

**A New Discourse,
Dialogue and Democracy
Against
Discrimination**

ASULIS

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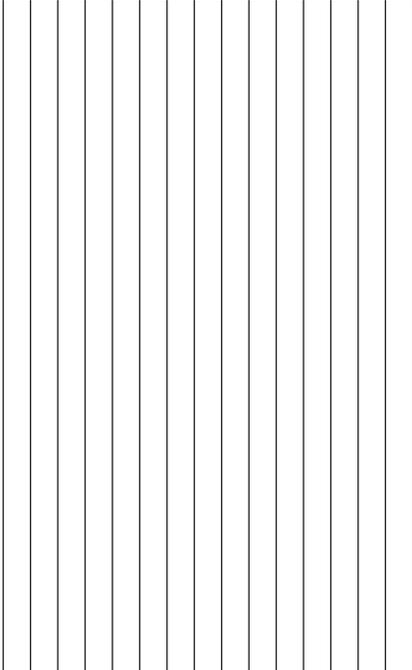
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Against

Discrimination

ASULIS



ASULIS
DISCOURSE, DIALOGUE, DEMOCRACY
LABORATORY

İPM

İSTANBUL POLİTİKALAR MERKEZİ
SABANCI ÜNİVERSİTESİ
STİFTUNG MERCATOR GİRİŞİMİ



MYMEDIA



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction		07
1	Hate speech, discriminatory discourse and dangerous speech	09
2	Hrant Dink Foundation’s activities on hate speech (2009-2015)	17
3	Proposals for the field of activities of ASULIS	23
4	Proposals for the working methods of ASULIS	29
5	Vision, mission and structure of ASULIS	35
Annex 1	Notes on the preparatory process of ASULIS	39
Annex 2	Advisory Board of ASULIS	43
Annex 3	Institutions Working on Hate Speech	48
Notes		71
Bibliography		75

Introduction

Hrant Dink Foundation has been conducting a project titled “Media Watch on Hate Speech” since 2009. This initiative, launched with the goal of drawing attention to the discriminatory (particularly against ethnic and religious identities), sexist and homophobic discourse and news containing hate speech, raising public awareness against such publications, and contributing to reduce the use of hate speech in the media, aims to produce knowledge on the concept of “hate speech”, create a space for discussion on methods to combat discriminatory and racist discourse, and promote the use of a more respectful and informed language on human rights and minorities.

The activities carried out since 2009 and the systematic local and national media monitoring in scope of the project have resulted in a significant accumulation of information and data on hate speech and discriminatory discourse. In light of these experiences, the preliminary work has been completed in order to transform the above mentioned efforts into a program and found a social sciences laboratory to work in this field under Hrant Dink Foundation. The recently coined social science term “laboratory” was deemed fit for this structure which has been conceived as an interdisciplinary space to engage in experimental studies and research in the field of discourse, and conduct discussions on methods to combat discrimination in addition to discriminatory discourse and its consequences.

Following the preparatory process supported by Open Society Foundation and Istanbul Policy Center, a “discourse, dialogue, democracy” laboratory was established. The word *asulis*, which is composed of the combination of the verbs *asel* (to say) and *lsel* (to listen) in Armenian and commonly used as conversation and chat, was chosen as the name of the laboratory, which represents a first in Turkey in terms of an organization to engage in activities on discourse studies.

One of the important components of the process for developing the road map and identifying the areas of work for ASULIS Discourse, Dialogue, Democracy Laboratory was the roundtable meetings organized with the participation of academics, members of the media, and representatives of civil society organizations working on discourse studies in Turkey and abroad (see Annex 1).

A list was compiled in conjunction with the meetings, identifying the national and international civil society organizations, research centers, university research groups and/or centers working on hate speech and discrimination that could constitute an example in terms of the structure of the laboratory (see Annex 3). Afterwards, activities of these institutions that could constitute an example for the future work of the laboratory were compiled under the suggestions for the laboratory's field of activities. Furthermore, a list was made for the library to be founded under the laboratory by scanning resource material and publications on discriminatory discourse, hate speech, discourse analysis, etc. We envision this library to be open to everyone who works in these fields and aim to increase access to resources through contracts with online academic databases.

Hrant Dink Foundation has established the necessary physical infrastructure for the activities of the laboratory with the completion of the renovation of Anarad Hığutyun Building in March 2015. A library, information and documentation center will be opened in the building and panels and workshops will be organized in the conference hall. With the contribution of the physical, academic and intellectual opportunities offered by the laboratory, we aim to turn the initiative into a resource center for people and institutions fighting discriminatory discourse and working in these fields, and in the long run, to establish a research center that develops academic and social projects in this sphere.

1

Hate speech, discriminatory discourse and dangerous speech

ASULIS Discourse, Dialogue, Democracy Laboratory aims to carry out projects and studies on different types of discourses such as hate speech, discriminatory discourse and dangerous speech, functioning as a facilitator and intermediary to increase such works, and contribute to combatting all types of discriminatory discourse. In this context, the concept of “discourse” and different types of discourse will be constantly scrutinized and this will be one of the primary work areas of the laboratory.

DISCOURSE AND ITS FIELD OF EFFECT

“Discourse” is a concept that is defined differently in disciplines such as media and communication sciences, political science, economy, psychology, sociology and philosophy with accordingly variant observations and analyses in terms of its field of effect. Melek Göregenli notes that the emergence and evolution of this concept is constantly being reconstructed with an interdisciplinary critical approach.¹ ASULIS aims to approach “discourse” in the framework of power, ideology and politics, also addressing the impact of the media in this field.

According to İnceoğlu and Çomak, discourse is the “understanding of language as a concrete, living whole”.² Among others, historical, political, social, economic, cultural events and circumstances have an impact on the trajectory of the construction of a discourse. After the production and proliferation of a discourse, there is a process in which its political, social, economic, cultural, etc. effects on people and society can be analyzed. In short, there is the before and after of discourse. The effects of the discourse, for the most part, can be foreseen by the persons and/or institutions producing it. Taking the works of renowned linguist Teun van Dijk as a point of departure, who states that people acquire knowledge, attitudes and ideologies through discourse, it could be argued that there is a deep connection between discourse, power and ideology.³ Exposing the relation between power and ideology through the concept of “truth”, Foucault asserts that each society has its regime of truth, its “general politics” of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to

distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth.⁴ According to Foucault, discourse has an order; and everywhere around the world, from the moment they are born, people are raised using methods of discipline, punishment and reward to follow that order.⁵ Truth produced by those in power is the fundamental piece of the order of discourse.

Van Dijk states that by controlling people's minds, knowledge, intentions, projects and plans, their future actions can also be controlled. According to Van Dijk, who notes that discourses are created and reproduced by functions such as ideologies, knowledge and socio-cognition, people who have access to the media, parliamentary debates or scientific investigations, determine the main topics of discourse, in addition to controlling the context.⁶ That is to say, people or groups can be manipulated by explaining any subject in the desired manner.

At this point, it is necessary to consider the function of the media which creates discourse and/or reproduces the discourses of public leaders, politicians, businesspeople, etc. every day. Habermas says that the power of the media is used manipulatively to create mass loyalty, popularity and subordination in face of the imperative mood of the system. Althusser's analysis that the media functions as an ideological apparatus is upheld by many critical theorists. While Schiller describes this situation as the managing of people's minds through the media, Chomsky and Herman argue that media manufactures social consent.⁷

Van Dijk propounds that in order to control people's minds, discourse, and most importantly the context of the discourse—that is, who says what to whom with what purpose in what kind of a situation— must be controlled. For instance, a white person making a speech on black people can be perceived as racist or anti-racist speech. The determinative factors here are parameters, such as who produces the discourse about whom, and the historical and social context.⁸ Therefore, no discourse, not just of the media, but also of politicians, ordinary users of social media, and public leaders, should be analyzed in isolation from its context.

Deriving from the point that the media cannot be considered without its ideological function and discourse cannot be considered without ideology, in addition to the production of discourse and how it is featured in the media, its effect on

the target group it reaches, that is to say the process after the production of the discourse, is as important as the process preceding the news and how the news is communicated.

HATE SPEECH

“Hate speech” is a complicated and controversial term that is difficult to understand. The question “What is hate speech?” brings with it questions such as “Where is the boundary between freedom of expression and hate speech?”, “Is hate speech only produced against persons or minority people/groups?”, “Does every discourse that involves negative expressions and sentiments constitute hate speech?”, “How can we explain the relationship between hate speech and hate crimes?”

According to the definition by Mahmut Çınar, hate speech is the transformation of the discrimination people encounter in every moment and every sphere of life, including the most personal relations in daily life, in addition to professional life, politics, text books, legal texts, health services, into a form of attack through discourse.⁹

In scope of the Media Watch on Hate Speech Project, Hrant Dink Foundation adopts the definition of hate speech put forth by the Council of Europe. According to Recommendation no.97(20) adopted by the Council of Europe’s Committee of Ministers in 1997, hate speech is “all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin.”¹⁰

DISCRIMINATORY DISCOURSE

In order to understand “discriminatory discourse”, first it is necessary to define discrimination. Melek Göregenli states that discrimination is a process that pertains to the entirety of negative attitudes and behaviors that feeds from prejudices toward a group or members of a group; and that discrimination is essentially a tendency toward constructing social differentiation that manifests in a relatively permanent form to obstruct or preclude the relation of an in-group with an out-group that is approached with prejudice by socially or physically keeping the latter at a distance.¹¹

Discrimination often presents itself through language, therefore, “discriminatory discourse” can be defined as discrimination, which results from prejudices, being expressed through language.

Göregenli iterates that discrimination as an attitude and form of behavior manifests on the individual level. However, like all attitudes and behaviors, it is shaped by the given social environment and social context.¹² Like all types of discourses, discriminatory discourse has to be addressed in contexts such as social, political, economic and cultural. Racist, nationalist discourses; negative discourses on gender (homophobic, transphobic, etc.) or against the elderly, disabled or religious beliefs can be defined as discriminatory discourses. Just like hate speech, discriminatory discourse works to exclude the other; it can have negative/dangerous results. At this point, the question that arises is whether or not it is possible to identify dangerous results beforehand and take measures to prevent them.

DANGEROUS SPEECH

In addition to concepts of discriminatory language/discourse, the literature in this field also includes the concept of “dangerous speech” coined by Susan Benesch. Benesch notes that “hate speech” is defined sometimes in the framework of ethnic identity, sometimes religious identity, sometimes gender, and sometimes only in scope of laws and legal norms. Moreover, the fact that there is no universal definition of the concept makes it difficult to use, and in countries where anti-hate speech laws are in place, this ambiguity gives rise to the possibility of the concept being used in favor of the interests of groups in power.¹³ For instance, in the United States of America, since the definition is grounded in the context of freedom of expression, hate speech that have the potential of turning into hate crimes may be assessed in the framework of freedom of expression. Due to all the above mentioned reasons, proposing the concept of dangerous speech as an alternative to the concept of hate speech, Benesch categorizes the discourse on the basis of why it may be dangerous. Drawing attention to the fact that hate speech does not always result in hate crime, she argues that socially speaking it is more useful to use a definition such as “dangerous speech”, both with the aim of foreseeing when hate speech can result in violence and since no single definition can be made for it. Benesch defines “dangerous speech” as “a form of communication that catalyzes mass violence and/or causes a certain group to tolerate and even exert violence” and suggests that the dangerousness of the speech act can be

According to Susan Benesch, “speech” can be a key indicator for early warning and the dangerousness of a speech act can be measured in the framework of five variables:

- *The influence and power of the speaker on the audience: Is the speaker a charismatic or popular personality? Is the person engaging in the speech act a strong speaker who has influence on the audience? What kind of an authority, power and influence does the speaker have on the audience?*
- *The position of the audience vis à vis the speech act: Does the audience have a sensitivity/vulnerability that could turn into violence after being exposed to the speech act? Does the audience have the necessary means to disseminate the speech? Does the audience have extra respect and loyalty to the speaker?*
- *The content of the speech act: Are the target persons and groups, i.e. victims to be, represented as “other than human beings” who deserve to be subjected to violence? Does the speaker create the perception that the target group is a threat to the audience using the “mirror” strategy?*
- *Socio-historical context: Is there a socio-historical conflict between the audience of the speech and the target group(s) who are the subject of the speech? Have there been outbreaks of violence following other examples of similar speech?*
- *Mode of transmission: Is the dangerous speech being disseminated, repeated frequently by powerful and influential modes of transmission such as the social media, a popular TV or radio station? Do the communication tools used enjoy a popularity and reach the masses where the speech is produced? What kinds of modes of transmission are used?*

evaluated based on five main variables: the power and influence of the speaker on the audience; the position of the audience in face of the speech; the content of the speech; the social and historical context; means of transmission or communication.¹⁴

Employing coding / code analysis using these five variables, the research classifies speeches in question under three categories: “offensive”, “moderately dangerous” and “extremely dangerous”. In this context, Benesch propounds that the method she proposes can be used as a warning system to prevent violence.

What should be done after it is determined that a speech may be dangerous, that is to say it can incite a hate crime? Benesch notes that the most commonly employed methods for preventing violence are “**counter speech**” and “**inoculating**”. Arguing that dangerous speech is usually sparked by an unfounded rumor, Benesch

asserts that this kind of act should be answered with a counter speech.¹⁵ The method of “inoculating”, on the other hand, refers to a series of activities that can be done with the aim of raising awareness of the audience on hate speech / dangerous speech for conveying to the audience the aim and potential outcome of dangerous speech.

THE IMPORTANCE OF PLURALISM IN THE MEDIA IN COMBATting HATE SPEECH AND DISCRIMINATION

In the present day and age, particularly the monopolization in media ownership and the cross ownership resulting from investments of media conglomerates outside the media threaten pluralism in the media and therefore the freedom of the press. It can be assumed that in a country with free media institutions, which can act independent of politics, power, economy and without being influenced by the prevailing discourse employed by the dominant power and institutions, hate speech and discriminatory discourse will be used less frequently, since under such circumstances institutions of the media will have a function beyond being the voice of those in power and the ideological apparatus of the state.

In this context, contributing to establishing pluralism in the media via interdisciplinary efforts is of great significance for reducing hate speech and discriminatory discourse. The Monitoring Pluralism in the Media Project implemented in EU countries by Centre for Media Pluralism and Media Freedom (CMPF) co-funded by Robert Schumann Center for Advanced Studies and the European Union presents a good example of efforts to this end.¹⁶ With the objective of promoting freedom of expression and principles of pluralism in the media, the project which aims to assess risks to media pluralism by taking into account social, political and economic factors was launched in nine EU member states in 2013. Other EU member states were also included in the project in subsequent phases. Presently conducted in 28 EU countries, the project aims to make cross country comparisons and identify and monitor the risks threatening pluralism in the media.

Noteworthy efforts are being undertaken in Turkey in some of the six risk domains identified within scope of the project discussed above. For example, the media-energy-construction ownerships mapping on the website (mulksuzlestirme.org) of “Mülksüzleştirme Ağları” (“Networks of Dispossession”), which is an initiative for

There are six risk domains identified within the scope of the Monitoring Pluralism in the Media Project implemented in European Union countries by the CMPF:

- *Basic Risk Domain corresponds to the media's legal framework in each country. It is monitored through criteria such as the protection of freedom of speech and the media, the presence of an enabling environment for freedom of expression, media literacy and the independence of the media.*
- *Cultural Pluralism in the Media risk domain is focused and monitored on the basis of criteria such as equality/inequality of cultural representation, the representation and participation in decision making processes of minorities in the media.*
- *Geographical Pluralism in the Media risk domain includes indicators concerning the level of representation of local and regional communities in the media; equality/inequality in the geographic distribution of events and situations featured in the news are monitored in this domain.*
- *Pluralism of Media Ownership and Control risk domain refers to the existence of sufficient media outlets owned by multiple independent actors, which fosters the likelihood to limit the monopolization of the media; pluralism in media ownership is a factor that facilitates pluralism in content production.*
- *Political Pluralism in the Media risk domain focuses on risks related to political pressure and interference in the content and functioning of media outlets.*
- *Pluralism of Media Types and Genres risk domain relates to measures that ensure that the markets effectively remain plural and free when it comes to the distribution of information of public interest, or the supply of public service media.*

data collection and mapping of capital-power relationships, indicates the monopolization of the media in Turkey and the scope of the relations formed between these monopolies and the government through tenders in a comprehensive manner. Reports analyzing the political economy of the media in Turkey and proposing recommendations for an independent media published by Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV) in scope of its Democratization Program are examples of efforts that could contribute to ensuring pluralism in the media.¹⁷

In addition to these projects, online newspapers such as BİANET (Bağımsız İletişim Ağı - Independent Communication Network) T24, Diken and the human rights

focused projects and studies on the power-capital relationship of IPS Communication Foundation and P24 (Independent Journalism Platform) are important initiatives in terms of promoting pluralism in the media. Transparency International Association is also undertaking noteworthy projects in the field of pluralism and media freedom in Turkey, and drafting reports on “Access to Information, Freedom of Expression and the Press” geared toward establishing transparency in the media.¹⁸

Taking into consideration all these efforts and the above discussed risk domains, conducting a comprehensive study on pluralism in the media and supporting the work in this field will be of primary import among the efforts of the laboratory to combat discrimination and forms of discriminatory discourse.

2

Hrant Dink Foundation's activities on hate speech (2009-2015)

In scope of the Media Watch on Hate Speech Project launched by Hrant Dink Foundation in 2009, the initiative conducts a continuous expansive media monitoring program and publishes reports. As part of this project, acclaimed not just nationally but also at the international level, all national newspapers and approximately 500 local newspapers are monitored on the basis of key words (*Armenian, Christian, Muslim, Jew, British, Kurdish, Turkish, separatist, traitor, infidel, perverted, reactionary, bigot*, etc.) by a media monitoring center, and news items containing derogatory statements widely used for various ethnic, religious, gender and sexual identities are identified.

As of 2013, more indirectly constructed discourses that voiced discriminatory messages more implicitly than hate speech were also included in the study as a case study. A different issue on the public agenda is scrutinized every four months and a specific research methodology is developed for the topic to conduct a discriminatory discourse analysis.¹⁹ In addition to the reports published every four months within scope of this project, the collected data is uploaded daily to the website with brief analyses and exposed through social media networks such as Facebook and Twitter. Hate speech contents sent by readers through the website of the project and the social media are also analyzed. The website of the project (www.nefretsoylemi.org/en/) also features academic articles, columns on the subject, videos of panels organized and reports published.

Hrant Dink Foundation organizes numerous activities in scope of the Media Watch on Hate Speech Project to devise strategies to combat hate speech and discrimination. These activities include:

- An international conference was organized with the participation of internationally renowned academicians and journalists, working on issues such as discrimination, racism, discourse, media ethics and freedom of expression between 9 and 11 April 2010. The book titled *Hate Crimes and Hate Speech* comprised of presentations delivered at the conference was published and launched online

All national newspapers and approximately 500 local newspapers are monitored in scope of the Media Watch on Hate Speech Project launched by Hrant Dink Foundation in 2009. News containing hate speech are separated into four different categories based on the type of the discourse they adopt:

- *Exaggeration / Attribution / Distortion: Speech that makes negative generalizations, distortions, exaggerations, negative references about a community based on one person or incident (i.e. “Turkey was drowned in the sound of bells”)*
- *Blasphemy / Insult / Denigration: Speech that directly contains curses, slander or defamation of a certain community (i.e. “backstabber”, “dog”, “half-breed”)*
- *Enmity/ War discourse: Speech that contains hostile, war-referencing statements about a community (i.e. “cruelty of the infidel”)*
- *Using a Natural Element of One’s Identity as a Cause for Hate or Humiliation / Symbolization: Speech that uses a natural identity element as a means of hate or defamation, or turns that element into a symbol (i.e. With negative connotations: “Your mother is Armenian anyway”; “Is your last name Davutoğlu or Davutyan?”)*

in September of the same year. (http://www.nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/nefret-soylemi_min.pdf)

- Workshops were organized in Malatya on June 25, 2011 and in Afyon on October 17, 2011 to train local journalists on hate speech and rights based journalism with the participation of academics and NGO representatives.
- Two panel discussions were organized on March 21 and 22, 2012 with the participation of Sejal Parmar, a senior legal officer of the freedom of expression organization, Article 19.
- A panel titled “Discriminatory Discourse and the Role of the Media” was organized at Istanbul Bilgi University on October 12, 2012 featuring Professor Teun van Dijk, one of the world’s most prominent scholars in the field of critical discourse studies, and Professor Charles Husband, internationally renowned for his work on media and ethnic diversity.
- A one-semester university level draft course syllabus that conceptually tackles discrimination and hate speech, analyzes the relationship between media and

hate speech by focusing on the reproduction of language, discourse and meaning, and draws attention to ways and methods of combatting such discourse was developed. The curriculum proposal designed with the consultancy of Assistant Prof. Esra Arsan (Istanbul Bilgi University Social Sciences Institute), Feray Salman (Human Rights Joint Platform, General Coordinator), Mahmut Çınar (Bahçeşehir University Faculty of Communication) Professor Melek Göregenli (Ege University Department of Psychology) and Özlem Dalkıran (Helsinki Citizens' Assembly) in line with the Bologna Process²⁰ is being taught at numerous universities including Ankara, Bahçeşehir, Başkent, Hacettepe, Istanbul Bilgi, Fatih, and Mimar Sinan Fine Arts.

■ In 2013, an edited volume (ed. Mahmut Çınar) titled *Medya ve Nefret Söylemi: Kavramlar, Mecralar, Tartışmalar* [Media and Hate Speech: Concepts, Mediums, Debates] was published both as a supplement to the course syllabus and to provide access to the general reader for conceptual information on the issue.

■ Since 2014, workshops have been organized at universities throughout Anatolia to introduce this curriculum and develop cooperation with universities. In these workshops, which have been organized at Eskişehir Anadolu, Akdeniz, Gaziantep, Zirve, Çukurova, Mersin and Dicle universities to date, the curriculum content and the book is introduced, the findings of the media watch project are shared and based on these findings interactive discussions are conducted with communications, social sciences and law students in particular.

■ On October 26, 2013 a panel titled “Discriminatory Discourse and Social Media” was organized with Professor Elisabeth Eide from University of Oslo and Laszlo Földi from the Council of Europe as speakers.

■ In scope of the Media Watch on Hate Speech Project, on October 23, 2014 a panel titled “Discrimination and Hate on Media: Social Media, Representation of Difference and Activism Against Discrimination” was organized with the moderation of Dr. İdil Engindeniz, faculty member of Galatasaray University Faculty of Communication, featuring as speakers one of the founders of the International Network Against Cyber Hate (INACH), Ronald Eissens and Dr. Gavan Titley from National University of Ireland Media Studies Department.

Campaigns and projects carried out by academicians, civil society organizations and activists on hate speech and discriminatory discourse in Turkey include:

- Founded in 1994, Kaos GL Association conducts monitoring activities to expose and transform the homophobic and transphobic language in mainstream media and publishes annual reports to this end. The book titled *Hate Speech against LGBTI in the Media* (www.kaosgldernegi.org/resim/yayin/dl/medyadalgbt.pdf) published in scope of the “Do Not Hate Project” Kaos GL implements in collaboration with Pink Life LGBTT Solidarity Association features a section on issues to take into consideration in making news pertaining to LGBTI.
- Primary and secondary school textbooks were analyzed using qualitative human rights indicators and the findings were published in Turkish and English in scope of the *Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks Project* launched in 2002 by the History Foundation. The Foundation carried out the first phase of the project in collaboration with the Turkish Academy of Sciences and the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey; the second phase with the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey; and the third phase with Istanbul Bilgi University Center for Sociology and Education Studies (SEÇBİR).²¹
- *DurDe* (Say NO to Racism and Nationalism) Platform, founded as a reaction to the murder of Hrant Dink in 2007, supports projects to combat racism, nationalism, hate crimes, ethnic discrimination, anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, and organizes various campaigns in this field. The Platform presents detailed coverage of the activities and projects it supports in its annual reports. (www.durde.org)
- Founded in 2009 with the slogan “Hate crimes kill!”, the Association for Social Change has carried out a campaign for legislation on hate crimes and published a book titled *Ulusal Basında Nefret Suçları: 10 Yıl, 10 Örnek [Hate Crimes in the National Press: 10 Years, 10 Case Studies]* (2010) in scope of the fight against hate crimes.
- On November 21, 2009 a panel on “Hate Speech in the New Media” was organized with the support of Alternative Informatics Association; the presentations made throughout the panel were collected in a book titled *Yeni Medyada Nefret Söylemi [Hate Speech in the New Media]* edited by Altuğ Akın.
- A team of women and men who think and work on sexism came together organized under the anti-sexism platform *CinsoMedya – Gendered Media Monitor*. Founded in March 2014, with the objective of exposing sexism in the media, the platform monitors the media and exposes discriminatory discourses on its website, also aiming to involve its readers in this effort. (www.cinsomedia.org)

■ *The website Erktolia founded in March 2015 to take action against sexism is a part of the International Anti-Sexism Network (www.macholand.org) and monitors sexist discourses in advertisements, movies, news and interactively detects and exposes these through bulletins on its website. (www.erktolia.org).*

■ On April 28, 2015 a panel titled “Dangerous Speech/Hate Speech and Pluralism in the Media” was organized, moderated by Fuat Keyman with Susan Benesch and Elda Brogi as speakers.

■ A workshop on “Refugees in the Media and Concept Confusion” was organized on July 2, 2015 with Hakan Ataman and Eda Bekçi as speakers.

■ A series of thematic workshops were organized between October 7 and December 10, 2015 under the title of “Discriminatory Discourse in the Media and Rights Based Journalism”, bringing together civil society organizations, academicians, activists and journalists with expertise in a variety of fields. The representation of disadvantaged groups in the media was discussed in these workshops with the titles of “Discriminatory Discourse against Women and Alternative Media Initiatives”, “Homophobia and Transphobia in the Media in the Framework of Rights Violations and Violence”, “Discriminatory Discourse against Persons with Disabilities in the Media”, “Discrimination against Roma: Representation of Roma in the Media”, “Perception of the Enemy in the Media: Discriminatory Discourse against Religious and Ethnic Identities” and “Media and Children: Children Under Legal Protection”.

■ On November 10, 2015 a panel titled “Combatting Discriminatory Discourse: Theoretical Discussions and European Experience regarding Hate Speech Laws” was organized, moderated by Professor Turgut Tarhanlı with the participation of speakers Prof. Michał Krzyżanowski from Media and Communication Studies at Örebro University, Sweden and Asst. Prof. Marloes van Noorlos from the Department of Criminal Law of Tilburg Law School, Holland.

3

Proposals for the field of activities of ASULIS

The proposals for the field of activities suggested by academicians, media members, representatives of civil society organizations and advisory board members (see Annex 2) who participated in the meetings and panels organized during the preparatory process of the establishment of ASULIS can be collected under five main headings: conceptual discussion, education, media, law, and politics.

CONCEPTUAL DISCUSSION

The proposals toward the goal of tackling the concepts (such as hate speech, discrimination, racism, xenophobia, homophobia) in the laboratory's fundamental area of work as open ended and evolving concepts can be summarized as follows:

“Hate speech” is a concept that can be employed by dominant powers and institutions that integrate it with the system. Therefore, in order to avert the ideological influences of the discourse and be a step ahead of dominant institutions and the mainstream media, it is necessary to think beyond and not be limited to this concept. On the other hand, as mentioned earlier, the fact that “hate speech” remains a controversial concept makes it more difficult to understand. For these reasons, discussing and expounding “hate speech”, “dangerous speech”, “offensive speech”, “discriminatory discourse” and similar concepts will make them more intelligible; meanwhile, their living, evolving and transforming quality will lessen the dominant institutions' influence on this concept. A variety of workshops can be organized to this end, through which the concept of hate speech can be defined with the contributions of participants and a framework can be mapped out to form the basis for future initiatives. The concept can be redefined with subheadings according to the arising needs of the period through annual or biannual activities. Answers to questions such as “What is hate speech?”, “Can some other word instead of ‘hate’ be used for this concept?”, “What sort of discourses can be addressed in the framework of hate speech?”, “Is every hate speech also a hate crime?”, “How do we encounter hate speech in everyday life?”, “What should we be mindful of in order not to produce hate speech?” can be sought in the workshops and concepts such as “multiculturalism”, “pluralism”, “democracy”, “struggle against discrimination”, “peace and rights based journalism”, “racism” and “xenophobia” can be opened to discussion.

EDUCATION

With the aim of increasing the awareness on hate speech among youth and children, conducting activities geared toward students of all ages, and by extension, teachers' and academicians' role in this sphere is of great import.

- Creating a number of focus groups ranging from children in primary school to youth in university, various perception studies can be conducted in order to analyze what children and youth in certain age groups think of hate speech and discriminatory discourse; various workshops can be organized with the participation of the children and youth who partook in the research to raise awareness on this subject.
- Trainings on hate speech can be conducted at children and youth centers. Through the active participation of the youth in these training programs and the method of “peer education”, the youth who have received the training can be encouraged to explain hate speech and discriminatory discourse to the newcomers of the youth center.
- Education materials and book series can be published for all age groups from preschool to school children and interactive learning oriented games can be designed.
- Education programs for parents can be developed. Brochures and books can be prepared to be distributed amongst family members.
- Training activities can be conducted with teachers and education students on the language of teaching-education, seeking answers to questions such as “How should teachers conduct their lessons making sure they avoid discrimination?”, “How should teachers communicate with students who exhibit discriminatory and racist behavior?”.
- Efforts to include “hate speech” and “discriminatory discourse” in pedagogical training can be launched.
- Digital —and board— games for children that lay emphasis on equality and the discourse of peace can be devised with the support of expert pedagogues.

- Teachers can be trained on the subject of discriminatory discourse in schools.
- Initiatives to include the subjects of “hate speech” and “discriminatory discourse” in scope of the Human Rights and Democracy class, which recently entered the curriculum, can be launched.

MEDIA

Efforts that can be realized in the fields of conventional media (newspapers, magazines/journals and television) and new media (social media, internet sites, blogs, etc.) include:

Conventional media

- Safeguarding pluralism in the media can be an important step towards reducing hate speech and discriminatory discourse. Meetings, conferences and seminars can be organized on this subject.
- Carrying out activities promoting the post of ombudsman can foster the institution of an independent media ombudsman that can serve as a bridge between the reader and the institution regardless of institutional affiliation – a position currently set aside by a handful of newspapers in Turkey. The few individuals who serve at select Turkish newspapers as ombudsmen between the institution and their readers can be encouraged to carry out their activities independent of their institutional affiliation in order to promote independent media ombudsmanship. Proliferation of media ombudsmanship in Turkey and the role that experts on hate speech and discriminatory discourse may play as ombudsman can reduce the production of hate speech and discriminatory discourse in the media.
- Booklets can be prepared for media workers in order to avert the use of hate speech and discriminatory discourse; newspaper visits and presentations can be organized to promote and encourage the use of booklets that summarize journalism practices on this subject and explain how news on women, LGBTI, religious and ethnic minorities should be reported.

New media

- Monitoring and reporting can be done concerning hateful content circulating in the new media. Certain blogs, Twitter and Facebook accounts (especially those of public leaders) can be monitored by professional researchers. Annual or biannual reports with statistical data can be drafted.²²
- A project that enables immediate intervention to online hate speech can be developed in order to observe and influence individuals' perceptions and create a new perception against hate speech. "online digital response" teams can be formed in scope of the project to influence and change the perceptions of the people who create hate speech and/or discriminatory discourses in online forums.
- Various activities can be carried out to create awareness on hate speech and discriminatory discourse among new media users and to develop critical media literacy to this end.
 - The subject of hate speech production and propagation in online forums can be introduced to the curricula of media literacy courses.
 - Training programs on media literacy and hate speech open to the participation of people of all ages and all social strata can be organized.
- Trainings can be given to blog users, online activists, and media professionals publishing in new media forums to create/increase awareness against hate speech.
- Initiatives can be launched to incorporate provisions on hate speech in the service agreements of new media applications.
- A "warn-remove" mechanism can be devised enabling hateful contents in social media to be removed through complaints. By working to raise awareness on this subject, social media users can be encouraged to report the content they deem harmful by using the aforementioned mechanism.
- Projects can be developed to ensure that Turkey signs the Additional Protocol to the Council of Europe Convention on Cybercrime which requires the criminalization of acts of a racist and xenophobic nature committed through computer systems.

LAW

- Various training programs and publications can be developed targeting judicial employees (judges, prosecutors, bailiffs, court registrars, court clerks, etc.).
- A project can be developed for the monitoring of laws from the perspective of discriminatory discourse with the support of academicians working in the field of law and jurists specialized on the subject.
- Curricula proposals on discriminatory discourse and hate speech can be designed for faculties of law; workshops can be held with law students.
- The subject of hate speech and discriminatory discourse can be incorporated in the compulsory internship training given to prospective lawyers in bar association training centers.
- A project can be developed towards the monitoring and reporting of hate crimes.
- A project can be devised on strategic litigation; cases can be followed in scope of the project.

POLITICS

Various activities can be organized in cooperation with politicians on the subject of hate speech and discriminatory discourse produced by prominent political actors and politicians.

- A project can be created to monitor the discourses of important political actors and politicians. Actions that expose and refute members of the media, opinion leaders and politicians who produce discriminatory language and hate speech can be organized. For instance, press statements can be issued.
- Public agenda and/or case based monitoring efforts can be carried out by identifying dates of political significance. Statements made by politicians/

leaders can be analyzed on dates such as April 24 Armenian Genocide Memorial Day, New Year's celebrations, September 6-7 Events, LGBTI Pride Week when hate speech is further intensified.

- A study on the discourses produced by political party leaders, important political actors and politicians on social media can be conducted and the context, effect and possible consequences of this discourse can be analyzed.
- Grand National Assembly of Turkey parliamentary minutes, speech transcripts, and/or speeches delivered in group meetings can be analyzed.
- Parliamentary groups and commissions can be contacted to influence the politicians' points of view and discourses.
- Workshops can be organized with the members of parliament to encourage them to make speeches that draw attention to the issue in Assembly meetings.
- Political parties' youth organizations can be contacted and trainings can be given on various subjects.

Proposals for the working methods of ASULIS

Proposals on the methods that can be employed and developed in the projects and research studies to be carried out by the laboratory aiming to raise awareness on hate speech and discriminatory discourse and also to increase the visibility and recognition of the laboratory are as follows:

- There is a myriad of academic studies on hate speech and discriminatory discourse; most of these studies and publications use content analysis and discourse analysis methods. In order to diversify academic studies and address the concepts from a different perspective, research that will employ methodology outside the aforementioned can be encouraged.
 - In addition to discourse and content analysis, it may be useful to conduct **perception studies** on the subject of hate speech to establish the sphere of influence of the discourse and take precautions. For instance, a perception study conducted to prevent hate speech produced in online social networks and to take precautions against this may be a good place to start.
 - **Software** that will enable a comprehensive media monitoring program can be created. Such software, which may facilitate numerical data analysis and graphics generation, is of vital importance to establish the scientific basis of the research. The research to develop and use this software can start by examining the types of software currently used in the field of social sciences.
 - A **library, e-library and archive** can be created that holds academic studies on the subject of hate speech and discriminatory discourse. Creating a library and archive that holds studies by different people who address the concepts in question through different perspectives and using different methods may provide the opportunity for academicians and researchers working in this field to think more comprehensively on the concept, enabling individuals who have limited resources to deliver further work in this field.
 - A comparative hate speech project can be carried out on Turkey and other countries. **Comparative academic studies** can set an example to better analyze the concept and current situation.
 - In studies on hate speech, the monitoring of hate speech in the media is of great importance. The Media Watch on Hate Speech Project run by the

Hrant Dink Foundation can be advanced by forming local partnerships and establishing a multi-platform **media watch network** that comprises national press, local press, television and the social media outlets.

- Funding can be provided for research to be carried out on subjects like hate speech, discriminatory discourse, xenophobia, racism, and homophobia. Giving **research grants** and/or assisting in fundraising for studies on hate speech may increase quality content production in this field.

- ASULIS is envisioned to work in cooperation with universities. For instance, graduate and post-graduate students can be awarded **scholarships** to encourage research on hate speech or discriminatory discourse. Undergraduate, master's and PhD dissertations can be made accessible through the laboratory library

- **Panels, talks, conferences, seminars and workshops** can be turned into dynamic events that target a certain audience, capture the current situation and issues while linking ongoing events to current events and issues.

- A call can be made for a conference, with the participation of academics and journalists, to create innovative solutions against hate speech and make contacts at the local level.

- Various workshops and trainings can be organized together with professional organizations on the subject of hate speech produced by people with the power to shape public opinion. Rather than legal and state sanctions, the intervention of professional organizations in this particular subjects would be a positive step.

- In scope of the Media Watch on Hate Speech Project carried out since 2009, regular **debate/discussion** meetings can be organized with journalists. In order to increase the visibility of the event, an active and renowned journalist can act as the moderator.

- The subject range of events such as panels, seminar and conferences can be broadened. Various activities can be organized on the subjects of hate speech, discriminatory discourse and discrimination in which elements of popular culture are discussed with the participation of soccer commentators, magazine program editors, comedians, etc. along with journalists and academicians. The subject of discussion can be determined in the framework of the speakers and target audience, the dynamics and agenda of the country. This method will increase the visibility and effect of the event.

Golden Okra Academy founded in 2009 is giving Golden Okra Awards every year for a cinema freed of sexism and male domination; since 2005, in scope of Pride Week activities LambdaLstanbul is giving Genetically Modified Tomato Awards in various categories for the most homophobic institution, organization and individuals.

■ **Contests and award ceremonies** can be organized in various fields to raise awareness on hate speech.

- Writing and painting award contests can be organized for primary and secondary school children. Such contests may be useful in raising awareness on hate speech among children who live outside big cities and do not have access to computers.
- Digital design contests awarding innovative mimes, “caps” and posters can be organized.
- Video and short film contests can be organized.
- An award ceremony can be organized with an ironic undertone in categories such as “hate speech award”, “hate speech/discriminatory discourse against women award”, “hate speech against LGBTI individuals award”, “hate speech against minorities award”.

■ Practices of formulating **counter speech** can be developed as a method of struggle against hate speech and dangerous discourse.

- Performance based projects like street theatres can be developed using a discourse of peace against hate speech.
- A mascot that will capture the interest of youth and children in particular can be used in efforts to raise awareness. Similar catchy and innovative “guerilla” promotion methods can be used in order to create a counter discourse.

■ **Case studies** and **case monitoring** can be carried out to raise awareness on hate speech and discrimination.

In the “No to Neo Nazis, No to Hate Speech” lab formed with the participation of 300 youth in scope of the Council of Europe, Strasbourg World Forum for Democracy held in May 2014, the stork mascot called “Stork Heinar” was used as propaganda tool to make fun of Nazi ideology and discourage its supporters. (www.storch-heinar.de/about)

In scope of the “No Hate Speech Movement Online”, the Lithuanian Center for Human Rights produced a video titled “Eksperimentas VERTIMAS / Experiment TRANSLATION” (www.youtube.com/watch?v=qNX1256eVw8) shot with a hidden camera in order to draw attention to hate speech and racism produced in online platforms, which constitutes a good example for the work that can be done in this field.

- Recent discrimination cases and experiences of the victims of hate speech and/or crimes can be monitored with the support of civil society organizations working on human rights. Joint activities can be organized with media workers to keep these cases on the public agenda.
 - Experiences of the communities targeted by discrimination and hate speech that may give cause for legal action can be identified through the method of “test case”. In these tests where instances of discrimination are identified keeping variables under control, situations such as an ethnic and/or religious minority group member going for a job interview or an LGBTI person wanting to rent an apartment, can be examined.
 - Visuals of the test case and short films reenacting the experiences that took place can be shared through new media platforms.
- Various **training and publishing activities** can be developed on the subject of hate speech. Training activities can be carried out targeting civil society organizations, private sector employees, health sector employees etc. as well as media employees, politicians and jurists.
- **Periodicals and/or books** can be published to answer the question “How to combat hate speech and discrimination?”
 - To avert discrimination and hate speech in the workplace, chapters on hate speech and discriminatory discourse can be added to the content of **ethical conduct training** given to blue-collar and white-collar employees and/or special trainings can be organized on these subjects apart from the ethical conduct training.
 - Training on patient rights, discrimination and hate speech can be given to medical doctors and health personnel in order to avert the discrimination against elderly, disabled, LGBTI, ethnic and/or religious minority patients.
 - **Online training modules** can be prepared and trainings can be given through new media platforms.

The violence resulting from the use of hate speech in South Sudan shares similarities with the violence emerging from the use of media in 1994 during the Rwandan Genocide. Moving from this point, United States Institute of Peace developed a radio project to raise awareness in particular among Sudanese youth and enable citizens' participation in the peace-building process in the Sudan. Through the drama series called 'Sawa Shabab' (Youth Together) messages of peace were given and awareness raising efforts were started.

- To raise public awareness on hate speech, brochures and booklets with affirmative examples can be published and distributed during the trainings.
- Various awareness raising activities can be realized through the media or the new media.
 - **Photo-novels** or **comics** can be published in newspapers.
 - TV series or feature **films** can be shot. An initiative can be undertaken to have a popular television series touch upon the issue of hate speech in a few episodes. Such projects can be carried out in cooperation with script writers and production companies.
 - Short video-interviews on hate speech and discrimination can be made with renowned journalists, academicians and other professionals, also highlighting the laboratory's projects; broadcasting these on the laboratory's website can both increase the visibility of these activities and facilitate an active and public discussion on this subject.
 - An interactive website can be designed enabling everyone to access the laboratory's blogs, forums and discussion platforms.
 - The visibility of ongoing and upcoming projects can be increased by gaining the support of famous figures in fields such as culture and arts, sports, writers of the popular hypertext collaborative "dictionary" *Eksi Sözlük* and other social media phenomena.
 - Institutional contact can be established with the Ministry of Social Affairs toward the preparation of **public service announcements** on hate speech and discrimination.
 - **Radio programs** can be produced.

Vision, mission and structure of ASULIS

Founded under the Hrant Dink Foundation, ASULIS Discourse, Dialogue, Democracy Laboratory is the first social sciences laboratory in Turkey that struggles against discrimination, works on discourse studies and supports the efforts carried out in this field. Carrying the Media Watch on Hate Speech Project of the Hrant Dink Foundation which has been continuing since 2009 a step further, in its initial phase, the ASULIS will conduct studies on conceptual discussion, education, media, law and politics. Aspiring to be a pioneering, innovative and interdisciplinary structure, it will confront discrimination and discriminatory discourses in various contexts and create a space that serves human rights, democratization, equality and pluralism.

The center, the fields of activity and framework of which have been identified through the activities and discussions summarized in this report, is devised as a “laboratory”. With this quality in mind, the center is envisioned to host and/or support academic research and activist movements that share similar principles as well as efforts for raising awareness on subjects such as hate speech, discriminatory discourse, and dangerous discourse, and to conduct trainings in these fields.

ASULIS has been designed to provide open access to everyone who wants to experience “coexistence”, research and advance the culture and language of coexistence, enter into dialogue and contribute to the instilment of democratic values. The laboratory aims to carry out activities on discrimination and discriminatory discourse; explore their reasons; analyze the political, social, democratic, economic, cultural, and similar effects of the discourse on the society and individuals; create awareness on the dimensions of such discourses that pose a threat to coexistence; devise various methods of struggle including counter discourse, and ultimately contribute to a pluralistic and democratic order.

The target group of ASULIS, which will operate with an interdisciplinary approach in numerous different fields ranging from conceptual discussions to education, law to politics, conventional media to new media, is academicians, independent researchers, jurists, labor unions, students, children, youth, educators, teachers, civil

society organizations, local governments, politicians, religious officials, journalists, members of the press, social media users and artists.

The vision and mission of the ASULIS, which will constitute one of the first examples of social sciences laboratories in Turkey of which there are numerous examples in various parts of the world, have been identified with this comprehensive approach.

VISION

ASULIS Discourse, Dialogue, Democracy Laboratory works under the Hrant Dink Foundation toward the aim of fostering the culture and language of dialogue, peace and empathy in Turkey and the world, which constitutes the basis of all activities of the Foundation, and for a world where all kinds of differences such as religion, language, race, sexual identity, age and life style are respected and can coexist.

MISSION

Through the discourse oriented activities it will carry out in fields of media, conceptual studies, education, politics and law, the ASULIS Discourse, Dialogue, Democracy Laboratory aims to contribute to strengthening democratic values, human rights and the struggle against discrimination. Collaborating with institutions and organizations with similar objectives such as universities, foundations, associations, civil society organizations in Turkey and abroad, the Laboratory aims to conduct the following activities:

- Contribute to the development of new monitoring, research and archiving methods in field of discourse studies;
- Contribute to strengthening respect for different identities and forms of expression, and increasing social awareness on discrimination;
- Support the expansion and strengthening of rights based projects and studies against discrimination in civil society;

- Starting at the level of discourse, to strive against discrimination based on sexual identity, sexual orientation, gender identity, religion, disability, ethnic origin, race, political view, age, life style and speciesism in every field;
- Become a platform, and reference and resource center of intercultural and interdisciplinary discourse studies of high quality to be conducted in fields of discrimination, human rights and democratization open to civil society organizations, activists, educators, teachers, students, academicians, media workers, jurists, independent researchers, artists and all interested groups and individuals.

Towards these goals, the ASULIS will employ various working methods such as monitoring and reporting; developing and conducting research projects; preparing publications; establishing a library and an archive; supporting persons and institutions doing academic and independent research; organizing seminars, workshops, panels and conferences; and creating counter-discourse and visual materials for awareness raising.

Annex 1

NOTES ON THE PREPARATORY PROCESS OF ASULIS

In order to devise the roadmap and fields of work for ASULIS Discourse, Dialogue, Democracy Laboratory a yearlong preparation process supported by Istanbul Policy Center and Open Society Foundation Turkey was carried out during which meetings and interviews were held with numerous people. One of the pillars of this process was the roundtable meetings attended by academicians, media workers and representatives of civil society organizations working in the field of discourse in Turkey and abroad.

In the first half of 2015, three roundtable meetings and one panel was organized. Our representatives went to France and Slovenia to participate in an international conference and visit an organization carrying out similar activities. The needs and priorities of the laboratory were identified and first steps towards its foundation were taken in light of the presentations and discussions in the aforementioned meetings and our observations during the travels abroad.

In the first roundtable meeting with broad participation held on February 9, 2015, suggestions for the laboratory's structure and areas of work were compiled based on the discussions of participants from civil society organizations, media organizations and the academia. The second roundtable meeting held on April 27, 2015, attended by members of the Advisory Board formed subsequent to the first meeting, along with Dr. Elda Brogi of European University Institute and Susan Benesch of Harvard University²³ entailed a discussion on subjects of "pluralism in the media" and "dangerous speech"; the participants further deliberated on how the laboratory can benefit from the institutional and project based experiences of Brogi and Benesch. On April 28, a panel titled "Dangerous Speech/Hate Speech and Pluralism in the Media" was organized again with the participation of these two academicians. Before the third roundtable meeting, the laboratory team visited France and Slovenia with the aim of observing the projects and studies carried out in this field abroad onsite. The first visit was to France as a guest of the Council of Europe to participate in *The End of the Beginning? Evaluation and Follow-Up Conference* organized by No Hate Speech Movement on May 28-30 in Strasburg. In the conference attended by participants from across the world, various studies conducted on hate speech and discriminatory discourse were observed and one-to-one meetings were organized with the coordinators of the

projects. In early June, immediately after the conference, another visit was organized to The Peace Institute in Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia.²⁴ In the meetings with the director and researchers of the institute founded in 1991, information on the operation, structure, studies, publications and activities of the institute and suggestions for the laboratory were compiled.

In the third roundtable meeting held on June 15, 2015, the observations from these visits, information on the projects carried out abroad and the suggestions of the people who were met with were conveyed to members of the Advisory Board. At the end of the meeting, a discussion was held focusing on the mission, vision, areas and methods of work of the laboratory.

Persons and organizations that contributed to the preparatory process

Aslı Telli Aydemir (*Istanbul Şehir University*)

Cemre Baytok (*Yeniköy Panagia Greek Orthodox Church and School Foundation*)

Derya Fırat (*Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Association for the Study of Sociology of Memory and Culture*)

Dilara Çalışkan (*Sabancı University Gender and Women's Studies Forum*)

Diren Cevahir Şen (*Nor Zartonk – New Renaissance*)

Elif Al (*Open Society Foundation*)

Erdem Gürsu (*Siyah Pembe Üçgen Derneği İzmir - Black Pink Triangle İzmir Association*)

Esen Özdemir (*Mor Çatı Kadın Sığınağı Vakfı – Purple Roof Women's Shelter Foundation*)

Fuat Keyman (*Istanbul Policy Center, Sabancı University*)

Gürkan Özturan (*Türkiye-Avrupa Vakfı – Turkey Europe Foundation*)

Hakan Kahraman (*Toplum Gönüllüleri Vakfı – Community Volunteers Foundation*)

İdil Engindeniz Şahan (*Galatasaray University*)

İdil Seda Ak (*Engelli Kadın Derneği – Disabled Women's Association*)

İlker Çakmak (*Istanbul LGBTTT Dayanışma Derneği – Istanbul LGBTTT Solidarity Association*)

İtir Akdoğan (*Habitat Kalkınma ve Yönetişim Derneği – Habitat Center for Development and Governance, Istanbul Bilgi University, Helsinki University*)

Marina Drymalitou (*Rum Vakıfları Derneği – Association for the Support of Greek Orthodox Community Foundations*)

Melek Göregenli (*Ege University*)

Meltem Aslan (*Anadolu Kültür Association*)

Murat Çelikkan (*Hakikat Adalet Hafıza Merkezi – Truth Justice Memory Center*)

Mutlu Binark (*Hacettepe University*)

Mutlu Öztürk (*Lycée Notre Dame de Sion Istanbul - Notre Dame de Sion French High School*)

Nadire Mater (*Bianet - Independent Communication Network, IPS Communication Foundation*)

Nejat Taştan (*Eşit Haklar İçin İzleme Derneği – Association for Monitoring Equal Rights*)

Nil Mutluer (*Nişantaşı University*)

Öndercan Muti (*Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University*)

Öykü Gürpınar (*Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University*)

Özlem Dalkıran (*Helsinki Yurttaşlar Derneği - Helsinki Citizens' Assembly*)

Renan Akman (*İnsan Hakları Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Irkçılık ve Ayrımcılığa Karşı Komisyon - Committee Against Racism and Discrimination of the Istanbul Branch of Human Rights Association*)

Rita Ender (*Lawyer*)

Sertan Kıyan (*Lambdaistanbul LGBTI Solidarity Association*)

Sevda Alankuş (*Kadir Has University*)

Tırşe Erbaysal Filibeli (*Galatasaray University*)

Ülkü Doğanay (*Ankara University*)

Yasemin İnceoğlu (*Galatasaray University*)

Yıldız Tar (*Kaos GL – Kaos Gay and Lesbian Cultural Researches and Solidarity Association*)

Zeynep Özarslan (*Nişantaşı University*)

Hrant Dink Foundation team

Ezgi Kan

İrem Az

Nuran Gelişli

Rojdit Barak

Sema Merve İş

Zeynep Arslan

Annex 2

ADVISORY BOARD OF ASULIS

Assistant Prof. Aslı Telli Aydemir completed her undergraduate studies at Marmara University Faculty of Political Science and International Relations, master's in Social Anthropology and Critical Studies at University of Paris VIII in Saint-Denis, and PhD in Media and Communication Studies at European Graduate School / Appalachian State University. Between 2006 and 2009, she worked as researcher representing Istanbul Bilgi University in the project titled "Civicweb: Internet, young people and participation" implemented in scope of the European Union Sixth Framework Program. She continues her research and studies on the social impact of transmedia/polymedia, new media literacy, cultures of resistance, social media facilitated activism practices, and networked society informatics. Since 2010, she has been teaching at Istanbul Şehir University Faculty of Communication and Cultural Studies Program.

Ayşe Mehveş Evin completed her undergraduate studies at Boğaziçi University Department of Psychology and e-MBA at Istanbul Bilgi University. She started journalism in 1993 at Sabah daily, worked as editor in various journals and newspapers. She worked as editor in chief of Aktüel weekly between 2002 and 2004, and managing editor of Akşam daily between 2004 and 2008. Since 2009, she is a columnist at Milliyet daily; writes on the subjects of environment, women, social and political issues along with freedom of expression and hate speech, and contributes to Diken online newspaper.

Prof. Dr. E. Fuat Keyman completed his undergraduate studies at the Department of Political Science, master's at the Department of Public Administration at Middle East Technical University (METU), and PhD in Political Science at Carleton University. He works on democratization, globalization, international relations, civil society and the state-society relations in Turkey. He is the author of numerous books and articles and also columns for Radikal daily. He serves on advisory and editorial boards of a number of international think-tanks and academic journals, is a professor of International Relations at Sabancı University, and the director of Istanbul Policy Center under the same university.

Erdal Demirdağ completed his undergraduate studies at Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University Department of Turkish Language and Literature, and his master's in

Human Rights Law at Istanbul Bilgi University Faculty of Law. He served on the Amnesty International Turkey Branch Office Board of Directors for one term. He has been serving as member of the Board of Directors of SPoD (Social Policies, Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation Studies Association) for the last two terms.

Mahmut Çınar finished his undergraduate studies at Anadolu University Faculty of Communication Sciences Department of Journalism and is currently doing his PhD at the same university. Since 2007, Çınar has been teaching courses on subjects including journalism, media sociology, media ethics, history of journalism, and discrimination. He contributes to the Anti-Discrimination Campaign of the Council of Europe as an expert; works as a consultant and volunteer for various national and international projects on human rights, equality, and combatting discrimination; writes political and cultural analysis articles for various publications. In 2014, he became the president of the Board of Directors of Media Research Association, which he co-founded. He is the editor of *Medya ve Nefret Söylemi: Kavramlar, Mecralar, Tartışmalar* [Media and Hate Speech: Concepts, Mediums, Debates] (Hrant Dink Foundation Publications, 2014).

Prof. Dr. Mutlu Binark completed her undergraduate studies at departments of Radio-TV and Sinology; master's at the Communication Sciences Department and PhD at the Department of Radio-TV and Cinema at Ankara University. She works on freedom of expression in the internet and new media literacy. A founding member of Alternative Informatics Association, Binark has been on the Advisory Board of TÜBİTAK SOBAG (Social and Human Sciences Research Group) since April 2012 and is the author of the blogs www.yenimedya.wordpress.com and www.dijitaloyunkulturu.wordpress.com. She continues to work on new media literacy, new media ethic principles and research data methodologies and teaches at Hacettepe University Faculty of Communication.

Murat Çelikkan completed his undergraduate studies at Middle East Technical University (METU) Department of Business Administration. Starting his career as a journalist at Demokrat, he went on to work at Nokta, Anka Ajans, Sokak, Evrensel, Yeni Gündem, Hürriyet, GazetePazar, Radikal, Birgün, Bianet and Sabah. He taught courses on journalism and media ethics and worked on issues such as the death penalty, combatting torture, prisons, freedom of expression and organizing, LGBTI rights, refugee rights, genocide and crimes against humanity. A co-founder of Human Rights Association, Helsinki Citizens' Assembly and Amnesty International Turkey, Çelikkan is also among the producers of

the films *İki Genç Kız* (directed by Kutluğ Ataman, 2005) and *Bûka Baranê* (directed by Dilek Gökçin, 2013). Truth Memory Justice Center, of which he is also a co-founder, works on state violence, coming to terms with the past, enforced disappearances and peace.

Nejat Taştan has been an activist working in the human rights movement since 1986. Between 2002 and 2007 he worked as the Secretary General of Human Rights Association. Since 2010, he has been working on the monitoring and documentation of discrimination. He is a member of Human Rights Association (İHD), Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TİHV), Association for Support and Training of Women Candidates (KA-DER) and Association for Monitoring Equal Rights. Taştan is a co-author of the reports *Türkiye’de Irk ve Etnik Kökene Dayalı Ayrımcılığın İzlenmesi* [Monitoring Discrimination based on Race and Ethnicity in Turkey] and *Türkiye’de Engellilere Yönelik Ayrımcılık ve Hak İhlalleri* [Discrimination and Rights Violations against the Disabled in Turkey]. He has contributed to the monitoring reports drafted by the Independent Election Monitoring Platform for the 2014 local elections, the presidential election, and June 7, 2015 general elections. He currently works as the coordinator of Association for Monitoring Equal Rights.

Prof. Dr. Sevda Alankuş completed her undergraduate studies at the Department of Politics and Administration, master’s and PhD at the Department of Public Administration and Political Science at Ankara University. She conducted post-doctoral research on cultural ethnic identities at Leeds University (UK) Department of Social Policy and Sociology. She started her academic career as a teaching assistant at Ege University in 1983; worked as a faculty member at Ankara University and at the communication faculties of Doğu Akdeniz University and İzmir Ekonomi University and held various administrative positions. Alankuş works on issues such as feminist media criticism, alternative media and journalism, peace journalism, and women-centered journalism. A training consultant for BİANET/Independent Communication Network project, she is currently the Dean of the Faculty of Communication at Kadir Has University.

Prof. Dr. Ülkü Doğanay completed her undergraduate studies at Ankara University Faculty of Communication, her master’s at METU Department of Political Science and her PhD at Ankara University Department of Political Science and Public Administration. She became an associate professor in the field of political life and institutions in 2009 and works on political communication and discriminatory and racist discourses. Her books include *Demokratik Usuller Üzerine*

Yeniden Düşünmek [Re-thinking Democratic Procedures] (İmge Kitabevi Publishing), 2003) and *İrkçi Değilim Ama... Yazılı Basında İrkçi-Ayrımcı Söylemler* [I am no Racist but...Racist-Discriminatory Discourses in the Press] (co-authored with Eser Köker; İHOP, 2011).

Prof. Dr. Yasemin İnceoğlu completed her undergraduate studies in English Language and Literature at Istanbul University, her master's and PhD at Marmara University Faculty of Communication Department of Journalism. She worked as a guest lecturer at Columbia University (1994), Salzburg Seminars (2003) and University of New Delhi Media Studies Center (2014). She is a founding member of the Association for the Advancement of Journalism Development; an advisory board member of Media Rebuttal Center and SPoD Social Policies, Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation Studies Association; a member of the Doğan Publishing Principles Advisory Board, and member of the Board of Directors of Umut Foundation and Transparency International. She has worked on the advisory board of Association for Social Change book project titled *Ulusal Basında Nefret Suçları: 10 Yıl, 10 Örnek* [Hate Crimes in the National Press: 10 Years, 10 Case Studies], which was completed in April 2010. She is the author of more than ten books and many international and national articles. Since 2004, she has been teaching and implementing numerous projects at Galatasaray University Faculty of Communication.

Assoc. Prof. Zeynep Özarslan received her PhD from Marmara University Department of Communication Sciences. Since 1998, she has worked at various state and private universities. She is the editor of *Söylem ve İdeoloji* [Discourse and Ideology] (Su Publishing, 2003); *Karl Marx - İntihar Üzerine* [Karl Marx On Suicide] (Yeni Hayat Library, 2006); *Panoptikon: Gözün İktidarı* [Panopticon: The Eye of Power] (Su Publishing, 2008); *Sinema Kuramları I ve Sinema Kuramları II* [Film Theories I and Film Theories II] (Su Publishing, 2013). She works on cinema, communication sociology, discourse studies and new media; collaborates with numerous NGOs to combat hate speech that has spread further with the development of new media platforms and publishes academic articles in this field. Özarslan is a member of Alternative Informatics Association, and currently works at Nişantaşı University Department of New Media where she teaches undergraduate, graduate and PhD courses on cinema and communication and supervises theses.

ASULIS PREPARATORY PHASE EXPERT RAPPORTEUR

Tirşe Erbaysal Filibeli completed her undergraduate studies at Yeditepe University Political Science Department in French and Department of International Relations. She finished her master's at Galatasaray University Department of Media and Communication Studies with her thesis titled "Photo-Journalism in times of War and Conflict". She is currently writing her PhD dissertation on "New Social Movements and Peace Journalism: The Gezi Process in Print and Visual Media" at the same department. She continues her academic research and work on subjects such as hate speech, peace speech, peace journalism, journalists' new media literacy, new social movements, and photo-journalism.

Ek 3

INSTITUTIONS WORKING ON HATE SPEECH

Accuracy in Media (AIM) is a citizens' media watchdog whose mission is to promote accuracy, fairness and balance in news reporting. AIM exposes politically motivated media bias; teaches consumers to think critically about their news sources; and holds the mainstream press accountable for its misreporting.

USA <http://www.aim.org>

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African Centre for Media Excellence (ACME) works with the main goal of making the media a more effective platform for the provision of information on public affairs, a tool for monitoring official power, and a forum for vibrant public debate.

UGANDA <http://acme-ug.org>

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African Media Initiative (AMI) works to empower the private and independent media throughout the continent to promote democratic governance and social and economic development. The overall goal of the organization is to promote the development of pluralistic media as a necessary and critical ingredient of democratic governance, as well as economic and human development in Africa.

KENYA <http://africanmediainitiative.org>

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Against Violent Extremism Network (AVE) is a unique and powerful new global force in the ongoing struggle to tackle violent extremism. Bringing together former violent extremists ("formers") and survivors of violent extremism with people from the public and private sectors working on the issue, the network empowers members to work together to push back all types of extremist narratives and prevent the recruitment of "at risk" youths.

IRELAND <http://www.againstviolentextremism.org>

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Albanian Media Institute was established at the end of 1995 and is currently one of the main actors of civil society in Albania and one of the most important journalistic training institutions in the Balkan region.

ALBANIA <http://www.institutemedia.org>

ANDI - Communication and Rights is a nonpartisan civil society organization that coordinates visionary and innovative initiatives in the media. It aims to contribute to a culture of promoting the rights of children and youth, human rights, social inclusion, participatory democracy and sustainable development based on actions evolving around journalism, information dissemination, entertainment and advertising in any of the media platforms and also in the field of public communication.

BRAZIL <http://www.andi.org.br>

Anti-Militarist Media Initiative researches, exposes, archives and analyses visual material and texts employing militarist discourse through the Media and Militarism Workshop.

TURKEY <http://anti-militarizm.blogspot.com.tr>

Anti-Defamation League (ADL) was founded in 1913 to stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment for all. Now the nation's premier civil rights/human relations agency, ADL fights anti-Semitism and all forms of bigotry, defends democratic ideals and protects civil rights for all.

ISRAEL <http://www.adl.org>

ANTIGONE, conducts activities on anti-racism and non-discrimination, human rights, social ecology, peace and non-violent conflict resolution. Through its activities that are based on solidarity and active participation, ANTIGONE targets awareness raising and sensitization of society on issues of non-discrimination, human rights, ecology, non-violence and interculturality.

GREECE <http://www.antigone.gr/en>

Arab Working Group for Media Monitoring seeks to improve professional standards and media policy reforms at national and regional levels by generating reliable and quality documentation on the state of the media in member countries and advocating on issues pertaining to freedom of opinion and expression as well as encouraging joint regional media advocacy campaigns.

TUNISIA <http://awgmm.org/en>

Art Science Research Laboratory (ASRL) promotes the media's use of scientific methods and experts before publication with its non-partisan journalism ethics

program, iMediaEthics (also known as StinkyJournalism). Journalists, student interns and contributors in the program publish media ethics news and investigative reports based on in-depth research.

USA <http://www.imediaethics.org>

ARTICLE 19 works so that people everywhere can express themselves freely, access information and enjoy freedom of the press.

UNITED KINGDOM <http://www.article19.org>

BBC Monitoring provides news and information from freely available media sources around the world. Its round-the-clock monitoring of TV, radio, press, internet and news agencies is provided to the BBC and a range of customers such as commercial clients, including media organizations, foreign governments, NGOs and universities, and the UK government.

UNITED KINGDOM <http://www.bbc.co.uk/monitoring>

Berkman Center for Internet and Society works with the mission to explore and understand cyberspace; to study its development, dynamics, norms, and standards; and to assess the need or lack thereof for laws and sanctions. Its “Viral Peace” project, which is an effort to form a first-of-its-kind thematic network of experts, educators, practitioners, and ambassadors, aims to facilitate, promote, and strengthen collaboration to counter youth-oriented hate speech online.

USA <https://cyber.law.harvard.edu>

Bianet-Independent Communication Network (IPS Communication Foundation) was founded in 1993 to realize and support projects in the fields of communication and development. It conducts its activities through projects it implements with funding and donations from local and international sources.

TURKEY <http://bianet.org/bianet>

Budapest Centre for the International Prevention of Genocide and Mass Atrocities works to promote international protection of human rights with special regard to the prevention of genocide and other mass atrocities in any part of the world.

HUNGARY <http://www.genocideprevention.eu>

Center for Global Peace Journalism at Park University promotes the concepts of peace and peace journalism, including advocating non-violent conflict resolution, through seminars and courses both in the US and abroad, through its website and magazine, and partnerships with likeminded organizations and individuals.

USA <http://www.park.edu/center-for-peace-journalism>

Center for Independent Journalism is a non-governmental, non-profit organization, offering courses and specialized training for journalists and media organizations. The Center organizes courses, seminars, debates, roundtables and professional assistance focusing on media specific problems.

ROMANIA <http://www.ijf-cij.org/bucharest.html>

Center for International Media Assistance provides information, builds networks, conducts research, and highlights the indispensable role media plays in the creation and development of sustainable democracies.

USA <http://cima.ned.org>

Center for International Media Ethics (CIME) is a non-profit organization bringing together a network of media professionals to provide training, discussion and expertise in the ethics of their profession. The driving emphasis of the organization is to ensure media professionals take responsibility in shaping society.

UNITED KINGDOM <http://www.cimethics.org/home>

Center for Media Freedom and Responsibility (CMFR) was established in 1989 as a private, non-stock, non-profit organization involving the different sectors of society in the task of building up the press and news media as a pillar of democratic society. Its programs uphold press freedom, promote responsible journalism, and encourage journalistic excellence.

PHILIPPINES <http://www.cmfr-phil.org/about/programs>

Central Asian and Southern Caucasian Freedom of Expression Network (CASC Fen) was launched on March 20, 2003 in Baku, Azerbaijan by a group of journalist organization representatives from Central Asian and South Caucasus countries. The network's aim is to defend and promote freedom of press and expression in the region.

AZERBAIJAN <http://www.cascfen.net>

CinsoMedya, anti-sexist effort initiated to expose sexism in the media and involve its readers in the struggle to combat sexism in the media. Published online since March 2014, it is run by a team of women and men who oppose sexism.

TURKEY <http://www.cinsomedya.org>

Citizen, Democracy and Accountability is a human rights non-governmental organization with more than twenty years of practical experience. It promotes the values of justice, human dignity and non-discrimination and aims to strengthen responsibility, legal awareness and a dialogue of partners.

SLOVAKIA <http://www.oad.sk/en>

Club for Youth Empowerment 018 is an organization with the mission of empowering young people through the development and implementation of different programs that encourage youth to actively participate in community life, support youth in solving their problems and needs, and contribute to the development and quality of youth and community life as a whole.

SERBIA <http://kom018.org.rs>

Collectif Contre L'Islamophobie en France (Collective against Islamophobia in France) was founded in 2003 to combat Islamophobia in the country. It works against discrimination and violence against Muslims or people assumed to be Muslims, and publishes an annual report on Islamophobic acts that took place in France that year.

FRANCE <http://www.islamophobie.net>

Committee to Protect Freedom of Expression works mainly on monitoring the freedom of speech situation in Armenia; the development of independent media; tracing and responding to violations of journalists' rights. The outcomes of the monitoring are compiled and published as annual reports on the situation of freedom of speech in Armenia. It also monitors hate speech in mass media.

ARMENIA <http://khosq.am/en>

Crossroads Antiracism Organizing and Training aims to dismantle systemic racism and build antiracist multicultural diversity within institutions and communities implemented primarily by training institutional transformation teams.

USA <http://crossroadsantiracism.org>

Diversity Watch is dedicated to improving the often-troubled relationship between minority groups and the Canadian media through analyzing specific media coverage of minority groups and by providing various tools for journalists and others interested in diversity issues.

CANADA <http://www.diversitywatch.ryerson.ca>

erktolia, is a proactive volunteer platform that combats sexist discourse and content in Turkey. It aims to eliminate sexist thinking through eliminating sexist language to achieve gender equality and exposes sexist statements, ads and actions.

TURKEY <http://erktolia.org>

Eşit Haklar İçin İzleme Derneği (Association for Monitoring Equal Rights-AMER) was founded in 2010 in order to work for the recognition of human rights and freedoms for all individuals, and to provide these rights and freedoms to all. The primary working field of AMER is to develop monitoring and reporting works for prevention of discrimination, development of respect for human rights and differences, and building a democratic society.

TURKEY <http://www.esithaklar.org>

Ethical Journalism Network is a global coalition of media professionals and journalism support organizations working across all platforms of the information and communications landscape. Its primary objectives are to strengthen the craft of journalism and to build public trust in media.

UNITED KINGDOM <http://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/en>

EUI Centre for Media Pluralism and Media Freedom aims to enhance the awareness on the importance of freedom and pluralism of the media, to contribute to its protection and promotion, and to develop new ideas among academics, policy makers, regulators, market stakeholders, journalists, and all other directly involved professionals who take part in the public debate.

ITALY <http://cmpf.eui.eu/Home.aspx>

European Initiative for Media Pluralism brings together organizations, media, and professional bodies with the immediate purpose of running a European Citizens Initiative demanding the implementation of an EU Directive on media pluralism.

<http://www.mediainitiative.eu>

European Journalism Centre (EJC) is an independent, international, non-profit foundation dedicated to the highest standards in journalism, inter alia through the further training of journalists and media professionals.

NETHERLANDS <http://ejc.net>

European Network Against Racism (ENAR) is the only pan-European anti-racist network that combines advocacy for racial equality and facilitating cooperation among civil society anti-racist actors in Europe.

BELGIUM <http://enar-eu.org>

European Newspaper Publishers' Association (ENPA) works on behalf of its members and their publishers as they invest in and develop business models to provide readers with exciting, new ways of accessing authoritative news content on print and digital formats. It supports publishers with the aim of achieving a successful and sustainable future for independent news media in Europe.

BELGIUM http://www.enpa.be/en/home_1.aspx

European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) is an international public interest law organization working to combat anti-Romani racism and human rights abuse of Roma through strategic litigation, research and policy development, advocacy and human rights education.

HUNGARY <http://www.errc.org>

European Wergeland Centre (EWC) is a resource center for education professionals, researchers, civil society, policymakers, parents and students. As the part of their “No Hate Speech” campaign, EWC organizes workshops and trainings.

NORWAY <http://theewc.org>

Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) is a national media watch group in the US that has been offering well-documented criticism of media bias and censorship since 1986. It advocates greater diversity in the press and scrutinizes media practices that marginalize public interest, minority and dissenting viewpoints.

USA <http://fair.org>

Finnish Newspapers Association aims to strengthen the social significance and vitality of multichannel-based newspaper media and its position as a leading media

for advertisers and readers, as well as its position in people's daily life.

FINLAND http://www.sanomalehdet.fi/sanomalehtien_liitto/in_english

Forum of European Roma Young People aims to empower young Roma through supporting their personal and organizational capacity building; promoting the Roma identity; advocating for increased participation of Roma youth on local, regional, national and international levels; fighting discrimination and Anti-gypsism and addressing the challenges of diversity within the Roma communities.

FRANCE <http://www.feryp.org>

Free Press Unlimited helps local journalists in war zones and conflict areas to provide their audience with trustworthy news and information that will allow people to survive and give shape to their own future.

NETHERLANDS <https://www.freepressunlimited.org/en>

Galatasaray University Center for Research and Applications in Media Studies, monitors international developments and studies in the field of mass communication and conducts trainings, research, archiving and applications in media studies.

TURKEY <http://mediar.gsu.edu.tr>

Gender Mediator works for the promotion of gender equality and the enhancement of the role of media as a mediator in achieving gender equality. To this end, the organization has created a web portal called Gendermediatori, which reflects activities implemented by Media Development Foundation (MDF) in this area.

GEORGIA <http://gendermediator.org.ge>

Gender Project for Bulgaria works on achieving and guaranteeing equal opportunities for women and men to express themselves in all spheres of personal and public life through ensuring equal access to all resources of society.

BULGARIA <http://www.gender-bg.org>

Global Forum for Media Development (GFMD) is an international membership network of media assistance groups that highlights the importance of independent, pluralistic and sustainable media in social and economic development.

BELGIUM <http://gfmd.info>

Hate Speech in the Media is a pilot study on hate speech on commercial talk radio. Its goal is to develop a research methodology for the quantitative evaluation of hate speech.

USA <http://www.chicano.ucla.edu/research/hate-speech-media>

Hatebase, is a project of The Sentinel Project for Genocide Prevention, built to assist government agencies, NGOs, research organizations and other philanthropic individuals and groups use hate speech as a predictor for regional violence.

CANADA <http://www.hatebase.org>

Hatefree Culture is focused primarily on youth and its purpose is to combat manifestations of intolerance and racism in society.

CZECH REPUBLIC <http://hatefree.cz>

Human Rights Education Network aims to contribute to the development of human rights education for young people in order to promote mutual understanding, peace, friendship, respect for human dignity and human rights, non-violence and non-discrimination and act against persistent violations of human rights through awareness raising, campaigning, prevention and education in formal and non-formal settings.

ITALY <http://hrey.n.org>

ILGA-Europe (European Region of the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association) is an international non-governmental umbrella organization bringing together over 400 organizations from 45 European countries. Its vision is of a world where dignity, freedoms and full enjoyment of human rights are protected and ensured to everyone regardless of their actual or perceived sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression and intersex status. ILGA-Europe advocates for human rights and equality for LGBTI people at the European level in particular in relation to asylum, hate crime and hate speech, education, employment, family, freedom of assembly, association and expression, health, legal gender recognition and bodily integrity.

BELGIUM

http://www.ilga-europe.org/home/issues/hate_crime_hate_speech/report

Independent Journalism Center (IJC) sees its mission in supporting professional journalism and aims at contributing to the consolidation of a qualitative, independent and impartial press. It is a member of South East European Network for Professionalization of Media (SEENPM).

MOLDOVA <http://www.ijc.md/eng>

Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR) supports local reporters, citizen journalists and civil society activists in conflict, crisis and transition around the world. It contributes to peace and good governance by strengthening the ability of media and civil society to speak out. To this end, IWPR conducts trainings, offers mentoring and provides platforms for professional and citizen reporters; builds up the institutional capacity of media and civic groups; and works with independent and official partners to remove barriers to free expression, robust public debate and citizen engagement.

UNITED KINGDOM, NETHERLANDS, USA <https://iwpr.net>

International Association of Women in Radio and Television (IAWRT) is a global organization formed by professional women working in electronic and allied media with a mission to strengthen initiatives towards ensuring women's views and values are an integral part of programming and to advance the impact of women in media.

KENYA <http://www.iawrt.org/about>

International Center for Journalists (ICFJ) is at the forefront of the news revolution. With its programs that empower journalists and engage citizens with new technologies and best practices, ICFJ's networks of reporters and media entrepreneurs transform the field of journalism.

USA <http://www.icfj.org>

International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) promotes international action to defend press freedom and social justice through strong, free and independent trade unions of journalists.

BELGIUM <http://www.ifj.org>

International Lesbian Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Youth and Student Organisation (IGLYO) promotes youth empowerment and leadership, builds

the capacity of member organizations and advocates for LGBTQ youth and student rights at a European level with over 90 members across Europe.

BELGIUM <http://www.iglyo.com>

International Media Support (IMS) helps to promote press freedom, strengthen professional journalism and ensure that media can operate in challenging circumstances across four continents.

DENMARK <http://www.mediasupport.org>

International Movement Against All Forms of Discrimination and Racism is an international non-profit, non-governmental human rights organization devoted to eliminating discrimination and racism, forging international solidarity among discriminated minorities and advancing the international human rights system.

JAPAN <http://imadr.org>

International Network for Hate Studies is a cross-jurisdictional and interdisciplinary organization that aims to facilitate the exchange of knowledge about the study of hate and hate crime academically, as well as create an accessible forum for everyone working on the issue.

<http://www.internationalhatestudies.com>

International Press Institute is a global network of editors, media executives and leading journalists dedicated to the furtherance and safeguarding of press freedom, the protection of freedom of opinion and expression, the promotion of the free flow of news and information, and the improvement of the practices of journalism.

AUSTRIA <http://www.freemedia.at>

International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) advocates that the news media worldwide are not truly free and representative without the equal voice of women. The IWMF celebrates the courage of women journalists who overcome threats and oppression to speak out on global issues. Its programs empower women journalists with the training, support and network to become leaders in the news industry.

USA <http://www.iwmf.org>

Internet Centre Antiracism Europe (I CARE) is a virtual network to support and to be used by those who are committed to improve universal human rights standards and particularly non - discrimination principles.

http://icare.to

Internews, is an international non-profit organization whose mission is to empower local media worldwide to give people the news and information they need, the ability to connect and the means to make their voices heard.

https://internews.org

Investigative Journalism Center (IJC) supports development of investigative reporting in Croatia and in other countries in South East Europe. It is a member of South East European Network for Professionalization of Media (SEENPM).

CROATIA *http://cin-ijc.com/projects*

Islamophobia Watch is a non-profit project which aims to monitor the media to prevent the increasing fear and hate against Muslims.

USA *http://www.islamophobiatoday.com/category/islamophobia-watch-com*

Kaos GL Association, implements monitoring activities to expose and change the homophobic and transphobic language of the mass media and publishes annual reports on the issue since 2008.

TURKEY *http://www.kaosgldernegi.org/anasayfa.php*

Kosovo Media Institute is a not-for-profit and non-governmental organization, envisioned as a training and legal advocacy center for the media sector in Kosovo, and established at the request of Kosovo's media outlets to serve their needs. It is a member of South East European Network for Professionalization of Media (SEENPM).

KOSOVO *http://imk-ks.org*

Lebanese Media Monitor (LMM) is a research institute that specializes in monitoring Lebanese media coverage. LMM monitors print & online media outlets as well as prime time TV news' bulletins.

LEBANON *http://lebmediamonitor.org*

Libero, is an independent non-profit NGO with the aim of assisting people in submitting individual complaints to international human rights bodies.

FRANCE <http://www.ngolibero.com>

Ligue Internationale Contre le Racisme et l'Antisémitisme (International League against Racism and Antisemitism) was founded in 1927 to combat racism and antisemitism in France and around the world. It aims to be constantly on guard against all forms of discrimination, fights against the perception of everyday racism and xenophobia as an ordinary phenomenon, assists victims who are not aware of their rights, and monitors the media for all forms of discriminatory discourse.

FRANCE <http://www.licra.org>

Macedonian Institute for Media (MIM) works with the primary objective of actively participating in Macedonia's democratization process by providing intensive assistance toward the implementation of professional standards of journalism and increased professionalization in the country's media system.

MACEDONIA <http://www.mim.org.mk/index.php?lang=en>

Maharat Foundation was established by Lebanese journalists who came together to advocate for freedom of expression in order to work more freely and independently as journalists and contribute to the establishment of a more democratic society. It adopts a media monitoring methodology to assess media performance based on specific themes or throughout a specific period of time. The monitoring aims to deeply analyze the media content concerning the messages and the language.

LEBANON <http://maharatfoundation.org>

Media Action Network for Asian Americans (MANAA) is an all-volunteer, non-profit organization dedicated to monitoring the media and advocating balanced, sensitive, and positive coverage and portrayals of Asian Americans. Formed in 1992, it has pushed the television and motion picture industries to include more Asian Americans in their projects and educated Hollywood about the stereotypes that have often plagued the APA (Asian Pacific American) community.

USA <http://manaa.org>

Media Centre is registered as an NGO situated in Caglavica village (Pristina municipality) and deals with providing comprehensive services in the field of media towards harmonization and development of social and economic relations as well as the development of democracy in Kosovo. It is a member of South East European Network for Professionalization of Media (SEENPM).

KOSOVO <http://www.medijacentar.info>

Media Development Center aims to promote independent media in Bulgaria and to foster capacity-building of the media by encouraging good practice in journalism, stimulating the professional ethics, institutionalizing the dialogue among the state administration, the media and the NGO sector, and to boost the networking and cross-border cooperation in the region of Southeast Europe. It is a member of South East European Network for Professionalization of Media (SEENPM).

BULGARIA <http://www.mediacenterbg.org/en>

Media Development Foundation (MDF) is a non-governmental organization aiming to support open and inclusive society; facilitate full integration of minorities; promote gender equality, diversity and pluralism; protect human rights, freedom of speech and expression; ensure free media environment; contribute to professional and institutional development of media; facilitate the establishment of media accountability and self-regulation mechanisms; promote media literacy, active citizenship and youth activism.

GEORGIA <http://www.mdfgeorgia.ge/eng/home>

Media Diversity Institute (MDI) works internationally to encourage and facilitate responsible media coverage of diversity. It aims to prevent the media from intentionally or unintentionally spreading prejudice, intolerance and hatred which can lead to social tensions, disputes and violent conflict. MDI encourages instead, fair, accurate, inclusive and sensitive media coverage in order to promote understanding between different groups and cultures.

UNITED KINGDOM, USA, EGYPT, WESTERN BALKANS <http://www.media-diversity.org/>

Media for Peacebuilding website is a media literacy resource, offering successful examples on how media can be used for a sustainable, positive peace.

<http://mediaforpeacebuilding.com>

Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) is a non-profit organization that promotes democracy and a culture where the media and those in power respect human rights and encourage a just and fair society. MMA acts in a watchdog role to promote ethical and fair journalism that supports human rights.

SOUTH AFRICA <http://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org>

Media Monitoring Project is an independent trust that works to promote freedom of expression and responsible journalism in Zimbabwe. It aims to achieve this through monitoring and analysis of the news and current affairs output on domestic radio and television, and in the print media. Its findings are made public through the publication of weekly media reviews and other regular reports.

ZIMBABWE <http://www.mmpz.org>

Media Plan Institute aims to assist in media modernization and development in the region through continuous research, including media monitoring and short-term and long-term media analysis.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA <http://mediaplan.ba/en>

Media Unlimited was founded to establish and maintain high standards for professional journalists and organizations or individuals dealing with the media across the Middle East and North Africa region.

<http://media-unlimited.info>

Media Watch Now is a website dedicated to correcting errors, omissions, and misrepresentations in the media concerning issues related to Turkey, Turkish and Turkic peoples, through an all-volunteer network.

USA <http://www.mediawatchnow.com/index.php>

MediaCentar Sarajevo supports the development of independent and professional journalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is a member of South East European Network for Professionalization of Media (SEENPM).

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA <http://www.media.ba/en>

MediaSmarts, has been developing digital and media literacy programs and resources for Canadian homes, schools and communities since 1996. Through its work, it supports adults with information and tools so they can help children and teens

develop the critical thinking skills they need for interacting with the media.

CANADA <http://mediasmarts.ca>

MediaWise Trust [regularly contributes to public debate via the media and events concerned with media ethics and regulation. It also organizes opportunities for dialogue between media professionals and the public in the UK.

UNITED KINGDOM <http://www.mediawise.org.uk>

Medya Association, is a non-governmental organization that promotes, supports and works for increasing quality standards of the media for a more democratic society and advocates for freedom of thought, ethical principles, diversity and integrity in the media.

TURKEY <http://www.medyadernegi.org/tr>

Minority Rights Group International campaigns worldwide with around 130 partners in over 60 countries to ensure that disadvantaged minorities and indigenous peoples, often the poorest of the poor, can make their voices heard. Through training and education, legal cases, publications and the media, it supports minority and indigenous people as they strive to maintain their rights to the land they live on, the languages they speak, to equal opportunities in education and employment, and to full participation in public life.

UNITED KINGDOM <http://www.minorityrights.org/index.html>

Minority Voices Newsroom is an online multimedia library that allows people to upload, download and share their stories. Members of minorities and indigenous communities, and their advocates are encouraged to upload first-hand accounts, interviews, reports, pictures, audio and video footage addressing issues of importance to them.

UNITED KINGDOM (merkez) <http://www.minorityvoices.org>

Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies (MIGS) is recognized internationally as Canada's leading research and advocacy institute for genocide and mass atrocity crimes prevention. MIGS conducts in-depth scholarly research and proposes concrete policy recommendations to resolve conflicts before they degenerate into mass atrocity crimes.

CANADA <http://migs.concordia.ca>

Mouvement contre le racisme et pour l'amitié entre les peuples (People's Solidarity Movement against Racism) is a civil society organization founded in 1949 to combat Nazism and antisemitism. It advocates for justice, equal rights, respect for human dignity and friendship between peoples against all forms of racism, discrimination, and xenophobia. It provides legal assistance to victims of racism, conducts anti-racism trainings using exhibitions, brochures and films and advocates for migrant rights in France.

FRANCE <http://www.mrap.fr>

National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) was borne out of the realization that long lasting peace, sustainable development and harmonious co-existence among Kenyans requires deliberate normative, institutional and attitudinal processes of constructing nationhood, national cohesion and integration. NCIC is part of the National Steering Committee on Election Monitoring (and Media Monitoring) of the Ministry of Information in Kenya.

KENYA <http://www.cohesion.or.ke>

National Hispanic Media Coalition (NHMC) is a media advocacy and civil rights organization for the advancement of Latinos, working towards a media that is fair and inclusive of Latinos, and towards universal, affordable, and open access to communications.

USA <http://www.nhmc.org>

Never Again Association (NA) is an NGO that works in awareness raising, research, monitoring of racist and hate crime incidents and, on some recent occasions, has carried out educational and awareness raising projects involving participation of inmates and rightwing football supporters.

POLAND <http://www.nigdywiecej.org>

NGO Social Action Platform is a private, non-denominational, nationwide non-profit organization that works towards promoting the total development of social and civil rights of vulnerable groups and to strengthen the Third/Social Sector.

SPAIN <http://www.plataformaong.org/en/index.php>

No Hate Speech Movement is an online youth campaign of the Council of Europe for human rights to reduce the levels of acceptance of hate speech and to

develop online youth participation and citizenship, including in Internet governance processes.

FRANCE <http://www.nohatespeechmovement.org>

Not in Our Town is a movement to stop hate, address bullying, and build safe, inclusive communities for all. Not In Our Town films, new media, and organizing tools help local leaders build vibrant, diverse cities and towns, where everyone can participate.

USA <https://www.niot.org>

Novi Sad School of Journalism (NSSJ) is a civil society organization that is dedicated to the development and professionalization of the media scene in Serbia and the region, which respects the values of truth, knowledge and critical approaches in a multilingual, multicultural and multinational environment and fosters a moderate and tolerant dialogue.

SERBIA <http://www.novinarska-skola.org.rs/sr/?lang=en>

Online Hate Prevention Institute (OHPI) is an Australian harm prevention charity that aims to reduce the risk of suicide, self-harm, substance abuse, physical abuse and emotional abuse that can result from online hate. The Institute's focus ranges from cyber-racism, online religious vilification and other group-based forms of online hate to the cyber-bullying of individuals.

AUSTRALIA <http://ohpi.org.au>

OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media / Hate Speech, fights deliberate and violent hate speech in the media through awareness-raising projects, education and regular meetings with media outlets, editors and journalists.

AUSTRIA <http://www.osce.org/fom/106289>

P24 Platform for Independent Journalism, is a not-for-profit, civil society organization co-founded by several experienced members of the Turkish press. It has been started with a broad mission to foster the capacity of media in Turkey, create a public appetite for media independence, define and promote best journalistic practices, and more specifically to encourage the transition to web-based journalism.

TURKEY <http://platform24.org>

Pakistan Coalition for Ethical Journalism (PCEJ) strives to promote global best practices and appreciation for ethical journalism in Pakistan. PCEJ's objectives are to promote awareness, build alliances, generate technical resources and provide support for initiatives on ethical journalism and professionalization of media in Pakistan.

PAKISTAN <http://pakmediaethics.org>

Palestinian Media Watch is a research institute that studies Palestinian society from a broad range of perspectives by monitoring and analyzing the Palestinian Authority through its media and schoolbooks.

<http://www.palwatch.org>

Peace Institute for Contemporary Social and Political Studies is a private independent non-profit research institution founded in 1991 by individuals who believed in peaceful conflict resolution, equality and respect for human rights standards and conducts various projects on hate speech and pluralism in the media.

SLOVENIA <http://www.mirovni-institut.si/Main/Index/en>

Phiren Amenca, is a network of Roma and non-Roma volunteers and voluntary service organizations creating opportunities for non-formal education, dialogue and engagement, in order to challenge stereotypes and racism.

HUNGARY <http://phirenamenca.eu>

PINK Armenia, has been conducting activities to increase public awareness about sexual and reproductive health and rights, sexually transmitted infections and HIV/AIDS; promote equality and recognition for LGBT individuals; eliminate all forms of discrimination; and ensure that diversity is recognized and upheld by society.

ARMENIA <http://www.pinkarmenia.org/en>

Racial Equity Institute is an alliance of trainers and organizers who have devoted themselves to the work of anti-racist transformation. It pits entrenched patterns of power against what are often faint images of equity and its trainers and organizers assist individuals and institutions in enhancing equity.

USA <http://rei.racialequityinstitute.org>

RAGE project will examine the ways in which young activists incorporate populist politics into their everyday life, including how they define their membership of a “community”, and how they consider issues of gender and sexuality. Through engagement with civil society organizations it will also examine the effects of such populism, and the discourses of those who seek to challenge “populist othering”.

UNITED KINGDOM, FRANCE, ITALY, GREECE, BULGARIA, DENMARK, AUSTRIA, FINLAND, SLOVENIA <http://www.rage-project.eu>

The RED (Rights Equality Diversity) Network is an independent research network that aims at combating racism, xenophobia and intolerance by creating an early-warning system on racism and discrimination in 17 EU Member States. It strives to report and document positive initiatives and positive responses from the political sphere, as well as cases and situations of racism, hate crimes and discrimination.

EUROPEAN UNION COUNTRIES <http://www.red-network.eu>

Roman Medya, is a platform that aims to develop the communication capacity of Roma civil society and increase their visibility in the media. In scope of the Roman Media project realized with the support of Humanity in Action and the German Foundation, a media and communication training was organized in Istanbul on May 16-17, 2015 in collaboration with European Roma Rights Centre.

TURKEY <http://romanmedya.org>

School of Peacemaking and Media Technology in Central Asia promotes free and fair journalism in areas of crises and conflicts, and works for stability and democratic development in Kyrgyzstan and Central Asian Region.

KYRGYZSTAN

http://ca-mediators.net/index.php?action_skin_change=yes&skin_name=eng

Sin Tags, is a voluntary movement that aims to reveal how common hate speech has become on the Internet and show users how they can raise their voices together against discrimination and violence on the Internet.

MEXICO <http://sintags.conapred.org.mx>

Sisi ni Amani uses a combination of traditional and innovative approaches to communication and dialogue to increase civic engagement and prevent violence in Kenyan communities. It works in three main program areas: SMS-based programming for civic engagement and peace; mitigating land conflict through dialogue and education; and civic engagement through forums and debates.

KENYA <http://www.sisiniamani.org>

Sosyal Değişim Derneği, (Association for Social Change) works to foster participation and democracy within the civil society; strengthen the freedom of association and autonomy; ensure the coexistence of different cultural identities, faiths and opinions; create a community that respects human rights; resolve disputes amicably and through dialogue; eliminate all forms of violence and discrimination; build relationships with non-governmental organizations from abroad; promote biodiversity and sustainability and ecological balance, and participation of society in decision making processes.

TURKEY <http://www.sosyaldegisim.org>

South East European Media Observatory is a regional partnership of civil society organizations aimed at enhancing media freedom and pluralism, and influencing media reforms in the countries of South East Europe.

<http://mediaobservatory.net>

Southern Poverty Law Center monitors hate groups and other extremists and exposes their activities to law enforcement agencies, the media and the public.

USA <http://www.splcenter.org>

Spletno Oko, is a hotline that works in cooperation with police, Internet service providers, and other governmental and non-governmental organizations to reduce images of child sexual abuse and hate speech online.

SLOVENIA <http://safe.si/en/spletno-oko/hotline-spletno-oko>

Stop Hate aims at directing the civic energy against the signs of hate speech in public space, particularly in the form of publicly displayed graffiti. The main tool is a social campaign, aiming at making people aware of the importance of the problem and informing them about the effectual prevention possibilities.

POLAND <http://hejtstop.pl>

Storch Heinar, was initiated in 2008 as a reaction to the ongoing success of the clothing company “Thor Steinar”, which was (and is) very popular within the group of right-wing-extremists. Stork Heinar works to empower society to resist right-wing-propaganda and encourage as many people as possible to actively defend democratic values.

GERMANY <http://www.storch-heinar.de>

Svetima Geda website is a digital “handbook” containing all sorts of advice on how people can react to racial, homophobic, other kinds of bullying and hate speech not only online, but also in mass media, on the streets, at schools, work, etc.

LITHUANIA <http://svetimageda.lt>

Talking Back to Hate is a project of United Religions Initiative (URI) that enables people to watch or read how people respond to hate with positive actions.

USA http://www.uri.org/talking_back_to_hate

Tell MAMA - Measuring Anti-Muslim Attacks is a public service for measuring and monitoring anti-Muslim attacks.

UNITED KINGDOM <http://tellmamauk.org>

ternType - International Roma Youth Network is network of youth and youth associations, which creates space for young people to become active citizens through empowerment, mobilization, self-organization and participation. It is committed to common efforts by creating trust, and mutual respect between Roma and non-Roma youth.

<http://www.ternype.eu>

UNITED for Intercultural Action coordinates, supports and strengthens a network of 560 organizations from 46 European countries. They all share values such as intercultural communication, diversity and human rights. UNITED for Intercultural Action focuses on the international context and the direct and indirect forms of discrimination, hate crimes and intolerance, and highlights intercultural understanding, equal rights for all and a Europe without racism.

NETHERLANDS <http://www.unitedagainstracism.org>

Voices of Young Refugees in Europe (VYRE) is a network founded in Budapest in February 2008 in the effort to unify and strengthen the voices of young refugees and organizations in Europe.

BELGIUM <http://www.wearevyre.org>

WAN-IFRA (World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers) aims to be the indispensable partner of newspapers and the entire news publishing industry worldwide, particularly its members, in the defense and promotion of press freedom, quality journalism and editorial integrity and the development of prosperous businesses and technology.

www.wan-ifra.org

MediaActivists board game is an educational tool available to each person wishing to work with young people on the issue of hate speech and discrimination and to develop their cyber citizenship.

BELGIUM <http://www.duventdanslescordes.be//projets/wediactivists>

Woman, Action and the Media (WAM!) is an independent North American non-profit dedicated to building a robust, effective, inclusive movement for gender justice in media.

USA <http://www.womenactionmedia.org>

Women's Media Watch Jamaica (WMW Jamaica) is a civil society organization that specializes in training, advocacy and research, and uses gender-aware media analysis and transformative action to cultivate gender-equity, justice and violence-free social relations.

JAMAICA <http://www.wmwja.org>

Notes

- 1 Melek Göregenli, “Nefret Söylemi ve Nefret Suçları” [Hate Speech and Hate Crimes], in *Medya ve Nefret Söylemi: Kavramlar, Mecralar, Tartışmalar* [Media and Hate Speech: Concepts, Mediums, Debates], ed. Mahmut Çınar (Istanbul: Hrant Dink Foundation Pub., 2013), p. 58.
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- 2 Yasemin G. İnceoğlu and Nebahat A. Çomak, “Teun A. van Dijk”, in *Metin Çözümlemeleri* [Text Analyses], ed. Y. G. İnceoğlu and N. A. Çomak (Istanbul: Ayrıntı Publishing, 2009), p. 44.
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- 3 Teun A. van Dijk, “Söylem ve İktidar” (“Discourse and Power”) in *Nefret Suçları ve Nefret Söylemi / Hate Crimes and Hate Speech* (Istanbul: Hrant Dink Foundation Publications, 2010), pp. 9-41.
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- 4 Foucault, Michel, *Entelektüelin Siyasi İşlevi (The Political Function of the Intellectual)*, translated to Turkish by Işık Ergüden, Osman Akınhay, Ferda Keskin (Istanbul: Ayrıntı Publishing, 2005).
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- 5 Michel Foucault, *Söylemin Düzeni (Orders of Discourse)*, translated to Turkish by Turhan Ilgaz (Istanbul: Hil, 1987).
- 6 Teun A. van Dijk, *ibid.*, p. 9-41.
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- 7 Jürgen Habermas, *Kamusal Hayatın Yapısal Dönüşümü (The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere)*, translated to Turkish by Tanil Bora, Mithat Sancar (Istanbul: İletişim Publishing, 2000); Louis Althusser, *İdeoloji ve Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtları (Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses)*, translated to Turkish by Alp Tümertekin (Istanbul: İthaki Publishing, 2003); Herbert Schiller, *Zihin Yönlendirenler (Mind Managers)*, translated to Turkish by Cevdet Cerit (Istanbul: Pınar Publishing, 2005); Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Kitle Medyasının Ekonomi Politikası: Rızanın İmalatı (Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media)*, translated to Turkish by Ender Abadoğlu (Istanbul: Aram Publishing, 2006).
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- 8 Teun A. van Dijk, “Söylemin Yapıları ve İktidarın Yapıları” (“Structures of Discourse and Structures of Power”), in *Medya, İktidar, İdeoloji* [Media, Power, Ideology] ed. and translated to Turkish by Mehmet Küçük, (Ankara: Ark Publishing, 2005), pp. 315-359; “Discourse and Manipulation”, *Discourse and Society*

- 17 (2), 2006, pp. 359-383; “Söylem ve İktidar” (“Discourse and Power”), in *Nefret Suçları ve Nefret Söylemi / Hate Crimes and Hate Speech* (Istanbul: Hrant Dink Foundation Publications, 2010), pp. 9-41.
- 9 Mahmut Çınar, *ibid.*, p. 137.
- 10 For the recommendation of the Council of Europe and the Council’s policies see Manual on hate speech, Anne Weber, (Council of Europe Publishing, 2009). (http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/hrpolicy/Publications/Hate_Speech_EN.pdf)
- 11 Melek Göregenli, “Temel Kavramlar: Önyargılar, Özcü İnançlar ve Ayrımcılık”, *ibid.*, p. 26-28.
- 12 Melek Göregenli, “Ayrımcılığın Meşrulaştırılması”, *ibid.*, p. 39.
- 13 Susan Benesch’s comments on the issue have been conveyed from her presentations at the second roundtable meeting mentioned above and the panel titled “Dangerous Speech / Hate Speech & Pluralism in the Media”.
- 14 Susan Benesch, 2012, “Dangerous Speech: A Proposal to Prevent Group Violence” (<http://www.worldpolicy.org/sites/default/files/Dangerous%20Speech%20Guidelines%20Benesch%20January%202012.pdf>)
- 15 As an example of “counter speech”, Benesch refers to the “Panzagar” (flower speech) campaign in Myanmar that was launched by a group of Buddhist monks against other Buddhist monks who produced dangerous speech that could lead to violence against the Muslim minority in Myanmar. This online campaign, in which participants shared on social media the photographs of themselves with flowers in their mouths, received about 10,000 likes on Facebook only within a week: <https://www.facebook.com/supportflowerspeech>
- 16 Elda Brogi, Alina Dobрева, Andrea Calderaro and Pier Luigi Parcu, “Monitoring Media Pluralism in Europe - Testing and Implementation of the Media Pluralism Monitor 2014” (<http://cmpf.eui.eu/Documents/MPM2014-PolicyReport.pdf>).
- 17 <http://www.tesev.org.tr/medya-ve-demokrasi/calisma/1253.html>
- 18 Detailed information on the projects conducted by the Media

- and Communications Department of Transparency International and their reports are available online at: <http://www.seffaflik.org/bilgi-bankasi/arastirma-ve-raporlar/>
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- 19 Case studies of published reports to date: the Black Sea region tour of HDK and BDP representatives (January-April 2013), Gezi events (May-August 2013), Alevites (September-December 2013), April 24 Armenian Genocide Memorial Day coverage in the press (January-April 2014), Israel's operation on Gaza and discriminatory language against Jews in the media (May-August 2014), Syrian Refugees (September-December 2014).
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- 20 In 2001, Turkey has also joined the Bologna Process, which is a reform initiative that aims to ensure comparability in the standards and quality of higher education qualifications and create a "European Higher Education Area" where all institutions involved are entirely compatible with each other by 2010.
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- 21 Betül Çotuksöken, Ayşe Erzan and Orhan Silier (ed.), *Human Rights in Textbooks I: Research Results* (Istanbul: History Foundation Publications, 2003); Gürel Tüzün (ed.), *Human Rights in Textbooks II: Research Results* (Istanbul: History Foundation Publications, 2009); Kenan Çayır, *Who Are We? Identity, Citizenship and Rights in Turkey's Textbooks* (Istanbul: History Foundation Publications, 2014).
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- 22 As Tuğrul Çomu and Mutlu Binark point out, United Nations has found that the use of internet by xenophobic initiatives has increased since mid-1990s. The very rapid propagation of the discourse through internet networks reveals the importance of studies and projects to be conducted on online hate speech. For a detailed analysis on this subject, see T. Çomu and M. Binark, "Yeni Medya Ortamlarında Nefret Söylemi" [Hate Speech in New Media], in *Medya ve Nefret Söylemi: Kavramlar, Mecralar, Tartışmalar*, ed. Mahmut Çınar (Istanbul: Hrant Dink Foundation Publications, 2013), p. 199-219.
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- 23 Elda Brogi is the Scientific Coordinator of the Center for Media Pluralism and Media Freedom, European University Institute in Italy; she has been a member of the Committee of Experts on Protection of Journalism and Safety of Journalists at the Council of Europe, and is currently a member

of the Committee of Experts on Media Pluralism and Transparency of Media Ownership at the Council of Europe. Susan Benesch is the founder of the Dangerous Speech Project which aims to diminish inflammatory speech and its capacity to inspire violence; and carries out a project to test the effectiveness of anti-hatred efforts online at the Berkman Center for Internet and Society in Harvard University. (*www.dangerousspeech.org* ve *https://voicesthatpoison.wordpress.com*)

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- 24 Mirovni inštitut – Inštitut za sodobne družbene in politične študije (The Peace Institute – Institute for Contemporary Social and Political Studies). (*www.mirovni-institut.si*)

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(<http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/189.htm>)

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Center for Media Pluralism and Media Freedom (<http://cmpf.eui.eu>)

CinsoMedya [SexoMedia] (www.cinsomedy.org)

Dangerous Speech Project (www.dangerousspeech.org)

Diken (online newspaper) (www.diken.com.tr)

DurDe (Say NO to Racism and Nationalism) (www.durde.org)

Eşit Haklar İçin İzleme Derneği (Association for Monitoring Equal Rights)
(www.esithaklar.org/yayinlarimiz/raporlar)

Flower Speech campaign (www.facebook.com/supportflowerspeech)

Harvard University Berkman Center for Internet and Society
(<https://cyber.law.harvard.edu>)

IPS Communication Foundation (<http://bianet.org/bianet/sayfa/ips-iletisim-vakfi>)

Kaos GL Association (www.kaosgldernegi.org/anasayfa.php)

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