Cyber Social Swarming Precedes Real World Riots in Leicester: How Social Media Became a Weapon for Violence

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INTRODUCTION

Throughout late August and September 2022 violence between Hindu and Muslim communities overwhelmed Leicester, UK. The activities included mass mobilizations, vandalism, and physical attacks against both Muslims and Hindus. According to the [2011 census](), Leicester is 13% Muslim, 12.3% Hindu, 22.3% are of Indian-origin and 1.9% are of Pakistani-origin. [As of 2017](), in the UK overall, the Muslim population is 5% and Hindu population is 1.5%. Leicester is also home to the Daman Hindu community; an Indian, Hindu, diasporic community originating in Daman and Diu (India) but resettled in Portugal and then Leicester, subsequently.[1] Though geopolitical conflict in the Indian subcontinent has generally [contributed]() to growing unrest between British Muslim and Hindu communities, recent unrest between the two escalated following a cricket match on August 28 between India and Pakistan, where fans clashed violently. Conflicts between Indian and Pakistani fans have occurred previously,[2] but current events suggest an unprecedented escalation. The police [acknowledged]() the vast nature of the unrest.

Both the Indian and Pakistani embassies have issued statements about the violence, warning of harm to their respective diasporic communities.[3] This pertains to a broader trend of tension between the two countries emanating from inter-diasporic clashes. In the case of August and September 2022, clashes took place not only on the ground in Leicester, but also in the social-cyber domain, where polarizing elements shared hostile rhetoric, memes, and videos, with numerous documented calls to violence.

While numerous articles and investigations have sought to characterize the role of social cyber activity and determine how such activity may have inflamed tensions between the two communities, a number of questions persist around how these forces interacted. From malicious narratives, to bot activity, to the role of cyberswarming,[4] to Islamophobic and Hinduphobic tropes, how did these online activities spill over into real world violence, vandalism, mob mobilization, and intimidation?

In order to assess the various facets of this question, the NCRI collected data for the time period between August 27 (one day prior to the India vs Pakistan cricket match, where India [won]()) and September 19, from Twitter, YouTube, TikTok, and Instagram concerning the incidents in Leicester. We performed Open Source Intelligence Collection (OSINT), time series analysis, natural language processing, network analysis, and sentiment analysis to identify key events, information operations, malicious narratives, and influence networks. These methods allow us to provide a coherent and data-driven description connecting online and real world activities.

BLUF

- Malicious online narratives, many since deleted, played an essential role in instigating attacks in Leicester.
- False reports of child kidnapping, false reports of attacks on a local mosque, conspiracies of global dominance, and ethnic hatred were all prevalent narratives during the unrest.
- Majid Freeman, a key influencer who has openly voiced support for Al Qaeda, slain ISIS fighters played a key role amplifying false information that appear to have instigated unrest.
- On Twitter, linguistic analysis shows that mentions of "Hindu" exceeded mentions of "Muslim" by nearly 40% and that Hindus were largely depicted as aggressors and conspirators in a global project for international dominance.
- Mentions of "Muslim" were depicted as retaliating and responding to this aggression, though most evidence indicates that the violence was directed largely towards Hindus.
- Among the most retweeted content that leveled identity attacks, NCRI found blame for the events was placed on Muslims by a concentrated but highly retweeted network coming from India.
- Inauthentic coordinated activity has been disseminating both Hinduphobic and Islamophobic messaging.

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[1]Cachado, Rita Ávila. "Locating Portuguese Hindus: transnationality in urban settings." Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas 76 (2014): 109-124.
[2]In 2017, Indian Cricket fan, Hemant Barat with a visible Indian flag on his vehicle, had been [pushed]() from his motorbike by a group of Pakistani cricket fans on Melton Road.
[3]On September 19, 2022, the Indian High Commision in the UK [released a statement]() condemning the violence against the Indian community and the vandalization of Hindu sacred symbols. On the same day, The High Commission of Pakistan to the UK [released a statement](), expressing concern for the violence unleashed and Islamophobic incidences in Leicester.
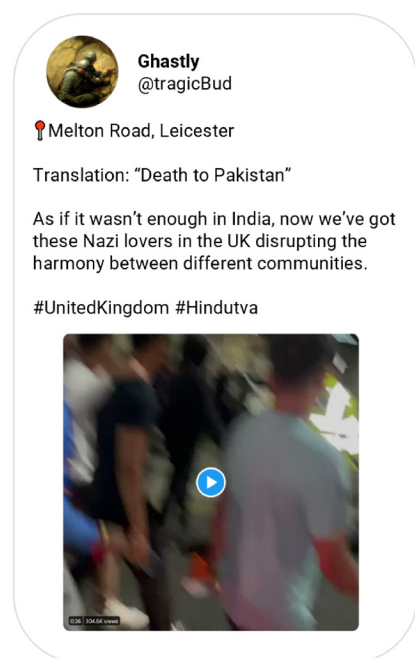[4]["Cyber Swarming, Memetic Warfare and Viral Insurgency: How Domestic Militants Organize on Memes to Incite Violent Insurrection and Terror against Government and Law Enforcement." Network Contagion Research Institute, 20 Aug. 2021.]()

- AI Models to detect incitement to violence reported that 70% calls were made on Twitter against Hindus, and 30% against Muslims during events in Leicester.
- The NCRI assesses that patterns of reciprocal escalation are likely to continue to heighten unless platforms can better detect and prevent the abuse of their products to harm vulnerable populations.

TIMELINE OF EVENTS AND MALICIOUS NARRATIVES

NCRI developed a timeline of key events and described notable and highly engaged tweets, events, and malicious narratives that occurred over the course of the violence. On August 28, 2022, Indian cricket fans gathered in the Belgrave area of Leicester to celebrate India's win over Pakistan in the Asia Cup series. On August 29, a twitter user with username @tragicbud with user description including "fuck them pajeets"[5] tweeted one of the earliest malicious narratives with high engagement, including a short video. Since deleted, the narrative tied violence — which sometimes accompanies cricket matches — to nefarious "Nazi" and "Hindutva" nationalist objectives. The conspiracy that "Nazi-like Hindutva" organizations and ideology, as opposed to ethnic, or nationalistic, rivalry at a cricket match, was a force behind the events in Leicester would come to be the most widely subscribed to, misleading, and malicious narrative over the course of the following days. Sources state that tensions between the two communities have existed for years, and the flashpoint erupted during the cricket match.

Figure 1: First Tweet Regarding the Violence

Ghastly
@tragicBud

📍 Melton Road, Leicester

Translation: "Death to Pakistan"

As if it wasn't enough in India, now we've got these Nazi lovers in the UK disrupting the harmony between different communities.

#UnitedKingdom #Hindutva

The video shows cricket fans carrying an Indian flag shouting "Pakistan Murdabad" (which translates to "Death to Pakistan" in Hindi), accompanied by brawls between Indian and Pakistani cricket fans. It is notable that such chants are common from fans of both teams, during and after games in the historic cricketing rivalry between India and Pakistan. The same video captured footage of a man, his T-shirt torn off, assaulted by Indian cricket fans during an altercation. Other videos from the night show a man, reportedly Sikh, being assaulted by Indian cricket fans after he allegedly snatched their Indian flag. Police reported that they were investigating the incident.

This tweet, the first one regarding the violence to go viral, received 2,037 retweets and quote tweets, and the video accumulated close to 305,000 views.

NCRI produced a social graph of the tweet, depicting users who replied to the tweet as well as any further reply branches to better understand the tweet's reach.

Though calls of death to India and Pakistan are common in cricket matches, the interpretation above is lacking evidence. The narrative above constrains and distorts by interpreting these chants to only pertain to ethnic hatred and nationalism. Indeed, the graph shows that not-for-profits which address Islamophobic incidents appear in the reply network to the tweet. For example, the Islamophobia Response Unit's Twitter handle asked for the incident to be submitted on the "Report an Incident'' form on its website, while Tell MAMA UK announced it was investigating the chants on its platform (Appendix A). These responses — among the first and emerging from influential organizations of repute — suggest a prima facie assumption that Islamophobia was the catalyst for these fistfights. Other users replied with calls for sending Indian fans back to India and canceling their visas (Appendix A).

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[5]A previous NCRI report has determined this is a derogatory slur for Indians and Hindus, in particular. See Sudhakar, et al. "Anti-Hindu Disinformation: A Case Study of Hinduphobia on Social Media." NCRI. 11 July 2022.

Figure 2: Reply Network of Tweet Indicating Initial Violence Between Indian and Pakistani Cricket Supporters

A [quote tweet](#) by Majid Freeman (20.8k+ followers at the time) on August 29 gave a significant lift to the narrative that the attacks were motivated by "Hindu Nationalism" and hatred of Islam. Freeman claimed the chants were religiously motivated ("We all know they were really chanting against Muslims") and insinuates that the same "Hindutva cowards" were the ones who ripped up a Quran near the same area previously (Figure 3). These claims by Freeman remain uncorroborated.

Figure 3: Amplification of Indian-Pakistani Fans Clashing — Majid Freeman

Majid Freeman is a British Muslim former aid worker who has voiced support for convicted murderer and Al Qaeda supporter Aafia Siddiqui, posted messages in support of ISIS, and offered prayers for slain British Al Qaeda operative Iftekar Jaman — all on his personal social media pages.

Freeman's tweets were amplified on Twitter. In their immediate aftermath, British Pakistani networks used cyber swarming — tactically alarm or recruit followers to simultaneously deploy en masse in both cyber, and, potentially, real-world domains[6] — to call for a response (see figure 6). Below are tweets exemplifying these calls, which have since been deleted. These tweets consistently ranked in the most engaged tweets (based on retweets) between August 30 - September 4.

Majid Freeman @Majstar7

Someone in Leicester must know who these Hindutva cowards are. They attacked a few people and were chanting against Pakistan on Melton Road. We all know they were really chanting against Muslims. These scum need to be caught and justice needs to be served! #Leicester #Hindutva

Majid Freeman @Majstar7

It wasn't too long ago ripped up Quran pages were found on the streets not far from this same road. I hope the people responsible are caught asap before things really escalate. #Leicester

Figure 4: Deleted Tweets from British Pakistani Accounts Recovered[7] by NCRI: Portrayals of the Hindu Community as a Dangerous Threat.

Fazps @fazudd

Hindus in the uk (especially Leicester) need to chill out, you do not want smoke from the Muslims in the uk. This ain't India brev

Guztavo Khanage @GuzKhanOfficial

In other news, after these pro Modi weirdos attacked Muslim and Sikh brothers in Leicester, I heard the mandem are on a madness to sort them out.

They want this hatred and division between, Muslim, Sikh and Hindu.

Stay united 👊🏾 💚

P.S If you're in this video, good luck 😬

Halifax Pakistanis @HPakistanis

Pakistani Muslims confronted #Hindutva thugs in #Leicester.. the cowards ran away when real men came together after they heard about Pakistani men were attacked by a gang and one was hurt so badly and still in ICU. #Pakistan #PAKvIND #PakistanVsIndia #Pakistan ❤️ 👊🏾
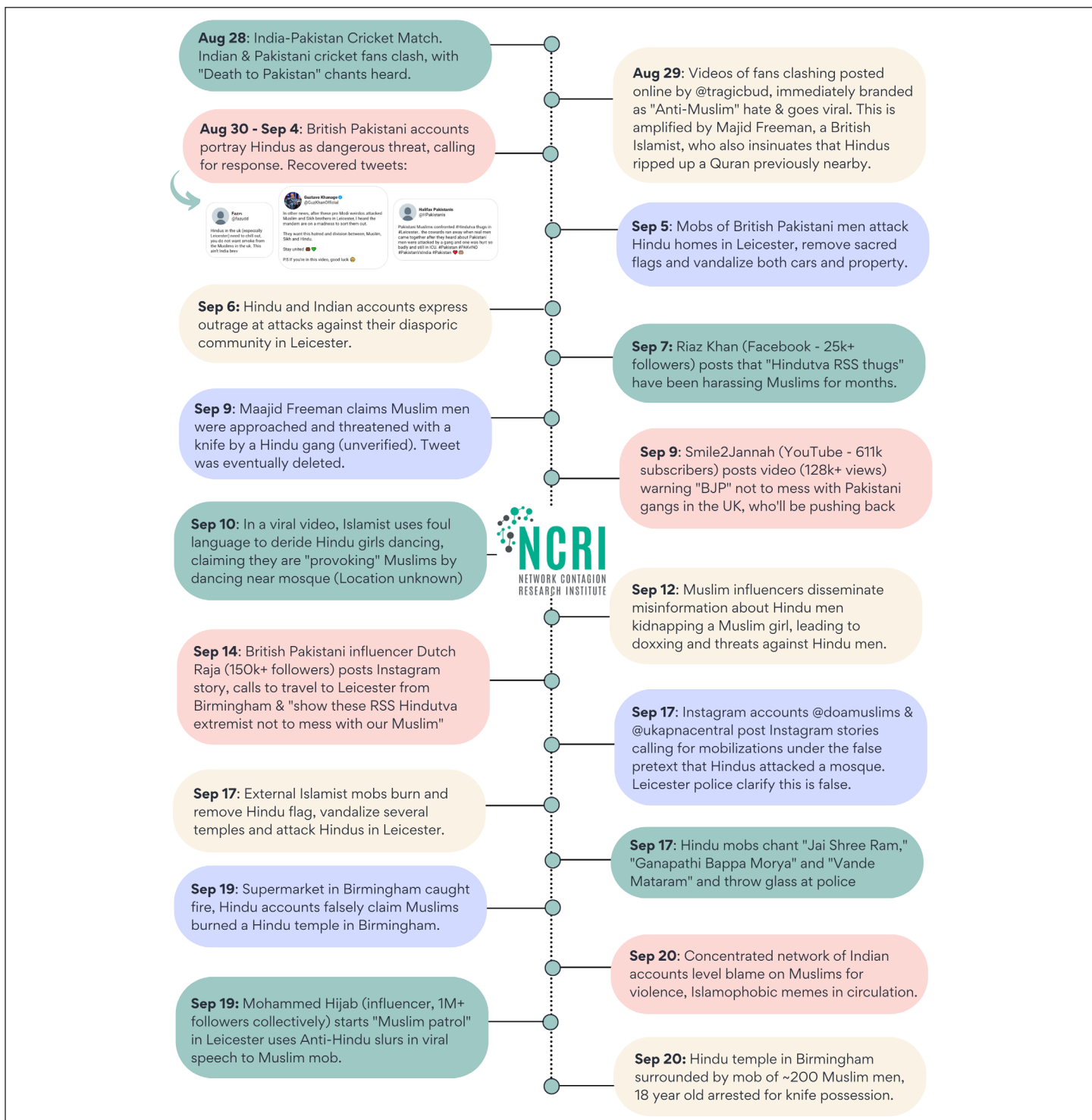
The NCRI chronologically constructed a sequence of online and real-world events that built up tensions beforehand and called for violence. This timeline provides a suggestive causal link between online activity and communal violence, shedding light on the texture of Leicester's violence. All intelligence gathered was through open source means. A detailed timeline can be found in Appendix B.

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[6]"Cyber Swarming, Memetic Warfare and Viral Insurgency: How Domestic Militants Organize on Memes to Incite Violent Insurrection and Terror against Government and Law Enforcement." Network Contagion Research Institute, 20 Aug. 2021
[7]NCRI was collecting on many accounts using the internet archive to find deleted material in other cases.

Figure 5: Timeline Visualization of Key Events

Aug 28: India-Pakistan Cricket Match. Indian & Pakistani cricket fans clash, with "Death to Pakistan" chants heard.

Aug 29: Videos of fans clashing posted online by @tragicbud, immediately branded as "Anti-Muslim" hate & goes viral. This is amplified by Majid Freeman, a British Islamist, who also insinuates that Hindus ripped up a Quran previously nearby.

Aug 30 - Sep 4: British Pakistani accounts portray Hindus as dangerous threat, calling for response. Recovered tweets:

Sep 5: Mobs of British Pakistani men attack Hindu homes in Leicester, remove sacred flags and vandalize both cars and property.

Sep 6: Hindu and Indian accounts express outrage at attacks against their diasporic community in Leicester.

Sep 7: Riaz Khan (Facebook - 25k+ followers) posts that "Hindutva RSS thugs" have been harassing Muslims for months.

Sep 9: Maajid Freeman claims Muslim men were approached and threatened with a knife by a Hindu gang (unverified). Tweet was eventually deleted.

Sep 9: Smile2Jannah (YouTube - 611k subscribers) posts video (128k+ views) warning "BJP" not to mess with Pakistani gangs in the UK, who'll be pushing back

Sep 10: In a viral video, Islamist uses foul language to deride Hindu girls dancing, claiming they are "provoking" Muslims by dancing near mosque (Location unknown)

Sep 12: Muslim influencers disseminate misinformation about Hindu men kidnapping a Muslim girl, leading to doxxing and threats against Hindu men.

Sep 14: British Pakistani influencer Dutch Raja (150k+ followers) posts Instagram story, calls to travel to Leicester from Birmingham & "show these RSS Hindutva extremist not to mess with our Muslim"

Sep 17: Instagram accounts @doamuslims & @ukapnacentral post Instagram stories calling for mobilizations under the false pretext that Hindus attacked a mosque. Leicester police clarify this is false.

Sep 17: External Islamist mobs burn and remove Hindu flag, vandalize several temples and attack Hindus in Leicester.

Sep 17: Hindu mobs chant "Jai Shree Ram," "Ganapathi Bappa Morya" and "Vande Mataram" and throw glass at police

Sep 19: Supermarket in Birmingham caught fire, Hindu accounts falsely claim Muslims burned a Hindu temple in Birmingham.

Sep 20: Concentrated network of Indian accounts level blame on Muslims for violence, Islamophobic memes in circulation.

Sep 19: Mohammed Hijab (influencer, 1M+ followers collectively) starts "Muslim patrol" in Leicester uses Anti-Hindu slurs in viral speech to Muslim mob.

Sep 20: Hindu temple in Birmingham surrounded by mob of ~200 Muslim men, 18 year old arrested for knife possession.

As is evident from Figure 5 above, several malicious narratives circulated publicly with calls to respond to Hindus as an emerging threat. In order to understand the nature of the narratives that sparked the violence, the NCRI constructed a taxonomy of malicious narratives, which include the date of the incident, a succinct statement of the narrative, origins of the narrative, the threats of violence associated with it, evidence of cyber swarming, influencers responsible for amplification, and authenticity verification. We encourage the reader to review the complete taxonomy along with corroborating additional details and evidence in Appendix C. In the following section, we summarize and illustrate some of the key components of this taxonomy.

A SUMMARY OF MALICIOUS NARRATIVES

Misinformation characterized a vulnerable, diasporic community — British Hindus — as an aggressive, hypernationalist, and fascist threat. Other narratives depicted Leicester Hindus as heretically evil and filthy, playing on age-old Hinduphobic tropes.[8] Online narratives depicted Hindus kidnapping innocent Muslims girls, attacking Muslims at random, as akin to Nazis, and as responsible for unprovoked mosque vandalism. These conspiracies were whipped up as a pretext to inflict violence against a vulnerable community (Appendix C).

Figure 6: Examples of Cyber Swarming Tweets calling for Real World Meetings and Mobilization
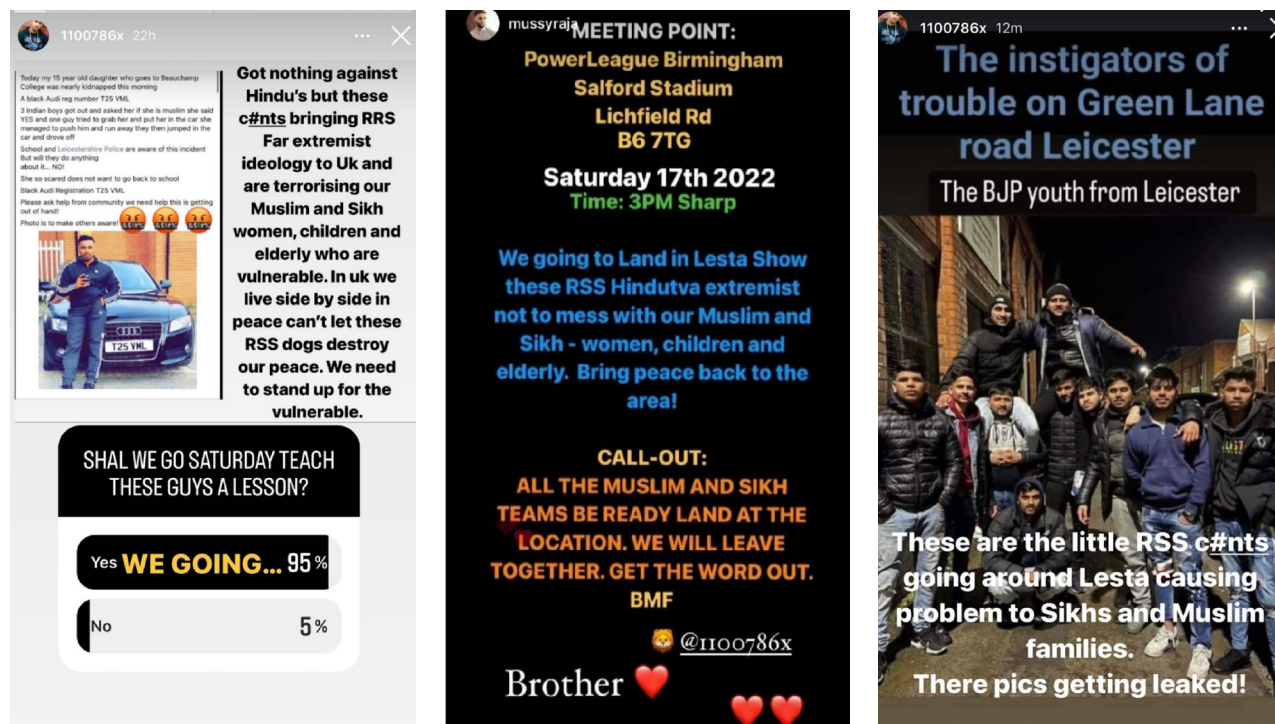
One particular example is the September 12 rumor (subsequently proven false) that three Hindu men, motivated by Islamophobia, had attempted to kidnap a Muslim schoolgirl. This rumor was amplified in particular by Instagram account Dutch Raja (@1100786x), who has over 150,000 followers. Dutch Raja re-posted a social media message purportedly by the kidnapped girl's father that showed a Hindu man standing in front of a BMW with visible license plate, as the alleged kidnapper. The post exhorted users to "stand up to the vulnerable" against "these [c#nts] bringing RSS far extremist ideology to UK … terrori[z]ing our Muslim and Sikh women, children and elderly." It linked to a poll asking, "Shall we go Saturday teach these guys a lesson?" 95% of respondents answered affirmatively.

The following day, Leicester police reported, "We have established that the incident did not take place and no offen[s]e was committed." The police took cognizance of social media misinformation and noted that posts like Dutch Raja's "encouraged others to act," drawing a link between online disinformation and real-world activity. This link is further cemented by Dutch Raja's September 14 Instagram story which exhorts a meet-up to travel to Leicester at 3 pm on September 17 to "show these RSS Hindutva extremist not to mess with our Muslim and Sikh — women, children, and elderly." That story includes images of Hindu teeangers as alleged extremists. The use of identical language in Dutch Raja's earlier post suggests the latter was also in response to the supposed attempted kidnapping — at this point verified by police to have been false. On September 17, violent clashes between Hindu and Muslim communities broke out in the midst of an "unauthorized protest march" on Green Lane Road. Online activity during the time period showed Hindu and Indian accounts responding with hashtag #HindusUnderAttackinUK, which trended on Twitter with close to 200k retweets.

This playbook was similarly used on the same day (September 17), as illustrated in Figure 7, when several influencers claimed Hindus had attacked a mosque; the Leicester police clarified that no such attack occurred. Nevertheless, the so-called attack was used to call for

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[8]Viswanathan, Indu, et al. "Working Definition of Hinduphobia."

"put[ting] an end to Hindu dogs." (Figure 7) The following day, a specific rumor emerged that the Shree Sanatan Hindu Mandir on Ealing Road had commissioned Angel Tours buses to send "Hindutva thugs' to attack the Leicester mosque. A call to demonstrate the following weekend outside that temple — "the hornets nest of Nazi Hindutva" — surfaced on social media. The owner of Angel Tours dismissed the rumors. It should be noted that this misinformation was extremely penetrative, and was amplified by Al Jazeera and Indian outlet The Wire.

Figure 7: Penetrative Anti-Hindu Misinformation on Leicester Mosque Attack
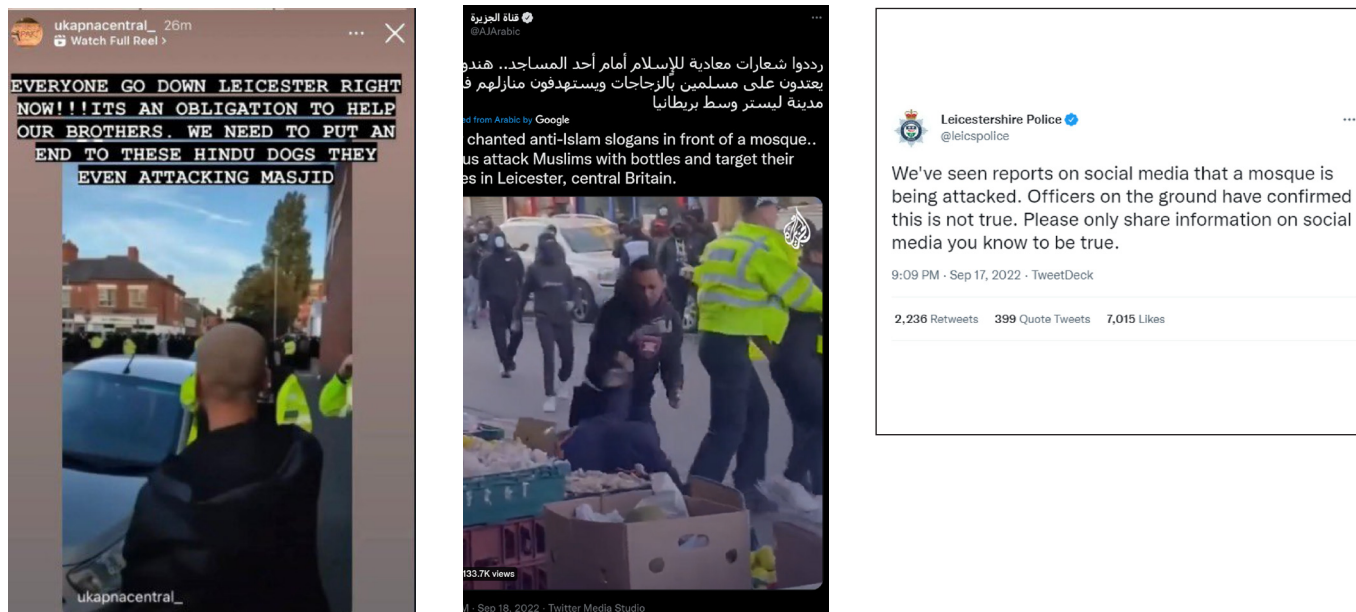
(a) Accounts — notably, Al Jazeera — spread misinformation about Leicester mosque attack, verified as false by police.
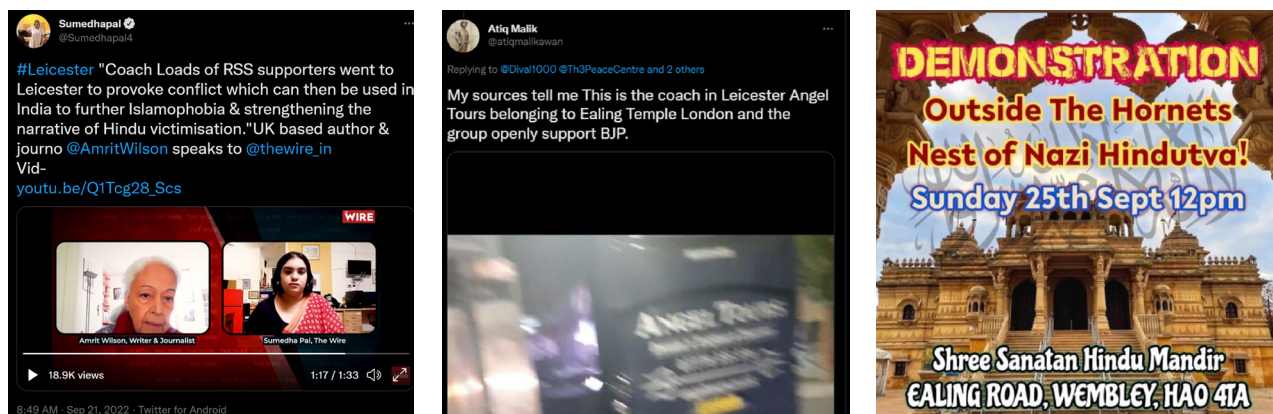
(b) A Hindu mandir is accused of being a den of Hindutva, bussing members to attack Muslims in Leicester.

Moreover, misinformation also targeted the British Muslim community, with several threads of anti-Muslim misinformation uncovered by the NCRI. The most viral of these was a rumor that Muslims had burned a Hindu temple (Appendix C(k)) in Birmingham during the Hindu festival of Navratri, on both September 19 and October 4. While a building in Birmingham was indeed burnt on the date in question, it was a supermarket which had caught ablaze accidentally when a rubbish-fire spread. This was explicitly clarified by the Midlands Fire department, in response to user @ssingapuri, who appears to have originated the misinformation. @ssingapuri's tweet was removed by Twitter (see Figure 8 below). Nevertheless, users continued sharing this incendiary accusation, and often accompanied it with "England police ineffective in saving Hindus," both underlining Hindus' state as victims and outlaying a potential justification for reciprocal violence as means of self-defense.

Figure 8: Anti-Muslim Misinformation Centered Around an "Arsoned" Hindu Temple
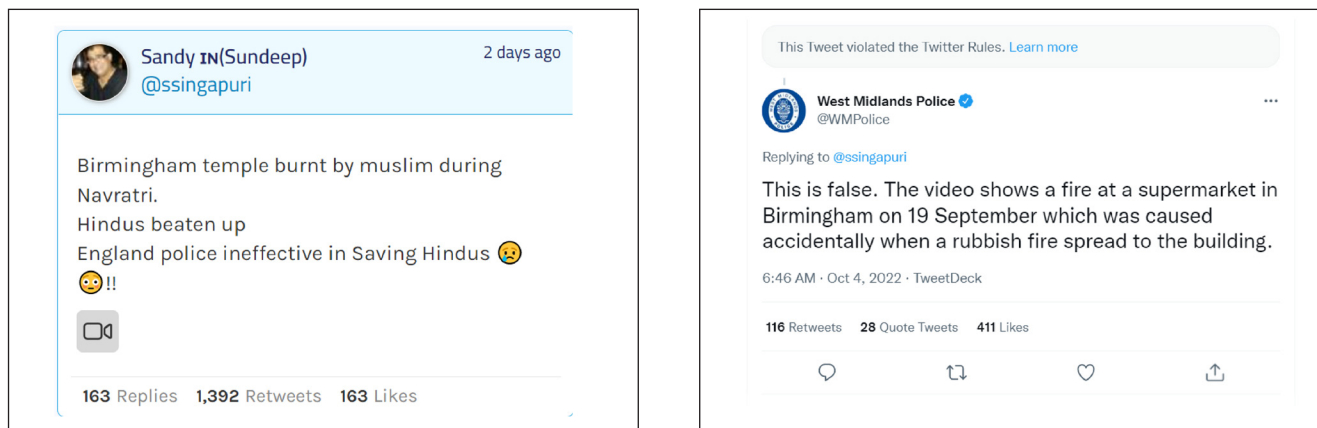
As is alluded to by the descriptions above and as our quantitative analysis will demonstrate, anti-Muslim and anti-Hindu disinformation narratives are distinguished in two important ways. First, anti-Muslim disinformation centered primarily on blame attribution, whereas anti-Hindu disinformation was highly specific, identifying particular actors, alleged crimes, and mobilizing targeted action around them. Second, and perhaps more importantly, anti-Muslim disinformation — on events in Leicester, UK — was spread almost exclusively through and within a concentrated, dense network of users in India. This suggests the distortion of diasporic events through a domestic political lens. On the other hand, anti-Hindu disinformation spread through a more diffuse Islamist network, penetrating a more diverse set of audiences, including several media outlets.

ONLINE NARRATIVES MISCHARACTERIZED HINDUS AS INSTIGATORS, MUSLIMS AS RESPONDING TO AGGRESSION

Data Collection

Using Pushshift's Twitter API, specific search terms (Appendix D) were used to find tweets with chatter about the religious tensions in Leicester, as well as tweets containing anti-Hindu and anti-Muslim rhetoric. Given that we are predominantly interested in online rhetoric prior to and during the violence, our dataset ranges between August 27 and September 19, 2022.

Time Series Data

We began by conducting time series analyses on terms pertaining to both the Hindu and Muslim communities from August 27 through September 19 on Twitter, a period during which the sharpest escalation in mobilizations and conflict-related incidents took place. Our analysis shows strong reactivity on the platform, with sharp increases in mentions of "Muslim," "Hindu," "Islamist," and "Hindutva." We noted that mentions of Hindus outstripped mentions of Muslims by nearly 40% during peak online activity around the conflict, suggesting an asymmetry of attention between the two communities online.

Figure 8: Time Series of Terms Mentioned on Twitter
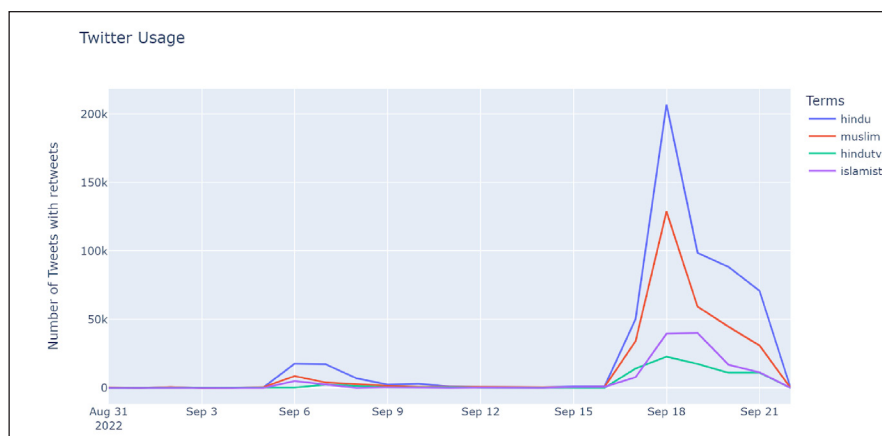
NATURAL LANGUAGE PROCESSING

We next sought to portray how each community was characterized during the conflict on Twitter to capture whether and to what extent Twitter users differentially regarded Muslims and Hindus as victims or aggressors respectively, in the conflict. To do so, we used Natural Language Processing (NLP) including Word2Vec[9] and developed graph analyses, or topic networks,[10] which demonstrate the prominent terms associated with the two religious groups.

We began by cleaning, parsing and tokenizing the entire corpus from our timeline and used seed word "Muslim" to analyze semantic themes freqently associated with Muslim.

Figure 9: Topic Network and Cosine Similarity for Muslim
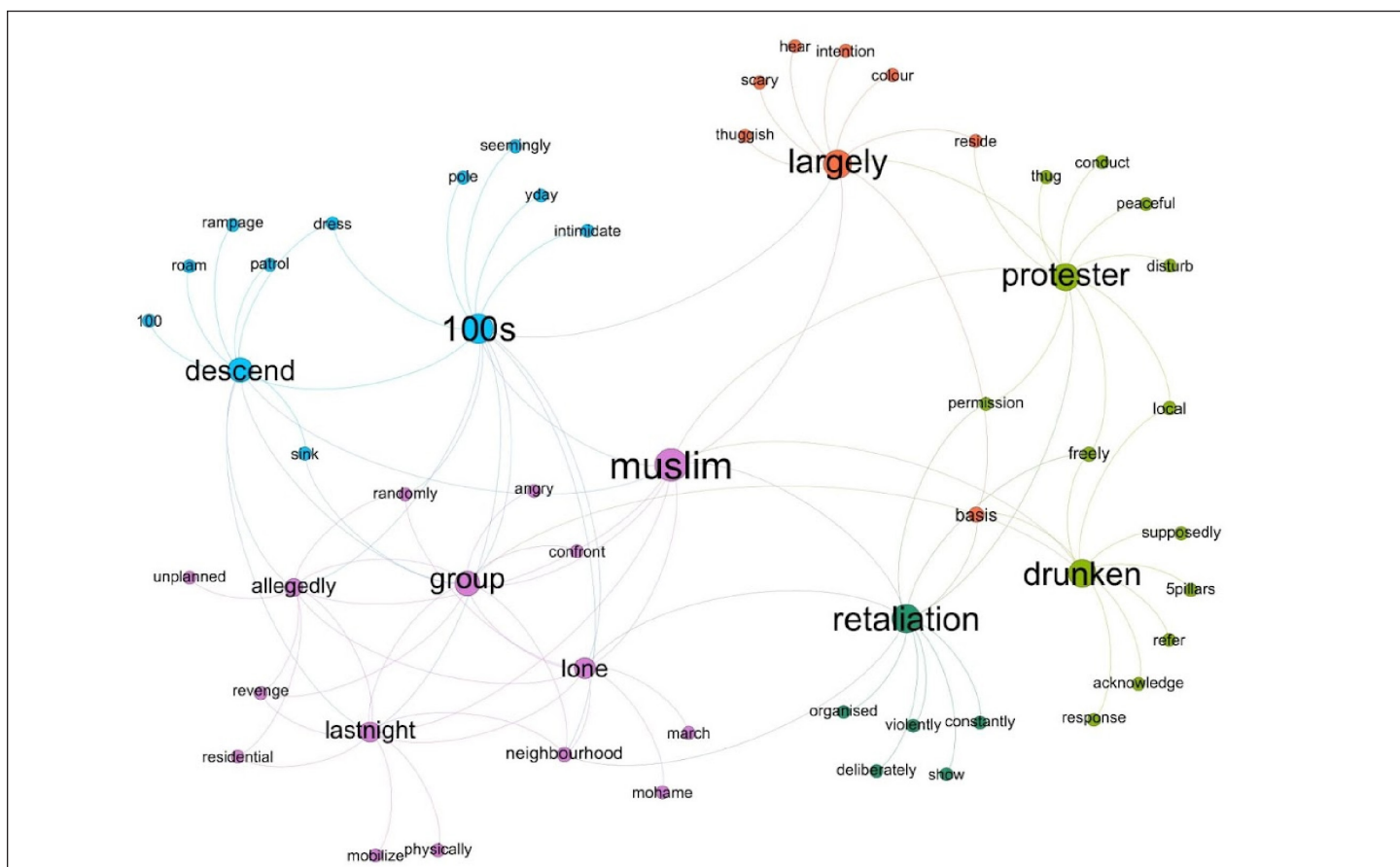
Figure 9(a): Cosine Similarity Terms for Muslims

Word	Cosine Similarity	Word	Cosine Similarity
Largely	0.965	Allegedly	0.947
Lone	0.961	Retaliation	0.945
100s	0.953	Group	0.945
Drunken	0.949	Protestor	0.942
Last Night	0.948	Descend	0.939

In figure 9a, the topic network appears to show that while Muslims are associated with themes of protest, confrontation, and outrage, the

[9]Church, Kenneth Ward. "Word2Vec." Natural Language Engineering 23.1 (2017): 155-162.
[10]Zannettou, S. Finkelstein, J., Bradlyn, B. and Blackburn, J., 2018. A quantitative approach to understanding online antisemitism. arXiv preprint arXiv:1809.01644.

data does not support the notion that the Twitter postings and data depicts Muslims with ideological or religious hatred. Rather, descriptors like "drunken," "retaliation," "revenge," and "protestor" appear as the terms most related to motivation in the network.[11] In addition, hedging terms that serve to sanitize and soften claims (i.e., "allegedly," "seemingly," and "supposedly") are seen throughout the network. The popular narrative of the motivations behind the attacks in Leicester appears to be that organic outrage — fueled by alcohol and provoked by violence at a sporting event — led to mob violence. While this may be partially accurate, NCRI's findings also suggest that many attacks appear to be motivated by dominance conspiracies and disinformation narratives disseminated by British-Pakistani networks.

Figure 10: Topic Network for Hindu

We next repeated the same process for the term "Hindu."
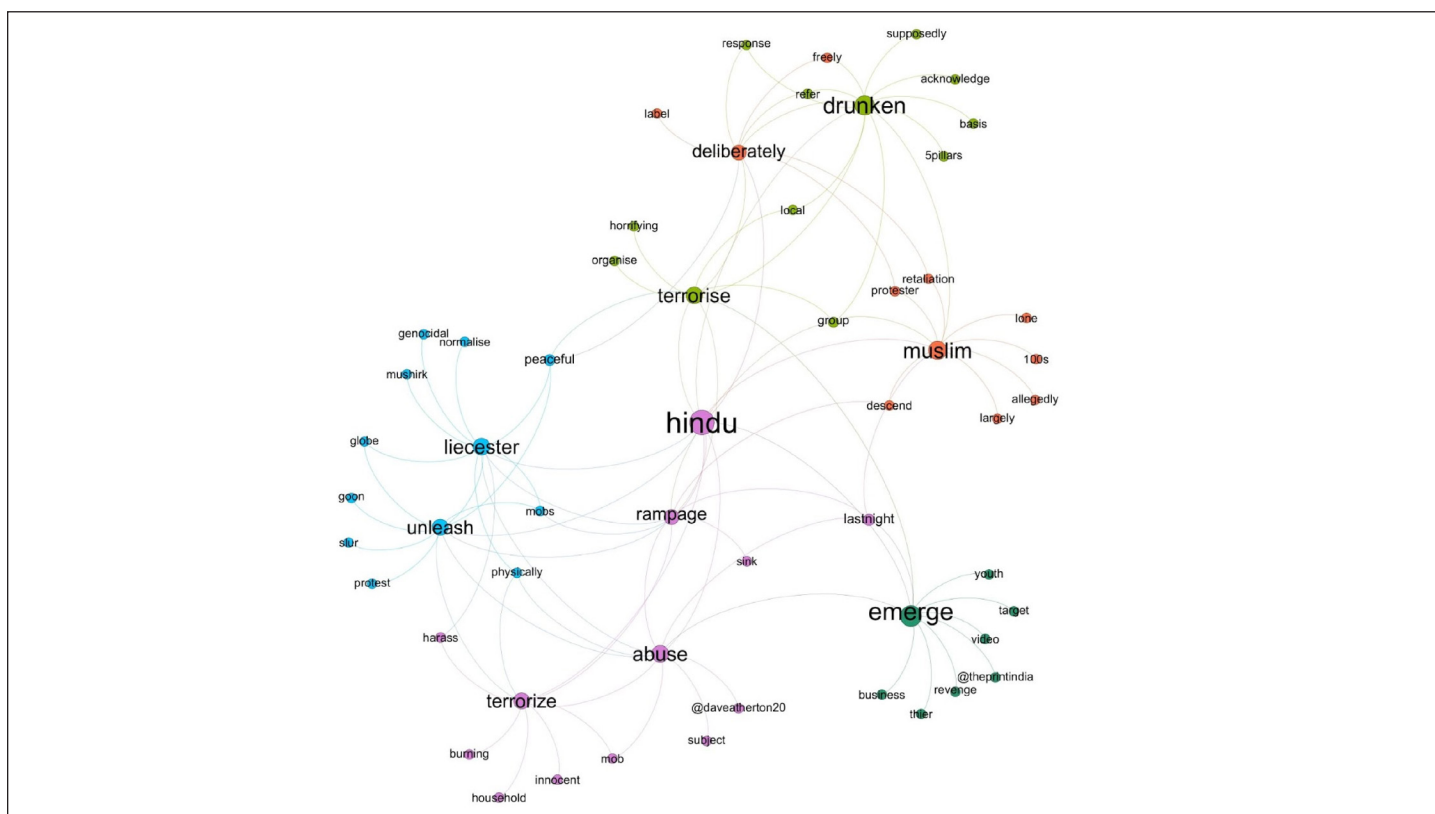
Figure 10(a): Cosine Similarity Terms for Hindu

Word	Cosine Similarity	Word	Cosine Similarity
Deliberately	0.973	Terrorise	0.943
Abuse	0.961	Unleash	0.942
Liecester	0.953	Drunken	0.941
Emerge	0.953	Muslim	0.938
Rampage	0.951	Terrorize	0.937

Unlike the topic network for "Muslim," the network for "Hindu" appears to depict terror, threat, and dominance as key themes pertaining to the term "Hindu." Terms such as "abuse," "rampage," "terrorise/terrorize," and "unleash" cluster closely with Hindu. In addition, unlike the Muslim topic network, ethnic slurs such as Mushrik (idol worshipper) appear in the margins, near accusations of "genocide." These tropes of both religious enmity and genocidal intent are instances of Hinduphobia. These accusations and slurs appeared in the real world as well as the

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[11]Reference Tweets: "Yes they came in retaliation to the RSS extremists after they marched through predominantly muslim areas of Leicester causing havoc and assaulting people," "Basically, Hindus were attacking Muslims in Leicester and in this clip, Muslims take revenge and destroy one of their cars"

cyber social domain, during the first stages of violence (Appendix B). Taken together, these findings suggest that dominance and conspiracy narratives[12] circulated by British-Pakistani networks mainstreamed as primary depictions of Hindus overall on Twitter. NCRI assesses that these narratives were deployed as a pretext to violence.

A TOPOGRAPHY OF MUSLIM AND HINDU TWITTER-SPHERES

To further understand the list of actors discussing this topic, a twarc network was used to analyze interactions between key authors discussing the violence. This allows us to map the connections between various social media users both within the Hindu and Muslim Twitterspheres, enabling us to detect the nature of salient social media communication. We identify the most prominent (edges >= 500) social media accounts disseminating information about the Leicester violence within each community. Were these users primarily interacting within and mobilizing their own communities, appealing to authorities, or exacerbating cross-community tension through crossover interaction?

Figure 11: Social Graph Predating Violence

Our graph depicts the Hindu Twittersphere users as nodes, largely in pink with prominent authors being @SarahLGates, @InsightUK, and @RanbirS11414092. We note that the Leicester police (@leicspolice) is the central node within the network of prominent Hindu users, suggesting that Hindu users engaged the most with the police among all social media accounts. Meanwhile, Muslim networks (green) revolve mostly around Majid Freeman and 5PillarsUK.

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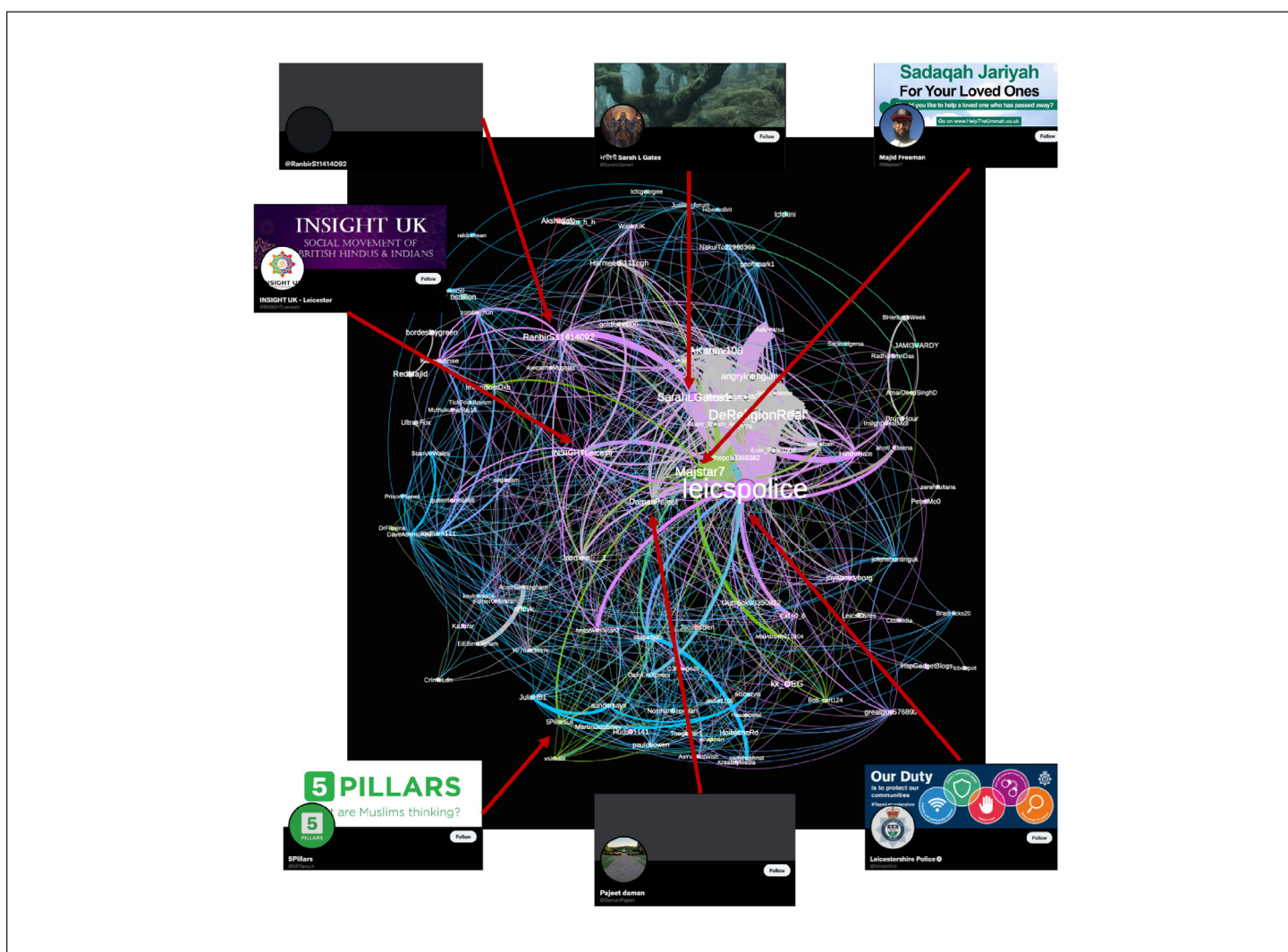
[12]Note that the drunken cluster appears in the topic network as well, but clusters more closely with "muslim." In fact, tweet analysis shows that the term was overwhelmingly used to describe mulsims, and not Hindus in fact.

A SHARP RISE IN ANTI-HINDU SLURS

NCRI found Hinduphobic slurs rising along with real world activity in the cyber social domain. One such slur is the reference to practicing Hindus as "cow piss drinkers,"[13] which had previously been used in anti-Hindu propaganda. Mentions of "cow piss" (Appendix E) more than doubled on Twitter as Islamist mobs surrounded the Durga temple in Birmingham on September 20.

Figure 12: Mentions of Cow Piss during Violence
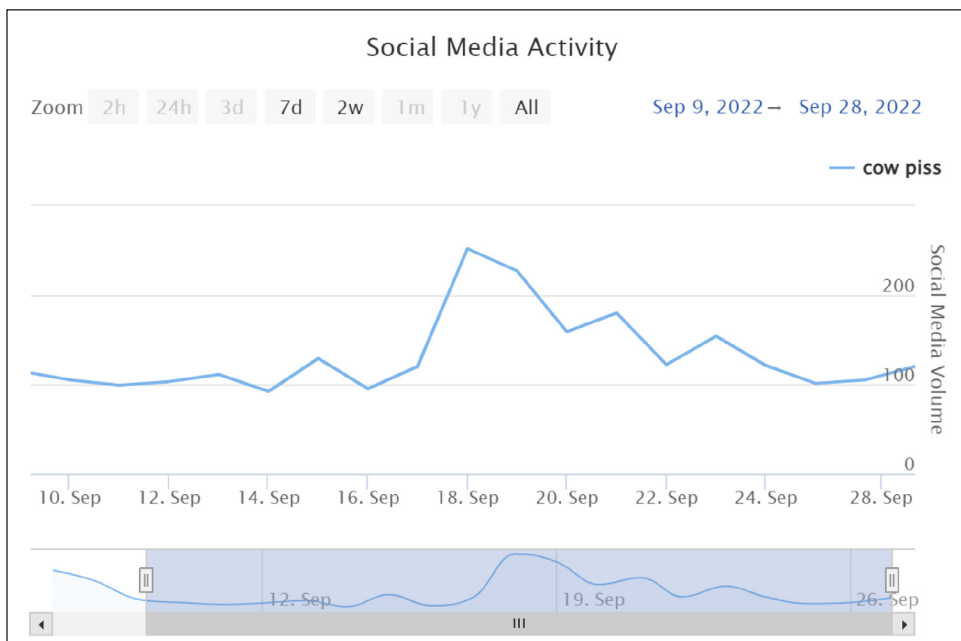
The same rhetoric was used on the day of the attack, as captured in the video screenshot in Figure 11 above, wherein an Islamist shouts "piss drinking bastards," "go drink some cow piss," and "go eat cow shit" at the Hindus within the temple vicinity. Though trends were much more marginal, we also found a small rise in Islamophobic retorts of "camel-piss-drinker" as well (Appendix O).

MUSLIM BLAME FOR VIOLENCE AMPLIFIED BY CONCENTRATED INDIAN RETWEET NETWORKS

Using Google Jigsaw's Perspective API,[14] we retrieved sentiment scores for our entire dataset for Toxicity, Insult, Identity Attack (blame), and Threat. The scores range between 0 and 1, where a tweet was classified as a sentiment if scores were greater than 0.5.

Based on this data, we conducted time series analyses for the sentiments expressed in the tweets over time. We found that throughout the violence, tweets based on "identity attacks," which measures blame leveled at specific identities, sharply increased over time.

[13]Juluri, Vamsee. ""Hindu nationalism" or "Hinduphobia"?: Ethnocentrism, errors, and bias in media and media studies." Ethics, Ethnocentrism and Social Science Research. Routledge, 2020. 148-173.

[14]Jigsaw. 2017. Perspective API. (2017).

Figure 13: Sentiment Scores Over Time

Given that throughout the violence, tweets that lay blame to a specific identity (i.e., identity attacks) were the most prominent, we manually classified the top 500 most engaged tweets with an identity attack score greater than 0.5. We classified which religious group it portrayed as the "aggressor" and which one as the "victim" of the violence. This was then separated by location.
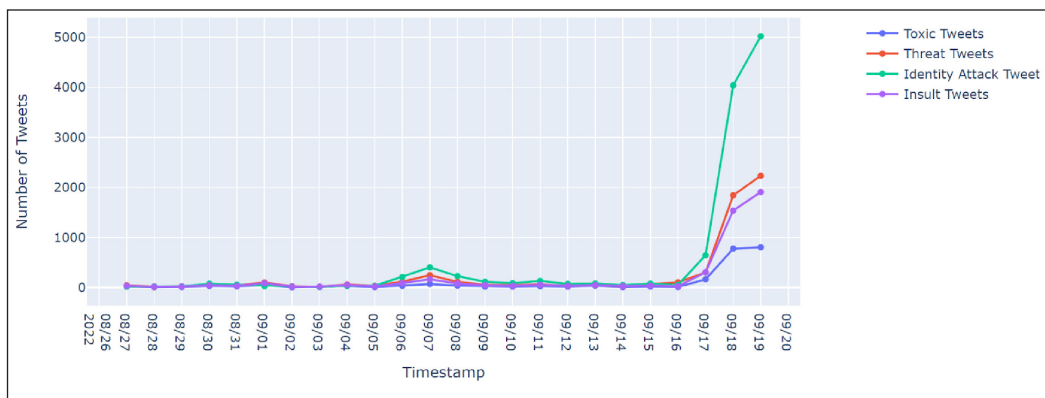
Figure 14: Locations for Top 500 Retweeted Tweets with Identity Attack >0.5

This manual classification finds that tweets originating from the U.K. depict both Hindus and Muslims as aggressors of the violence, with slightly more blame cast on Hindus. However, tweets originating from India disproportionately project blame on Muslims. It is to be noted that this analysis is based on the top 500 retweeted tweets, so countries without a large sample size (i.e., Pakistan) were not detected.

The data suggests a sphere of reactivity and amplification of blame was disseminated by a network of self-identified Indian accounts. On one hand, data from our topic network suggests that the overall tone on Twitter portrayed Hindus as aggressors. However, this data suggests a highly orchestrated echo chamber from India was amplifying tweets solely blaming Muslims for the events in Leicester. This adds an important, concerning element to our findings. Namely, it suggests that events in diasporic communities are feeding into ethnic reactivity and fueling hyper sensational nationalism (See Figure 17). Other groups have found evidence that bot-like, coordinated inauthentic activity from India, may be responsible for artificially amplifying this blame.
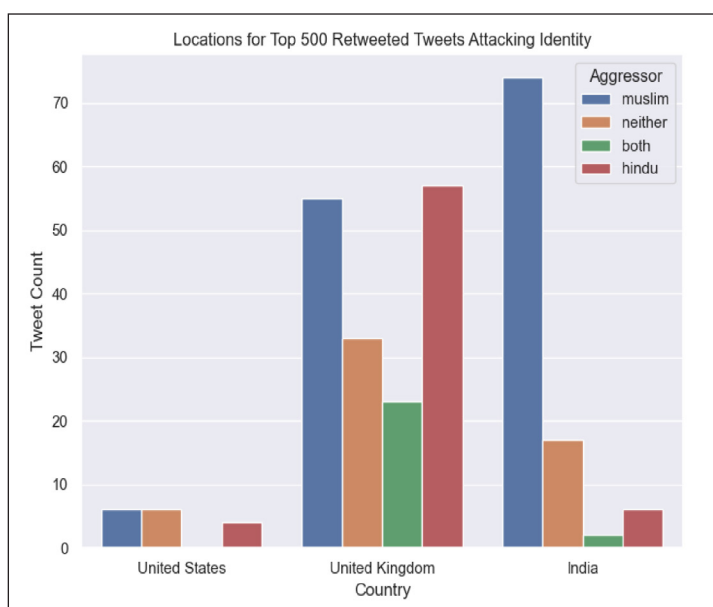
This same process of classification was repeated for both YouTube and Tiktok Data (in the english language), where we ranked the most viewed videos prior to September 18 (outbreak of violence) in descending order and then classified which community was portrayed as the aggressor and which as the victim. From the 24 most viral (views > 20,000) TikTok videos, 17 of those portray Hindus as the aggressor, 3 of those Muslims as the aggressors and the remaining 4 do not specify (Appendix F). Similarly, for YouTube, out of the 14 most viral (views > 10,000) videos prior to the violence, 5 portray Hindus as the aggressors, 4 Muslims as aggressors, and the remaining 5 do not assign blame (Appendix G).

Using YouTube's API, we found 14 videos with a total of 1,180,042 comments cumulatively. These videos all had over 10,000 views and were uploaded on or before September 18. From the comments, we performed topic modeling using TF-IDF and Non-Negative Matrix Factorization (NMF).[15] The tokens with the highest weightage are then defined as the "topics," and each topic is then analyzed in relation to the rest of the tokens. Finally, these topics were transformed into word clouds; our analysis found evidence of inflammatory anti-Hindu comments (Appendix H) detected within the topics.[16]

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[15]Ramos, Juan. "Using tf-idf to determine word relevance in document queries." Proceedings of the first instructional conference on machine learning. Vol. 242. No. 1. 2003.

[16]These topic models by means suggest that there was no Islamophobia - indeed, we found examples of it. Yet the prominent tropes found were to be Hinduphobic in nature.

OVERALL RISE IN ISLAMOPHOBIA AND HINDUPHOBIA ONLINE

Inauthentic Bot-Like Activity Disseminated both Hinduphobic and Islamophobic Messaging

Using NCRI's tools, we found evidence of bot like accounts that disseminated both anti-Hindu and anti-Muslim messaging throughout the violence, projecting the other community as responsible for the violence. We determined which accounts were bot-like based on the account creation dates (if the date the account was created during the violence, the account was further investigated) and the nature of account messaging (large volumes of identical messaging indicates that the account is likely a bot).

Figure 15: Bot-Like Accounts Amplifying Anti-Muslim Rhetoric
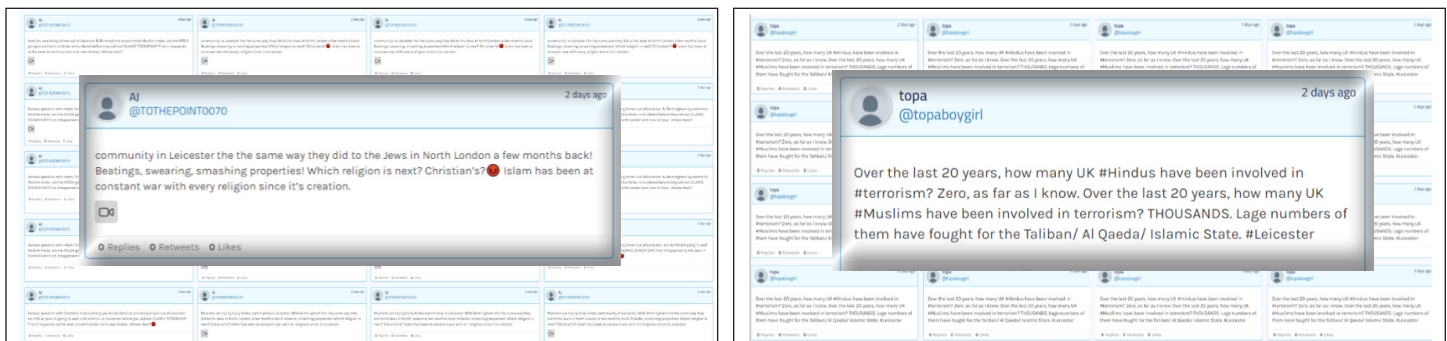
We found that anti-Muslim bot like accounts focused on socio-economic indicators to differentiate Hindus and Muslims. For example, bots emphasized the rates of incarceration of British Hindus and Muslims. The bots seek to project Hindus as a model minority in contrast to Muslims, whom they characterize as violent and having antagonized other communities. In addition, by implication, the tweets suggest that Muslims are part of a global Al Qaeda and ISIS conspiracy, generalizing the entire Muslim community as bloodthirsty and criminal. These caricatures en masse, are derogatory and Islamophobic in nature. These tropes reinforce ancient ethnic hatreds and undermine inter-community trust.

The bot-like account depicted in Figure 12 on the right has been suspended from Twitter, while that depicted on the left (@topaboygirl) has no profile picture and was created in August 2022.

Figure 16: Bots Amplifying Anti-Hindu Rhetoric
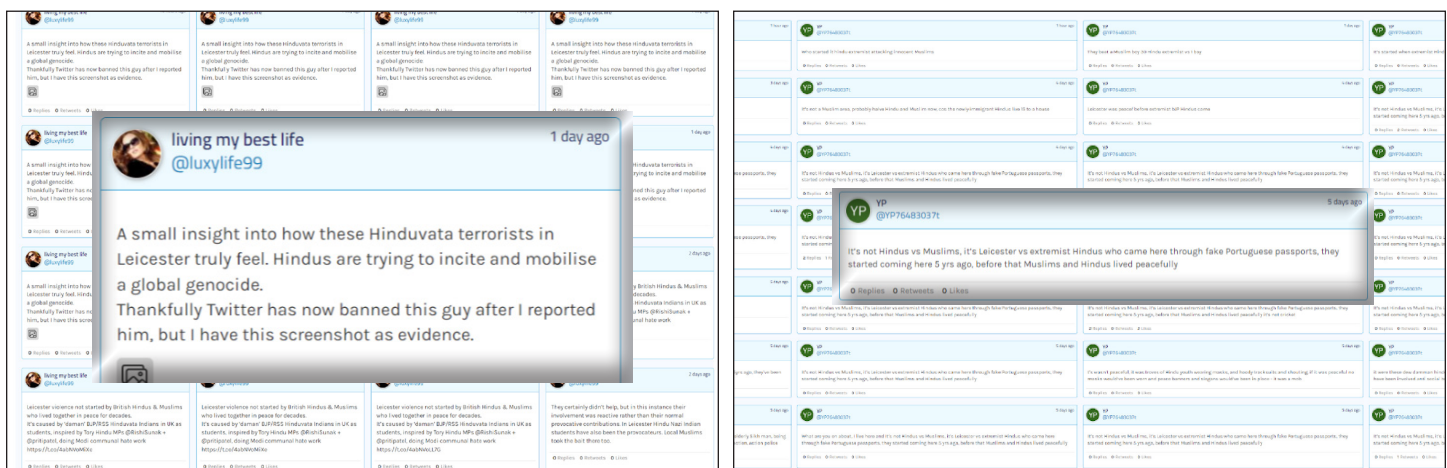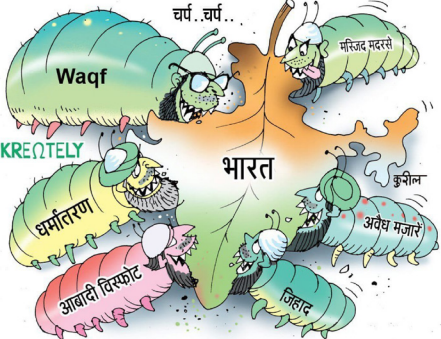
A hallmark of anti-Hindu bot like accounts activity was the creation of a binary between "Hindus" and "Hindutva extremists," where the latter is alleged to have inflicted violence on the Leicester community. Identified bots also emphasize that the Hindu and Muslim communities had lived peacefully before the arrival of "extremist Hindus." The tweets also allege that the Hindus involved in the Leicester violence have extremist political views, described as Nazist.

The first bot, @luxylife99, was categorized as such to its username, its account creation date (September 2022 - during Leicester violence), its display picture (DP), and its repetitive messaging. The second bot-like account @YP76483037t also has a dubious username, DP, and was also created in September 2022. It was also rated highly (4.2 out of 5) as a bot like account using the Botometer tool created by the Observatory on Social Media (OSoMe) and the Network Science Institute (IUNI) at Indiana University.[17]

HINDUPHOBIC AND ISLAMOPHIC TROPES IN ONLINE ACTIVITY

OSINT reveals that both anti-Hindu and anti-Muslim memes, caricatures, and messaging has been on the rise. Anti-Muslim caricatures actively dehumanize Muslims and fearmonger about the potential for an Islamic invasion, while anti-Hindu memes suggest Hindus were "deserving" of the violence inflicted on them based on their inherently "fascist" traits.

Figure 17: Examples of Hinduphobic and Islamophobic Memes

Islamophobic Messaging	
	While this does not appear to be associated with the Leicester violence, this meme was circulated with hashtag (among many others) #HindusUnderAttackInUK This dehumanizing meme characterizes the Muslim community as "insects." Each insect in this cartoon corresponds to an alleged threat associated with Islam, "combining together to destroy India" (Translations in Appendix K). Twitter removed this tweet for violating its policies.
	This meme fear mongers about the potential of a Muslim takeover of England by using explicitly Islamic imagery. The loudspeaker in the background refers to the "Azaan" or Muslim call for prayer.

[17]Yang, Kai-Cheng, Emilio Ferrara, and Filippo Menczer. "Botometer 101: Social bot practicum for computational social scientists." arXiv preprint arXiv:2201.01608 (2022).
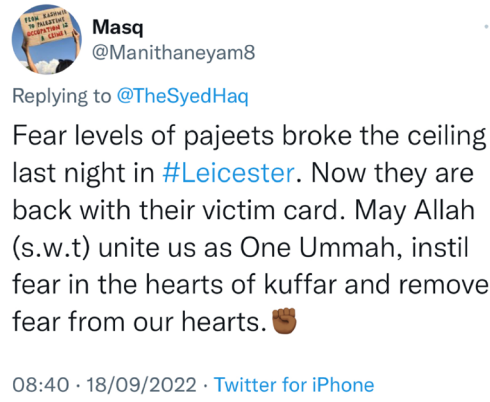
16

The image fearmongers that the UK will soon come under Islamic rule.

Hinduphobic Messaging

This meme was found circulating with #MuslimsUnderAttackInUk and #Islamophobia which refers to the idea that Hindus commit violence against Muslims and thereby trigger Muslim retaliation. The Hindus then are able to portray this retaliation as violence against them to garner sympathy from the media and play "victim" in the situation.

The cartoon itself shows a Hindu man (represented by Hindu symbol "Om") beating a beehive (representing Muslims) and then whining in front of the media that the bees are attacking him.

This meme portrays the media looking the other way when Hindus persecute Muslims but becoming active when Muslims act in self-defense to combat the supposed Hindu aggression. It claims that the media is biased against Muslims.

This tweet calls for the unity of Muslims and incitement of fear among non-Muslims, addressing the provocation of Muslims by "kuffars" (infidels) who then subsequently play victim.

It also refers to Hindus as "pajeets," which as aforementioned, is an anti-Hindu slur.

We then analyzed whether the hatred faced by these respective communities garnered equal or differential attention on social media. Disparities in recognition of these hatreds naturally have the potential to skew how the public views the events in Leicester. As shown in Figure 16 below, we see that mentions of Islamophobia consistently outpace those of Hinduphobia, suggesting an education gap between the respective hatreds.

Figure 18: Mentions of Hinduphobia vs Islamophobia on Twitter

Hate Speech Detection Models suggest that 70% of Violence Incited on Twitter was against Hindus, 30% against Muslims

Finally, we deployed sophisticated hate speech detection AI models to quantify incitement to violence online. We detected the direct "calls for action" to incitement of violence that were made during the course of these events. Using machine learning models, HateBERT[18] and ConfliBERT,[19] researchers constructed a data set of 805 candidate hate speech posts. We then used a human-in-the-loop approach, whereby analysts manually verified whether the AI-identified candidate posts, in fact, put forth an imminent call to violence.

HateBERT has been trained for abusive language detection, while ConfliBERT understands language that covers political conflicts.

For better coverage, we also trained these models on some public incitement to violence-related corpuses scraped from GAB, Twitter, and Reddit. We passed all the samples to both these models, and combined together their predictions to get a final list of candidates.

HateBERT flagged almost 450 posts as inciteful, while ConfliBERT marked almost 540. From the combined sample of 805 posts, after removing duplicates, 76 posts were found to be clearly inciteful by the manual annotators (Appendix L). Out of these, 53 posts were calling for violent action against Hindus, while 23 were inciting violence against Muslims. Thus, as shown in Figure 17, approximately 70% of all calls for violent action were made against Hindus during the course of events.

There are some limitations to these data in that they are certain to underestimate the true number of violent threats against both communities and thus represent a floor, rather than a ceiling for actual threats during this period. However, these tools have been used successfully in the past and we assess it likely that the ratio of threats the data describes is unlikely to be systematically biased, and thus these percentages are likely to be representative of the broader proportion of threats in this corpus.
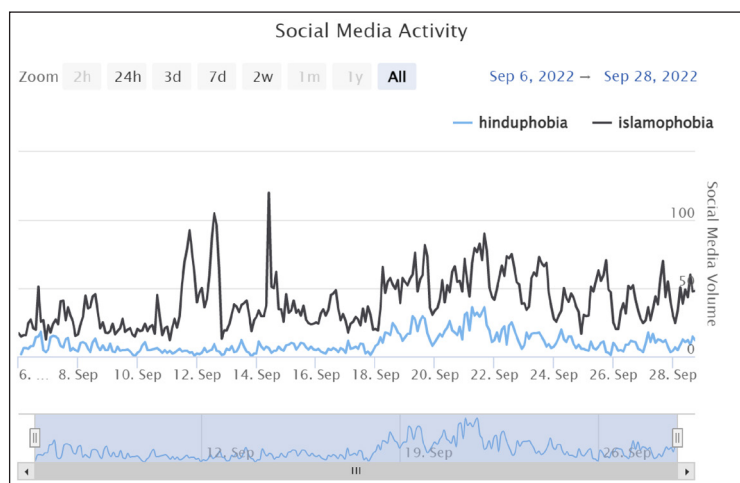
Figure 19: Pie Chart of Violent Incitement Against Hindus and Muslims

For qualitative analysis and inspection, we tabulate a few examples for reference (Appendix M) as well as note key themes present in the calls for violence through word clouds (Appendix N).

Violent Incitement Against Hindus and Muslims

Anti-Muslim 30.3%
Anti-Hindu, 69.7%
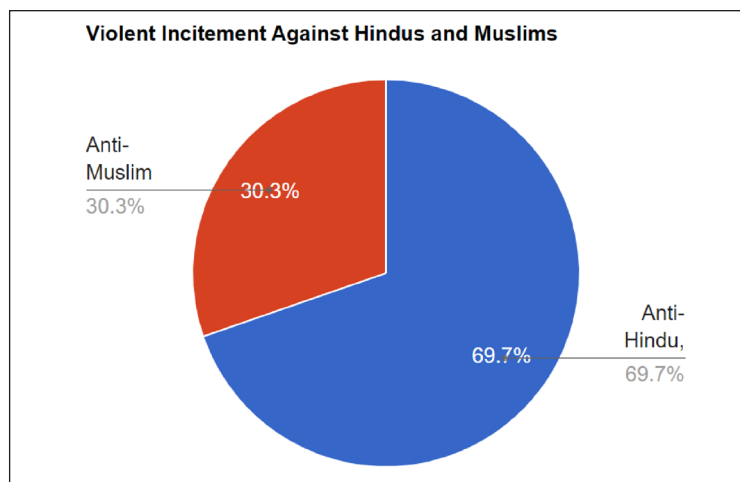
[18]Caselli, T., Basile, V., Mitrović, J. and Granitzer, M., 2020. Hatebert: Retraining bert for abusive language detection in english. arXiv preprint arXiv:2010.12472.
[19]Hu, Y., Hosseini, M., Parolin, E.S., Osorio, J., Khan, L., Brandt, P. and D'Orazio, V., 2022, July. ConfliBERT: A Pre-trained Language Model for Political Conflict and Violence. In Proceedings of the 2022 Conference of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics: Human Language Technologies (pp. 5469-5482).

CONCLUSION

Our findings suggest that the sustained violence in Leicester did not persist through organic outrage. The key feature of how this violence organized and erupted appears to lie in the use of social media platforms as weapons to propagate malicious narratives. Our analysis showed that disinformation about Hindus as bloodthirsty and genocidal, as well as religious enmity, motivated where and when attacks took place through the recruitment of online reinforcements to real world engagements.

Mainstream media platforms including the BBC, *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*, and other outlets failed to perform due diligence on Majid Freeman and amplified the voice of a conspiracy theorist and extremist sympathizer, who was a central agitator in the events of Leicester. NCRI analysis reveals that Freeman was a key disseminator of malicious narratives that were in turn disseminated by a network of groups known to be involved in mobilizing on the ground in Leicester itself.

As the events in Leicester took shape, NCRI analysis also found coordinated activity coming from self-identified Indian accounts amplifying blame, ethnic distrust, and accusations against the Muslim community and Islam as a tradition. These findings suggest that amplification networks in India are feeding the fire of populist, xenophobic, and sensationalist tropes to opportunistically stoke defensiveness and hypernationalism in the face of attacks against diasporic communities. These activities distort real threats that can and should be addressed soberly through inter-community dialogue, and replace them with calls for escalation in a global ethnic conflict. Paradoxically, the conspiratorial attacks in Leicester, which claimed to be in response to extremist forms of "Hindutva," have only served to elevate actors that conform to these very stereotypes.

In its totality, our findings portray a worrying system of organized violence that allows for runaway escalation outside the reach of law enforcement officials, lawmakers, and mainstream media. Violence engendered through social media platforms is regularly reaching episodic spillovers of inter-group conflict that now threaten vulnerable communities throughout the world.

Local community leaders and law enforcement may have the opportunity to overturn the erosion of public trust impacting local communities and develop unions to address these issues. Using this report as a preventative means for the purpose of facilitating dialogues among religious groups, community members, government agencies, and law enforcement can strengthen community relations. Reporting in conjunction with community leadership may assist with further identifying collaborative solutions to address sectarian violence, hate crime prevention and conflict resolution before online reactivity transforms into real world violence. Reacting collaboratively to false narratives, allegations, rumors, or biases propagated by social media may prevent the next outbreak of sectarian violence and or conflict instigated by outside agitators.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Memory hole problem: because malicious actors are deleting incendiary narratives and calls for violence after the impact of those calls are executed, social media platforms must do a better job of recording and sharing deleted activity with researchers. Not doing so abets perpetrators in hiding potentially criminal activity.

- Government authorities made impressive strides in communicating in near real-time with the communities in question. Platforms and cyber-social research organizations need to develop closer-to-real-time means of detecting cyberswarming to help provide early warning to vulnerable communities and communicate threats to local community leaders and Law Enforcement officials so they can act collaboratively to address false narratives that can lead to real-world violence.

- Build on interfaith dialogue between communities — there are successful examples of such facilitated dialogue entities that create and facilitate these types of interactions. These exist both in the U.K and the U.S.A that may involve government or other supportive organizations.

- Given that Britain's current Prime Minister, Rishi Sunak, is a practicing Hindu of Indian origin, understanding and monitoring the networks and online influence involved in the violence of Leicester is urgently needed. NCRI assesses that conspiracies about "Hindutva" dominance are likely to increase dramatically in the coming months and this violence is highly replicable.

APPENDICES

Appendix A - Sample Responses to @tragicbud based on node size

Source

Source

Source

Appendix B - Timeline of Events

There were claims that other cricket fans heard "death to Muslims" chants. On August 31, in a series of leaked emails, Leicester Chief Inspector Paul Allen had written a letter to the Leicester Council of Faiths claiming that they believed some of the men in the video had chanted "death to Muslims" in Hindi. The next day, he clarified that there was "no verifiable evidence" that such chants calling for violence against Muslims had been made.

Video clips of the physical fights between Indian and Pakistani cricket fans circulated on social media platforms, amplified by several key influencers - Majid Freeman, Ian Miles Cheong, Sunny Hundal, Patt McGinness (National Housing Party UK, in a now deleted tweet) and several other British Conservative Twitter accounts.

Source

Source

5Pillars UK (Muslim News site in Europe, Australia and Americas) immediately claimed Muslims residents were being attacked.

Based on engagement (retweets and quote tweets) rankings on a day by day basis since the initial video until the first reported violent incidents, some of the most prominent tweets instigating violence against Indians and Hindus have since been deleted or accounts suspended.

On September 3, British comedian Guz Khan (Twitter name: Guztavo Khanage, who has a verified account) with over 100,000 followers called on "mandem" (British slang for "gang") to "sort out" the "Modi weirdos" (Figure 4).

The account Halifax Pakistanis has been suspended by Twitter. This account is known for deeply Anti-Hindu views. Below are sample tweets from the account:

- *Silly cow rapists your people got battered last night but you keep laughing #hindutva bitches* (September 6)
- *All you #Hindu wanabee Gangsters in #Leicester where were you hiding? #India #Hindutva #BJP #RSS Cowards #PakistanZindabad #PakVsInd #PAKvIND #uk #news #Pakistan #Islam* (September 6)
- *Up your grandmas puda lastnight she went running into the local temple for help* (September 6)
    - *Puda* is a derogatory word to describe female genitalia in Punjabi
- *Their time is over in every town and city here #India #Hindutva cowards ran last night after a good ðŸ¥¾ in #Leicester #UK #PakistanZindabad #AJK #UK* (September 6)
- *This is what happens when you gang up on lone Muslims and Pakistanis after a cricket match next time stay in your places Pajeet if you canâ€™t handle this .. this isnâ€™t #Kashmir or #UP here will end you ! #PakistanZindabad* (September 6)
- *#Hindutva cowards next time you target lone #Pakistani and #Muslim men we wonâ€™t let you go like lastnight .. this isnâ€™t #UttarPradesh here we will lynch you by your piss drinking mouths* (September 6)
- *Think I replied to enough of these #Indian #Hindutva cry babies .. next time donâ€™t go ganging up on Lone Muslim Pakistani men ..to us a dog will always be a dog under our ðŸ¥¾ This is #UK not #Kashmir or #UP here we are ready to fight and crush you, lastnight was a teaser ðŸ‡µðŸ‡°ðŸ’ŒðŸ”¥* (September 6)
- *They still dealt with your lot who ever they were .. Pajeets frothing like wild dogs* (September 6)

Between September 4 - 6, Anti-Hindu attacks began taking place. On September 4 when Pakistan won another cricket match against India in the same Asia Cup series. INSIGHT UK, a British Hindu and Indian organization, [reported](#) the following with video footage: "*4th Sep: When Pakistan won the cricket match, riots started. Amongst many incidents a Hindu home celebrating #GaneshChaturthi was attacked. Eggs were thrown into the house, attempted knifing of a young Hindu male and his aunt was punched on the nose when she came to save him*." These claims are currently unverified by police, and the video posted does not corroborate the claims.

On September 5, [reports](#) stated mobs of British Pakistani men targeted Hindu neighborhoods and homes, attacked Hindu homes with weapons, removed sacred flags from houses and vandalized property near a Hindu temple. There were reportedly chants of "Modi Kutta Hindustan Murdabad" (Hindi for "Modi Dog, Death to India") and verbal references to Hindus as "mushrik" (Arabic Anti-Hindu slur for "idol worshiper"). Video footage of the incident was amplified by conservative British Twitter influencers (@[pauldbowen](#)). Following the violence, Leicester police officers patrolled the streets with [orders](#) to intercept any person causing disturbances.

It appears that Twitter user Halifax Pakistanis @HPakistanis was present at the violence. Along with the tweet aforementioned (which was one of the most engaged tweets on September 5, another tweet from Halifax Pakistanis makes the list). This tweet is currently unavailable due to the account being suspended.

Halifax Pakistanis
@HPakistanis

Happening right now #Muslims March in to #Leicester #Hindu Area against #Hindutva thugs disorder breaks out #Now #Live #Video #UK #Pakistan #India #PAKvIND #PakVsInd #Islamophobia #Halifax #Retweet #arshdeepsingh #HalifaxPakistanis #Follow #TikTok #InstagramLive #Snapchat

On the same day, additional claims about Hindus attacking Muslims were made by Majid Freeman and Twitter user @xavierjp__, who called for additional violence against Hindus. However, both claims have not been verified.

On September 7, Riaz Khan, author of Khan Memoirs of an Asian Casual, (Facebook - 25k+ followers) shared a [Facebook post](#) which claimed that the cricket match wasn't responsible for the current tension between the Hindu and Muslim communities. He claimed that for the past 3 months, "Hindutva RSS thugs" had harassed the Muslims, referencing a brutal attack with baseball bats on a young boy and another attack on a 19 year old boy because he threw an egg, with no legal action taken. (Note: Khan was [seen](#) in Leicester during the violence on September 17)
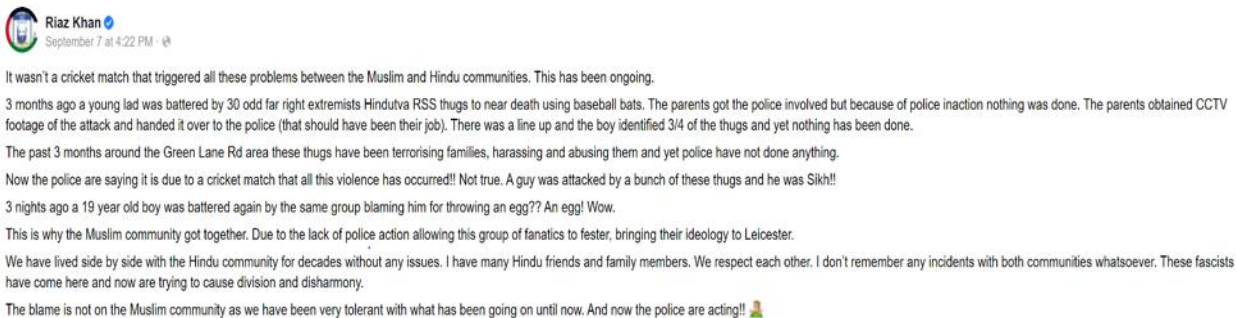
On September 9, *Smile 2 Jannah*, a channel with 611,000 subscribers posted a [video](#) titled "Deluded Indian Fans in UK (4K)" whereby, starting at 1:46, he advises the Indians in the UK who support the BJP to "humble [them]selves'' as "the Pakistani gangs over here (UK)…get a bit nuts…" and that the BJP "fans…are on some serious vegetarian diet…[so] it's just gonna be a walkover". At 2:50, he suggests that Hindutva followers who are stuck in their own "echo chamber" in India cannot spread their ideology in the UK without receiving pushback. He also says that he is also willing to fight with anyone who supports the BJP. This video received more than 128,000 views and 3,800 comments.

On September 10, an Islamist used [foul language](#) to deride a group of Hindu girls who were dancing for Navratri (Hindu festival). As he takes the video, he says, "Think this is f****** India." According to the voice in the video, the girls were dancing opposite a mosque. The location of the mosque is unknown.

On September 11, Majid Freeman [tweeted](#) that a group of Hindus in a car on Belgrave Road attacked a Muslim upon asking if he was a Muslim. Freeman claims that they attacked him with a knife but that he wasn't stabbed. This incident was not confirmed by the police and Majid Freeman eventually deleted the tweet. This was captured by NCRI's tools. This alleged attack was also posted on DOAM's Facebook page (242.7k followers). Twitter user South Asian Journal (@sajournal1 - 8.6k followers) also disseminated this message, suggesting that the RSS was involved. The [police](#) confirmed that no such attack had occurred.

| [Source](#) [Deleted Tweet]	[Source](#)	[Source](#)

On September 12, misinformation regarding the kidnapping of a Muslim schoolgirl by three Hindu men was spread on social media, with screenshots captured by [Sarah Gates](#). Images of a man in front of his car were shared with captions saying that he is an RSS man targeting Muslims, Sikhs, women, and children in Leicester. Calls were made to locate his address and bring him to justice. Screenshots of personal DMs claiming the kidnapping and claiming victory of the "pajeet" removing the license plates were circulated on Instagram stories. Instagram user and British Pakistani influencer Dutch Raja (Instagram @1100786x - 150k+ followers) posted the image of the man onto his Instagram story and added a poll, saying, "SHALL WE GO SATURDAY TEACH THESE GUYS A LESSON?" where 95% of users voted "Yes". Majid Freeman claimed that the police had [confirmed](#) the kidnapping incident and that he had met the family of the Muslim girl (deleted); this was later [proved to be false](#) by the police. On September 14, Majid [confirmed](#) the story was false.

Salam
Today my 15 year old daughter who goes to secondary school was nearly kidnapped this morning
A black audi reg number T25 VML
3 indian boys got out and asked her if she is muslim she said yes and one guy tried to grip here and put her in the car she managed to push him and run away they jumped in car and drove off

This bastard has sent voicenotes egging Hindus on to fight Muslims I've heard them myself. He's saying don't fear them etc.

If anyone knows how to share vns on here let me know

T25 VML

Got nothing against Hindu's but these c#nts bringing RRS Far extremist ideology to Uk and are terrorising our Muslim and Sikh women, children and elderly who are vulnerable. In uk we live side by side in peace can't let these RSS dogs destroy our peace. We need to stand up for the vulnerable.

SHAL WE GO SATURDAY TEACH THESE GUYS A LESSON?

Yes **WE GOING...** 95%

No   5%

Leicester boys will probably class this as a victory cause pajeet removed his plates

You know what's mad I drove past the car around 6.50 the number plates were on

And then on the way back the number plates have been taken off the car

After 10 mins

Fawzan @Freespeech_543 · 8h
What the...
These mushrik need be put in their place

Zahid Hashmi @zahidhashmii · 11h
Replying to @xavierjp__

Today my 15 year old daughter who goes to secondary school was nearly kidnapped this morning
A black audi reg number T25 VML

I've spoke to the girl's father and he's given me the police reference number too

I posted the same car last week as well as it's been related to many incidents before

THIS IS LEICESTERSHIRE POLICE. YOUR INCIDENT NUMBER IS

This happened at Beauchamp college this morning

[Deleted Tweet]

WOW I CANT RELIVE THINGS LIKE THIS STILL HAPPEN

Salam
Today my 15 year old daughter who goes to secondary school was nearly kidnapped this morning
A black audi reg number T25 VML
3 indian boys got out and asked her if she is muslim she said yes and one guy tried to grip her but he in the car him

1:28 PM · Sep 16, 2022 · Twitter for iPhone

[Deleted TikTok - @rockyrollay]

On September 14, Dutch Raja posted an Instagram story- reposted by several other British Pakistani influencers - instigating a meeting in Birmingham at 3 pm on Saturday the 17th to travel to Leicester. Logistical details were allegedly shared in a private group chat. Photos of Hindu men as well as children/teenagers, with captions claiming that they were linked to the BJP and RSS, were shared. These same calls were made by several other Instagram users - including @ukapnacentral_ and @one_unity786.
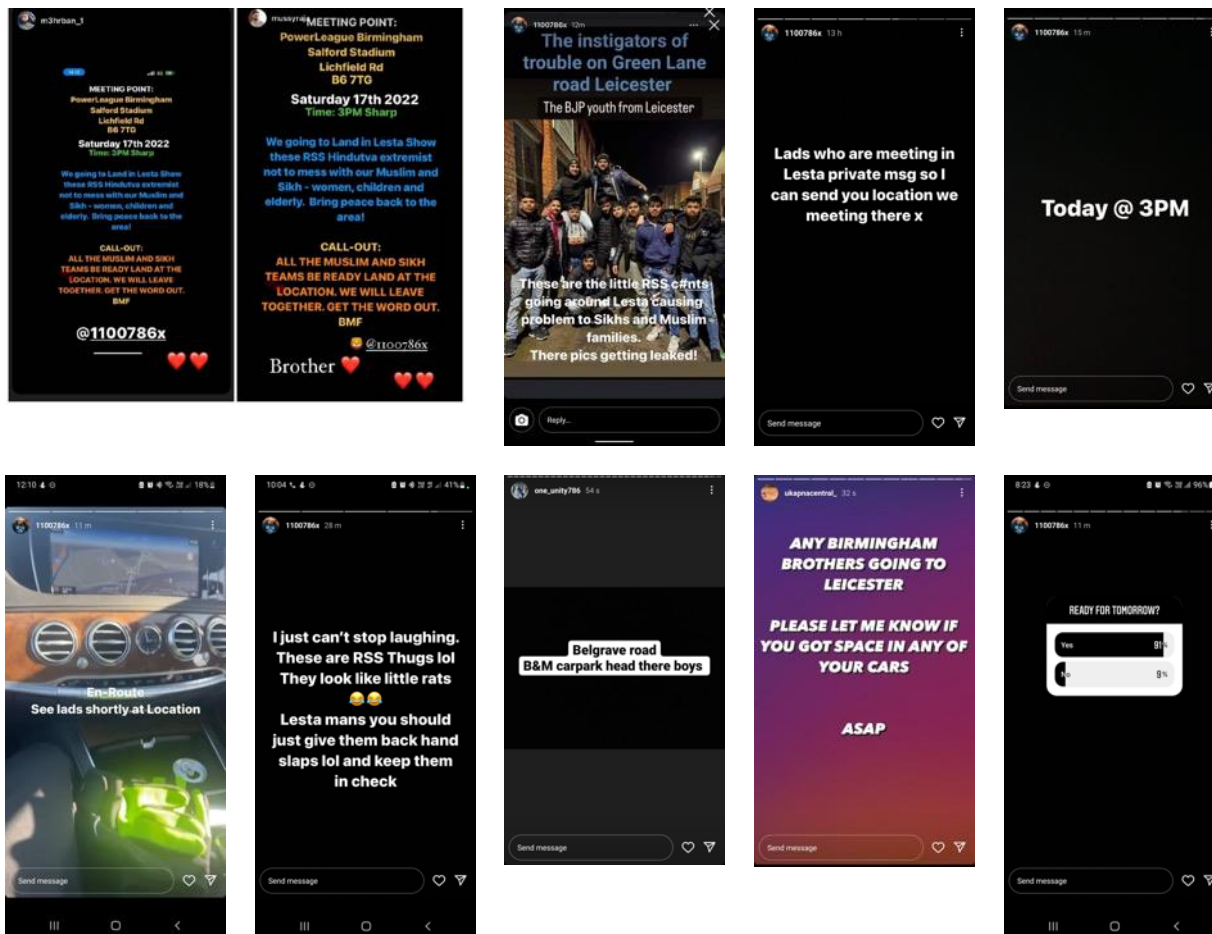
Co-founder of Salam Initiative [Ali Dawah](#) posted on Instagram (@alidawah - 200k+followers) on September 17 that "Hindutva terrorists, flipping scums" were provoking Muslims and that he was going to Leicester to cover the Muslim side. He also addresses Majid Freeman, saying if he's watching, to get into contact with him. [Kas Jameel](#), another [former British aid worker](#), posted on Facebook stating "Brothers in and around Leicester, there's some radicals out on the streets, get down there and make sure the sisters are protected. Imagine the radicals trying this up north, the well known names in Leicester should not of stayed quiet on this matter when the radicals started coming out in numbers your now relying on others to clean up your mess" This Facebook post was [reposted](#) by @ukapnacentral_ (username now changed to desi_muslims1)

On September 17, violence between Hindu and Muslim communities broke out during an ["unauthorized protest march"](#) in Green Lane Road. Videos show hooded men marching on the street with the police trying to restrain a clash between them. The [police stated](#) that after being alerted by officers in the area of the protest, additional officers went to the scene in order to restrain the situation but failed to prevent lawlessness. During the night, 2 arrests were made (after the police made a search of a large number of the participants) of men suspected of attempts to commit violence.

Misinformation about mosques being attacked was circulated online - henceforth, Leicester police issued a statement on September 17 [stating](#) "We've seen reports on social media that a mosque is being attacked. Officers on the ground have confirmed this is not true. Please only share information on social media you know to be true."

Nonetheless, the debunked claim of a mosque attacked by Hindus continued to be shared on social media. During the violence, as per a screenshot captured by Sarah Gates, [posted](#) by Instagram account @unbiasedmedia2 (22k followers) reported that Hindus chanted "Jai Shree Ram" (JSR) while throwing bottles outside the mosque. This has since been deleted. These were amplified by prominent Instagram

accounts, including @doamuslims with over 250,000 followers. Instagram user @ukapnacentral_ posted an Instagram story during the violence, requesting Muslims to go to Leicester to defend a masjid (mosque) that was being attacked by Hindus.
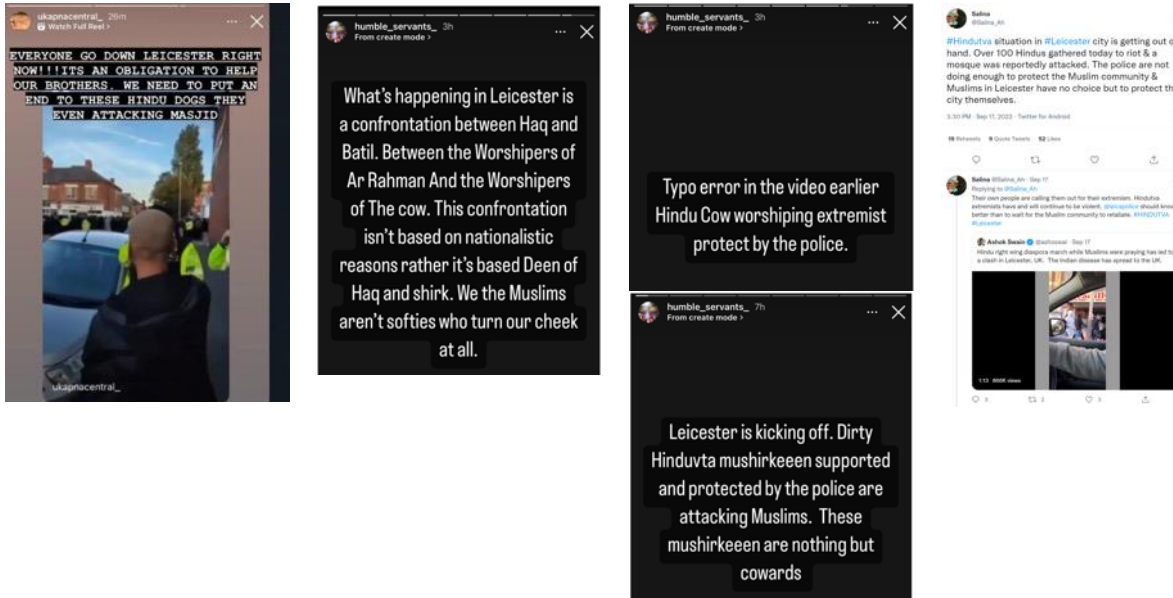
There were again reports of [burning](#) of a sacred Hindu flag and the attack of a Hindu boy by an Islamist mob. In addition, several videos circulated on TikTok (and YouTube Shorts) by Islamists on the nights of the violence. Collectively, these videos accumulated more than 1 million views.

[Source](#)	[Source](#)	[Source](#)	[Source](#)	[Source](#)	[Source](#)	[Source](#)
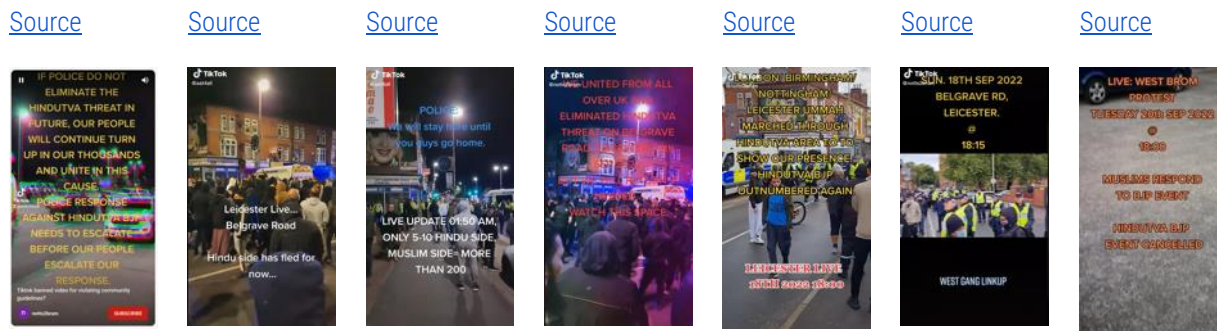
A [video](#) shows a man climbing the Leicestershire Brahma Samaj Shivalaya temple, tearing down a saffron flag, and rejoining the mob. Throughout the clashes, 25 police officers were injured and a 21-year-old Islamist named Adam Yusuf was arrested for possessing a knife. He [stated](#) that his aggression was inspired by social media.

A [procession of Hindus](#) marched through Leicester, chanting "Jai Shri Ram", "Ganapati Bappa Morya" and "Vande Mataram". The same day, on Belgrave Road, large Hindu mobs began to throw glass bottles at Muslims and the police.

On Youtube, 5Pillars (30k+ subs) posted a [video](#) (20:08) which shows a Muslim activist Shakeel Afsar, who heads the Birmingham-based [Kashmir Liberation Organization](#), declaring that "the barbaric BJP and their mindset" is spreading in the UK and that the Muslim people will start fighting back against the RSS and the BJP as there is only so much they can tolerate with no support from the police.

On September 18, a [Tweet](#) from Twitter user Dr. Samran Kalam, an influencer from Pakistan's Tehreek-e-Insaaf party, shared a video which shows masked, hooded men marching and shouting "Jai Shri Ram", with the message that "Hindu terrorists" had plundered a mosque. The video shared, however, doesn't show evidence of an attack on a mosque. The police reported that 15 people were arrested.

UK YouTuber and influencer Mohammed Hijab was seen in Leicester the week of September 18. On September 19, he posted a [photo](#) on his Instagram account that shows him leading a group of Muslim men; the photo is captioned: "Muslim patrol in Leicester". The same day, a [video](#) was posted on Twitter, in which Hijab says in the middle of a group of Muslims, "If they (Hindus) believe in reincarnation, what a humiliation of them to be reincarnated into some pathetic, weak, cowardly people like that…I'd rather be reincarnated as a grasshopper."

On September 20, the Durga Bhawan temple in Birmingham was surrounded by a mob of more than 200 Muslim men. A [video](#) of a masked man threatening BJP and RSS supporters (apparently, due to Sadhvi Ritambara's scheduled talk) and Hindutva followers was circulated on Twitter. In the video, the man, who says he's from Birmingham, addresses the "BJP and the RSS Hindutva supporters", saying they are not welcome in the UK and that he and his men will show up to any event they organize. Furthermore, he says that he and his men are currently outside a mandir (The Durga Bhawan Hindu Centre can be seen in the background) where it's peaceful but if the Hindutva supporters show up there or anywhere else, they will be met by him and his gang. The camera also turns to show all the hooded men gathered. The mob began to chant "Allah hu Akbar" and throw fireworks and missiles at the police, and some clambered up the temple wall. An 18-year-old member of the mob was [arrested](#) for possessing a knife.

On September 21, Majid Freeman [featured](#) a video from Mozzam Begg, who was detained in Guantanamo Bay for three years for terror related charges.

On September 22, a video [titled](#) "A message to Hindus out there" was circulated on Twitter. The individual in the video, later identified as [Muhammed Abdul Jabbar](#), threatens Hindus. The [music](#) in the background is the Salil al-Sawarim, a chant produced by ISIS. He has since been [arrested](#) by Coventry police for "intent to incite religious hatred"

On September 23, Anjem Choudary, a British Islamist and [U.S. designated terrorist](#), was also accused on [inflaming tensions](#).

Appendix C - Taxonomy of Malicious Narratives

Figure C(1): Table of Malicious Narratives

| Date	Narrative	Origin	Threats/ Violence	Cyber Swarming	Amplification	Verification	Appendix
May 2022	A gang of Hindu men attacked a Muslim boy based on religion	5PillarsUK article titled "Gangs of Hindu youths are 'terrorising Muslims in Leicester' released Sep 6	*Fear Allah. If you attack anyone whose innocent u will be questioned on the day of judgment*	*Present - This is why the Muslim community got together*	Riaz Khan (25k+ Facebook followers), Majid Freeman (21.1k followers)	Police are currently investigating with no religious affiliation revealed.	B, C(a)
28th Aug 2022	Hindus chanted anti-Muslim slogans - "Death to Muslims" - during the celebration of India's win against Pakistan in the cricket match.	Leicester Chief Inspector Paul Allen	*Death to Muslims*	None	Lin Mei (9.6k followers) Abbas Tejani (4.4k followers)	Leicester Chief Inspector Paul Allen clarified that no such slogans calling for violence against Muslims had been chanted.	B, C(b)
28th Aug 2022	The clashes during the cricket match between Indian and Pakistani fans were based on religion	Twitter user @tragicbud with "Hindutva" and "Nazi Lovers" within original tweet	None	Present - calls to take action against Indian cricket fans for Islamophobia	Sunny Hundal (83.8k followers), Majid Freeman, Shareefa Energy (6.2k followers), Husnain Yaqoob (3.1k followers) and several self identified Pakistani accounts	"Murdabad" is a common chant used at cricket matches on both sides. There is no evidence to suggest the clashes were religiously motivated.	B, C(c), C(d)
28th Aug 2022	Hindus ripped/ burned Quran near Melton Road	Majid Freeman	None	Present	Sayed Abdullah (10.5k+ followers)	There is currently no evidence to support these claims	C(e), Figure 3
28th Aug 2022	After a Muslim boy threw eggs at a	Majid Freeman, 5PillarsUK	*This isn't India. We*	None	MEND Community	There is currently no	C(f)

	Hindu gang after the match, he was beaten up and hospitalized by them in a religiously motivated attack	aforementioned article	*won't allow this here.*		(21.1k followers)	evidence to support these claims	
10th Sep 2022	A fake poster calling for a protest against violence committed by Muslims is circulated and attributed to Hindutva members.	Known source Twitter user @MalAbs48911904, but do not know where origin was from	None	*It's time we take a stand against Muslim Hate Crime - Peaceful Protest*	SAsiaSolidarity (6.1k followers)	No official confirmation but posts saying the protest was fake were shared	C(I)
11th Sep 2022	The same fake poster (from the previous row) calls for the gathering of Muslims in Leicester to protest crimes against them.		None	*It's time we take a stand against Muslim Hate Crime - Peaceful Protest*		No official confirmation but posts saying the protest was fake were shared	C(I)
11th Sep 2022	Hindus asked a man if he was Muslim, pulled out a knife and assaulted him	Majid Freeman	None	None	doamuslims (242.7k followers), South Asian Journal (8.6k followers)	The police confirmed on Sep 17th that this incident had not occurred and Majid Freeman deleted the tweet.	B
12th Sep 2022	3 Hindu men kidnapped a Muslim school girl because she was Muslim	Majid Freeman claimed that he had met the family of the girl.	*Insta Poll: "Should we go on Saturday to teach these guys a lesson?"*	*Present - Instagram story: We going to Land in Lesta show these RSS Hindutva extremist not to mess with our Muslim and Sikh - women, children and elderly. Bring*	Dutch Raja (150k+ followers)	Leicester police confirm that no kidnapping took place, and acknowledge the doxxing of Hindu men and "encouraged others to act"	B

				peace back to the area!			
17th Sep 2022	Hindus attacked a mosque	DOA Muslims (52.6k followers)	*We need to put an end to Hindu dogs they even attacking masjid [mosque]*	Present - Instagram Stories	Farzana Shah (27.8k followers), Instagram ukapnacentral _ (Followers unknown, account name changed), one_unity786 (4k followers), AJArabic (19.2M followers)	Leicester Police confirm that no Mosque was attacked	C(h)
18th Sep 2022	Hindu temple in Ealing Road commissioned "Angel Tours" buses to transport Hindutva RSS members to Leicester to mobilize violence against Muslims.	Twitter user @aart1231	None	*Calls for protests on Ealing Road on week of Sep 25th:* *Demonstration outside the Hornets Nest of Nazi Hindutva*	Sumedha Pal (6.8k+ followers), Amrit Wilson (Interviewee), Tasnime Akunjee (11.2k followers)	In an interview with influencer Ali Dawah, the owner of "Angel Tours" clarified that his buses were not linked to the temple in any way.	C(i)
18th Sep 2022	Newly appointed Leicester inspector Nadia Rana, due to her Pakistani origin, abetted the riots.	Twitter user @Ssmit_93	None	None	None	There is no evidence to support these claims.	C(j)
23rd Sep 2022	The temple attack was a false flag operation by Hindutva extremists	Riaz Khan, Husnain Yaqoob (Imam Husnain Yaqoob of Lenton Muslim Centre, Nottingham)	None	None	N/A	There is no evidence to support these claims.	C(g)
4th Oct 2022	A temple in Birmingham was set on fire by Islamic extremists on September 19th.	Twitter users @saurabh85538 8057and @ssingapuri	None	None	None	The West Midlands Fire Service (Birmingham) tweeted that the building	C(k)

	Muslims attacked Hindus outside the burning temple.					was a supermarket which had caught fire.	
All	It is Hindutva ideology (from BJP/RSS) causing attacks against Muslims	Twitter user @tragicbud	Yes	Yes	All authors involved in the conflict used this narrative	Investigative reports by the BBC and Leicester Police found that there was no influence of "Hindutva" ideology or the BJP/RSS	
All	British Muslims involved in Leicester riots are linked to Islamic terror groups such as ISIS or Al Qaeda.	-	No	No	All authors involved in the conflict used this narrative	There is no evidence to support these claims.	C(m)

Appendix C(a) - May 2022

Source
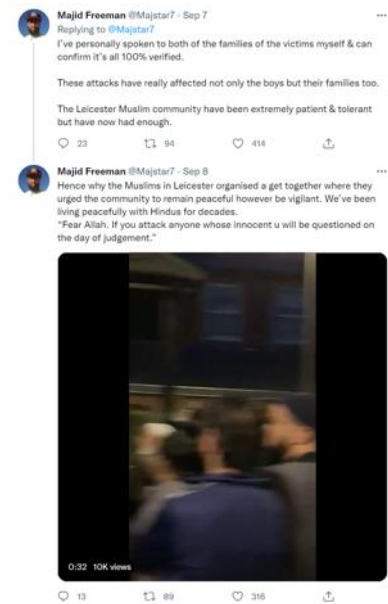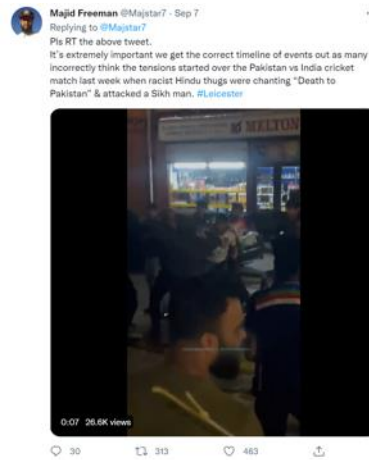
(Note: Riaz Khan is seen in this video)

Appendix C(b) - Accounts Amplifying "Death to Muslims" Misinformation

Source

Lin Mei
@linmeitalks

Again there are multiple narratives.

I will say this though - in recent years there's been 'extremism' unhealthy nationalism on BOTH sides.

There are hindutva events in India with thousands attending & they chant kill Muslims, death to Muslims. The narrative has now come here

> **Cormans Ence** @GibraltarYall · Sep 22
> Replying to @linmeitalks
> I have looked into it though. Hindus beat up one guy who brought it on himself and actually started the fight. This is verified by Muslims who were there.
>
> Since then......

5:03 AM · Sep 22, 2022 · Twitter for iPhone

Source

Abbas Tejani
@AbbasTejani   ...

Replying to @inthezoneuk and @mehdirhasan

No it didn't - this is misinformation from the media to try to whitewash this, this began with Hindutva extremist Hindus marching shouting "death to Muslims" in Leicester. Most of the Muslims in Leicester are Indian, not Pakistani so the cricket had absolutely no bearing!

11:13 PM · Sep 20, 2022 · Twitter for Android

Source

Human Rights
@humanhumanright

Replying to @naomi2009

Well Hindus imported RSS Hindutva to conquer the world and started attacking Muslims in Leicester and chanting death to Muslims! Can you find the root cause before going after Muslims? Hindu and Nazis have same pious symbol 卐 ! Birmingham Islam Pakistan UK

2:37 PM · Sep 21, 2022 · Twitter for iPhone

Source

CrissBliss
@crissbliss7   ...

Replying to @RanbirS11414092 and @ClaudiaWebbe

Get your head out of your dirty cow worshipping backside
It all started off when the Hindutva mob started chanting death to Muslims after Pakistan India cricket match late August

Bringing their fithy crap from India to UK, what the heck were they thinking?

7:23 AM · Sep 18, 2022 · Twitter for Android

Source

Adam
@Adam_T129   ...

More xenophobic and racist attacks by RSS Hindu terrorist group members. They are threatening and chanting death to Muslims and Sikhs

Please urgently review IT workers and Student visa of ALL indians IN UK

@metpoliceuk
@leicspolice
@trussliz

> **S.M.L** @shubankarlimaye · Sep 18
> Replying to @Adam_T129 @Apache75000 and 3 others
> You know what Abdul, the difference between Hindus and y'all is that Hindus come legally and work hard. Y'all come in boats and beg, y'all have no jobs, so this is what y'all will do.
> All attacks anywhere in the world are by muslims,y'all are a bunch of useless people,everywhere!

8:43 AM · Sep 18, 2022 · Twitter for Android

Source

Faz
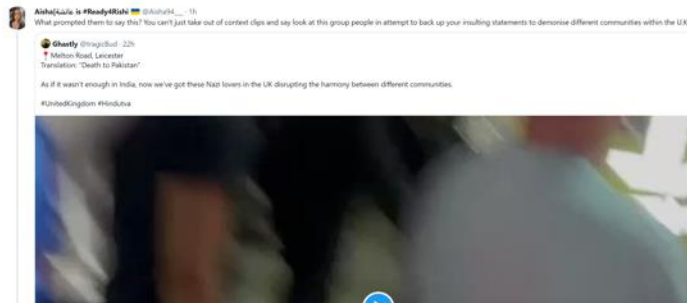@hacksupreme   ...

Replying to @vocalhindu

Or maybe they should just stop attacking lone Muslims in packs and baiting them with their pathetic "Death to Muslims" chants

5:56 AM · Sep 6, 2022 · Twitter for Android

Appendix C(c) - 28 August 2022

Source [Deleted]

Source

(Note: Husnain Yaqoob is an Imam at the Lenton Muslim Centre in Leicester)

Source

Source

Source (10.5k followers)

Source (52.6k followers)

Appendix C(d) - Self Identified Pakistani Accounts and Low Level Actors calling for violence (retaliation)

Source

Source

Source (Journalist from PTV, Pakistani News Channel)

Source

Sir Malshabal Vetuclanen
@MalAbs48911904

Replying to @tragicBud

Leicester Muslims, do your thing and smash these cowards.

4:04 AM · Aug 30, 2022 · Twitter Web App

Source

Aprajita Choudhary 🦋
@aprajitanefes

Melton Road, Leicester
Translation: "Death to Pakistan"

Hindutv Terr@r is disrupting the harmony in UK.
Modi's has seeded hate in far land leaving no stone unturned.

Shameful

#HindutvaTerror #NaziModi #RSS

Aprajita Choudhary 🦋 @aprajitanefes · Aug 30
Replying to @aprajitanefes
These satanic members and worshipers of Hindutva Vultures should be deported back to India.

♡ 1   ⟲   ♡ 1   ⬆

Source

huzzy
@whozaifa_

How my leicester man let this happen they literally drink cow piss cmon twitter.com/tragicBud/stat…

This Tweet is from an account that no longer exists. Learn more

6:47 AM · Aug 30, 2022 from Ilford, London · Twitter for iPhone

Source

Straight Talk
@RemainsYourDeed

@leicspolice What's Going on ???
Why RSS Hindutva Terrorists Hatemongers Publicly Terrorizing People ??? twitter.com/tragicBud/stat…

This Tweet is from an account that no longer exists. Learn more

6:58 AM · Aug 30, 2022 · Twitter for Android

Source

Abu Rex
@Abu_7Rex

These scrawny cow pOOp eaters are only brave when they're the majority. I hope the Pakistanis in Leicester sort this out, they're forgetting this isn't India. twitter.com/tragicBud/stat…

This Tweet is from an account that no longer exists. Learn more

7:35 AM · Aug 30, 2022 · Twitter for Android

Source

@leicspolice show some guts by deporting all these fascist Hindu students who are communalising just like they are doing in India. These students must be deported without any delay! Find then you have proof!

Source

neal
@ne_al_

drake needs to come out against hindutva and maybe these leicester desi fascists will give their heads a wobble

8:19 AM · Aug 30, 2022 · Twitter for Android

Source

Atiq Malik
@atiqmalikaseer

@UKinIndia @AlexWEllis @UKinMumbai @UKinAhmedabad @UKinHyderabad @UKinBengaluru You are responsible for this. You are giving Hindutva supporters work/student visas without proper vetting. 👉 @Andrew4Pendle @trussliz @FCDOGovUK @leicspolice @ClaudiaWebbe @JonAshworth @leicesterliz twitter.com/tragicBud/stat…

This Tweet is from an account that no longer exists. Learn more

8:00 AM · Aug 30, 2022 · Twitter for iPhone

Source

Daniyal 🇵🇰 ⑦
@Daniyaal69

Leicester Muslims, do your thing and smash these cowards.

Ghastly @tragicBud · Aug 29
📍 Melton Road, Leicester
Translation: "Death to Pakistan"

Source

signofthetimes
@Islamicnation

These lot stupid. The Muslims in leicester alone can easily keep them in check.

Yousuf Farooq يوسف فاروق @YousufFarooq2 · Aug 29
I'm often laughed at when I say that the racist Hindutva ideology is overlooked in the UK. Here is proof of it living in the UK. twitter.com/tragicBud/stat…

9:30 AM · Aug 30, 2022 · Twitter for iPhone

Appendix C(e) - Quran ripping/burning conspiracies

Source [Deleted]

Sayed Abdullah
@Dragonvibee

First the Hindu nationalists in UK burnt Quran & threw on this same street, & now they've violently attacked some Pakistanis while chanting 'Death to Pak!stan'.

@ClaudiaWebbe @JonAshworth @leicspolice , requesting you to please take strict action against these nazis asap.

Ghastly @tragicBud · 21h
📍 Melton Road, Leicester
Translation: "Death to Pakistan"

Appendix C(f) - Muslim boy beaten by Hindu mobs

Source   Source and Article   Source

Appendix C(g) - False Flag Conspiracy

Source

- [0:50] - RSS is causing the violence in Leicester.
- [2:47] - There is racism in Hindu culture. RSS was founded by upper caste Brahmins to rule over lower castes.
- [6:04] - Hindutva essentially calls for Muslims to either go to Pakistan or to go to Kabristan (graveyard - die).
- [10:20] - RSS bows to Hindu god Hanuman as, according to the Imam, Hanuman is "someone of war" and RSS wants to be like him
- [10:55] - Bollywood aligns with RSS and makes movies like "Sooryavanshi" to inspire hate against Muslims.
- [11:30] - Rss youths came to Leicester with student visas and "were allowed to create discord".
- [13:00] - Priti Patel is responsible for allowing RSS members to come into Britain with student visas.
- [16:16] - He says Hindus are dancing and partying outside the mosque.
- [18:00] Wealthy British Hindus fund the RSS which is why they and Hindu temple leaders in Britain don't condemn the RSS.
- [18:20] - "Jai Shri Ram" is now a war cry. He says "pundits" promote this chant with the full knowledge that it is meant to provoke.

- [20:15] - The violence in Leicester didn't start over a cricket game. He says it happened because of "Hindutva protocol" and that the violence actually started on May 22 when a Muslim boy was beaten up by "Hindutva thugs".
- [23:15] - Muslims from many English cities came to help defend the Muslims in Leicester facing attack.
- [23:40] - The man who took down the flag of a Hindu temple was an isolated incident. He claims that it is also possible that the man might have been a RSS "mole" who did it to "make the Muslims look bad".
- [25:00] - The Hindus who march on the streets call the police to make it look like they're innocent.
- [25:50] - He says that in the Jamia Masjid Leicester, the Deobandi Muslims invited only other Deobandis and Hindus and no other sects of Muslims (Sufis, Shias, etc.). Here, he laments the Muslim disunity which made the Deobandis consider other Muslims as "mushriks" (slur for idolaters) and invite the real "mushriks" (Hindus).
- [29:40] - He claims that 200 Hindus could not have marched in Leicester without the aid of the police or intelligence agencies
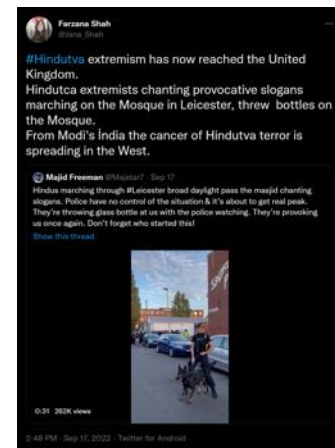
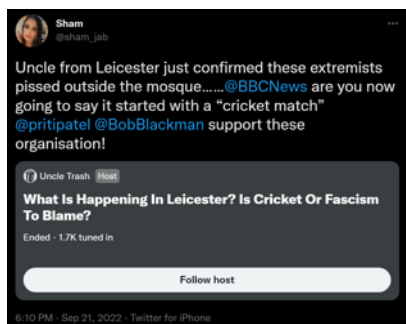## Appendix C(h) - Misinformation about Mosque Attack

Source   Source   Source

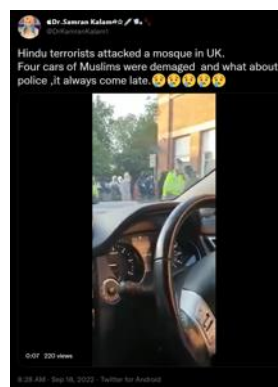Source   Source   Source
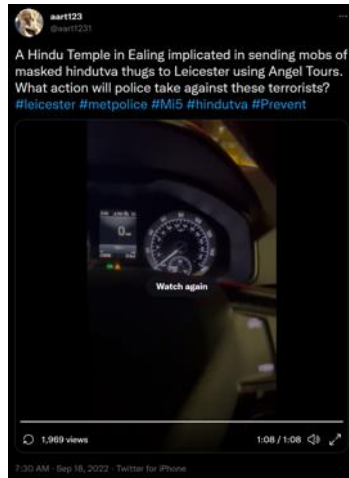
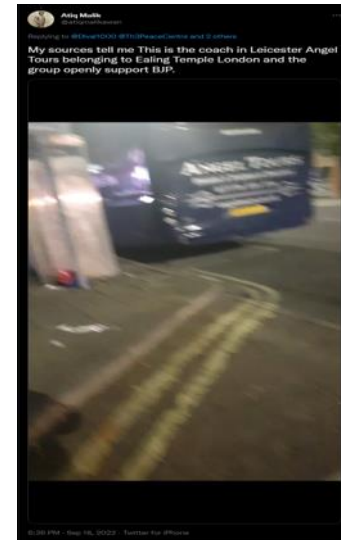## Appendix C(i) - Angel Tours Transported Hindutva/RSS members to Leicester

Source

Source

Source

Note: Sumedha Pal is a Wire reporter. Amrit Wilson is an activist for race and gender issues and co-founder of Awaz, an Asian feminist organization in the UK.

Appendix C(j) - Nadia Rana is Complicit in the Riots as She is Pakistani

Source

Source

Appendix C(k) - Burning Building Caused by Islamic Extremists

The West Midlands Fire Service (Birmingham) tweeted that the building was a supermarket which caught fire accidentally after the fire of some rubbish that was burning spread to the supermarket. The West Midlands Police replied to @ssingapuri, stating that the information he put out was false. The police also stated that the brawl outside the building was due to an argument about car parking

Source [Deleted Tweet]

Source

Source

Source

Appendix C(I) - Fake Protest Against "Muslim Hate Crime"

[Source](#) [Source](#) [Source](#) [Source](#)

[Source](#) [Source](#) [Source](#)

Note: The above 3 posts believe that this poster called for Muslims to protest so that any unrest caused by their gathering could be pinned to the entire community. Therefore, they warned Muslims not to fall for this fake call for protest which had not been organized by and Muslim organization.

Overall, some people confused the fake poster, whose earliest appearance seems to be on September 10, to be calling for Hindus to protest against the crimes committed by Muslims and therefore, used it to decry Islamophobia on part of the Hindus. Others confused it to be applying to Muslims, asking them to protest against crimes committed on Muslims.

Appendix C(m) - Leicester Muslims are Linked to Terror Groups

[Source](#)

Simon Fox
@SimonFoxWriter

Over the last 20 years, how many UK #Hindus have been involved in #terrorism? Zero, as far as I know. Over the last 20 years, how many UK #Muslims have been involved in terrorism? THOUSANDS. Lage numbers of them have fought for the Taliban/ Al Qaeda/ Islamic State. #Leicester

2:27 AM · Sep 20, 2022 · Twitter Web App

722 Retweets   25 Quote Tweets   2,037 Likes

[Source](#) [Suspended Account]

Emotional Bhakt
@EmotionalBhakt   3 weeks ago

Wherever Muslims go they take Taliban, ISIS and Al Qaida with them. #Leicester

2 Replies   8 Retweets   2 Likes

[Source](#)

starlord1990
@starlord_19900

lol ISIS & Taliban supporters want to deport RSS supporters #Leicester #LeicesterViolence

1:07 PM · Sep 22, 2022 · Twitter Web App

[Source](#)

Huh
@Huh12642508

Replying to @RamblingSingh

All i see is isis mob members having a stroll through leicester

5:54 AM · Sep 18, 2022 · Twitter for Android

[Source](#) [Deleted Tweet]

hardik dik is too hard for Pakistan
@theziggler1991   3 weeks ago

Looks like Englandistan... Al Qaeda rally in Leicester? #Leicester #LeicesterCity #LeicesterBurning

0 Replies   0 Retweets   0 Likes

[Source](#)

Manish Singh
@Manish_05Singh

Muslim pop. in the UK: ~4m
No. of recruits to ISIS: 1000+

Muslim pop. in India: ~200m
No. of recruits to ISIS: 50

#Leicester #Birmingham trouble is UK's homegrown problem that "politically correct" and "pussyfooting" politicians/councillors have let fester. Consequences follow.

Allison Pearson ✓ @AllisonPearson · Sep 22
Reassuring to know this gentleman seems to think he owns the streets of Birmingham.
Dear God. twitter.com/WasiqUK/status...

5:17 AM · Sep 22, 2022 · Twitter Web App

[Source](#)

Heena B
@br_heena

Replying to @Sick_bre and @FISI_UK

What is an RSS slogan? Jai Shri Ram? Then Naraye takbeer is the slogan used by Al-Qaeda, ISIS while they blow themselves up and while rioting on Leicester streets burning hindu homes and attacking our temples.

1:38 PM · Sep 22, 2022 · Twitter for Android

Appendix D - Search Terms

term = '((leicester | LPeastLeics | leicestershire | leicspolice | lesta | #leicester | brum | birmingham) & (gujarat | gujarati | gujju |cricket | hindu | hindus | hindoo | hindoos | hinduism | hindutva | hindutvaadi | pajeet | paji | mushrik | bjp | rss | hss | islamist | fascist | peacefuls | jihadi | jehadi | moslem | muslim | muslims | muzlim | islam| sikh | sikhi | sikhs | khalistani | brahmin | baman | caste | casteist |cow | camel | piss | urine| pee | poo | india | indian | indians | pakistan | pakistani | pakistanis | modi | khan | nazi | taliban | extremist | extremists | terrorist | thugs | thug | mosque | masjid | mandir | temple | mosques | temples | mob | violence | riot | attack | attacks | attacked | violent | nationalist | nationalists | nationalism | islamophobia | islamophobic | hinduphobia | hinduphobic | freshy | chewa | (jai shree ram) | (muslim area) | (gau mutra) | bharat | paki | pakis | porki | dung | radical | radicals | gandhi | sangh | sanghi | bhakt | quran | koran | scum | worship | worshippers | isis | pak | murdabad | pig | kafir | infidel | k2a | sullah | mullah | mulla | muzzie))',

Appendix E - Cow Piss Terms

term = "cow piss" |cowpiss | "piss cow" | "piss drinker" | "piss drinkers" | "piss drinking" | "cow pee" | "pee drinker"

Appendix F - TikTok Data

Link	Views	Comments	Description	Aggressor	Victim
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWAcNU/	3.0 Million	9814	A crowd can be heard chanting "Allah-hu-Akbar" and "La Ilaha Illallah Muhammadur Rasulullah" next to the police. In the background, masked men march shouting cries as well.	Not specified	Not specified
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWsdox/	1.9 Million	6451	Amid a song called "Phir Bhi Dil Hai Hindustani" (The heart is still Indian"), crowds of hooded men march along a street with a line of police following. This is said to have occurred on September 17.	Muslim	Hindu
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWqcB3/	1.3 Million	3743	Muslims are roaring and chanting loudly in Leicester in crowds.	Muslim	Hindu
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaW5xHa/	1.2 Million	1667	Showing that there are only 5 - 10 people on the Hindu side in the crowds and more than 200 on the Muslim side. Shows the large police presence in Leicester.	Muslim	Hindu
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWDGLA/	1.1 Million	2303	Mohammed Hijab is taunting "Hindutva gangsters" from coming out again, speaking of the large presence of the Muslim community and their strength.	Hindu	Muslim
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWshWX/	996.3 K	1685	Muslim perspective of events in Leicester. "Innocent Pakistanis praying Salah before Hindus attacked them." "4/5 Pakistanis against 70+ Indian Hindus." Shows Muslim community's response – gathering and marching through the streets.	Hindu	Muslim
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWQMvW/	704.4 K	1012	The video shows hundreds of Muslims in a crowd and frames it as a response to intimidation by Hindu nationalists.	Hindu	Muslim
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWCwqo/	640.5 K	1974	Showing large crowds in Leicester on September 17th, video titled "Hindu extremists v.s. Muslims"	Hindu	Muslim
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWaefa/	585.6 K	2370	Muslim man calling out young Hindus for attacking Pakistanis.	Hindu	Muslim

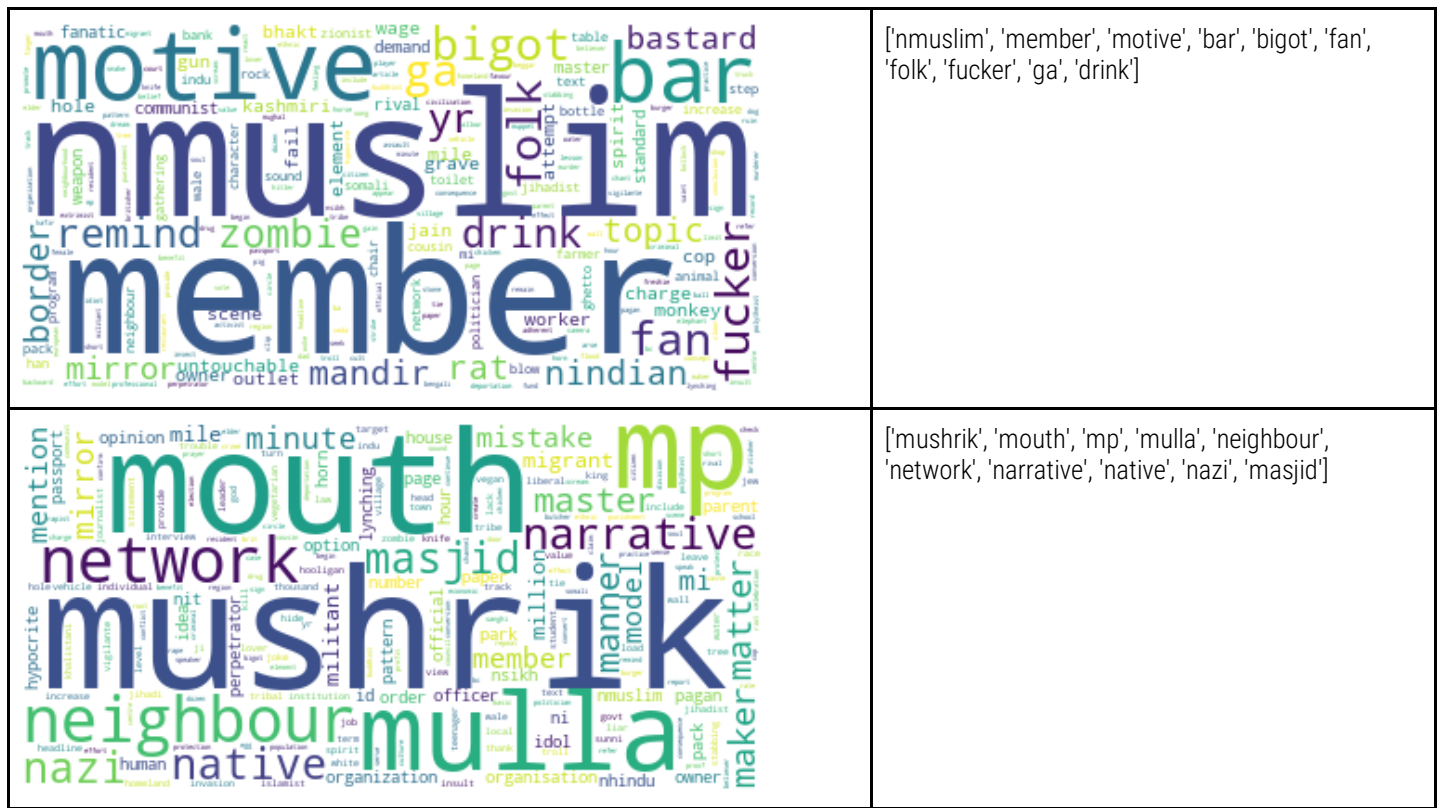|					
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWfwhL/	436.7 K	1358	Crowds of police, Muslims, and Hindus are seen with clips of police cars speeding by in succession. Video is showing how Muslims have come together to support Leicester.	Hindu	Muslim
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWGyRN/	431.4 K	1307	Shows a person in a crowd surrounded by other Muslims. The clip is overlayed with the crescent moon symbol representing Islam. Video is captioned: "Protest against the extremist hindutva mobs."	Hindu	Muslim
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWgdxS/	410.3 K	649	Video of police barricades and crowds with people filming the events. Video is overlaid with the words: "We united from all over UK and eliminated Hindutva threat on Belgrave Road, Leicester, 18th Sep 2022. But we will return if needed. Watch this space."	Hindu	Muslim
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWUfqT/	394.9 K	252	Shows a video of a man asking a police officer what his thoughts have been on the Muslim protests on September 18th on Belgrave Road. The police officer responds: "Peaceful."	Hindu	Muslim
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWsFVc/	385.3 K	762	Shows video of Aina Khan, a Muslim reporter who has been reporting in Leicester interviewing an Indian man. The Indian man appears to be hostile. Video creator expresses the opinion that Aina Khan has held her ground in the face of "RSS supporters yelling and harassing her in person" and through an online Hindu nationalist network. The video is overlaid with the words "If these BJP supremacists in Leicester are worried about increasing Muslim population in India, why have they escaped to the UK, not coming back to Indian?".	Hindu	Muslim
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWpC8v/	304.1 K	909	Muslim man explains Hindutva – stating that Muslims in India have been attacked by Hindutva. States that Indian fans started chanting "Death to Pakistan" after India won in a cricket match in late August. Indians also went outside mosques and intimidated Muslims. States that Indians beat a Muslim man almost to death after Pakistan's win in a cricket match in early September. Violence continued with the burning of cars and angry hindutva rallies.	Hindu	Muslim

https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWQwoX/	240.6 K	756	A crowd can be heard chanting "Allah-hu-Akbar" repetitively. The video is overlaid with the caption "The mans are real doms" and the flag of Pakistan. The video is captioned "They really did come through", referring to the Muslim community.	Hindu	Muslim
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWgMeN/	219.8 K	613	Man preaching about Hindu and Muslim unity – stating that they have coexisted peacefully together for over half a century and that they made Leicester a beacon of "diversity and community cohesion."	Neither	Neither
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWBwks/	99.0 K	376	Shows a crowd of people marching through a street in Leicester; the video creator is Hindu and captions the clip" Jai Shri Ram".	Neither	Neither
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWALgf/	78.7 K	268	Muslim man showing crowds of Muslims in Leicester chanting in support. What appears to be a Muslim religious song is playing in the background.	Hindu	Muslim
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWHTJj/	77.5 K	173	People wearing dark clothing and hooded masks walk around as deafening police sirens play in the background.	Unclear	Unclear
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWHHn4/	76.3 K	153	People are yelling in crowds at night, it is not possible to make out what is being said. Video is titled "Leicester Hindu extremist vs Muslims."	Hindu	Muslim
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWGdbn/	71.7 K	206	Mohammed Hijab responding to "Hindutva thugs."	Hindu	Muslim
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWXDfn/	44.3 K	324	Video captioned "Hindus burning Muslim car."	Hindu	Muslim
https://www.tiktok.com/t/ZTRaWVCTp/	21.9 K	64	Muslim perspective of Hindu mobs walking through Muslim area.	Hindu	Muslim

Appendix G - YouTube Data

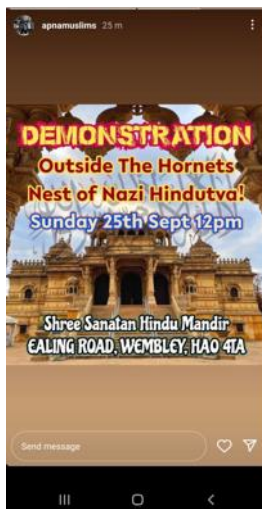| Title	Link	Views	Comments	Aggressor	Victim
Tensions in Britain's Leicester After Pro-Hindutva Rallies in Muslim Localities	www.youtube.com/watch?v=3D-NJUxRnAY	165428	3346	Hindu	Muslim
Islamists Run Havoc In Leicester, UK | UK Police Turn Bystanders As Hindus Attacked | NewsX	www.youtube.com/watch?v=DrT5AKjTzoM	129551	2774	Muslim	Hindu
Leicester clashes following alleged assault after India vs Pakistan cricket match	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n4i0Zqpc_Qo	70768	1607	Not specified	Not specified
Indians chant 'death to Pakistan' in Leicester after Asia Cup cricket match against Pakistan	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dGkag8Zbo0E	61815	1936	Hindu	Muslim
India vs Pakistan: Communal tension rises in Leicester after cricket match | Oneindia News *News	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2KLVslCm_XQ	42738	595	Not specified	Not specified
'Hindutva gangs' and anti-Muslim violence in Leicester	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M2tugqpI0zE	41639	598	Hindu	Muslim
"Mobs gathered in Leicester to attack Hindus but some were from other cities."	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GsvvYM-irxE	36359	326	Muslim	Hindu
World Exclusive: Leicester Hindu Muslim gang attacks - what really happened	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vu6-nKKvZ1g	36017	438	Muslim	Hindu

Leicester violence: Are radicalised Hindu extremists attacking Muslims?	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZNZgW9NdNpY	21180	1297	Hindu	Muslim
Leicester's Hindu & Muslim Community Clash As Tensions Reach Boiling Point	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=32HYEaZKp5Q	20961	545	Not specified	Not specified
Anti-Hindu Attacks Erupt in Leicester UK	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i-M5xUeJH64	15529	504	Not specified	Not specified
Leicester Hindu Muslim fighting | people out of control.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MMh_iq-swxE	12598	203	Not specified	Not spcified
Pak Calls Leicester Plot Work Of Hindus | Who Is Spreading Hinduphobia? | NewsX	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0IGOSDCBB2Y	11032	166	Muslim	Hindu
Hindutva Radicals Attacking Muslims In Leicester	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YLfb5CtcmSI	10804	299	Hindu	Muslim

Appendix H - YouTube Comments Topic Modeling

Word Cloud	Topics Detected
	['nation', 'network', 'neighbourhood', 'neighbour', 'nhi', 'murderer', 'murder', 'migrant', 'militant', 'mile']
	['extrimist', 'facist', 'expert', 'favour', 'fascist', 'protection', 'farmer', 'elephant', 'refer', 'evidence']
	['leader', 'devil', 'thousand', 'desire', 'limit', 'lindu', 'scene', 'term', 'drink', 'drug']

	['nmuslim', 'member', 'motive', 'bar', 'bigot', 'fan', 'folk', 'fucker', 'ga', 'drink']
	['mushrik', 'mouth', 'mp', 'mulla', 'neighbour', 'network', 'narrative', 'native', 'nazi', 'masjid']

Appendix I - Calls for Protests

Source

Source

SouthAsia Solidarity @SAsiaSolidarity · Sep 19
#Leicester Emergency Protest for Peace and Unity Thurs 22 Sept 6pm. We must stand together to foil #BJP, #RSS plan to divide our communities & export orchestrated #Hindutva fascist violence onto the streets of UK cities. Join us outside the Indian High Commission, London WC2B 4NA

#LEICESTER: EMERGENCY PROTEST

FOR
PEACE AND UNITY,
AGAINST BJP/RSS HATEMONGERING!

INDIAN HIGH COMMISSION, LONDON,
THURSDAY 22 SEPTEMBER 6PM-8PM

WE SAY: MODI, BJP, RSS: STOP DIVIDING
OUR COMMUNITIES!
STOP EXPORTING HINDUTVA HATE
TO THE UK!

WE IN THE UK SOUTH ASIAN DIASPORA
STAND TOGETHER AGAINST FASCISM!

147   550   1,320

Show this thread

Appendix J - Highly Engaged Tweets

Source	Source
Mir Mohammad Alikhan @MirMAKOfficial Every Muslim around the world condemns and detests ISIS. You cannot be a Muslim if you support the fascist bigoted hate-mongering ideologies of ISIS. Why cannot Hindus around the world condemn HINDUTVA the same way. HINDUTVA is to Hindus what ISIS is to Muslims. 4:37 PM · Sep 21, 2022 · Twitter for iPhone 782 Retweets 253 Quote Tweets 2,786 Likes	Mir Mohammad Alikhan is a Wall Street investment banker who currently lives in Pakistan. He is also the founder of AMZ MAK Capital, a banking and finance company. Alikhan was born in Karachi, Pakistan into a family that is related to the Pakistani royal family of Mir Osman Ali Khan. He was charged with defrauding Pakistani investors and became a fugitive from American law.

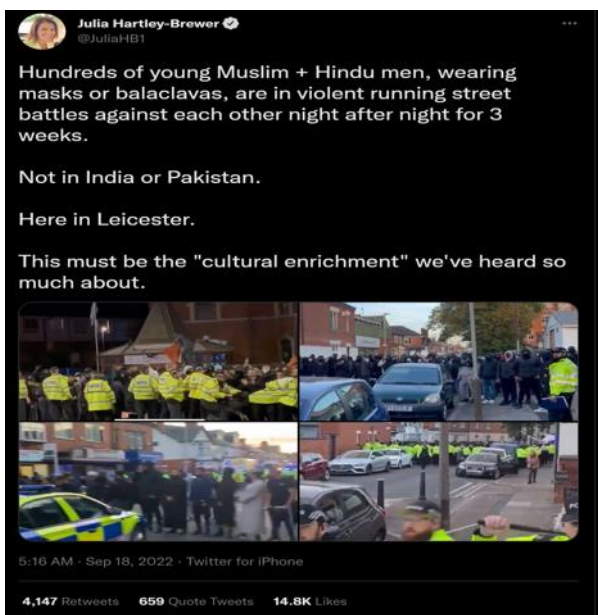|	
[Source](#)	[Source](#) Ashok Swain is the Head of the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University as well as the UNESCO Chair on International Water Cooperation.
[Source](#)	[Source](#) Naomi Canton is a London-based journalist who writes for the Times of India.
[Source](#)	[Source](#) Julia Hartley-Brewer is a journalist who currently hosts a radio show for Talkradio.

[Source](#)

Chris Blackburn
@CJBdingo25

It was Islamists, armed with knives and weapons, picking on innocent Hindu households that escalated the simple typical 'cricket spat' into a full blown crisis in #Leicester

Thanks for getting that right, @sunny_hundal

Sunny Hundal @sunny_hundal · Sep 19
A few days later, Hindus started circulating videos on WhatsApp of gangs of men attacking property and people in majority-Hindu areas.

In this video, a man pulls off a religious flag from a Hindu home. Another has a knife.
Show this thread

0:09 221.4K views

3:59 PM · Sep 19, 2022 · Twitter for Android

2,135 Retweets   63 Quote Tweets   5,289 Likes

[Source](#)

Chris Blackburn is a UK political analyst.

[Source](#)

Lord Simon
@LordSimon20

So here we have Ali Dawah telling the Leicester community he doesn't agree with Mohammed Hijab. He is instead trying to rally all Muslims from all countries to create unity to stand as one and fight. This guy is an extremist and needs reigning in.

1:01 96.4K views

3:59 PM · Sep 19, 2022 · Twitter for Android

1,727 Retweets   267 Quote Tweets   3,207 Likes

Source	

Appendix K - Translations of Anti-Muslim Meme

- Middle - "Bharat" - represents India
- Northwest - "Waqf" - represents Waqf board which is referred to as the governing body for Muslims in India
- West - "Conversion" - represents religious conversion, in this case referring to forced conversion from Hinduism to Islam
- Southwest - "Population Explosion" - refers to the idea that Muslims have many children to increase their count
- Southeast - "Jihad" - defined as "stuggle" or "effort" in Arabic but in this context, it refers to the war against the "unbelievers"
- East - "Illegal Constructions" - in this context, refers to mosques over demolished temples
- Northeast - "Masjid Madarassas" - refers to Muslim holy places of worship and schools

Appendix L - Remaining Posts not tagged as violent incitement

1. The posts did not have a direct 'call for action' but were rather hateful. While hate speech is a cause of concern, it would be more so for content moderation than law and order which is affected by inciteful language.
2. A lot of these posts were tagging authorities which would be the case of aggressive complaint, but not incitement.
3. Many posts did suggest alternative non-violent actions, including "deportation", "arrest", "action by authorities", etc.

Appendix M - Qualitative Examples of Calls for Violence

Tweet Text	Call for Violence Against
"All the muslim's need to unite, these cow pissers think they're bad, its about time we show them wassup. #Leicester #rss"	Hindus
"Bro. Leicester is a high hindu populated area. If Muslims from London, Birmingham, Bradford, Manchester come. We'll bury these hindutva thugs in 1 hour. Muslim gangs in the UK are very powerful. Nothing to be proud of but it is what it is. Theyll get smoked."	Hindus
"@leicspolice Throw out these ISLAMIC Terrorist from your country otherwise you will suffer.. We Hindus have History of facing these ISLAMIC Terrorism for more than 800 years.. If you can't control give Hindus a free hand.. We will send them to 72 virgins (hoors)"	Muslims
"Look at the might and organisation we have. The local Police are struggling to contain Leicester. A full charge of the Muslim rioters by the Household Cavalry might teach the cxxts a lesson"	Hindus

"Good. Im glad. Find em and chop em up. Thats only way they gonna learn. These extemist hindus are taking the piss"	Hindus

Appendix N - Themes in Calls for Violence

We look for the key themes in these incitement to violence calls. What triggered the models to flag the content as incitement? How did this vary from the human expert annotation? Were there any distinctions in the incitement calls being made against the two groups? To answer these questions, we looked into the most frequent unique words in the incitement calls through WordCloud plots:

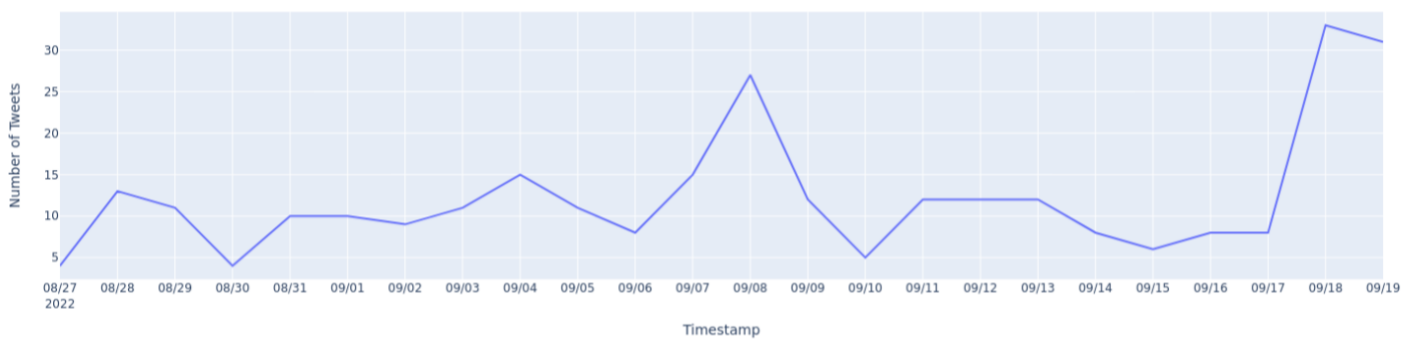Words frequented in anti-Hindu violence calls
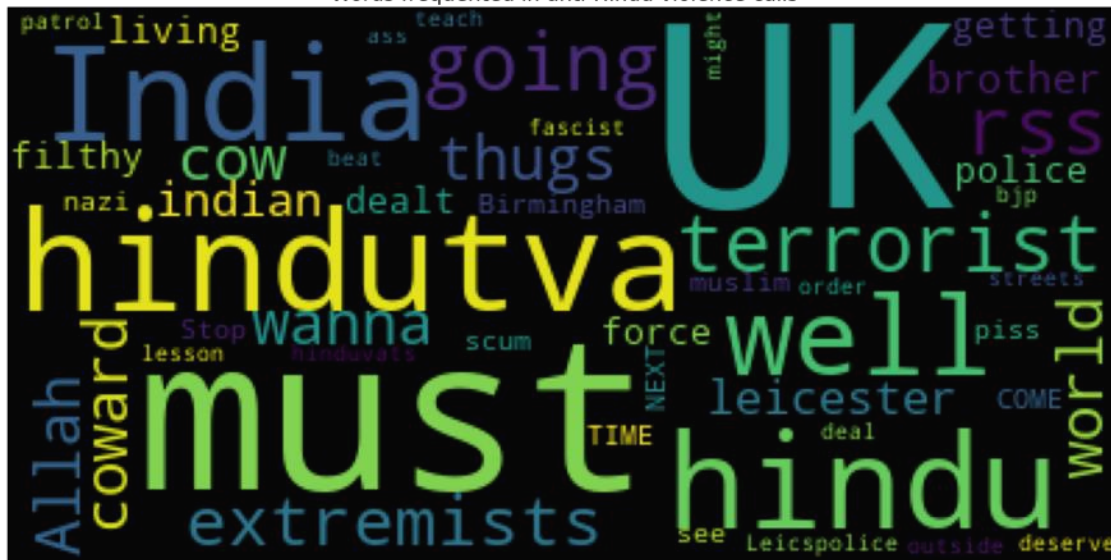
Words frequented in anti-Muslim violence calls

Observations:
1. In anti-Hindu violence calls, many references were also being made to the "India", which wasn't the case in calls against Muslims.
2. Religion-specific slurs including references to the cow, piss in case of Hindus, and peacefuls, jihadis in case of Muslims were more frequent.
3. The anti-Muslim calls were focusing on themes like "Terrorists, militants, attackers" whereas the anti-Hindu calls were focusing on themes like "Fascists, Nazis, Thugs" - both trying to portray an extreme picture of the opposite side for moral disengagement.
4. Anti-Hindu calls were portraying themselves as aggressive protagonists - "deal, force, beat, teach" whereas anti-Muslim calls were trying to portray themselves as protective protagonists - "save, stop, enough, finish"
5. Both the sides seem to be using multiple terms to indicate the opposite side: Hindu, Hindutva, Muslim, Islamists.

Appendix O - Camel Piss Timeseries