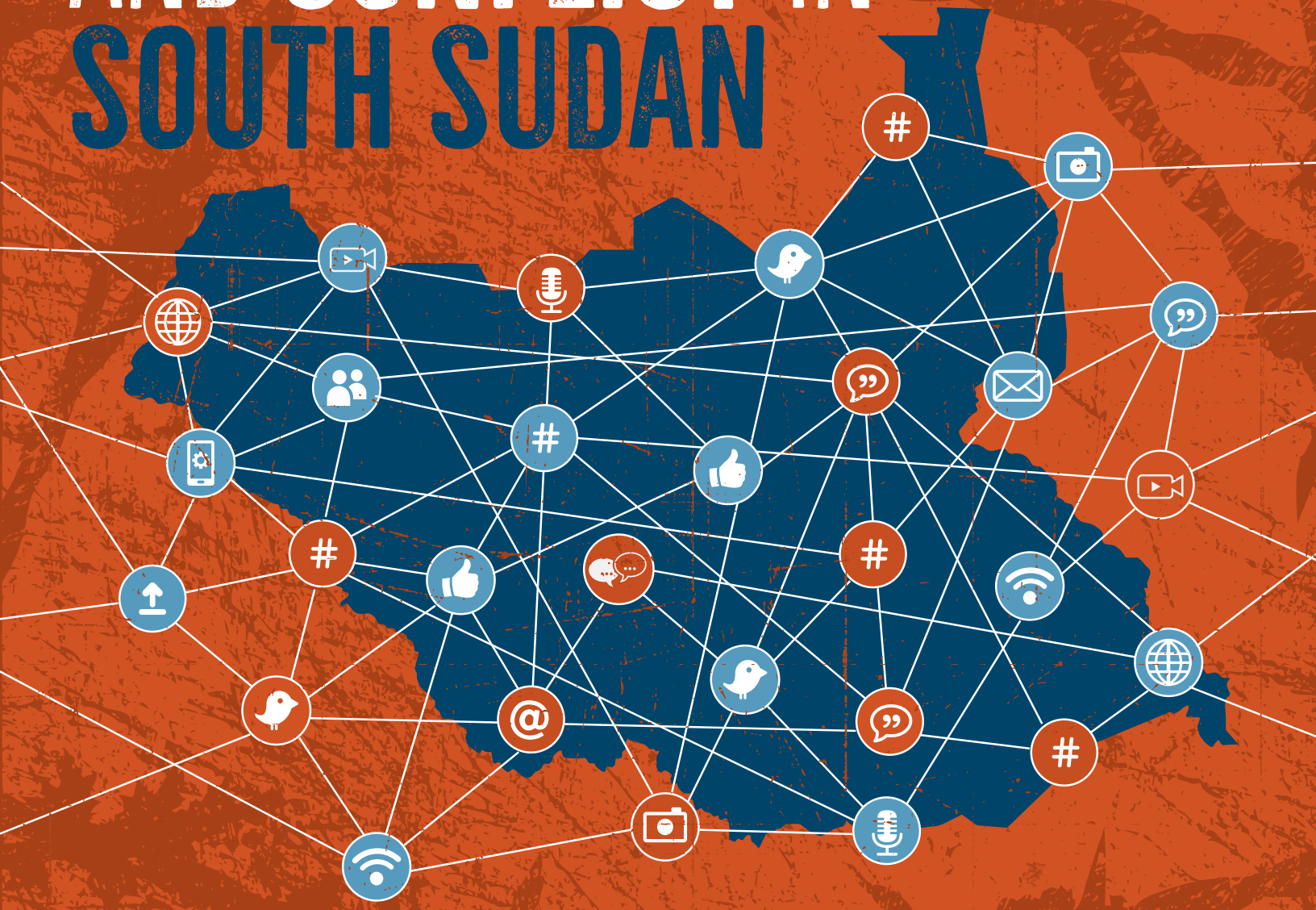
SOCIAL MEDIA AND CONFLICT IN SOUTH SUDAN



A LEXICON OF HATE SPEECH TERMS

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Introduction

This resource is part of a broader research initiative by PeaceTech Lab that analyzes online hate speech in South Sudan.

Since the outbreak of violence in the world's newest country in December 2013, South Sudanese have called attention to how hate speech has inflamed further violent conflict.[1] Indeed, online hate speech was a concern even before the onset of hostilities in December 2013.[2] Diaspora communities around the world have increasingly voiced their grievances through social media, often using inflammatory language and images.[3] But what's the connection between online hate narratives and violence on the ground in South Sudan? How do we begin to understand those connections?

This project aims to address a clear practical and methodological gap that exists in current efforts to tackle hate speech and its effects on communities in conflict zones—namely, how do we identify and contextualize the particular kind of language that's likely to cause violence? Rather than assessing the existence or prevalence of hate speech language, this project instead examines terms and their use in a particular country context. 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.[4]

Therefore, PeaceTech Lab has produced this lexicon of terms used online during a particular period of South Sudanese conflict that began in December 2013 in order to analyze how they contributed to the conflict.[5] This initiative also seeks to identify alternative language that would mitigate or counter the impact of this speech on the conflict and thereby help build peace in the country. Finally, this resource intends to inform other individuals and organizations involved in monitoring and countering hate speech in South Sudan—and potentially elsewhere—so that their work can be more effective.

The project consists of three main phases designed to aid peacebuilding in South Sudan, as well as contribute to the community of practice working to address online speech, media, and mass violence. 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 social media in the South Sudanese 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 also intends to raise awareness among South Sudanese social media users, including those in diaspora communities.

2. **Provide data visualizations and social media monitoring.** PeaceTech Lab will use software tools to create visualizations of hate speech "influence networks," as well as historic views of how hate speech terms are used online. PeaceTech Lab will present this additional analysis in regular social media monitoring reports and feature it on a web portal attached to its Open Situation Room Exchange (OSRx).

3. **Validate the lexicon and analysis through a "ground-truth" process of dialogues with local actors.** PeaceTech Lab will conduct several sessions with varied South Sudanese

groups to validate the context of the hate speech terms it identifies. Discussions will also focus on how online hate narratives can fuel violence on the ground. The Lab will incorporate findings from the dialogues into a final "lessons learned" report.

To compose the lexicon, project staff conducted an online survey of South Sudanese in the country and in multiple diaspora communities worldwide to identify terms that are contributing to the conflict. The Annex below includes a description of the survey's structure, methodology, and operation.

The Lexicon

Following a brief historical and contextual background, the sections of the lexicon correspond to the survey questions, which are listed in the Annex.

A Summary of the Conflict in South Sudan

Sudan and South Sudan have known war for nearly their entire post-independence history. The First Sudanese Civil War, which began before independence in 1956, ended when Sudanese President Jaafar Nimeiri agreed to a measure of autonomy for the country's south in 1972. When Nimeiri ended that autonomy in 1983, the south took up arms. This Second Sudanese Civil War ended only after four years of formal talks that culminated in the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). In more than 20 years of war, some two million people died, and more than four million were displaced.[6] The CPA included a provision for a referendum that allowed the south to vote to separate from Sudan. In January 2011, South Sudanese voted overwhelmingly to do so, and in July 2011, South Sudan became the world's newest state.

Yet self-determination brought a host of issues that the CPA didn't address. When subsequent negotiations between Sudan and the new state eroded in 2012, Sudan seized oil shipments; in return, South Sudan shut down its oil production, sending the new state's oil-dependent economy into a tailspin. This incident exacerbated long-term issues of underdevelopment, a war-shattered economy and society, a low-level economic and political conflict with Sudan, and competition for resources among South Sudanese and within the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM).

Additionally, existing political divisions within the SPLM, formed during the long conflict with Khartoum, continued to grow. Upon independence, these splits resurfaced at the national level as well as more locally, especially as governance came to be seen as a way to reward allies and loyalists. The divisions came to a head in 2013 over who would lead the SPLM in South Sudan's first post-independence elections. Riek Machar—a Nuer leader who led a bloody split from the SPLM in the 1990s but who became First Vice President under the CPA—and SPLM Secretary General Pagan Amum publicly challenged how President Salva Kiir, a Dinka, was leading the SPLM and the government. In July 2013, President Kiir dismissed

Machar. Relations had worsened by December, and Kiir declared Machar guilty of treason and of organizing a coup. In Juba, Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) forces massacred Nuer and arrested senior SPLM members, including Amum.[7] Machar, Nuer leaders, and a few other tribes formed the SPLM-IO (In Opposition) to take up arms against what they saw as a Dinka-dominated government. The conflict spread to Unity, Upper Nile, and Jonglei states and has featured horrific atrocities and killings of civilians based on their tribe or community. More than 50,000 people have been killed, 2.3 million have been displaced, and 5 million face severe food shortages.[8] Under the threat of international sanctions, the two sides grudgingly signed a peace agreement in August 2015, and a transitional government of national unity, including both Kiir and Machar, was established in April 2016.[9]

However, this peace didn't last. In early July 2016, an SPLM-IO officer was shot and killed in Juba. Five days later, a shootout between SPLA forces and SPLM-IO forces left five SPLA personnel dead. While Machar and Kiir were meeting about these incidents in the presidential palace, SPLA forces attacked Machar's Juba stronghold, sparking a bloody round of violence that led to the deaths of an estimated 300 people and the displacement of tens of thousands. The United Nations panel of experts on South Sudan found that "the fighting was directed by the highest levels of the SPLA command structure."[10] Following Machar's departure from the country, SPLM-IO members remaining in Juba chose Taban Deng as chairman, and Kiir installed him as First Vice President—actions Machar and others consider in violation of the peace agreement and the SPLM-IO charter.[11] The peace process increasingly appears in jeopardy, with Machar and others threatening to return to war[12] and the government responding that there was "no place" for them in South Sudan's politics.[13]

In August, both Kiir's government and the SPLM-IO rejected a UN Security Council–approved initiative by South Sudan's neighbors, the African Union, and the international community to deploy an additional 4,000 international troops with a robust mandate.[14] Subsequently, Machar indicated that his return would be predicated on the deployment of the new force, while the government signaled that it would accept international forces on different terms.[15] Such statements notwithstanding, no progress on actual deployment of the force has been made as of mid-December 2016. Meanwhile, over the past few weeks, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights has warned of the existence of hate speech and incitement to violence,[16] the UN Special Adviser on Genocide Prevention reported that the country is "ripe for the commission of mass atrocities" and genocide,[17] and a special UN Commission on Human Rights in South Sudan has found "a steady process of ethnic cleansing underway."[18]

Words or Phrases That Are Offensive and Inflammatory

Survey respondents identified the following terms and contextual information, which are listed in order of frequency of appearance. For each term, the "Definition" section contains information that respondents provided in survey questions 1–3 about the term's origins, general meaning, and related information. The "Why it's 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 context. 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. Additional contextual analysis provided by a small, but diverse, group of South Sudanese advisers supplemented survey data.

1. Nyagat

Other spellings and related references: *anyagat, nyigaat, nyagaat, nyegat, nyigad, nyigat • rebel • renegade • militia • Mutameridin • Marry a Nuer and you'll have rebel children*

Definition: The word may have origins in Amharic from Ethiopia, as it may have first been used by Ethiopians interacting with the SPLA based in their country in the early 1980s. The term is used broadly across South Sudan's communities, with minor variations in spelling and pronunciation, and is even used by politicians on television to criticize the opposition. The most common definitions that respondents provided were traitor, defector, sellout, and rebel. An early use of the term referred to people who did business with Khartoum, opposed the liberation effort, or otherwise didn't follow Dr. John Garang. Most people identified it as a derogatory Dinka word for rebels, and in the context of the conflict started in 2013, a word for Riek Machar and the Nuer people generally. Even more so, anyone from Kiir's side who joined Machar's SPLM-IO was considered a sellout. Conversely, anyone from Machar's community who supported Kiir was a sellout. A separate phrase, *Nuer weu,* emerged to describe Nuer who supported Kiir's government.

Why it's offensive/inflammatory: It's used against critics or civilians who oppose the government, but who aren't necessarily members of the armed opposition, and in doing so ignores legitimate grievances. Those who use it are suggesting that the targeted persons—mainly Nuer, according to respondents—don't love their country and will sell it out. One respondent traced the term's origins to the split in strategy in the 1980s civil war, specifically "during the conflict between the SPLA/SPLM, a Dinka-dominated movement with a mission of United Sudan, and Anya Anya 2, a movement whose mission was to fight for the independence of South Sudan." Another respondent viewed the term as illustrating a betrayal, as it "described a group of individuals or a person who didn't support or abandoned SPLM/A and joined or left for Khartoum. Fast-forwarding to today, [it describes] those who betrayed the people of South Sudan or the government of South Sudan."

Another participant argued that the Nuer "are the 'perpetual *nyagats'* in history," according to his interpretation of their role in South Sudan's history. However, labeling the Nuer or any other tribe in this way demeans individuals based on tribal affiliation rather than criticizing an individual or individuals based on their actions.

Alternative words that could be used: "Opposition, anti-government, activist, non-loyalists, non-sympathizers, South Sudanese"; "member of SPLM-IO"; "Anyanya or Gurelia"

2. Jenge

Other spellings and related references: *jienge • jiaang • arian jenge, Aryan jeinge, arian janke • jange • jeng • jengi • government of Dinkas, – of Jienges, – of bush persons • jonkos*

Definition: This term is used by Nuer, or those in Equatoria, to refer to Dinkas. There are many variations, including in Arabic, Juba Arabic, Murle, and Bari. However, Dinkas also use the traditional term *Jieng* ("the people") to describe themselves; the term may have neutral cultural and historical roots related to the pastoralist backgrounds of many Dinkas. *Arianjenge* was a term developed in Juba in the 1970s that differentiated naked, pastoralist Dinkas from naked Mundari pastoralists. People in Juba used the terms *government of Dinkas* and *government of bush persons* after the CPA came into effect and many South Sudanese descended upon Juba; the South Sudanese, particularly SPLA soldiers, grabbed all manner of resources. The terms are now often used by people critical of Kiir and his government or by people who want to disassociate themselves from the Kiir government.

Why it's offensive/inflammatory: The term degrades Dinkas by associating them with cattle, characterizing the targeted person or group as illiterate, primitive, or barbaric. Specifically, it scapegoats the Dinka people generally for the behavior of government officials or soldiers.

Alternative words that could be used: "South Sudanese from (state or region)"

3. Nyam nyam

Other spellings and related references: *yam yam*

Definition: Both Dinkas and Nuer are reported to use this term to refer to Equatorians. A broad range of definitions were identified in this context: weak, in reference to Equatorian fighting skills; stupid; and donkey. In addition, the term is used to describe an Equatorian as "someone who's very short and eats everything" or, if given something worthwhile, "would sell you out." There was a belief among pastoralists that Azande people in Western Equatoria practiced cannibalism; the pastoralists labeled them *nyam nyam.* It isn't clear whether the term is always viewed as offensive, since many South Sudanese apparently believe that other tribes, and even their own, practice cannibalism. So the term is used broadly. At least one respondent indicated that Dinkas use the term to describe non-Dinkas.

Why it's offensive/inflammatory: In general, using this term aims to demean Equatorians and establish the speaker's superiority by assigning Equatorians negative traits, appearances, or habits.

Alternative words that could be used: "Equatorians"; "people of (Yambio, Maridi, Aweil, Tonj, Bor, etc.)"

4. Cow

Other spellings and related references: *Sup Re bagar or Aklak zeta bargar • baggara • cattle keepers*

Definition: Equating people or their behavior to a cow was reported to be common in many languages, including English, Arabic, Dinka, Chollo (Shilluk), and Nuer. It was usually intended for Dinkas, but also Nuer and other cattle-keeping people, most likely because of the chronic conflict between pastoralists and agriculturalists over land.

Why it's offensive/inflammatory: According to several respondents, the speaker uses the term to establish his or her superiority and the inferiority of the other. In particular, it's meant to describe someone as unruly, unethical, and unfriendly and as one who abuses favors and hospitality, disrespects the feelings of others, and doesn't respect the privacy or customs that govern the cultures of non-pastoralists or host communities. It's used mostly to refer to Dinkas, who are cattle-keepers historically. As the respondents noted, cows are good only for slaughter, and it's offensive to compare animals with humans, who have the capacity for reason.

Alternative words that could be used: "Brothers or sisters from Bor, Malakal, Bentiu, or Lakes state, etc."; "cattle keepers"

5. MTN

Definition: According to some respondents, Equatorians use this relatively new term to describe Dinkas; others indicate that it's used widely to create fear about Dinkas' encroachment on other communities' traditional lands and annihilation of those communities. It's based on the slogan for the MTN mobile service provider: MTN is "everywhere you go." According to one person, it's "used to target Dinkas who are found all over the country, like MTN service. It targets Dinkas who have abandoned their lands and scattered all over other lands—and especially against Dinkas when they're traveling. Vehicles are stopped, and drivers are asked whether MTN are in the cars." This has reportedly happened to public transport on the Juba-Yei road. In the more recent conflict in 2016, the term has evolved to mean the coordination of operations against the Dinkas.

Why it's offensive/inflammatory: It stirs fear by exaggerating the number and location of Dinkas within South Sudan, suggesting an increasing presence and pervasive (negative) influence throughout the country, specifically in competition for land, access to water, government services, and jobs. It's a coded, action-oriented word: An *MTN* with "no service available" may mean a Dinka who's unarmed and therefore may be attacked.

Alternative words that could be used: "Dinka"; "largest tribe or major tribe"; "neighbors"

6. Kokora

Definition: This term means "division" in Bari. It originated in the 1972 Addis Ababa agreement at the end of the First Sudanese Civil War, which called for re-organization of three southern provinces—Bahr el Ghazal, Equatoria, and Upper Nile—into one southern region. Equatorians subsequently agitated for autonomy, while the other provinces preferred unification. In 1983, Nimeiri responded with a decree that disbanded union in favor of three provinces and ordered non-Equatorians back to their regions. Consequently, non-Equatorians use this term to disparage Equatorians as not liking people from other regions. Respondents identified usages that mean "to divide" or refer to division generally. Bari-speaking Equatorians use this term to describe Dinkas as land-grabbers, or to refer to land-grabbing grievances more generally.

Why it's offensive/inflammatory: The historical lesson of Kokora for many was that re-division left the southern region weak against Khartoum, the greater enemy. The term has gained current resonance with President Kiir's October 2015 decree to divide South Sudan's 10 states into 28 states.[19] More concretely, based on claims for land, as one respondent put it, "This is used to target non-Equatorians, especially Jieng/Dinka. It's used to initiate violence against non-Bari-speaking people. It's a term that can be used to turn Equatorians against people in Bahr-el Ghazal or Upper Nile."

Alternative words that could be used: Federal, federalism

7. Cowards

Other spellings and related references: *ariooce*

Definition: While the first term is recognizable to English speakers, respondents said that Dinkas use both terms to refer to people of Equatoria. Combatants of Dinka, Nuer, and Shilluk communities, among others, believe Equatorians didn't participate in the 20-year Second Sudanese Civil War, which liberated the south from Arab rule. Currently, the term may more generally refer to those who don't take the government's side in the recent conflict. It's also used to justify the rowdy behavior of non-Equatorian people.

Why it's offensive/inflammatory: In reference to the 20-year conflict, it labels an individual or tribe as unpatriotic. One respondent noted the unintended consequences of using such speech: "It attacks an entire community [for] being cowards and could create an urge [for proof of the opposite] from the other." Indeed, some of those in Equatoria have taken arms against their accusers.

Alternative words that could be used: "Peaceful people, peaceful Equatorian, or peaceful citizen"; "Shaab Musalim or Nas ta Salaam (in Arabic)"

8. Dor

Other spellings and related references: *duor, doro*

Definition: This Dinka term refers to any of the Equatorian tribes or any non-Dinka or non-Nilotic in any corner of the country. According to one respondent, the term's origins are historic, dating back to the days of the slave trade, when Arab slave masters controlled their captives with whips and shouted "Dor!" ("Move!") Current meanings include passive, stubborn, and big-headed; these are possibly used to provoke Equatorian peoples who disagree with how both Dinkas and Nuer handle their affairs and therefore refrain from taking sides.

Why it's offensive/inflammatory: It's offensive to command a person in this way; the term implies that the person it's directed toward is subservient and vulnerable, like those historically susceptible to slave traders. The user intends to label the targeted person as weak, compared with warrior pastoral tribes (Nuer, Dinka, Murle), and perhaps provoke Equatorians into taking a side in the conflict.

Alternative words that could be used: "Equatorians"; "citizens"; "Shaab ta Equatoria (in Arabic)"

9. Monyi jang

Other spellings and related references: *We fought • We liberated you; therefore, this land belongs to us • South Sudan exists thanks to the Dinkas • monyi dru • born to rule for life • born to rule*

Definition: This Dinka phrase, meaning "strong (*monyi*) people (*jang*)," originally had a positive, if self-praising, meaning; Dinkas used it to refer to themselves. As with other terms, it has attained negative, chauvinistic attributes in the recent conflict. Some Dinkas in the SPLM use the phrase and its English equivalents to assert that they should enjoy privileges relative to Equatorian tribes. As one person described it, elites in the ruling party and army use the terms to justify their mismanagement of resources and power, or other wrongdoing, based on their belief that they played a greater role and made greater sacrifices than others in the fight for South Sudan's independence. Another respondent explained the belief: "We liberated this country, and we have full right to control the resources; what have you done, Equatorians?" The terms, when used to mean "born to rule/born to serve," convey an entitlement for Dinkas and, consequently, a subservient role for Equatorians.

Why it's offensive/inflammatory: It attempts to assert authority of one tribe over another by attributing liberation's success to one group—an insult to the many communities who contributed to the effort. It not only attempts to belittle a community's contributions to liberation,

but also belittles their suffering. More generally, the phrases seek to establish ethnic superiority despite the fact that South Sudan is a diverse state with 64 tribes. But, as one person noted, the terms are "intended to justify ethnic domination of South Sudanese politics by the Dinka ethnic group"—and head off criticism of that rule. However, in the current context, it attributes government actions to a particular people, the Dinkas, even though not every Dinka supports these actions.

Alternative words that could be used: "Dinka"; "South Sudanese"; "fellow citizen"; "compatriot"; "freedom fighter"; "Shaab Junub Thudan" (in Arabic)

10. 1991

Other spellings and related references: *Riek Machar 1991 genocide*

Definition: The term refers to what's also commonly known as the 1991 Bor massacre of Dinka civilians by Nuer forces (SPLM-Nasir faction) who opposed Dr. John Garang. The genocidal killing was one of many brutal episodes of atrocities committed by factions in the SPLM's internal conflicts during the Second Sudanese Civil War. It has also come to mean a split between allies, revenge, and loyalty to tribal leadership, with the added resonance of the split within the SPLM affecting the larger historic struggle for independence from Khartoum.

Why it's offensive/inflammatory: Dinka leaders have used this reference to massacres of Dinka civilians in Bor to incite the Bor Dinka against the Nuer and to demonize Dr. Machar by reminding them that Machar is power-hungry and has been responsible for massacres in the past. Indeed, one respondent indicated that reference to the massacres has been made on national television by President Kiir himself. One intent for its use may be to mobilize Dinka for pre-emptive action. Yet the term also provokes other reactions. Since it is normally used to refer to the killing of Dinka, the term angers people of Nuer and other communities who also lost family and friends in the massacres. Finally, while the post-2013 conflict has been different because it has happened during self-rule, the 1991 (and even 1985) fighting has never been fully investigated or addressed. Thus, the internal divisions and the damage they cause are perpetuated.

Alternative words that could be used: "Nasir Faction"; "misunderstanding between SPLM separatists"; "1991 coup against Dr. Garang"; "1991 SPLM power struggle"

Additional Words or Phrases That Are Offensive and Inflammatory

The respondents cited the following terms less frequently, and consequently, there was less contextual information for them.

WORD OR PHRASE	WHY IT IS OFFENSIVE AND INFLAMMATORY
Evil • crazy • stupid • power-hungry • greedy • thief	(English) Used by both Dinkas and Nuer
Awa takun ma lugoro • lugoro • kulogoro • logoro • teet	Beware those who are marked (Dinkas); someone who's marked
Nuer weu • Nuer wiw	Nuer for "money"; refers to Nuer who remained allied with the Kiir government
Dogs • "Nuer dogs" • kilaab	(English and Arabic) Kilaab isn't limited to Nuer
Beer • ber	People without identity who should be killed (used by Dinkas and Nuer about Murle)
After we finish with the Nuer, we shall come for the Equatorians • Why can't we first deal with the Nuer dogs and clear the Nyam Nyam cowards later?	(English) Used to mobilize Dinkas against others
Blood-thirsty Dinkas • blood-thirsty Nuer rebels • bloodsuckers	(English) Used to mobilize against Dinkas
"Those people" are bringing problems to South Sudan	(English and Dinka) Used to refer to perceived outsiders, including Dinkas and Nuers since 2013
Some of you came from DR Congo, Uganda, and Kenya. We'll force you out of Equatoria • "Ugandans, Central Africans, and Congolese"	Used to target Equatorians
Nyomo lorok	Bad or unwanted seeds
Haiwan	Arabic for "animal"; used broadly across tribes
Wewe	(Luganda and Swahili) Used to refer to someone who can't speak Arabic (an outsider); used to refer to those diaspora returning to the country as having run away previously; used to refer to those from East Africa or to Equatorians living near the borders with Kenya and Uganda
Nasi ta Khartoum	Arabic for "these people from Khartoum"; refers to those South Sudanese in Khartoum during the war
Laat kel rueni	(Nuer) Used to refer to events in the past

WORD/PHRASE	WHY IT IS OFFENSIVE/INFLAMMATORY
Luwet luwet	(Dinka) Ignorant
The Nuer will kill all the Dinkas	(English) Used until some Dinkas joined the rebels
Enemies of the movement	(English) Used by government to describe journalists or academics who are critics
UNMISS	(English) Used to degrade men as weak who took refuge with UNMISS rather than fight
Nusuwan	Woman/women; used to degrade men who didn't take up arms
Equatorians are the women of Dinkas	(English) Used to demean Equatorian men as subservient to Dinkas
Luti	(Arabic) Barren or impotent; homosexual
Muk ta denka	(Juba Arabic) Your mentality is like a Dinka's; to demean someone as crazy or hard to deal with
Akwana Taibin	(Arabic) Literally means "our kind/good brother" (but said sarcastically); used to refer to Dinkas as inferior
Nas rumula	(Arabic) Uneducated, ignorant people
Foolish majority	(English) Previously used by Equatorian communities to refer to Dinkas; now used by Bor Dinka to refer to Greater Bahr el Ghazal Dinka (from President Kiir's home state)
Dinkacracy	(English) Used to refer to the Kiir government
Murr-alei	(Bor Dinka) Murle; purposely miss-spelled to insult Murle people
Kokoro	(Bari and Equatorian) People who eat too much; used to refer to Dinkas

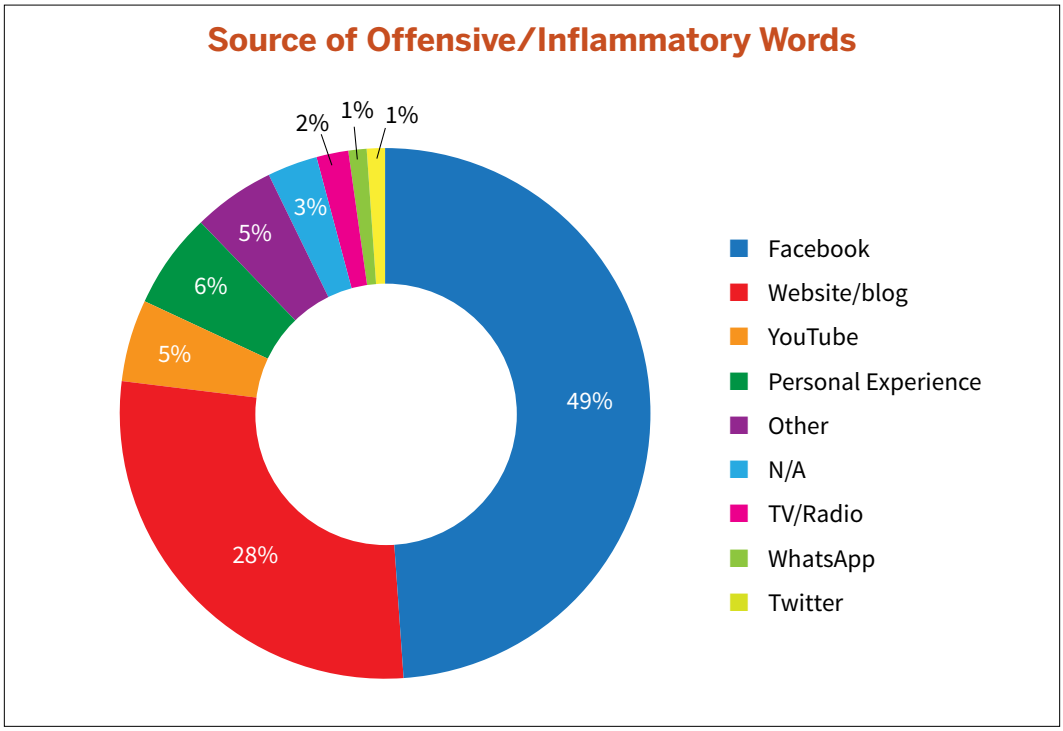
Online Sources of Words and Phrases That Are Offensive and Inflammatory

In response to survey question 5, respondents identified online platforms of global brands, such as Facebook, YouTube, and Yahoo (discussion groups), and social media sites, such as WhatsApp and Twitter, as containing offensive and inflammatory speech. Websites that focused on South Sudan, where respondents found this speech, included the following:

- Nyamilepedia website: www.nyamile.com
- Sudan Tribune website article comment sections: www.sudantribune.com
- www.SouthSudanNation.com
- Website of South Sudanese bloggers: www.paanluelwel.com
- www.africanspress.org/

Finally, respondents observed such speech on traditional media, such as South Sudan TV and SBS–Dinka Language Radio in Australia.

As the chart below shows, almost half of all offensive and inflammatory terms that survey respondents provided existed on Facebook. News websites and blogs were also a common source of inflammatory words.



Prominent Facebook pages with offensive and inflammatory speech identified by respondents included the following:

- Facebook: Democratic Politics and Anti-Tribalism in South Sudan (40,538 members)
- Facebook: South Sudanese All Over the World, Future Politicians Quorum (17,617 members)
- Facebook: South Sudanese All Over the World (Public Group) (14,094 members)
- Facebook: South Sudanese All Over the World
- Facebook: South Sudan All Over the World (4,884 members)
- Facebook: The African Nation-South Sudan Generation of Hard-Talk Politics (15,359 members)
- Facebook: Exclusively Equatorian (2,272 members)

Annex: Survey Methodology and Considerations

Scope and Design

To investigate online speech related to the South Sudanese conflict, the project team created a web-based survey so that South Sudanese in the country and in the diaspora could contribute their experiences and insights about the phenomenon.

Survey Questions

1. **What word or phrase have you seen online that's offensive and inflammatory and could contribute to violence?** Please provide the complete phrase. (For example, in Argentina in the 1970s and Rwanda in the 1990s, political and military leaders referred to people they disliked as "insects" and "cockroaches" to be exterminated.)

2. **What's the language of this word or phrase?** (Choices are English, Arabic, Dinka, Nuer, and Other. If "Other," please identify which language.)

3. **What's the English translation of this word or phrase?** (If the 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, YouTube, Twitter,

WhatsApp, News website [for example, opinion section or article comments section], and Other.)

6. **If possible, please provide a link or URL to the word or phrase.**
7. **For the word or phrase you identified, what's a different—but less offensive and inflammatory—term that people can use to express their grievances?** (For example, in Burma, many Burmese describe a minority group as "Bengali" to deny them full rights, but they're accurately known as Rohingya.)
8. **What specific issues or topics are most likely to trigger online speech that's offensive and inflammatory?** (For example: corruption, displaced people on other people's land, or the implementation of the August 2015 peace agreement)
9. **Please use this space to provide any other comments or information about online speech that's offensive and inflammatory.**
10. **Do you have another example of online speech that's offensive and inflammatory?** (Choices are Yes and No.)

The "Other" option allowed respondents to input their own choice. Questions 3, 6, and 9 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's your full name?**
2. **What's your age?** (Choices are ranges in years: 18–25, 2635, 36–45, 46–55, and 56 or older.)
3. **What's your gender?** (Choices are Male, Female, and Other.)
4. **What's your primary language?** (Choices are Dinka, Nuer, Arabic, English, and Other.)
5. **Where do you currently live?** (Please provide the name of the city or country.)
6. **What's your email address?**

Given the topic's sensitivity, as well as the desire for thorough and reflective responses, the project team decided not to make the survey open and publicly available online to any person. Rather, the team assembled a list of potential respondents based on extended networks within South Sudan and internationally. The team believed this reliance on personal networks would produce quality responses even if the respondents weren't randomly selected.

The project team drafted the survey. Before the survey was finalized, it was reviewed by a wide range of experts working on South Sudan, hate speech/freedom of expression, and survey design, among other issues. Consideration was given to aligning the questions with other

initiatives focused on monitoring or countering hate speech, such as iHub Research's Umati Project in Kenya, the Mechachal initiative on online speech and elections in Ethiopia, and related work by Search for Common Ground in South Sudan.[20] The Umati Project incorporates scholar Susan Benesch's Dangerous Speech framework. However, 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 basic threshold, 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 wouldn't rise to the threshold of inclusion; it needed also to be inflammatory.

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 to more than 300 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.

Unfortunately, after the initial invitation, the number of completed surveys didn't meet expectations. Consequently, the team spent significant time and effort reaching out individually to potential "hubs" of respondents, such as church groups serving diaspora communities, in order to expand the pool of online respondents. Additionally, the project team conducted three separate face-to-face sessions, including discussion groups in the United States and Kenya, as well as in South Sudan. Not only did these sessions greatly enhance data collection, but they also enabled more in-depth discussion about the terms, context, and emotive topics (or "triggers") that could cause violence. Ultimately, more than 80 surveys were collected, providing a rich body of quantitative and qualitative information.

Finally, the project assembled an expert advisory board that comprised South Sudanese representing different communities, genders, and professions. The advisers provided additional analysis and insights on a draft of the lexicon; they also helped to interpret context that included the use of different local languages.

Issues and Risks

During the survey process, the team encountered several issues and risks that it attempted to mitigate.

Concerns about privacy and security

During the drafting of the original survey, some NGO contacts working in South Sudan advised the team that South Sudanese would be endangered if they participated in a survey that asked respondents to identify actors who were using hate speech. 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 one time. In addition, while emphasizing the survey's confidential nature, the team decided to distribute it through trusted "nodes," who would further disseminate it to individuals who were sensitive to privacy and security but also likely to respond thoughtfully.

Sensitivity surrounding hate speech

The survey took place during a period of ongoing conflict, which featured inter-communal violence partly incited by hate speech. Several contacts indicated that participation rates might be low, as respondents might be skeptical, if not suspicious, of the origins of such a survey or the intended use of the resulting data. As indicated above, the team attempted to address this by disseminating the survey to key contacts, who would then distribute it to their own trusted networks. In this way, the survey would come with the credibility and recommendation that it wasn't likely to have if it spontaneously arrived in a respondent's email inbox.

Limited understanding of dangerous speech and hate speech concepts

While hate speech has been a feature of conflict in South Sudan, and concern for it is growing in many countries, the Dangerous Speech framework is relatively new, involves multiple elements, and requires additional information inputs and significant explanation. The framework also aims to identify the influence and severity of speech that leads to mass violence, whereas PeaceTech Lab's survey intends to first identify specific words being used and their context in order to understand the dynamics that make them inflammatory. Consequently, as explained above, the team chose the more commonly recognized phrase "offensive and inflammatory" to guide respondents' thinking about terms.

Limited Internet access and limited time

Beyond the challenges in ensuring security and livelihood in South Sudan, Internet access is limited within the country,[21] due partly to a lack of infrastructure. While access was generally better for those in the diaspora communities, this segment of respondents likely also faced challenges of Internet access, their own mobility, and availability of time. Indeed, multiple contacts indicated that participation might be difficult because respondents' time was limited due to family, work, or travel.

Endnotes

1 For example, see Ebony Center for Strategic Studies Youth Empowerment Scheme, "Defy-HateNow Workshop Report," December 19, 2015, available at http://openculture.agency/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Defyhatenow-revise-report.pdf, accessed August 11, 2016; "South Sudanese journalists speak out against hate speech," Radio Tamazuj, April 12, 2016, available at https://radiotamazuj.org/en/article/south-sudanese-journalists-speak-out-against-hate-speech, accessed August 8, 2016, and Robert Ruwo, "South Sudan top religious leaders warn against hate speech," OnlineJuba.com, available at http://www.onlinejuba.com/news/20576-south-sudan-top-religious-leader-warns-against-hate-speech.html, accessed August 8, 2016.

2 Warnings about and existence of online hate speech prior to December 2013 include "Press Conference by Head of South Sudan Mission," United Nations, http://www.un.org/press/en/2012/120123_Guest.doc.htm, accessed August 8, 2016; International Alert, *Peace and Conflict Assessment of South Sudan 2012*, available at http://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/publications/201207PeaceSouthSudan.pdf, accessed August 11, 2016.

3 See "South Sudanese Diaspora Leaders at USIP Consider Online Speech Concerns," February 14, 2014, available at http://www.usip.org/publications/south-sudanese-diaspora-leaders-usip-consider-online-speech-concerns, accessed August 8, 2016, and Brad Crawford and Arua Oko Omaka, *Conflict and Peace-building in South Sudan – Symposium Report*, McMaster University, 2015, available at http://www.nyamile.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/South-Sudan-Report-July-19.pdf, accessed August 11, 2016.

4 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. The project uses the phrase "hate speech," given its more common understanding among survey respondents and the target audience for the lexicon. See Annex A for further discussion on this point.

5 The survey was conducted over a period of several weeks in 2016, and as such the terms and their context are tied to a particular time period. However, it's possible that the terms originated prior to 2016 or even prior to December 2013. It's also possible that they've remained a factor in the resumption of conflict in July 2016.

6 The advocacy group Enough Project concludes that 2.5 million were killed and 4 million displaced (see http://enoughproject.org/blogs/sudan-brief-history-1956); BBC's South Sudan Country Profile records 1.5 million killed and 4 million displaced (see http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14069082).

7 AU Commission of Inquiry on South Sudan, *Final Report of the African Union Commission of Inquiry on South Sudan*, October 15, 2014, http://www.peaceau.org/uploads/auciss.final.report.pdf, accessed December 12, 2016.

8 http://blog.crisisgroup.org/africa/south-sudan/2016/07/12/de-escalating-south-sudans-new-flare-up/

9 Deborah Bloom, David Mackenzie, and Katie Hunt, "South Sudan: U.S. evacuates embassy staff amid 'sudden and serious' fighting," accessed July 10, 2016, available at http://www.cnn.com/2016/07/10/africa/south-sudan-violence-juba/index.html; also, http://blog.crisisgroup.org/africa/south-sudan/2016/07/12/de-escalating-south-sudans-new-flare-up/.

10 Report of the Panel of Experts on South Sudan established pursuant to Security Council resolution 2206 (2015), S/2016/793, 19 September 2016, http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2016/793, accessed December 12, 2016. See https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/sep/09/violence-south-sudan-orchestrated-by-government-un-report-reveals and https://www.yahoo.com/news/un-panel-blames-south-sudan-leaders-juba-violence-232035247.html.

11 https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/south-sudan/south-sudan-risky-political-impasse

12 http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/7ed3012e-8593-11e6-8897-2359a58ac7a5.html?siteedition=intl#axzz4Lg3qYNon and https://radiotamazuj.org/en/article/lam-akol-accuses-kiir-and-machar-failing-south-sudan

13 http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/7ed3012e-8593-11e6-8897-2359a58ac7a5.html?siteedition=intl#axzz4Lg3qYNon

14 https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/south-sudan/south-sudan-risky-political-impasse and https://radiotamazuj.org/en/article/splm-demands-foreign-countries-avoid-intervention-south-sudan

15 https://www.crisisgroup.org/crisiswatch/september-2016#latest-updates, accessed October 22, 2016.

16 United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, "South Sudan: Dangerous rise in ethnic hate speech must be reined in – Zeid," October 25, 2016, http://www.ohchr.org/en/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=20757&LangID=E, accessed December 12, 2016.

17 United Nations Office of the Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide, "Statement to the Security Council by Adama Dieng, United Nations Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide, on his visit to South Sudan," Press Release, New York, November 17, 2016, http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/adviser/pdf/2016-11-17.AD.Statement%20to%20SC.South%20Sudan%20-%20final.pdf, accessed December 12, 2016.

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19 http://www.upeace.nl/cp/uploads/downloadsprojecten/The%20Legacy%20of%20Kokora%20in%20South%20Sudan%20-%20Briefing%20Paper.pdf

20 See iHub Research/Umati Project, *Monitoring Online Hate Speech in South Sudan: Preliminary Findings*, February 25, 2016, available at http://ihub.co.ke/blogs/26912, accessed August 11, 2016; Gagliardone, I. et al., *MECHACHAL: Online Debates and Elections in Ethiopia; From Hate Speech to Engagement in Social Media,* 2016, available at http://pcmlp.socleg.ox.ac.uk/2016/05/mechachal-final-report-released/, accessed November 18, 2016; and Search for Common Ground's *Communicating for Peace in South Sudan,* available at https://www.sfcg.org/communicating-for-peace-in-south-sudan/, accessed August 11, 2016.

21 Per Internet World Stats, as of December 31, 2014, there's 15.9% Internet penetration in South Sudan and as of November 15, 2015, 1.2% Facebook penetration. See http://www.internetworldstats.com/africa.htm#ss.

ABOUT PEACE TECH LAB

PeaceTech Lab works for individuals and communities affected by conflict, using technology, media, and data to accelerate local 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.

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