



Centre for Information Technology and Development

TRADERS OF HATE IN SEARCH OF VOTES:

TRACKING DANGEROUS SPEECH IN NIGERIA'S 2015 ELECTION CAMPAIGN

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IN NIGERIA'S 2015 ELECTION CAMPAIGN**

Centre for Information Technology and Development (CITAD)

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ABBREVIATION

APC - All Progressive Congress
APCON - Advertising Practitioners Association of Nigeria
CSOs - Civil Society Organizations
CITAD - Centre for Information Technology and Development
ICC - International Criminal Court
NBC - National Broadcasting Commission
NHRC - National Human Rights Commission
NPC - National Population Commission
NSRP - Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme
PDP - People's Democratic Party

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PREFACE

In 2011, widespread violence trailed the presidential election in Nigeria resulting in the death of hundreds while millions of Naira worth of property was destroyed. As preparation for the 2015 general got underway in 2014, there was apprehension that the election could also turn out to be violent given that politicians and their supporters were already trading inflammatory words that could incite people to violent responses. This apprehension made a number of organizations to think of developing early warning systems that could be used to preempt violent irruptions.

The Centre for Information Technology and Development (CITAD) decided to approach the issue by focusing on the speech as catalyst of violence. Learning from the work of iHub Research in Kenya which had developed a system for monitoring hate and dangerous speech in relation to the election in Kenya, CITAD decided to replicate the system in Nigeria so as to provide a basis for a more systemic programme for countering and neutralizing hate and dangerous speech in Nigeria.

In October 2014, we ran a pre-test version that was deployed during the Osun State. This was followed by a pilot focusing on the party primaries in November to December, 2014. With this experience, we held an international conference on dangerous speech on 22-23, January at the Yaradua Centre, Abuja. The conference brought scholars, civil society activists, political actors, security and law enforcement agencies from within Nigeria as well as from the USA and Kenya. The conference decided that it was necessary to run the dangerous speech monitoring system as well as develop proactive strategies for countering such speech. A national working committee on dangerous speech was also set up.

Following this, CITAD modified the UMATI system of iHub Research, Kenya and commenced a dangerous speech monitoring and countering system focusing on the elections. As part of the countering, CITAD with support from NSRP and MacArthur Foundation also undertook a series of public sensitization programmes and stakeholders engagement with media regulatory agencies as well as law enforcement agencies and political parties. It also developed strategy that were used in countering hate and dangerous speech in the country.

The dangerous speech monitoring system ran through the election campaign period and beyond. In June after the elections, the results of the monitoring was shared with the public, drawing key findings and conclusion from the exercise. Noting that although the election was over, there were still a number of issues that were driving dangerous speech in the country. These include a few outstanding state level elections, a renewed divisive conversation around access to resources and political offices as well as the recruitment of young people into violent activities. CITAD thus modified its coding sheets and continued the monitoring exercise using five different coding sheets as against one in the earlier period. This report is for the period covering January to May 2015.

INTRODUCTION

The 2011 general elections in Nigeria recorded widespread violence which resulted in the death of an estimated 938 people and left over 735 others injured. It also led to the destruction of millions of Naira worth of property. The violence not only impacted the Nigerian public's perception of the election results but also greatly affected turn out in the state elections that followed that year. Although the Lemu Committee that was set up to investigate the violence submitted its report, not much was done to implement the Committee's various recommendations. One of the drivers of the violence was the hate speech-laden language used by politicians during the campaign for the 2011 election, coupled with the perception that the elections were rigged.

Hate speech in Nigeria is freely being disseminated in both print and electronic media, including broadcast and is also widely spread in social media. As the campaign for the 2015 general elections began in early 2014, it became obvious that the politicians would go to any length in their effort to garner votes; hate speech appeared very early in the day as a commodity that politicians wanted to trade. Given the reality that hate speech posed a serious threat to the peace and stability of the country, CITAD decided to seek for support to implement a project whose aim is both monitoring and countering of hate speech in the country, especially with a focus on the 2015 election.

In this, CITAD had an opportunity to learn from the experience of iHub Research in Kenya, which, since 2012 has been implementing a dangerous speech monitoring project in Kenya titled "Umati".¹ The project emerged out of concern that mobile and digital technologies may have played a catalyzing role in the Kenyan 2007/08 post-election violence. The project seeks to better understand the use of dangerous speech in the online space by monitoring particular blogs, forums, online newspapers, and especially Facebook and Twitter, the two most popular social media networks in the country. Online content monitored includes tweets, status updates and subsequent comments, posts, and blog entries.

²

CITAD sought the technical partnership of iHub Research, to pilot the replication of the Umati Project methodology in Nigeria, as part of the Umati Phase II objectives. Following the observation that dangerous and hate speech have been drivers of violence especially in the context of elections in Nigeria, CITAD launched a nationwide monitoring of dangerous speech online in January 2015, with support from the Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Program (NSRP)³ and MacArthur Foundation. This initiative, titled *Tsafataccen Furuci*⁴ (healthy speech) is aimed at monitoring hate and dangerous speech on the Nigerian social media space as well as coming up with a sustainable countering strategy to curb its escalation into crisis which will lead to national disunity.

The project was preceded with a pre-test version of the monitoring and countering strategy that was deployed during the Osun State governorship election in August 2014 as well as a pilot project executed during the various party primaries prior to the 2015 elections. It was also preceded by an international conference on dangerous speech organized by CITAD with support from MacArthur Foundation and the Nigerian Stability and Reconciliation Program (NSRP) on 22nd and 23rd January, 2015 at the Yar'adua Centre in Abuja at which international experiences and best practices in monitoring and combating dangerous speech were showcased.

In January 2015, CITAD re-strategized its nationwide online dangerous speech monitoring and countering project with a special focus on the 2015 general elections. An elaborate set up for monitoring of dangerous speech online was mounted while reporting mechanisms for citizens to forward hate speech to CITAD were set up using email (reporthate@citad.org); a Whatsapp (hate speech and rumors) group was also set up. A closed Facebook group (CITAD hate speech monitors group) was also set up to allow for internal discussion among the monitors. As we monitored, we responded to hate speech items that we considered highly volatile.

¹ Umati means 'crowd' in Kiswahili, Kenya's national language.

² Umati Project, 2013: <http://www.ihub.co.ke/blog/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/2013-report-1.pdf>

³ NSRP is a project of DFID (UK) run by the British Council in Nigeria to promote peace building

⁴ Tsafataccen furuci is Hausa which literally translates as healthy speech

OBJECTIVE OF THE PROJECT:

The specific objectives of the project are:

1. To generate analyses of dangerous speech that are useful for early warning system and to respond to the likelihood of conflict
2. Enhance public appreciation of the usefulness of monitoring of dangerous/hate speech as a conflict anticipation and resolution mechanism
3. Provide data to support advocacy for national legislation on dangerous /hate speech
4. Investigate if a mechanism for predicting the likelihood of violent conflict can be created
5. Expand ideas of monitoring of dangerous/hate speech to wider stakeholders in the country
6. To propose both a workable definition of hate speech and a contextualized methodology for online hate speech tracking, in the Nigerian context
7. To monitor the occurrence of hate speech in Nigeria's online space and develop countering strategies.
8. To forward any distress calls the team came across online to State and non state actors for appropriate action
9. To further education on the possible outcomes of hate speech, so as to promote civil communication and interaction in both online and offline spaces.
10. To adopt and domesticate the Umati Methodology in Nigeria
11. Develop a data base of words and speech contents that are considered to be offensive to various groups of people in Nigeria
12. Link CITAD Peace projects with the online monitoring project with the aim of countering possible tensions that may emanate as a result of dangerous speech and create audience resistance to incitement as a result of dangerous speech
13. To develop a hate speech countering framework for peace building and build the audience's capacity to resist provocation which will lead to escalation of violence as a result of dangerous speech

UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPT OF DANGEROUS SPEECH IN THE NIGERIAN CONTEXT

Dangerous speech is defined by different scholars and laws in different ways; however, almost all definitions share a common thread: that dangerous speech vilifies or denigrates a person or people as a member (or members) of a particular group. Definitions specify different types of groups, such as ethnic or religious groups, or sometimes those defined by gender or sexual orientation. According to one definition, for example, dangerous speech covers all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin.⁶

Dangerous speech is a more specific category proposed by Professor Susan Benesch. As she defines it, it is speech that has the potential to catalyze intergroup violence, and it is often – but not always - also hateful.⁷ In the Nigerian context, Benesch's definition of dangerous speech was found to be helpful. According to Benesch, it may be any communication such as language, gesture, writing or display, which could incite people to violence.⁸ She proposes five factors with which to gauge the dangerousness of speech in the context in which it was made or disseminated: the speaker's degree of influence, the audience's receptiveness, speech content that displays one of the characteristic patterns of dangerous speech (such as dehumanization),⁹ the social and historical context of the speech, and the medium of dissemination. These have been useful in giving a yardstick for identifying and classifying whether a Nigerian speech act is a dangerous one or not, especially on social media.

⁶ Council of Europe Committee of Ministers Recommendation No. R (97) 20 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on "Hate Speech" (Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 30 October 1997 at the 607th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies)

⁷ Countering Dangerous Speech, Protecting Free Speech: Practical Strategies to Prevent Genocide Report of the 2014 Sudikoff Annual Interdisciplinary Seminar

⁸ Countering Dangerous Speech, Protecting Free Speech: Practical Strategies to Prevent Genocide Report of the 2014 Sudikoff Annual Interdisciplinary Seminar

⁹ Professor Susan Benesch in a review of this report notes that the call to action is outdated. When she first proposed dangerous speech ideas five years ago, she had suggested that it must contain a call to violence. Later she realized that this would limit the category too much, since speech often increases the risk that people will commit violence, or even makes it highly likely – **without** actually telling them to do it. There are many examples of this, such as a rumor, in Pakistan, that someone has burned the Quran. That will easily and quickly produce violence, without any call to action

Hate speech in Nigeria, which is mostly aimed at ethno-religious groups, has been one of the major factors that has catalyzed and sparked violence in different parts of the country over the years. Hate speech in Nigeria has been characterized by violent outbursts by public officials, politicians, traditional rulers, religious figures as well as academics and is demonstrated in several exchanges on the streets, online forums and in sectarian print media in different parts of the country. Politics, current insecurity and activities of violent religious sects (e.g. Boko Haram) worsen manifestations of hate and intolerance, especially in the country's social media space which is gradually becoming the major hate speech exchange point. Its current manifestations are rapidly deepening the polarization the country into pockets of religious and ethnic cleavages as seen visibly in the Nigerian cyber space. Social media is seen as platforms that give favorable medium or rather a battle ground in which divisive discussions are exchanged. Nigerian cyber space becomes the most favorable medium for spreading rumor and negative mobilization leading the country into more and more fractious politics.

There has been no official response or policy to ban hate-speech in Nigeria, although there are laws against slander, perjury and blasphemy within the Nigerian Criminal Code. The Nigerian Electoral Act contains a provision that prohibits the use of hate speech in campaigns. In particular, Section 95 provides that:

- (1) No political campaign or slogan shall be tainted with abusive language directly or indirectly likely to injure religious, ethnic, tribal or sectional feelings.
- (2) Abusive, intemperate, slanderous or base language or insinuations or innuendoes designed or likely to provoke violent reaction or emotions shall not be employed or used in political campaigns.
- (3) A political party or persons who contravenes any of the provision of this section is guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction-
 - (a) in the case of an individual, to a maximum fine of N1,000,000 or imprisonment for the term of 12 months; and
 - (b) in the case of a political party, to a fine of N2,000,000 in the first instance, and N1,000,000 for any subsequent offence.
- (4) Any person or group of persons who aids or abets a political party in contravening the provisions of subsection (3) of this section guilty of an offence and is liable on conviction to a fine of N500,000 or 3 years imprisonment or both.¹⁰

The Political Parties Code of Conduct also provides that “No political party or its candidate shall make inciting statements through broadcast press statement, handbills, pamphlets, leaflets or other publications”.

Other pockets of law such as the Advertising Practitioners Council of Nigeria (APCON) Act, the Nigeria Broadcasting Code (NBC) also contain some legislation against some forms of hate speech. These laws and regulations are largely ignored by both media practitioners and the public.

However, in recent times, upon the recognition of the danger of hate and dangerous speech to the peaceful existence of Nigeria as a nation, a number of state and non state actors including civil society organizations have initiated more proactive moves for enforcement of the relevant laws against dangerous speech (offline and online) in Nigeria. Organizations like National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), CITAD, Advertising Practitioners Council of Nigeria (APCON) and National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) have gone far in advocating for the implementation of the existing laws, amendment of some and creation of new ones to strongly confront address the spade of hate and dangerous speech in Nigeria. It was part of this effort that the former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan

¹⁰ Electoral Act 2010 of Nigeria

¹¹ The Political Parties Code of Conduct is a voluntary subscription by the parties and has no force of law.

led the signing of a peace pact (Abuja Accord) between the then President Goodluck Jonathan and General Muhammadu Buhari, the two leading presidential candidates in the 2015 election. The signing of the accord which committed political parties and their candidates not to use language that would incite violence resulted in the General Abdussalami Abubakar-led National Peace Committee, NPC, being charged with the responsibility of monitoring compliance with the provisions of the accord throughout the electioneering process.

METHODOLOGY

The project adopted the Susan Benesch schema for identifying what she refers to as dangerous speech rather than hate speech. Dangerous speech, in her schema is any speech that has the potential to catalyze or increase the risk of collective violence. Based on this, we contextualize hate or dangerous speech in the Nigerian context as any speech act that denigrates people on the basis of their membership in a group, such as an ethnic or religious group, and that has a reasonable chance of catalyzing or amplifying violence by one group against another, given the circumstances in which it is made or disseminated. A speech act in this context includes any form of expression, including images such as drawings or photographs, dance, films, cartoons, etc.

While hate speech has been commonly used, there has been an effort over the years to differentiate between hate and dangerous speech, the former as a collection of all forms of inflammatory, threatening or denigrating speech practices while dangerous speech is reserved for that specific category that lends to itself to inciting people to act or accept violence against others as acceptable or necessary.¹² This distinction is necessary to allow for identification of speech that seems capable of leading to violence.

In spite of this distinction, for the purposes of advocacy, given that that the public is already familiar with the use of the phrase hate speech, we would use the two terms interchangeably, but keeping to dangerous speech when dealing with the technicalities of monitoring and referring to hate speech when engaging in conversation with stakeholders for the curbing of inflammatory speech in the national space.

In this context, it is also important to concretely specify what qualifies for hate/dangerous speech within the Nigerian context. In our context, we regard as dangerous speech any speech act that is aimed at inciting the audience to denigrate other people on the basis of their ethnicity, religion, gender, geography and any other socially conceived parameter, with the purpose of marginalizing them or placing them at some disadvantage that is contrary to the provisions of the universal declaration on human rights as well as the international covenant on Civil and Political Rights?. This does not include the peculiar joking relations that exist in some communities, practiced between two or more ethnic/linguistic groups, which have historically been used as a conflict resolution mechanism. Substantively, CITAD sees dangerous/hate speech in the Nigerian context as any speech act that:

- Insults people on the basis of their religion
- Abuses people for their ethnic or linguistic affiliation
- Expresses contempt for people because of their place of origin
- Disparages or intimidates women or girls because of their gender
- Condone discriminatory assertions against people living with disability
- Abuses or desecrates symbols of cultural or religious practices

¹² This is the operational definition that CITAD adopted

- Denigrates or otherwise ridicules traditional or cultural institutions of other people
- Deliberate spread of falsehood or rumors that demeans or maligns, or otherwise ostracizes other people on the basis of religion, ethnicity, gender or place of origin or? for the accident of one form of disability or the other

Given this, and the Umati project on which this project was based, we developed a structured online coding sheet (refer to appendix i) to collect hate speech content that automatically conveys to a structured database for further analysis. The coding sheet contains a contextualized methodology for identifying, collecting, and categorizing dangerous speech. Our categorization adopts the Susan Benesch definition of dangerous speech, that is, speech that has the potential to catalyze collective violence. We capture speech, writing, pictures, video or audio display that could incite people to violence. The coding sheet is structured based on the key variables of the five Benesch dangerous speech framework, that is: a speaker's influence, audience receptiveness, speech content being understood as a call to action, the social and historical context of the speech and the medium of dissemination. The framework guides the monitors to adopt a methodology for the collection and analysis of online hate speech. With technical support from iHub Research¹³ (a Kenyan research firm that serves as our technical partner) we adopted the Umati project's categorization spectrum of offensive speech, moderately dangerous, or extremely dangerous speech especially based on the speaker's perceived level of influence and whether the content seems to include a call to (violent) action. The coding is sheet is shown in appendix (i).

OPERATIONS

CITAD deployed a team of 10 monitors who worked from 10am to 4pm from Monday to Friday every week, searching and analyzing dangerous speech across the Nigerian social media space. A source list (appendix ii) in the form of Facebook groups and pages, Twitter accounts, blogs, Facebook profiles of individuals and websites and discussion groups was created and updated accordingly, to guide the monitoring process.

THE DATA HORIZON AND RESULTS

The exercise captured over 680 hate speech instances with 32 attributes of each entry making the total sum of about 21760 entries, gathered by the 10 monitors over a period of five months (15th January to 30th May). Each speech item was captured along with its characteristic attributes as entries generated out of the categorizations embedded in the coding sheet such as: date of entry, gender of the speaker, Link to the speech item, language the audience being addressed in, text of the Speech or description of image, name of the speaker, rating of the influence of the speaker, audience addressed and audience likely to react to the speech items etc.

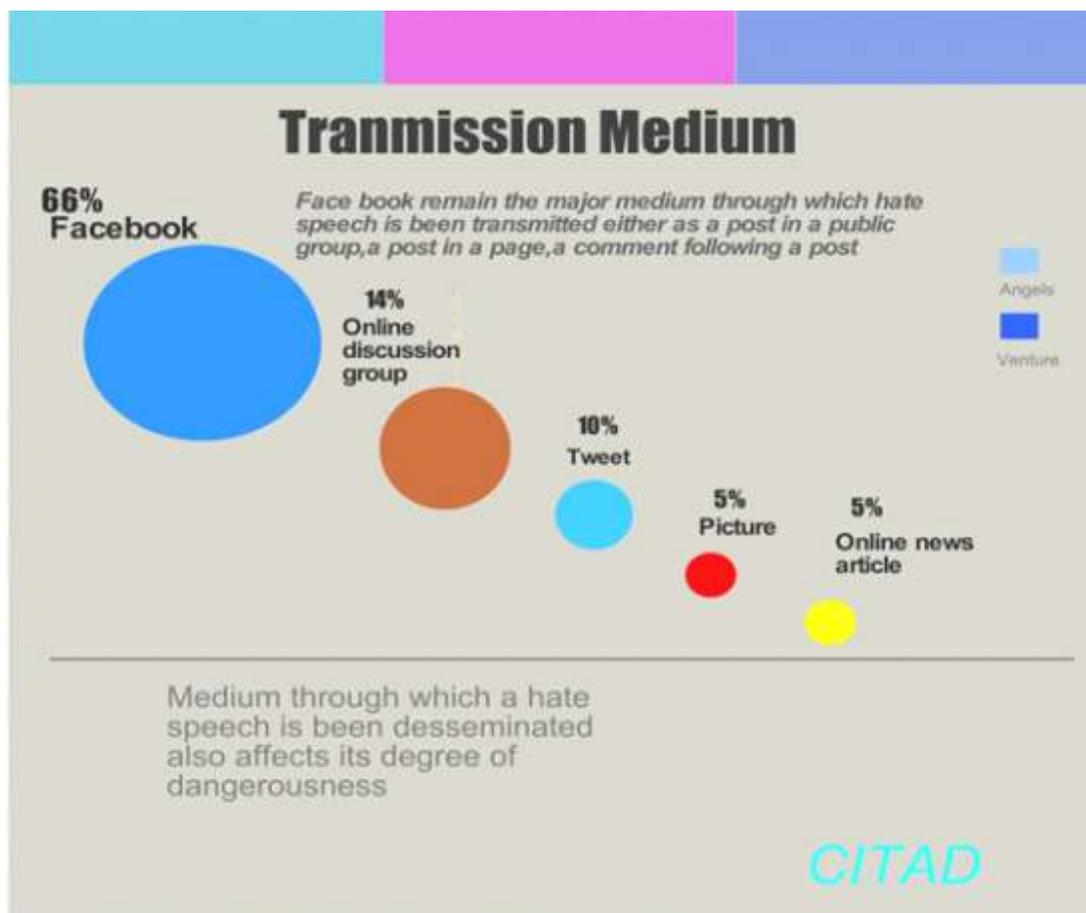
The project succeeded in capturing 110 source list in form of Facebook groups and pages, Twitter accounts, blogs, websites and discussion groups from which hate and dangerous speech are mostly disseminated on Nigerian cyberspace. The source list (Appendix 2) was generated to capture pages by political groups, religious groups, cultural groups, regional groups and individuals found to be consistent in posting hate and dangerous speech.

¹³ See www.ihub.co.ke/research

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

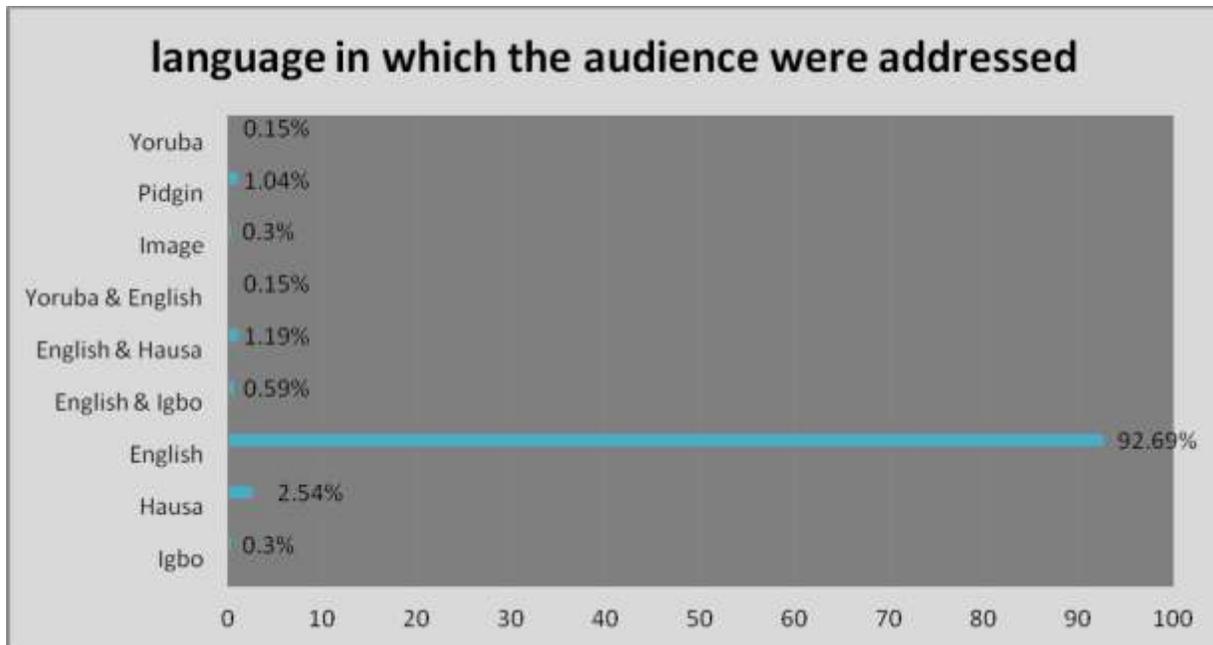
The Language and Medium of Dissemination: The data for this period revealed that the major online medium used for dissemination of the hate/dangerous speech was Facebook, in which approximately 66% of the dangerous speech recorded during the monitoring period appeared, either as a post in a private page/group, a post in a public page/group or a response to a post/forum, with post in a public page/group contributing approximately 40%. Use of online discussion groups for dissemination of hate/dangerous speech was found to be the second largest medium (14%), followed by Twitter (10%), pictures/images as well as online news articles (5%) respectively. Facebook was thus found to be the primary channel through which hate/dangerous speech was disseminated during the monitoring period.

Fig 1



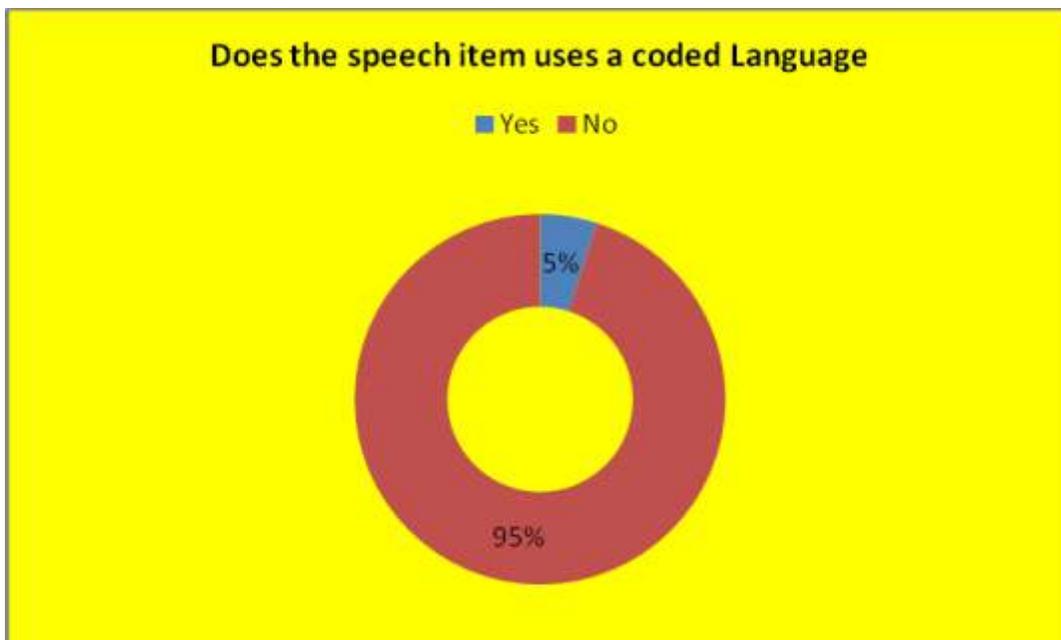
English remains the major language used for hate speech dissemination in Nigeria's social media landscape. About 92% of hate speech recorded was in English. This may be largely due to the fact that the perpetrators are of different ethno-religious backgrounds and regions, hence English becomes the common medium of communication. However, there was a notable number of comments in Hausa (2.54%), followed by a combination of English and Hausa (1.19%), Yoruba and Igbo 0.15% and 0.3% respectively.

Fig 2



Use of coded language¹⁴ in addressing the audience is found to be less prevalent. Only 5% of dangerous speech items captured used coded language in addressing the audience, this involves the use of vernaculars that compare a group of people with animals(de-humanization), insects or a derogatory term used in mother tongue or local proverbs which describe another group as invaders, foreigners, or interlopers . This indicated that as influential people openly traded hate speech, others felt there was no need to hide hate speech in codes.

Fig 3



¹⁴ Coded language here refers to the use of proverbs, slangs, euphuisms and other elliptical use of words that only those within the community intended will easily decode the message and comprehend it

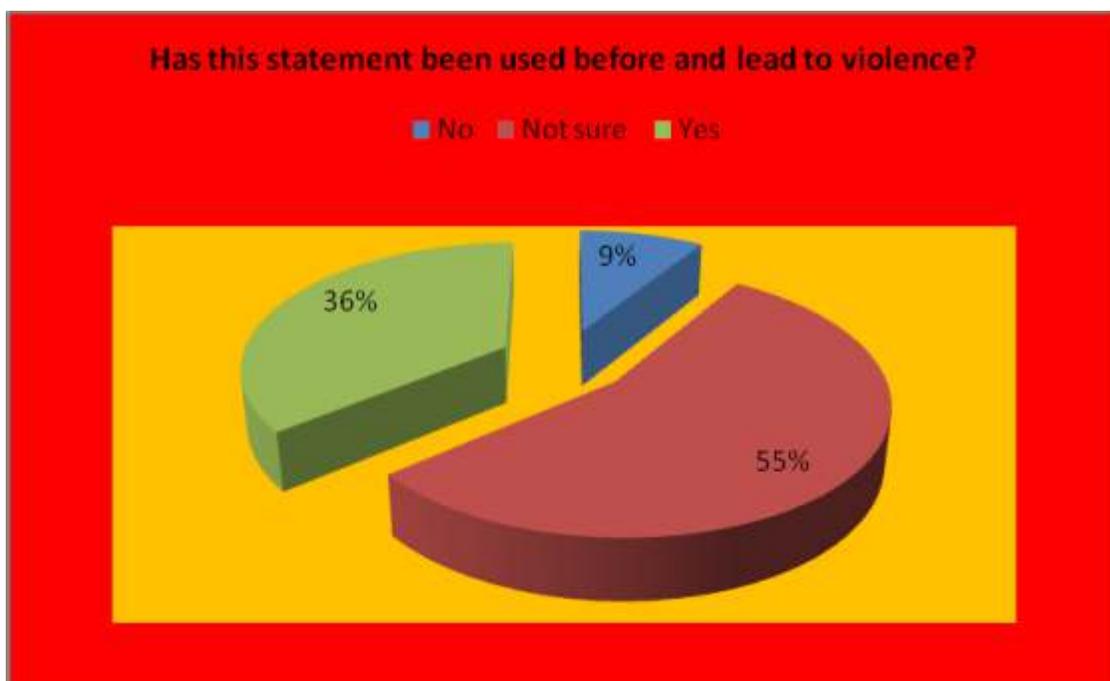
SOME DE-HUMANIZING WORDS CAPTURED

- *Babur*
- *Back Pocket*
- *Weeds*
- *Invaders*
- *Hynas*
- *Cockroaches*
- *Baboons*
- *Aturu*
- *Devils*

- *PD Pig*
- *Appigs*
- *Malu*
- *Alade*
- *Akuya*
- *Pig*
- *Dogs*
- *Bokoharis*
- *Expired Arabs*

However 36% of the speech instances were recorded as speech items that have been used and lead to violence. Use of terms such as *Kare Jini Biri Jini* (which directly translates to Dogs in blood and baboon in Blood) which literally means that “there is going to be a fair contest” and misquoted as to mean the Dogs and the Baboons will be soaked in blood were found to be commonly used. This idiom was being quoted during the 2015 general elections and it led to bitter reactions as it was repeatedly quoted by those threatening war as the justifications for call to violence and bloodshed.

Fig 4



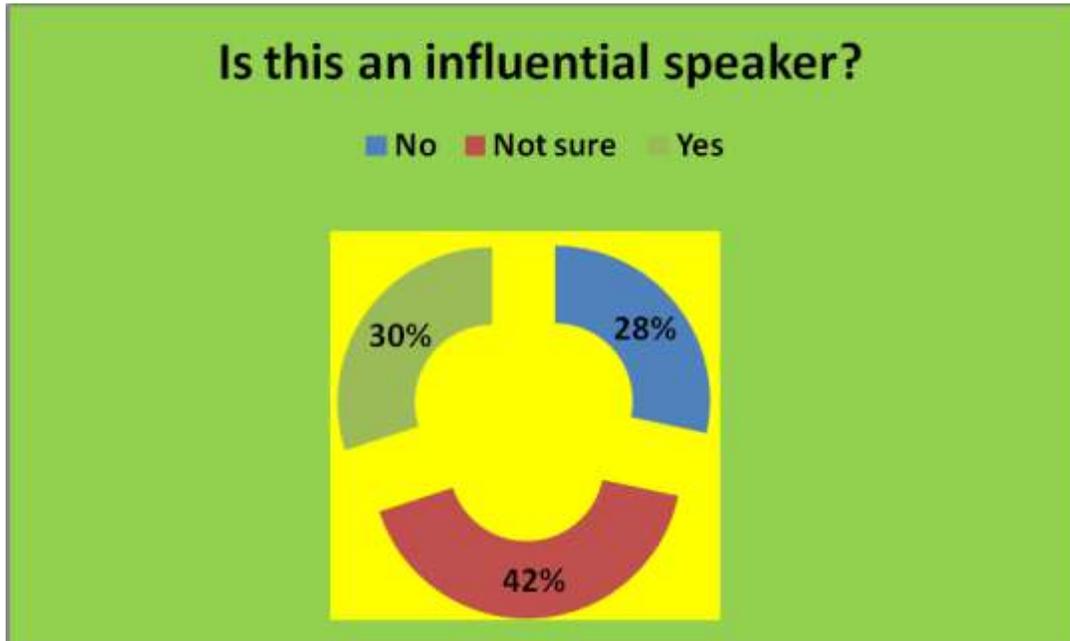
The speakers mostly use terms that are considered to be offensive to other groups. Discussions on Nigerian social media, often easily degenerate into ethno-religious hate-speech, characterized by name-calling, threats and call for violent actions. Although much of dangerous speech is English, many of the speech use non English terms that are derogatory to add insult to the message. Examples of such terms include:

1. **Arne:** Which is a Hausa word used to refer to non-believers or Godless people. But in recent times the word has largely been used to refer to people who are not Muslims or considered as Infidels. It is commonly used to address the Northern minorities and found to be very offensive to them as indicated in various comments made against or by those people. Other similar words in Kanuri and Fulfulde languages respectively, Kirdi and Habe mean the same thing as arne. All these words have visible presence in Nigerian social media space and sparks exchange of disparaging responses.
2. **Mola:** A derogatory term that can be loosely translated as 'mentally unstable'. It is usually used by the Yoruba language speakers to address Hausa men. This word is also found very offensive among the Hausa and received angry responses (comments) from the Northerners.
3. **Mumu:** Which also has the same meaning with Mola ,as mentally unstable term but usually used to address other non-Hausa groups
4. **Almajiris:** This is also used by non-Hausa speakers to address the Hausa-Fulanis .The use of this word is very offensive to the Hausa-Fulani as usually receive angry online responses whenever it is used. This term in its Hausa sense refers to pupils of itinerant Muslims teachers who move about seeking for alms as their means of sustenance. The former First Lady Dame Patience Jonathan, used it during one of her campaign rallies and led to angry reactions both online and offline from Hausa-Fulani population.
5. **Bokoharis, Bokoharis:** The rise of the Islamic group, Boko Haram, who have burnt and destroyed churches (though they have also done the same with mosques) has contributed to significant tensions between the largely Christian South and predominantly Muslim North. Boko Haram activities were seen by most average Southerners as the northern Muslims' conspiracy to rid Northern Nigeria of Christians. This has led to the creation of coded offensive terms like Bokoharis, used to target the supporters of (now President) Muhammadu Buhari from the north and by extension, the fact that he is from there. However, the words “Boko Haram” have been used to allude to Northerners as terrorists, noted to correspond to reactions of terror strikes by the group. There is also visible presence of the use of coded languages that suggest dehumanization of a particular group, used both offline and on social media. These include: PDPigs, Apigs, Malu (which means cow in Yoruba language), Jaki (Donkey in Hausa), Alade (Pig in Hausa), Akuya (Goat in Hausa), Biri, Baboons, Barking Dogs. These words were used to address (or describe or both?) particular group of people (Northerners and Southerners) due to the fact that northerners rear cattle and goats while the southerners rear pigs. For example, the Southerners use words like Malu (Cow) and Akuya to denigrate the Hausa-Fulani due to their association with these animals, while the northerners use the term Pig to denigrate the Southerners for the

Speaker's Influence

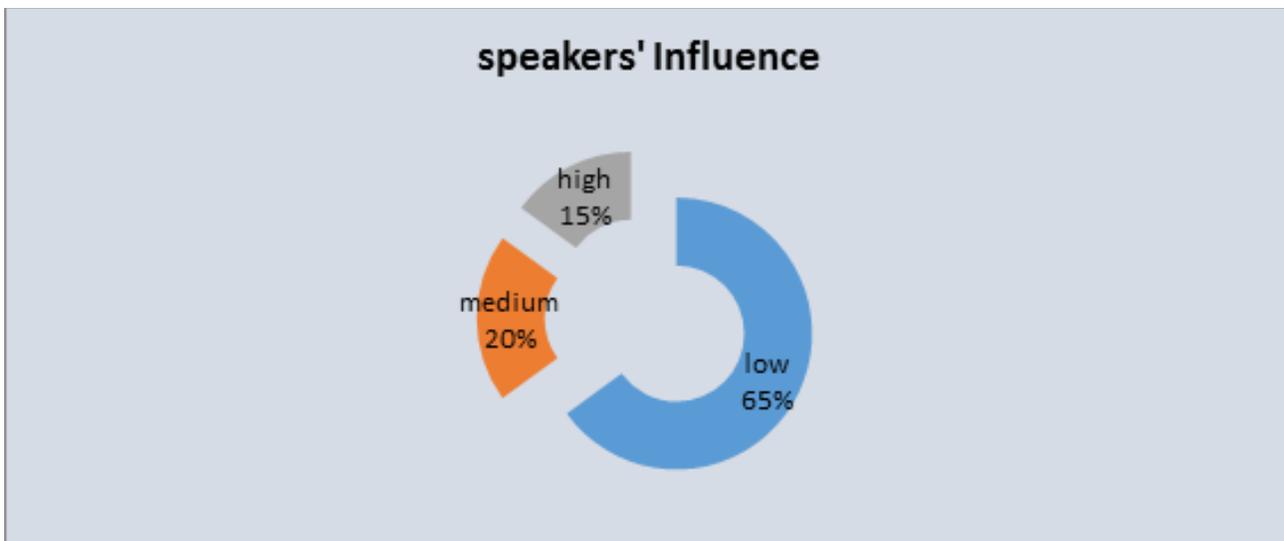
The data within the period shows a great number of influential speakers made hate and dangerous speech on Nigerian social media space. About 28% of the speech items were categorized to have been stated by speakers with high influence. A number of politicians were captured making hate and dangerous speech in the social media especially within the electioneering period.

Fig 5



This implies that with influential people making dangerous speech, audience could easily react to it (and imitate them?), a situation that can lead to action which may be detrimental to peace

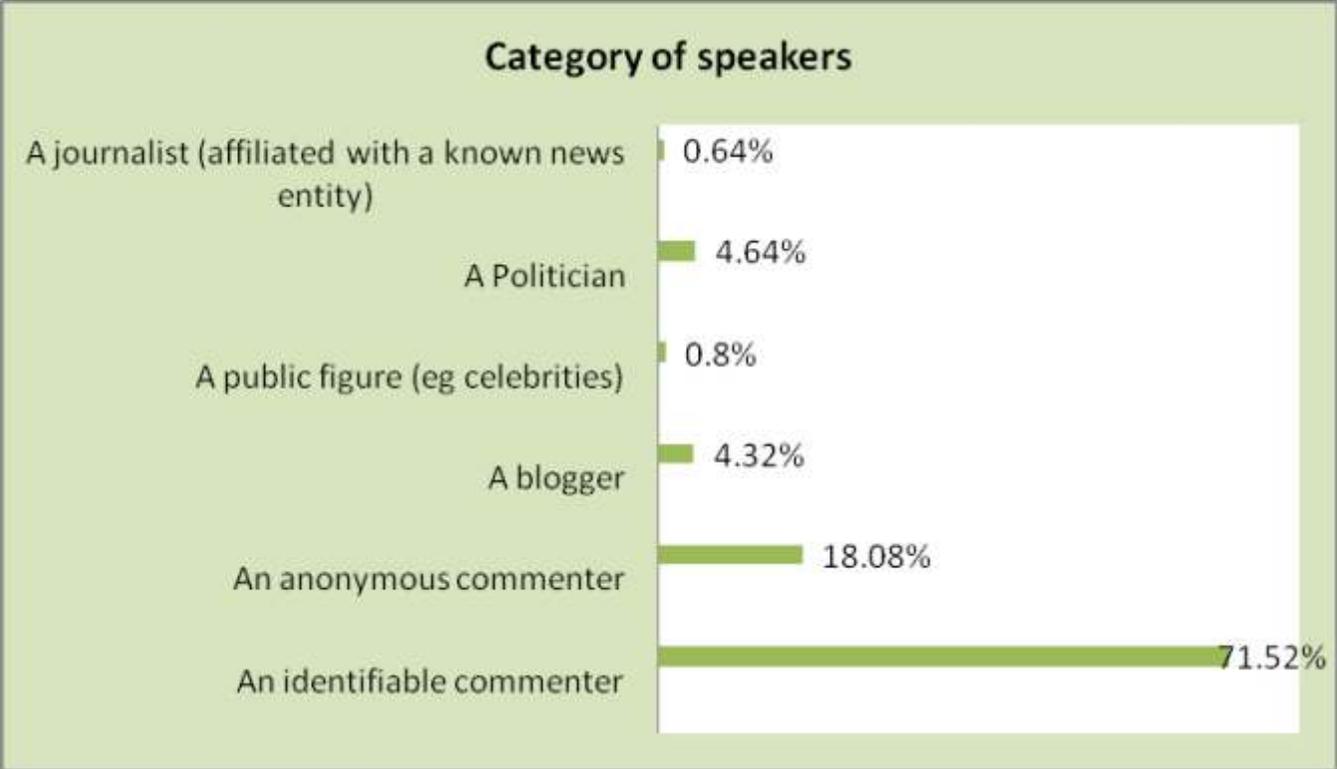
Fig 6



Influential people - the likes of Governor Ayo Fayose of Ekiti state, Dokubo Asari, Governor Ramalan Yero of Kaduna state, Governor Rotimi Amaechi of Rivers State, the former First Lady Dame Patience Jonathan, Oba Rilwanu Akiolu of Lagos among others – made disparaging and dangerous speech offline which in turn led to counter reactions and raised the incidences of hate speech in the social media.

Although some Nigerians in the social media space hide their identity and use anonymous accounts to disseminate hate and dangerous speech, a significant number of people reveal their identities. Even those who use pseudonyms do not take enough steps to prevent their identities from being found, by those who might wish to do so. About 71.52% of the speakers recorded are identifiable (identity could be tracked down) with only 18.08% recorded as anonymous and unidentifiable (we would not be able to find their real identities).

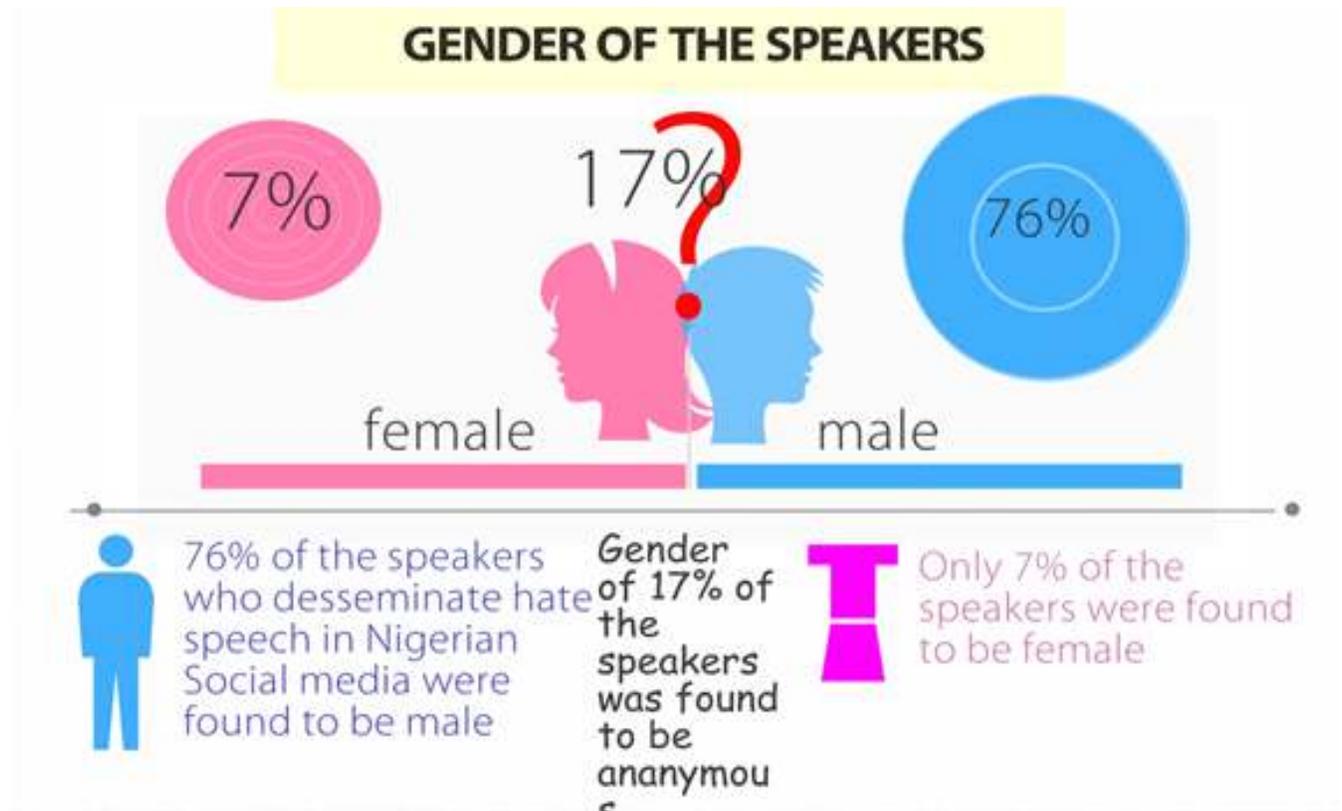
Fig 7



As the election drew closer, the volume of hate speech disseminated by politicians drastically dropped to about only 4.64%, as against the number recorded in the earlier stage of the monitoring exercise. This might be due to signing of the peace accord between the presidential candidates of the leading parties and the increased peace advocacy and peace building activities by both individuals and organizations, including the statements by the International Crime Court which warned politicians that they would held responsible for any violence as a result of their campaign activities and utterances.

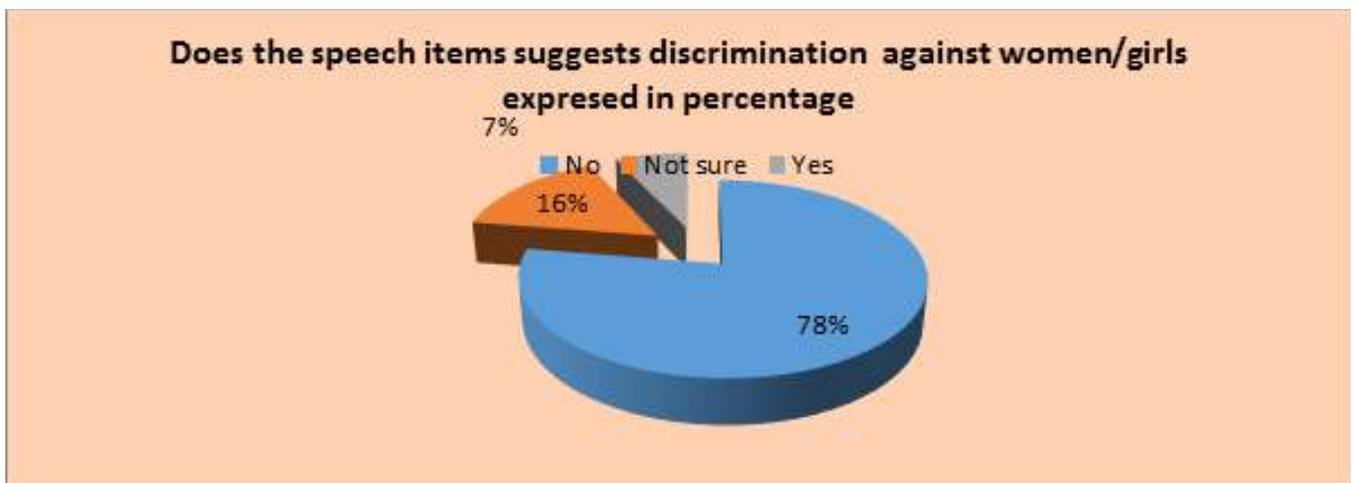
It is found that majority of the speakers are male with only 7% female speakers while the gender of about 17% of the speakers is not known.

Fig 8



We further interrogated the gender of the audiences that are most likely to react to the dangerous speech.. In terms of gender, both male and females were susceptible to incitement, though males were seen to be more likely to react. Both sexes are seen to be more likely to react to about 76% of the posts, with males alone likely to react at 16% and only 0.8% most likely to be react are females.

Fig 10



ONLINE HATE SPEECH AND GENDER

www.citad.org

76 Male

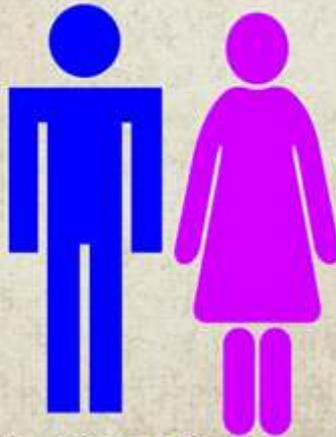
This may be due to the dominance of male in the social media usage in Nigeria

7% Female

Though gender of 17% of the speakers remain anonymous, only 7% were found to be female

77%

Does not suggest discrimination against women or girls



7%

7% of the speech items captured were found to have suggest discrimination against women/girls

13%
Men were found to be more subjected to incitement than women

*

We interogate the data based on gender, we found dominance of men in terms of dissemination of hate speech, men were also found to be more subjected to incitement and 7% of the speech items suggests discrimination against women.

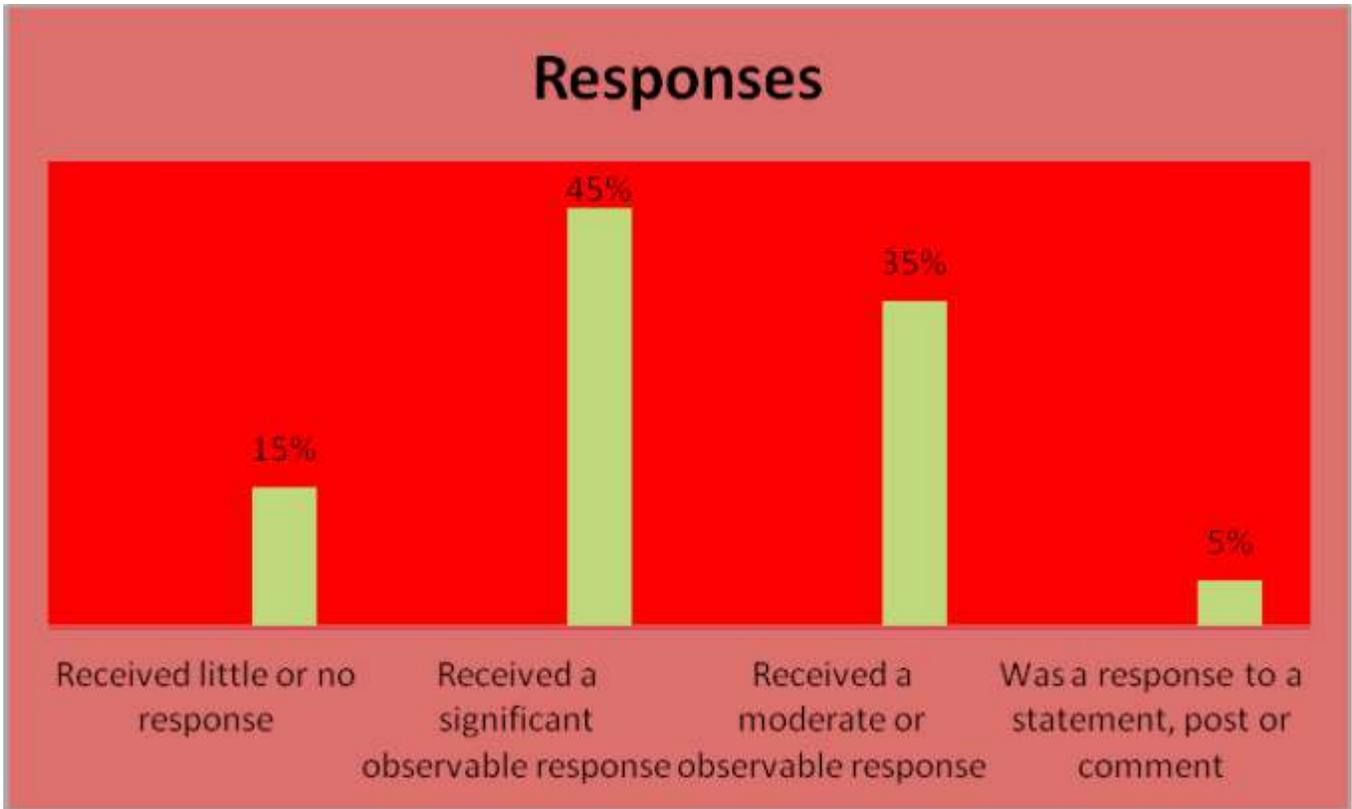
1%
based of the gender of audience that are most likely to be subjected to incitement, only 1% were found to be women

www.citad.org

Audience Receptiveness and call to action

The audience receptiveness is measured by a proxy indicator which is comment or reaction to the item of hate speech via social media. Receptive audiences are those that are subject to incitement by speaker. The data reveals that 45% of the items captured received a significant or observable responses signified by number of comments, likes, re-tweets and shares. About 35% receives moderate or observable response while 15% receives little or no response.

Fig 11



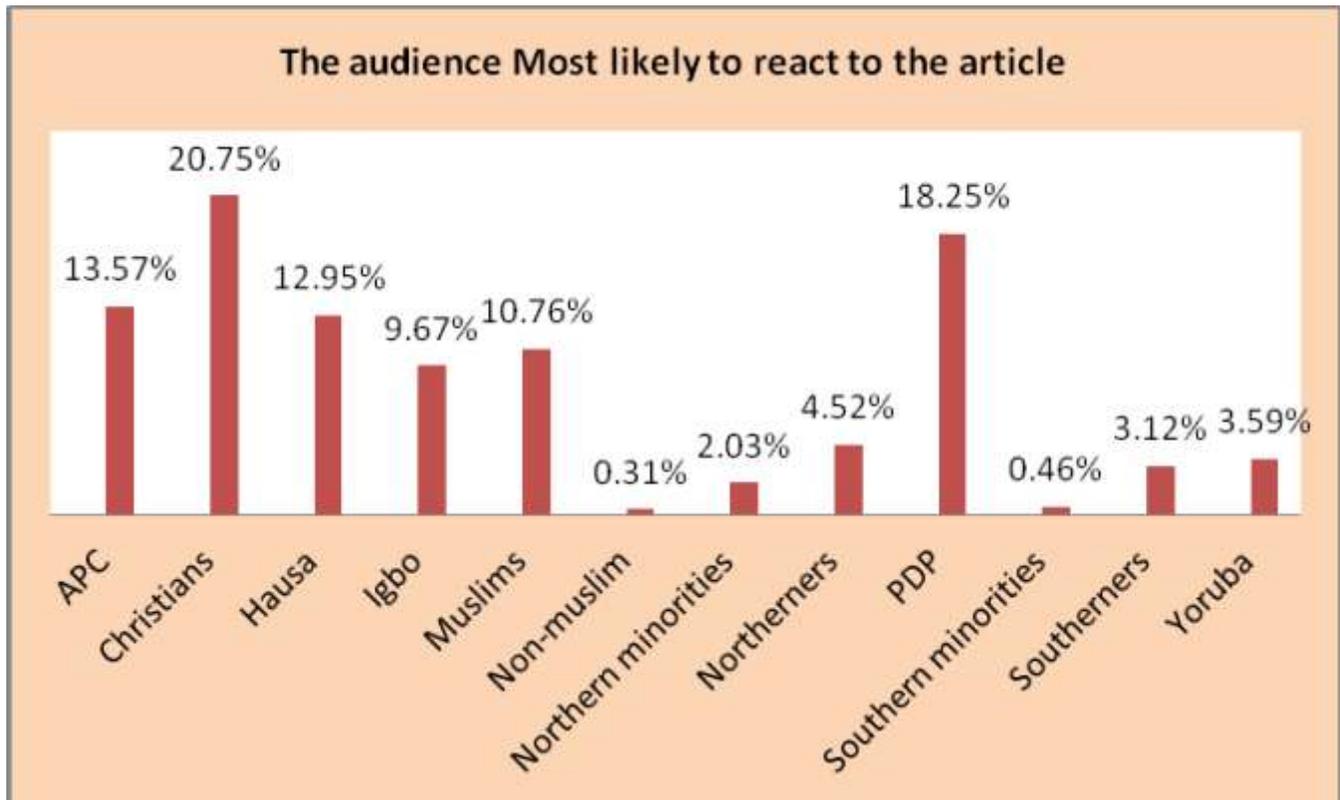
About 42% of the captured speech instances were seen calling on the audience to discriminate against others based on their membership of a particular group, either a political party, religion or region/ethnicity). There was a significant call for the killing of members of a particular group; 10% of the hate speech items captured contained a call to kill; 30% call for war; 5% call for riot and 3% contains a call for forceful eviction of members of a particular group. About 8% of the speech instances were categorized as a “call for violence against women or girls”

Fig 12



The monitoring also sought to find out the category of people that are likely to react to each of the hate speech items. The data reveals that the audience that were most likely to react to the posts are Christians (approximately 20.7%), PDP members or supporters (18%): this cannot be unconnected with the fact that PDP presidential flag bearer was a Christian with large Christian followers. His followers tend to get provoked with violent activities of Boko Haram which they see as an attempt to mar the president's tenure and therefore prevent him from getting re-elected.

Fig 13



However, it also indicates that most political discussions about the candidates in the 2015 election on social media were about their religious and ethnic inclination, rather than on their competence or party manifestos.

Visibly, the contents suggest de-humanization: About 15% of the speech items compared a group of people with animals, insect or a derogatory term used in mother tongue; 41% suggest that some people are spoiling the integrity of a group while; 38% Suggest that the audience faces a serious threat or violence from another group. In terms of gender, both males and females were found to be susceptible to incitement though the data reveals males were more likely to react.

	Percentage
Compare a group of people with animals, insect or a derogatory term used in mother tongue	15.5%
Suggest that some people are spoiling the integrity of a group	40.9%
Suggest that the audience faces a serious threat or violence from another group,	38.2%
Others	5.5%
Total	100.0

EXAMPLE OF SPEECH CONTENTS CAPTURED (HATE SPEECH)

"We are already killing them like cockroaches. Come to my village and see the ones we eliminated yesterday. Continue ranting while we're doing the needful"

ayau ne muke gayyatar yan asalin jahar kano kauyikanta da cikin birninta danyindandazon jifan shedan damakarrabansam jonathan,shekarau,tanko yks,aminu wali,da duk wani mai daga tutar alamar shedanun nigeria

Translation: (Today, we are calling on the entire people of Kano state (From the city and rural areas) to come out with their " tools" as we are to stone the devil and his disciples , Jonathan, Shekarau, Tanko Yakasai, Aminu Wali, and all those who may dare raise the Nigerian satanists' flag)

DATE POSTED : 1/21/2015

BY WHOM OR BY WHAT SORT OF SPEAKER: A Hausa (Anwar Ahmad Kano)

ON WHICH PLATFORM: A Facebook post in a public page/group

WHAT CONTEXT (AS A POST : It is a hate speech in the context of election and antinationalism as Nigerian Flags were seen as flags of Infidels by average Muslim Northerner for the reason that the country is governed by a non Muslim

AS A COMMENT IN RESPONSE TO WHAT SORT OF POST (It was a response to a Public notice that PDP chieftains are to hold public functions in Kano State.

WHO WAS THE LIKELY AUDIENCE? Hausa People Most likely Kano indigenes and Non PDP supporters

¹⁵ Reference to Goodluck E. Jonathan, then President of Nigeria

¹⁶ Was a former Governor of Kano State (2003-2011) elected on the opposition ANPP but decamped to the ruling PDP in 2015 and became Minister of Education in the cabinet of President Jonathan

¹⁷ Yakasai is an old politician based in Kano who supported the presidential campaign of Goodluck Jonathan

¹⁸ A notable politician from Kano and elder in the PDP, was Ambassador to China during the presidency of Goodluck Jonathan

kowa yafito da kayan aikinsa mai GATARI Mai ADDA mai BARANDAMI mai BINDIGA, Ku karya duk wani abu dayashafi kwankwasiyya ku kona duk wata mota datake dauke da hoton kwankwasiyya, ku harbi duk wani mutum mai dauke da alamar kwankwasiyya kun harbi banza Ramuwar gayya tafi tagayya zafi.

TRANSLATION: We are calling on every one to come out with their" tools" ranging from Axe ,achete and Gun and destroy any thing that is related to Kwankwasiyya,¹⁹ we shall burn all vehicles bearing Kwankwasiyya logos, we shall shoot anybody bearing any sign of kwankwasiyya, shall you do that you are not subjected to any punishment

DATE POSTED : 1/21/2015

BY WHOM OR BY WHAT SORT OF SPEAKER: Muhammed Musnaf Ahmad an identifiable commentor

AND WHAT CONTEXT (AS A POST : This indicate the extreme hatred against Dr Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso the then sitting governor of Kano state and a presidential aspirant under APC in 2015 election. This post also indicates how some people disliked the Kwankwasiyya inscriptions displayed every were in Kano by the state government .

AS A COMMENT IN RESPONSE TO WHAT SORT OF POST. It was a post in a political discussion group on Face book.

WHO WAS THE LIKELY AUDIENCE: Kano Based PDP members

“Read my comments yesterday on the massacres happening everywhere. It is called ISLAMIZATION. Talk, talk and talk will not solve the problem. Jonathan cannot solve it. Buhari cannot solve it. Defend yourselves before you are forced to hit your head on the ground 5 times a day. Enough punishment.”

DATE POSTED 3/20/2015

BY WHOM OR BY WHAT SORT OF SPEAKER: Den_Umeh an identifiable commenter

AND WHAT CONTEXT (AS A POST : This was a response to a news article posted on Vanguard online news which reported that Fulani-herdsmen-kill-village-chief-in-Enugu

AS A COMMENT IN RESPONSE TO WHAT SORT OF POST. Online news

WHO WAS THE LIKELY AUDIENCE: Igbo Youth

“Buhari thugs attacked Nigeria President convoy .Buhari has started, blood of Monkey and baboon Buhari thugs attack Jonathan's convoy in Katsina political thugs on Tuesday attacked the convoy of President Goodluck Jonathan in Katsina during his campaign rally ahead of the February 14 presidential election.”

DATE POSTED 1/21/2015

BY WHOM OR BY WHAT SORT OF SPEAKER: Usman Okai Austin an identifiable comenter

AND WHAT CONTEXT (AS A POST : This is when President Jonathan's Convoy was attacked in Katsi (Gen Buhari's Home town. The issue was linked to a statement made by Buhari since 2011. The statement is a proverb in Hausa which indicates fair contest but in a literal meaning it translates a blood birth between Dog and Bamboo. This statement was quoted out of context and misunderstood by Southerners as a warning or threat with blood birth.

“Nonsense talk. Must you tell the police? Carry your machetes and guns and massacre any Fulani you see in Enugu. In fact start killing them right cos police cannot save you in Nigeria. Those Fulani people are sacking villages in the north. You people will not seat there and allow them to take over your villages.”

DATE POSTED : 20/03/2015

BY WHOM OR BY WHAT SORT OF SPEAKER: KSima Humphrey Akanazu

¹⁹ Kwankwasiyya is the political tendency around the former Governor of Kano State 1999-2003 and 2011-2015). Rabi'u Musa Kwakwaso

AND WHAT CONTEXT (AS A POST : This is a foul out of Conflict insensitive reporting which triggers dangerous speech and in some cases trigger conflict. It was a reaction to an online news article posted by Vanguard news .It also shows how people began to feel unprotected and also shows how the country began to drift to anarchy

AS A COMMENT IN RESPONSE TO WHAT SORT OF POST.: was a response to an online post made By Vanguard newspaper.

WHO WAS THE LIKELY AUDIENCE: Igbo Youth

Northern pigs be grateful for once, without GEJ this almajiris won't be in school.

“ISLAM is cancer among world religions.It brings nothing but death and destruction to humanity.I know the above fact and so I didn't vote for the OLD DIRTY BASTARD Buhari.U christians that voted him and are called infidels(arna),i wish u worst of that.”

“We are already killing them like cockroaches. Come to my village and see the ones we eliminated yesterday. Continue ranting while we're doing the needful”

DATE POSTED: : 3/20/2015

BY WHOM OR BY WHAT SORT OF SPEAKER: An identifiable commenter, Don

ON WHICH PLATFORM: Online News

AND WHAT CONTEXT (AS A POST : This was a response to a news article posted on Vanguard Newspaper online news featuring a case of Fulani Hards men who attacked an Igbo Community in South Eastern Part of Nigeria. The news received numerous responses

AS A COMMENT IN RESPONSE TO WHAT SORT OF POST: response to the headline "Fulani herdsmen kill village chief in Enugu" posted by vanguard newspaper.

WHO WAS THE LIKELY AUDIENCE? Igbos

WHAT IS THE CONTEXT FOR NON-NIGERIAN READERS? This is an example of the king of responses triggered by some Nigerian Media outfits who makes non conflict sensitive reports.

WHAT SORT OF RESPONSE OR COUNTERSPEECH DID THESE GET?

“It gives me an overwhelming sadness to hear this kinda story, are there no youth in that village? Comon, go search for these expired Arabs and when u find them, cut their meat bit by bit until there is no meat remaining in their skin.”

DATE POSTED : 20/03/2015

By whom or by what sort of speaker: Emmanuel Ofo Stephen, an identifiable commenter

during the Biafran war”. “I don't have any regret, and at such do not owe any apology to them, in fact if there is a repeat of the civil war again, I will kill more Igbos to save the country”.

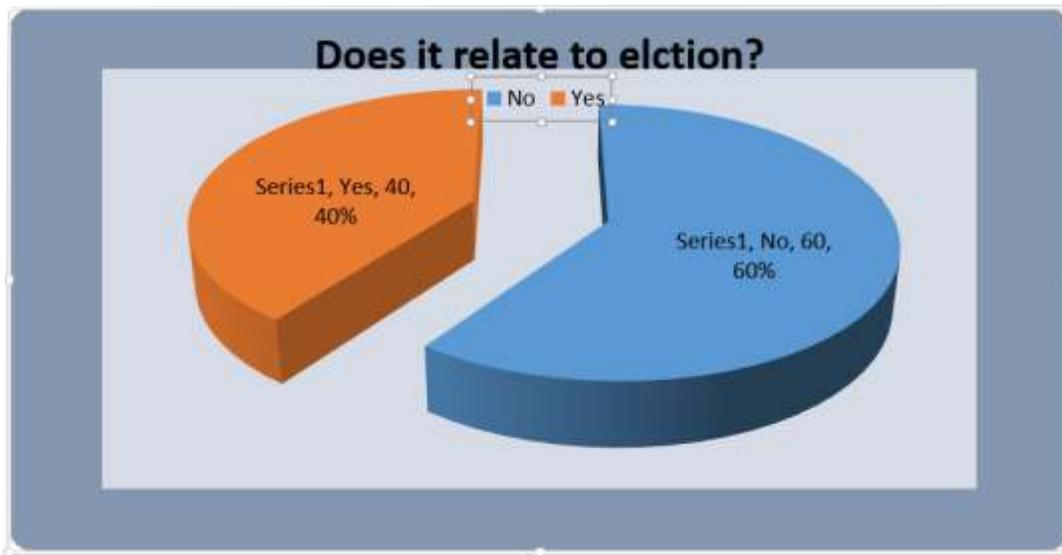
The APC presidential candidate added that this was the reason they never bothered to vote for him anywhere in Nigeria.

MAJOR NIGERIAN EVENTS, 2015 ELECTION AND ONLINE HATE SPEECH

The 2015 elections were primarily a repeat of the 2011 election scenario – between the (former) President Goodluck Jonathan (a southern Christian) and (now incumbent President) Muhammadu Buhari (a northern Muslim and a former military head of state). As the general elections drew closer, the political class appeared to increase the tempo of divisive politicking which in turn shaped conversations on Nigerian social media. There was a noted increase in dangerous speech, from February with the highest peak in the second week of March especially as 'comments' that followed most articles online – whether in newspapers, blogs or on the numerous online news – and features aggregator sites on the country. Besides the intemperate language being deployed by politicians and

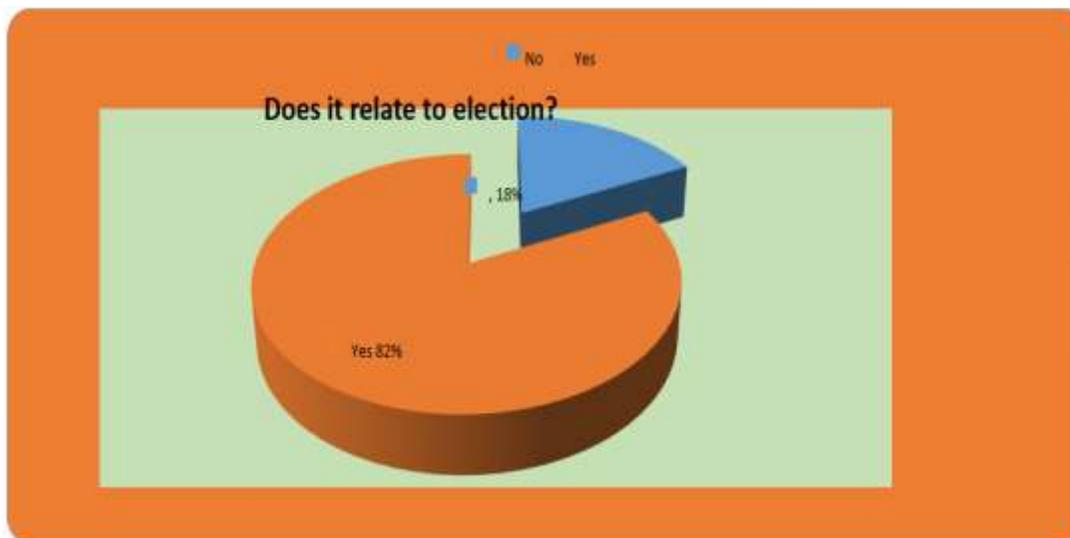
their supporters, particularly those of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and the main opposition, All Progressives Congress (APC), many of their unruly supporters have upped the violence in the streets and deployed them on social media for exchange of blames. The five month data revealed that 60% of the hate speech monitored was related to the election (Fig 15).

Fig 15



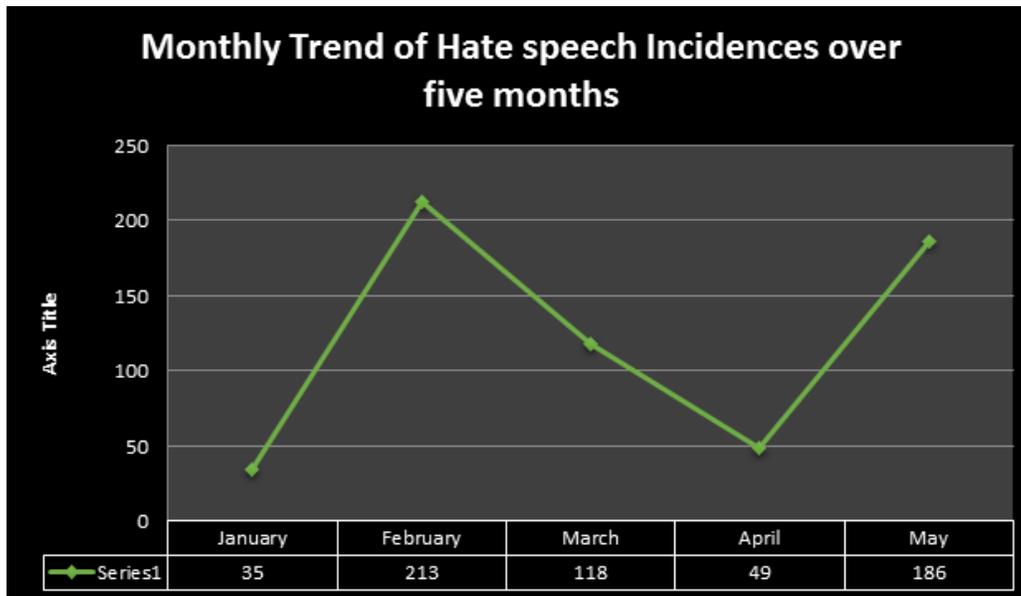
However, the data from the three months (January to March) which was the final stretch of campaigns period before the elections were suddenly postponed, reveals that 82% of the speech items captured were related to election (Fig 16)

Fig 16



People tend to respond to offline events on the online platforms by way of expressing their opinions, in the form of support or otherwise to such offline events. Events that are perceived as negative tend to trigger hate speech thereby increasing the volume of hate speech within the train of the event.

Fig 17



We attempted to see whether volume of hate speech increase responds to offline events. We analyzed the number of hate speech per month (refer to Fig 18) to see this. As revealed by the data, there was a swift rise in the incidence of hate speech in the Nigerian social media space from the month of January, which peaked in the month of February (the supposed month of General elections which was postponed). The data showed a swift fall few weeks to the general elections within the month of March which indicates a moment of calm. The social media within this period witnessed wide circulation of pictures, advertorials and articles showcasing the beauty of peace. This can be attributed to various peace and anti-hate speech initiatives carried out by a number of local and international individuals and organizations that are committed to peace building. The data captured from the month of January to the month of April 2015 revealed a zigzag pattern over time (Fig19).

A time series analysis indicates online responses to various events offline. It revealed a rise in the number of hate speech instances seemingly correlating to the increase or gravity of some negative offline events. Incidents of attacks on political opponents, the setting of vehicles and offices ablaze, disparaging speeches and calls to violence by politicians and other public figures whose news was immediately deployed on social media matched an increase in hate speech on social media. The most prominent of such incidences which led to sharp rise in the volume of hate speech was Governor Fayose's death advertorials. Fayose's advert listed the pictures of four former presidents who died and added Buhari (the APC presidential candidate) at the tail of the list with a question mark, suggesting that he would be was soon going to die. Those who interpreted it lightly read is a death wish for Buhari by the Governor while others read it as marking the candidate for assassination. Either way, it was dangerous message and created such a furo in the both traditional and online media with many demanding the suspension of the newspapers that carried the adverts. Others were the First Lady's disparaging statements and call to violence; Femi Fani Kayode's sickness claim against Buhari; numerous attacks by Boko Haram; Governor Ramalan Yero's call for violence against opposition; Governor Amaechi's claim of formation of a parallel government; Pastor Mbaka's anti Jonathan's preaching; the stoning of President Jonathan's campaign convoy in Katsina and Bauchi States as well as the announcement for the postponement of the 2015 general elections from

February 14th to March 28th amongst others. It gives an indication of the correlation between events offline and hate speech responses they elicited.

Immediately after the occurrence of these offline events, the social media witnessed huge increase in the volume of hate speech.

However, other peace yielding efforts by various individuals and organizations which culminated in the various peace accords in March saw a significant decrease in hate speech on social media in the month of March till after the elections.

Events such as the Kofi Anan mediated Peace Pact (The Abuja Accord) the General Abdulsalami Abubakar-led National Peace Committee (NPC); the warning from the ICC Prosecutor Fatou Bensouda which was adequately circulated in traditional and social media, as well as consistent warnings and call to order by the National Human Rights Commission and concerted efforts by many civil society organizations especially the NSRP-MacArthur-CITAD National Working Committee on Hate and Dangerous speech within this period were very significant in dousing the tension and in making people to refrain from making inciting speeches which were driving hate speech on the social media. The campaign not only led to increased awareness about the dangers of hateful speech but also made politicians to become more careful about what they said. The countering component of the project countered a number of dangerous speech instanced by influential figures and also led the way to mobilizing public opinion against.

For example, when Governor Ibrahim Shehu Shema described his political opponents as cockroaches worthy of being killed, CITAD mobilized several CSOs and addressed three joint press conferences on the matter thus ensuring wide publicity on the issued which made the Governor to respond by claiming he was quoted out of action. Similarly CITAD mobilized several CSOs across the country to condemn the statement by Oba Lagos on telling the Igbos they would be driven to the Lagoon, the one by then Rivers State Governor Romiti Ameachi, the statements by Fani Femi Kayode, the death wish advert by Eikiti State Governor Fayose as well as the states about destroying the houses of opposition members by then Kaduna State Governor Ramalan Yaro. In both cases they offered tactical acknowledgment by explaining that they were quoted out of context. Similar public condemnation were also loud against the Oba of Lagos who said they will drive the Igbos to the Lagoon as well as to former Rivers State Governor who called on his supporters to prepare to form a parallel government should the ruling party rig the election.

²⁰ The wife of President Jonathan made statements that northerners were irresponsible parents who let children on the streets with no education ("they are not like us", she added) and also called on the supporters of her husbands to stones politicians of the oppositions

²¹ Femi Fani Kayode, campaigns spokesperson for President Jonathan made several media statements alluding to the an undisclosed sickness of Buhari, then the Presidential candidate of the opposition APC that he was likely to die

²² Gov Ramalan Yero of Kaduna state during a campaign rally that he could order the demolition of the houses of political opponents and they could do nothing

²³ Paster Mbaka of the Enugu Dioceses delivered a controversial pulpit speech in which he berated President Jonathan

²⁴ During a campaign tour, convey of President Jonathan was pelted in Katsina and Bauchi, both states controlled then by his party but strongholds of the opposition where the presidential candidate of the opposition was immensely popular

	EVENTS	No
1/3/2015	Pastor Mbaka's Anti Jonathan Preach	A
1/14/2015	Kofi Anan Peace Pact	B
1/19/2015	Governor Fayose's death advertorial	C
1/24/2015	Dokubo Asare's War threat	D
1/22/2015	Sambo Dasuki's Call postponement of Election	D
2/7/2015	JEGA Announcement for the postponement of Presidential Election	F
3/31/2015	President Jonathan Concede defeat	G
3/31/2015	Announcement of Presidential election	H
3/3/2015	First Lady Dame Petience's Almajiri Hate speech	I
1/20/2015	Stoning of Jonathan's convoy	J

OFFLINE EVENTS AND THE VOLUME OF HATE SPEECH ONLINE



Negative Events

A **Pastor Mbaka anti Jonathan sermon**
This is when A renowned Enugu-based Catholic priest, Rev. Father Camillus Mbaka, blessed President Goodluck Jonathan over his helplessness in the war against corruption and inability to stop killings of innocent people in Nigeria. He said "cannot guarantee the welfare, safety and security of the citizens", and Openly call for the congregation of over 30000 worshippers to vote for Buhari and get Jonathan out of Power.

C **Governor Fayose's Death Advertorials**
This is when Ekiti state Governor placed an advert on selected news papers, the advert which spark controversy showed former Nigerian leaders who all came from the North and died in office and followed it by "I have sat before their life and death" and "Will you allow history to repeat itself? Enough of state burials. Nigerians vote wisely, vote Goodluck Jonathan."

J **Stoning of President Jonathan's Campaign Convoy**
This is when brooms-wielding youths, who were suspected to be members of the APC, chanting President Jonathan the "Jai Buhari," attacked the convoy of Jonathan and members of his entourage in Katsina(the state Home state of Muhammadu Buhari the APC presidential candidate)

D **Dasuki's call for postponement of Election and Asare's War threat**
This is when the former NSA Sambo Dasuki called for postponement of the 2015 general election in the chatham House. The same time also witness a war threat by former Niger Delta Militant Dokubo Asare who threatens that Nigeria will be history shall president Jonathan miss re election. These two stories sparked increase in hate speech and counter hate speech

Positive Events

B **Koffi Anan Peace Pact**
The presidential candidates of the Nation's 2 leading political parties(APC and PDP) and their party leaders committed themselves to a treaty to abide by the rule of safe, fair and non-violent election during a large gathering of politicians, candidates, national leaders, international personalities and the diplomatic corps where the political players agreed in writing and bound themselves to a deed of good conduct for a peaceful election. The news and the pictures of the event was widely circulated in the media and the event witnessed a relative calm in terms of online hate speech

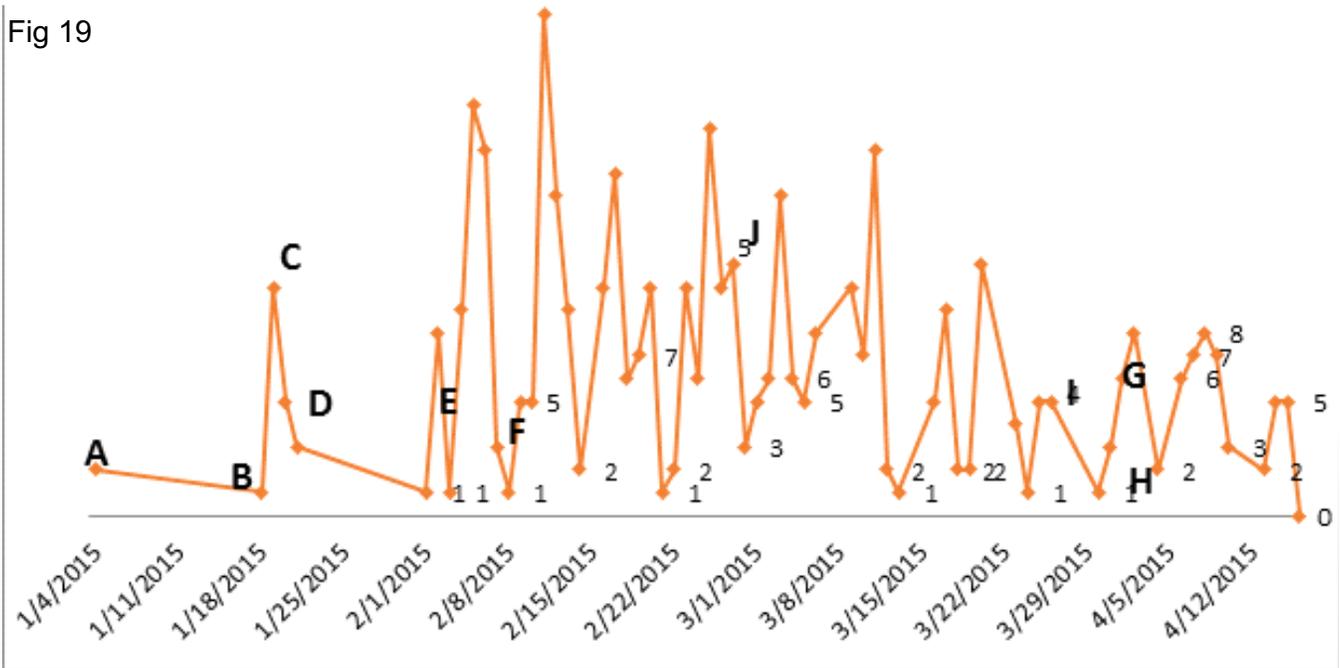
H **Announcement of Presidential elections Result**
This is when the National Electoral Commission (NEC) announced the result of the 2015 Presidential election. This period also witnessed a relative calm in terms of the volume of the online hate speech in Nigeria

G **President Jonathan Concede defeat**
This is when president Jonathan put a call to the APC presidential candidate Muhammadu Buhari to congratulate him and conceded defeat even before the official announcement of the presidential election result by INEC. This courageous act of president Jonathan conceded with a great calm in online hate speech in the Nigerian social media

 #No2Hatespeech
 @ictadvocates
 @zyyau
 @ganyngreen
 peacenow!

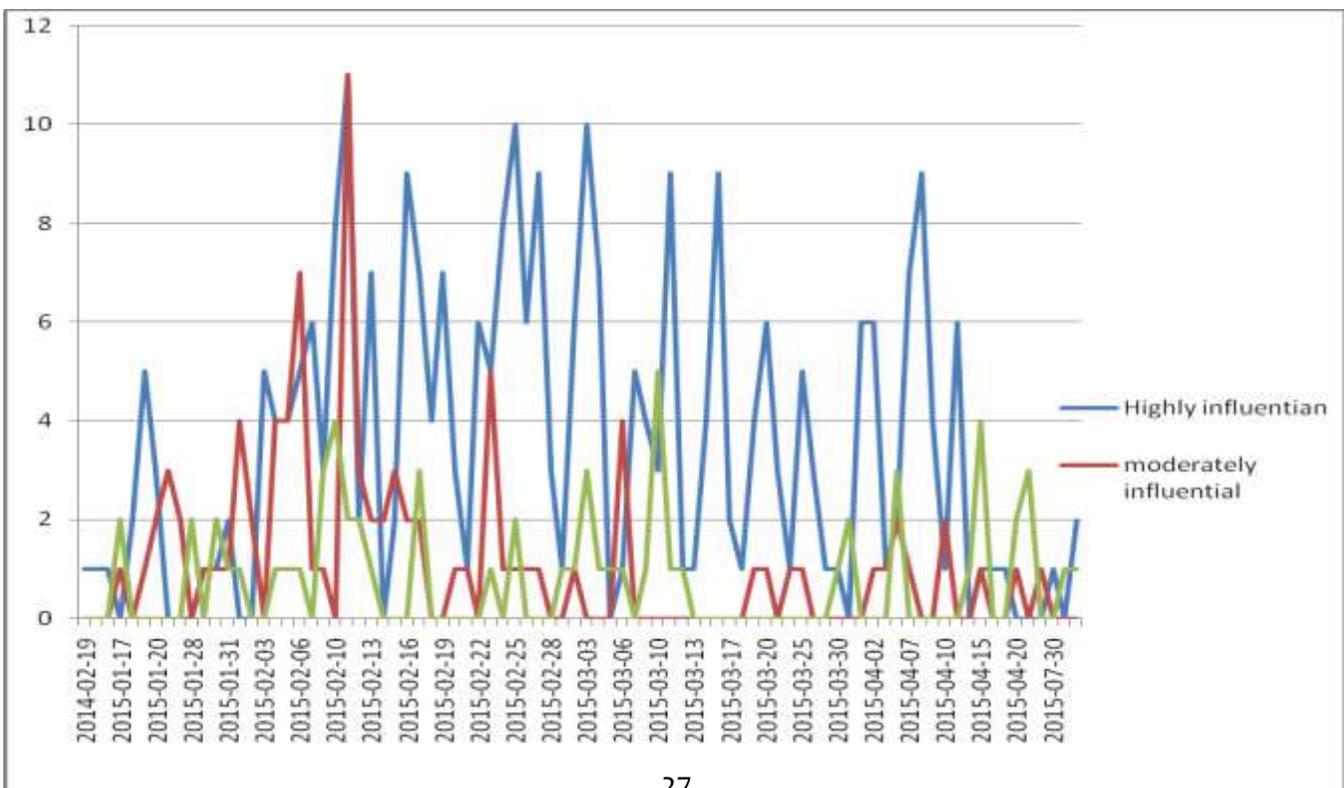
 www.citad.org

Fig 19



The “dangerousness” of the speech items found at a particular time seems to respond to the changes in offline events. The month of February witnessed the highest number of extremely dangerous speech which was the month in which election was postponed. The incidence of dangerous speech tends to decrease with positive events and rise with negative ones. Thus, the period when the peace accord was signed, witnessed a drop in the volume and the dangerousness of hate speech incidences however, when the presidential campaign team was pelted in Bauchi, there was increase in dangerous speech. This shows a correlation between offline events and circulation of dangerous speech offline.

Fig 20



CONCLUSION

The project has demonstrated the workability of the Umati methodology in Nigeria. However, much needs to be done to improve it especially in the area of automatic capturing of online speech act. The project has shown that Facebook appears to be the major channel for the dissemination of hate speech in the Nigeria social media space, just as it is in Kenya, according to Umati data which found more than 90% of dangerous speech on Facebook. Much of the hate speech is ethno-religious in context or: in target and fits the political class into various pockets of divide along ethnic, political, religious and regional basis. The dangerous co-occurrence of religious and ethically charged hate speech which in our context are easy drivers of violence means it is important to find effective strategies for countering hate speech.

Much of the hate speech calls for discrimination against the other, although there are significant instances of call to call for murder. Here are some examples:

Muslim are problem to mankind starting from the beginning Kain that killed Abel was a muslim, Ishmael that beats the successor is a muslim Egypt oppressing Israel are muslim all terrorists are muslim and Boko Haram is an Islamic sect just to mention a few non see reason why muslim deserve not to rule

Date posted : 22/02/2015

BY WHOM OR BY WHAT SORT OF SPEAKER: Burya Gabriel Gbashima

Ndigbo in general can never give support to a party that found Boko Haram to kill the Igbos in northern states and let me tell you people the truth APC leaders are foolish, why will you APC leaders and members or followers think that Igbos are like Yoruba and Hausa cows that are controlled by Oba and Emir foolish Yorubas and Hausa. Ndigbo are giving their support to President Goodluck Jonathan and Governor Agbaje of Lagos state

Date posted : 19/02/2015

By whom or by what sort of speaker: Uchenna Ekenwaneze Chiedozi

On which platform: Facebook post

There was also evidence of gender specific dangerous speech but this very small in comparison to the totality of dangerous speech captured during the period. Some examples we captured include:

TAhir. U will 1st of all talk to ur Aboki sisters that will born a child with out father in Kano he will turn to Almajiri in Kaduna with out knowing who his father is later he will graduate to Boko Haram and started killing people all in the name of Useless religion

@Erhuvwu Nyamirai rd most prostitute in the world. Don't forget that, ndigbos women formed commercial sex workers. U r sending ur mothers & sisters 2 Italy, Belgium, France ETC 4 international prostitute. U r product of baby factory. U r hatched at baby factory like rats & monkey, Hausa Fulani prostitute (this was accompanied with a picture of monkey wearing Hijab and makeup)

About 36% of the hate items were items which had been used before and resulted in violent consequence: a sobering fact that also indicates the possibility of outbreak of violence. A number of the hate speech items were rumors that were capable of inciting group violence. One example of rumor as dangerous speech the spread in the social media of a story that the principal of the school Buhari (then Presidential candidate of the APC) attended was murdered after releasing a document that showed that the Buhari did attend the school. There was an effort then by the PDP to disqualify him on the grounds that he did not attend a secondary school as required by the law. The import of the rumor was that agents (possibly of the government) had murdered him because he had provided the evidence that the candidate did attend the school. Had this happened, there would have been a serious backlash. As part of our countering, we sent someone to the school to find out the veracity of the story and found that nothing had happened to the principal and therefore had to put a counter message to

to assure people that the principal was hale and hearty.

Although a common feature of dangerous speech is to use proverbs or codes, to make the meaning only intelligible to the target audience, about 95% of the dangerous speech captured did not use either proverbs or some codes although invariably there was extensive use of animals to describe the other. Could this be the result of normalization of some degree of mutual antagonism?

Majority perpetrators are found to be male, educated (since they communicate mainly in English) and presumably young people (presumably because age falsification is common in the social media) and identifiable individuals. Well-hidden identities are not widespread by those indulging in hate speech. Over 60% are identifiable commentators: they are partisans of the various political parties. It shows that majority of the people indulging hate speech are party supporter rather than politicians themselves. Politicians come only second as a category but as the result shows, audiences tend to be more receptive to messages by the politicians.

Does “dangerous speech online” need a powerful speaker?: it seems to us that the reach and speed of the propagation of what may be considered as dangerous speech is on its own capable of catalyzing violence occur without powerful speaker: to give an example when the rumour about the “murder” of the principal of the secondary school that President Buhari attended went viral but for effective counter responses, there would have been a serious violence. Yet the rumor did not originate from a known powerful speaker. Rumors as drivers of violence also do not necessarily take on board the issue of denigration of a specific group of people: it is merely the spreading of falsehood as we saw with the case of the “online murder” of the principal

The results show a link between offline events and dangerous speech online, in particular dangerous speech by politicians or act of violence against them tend to generate hate speech. As many items of hate speech were reaction to speech acts offline, it shows that there is link between hate speech online and hate speech in the traditional media such as newspapers and radio.

A large number of the items are reaction to criticism of specific persons. While the criticism itself is not necessarily dangerous speech, the reaction tends to qualify as dangerous speech: what this illustrates is the element of intolerance of criticism in the society.

Finally, the data shows that peace activities during the election were usefully in bringing down the volume of hate speech in the country's social media space.

Dangerous speech continued to be traded even after the elections have been peacefully completed; indicating that there is the need to find ways to contain the bitterness that the campaigns have generated. The PDP, which was the incumbent party had used state-owned media as well as pumped money into private media which ran a dirty campaign against the presidential candidate of the APC, the main opposition then. Supporters of the APC, especially at grassroots level, responded similarly, though having no similar access to media, was not as visible as that of the PDP. But more than the dirty campaign, the bitterness for the PDP was seeing power for the first time in the electoral history of the country to slip away from the hands of an incumbent party of government to the opposition. This bitterness which has been hardened by the anti-corruption campaign of the new ruling party provides the background to the next installment of our report.

APPENDIX 1

Dangerous Speech Categorisation Form

*Required

Date of Entry *

mm/dd/yyyy

Name *

Date of the original posting of the offensive text *

mm/dd/yyyy

Link to the speech item cited (AND screenshot, if it is an image or it is very dangerous, or the context around it e.g. comments, is important for understanding it) *

Please provide direct links (click through the item to obtain the direct link)

What language is the audience being addressed in? *

In 'other', please specify

- English
- Hausa
- Pidgin
- Igbo
- Yoruba
- Hausa/English
- Igbo/English
- Yoruba/English
- Other:

Does this Relates to Elections? *

- Yes
- No

The Speaker

person who posted

Name/Nickname/Username of the speaker *

If provided as 'Guest' or 'Anonymous' please indicate exactly that

What Country/Region/Location is the speaker from? *

Optional (only if mentioned). Else indicate N/A (not applicable).

The speaker is *

If other, please specify

- A Politician
- A Journalist (affiliated with a known news entity)
- A blogger
- An elder/community leader
- An identifiable commenter
- An anonymous commenter
- A public figure (eg celebrities)
- Other:

Gender Of The Speaker ^

- Male
- Female
- Not Known

Is this an influential speaker? ^

- Yes
- No
- Not Sure

How much influence does this speaker have? ^

1 2 3

Little A lot of

What is the source or basis of the speaker's influence? ^

- An Elder
- A Celebrity
- Feared Person
- Religious Leader
- Community Leader
- Option 6
- Other:

The Audience

Who is the audience most likely to react to this article? ^

- PDP (and/or their supporters)
- APC (and/or their supporters)
- Hausa/Fulani
- Yoruba
- Igbos
- Muslims
- Christians
- Northern Minorities
- Southern Minorities
- Other Ethnic Groups
- Northerners
- Southerners
- Other Political Parties
- Other:

Gender of the audience most likely to react

- Male
- Female
- Both
- Not known

Is that audience (the one most likely to react) susceptible to incitement? Why? E.g. are they frightened?

Did anyone react to the speech item?

- Yes
- No
- Not Sure

How? Eg How many likes, how many retweets, how many comments?

Was the statement a response to another post or comment?

- Yes
- No

The Speech

Text of the Speech or description of image *

English Translation for the Offensive Text

Does this text use coded language e.g. a proverb?

e.g. One rotten apple can spoil the entire sack

- Yes
- No

If yes, please indicate the coded language or proverb and how you have seen it used before in a dangerous way

e.g. 'let's uproot the weeds from our crops', known to have been used to call for eviction of certain people

Can the speech be understood as encouraging the audience to *

Can the speech be understood as encouraging the audience to *

- Discriminate
- Riot
- Loot
- Forcefully evict
- Beat/Injure
- Kill
- Other:

Does the item discriminate against women/girls?

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

The statement can be taken to be offensive to *

In case of 'other ethnic groups' or 'other' please specify

- PDP (and/or their supporters)
- APC (and/or their supporters)
- Hausa/Fulani
- Yoruba
- Igbos
- Muslims
- Christians
- Northern Minorities
- Southern Minorities
- Other Ethnic Groups
- Northerners
- Southerners
- Other Political Parties
- Other:

Has this statement been used before and led to violence/harm? *

- Yes
- No
- Not Sure

Does the speech item *

If other, please specify

- Compare a group of people with animals, insect or a derogatory term used in mother tongue
- Suggest that the audience faces a serious threat or violence from another group
- Suggest that some people are spoiling the integrity of a group

.....
● ● ●
.....

APPENDIX 2: SOURCE LIST

Pages/Groups/Blogs	URL/ links
Harshenka Alkalinka	https://www.facebook.com/groups/647487255283462
Kowane Gauta	https://www.facebook.com/groups/461458103950820
Siyasar Kano	https://www.facebook.com/pages/Siyasar-Kano-Sai-Kano-pyramid-Radio-Kanonigeria/332230803454402
Kurman Baki	https://www.facebook.com/groups/370378369690748
Goodluck Jonathan	https://www.facebook.com/jonathangoodluck
Vanguard News	https://www.facebook.com/vanguardngr
Information Nigeria	https://www.facebook.com/informationnigeria
Thisdaylive.com	https://www.facebook.com/thisdaylive
News24 Nigeria	https://www.facebook.com/news24nigeria
Reuben Abati	https://www.facebook.com/reubenabati
Okey Ndibe	https://www.facebook.com/okey.ndibe
Biafra Movement	https://www.facebook.com/biafra.movement
Otunba Gani Adams	https://www.facebook.com/otunba.adams
Mujahid Dokubo Asari	https://www.facebook.com/mujahid.dokuboasari1
Dandalin Siyasar Facebook	https://www.facebook.com/groups/347209608753597
Arewa Youth Forum	https://www.facebook.com/pages/Arewa-youth-forum
SIYASAR KANO SAI KANO	https://www.facebook.com/groups/259839784128887
MIDDLE-BELT FORUM.	https://www.facebook.com/groups/221351714721186
	https://www.facebook.com/nigerialr
Nigeria Calabash	https://www.facebook.com/nigeriacalabash
KWANKWASO FOR PRESIDENT 2015	https://www.facebook.com/groups/220615201382421
Eze Eluchie	https://www.facebook.com/eze.eluchie
Rima Shawulu Kwewum	https://www.facebook.com/rima.kwewum
Buhariyya Zalla	https://www.facebook.com/groups/buharism
Goodluck Ebele Jonathan Grassroots Support Foundation	https://www.facebook.com/groups/764082003625827/
Rotimi Chibuike Amaechi	https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100007310808012
Kwankwasiyya Amana (Hausa)	https://www.facebook.com/kwankwasiyya.amana.7
Apc Bloggers Campaign Group	https://www.facebook.com/pages/APC-Bloggers-Campaign-Group/562314967137832
Dandalin Kakiya PDP	https://www.facebook.com/groups/141842355993813/
Muhammadu Buhari	https://www.facebook.com/MuhammaduBuhari
WOMEN VANGUARD FOR ATIKU	https://www.facebook.com/groups/742801145805496/
APC MOBILIZATION FOR CHANGE	https://www.facebook.com/groups/380102332101468/
KOWANNE GAUTA..... Freedom	https://www.facebook.com/groups/kowannegauta/842865962421484
Radio Kano Nigeria	http://www.facebook.com/groups/25983784128887/
SIYASAR KANO SAI KANO	https://www.facebook.com/paidabrike?ref=ts&fref=ts
I Paid A Bribe naija	https://www.facebook.com/myNaijaGist
NaijaGist	https://www.facebook.com/pages/The-Jonathan-Revolution/1472777229671850?fref=nf
Jonathan Should Lead Again	https://www.facebook.com/hopefornigeria?fref=ts
Hope for Nigeria	https://www.facebook.com/ReportYourself?fref=ts
Sahara Reporters	https://www.facebook.com/Gejites?fref=ts
Gejites	https://www.facebook.com/groups/607319529312426/?fref=ts
Shekarau Media Vanguard	https://www.facebook.com/groups/SAVEKOGI/
Save Kogi Initiative	https://www.facebook.com/groups/Mbalgham/
ZAAR AWAKENING & AWARENESS ROUNDTABLE	https://www.facebook.com/groups/182482138494586/
Kogi Political Discuss Group	https://www.facebook.com/groups/abubakaraudurenaissance/
PRINCE ABUBAKAR AUDU RENAISSANCE-KOGI	https://www.facebook.com/buhari2015support
General Muhammadu Buhari 2015 Support Group	https://www.facebook.com/buharisupport
Buhari Support Organizations	

Pages/Groups/Blogs	URL/ links
Prince Abubakar Audu	https://www.facebook.com/pages/Buhari4change-Official-Fan-Page/116280281775259
Believe Buhari	https://www.facebook.com/believebuhari
Buhari Volunteers	https://www.facebook.com/Buharivolunteers
Buhari New Media Organization	https://www.facebook.com/groups/898640873481164
BUHARI FOR NIGERIA PRESIDENT	https://www.facebook.com/groups/255734004496390/
Buhari Youth Movement	https://www.facebook.com/groups/268538996650657
MUHAMMADU BUHARI 2015 CAMPAIGN	https://www.facebook.com/groups/406303909525322/
BUHARI FOR NIGERIA PRESIDENT	https://www.facebook.com/groups/989182434432524/
GEN. MUHAMMADU BUHARI TRUE	https://www.facebook.com/groups/493744094066310/
GEN BUHARI FOR 2015	https://www.facebook.com/groups/genbuharifor2015/
Goodluck Jonathan 2015-2019	https://www.facebook.com/groups/Josla/
Goodluck Jonathan 2015 online group	https://www.facebook.com/groups/goodluckjonathan2015onlinegroup/
PRESIDENT GOODLUCK EBELE JONATHAN GRASSROOTS	https://www.facebook.com/groups/764082003625827
GOODLUCK JONATHAN 2015 SUPPORT FORUM (GSF)	https://www.facebook.com/groups/738111549564190/
GOODLUCK JONATHAN YOUTHS	https://www.facebook.com/groups/493744094066310/
One Million Friends of Goodluck Jonathan	https://www.facebook.com/groups/goodluckebelejonathan/
UNITED SUPPORTERS FOR GOODLUCK JONATHAN	https://www.facebook.com/groups/Unitedsupportersforgoodluckjonathan/
PRESIDENT GOODLUCK EBELE JONATHAN MUST RUN	https://www.facebook.com/groups/358783287598193/
FACEBOOK FRIENDS OF PRESIDENT GOODLUCK JONATHAN	https://www.facebook.com/groups/454498474653352/
YES President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan 2015	https://www.facebook.com/groups/yespgej2015bayelsa/
WHO THE CAP FITS...Goodluck Ebele Jonathan 2015	https://www.facebook.com/groups/633077770097989/
FACEBOOK FRIENDS OF PRESIDENT GOODLUCK EBELE JONATHAN	https://www.facebook.com/groups/619319638106242/
GOODLUCK EBELE JONATHAN SOLIDARITY	https://www.facebook.com/groups/GSPWORLDWIDE/
GEJA (Goodluck Ebele Jonathan Again	https://www.facebook.com/groups/280693632094852/
Goodluck Jonathan 2015-2019	https://www.facebook.com/groups/Josla/
Nigerian News	
	https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100008890512251&fref=photo
Nigerians Against Boko Haram	https://www.facebook.com/NIGERIANSAGAINSTBOKOHARI
Nigerian Voices	https://www.facebook.com/234voices
Nigerian People's Parliament	https://www.facebook.com/groups/265276593545022/
Goodluck Jonathan 2015 Online Group	https://www.facebook.com/groups/goodluckjonathan2015onlinegroup/
The Middle Belt Region	https://www.facebook.com/groups/134821730057624/
Nigeria's Renaissance	https://www.facebook.com/NigeriasRenaissance
Apc Mobilization for Change	https://www.facebook.com/groups/823725291010317/
Christian vs. Islamic Apologetics	https://www.facebook.com/groups/Islamicapologetics/
Christian Apologetics Against Islam	https://www.facebook.com/groups/291823680880498/
The Odua Gazette	
Nigerian Newspapers	
Alhaji Abdulfatah Ahmed (Kwara State Governor)	https://www.facebook.com/groups/193065344251/
Nigerian Political Development	

CITAD (www.citad.org) is a capacity building civil society organization whose activities covers research, advocacy, training and publicity in all areas of ICTs. Its vision is; a knowledge-based democratic society free of hunger while its mission is; using ICTs to empower citizens for a just and knowledge-based society that is anchored on sustainable and balanced development.

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