, calling on Government to take measures to imprison migrants. The speech includes terms such as "alarming avalanche", "coordinated attack" or "assault on the coasts".

³ Pascal Perrineau: *"Lepenization of the spirits"*. The democratic parties go on integrating the speeches from the extreme right referring to national preference, etc.

- European dimension: A common date with common hashtags.
- The hashtags were selected from the most followed among the ones launched by institutions (EU, UNHCR, IOM) and CSO (ECRE, AI, Oxfam, etc.)

Table 1. Period and frequency of the analysis by source and country

Source	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
Week 1 (26/02-4/03)							
Online media (10)	Spanish (2)	Italian (2)	French (2)	German (2)	British (2)	Spanish (2)	Italian (2)
Twitter profiles (15)	All profiles (15) of all countries (5)						
Week 2 (5-11/03)							
Online media (10)	French (2)	German (2)	British (2)	Spanish (2)	Italian (2)	French (2)	German (2)
Twitter profiles (15)	All profiles (15) of all countries (5)						
Week 3 (12-18/03)							
Online media (10)	British (2)	Spanish (2)	Italian (2)	French (2)	German (2)	British (2)	Spanish (2)
Twitter profiles (15)	All profiles (15) of all countries (5)						
Hastags				All hastags			
Week 4 (19-25/03)							
Online media (10)	Italian (2)	French (2)	German (2)	British (2)	Spanish (2)	Italian (2)	French (2)
Twitter profiles (15)	All profiles (15) of all countries (5)						
Hastags	All hastags						
Week 5 (26/03-01/04)							
Online media (10)	German (2)	British (2)	Spanish (2)	Italian (2)	French (2)	German (2)	British (2)
Twitter profiles (15)	All profiles (15) of all countries (5)						
Hastags	All hastags						
Week 6 (02-08/04)							
All collected contents	Content upload and categorization on the database						
Week 7 (09-15/04)							
All collected contents	Content upload and categorization on the database						

DESIGN OF THE DATABASE AND CATEGORIES: Classifying and systematizing the gathered information

1. Typology

1.1. Hate speech

Insulting, degrading language associated with the sexuality, ethnicity of the victim and/or language that incites discrimination and/or violence against these people and/or groups.

Example: "A Muslim called in @TherealNihal show saying Islam is not compatible with the UK. Admire the honesty; now fuck off out of the UK." Tommy Robinson, Far right commentator

1.2. Stereotypes and prejudices

Simplified and generalised ideas about people belonging to a community, without taking into account individual differences. They usually refer to perceived negative behaviours and attitudes. They do not provide data to support their arguments.

Example: "The reason Muslim women wear the burka: [photo]I choose to wear this because Muslim men cannot control their sexual urges & will rape me if I dress like normal women." Tommy Robinson, Far right commentator

1.3. Rumour

Statement made with false information about people or groups, disseminated without demonstrating their veracity.

Example: "Could just be a gas accident. But, there again, #Leicester is one of the most colonised cities in England, so a #jihadi bomb factory might have just gone up!" Nick Griffin, Far right commentator

1.4. Trap argument

Comments that deny the debate. Placing it in an unrealistic scenario.

Example: "How about, it's time to act on sex abusing grooming gangs, instead? #TelfordGrooming #Rotherham #Priorities #leadership" Nadine Dorries, Conservative MP

1.5. Speech against collaboration and/or help

Critical and negative discourse towards ethnic minorities, indirectly criticizing institutions or entities that protect the rights of these minority groups.

Example: "Maybe stop funding programmes that support illegals, free medical services, free welfare money, free housing, yet they seem to not do anything about government funded programs. Once that stops they would stop coming." Comment on Daily Mail article [online]

1.6. Collateral criticisms. Other forms of excluding speech

Excluding and/or degrading comments in texts related to minorities. Attacks and criticisms of collateral subjects without direct reference to these groups.

Example: "I see you have quite rightly condemned anti Muslim hate mail that has recently been sent; will you also be condemning the anti "non Muslim" hate literature that is in the Koran, such as Quran 9:5 (the infamous verse of the sword inciting mass murder)...are you MAME hypocrite?" Message sent to Tell MAMA.

1.7. Alternative speech & counter-narratives

Speech made from respect and support for Human Rights and migration laws; criticise, refine or refute inaccuracies and/or lies in the information and/or comments; or deny rumours.

Example: "All very well but let us not force people to learn English if they don't want to. We have enough tyranny in this country as it is. Comment on article in The Telegraph [online]

2 Country of origin of the source

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------|
| 2.1. Spain | 2.4. Italy |
| 2.2. France | 2.5. Germany |
| 2.3. United Kingdom | |

3 Geographical situation of the fact (European level only).

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| 3.1. Spain | 3.4. Italy |
| 3.2. France | 3.5. Germany |
| 3.3. United Kingdom | 3.6. Other EU countries |

4. Source

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| 4.1. Online newspaper | 4.2. Social networks (Twitter) |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|

5 Author:

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 5.1. Journalist | 5.5. Independent subject |
| 5.2. Politician | 5.6. Activist |
| 5.3. Public institution | 5.7. Other |
| 5.4. Private institution | |

6 Subject/ topic

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 6.1. Ethnic hate (racism, xenophobia) | 6.4. Refuge |
| 6.2. Islamophobia | 6.5. Religious hate (hate of religious activists against other people) |
| 6.3. Anti-Semitism | |

7 Presence of other biased discriminations (intersectionality)

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------|-----|--|
| 7.1. | Sexual orientation | 7.4 | Aporaphobia (aversion/dislike of the poor) |
| 7.2. | Women | | |
| 7.3. | Disabilities | | |

8 Informative genre

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------|-------|-------------------|
| 8.1. | Picture (with caption) | 8.6. | Editorial article |
| 8.2. | Tweet | 8.7. | Letter |
| 8.3. | Hashtag | 8.8. | Interview |
| 8.4. | Opinion piece | 8.9. | Aswer (comment) |
| 8.5. | News | 8.10. | Other |

9 Date

10 Title

11 Subtitle

12 URL

Methodological matters

Difficulty of the analysis of twitter and social networks: Why we chose neutral spaces for the analysis.

Several studies⁴ point out difficulties when analysing quantitative and qualitative data from social networks such as twitter⁵, due to the huge flow of information that needs to be collected. Therefore, the present work proposal is based on a qualitative approach. The DEMOS Institute⁶ and studies of social network using a quantitative methodology have found that trigger events, particularly terrorist attacks, drive large increases in the volume of Twitter messages that contain this type of language.

DEMOS tracked hate spaces and reviewed thousands of insults from multiple perspectives. The study did not provide concrete solutions. When reviewing radical speech spaces, it was difficult to propose counter-narratives to followers that convinced users. Likewise, people who feel little identification with such radical discourse are much less attracted to them. Generally, people follow the spaces that best suit their opinions and ideology.

We used this to inform our analysis of neutral web spaces. As “neutral” we mean spaces, hashtags or social networks that fall outside the movements of extreme ideology:

- Spaces with diverse participation that allow users to analyse a multiplicity of perspectives and discourses.
- More subtle extreme ideology discourses, proposed to reach more effectively people who are not ideologically involved and gain followers. Gain presence and participation of people who do not accept extreme speeches.

Difficulty in the collection of content by the SPIDER

The algorithms used to select the texts from descriptors and profiles indicated in each country and each platform did not always determine a significant number of results. Researchers had the impression that a relevant quantity of data and information went lost.

Researchers thus deemed necessary to complete the data collected through the SPIDER with a desk research made by themselves.

Moreover, we want to underline that Tweeter is not a representative window of society. It tends to be used by younger groups, more socio-economically privileged and more urban. The poorest, most marginalised and most vulnerable groups in society are less represented on Tweeter. A particularly important issue when studying the prevalence of xenophobia, Islamophobia and reporting incidents of hate.

CHAPTER 2. QUANTITATIVE ANALISYS

⁴ *From Brussels to Brexit: Islamophobia, Xenophobia, Racism and Reports of Hateful Incidents on Twitter*. Centre for the Analysis of Social Media, Demos, 2016

⁵ According to Global Web Index (2015) Twitter is a basic social network of information and networks such as Facebook, Instagram or Google+ have other objectives

⁶ Demos is Britain's leading cross-party think-tank. www.demos.co.uk, add Uni of Sussex work

2.1.- General conclusions of the analysis in the UK

Following the methodology mentioned in *Chapter 1* of this report, the data gathered for this analysis have been based on the following sources in the UK:

ANALYSIS OF DIGITAL MEDIA (APRIL 17 - APRIL 22): A shortlist of digital sources has been monitored in order to identify racist and other types of hate speech within news items and comments to them by readers. The analysis of each country has been made on a sample of dates: one week of informative follow-up in subsequent weeks. The digital media sources selected in the UK were the *Daily Mail*, *The Sun*, *The Times* and *The Telegraph*.

ANALYSIS OF TWITTER PROFILES (FEBRUARY 26 – APRIL 1):

Activists

Activist profiles with good practices: challenging hate speech and misinformation messages with logic, fact or humour, that in turn, trigger hate speech responses. These profiles are characterised by respectful language and pro-Human Rights speech. The Twitter profiles selected in the UK have been journalists **Owen Jones** and **Yasmin Alibhai-Brown** and Anti-Hate Crime NGOs, Tell MAMA and Stop Hate. Jones and Alibhai Brown were also chosen for their large followings (727K and 21.1K Twitter followers respectively) and political activity on the ground.

Populist politicians

Profiles of populist politicians that use xenophobic discourses to justify and normalise racist policies were selected. The impact of the speech is significant and entails a high legitimacy as a representative of the State. **Nigel Farage**, UKIP and **Boris Johnson**, until recently, Foreign Secretary were selected.

Sadiq Khan, Mayor of London and **Jeremy Corbyn**, Leader of the Labour party were chosen as “control elements”: political profiles that trigger hate speech responses.

From the 38 impacts registered in the sources in the UK, 20 were categorised as Hate Speech, 8 as rumours, 4 as Speech against Collaboration or Help, 3 as collateral criticism, and 1 of following as, alternative speech, trap arguments and stereotypes.

By author, 6 impacts came from independent subjects, 8 from politicians, 1 from public institutions, 3 from private institutions, 1 by an activist. Most of the comments referred to ethnic hate, followed by Islamophobia and anti-Semitism.

The information gathered was mainly via tweets, but online newspapers, pictures and videos were also used as sources

2.2.- Nature of the comments.

As presented in **Table 2**, ethnic hate and Islamophobia were the most prevalent type of hate speech, with 29 examples of this in our analysis.

Examples of Hate Speech



I'd personally send every adult male Muslim that has come into the EU over the past 12 months back tomorrow if I could. Fake refugees.

Tommy Robinson, a former leader of the EDL, who has been at the forefront of islamophobic hate speech tweets:

"I'd personally send every adult male Muslim that has come into the EU over the past 12 months back tomorrow if I could. Fake refugees."



Sadiq Khan, Mayor of London, reads out a number of hate tweets he has received in <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YsVPWSDrGe8>
"I say KILL the Mayor of London and you will be rid of ONE Muslim Terrorist".

MICK KING @micking1970

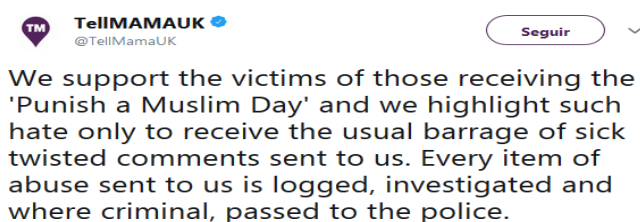
En respuesta a @iamaafaq @SadiqKhan y a 2 más

Khan is a traitor to the beautiful country of Great Britain and needs to be sacked for his inaction against terrorism in the capital. #erradicateislam

The above Tweet, directed towards Sadiq Khan, calls for Islam to be eradicated.

Collateral criticisms, degrading comments that attack individuals without a direct reference to their group or community, are the second most repeated typology.

Good examples of this are the responses on social media to “punish a Muslim day”. Tell Mama’s statement in support of victims of ‘Punish a Muslim’ day triggered further examples of collateral criticisms:



“we support the victims of those receiving the ‘Punish a Muslim Day’ and we highlight such hate only to receive the usual barrage of sick twisted comments sent to us.”

One of such responses and forms of collateral criticism is:

Message Body:

I see that you have quite rightly condemned this anti Muslim hate mail that has recently been sent; will you also be condemning the anti "non Muslim" hate literature that is contained in the Koran, such as Quran 9:5 (the infamous verse of the sword inciting mass murder): "Then, when the sacred months have passed, slay the idolaters wherever ye find them, and take them (captive), and besiege them, and prepare for them each ambush. But if they repent and establish worship and pay the poor-due, then leave their way free". Verse 9:5 teaches Muslims to commit mass-murder yet you don't publicly condemn that literature and hate do you! Quran 9:29: "Fight against such of those who have been given the Scripture as believe not in Allah nor the Last Day, and forbid not that which Allah hath forbidden by His messenger, and follow not the Religion of Truth, until they pay the tribute readily, being brought low. Here, Allah the Islamic God commands Muslims to attack and kill the so-called 'people of the book' (i.e. Jews and Christians), until they are defeated and submitted to the supremacy of Islam and, in willing humiliation, pay jizya (submission) tax to Muslims. Like verse 9:5, 9:29 this is a call to mass murder and extermination, yet you don't condemn that! The Quran contains at least 109 verses that speak hatred of nonbelievers, usually on the basis of their status as non-Muslims. Some are quite graphic, with commands to chop off heads and fingers and kill infidels (non Muslims) wherever they may be hiding. Muslims who do not join the fight are called 'hypocrites' and warned that Allah will send them to Hell if they do not join the slaughter. I don't see you condemning this hateful literature; I don't see MAMS calling for this worse "hateful crime" perpetrated BY Muslims to be prosecuted with the full force of the law WHY- are you at MAME hypocrites, do you agree with Islamic literature that spreads hate, does MAME not count hateful literature when its hidden behind the cloak of it's religion?

“I see that you have quite rightly condemned this anti-Muslim hate mail that has recently been sent; will you also be condemning the anti “non-Muslim” hate literature that is contained in the Koran, such as the Quran 9:5... Verse 9:5 teaches muslims to commit mass murder yet you don’t publicly condemn that literature and hate do you!”

False and unverified information turned into rumour was the third most common form of hate speech. Below is an important example of how statements are made based on false information about individuals or groups but are nevertheless disseminated widely without evidencing their veracity.

Article called “Speaking the English language is key to acceptance”
<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/03/17/speaking-english-language-key-acceptance/>
 Below are some of the responses to this article:

M Mullen 18 Mar 2018 2:47PM

Paul Gee, you don't understand, or don't want to.

The vast majority of ex-Pats living in Spain have no desire to change the culture of Spain. They just want to enjoy the sun while many live out their retirement.

And they bring wealth earned in Britain to Spain, to our detriment but to the great betterment of Spain.

The overwhelming majority of immigrants coming to Britain are entirely different. They have no wealth to bring. They use the welfare system to the full and if they do pay tax it doesn't remotely cover the cost of accommodating them.

Meanwhile many refuse to accept British values and precepts and instead demand special treatment, requiring us to adapt to them, rather than they adapt to us.

And madly, the real British people living in Britain and who simply wish to live and work as they have always lived and worked are classified as "white supremacists".

In truth, the real British are downtrodden and abused at every turn.

But you know all the that, don't you?

re hypothecation 18 Mar 2018 11:38AM

Check out the laws for commonwealth citizens. It's pretty clear we need to change the laws and remove the right to citizenship. Who for example thinks it makes sense that Bangladeshis and Pakistanis have any right to chain migration. The laws were designed for a time when few could make it over. Now the country is being flooded with culturally misaligned people, many of whom, think it's acceptable to rape and murder white teen girls. Telford, and the rest are the tip of an iceberg and the captain leading this Titanic is absent from the wheelhouse.

Ethnic hate was also the most common message in the subject/topic classification. The recent radical Islamist violence in Europe prompted a spurt of unjustified Islamophobic comments:



- *"Deport and repatriate all muzlims (sic) from the UK or watch terrorists kill innocent people for generations to come. The only realistic choices"*



'Vandal sprays "kill muslims" on disabled man's front door.'

2.3.- Authors and informative genre

Our term 'authors of the discourse' refers to the following:

- Journalist
- Politician

- Public institution
- Private institution
- Independent subject
- Activist
- Other

We classified 'racist speech' as racist messages in the following mediums:

- Picture (with caption)
- Tweet
- Hashtag
- Opinion piece
- News
- Editorial article
- Letter
- Interview
- Answer (comment)
- Other

Among all these types of authors, independent subjects (13) and politicians (8) were the ones who registered the most racist messages along the period of time analysed.

A good example of how the speech against collaboration and help for migrants and refugees is disseminated by some journalists, can be found in articles like the following, published on Daily Telegraph and commented on by independent subjects: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/03/17/speaking-english-language-key-acceptance>

Ivan Idea 17 Mar 2018 11:28PM

Forgive me, but I don't understand the benefits of migrants with incompatible cultures and who do not speak English. Why are they allowed to migrate here?

"Forgive me, but I don't understand the benefits of migrants with incompatible cultures and who do not speak English. Why are they allowed to migrate here?"

The most used informative genre was tweeting (32) because Twitter is an easy way to spread short hate messages. Online newspapers articles and their comments (12) were also prominent.

The following comment posted on the same online news article by *The Telegraph* shows clearly how rumors against immigration can be disseminated in a general way and without contrasting arguments or any demonstration of their veracity.

Marcus Leach 18 Mar 2018 8:01AM

"770,000 people living in England speak little or no English .
.. most of whom were from Pakistani or Bangladeshi communities".

This is no surprise. It comes from a basic fact that muslims are not immigrants but colonisers.

Wherever they have settled in Europe, muslims have repeated the same process.

They establish isolated ethnic ghettos where their culture is perpetuated and enforced. The culture of the host country is excluded and rejected and a systematic campaign to change the host country's culture to accommodate them is pursued. Our weak modern Western liberal values mean that not only does the colonisation meet with little resistance, it is actively encouraged.

The demographics for the islamification of Britain and Europe are terrifying, and the Europe we know will disappear over the coming decades.

2.4.- Sources and others.

ANALYSIS OF TWITTER PROFILES

Two Twitter profiles were selected to analyse the type and prevalence of hate speech in the UK.

Profiles that yielded results in UK:

- **Journalist:** @Owen Jones is Owen Peter Jones is an author, British newspaper columnist, commentator and left-wing political activist. He writes a column for *The Guardian* and *New Statesman*. Followers - 747K

He highlighted and denounced three racist hate speech incidents, two perpetrated by politicians and one against Sadiq Khan, Mayor of London and of Pakistani origin and Muslim faith.

- **Activist/NGO:** @Tell MAMA is an NGO that records anti-Muslim hate crime incidents in the UK. Followers – 27K

Tell MAMA exposed hate speech by far right figures such as Tommy Robinson and Britain First, as well as particular events such as 'Punish a Muslim' day that threatened Muslims with Islamophobic violence.

CHAPTER 3. Qualitative analysis

The quantitative methodologies usually applied in online hate speech analysis highlight the difficulties of working with a huge amount of information. Neither the accuracy of collection nor the emptying of specific examples of hate speech can be guaranteed. They are therefore, imprecise. In addition, the quantitative review can collect non-significant examples and distort the sample. This research therefore performs qualitative sampling following different criteria.

The first criterion involves identifying discourses that foment hatred towards ethnic minorities beyond explicitly racist, xenophobic or discriminatory languages. More "neutral" discourses were also sought, which seek to present as 'common sense', 'the facts' or a justified defence of "what's ours" (scarcity following economic crisis, ours first, America first) from the threat of the customs/ culture/religion of "the others" (European achievements and values).

In this line, the selection of the sample has identified newspapers and profiles of political representatives on Twitter responding to these basic criteria.

3.1. On the analysis of Twitter profiles

Results of the profile analysis on Twitter

I. Owen Jones, journalist and author.

In all three cases, the tweets expose racist hate speech of Conservative MPs and politicians with a link to a newspaper article:

- "Tory MP Bob Blackman apologises after sharing a post with the headline "Muslim Somali sex gang say raping white British children 'part of their culture'", after previously retweeting Tommy Robinson. Yuck: <https://t.co/zWXk5Yy954>
- RT @AaronBastani: "This is the Tories bread and butter. Dog whistle racism. pic.twitter.com/FvLi1jBe0e"
- RT @AdamBienkov: Since politicians are all apparently now responsible for racist comments left on their Facebook pages, here's just a small selection of posts left on the Conservatives' Facebook page during their campaign against Sadiq Khan. pic.twitter.com/CWs54Mw0hS

II. Tell MAMA, NGO profile

Tell MAMA's tweets call out a variety of hate speech, in particular far-right leaders and organisations that target Muslims and Sadiq Khan – Tommy Robinson and Britain First. This is not just confined to UK hate speech. Incidents in US and Europe also feature.

- "Despite the jailing of its leaders, Britain First's Facebook page, which boasts 2million 'likes', is still posting content this morning. pic.twitter.com/1jI07MRquG"
- "'Punish a Muslim Day' - we continue to receive reports of letters received from across the country. Now into double figures. Please report them into us at Tell MAMA or to 101. We are working with police forces on this malicious campaign. pic.twitter.com/4bph2RVBcv"
- RT @Zehra_Zaidi: "You never fooled us. True colour on breathtaking display. Bannon: "We are here to learn from you" (i.e. the Front National) twitter.com/ABC/status/972..."
- RT @Mendelpol: Outrageous tweet from Nadine Dorries, implying the Mayor of London has some kind of responsibility to act over Rotherham or Telford, because he's a Muslim. pic.twitter.com/0qUBCn7tbi

- RT @GedGrebby: #Solihull councillor banned for offensive tweets. @TellMamaUK solihullobserver.co.uk/news/solihull-... Solihull councillor Jeff Potts banned and reprimanded for offensive tweets

CHAPTER 4. Conclusions of the analysis of online media and Twitter profiles

Clickbait and racism are not good companions

Prejudice, rumours and trap arguments are the basis of much online race hate speech. Online media use these discourses to command attention. The headlines playing with ambiguity and highlighting misunderstandings can evoke racist or provoke criminalising ideas. Headlines can highlight xenophobic or racist statements against migrants.

Xenophobia and racism can be the object of "clickbait".

Trigger effect. Inaccurate information generates racist comments

Hostile language and inaccurate language and stereotypes usually generate user participation, either by encouraging further racist opinions, anti-immigration arguments or hate statements or those defending migrants and minorities using anti-racist or human rights perspectives

This highlights the culpability of the media, and journalists, in facilitating and/or promoting dangerous hate speech, whether argued from ideological or merely economic interests.

Journalism and institutional accuracy

Institutional social media profiles can play an important and influential role to help confront, neutralize or reinforce hate speech and arguments. It is necessary to respect and promote their credibility, legitimacy and its privileged position to disseminate information and generate opinion.

The professional and rigorous contribution of journalists and activists committed to the defence of Human Rights is fundamental. They carry out an essential task - to confront falsehoods about immigration and to promote learning from the monitoring and dissemination of good practice.

About needs:

Continue the research; defend the Internet as a public space; and define and characterise hate crime

The current role of social networks and information communication reinforces the need to research, extensively and intensely, the various types of hate speech in social networks. An analysis of the dynamics and strategies of the speeches of online users is required.

We must defend the Internet as part of the public space and, therefore, a safe space for all people and groups. This will require a substantial amount of educational work and the development of clear rules for the defence of vulnerable groups. The objective should be to fight against violence, aggression, discrimination based on race and, ethnicity, as well as other characteristics such as religion, class etc.

ANNEX I. List of KEYWORDS in UK

IMIGRATION POLICIES		CONTROL OF THE MIGRATORY ENTRANCE		SOCIAL CONDITIONS	
search	control	search	control	search	control
Immigrant		Border control		Domestic worker	
Immigration		mediterranean		Benefits System	
Nationality		coastguard		'Benefit claimant'	
Jew		trafficking		'Abuse of benefit	
Roma		smuggle		system'	
Illegal		stowaway		segregation	
immigrant		boat			
Passport		'Immigration			
Undocumented		Detention			
Sovereignty		Center'			
'Take back		expulsion			
control'		internment			
Integration		repatriation			
'British Values'		detention			
		deportation			
		Integration			
SOCIAL CONFLICT		DELINQUENCY and MINORITIES		CONVIVENCE - SOCIOCULTURAL INTEGRATION	
search	control	search	control	search	control
extreme		Radicalised		Islam	
right		Terrorist		Mosque	
far right		Jihadist		Muslim	
fascist		Extremist		Veil	
Islamophobi		Lone Wolf		Hijab	
a				ethnic	
Racism				integration	
Xenophobia				intercultural	
Populist					

Anti-semitism Neonazi				multicultural race	
NATIONALITIES/ ORIGIN COUNTRIES				SPEECH	
Romanian Roma Syrian Pakistani Polish Eastern European <i>Should we be including perjorative terms?</i>				Stereotype Prejudice hate speech discrimination hate crime	

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PART II: QUALITATIVE RESEARCH ON COUNTER-NARRATIVES

CHAPTER 1. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF COUNTER NARRATIVES

1. Sample and sampling process⁷

- Please describe briefly the sample, how you chose the persons to interview and, if relevant, any obstacles encountered when putting together the sample or conducting the interviews.
- Table I: Detailed interview sample

Detailed Sample					
Participant code	Gender	Organisation	Role in and objectives of organisation	Target Group	# of staff and funding
001	M	Greenwich Equality Unity	Co-ordinator; researching rights and responsibilities	BAME people	# not recorded, Local Authority Funded
002	M	Media Diversified	Director; building partnerships recording Diaspora experiences	BAME people or anyone interested in equality or disadvantage	3 staff + 2 interns + 600 writers; funded through subscriptions, donations and small grants
003	M	Voice for Change England	Associate and Volunteer; umbrella organisation creating conditions for BAME members to work and thrive	BAME people	# not available; funded mainly through grants
004	F	Black Training and Enterprise Group	Deputy Chief Executive (role includes media communication); challenging inequality through ground level and policy level	BAME Young People aged 11-30	7 staff; mainly funded through grants
005	F	Runnymede Trust	Policy Officer (role involves general policy work and research); Policy and service delivery to BAME people	BAME people	6 staff; funded through grants and foundations

006	M	17 – 24 – 30 No to Hate Crime Campaign	Director and Founder; Organise acts of remembrance, provide an opportunity for communities to raise awareness and educate the next generation	Any group of people who are victims of hate crime	
007	M	Independent Journalist	Political Journalist;		N/A
008	F	Equality Diversity Forum	Communications Director; Research into public attitudes and development of messages, testing messages that can create can change and shift opinions on issues that we care about.	Charities and Public bodies	N/A
009	F	Faith Forum for London		Young people & those interested in inter faith issues	Grants, foundations, in kind support

2. Conceptualisations of counter-narratives

- Definitions and conceptualisations of counter-narratives (e.g. counter-narratives vs alternative narratives)
- Counter-narratives as a tool for counteracting online hate speech
- Relevant/possible/desired targets of counter-narratives

“A counter-narrative is when you take what someone has said and you deconstructive it in a way that allows people to see an alternative point of view to that view which is being expressed or an alternative course of action.” -

Participant 006 17 – 24 -30 No to Hate Crime Campaign

“Counter-narratives are the ‘opposite’ to hate speech – they are narratives of tolerance, freedom from hostility, freedom to live side by side without fear NB Interviewee reported they do not work directly in the sphere of online hate speech and counter-narratives.” - *Participant 001 Greenwich Equality Unit*

Participants referred to different examples and provided a variety of answers to the question of what they considered to be counter-narratives. What united all actors was the common

understanding that counter-narratives were constructed in relation to *hate speech*, either in complete contrast to it (Participant 001) or by engaging with it to deconstruct it (Participant 006). Participant 002 further highlighted how counter-narratives carry inherent “value [by] putting facts into the public domain” and so are not only “techniques for diffusing offensive speech, [but] for convincing people of alternative ways of looking at things. Participant 004 from the **Black Training and Enterprise Group** - a charity organization that works to reduce racial inequalities for ethnic minority young people – spoke of counter-narratives in relation to the media and discursive representation, stating that whilst mainstream media plays a disproportionately large role in opinion formation, it does not do enough to challenge and correct inflammatory speech across the political spectrum. Thus she ascribes counter-narratives to “a range of initiatives, including blogs, social media and other platforms” that directly attempt to do so. Similarly, participant 009 from **Faiths Forum for London** – a multi-faith organisation bringing together 9 religious communities across London – points out that the most successful counter-narrative strategies were ones that focused on “promoting positive messages - reinforcing that we [human beings] are united, [and] reinforcing that we stand together.” From this initial discussion we can deduce that counter-narratives are embraced by the various actors for their dual functionality: that of *deconstructing* hate and correcting misinformation whilst also *persuading* readers and viewers to consider different views, experiences and perspectives. For Participant 002, **Media Diversified** – a social enterprise and online media platform – the content of what is published can “focus on replying to hate speech with facts and figures” to directly challenge incorrect information and rumours in the mainstream media. Correcting misinformation is thus seen as one of the most important objectives of counter-narratives but several interviewees emphasize the need to do so through an understanding of the target audience. For example, **Voice4Change** – an advocacy group for a more inclusive civil society in the UK – designs their counter-narratives differently depending on whether they are targeting “a public audience [or] policy audience”. Similarly, Participant 005 from **Runnymede Trust** – a race equality think tank – further contends that ways of presenting a counter-narrative can vary greatly but that, through an understanding of your target group, it is necessary to tailor the format and content each time. For participant 007 from **Equality and Diversity Forum** – a capacity building grass roots organisation on strategic communication – counter-narratives are not possibly the most effective way of creating change, as they can reinforce issues in people’s mind. Instead, holding a view similar to participant 009 from **Faiths forum for London**, she feels that focus should be placed on “the outcome we want and the world we want.” With that being said, participant 007 does believe similar to **Voice4Change** and **Runnymede Trust** that counter-narratives can be productive depending on the audience. The participant is keen to ascribe the notion that we should no longer focus on the bad stuff and the impact bad things have, but should be focusing on the outcomes desired and the bigger picture of the world we want.

3. Constructions and development of counter-narratives

- Elaboration and construction of counter-narratives or alternative narratives in general

“We want to engage people before they start becoming components of hate. A lot of our programs are targeted at people on the middle ground, who could probably be persuaded to enjoin in supporting content that is racist, hate speech towards any form to any community. As they go down the funnel of intolerance, hate or extremist ideas – it’s harder to pull them out.” - Participant 009 **Faiths Forum for London**

Depending on the field their organization worked with, interviewees reflected on different counter-narrative development strategies. For instance, **Media Diversified** directly linked article writing with their mission to promote BAME voices in the media as well as “a duty of care to [their] writers... if they receive offensive material”. Thus, although they do not adhere to any “particular policy about how to construct a counter-narrative”, it is integral to **Media Diversified’s** work to respond directly, “sometimes by trying to inform rather than argue”. Additionally, of the strategies they use is “going external” by representing issues of hate speech and producing counter-narratives on other online platforms. Similarly, **BTEG** stated that their primary strategy was both responsive and proactive and included replying to hate speech as well as initiating debate by publishing content that positively portrays BAME young people. Thus it seems that the ways to construct counter-narratives mirrors their dual functionality. Participant 005 from **Runnymede Trust** spoke about using online media, including Twitter, to design their counter-narrative. She explained that, after publishing their counter-narrative on twitter, they can gauge its effect through the comments section and thus try and see whether it has produced an opinion-change. Participant 009 from **Faiths forum for London** spoke about the need for tech companies to support counter-narrative strategies and campaigns, as so much hate speech on social media platforms can go unregulated. He provided an example of Google and a PR company that offered in-kind support for a powerful video campaign.

4. Implementation of counter-narrative initiatives, strategies, and positive actions

- ‘Trash Heaps’ (Media Diversified)
 - Objective: To be responsive (“If there are negative narratives, e.g. about Muslim women, what they wear, what is the widely held view of Muslim women and their lives, the objective is to counteract the commonly held narrative by sharing stories and giving the view of Muslim women, by Muslim women writers.”)
 - Target audience: Varying (“We provide platforms for different groups of people, for example, we invited Sikh writers to put forward positive points of view, show solidarity etc.”)
 - Channels: Web publishing, sometimes extending to external social media, podcasts and TV
 - Form (e.g. video, text, images)
 - Genre: “Our content is factual, our style is direct response. We have a Twitter corporate personality which is tongue-in-cheek, sometimes sarcasm as well and facts, we de-bunk and are responsive to hate speech.”
 - Reactions: “We have a vibrant following of around 60,000 followers who will get engaged with counteracting hate speech online – if they read about a racist tweet for example, they can give a powerful response. We sometimes block the person who is sending abusive or hateful things online.”
 - Assessment of initiatives: Not done
 - Budget: NA
- Voice4Change England
 - Objective: Scoping work and information sharing (“We carry out scoping work, looking for general messages about race equality and the idea that race equality matters, we look to make a push-back in policy [where it does not reflect these principles]. We have a larger project in mind to do, which will have a wider public and policy audience. The outputs of this project will include sharing information, designing a poster for our website and developing our network on Twitter etc. We are working jointly with Runnymede on this.”)
 - Target audience: Policy Makers and Race Equality Advocates

- Channels: Print Media and Text
- Form: 'Pictures not Words'
- Genre: "I think of myself as a 'wholesaler' for race equality work – we are not doing direct policy-changing work, so the use of devices or genres are more relevant to organisations which deal with direct audiences."
- Reactions: From our immediate audience, the advocates, we have gained recognition that we need to do this work better and more effectively. But this is a difficult thing to do, you have to engage both heads and hearts.
- Assessment of initiatives: "We can't do measuring in the accepted sense. How can we measure the extent to which advocates are curious [about aspects of our work] for instance? We hope to gather more extensive feedback, but this is dependent on our larger project receiving funding. A measure might be whether we have succeeded in changing the conversation around race. But we wouldn't be working as an interventionist organisation as such."
- Budget: Not answered

- Black Training and Enterprise Group: *"We act in a direct way. For example, we put out a blog about Ramadan, explaining what it is, countering negative statements and attitudes. We respond to personal experiences of racism. A colleague gets approached by the media - he will come and put his side of things. We are expanding as an organisation. We have a newsletter, which is new, and we put out commentary pieces. We are not a campaigning organisation as such but we want to raise the debate. We get support through the Media Trust, and that will enable our next steps. I know of campaigns by other organisations. (As an aside, interviewee mentioned that she had followed the SOAS campaign around deporting some migrant workers. The issue created hate in the media, but the students led a campaign to support the cleaners, to support migrant workers' rights.)"*
 - Objective: Changing mindsets and giving other perspectives
 - Target audience: Broad ("TV programmes, the Race Disparity Unit, David Lammy's initiative, we are a platform for putting the counter-narrative out there.")
 - Channels: Not answered
 - Form: Images and Text
 - Genre: Factual and Informative
 - Reactions: "In terms of our work with a large organisation – the Construction Industry – we set about challenging attitudes. The reaction initially was resistance, they were defensive at first, even subconsciously they put up barriers, nothing unprofessional or rude, but their defences went up. A few times, when we have written articles in the Guardian, in a positive way, we have had good reactions from readers. A couple of months ago we put something out about youth unemployment statistics and were told to 'f-off' but not by the majority."
 - Assessment of initiatives: Not done
 - Budget: Not answered

- Runnymede Trust: *"I pitch ideas to the media. I am in touch with a network of people who can help put a message across, such as the NEON spokesperson network. There is the Media Training Programme for charities, the Civil Society Organisation, who have expertise to put trained spokespeople in place that can put out the counter-narrative. For example, put them in touch with broadcast media such as SKY. I have a twitter following in the guardian which is a recent development"*
 - Objective: To counter hate speech
 - Target audience: Various

- Channels: Print Media, Online dialogue, Broadcast Media
- Form: Text, writing articles, features, blogs
- Genre: Personal stories as well as data and fact
- Reactions: “Can be positive, can be negative. In the Guardian, commentary on the Government’s Race Disparity Audit received negative comments, such as ‘Black people should sort it for themselves’ and positive comments, the positive narratives tend to humanise the issue.”
- Assessment of initiatives: “In terms of evaluating or measuring success, it is hard to measure a response immediately. Change takes time. It would be good if we had some thorough means of measuring it. Seeing hate speech and trolling is eye-opening. Seeing how it’s falling with the people who oppose you, but also how it resonates with other people even if it’s just a few comments or tweets. We carry out some monitoring. Monitoring of responses.”
- Budget: Not answered
- ‘HOPE’ (17 – 24 – 30 No to Hate Crime Campaign)
 - Objective: delivering National Hate Crime Awareness Week and the Hate Crime campaign ‘HOPE’ (Hate crime awareness, Operational response to hate crime, Preventing hate crime, Empowering communities to report hate crime and access victim support services)
 - Target audience: National UK population, Councils, Police services and Hate Crime Forums
 - Channels: Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn for the UK Hate Crime Network, MailChimp, Wordpress website, Godaddy website, Whatsapp groups for volunteers
 - Form: Mostly text and still pictures
 - Genre: Factual
 - Reactions: Not answered
 - Assessment of initiatives: “We have never measured the impacts of the work are in that way. We have seen an increased on people getting involved. Last year we rose over £45,000 worth of funding for our work. The Mayor of London gave us £20,000 to hand out resource packs to spread this message. Have a look at the resources here: <https://nationalhcaw.uk/resources-1> “
 - Budget: Not answered
- Equality and Diversity Forum (National Network of Equalities and Human Rights Organisations)
 - Objective: Research into public attitudes and development of messages, testing messages that can create can change and shift opinions on issues that we care about...capacity building grass roots organisation on strategic comms and how you use it in your work.
 - Target audience: Organisations
 - What channels: Webiste, social media, meetings
 - What form: Digital medium. “Developed 5 concepts and tested with target audience. All research from that distilled and passed on to agency to create creative strategy. Done attitudinal research, narrative testing, long term attitudinal change strategy, recruited advertising agency, evidence based campaign.”
 - Genre: Factual
 - What reactions did you get: We developed 5 concepts and of the 5, 2 didn’t work well whereas 3 worked well.

- Assessment of initiatives: In order to measure and assess the initiatives we benchmark attitudes and track attitudinal change over time. In the Long term we used attitudinal tracking and sentence analysis in various media.
- Independent Journalist (Formerly Westminster correspondent for Tribune and Guardian)
- ‘Turn to Love’ (Faiths forum for London)
 - Objective: Spread positive inter-faith messages. “Jewish and Muslim groups help spread our positive messages. It’s our positive messages that are most successful!”
 - Target audience: Those interested in inter-faith and young people. “If we target extremists when we boost we get more negative comments. If we target our organic reach which is people who are interested in interfaith or have some resonance then we get more positive comments and feedback.”
 - What channels? Facebook, twitter, website, print media
 - What form? Videos, image and text
 - Genre? Alternative narrative. “We don’t do much satire as it costs much more money and we don’t want to offend some faith communities if we joke about certain things.”
 - Reactions: Positive
 - Assessment of initiatives: Not done
 - Budget: Not answered

- Table II: Counter-narratives by typology⁸

<i>By whom/Format – genre - elements</i>	Visual (video/memes/ images)	Fact-based	Text (comments, articles, guides, etc)	Music	Humour	Emotions	Includes offline elements
Charities	Faiths forum for London	‘HOPE’ - 17 – 24-30 No to Hate Crime Campaign ; BTEG; Equality Diversity Forum	Faiths forum for London				Faiths forum for London
Public bodies/Civil Society		Voice4Change England	Voice4Change England				
Online activists – Influencers		Independent Journalist	Runnymede Trust			Runnymede Trust	Runnymede Trust
Media					<i>‘Trash</i>		

					<i>Heaps' – Media Diversified</i>		
Transnational (e.g. EC- funding)							

5. Lessons learned and good practice

- Aspects to be especially highlighted in terms of good practice (e.g. this may be just a part of a whole campaign, initiative or project, or a specific way of using counter-arguments in social media...)
- Evaluations and lessons learnt in relation to counter-narratives to counteract online hate speech
- What works and what does not work in relation to counter-narratives?

“We are a media platform that publishes articles, not always in response to negative narratives, but to be celebratory. Reinforcing the positive can counter the negative. We try to encourage better representation in the media. There is not enough BAME representation in the media. We have 600 writers, freelance, who work and write for us. We give a voice to groups who are already disenfranchised in society, we give a platform – online space – to those who don’t usually respond.” *Participant 002*

Media Diversified

Responses by interviewees reflected both on their organisations as well as the institutional and political backdrop in which they operate.

For the **Greenwich Equality Unit**, “the most effective way of counteracting hate speech is to engage with young people and get them discussing their experiences, solutions, linking with each other and developing strategies/campaigns”. Additionally, the interviewee felt that the way in which broadcast media reports on hate crime had changed—from once giving platform to far-right organisations in the name of ‘balance’ and free speech. Participant 005 from **Runnymede Trust** also observed that the dual role of the Broadcast media for entertainment as well as information “make it difficult for them to strike a balance, and not all opinions which the Broadcast media presents are strongly supported”. Furthermore, Participant 001 expressed doubt with regards to initiatives taken to counteract hate speech online by Local Authorities and the Police “who have no idea how to deal with online hate speech...lack confidence in dealing with it [and] legislation is poor.”

Media Diversified further commented on the breakdown of mainstream media into many fragments which has reduced its influence as a whole but has disproportionately increased the influence of certain sources—including the issue viral tweets and explosive comments sections. Participant 005 from **Runnymede Trust** notes that some print media outlets specifically “promote or validate hate speech...and play to the prejudices of the audience/readers they target...to exacerbate views.” From their perspective as a media organisation, **Media Diversified**, it was also important to recognise the responsibility of the

media in spreading hateful narratives and the need for it to be “held to account”. Furthermore, he comments on the reality that publishing a counter-narrative on a platform that is not known for representing positive angles to an issue can be more influential and reach a broader audience than a—for example—traditionally left wing publication.

For **Voice4Change**, an advocacy group for BAME people in the voluntary and community sector, counter-narratives have shown to be successful “in promoting race equality, but not necessarily combatting hate speech”. Upon reflection, they admitted that as an organisation they did not feel that they were in the “best position to do this sort of activist work”. **BTEG**, another charity organisation, on the other hand found that they should be doing more counter-narrative work as part of their campaigns, and extended the judgment to the voluntary and community sector as a whole: “regarding [counter-narratives], we don’t do this enough, as an organisation, or as a sector, but we are acting much more collectively”. However, she observed that doing so is also a matter of *training*. One of the primary lessons she observed in **BTEG** is that *immediacy* is key in producing an effective counter-narrative that can keep up with the exponential growth of scandals in the media—such as Windrush. As such, she explains that in her organisation they are working to “bring themselves up to speed” in order to better respond to hate speech.

Speaking on behalf of the Race Equality think tank **Runnymede Trust** that also specialises in quantitative data collecting, Participant 005 explained the difficulty of “countering hate speech with just facts...facts alone don’t acknowledge suffering, they don’t get people to listen to the final story”. In terms of successful initiatives she named ‘Equally Ours’, Voice4Change, Show Racism the Red Card Campaign, Hope not Hate, Tell Mama UK, Shelter and in general she observes that a “successful initiative involves research, testing, communicating and reporting, using focus groups [and] backgrounding the problem”. With regards to her experiences in relation to moderation of comments in digital and social media, she spoke about the Guardian which moderates incoming comments and disables or blocks some posts. However she notes that whilst “it is possible to put a stop on anything that comes through that is hate speech, but the flip side is that if you let it go through, you can learn from the reactions to it, who comes to the defence of the author, who disagrees, you can gauge opinion and inform yourself/organisation. One line of defence [which one place of work] uses is to manually delete hate comments, make light of them, or put them in a ‘challenging emails’ file.”

On the emotional aspect of combatting hate speech and producing counter-narratives, Participant 006 from **17 – 24 – 30 No to Hate Crime Campaign** spoke about “trying not to get caught up in the heat of the moment and focusing your energy on the positive people and strengthening those networks...[and] to let go and just block people on social media” when necessary.

Finally, on regulation and education on media ethics, what came out of the interviews is a need for greater education on media ethics. Poni JameKolok argues that “while freedom of expression is a fundamental human right, the emergence of social media has created multiple platforms for the production, packaging and dissemination of hate speech.”⁹ This requires a substantial amount of educational work and funding to do so. Much of this occurs on social media and participant 009 from **Faiths forum for London** emphasised that there is a greater need of tech companies to work together with smaller organisations that are tackling hate speech and offer them support to produce quality count narrative multimedia messages online.

⁹ Poni Alice JameKolok, “5 ways to counter hate speech in the media through Ethics and Self-regulation” <https://en.unesco.org/5-ways-to-counter-hate-speech>

A discussion that came out of the interviews was the idea that journalist and social media outlets should be regulated. Participant 008, **Independent Political Journalist**, in questioning “what a journalist is”, he highlighted how nowadays anyone can write a blog or post content online as news. Is that person then a journalist? He mentioned one way of dealing with this challenge - through the introduction of a journalism license. Yet, he immediately recognised that “[worry that the] state could control who could write” which is essentially a conflict with freedom of expression. Instead a balanced approach would be, as he suggests: “if someone has a site they should basically agree to being moderated by independent press regulator i.e. IPSOS.”

6. Concluding remarks

Online race hate will continue to be a significant problem and in the UK context it is likely to get worse as Brexit proceeds and the far right continue to grow. In the absence of platforms like Google, Facebook and Twitter taking really comprehensive action to take down sites that promote or encourage racist hatred there will need to be ways in which ordinary citizens can take effective action against race hate online,

Counter-narratives will be vital and it will be important to continue to research which of these works most effectively. One thing is already clear – counter-narratives that merely trundle out facts or statistics have limited efficacy. Case studies and stories will be important and these need to be developed and tested more widely. In other words they need to be developed as effective **narratives** rather than merely the deployment of facts and statistics

Better reporting mechanisms will be important to ensure that the real scale of the problem is acknowledged in public sector policy and private sector practice. Mapping the occurrence of incidents and any growth or changes in their frequency, type and seriousness needs to be improved. The REACT project has been an important catalyst for some of these developments. Campaigns to get mainstream and other media outlets to realise their own responsibility (and often culpability) in the promotion of platforms that can serve to encourage or discourage online race hatred will also be of vital importance

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