



2025 ANNUAL REPORT



A Message from the Executive Director and Director of Research

When the Center for the Study of Organized Hate (CSOH) was founded in 2024, it was grounded in a simple but hard truth: hate and its manifestation into violence do not erupt on their own. They are built through networks, sustained by resources, amplified by digital technologies, protected by impunity, and advanced by those in power. In 2025, that reality became impossible to ignore. The machinery driving organized hate is more visible, more coordinated, and more dangerous than at any point in recent years, making our mission to confront it more urgent than ever.

Throughout 2025, our team worked tirelessly to produce research that bridges the gap between digital ecosystems and real-world violence, grounded in the understanding that the harms unfolding on our screens are deeply and dangerously interconnected with polarization in our societies and violence on our streets.

Our research this year was both broad in scope and targeted in its focus. We released 12 reports, 51 policy briefs, and analysis articles that provided a rigorous mapping of how hate and extremism operate today. We documented the rise of Islamophobia during the New York City mayoral election, tracked the surge of anti-South Asian racism and xenophobia in the US, and exposed the systemic persecution of religious minorities in India and Pakistan. Perhaps most critically, we began to peel back the layers on how Generative AI is being weaponized: from the German far-right's use of aesthetics to sanitize extremist messaging, to the use of synthetic visual content to target minorities in India. These efforts were central to equipping policymakers, technology companies, and civil society with the evidence needed to pursue meaningful change.

Throughout 2025, our research-informed reporting in The New York Times, The Washington Post, CNN, the BBC, and Time Magazine, as well as dozens of mainstream U.S. and international news organizations. We also convened and contributed to critical global conversations on transnational violent extremist threats. Our "Big Tech, Democracy, and Human Rights in South Asia" conference at the University of California, Berkeley brought together a formidable group of journalists, scholars, and advocates to ground global debates in the lived realities of South Asian communities. From Tirana and Brussels, Seoul and Singapore, London to San Francisco, our experts traveled the world to ensure that CSOH's findings remained at the center of international discussions on organized hate, disinformation, extremism, radicalization and democratic resilience.

Everything we do is driven by the conviction that organized hate and online harms thrive when they are minimized or treated as peripheral concerns. We reject that framing. CSOH exists to expose the systems, networks, and power structures that sustain these harms and to confront them with evidence, rigor, and persistence.

As a 501(c)(3) nonprofit, we are only able to undertake this work because of the community that stands behind us. This report is a testament to what we have achieved together in 2025, but it is also a call to action. The stakes are too high to look away, and we remain more committed than ever to the difficult, necessary work of building a world where vulnerable communities can live without fear. Defending democratic values and protecting vulnerable communities is never without risk, but history makes clear that the cost of silence is far greater. Safeguarding our freedoms requires vigilance and resolve. We remain committed to our mission and are grateful for your ongoing support.



Raqib Hameed Naik
Executive Director



Dr. Eviane Leidig
Director of Research

2025 BY THE NUMBERS

12 Reports

51 Policy Briefs
and Analyses

14 In-depth Expert Interviews
(from the Global Majority)

13 Events

14 Interns
Trained

851 Media Mentions

TIME BBC CNN NEWS Gothamist THE STRAITS TIMES
The New York Times The INDEPENDENT thejapantimes Los Angeles Times The Washington
FRANCE 24 AFP BARRON'S arte Newsweek TRTWORLD
REUTERS WIRED cna DW NIKKEI Asia Guardian

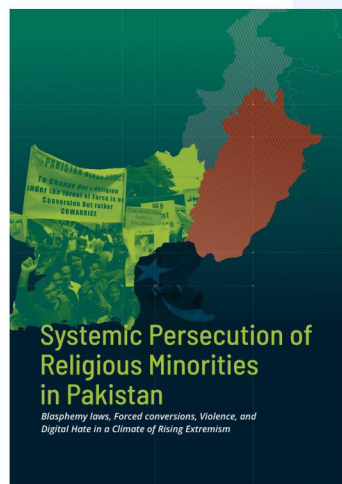
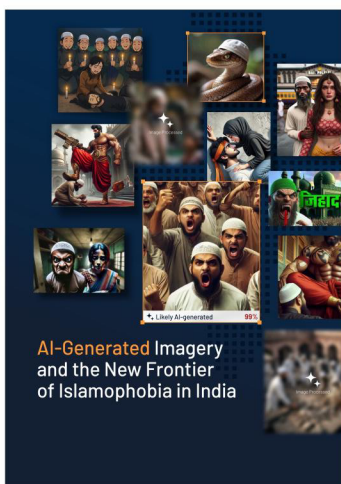
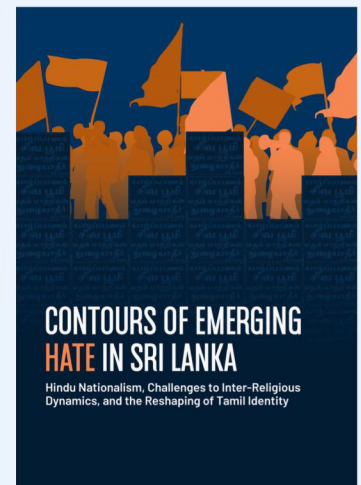
3 Million Website Impressions

CSOHATE.ORG

REPORTS

In 2025, CSOH released 12 research reports that deepened understanding of organized hate, extremism, and digital harms across global contexts. These reports examined how online and offline hate ecosystems operate as interconnected systems, documenting the rise of Islamophobia during the New York City mayoral election; the surge in anti-South Asian racism and xenophobia in the United States; structural biases in platform safety and moderation tools affecting South Asian language users; the systemic persecution of religious minorities in Pakistan; emerging patterns of racist mobilization in the United Kingdom; and the weaponization of generative AI tools to target minorities in India.

Across these investigations, CSOH traced the transnational flow of extremist narratives and the growing convergence of far-right movements operating across regions. Our research highlighted how evolving digital tactics are used to radicalize audiences, normalize exclusionary ideologies, and scale harm across platforms, while also examining the infrastructural conditions that enable these dynamics, including algorithmic amplification, weak policy enforcement, and platform design failures.



Crucially, our reporting consistently linked online hate to real-world consequences, documenting how extremist narratives translate into violence, repression, and the marginalization of Muslims, Christians, migrants, refugees, and other vulnerable communities.

Together, these reports provide policymakers, regulators, technology companies, researchers, journalists, and civil society with evidence-based insights into the evolving threat landscape, while identifying pathways for mitigation, including the urgent need for coordinated, cross-border responses to organized hate and extremism.

All our reports are available at
csohate.org/resources/reports/





POLICY BRIEFS AND ANALYSES

In 2025, our analysis and policy work spanned a wide range of countries and regions across South Asia, Southeast Asia, East Asia, Europe, and North America, examining how organized hate, far-right extremism, exclusionary politics, and the weaponization of technology manifest in distinct yet interconnected ways. Over the course of the year, CSOH published 51 critical analysis and policy explainers that spotlighted far-right extremist groups operating within a global, multiracial far-right ecosystem, the emergence of cross-border collaborations, and the exchange of tactics, techniques, and procedures (TTPs).

These explainers bridged the gap between digital trends and real-world harms, with a particular focus on the transnational nature of extremism and the exploitation of emerging technologies. Throughout the year, CSOH research documented the rapid escalation of harmful content targeting some of the most vulnerable communities across the regions.

Collectively, these mapped an evolving global threat landscape, demonstrating how localized incidents are amplified on social media to fuel broader cycles of polarization, distrust, and violence, while reinforcing authoritarian trends and posing growing risks to democratic resilience.

We also expanded our focus to the weaponization of artificial intelligence by extremist actors and its implications on vulnerable communities and for democratic integrity. Our publications examined how the German far right uses AI-generated aesthetics to sanitize and normalize extremist messaging, alongside investigations into the use of AI-enabled content to target religious minorities in India and intensify political manipulation across South Asia.

These policy briefs and analyses provided essential, forward-looking insights for policymakers, tech companies, civil society organizations, researchers, journalists, and the broader public, helping illuminate the new emerging landscape of digital threats.

HIGHLIGHTS

The American Template and the Rise of a New Transnational Far-Right

By Kumar Ramakrishna and Pravin Prakash | Sept 22



How Kurds Became a Target of Organized Hate in Japan

By Naoto Higuchi and Nanako Inaba | Dec 23



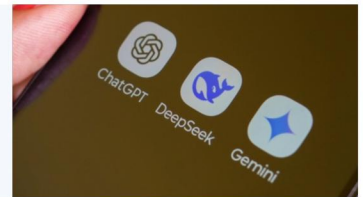
Anti-Afghan Hate Spikes After Shooting of Two National Guardsmen in D.C.

By CSOH | Dec 04



Artificial Intelligence and the Escalation of Political Manipulation in South Asia

By Aishik Saha | Nov 14



The Dangerous Rise of India's 'Cauliflower' Meme

By Hari Prasad | Nov 21



AI-Generated Aesthetics and the Politics of the German Far-Right

By Paris O'Keeffe-Johnston | Oct 13



The Growing Threat of 3D-Printed Firearms in Far Right Networks

By Rueben Dass | Aug 26



Glocalisation of Far-Right Extremism in Southeast Asia

By Saddiq Basha | Sep 4



Wave of Racist Attacks on Indians in Ireland Exposes Far Right's Growing Shadow

By Dean Buckley | Aug 14



The Social Media Misinformation Crisis is Pulling South Asia Apart

By Tanish Bijur | Aug 5



Far-Right Movements and the Existential Crisis of Modern Life

By Pravin Prakash | Jul 18



Meta's Dangerous New Direction Will Enable Atrocity by Design

By Sanjana Hattotuwa | Nov 14



Content Moderation Failures Fuel Islamophobia and Discrimination on Social Media in Sri Lanka

By Angela Forman | Nov 21



MEDIA IMPACT

CSOH's expert-driven research and analysis resonated widely across international media in 2025, significantly amplifying the reach, influence, and impact of our work. Our findings were featured across leading print and digital outlets, as well as through television appearances and broadcast interviews, enabling CSOH to showcase evidence-based analysis on organized hate, extremism, and digital harms to broad public audiences.

Covered by over
800+
News Outlets Globally

This coverage helped ensure that the threats facing minority and other vulnerable communities were not only documented but also elevated and prioritized on the international stage.

Sustained media engagement throughout the year enabled our findings to inform public discourse, shape narratives, and reach policymakers globally, reinforcing collective pressure to address organized hate and extremism across both digital and offline spaces.



HIGHLIGHTS

TIME

Islamophobia Surges Online After Zohran Mamdani's Win

By Juwayriah Wright | Jul 9



CNN

Racists are Now Openly Targeting Indian Americans

By Harmeet Kaur | Nov 17



THE HILL

Texas, Florida Lead GOP Battle Against Muslim Advocacy Groups

By Surina Venkat | Dec 26



The Washington Post

As Ties with U.S. Fray, Indian Sentiment Turns Sharply Against America

By Karishma Mehrotra | Sep 15



The New York Times

In Delhi and New York, Hindu Right Wing Lines Up Against Mamdani

By Pranav Baskar | Aug 1



The New York Times

Ramaswamy Challenges Conservatives on Surging Bigotry on the Right

By Pooja Salhotra | Dec 19



The  INDEPENDENT

Musk's X 'amplified Islamophobia, hate speech and disinformation' in grooming gangs debate, damning report says

By Maroosha Muzaffar | May 13



BBC

India Sees Huge Spike in Hate Speech in 2024, Says Report

By Meryl Sebastian | Feb 11



CNN

World's most populous nation saw a 'staggering' rise in hate speech last year, report says

By Aishwarya S Iyer | Feb 10



The Guardian

How Social Media Lies Fuelled A Rush to War Between India and Pakistan

By Hannah Ellis-Petersen | May 28



ABC NEWS

Misinformation War Rages Online Amid India-Pakistan Tensions

By Libby Hogan | May 24



NIKKEI Asia

AI Tools Amplify Anti-Muslim Hate on Indian Social Media: Think Tank

By Quratulain Rehbar | Oct 23



EVENTS

CSOH serves as a critical bridge in closing long-standing gaps in research on emerging transnational alliances between organized hate and extremist networks, while advancing innovative strategies to confront these evolving threats. Over the past year, we convened a series of high-impact virtual and in-person events examining transnational organized hate, coordinated digital campaigns targeting minority and marginalized communities, the global rise of authoritarianism, and the growing weaponization of technology.

Our public events and webinars offered essential insights into the cross-border nature of organized hate, with a particular focus on high-risk regions and diasporic contexts. Collectively, these convenings brought together a diverse coalition of scholars, policymakers, technologists, journalists, and civil society advocates, attracting more than 1,050 participants from across the globe.

We partnered with the Center for South Asia at Stanford University; the Center for Race and Gender and the Political Conflict, Gender and People's Rights Initiative at the University of California, Berkeley; and the Bridge Initiative at Georgetown University to anchor these conversations in rigorous research and policy relevance. These events created dynamic, action-oriented spaces where rigorous, evidence-based analysis informed concrete strategies to strengthen cross-border mitigation, demand greater platform transparency and accountability, counter authoritarian influence, and confront the forces driving polarization and social fragmentation.





BIG TECH, DEMOCRACY, AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTH ASIA



On November 12, 2025, CSOH co-organized an important conference on the relationship between social media platforms and their impact on democracy and human rights in South Asia at the University of California, Berkeley. The conference was co-hosted with the Center for Race and Gender, the Political Conflict, Gender and People’s Rights Initiative, the Institute for South Asian Studies, and the Center for South Asia at Stanford University.

The convening brought together leading journalists, digital rights advocates, and scholars to examine how social media platforms shape democratic processes and human rights across South Asia.

Speakers

Jeff Horwitz (Technology reporter, Thomson Reuters), Susan Benesch (Executive Director, Dangerous Speech Project), Alexa Koenig (Research Professor of Law and Co-Faculty Director, Human Rights Center, Berkeley Law), Gerry Shih (former Delhi Bureau Chief, The Washington Post), Nighat Dad (Executive Director, Digital Rights Foundation; Board Member, Meta Oversight Board), Sabhanaz Rashid Diya (Executive Director, Tech Global Institute), Michael Kugelman (Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council), Zeba Warsi (Foreign Affairs Producer, PBS NewsHour), Leti Volpp (Director, Center for Race and Gender, UC Berkeley), Angana P. Chatterji (Founding chair, Political Conflict, Gender and People’s Rights Initiative; Research Anthropologist, UC Berkeley), and Rohit Chopra (Professor, Department of Communication, Santa Clara University).

The conference created a critical interdisciplinary space to ground global debates on platform accountability in the lived political, social, and human rights realities of South Asia and its diasporas.



Executive Director Raqib Naik during a fireside chat at the College Freedom Forum at Rowan University.

GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT AND INTERNATIONAL CONVENINGS



Researcher Deeksha Udupa spoke at the RSIS conference on emerging digital threats, in Singapore.

Throughout the year, CSOH staff established a significant global footprint by contributing their expertise to government and high-level international discussions on combating organized hate, extremism, and the rise of authoritarianism. Our team traveled across regions to ensure that CSOH's research remained central to global conversations, directly informing international debates and high-level decision-making.

Some of these engagements included EMPOWER TALK: Standing Against Hate and Embracing Rights in Tirana, Albania; EU DisinfoLab's #Disinfo2025 Conference in Ljubljana, Slovenia; RightsCon 2025 ("AI for Counterspeakers: Global Perspectives & Local Solutions," co-hosted with the Dangerous Speech Project); the International Civil Society Week (ICSW) convening in Bangkok; the 28th International Political Science Association (IPSA) World Congress in Seoul; the JournoTECH AI 2025 Conference in London; Expert session at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (CENS) in Singapore; the College Freedom Forum at Rowan University in New Jersey; the 5th International Conference on Social Media and Society in India at the University of Michigan; the EU Knowledge Hub on Prevention of Radicalisation's Policy-Practice Joint Event in Brussels; a panel on counterterrorism frameworks at Harvard Kennedy School's Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy; Dialogue Day hosted by Respect.lu Center Against Radicalization in Luxembourg; and the AI for Individual Rights Summit in San Francisco.



Head of Strategic Initiatives Pravin Prakash spoke at #Disinfo2025 in Ljubljana, Slovenia, organized by EU DisinfoLab.



Director of Research and Outreach Eviane Leidig spoke at the EU Knowledge Hub event in Brussels



Executive Director Raqib Naik spoke on two panels at the Human Rights 30 Conference in Tirana, Albania.



Director of Research and Outreach Eviane Leidig delivered a keynote at Dialogue Day organized by Respect.lu in Luxembourg.

TRAINING THE NEXT GENERATION OF LEADERS

Our summer internship program continues to serve as a key pipeline for cultivating future leaders in research, policy, and human rights, bringing together 12 outstanding students selected through a highly competitive process. Ten interns were chosen through the Oslo Scholars Program, with an additional two selected through CSOH's open application process.

Interns joined CSOH from universities including Harvard University, Stanford University, Columbia University, Tufts University, Princeton University, and other institutions. Throughout the program, interns made substantive contributions across CSOH's three research programs, directly supporting ongoing research, data analysis, and strengthening our evidence-based advocacy.



Interns received hands-on training in research methods, data verification, open-source intelligence tools, and policy analysis and writing, while working closely with CSOH staff and leadership.

Through this immersive experience, the internship prepares a new generation of leaders equipped to counter extremism and authoritarianism, defend democratic values, and advance human rights.

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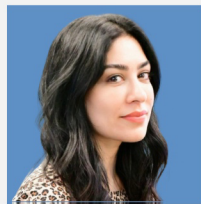
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Ammaarah Nilafdeen
Researcher and
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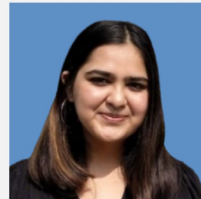
Elizabeth Lievens
Grants Manager



Aldi Nurzahputra
Communications Manager



Zenith Khan
Data Analyst



Amrashaa Singh
Impact Litigation Officer



Sourav Dihingia
Digital Research Analyst



Arshi Qureshi
Research Fellow

The Threat Is Real. The Work Is Urgent. Support Us Today.

Organized hate and disinformation are driving some of the most urgent threats to our communities and to democracy today.

They thrive when such harm is dismissed as “noise,” when violence is treated as spontaneous, and when institutions refuse to confront how extremist ideologies, technology, and power intersect.

CSOH exists to challenge that denial.

We document how hate is organized and how it moves between our screens, streets, and state institutions. We work to make accountability and change possible. With your support, we will stand firm and refuse to yield.



DONATE

CSOH is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization, and all of our work is made possible by your generosity. We undertake this work with a clear understanding of the risks and personal costs involved, and we remain committed to it because the stakes are too high to look away.

We ask for your support to help sustain this work and make its impact possible.

Learn more and make a donation today at
www.csohate.org/donate



Understanding, Preventing, and Combating Organized Hate.

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