SOCIAL MEDIA AND CONFLICT IN NIGERIA

A LEXICON OF HATE SPEECH TERMS

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I. Introduction

Since 2014, PeaceTech Lab has undertaken research and worked with local partners in Myanmar, Kenya, and South Sudan to better understand the dynamics of hate speech and the impact of such language on violent events. Through its research, the Lab has attempted to address a gap in recent efforts to tackle hate speech and its effect on communities in conflict zones—namely, how do we identify and contextualize language that can contribute to violence? To successfully monitor and counter hate speech, we must first identify specific terms and the social and political context that makes them offensive, inflammatory, or even potentially dangerous.[1] This notion is the springboard for much of the Lab's work on combating hate speech.

In 2017, the Lab extended its work to include Nigeria. Nigeria's conflicts are multiple, interrelated, and evolving—ethnic, religious, settler/indigene, resource-driven, and regionally based. They involve the major war over Biafra's secession to the episodic Christian-Muslim violence in the Middle Belt,[2] and more recently, the Boko Haram Islamic insurgency in the Northeast and the growing herder-farmer conflicts. Hate speech, as in other countries, is used as a tool to achieve political and material ends, and online hate speech is simply the twenty-first-century version of such speech. With the increasing role of hate speech as a feature of Nigeria's general elections in 2011 and 2015,[3] and its prevalence around the trigger issues above, there is much concern as the country looks toward elections in 2019. As one online news publisher reported, "We're not living in normal times…everybody is agitated."[4]

Therefore, PeaceTech Lab has produced this lexicon of terms used online during a finite period in Nigeria in order to analyze how hate language potentially fueled its conflicts. This initiative also seeks to identify alternative language that would mitigate or counter the impact of hate speech on Nigeria's multiple conflicts and thereby help build peace in the country. Finally, this resource intends to inform other individuals and organizations involved in combating hate speech in Nigeria—and potentially elsewhere—so that their work can be more effective.

The project consists of four main phases designed to aid peacebuilding in Nigeria, as well as contribute to the community of practice working to address online hate speech, media, and violent conflict. These phases are summarized below.

1. **Develop a lexicon of online hate speech.** The creation of a lexicon of hate speech terms commonly used on digital media in the Nigerian context will provide a qualitative and quantitative analytical foundation that local and international groups can use to more effectively monitor and counter hate speech. The lexicon is also designed to raise awareness among Nigerian social media users, including those in diaspora communities.

2. **Produce data visualizations.** For this lexicon, PeaceTech Lab used both human and automated monitoring to create data visualizations that provide additional insight on how hate language is used in broader online narratives related to peace and conflict. Monitoring has also produced sample posts that demonstrate the context in which certain terms are used online.

3. **Validate the lexicon and analysis through a "ground-truth" process of dialogues with local actors.** PeaceTech Lab, in partnership with the Center for Information Technology and Development (CITAD), conducted a series of focus group discussions with a mix of Nigerians in Abuja and Kano to validate the context of the hate speech terms identified in the lexicon. Discussions focused on building consensus around the terms and their context, as well as how online hate narratives can fuel violence on the ground.

4. **Apply research to practice through a PeaceTech Exchange workshop.** To assist Nigerian peacebuilding organizations in combating hate speech, the Lab and CITAD hosted a three-day workshop in Abuja to introduce participants to technology tools that would help them identify, monitor, or counter hate speech in their communities. The lexicon of hate speech terms was introduced as a practical tool to guide the technology-based peacebuilding projects that were developed during the workshop and subsequently implemented by participant groups.

II. The Lexicon

To compose the lexicon, the project team (comprising PeaceTech Lab and CITAD staff) conducted an online survey of Nigerians to identify terms that are contributing to Nigeria's conflicts. More than 100 survey respondents identified the terms and contextual information synthesized below. The terms are listed in order of frequency of appearance in the survey results. Focus group discussions, involving another 40 participants, were conducted in Abuja and Kano to similarly identify terms, but also to include qualitative analysis and context for the terms. After an initial draft of the lexicon was prepared, validation sessions involving another 30 individuals were held in Abuja to refine the document. PeaceTech Lab specialists provided data visualizations to represent the terms and their associations. Once the draft reached its final stages, it was reviewed by a small, but diverse, group of Nigerians serving as the project's expert advisers.

For each term, the "Definition" section contains information that survey respondents provided in survey questions 1–3 about the term's origins, general meaning, and related information. The "Why it is offensive/inflammatory" section discusses information that respondents provided in survey question 4 as to why they believed the term was offensive and inflamed the conflict, including past usages, historical references to past conflict, and other contextual information. Finally, the "Alternative words that could be used" section lists terms provided by respondents in survey question 7 that they thought could be used in place of the offensive and inflammatory terms or to mitigate or counter those terms. Further discussion about the survey, focus group discussions, workshops, and other aspects of the project's methodology can be found in Annex A in Part III below.

Conflict in Nigeria: A Summary

Although Nigeria's independence from British dominion in 1960 occurred without major violent conflict, violence nonetheless has been a feature in the state's consolidation into an independent, federal nation. Conflict has manifested in multiple, sometimes interrelated, ways in Nigeria, often with highly localized attributes. First, there has been longstanding conflict over the nature of governance in Nigeria. Nigeria's seven military coups, counter-coups, and attempted coups[5]—as well as the secession of the eastern region, which led to the Biafra War—can be seen in large part as contests over governance. The early years of the republic, particularly the military coups, featured a battle over whether the state would be unitary or federal; in more recent years, with the federal republic established, conflicts emerged over its federal character (i.e., allocations and relations between state and central government).[6] In recent decades, conflict has also been fueled by allegations of corruption or actual corruption. Indeed, nearly all Nigeria's military rulers have absconded with the nation's assets, the country regularly ranks near the bottom of global corruption indices, and national and international initiatives to police or recover assets have had limited success.[7] This corruption exacerbates tensions over resource distribution and income inequality.

With about 50 percent of the population adhering to either Islam or Christianity,[8] the country has often been divided along religious lines as well. In states where one religion predominates, followers of the other faith have faced discrimination or persecution, while the Middle Belt states of Nigeria have featured recurring episodes of Muslim-Christian violence since 1992. Another factor in Nigeria's political and security environment is the impact of governance on its ethnic groups; although Hausa, Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbo are the largest groups, there are over 250 ethnic groups in the country[9] often identified with particular states or regions. Indeed, to the extent that ethnicity is identified with other conflict issues—for example, those who sought Biafran independence were predominantly Igbo, while many of the herders in today's farmer-herder conflicts are Fulani—it serves as an "accelerant" to other conflicts. As with religion, where one ethnic group predominates in a state, minority ethnic groups have been locked out of political power or faced discrimination in employment, housing, or establishing businesses.

Local claims between "settlers" and "indigenes" (defined by the length of one's legacy in an area) concerning rights to land or resources have recently added another layer of conflict in Nigeria. Finally, resources—or their use or diminishment—have long exacerbated conflict in the country. Oil, which was seen as the means to fuel national development, also brought opportunities for corruption, as well as environmental degradation and public health crises, spawning protests in oil-producing states. In more recent years, climate change has had multiple impacts—for example, forcing pastoralists to move from traditional livestock routes to new grazing areas that encroach on farmers' land—providing a regular spark for conflict in Middle Belt states and increasingly beyond.[10]

Unfortunately, Nigeria's complex conflict dynamics mean that these "triggers" of violence often occur together, making peaceful solutions that much more difficult to identify and carry out. For example, Niger Deltans' resentment that "their" oil resource found in the river delta is being spent on the agricultural North takes on a religious coloration, in that the South is predominantly Christian and the North is predominantly Muslim. It also takes on an ethnic coloration, as the South is predominantly Igbo and Yoruba, while the North is predominantly Hausa and Fulani.

Over the course of Nigeria's history, its leaders have undertaken numerous constitutional, legal, and policy initiatives to address each of these areas. At the national level, the "federal character" approach was first instituted in the 1979 constitution to ensure that Nigerian states are represented in government. The aim was to develop a more inclusive form of governance and guard against marginalization. The provision was enhanced in the 1999 constitution to require that the country's "federal character" be promoted such that no state or ethnic or sectional group shall predominate in governance.[11] As such, each state is required to have at least one representative in the cabinet.[12] However, in order for balance to be accurately assessed—whether for appointments, distribution of revenues, or redistricting—Nigeria must have a reliable census. The first post-independence census in 1962 was highly controversial and criticized for its accuracy, leading to a re-run in 1963, which itself was controversial.[13] Since then, the spatial distribution of the population has been politicized and subsequent censuses' numbers contested, with criticisms that some jurisdictions have undercounted while others have been exaggerated. Given these huge governance and security challenges, there are efforts underway in Nigeria for a "restructuring"—a reconsideration of its system of governance.[14]

One way Nigeria has addressed conflict stemming from inadequate group representation has been by creating additional states out of existing ones. Nigeria had three regions at independence, 19 states by the mid-1970s, and then 30 states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) by 1991. Today, Nigeria comprises 36 states—each with governors and legislatures—and the FCT, as well as 774 local governments.[15] Although state creation was intended to ensure better representation and prevent conflict, and may have been a legitimate, evolutionary construct of Nigerian governance, it also meant that there would be continual agitation for the representation and resources the creation of a new state might bring. Beyond constitutional changes, successive national governments have used policy initiatives to address more local conflicts—for example, the 2009 amnesty program for Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) rebels, who had fought to obtain greater control of the resources generated from their oil-producing region.[16]

Although there were remarkable improvements in how the 2015 general elections were conducted, lending them credibility, the political landscape in their aftermath is deeply divided. Four key issues drive this division. The first is the anti-corruption agenda of the president, which is opposed by politicians both within his party and in the opposition and is believed to be actively subverted by some members of his government. The second issue is

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the perception that the anti-corruption agenda is selective, targeting members of the opposition, or ineffective, as the difficulties in successfully prosecuting the Senate president demonstrate.[17] Third, there is the perception that the Southeast region, which did not vote for the president, has been deliberately marginalized in government policymaking. This narrative of marginalization has been used by Biafran secessionists as the basis for renewed agitation, with the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB)'s Nnamdi Kanu demanding secession from the country.[18] Finally, there is the continued detention of the leadership of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN), a Shiite group whose 2015 protest was brutally suppressed by the Nigerian army, resulting in nearly 350 people dead and hundreds injured.[19] These four issues are compounded by Boko Haram's continued insurgency in the Northeast and an economy still recovering from the oil-price decline that drastically reduced state budgets in a country where more than 60 percent of the population is in extreme poverty.[20]

All of these fissures have combined to reinforce and exacerbate already existing ethnic, religious (both inter- and intra-), and regional divisions, which have sparked a growing volume of hate speech. According to an Abuja-based civil society leader, "We have never been more divided in Nigeria than we have seen from 2015 until now."[21] The appearance and proliferation of hate speech is partly due to the importance of the upcoming February 2019 general elections for the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria. Considerable progress on election processes and procedures has occurred. For example, the 2014 Nigerian Media Code of Election Coverage obligates media houses to prevent hate speech.[22] However, the underlying issues remain unaddressed because politicians see the short-term benefit of using hate speech despite risks to society over the long term. Indeed, although a number of politicians have been prosecuted, to date none have been convicted of incitement.[23] Indeed, as a civil society representative observed in an interview, "There's no hate speech without sponsorship at some level by the political elite. Someone's backing it."[24] As in other countries, the politicians and parties employ social media activists to mobilize followers and sentiment; Facebook is efficient and inexpensive and thus is a focus of their activities, according to an online news publisher.[25] Hate speech is already prevalent online; with Nigeria's myriad conflicts fueling the fire, the 2019 elections could be a real flashpoint for the country.

This lexicon aims to identify how hate speech fuels Nigeria's conflicts, to identify alternative language that can mitigate or counter its impact, and to inform and contribute to the work of others involved in combating hate speech and building peace in Nigeria.
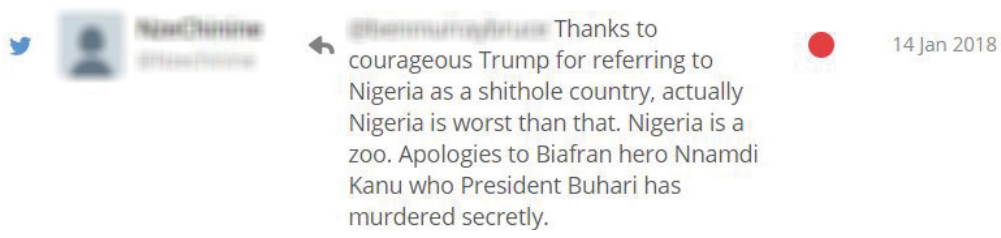
6
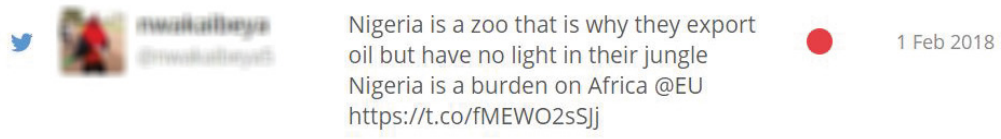
Words or Phrases That Are Offensive and Inflammatory

The words and phrases that follow were the terms most frequently identified by survey respondents as "offensive and inflammatory" and contributing to violent conflict in Nigeria. The terms' ranking, meaning, and context were further critiqued by workshop participants in Nigeria, as well as by the project's Nigerian expert advisers. Based on these terms and their associated data, PeaceTech Lab staff then employed human and automated monitoring to identify examples of such terms in online posts,[26] as well as "word clouds"[27] that show how the terms are associated with other terms, actions, or events.

Please note that the sample posts as well as the word clouds not only contain offensive and inflammatory terms but also obscene terms.

1. Nigeria is a zoo

Other spellings and related references: *zoo/zoo country/#Zoopeople/Zoo Republic/ Nigeria is a zoo; all animals in it must die/animals zoo*

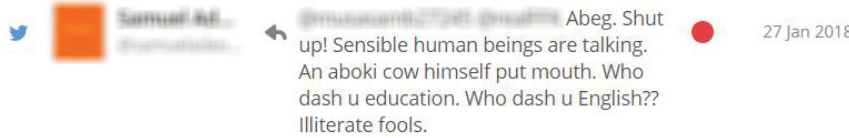|		
NwaChinine @Nwachinine	↩ @henmurrayliruse Thanks to courageous Trump for referring to Nigeria as a shithole country, actually Nigeria is worst than that. Nigeria is a zoo. Apologies to Biafran hero Nnamdi Kanu who President Buhari has murdered secretly.	🔴 14 Jan 2018
nwaikalbeya @nwaikalbeya5	Nigeria is a zoo that is why they export oil but have no light in their jungle Nigeria is a burden on Africa @EU https://t.co/fMEWO2sSJj	🔴 1 Feb 2018
EZE EGGA B... @echenfe	⇄ RT @jjmzlowe Nigeria is a zoo, contraption & #shithole. It must fall, collapse & die. #Support #BiafraReferendum, #BiafrExit. Help free #Biafra.	⚫ 18 Jan 2018
Ijediwome... @ijediwomen...	↩ @ChukwujiPrince @NiSitSenate @EnakaGift @cmri #Nigeria is a zoo simple It's politicians re cowardsDo u call them men?Those that re afraid of what dead #Buhari or #ClonedQueen will do	🔴 26 Jan 2018

GumZilla @ghostmili_gm · Jan 15

Indeed Nigeria is **a** zoo, Nnamdi kalu was right. **A country where the welfare of cattles** are prioritized than that **of** its citizens.
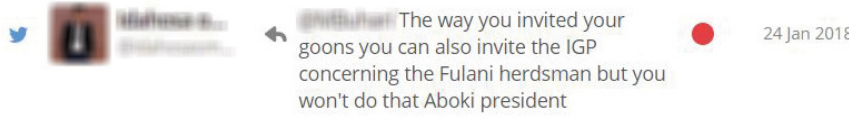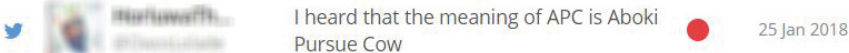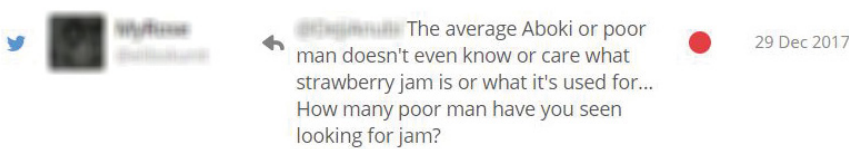
Definition: The term is commonplace and has different usages across Nigeria's various communities. However, in the current dispensation, it is primarily associated with Nnamdi Kanu, the leader of the Independent People of Biafra (IPOB) movement, who has referred to the rest of Nigeria, or specifically the "Arewa people" (i.e., Northerners), as a zoo. Some survey respondents noted that some Igbos use the word "zoo" to describe the Northern part of the country, while still other respondents report that some people believe that Northerners think they "own the zoo." In its more general usage—that things are generally dysfunctional—it is not considered hate speech, as it is mainly deployed in a joking manner.

Why it is offensive/inflammatory: As one respondent noted, it is offensive because it relates a large group of people to animals that are "senseless, illiterate, and wild." Although in some societies a zoo is a place to observe wild animals peacefully, the usage here high-lights the wildness of the animals—"lawless and disorderly"—and thus, like wild game, "we are animals to be hunted." The political implication of such language is that it conveys poor governance and that "the culture is not worth defending." More specifically, it is intended to portray Nigeria as a failed or oppressive society, much like a zoo is to caged animals, from which Biafrans need to be released to achieve liberation. A counter reading is that other Nigerians (or at least those opposed to Biafra) think Biafrans are dehumanizing them in order to justify possible attacks, leading to mass killing, since Kanu has repeatedly said they were ready to fight. With specific regard to Kanu's charge, it promotes division and separation and thus threatens Nigeria's unity.

Alternative words that could be used: Nigeria; Nigerians; fellow Naija brothers/sisters; countrymen/countrywomen; we're all in it together

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2. Aboki

Other spellings and related references: *abokis/aboki cow/malu*

Sample posts:

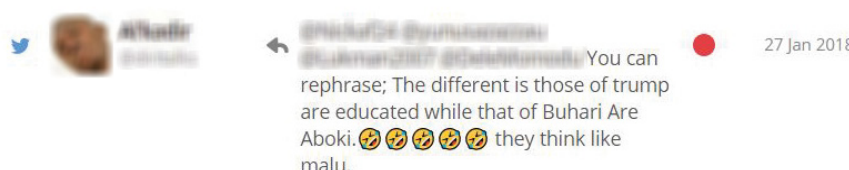|			
Samuel As...	@musasanb... @rea... Abeg. Shut up! Sensible human beings are talking. An aboki cow himself put mouth. Who dash u education. Who dash u English?? Illiterate fools.	●	27 Jan 2018
Idiahose a...	@NBuhari The way you invited your goons you can also invite the IGP concerning the Fulani herdsman but you won't do that Aboki president	●	24 Jan 2018
Horluwaffi...	I heard that the meaning of APC is Aboki Pursue Cow	●	25 Jan 2018
Wyfaaa	@Oajimulo The average Aboki or poor man doesn't even know or care what strawberry jam is or what it's used for... How many poor man have you seen looking for jam?	●	29 Dec 2017
It's kc	Nigerians can't stop amusing me! Learnt d latest meaning of APC is Aboki Pursue Cow........ LMAO	●	21 Jan 2018
J. Here	@sandbyAho @OsasCruz @OluwaBoninyn Northerners are the problem of this country. This zombie pattern of follow follow thats what will kill all of you. School una no gree go, get sense una say no, what else do you want?? Bunch of morons... Aboki!!!!	●	20 Jan 2018
A'kadir	@Nicku/Gt @yunusacecou @Lukman2007 @DeldMimusfu You can rephrase; The different is those of trump are educated while that of Buhari Are Aboki.🤣🤣🤣🤣🤣 they think like malu.	●	27 Jan 2018
ConanCres...	Weekends are so short. One day you are throwing a TGIF party, few hours later you are dropping shoes for the week for Aboki to polish	●	21 Jan 2018
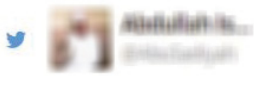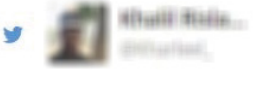
Definition: The term actually means "friend" in Hausa. However, it is used in a derogatory manner by people in the South to refer to people from the North, especially Hausa or Fulani people, characterizing them as illiterate, unintelligent, or foolish. Some Igbo and Yoruba people also use it to mean that Hausa are destitute, lower-class, or without a future. It may be informally and neutrally used as a greeting to a person who is familiar, but not an actual friend, and is in a dependent relationship to the speaker, such as a clerk or security guard.
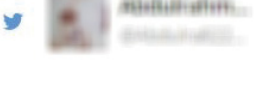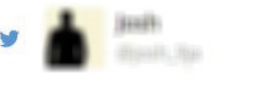
"Malu" refers to cows and connotes a similar notion of an uncivilized person; it is mostly used by people in the Southeast to refer to a Hausa man who not only is illiterate but also lacks clear direction—like a cow that roams without a clear destination.

Why it is offensive/inflammatory: The term is highly dependent on the speaker's intent, on who is targeted, and the purpose in doing so. Some Southerners employ it to refer to Northerners whom they consider "uncivilized and foolish" and inferior in social status. It applies negative attributes of an individual to an entire group and gives a feeling of superiority to the user (e.g., "Aboki, shine my shoe"). However, it resonates at the political level as well, where people post on Facebook, "We can't vote for this aboki," as one workshop attendee reported. Politically, when people (from the Southwest) use the term "aboki," as in "the candidate is aboki," they intend to convey that the candidate is an "illiterate" from the North or that all Northerners are illiterate. There is a subtext to the latter use that makes it offensive to other ethnic groups from the North in two senses. One is that the grouped-together "Hausa-Fulanis" are also referred to collectively as "illiterate." Second, and more important, it denies Northerners an identity, writing them off as uncivilized people.

Alternative words that could be used: Northern, Hausa, or Fulani person

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3. Arne

Other spellings and related references: *arna/aruna/ar'na/kirdi (Kanuri)*

Sample posts:

Abdullah Is... @Abdullah	@real... Kai FFK Buhari has religion (Islam) But you is kafir arne Slave of Satan. Food Of Jahamnamah (Hell Fire)	🟢	27 Sep 2017
Khalil Bala... @khalaal_	It baffles me seeing a Muslim cherishing and praising Arne all heartedly.. Subhanallah	🟢	10 Feb 2017
Abdulrahm... @Abdulra...	@real... Mr. Mad dog you keep quiet when the stupid Christian jesus jihadist kill innocent children including pregnant women ,Mr. FFK you are very stupid hypocrite but by God grace you will die by heart attack u will never see good through ur life ARNE	🔴	6 Dec 2017
Josh @Josh_Sp	@Josh_Sp @Abdulsango Just so there's no misunderstanding I've learned with drastic clarity that 'arne' is an unbeliever who must ultimately be killed.	⚫	14 Feb 2017
GGGR Di N'... @Barnaza	TT @KingOoayahMed Look at every genocide or targeted violence "Othering" is the first step They call Christians "Arne" up North Then the killing starts	⚫	24 Jun 2017
Brilliant Sm... @brilliant_sm	When real arne talks Abdul Abdulrahman see this asshole https://t.co/RySUeGlltc	⚫	19 Mar 2017

Definition: "Arne" is a term used to describe a pagan or someone who does not believe in a monotheistic God. Over the past few decades, it has often been used by some Muslims to describe Christians. It is often used by Muslim Hausa speakers to refer to those who espouse Christianity, especially in the North, as "infidels" or "unbelievers." Other respondents claimed it is now even used by other Muslims, and not just Hausa-speaking Muslims, to describe Christians throughout the country. However, use of the term may primarily be a feature of Muslim-Christian conflict among Northerners themselves. In Islam, Christians are considered to be "people of the Holy Book" and are not therefore considered to be pagans; however, the term is used by Muslims who are not well educated in their religion or by some extremist sects who consider all non-members of their group as pagans. A couple of workshop participants argued that those who used "arne" actually meant "kafir" (see below). This meaning seems to make sense because some attendees argued that "arne" concerns extreme and strict adherence to doctrine, which is more indicative of "kafir."

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insurgents religious
football zoo
christian remain marriott
life nigeria man murders horten true
zaki kashi feed
oslo evidence preyed exhuming prophet @empireofthekop
located critical tir condition kai northern yet
afonja cikin better club dem mai tweeted
five muslim meets adding dan mugu best
overnight unique nnamdi islam likes german hosts tsirara
victims island boko 2.6 big chief toll someone
wayewa fulani uwarka ya kawai find security left
republic kanu riise arne da history league allah
especially prison hay kilometre
cup kamar 115 ina ceo investigator
religion full killed john death share chi
lometres room na haram liverpool cows bill yar saibodies
schmidt ka ne don senators mecca movement
killer police muslims nurse less happy goals
guy hunters ba account jimeta
municipality banza swatch mynd1 win andy
following coutinho converted found chair mun shares
alberto kaiwai ipod ubanka analysing uwarki
wai högel shegiya @livecholfc
allahs first governor itace god
@isseventnigeria love

Why it is offensive/inflammatory: It seeks to deny the validity and practice of the other person's faith or lack of faith and proclaims the superiority of the speaker's faith—in this case, Islam. For extremist groups, it is an affirmation that the non-Muslim should be forcefully converted or killed. As such, it is not only pejorative and insulting, but in using it, the speaker denies the humanity and identity of the targeted person. As a workshop attendee put it, "It could start a riot in 10 minutes." One survey respondent added, "Although some Muslims are against the usage of the word, during crisis situations, it is used to ignite violent attacks against non-Muslims," specifically to mobilize Muslim youth. Another noted, "It shows intolerance for other people's opinions and beliefs which the constitution expressly grants freedom to."

Alternative words that could be used: non-Muslim; Christian; Christian friend; Christian faithful; the people of the book; we are believers; we are all children of God from Adam and Eve

4. Boko Haram

Other spellings and related references: *Bokoharamists/the Jihadists/Islamist Boko Haram/Islamist Fundamentalists*

Sample posts:

🐦	*[user]*	any non-Northern part of the country threatening to evict all. Northerners because of 'the fear of them being Boko Haram'....	🟢 5 Aug 2017
🐦	*[user]*	19. Rather, they refused to talk to their fellow Northern Youths (Boko Haram), who decimated the land. What hypocrisy!	🔴 14 Jul 2017
🐦	*[user]*	So according to the Military, Northern Parents are giving out their daughters to Boko Haram as suicide bombers. Inechekwechiche!!!	🟢 6 Aug 2017
🐦	*[user]*	Fear of Boko Haram: 70 lecturers quit UNIMAID ~ TheCable Me: "Boko Haram" means no to western education. It's working.	🔴 8 Aug 2017
🐦	*[user]*	Of course we are serious. Boko Haram...Book is sin ...we must eliminsye wedtern education...ba turenchi https://t.co/S0sZWCdAF7	🔴 25 Nov 2017
🐦	*[user]*	Religion of peace and tolerance ? Tell me people who are buying arms for Boko haram are not Muslims , every you go na blood	🔴 8 Jun 2017

Definition: In Hausa, the term means "Western education is prohibited" or "Western education is a sin" and is the common name used to refer to the terror group from Northeastern Nigeria whose insurgency has killed thousands of Nigerians since 2009—Muslims and Christians alike. However, members of the organization do not use this term, but rather a formal Arabic name, Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad. Northern Muslims use the term "Boko Haram" because of the strong ideological opposition the group has to Western education. Others, however, including some Southerners, use the term to demonize Northerners in general by suggesting they are all members of believers in the creed of the terrorist organization. Consequently, it is used as a tool to exacerbate North-South conflicts. It also has religious implications, as it is used to insinuate that all Muslims support Boko Haram.

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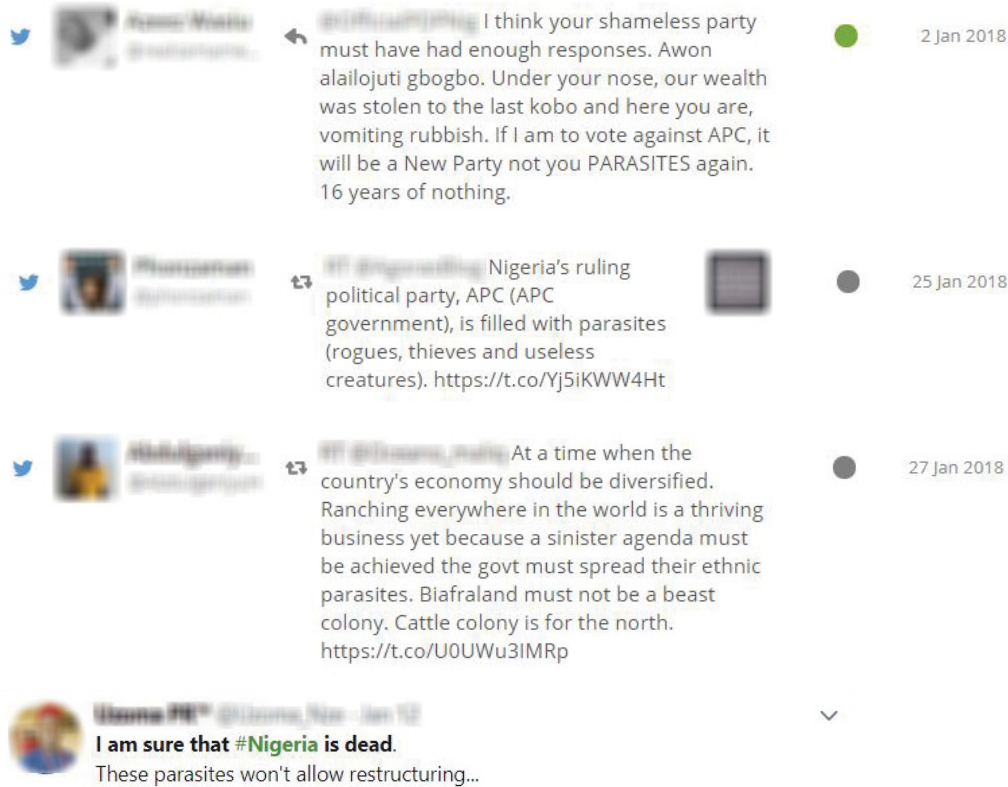
Why it is offensive/inflammatory: As one person commented, "If there is anything that has destroyed the image of this country more than anything else, it is Boko Haram, the Jihad-ists." Thus, being labeled a follower or member means that the person or group is a terrorist, dangerous, and someone who kills indiscriminately, ultimately undermining the security and well-being of the country. Such a person poses a threat and might be preventively captured or killed. According to one respondent, in "generalizing all Muslims as terrorists, it has a tendency to spark inter-religious violence," as those who fear attack might act pre-emptively. In both Muslim and Christian communities, once people discover that someone is a Boko Haram, the usual response is a mob action to kill the person. It is assumed that he/she is there to spy on people and set up targets, so it is better to eliminate him/her. More generally, the term is used to ascribe the characteristics of intolerance and reaction to all Muslims.

Alternative words that could be used: Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad; JAS/ JAS members; Islamic State in West Africa/ISWA/ISWAP; extremist; terrorist; hardliner; killers; insurgents; "Those in the business of Boko Haram should be referred to as Boko Haram, militants should be known as militants, kidnappers should be known as kidnappers, and so on"

5. Parasites

Other spellings and related references: *bloodsuckers/vultures/pests*

Sample posts:

I think your shameless party must have had enough responses. Awon alailojuti gbogbo. Under your nose, our wealth was stolen to the last kobo and here you are, vomiting rubbish. If I am to vote against APC, it will be a New Party not you PARASITES again. 16 years of nothing.

2 Jan 2018

Nigeria's ruling political party, APC (APC government), is filled with parasites (rogues, thieves and useless creatures). https://t.co/Yj5iKWW4Ht

25 Jan 2018

At a time when the country's economy should be diversified. Ranching everywhere in the world is a thriving business yet because a sinister agenda must be achieved the govt must spread their ethnic parasites. Biafraland must not be a beast colony. Cattle colony is for the north. https://t.co/U0UWu3IMRp

27 Jan 2018

I am sure that #Nigeria is dead.
These parasites won't allow restructuring...

Definition: A parasite is an organism that sustains itself by living off a host organism; it is someone who feeds on the sweat of another's labor, where the host itself does not benefit. At one level, the elites produced by the reign of the generals bastardized the idea of resource-sharing designed for the country. The term, like others, is about power and relationships to it, but it is also specifically about resources. This term has regional implications in that some people from the South-South and Southeast refer to poorer Northerners as economic parasites on the country's resources, particularly the revenue-earning oil. To some extent, this characterization has been applied to the government, as its leadership is seen as dominated by Northerners. Another common "parasite" flashpoint is the value-added tax collected on alcohol sales. All states, including predominantly Muslim states, benefit from the tax, although in principle all do not contribute to it. In practice, some Muslims consume alcohol, demonstrating that the issue is more about perception than reality. However, workshop participants noted that this definition lacks substance. For example, the North's agriculture helped develop Nigeria before oil flowed, and some Southern communities have benefited from amnesties for rebels, training and re-training, and environmental cleanup of oil spills in their home areas.

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Why it is offensive/inflammatory: A parasite can threaten the existence of the host organism—although in nature, some live symbiotically—so the host may seek to extinguish this threat. Labeling someone a parasite suggests he/she has no right to where he/she lives or to the resources from which he/she benefits. In addition, most people understand parasites to be insects and, thus, easily exterminated without much consideration. In practice, it is mainly used by Christian Igbos to stir up their people against Northerners in general but Hausa-Fulani Muslims in particular, and this is provocative because there are many Igbos also living in the North. Similarly, IPOB argues that the rest of Nigeria "parasites" its resources. It also has settler/indigene implications, such as with the crisis in Jos, where people who have moved to new areas or are pastoralists are seen as taking from the region or from the land itself. The term also attacks the "federal character" of Nigeria articulated in the constitution, in that the country's resources—from oil to civil-service positions to higher-education placement—were meant to be distributed among all Nigerians.

Alternative words that could be used: Northerners; settlers; "everyone is an indigene;" resource nationalism; Nigerian; citizen

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6. Almajiri

Other spellings and related references: *almajirai/almajiris*

Sample posts:

▼	[image]	Ndigbo can now say Father forgive Tivs,Idoma&Jukuns for they now feel the pinch of villainy they dealt on us in concert with evil Hausa-Fulani vampires who now feed them cupfuls of their own blood in bouquet of ingratitude after they gave their all to a bunch of almajiri ingrates	● 22 Jan 2018
▼	[image]	You do not have a PVC, but are on Social media shouting "Buhari must go" . While underage almajiri are busy registering to vote.	● 26 Jan 2018
▼	[image]	Stone age man...what are you doing on Twitter..you tradition calls pageants prostitutes..and Twitter is Haram too, so what are doing you her? Keep deceiving yourself almajiri	● 6 Jan 2018
▼	[image]	Almajiri breed without brain is what you are, you are not even ashamed of your miserable life, the igbos lost everything after the war, 25 yrs later they turned your likes to tenant, rather than work you lazy idiots looking to take people's land by force	● 27 Jan 2018
▼	[image]	Do you think it is enlightened people like you or myself that decides who win elections in Nigeria? Don't be deceived, d almajiri in Bauchi or Adamawa will defeat you hands down.	● 24 Jan 2018

Definition: "Almajiri" is a Hausa term that refers to young students sent out by their family to travel away from home to study the Quran. As they are away from home, they are expected to depend on charity for survival, with the idea that dependence on alms and gifts teaches them humility. It is used with negative intent by others to refer to such people as beggars. The usage may have evolved from practical realities, in that communities and Muslim scholars used to take care of their students but, facing financial crisis, sent students out to solicit funds. It takes on religious and regional dimensions when the speaker associates the term with the predominantly Muslim North. According to one survey respondent, "'Almajirai' is a plural of 'almajiri,' which stands for someone who left his hometown to go to another city to seek Islamic education and, in the process, begs for food. On many Facebook pages belonging to Igbos and Yorubas, the word is used to refer to Hausas."

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Why it is offensive/inflammatory: A beggar is someone who depends on another for existence. Using the term to characterize a region or religion in this negative way labels them as destitute, incompetent, vulnerable, or lacking the skills needed to take care of themselves.

Alternative words that could be used: Northerners; Hausas; illiterate

7. Inyamiri

Other spellings and related references: *Inyammiri Dodon Doya/nyamiri/inyamirin/inyamuri/yanmiri/yamiris*

Sample posts:

what do expect a product of Baby factory would have said. Are u Christian or Inyamiri?

28 Feb 2017

We will kill them all the stupids INYAMIRI. In the north

4 Jul 2017

Housewife Who Stabbed Husband To Death Over 'baba Ijebu' Bags 7 Years Jail Time

[...] Share Re: Housewife Who Stabbed Husband To Death Over 'baba Ijebu' Bags 7 Years Jail Time by ████████ 7:52pm On May 08 Onyinyechi akunne? Chineke! Once again it's the inyamiri jews keeping it gangster with some monday evening murder drama from the land they are currently still developing! NCAN crime division

████████ 2:41pm ████████ I still wonder why the Inyamiri who doesn't know the difference between proper and common nouns thinks he has anything to do with literacy. Be like Inyamiri? God forbids, back to sender a million times. Inyamiri, can't even defend his fellow Inyamiris but prefer to hide under fake restraints. Inyamiri, I put it to you that you are the illiterate since you can't piece up few words to make simple correct sentences. Now, take away the slangs I had used and present my comments to any English professor in your Inyamiri enclave alongside the poo you have been posting since

===================;==========
=========== ████████ An "inyamiri" (or as Websters dictionary defines it) is a confused individual from eastern nigeria, located in an erosion ravaged environment plagued with baby smuggling, rituals and indigenous confusion! The inyamiri is a highly bitter, pained, cowardly and frustrated creature that neither knows the reason for its own confusion which also perplexes all other nigerians! A highly irritable type of human being, the inyamiri claims it believes to be of jewish descent, while also claiming to be igbo, and also claiming to be American at the same time! A sure sign of hereditary madness...an

Definition: There are differences as to meaning and context for this word and related phrases. According to some, it is an Igbo term referring to someone who is "a cheat, cunning, and loves money too much" or "a stupid Igbo man." Another version has its origins in the civil war between the Nigerian Army and the Biafran rebels, where the helpless Igbos, lacking food and water, could not communicate in Hausa, Pidgin, or English, and so used the Igbo phrase "yem-iri." Another rendition has is that "yem-iri" was wrongly pronounced by a Hausa man but still came into use. Today, it is generally used by some Hausa people to deride the Igbo or Southeasterners.

Why it is offensive/inflammatory: It is a negative characterization that is used by some Hausa to denigrate a whole group of people, the Igbo, as greedy, selfish, and stingy. "Some bloggers and social media users use them to deride or stir up emotion."

Alternative words that could be used: Igbo man/person; Southeasterner

8. Animal

Other spellings and related references: *animals/animals to be killed/Agwoi*

Sample posts: Due to the generic nature of the term, the Lab's monitoring did not detect sample posts reflecting the inflammatory context of the term. For the same reason, the word-cloud visualization offers some irrelevant associations to the term.

Definition: Describing a person as an animal, or a group of people as animals, implies that they lack intelligence, feelings, and self-control, and thus are not deserving of rights. According to one respondent, some "Biafra agitators use the term to refer to Nigerians who don't want the country to disintegrate. These agitators see Nigeria as a zoo and every 'other' Nigerian as an animal." Indeed, IPOB leader Nnamdi Kanu has used "animal" as well as "Nigeria is a zoo." Another participant added, "The Igbo generally refer to the Hausa-Fulani as animals even though it also triggers a violent reply. This association may also resonate because some Hausa-Fulani Northerners are herdsmen and there have been violent farmer-herder incidents." "Agwoi" is a term that has been used by people from Benue to characterize Fulani herdsmen as animals.

Why it is offensive/inflammatory: Animals lack consciences, "the capacity to think or act rationally," and are "lawless and disorderly." Equating a person with an animal or a group with animals is intentionally demeaning and is an implicit call to control or kill the target, since wild animals are there to be hunted. The term's intent, and to some degree its usage, is related to the phrase "Nigeria is a zoo"; "animal" is meant to stigmatize an individual, whereas "Nigeria is a zoo" is used to insult a group or region.

Alternative words that could be used: Nigerian; Hausa; Yoruba; citizen; human being

9. Biafrats

Other spellings and related references: *Biafrat zombies/Biafarats/Biafra/Biafran agitators/Biafrog/Biafraud/Biafrauds*

Sample posts:

[user]	[retweet] I can sense d hurt u & ur fellow Biafrats felt wen u found out u have duped yrselves in 2015. Ur pain is incurable https://t.co/7FCedmXRmA	22 Feb 2017
[user]	[reply] Does Religion has anything to do with Biafrats Independence? What level of bitter hate is this?	18 Sep 2017
[user]	[retweet] Una get time for these useless deranged Biafrats still mourning their Otuoke buffoon of a god after 2 years https://t.co/dAKFQCb26Z	31 Mar 2017
[user]	I once went 2 market n ask #Igbo man SHITU: y dnt u eat ram? Igbo man: I dnt want 2 hav a sheep brain SHITU: No wonder, u eat pigs #biafrats	2 Jan 2017
[user]	[retweet] I hope d distressed wailers, d PDPigs, d GEJester, d Biafrats d loiters who were cowardly 2 end their lives hav woken frm dia tortuous sleep	11 Mar 2017
[user]	[reply] 26 corpses too small, me i want hear thousands of biafrats that die	18 Sep 2017

Definition: Biafra is the name of a movement and self-proclaimed republic in Nigeria's South-east that sought to secede in the latter 1960s, a rebellion that was put down by the Nigerian government and armed forces at a cost of three million casualties. The secession effort was by definition illegal, as well as divisive, so the term holds those connotations. These terms are compound English words linking the word "Biafra" with various negative terms. Biafra and rats, Biafra and frog, and Biafra and fraud are some of the combinations. Many of those who supported secession for Biafra were Igbo, and thus, that group is particularly targeted. The term is used by Yorubas, Northerners, and South-South people on social media—often in reaction to Biafra militants' use of "zoo" to describe Nigeria.

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
Why it is offensive/inflammatory: As one workshop attendee noted, the word has no basis in any language "but was constructed for hate." Linking the word "Biafra" and a negative term is intended to denigrate a person from Biafra or denigrate Biafrans as a group. Use of the term builds on the foundation of trauma remaining from the civil war. Indeed, although the term may intend to target Biafran militants, using the term broadly labels anyone living in the areas considered "Biafra." In particular, the term "Biafrat" is threatening, as rats are often exterminated by humans. "Biafraud" is used to refer to "Biafra agitators" and implies that the militants and their cause are fraudulent or deceitful. Given the historic civil war, the term "Biafra" in general suggests division, secession, and a threat to the existence of Nigeria as a unified state.

Alternative words that could be used: "Our Southern or Eastern brothers"; Southeast; Biafran; secessionist; Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB); Nigerian

10. Herdsman/herdsmen

Other spellings and related references: *Buhari herdsmen/Fulani herdsman/stubborn Fulani herdsmen/Fulani herdsmen are kidnappers and criminals/herdsmen vampires/ herdsmen leeches/killer herders*

Sample posts:
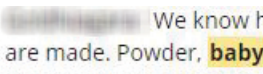
🐦	Now that Buhari is back, what's next? Boko Haram, Fulani Herdsmen, Kidnapping, Corruption	🔴	22 Aug 2017
🐦	So President Buhari is quick enough to tell us the sponsors of Ipob. Sponsors of Boko Haram, Fulani Herdsmen (kinsmen) remains a misery.	🔴	21 Sep 2017
🐦	Buhari hatred to East is very clear he pamper Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen who killed thousands of Nigerians but look at innocent people. https://t.co/ScBhK2pvne	🔴	13 Sep 2017
🐦	Buhari went to Addis Ababa, and was talking about Boko Haram... No mention of Fulani herdsmen killings across the country What a bogeyman	🔴	28 Jan 2018
🐦	Herdsmen been killing innocent Nigerians , kidnappers been everywhere . Boko Haram boys still killing and maiming innocent Nigerians . But FG chose to order Security agencies to sit and monitor social media handles of Nigerians. Funny People .	🔴	25 Jan 2018
🐦	Come to think of it what is the difference between Boko Haram and murderous cattle herdsmen? Maybe it is the... https://t.co/brZK8feXMX	🔴	14 Jan 2017
🐦	"Fulani herdsmen is not in the same category as Boko Haram" oh well, go tell that to the people who have lost loved ones to them!	🔴	31 Jan 2017
🐦	Come to think of it; Boko Haram is northerners killing mostly northerners. Now, Fulani herdsmen killing mostly northerners still. Don't we northerners think we should sit down and think? Why always us? Why?	🔴	3 Feb 2018
🐦	Herdsmen are killing innocent Nigerians, what's the solution? Nigerian Govt: Found one chibok girl, Boko Haram factional leader wounded. 😊	🔴	7 Jan 2018
🐦	What is Fulani herdsmen to be demanding for colony?! Who the hell is that?! Bullshit.	🔴	22 Jan 2018
🐦	Majority of the Northern elites have cow breeding venture where they contracted Miyetti Allah guys to herd for them! They are the enablers of the guns totting herdsmen killing with reckless gusto! Ask Sani Shehu if he does not have cows he is breeding?	🔴	9 Jan 2018

Definition: The term refers to Fulani men who have traditionally moved their livestock herds to graze on lands in northern Nigeria. Climate change, population growth or displacement (e.g., Fulani in Abuja), and other development issues have affected the herdsmen's access to quality grazing land. This has led them to try new areas for grazing and thus encroach on others' land in central Nigeria, and even the Southeast. For the same reasons, some farmers have encroached on herdsmen's traditional grazing routes. The issue easily escalates: The livestock are not easily controlled and damage farmers' crops, the farmers retaliate on an individual basis to seek justice, and the herdsmen arm themselves in response. The problem is serious, as hundreds have now been killed and violent clashes are increasing in frequency; evidence suggests some incidents have been instigated by criminal or political syndicates, and the federal government has not found a solution.

Why it is offensive/inflammatory: It is intended to convey that someone is "lawless, disorderly, an invader, and a parasite" living off the land they do not own. Used to incite violent action, it labels all Northerners as Hausa-Fulani with these negative characteristics. It feeds into the conspiracy held by some Southerners that Northern Muslims are plotting to occupy their land. Using "Buhari herdsmen" not only tags the president with responsibility for herdsmen attacks, but also associates Northerners and Muslims with what is first and foremost a resource scarcity issue. Since non-herdsmen "hired guns have perpetrated some attacks blamed on herdsmen," it feeds into the conspiracy that the herdsmen are a "Trojan horse" for Islamization.

Alternative words that could be used: pastoralists; herdsmen; cattlemen

11. Product of baby factory

Other spellings and related references: *baby factory/baby factory products/Ya'yan karuwai Wanda ake buga su a kamfani/born throwaway*

Sample posts:

what do expect a product of Baby factory would have said. Are u Christian or Inyamiri?

28 Feb 2017

We know how the millions are made. Powder, **baby factory**, kidnapping, rituals ati be be lo. God keep exposing them criminals. What about hausas who have never been to school before but make millions selling cows and goats? Or Yorubas [...]

In the latter times.disciples go to baby factory to buy children and turn to pray for fruit of the womb for members of the flock.

13 Aug 2017

===================::============
======= Umu ndi afonja sef All ipob youths are bastardddd **baby factory** products born of abokkki fathers who raped their ipob mothers during the Nigerian civil war

In the SE there are pockets of babyfactories, in the North the Almajiri is and industrialized baby factory yet you have the audacity to talk

28 Jun 2017

Where Did All The Hausa People Go?

[...] Share Re: Where Did All The Hausa People Go? by dreamworld : 4:31pm ..
===================::============
======= they are busy making bombs instead of making suya. they are busy operating **baby factory** instead of get getting married

Definition: This phase has its origins in specific incidents where young women were procured by trafficking syndicates and set up in houses to produce babies for sale. The incidents, which predominantly occurred in the Southeast of the country, were then exploited by sensationalist news media. Some respondents noted the term also arose to describe situations where a woman was impregnated by a man who did not want the child, and thus the woman was paid to "go away." However, in its more general and harmful usage, the phrase is specifically used by Northerners on Facebook to target Igbo people. However, its variant—"born throwaway"—has also been used by Southerners to denigrate Northerners, who are seen as producing more children than they can take care of and are thus tempted to send them away as Almajirai (since a husband may have multiple wives and the North has higher birth rates in general).
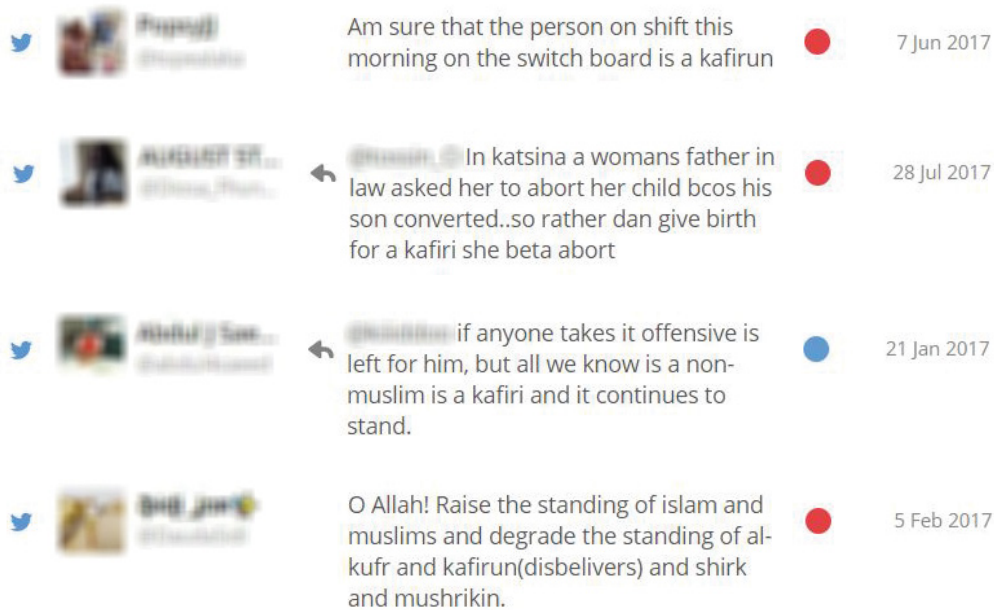
Why it is offensive/inflammatory: The term is offensive because it applies socially negative terms to an entire group; it implies that the group is of lower social status, irresponsible or lacking reproductive control, infertile, engaging in cultic activities by selling rituals, or lacking morality. In Nigerian society, a woman may be ostracized if she becomes pregnant before marriage; if she becomes pregnant outside of marriage, she may not leave her marriage. Although this term can be viscerally offensive on a personal level, it becomes discriminatory and provokes action when applied generally to a group, such as the Igbo, or when it concerns the birth rates of Muslims and related conspiracies.

Alternative words that could be used: Igbo; drug traffickers, prostitutes (if this is accurate about a person); bastard

12. Kafir

Other spellings and related references: *kafirai/takafir*

Sample posts:

Pqqugj	Am sure that the person on shift this morning on the switch board is a kafirun	🔴	7 Jun 2017
AUGUST 31	In katsina a womans father in law asked her to abort her child bcos his son converted..so rather dan give birth for a kafiri she beta abort	🔴	28 Jul 2017
Abdul Sat	if anyone takes it offensive is left for him, but all we know is a non-muslim is a kafiri and it continues to stand.	🔵	21 Jan 2017
	O Allah! Raise the standing of islam and muslims and degrade the standing of al-kufr and kafirun(disbelivers) and shirk and mushrikin.	🔴	5 Feb 2017

Abudal'aziz Abubakar Yari Buys
House Of $1m In The US -
Sahara Reporters (Photo) (5)

His people are not bothered, why
are we complaining? Ride on Mr yari
just tell your people that it is some
confused **kafiri** that are
complaining

Definition: Like "arne," the term "kafir" refers to the targeted person's religious belief, or lack of belief, but to a greater degree of religious purity, religiosity, or piety. It is used by some Muslim as well as Christian leaders to mobilize followers in a religious crisis and is a political tool within northern Nigeria. Given the emphasis on purity or righteousness of belief, it also is used in intra-Muslim conflicts (e.g., between Sunni and Shia groups). For example, the related term "takafir" is used to brand certain sects as ungodly or doctrinal heretics. This usage of the term has been evident in social media following the army's brutal suppression of the protest by Shia citizens at Zaria in December 2015, which left 350 sect members dead. Followers of other sects referred to the Shias as non-Muslims or nonbelievers and therefore "kafirai" (the Hausa plural for "kafir").

Why it is offensive/inflammatory: Calling someone a "kafir" (i.e., an infidel) labels the person an outsider and a threat to the faith of the speaker and speaker's group. It is used to justify destroying them and taking their property because the target is considered not only "other," but also not legitimately faithful, like the speaker. Given this challenge to identity, the use of the term provokes instant responses, such as the frequent clashes between members of the Shia sect and the more Salafist sect known as Izala, which is prevalent in northern Nigeria.

Alternative words that could be used: Muslim; co-religionist

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Additional Words or Phrases That Are Offensive and Inflammatory

Below are additional terms that were less frequently cited by survey respondents. Thus, the terms had less contextual information but still received multiple mentions. The word or phrase is followed by a brief explanation as to why it is considered offensive and inflammatory.

Cockroaches/kyankyaso	*(Katsina)* As an insect, it is subhuman and is often crushed or exterminated. Former Governor Shehu Shema of Katsina state used the term in 2014 to refer to his political opponents: "Yan adawa Kyankyasai ne, in sun taba ku kada ku barsu" ("People from the opposition are cockroaches; don't leave them").
Muslim extremist/Muslim terrorist/Muslims are terrorists/Boko Haram people	*(English)* The phrases associate all Muslims with terrorism or violence.
Malo	Christians, especially in the South, use this term to describe Muslims as simple and uncivilized. It is also used by students to refer to classmates whom they believe to be simple or less educated. However, some Christians in the North who are indigenes are labeled with the term.
Quit notice (When Northern youth give Southerners…)	*(English)* It refers to the declaration by a Northern youth that Igbo should leave ("quit") the North, essentially a self-pogrom. The term is gaining broader usage; indeed, it is often used in the South, especially during a conflict or during rumors of a possible crisis. Given its pogrom or ethnic-cleansing character, it has the potential to fuel or inflame conflict.
Mallam/mallams	*(Yoruba)* Yoruba use the term to describe Hausa and Fulani as beggars.
Baboon/baboons/Baboons will be soaked in blood	*(English)* A baboon is a primate, subhuman, and wild; "soaked in blood" refers to current President Muhammadu Buhari's reported warning in 2012 that both dog and baboon would be bloodied if the next election were rigged.
Hausa/Hausas are terrorists/son of Hausa (Rochas Okorocha)	*(English)* It labels a whole people as terrorists; Okorocha, the governor of Imo state, was accused of using hate speech.
Settler/settlers	*(English)* It is used to deny someone land, business, or other rights based on his/her birth location.
PDPigs	*(Pidgin)* Since pigs are not human, it is a derogatory characterization applied to People's Democratic Party (PDP) members.
Nigeria will be burnt down	*(English)* Nigeria must be separated, or there will be ethnic or religious clashes.
Karuwa	*(Hausa)* Prostitute; used to refer to female politicians, especially in Nigeria's North.
Yorubas' pastors are worse than Boko Haram	*(English)* Used by Nnamdi Kanu to insult the Yorubas.

Ana ta kashe mana yan'uwa a kudu, mu tashi mu rama	*(Hausa)* They are killing our people in the North; we should counter-attack.
Tsutsi/Tutsi	Used to describe the Hausas/Fulanis, implying that they deserve the Tutsis' fate in the 1994 Rwanda genocide.
Ewu	*(Igbo)* An Igbo word meaning "goat"; used to describe Northerners.
Islamization of Nigeria	*(English)* A term used by non-Muslim Southerners to allege that Muslims want to turn the country into an Islamic state; Muslims believe this allegation targets them as disloyal to the federal republic.
Our Mumu Don Do	*(Pidgin)* "We are no more fools" or "Stop deceiving us." The term was used as a "theme" for protesters, challenging President Buhari to either return from his lengthy 2017 medical trip or resign from office.
Northerners are political bigots and have a "born to rule" mentality	*(English)* A stereotypical and demeaning statement referring to Northern political leaders.
Okorohausa-Rochas	*(English/Igbo)* Used by people in Imo state to refer to their governor, Okorochas; it implies that he is a puppet of the Hausa people.

Online Sources of Words or Phrases That Are Offensive and Inflammatory

In response to survey question 5, survey respondents identified online platforms where they found offensive and inflammatory speech and, where possible, provided specific examples of such speech. This question could be answered generally (e.g., Facebook), but respondents were also requested to provide URLs or other location information for user groups. In a number of cases, no URL was provided. It is important to note that these sources may contain some offensive and inflammatory speech, but the sources themselves or their overall content may not be offensive and inflammatory; indeed, they may be legitimate news media organizations or websites.

The platforms comprised globally known and accessible brands—Facebook, WhatsApp, YouTube, Twitter, and Instagram—as well as the comment sections of online versions of Nigeria's newspapers, online news websites, news aggregators, and blogs.

Below are prominent Facebook pages where offensive and inflammatory speech was identified by respondents. A few personal Facebook pages were also identified but are not included, primarily for reasons of privacy and security, as it was not clear whether the individuals were public figures or created the pages for public endeavors. They were also not prominent in terms of number of followers.

Facebook	■ www.facebook.com (National Youth Council pages for each state)
	■ https://www.facebook.com/ReportYourself/ (Sahara Reporters news and media website: 3.01 million followers)
	■ https://www.facebook.com/groups/radiobiafralondon/ (Radio Biafra London closed group: 1.5 million members)
	■ https://www.facebook.com/radiobiafra/ (Biafra Radio page: 635,000 likes)
	■ https://www.facebook.com/www.broadcast.radiobiafra.co/ (Voice of Nnamdi community [Kanu teacher based in Germany]: 24,000 followers)
	■ https://www.facebook.com/groups/265276593545022/ (Nigerian People's Parliament public group: 314,000 members)
	■ https://www.facebook.com/groups/169771663424195/ (Ex-Muslims vs. Muslims public group: 194,000 members)
	■ https://www.facebook.com/groups/1448662338703783/ (Taraba Focus closed group: 35,000 members)
	■ https://www.facebook.com/groups/392662457484332/ (Save Taraba public group: 2,900 members)
	■ https://www.facebook.com/zulyadainisidi.mustapha (Individual account of special adviser to Kano governor: 9,000 followers)
	■ https://www.facebook.com/WeAreIgbos/ (Page of We Are Igbos organization: 146,000 likes)
	■ https://www.facebook.com/Voice-Of-Biafrans-1848560705456396/ (Page of Voice of Biafrans political organization: 239 likes)
	■ https://www.facebook.com/Premiumtimes/ (Page of *Premium Times* newspaper: 1.2 million likes)

Newspaper/ news websites	■ *Vanguard* newspaper website: http://www.vanguardngr.com/ ■ *Premium Times* newspaper website: https://www.premiumtimesng.com/ ■ *The Nation* newspaper: http://thenationonlineng.net ■ *The Cable* independent newspaper: https://www.thecable.ng ■ Punch: http://punchng.com ■ Sahara Reporters online news: www.SaharaReporters.com ■ Reporters news site: www.reportersng.com ■ Online news site: http://www.jeinrevo.com ■ Sabi News site: https://www.sabinews.com ■ News Express news site: www.newsexpressngr.com/ ■ Daily Post news site: www.dailypost.ng ■ Point Blank News site: http://pointblanknews.com/ ■ Daily Nigerian news site: https://dailynigerian.com
Social media discussion pages	■ *Vanguard* newspaper online community: http://community.vanguardngr.com ■ Nairaland Forum: http://www.nairaland.com (1.9 million members) ■ Naijapals social media network: http://www.naijapals.com (1 million plus members)
Twitter	■ @EIENigeria: Account of Nigerian civil society organization (151,000 followers) ■ @APCUKingdom: Official account of APC United Kingdom (56,000 followers) ■ @CUPSNigeria: Account of UK-based Citizens United for Peace and Stability (3,500 followers) ■ @BreadAndStew: Individual account of Wole Oke (1,300 followers)
YouTube	■ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=abKPItoKY0M ("BIAFRA: Diezani sorry o! Sorry o! Biafra is the only solution to your problem- ASARI DOKUBO" video: 13 views) ■ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YB8vC8u1C8Q (Hip-hop musician Alchaddas B.O.C. Guchi song "Nyamiri": 72 views) ■ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Ds4AFO8vRc "Hate Speech: IPOB leader, Kanu blast Yorubas" video: 653 views)
WhatsApp	■ Group of ABU Alumni members, Class of 1983
Feature websites	■ Naija Single Girl blog: http://www.naijasinglegirl.com/ ■ Blog of ex-model Linda Ikeji: www.lindaikeji.blogspot.com (1.9 million Twitter followers) ■ Entertainment portal: www.BellaNaija.com

Sources of Words and Phrases in Traditional Media That Are Offensive and Inflammatory

In addition, in question 7, the survey asked respondents to describe where among Nigeria's traditional media outlets they found hate speech. In many cases, respondents replied in general terms; however, specific outlets were identified, as well as nonmedia sources (e.g., Islamic scholars' preaching). These sources are listed in terms of the frequency of the mention of the format (e.g., radio). Note that if "Newspaper" was indicated but the respondent also indicated a particular newspaper, only the latter was counted.

Radio	■ Radio generally ■ Radio programs/radio program call-ins/radio political programs, such as Kowane Gauta and Harsheka Akalinka ■ Radio Biafra ■ Local radio in Kano/Kano radio political programs ■ Arewa Radio ■ Eastern radio generally ■ Biafran radio generally ■ Radio Wazobia
Newspapers	■ Newspapers generally ■ Newspaper/advertorials (a news story that is designed to appear as news but is actually purchased like an advertisement) ■ *Vanguard* newspaper ■ *Sun* newspaper ■ Southern press generally
Television	■ Television generally ■ NTA/NTA during 2015 campaign ■ AIT during 2015 campaign ■ Channels TV News at 10 ■ Yobe State Television ■ NTA Damaturu
General	■ Taraba state-owned media ■ Advert on NTA about not wanting war ■ Comedies or dramas
Nonmedia	■ Islamic scholars' preaching/religious preachers referring to one sect as terrorist ■ Political arena generally ■ Informal meetings/forums/community forum

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III. Annex A: Survey Methodology and Considerations

Scope and Design

To investigate online speech and conflict in Nigeria, the project team created a web-based survey so that Nigerians could contribute their experiences and insights about the phenomenon—as the team had done in 2016 regarding South Sudan.[28] More than 100 people took the online survey in late summer 2017. In addition, in October the survey was administered in person to another 40 people in focus group discussions in both Kano and Abuja; the discussions were arranged and facilitated by the Centre for Information Technology and Development (CITAD), PeaceTech Lab's partner on this project in Nigeria. The team then held two days of workshops in Abuja to validate the lexicon's findings and conducted interviews of key informants in Abuja in early November. Later that month, PeaceTech Lab and CITAD used a draft of the terms as a reference to explore technology applications for hate speech in a PeaceTech Exchange workshop in Abuja. Finally, in early 2018, the team assembled a small group of Nigerian advisers, who provided expert review of the draft lexicon.

Survey

As with the prior South Sudan survey, the project team decided not to make the survey publicly available online to any person, given both the topic's sensitivity and the desire for thorough and reflective responses. Rather, CITAD assembled a list of potential respondents based on networks built from its work on hate speech, inter-religious dialogue, peacebuilding, and related issues.[29] The team believed this reliance on CITAD's networks would produce quality responses, even if the respondents were not randomly selected.

The project team drafted the survey. It considered its previous effort regarding South Sudan; CITAD's and other initiatives in Nigeria, including that of scholar Susan Benesch; and other projects globally. Although these efforts on hate speech/dangerous speech emphasize different "lenses," or approaches, the team decided to use the more common phrase "offensive and inflammatory" in framing the survey questions. This decision was largely based on the fact that the survey's primary goal was to have respondents identify specific terms that could inflame conflict rather than evaluate the variables of a particular framework. With this goal, the project team also intended to avoid prejudging or prequalifying the associations and dynamics that the respondents assigned to the terms. "Offensive and inflammatory" is a more readily understood threshold that reflects hate speech's core meaning as conveying offense, as well as possible incitement to action or discrimination. If a term were seen merely as offensive, it would not rise to the threshold of inclusion; it needed also to be inflammatory. Moreover, unlike Kenya,[30] Nigeria has not codified a general prohibition on hate speech per se,[31] and thus a commonly understood and accepted definition is lacking.

The survey was hosted on a Google Forms platform because of the widespread familiarity with Google products, as well as Google's security features. The survey was disseminated by PeaceTech Lab to more than 700 potential respondents via an email invitation in which the survey and project were introduced and in which a click-through button linked directly to the survey itself. Two reminders were sent to encourage participation. In the end, the survey achieved nearly a 20 percent participation rate, a substantial response rate for an online survey.

Focus Group Discussions in Abuja and Kano

Additionally, CITAD undertook two focus group discussions to administer the survey in person and discuss the context for hate speech in Nigeria. PeaceTech Lab staff, in conjunction with CITAD, designed a focus group discussion tool specifically for the sessions. The primary aim of these sessions in Kano and Abuja, beyond obtaining additional survey responses, was to elucidate information directly from participants about the terms, context, and emotive topics (or "triggers") that could cause violence that might not be possible in the restricted format of an online survey. From both online and in-person formats, more than 140 surveys were collected; this unique dataset of quantitative and qualitative information will add significantly to what is known about the dynamics of hate speech in Nigeria, as well as contribute to the growing data on hate speech globally.

Validation Workshops

Based on data from the survey and focus groups, a draft of the lexicon comprising the most frequently cited terms was produced and critiqued over the course of two days in workshops in Abuja. Held at Channels TV headquarters, the workshops comprised three segments of Nigeria's population: youth leaders, women leaders, and civic and religious leaders—with overlap across the groups. The workshops provided important clarification on the origins and usage of the terms, and importantly, the contexts in which they were most potent, while also unearthing new terms. The sessions were audio-recorded to ensure accurate capture of the data and perspectives. Following the conclusion of the workshops, the primary project consultant held interviews with key informants arranged by CITAD. These informants included the publisher of online news portals, representatives of two leading civil society organizations, and an expert on Boko Haram.

The inputs from the workshop sessions were then incorporated into a draft of the lexicon's most frequently cited terms for use as a reference source for a three-day PeaceTech Exchange hosted by PeaceTech Lab and CITAD in Abuja. Following the event, three groups of participants were awarded seed funds to launch technology-based initiatives to combat hate speech in their own communities. In this way, the Lab's research—the lexicon—could also be applied to the practice of building peace in three different regions in Nigeria.

Finally, the project assembled a small group of Nigerians representing different communities, genders, and professions to provide expert review of the full draft lexicon. They contributed additional analysis and insights on the lexicon, helping to interpret local context and meanings, and reviewed the relevance of the data visualizations and their associations to the terms.

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IV. Annex B: Online Survey Questions

1. **What word or phrase have you seen online that is offensive and inflammatory and could contribute to violence? Please provide the complete phrase.** (For example, in Iraq in the 1980s and Rwanda in the 1990s, political and military leaders referred to people they disliked as "pests" and "cockroaches" to be exterminated.)

2. **What is the language of this word or phrase?** (Choices are English, Fulani, Hausa, Igbo, Pidgin, Yoruba, and Other. If "Other," please identify which language.)

3. **What is the English translation of this word or phrase?** (If original language is English, please ignore and go to the next question.)

4. **Why do you think this word or phrase is offensive and inflammatory?** (Please provide a brief explanation. For example, "Group X's website uses the term to stir up verbal attacks or riots against Y people.")

5. **Where did you see this word or phrase online?** (Choices are Facebook, News website [for example, opinion section or article comments section], Twitter, WhatsApp, YouTube, and Other.)

6. **If possible, please provide a link or URL to the word or phrase.** (Using your browser's drop-down options, highlight the URL, copy it, and paste it in the box below.)

7. **For the word or phrase you identified, what is a different term that people can use to express their grievances—but is less offensive and inflammatory?** (For example, in Burma, some Burmese describe a minority group as "Bengali" to deny them full rights, but they are accurately known as Rohingya.)

8. **What specific issues or topics are most likely to trigger online speech that is offensive and inflammatory?** (For example: corruption, abuse of power and resources, land or pastoralist rights, or secession.)

9. **Where in traditional media—radio, television, newspapers—are you seeing language that is offensive and inflammatory?** (Please describe instances of such speech and what makes it offensive and inflammatory.)

10. **Do you have another example of online speech that is offensive and inflammatory?** (Choices are Yes or No.)

The "Other" option allowed respondents to input their own choice. Questions 3 and 6 were optional. Question 10 allowed respondents to repeat the same questions if they had additional terms. Once the respondent finished providing terms and information about them, they were then asked to complete the following biographical questions, which would remain confidential.

1. **What is your full name?**

2. **What is your age?** (Choices are ranges in years: 18–25, 26–35, 36–45, 46–55, 56 or older.)

3. **What is your gender?** (Choices are Male, Female, and Other.)

4. **What is your mother tongue?** (Choices are English, Fulani, Hausa, Igbo, Pidgin, Yoruba, and Other.)

5. **How do you describe yourself?** (Choices are Academic/educator; Civil society member; Community/youth activist; Ethnic, religious, or regional association member; Government official responsible for media/media regulation; Journalist/media expert or manager; Peace activist; Religious or community leader; Women's/gender rights activist; and Other.)

6. **What is your current status?** (Choices are Employed; Part-time/informally employed; Unemployed; Student; and Other.)

7. **Where do you currently live?** (Name of city, state, or country.)

8. **What is your email address?**

V. Issues and Risks

During the development of this lexicon, the project team encountered several issues, limitations, or risks that it attempted to mitigate.

1. Concerns about privacy and security

As with the South Sudan lexicon, the survey pointedly did not ask respondents to identify actors who were using hate speech—although respondents did "name names" of leaders using such rhetoric in some cases. Consequently, the team focused the survey on the terms, their context, and where they were found rather than on who was disseminating them at any given time. Although sample online posts are presented to highlight the context of each term, the identities of the post authors are obscured. In addition, while emphasizing the survey's confidential nature, the team decided to distribute it through CITAD's trusted networks to ensure substantive and thoughtful responses, but also to limit the potential that the survey could be "hijacked" by those with an agenda.

2. Sensitivities and parameters concerning hate speech

Hate speech is not a new phenomenon in Nigeria—indeed, the Nigerian Human Rights Commission, Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, CITAD, and others have examined the role of hate speech in the 2015 general elections.[32] In one sense, hate speech appears to be ubiquitous online, covered in the press, and acknowledged, unfortunately, as part of the social fabric. Thus, it would appear that a research project on the topic would face few sensitivities. Yet the workshop discussions did get argumentative at times, particularly among the civic leaders group, when origins and meanings of terms were in dispute. Further, because of the ongoing conflicts in the Northeast—Boko Haram, first and foremost—the team was unable to hold workshops in Kano and other cities, although participants in various stages of the project were from Kano, Jos, and other areas affected by conflict. Consequently, although the project had parameters in terms of budget and scope, the larger context of the ongoing conflict also placed conditions.

3. Limits of online surveys and benefits of in-person explorations of hate speech

Online surveys, by their very nature, afford the respondent anonymity, allowing the person relatively unhindered opportunities to share information and insight. The workshops, on the other hand, actually require individuals to confront the terms and their usage not only personally, but also in interaction with others—perhaps even with individuals from groups targeted

by such terms. Rather than inhibit speech, however, the workshops actually established important insights about potency as well as new terms—perhaps only because of these interactions. This might, in part, explain why "kafir" appeared as a term in the workshops but not in the online survey; in exploring the origins, context, and potency of "arne," "kafir" emerged as an even more problematic term of incitement. Furthermore, as with the South Sudan workshops, participants expressed a significant degree of appreciation for the peacebuilding aspect of the workshops, which allowed them a rare opportunity to engage and probe in a constructive and hopeful atmosphere.

4. Challenges regarding definitions and concepts of hate speech

There was significant discrepancy in the quality of responses by participants in the online survey, compared with those who took the survey in the focus group discussions. This may be due, in part, to the capacity of the discussion facilitators, the background and capacity of participants, a combination of the two, or other factors. This outcome suggests that although hate speech—and the debate over it—has been an issue in Nigerian public discourse since before the high-level federal government commission's investigation of the 2011 elections, its scope and essential concepts still are not broadly understood by civil society, let alone the average Nigerian. Indeed, individuals and organizations have various interpretations of hate speech, with many misconceptions; thus, allegations based on such uninformed interpretations may lead to a situation where legitimate, critical free speech is restricted. Thus, public education on this issue should be a focus of programming going forward.

5. Media literacy as a tool to counter hate speech and inform public debate

A significant number of survey respondents did not appear to distinguish between media reports on hate—however superficial the reporting—and hate speech itself. Given that the survey respondent universe was relatively knowledgeable and sophisticated on the topic, this suggests that media literacy should be a key programming area going forward, among civil society, government, and the public at large.

6. Limitations of project regarding language

Although much of the hate speech identified online was in English—perhaps because English is the lingua franca across Nigeria's different groups or perhaps because perpetrators seek the broadest audience—the responses of survey participants suggest that they had some difficulty expressing their understanding in writing and in the survey format provided. Thus, the clarity of and insight from our data is likely limited by this lack of respondents' ability to render meaning from English-language hate speech, let alone hate speech from Nigeria's other languages. Moreover, as the project, survey, and workshops were conducted in English, it is likely that this oriented participants to respond more frequently and fully in English than in Nigeria's other languages. Thus, the survey and workshops may have failed to draw out some terms in other languages from participants. The project aimed to address these challenges through the use of the focus group discussions and validation workshops, where terms could be interrogated in person, and by the involvement of Nigerian experts as reviewers.

Endnotes

1 This research seeks to inform a broader community of practice around hate speech, including research concerning "dangerous speech," which focuses on a subset of hate speech that can catalyze mass violence. For the purposes of this document, "hate speech" is defined as speech that can incite others to discriminate or act against individuals or groups based on their ethnic, racial, religious, gender, or national identity. However, the project team decided to use the more common phrase "offensive and inflammatory" as a threshold in examining the role of terms in Nigeria's conflicts, given its more common understanding among survey respondents and the target audience for the lexicon. For further discussion of this decision, see Annex A.

2 The Middle Belt is a common phrase used to describe the area between Nigeria's predominantly Muslim North region and predominantly Christian South. As such, it is heterogeneous in terms of ethnicity and religion. The Middle Belt is not geographically delineated but is meant to incorporate the states of the North Central zone.

3 For a discussion on the role of inflammatory rhetoric in the 2011 elections, see, for example, Patricia Enimien Ofili, *Africa-Portal Backgrounder No. 17: Provocative Discourse and Violence in Nigeria's 2011 Elections* (Waterloo, Ontario: The Centre for International Governance Innovation, December 2011). For a discussion on such speech surrounding the 2015 elections, see the summary report by the Center for Information Technology and Development (CITAD) at http://www.citad.org/2015/04/10/report-of-one-day-stakeholders-forum-on-hate-speech-and-the-2015-elections-in-nigeria-report-by-citad-introduction/, accessed March 5, 2018.

4 Background interview of online news publisher, Abuja, Nigeria, November 9, 2017.

5 http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13951696

6 http://africanarguments.org/2017/09/12/true-federalism-beckons-for-nigeria/

7 Investigations by the Nigerian government and civil society, as well as international organizations, have found that former dictator Sani Abacha alone stole $2.3 billion from Nigeria's Central Bank; more broadly, international watchdog Global Financial Integrity estimated that $129 billion disappeared due to crime, corruption, or tax evasion over 10 years. For a helpful summary by a leading Nigerian civil society organization, see http://cislacnigeria.net/index.php/2014/12/31/money-laundering-and-asset-recovery-the-case-of-nigeria/nvestigations, accessed March 1, 2018. Transparency International's latest Corruption

Perceptions Index 2017 gives Nigeria a score of 27, which is below the sub-Saharan Africa average of 32, and ranks the country 148th of 180 in the world (see https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2017#table, accessed March 1, 2018), and the World Bank's *Doing Business* survey ranks Nigeria 145th of 190 countries surveyed (http://www.doingbusiness.org/rankings, accessed March 1, 2018). In recent years, Nigeria's Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offenses Commission (ICPC) have made some headway, but the problem is endemic, as the EFCC files hundreds of cases per year with low conviction rates.

8 https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ni.html

9 Ibid.

10 Farmer-herder conflicts have spread in recent years beyond the Middle Belt to states of the Southwest and East. See testimony of analysts from Crisis Group, Search for Common Ground, U.S. Institute of Peace, and others at https://humanrightscommission.house.gov/events/hearings/nigeria-conflict-middle-belt, accessed February 16, 2018.

11 http://federalcharacter.gov.ng/index.php/about-us, accessed January 11, 2018.

12 http://thecommonwealth.org/our-member-countries/nigeria/constitution-politics, accessed January 11, 2018.

13 Richard Bourne, *Nigeria: A New History of A Turbulent Century,* London: Zed Books, 2015, pp. 102–103; http://www.prb.org/Publications/Articles/2007/ObjectionsOverNigerianCensus.aspx, accessed January 10, 2018.

14 As evidence of its importance, the ruling APC has a committee on restructuring, which is headed by the Governor of Kaduna state, Mallam Nasir Ahmad el-Rufai. See Chatham House, "Next Generation Nigeria: What Is Restructuring and Does Nigeria Need It?" https://www.chathamhouse.org/event/next-generation-nigeria-what-restructuring-and-does-nigeria-need-it, accessed January 11, 2018.

15 Henry E. Alapiki, "State Creation in Nigeria: Failed Approaches to National Integration and Local Autonomy," *African Studies Review,* Vol. 48, No. 3 (Dec. 2005), pp. 49–65.

16 Xan Rice, "Nigeria begins amnesty for Niger Delta militants," *The Guardian,* August 6, 2009, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/aug/06/niger-delta-militants-amnesty-launched, accessed January 11, 2018.

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17   United Nations Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General on the activities of the United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel,* S/2017/1104, December 26, 2017, para. 3.

18   http://africanarguments.org/2017/09/12/true-federalism-beckons-for-nigeria/

19   See https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/12/22/nigeria-army-attack-shia-unjustified and http://saharareporters.com/sites/default/files/Executive-Summary-of-the-Report-of-the-Judicial-Commission-of-Inquiry-into-the-Zaria-Clashes.pdf, both accessed February 15, 2018.

20   Premium Times, "Partnering for the Wellbeing of Nigerians, By The Senior Working Group," August 2, 2017, https://opinion.premiumtimesng.com/2017/08/02/partnering-for-the-wellbeing-of-nigerians-by-the-senior-working-group/, accessed January 11, 2018; United States Institute of Peace, "Nigerian Governors Set to Discuss Paths to Progress," October 13, 2016, https://www.usip.org/publications/2016/10/nigerian-governors-set-discuss-paths-progress, accessed January 11, 2018.

21   Background interview of civil society organization leader, Abuja, Nigeria, November 9, 2017.

22   See http://www.inecnigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/The-Nigerian-Media-Code-of-Election-Coverage-From-Toyin-G-2.pdf, accessed March 5, 2018.

23   Ibid.

24   Background interview of senior officers of civil society organization, Abuja, Nigeria, November 9, 2017.

25   Background interview of online news publisher, Abuja, Nigeria, November 9, 2017.

26   Identities of the social media users have been obscured to protect their privacy. Sample posts were drawn largely from Twitter due to the public nature of these posts, as well as the ability of monitors to geo-locate tweets specific to Nigeria.

27   A "word cloud" shows the most used words, themes, and special characters (e.g., emoji) in a given post list. The larger the font of the word or character in the word cloud, the more frequently it is used by post authors. Entries are assigned with different colors for ease of visualization. The visualizations provided show recurring words and themes in content that has been identified as hate speech.

28   For the lexicon of hate speech terms used in the conflicts in South Sudan, see http://www.peacetechlab.org/hate-speech-in-south-sudan/, accessed January 15, 2018.

29   For CITAD's programs and publications on these and other topics, see http://www.citad.org/download-category/publications/, accessed January 15, 2018.

30   Kenya defines hate speech in its National Cohesion and Integration Act (2008), which was passed after the 2007–2008 post-election violence to establish a government authority—the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC)—to build cohesion and integration across the country. See http://cohesion.or.ke/images/downloads/national%20cohesion%20and%20integration%20act%202008.pdf at pp. 15–16 for text defining hate speech; see http://cohesion.or.ke for more on the NCIC. Both accessed January 15, 2018.

31   Nigeria, however, prohibits such expression related to the conduct of political campaigns as part of the country's Electoral Act. See https://nigeriaelections.org/admin/assets/media/7734b9fb2e44b414e1a70da83c8d67f212a03e40.pdf; for the Act itself, see http://www.parliament.am/library/norelectoral%20law/nigeria.pdf, both accessed January 15, 2018.

32   The Nigerian Human Rights Commission warned before the 2015 election of a "notable growth" of hate speech; see https://nigeriaelections.org/admin/assets/media/7734b9fb2e44b414e1a70da83c8d67f212a03e40.pdf, p. 31. International actors, such as Crisis Group, also warned in advance; it even assisted international mediators in pushing the actors to sign the Abuja Accord, committing them to foregoing hate speech and respecting electoral results; see https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/nigeria-s-dangerous-2015-elections-limiting-violence. CITAD published a report on dangerous speech used in the elections; see http://www.citad.org/download/traders-of-hate-in-search-of-votes/?wpdmdl=2493. All accessed January 15, 2018.

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ABOUT PEACETECH LAB

PeaceTech Lab works to reduce violent conflict using technology, media, and data to accelerate and scale peacebuilding efforts. An independent non-profit organization, the Lab's mission is to amplify the power of peacetech to save lives through earlier warnings and smarter responses to violence. The Lab's programs emphasize a data-driven, cross-sector approach, engaging everyone from student engineers and citizen journalists to Fortune 500 companies in scaling the impact of peacetech.

PEACETECH LAB