

EIS Member briefing: Addressing misinformation and disinformation in relation to transgender people



Introduction

Every young person has the right to learn, and every teacher and lecturer has the right to work, in an educational environment where they can be themselves, and flourish. Understanding, inclusion, and safety are all essential factors to ensure every colleague and pupil, including those who are transgender, can be visible in our educational establishments, and our workplaces and treated with dignity and respect.

Despite progress made, we still have a long way to go to ensure every child and young person growing up in Scotland will live their lives free from discrimination and inequality. It is deeply concerning that misinformation and disinformation continues to be commonplace in relation to transgender people, which contributes to the risks currently facing progress on LGBT people's rights, across the world.

Transgender people are valued colleagues and pupils across the education system and our workplaces. The aim of this guidance is to provide advice for members on navigating and addressing misinformation and disinformation in relation to transgender people.

Key messages

- Scapegoating of minoritised and marginalised groups are long-term tactics of the far right, and a focus on transgender people has gained increased visibility and influence in recent years.
- Any adult or young person can become influenced by misinformation and disinformation as it is designed to be persuasive and evoke strong emotions.
- It is important to take steps to critically consider information before making decisions that may inadvertently contribute to the spread of misinformation, cause harm, or exacerbate issues.

- In relation to misinformation, it may be useful to approach productive dialogue with empathy and understanding when seeking to challenge potentially harmful or false information, staying rooted in professionalism and professional values.
- Longer term strategic communications should focus on providing positive counternarratives, build critical literacy skills, and mobilise support for equality.
- In 2021, Scotland became the first country in the world to commit to LGBT inclusive education. As part of the work to deliver on this commitment, it is important to continue showing solidarity and support to transgender staff and learners.

Understanding false information

A 2024 nationally representative study¹ by the Alan Turing Institute found that 94% of adults in the UK reported witnessing misinformation on social media.

Access to information and the ability to participate freely in public discourse are important foundations for democratic societies. This foundation is threatened by false information, which has the potential to add to polarisation and promote hate and violence, and, in turn, risks undermining trust and community cohesion.

False information can be harmful, whether it is intentionally shared or not.

False information, such as propaganda, has historically been recognised as posing a threat to democracy, and public safety, but recent years has seen a significant rise in the spread of false information through advances in information technologies such as social media. False and potentially harmful information can go viral in a matter of hours. It is, therefore, essential in upholding democratic values that the public is resilient to disinformation.

False information can be harmful, whether it is intentionally shared, or not. It can contribute to prejudice and stereotyping of minority groups, and sow division, spreading fear and hate. In turn, this can affect the safety and wellbeing of those targeted.

- Misinformation is a term to describe any false information shared unintentionally, such as errors, misleading captions, parody or satire.
- Disinformation is a term to describe any false information that is deliberately created and/or shared to mislead others.
- Malinformation is information that is true, but taken out of context or exaggerated in order to mislead or manipulate others.

Key features of false information online and in media, may include the following definitions, taken from the Digital Discourse Initiative²:

- Fabricated content: new content that is entirely untrue, created to deceive or cause harm.
- Sponsored content: advertising or PR disguised as editorial content.
- Propaganda: content used to manage the attitudes or values of others, intended to cause an emotional reaction.
- False context: factually accurate content combined with false contextual information.

¹www.turing.ac.uk/news/publications/how-do-people-protect-themselves-against-online-misinformation

 $^{^2\,}www. digital discourse initiative. scot$

- Satire or parody: false/untrue information that attempts to be humorous and is not intended to cause harm but has the potential to mislead.
- Errors: mistakes made in reporting.
- Manipulated content: genuine information or imagery that is manipulated in order to deceive others.
- Imposter content: impersonating genuine or official sources to appear authentic.
- False connection: headlines, visuals or captions that do not support the rest of the information or content.
- Misleading content: misleading use of information to frame an issue or individual.

Misinformation and disinformation can result in even well-intentioned individuals making decisions and taking actions that might cause harm or exacerbate existing inequalities. It is therefore important to be able to recognise and respond effectively to false information and stay rooted in professionalism, having due regard to relevant professional values.

You can learn more about how to identify false information in the free online Digital Discourse Initiative e-learning course³.

Disinformation and the 'Far Right'

There are many terms used to describe far right, extreme right or radical right ideologies and these groupings are by no means monoliths. Importantly, the term is often used to describe other people – rather than being how people would describe themselves.

'Far right' is an umbrella term which broadly describes a set of core beliefs rooted in "chauvinistic nationalism (exceptionalism)"⁴ - involving an in-group and out-group - and a belief that the nation or in-group is under threat from the out-group and believing that radical action is required.

Far right ideologies pose a challenge to democracy, human rights, and community cohesion. Fascism is an extreme subcategory of 'far right' ideologies, categorised by authoritarianism and suppression of any opposition. Not all far right ideologies are fascist.

Right-wing populism utilises populist rhetoric and themes, such as representing or appealing to a singular group of 'common people' and reflects an anti-establishment attitude.

³ www.digitaldiscourseinitiative.scot

⁴ http://hopenothate.org.uk/2024/08/29/call-them-what-they-are/



Hope Not Hate's 'State of the Hate' 2024 report, an analytical guide to the state of far right extremism in the UK, describes a rise in the popularity of radical right politics, noting that across both the radical and traditional far right, two main agenda items continue to dominate the attention. **Migration**, and **anti-LGBT** politics, most specifically relating to transgender people, are continuing to gain mainstream appeal through persistent, hostile media coverage, including on social media. Other groups, such as disabled people, are also frequently targets of biased or negative communications by the far right.

Hope Not Hate notes a 'growing Radical Right infrastructure in media and culture that has emerged to facilitate and encourage the radicalisation of the Tory Party and buttress with the wider Radical Right agenda'. Speakers at the National Conservatism Conference in May 2023 warned against the 'end of our way of life', 'wokeism', 'the unexamined drive towards multiculturalism', and 'transgenderism'.

It is important to note that anyone can be influenced by far right disinformation as this is devised to be persuasive, and to appeal to strong emotions, stoking up fear and uncertainty. Being influenced by far right disinformation does not make someone right-wing or mean that they have ill-intentions. Colleagues who are concerned that they may be influenced by misinformation can assess the validity of the information by making further inquiry through reputable sources and support. Sources may include organisations signposted by the Scottish Government, and organisations that are led by individuals with lived experience, such as migrant or trans led organisations.

Colleagues should always engage critically with any information and be guided by their professional standards and values. If you require support, it may be beneficial to discuss with colleagues, or for any employment related issues, approach your line manager in the first instance, or your trade union representative. Further links for resources are provided at the end of this document.

How the Far Right exploits the Media for its advantage

The EIS is aware in the current context, of a lack of knowledge, and unfortunately widespread misinformation and disinformation relating to transgender people.

Transgender people have always existed across the world and in every society. In Scotland, Trans people are a minority group that make up about 0.4% of the Scottish population based on the 2022 Census of people aged 16 and over. Transgender people are rarely visible in discussions about their lives and rights, or able to safely contribute their perspectives from their lived experience.

Research carried out by Mermaids UK found that between 2019 and 2022, the UK press had more than tripled the coverage of stories about trans people, and in that time, transgender people were increasingly being written about in negative ways⁵.

The media focus on transgender people over the past ten years or so, can be confusing and make even well-intentioned people unsure or concerned about trans people, as the access to accurate information, or information based on lived experience is limited.

Example:

The press coverage regarding the Supreme Court Ruling in the Case of For Women Scotland v Scottish Ministers in April 2025 may have contributed negatively to the safety and wellbeing of transgender people. Unhelpfully, media coverage at the time signalling that an 'interim update' by the Equality and Human Rights Commission was to be taken as clear guidance may have contributed to organisations rushing to make changes that could negatively impact trans workers, service users and learners in educational establishments.

In the context of widespread misinformation and negative press coverage about trans people, it is important to access accurate information.

The EIS believes that educational establishments (which are also workplaces), require clear guidance on how the Supreme Court decision in respect of the Equality Act 2010 is to be regarded within the broader complex legal framework surrounding the delivery of education in Scotland and their various functions, including GIRFEC and the Health and Safety at Work Act 1974.

Some groups may exploit a lack of knowledge and of familiarity with transgender people, and media sensationalism, to spread disinformation which can have serious consequences.

 $^{^{5}\} https://mermaidsuk.org.uk/news/exclusive-mermaids-research-into-newspaper-coverage-on-trans-issues/news/exclusive-mermaids-research-into-newspaper-coverage-on-trans-issues/news/exclusive-mermaids-research-into-newspaper-coverage-on-trans-issues/news/exclusive-mermaids-research-into-newspaper-coverage-on-trans-issues/news/exclusive-mermaids-research-into-newspaper-coverage-on-trans-issues/news/exclusive-mermaids-research-into-newspaper-coverage-on-trans-issues/news/exclusive-mermaids-research-into-newspaper-coverage-on-trans-issues/news/exclusive-mermaids-research-into-newspaper-coverage-on-trans-issues/news/exclusive-mermaids-research-into-newspaper-coverage-on-trans-issues/news/exclusive-mermaids-research-into-newspaper-coverage-on-trans-issues/news/exclusive-mermaids-research-into-newspaper-coverage-on-trans-issues/news/exclusive-mermaids-research-into-newspaper-coverage-on-trans-issues/news/exclusive-mermaids-research-into-newspaper-coverage-on-trans-issues/news/exclusive-mermaids-research-into-news-paper-coverage-on-trans-issues/news-on-trans-issues/ne$

Far right groups have a long history of oppression against LGBT people. The media narratives surrounding transgender people in recent years fits into existing far right tropes regarding gender norms and 'threats' posed by an 'outgroup' or minority group – feeding into harmful false information about transgender people⁶. Far right ideologies tend to be socially conservative, dividing the world into strict hierarchies and categories which are often viewed as unchangeable. In terms of gender, far right ideologies tend to be strongly rooted in patriarchal ideas, inter alia, which frame gender and gender roles as determined by biology.

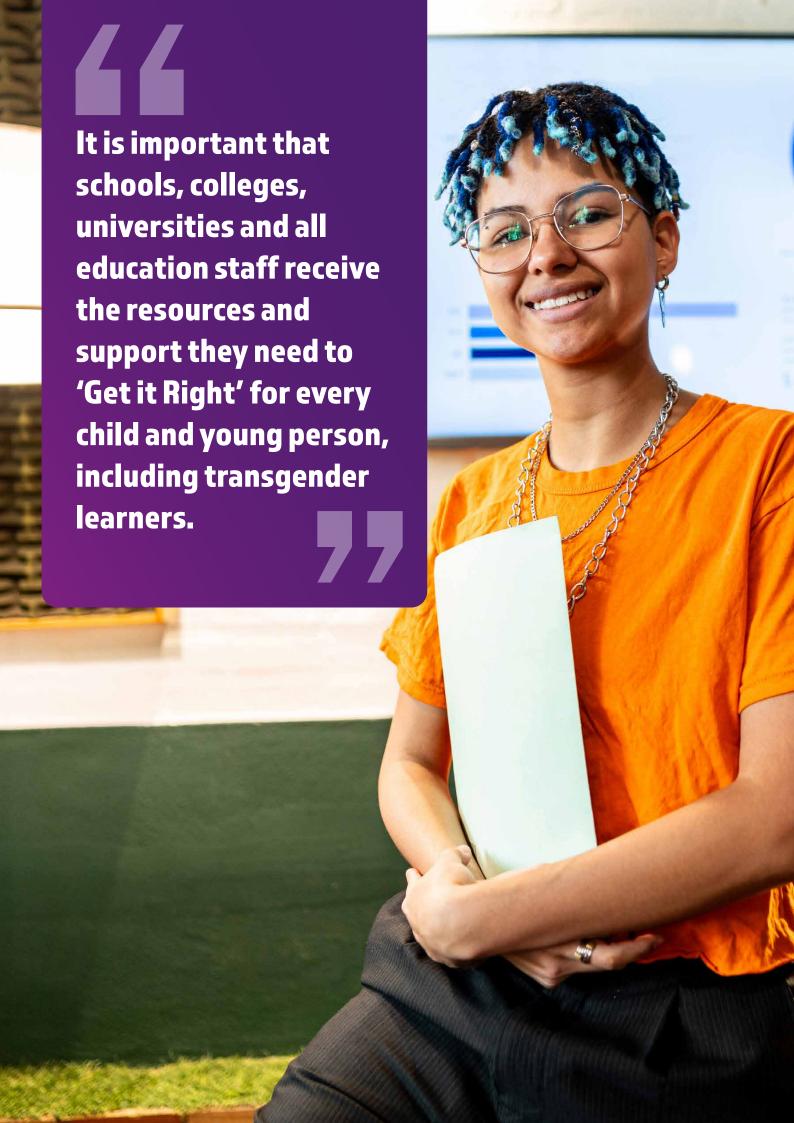
In terms of media and communication, the far right often utilises rhetorics of threat and ridicule to justify hate against certain groups of people, and its rhetoric regarding trans people is no different. Trans people have now become one of the main targets of far right groups as they have over the last ten years been subject to overwhelming media focus and an increasingly prevalent narrative of suspicion in mainstream media.

"We were no longer portrayed as the ridiculous but unthreatening provincial mechanic who was having a 'sex swap'; now, we were depicted as the proponents of a powerful new 'ideology' that was capturing institutions and dominating public life." Shon Faye, The Transgender Issue: An Argument for Justice (2021)

The far right, as well as other groups who oppose LGBT rights and presence, tend to frame their interventions as being motivated by a desire to protect people, specifically women who are not transgender, and children, from harm, which openly or inadvertently signals fear and mistrust towards LGBT people. This can sometimes mirror discourse surrounding Section 2A – a harmful piece of legislation in Scotland which prohibited the 'promotion of homosexuality in schools' and inhibited the delivery of LGBT inclusive education. It was enacted in 1988 and repealed after lengthy campaigning and organising, in 2000. Twenty-one years later, Scotland became the first country in the world to commit to rolling out LGBT Inclusive Education across all schools.

It is important to note that most people who are opposed to transgender people's rights are not far right nor would describe themselves as such. However, it is also important to understand how the far right exploits a lack of familiarity with transgender people, and the disproportionate and overwhelmingly negative press coverage of trans rights by some media outlets in recent years. These are risk factors to the spread of misinformation and disinformation which makes it even more important to engage critically with information in relation to minoritised groups, such as transgender people.

⁶ https://hopenothate.org.uk/chapter/transphobia-and-the-far-right/



The Role of Educational Establishments

The Equality Act (2010) prohibits discrimination and harassment on the basis of protected characteristics of age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex, and sexual orientation. The Public Sector Equality Duty also applies to educational establishments, and involves taking preventative action to reduce prejudice and increase understanding between different groups of people.

"All local authority run schools in Scotland are expected to implement LGBT inclusive education through Curriculum for Excellence in alignment with the national approach."

The Scottish Government is clear that inclusion is a central ethos of Scottish education, to help develop the four capacities: successful learners, confident individuals, effective contributors and responsible citizens.

In relation to staff, the Health and Safety at Work Act (1974) sets out employers' duties to ensure a safe working environment, protecting workers' health and welfare. Every worker has a right to a safe workplace, and embedding inclusive policies can help ensure this.

Educational establishments can play a key role in advancing equality for all and should receive resourcing and support to do so, to safeguard and promote the health, safety and wellbeing of all learners and staff. Unfortunately, LGBT discrimination and inequality remain a significant barrier to LGBT people's equal access to Education and Fair Work. The EIS National Branch Survey on Violence and Aggression in 2023 saw a concerning rise in prejudice based violent and aggressive incidents in schools. Wellbeing is at the heart of the GIRFEC approach for schools. It is important that schools, colleges, universities and all education staff receive the resources and support they need to 'Get it Right' for every child and young person, including transgender learners.

"We still have pupils who feel unsafe because of their gender/orientation."

Quote from EIS survey respondent, 2023

A 2023 EIS member survey into LGBT discrimination in educational establishments found that a fifth of LGBT respondents were not 'out' to anyone in their educational establishment. 75.3% of LGBT respondents reported having indirect experience of homophobia, biphobia or transphobia and 40.6% of LGBT respondents said they had direct experience of this.

⁷ https://www.gov.scot/publications/guidance-lgbt-inclusive-education/documents/

"Witnessing bullying of an LGBT child and hearing prejudicial language almost daily (especially transphobic language). Parents complaining about my support of a trans child and their use of pronouns and the disabled toilet facility, all the trans/non-binary books (or books with these characters) being removed from the school library after parental complaints."

Quote from EIS survey respondent, 2023

In 2024, an LGBT Youth Scotland Trans Report as part of the series "Life in Scotland for LGBT Young People" found only 1 in 3 trans young people felt there were enough places for them to safely socialise and be open about their identity, or sexual orientation. Less than half felt supported in their school, college or university.

It is essential, as part of wider efforts to tackle misinformation and disinformation, that all incidents of LGBT discrimination are identified, reported, recorded and monitored. Risk assessments should be conducted to inform action plans to address discrimination and mitigate the potential for recurrence, in order to uphold health, safety and wellbeing.

Teachers' and lecturers' professional responsibility

An important way that teachers and lecturers can minimise the impact of misinformation and disinformation regarding transgender people, is to remain rooted in their professionalism, having due regard to their professional values and standards.

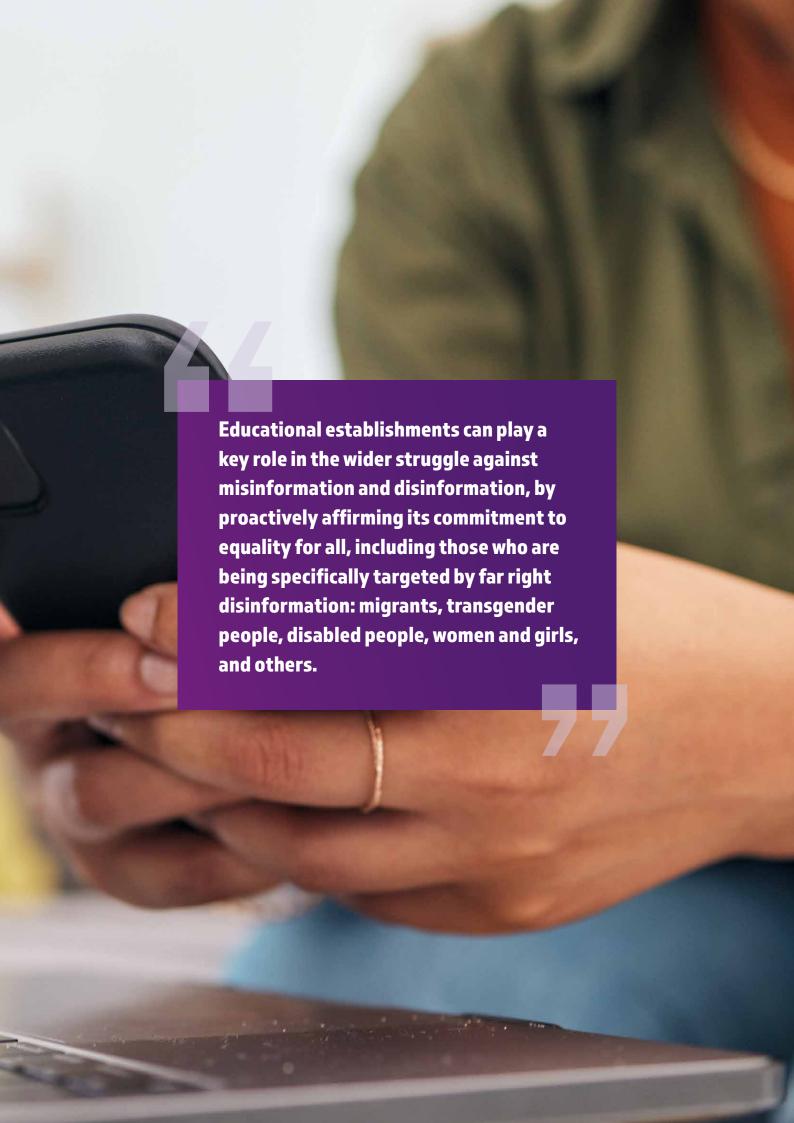
In Scotland the GTCS suite of Professional Standards describe teacher professionalism and the range of values that underpin the practice of teaching, for teachers and college lecturers. Professional Values for teachers in Scotland include Social Justice, Trust and Respect and Integrity and the Professional Values for college lecturers include placing students at the centre, a commitment to equality and diversity and the safety and wellbeing of all students. Respect, integrity, inclusion and equality are integral.

When working with any learner, including transgender learners, teachers and college lecturers will have due regard to the relevant GTC Scotland Professional Standards⁸.

⁸ https://www.gtcs.org.uk/knowledge-base/articles/a-guide-to-the-professional-standards

For teachers, the Standard for Full Registration references the importance of:

- '2.2.2 Hav[ing] a depth of knowledge and understanding of Education systems', 'demonstrat[ing] a depth of knowledge and understanding of: the roles and responsibilities of teachers in establishing and sustaining positive and purposeful relationships across the learning community'.
- '3.2.3 Building positive, respecting relationships for learning', including 'commit[ing] to and demonstrate[ing] equity and inclusion to advance equality of opportunity between learners who share a relevant protected characteristic and those who do not and foster[ing] good relations; and encourage[ing] learners to respect and care for themselves, others and the natural world'.
- For college lecturers, the GTCS Professional Standards include:
- 2.2.6 Understanding how to meet the diverse needs of students.
- 2.2.12 Understanding how to collaborate effectively with internal and external
 partners to enhance inclusive learning, support student choice, positive health and
 wellbeing and essential skills.
- 3.5.1 Using critical reflection to manage self, relationships and work demands to promote personal, emotional and physical wellbeing.
- 3.5.2 Developing the skills and attributes of critical reflection and collaborative practice and uses them to enhance the quality of the learning experience.
- The GTC Scotland Code of Professionalism and Conduct, also references key professional responsibilities and key principles of equality and diversity, underpinning practice, stating that teachers and college lecturers should:
- '2.1 treat sensitive, personal information about pupils with respect and confidentiality and not disclose it unless required to do so by your employer or by law';
- '2.7 be aware of the general principles of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, regarding equal treatment, the child's best interests, and giving appropriate weight to the views of the child.'
- '5.1 engage and work positively with pupils, colleagues, parents and carers in an open, inclusive and respectful way, in line with the law and with a non-judgemental approach whatever their background, personal circumstances, cultural differences, values and beliefs';
- '5.2 help pupils to understand different views, perspectives, and experiences and develop positive relationships both within the educational establishment and in the local community'.





Responding to misinformation and disinformation

The EIS is aware that educational establishments may be receiving material in the form of online pressure, physical flyers etc., containing false information related to transgender people, for example about sex and gender, single-sex spaces, or suggesting that young people are at risk in relation to their gender identities or due to the presence of trans pupils or staff in establishments. These types of information may explicitly or implicitly reinforce harmful narratives about transgender people, which can undermine their wellbeing and safety, and contribute to the spread of misinformation.

Educational establishments can play a key role in the wider struggle against misinformation and disinformation, by proactively affirming its commitment to equality for all, including those who are being specifically targeted by far right disinformation: migrants, transgender people, disabled people, women and girls, and others. Educational establishments should be clear that trans people have always existed and that all learners and staff, including transgender people, are valued as part of the wider community of the educational establishment.

Teachers and lecturers may be concerned that misinformation may cause staff, learners, or parents to worry or complain to the school, college or university. If you are concerned that someone in the community has received misinformation in relation to transgender people, you can point them to the suite of guidance available at eis.org.uk/equality/lgbt.

Educational establishments should always ensure that they consult the necessary and most up to date guidance on supporting transgender children and young people, and seek advice from the local authority, or consult Scottish Government resources, or EIS resources, before taking any actions that may inadvertently signal unfounded risks, as this could further cause stigmatisation or concern.

If colleagues are concerned about a learner (who may be personally negatively impacted by such lobbying material) or by misinformation or disinformation from other sources, you should follow your establishment's processes to support their wellbeing, including conducting risk assessments, where appropriate and following child protection and safeguarding protocols where there is a risk of significant harm to the child.

Colleagues may also wish to reach out to organisations such as the Time for Inclusive Education Campaign, who may have further advice or may be able to work directly with your educational establishment⁹. It may be helpful on a whole establishment level to consider ways to build resilience to false information.

Building a resilient foundation

Educational establishments working preventatively to build good critical thinking skills and political literacy, as well as an understanding of equality issues will lay a positive foundation that builds resilience when responding to misinformation and disinformation. The Digital Discourse Initiative is a helpful starting point.

All Scottish schools are expected to embed LGBT Inclusive Education¹⁰ in the curriculum. Colleges and Universities may benefit from considering the National Approach to LGBT Inclusive Education, in their planning and actions. All educational establishments should ensure staff feel confident to deliver inclusive education, and supported with professional learning, as well as time to engage in colleague discussion and embed their learning in practice.

¹⁰ https://www.gov.scot/publications/guidance-lgbt-inclusive-education/

Strategic communication for educational establishments

Effective strategic communication can help challenge the spread of far right narratives, at the same time as increasing understanding and support for transgender people.

For example, strategic communications may aim to:

- Move those who are despondent, cynical, or unsure, giving them confidence to act
- Strengthen or show support for those already well informed
- Educate those who misinformed in the hope that this will assist in changing views

Research into effective messaging and organising frameworks for equality, suggests that communications that speak affirmatively about our vision and values can engage those who are already engaged and mobilise those who are unsure.

These strategies will require different styles of communication, but the general principles below may be useful to consider when preparing strategic communications or statements that aim to tackle misinformation and disinformation. Strategic communications policies should where possible be informed by collegiate and learner engagement, and as part of a whole-establishment approach to help frame this appropriately.

Careful consideration should be given to what issues will be responded to and when, and communication should be professional, with the promotion of wellbeing and inclusion, at the centre.

Given the context of widespread misinformation on the issue of LGBT inclusive education and transgender people in particular, it is advisable not to enter into discussion about the matters that are not relevant for education, for example those which are related to health, or individual cases such as those reported in the media.

Consideration should be made as to when to respond to misinformation, and when to address false information in different ways. There may be a risk in inadvertently reinforcing misinformation by entering into discussions using the same framing of the issue as those who are spreading misinformation. For example by:

 Repeating and reinforcing misinformed narratives in attempts to refute it, for example beginning statements with "no", "don't" and referring to misinformed claims

- Platforming and providing airtime to negative messaging by responding directly to it, boosting visibility of misinformation
- Only communicating about transgender people when addressing misinformation or disinformation

Instead, research into effective messaging and organising frameworks¹¹ for equality, suggests that communications that speak affirmatively about our vision and values can engage those who are already engaged and mobilise those who are unsure.

Research¹² by Hope Not Hate found that 31% of men and 29% of women (aged 18-24) neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement 'people should be able to identify as being of a different gender to the one they had recorded at birth', and 21-22% somewhat agreed.

Only 17% of men, and 10% of women of the same age strongly disagreed, and 18% of men and 29% of women strongly agreed.

A successful strategic communication that engages those who 'agreed' with people being able to identify as a different gender than the sex recorded at birth, but also mobilises those who 'neither agreed nor disagreed', may include statements that:

- Broaden the 'we' by appealing to shared values across our differences, for example emphasising that we all deserve to be free to live our lives safely.
- Asserting the strength and breadth of people coming together in support, linking
 to other struggles that have been overcome, for example describing other solidarity
 campaigns such as when LGBT people came together to support the miners' strike, or
 when unions joined in the campaigns to address period poverty.
- Name the problem that is threatening our shared values, without repeating claims
 that may help cement false narratives, for example by calling out how undermining
 people's rights to live in safety and freedom hurts us all, not just transgender people
- Link the problem as part of wider struggles, for example by noting how we are operating in a context of far right mobilising.
- Provide a desirable and positive vision for the future showing what is possible when we all live freely and in solidarity with one another!

¹¹ https://tie.scot/

¹² https://www.gov.scot/publications/guidance-lgbt-inclusive-education/

Direct dialogue and counter speech

It is crucial that teachers, lecturers and educational establishments address any form of prejudicial language or narratives, to provide safe and equitable learning and working environments, for all. The establishment should support and empower teachers and lecturers to feel confident in addressing this.

The same principles as above, relating to strategic communications, may be applicable when seeking to enter into productive dialogue – it is especially important not to operate within the narrative of misinformation, which risks reinforcing it. For example, repeating false claims in efforts to myth bust, rather than emphasising meaningful learning and engagement with the accurate information itself.

Counter speech may also be a strategic tool in direct dialogue, guiding the individual towards critical reflection and considering the impact of the false or misinformed claims, on others.

The aim of counter speech is to foster empathy, and address prejudicial attitudes, by inviting open dialogue in a 1-1 setting.

When supporting any young person, the EIS would advocate a relational approach based on GIRFEC principles in which the needs of each young person as well as their individual circumstances are taken into consideration. The PEACE framework, developed by the Digital Discourse Initiative, may be an effective model for counter-speech:

PEACE Framework

- Pause: provide space for a calm response and signal that this will be followed up
 - Empathy: leading with empathy for the people affected by prejudice, also empathy in avoiding labelling the person you are in dialogue with
- Ask: encourage critical reflections through open-ended questions
- Correct: provide facts and challenge misinformation
- Encourage: promote positive behaviour and values



Consult the free Digital Discourse Initiative online course for further information about counter speech in addressing disinformation.



Showing solidarity and support

The EIS will continue to advocate for high standards of education, with an inclusive curriculum reflecting the diverse backgrounds, identities and experiences of all members of our society, including our teachers, fellow education professionals, learners and their families.

Sending messages of solidarity and signalling unequivocal support for transgender people is especially important within the current context of widespread misinformation and disinformation around transgender people's lives, and rights.

If you are experiencing discrimination, harassment or victimisation because of being transgender, being inaccurately believed to be transgender or being associated with someone who is transgender, seek the support of your EIS Trade Union Representative, Equality Representative, or Local Association Secretary / Branch Secretary.

The EIS will continue to advocate for high standards of education, with an inclusive curriculum reflecting the diverse backgrounds, identities and experiences of all members of our society, including our teachers, fellow education professionals, learners and their families.





This guidance may be updated as required.

Further information about the EIS's work in this area can be found on **www.eis.org.uk/equality/equality-home**

This guidance includes content based on the digital discourse. scot platform, where educators can access free CLPL on strategies to counter online hate.

The guidance is informed by research and guides by aso communications, and analysis by Hope not Hate.

