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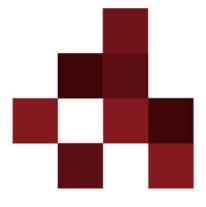
Racialized Grooming Gangs: Elon Musk, X, and Amplification of Islamophobia in the UK is produced by the Center for the Study of Organized Hate (CSOH). No portion of this report may be reproduced in any form without CSOH's permission, except as permitted under U.S. copyright law.

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Abbreviations

APPG	All-Party Parliamentary Group
AfD	Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany)
CSE	Child Sexual Exploitation
сѕон	Center for the Study of Organized Hate
CPS	Crown Prosecution Service
DSA	Digital Services Act
DEI	Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion
EDL	English Defence League
IICSA	Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse
MEGA	Make Europe Great Again
MP	Member of Parliament
MSP	Member of Scottish Parliament
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OCAGs	Online Child Abuse Activist Groups
OSA	Online Safety Act
PM	Prime Minister
TPUK	Turning Point UK
UK	United Kingdom
ULEZ	Ultra Low Emission Zone

1. Executive Summary

he 2025 discourse around 'grooming gangs' in the UK, in which South Asian men (in particular Pakistani Muslim men) are alleged to be collectively responsible for sexually abusing white women and girls, resulted in the amplification of Islamophobic and racialized narratives across the country. This intensification of Islamophobia relied on two key factors: 1) baseless and historically rooted harmful stereotypes about Muslims, and especially Muslim men, in the UK and 2) the social media platform X (formerly Twitter) and in particular Elon Musk's centrality in the sharing and foregrounding of these ideas via X, along with several global key actors (outlined in detailed below). This report specifically examines Musk's role, the centrality of X, along with key actors on the platform, and the wider implications of the 'grooming gangs' narrative on Islamophobia and broader community cohesion in the UK.

The UK 'grooming gangs' controversy is being actively reshaped by powerful digital actors who use their platforms to redirect public attention towards racist conspiracy theories. Willfully ignoring systemic child protection failings centres a conspiratorial moral panic, weaponized to target Muslims, British Pakistanis, South Asians, and immigrants. Under Musk's leadership, X has enabled the proliferation of this racially charged discourse - and even legitimized extremist rhetoric under the guise of "free speech."

The 'grooming gangs' discourse online coalesces around three core themes: 1) racialized scapegoating of Muslim men, 2) allegations of institutional cover-up, and 3) attacks on British multiculturalism. The scapegoating of Muslim men (particularly British Pakistani men) relies on long-standing orientalist and racist tropes to frame them as collectively (and sometimes solely) responsible for sexual violence. The myth of institutional cover-up alleges that authorities—including the Labour Party, judiciary, and media—deliberately concealed crimes to protect minority communities or preserve political advantage. The aforementioned constructs multiculturalism and so-called "political correctness" as conduits to such crimes, thus positioning diversity itself as a threat. Together, these sensationalist conspiracies serve to racialize sexual criminality, delegitimize and erode public trust in liberal public institutions.

The 'grooming gangs' discourse gained renewed widespread traction after Musk's engagement with the issue on X in early January 2025. This was part of a broader pattern of his increasing alignment with far-right actors globally. Since acquiring X in

2022, Musk has dismantled trust and safety systems¹, reinstated and actively engaged with previously banned far-right X accounts. His anti-government messaging during crises² — such as the 2024 Southport riots—has given cover and a pseudolegitimacy to extremist actors while simultaneously weakening public trust in institutions. Furthermore, Musk's centrality here has relied on both his algorithmic privilege and the convergence of an extensive global Islamophobic social media network spanning the UK, Europe, the US, and particularly India.

The 'grooming gangs' discourse must also be understood as part of the global farright's broader search for political legitimacy in a post-2024 UK. Following the decline of the Conservative Party, far-right actors have repositioned themselves as the "persecuted voice" of a silenced majority, thus adopting a martyr narrative. Musk's influence over digital infrastructure has become a critical tool in this project, enabling the viral spread of narratives that racialize crime, normalize Islamophobia, and undermine multicultural democracy.

The report finds a glaring failure by X to meet its obligations under the UK's Online Safety Act. Despite repeated violations of provisions concerning the incitement of racial or religious hatred and the risk of foreign interference in the UK's political discourse, X has neither acknowledged nor acted on its responsibility to curb the spread of harmful content.

2. Introduction

n early January 2025, X owner Elon Musk stoked controversy by accusing³ the British Prime Minister Keir Starmer of covering up 'grooming gangs'. 'Grooming gangs' have come to signify groups of men (typically Muslim and of Pakistani heritage), often operating in networks, to systematically groom, exploit, and sexually abuse vulnerable (white) children, primarily teenage girls. While in reality, such cases have involved perpetrators from various ethnic backgrounds (with the majority of perpetrators being White⁴ - reflecting the national demographic composition), British media, and political focus has disproportionately centered on Muslims men of British Pakistani heritage (along with other South Asians, and immigrants) fueling racial and religious tensions in the country. This discourse amplifies hostile narratives towards Muslims and those perceived as Muslim in the UK.

Musk's posts in January 2025 triggered an immediate surge in Islamophobic rhetoric and the interpersonal targeting of Muslims and South Asians in the UK. This report finds that X became a central hub for the spread of these narratives. In particular, we identified coordinated global activity involving individuals and organizations linked to promoting Islamophobic content. Far-right websites and X handles based outside of the UK—such as Visegrád24, Radio Genoa, and OpIndia, all of which have a long history of promoting similar narratives—further amplified these trends.

Musk has repeatedly clashed with UK authorities over a wide range of issues, including government regulation of Big Tech and attitudes towards immigration. During the 2024 summer riots⁵—sparked by false claims on the website Channel3 Now⁶ that a Muslim refugee was responsible for the killing of three girls in Southport—Musk refused to condemn the unrest. Instead, he accused the newly elected Labour government of anti-white⁷ bias. He amplified disinformation suggesting the government favored non-white communities, blamed immigration policies for the violence, and warned of an impending "civil war"⁸ in the UK. Musk had also previously made the false claim⁹ that Starmer had released convicted pedophiles onto the streets following his exclusion from the UK's Artificial Intelligence Summit in 2024. Musk actively engages with European far-right figures and groups¹⁰ such as the Alternative für Deutschland (AfD), Viktor Orban, Tommy Robinson, and Nigel Farage and thus is significantly shaping the UK and European far-right rhetoric on Islam, Muslims, multiculturalism, and diversity.

Globally, "free speech" has become a rallying cry for far-right movements¹¹ - particularly as content moderation laws like the UK's Online Safety Act (OSA) and the

EU's Digital Services Act (DSA) are increasingly framed as "censorship." Since acquiring X in 2022, Musk has leaned heavily on his self-proclaimed identity as a "free speech absolutist" —a stance that led to the dismantling of the platform's trust and safety team, fueling the spread of disinformation. The mainstreaming of disinformation has also put him at odds with national governments and transnational bodies such as the EU, all of whom advocate for stronger regulation and governance of online content.

For example, X was accused of spreading disinformation¹³ during the UK 2024 riots, and evidence indicates that platforms like Telegram were specifically used to coordinate and incite attacks¹⁴, often targeting migrant housing facilities and mosques. Yet, Musk repeatedly attacked the UK government for arresting rioters who had organized themselves through social media or used their online presence to incite violence. Musk's role in the 2024 UK riots is the tip of the iceberg of his growing intervention¹⁵ in British politics. In November 2024, he accused the UK government of going "full Stalin"¹⁶ after it increased the inheritance tax on farms worth more than £1 million. Concerns have also emerged—particularly from within the Conservative Party—that Musk was financing Nigel Farage¹⁷ and his Reform UK party. While Farage has denied these claims, he has also publicly boasted about maintaining regular communication with Musk.

Musk's alignment and engagement with the far-right has become increasingly apparent through social media activity on X, reflecting the broader trend of Big Tech pandering to far-right groups. Musk has previously championed limited government intervention, free markets, and individual freedoms, and while these views overlap with some conservative ideals, they were not inherently aligned with far-right ideologies. His libertarian stance often put him at odds with progressive policies, especially on issues such as labor rights, environmental regulations, and government subsidies for social welfare programs.

2020 marked a turning point in Musk's political trajectory¹⁸ toward the far-right, particularly apparent in his subsequent acquisition of Twitter (which he rebranded as X), and the reinstatement of numerous previously banned far-right accounts. This reinstatement further cemented his credibility within far-right circles. Musk has since used this influence to amplify¹⁹ far-right parties such as the AfD and figures associated with white nationalism, including Tommy Robinson.

When Musk began attacking the Labour Party and Prime Minister Starmer over their alleged complacency toward 'grooming gangs', his criticisms reflected a broader, long-standing antagonism toward the UK government, particularly the Labour Party, and pro-immigration policies more generally. His interventions provided both the

guise of legitimacy and a platform for more extremist groups to amplify and disseminate their racist and often Islamophobic views. It is important to note that the UK's Online Safety Act 2023 explicitly requires platforms to swiftly remove content that incites hatred or spreads harmful disinformation, placing a legal obligation on companies like X to actively moderate Islamophobic and racially charged narratives.

2.1 The Rise of the 'Grooming Gangs' Narrative

The trope of 'Muslim grooming gangs' entered mainstream public discourse in 2011, following The Times' front-page exposé by Andrew Norfolk, "Revealed: Conspiracy of Silence on UK Sex Gangs."20 The article framed grooming by Muslim men as a widespread crisis in English towns, targeting white working-class girls, particularly in the North and Midlands. It advanced two key claims that have since become central to far-right narratives on immigration and ethnic minority communities: first, that Muslim men of Pakistani heritage were systematically targeting white British girls across the UK; and second, that authorities had failed to act due to the alleged constraints of political correctness and out of fear of being labelled racist (as discussed in further depth in our analysis). Today, the term 'grooming gang' has become almost synonymous with mass sexual abuse committed by British Pakistani Muslim men, despite the fact that data from the UK Home Office²¹ has consistently shown that white men are primary offenders. The proliferation of this flawed and Islamophobic narrative normalizes the Orientalist construction of Muslim men as sexual deviants and consequently serves to pseudo-legitimise far-right gendered Islamophobia.

Preceding the 2011 exposé, in the 1990s, Risky Business, an independent youth outreach program established in 1997 in Rotherham, identified patterns of grooming and sexual abuse in the city. It consequently made an effort to address the issue by working with girls and young women aged 11–25 and in doing so exposed the failure of local authorities to safeguard children at risk of sexual exploitation. Responding to mounting criticism, Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council assigned a researcher to investigate collaboratively with Risky Business between 2000 and 2002. The researcher later submitted findings to the Home Office, which then commissioned an evaluation of child sexual exploitation (CSE) in Rotherham. However, the draft report²², which criticized local agencies for their indifference and inaction, was never completed. The researcher later alleged²³ that key data was removed from her office by an unknown individual, leading to the report's disappearance.

2.2 Investigative Reports and Limitations

In 2014 British social worker and former chair of the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse (IICSA) Alexis Jay²⁴, examined CSE in Rotherham and revealed that 1,400 children had been sexually exploited between 1997 and 2013, thus exposing systemic failures by local authorities and South Yorkshire Police, such as officials ignoring multiple allegations of abuse. However, the inquiry was also criticised for its disproportionate focus on race—of the 1,400 estimated cases of CSE, only 66 were reviewed²⁵ in depth. A separate 2016 Quilliam Foundation report²⁶ claimed that 84% of offenders were of South Asian descent, - this too was later criticized for its flawed methodology²⁷ and misleading data representation. The report remains significant given that it is frequently cited as evidence of disproportionately high crime rates among Pakistani and Muslim immigrants in the UK. A perception further entrenched by disproportionate media coverage that obscures the reality that the vast majority of coordinated grooming CSE offenses are perpetrated by white men.

The 2012 Rochdale grooming scandal exposed systematic failures that allowed the abuse of at least 47 white British girls. The first trial, part of Operation Span, led to nine convictions, primarily of South Asian men (mostly Pakistani)²⁸. However, subsequent independent investigations²⁹ commissioned by local authorities like the Greater Manchester Police resulted in 32 additional arrests, though government records of these subsequent arrests do not specify the offender's ethnic background.

Following the Jay Report, the Casey Review (2015) reinforced claims that officials had failed to act due to fear of being labeled racist. While Casey's findings raised a number of important issues in terms of challenges and discrimination faced by the UK's minorities, it fundamentally framed the problem in terms of 'integration' with suggestions for minorities being required to take up an 'integration oath'. In 2020, the Home Office's report³⁰ on group-based CSE contradicted these earlier findings, concluding that most offenders were white and criticizing previous studies for their lack of case studies and robust data.

The 2020 Home Office report stated:

"A number of high-profile cases—including the offending in Rotherham investigated by Professor Alexis Jay, the Rochdale group convicted as a result of Operation Span, and convictions in Telford—have mainly involved men of Pakistani ethnicity. Beyond specific high-profile cases, the academic literature highlights significant limitations in linking ethnicity to this form of offending. Research has found that group-based CSE offenders are most commonly white. Some studies suggest an over-representation of Black and Asian offenders relative to the national population. However, it is not possible to conclude that this is representative of all group-based CSE offending."

The Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse (IICSA) Report (2022) raised further scrutiny via its extensive investigation into CSE cases from 2015 to 2022. This statutory inquiry—which had the power to compel witnesses—gathered testimony from 6,200 victims and survivors through the Truth Project (IICSA)³¹. It examined cases in Rotherham, Rochdale, Telford, Oxford, Newcastle, and Birmingham, all of which had been sites of high-profile 'grooming gang' cases. Among eight different types of child sexual abuse, 24% (1,395 cases) involved sexual grooming. The study found that the majority of offenders were white, high-profile mediatised cases predominantly comprised South Asian (mostly Pakistani) groups. The report warned against racializing the crime, cautioning that limiting the focus to one ethnicity risks overlooking victims and offenders from other backgrounds.

From the outset, sections of the press—and even government officials—racialized the 'grooming gang' making it a South Asian Muslim issue. Andrew Norfolk, author of the 2011 Times exposé mentioned previously, was later promoted to Chief Investigative Reporter and awarded the Orwell Prize and the Paul Foot Award. His framing of the issue was widely adopted by mainstream media³², often without critical scrutiny, a point similarity critiqued by the IICSA report.

2.3 Mainstreaming of Racial Tropes

Dr. Ella Cockbain's³³ 2013 paper Grooming and the 'Asian Sex Gang Predator': The Construction of a Racial Crime Threat³⁴ analyzed 56 convictions of men accused of sexually abusing girls aged 11-16, highlights how media coverage between 1997 and 2011 led to over-generalizations and selective reporting around CSE cases, including the exclusion of young males and non-white victims. The use of press reports as primary data sources resulted in inherent bias, disproportionately focusing on ethnic minority offenders from lower-income backgrounds. As Stuart Hall noted in his seminal work on moral panics, the media often functions as an amplifier of deviance, constructing "folk devils"³⁵ and reinforcing public anxieties through sensationalized and selective reporting. The example of 'mugging'³⁶ that Hall used has some direct parallels, with 'Asian' Muslim men replacing Afro-Caribbean men as the perpetrators and young white women replacing elderly British women as victims.

The 'grooming gangs' narrative gained traction not only among the far-right but also in centrist and center-right political discourse. Prominent politicians made sweeping cultural claims about the crime. Former Labour Home Secretary, Jack Straw, attributed the issue to "regressive British-Pakistani culture" and suggested that white women were seen as "easy meat." Similarly, Labour MP Sarah Champion wrote an inflammatory op-ed³⁸ claiming she had previously remained silent on the issue due to fear of being branded a racist. Meanwhile, Conservative MP Sajid Javid reinforced the ethnic disproportionality argument³⁹, arguably contributing to entrenching the narrative's place in mainstream political discourse.

2.4 Historical Parallels and Global Spread

The 'grooming gangs' narrative is not new and has a background in European antisemitism. Orientalist⁴⁰ anxieties about non-white men sexually assaulting white women have deep historical roots, shaped by colonial fears, racialized fantasies, and broader structures of white supremacy. The 19th-century European imagination, influenced by Orientalist art and literature, often depicted the East as a realm of unrestrained sexual indulgence, populated by hypersexualized "Others" who threatened the purity of white women. These anxieties frequently merged with antisemitic narratives⁴¹, particularly in the white slave panic stories, where Jewish and Middle Eastern men were accused of trafficking white women into harems, rendering them helpless objects of male desire. Such depictions reinforced the notion that non-white men—whether coded as Middle Eastern, Black, or Jewish—were inherently

sexually deviant and predatory, positioning them as figures of both horror and illicit fascination.

In the first half of the 20th century, Nazi antisemitic propaganda–particularly in publications like Der Stürmer–often blurred the line between hate speech and pornography, portraying Jewish men as sexually predatory⁴² and threatening towards Aryan womanhood. These depictions featured exaggerated, grotesque caricatures of Jewish men violating or seducing blonde German women, combining graphic nudity with racist fearmongering. In the case of the moral panic surrounding the 'grooming gangs', the Muslim immigrant (Asian and, more specifically, Pakistani immigrants) took center stage. The framing remains remarkably consistent as the Muslim immigrant replaces the Jewish man as the hypermasculine and sexually deviant other.

As with many contemporary forms of Islamophobia, these tropes have also taken root in India, where they have further fueled communal violence. The paranoia surrounding Love Jihad⁴³ echoes similar long-standing fears of racial and religious outsiders using sexual conquest as a means of infiltration and domination. Just as 19th-century Orientalist fantasies painted non-white men as hypersexual threats to white women, the Love Jihad myth constructs Muslim men as deceptive predators luring Hindu women into submission. The case of Hadiya⁴⁴, a homeopathic medical student from the Indian state of Kerala, where a consensual relationship between two adults was framed through the lens of national security illustrates how the globalization of Islamophobia has enabled the repackaging of longstanding prejudices. This narrative serves not only as a tool of moral panic but also as a political weapon—one that justifies surveillance, violence, and legal restrictions on interfaith relationships.

In India, Hindu nationalist organizations have mobilized this conspiracy theory to police women's choices and reinforce religious boundaries, while simultaneously aligning the fear of Muslim men with broader anxieties over demographic shifts (via Muslim fecundity and proselytization) and an alleged Indian cultural purity. Within this environment of intense scrutiny of Muslim men, global fear of the growth of Islam promoted in part by social media, Hindu nationalism has adeptly utilized digital platforms to propagate Islamophobic narratives, significantly impacting multicultural dynamics in contexts like the United Kingdom⁴⁵.

These linkages have been mobilised during periods of communal tension between South Asian diaspora communities such as the September 2022 Leicester violence⁴⁶ which exemplifies how digital platforms, notably X, YouTube, Telegram, and

Instagram, were deployed strategically⁴⁷ to construct and disseminate narratives portraying Muslims as existential threats in the UK. The riots were sparked between British Hindus and British Muslims of South Asian origin in the aftermath of the India-Pakistan Cricket World Cup match. The slogan "Jai Shree Ram," historically associated with Islamophobic violence⁴⁸ in India, functioned as a provocative catalyst in these events. Hindu nationalist-aligned digital actors framed this chant as an authentic expression of Hindu identity. Far-right actors like Tommy Robinson have stepped into⁴⁹ the conflagration to further develop the budding links between Hindu nationalism and the far-right in the West.

The online Hindu nationalist ecosystem poses a significant threat to social cohesion in the UK, often inciting violence and undermining democratic multiculturalism. While Hindu nationalists are not the primary drivers of the ongoing 'grooming gangs' discourse in the UK, they have increasingly aligned with and amplified such narratives, reinforcing their role as a key pillar of global far-right hate and Islamophobia.

3. Key Findings

- CSOH documented and analyzed a total of 1,365 posts on X (formerly Twitter) pertaining to the 'grooming gangs' discourse and the broader racialized panic in the UK. The total engagements for these posts were calculated by summing views, likes, reposts, replies, and bookmarks.
- Of the 1,365 posts on X, 157 were published between January 1 and December 31, 2024, while the remaining 1,208 were posted during the peak discussion period from January 1 to January 30, 2025.
- The dataset received 1.51 billion views, 11.50 million likes, 3.17 million reposts, 625.18K replies, and 347.04K bookmarks, with a total engagement of 1.53 billion.
- 51 X posts by Elon Musk around the 'grooming gang' discourse received a total engagement of 1.2 billion.
- Islamophobic and racist posts promoting hatred against Muslims, British Pakistani men, other South Asians, and immigrants dominated the discourse, accounting for 650 out of 1,208 posts (53.81%) on X in January 2025. The discourse repeatedly links 'grooming gang' crimes to entire ethnic and religious groups.
- A total of 578 posts (47.85%) alleged that authorities deliberately concealed crimes to prevent public backlash and protect the Labour Party's voter base.
- Of the 578 posts alleging an institutional cover-up, 45.5% placed blame on the Labour Party, 13.5% on the judiciary, and 9.6% on the media.
- A smaller portion—123 posts (10.18%)—argued that diversity and progressive policies promoting multiculturalism contribute to crime and societal decline.
- Posts by India-based Hindu nationalist accounts comprised 9.6% of the dataset, with 116 posts. The majority of their content promoted hatred towards British Muslims.

Note: Given the complexity of disaggregating intersectional data, a single post counted under one theme may also be counted under another if it contains content relevant to multiple themes.

4. Methodology

his report employs a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods to track online discourse surrounding 'grooming gangs' on X. The data for this study was collected in the periods between January 1-December 31, 2024, and January 1-January 30, 2025, when the conversation around this subject peaked following Elon Musk's engagement with the topic.

The posts were gathered using X's Advanced Search feature, applying specific keywords and Boolean combinations to ensure comprehensive coverage. Search terms included variations of 'grooming gang', "Muslim grooming gang", "UK grooming gang" and references to specific locations associated with past cases (e.g., Telford, Rochdale, Rotherham, Oxford). Prominent figures linked to the 'grooming gangs' discourse–like X owner Elon Musk, English Defence League (EDL) co-founder Tommy Robinson, and associated X accounts, amplified by Musk and Robinson–were also included in the sample.

Through this process, we collected 157 posts from January 1, 2024 to December 31, 2024, including only those with at least 500 views each. This provided a comparative baseline to assess shifts in engagement and thematic focus before and after Musk's interaction with influential posts on the topic on January 1, 2025. Subsequently, between January 1 and January 30, 2025, a total of 1,208 posts were identified. To refine the dataset, a snowball sampling method was employed, tracking accounts that frequently engaged with or amplified these narratives.

Given the differential levels of engagement with the identified datasets, different selection criteria were applied to the two time frames in our study. For the 2024 dataset, we imposed a minimum threshold of 500 views per post due to lower engagement levels on this topic during that period, resulting in 157 posts that met our criteria. For the January 2025 dataset, we employed a more inclusive approach to capture the full spectrum of the discourse that emerged following Musk's intervention. While this methodological difference prevents direct comparisons of post volumes between periods, the scale of engagement differential observed renders this limitation largely inconsequential to our core findings. The January 2025 dataset shows engagement metrics that are orders of magnitude higher than the 2024 baseline: 1.53 billion total engagements across 1,208 posts in January 2025 compared to the much smaller engagement footprint in 2024. This extraordinary contrast in engagement volumes indicates a genuine shift in discourse rather than an artifact of our sampling approach.

This allowed for the mapping of engagement and content dissemination patterns, identifying key actors that contributed to the spread of the 'grooming gangs' narrative. The total dataset contains 1,365 posts. Engagement here refers to cumulative interaction with posts, which is a sum of views, likes, reposts, replies, and bookmarks.

We further categorized the 1,208 posts from the January 2025 dataset into four major themes: Islamophobia and racism, institutional cover-up, multiculturalism and political correctness, and mixed and peripheral discussions. As one post could be categorized under multiple themes, instances of thematic overlap were observed. The percentage distribution for each theme was calculated using the total of 1,208 posts as the baseline.

5. Data Analysis

n January 1, 2025 at 3 PM Eastern Standard Time (8 PM GMT), Musk quote-tweeted a post from the X account @InevitableWest, which claims to operate from the UK. The account had posted about Tommy Robinson's arrest, demanding an apology on his behalf for allegedly labeling him a "far-right racist" while Robinson was exposing what the account described as the "mass betrayal of English girls".

The post had only moderate traction until Musk's quote-tweet, which significantly boosted its visibility. It eventually reached 41.4M views, 47K likes, and 9.3K reposts. Musk's own quote-tweet—suggesting an institutional cover-up of these claims—amassed 49.24M views, 284K likes, and 60K reposts. Later that day, between 6 PM and 7 PM EST (11 PM – 12 AM GMT), Musk quote-tweeted three additional posts about alleged 'grooming gangs'. One of these posts, from @visegrad24, explicitly used the term "Muslim grooming gang", while another, by @MarioNawfal, cited a BBC article and blamed "Pakistani men." Musk's engagement with these posts triggered a wave of discourse on 'grooming gangs', amplifying Islamophobic and racist sentiments.

Over the next 30 days, Musk continued posting about the issue, accumulating 1.19B views, 6.87M likes, 1.41M reposts, 383.94K replies and 168.9K bookmarks. In the dataset analyzed, his 51 posts alone generated a total engagement of 1.20 billion. This surge in activity persisted until January 28, 2025. The CSOH dataset, which tracked 1,208 posts during this period, documented the surge, on January 8—just days after Musk's initial posts. By the end of the month, these 1,208 posts, including Musk's 51 posts, had amassed 1.51B views, 11.50M likes, 3.17M reposts, 625.18K replies, and 347.04K bookmarks, with a total engagement of 1.53B.

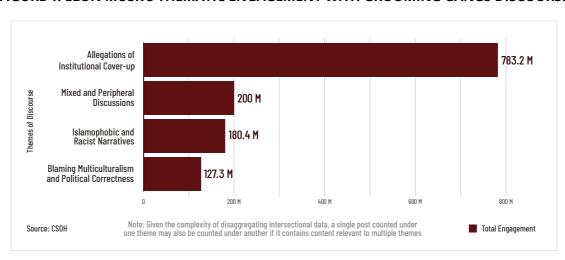


FIGURE 1: ELON MUSK'S THEMATIC ENGAGEMENT WITH GROOMING GANGS DISCOURSE

This represents a dramatic contrast to the preceding year (January to December 2024), when only 157 posts on the topic—each exceeding 500 views—were recorded. While the January 2025 period contained approximately 7.7 times more posts than the entire previous year (1,208 vs. 157), the engagement metrics show an even more striking disparity.

The January 2025 posts generated a total engagement of 1.53 billion, which is nearly 93 times greater than the 16.49 million total engagement accumulated throughout all of 2024.

This disproportionate increase in engagement relative to post volume demonstrates the significant amplification effect that occurred following Musk's intervention in the discourse.

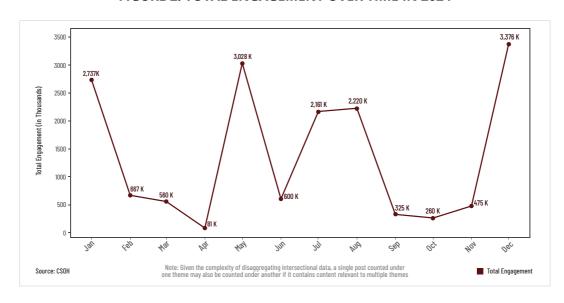
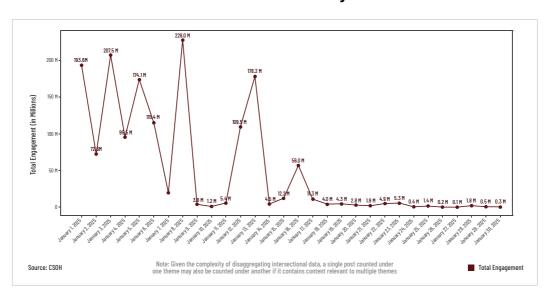


FIGURE 2: TOTAL ENGAGEMENT OVER TIME IN 2024





The 'grooming gangs' discourse can be categorized into distinct themes: 1) Islamophobia and racism, 2) institutional cover-up, and 3) multiculturalism and political correctness. The most prominent, comprising 53.81% of the dataset (650 posts), centered on hatred against Muslims, men of British Pakistani heritage, other South Asians and immigrants, amassed 362.7M views, 3.9M likes, 1M reposts, 201.8K replies and 163.9K bookmarks with a total engagement of 368M. The narrative of an institutional cover-up was also dominant, accounting for 47.85% of posts (578 posts) with 1.2B views, 8.8M likes, 2.5M reposts, 381.1K replies and 483K bookmarks. Around 123 posts (10.18%) blamed multiculturalism and political correctness, garnering 119.9M views, 768.1K likes, 144.6K reposts, 28.8K replies, and 8.6K bookmarks with a total engagement of 120.9M. An additional 214 posts (17.71%), which covered a range of themes that were categorized as mixed and peripheral discussions covered 'grooming gangs' but didn't fit within a specific theme. The posts in this category received 299.4M views, 1.5M likes, 380K reposts, 185.2K replies and 62.3K bookmarks, with a total engagement of 301.6M.

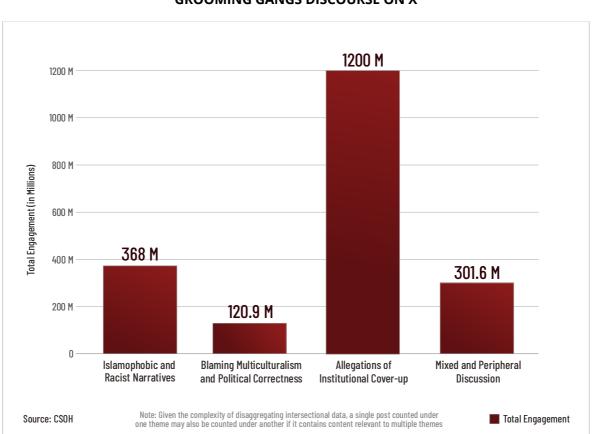


FIGURE 4: THEMATIC DISTRIBUTION AND ENGAGEMENT OF GROOMING GANGS DISCOURSE ON X

6. Discourse Analysis

hematic analysis was employed to examine the dataset's content and underlying trends to identify dominant discussions around 'grooming gangs' on X.

A qualitative discourse analysis was conducted to assess how narratives were framed online, and the role of influential X accounts in shaping engagement around this subject. The dataset was examined for recurring themes, which emerged based on observed patterns in how blame was assigned, which groups were targeted, and the ideological positioning of claims. These themes included:

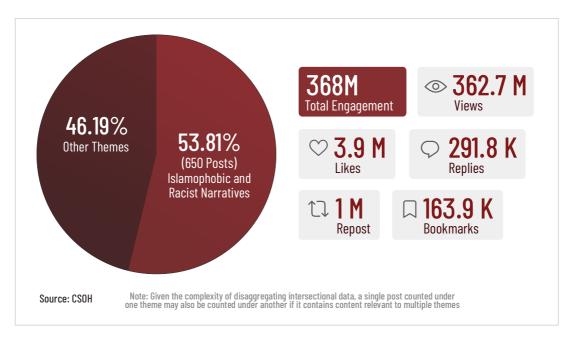
- Islamophobic and racist narratives against Muslims, men of British Pakistani heritage, other South Asians and immigrants: Framing these communities as collectively responsible for 'grooming gangs'.
- Allegations of Institutional Cover-up: Allegations that various authorities and the media deliberately concealed or downplayed crimes.
- Blaming Multiculturalism and Political Correctness: Positioning the emergence and activities of 'grooming gangs' as a consequence of liberal policies.
- Mixed and Peripheral Discussions: This category includes posts that did not neatly fit into the primary themes outlined above. It encompasses a wide range of content, including critical news commentary and specific or localized discussions that lacked the coherence or volume to form standalone thematic categories. This section contains a diverse mix of both hateful and non-hateful content, reflecting the fragmented and sometimes contradictory ways the 'grooming gangs' discourse is engaged with online.

The discourse on 'grooming gangs' is deeply entwined with larger societal anxieties about race, immigration, and cultural identity. These debates do not exist in a vacuum; rather, they reflect broader political and ideological struggles, where the framing of crime is often weaponized to serve specific narratives.

In many cases, the focus on these crimes has less to do with justice for victims and more to do with reinforcing racialized fears and maintaining cultural hierarchies. The following examines the major themes within the 'grooming gangs' discourse and the implications of their propagation.

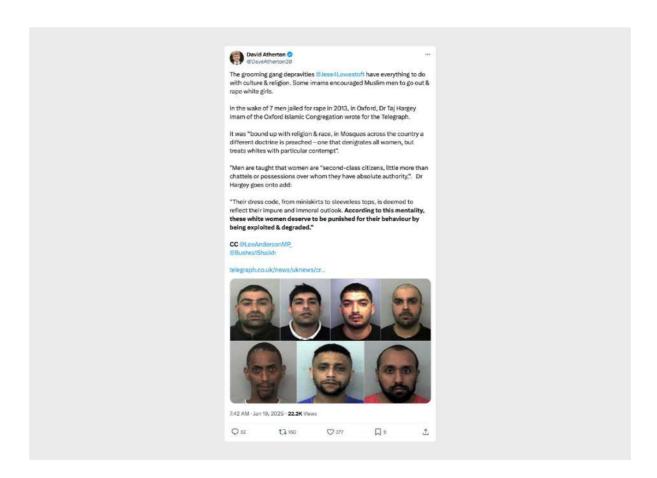
6.1 Islamophobic and racist narratives against Muslims, men of British Pakistani heritage, other South Asians and immigrants



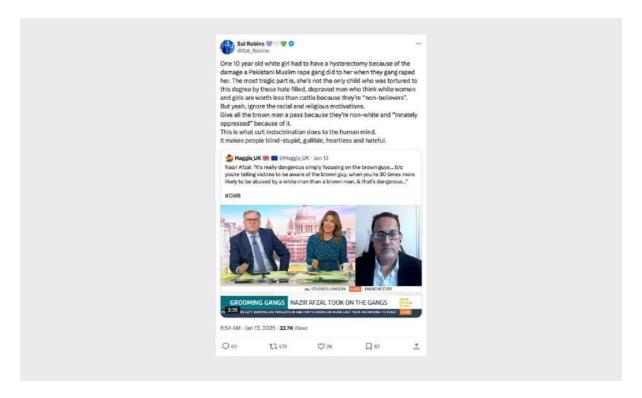


Given that the term 'grooming gangs' is legally ambiguous, and practically indistinct from other forms of sexual assault against adults and children, one would be hard pressed to define them without resorting to hateful, often Islamophobic and racist, tropes about some immigrants. The far-right has seized on this ambiguity to advance their hateful and divisive rhetoric. In ongoing online discussions, many far-right accounts on X have openly promoted narratives that blame Muslims, British Pakistani men, and other South Asians for the sexual abuse of women, reinforcing dangerous and discriminatory tropes.

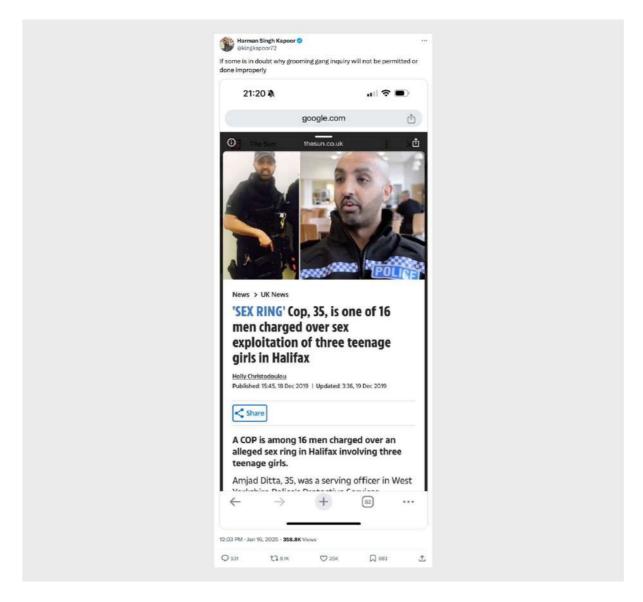
A majority of the posts targeting Muslims and the British-Pakistani community implied that the alleged incidents of sexual assaults involving these groups were driven by a culturally ingrained form of misogyny and anti-white hate. Here, the X user @DaveAtherton20, a 'journalist' at The European Conservative argues along the same lines asserting that "some imams encouraged Muslim men to go out & rape white girls."



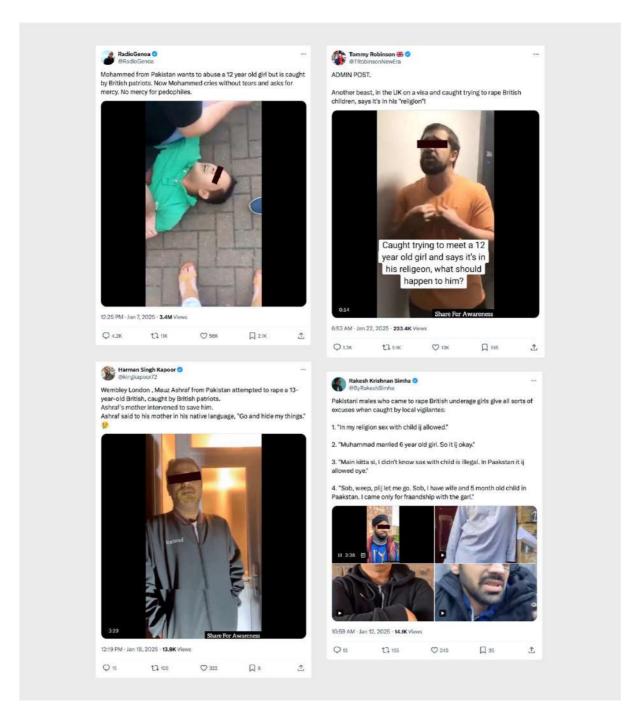
Similarly, in another post, X user @Sal_Robins argued that these crimes were perpetrated by Pakistani Muslim men because they think white women were 'unbelievers'. She then goes on to argue that anyone opposing this explanation was giving a 'free pass' to brown men.



Harman Singh Kapoor whose account states that he is a member of Reform UK, a right-wing political party, shared a report from 2019 in which a police officer Amjad Ditta was charged as one of the 16 men who abused three teenage girls. He insinuated that because of the officer's ethnic and religious background, a proper investigation wouldn't be conducted.



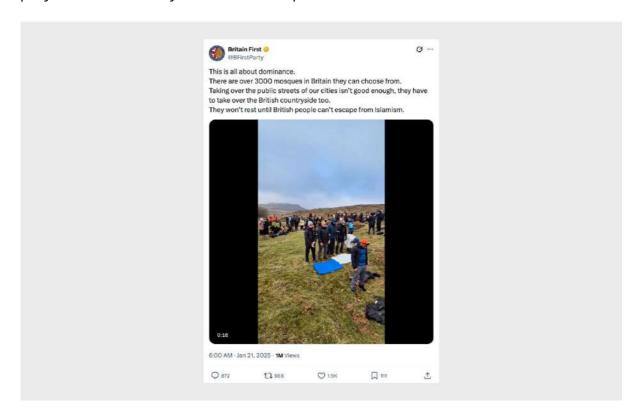
Some posts contained videos of alleged 'Pakistani males' being apprehended by 'paedophile hunter' vigilante groups also known as Online Child Abuse Activist Groups (OCAGs). These videos often show OCAGs or other self-proclaimed 'paedophile hunters' interrogating or apprehending persons they suspect of approaching minors. The Service Industry Association has condemned⁵⁰ such vigilante actions, but these videos remain widespread on X.



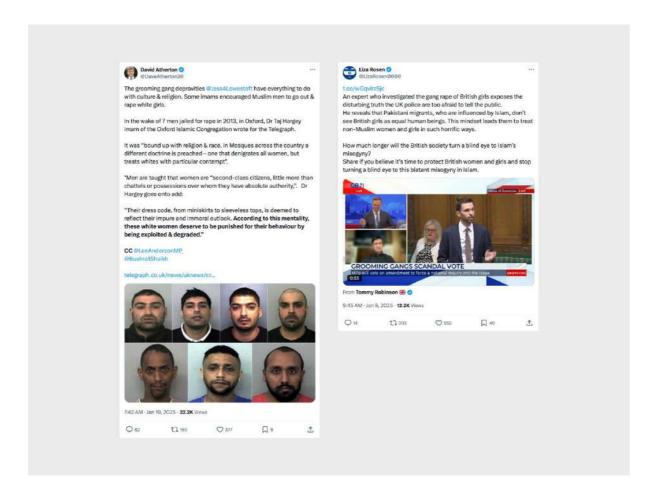
Many of these videos have been in circulation for a fairly long time, and the use of repetition is a strategic calculation to create the impression of multiple crimes happening simultaneously. These videos emphasize immediate confrontations while providing little context or investigative depth. Experts argue⁵¹ that this approach incentivizes vigilantes to ignore factual accuracy in favor of creating dramatic spectacles. Essentially, such vigilante groups may be fabricating crimes in order to punish individuals they have already deemed guilty—often without any evidence.

Common tropes include portraying the presence of Muslims as an invasion and interpreting Muslim cultural symbols, such as mosques, women wearing hijabs, or

even people of color, as signs of religious conquest. This narrative constructs Islam as a civilizational threat and Muslims as fundamentally incompatible with European values. Across Europe, these framings often serve to justify securitization policies, exclusionary nationalism, and cultural separation. As the CIK report⁵² highlights, this rhetoric is not confined to the UK; it forms a core transnational template of Islamophobia across the EU, reinforced through political discourse, media representation, and state inaction. In particular, the narrative of "Islamisation" fuels policies and sentiments that position Muslim visibility as a danger to national identity and public safety, legitimizing surveillance, policing, and marginalization of Muslim communities. This post by @BFirstParty used the examples of Muslims offering prayers in the countryside as an example of an Islamic takeover of Britain.



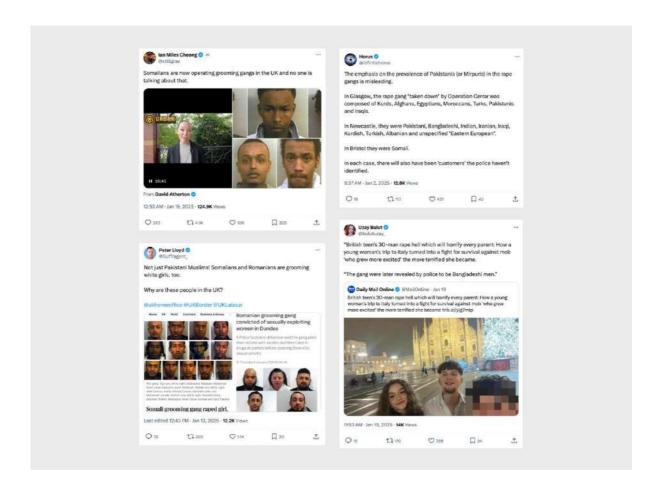
The posts argued that not only were the assailants identified in reports responsible, but that the community as a whole aimed to shield the perpetrators because of their ingrained hatred of British women.



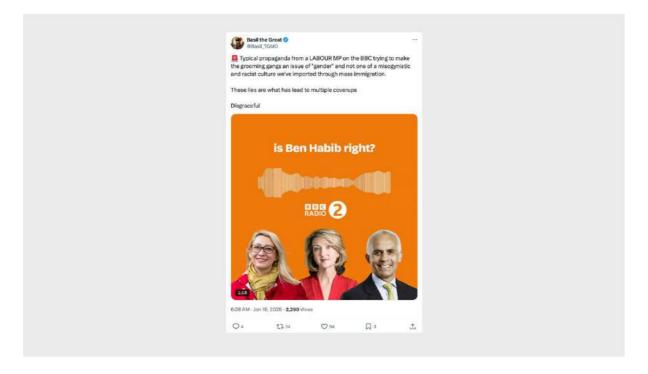
The All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on British Muslims definition of Islamophobia⁵³ plays a critical role since it acknowledges that Islamophobia extends beyond religious intolerance, encompassing racialised perceptions and stereotypes associated with Muslim identity.

While individuals of Pakistani origin are often the primary targets, the frequent victimisation of Somalians, Romanians, Afghans, Indians, and Bangladeshis—irrespective of their actual religious affiliations—illustrates how Islamophobia operates through racialised proxies.

This pattern underscores the relevance of the APPG's definition, highlighting that Islamophobia is not confined to anti-religious sentiment but includes the racialisation of perceived Muslimness, affecting diverse ethnic and national groups. Such an understanding is crucial in addressing the multifaceted nature of discrimination faced by Muslim communities. Here we find a few examples of such posts from @Suffragent_, @infinitehorus, and @stillgray, which seek to bolster the argument that immigration is linked to crime.

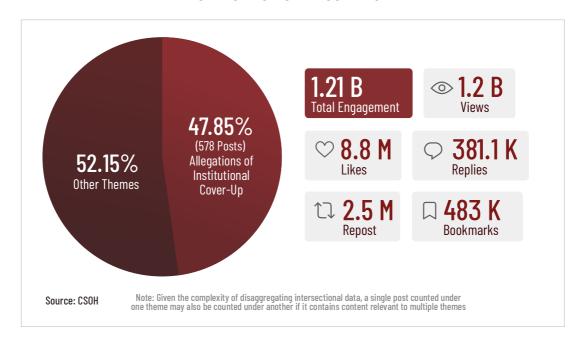


It is increasingly evident that, rather than seeking justice for victims of sexual harassment and violence, the primary aim of key proponents in this discussion is to incite racial hatred. This post from @Basil_TGMD, an account that figures multiple times in our dataset with 15 posts, demonstrates this trend.



6.2 Allegations of Institutional Cover-Up

FIGURE 6: TOTAL ENGAGEMENT OF POSTS WITH ALLEGATIONS
OF INSTITUTIONAL COVER-UP



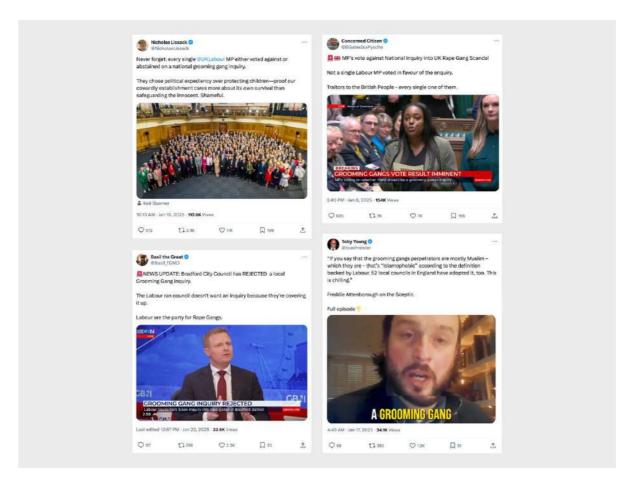
About 47.85% of the posts analysed for this report contained allegations of an institutional cover-up of the scale of rapes and sexual assault committed by the so-called 'grooming gangs'. Many of these allegations arise from the overestimation of the scale of crime and the racialised understanding of child sexual abuse. While there is some evidence that the police or social workers⁵⁴ turned a blind eye when informed of the crimes, the allegations of institutional cover-up go much deeper. These arguments suggest that multiple institutions colluded to conceal the crimes as they were eager to protect multiculturalism. It is worth noting again that all investigations into the crimes, while finding some evidence of negligence on the part of authorities, have never produced any evidence of the large-scale collusion being alleged here. Some institutions and individuals were specifically targeted for allegedly covering up the scope of the incidents.

6.2.1 The Labour Party and Prime Minister Keir Starmer

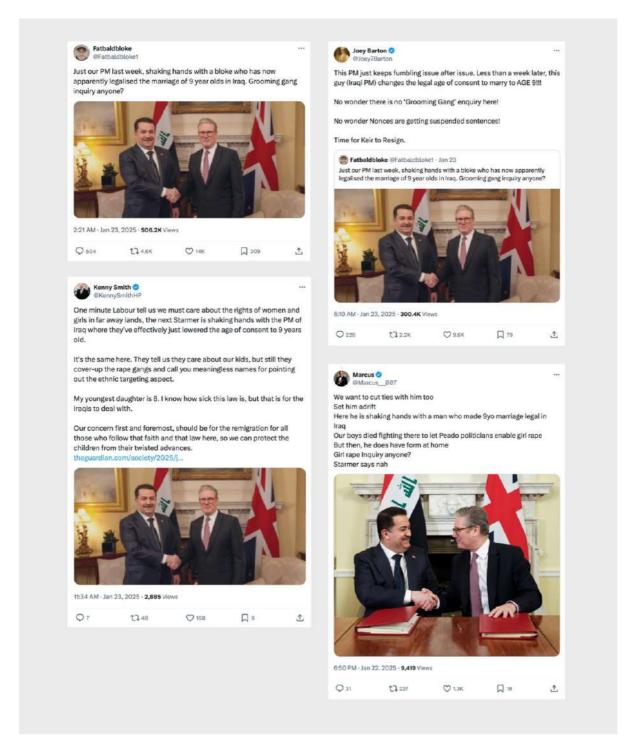
Despite continuous 14 years of rule by the Conservative party, during which many of the incidences of sexual assault were carried out, the current focus of the 'grooming gangs' controversy remains the Labour Party. The claims assert that the Labour Party has strategically covered up through their position in local councils and the parliament in order to preserve their support from within British Muslim communities, highlighting the potential importance of the Muslim vote on British

politics. These claims are often bundled into larger right-wing talking points, often with the assertion that the Labour Party suppressed reports on gangs out of electoral considerations. The arguments in our database related to this larger theme tend to revolve around a number of major talking points:

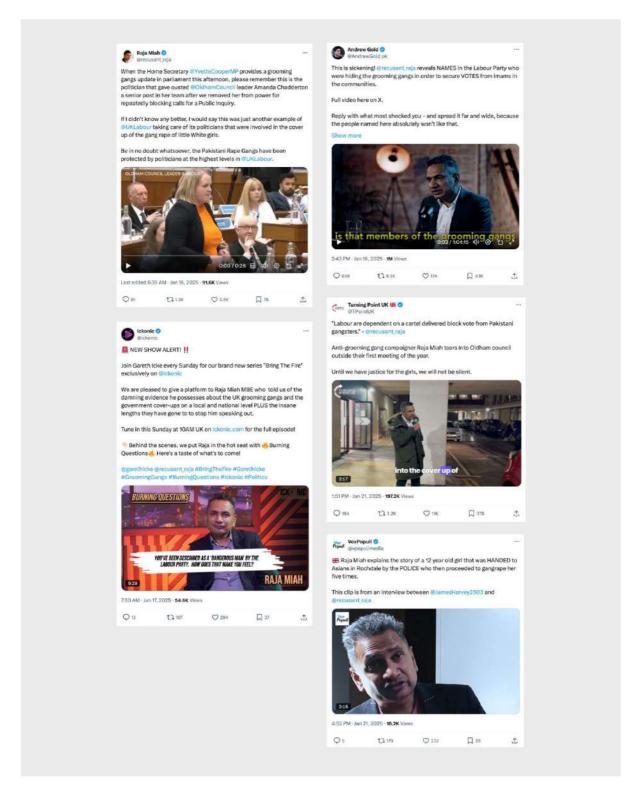
- 1. Role of PM Keir Starmer: Keir Starmer headed the Crown Prosecution Service between 2008 and 2013 when a large number of cases came to light in Rotherham. Since the CPS failed to prosecute these cases after deeming the victims and witnesses as unreliable, many of the users suggested that Starmer blocked any enquiries into the cases of sexual assault.
- 2. National Enquiry: After a parliamentary vote in January 2025, in which the UK Conservatives attempted to introduce an amendment to the Children's Wellbeing and Schools Bill⁵⁵ calling for a national enquiry, the proposal was defeated by 364 votes to 111 votes. In response, Conservatives and far-right users accused the Labour government of orchestrating a "cover-up." An array of cover-up allegations were made against the Labour Party including key politicians, local councils, and MPs. While not every post mentions race, the hyperfocus on the Labour Party is an outcome of the bundling of immigration, crime, and sexuality discussed in the earlier section.



Irrelevant or only tangentially related issues are frequently repurposed to reinforce the 'grooming gang' narrative. For instance, Prime Minister Keir Starmer's meeting⁵⁶ with Iraqi Prime Minister Mohammed Shia Al-Sudani was decontextualized and widely circulated. The subtext is that since Al-Sudani is a Muslim man, and Iraq had passed a law allowing minors to be married, Starmer was signalling that Muslim men in the UK should be free to do the same. This bears very little resemblance with reality given that neither the Labour government nor PM Starmer has ever hinted that it would be acceptable to do so in the UK.



Raja Miah (@Recusant_Raja), the blacklisted academies lead suspected⁵⁷ of financial irregularities and mismanagement linked to his involvement with two failed free schools in Manchester, emerged as one of the leading figures accusing the Labour Party of covering up rapes committed by men of British Pakistani heritage. He has rebranded himself as an 'advocate and expert in safeguarding communities' appearing on conservative and reactionary online talk shows.



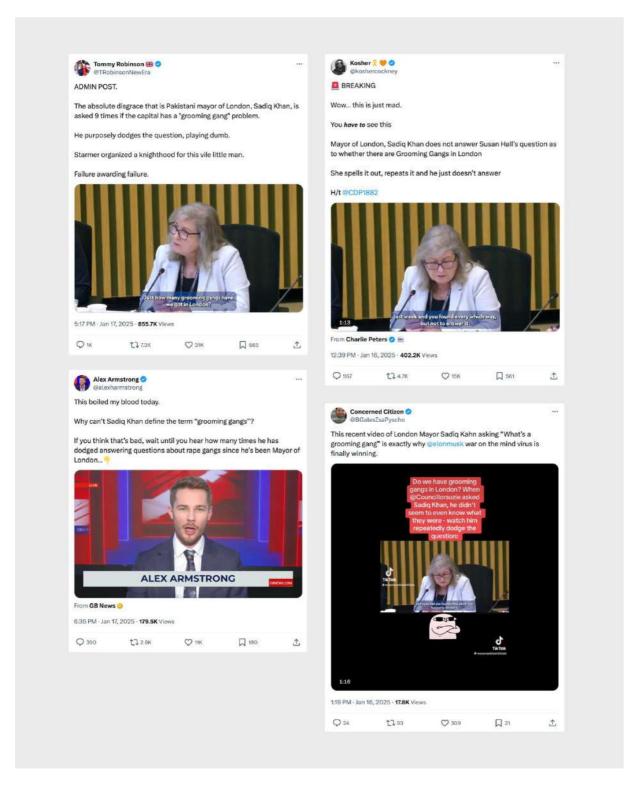
6.2.2 Targeting of London Mayor Sadiq Khan

London Mayor, Sadiq Khan, is often considered as the 'face' of multicultural Britain and has been a frequent target of racist abuse as the first Muslim and non-White mayor of London. Even before his election in 2016, his Conservative opponent, Zac Goldsmith, distributed leaflets⁵⁸ warning ethnic minority Londoners that voting for Khan could put their family jewelry at risk. Khan was repeatedly accused by the Conservatives of aligning with Islamic extremism⁵⁹ primarily because of his identity. Many of the attacks frame Sadiq Khan as covering for or seeking support from Islamic extremists, with his Pakistani Muslim heritage being the main driver of these attacks.

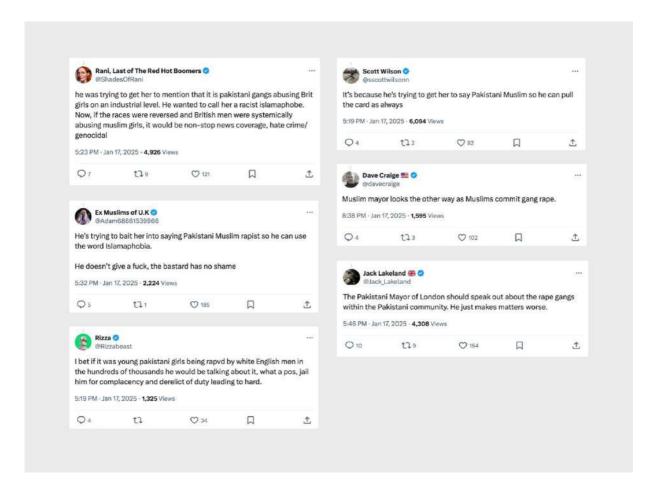
In 2023, Sadiq Khan faced a barrage of racist abuse for his plans to expand London's Ultra Low Emission Zone (ULEZ). An analysis by the Greater London authority⁶⁰ showed that the bulk of racist or racialised abuse was aimed at Khan's Pakistani Muslim heritage. References were made to sharia and jihad, while London was referred to as 'Londonistan', a term that is closely aligned with the Great Replacement Theory⁶¹. The Great Replacement Theory falsely claims that white populations are being systematically replaced by non-white immigrants through migration and demographic change, notwithstanding this narrative is not limited to white populations and even figures in Indian far-right Islamophobia centred on alleged racial purity. This conspiracy theory alleges that a global network of 'Jews', 'globalists', and elites are orchestrating this replacement for political control. Similar narratives appear in Hindu-nationalist Indian far-right Islamophobia, which promotes fears about Muslim population growth as a threat to Hindu cultural and racial purity.

In the current context, Khan was targeted after he pressed former London Tory leader Susan Hall to clarify what she meant by 'grooming gangs' during questioning. His refusal to unquestioningly accept a racial dog whistle infuriated the far-right, who took to X to express their outrage.

Tommy Robinson's X account called Sadiq Khan the 'Pakistani mayor of London' despite the fact that Khan is a British citizen by birth. He calls Khan's requests for Hall to clarify her questions 'playing dumb'. The post generated 854.1K views, 1K comments, 7.4K reposts, and 31K likes. This accusation of being evasive was repeated by a number of prominent users.



Some replies to these posts suggested that the mayor was trying to get Susan Hall to say 'Pakistani' or 'Muslim' as a sort of racial 'gotcha'. These posts argued in line with the reactionary understanding of multiculturalism as minorities getting 'a pass' on account of their race, while the white majority 'suffers'. Others suggested that the mayor's allegiance lay primarily or solely with the Muslim and Pakistani community and his attempt to 'deflect' the question was simply an attempt to protect the community.



Moreover, the accusations of evasion laid against Khan are incorrect. A video with a longer context, which is clipped away in most of the posts shows that Khan starts by answering⁶² in relation to available statistics on 'county lines'⁶³ meaning transportation of illegal drugs from one administrative county to another, often across police and local authority boundaries (although not exclusively), usually by children or vulnerable people who are coerced into doing so by gangs. These forms of coercion often include sexual violence and rape. This fact was again not represented in the posts in order to push the angle of evasiveness.

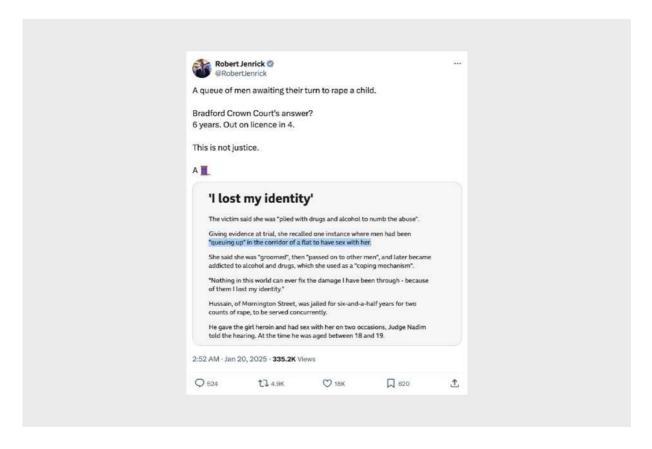
6.2.3 The Judiciary

A significant number of posts in our dataset contained allegations that members of the judiciary were engaged in a systemic cover-up of sexual assault and displayed deliberate leniency toward Pakistani or Muslim assailants. These allegations were primarily driven by three key tendencies:

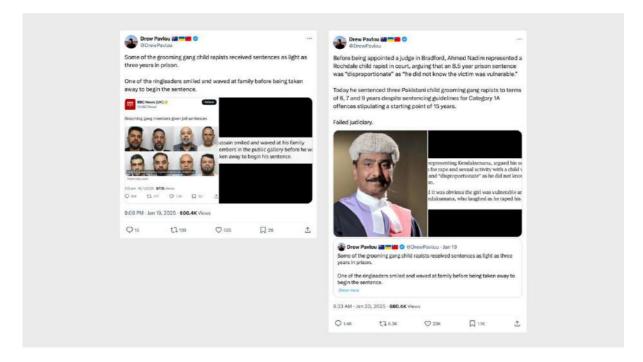
1. Decontextualization: In most legal systems around the world, sentencing takes into account the context of the crime and its impact. Yet we find a number of posts that took comments from the judiciary or the defence out of context in order to elicit outrage.

- **2. Obscured Facts:** Almost all posts neglected to mention key details regarding the cases leading up to the sentencing. This may include facts regarding when the crimes were committed, the circumstances of the crime, and other cases where the perpetrators may be serving longer sentences.
- **3. Race-Baiting:** The strategic (and selective) prominence is given to 'ethnicity' of perpetrators or the judge to insinuate that ethnic affiliation is linked to judicial bias. This would be then made to contrast with the sentencing of a white perpetrator in a different circumstance with a different set of charges in order to create an impression of ethnic bias.

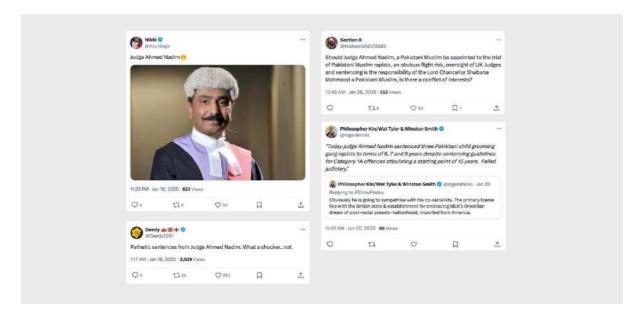
Judge Ahmed Nadim, a member of the British judiciary with South Asian heritage quickly became a target for hate after he sentenced the men convicted of rape in West Yorkshire. Conservative MP Robert Jenrick, who has faced significant criticism over a series of remarks perceived by many as racially insensitive or Islamophobic, selectively cited shorter sentences for a few accused while insinuating that all the accused were sentenced similarly. He argued that these sentences were 'unduly lenient', without acknowledging that many await further sentencing in more cases. Jenrick has faced widespread criticism for remarks widely condemned as racist and Islamophobic, including describing migrants as coming from "alien cultures," calling for arrests over the phrase "Allahu Akbar," glorifying colonial legacies, and labeling Birmingham a "segregated city."



Drew Pavlou, an Australian conservative activist prominent for his allegations of Chinese influence on Australian university campuses, argued that the judge's past as a criminal defence lawyer in the Rochdale trial meant that he had undue sympathy for the perpetrators. He also included an image of Ahmed Nadim in his posts.

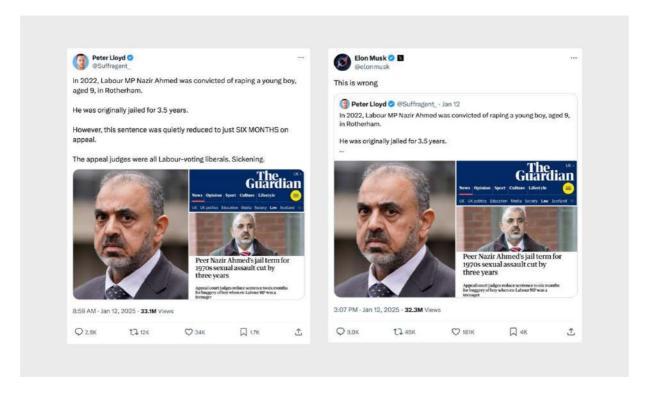


A number of other X users prominently displayed his image along with his name (demarcating his ethnic identity) in order to further drive the racist insinuation that the alleged leniency was because the judge was sympathetic to the rapists because of a shared ethnic identity. While this is one example, this tendency of arguing that Muslims and other persons of color protected their 'own' from legal repercussions was repeated throughout the dataset. Others directly cited his ethnicity, doing away with the dog whistle entirely.

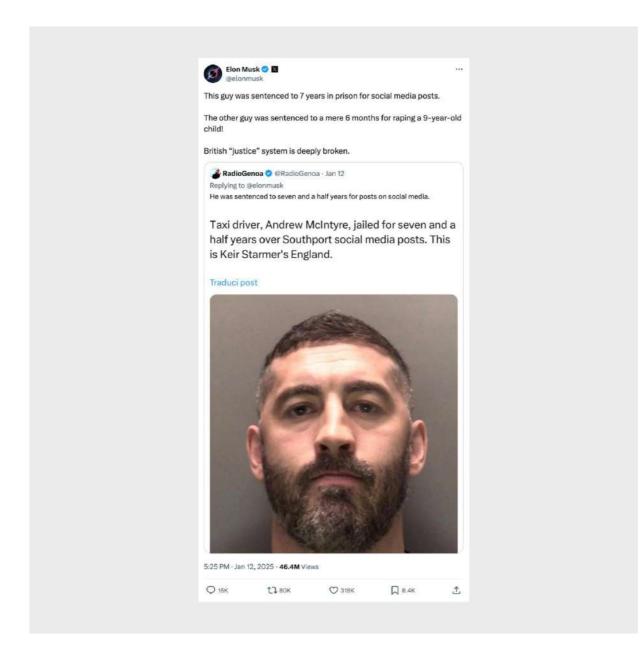


Judge Nadim was previously a target of race-baiting attacks in 2024 when he was falsely accused of showing leniency to a man who was found in possession of 27 indecent photographs and videos of children⁶⁴. A post that made this claim⁶⁵ garnered 539.3K views and 5K reposts. However, the sentencing adhered to established legal guidelines⁶⁶ for such cases.

In some cases, multiple X accounts distorted the evidence or obscured established facts in order to construct a narrative of judicial complicity. A post by Journalist Peter Lloyd (@Suffragent_) suggested that Nazir Ahmed, a peer of the UK House of Lords of Pakistani heritage, received a six-month sentence for the rape of a child. This post received 33.1M views. Musk reposted this claim with the caption "This is wrong".



Even Musk reposted a reply from Radio Genoa (@RadioGenoa), a prominent X account known for promoting racist, anti-immigrant, anti-refugee, and Islamophobic content. Musk has frequently amplified posts from this account. In this instance, Radio Genoa contrasted the case with the longer sentence given to Andrew McIntyre, who was accused of encouraging violence during the Southport Riots. This post insinuated that the judiciary was biased against white defendants while favoring defendants from racial minorities in the UK.



The current 'grooming gangs' discourse cycle ignored a number of crucial facts related to the case against Nazir Ahmed. First, Ahmed had quit the Labour Party in 2013⁶⁷ after he faced suspension and investigation for an interview with an Urdulanguage broadcaster. Second, the assaults he had been charged with were crimes committed as a teenager himself between the ages of 14 and 17 in the 1970s. This was the consideration that informed partial commutation of his sentences⁶⁸. Third, Ahmed's original sentencing of five and a half years consisted of a three-and-a-half-year term for the offence of buggery, and two terms of two years for each of the attempted rapes. The latter two would be served concurrently, but added to the former. The appeals court commuted the buggery charge to six months, but left the attempted rape charges untouched, which means that Ahmed still faced a two and half year sentence⁶⁹. Finally, the discourse also ignored Ahmed's Muslim victims who

were more recent⁷⁰, and organizations like Muslim Women's Network UK actively campaigning⁷¹ for legislative action to strip him of his titles.

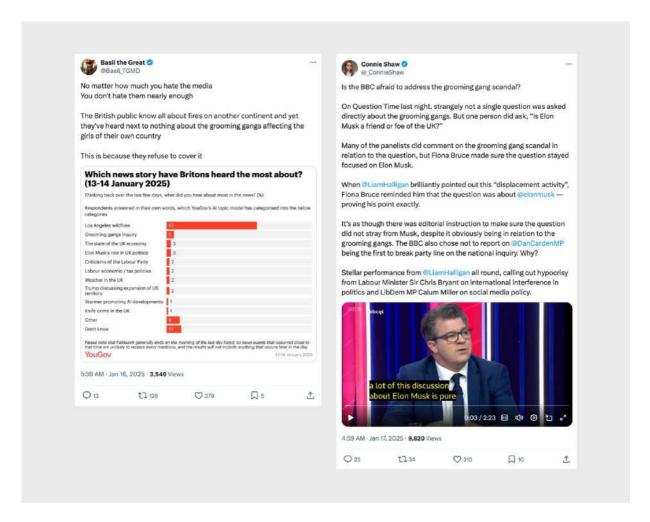
While it is important to not minimize the impact of Lord Ahmed's crimes and the struggle of the victims for justice, it is important to point out that the discourse that centered him as evidence of institutional collusion to cover up his crimes were based on ignoring critical facts including when the crimes were committed, the length of his punishment, and the fact that he had been expelled from the UK Labour party even before the allegations came to light.

6.2.4 The Media

The term 'media' is a nebulous construct, usually deployed to criticize aspects of a wide array of news coverage from print media to online podcasts. Contrary to assertions of the posts that are shared here, a report by the Centre for Media Monitoring⁷² points out that a significant portion of the UK media portrays Muslims with negative bias, misrepresentation, and generalization, especially in right-leaning and religious outlets. Nearly 60% of articles associated Muslims with negative behaviour, while 14% were rated as biased or very biased.

Regardless, the posts cited in this report primarily—and almost exclusively—target legacy media, which is generally expected to uphold journalistic standards. While there has been criticism of the legacy media's role in shaping the discourse on so-called 'grooming gangs', the critiques examined here fall into a different category. Rather than engaging in a legitimate critique of the UK media, these posts serve as an attempt to construct a narrative in which the far-right is portrayed as a suppressed majority.

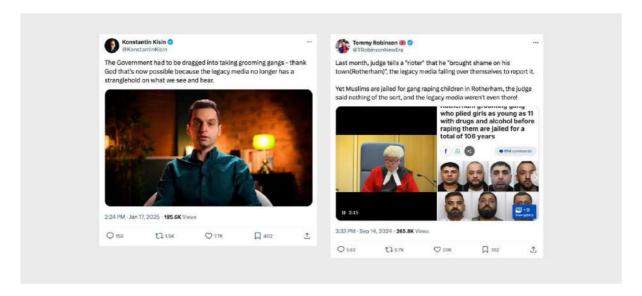
A number of posts targeted the British media, accusing it of aiding in a 'cover-up' of the issue. The primary grievance centers on the media's failure to respond with the urgency and exclusivity that the far-right demands. However, this claim lacks merit, as multiple media outlets, including the BBC, have extensively covered cases of child sexual assault and abuse.



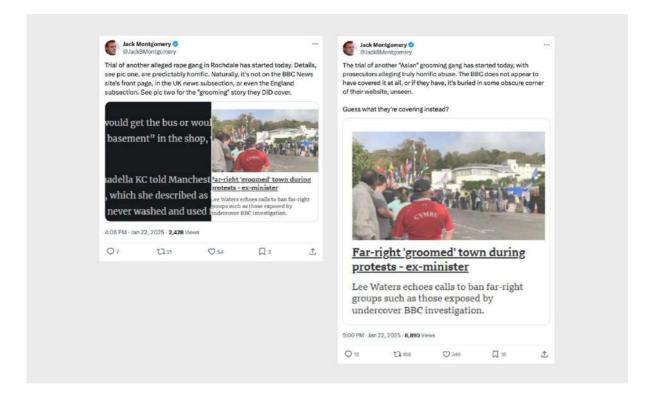
One widely circulated clip from a public panel further fueled these accusations, with claims that the BBC 'mocked' a woman for stating that the police ignored reports of sexual assault by Pakistani men. However, the caption misrepresented the exchange. Contrary to the claims in the caption, a panelist simply questioned the assumption that the police would refuse to register a complaint solely because the accused was of Pakistani heritage.



Konstantin Kisin, host of the podcast Triggernomentry, claimed that the issues had been covered up by the mainstream media through its 'stranglehold' on information. Tommy Robinson made a similar allegation against the 'legacy media' covering the sentencing of rioters in Rotherham. Robinson claimed that sexual assault in Rotherham had not been covered in the press, which is demonstrably untrue⁷³.

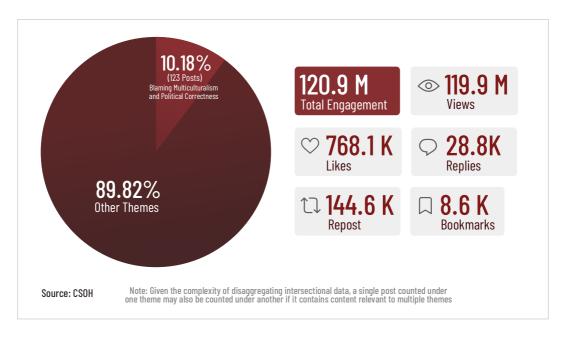


Jack Montgomery, former deputy head of communications for the Leave EU campaign, made a similar claim falsely alleging that the BBC had not covered the Rochdale 'grooming gang' trial.



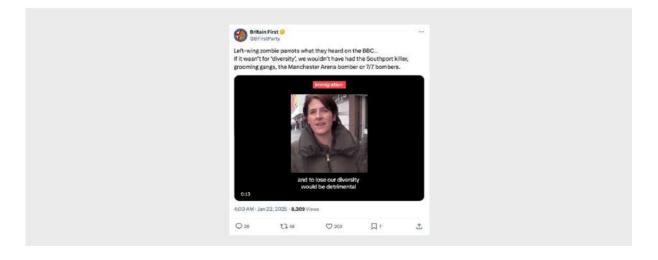
6.3 Blaming Multiculturalism and 'Political Correctness'

FIGURE 7: TOTAL ENGAGEMENT OF POSTS WITH BLAMING MULTICULTURALISM AND POLITICAL CORRECTNESS



The terms Multiculturalism, 'Political Correctness', have become dog whistles for the existence of persons of color right alongside other contemporary terms like Diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI), Critical Race Theory, wokeness, and others, arguing that any emphasis on basic principles of equality and human rights is dangerous. In the 'grooming gangs' discourse one of the key allegations was that 'political correctness' and the emphasis on a multicultural Britain were the reasons the sexual violence occurred. The following posts demonstrate how these allegations are made on X.

The account of Britain First (@BFirstParty), a far-right party established in 2011, expressed a clear hatred for 'diversity', blaming it for an array of crimes including the 'grooming gangs', 7/7 attacks, or the Manchester Arena bombing.



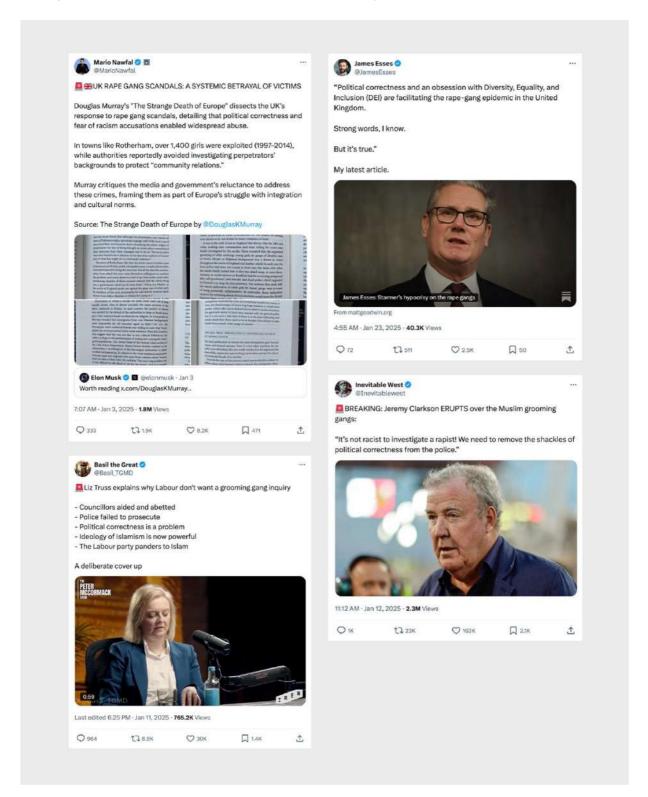
Another minor political party in the UK, the Social Democratic Party (@SDPhq) which positions itself as a party with a left-wing economic program and a right-wing social agenda made comments about abandoning the European Court of Human Rights framing it as a barrier for punitive action against sexual violence.



Andrea Jenkyns (@andreajenkyns), former Conservative MP-turned-Reform UK member, expressed her outrage at the Conservative Party for having gone 'woke'. As evidence she said that when her mother had 'liked' a "post on social media about sending illegal migrants back", she was suspended from the party and had to complete a few modules before being let back in. Among questions she apparently found ridiculous was one that asked for a definition of pansexuality.



This conflation of immigration, crime, and sexuality into a singular continuum forms a fundamental feature of this form of hate. The fundamental belief is that governments, media, and other institutions are paralyzed by a nebulous configuration of ideas and beliefs that constitute 'political correctness'.



The trend of pinning the blame on 'political correctness' is not limited to the political 'right'. Labour MP Wes Streeting also seemingly implied that political correctness was to blame for the supposed lack of attention received by authorities. Labour MP Sarah Champion too has pushed⁷⁴ a similar line of argument for a long time.



The claim that multiculturalism or so-called 'political correctness' is to blame for such crimes is unsubstantiated and lacks credible supporting evidence. As noted earlier, available data does not indicate that Muslims, Pakistanis, or any other ethnic group are disproportionately involved in sexual violence. In response, proponents of 'grooming gang' theories often argue that these crimes are deliberately covered up to protect the ideal of a multicultural UK and avoid public backlash—an assertion that itself relies on speculation rather than fact.

7. Key Actors and Influence Analysis

usk served as a central figure in amplifying and shaping the discourse around 'grooming gangs'. His 21 X posts under the theme of institutional cover-up included posts alleging cover up by the Labour Party which received a total engagement of 502.3M views, 3.4M likes, 683.9K reposts, 137.4K replies and 74K bookmarks. Musk's allegations of institutional complicity also extended to the judiciary. He also amplified posts that generalized blame of "Muslims in general," reinforcing a narrative that framed an entire religious community as collectively responsible. In one instance, Musk shared a GB News debate on January 8, which received 11.4M views, 140K likes, 40K reposts, 6.1K replies, 4.8K bookmarks, in which the term Pakistani Muslim Gang was highlighted. While Musk did not use the phrase directly, he commented that after reading court transcripts, he found the crimes committed against thousands of young girls in Britain to be "unimaginably horrific." He further claimed that when the victims' fathers attempted to intervene, authorities arrested them instead.

This narrative of judicial complicity quickly gained traction, with 75 posts generating 341.1M views, 1.9M likes, 787.6K reposts, 80.4K replies, and 40.5K bookmarks. Many of these posts cited controversial reports—often without proper sourcing—to suggest a systemic failure to prosecute offenders. A post by Robert Jenrick (@RobertJenrick) accused a Muslim Judge Ahmed Nadim of defending the accused, a claim that lacked credible references yet gained 4.8K reposts.

Accusations of a cover-up also targeted the Labour Party, with Prime Minister Keir Starmer and other MPs emerging as central figures. The dataset recorded 263 posts accusing the Labour Party, which collectively garnered 650.8M views, 4.26M likes, 1.1M reposts, 189.7K replies, and 95.2K bookmarks. Beyond Starmer, public figures like Sadiq Khan were frequently mentioned, with his Muslim identity and Pakistani heritage highlighted in discussions. Khan appeared in 34 posts, accumulating 6.3M views, 197.9K likes, 46.1K reposts, 13.1K replies and 6.1K bookmarks. A widely circulated video of Khan being questioned about 'grooming gangs' further amplified these narratives.

Mainstream media outlets were also criticized for allegedly downplaying the issue and appearing to side with the Labour Party, adding another layer to the controversy. Several posts described media organizations as biased or suppressive, questioning their role in shaping the narrative. We identified 56 posts which collectively reached 36.1M views, 406.9K likes, 104.8K reposts, 14.6K replies, and 12.9K bookmarks. On

January 5, Elon Musk quoted a post by Mario Nawfal (@MarioNawfal), referring to the media as a "state propaganda arm." This reinforced the perception of a coordinated effort by the media to conceal the extent of the issue, deepening public mistrust in both political institutions and the media.

Musk's influence extended beyond his own posts. By interacting with far-right accounts he exponentially amplified their reach. He also frequently engaged with the posts fuelling Islamophobic and anti-immigrant narratives. Many of the 650 posts explicitly targeting Muslims, men of British Pakistani heritage, other South Asians, and immigrant communities cited reports from the Quilliam Foundation—often misleadingly—to claim that British Muslim men were disproportionately involved in 'grooming gangs'. A post by @RusGarbageHuman falsely alleged that British Muslim men were 170 times more likely to engage in 'grooming gang' crimes than non-Muslims. Despite lacking credible sources, the post amassed 234.1K views. Similarly, @SpartaJustice quoted excerpts from old reports alongside Tommy Robinson's post, which garnered 1.7M views, 16K likes, and 9.2K reposts. Notably absent from the discussion were official UK government sources—including reports from the Home Office (2020), the National Police Chiefs' Council (2023), and the Telford Inquiry (2022)—all of which found no evidence that ethnic or religious groups disproportionately dominate 'grooming gang' statistics.

As discourse around 'grooming gangs' on X intensified, Hindu nationalist accounts—which had previously played a significant role in igniting the 2022 Leicester unrest — jumped on the bandwagon to further Islamophobic narratives. Of the 650 posts promoting hate against men of British Pakistani heritage, other South Asians, and immigrants, 107 explicitly Islamophobic posts were linked to X accounts associated with Hindu nationalists. These posts collectively received a total engagement of 7.96 Million Views, 251K likes, 84.3K reposts, 12.3K bookmarks and 5.7K replies.

One of the key figures promoting such views was Nupur J. Sharma, the Editor-in-Chief of OpIndia, an Indian far-right website⁷⁵. Her posts engaged with a wide network of far-right actors. Our dataset contains 13 posts by Sharma, which collectively amassed 1.2M views, 63.08K likes, 21.3K reposts, 1.56K replies, and 2.17K bookmarks. One post, which included an exchange with the popular far-right X account @Visegrad24 in response to a post by Sharma, which had received 69K views, 2.1K reposts, and 5.4K likes. Another, an interview with Tommy Robinson garnered 119.9K views.



Musk's engagement indirectly amplified Hindu nationalist narratives on X by increasing the visibility of accounts aligned with or interacting with known Hindu nationalist figures, such as Visegrád 24. In early 2024, Musk amplified a post by Canadian marketing Professor Gad Saad (@GadSaad), linking to an OpIndia article on 'grooming gangs', significantly boosting its reach. The article resurfaced again on January 3, 2025, when Nupur J. Sharma quoted a post containing a screenshot of Gad Saad's post, reigniting attention around the narrative. Gad Saad's original post amassed 925.4K views and 7.6K reposts. Following this exchange, Hindu nationalist accounts increased their activity throughout January (further discussed in the discourse analysis section), using the momentum to further circulate Islamophobic narratives by weaponizing 'grooming gangs' discourse.

These accounts, many of which had already been active during the 2022 Leicester unrest, framed the issue not only as a British failure of governance but as symptomatic of a broader global struggle against Islam. Their messaging often echoed and amplified content from British far-right figures, forging a transnational alliance of convenience between Hindu nationalists and Western far-right actors. This convergence was not merely rhetorical but strategic, as evidenced by shared amplification patterns, coordinated reposting, and mutual validation across platforms. Hindu nationalist figures have increasingly aligned with segments of the British far right, united by "a common hatred of Muslims"⁷⁶ and a shared interest in

perpetuating narratives that cast Muslim communities as inherently criminal or dangerous.

By the end of January, the evidence from our dataset was clear: \

Musk's posts had not only sparked a conversation on 'grooming gangs' but had fundamentally reshaped it—shifting the blame onto Muslims, British-Pakistanis, other South Asians and immigrants while amplifying false claims of an institutional cover-up.

His posts generated 1.2 billion in total engagement, comprising the vast majority of the dataset's overall engagement of 1.51 billion. This highlights his unmatched influence in shaping and amplifying the 'grooming gangs' narrative on X.

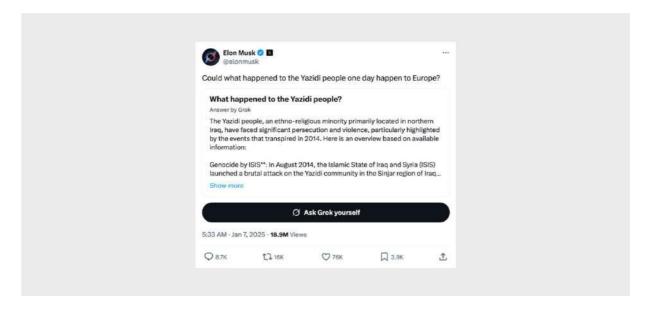
Elon Musk

As mentioned above, Musk played a central role in reigniting and amplifying the 'grooming gangs' controversy through his initial posts and reposts, which then snowballed into a wider discourse. Given Musk's influence on X, it is crucial to analyze his patterns of engagement with the issue. Studies suggest that X's algorithm may artificially amplify Musk's posts, contributing to their widespread reach. Research by Dr. Timothy Graham from Queensland University of Technology and Mark Andrejevic from Monash University highlights the possibility of algorithmic bias⁷⁷ in engagement metrics, with Musk's personal account benefiting disproportionately. Algorithmic boosting of specific accounts has been a long-standing issue⁷⁸ on X, making it is hardly unsurprising that Musk's involvement led to a surge in overall engagement with the issue.

We have already highlighted in previous sections how Musk's direct intervention on the issue disrupted all constructive discussion and helped amplify far-right narratives. As criticism mounted over his role in spreading these narratives, figures within the far-right stepped in to defend his involvement in the UK discourse. This dynamic positions Musk as a key player in future global far-right consolidation, a role he has already leveraged to support parties like Germany's Alternative für Deutschland (AfD). He has also sought to replicate the American MAGA movement in Europe under the slogan Make Europe Great Again (MEGA).



Multiple posts by Musk in January 2025 had the effect of inciting outrage against Muslims and immigrants. In one post, which garnered 18.8M views, 8.8K replies, 17K reposts, and 82K likes, he asked, "... what happened to the Yazidi people one day happen to Europe?"



In another quote tweet, Musk referred to Sheku Bayoh, a man who died after being restrained by police in Kirkcaldy, Scotland in 2015, as an "obviously violent lunatic." In the same post, he condemned the spending of £22 million that had gone into the

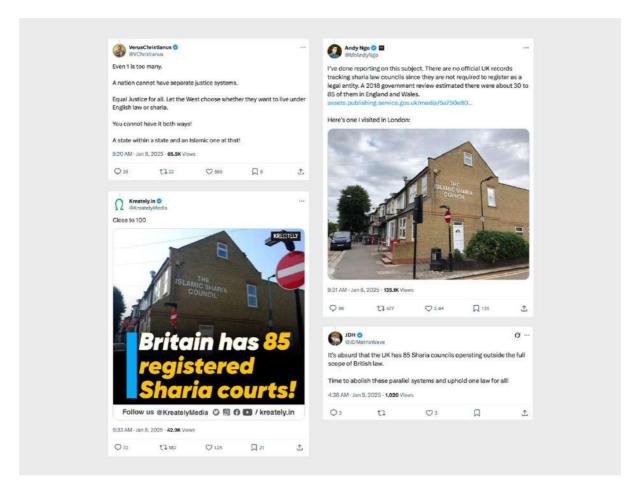
investigation. He failed to mention that the investigation and evidence has been made public through the website (www.shekubayohinquiry.scot) or that the Terms of Reference⁷⁹ specifically mentioned that the enquiry make recommendations that might prevent similar deaths. This essentially ensures the safety of all Scots. Notably, no Community Notes were attached to these posts to provide contextual information.



Musk also sought to provoke Islamophobic responses by questioning how many "Sharia courts" exist in the UK. In this post, he quoted a GB News report on Ayaan Hirsi Ali's call for the abolition of the UK's so-called Sharia Law courts and tagged the Community Notes account. However, Community Notes failed to provide crucial context, neglecting to clarify that the UK has no Sharia Law courts. Instead, Islamic Sharia councils function as voluntary arbitration bodies that assist Muslims in resolving personal and family disputes—such as marriage, divorce, and inheritance—in accordance with Islamic principles. These councils operate under the Arbitration Act 1996, which permits parties to choose arbitration for dispute resolution as long as it aligns with UK law and public policy.



Many responses to the post amplified unsubstantiated claims about the number and purpose of Sharia councils in the UK, with several prominent far-right accounts further spreading disinformation.

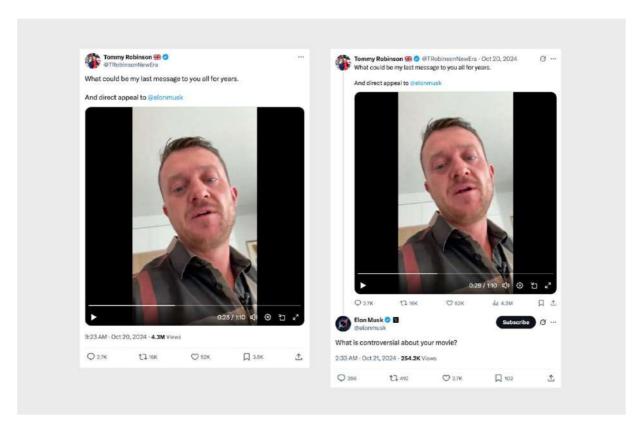


Stephen Christopher Yaxley-Lennon, the co-founder of the far-right English Defence League (EDL) and a member of the British National Party, better known as 'Tommy Robinson' (discussed in further detail below) featured prominently in Musk's posts. He reposted Robinson's full movie Silenced stating it was 'Worth Watching'.

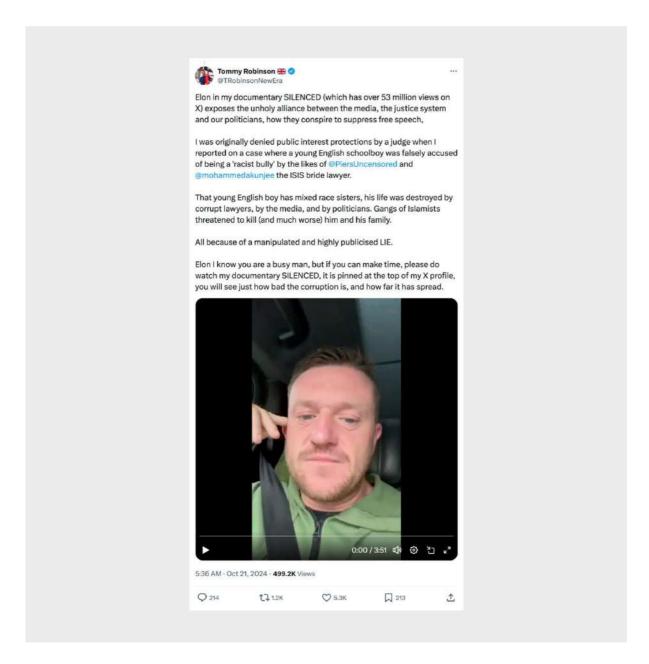


The movie is based on discredited claims against Jamal Hijazi, a Syrian refugee whose assault as a 15-year-old by another teenager at a school in Almondbury, Yorkshire, went viral in the UK in October 2018. Robinson falsely alleged⁸⁰ on social media that Hijazi had attacked "young English girls" and threatened to stab a boy at school. These false accusations led to death threats against Hijazi and his family. In 2021, the High Court of Justice in London ordered Robinson to pay £100,000 plus legal costs (approximately £500,000) for libel. Despite this ruling, he released the movie Silenced with the same false claims and asserted that the legal system was being "manipulated and exploited" to silence and destroy opponents of progressive and liberal narratives⁸¹. On July 27, 2024, Robinson screened the film⁸² at Trafalgar Square in direct violation of legal injunctions placed on its distribution.

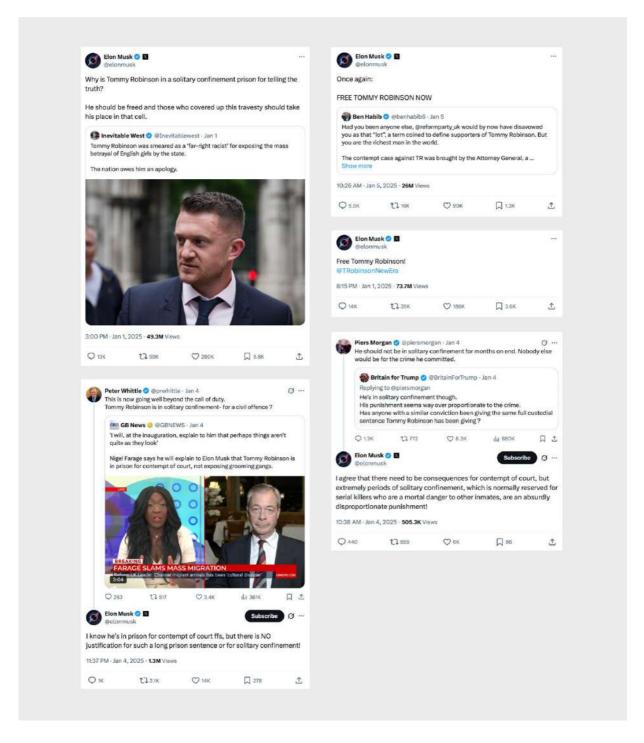
It is evident that Robinson was fully aware of the consequences of sharing a film that recklessly endangered a young man's life—having already put him at risk as a child. In October 2024, he posted a video asking Musk to 'amplify' the movie. Musk responded by asking, "What is controversial about your movie?"



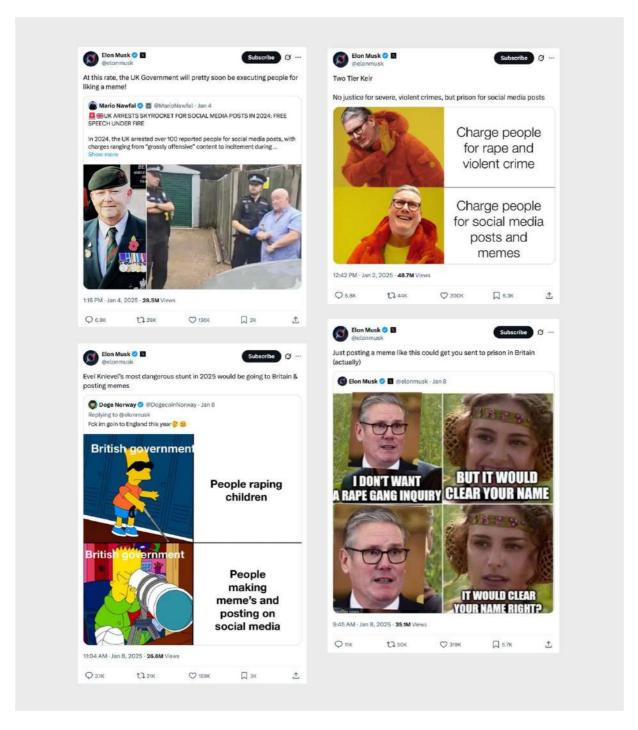
Robinson responded by falsely alleging that an "unholy alliance between the media, the justice system and our politicians" had targeted him for attempting to report on a boy (Hijazi's alleged attacker) who was "falsely accused of being a 'racist bully'", thus erasing his own culpability in harassing a teenager and fueling a campaign of disinformation.



Musk started portraying Robinson as a journalist and a victim of a political conspiracy, completely ignoring the fact that he had been imprisoned for violating a court injunction. Musk launched a "Free Tommy Robinson!" campaign on X. However, when faced with the fact that Robinson was imprisoned for contempt of court, he shifted his argument, claiming that a "long" prison sentence and solitary confinement were unjustified.



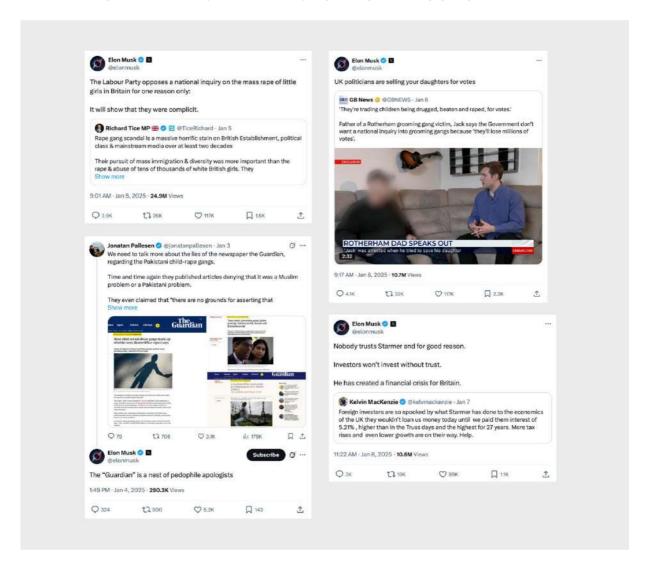
Musk also attempted to frame the issue as one concerning freedom of expression and a fight against a "repressive" regime in the UK. He framed those facing charges of inciting violence during the 2024 UK riots as victims of political retribution, misleadingly suggesting that those arrested for inciting and planning violence in online space were arrested for sharing memes. He also sought to revive the "Two Tier Keir" slogan⁸³, a conspiracy theory popularized during the 2024 UK riots to accuse the government of enforcing a double standard in law enforcement.



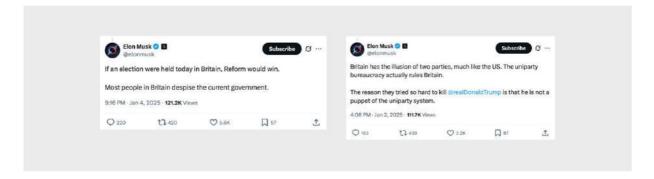
Most of Musk's posts and reposts on this topic accentuated and emphasized a majority of the themes we discussed in the section on institutional cover-up. This includes blaming the Labour Party, specifically the current UK Prime Minister Starmer, the UK media, and the British judiciary.

He accused the Labour Party of culpability simply for opposing the national inquiry amendment to the bill discussed earlier. He further claimed that UK politicians were "selling your daughters" for votes, asserted that "investors don't trust Starmer," and

labeled The Guardian a "nest of pedophile apologists" for reporting on statistical data that challenges the assumptions underlying the 'grooming gangs' narrative.



Musk did not shy away from openly stating his political preferences. He claimed that Reform UK, the political party led by Nigel Farage, would win the election, tagging the account in his posts. He has also claimed that a 'uniparty bureaucracy' rules Britain.



Elon Musk's engagement with the 'grooming gangs' was not merely passive commentary but an active intervention that steered the discourse in favor of far-right

narratives. His posts and direct interactions with other accounts on X systematically amplified disinformation, targeted individuals, and helped steer the discussion towards Islamophobic, anti-immigrant, and racist positions.

Through our analysis of Musk's posts we find that:

- **1.** By platforming debunked claims and engaging with far-right figures such as Tommy Robinson, Musk granted legitimacy to disinformation and conspiratorial narratives. His engagement was not incidental; it was a consistent pattern of endorsement, often under the guise of "free speech" advocacy.
- **2.** Musk's account benefits from documented algorithmic amplification, making his online interventions disproportionately influential. His engagement ensured that misleading claims, sometimes bordering on libel, reached a vast audience, while critical corrections were often absent or suppressed.
- **3.** By singling out individuals and institutions, Musk directed waves of hate-driven engagement against critics, journalists, and those challenging far-right disinformation. This created an environment where meaningful debate was drowned out by mob-driven intimidation tactics.

Beyond the immediate controversy, Musk's actions reflect a broader strategy: the leveraging of his platform to position himself as a central figure in far-right ideological consolidation. His interventions in European and UK politics mirror his efforts in the US with the MAGA movement, indicating an attempt to cultivate a reactionary political bloc across Western democracies.

Ultimately, Musk's use of X transcends mere political opinion—it is an exercise in power, using algorithmic advantage, and platform control to tilt political discourse in favor of reactionary, anti-immigrant, and Islamophobic narratives.

Visegrád 24

The Visegrád 24 (@visegrad24) X account was created in 2020 and describes itself as being "committed to ethical journalism, defending Western values, and combating disinformation worldwide." It is operated by Stefan Tompson and initially focused on news from Central and Eastern Europe. According to a 2022 report by OKO Press⁸⁴, the account was originally framed as an initiative by an anonymous "group of conservative friends" but gained traction through promotion by Polish diplomats. Its

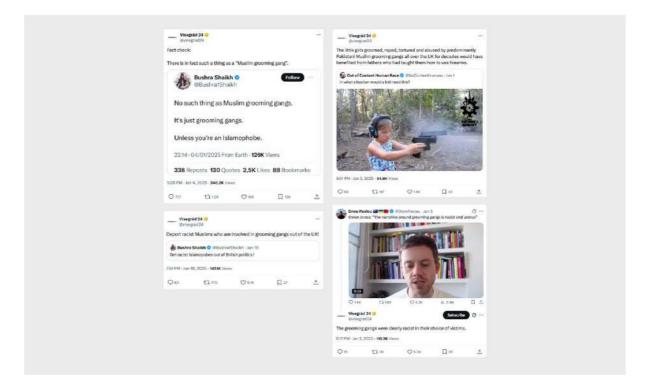
coverage of the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine significantly boosted its following among English-speaking audiences seeking updates on the region. Visegrád 24 has also maintained⁸⁵ consistent support for Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán and has aligned itself with the "Make Europe Great Again" brand.

Visegrád 24 has consistently aligned with right-wing talking points and has strongly expressed Islamophobic sentiments. In the discussion surrounding 'grooming gangs', CSOH identified 36 posts by Visegrád 24 with 67.9M views, 169.53K, 38.96K reposts, 6.74K replies, and 6.6K bookmarks. The account consistently amplified Islamophobic rhetoric, using the issue to reinforce far-right discourse.

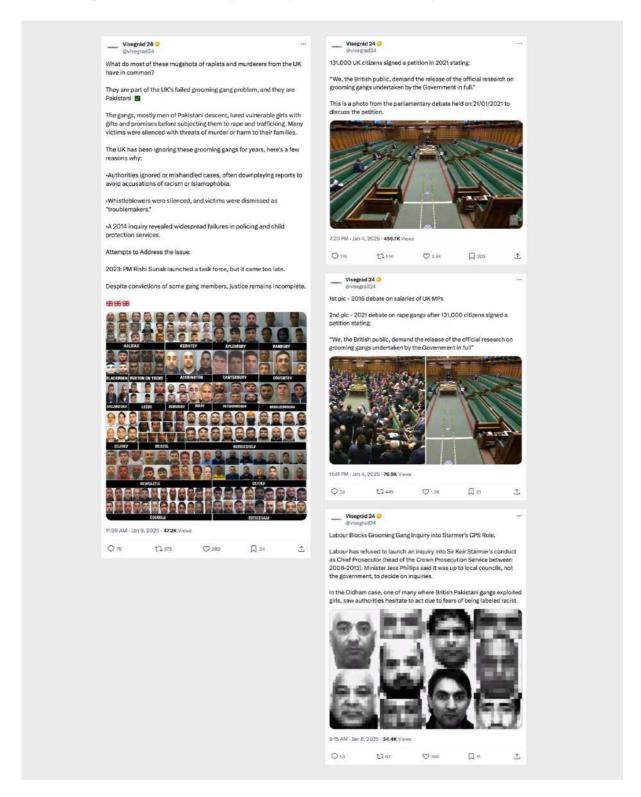
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FIGURE 8: TOTAL ENGAGEMENT OF VISEGRÁD 24'S POSTS

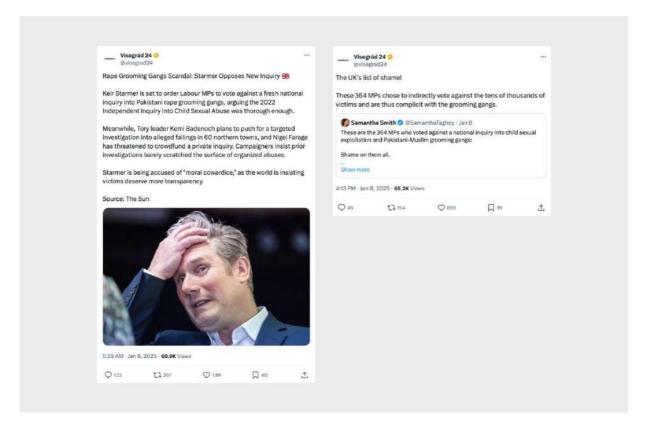
The account repeatedly used terms such as "Muslim grooming gang" and "Pakistani Muslim grooming gang", despite a lack of evidence supporting these claims. It further asserted that the offences were "racist," alleging that they were driven by an inherent hatred of non-Muslims by Muslims.



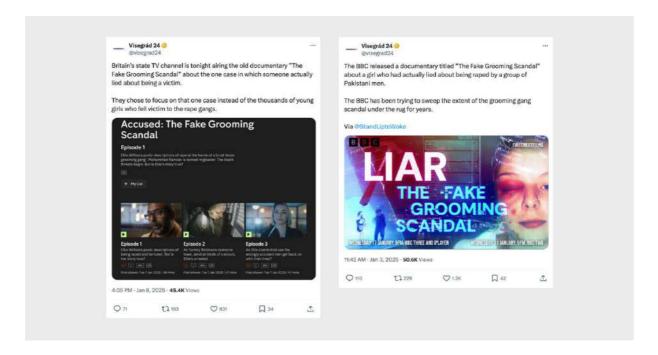
The account also promoted the theory that the government was deliberately avoiding investigations into 'grooming gangs'. It circulated collages of mugshots taken from unrelated cases and different criminal offences, manipulating visuals to fabricate the impression of a widespread crisis tied to racial and ethnic identities. Additionally, it repeatedly claimed that authorities failed to act out of fear of being labeled racist, reinforcing the narrative of a politically motivated cover-up.



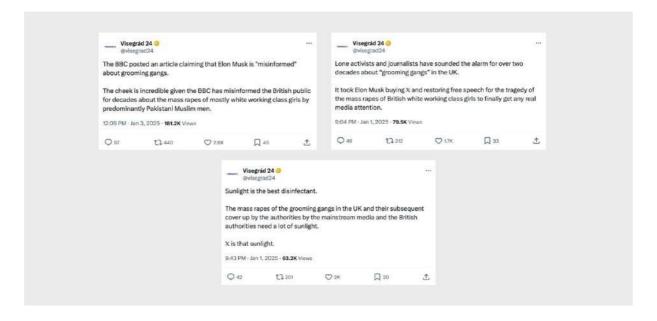
Multiple posts by the account repeated the allegation that voting against the amendment to the Children's Wellbeing and Schools Bill⁸⁶ discussed previously was tantamount to opposing all investigation into sexual assaults against children in the UK.



As previously discussed, calls to discuss 'grooming gangs' often serve as a pretext to shut down any critical examination of how the concept itself was constructed through media narratives. After Channel 4 aired Accused: The Fake Grooming Gang Scandal⁸⁷—a documentary about a fabricated allegation of sexual assault—Visegrád 24 framed the program as undermining the broader conversation on 'grooming gangs', reinforcing the idea that any challenge to the dominant narrative is an attempt to silence victims or downplay the issue. The documentary focuses on Eleanor Williams, who falsely claimed she was raped by a group of South Asian men, and highlights how, without critical scrutiny of the 'grooming gangs' narrative, such allegations can have deeply harmful consequences. Williams' false claims exacerbated racial tensions and severely impacted the lives of those she accused, as well as individuals she falsely identified as fellow victims. Conservative MP Simon Fell noted in Parliament that the virality of Williams' allegations actively hindered the police investigation⁸⁸, illustrating the broader dangers of unchecked disinformation.



Yet Visegrád 24 dismissed this critical context as mere media deflection from what it claims is the "real issue." This framing shapes its broader response to media criticism, including accusations that major news outlets have misinformed the British public on the topic. This approach also offers insight into Musk's growing influence within the far-right. Visegrád 24 credits Musk with restoring "free speech" on X, claiming that this enabled the 'grooming gangs' discourse to gain greater traction on the platform.



Radio Genoa

Radio Genoa (@RadioGenoa) is an X account allegedly based in Genoa, Italy, and is widely known for disseminating racist and hateful content. In addition to its activity on X, the account maintains a presence across multiple platforms, including TikTok, YouTube, Telegram, and Instagram.

According to a report by the Dutch investigative journalism outlet Pointer, the account has gained significant visibility⁸⁹ through promotion by Dutch far-right politician Geert Wilders. An investigation by the Swiss news organization, NZZ⁹⁰ revealed that the account had undergone multiple rebrandings—changing its handle and identity several times—before settling on its current form. The same investigation also raised the possibility that a pro-Russia disinformation network may be operating or supporting the account. Musk has repeatedly interacted with or reposted content from Radio Genoa.

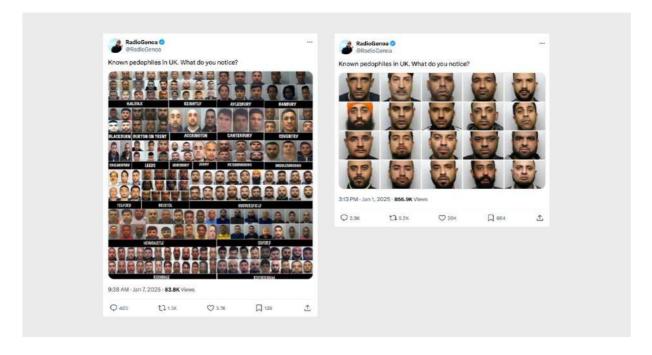
Our analysis found that Radio Genoa published 32 posts related to the 'grooming gangs' discourse, generating 20.02M views, 436.4K likes, 135.8K reposts, 35.3K replies, and 18.6K bookmarks. The majority of these posts contained hateful content and relied on decontextualized or misleading information to distort public perception and reinforce harmful stereotypes.

FIGURE 9: TOTAL ENGAGEMENT OF RADIO GENOA'S POSTS

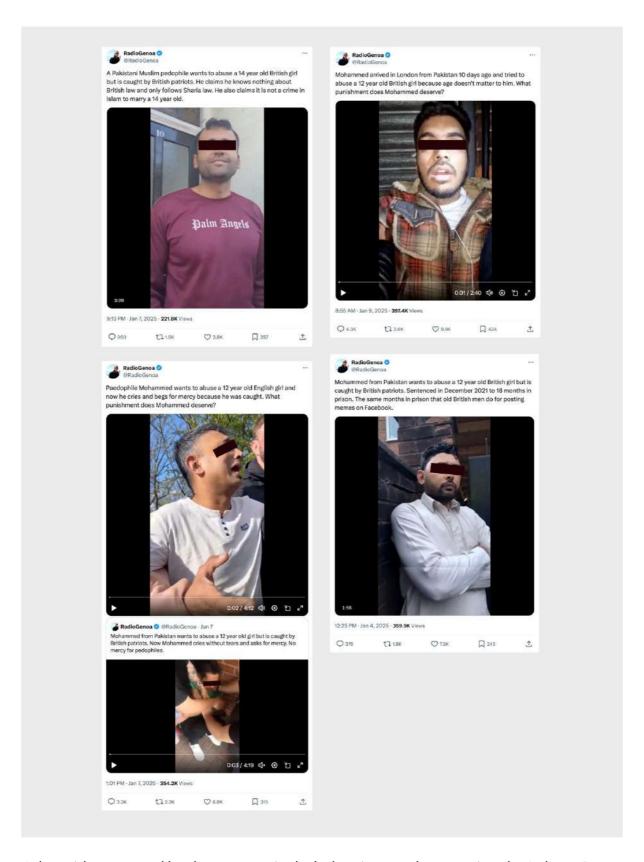
On January 9, Radio Genoa conducted a poll asking, "Which religious group is most likely to abuse children?" with response options including Muslims, Christians, Jews, and Hindus. The poll received 44,539 votes, with Muslims receiving the highest share at 73.1%, followed by Jews at 19.1%. This poll reflects the deeply prejudiced framing characteristic of the account, and highlights how racialized moral panics often intertwine Islamophobia and antisemitism, reinforcing bigoted narratives.



The use of mugshots to imply a racial or ethnic link to sexual violence is a common trope across media platforms in the UK, and one that Radio Genoa actively employs. On January 2 and again on January 7, the account posted the same caption alongside mugshot collages: "Known pedophiles in the UK. What do you notice?" This caption was clearly intended to suggest that individuals of a particular ethnic or religious background are inherently predisposed to pedophilia, reinforcing harmful stereotypes and feeding into broader narratives of racialized criminality.

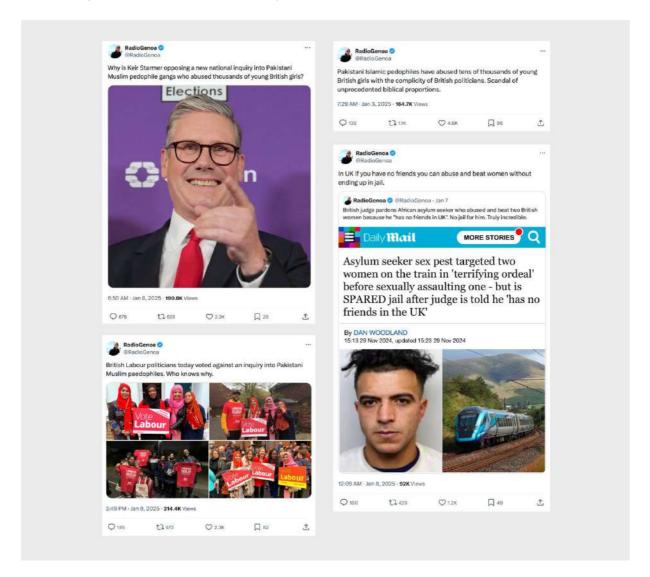


Seven posts in our dataset from Radio Genoa featured videos of so-called vigilante groups who claimed to have "exposed" alleged pedophiles by creating social media accounts using images of children.



Other videos posted by the account included racist attacks targeting the Labour Party, accusing it of receiving disproportionate support from Muslims in the UK. The account also directed hostility toward the judiciary and police, alleging that they were

deliberately lenient toward Muslims—further reinforcing a narrative of institutional bias and grievance rooted in Islamophobia.



Tommy Robinson

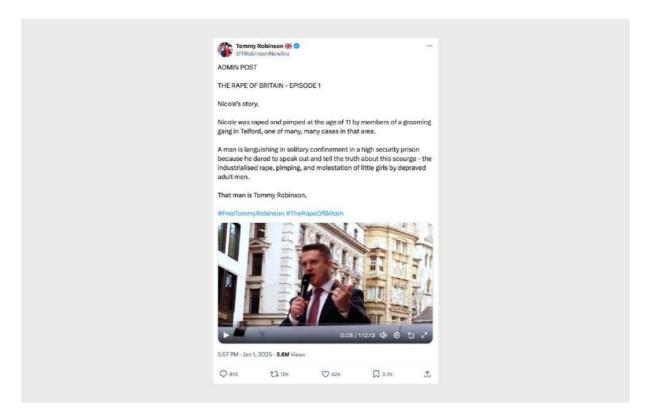
Tommy Robinson, born Stephen Christopher Yaxley-Lennon, is a prominent British far-right activist known for his anti-Islam rhetoric and hate against immigrants which has resulted in violence. In 2009, he co-founded the English Defence League (EDL), a far-right organization that has repeatedly targeted Muslims & immigrants in the UK, and led it until his departure in 2013. In October 2024, he was sentenced to 18 months in prison for contempt of court after violating an injunction related to defamatory claims against a Syrian refugee.

In the context of the ongoing discussion on 'grooming gangs', Robinson took center stage and was depicted as a political prisoner being held for speaking the truth, through his X account @TRobinsonNewEra which was presumably handled by his communications staff. Tommy Robinson posted a total of 32 posts. These posts collectively received approximately 15.4M views, 401.1K likes, 110.6K reposts, 16.6K replies and 15.15K bookmarks. Across all these posts the total engagement was of approximately 16.02 million. Most of the posts reiterated the narratives regarding the culture of Muslims and Pakistanis, Political Correctness, and the Labour Party's complicity in the crimes.

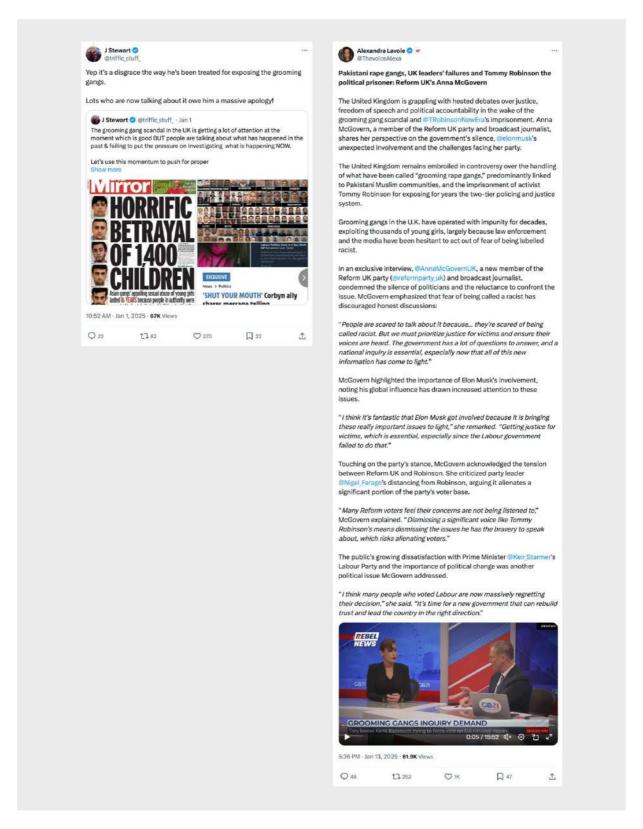
FIGURE 10: TOTAL ENGAGEMENT OF TOMMY ROBINSON'S POSTS



His account portrayed him as being a prosecuted activist jailed for speaking out against 'grooming gangs' while neglecting to mention that his actual imprisonment was due to defamatory claims against a Syrian refugee. This is in fact how many farright figures have come to paint any criticism or accountability for their actions as retribution for speaking out.

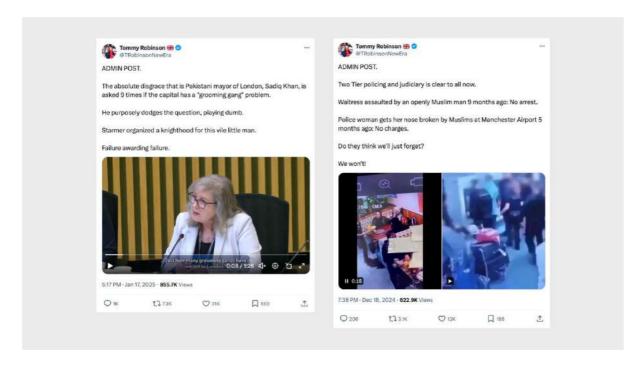


In fact, a large number of other users on the platform, including Musk himself sought to portray Robinson as an embattled speaker of truth.

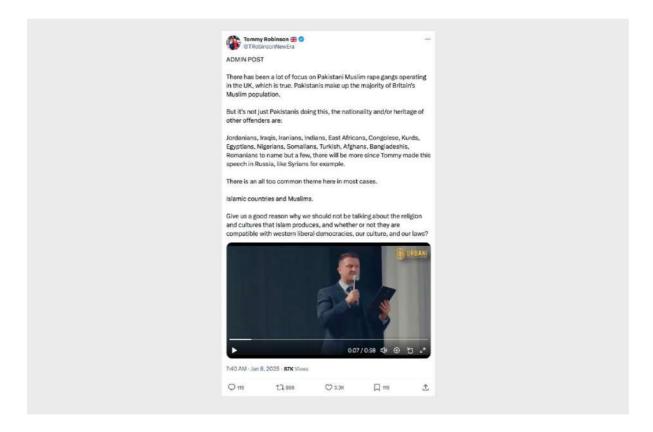


Sadiq Khan was also branded the 'Pakistani mayor of London' and accused of evading questions on 'grooming gangs' by Robinson. At the same time, he accused the UK

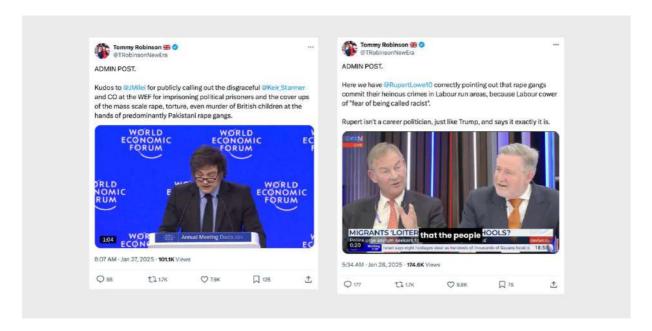
government of instituting a 'two-tier' policing system, where Muslims are given preferential treatment.



He specifically mentioned a number of nationalities including Bangladeshis, Indians, Pakistanis, and Afghans as being involved, suggesting that the 'common thread' was "Islamic countries and Muslims."



He praised right-wing Argentinian president Javier Milei's speech at the World Economic Forum which amplified the far-right propaganda regarding 'grooming gangs'. He also praised Great Yarmouth MP Rupert Lowe, who had been elected to the European Parliament in 2019 and had contested for election as far back as 1997, for not being a 'career politician'. In the same post Robinson commended Lowe for stating that the 'grooming gangs' were operating in Labour-run councils because the party allegedly failed to act out of fears of being called racist.

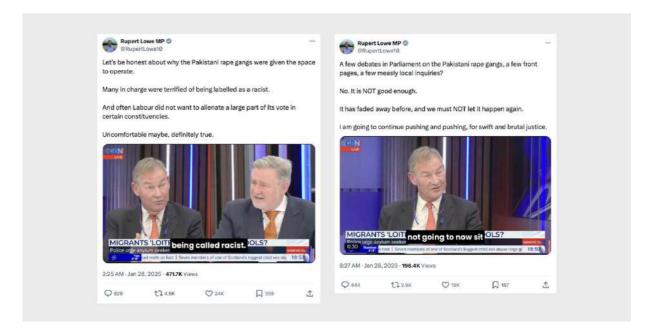


Robinson benefited significantly from the far-right discourse regarding 'grooming gangs' as his constant racist framing of the issue for over a decade positioned him as an avant-garde activist on the issue. Many users including major politicians referred to him as an imprisoned "activist" as they posted about the topic of 'grooming gangs' on the issue.

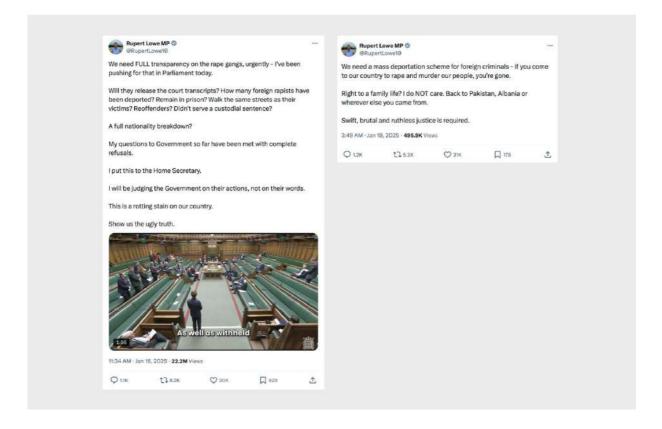
Rupert Lowe

Rupert Lowe, Member of Parliament for Great Yarmouth, has consistently pushed for deportation of offenders related to 'grooming gangs'. Using this framing, Lowe portrays the sexual assault against children as a crime uniquely committed by foreigners. In January 2025, during the parliamentary debate on the Children's Wellbeing and Schools Bill, Lowe proposed an amendment calling for a new national inquiry into 'grooming gangs', emphasizing cases involving British Pakistani perpetrators. He suggested measures such as deporting foreign nationals involved in these crimes and withholding foreign aid to Pakistan until the country agreed to accept deported individuals.

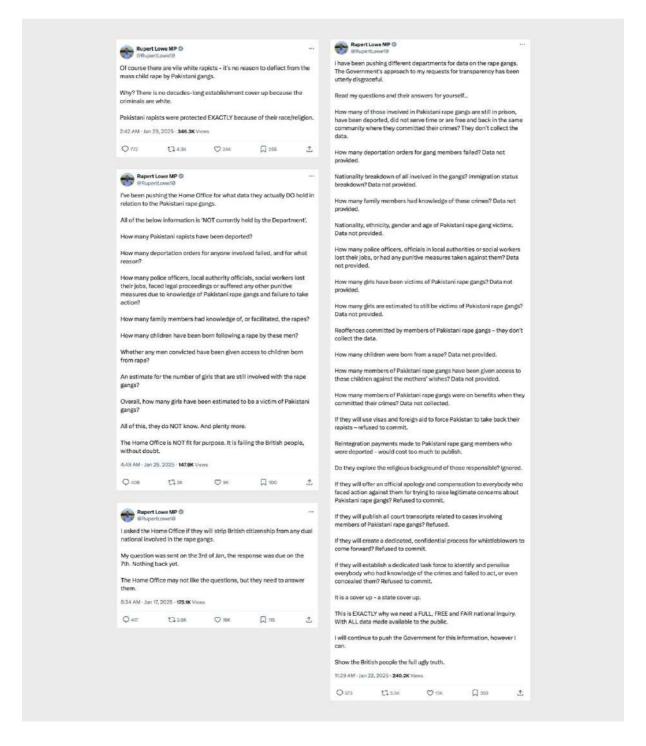
He shared a clip from GB News and posted it on X where he alleges that those who failed to act were afraid of being labelled racist, and that Labour failed to act out of fear of alienating its voters in certain constituencies. In another post he specifically highlighted Pakistani rape gangs.



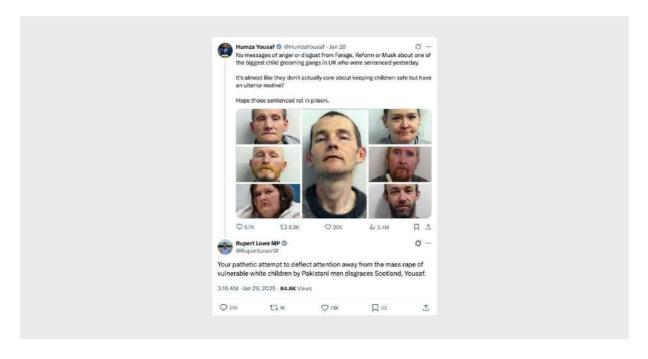
Lowe has consistently made deportations and nationality a key issue despite the fact that a majority of sexual assault has been committed by white offenders in the UK. He branded discussion on white sexual assailants as an attempt at deflection.



Lowe also claims to have repeatedly asked for ethnic and nationality data on the 'grooming gangs' alongside deportation orders and the stripping of citizenship for people with a foreign background. This, in essence, means that he supports a two-tier justice system where white British and British citizens from non-white ethnic backgrounds were to be treated differently for the same crime. When such data was not available, Lowe claimed that this was another evidence of a massive cover-up. He used this claim to justify the call for a national enquiry.



Humza Yousaf, the former Scottish First Minister, and current Member of the Scottish Parliament (MSP), posted on January 28 that there were "No messages of anger or disgust from Farage, Reform or Musk about one of the biggest child 'grooming gangs' in the UK who were sentenced yesterday" presumably because the perpetrators were identified as White. Rupert Lowe responded by replying that it was a "pathetic attempt to deflect attention"



He also credited the platform X for bringing the spotlight on 'Pakistani rape gangs' and that "in just over two weeks, everything has changed."



Lowe had made most of these statements and posts in January as a member of Reform UK from which he was subsequently expelled in March 2025 following allegations of bullying and threats. He has continued to advocate for these policies as an independent MP. During January Rupert Lowe MP posted a total of 25 posts. These posts accumulated approximately 35.2M views, followed by 564.5K likes, 116.9K reposts, 21.8K replies, and 10.1K bookmarks. Altogether, this resulted in a total engagement of around 35.9 million.

FIGURE 11: TOTAL ENGAGEMENT OF RUPERT LOWE MP'S POSTS

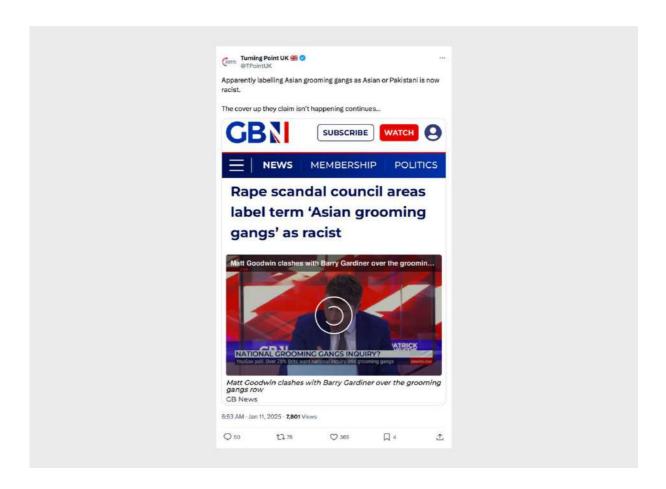


Turning Point UK

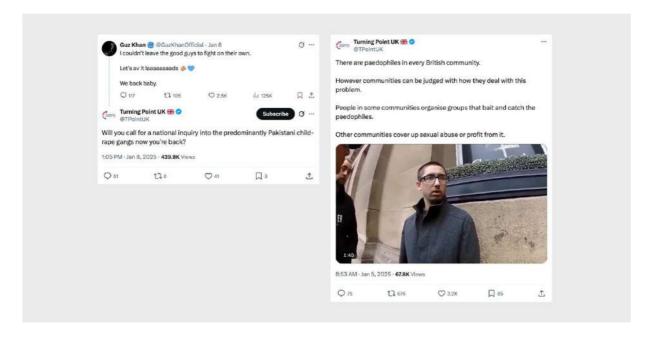
The British far-right political advocacy group Turning Point UK (@TPointUK), is the UK offshoot of Turning Point USA—once again highlighting the globalising nature of Islamophobia and the connectedness of those who promote and proliferate Islamophobic narratives. It was founded by Charlie Kirk and Candace Owens with the aim of promoting right-wing politics among students in UK schools, colleges, and universities, asserting that these institutions are dominated by left-wing ideologies. TPUK has long promoted Islamophobic talking points, while downplaying the issue of Islamophobia itself. In November 2024, the account posted that instead of 'Islamophobia Awareness Month', November should be dedicated to the UK's veterans, thus promoting a divisive hierarchical them and us dichotomy. The group was also a lead actor in discourse around grooming gangs and actively promoted the false notion that 'grooming gangs' were majorly operated by British-Pakistanis. Turning Point UK posted a total of 28 unique posts. These posts garnered approximately 2.5M views, 93.5K likes, 23K reposts, 4.5K replies, and 3.6K bookmarks. Altogether, they resulted in a total engagement of about 2.66 million.

FIGURE 12: TOTAL ENGAGEMENT OF TURNING POINT UK'S POSTS

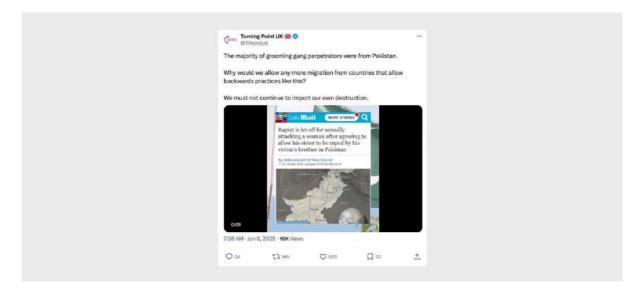




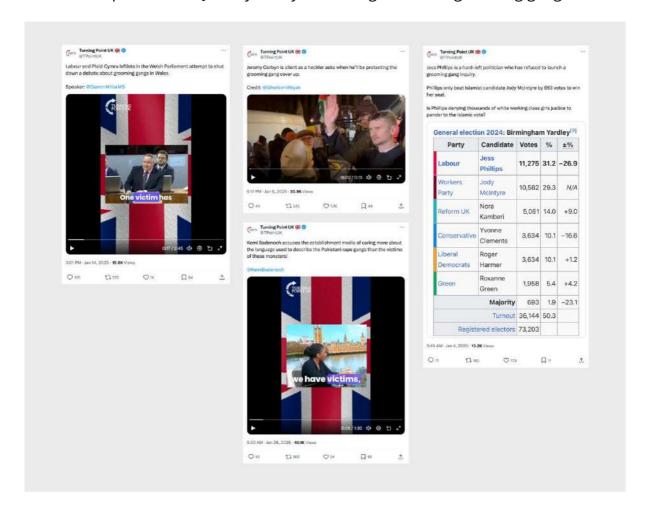
In a post replying to the British-Pakistani comedian Guz Khan (@GuzKhanOfficial), Turning Point asked him "Will you call for a national inquiry into the predominantly Pakistani child-rape gangs now you're back?". In fact, this attitude of targeting the entire community formed a critical part of TPUK's attitude towards the British-Pakistani community as a whole, invited its condemnation and implying their complicity in concealing and 'profiting' from sexual abuse.



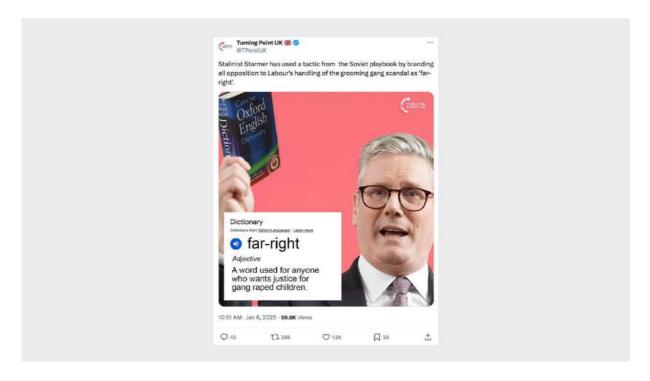
The use of dehumanizing language against people of a Pakistani background was based on fake reports that "majority of grooming gang perpetrators were from Pakistan", claiming that such immigrants were being 'imported'.



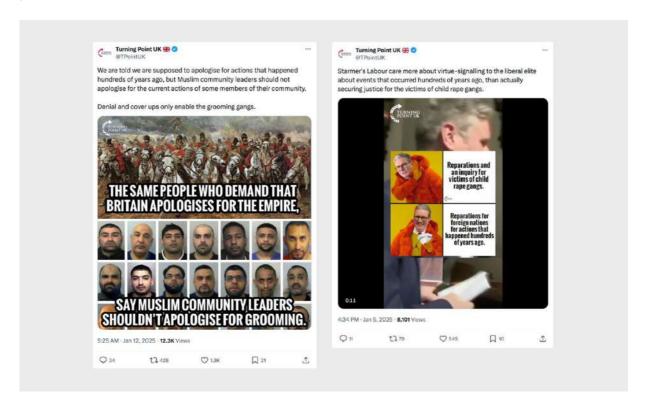
A number of posts by TPUK targeted politicians affiliated to the Labour Party or other left-wing parties in the UK. In one post it targeted former Labour party leader and current independent MP Jeremy Corbyn for being 'silent' on 'grooming gangs'.



When Keir Starmer pointed out that it was mainly the 'far-right' which had created a racialized framing for the 'grooming gangs', TPUK branded him 'Stalinist Starmer' and accused him of using "a tactic from the Soviet playbook"



TPUK also framed and arguably trivialised the discussion on 'grooming gangs' by contrasting it with issues such as the call for reparations for colonial extraction and plunder.



8. Role of Hindu Nationalists

he report found that prominent and influential Hindu nationalist accounts on X played a significant role in promoting the 'grooming gangs' narrative during the January wave, using it to incite Islamophobia. We tracked 116 posts (9.6%) by Hindu nationalist X accounts, which garnered 17.3M Views, 331.1K likes, 108.5K reposts, 8.1K replies and 15.8K bookmarks.

Hindu Nationalist X Accounts

116 Posts

17.3 M Views

331.1 K Likes

108.5 K Replies

15.8 K Replies

FIGURE 13: TOTAL ENGAGEMENT OF HINDU NATIONALIST'S POSTS

We observed reciprocal interactions between key far-right and Hindu nationalist accounts, indicating a degree of coordination or mutual reinforcement. Our findings highlight high levels of engagement between Hindu nationalist actors and the European far-right/white supremacist movement—though it is critical to note that these movements also have significant ideological cleavages. The following themes were prominent among Hindu nationalist accounts:

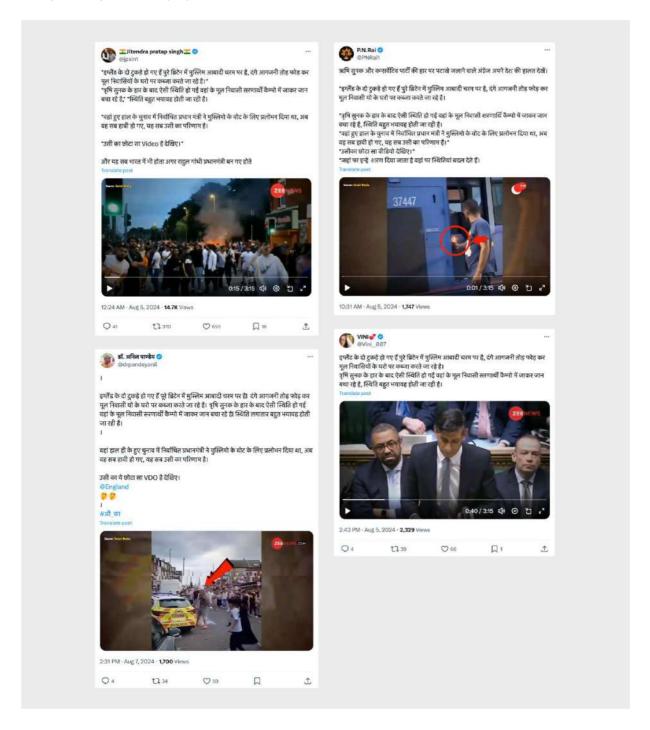
- 1. Shared vocabulary of Islamophobia: Hate against Muslims is an animating theme both for the European far-right and the Hindu nationalist movement. While both Muslims and Hindus are primarily immigrants in these contexts, this rhetoric aims to align Hindus with the far-right in the UK and Europe generally. This includes opposition to the inclusion of both Hindus and Muslims into an umbrella category of Asian or South Asian.
- **2. Propagation of the Love Jihad Conspiracy Theory:** Hindu nationalists have long promoted the theory of 'Love Jihad' as a form of civilizational and demographic warfare being waged my Muslims. This was quickly picked up within the discourse and repeated multiple times.
- **3. The UK Establishment as 'Islamist':** Many of the posts suggest that the UK has faced an 'Islamic' or 'Islamist' takeover with active collusion or complicity of the establishment. These include references to the presence of non-white majorities in certain sub-regions of the UK.

Before analyzing more organized influence campaigns, we will first examine scattered instances of engagement by India-based Hindu nationalist-linked accounts in promoting anti-Muslim and far-right narratives in the UK. A paper on Hindutva in Britain⁹¹ from the Community Policy Forum and The Bridge Initiative at Georgetown University has highlighted the role of Hindu nationalist politics influencing community relations between British minorities especially with a study of the 2022 riots in Leicester. The role of Indian far-right website OpIndia and its editor Nupur J. Sharma is highlighted in the report with significant influence over the portrayal of the riots as an 'Islamist' attack on Hindu communities in the UK. A number of hashtags like #ProtectLeicesterHindus, #StopLeicesterIslamicTerrorism, #HindusUnderAttackInLeicester, #HindusUnderAttackUK, and #HinduHateInUK were amplified by accounts from India, with 80% of geotagged posts⁹² on the topic originating from India.

Notably, this is not the only instance of Hindu nationalist X accounts pushing Islamophobic or pro-far-right narratives around certain events, incidents, or issues in the UK. During the riots that occurred across multiple towns and cities in the UK between July 30 and August 5, 2024, Hindu nationalist accounts actively sought to inflame tensions and distort the narrative. Many of the posts featured identical text and video clips, suggesting a coordinated campaign and what is commonly referred to as coordinated inauthentic behavior⁹³, through examples such as the creation of fake accounts for the purpose of amplifying a trend—a tactic often used to amplify hateful or misleading content.

This included campaigns with some of the following themes:

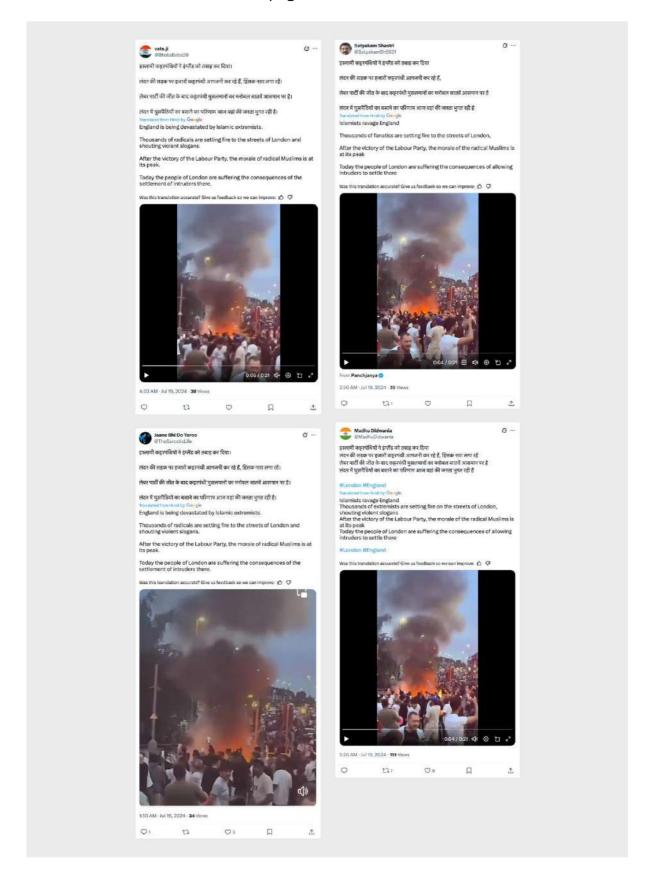
Claims that white British citizens have become refugees in their own country due to the growing Muslim population in the UK.



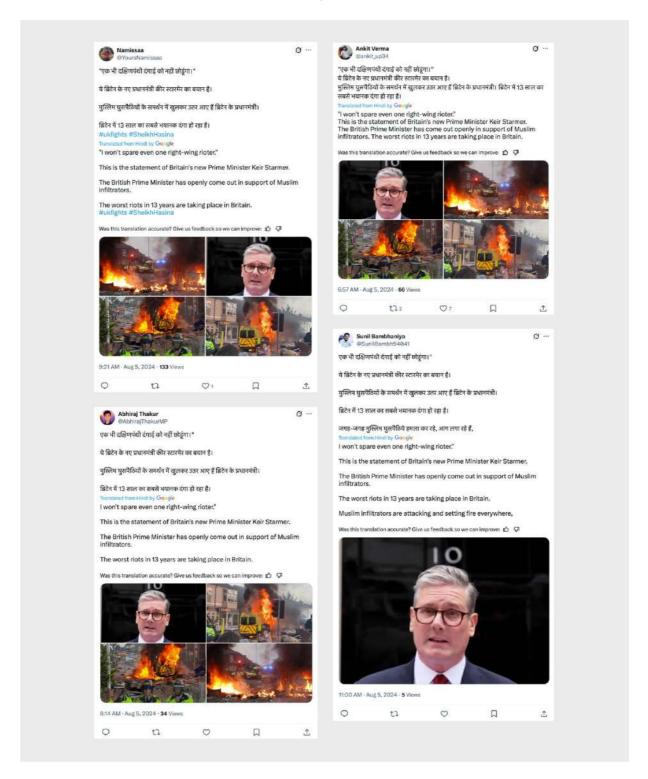
Support for British nationalist marches, and celebrating the proverbial 'awakening' of the British people to the threat posed by Muslim immigrants in the country.



Claims that the Labour Party's electoral victory emboldened 'Islamic extremists' and Muslims, who then went on a rampage.

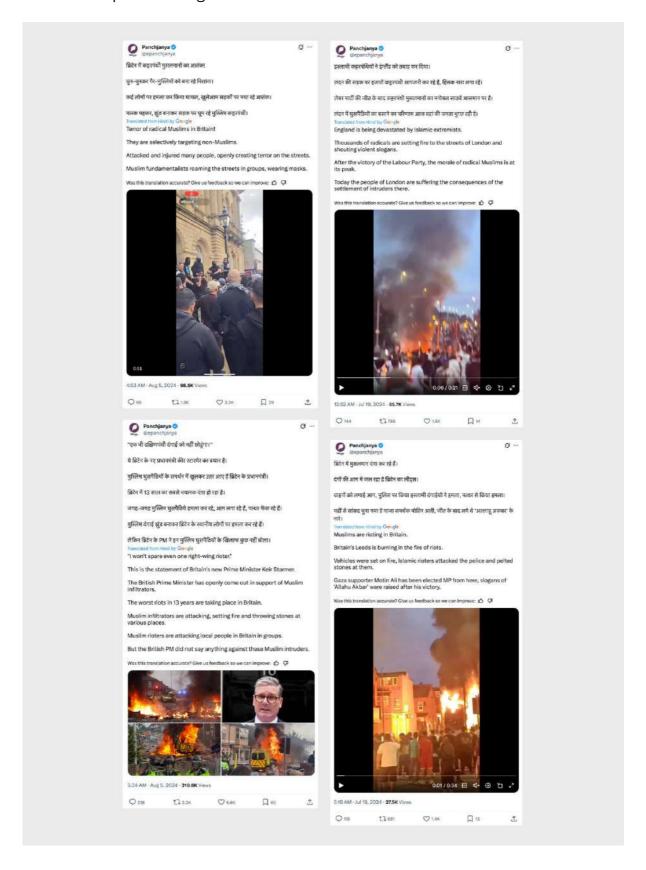


After Prime Minister Starmer took a stand against far-right rioters, multiple Hindu nationalist accounts attacked him and alleged he had sided with Muslim "infiltrators."



The X account of ePanchajanya, the official mouthpiece of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), a Hindu paramilitary organization spearheading the Hindu nationalist movement in India and around the world, actively engaged in these campaigns. The

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), India's ruling party, is one of RSS's direct affiliates and serves as its political wing.



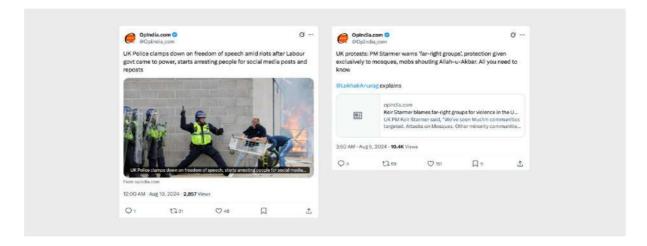
News18, an India-based news channel known for its Islamophobic primetime coverage⁹⁴, further contributed to this effort by platforming Tommy Robinson as an "activist." The interview strategically omitted any references to his history of racist and violent rhetoric, instead legitimized his position and provided him with a platform to blame the UK government, Muslims, and immigrants. The coordinated nature of these campaigns must be understood as deliberate efforts by entrenched Hindu nationalist interests to stoke hate and division in the UK.



OpIndia, a far-right Indian digital outlet known for spreading disinformation and anti-Muslim propaganda, whose more recent posts are discussed in a subsequent section, also engaged in promoting hate and disinformation. The outlet falsely claimed that Axel Rudakubana, who was charged with stabbing young children in Southport, was a "migrant"—a claim that is entirely untrue. It also made posts claiming that 'radical Islamists' had taken over UK streets, citing the presence of "Allahu Akbar" chants as supposed evidence.

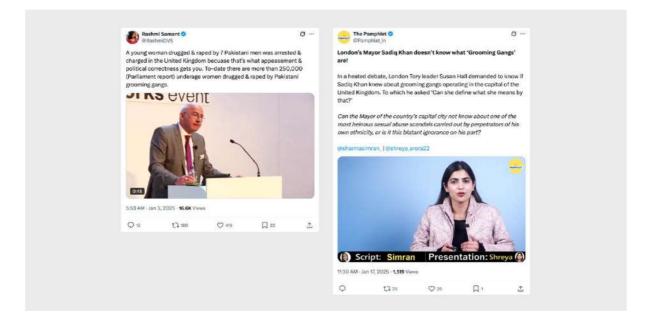


Other posts from OpIndia targeted the Labour Party claiming that protection was offered 'only to mosques' and that the party was clamping down on the freedom of expression and arresting people for sharing social media posts.

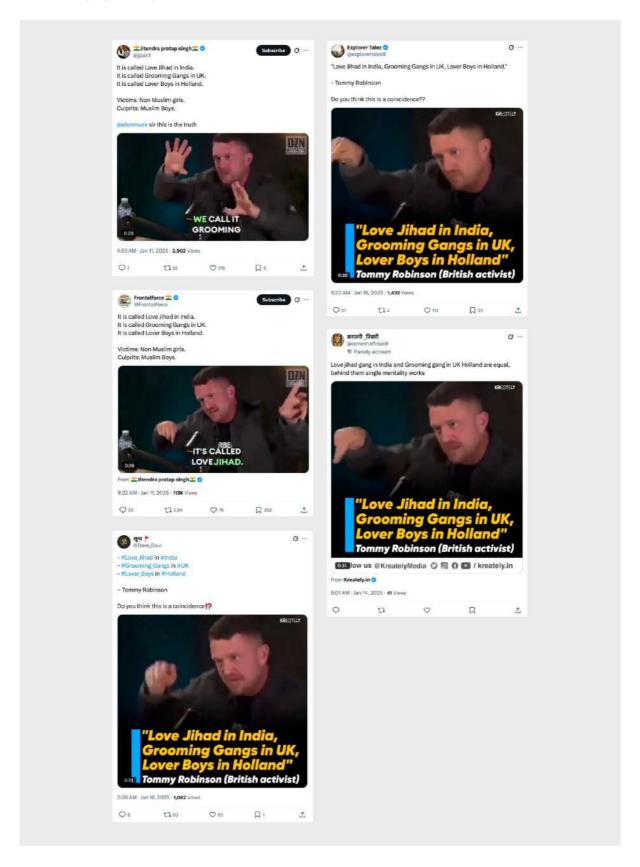


This provides important context and highlights the dominant themes that continue to shape the current discourse around the so-called 'grooming gangs'.

Rashmi Samant, who gained significant media attention after she was forced to resign as the president of the Oxford University Students' Union for allegedly racist, antisemitic, and transphobic statements⁹⁵ on social media posted on the issue, amplifying the unsubstantiated claim that 250,000 British women had been assaulted by 'grooming gangs', made by Lord Pearson in the UK Parliament⁹⁶. She went further by falsely asserting that it was an official parliamentary report. Another India-based Hindu nationalist website The Pamphlet repeated the earlier debunked claim that Sadiq Khan had feigned ignorance of so-called 'grooming gangs'.



A clip of a Tommy Robinson interview that claimed to "explain" the connection between "love jihad" in India, 'grooming gangs' in the UK, and Lover Boys in the Netherlands was widely shared by Hindu nationalist accounts contributing to the renewed popularity of these narratives.







Tommy Robinson (British activist)

The Third Eye

Lover Boys in Holland are the same

then introduce them to prostitution."

from getting wrecked."

- Tommy Robinson

Exclusive UPDATE Love Jihad in India, Grooming Gangs in HUK,

cause young Muslim males make young girls fall in love with them,

*They call me racist, but I don't care if it incites fear, if it stops young girls

"In India, it's called LOVE JIHAD... In the UK, we call it GROOMING GANG... In Holland, it's called LOVER BOY"



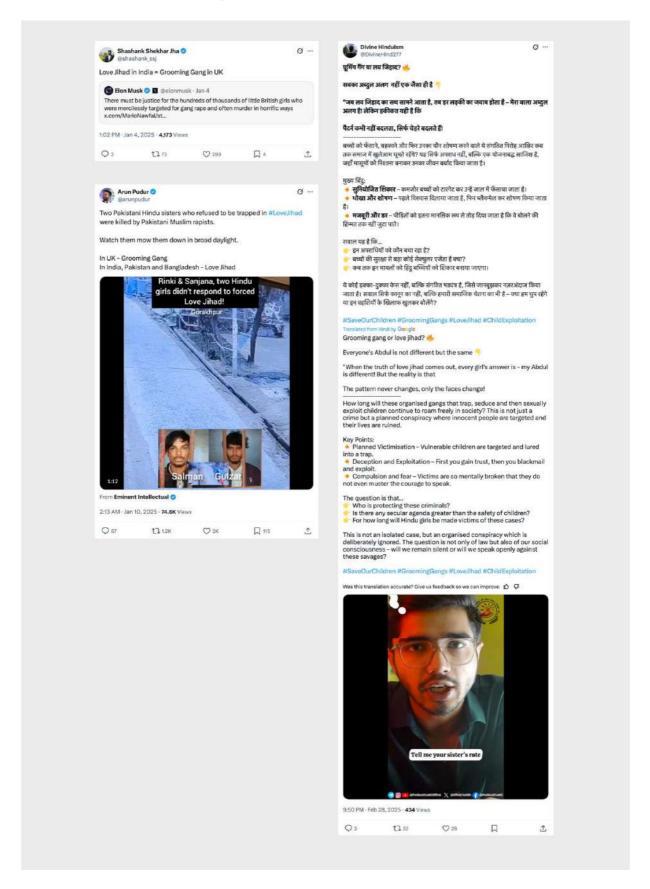
It is high time that political leaders, including Sikh MPs, speak up forcefully and without hesitation on this issue. The exploitation of innocent young girls—regardless of their background—must be addressed with the full force of the law, and those responsible must be

held accountable. As leaders, it is their duty to protect the vulnerable, ensure justice, and uphold the values of equality and dignity for all.

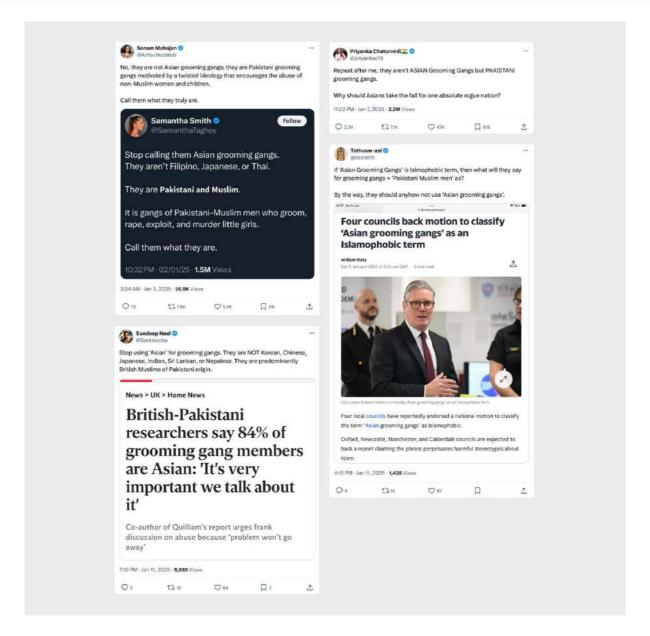
#JusticeForVictims #EndGroomingGangs

#SpeakUpForVictims

The equation of "love jihad" and 'grooming gangs' as essentially the same phenomenon, expressed in different contexts, emerged as a major discursive point in Hindu nationalist-related posts.



Some X posts objected to the use of Asian as an ethnic descriptor, which proponents of Hindu nationalism deemed unfair—for including them under the same broad category. They instead demanded that any discussion on 'grooming gangs' explicitly target Pakistanis and Muslims, thus further entrenching Islamophobia.



However, these interactions are not limited to a few sporadic posts. Instead, there is a clear strategic depth to these campaigns, with specific organizations and accounts actively shaping the discourse on Islamophobia. This means that rather than simply reacting to the information, many of the accounts have a role in actively shaping the overall information environment. Below, we highlight key X accounts that played a central role in the recent discourse around 'grooming gangs' and the stoking of hatred towards Muslims and immigrants.

OpIndia

OpIndia, a far-right Indian digital outlet known for spreading disinformation and anti-Muslim propaganda, maintains close ties with the RSS and India's ruling BJP. This connection is evident both in its consistently Islamophobic content and, crucially, in its ownership structure. An investigation⁹⁷ by Newslaundry revealed that Ashok Kumar Gupta serves as a director of Aadhyaasi Media And Content Services which operates OpIndia. Gupta is also a director of Kaut Concepts, the parent company of Aadhyaasi.. His blog and social media profiles further indicate active campaigning for the BJP alongside senior party leaders, reinforcing his close ties to India's ruling establishment. Nupur J. Sharma, the editor-in-chief of OpIndia also claimed to be a BJP member back in 2015⁹⁸, though she walked it back in 2020. BJP is also known to have directly contacted Facebook in 2019⁹⁹ in order to ask the company to allow OpIndia to be monetized.

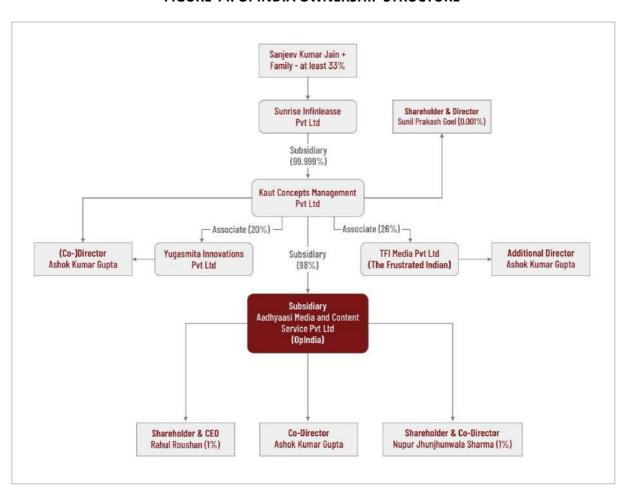


FIGURE 14: OPINDIA OWNERSHIP STRUCTURE

OpIndia has long promoted 'love jihad,' a widely debunked conspiracy theory¹⁰⁰, which claims that Muslim men systematically lure Hindu women into marriages as part of a larger scheme to forcibly convert them to Islam. It also relentlessly portrays Muslims as engaging in demographic warfare against Hindus in India. Estimates from OpIndia's own website indicate¹⁰¹ that the topic of Love Jihad has been covered approximately 1,643 times over the past decade, underscoring its central role in the platform's content strategy.

Recognizing its ideological alignment with the 'grooming gangs' narrative, OpIndia has actively promoted the 'grooming gangs' discourse over the years. Our dataset recorded 33 posts from OpIndia from January 1 2025 to January 28, 2025, which garnered 292.63K views, 12.13K likes, 5.46K reposts, 229 replies, and 313 bookmarks.

33 Posts

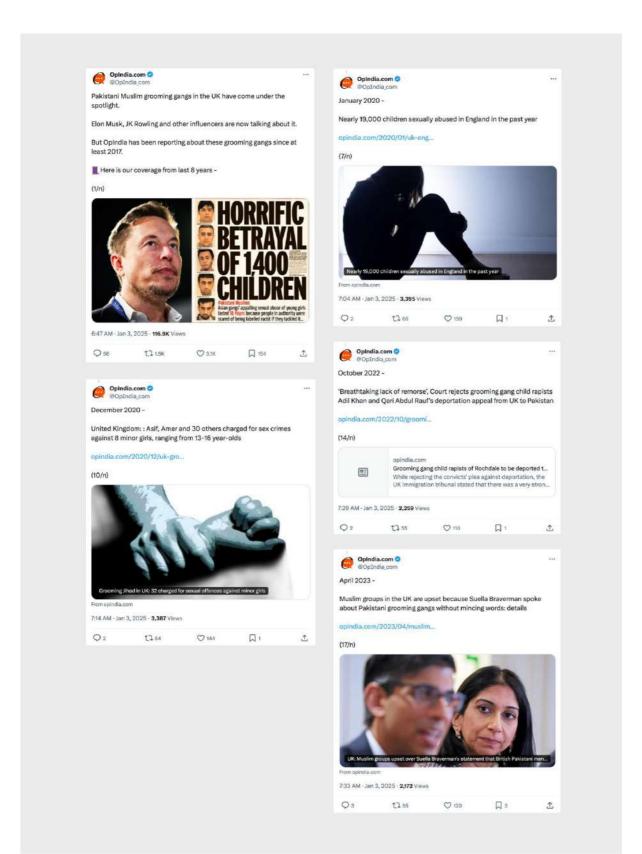
□ 292.63 K □ 12.13 K Likes

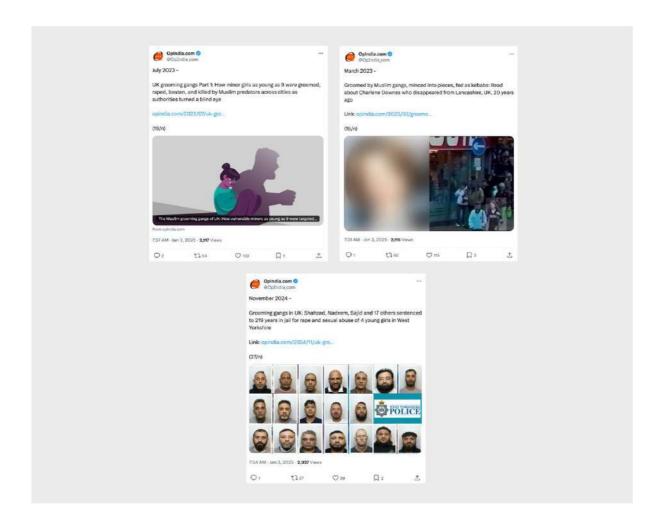
□ 5.46 K □ 299 □ 313 Bookmarks

FIGURE 15: TOTAL ENGAGEMENT OF OPINDIA'S POSTS

Additionally, posts from OpIndia Editor Nupur J. Sharma collectively amassed 1.2M views, 54.4K likes, 18.9K reposts, 1.56K replies, and 1.9K bookmarks, further amplifying the narrative to a wider audience.

The website has published approximately 27 articles on 'grooming gangs' since 2017. However, between January 1 and January 31, 2025, it significantly escalated its coverage, publishing 13 new articles aimed at amplifying the discourse—most of which promoted hatred toward Muslims. Beyond its website, OpIndia leveraged X to further publicize its reports. It posted a thread showcasing its "coverage" of the issue since 2017, reinforcing its ongoing role in spreading this narrative.





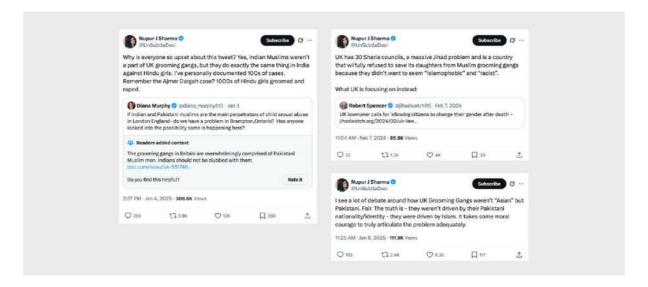
OpIndia has used this opportunity to position itself as a key player within the global far-right. OpIndia editor Nupur J. Sharma highlighted her interview with Tommy Robinson and emphasized her role in building a tentative alliance between the European far-right and Hindu nationalism. This post attracted a response from Amy Mek, the founder of Resistance Against Islamic Radicals (RAIR), a far-right media outlet.



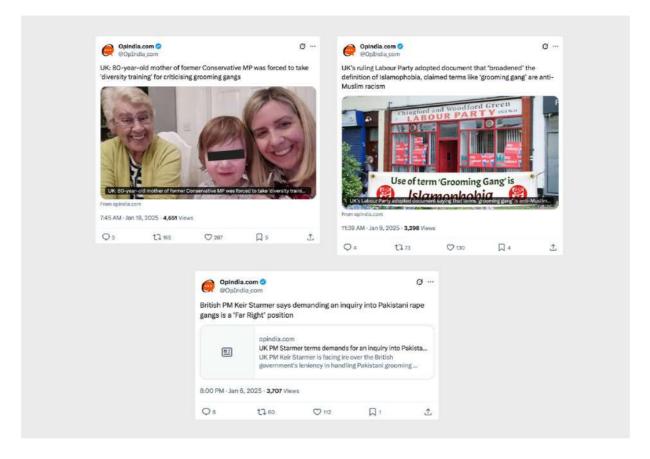
OpIndia has been playing an increasingly prominent role within global far-right networks. Nupur Sharma also claimed that OpIndia had been covering "Muslim grooming gangs" for eight years. The far-right X handle @Visegrad24 responded by praising OpIndia's coverage.



In another quote tweet, Sharma referred to 30 shariah councils in the UK alongside a 'Jihad' problem, calling it a country that wilfully refused to save its daughters from "Muslim grooming gangs" because they didn't want to seem "Islamophobic" and "racist". Notably, she said this in response to a post from Richard Spencer, one of America's most prolific and vociferous Islamophobic propagandists¹⁰², according to the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). Sharma also asserted that the debate over whether Asian or Pakistani was the appropriate descriptor for 'grooming gangs' was a red herring, arguing that the real issue was Islam as an ideology.



OpIndia posted an article referencing the diversity training modules completed by the mother of former Conservative MP Andrea Jenkyns, who had liked racist comments online. However, the headline framed this as "forced diversity training," implying coercion. The outlet also criticized the Labour Party following its vote to expand the definition of Islamophobia, presenting the move as an overreach. The accompanying article leaned heavily on the familiar trope of "political correctness" stifling open discussion of real-world crimes, a pattern we have highlighted earlier.



OpIndia has positioned itself as a key bridge between the Hindu nationalist network and the broader global far-right, using its platform to amplify Islamophobic narratives. The website and its leaders have deeply embedded themselves within transnational extremist networks. More than just a propaganda outlet, OpIndia actively participates in far-right information warfare, seamlessly blending Hindu nationalist rhetoric with Western far-right narratives to undermine democracy, pluralism, and the safety of vulnerable communities worldwide.

Times Algebra

X user Times Algebra (@TimesAlgebraIND), an account with 587K followers and known for promoting propaganda aligned with Hindu nationalism, India's ruling BJP, Prime Minister Narendra Modi, and other Hindu nationalist groups, posted multiple

times in January 2025 about 'grooming gangs'. Six posts by Times Algebra garnered 11.73M views, 107.1K likes, 30.2K reposts, 3K replies and 7.4K bookmarks. Its posts on the subject consistently showed high engagement, as recorded in our database.

FIGURE 16: TOTAL ENGAGEMENT OF TIMES ALGEBRA'S POSTS



Times Algebra posted an excerpt of UK Independence Party (UKIP) MP Lord Malcolm Pearson's speech in the House of Lords in 2018 in which he claimed that over 250,000 women and girls in the UK had been sexually assaulted by Muslims, Pakistanis, or immigrants. Pearson's figures were not based on official crime data but were extrapolated from a handful of specific towns and inaccurately applied to the entire UK population. Although the video was widely challenged at the time for its misleading claims, the post lacked any context or correction, and no community note was added to clarify the disinformation.



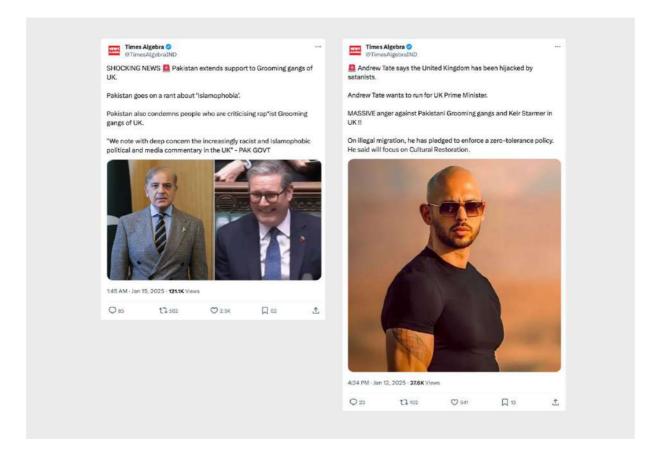
The account attacked the Labour party and alleged that Pakistan was lending support to 'grooming gangs' in the UK. It labeled Labour's vote against a national inquiry—as discussed earlier—"shameful" and amplified Musk's calls for King Charles to dismiss Keir Starmer as Prime Minister.



It falsely claimed that Sharia courts in the UK function as a parallel legal system, seemingly echoing an alleged criticism by the National Secular Society. As noted earlier, these courts are voluntary arbitration bodies that operate within established legal frameworks, allowing parties to resolve personal disputes in accordance with their religious beliefs. Despite this, the false claim was repeatedly amplified and even alluded to by Musk himself.



As Pakistan responded to growing online attacks against Pakistanis in the wake of the 'grooming gangs' controversy, its statement was deliberately misrepresented as "Pakistan also condemns people who are criticizing rapist 'grooming gangs' of UK." This distortion follows a well-documented pattern employed by numerous Hindu nationalist accounts to manipulate narratives. However, the same accounts that vilified Pakistan for its response framed Andrew Tate—a known misogynist, who is currently facing multiple charges of rape, trafficking minors and boasting about it online—positively. The post praised Tate's mission of "cultural restoration", portraying him in a favorable light despite his widely documented history of sexual abuse.



Megh Updates

The account 'Megh Updates,' which has 477K followers on X, has been active since March 2019 and is known for frequently spreading false and misleading claims¹⁰⁴. It is followed by prominent Hindu nationalist figures and supported by members of India's ruling party. The account was reportedly suspended¹⁰⁵ in 2021 but has since been reinstated.

While 'Megh Updates' has been active in the Hindu nationalist online ecosystem, its thematic focus during the 'grooming gang' discussion was relatively generic, without

developing a distinct narrative of its own. Instead, its content primarily targeted the Labour Party leadership. Despite posting only five times, these posts collectively amassed significant engagement, garnering 1.8M views, 55.9K likes, 18.6K reposts, 1.58K replies and 2.5K bookmarks.

FIGURE 17: TOTAL ENGAGEMENT OF MEGH UPDATES'S POSTS



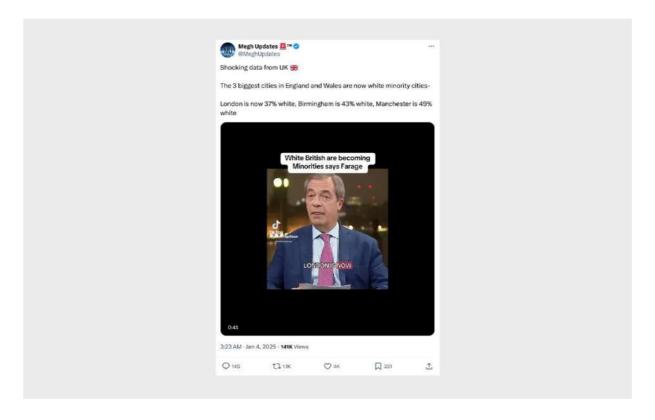
The account framed the defeat of the 'national enquiry' amendment to the Children's Wellbeing and Schools Bill as the Labour party lending support to 'grooming gangs'.



The unsubstantiated claim by Lord Malcolm Pearson in the British Parliament—that 250,000 girls and women had been assaulted by 'grooming gangs'—also appears in the account's posts.



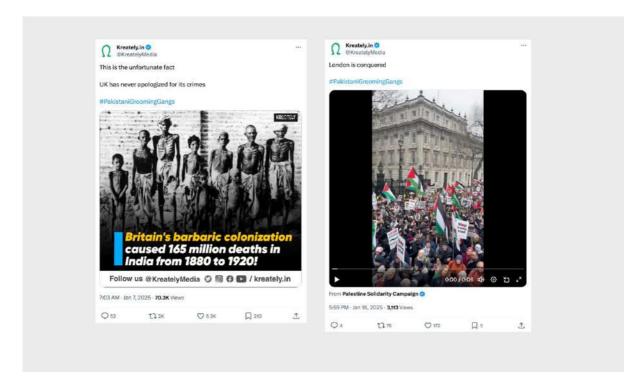
The account has also engaged in racialized scaremongering about white British people becoming a minority. It amplified this narrative using a video of Nigel Farage and another selectively edited clip from Al Jazeera that solely featured 'Muslim' or 'Brown' faces going about their daily lives in the UK.

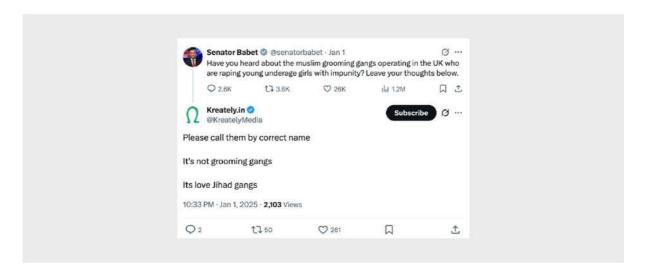


Kreately

Launched in May 2020, the website Kreately.in is notorious for promoting hate and conspiracy theories targeting Muslims, Christians, and critics of Hindu nationalism. It operates as a user-generated platform where individuals can create accounts and submit content for publication, subject to moderator approval. An investigation by the fact-checking website Alt News¹⁰⁶ revealed that Kreately is owned by Texas-based Waiable Media Inc., a company run by Indians in the U.S., and operated by Sachin Chitlangia and Vikram Aditya Tikoo—both associated with Sewa USA, a charity organization affiliated with the RSS. Like OpIndia, Kreately has close ties to BJP leaders, with senior BJP leader Kapil Mishra—a verified author on the platform—playing a key role in its popularization.

Kreately's X account was briefly suspended in 2022 for violating the platform's hateful conduct policy but has since been reinstated. The account frequently used the hashtag #PakistaniGroomingGang, often applying it to unrelated topics to exploit controversy for engagement. In one instance, it was used in a post about British colonialism in India; in another, it accompanied a video from a demonstration against the Israel-Gaza war with the caption 'London has fallen.' The account also engaged with United Australia Party Senator Ralph Babet, a far-right figure in Australian politics, urging the normalization of the term 'love jihad.'

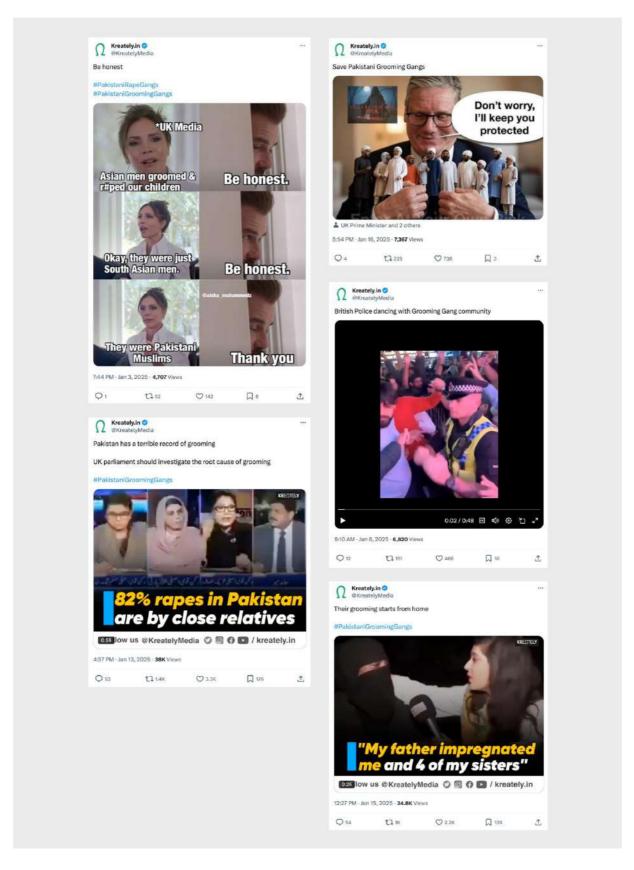




In line with other Hindu nationalist accounts, Kreately opposed the designation of perpetrators as "Asian" or "South Asian," instead insisting on the use of religious or national identifiers. It further sought to racialize the controversy, posting an edited image of Prime Minister Keir Starmer with the caption "Save Pakistani Grooming Gangs", implying he was shielding these groups. Other posts decontextualized police interactions with British-Pakistani community celebrations, captioning the footage as "British Police dancing with Grooming Gang community". The total engagement across all 10 posts includes 296.3K views, 20.5K likes, 7.9K reposts, 316 replies, and 626 bookmarks. Kreately also pushed narratives suggesting that Pakistani men are inherently predisposed to sexually assaulting women and minors, sharing misleading video clips to support these claims.

FIGURE 18: TOTAL ENGAGEMENT OF KREATELY'S POSTS





The persistent spread of disinformation, amplification of far-right rhetoric, and deliberate distortion of facts reflects a broader strategy by Hindu nationalist-aligned X accounts to shape global Islamophobic discourse. By aligning with figures like Musk

and tapping into existing far-right grievances in the West, these networks seek to forge a shared ideological front that merges Islamophobic, nationalist, and reactionary politics across borders. Their ability to push misleading narratives, manipulate engagement, and erase critical context is not merely an issue of online disinformation—it is a coordinated effort to reshape political realities in ways that advance both Hindu nationalism and the broader far-right agenda.

9. Platform Governance and Regulatory Framework

9.1 X's Obligations Under Online Safety Act

K's Online Safety Act (OSA) enables the government to hold social media platforms responsible for 'illegal' and 'harmful' content. It mandates online platforms to perform assessment of risks related to their services, provide effective content moderation, and take proactive steps to restrict harmful content. Ofcom, UK's communications regulator, has been charged with the implementation of the act and developing guidance regarding its implementation. Given that the discourse on 'grooming gangs' promotes hatred against Muslims, British-Pakistanis, other South Asians, and immigrants, we argue that this content falls under the scope of the OSA's 'Illegal Online Harms.' Specifically, we contend that it poses a threat to public order and a risk of foreign interference, as outlined in Ofcom's Illegal Content Judgements Guidance (ICJG)¹⁰⁷.

X is categorized as a Category 1 service provider by the Ofcom, satisfying condition 2 of the requirements because it "allows users to forward or reshare user-generated content; and uses a content recommender system; and has more than 7 million UK users on the user-to-user part of its service, representing c.10% of the UK population."

- 1. Threat to Public Order: This is defined by Ofcom in reference to the UK's Public Order Act 1986. In particular sections that pertain to the stirring up of racial or religious hatred are relevant for the purposes of this report. Ofcom requires the services provider to consider (1) if the content can incite hatred, and (2) if the user was aware that the content shared could incite hatred. Given the context, we believe that the content mentioned in the course of the report is in violation of these conditions.
- **2. Foreign Interference Offence:** Ofcom interprets Foreign Interference Offence as described by the National Security Act 2023. A foreign power¹⁰⁸ can be members of a foreign ruling political party or groups with significant links with the government. Thus, Elon or other non-UK entities are violative of the foreign interference offence. We also draw attention to Hindu nationalism-linked accounts that played a critical role in this campaign, especially as many of them are linked to India's ruling BJP or its umbrella organization RSS.

Under the UK's Online Safety Act (OSA), X, as a Category 1 service, is required to undertake comprehensive measures to mitigate the dissemination of illegal and harmful content on its platform. This includes conducting thorough risk assessments to identify and address content that could incite hatred against Muslims, British-Pakistanis, South Asians, and immigrants, as highlighted in recent reports. X must implement robust content moderation systems, enhance user reporting mechanisms, and adjust algorithms to reduce the spread of such harmful narratives. Additionally, the platform is obligated to uphold transparency by clearly communicating its policies on prohibited content and consistently enforcing these standards.

9.2 The Failure of 'Community Notes'

Community Notes was introduced as a solution to concerns about alleged bias in traditional fact-checking institutions. In recent years, fact-checking organizations have been accused¹⁰⁹ of selective verification, ideological leanings, and censorship of inconvenient truths. Musk's takeover of Twitter (now X) accelerated a shift toward "free speech absolutism," which included the idea that crowdsourced truth would be more reliable than centralized, expert-driven fact-checking.

The central concept of Community Notes is that instead of an authoritative approach, it would have allowed for contextualization of facts. It would allow users and platforms to introduce nuance into a discussion, especially controversial ones. However, this promise of contextualization was notably absent in discussions surrounding 'grooming gangs', where the need for accurate framing and critical nuance was especially crucial.

Our report finds that the community notes feature, far from clarifying the notes feature, was in one instance used to specifically intensify the disinformation and hate around British citizens of Pakistani origin. One user @diana_murphy613 posted on X that if "Indian and Pakistani muslims" are the main perpetrators of child sexual abuse in the UK, a similar phenomenon would likely be happening in Brampton, Ontario, which is a Canadian city with a large South Asian population. The community notes responded incorrectly that the "grooming gangs" in Britain are overwhelmingly comprised of Pakistani Muslim men. Indians should not be clubbed with them." It linked to a BBC article¹¹⁰ that explicitly disputed this claim.



Murphy replied to the post with "apologies to the good Indians everywhere", restating her rhetoric against Muslims and adding 'Asian Muslims' as a category. This attempt to introduce 'nuance' between Indians and Pakistanis however, serves to enforce a broader racist framework. The community notes responded again with the false claim that Pakistani Muslims are nearly exclusively involved in 'grooming gang' related crimes. It reused the previously mentioned BBC article and added a link to an opinion piece on the Toronto Sun¹¹¹ which stated that "Political correctness is having a moment of reckoning in the U.K."



Given the deficiencies of the community notes feature and its clear potential for abuse, it is important that Ofcom and other regulatory bodies take account of this feature on X and other platforms that aim to implement similar measures for content moderation.

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9.3 X's Risk Assessments and Mitigation Gaps

X's 2023 Systemic Risk Report¹¹², filed in response to the European Union's Digital Services Act (DSA) compliance requirements, outlines several broad systemic risks arising from the platform's design, operation, and usage. The report identifies risks related to the dissemination of illegal content—including hate speech, terrorist material, child sexual abuse material (CSAM), copyright violations, and the promotion of illegal products or services. It also highlights concerns about how enforcement measures might inadvertently restrict fundamental rights such as freedom of expression, access to information, and privacy. Moreover, the report warns that manipulation of the platform could undermine democratic processes and public security, while also potentially affecting public health and well-being through the spread of harmful or misleading content.

To mitigate these risks, X has claimed to have developed a comprehensive, multi-layered risk management framework. This framework involves a structured, phased assessment process using a 5×5 matrix to evaluate inherent risks based on their likelihood and severity, and to measure the effectiveness of existing controls. X employs a mix of automated systems and manual reviews to detect and address illegal content, complemented by product-level safety features such as the "Freedom of Speech Not Reach" mechanism and user-driven controls that tailor content exposure. Additionally, X maintains an active dialogue with regulators, law enforcement, civil society, and other stakeholders, ensuring that its mitigation strategies are continuously refined and aligned with evolving threats and regulatory requirements.

Our report reveals that organized campaigns are strategically leveraging X's features to amplify Islamophobia and racism. It highlights that coordinated efforts—often executed by groups using networks of inauthentic or highly connected accounts—are able to manipulate platform features such as paid subscriptions and hashtags. By doing so, these campaigns increase the visibility and spread of hate speech, often bypassing or overwhelming existing moderation systems. Product safety features are thus rendered dysfunctional.

10. Conclusion

he discourse surrounding the 'grooming gangs'—amplified at unprecedented scale by Elon Musk's interventions on X—illustrates a dangerous convergence between far-right ideologies and the failure of digital platforms to enforce even basic content moderation policies. At its core, this discourse is less about safeguarding victims and more about reanimating historical prejudices under the guise of public concern. The central targets have been Muslims—particularly British Pakistani men—alongside other South Asian and immigrant communities. These groups have been cast not as individuals, but as an undifferentiated collective threat, drawing on racist, antisemitic, and orientalist tropes with deep colonial and fascist histories. Rather than disrupting these narratives, platforms like X have incubated and accelerated them, serving as high-velocity distribution channels for hate speech, disinformation, and vigilantism.

At the heart of this moral panic lies a calculated and racialized campaign of hate speech. Posts in our dataset invoked long-standing stereotypes of the "foreign predator," alleging that Muslim men possess culturally ingrained misogyny and hostility toward white British women. Entire communities were blamed for the crimes of individuals, while mosques, imams, and cultural symbols were treated as evidence of a broader conspiracy. Public figures such as London Mayor Sadiq Khan were vilified, their ethnicity and religion used to cast suspicion or suggest complicity. Language slid seamlessly between insinuation and overt racism, portraying Muslims and immigrants as rapists, infiltrators, and existential threats. These posts didn't just misinform—they mobilized outrage, encouraged calls for vigilante violence, and framed state repression as a moral imperative.

Running parallel to this overt scapegoating was a more insidious narrative: the idea that "multiculturalism" and "political correctness" were responsible for institutional inaction. This framing positioned diversity itself as a liability and argued that liberal democratic norms had paralyzed law enforcement and governance. Here, civil rights and inclusion were not just devalued—they were reimagined as enabling abuse. Such arguments were deployed by far-right influencers and mainstream politicians alike, laundering reactionary ideologies through the language of concern. In effect, multiculturalism was transformed into a suspect ideology, blamed for creating a society too "timid" to protect itself. This discourse laid the ideological groundwork for dismantling anti-discrimination protections and legitimizing calls for a return to exclusionary, racialized nationalism.

Musk's high-profile engagement with this narrative was not incidental but instrumental. His repeated accusations against Prime Minister Keir Starmer and the Labour Party—alleging cover-ups and complicity—offered political legitimacy to fringe actors and injected far-right talking points directly into the mainstream. By positioning himself as a champion of "free speech," Musk created cover for the amplification of hate and disinformation, often quoting or engaging with known extremists. His platform served not only as a megaphone for these views, but as a shield against accountability, framing any criticism of disinformation as censorship or political suppression.

In this context, Hindu nationalist actors also seized the moment to inject transnational Islamophobic narratives into the discourse. Though a relatively minor political force within the UK, their alignment with far-right British and European networks—especially during moments of heightened tension—has allowed them to punch far above their weight. These actors circulated coordinated disinformation campaigns that reinforced sectarian paranoia and cast Muslims as an ever-present threat. Their involvement demonstrates how digital infrastructures are enabling global alliances between majoritarian movements, eroding the boundaries between domestic and international hate networks. The failure of platform governance is central to this crisis. X's refusal to moderate hate speech, decontextualized videos, or misleading claims enabled a digital environment in which falsehoods thrived and violence became normalized.

This failure highlights the critical role that regulation must now play. The Online Safety Act (OSA) provides one such mechanism, mandating that platforms proactively tackle harmful content, including hate speech and incitement.

However, as this report shows, enforcement remains fragmented and toothless—particularly when influential figures like Musk are directly implicated. For the OSA to be effective, it must treat algorithmic amplification of bigotry and the platforming of disinformation as systemic harms, not isolated incidents. Regulatory oversight must be transparent, politically independent, and informed by the disproportionate impacts on marginalized communities.

The convergence of global far-right ecosystems, Hindu nationalism, and unchecked platform abuse presents a mounting threat to democratic values, public safety, and social cohesion in the UK. These forces—historically distinct—are now strategically aligned, using sexual violence as a racialized wedge to undermine trust in institutions, target Muslims, minorities and immigrant communities, and consolidate reactionary ideologies.

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