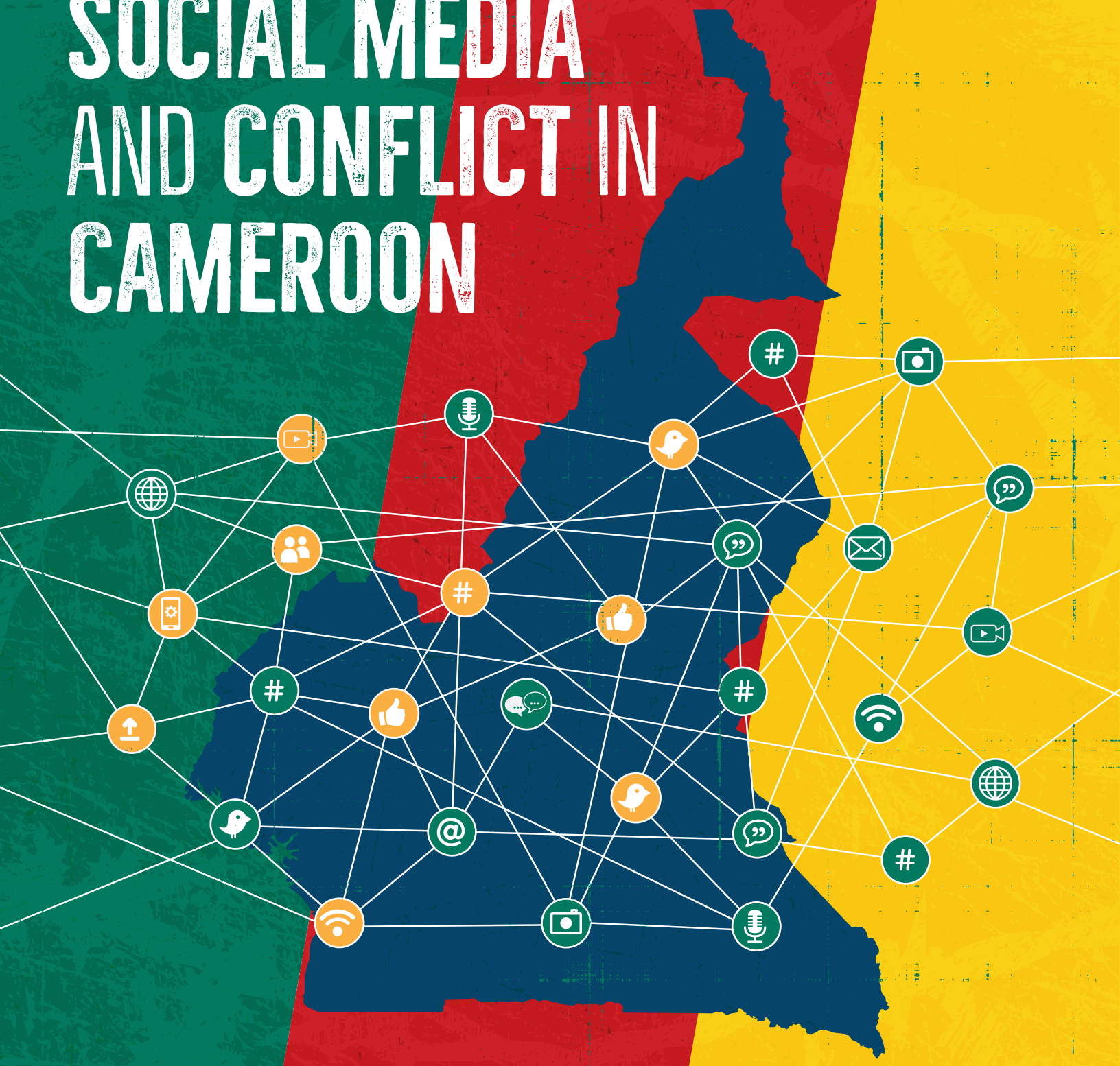
SOCIAL MEDIA AND CONFLICT IN CAMEROON



A LEXICON OF HATE SPEECH TERMS

Table of Contents

I. INTRODUCTION	**3**
II. THE LEXICON	**4**
Primary Words and Phrases That are Offensive and Inflammatory	**8**
1. Terrorist	**8**
2. Anglo-fou	**11**
3. Graffi	**13**
4. Cam no go	**15**
5. Ambazonia	**17**
6. Ambazozo	**19**
7. Two cubes of sugar in a basin of water	**22**
8. Bamenda	**24**
9. Franco-frog	**26**
10. Rat	**28**
11. Dog	**30**
12. Biafra	**31**
13. Black leg	**32**
14. Bamileke	**34**
Secondary List of Terms	**36**
III. ANNEX A: SURVEY METHODOLOGY AND CONSIDERATIONS	**36**
IV. ANNEX B: ISSUES AND RISKS	**38**
V. ANNEX C: ONLINE SOURCES OF WORDS OR PHRASES THAT ARE OFFENSIVE AND INFLAMMATORYS	**40**
END NOTES	**42**

Project Team: Althea Middleton-Detzner, Nicola Barrach-Yousefi, Jude Mutah
Partner Organization: Local Youth Corner Cameroon | www.loyocameroon.org
Author: Nicola Barrach-Yousefi
Editorial Design: Cesar Manuel León Osorio | www.potencialpuro.com

About the Author: 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.

I. Introduction

Since 2014, PeaceTech Lab has undertaken research and worked with local partners in Myanmar, Kenya, South Sudan, Nigeria, and now Cameroon to understand the dynamics of online hate speech and the connection between online hate speech and offline violent events. This research attempts to address a gap in recent efforts to tackle hate speech and its effect on communities in conflict zones. 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, or even potentially dangerous. This notion is the springboard for much of the Lab's work on combating hate speech.

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 feed monitoring software to better track how hate speech spreads and who is using it. The Lab also has a large network of local organizations that can act to address hateful content and work to curb the potential for violence. PeaceTech Lab has successfully tested its model in South Sudan, Nigeria, and Kenya, where local partners have used the Lab's portfolio of lexicons as well as a series of reports that analyzed how people were using and spreading this speech online to address the potential for violence.

This lexicon investigates the landscape of online hate narratives in Cameroon. Since 2016, Cameroon has seen an uptake in hateful and inflammatory rhetoric in the context of an intensifying crisis between Anglophone and Francophone communities and political elites - a crisis that is rooted in dynamics sown in Cameroon's colonial past and transition to independence. With increasing violence occurring mostly in the Anglophone Southwest and Northwest, there are mounting fears of the situation escalating into a civil war. In addition, the country is still dealing with the ongoing effects of a Boko Haram incursion in the Far North Region and the looming specter of violent extremism.

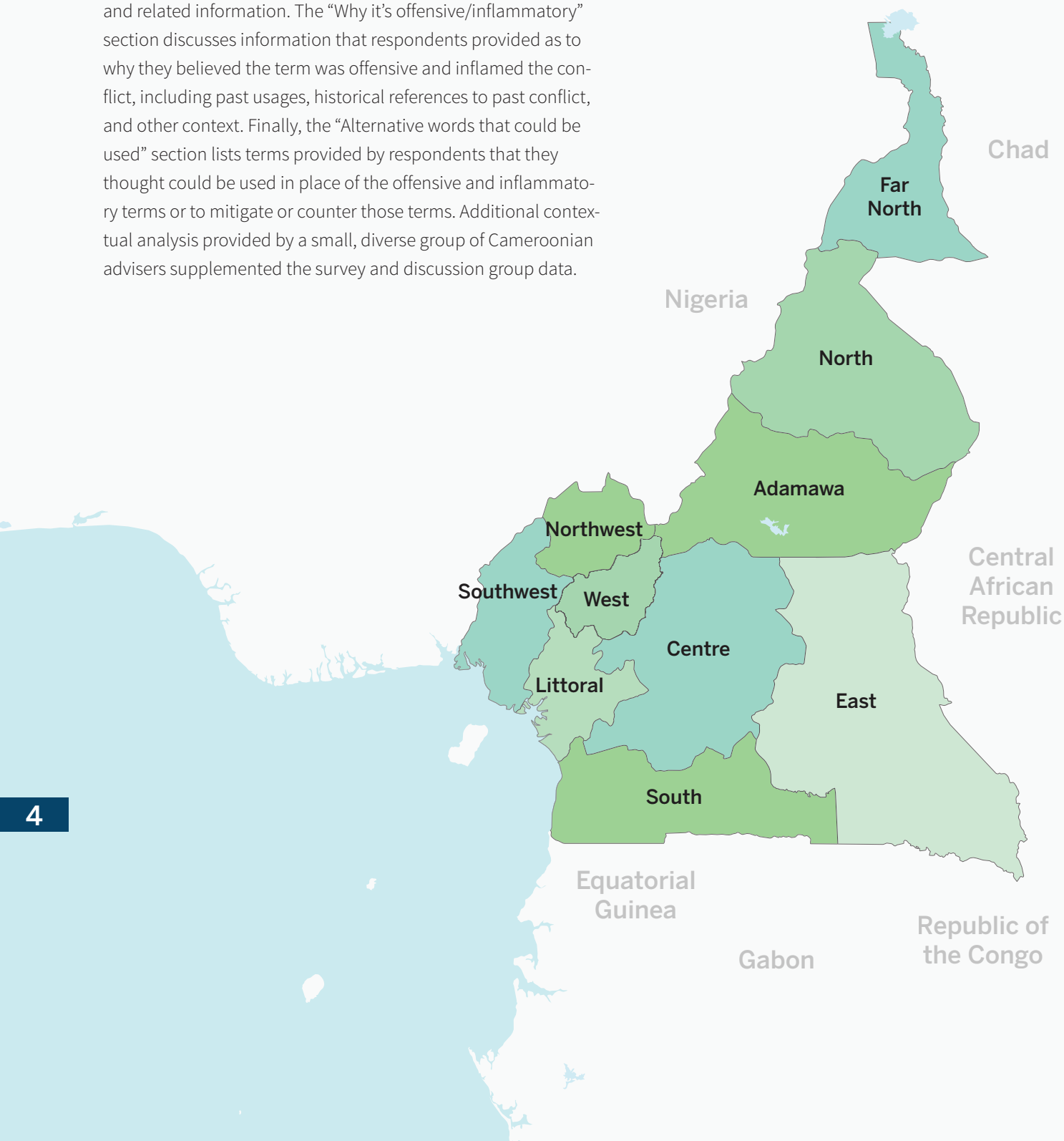
In this complex and multilayered context, hate speech in Cameroon, as in other contexts, is used as a tool to achieve political and material ends (e.g., polarizing opinions, dehumanizing opponents, exacerbating feelings of frustration and hate, and calling for violent action). With an increase in the prevalence of hate speech language across online platforms and in public debate in the lead-up to the 2018 presidential election, this lexicon aims to serve as an initial guide to specific words and phrases identified during a finite period of time in Cameroon. PeaceTech Lab intends the lexicon to serve as a resource to inform individuals and organizations involved in monitoring and countering hate speech in Cameroon - and potentially elsewhere - so that their work can be more effective.

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.

- **Develop a lexicon of online hate speech.** PeaceTech Lab created a lexicon of hate speech terms commonly used on digital media in the Cameroonian context to provide a qualitative and quantitative analytical foundation that local and international groups can use to more effectively monitor and counter hate speech. The lexicon also intends to raise awareness among Cameroonian social media users, including those in diaspora communities.
- **Produce data visualizations.** For this lexicon, PeaceTech Lab used software tools to create visualizations of hate speech terms and phrases.
- **Validate the lexicon and analysis through a "ground-truth" process of dialogues with local actors.** PeaceTech Lab, in partnership with the Local Youth Corner Cameroon, conducted a series of focus group discussions with representatives of Cameroon civil society members coming from all 10 regions meeting in Yaounde to validate the meaning and context of the hate speech terms. 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.

II. The Lexicon

To compose the lexicon, the project team conducted an online survey, a series of focus groups discussions, in-depth interviews, and expert reviews with Cameroonians to identify terms that are contributing to Cameroon's conflicts. For each term, the "Definition" section contains information that respondents provided in survey questions 1–3 about the term's origins, general meaning, and related information. The "Why it's offensive/inflammatory" section discusses information that respondents provided as to why they believed the term was offensive and inflamed the conflict, including past usages, historical references to past conflict, and other context. Finally, the "Alternative words that could be used" section lists terms provided by respondents that they thought could be used in place of the offensive and inflammatory terms or to mitigate or counter those terms. Additional contextual analysis provided by a small, diverse group of Cameroonian advisers supplemented the survey and discussion group data.



Conflict in Cameroon: A Summary

Cameroon has a rich and complicated colonial history. The country enjoyed relative peace for several years after independence in the 1960s, but the arrival of the Boko Haram insurgency in the Far North Region, the spillover effects of the crisis in the Central African Republic (CAR) in the Eastern Region, and the recent Anglophone crisis in the Northwest and Southwest Regions inflamed conflict dynamics across the country. The Anglophone crisis, which is partly the result of the country's colonial legacy and history of marginalization, has been exacerbated by other drivers of conflict such as poor governance, corruption, and a deterioration in the rule of law in the lead-up to the October 2018 presidential elections. Recent challenges have compelled many to suggest that Africa's next civil war could be in Cameroon.[1]

Colonial History and Seeds of the Anglophone Crisis

In 1884, Cameroon became a German colony referred to as Kamerun. In March 1916,[2] Britain and France ousted the Germans from Kamerun during the First World War, and the League of Nations later partitioned Kamerun into two unequal parts. France took a larger geographical share (4/5 of the territory), named it Cameroun (today's Francophone Cameroon), and administered it from Yaoundé under the French Direct Rule system. Britain had a much smaller percentage (the remaining 1/5 of the territory) along the borders with Nigeria (the present day Anglophone regions). They called the territory British Southern Cameroons and administered it from Nigeria, using the British Indirect Rule system. On January 1, 1960, the former French Cameroon became independent as La Republique du Cameroun. However, British Southern Cameroons never had the opportunity to become independent. Instead, the United Nations held a referendum on February 11, 1961, to determine if British Southern Cameroons should join French Cameroon or Nigeria to achieve independence. A third option of total independence without joining either side was not provided.[3] Therefore, the people of British Southern Cameroons voted to achieve independence by joining French Cameroon to form the Federal Republic of Cameroon. British Southern Cameroons effectively achieved independence by reunifying with French Cameroon on October 1, 1961.[4] In 1972, then President Ahmadou Ahidjo dissolved the federation and established the United Republic of Cameroon. Twelve years later in 1984, President Paul Biya changed the name to the present Republic of Cameroon (La République du Cameroun) - the same name French Cameroon had acquired during its independence from France in 1960 before reunification and federation talks.[5] Anglophone Cameroonians have decried political, economic and socio-cultural domination and marginalization since they joined French Cameroon.[6] In 2016, after several years of protests, these grievances escalated into the ongoing conflict in the Northwest and Southwest of Cameroon commonly referred to as the Anglophone crisis.[7]

Boko Haram

Originating from Nigeria, the Boko Haram terrorist group extended attacks into northern Cameroon beginning in 2014.[8] By 2015, military forces from Cameroon, Chad, Niger, and Nigeria, under the auspices of the Multinational Joint Task Force, had substantially weakened the group.[9] However, military intervention alone could not contain the threat posed by Boko Haram, as the group's expansion brought both socioeconomic and political consequences. The group has continued to wage attacks, including suicide bombings, mostly targeting civilians. Multiple factors converged to

enable the spread of Boko Haram in Cameroon's Far North Region. With approximately four million residents, the Far North is the most populous among Cameroon's ten regions. In addition, compared to other areas of the country, there are high levels of poverty and a lack of basic services.[10] These grievances provide some explanation for instances of cooperation with and vulnerability to recruitment by foreign groups such as the Boko Haram.[11] Since 2013, at least 2,500 Cameroonians have died from the insurgency, and an estimated 350,000 persons have been displaced within Cameroon between December 2017 and September 2018.[12] Since the beginning of 2018, Cameroon witnessed more than 90 violent incidents involving Boko Haram in the Far North Region.[13] Although weakened, the terrorist group is far from being defeated.

Refugee Crisis

The crisis in the Central African Republic (CAR) that began in 2012 has had a severe impact on the eastern regions of Cameroon. Fighting occurred between cattle herders and local farmers along the borders of both countries,[14] resulting in destroyed property and often accompanied by kidnappings, killing, and displacement of local populations. Cameroon currently hosts 250,000 refugees from CAR and struggles to support these refugees adequately;[15] this massive influx of refugees further aggravates the current problems in Cameroon.[16] In the midst of all of this, the ongoing Anglophone crisis is still the most challenging conflict facing Cameroon today.

Suppression of Speech and Dissent

In October 2016, Anglophone lawyers and teachers started a sit-in strike and series of nonviolent protests calling for the restoration of the British common law system and traditions. This was driven by concerns of marginalization, political exclusion, and the state's use of French language and laws over English despite both being officially recognized.[17] The government responded with repression, arresting hundreds of protesters and charging them with terrorism. Security forces continued to capture, imprison, torture, and murder innocent civilians indiscriminately.[18] The nonviolent protests, which had started with a demand for autonomy, morphed into an armed struggle, with rebels of the Anglophone regions now making calls for complete separation into the state of 'Ambazonia.'[19] President Paul Biya branded the protesters as extremists and terrorists, and used the crisis as a basis for widespread restrictions on civil liberties and closure of civic space.[20] On November 30, 2017, upon return from the African-European Union Summit, Biya escalated his rhetoric further by announcing that Cameroon was under attack from terrorists and vowed to "eradicate these criminals" to bring back peace and security.[21] Biya has since refused to engage in dialogue, and mostly relies on military operations to suppress dissidents.[22]

Internal Displacement

The humanitarian consequences of the crisis are enormous. Hundreds of people have died, an estimated 200,000 are displaced within Cameroon, and at least 40,000 have fled to neighboring Nigeria. At least 70 villages have been burnt down by security forces.[23] Rebel fighters in the Northwest and Southwest have also committed atrocities. According to a report by Amnesty International,[24] separatists have killed at least 44 security forces and have attacked teachers, students, and local businesses that ignore the separatists' calls for school boycotts and weekly stay-at-home strikes known as 'ghost towns' campaigns.[25] Moreover, the upcoming elections have accelerated the deterioration of the Anglophone crisis.

Elections

Cameroon held presidential elections on October 7, 2018. In 2008, Cameroon's President Biya abolished presidential term limits. At the time this study was published, opposition to Biya's 36-year rule was weak and fractured, and there was no coalition in place to challenge him.[26] Fighting in the Northwest and Southwest increased after Biya declared his intention to run for a 7th term in office and in the lead-up to the election, attacks and insecurity have spiked across the country. A flare-up of hate speech online and in the news media contributed to further polarizing the country. Francophone Cameroon journalists on television news broadcasts labeled Anglophones as "rats" and "terrorists," and requested for the government to "kill" them.[27] Opposition parties criticized the incumbent regime for mismanaging the Anglophone crisis. The government of Cameroon has issued disparaging statements as well. President Biya named separatists and activities as "terrorists" and vowed to "deal" with them.[28] These statements became more frequent with the advent of the Anglophone crisis, and have further exacerbated the conflict ahead of the October 7, 2018 polls.

With the escalating conflict in the North and Southwest regions, the Boko Haram crisis in the north, and President Biya's attempt to extend his 36 years in power, the prospect for peace in Cameroon is not bright. Calls by the United Nations, the Commonwealth, European Union, the United States, and others urging dialogue have not yet succeeded. Elections in such a context have risked aggravating the situation and provoking more violence.

Primary Words and Phrases That are Offensive and Inflammatory

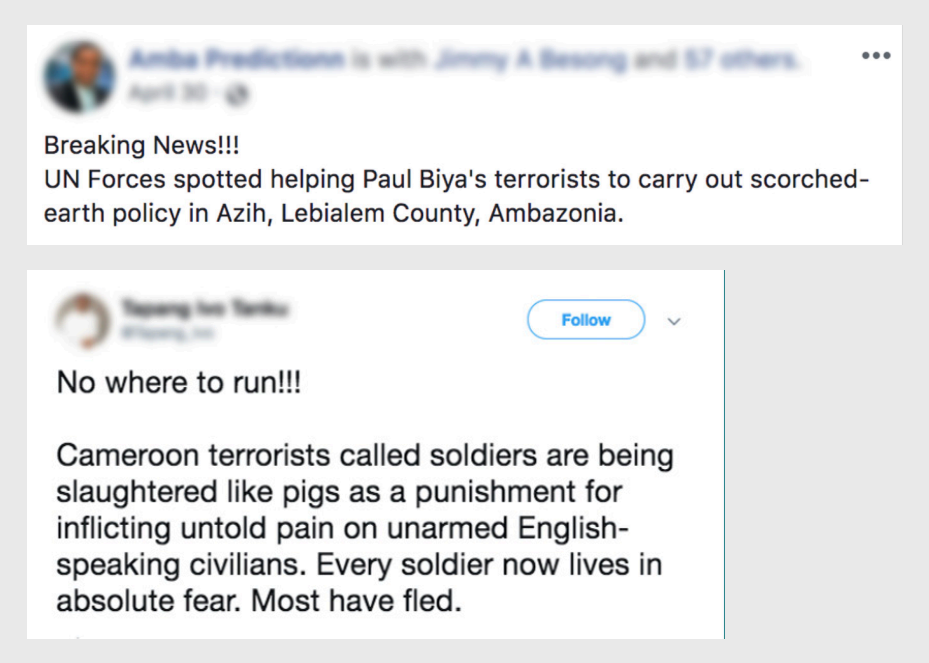
The following words and phrases were the terms most frequently identified by survey respondents as "offensive and inflammatory" and contributing to the ongoing crisis in Cameroon. They are included here in the order of 'frequency of use' as well as 'potency' (how likely they are to lead to harm or to trigger actions such as targeted violence) as classified and validated throughout the research process. The terms' meaning and context were further critiqued by focus group participants in Cameroon, 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.[29]

> ! *Please note that the sample posts as well as the world clouds not only contain offensive and inflammatory terms, but also obscene terms.*

1. Terrorist

Other spellings and related references: Boko Haramist, anti-Balaka, jihadist, secessionists, insurgents

Sample Posts:



Definition: A terrorist is a person who uses unlawful violence and intimidation - especially against civilians - in the pursuit of political aims.

Since the beginning of the Boko Haram incursion from Nigeria into the far Northern part of Cameroon in 2014, this term has increasingly been used to refer to Cameroonians of the Far North, where there is a large Hausa and Muslim population. As explained by one focus group participant, "Muslims for example are considered terrorists because Boko Haram's activities are linked to the muslim faith."

In the context of the Anglophone crisis and the rising tensions involving pro-independence actors in the Western regions, this term is also often used to refer to anybody associated with the Northwest and Southwest of Cameroon, and in some instances is meant to designate all Anglophones as 'Les Anglos sont des terroristes' (The Anglos are all terrorists). In turn, separatist groups and leaders refer to Cameroonian soldiers as 'terrorist soldiers.'

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: Using this term against a general group or population based on their geographic location (i.e., proximity to Boko Haram presence) or faith (in this case Islam) is inflammatory because it designates entire groups of people as posing a threat to the country and its way of life.

Depending on the speaker, it is also used to delegitimize an opposing person's or groups' grievances, actions and intentions. It is a particularly potent accusation on both sides of the Anglophone crisis because of how this term is used by various actors to demonize some groups and to legitimize the use of force against them. Notably, the Cameroonian government uses this term to legitimize military interventions in the Western [Anglophone] regions, and pro-independence fighters often refer to the military as "colonial terrorist forces or bandits.." Being a terrorist is associated with being "unlawful, violent, a criminal, and a traitor."

In addition, Cameroon has recently adopted an anti-terrorism law that gives broad powers to the authorities to detain without trial those accused of terrorism.[30] "Everybody is in fear of being accused of being a terrorist," according to a focus group participant. "Somebody accused to be a terrorist against the state can be arrested, disappeared." In this context, the term is thus also used to defame, intimidate, and create fear.

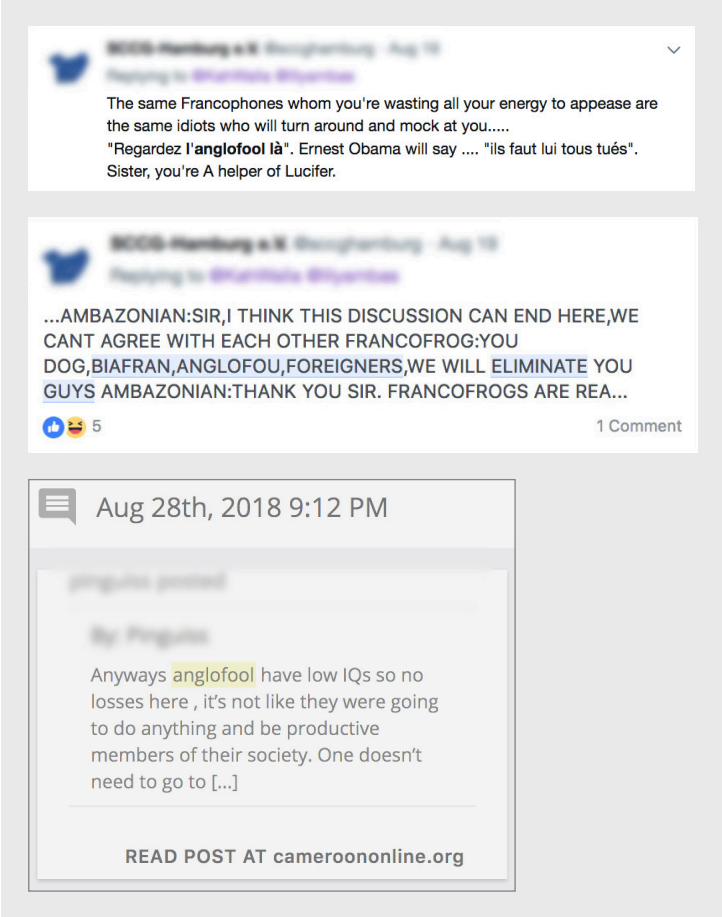
Alternative words that could be used: Muslim, Northerner, Southwesterner or Northwesterner

2. Anglo-fou

Other spellings and related references: anglofou, anglofool, anglofolle, les anglos, anglo fou-fou, anglo fu-fu, anglo-bête

Related hashtags used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #anglofou

Sample Posts:



Definition: This term is a contraction of the French words 'Anglophone' (somebody who speaks English) and 'fou,' which is an adjective meaning 'mad' or 'foolish..' It is mostly used by Francophone Cameroonians to refer in a derogatory way to Anglophone Cameroonians (who are mostly based in the Northwest and Southwest regions), implying that they are 'fools,' behave foolishly, or are stupid ("anglo-bête"). As explained by a focus group participant, "If you call me Anglo-fou, it means you are saying I am mad or I am a mad man."

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: This term is considered particularly offensive when used by a Francophone towards an Anglophone Cameroonian. As one workshop participant noted, it is offensive because it implies that Anglophones are "primitive, uncivilized, like 'villageois' (villagers)". It connotes that they do not know what they do, and are somehow inferior to the French-speaking majority.

It is important to note that this term is rooted in widespread prejudices against Anglophones that stem back to Cameroon's colonial past. The partition into a British and French territory introduced two vastly different administrative, educational, and legal systems, as well as linguistic and cultural differences that persist in part to this day -- long after the merging of the two territories into modern-day Cameroon. This historical division has been fertile ground to misunderstandings, feelings of exclusion, and even animosity, as the Anglophone population has felt marginalized and neglected since independence.

A focus group participant explained how expressions like "Vous les anglo-fou, vous raisonnez à gauche' (you Anglo-crazies, you think on the left)"" illustrate this well: "French Cameroonians drove on the right-hand side of the road, while British Cameroonians drove on the left-hand side of the road as in Britain. When Cameroonians of both sides met, there were usually differences in approach from a cultural perspective and these misunderstandings led to the use of the phrase "c'est les gens a gauche (French for "they are people on the left")," referring to the people of Anglophone Cameroon.

This term is used in the current context of the Anglophone crisis to dismiss the issues and grievances voiced by protesters and opposition in the Northwest and Southwest regions. If all Anglophones

are 'mad' or 'fools,' their demands and actions are illegitimate and 'foolish.' As stated by another workshop participant, using this terms is "... a means to make the Anglophones feel inferior," as well as for "Francophones to characterize their superiority."

Many participants shared the view that this widespread prejudice has had a systemic effect. In many contexts, as one noted, "Anglophones are afraid of speaking in English because of the negative reaction it will provoke," It is a divisive term that foments resentment.

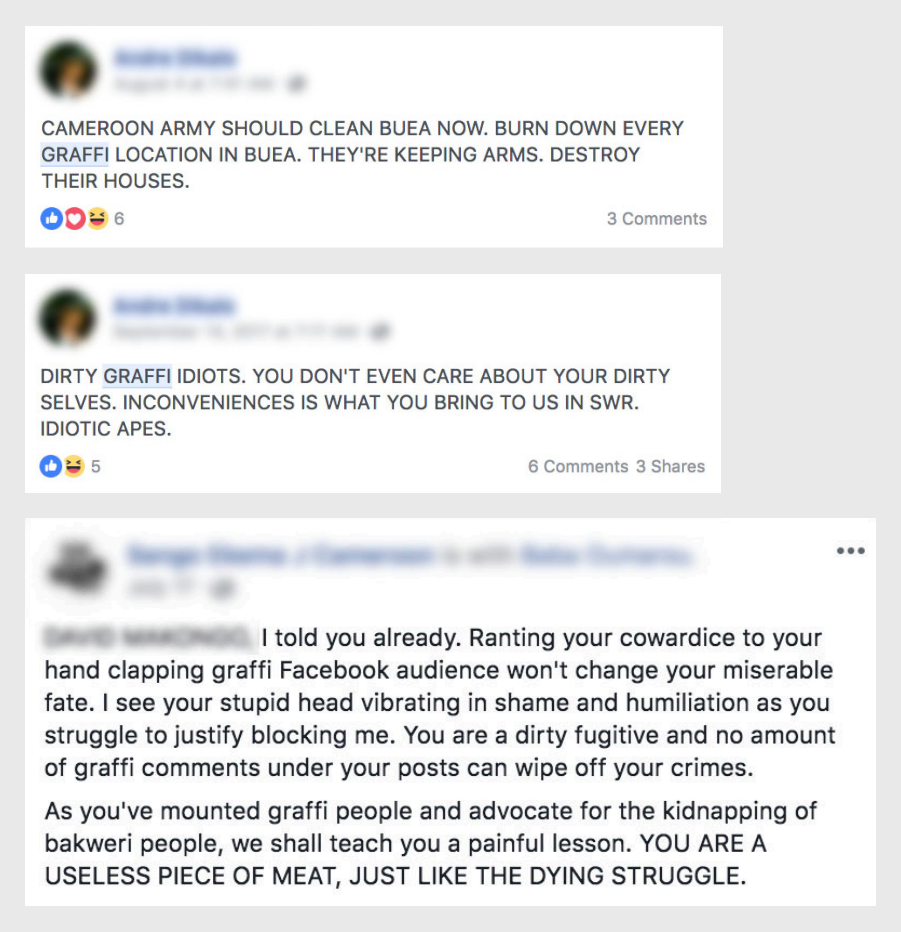
Alternative words that could be used: Cameroonian, English-speaking Cameroonian or Anglophone, Northwesterner/Southwesterner, my brother of English expression.

3. Graffi

Other spellings and related references: Ngelafis, ngelafi, graffi thing, graffi people, graffi man, Bamenda, graffi...are cam no go, gelaffi, Bamileke

Related hashtags used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #graffi, #northwest

Sample Posts:



Definition: This term is a Pidgin word derived from the phonetic pronunciation of the English words 'grass field.' This term is commonly used to refer to people from the Northwest Region of Cameroon, where there are grass fields. It is used by both Francophones and Southwestern Anglophones to refer to people from the Northwest Region. While sometimes used in a neutral way, it takes on a negative dimension when used by Francophones to refer to all Anglophones in the context of the current Anglophone crisis.

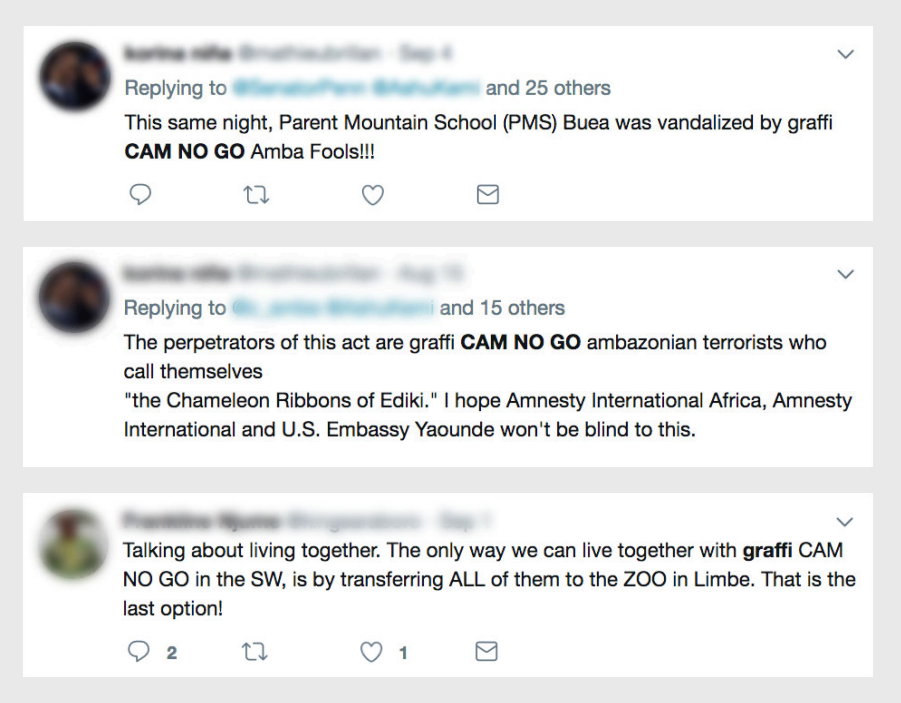
Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: This term is considered offensive because it connotes someone who is, according to survey and focus group participants, "selfish, crafty, has a hidden agenda", and is "uncultured and uncivilized, someone who is selfish and stingy." Its specific meaning varies slightly depending on who the speaker is. A focus group participant explained that "it is a hateful word used to insult a group of people." Other participants mentioned incidents in which officials from the Southwest Region used the term to refer to Northwesterners in accusing them of "causing the [Anglophone] crisis."

Alternative words that could be used: Northwesterners, Northwestern Cameroonians, Westerner

4. Cam no go

Other spellings and related references: come no go, came-on-go, came-no-go, Graffi are come no go, Wajili (in Bakweri language), Wangala (in Bakweri language)

Sample Posts:



Definition: 'Cam no go' is Pidgin for something that appears and refuses to leave again - it 'comes and doesn't go.' It was originally used to refer to a common skin disease that is particularly persistent and difficult to treat.

The phrase was first used in 1996 by the Governor of the Southwest Region to refer to people from the Northwest Region who had moved to and settled in the Southwest Region, in the context of asking them to leave.

Since then, according to focus group participants, the use of the term has widened to refer to any "settlers who have refused to return [to their place of origin]," connoting that they are "unwanted," have "overstayed [their] welcome" and do not belong, and are "foreigners." In the context of the Anglophone crisis, this term is now also used to refer to Anglophones of the Northwest and Southwest to insinuate that they do not belong in Cameroon.

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: As one focus group participant noted, "calling Northwesterners cam no go (rashes, scabies) makes them sub-human." It denies them their humanity and implies that they are something unpleasant that needs to be gotten rid of like a disease. When used by Francophone Cameroonians against Northwesterners or Southwesterners in the current context, it implies that Anglophones are unwanted and burdensome, and that they do not belong in Cameroon.

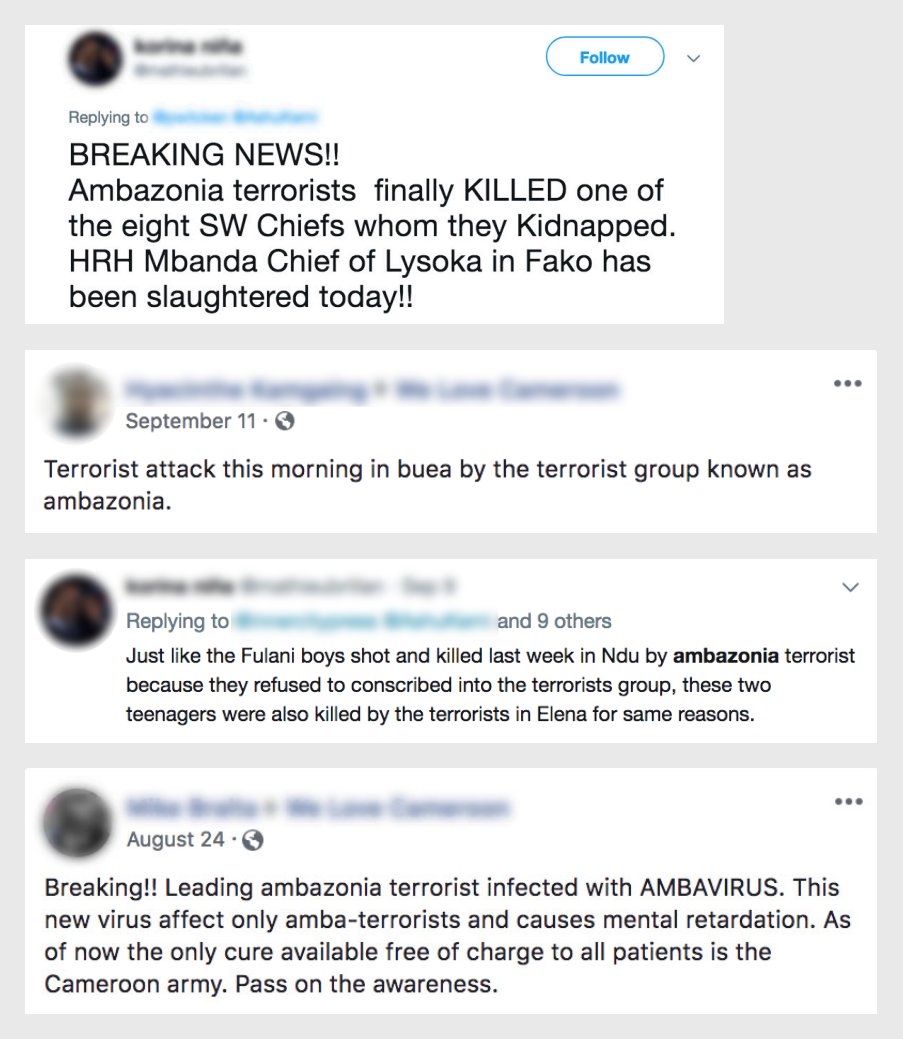
Alternative words that could be used: Northwesterner, Cameroonian.

5. Ambazonia

Other spellings and related references: Southern Cameroons, West Cameroon, Anglophone Cameroon, Ambazonie, Ambasonie, Ambazonian, Ambasonian, Ambaland, Ambaland, Ambazonian terrorists, secessionists, seperatists, restorationaists, Ambavirus

Related hashtags used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #ambazonia, #freeambazonia, #SouthernCameroons, #amba #freesoutherncameroon

Sample Posts:



Definition: Ambazonia is a term derived from the word Ambas Bay, a bay considered to be the natural boundary of the former Republique du Cameroun and Southern Cameroons. The name was coined in 1984 by a group led by Fon Gorji Dinka, who unilaterally declared the 'Republic of Ambazonia' an independent state that would have comprised all Anglophone Cameroon regions, Northwest and Southwest Cameroon.

The term was taken up again after the 2016 events by pro-independence actors wishing to reassert their identity and separate the Anglophone regions from the rest of Francophone Cameroon. On October 1, 2017, demonstrators in the English-speaking regions raised flags of 'Ambazonia' to call for independence, which significantly raised tensions. As a focus group participant explained, they are "a group of secessionists who believe that they are taking what belongs to them, going back to their origins before the [unification] of Cameroon, where they started as English-speaking Cameroonians."

Some affirm that Southern Cameroons, or 'Ambazonia,' does not need to fight for independence because it already attained it in 1961.[31] These are also referred to as 'restorationists,' which generally has a negative connotation among the general population, as they are blamed for the intensifying crisis. Others use the term to broadly refer to all Anglophones as 'Ambazonians'" The term is also used to refer to independence fighters as 'Ambazonian terrorists.'

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: The degree to which this term is inflammatory depends significantly on the context and the identity of the speaker. It is most often used by Anglophone pro-independence actors in a self-descriptive way to proclaim an identity and a cause. When used in this way, it is not entirely neutral because this term can cause strong reactions. Some people feel that the name itself is a negation of Cameroonian unity, and thus those who use it are fomenting conflict and seeking to secede.

However, when the term is used to refer to all Anglophones, or when it is used in combination with 'terrorist,' it takes on a more offensive and inflammatory incarnation, as many focus group participants agreed that it is "stigmatizing...the government has made us know that it is a word that should be hated from a distance...instills fear."

The term is often used as a synonym for 'separatists' or 'secessionist' and is used to lump all Anglophones in with the separatist movement, evoking the idea that Anglophones are the cause for the current crisis, that they do not belong to Cameroon, and that they don't want to belong to Cameroon.

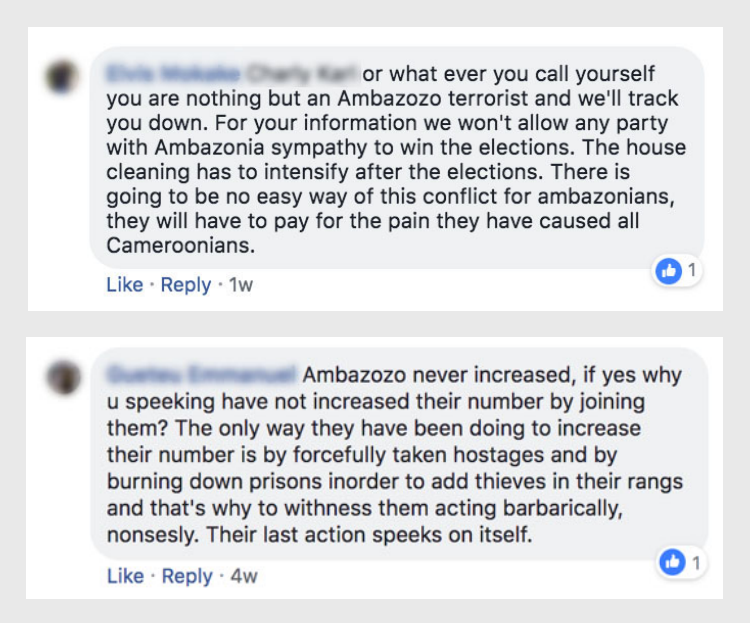
Alternative words that could be used: Cameroonians, Western Cameroonians, Anglophone Cameroonians, Cameroonians from the Northwest and Southwest regions

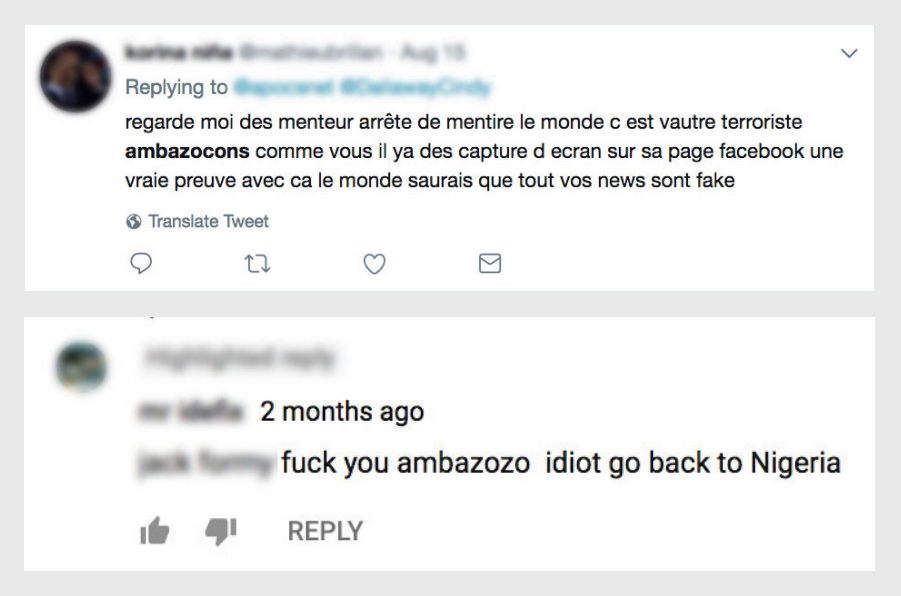
6. Ambazozo

Other spellings and related references: Ambazizis, Ambazocons, Ambazonian, Amba Boys, terrorists, secessionists, separatists, Amazonia

Related hashtags used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #ambazozo, #ambazonia, #ambaboys

Sample Posts:





ENGLISH TRANSLATION

"Look at these liars stop lying to the world, Amabazocons terrorists like you there are screen captions from the Facebook page that prove to the world that your news are fake"

Definition: This term is used to designate self-declared 'Ambazonians' or more generally refer to Anglophone Cameroonians from Northwest and Southwest Cameroon in a pejorative way. Some focus group participants explained that the '-zo' in 'Ambazozo' is a reference to zombies while others explained that "it means they are wild animals who live in a zoo."

Some affirm that Southern Cameroons, or 'Ambazonia,' does not need to fight for independence because it already attained it in 1961. These are also referred to as 'restorationists,' which generally has a negative connotation among the general population, as they are blamed for the intensifying crisis. Others use the term to broadly refer to all Anglophones as 'Ambazonians'" The term is also used to refer to independence fighters as 'Ambazonian terrorists.'

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: While related to the term 'Ambazonia' and sometimes used synonymously, most survey respondents and focus group participants agreed that this term had more of a general negative connotation when used against pro-independence actors or Anglophones, while 'Ambazonia' could also be used in a descriptive, neutral way. "When someone uses the term, it is considered that the person implies 'you are terrorists and you deserve to be killed'," according to one participant.

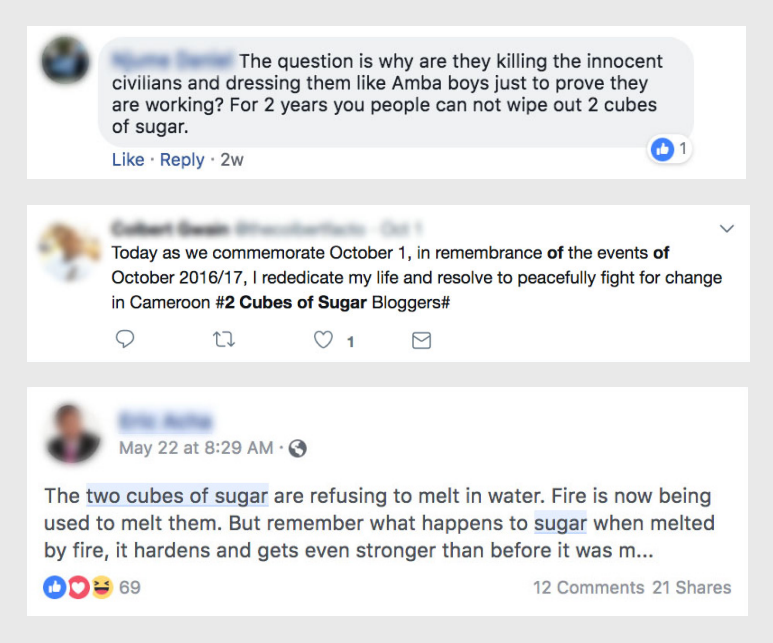
Alternative words that could be used: Cameroonians, Western Cameroonians, Anglophone Cameroonians

7. Two cubes of sugar in a basin of water

Other spellings and related references: Two cubes of sugar in a cup of water, 2 cubes of sugar

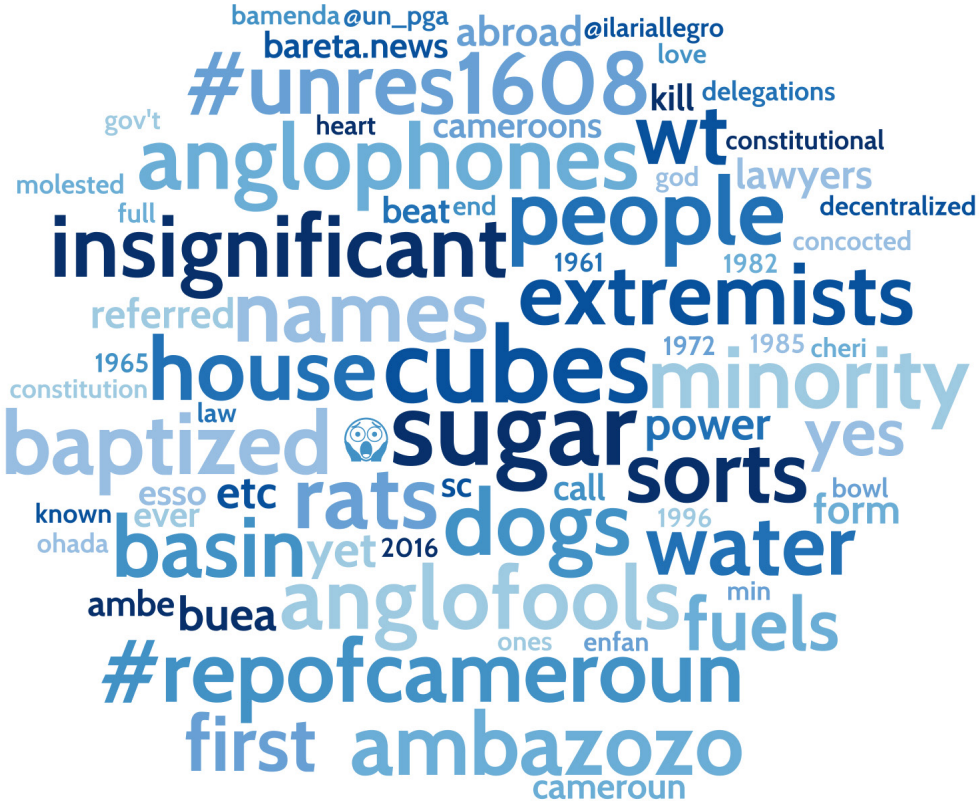
Related hashtags used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #waternawater, #2cubesofsugar

Sample Posts:



Definition: A metaphor used to describe Anglophone Cameroonians, it conveys insignificance or irrelevance: Two small cubes of sugar are insignificant in a basin of water; they will dissolve easily and will not change the water's taste significantly.

This phrase was first used by Cameroon's Minister of Higher Education at a high-level forum in 2016. A video of his speech using the term was leaked and went viral, prompting outrage among Anglophones. Many consider this event to be a turning point in the Anglophone crisis, as it galvanized Anglophone public opinion. Social media memes developed in response to the statement by the Minister, such as "the sugar has refused to dissolve" or "the sugar has turned to stone," with people posting videos and photos online. Some of these counter statements have become part of the pro-independence narrative.



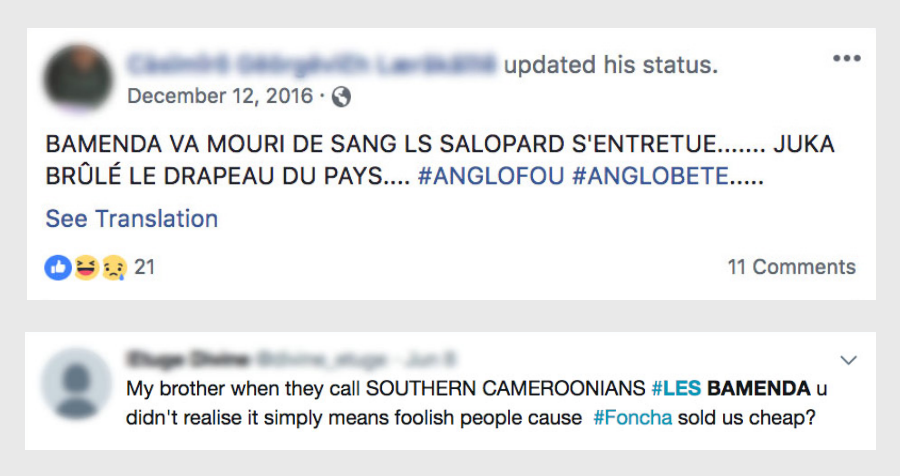
Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: While not frequently used since, the arrival of this phrase marked an important moment in the developing crisis because of its use by a high-level official expressing a negative and dismissive view of Anglophones, and because the event captured the attention of many Anglophones. "Because of this statement, many people went crazy on social media. I was indifferent about the Anglophone protests before but when I heard how that minister disregarded us and made us seem irrelevant, I changed my mind!" said one focus group participant. Another explained that "this [statement] is offensive because it means Anglophones in

8. Bamenda

Other spellings and related references: Les Bamenda, ces Bamenda-la, les mugu, les graffi

Related hashtags used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #Bamelekôn, #NWR, #Mankon

Sample Posts:



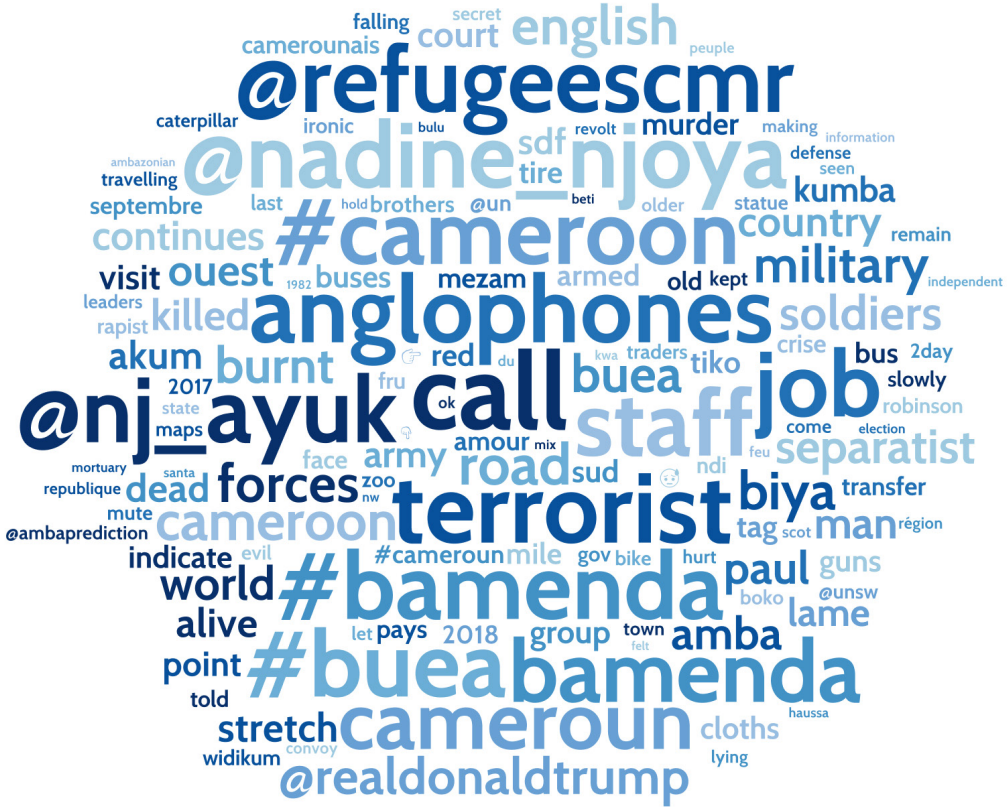
ENGLISH TRANSLATION

"Bamenda go die of blood the bastards kill each other... Juka burned the country flag"

Definition: Bamenda is the capital city of the Northwest Region, one of the two Anglophone regions in Cameroon. The name is often used to refer to the inhabitants of the city or to people originating from the entire Northwest Region, to which the British had once referred as the 'Bamenda Division.'

This name has become a term used pejoratively between Francophones as well as by Francophones toward Anglophones. As one focus group participant explained, "When used between two Francophones, Bamenda means 'I will deceive you, you do not understand anything'. They will say 'tu penses que je suis ton Bamenda?' (you think I am your Bamenda?) to mean, 'you think I could be fooled or deceived anyhow?'."

In the context of the Anglophone crisis it is used to refer to all Anglophones: "C'est un Bamenda" (He is a Bamenda).



Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: Survey and focus group participants agreed that this term has many negative connotations and is offensive and inflammatory. Rooted in prejudices against Northwesterners, its meaning and use is amplified by the current crisis: "In the Francophone world, 'les Bamenda' means those who are slaves or who are always in servitude. It also means stupid or gullible. It is used on Northwesterners and it originates from the fact that many children from the Northwest are known to be used for domestic labour as house maids, cleaners, and even farm labourers."

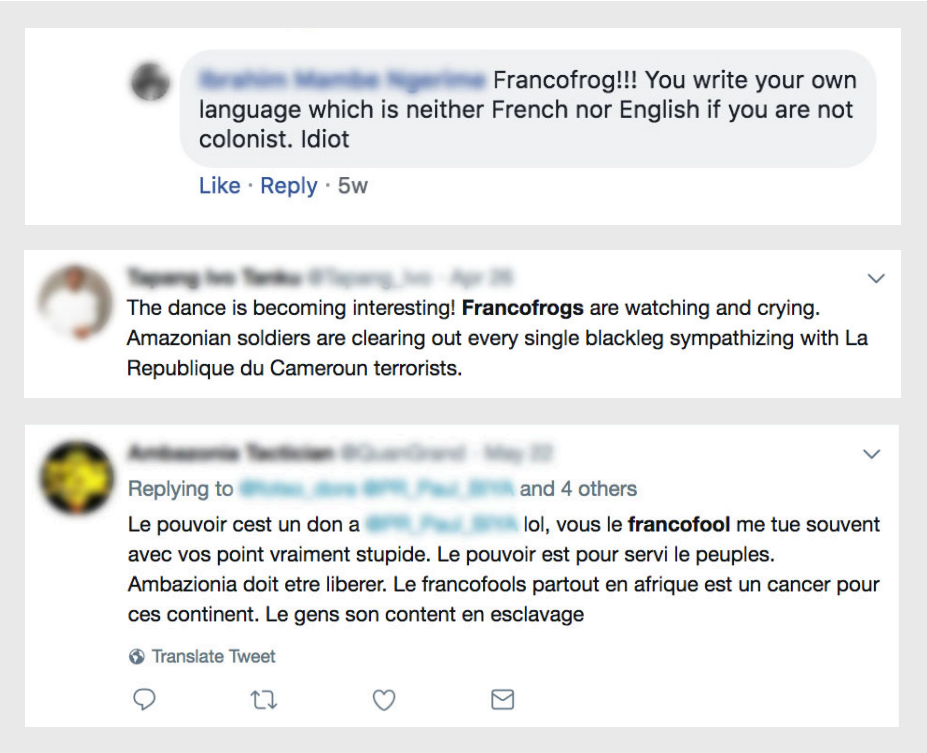
Alternative words that could be used: Northwesterners, people from Northwest Cameroon

9. Franco-frog

Other spellings and related references: francofrog, crapaud, frogs, franco-fools, franco-fou, francobete

Related hashtags used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #francofools

Sample Posts:

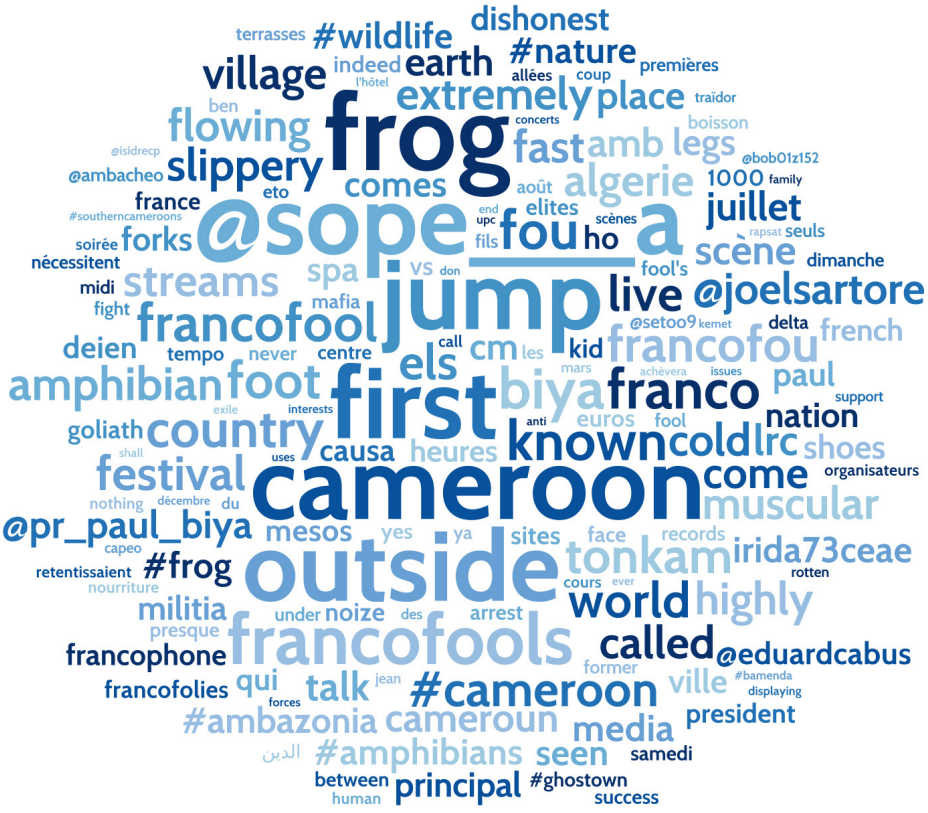


ENGLISH TRANSLATION

"power is a gift to (_) lol, you francofools kill me with your stupid statements. Power is to serve the people. Ambazonia must be free. Francofools in Africa are like cancer for this continent. People are happy being slaves."

Definition: This term is a combination of the word 'Franco,' derived from Francophone (French speaking), and 'frog' (the amphibian). It is used to refer to Francophone Cameroonians and associate them with their French colonial heritage. The reference to the French as 'frogs' has murky origins, but was popularized during WWII by British and US soldiers.

In the current Cameroonian context, the use of this phrase draws on certain negative attributes that some associate with French identity or character, such as arrogance, being loud and boisterous, and speaking without really conveying anything of substance. As one survey respondent explains, "les francophones bavardent dans le rien, dans le vide comme les crapauds (Francophones speak but say nothing like frogs)."



Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: This term emerged in response to the use of the term 'anglo-fou', and thus, is divisive by nature. Although it is dehumanizing and is used to characterize Francophones as arrogant, empty-headed, and noisy, many focus group participants did not consider it a highly inflammatory term. However, all participants recognized that "characterizing an entire group of people as arrogant, empty-headed, and noise-makers is very bad."

Alternative words that could be used: French-speaking Cameroonians, Francophones, my brother or sister of French-speaking expression

10. Rat

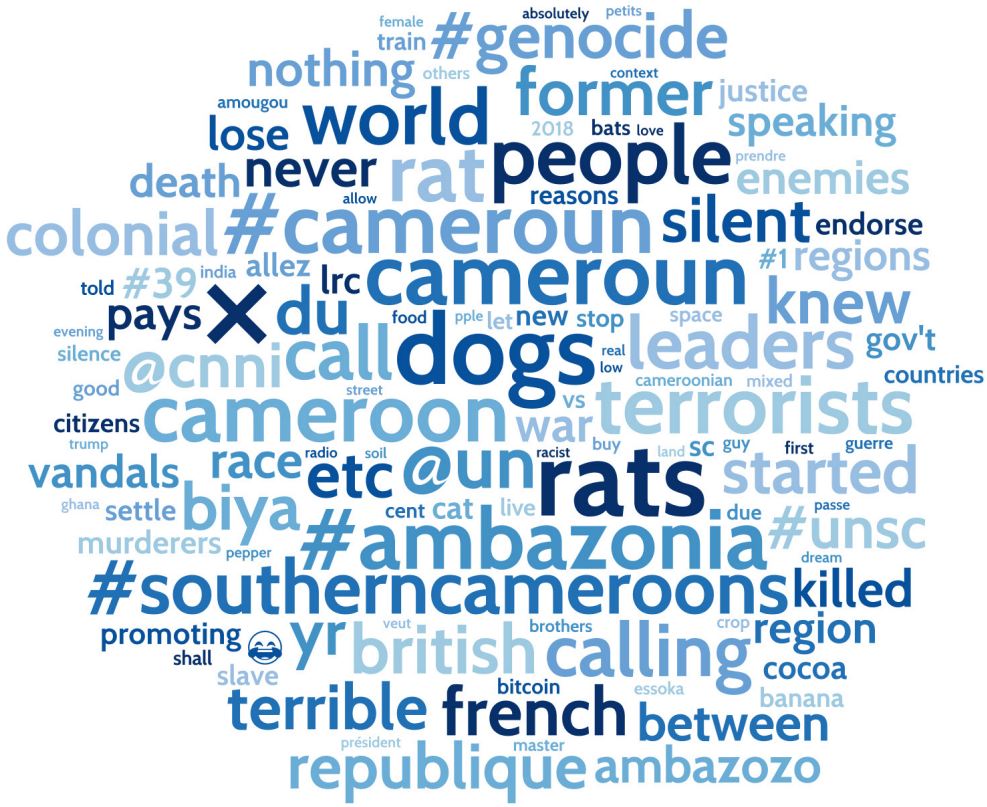
Other spellings and related references: rats, pests, deratiser, deratisation, need to be exterminated

Sample Posts:

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

"This is all you know you rat, we will send you all to hell. Instead of trying to develop our country, rats like you burn and destroy our beautiful country of Cameroon, and divide it. At the time of Germany, Cameroon was German - it is after Hitler lost WWII that the French picked a side, and the English another . We are all Cameroonians you dirty dogs, and if there is not enough men I will come home to Cameroon and fight you, you bastards."

Definition: This term's most significant use pertains to the context of the Anglophone crisis. It was first prominently used by Vision 4 journalists[32] who referred to Anglophone demonstrators marching in Buea as terrorists and rats that needed to be exterminated. The quote and term were subsequently shared widely on social media and WhatsApp, and came into general use to refer to Anglophone protesters, pro-independence actors, and sometimes even Anglophones in general.



Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: The term is meant to be dehumanizing. In the context in which it was first used and in the Anglophone crisis in general, it is dismissive of the Anglophones' grievances and their right to protest. It implies that their actions are bothersome (because they are pests) and have no rational foundation (since they are animals). This term may be used as a call to action against a 'plague' that needs to be exterminated. As one focus group participant reported having heard, "vous les Ambazozo, on va vous dératiser (You Ambazozo, we will exterminate you [like rats])." Another participant explained, "Everyone wants to kills rats especially when they see them in their house. To call people rats means you want to exterminate them."

Alternative words that could be used: demonstrators, manifestants

11. Dog

Other spellings and related references: chiens, mad dog

Definition: This term took on its particular dimension when it was used by the Governor of the Southwest Region on September 26, 2017, to refer to people protesting for Anglophone rights. The governor demanded that political elites *"take their dogs off the streets else the consequences will befall them."*[33] The date is noteworthy as the president of Cameroon addressed the UN General Assembly in New York but made no mention of the Anglophone crisis.

In turn, separatists have used this as justification for violent actions in the Northwest and Southwest Regions saying, "Since we are dogs, we are going to bark and bite like dogs.

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: It is an offensive term because its speaker intends to dehumanize the object of the term, questioning the humanity and rationality of their actions. As a focus group participant noted, it "reduces one's sense of rationality and dignity." Another respondent explained, "The emotional response is one that renders someone very aggressive, like one has been reduced to the least common denominator: 'If you call me a dog, then I will bark like a dog!'"

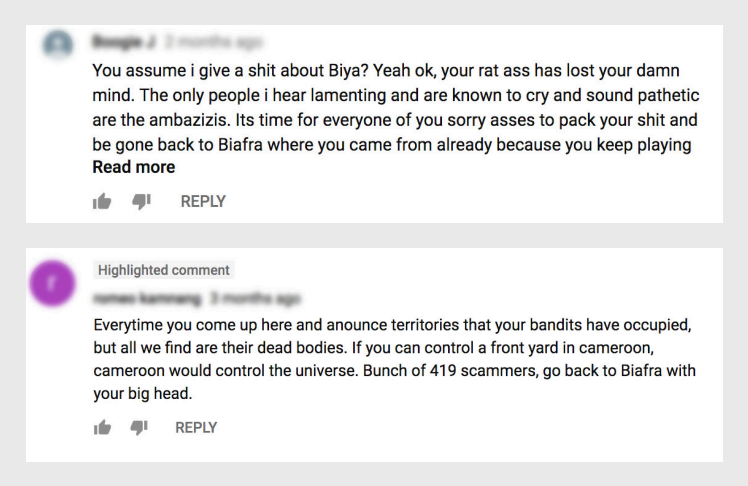
Alternative words that could be used: Anglophone protesters, Anglophone Cameroonians

12. Biafra

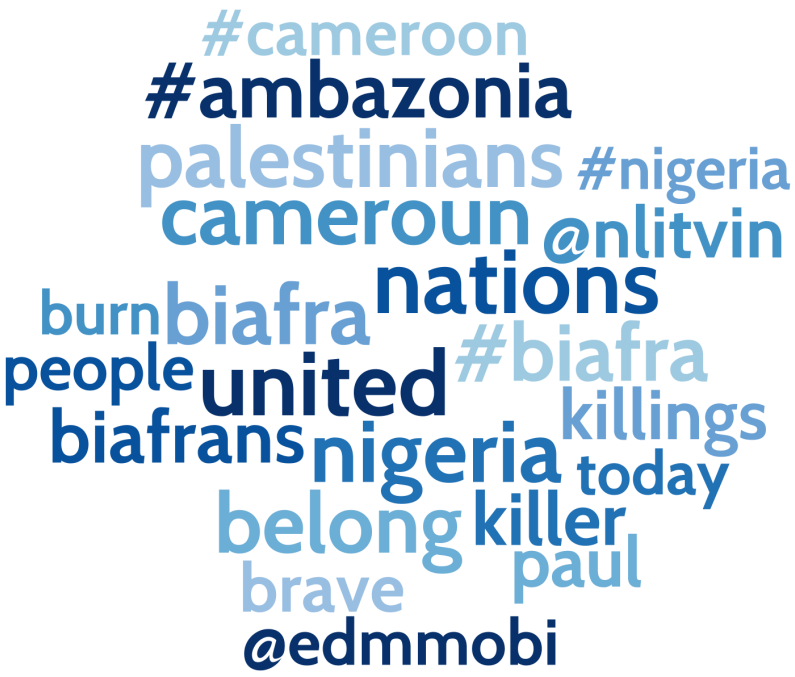
Other spellings and related references: Biafrans, Nigeria

Related hashtags used on Twitter and/or Facebook: Biafra

Sample Posts:



Definition: The Republic of Biafra was a secessionist state unilaterally declared in 1963 by mostly Igbo leaders in Eastern Nigeria. It ceased to exist at the end of the Nigerian civil war in 1970. In the context of the Anglophone crisis, this term is used against Anglophones in Cameroon as a reminder of the fact that Southwest and Northwest Cameroon were once administered by the British from Nigeria, and as an allusion to the secessionist movement of the same name.

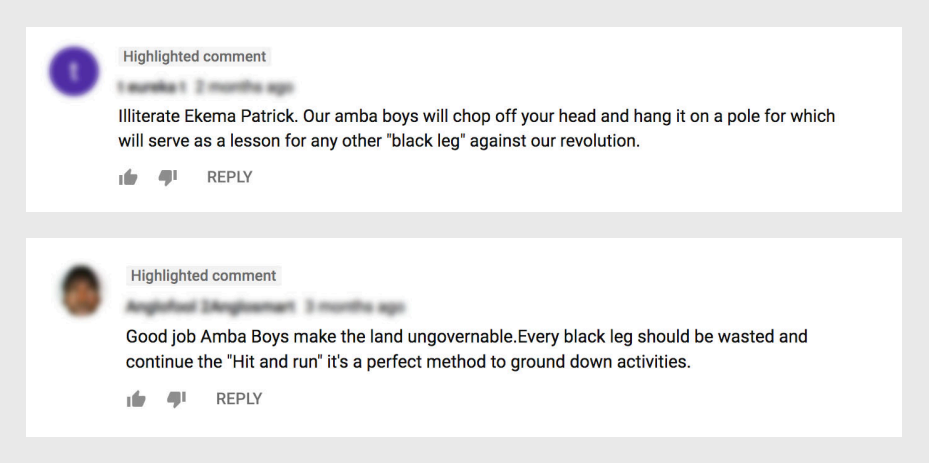


Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: IWhile this term can be neutral and descriptive in some contexts, its use to refer to Anglophone Cameroonians implies that they do not belong to Cameroon because they actually belong to Nigeria. “Rentre au Nigeria (go back to Nigeria),” some survey respondents reported being told. As one focus group participant explained, the term makes “you feel as if you are not part of the country; you feel like a foreigner in your own country.” It implies that their grievances and feelings of marginalization are irrelevant because their origin is elsewhere. The term also carries a heavy subtext stemming from its origin, accusing the subject of having secessionist intentions like the Biafra movement.

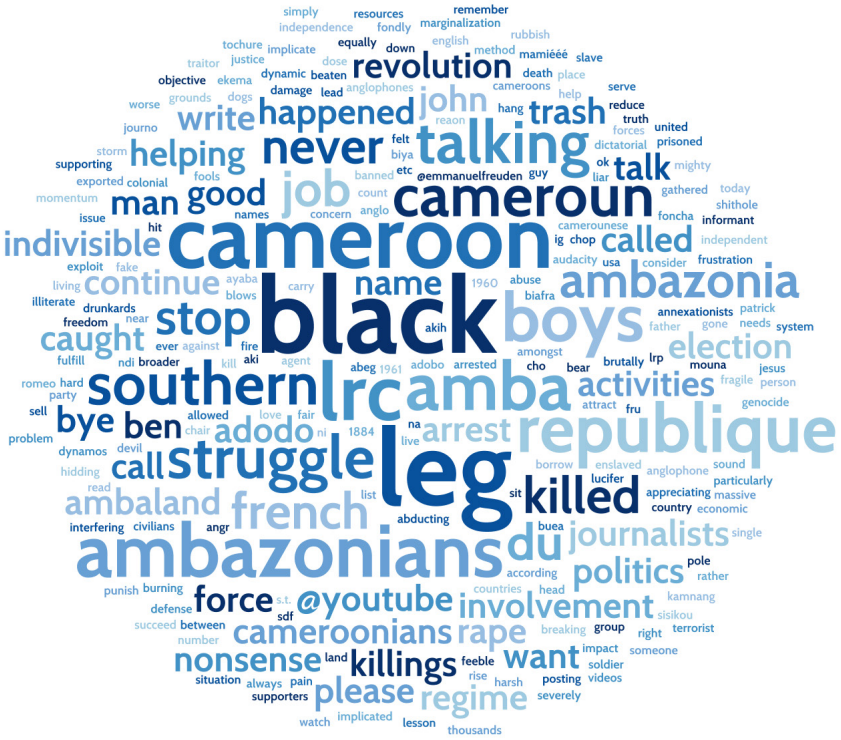
Alternative words that could be used: Anglophone Cameroonians, Former West Cameroonians, Cameroonians from the Northwest and Southwest Regions, Secessionist

13. Black leg

Sample Posts:



Definition: This word is a colloquial term for ‘sell out, traitor.’ In the current Cameroonian context, this term refers to anyone who opposes the doctrine or prescriptions of the pro-independence struggle of the ‘Ambazonians.’ Self-proclaimed Ambazonian fighters refer to other Anglophones who do not subscribe to the wishes of the separatists as ‘black leg.’ This term is exclusively used in the Anglophone community by one Anglophone towards another



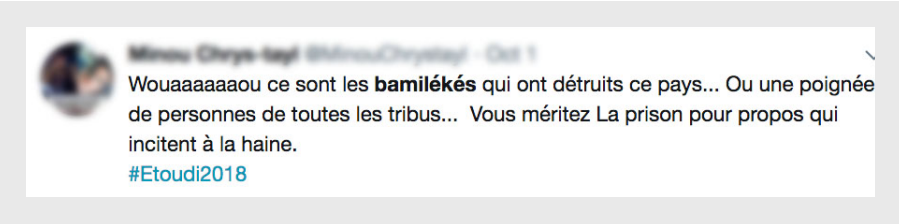
Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: IThis is a potent term in the context of the Anglophone crisis. The consequences of being called a "sell out" are dangerous and in some cases fatal. One focus group participant explained, "On social media especially on facebook, peoples' pictures have been downloaded, marked with X and labelled black legs or sellouts if they expressed any opinions contrary to the Ambazonians."

Survey participants have shared that "people have been kidnapped and killed because they were labelled black legs. Houses and other properties of people assumed to be against the 'struggle' have been destroyed. People are absolutely terrified of being labelled as 'sellouts' because 'this automatically brands you as an enemy and betrayer of your own people. You will be hounded on and off social media. Please I hate that word I do not want to die'."

14. Bamileke

Other spellings and related references: Bamilekes, Bamiléké, les Bami, Bamilike

Sample Posts:



ENGLISH TRANSLATION

"It is the Bamilieke that have destroyed this country ... or a hand full of people from all the tribes ... you deserve to go to prison for all incitation to hate"

Definition: The Bamileke are a native group dominant in the western part of Cameroon. They are known for their pig farming, but over time have emigrated to towns due to both the overcrowding of their traditional highlands and the expanding economic opportunities of the urban centers. The Bamileke, who speak both French and English, often dominate local retailing and transport industries, facing discrimination and harassment largely due to competition within their merchant and trading niche.[34]

In the past, they have allied themselves politically with the (Anglophone) opposition against sitting president Biya. In the most recent elections, they have presented a candidate at the head of the Cameroon Renaissance Movement (CRM).

Since the 1990s, government-controlled radio and newspapers contributed to fomented ethnic animosity against Bamilekes contributing to the 'negative reputation and prejudices against Bamileke.'

Why this term is offensive/inflammatory: In the context of the Anglophone crisis, the name is increasingly being used as an insult. According to participants in the focus groups, using the term Bamileke in a derogatory way "is offensive because it means an entire group of people are stingy, selfish even to themselves, very dirty, uncultured, and cunning." They also noted that, "non-Bamilekes or non-Westerners may use it to insult each other or degrade each other if they feel a particular person is being stingy or crafty or dirty."

Related hashtags used on Twitter and/or Facebook: #genocideinsouthercameroons #ambazonia #southerncameroons #oneandindivisable #restaurationists #PaulBiya #repof-cameroon #restaurationnow

Secondary List of Terms

Below are additional terms that were less frequently cited by survey respondents and workshop participants. They may not feature prominently in the Anglophone crisis, but were still considered to be offensive and inflammatory, which is why is why they have been included in this secondary list.[35]

ENGLISH	FRENCH
Pigs	Porcs
The jews	Les juifs
Tribalist	Tribaliste
The bulu (tribe)	Les bulus, boulous
Wizard apprentice	Apprentis sorciers
Cockroach	Cafards

III. Annex A: Survey Methodology and Considerations

Scope and Design

To investigate online speech and conflict in Cameroon, the project team created a web-based survey so that Cameroonians could contribute their experiences and insights about the phenomenon. This was the same process taken by the lexicon research teams for developing the Nigeria Lexicon in 2017 and the South Sudan Lexicon in 2016.[36] More than 50 individuals took the online survey. In the beginning of September 2018, Local Youth Corner Cameroon, PeaceTech Lab's project partner in Cameroon, conducted three focus group discussion workshops as well as as series of in-depth interviews with key informants. Finally, by end of September 2018 the team assembled a small group of Cameroonian 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 Cameroon survey more openly available online. The project team did this by disseminating the URL and instructions through existing networks and partner connections. This was done to 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 instance, 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 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. 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 also to be inflammatory. Moreover, as in Nigeria,[37] Cameroon has not codified a general prohibition on hate speech per se, and thus a commonly understood and accepted definition is lacking.

The survey was hosted on a Google Forms platform because of the widespread familiarity with Google products and because of Google’s reliable security features.

Focus Group Discussions, Review and Validation

Additionally, Youth Corner implemented three focus group discussion workshops in Yaounde. Focus groups were composed of 20-25 participants each, with special care taken to have even representation from Cameroon’s 10 regions and a representative sampling of genders, occupations, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity.

Based on the terms collected in the survey, a list of 12 terms was submitted to each group, each of which was tasked to both validate the initial data gathered, as well as to complete definitional and contextual information for each term, including discussing emotive topics (or “triggers”) that could cause violence that might not have been elucidated within the restricted format of an online survey.

The resulting dataset of quantitative and qualitative information will add significantly to what is known about the dynamics of hate speech in Cameroon, as well as contribute to the growing data on hate speech globally.

The focus group discussion workshops provided important clarification on the origins and usage of the terms. Importantly, it also clarified the contexts in which these terms were most potent while unearthing new terms. 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 Youth Corner. These informants included the director of a prominent civil society organization, a senior journalist at a radio and television, and a cultural affairs specialist. These interviews provided additional clarifications and contextual information to definitions and usage of terms.

Expert Reviews

Finally, the project assembled a group of Cameroonians to provide expert review of the full draft lexicon. These reviewers included an international peace and conflict expert, an academic historian, a legal professional, and a hate speech specialist. They contributed additional analysis and insights on the lexicon, helping to interpret the wider historical and current political context in Cameroon.

IV. Annex B: Issues and Risks

During the development of this lexicon, the project team encountered several issues, limitations, and risks that it worked to mitigate and address.

1) Time Constraints and Timing of the Study

The project's biggest challenge was its limited timeframe (August to September 2018) due to the pending presidential elections in Cameroon that occurred on October 7, 2018. This impacted the research, validation, and writing phases of the lexicon, resulting in a smaller data pool. This, in turn, caused some challenges in the information gathering and validation activities. Adaptations had to be made to accomodate a truncated process. It's important to note, however, that these lexica are by design iterative. They each represent a snapshot of a country's online hate speech landscape at a certain moment, and are meant to be updated overtime. Another note should be made about the timing of the study and how that may have colored the overall results. Most of the data collected referred to the Anglophone crisis, which was likely due to the pending presidential election, exacerbating related issues and dynamics.

2) Concerns about Privacy and Security

FInitially the survey required participants to submit personal information (such as first name, last name, email), but feedback indicated this had a dissuasive effect. Due to the political climate at the time of the survey, many were afraid that they would expose themselves to negative repercussions by filling out the survey should that information be published. Since the survey itself was not affiliated with any single organization and was instead distributed through local civil society organizations and among existing contacts, trust was difficult to establish with a broad audience. Thus, the questions regarding personal information were eventually dropped from the survey in order to encourage increased participation.

The project team's partners encountered similar issues when seeking to interview members of civil society. Many declined to be interviewed even though they already belonged to a network of contacts familiar with the given civil society organization conducting the interviews. Among those who agreed to be interviewed, several refused to answer certain questions out of fear of backlash or due to the sensitivity of issues, some of which are difficult to acknowledge.

3) Limited Understanding of Hate Speech Concept

Many of the terms identified in this study as offensive and inflammatory have their origins in old stereotypes and prejudices. As these terms and their impact now find themselves being exacerbated and reinforced in the context of the Anglophone crisis, a systematic conversation around hate speech has only recently begun in Cameroon. Few individuals and organizations are aware of and understand what constitutes hate speech, let alone are able to understand its polarizing and exacerbating role in the context of current Anglophone crisis. This impacted the quality of responses to the survey and well as the discussions during the validation workshops.

4) Sensitivities and Parameters Concerning Hate Speech

In addition to concerns around privacy and security, a number of challenges were encountered during focus group discussions around the nature of hate speech, the deep rooted issues it can evoke (e.g., related to national identity, conflict, prejudice, etc.) and the feelings it can trigger (especially in those targeted by it). During group discussions, participants did not always exercise caution or consideration for what other participants might feel when they are targeted by an offensive or inflammatory term. This made it difficult to create an open discussion around the definition and context of specific hate speech words and phrases. Facilitators and participants were carefully selected and diligently prepared in advance of discussions. This helped to manage the difficult dynamics encountered when navigating heated discussions and emotionally difficult moments as participants recalled situations when they were the object of offensive speech.

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

Other than issues related to trust, online surveys afforded the respondent anonymity and allowed them relatively unhindered opportunities to share information and insight. On the other hand, workshops and focus group discussions required individuals to confront the terms and their usage not only personally, but also in interaction with others - perhaps even with individuals from groups targeted by such terms. Rather than inhibit speech, however, the workshops tended to establish important contextual insights and information about potency of certain terms, as well identifying news terms not mentioned in the surveys taken prior to the workshops.

6) Limitations Regarding Language

The survey was distributed in English and French - both official languages in Cameroon. Most survey participants chose to fill out the English survey. It is unclear how, or if, this may have impacted the data. Many terms that pertain to the Anglophone crisis were submitted in Pidgin, English, and French or a mix of these three languages.

V. ANNEX C: Online Sources of Words or Phrases That are Offensive and Inflammatory

Throughout the research process, we sought to identify where the most offensive and inflammatory speech relevant to Cameroon could be located online. Survey respondents, focus group participants, and expert reviewers most frequently cited WhatsApp groups, Facebook (pages, groups and profiles), and Twitter.[38]

Participants and experts were requested to provide, when possible, URLs or other specific references to user groups.

Here is a selection of pages, groups, and other online sources that were identified:

Facebook Pages and Groups

- ABC Amba TV https://www.facebook.com/AmbaTelevision/
- Amba Pidgin News https://www.facebook.com/groups/586883484977513/
- Amba Tribune/Amba News https://www.facebook.com/Amba-TribuneAmba-News-1712545288965165
- Ambazonia Governing Council https://www.facebook.com/ambazoniagc/
- Ambazonia News https://www.facebook.com/groups/1976560745926512/
- Biya Must Go https://www.facebook.com/groups/juliusche/
- CRTV Web https://www.facebook.com/CRTVweb/
- English Cameroon for a United Ambazonia https://www.facebook.com/English-Cameroon-for-a-United-Ambazonia-1536882239725656/
- English Cameroon for a United Cameroon https://www.facebook.com/OneCameroonPeaceUnityCommonsense/
- Honneur et Fidélité - Armée Camerounaise https://www.facebook.com/hfarmee/?ref=search
- La Vérité sur le Cameroun https://www.facebook.com/lvslcam6/?eid=ARCNPfK-idbmMgkpZuTlgIwxZ9tRIX-ZL1lWuOABHOy7N0OCoqY43ExcYxS2NcTwWUDPLdJzuYYz9_UCS
- Latest Gists and Vibes https://www.facebook.com/latestgistsandvibes/
- Le Cameroun c'est le Cameroun https://www.facebook.com/groups/LCCLC/?ref=search
- Occupy Southern Cameroons Movement https://www.facebook.com/molacommonsense/
- Once Cameroon Forever https://www.facebook.com/OneKamerun4ever/
- Online Consortium of Cameroon Patriots https://www.facebook.com/Online-Consortium-of-Cameroon-Patriots-1857681171147671/
- South West United https://www.facebook.com/South-West-United-SWU-932972600240815/
- Stop Ambazonians https://www.facebook.com/stopambazonians/
- Southern Cameroons Community UK https://www.facebook.com/SCCUK4INPNC/
- Southern Cameroons Broadcasting Corporation - SCBC https://www.facebook.com/scbctelevision/
- Southern Cameroons News / Ambazonian Watch Dog
- https://www.facebook.com/Southern-Cameroons-NewsAmbazonian-Watch-Dog-1648168492147596/
- The Federal Republic of Ambazonia https://www.facebook.com/AMBAGOV/
- We Love You Bamenda https://www.facebook.com/groups/182846395115746/

Twitter

- AIPC Advocacy group https://twitter.com/AIPC_HRO
- AmbaNews https://twitter.com/news_amba
- Ambazonia 4 https://twitter.com/AMBAZONIA4
- Ambazonia Foreign Affairs https://twitter.com/AmbazoniaForei1
- Ambazonia Governing Council https://twitter.com/AmbazoniaAGC
- Ambazonia Prisoners of Conscience Support Network https://twitter.com/apocsnet
- Ambazonia Tactician https://twitter.com/QuanGrand
- Cameroon Truth https://twitter.com/CameroonTruth
- #Francofools https://twitter.com/hashtag/francofools?src=hash
- Honneur et Fidélité - Armée Camerounaise https://twitter.com/HonneurFidelite
- Le Courrier du Cameroun https://twitter.com/lecourrierduca1

Comment and Opinion Sections of Media Outlets:

- Cameroon Info Net http://www.cameroon-info.net/
- Cameroon Online https://www.cameroononline.org/
- Afric2Monde Cameroon https://Afric2Monde.com - Cameroon
- CRTV.cm http://www.crtv.cm/

End Notes

[1] Siobhán O'Grady, "Africa's next Civil War Could Be in Cameroon," The Washington Post, May 30, 2018, accessed September 24, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2018/05/30/africas-next-civil-war-could-be-in-cameroon/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.c2d74c6ac7ff.

[2] Willibroad Dze-Ngwa, "The First World War and Its Aftermath in Cameroon: A Historical Evaluation of a Centenary, 1914-2014," International Journal of Liberal Arts and Social Science 3, no. 2 (February 2015): 80, accessed October 4, 2018, https://www.ijlass.org/data/frontImages/gallery/Vol._3_No._2/8._78-90.pdf.

[3] Ateki Seta Caxton, "The Anglophone Dilemma in Cameroon - Cameroon," ReliefWeb, July 21, 2017, accessed October 11, 2018, https://reliefweb.int/report/cameroon/anglophone-dilemma-cameroon.

[4] Dze-Ngwa, "The First World War and Its Aftermath in Cameroon," 86.

[5] Fonkem Achankeng, "The Foumban "Constitutional" Talks and Prior Intentions of Negotiating: A Historico-Theoretical Analysis of a False Negotiation and the Ramifications for Political Developments in Cameroon," Journal of Global Initiatives: Policy, Pedagogy, Perspective 9, no. 2 (2014): 149, https://digitalcommons.kennesaw.edu/jgi/vol9/iss2/11/?utm_source=digitalcommons.kennesaw.edu/jgi/vol9/iss2/11&utm_medium=PDF&utm_campaign=PDFCoverPages.

[6] "Cameroon : History," The Commonwealth, accessed September 23, 2018, http://thecommonwealth.org/our-member-countries/cameroon/history.

[7] "Cameroon's Anglophone Crisis at the Crossroads," International Crisis Group, August 2, 2017, accessed October 4, 2018, https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/cameroon/250-cameroons-anglophone-crisis-crossroads.

[8] "Cameroon: Confronting Boko Haram," International Crisis Group, November 16, 2016, accessed September 24, 2018, https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/cameroon/cameroon-confronting-boko-haram.

[9] Willibroad Dze-Ngwa, "The Multinational Joint Task Force against Boko Haram: Rethinking Military Interventions," International Journal of Liberal Arts and Social Science 6, no. 7 (August 2018): 16, accessed October 4, 2018, https://www.ijlass.org/data/frontImages/articles/Vol.6No.7/3.15-24.pdf.

[10] "Cameroon's Far North: Reconstruction amid Ongoing Conflict," International Crisis Group, October 25, 2017, accessed September 24, 2018, https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/cameroon/b133-extreme-nord-du-cameroun-le-casse-tete-de-la-reconstruction-en-periode-de-conflit.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Jacob Zenn, "Boko Haram's Backyard: The Ongoing Battle in Cameroon," Terrorism Monitor 16, no. 6 (March 23, 2018): 3-5, accessed September 27, 2018, https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Terrorism-Monitor-March-23-2018.pdf?x87069.

[13] "Cameroon: Next Government Must Tackle Human Rights Crises in Violence-hit Regions," Amnesty International, October 5, 2018, accessed October 7, 2018, https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2018/10/cameroon-next-government-must-tackle-human-rights-crises/.

[14] "More than 6,000 Flee to Chad and Cameroon to Escape CAR Violence," United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, July 8, 2016, accessed September 27, 2018, http://www.unhcr.org/news/briefing/2016/7/577f6cec4/6000-flee-chad-cameroon-escape-car-violence.html.

[15] Moki Edwin Kindzeka, "Many More Refugees Flee CAR Violence to Cameroon," VOA, October 07, 2017, accessed September 23, 2018, https://www.voanews.com/a/many-more-refugees-flee-central-african-republic-violence-to-cameroon/4060632.html.

[16] Ben Jackson, "Crisis in the Central African Republic – The Regional Impact," Development in Action, June 09, 2016, accessed September 23, 2018, http://www.developmentinaction.org/crisis-in-the-central-african-republic-the-regional-impact/.

[17] "Cameroon's Anglophone Crisis at the Crossroads," International Crisis Group.

[18] "Cameroon: Anglophone regions gripped by deadly violence," Amnesty International, June 11, 2018, accessed October 4, 2018, https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2018/06/cameroon-anglophone-regions-gripped-by-deadly-violence/.

[19] ""These Killings Can Be Stopped": Abuses by Government and Separatist Groups in Cameroon's Anglophone Regions," Human Rights Watch, July 19, 2018, accessed October 4, 2018, https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/07/19/these-killings-can-be-stopped/abuses-government-and-separatist-groups-cameroons.

[20] "Cameroon's Anglophone Crisis at the Crossroads," International Crisis Group.

[21] ""These Killings Can Be Stopped"," Human Rights Watch.

[22] Cameroon's Crises, Crisis Group Briefing to the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, 5 June 2018, United States Congress Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, accessed October 11, 2018, https://humanrightscommission.house.gov/sites/humanrightscommission.house.gov/files/documents/Crisis Group Lantos Cameroon statement 6 June 2018.pdf.

[23] Crisis in the Republic of Cameroon: Written Statement by Felix Agbor Nkongho Founder and Chairman, Centre for Human Rights and Democracy in Africa, Hearing before the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, One Hundred Fifteenth Congress, Second Session, June 27, 2018, H. Doc., accessed September 23, 2018, https://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA16/20180627/108492/HHRG-115-FA16-20180627-SD001.pdf.

[24] "Cameroon: Anglophone regions gripped by deadly violence," Amnesty International.

[25] Dionne Searcey, "As Cameroon English Speakers Fight to Break Away, Violence Mounts," The New York Times, June 28, 2018, accessed September 24, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/28/world/africa/cameroon-secession.html.

[26] Arran Elcoate, "Cameroon Elections: President Biya Set for Routine, If Pyrrhic, Victory," African Arguments, September 27, 2018, accessed October 4, 2018, https://africanarguments.org/2018/09/27/cameroon-elections-president-biya-routine-pyrrhic-victory/.

[27] "Cameroon: Anglophone Journalists Want End to 'hate Speech' on TV News," Africa Times, October 03, 2017, accessed September 27, 2018, https://africa-times.com/2017/10/03/cameroon-anglophone-journalists-want-end-to-hate-speech-on-tv-news/.

[28] Moki Edwin Kindzeka, "Cameroon President Vows to 'Deal' with Separatists," VOA, January 01, 2018, accessed September 27, 2018, https://www.voanews.com/a/cameroon-president-vows-to-deal-with-separatist/4187305.html.

[29] 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 Cameroon, identities of users have been obscured to protect their privacy.

[30] "Journalists Not Terrorists: In Cameroon, Anti-terror Legislation Is Used to Silence Critics and Suppress Dissent," Committee to Protect Journalists, September 20, 2017, accessed October 11, 2018, https://cpj.org/reports/2017/09/journalists-not-terrorists-cameroon-ahmed-abba-anti-terror-imprisoned.php.

[31] Chrispin Mwakideu, "Will 'Ambazonia' Become Africa's Newest Country?" Deutsche Welle, February 10, 2017, accessed October 12, 2018, https://www.dw.com/en/will-ambazonia-become-africas-newest-country/a-40780904.

[32] Marchelo TIENTCHEU, "Cameroun: En Refusant De Se Rendre à Vision 4, « Maurice Kamto Fait D'une Pierre Plusieurs Coups »," Le Bled Parle, September 12, 2018, accessed October 15, 2018, https://www.lebledparle.com/actu/politique/1105008-cameroun-en-refusant-de-se-rendre-a-vision-4-maurice-kamto-fait-d-une-pierre-plusieurs-coups.

[33] "Dans Une Lettre à La Commission De L'Union Européenne, Akere MUNA Dénonce Jean Jacques ZE Et Vision 4 Tv," Le Bled Parle, October 1, 2017, accessed October 12, 2018, https://www.lebledparle.com/actu/politique/1103531-dans-une-lettre-a-la-commission-de-l-union-europeenne-akere-muna-denonce-jean-jacque-ze-vision-4-et-des-administrateurs-du-cameroun.

[34] Research Directorate, Immigration and Refugee Board, Canada, "Cameroon: Discrimination and Treatment of Members of the Bamileke Tribe," Refworld, March 27, 2000, accessed October 15, 2018, http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6ad4f50.html.

[35] Terms featured in bold.

[36] 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.

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

[38] An average of 92% of connected Cameroonians use Facebook every month, versus 1.5% who use Twitter http://gs.statcounter.com/social-media-stats/all/cameroon.

ABOUT PEACE TECH 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 peacetech.

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

PEACETECH LAB

2301 Constitution Ave NW, Washington, DC 20037, USA
Email: info@peacetechlab.org

V1119-1