

Secondary List of Terms that Are Offensive and Inflammatory (listed in alphabetical order)

اتراك / Atrak	This term, which translates to “Turks” or “Turkish,” is used derogatorily in reference to Misrata inhabitants to insult them by implying that they are “not Arabs” because they are allegedly of Turkish descent. There is a historical grievance by some Libyans towards Turkey because some believe that the Ottoman Empire left the Libyans to face the Italians alone. This term was used increasingly after Turkey supported Misrata during the civil war in 2014.
عائدون / Aydoun	This is a term that is used derogatorily towards Libyans who lived abroad for a long period of time and have now returned to the country. Respondents translated the term as “returnees” or “outsiders.” It was specifically mentioned by discussants at the Sabha FGD. Respondents indicated that it is used to discriminate against and disparage people based on their place of birth (when referring to the children of returnees who may have been born abroad) or political views and cultural traditions that are viewed as imported from foreign countries. The implication of the term is that the individual labeled as such left the country during a difficult time economically or politically and only returned when things improved; the presumption is that they abandoned their own country.
كافر / Kafir	This term is related to the term “elmani,” meaning secular, but “kafir” is translated as “non-believer” or “infidel.” It was identified as being inflammatory by several survey respondents and focus group participants due to it being used to insult and label someone viewed as non-religious or not religious enough. Some respondents indicated that it is often used by radical Islamists to denigrate moderate Muslims who do not adhere to their ideology.
قحبة / Qahba	This term, which translates to “b***h” or “whore,” was provided as a hate speech term by some of the survey respondents, but the focus group facilitators determined that this term was too offensive to discuss in a group setting in the Libyan cultural context. Feedback from the surveys, however, indicated that this term is often used to denigrate women who are more liberal or secular or who do not wear a hijab. As mentioned in the section on the phrase “civil society group,” the term is also used specifically in reference to women who work for CSOs.
شكشاكه / Shakshaka	This is another term that was not considered acceptable for discussion in a group setting in the Libyan cultural context. It is used as a slur against gay men or any man considered to be acting in a feminine manner. The word “shakshak” was originally used to describe the sound made when two metal surfaces impact; in the Libyan context it was used to refer to women’s jewelry making a similar sound as well as an instrument called “shokshaka.” Because Libyan society is largely conservative with significant homophobic elements, calling someone “shakshaka” could threaten the target’s safety. Related derogatory terms include “بوفتة” / boufta” and “بغل” / baghal.”
يوغدا / Yaghouda	“Yaghouda” is used as a slur for “white person” (can also mean “red skin person”) that is used mainly in the southern region of Libya. It originated in the Tebu community to categorize or label white visitors or inhabitants in their area. Recently, the term has been used in a racist manner, particularly online, to label those who are not originally from Tebu tribes. This term was added to the list of terms viewed as inflammatory in the Kufra focus group.