ATTITUDES OF MUSLIM YOUTH
TOWARDS MEDIA COVERAGE AND OFFENSIVE LANGUAGE

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INTRODUCTION

The present report provides the results of focus groups conducted by the Media Development Foundation (MDF) in September 2017. The study aimed at analyzing the attitudes of Muslim youth towards media coverage of Muslim issues.

Media content for the study was selected from the results of Georgian and Russian media monitoring conducted by the MDF in a period between June 15, 2017 and September 15, 2017. Archival materials were also used in some cases. Professional standards of media coverage and observance of ethical norms, as well as attitudes towards media messages, terms and media self-regulation mechanism were subject to observation. The ultimate goal of the study was to develop a guide for the media, involving the guidelines on covering Muslim issues professionally, through the observance of ethical norms.

The report consists of three parts: the first part concerns media self-regulation system; the second part is about various aspects of media coverage and the third, final part involves a guidelines for media, in which key findings of the study are accompanied by relevant recommendations. The Annex provides an auxiliary terminological vocabulary for journalists.

METHODOLOGY

Five focus groups were conducted within the framework of the study in September 2017. 55 young Muslims aged 18-29 participated in them. Focus groups participants were selected from among the youth from Adjara, Pankisi Gorge and Kvemo Kartli by quota sampling. In selecting focus group participants, due consideration was given to gender and religious denominations, as well as ethnic identity and educational qualification (student) in case of Kvemo Kartli. Two separate focus groups were conducted in the Pankisi Gorge for female and male participants (11 female, 7 male). As for Adjara, young people from Mountainous Adjara participated in one focus group (9 participants); and from Batumi – in the other focus group (14 participants). One focus group was conducted in Kvemo Kartli (14 participants).

DURATION OF EACH FOCUS GROUP: 2 hours

INSTRUMENT OF FOCUS GROUPS: a semi-structured questionnaire, video screening, experiment.

RESEARCH METHOD:

▌ To study the participants' perceptions and attitudes through assessing media content, video experiments and semi-structured questionnaires.

▌ To identify and assess discriminatory terms in media content.

ASSESSMENT OF MEDIA CONTENT/EXPERIMENTAL VIDEO SCREENING. Extracts from media monitoring results, as well as from archival materials in case of specific topics (conflicts around religious buildings, stirring up historical trauma) were distributed among the participants. Video stories were selected and experimental screening was held in certain cases. Initially, the participants familiarized themselves with video transcript, where a terrorist of European identity was replaced by a person of Muslim identity. After holding a discussion on this issue, the participants watched an authentic video story. Media content was evaluated through a semi-structured questionnaire as well as in a form of a discussion.

ASSESSMENT OF TERMS. Potentially discriminatory terms were identified in two ways: 1. Participants were given fragments from a journalistic article and report and asked to cross out, with a red pen, those words which, in their view, should not have been used by the journalist. 2. Participants were divided into two groups. Each group was given potentially discriminatory and neutral terms printed out on a card. Participants grouped the terms into two categories: "completely unacceptable" and "completely acceptable."

Media content and terms selected for the study involved the following topics:

▎ Coverage of religious holidays

▎ Disputable religious buildings

▎ Stirring up historical trauma

▎ Linking foreigners to threats

▎ Coverage of xenophobic statements made by a public official

▎ Linking religious and ethnic identities to criminality

▎ Coverage of terrorism

▎ Anti-Western sentiments

DESK RESEARCH. Desk research was additionally used in the part of self-regulation; moreover, normative acts and information on self-regulation practice requested from Georgian National Communications Commission (GNCC) were studied as well.

CONTENT

I. MEDIA SELF-REGULATION

Since 2009 mixed self-regulation regimes operate for broadcast, print and online media in Georgia: Broadcaster's Code of Conduct was developed by a body with statutory power while the print and online media are entirely self-regulatory and operate free of any specific statutory rules, on voluntary bases. Individual in-house code of conducts are not a common practice though some isolated cases can be identified and discussed.

BROADCASTERS. Pursuant to the Article 50 of the law on Broadcasting, the Georgian National Communications Commission (GNCC) adopted the Broadcasters' Code of Conduct on 12 March, 2009 which is mandatory for all license holders. Para 1 of the Article 14 stipulates, that "a broadcaster shall establish, on the basis of the Code of Conduct, an effective mechanism of self-regulation for internal review of and timely and justified response to complaints." Right to appeal a decision of broadcaster is also provided by the Code. The appeal body should comprise independent, impartial and qualified persons who do not represent either public officials or any political party and have not participated in the initial decision on the complaint.

Content regulation is solely the discretion of the broadcaster's self-regulatory body. GNCC has no power to reconsider decisions of the broadcaster's self-regulatory body regarding the content, but is entitled to intervene in case procedures prescribed by legislation (transparency of process, participation of interested parties etc.) are violated. GNCC has the discretion to impose sanction in such cases.

Chapter IX of the Code on Diversity, Equality and Tolerance contains anti-discriminative provisions and concerns large groups such as ethnic, religious, sexual or other minorities. According to the Article 31, "Broadcasters shall refrain from publishing any material likely to incite hatred or intolerance on the grounds of race, language, gender, religious convictions, political opinions, ethnic origin, geographic location, or social background". There is no specific provisions in the code regarding offensive terminology towards various minority groups.

Three major problems emerge in the implementation of the Code:

1. Non-uniform interpretation of the term "interested party;"
2. Lack of applications to an appeal body;
3. Low level of awareness of appeal mechanism among society.

INTERESTED PARTY. Non-governmental organizations used to initiate complaints based on anti-discriminative provision in partnership with different minority group representatives. However, certain TV channels refuse to discuss complaint referring to the article of the law which defines "interested party" and concluding that plaintiff NGOs and minority representatives are not authorized to address the commission. According to the law on broadcasting, an interested party is "a natural person or legal entity whose legitimate interest is influenced by the activity of a Broadcaster" (Article 2. e) and entitled to address broadcaster's self-regulation commission. A similar definition is provided for concerned party in the Code of Conduct of Broadcasters: Concerned party is "any person who is affected by or mentioned in a programme or in the decision of the broadcaster's self-regulation body" (Article 5. f).

Dual interpretation of the term of "interested party" and the lack of common standards that vary in practice on a matter of public interest indicates problem of efficiency of the Code in practice.

LACK OF APPLICATIONS. According to information provided by the GNCC, in 2016, self-regulation bodies of national and regional broadcasters considered 13 complaints; some of them do not specify a disputed clause from the Code of Conduct, which makes it impossible to classify types of these complaints. Four of these 13 complaints concerned discrimination, namely three complaints were about discrimination against LGBT representatives and one was discrimination on the ground of gender. The 2016 report of the GNCC does not specify cases of xenophobia or discrimination on the ground of religion.

LOW LEVEL OF AWARENESS OF APPEAL MECHANISM. Since the adoption of the Code of Conduct by the GNCC in 2009, the commission has not conducted an information campaign to raise awareness of citizens about an appeal body within the self-regulation mechanism. Consequently, the awareness of citizens about this instrument, which is envisaged by the legislation, is low.

The majority of participants in focus groups has not heard of appeal body within the media self-regulation mechanism. They said that had they been aware of it, they would have necessarily used it:

> "Of course, we would have applied, because no matter how guilty a person is, media has no right to offend his/her personality. Media's task is to report what happened" (Adjara).

Several participants would apply to a self-regulation mechanism if it directly concerned a member of their family or media intentionally distorted facts:

> "If a mistake is made repeatedly, I may apply…"

> "If there is no other option, I will apply; if it is said unintentionally and they [media outlet] correct this mistake themselves, there may not be a need to file a complaint; if it is done intentionally, then I would apply," (Kvemo Kartli).

Community and religious leaders do not apply to media self-regulation body either. Khaso Khangoshvili, a member of Council of Elders of Pankisi Gorge, considers that publication of statements on the web-page of the council an adequate form of response to media reporting:

> "For example, we published a statement with regard to the construction of church and related provocation. We are not silent but one cannot chase each journalist. When something is published which harms the relationship between Kist and Georgian people, we respond to it," said Khaso Khangoshvilisaid.

Institutionalized media self-regulation mechanisms are most actively used by the Union of Georgian Muslims, an organization operating in Adjara. The head of the organization, Tariel Nakaidze, said that in partnership with nongovernmental organizations, they repeatedly filed complaints about religious discrimination with broadcaster's self-regulation body as well as the Charter of Journalistic Ethics and the consideration of these complaints resulted in establishing facts of discrimination.[1] In Tariel Nakaidze's view, except for radical editions (Asaval-Dasavali newspaper, TV Obieqtivi), the rest of media reporting shows some improvement, though problems still remain such as the "use of incorrect terminology, associating Muslims with terrorism and the like that causes discontent in the community."'

GEORGIAN CHARTER OF JOURNALISTIC ETHICS: The Georgian Charter of Journalistic Ethics (GCJE) is an independent body established by individual journalists and managers who share the Charter's objectives. The organization was founded in 2009 and since then number of founding members increased from 137 to 318. One of the GCJE's primary functions is to receive and address citizens' complaints on unfair treatment by the media. The GCJE reviews complaints framed within the terms of the Charter developed by the signatory members. Principle 7 of the Charter concerns discrimination. According to the article, "the journalist shall be aware of the danger of discrimination being furthered by the media, and shall do the utmost to avoid facilitating such discrimination based on, among other things, race, sex, sexual orientation, language, religion, political or other opinions, and national or social origins".

As the table below shows, the number of applications to the Charter increased over the past years and with it, the indicator of cases against discrimination (7th principle). Among 134 cases considered from 2010 to 2017, 31 cases concerned discrimination, including seven cases involving xenophobia, 2 Islamophobia and 1 racism. It is worth to note that the majority of complaints were initiated by nongovernmental organizations.

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[1]   MDF, Union of Georgia Muslims, TDI vs Rustavi2, (2014).
      http://notophobia.ge/geo/view-resources/self-regulation-practice/6
      Tariel Nakaidze vs Mediacity.ge, (2014).
      http://notophobia.ge/geo/view-resources/self-regulation-practice/5
      MDF, Union of Georgia Muslims, TD, EMC vs Rustavi2, (2014).
      http://notophobia.ge/geo/view-resources/self-regulation-practice/4

TABLE 1. DATA ON CASES CONSIDERED BY THE CHARTER OF JOURNALISTIC ETHICS OVER THE PERIOD BETWEEN 2010 AND 2017

YEAR	CONSIDERED CASES	DISCRIMINATION CLAUSE	XENOPHOBIA	ISLAMOPHOBIA	RACISM
2017	31	9	1		1
2016	28	6	2 (Armenophobia)		
2015	35	7	2 (Turkophobia / Armenophobia)	1	
2014	21	7	2	1	
2013	5	0			
2012	5	0			
2011	3	1			
2010	5	1			
Sum	133	31	7	2	1

IN-HOUSE CODE OF CONDUCTS. In-house code of ethics and self-regulation rules are not a commonly established practice in Georgia, but some isolated practices are observed. In 2006, the Georgian Public Broadcaster (GPB) developed its own in-house Code of Conduct[2] and established a media monitoring unit to ensure observance of ethical standards within the newsroom. The monitoring unit was abolished in 2009, though the in-house Code of Conduct is still functional.

The Code of Conduct of Georgian Public Broadcaster provides detailed regulations for reporting ethnic and religious groups, ethnic/religious conflicts, religious programs, position against intolerance and represents the only Georgian document which also covers the issue of unacceptable terminology. In particular, Article 15.6 of the Code, which concerns the issue of terminology, says:

> "We should avoid such terminology that may be offensive for representatives of a specific ethnic or religious minority.
>
> We should react to words which belittle and offend an individual because of its ethnic origin and religious belief. We should make it clear to contributors who directly use such words on air that the public broadcaster disagrees with the statements made by them and the way of their expression…
>
> We should not liberally use terms such as, for example, "fundamentalist", "Islamist". What is appropriate for describing one group might prove quite inappropriate for the other.
>
> We should not name an individual's ethnic origin with a word having a negative colouring. For example, we should not say "kike" instead of "Jew", "Tatar" instead of "Azeri", etc".

There is no study conducted to learn how far in-house rules or provisions of the Broadcasters Code of Conduct govern the work of journalists and media managers on daily basis and whether ethical standards, as well as conscience clause are part of employment contracts for journalists.

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[2]   GPB's Code of Conduct. Professional Standards and Principles of Journalistic Ethics in Georgian Public Broadcaster's Programmes, (2016). http://eurocommunicator.ge/mdf/uploads//GPBs_in-house_Code_of_Conduct_ENG_-_Copy.pdf

II. MEDIA COVERAGE

2.1. REPORTING RELIGIOUS HOLIDAYS; MINORITIES AS AN OBJECT

As the media monitoring shows, Muslim-related issues are mainly covered in reports about high officials congratulating Muslim community on their religious holidays and editorial materials do not contain opinions of representatives of this community, thereby turning minorities into an object, rather than subjects, of journalistic materials. Moreover, reports do not provide public with the information about holidays and the reporting is of official nature.

A REPORT: In order to study attitudes of the Muslim community towards the coverage of religious holidays, a report produced by 1st channel of Georgian Public Broadcaster was shown to participants of the focus group. The report called "Giorgi Kvirikashvili hosts Iftar for the Muslim community of Georgia" related to the Prime Minister's congratulation on the occasion of Ramadan Bayram.

ATTITUDES. The majority of participants considered the coverage incomplete because it lacked comments of Muslims:

> "It is commendable that they arrive to congratulate, but such reports lack comments and assessments of those people who these reports are about" (Marneuli).
>
> "Kvirikashvili formulated his opinion about the importance of Muslims, but had the report contained an opinion of representative of this community it would have been more complete" (Pankisi).
>
> "It did not contained a single comment of a Muslim — either of Mufti or any representative of Islam. It would be better if it included such comment, or if society was asked [for comments]" (Ajara).

Moreover, participants from Adjara stressed that the material was not exhaustive and lacked the information about the religious holiday that was very important for them. Drawing parallels with the coverage of Christian holidays, participants in the Adjara focus group noted that reports on such holidays are not only significantly higher in number and longer in duration but even live broadcasts of these holidays are provided.

> "After all, they could have explained what Ramadan means."

> "They should have covered it more extensively because it is a very important holiday for Muslims."

> "We often observe that when it is a Christian holiday, believe me, the reporting is twice as long as this."

> "It seems the Public Broadcaster merely checked off the box on a task list by covering the holiday of Muslims" (Ajara)

According to a participant in the Adjara focus group, the report should have also noted the contribution of Muslims to the development of the country.

> "More information should have been conveyed about the contribution of Muslims to the history of Georgia."

Participants from Pankisi emphasized the incorrect use of terminology, considering that it is more suitable to say Ramzan than Ramadan. Also, in Pankisi, participants deemed it unacceptable that the Prime Minister extended his congratulations to Georgian Muslims alone.

> "They mentioned only Georgian Muslims, but non-Georgian Muslims also live in Georgia, do they not?"

> "It would be better to say that he congratulated Muslims" (Pankisi).

2.2. COVERAGE OF DISPUTED RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

Participants in the focus group were handed out quotes from an earlier article of Kviris Palitra, titled "Dismantling minaret, or playing with fire in Chela"[3] which concerned the removal of a minaret in the village of Chela, Georgia. Based on one concrete incident, the article generalized the attitudes towards Muslims and the issue of religious buildings; it also discussed that particular incident from the perspective of threat.

FACTUAL CIRCUMSTANCES: On 28 August 2013, the Revenue Service of the Finance Ministry dismantled a minaret erected on the territory of a private person in the village of Chela in Adigeni district of Samtskhe-Javakheti; this move prompted angry protests from local Muslims, which resulted in the arrest of 12 persons.

ASSIGNMENT: Participants were asked to cross out, with a red pen, those words which, in their view, should not have been used by the journalist.

The majority of respondents considered the terms not in isolation but in the context and apart from separate terms crossed out phrases and even entire sentences too.

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[3]   Eka Lomidze, "Dismantling minaret or playing with fire in Chela"; 28 August 2013. https://goo.gl/6EJLGR

Georgian Muslims resettled from Ajara

Abundance of mosques

Enemies to the government

"Tearing off" the minaret

Muslims in compact settlements

Other nationals

Just a minaret

We, Georgians [Muslims] too

So many mosques

Apart from the terms, participants crossed out those phrases and sentences which reflect three narratives in media:

1. Discussing the suitability of constructing mosques in terms of quantity and reciprocity;
2. Dividing Muslim citizens of Georgia by their ethnic origin (Georgian Muslims vs non-Georgian Muslims)/associating Muslims of Georgian ethnicity with Turkey;
3. Associating ethnic/religious minorities with threats.

DISCUSSING THE SUITABILITY OF CONSTRUCTING MOSQUES IN TERMS OF QUANTITY AND RECIPROCITY

CROSSED-OUT SENTENCES

"When so many mosques exist in a tiny country with the majority of population being Orthodox Christian, one may boldly assert that no one prohibits the construction of mosques in this country."

"I firmly believe that what happened in the village of Chela is not a persecution; unfortunately, it smacks of provocation."

"Despite the abundance of mosques, an impression has been created of late, or someone deliberately creates an impression, that there is animosity towards Muslims in Georgia."

"To cut a long story short, no one bans the construction of mosques in this country and if an interested person visits Upper Adjara, Pankisi Gorge, Bolnisi and all those places in the country where Muslims live, he/she will see clearly that Georgia remains a religiously tolerant country."

"Aziziye mosque is a separate topic. It was the Turkish government that demanded, and as I am aware, still demands its construction in exchange for the restoration of our ancient cultural monuments existing on the historic Georgian land in Tao-Klarjeti."

Participants in the focus groups considered excerpts from the article about the quantity of mosques in Georgia totally unacceptable. In the respondents' view, the journalist made a wrong assessment by saying that Muslims are not prohibited to build mosques.

> "There are more than 300 mosques but the majority of them are in Upper Ajara, in small villages; the capacity of those mosques is very small and is not enough to accommodate even the believers of those villages. Moreover, the process of urbanization, that is, migration from villages is underway and even those mosques have become abandoned while in a city there is only one mosque which cannot accommodate so many people."

> "If there are many Muslims living there why should there not be many mosques?" (Pankisi).

> "She [journalist] is not tolerant herself" (Kvemo Kartli).

Especially painful for the respondents from Adjara was the discussion by the journalist of the issue of construction of mosque in the context of reciprocity[4]. They also considered unacceptable the association of religious building with the Turkish state.

> "I think it is a mistake of the state and even the population to associate a religious building – be it a mosque or a church, with any country. It does not mean that a mosque is a possession of Turkey; it is a religious building. Islam did not originate in Turkey. It does not belong to Turkey. Religion is not a property of any one country."

> "As regards the Aziziye mosque, Turkey wanted to build it, but when Georgian people expressed their intention to build the mosque themselves with their money and to this end, even purchased the land, they were not given the right to build it." (Adjara)

Respondents from Adjara also noted the emphasis of the journalists on a quantitative superiority of Orthodox Christians, which, in their opinion, has nothing to do with the equality of rights.

> "The article says that Orthodox Christians comprise the majority of Georgia's population; I think, that with these words the journalist made a hint in our address that Orthodox Christians are larger in number and hence, have more rights; perhaps that is what she wanted to say. I think, the number does not matter in a tolerant and developed country. We all must be equal." (Adjara)

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[4] After lengthy negotiations, on 23 May 2017, Georgia and Turkey signed a program on cooperation in the cultural sphere for 2017-2021, which entered into force on 8 September 2018. According to the document, the parties undertake to restore the Ottoman cultural heritage monuments in Georgia and the Georgian cultural monuments in the territory of Turkey.

DIVIDING MUSLIM CITIZENS OF GEORGIA BY THEIR ETHNIC ORIGIN/ASSOCIATING MUSLIMS OF GEORGIAN ETHNICITY WITH TURKEY

CROSSED-OUT SENTENCES

"There are several places in Georgia with compact settlements of Muslims, including not only other nationals but Georgians too."

"When I called Adigeni concerning the incident, those in the election headquarter of Georgian Dream said regretfully that a large segment of population in the district and in the village of Chela were Muslims resettled from Adjara and that they [Georgian Dream] had a deal with those people (meaning, they were thought to be Georgian Dream's electorate), but now they turned into enemies to the government, threatening not to vote for the Georgian Dream and have the Georgian Dream out from Adigeni?!"

"Imagine for a second, if the population of the village were non-Georgians and instead, were Azerbaijanis or Turks, both governments would have voiced their protests against the incident and Georgia would instantly found itself embroiled in an international scandal."

"Fortunately, residents of Chela are Georgians, both Christians and Muslims and they easily manage to calm down and support each other."

In respondents' view, the journalist was classifying Muslims citizens of Georgia by ethnicity, thereby causing marginalization of Muslims. This attitude of media — Georgian Muslims vs. non-Georgian Muslims — affects their daily life too.

"Sometimes, a general attitude is observed towards Kists that they were sheltered, taken care of [by Georgians], so on and so forth and Kists should not forget that."

"Since you arrived and live here, mind this and behave yourselves. In other words, you are reminded that you must be grateful that you live in Georgia, this is the problem here." (Pankisi)

Moreover, Muslims of Georgian ethnicity were associated with the neighboring state Turkey.

"Many people have a wrong opinion — when you say you are a Muslim they ask, oh, are you a Turk?" (Adjara)

Respondents from Adjara think that stereotypes promoted by media affect attitudes of society and to prove this, cited examples from their experience.

"Especially when you cross the border, the Georgian-Turkish border [a checkpoint] is separated and you are told that you are a Turk and should cross over there. I tell the woman than I am not

a Turk, I am a Georgian, have a Georgian passport and must be standing on this side, but she disagrees with me, telling that I am a Turk and must cross over and stand on that side." (Adjara).

ASSOCIATING ETHNIC/RELIGIOUS MINORITIES WITH THREAT

CROSSED-OUT SENTENCES

"They should not have touched the minaret. It is hard to believe that those who did this failed to understand that they were playing with fire."

"I do not like when Georgian Christians are persecuted in Saingilo and I condemn any fact of persecution and oppression on the ground of religion. However, I firmly believe that what happened in the village of Chela is not a persecution; unfortunately, it smacks of provocation."

"Who needs this sort of provocations in Georgia? Such people might also say that Russia had no interest whatsoever in Abkhazia and the Samachablo region, that we ourselves staged military provocations, even more so, that a time bomb in Javakheti is the fruit of our imagination, which one may explode any time on the ground of ethnic and religious confrontation.... If construction materials were not customs cleared and the law was violated by the importer of the materials, it was the violator that should have been held responsible."

In the respondents' view, by associating Muslims living in Georgia with threat the journalist contributes to sowing fear and encourages negative attitudes towards the community.

"Here the text says that when tearing off the minaret they had no idea how Muslims would retaliate, what they were going to confront. This means that we are monsters; equipped with grenades and ready to confront. This is precisely depicting us as terrorists." (Adjara)

The majority of respondents deemed it unacceptable that the incident of dismantling the minaret was linked to a hypothetical ethnic or religious confrontation in Samtskhe-Javakheti which is densely populated by ethnic Armenians, also to interests of the Russian Federation in Russia-occupied territories of Abkhazia and Samachablo, and thus associating them with threats.

"If this is reported on TV, how would viewers perceive a journalist talking like that and saying that a time bomb may be exploded in Javakheti any time? They will be frightened."

"An example of Saingilo was cited that Muslims persecute Christians there and then, an example of Russia-Abkhazia war — I do not understand that at all; why is it cited here? How is this linked?" (Pankisi)

In respondents' opinion, the article will have a negative influence on readers. They also think that the terms and sentences, they had crossed out, were used by the journalists to increase the readership.

> **"If this is read by those people who lack information, they will get a different impression. It triggers confrontation."** (Ajara)

> **"This have no influence on us but have influence on representatives of other religion."** (Kvemo Kartli)

2.3. HISTORICAL TRAUMA

According to the Media Development Foundation's report on hate speech[5], certain political parties and media outlets stir up historical traumas with respect to modern-day Turkey, on the one hand, and modern-day Iran, on the other, while discussing human rights issues of Georgia's Muslim community.

During focus group interviews, the issue of stirring up historical traumas involved the topics of Turkophobia and historical enmity with Iran. Particular examples of stirring up historical traumas were provided to ethnic Azerbaijani participants in Kvemo Kartli, while observation was carried out in other regions to determine which particular issues would lead to raising the issue of Turkophobia.

TURKOPHOBIA. "Revival" of the issue of historical enmity with Turkey in media outlets proved especially painful for the participants of focus groups conducted in Adjara. Respondents explained that media outlets stir up historical trauma in relation to the issue of construction of mosques in Adjara, thus encouraging a perception that Turkey carries out religious expansion in Adjara.

> **"Some wrote on the Internet that they are already fed up with bellowing of Muslim Khojas and what's going on in Georgia, we are Georgians and what do the Turks want here?"** (Adjara).

Unlike Adjara, the issue of Turkophobia was less acute for the participants of focus groups conducted in Pankisi.

THE ISSUE OF HISTORICAL ENMITY WITH PERSIA. Ethnic Azerbaijani participants of the focus group conducted in the Kvemo Kartli Region discussed the remarks made by the host of Spektri program on Kavkasia TV.

KAVKASIA, SPEKTRI, DECEMBER 26, 2014

Davit Akubardia: "Shah Abbas was a madman for Georgia. He killed 6000 clergymen in David Gareji, and when? On the Christmas eve… A well-known story is that they cut the heads of 30 000 Lazs… They brought an army of 50 thousand to the gorge saying they would kill those who don't embrace Islam.And they killed them. I am sorry, while we are giving them all those mosques, did any Turkish official apologize to Georgia about those 30 thousand Lazs?…Or did any of our Iranian brothers and historical neighbors apologize for cutting the throats of 6000 clergymen?…For some reason they demand tolerance from these cowards Christians. Is this message coming from there?"

It should be noted that the participants of the Kvemo Kartli focus group had no information about the program host, Davit Akubardia and they clarified whether he was a host or an invited guest only after watching relevant fragments of the program.

[5]   Hate Speech; 2016 report, Media Development Foundation, 2017, http://mdfgeorgia.ge/eng/view-library/55

Respondents were strongly against discussing historical developments and past enmity in modern context. They focused their attention on historical relations between Georgia and Azerbaijan, on the one hand, and between Georgia and Turkey, on the other.

> "There were frequent wars between Azerbaijan and Georgia. Georgians also live in Zaqatala. I have graduated from the school in Baku and they say a lot of bad things about King David and Tamar there, like it happens here with respect to Shah Abbas. Such things should not happen in Georgia. It will create problems. If Shah Abbas committed a crime, it is not the reason why we should become enemies today."

> "When he said in the end that the Turks should apologize for killing so many people, they might have really killed many Georgians historically, but did not Georgians kill the Turks or other people? Did they apologize for it? It happened in the past and why should the Turks apologize now? I could not understand it" (Kvemo Kartli).

When asked about how media outlets should cover historical developments, respondents answered that a journalist should be impartial and he/she should not recall the issue of historical enmity comprehensively.

> "He speaks about his feelings. He is biased."

> "He should not speak about it so comprehensively" (Kvemo Kartli).

Linking historical facts to their religious rights and sentiments proved unacceptable for the focus group participants.

> "He [journalist] wants us to be deprived of the right to pray and have a mosque."

> "It appears that our sentiments should not be taken into consideration" (Kvemo Kartli).

2.4. COVERAGE OF XENOPHOBIC STATEMENTS MADE BY PUBLIC FIGURES – LINKING FOREIGN NATIONALS TO THREATS

To clarify whether media should cover xenophobic statements made by public figures, we chose the remarks made by Parliament's Vice Speaker Irma Inashvili, the leader of far-right political opposition party, Alliance of Patriots, at the Parliament's committee hearing, where she associated foreigners from Asian countries with threats and terrorism:

> "Let's say openly what is happening on the lands purchased by foreigners – you see the citizens and families, who arrived from Asian, Arabic countries and settled down in various cities of Georgia. They are buying lands and building villages there. These are Arabic, Indian, Iranian villages. We respect the citizens of all counties; I do not want to be accused of any phobia, but let us realize the threat that may be facing our country in the near future. It is someway related to the security as well; a threat of terrorism is high in Asian villages[6]."

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[6]   IPN "Irma Inashvili – We respect the citizens of all countries, but Georgian land should not be alienated to foreign nationals," June 15, 2017, https://goo.gl/jq3cZV

The participants had not received any information about the author of this remark in advance. Discussion was held around two issues:

▎ Which words promote stereotyping?
▎ Should media cover xenophobic statements made by public officials and if yes, how?

COVERAGE OF XENOPHOBIC STATEMENTS MADE BY A POLITICIAN. When asked whether media should have covered this xenophobic statement by a politician, a part of respondents answered that media outlets should not cover xenophobic statements made by a politician, because such coverage further promotes stereotyping towards Muslim community.

> **"Remarks made by a politician may have a greater influence on viewers and the attitude towards Muslims will be worsened further."**
>
> **"It creates a certain idea, when he/she is a legislator and has been elected by people, especially when such people come out and say that it is a potential terrorist. It promotes the establishment of public opinion" (Pankisi).**

Another part of respondents supposed that politicians' remarks should be covered definitely to help the public make an informed choice.

> **"If media outlets do not cover them, you will likely make a mistake and elect the same persons during the next elections" (Pankisi).**

One of the participants from Adjara separated the xenophobic statements made by public officials from those made by people with no electoral legitimation. He said that media should cover only the statements made by public officials.

> **"If there are people, who do not represent anything, media should not cover them and in case of politicians, to whom people listen, their statements should be covered" (Adjara).**

Those participants, who suppose that the statements made by politicians, even if they were xenophobic, should be covered by media, focus their attention on two conditions: 1. Media should not express its own position on a politician's xenophobic statement; 2. Media should balance a politician's xenophobic statement with other opinions and arguments.

> **"It may be covered but on condition that other opinions are also added to it; so, I should listen not only to this politician, but to others as well, who think differently" (Kvemo Kartli).**
>
> **"Media should cover, quote politicians and write exactly what they said instead of paraphrasing them" (Adjara).**

The respondent from Adjara also noted that not only media outlets encourage similar statements, but journalists frequently share politicians' opinions:

> **"We should not feel journalist's support towards this or that politician... Frequently we witness that a journalist supports a politician" (Adjara).**

LINKING FOREIGN NATIONALS TO THREATS/STEREOTYPING. Among the examples of stereotyping, respondents named that part of the politician's statement, where she links the arrival of foreign nationals from Asian countries to Georgia to a threat of terrorism. Respondents from Adjara also focused on the threat of losing ethnic identity.

> "Many people say that they are afraid of those, who wear hijabs. Why are you afraid? Which of them has thrown a bomb at you? This fear has been triggered by politicians and media outlets" (Adjara).
>
> "It is unacceptable for me, i.e. she does not focus on other things, but refers to them as to potential terrorists, because they are Muslims." (Pankisi)
>
> "The statement should not focus on the threat of terrorism, but it should focus on the fact that after arrival of so many foreigners in Georgia, their share may increase and the share of Georgian nationality may decrease; so, we may see this threat instead of terrorism."
>
> "It is just due to their actions that so many foreign nationals arrive in Georgia. If you do not want foreigners to build anything here, then do not sell so many lands to them." (Adjara)

2.5. LINKING RELIGIOUS/ETHNIC/NATIONAL IDENTITY TO CRIMINALITY

The attitudes of the focus group participants towards linking religious/ethnic/national identity to criminality by media outlets were clarified through the headline testing method. They were offered seven headlines of Georgian and Russian online editions as well as Russian television.

MEDIA OUTLETS AND HEADLINES

IPN: Georgia sentenced a citizen of Islamic Republic of Iran to six years in jail for pervert action against juveniles.

SPUTNIK-GEORGIA: Iranian citizen was arrested in Georgia for pervert behavior.

SPUTNIK-GEORGIA: Police arrested Iranian drug dealer in Ganmukhuri.

IPN: The Interior Ministry arrested an Iranian citizen on the territory of Gem Fest for a drug crime.

PIA: Does Iranization threaten Georgia? Alarming statistics

SPUTNIK-GEORGIA: Turkish citizens predominate among foreigners in Georgian prisons.

НТВ: Противник мусульман устроил теракт (Opponent to Muslims staged a terrorist act).

After familiarizing with the headlines, the discussion was held on the following issues:

▍ Is it necessary to indicate ethnic/religious/national identity when reporting on a crime?
▍ What stereotypes do these headlines form?
▍ Is there any exception, when a crime is committed on behalf of a group of concrete identity?

It should be noted that all groups had different attitudes towards each of this issue that led to heated debates.

EXPEDIENCY OF INDICATING ETHNIC/RELIGIOUS/NATIONAL IDENTITY WHEN REPORTING ON A CRIME. In the opinion of a part of respondents, it is totally unacceptable to indicate ethnic/religious/national identity when reporting on a crime. According to their assessments, in this case media stereotypes particular ethnic, religious or national groups and generalizes a crime committed by one person to entire group.

> "National stereotypes are stirred up, when, for example, they say that an Azerbaijani did it or they link a crime to the nationality" (Kvemo Kartli).
>
> "When you write "an Iranian", a negative attitude is formed with respect to all Iranians; so, it is better to indicate a foreign national and those who are interested may clarify the issue further" (Pankisi).
>
> "There is a stereotype in Georgia that they hate the Turks, hate the Russians and if a person of this nationality does something good, this good is an exception and if he/she commits a crime, then they criticize everybody. In my opinion, people should understand that they should not boil everyone in one pot" (Adjara).

Another part of respondents did not agree with this opinion, as they saw no problem in indicating the identity. According to them, media should cover the issues related to crimes comprehensively and should provide comprehensive information to viewers/readers. In this context, some respondents brought the examples of covering the crimes committed by Georgian citizens in European countries.

> "If he/she is a criminal, it should be indicated so that you are informed about what particular crimes are committed and where" (Pankisi).
>
> "All nationalities should be indicated, not only Azerbaijanis" (Kvemo Kartli).
>
> "For example, there are frequent cases, when Georgians are involved in robbery abroad and then they write that a Georgian committed this or that crime. As for me, I will not feel hatred towards all Georgians, because there are good and bad everywhere" (Adjara).

ASSOCIATION WITH RELIGIOUS IDENTITY. A part of respondents participating in the Adjarian focus groups associated the indication of ethnic/national identity in the headlines with emphasizing religious identity. In their opinion, the fact that criminals were citizens of the Middle East was emphasized because the majority of population is Muslim there. The use of a term "Islamic" [Islamic Republic of Iran] in the headline was also unacceptable for them.

> "A citizen of Islamic Republic of Iran was arrested in Georgia for pervert offences against juveniles – it means that it is linked to Islam" (Adjara).
>
> "It is a crime that a Turk is associated with a Muslim and then a different attitude is formed towards a Muslim. People should understand that a Turk and an Iranian should not be associated with Muslims although the majority of their population is Muslim. When Georgians commit a crime abroad, I do not think that they would try to clarify whether they were Muslims or Christians" (Adjara).

According to a part of respondents, there is no problem in using a term "Islamic Republic of Iran" in media, because this term represents an official name of Iran.

INDICATION OF RELIGIOUS VS. NATIONAL IDENTITY. Indication of religious identity of an offender proved unacceptable for that part of respondents, who supposed that identification of ethnic and national origin was not problematic.

A part of respondents explained that by indicating religious identity, a crime is generalized to entire religious group. Another part claimed that there should be the least interest towards religious identity of an offender, because not a single religion preaches about committing a crime.

> "By indicating a religion, they touch entire Muslim community" (Pankisi).
>
> "As for me, if anybody commits a crime, I would like to receive comprehensive information about an offender; I will be less interested in his religious identity, because I know a lot about religion and I know that a representative of this religion will not do it." (Adjara)
>
> "Information about our citizenship is provided in our passports. Does it contain any information about our religious identity?" (Adjara)

IDENTIFICATION OF A PERSON. A part of respondents, who supposed that indication of religious/ethnic/national identity was problematic when reporting on a crime, said that instead of indicating an identity, the name of an offender should be identified that was not perceived by them as violation of the offender's rights.

> "The name and surname can be mentioned. Why do you specify that a Muslim or a Christian has robbed?" (Pankisi).

Another part of respondents did not share this opinion, noting that dissemination of offenders' personal information by media was violation of their rights and that initials should be used instead of their full names and surnames.

> "When they disseminate your name and surname, your rights are violated, because they publicly state about you" (Pankisi).

2.6. COVERAGE OF TERRORISM IN GEORGIAN MEDIA

The coverage of terrorism in the Georgian media was related to the links between Islam and terrorism and the citizens of Georgia who joined ISIL in Syria.

1. Georgians who joined ISIL

Video screening: The participants watched a report of Tanamgzavri TV company titled "ISIL's warning and reaction in Georgia,"[7] which concerned a video warning recorded by the citizens of Georgia who

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[7]   Tanamgzavri TV company, "ISIL's warning and reaction in Georgia"; 24 November 2015. https://goo.gl/FeLjba

joined ISIS in Syria. The report offered a vox pop regarding the video warning, which was recorded in the street. Respondents were asked to evaluate the suitability of media covering propaganda videos released by terrorist organizations.

Discussion. The attitude of respondents towards the report was mixed. Majority considered improper for media to cover such videos, thought that an interested group used media as a tool to sow fear among the population. Another segment of respondents asserted that the audience must have full information about threats and who intimidates them.

> "Today, media is one of powerful tools, including in the hands of terrorists and they use the Internet to promote their ideology and spread their views among people and to frighten people. By reporting about such propaganda, media outlets play into the hands of terrorists and nolens volens, become contributors." (Pankisi)

> "These videos should not be released not only by television but social networks too. Some people may consider them absurd and ridiculous but other people may get very scared." (Ajara)

> "I do not agree that only pleasant things should be reported for people, like it was during the reign of communists. We should report everything that is happening – both bad and good news…. I should know if such a person is somewhere around to shun him/her." (Ajara)

> "I think it must be covered in order to have population be aware and prepared. They should know who the enemy is." (Pankisi)

Respondents who oppose the media coverage of propaganda videos released by terrorist organization, additionally emphasized two factors:

▍ Their families might not have information;
▍ Children might also watch videos that contain threat.

The second half of the discussion concerned the suitability of recording vox pop about the released video in the street. A segment of respondents considered vox pops on such topics unacceptable whereas another segment of respondents considered them interesting and necessary to hear population's opinions on the topic.

> "I did not like the vox pop in the street. It sows fear and is propaganda too." (Pankisi)

> "Vox pops are good because we hear people's opinions, learn what they think after the reporting of this information. If people appear frightened then, after that, such facts should no longer be reported." (Ajara)

A segment of respondents thought that when releasing videos containing threats media do not think about the audience and cover propaganda videos with the only aim to increase viewership.

2. Unacceptable terrorism-related terms

The participants were handed out a fragment from the article about a terrorist attack in London on 22 March 2017, which was published by Georgian online edition ambebi.ge[8]. The author of the article identified the attacker and provided his biography. The article directly linked the religion of the attacker (Islam) to terrorism. With a red pen, participants were to cross out those words which, in their opinion, journalist should not have used.

The majority of respondents crossed out those sentences in the article, which linked the religious identity of the attacker to the crime committed by him.

> ### CROSSED-OUT SENTENCES
>
> "He adopted Islam in 1993."
>
> "[He] called on users of the site to adopt Muslim religion and commit terrorist acts.

The participants placed emphasis on linking the crime to the religion, saying that journalists never do that when reporting about terrorists of other faith.

> "When Anders Breivik killed more than 70 young persons no one mentioned his religion, whether he was Christian, pagan, Buddhist or any other. When it comes to Muslims, media always place emphasis on their religion... Roughly speaking, if something bad happens, we are always blamed for that." (Ajara)

> "Had the journalist merely said that he called the website users for committing terrorist acts, I would not have seen any problem in such reporting, but saying that he converted to Islam and then started committing crimes, this is unacceptable for me." (Pankisi)

In the respondents' view, association by media outlets of their religion with terrorism affects their daily lives.

> "I often had to assert that Islam and terrorism are two separate things and they should not be linked to each other."

> "Lots of tourists from Iran arrived in Ajara this year and I observed reactions of children when seeing these people clad in black, even more so, the reactions of their parents pulling away their children from them. Seeing me they will not have a similar reaction but seeing persons wearing black clothes triggers a thought among them that they have bombs tied to their waists underneath these clothes and are ready to detonate them any minute."

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8   Lali Papaskiri, "Details of terrorist attack in London"; 23 March 2017. https://goo.gl/QqVrrR

> **"Since a person is an Iranian, he is perceived as a terrorist while he may not be a terrorist at all, but an Iranian is already an unacceptable person."** (Adjara)

2.7. COVERAGE OF TERRORISM IN RUSSIAN MEDIA

LEGISLATIVE REGULATIONS. Coverage of terrorism and extremism in media is regulated by a number of laws in the Russian Federation.[9] Article 4 of the Law of Russian Federation on Mass Media sets content requirements to media, following which media outlets, when disseminating information on public associations or other organizations that have been liquidated or banned on the grounds provided by the Federal Law on Countering extremist Activity, shall indicate that these entities are eliminated and their activities are prohibited on the territory of Russian Federation. A media outlet violating this provision shall be considered a disseminator of extremist material and be subject to a financial penalty and the restriction on the dissemination of materials. The Law also envisages termination or suspension of media activity as a legal liability.

FOCUS GROUP METHOD. The attitudes towards and perception of the coverage of terrorism in the Russian media was evaluated by applying the following method:

▌ Testing attitudes to the use of hate speech towards terrorists by means of screening an experimental video;

▌ Observing evaluations of the coverage of involvement of children in terrorist trainings by means of screening a video report and using a semi-structured questionnaire;

▌ Testing anti-Western attitudes by means of screening a report on Russia's involvement in the Syrian conflict and using a semi-structured questionnaire;

▌ Studying attitudes towards an article linking terrorism to Islam by means of discussion.

1. The use of hate speech towards terrorists

EXPERIMENTAL VIDEO SCREENING. The participants were handed out a transcript of a fragment from a TV report, in which the name of a terrorist of European identity was replaced with an Arabic name. The report[10] was about a female citizen of Britain, who joined the terrorist group ISIL, but later pleaded for pardon and a permission to return to her home country. The NTV reporter used hate speech towards this woman.

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[9]   The Law of Russian Federation On Mass Media, 27 December 1997; http://docs.cntd.ru/document/9003299
       The Federal Law On Counteracting Extremist Activity, 25 July 2002; http://docs.cntd.ru/document/901823502
       The Federal Law on Information, Information Technologies and Protection of Information, 27 July 2006; http://pravo.gov.ru/proxy/ips/?docbody&nd=102108264
       The Code of the Russian Federation on Administrative Offenses, 30 December 2001; http://ivo.garant.ru/#/document/12125267:0
[10]   НТВ, Итоги, "Раскаяние "белой вдовы", [NTV, Itogi; Repentance of "white widow"] 4 July, 2017; https://goo.gl/nRjQG3

"After what this Muslim terrorist [Abuddin Aswan] did [joined ISIL terrorists], he will be rejected even by his own mother. By the way, relatives [in Jordan] do not hope to see him alive… Of course, seizing Raqqa will not stop international terrorism; terrorists like Asvad will disperse all over the world and continue their war from other spots. It is like destroying a nest of snakes but leaving the snakes alive — they will spread around. Clearly, there is the need to destroy the nest, destroy Raqqa and thwart plans of terrorists and their financiers."

While evaluating, participants were not aware of the real identity of the person featured in the report. After a discussion, the participants watched the authentic video and re-evaluated the same issues.

DISCUSSION. Having read the quote, the majority of respondents agreed to an opinion that the journalist should not have expressed such a subjective attitude towards even a terrorist.

"I think, a journalist must refrain from making such evaluations and must report only information, without expressing his/her personal views. This may have a negative influence on a reader, for example, when expressing her personal opinion that even the mother would reject her child." (Pankisi).

A participant of Pankisi focus group said that in his opinion, the religious identity of the offender conditioned such a subjective attitude of the journalist.

"I doubt that the journalist would have said such things about him had he been a Christian" (Pankisi).

"One may hear about Muslims alone that they continue the war and mainly they cause the war. Are Christians and other people not involved in this war?"

Having watched the authentic video and learnt that the terrorist was a woman of European identity, the negative attitude of participants towards the media coverage did not change. A participant from Ajara even suggested that this report should be shown to everyone in order to break the stereotype according to which all Muslims are terrorists. Another participant stressed that the crime has no nationality or religious and gender identity.

"What it changes for me is that this report should be shown to everyone. Everyone thinks that only people from Islamic countries join the ISIL. I have often heard that people from Europe also actively engage in this activity, but no one admits that."

"It does not matter — terrorism is terrorism; nationality, religion, gender have nothing to do with that" (Ajara)

A segment of the focus group thought that although the offender was a citizen of Britain, Islamophobic sentiments dominated the report. According to a segment of respondents, the journalist's attitude was conditioned by the fact that the British woman married a Muslim.

> "The journalist reported this story in such a way because she married a Muslim" (Pankisi)

> "One would get an impression [from the report] that if you want to become a terrorist and blow up someone you should first become a Muslim" (Ajara).

Respondents also criticized the journalist's tough stance on the fight against terrorism as it fanned violence towards civilians in Raqqa.

> "The journalist calls for violence, saying that it [Raqqa] must be destroyed. Civilians may also live alongside offenders in this settlement." (Pankisi)

> "It sounded as if all residents of Raqqa must be destroyed, that is, the nest must be destroyed. It did not say that apart from terrorists, i.e. those who pose threat to others, peaceful civilians live in Raqqa too. The shelling carried out by Russia there takes lives of peaceful civilians too… If you intend to destroy, you must destroy what is necessary to be destroyed, not people." (Ajara)

A question whether they would apply to a media self-regulation body if the report featured a member of their family, was answered affirmatively by the respondents from Ajara whereas a participant from Pankisi said that applying to a media self-regulation body would change nothing because the report had already shaped attitudes of the audience.

> "The report had already been aired and the audience watched it. How should it [applying to a self-regulatory body] help? The audience has already formed its opinion" (Pankisi).

2. Reporting terrorism and children

The participants in the focus group watched a report of the NTV,[11] which covered the training of children by the ISIL. Minors in the report were identifiable visually and the presenter as well as the author of the report associated them with future threats.

The entire report was totally unacceptable for respondents, but they stressed the following problematic issues:

- Terminology used by the journalist;
- Linking children to terrorism;
- Visualization of faces of minors;
- Sowing fear among audience.

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[11]   НТВ, Итоги недели, [Itogi of the week] 25 June, 2017. https://goo.gl/cdF6ek

TERMS EVALUATED AS NEGATIVE

Breeding ground/cubs of Caliphate

Future terrorists

Children of ISIL — a time bomb for the entire region

In the respondents' view, the aim of the journalist was to sow fear and hate towards minors, which was achieved through the use of above listed terms and linking children to terrorism/future terrorist attacks.

> "Breeding ground, cubs — these terms create an opinion that they [children] must be destroyed too. They do not actually realize that they are children and can be easily influenced and manipulated" (Pankisi).

> "When it concerns minors, I do not think it is correct to brand them terrorists." (Adjara)

3. Russia's military involvement in Syria.

Participants in the focus group watched a report produced by the Russian 1st Channel,[12] which covered the issues of Russian air strikes in Syria. Having watched the report, participants stressed the following three issues:

JOURNALIST AS A PARTY: Respondents noted that both the presenter of the program and the author of the report used the word "we" when reporting about the Russian armament and Russia's strikes.

1ST CHANNEL, VREMYA, 25 JUNE.

VALERI FADEEV, presenter: "In Syria we achieved a strategic success. Now Americans are trying to save their face in some other direction."

EVGENI BARANOV, reporter: "Russia's aims in Syria were pronounced right upon the start of our operation and they remain unchanged to date"...

In the respondents' view, the word "we" clearly showed the journalist's biased attitude.

> "It is the state TV channel and they say whatever they are instructed to." (Pankisi)

> "It was bad, journalist made a biased coverage. He was expressing the views of his country, not his own." (Kvemo Kartli)

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[12]   Первый канал, Время, "Горячее Небо Сирии", [1st Channel, Vremya, Hot sky of Syria] 25 June, 2017. https://goo.gl/1FBSfy

DEMONSTRATING RUSSIA'S STRENGTH: In the respondents' view, one of the aims pursued by this report was to show Russia's strength to the audience. The participants emphasized that fragment of the report in which the reporter spoke about the Russian armament and Russia's air strikes in Syria.

> "They wanted to show that nothing can pose threat to Russia."

> "This shows that they wanted to demonstrate their strength." (Pankisi)

> "It is an ordinary dictatorial regime." (Kvemo Kartli)

FANNING ANTI-WESTERN SENTIMENTS: In the respondents' view, the aim of the report was to create a negative image of the USA in the eyes of the audience. However, in the opinion of a Kvemo Kartli respondent, both Russia and the USA have interests in Syria.

> "The comparison was made with America. They want to prove America's ineffectiveness."

> "This report shows a military and political confrontation between Russia and America." (Pankisi)

> "America is evil, but we [Russia] are angels."

> "Syria is like Ortachala, everyone is there. It has much oil. America wants it, Russia wants it and Turkey wants it too." (Kvemo Kartli)

4. Linking terrorism to Islam, stereotyping

The participants read an article of Sputink-Georgia, titled "Australian senator arrives at a session wearing burqa and calls for its ban."[13] The article recounted a fact of Australian senator, Pauline Hanson, arriving at a Senate chamber session in the burqa to push for its ban in the country. As a background information, Sputnik-Georgia cited a terror plot which was foiled some time ago and involved Muslim suspects:

SPUTINK-GEORGIA:

"According to reports, some time ago, Australian law enforcement agencies thwarted a terrorist plot to bring down a plane. Two Muslim suspects – 49-year-old Khaled Mahmoud and 32-year-old Mahmoud Khayat, have already been charged with terror offences. As it has transpired, they intended to smuggle a bomb on to an Etihad Airways flight departing from Sydney on 15 July."

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[13] Sputink-Georgia, "Australian senator arrives at a session wearing burqa and calls for its ban," 17 August 2017. https://goo.gl/HTkvpL

The discussion on this issue focused on two things: 1.Politician's responsibility; 2. Journalist's responsibility.

The majority of respondents thought that the demand of the Australian politician for the ban on burqa concerned the responsibility of politician and should be reported by media. As for the journalists, respondents thought that the journalist was responsible for that part where the ban on burqa was linked to a terrorist threat in Australia.

> **"[Journalist] starts speaking about burqa and then links it to terrorism" (Kvemo Kartli)**

> **"Burqa shall not be linked to terrorism. It has nothing to do with Islam." (Pankisi).**

The title of the article ("Australian senator arrives at a session wearing burqa and calls for its ban") was also unacceptable for a segment of respondents who thought that instead of stressing ban on burqa in the title it would have been better for the article to be titled "Australian prosecutor criticizes the demand for the ban on burqa in the country."

> **"Thus we would learn that someone demanded the ban but not everyone thinks in such a way in Australia" (Adjara).**

2.8. SPECIFIC TERRORISM-RELATED TERMS USED IN RUSSIAN MEDIA

The participants of focus groups assessed specific terrorism-related terms used in Russian media and their alternatives.

TERMS USED IN RUSSIAN MEDIA	ALTERNATIVE NEUTRAL TERMS
ИГИЛ[14] (ISIL) is banned in Russia	
No beard, no terrorist act	• Terrorist
	• Attacker/bomber/kidnapper
A man of eastern appearance (terrorist)	• Rebels
Future terrorists	
Live bomb	Suicide bomber
Terrorist's wife	A suspect's family member

Most respondents were strongly against all terrorism-related terms used in Russian media, except for the term "ИГИЛ (ISIL) is banned in Russia." Respondents said that the neutral terms proposed by us were acceptable for them and they named them as alternatives to discriminative terms.

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[14] Russian media uses an acronym ИГИЛ (ISIL) originated from the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (Исламское государство Ирака и Леванта).

ИГИЛ (ISIL) BANNED IN RUSSIA. Most respondents positively assessed the use of the term "banned in Russia" with respect to the Islamic State by media that was largely determined by their attitude towards the ISIL rather than by an intention to regulate media content.

> "It [Islamic State] is a terrorist organization and it should be banned everywhere, not only in Russia" (Pankisi).

EASTERN APPEARANCE = TERRORISM (?!). According to respondents, by using a term "No beard, no terrorist act", Russian media links terrorism to Islam, because Muslim men have a religious obligation to wear a beard.

> "Prophet Muhammad says that a Muslim should wear a beard; therefore, it is not correct to judge by appearance that if that person has a beard, he is a terrorist, or if she wears a hijab, there is something wrong with her" (Pankisi).

In respondents' opinion, by emphasizing on eastern appearance when characterizing a terrorist, media further deepens a stereotype that terrorism is a part of eastern identity. One participant of the Pankisi focus group recalled an example of covering a crime by Russian media, when a term "a man of Caucasian appearance" was used with respect to an alleged offender.

> "A certain news article was released in Russia, according to which a man of Caucasian appearance committed a crime, but actually he appeared to be Russian, not Caucasian; generally, we should not judge by appearance" (Pankisi).

The participants explained that terrorism has no religion and origin. Therefore, they recommend media outlets not to indicate an offender's religious/ethnic identity when reporting on terrorist acts. "Terrorist, assailant, exploder, kidnapper, rebels" were named as alternative terms.

"TERRORIST'S WIFE." This term was unacceptable for most respondents; however, the issue triggered some controversy in the focus groups conducted in Adjara and Pankisi. It should be noted that the attitude towards this issue was different in gender context. A small part of respondents, who deemed the term non-discriminatory, were men. Respondents named "a family member of a suspect/defendant" as an alternative term.

> "It is insulting, very insulting. His wife might not know that her husband was a terrorist" (a female respondent, Adjara).
>
> "That woman has nothing to do with it and she is now under threat. You should say a defendant or a suspect. A journalist has no right to say anything more" (a female respondent, Adjara).
>
> "If I did something, what has my wife to do with it? A negative attitude towards this person is sown in the public" (male respondent, Pankisi).
>
> "So, they used it to further intensify the situation. They used an additional explanation to help the population understand what happened… For me, it is acceptable" (male respondent, Adjara).

"LIVE BOMB." Most respondents said that a term "live bomb" has a clearly negative coloring. They named "a suicide bomber" as an acceptable alternative term.

> "It can be said that a person exploded or killed himself/herself. A person cannot be a bomb" (Kvemo Kartli).

2.9. OTHER TERMS RELATED TO TERRORISM

The participants of focus groups also assessed those terms, which are regularly used by various media outlets when reporting on terrorism issues. Neutral terms were also distributed among respondents as alternatives to discriminative terms.

Among these terms, nine were categorically unacceptable for all respondents.

1. TERMS UNACCEPTABLE FOR ALL RESPONDENTS/ALTERNATIVE ACCEPTABLE TERMS

UNACCEPTABLE TERMS	ALTERNATIVE ACCEPTABLE TERMS
Muslim terrorist Islamist terrorist Potentially dangerous Islamist	Terrorist Assailant / exploder/kidnapper Rebels
Jihadist terror organization Global Jihad	Terrorist organization Extremist groups
Anti-Islamic force	Anti-terrorist force
Political Islam Islamism Radical Islam	Islam

a. Linking terrorism to Islam

> "Muslim/Islamist terrorist", "potentially dangerous Islamist"

According to respondents' assessments, the use of the mentioned terms by media in the context of terrorism contributes to the isolation of Muslim community. They also said that terrorism has no religion and origin; just therefore, emphasizing on religious identity is totally unacceptable for them.

> "Because they indicate it [Muslim terrorist], it contributes to our isolation from the society. Terrorists are not Muslims. Those terrorists, who say that they are Muslims, personally I do not consider them as Muslims" (Pankisi).

> "There should be no linkage to religion. He is a terrorist. A terrorist act took place and that's all" (Kvemo Kartli).

However, the term "Muslim terrorist" triggered a dispute among female respondents from the Pankisi Gorge after they were provided an abstract from a Georgian-language article, where terrorism was linked to the assailant's religious identity. The term "Muslim terrorist" proved absolutely unacceptable for one respondent; however, after discussing a specific content containing this term, this respondent decided that indicating religious identity when reporting on the crime was acceptable. The respondent explained that the problem lies not with linking religion to the crime, but with the fact that it is linked only to Islam.

> "He is a Muslim and what about it? [Journalist] says only for the purpose of informing… If he is a Muslim, they should say about it and if he follows another religion, it should be specified as well. For example, I have never heard about a Christian terrorist" (Pankisi).

Respondents also had a negative attitude towards using a term "Islamist" in the context of terrorism. The term "Islamist", which is frequently used with respect to extremist groups, was synonymous to "Muslim" for the participants of focus groups.

> "I am an Islamist too; it means that I am a follower of Islam, Muslim and they probably mean me as well, don't they? So, one [journalist] said and everyone picked it up" (Pankisi).

b. "Global jihad", "Jihadist terror organization"

Respondents explained that "jihad" is used incorrectly with respect to terrorism and its meaning is distorted. "Terrorist organization"/"extremist group" was named as an alternative to "Jihadist terror organization".

> "A word Jihad has an absolutely different meaning. It means holy war. When a Mediator was involved, it was different time and now we live in the 21st century, it is an absolutely different time" (Adjara).

> "Jihad means a struggle, a religious struggle, but not only a struggle. Shortly speaking, Jihad means protection if your life or religion is under threat. In this case, Jihad is necessary. It is unacceptable to link this word to terrorism" (Kvemo Kartli).

c. "Shahid"

Respondents said that a term "Shahid" is mainly used with respect to suicide bombers and it is categorically unacceptable for them.

> "Shahid is an Arabic word and it has an absolutely different meaning in Islam, but when a journalist uses it in the context of terrorism, it means that he/she does not know its meaning" (Kvemo Kartli).

> "A person, who commits a suicide, can never be a Shahid. A journalist should not use the term without knowing its meaning" (Adjara).

d. Shia Hezbollah

Most respondents claimed that Hezbollah is a terrorist organization and linking religious movement to it is absolutely unacceptable. However, some respondents from the Pankisi Gorge considered this agree-

ment acceptable, because as they explained, Hezbollah is just based on Shia ideology of Islam; so, it should not be a problem to mention about it in media.

Quite different approach was revealed with ethnic Azerbaijani respondents in Kvemo Kartli. According to them, Hezbollah is an anti-terrorist organization, which fights against the so called Islamic State. Just therefore, emphasizing on the group's religious ideology was acceptable for them.

> "Shia Hezbollah is acceptable, because Hezbollah really is such organization and it has been created by Shiites."
>
> "It [Hezbollah] is an anti-terrorist organization and it fights against ISIL" (Kvemo Kartli).

e. Islamic State/ISIL

Most respondents claim that when reporting on the issue of terrorist groups operating in Syria and Iraq, media should put the name of the group in brackets with "so called" attached to it, or emphasize that they mean a terrorist group (terrorist group "Islamic State"). Most respondents suppose that viewers/readers will associate terrorism with Islam/Muslim community if "Islamic State" is mentioned differently.

> "So called "Islamic State" is an acceptable term in order to avoid its linkage to all Muslims" (Kvemo Kartli).

It should be noted that some respondents do not associate the term "Islamic State" with terrorist organizations operating in Syria and Iraq. Instead, it is associated with Iran and Turkey as Islamic states.

f. "Political Islam," "Islamism," "Radical Islam," "Islam"

The terms "Political Islam," "Islamism" and "Radical Islam" were equally negative for all participants of group discussions. The term "Islamism" was more unclear than the term "Political Islam" and therefore most participants asked the moderator to provide an explanation. Male respondents from Upper Adjara found the use of the term "Islamism" in media unacceptable, because the term is frequently linked to terrorism. "Islam" was named as an alternative term, because, in the respondents' opinion, Islam has no political meaning.

> "Political Islam itself is unacceptable. Islam is not politics. There is only one rule in Islam – Sharia and its laws. There is no politics in it and therefore, it is unacceptable" (Pankisi).
>
> "Islamism – so it means that Islam has different laws. This religion is one whole and with this term it [Islam] is associated with terrorism" (Adjara).

A term "Radical Islam" caused negative assessments. The participants explained that Islam should not be linked to terrorism and when talking about radical people, it is not necessary to add "Islam."

> "There are Islamic groups, whom I consider radicals. They call themselves followers of Islam, but I call them radicals, because they are inclined to fanaticism… I cannot tell them that they are Islamists; therefore, I tell them that they are radicals" (Adjara).

> "Islam is Islam. There is nothing radical about it. It is another thing and better to differentiate. When we enter social networks and read comments, we understand how it influences public opinion on Islam. A lot of people find it difficult to make a difference between Islam and radicalism. Some people even identify them with each other or mix up everything" (Pankisi).

g. "Caliphate"/"Pseudo-Caliphate"

Dubbing the self-proclaimed caliphate as "caliphate" by terrorist group was unacceptable for most respondents and they offered the terms "pseudo-caliphate," "so called caliphate" and "self-proclaimed caliphate."

A term "caliphate," used without any context, was not unacceptable for a part of respondents, because they identified it with the historical Arabic caliphate of the 7th-13th centuries.

> "I do not recognize it as a caliphate; so it is the so called caliphate."
>
> "Caliphate is acceptable as a historical term and pseudo-caliphate with respect to ISIL" (Adjara).

2.10. TERMS RELATED TO RELIGIOUS/ETHNIC IDENTITY

The participants grouped 25 terms related to religious-ethnic identity into two categories: "completely unacceptable" and "completely acceptable."

Out of 22 terms, the participants considered equally unacceptable only four terms. These terms are: "Tatar," "Mohammedan," "Mohammedan Meskhetians," "Meskhetian Turks." The participants named their alternatives that are shown in the table below:

TABLE 1. EQUALLY UNACCEPTABLE TERMS IN ALL REGIONS, ACCORDING TO RESPONDENTS' ASSESSMENTS

UNACCEPTABLE TERMS	ALTERNATIVE ACCEPTABLE TERMS
Tatar	Ethnic Kist/Azerbaijani citizen of Georgia Muslim Local of Pankisi Gorge
Mohammedan	Muslim Muslim community/parish/society Shiite Sunni
Mohammedan Meskhetian Meskhetian Turk	Deported Meskhetians Muslim Meskhetians

a. "Tatar". The term "Tatar" was unacceptable for almost all respondents. Respondents from Kvemo Kartli and Adjara expressed extremely negative attitude. Respondents from Marneuli explained that ethnic Azerbaijani Muslim citizens living in Georgia were dubbed as "Tatars" only because of their ethnic origin. In case of Adjara, their Muslim identity was the main reason behind using this term.

> "[Tatar] is a very painful word and I hate it so much... This word sounds very bad. They look at me like a Muslim, a Tatar. Why am I, Adjarian Georgian, a Tatar? Is it because the invaders here were Muslims? If so, there is not a single invader left, who did not ravage Kakheti; so, should we dub Kakhetians as Qizilbashes or Lezghins?" (Adjara).

It should be noted that the term "Tatar" was less sensitive for the respondents from the Pankisi Gorge, than for the participants from Kvemo Kartli and Adjara.

> "Tatar" is a nationality. Tatars lived in Mongolia."
>
> "Why should you use the term Tatar with respect to an Azerbaijani, when the latter does not welcome the use of this term?"
>
> "Tatar is like a Kist. If someone makes a mistake, you should prohibit it" (Pankisi).

Respondents from the Pankisi Gorge named only "ethnic Azerbaijani citizen of Georgia" as an alternative term to "Tatar," because they did not identify themselves with this term and believed that "Tatar" is used just with respect of ethnic Azerbaijani citizens of Georgia. Different attitude was observed in Adjara and Kvemo Kartli, where the term "Tatar" was associated with all Muslims living in Georgia; they named "ethnic Azerbaijani citizen of Georgia," "ethnic Kist citizen of Georgia," "local from the Pankisi Gorge," "Muslim of other nationality" as alternatives.

The attitude towards the term "Muslim of other nationality" was negative among male respondents from the Pankisi Gorge and Kvemo Kartli, as well as female respondents from Kvemo Kartli.

> "I have never heard anybody saying a Christian of other nationality. When you use the word Muslim, "other nationality" is not necessary anymore" (Kvemo Kartli).

Division of Muslim citizens of Georgia by ethnicity was unacceptable for several male respondents from Upper Adjara. But the term "Muslim of other nationality" was acceptable for dubbing Muslims, who are citizens of other countries.

> "If they have arrived and have other nationality, then definitely yes, but if they are from Georgia and they are Georgian Muslims, then No" (Adjara).

b. Mohammedans. The term "Mohammedan" was negatively assessed by the majority of respondents. According to a part of respondents, the term "Mohammedan" was used in the Middle Ages to describe a Muslim that is presently an archaic term and not favored by Muslims. According to the other part, "Mohammedan" means a follower of the Islamic prophet Muhammad that is insulting for Muslims. The term was acceptable for female participants of the focus group conducted in the Pankisi Gorge.

> *"In any epoch, while preaching, you should use the word relevant to that time"* (Pankisi).

> *"Mohammedan means a follower of the Muhammad and we are the followers of Islam. We are the followers of what the Muhammad has preached and those, who use this term, should know its meaning"* (Adjara).

Respondents named the terms "Muslim," "Muslim parish/community/society" as alternatives to the term "Mohammedan."

c. "Mohammedan Meskhetians", "Meskhetian Turks", "Deported Meskhetians" and "Muslim Meskhetians". Most respondents in the majority of focus groups named "deported Meskhetians" as an alternative to "Meskhetian Turks[15]." In Marneuli and Batumi, the term "Muslim Meskhetians" was also deemed acceptable.

> *"So, Meskhetians are Georgians and are not they the Turks? It is incorrect that they are called the Turks only because they are Muslims. In this case, we can also dub them as Arab Meskhetians, cannot we? I think it would be better, if we call them Muslim Meskhetians"* (Kvemo Kartli).

> *"There were local Meskhetians as well as Meskhetians resettled from Turkey, and when they were resettled to Turkey, these local Meskhetians were also resettled with them. Now there are Meskhetian Turks and local Meskhetians, and those Meskhetian Turks call themselves the Turks"* (Adjara).

d. "Georgian, Muslim resettled from Adjara." Respondents from both the Pankisi Gorge and the Kvemo Kartli region had strongly negative attitude towards this term.

> *"Since they are Georgians and they are Muslims, the attitude towards them is uncommon. People find it difficult to realize that you may be a Georgian, but follow another religion"* (Kvemo Kartli).

However, the term proved acceptable for the respondents from Upper Adjara, while in Batumi this term triggered debates and diverse assessments among respondents.

> *"For example, a journalist reports on the developments around the minaret in the village of Chela. He/she will definitely mention that the Muslims resettled from Adjara are demanding this or that. People resettled from Adjara live there, do not they? They are Muslims and I said it in this context that Muslims resettled from Adjara live there"* (Adjara).

> *"Resettled Muslims are in Kvemo Kartli and Meskheti, where Muslims from Adjara have been resettled. Muslims, as well as Christians and atheists have been resettled from Adjara"* (Adjara).

Out of other terms related to Muslims and Islam, the terms "Allah" and "Madrasa" were also unacceptable for several respondents from Batumi and Upper Adjara. They explained that these terms are Arabic

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[15] Meskhetian Turks are an ethnic group of Meskhetians, who were deported from the Meskheti Region of Georgian Social Socialist Republic to the Central Asian countries in the 1940s. On July 11, 2007, Georgia undertook a commitment to repatriate Meskhetians to their native country based on the principles of restoration of historical justice and ensuring dignified and voluntary return.

words and it would be acceptable if Georgian media outlets use their Georgian equivalents ("Allah" – "God", "Madrasa" – "educational institution").

e. "Salafism", "Fundamentalism", "Wahhabism", "Traditional Islam", Shia Islam", "Sunni Islam", "Sufism". The terms "Sunni Islam" and "Shia Islam" were equally acceptable for all respondents. However, the attitudes and perceptions about the terms "Salafism", "Fundamentalism", "Wahhabism", "Traditional Islam" and "Sufism" were different. It should be noted that respondents from Upper Adjara and Kvemo Kartli were not aware about the term "Salafism". The participants from Kvemo Kartli also requested an explanation for the term "Sufism."

TERMS	ACCEPTABLE	UNACCEPTABLE	UNCLEAR
Salafism	Pankisi Gorge (male respondents) Batumi	Pankisi Gorge (female respondents)	Kvemo Kartli Upper Adjara
Fundamentalism	Pankisi Gorge (female respondents) Batumi Upper Adjara	Pankisi Gorge (male respondents)	
Traditional Islam	Pankisi Gorge (female respondents) Upper Adjara	Pankisi Gorge (male respondents) Batumi	
Wahhabism	Pankisi Gorge (female respondents) Batumi Upper Adjara	Pankisi Gorge (male respondents)	
Sufism	Pankisi Gorge (female respondents) Batumi	Upper Adjara	Kvemo Kartli

The term "Traditional Islam" was unacceptable for male respondents from the Pankisi Gorge, as well as for female and male respondents from Adjara.

> "Islam is not a tradition; it is a religion. "Traditional" is maintained in those families, which are less religious and are mainly built on traditions; a journalist needs to be more aware about the issue" (Adjara).

> "Traditional is used when Islam and traditions are side by side, is not it? It is either Islam or traditions" (Pankisi).

Only male respondents from the Pankisi Gorge had a negative attitude towards the term "Wahhabism." According to their explanation, this term is used in the context of terrorism that is unacceptable for them.

> "It is said that terrorists are Wahhabis, are not they? Thus, it seems that if a person is a follower of Wahhabism, the attitude towards him is negative" (Pankisi).

The term "Fundamentalism" was also negatively assessed by male respondents from the Pankisi Gorge. According to their explanations, "Fundamentalism" is associated with the term "Wahhabism." Respon-

dents said that division of Islam into various denominations is unacceptable for them. However, this division does exist within the community and this responsibility does not lie only upon the media.

> **"Islam is Islam and that's all. There is no fundamentalism and so on."**
>
> **"Islamic fundamentalism is a soft option to Wahhabis. Generally, such division is not the fault of only journalists. It is observed within the community as well"** (Pankisi).

2.11. TERMS RELATED TO MIGRANTS

In parallel with European migrant crisis, Georgian ultra-nationalist populist groups have been manipulating the issues of migrants in the country that has been intensified ahead of the March of Georgians[16]. According to MDF's Anti-Western Propaganda 2016[17] media monitoring report, disinformation about migration from the Near East countries was disseminated in anti-Western context. According to the report, the EU and the Association Agreement were equated to the obligation to receive migrants and the threat of terrorism. These forces used xenophobic and discriminative terms when talking about migrants; we chose a part of these terms for our focus groups to analyze the attitudes.

Nine terms related to migrants, mostly from Asian countries, were distributed among respondents; the latter grouped these terms into two categories – "completely acceptable" and "completely unacceptable."

Out of nine terms, only one "bad-smelling migrant" was totally unacceptable for all participants. Different attitudes were observed towards other terms in regional context.

1. Equally unacceptable terms in all regions

UNACCEPTABLE TERM	ALTERNATIVE ACCEPTABLE TERM
"Bad-smelling migrant"	"Migrant"

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[16]   The March of Georgians organized by the movement Erovnulebi was held on the Agmashenebeli Avenue on July 14, 2017 against "illegal foreigners." The protesters called on foreign nationals from Asian and African countries to leave Georgia. On September 12, 2017, the March of Georgians held a protest rally against Open Society Georgia Foundation and demanded banning the activities of George Soros in Georgia. See additional information on Facebook: Monitoring of ultra-nationalist groups ahead of the March of Georgians, Media Development Foundation, http://mdfgeorgia.ge/eng/view-library/71

[17]   Anti-Western Propaganda 2016, Media Development Foundation http://mdfgeorgia.ge/eng/view-library/65

TERM	ACCEPTABLE	UNACCEPTABLE	ALTERNATIVE ACCEPTABLE TERM
Arriving people	Pankisi Gorge (male respondents)	Pankisi Gorge (female respondents)	Migrant
		Adjara	
		Kvemo Kartli	
Resettled Muslims	Pankisi Gorge (male respondents)	Pankisi Gorge (female respondents)	Migrant
	Upper Adjara	Batumi	
Alien	Pankisi Gorge (male respondents)	Pankisi Gorge (female respondents)	Foreigner
		Adjara	

All respondents, except for several participants from the Pankisi Gorge, had a negative attitude towards the term "arriving people." The participants from Kvemo Kartli, Batumi and Upper Adjara named the term "migrant" as an alternative.

Different attitudes were revealed towards the term "resettled Muslims" in the focus groups conducted in the Pankisi Gorge and Adjara. The term proved acceptable for male respondents from the Pankisi Gorge, but it was unacceptable for the majority of respondents from Adjara with only a small part opposing this view.

> **"If Muslims are persecuted somewhere and they were resettled, it is a usual development. So, the term "resettled Muslims" is acceptable"** (Adjara).

> **"I cannot understand why it is necessary to emphasize on Muslims, why does the situation require mentioning Muslims at all?"** (Adjara).

b. **"Guests overstepping their bounds".** The term, which is clearly negative and stirs up phobic attitudes towards foreign nationals, was assessed by the participants of group discussions differently. The term proved unacceptable for the respondents from the Pankisi Gorge and Kvemo Kartli, as well as a small part of Batumi respondents. The attitude of respondents from Upper Adjara and most respondents from Batumi was positive and they supported its use in the media.

> **"If they talk about me, it is insulting for me, but if they talk about others, then it is not, because they may behave this way."**

> **"These guests have not done anything bad. They are accused of overstepping their bounds only because they are Muslims."**

> **"My opinion is that if a guest oversteps his/her bounds, he/she should be dubbed as a person overstepping his bounds"** (Adjara).

c. "Illegal foreigners", "illegal criminal foreigners." The term "illegal foreigner" was acceptable for all participants of focus groups. Respondents focused on the fact of illegal border crossing and tried to choose more or less neutral term for covering this fact by the media. Alternatives terms to "illegal foreigner" were offered in the course of discussion, among them "illegal Muslim" and "Illegal Turk" (an example of indicating at an ethnicity). Pointing at religion or ethnicity in this context was unacceptable for the respondents; thus, the term "illegal foreigner" was evaluated as a relatively neutral and acceptable term.

> "The Jews in Germany were illegal foreigners. Now, Muslims are moving to Europe and illegal Muslim cannot be used, but illegal foreigner is quite acceptable."
>
> "Illegal Turk is worse; illegal foreigner is better" (Kvemo Kartli).

The term "illegal criminal foreigner" proved unacceptable for most respondents; however, a part of participants from Adjara did not share this opinion.

> "A person may arrive illegally, commit a crime and be a foreigner. It may happen" (Adjara).

III. GUIDELINES

1. MEDIA SELF-REGULATION

KEY FINDINGS

▌ Awareness of target groups – Muslim citizens of Georgia – about the codes of conduct regulating the media and the mechanism of appealing against discriminatory coverage in the self-regulatory bodies is low.

▌ The provision of broadcasting legislation, which grants the right to appeal only to "an interested party," is narrowly explained in practice and deprives the non-governmental and media professional organizations of the possibility to efficiently protect the minority rights.

▌ Georgian National Communications Commission (GNCC) does not ensure efficient oversight over the introduction of self-regulatory mechanism and the accountability to the association of broadcasters.

Recommendations to the Parliament of Georgia/Georgian National Communications Commission/ Non-governmental organizations

▌ The Parliament of Georgia should revise a definition of the term "interested party" in the law and expand it to include the disputes related to the issues of public interest.

▌ Georgian National Communications Commission (GNCC) should hold an information campaign aimed to popularize the code of conduct for broadcasters and to raise public awareness about appeals mechanism; non-governmental organizations should promote the process of raising public awareness.

▌ GNCC should reflect in its annual reports the audit data for self-regulation submitted by broadcasters to the commission and carry out efficient control over the issues of accountability to the association of broadcasters and access to relevant information on public platforms.

2. MEDIA COVERAGE

2.1. RELIGIOUS HOLIDAYS, INCLUSIVE COVERAGE

KEY FINDINGS

▌ Media mainly covers religious holidays during congratulation messages by top officials and their attendance at religious ceremonies or other official events.

▌ The opinions of religious community are rarely included in such materials and mostly officials talk instead of them that has been described by focus group participants as incomplete coverage.

▌ Journalistic materials frequently do not provide the essence of this or that religious holiday.

Recommendations for the media

▌ Keep in mind that when covering the topics related to religious or ethnic groups, the representatives of these communities are the subjects rather than the objects of the media coverage. It is important to ask the representatives of these communities, whom the holiday directly concerns, for comments and turn them into the subjects of your coverage.

▌ Give voice to voiceless by providing media platform.

▌ Inclusive coverage also means that not only you should show interest towards the holidays of various confessions according to the agendas of officials, but you need to cover these topics regularly and comprehensively.

▌ In order to avoid marginalization of different identity groups and instead to promote their integration, try to cover the comments made by representatives of various communities on the issues that matter to the public. Such materials will help the public find what they have in common with different groups that will ultimately promote their integration.

1.2. RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

KEY FINDINGS

▌ Media outlets mostly cover the issues related to religious buildings of different confessions only when the dispute with the dominant religion emerges or the expediency of building a prayer house is subject to public discussions.

▌ This topic is sometimes discussed under the reciprocity principle and is linked not with the constitutional right of Georgian citizens, but with the neighboring country and the Orthodox monuments located there.

▌ When covering the disputable religious buildings, media sometimes divides Muslim community on ethnic grounds (Georgian Muslim vs. Non-Georgian Muslim; Us vs. Them) that further deepens alienation towards them.

▌ Journalist's biased interpretations related to religious buildings and division of Muslim citizens of Georgia on ethnic grounds proved especially painful for the focus group participants in all regions.

I Keep in mind that freedom of religion and ownership right guaranteed by the Constitution of Georgia equally apply to all citizens of Georgia, and ethnic or religious dominance cannot counterbalance the issues of equality.

I It is inadmissible to discuss the issue of religious buildings in Georgia under the reciprocity principle with neighboring countries, because the state has a positive obligation to ensure the protection of the rights of its own citizens, regardless of their religious, ethnic or other identities.

I When covering an ownership dispute around a religious building or the right to construction permits, it is important to show legal context.

I Since religion is linked with personal sentiments, try to avoid partial interpretations and limit yourself only by informing the public based on the facts.

I Do not discuss the issue in the context of historical enmity and make reference only to reliable historical facts, architectural elements of buildings and expert assessments;

I Do not divide Muslims on ethnic grounds as well as into indigenous and non-indigenous groups.

I It is inadmissible to link the construction of religious buildings or the complaints on ownership of disputable buildings to threats. Remember that by this you will contribute to the process of radicalization and will further deepen the phobias existing in the public towards the groups of different identities.

I If your own personal belief prevents you from covering religious topics neutrally, without emotions, you would better state about this conflict of interests and let others cover the topic.

1.3. HISTORICAL TRAUMA

KEY FINDINGS

I Linking religious rights and sentiments to historical facts proved especially painful for the focus group participants from Adjara and Kvemo Kartli.

I The research and media monitoring results confirm that the issue of Georgian Muslim community is frequently discussed in the media and public discourse in association with historical conquest of Georgia by Ottoman Empire and Persia.

I Stirring up historical trauma is a part of narrative of those political groups, who try to shift emphasis from modern security challenges (Russian occupation) to historical occupation (Ottoman, Persian occupation) and portray historical threats as modern challenges.

I A part of media outlets frequently follows politicians' agenda and emotionally portray historical facts in modern context.

Recommendations for the media

I Do not follow the agenda of those politicians, whose rhetoric promotes stirring up hate speech and public division. Take a critical attitude towards their assessments and ask questions about the expedience of "revitalization" of historical facts in modern context.

- Do not cover the problems faced by Muslim citizens of Georgia through the prism of the past, in the context of historical enmity and emotionally. Focus on the ongoing developments and refer to the historical background only if it is directly linked to the issue under discussion.
- Keep in mind how stirring up historical enmity can affect everyday lives of Muslim citizens of Georgia as well as public attitudes towards them.
- Considering Turkophobic/Islamophobic attitudes existing in media and public discourse, try to cover both bilateral interstate as well as people-to-people relations with neighboring Turkey, investment environment, cooperation in various international formats, etc.

1.4. HATE SPEECH – PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND PRIVATE PERSONS

KEY FINDINGS

- Focus group participants were divided in their opinions, whether media outlets should cover hate speech by public figures. A part of respondents said that such coverage further deepens intolerance towards other ethnic groups and religious. The other part claimed that this helps the public to make an informed choice.
- The use of hate speech in media is not limited only by statements of public officials.
- When covering the use of hate speech by public officials, media outlets do not always follow professional standards.

Recommendations for the media

- Keep in mind that a speaker's status, his/her access to the audience and existing context is more important when covering hate speech rather than a scandalous nature of the statement.
- If a speaker is a public figure, media outlets should cover his/her statement so that the public has information about the vision and religious neutrality of a politician or a public official.
- In addition, it is important that media either counterbalances such coverage with the comments of other respondents, where the issue will be discussed through the prism of human rights, or notes what kind of statements this or that person has made (for example, a representative of X party has made a xenophobic/Islamophobic statement).
- Do not cover hate speech remarks made by those persons, who are not public officials, except for those cases, when the coverage aims to demonstrate the intolerant environment existing in the society and to show the problematic nature of the issue.
- It is especially problematic, when media outlets cover hate speech remarks made by private persons against foreigners and migrants in connection with various social problems or ownership disputes. For example, when covering the issue of disputable land ownership, it is important for a media outlet to report on all legal aspects of the case based on facts rather than emotions that will help the audience clarify the issue, as well as to avoid shifting emphasis to historical enmity between nations (for example, "our ancestors have shed blood with conquerors for this land" and so on).

1.5. LINKING RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC IDENTITIES TO CRIMINALITY

KEY FINDINGS

▌ Focus group participants had different perceptions and sentiments towards indicating a person's ethnic or religious identity when covering a crime.

▌ A part of respondents is against indicating ethnic, national or religious identity in this context, as it promotes stigmatization that the minorities are criminals.

▌ The other part believes that there is no problem in indicating the national identity in order to provide comprehensive information to the public.

Recommendations for the media

▌ Do not indicate a person's ethnic, religious or national identity when covering a crime, except for the cases when it is directly linked to the issue under coverage and this information is important for clarifying the essence of the issue.

▌ By indicating a criminal's identity, media promotes the establishment of a stereotype that representatives of this or that group are criminals. Remember that a crime has no nationality and it can be committed in any society.

▌ If political actors artificially try to portray certain groups as criminals, do not disseminate their remarks without criticism and provide information based on real occurrences and facts.

▌ Be especially careful when processing statistical data on criminality: telling half-truth or quoting out of context contains some risks of disinformation (for example, if you cover a case of sexual violence by a foreign national and indicate general statistics of crimes involving both light and grave offences committed by foreigners as background information, your coverage will be manipulative and will promote an opinion that foreigners are sex offenders).

1.6. COVERAGE OF TERRORISM

KEY FINDINGS

▌ Most respondents suppose that the media should not disseminate videos or other appeals covering terror threats, because this will help terrorists instrumentalize media and simultaneously sow fear in the public.

▌ Conducting street interviews on the videos disseminated by terrorists also proved inadmissible for the majority of respondents.

▌ Linking Islam to terrorism (see terminology) as well as facial identification of children in the materials related to training of teenagers by the so called Islamic State was categorically unacceptable for the focus group participants.

Recommendations for the media

▌ Recall the words from Margaret Thatcher, who said that "publicity is the oxygen of terrorism," and be more careful when covering the issues of terrorism in order to prevent interested groups from

instrumentalizing the media and achieving the desired result of recognizing their own motives and sowing fear.

▌ Do not cover videos released by terrorists and do not popularize their goals.

▌ It is not expedient to conduct vox pops on terrorists' video addresses, because it promotes sowing fear and serves terrorists' purposes.

▌ Try to cover the issue only in the context of public interests and use only edited visual materials.

▌ Do not identify children when covering the issues related to terrorism.

▌ It is also inadmissible to lay the responsibility for the crime on a suspect's family members and entire community.

▌ Do not idealize terrorists and do not use such vocabulary with respect to them that will promote radicalization (see detailed recommendations in the part of terminology, p. 51)

2.7 TERMINOLOGY

Terminological vocabulary is provided in Annex No.1.

1. RELIGIOUS/ETHNIC MINORITIES

KEY FINDINGS

▌ Xenophobic terms related to religious/ethnic identity were most painful for the majority of respondents.

▌ Incorrect use of Islam-related terms, such as "Mohammedan", "Ramazan", etc. in the media caused discontent.

▌ Division of Muslim citizens of Georgia on ethnic grounds (Georgian vs. non-Georgian Muslim) proved unacceptable for the respondents.

Recommendations for the media

▌ Call religious/ethnic groups in a way they identify themselves;

▌ Do not use a term "Tatar" with respect to Muslim community of Georgia. Instead, use concrete names of religious/ethnic groups, such as "ethnic Azerbaijani citizen of Georgia," "ethnic Kist citizen of Georgia," "local of Pankisi Gorge," "Muslim," "Muslim community/parish/society."

▌ Do not use a term "Mohammedan" with respect to Muslim community. This term proved insulting for the majority of focus group participants, because a Mohammedan means not a Muslim, but a follower of Muhammad that contradicts their religion. Instead, use the terms "Muslim," "Muslim community/parish/society."

▌ Use correct forms of terms related to Islam and religious holidays, such as "Ramadan" instead of "Ramazan."

- Do not use a term "Meskhetian Turks or Mohammedan Meskhetians" with respect to Meskhetians forcefully sent into exile from the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia by the Former USSR in the 40's of the 20th Century. Instead, use the terms "deported Meskhetians," "forcibly displaced Meskhetians," "Muslim Meskhetians."
- Division of Muslim citizens of Georgia on ethnic grounds — do not use the vocabulary that will promote the marginalization of ethnic minorities living in Georgia. If it is necessary to indicate ethnic identity, use the following terms: "Ethnic Azerbaijani/Kist citizen of Georgia."

2. MIGRANTS

KEY FINDINGS

- Georgian fringe media uses the issues of European migrant crisis for promoting anti-Western propaganda in Georgia not only against small number of migrants, who arrived in Georgia for security reasons due to ongoing conflicts in the Middle East, but also against those nationals of Asian and African origin, who work and live in Georgia legally.
- Focus group participants had different attitudes towards xenophobic terms and different approaches were revealed in the regional context.
- Some respondents share xenophobic and discriminative sentiments voiced by media outlets against migrants and foreign nationals.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Migrants and refugees are one of the most vulnerable groups, who frequently suffer social and economic disregard, lack of security; moreover, they frequently become the victims of populist, ultra-nationalist groups; in this situation, the media bears the responsibility for analyzing the problem comprehensibly and covering migration issues through the observance of ethical norms so that not to promote the marginalization and stereotyping of this group.

- **Illegal immigrant** — Do not use this term with respect to all foreign nationals living in Georgia, if there is no fact of illegal border crossing and illegal living in the country.
- **Arrived/resettled Muslims.** Do not use these terms with respect to foreigners living in Georgia, because they have a negative connotation. Instead, you can indicate a person's citizenship or use a term "migrant"; do not indicate a person's religious identity, if it is not directly linked to the topic under coverage.
- **Alien.** Instead of this term you can use "a foreigner" or "a citizen of a foreign country."
- **Internally displaced person (IDP, refugee).** Do not use these terms synonymously, because they have different meanings. Unlike refugees, IDPs do not leave the limits of their own countries and they have to move forcibly within their own countries.
- **Hate speech.** Pay attention to each word and think of how it can affect both a target group and the attitudes of audience towards this group. Do not use hate speech just because these persons are not Georgian nationals and they have different identity.

3. TERRORISM

KEY FINDINGS

▌ Using the term through which terrorism is linked to Islam when covering the issues of terrorism proved especially painful for the focus group participants.

▌ Linking terrorism to Islam grants religious legitimation to terrorists that they actually lack.

▌ Respondents mainly focused on those terms, interpretation of which by terrorist groups significantly differs from their real religious meaning.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE MEDIA:

▌ **Islamist** — It is not recommended to use this term to denote militants and extremists, because the Quran is seen as a political model by broad circles of Muslims and there are not only militants among them. Instead of "Islamist", the following terms can be used: "Bomber", "attacker", "armed person", "kidnapper", "rebel" and "militant." It is also recommended to use specific and concrete names of terrorist/military/extremist groups, such as Al-Qaeda, Hezbollah, Taliban militants.

▌ **Islamic State** — this term is used to describe the terrorist organization established by Abū Bakr al-Baghdadi and known as the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant. But it is problematic for the media to use the name this way, because the mentioned terrorist organization is not a state and it has no religious legitimation either to be dubbed as "Islamic." The French media has introduced a term Daesh. Daesh is essentially an Arabic acronym formed from the initial letters of the group's previous name in Arabic - "al-Dawla al-Islamiya fil Iraq wa al-Sham". The English (ISIL) and Russian (ИГИЛ) acronyms of the name are also frequently used. The use of acronyms is not problematic as there is no linkage to Islam and State. In case of using its full name, it is recommended to use the following wording: the so called Islamic State/terrorist organization Islamic State.

▌ **Islamic groups** — the term "Islamic" is used frequently to differentiate terrorist groups in order to indicate those groups, who are fighting on behalf of Islam. However, such coverage provides legitimation for terrorists that they are genuine followers of Islam. Just therefore, when using the term "Islamic" in front of terrorist groups, it is important to emphasize that they are the so called Islamic terrorist groups, who use Islam for justifying violence and achieving their own political goals.

▌ **Global Jihad/Jihadist terrorist organization** — Use of these terms romanticizes terrorism and portrays its strength. At the same time, it grants religious authority to terrorist groups that they lack. Just therefore, instead of these terms, media is recommended to use the following terms: "terrorism", "extremism"/"extremist."

▌ **Shahid** — the term is used by terrorist organizations to describe suicide bombers. It is not recommended for the media to use "Shahid" in this context, because describing a suicide bomber as "a Shahid" legitimizes the crimes committed by them. Suicide is not allowed in Islam. Respectively, a suicide bomber cannot become a "Shahid," because according to the Quran, this term is used to denote a person, who died fulfilling a religious commandment. So, it is recommended to use the term "suicide bomber" instead of "Shahid."

- **Wahhabi/Salafi** — these terms are frequently used to denote terrorist ideology. This branch within Sunni Islam has a lot of Muslim followers, who are not involved in violent activities. Linking terrorist organizations to the branches of Islam again promotes their religious legitimation.

- **Radical Muslim/Radical Islam** — Linking extremist/radical groups to Islam is not recommended for the media, because such linkage creates a negative image for Islam as a religion in the eyes of the audience. Alternative neutral terms are "radical", "extremist."

- **Caliphate** — media uses caliphate to denote the Islamic State's self-proclaimed caliphate. To avoid the creation of religious legitimation of "governance" for a terrorist organization, it is recommended to use the following terms: "self-proclaimed caliphate", "so called caliphate."

- **Allahu Akbar (Allah is Greatest)** — it is a common expression used in Islamic prayer; therefore, Allahu Akbar is especially important for all Muslims. The media frequently associates this phrase with the exclamation of terrorist groups; therefore, it causes doubts and fears among readers/viewers. Do not use this phrase for covering terrorism issues, or in case of necessity, note that terrorist groups interpret Islam for achieving their own political goals.

- **Terrorism, terrorist** — News programs should be cautious when using these terms, because priority should be given to describing the development rather than its qualification. Clarity is important when using indirect quotations to ensure that the audience perceives that the terms are stemming from the source. Do not use the terms in brackets and do not write "so called", because such formulation may point at a journalist's partial assessment. Describe the act and background impartially, use non-emotional, unbiased language so that the audience is able to assess the developments based on the facts provided by you. Use specific terms, such as "attacker", "bomber", "kidnapper", "armed person", etc.

APPENDIX
GLOSSARY FOR JOURNALISTS

1. RELIGIOUS TERMS

Abadites — Historically, the Ibāḍīs (Ibadhis, Abadites, Abadhites, al-Ibadiyya, Ibāḍhiyah) constitute the only surviving branch of the Khawārij, the first schism in Islam that eventually died out as a result of its extremist beliefs but with the essential difference that the Ibāḍīs have always considered those who do not agree with their doctrines members of the Islamic community. They vehemently reject the appellation "Khawārij," although they readily admit that Ibāḍism developed from Khārijism. The Ibāḍī doctrines differ in a number of points from those of the Sunnites, but these are mainly of a theological nature and of little impact on daily life as a Muslim.[18] Ibadism is dominant Islamic school in Oman.

Ayatollah - A religious leader among Shiite Muslims —used as a title of respect especially for one who is not an imam[19].

Caliph and Caliphate — The term "caliph" (khalifah in Arabic) is generally regarded to mean "successor of the prophet Muhammad," while "caliphate" (khilafah in Arabic) denotes the office of the political leader of the Muslim community (ummah) or state, particularly during the period from 632 to 1258. Although the caliph was not considered to possess spiritual authority as Muhammad had, the caliph presided over a state governed under Islamic law (Sharia) whose territories constituted the "abode of Islam" (dar al-Islam).[20]

Five Pillars of Islam: Shahadah: sincerely reciting the Muslim profession of faith. "There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is his messenger." This is the basic statement of the Islamic faith: anyone who cannot recite this wholeheartedly is not a Muslim. **Salat:** performing ritual prayers in the proper way five times each day. **Zakat:** paying an alms (or charity) tax to benefit the poor and the needy. **Sawm:** fasting during the month of Ramadan. **Hajj:** pilgrimage to Mecca.

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[18]   Oxford Bibliographies. http://bit.ly/2ypRFeU
[19]   Merriam Webster Dictionary. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ayatollah
[20]   Oxford Bibliographies. http://bit.ly/2iKVyEJ

Hadith – Record of the traditions or sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, revered and received as a major source of religious law and moral guidance, second only to the authority of the Qur'ān, the holy book of Islam.[21]

Hijab/Niqab/Burqa/Paranja – **Hijab** describes the act of covering up generally but is often used to describe the headscarves worn by Muslim women. These scarves come in many styles and colours. The type covers the head and neck but leaves the face clear.
The niqab is a veil for the face that leaves the area around the eyes clear. However, it may be worn with a separate eye veil. It is worn with an accompanying headscarf.
The burqa is the most concealing of all Islamic veils. It is a one-piece veil that covers the face and body, often leaving just a mesh screen to see through. **Paranja** – A long wide robe with a veil worn by some Muslim women outside the home, especially in central Asia.

Imam – Religious leader, especially the leader of a Muslim community or the person who leads the prayers in a mosque.

Islamist – An advocate or supporter of a political movement that favors reordering government and society in accordance with laws prescribed by Islam. Do not use as a synonym for Islamic fighters, militants, extremists or radicals, who may or may not be Islamists. Where possible, be specific and use the name of militant affiliations: al-Qaida-linked, Hezbollah, Taliban, etc. Those who view the Quran as a political model encompass a wide range of Muslims, from mainstream politicians to militants known as jihadi[22]. The term Islamist is not acceptable for the majority of Muslims.

Islam – The religion founded by the Prophet Muhammad (570-632), who is believed by followers to be the final prophet. The word "Islam" means "submission." Muslims follow the sacred text of the Koran and stress the oneness of God. Muslims practice the Five Pillars: praying, fasting during Ramadan, almsgiving, pilgrimage and a testimony of faith. There are two main divisions of Islam: Sunni and Shi'ite.[23]

Jihad – According to BBC the literal meaning of Jihad is struggle or effort, and it means much more than holy war.

Muslims use the word Jihad to describe three different kinds of struggle:A believer's internal struggle to live out the Muslim faith as well as possible; The struggle to build a good Muslim society; Holy war: the struggle to defend Islam, with force if necessary.

A war is not a Jihad if the intention is to: Force people to convert to Islam; Conquer other nations to colonise them; Take territory for economic gain; Settle disputes; Demonstrate a leader's power.

Permissible reasons for military Jihad are: self-defence, strengthening Islam, protecting the freedom of Muslims to practise their faith, protecting Muslims against oppression, which could include overthrowing a tyrannical ruler, punishing an enemy who breaks an oath, putting right a wrong.[24]

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[21] Encyclopedia Britannica. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Hadith
[22] Associated Press Stylebook
[23] ARDA. http://www.thearda.com/learningcenter/religiondictionary.asp#I
[24] BBC. http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/beliefs/jihad_1.shtml

Kharijites – (Arabic: *khawarij;* sing. *khariji*) were the first identifiable sect of Islam. Their identity emerged as followers of Muhammad attempted to determine the extent to which one could deviate from ideal norms of behavior and still be called Muslim. The extreme Kharijite position was that Muslims who commit grave sins effectively reject their religion, entering the ranks of apostates, and therefore deserve capital punishment. This position was considered excessively restrictive by the majority of Muslims, as well as by moderate Kharijites, who held that a professed Muslim could not be declared an unbeliever *(kafir)*. The Kharijites believed it was forbidden to live among those who did not share their views, thus acquiring the name by which they are known in mainstream Islamic historiography – *khawarij* means "seceders" or "those who exit the community." Radical Kharijites, on the other hand, declared those who disagreed with their position to be apostates, and they launched periodic military attacks against mainstream Muslim centers until they ceased to be a military threat in the late 8th century CE.[25]

Madrassa – a Muslim school, college, or university that is often part of a mosque.[26]

Muezzin – A man who calls Muslims to prayer from the minaret of a mosque.[27]

Mufti – A Muslim legal expert who is empowered to give rulings on religious matters[28].

Mullah - An educated Muslim trained in religious law and doctrine who is a religious teacher or leader.

Political Islam/Islamism – The term Political Islam refers generally to any interpretation of Islam that serves as a basis for political identity and action. More specifically, it refers to the movements representing modern political mobilization in the name of Islam, a trend that emerged in the late 20th century. Political Islam is a distinctive aspect of a broader 20th-century development that is often called Islamic Resurgence, in which Muslims worldwide seek to strengthen their understanding of and commitment to their religion. Not all Islamic Resurgence movements can be characterized as Political Islam, however. Some scholars use the term Islamism for the same set of phenomena, or use the two terms interchangeably.[29] For the majority of Muslims these terms are not acceptable.

Salafism – According to Oxford's Religion Encyclopedia, Salafism is a branch of Sunni Islam whose modern-day adherents claim to emulate "the pious predecessors" (*al-salaf al-ṣālil*; often equated with the first three generations of Muslims) as closely and in as many spheres of life as possible. Different scholars of Islam throughout time have striven to emulate the early Muslim generations in the legal sphere, in theological matters, or in both. Practically, Salafism can be divided into three branches: quietist Salafism, whose adherents shun political activism and concentrate on "cleansing" and teaching Islam in all its "purity"; political Salafism, which does concentrate on political commitment as an integral part of Islam through contentious debates, parliamentary participation, and founding political parties; and Jihadi-Salafism, whose followers seek to overthrow supposedly apostate regimes in the Muslim world through violent jihad.[30]

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[25] Oxford Bibliographies. http://bit.ly/2jgI4FT
[26] Merriam Webster Dictionary. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/madrasa
[27] Oxford Dictionaries. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/muezzin
[28] Oxford Dictionaries. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/mufti
[29] Oxford Bibliographies. http://bit.ly/2yqKDXq
[30] Oxford Research Encyclopedias. http://bit.ly/2hoTmpl

Shahid — The word has the meaning of "martyr" means both a witness and a martyr (i.e., a person who suffers or dies deliberately for the sake of affirming the truth of a belief system). Martyrdom in Sunni Islam, other than the very earliest period of persecution by the polytheists of Mecca, has been closely associated with death in battle. Other forms of death or suffering, such as enduring plagues, suffering persecution for theological issues (the *mihna*, 833-861 CE, for example), and a wide range of other less-accepted circumstances have also been considered to generate martyrdom. For Shi'ites The martyrdom of al-Husayn near the Iraqi town of Karbala at the hands of Umayyad governmental forces sent to kill him is the single most dramatic martyrdom in Islam. For Shi'ites it is the epitome of the cruelty of the opponents of Muhammad's blood descendants, and it is a stain that can never be fully removed from the collective consciousness.[31]

Sharia — Islamic canonical law based on the teachings of the Koran and the traditions of the Prophet (Hadith and Sunna), prescribing both religious and secular duties and sometimes retributive penalties for lawbreaking. It has generally been supplemented by legislation adapted to the conditions of the day, though the manner in which it should be applied in modern states is a subject of dispute between Muslim traditionalists and reformists.[32]

Sheikh — 1. An Arab leader, in particular the chief or head of an Arab tribe, family, or village; 2. A leader in a Muslim community or organization.[33]

Shia Islam — Shi'i Muslims believe that after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 CE his cousin and son-in-law 'Ali (died 661) inherited Muhammad's spiritual and political authority over the *umma* (Muslim community). Thus, generally speaking the Shi'a dispute the legitimacy of the succession of the first three of Muhammad's successors (titled *khalifah*, or caliph) until 'Ali himself became caliph (656–661). After 'Ali's assassination, the Shi'a believe, the succession lay with the male descendants of 'Ali and his wife Fatima (died 632). These men are called "Imams," and their statements and actions are held to have authority equivalent to that of the Prophet himself. However, different groups understand the imamate to have been passed on through different individuals among these descendants. By the early 9th century, some forty different Shi'i groups were said to have come into being. Today, however, there are three main Shi'i groups and a few smaller ones. At present about 10 to 15 percent of the world's 1 billion Muslims are Shi'ites.[34]

Sufism — "Sufism" is the English term used to refer to mystical interpretations and practices of the Islamic religion. This mystical strand is designated in Arabic by the term *tasawwuf*, while in Persian the term *irfan* (gnosis) is also used. Proponents of Sufism see it as inextricably arising from the Qur'anic teachings of an immanent divinity who is "closer than the jugular vein," and whose "signs are on the horizons and in yourselves". For Sufis, the religious and mystical experiences of the Prophet Muhammad, such as his Night Journey *(Miraj)*, establish a precedent for his followers to pursue mystical practice. Opponents contend that the term "Sufism" *(tasawwuf)* was not used in the Qur'an or by the Prophet, and that Sufism excessively incorporated pre- and non-Islamic elements.[35]

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[31] Oxford Bibliographies. http://bit.ly/2hpGzU6
[32] Oxford Dictionaries. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/sharia
[33] Oxford Dictionaries. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/sheikh
[34] Oxford Bibliographies. http://bit.ly/2ztFQIs
[35] Oxford Bibliographies. http://bit.ly/2Asdsn6

Sunna – The body of traditional social and legal custom and practice of the Islamic community. Along with the Qur'ān (the holy book of Islam) and Hadith (recorded sayings of the Prophet Muhammad), it is a major source of Sharı'ah, or Islamic law.[36]

Sunni Islam – A branch of Islam that teaches that the process of interpretation of the law was closed in the 10th century. Before that there were four legal traditions: Hanafi, Malaki, Shafi and Hanbali.[37] Sunni Islam is the dominant division of the global Muslim community, and throughout history it has made up a substantial majority (85 to 90 percent) of that community. In the early centuries, Sunni Islam developed distinctive legal institutions and theological discourses, as well as a form of government called the caliphate (Ar. *khilafa*).[38]

Surah, Ayah – **Surah** is the chapter of a chapter of the Qur'an There are 114 Surahs in the Qur'an, each divided into verses. The chapters or suras are of unequal length, the shortest chapter (Al-Kawthar) has only three *ayat* (verses) while the longest (Al-Baqara) contains 286 verses. *Ayah* is used to mean "verse", i.e. each statement or paragraph marked by a number.

Umma – The whole community of Muslims bound together by ties of religion.[39]

Wahhabism – According to Oxford Bibliographies, Wahhabism properly refers to the 18th-century revival and reform movement begun in the region of Najd, in what is today Saudi Arabia, by Islamic religious and legal scholar Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab. The hallmarks of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's teachings are his emphasis on *tawhid* (absolute monotheism), opposition to shirk (association of anyone or anything with God), and direct, individual return to the Qur'an and Sunna (example of the Prophet) for interpretation *(ijtihad)*. In contemporary use, Wahhabism is used broadly to refer to a variety of phenomena, including Salafism, jihadism, religious belief and practice within Saudi Arabia, literal interpretations of the Qur'an and Sunna, interpretations of Islam that focus on ritual correctness rather than meaning, and generally any resistance movement globally that uses Islam or Islamic terminology as its reference. It tends to be associated with the practice of takfir ideology, in which anyone in disagreement with one's interpretation of religion is declared to be a *kafir* (unbeliever) who must be fought in jihad (as holy war).[40]

HOLY DAYS IN ISLAM

Al-Hijra – The Islamic New Year, is the first day of the month of Muharram. It marks the Hijra (or Hegira) in 622 CE when the Prophet Muhammad moved from Mecca to Medina, and set up the first Islamic state. The Muslim calendar counts dates from the Hijra, which is why Muslim dates have the suffix A.H. (After Hijra).[41]

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36   Encyclopedia Britannica. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Sunnah
37   ARDA. http://www.thearda.com/learningcenter/religiondictionary.asp#S
38   Oxford Bibliographies. http://bit.ly/2yreFdE
39   Oxford Dictionaries.https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/umma
40   Oxford Bibliographies. http://bit.ly/2zzWELD
41   BBC. http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/holydays/alhijra.shtml

Ashura – The day of Ashura is marked by Muslims as a whole, but for Shia Muslims it is a major religious commemoration of the martyrdom at Karbala of Hussein, a grandson of the Prophet Muhammad. It falls on the 10th of Muharram, the first month of the Islamic lunar calendar. It is marked by Muslims with a voluntary day of fasting which commemorates the day Noah left the Ark, and the day that Moses was saved from the Egyptians by God. For Shia Muslims, Ashura is a solemn day of mourning the martyrdom of Hussein in 680 AD at Karbala in modern-day Iraq.[42]

Eid ul Adha – This is a four-day public holiday in Muslim countries. The festival remembers the prophet Ibrahim's willingness to sacrifice his son when God ordered him to. During the festival Muslims who can afford to, sacrifice domestic animals, usually sheep, as a symbol of Ibrahim's sacrifice.[43]

Eid ul Fitr – An annual Muslim festival marking the end of Ramadan, involving the exchange of gifts and a festive meal.[44]

Laylat al Miraj – The night journey and ascent of the Prophet Muhammad, and the revelation of Salat. The Prophet travelled from Mecca to Jerusalem in a single night on a strange winged creature called Buraq. From Jerusalem he ascended into heaven, where he met the earlier prophets, and eventually God. During his time in heaven Muhammad was told of the duty of Muslims to recite Salat (ritual prayer) five times a day.[45]

Laylat al Qadr – The Night of Power, marks the night in which the Qur'an was first revealed to the Prophet Muhammad by Allah. Laylat al Qadr takes place during Ramadan. The date of 27 Ramadan for this day is a traditional date, as the Prophet Muhammad did not mention when the Night of Power would be, although it was suggested it was in the last 10 days of the month.[46]

Laylat ul Bara'h - Night of Forgiveness is the 15th night of Shabaan and takes place two weeks before Ramadan. It is the time when Muslims seek forgiveness for their sins and believe that on this night one's destiny is fixed for the year ahead.

Milad un Nabi – Marks the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad. many Muslims do not believe in celebrating birthdays or death anniversaries because there is no historical evidence that the Prophet Muhammad ever did this. Despite this, large numbers of Muslims do commemorate the birth anniversary of the Holy Prophet, which falls on 12 Rabi-ul-Awwal of the Islamic lunar calendar.[47]

Ramadan – Ramadan is the ninth month of the Islamic calendar, when Muslims fast during daylight hours. There are several reasons why Ramadan is considered important: The Qur'an was first revealed during this month; The gates of Heaven are open; The gates of Hell are closed and the devils are chained up in Hell. Ramadan is often called 'month of the Qur'an' because of this, and Muslims attempt to recite as much of the Qur'an as they can during the month.

[42]   BBC. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-16047713
[43]   BBC. http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/holydays/eiduladha.shtml
[44]   Collins Dictionary. https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/eid-ul-fitr
[45]   BBC. http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/holydays/lailatalmiraj.shtml
[46]   BBC. http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/holydays/lailatalqadr.shtml
[47]   BBC. http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/holydays/miladunnabi.shtml

Asylum Seekers – Persons seeking to be admitted into a country as refugees and awaiting decision on their application for refugee status under relevant international and national instruments. In case of a negative decision, they must leave the country and may be expelled, as may any alien in an irregular situation, unless permission to stay is provided on humanitarian or other related grounds.

Change of Status – Procedure whereby an alien lawfully present in a State may seek a different immigration status. For example, provision may be made by law by which a non national on a student visa, on completion of studies, is able to seek a change of status so that his/her student visa is replaced by a work visa.

Deportation – The act of a State in the exercise of its sovereignty in removing an alien from its territory to a certain place after refusal of admission or termination of permission to remain.

Displaced Person – A person who flees his/her State or community due to fear or dangers other than those which would make him/her a refugee. A displaced person is often forced to flee because of internal conflict or natural or manmade disasters

Documented Migrant – A migrant who entered a country legally and remains in the country in accordance with his/her admission criteria.

Dual citizenship – Possessing two citizenships simultaneously. A Georgian citizen shall lose Georgian citizenship if he/she acquires foreign citizenship.

Emigration – The act of departing or exiting from one State with a view to settle in another. International human rights norms provide that all persons should be free to leave any country, including their own, and that only in very limited circumstances may States impose restrictions on the individual's right to leave its territory.

Entry – Any entrance of an alien into a foreign country, whether voluntary or involuntary, legally or illegally.

First Asylum Principle – Principle according to which an asylum seeker should request asylum in the first country where s/he is not at risk.

Immigration – A process by which non-nationals move into a country for the purpose of settlement.

Internally Displaced Persons / IDPs – Persons or groups of persons who have been forced IDPs or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border.

Irregular/ Illegal/ Undocumented Migrant/ Alien – Someone who, owing to illegal entry or the expiry of his or her visa, lacks legal status in a transit or host country. The term applies to migrants who infringe a country's admission rules and any other person not authorized to remain in the host country.

According to the Law of Georgia on the Legal Status of Aliens and Stateless Persons[48] and the Law of Georgia on Inspection of Migrants[49], the stay of migrants on the territory of Georgia is considered illegal if: a. An alien who does not require a short-term visa to enter Georgia breaks the term of stay in Georgia, which is set at 90 calendar days in any 180-day period[50]; b. An alien who holds a single entry short-term visa breaks the validity term of the visa, which is set at 30 calendar days; c. An alien who holds a multiple entry short-term visa breaks the validity term of the visa, which is set at 90 calendar days in any 180-day period during five years; d. An alien who holds a long-term visa breaks the validity term of the visa, which is set at 90 calendar days or one year of stay in Georgia; e. An alien breaks the terms of stay set in the migrant's card and conditions of activity in the country; f. An alien does not have a "B" "exit" segment of migrant's card ; g. An alien fails to arrive at the Migration Control Department of the Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees of Georgia for a secondary inspection.

Labour migration — Movement of persons from Georgia to a country of employment in order to be employed by foreign employers and to carry out paid labour activities for foreign employers, or the entry of aliens with no permits for permanent residence into Georgia from another country in order to be employed by and carry out paid labour activities for local employers;

Migrant — The term migrant is usually understood to cover all cases where the decision to migrate is taken freely by the individual concerned for reasons of "personal convenience" and without intervention of an external compelling factor. This term therefore applies to persons, and family members, moving to another country or region to better their material or social conditions and improve the prospect for themselves or their family.

Migrant's card — a migrant's card is a form of statistical registration of permanent residents in Georgia (persons having Georgian citizenship, stateless persons and persons with the immigrant status) and a compulsory document for aliens to cross the border, stay and carry out in Georgia.[51]

Naturalization — Granting by a State of its nationality to an alien through a formal act on the application of the individual concerned. Under Organic Law of Georgia on Georgian Citizenship[52] types of naturalisation are: a) Granting citizenship under regular procedure; b) Granting Georgian citizenship under simplified procedure; c) Granting Georgian citizenship by way of exception; d) Granting Georgian citizenship by way of its restoration.

Readmission — Act by a State accepting the re-entry of an individual (own national, third-country national or stateless person), who has been found illegally entering or being present in another State.

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[48] Law of Georgia Law of Georgia on the Legal Status of Aliens and Stateless Persons https://matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/2278806

[49] Law of Georgia on Inspection of Migrants https://matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/22594

[50] List of countries whose citizens do not require entry visa to Georgia: https://www.geoconsul.gov.ge/HtmlPage/Html/View?id=956

[51] Decree №707 of the President of Georgia on Inspection of Migrants at Border Checkpoints https://matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/112300

[52] Organic Law of Georgia on Georgian Citizenship https://matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/2342552?impose=translateEn

ATTITUDES OF MUSLIM YOUTH

Receiving Country – Country of destination or a third country. In the case of return or repatriation, also the country of origin. Country that has accepted to receive a certain number of refugees and migrants on a yearly basis by presidential, ministerial or parliamentary decision.

Refugee – an alien or a stateless person who has been granted refugee status on the basis of the grounds for granting refugee status: Refugee status shall be granted to an alien or a stateless person, who is outside the country of origin, and has a well-grounded fear that he/she may become a victim of persecution on the grounds of his/her race, religion, nationality, affiliation to a certain social group or political views, and who does not wish to, or cannot, return to his/her country of origin or enjoy the right to be protected from such country due to such fear.[53]

Residence Permit – The Agency shall issue a Georgian residence permit to an alien staying in Georgia on legitimate grounds. There are 10 types of residence permits: work residence permit, study residence permit , residence permit of a former citizen of Georgia, residence permit of a stateless person shall, special residence permit, permanent residence permit, an investment residence permit , temporary residence permit, short-term residence permit.[54]

Stateless Person – A person who is not considered a citizen by any state under its legislation.[55]

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[53] Law of Georgia on International Protection
https://matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/3452780?impose=translateEn
[54] Law of Georgia on the Legal Status of Aliens and Stateless Persons.
https://matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/2278806?impose=translateEn
[55] Law of Georgia on the Legal Status of Aliens and Stateless Persons.
https://matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/2278806?impose=translateEn