



Bu proje Avrupa Birliği ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti tarafından finanse edilmektedir.
This project is co-funded by the European Union and the Republic of Turkey.

TOWARDS A NEW DISCOURSE TRAINING MANUAL



HRANT DINK FOUNDATION

After Hrant Dink was murdered on January 19, 2007 in front of the offices of his newspaper Agos, the Hrant Dink Foundation was established in order that such grief might never be experienced again, and in honor of his speech and courage toward the realization of his dream of a more just and free world. The demand for democracy for all, with their ethnic, religious, cultural and sexual differences, constitutes the fundamental principle of the Foundation.

The Foundation is working for a Turkey in which freedom of expression is utilized to its fullest; where all differences are encouraged, survive and multiply, and where conscience is paramount in our view of the past and the present. At the Hrant Dink Foundation, our 'struggle for which we live' is for a future dominated by dialog, peace and a culture of empathy.

TOWARDS A NEW DISCOURSE: TRAINING MANUAL



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Istanbul, January 2021



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This publication was developed with the financial support of the European Union. Hrant Dink Foundation takes full responsibility for the content herein; the publication does not necessarily reflect the views of the European Union.

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TOWARDS
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Training methodology and approach

Towards a New Discourse Training Manual was drafted under the project *Towards a New Discourse and Dialogue*, developed by Hrant Dink Foundation, Community Volunteers Foundation, Support to Life Association, and Sabancı University. *Towards a New Discourse and Dialogue* brings together public, media and civil society organisations who are in contact with refugees in different contexts. The project aims to question prejudice and misconceptions about refugees, contribute to the elimination of social polarisation, strengthen awareness about this issue, and build a new language all together. In this framework, we have been working towards building a platform to allow staff members of various organisations from the aforementioned three sectors to come together and share experiences, develop an alternative discourse, and create a foundation that will allow this discourse to contribute to social dialogue.

In line with these objectives, a training activity was organised for the trainers. The 24 people set to participate in this training were to receive a total of 12 one-day dissemination training sessions in teams of two. However, this activity, which was to be launched in March and April 2020, was cancelled due to the COVID-19 pandemic, taking into consideration the recommendations of the World Health Organisation and the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Turkey. Training content and materials developed prior to the pandemic were designed for non-formal education methods based on an in-person experience. Research by scholars specialising in this subject, including specialists at the Council of Europe, as well as online non-formal training examples from inside and outside of Turkey, were examined to adapt the training to online media. Finally, *Towards a New Discourse Training* was adapted to online media with a rearrangement of training materials and the development of new methods.¹

This manual, which was drafted to facilitate the dissemination training under the project, comprises descriptions about the sessions to be held as part of the training program as well as various materials that may be needed during these sessions.

All training activities to be held throughout the project were designed with a non-formal educational approach in mind. Participants are the focal point of this approach, with special care taken to create environments that take into account their needs and enable them to learn from one another.

Training design began with the identification of learning objectives. In line with these objectives, and following the creation of the conceptual background, methods and materials suitable for the objectives were identified, and finally the program was drafted. The design process also used the information acquired from the research leg of the project.

The primary reason for the training being designed as per the principles of non-formal education is that the goal is to raise awareness about the 'alternative discourse' which is crucial for combating hate speech. Providing the participants with a training environment where they could discuss, share their experiences, express themselves and learn from one another should increase the chances of success for this effort to change attitudes among participants.

Training program

- Opening and discussion (30 minutes)
- Discrimination: 'The Rules of the Game' (80 minutes)
- break (30 minutes)
- Migration and prejudice: 'Miriam' (75 minutes)
- break (30 minutes)
- A New Discourse (90-120 minutes)
- Evaluation and closing (30 minutes)

Make sure that the participants are informed about the training program. You may wish to visibly put up the training program schedule at the training venue.

1. Opening and introductions (30 minutes)

duration: 30 minutes

materials:

- A4 size paper and pen for each participant

You may wish to briefly introduce yourself as you start the training and then give the floor to your fellow team member to do the same.

instructions

Towards a New Discourse Training focuses on the participants, and thus on participation, and was developed with a non-formal education approach, which attributes equal value to the views of every participant. It would be a good idea to get to know each other before we can do the work so everyone feels at ease and can effectively engage. This is why we will now do an exercise together.

You can take a look at the list of ‘animators’ in the manual for alternative introduction exercises. The ‘3 rights 1 wrong’ exercise was used here as an example.

I will ask you to think of a few personal things about yourselves for the purposes of the exercise we are about to do. For example:

- I love X food and make it really well myself.
- I used to do athletics, I won two medals in 200-metre races.
- I love cats. I have two cats at home.

You may wish to hand out the A4 papers while participants think about these statements. You can take a piece of paper as well and describe the next steps in the exercise by demonstrating on your own paper.

Hold your paper horizontally and draw two lines on the paper, sectioning it vertically with one and horizontally with the other. That gives us four little boxes on our papers. We will write down four statements about ourselves, writing one into each of the four boxes; three of these will be true and one false. Once everyone has written their statements, stand up and walk around the room to pair up with one person. First introduce yourselves, and then, by asking each other questions in turn, try to determine which of the four statements is wrong and which are true. Once you’ve discovered each other’s false statements, circulate and talk to everyone else in turn, trying to guess which one of their statements is false. I will be reminding you of the time left at regular intervals.

Opening and introduction session will take 30 minutes. Thus, you may wish to allocate a certain period of time for the introduction exercise or give instructions that each participant is to meet at least four other participants, bearing in mind the remaining time for the session. Once the time allocated for this part is up, ask the participants to go back to their seats. When all participants have been seated, you may wish to ask them a few questions to briefly obtain their feedback on the exercise:

- Who have you met? What have you found out about them?
- Which were the most interesting traits you found out?
- Which were the most creative false traits you heard?

This exercise was a step in getting to know one another. We will have further chances to get to know each other more closely throughout the training, both during sessions and breaks. The training program we will go through today is comprised of three sessions: 'The Rules of the Game', 'Miriam' and 'A New Discourse'. During these sessions, we will talk about discrimination, migration and discourse, respectively.

At this point, you may wish to either pass on the program agendas pre-printed on coloured A4 papers with session titles or simply talk about the program verbally. Remember to announce that there will be a break after the session as well as to mention the duration of the break. Also share the estimated end time of the training as well as the technical amenities available in the room.

If everyone is ready, let's start the first session.

2. Discrimination: 'The Rules of the Game'³ (80 minutes)

learning objectives

- Learning the relationship between the notions of stereotype, prejudice and discrimination;
- Learning about different forms of discrimination;
- Learning about discrimination, the roots of discrimination and the social problems caused by discrimination;
- Empathising with people and groups suffering from discrimination in their day-to-day lives.

duration: 80 minutes

- description of the exercise and setting up groups: 10 minutes
- exercise: 10 minutes
- sharing observations and discussion: 45 minutes
- sharing knowledge: 15 minutes

materials:

- sticky notes in three different colours (see notes below)
- papers with rules applicable to the colours
- adhesive tape or pins
- '**Discrimination and other notions**' poster (ANNEX 1)
- blank poster paper and pen/marker

instructions

We will start this session with a short 10-minute break. There are certain rules that apply to this break. We will break into three groups as per the colours of the sticky notes I will hand out to you in a moment and each group will have specific rules to follow. Please don't share with those in other groups the rules you've been given, and don't ask about their rules. Try to have as normal a break as possible while following the rules of your own group.

Once sticky notes have been handed out, you may come together with those who have the same coloured sticky notes as you do and examine the rules written on the papers I handed out to you. Once everyone has gone over the rules, we may start the 10-minute break. During the break, the rules you have just read will apply. As far as is allowed by the rules of your group, you may act as you would during a normal coffee break, have something to drink, a snack, walk about to stretch your legs. After the break, we will talk about this experience; so definitely, do make observations.

You should determine the number of sticky notes you'll need for the participants as well as their colours before the exercise. Make sure you have a good number of blue sticky notes. The following examples may be used.

For 24 participants: 4 yellow, 8 green, 12 blue

For 10 participants: 3 yellow, 3 green, 4 blue

Hand out the rules applicable to each colour group in writing. This should make it easier for you to make observations, answer potential questions and make analysis while participants are reading these rules.

Those who received yellow sticky notes

- cannot go out of the room,
- are only allowed to drink water, but cannot eat anything,
- cannot start a conversation or ask questions,
- cannot laugh out loud.

Those who received green sticky notes

- may move in and out of the room as they wish,
- may drink water, tea and coffee, but cannot eat anything
- may stand next to no more than one other person with a green sticky note,

- cannot start a conversation with a blue sticky note person (the blue sticky note person must start the conversation)
- cannot use the word 'yes'.

Those who received blue sticky notes

- may sit wherever they wish,
- may ask anyone anything they are curious about,
- may eat and drink anything they want,
- may chat,
- may go in and out of the room.

Now that the break is over, we can go back to our original seating arrangement. Now we will talk a little about this experience, what it made us feel, and at what points it overlapped with our daily lives.

Before we move on to the discussion, you may wish to prepare a poster that shows the rules of all colours so that the participants can see each other's rules. Once you have shared the rules with all the participants, you may put up the poster on a visible surface and move on to the analysis.

discussion questions

Discussion questions are asked in order to make room for participants to share their knowledge and experience and to help them think more deeply about the experience they have had. Note down the important points participants make while answering; this will help you to touch on the shared experiences during the later discussion.

It is important that you relay the definitions of notions such as 'discrimination', 'stereotype' and 'prejudice' during this session. You may wish to share the relevant definitions whenever these notions are raised during the discussion.

- How did being in the yellow, green or blue group make you feel? What were your positive or negative feelings? Why?
- What was the best and the worst thing about being green, yellow or blue? Why?
- Did anyone try to exchange their sticky note? How? Why?

Before moving on to the next part of the discussion, you may wish to ask the participants to set their sticky notes aside to step out of their roles. Meanwhile, you may wish to put up the: **Discrimination and other notions poster (ANNEX 1)** somewhere visible in the room and refer to it during the discussion and information-sharing session. If you leave the poster somewhere visible in the room after the discussion, participants will have a chance to examine it.

- Are the experiences you have had here similar to any in your daily lives? Can you give some examples?
- What kind of discrimination that is similar to the ones we had here is experienced in daily life?
- Where does the discrimination we experience in daily life come from?
- Who sets the rules that create inequalities in daily life?
- How do the rules get adopted, how do they become widespread?
- Is it possible to make the rules more egalitarian? How?

After the discussion, describe notions such as discrimination and related notions of stereotype, prejudice, etc. to the participants using the following information. You may also wish to use the **'Discrimination and other notions'** poster (ANNEX 1) in this section.

There is no rigid distinction between the discussion questions and information-sharing. Many of the notions and situations you wished to dwell upon may have come up during the discussion. What matters is to make sure all of the notions you wished to touch upon have been addressed and understood properly.

information-sharing

Experiences we have had during the earlier exercise reminds us of the discrimination we so often encounter or observe in society. There are certain rules in social life, some of which are clearly visible, and some of which are invisible; this leads to inequalities. These rules lead to some people being able to enjoy their rights while others cannot enjoy the same rights. This situation may be considered justified due to various reasons. Stereotypes and prejudice related to certain groups may be presented as justification for this unequal situation. There are things we can all do about rights inequalities experienced by various individuals or social groups. We can work to make sure that the rules are not discriminative, as they were in the game we played, but fair and egalitarian, so as to allow everyone to enjoy their rights equally.

In this game where we were subjected to different rules due to different labels, the rules that were seemingly the most privileged were in fact directly reflective of fundamental human rights. These include the right to nutrition, the right to travel freely, the right to free expression. Therefore, we should realise that what they were able to do here are not privileges they were granted but fundamental human rights everyone should enjoy. Our objective should be to revise these rules to allow all people to enjoy these rights equally no matter the colour of their labels, and to establish fairer rules if necessary.

Earlier, I used some notions while I was talking about discrimination and inequality; I would like to clarify them. As was the case in this exercise, there are dominant and subordinate, i.e. 'inferior' and 'lesser' groups, in society as well. We call those groups who hold the power to determine the order and rules by which the others live the 'dominant group'. The dominant group does not always have to be the majority. Political, economic, and social systems created by groups of people either create or support these types of dominant and subordinate groups. For instance, as is the case with women and men, the subordinated group may outnumber the dominant group. Similarly, under apartheid in South Africa the whites were the minority as the dominant group.

Which groups do you think are more dominant in the society? Those who determine what is considered 'acceptable' and 'normal' in society are the dominant groups. For instance, the groups that control the economy, media, politics are often dominant groups. There is no single dominant group in societies, but different groups may become dominant in different contexts. Dominant groups determine the rules of the subordinate groups, define them and even label those groups. They often define the subordinate group by referring to their members who are presumed to have bad qualities. For instance, they disseminate statements as to "group X being thieves", "group Y being quarrelsome."

Then what is a **stereotype**? Stereotypes are generalisations about social groups that we learn through socialisation (at home, at school, in the street). These generalisations often lead us to approach everyone with one or several common traits with the same assumptions. So much so that, the moment we hear the name of a group an image is formed in our minds and surprisingly, the name of this group mostly evokes the same or very similar things every time. Nevertheless, in reality, members of this group resemble neither the image in our minds nor each other. Stereotypes can take such a shape that when we think of a physician, we often visualise a man. For instance, idioms and expressions such as "to go Dutch" or "to turn a blind eye" contain stereotypes about the said groups. These stereotypes are so entrenched in our language that we often fail to notice at first sight that may be discriminative.

We typically know stereotypes without knowing how we know them and unconsciously rely on these stereotypes when making a judgement. Stereotypes related to gender may be given as an example. These stereotypes are the ones making us think that women are emotional and motherly and that men are not emotional. Similarly, it is the stereotypes about those groups that lead us to think that 'every blond foreign tourist is German', that

‘all Japanese people are hard-working’ or that ‘Arabs are not clean’. As understood from these examples, stereotypes may not always be negative. Negative stereotypes are instrumental in creating prejudices.”⁴

Prejudice is, on the other hand, different groups adopting a biased, negative attitude towards each other. Stereotype is a thought about one person or group while prejudice has to do with feelings and attitudes towards that person or group. Prejudice is about perceiving or looking down on any trait of an individual as a problem merely because of their belonging to a particular social group. Prejudices are usually based on the idea that some people are less valuable or less capable than others. For instance, if someone believing in a stereotype that women aren’t good physicians thinks that female physicians would be unsuccessful based on this judgement, then this constitutes a prejudice related to women. Similarly, if we perceive someone over the age of fifty as an individual who can no longer contribute to society and who should now retire based on the stereotype about being ‘on the wrong side of fifty’, it means we have a prejudice about age. In fact, as you may have already noticed, **stereotypes lead to prejudice, prejudice leads to discrimination, discrimination leads to inequality; and inequality feed stereotypes, yet again maintaining a vicious cycle**. Therefore, our objective in combating discrimination should be to try to break down this vicious cycle at one or several points.

When stereotypes or prejudice about a group becomes established, one individual from that group acting or having traits contrary to those judgements may lead to the individual in question being perceived as an exception. This is explained with the notion of ‘**re-fencing**’. Re-fencing means accepting an individual who is member of a group without abandoning the prejudice about their group. You may think of this as building a fence and leaving some people outside of this fence because of their belonging to a specific social group. When we encounter someone who contradicts our prejudice about that specific group, we open up the fence to let that person in but close the fence again so we can keep others in the group outside of it. For instance, when someone who holds the stereotype that women are bad drivers meets a woman who is a good driver, they consider her an exception and this can keep their prejudice against female drivers. We can talk about the judgements phrased with ‘but’ as the most common examples of re-fencing: “He is from the city X but he is a very honest person”, “He is Christian but a very nice person”, “She is a woman but drives very well,” etc.

Then what is discrimination? Discrimination is prejudice transformed into behaviour. For instance, if we do not employ people with disabilities thinking that disabled individuals cannot work, then we are practising discrimination. Parents who do not want children with autism to attend the same class as their children filing complaints to the school principal can also be cited as an example of discrimination. Another example would be those parents who, based on the belief that “Syrian children are dirty”, do not let their children sit next to Syrian children at school and put pressure on the teacher about it. Discrimination leads some individuals to violate human rights and thus contradicts the principle that everyone is equal in terms of human dignity.

Types of discrimination:

Direct discrimination, is to justify practising discrimination due to our prejudice. For instance, an employer who says “I won’t employ the disabled” is directly discriminating. However, there are situations in which discrimination is more indirect. For instance, the fact that classrooms and open spaces in a school with a disabled student are not compatible with disabled access is an **indirect discrimination**. Another notion about this subject is **implicit discrimination**. An example could be a mother who does not get invited to a friends’ gathering because she has a child with attention deficit and hyperactivity disorder. The reason the mother does not get invited to the gathering is the prejudice about her child’s condition.

No matter the form of discrimination, it is a practice that makes it difficult or impossible for a person or group to enjoy equal rights as others. **Then how could fairer rules be established both in the game we played and in social life? What can we do to this end in our daily life?** As a first step in our efforts to create a fairer social order, we can notice and question the rules that create inequality and the cycle that creates these rules. While doing so, it is important for us to be prepared to face discrimination and prejudice in our own behaviour and attitudes. As a matter of fact, strong stereotypes we learn during socialisation may have transformed into prejudice in our mind without us realising it. **Noticing, pointing out and transforming** these prejudices and rules that create inequality is crucial in terms of combating discrimination.

Obviously, it is necessary for the public to **notice** and hear that not everyone equally enjoys the rights, and that there is a need to change the rules to make individual efforts more efficient. Cooperation is of primary importance to achieve this.

Among the methods that may be adopted are monitoring and documenting discrimination, replacing perceptions that feed discrimination with accurate data and information, and setting up networks and platforms among struggling parties. Another method is to take special temporary measures. **Special temporary measures** refer to measures temporarily taken in favour of a social group that we know to have been deprived of a specific right for a long time so as to ensure that they enjoy that right. For instance, it is mandatory for public institutions operating under the Law on Civil Servants to employ people with disabilities so that they constitute at least 3% of their workforce in an effort to increase the employment of people with disabilities.

No matter which strategy is selected to combat discrimination, we should combat discrimination so that people can live decently, humanely and equally in terms of rights. Even the slightest change is precious in this area where there is so much to do.

3. Migration and prejudice: 'Miriam' (75 minutes)

learning objectives

- Becoming aware of problems encountered by refugees in daily life;
- Holding discussions about reflections of migration in daily life;
- Holding discussions about different refugee representations;
- Reflecting on our perceptions about different people, different countries along with marginalisation and integration issues;
- Becoming aware of the discourse developed within society about refugees and its effect on our thoughts, perceptions, and mindsets.

duration: 75 minutes (95 minutes including 'Jeopardy!')

- instructions: 10 minutes
- small group work: 15 minutes
- small group presentations: 20 minutes (4 groups x 5 minutes each)
- analysis: 30 minutes

materials:

- poster paper and colour pens
- per group, A4 paper with 'beginning of the story' and 'guiding questions'
- interview video/s of refugees

instructions

Think about an ordinary day. What kind of place do you wake up in? What is your morning routine like? How do you make breakfast? Do you go to work? How often do you meet up with your friends? What do you do in the evenings?

What do you think the day of a Syrian living in Turkey is like? Let's think about this, but we don't have to give an answer immediately. Please keep this question in mind during the exercise we are about to do.

In this session, we will ask you to break into small groups and create a short story. We will think about how Miriam, a Syrian woman who migrated to Turkey, left her country and how she lives here now, and write a brief story about her life. We will give you some

guiding questions to help you imagine Miriam's life. Before we move on to the group work, you may wish to contemplate the guiding questions and visualise this person. You don't have to stick to the given order of the questions or answer all of the questions in your story. Even if you all get the same guiding questions, the plot of your story is entirely up to you.

If everyone is clear on what we will do, we will split into four groups. We will have 15 minutes to do this exercise. Then we will share our story with the larger group.

You should determine the number of groups based on the number of participants. The ideal is 4 to 5 people per group. The aforementioned method for splitting into groups is adapted to four groups; to set up a different number of groups, have participants count off, up to the number of groups you would like to have. For instance, if you wish to set up three groups, ask the participants to count off from 1 to 3. Those who say the same number (1's, 2's, 3's) will come together, all in all forming three groups. Duration of the session will depend on the number of groups.

Beginning of the story

"Miriam is a refugee in Turkey. She left her country a while ago to come to Turkey because her life was in danger due to the war in her country."

guiding questions

- Where in Turkey does Miriam live?
- Does she speak the languages spoken in the place where she now lives? If she does, how did she learn them?
- Can she work? If she is working, what is her job like?
- What is her social life like here?
- What are the challenges in her life? Where does she run into these challenges?
- What does she think and feel about Turkey and the people here?
- What do you think she had to do to arrive here?
- In what circumstances did she travel?
- How did she find the money for the travel?
- Was there anyone accompanying her during her travel?
- What was her life like in her own country? What did she leave behind?
- What are her future dreams?

analysis

We will now share with the whole group the stories we developed. Each group will get five minutes to deliver the story they wrote. Following the group presentations, we will talk about Miriam and our stories.

While groups are presenting, you should briefly write down prominent answers in each group's story on a board or the poster. If you wish, you may print out the Fact Sheet at the end of this section in leaflet format and hand out to participants before starting the discussion, referring to this sheet during the discussion.

In this part, invite the participants to examine and discuss the stories written about Miriam. Analysis questions are the ones we ask to guide the participants and encourage them to share their thoughts. Analysis is shaped based on the interactions amongst participants. We do not always say the same things and conduct the discussions in the exact same manner. What matters is that you ask participants the questions, then listen carefully and patiently to their answers. If you cannot get an answer to your question right away, you may wish to rephrase the question so that it is easier to understand rather than delivering a pre-thought answer. The main goal of this part is not to deliver ready-made information to participants, but to help them to discuss together and reach an agreement on discussed topics.

In the event that stories are written with the existing stereotypes and prejudice about Syrian refugees, you may wish to ask the participants to think about the stories they wrote and repeat the conclusions of the previous discrimination session, pointing out that we all hold prejudice and many stereotypes even if we do not realise it.

- What did you feel? How did it feel to listen to the stories of different groups?
- Which were the most realistic and unrealistic elements in these stories for you?

By drawing their attention to common elements in all stories, you may talk about our perceptions and generalisations about the 'Syrian' identity and 'refugee' status. You may wish to smooth the path for participants to notice and question the impact of images and discourse created by society around being a refugee on themselves and their own prejudice. Additionally, you can talk about the

reflections of forced migration in daily life. You may wish to recap vital topics covered in guiding questions such as accommodation, education, work, and socialisation. Feel free to use the data provided on the Fact Sheet about the session.

The moment you feel the discussion coming to a standstill, you may revive the discussion with the following questions: “Do you have acquaintances who have experienced or are experiencing being a refugee or migrant?”, “Do you know anyone like Miriam?”

We started this exercise talking about discrimination, stereotypes, prejudice and the cycle created by discrimination. In this session, we wrote the story of Miriam who is a refugee living in Turkey. Images, discourse or thoughts about various identities or groups take shape in our minds with the information coming from various resources in day-to-day life. Common discourse about refugees affects the way we perceive them and our relations with them. Being a refugee leads to major changes in one’s life. Even if there are shared problems, the story of every refugee is unique. Our prejudice may prevent us from both understanding their shared problems and seeing their differences. Before I adjourn this session, I would like you to listen to the story of a refugee living in Turkey in their own words.

The video is accessible in folder **Migration (video)**. (ANNEX 2) After viewing the video and giving participants some time to reflect upon and discuss the real stories, you may resume the discussion with the following questions:

- Have you ever considered yourself to be in this situation?
- What can we do to support refugees? What can we do to help them be included in their new host country?

Through Miriam’s story, we have reflected upon being ‘Syrian’, leading different lives under this label and the reflections on forced migration in daily life. We have talked about this discourse about Syrians, some notions contained in this discourse, and how they are reflected in our minds.

In the next session, we will carry out a more in-depth analysis of the discourse created about Syrians on various platforms, define hate speech, focus on potential consequences of hate speech and the ways to transform this discourse.

Migration is a very broad concept which includes the effects of elements of coercion, stages prior to migration, during migration (travel process), and starting a new life after migration, and is dependent upon various dynamics. Starting with the individual, it affects society in almost every sense. Migration changes lives through external factors such as natural environment, the language used and the forms of communication, social roles, living spaces, mutual perceptions between groups and relations among groups. Numerous factors come into play in the shaping of experiences which are felt during the migration process and affect every individual differently, from the characteristics of the migrant individual to the characteristics of the destination.

Forced migration occurs outside of the will of the person to protect against natural or man-made disasters or ensure safety due to an element of coercion, and affects people and society with various material and non-material hardships.

Some risk factors may lead to multiple traumas by adversely affecting mental health prior to, during and after migration. Main risk factors are as follows:⁵

prior to migration

- traumatic experiences
- losses in the family
- exposure to or witnessing of violence

during migration

- traumatic experiences
- physical/psychological violence/harassment
- challenging living conditions

after migration

- uncertainty about future (positive/negative outcome of the asylum request)
- fears about daily and social life (accommodation, nutrition, failure to make friends, etc.)
- financial hardship, unemployment
- social isolation, loneliness
- nostalgia
- discrimination
- challenging camp experiences
- cultural barriers
- language barrier
- new roles and responsibilities

Migration in the future of the world: Humans have been on the move since time immemorial. Some groups seek new economic opportunities and horizons while others flee armed conflict, food insecurities, poverty, terrorism, torture or human rights violations and harassment. Some groups are forcibly displaced due to natural disasters or other negative effects of environmental factors some of which also occur due to climate change. Today, the world is witnessing one of the greatest instances of human movement in history.⁶

At a time when mobility has reached new heights, situations in which various coercive elements come to the forefront are observed. In its first ruling on a complaint by an individual seeking asylum from the effects of climate change, the UN Human Rights Committee has affirmed that climate change could push the individual to seek asylum due to both sudden and long-term harm thus recognising **climate refugees**.⁷

In 2019, 3.5% of the world population, i.e. 272 million people, were thought to be residing in a country other than their country of birth. This figure was 102 million in 1980, and 173 million in 2000.⁹

According to the data reported by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the number of people forced to migrate across the world reached 70.8 million in 2018; every two seconds another person is forcibly displaced.

Migration data: Developments across the world, humanitarian crises and sudden or slowly developing disasters push people to move, rapidly changing current migration data. Factors such as elements pushing people to forced migration (armed conflict, war, etc.), irregular migration, different registration systems and legislation across countries, and lost documents make it challenging to keep accurate migration statistics. On this point, international organisations such as the United Nations (UN), International Organisation for Migration (IOM), the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) provide detailed data and information on the topic of migration. These organisations publish and share data on various platforms, particularly on their websites. Furthermore, international regional institutions such as the European Commission and the OECD generate data and reports on the topic.

Migration routes, migrant deaths and losses: International Organisation for Migration tracks migrant deaths including refugees and asylum-seekers who get lost on mixed migration routes across the world. In 2019, at least 4,125 people are estimated to have vanished or lost their lives on migration routes.¹⁰

Syrian migration: In Syria, which has been scene to a civil war in which hundreds of thousands of people have lost their lives, civilians were displaced as a result

of attacks launched on civilian settlements during conflicts among more than 270 groups. The war in Syria is not completely over; as there is yet no long-term stability or peace in areas where conflicts ended, liveable conditions that meet basic needs such as drinking water, electricity, sewage, heating, communication, and transportation have yet to be created.

A vast majority of Syrians have fled to neighbouring countries such as Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey as they did not have basic life security; many deaths have occurred during migration journeys.

Legal status: The Law on Foreigners and International Protection which sets out the legal infrastructure for migration in Turkey, was enacted in 2013 while the Regulation on Temporary Protection was issued in 2014. Allowing Syrians in Turkey to be placed under temporary protection, these regulations have also drawn up a framework about their rights in Turkey.

Legal framework: Rights of individuals are determined on the basis of their legal status. Every country interprets international legislation in a certain way to define their own asylum processes. The government body in charge of asylum procedures in Turkey is the Directorate General for Migration Management. This institution functions as an application centre and is the main source of information for services and activities concerning Syrian refugees. Information about migration legislation, up-to-date data, projects implemented in this field and project stakeholders is available at the Directorate General for Migration Management and on related platforms.

Developments on the legal front may also be followed on the Legislation Information System, where laws published in the Official Gazette, Presidential decrees, regulations, communiqués and other regulatory administrative acts are transformed into a single text and published and kept up to date. The system is accessible at <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/>.

Right to work: The Circular of the Prime Ministry dated 15 January 2016 granted Syrians the right to apply for a work permit on condition that they found a job and signed a contract for it. On the other hand, an employment quota was introduced with the rule that the number of people under Temporary Protection working at any given workplace cannot exceed 10% of the workers who are citizens of Turkey. Under these circumstances, the number of Syrians who obtained work permits was around 30 thousand as of March 2019. Syrian refugees complain about being subjected to non-egalitarian practices by their employers and not having equal pay, as well as about limitations in the legislation.¹¹

Right to health: Universal health insurance for those who applied for, or are placed under, international protection, who do not have any health insurance or means to pay for it, is paid for by the Directorate General for Migration Management for one year starting from the registration of their application; time limitation does not apply to those with special needs and to foreigners for whom continued coverage is deemed appropriate by the Ministry of Interior. In practice, it has been reported that Syrian refugees are unable to communicate with the staff because of the language barrier and are subjected to discriminative discourse and attitude by healthcare staff while accessing healthcare services.¹² Furthermore, excepting those working at healthcare facilities, discriminative discourse and attitude of ordinary citizens also adversely affect Syrian refugees' access to healthcare services.

Right to education: Regulation on Temporary Protection stipulates the provision of comprehensive education services including early childhood education, primary and secondary education, higher education and non-formal education programs for persons under temporary protection. A significant number of Syrians have problems accessing education. According to the Ministry of National Education data, the school enrolment rate of Syrian children living in Turkey is about 60%.¹³ It has been observed that the school enrolment rate could be much lower than this figure, that families enrol their children in school to receive economic support yet children do not attend school due to various reasons (difficulties with transportation, economic shortcomings, discrimination).

Daily life: When asked about the day-to-day challenges they faced, Syrian refugees reported that they were being exploited in the labour market; there were not enough Turkish language courses available; they were discriminated against; the local community failed to empathise with them about the hardships they faced; they suffered from clichés and prejudice generated by the local community; education opportunities for children were insufficient; they had challenges in accessing healthcare services; that the support they received was limited and insufficient while their living expenses were high; they faced social and political problems; they did not have expectations for the future in this country and that the biggest problem was being deprived of a comprehensive and clear legal status.¹⁴

Intensified negative attitudes to which Syrians have been exposed as their stay in Turkey was extended longer and longer resulted in their living different lives to those of people from Turkey even though they mostly lived in the same cities. Syrians consider the attitude of the local community to be positive at the beginning yet they report that this attitude has changed as the process was

prolonged. It is noted that the fact that Syrians have been compelled to lead reclusive lives as they were wary of the local community has also limited both their access to rights and their social cohesion process.¹⁵

Traumas due to migration and war as well as the feeling of uncertainty increased distrust among Syrians, which has led to social isolation. Forced migration and war traumas are not adequately understood by the society in Turkey.

Disadvantaged segments: Some segments are more disadvantaged and vulnerable in the face of all of the challenges brought by migration. Under the Regulation on Temporary Protection, unaccompanied children, persons with disabilities, elderly, pregnant, single parents with children or persons who have suffered torture, sexual assault or other grave psychological, bodily or sexual violence have been defined as persons “with special needs” and given additional guarantees. Syrian women and girls are particularly disadvantaged and they face problems such as being forced into marriage due to various reasons, with most of these marriages being unofficial.¹⁶

For more information please refer to the following sources:

- Syrians in Turkey: Special Report (The Ombudsman Institution, 2018)
https://www.ombudsman.gov.tr/suriyeliler/ozel_rapor.pdf
- Migration and Harmonisation Report: International Protection, Temporary Protection, Syrian Asylum-Seekers (GNAT, Committee on Human Rights Inquiry, Refugee Rights Sub-Committee, 2018)
https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/insanhaklari/docs/2018/goc_ve_uyum_raporu.pdf
- Directorate General for Migration Management website
<https://www.goc.gov.tr/>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees website and publications
<https://www.unhcr.org/tr/>
- ‘Migration: What We Know, What We Don’t Know’ training module and video interview series (Istanbul Bilgi University, Centre for Migration Research, 2020)
YouTube channel: BİLGİ Göç Merkezi
- M. Murat Erdoğan, Suriyeliler Barometresi 2019: *Suriyelilerle Uyum İçinde Yaşamın Çerçevesi* (Ankara: Orion Kitabevi, 2020),
<https://www.unhcr.org/tr/wp-content/uploads/sites/14/2020/09/SB2019-TR-04092020.pdf>
- Myths About Syrians (Refugees Association, 2020)
<https://multeciler.org.tr/suriyelilerle-ilgili-dogru-bilinen-yanlislar/>

- Displaced.tv video series
YouTube channel: nomad (content in English language)
- Evrim Hikmet Ögüt, 'Syrian Musicians of Istanbul' video interview series
YouTube channel: Sınırın Ötesinden / Beyond the Border

4. Towards a New Discourse (90-120 minutes)

learning objectives

- Learning about hate speech, which is one of the behaviours leading to discrimination
- Being able to recognise and analyse hate speech
- Learning about notions related to hate speech
- Generating an alternative discourse focused on human rights
- Disseminating an alternative discourse focused on human rights

duration: 120-140 minutes

- an analysis of discourse examples (small group): 15 minutes
- small group presentations: 10 minutes
- wrap-up: 5 minutes
- break: 10 minutes
- 'Discourse, discrimination and refugees' presentation: 30 minutes
- case study (small group): 20 minutes
- presentations and wrap-up: 30 minutes

materials:

- printouts of examples to be used for the discourse exercise (in the number of participants)
- 'Discourse, discrimination and refugees' presentation
- printouts of examples to be used to generate alternative discourse (in the number of participants)
- printouts of the poster to be used for discourse analysis (in the number of groups to be set up)
- poster papers and pens

instructions

Hate speech analysis exercise

During the first session, we discussed discrimination and prejudice, then we addressed what we could do to combat them. Then we talked about the state of migration, and assumptions and prejudice about refugees. And now, we will talk about another issue which is at the junction of these two issues: we will discuss hate speech which is a part of discrimination and discriminative language. Specifically, we will take a look at the hate speech and discriminative discourse towards Syrian refugees in Turkey and work on the 'alternative discourse' which is a method of combating discriminative language.

We will start the session with a group exercise where we analyse discourse examples. We will do a small group exercise on hate speech in the first part of the session. I will give each group one example and one poster and ask you to fill in the questionnaire on it. I will ask you to examine and analyse these sample texts as a group. Do you note any problem areas in the language of these texts? If yes, what are they and why?

Divide the participants into groups of four (you can increase their number to five or six depending on the total number of participants). You are advised to work with four groups in this session. Remember to increase the number of examples if you have increased the number of working groups. You may find the examples and the poster you will use for this session in **ANNEX 3**. Share the discourse examples and poster printouts with the groups. Groups will only work on the first part of the poster in this session; in other words, they are to do an evaluation by answering the questions under 'Analyse / Evaluate'. Ask the participants to keep the second part of the poster, which opens up in parts, folded close. Before the groups are put to work, you may find it useful to go over the questions all together for the sake of efficiency in the small group work. You may use the fact sheet at the end of this section to provide guidance about the questions.

During this exercise, I want you to only use the first part of the poster I am about to hand out, answer only the questions you see on that part and examine the news article snippets. Try to answer every question as this will help you deeply analyse the statement. You have 20 minutes to work on these texts. Following this exercise, every team will deliver a 5-minute presentation and then we will share our comments about the texts.

Once the time allocated for the small group exercise is up, ask the speakers to go back to their seats. At this time, groups will deliver 5-minute presentations about the poster with which they worked. Following each presentation, ask the other participants if they have any questions for the presenting team (you may allocate 2 minutes for this). You may close this section and give a 10-minute break once the presentations are over.

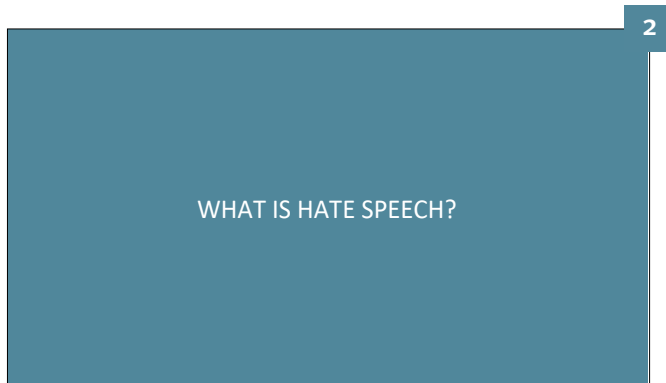
We have talked about the language of the example texts you were given. There are things that we think are problematic; there are also things that we find disturbing but cannot exactly identify why. Here, what matters is to be able to see the impact of the language and understand its possible consequences. As the language we use is often linked to events and situations that are bigger than we think, it could create an impact that goes beyond our purpose; more importantly, it could result in unexpected harm. It could exacerbate social conflict. That is why it is crucial to understand whether a statement is discriminative or contains hate speech, and to be able to change it if it falls into one or both categories. Now we will take a 10-minute break; then we will do a more detailed exercise about hate speech.

‘Discourse, Discrimination and Refugees’ presentation and alternative discourse design exercise

ANNEX 4 - Presentation*



Slide 1 While closing the first part of the session, we touched upon the possible strong impact of language, and its capacity to exacerbate social conflicts. To expand on this point a little more, I would like to deliver a short presentation on hate speech and alternative discourse as a combating mechanism.



Slide 2 Indeed, ‘hate speech’ is a notion with which we are all familiar. How would you define hate speech? What springs to mind when you hear the term hate speech?

* This presentation discusses hate speech directed particularly towards Syrian refugees with examples primarily from the press and social media in Turkey. These examples should be replaced by local examples depending on the location of the training.

Hate speech is

biased, negative and hostile expressions that discriminate against and **target** a person or group based on characteristics such as religion, language, ethnic origin, disability, age, sex, or sexual orientation.

Slide 3 We all have an idea and some similar definitions of hate speech, because it has become increasingly commonplace. In this day and age, hate speech is a problem that is under discussion in the international arena and is recognised by many states. Hate speech is a body of negative and aggressive statements that are based on prejudice and target an individual or a group by discriminating against them on the basis of certain characteristics or membership in a group such as religion, language, ethnic identity, disability, age, gender, sexual orientation and the like. In 1997, the Council of Europe, of which Turkey is also a member, became the first intergovernmental organisation to recognise hate speech. [Should you so wish, you may read out the following definition.] Definition of the Council of Europe: “Hate Speech is to be understood as all forms of expressions that spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance including religious intolerance that appear in the form of aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility towards minorities, migrants and descendants of migrants.” This definition was adopted by 47 countries, including Turkey. Therefore, we may affirm that hate speech and discriminative language is recognised as a common problem in many regions and societies.

Slide 4 Even though we usually think of written and spoken words when we think about ‘hate speech’, a visual expression may also carry a discriminative, marginalising and aggressive message. We may not always see the direct result of hate speech; however, it is possible to see long term and indirect consequences. It is absolutely essential to be aware of the fact that hate speech can also be generated unwittingly. A person does not necessarily have to be ‘filled with feelings of hatred’ to use hate speech. Hate speech is born out of stereotypes and prejudices that already exist within society and which we may have already adopted. The impact of our expression may vary depending on the person or the circumstances in question. In other words, the basic element

Hate speech

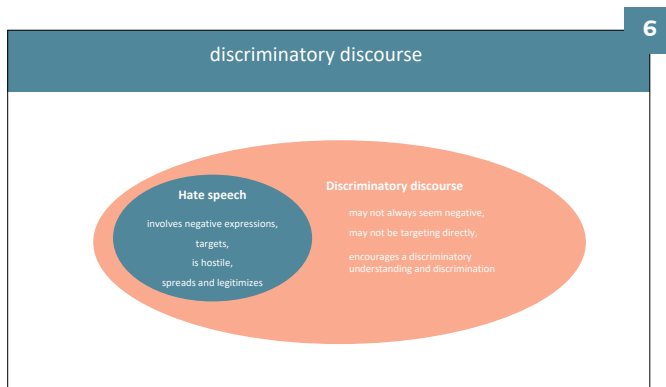
- may be written, verbal or visual.
- may not always have consequences which can be directly observed
- inadvertently or knowingly violates the fundamental rights of individuals it targets such as their rights to participate in social or political life.

determining whether a statement constitutes hate speech is not the intention of the speaker or writer but the impact of the statement on the fundamental rights of the person that it addresses.

How can we identify hate speech?

- Which group or identity is in question?
- How is this group or identity approached?
- What are the possible impacts and implications of this expression?

Slide 5 In order to identify hate speech, we ask a number of basic questions such as “Which identity is it referring to? How does it approach this identity? What could be the impact?” Directly targeting an identity, attributing negative meanings to, and vilifying that identity would be considered hate speech. As we pointed out earlier, hate speech may have been used unwittingly or our prejudice so ingrained that we do not see the discriminative mindset in an expression at first sight. That is why it may be a good idea to always do a simple check. Every time we run into a statement about any group or identity, ask “Is there a negative generalisation about an identity or a group here? Is this statement targeting the identity in question?” Such questions can raise our level of awareness about the statements we encounter as well as those we make ourselves.



Slide 6 When we refer to hate speech, we are in fact talking about discriminative language and discrimination in the broader sense. Hate speech can be thought of as a subset of discriminative discourse. If a statement is directly targeting a group or an identity, it is considered to constitute hate speech. Nevertheless, we are not always faced with an aggressive and negative language that openly targets an identity. So much so that we sometimes think that there is no problem as a seemingly positive language is used; for instance, we say “She is a cripple but an excellent piano player” or “He is blind but very social.” These statements may seem positive to us. As a matter of fact, the first statement hints that a disabled individual needs to possess high skills to be considered valuable while the second statement is based on the stereotype that disabled individuals cannot socialise. These types of statements that relay discriminative messages in a rather implicit way also qualify as ‘discriminative discourse’. Therefore, there is no clear distinction between hate speech and discriminative discourse. What matters is to understand and reveal the discrimination in the language, and identify its impact. Even though hate speech is a more severe form of discriminative discourse, both may have grave consequences. In relation to the examples we have shared, remember the protests held by parents at a primary school in Aksaray against children with autism back in 2019. They had also collected signatures to shut down special education classes. With that incident, we witnessed a discriminative mindset transformed into both hate speech and discriminative behaviour.

Which platforms do hate speech and discriminatory discourse use?

Slide 7 Where do you most often encounter hate speech? [The question is put to the participants.] When we think of hate speech, the media often springs to mind. Although it is true that the media is one of the most influential instruments, statements of politicians themselves may be more influential than the media or may influence the media more strongly in societies governed by more authoritarian regimes.

Which identities, do you think, are targeted by hate speech?

- Use of hate speech against Syrian refugees in the press has become more prevalent since 2014.
- Regardless of the current state of affairs in the country, the 'Syrian' identity is associated with negative events and situations.

Slide 8 Which groups do you think are the most vulnerable to hate speech in Turkey? [The question is put to the participants.] Implementing the Towards a New Discourse and Dialogue project, Hrant Dink Foundation regularly monitors hate speech in print media, analyses all of the national newspapers and close to 500 local newspapers for nearly ten years. Data collected under this study reveal that Syrian refugees have been referred to with a hate speech with increasingly heightened severity, especially since 2014. Indeed, as is the case in many parts of the world, refugees are often made scapegoats for many problems in Turkey and the Syrian identity is often associated with various negative incidents and situations. Turkey hosts the largest number of refugees from this country with nearly 4 million Syrians. Inevitably, this situation directly and indirectly affects social life. In addition, the current widespread discourse related to Syrian refugees makes it hard for all parties to live together harmoniously.

hate speech and discriminatory discourse against Syrian refugees

- the issue of **designation**
- ‘us’ vs. ‘them’
- Syrian refugees portrayed as a social, political, economic and security **threat**
- migration as a ‘**crime story**’
- distortions, allegations and **misinformation**
- pity and **victimisation**

Slide 9 Examples from print media show that discourse on refugees are concentrated under specific themes: a designation problem stemming from the status of Syrians and a general lack of information on the legislation, creation of an ‘us and them’ contrast, the perception or depiction of Syrians as a threat, the translation of migration into a crime story (as we are all familiar with, dissemination of myths and as a lesser known problem, describing Syrians in the language of pity).

the issue of designation: recognising status and rights

Employment
opportunity for
Syrian refugees

Syrian refugees
will return to their
homeland

The struggle for existence of the
Syrian refugees who fled the war

371 THOUSAND
IRREGULAR
MIGRANTS
APPREHENDED
THIS YEAR

**Brotherhood between Ensar (local inhabitants)
and Muhacir (migrants) continues**

Stories of solidarity with refugees

Debate around
migrants growing!

We are **HOSTING**
21,986 Syrian **GUESTS**

Slide 10 There are many different designations about the legal status of Syrians in Turkey stemming from false information and feeding on prejudice related to migrants and refugees. The issue of statuses is crucial, as status can grant vital rights to migrants; this is why it is important that these different types of status are known accurately. We need to remember that these statuses are not the actual identity of individuals and that various status-indicating qualifiers have to do with rights granted or must be granted to individuals due to their circumstances. Notions such as ‘guest’, which are used to increase social acceptance may actually lead us to forget that in the long run these individuals are indeed status-holders, even if the departing point had a positive goal. Since ‘guest’ is not a legal status, it runs the risk of weakening the emphasis put on the rights of Syrians.

Suriyeliler, Türkleri işinden etti

Suriyeliler,
Türklerden rahat
yaşıyor



Slide 11 Individuals may be presented in news stories associated with incidents irrelevant to their national identity, as well as with controversial statements and problematic visual design. Syrian refugees are compared to Turkish citizens, effectively setting up a dangerous hierarchy between the two identities. According to this hierarchy, Syrian refugees are associated with a 'lack' of ethical and human values. These comparisons lead to a deepening of the Syrian-Turkish divide.



Slide 12 Refugees are shown as the reason for social, political and economic problems such as unemployment and contagious diseases. Syrians are linked to notions with economic threat connotations such as unemployment and rent increases. For instance, these news reports directly attribute economic problems such as unemployment and tax increases in Turkey to the presence of Syrian refugees. These kinds of discourses with no source and not based on any research may create a sense of fear in the reader or listener.

Slide 13 In news reports on crimes in which Syrian refugees are claimed to have been involved, Syrian identity is highlighted even if it is not directly relevant to the incident. Hence, Syrians are often associated with crime and referred to with qualifiers such as 'molester', 'murderer', 'thief' and 'conman'. Syrians are coded as a threat with repetitions and various

migration as a 'crime story'

Syrian workers torture a child	Syrians produce fake olive oil	Horrific crime committed by Syrians resolved using phone signals
Syrian murderer caught while fleeing to Greece	A Syrian extorts fellow Syrian	Another Individual becomes victim of Syrian brides!
Syrian batterers caught	A Syrian harasser of young girls beaten up	SYRIAN BRIDE WAGES TERROR
	Syrian suicide bomber killed in Mersin	

approximations. A representation based on fear is constantly reproduced. This leads to the discrimination against refugees becoming more entrenched.

distortions, allegations and misinformation



sub-heading:
"Research revealed that Syrians cause unemployment and rent hikes."

content:
"On the other hand, official figures indicate that Syrian asylum-seekers have had little impact in terms of unemployment and security. Hence, it is possible to affirm that the perception in Turkey (...) stems from misunderstandings and prejudice."

Slide 14 The rapid spread of misinformation and distortion is one of the reasons prejudice against refugees is generated and disseminated. Not only are the claims often not supported by scientific research, but the results of legitimate research may also be distorted when reporting. These studies can be transformed into a discourse that will feed the fear. Here, we see a clear example of this. Looking at the news report, we initially see the title that reads "Syrians causing unemployment." The subheading reads "... The research revealed that Syrians caused unemployment and increased rent rates." Both headings tell us that research was conducted and found clear data connecting Syrians to the reason for unemployment and increased rent rates. Yet, a closer look into the details of the report show that the said research was in fact a 'perception survey': "Economists platform carried out a survey into what the Turkish people think of Syrians living in Turkey." In other words, results of a study which in reality sums up citizens' "views" about Syrians are presented as if they were objective data. A study that investigated people's views and compiled existing prejudice is transformed into a discourse that will confirm and increase the prejudice through this news story, justifying existing fears. However, data presented in the body of the news article is proof to

the contrary: “On the other hand, official figures indicate that Syrian asylum-seekers have had little impact in terms of unemployment and security. Hence, it is possible to affirm that the perception in Turkey (...) stems from misunderstandings and prejudice.”

15

pity and victimisation




Slide 15 Do you see a problem in the visuals and headlines of this news report? Is there anything that seems wrong to you? [The question is put to the participants.] Approaching disadvantaged groups with feelings of pity is widespread in society and is mostly done with good intentions. However, this reinforces the victim role these individuals have in the eyes of society. Appealing to feelings about problems experienced by an individual or a group may ensure a response in the short run; however, what is truly needed for an egalitarian and rights-based life is to see the persons as individuals entitled to rights, and to defend their rights.


16

other platforms

twitter



facebook



- "All these Syrians should be abandoned on a desert island"
- "These Syrians should be immediately removed from the sacred homeland"
- "It's high time to send these Syrians, who betrayed their own country, back to where they came from"
- "I can't believe that Syrians are just everywhere. When are they going to get the hell out?"
- "You see news about Syrians' perversions everywhere."
- "We're sick of seeing news reports about these Syrian scums."

Slide 16 Social media is one of the platforms where hate speech is most prominent. In the Facebook example, we see comments posted that we might qualify as a ‘call to lynching’ under a post about an incident also involving a group of Syrians. In the Twitter example on the left, we see the comments posted following the decision to open the borders.

borders, refugees and asylum-seekers around the world

UK	Germany	USA
	<p>"Close the borders to Muslims"</p> <p>A research on Germany's five popular online newspapers indicates that in most of the news texts referring to 'Turkey' and 'Turks', these words are used in conjunction with negative concepts such as terror, prohibition, murder, problem of integration, and laziness.</p>	<p>US President Donald Trump: "Tremendous infectious disease is pouring across the border."</p>

Slide 17 A few examples from other parts of the world will suffice to show us the commonalities. A newspaper in the UK published a news report titled: "Migrants robs young Britons of jobs". The accusatory tone observed in many news reports about unemployment in Turkey also greets us in this one. Even though scientific studies do not support this type of claim, Donald Trump, known for his anti-immigration policies, claimed that along with immigrants "tremendous infectious disease is pouring across the border", fuelling people's fears, as an official who is required to support and provide services for migrant health. A newspaper in Germany carried the headline "Shut the borders to Muslims" referring to Muslim immigrants. A closer look at the news articles containing the words 'Turkey' and 'Turks' from five popular online newspapers, again from Germany, it is noted that many of these words were used in conjunction with negative notions such as terrorism, ban, headscarf, murder, integration problem, and laziness.

possible implications of hate speech

<p>Armed attack targets 2 mosques in New Zealand leaving 49 people dead</p>	<p>Far-right group in Greece threatens to target migrants in an armed attack</p>
<p>Syrians attacked in Istanbul Allegations that a child has been abused led to lynching attempts against Syrians in the İkitelli neighbourhood of Küçükçekmece, Istanbul</p>	<p>Two women targeted in an 'Islamophobic' attack in U.S.</p>
<p>New anti-semitic attack in New York</p>	<p>Syrian homes and businesses attacked in Kahramanmaraş</p>

Slide 18 We often do not directly see the consequences of hate speech, so we might overlook the risk it creates. Discourse targeting specific groups results in discriminative attitudes towards those groups becoming justified, reinforcing the existing conflicts between groups. In many parts of the world, migrants, minorities and disadvantaged groups are under attack.

70.8 million people around the world have been forced to flee their homes in 2018 due to natural disasters and wars.

UNHCR, Figures at a Glance, June 2019

Slide 19 Migration is a phenomenon as old as humanity and there has always been inevitable mobility across the world. Migration due to social and political conflicts and wars aside, migration due to climate crisis has also already started. Even those who do not have a migration story in their past –that they remember– may indeed have one in their future.

Can hate speech and discriminatory discourse be transformed?
What can be done?

Slide 20 Then what can we do to combat this hate speech and discriminative discourse that directly impact social life? [The question is put to the participants.] The most important thing is to be able to notice hate speech and discriminative discourse, to create awareness about the fact that it can have serious consequences. Even though it is possible to regulate hate speech through laws, as has been done in some countries, it would not be right to think that this is a direct solution. A very comprehensive regulation would be needed to prevent a law on hate speech from limiting the freedom of expression and to ensure that it be properly implemented. Of course, this is a major and long-term effort. However, it is just as important to change social mindsets (i.e., hate speech being accepted as a problem by society and people feeling responsible to change the language they use) if not more important, taking precedence over changing legislation. One of the ways to ensure this is to provide positive alternatives, to develop new perspectives to transform mainstream discourse. This is why we are focusing on alternative discourse in this exercise.

Pluralistic discourse

is a **rights based language and understanding** which

- struggles against hate speech and discrimination,
- is based on human rights and values,
- makes it possible to see, understand and give meaning to events in a different way.

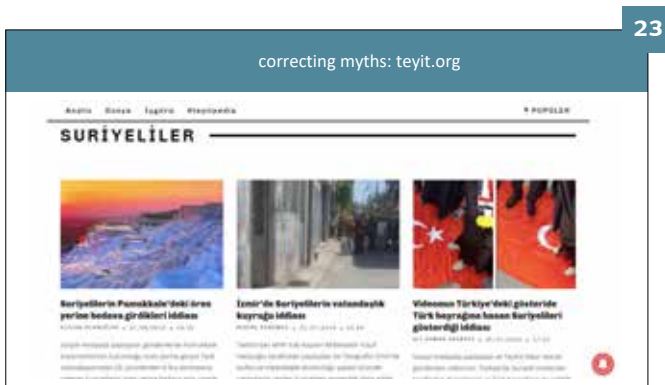
Slide 21 Then what is alternative discourse? Alternative discourse is a positive, rights-focused discourse which we offer on the basis of human rights and humane values. An alternative discourse helps us to see and understand an incident that is narrated using hate speech. It is about offering a positive, well thought-out alternative, like saying “Look at it from here then” instead of trying to refute the discourse containing hate and discrimination or simply opposing it. We can concretise alternative discourse, which bases its perspective on human rights, human dignity and offers a new mindset, with a couple of examples.

looking at it from a human rights perspective



Slide 22 “Looking at the matter at hand from a human rights point of view” is one of the most simple-sounding methods. Almost everyone recognises the importance of human rights and confirms respect for human rights. However, unfortunately, we do not often find situations to which this approach is applied. Where there is widespread prejudice, misinformation and conflict, incidents are often viewed one-sidedly and human rights are overlooked. For instance, in a society where the discourse that Syrians cause unemployment is widespread, very few people realise that in reality, Syrians are becoming a source of cheap labour, employers use the situation to serve their own interests, creating working and living conditions that are incompatible with human rights and human

dignity. The most obvious characteristic of hate speech and discriminative discourses is that they reflect an incident one-sidedly and with a single dimension without considering social circumstances, ignoring human rights, and targeting specific groups while doing so. This is why any discourse to be proposed as an alternative to hate speech must have a multidimensional approach to the issue, offering a perspective that takes the rights of relevant parties into account. We see examples of this in the following news articles. The news article on the left delivers an alternative perspective about the root cause, pointing to the underlying rights violation and discrimination, contrary to discourses that attribute the problem to an identity or a group. We can think about the other example similarly. Contrary to discourses accusing Syrian women in terms of ‘morals’ as in the news article entitled “Syrian bride” that we analysed earlier in the session, this highlights the overlooked conditions and human rights violations that Syrian women face. The fact that women and children, who make up the majority of Syrians forced to migrate, are faced with harassment, sexual assault and domestic violence is highlighted. The example we will analyse highlights the overlooked reality of human trafficking.



Slide 23 There has been an increase in the number of hate speech and discriminative discourse incidents following Turkey’s decision to open the border. Refugees came on the agenda with their population and the issue became a point of contention at an international level. The need to look at this situation from a human rights perspective became of secondary importance while people got stranded between the two countries, risked or lost their lives in trying to cross the border. This is why an approach that looks at the unseen aspects of the issue and offers a rights-based perspective is necessary.

Slide 24 One of the important sources of hate speech against Syrians and other refugees is myth and falsehood. A lot of misinformation and uncorroborated news in circulation fuel both hate speech and social conflict. Many organisations and institutions are trying to combat this situation. Platforms such as teyit.org, which examine, confirm and record

building a pluralistic discourse by avoiding linking crime to an identity

The New Zealander Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern, set an example for millions of people and political leaders around the world with the inclusive approach she demonstrated towards the Muslim community in the aftermath of an armed attack which targeted two mosques killing 50 people.

"I would make that a global call. What New Zealand experienced here was violence brought against us by someone who grew up and learned their ideology somewhere else. If we want to make sure globally that we are a safe and tolerant and inclusive world, we cannot think about this in terms of boundaries. That is the kind of leadership we want to see about this."

BBC Türkiye, 20 March 2019



Photo: euronews.com

news that rapidly spread and provoke strong reactions, offer an alternative to hate speech founded on falsehoods.

letting the owners of the story speak and conveying their messages



Slide 25 Following the armed attack in New Zealand targeting two mosques and killing 50 people, Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern set an example for people across the world, including political leaders, with her inclusive attitude and discourse towards the country's Muslim community. While Islamophobic and anti-immigrant hate speech that identifies Muslims with terrorism is on the rise across Europe and elsewhere in the world, Ardern adopted a language that prioritises the rights of the Muslim community, offering a great alternative to hate speech.

Slide 26 One of the common characteristics of discourses against Syrians and other refugees is that they do not include the voice of Syrians themselves. We often see that statements by refugees receive no coverage, not even in news reports on incidents directly involving them. Although there is a great amount of generalisation and prejudice about refugees outside of the news reports, there are too few platforms where voices of refugees can be heard. Therefore, including the voice of all parties in a news article, opening up



It is vitally important to protect the values and principles of human rights as we build a pluralistic discourse.

- Avoid stressing or reproducing the hate speech that you reject.
- Struggle not against those who generate hate speech but rather against hate speech itself.
- Provide a positive alternative to and a well-thought-out explanation against hate speech and those who generate it.
- Avoid victimisation, this will reinforce society's perception of those targeted by hate speech as victims.

spaces for refugees to have their say and tell their stories would offer a strong alternative to hate speech.

news reports referenced in the presentation

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- 1 milyondan fazla sığınmacı kadın yok sayılıyor (Birgün, 20 November 2019)
- 21 bin 986 Suriyeli mültecimiz var (Aydinlik.de Vakit, 8 April 2017)
- Amerika'da iki kadına 'İslamofobi' saldırı (Aydinlik, 10 September 2016)
- Bu yıl 371 bin kaçak göçmen yakalandı (Sözcü Gazetesi, 7 November 2019)
- Çocuk gırtlacına ve bulaşık yemeğe: Bu gırtlacıklar için yeni bir trauma (Bilanet, 2 March 2020)
- Dışarı Suriyeliler yakalandı (Fusula Haber Konyo, 10 May 2017)
- Dramın fotoğrafı (Söz Kale İmre, 10 August 2019)
- Emisr Muhacir kardeşliğine devam (Ankara Sözcü, 21 December 2017)
- Göçmen dernekleri: Kontrolsüz girişler yeni ölümün demektir (Bilanet, 29 February 2020)
- Göçmen peşimliği boyuyor (Yenişafak, 8 November 2019)
- İhsa de babal (Azerobek, 14 February 2017)
- İtaliye'de Suriyelilere saldırı (Gazete Duvar, 30 June 2019)
- Kahramanmaraş'ta Suriyelilere ev ve iş yerlerine saldırı (T24, 1 March 2020)
- Kalkan taciz eden Suriyeliler dayak (Yenişafak, 20 June 2017)
- Mersin'de Suriyeli canı bomba öldürüldü (Yurt Gazetesi, 7 September 2017)
- Mültecilerde dayanışma öyküleri (Yeni Yegem, 1 November 2019)
- New York şehrinde bir Antisemit Saldiri daha (Sözcü, 2 January 2020)
- Sığınmacı kaçan Suriyelilerin yaşam mücadelesi (Adana Güney Haber, 21 December 2017)
- Sorun sadece ekonomik değil: Sığınmacıların geleceği de tehlikededir! (Samsayoncu Haber, 22 November 2018)
- Suriyeli gelin dehispi (Star, 10 February 2017)
- Suriyeli işçilerden coccu işkence (Akşam, 21 April 2017)
- Suriyeli mültecilerden haberdar mısınız? (Gökayrak Metropol, 25 September 2017)
- Suriyeli mülteciler için istihdam fırsatı (Zaman 9 Eylül, 8 November 2019)
- Suriyeli o kati Yunanistan'a kaçarken yakalandı (Adana Güneyde, 3 March 2017)
- Suriyeli sığınmacılar vatanlarına dönerek (Dünya Sözcü, 7 November 2019)
- Suriyeli Suriyeliyi gasp etti (Burda Kent, 1 November 2017)
- Suriyeller: nefes bizi daha çok alıyor (Derin, 20 June 2017)
- Suriyeller, Türklerden rahat sayıyor (Ankara Sözcü, 4 July 2017)
- Suriyeller, Türkiye'yi gözetliyor (Yenişafak, 19 September 2018)
- Suriyeller işsizliğe neden oluyor (Yenişafak, 3 October 2017)
- Suriyeller sahne zeytinliği üretmiyor (Gözetim 27, 15 June 2017)
- Suriyeller vatanlarına vengiler yakalıyor (Sözcü, 4 October 2017)
- Suriyellerin vahşi cinayeti telefon sinyali ile çözüldü (Kayseri Anadolu Haber, 21 March 2017)
- Türk Can Suriyeli cep derinde (Tolun, 22 January 2019)
- Yeni Zelanda'da 2 camiiye saldırı: 49 ölü (BBC Türkiye, 16 March 2019)
- Yollar önce Yunan mültecilere geçecek dağıtan Suriyeli kadın... (İktisat ve Güç, 14 August 2019)
- Yeni bir Suriyeli gelin mağdurul (Sok, 1 November 2017)
- Yunanistan'da ağır saldırılardan göçmenlere saldırı tehdidi (NTV, 6 February 2020)

Slide 27 The ways to develop approaches that create alternatives to hate speech are surely not limited to the ones in these examples. Every perspective we are to offer on the basis of human rights and dignity would offer an alternative, weakening the mindset promoted by hate speech. I will conclude the presentation here, after highlighting a few points we need to remember. When creating an alternative discourse, we should avoid repeating the hate speech we intend to combat, because these types of repetitions give it further accessibility and strength. As we discussed at the outset of the presentation, hate speech may be generated both deliberately and unwittingly; we may not always see the 'intention' of the discourse, but we can always imagine its effects and consequences. What we need to do is to combat the discourse itself rather than the persons who generated it. Hate speech is often based on established stereotypes and prejudice; people may believe in and strongly adopt those discourses. Consequently, it is crucial to provide a thought-out explanation that is based on strong foundations while offering alternatives to hate speech. One of the errors we may commit while trying to transform hate speech against a group is establishing discourses that

appeal to peoples' sense of pity, which further victimises refugees. Thrusting the binary roles of either 'perpetrator' or 'victim' onto people only paves the way for similar discourses to be perpetuated. Instead, we should see and show that the groups targeted by hate speech are indeed composed of individuals with rights, unique lives, talents, and desires.

Once the presentation has been delivered, tell the participants that you will continue with the exercise from the beginning of the session, then divide them into groups of four. At this stage, participants will work on generating alternative discourses for the hate speech examples they analysed earlier.

Return the posters used at the beginning of the session to the groups and ask them to unfold the other side of the poster and fill in the last two sections entitled 'Generate an alternative discourse' and 'Cooperate'. Hang the **ANNEX 5 - Discourse poster example** visibly in the room. Participants may examine this poster.

Once you have handed out the poster and necessary stationery items, spare 20 minutes for the group work. When the time is up, ask them to go back to their original seating arrangement. Then you may resume the session with short 5-minute group presentations.

During and after the presentations, underline the fact that it is possible to combat hate speech and how important it is to create a new discourse based on human rights. You may use the alternative discourse guide included at the end of this section while moderating the discussion during this part.

What is hate speech?

Verbal, written or visual **expressions which target an individual or group by distinguishing them based on their religion, language, ethnic identity, disability, age, gender, sexual orientation or similar traits**, which are **based on prejudice**, and which are **negative** and aggressive, **constitute** ‘hate speech’.

Even though hate speech does not always produce ‘direct’ results, it leads to the violation of the fundamental rights of the groups it targets, whether intentionally or unintentionally, **such as the right to participation in social and political life**.

Although the word ‘discourse’ suggests the verbal (the Turkish word for discourse, *söylem*, is derived from the verb *söylemek*, meaning ‘to say’), it does not merely mean ‘what we say, talk about’. This concept describes a set of thoughts that give direction to our behaviour, thoughts, and attitudes, together with what we say; in other words, an ideology.

Hate speech does not have a set, universally acknowledged definition. Its definition, detection, and the reactions it provokes vary between different societies. However, hate speech is an issue which is discussed on the international arena and recognised by many states, as it harms the democratic order and the fundamental rights of individuals in every society. Local and international organisations make efforts to detect and prevent hate speech.

The Council of Europe, of which Turkey is also a member, is the first intergovernmental organisation to define and recognise hate speech. **In 1997 the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe** adopted a Recommendation on hate speech which stated that the term “shall be understood as covering 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.”

This definition has been adopted by **47 member countries including Turkey**.

This is a broad and inclusive definition that is designed to describe commonalities across different regions and societies. The scope of this definition may be shaped according to the spatial and historic context of the discourse. Elements such as the position of the person producing the discourse, the person about whom the statement was uttered, when and to what end it was uttered, and the audience it reached make up the context of the discourse. We can only determine whether a statement reinforces an egalitarian and fair viewpoint or a discriminative mindset by examining this context.

Statements that include hate speech do not always directly include expressions of spite, anger or contempt; they may even seem ‘normal’ and ‘reasonable’ sometimes. Therefore, it may not always be easy to identify hate speech. This may be observed in statements or well-established idioms in the language which are based on prejudice and stereotypes. For instance, set phrases such as ‘gâvur eziyeti’, ‘gâvur inadı,’ and proverbs such as “Ayıdan post, gâvurdan dost olmaz,” associate the word *gâvur* (infidel, non-Muslim) with bad, fearful, and unwanted qualities and targets non-Muslims, causing non-Muslims to be linked to concepts such as ‘lack of compassion’ and ‘cruelty’. Widespread use and unquestioned acceptance of such statements makes it harder to realise their impact on the said group or identity.

Hate speech is distinguished from other discriminative statements **by its being negative and, directly and indirectly, targeting an individual, group or identity**. Not every statement encouraging a discriminative mindset can be considered hate speech. Some statements which are more subtle when compared to hate speech and which do not fall directly into the scope of hate speech are qualified as **discriminative discourse**. Such statements which communicate discriminative and marginalising messages in a more concealed form do not openly target an identity or a group; they may appear neutral, or even positive. For example, statements which depict disability/impairment as a misfortune or tragedy, or which describe an individual with a disability/impairment as a miracle or within a childish frame may be considered discriminative discourse. As would be seen in these examples, discriminative discourse is a category that also includes, and is broader than, hate speech.

Hate speech may be viewed as the violent and aggressive reflection of discrimination within a society as well as a subset of discriminative language.

However, the key here is to be able to discern the discrimination and violence within the language rather than the distinction between the two concepts. Identifying hate speech and discriminative discourse in Turkey, where there is no legal restriction nor regulation on the subject, is crucial in terms of counter-ing discrimination within society and preventing the negative consequences such discourse can cause.

How to identify hate speech?

Several methods adopted by both local and international studies are used to identify hate speech. One of these methods was developed under the 'Media Watch on Hate Speech' project, which has been implemented by Hrant Dink Foundation systematically and continuously since 2009 on media and discourse in Turkey. Under the project, all national newspapers and almost 500 local newspapers are screened using a number of key words associated with ethnic, religious, and national identities.

Texts which are read as part of this screening are examined based on three main questions:

Bu tarama esnasında okunan metinler üç temel soru etrafında inceleniyor:

Does the statement under examination target a group or an identity?

Is the discourse targeting vulnerable persons or groups who are currently being discriminated against, have problems accessing their rights, are under pressure and/or subjected to violence?

How does the discourse approach the targeted group or identity?

- Discourse with negative generalisation, distortion, exaggeration, negative reference about an entire community/identity based on a single individual or an individual incident (e.g. "Fed up with Syrians")
- Discourse linked with political and diplomatic relations, targeting the entire population of the relevant countries (e.g. "The Jew attacks again")
- Discourse representing the relevant persons or groups as a social, economic, cultural or security threat (e.g. "Syrians causing unemployment", "Muslim terrorism", "Christian terrorism")

- Discourse with statements evoking hostility, violence, and war about a community (e.g. “Greek atrocity”)
- Discourse with direct profanity, humiliation, insult about a community (e.g. “back-stabber”, “traitor”, “corrupt”)
- Discourse in which an identity or a trait of an identity, used as an element of hatred, humiliation, is symbolised (e.g. “Is a Jew to represent us in Eurovision?”)

What are the current political, social, and historical circumstances in the society where the discourse is generated? Given these circumstances, could the statement produce negative impact and consequences?

What is the current relevant political, historical, social conjuncture in the society in which the discourse has been generated? (e.g. history of migration, historic enmity narratives, any existing conflict/prejudice and other similar circumstances between groups) Is there a social, political, and/or historical narrative based on a conflict and/or prejudice between the audience encountering the discourse and the group(s) targeted by the discourse?

Ask the following question when you see a statement referring to any group or identity: Could this statement be hate speech and/or discriminative discourse?

What is at the root of hate speech?

Hate speech targets individuals or groups based on their belonging to a particular group. **The discourse has roots in the prejudice and stereotypes** which are built on social, political, and historical narratives about these groups.

Hate speech is the transformation of the discrimination encountered in working life, politics, textbooks, legal texts, healthcare services (in other words, in every area of life including individual relationships in everyday life) into a type of attack through discourse.¹⁹

Hate speech is often understood as a personal feeling and discomfort because the word ‘hate’ is included in the concept. Although hate speech draws strength from negative, biased feelings and attitudes, it does not merely consist of the expression of personal feelings or communication errors; it stems from the existing inequalities between groups that are targeted by such discourse, on the one hand,

and groups that perpetrate such discourse, on the other, within the social fabric. Hate speech is part of a mindset of marginalisation, derogation, and antagonisation that reinforces the hierarchy between the groups making up the society.²⁰

Where do we come across hate speech?

Hate speech is not an issue that is particular to a specific occupation or social area. We may come across hate speech in various disciplines and contexts wherever language is present, such as the press, media, social media, politics, public sector, education, science, and daily life.

However, the function of the media, which reproduces the discourse generated by public opinion leaders, politicians, businessmen and others on a daily basis, deserves special consideration. The media, in both its traditional and novel forms, creates systems that influence what and how people will learn about the world and the way it functions. Contrary to assumptions, the media does not always strive to ‘reflect reality as it is’; rather it builds differing definitions, identities, conceptions and images about reality, and these representations are internalised by individuals.²²

Public discourse is greatly influenced by the media. While having the power to promote diversity and variety, the media, which is defined as the ‘fourth power’ following legislative, executive, and judiciary, can also be influential and guiding in the heightening of social polarisation and conflict. When the media acts recklessly and carelessly, it can trigger, lend power to, and even justify, racism and hatred. Therefore, the media is one of the most influential platforms in generating hate speech. However, one must also bear in mind that the influence of a platform depends on its power within the society. For instance, discourse of politicians in a society ruled by an authoritarian regime can create a stronger impact than all of the other discourse generated in various other platforms.

Why is it important to identify hate speech?

Hate speech paves the way for intolerance towards the groups and/or individuals on whom it focuses, causing hostile perceptions and attitudes such as violence, enmity, and discrimination against these individuals or groups to become mainstream. It repeatedly gives the message that “there is no place for you in this society” to the targeted groups. Members of the group who are frequently

subjected to these messages grow silent and passive. This is inevitably damaging to the democratic order because not only is a fundamental right of these individuals being violated, namely the right to participate in social and political life, but often their right to life itself is put in danger.²⁵

Hate speech:

- Is a statement which is based on prejudice, and is **negative and/or aggressive**. It can be generated verbally, visually or in writing.
- Targets an individual or a group by discriminating in terms of religious or ethnic identity, disability, gender, or sexual orientation. It may be deliberate or unintentional.
- Causes harm to the individual or group, directly or indirectly, by **violating their human rights**.

FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS

Isn't the concept of 'hate speech' in conflict with the right to freedom of expression?

Freedom of expression is vital in contexts such as democracy, diversity of ideas, intellectual development of persons, and self-realisation; however, it is not an absolute right. States may limit freedom of expression under specific exceptional circumstances as per international human rights law.²⁶

Considering the concept of 'hate speech' only through the perspective of the freedom of expression of the person generating the discourse creates the misconception that these two concepts oppose each other. In fact, the concept of 'hate speech' is used to protect the rights of persons to whom the discourse is directed. The right of the person generating the discourse to freedom of expression can only coexist with the right of the person subjected **to discrimination to protection against discrimination**.²⁷ Otherwise, inequality between those who enjoy their right to freedom of expression and those who are subjected to hate speech in the society will persist. Freedom of expression can only grow stronger in a social order in which everyone can speak up equally and certain groups are not marginalised and silenced by discriminative discourse or policies.

What is hate crime?

Since hate speech is mostly a triggering factor within the process leading to hate crime, these two concepts are often mixed up. For a crime to qualify as a hate crime, it must have been committed with a motive involving hate, and defined as such under the penal code of the relevant country.

Any crime targeting an individual or a group and committed due to factors such as race, ethnicity, national origin, language, colour, religion, gender, age, intellectual or physical disability or sexual orientation falls under the scope of hate crime. Differing from other types of crime, the reason the victim or victims are targeted by such crimes is the prejudice felt against the group to which they belong (or are perceived as such even if they are not). This is why hate crimes are societal. They have a direct relationship with the understanding and practices related to the cohabitation of not only aggressors and victims, but of different groups within the society as well.²⁸

Are there regulations in place on hate speech in Turkey and across the world? What does it mean to prohibit hate speech in the constitution?

Regulations regarding hate speech **vary**. For instance, as per the Dutch Penal Code, “Those who express themselves openly, verbally, in writing or graphics, in an intentionally degrading manner in the context of race, religion or philosophy of life, sexual orientation or physical, psychological or mental disability of a group shall be punishable by incarceration up to one year or third category fine.” On the other hand, statements within the scope of hate speech are considered to be under protection of freedom of expression in some countries. In the US, for instance, where hate speech is considered within the framework of freedom of expression, a statement including hate speech will only be taken out of the scope of freedom of expression if it poses an obvious and imminent danger.³⁰ Under any circumstances, punitive detection of hate speech is challenging, as it needs examination based on singular incidents.

In Turkey, there is no constitutional arrangement directly prohibiting hate speech. However, Article 216 of the Penal Code of Turkey: ‘Provoking the public to hatred, hostility or degradation’ is the closest crime that could be identified in the context of countering hate speech. Some incidents against which criminal action related to hate speech has been taken on the basis of Article 216

include: A physician working at a health clinic in Erzurum in 2004 to patients: “Dirty Kurds! You should all be killed”; the campaign launched in 2007 by the Turkist Socialist Nation Society in Izmir: “Reducing the Kurdish population, sterilising Kurds”; villagers in Denizli, Çivril claiming, “Kurds keep reproducing, they will take over the village if we do not expel them” in 2008.³¹

However, Article 216 is often interpreted in reverse: it is under criticism for being implemented not to protect disadvantaged groups in the face of hate speech but against those very groups. For instance, according to the report of the European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI)³², ethnic origin, colour, language, nationality, sexual orientation and gender are not included in the bases mentioned in Article 216. Additionally, Article 216 advocates that the requirement that the crime pose a clear danger that presents a threat to the public order for it to constitute a crime should be waived.

Therefore, first and foremost, there needs to be a constitutional order allowing everyone to benefit equally from this law for hate speech to be legally recognised. Otherwise, a law prohibiting hate speech may victimise disadvantaged groups who are already at risk. It may even lead to the restriction of statements supporting the protection of the rights of these groups and to the violation of their right to freedom of expression. Hence, the legal battle for the **right to freedom of expression and the right to protection from discrimination**, which do not in fact oppose one another but indeed need to be achieved jointly, is extremely important in this sense. Yet, there is a need to develop other instruments aiming for social transformation, going above and beyond laws and regulations in countering hate speech. As Yasemin İnceoğlu says, “Going in search of another law restricting the freedom of expression while stating that Article 216, which can often boomerang, should be abolished can create a major threat to the freedom of the press, which already has a poor track record in Turkey.”³³

Alternative discourse guide

What is alternative discourse?

Alternative discourse is one of the instruments we can use to counter hate speech and discrimination. It is based on human rights and democratic values such as openness, respect for differences, freedom and equality. Alternative discourse is not merely about using new and different words; it proposes new and positive narratives which allow us to see, understand, and make sense of events from different perspectives; it brings previously unheard stories to the forefront. Alternative discourse is based on a **rights-focused language and mindset**.

Why is it important to develop an alternative discourse?

Discourse is important as it affects the way we think, our decisions and movements. What is accepted as right and normal or as wrong and abnormal in a society is determined by the dominant discourse in that society. The perspective communicated by the dominant discourse is accepted as the sole reality and truth; it is not to be questioned, with alternative narratives being rejected. Consequently, all fundamental rights and values which are necessary for a pluralist and democratic society are put in danger, starting with the freedom of thought. This is why it is crucial to transform any discriminative discourse and hate speech that may have oppressive effects. Instead, perspectives and data which invite people to see different facets of one and the same reality should be used.

How to develop an alternative discourse

An alternative discourse can be developed in four stages:

1. Analysis of discriminative discourse and hate speech,
2. Designing an effective alternative discourse to replace the discourse under consideration,
3. Cooperating to realise the discourse,
4. Following up and assessing the results

Hate speech seeps into our lives through various media with stronger or weaker influence, normalising and magnifying discrimination. Therefore, advocating

an alternative discourse is crucial. An alternative discourse to be developed by workers in sectors which carry weight in social life such as the public sector and the media can produce direct results. Adopting and disseminating a rights-based language within organisations may offer an important contribution to transforming the public discourse.

Step one: Analysis of hate speech

First, the contents and potential effects of the hate speech to be opposed must be analysed in the effort to develop an effective alternative discourse:

Which group or identity is being referred to in the statement under consideration? Is the discourse targeting vulnerable individuals or groups who are currently subjected to discrimination, oppression and/or violence?

How does it approach the targeted group or identity? Are the targeted individuals and groups represented as a social, economic, cultural or security threat? Are there negative generalisations towards an entire community/identity based on a single person or an individual incident? Does it use direct profanity, insult and degrading statements? Does the discourse disseminate hostility, violence, or war discourse towards the targeted identities? Are all of the people living in the relevant countries targeted due to intergovernmental political and diplomatic relations?

On which sources of information and data is the discourse based? Is the claimed information based on a scientific source? How was this source selected? Is there any relevant party whose opinion was not considered?

Under which social, political, and historical circumstances was the statement generated? Are there conditions such as migration, historical hostility narratives, existing conflict/prejudice between groups, etc. present?

What is the influence/power of the instruments used to communicate and disseminate the statement? Is the discourse being disseminated through, and frequently repeated on, powerful and influential communication channels such as social media, a popular TV channel or radio station? Are communication media which are popular where the discourse was generated and which reach large masses being used? Is the person generating the discourse seen as a leader or an important personality by the entire or part of the society?

- **What kind of impact and consequences could this discourse generate?**

Hate speech may stem from multiple sources. It is hard to counter all of these elements simultaneously. It is more productive to focus on the aspect of the narrative which one intends to counter in an effort to develop an effective and tailor-made alternative discourse.

Step two: Designing the alternative discourse

1. Identifying the purpose

What do I want to see come to fruition by countering the hate speech I am analysing? What is the impact I want to create in the short, mid, and long run?

2. Identifying the alternative perspective (vision)

This step constitutes the basis of the alternative discourse. The information, behaviour, and values intended to be encouraged by the alternative discourse are defined under this step. Here the alternative mindset, aka the vision to be offered in lieu of the discriminative mindset, is determined.

One of the most prominent characteristics of hate speech is that the social circumstances and rights of targeted groups are ignored. Consequently, it is crucial to answer these two questions while developing an alternative discourse:

- Is there any situation or information (a fundamental right, truth to a fallacy, a historical piece of information, event, etc.) which has been ignored and which you believe should be highlighted about the said event or situation? If yes, what is it?
- What would an alternative perspective that would change our viewpoint and mindset be like? (Human rights, cohabitation, responsibility, social cohesion, equality...)

Clearly defining the goal and the vision will make for a strong discourse. Hate speech is not merely about the words themselves: it is generated through the repetition of a certain viewpoint and message. One must become aware of this discriminative mindset underlying hate speech and offer positive alternatives in its stead to be able to counter hate speech. Hence, it is important to **try to express with a clear statement the message of the alternative discourse you would like to develop.**

For instance, perspectives which advocate multiculturalism as a source of richness, or asylum as a human right, may be brought to the forefront instead of hate speech in which refugees are referenced as a threat to social values.

Avoid directly targeting the hate speech while determining the perspective of your alternative discourse. The purpose of the alternative discourse is not to refute the hate speech but to offer and promote a well thought out, positive alternative in its stead.

3. Identifying the target audience

The target audience should be identified in line with the objective. Accurately identifying the target audience would help with the selection of platforms on which the alternative discourse is to be disseminated. While developing a discourse, your target audience may be the general public; however, this is too broad a target to establish an effective discourse. Identifying the characteristics and the needs of the audience will help to make your discourse effective. The language with which you would address a young audience would be different than the language you would use to address an adult audience or a sector where official language is predominant. Identifying the audience ensures development of a discourse in compliance with these conditions.

For instance, an alternative discourse to be developed against hate speech or discriminative discourse leading to the marginalisation of refugees in education may be addressed to students, parents or teachers.

4. Determining the content and style

In this step, the tone and content of the new discourse is determined. The content and style must be suitable to the audience being addressed.

For instance, an alternative language that carries a humorous tone may be used against hate speech founded on an official and aggressive tone about refugees. What matters is to ensure that the message reaches the target audience.

While determining the content and style:

- do not highlight the hate speech you have rejected,
- offer positive and creative alternatives,
- attract the attention of your target audience,
- open up space for your target audience to discover and consider alternative perspectives,

- it is impossible for messages that merely discredit the hate speech and the ones who generated it to be lasting and effective, so offer a positive alternative suggestion, a well thought out explanation to the hate speech and those who generated it,
- do not victimise; do not try to awaken empathy towards the persons targeted by hate speech through pity. This approach only reinforces the victim and sufferer roles of the said persons in the eyes of the society. Evoking feelings may secure you a response in the short run; however, you need to highlight human rights for a permanent transformation.

5. Selecting the instruments

How and through which instruments can I communicate my message? Which communication channels and media outlets should I use and to what extent?

In this step, the most suitable instruments are ones that ensure that the alternative discourse will reach the target audience. If the study is being conducted at an organisation, one must identify the channels and persons facilitating the communication.

All communication channels should be considered depending on the context in which the discourse is to be developed. For instance, social media is one of the media where hate speech is generated fastest and in the highest number while also providing ample ground for the dissemination of alternative discourse. However, channels through which a discourse may be disseminated are not limited to social or traditional media; alternative discourse can also be generated and disseminated through films, festivals, and workshops.

Step three: Cooperating to realise the alternative discourse

In this step, one must identify and collaborate with all the relevant and influential groups.

Which groups could help with establishing the alternative discourse? Who could help amplify the impact of the alternative discourse? Which individuals and organisations could be influential on the audience to whom I want to address my message?

At the stage of realising the alternative discourse, potentially influential individuals and organisations should be included in the alternative discourse. If there is a study on alternative discourse within an organisation, officials who may support this study should be contacted and included in this process. In the event that the study is being conducted in other contexts, it would prove important to identify and assign roles to all influential persons and organisations that may lend their support to such discourse. Influential actors may include public institutions, media outlets or civil society organisations as well as celebrities, artists, politicians and other public figures.

It is particularly important to ensure participation of the groups targeted by the hate speech **while collaborating**. Participation of targeted groups is indispensable for an empowering alternative discourse and to prevent re-establishment of unjust power relations. Encouraging different parties to collaborate in this process proves important in terms of developing an effective alternative discourse.

Step four: Following up and evaluating the impact of alternative discourse

The goal here is to have an idea about the impact of the discourse we have developed. We need to look into the relationship between the goal we originally had in mind and where we ended up. Not every discourse developed may create the desired impact. More importantly, the discourse developed may produce adverse effects or effects that are different than what was expected.

A gap in previous stages may be discovered upon evaluation of the impact and consequences of the discourse. Thus, new steps can be taken to enhance and reinforce the discourse such as the targeted audience, style, instruments to be used or replacing or adding influential actors.

Leading questions such as “Whom has the discourse reached?”, “How have they perceived the message?”, “How has their approach to the issue changed?”

While answering these questions, the evaluation may be based on concrete metrics such as the number of clicks or number of distributed posters.

Points to remember while developing alternative discourse

It is critical to protect human rights values and principles throughout the whole process of developing alternative discourse. Every step should reflect human rights, and be taken in light of promoting human rights.

A pool consisting of supportive statistics, data, information and sources should be established to reinforce the alternative discourse.

The struggle should be against hate speech, not against those who generate it. Addressing the issue at a personal level may deteriorate the situation further by triggering protectionism in the name of those generating the hate speech.

Coping strategies should be developed against such reactions in an effort to avoid harm from reactions that could be triggered by the alternative discourse.

Using language that does not reproduce the existing hierarchical power relations is crucial for the alternative discourse. With this goal in mind, having information about the social groups targeted by the hate speech, consulting with the persons who are members of these groups, and creating space to develop alternative discourse would be beneficial.

The language to be used should encourage those who usually remain silent in the face of hate speech to join the discussion and support the struggle against hate speech.

The language used is vital for the target audience to feel an affinity with the alternative discourse. Based on the desired objectives, content and tone should be readjusted as per different audiences.

useful resources

Here are some resources which were used while developing this guide and which can be referred to for further study:

- Agata de Latour, Nina Perger, Ron Salaj, Claudio Tocchi and Paloma Viejo Otero, ***WE CAN! Taking Action against Hate Speech through Counter and Alternative Narratives*** (Hungary: Council of Europe, 2017), <https://rm.coe.int/wecan-eng-final-23052017-web/168071bao8>
- Henry Tuck and Tanya Silverman, ***The Counter-Narrative Handbook*** (London: Institute for Strategic Dialogue, 2016), <http://www.isdglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Counter-narrative-Handbook.1.pdf>
- Charlie Winter and Johanna Fürst, ***Challenging Hate: Counter-speech Practices in Europe*** (London: Online Civil Courage Initiative, 2017), <https://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/ICSR-Report-Challenging-Hate-Counter-speech-Practices-in-Europe.pdf>
- Paul Iganski and Abe Sweiry, ***Stopping Hate: How to Counter Hate Speech on Twitter?*** (Brussels: Media Diversity Institute), <https://getthetrollsout.org/stoppinghate>

5. Evaluation and closing

Thank you for participating in and contributing to the training. We would like to give the floor to you in this final part of the training. We can use a method to make it easier for you to evaluate the experience we had throughout the training. Using all five of your fingers, you may start your evaluation with the following questions for each finger:

- thumb: What went well?
- index finger: What could be improved?
- middle finger: What went wrong?
- ring finger: What would we like to keep?
- little finger: What did not get enough attention?

Start whenever you are ready. During this feedback session, I will hand out short evaluation forms as well and ask you to fill them in and return them to us on your way out.

Once you have described the exercise, you can place a chair in the middle and tell them that whoever feels ready to can go ahead and start. Do not force all participants to do an evaluation; those who wish to take part in this exercise may do so voluntarily. Nevertheless, you can share your own evaluation using this method in an effort to encourage participants to do so. If you have little time for the evaluation, you may opt for an exercise such as 'three words' instead. Contrary to the hand exercise, there are no limitations in the three words exercise; participants say three words describing their thoughts about the training activity.

Once comments have been shared, you may finalise the training by collecting the forms.

Facilitators are strongly advised to take into account the following points during the planning and implementation stages of the training activities covered by this manual.

learning objectives: You may think of learning objectives as topics to be addressed or discussed during the session you will hold. You should make the most of your learning objectives to guide discussions, and to link topics and concepts during the session.

annotations: You can make use of annotations to understand the learning objectives of sessions, establish links among them, and address them as a whole. These annotations include background information on the topic. These annotations will help you to make discussions more productive, to concretise them, and to present the topic within a framework. You should consider the learning objectives while reading through the annotations.

directive: Once learning objectives and background information have been developed, methods to be used for sharing and delivering this information will be determined. Each method will become meaningful when considered together with specific learning objectives. A directive, on the other hand, presents the framework in which the method to be adopted in the session will be shared with participants. Directives included in the manual have been written in the words of facilitators as they would address the participants.

analysis questions: Using these questions, you can create space for the participants to express themselves. Participants' sharing of their knowledge, experience, and ideas about the topic will improve the learning environment for everyone.

Who is a facilitator and what do facilitators do?³⁴

A facilitator's role is to help the group deliver their specific tasks towards an objective. The participants' task is to move towards the objective of the session, workshop, or training activity. A facilitator should support the joint consideration process of the group also by using the knowledge and experience of the group.

The facilitator should focus on the process that participants experience throughout the training and monitor this process. They should guide the participants along training objectives, yet bear in mind that non-formal education is participant-focused.

At this point, the facilitator should master the learning objectives of the training and listen well to participants, making sure the entire group hears the relevant knowledge and experience by asking the right questions. Active listening and asking the right questions are important skills for a facilitator.

The facilitator is responsible for supporting the participants' learning processes.

The facilitator

- implements targeted practices,
- tries to draw out the potential of participants,
- ensures that participants get to know each other better,
- helps participants understand one another,
- helps to resolve conflicts among participants,
- encourages participants to express themselves,
- organises the training environment and time schedule.

What should the facilitator avoid? The facilitator should avoid:

- correcting what participants have said, preventing them from expressing themselves,
- taking part in group work,
- resolving challenges of working groups in their stead,
- judging thoughts or viewing one thought as better or more correct than others,
- taking sides,
- trying to answer every question.

Both before and during the training

- check your preparations (hall, chairs, air, materials, etc.),
- review the program details (sessions, timing, etc.) and be sure about which objective you would like to reach in which particular section,
- encourage participation,
- encourage participants to consider different perspectives,
- support participants in their search for comprehensive solutions, and while doing so, remember that nothing is black and white,
- emphasize the objective of each session several times; if participants are doing that in your stead, repeat by referring to them.

It should be remembered that non-formal education is based on an approach that is focused on participants and partnering up/reconciling, recreating and jointly creating;

facilitators should support this approach. You can use the ‘dos’ and ‘don’ts’ given in the table below³⁵ to better understand and support this approach.

DO	DON'T
Encourage participants to express their opinions and thoughts and to talk about their experiences.	Do not invalidate any suggestion coming from participants by judging it. Do not use statements such as “useless”, “irrelevant” or “nonsense.”
Try to create a safe environment where everyone can express their views comfortably. Strive to create a culture of mutual respect.	Do not let the group marginalise, ignore, judge, or disrespect others; try to establish some of the fundamental principles at the outset.
Incentivise discussion and questioning; participants learn by expressing their doubts or hesitations.	Do not keep your presentations too long; this makes it hard for participants to focus.
Help participants to establish links between the topics addressed and what they have seen and experienced in their own environment.	Do not make generalisations that are irrelevant to the topics addressed.
Allow participants to question ‘established facts’; also do this yourself.	Do not use your position to end a discussion and do not take the high ground in your speeches.
Be honest with participants. This will ensure that participants respect you more and open up more comfortably.	Do not be afraid to say “I don’t know” in the face of a topic about which you are not well informed or a question to which you do not have the answer.
Trust the participants. Participants may have to find some of the answers on their own.	Do not speak condescendingly to the participants or try to forcibly guide them towards a point/topic.
Take participant suggestions seriously. If participants feel like they are the subject of the training, they will be more likely to engage.	Do not think that you have to stick to the planned flow and content to the letter. If participants choose to move towards another direction, do not disregard this preference.

Be natural while you address the participants. You can ask them about how they feel, whether everything is fine, whether they need anything.

If opinions of some participants seem rude and thoughtless, do not give up. Try to show them another perspective.

Treat each participant equally; position yourselves on equal standing with them.

Do not marginalise the participants. Do not make assumptions about what participants can or cannot do.

practical information

This section lists some practical information that facilitators may use while conducting the training/workshop.

- Prepare yourself well. Materials, posters, presentations, etc. you will use should be ready. The more visual you make the training, the more comfortable both you and your participants will be.
- Take care to use the expression, “Does anyone want to share their ideas?” instead of “Does anyone have any idea?” Anyone can have an idea about the topic, but some may choose not to share it at that particular moment.
- Use your presentations as a tool. Do not read the presentation, enrich it with your own sentences. Be sure to take a look at the notes prepared for your presentations and remember that these notes are an important part of the presentation.
- Make sure that all participants take the floor in equal proportions. You can start addressing some concepts and topics by giving the floor to participants. However, do not let them deviate too much from the topic at hand and use your time well. Remember that you can address more lengthy discussions during breaks or at the end of the training.
- Write on your posters in capital letters and in a legible manner. Try to put up the finalised posters visibly in the training hall. Use the blue and the black markers to write down, the green and the red ones to mark up.
- As facilitators, take care to not speak at the same time or cut in too often during sessions. This will ensure that you do not distract your participants too much. The facilitator conducting the session may ask their team mate the following question

once they finished their own statement: “Is there anything you wish to add?” This way the other facilitator may mention points that were left out or that would be good if addressed as part of the session.

- As facilitators, use the training room efficiently. To do this, it is essential to see the room beforehand. You can plan which session you would like to conduct in which part of the hall, which parts you will use for what purpose. You can ask for your participants’ help about the tidiness and order of the hall.
- During the analysis part
 - Have participants reflect upon the exercise they have done with questions such as, “How did you feel?” or “What has just happened?” (Start with these questions if you have carried out an exercise).
 - You can move towards the point you would like to address, using the question, “What does this exercise compare to in real life?” Linking the exercise to real life will give you the opportunity to discuss and describe some concepts. That is why it may be important to collect comments from as many participants as possible.
 - Once you have linked the exercise to real life and revealed the key concepts of the session, you can ask your participants, “So, what can we do about this situation?” and collect their suggestions.
 - You can give a summary of the key topics and concepts addressed in the session.
- Give clear instructions before starting the exercise to make sure everyone is clear on what they need to do. Take particular care to avoid confusion. Stop by each group during group work; give feedback on their work and answer their questions.
- Do not ask questions too frequently; move on to your next question once all is said about the one you have just asked. Asking too many questions may confuse the participants.
- Refer back to the previous session as you begin a new session. Briefly touch upon what you are going to do during the current session.
- Avoid exercises that require too much physical activity. Choose exercises taking into account the characteristics of the room and your participants.
- Remember that there are at least two facilitators, including yourself. Position yourselves in the room so that you can maintain eye contact with each other.

The approach you adopt in your training is an important part of the learning environment you have designed for your participants. Your participants should feel comfortable and safe to express themselves about the topics you address, to learn from one another, and to share their experiences. To achieve this, you should make sure that the learning environment is participant-focused both by the preliminary work you did and by your attitude during the training activities.

Three rights - one wrong

goal: Learning names and communicating with one another

Ask participants to think of sentences to introduce themselves. (e.g. “I love X food and can make it really well”, “I did athletics and won three medals in 200-meter dash”, “I love cats, I have two cats at home.”)

Ask participants to think of four traits defining themselves, three of them being true and one being false.

Ask participants to freely move around the hall, pair up with others, reintroduce themselves and tell each other the four statements (three true and one false) they have prepared, and ask them to guess which statement is false.

Ask them to split up later on to pair up with someone else and repeat the same routine.

Keep the exercise going until each participant has met four to five persons. Then ask the participants to go back to their seats.

When all participants are seated you may bring this part to a close by asking the following questions before introducing the training program.

- Who did you meet and what kinds of traits have you found out about them?
- What are the most interesting and true traits you have learnt?
- What were the most creative false traits you heard?

Handshaking

goal: Learning names and communicating with one another

number: At least 30 people

duration: 10 minutes

Ask participants to walk around the room and shake hands with, tell their names to, and briefly introduce themselves to as many people as they can in 10 minutes.

Musical balloons

goal: Learning names and communicating with one another

number: At least 10 people

duration: 10 minutes

materials: as many balloons as the number of participants, 5 to 10 marker pens, CD player or mobile phone (or another source of music)

Hand each participant a balloon. Ask them to blow up the balloons, write their names and the province they come from on them with a marker. Then, the music starts playing and the participants throw the balloons up in the air so that they can mix. The goal here is to ensure that the balloons stay up in the air as long as possible and try to keep them from falling to the ground until the music stops. Once the music stops, each participant will catch the nearest balloon and try to find the person whose name is written on it.

note: Depending on the time and the willingness of the participants, the game can be repeated two or three times.

Name and...

goal: Introductions, remembering names

number: Any

duration: 10-30 minutes (depending on the group size)

All participants stand in a circle. Everyone take turns saying their name out loud and making a movement, shape or gesture. Once all participants have shared their names and gestures, everyone's name is said out loud in turn and their gesture is performed. Names can be merged with the following:

Name and gesture: Participants say their names out loud and make a gesture that is specific to them.

Name and move: Participants say their names out loud and make a movement describing their current mood, or what they do for a living.

Name and animal: Participants say their names out loud and name an animal whose name starts with the first letter of their own name. Make sure that an animal is not named more than once. (A dish can be named instead of an animal.)

variations: After each participant, the entire group repeats the 'name and ...'.

Alphabetical order

goal: Learning names, getting group members to warm up to one another

number: At least 10 people

duration: 5 minutes

materials: as many sturdy chairs as the number of persons

Chairs are arranged in a circle and participants are asked to stand up on the chairs.

They are asked to arrange themselves in alphabetical order without speaking any words out loud and without stepping down from the chairs.

Three fingers

goal: Introductions and warm-up

number: Any

duration: 10 minutes

All players raise three fingers. The index finger represents the name of the person, the middle finger represents their favourite drink, the ring finger represents the country they want to visit the most. The players start walking around the room and touch their fingers to those of everyone they run into, telling them their name, their favourite drink, and the country they want to visit the most, respectively. The goal is to run into as many people as possible within the given time.

note: The number of fingers may be increased; things that fingers represent may be changed depending on the theme of the activity (e.g. the person's age, hometown, favourite sport).

Tell me your story

goal: Introductions

number: At least 10 people

duration: 30 minutes

Participants are asked to find a partner and tell each other their stories. All stories will start with a statement such as, "Here is how I decided to come here today...", "I was selected to be able to come here because..."

Once they have told one another their stories, ask the pairs to join another pair, creating a group of four, then retell their stories, this time telling where they come from and adding a few sentences about their cities.

Ping-pong

goal: Introductions, learning and remembering names

number: Any

duration: 15-25 minutes

Group members stand up and form a circle. One participant is designated as 'it'. 'It' stands in the middle and says either "ping" or "pong" to a person at whom they point their finger. If 'it' says "ping" then the chosen person has to say the name of the person to their left out loud within three seconds, and if 'it' says "pong" they have to say the name of the person to their right out loud within three seconds. If they don't know the name, or say the wrong name, they become 'it' and move to the middle. When 'it' remains in the middle for a long time or when 'it' thinks that everyone has memorised the names of the persons standing beside them, 'it' yells "ping-pong" to have everyone randomly change positions. Repeat.

Mixed salad

goal: Focusing participants' attention and reinforcing internal group dynamics

number: 10-20 persons

duration: 10-15 minutes

Chairs are arranged in a circle. Once participants are seated, one participant stands in the middle. The participant standing in the middle mentions some characteristics to match some of the people in the group. The participant standing in the middle tries to sit on one of the chairs while those who fit in the mentioned characteristics shuffle. These characteristics should be generic and fun (e.g. "All glass-wearers shuffle", "All ring-wearers shuffle", "All of the married ones shuffle"). The person in the middle may make the game more entertaining by saying, "Everyone shuffle" from time to time. The game is ended when the trainer sees fit and when nearly everyone has come to the middle once or twice.

Chase A, Run from B

goal: Focusing participants' attention and reinforcing internal group dynamics

number: Any

duration: 10 minutes

Participants are standing. The trainer asks each participant to think of two people in the group and designate them silently as 'A' and 'B'. Participants are not to tell each other whom they have in mind. When the game begins, each participant tries to stand as close as possible to the person whom they have designated as 'A', and as far as possible from the person whom they have designated as B. Some people will have shared/conflicting choices; for example, a participant being chosen as A by the person they have chosen as B. Having participants chasing and running away from one another in the middle of the training hall makes the game a lot of fun.

Atom

goal: Focusing participants' attention and working in small groups

number: Any

duration: 10 minutes

Participants stand in an area where they can move around comfortably. The trainer tells the participants that each of them is an atom moving around in space. As is known, atoms freely move in space. The speed of atoms either increases or decreases with the temperature. Another scientific fact is that under favourable conditions, atoms tend to merge with other atoms to form molecules. Once this information is shared with participants, rules of the game are revealed. Participants are asked to freely roam around the room like an atom. The speed of their movement will be determined by the temperature to be announced by the trainer. For instance, participants who were walking at 50 degrees will need to run once the temperature rises to 150 degrees. Additionally, the trainer will ask the participants to form molecules, stating how many atoms would make up the said molecule. Having received the instruction to form a molecule, atoms will then merge with the nearest atoms, forming molecules with the required number of atoms.

note: A fun game to get the group moving, Atom can also be used to create small groups. To this end, participants may be asked to form molecules with a specified number of

atoms by the end of the game, based on the desired number of group members, thus forming small groups.

Human machine

goal: Discussion, team work, fun

number: Any

duration: 30-45 minutes

The group is split up into teams of five or six, depending on the group size. Each team is asked to create a machine by using their own bodies. Each group is asked to hold a discussion first to decide on a machine and the group members are asked to present, using their own bodies, what they are representing in a way that other participants will understand. It is essential that each person in the group make up one distinct part of the machine. 15 to 25 minutes will be given to the groups to plan and rehearse. Then groups will present the machines they have created. Viewing participants are then asked to guess what the machine is. This game both entertains and allows participants to work together and become familiar with one another.

- 1 A New Discourse Online Training Manual is available at bit.ly/TowardsANewDiscourseTrainingManual
- 2 The 'instruction' sections and presentation texts included in the manual were developed to give facilitators ideas as to how they could convey the contents to the participants. Facilitators are not required to implement every single method suggested in these sections, nor do they have to use every sentence as given. The facilitator's role is described in detail along with important practical information under the section 'Notes for the facilitator'.
- 3 Pat Brander et al., "The Rules of the Game", Education Pack (Hungary: Council of Europe, 2016), p. 154, <https://rm.coe.int/1680700aacc>
- 4 Melek Göregenli, "Temel Kavramlar: Önyargı, Kalıpyargı ve Ayrımcılık," in *Ayrımcılık: Çok Boyutlu Yaklaşımlar*, eds. Kenan Çayır and Müge Ayan Ceyhan (Istanbul: Bilgi University Publications, 2012).
- 5 Ece Tathan Bekaroğlu and Hatice Demirbaş, "Evden Uzakta Olmak: Sığınmacıların/Mültecilerin Psikolojik Sorunları ve Alınacak Önlemler", *Kriz Dergisi* 21 (2013), pp. 11-24.
- 6 United Nations General Assembly, *New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants*, A/Res/71/1 (3 October 2016.)
- 7 Mahmut İsal, "21. Yüzyılın Yakıcı Gerçeği: İklim Mülteciliği", 24 January 2020, <https://www.hayatadestek.org/blog/21-yuzyilin-yakici-gercegi-iklim-multeciligi/>
- 8 United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division, "International Migrant Stock 2019", https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/populationfacts/docs/MigrationStock2019_PopFacts_2019-04.pdf
- 9 IOM, Global Migration Data Analysis Centre, *Global Migration Indicators 2018*, October 2018, <https://www.iom.int/news/iom-releases-global-migration-indicators-report-2018>
- 10 IOM (International Organisation for Migration), "Missing Migrants", <https://missingmigrants.iom.int>
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- 12 Ayşecan Terzioğlu, "Hep bu Suriyelilerin Yüzünden! İstanbul'daki Sağlık Çalışanlarının Gözünden Suriyeli Çocukların Sağlığı," *Toplum ve Bilim* 134 (2015), pp. 102-118; Gabriela Cloeters and Souad Osseiran, "İstanbul'da Suriyeli Mültecilerin Sağlık Hizmetlerine Erişimi: Toplumsal Cinsiyete Duyarlı Bir Bakış Açısı Çalıştay Raporu" (2019), <https://ipc.sabanciuniv.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/SouadOsseiranGabrieleCloetersTR.pdf>
- 13 M. Murat Erdoğan, "Suriyeliler Barometresi-2019: Suriyelilerle Uyum İçinde Yaşamın Çerçevesi" (Ankara: Orion Kitabevi, 2020), <https://www.unhcr.org/tr/wp-content/uploads/sites/14/2020/09/SB2019-TR-04092020.pdf>
- 14 Ayhan Kaya and Aysu Kırac, "İstanbul'daki Suriyeli Mültecilere İlişkin Zarar Görebilirlik Değerlendirme Raporu" (2016), <https://www.hayatadestek.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/istanbuldaki-suriyeli-multeciler-zarar-gorebilirlik-raporu.pdf>
- 15 Zümray Kutlu, "Anadolu Kültür Derneği, Bekleme Odasından Oturma Odasına" (2015), <http://ingev.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Bekleme.Odasından.Oturma.Odasina.pdf>
- 16 Mahmut Kaya, "Türkiye'de Suriyeli Mülteci Kadınların Evlenme Deneyimleri: Fırsatlar ve Riskler," in *International Symposium on Migration and Women - Proceedings* (Istanbul: Zeytinburnu Municipality, 2018).
- 17 Yasemin İnceoğlu, "Tartışmalı Bir Kavram: Nefret Söylemi," in *Medya ve Nefret Söylemi: Kavramlar, Mecralar, Tartışmalar*, ed. Mahmut Çınar (Istanbul: Hrant Dink Foundation Publications, 2013), pp. 75-95.

- 18 <http://hrantdink.org/tr/asulis/faaliyetler/projeler/medyada-nefret-soylemi>
- 19 Tirşe Erbaysal Filibeli, “A New Discourse, Dialogue and Democracy Against Discrimination – ASULIS” (Istanbul: Hrant Dink Foundation Publications, 2016), p. 11.
- 20 Melek Göregenli, “Tartışmalı Bir Kavram: Nefret Söylemi,” in *Medya ve Nefret Söylemi: Kavramlar, Mecralar, Tartışmalar*, ed. Mahmut Çınar (Istanbul: Hrant Dink Foundation Publications, 2013), p. 57.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 58.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 59.
- 23 Tirşe Erbaysal Filibeli, *ibid.*, p. 9.
- 24 *Ibid.*
- 25 Yasemin İnçeoğlu, “Tartışmalı Bir Kavram: Nefret Söylemi,” in *Medya ve Nefret Söylemi: Kavramlar, Mecralar, Tartışmalar*, ed. Mahmut Çınar (Istanbul: Hrant Dink Foundation Publications, 2013), p. 76.
- 26 *Hate Speech ‘Explained’: A Toolkit* (London: Article 19, 2015), <https://www.article19.org/data/files/medialibrary/38231/‘Hate-Speech’-Explained---A-Toolkit-%282015-Edition%29.pdf>
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- 29 Dutch Penal Code, Article 137 c. Aktaran Yasemin İnçeoğlu, “Tartışmalı Bir Kavram: Nefret Söylemi,” in *Medya ve Nefret Söylemi: Kavramlar, Mecralar, Tartışmalar*, ed. Mahmut Çınar (Istanbul: Hrant Dink Foundation Publications, 2013), p. 82.
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- 33 Yasemin İnçeoğlu, *ibid.*, pp. 91.
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- 35 Ellie Keen and Mara Georgescu, *Bookmarks: A Manual for Combating Hate Speech Online Through Human Rights Education* (Ukraine: Council of Europe, 2016), <https://rm.coe.int/168065dac7>

All the annexes are accessible at: bit.ly/TowardsANewDiscourseTrainingManual

ANNEX 1 - Discrimination and other notions (poster)

ANNEX 2 - Migration (video)


ANNEX 3 - Discourse poster

ANNEX 4 - Presentation (Discourse, Discrimination and Refugees)

ANNEX 5 - Discourse poster example

ANNEX 6 - Evaluation form

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This manual was designed to help promote a new, alternative, pluralistic language to replace discriminatory discourse and hate speech which is a threat to co-existence. The manual, as the implementation manual of the Towards a New Discourse Training, which was developed using non-formal education methodologies, presents the objectives, program, methods and materials of the training. Consisting of three main sections which focus on 'Discrimination', 'migration' and 'discourse' the Towards a New Discourse Training Program aims to question prejudice and misconceptions about refugees, help address polarisation within society, raise awareness of this issue and build a new language together.

*This publication was developed with the financial support of the European Union.
Hrant Dink Foundation takes full responsibility for the content herein;
the publication does not necessarily reflect the views of the European Union.*