



*WP2: Quantitative and Qualitative Monitoring:
Recording, analysing and reporting hate speech and
counter-narrative examples on the web*

D2.8. Comparative Qualitative and Quantitative Report

Part I: Monitoring of online hate speech

Part II: Counter-narratives to online hate speech:
Conceptualizations, constructions and lessons learned



October 2018

Introduction

This comparative report is made up by two independent reports, based on two cross-country studies conducted in France, Germany, Italy, Spain and the UK, as part of the REACT project.

Part I focuses on monitoring online racist hate speech, and comprises a comparative report based on the national results of the monitoring of online hate speech in the abovementioned countries, coordinated by Sos Racismo Gipuzkoa.

Part II explores counter-narratives to online hate speech, and consists of a transnational analysis of the findings from the qualitative research on counter-narratives, based on interviews with institutions, NGOs, media outlets and activists in the five countries, and coordinated by Universitat de Barcelona.

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WP2 Comparative Report

Part I:

Monitoring of online hate speech

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION: ANALYSIS OF ONLINE HATE SPEECH. SOCIAL NETWORKS AND ONLINE MEDIA.

AUTHORSHIP OF HATE SPEECH

The most basic hate speech, explicit and direct racism, *Basically comes from individuals directly or indirectly linked to fascist groups such as* (in Spain) *Social Home Madrid, Platform for Catalonia, Falange de las JONS, Spain 2000, National Alliance, or groups ultra supporters of football teams. However, the phenomenon of hate speech is not exclusive to these extreme right wing groups. In the Internet jargon it is common to use the terms haters or trolls, to refer to individuals who obsessively attack certain groups, or who are dedicated to provoke other users through insults and aggressiveness. These profiles are responsible for much of the hate speech in the networks. But to properly size the problem and design appropriate strategies to combat it, it must be taken into account that these phenomena, typical of the Internet culture, are not at all homogeneous*¹

OBJECTIVES OF THE ANALYSIS

We propose the present study from the hypothesis of a reiterated presence of this radical discourse. But the research aims to revise, identify and analyze more subtle discourses. Focusing the object of study in obvious racist spaces would involve focusing on a multiplicity of insults and extreme speeches that are shared by convinced followers. The very extremeness of this speech slows down its expansion, viralisation, filtering and efficiency among people who do not share extreme ideology.

The objectives of this analysis therefore seek to find sources, web spaces and social networks that share hate speech in a more subtle way and from people with public transcendence and ability to influence in political, journalistic and/or social spheres. The aim of these speeches entails, from an alleged democratic respect, to pose a hate speech that is subtle, viral, shared and capable of influencing public opinion.

If we consider that *"In the face of economic uncertainties, far-right parties succeed in contexts where citizens still have something to lose. The threat of the crisis produces an inward reaction and a protectionist turn: first, those at home. Thus, although there are far-right parties with good results, their voters are not necessarily right-wingers. The French National Front wins votes in traditional barns of the socialist left".*² So the objective is to counteract the speeches that, from populism, can mobilize these audiences.

The present study aims to analyze **who says what and how**, identifying hate speech in social networks and online media and posing proposals of intervention in institutional and user areas.

SAMPLE AND ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY

¹ConTROLate en las redes. #BCN vs ODI (2017)

²Ben-David, Anat& Matamoros-Fernández, Ariadna (2016) Hate Speech and Covert Discrimination on Social Media: Monitoring the Facebook Pages of Extreme-Right Political Parties in Spain, en International Journal of Communication.

A selection of contents is gathered by an algorithm that allows the selection of texts from descriptors and profiles indicated in each country and each platform. Subsequently, a team analyzes and classifies the collected sample. The algorithm is programmed to collect content from keywords in the selected online sources. For the data gathering of this report, specific keywords have been identified in each country³, on the basis of a common ground.

The package of keywords are classified by their thematic information treatment, so national context selection criteria is added to the mere translation to national languages. Each partner has revised the standard keywords to adapt them to national context and translate them to national languages.

For each thematic area, the keywords are divided in “search” words (the ones searched by the IT Tool robot to gather the information) and the “control” words (the ones that will discard information that contains them, f.e., in a new/tweet containing the keyword *migra* (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** of maximum audience per country and analysis of the comments generated about the informative texts on migrations and ethnocultural minorities. The selection criteria to choose the newspapers should include:
 - The existence of open spaces to comments on the news/ articles
 - High audience, national coverage, non extreme editorial line
- II. **3 Twitter accounts** per country following previously set profiles:
 - a) **A) Profile of an influencer** that can be classified as a "hater", that has a very high number of followers among "general population" and who, by virtue of his non belonging to any political party, is considered as "the voice of the people".
 - b) **Profile of a populist politician in government institutions:** They involve discourses of justification of racist policies and normalization and legitimization of xenophobia. The impact of the speech of a government office is significant and entails a high legitimacy as a representative of the State.
 - c) **Media profile:** Journalists with regular participation in media spaces of political scope, recognized as good practice for a respectful use of language and treatment of the information on migrations and ethnocultural minorities. Selection as “control element”, possible examples counter narratives that can trigger hate speech responses.
 - d) **Activist profile:** Pro Human Rights/ anti-racism activist identified as good practices an counter narratives that can trigger hate speech responses. Profiles characterized by respectful language and pro Human Rights speech. Selection as “control element”.
- III. **Hashtags:** Analysis of "neutral" hashtags on Twitter generated by institutions and civil society on **March 21, International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination**, which can be speech triggers.

³ See the keywords selected for the analysis of this national report in Annexes

FREQUENCY AND CONTENT OF THE INFORMATION GATHERED

I. Online media:

- Usual information without trigger events
- Content on immigration, racism or ethnocultural minorities due to predefined keywords
- Quantitative approximation in 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 migrations, racism, ethnocultural minorities due to predefined keywords
- Quantitative approximation in a significant period: Five weeks of informative follow-up.

III. Hashtags:

- March 21 and one week onwards.
- European dimension: A common date with common hashtags.
- The hashtags followed were selected from the most followed among the ones launched by institutions (EU, UNHCR, IOM) and CSO (ECRE, AI, Oxfam, etc.)

ANALYSIS OF ONLINE NEWSPAPERS (FEBRUARY 26 – APRIL 1)

A shortlist of digital sources has been monitored in order to identify racist and other types of hate speech within pieces of news and comments to them by the readers. The analysis of each country has been made on a sample of dates: one week of informative follow-up in subsequent weeks.

List of sources selected:

| | |
|---------|----------------------------------|
| France | le parisien.fr; ladepeche.fr |
| Germany | welt.de; faz.net |
| Italy | corriere.it; huffingtonpost.it |
| Spain | elcorreo.com; lavanguardia.com |
| UK | dailymail.co.uk; telegraph.co.uk |

ANALYSIS OF TWITTER PROFILES (FEBRUARY 26 – APRIL 1)

A shortlist of twitter profiles has been monitored in order to identify racist and other types of hate speech within their own published content and their audience's reactions.

List of profiles selected:

| | |
|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| France | Manuel Valls, Nassira el Moaddem, Siham Assbague |
| Germany | Steffen Seibert, Kübra Gümüşay, Lamya Kaddor |
| Italy | Maurizio Belpietro, Magdi Cristiano Allam, Médecins Sans Frontières |
| Spain | Juan Ignacio Zoido, Gabriela Sánchez, Moha Gerehou |

ANALYSIS OF HASHTAGS – INTERNATIONAL DAY AGAINST RACISM (MARCH 22)

A shortlist of Twitter hashtags has been analysed in order to draw conclusions about their impact and volume of conversations in each country. These conclusions are developed in the next section of the report, related to qualitative analysis of the qualitative data described in this section

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 hashtags | | | |
| 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 hashtags | | | | | | |
| 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 hashtags | | | | | | |
| 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 due to the sexual, ethnic or cultural condition and/or language that incites discrimination and/or violence against these people and/or groups.

Example: "In the same way that they enter illegally, they must be expelled immediately. Now it will be time to remove the bread from the mouth of the Spaniards to feed this scabby scum and they will thank you by imposing their Muslim culture in your home. [Comment to the news "Two pateras, with 75 immigrants, intercept in Spanish waters in the last twelve hours ", in 20 minutes on June 16, 2014]

1.2. Stereotypes and prejudices

Simplified and generalized ideas about each and every one of the persons belonging to a community, without taking into account individual differences. They usually refer

negative behaviours and attitudes. Neither provide nor need to provide data and/or arguments.

Example: "It is not discrimination, but primarily a hygiene problem. Where do they make their essential needs? Where are the husbands of these ladies with children? Stealing in another sector of Paris or in the subway?" [Comment to the news "A police station in Paris receives the order to systematically expel the gypsies ", El País on April 15, 2014]

1.3. Rumour

Statement made by providing false information about people or groups, disseminated in a general way without contrasting/ demonstrating their veracity.

Example: "Others who are going to have more rights and aids than the Spaniards." [Comment to the news "Two pateras, with 75 immigrants, intercept in Spanish waters in the last twelve hours" 20Minutes on June 16, 2014]

1.4. Trap argument

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

Example: "How many do you have in your house?" [Comment to the news "Spain and Morocco avoid the entrance to Melilla of some thousand sub-Saharan Africans" in El País, June 14, 2014]

1.5. Speech against collaboration and/or help

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

Example: What a bunch of judges and NGOs... If we carry on like this they put the European border up in the Pyrenees again. [Comment to the news "A judge investigates abuse from Moroccan policemen against immigrants in Melilla" El País on August 7, 2014]

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: "Here comes again the censorship of the newspaper of the left and the comments are erased by an exploited fellow paid four Euros per hour." [news "A police station in Paris receives orders to systematically expel Gypsies" El País, April 15, 2014]

1.7. Alternative speech

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

Example: "I talk about racism because you compare and you continue to compare an entire community with certain individuals (there are also Spaniards who do what you say) and you compare them with adjectives as corrupt only because they belong to a race" [Commentary to news "A police station of Paris receives the order to systematically expel the gypsies "El País, April 15, 2014]

2 Country of origin of the source

2.1. Spain

2.2. France

2.3. United Kingdom

2.4. Italy

2.5. Germany

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

7.3. Disabilities

7.2. Women

7.4. Aporaphobia

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

METODOLOGICAL MATTERS

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

Several studies⁴ point out the difficulty of the analysis and qualitative data treatment from social networks as twitter⁵, due to the huge flow of information to collect. Therefore, the present work proposal is based on a qualitative approach. The DEMOS Institute⁶ and social network studies through quantitative methodology have found that trigger events, specially the terrorist attacks, drive a large increases in the volume of Twitter messages that contain this type of language.

The revision of non neutral proposals, as the mentioned by DEMOS, observe a tracking of hater spaces that involves analyzing and reviewing thousands of insults from multiple perspectives. The result of DEMOS study did not provide significant conclusions. When facing the review of radical speech spaces, it is difficult to propose counter-narratives to followers and convinced users. Likewise, people who feel little identification with such a radical discourse are hardly attracted to them. This means that generally, people follow the spaces that best suit their opinions and ideology.

We propose the analysis of neutral web spaces based on this consideration. As “neutral” we mean spaces, hashtags or social networks with a general and/or informative intention that fall outside the movements of extreme ideology:

- Spaces with diverse participation that allows to analyze the multiplicity of perspectives and confronted 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.

⁴From 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

CHAPTER 2. QUANTITATIVE ANALISYS.

2.1.- General conclusions.

In **UK**, we have spotted a wide number of prejudiced messages in the United Kingdom over this period of time. **The diversity of its society** is the perfect excuse for people to spread hate speech. There is an **Islamophobic tendency** in several of the tweets and answers on online newspapers that we have analysed. The mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, filmed a video showing all the insults and racist tweets he had received as a way to denounce them.

In **Italy**, even though the word “Islamic” is used in negative and implicitly generalising way, it has been classified as “speech against collaboration and/or help” because the news item to which it refers is focused entirely on the work done by the Italian Minister for Home Affairs in the previous cabinet. The starting point was an interview with the Minister himself who supposedly “self-proclaimed his own failure” with regard to the discovery of a Koranic school in Italy where a naturalised Italian imam “encouraged children to slit the throat of infidels”. Racist activity in Italy was led by politicians **in the frame of Italian elections**, where Immigration became one of the main issues of the campaign.

Spain’s analysis yields a number of hits owed to Moha Gerehou. The president of SOS Racismo Madrid is a regular activist on social media and denounced much hate content. In spite **of the murder of a Senegalese street vendor in Madrid**, there were few racist comments about it, with only one spotted on the reviewed Twitter accounts. Otherwise, the rest of profiles did not deliver any result because they focused mostly on politicians like Juan Ignacio Zoido.

Ethnic diversity in **France** triggered **Islamophobic and hate comments** in March. Maybe one of the sources of hate stems from recent terrorist attacks in the country over the past three years. Concerning this, there was a **terrorist attack in France** but we did not found any profile containing racist messages or creating hate speech as a result of it. A suspicious profile like Manuel Valls wrote a lot of tweets about it without generating racism.

Germany presented very **few hate contents**, showing up only two occurrences in total, which is why a quantitative analysis cannot be convincing. The chosen sample to be monitored may not have been the best, but some influences distorting the result occurred as well. An explanation of the circumstances and a further analysis of data, which derived from a manual investigation of the selected sources, carried out by the author, will be given within a qualitative analysis in chapter 3.

Of the two impacts indicated in the spider-based research for REACT in Germany, one hit occurred on twitter, the other on the online news page *welt.de*. The informative genre of the information gathered were one news piece in the online newspaper and an audio interview with Lamya Kaddor, tweeted by a public service radio station, retweeted on her profile. Both impacts were typologized as collateral criticisms or other forms of excluding speech, referring to ‘Islam’ and whether it belongs to Germany or not. The retweeted article on twitter could be typologized as alternative speech, as the person monitored refers to an act of excluding speech in the interview. By author, both impacts came from politicians working at the German parliament. The subjects of their statements where refuge/inner security and ‘Islamophobia’.

2.2.- Key indicators - Countries

| COUNT RY | IMPACTS |
|-------------|---------|
| UK | 50 |
| ITALY | 35 |
| SPAIN | 16 |
| FRANCE | 8 |
| GERMA NY | 2 |

| GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION OF THE FACT | IMPACTS |
|------------------------------------|---------|
| UK | 39 |
| ITALY | 35 |
| SPAIN | 16 |
| FRANCE | 10 |
| OTHER COUNTRIES | 9 |
| GERMANY | 3 |

United Kingdom was the most active country thanks to **TellMama's profile**. This account denounces discriminatory comment on social media and online newspapers both in the UK and worldwide. **Italy** was the second most active region thanks to **the tweets linked to the campaign for the elections**. Apart from that, the **United States** was the non-European country with the largest number of racist acts

2.3.- Nature of the comments.

| TYOLOGY | IMPACTS |
|------------------------------|---------|
| HATE SPEECH | 62 |
| RUMOUR | 25 |
| COLLATERAL CRITICISMS | 13 |
| SPEECH AGAINST COLLABORATION | 9 |
| STEREOTYPES AND PREJUDICES | 3 |
| TRAP ARGUMENT | 1 |
| ALTERNATIVE SPEECH | 1 |

| SUBJECT/TOPIC | IMPACTS |
|---------------|---------|
|---------------|---------|

| | |
|----------------|----|
| ETHNIC HATE | 64 |
| ISLAMOPHOBIA | 34 |
| ANTI-SEMITISM | 14 |
| REFUGE | 6 |
| RELIGIOUS HATE | 1 |

The **most repeated** typology of comment was **hate speech** due to its generality. False and unverified information turned into **rumour** achieved the **second place**. On the other hand, **ethnic hate** was also the **most common** message in the subject/topic classification. The recent radical Islamist violence in Europe was the origin of some unjustified **Islamophobic** comments **found**

2.4.- Authors and informative genre

| AUTHOR | IMPACTS |
|---------------------|---------|
| INDEPENDENT SUBJECT | 45 |
| POLITICIAN | 45 |
| JOURNALIST | 8 |
| PRIVATE INSTITUTION | 6 |
| PUBLIC INSTITUTION | 3 |
| OTHER | 3 |
| ACTIVIST | 2 |
| POLITICAL PARTY | 2 |

| INFORMATIVE GENRE | IMPACTS |
|-------------------|---------|
| TWEET | 64 |
| PICTURE | 19 |
| ANSWER (COMMENT) | 16 |
| NEWS | 11 |
| PICTURE/VIDEO | 6 |
| HASHTAG | 3 |

Independent subjects and politicians were the people who registered the most racist messages along this period of time. The most used informative genre was **tweeting** because Twitter is an easy way to spread short hate messages. Racist **pictures** and online newspapers **answers** had relevance too

2.5.- Sources and others.

| OTHER BIASED DISCRIMINATIONS | |
|------------------------------|---|
| WOMEN | 2 |
| SEXUAL ORIENTATION | 1 |

There has been not much biased discrimination but some comments like the one referring to the Madrid Region and its refusal to assist pregnant women and undocumented children who have been living in Spain for fewer than 90 days

| SOURCE | |
|------------------|----|
| SOCIAL NETWORK | 93 |
| ONLINE NEWSPAPER | 17 |

Social networks were the most used platform for expanding racist messages. Its features (picture, video, expanding facility) make of it the favourite way for practising racism. The most active online newspapers were: **huffingtonpost.it**, **leparisien.fr**, **welt.de**, **telegraph.co.uk** and **dailymail.co.uk**

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. Therefore, they are imprecise. In addition, the quantitative review can collect non-significant examples and distort the sample. Thus, this research performs qualitative sampling following different criteria.

A first criterion involves identifying discourses that foment hatred towards ethnocultural minorities beyond explicitly racist, xenophobic or discriminatory languages. Beyond populist and extremist profiles, more "neutral" discourses are sought, which seek to argue from a supposed common sense and a justified defense of "ours" and "theirs" (in the case of economic crisis, ours first, America first...; the customs / culture / religion of "the others" represent a setback and / or threat to 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 online journals

During the analysis period it was possible to realize **how easy** it is for some people **to create racist messages** in the comment section of news pieces. There were few news stories with discriminatory content but the selected ones received many racist answers. These people generated unjustified hate in any piece of news related to immigrants. Only one of the impacts on online newspapers was taken due to a racist message inside the text.

Rumour was the **most used** comment tipology on online newspapers (8) followed by hate speech (4), speech against collaboration/help (4). Similarly, the majority of readers showed their racist conduct in the **ethnic hate** category (13). Islamophobia, anti-Semitism and refugees only had one impact each. Finally, not all messages had discrimination thanks to this alternative speech answer.

HUFFPOST "Matteo Salvini, sono mamma adottiva di due bimbi africani. Vivono nel terrore per colpa tua"


Il post di Gabriella Nobile ha fatto oltre 20mila condivisioni in meno di due ore. "Italiano è colui che ama l'Italia, come io sono mamma perché amo i miei figli"

 **Sia May**

Franca Flora, ...e allora, piuttosto di crogiolarsi nella nostalgia del "mal d'Africa", consigli ai suoi amici africani di cominciare innanzitutto a contenersi nel fare figli, lavorare e sudare invece di sbarcare in Italia e pretendere di farsi mantenere da "magnacci" e, soprattutto, di darsi da fare per "fare la propria storia" così come hanno fatto tutti quanti gli europei, i quali dal medio-evo, attraverso rivoluzioni e lotte sociali, sono giunti a creare società moderne basate sui diritti ed uguaglianza per tutti i cittadini (ricchi/poveri/uomini/donne /bambine/ animali/idee religiose/politiche/sexual)...
...la sua Africa è proprio il contrario di tutto ciò di cui sopra...

Steve Free 18 Mar 2018 10:01AM

All very well but let us not force people to learn English who don't want to. We have enough tyranny in this country as it is.

 **Rosso Verdi**

Questa signora dovrebbe ringraziare chi ha fatto entrare in Italia un esercito di scrocconi da mantenere a fare i loro comodi, alla faccia di chi sgobba dalla mattina alla sera. Altro che preoccuparsi dei poveri gay !



Einen solchen Versuch gab es sogar. Während der Debatte erhob sich der AfD-Abgeordnete Martin Hess, ein Polizist, an seinem Platz und machte eine längere „Zwischenbemerkung“. Mit beharrlichem Blick sagte er in Richtung Union: „Wir müssen unsere Grenzen endlich wieder so schützen, dass Personen ohne Identitätspapiere abgewiesen werden, um die Sicherheitslage zu verbessern.“

Hess listete auf, wie stark die Zahl islamistischer Gefährder in Deutschland seit 2015 gestiegen sei, und nannte dies eine „inakzeptable Gefährdung der Sicherheitslage unserer Bürger“. Nur mit konsequenten Grenzkontrollen, so Hess, lasse sich verhindern, dass Leute ohne Papiere einreisen und bloß „erfasst“ werden können, während „eine Überprüfung des Backgrounds überhaupt nicht stattfinden“ könne.

1

null, 1 day ago

He is the best president ever! Illegals, drugs and MS13 killer gangs along with ISIS cells can easily come over the border! This must be stopped! Obama encouraged this filth to come into our country!!

New Comment Reply

Click to rate 30 64

CaliChick, Los Angeles, United States, 1 day ago

Maybe stop funding programs 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.

New Comment Reply

Click to rate 22 36

the wall':
proved
controversial
border and the most ever' funding for
billion

aux les frontières européennes,
si FRONTEX travaillait en amont en Libye et au Niger pour dissuader les
migrants de venir en Europe alors ceux-ci renonceraient peut-être à leur
projet. FRONTEX ne fait pas son travail et la Seine-Saint-Denis en subit les
conséquences.

Speaking the English language is key to acceptance

DIA CHAKRAVARTY

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.

Mark Jigsaw 18 Mar 2018 9:48AM

Learning the language is not the issue. It's the willingness to assimilate...yes assimilate, not integrate. Britain doesn't want that kind of diversity!

Multiple Pakistani/Bangladeshi gangs grooming and raping young vulnerable white girls will lead to violence.

Until misogynistic mosque Sharia websites are taken down and the establishment recognises this is a C7th culture pervading our C21st towns and cities up & down the land and their vile practices outlawed, the abuse will be perpetuated and the divisions will grow.

Dr Evil 18 Mar 2018 12:01PM

@Steve Free It should be learn English or get kicked out. Or perhaps speak English to be allowed in (to livewith incompatible cultures and who do not speak English. here).

Ivan Idea 17 Mar 2018 11:28PM

Forgive me, but I don't understand the benefits of migrants here). Why are they allowed to migrate here?

3.2.- On the analysis of Twitter profiles

About the selection

For the analysis of the contents generated on Twitter, three profiles of institutional, journalistic and associative scope are selected. The hypothesis proposes that the hate speech generated by institutional representatives or political representatives have greater scope, repercussion and credibility.

It is considered that these political representatives can use stereotypes and social prejudices at specific circumstances, by ideology or by seeking electoral objectives. They would use a populist language - to focus discontent and prejudices rooted in different social sectors and articulate racist and hate speech.

Finally, the analysis focused on the hashtag # 21M. A neutral and general one used for the celebration of March 21, International Day against racism. The objective was to observe the activity and flow of narratives in the messages produced by organizations, entities and associations that seek to raise awareness against racism and racist hate speech. At the same time, it could be a space for dialogue and conversation about the contents that focus this research. Finally, the hashtag could be a space for opinions against the celebration of the international day against racism.

About the results of the profile analysis on Twitter



Owen Jones published many tweets on politics, being a very active Twitter user although the matters he talked about were rarely focused on discrimination or racism. Even though, he retweeted **two racist contents** and reported about **another one**. In spite of being considered an important source at the start of the research, he did not provide many tweets on the matter



This was the most important source of information on our research as it shared **38 contents**, like letters about **"Punish a Muslim Day"**, that became very relevant as people turned to the account to inform them about that appeal. TellMAMA published a wide range of racist comments on social networks, media or graffiti on the streets. They act as the speaker for discriminated collectives such as Muslims, refugees or black people

Boris Johnson **did not end up being a good choice** to measure his activity on social networks as he only published institutional messages and opinions about daily news.





Bob Blackman shared this post on his personal Facebook profile

Owen Jones 🌹🔵
@OwenJones84



Adam Bienkov ✓
@AdamBienkov

Seguir

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.

Kenneth Bowry A dishonest Muslim he fiddled his expenses a cheap crook he must feel at home in the Labour Party.
Like · Reply · 12 · 2 hours ago

Derek Deamer Another back stabbing two faced Labour scum 🤡🤡🤡
Like · Reply · 1 · about an hour ago

Vicky Fera There are enough Muslim in London to get him in Corbyn will make sure of that
Like · Reply · 10 minutes ago

James Smith Anyone who backs corbyn needs shooting
Like · Reply · 7 · 2 hours ago

London... especially one who endorses the Marxist idiot Corbyn...
Like · Reply · 21 hours ago

Gerard Fulham Oconnell Its a well known fact the majority of immigrants vote Labour no matter what. London is overwhelmed with immigrants who will all be voting for this nutjob.... im afraid the lefty twat will win. Some good news though im moving outta London...Hoorah.
Like · Reply · 4 · 20 hours ago · Edited

Gertrude Brennan London is now full of citizen Khans who contribute

Vicky Fera There are enough Muslim in London to get him in Corbyn will make sure of that
Like · Reply · 1 · December 7 at 1:54pm

Lee Victor Faulkner No thanks we don't want London to become a caliphate under Emam Sadiq Khan!
Like · Reply · 8 hours ago

Kathie Conlon Why on earth would we want a muslim as mayor of London...especially one who endorsed the Marxist idiot Corbyn...
Like · Reply · 21 hours ago

1 Reply

Gerard Fulham Oconnell Its a well known fact the majority of immigrants vote Labour no matter what. London is overwhelmed with immigrants who will all be voting for this nutjob.... im afraid the lefty twat will win. Some good news though im moving outta London...Hoorah.
Like · Reply · 4 · 20 hours ago · Edited

15 Replies · 9 hours ago

Gertrude Brennan London is now full of citizen Khans who contribute nothing to the City. What a seedy slummy place London has become in the past few years. Who is this Sadiq Khan? Never heard of him so that means he is just another hanger on who actually has done precisely nothing of interest. That is just about right for today's Labour politics.
Like · Reply · 2 hours ago

Mublin Khan Vote zac goldsmith
Vote conservative
Better London ... See More
Like · Reply · 1 · 18 hours ago

Ian Miles Citizen Khan gets in , say goodbye to London as we know it .
Like · Reply · 1 · 18 hours ago

Peter Staines What Islam could not achieve by the sword they are now being allowed to achieve by the pen.
Like · Reply · 14 · December 7 at 11:10am

James Smith Anyone who backs corbyn needs shooting
Like · Reply · 14 · December 7 at 11:10am

14 Replies · 8 hours ago

Stuart McCullagh If Khan/Corbyn get in you can expect another 50 mosques in London, more extremists, no thank you there's too many already. Vote in the Tory candidate
Like · Reply · 19 · December 7 at 5:49pm

Kenneth Bowry A dishonest Muslim he fiddled his expenses a cheap crook he must feel at home in the Labour Party.
Like · Reply · 12 · 2 hours ago

Derek Deamer Another back stabbing two faced Labour scum 🤡🤡🤡
Like · Reply · 1 · about an hour ago

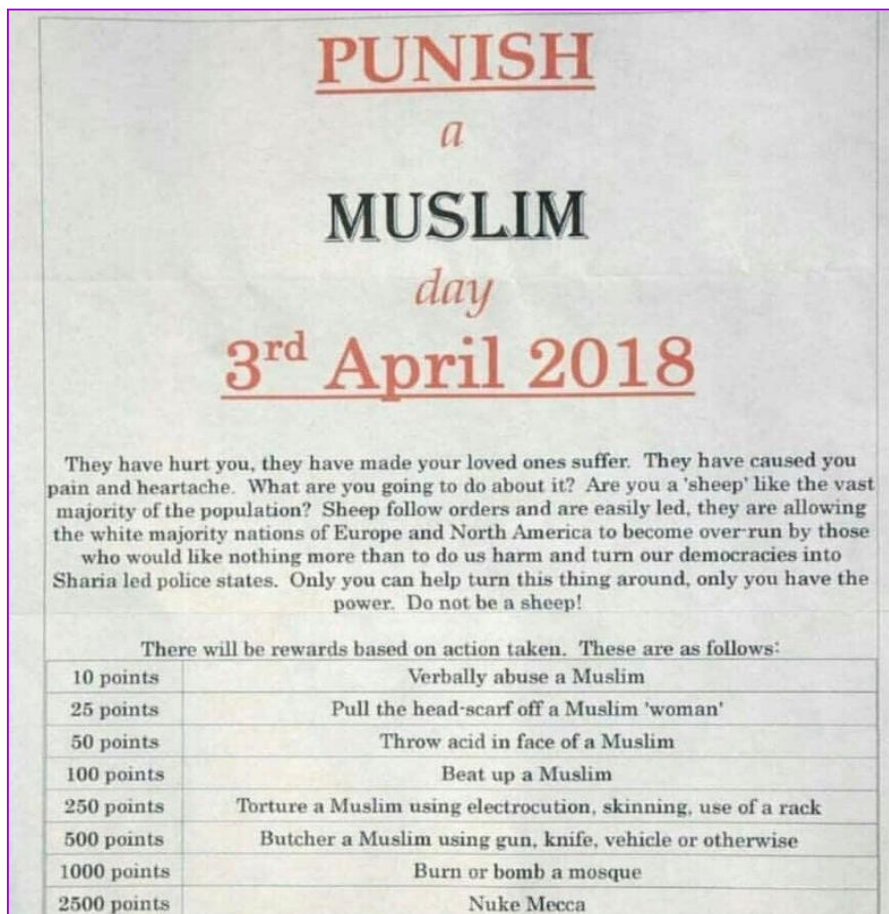
Vicky Fera There are enough Muslim in London to get him in Corbyn will make sure of that
Like · Reply · 10 minutes ago

James Smith Anyone who backs corbyn needs shooting
Like · Reply · 7 · 2 hours ago

Thomas Noel Thompson Multiculturalism has gone to far, now they are going to be allowed into the house of lords. The native population is being diluted on a horrendous scale.
Like · Reply · 2 · 2 hours ago

Matthew James Dale I'm sure Tower Hamlets will vote for him. We all know they prefer candidates based on the colour of their skin rather than any sound policies.
Like · Reply · about an hour ago

Barbara Longstaff Labour's candidate got in up north because when photo was shown only 3 white faces were there the rest from Pakistan so what do you expect.
Like · Reply · 2 · 2 hours ago



Many people received letters like this at home



London Mayor Sadik Khan reads islamophobic messages against him





Moha Gerehou showed commitment with all kind of discrimination acts (**18 posts**) with a high twitter activity reporting racist treatments on mass media, advertising or daily discriminatory situations. However, he **retweeted an antisemitic post** to show his support, which seems a rare behavior if we think of his fight against discrimination. He spoke against specific political parties and police during riots in Madrid Lavapies neighborhood after the death of a Senegalese man, pointing out to far-right party VOX

Moha Gerehou published a video that compares a Spanish tradition with the Ku Klux Klan and some twitter users answered him with racist messages





Gabriela Sánchez

@Gabriela_Schz

She **did not denounce racist behaviors** although she expressed commitment against discrimination and social causes. Feminism, immigration and corruption were her main matters of discussion



Juan Ignacio Zoido ✓

@zoidoJI

Despite having been selected for his conservative profile, Minister of Home Affairs Juan Ignacio Zoido did not spread any hate speech. He mostly twitted about institutional acts and, sometimes, about crimes



Nassira El Moaddem

@NassiraELM

The journalist barely wrote on discrimination (**two contents**) as she was mostly involved on promoting “Le bondy blog”, where works. Even though, she showed involvement on social causes



Sihame Assbague ✓

@s_assbague

Nassira El Moaddem, as activist for human rights, wrote about migrants and islamophobic attacks. She even argued with some other Twitter users and pointed out **three racist situations**, two of them related with football player Antoine Griezmann and politician Manuel Valls



Manuel Valls ✓

@manuelvalls

Former French prime minister Manuel Valls **was accused of spreading Islamophobia** on a TV show while also rejecting **anti-Semitic acts** through his twitter account. Most of his tweets dealt with interventions and interviews on media or organized events



« Demander de refuser les Tziganes sur ce secteur », « Famille religieusement très marquée », « Attention, Monsieur est Ivoirien », « Pas d'étrangers ». Voici le genre d'annotations qu'on trouve à côté des demandes de certains logements. Bien loin des critères officiels. Et dans un système qui s'apparente à une gigantesque discrimination organisée.

Dans le langage des HLM, on appelle ça les équilibres de peuplement. Pudiquement, on parle de « *mixité sociale* ». À l'office public de l'habitat (OPH) de la Ville de Toulouse, ces objectifs ont cependant dérapé, selon des documents auxquels Mediapart a eu accès. « *Demander de refuser les Tziganes sur ce secteur* », « *Famille religieusement très marquée* », « *Attention, Monsieur est Ivoirien* », « *Pas d'étrangers* ». Voici le genre d'annotations qu'on trouve à côté des demandes de certains logements. Bien loin des critères officiels. Et dans un système qui s'apparente à une gigantesque discrimination organisée.

Sihame Assbague ✓
@s_assbague

Sihame Assbague denounced racism showing pictures of some children and footballer Antoine Griezmann disguised as black people



@bypns

Suivre

est ce que vous trouvez ça normal ???!!
signalez son compte svp



Manuel Valls ✓

@manuelvalls

Manuel Valls criticised anti- Semitic acts

Le petit youtre Aurélien Enthoven, fils de la pute à
juifs Carla Bruni, assure aux Blancs submergés
que les races n'existent pas

Capitaine Harlock
Démocratie Participative
09 mars 2018



Un nez criminel qui en dit long

Nous pouvons toujours compter sur la juiverie pour justifier l'antisémitisme.

Cette fois, c'est Aurélien Enthoven, le fils du youpin dégénéré Raphaël Enthoven et de Carla Bruni, désormais maquée avec le youtre de Salonique Mallah-Sarkozy, qui vient prêcher le bétail aryen pour le convaincre de se laisser submerger par les nègres et les musulmans.



The chairman of the Liberal Islamic Federation was **the only profile** analyzed in Germany **which has denounced** discriminatory acts. In this sense, she retweeted an article about German Minister of Interior, Horst Seehofer, who stated that "Islam doesn't belong to Germany". Lamya Kaddor posted several tweets about her new book as well as several news in mass media related to Islam



Kübra Gümüşay **has not denounced any homophobic content**. Almost all her messages were focused on retweeting information and videos by Kurt-Ar, the International Humanitarian Aid Association. Apart from that, she paid attention to some Turkish breaking news. The Turkish journalist has not contributed at all in the analysis



The spokesman for the Federal Government **did not write discriminatory comments** in social media or denounced racist tweets. Steffen Seibert used his official Twitter account for informing about the daily activity of the German chancellor, Angela Merkel, who secured fourth term in power during the analysis period



Lamya Kaddor retweeted an article about the Islamophobic comment made by German Minister of Interior

Lamy Kaddor retweeted
WDR 2 @WDR2 · 16 mar.
Dieser Satz ist völlig überflüssig und absurd. Er erinnert mich an 20 Jahre in der Vergangenheit. @LamyKaddor im #WDR2Mittagsmagazin zur Äußerung von #Heimatminister Horst #Seehofer, dass der #Islam nicht zu #Deutschland gehöre. Das ganze Gespräch:



Islamwissenschaftlerin: "Scheinbar überfordert Diversität diverse..."

"Der Islam gehört nicht zu Deutschland", so der neue Innenminister Horst Seehofer. Dazu sagt Islamwissenschaftlerin Lamy Kaddor auf WDR 2:

wdr.de

3.3.- Hashtag # 21M

The hashtag #21M responds to the expectations, positive and negative for the analysis, established in its selection. On the one hand, it has a generic approach to neutral discourses and avoids an excess of extremist discourses. In the same line, it assumes an open approach to multiple issues linked to the date and in many cases, away from the object of study. In addition, it is a hashtag repeated over the years and repeated, for example, on May 21.

The revision of the tweets linked to the hashtag #21M shows different approaches of generic contents. Fundamentally refer measures, activities and calls to activism and participation against racism from institutions and non-governmental organizations.

Total Mentions Unique Authors

4330 3594

Most Impactful Authors

| AUTHOR NAME | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
|  @Ergalloway | |
|  @ONU_derechos | |
|  @UNESCO | |
|  @ANAVILLALBA | |
|  @josephjett | |
|  @acentodiarario | |
|  @20m | |
|  @europapress | |
|  @El_Ciudadano | |
|  @UN4Youth | |

| |
|---------|
| 69 |
| TOTAL ▼ |
| 67 |
| 66 |
| 64 |
| 63 |
| 63 |
| 62 |
| 62 |
| 62 |
| 62 |











Top Hashtags

| |
|----------------------|
| #racism |
| #racisme |
| #21m |
| #fightracism |
| #racismo |
| #onthisday |
| #blacklivesmatter |
| #standup4humanrights |
| #justice4mullins |
| #harmonyday |

ALL TWEETS ▼

| |
|------|
| 2567 |
| 705 |
| 683 |
| 502 |
| 439 |
| 335 |
| 195 |
| 164 |
| 150 |
| 135 |

Most Mentioned Tweeters

| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|  @unhumanrights |
|  @nelsonmandela |
|  @magnumphotos |
|  @actgovernment |
|  @ausfedpolice |
|  @criticalreading |
|  @watershedd |
|  @abcnews |
|  @ajenews |
|  @guardianaus |

ALL TWEETS ▼

| |
|-----|
| 366 |
| 344 |
| 341 |
| 150 |
| 150 |
| 118 |
| 112 |
| 109 |
| 108 |
| 108 |

Top Topics

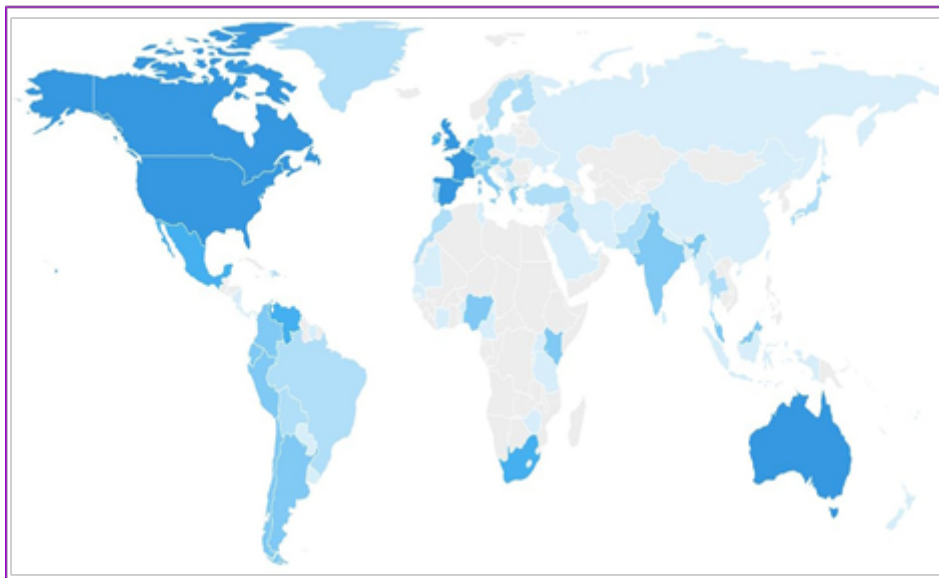


Trending Topics



Fading Topics

Trending Topics



SPAIN

Spain was the most active country (**559 mentions**) during the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, followed by the UK (**345**) and (**312**). Germany (**16**) and Italy (**15**) are far from those figures. Moreover, United States generated **1.833** comments.



Asociación AGORAN @AsocAgoran 21 Mar

RT @AS_ONGD: #21M, Día Internacional contra el #racismo y la #xenofobia. Concentración en #Sevillahoy a las 19:00h en Las Setas convocada por @PSomosMigrantes. ¡ACUDE y DIFUNDE! pic.twitter.com/Nmosq6FiDY

[Wizard-54] Retweets: [Wizard-55] Retweets:
[Wizard-87] Content Types:





Ràdio Klara 104.4 FM @radioklara 21 Mar

RT @CIESNO: 21 de Marzo: Día Internacional de la Eliminación de la Discriminación Racial Al racismo le sobran todos los "pero" #stopRacismo #NoRacismo #racismo #21marzo #21M pic.twitter.com/ZKtCbyPQoT

[Wizard-54] Retweets: [Wizard-55] Retweets:
[Wizard-87] Content Types:






Borrallo @DaBorralloTa 21 Mar


RT @JSACordoba: Hoy #21M desde @JSACordoba alzamos la voz contra el racismo, la xenofobia y la intolerancia. Promovamos todos y todas la unidad, la inclusión y el respeto a la diversidad en nuestra sociedad. No más actitudes intolerantes, no más prejuicios raciales, #NoMásRacismo pic.twitter.com/BtC1pZpj5Y



UK


TravellerSpace @MattTspace

21 Mar




RT @Annabennett27: #Gypsy #Traveller #FightRacism racism is learned behaviour which leads onto institutionalised #racism, stamp it out at the earliest opportunity, so we can all live with #equality pic.twitter.com/ZDkCGX57Eh

[Wizard-54] Retweets: [Retweets](#)

[Wizard-55] Retweets: [Retweets](#)

[Wizard-87] Content Types: [Images](#)



Rhian Davies @dwrhian

21 Mar

RT @eystwales: Really proud of our clients for speaking out about this - on #UN day against #Racism March21st 🍌 hate crime against children is especially abhorrent #EliminationRacialDiscrimination @theredcardwales @childcomwales @CWVYS @futuregencycymru @alunmichael [twitter.com/itwales/statu...](https://twitter.com/itwales/status...)


[Wizard-54] Retweets: [Retweets](#)

[Wizard-55] Retweets: [Retweets](#)


Atty @Atty15

21 Mar

RT @UNHumanRights: Did you know that March 21 is the Intl Day to #FightRacism? #OnThisDay in 1960, 69 people were shot dead for protesting against apartheid in Sharpeville, South Africa. Let's stand together to create a world free of #racism @NelsonMandela @MagnumPhotos ow.ly/5IGV30j3JU pic.twitter.com/dMeHjRMjK4



FRANCE


Polluxe @PolluxeBlog

21 Mar

RT @L_M_Vin: #Sexisme , #homophobie, appel aux meutres, #racisme...certain groupuscule d'extreme gauche ressemble de plus en plus à leur homologue d'extreme droite! c'est plus la convergence des luttes mais la convergences des #haines! 🌟 twitter.com/feertchak/stat...

[Wizard-54] Retweets: [Retweets](#)

[Wizard-55] Retweets: [Retweets](#)


Jakh @jakherjak

21 Mar

RT @PoussiG: L'inquiétant zèle antiraciste d'E. Philippe qui sacre "la judiciarisation déjà bien entamée de toute critique de l'#immigration, systématiquement et illégitimement assimilée à du #racisme" J'en ai assez de cette dictature de la pensée, ce gouvernement dépasse toutes les bornes 🤬 pic.twitter.com/y6xQm7XSBd



[Wizard-54] Retweets: [Retweets](#)

[Wizard-55] Retweets: [Retweets](#)

[Wizard-87] Content Types: [Images](#)


FNATH @FNATH

21 Mar

RT @maglafourcade: Discussion très riche ce soir avec @EPhilippePM sur la lutte contre le #racisme lors de la remise du rapport annuel de la @CNC DH #TousUnisContreLaHaine pic.twitter.com/TI5xKNs824



GERMANY

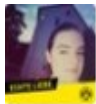
 **Krypto Lady**    @EveLess14

21 Mar

RT @kryondo4: No Time for #racism 🖐️🖐️🖐️🖐️ #TaggegenRassismus #noracism
#Kryondo pic.twitter.com/pmsbEAX8ya



**RACISM.
STOP IT!**



     **Michelle**  @m_obendorfer

21 Mar

RT @OuryJalloh: @Svetlana_evil @tagesschau #Rassismus ist ein #Konstrukt, dass in Zeiten der europäischen #Aufklärung zur #Rechtfertigung der europäischen #Kolonialverbrechen entwickelt wurde...natürlich erliegen auch #Linke diesem Konstrukt - es ist aber keineswegs "deren" Konstrukt #Europa is #Source & #Home of #Racism! pic.twitter.com/QHA1rGJVe2



ITALY



 **Maria Valentina E. Tora** @ValentinaTora

21 Mar

RT @BalcaniCaucaso: Oggi è la Giornata mondiale contro le #Discriminazioni. Contro #razzismo e xenofobia non possiamo abbassare la guardia. Il nostro edukit ci aiuta a capire le tutele derivanti dalle norme UE contro le discriminazioni: #RightsEP owl.li/oJAb30j4wMY pic.twitter.com/ryEM3aVw8Q



 **Cooperazione Italiana** @cooperazione_it

21 Mar

Today is the Int'l #FightRacism Day. #Standup4humanrights and raise your voice against #racism every time, everywhere un.org/en/letsfightra... La lotta a tutte le forme di #discriminazione, inclusa quella razziale, rimane centrale nell'azione internazionale dell'Italia 🇮🇹

CHAPTER 4.- CONCLUSIONS OF THE ANALYSIS OF ONLINE MEDIA AND TWITTER PROFILES

Clickbait and racism are not good companions

Prejudice, rumors and cheating or trap arguments are a basis for talking about hate speech. Online media uses speeches and discourses to get attention. The headlines play with ambiguity and highlighting misunderstanding can evoke racist or criminalizing ideas. Headlights can highlight xenophobic or racist statements against migrants.

That is to say, xenophobia and racism can be object of "clickbait".

Trigger effect. The non accurate information generates racist comments

The informative spaces generated from an ambiguous or criminalizing language usually generate user's participation, influencing racist opinions, anti-immigration arguments or hate statements.

This statement entails a triggering effect of the informative contents. Therefore, highlights the responsibility of the media, and the journalistic profession itself, to facilitate and / or promote hate speech, whether argued from ideological or merely economic interests.

Journalistic professionalism and institutional accuracy

The institutional profiles play an important and rigorous role to confront, neutralize or reinforce hate speech and arguments. It is necessary to respect and promote its credibility, its legitimacy and its privileged position to disseminate information and generate opinion.

The professional and rigorous contribution of journalists and activists committed to the defense of Human Rights is fundamental. They represent an essential task to confront falseness about immigration and to promote pedagogy from the monitoring and dissemination of good practices.

The celebration of international days is a good information bait to highlight specific problems. These are elements of informative interest in a story that attracts and generates journalistic follow-up and, in this case, equally attractive for users of social networks. However, the celebration of these international days may fall into the danger of institutionalization and a lack of follow-up on the part of habitual users of social networks.

About needs: Continue the research; defend the Internet as a public space; and define and characterize hate crime

The current role of social networks and information communication in the net reinforces the need to research, extensively and intensely, the manifestations of hate speech on 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. It requires a huge pedagogical work and clear rules for the defense of vulnerable groups.

The objective is to fight against violence, aggression, discrimination based on gender, ethnicity, religion, ideology, etc.

The hate crime is a protection resource for vulnerable groups and communities to the attacks by hegemonic and / or privileged groups. It is necessary to criticize and pursue the instrumentalization and manipulation of legal provisions against hate to criminalize and veto vulnerable and abused groups from positions of hegemonic power.

Intellectual property

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With financial support from the Rights, Equality and Citizenship Programme (2014-2020) of the European Union

WP2 Comparative Report

Part II:

Counter-narratives to online hate speech: Conceptualizations, constructions and lessons learned

Olga Jubany and Malin Roiha, Universitat de Barcelona

October 2018

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1. Introduction

The research presented in this comparative report aims to identify and analyse examples, lessons learned and good practices of counter-narratives against racist (xenophobic, islamophobic, anti-Roma, anti-Semite...) hate speech through a transnational analysis based on five national reports from France, Germany, Italy, Spain and the UK. The specific objectives of this research have been to identify actors that produce counter-narratives; to identify and analyse counter-narrative strategies, initiatives and positive actions; and to highlight lessons learned in relation to counter-narratives against online hate speech.

Hate speech is defined in EU law as the public incitement to violence or hatred on the basis of certain characteristics, including race, colour, religion, descent and national or ethnic origin ⁷. This type of speech targets vulnerabilised groups, attacking their human dignity through inciting, reproducing and legitimizing discrimination and subalternity of the "other" as different, and deserving fewer rights. Hate speech is grounded on a narrative involving multiple processes of domination and subordination, aimed to ultimately preserve the perspective of "us versus them". As Butler (1997) points out, hate speech is not just a representation of hate; it is in itself a violent behaviour, which seeks to subordinate *the other*, placing them in context where they suffer the threat of real violence. Thus, hate speech is a site of reproduction and legitimation of the relations of inequality and a form of violence that is aimed at attacking both vulnerable individuals and society itself. As such, "the subject who speaks hate speech is clearly responsible for such speech, but that subject is rarely the originator of that speech. Racist speech works through the invocation of convention; it circulates, and though it requires the subject for its speaking, it neither begins nor ends with the subject who speaks or with the specific name that is used" (Butler, 1997).

A part of hate speech expressed online is decidedly explicit, threatening the integrity of people, with explicit links to physical violence outside the internet, and clearly falling under the legal definition of hate speech. However, another form of online hate speech is manifested in a more subtle way, cementing discrimination and subalternity, through mockery, devaluation, disparagement and difference.

Online expressions of hate speech should not be seen as isolated cases, but are accompanied by underlying stories or narratives, crafted to sound true to the specific target audience, and to thus provide additional motivation and legitimation. Narratives have long-term potency, create apparent connections between disparate events, and - in the case of the narratives underlying hate speech - can be classified as toxic for the social environment (Amadeu Antonio Stiftung 2017).

Looking at measures to inhibit or counteract hate speech, hate speech laws are only one mechanism. Hate speech attacks human dignity, and laws suppressing hate speech are aimed at protecting human dignity, in the sense of a person's basic entitlement to be regarded as a member of society, as someone whose membership of a minority group should not incapacitate them from ordinary social interaction (Waldron, 2012). The criminalisation of hate speech, thus, is based on the protection of

⁷ Framework Decision 2008/913/JHA of 28 November 2008 on combating certain forms and expressions of racism and xenophobia by means of criminal law: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=URISERV:l33178>.

individuals belonging to vulnerabilised groups, and not on the persecution of discourse as such. The interpretation of hate speech laws must always be carried out in accordance with international treaties and recommendations that clarify the limits of freedom of expression. Following this, when counteracting hate speech, there is a need to find a balance between the right to freedom of expression and the right to equality, non-discrimination and human dignity. Whatever the action adopted, it must be carried out in defence of the vulnerable groups. However, before turning to criminal law - which should be applied only in the most serious cases - there is a wide range of measures, including counter-narratives. Counter-narratives, alternative narratives, counter-speech, and counter-arguments - whatever the specific term used - can thus be understood as emerging strategies to diminish hate speech or reduce its impact, without infringing on freedom of expression (Benesch, 2014).

Following this, counter-narratives in relation to online hate speech can be defined as attempts to challenge hate messages, directly or indirectly, through different means that can be divided into a spectrum of three main types of activities (Briggs and Feve, 2013):

1. Government strategic communications: Actions to get the message out what government is doing, including public awareness activities. This is aimed at raising awareness, forging relationships with key constituencies and audiences and correcting misinformation.
2. Alternative narratives: Positive stories about social values, tolerance, openness, freedom and democracy, aimed at undercutting violent extremist narratives by focusing on what we are 'for' rather than 'against'.
3. Counter-narratives: Actions aimed at directly deconstructing, discrediting and demystifying violent extremist messaging, challenging these messages through ideology, logic, fact or humour.

The focus in the present research has been on counter- and alternative narratives, however, the term counter-narratives is often used to refer to both categories. Further, as De Latour et al (2017) point out, the division between the two terms is, in practice, blurred, as a counter narrative presupposes or implicitly refers to an alternative narrative.

Counter- and alternative narratives counteract hate speech by discrediting and deconstructing the narratives on which they are based, through other narratives often linked to human rights and democratic values, such as openness, respect for difference, freedom and equality. They may do so by providing alternative and accurate information, by using humour, appealing to emotions and by accounting for different perspectives (de Latour et al 2017).

On the other hand, counter-speech or counter-messages can be described as a crowd-sourced response to extremism or hateful content, in the shape of direct reactions to block or to challenge concrete expressions of hate. Bartlett and Krasodonski-Jones (2015) highlight this way of combating hate as flexible and responsive; capable of dealing with extremism from anywhere and in any language, whilst retaining the principle of free and open public spaces for debate. However, they also note that counter-speech may not always as effective as it could be; and that some types of counter-speech could potentially even be counter-productive, exacerbating opinions and divides between groups.

Next section briefly describes the sample and methods of the REACT qualitative research, followed by chapter 3, explaining the cross-country findings of this interview-based research. The first two sections of chapter 3 look into the different actors' conceptualisations of hate speech and of counter-narratives. The third section, 3.3, deals with general considerations and proposals when constructing counter- and alternative narratives. Section 3.4, then, highlights lessons learned and effective

strategies for counter-narratives, illustrated by different initiatives and actions. Finally, the concluding chapter highlights some possible paths forward.

2. Methods and sample

The qualitative research started out on the one hand, with a desk research in each country, to map different organisations, institutions and activists that implement counter-narrative initiatives in the different national contexts. On the other hand, reports and publications on counter narratives and hate speech were also taken into account, whilst the findings from the PRISM project, undertaken by largely the same partnership, constituted a common ground for the different research teams.⁸

The main focus of the REACT counter-narrative research has been placed on an ethnographic study, based on in-depth interviews with persons involved in counter-narrative initiatives or anti-racist efforts in a wider sense. The choice of subjects to interview was based on the desk research, in addition to informal discussions with activists and subject-matter experts. At a later stage, snowball sampling⁹ was used in most countries. The institutions, organizations and activists interviewed were chosen based upon their work against different forms of racism and discrimination, including, but not limited to, online hate speech.

The interview guide used across the countries was based on dynamic indicators and topics stemming from the desk research. Most interviews were conducted face-to-face, however, some were conducted through Skype or by phone. All interviews were coded, transcribed and the information organised and analysed through fact-sheets including the main indicators.

The final sample includes 56 representatives from a range of institutions, civil society organizations, media outlets and activist initiatives across the five countries, listed in detail in Annex I.

⁸ “Preventing, redressing and Inhibiting hate speech in new media”. The project was co-funded by the Rights, Equality and Citizenship Programme of the European Union, 2014-2016. The findings are reflected in the report “Backgrounds, experiences and responses to online hate speech” (Jubany and Roiha, 2015) and the book “Las palabras son armas. Discurso de odio en la red” (Jubany and Roiha, 2018).

⁹ Snowball sampling refers to obtaining contacts for further relevant stakeholders and initiatives from the persons already interviewed.

3. Cross-country findings

In the present section, which makes up the main body of the report, the studies conducted in France, Italy, Germany, Spain and the UK are referenced in a comparative cross-country manner. Hence, when a specific country is mentioned, it refers to the national study conducted in that country as part of the REACT research. The five national studies have also been published as separate reports and should be referred to for a more comprehensive analysis of the findings stemming from each country.

3.1. Conceptualisations of hate speech

“I believe it’s very important to know that hate speech is not a new phenomenon” [DE-I1]

This section does not pretend to present a detailed discussion of the concept of hate speech¹⁰, but rather aims to bring up some of the reflections of the interviewees in relation to the scope of counter-narratives against hate speech.

In this regard, a first point to be made is the complexity of the concept of hate speech. On the one hand, importing and translating such a concept poses some difficulties, as the word “hate” has different connotations in different languages. For example in French, “hate” always includes a notion of radicalism, and has a highly emotional connotation, which may not be suitable for an analysis of ideological narratives. On the other hand, there is still a high level of confusion of what to include in the concept, e.g. whether to include only hate speech than can be penalised by law. Across the countries, whilst some point to the vagueness that still surrounds the concept, interviewees in general tend to use quite a wide definition:

To me, it is more like an umbrella term for many different forms of discrimination, that is to say, of racism, sexism, discrimination against the disabled, and various other forms, which we have been seeing for years or centuries, and which are now being grouped under the new concept of ‘hate speech’ [...], which, through this online perspective, is much more dynamic, can have a much wider reach, spreads much faster, and is also freer. [DE-I1]

Especially in Germany, the media has reported extensively on hate speech, primarily due to the new network enforcement law in Germany, and is said to have made it a “household saying” [DE-M1], or a “catchphrase”.

In view of this, introducing some further concepts, related to hate speech, may facilitate a better understanding of how language is being used as a mechanism of dehumanisation, with generalisations and stereotypes reinforcing a perceived “we vs them”-divide. This may open up for new strategies to combat these dynamics. In this regard, interviewees have used “discriminatory discourse” for “journalistic bad practices that promote discrimination” [ES-I3], also in order to approach the issue from a more positive perspective, as calling people out for using hate speech or being racist, tends to make people react defensively. There are also other strategies that refer to concepts other than hate speech or racism as a way of opening up communication with people. One

¹⁰ For a more profound discussion of the concept of hate speech and the surrounding social context please refer to the reports from the consortium’s previous project, PRISM.

such strategy is to refer to “rumours” as “seeds” that, if left without contrasting, could grow into hate speech:

That we are all exposed to rumours and that we can also reproduce them, is the key for people to reflect on something this basic. These rumours involve a series of ideas, stereotypes that are linked to ignorance, generalizations, unconfirmed information, false information and so that is like the breeding ground to generate prejudices, which is already talking about attitudes, having all these ideas feeds prejudices that make me avoid or not mix with someone, or even generate hostility towards certain groups or people. And finally, this leads to discrimination in different fields [ES-I4]

“Untruths” on the other hand have been defined as more subtle ways of creating aggravation, discrediting people, fuelling fears, politicising things, setting one’s own agenda/spreading lies, and intimidating others. In relation to counter-narratives as a tool to combat hate speech, it may also be useful to refer to the concept of “toxic narratives”, meaning linguistic behavior that has a negative influence on its environment (Amadeu Antonio Stiftung 2017). All these concepts can be included under the hate speech umbrella, i.e. as hate speech in the broader sense of the term, whilst not necessarily by a strict legal definition.

Following this, trying to define the different types of content and expressions that the interviewees include in the concept of hate speech, the following categories have been identified:

1. Explicit hate speech specifically directed at a category of people defined by their belonging to an ethnic community, their gender, their culture or their religion, coupled with inciting to discrimination or violence towards them. This type of hate speech is the most explicit, entering more easily the field of a judicial response.
2. Speech consisting in generalising prejudices against a category of people by attributing them with a negative characteristic generalised to the group, including false affirmations regarding a group in order to reinforce prejudices, but without encouraging violence against them.
3. Insinuations used in a distorted way, also described as “hidden speech”. For example, in the narration of a news item or in falsified historical examples, and all this, with the sole aim to fuel hate.
4. Non-verbal speech: pictures, photos, memes, photomontages...

Several interviewees underline the mechanisms of stereotyping and its relation to hate speech; how complexity is simplified and perception distorted, and this being exacerbated by a context where the speed of dissemination of information cancels out the possibility to monitor content. Hate speech in the current debate is thus perceived as inextricably linked to digitisation and social media: “It is the perverse mechanism of globalisation and digital communication, the speed a piece of news literally bounces, like a lie, when even ideological filters are lacking”. [IT-06]

Further, some interviewees place their focus on the public nature of hate speech, especially when it comes from institutional and political subjects; hate speech as a lack of will to discuss, replaced by denigration of the other, even by fabricating stories. This is especially highlighted in the Italian study:

It is a way to relate which is not characterized by genuine, radical or resolute discussion, but oriented towards destruction by poisonous, hateful words. In the most serious cases it does not only offend [...] but makes up stories to denigrate people [IT-02]

There is also a firm agreement that media is an important actor that does not commit enough to challenging and correcting inflammatory speech across the political spectrum and whose information often needs contestation and dissemination of alternative narratives:

Media is another actor in society. They are not observers, they are actors and as such they have a function, and other actors know that, actors with power. Media and journalists need to be conscious of their capacity to influence the societies they say they are explaining. How to do that? Everyone needs to be responsible of what they say and do. Politicians or leaders, people who generate these discourses. But, if journalists reproduce them, then journalists are responsible. They reproduce them uncritically [ES-M3]

Mainstream media's portrayal of refugees, migrants or racialized person often involve stereotypes and constructions of 'the other' as a threat. This is perceived by the interviewees in the explicit use of discriminatory language, with media using words such as "avalanches" or "waves" when referring to migrants or refugees, or the language employed when talking about the Roma community, such as "clans" or "patriarchs"¹¹. However, this is also perceived in more subtle ways, such as covert positioning of journalists and newspaper that often directly dehumanize migrants and refugees in the media. In this regard, interviewees heavily criticise the widespread lack of empathy in many mainstream media outlets and, instead, call for alternative narratives:

Media makes a terrible mistake, taking into account that the narrative of the media necessarily starts from the humanisation of all beings to generate empathy [...] We don't know why people come, we don't know their names, we don't know what they have left [...] These stories are not told, so then we dehumanise them [ES-A2]

Furthermore, some interviewees stress the importance of exposing the link between discriminatory discourses, hate speech and hate crimes, to raise awareness on the possible consequences of leaving online hate speech unchallenged:

If this dynamic continues it is very dangerous; in the end hate crimes are preceded by a whole breeding ground that encourages them [...] There's a creation of collective discriminatory imaginations, and this involves media, social media... [ES-J3]

All in all, interviewees across the five countries are firmly committed to working against hate speech, although some frame their commitment as focused on racism and stereotypes in general. However, most also point to the complexity in finding the balance in response between judicial response, social media providers' responsibility, and education and awareness-raising. The latter includes counter-narratives as one, not uncontested, way of responding to online hate speech, which will be further explored in the following sections.

3.2. Conceptualisations of counter-narratives

"A counter-narrative is the right to speak for those who don't own it..." [IT-03]

There is an increasing interest within institutions and organizations in constructing and implementing counter-narratives as a way of combatting racism and hate speech. Some organizations have been working from this perspective for years, many without explicitly referring to their initiatives as

¹¹ According to the Spanish NGO, Fundación Secretariado Gitano, these terms are not used by Roma people themselves.

counter-narratives. However, the recent interest in counter-narratives is in part also described as driven by current project funding, e.g. by the EU, for counter-narrative initiatives, and also as linked to the Code of Conduct of social media platforms, which has a strong focus on counter-narratives as a tool against online hate speech.

Regarding the concepts used, in Spain, most of the institutions and organization interviewed differentiate between counter-narratives and alternative narratives, whilst, in the other countries interviewees only refer to counter-narratives, even when speaking about initiatives that could better be defined as alternative narratives. This may, on the one hand, be an issue of how the questions were framed in each language, and on the other hand, an issue of language in itself. In Germany, for example, only a general umbrella term is used: “Gegenrede”, which literally means “counter-speech”, referring to all actions to counter hate on the internet, including deleting, reporting, producing counter-narratives, as well as alternative narratives.

Counter-narratives have been described in several ways, such as “communicative actions that are very reactive, short-term, and linked [to a certain context]” [ES-I2] or a “narrative that is constructed against something, against hate speech, against a discriminatory discourse, and that is based on the framework of human rights, although counter-narratives can be based on many frameworks [...] A counter-narrative can be an argument, it can be a movie...” [ES-I1] or as “the ‘opposite’ to hate speech – they are narratives of tolerance, freedom from hostility, freedom to live side by side without fear” [UK-01]. All these definitions have in common a reactive aspect, i.e. the counter-narrative as being constructed against something or as a reaction to an event or narrative. An alternative narrative, on the other hand, can be understood as a narrative that deviates from mainstream or populist discourses either because it is a different one on a commonly debated topic, or because it is addressing a topic that is not usually covered by the mainstream media. In short, alternative narratives tell another story than that told by discriminatory discourse, hate speech or mainstream media, in relation to issues such as diversity, migration and interculturality. However, as mentioned above, the line between the different counter-narrative concepts is in practice often blurred.

In addition to this, the term counter-argument or counter-speech is also used by some actors, for single interventions e.g. in comments sections of digital newspapers or on social media:

Counter-narratives allude to the narrative behind it, to the story, whilst a counter-argument is a smaller thing. But of course when you answer a comment, when you are making a counter-argument, it has an underlying counter-narrative [ES-I1].

Nevertheless, there is a difficulty in delimiting what we really talk about when we talk about counter-narratives or alternative narratives. These are broad concepts that can be applied to almost any initiative aimed at countering racism or hate speech, and that can be communicated through different media, including videos, hashtags, memes, social media posts or articles in blogs or newspapers. In this sense, some actors define basically all their communication actions as a counter-narrative, such as in the case of the Spanish Fundación Secretariado Gitano:

For us, all that we do in terms of communication that comes from activists or the organization, is already part of that counter-narrative, in order to show the most diverse, pluralist Roma community. We understand that if it is better known, it will be better accepted [ES-I6]

Counter-narratives and alternative narratives are, in general, 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. However, an element to be highlighted in this regard is complexity: combatting hate is more difficult than working on recognition, and especially, as underlined by the interviewees, facing the pervasiveness of the new means of communication.

Using counter-narratives means having the ambition to respond to and/or even change a narrative that is becoming increasingly mainstream in the current European context. This is done through providing fair information or disseminating a lacking perspective, de-constructing prejudices and stereotypes, counter-arguing, and giving minority groups the opportunity to speak. Several of the organisations interviewed focus on this last aspect, arguing that counter-narratives should involve a right to speak and a possibility to represent themselves for those whose voices are not usually heard:

It is one thing to be represented, but it is different to represent yourself, to highlight your point of view. Media keep writing about people who exist as if they don't exist or as if they exist just in part... Hence our commitment to support access to mainstream media by media operators belonging to minority groups [IT-03]

This is echoed by some activists interviewed, explaining that the emergence of new communication channels allows them to explain their own lived experiences:

I get the feeling that now we are in a very cool moment because the counter-narrative in terms of racism, in terms of blackness, comes from the community itself and the community itself is leading the discourse and this was necessary [ES-A1]

This, they describe, is very different from the distortion and decontextualisation often experienced when mainstream media acts as an intermediary. Thus, whilst social media may, to a certain extent, be plagued by hate speech, positively, it also offers safe spaces and channels of expression for a variety of voices constructing their own experience-based discourses that can be defined as alternative narratives.

However, there is also some direct criticism of the concept of counter-narratives. On the one hand, this opposition highlights the concept as currently being 'in fashion', as a "comfortable container, which tends to simplify thought" [ES-I2]. Another part of the critique highlights the fact that most counter-narratives are actually only fair information in response to a misrepresented, false or prejudiced message, and that counter-narrative is a misleading term as it implies that hate speech is the legitimized mainstream narrative. There is also a view that framing initiatives as counter-narratives may contribute to reinforcing issues of conflict in people's minds:

I have never used such a term. I am afraid that if we take a position "against", we enter a binary code. Like a double truth: mine and yours. And that is by no means the case. When I was working at the radio, I used to say I provided information instead of counter-information, since it was based on actual, real and proved data. It was not based on a free interpretation of the world. If you do this you do not need to call it counter-narrative [IT-06]

This, however, implies an understanding of counter-narratives as exclusively reactive. If the emphasis is, instead, shifted to alternative narratives, focus can be placed on "the outcome we want and the world we want" [UK-07].

3.3. Constructions and development of counter-narratives

“We want to engage people before they start becoming components of hate” [UK-09]

This section focused on general considerations and proposals when constructing counter- and alternative narratives, in relation to target audiences, approaches and evaluation mechanisms.

Target audiences

The scarce literature on counter-narratives tends to stem from the North-American context and addresses mainly those initiatives targeting persons at risk of being radicalised, or already radicalised, whether by Islamist groups or by white power movements. However, among the organizations and institutions interviewed there is a firm agreement that those who have strong racist ideas may be very difficult, if not impossible, to reach and convince.

With regard to these groups, the high degree of organisation of hate speech is especially highlighted by the interviewees in Germany, who point out three types of persons spreading hate speech: first, the “concerned citizens”, i.e. people who are afraid of change or of the unknown; frustrated at the lack of political alternatives, and feeling that they are not being heard. These have also been described as “occasional haters” by some interviewees in other countries. A second group is made up by organised right-wing populists seeking to systematically create a mood using strategies such as fuelling fears by spreading untruths, setting their own agendas by deviating from the original topic, and dictating debates by intimidating or scaring away other users through hate. They are also highly aware of exactly how to express themselves in order for their comments to not be automatically filtered out or subsequently deleted. The third type are the so-called trolls, previously seen as a type of “lone wolves”, but now increasingly organised and in some cases ‘professional’:

What initially looks like total chaos is actually a very, very intensive act by just a handful of people. There’s one section who pursue truly political interests. But I think there’s also a second section of people who have serious concerns, so to speak. [...] they feel they need to take a stand, and all they have left is hate speech. [...] And there’s another section who simply enjoy insulting people, exasperating them, and showing them up. This sometimes comes from very strong opinions on freedom of speech; people who believe we must be able to say anything, and who feel we are somewhat restricted here, and that people should just chill out a bit. [DE-M2]

Professional online trolls aim to disrupt communications and spread fake news in an organised manner with a highly political agenda. Trolls seen in this manner can no longer be starved, but the information that they spread needs to be countered and contested. Thus, although the trolls themselves may not be reached nor convinced by counter-narratives, the information they spread must not be left uncontested with the risk of influencing opinions or further radicalising those that can be denominated “occasional haters”:

I believe that we can work very well with occasional haters, people like a cousin, a brother-in-law, whoever it is, a person in your environment, a friend, who retweets discriminatory content or makes a discriminatory comment on an occasional basis. There is a potential I think to answer, to send a message ‘that thing you said...’, and then the rest, the silent majority, who receives this passively and does not act [ES-I1]

As is also reflected above, a further important target audience is those referred to as the “silent majority”, who may not themselves spread hate speech, but who neither act to counter it.

Other interviewees, yet again, aim to reach the broadest possible audience - within certain limits - which in turn affects how campaigns and initiatives are shaped:

We would never go and try to convince someone with a fascist discourse. We always try [...] that [*the campaign*] is not too aggressive so that it reaches more people because if you have aggressive discourses you might be more convincing, but only convince a few. We want to reach many people, because hatred towards the Roma community is really widespread and deeply rooted [ES-I6]

Thus, most interviewees emphasize the need to plan counter-narrative initiatives based on a thorough understanding of the target audience, tailoring both the content and format:

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 [UK-09]

The limitation of the reach of the counter-narratives should also be considered in terms of who participates on which channels; not all initiatives manage to reach beyond those who are already very cyber-active on social media:

Every message has a very specific audience, even if it’s viral [...] and it’s a cyber-active audience, it’s not a cyber-passive audience that will see the campaign ‘Libérate de prejuicios’ with a hashtag - if you don’t have Twitter you cannot move it. So we end up directing our social awareness actions digitally to a public that is very active on social media [ES-I5]

In general, the stakeholders interviewed are highly aware of the target audience reached on the different social media channels, and thus also aware that in order to achieve a broad outreach, online work needs to be combined with offline strategies such as focused community work, in the same way that social media needs to be combined with mainstream media dissemination to reach the broadest possible audience. To reach beyond those who are already social media activists, and engaging to a higher extent the silent majority, is a crucial objective for counter-narratives in order to counteract the increasing levels of hate speech and fake news on social media.

Constructing counter-narratives

Regarding the approach and the values to be communicated by counter-narrative efforts, the more institutional actors, especially in Spain, advocate for a human rights approach as a basis for a solid counter-narrative. This approach is in lines with the Council of Europe's guidelines in the "We Can..."-manual¹², referenced by some of the stakeholders interviewed. A human rights approach can be defined as a strategy of appealing directly to people as human beings that share common features and rights:

You have to start with the little things. The power is already in understanding that the right to asylum is a human right and all that this implies is already appealing to you in relation to another person, because you and this other person share a human right [ES-I5]

¹² de Latour et al (2017) Published as part of the No Hate Speech Movement

In this regard, Voogt (2017) argues that counter-narratives aimed at the far-right need to be clear that promoting violence against any group, whether Jewish, Muslim or an ethnic minority, is unacceptable. That fact that the rhetoric of some islamophobic groups includes positive reference to values such as human rights and tolerance does offer opportunities for counter-narratives. Demonstrating the hypocrisy of promoting violence against Muslims under the guise of protecting human rights is an approach that counter-narratives to islamophobia could potentially pursue.

However, the human rights approach is also criticised by other non-institutional actors as being based too much on an institutional “constructed” strategy that, precisely because of its institutional elements, may have a limited reach. For example, as observed in the REACT monitoring activity¹³, institutional hashtags tend to have a limited reach in terms of online interaction.

Nevertheless, closely linked to the human rights approach, several interviewees across the countries argue that counter-narratives should aim to appeal to positive emotions, highlighting that the most successful counter-narrative strategies are those focused on “promoting positive messages - reinforcing that we [human beings] are united, [and] reinforcing that we stand together” [UK-09], and that thus strive to break the “us versus them” narrative:

One of the mechanisms of hate speech and discriminatory narratives is negative emotions: they appeal to fear, the lack of control we have in our lives, they appeal to all these types of negative emotions. Then try to counteract them with other emotions that are positive, for example to generate empathy, which is a mechanism that we have with human beings and that makes us survive in the end [...] and also break this chain of selective empathy, empathy with your collective and not the other, try to break these mechanisms [ES-I1]

Whilst empathy is one positive emotion, humour is another. In Italy, Radio Popolare has, since the end of the 1980s, consciously used counter-narratives to normalise the topic of immigration, often through jokes and irony. The German study, on the other hand, describes the climate of counter-narratives as having shifted from using humour and irony more towards facts, as the use of humour tends to work to increase the cohesion of your own group, whilst it has proven not to work too well to convince haters and may even put “concerned citizens” off.

A way of creating empathy, highlighted by several organizations and institutions, is to use first-hand narratives:

With counter-narratives we try to provide positive examples, with Roma persons speaking in first person and providing a completely different image, not stereotyped, to counteract that image that people have of Roma people [ES-I6]

The telling of experiences from a first person perspective is also a strategy highlighted by and adopted by the activists, explaining that their own narratives have now, through social media, found their own channels for expression:

Right now, we are at a wonderful moment, because this discursive diversity that has always been there, against this hegemony that has also always been there, but which has not had the channels to express itself, now they are emerging and it's starting to be heard. I'm seeing now that what was missing was this, channels where to talk, because the audience was already there although we often thought it wasn't [ES-A2]

¹³ See the first part of this report.

Whilst some interviewees in Italy also propose counter-narratives as channels for those whose voices are not usually heard, the Italian study in general points to objective, documented, verifiable facts as the starting point for any counter-narrative activity, with the aim to deconstruct simplified hate messages. This is also supported by a UK respondent, explaining that they respond directly to hate speech “sometimes by trying to inform rather than argue” [UK-02]. Correcting misinformation is seen as one of the most important objectives of counter-narratives in the UK. The content of what is published can “focus on replying to hate speech with facts and figures” [UK-02] to directly challenge incorrect information and rumours in the mainstream media. At the same time, however, a couple of interviewees highlight that turning to data may sometimes contribute to a polarization of positions.

Whatever the tone of the message, however, it is crucial to avoid generating another discriminatory narrative when constructing counter-narratives, i.e. not to fall into the trap of using the mechanisms of hate speech, such as the use of discriminatory language or the discursive elements of hate speech, e.g. generalising or pointing to scapegoats.

Further, many of the stakeholders interviewed argue that the message and language need to be simplified, in order to reach through to people, whilst at the same time, not losing the complexity of many of the issues addressed:

We have to speak the language of the citizens [...] and do more community work, to listen and to learn what are the logical concerns of the population [...] We see it clearly when it happens. In the workshops after that tragic event [*referring to the attacks in Barcelona and Cambrils in August 2017*] we noticed a brutal increase of islamophobic comments [*in the workshops they conducted in schools*]. We need go there prepared, we have to always be one step ahead, and bring a convincing discourse of counter-arguments against islamophobia [ES-15]

Here, we see the importance of tuning into the community and their needs and concerns, and also the key issue of preparing educators - and the general public - for the aftermath of certain trigger events, to be able to counteract the surge of hate speech both online and offline.

Finally, the counter-narrative construction should follow a dynamic path, and not a static one. To introduce an initiative is a continuously evolving path, which requires constant updating, involves subject-matter experts, but with the aim of making it understandable by non-experts, without losing the focus on accuracy of language and communication strategies:

Counter-narratives are our great effort to oppose, with specific care for contents and language... Hence it is not only a question of highlighting the importance of diversity but also of paying constant attention to language [IT-04]

All in all, across the countries, most respondents define their strategies as both responsive and proactive, i.e. countering hate speech and racism as well as initiating debate and highlighting different stories by publishing alternative narratives.

Evaluation of initiatives

The general impression amongst the professionals and activists interviewed is that in-depth reach is achieved through the continuous and insistent presence of counter- and alternative discourses:

Changing mentality about Roma is very difficult, because prejudices are really ingrained, it is so complicated. Campaigns won't save the day, but they put some issues on the agenda, they drill a hole [ES-16]

Yet, despite the fact that the topic of evaluation of counter-narrative initiatives was brought up during the interviews, surprisingly little response was gathered on this aspect of counter-narratives. The lack of proper evaluation mechanisms turned out to be common across the countries. In this regard, Reynolds and Tuck (2016) point out that whilst the number of online counter-narrative campaigns has increased, the number of initiatives that apply effective monitoring and evaluation practices remains limited.

The institutions and organizations included in the present study have mostly built the evaluation of their initiatives on a quantitative assessment of the reach of campaigns through the use of social media, obtaining immediate feedback in terms of interactions, visualisations and reading times. Some have also added a qualitative element to this, through a deeper analysis of comments, to assess whether the initiative has had any impact on opinion. The Italian study further highlights repetition as a key aspect to assess an action, arguing that an action is effective when it can be transferred to other contexts or repeated over time, also to detect a possible change of behaviour towards the phenomenon countered. However, measuring the effectiveness of initiatives would require monitoring the effects over time. Whilst some organisations mention that they have conducted qualitative evaluations of their campaigns in the past, lack of resources has prevented them from keeping this up.

According to Reynolds and Tuck (2016) there are many factors that can deter civil society campaigners from undertaking effective evaluations, from tight delivery timeframes and a lack of evaluation expertise, to insufficient public or private sector support or funding. This lack of effective monitoring and evaluation measures, particularly amongst smaller civil society campaigners, means limited knowledge about the effectiveness of many counter-narrative initiatives, and little consensus around what works and what doesn't work. It also means that many powerful campaigns do not always receive the necessary long-term funding or support.

3.4. Initiatives, strategies, lessons learned and good practices

“Facts alone don’t acknowledge suffering, they don’t get people to listen to the final story” [UK-05]

A key objective of the research across the five countries has been to identify different initiatives, strategies, lessons learned and good practices in relation to counter-narratives against online hate speech. As explained above, this has been done primarily through interviews with professionals representing organizations and institutions working against racism, xenophobia and hate speech, as well as with activists, especially those using social media for their activism.

As we have seen, the concept of counter-narratives is very broad, and the initiatives and strategies collected across the countries therefore show a great diversity, ranging from top-down campaigns implemented by institutions and EU-funded action projects, to bottom-up initiatives by social media activists; from online to offline; from community based to transnational. For an overview of all the initiatives, strategies and campaign collected please refer to Annex II.

The present section, thus, introduces lessons learned, recommendations and good practices and strategies in relation to counter-narratives, extracted from the interviews and initiatives across the countries, and illustrated where available with examples of initiatives.

Promote diversity among media staff, research groups and organizations implementing campaigns

Some actors argue that the success of an initiative is measured by its capacity to use the inherent diversity in the society to promote change. An important starting point is therefore to aim for diversity within the teams that implement initiatives and campaigns.

This recommendation should also be applied to the media as there is a significant underrepresentation of journalists with migrant background, especially highlighted in the German study (only one in fifty journalists in Germany has a migration background¹⁴). Debates on certain topics are often only conducted about, not with or by, the people they relate to. In this regard, initiatives such as the German *Neue deutsche Medienmacher* are campaigning for more diversity in the media landscape. Another positive example is *Itacat Radio* in Spain, which is a radio show and platform for news on cultural diversity, as well as a directory for journalists and media aimed to foster the presence of culturally diverse people from different fields in the media.

Mainstream media does not only lack diversity within, but is, as previously mentioned, also considered part of the problem in reinforcing polarization, through both language use and often dehumanizing perspectives. Interviewees argue that there is a need for greater education on media ethics in order to change this. Most countries have tools to guide journalists in this regard, such as the *Carta di Roma Deontological Code* in Italy, or the *Code of Ethics of the Catalan Society of Professional Journalists* in Spain. Further in relation to media’s role, paying attention to headlines, language and to writing style is fundamental, as well as quoting references and using several sources depicting different perspectives.

¹⁴<https://www.ndr.de/fernsehen/sendungen/zapp/Fehlende-Vielfalt-unter-Journalisten,zapp10358.html>

Educate in critical thinking

Another generic recommendation is that of educating children and adolescents, from a very young age, in critical thinking, as a key tool to counteract hate speech and to develop the increasingly important skill to distinguish fake news from trustable information. In relation to this, some of the interviewees, especially from the media, stress the importance of educating both citizens and communication professionals on non-reproduction of hate speech and fake news. The way the success of online content is measured, that is, by the number of views, clicks and shares, means that such discourses are spread not only willingly, but often by chance or even by trying to report or criticise them. This makes the development of “internal alarms” even more important; to stop and reflect before sharing anything on social media, and to verify the source of the information, contrasting the information with alternative sources if the original source is unknown or suspicious. It also calls for providing people with tools to dismantle hate speech and fake news.

The French study proposes schools as the best place for learning to counter hate speech, and suggests that a school subject could be created around the multiple dimensions of the Internet, including its use to convey hate speech. In fact, the *Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale (National Education Ministry)* of France has already set up specific learning programmes for the young focused on media processing of information. The objective is to teach the learners how to benefit from a critical detachment and develop their own potential for reflective discernment, i.e. “to give them the tools to distance themselves from what they hear, see and read”. Ethics and civics learning has also been set up. However, these learning programmes are recent, meaning that they are not yet completely effective and, furthermore, the teachers’ training to implement them is still to be finalized.

Capacitate people to dismantle hate speech

In relation to the point above on the development of critical thinking, another recommendation is that of giving people tools to dismantle hate speech and stereotypes, rather than information focusing on a specific hate narrative. Focusing too much on a particular rumour or a specific hate content risks spreading it further. To exemplify, in Spain, *Xarxa Bcn Antirumors* used to elaborate reports on specific rumours but realised that when exposing a specific rumour, they also risked disseminating it. Therefore, the network has shifted their focus to capacitating people to dismantle rumours, in order to counteract the division of “us and them”.

Visibilise already existing initiatives - promote a variety of voices

There is a strong recommendation to visibilise and support grassroots and activist initiatives that already exist, instead of organizations starting from zero when building campaigns. This could be young people telling their own personal experiences on social media, thus constructing alternative narratives (most without explicitly defining them as such). That is, using a bottom-up strategy, with NGOs and institutions having the role of facilitators rather than generators. Organizations could also to a higher extent give social media activists space on their social media channels, for higher visibility and outreach.

An initiative that uses this strategy is *CoNNGI* in Italy, highlighting the urgency to focus on second generation immigrants as counter-narrative producers, on the one hand promoting their needs and what they offer to society; and on the other hand, making them aware of the value they represent.

The Spanish study, on the other hand, highlights several examples of “influencers” or social media activists, some of which have collaborated with NGOs or other initiatives. One such initiative is the *Creators for Change* campaign, where Google/YouTube have appointed young youtubers from different backgrounds as spokespersons for the campaign. This initiative has been implemented both in Germany as *#NichtEgal* and in Spain as *Somos Más*.

Improve continuity

Taking better advantage of already existing channels that disseminate alternative narratives also contributes to a higher level of sustainability and continuity of institutional and NGO initiatives, which sometimes manage to gain much support while active, but then tend to vanish, thus risking to lack a deeper impact.

Another way of ensuring continuity is to create materials in a way that they can be used independently, by educators or youth workers, even after the initiative has ended.

The source of funding is also key to continuity. For example, for the sustainability of the Xarxa Bcn Antirumors, in Spain, their link to the city council of Barcelona is crucial. Involving local bodies also contributed with the possibility of mobilizing strategic web nodes to reach different sections of the population, such as in the case of the Bologna Municipality in Italy, which was involved in the AMITIE CODE project and relied on information channels such as schools, libraries, museums, citizens' helpdesks, etc. Hence, a campaign implemented by a local body is also strategic because of its potential to reach very different targets of the population. Nevertheless, the bureaucracy involved in being linked to a public administration tends to make initiatives less dynamic.

Pure information, empathy or humour?

Considering that social media favours the spread of stereotypes and very simple messages, simple and direct communication is recommended for counter-narratives, rather than elaborate arguments which, in spite of well-founded and sound contents, are likely not to attract the social media users' attention.

Information and data should of course be used in counter- narratives, e.g. in order to directly counter fake news that has gone viral and to expose original sources (e.g. in the case of photos said to picture a specific situation and that are taken from some completely different situation). An example in this regard is *Maldito Buló* in Spain, which is a web dedicated to countering viral fake news, so called ‘bulos’, and which sometimes dedicates a specific section to fake news on migrants and refugees.¹⁵

However, a strong recommendation is not to use just facts, but rather to use facts and information together with material appealing to emotions, as there is a general view that pure data does not change an opinion. What concerns the tone of the message, there is a wide agreement that positive emotions should be used, either in the shape of humour or appealing to inter-human empathy. In terms of the latter, appealing to childhood is highlighted as a successful strategy, if used very carefully with ethical considerations. An example that has been highlighted is the Danish video

¹⁵ See e.g. <https://maldita.es/maldito-bulo/20-bulos-sobre-inmigrantes-y-refugiados-que-te-pueden-intentar-colar/>

#JegErDansk¹⁶, which used real reactions of Danish children with a migration background being told that they were not Danish. Another example of using children and real reactions is that of Fundación Secretariado Gitano's campaign in Spain, "Yo No Soy Trapacero".¹⁷

As we have seen, first person narratives is another way of appealing to emotions and creating links between people as human beings with shared experiences. A successful example of this can be found in *In the shoes of a refugee, Alain's story told in 360 °*, told by Alain himself on CEAR's Youtube channel¹⁸, or the different campaigns of Fundación Secretariado Gitano's campaigns in Spain.

Using humour as a positive emotion is another proposal for better reaching targets, as a discourse involving humour avoids the moral reprimands of more traditional NGO discourses. In the Spanish study this is exemplified by Fundación Secretariado Gitano's successful mock newspaper *Payo Today*. Through humour, counter-narratives appear less institutional and closer to what young people already watch or produce themselves, e.g. on YouTube.

The use of humour, however, is complex when dealing with sensitive topics such as racism and discrimination, but may work better when aimed at very specific audiences, e.g. journalists in the case of the Payo Today campaign. Several actors across the countries highlight the complexity of using humour, and propose that humour and irony can work well to strengthen one's own community (e.g. anti-racist activists) as it helps users to cope better with hate, but that, on the other hand, it has not proven successful for countering hate comments, but may instead reinforce divides between groups. In the UK interviewees suggest not to use humour or satire in order not to risk offending any faith communities. Similarly, the German stakeholders interviewed are especially adamant in proposing an objective, fact-based tone as the standard practice to counter hate.

Innovate in format

There is a general call for innovation in relation to format, and especially for the use of visual material, such as short videos, memes or infographics, for easy dissemination on social media. People under 30 tend to get their information from YouTube, rather than from traditional media outlets, and watch videos instead of reading texts, so visual material must be used in order to reach this target audience. In this regard videos with a maximum duration of 1-2 minutes are recommended for social media. This capacity to keep up with new and evolving formats and the ability to relate to younger audiences is also what makes for the success of many online activist initiatives, hence we should highlight the importance not only of adapting to this type of formats, but also of incorporating and visibilising this type of producers of counter-narratives.

Another example of new formats that contribute to the connection between people are the virtual reality videos developed by Sos Racisme Catalunya to counter islamophobia, as highlighted by the Spanish study.

A further example of innovative formats are the reaction gifs, used by a radio broadcaster mentioned in the German study. To help its moderators in the comments sections, the broadcaster produced its

¹⁶ JegErDansk: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e7mqfmZS5xM>. The video was made as a reaction to the Danish Parliament's statement that 'Danes' within social housing projects should not be a minority.

¹⁷ See the report from Spain. "I'm not a trickster": <https://www.gitanos.org/actualidad/dossieres/110637.html>.

¹⁸ "En la piel de un refugiado, la historia de Alain contado en 360°" ("In the shoes of a refugee, Alain's story told in 360°"): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jw9clu-OCM>

own “reaction gifs”. To do this, they filmed studio guests using body language and facial expressions to portray incomprehension and outrage, e.g. by shaking their head or opening their mouth, and similar reactions to hate comments. They also ran “love speeches”, dedicating a day to love with “1Love”. The community responded very positively to these campaigns.

Related to this is also the need of immediacy, which is key in producing an effective counter-narrative that can keep up with e.g. fake news and the pace of social media. Reaction gifs and memes are examples of this type of ready-made visual response that can be used as a form of counter-speech.

Choice of platforms - reaching mainstream media and involving the famous

Also the choice of platforms is essential. To reach young people initiatives need to be present on Snapchat and Instagram, and the strategy must be adapted to the platform. In this respect, Save the Children in Italy points out that the use of Facebook for the Underadio #OLTRELODIO campaign turned out to be unfortunate and that instead, a tool like Instagram is more familiar to and used by the youngest generations.

Further, the French study highlights the different mechanisms of different social media platforms and how this affects the planning of strategies for counter-speech: the mechanisms of Facebook encourage the diffusion of controversial content, e.g. through the possibilities of having several accounts. The responses to hate content on Facebook also fosters the durability and visibility of the content through interactions. Twitter, on the other hand works in another way, and different strategies should thus be used for counter-speech depending on the media.

Some organizations also highlight the impact of “going external”, that is to publish on unexpected platforms. To publish 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 —for example—a traditionally left wing publication.

Related to this is the use of mainstream media or persons capable of guiding public opinion for a more widespread impact. In this regard, receiving support from famous persons and influencers increases the chances both of a wide reach on social media, and of getting the traditional media outlets to cover campaigns and initiatives. This is exemplified by several campaigns by Fundación Secretariado Gitano in Spain, such as *#leonordejalaescuela*, which achieved a huge impact, reaching several TV channels, following one tweet by a famous journalist, as described in the Spanish report.

Strictly connected to this is the issue of networking with other actors, in order to amplify the impact of the message conveyed. It is fundamental to join forces on the ground, to plan joint actions covering a diversity of perspectives, to build bridges between activism and other kinds of organisations. Joint work between anti-racist associations, institutions and content creators is also important for developing strategies and cooperation between actors who may not be on the same level regarding Internet skills and online language, as well as partnerships with communications agencies and, where appropriate, companies.

Targeted actions at segmented groups is also a recommendation from the Italian study, building on advertising techniques, suggesting that sending as many messages as possible to different targets is a best practice for counter-narratives.

Combine online and offline strategies

Related to the last point, online and offline strategies should be combined for a more powerful impact and for a higher chance to create a real connection between people. Shifting the problem to an *offline* modality also implies a stronger focus on other forms of racism, and not only hate speech.

Examples of combining online and offline efforts have been identified e.g. in the Spanish *Sos Racisme*'s virtual reality experiments, or by *CEAR*, also in Spain, in their community efforts at neighbourhood level, both further described in the Spanish study.

This can also be done, as suggested by the Italian study, by organising public events trying to join already existing initiatives dedicated to different issues, in order to reach targets that tend to be difficult to involve.

Encourage participation

Participation is essential to counter-narratives: to get people on board, to act, not only to disseminate initiatives, but to start acting against hate speech in general, especially those who tend to be referred to as the silent majority. In Italy young people's active participation in initiatives is especially highlighted, starting from the conception, both in terms of the selection of the content, and of planning communicative strategies. As we have seen above, the social media platforms chosen also need to be carefully considered depending on the target groups to be involved.

Another way of encouraging participation and activism against hate speech is through online actions such as hashtags and activist groups to make people support each other and have a back-up of allies when responding to online hate speech. There are many examples of hashtag initiatives, e.g. those initiated in Spain following the attacks in Barcelona and Cambrils in August 2017.

On Facebook there are also groups building on collaborative action with counter-arguments to counter hate speech. Some of the most successful initiatives are the grassroots groups building on the Swedish initiative *#jagärhär*, translated as "I am here", which has been established in Germany, but also in the UK, Norway, Slovakia and Poland. The German group *#ichbinhier* has over 37.000 members scanning different pages daily to look for posts likely to trigger hate comments. They then provide collective counter-argument action in comment threads, in order to try to change the tone of the discussion and counteract false information and hate speech. The group also has a specific sub-group for support and recovery, as an important self-protection measure.

The importance of community management

Media companies continue to encourage active exchanges and discussions of their articles through digital channels. However, with increased interaction with news content also comes a responsibility for comment moderation and community management. In this regard the German report observes that it is particularly important for media to comment objectively and based on facts, and also to be transparent when deleting comments, as they come under intense scrutiny and may be accused of censorship.

Focus on setting a positive tone

Stakeholders both in Germany and the UK suggest to move the focus from hate speech, and instead focus on setting a positive tone, as reinforcing the positive can counter the negative. That is, following this suggestion, the focus should be on alternative narratives, telling other stories, rather than countering biased media articles and hate speech.

Prepare for backlash - responding directly to online hate speech

When implementing counter-narratives, or when interfering with counter-speech against hate speech comments, planning unfortunately also needs to include preparation for a possible backlash, i.e. for being on the receiving end of hate speech. This backlash reaches both individuals and organizations. Thus anti-racist activists and organizations need to prepare strategies for response. Then, it is helpful to have a comprehensive, predefined strategy that allows for well-founded, but quick answers that can keep the pace of online activity. For instance, *Fundación Secretariado Gitano* prewrite, as part of each campaign, sets of counter-arguments and data against the negative backlash they foresee, to later be used by their Community Manager and by the local offices during the campaign implementation.

This strategy was also used by the *PROXI project* (Spain), which counted on a database with counter-arguments, some of which were generic arguments (human rights based), and other more content-adapted, aimed to be used for quick interventions in comment fields. Based on over 400 interventions, the project found that comments with counterarguments did have an impact when made among the first few comments on a news piece - then they managed to change the debate and break the spiral of silence so that more people commented in a positive way, using counter-narratives. However, when placed after 20-30 other comments the counter-arguments did not have any impact, suggesting that hate speech works with a sort of snowball effect, so that more and more outrageous things are said, and then people with other opinions often leave the discussion.

In this regard, the UK study further suggests to actually try to learn from hate speech. If you don't immediately delete the hate speech, and instead let it go through, you can learn from the reactions to it: who comes to the defence of the author, who disagrees? Organizations can thus gauge opinion and inform themselves in order to build more efficient counter-narratives.

Feed the trolls or starve them to death?

Linked to the backlash, there are also some other reflections on good practices when responding to or directly counteracting online hate speech. A common recommendation is that of "Don't feed the trolls", i.e. to not respond to hate speech coming from obvious trolls or professional haters, some of whom dedicate several hours a day to spreading hate. Some media outlets such as *La Directa* (Spain) have even adapted "Don't Feed the Troll" as a policy, which is described as effective, seen in the fact that the number of negative, harmful comments in regards to the news pieces has decreased considerably. This newspaper has also decided not to have a comments section in their digital version. Instead, for feedback from their readers, they count on their social media channels and e-mail. Similarly, a French institution included in the study argues that responding to each instance of hate means more interaction created around the original hate expression, so that these opinions are more visibilised. This institution has therefore chosen to respond only if the hate speech comes from an account that already has a strong visibility, in order to ensure a minimum of reply for the people who read that kind of post or tweet, to remind them that there are other perspectives.

Whilst some stakeholders recommend not responding directly to hate coming from this type of actor, but rather reporting the content or blocking the profile, others argue that counter-speech is extremely important. In Germany the previous motto not to feed the trolls appears to be changing and there is a general assumption that people have sat back and watched for too long and have not

reacted enough. They therefore believe that hate-filled, racist, insulting and sometimes even criminal comments should not be left uncommented. As argued in section 3.2, however, a reaction might not be aimed at changing the opinions of haters, but rather to break the spiral of silence and not leave hateful comments uncontested. As we have seen in the Spanish *PROXI project*, a counter-speech comment placed as one of the first comments may actually serve to break the spiral of silence and motivate more people with a different view to participate. This is in part what initiatives such as *#ichbinhier* in Germany aims to do, through collective comment actions.

In view of the increasing organisation of those spreading hate speech, and the continuously rising use of bots for this purpose, there is also a recommendation to educate users and community members on haters' strategies, to e.g. learn to check the profiles to unravel who is behind them, whether a bot (and who has programmed the bot) or an actual person. This also has a repercussion on the response strategy. This type of specifics could be introduced into online media literacy training.

What not to do

Finally, some reflections have also arisen during the interviews on what to avoid when developing counter-narratives or alternative narratives. In this regard, *Fundación Secretariado Gitano* in Spain has a clear position; for example, they stay away from discourses of overvictimisation, and approaches that risk further stereotyping. To exemplify this they describe how an agency proposed to build a campaign on a lotion that would make your skin darker, so that people accept the diversity in of darker skin. Whilst this kind of campaign might appeal to a certain audience, the *Fundación* aims to counter the very discourse that argues that all Roma people have darker skin, black hair, long hair, and instead aim to show the diversity among Roma people.

As previously exposed, it is also important not to fall into the trap of using the mechanisms of hate speech, such as generalizing, pointing out scapegoats or using discriminatory language. To avoid the latter, media outlets such as *La Directa* consciously work towards another type of language in their alternative narratives.

Other recommendations of strategies not to use is to avoid overly moralizing awareness campaigns or very institutional content. Further, it is important not to act only in reaction: but rather implement affirmative campaigns about the groups targeted by hate speech (alternative narratives).

4. Concluding remarks

"The anti-racist struggle cannot be led by white gentlemen from their pulpits [...] I tell it myself and I tell it my way and I tell it with my voice" [ES-A1]

Hate speech laws must be used sparsely, in order not to risk a threat to the freedom of expression of those very groups that are supposed to be protected by the laws. Then, there is the question of what should be the response to the online hate speech that is not grave enough to lead to the application of hate speech laws, but that still contributes to harm against persons belonging to vulnerabilised groups, threatening their dignity. From a perspective of dignity as a social aspect, the threat to

dignity by hate speech could be combatted through different forms of collective action, much of which could be defined as counter-narratives or counter-speech. While the frequency of hate speech is still to a large extent dependent on trigger events, online hate in its different expressions is becoming more organised and targeted, and so the movement against it needs to grow.

Hate speech is a violent action in itself. Lawrence III (1993: 68) refers to the effect of racist hate speech as “receiving a slap in the face”. It not only attacks the human dignity of vulnerabilised groups, but is also hurtful at an individual level for those belonging to the groups under attack: persons who have to live their lives in a society permeated by this type of speech. Words in this sense are violence, or as MacKinnon puts it (1993, 13) certain words are “not seen as saying anything (although they do) but as doing something”, and social inequality is created and enforced through words and images: “Segregation cannot happen without someone *saying* ‘get out’ or ‘you don’t belong here’ at some point. Elevation and denigration are all accomplished through meaningful symbols and communicative acts in which saying it is doing it”.

Creating initiatives and campaigns based on inter-human empathy is one strategy to create understanding of how words are not just words, but rather how words can act violently upon people, and the consequent need to think carefully before writing anything online, and to react to hate disseminated by others, whether organised and wilfully or because of not knowing better. A common conclusion across the countries, is that counter-narratives that merely trundle out facts or statistics have limited efficacy. Case studies, first person narratives and stories are important and these need to be developed and tested more widely, as effective alternative narratives.

Our study has shown that actors involved in the construction of counter-narratives against hate speech and racism across Europe are not only very heterogeneous in nature, but unfortunately often lack human resources. A common response to the question of what the organizations would do if they had unlimited resources was « I would do the same, but with more resources and more people ». That is, stakeholders are quite satisfied with their strategies, but these may not reach their potential impact due to a lack of resources. The impact of initiatives, on the other hand, is very difficult to assess. Most initiatives rely only on immediate quantitative measurements using the social media platforms’ built in tools to measure interactions with their content, this way trying to assess if not the impact, at least the reach. The scarce focus on evaluation within initiatives is also largely due to a lack of resources.

Daniels (2009, 148), highlights that “young people who are immersed in digital media do not, somehow, speak with a pure voice when it comes to race and racism, but rather speak with an infected voice that both mirrors and shapes the culture and institutions in which they grow up”. Young people are, of course, not the only group that should be targeted by counter-narratives. However, as forerunners in many ways in the use of digital media, initiatives should take better advantage of young people’s potential as multipliers. NGOs or institutions that plan new initiatives should support and promote already existing activist and grassroots actions, taking into account the positive sides of social media: whilst new media platforms have brought an increased presence of hateful and discriminatory discourses they have also provided opportunities to visibilise and disseminate alternative narratives. Building on bottom-up actions presents some advantages to traditional top-down campaigns, such as keeping up with the fast pace of the online world and engaging the young public by using images, short videos and a relatable language for young generations. Supporting existing initiatives also contributes to the continuity and increased impact of campaigns and could also work as a way of ameliorating the abovementioned lack of resources.

At the same time, online hate speech is not a phenomenon with a life of its own, but rather reflects social, cultural and political conditions that permeate all aspects of life. Addressing online hate speech must thus involve addressing structural forms of inequality and discrimination, for which strategies and initiatives cannot be limited to the online world. Future initiatives need to take a holistic approach that targets both digitally active and inactive groups. Education in spotting fake news and training of media professionals on language use are examples of how to address online hate speech outside the digital environment, however, strategies combining online actions with local campaigns and trainings in schools and community centres could also be applied. Additionally, targeting the population - the silent majority - that remains unengaged, by supporting active online participation through the use of hashtags and easily shareable material can also contribute to the continuity and consolidation of initiatives.

To conclude, Butler (1997) spreads some hope suggesting that hate speech does not always work, and that its failure is the condition of a critical response, disrupting and subverting the effects of hate speech. Counter-narratives are certainly one way of doing this.

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ANNEX I: Detailed interview sample

| <i>Participant code</i> | <i>Gender</i> | <i>Organisation / Initiative</i> | <i>Role in the organisation</i> |
|-------------------------|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| DE-M1 | F | 1Live/WDR (radio station/public service broadcaster) | Head of digital/social media |
| DE-M2 | M | Funk/ARD&ZDF (online platform of public service broadcaster) | Innovation manager social media |
| DE-M3 | F | Straight Magazine | Head of company |
| DE-I1 | F | Neue Medienmacher/no-hatespeech-movement (a campaign by the Council of Europe; also funded by the federal "Demokratie Leben!" programme) | Project management/PR |
| DE-I2 | M | Ich bin hier e.V. (NGO/activists) | Founder/head of company |
| DE-I3 | F | Amadeu Antonio Stiftung | Project management (debate//de:hate) |
| DE-I4 | M | Kijufi – Kinder- und Jugendfilm Berlin e.V. | Founder, media educator |
| DE-A1 | M | Freelancer (Youtube/funk) | Co-founder of a YouTube Channel |
| DE-A2 | M | Freelance journalist/producer | (as journalist working for MDR, own youtube-channel) |
| DE-E1 | M | Institute for interdisciplinary violence and conflict studies (IKG) at Bielefeld University | Research assistant |
| DE-E2 | M | Squirrel & Nuts GmbH | Policy adviser |
| ES-I1 | F | BCN vs ODI | Web editor |
| ES-I2 | M | Sos Racisme Catalunya | Project coordinator |
| ES-I3 | F | Institut de Drets Humans de Catalunya | Director |
| ES-I4 | M | Xarxa BCN Antirumors | Coordinator |
| ES-I5 | F | Comisión Española de Ayuda al Refugiado | Community educator |
| ES-I6 | F | Fundación Secretariado Gitano | Communications consultant |
| ES-M1 | M | La Directa | Editor |
| ES-M2 | F | Itacat | Broadcaster |
| ES-M3 | F | Grup Barnils - Media.cat | Journalist - Researcher |
| ES-A1 | F | Desirée Bela-Lobedde | Activist |
| ES-A2 | F | Lucía Asué Mbomío | Activist - Journalist |

| | | | |
|-------|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| FR-01 | F | medias | Journaliste écrit, télé et chaîne parlementaire |
| FR-02 | M | medias | Journaliste et réalisatrice |
| FR-03 | F | media | Journaliste et réalisateur |
| FR-04 | F | LICRA Ligue Internationale Contre le Racisme et l'Antisémitisme | Chargée de projet européen |
| FR-05 | M | Observatoire de la laïcité | Rapporteur général de l'Observatoire auprès du premier ministre |
| FR-06 | M | SOS Racisme | Président |
| FR-07 | F | Justice | Ancienne présidente de la 17 ^{ème} chambre du tribunal d'instance de Paris |
| FR-08 | F | CEMEA, Centre d'entraînement aux méthodes d'éducation active | Administratrice |
| FR-09 | F | CCIF (Collectif contre l'islamophobie en France) | Co-présidente |
| FR-10 | M | Délégation Interministérielle à la Lutte Contre le Racisme, l'Antisémitisme et la Haine anti-LGBT (DILCRAH) | Président |
| FR-11 | M | Délégation Interministérielle à la Lutte Contre le Racisme, l'Antisémitisme et la Haine anti-LGBT (DILCRAH) | Conseiller chargé du numérique et des réseaux sociaux |
| FR-12 | M | | Membre de plusieurs associations militantes sur les libertés dans les espaces numériques |
| IT-01 | Female | Amnesty International Italy | Two interviewees: 1) "Task Force Hate Speech" Coordinator (Activism Department) 2) "Il Barometro dell'Odio" project Coordinator (Campaign Department) |
| IT-02 | Male | FANPAGE, independent online newspaper | Journalist and video reporter |
| IT-03 | Male Female | COSPE onlus | Two interviewees: 1) Theme leader for migration, minorities, citizenship, as well |

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| | | | <p>as equality, discrimination, racism</p> <p>2) Project leader for the "Italy Europe and Mediterranean" department (in particular media projects)</p> |
| IT-04 | Female | Bologna district | <p>Two interviewees:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Council member granted with delegated powers for general Affairs, demographic services, districts, equal opportunity and gender differences, LGBT Rights, fight against discrimination, fight against violence, women and minors trade, Rights for new citizens, "Patto per la giustizia" (Pact for justice) project, animal rights and wellbeing. 2. Supervisor of the new citizenships, cooperation and human rights Department. |
| IT-05 | Female | Lunaria | President and co-spokesperson of Sbilanciamoci! campaign |
| IT-06 | Male | Milan human rights festival | <p>Director</p> <p>Journalist and former director of Radio Popolare</p> |
| IT-07 | Male | <p>CILD (Coalizione Italiana per le Libertà e i Diritti civili) (Italian coalition for freedom and civil rights)</p> <p>Open Migration</p> | President |
| IT-08 | Female | Save the Children Italy | Supervisor of the Education Department |
| IT-09 | Female | Redattore Sociale | In-house editor - as a freelancer she permanently collaborates with the Open Migration website |
| IT-10 | Male | Carta di Roma | <p>Carta di Roma President (on a voluntary basis)</p> <p>TG2 reporter journalist</p> |

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| IT-11 | Male | CONNGI (Coordinamento nazionale nuove generazioni italiane) (National coordination new Italian generations) | Treasurer |
| UK-01 | M | Greenwich Equality Unity | Co-ordinator; researching rights and responsibilities |
| UK-02 | M | Media Diversified | Director; building partnerships recording Diaspora experiences |
| UK-03 | M | Voice for Change England | Associate and Volunteer; umbrella organisation creating conditions for BAME members to work and thrive |
| UK-04 | F | Black Training and Enterprise Group | Deputy Chief Executive (role includes media communication); challenging inequality through ground level and policy level |
| UK-05 | F | Runnymede Trust | Policy Officer (role involves general policy work and research); Policy and service delivery to BAMER people |
| UK-06 | 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 |
| UK-07 | M | Independent Journalist | Political Journalist; |
| UK-08 | 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. |
| UK-09 | F | Faith Forum for London | |

ANNEX II: Collected initiatives

| COUNTRY | INITIATIVE | ORGANIZER | TARGET AUDIENCE | CHANNELS | FORM - GENRE | EVALUATION |
|---------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Germany | No hate speech movement | Neue Deutsche Medienmacher/European Council | General public, youngsters | Youtube, Instagram, Facebook, Twitter Website Offline seminars Gadgets: ballons, sticker, postcards | Videos (informative & entertaining) Facts/knowledge Memes Hashtag | European Network Activists in 40 states National campaign committee of politicians, civil society and administration |
| Germany | Ichbinhier | Grassroots initiative | General public on Facebook | Facebook | Counter-speech in comments on Facebook Fact-based, non-offensive Hashtag | 37.000 members High reputation by other online activists or initiatives |
| Germany | debate//de:hate - | Amadeu-Antonio-Stiftung | Youngsters, students Educators | Website Brochures, recommendation Offline: workshops, seminars | Facts Seminars Evaluation | Evaluation Workshops in schools Network of other initiatives |
| Germany | #NichtEgal /creators4change | YouTube | Youngsters (mainly online) | YouTube workshops | Videos Hashtag Information | 23 YouTubers involved in 2018 60 workshops in schools |
| Germany | Die Internet-Ritter | Kijufi Berlin e.V. (children & youngsters film assembly) | Kids 9-12 years | YouTube Video producing workshops | Videos Media literacy training Moderation of own videos | Project started this year, no evaluation done yet |
| Germany | Faktenfinder | Tagesschau (ARD) | General public (on the internet) | website | Facts Revealing fake news Figures & graphics | High reputation by journalists and counter speech-initiatives |
| Germany | Online Civil Courage Initiative (online counter-extremism hub to combat extremism and hate speech across Europe in partnership with Facebook) | Facebook, OCCI | YouTubers, Online Activists, Influencers Media representatives Politics Counter-speech community (in Germany, France and the UK) | Facebook Seminars - Workshops International network & exchange | Research Ad Grants Community - Support Training | 43.300 followers on facebook |
| Italy | BRICK - Building Respect on the Internet by | COSPE (NGO) | Journalists General public | Website Events | Form: Website, Workshops Genre: Training, Awareness-raising | Positive response from journalists and |

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| | Combating Hate Speech | | Students | | | students/teachers (secondary schools) |
| Italy | Silence hate. Changing words changes the world" (2018-2019) | COSPE (NGO) | Creative professionals: journalists, bloggers, photographers, social media managers, video makers Teachers, educators, activists | Social media Website Events | Form: Creative media products Genre: Awareness-raising - Educational | Reach unknown, ongoing campaign |
| Italy | "#SilenceHate. Giovani digitali contro il razzismo" (Digital youth against racism) (2018) | COSPE (NGO) | Youths Teachers and educators | Website | Website Educational activities Workshops Genre: Educational | Reach unknown |
| Italy | Underadio | Save the Children | Youths Students | Web radio | Form: Web radio and podcasting Social campaign Genre: Awareness-raising - Educational | The programme involves roughly 2000 students for a total of 36 schools |
| Italy | Generazioni Connesse, (Connected Generations) project acting as the Italian Safer Internet Center | Save the Children | Youths Students | Social media | Educational (Italian Safer Internet Center) | Large participation of young people |
| Italy | "Alternanza scuola-lavoro" (learning and working) projects | SPRAR | Students SPRAR network (projects for refugees and asylum seekers) Local community | Events | Wide range of activities with schools and local community Workshops | Positive response from students |
| Italy | "Questa è la mia storia. O la nostra?" (This is my story. Or is it ours?), part of the EU AMITIE project | Bologna Municipality | General public Local associations | Website Events Multi-level awareness-raising campaign | Workshops Cultural events Posting of bills Genre: Awareness-raising | Positive response from local community |
| Italy | AMITIE CODE project | Bologna Municipality | General public | Social media | Form: Web-series "13.11" Genre: Awareness-raising | The "13.11" web-series was awarded several prizes and was published by several newspapers |
| Italy | CoNNGI counter-narrative activity immigrants' needs and opportunities | CoNNGI (Coordinamento nazionale nuove generazioni italiane) | Second generation General public | Website | Online and offline actions to promote second generation migrants | Reach unknown, ongoing campaign |
| Italy | The "Task Force Hate Speech", | Amnesty International Italy | Users of web contents | Social media | Counter-speech in comments Reporting | Strong participation of activists in the monitoring actions |

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| Italy | “Conta fino a 10. Il Barometro dell’odio” | Amnesty International Italy | Users of web contents General public | Social media (facebook and twitter) | Awareness-raising campaign based on monitoring of the election campaign Reporting | Strengthening the activist network Monitored candidates' reactions were the most diversified |
| Italy | Parlare civile (Speaking in a civilised manner) project | Redattore Sociale | Journalists | Website | Website Text: Dictionary on the main discriminatory words Workshops for journalists | Wide dissemination of the dictionary |
| Italy | “I mass media di fronte a migrazioni e minoranze. Strategie e linee guida” | RespectWords | Journalists Bloggers Users | Website Events | Booklet: “Mass media facing migration and minorities. Strategies and guidelines” (drafted by a group of radio journalists and students at European journalism schools) | Reach unknown, ongoing dissemination |
| Italy | Parole O_Stili | Parole O_Stili | General public (schools,media, universities, companies, associations, institutions...) | Website | Text: The Manifesto of Non-Hostile Communication” is a tool that sets out "ten style principles" to re-define the style to surf the net written by over 300 communicators and bloggers | Reach unknown |
| Italy | Open Migration. Capire con i dati, difendere la dignità (Understanding through data, advocating for dignity) | CILD (Coalizione Italiana per le Libertà e i Diritti civili) | Scholars/researchers/journalists Potential stakeholders General public | Website | Form: Website and databases on immigration | The portal has roughly 100 thousand visualisations per month (20% visitors abroad) |
| Italy | Cronache di ordinario razzismo, portal (Chronicles of ordinary racism) | Lunaria association | Organisations committed to anti-racism (activists and operators), Media operators | Website | Website: Information, in-depth analysis and communication site, aimed at monitoring racism (online database reporting 5,700 cases 2007-2016) Text: Libri bianchi (White books) on racism in Italy, which deeply analyse racism documented cases | The newsletters reach 9,500 readers , whereas the site has roughly 20,000 visitors per month |
| Italy | FANPAGE independent online newspaper | FANPAGE independent online newspaper | General public | Website Social media | Form: Top quality videos Text Reportage Genre: Interviews, Testimony, Awareness-raising | Wide audience but not quantifiable (e.g. the "Perchè gli immigrati hanno sempre un cellulare in mano" video visualised 1,100,000 times) |
| Italy | Vox Diritti- Osservatorio Italiano sui Diritti (Vox Rights - Italian Observatory on Rights) | Vox Diritti- Osservatorio Italiano sui Diritti | General public | Website | Website: exchange and debate platform to promote a culture of rights | Reach unknown |

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| Italy | Mappa dell'Intolleranza (Intolerance Map) | Vox Diritti- Osservatorio Italiano sui Diritti (Vox Rights- Italian Observatory on Rights) | General public | Website Social media | Graphic: the map traced, and geolocalised tweets with sensitive words to locate the areas of intolerance in relation to six groups (women, LGBT, migrants, disabled people, Jews and Muslims). | Reach unknown |
| Italy | BRICK - Building Respect on the Internet by Combating Hate Speech | COSPE (NGO) | Journalists General public Students | Website Events | Form: Website Workshops Genre: Training Awareness-raising | Positive response from journalists and students/teachers (secondary schools) |
| Spain | El tatuaje que más duele | Fundación Secretariado Gitano | General public through media. Policy makers on antidiscrimination | Event Social media TV Microsite App Website | Merchandise: Shirts, Stickers & Temporary tattoos Posters & Leaflets Public figures Video Life streaming Graphic Hashtag Genre: Shock, Counter-narrative, Testimony | Large support of public figures and influencers 35.599.863 single users on social media 45.897.928 hits 9.406 tweets |
| Spain | #leonordejalaescuela | Fundación Secretariado Gitano | General public Policy Makers Teachers & Roma students | Social media Microsite Videos Posters & Leaflets 1 public figure | Form: Video Hashtag Graphic Website Genre: Shock Testimony | Large support of journalists and public figures 20 million hits |
| Spain | El Payo Today 2014 & 2016 | Fundación Secretariado Gitano | Journalists Media | Website Paper Edition App Social Media Mainstream Media | Form: Text Video (only 2016 edition) Hashtag Genre: Humour | 1.500 copies given out to journalists and newsrooms |
| Spain | #yonosoytrapacero | Fundación Secretariado Gitano | General public Real Academia Española | Social media, Letter to RAE members, Mainstream Media, Events | Form: Video, Graphic, Merchandising, Hashtag, | Became Trending Topic in Spain |

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| | | | | | Text Genre: Emotions Testimony | |
| Spain | EsRacismo - Aixó és racisme | SOS Racismo - Sos Racisme Catalunya | General public online | Social media, Website | Reporting Awareness-raising Counter- and alternative narratives Form: Texts, videos, Hashtag | +7K followers on twitter |
| Spain | Liberate de Prejuicios | CEAR | General public online | Social media Web | Counter-narrative Awareness-raising Form: Video, Hashtag | Unknown |
| Spain | PROXI | Insitut de Drets Humans de Catalunya (+other) | General public Media Online activists | Web Twitter Digital - counter-speech comments against hate speech in digital newspapers. | Monitoring Counter-speech Awareness-raising Training Form: Text, infographics, course for activists | The project received a lot of attention due to the monitoring of 4.777 comments in over 400 news pieces related to the topics of immigration and Roma people, with the results confirming that comments sections are full of hatred and intolerance: around 60% of comments were classified as intolerant. |
| Spain | CibeRespect | Insitut de Drets Humans de Catalunya (+other) | General public Media Online activists | Web Offline work groups Network of cyberactivists Course for cyberactivists | Monitoring Counter-speech Training Awareness-raising Form: Manual, course for activists, offline work groups, network of cyberactivists | According to interviews, the interest in the manual has been big, primarily shown in the amount of downloads. |
| Spain | BCN vs ODI | Ajuntament de Barcelona | General public | Website | Genre: Awareness-raising Form: Texts, e.g. interviews with “Heroes against hate”, news related to hate speech, and good practices Infographics | Launched in January 2018 |

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|-------|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Spain | Xarxa Antirumors | Ajuntament de Barcelona (+ network of associations) | General public Associations, organizations | Web Events Meetings Online campaign Training for activists (offline and online) | Awareness-raising against rumours Community-building Activism (online and offline) | Their online campaign was launched in April 2018 as a complement to the offline anti-rumour network and activities that they have implemented since 2010. |
| Spain | Ramia's Channel | Ramia Chaoui | General public, mainly young, online | Social media video | Testimony | +30.8K followers on YouTube |
| Spain | La Negra Flor | Desiré Bela-Lobedde | Black women General public | Website Video Text | Testimony Educational | 13K followers on YouTube |
| Spain | Omar el Pretinho | Omar el Pretinho | General public, mainly young, online | Social media Video Images Live Streaming | Testimony | +185K followers on Instagram +40K Youtube followers |
| Spain | Nadie nos ha dado vela en este entierro | Lucía Asué Mbomio | Black community General public | Social media Video | Testimony | Most videos have between 500 and 2000 views |
| Spain | Putochinomarcón | Chenta Tsai | General public | Social media Mainstream media Music Video | Art | +24.6K followers on Instagram His most popular song: "Gente de mierda" has + 265K views on YouTube |
| Spain | Afroféminas | Afroféminas | Black community | Social media Website Text Images Video Website | Essay Interviews Testimony | 10.6K followers on Twitter |
| Spain | Negrxs | Negrxs | Black community | Social media Website Text Images | Essay | +1K followers on Twitter |
| Spain | Apatrida - Too Faces Project | Apatrida | General public, mainly young, online | Social media Website Images | Art | +1.2K followers on Instagram |
| Spain | Inmigracionalismo | Red Acoge | Journalists General public | Social media Website Report | Reporting Form: Images, Text, Video, Hashtag, Digital Stickers | Reach unknown, ongoing campaign |

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|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Spain | #RelatsReals | SOS Racismo / LaDirecta | General public | Website Text Images | Reporting Testimony | Unknown |
| Spain | Itacat.cat | Itacat / Xarxa antirumors | General public | Social media Website | Counter-narratives Video, Text | + 100 full views per episode |
| Spain | Media.cat | Grup de Periodistes Ramon Barnils | Journalists General public | Website Report Website Text Images | Reporting | Reach unknown No response from media corporations Positive response from individual journalists |
| UK | 'Trash Heaps' - readers nominate the works of the media in mainstream media... initiatives and tactics which are celebratory. | Media Diversified | Anyone BAME or interested in equality or disadvantage. | Online Website Social media Podcasts TV | 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. | 59.5k followers on Twitter 32,274 followers on Facebook |
| UK | No specific organisational example provided | Greenwich Equality Unit | BAME individuals Race Equality Advocates. | n/a | n/a | 126 followers on Facebook |
| UK | No specific organisational example provided | Voice4Change England | BAME individuals Policy-makers Race Equality Advocates. | Social media presence Fortnightly newsletter Currently focused on flagging up problems which affect BAME people, carrying out anti-poverty work and race equality work. | I think of myself as a 'wholesaler' for race equality work – we are not doing direct policy work, so the use of device or genre are more relevant to organisations which deal with direct audiences | 2,590 followers on Twitter |
| UK | Blog about 'Ramadan' - explaining what it is, countering negative statements and attitudes. | Black Training and Enterprise Group | Young people aged 11-30 years old. Race Equality Advocates. | Social media channels Newsletters, Commentary & blog posts. Offline: workshops and community work. | Form: Text, writing articles, features, blogs, positive images of black people Genre: facts and data | 1, 653 followers on Twitter 215 followers on Facebook |
| UK | Anti-hate GLITCH UK campaign - work with local councillors to tackle hate speech. | Runnymede Trust | BAME individuals Policy-makers Race Equality Advocates. | Print media Social Media Online dialogue Broadcast media. Conference on combating hate speech and getting MPs to take action | Form: Text, writing articles, features, blogs Genre: Personal stories, data sometimes used | 15.7k followers on Twitter 2k followers on Facebook |
| UK | 'Hope' Campaign- HOPE | 17 – 24 – 30 | Any group of people who are | Facebook, | Form: Mostly texts and pictures | 2772 followers on Twitter |

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|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | stands for: Hate crime awareness, Operational response to hate crime, Preventing hate crime and Empowering communities to report hate crime and access victim support services. | organisation | victims of hate crime. It's the whole of the UK for the National Hate Crime Awareness Week, Councils, Police Services and Hate Crime Forums. | Twitter Linkedin for the UK Hate Crime Network, MailChimp Wordpress website, Godaddy website, | Genre: Factual | |
| UK | Brexit and hate crime | Equality and Diversity Forum | Organisations Policy-makers Race Equality Advocates. | Web Social media Meetings | No answer provided. | 2821 followers on Twitter 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. |

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