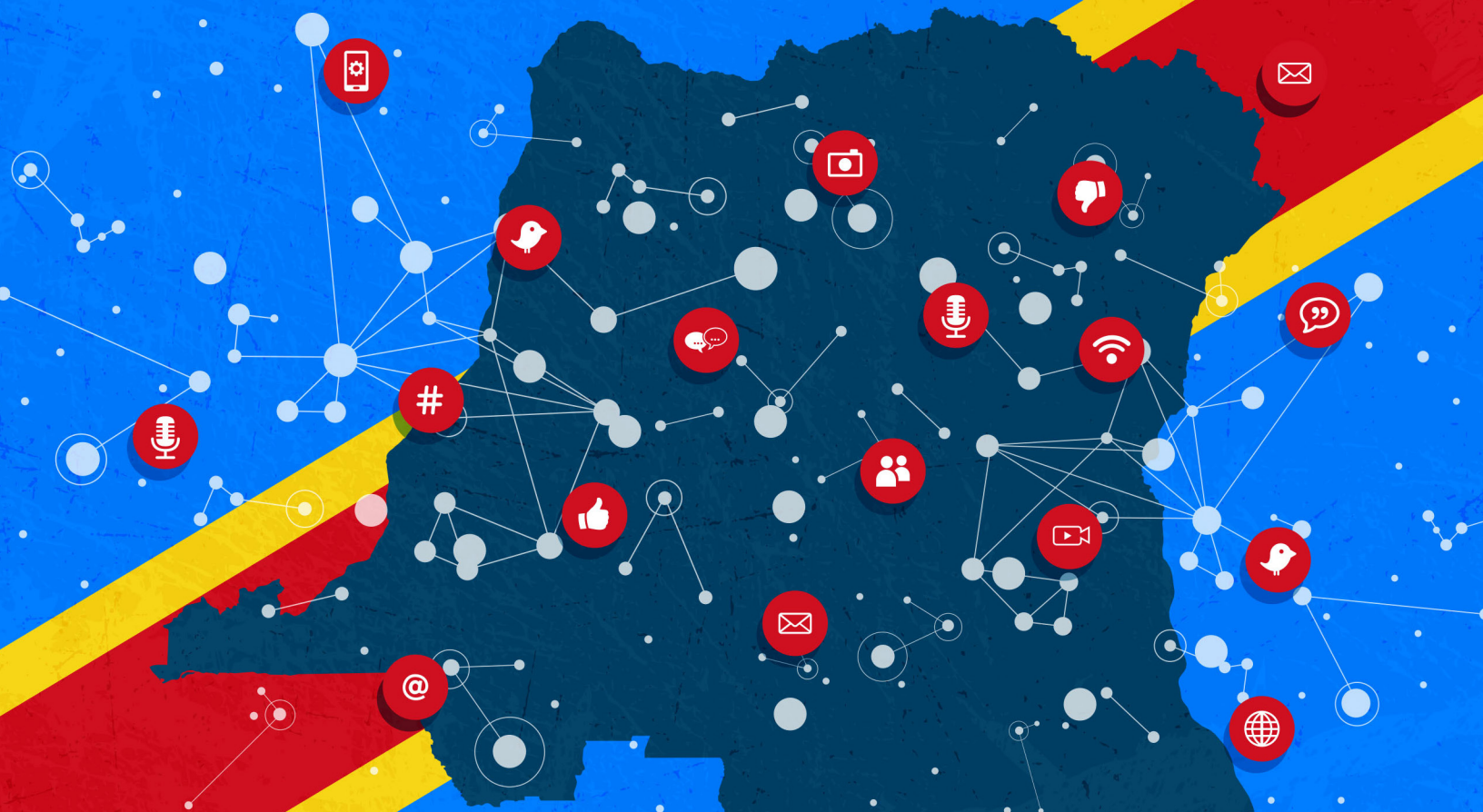


SOCIAL MEDIA AND CONFLICT IN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO



A LEXICON OF HATE SPEECH TERMS



Project Team: Nicola Barrach-Yousefi, Althea Middleton-Detzner, Will Ferroggiaro, Ally Schwartz

Partner Organizations: Terre de Paix and ADECOP Peacebuilders (Action des Jeunes pour le Développement Communautaire et la Paix)

Lead Author: Nicola Barrach-Yousefi

Front and Back Cover Design: Cesar Manuel León Osorio | www.potencialpuro.com

Editorial Design: Kirsten Ankers | Citrine Sky Design

Nicola Barrach-Yousefi has over 15 years of experience working in human rights and with civil society worldwide. She specializes in research and collaborating with movements and human rights defenders to design field programs around human rights, civil resistance, advocacy and most recently hate speech. She is Senior Advisor for Civic Initiatives at the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict (ICNC) and the Founder and Executive Director of Human Rights Connected, a networked organization focused on mainstreaming understanding of strategic nonviolent action and international human rights law.

ADECOP (Action des Jeunes pour le Développement Communautaire et la Paix – Youth Action for Community Development and Peace) is a youth-led nonprofit that aims at building local capacities for a cohesive, resilient and inclusive society in the Eastern DRC. ADECOP encourages young people and vulnerable social minorities to take an active role in laying the foundations for lasting peace by increasing awareness and understanding the meaning of community organizing for peace, democratic development and social progress.

Terre de Paix is a movement that regroups professionals from diverse backgrounds around innovative approaches to building lasting peace in the Eastern region of the Democratic Republic of Congo and in the Great Lakes region. Our primary objective is to reinforce civil society and community capacities to identify sources of violent conflict and implement constructive solutions promoting social cohesion.



Table of Contents

- Introduction 2
- The Lexicon 4
 - Conflict Summary 4
 - Primary Words and Phrases That are Offensive and Inflammatory..... 7
 - Additional Words or Phrases That are Offensive and Inflammatory 25
- Annex A: Methodology and Considerations 27
- Annex B: Issues and Risks 28
- Annex C: Online Sources of Words or Phrases That are Offensive and Inflammatory 30
- Endnotes 31

Introduction

Since 2014, PeaceTech Lab has undertaken research and worked with local partners in Nigeria, Cameroon, South Africa, South Sudan, Libya, Yemen and now the Democratic Republic of Congo, to understand the dynamics of online hate speech and the connection between online hate speech and violent events offline. This research attempts to address a gap in efforts to combat hate speech and to mitigate its effect on communities in conflict. Specifically, we are interested in the process of identifying and contextualizing language that can contribute to violence.

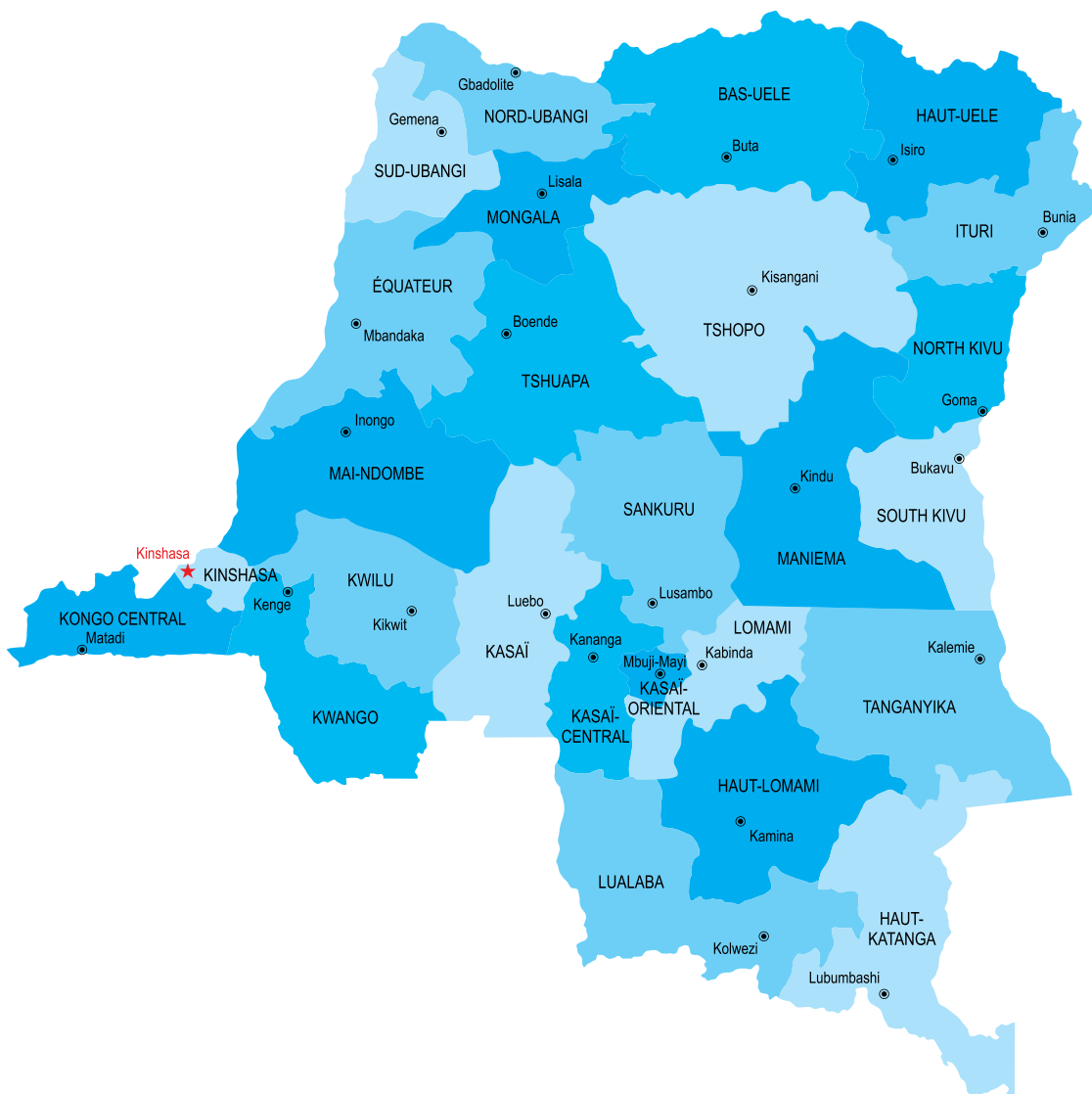
To successfully monitor and counter hate speech, we must first identify specific terms and define the social and political context that makes them offensive, inflammatory, and potentially dangerous. To that end, PeaceTech Lab has pioneered a process to identify and contextualize inflammatory language that can lead to violence, and has a growing portfolio of hate speech lexicons that can be used by civil society organizations, social media and technology companies, and other interested individuals and organizations to better identify, track, combat, and remove hate speech. The Lab is partnering with a growing network of local organizations that work to address hateful content and that seek to curb the potential for violence.

This lexicon investigates the landscape of hate speech and narratives in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Since 2018 there has been an uptick in violence in the country, with over 140 armed groups and militias (based in the DRC as well as in neighbouring countries) currently active in the DRC. There are more than 5 million people living in the country who are either internally displaced or who are refugees from neighbouring countries. Most recently, in the wake of the long-delayed December 2018 presidential election, tensions have increased between contenders and their followers, exacerbating old and new conflicts between ethnic communities and/or political groups.

In this complex and multilayered context, hate speech in the DRC, as in other contexts, is used as a tool to achieve political and material ends (e.g., polarizing opinions, dehumanizing opponents in local or regional conflicts, exacerbating feelings of frustration and grievance, and calling for violent action). A steady increase in internet penetration as well as growth in the number of social media users are expected to increase the frequency of hate speech across all online platforms. This lexicon aims to serve as an initial guide to specific words and phrases identified during a finite period of time in the DRC. PeaceTech Lab intends for the lexicon to serve as a resource to inform individuals and organizations involved in monitoring and countering hate speech in the DRC so that their work can be more effective, as well as to contribute to general understanding of the phenomenon.

This project consisted of three main phases designed to 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.** PeaceTech Lab created a lexicon of hate speech terms commonly used in digital media in the Congolese context to provide a qualitative and quantitative foundation that local and international groups could use to more effectively monitor and counter hate speech. The purpose of the lexicon was to raise awareness among social media users in the DRC, as well as among those in diaspora communities. (For more on the lexicon's development, please see the Annex.)



2. Produce data visualizations. For this lexicon, PeaceTech Lab used software tools to create visualizations of hate speech terms and phrases and their associations with other terms, events, and contextual information.

3. Validate the lexicon and analysis through a process of dialogue with local actors. PeaceTech Lab, in partnership with the Terre de Paix and Action des jeunes pour le Développement Communautaire et la Paix (ADECOP), conducted a series of focus group discussions with representatives of Congolese civil society members meeting in six major cities to validate the meaning and context of the hate speech terms collected via survey. Discussions focused on how online hate narratives can fuel violence on the ground. The lexicon was updated with these inputs and further explored with local practitioners and expert advisors.

The Lexicon

To compose the lexicon, the project team conducted a multi-faceted research process that consisted of an extensive online survey, consultations on the street and via phone, a series of focus group discussions, in-depth interviews, and expert reviews with Congolese experts. This research process allowed the team to identify the terms that are contributing to the DRC's conflicts and tensions. For each term, the **“Definition”** section contains information that respondents provided in the first three survey questions about the term's origins, general meaning, and related information. The **“Why it's offensive/inflammatory”** section discusses information that respondents provided as to why they believed the term was offensive and inflammatory, which often also discusses past usages, historical references to past conflict and grievances, and other context. Finally, the **“Alternative words that could be used”** section lists terms provided by respondents that they thought could be used in place of the offensive and inflammatory terms or could be used to mitigate or counter those terms. The lexicon discussion groups critiqued this information and provided additional contextual analysis. Finally, a small, diverse group of Congolese advisers supplemented the survey and discussion group data with additional analysis and insights.

Conflict Summary

A key theme of Congo's modern history — and its conflicts — is the struggle for self-governance and sovereignty. From 1885 to 1908, what is now known as the DRC was the Congo Free State (Congo) and under the direct control of King Leopold II of Belgium. King Leopold II not only treated Congo's abundant natural resources as his personal wealth, but under his reign millions of Congolese are said to have died from forced labor and deprivations. After 1908, Congo was ruled for 50 years as a colony by Belgium. While European colonization was always designed for the benefit of the European countries, this was particularly acute in the case of Belgium's rule over Congo, where colonization had only minimal administrative, educational, or economic benefit to the Congolese people.

Congo won independence from Belgium in 1960, but this did not come with national unity or a consolidated state. Almost immediately, independence leader-turned-prime minister Patrice Lumumba faced internal opposition while the province of Katanga seceded from the country with the support of Moïse Tshombé, the Belgian government, and mining interests to become the State of Katanga. In part due to his efforts to unify the country, Lumumba was murdered in 1961 with the encouragement and assistance of Western intelligence services. Army sergeant Joseph Mobutu took power in a coup in 1965; he ruled with a mix of guile and terror for 32 years, shuffling ministers in and out of government, paying off or killing aspirants to leadership from the regions, and alternately engaging or rebuffing the international community. With the support of his ministers and the armed forces, he alternately preyed upon or neglected the country and its regions. Mobutu allowed Western forces to use the Congolese territory for Cold War operations, but ignored the West's appeals to end human rights abuses; he similarly courted or dismissed Western financiers and international financial institutions. Mobutu's relations with neighboring countries, especially tiny Rwanda and its ruler Juvenal Habyarimana, also had an impact on Zaire. When Habyarimana was killed and the genocide was unleashed, Rwanda's new rulers spent the following years pursuing the former Rwandese government living in eastern Zaire and arming its militias in order to secure their shared border. In 1997, a coalition of forces backed by Rwanda and Uganda (called the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo or “AFDL,” referring to its French name) crossed into Zaire and routed the Rwandese rebels based there. Finding little internal resistance from the Zairean armed forces or the population they encountered, the AFDL marched on Kinshasa and drove Mobutu, his sons, and supporters out of the country. The AFDL leader, Laurent Kabila, a Katangese, took over, and renamed the country the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

While ridding the country of a dictator, the actions of Kabila, the AFDL, and their patrons brought no peace or stability. Instead, in 1998, Uganda and Rwanda did an about-face and launched attacks on the new regime. In response, five of the DRC's neighbors intervened in support of the AFDL — and to take advantage of the political and security vacuum in order to siphon off the DRC's resources. This intervention, having nothing to do with the welfare of the average Congolese, was known as the “African world war.” In 2000, the United Nations (UN) raised and deployed a peacekeeping force to the country to monitor a ceasefire, but fighting continued. After Kabila was assassinated in 2001, his son Joseph took over and thereafter concluded a peace deal with the intervening nations. This brief episode in Congo's history was especially brutal — it is estimated that 2.5 million people were killed directly or indirectly in the conflict. In pre-European times, the east of the country featured various migrations of people from what is now Rwanda, Uganda, and Burundi; today, it remains an area of continuing violent conflict and turmoil fueled in large part by a geopolitical struggle among Rwanda, Uganda, and the DRC.

Under Joseph Kabila, the DRC held its first independent elections in 2006. Kabila won the presidency and then won re-election in 2011, although those results were protested by the opposition. During this second term, he attempted to change the 2006 Constitution to allow himself a third term, but failed. Despite internal and external pressure, he refused to call elections for 2016 and a political crisis set in. Once elections were finally set for 2018, Kabila and his supporters were already working to establish a scenario in their favor. Meanwhile, opposition groups came together in a broad movement called “Lamuka,” uniting longtime opposition leaders Moise Katumbi and Jean-Pierre Bemba behind new candidate Martin Fayulu. Felix Tshisekedi, the son of prominent Congolese politician Etienne Tshisekedi, competed as the candidate of the traditional opposition. Meanwhile, Kabila's anointed successor, Emmanuel Shadary, failed to generate support despite the government's efforts to sway the election by rejecting international electoral assistance, placing restrictions on media, orchestrating an internet shutdown, and using security forces to harass the opposition. The Congolese election commission declared Tshisekedi the winner even though the Catholic Church, which was coordinating independent election monitoring, called the victory for Fayulu by substantial margins. Most international observers withheld endorsement of the results but also declined to intervene by addressing the irregularities or challenging the outcome, although the regional bloc (the Southern African Development Community) called for a government of national unity. Subsequently, the constitutional court rejected Fayulu's legal challenge of the results and confirmed Tshisekedi as the winner. Additionally, despite little support for Kabila's presidential candidate, his party nonetheless captured 60% of national assembly seats and 90% of senate seats, leading to allegations of vote-buying and corruption.

Grave challenges

In large part due to the longstanding conflict over governance, power, and resources, the DRC faces some of the gravest challenges of any country. While it is the 2nd largest country in sub-Saharan Africa by land mass and has 85 million inhabitants, the DRC's economy registered only \$36 billion in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2016, and is highly dependent on natural resource exports. Its size contributes to its governance problems — the more than 200 ethnic groups using hundreds of languages or dialects hinders a common national identity. Two of the four official indigenous languages — Tshiluba and Kikongo — are associated with the DRC's two largest ethnic groups, the Luba-Kasai and Kongo peoples, respectively. The DRC's size also means that political and security developments in Katanga or the Kivus, for example, are distant from officials sitting in ministries in Kinshasa. Both the diversity and the security aspects have been exacerbated by limited or failing transportation and telecommunications infrastructure — issues which Congo's leaders have not prioritized and have neglected.

Over the last several years, the DRC has ranked as one of the most fragile countries in the world, and has also ranked near the bottom of the world's countries in overall human development¹. The DRC has active conflicts in the Kasai provinces and in the east of the country, and there are 4.5 million Congolese who are internally displaced from its conflicts while some 500,000 refugees live in Congo who fled crises in their own countries. Additionally, nearly 20 years after launching operations in the country, the UN maintains one of its largest peacekeeping forces. Moreover, the UN secretary-general's special representative on sexual violence in conflict has called the country the "rape capital of the world." The DRC also annually ranks in the bottom 10% of countries in terms of corruption according to Transparency International's annual Corruption Perception Index. The DRC's failing infrastructure has also exacerbated major humanitarian crises such as the major Ebola outbreak currently plaguing eastern DRC and which has left 1,000 people dead since August 2018.

Hate speech

Hate speech has been a feature of modern Congolese politics, including at the time of the first free elections in 2006. Given its size, Congolese politics is largely organized on a regional level and also along ethnic lines, with political actors mobilizing supporters for electoral campaigns which may involve appeals to grievance or identity. Moreover, the high number of internally displaced people has sparked grievances and tensions in the communities where these groups have relocated, as these communities perceive these groups as drawing on resources and are thus not welcome. Hate speech has featured in internal conflicts as well as in conflicts that originated outside Congolese borders, such as the hate radio which emerged in then-eastern Zaire during the Hutu exodus from Rwanda following the 1994 genocide. While those broadcasts may have been directed at Rwanda, local Congolese people were affected as well since many are ethnically related to the Rwandan Hutu or Tutsi. Indeed, the intense alignment of media outlets with warlords and ethnic militias in eastern DRC fostered a climate for hate speech there in the early 2000s. During the 2011 elections, Human Rights Watch observed that hate speech was targeted at party supporters who were of a different ethnic group. For example, the governor of Katanga (from Kabila's party) incited violence against people from Kasai living in Katanga who were thought to align with opposition leader Etienne Tshisekedi. As with other countries, this phenomenon has been exacerbated by the fact that media outlets are owned or otherwise aligned with political actors.

The DRC has ratified key international and regional legal conventions that commit it to uphold freedom of expression and anti-discrimination statutes, including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and its Optional Protocol; the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and its Option Protocol; the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD); and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR). Article 13 of the DRC's 2006 Constitution, while not expressly forbidding discrimination, declares that Congolese may not be subject to any discriminatory measure on the basis of "religion, family origin, social condition, residence, views or political convictions, or membership of a certain race, ethnicity, tribe, cultural or linguistic minority." The Constitution's Article 23 establishes that "all persons have the right to freedom of expression;" however, that assertion has the important qualification that the right is "subject to respect for the law, public order and morality."

In terms of the enforcement and regulation of hate speech, the DRC's High Media Authority has the authority to temporarily suspend media outlets for using hate speech or similar ethical transgressions.

Primary Words and Phrases That are Offensive and Inflammatory


The following words and phrases were the terms most frequently identified by survey respondents as “offensive and inflammatory” and as contributing to the ongoing tensions and crisis in the DRC. They are listed here in alphabetical order. The terms’ meaning and context were further critiqued and validated by focus group participants in the DRC, as well as by the project’s expert advisors. Based on these terms and the associated data, PeaceTech Lab then employed human and automated monitoring to identify examples of such terms in online posts.² All terms and phrases were collected and discussed in French (and other languages), and then translated into English for this report.

1. Mukula; Mangeur de chiens

Other spellings and related references: *Mangeurs de chiens*

Related hashtag(s) used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #mangeurdechien, #mangeursdechien

Sample post(s):



Voici l'homme d'etat un vrai patriote Matata Ponyo pas comme les talibans Badibanga et Tshibala les mangeurs des Chiens, voter pour un Taliban mieux vaut voter un chien, voici les Logements pour les professeurs de l'université MAPON à Kindu/Maniema

English Translation: *Here is the statesman, a true patriot, Matata Ponyo, not like the members of the Taliban, Badibanga and Tshibala, who are dog eaters. It is better to vote for a dog than to vote for the Taliban. Here are the accommodations for the professors of Mapon University in Kindu/Maniema.*

Definition: “Mukula imbua” (Swahili) and “Mangeur(s) de chiens” (French) are phrases meaning “somebody who eats dogs.” In contexts in which this phrase is used as an insult, it has different negative traits associated with it. As a workshop participant explained: “*This term designates people that eat dog meat as unclean,*”³ but it also refers to a “person that has no class,” and to a person who is an “unrespectable person”, who is “not civilized,” and who is perceived to be “lazy and [who] does not work.”

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: This phrase is a common insult, but it becomes inflammatory when used between communities against the backdrop of entrenched local and regional conflicts or tensions. For example, it is used to denigrate the Luba and the people from the Kasai region, where survey respondents said “Luba eat dog” and “Kasaien [are] eaters of dogs.” They explained that “this term is used in all provinces against the Kasaiens.”⁴

Alternative word(s) that could be used: Congolese, Luba, Kasaien

2. Genocidaire

Other spellings and related references: *Rwandais*

Related hashtag(s) used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #genocidaire

Sample post(s):



The image shows a screenshot of a social media post. At the top left is a profile picture of a person with dark hair. To the right of the profile picture is the name 'Paul Kagame' and the text 'Paul Kagame, Congo'. Below the name is the date 'May 28, 2019' and a location pin icon. The main text of the post is in French and reads: 'UN ENFANT TUTSI-Rwandais NEUTRALISE ses AMIS CONGOLAIS et tient à LES EXTERMINER TOUS : C'EST UNE CULTURE QUI S'APPREND et se lègue au RWANDA :'. Below this text is a dashed line. Underneath the dashed line is another paragraph in French: 'La culture génocidaire marche bien dans l'esprit des extrémistes tutsi rwandais. C'est l'héritage que Paul Kagame est entrain de laisser dans ce pays. Auteur du Génocide tutsi rwandais en 1994, Paul KAGAME est un tyran qui a réussi à tourner l'affaire pour son compte et transmet aujourd'hui la l'esprit et la culture de "Tuer et Exterminer" pour régner. Celui creuse un fossé, s'y attrapera un jour lui-même.' Below the French text is an English translation: 'English Translation: A Tutsi-Rwandan child overpowers his Congolese friends and wants to exterminate all of them. It is a culture that is learned and is passed on by Rwanda. The genocidal culture works well in the minds of the extremist Tutsi Rwandans. It is the legacy that Paul Kagame is leaving in this country. Perpetrator of the Tutsi Rwandan genocide in 1994, Paul Kagame is a tyrant who succeeded in turning the matter to his favor and conveys today the spirit and the culture of "Killing and Exterminating" for ruling. He digs a grave, into which he will one day fall.'

Definition: “Genocidaire” is a French term that refers to someone who participated in genocide (i.e., a criminal and mass killer). In the Congolese context, it can refer to military or civilians who killed or who orchestrated killings in Rwanda, and who subsequently fled Rwanda to the DRC (then-Zaire) only to continue to launch attacks on Rwanda from outside the country. The term is used to convey that a person is very dangerous, reckless, and merciless by referencing the perpetrators of the Rwandan genocide.

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: To be called a “genocidaire” is essentially to be called a mass murderer. This term is heavy in meaning in the Rwandan/DRC context and particularly inflammatory because of its reference to the Tutsi genocide and the lasting consequences it had for the region, causing mass population movements and violence.

According to some workshop participants, “When a person is referred to as a ‘genocidaire,’ he/she is often ostracized and immediately possibly attracts the attention of judicial instances to arrest him/her.” Being called “genocidaire” is to raise suspicions, and is often used against Rwandophone Congolese.

3. Mukuyakuya / Bakuyakuya; Bauta

Other spellings and related references: *nukundugulu, nzenza, djajambu, ba kuya kuya, mukimbizi, mugeni, envahisseur, migrants, arrivistes, bayaka, batuyalikoloyamayi*

Related hashtag(s) used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #Mukuyakuya, #Bakuyakuya

Sample post(s):

Katanga, il a corrompu des chefs coutumiers pour désavouer un fils du pays. Le fermier de Kingakati est allé jusqu'à monter des pygmées dans le Katanga pour désavouer celui qui les a toujours soutenu pendant les moments de disette: le prophète Joseph Mukungubila. Entre un « mukuyakuya », sans identité fixe, usurpateur, tricheur, fraudeur et imposteur et un patriote de surcroît digne fils de pays, les populations Katangaises ne sont pas dupes. Le prophète Joseph Paul Mukungubila vient de sortir de son silence à travers son appui et encouragement à la lettre des évêques catholiques contre le tripatouillage de la Constitution.

English Translation: *Katanga bribed the customary chiefs to forsake a son of the country. The farmer of Kingakati went up to climb from the pygmies in Katanga to forsake the one who always supported them during moments of famine: the prophet Joseph Mukungubila. Between a “mukuyakya,” without a fixed identity, usurper, cheater, fraud, and imposter, and a patriot, moreover a worthy son of the country, the Katangaises populations are not fooled. The prophet Joseph Paul Mukungubila emerged from his silence through his support and encouragement to the letter of the Catholic Bishops against the tampering of the Constitution.*

Definition: The term “Mukuyakuya” (Bakuyakuya is the plural usage) in Swahili and Bauta in Lingala, mean “foreigner,” “somebody who comes from far away,” or an “intruder.” It is used to designate groups of people who are not indigenous to an area and may imply that the person is taking or receiving something they should not have a right to. Many survey responses explained that these “non-locals” do not want to integrate and that they are unwanted because “*nobody invited them.*”

It should be noted that this term was often cited by members of communities who saw a significant influx of people from other regions of the country or from outside the country (for example, from Rwanda and Burundi, fleeing wars or famine). The term was identified in its different linguistic permutations across all geographic areas of the DRC. It was used along tribal or ethnic lines as well as between urban and rural inhabitants.

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: A workshop participant explained that “*this term is the seed of exclusion.*”⁵⁵ Calling somebody “mukuyakuya” is inflammatory because it is used to identify a person, discriminate against that person, and exclude that person from a given group or community. Survey respondents initially noted that it implies that a foreigner is somebody who is not “fils de terroir” (“son of the soil”) and that he or she should therefore not have access to certain jobs or social services.

The term’s use may have an increased inflammatory effect when juxtaposed with existing conflict dynamics in the DRC and where individuals from certain communities are considered “invaders” or “intruders.” However, while this was one of the more prevalent terms/concepts in

the responses to the survey (in all major languages of the DRC), thus indicating a generalised xenophobic sentiment (people that are not “local” or that are from different tribes or ethnic background are considered as unwanted), subsequent discussions did not yield further details as to which specific groups were targeted by these terms.

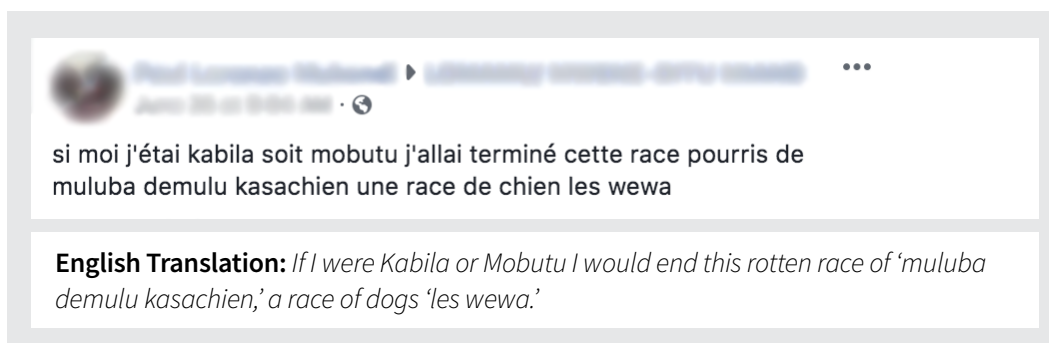
Alternative words that could be used: Mugeni, cousin, compatriote, brother, visitor

4. Imbua; Chien

Other spellings and related references: *Mbua, mbwa, ba imbwa, ibwa, umbwa, muluba mbua, muluba aza mbua, bobolya*

Related hashtag(s) used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #imbua, # umbwa, #chien

Sample post(s):



Definition: “Imbua” and “chien” mean “dog” in Swahili and French, respectively. This term is “used to call a person that does not think well, that behaves badly towards others,”⁶ according to a discussion participant. It is also used in the course of many local and regional conflicts to dehumanize members of certain groups and communities. Examples include uses to target someone from the Kasai region or saying that the Luba people are “Muluba chien” (Muluba aza mbua, Muluba mbwa).

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: This term is offensive because calling a person a dog is dehumanizing and implies that he or she should be treated like an animal. It is especially inflammatory when it is used in the tribal context to designate a whole other tribe as “dogs” or “eaters of dogs.”⁷ A workshop participant explained: “It is used to reduce a person and compare one’s enemy to a dog.”⁸ “When it is used in Katanga, it is to call out the citizens of Kasai”⁹ (to target them). In fact, another participant added, “everybody not from Kasai [uses this term] against those from Kasai,”¹⁰ often saying that “le kasaien est [un] chien” (“the Kasaien is a dog”).

5. Inyenzi

Other spellings and related references: *Inkotanyi*

Related hashtag(s) used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #inyenzi, #inkotanyi

Sample post(s):¹¹



Gen Marcel Gatsinzi, n'ubwo nyuma yiyeguriye umwanyi, ntako atagize ngo akize inzirakarengane zari zirimo kicwa n'interahamwe kuri za bariyeri.

Gen Marcel Gatsinzi yatakambiye Inyenzi Rpf, azisaba guhagarika imirwano, kugira ngo Gen Gatsinzi afate bamwe mu basirikare ba FAR bajye guhashya izo nterahamwe.

Ariko inyenzi ziramubwira ziti: abatutsi barimo kwicwa bamaze imyaka 30 mu Rwanda, n'ukuvuga ko bahisemo kubana na Kayibanda na Habyarimana. Ibyo ni akazi kabo.

Ikindi nakongera, ahubwo n'uko Inyenzi ntaho zigeze zerekana ko zifitiye impuhwe inzirakarengane zicwaga, iriya mvugo yo hejuru irabyemeza. Urugero natanga, ni nko kuri nyabugogo hari bariyeri aho inzirakarengane nyinshi zicwaga n'interahamwe, hejuru gato hari Mont Jali yari iriho company 101th ya RPF, ariko ntabushake bigeze bagira ngo bajye gutabara izo nzirakarengane.

Impamvu byagendaga gutya yatanze na Ruzibiza wagize ati: interahamwe zari ziyobowe na network commando ya RPF. Mu gihe cyashize natanze amazina ya bamwe muri abo bari bagize network commando.

English Translation: *The Gen Marcel Gatsinzi, even though he was allied with the enemy, tried his best to save the victims massacred by the Interhamwe [...] he negotiated with the RPF cockroaches asking them to stop fighting [...] but the RPF cockroaches replied that the Tutsi that were killed had been in Rwanda for 30 years so they chose to stay with Kayibanda and Habyarimana. That is their business. But the RFP cockroaches have never shown compassion towards their victims [...]*

Definition: “Inyenzi” means cockroach in Kinyarwanda. In the early 1990s the Rwandan government used this term to describe the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). It specifically references the RPF’s guerrilla attacks during which the group infiltrated the country from Uganda and the DRC (then-Zaire) into Rwanda like “*cockroaches moving at night*.” At the time, the Rwandan government aimed to mobilize the population against the invaders. Survey respondents explained that Inyenzi is used in the DRC as an insult against people from the Kasai region¹² or “*to dehumanize the Tutsi [from Congo and elsewhere], to show that all are a nuisance*.”¹³

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: A cockroach is usually considered to be a dirty insect that must be exterminated. The use of this term is dehumanizing and is meant to imply the target can be justifiably killed given the threat of pestilence. “Mpezu ina igiya mu salon” or “Mende zinaingia mu salon” means “the cockroaches have entered the living room” in Swahili.

“This term was borrowed from the Rwandan genocide,” a workshop participant explained, which remains a very potent reference. The term is therefore particularly inflammatory when used against individuals from the Tutsi community who are considered “as an undesirable group to be avoided and therefore they are not good to be welcomed.”

In the survey results the term was also often cited in the context of other local and/or regional conflicts and was used according to ethnic or tribal affiliation. Here it is inflammatory because these types of offensive terms reinforce existing animosities and prejudices between groups.¹⁴

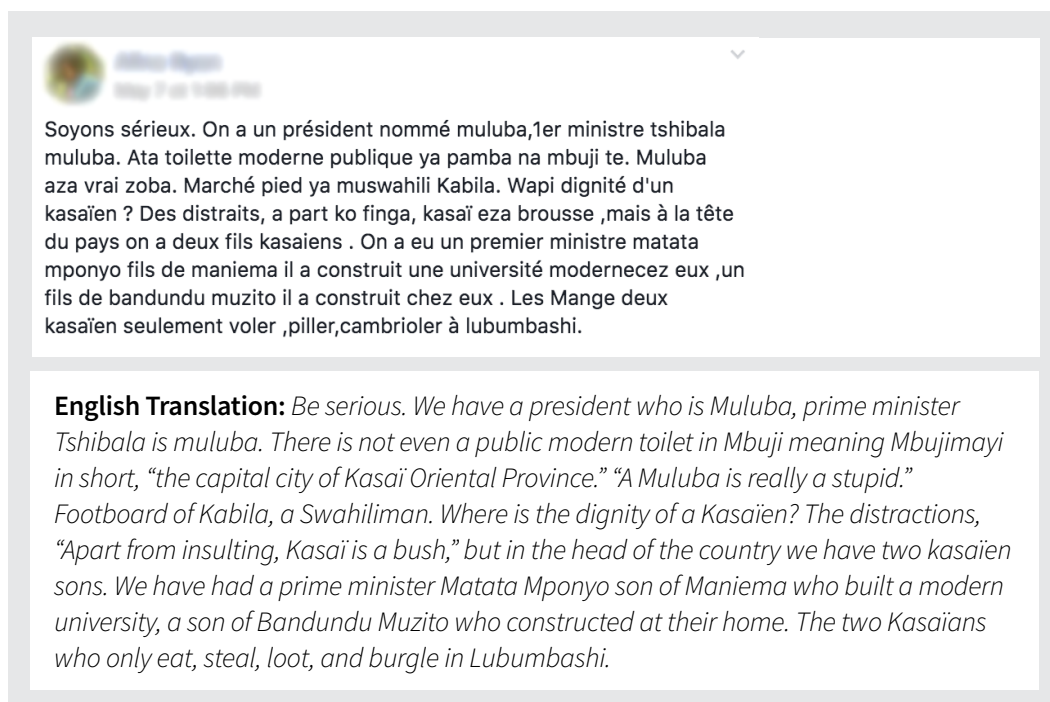
Alternative words that could be used: Tutsi, Congolese

6. Kasai

Other spellings and related references: *Kasaien*

Related hashtags used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #kasai, #muluba

Sample posts:



Soyons sérieux. On a un président nommé muluba, 1er ministre tshibala muluba. Ata toilette moderne publique ya pamba na mbuti te. Muluba aza vrai zoba. Marché pied ya muswahili Kabila. Wapi dignité d'un kasaien ? Des distraits, a part ko finga, kasai eza brousse ,mais à la tête du pays on a deux fils kasaiens . On a eu un premier ministre matata mponyo fils de maniema il a construit une université modernechez eux ,un fils de bandundu muzito il a construit chez eux . Les Mange deux kasaien seulement voler ,piller,cambrioler à lubumbashi.

English Translation: *Be serious. We have a president who is Muluba, prime minister Tshibala is muluba. There is not even a public modern toilet in Mbuti meaning Mbujimayi in short, “the capital city of Kasai Oriental Province.” “A Muluba is really a stupid.” Footboard of Kabila, a Swahiliman. Where is the dignity of a Kasaien? The distractions, “Apart from insulting, Kasai is a bush,” but in the head of the country we have two kasaien sons. We have had a prime minister Matata Mponyo son of Maniema who built a modern university, a son of Bandundu Muzito who constructed at their home. The two Kasaiens who only eat, steal, loot, and burgle in Lubumbashi.*

Definition: The Kasai province, along with the Central Kasai and Oriental Kasai provinces, are three of the DRC’s 26 provinces. “Kasai” is used as a derogatory name for a person native of what’s commonly referred to as the Kasai region. The correct term in French would be “Kasaien.” This name is also often used as an offensive way of referring to someone from the Luba community since they are the majority ethnic group in these provinces.

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: According to survey respondents, the truncated “Kasai” version is considered derogatory by the people originating from the Kasai provinces.¹⁵ As a workshop participant explained: “Here we call a person Kasai in an ironic way; it’s a way to say that he is like a villager, somebody who is worthless. It is a term used to minimise those who come from the Kasai region.”¹⁶

The derogatory use of this term reflects a negative sentiment — “Better a vacuum than a Kasai”¹⁷ — that in part stems from recent events in the region in which an economic crisis in 2006 and 2007 forced large populations to leave the area and relocate in other parts of the country. The Kasai crisis of 2016 and 2017 saw a traditional Kasaien leader oppose the central government and form an armed militia,¹⁸ leading to violence and fighting in the region.


Alternative word(s) that could be used: Kasaien

7. Kichuchu / Bichuchu

Other spellings and related references: n/a

Related hashtag(s) used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #bichuchu, #kichuchu

Sample post(s):



English Translation: *I read a lot and I understand why certain people understand nothing of the region, of world politics, and of the powerful of DRC. When the children amuse themselves with their “méga,” the risk is to play against their parents without them knowing. #congolese #niko #kichuchu #sana*

Definition: Kichuchu (the plural is “bichuchu”) means “stupid” or “idiot” in Kinyarwanda. In the DRC, this term is used by Rwandans (especially in the areas along the border with the DRC, in the East of the country) to insult the Congolese community with phrases such as: “*Congolais niko kuchuchu sana*” which means “Congolese, I am really stupid.”¹⁹ This specific usage of the term stems from the context of the First Congo War²⁰ that led to the ouster of the dictator Mobutu under the AFDL²¹ and the involvement of Rwandan troops.


Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: This common insult becomes inflammatory when used by Rwandans against the Congolese because it provokes and exacerbates sentiments linked to the complex and often conflict-prone history between the two bordering countries — in this case it refers to events that led to the end of the Mobutu regime in 1996. It is perceived by the Congolese as a particularly degrading insult because speakers imply with it that they are “idiots who could not free themselves from dictatorship of Mobutu, unable to think, People who are waiting [for] someone else to take care of them.”

8. Kilulu / Bilulu

Other spellings and related references: *Vermine, parasite, chenille*

Related hashtags used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #kilulu, #bilulu

Sample posts:



The screenshot shows three social media posts. The first post says: "certain congolais reve en politique il ne faut pas rever.vous croyer si kabila part siuvant vos plan.vous allez diriger le katanga vous tromper vos conscience,part contre se la guerre civil et l independance du katanga.**** yenu bilulu". The second post says: "ILUNGA,TIKA BUNDUKI NA BONDOKI.". The third post says: "Tous les Evêquesde la RD Congo réunis n'ont pas dit ce que tu penses-là.De même que les Equatoriens ne s'étaient pas retiré de la RD Congo,de même que les sécessions sud-Kasaïenne et Katangaise avaient été matées ,de même que vous aviez maté les BDK au Bas-Congo,...de même que tous les RD Congolais vont écraser votre projet de retirer le Katanga de la RD Congo si votre petit kadogo inculte est chassé du pouvoir. Espèce de BUMBAFU et de KILULU YA BULE."

English Translation: (1) *Certain Congolese dream in politics. Don't dream. You think that if Kabila leaves according to your plan you will control the Katanga [region], you deceive yourself, but it will mean civil war and independence for Katanga [...] yenu insect*
(2) *Ilunga...Bondoki.*
(3) *All of the Bishops the DRC assemblies didn't say what you think. Just as the Equatorians had not withdrawn from the DRC, just as the south-Kasaïenne and Katanga secessions had been subdued, just as you subdued the BDK in lower-Congo... just as all the Congolese want to crush your plans to withdraw Katanga from the DRC if your small kadogo uneducated is chased from power. Species of BUMBAFU and of KILULU YA BULE.*

Definition: Kilulu (“Bilulu” is the plural) means “insect” or “vermin” in Swahili. An insect is something small, a nuisance to humans, and potentially a carrier of disease and therefore something that needs to be exterminated. In the DRC context, this term has been used as an insult as part of the longstanding hostility towards the Luba in the Katanga and Kasai regions. As a validation workshop participant explained, “It is a term used to minimize the Luba. It is a tribal and discriminatory term used especially by people in Katanga against people from Kasai.”²²

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: This term is offensive because it is meant to dehumanize a person and minimize their dignity; as a workshop participant stated, it is “to say a person has no value.”²³ Moreover, vermin are unclean and disease carriers and therefore a threat to individuals and a community. An insect is a pest and, according to another participant, “a tiny being that needs to be eliminated.”²⁴ The use of this term is highly offensive. Additionally, it

becomes inflammatory when used in regional contexts where it references a history of conflict and animosity between populations (such as in the former Katanga and Kasai regions and the Luba community: “*Kasai ni kilulu.*” (“The Kasaien is an insect.”))^{25,26}

9. Luba (Muluba/ Baluba)

Other spellings and related references: *Muluba-vantard, muluba-têtu, mulu-vantard, Tshiluba*

Related hashtag(s) used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #muluba, #mulubavantard, #muluvantard

Sample post(s):

Ce que j’entends souvent dans les rues

On ne cesse de dire que les Luba sont orgueilleux de nature. Lorsque l’on voit les motards à Kinshasa, j’entends toujours les gens dire : « *Wana Muluba !* » Pire, on les appelle « *Wewa* », ce qui en tshiluba signifie : « *Toi.* » Pourtant, ils ne sont pas tous des Luba. Je me souviens même avoir entendu quelqu’un raconter à ses amis qu’il a vu un accident de circulation « *où cinq personnes et un Luba ont perdu la vie* ». Comme quoi, dans sa petite tête tribaliste, les Luba ne sont pas des personnes humaines.

De tels propos sont inacceptables. Congolais, apprenons à nous aimer.

English Translation: *What I often hear on the streets. We keep saying that the Luba are conceited in nature. When we see the bikers in Kinshasa, I always hear people say: “Wana Muluba!” Worst, we call them “Wewa,” which in tshiluba signifies: “You.” However, they aren’t all Luba. I even remember having heard someone tell his friends that he had seen a traffic accident “where five people and a Luba had lost their lives.” Like, in his small tribalist head, the Luba weren’t human beings. Such remarks are unacceptable. Congolese, let’s learn to love ourselves.*

Definition: The Luba people (muLuba (singular), baLuba (plural)) are the largest ethnic group in the DRC, indigenous to the south-central region of the country. They are mostly present in the Kasai and former Katanga provinces. The appellation is often used synonymously with “Kasaien.”

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: As one workshop participant explained, “*this term is used with the goal to despise the [Luba]; it creates division between the Congolese.*”²⁷

The important history of the Luba people in the region²⁸ and their involvement in more recent events linked to post-independence secessionist efforts in the Kasai and Katanga provinces have given rise to negative sentiments and associations with the name. According to survey respondents and workshop participants, members of other tribes and communities view them as “boastful” (“muluba-vantard, mulu-vantard”), “arrogant,” “difficult/stubborn” (“muluba-têtu”), overly focused on their tribal identity. They are also accused of eating dog meat (“bakula imbwa”).

The continued negative reference to tribal identity stokes persistent rivalries and mistrust between communities and feeds into the negative reputation and opinions that are held by

each side. Many workshop participants conveyed the animosity that exists in particular towards the Luba, reporting expressions such as “Muluba zwa ye Boma yé” (“Muluba, take him and kill him”) or “Muluba ki muntu to/ Balubas ki bantu to” (“A Muluba is not human”).

10. Mayi-Mayi

Other spellings and related references: *Mai-mai, maimai, maiimii, mulele, kata katanga, guerrier, rebelle, féticheur, raiya mutomboki, chinja-chinja, cruel, cannibale*

Related hashtag(s) used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #maimai, #mayimayi, #RDC, #maiimii

Sample post(s):



English Translation: #DRC, Mai-Mai Mazembe, obedient to Nande, perpetrators of the massacre of 39 Hutus. No provisions were taken to avoid these killings.



English Translation: If only #FDLR #ADF & the myriad of #MayiMayi who kill and rape in our country were pursued with the same fury!

Definition: Literally translated from Swahili, “mayi-mayi” means “water-water.” When somebody is called, or calls himself “mayi-mayi,” it implies that he (or she) is impervious to bullets.

The “mayi-mayi” slogan has its origins in the 1960s (after the DRC achieved independence from Belgium) and is associated with the so-called “Mulelist rebellion.” Youth recruited into the armed rebel group organized by Pierre Mulele²⁹ against the country’s new leadership were convinced by traditional medicine men that they could make them invincible to bullets — that the bullets would “turn to water instead of harming them.”

The original slogan “Mulele Maji” (“if you are for Mulele, you are invincible to bullets”) evolved into the more general “Mayi-Mayi,” and was subsequently used by armed militia groups in the 1990s acting as local self-defense groups in eastern Congo in the conflicts following the Rwandan genocide. Some of these groups were also later involved in the 1997 rebellion against President Mobutu during which Laurent Kabila³⁰ seized power.

Today there are many loosely-associated Mayi-Mayi militia groups (about 20), mostly in eastern parts of the country. They’ve grown in size and power over time (some of the groups control

mining and weapons trade operations), but they have also grown more disorganized. They've also largely lost their defensive function and patriotic aura, as some groups have turned to banditry and some have been accused by human rights organizations of committing killings and rapes in their communities.³¹

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: The term Mayi-Mayi carries an offensive connotation in the context of many local and regional conflict dynamics. Many civilians associate the name with violence, cruelty, and even cannibalism. According to one workshop participant, “on social media, when there are images of violent acts, they are often attributed to the Mayi-Mayi”³² because they are [sic] “a group of people who kill, steal, rape people and their goods.”³³ Survey respondents explained that using this term is inflammatory because it is “a way of saying that [they] are dangerous and are a menace, and that’s why they need to be attacked or hit hard.”³⁴

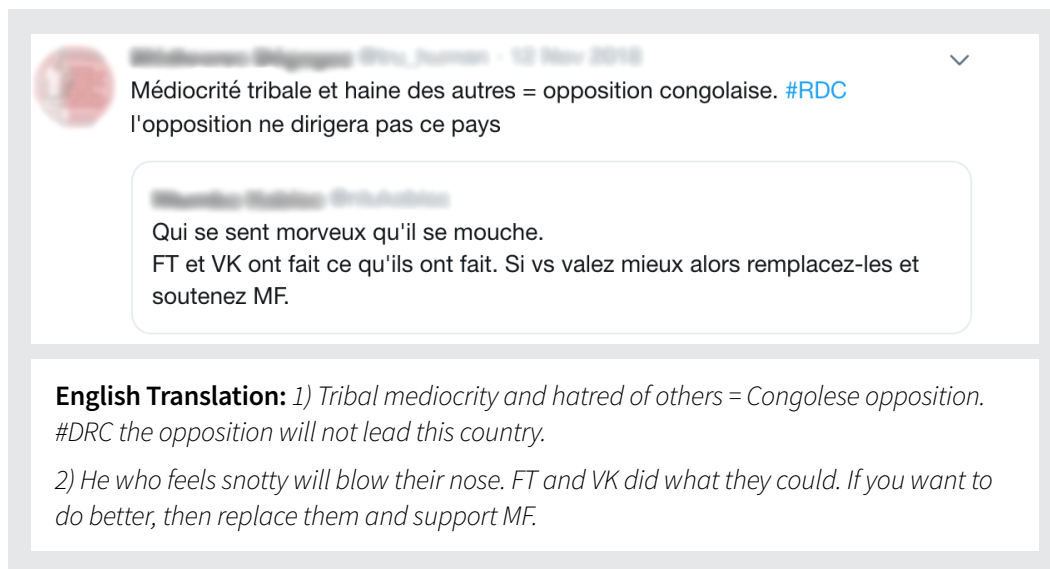
Because of these strong negative associations, this term is used to stigmatize youth and is often cited in relation to the Hunde, Nande, Bembe, Shi, Rega, Fuliro, or Bavira in South Kivu. As several workshop participants explained, “In the Nord-Kivu, the territory of the Masisi for example, the [ethnic] Hunde community is associated with the Mayi-Mayi”³⁵ while “in Ituri, the word Mai-Mai is associated with the Nande community, but also with some djegeneux criminals, [the] term [is] used to call those who dig in the mines.”³⁶ The term is also instrumentalized by politicians to provoke fear and stir up intra-ethnic/intra-tribal mistrust and tension: “The supporters of those in power use this term against rebels or opponents of the regime.”³⁷

11. Médiocre

Other spellings and related references:

Related hashtag(s) used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #mediocre

Sample post(s):



The image shows a screenshot of a Facebook post. At the top, there is a profile picture of a person with a red background and a white circle, and a name that is partially obscured. The text of the post reads: "Médiocrité tribale et haine des autres = opposition congolaise. #RDC l'opposition ne dirigera pas ce pays". Below this, there is a quote box with the text: "Qui se sent morveux qu'il se mouche. FT et VK ont fait ce qu'ils ont fait. Si vs valez mieux alors remplacez-les et soutenez MF." At the bottom of the screenshot, there is an English translation: "English Translation: 1) Tribal mediocrity and hatred of others = Congolese opposition. #DRC the opposition will not lead this country. 2) He who feels snotty will blow their nose. FT and VK did what they could. If you want to do better, then replace them and support MF."

Definition: “Mediocre” is a French term, which in the current context in the DRC, has the meaning of “loser.” Employed for the first time during a speech by Catholic Cardinal Monsengwo in 2017,³⁸ during which he called for “the truth to win over the systematic lies, and that the losers should clear out (...).”³⁹ The term caught on and became popular especially during subsequent election cycles and is used to refer to the members of the last government and the outgoing political class, implying that the Kabila regime has not achieved anything significant for the country.

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: This term’s specific, offensive use and inflammatory significance has only recently appeared in the public forum and as such sparked controversy and heated debates in the focus group discussions. The term was used by political opponents and activists who wanted to challenge the track record of the former president and his allies and supporters. For example, during electoral campaigns, slogans were used such as “Il est temps que les médiocres dégagent” (“it is time for these losers to clear out”), “médiocres degagez,” (“Losers get out”) and “ne votez pas pour les médiocres!” (“Don’t vote for these losers!”).

The term provokes strong reactions in supporters of the political elite tied to former president Joseph Kabila and has led to violent altercations between parties at political rallies and gatherings. It is particularly potent due to crackdowns by the regime against those who use the term. As one validation workshop participant explained, it is inflammatory because “*there are people who were killed for using this word.*”⁴⁰

12. Mission

Other spellings and related references: n/a

Definition: A French term meaning a “task that needs to be accomplished.” According to some survey respondents, local populations in the eastern border regions of the DRC first used this term to refer to stray dogs that needed to be killed - yelling “mission-mission” when they saw one.

In more recent history, the term was used to mark a person that was to be killed. In the context of the spillover of conflict from the Rwandan genocide and its aftermath, validation workshop participants explained that this term was used to designate somebody from the Tutsi community. It was “*a password used during the war to tell the masses that there is a prey in the area.*”⁴¹

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: Since the original use of the term implied that dogs could be eliminated as pests, using it to target a human being indicates a similar approach to extermination. It is used with direct reference to the Rwandan genocide and is a call to action — to kill — aimed at members of the Tutsi community “*since it incites the member of the community to violently attack those from the Tutsi community.*”⁴²

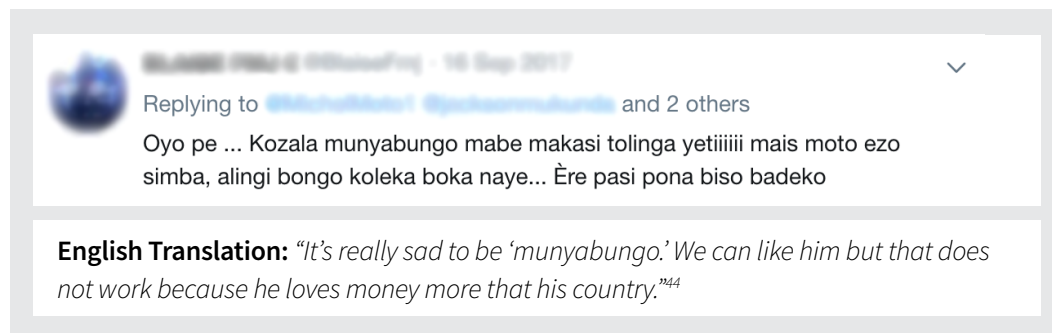
While predominantly used against individuals from the Tutsi community in the DRC, it can also be used to incite violence against others that are not Tutsi. As a workshop participant explained, “*A thief was burned alive in Bunia once he was designated a ‘mission’ by the [local] population.*”⁴³

13. Munyabungo/Banyabungo

Other spellings and related references: *Bunyabungo, Manyabungo, Bashi, Mushi*

Related hashtags used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #bunyabungo, #munyabungo, #bany-abunfo, #banyabungo

Sample posts:



Definition: “Munyabungo” (or the plural “banyabungo”) is a name originally linked to the former Bahi kingdom that historically was centered in the Kivu region.⁴⁵ The kingdom has long passed, but the Bashi are still present in the region where many are domestic workers and laborers. Today, the term “munyabungo” is used with a negative subtext that includes a host of prejudices generally held against the Bashi people such as *“somebody who is uncivilised”* or somebody *“who belongs to a group of liars and thieves,”* according to a workshop participant. This term is especially used in places where the Bashi community is present but is not indigenous.

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: This term is inflammatory because it denigrates an entire group of people (the Bashi) by spreading and perpetuating prejudices against them. This contributes to ongoing divisions in Congolese society, providing fertile ground for local and regional conflict.

Alternative words that could be used: Mushi

14. Munyarwanda / Banyarwanda, Rwandais

Other spellings and related references: *Munyamulenge, Rwandophones, Tutsi, Hutu, Mulungulungu*

Related hashtag(s) used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #munyarwanda, #banyarwanda, #mulungulungu

Sample post(s):

Quiconque aura à ouvrir sa bouche pour dire aux Banyarwanda qu'ils sont étrangers au Congo, que leur nationalité est douteuse, eh bien celui la aura signé son arrêt de mort ! Les Banyarwanda se déploient sur une étendue mesurable depuis des siècles avant que Léopold II et son monstre de Congo ne viennent a exister. Ils continueront à s'y déployer librement pendant des siècles et des siècles.

Ces imbéciles qui racontent de nauséuses histoires d'hospitalité offerte aux Rwandais au Congo, de piètre bonté supposée du « peuple congolais » qui n'existe pas encore, ils n'ont désormais qu'à se taire. S'ils ne se taisent pas à temps, tant pis, quelqu'un s'occupera de les faire taire. Point final.

English Translation: *Whoever will open his mouth to say to Banyarwanda that they are foreigners in Congo, that their nationality is doubted, he will have signed his death warrant! The Banyarwanda spread over a measurable distance for centuries before Léopold II and his monster, the Congo, ever existed. They will continue to spread freely for centuries and centuries. These imbeciles who tell nauseating stories of hospitality offered to Rwandans by the Congolese, of the poor supposed goodness of the "Congolese people" that does not exist, they must now be quiet. If they are not quiet in time, someone will silence them. Final point.*

Selon lui, ces Banyarwanda s'adonnent déjà aux travaux champêtres. Ils parlent le kiswahili avec un accent rwandais très prononcé : « aussitôt arrivés, ils se sont construit des cases de fortune. Entre eux, ils parlent kinyarwanda. Ils vivent à vase clos. Et pour le moment, ils n'abordent pas encore nos filles ». Et de reconnaître que ces Rwandophones étaient une « catégorie de la population qu'il faut gérer avec prudence et précaution ». Le député provincial Kisembo a réitéré son souhait de les voir rentrer chez eux pour s'enrôler et revenir après s'ils le souhaitent.

English Translation: *According to him, these Banyarwanda are already engaged in their field work. They speak Kiswahili with a pronounced Rwandan accent: "As soon as they arrived, they built makeshift huts. Between them, they speak Kinyarwanda. They live in isolation. And for the moment, they don't yet speak to our daughters." And recognize that these Rwandophones were a "category of the population that must be managed with prudence and precaution." The provincial deputy Kisembo reiterated his wish to see them go back to their home to enlist and come back after if they wished.*



Les Ombres 🙄 disagrees with les mensonges des nos politiciens with **Les Ombres** and 8 others.
May 27, 2018 · 🌐

Bukavu, à l'ecodim, un pasteur faisant chanter les enfants:

- Pasteur: yesu wapi !?
 - Enfants : juu juu sana
 - pasteur : setani wapi!?
 - enfants: chini chini chini Sana
 - pasteur: Nani Njoo aduyi wetu!?
 - enfants : Munyarwanda...
- Euh...

English Translation: *Bukavu, in Ecodim, a pastor makes children sing:*

Pastor: Yesu wapi!?

Children: Juu juu sana

Pastor: Setani wapi!?

Children: Chini chini chini sana

Pastor: Nani njoo aduyi wetu!?

Children: Munyarwanda...

Ugh...

Definition: Rwandais (French) and Munyarwanda / Banyarwanda (singular and plural in Swahili)⁴⁶ are terms that mean “to come from” or “to live in” Rwanda. These terms are used to refer to Congolese communities — mostly Hutu and Tutsi who speak Kinyarwanda (an official language of Rwanda) in the eastern part of the DRC. These terms are applied to people who may have come to the region decades and centuries before, or who are recent arrivals from Rwanda. In Kinshasa and the western region of the country, it is also used to refer to all native Congolese from the eastern region of the country.

According to some workshop participants, it has a current negative association to describe “*somebody without a heart capable of violence at any moment.*”⁴⁷

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: In the DRC context, especially in the eastern region of the country, this term has a strong negative connotation (not just against those of Rwandan origin). It implies that a person speaking Kinyarwanda or who is a member of the Hutu or Tutsi communities is always a foreigner and immigrant, an upstart, or an invader and aggressor. This especially refers to the populations that came to the DRC fleeing conflicts and genocide. The way this term is used stems from, and reinforces, the persistent negative sentiments some Congolese harbor towards the Rwandans in context of their shared recent history of conflict and civil war.

The term also ties into a national debate on what it means to be Congolese — “la congolité” (literally Congolese-ness⁴⁸) — and whether some tribes and ethnic groups are more “Congolese” than others and therefore whether they should have certain privileges (economic, political, etc.) over others. According to workshop participants, this was particularly prominent during the election season, where citizens were encouraged to disregard candidates of certain Rwandophone communities with slogans such as “The Hutu are all Rwandans and must return home to Rwanda”⁴⁹ and “Toka kule we munyarwanda” (“go away, you Rwandan”).

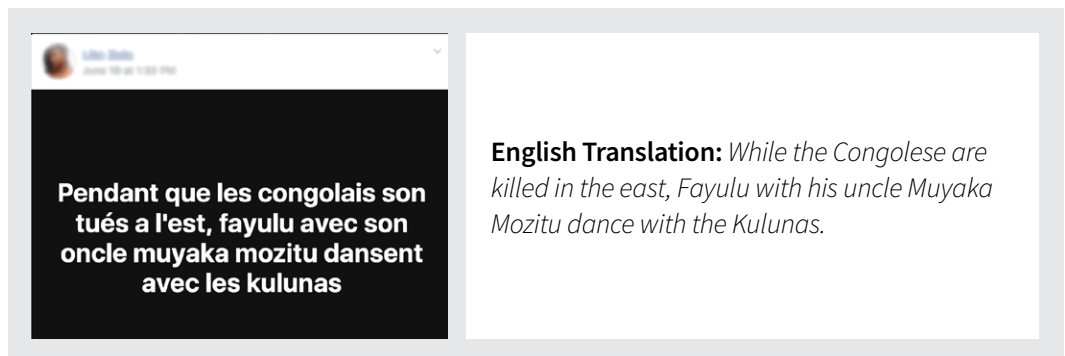
Alternative words that could be used: Muhutu, Mutusi

15. Noko, Ngwasi

Other spellings and related references: *Nkasi, Band-band, oncle (French), Muyomba (Swahili)*

Related hashtag(s) used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #noko, #Ngwasi, #muyomba

Sample post(s):



Definition: “Noko” or “Nwagsi” means (maternal)⁵⁰ “uncle” in Lingala and Kikongo respectively. When used with a derogatory intention, the term is used to refer to a foreigner (a “non-local”) without his or her knowledge. In the eastern region of the DRC, it is used to discreetly but negatively label a person from the Tutsi community: “*It is a password to let others know that a Tutsi, who is considered harmful and needs to be isolated, is present.*”⁵¹

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: Workshop participants explained that the term “uncle” is used to single out and discriminate against members of the Tutsi community in public spaces such as the street, at the market, on the bus, and also in schools or when a landlord is speaking about a Tutsi searching for an apartment to rent.

It is inflammatory because its use denigrates the Tutsi person and contributes to the ongoing discrimination, prejudice, and mistrust between communities, especially in eastern parts of the country, where any political and economic ascension by a Tutsi or a Kinyarwanda speaker⁵² is viewed negatively, implying that it was achieved only through nepotism and corruption.

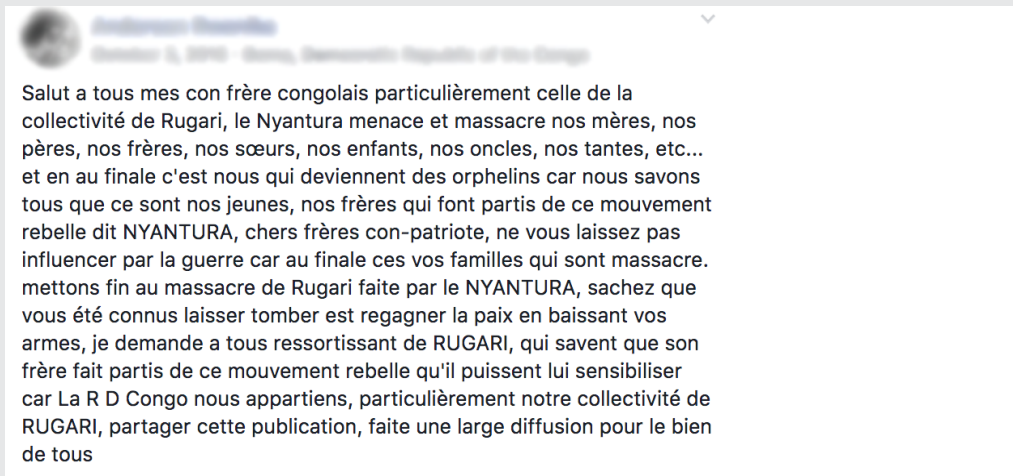
Alternative word(s) that could be used: Mukimbizi, Wageni (guests), Jirani (neighbors)

16. Nyatura

Other spellings and related references: *Mai-mai Nyatura, Mayi Mayi Nyatura*

Related hashtag(s) used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #nyatura, #maimai

Sample post(s):



Salut a tous mes con frère congolais particulièrement celle de la collectivité de Rugari, le Nyantura menace et massacre nos mères, nos pères, nos frères, nos sœurs, nos enfants, nos oncles, nos tantes, etc... et en au finale c'est nous qui deviennent des orphelins car nous savons tous que ce sont nos jeunes, nos frères qui font partis de ce mouvement rebelle dit NYANTURA, chers frères con-patriote, ne vous laissez pas influencer par la guerre car au finale ces vos familles qui sont massacre. mettons fin au massacre de Rugari faite par le NYANTURA, sachez que vous été connus laisser tomber est regagner la paix en baissant vos armes, je demande a tous ressortissant de RUGARI, qui savent que son frère fait partis de ce mouvement rebelle qu'il puissent lui sensibiliser car La R D Congo nous appartient, particulièrement notre collectivité de RUGARI, partager cette publication, faite une large diffusion pour le bien de tous

English Translation: *Hello to all my Congolese brothers, particularly those of the Rugari community. The Nyatura threaten and massacre our mothers, our fathers, our sisters, our children, our uncles, our aunts, etc... and in the end it is we who become orphans because we know that it is our young people, our brothers, who are part of the rebel movement called Nyatura. Dear patriot brothers, don't be swayed by the war because in the end it is your families who are massacred. Let us end the Nyatura's massacre of the Rugari. Know that you have been known to drop and to regain the peace by lowering your weapons. I ask of all you Rugari nationals, who know that their brother is part of the rebel movement, that you educate him, because the DRC belongs to us, particularly our Rugari community. Share this publication, spread this widely for the good of all.*

Definition: Nyatura literally means “to hit with force”⁵³ in Kinyarwanda (one of Rwanda’s official languages which is also spoken in some provinces in the DRC along the border with Rwanda). The Nyatura, also known as the “Mayi Mayi Nyatura,” is an armed group constituted mostly of Congolese Hutu and that was founded in 2010 following land disputes between Tutsi and Hutu populations in the eastern part of the DRC. This armed group is mostly present in the province of Nord Kivu and has been accused of multiple grave human rights violations by international watchgroups.⁵⁴

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: When used to target Congolese Hutu present in parts of Nord and South Kivu provinces, the speaker seeks to associate them with members of the armed group. According to a discussion group member, this is done “to show that the Hutu are barbaric and predisposed to commit crimes like those in the Nyatura militia.”⁵⁵

The term has a strong negative connotation since the militia is associated with violence and destruction, and using it against all non-combatant Hutu further stokes the distrust and fear existing between indigenous and non-indigenous communities in the region — especially towards those who fled to the DRC from the conflict and genocide in Rwanda.

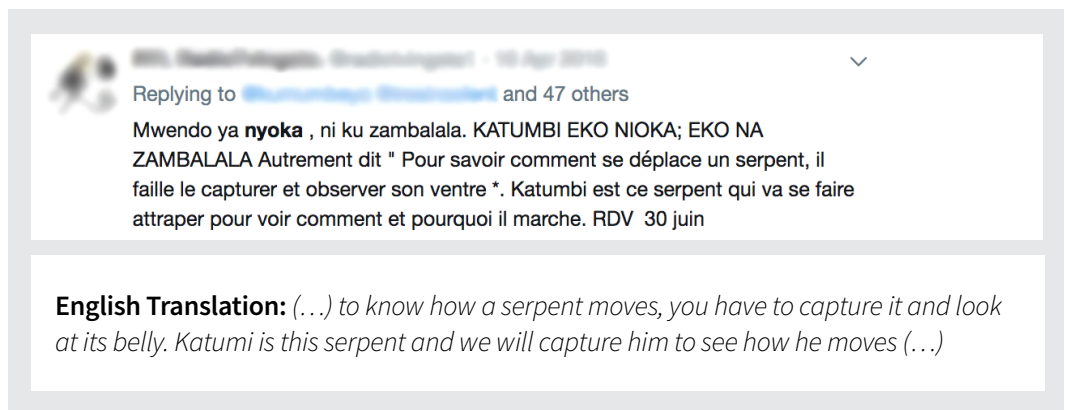
Alternative words that could be used: Muhutu, brother, sister, guest, neighbor

17. Nyoka

Other spellings and related references: Nyoka ya tumbu, Nyoka ya Sumu

Related hashtag(s) used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #nyoka

Sample post(s):



Definition: Nyoka means “snake” in Swahili. It is used to signify that a person is dangerous to the community. A workshop participant explained that a Nyoka (snake) “*is a dangerous animal, but in our country, when a person is called ‘Nyoka,’ it’s a bad person.*”⁵⁶ Another participant clarified that the term is used to “*qualify a person as dangerous, undesirable, ungrateful; somebody who is divisive.*”⁵⁷

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: This term is used in a number of settings to stigmatize individuals or groups in different conflicts and locations. According to some respondents, “*in the East, the people that are called snake are the Rwandans.*”⁵⁸ In Rwanda, “Nyoka” is often used against somebody from the Tutsi community, implying that they are harmful like a snake and a threat to the community that should be killed. Other workshop participants explained that some people call the Hema people “*Nyoka ya tumbu*” (“intestinal worm”) to imply that they act and cause problems discreetly, from within, while others call the Lendu “*Nyoka ya Sumu*” (“poisonous snake”) to imply that they act aggressively and are dangerous.

The chant “*Mutusi anakuwaka na mayele na roho mubaya sawa nyoka,*” (“A Tutsi is as cunning and evil like a snake”) was used in 1995 by movements in South Kivu to mobilize hatred and resentment towards Tutsi people of Rwandan descent. This often led to attacks and killings of Tutsi Rwandans who had been living in Congo for years and who had nothing to do with the 1990s influx from Rwanda.⁵⁹

Like “mission,” the term “Nyoka” has remained in the public imaginary of people in eastern Congo as an alert to maim or kill a Rwandophone suspected to be an invader of the DRC or even someone suspected of being an ally of such an invader. As a call of incitement to attack, it is highly inflammatory.

Secondary Words and Phrases That are Offensive and Inflammatory

Below are additional terms that were less frequently cited by survey respondents and workshop participants, but have been highlighted as offensive and inflammatory during the research and validation process. They are listed in alphabetical order.

Amstel: This term, which is the name of the Dutch beer Amstel, occurs in Bukavu. It is used by local people to describe people from the Banyamulenge community, referring to their physical appearance (“long and lanky like an Amstel bottle”).

Chameleon: A term that gained popularity in 2016 and 2018, “chameleon” refers to members of Congolese opposition parties who, for fear of losing political power or of attack on their personal lives, were ambivalent in their positions about the controversial “glissement electoral” (“extension of the electoral process”) — one of former President Kabila’s many attempts to maintain the presidency beyond his last legal term. Since then, the term “Chameleon” is used to stigmatize and damage the reputation of political leaders who are believed to sell out their principles and constituents.

Envahisseurs: The French term for “Invaders” became famous during the second wave of liberation wars from 1998 to 2002. Then-President Laurent Desire Kabila, who was assassinated in 2001, used the term “envahisseurs” to refer to his former Rwandan and Ugandan allies who were subsequently destabilizing the country’s security. “Arrêtez les envahisseurs” (“Stop the invaders”) was a solemn plea by Laurent Kabila to the Congolese people to stop the invaders from dragging the country into another crisis.

Infiltré(e): A French term meaning “spy” or “snitch.” This term is popular in eastern Congo and refers to Rwandan military and secret service officials (mainly Tutsis) who disguise themselves as civilians to collect information about Congolese society (and who are believed to be using that information to launch an armed invasion.)

Just like the term “mission,” this term is used to single out and target Tutsi who are deemed suspicious and to incite community members to do mob justice (killing) — even without any proof that the concerned individuals might be spying.

Inkotanyi or Ingotanyi: This colloquial term comes from “Inkotana” which means in Kinyarwanda “to fight without delay, to never give up.” It is also the official name of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), the former rebel group now leading party in Rwanda. Inkotanyi is used by Congolese in eastern Congo to evoke a Rwandan-like military presence often associated with grave human rights violations. This term is offensive because people especially perceive all Tutsi males as members of the RPF. This derogatory perception is used to discriminate against Tutsis, violently harass them, and alienate them in public. “Inkotanyi” is associated with “Inyenzi” in the list of “Primary Words and Phrases That Offensive and Inflammatory,” above.

Kafiri: Kafiri is a Swahili word for “uncircumcised.” It is a term used in eastern Congo to refer to Tutsi men who are generally thought to be uncircumcised. Among some people in eastern Congo, an uncircumcised man is not considered “man enough” and is the subject of social mockery. This terminology stigmatizes Tutsi men. Due to the term’s association with Tutsis, it evokes the bad things that come with being associated with a Tutsi (like conflict and war).

Mbokatier: The term means “villager” in Lingala. This colloquial terminology is used by Congolese from Kinshasa to refer to Swahili-speaking Congolese who live in the capital but who they perceive as “villagers.” It is an inflammatory term as it stigmatizes the Baswahili living in Kinshasa. Mbokatier also connotes “infiltré” or “Rwandais,” — the “other” who is out to infiltrate and destabilize the home region.

Muturage or baturage: In Kinyarwanda, muturage means “local.” While in the Rwandan context, the terminology is used affectionately to mean “someone from home” or “fellow countrymen or women,” in eastern Congo this terminology evokes resentment and hatred towards people of Rwandan descent due to the history of conflict between the two nations. This term is offensive because it is used by some Congolese to degrade, mock, and harass Rwandans. In some cases, the terminology can be used to incite violence.

Puwa mrefu: This phrase means “long nose” in Swahili, and is a term used to refer to people of the Tutsi community as it is based on the belief that Tutsis have long, pointy noses. In Eastern Congo, the term is used to incite violence against people of the Tutsi community by highlighting the belief of some people that Tutsis are involved in, or are instigators of, all of Congo’s wars.

Talibans: This French term is used to label someone as a terrorist. It is used against political opponents to imply they are violent and anti-democratic. The militants of the political party called the Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDPS) are referred to as “djihadists” and killers: “The Taliban of UDPS.” In the eastern parts of the country, this word has also been used as code-word for Tutsi.

Tiriri: This term is used as a personal attack on people with a darker complexion whose skin resembles the skin complexion of soldiers from the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) that invaded the DRC at different points in its history. “Una uyu tiriri” is a related phrase which means “look at this outsider/invader” in Swahili. It is inflammatory because it is used to target and attack people of Tutsi origin suspected to be “infiltrés” in eastern Congo.

Annex A: Survey Methodology and Considerations

Scope and Design

To investigate online speech and conflict in the DRC, the project team created a web-based survey so that the public could contribute their experiences and insights.^{60,61} In order to get greater geographical coverage and diversity, in-person questionnaires were conducted in the street and by phone using focal points in 15 cities in 4 different regions of the country. In total, more than 746 individuals took the online survey or responded to in-person questions. In March and April of 2019, PeaceTech Lab's project partners, Terre de Paix and ADECOP, conducted six focus group discussion workshops in six different cities.⁶² These were followed by a series of in-depth phone interviews with key informants. Finally, in the beginning of May 2019, the PeaceTech Lab team assembled a small group of Congolese advisors who provided expert review of the draft lexicon.

Online Survey

Differing from the methods for the preceding Nigeria and South Sudan surveys, the project team decided to make the DRC survey openly available online in French and English. The project team did this by disseminating the URL and instructions through existing networks and partner connections. This was done to gather as many responses as possible in the short timeframe available.

The project team drafted the survey using past iterations as a starting point, building on previous experience regarding choice of terminology and language. For the French version of the survey, local partners provided invaluable feedback for the wording of the questions. By adapting the language in the survey the project team was able to make it accessible to a wider audience (some of whom may have been uninitiated in the subject).

For the English version of the survey, work on previous lexicons informed our decision 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 to evaluate the variables of a particular (hate speech) framework. With this goal, the project team also intended to avoid prejudging or prequalifying the associations and dynamics that the respondents would assign to the terms.

“Offensive and inflammatory” remains 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 to be inflammatory as well. Even though the DRC has a codified general prohibition on hate speech, 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 and because of Google's reliable security features.

Focus Group Discussions, Review and Validation

Additionally, ADECOP and Terre de Paix implemented six daylong focus group discussion workshops in Kinshasa, Kisangani, Lubumbashi, Goma, Bukavu and Bunai. Focus groups were composed of 15 to 20 participants each, with special care taken to have as diverse a representation as possible among geographies, genders, occupations, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity.

Based on the terms collected in the survey, a list of 20 terms was submitted to each group. The focus group members were tasked with validating the initial data gathered and completing the definitional and contextual information for each term (including discussing emotive topics (or

“triggers”) that could cause violence which might not have been elucidated within the restricted format of an online survey).

The focus group discussion workshops provided important clarification on the definitions and usage of the terms. Importantly, it also clarified the contexts in which these terms were most potent while also bringing new terms to the researcher’s attention. When possible, the sessions were audio-recorded to ensure accurate capture of the data and perspectives.

In-depth Interviews

Following the conclusion of the workshops, additional interviews were held with key informants arranged by ADECOP. These interviews provided an opportunity to address remaining gaps in the data, as well as to yield additional contextual information for the definitions and usage of terms.

Expert Reviews

Finally, the project assembled a group of Congolese experts to review of the full draft lexicon. These reviewers included international peace and conflict experts and development professionals. They contributed additional validation, analysis and insights on the lexicon, helping to interpret the wider historical and current political context in the DRC.

Annex B: Issues and Risks

During the development of this lexicon, the project team encountered a number of issues, limitations, and risks that it attempted to mitigate.

1) Time Constraints and Timing of the Study

First, the project timeframe coincided with a time of political upheaval in the DRC, as the long-awaited presidential elections were held in December 2018 and the results were published after weeks of delays and uncertainty in early 2019. Repeated and often weeklong government-imposed internet and social media cut-offs delayed communications. This also made it impossible to run an online survey for in-country respondents and hampered logistics to organize information-gathering and validation activities by partners on the ground. This caused considerable delays and forced the teams to make compromises that impacted the representativity and breadth of the study.

It is important to note that the size of the DRC (in terms of its territory, population, and geography), the number of languages and ethnic groups, and the complexity (and sometimes hyper-localized nature) of its conflict dynamics and history, represented challenges to ensuring participation by broad sectors of society. A much more extensive study over a much longer period of time than was possible for this initial project could yield a more comprehensive or localized set of words and phrases. Thus the current list should be viewed as a snapshot in time, and the beginning of the effort to map out and understand hate-speech dynamics at the national level in the DRC.

2) Limits of Online Surveys and Benefits of In-Person Explorations of Hate Speech

Online surveys offer opportunities for respondents to share information and insights more easily. However, the online form can also limit the number and demographic representation of respondents in a context of low internet connectivity. To work around low internet penetration and unreliable infrastructure, on-the-street interviews⁶³ were conducted by local focal points in an attempt to broaden the reach of respondents.

The workshops and focus group discussions require individuals to confront the terms and their usage not only individually, but also in interaction with others — in some cases even with individuals from groups perpetrating or targeted by such terms. Rather than inhibit speech, however, these workshops tend to establish important contextual insights and information about the potency of certain terms and to identify new terms not mentioned in the surveys taken prior to the workshops.

3) Language and Translation

The survey was distributed in English and French. French is one of the four official languages in the DRC, along with Kituba, Lingala, Swahili and Tshibula. No surveys were provided in any of the other official languages as this may have impacted the data on several levels (comprehension of questions by respondents, comprehension of replies by researchers, adequate translation and capture of full cultural and linguistic meaning of certain terms). Many respondents gave their replies in other languages (or in a mix of several languages) in addition to French such as Swahili, Lingala, Kituba, Tshiluba, Kikongo, and Kihunde.

4) Limited Understanding of Hate Speech Concepts

Many of the terms identified in this study as “offensive and inflammatory” have their origins in old stereotypes and prejudices. These terms and their impact are often minimized and banalized in the modern context, despite or because of ongoing inter-communal tensions and protracted conflicts. Out of the individuals surveyed and the non-governmental organizations interviewed, few had a comprehensive understanding of what hate speech was, or recognised its potential impact and role in polarizing and exacerbating the many-layered and complex dynamics of conflict(s) in the country. This impacted the quality of responses to the survey, and well as the discussions during the validation workshops.

It is interesting to note that many survey respondents cited gendered insults against women as hate speech terms, which may be an indication of overall level of violence against women and/or a heightened level of awareness of the problem. Unfortunately, the examination of this issue is outside of the scope of this study.

5) Challenges with communication

Technical connectivity issues (internet availability and low bandwidth) made continued and efficient communication with partners challenging throughout the project. This not only impacted logistics and the capacity to organize the information validation activities, but also hindered some of the collaborative aspects of our research. Local partners were crucial in providing contextual information on history and cultural meaning of the terms as well as bridging any translation gaps for some survey responses.

6) Concerns about Privacy and Security

Initially the survey required participants to submit personal information (such as their first name, last name, and email address), but feedback indicated this had a dissuasive effect. Thus, the questions regarding personal information were dropped from the open survey halfway through the information-gathering process in order to encourage increased participation. It is not clear from the data whether this had the desired effect. The questions were not dropped from the in-person questionnaires in cases where the interviewers could emphasize their optional nature.

Annex C: Online Sources of Words or Phrases That are Offensive and Inflammatory

Survey respondents and participants in focus group discussions were asked to share the online sites that are known for, or where they have personally encountered, hate speech.

1) Radio,

Radio Okapi On twitter: <https://twitter.com/radiookapi/status/>

2) WhatsApp Groups

Kongo Mabele na Biso

EbaleyaMozindo

Peuples gagnent toujours

Sauvons la RDC

Agora

Batissons l'Ituri

Province de l'Ituri News

Congo mon pays

Kivu Yetu

La voix de l'Ituri

Yaliyo Nyumbani Kamanyola

Disons-nous la vérité

Aliyo liyo nyumani kamanyola

Bukavu-Bisodo

Bana Beni

3) Facebook Pages and Groups

Veranda Mutshanga: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/1690091434562300/> (Group)

Parlement debout: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/290662184390736/> (Group)

Les groupes facebook de la diaspora congolaise: <https://www.facebook.com/federationfemmescongolaisdiaspora> (Group)

Veranda Mutsanga: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/581745958678799/> (Group)

Bukavu-Bibonde: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/1749394315091500/> (Group)

KIVU (Youth) CONGRESS: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/142306805868263/> (Group)

4) Website/News Sites

www.benilubero.com,

www.info-apareco.com

APARECO <https://www.info-apareco.com/>

Endnotes

- 1 “Congo (Democratic Republic of the): Human Development Indicators.” United Nations Development Programme: Human Development Reports, hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/COD. Accessed 14 Oct. 2019.
- 2 Sample posts were drawn largely from Twitter and Facebook pages/profiles. Due to the public nature of these posts, as well as the ability to geolocate tweets and posts specific to the DRC, identities of users have been obscured in order to protect their privacy.
- 3 Translation from the original French: “Ce terme désigne toute personne qui mange la viande des chiens comme étant les personnes malpropres.”
- 4 Translation from the original French: “Il vient de toutes les provinces de la RDC contre les kasaiens.”
- 5 Translation from the original French: “Ce terme a les germes de l’exclusion.”
- 6 Translation from the original French: “Utilisé pour désigner une personne qui ne raisonne pas bien ; qui se comporte très mal vis-à-vis des autres.”
- 7 See entry for “Eater of dogs”
- 8 Translation from the original French: “Réduit un homme ou comparer son adversaire à un chien.”
- 9 Translation from the original French: “Quand on l’utilise au Katanga c’est pour désigner les ressortissants du Kasai”
- 10 Translation from the original French: “Tous les non ressortissant du kasai [utilisent ce terme] contre les ressortissants du Kasai”
- 11 Translation from the original French: “Le Gen Marcel Gatsinzi, même s’il s’était ralié à l’ennemi, il a fait tout son mieux pour sauver les victimes qui étaient en train d’être massacrés par les Interahamwe à la barrière. Le Gen Marcel Gatsinzi a négocié avec les cafards RPF leur demandant d’arrêter avec la guerre afin qu’il attrape certains des militaires du FAR qui étaient venus aider les interahamwe. Mais les cafards RPF lui répondirent que les tutsis qui sont massacrés viennent de faire 30 ans au Rwanda c’est-à-dire qu’ils ont choisi de rester avec Kayibanda et Habyarimana. Ça les regarde. En plus, les cafards RPF n’avaient jamais manifesté un esprit de compassion envers les victimes qui étaient massacrés, même la haute autorité le confirme. (...)”
- 12 Translation from the original French: “On désigne les kasaiens par les cafards.”
- 13 Translation from the original French: “C’est utilisé pour déshumaniser les Tutsi congolais ou d’ailleurs, pour montrer que tous sont nuisible. Ce terme a été emprunté du génocide rwandais.”
- 14 Here the data gathered through survey and discussion groups did not yield more precise information as to what local conflicts.
- 15 The provinces are Kasai, Central Kasai, and Kasai Oriental.
- 16 Translation from the original French: “Ici si on appelle une personne Kasai c’est ironique, c’est une façon de dire qu’il est un villageois, un vaut rien. C’est un terme utilisé dans le sens de minimiser les ressortissants de la région du kasai.”
- 17 Translation from the original French: “Vaut mieux un vide mais jamais un kasai.”
- 18 Shaw, Kate. “Top 5 things to know about the violence in the Kasai region.” ReliefWeb, 20 Sep. 2018, reliefweb.int/report/democratic-republic-congo/top-5-things-know-about-violence-kasai-region. Accessed 14 Oct. 2019.
- 19 Translation from the original French: “‘Congolais, [je] suis vraiment un con.’”
- 20 “About DRC: History of the Conflict.” Eastern Congo Initiative, www.easterncongo.org/about-drc/history-of-the-conflict. Accessed 14 Oct. 2019.
- 21 Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (AFDL or ADFLC)
- 22 Translation from the original French: “C’est un terme utilisé pour minimiser les luba. C’est un terme tribaliste et discriminatoire. (...) utilisé surtout [par] les katangais contre les kasaiens.”
- 23 Translation from the original French: “Pour dire qu’une personne est sans valeur.”
- 24 Translation from the original French: “Un être minuscule qui doit être éliminé.”
- 25 See definition of Kasai for more context.
- 26 Data gathered through survey and discussion groups did not yield more precise information as what
- 27 Translation from the original French: “Ce terme est utilisé dans le but de mépriser les [luba], c’est un terme à la base du tribalisme, il crée la division entre les congolais”
- 28 The Luba kingdom dominated the region, reaching its peak in the 18th and 19th centuries.
- 29 “DR Congo: From protection to insurgency - history of the Mayi-Mayi,” ReliefWeb, March 16, 2006, <https://reliefweb.int/report/democratic-republic-congo/dr-congo-protection-insurgency-history-mayi-mayi>.
- 30 François Ngolet, “African and American Connivance in Congo-Zaire,” *Africa Today* 47, no. 1 (2000): 65-85, <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/stable/4187308>.
- 31 Luca Jourdan, “Mayi-Mayi: Young rebels in Kivu, DRC,” *Africa Development* 36, nos. 3 and 4 (2011): 107, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228519529_Mayi-Mayi_Young_rebels_in_Kivu_DRC.
- 32 Translation from original French: “Dans les réseaux sociaux, lorsqu’on voit des images violente on attribue ces actes aux Mai Mai.”
- 33 Translation from original French: “un groupe de personne qui tuent, volent, violent, les personnes et leurs biens.”

- 34 Translation from original French: “Une maniere de dire qu’ils sont dangereux et constitue une menace, alors il faut l’attaquer ou frapper”
- 35 Translation from the original French: “Au Nord-Kivu, dans le territoire de Masisi, par exemple, la communauté ethnique Hunde sont assimilés au groupe mam-mai.”
- 36 Translation from the original French: “En Ituri, le vocable Mai-mai est collé à la communauté Nande, mais aussi certains délinquants assimilés aux djengeneurs terme utilisé pour désigner les creuseurs dans les carrés miniers.”
- 37 Translation from the original French: “Les sympathisants du pouvoir en place utilisent ce terme contre les insoumis ou opposants dudit régime.”
- 38 First usage of the term in this context was by Cardinal Monsengwo in a December 31, 2017 speech. “Declaration du Cardinal Monsengwo en marge de la marche du 31 decembre,” Cenco, January 3, 2018, <http://cenco.cd/declaration-cardinal-laurent-monsengwo-marge-de-marche-31-decembre-2017/>.
- 39 Translation from the original French: “Il est temps que la vérité l’emporte sur le mensonge systémique, que les médiocres dégagent et que règnent la paix, la justice en RD Congo.”
- 40 Translation from the original French: “Il y a des personnes qui ont trouvé la mort pour avoir utilisé ce mot.”
- 41 Translation from the original French: “Un mot de passe utilisé à l’époque de la guerre pour dire à la masse qu’il y a une proie à abattre dans la zone.”
- 42 Translation from the original French: “Puisque ça incite les membres de la communauté à s’attaquer de manière violente aux personnes issues de la communauté Tutsi.”
- 43 Translation from the original French: “Un voleur a été brûlé vif à Bunia une fois annoncé comme mission par la population.”
- 44 Translation from the original French: “C’est vraiment malheureux d’être munyabungo. Nous pouvons l’aimer mais ca ne va pas car il aime plus l’argent que son pays.”
- 45 Mbala Londa Moïse, “L’histoire ancienne des conflits Rwando-Congolais dans la region des grands lacs africains : Un regard panoramique des conquêtes tribales Rwando-congolaises,” OverBlog (blog), November 16, 2017, <http://mbalalondamoise.over-blog.com/2017/11/l-histoire-ancienne-des-conflits-rwando-congolais-dans-la-region-des-grands-lacs-africains-un-regard-panoramique-des-conquetes-triba>.
- 46 In Swahili, ‘munya’ means “to live in” or “to come from.”
- 47 Translation from the original French: “Quelqu’un de cœur dure capable de faire du mal n’importe quand.”
- 48 “Le concept de la congolité est né lors de l’élection présidentielle contestée candidat Jean Pierre Mbemba en 2006.” Marie-France Cros, “Gare au discours sur la «congolité!»” La Libre, June 13, 2016, <https://www.lalibre.be/actu/international/gare-au-discours-sur-la-congolite-51b88ef7e4b0de6db9ae183c>.
- 49 Translation from the original French: “Les hutus sont tous rwandais et doivent retourner chez eux au Rwanda.”
- 50 Maternal uncle means the uncle from the mother’s side.
- 51 Translation from the original French: “C’est un mot de passe pour annoncer la présence d’un Tutsi considéré comme nuisible ou à isoler.”
- 52 Kinyarwanda is one of the official languages of Rwanda; it is also spoken by Tutsi and Hutu populations in eastern parts of the DRC.
- 53 Buchanan, Elsa. “Battle for control of the DRC: Who are the Nyatura rebels?.” International Business Times, 22 Feb. 2017, www.ibtimes.co.uk/battle-control-drc-who-are-nyatura-rebels-1526277. Accessed 14 Oct. 2019.
- 54 United Nations Security Council. “Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.” 1 Mar. 2018.
- 55 Translation from the original French: “Pour montrer que les Hutu sont barbares et prédisposé à commettre de crimes comme les miliciens Nyatura.”
- 56 Translation from the original French: “C’est un animal dangereux, mais dans notre pays quand on traite une personne nyoka, c’ est une mauvaise personne.”
- 57 Translation from the original French: “Qualification d’une personne dangereuse, une personne indésirable, une personne ingrate, une personne qui sème la division.”
- 58 Translation from the original French: “À l’est du pays les personnes qui sont traités de nyoka sont des rwandais.”
- 59 Koen Vlassenroot, “South Kivu: identity, territory, and power in the eastern Congo,” Usalama Project Report: Understanding Congolese Armed Groups, (2013): 35-37, https://eprints.lse.ac.uk/56585/1/Vlassenroot_South_Kivu_identity_territory_and_power_in_eastern_Congo_2013.pdf.
- 60 This was the same process taken by the lexicon research teams for developing the Cameroon lexicon in 2018, the Nigeria Lexicon in 2017 and the South Sudan Lexicon in 2016 <https://www.peacetechlab.org/combating-online-hate-speech-main>
- 61 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.
- 62 Goma, Bukavu, Bunia, Kinshasa, Kisangani and Lubumbashi
- 63 See Annex A, Methodology “In order to get greater geographical coverage and diversity, in-person questionnaires were conducted in the street and by phone - by focal points in 15 cities in 4 different regions of the country”

ABOUT PEACETECH LAB

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

PeaceTech Lab was established as a Center for Innovation by the U.S. Institute of Peace in 2008, and became an independent nonprofit with expert staff and Board of Directors in 2014.



P E A C E T E C H L A B