

HATE SPEECH

IN SRI LANKA DURING THE PANDEMIC



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Norad

Hate Speech in Sri Lanka During the Pandemic

Colombo, 2020

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The National Christian Evangelical Alliance of Sri Lanka (NCEASL), formally the Evangelical Fellowship of Ceylon was founded in 1952. The Religious Liberty and Social Justice Commission (RLC) of the NCEASL monitors and documents incidents of violence, intimidation and discrimination against Sri Lanka's religious communities to advance Freedom of Religion or Belief for all Sri Lankans through advocacy, research, documentation, training and education.

MinorMatters, an initiative of the NCEASL RLC, is a public movement dedicated to fostering religious harmony and protecting the Freedom of Religion or Belief in Sri Lanka. MinorMatters seeks to support and empower efforts to advance reconciliation, counter religious extremism and promote national coexistence.

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BACKGROUND

Hate speech has become a regular feature in many societies and occurs on social media, the mainstream print and electronic media, and on other platforms. In Sri Lanka, it has been directed at ethnic and religious groups, women, human rights and peace activists, gay and transgender people, persons living with disabilities and migrants. New technologies, new applications, such as new smart phone applications, and new devices, have resulted in a huge increase in the number of posts and comments on social media in recent years. These new applications have hugely increased the transmission time and the reach of hate speech posts.

1

Mobile telephony has grown exponentially over the past decade with a corresponding increase in the internet penetration rate. At the end of 2019, the total number of mobile telephone connections in Sri Lanka had increased to 32.9 million from 32.5 million the previous year. The mobile telephone penetration was 150.8 at the end of 2019, as measured by the number of connections for every 100 persons. In other words, there were approximately 1.5 SIM cards for each member of the population. In 2018, mobile connections grew by as much as 15%.²

Internet connectivity has also grown over the years and expanded by 26.9 per cent in 2019. The internet penetration was 61.5 by the end of 2019.³ According to one site, there were 7,302,000 Sri Lankans on Facebook by October 2020, which amounts to 34.4% of the total population.⁴ According to the same site, 64.7% of the users were men and 35.3% were women.

¹ See also Shilpa Samaratunga and Sanjana Hattotuwa, *Liking Violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka*, (Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2014) and Sanjana Hattotuwa, (2019) *Between Scylla and Charybdis: Social Media in Sri Lanka's Constitutional Referendum*, *The Round Table*, 108:6, 695-707, (*The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*) <https://doi.org/10.1080/00358533.2019.1688464>.

² Central Bank of Sri Lanka, Annual Report 2019, p 119 - 120, available at https://www.cbsl.gov.lk/sites/default/files/cbslweb_documents/publications/annual_report/2019/en/7_Chapter_03.pdf.

³ Central Bank of Sri Lanka, Annual Report 2019, p 119, available at https://www.cbsl.gov.lk/sites/default/files/cbslweb_documents/publications/annual_report/2019/en/7_Chapter_03.pdf.

⁴ https://napoleoncat.com/stats/facebook-users-in-sri_lanka/2020/10.

There were 2,530,000 users in the 24 – 35-year age group, which constituted 34.6% of the total number of users. Only 5.3% of Facebook users were in the over 55 age group.

HATE CRIMES AND IMPUNITY

Sri Lanka has seen a significant escalation in ethno-religious tensions over the past 10 years. The number of incidents of hate crimes, including religiously motivated violence, and hate speech against religious minorities have grown, with Muslims and Evangelical Christians being at the receiving end of most of these incidents of violence and hate speech. While religious violence is not new to Sri Lanka, the frequency and intensity of the violence in recent years is a new phenomenon.⁵ Hate crimes and hate speech have grown in an environment of impunity and an unwillingness on the part of the state to enforce its writ and prosecute perpetrators. At the same time, political elites have not hesitated to mobilize around religious identities to seek and retain political power.

Violence against the Muslims occurred in June 2014 in Aluthgama and its vicinity, in November 2017 in Gintota, in February 2018 in and around Ampara, in March 2018 in the Digana and Teldeniya areas and in May 2019 following the Easter Sunday attacks, in the Gampaha, Kurunegala and Puttalam districts. Apart from mosques and private property, Muslim businesses and symbols of economic prosperity were also targeted.

Evangelical Christians have also been targeted over the years. This has included physical attacks, attacks on places of worship, interruption of religious services and obstruction of religious rites, including burial ceremonies. In some cases, law enforcement officers stood by and did not intervene. In other cases, they engaged in the perpetration of violence. There is anecdotal evidence to suggest that members of the Buddhist clergy were also involved in violence, including inciting others to engage in violence.⁶

⁵ See G.P.V Somaratna, *Kotahena Riot 1883: A Religious Riot in Sri Lanka*, (Deepanee Printers, 1991) for an account of the 1883 anti-Christian riots; Kumari Jayawardene, 'Economic and Political Factors in the 1915 Riots' (1970) 29(2) *The Journal of Asian Studies* 223 and Shamara Wettimuny, 'Regulating Religious Rites: Did British Regulation of "Noise Worship" Trigger the 1915 Riots in Ceylon?' (London School of Economic and Political Science, 31 March 2018) at www.blogs.lse.ac.uk/lseih/2018/03/31/regulating-religious-rites-did-british-regulation-of-noise-worship-trigger-the-1915-riots-in-ceylon/ for an account of the anti-Muslim riots of 1915.

⁶ For some recent writing on inter-religious relations and inter-religious violence in Sri Lanka, see Gehan Gunatilleke, *The Chronic and the Acute: Post-War Religious Violence in Sri Lanka* (International Centre for Ethnic Studies and Equitas, 2015); Gehan Gunatilleke, *The Chronic and the Entrenched: Ethno-Religious Violence in Sri Lanka* (International Centre for Ethnic

Despite the political transition of 2015 and the emergence of a more tolerant political culture during this period, ethno-religious relations remained problematic. This suggests increasing polarization among ethno-religious groups, a polarization fuelled and mobilised by radical actors and the state to further deepen divisions and escalate tensions.

Hate speech, on social media, has been rampant and has flourished in the context of this impunity. There have been no documented prosecutions even though the Sri Lankan law does make hate speech an offence.⁷ For example, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights Act (ICCPR Act), provides that:

Studies and Equitas, 2018); Benjamin Schonthal, 'Environments of Law: Islam, Buddhism, and the State in Contemporary Sri Lanka' (2016) 75(1) *The Journal of Asian Studies* 137; Benjamin Schonthal, 'Litigating Vinaya: Buddhist Law and Public Law in Contemporary Sri Lanka' (2018) 3 *Buddhism Law & Society* 1; Mohamed Faslan and Nadine Vanniasinkam, *Fracturing Community: Intra-Group Relations among the Muslims of Sri Lanka* (International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 2015); Farah Mihar, *Coming out of the Margins: Justice and Reconciliation for Conflict-Affected Muslims in Sri Lanka* (International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 2018); Farzana Haniffa and Vijay Nagaraj, *Towards Recovering Histories of Anti-Muslim Violence in the Context of Sinhala-Muslim Tensions in Sri Lanka* (International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 2016); Ameer Ali, 'Four Waves of Muslim-Phobia in Sri Lanka: c.1880–2009' (2015) 35(4) *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 486; *The Quest for Redemption: The Story of the Northern Muslims – Final Report of the Citizens' Commission on the Expulsion of Muslims from the Northern Province by the LTTE in October 1990*, 2nd edn (Law & Society Trust, 2011); Dhammika Herath and Harshana Rambukwella, *Self, Religion, Identity and Politics: Buddhist and Muslim Encounters in Contemporary Sri Lanka* (International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 2015); Neil Devotta, 'Religious Intolerance in Post-Civil War Sri Lanka' (2018) 49(2) *Asian Affairs* 278; National Christian Evangelical Alliance of Sri Lanka, *The Role of Religion in Transitional Justice in Sri Lanka: A Faith Exploration – Right to Truth, Justice and Human Dignity* (National Christian Evangelical Alliance of Sri Lanka, 2018); UN OHCHR, 'Report of the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief, Dr Ahmed Shaheed, to the Human Rights Council, following a country visit to Sri Lanka in August 2019' (28 February 2020) UN Doc A/HRC/43/48/Add.2, at www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/FreedomReligion/Pages/Visits.aspx; National Christian Evangelical Alliance of Sri Lanka, *Religious Freedom Violations in Sri Lanka: The Use Of Right to Information Law To Assess The Response Of Law Enforcement Authorities And The Judiciary*, Phase 1, (National Christian Evangelical Alliance of Sri Lanka, 2020); Ranmini Vithanagama, *Tracking Coexistence: Understanding Perceptions of the Religious 'Other'*, (International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 2020) and Mario Gomez, *Prosecuting Religious Violence in Sri Lanka*. In Thio Li-ann and Jaclyn L Neo (eds), *Religious Offences in Common Law Asia: Colonial Legacies, Constitutional Rights and Contemporary Practice*, (Hart: 2020).

⁷ Four legal regimes apply in the case of religious offences: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights Act of 2007; the Penal Code, see especially sections 291A, 291B and 120; the Police Ordinance, No 16 of 1865; and the Prevention of Terrorism Act, see section 2(1)(h). See also the Computer Crimes Act, No 24 of 2007. Article 10 of the Constitution guarantees freedom of thought, conscience and belief, and the freedom to have or adopt a religion or

No person shall propagate war or advocate national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence....

Every person who

(a) attempts to commit

(b) aids or abets in the commission of; or

(c) threatens to commit, an offence referred to in subsection (1), shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.⁸

The Penal Code makes it an offence to wound or to outrage the religious feelings of a person or a group.⁹ In addition, the Prevention of Terrorism Act provides that:

Any person by words either spoken or intended to be read or by signs or by visible representations or otherwise causes or intends to cause commission of acts of violence

belief. It is an entrenched provision and cannot be restricted. This is supported by Article 14(1)(e), which protects the right to manifest religion or belief in worship, observance, practice and teaching either alone or in association with others, and either in public or in private. Unlike Article 10, the rights contained in Article 14(1)(e) can be restricted on the grounds of national security, public order and the protection of public health or morality, or for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedom of others, or of meeting the just requirements of the general welfare of a democratic society. Article 14 (1) (a) protects the right to freedom of expression.

⁸ The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights Act of 2007, sections 3(1) and (2).

⁹ See section 291A of the Penal Code: Whoever, with the deliberate intention of wounding the religious feelings of any person, utters any word or makes any sound in the hearing of that person, or makes any gesture in the sight of that person, or places any object in the sight of that person, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both; and section 291B of the Penal Code: Whoever, with the deliberate and malicious intention of outraging the religious feelings of any class of persons, by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representations, insults or attempts to insult the religion or the religious beliefs of that class, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both. See also section 120 of the Penal Code.

or religious, racial or communal disharmony or feelings of ill-will or hostility between different communities or racial or religious groups...shall be guilty of an offence.¹⁰

Despite these provisions purveyors of hate speech have been allowed to operate with impunity.¹¹ These provisions have instead been selectively used, to target members of religious and ethnic minorities.¹² The only notable prosecution pertaining to inter-religious relations in recent years was the conviction of the Venerable Galagoda Aththe Gnanasara Thero, who leads the hardline Bodu Bala Sena (BBS) or 'Buddhist Power Force'. However, he was convicted for contempt of court under Article 105 of the Constitution when he interrupted an inquiry into the disappearance of a journalist and hurled abuse at the presiding Magistrate, and not for any offence pertaining to religious relations.¹³ His conviction was subsequently confirmed by the Supreme Court. Gnanasara Thero had earlier been convicted for criminal intimidation and harassment in relation to the same incident.¹⁴ In May 2019, Gnanasara Thero was released after receiving a Presidential pardon from the then President Maithripala

¹⁰ Section 2(1)(h) of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, No. 48 of 1979 (PTA).

¹¹ See also Centre for Policy Alternatives, 'Confronting Accountability for Hate Speech in Sri Lanka: A Critique of the Legal Framework' (2018).

¹² See for example the case of *The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka v JS Tissainayagam* [2008] HC 4425/2008 where the Prevention of Terrorism Act was used to convict a journalist for an innocuous statement made on an online journal, and the case of *Shakthika Sathkumara* discussed below.

¹³ *In re Galagoda Aththe Gnanasara* (Court of Appeal Minutes, 8 August 2018). Article 105(3) of the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka states: 'The Supreme Court of the Republic of Sri Lanka and the Court of Appeal of the Republic of Sri Lanka shall each be a superior court of record and shall have all the powers of such court including the power to punish for contempt of itself, whether committed in the court itself or elsewhere, with imprisonment or fine or both as the court may deem fit. The power of the Court of Appeal shall include the power to punish for contempt of any other court, tribunal or institution referred to in paragraph 1(c) of this Article, whether committed in the presence of such court or elsewhere: Provided that the preceding provisions of this Article shall not prejudice or affect the rights now or hereafter vested by any law in such other court, tribunal or institution to punish for contempt of itself'.

¹⁴ 'Sri Lankan Buddhist Monk Sentenced Six Years' Jail In Contempt Case' (NDTV, 8 August 2018) <https://www.ndtv.com/world-news/sri-lankan-buddhist-monk-sentenced-six-years-jail-in-contempt-case-1897204>.

Sirisena. This act of pardon is currently the subject of a fundamental rights application before the Supreme Court.¹⁵

In 2019, 'Article 1' in an independent human rights impact assessment of the role of Facebook in contributing to the violence of March 2018 in Digana and adjacent areas, observed that:

Article One's assessment showed that the Facebook platform contributed to spreading rumors and hate speech, which may have led to "offline" violence. Indeed, the assessment found that the proliferation of hate speech (e.g., "Kill all Muslims, don't even save an infant; they are dogs") and misinformation (e.g., that a Muslim restaurateur was adding sterilization pills to his customers' food) may have contributed to unrest and in the case of the restaurateur and others, physical harm...
... Facebook should exercise due diligence to mitigate adverse human rights impacts of its business. Article One found, however, that Facebook's response was slow and at times insufficient ... Indeed, Facebook's lack of formal human rights due diligence in Sri Lanka prior to this HRIA and the limited cultural and language expertise among Facebook staff at the time of the May 2018 Kandy incident may have contributed to offline harm stemming from online engagement. This was potentially exacerbated by now phased out algorithms designed to drive engagement on the platform, regardless of the veracity or intention of the content. ... prior to the 2018 internet disruption, Facebook failed to effectively implement its Community Standards in Sri Lanka by failing to take down content that violated these Standards in a timely manner. This resulted in hate speech and other forms of harassment remaining and even spreading on Facebook.¹⁶

¹⁵ See also Mario Gomez, Prosecuting Religious Violence in Sri Lanka. In Thio Li-ann and Jaclyn L Neo (eds), *Religious Offences in Common Law Asia: Colonial Legacies, Constitutional Rights and Contemporary Practice*, (Hart: 2020;) pp 245 - 280.

¹⁶ Article 1, 'Assessing the Human Rights Impact of the Facebook Platform in Sri Lanka', (2018) on file with the author.

In his recent report on Sri Lanka the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief, observed that:

67. There is a general perception by the victims that perpetrators of hate speech are free to continue their campaigns and cause harm without any legal repercussions. The minority communities are feeling extremely vulnerable with the constant threat of hate speech and hate crimes while they have no recourse for justice. Most of them have lost their faith in the State and law enforcement agencies after multiple traumas from the violence in Aluthgama in 2014, in Gintota in 2017 as well as in Ampara and Digana in 2018. These instances of violence include property damage, grievous injury, and death in the cases of Aluthgama and Digana. These are clear contemporary examples of hate speech and hate violence, politicising the ethnic and religious identities, targeting minority communities, in particular the Muslim community. Despite sufficient evidence available at each incident, even years after the fact, not one perpetrator has been held accountable even though the Government made a few arrests and some victims have been compensated. It is also worth noting that such violence did not exclusively target Muslims; similar violence had been committed also against the Tamils and Christians at various points in time.¹⁷

¹⁷ UN OHCHR, 'Report of the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief, Dr Ahmed Shaheed, to the Human Rights Council, following a country visit to Sri Lanka in August 2019' (28 February 2020) UN Doc A/HRC/43/48/Add.2, at para 67, www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/FreedomReligion/Pages/Visits.aspx

THE METHODOLOGY

Over a period of three months (from March to June 2020) researchers at the National Christian Evangelical Alliance of Sri Lanka (NCEASL) reviewed several online sites for evidence of hate speech against religious minorities in Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka was under a continuous curfew from around 24th March to 10th May 2020 as a response to the COVID-19 pandemic. This analysis looks at 103 posts and comments during this three-month period and identifies some trends and patterns. While the pandemic had an impact on how the content of hate speech was employed during this period and how online spaces were used to demonize the religious other, the content also indicated a continuation of the types of posts and comments that were used previously. In tracking the posts and comments the following process was followed:

As a first step, pages and group sites along the following lines were identified:

- Gossip sites
- News media
- Online citizen Journalists
- Online pages of prominent individuals

This was followed by generating keywords and trending hashtags related to the incidents that were sought to be tracked and a lexicon with key words was created. This was then used to run searches over a three-month period. Screenshots of the content, posts and comments were generated from the searches and google sheets with the following data were generated:

- Screenshot Number
- Date
- Author
- Individual or group
- Type of Content (post/meme/video/GIF)

- A brief description of the post
- Reception (number of likes/comments/views)
- Group/Minority targeted
- Any special issue adhered to (Specific incident)
- Other comments

Two datasets were generated in Sinhala and Tamil and translated into English which formed the basis for the subsequent analysis.

WHAT IS HATE SPEECH?

There is no universal definition of hate speech and defining hate speech has posed a challenge at both the international and domestic level. In some countries, laws and policies, have been used to harass journalists, human rights defenders, and religious and ethnic minorities. Sometimes laws and policies have also been used to restrict access to information and access to the internet. Where law and policies have been used in this way, they have had a chilling effect on the right to free expression and dissent in general. Any regulation of hate speech then must strike an appropriate balance between free speech and incitement to hatred, violence, and discrimination, a balance that sometimes may be difficult to strike in practice. Speech may be disturbing, uncomfortable and critical, yet such speech should not be restricted unless it could incite violence, hostility, or discrimination. The right to hold opinions, and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas lies at the core of the right to free expression guaranteed by international human rights law. An overbroad definition of hate speech will provide the state with the freedom to curb legitimate speech, as illustrated by some of the cases flagged in this piece.¹⁸ While protecting free speech, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights also states:

¹⁸ See Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. See also General Comment No 34 of the Human Rights Committee.

- (1) Any propaganda for war shall be prohibited by law.
- (2) Any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law.¹⁹

The Rabat Plan of Action lists the following six points to help determine which expressions should be criminalized as hate speech:

Context: Context is of great importance when assessing whether particular statements are likely to incite discrimination, hostility or violence against the target group, and it may have a direct bearing on both intent and/or causation. Analysis of the context should place the speech act within the social and political context prevalent at the time the speech was made and disseminated;

Speaker: The speaker's position or status in the society should be considered, specifically the individuals or organization's standing in the context of the audience to whom the speech is directed;

Intent: Article 20 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights anticipates intent. Negligence and recklessness are not sufficient for an act to be an offence under article 20 of the Covenant, as this article provides for "advocacy" and "incitement" rather than the mere distribution or circulation of material. In this regard, it requires the activation of a triangular relationship between the object and subject of the speech act as well as the audience.

Content and form: The content of the speech constitutes one of the key foci of the courts deliberations and is a critical element of incitement. Content analysis may include the degree to which the speech was provocative and direct, as well as the form, style, nature of arguments deployed in the speech or the balance struck between arguments deployed;

Extent of the speech act: Extent includes such elements as the reach of the speech act, its public nature, its magnitude and size of its audience. Other elements to consider include whether the speech is public, what means of dissemination are used, for

¹⁹ Article 20 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. See also article 4 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

example by a single leaflet or broadcast in the mainstream media or via the Internet, the frequency, the quantity and the extent of the communications, whether the audience had the means to act on the incitement, whether the statement (or work) is circulated in a restricted environment or widely accessible to the general public;

Likelihood, including imminence: Incitement, by definition, is an inchoate crime. The action advocated through incitement speech does not have to be committed for said speech to amount to a crime. Nevertheless, some degree of risk of harm must be identified. It means that the courts will have to determine that there was a reasonable probability that the speech would succeed in inciting actual action against the target group, recognizing that such causation should be rather direct.²⁰

The Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka (HRC) in a legal analysis of section 3 of the ICCPR Act made recommendations on how the provision should be applied.²¹ The HRC's analysis was based on section 20 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, on which, it argued, section 3 of the ICCPR Act was based, and an analysis of the 'The Rabat Plan of Action'. The HRC recommended that section 3 of the ICCPR Act be interpreted in the light of the international jurisprudence on the subject and the six-part threshold test contained in the Rabat Plan of Action. It further recommended that advocacy of hatred under section 3 should not be proscribed unless it constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or

²⁰ UNGA, 'Annual Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights: Addendum – Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights on the Expert Workshops on the Prohibition of Incitement to National, Racial or Religious Hatred' (11 January 2013) UN Doc A/HRC/22/L7/Add.4, at www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Opinion/SeminarRabat/Rabat_draft_outcome.pdf.

²¹ Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka, 'The Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka's (HRCSL) Analysis of the Scope of Section 3 of the ICCPR Act No 55 of 2007 and Attendant Guidelines' Sri Lanka Brief (29 August 2019) at www.srilankabrief.org/2019/09/sri-lankas-hrcsl-provides-its-analysis-of-the-scope-of-section-3-of-the-iccpr-act-in-the-context-of-recent-abuses-of-the-act/.

violence that is intentional. Section 3 is also not a standalone provision and should be interpreted in the light of the right to freedom of expression contained in the Constitution.²²

The following definition of hate speech guided this study in its search for online content:

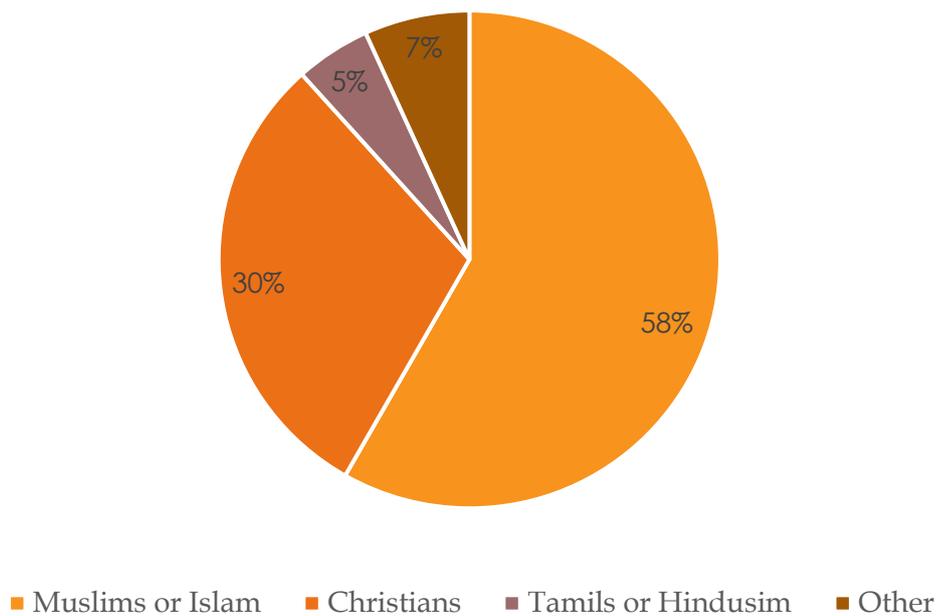
A direct attack on a person or group based on race, ethnicity, religious affiliation, sexual orientation, caste, sex, gender, gender identity or disability. This includes violent or dehumanizing or derogatory speech, statements of inferiority, calls for exclusion or segregation, calls for violence on a specified group or individual, and advocacy and incitement to violence.

²² The right to free expression is protected in Art 14(1)(a) of the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. See also Centre for Policy Alternatives, 'Confronting Accountability for Hate Speech in Sri Lanka: A Critique of the Legal Framework' (2018).

THE FINDINGS

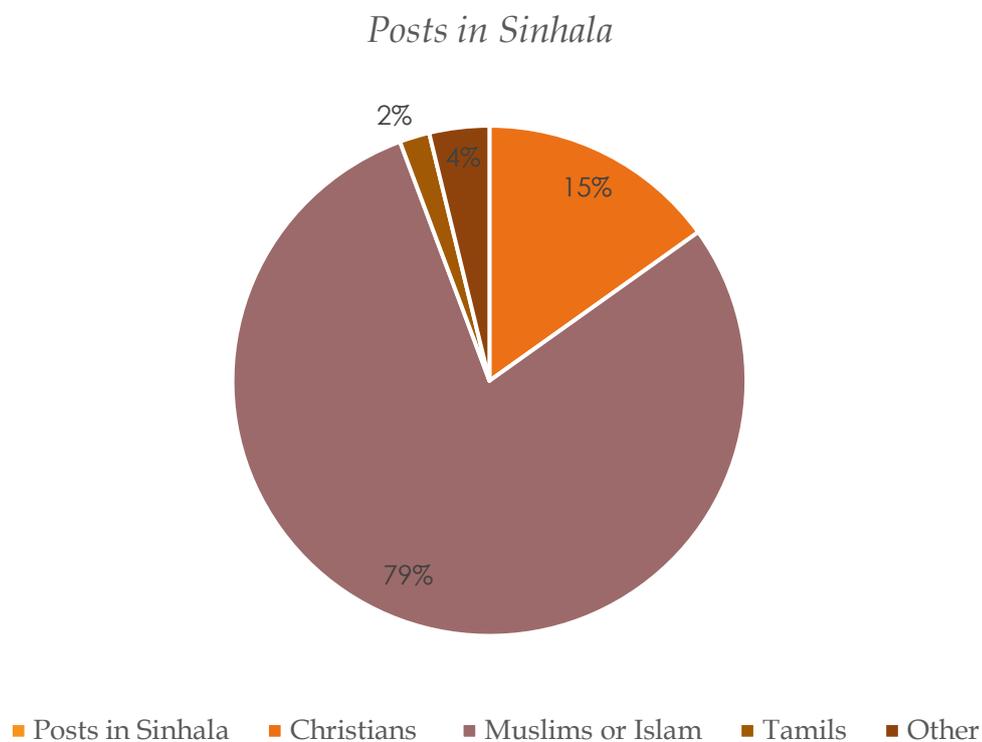
103 posts, tweets and comments were tracked over a three-month period from March to June, 53 in Sinhala and 50 in Tamil. The majority of the posts, tweets, and comments targeted Muslims, although there were a large number attacking Christians as well. Anti-Muslim hate speech increased after the end of the war in 2009 and escalated after the 2019 Easter Sunday bombings. Of the 103 posts surveyed, 60 (58%) attacked Muslims or Islam on a variety of grounds. 31 of the posts attacked Christians (30%) and five attacked Tamils or Hinduism. There was the occasional post targeting Buddhism and the Sinhalese.

Total Number of Posts



THE POSTS IN SINHALA

Of the Sinhala language posts surveyed, a large number attacked Muslims. Of the 53 posts in Sinhala that were surveyed, 42 (or 79.2 per cent) were rants against Muslims or Islam. On the other hand, the online attacks in Tamil were divided more equally between Muslims and Christians. Of the 50 posts and tweets surveyed in Tamil, 23 posts (46%) attacked Christians of Tamil ethnicity and 18 posts attacked Muslims or Islam (35%).



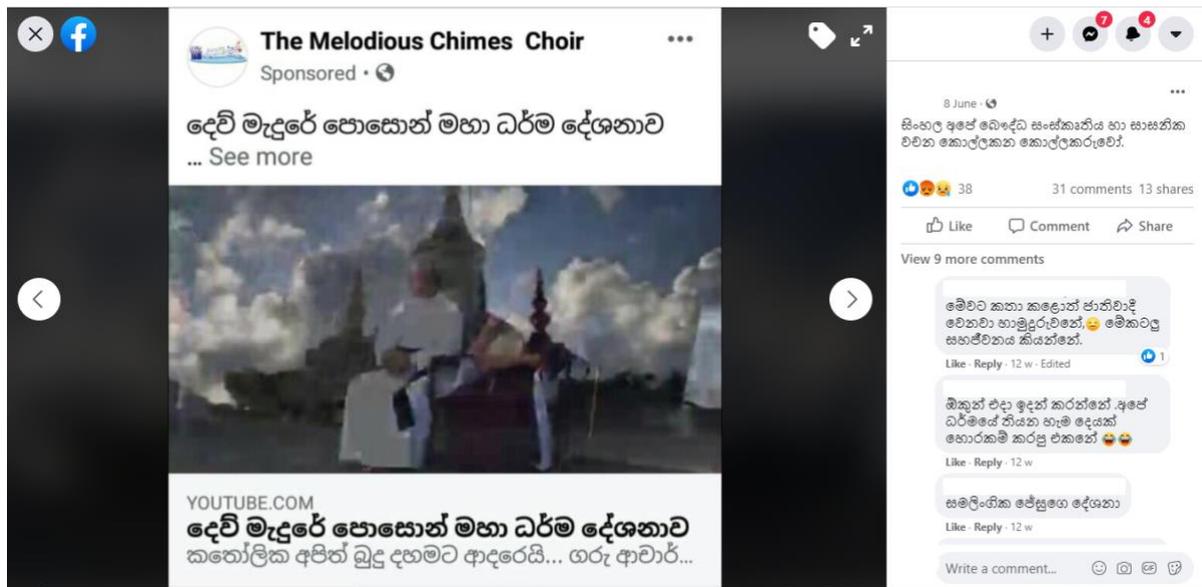
The posts in Sinhala attacking the Muslims consisted of a mix of posts of a 'general' nature and posts that were linked to the COVID-19 pandemic. The posts of a 'general' nature were a continuation of the stereotypes, myths and disinformation against Muslims that have been part of the hate speech on social media for the past several years. Comments of a more general nature, however, were shared more widely than the COVID-19 specific posts across the platform. A graphic of Muslims burning a dummy of a Buddhist monk in Myanmar with a warning that this will happen in Sri Lanka when they become half the population, posted by

an individual had almost 10,000 shares. Another post by an individual stating that the country does not need Rohingya Muslims and calling for their killing was shared almost 9,000 times on the platform. A similar post on a group calling for Muslims to be beaten and attacked was 'liked' 2,400 times and shared 950 times. A group post defaming Islam and calling for the burning of Muslims was shared 1,200 times.



Two cartoons of Muslims, one carrying bombs in April 2019 and another carrying the virus in 2020 is illustrative of specific pandemic related posts. Further, several posts in March and April portrayed Muslims as purveyors of the pandemic and employed derogatory language against the Muslim community. In a post that was shared over 1,000 times, and generated over 200 comments, a question was raised as to why there was no Sinhalese Minister of Justice in the country.

There was a single post in Sinhala attacking the Swiss Pastor, discussed below. There were a few other posts, of a more 'general' nature, ridiculing certain Christian traditions or beliefs, without specifically alluding to the pandemic. A couple of posts referred to Christianity as a 'foreign religion' and Christians as 'robbers of Sinhala-Buddhist culture'. Interestingly, these posts did not differentiate Christians on the basis of denomination, such as Catholic, Protestant or Evangelical Christians.



THE CONTROVERSY OVER BURIAL RITUALS

At the end of March and in early April a controversy broke over the disposal of the bodies of those who had died as a result of COVID-19. There were conflicting circulars released by the Ministry of Health around this time. The Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka by letter dated 25th November 2020, highlighted that "mandating cremation of those who have died or suspected to have died from covid-1.9 is neither necessary nor proportionate to the achievement of protection of public health and therefore is not a permissible restriction of the freedom to manifest religion or beliefs.²³ One stated that burial was acceptable in the event of death, and a later circular stated that all bodies should be cremated and not buried in the case of death.²⁴ Muslims bury their dead and cremation is not part of the mainstream practice for Muslims in Sri Lanka. A post shared over 31,000 times called for the cremation of all dead

²³ Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka, 'HRCSL observations and recommendations on Extraordinary Gazette No.2170/8 dated 11th April 2020' (25 November 2020) at https://www.hrcsl.lk/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Observations-Recommendations-Disposal-Dead-Bodies-Covid19_compressed.pdf

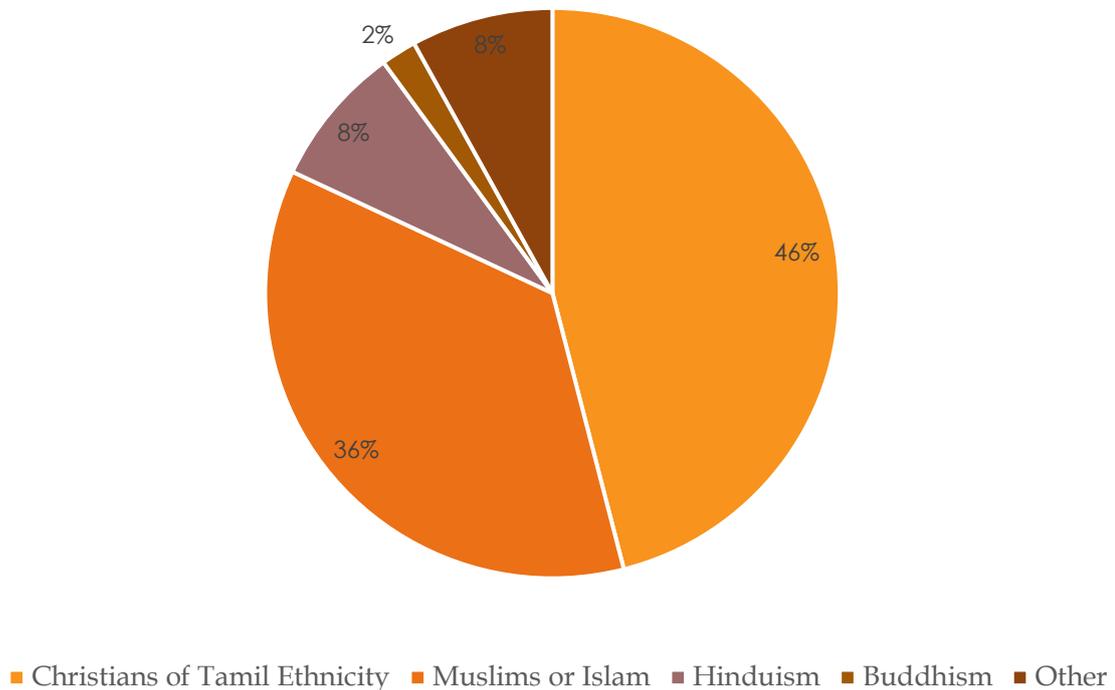
²⁴ See National Christian Evangelical Alliance of Sri Lanka, 'Sri Lanka's Public Health Response: Law, Executive Action and Minority Rights', (Sep 2020) p 15 – 16.

bodies irrespective of the religious tradition. Other posts also attacked this practice and called for the cremation of all those dying of the virus irrespective of their religion.

THE TAMIL LANGUAGE POSTS

While the posts and comments in Sinhala were targeted largely at Muslims, the posts in Tamil were more equally divided in their attacks on the Muslims and Christians. Of the 50 posts in Tamil 23 posts (46%) attacked Christians of Tamil ethnicity and 18 posts attacked Muslims or Islam (36%). Four of the posts attacked Hinduism and there was one post attacking Buddhists, and one attacking the release of an army officer convicted on multiple murders during the ethnic war.

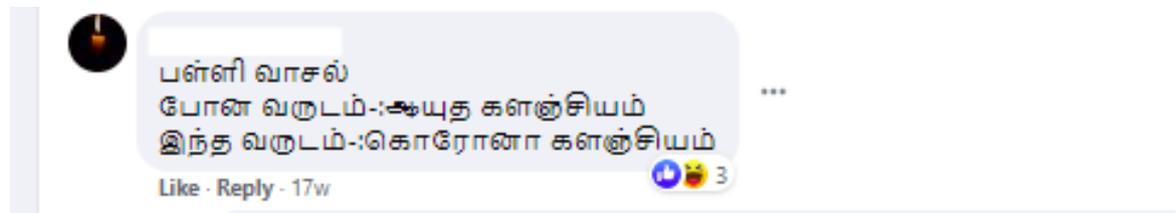
Posts in Tamil



The posts in Tamil attacking Tamils fell into three categories. There were posts that demonized the practice of Hinduism; general posts that insulted Christians including those that mocked Hindus who converted to Christianity; and posts attacking the Swiss Pastor and his

denomination of followers. The large majority of the posts and comments were related to the visit of the Swiss Pastor discussed in the next section.

Those posts attacking Muslims too fell into three broad categories. One set of posts demonized Islam in general. Another set made comments on the burial practices and the disposal of bodies of those who died as a result of the virus. A third category drew on the violence of the Easter Sunday bombings. Echoing a similar Sinhala language post, one post portrayed mosques as a repository of weapons in 2019 and a repository of the virus in 2020. A comment by an individual labelling Muslims as terrorists, was shared widely.

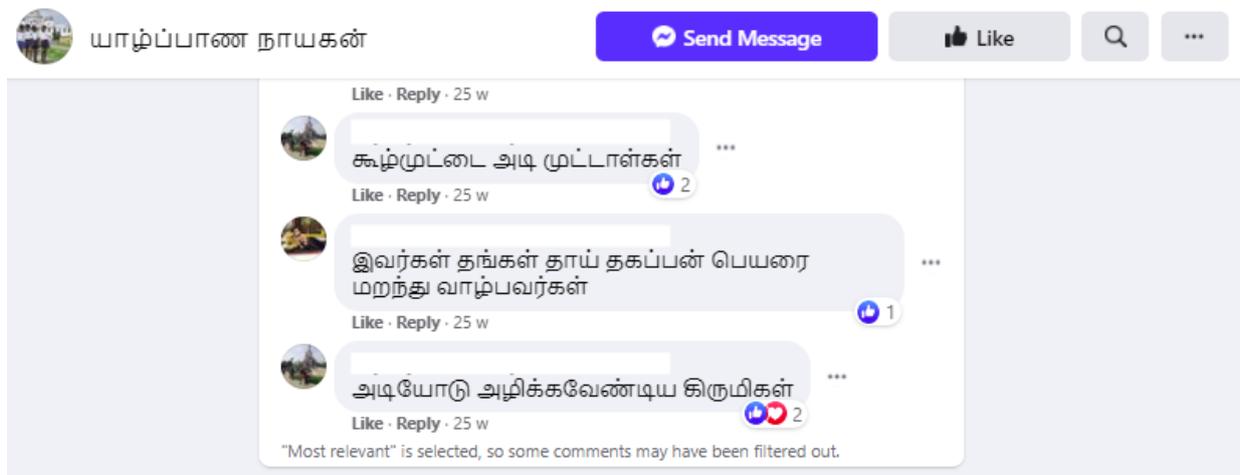


At the end of March and during the operation of the curfew, the President, exercising his constitutional powers of pardon, released an army officer who was convicted for multiple murders during the ethnic war. The officer concerned was convicted by the High Court of multiple crimes and lost his appeal against his conviction in the Supreme Court. It was one of the rare convictions for crimes committed during the war which ended in 2009. A single post in Tamil criticized the President's act and observed that the Sinhalese are more of a monster than the virus.

THE CASE OF THE SWISS PASTOR

The 'Swiss Pastor' attracted multiple posts and comments on social media, especially in Tamil. A Swiss Pastor of Tamil identity visited Sri Lanka in March and conducted religious services in the North of the country including in Jaffna. On returning to Switzerland he tested positive for COVID-19 and his contacts in Sri Lanka were isolated and tested for the virus.

The incident generated several posts and comments attacking the Pastor and followers of his evangelical denomination on Tamil language sites which were shared widely. Of the posts and comments surveyed in Tamil, 17 of the 50 posts attacked the Pastor, his denomination, and his followers. There were two posts that portrayed women from this denomination as being of loose morals. One comment to a post referred to the Swiss pastor and members of his church as “germs that need to be eradicated.” The Swiss Pastor, however, figured in only one of the Sinhala language posts. Similar to Muslims being portrayed as purveyors of the disease in many Sinhala language posts; several Tamil language posts insinuated that Christians were purveyors of COVID-19.



CONCLUSIONS

These 103 posts and comments tracked over a three-month period reflect previous trends on social media about attacks on religious minorities. Religious minorities, particularly Muslims, Christians, Tamils, and Hindus continue to be demonized on social media platforms. Many posts and comments during this three-month period reflected the disinformation, stereotypes and demonization published on social media previously. New posts linked to specific incidents around the pandemic were also evident.

The burial practices of Muslims were condemned even though guidelines from the World Health Organization permit the burial of dead bodies caused by the COVID-19 virus. The Swiss Pastor of Tamil ethnicity who visited the North and tested positive for the virus also generated several hate posts and comments. A continuation of hate speech from the Easter bombings of 2019 were also evident with Muslims being portrayed as purveyors of terrorism in 2019, and as purveyors of the virus in 2020. There was a discernible partiality to Muslims in the Sinhala posts while the hate speech in the Tamil language attacked both Muslims and Christians. There were two posts in Sinhala that attacked the Catholic cardinal. None of the 53 posts in Sinhala commented on the Sinhalese or Buddhism, except one which stated that Buddhism does not require respect for other religions. Of the 50 posts in Tamil, two condemned Sinhala-Buddhists, including one that criticized the release of a prisoner on death row. These 103 posts show that crises, whether it be the Easter bombings of 2019, or the pandemic of 2020, are capitalized by hate mongers to spread hate online.

One of the problems in Sri Lanka has been impunity. Impunity was a problem during the 26-year civil war where there were very few prosecutions of human rights violations. It continues to be a problem after the end of the war and the emergence of a volatile ethno-religious environment. As the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief observed in the comment above, both hate speech and religious violence have not been investigated and prosecuted even though there has been prima facie evidence available in the public domain about the identity and acts of the perpetrators. In the case of hate speech, laws have been

selectively used to arrest and detain Muslims. No impartial investigations have followed these arrests and detentions, and no prosecutions have been successfully concluded.²⁵

In his recent report on Sri Lanka, the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief observes:

While the legal framework in Sri Lanka guarantees the right to freedom of religion or belief for everyone, in practice there are several challenges to the enjoyment of this right. Religious minorities face restrictions in the manifestation of their religion or belief, their places of worship are desecrated while their religious activities such as worship sessions are disrupted by locals and the authorities. There is difficulty for the minority religious communities to build new places of worship while some places were forced to close down due to arbitrary registration requirements. Non-Roman Catholic Christians are also exposed to numerous incidents of violent attack due to a suspicion of 'unethical conversion' and limitations on their right to proselytise. Aggressive campaigns by militant nationalist and religious groups against ethnic, religious and other minorities, particularly Muslims, are particularly concerning.²⁶

Facebook has begun a process of engagement and reform as a result of the independent investigation on its role in the Digana violence of 2018.²⁷ It has recruited a Policy Manager for Sri Lanka, begun a process of engagement with civil society for the first time, started working with select civil society partners to alert the platform on speech that might incite violence,

²⁵ See the case of Shakthika Sathkumara who was arrested on the basis that his fictional online short-story was derogatory of Buddhism. The UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention found his detention to be arbitrary, UNHRC Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, 'Opinion No 8/2020 Concerning Delankage Sameera Shakthika Sathkumara (Sri Lanka)' (1 May 2020) UN Doc A/HRC/WGAD/2020/8, at www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Detention/Opinions/Session87/A_HRC_WGAD_2020_8_Advance_Edited_Version.pdf.

²⁶ See UN OHCHR, 'Report of the UN Special Rapporteur' para 90.

²⁷ Article 1, 'Assessing the Human Rights Impact of the Facebook Platform in Sri Lanka' (2018), on file with the author.

trained young people on the use of social media, recruited Sinhala and Tamil language translators to monitor speech in those languages, and begun to review its community standards. One of the findings of the independent review was that Facebook failed to conform to its own community standards.

Article 9 of the Constitution privileges Buddhism by providing that:

The Republic of Sri Lanka shall give to Buddhism the foremost place and accordingly it shall be the duty of the State to protect and foster the Buddha Sasana, while assuring to all religions the rights granted by Articles 10 and 14(1)(e).²⁸

This article has not remained a hollow constitutional value. It is very much a part of the lived social reality in the country, as purveyors of hate crimes and hate speech from the majority community have been privileged and permitted to flourish in a culture of impunity. On the other hand, the law has been selectively applied to members from religious minorities to arrest them where they have chosen to exercise their rights of free expression to critique the majority religion. This unequal ethno-religious reality is exacerbated by acts such as the release of a radical Buddhist monk, well-known for his vituperative attacks on religious minorities, and the release of an army officer convicted of multiple murders during the ethnic war, reinforcing the idea of impunity for the majority ethno-religious group.

²⁸ Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, article 9.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are offered to state institutions, social media platforms, mainstream media, and civil society:

TO THE STATE AND ITS INSTITUTIONS

1. Ensure that law enforcement officers uphold the constitution and act independently and impartially in maintaining law and order and in arresting alleged perpetrators of hate crimes.
2. Ensure that law enforcement officers and officers of the state do not engage in religious violence and hate speech and take appropriate action against such officers whenever they do breach these standards.
3. Ensure that the Attorney-General's Department acts independently, impartially, and effectively in investigating and prosecuting hate crimes and hate speech.
4. Ensure that the rule of law is applied and all those engaged in hate crimes and hate speech, whether they be members of the clergy, Members of Parliament, or from other privileged sectors, are charged and prosecuted.
5. Invest in the training of judicial and law enforcement officers on the relevant laws on religious violence and hate speech.
6. Ensure that the law enforcement agencies, the Attorney General's Department, and the Ministry of Justice, proactively disclose information on the status of ongoing investigations and prosecutions for religiously motivated violence and hate speech.
7. Condemn publicly acts of intolerance, discrimination, ethnic or religious stereotyping, and hate speech.

TO THE SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORMS

1. Ensure a rigorous monitoring of all posts on the platform.
2. Invest in greater artificial intelligence capacity to track and monitor violations of the platform's community standards.
3. Invest in strengthening capacities in Sinhala and Tamil to monitor posts and comments in these languages.
4. Revisit and revise community standards to ensure they are framed adequately to respond to hate online.
5. Continue to engage with civil society and the public, especially young people on the responsible use of social media platforms.

TO THE MAINSTREAM MEDIA

1. Ensure that the institution does not spread hate speech against religious minorities and other vulnerable groups, and refrain from disseminating negative stereotypes about ethnic or religious groups.
2. Ensure that Sri Lanka's ethnic, religious, and social diversity is adequately reflected in the programmes broadcast, and news and articles published.

1. Continue to engage with state actors, including the police, Ministry of Justice, and the Attorney-General's Department on investigating and prosecuting both hate speech and religiously motivated violence.
2. Continue to use the Right to Information Law to generate information on the status of ongoing investigations into religiously motivated violence and arrests for hate speech.²⁹
3. Continue to monitor online hate speech and disseminate those findings as widely as possible.
4. Continue to engage with Facebook and other platforms on the application of their community standards and the monitoring of these standards in all three languages: Sinhala, Tamil, and English.
5. Invest in training content creators to post creative counter-narratives to hate speech online and to challenge disinformation, and the perpetuation of ethnic, religious, gender and other social stereotypes.
6. Partner with civil society alliances across the Asian region, and other regions, who are also striving to reduce online hate speech both to engage with global platforms such as Facebook, and to share best practices and experiences.

²⁹ See the National Christian Evangelical Council of Sri Lanka (NCEASL) initiative in this regard 'Religious Freedom Violations in Sri Lanka: Responses of Law Enforcement Authorities and the Judiciary', 2020.

ANNEXURES

ANNEX 1: DATABASE OF SINHALA POSTS

Screen shot No	Link of the post	Link of the Author	Individual/Group	Type of Content	Number of reach	Target Group	Description
SSS1	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=281320616570671&set=gm.666684103884969	https://www.facebook.com/groups/380649765821739/	Group	Post	246 shares	Muslims	This post has stated that if there is only one buddhist temple and christian church in a village, how does Attalugama have 17 mosques
SSS2	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=149415153315657&set=gm.665234997363213	https://www.facebook.com/groups/380649765821739/	Group	Post	215 shares	Muslims	This post states that Muslims should not be allowed to destroy 'our' heritage
SSS3	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=2785167668668	https://www.facebook.com/groups/380649765821739/	Group	Post	273 shares	Muslims	This post has stated that Japan has laws against Muslims. This post is based on disinformation to spread

	20&set=gm.662079331012113							hate against Muslim community.
SSS4	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=146359983621174&set=gm.659182947968418	https://www.facebook.com/groups/380649765821739/	Group	Post	368 shares	Muslims	This post has stated that Muslims in Atalugama should be silenced and otherwise they will be a threat to Sinhalese. This post implicitly says that Muslims should be murdered.	
SSS5	https://www.facebook.com/groups/401203710483205/	https://www.facebook.com/groups/401203710483205/	Group	Post	223 comments / 1.1k shares	Muslims	This post asks why there was no Sinhalese as the Minister of Justice in this Sinhala country.	
SSS6	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=2059004310875104&set=a.109662995809255	https://www.facebook.com/gdchanaka	Individual	Post	9.8k shares	Muslims	This post consists a picture of a group of Muslims burning a dummy of a Buddhist monk in Myanmar. The post says It will be the same here after they become 50% of the population and till then they like harmony.	

SSS7	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=2266515476763226&set=a.497170587031066	https://www.facebook.com/gdchanaka	Individual	Post	128 shares	Muslims	This post has stated not to vote for Muslims.
SSS8	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=1196017190739513&set=a.834250900249479	https://www.facebook.com/gdchanaka	Individual	Post	108 shares	Muslims	This post consists captions from Zaharan's video broadcasted by Hiru TV. It can be seen that the purpose of this post is to spread hate against Muslims.
SSS9	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mDrXsiGiRk&feature=youtu.be&fbclid=IwAR2rx4WWMwZ9mO8PFg8weRVnURblpccQ0DWBvRkQXMN1bokzIfvUdyqDCLw	https://www.facebook.com/%E0%B7%83%E0%B7%92%E0%B7%80%E0%B7%8A%E0%B7%84%E0%B7%99%E0%B7%85%E0%B6%BA%E0%B7%9A%E0%B6%85%E0%B6%B7%E0%B7%92%E0%B6%B8%E0%B7%8F%E0%B6%B1%E0%B6%508993142966141/?ref=search&id=ARDCdtUMt7E7YKwfX03NAtnis2WL1blvsy3vZc1dkBFfb-	Individual	Post	14593 views	Muslims	This video post labeled Muslims as terrorists. It says Sinhalese will be beheaded by Muslims in the near future.

		Fcidq5rbAgAfhsFS59_Cv2PFR mynTi4-fj					
SSS10	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=218434876039884&set=a.109170550299651	https://www.facebook.com/ %E0%B6%B8%E0%B7%90%E0%B6%AD%E0%B7%92%E0%B7%80%E0%B6%BB%E0%B6%7%80%E0%B6%BB%E0%B6%AB- %E0%B6%91%E0%B6%B4%E0%B7%8F- %E0%B6%B8%E0%B7%94%E0%B7%85%E0%B7%94-%E0%B6%BB%E0%B6%A7%E0%B6%B8- %E0%B6%91%E0%B6%9A-%E0%B6%B8%E0%B7%92%E0%B6%A7%E0%B6%A7- %E0%B6%9C%E0%B7%9D%E0%B6%A7%E0%B7%8F%E0%B6%6%B7%E0%B6%BA%E0%B6%A7- %E0%B6%BB%E0%B6%A7-%E0%B6%B7%E0%B7%8F%E0%B6%BB- %E0%B6%AF%E0%B7%99%E0%B6%B8%E0%B7%94-107964657519246	Group	Post	31k shares	Islam	This post has stated that other traditions do not matter in this time, all dead bodies should be burnt. This post insults islam.

SSS11	https://www.facebook.com/gangodawila/videos/3143705458995055/	https://www.facebook.com/%E0%B6%B8%E0%B7%90%E0%B6%AD%E0%B7%92%E0%B7%80%E0%B6%BB%E0%B6%AB-%E0%B6%91%E0%B6%B4%E0%B7%8F-%E0%B6%B8%E0%B7%94%E0%B7%85%E0%B7%94-%E0%B6%BB%E0%B6%A7%E0%B6%B8-%E0%B6%9A-%E0%B6%B8%E0%B7%92%E0%B6%A7-%E0%B6%9C%E0%B7%9D%E0%B6%A7%E0%B7%8F%E0%B6%BA%E0%B6%A7-%E0%B6%BB%E0%B6%A7-%E0%B6%B7%E0%B7%8F%E0%B6%BB-%E0%B6%AF%E0%B7%99%E0%B6%B8%E0%B7%94-107964657519246	Group	Post		Muslims	<p>This post has stated that some muslims in Horowpathana have tried to spread Corona purposely. This post consists a video report broadcasted by Derana TV.</p>
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SSS12	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=230038081448463&set=pcb.230038281448443	https://www.facebook.com/mploka.himi/posts/230038281448443	Individual	Post		Muslims	This post has stated that some Muslim leader had said that Corona is soldier of Allah and we need to support it, celebrate non-Muslim deaths.
SSS13	https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=911783549271539&id=100013197078480	https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100013197078480	Individual	Post	58 shares	Muslims	This post has stated that Muslims hide information and do not support the control of Corona virus.
SSS14	https://www.facebook.com/mploka.himi/posts/228486398270298	https://www.facebook.com/mploka.himi	Individual	Post	26 shares	Muslims	This post has mentioned Muslim mosque as "Wailing Shed". This insults Muslims.
SSS15	https://www.facebook.com/mploka.himi/posts/226592921792979	https://www.facebook.com/mploka.himi	Individual	Post	61 shares	Muslims	This post says that "Muslims breach the law".

SSS16	https://www.facebook.com/gangodawila/posts/3090922120940056	https://www.facebook.com/gangodawila	Individual	Post	27 shares	Muslims	This post has stated that even though politics is prohibited for Buddhist temples, it is not so for Muslim mosques.
SSS17	https://www.facebook.com/gangodawila/posts/3291259210906345	https://www.facebook.com/gangodawila	Individual	Post	11 shares	Muslims	This post has stated that a Muslim causes a confrontation between two Sinhalese. The author has used derogatory language to refer to Muslims
SSS18	https://www.facebook.com/gangodawila/posts/3175280092504258	https://www.facebook.com/sriya.hindurangala	Individual	Post	7 likes 1 share	Muslims	This post says Muslims spread corona virus
SSS19	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=149180246672481&set=gm.664716914081688	https://www.facebook.com/anusha.dissanayake.9277	Individual	Post	4 shares	Islam	This post says Halal foods fund Muslim terrorists

SSS20	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=151306346459871&set=gm.668988660321180	https://www.facebook.com/anusha.dissanayake.9277	Individual	Post	243 shares	Muslims	This post has quoted a statement (which has no reasonable resource) of a Muslim political leader which may cause conflicts between Sinhalese and Muslims.
SSS21	https://www.facebook.com/groups/516763559203246/	https://www.facebook.com/groups/516763559203246/	Group	Post	41 shares	Muslims	This post has stated that everything you pay for Pickme goes to Muslim extremists
SSS22	https://www.facebook.com/groups/516763559203246/	https://www.facebook.com/groups/516763559203246/	Group	Post	29 shares	Muslims	This post says Muslim refugees are seeking asylum to invade Sri Lanka .

SSS25	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=1047087805693184&set=a.423744878027483	https://www.facebook.com/sirimewan.godage.5	Individual	Post	358 shares	Muslims	This post consists a newspaper advertisement for name change. Muslim name to a Sinhala name. The post says muslims are converting to sinhala.
SSS26	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=238577687556566&set=gm.545093969703538	https://www.facebook.com/nalaka.gajadeera	Group	Post	32 comments 35 shares	Muslims	This post has stated not to use Islamic greeting (As-Salam-u-Alaikum) in morning shows.
SSS27	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=3118701014814875&set=a.2058845877467066	https://www.facebook.com/Madhumadhawacampaign	Individual	Post		Muslims	This post implies Muslims are endangering the country. This post refers to Muslims as pigs which insults Muslims.
SSS28	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=102236683497619600&set=a.10205015475570716	https://www.facebook.com/tiharindu.kumarage.5	Individual	Post	332 shares	Muslims	This post consists of a cartoon in which a doctor and a policeman are trying to beat corona virus, but two Muslims are disturbing them.

SSS29	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=3002610113090633&set=a.2058845877467066	https://www.facebook.com/Madhumadhawacampaign	Individual	Post	34 shares	Muslims	This post contains a picture of Muslims and says "They are a trouble".
SSS30	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=3002610113090633&set=a.2058845877467066	https://www.facebook.com/Madhumadhawacampaign	Individual	Post	54 likes 6 shares	Islam	This post says that Muslims will be burnt here when they are dead, no matter what other countries do.
SSS31	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=3002610113090633&set=a.2058845877467066	https://www.facebook.com/Madhumadhawacampaign	Individual	Post	68 likes 10 comments 4 shares	Muslims	This post has stated that most of corona infected patients are Muslim in SL. This post has used the word "pigs" to refer to Muslims.
SSS32	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=3002610113090633&set=a.2058845877467066	https://www.facebook.com/Madhumadhawacampaign	Individual	Post	60 likes 9 shares	Muslims	This post says Muslims spread corona virus. This post has also used a derogatory language.

SSS33	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=2946876438727123&set=a.497170587031066	https://www.facebook.com/gdchanaka	Individual	Post	41 likes 5 shares	Tamils	This post is based on disinformation on the statement of Rajan Hoolle's daughter about her flight to SL. This says "dirty blood" for Tamils.
SSS34	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=2576219722633037&set=a.1414530182135336	https://www.facebook.com/nimali.pitigala.37	Individual	Post	683 shares	Muslims	This post consists of two cartoons. In the first one which indicates 2019 April, a Muslim person is seen carrying bombs. In the second which indicates 2020 April, a Muslim person is carrying corona virus.
SSS35	https://www.facebook.com/new.asia.official1/photos/a.104959850924321/204167474336891/	https://www.facebook.com/new.asia.official1/	Group	Post	1.2k shares	Muslims	This post has stated that Muslims will be burnt. This post has used derogatory language and insults Muslims and Allah.
SSS36	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=2862192447195	https://www.facebook.com/gdchanaka	Group	Post	95 likes/70 shares	Muslims	This post says "Be careful, Zaharan's relatives have started working" with a picture of corona virus. This

	523&set=a.497170587031066							implies that Muslims spread corona virus.
SS37	https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1484764488394013&set=p.1484764488394013&type=3	https://www.facebook.com/p.asidu.dillshan753	Individual	Post		Christianity	This post has criticized addressing Cardinal as a buddhist therio. (☹️). This post has used a derogatory language and insults Catholics.	
SS38	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=1202059316801967&set=a.834250900249479	https://www.facebook.com/kottawagama.dhammadothi.33	Individual	Post	31 comments / 13 shares	Christianity	This post consists a screen shot of a youtube video of a dhamma discourse which has held at a catholic church. The post has stated "Robbers who rob our sinhala-buddhist culture and words".	

SSS39	https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1481250125412116&set=p.1481250125412116&type=3	https://www.facebook.com/p/aidu.dillshan753	Individual	comment	5 likes	Christianity	This post insults cardinal and christianity. This post has stated that foreign religions rob our culture
SSS40	https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=2768138010084000&set=p.2768138010084000&type=3	https://www.facebook.com/p/aidu.pasidi?comment_id=Y29tbWVudDoxNjA3Nzc3NiU4MTA3XzE2OTI0ODkwnDASMDMzMtQ%3D	Individual	comment		Christians	This comment consists post of a picture of a piece of cloth. This says It is the undergarment used by Jesus. This post has mythical story written in an insulting language.
SSS41	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=2081658888647539&set=gm.3944088625608785	https://www.facebook.com/groups/1672175066133497/using/100004103445472/	Individual	Post	66 likes/11 comments /11 shares	Christianity	This post has the number of deaths in some countries and mentioned "God's will". This insults Christians.

SSS42	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=270795990997937&set=a.112170496860488	https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100042026145376	Individual	Post	69 likes/ 14 comments / 50 shares	All religion other than buddhism	This post consists of a statement made by Pro. Nalinda Silva. It says "According to buddhism no other religious places can be built in this country". Post says this is true and buddhists do not have to respect other religions.
SSS43	https://www.facebook.com/Shrawaka/photos/a.105365357568957/210662080372617/	https://www.facebook.com/Shrawaka/	Page	Post	972 likes/ 98 comments / 1.2k shares	Muslims	This post has posted with a facebook note which has written on a covid patient. A muslim person is referred to as a human bomb in this post.
SSS44	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=2761772357387232&set=a.1705869762977502	https://www.facebook.com/p.asidu.pasidil?_ftz=AZWp6gFVeShA6QWlPPOYgce58i0gGue615ynU8KwupMxIGr-OWDCPyON4EDu2Uaimkz5psUvyl7V/n22lgyIk96G2gzsof29TIRumF2O8lr268mH5UA7-HXZe4fOXM1zWs&_tn=-UC*F	Individual	Post	89 comments / 4 shares	Christians	This post has stated that sinhala buddhist should be happy as a catholic pastor has passed away. This post consists a derogatory language which insults christians.

SSS45	https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=29496688281888&set=gm.4211271865557125	https://www.facebook.com/groups/1672175066133497/using/100030273105978/?cft=[0]=AZXVTR-pwWYhF5TW0xhURrYozL1AdIT3lIBsU-00JucPgpeZy8B-nW66qwmTrpv07y6PLGa-JM29rWudi uAYsPY r-430d8dgrwWZ_gbh_1bc3WYealfi9pQE1tAJKWqBOX-hx9fAYSKTRaUKSY31_pcdW7fCBiVGLLaTQO3im5viPgRYgWYPeei77t_J-OzkclU&tn=-UC*F	Individual	Post	40 likes/77 comments / 6 shares	Christians	This post consist a picture of an ancient man (much like a monkey) and says it is the god. This post insults christians
SSS46	https://www.facebook.com/SJP.Sinhaladeepa.Jathika.Peramuna/photos/a.11638877007980/160291395476061/	https://www.facebook.com/SJP.Sinhaladeepa.Jathika.Peramuna/	Group	Post	18 likes / 3 shares	All ethnic groups other than Sinhalese	This post has stated that this is "Sinhala Country". This post consists a distorted national flag of Sri Lanka in which the strips that represent minorities have been removed.

SS47	https://www.facebook.com/Shrawaka/videos/622380498317030/	https://www.facebook.com/SJP.Sinhaladeepa.Jathika.Peramuna/	Group	Post	790 likes/436 comments / 2.9k shares	Christianity	This post consists a video with the title "The untold story of the pastor who spreaded Corona in Jaffna". This post has stated that Christianity is a myth. This insults christians
SS48	link taken down	link taken down	Group	Post	343 likes/ 49 comments / 54 shares	Muslims	This post has stated that areas with a high Muslim population are at risk of spreading corona virus.
SS49	link taken down	https://www.facebook.com/dimuwamax/	Group	Post	2.4k likes/ 950 shares	Muslims	This post has implicitly stated that muslims should be attacked/ beaten.
SS50	link taken down	https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100004631867914	Individual	Post		Muslims	This post has stated that muslims are dangerous. This post consists a picture of a muslim carrying a gun.

SS51	link taken down	https://www.facebook.com/gdchanaka	Individual	Post		Muslims	This post consists a illustration that depicts a muslim carrying corona virus on his shoulders and virus trying to grab Sri Lanka which is been protected by the president.
SS52	link taken down	https://www.facebook.com/search/top?q=gdilshan%20pasilik	Individual	Post		Muslims	This post has stated that muslims will be burnt. This post has used a derogatory language and insults muslims and Allah.
SS53	link taken down	https://www.facebook.com/Madhumadhawacampaign	Group	Post		Muslims	This post has stated that muslims are dangerous. This post consists a picture of a muslim carrying a gun.

ANNEX 2: DATABASE OF TAMIL POSTS

Screen shot No	Link of the post	Link of the Author	Individual/Group	Type of Content	Reach level	Target Group	Description
TSS1	https://www.facebook.com/1910326702585654/posts/2598200970464887/?d=n	https://www.facebook.com/kalmunai-today-news-1910326702585654/?_cft_101=AZWIPd_QPsboch7CCgftwF6UggrRIZargZXFQzIS2tMDimtKDIQApCuD3xhCfaOd0gtC0k2R3p4fuWCCM5NwwYFAkpM33XpVOZcGWcwsQt5RksH2grw3xbqv2dz9Y-Du1MAi2-1yOFULm4q9VQqkTXoPz59js8k0mrarUHX50C9E0A&tn=-UC%2CP-R	Group	Post	Medium	Muslims	90 % of those arrested for violating the curfew were Muslim youth All Ceylon Jamiyyathul Ulama leader Moulavi Umardeen Hazrat is concerned

TSS2	https://www.facebook.com/585409478171851/post/2899962616716514	https://www.facebook.com/wtamils1/?_ft__[0]=AZVXvfmxlGIUW7Z8XTYSF4G1WCEOpfWVeRay_5lx6dfWGV0OXvCZT_ySSGHb-2W5PfAY1UfUBu7ScvN9IAzvCYmpc_Z-ELKANAW2a9COzSr1SrDDTKo1xlv-vactHszlXBnHozOnafSGpCETgXHBHhYOr6iDRc-Fpv_6XWvyrKB3Kw&_tn_=-_UC%2CP-R	Group	Post	Medium	Christians	<p>Here is the melodrama (Kooththu- which is an offensive term used to insult the ritual of that particular religion) performed by the Swiss pastor Shatkunaraya, Officers! Catch them too, (This post regarding the Swiss pastor and an old post has been shared with the intention of mocking and insulting the pastor and followers.)</p>
TSS3	https://www.facebook.com/newtamils1/posts/2904949679551141	https://www.facebook.com/wtamils1/?_ft__[0]=AZX1gLKtJ0DQeU3DilOvulrYIHE58nDhKRAZZVBiXt90bT22Wp0cIbOrXINXEKCaCma0aiuomB59KqP3IGHXk4PlJa67_1aZBFiGNjsWQ5dIBBDhAWy6gNDJDJdHfmmbvMtBes2meuvtCibfip_guweKZutgn5f-bqIkhth3uTSvYyug&_tn_=-_UC%2CP-R	Group	Post	High	Christians	<p>Catch the women who are poor, from Jaffna and dip their body parts into the water, in a very undignified manner. (Insulting the pastor and the followers also the rituals of the religion).</p>

<p>TSS4</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/newta <a 268="" 300="" 380="" 448"="" href="https://www.facebook.com/newtamils1/posts/2899962616716514?comment_id=2900348703344572&_ft__[0]=AZX1cY4iP4H48vILvNZVPdo1M0hBfgDQqZrCr2aV4UX8tdv7UHQo1fbNZ1QPFWle0CU11_nZZHK7t8GDUBr5FI5RWOH_Bgx3OsPx5QZJD7OztPeSt91itbcwwYsp-dCpsYH1kRV5WobGcus4ek3SZidM-6d48Ymn5ea4Uh3Pw1eg&_tn=R]-R</p> </td> <td data-bbox="> <p><a 300="" 380="" 448="" 528"="" href="https://www.facebook.com/ponkp.nathan?comment_id=Y29tbnkVudDoyODk5OTYwNjE2NzE2NTE0XzI5MDAzNDg3MDMzNDQ1NzI%3D&_ft__[0]=AZUmf5h9zxQIB3LXIHAAGZ7W9P1QLrxJtZWplE9etwZSvPE9bmcDYOSXUEDgAKiWojIAVtHHO-Ji1-iv5b11b5-5ol6xzDT1G1NZG1puVsy_b5b2ZwDvo1a8nUkpkI3U85Bd6NKPsRwoSdyFmz2eQhL-zhiORoTHJtftf64N7Rm7Eg&_tn_=R]-R</p> </td> <td data-bbox="> <p>Individual</p> </p></p>	<p>Comment</p>	<p>Medium</p>	<p>Christians</p>	<p>Comment 1 : Sri Lankan Tamils are Hindus, beat and chase these immigrant prostitutes away.</p>
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<p>TSS5</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/newtaabook.com/newtamils1/posts/2899962616716514?comment id=2900348703344572&reply comment id=2901069593272483& cft _l0l =AZX1cY4jP4H48v_lVNzVPdd01MOhBtgDQqZrCr2aV4UX8tdv7uhQo1fbNZ1QPFlwie0CU1_1_nZZHK7t8GDUbr5FIjSRWOH_BgX3OspX5Q7JD7OztPeSt91itbcwwYs_d- dCpsYH1kRY5WobGcuS4ek3SZidM-6d48Ymn5ea4Uh3Pw1eg& tn =Rl-R</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/uthurajah.navaneetharai.5?comment id=Y29tbwVudDoyODk5OTYwNiE2NzE2NTE0XzI5MDEwNiE1OTMvNzI0ODM%3D& cft _l0l =AZUNGZqWPz_94DSoz1cc4je1HOUZdtKqih0QaRl_7NB_LBl_AOEG7kM4sc-Ug90TFME1rH0R4ajkvwUQ3UKOZ47xMSQJw68XP88Uj07ttWAYo1VUXo6FH42TOYb6fEg96V95IY_KHhfODU1wQ0p12v075o-OoQs8K7z6ChAU7Ktp8uVQ& tn _=Rl-R</p>	<p>Individual</p>	<p>Comment</p>	<p>Medium</p>	<p>Christians</p>	<p>comment 2 : Yes, you said it very correctly, Sri Lankan Tamils are Hindus, no one can forget this and people who have changed their religion, converted expecting some sort of favors.</p>
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TSS6	https://www.facebook.com/newta_mils1/posts/2904949679551141?comment_id=2905699609476148&_ft__[0]=AZX1g_LKTIJDDQeU3DIL0vUl_rYIHE58nDhKR	https://www.facebook.com/de_lcmurai?comment_id=Y29tbWVuddoyOTA0OTQ5Ni5NTUxMTQxXzI5MDU2OTk2MDk0NzYxNDg%3D&_ft__[0]=AZX1g_LKTIJDDQeU3DIL0vUl_rYIHE58nDhKR	Individual	Comment	Medium	Christians	<p>Christians, these people are not doing religious business but they are extorting money by using the name of god for their incomes</p> <p>Likewise, where are the other religious gods?</p>
	https://www.facebook.com/newta_mils1/posts/2904949679551141?comment_id=2905699609476148&_ft__[0]=AZX1g_LKTIJDDQeU3DIL0vUl_rYIHE58nDhKR	https://www.facebook.com/de_lcmurai?comment_id=Y29tbWVuddoyOTA0OTQ5Ni5NTUxMTQxXzI5MDU2OTk2MDk0NzYxNDg%3D&_ft__[0]=AZX1g_LKTIJDDQeU3DIL0vUl_rYIHE58nDhKR					

TSS7	https://www.facebook.com/TamilNews/posts/120289259602961?comment_id=120295466269007&reply_comment_id=120376062927614&ft__[0]=AZXlcegg8ugfg92hZVvSZcXUlmWZQUaQhDsgZtW9-UaQhDsgZtW9-8mrlP4T_KlCFrZXvEI4ZwZiUKSS_SIZb-CC5CM1iyfxa5p2YsXWVM-lbOFBUtm25GHaOclCTC114bW28M_wp651tc5bQSo-flspwvY2g&tn__=Rl-R	https://www.facebook.com/A.S.Kr.Vadtsan?comment_id=Y29tbWVudDoxMjA5ODkxNTk2MDU5NiFmTIwMzc2MDYyOTI3NiE0&ft__[0]=AZXlcegg8ugfg92hZVvSZcXUlmWZQUaQhDsgZtW9-8mrlP4T_KlCFrZXvEI4ZwZiUKSS_SIZb-CC5CM1iyfxa5p2YsXWVM-lbOFBUtm25GHaOclCTC114bW28M_wp651tc5bQSo-flspwvY2g&tn__=Rl-R	Individual	Comment	Medium	Christians	<p>Responding to the above comment: Sorry, true, Christians are the same even here also but only these NRC dogs (bitch) are making drama.</p>
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TSS8	https://www.facebook.com/MadawalalNewsWeb/posts/2919402258146087?comment_id=2919476708138642&_ft_ 0]=AZU9SfenHJHBhmYsrplVATVSwwoljLlKgbcCNyKXdeki0btQRzMIHw06cbVQZtuP6-	https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100043011048780&comment_id=y29tbwvudDoVOTE5NDAYMIU4MTQ2MDg3XzI5MTk0NzY3MDRgXmZg2NDI%3D&_ft_ 0]=AZU9SfenHJHBhmYsrplVATVSwwoljLlKgbcCNyKXdeki0btQRzMIHw06cbVQZtuP6--	Individual	Comment	Medium	Muslims	Mosque last year: Arsenal (weapon Repository) this year: Corona Repository
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TSS9	https://www.facebook.com/virakesari/posts/10163868608035019?comment_id=10163869356975019&reply_comment_id=10163869777200019&_ft=10163869777200019&_fz=AZWi4xVmPxxg6vu6U9XBNSV435nqoITNT80k9XYG_QJic3KNk3Mcn1SLdwxxSnbDnUJzx1pwvtNFgPbWszLdextap4tmvc8ZOOmCZB30_-FDmom_BzwLCPiU41Pt8qVMMW1N820grOZUjz1kK4RyCdKbKEEbvTAdNxxw5qOpJRSTw&_tn=R-R	https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100049064466227&comment_id=y29tbwVuudOxMDE2Mzg2ODYwODAzNTAxOV8xMDE2Mzg2OTc3NzlwMDAxOQ%3D%3D&_ft=10163869777200019&_fz=AZWi4xVmPxxg6vu6U9XBNSV435nqoITNT80k9XYG_QJic3KNk3Mcn1SLdwxxSnbDnUJzx1pwvtNFgPbWszLdextap4tmvc8ZOOmCZB30_-FDmom_BzwLCPiU41Pt8qVMMW1N820grOZUjz1kK4RyCdKbKEEbvTAdNxxw5qOpJRSTw&_tn=R-R	Individual	Comment	High	Islam	<p>we don't worship lizards, snakes, pigs and cows, we have traditions and we should live accordingly, People who eat corpse (necrophagous) don't know.</p>
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<p>TSS10</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/virakesari/posts/10163868608035019?comment_id=10163869356975019&reply_comment_id=10163870328110019&_ft_tn</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100049064466227&comment_id=y29tbwvuudoxMDE2Mzg2ODYwODAzNTAxOV8xMDE2Mzg3MDMyODExMDAxOQ%3D%3D&_ft_tn</p>	<p>Individual</p>	<p>Comment</p>	<p>Medium</p>	<p>Islam</p>	<p>(Person name) You are coming from an extremist lineage, You convert religions by bombing, now You are doing politics by keeping dead bodies, What a cheap human being you are, terrorist Dog Muslim.</p>
<p>https://www.facebook.com/virakesari/posts/10163868608035019?comment_id=10163869356975019&reply_comment_id=10163870328110019&_ft_tn</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100049064466227&comment_id=y29tbwvuudoxMDE2Mzg2ODYwODAzNTAxOV8xMDE2Mzg3MDMyODExMDAxOQ%3D%3D&_ft_tn</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100049064466227&comment_id=y29tbwvuudoxMDE2Mzg2ODYwODAzNTAxOV8xMDE2Mzg3MDMyODExMDAxOQ%3D%3D&_ft_tn</p>	<p>Individual</p>	<p>Comment</p>	<p>Medium</p>	<p>Islam</p>	<p>(Person name) You are coming from an extremist lineage, You convert religions by bombing, now You are doing politics by keeping dead bodies, What a cheap human being you are, terrorist Dog Muslim.</p>

<p>TS512</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/virakesari/posts/10163868608035019?comment_id=10163868678725019&reply_comment_id=10163869204740019&_ft_ 0 =AZWi4xVmPxxgX6vu6U9XBNSV435nqoITNT80k9XYG_QJic3KNk3MXcn1SLdwxxSnbDnUJzx1pwvtNFgPbws7Ldextap4tmvc8ZOOQmCZB30_-FDmom_BzwLCPiU41Pt8qVMMW1N820grOZUjz1kK4RYCdKbKEEbvTAdNnw5qOpJRSTw&_tn_ =R -R</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100049064466227&comment_id=y29tbwVuDDoXmDE2Mzg2ODYwODAzNTAxOV8xMDE2Mzg2OTIwNDc0MDAxOQ%3D%3D&_ft_ 0 =AZWi4xVmPxxgX6vu6U9XBNSV435nqoITNT80k9XYG_QJic3KNk3MXcn1SLdwxxSnbDnUJzx1pwvtNFgPbws7Ldextap4tmvc8ZOOQmCZB30_-FDmom_BzwLCPiU41Pt8qVMMW1N820grOZUjz1kK4RYCdKbKEEbvTAdNnw5qOpJRSTw&_tn_ =R -R</p>	<p>Individual</p>	<p>Comment</p>	<p>Medium</p>	<p>Muslims</p>	<p>This is also a response to Muslims and it says " You Moodevi, (Tamil slang bad word), I swear by Allah, Muslims have no brains"</p>
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<p>TSS13</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/kingofiaffna/posts/2768189729931156</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/kingofiaffna/</p>	<p>page</p>	<p>Post</p>	<p>Medium</p>	<p>Christians</p>	<p>These comments are against the pastor and his religious followers. Comment 1: You all are such a foolish people (followers of the religion) Comment 2: "these people live forgetting their parents" (This sarcastically says that they have converted to a new religion) Comment 3: These people are germs that need to be eradicated.</p>
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<p>TSS14</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/kingofjaffna/posts/2768189729931156?comment_id=2768691866547609&_ft__[0]=AZXgRI_Ezqa5tLk7WVATiL-RAz_vEedRWHDJ-lwDCCcfM9TzJfRE255BZeQXTpePQoYbBdbwG-cHPE-5dEtOwY5UbgfX5XOOCbhaIgsrmVEYhCA9LqVKSICPORO-Pu6hJplnIpa_Naxt5OATEPqtafCOQEZMshpreol292YFas8w&_tn=R</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/thusi.suthan?comment_id=Y29tbWVudDoybnZyY4MTg5NzI5OTMxMTU2XzI3NiZ2OTE4NiY1NDc2MDk%3D&_ft__[0]=AZXgRI_Ezqa5tLk7WVATiL-RAz_vEedRWHDJ-lwDCCcfM9TzJfRE255BZeQXTpePQoYbBdbwG-cHPE-5dEtOwY5UbgfX5XOOCbhaIgsrmVEYhCA9LqVKSICPORO-Pu6hJplnIpa_Naxt5OATEPqtafCOQEZMshpreol292YFas8w&_tn=R</p>	<p>Individual</p>	<p>Comment</p>	<p>Medium</p>	<p>Christianity</p>	<p>This post is a narration of the story of the Swiss pastor and his religion. In the beginning it says about the incident that the pastor who did prayers in Jaffna has tested positive for Coronavirus and following that story, the narrator criticizes the religion and its rituals by saying " These Hallelujah people don't go to hospital, they don't donate blood or receive blood, when there was a teacher who met with an accident and he needed blood, a group of people did not allow that to happen." The comment further invites people to catch the Hallelujah people (Christians) and hand over them to police.</p>
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<p>TSS15</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/kingofibook.com/posts/2768affna/posts/2768189729931156?comment_id=2768574236559372&_ft_ 0 =AZXgRi_Ezqa5tLk7WVATiL-RAz_vEedRWHDJ-lwDCCcfm9TzJfRE255BZeQXTpePQoYbBdbwG-cHPE-5dEtOwY5UbgF5XQOCbhaIgsrmVEYhca9LqVKSIC_PORO-Pu6hJplnIpa_Naxt5OATEPqtfaFCOQEZMshpreol292YFas8w&_tn_=R1-R</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/januprivan?comment_id=Y29tbWVuudDoyNzY4MTg5NzI5OITMxMTU2XzI3NiRlNzQvMzY1NTkzNzI%3D&_ft_ 0 =AZXgRi_Ezqa5tLk7WVATiL-RAz_vEedRWHDJ-lwDCCcfm9TzJfRE255BZeQXTpePQoYbBdbwG-cHPE-5dEtOwY5UbgF5XQOCbhaIgsrmVEYhca9LqVKSICPORO-Pu6hJplnIpa_Naxt5OATEPqtfaFCOQEZMshpreol292YFas8w&_tn_=R1-R</p>	Individual	Comment	Medium	Christians	<p>Comment 2: "these people live forgetting their parents" (This sarcastically says that they have converted to a new religion)</p> <p>Comment 3: These people are germs that need to be eradicated</p>
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<p>TSS16</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/RaufHakeemOfficial/posts/2738869806346350?comment_id=2738946433005354&reply_comment_id=2739076902992307&ft__[0]=AZWfUUSoyNQMPK2OR1r_P-</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100038252898008&comment_id=y29tbwvudovNzN4ODY5ODAZMzQ2MzUwXzI3Mzg5NDY0MzZmMDUzNTQ%3D</p>	<p>Individual</p>	<p>Comment</p>	<p>Medium</p>	<p>Muslims</p>	<p>This comment is a response to a post regarding burial issues of the dead bodies, who died because of Corona. "Simply if you all can't obey the country's law please go to whatever country you want. There are so many Muslim countries including Iran, still departures are operating. If Buddhist monks, catholic/Christians/Hindu priests listen and act according to the current situation, why can't you? that is the difference between you and other people: Allah gave brains to all idiots."</p>
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<p>TSS19</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/Madabook.com/MadawalalNewsWeb/posts/2919402258146087?comment_id=2919476708138642&_ft_uj=AZVsfOXpwlrgWZB4xel0iKvDkyUrmvV3Qp-SmCsORRnNzbInMSG_l-g3_6Mi-l86G3DtyLk1zN-gS6FwdrR5EY4z9MlhkckY7ba31nQXuSImR4D6YkccSGd9MIMRhw1NHn8fnt1xJzOXDdQcRPXn6Xhr_RfDqIx6C81TYTFnUGZM7g&_tn_=_R</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100043011048780&comment_id=y29tbwVuudDoVOTE5NDAYMiU4MTQ2MDg3XzI5MTk0NzY3MDRxMzg2NDI%3D&_ft_uj=AZVsfOXpwlrgWZB4xel0iKvDkyUrmvV3Qp-SmCsORRnNzbInMSG_l-g3_6Mi-l86G3DtyLk1zN-gS6FwdrR5EY4z9MlhkckY7ba31nQXuSImR4D6YkccSGd9MIMRhw1NHn8fnt1xJzOXDdQcRPXn6Xhr_RfDqIx6C81TYTFnUGZM7g&_tn_=_R</p>	Individual	Comment	Medium	Hinduism	<p>the comment uses derogatory language to criticize Hinduism, stating that they are animals</p>
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<p>TSS20</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/virakesbook.com/virakesari/posts/10163868608035019?comment_id=101638669356975019&_ft__[0]=AZX_EnKITuqEr_dGgUlpbcqyEVo5QK4a0Vw5bnx-5bnx-EJkoc1v7uNZh08npHE1W2mpUtyVwuvzlezpRyvqMHqA0lg0AA5PLqaVRas6AI6Pa002x5thg6LS4pz_LFI6Zx9QkVN3Itlm_mn9QkVN3Itlm_mnZcuelk80i0CGr1KCS1zDROtJXeORXInG2nb_w&_tn__=R]-R</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/kufal.abdeen.54?comment_id=Y29tbWVudDoxMDE2Mzg2ODYwODAzNTAxOV8xMDE2Mzg2OIM1Ni3NTAxOQ%3D%3D&_ft__[0]=AZX_EnKITuqEr_dGgUlpbcqyEVo5QK4a0Vw5bnx-EJkoc1v7uNZh08npHE1W2mpUtyVwuvzlezpRyvqMHqA0lg0A5PLqavRas6AI6Pa002x5thg6LS4pz_LFI6Zx9QkVN3Itlm_mn7cuelk80i0CGr1KCS1zDROtJXeORXInG2nb_w&_tn__=R]-R</p>	<p>Individual</p>	<p>Comment</p>	<p>Medium</p>	<p>Islam</p>	<p>" If centipedes bite that will cause swelling, if you study Quran, that will cause bomb blasting" This comment insults the holy book Quran by saying rhyming words in Tamil, even if doesn't make sense in English, but the actual meaning is "connecting Quran with bomb blasts.</p>
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<p>TS522</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/virakesari/posts/10163868608035019?comment_id=10163869356975019&reply_comment_id=10163870328110019&_ft=10163870328110019&_fz=AZX_EnkTZuqEr_dCgUJpcqyEV05_QK4a0Vw5bNx-EJkoc1v7uNZh08npHE1W2mpUtyVwuyzlezpRyyqIMHqaA0lpg0AASPLqavRas6A16Paoo2x5thg6LS4pz_LF16Zx9QkVN3Itlm_mnZcueik80i0CGr1KCS1zDROtXeORxlng2nb_w&_tn=R</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=1000049064466227&comment_id=y29tbwvuudDoXmDE2Mzg2ODYwODAzNTAxOV8xMDE2Mzg3MDMyODExMDAXOO%3D%3D&_ft=10163870328110019&_fz=AZX_EnkTZuqEr_dCgUJpcqyEV05_QK4a0Vw5bNx-EJkoc1v7uNZh08npHE1W2mpUtyVwuyzlezpRyyqIMHqaA0lpg0AASPLqavRas6A16Paoo2x5thg6LS4pz_LF16Zx9QkVN3Itlm_mnZcueik80i0CGr1KCS1zDROtXeORxlng2nb_w&_tn=R</p>	<p>Individual</p>	<p>Comment</p>	<p>Medium</p>	<p>Islam</p>	<p>This first comment has shared a link which has a video of a person saying "Muslims have no brain" Second comment says "We only did the bomb blast all over the country and destroy everything, go and ask you mother" This comments can be seen as an acceptance of the bomb blast by a Muslim person, which can be a fake account with the intention of inciting hatred towards Muslims or a sarcastic response to the previous comment.</p>
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<p>TS523</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/virakesari/posts/10163868608035019?comment_id=10163868728315019&reply_comment_id=10163869784690019&ft=10163869784690019&ft=10163869784690019</p> <p>]=AZX EnkTZuqERdCgUJpcqyEV05_QK4a0Vw5bNx-EJkoc1v7uNZh08npHE1W2mpUtyVwuyzlezpRyyqIMHqA0lPqaaVras6A16Paoo2x5thg6LS4pz_LF16Zx9QkVN3Itlm_mnZcueik80i0CGr1KCS1zDROtUXeORxlnG2nb w& tn =Rl-R</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100049064466227&comment_id=y29tbwVuudDoXmDE2Mzg2ODYwODAzNTAxOV8xMDE2Mzg2OTc4NDY5MDAXOQ%3D%3D&ft=10163869784690019&ft=10163869784690019</p> <p>EnkTZuqERdCgUJpcqyEV05QK4a0Vw5bNx-EJkoc1v7uNZh08npHE1W2mpUtyVwuyzlezpRyyqIMHqA0lPqaaVras6A16Paoo2x5thg6LS4pz_LF16Zx9QkVN3Itlm_mnZcueik80i0CGr1KCS1zDROtUXeORxlnG2nb w& tn =Rl-R</p>	<p>Individual</p>	<p>Comment</p>	<p>Medium</p>	<p>Islam</p>	<p>This comment is a response to a post regarding burial issues of the people who died because of Corona.</p> <p>Comment 1: "A positive one"</p> <p>Comment 2: "The toxins in humanity must first be eradicated"</p> <p>Comment 3: "We should destroy Islamic terrorists"</p>
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<p>TSS25</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/virakesari/posts/10163868608035019?comment_id=10163868678725019&reply_comment_id=10163869177030019&_ftid=AZX_EnkTZuqEr_dGcUJpccvEV05_QK4a0Vw5bNx-EJkoc1v7uNZh08npHE1W2mpUtyVwuyzlezpRyvqIM_HqA0Jg0AA5PLqg_vRas6A16Pa002x5thg6LS4pz_LF16Zx9QkVN3ItIm_mnZcuejk80i0CGr1KCS1zDROtJXeORxlng2nb_w&_tn=R</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/akasha.vinoth?comment_id=Y29tbWVudDoxMDE2Mzg2ODYwODAzNTAxOV8xMDE2Mzg2OTE3NzAzMDAxOQ%3D%3D&_ftid=AZX_EnkTZuqEr_dGcUJpccvEV05QK4a0Vw5bNx-EJkoc1v7uNZh08npHE1W2mpUtyVwuyzlezpRyvqIMHqA0Jg0AA5PLqavRas6A16Pa002x5thg6LS4pz_LF16Zx9QkVN3ItIm_mnZcuejk80i0CGr1KCS1zDROtJXeORxlng2nb_w&_tn=R</p>	<p>Individual</p>	<p>Comment</p>	<p>Medium</p>	<p>Islam</p>	<p>"Seeing God in everything is the pinnacle of spirituality. Isn't it harmful to anyone? but Isn't it a shame to kill lives for the sake of 72 women? What religion? disgusting" This comment is a response to the previous one and targets Islam.</p>
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<p>TSS27</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/virakesari/posts/10163868608035019?comment_id=10163868678725019&reply_comment_id=10163869240625019&ft_101=AZX_EnkTZuqEr_dCgUJpcqyEV05_QK4a0Vw5bNx-EJkoc1v7uNZh08npHE1W2mpUtyVwuyzlezpRyyqIMHqaA0lPgaA5PLqavRas6A16Pa002x5thg6LS4pz_LF16Zx9QkVN3ItIm_mnZcS1zDROtUXeORxlng2nb_w&tn=R</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100010821548518&comment_id=y29tbwvudDoXmDE2Mzg2ODYwODAzNTAxOV8xMDE2Mzg2OT10MDYvNTAxOO%3D%3D&ft_101=AZX_EnkTZuqEr_dCgUJpcqyEV05QK4a0Vw5bNx-EJkoc1v7uNZh08npHE1W2mpUtyVwuyzlezpRyyqIMHqaA0lPgaA5PLqavRas6A16Pa002x5thg6LS4pz_LF16Zx9QkVN3ItIm_mnZcS1zDROtUXeORxlng2nb_w&tn=R</p>	<p>Individual</p>	<p>Comment</p>	<p>High</p>	<p>Hinduism</p>	<p>This comment insults the god and the rituals of Hinduism. There is even a God who drinks alcohol in your dirty religion"</p>
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TSS28	https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=665673944195800	page	Post	High	Christians	<p>This is again an old video of the pastor with the intention of spreading hatred against him and his religion by insulting his religion and rituals.</p>
TSS29	https://www.facebook.com/javabharatham/posts/205746860640999?hc_location=ufi	page	Post	High	Muslims	<p>This is a video link about a person mocking Muslims by saying that, "Muslims have no brains" it has been shared widely in comments to insult the community.</p>
TSS30	https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=128901162075104&id=112094100422477&comment_id=128917942073426&tn=R	Group	Post	Medium	Christians	<p>This comment is a response for a video shared by the pastor as a reply for all the issues that happened around him. This comment says " The girls in this religion are prostitutes" which is an offensive statement.</p>

TSS31	https://www.facebook.com/lankasr/posts/4301086033250162		Group	Post	High	other	<p>This is a video of a person from abroad, the son of a Swiss pastor called Pasal Manokararajah, and he is cursing people "I say in the name of Jesus, you will be infected with corona" and using derogatory language.</p>
TSS32	https://www.facebook.com/lankasr/posts/4301086033250162?comment_id=4302437269781705&_ft__[0]=AZVN_kmT5_2l8Wpzd-upk2gQfYDhOj5K7kQibRlvmnJn6oXlu59pwh12iQkFIyB1sJ2NHYfM2q9	https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100004649778721&comment_id=y29tbwvudDo0MzAXMDg2MDMzMIUwMTYXzQzMDI0MzcVnIk3ODE3MDU%3D&_ft__[0]=AZVN_kmT52_j8Wpzd-upk2gQfYDhOj5K7kQibRlvmnJn6oXlu59pwh12iQkFIyB1sJ2NHYfM2q81cYz4B1ze1KkIjens05iRYiUzw5z3JfhL2WeVpWZkcyAZCsImMgMxOIPvoI0K6Qi-	Individual	Comment	Medium	Christians	<p>This comment is a response to the previous video and says "This is the very essence of the Hallelujah crowd (Christians), they are vampires".</p>

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TSS33	https://www.facebook.com/www.ceynews.lk/posts/546523989615025?comment_id=546765059590918		Individual	Comment	Medium	Muslims	This comment as a response to the post saying Sainthamaruthu hospital is going to be converted into a corona hospital and it says "Somehow the Muslim should be destroyed."

TSS34	https://www.facebook.com/MadawalaNewsWeb/posts/2982608861825426?comment_t_id=2982692808483698	https://www.facebook.com/beruwala.pohattuwa?comment_id=Y29tbWVuDDoyOTgVNIjA4ODYxODI1NDI2XzI15ODI2OTI4MDg0ODM2OTg%3D&_ft_tn_01=A_ZWYixAM9R48shngw0nkK0tb-Ys5i0vmYAPC3MNB1Y4IvP-fe0xB3zUrhwT0gD1G3Vii3dtooxG7CIOSt0V42Iih8Q8ZPoRTSDTC97xzhC1Ry_GvKM2PvRO7YSFVhOh6Nt_oT5w-D14b851Ei2N5n00nGzC2VIA1PX6FqlRavrf9Aw&_tn_=_R]-R	Individual	Comment	Medium	Muslims	<p>"If this had happened to a Muslim person these Muslim crowd (Soni) would have had fought naked in the middle of the street. They are racists /scoundrels."</p>
TSS35	https://www.facebook.com/groups/159084437845256/permalink/1091222974631393/	https://www.facebook.com/ganesh.soori?_ft_tn_01=AZU9UBff6iBvPmU5Yky23WNa8z4IzCBmPQb_x_4nSRCBEIey6flu000OY5bELvRCnH1p152r5vCm3TQHMDeeO3ZPOQASoaxY4ECCqN4tVKU3VwFNDdMO6CZER4FBRq_d6mxa7740yY8oSINPchp2bdYDLp0FxA7n7_zd3Zv36vK4a5Q&_tn_=_-]C%2CP-R	Individual	Post	Medium	Christians	<p>This video is of a Tamil diaspora person Called Kachai Kumaran and he shared this speech against the swiss pastor Satkunarajah and about his religion and followers. This is totally a disrespectful talk and used very derogatory language. He talks about the religion, rituals, followers and more in a very disrespectful way.</p>

<p>TSS36</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/lvpnews/posts/2908220822630376?comment_id=2908232079295917</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/joker-101695994891300/?comment_id=Y29tbWVudDoyOTA4MjIwODIvNiMwMzc2XzI5MDgyMzIwNzkvOTU5MTc%3D&_ft=AZXVl2TaqUeIBD8UblKiloHTw_VJCGwvSP2Xqou_yiivLZi0_Z4csYtxvCL8JO8M5ilwkobF9_Z4ItJP_gHn3qxqDMD6ifsbmzabB62-O7BIeOtEIkMTNWAOWH5O-WL6BabnGlsnpktNmof3TaXpyv9pAX2ROAUyix_7TScsZS90HK_A&_tn_=Rl-R</p>	<p>Individual</p>	<p>Comment</p>	<p>Medium</p>	<p>Muslims</p>	<p>This comment is a response to a post stating that Major general Shavendra Silva has said that as Mullivaikkal Remembrance Day is not an approved day in Sri Lanka so there is no permission to celebrate this day today. This has very disrespectful language to criticize Muslims.</p> <p>This comment says “give permission to Muslims and they will put more bombs, they should be chased away from the country.</p>
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TSS37	https://www.facebook.com/lvpnews/posts/2908862662566192?comment_id=2911408875644904	https://www.facebook.com/loker-101695994891300/?comment_id=v29tbwvUddDoyOTA4ODyVNIYNNTY2MTkyxz15MDkwMTA0Mz11NTE0MTU%3D&_ft=101EAZXqNMIkKZYvey38heP1eAQcQxNHlrirjiIF_bTuW9TybWAOrxzKfdctxKe57FE4Bq6o5v4vobRrPddt da8nopahsohczn2uSSzWVAND3VAPYBhaXfGla6TwaTC9usVxrAmQfaiZn9Wxn1FxmDZmY15G09e5Qev3X7r9cUvccqOt7b6BkyHFZUPlZvsyQmPpRki9DdbM&_t_n__=R]-R	Individual	Comment	Medium	Muslims	<p>This comment is a response to a post about Mullivaikkal Remembrance Day and it used very derogatory language to criticize Muslims.</p> <p>"these shitty Muslims have started bombing again. These Muslim extremists have been treated disgustingly everywhere, from US to Israel. They also started in Sri Lanka. Shameless Muslims. They were born to be hit by Sinhalese and Tamil. That is why now they are afraid and trembling in this country".</p>
TSS38	https://www.facebook.com/groups/476773766079127/?permalink/934100083679824/		Group	Post	Medium	other	<p>This post says that former MP Rumaana Mahindananda Aluthgama has said that Kuwait has sent Corona Bombs from their country to here. The caption says "Corona bombs sent by Kuwait"</p>

							Also says SLPF portraying Muslims as extremists. Those who saw racism as the main point of this regime will receive the punishment of Allah!
TSS39	link taken down		page	Post	Medium	Muslims	Refers to Muslims as terrorists
TSS40	https://www.facebook.com/162774620428668/posts/2887359477970155		page	Post	High	Christians	This is a post against Swiss pastor and his religion. "Even Hallelujah, who did not even bother to kill tens of thousands. They destroyed not only Jaffna but also foreign countries"
TSS41	https://www.facebook.com/173789622704526/posts/2768189729931156		page	Post	High	Christianity	This is a post against the Swiss pastor and his followers and religion. "Police should make an arrest and conduct a corona test. If you find a suspicious "Hallelujah" (Christians)

						crowd in town, hand it over to the police. This is not a record against religion, but for demons who practice nonsense in the name of religion. "	
TSS42	https://www.facebook.com/kingofjaffna/posts/2768189729931156?comment_id=2768255659924563&_ft__[0]=AZW7xzHtIgt4ArDcONh1MUO1OLK5XJoTIy2_qtrV2ayInLwNq_06q-5_wabmHq0CBGtWyaOBMcEf_by3gHvamGxf05Ujifwfos56l2mS_VcQVwRV-WwnOj-Hm-blk8Umxxbu14GFLD8P9dChq3JaRRf2Z1uwvhGlaQoIT	https://www.facebook.com/levaratnam.vamadevan.9?comment_id=Y29tbWVudDoyNzY4MTg5NzI5OTMxMTU2XzI3NiYNTU2NTk5MjQ1NiM%3D&_ft__[0]=AZVe1tWgFCGNDY3weIXbkgnIGGvUYIYhxBai3V6dNPb7Cd9Zwp6rISy6zUyOsThmzNO_6-VS9QNhD2tmx9R9hEunp0D5G_YwEu2sd2Dc3VTwobRkma9IjY6_hFdBEQNDQImAizONq_o0tLJZSMvLWUs9ZL9JZQm5xvtzUNGo-ZOXNw&_tn_=_Rl-R	Individual	Comment	Medium	Christians	This comment is against the followers of the pastor's religion in Jaffna. "You bloody people, you have collapsed the peace in Jaffna"

	WLO263YfoXRvO &_tn_=Rl-R						
TSS43	https://www.facebook.com/kingofiaffna/posts/2768189729931156?comment_id=2768280836588712&_cft__[0]=AZVe1tWgFCGNDY3weIXbkgnIGVUIYhxBaI3V6dNPb7Cd97wp6riSYv6zUyOSt_hmzNO_6-YS9QNhD2tMx9R9hEuNp0D5GVWEu2sd2Dc3VTwobRkma9IjY6_hFdBEQNDQImAIZONq_o0tLJZSMVLWUS9ZL9IZQm5xvtzUN_Go-ZOXNw&_tn_=Rl-R	https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100006705285947&comment_id=y29tbwVuudDoYNzY4MTg5Nz150TMxMTU2Xzi3NjgYOD44Mzy1ODg3MTT%3D&_cft__[0]=AZVe1tWgFCGNDY3weIXbkgnIGVUIYhxBaI3V6dNPb7Cd97wp6riSYv6zUyOSt_hmzNO_6-YS9QNhD2tMx9R9hEuNp0D5GVWEu2sd2Dc3VTwobRkma9IjY6_hFdBEQNDQImAIZONq_o0tLJZSMVLWUS9ZL9IZQm5xvtzUNGo-ZOXNw&_tn_=Rl-R	Individual	Comment	Medium	Christianity	<p>This comment targets the pastor's followers by using a very offensive term in Tamil. (elaveduththa)</p> <p>"These Hallelujah madmen, have exaggerated the situation of Corona"</p>

TSS45			Individual	Comment	Medium	Christianity	
	https://www.facebook.com/kingrofi https://www.facebook.com/pr file.php?id=10000536982414 0&comment_id=y29tbwVuudDo VNZY4MTg5NZI5OTMxMTU2Xzi 3NjgYNzk2NDMwNTU0OTg%3D &_ft_ 0 =AZW7- E29ngfkvTxYdMRu69fwk- Giw- lenCit_VNCfmlWkJDzXADdSY1T ox6hvtOrpkVgB4OBc2mHne2R X2sckdviOSbizSmqfo9COg2q1Iu 6rXk2pRjaiHooSzyvUC- GsFIZgQlfx4BVEyrKltBelopWis 309rXw3KsItHFLXSA&_tn_=Rl- R						<p>"these Hallelujah people (Christians) are wretched they came to destroy the people"</p>

<p>TSS46</p> <p>https://www.facebook.com/newtabook.com/posts/2904949679551141?comment_id=2905085379537571&_ft_ 0 =AZWK4Fy5wrSFbn-pruwlkn4uSWJt5fJfDxCYP4RlFaR70KD93NoOK9pnhH3ZLxih_E71938uCKn1fX6y44L6GgW_pYUrw1UVQW6qcOT1uq-hfpFv59iOb7JLHFQnEiVrqf2KyVQBS_ARTeULaylUKQW2HnSEB1wkp2vhoTnpH_w&_tn=-R1-R</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/po.nkp.nathan?comment_id=Y29tbnkpbWVudDoyOTA0OTQ5Ni5NTUxMTQxXzI5MDUwODUzNzk1Mzc1NzE%3D&_ft_ 0 =AZWK4Fy5wrSFbn-pruwlkn4uSWJt5fJfDxCYP4RlFaR70KD93NoOK9pnhH3ZLxih_E71938uCKn1fX6y44L6GgW_pYUrw1UVQW6qcOT1uq-hfpFv59iOb7JLHFQnEiVrqf2KyVQBS_ARTeULaylUKQW2HnSEB1wkp2vhoTnpH_w&_tn=-R</p>	Individual	Comment	Medium	Christianity	<p>"From the swindlers who seduce the people in the name of Hinduism to the wandering Bible pastors, everyone is a lustful person Think well. Who will go first to these people? Ladies She is lustful and wanders around that's why the ladies are looking for these lustful wretches"</p>
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TSS47	https://twitter.com/Neetwit/status/1242329247294898177/photo/1		Individual	Tweet	Medium	Christianity	<p>"But better government ban Hallelujah shit in Sri Lanka. The pastor Paul Satkunarajah who came with Corona virus and did the prayers, not only him but all this Hallelujah shit pastors tell everyone. Don't take medicine, god save you, now he got the virus and is sleeping like a baby in Switzerland hospital bed. Guys, please wake up, at least after this, please don't believe this kind of people and Hallelujah shit. They only target poor people and change their religion. Paul Satkunaraja now is talking medicine to save his fat ass."</p>
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TSS48	https://twitter.com/Kavinthans/status/1242291489603903489/photo/1		Individual	Tweet	Medium	Christianity	<p>This post has shared an article about the Swiss pastor saying that he has illegal properties and converting poor and innocent people to his religion. " The article highlights how accumulated enormous wealth illegitimately and did conversions. "</p>
TSS49	https://twitter.com/FraudTwitz/status/1241283171628371968		Individual	Tweet	Medium	Christianity	<p>This post describes the incident happened in Jaffna regarding the first corona case with the intention of hatred against the religious people by saying " just catch all the Hallelujah " crowd and keep them tied"</p>
TSS50	https://twitter.com/appan06/status/1243307731013992454		Individual	Tweet	Medium	Sinhalese	<p>This post talks about the presidential pardon for the soldier who killed 8 innocent Tamil people in Jaffna, With the caption of</p>

