

Rohingya Infiltrators

Kangalu

# DECODING HATE

Rice Bag

2.5 Front

Vidharmi

A Lexicon of Transnational  
Harmful Speech Rooted in  
Hindu Nationalist Ideology

Malechha

Gau Taskar

Love Jihad

Bangladeshi Infiltrator

**CSOH**  
1629 K St. NW, Suite 300  
Washington, D.C. 20006

The Center for the Study of Organized Hate (CSOH) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan think tank based in Washington, D.C. CSOH is strongly driven by its mission to advance research and inform policies that combat hate, violence, extremism, radicalism, and online harms.

Our research, strategic partnerships, and community engagement programs are guided by the vision of a more inclusive and resilient society against all forms of hate and extremism.

#### **About Decoding Hate**

Decoding Hate is a database of the coded terms, slurs conspiracy theories, and harmful narratives used to target vulnerable communities. It's a working tool for research, journalists, educators, policymakers, civil society organizations, platforms, and social media users seeking to identify this language and understand its harm.

#### **Connect With Us**

Website: [www.csohate.org](http://www.csohate.org)

LinkedIn: <https://www.linkedin.com/company/csohate/>

Instagram: [www.instagram.com/csohate](https://www.instagram.com/csohate)

Facebook: [www.facebook.com/csohate](https://www.facebook.com/csohate)

X: [www.x.com/csohate](https://www.x.com/csohate)

TikTok: <https://www.tiktok.com/@csohate>

©2026 Center for the Study of Organized Hate (CSOH).  
All rights reserved.

No portion of this report may be reproduced in any form without CSOH's permission, except as permitted under U.S. copyright law.

**For inquiries, please email: [press@csohate.org](mailto:press@csohate.org)**

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>LOVE JIHAD</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>LAND JIHAD</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>POPULATION JIHAD</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>MEHANDI JIHAD</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>THOOK JIHAD</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>VACCINE JIHAD</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>HALAL JIHAD</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>MAZAR JIHAD</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>VOTE JIHAD</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>ECONOMIC JIHAD</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>RAIL JIHAD</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>EDUCATION JIHAD</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>DRUG JIHAD</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>COORPORATE JIHAD</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>JIHADI</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>GAU BHAKSHAK / GAU HATYARE</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>GAU TASKAR</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>ROHINGYA INFILTRATORS</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>BANGLADESHI INFILTRATORS</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>KANGALU</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>MIYA</b>	<b>23</b>

<b>GEDA / GEDIA</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>KATUA / KATMULLA / KATMULLI</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>BABAR KI AULAD / AURANGZEB KI AULAD</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>OLA HU UBER</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>SULLI / BULLI</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>PISSLAM / CHUSLAM / CHUSLIMS</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>ROKO, TOKO, THOKO</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>HALALA</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>SAR TAN SE JUDA</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>BAKRICHOD</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>GHAZWA-E-HIND</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>MADARKHOD KAUM</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>MULLAH</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>LANDYA</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>CAULIFLOWER</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>DESH KE GADDARO KO, GOLI MAARO SAALO KO</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>BABRI TO BAS JHAANKI HAI, KASHI MATHURA BAAKI HAI</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>TEL LAGAO DABUR KA, NAAM MITAO BABAR KA</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>NA MULLA KA, NA QAZI KA, YE DESH HAI VEER SHIVAJI KA</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>HINDUSTAN MEI REHNA HOGA, JAI SHRI RAM KEHNA HOGA</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>ABDUL</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>PUNCTUREVALA</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>MUGHAL POOT</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>PEACEFULS</b>	<b>47</b>

<b>PORKI</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>TOPIWALA</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>MALECHHA</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>MADARSA CHHAAP</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>VIDHARMI</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>AASMAANI KITAAB</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>HARE TIDDE</b>	<b>54</b>
<b>2.5 FRONT</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>RICE BAGS OR RICE BAG CONVERTS</b>	<b>56</b>
<b>KHALISTANI</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>PAAIJAAN</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>TURKA / TURKOLLU / TURUKA / TURKARU</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>MUKKAL</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>REPORTING HARMFUL CONTENT</b>	<b>61</b>
<b>ENDNOTES</b>	<b>85</b>

# Introduction

Over the last decade, a distinct and organized vocabulary of harmful speech has taken root in India and across Indian diasporic communities worldwide. This harmful speech has grown increasingly insidious since Prime Minister Narendra Modi's rise to power in 2014 brought Hindu nationalist ideology into the political mainstream. It encompasses dangerous speech, dehumanizing language, conspiratorial labeling, religious slurs, and coded terminology targeting religious minorities, particularly Muslims, Christians, and Sikhs.

Although rooted in the Indian context, this lexicon's significance is much broader. Increasingly, such language is becoming normalized globally as part of the everyday platitudes of a broader and increasingly ascendant far-right global ecosystem, one in which similarly harmful language is deployed against marginalized and vulnerable communities across South Asia and beyond. The Indian diaspora ranks among the world's largest and most politically engaged, making such speech a transnational phenomenon.

In countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and beyond, the networks of the Indian diaspora have become critical nodes in the transnational spread of harmful narratives. Harmful terms that originate in India are often recontextualized and deployed in diasporic spaces (and at times, vice versa) — whether in local politics, digital campaigns, or intra-community disputes — frequently targeting fellow Indians or South Asians who are Muslim, Christian, Sikh, or critics of Hindu nationalist ideology. Transnational manifestations also occur through the adoption, amplification, and recontextualization of harmful terms by domestic far-right actors in Europe, the UK, and North America. This flow of harmful speech underscores the urgency of recognizing that its harms transcend geography and national borders.

The harmful speech documented in this lexicon serves multiple functions for its perpetrators: a vehicle for political mobilization, a means of promoting hate and division, a tool for social and economic exclusion, and a catalyst for inciting violence. This manual defines, documents, and analyzes the vocabulary of harmful speech, grounded in the understanding that such language does not emerge in a vacuum. Harmful speech is cultivated over time, through repeated use and social reinforcement, until it becomes routine, banal, and, ultimately, secures widespread legitimacy and acceptance. The goal is to equip a broad range of stakeholders with the tools to monitor, identify, and respond to the growing threat of organized harmful speech and narratives. These stakeholders include social media platforms, policymakers, researchers, civil society organizations, journalists, and the general public.

Many of the terms documented in this lexicon are not always recognized as dangerous by automated moderation systems of social media platforms or by the general public. Their danger lies precisely in their seeming normalcy — the way they evade detection through coded language and ambiguous framing. Such terms appear familiar, even benign, yet their usage is intimately connected to the vilification and dehumanization of entire communities, calls for violence, and the erosion of democratic values and civility in everyday social relations.

For social media platforms, this lexicon serves as a critical resource to improve content moderation practices and inform platform policies aimed at identifying and mitigating systemic risks related to harmful conduct. The slurs, slogans, and coded phrases that permeate such speech do not represent a fringe vocabulary but are widely used at in-person hate speech events and in daily expression across digital spaces. Platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, X (formerly Twitter), YouTube, WhatsApp, Telegram, Reddit, and TikTok have become central vectors for the delivery and amplification of this harmful speech. As social media usage has surged in India, with over 400 million Facebook users, 700 million on WhatsApp, 26 million on X, and nearly 500 million Instagram users, the scale and sophistication of speech that incites hostility, division, and exclusion and leads to real-world harm have grown exponentially.

Such inciteful content, whether overt or coded, warrants urgent action by social media platforms. For governments and regulators, the lexicon provides concrete, evidence-based documentation of the kinds of harmful language that normalize discrimination and provoke hostility toward specific groups. For civil society organizations and researchers across the globe, the lexicon serves as an essential tool for tracking harmful narratives anchored in Hindu nationalist ideology.

The pervasiveness of the types of harmful speech covered in the lexicon can also be understood as a public health crisis, one that involves the spread of dangerous ideological themes, triggers offline harm, and inflicts lasting trauma on the communities that it affects. By documenting and defining this vocabulary of harmful speech, we aim not only to expose how language is used to inflict harm but also to lay the groundwork for preventive strategies and collective action to confront it to safeguard vulnerable communities.

This lexicon does not purport to be exhaustive. Language evolves constantly, especially in politicized and digital environments. New terms emerge, old ones are repurposed, and definitions shift depending on context. However, this lexicon offers a living framework that can grow over time and adapt to the changing landscape of harmful speech. Through providing this manual as a resource, we hope to contribute to a safer and more just digital and social environment for all communities.

## SECTION 1

# The Harmful Speech Lexicon

# LOVE JIHAD

Love Jihad is an anti-Muslim conspiracy theory claiming that Muslim men systematically target and seduce Hindu women to convert them to Islam. According to the theory, the process of Love Jihad involves luring Hindu women into marriages and converting them in an effort to alter the demographic makeup by increasing the Muslim population.<sup>1</sup>

## Background and Context

The concept of Love Jihad emerged during the colonial period of British rule,<sup>2</sup> but became prominent in the early 2010s as the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) gained political traction in India. The anxiety around demographic change through Love Jihad is rooted in historical stereotypes about Muslim men as hypersexual and predatory. In the current period, Hindu nationalist groups have framed interfaith marriages, especially between Muslims and Hindus, as a conspiracy to weaken Hindu culture and demography.

This narrative has been used to mobilize voters during election cycles<sup>3</sup> and to inflame religious tensions by stoking fears of the erosion of Hindu identity. It bears noting that the Special Marriage Act (1954) legally protects interfaith marriage in India.<sup>4</sup> Love Jihad has close overlap with the "Great Replacement Theory," which propagates a similar fear of demographic change through the loss of racial (White) and religious (Christian) populations in the Western world, driven by higher birth rates among migrants, including Muslims.<sup>5</sup>

## Impact and Harm

The bogus conspiracy theory of Love Jihad portrays Muslims as brutish and hypersexual. It has been used to promote suspicion, justify anti-Muslim hate and violence, and restrict personal freedoms, especially with regard to interfaith relationships.<sup>6</sup> Several Indian states have institutionalized this conspiracy theory into anti-conversion laws, singling out Muslim men for prosecution through biased criminal proceedings. In the first nine months after the state of Uttar Pradesh passed its anti-conversion law, 208 people were arrested under its provisions. All of them were Muslim.<sup>7</sup>

### Variants and Alternate Forms

लव जिहाद, Conversion Jihad, लव Gहाद

## Online Usage

**Subscribe**

Love Jihad is an Islamic design to promote Islam and increase the numbers.

Muslim men are more likely to work and socialise with non-muslim women than their female Muslim counterparts.

Muslim women are not allowed to converse with strangers. This leads to a higher chance of such marriages occurring.

This trend in addition to military jihad also led to a shortfall of available Muslim men, hence the concept of polygamy was formalised in Quran.

Muslim men are allowed to marry Christians and Jews, whereas Muslim women are not allowed.

Islam created a well-organized one-way street when it comes to Interfaith marriages, which is termed as love jihad.

~ Yogita Pandita

3:59 PM · Sep 19, 2023 · 53K Views

24 397 983 56

**Subscribe**

Translated from Hindi [Show original](#)

This jihadi's name is Sahil Sheikh, and he is a resident of Tamluk, Purba Medinipur.

He is going to every temple and trapping Hindu girls in **love jihad**.

He is offering these girls that he needs a girlfriend with whom he can enjoy, and in return, he will give her 4 lakh rupees and an iPhone.

Think about it, could he openly carry out such antics like this in any BJP-ruled state??

Rate this translation: 👍 🗨



1:04 PM · Sep 10, 2025 · 20.8K Views

55 871 1.1K 29

# LAND JIHAD

The Land Jihad conspiracy theory claims that Muslims systematically acquire land to gain political influence. This includes purchasing property, constructing mosques, and establishing shrines. The theory also accuses the Waqf board,<sup>8</sup> a statutory body that manages properties that have been donated by Indian Muslims over centuries, of illegally obtaining land to enhance their political power.

## Background and Context

Since 2014, coinciding with the premiership of Narendra Modi, Hindu nationalist groups have increasingly asserted that Muslims have a hidden agenda to gradually increase their presence in Hindu-majority areas through land acquisition and settlement. The conspiracy taps into anxieties about economic competition and territorial encroachment, framing Muslim neighbors as existential threats rather than fellow citizens.

The primary objective of this conspiracy is to instill a fear of Muslims and increase religious polarization by portraying ordinary real estate transactions as part of a larger conspiracy. In reality, a 2006 report conducted by the government-constituted Sachar Committee found that Muslims in India own less land than Hindus, a disparity rooted in historical marginalization, economic deprivation, and limited political representation.<sup>9</sup> The Land Jihad theory is intertwined with laws that demand stricter regulations on Muslim buyers or restrict land sales to Muslims entirely in various BJP ruled states.<sup>10</sup>

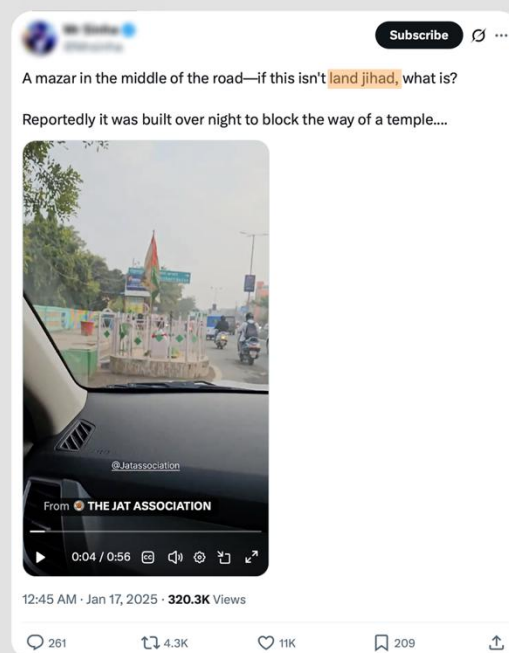
## Impact and Harm

The theory portrays Muslims as land-grabbers and promotes segregation by criminalizing property transactions between Hindus and Muslims and by denying Muslims the right to live in non-Muslim neighborhoods. It stokes fears that Muslim presence will diminish property values and Hindu demographic dominance, transforming economic anxieties into communal hostility. It legitimizes Hindu property owners refusal to sell or rent to Muslims. It has fueled desecration of and attacks on mosques, graveyards, and other Muslim communal spaces based on spurious claims of illegal occupation.<sup>11</sup>

### Variants and Alternate Forms

भूमि जिहाद, ज़मीन जिहाद, Property Jihad

## Online Usage



# POPULATION JIHAD

Population Jihad is a conspiracy theory that portrays Muslim communities as intentionally driving demographic change to reduce the numerical majority of non-Muslim populations. Its proponents falsely argue that higher Muslim fertility rates, polygynous marriages<sup>12</sup> permitted under Islamic law, and purported state support all combine to alter the religious demographic composition of a given society.

## Background and Context

Population Jihad is a longstanding conspiracy theory, traceable back to the early twentieth century,<sup>13</sup> that casts India's Muslim community as deliberately engineering a demographic takeover to reduce Hindus to a minority. Its proponents point to the 2011 census,<sup>14</sup> which recorded Hindus at 79.8 percent and Muslims at 14.2 percent, as well as to higher average fertility rates among Muslims (2.4 children per woman versus 1.9 for Hindus) as evidence of this existential threat.<sup>15</sup>

Yet official government figures show that Muslim fertility rates have been steadily declining and converging with Hindu rates,<sup>16</sup> and experts agree that there is no organized plot to alter India's demographic balance.<sup>17</sup> Instead, the myth of a looming Muslim majority is perpetuated through caricatured media portrayals of large, polygynous Muslim families and is repeatedly invoked to deepen religious polarization and mobilize political support for discriminatory laws.

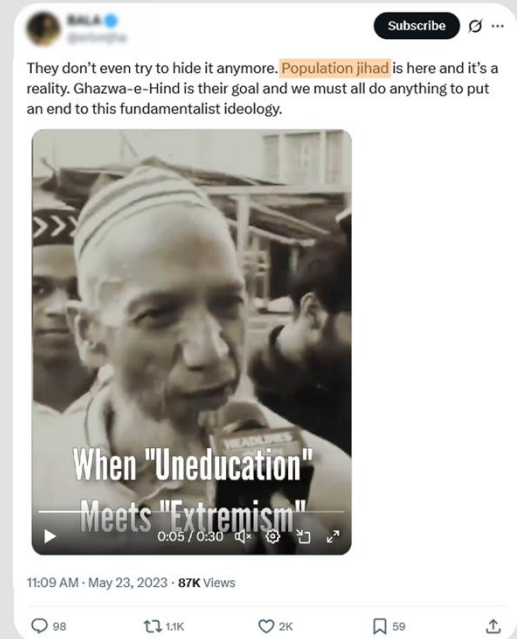
## Impact and Harm

This theory utilizes dubious statistics to stoke Hindu anxieties about a supposed Muslim takeover of India, despite declining Muslim fertility rates and the fact that Muslims make up only 14 percent of the population in India compared to Hindus, who constitute 79 percent of the population. By recasting family-planning decisions as part of a sinister plot to transform India into a Muslim-majority nation, its proponents legitimize exclusionary anti-Muslim policies and sectarian violence. Such violence itself functions as a strategy of disenfranchisement, most visibly through branding Indian Muslims of Bengali origin as "foreigners."

### Variants and Alternate Forms

जनसंख्या जिहाद, Demographic Jihad

## Online Usage



A screenshot of a YouTube video player. The video title is "When 'Uneducation' Meets 'Extremism'". The video shows a man in a white turban speaking. The video has 87K views and was posted on May 23, 2023. The channel name is partially visible as "SALA".



A screenshot of a Facebook post from "The Sanatan Hindu News". The post features a video thumbnail showing a woman in a black hijab and glasses speaking into a microphone. The text of the post is in Hindi: "भारत में जनसंख्या जिहाद का बड़ा खुलासा!". The post has 17 comments and was posted on April 28, 2025. The channel name is "The Sanatan Hindu News".

# MEHENDI JIHAD

The Mehendi Jihad conspiracy theory accuses Muslim henna artists of deliberately setting up stalls at Hindu festivals and celebrations, such as Karva Chauth or Diwali, to target Hindu women. Proponents of the theory claim that this deception is part of a coordinated Muslim effort — akin to Love Jihad — to lure and convert Hindu women to Islam.

## Background and Context

Henna (mehendi), a staining paste used to adorn hands and feet, is a cross-community cultural tradition in South Asia typically practiced at weddings, festivals, and celebrations, largely without religious intent.

Yet the Mehendi Jihad conspiracy theory twists this cultural custom into proof of a covert Islamic plot to seduce Hindu women and convert them to Islam. Hindu nationalist groups such as Kranti Sena<sup>18</sup> and some BJP leaders<sup>19</sup> have repeatedly incited violence against Muslim mehendi artists,<sup>20</sup> barred them from setting up mehendi stalls at events,<sup>21</sup> and organized boycott campaigns against them,<sup>22</sup> exacerbating the economic marginalization of Muslim communities.

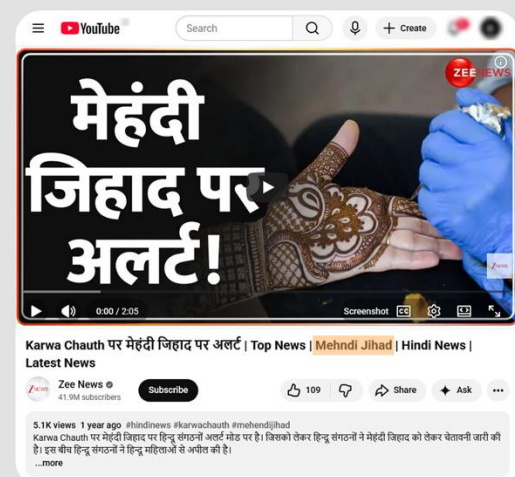
## Impact and Harm

The theory reinforces harmful stereotypes of Muslims as predatory, exposing them to harassment, violence, and exclusion from social, cultural, and religious events. It also deprives Muslim mehendi artists of economic opportunities.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

Henna Jihad, मेहंदी जिहाद

## Online Usage



# VACCINE JIHAD

Vaccine Jihad is a conspiracy theory that surfaced during the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic in India. Hindu nationalist advocates of the theory spread the canard that Muslims healthcare workers deliberately discarded vaccine syringes to sabotage India's immunization drive. Another version of the myth alleges that vaccine hesitancy within Muslim communities is a deliberate ploy to spread the virus among Hindus.

## Background and Context

The Vaccine Jihad theory first surfaced in early 2021, shortly after India launched its COVID-19 immunization drive, when rumors began circulating on WhatsApp and other social media platforms accusing Muslim health workers of discarding or tampering with vaccine syringes.<sup>23</sup>

Those spreading the theory also asserted that Muslim doctors were injecting Hindu patients with toxins and that residents of Muslim-majority areas were deliberately refusing vaccination. These allegations diverted attention from critical issues such as vaccine shortages and government mismanagement of the pandemic, all while fueling distrust and discrimination against Muslim healthcare professionals.

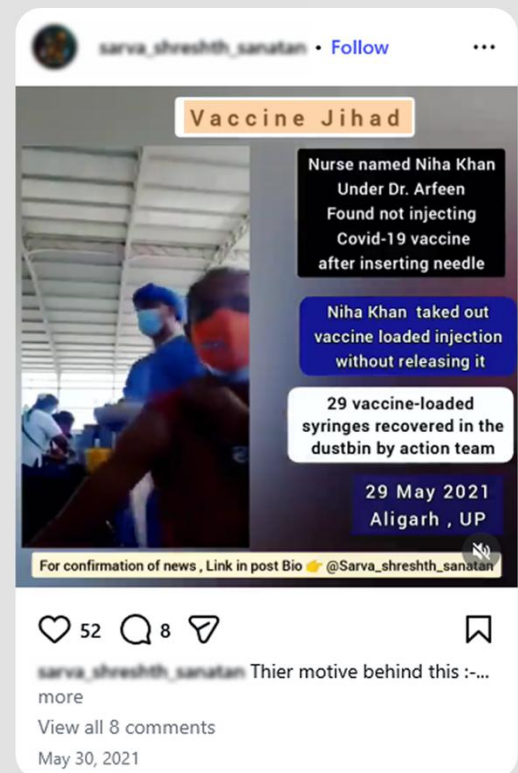
## Impact and Harm

This theory erodes public trust in immunization, reducing vaccination rates and risking outbreaks of preventable diseases. It also stigmatizes Muslim healthcare workers, exposing them to harassment, threats, and violence.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

वैक्सिन जिहाद, Corona Jihad, कोरोना जिहाद

## Online Usage



# THOOK JIHAD

Thook Jihad or Spit Jihad is a Hindu nationalist conspiracy theory that emerged in India during the early months of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020. The conspiracy is based on the claim that Muslim fruit and vegetable vendors deliberately spit on their produce to transmit the virus. Since then, the claim has evolved into a broader narrative accusing Muslims of intentionally contaminating food to render it impure for Hindus, thereby violating Hindu norms of religious purity.

## Background and Context

As part of a broader campaign to demonize Muslims, the conspiracy theory first blamed the 2020 Tablighi Jamaat religious gathering in New Delhi (pejoratively dubbed “Corona Jihad”<sup>24</sup>) for spreading COVID-19. After those claims were debunked, the focus shifted to accusing Muslim vendors of deliberately spitting on their produce.

Fake videos and doctored clips amplified these allegations, fueling calls to boycott Muslim-owned businesses and reinforcing efforts to economically and socially marginalize Muslim communities, especially those working in the food trade. Old, unrelated footage from various countries was recirculated as “evidence.” A related variant, Urine Jihad, falsely claims that Muslim vendors contaminate their goods with urine. These accusations have sparked physical attacks against Muslim juice vendors<sup>25</sup> and other Muslim-led small businesses.

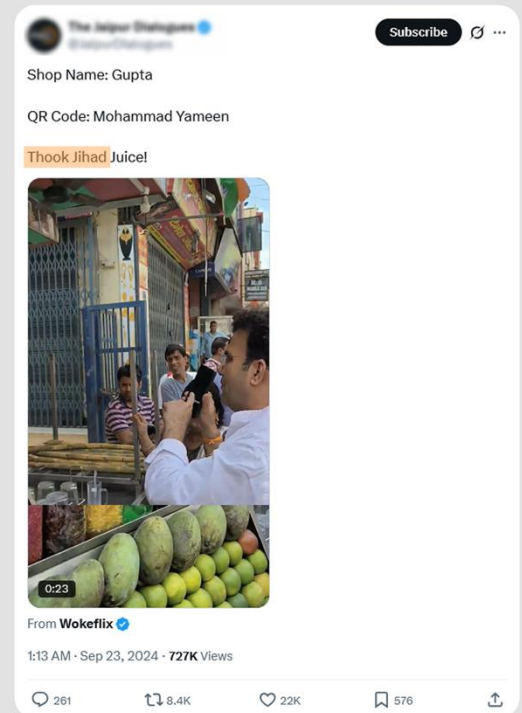
## Impact and Harm

The term has fueled economic boycotts of Muslim-owned eateries and fresh-produce sellers by instilling widespread fear and paranoia. In response, some BJP-led state governments have enacted laws<sup>26</sup> grounded in this conspiracy theory that criminalize the alleged contamination of food with spit, urine, or dirt, prescribing fines and imprisonment for offenders. The laws exploit legitimate food safety concerns as a veneer for targeting Muslim businesses.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

थूक जिहाद, पेशाब जिहाद, Urine Jihad

## Online Usage



# HALAL JIHAD

Halal Jihad conspiracy theory claims that Muslims use halal certification<sup>27</sup> to impose Islamic practices and Sharia law in India, while allegedly “contaminating” food consumed by Hindus. A core element of this false narrative is the baseless assertion that profits from halal-certified products are diverted to finance terrorism.

## Background and Context

In India, halal certification, in essence, merely accommodates the choices of some Muslim consumers and facilitates exports to Muslim-majority markets. Hindu nationalist conspiracists distort this legitimate process by reframing it as a scheme to impose Islamic dietary norms and economically empower Muslim businesses. They further claim that profits from halal-certified products fund terrorist networks. Despite halal certification being overseen by independent or government-recognized bodies, the Halal Jihad narrative has fueled boycotts of halal goods<sup>28</sup> and pressured businesses to avoid certification<sup>29</sup>, contributing to wider economic campaigns that target Muslim traders.

## Impact and Harm

This conspiracy theory has spawned coordinated boycott campaigns, often amplified on social media, urging Hindu consumers to shun halal-certified goods and Muslim-owned stores. These movements have pressured manufacturers, retailers, and food-service providers to strip halal labels or abandon certification altogether, harming both Muslim businesses of their livelihood and consumers to exercise dietary restrictions. The theory has also found resonance among sections of the Indian diaspora.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

हलाल जिहाद

## Online Usage



# MAZAR JIHAD

Mazar Jihad is a conspiracy theory alleging that Muslims illegally erect mazars (shrines) on public land to alter the local religious demographic composition.

## Background and Context

The notion of Mazar Jihad has gained traction over the last decade, most vocally championed by BJP leader and Uttarakhand state chief minister Pushkar Singh Dhami. For centuries, mazars (shrines built over Sufi saints' graves) have been woven into India's religious and cultural heritage.

Hindu nationalist groups and leaders cast mazars as illegal encroachments designed to stake Muslim territorial claims over public and Hindu-owned land. This narrative is frequently invoked to justify government-backed demolition drives against the religious and cultural structures, framing these sites as unlawful and illegitimate. In practice, however, such takedowns are typically politically motivated and disproportionately target Muslim religious structures.

## Impact and Harm

The theory casts every Muslim religious structure as a potential land grab, fueling fear and suspicion of shrines and mosques alike. The branding of these sites as unlawful encroachments legitimizes discriminatory state actions, including targeted demolitions, denial of permits, and arbitrary seizures of Muslim places of worship.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

मजार जिहाद, Land Jihad

## Online Usage



# VOTE JIHAD

Vote Jihad is a conspiracy theory alleging that India’s Muslim community votes in a coordinated bloc to undermine parties purportedly working for the interests of Hindus. It portrays ordinary Muslim voting patterns as evidence of an organized effort to establish Muslim political dominance in local, state, or national legislative bodies.

## Background and Context

While Indian elections are often influenced by a vast array of caste-based, religious, and regional dynamics, the Vote Jihad conspiracy theory insists that Muslims vote as a monolithic bloc to thwart parties seen as serving Hindu interests, despite clear evidence that economic and governance concerns predominantly drive voting choices.<sup>30</sup>

BJP senior leaders, including Prime Minister Narendra Modi himself, have amplified this trope to galvanize Hindu voters and to argue that coordinated Muslim voting imperils pro-Hindu candidates. The theory also circulates unfounded allegations of multiple voter registrations by Muslims, illegal voting by Muslim migrants, and undue advantages granted to Muslim-led political parties.

## Impact and Harm

The term attacks the Muslim community for exercising their democratic right to vote. By framing Muslim participation as a form of “jihad,” Hindu nationalist politicians stoke Hindu fears of a Muslim political takeover and justify suppression of Muslim voters through police and administrative force.<sup>31</sup> It is also wielded as a cudgel against any political party or politician who addresses Muslim concerns, dismissing such efforts as “Muslim appeasement” or “appeasement politics.”

### Variants and Alternate Forms

वोट जिहाद, Political Jihad

## Online Usage



# ECONOMIC JIHAD

Economic Jihad is a conspiracy theory alleging that Muslim vendors and business owners conceal their religious identity to deceive non-Muslim customers into purchasing their goods. Proponents cast everyday commerce as part of a covert strategy in which Muslims use economic success as a stepping-stone to establish social dominance and political control.

## Background and Context

Advocates of the theory insist that Muslim-owned businesses, ranging from meat exports to leatherwork and small-scale trade, harbor a hidden agenda to monopolize markets and undercut Hindu businesses. This baseless conspiracy has fueled organized boycott campaigns, spreading rapidly across social media platforms through claims that Muslims exclusively patronize Muslim traders while boycotting non-Muslim businesses.

Such narratives have led to the exclusion of Muslims from key local markets and the denial of commercial opportunities during religious festivals, deepening economic and social segregation and compounding the community's longstanding economic marginalization.

## Impact and Harm

This theory cuts Muslim community members off from vital markets and income streams, driving many into deeper poverty. It inflames social distrust and normalizes discrimination, making it easier to justify violence, harassment, and exclusion. It has also served as a pretext for systematically targeting Muslim vendors through organized boycotts. Over time, these pressures erode economic resilience, fracture social cohesion, and heighten the community's vulnerability to exploitation and marginalization.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

Business Jihad, व्यापार जिहाद, आर्थिक जिहाद

## Online Usage



# RAIL JIHAD

Rail Jihad is a conspiracy theory alleging that Muslims actively conspire to sabotage India's railway network by derailling trains, tampering with tracks, or planting explosives to inflict mass casualties on passengers.

## Background and Context

India's long history of railway accidents — stemming from aging infrastructure, outdated technology, human error, and natural events — has been cynically exploited by Hindu nationalist groups to accuse Muslims of orchestrating sabotage. The Rail Jihad narrative gained traction after isolated derailments were wrongly attributed to Muslim individuals<sup>32</sup>, and doctored videos, pictures, and viral social-media campaigns amplified the lie that Muslim railway workers or station vendors were planting objects on rail tracks. Hindu nationalists have used this theory to demand extra scrutiny of Muslim employees and travelers, deepening religious polarization and deflecting from the government's responsibility to improve safety and accountability with regard to India's railways.

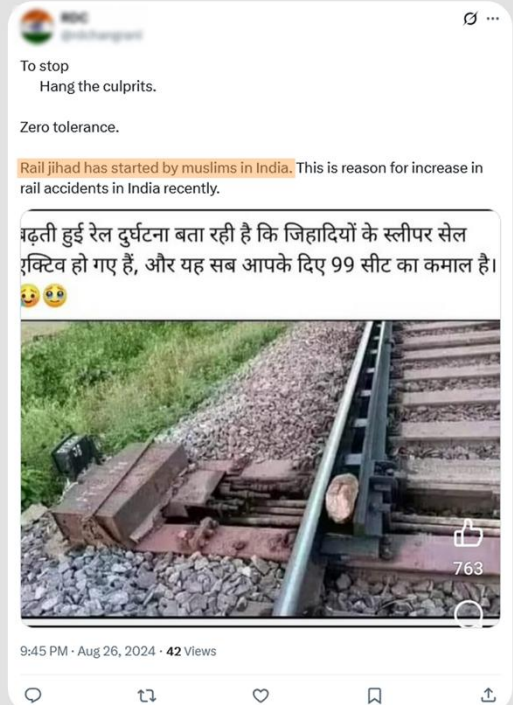
## Impact and Harm

This conspiracy endangers Muslim railway workers and passengers by portraying them as saboteurs, resulting in targeted hate, harassment, wrongful detentions, discriminatory security checks, and even violence. It also diverts attention from genuine issues of railway infrastructure and safety, enabling authorities to deflect accountability for systemic failures.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

रेल जिहाद, Train Jihad

## Online Usage



# EDUCATION JIHAD

Education Jihad is a conspiracy theory alleging that Muslims systematically infiltrate India's educational system to alter textbooks, indoctrinating students with Islamic perspectives in schools and colleges, and sidelining Hindu perspectives. It also claims that Muslim instructors and curricula are biased against Hindus and subtly promote Love Jihad narratives.<sup>33</sup>

## Background and Context

Hindu nationalist groups falsely assert that Muslim scholars and intellectuals distort Indian history to glorify Muslim rulers, ignoring India's Hindu cultural heritage and achievements. They argue that such scholarship whitewashes the realities of medieval invasions, denigrates Hinduism, and, consequently, undermines Hindu pride.

Proponents of the theory also accuse Muslim instructors of promoting anti-Hindu narratives and encouraging interfaith relationships under the guise of academic discourse. In response, Hindu nationalist groups have successfully lobbied for textbook revisions, pressuring the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) to remove secular perspectives, drastically reduce coverage of Mughal rule, and rewrite India's medieval past in line with the majoritarian Hindu nationalist view of the era as a time of Hindu oppression at the hands of Muslim rulers.<sup>34</sup>

## Impact and Harm

This theory undermines critical thinking, nuanced historical scholarship, and erodes trust in educational institutions. It stigmatizes Muslim scholars, teachers and students, making them targets for harassment, discrimination, exclusion, and violence. It is frequently invoked to justify historical revisionism that presents Muslims and Islam in a negative light.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

शिक्षा जिहाद

## Online Usage



# DRUG JIHAD

Drug Jihad, also known as Narcotics Jihad, is a conspiracy theory alleging that Muslim men deliberately sell or supply drugs to Hindu youth to addict them as part of a broader plot to weaken, corrupt, or destroy Hindu society.

## Background and Context

The term emerged in 2021<sup>35</sup> and has since been amplified by Hindu nationalist groups and leaders of the ruling BJP. It is often invoked in speeches, rallies, and social media campaigns. It is frequently framed as part of a broader strategy alongside Love Jihad, reinforcing the narrative of a coordinated plot against Hindu society. It frames ordinary crimes or drug trade activities as part of a religiously motivated strategy of “jihad.”

## Impact and Harm

This theory weaponizes communal prejudice by portraying Muslims as inherently criminal, deceptive, dangerous, and willing to use narcotics as a weapon to spread Islam. Promoted by BJP leaders and far-right figures at rallies and online, it reframes drug abuse, an urgent public health and criminal justice issue, into a communal conspiracy. It casts Muslims as waging a “new form of war,”<sup>36</sup> which inflames suspicion, legitimizes harassment, vigilante violence, discriminatory policing, and extrajudicial targeting of Muslims.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

नशा जिहाद, Narcotic Jihad, Narcotics Jihad

## Online Usage



# CORPORATE JIHAD

Corporate Jihad is an anti-Muslim conspiracy theory alleging that Muslim employees, especially in India's IT and corporate sector, systematically infiltrate workplaces to sexually exploit, harass, and forcibly convert Hindu colleagues, and to engineer the demographic and cultural takeover of professional spaces.

## Background and Context

The term surged into circulation in March 2026, following allegations of sexual grooming, mental abuse, and forced religious conversion at a Tata Consultancy Services (TCS) business-process unit in Nashik, Maharashtra. Hindu nationalist networks and aligned media rapidly reframed the workplace allegations as evidence of an organized Islamic plot, branding it "Corporate Jihad."

Pro-government media outlets situated it within the existing conspiracy vocabulary, with coverage generalizing the single case into a claimed nationwide pattern, alleging that Muslim colleagues were targeting Hindu women, screening for those from financially or emotionally vulnerable backgrounds. However, the Association for Protection of Civil Rights released a report finding no evidence to support allegations of an organized religious-conversion conspiracy in the TCS case.

## Impact and Harm

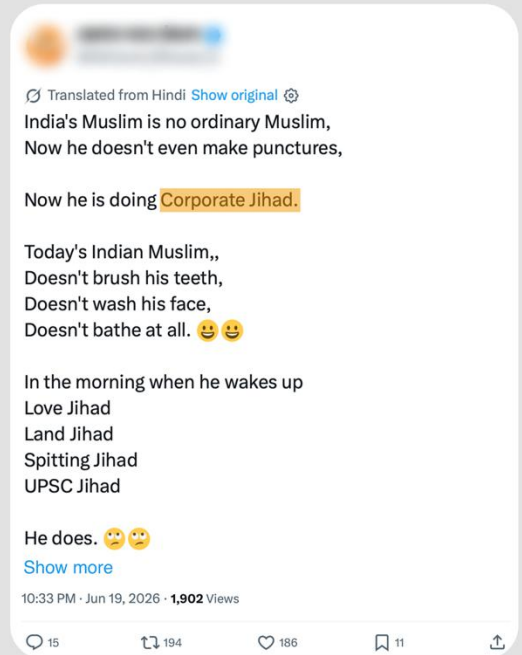
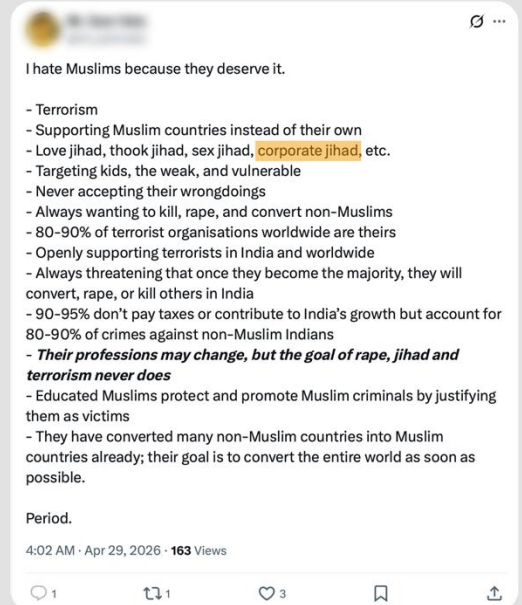
This conspiracy weaponizes legitimate concerns about workplace safety and professional misconduct to legitimize religious profiling of Muslim employees. It reframes isolated allegations against individuals as evidence of a coordinated Islamic strategy to infiltrate corporations, which presents ordinary Muslim professionals as covert threats. In doing so, it repackages longstanding tropes of the deceptive or predatory Muslim into a corporate setting.

The narrative also risks extending economic exclusion from the informal sector into formal workplaces. The portrayal of Muslim employees as security risks or hostile ideological infiltrators can fuel discrimination in recruitment, promotion, and workplace interactions, while reinforcing calls to avoid hiring Muslims altogether. This conspiracy normalizes religious discrimination in corporate environments and deepens the economic marginalization of Muslim communities.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

Corporate Love Jihad, कॉर्पोरेट जिहाद, Office Jihad, IT Jihad

## Online Usage



# JIHADI

Jihadi is used pejoratively as an anti-Muslim slur, intended to pigeonhole Muslims as inherently violent or extremist. While jihad is a complex concept in Islamic theology that primarily denotes a spiritual struggle<sup>37</sup> or the efforts toward self-improvement, the term jihadi has been distorted by Hindu nationalists and other far-right groups and supporters to imply that all Muslims are prone to militancy or terrorism. This usage aligns with the term's distortion in contemporary discourse, where it is used to "refer to an aggressive attitude that is rooted in a reactionary discourse of authenticity and purity," giving the term a militant edge.<sup>38</sup>

## Background and Context

The use of jihadi as a slur has emerged from a combination of political rhetoric, media narratives, and social prejudices, particularly in environments where national security concerns and religious tensions are heightened. The term gained global negative associations through its adoption by extremist or terrorist groups who themselves misappropriated and weaponized the concept to justify violence — terrorist groups like Al-Qaeda and ISIS claimed the label jihadi for themselves, creating a public association between the term and terrorism in Western and global media. Post-9/11 counterterrorism discourse and sensationalized media coverage also reinforced this narrow, militarized interpretation, collapsing the multifaceted Islamic concept into a synonym for "holy war" or "Islamic terrorism."

Beyond targeting Muslims in general, the label is also weaponized against visible Muslim figures such as activists, journalists, and community leaders who advocate for rights, casting their work as inherently suspect or extremist. In political and online discourse, the term paints Muslims with a broad brush, associating them with a predisposition toward violent extremism regardless of their individual beliefs or actions. It also reflects a deeply problematic essentialization of Islam as necessarily requiring all its adherents to engage in war as a religious obligation. The slur is often deployed to generate fear and distrust toward Muslims at large. It is important to note that jihadi also appears in neutral contexts such as counterterrorism reporting or academic analysis, where it is used descriptively rather than as a slur. The harm arises when the term is applied indiscriminately to Muslims at large.

## Impact and Harm

Labeling Muslims as jihadis reduces them to a one-dimensional stereotype of violence and extremism. When Muslims are labeled as jihadis or terrorists, violence against them becomes reframed as counterterrorism or self-defense. This framing also legitimizes marginalization, fuels the securitization of the community, and paves the way for state actions such as unwarranted surveillance, detention, and discriminatory policing.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

जिहादी, Ghadi, Gहादि

## Online Usage

Translated from Hindi [Show original](#)

O Hindu—you think that Mian is your brother, but he doesn't consider you his brother at all.

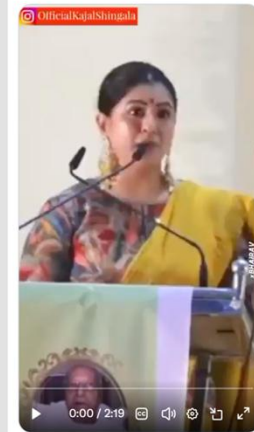
O Hindu—you think he is human, but to him, you are a "kafir."

O Hindu—you want peace, but he is a Ghazi and has been taught since childhood to spread unrest through terrorism.

O Hindu, you follow the ideals of Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam, but he, the Ghazi, is carrying out "Ghazwa-e-Hind."

Therefore, my dear innocent Hindu, please do not become fodder for your so-called brothers

Rate this translation:



2:43 AM · Sep 27, 2024 · 48.1K Views

187 1.4K 3.2K 47

The swine responsible for a dozen deaths, including ISIS style beheadings in India, and a certified Hamas supporter, can't do the one job given to him - FACT CHECK. He objects to Hamas fake videos being called out ZUBAIR IS HAMAS. **ZUBAIR IS A JIHADI TERRORIST**



5:55 AM · Nov 1, 2023 · 428.7K Views

650 5.9K 16K 116

# GAU BHAKSHAK / GAU HATYARE

Gau Bhakshak or Gau Hatyare is a Hindi term that translates to “cow killers.” The slur has been weaponized against Muslims to maliciously conflate the routine consumption of meat, especially beef, with cow slaughter, an act considered sacrilegious by many Hindus. The narrative persists even though cow slaughter is already banned in most Indian states. Where it is not prohibited, beef is still consumed by a wide range of communities, including Hindus in South India as well as Christians and tribal groups in the Northeastern states of the country.

## Background and Context

Cows are revered by many Hindus, and their slaughter is banned or restricted in many Indian states, even as beef consumption remains common among specific eastern and southern Hindu communities. Hindu nationalist rhetoric deems cow protection as essential to Hindu identity, stigmatizes beef consumption, and describes Muslims as “cow killers” and “beef eaters.” This characterization, amplified by militant cow vigilante groups and politicians, has been used to justify violence against Muslims, most notably through mob lynchings. Between 2010 and 2017, Muslims made up 87 percent of victims in cow-related attacks, with 97 percent of those incidents occurring after Prime Minister Modi took office in India in 2014.<sup>39</sup>

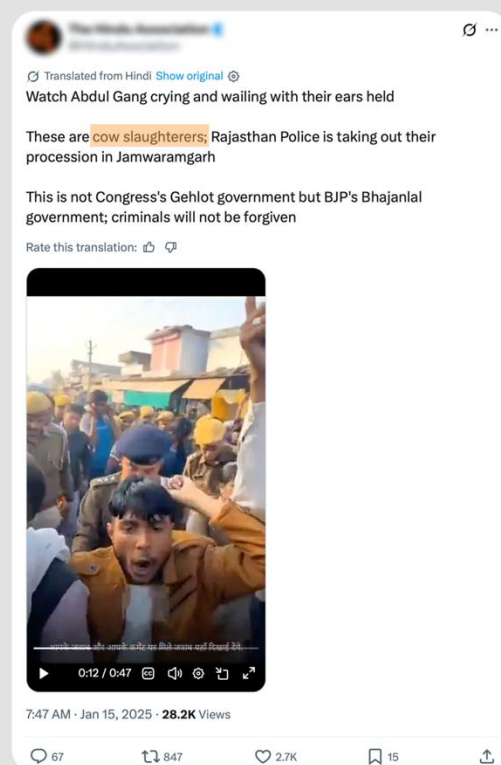
## Impact and Harm

Labeling Muslims as “cow killers” inflames anti-Muslim hatred and portrays them as intentionally disrespecting Hindu beliefs. This framing legitimizes social exclusion and has been used to justify mob violence, lynchings, and discriminatory policing targeting Muslims.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

गौभक्षक, गौ हत्यारे

## Online Usage



# GAU TASKAR

Gau Taskar, a Hindi term that translates to “cow smuggler,” functions as an anti-Muslim dog whistle. It is predominantly used by Hindu nationalists and affiliated militant cow vigilante groups to accuse Muslims of engaging in cow slaughter or illegal cattle trade. The term is routinely invoked to justify mob violence and public lynchings of Muslims allegedly involved in these activities.

## Background and Context

The term gained prominence alongside the rise of the cow protection movement (gau raksha), which has become a key pillar of Hindu nationalist mobilization. As cows are revered by many Hindus, cow protection movements have increasingly been used to justify religious vigilantism against Muslims on unproven grounds of endangering or killing cows.

Hindu nationalist groups such as the Bajrang Dal, Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), and various gau raksha dals (cow protection groups) have used the label to profile and attack Muslim men transporting cattle, often legally, for dairy, trade, or farming. Hindu nationalist leaders, politicians, and supporters, both offline and on social media platforms, frequently amplify the use of the label to brand Muslim men as anti-Hindu or criminal, even using it to justify mob violence and public lynchings.

## Impact and Harm

The label Gau Taskar constructs Muslims as enemies of the Hindu faith and identity, framing them as threats to sacred values. This narrative legitimizes vigilantism and mob lynchings under the banner of cow protection. Numerous Muslims have been publicly branded as Gau Taskars before being beaten or killed by cow protection groups, making the term both a tool of dehumanization and a direct incitement to violence.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

गौ तस्कर, गाय तस्कर

## Online Usage



**Context:** The image shows a gravely injured man with the ironical caption, "Brothers, there hasn't been any deficiency in the service of cow smugglers, has there?" The post is mockingly asking the reader if the violence inflicted on the man labelled as a "cow smuggler" is sufficient.

# ROHINGYA INFILTRATORS

Rohingya infiltrators is a xenophobic label used to describe Rohingya refugees who fled ethnic cleansing and persecution in Myanmar's Rakhine State<sup>40</sup> to seek safety in India. The term falsely portrays these refugees as illegal migrants engaged in a deliberate effort to infiltrate and destabilize the country.

## Background and Context

Since 2017, Hindu nationalist groups have portrayed Rohingya refugees as infiltrators threatening national security and altering religious demographics. This rhetoric has fueled mob violence, forced evictions, and hate speech against Rohingya refugees, while also being weaponized to delegitimize Muslims of Bengali origin by falsely labeling them as illegal migrants.

## Impact and Harm

Labeling Rohingya Muslims as infiltrators criminalizes hundreds of thousands who have fled state-led persecution in Myanmar and sought refuge under the protection of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The narrative dehumanizes a stateless and highly vulnerable population, normalizing hostility and violence against them. It has incited mob violence, justified forced evictions, and fueled sustained hate speech targeting the Rohingya community.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

रोहिंग्या घुसपैठिए, रोहिंग्या घुसपैठ

## Online Usage

Translated from Hindi [Show original](#)

Massive Rally in Uttarkashi, the Land of Gods for Hill Hindus of Uttarakhand, to Free It from Illegal Mazars, Mosques, Rohingya, and Infiltrators

Hindus of Uttarakhand are no longer staying silent; salutations to the extremism of Uttarakhand's Hindus 🙌

Long Live Hindu Unity 🙌🙌

Rate this translation: 🗳️

From [Pyara Uttarakhand प्यारा उत्तरा...](#)

0:06 / 2:11

6:04 AM · Oct 24, 2024 · 51.7K Views

🗨️ 240 🔄 1.4K ❤️ 6K 📌 32 📤

Translated from Hindi [Show original](#)

For the first time, presenting his stance in such a way before the media, Mahant Raju Das of the Hanuman Temple in Ayodhya said 🙌 If the genocide of Hindus in Bangladesh does not stop, then here in India too, Rohingya infiltrators will be beaten and chased back to Bangladesh...

\_\*Be prepared for a religious war 🙌\*\_

\_\*You yourself are wise ahead 🙌\*\_

Rate this translation: 🗳️

0:06 / 0:36

5:55 AM · Aug 9, 2024 · 820 Views

🗨️ 4 ❤️ 7 📌 📤

# BANGLADESHI INFILTRATORS

The term “Bangladeshi infiltrator” is a xenophobic trope used to describe Bengali-origin Muslims — including many who are Indian citizens — falsely accused of entering India illegally from Bangladesh. It draws on a broader conspiracy theory claiming that these communities are deliberately settling across Indian states to alter regional religious demographics and expand the Muslim population.

## Background and Context

Migration between India and present-day Bangladesh has long been driven by shared cultural, economic, and geographic ties. Following the 1971 Bangladesh Liberation War, India witnessed a large influx of refugees. Over time, Bengali-speaking Muslims — both long-standing Indian citizens and more recent arrivals — came to be widely suspected of having entered the country illegally.

The label “Bangladeshi infiltrator” gained prominence during the Assam Movement (1979–1985)<sup>41</sup> and has re-emerged in recent years as Hindu nationalist groups have sought to conflate Muslim identity with criminality, demographic threat, and national security risk. This narrative stigmatizes Indian Muslims of Bengali origin, many with deep, multi-generational roots in India, by portraying them as foreigners and outsiders in their own country.

## Impact and Harm

Labeling Indian Muslims of Bengali origin as infiltrators delegitimizes their citizenship and brands them as outsiders in their own country. This narrative has led to disenfranchisement through removal from voter rolls, arbitrary detentions under the National Register of Citizens (NRC) process, and widespread violence, including mob attacks, demolition of homes, forced evictions, and police crackdowns.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

बांग्लादेशी घुसपैठ, बांग्लादेशी घुसपैठिए

## Online Usage



# KANGALU OR KANGLU

Kangalu or Kanglu is a derogatory ethnic slur used to demean Bengali Muslims, including Indian citizens and Bangladeshi nationals. Literally meaning “destitute,” the term has been weaponized to portray Bengali Muslims as impoverished, parasitic, and culturally inferior outsiders.

## Background and Context

Derived from the word kangal, meaning poor or destitute in Hindi, Urdu, and Bengali, the slur is used predominantly by Hindu nationalists to depict Bengali-speaking Muslims as beggars, “illegal infiltrators,” and “termites.” It is especially prevalent in Assam and West Bengal, where it serves to delegitimize the citizenship and belonging of Bengali Muslims with deep ancestral roots in India. In recent years, the term has proliferated across digital hate campaigns targeting both Indian and Bangladeshi Muslims, amplifying anti-Bengali and Islamophobic narratives.

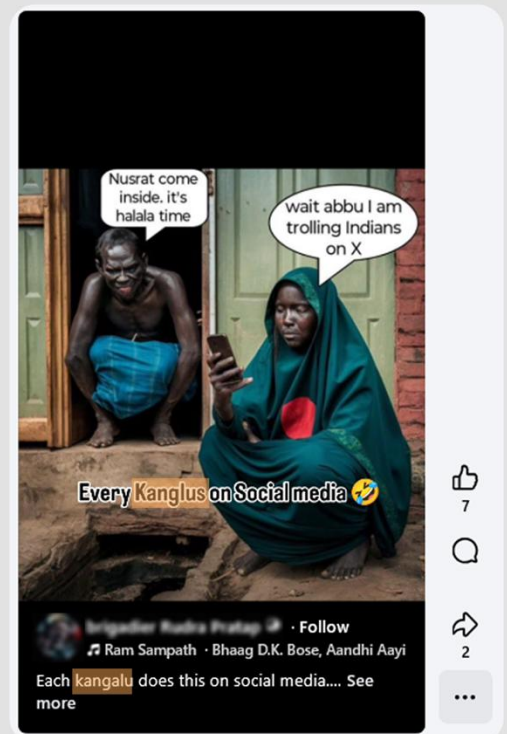
## Impact and Harm

The slur dehumanizes Bengali Muslims by portraying them as impoverished, parasitic, and culturally inferior outsiders. It reinforces xenophobic and sectarian stereotypes, normalizing their treatment as second-class citizens. This framing legitimizes social exclusion, systemic discrimination, and violence against both Bengali-origin Muslim Indian citizens and Bangladeshi nationals.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

কাঙলু, Kanglu, কংলু, কনালু

## Online Usage



# MIYA

Miya is a derogatory slur used in India's Assam state to target Bengali-origin Muslims, branding them as illegal immigrants, outsiders, or culturally inferior. The term portrays Bengali Muslims as foreigners from Bangladesh, framing them as demographic and cultural threats to Assam's indigenous population. Its use denies these communities citizenship, belonging, and legitimacy within the Assamese and Indian national identity.

## Background and Context

The term miya has historically been used as a respectful honorific in Urdu, equivalent to "sir" or "gentleman." However, in contemporary India, particularly in Assam and other northeastern states, it has been remade as an ethnic slur directed exclusively at Bengali-origin Muslims. This shift is rooted in decades of anti-Muslim and xenophobic sentiment in the region. Bengali-origin Muslims, many of whom have lived in the region for generations, are frequently labeled as miya in a pejorative manner to question their citizenship, loyalty, cultural identity, and right to live in Assam.

The term finds use amongst Assamese nationalist groups, political leaders,<sup>42</sup> Hindu far-right organizations, and their supporters, as well as affiliated online ecosystems at large, to vilify Bengali-origin Muslims, portraying them as a threat to Assamese culture and parasitic upon the state's resources.<sup>43</sup> It frequently appears in hate speech at Hindu far-right rallies, in social media abuse, and in media narratives that frame Bengali-origin Muslims as Bangladeshi or infiltrators.

## Impact and Harm

The slur miya operates as a tool of ethno-religious exclusion. It dehumanizes Bengali-origin Muslims, erasing their historical presence and citizenship claims, while legitimizing their marginalization and persecution. Its use sustains structural discrimination, social ostracization, and periodic violence against Bengali Muslims, reinforcing a system in which their very belonging is continuously contested.

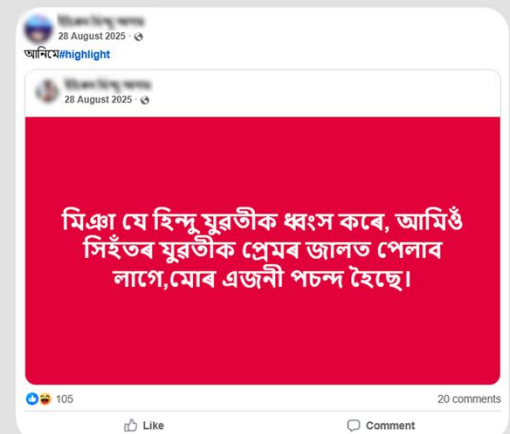
### Variants and Alternate Forms

Miya Muslim, মিয়া, মিঞা, মিয়া, মিয়া মুসলমান

## Online Usage



**Translation:** "Madani is the son of a prostitute and you Miyas (Bengali Muslims) are the symbol of sin and disaster in the world. We indigenous people will not sit silently until we end you all. Hail Mother Assam."



**Translation:** "Just as Miyas (Bengali Muslims) destroy Hindu women, we should also trap their women through love. I have come to like one of them."

# GEDA / GEDI

Geda (masculine) or Gedi (feminine) is an anti-Muslim slur in Assamese, a language spoken in India's northeastern state of Assam. The term is derived from the Assamese word Ged (গেদ), which refers to sediment or scum in liquid. These terms are now used almost exclusively to target Muslims in Assam, particularly those of Bengali origin, reducing their identity to that of perceived religious and ethnic outsiders.

## Background and Context

The slur has been weaponized to shame and intimidate Muslims of Bengali origin in Assam, emerging as a substitute for the term Miya, which similarly acquired derogatory connotations in public discourse.

## Impact and Harm

The slur brands Muslims as perpetual outsiders and undocumented migrants, implicitly denying them full citizenship and belonging. Such usage encourages social ostracism and legitimizes discriminatory policies targeting religious minorities. The term fuels a political environment in which Muslims are rendered vulnerable to physical violence.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

গেদা, গেদী

## Online Usage

From The Analyzer (News Updates)

9:45 AM · Jul 17, 2025 · 20 Views

**Translation:** "Hey Geda Sudurbhai (slur) Bangladeshi Miya. We are Assamese. Children of this land. We too won't sit around peacefully until we destroy your demonic community. Either we will kick you out, or we will play Holi with your blood. Hail Mother Assam. Hail Sanatan."

135 19 comments 2 shares

**Translation:** "Who all are ready to pick up weapons to build a Bangladeshi Geda-free Assam? The final battle of Saraighat will be to protect the existence of Assamese."

220 87 comments 1 share

**Translation:** "I'm talking to the Bangladeshi geda. Listen, I am not a goon, I'm a calm and well mannered Assamese boy. If I become a goon, you will have no time to pull up your pants and run to Bangladesh, you will all end up dead wherever you are."

# KATUA / KATMULLA / KATMULLI

Katua, Katmulla, and Katmulli are derogatory Hindi slurs used to vilify Muslims. Katua and Katmulla target Muslim men, while Katmulli targets Muslim women.

## Background and Context

The origins of these slurs lie in longstanding efforts by Hindu nationalists to stigmatize Muslims by mocking common Islamic practices. The words reference the practice of circumcision, combining the Hindi word for “cut” (kaatna) with “mullah,” a term for a Muslim cleric or devout practitioner, but one that is often used pejoratively to describe all Muslims.

The terms aimed at Muslim men are often weaponized to ridicule and dehumanize Muslims, portraying them as mutilated or incomplete and mocking their compromised masculinity. In some cases, such rhetoric has incited or directly justified physical violence, with members of Hindu mobs using circumcision as an identifying marker to target Muslim men during sectarian riots.<sup>44</sup> On social media platforms, the slurs have also been used as a reference to the chemical formula for potassium oxide (K<sub>2</sub>O), whose Hindi pronunciation, “K-two-O” or “K-two-A,” is phonetically similar to “Katua.”

## Impact and Harm

These slurs reinforce Islamophobic stereotypes, dehumanize Muslims, and stir up hatred that has contributed to physical attacks against Muslims during sectarian violence.<sup>45</sup> The terms normalize violence by framing Muslim bodies as inherently defective or threatening, making it easier to justify discrimination and assault. The coded use of 'K<sub>2</sub>O' allows such speech to evade content moderation, enabling the slurs to spread across digital platforms while maintaining plausible deniability for those who deploy them.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

कटुआ, कठमुल्ला, कटमुल्ला, कठमुल्ले, Cutमुल्लो, कटमुल्ली, K2O, K2a, k2wa, Potassium Oxide

## Online Usage

Translated from Hindi [Show original](#)


The local activists of Mumbai raised a slogan upon our arrival that we absolutely did not like at all—

"Look-look who has come— **The doom of Cutmullos** has arrived."

Who chants such slogans?  
You people are hurting the private feelings of **कुटमुल्लो**, that's wrong.

We strongly condemn this type of slogan.

Rate this translation:



7:58 AM · Aug 12, 2025 · **34.9K** Views

65 514 2.1K 15

Translated from Hindi [Show original](#)

Listen to the words of this **circumcised fool**.

The ghost of brotherhood will vanish from your head entirely. We consider the cow our mother, yet they think it's good to slaughter and eat her.

There has never been any brotherhood with these circumcised fools, nor will there ever be—wake up, wake up, wake up!

Jai Shri Ram  
Hindu Raksha Dal

Rate this translation:



11:21 PM · Jun 7, 2025 · **8,459** Views

63 513 768 7

# BABAR KI AULAD / AURANGZEB KI AULAD

“Babar ki aulad” (“child of Babur”) and “Aurangzeb ki aulad” (“child of Aurangzeb”) are derogatory phrases used to depict Indian Muslims as descendants of foreign invaders, suggesting they are outsiders with no legitimate claim to India’s citizenship, heritage, or national identity.

## Background and Context

The slurs originated in Hindu nationalist discourse to draw a link between contemporary Indian Muslims and the Mughal emperors Babur and Aurangzeb, who are portrayed as foreign invaders and oppressors. They gained wide circulation during the Ram Temple-Babri Mosque movement of the 1980s and 1990s, when Babur was cast as the destroyer of a Hindu temple and Aurangzeb as a symbol of Islamic tyranny. Today, the phrases are widely invoked in hate speeches and online discourse to question the patriotism of Indian Muslims and deny their belonging and equal citizenship. A Marathi-language variation is 'Aurangya.'"

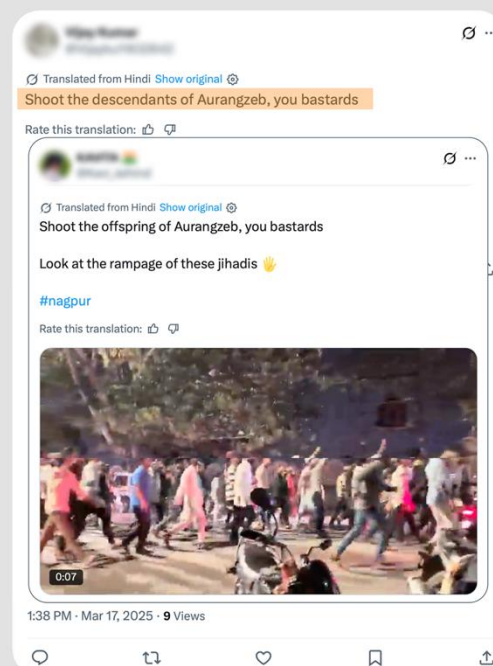
## Impact and Harm

These slurs undermine the identity of Muslims as citizens by framing them as outsiders rather than full and equal members of the national community. This narrative erodes recognition of Islam's contributions to Indian history and the country's tradition of religious pluralism. It delegitimizes Indian Muslims' claim to equal citizenship, fuels anti-Muslim resentment, and has been used to justify discrimination and violence against Muslim communities.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

बाबर की औलाद, औरंगजेब की औलाद, Aurangya

## Online Usage



# OLA HU UBER

Ola hu Uber is a distortion of the Arabic phrase 'Allahu Akbar,' meaning 'God is most great,' repurposed to mock and vilify Muslims by associating the phrase with terrorism and extremism.

## Background and Context

The phrase Ola hu Uber emerged as a mockery of the Islamic call "Allahu Akbar" and is primarily seen in online Hindu nationalist circles. It refers to the names of popular ride-sharing services, Ola and Uber, to mimic the original religious phrase. Rooted in Hindu right-wing meme culture, it is used to ridicule and stereotype Muslims while evading content moderation and platform enforcement against overt religious hate speech.

## Impact and Harm

This slur reinforces Islamophobic stereotypes and normalizes hate speech through coded language. Its widespread use in memes and social media gives anti-Muslim hatred a casual, even humorous, veneer making Islamophobia appear socially acceptable and entertaining. It perpetuates the false association between Islam and terrorism, promoting the dangerous notion that any Muslim utterance of 'Allahu Akbar' signals violence rather than an expression of faith.

## Online Usage



## Variants and Alternate Forms

ओला हू उबर

# SULLI / BULLI

Sulli and Bulli are highly derogatory slurs used to attack Muslim women, particularly those who are outspoken or politically active.

## Background and Context

The gendered terms Sulli and Bulli emerged from online Hindu nationalist troll culture and are used to target Muslim women. The terms, which themselves lack a literal definition, drew international attention in 2021 and 2022 with the launch of the fake auction apps “Sulli Deals” and “Bulli Bai,” both hosted on GitHub.

They featured illegally-obtained photos of Muslim women and purported to offer them for sale in a virtual slave market format. The victims included journalists, students, activists, and vocal critics of Hindu nationalism. Such incidents reflect a disturbing pattern of digital hate campaigns rooted in Islamophobia and misogyny, which are designed to silence, intimidate, and denigrate Muslim women.

## Impact and Harm

These slurs weaponize both gender and religion to target Muslim women with sexualized violence, harassment, and public humiliation. They are used to silence Muslim women, drive them out of digital and physical public spaces, and reinforce entrenched patterns of Islamophobia and misogyny.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

सुल्ली, बुल्ली

## Online Usage



# PISSLAM / CHUSLAM / CHUSLIM

Pisslam, Chuslam, and Chuslim are Islamophobic slurs used to dehumanize Muslims, particularly in online spaces. “Pisslam,” combining “piss” with “Islam,” conflates Islam with filth, while “Chuslam” and “Chuslim” are vulgar, sexualized terms derived from Hindi or Urdu slang (“chusna” meaning “to suck”).

## Background and Context

Commonly deployed by Hindu nationalist troll networks and far-right online ecosystems, these slurs are crude distortions of the word Islam, strategically inserted into comment sections, quote tweets, and replies targeting Muslim public figures, journalists, and activists.

## Impact and Harm

These slurs humiliate Muslims and strip them of dignity by debasing their religious identity through crude language. The sexual degradation embedded in “Chuslam” and “Chuslim” emasculates Muslim men while marking Muslim bodies as available for violation — rhetoric that has historically preceded and accompanied sexual violence during communal riots. The terms normalize anti-Muslim sentiment in online discourse, contributing to an environment in which such hatred is trivialized, amplified, and celebrated.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

चुस्लाम, चुस्लिम

## Online Usage



# ROKO / TOKO / THOKO

Roko, Toko, Thoko is a Hindu nationalist slogan that roughly translates as “Stop Them, Confront Them, Hit or Kill Them.” It is a call to action often used to incite vigilante violence, particularly against Muslims.

## Background and Context

In 2017, Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath popularized the colloquial Hindi term “thoko” (meaning “shoot” or “kill”) as part of a hardline, zero-tolerance stance on crime.<sup>46</sup> Since then, Hindu nationalist groups have repurposed the use of the term to justify violence against Muslims. The phrase often appears in the context of campaigns against so-called “Love Jihad,” cow slaughter, or religious conversions. In such settings, “thoko” has become a rallying cry for vigilante violence, social boycotts, and coordinated online hate campaigns targeting the Muslim community.

## Impact and Harm

This slogan functions as a call to violence, encouraging vigilante action against Muslims. It urges Hindus to harass and attack Muslims with impunity, reinforcing a culture of mob justice and religious persecution.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

रोको, टोको, ठोको, RTT

## Online Usage



**Translation:** “Roko Toko Thoko (“Stop them, confront them, kill them”): “It is the duty of every Himachali to ask the identity of every hawker/vendor entering the village and make it public.”



# HALALA

Halala is a shortened version of “Nikah halala,” the colloquial term to describe a tahleel marriage. Derived from the Arabic word meaning “to make lawful,” a tahleel marriage refers to a woman marrying another man to make it permissible to remarry her first husband after a triple divorce — though this is not, in fact, an accepted practice in Islam. The practice is rooted in certain interpretations of Islamic law, which have been weaponized in far-right discourse to demean and target Muslims, especially Muslim women.

## Background and Context

Nikah halala — nikah being the Arabic word for “marriage” and halala being loosely related to halal, referring to something made permissible — refers to a situation where a woman, after being divorced irrevocably (i.e., through triple talaq/repudiation), cannot remarry her former husband unless she first marries another man, consummates that marriage, and is then divorced by the second husband.

Though it is rarely practiced and its legitimacy is widely debated, with many Muslim scholars rejecting it as outdated or subject to misuse, far-right groups, leaders, and online trolls often exaggerate its prevalence to depict Islam as regressive and inherently oppressive toward women. Terms like “halala rape” are routinely used in far-right discourse to demean and demonize Muslims.

## Impact and Harm

The term vilifies an entire community by insinuating that all Muslims are born of halala. Far-right actors invoke it to belittle Muslim women by portraying them as helpless victims of a perverse religious practice, while simultaneously depicting Muslim men as sexually exploitative. It reinforces the stereotype that Islam endorses forced sexual relations and, by fixating on this rare and contested practice, casts all Islamic marriage practices as suspect and degrading, extending suspicion to every Muslim marriage and family structure as inherently perverted or abusive.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

हलाला, हलाला की पैदाईश

## Online Usage



**Translation:** "Azaan (call to prayer) lasts for 3 minutes, Nikah (marriage) is conducted in 2 minutes, divorce happens in 1 minute, but halala happens whole night. And children are infinite. Is it a religion or den of hedonism or debauchery?"



**Context:** The image accompanying the post is of a visibly Muslim woman with the subtitles/captions: All Muslim women want to marry Hindus. A Muslim woman saying, "Hindus, please take us Muslim women to your temples and marry us, we cannot take this oppression anymore."

# SAR TAN SE JUDA

Sar Tan Se Juda, meaning “separate the head from the body,” is a violent slogan used by Islamist extremists in South Asia to demand execution for perceived blasphemy against the Prophet Muhammad or Islam.

## Background and Context

The phrase has roots in radical interpretations of blasphemy laws, particularly in Pakistan, where accusations of blasphemy have historically triggered mob violence and lynchings. In India, the slogan gained visibility during the 2022 backlash against remarks made about the Prophet Muhammad by a BJP leader.<sup>47</sup> Hindu nationalist groups frequently invoke the slogan to characterize the entire Indian Muslim community as religiously intolerant and violent. It is increasingly deployed in online spaces as a label to target Muslims, particularly journalists, fact-checkers, activists, and politicians, by accusing them of holding extremist sentiments. The acronym STSJ is often used in online spaces to evade content moderation.

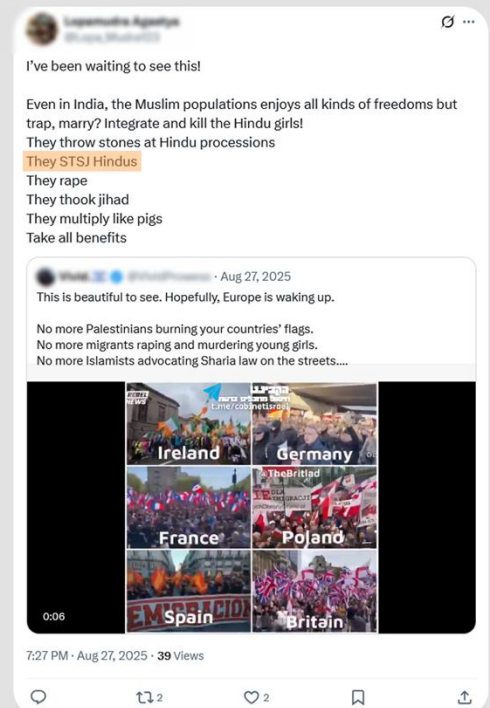
## Impact and Harm

This extremist slogan is weaponized to portray Muslims as inherently violent, reinforcing dangerous stereotypes that promote fear and hostility. In India, it is often weaponized to falsely associate the entire Muslim community with extremism and to legitimize broader anti-Muslim narratives.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

सर तन से जुदा, STSJ

## Online Usage



# BAKRICHOD

Bakrichod is an abusive slur that combines the words "bakri" (goat) and "chod" (a crude term for sexual intercourse), implying that Muslims engage in bestiality, particularly with goats, which are commonly sacrificed during the Islamic festival of Eid.

## Background and Context

The dehumanizing term is used in online spaces to insult Muslims through crude, sexualized references to animal abuse. The slur reflects the ridiculing of Muslim religious practices as a mechanism to denigrate Muslim identity through obscene humor.

## Impact and Harm

This dehumanizing, abusive term contributes to online harassment and the routinization of anti-Muslim abuse. By falsely accusing Muslims of bestiality, it strips them of their humanity and positions them outside the bounds of civilized society. The term specifically weaponizes the Islamic practice of animal sacrifice during Eid (a sacred religious ritual) and perverts it into something obscene and criminal, desecrating one of Islam's holiest observances.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

बकरीचोद; बकरीचो, bakrichod\_abdul, बकरीचो\$

## Online Usage



# GHAZWA-E-HIND

The term Ghazwa-e-Hind (roughly translated: battle for India, conquest of India, or campaign on India) is an anti-Muslim trope used by Hindu nationalist groups to accuse Indian Muslims of waging a covert war against the country, portraying them as disloyal citizens engaged in a broader conspiracy to take over India.

## Background and Context

Ghazwa-e-Hind refers to a prophesied future battle for the domination of the Indian subcontinent. The term's origins are debated,<sup>48</sup> with some attributing it to the hadiths (recorded sayings or actions of the Prophet Muhammad)<sup>49</sup> while others reject such interpretations as apocryphal.

In India, the term has been repurposed as an accusation to legitimize suspicion and hostility toward Muslims. It is frequently deployed in inflammatory speeches and viral disinformation campaigns to portray Muslims as a fifth column working to undermine national sovereignty in the service of Muslim political control. Often paired with conspiracy theories such as Love Jihad, Land Jihad, and Population Jihad, it is used to cast Muslims as a subversive, existential threat to the Indian nation.

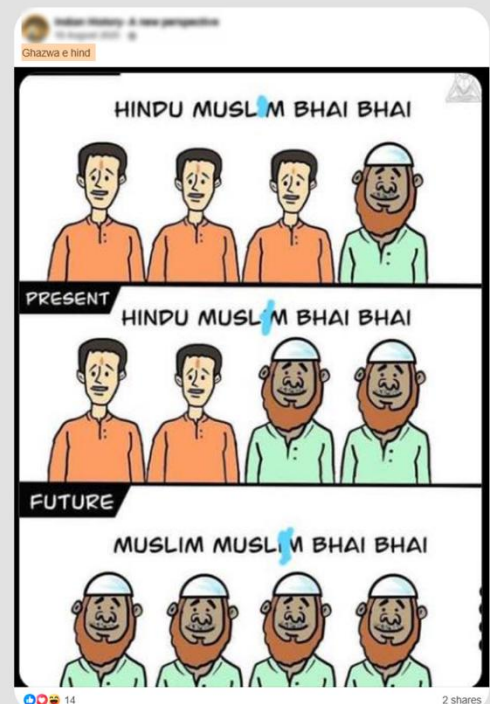
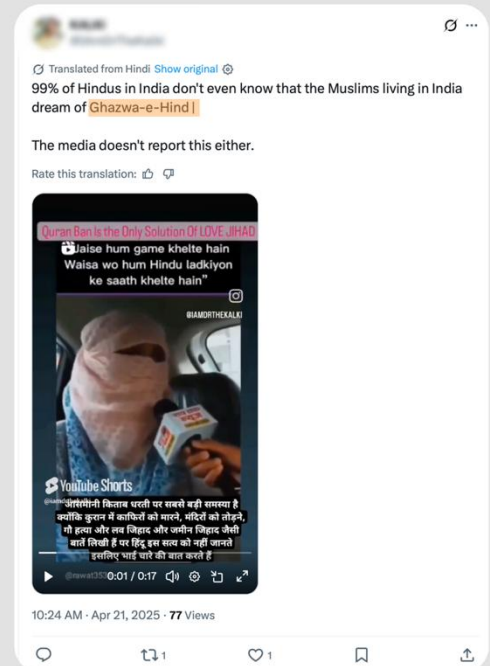
## Impact and Harm

The trope reinforces the notion of Muslims as a civilizational threat to India, painting them as disloyal, treasonous, and violent, while justifying discrimination, exclusion, and violence against the community. It provides a pretext for anti-Muslim hate campaigns and vigilante action.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

गजवा ए हिंद, गज़वा-ए-हिन्द

## Online Usage



# MADARCHOD KAUM

Madarchod Kaum is a vulgar anti-Muslim phrase which combines “madarchod,” a deeply offensive Hindi expletive meaning “motherf—ker,” with “kaum,” which means “community” or “group” in Urdu. The phrase functions as a broad insult that vilifies the Muslim community at large.

## Background and Context

The slur is rooted in the aggressive rhetoric of anti-Muslim online spaces, political discourse, and sectarian propaganda, and is commonly deployed by Hindu nationalist groups and their adherents on social media to target Muslims.

## Impact and Harm

Impact and Harm: This phrase applies a crude sexual insult to an entire religious community. By using an expletive that attacks familial honor and dignity, the phrase seeks to strip Muslims of their humanity, self-respect and present them as collectively vile or inferior.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

मादरखोद, Madarkhod Kaum

## Online Usage



# MULLA

A Mulla traditionally refers to a Muslim religious scholar, particularly one trained in Islamic theology. In India, however, the term is often used to stereotype Muslim men as regressive, irrational, extremist, or excessively religious.

## Background and Context

The term mullah, derived from Persian, is commonly used in many Muslim-majority countries, including in South Asia, to refer to clerics or individuals well-versed in Islamic teachings. Historically, it has carried respectful connotations in both religious and political contexts. However, in anti-Muslim discourse in India, the word has taken on derogatory connotations, often used to stereotype Muslims as regressive, uneducated, or overly religious.

It should be noted that not all uses of the term are offensive. Within Muslim communities, it continues to be used respectfully to refer to religious scholars and clerics. The term takes on a pejorative dimension when used with disdain, typically by non-Muslims, as a means of demeaning Muslims. A variation, “bullah,” is sometimes used in online spaces to bypass content moderation while retaining the same abusive intent.

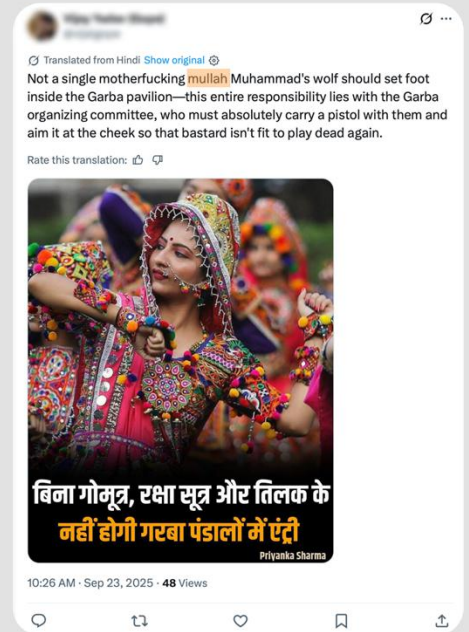
## Impact and Harm

When used as a slur, the word reduces Muslim identity to a caricature of fundamentalism or backwardness. It reinforces Islamophobic stereotypes and contributes to the broader effort to humiliate Muslims in public life.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

मुल्ला, bullah

## Online Usage



# LANDYA

Landya is a derogatory anti-Muslim slur in Marathi, a language spoken primarily in the Indian state of Maharashtra. It originates from the word "lund," a crude Hindi slang term for penis, and implies a "shrunken penis" or "emasculated man." It is frequently directed at Muslim men to suggest weakness, inferiority, or a lack of masculinity.

## Background and Context

The slur is rooted in Islamophobic and masculinist narratives and is particularly linked to the practice of male circumcision in Islam. It is used to mock circumcision by implying that Muslim men are physically incomplete or less masculine than their non-circumcised counterparts.

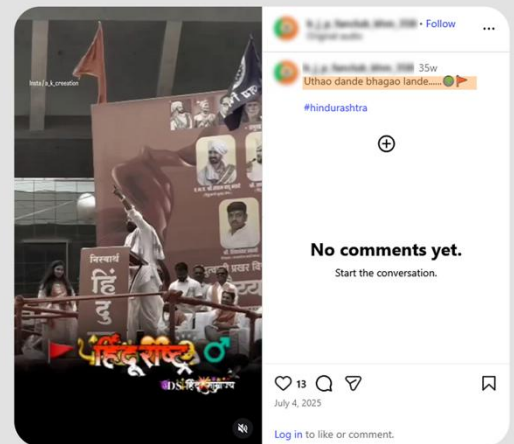
## Impact and Harm

This slur both draws upon and reinforces a culture of toxic masculinity, combined with Islamophobia, contributing to the broader culture of online abuse and general vilification of Muslims.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

लांड्या, Lande

## Online Usage



**Translation:** "Pick up the sticks and chase away the "lande" (sexual slur for Muslim men implying emasculated men)."



**Translation:** "With a lungi tied to the waist and betel leaf in the mouth, run off you landiya to Pakistan."

# CAULIFLOWER

The term cauliflower is deployed as a coded threat against Muslims, evoking the 1989 massacre of Muslims in Bhagalpur, a city in India's Bihar state. During the riots, an estimated 900-1,000 Muslims were killed<sup>50</sup>, and over a hundred bodies were later found buried and camouflaged under cauliflower plantations.<sup>51</sup>

## Background and Context

This euphemistic term resurfaced on social media during sectarian Hindu-Muslim clashes in March 2025 in Nagpur, a city in India's Maharashtra state, when Hindu nationalist accounts across various social media platforms circulated images of cauliflower fields with captions suggesting a similar "solution" for dealing with Muslim protesters<sup>52</sup>. The reference to "cauliflower farming" in these posts implicitly threatened a repeat of Bhagalpur-style violence, obliquely advocating for the killing and burial of Muslims beneath crops to conceal the evidence.

## Impact and Harm

The term functions as a veiled call for incitement to mass violence, invoking historical atrocities to intimidate and threaten Muslims without explicitly stating so. The coded language reflected in the use of the term normalizes the idea of killing and disposing of Muslim bodies as a necessary action in situations of conflict, escalating offline harm.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

Cauliflower Farming

## Online Usage



# DESH KE GADDARO KO, GOLI MAARO SAALO KO

This Hindi slogan roughly translates to, “What should be done with the country's traitors? Shoot the bastards.” While rhetorically posed in the format of a question-and-response rallying cry, it is a direct incitement to lethal violence. In the Indian context, the slogan is usually directed at Muslims, designating them as “traitors” and urging both state and non-state actors to execute them on sight.<sup>53</sup>

## Background and Context

The slogan first gained prominence in December 2019, when Delhi BJP leader Kapil Mishra led a rally in support of the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA)<sup>54</sup>, a law widely criticized as discriminatory against Muslims, and used the chant to threaten ongoing anti-CAA protesters. In the following weeks, senior BJP leader and Union Minister Anurag Thakur repeated the slogan at an election rally in Rithala, Delhi<sup>55</sup>. Since then, it has become an incendiary rallying cry used to incite hatred and violence against Muslims.

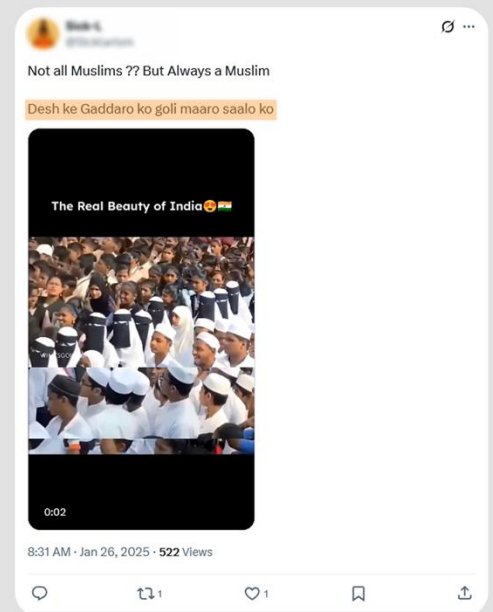
## Impact and Harm

This slogan brands Muslims as traitors, deserving of execution. Human Rights Watch (HRW) has documented how such calls for violence, often framed as patriotic rhetoric, provide cover for state and vigilante brutality against minority and vulnerable communities.<sup>56</sup>

### Variants and Alternate Forms

देश के गद्दारों को, गोली मारो सालों को

## Online Usage



# BABRI TO BAS JHAANKI HAI, KASHI MATHURA BAAKI HAI

This slogan translates to “Babri was only a preview; Kashi and Mathura are still to be taken care of.” The slogan emerged in the aftermath of the demolition of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya, Uttar Pradesh in 1992 by a Hindu nationalist mob. The phrase suggests that the destruction of the Babri Mosque was merely the beginning of a broader campaign to “reclaim” other Muslim religious sites, specifically the Gyanvapi Mosque in Varanasi (Kashi) and the Shahi Eidgah Mosque in Mathura, which Hindu nationalists falsely claim were built over Hindu temples destroyed by Muslim rulers.

## Background and Context

The slogan first appeared in the late 1980s and early 1990s, during the buildup to the Babri Masjid demolition, among militant Hindu nationalist cadres. It was popularized by leaders of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), Bajrang Dal, and the BJP in speeches and street agitations. The chant has resurfaced repeatedly during periods of heightened religious tension between Hindus and Muslims, most recently amid legal and extra-legal campaigns challenging the existence of the Gyanvapi Mosque and Shahi Eidgah Mosque in Uttar Pradesh. The slogan serves as both a provocation and a threat, signaling the continued intent of Hindu nationalist groups to appropriate or demolish prominent Muslim religious sites.

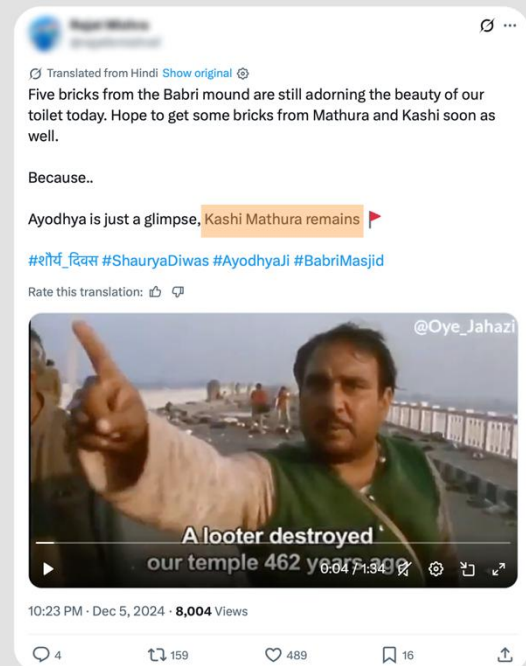
## Impact and Harm

The slogan glorifies the violent demolition of Muslim places of worship and frames such acts of past destruction as a model for future actions. It fuels religious polarization by treating Muslim places of worship as illegitimate and deserving erasure. The repeated use of such slogans also contributes to a climate in which mob attacks against Muslims are encouraged, with scant regard for the rule of law.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

बाबरी तो बस झांकी है, काशी मथुरा बाकी है ; अयोध्या तो बस झांकी है,  
काशी मथुरा बाकी है

## Online Usage



# TEL LAGAO DABUR KA, NAAM MITAO BABUR KA

This Hindi slogan roughly translates to “Apply Dabur oil, erase Babur’s name.” Playing on the advertising jingle of Dabur, a well-known Indian brand that sells hair oil and other products, the slogan calls for the erasure of all traces of the Mughal emperor Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Babur from India’s public and cultural spaces. Beyond its rhyme, the phrase serves as a metaphorical call for the symbolic and ideological obliteration of Muslims, whom Hindu nationalists label as the “descendants of Babur,” and therefore as outsiders, foreigners, and heirs of historical invaders in India.

## Background and Context

The slogan first surfaced during the Ram Temple-Babri Mosque movement of the late 1980s and early 1990s, popularized by Hindu nationalist groups and leaders at mass rallies demanding the demolition of the historic mosque<sup>57</sup>. The slogan has long since become a war cry and a regular feature of anti-Muslim hate speeches and rallies over the past decade and is often used to incite mass violence against Muslims.

## Impact and Harm

This slogan promotes the erasure of Muslim identity by equating historical figures like Babur with present-day Indian Muslims, portraying them as illegitimate residents and perpetual outsiders in their own country.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

तेल लगाओ डाबर का, नाम मिटाओ बाबर का

## Online Usage

The image shows two screenshots of online content. The top screenshot is a social media post from a user with a yellow profile picture. The post text includes: "Translated from Hindi Show original @", "Apply Dabur's oil and erase Babur's name", "Heartfelt wishes of #Shaurya\_Divas to all Hindu brothers", "Jai Shri Ram 🇮🇳", "#ShauryaDivas", and "Rate this translation: 👍 👎". Below the text is a video thumbnail showing a large dome with people on top, with the caption "Ram Mandir in 1992 🙄" and "The Story of Ram Mandir". The video has 16 comments, 284 shares, 1K likes, and 19 bookmarks. The bottom screenshot is a YouTube video player. The video title is "Ram Mandir Ayodhya | Tel Laga lo Dabur Ka Naam Mita Do Babur Ka | Prachyam". The video thumbnail features a man with a tilak on his forehead and the text "prachyam 😂 NAAM MITA DO BABUR KA #MOVES". The video has 96K views and is tagged with "#RamMandir #funnymemes". The description includes: "2M views · 5 years ago", "Please watch: 'This film CHANGES Indian History?? | GREATEST BETRAYAL IN INDIAN HISTORY | PRACHYAM'", "This film CHANGES Indian History?? | GREAT...", and "Joseph Gordon Lewitt and John Travolta move on the beats for Ram Lala's Mandir at Ayodhya. Hollywood cari: ...more".

# NA MULLA KA, NA QAZI KA, YE DESH HAI VEER SHIVAJI KA

This Hindu nationalist slogan translates to “Neither of the mullah nor of the qazi; this country belongs to brave Shivaji.” It defines Muslims as outsiders in India and explicitly rejects their claim to the nation as citizens.

## Background and Context

The slogan is widely used in Hindu nationalist rhetoric to assert a majoritarian, Hindu-centric identity for India by invoking Shivaji, the 17th century Maratha ruler who is often celebrated by Hindu nationalists as a Hindu warrior-king who resisted Muslim rule. The slogan casts Hindus and Muslims in an “us versus them” binary and serves as both a rallying cry and exclusionary declaration, asserting that India belongs only to Hindus. The slogan is frequently chanted at anti-Muslim events and rallies.

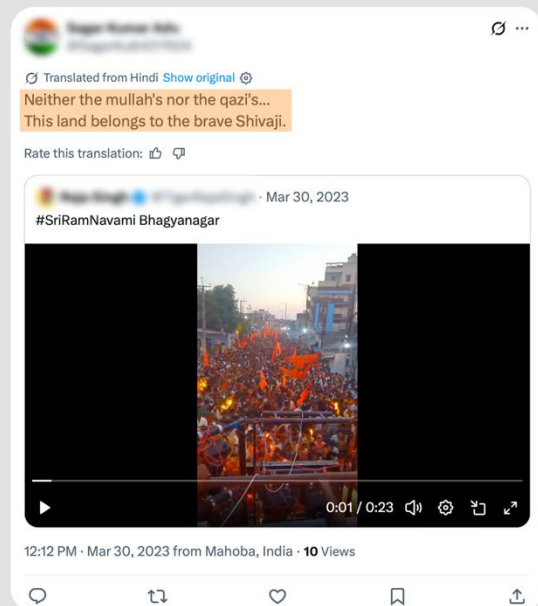
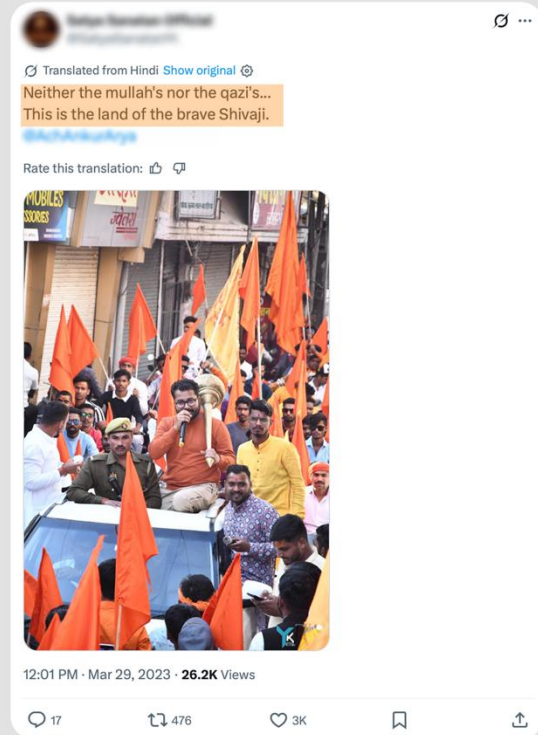
## Impact and Harm

This slogan reinforces the hateful narrative that portrays Muslims as outsiders or historical enemies rather than rightful citizens of India, deepening the vilification and marginalization of Indian Muslims.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

ना मुल्ला का, ना काजी का, ये देश है वीर शिवाजी का

## Online Usage



# HINDUSTAN MEI REHNA HOGA, JAI SHRI RAM KEHNA HOGA

This Hindu nationalist slogan, which translates to “If you want to live in India, you must say Jai Shri Ram,” has become a tool of religious majoritarianism, coercion, and intimidation. While “Jai Shri Ram” (“Glory to Lord Rama”) is traditionally a devotional chant among Hindus, its use in certain contexts transforms it into a political ultimatum, implying that allegiance to Hindu religious identity is a precondition for belonging in India. The slogan operates as a coercive demand, particularly targeting Muslims and Christians, pressuring them to publicly affirm Hindu religious supremacy as a test of loyalty and citizenship.

## Background and Context

The slogan gained prominence in the 1980s during the Ayodhya Ram Janmabhoomi movement, when it was popularized by leaders of the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS), the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), Bajrang Dal, and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) through mass rallies, speeches, and propaganda. It was chanted in processions, printed on banners, and distributed through cassette tapes blending devotional music with militant political messaging. Since then, the phrase has been repeatedly used as a rallying cry in anti-Muslim marches, hate rallies<sup>58</sup>, and mob violence, often shouted before or during attacks on Muslims and Christians, including lynchings, mosque vandalism, and forced religious affirmations.

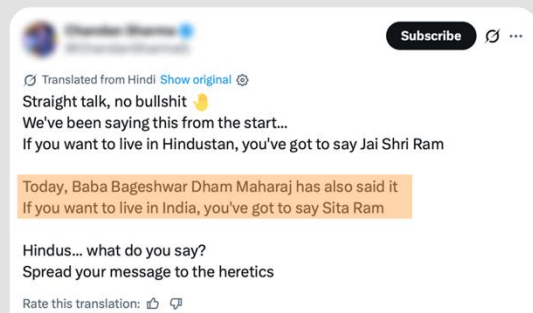
## Impact and Harm

The slogan weaponizes religious devotion to enforce a vision of India as an exclusively Hindu nation. It seeks to erase the pluralistic and secular fabric of India by turning Hindu religious expression into a test of national loyalty. Its use in mob violence and intimidation campaigns has made it a symbol of fear among minorities, transforming a devotional phrase into an instrument of coercion, exclusion, and terror.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

हिंदुस्तान में रहना होगा, जय श्री राम कहना होगा

## Online Usage



# ABDUL

Abdul is a derogatory, stereotypical term used to refer to Muslims as a group on social media. The slur, while not unique to the Indian context<sup>59</sup>, is widely employed across online spaces to caricature and dehumanize Muslims as a group.

## Background and Context

Abdul is a common Arabic Muslim name, where “Abd” means “servant” and “ul” is a linking preposition meaning “the” that is often used in names involving other attributions to Allah. However, the name has been appropriated in online hate speech and sectarian rhetoric as a derogatory slur. It is frequently used to stereotype and demean Muslim men, framing them as backward, violent, or anti-national, and thereby dehumanizing Muslims as a group.

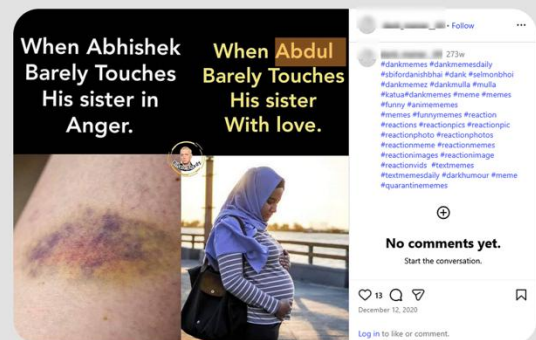
## Impact and Harm

The term represents an offensive essentialization about all Muslim men. It treats millions of people with varied backgrounds and characteristics as an undifferentiated, monolithic group; it serves as a form of dehumanization that precedes and enables other forms of discrimination. It has, in effect, become a term of abuse and is often used in conjunction with other insulting and dehumanizing characterizations of Muslims.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

अब्दुल

## Online Usage



# PUNCTUREWALA

Puncturewala is a Hindi descriptive occupational term which refers to repairmen who fix punctures in tires. However, in Islamophobic discourse in India, it has been redesignated as a derogatory slur aimed at Muslim men. The term plays on the stereotype that Muslim men are limited to low-income jobs involving menial labor or blue collar jobs, like repairing punctured tires, and is used to belittle them.

## Background and Context

The term is commonly used in Hindu nationalist online spaces, memes, and hate speech to portray Muslims as poor, uneducated, and socially inferior. In Indian society, manual labor is looked down upon and associated with lower social status. The term is anchored in this underlying prejudice. The abuse of a legitimate occupational label reflects deeper sociopolitical and casteist prejudices, illustrating how professions associated with marginalized communities are twisted into harmful stereotypes and designating occupations based on the supposed social status of a caste group.

## Impact and Harm

The slur combines religious prejudice with class-based contempt, reducing Muslim men to a narrow stereotype tied to poverty and menial labor. This framing implicitly positions Muslims as undeserving of rights and dignity.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

पंचरवाला, पंचरछाप, पंचरपुत्र कौम

## Online Usage



# MUGHAL POOT

The term Mughal Poot is a combination of Mughal with poot, meaning “son” or “descendant” in Hindi. It is used as an abusive term by Hindu nationalists to refer to Muslims as the offspring or children of the Mughals, implying that they are descendants of foreign “invaders” and therefore not truly Indian.

## Background and Context

Hindu nationalist discourse deploys this term to imply that Indian Muslims are not truly Indian but instead are descendants of foreign invaders and rulers, a claim that maligns their religious, historical, and cultural identity and designates them as second-class citizens in the modern Indian nation-state. This narrative reductively oversimplifies the Mughal period as one of oppression targeting Hindus, ignoring the period’s historical realities (which included Hindu-Muslim cultural exchanges, political alliances between Hindu and Muslim rulers), and traditions of religious syncretism.

The use of the term also reflects a level of historical ignorance; religion was not necessarily the primary marker of identity in pre-colonial India, and it was not uncommon for Hindus to serve under Muslim rulers and vice-versa. Today, this stereotype is invoked to legitimize symbolic acts of erasure, such as renaming cities, roads, and monuments bearing Mughal or Persian names with Hindu ones, in an effort towards historical revisionism and diminishing Muslim contributions to India’s shared heritage.

## Impact and Harm

The term undermines the national belonging of Indian Muslims by questioning their Indian-ness and casting them as descendants of foreign conquerors. It reinforces the Hindu nationalist myth that Islam was imposed on India through violent conquest and forced conversions, thereby framing Muslims as historical aggressors rather than integral participants in the subcontinent’s shared civilization. Through this framing, Mughal Poot perpetuates exclusion, legitimizes prejudice, and fuels contemporary efforts to marginalize Muslims from India’s national and cultural identity.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

मुगल पूत, मुगलों की औलाद, मुगलपूत, मुगल औलाद

## Online Usage



# PEACEFULS / PEACEFOOLS

Peacefuls is an Islamophobic term that mocks the phrase “Islam is a religion of peace.” Hindu nationalist and far-right actors deploy it sarcastically to suggest that Muslims are inherently violent.

## Background and Context

The term peacefuls emerged in Hindu nationalist online discourse as a means to invert and ridicule Muslims’ self-description of Islam as a peaceful faith. It gained traction on social media platforms and in WhatsApp groups, particularly during communal tensions or after violent incidents allegedly involving Muslims. The word is deployed with irony to insinuate that Muslims invoke peace only rhetorically while being, in the eyes of the user, “naturally” violent or intolerant.

## Impact and Harm

The term reinforces the false narrative that Muslims are innately violent and deceitful. This framing dehumanizes Muslims, delegitimizes their expressions of peace and faith, and normalizes collective suspicion. Its repeated use during moments of violence or unrest amplifies Islamophobic generalizations, portraying Muslims as a threat to social order and public safety while casting Hindu majoritarian aggression as justified self-defense.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

शांतिप्रिय

## Online Usage



# PORKI

Porki is a derogatory, anti-Muslim slur used to demean Muslims by referencing their religious prohibition against pork.

## Background and Context

Derived from the English word pork, the term is employed to provoke and insult Muslims by mocking a core aspect of Islamic dietary law that forbids the consumption of pork.

Porki is also used as a pejorative against Pakistanis or Indian Muslims perceived as sympathetic to Pakistan, reinforcing communal stereotypes that frame Muslims as foreign, disloyal, or alien. Through this conflation, the slur operates on both religious and nationalistic registers, ridiculing faith while othering Muslims within the sociopolitical landscape.

## Impact and Harm

The slur equates Muslims with pigs, weaponizing a deeply held religious prohibition to humiliate and dehumanize. It forces an association with what Muslims consider haram (forbidden), turning a sacred boundary into a tool of mockery. This inversion is not merely an insult but a form of symbolic violence that portrays Muslims as “impure” or “polluting.” Such narratives have historically underpinned social segregation, discrimination, and hate-fueled violence against Muslim communities.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

सुअर

## Online Usage



# TOPIWALA

Although the literal meaning of Topiwala is “a person wearing a topi” (cap), it is widely used as a slur to mock and stereotype Muslim men who wear the traditional skullcap (taqiyah). The term turns a visible symbol of faith into a marker of difference and ridicule.

## Background and Context

Originally a neutral reference to someone who wears a cap, Topiwala has been co-opted by Hindu nationalist and Islamophobic discourse as a derogatory label for Muslims. It is frequently used online, in political rhetoric, and in everyday speech to identify Muslims in a sneering or demeaning way. The slur reduces religious expression to a caricature, implying that those who are visibly Muslim are backward, extremist, or alien to Indian society.

## Impact and Harm

The term ridicules a visible religious practice, turning a representation of faith into something worthy of derision. It contributes to the policing of Muslim appearance and fosters a climate where open practice of faith becomes a source of ridicule or danger. Such usage pressures Muslims to conceal their identity in public life to avoid harassment and exclusion, endangering freedom of religion.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

टोपीवाला

## Online Usage



# MALECHHA

Malechha is a derogatory term used to label Muslims and Christians as outsiders, impure, or barbaric. It functions as a slur that collapses diverse religious and cultural communities into a single category viewed as socially and morally inferior to Hindus.

## Background and Context

The word malechha has its origins in ancient Sanskrit texts describing non-Aryan or non-Vedic peoples and connotes a lack of refinement or civilization. Rooted in notions of ritual pollution and caste hierarchy, the term reflects both casteist and exclusionary worldviews. In contemporary India, Hindu nationalist groups have revived and weaponized malechha to target Muslims and Christians, particularly in online discourse and extremist propaganda. It is commonly used to depict these communities as alien to Indian civilization, violent, or morally degenerate.

## Impact and Harm

Defining Muslims and Christians as culturally and spiritually inferior, malechha reinforces a hierarchical vision of Indian society in which minority communities are deemed perpetual outsiders. This linguistic othering legitimizes discrimination and exclusion that contributes to social hostility and normalization of hate speech and violence against religious minorities.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

मलेच्छ

## Online Usage



# MADRASA CHHAAP

Madrasa Chhaap is a derogatory term used to insult Muslims by implying that they are shaped by traditional and supposedly regressive Islamic seminaries (madrasas). It suggests that those educated in such institutions are indoctrinated, intolerant, or incapable of modern, rational thought.

## Background and Context

The term is often used in political rhetoric, media commentary, and online discourse to delegitimize Muslim education and culture. It mocks madrasa graduates as symbols of backwardness and uses the association with religious learning to portray Muslims as incompatible with modernity, secularism, or scientific reasoning.

## Impact and Harm

The slur denigrates Islamic educational traditions and equates religious learning with ignorance or extremism. It entrenches stereotypes of Muslims as intellectually inferior and resistant to progress, reinforcing social prejudice and exclusion in academic, professional, and public life.

## Online Usage



## Variants and Alternate Forms

मदरसाछाप

# VIDHARMI

Vidharmi literally means “one of another faith.” In contemporary Hindu nationalist discourse, it is used as a slur to label Muslims and Christians as heretics and enemies of Hinduism.

## Background and Context

The term originates from Sanskrit, where it traditionally referred to those who do not follow Dharma, the righteous or prescribed religious path. While originally descriptive, Hindu nationalist rhetoric has repurposed Vidharmi to portray non-Hindus as spiritually corrupt, culturally alien, and fundamentally incompatible with Hindu society. It frequently appears in speeches, sermons, and propaganda that frame Muslims and Christians as existential threats to Hindu values and the Indian nation.

## Impact and Harm

The term frames religious minorities as culturally and spiritually at odds with the Indian nation, which Hindu nationalists increasingly define in culturally majoritarian Hindu terms. It is often used in speeches delivered by extremist Hindu monks to justify violence against Muslims and Christians.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

विधर्मी, Adharmi, अधर्मी, विधर्मी

## Online Usage



# AASMAANI KITAAB

Aasmaani Kitaab or “book from the sky” is a phrase used to refer to the Quran in a mocking manner. The phrase, which translates roughly to “heavenly book,” is meant to belittle the sacred status of the text and, by extension, the religious beliefs of Muslims.

## Background and Context

The term has emerged in anti-Muslim and political discourse in which Hindu nationalist groups routinely target Islam. It is used to trivialize the Quran by describing it as an unserious, fanciful text rather than a serious religious scripture. Caricaturing Muslim faith and identity, the term also reinforces narratives that delegitimize Islamic teachings.

## Impact and Harm

This term caricatures Muslims as followers of alien or backward belief systems and reduces a central facet of their religion to an object of ridicule.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

आसमानी किताब

## Online Usage



# HARE TIDDE

Hare Tidde is a Hindi-language slur used to refer to Muslims. It combines hare (green), a color strongly associated with Islam through its symbolism of paradise and the Prophet Muhammad, and tidde (locusts or pests). The term thus equates Muslims with swarming insects, twisting a sacred color into a marker of impurity and infestation.

## Background and Context

The phrase is commonly found in contemporary Hindu nationalist and online anti-Muslim rhetoric in India.

## Impact and Harm

This slur dehumanizes Muslims by likening them to insects or pests, stripping them of individuality and humanity. Pest metaphors are among the most extreme forms of dehumanization and have historically preceded extermination campaigns and genocidal violence. When groups are described as “infestations” or “swarms,” it legitimizes their removal or destruction as a form of social or national “cleansing.”

## Variants and Alternate Forms

हरे टिड्डे

## Online Usage



# TWO-AND-A-HALF-FRONT

Originally a military doctrine, the two-and-a-half front phrase has been distorted by Hindu nationalist groups, political leaders, influencers, and aligned media outlets to advance an exclusionary and sectarian idea of national security. In this politicized usage, the “half front” no longer refers solely to internal insurgencies but to Indian Muslims, dissenters, and other minorities depicted as inherently disloyal to the nation.

## Background and Context

The phrase originates in a series of public statements by India’s former Chief of Defence Staff, General Bipin Rawat. In addressing India’s simultaneous military challenges from two fronts, China and Pakistan, General Rawat repeatedly referred to a “half front” to describe internal security threats, such as separatist movements and armed insurgencies. However, the term has since been co-opted by Hindu nationalists to label religious minorities, particularly Muslims but also including critics as an internal “half front.” This rhetorical shift reframes Muslims as potential fifth columnists aligned with external enemies.

## Impact and Harm

The two-and-a-half front phrase brands Indian Muslims and government critics as internal enemies of the state, equating religious identity and political dissent with betrayal. By applying military terminology to describe civilian populations, the two-and-a-half front framework transforms ordinary Muslim citizens into enemy combatants in the public imagination. This framing justifies state repression, promotes suspicion of Indians on religious grounds, and undermines civil liberties, turning minorities into targets of surveillance, discrimination, and violence.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

2.5 front, 0.5 front

## Online Usage



# RICE BAGS OR RICE BAG CONVERTS

Rice bags is a prejudiced phrase primarily used to refer to individuals or groups in South Asia who are Christian or have converted to Christianity. It implies that such conversions took place in exchange for nominal material gains such as rice bags.

## Background and Context

During the colonial era, Christian missionaries provided education, healthcare, and food to marginalized communities to encourage conversion to Christianity. However, Hindu nationalist groups allege that missionaries used food, particularly rice, to coerce caste-oppressed communities such as Dalits and tribals into converting to Christianity, a claim that persists as an anti-Christian narrative despite lack of substantial evidence in support of the theory.

The slur is frequently used on social media to insult Christians, particularly from economically and socially disadvantaged backgrounds by characterizing their faith as rooted in a transactional exchange. Hindu nationalist groups and politicians invoke the phrase to justify anti-conversion laws, arguing that Christian conversions are driven by financial incentives rather than genuine belief. This hateful and bigoted narrative promotes hostility and discrimination against Christians.

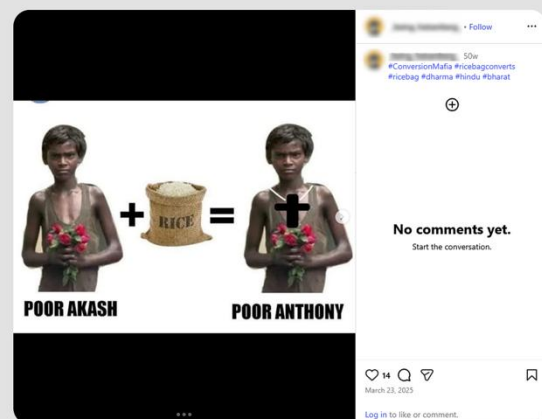
## Impact and Harm

This slur denies religious agency to poor and marginalized individuals, reducing their religious or spiritual choices to alleged greed or gullibility. It is often invoked online and at in-person hate events or rallies by Hindu nationalists to target Indian Christians and delegitimize their faith and dignity.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

Reject Rice Bags

## Online Usage



# KHALISTANI

Khalistani is a term increasingly used to delegitimize and criminalize Sikh dissent in India and the diaspora. While it originally referred to supporters of the Khalistan separatist movement, it is now widely deployed as a smear against Sikhs advocating for human rights, minority protections, or farmers' rights. The label is used to brand Sikhs as extremists, separatists, terrorists, or disloyal citizens, often regardless of their actual beliefs or affiliations.

## Background and Context

The term Khalistani emerged in the late 20th century in reference to proponents of the Khalistan movement, which sought to create an independent Sikh homeland in Punjab. Although the movement has largely disappeared within India and has marginal support abroad, Hindu nationalist leaders, right-wing media, and online networks have revived the term as a political weapon. It is frequently used to discredit Sikh journalists, activists, and farmers protesting government policies, as well as diaspora Sikhs critical of Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

While Khalistani can appear in neutral or historical reporting about the separatist movement, harm arises when the term is applied indiscriminately to Sikhs at large, casting the entire community as extremist or disloyal.

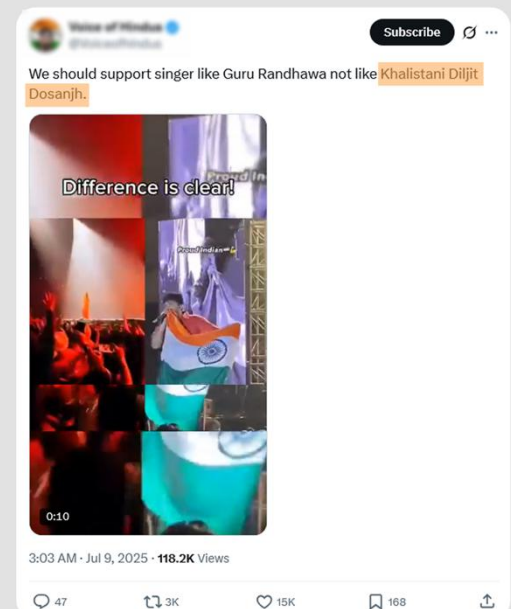
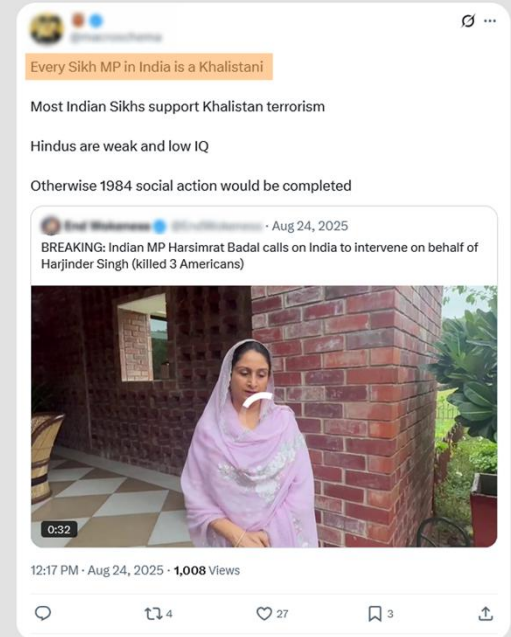
## Impact and Harm

The term stigmatizes Sikhs as anti-national and violent, reinforcing prejudice and suspicion toward the community. It promotes anti-Sikh prejudice and portrays Sikhs as inherently anti-national, fueling both online hate and offline threats and violence, particularly against Sikh activists and critics. This use of the term also fits into a broader pattern of weaponizing national security rhetoric to target Sikhs, delegitimize dissent, and justify transnational repression, surveillance, arrests, and censorship.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

खालिस्तानी

## Online Usage



# PAAIJAAN

Paaijaan is both an anti-Muslim and a political slur, coined and popularized by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in Assam state. It distorts *bhai jaan*, an Urdu phrase meaning “dear brother.” In its communal sense, the slur targets Bengali-origin Muslims, casting them as foreigners and disloyal citizens. In its political sense, it was deployed to smear Assam Congress leader Gaurav Gogoi by framing him as aligned with Muslims and Pakistan. This dual function enables the term to simultaneously stigmatize Muslims as a community and delegitimize political opponents.

## Background and Context

The term “Paaijaan” gained prominence in Assam’s political discourse in September 2025, when the official BJP Assam X account began circulating videos, many of them AI-generated, depicting scenarios of Assam becoming Muslim-majority or overrun by so-called “illegal immigrants” if the BJP were not in power. These posts carried the slogan, “We can’t let this dream of Paaijaan to be true,” turning the slur into a rallying cry. The campaign was closely tied to rhetoric from BJP leaders, including Chief Minister Himanta Biswa Sarma, who alleged that Congress leader Gogoi has links with Pakistan or its intelligence agencies. In this context, “Paaijaan” operated on two levels: it branded Gogoi with derogatory associations of disloyalty and alignment with Pakistan, while simultaneously fueling communal fears of a Muslim demographic takeover among Assamese voters.

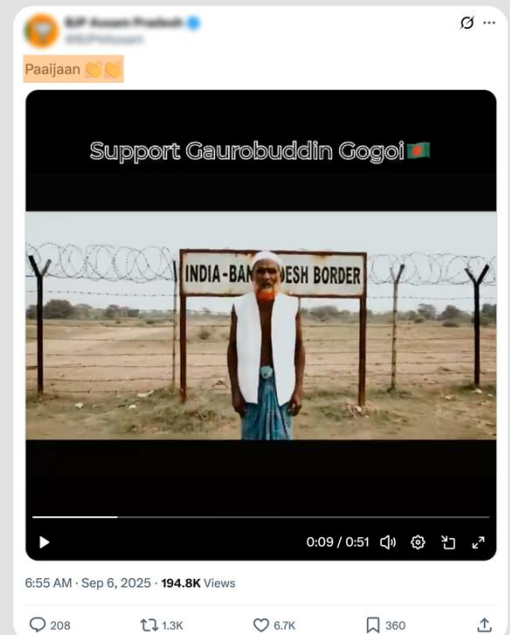
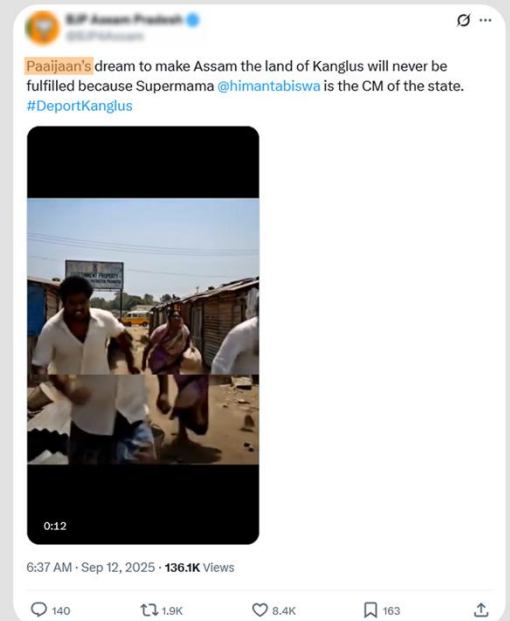
## Impact and Harm

The use of “Paaijaan” causes harm by fusing communal vilification with partisan attack. As an anti-Muslim slur, it weaponizes a cultural expression rooted in Muslim social life and recodes it as a marker of foreignness, casting Bengali-origin Muslims in Assam as “illegal immigrants” and disloyal citizens. This framing reinforces existing stereotypes and xenophobic anxieties about demographic takeover, further marginalizing an already vulnerable community. As a political slur, it smears opposition leader Gaurav Gogoi by associating him with Pakistan, thereby branding him as a traitor and delegitimizing the Congress party’s role in Assamese politics. The fact that this rhetoric was amplified by the official BJP Assam handle lends it institutional legitimacy, normalizing the slur in electoral discourse.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

Paijaan

## Online Usage



# TURKA / TURKOLLU / TURUKA / TURKARU

Turka historically referred to a person from Turkey but has been reframed as a term of abuse targeting Muslims broadly, particularly in Telugu-speaking regions of India. Variants of the term include Turkollu in Telugu, a language spoken primarily in the Indian states of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh, and “Turuka” in Kannada, which is spoken in Karnataka. Such terms frame Muslims as foreigners, negating their identity as Indians.

## Background and Context

The usage of these terms as anti-Muslim labels is rooted in historical narratives that associate Indian Muslims primarily with the medieval Turkic rulers who Hindu nationalists characterize as foreign invaders and conquerors of the Indian subcontinent. While the terms initially referred to ethnic or geographical origins, they have gradually taken on pejorative identitarian associations, suggesting that Indian Muslims are outsiders to the Indian nation or descendants of foreign conquerors. This rhetoric is commonly deployed in the context of inter-religious conflicts, in political discourse, and in hate speech to portray Muslims as aliens and outsiders rather than as legitimate inhabitants and citizens of India.

## Impact and Harm

These terms reinforce a divisive and exclusionary narrative that frames Indian Muslims as foreigners and historical enemies of India, undermining their claim of belonging and citizenship. Their use legitimizes discrimination and hostility toward Muslim communities.

### Variants and Alternate Forms

తుర్కా, తుర్కొల్లు, తుర్కూ

## Online Usage



**Translation:** "After the Kashmir attack, there are some sons of sluts/bitches who are 'Turkaru' or support these 'Turkaru' who are in contact with sons of sluts/bitches of terrorists. These people are traitors living among us. Because of them, such things happen, we need to get rid of them."

# MUKKAL

The term mukkal is commonly used to mock the practice of male circumcision among Muslims, implying that Muslim men are physically incomplete or inferior to non-circumcised men. Another variation of this term is “Ardha Thune,” which translates to “half-d—ck.”

## Background and Context

The term mukkal, meaning three-fourths, has its origins in the Kannada language, a language spoken primarily in the Indian state of Karnataka. While the word itself is neutral in meaning, it has been redefined as an anti-Muslim slur to ridicule Muslim religious practices, particularly circumcision. The term suggests that since circumcision involves the removal of the foreskin, a Muslim man is only three-fourths of a complete person. This crude reference is used to insult the masculinity of Muslim men. Although the normative use of the term has an innocuous meaning in Kannada, it is widely used in its abusive and discriminatory incarnation in online rhetoric.

## Impact and Harm

**Impact and Harm:** This slur obscenely invokes religious practice to mock and abuse Muslim men, reinforcing Islamophobic stereotypes. The explicitly sexual nature of this slur represents a particularly invasive form of harassment. It forces discussion of intimate body parts into public discourse as a means of humiliation, creating a deeply personal violation that compounds religious bigotry with sexual shaming.

## Variants and Alternate Forms

ಮುಕ್ಕಲ್

## Online Usage



**Note:** Translation omitted due to the extremely sexually explicit and degrading nature of the content.

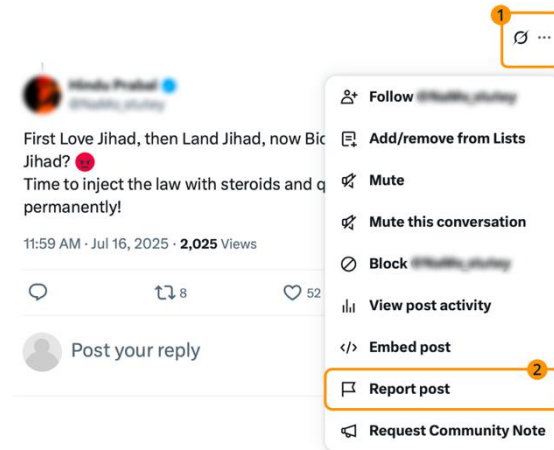
## SECTION 2

# Reporting Harmful Content

# 1. X (Formerly Twitter)

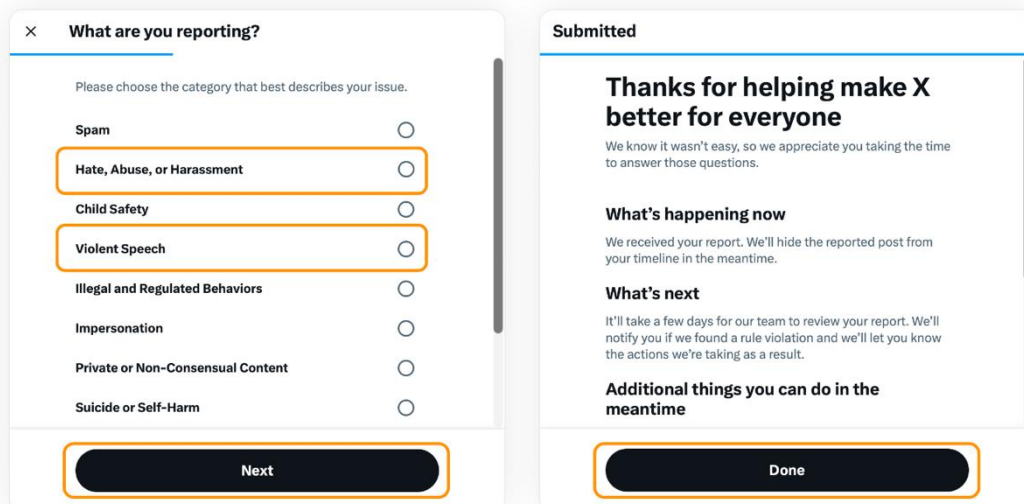
## Step 1

Click on the downward-facing arrow (or three dots) on the post and select "Report Post".



## Step 2

Choose the option that best describes the issue, such as "Hate (Slurs, Racist or sexist stereotypes, Dehumanization, Incitement of fear or discrimination, Hateful references, Hateful symbols & logos)" or "Violent Speech (Violent Threats, Wish of Harm, Glorification of Violence, Incitement of Violence, Coded Incitement of Violence)" and follow the prompts.



## Step 3

X will ask for the subcategory that best matches the nature of the violative content.

**Hate**  
Choose the best match

**Slurs & Tropes**  
We prohibit targeting others with repeated slurs, tropes or other content that intends to degrade or reinforce negative or harmful stereotypes about a protected category

**Hateful References**  
We prohibit targeting individuals or groups with content that references forms of violence or violent events where a protected category was the primary target or victims, where the intent is to harass

**Dehumanization**  
We prohibit the dehumanization of a group of people based on their religion, caste, age, disability, serious


Submit

## Step 4

Once submitted, the report is reviewed by X.

×

**You submitted a report for abusive behavior**  
[View Rule](#)

 **Wanda P...** @WandaP... · Jul 16, 2025

Content hidden [View](#)

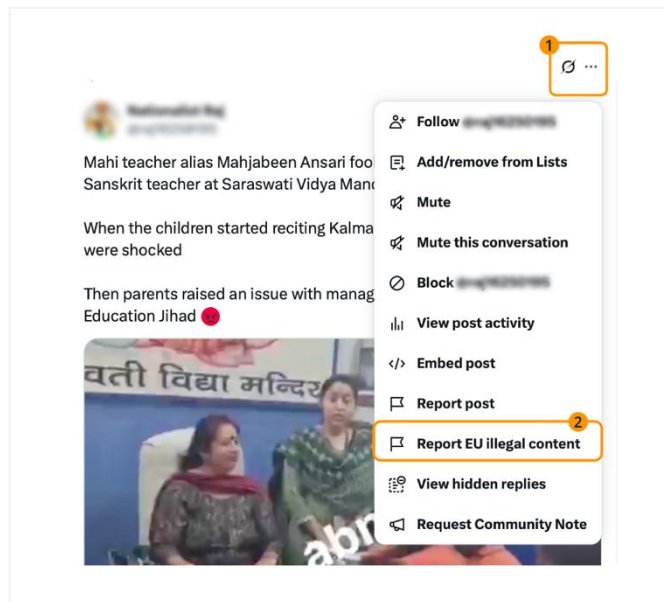
**What's next**  
Our team and technology will review your report. If we find a rule violation, we'll let you know what actions we're taking.

**What's our process?**  
Context matters. We consider the following factors when enforcing our rules (this isn't a complete list):  
Does the reported content target people because of their identity?  
How severe is this violation?  
Was the report submitted by the person being targeted?  
Creating duplicate reports will not accelerate our process.

## 1.1 For reporting content in the European Union under the Digital Service Act (DSA)

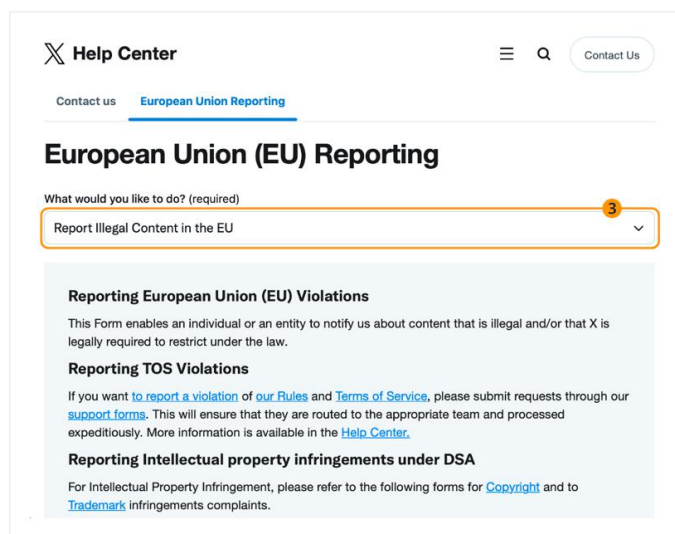
### Step 1

Click on the downward-facing arrow (or three dots) on the post and select “Report EU Illegal Content”.



### Step 2

A new window/tab will open with the online form for EU content reporting. Select **Report Illegal Content in the EU**.

A screenshot of the 'European Union (EU) Reporting' form. The form is titled 'European Union (EU) Reporting' and has a dropdown menu for 'What would you like to do? (required)'. The dropdown menu is open, showing the option 'Report Illegal Content in the EU'. Below the dropdown menu, there are three sections: 'Reporting European Union (EU) Violations', 'Reporting TOS Violations', and 'Reporting Intellectual property infringements under DSA'. The 'Reporting European Union (EU) Violations' section includes a note: 'This Form enables an individual or an entity to notify us about content that is illegal and/or that X is legally required to restrict under the law.' The 'Reporting TOS Violations' section includes a note: 'If you want to report a violation of our Rules and Terms of Service, please submit requests through our support forms. This will ensure that they are routed to the appropriate team and processed expeditiously. More information is available in the Help Center.' The 'Reporting Intellectual property infringements under DSA' section includes a note: 'For Intellectual Property Infringement, please refer to the following forms for Copyright and to Trademark infringements complaints.'

**NB. Trusted Flaggers** and **designated NGOs** must use their institutional email address when submitting the reporting form.

## Step 3

Complete the required information on the form, including name, username, email, type of content, and the username of the account being reported.

X Help Center

☰ Q Contact Us

4

Your name

Your X username

Your email address (required)  
This is where we'll contact you.

Content type being reported (required)

Post  
 Ad

Username of the account you are reporting (required)

Reset

## Step 4

- Share the URL(s) to the illegal content. Each report can contain up to **five posts**.
- Select the country where it may be illegal.
- Select the legal reason that the content is illegal (e.g., illegal or harmful speech; Negative effects on civic discourse or elections).
- Optional: Provide more information about the post.
- Click **Submit**.

X Help Center

☰ Q Contact Us

5 Each report can contain up to five posts.

Please share the content that you believe is illegal in the EU (required)

Report multiple items by adding one URL per line.

https://x.com/raj16250195/status/1924675563068752131

6 This content violates the laws in (required)

Select a location

7 Legal reason for this report (required)

Select a value

8 Please provide more details about what's happening

I have good faith belief that the information and allegations I provided are accurate and complete.

9

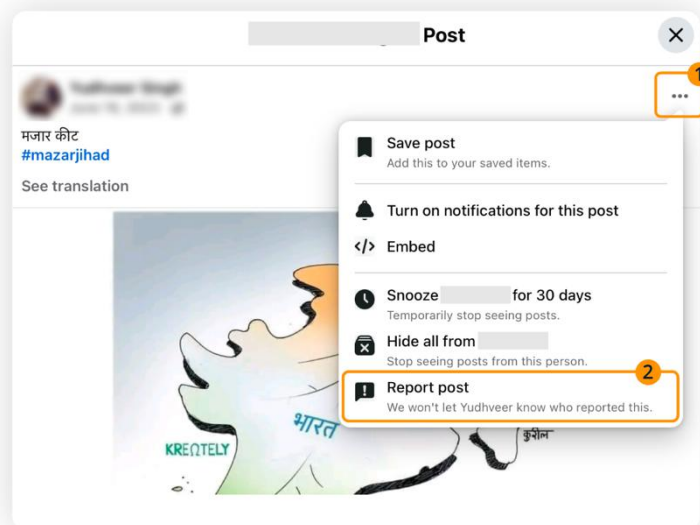
Submit

## 2. Facebook

### 2.1 For Posts

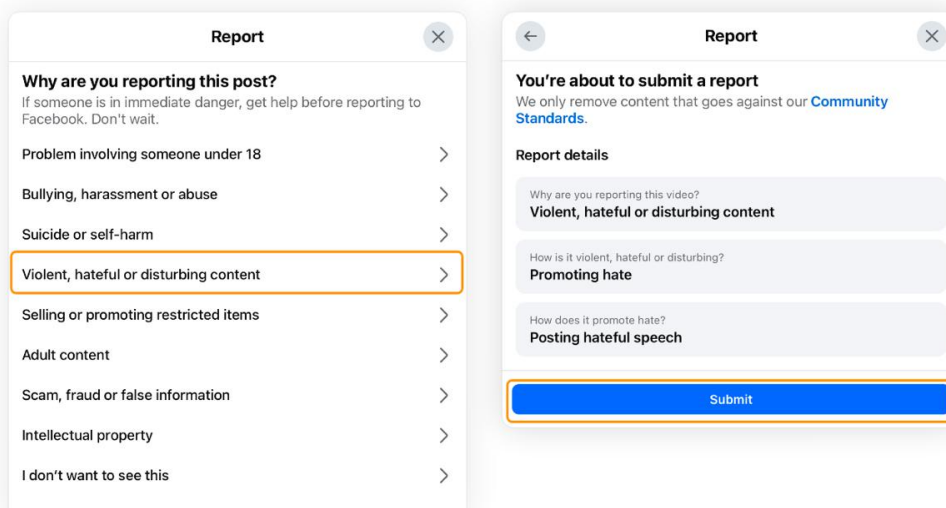
#### Step 1

Click on the three dots in the upper-right corner of the post. Select the “Report Post” option in the dropdown.



#### Step 2

When Facebook prompts ‘Why are you reporting this post?’, select the appropriate reason (e.g., Violent, hateful, or disturbing content). Depending on the reason you have selected, Facebook may request further details on why it violates the guidelines. Select the appropriate reason and, if prompted, the subcategory. Click **Submit**.



## 2.2 For Comments

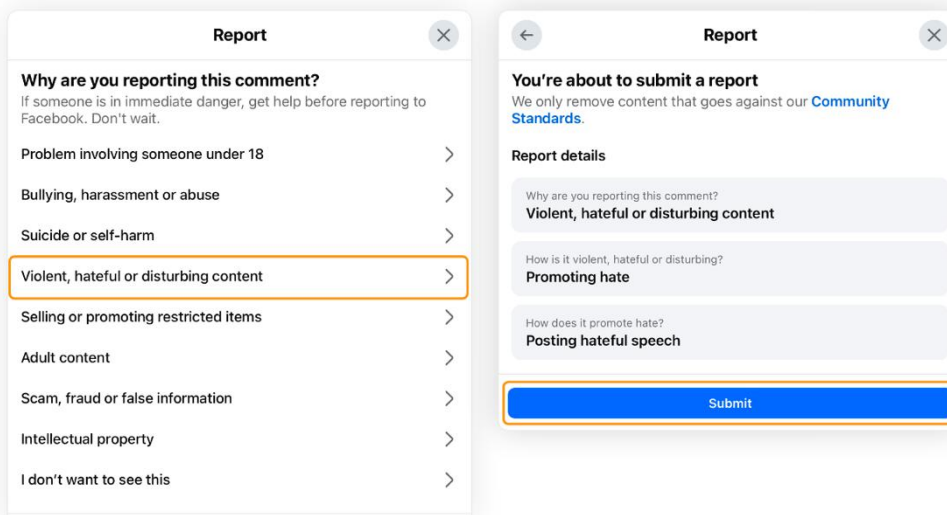
### Step 1

Click on the three dots to the comment's right (or long-press the comment on the mobile app). Select the 'report comment' option.



### Step 2

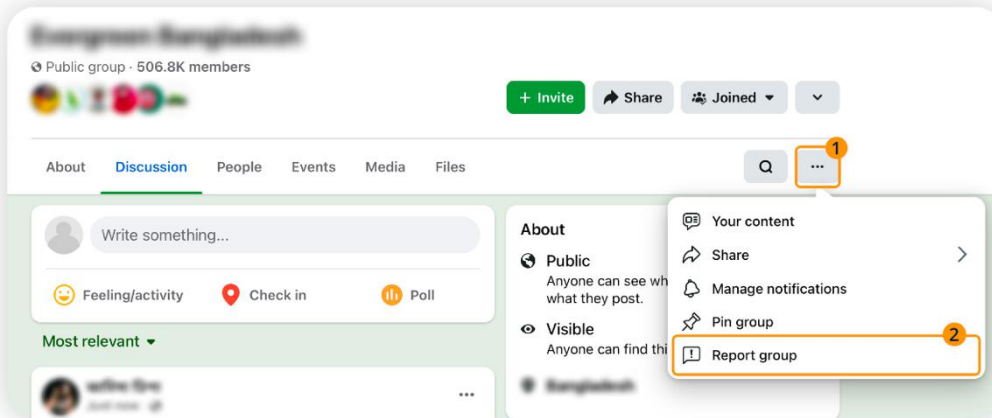
When Facebook prompts 'Why are you reporting this comment?', select the appropriate reason (e.g., Violent, hateful, or disturbing content. Depending on the reason you have selected, Facebook may request further details on why it violates the guidelines. Select the appropriate reason and, if prompted, the subcategory. Click **Submit**.



## 2.3 For Groups

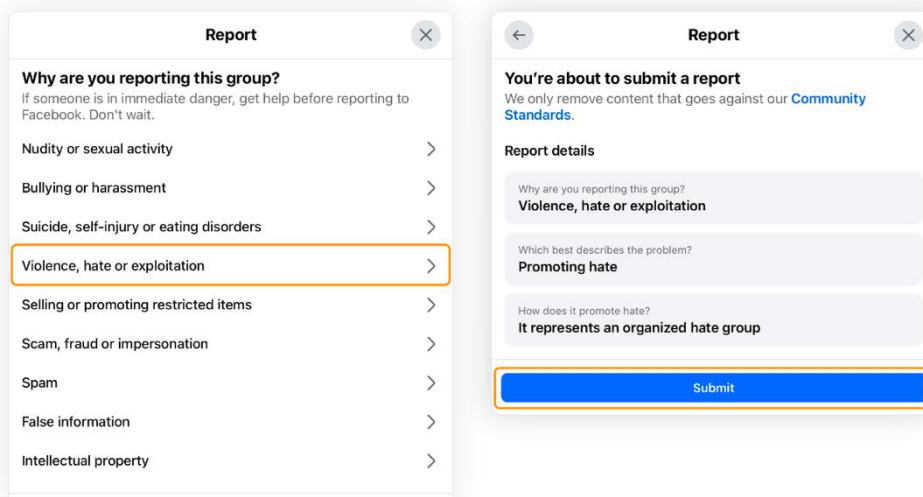
### Step 1

From the group page, click More options or the group menu. Select the 'report group' option.



### Step 2

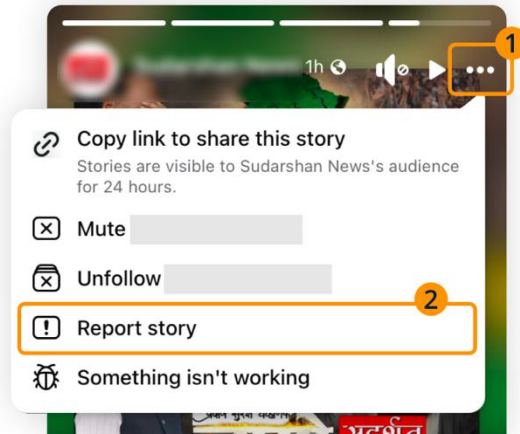
When Facebook prompts 'Why are you reporting this group?', select the appropriate reason (e.g., Violent, hateful, or disturbing content). Specify the reason from the selection for why the group violates community standards and, if prompted, the subcategory. Click **Submit**.



## 2.4 For Stories

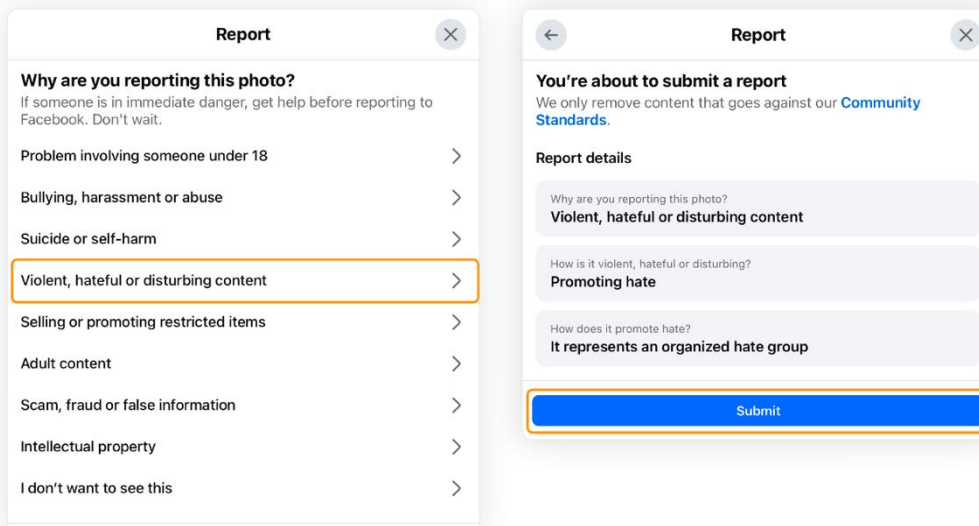
### Step 1

On the story, click the three-dot menu on the top right of the screen. Select 'report story' in the drop-down menu.



### Step 2

When Facebook prompts 'Why are you reporting this photo/video?', select the appropriate reason (e.g., Violent, hateful, or disturbing content). Specify the reason from the selection for why the story violates community standards and, if prompted, the subcategory. Click **Submit**.

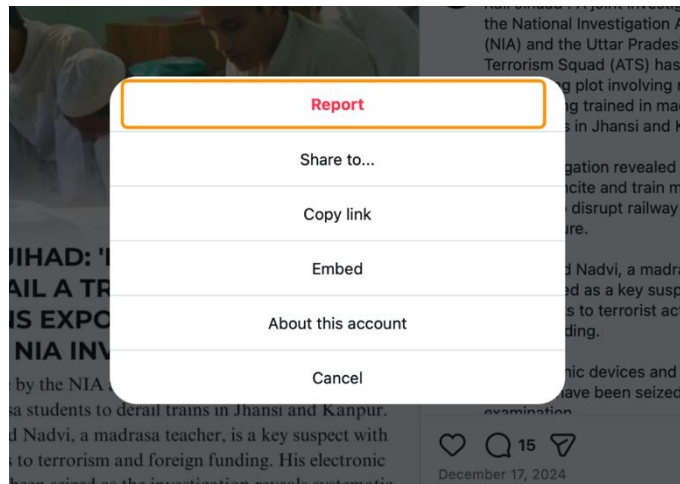


# 3. Instagram

## 3.1 For Posts

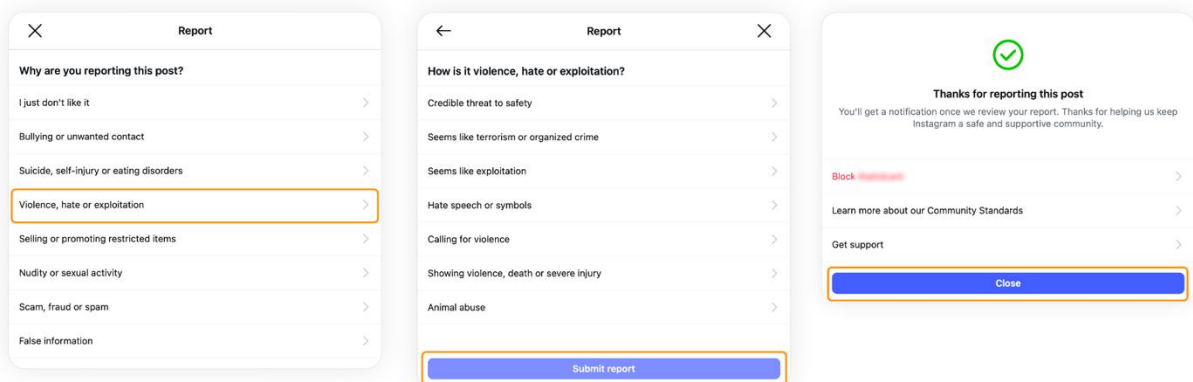
### Step 1

Tap the three dots icon in the top-right corner of the post you want to report.  
Select 'Report'.



### Step 2

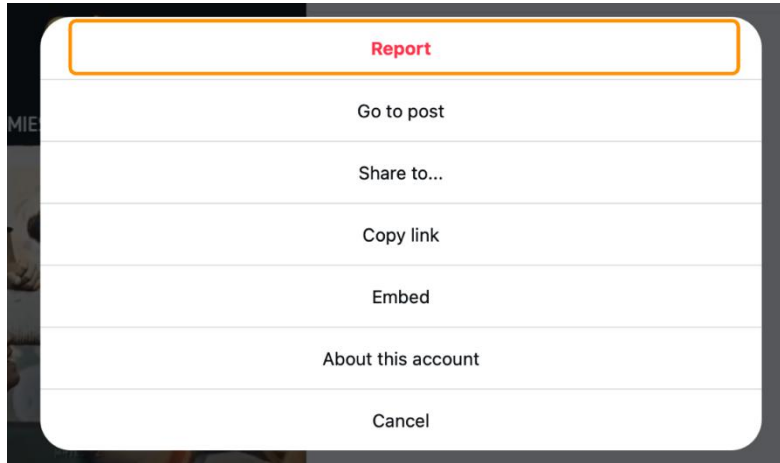
When Instagram prompts 'Why are you reporting this post?', select the appropriate reason (e.g., Violence, hate, or exploitation). Specify the reason from the selection for why the post violates community standards and, if prompted, the subcategory (e.g., Hate speech or symbols). Click Submit.



## 3.2 For Reels

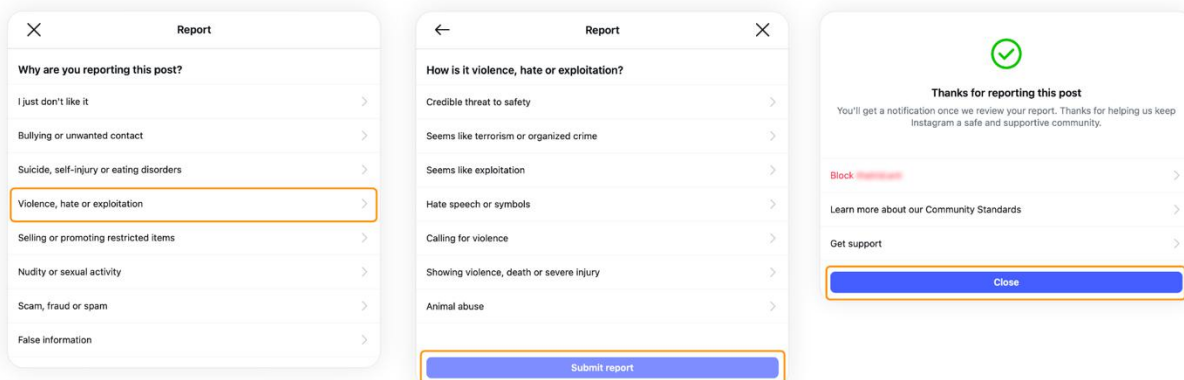
### Step 1

Tap the three dots icon to the bottom right of the reel. Select 'Report'.



### Step 2

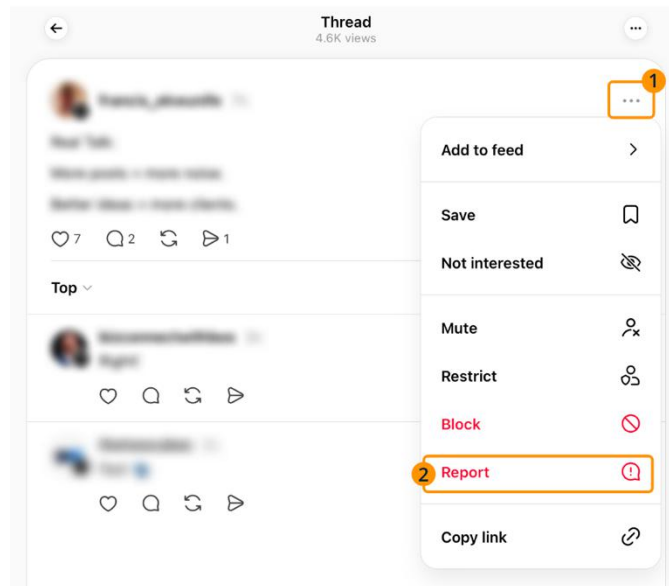
When Instagram prompts 'Why are you reporting this post?', select the appropriate reason (e.g., Violence, hate, or exploitation). Specify the reason from the selection for why the post violates community standards and, if prompted, the subcategory (e.g., Hate speech or symbols). Click **Submit**.



## 4. Threads

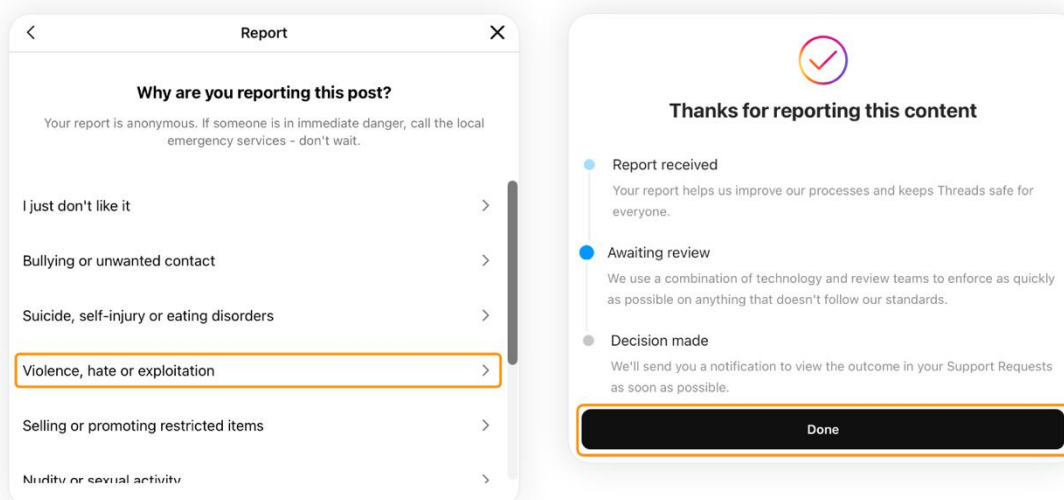
### Step 1

Tap the three dots icon in the top-right corner of the post you want to report. Select **'Report'** in the selection.



### Step 2

Specify the reason from the selection for why the post violates community standards. Click **Submit**.



## 5. For reporting content under EU DSA for Meta-owned platforms (Facebook, Instagram, Threads)

- a. Users in the European Union (and territories under the jurisdiction of the EU Digital Services Act) can report by selecting the option 'Report as unlawful' and then reporting under the appropriate option. These include: Intellectual property; Defamation; Request to erase personal data under GDPR; Content is unlawful for another reason (for example: hate speech, harassment).
- b. A legal removal request window will open where the user must select the country whose laws are being violated.
- c. Select the appropriate legal issue in the legal removal request form by selecting the specific violation [e.g., I believe the content violates a law not mentioned above (example: hate speech)].

### Legal removal request

This form is intended for reporting content posted on Facebook that you believe violates your personal legal rights or applicable local laws. If you are trying to report a legal issue related to Defamation, Privacy or Intellectual Property, please use the drop-down reporting forms provided below. Before making this request, you may want to seek guidance from a qualified lawyer.

Please note that the content you'd like to report may violate our:

- Community Standards (e.g. bullying, harassment, hate speech),
- Advertising Policies
- Commerce Policies

If you would like to report the content under our Community Standards, please visit the [Help Centre](#).

**Select the country where you are claiming legal rights.**  
This should be the country whose laws you claim are violated by the relevant content.

Netherlands ▼

**What legal issue do you wish to report?**

- Intellectual property (e.g. copyright, trademark)
- Defamation
- Privacy/erasure under GDPR
- I believe that the content violates a law not mentioned above (e.g. hate speech)

[Send](#)

- d. Once selected, further questions will be prompted asking for the specific laws, along with the links to them, and documentation or evidence regarding the legal investigation or action pertaining to them.

Netherlands

What legal issue do you wish to report?

- Intellectual property (e.g. copyright, trademark)
- Defamation
- Privacy/erasure under GDPR
- I believe that the content violates a law not mentioned above (e.g. hate speech)

Why do you believe that this content violates the specific laws that you believe to be violated?

Please explain which specific laws you believe are violated by the reported content. Provide as much detail as possible and include, via link or attachment, any relevant documentation or evidence supporting your determination, including copies of any investigations, legal actions or decisions that have been made with respect to the content.

What specific laws do you believe are violated by the reported content?

Please include links (URLs) or citations to the text of the laws.

Please upload a copy of the investigation, legal action or decision

No file chosen

- Continue with your report

Who are you reporting on behalf of?

- I am reporting on behalf of myself
- I am reporting on behalf of my organisation
- I am a lawyer or other representative authorised to report on behalf of my client

e. Add details about yourself or the organization you are reporting on behalf of.

Who are you reporting on behalf of?

- I am reporting on behalf of myself
- I am reporting on behalf of my organisation
- I am a lawyer or other representative authorised to report on behalf of my client

Your first name

Your surname

Your client's first name

Your client's surname

Email address

Confirm email address

- I don't have an email address
- Continue with your report

- f. If there are more posts containing similar or the same content you are reporting, add their URLs.

**Continue with your report**

Please provide links (URLs) to each piece of content on Facebook (for example, a specific post, photo or video) that you want to report.

On your computer, you can find the URL by clicking the time and date that appears in grey with the content (e.g. "8 hours ago"). On your phone or mobile device, you can usually find the URL by navigating to the content that you want to report, tapping "Share" and then tapping "Copy link". If the "Share" button doesn't appear, you may be able to find it by opening the content in a full-screen view.

URL no. 1

URL No. 2

URL No. 3

URL No. 4

URL No. 5

I have more links (URLs) to report

I don't have links (URLs) leading directly to the content that I want to report

**Continue with your report**

- g. Specify the type of content that is being reported (e.g., Story), and the username of the account and timeframe of the post.
- h. Upload any court ruling that is relevant to the content you are reporting or to establish the unlawfulness of the content.
- i. Verify what you have reported, add an electronic signature, and send.

**Continue with your report**

Do you have a court order establishing the unlawfulness of the reported content?

**Yes**

No

Please upload a copy of your court order

No file chosen

**Continue with your report**

By submitting this notice, you agree: that you have a good-faith belief that the content you are reporting is unlawful in the manner described above; that the information contained in this report is accurate; and, to the extent you are acting on behalf of a client, that you are a legal representative authorised by that client to submit this report.

Do you agree?

**Yes**

No

Electronic Signature

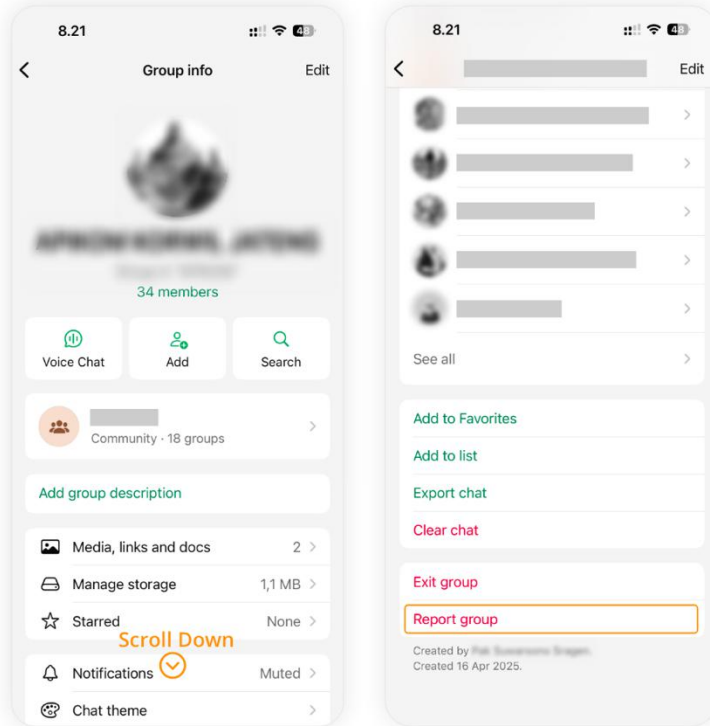
# 6. WhatsApp

## 6.1 For Groups

### Step 1

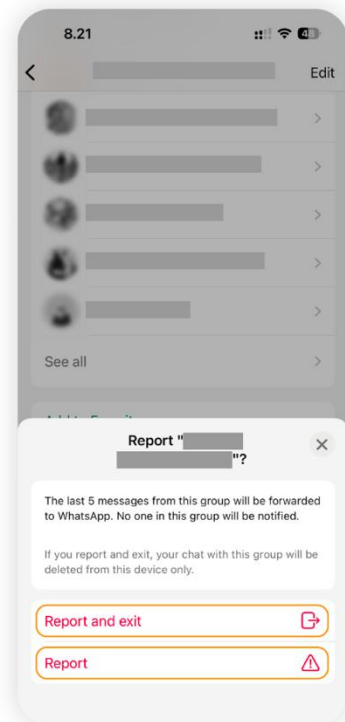
Open the group containing the harmful content. Click the group name to view its details.

Scroll down to the report group option and click.



### Step 2

If you select the report option, the last 5 messages from the group will be forwarded to WhatsApp. No one in the group will be notified. Select the 'report' or 'report and exit' option as you prefer.

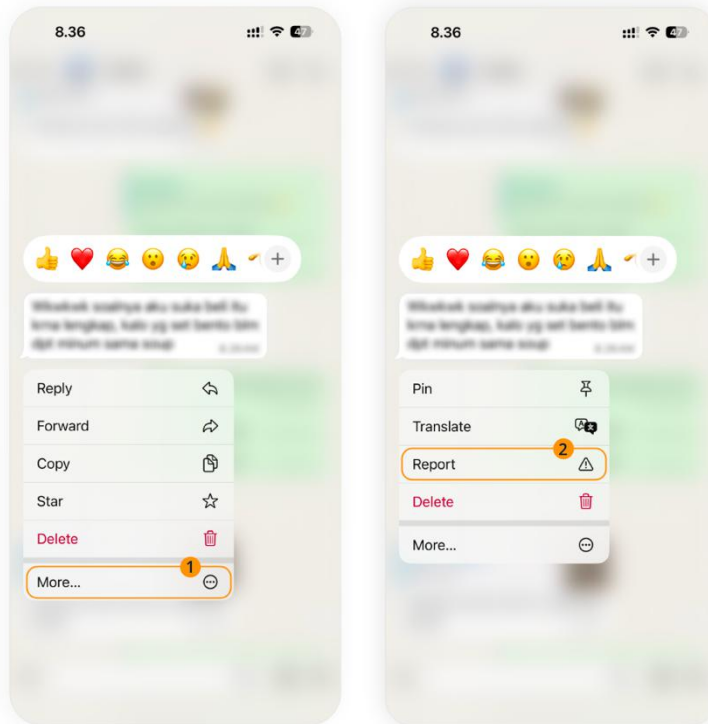


## 6.2 For Individual Messages

### Step 1

Open the chat with the harmful content, then tap and hold the message you wish to report.

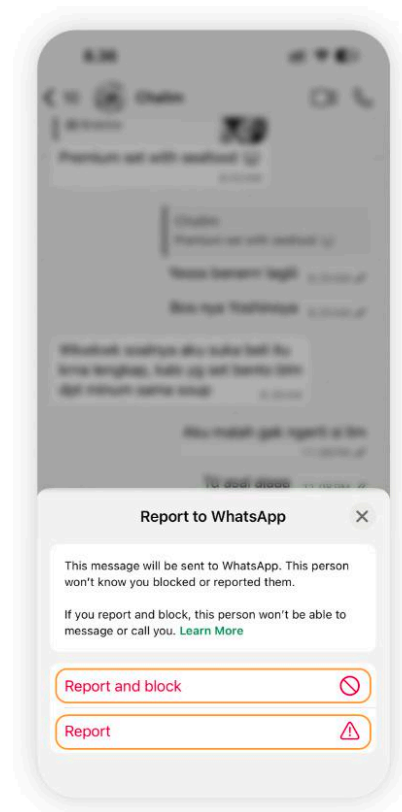
Select **'more'** and then report from the drop-down menu.



### Step 2

If you select the report option, the message will be sent to WhatsApp. The person won't know you reported them. Select the **'report'** or **'report and block'** option as you prefer.

For the latter, the person won't know you blocked or reported them. If you report and block, the person won't be able to message or call you.

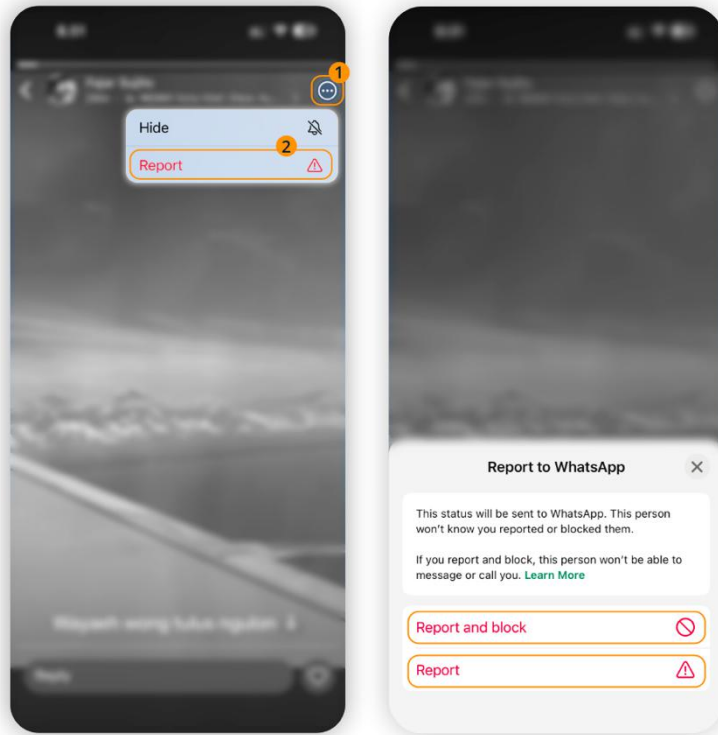


## 6.3 For Status

### Step 1

Navigate to the status. Click the three vertical dots in the top-right corner for options.

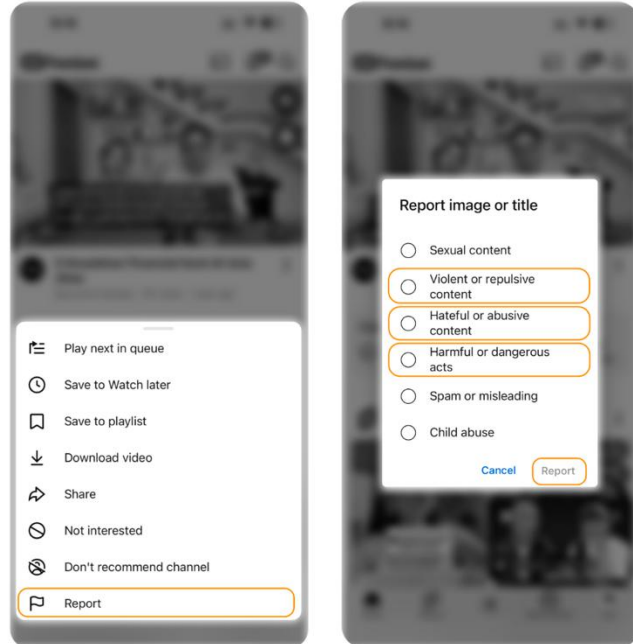
Select the report option. Select the 'report' or 'report and block' option as you prefer.



## 7. YouTube

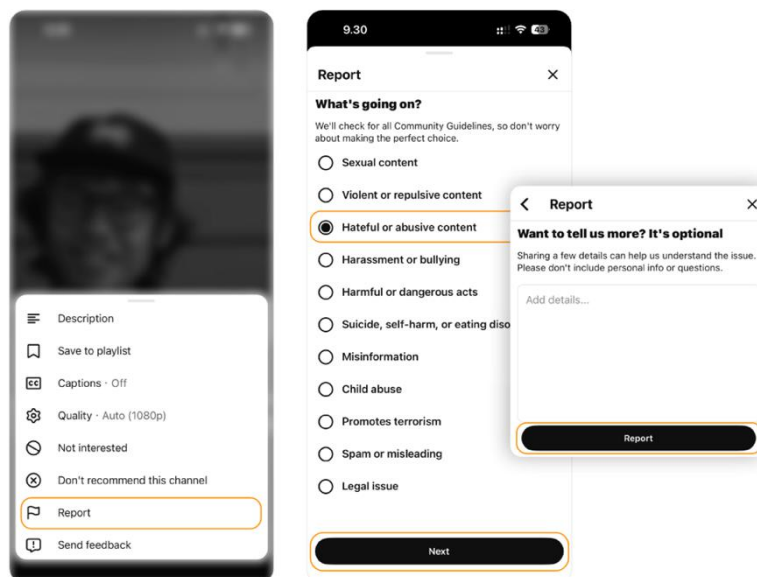
### 7.1 For Videos

- Go to the video that you want to report.
- If using the app, tap **Report** under the video. If using a browser, click the three horizontal dots icon and click Report.
- Select the reason that best fits the violation in the video (e.g., Hateful or abusive content).
- Tap **Report** to submit the report.



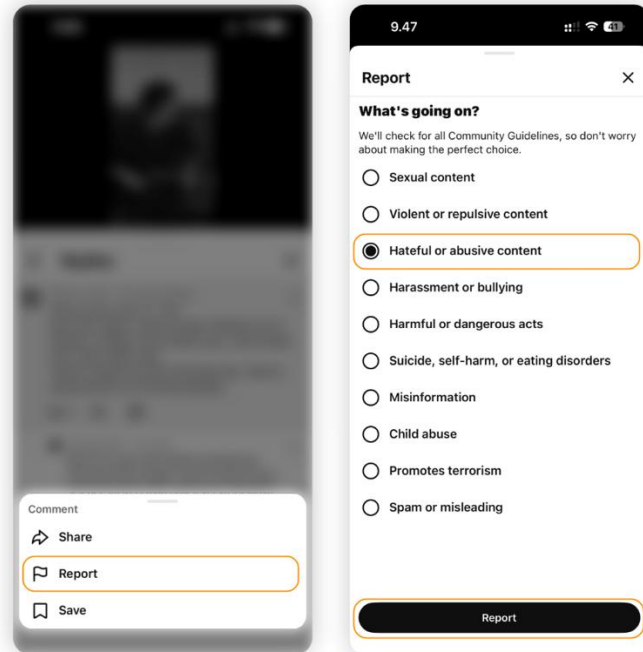
### 7.2 For Shorts

- Go to the Short that you want to report.
- If using the app, tap More in the top-right corner. If using a browser, click the three vertical dots icon and click **Report**.
- Select the reason that best fits the violation in the short. Tap **Report** to submit the report.



## 7.3 For Comments

- Go to the comment you want to report.
- Select the three vertical dots icon and click Report.
- Select the reason that best fits the violation in the comment.
- Tap Report to submit the report.

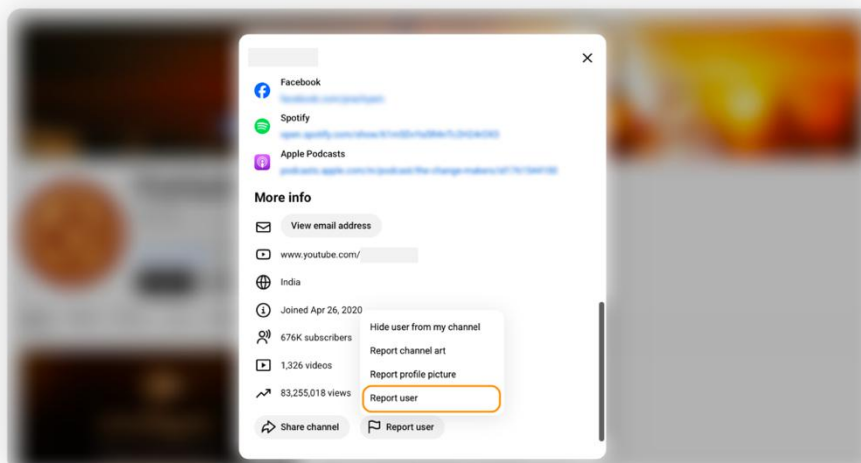


## 7.4 For Channels

### Step 1

Go to the channel page you want to report. If using a browser, click More in the channel description, and click the 'Report user' button at the bottom. Select the desired option from the drop-down menu:

- a. Hide the user from my channel.
- b. Report channel art.
- c. Report profile picture.
- d. Report user.



## Step 2

If you select 'Report user', specify the reason from the dropdown menu (e.g., Hate speech against a protected group). Go to the next and **submit**.

The first screenshot shows a 'Report user' form with the question 'What is the issue?'. The options are: Harassment and cyberbullying, Privacy, Impersonation, Violent threats, Child endangerment, Hate speech against a protected group (selected), Spam and scams, and None of these are my issue. A 'Next' button is at the bottom right.

The second screenshot shows the 'Report user' form with the question 'Provide additional context'. It features a text box for 'Additional notes' with a 0/300 character count. A 'Back' button and a 'Submit' button are at the bottom.

## Step 3

If using the app, click the three vertical dots icon in the top-right corner of the page. Click the report user.

Select the desired option for the subcategory (e.g., Hateful or abusive content).

The first screenshot shows a mobile app interface with a menu in the bottom right corner. The menu items are: Share, About channel, Hide user from my channel, Report user (selected), and Help & feedback.

The second screenshot shows a 'Report' screen with the question 'What's going on?'. The options are: Sexual content, Violent or repulsive content, Impersonation, Privacy issue, Hateful or abusive content (selected), Harassment or bullying, Harmful or dangerous acts, Suicide, self-harm, or eating disorders, Child abuse, Promotes terrorism, and Spam or misleading. A 'Next' button is at the bottom.

## Step 4

Select the type of content to be reviewed for violation (e.g., videos, comments, channel name, profile picture, description).

Go to the next and submit.

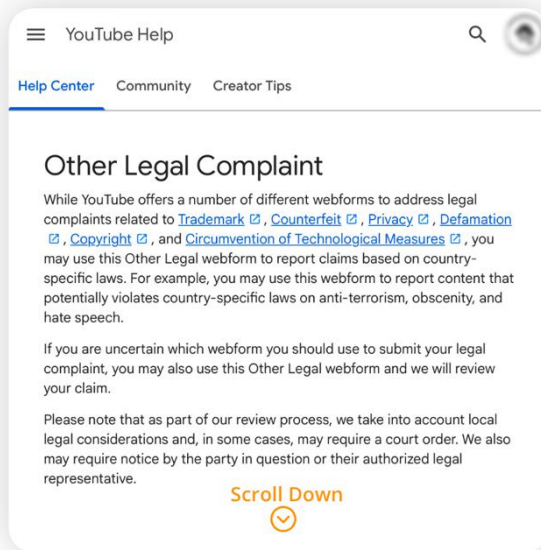
The image displays two sequential mobile app screens for reporting content. Both screens have a status bar at the top showing the time 10:17, signal strength, Wi-Fi, and battery (39%).

The first screen, titled "Report", has a back arrow and a close "X" button. The main heading is "What should we review?". Below it is the instruction "Tell us what's breaking the rules." There are five selectable options: "Videos", "Comments", "Channel name", "Profile picture", and "Description". A dashed orange box highlights the "Comments", "Channel name", and "Profile picture" options. At the bottom is a "Next" button.

The second screen, also titled "Report", has a back arrow and a close "X" button. The main heading is "Want to tell us more? It's optional". Below it is the instruction "Sharing a few details can help us understand the issue. Please don't include personal info or questions." There is a text input field with the placeholder "Add details...". A dashed orange box highlights this input field. At the bottom is a "Report" button.

## 8. For reporting content under national regulation in specific jurisdictions, including the EU DSA for YouTube

1. Open the 'Submit a Legal Complaint' [form](#) (the form is also available if you select 'Legal Issue' then 'Other legal issue' in the regular report function).



[https://support.google.com/youtube/contact/other\\_legal](https://support.google.com/youtube/contact/other_legal)

2. Add the 'Country of dispute' and 'Contact email address'.
3. Specify who you are acting on behalf of, e.g., your organisation, client, or yourself.

A screenshot of the 'Other Legal Complaint' form fields. The form includes a '\* Required field' label. The first field is 'Country of dispute \*', which is a dropdown menu with 'Select one' and a downward arrow. The second field is 'Your full legal name \*', which is a text input field with a note below it: '(aliases, usernames, or initials are not accepted)'. The third field is 'Acting on behalf of \*', which has two radio button options: 'Self' and 'Client'. The fourth field is 'Email address', which is a text input field with a placeholder email address.

- Specify the number of URLs (maximum of five) you wish to report and add links to them.
- Cite the specific law that is violated by the content.

Please cite the specific law that the content is allegedly violating, or the area of the law from which you believe your claim arises \*

Please provide a hyperlink to the specific law \*

Each report can contain up to five URLs.

Please indicate where the alleged violation occurs and provide the specific URL that links to the content at issue. You may submit a video, channel, [comment](#), or other URL \*

Select one ▼ **Video, Channel, Comment, or Other**

- Add a note with timestamps, if possible, explaining why the content violates the law, with specific points of violation.
- Click submit.


Please describe how the content in question is allegedly violating this law \*

(if applicable, include a timestamp)

Agree to the following statement: \*

I declare that the information in this notice is true and complete.

Typing your full name in the box below will act as your digital signature \*

protected by reCAPTCHA 

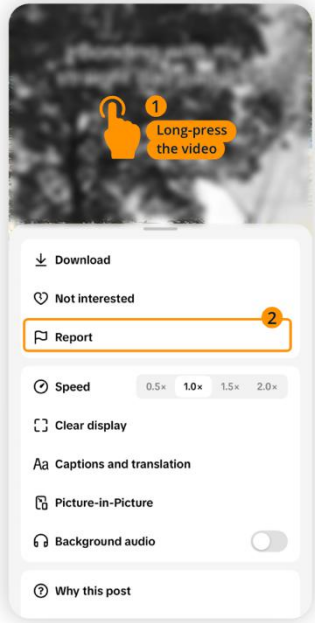
[Privacy](#) - [Terms](#)

**Submit**

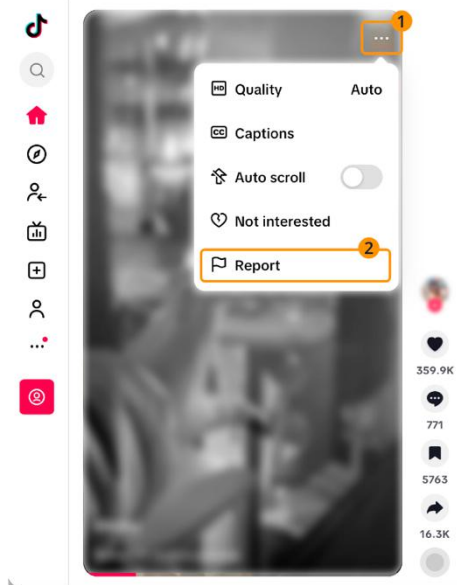
# 9. TikTok

## Step 1

Open or select the content (e.g., video, comment, or account) you want to report. If using the app, long-press the video until the menu pops up. If using a browser, click the three-dot menu on the top right of the video. Click **Report**.



TikTok via App

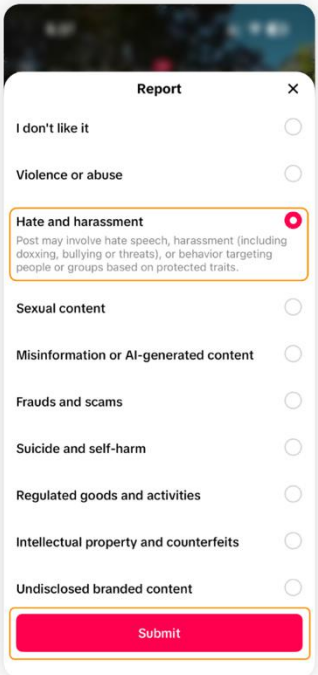


TikTok via Browser

## Step 2

Select the best-suited category (e.g., Hate and harassment). If prompted further, select the subcategory of violation (e.g., Hate speech and hateful behaviors).

Verify if the type of content being reported matches TikTok's content policy description. Click **Submit**.



## Endnotes

1. Debasish Roy Chowdhury, "Love Jihad' Laws Further Erode India's Democracy," TIME, December 1, 2020, <https://time.com/5915872/love-jihad-india-democracy/>.
2. Charu Gupta, "Hindu Women, Muslim Men: Love Jihad and Conversions," Economic and Political Weekly 44, no. 51 (2009): 13–15, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25663907>.
3. Sagay Raj, "Focus on Love Jihad, Not Road, Sewage Problems: MP Naleen Kateel's Controversial Words to BJP Cadres," India Today (Mangaluru), January 3, 2023, <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/focus-on-love-jihad-not-road-sewage-problems-karnataka-mp-naleen-kateel-controversial-words-to-bjp-cadres-2316654-2023-01-03>.
4. The Special Marriage Act 1954, [https://www.indiacode.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/15480/1/special\\_marriage\\_act.pdf](https://www.indiacode.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/15480/1/special_marriage_act.pdf).
5. Eviane Leidig, "The Spectre of the Predatory Muslim Man: Tracing Far-Right Gendered Imaginaries and Counter-Terrorism Policies in the Cases of Love Jihad and the Great Replacement," in *Global Counter-Terrorism* (Manchester University Press, 2025), <https://www.manchesterhive.com/display/9781526178626/9781526178626.00021.xml>.
6. "Interfaith Love at Risk amid India's Hindu Nationalist Surge," Asia, The Independent, November 29, 2021, <https://www.independent.co.uk/asia/india/india-belagavi-murder-interfaith-marriage-b1965806.html>.
7. Hannah Ellis-Petersen and Ahmer Khan, "'They Cut Him into Pieces': India's 'Love Jihad' Conspiracy Theory Turns Lethal," World News, The Guardian (Belgaum), January 21, 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/jan/21/they-cut-him-into-pieces-indias-love-jihad-conspiracy-theory-turns-lethal>.
8. The Waqf Board in India is a statutory body that manages waqf properties—religious endowments made by Muslims for charitable, religious, or pious purposes.
9. Muslims for Secular Democracy, Executive Summary: Rajindar Sachar Committee Status of the Muslim Community in India, <https://casi.sas.upenn.edu/sites/default/files/iit/Minority%20Report.pdf>.
10. Monami Gogoi, "Gujarati Muslims Struggle to Buy Hindu Property. Disturbed Areas Law Weaponises Real Estate," ThePrint, January 23, 2024, <https://theprint.in/ground-reports/gujarati-muslims-struggle-to-buy-hindu-property-disturbed-areas-law-weaponises-real-estate/1934615/>.
11. Priyanka Tupe, "'Land Jihad': How Hate Campaigns Turn Vicious In Western Maharashtra," BehanBox, September 16, 2024, <https://behanbox.com/2024/09/16/land-jihad-how-hate-campaigns-turn-vicious-in-western-maharashtra/>.
12. In India, a Muslim man can legally marry up to four wives [under Islamic personal law](#), provided he treats them equally.
13. Jaffrelot, Christophe. "Hindu nationalism: A reader." (2009): 1-424.
14. "India Has 79.8% Hindus, 14.2% Muslims, Says 2011 Census Data on Religion," sec. India, Firstpost (New Delhi), August 26, 2015, <https://www.firstpost.com/india/india-has-79-8-percent-hindus-14-2-percent-muslims-2011-census-data-on-religion-2407708.html>.
15. Saswata Ghosh and Pallabi Das, "Hindu-Muslim Fertility Differentials in India: An Update," Ideas For India, April 18, 2023, <https://www.ideasforindia.in/topics/social-identity/hindu-muslim-fertility-differentials-in-india-an-update>.
16. Yashraj Sharma, "Has India's Muslim Population Really Exploded?," Al Jazeera, May 18, 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/5/18/has-indias-muslim-population-really-exploded>.
17. Rakhi Bose, "Why The Myth Of Muslim Population Overtaking Hindus Is Unfounded," Outlook India, May 9, 2023, <https://www.outlookindia.com/national/the-14-2-muslim-takeover-threat--magazine-284891>.
18. Shweta Sengar, "'Kranti Sena' Threatens Muslim Men Against Applying Mehendi To Hindu Women In Muzaffarnagar," Indiatimes, August 12, 2021, <https://www.indiatimes.com/news/india/kranti-sena-threatens-muslim-men-against-applying-mehendi-to-hindu-women-in-muzaffarnagar/articleshow/127514682.html>.

19. India Today Web Desk, "BJP MLA Invokes 'love Jihad' to Oppose Muslim Mehndi Artists in Muzaffarnagar on Karva Chauth," India Today, October 13, 2022, <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/bjp-mla-vikram-saini-love-jihad-claim-muslim-youth-mehndi-shops-karwa-chauth-muzaffarnagar-2284724-2022-10-13>.
20. Shinjinee Majumder, "Karwa Chauth: Bajrang Dal Strikes in Karol Bagh, Objects to Muslim Women Applying Mehndi on Hindus," Alt News, October 25, 2024, <https://www.altnews.in/karwa-chauth-bajrang-dal-strikes-in-karol-bagh-objects-to-muslim-women-applying-mehndi-on-hindus/>.
21. Tarushi Aswani, "As Violence Against Muslims Escalates, Online Hindutva Propaganda Pushes Economic Boycott," The Wire, October 13, 2021, <https://thewire.in/communalism/muslim-violence-hindutva-propaganda-social-media-economic-boycott>.
22. Sanjay Pandey, "Saffron Outfits 'Warn' Muslims against Applying 'Mehendi' on Hindu Women for 'Karva Chauth,'" Deccan Herald, October 12, 2022, <https://www.deccanherald.com/india/saffron-outfits-warn-muslims-against-applying-mehendi-on-hindu-women-for-karwa-chauth-1153015.html>.
23. Hannah Ellis-Petersen and Shaikh Azizur Rahman, "Coronavirus Conspiracy Theories Targeting Muslims Spread in India," World News, The Guardian, April 13, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/apr/13/coronavirus-conspiracy-theories-targeting-muslims-spread-in-india>.
24. Hanan Zaffar and Shaheen Abdulla, "Tablighi Jamaat Men India Held for 'Spreading COVID' Share Ordeal," Al Jazeera, March 25, 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/3/25/tablighi-jamaat-members-held-for-spreading-covid-stuck-in-india>.
25. HindutvaWatch [@HindutvaWatchIn], "Location: Swarna Jayanti Nagar, Aligarh, Uttar Pradesh Date: April 23 Hindu nationalists assaulted three shopkeepers of a juice shop and vandalised the store after a woman claimed that the shopkeeper was mixing something into the juice, which they alleged to be urine or spit. <https://t.co/4W6OUIQZw2>," Tweet, X, April 29, 2025, <https://x.com/HindutvaWatchIn/status/1917244770705105375>.
26. Cherylann Mollan, "India States' Plans to Punish Spitting in Food Spark Controversy," BBC News, October 28, 2024, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cvg0dq8q5klo>.
27. Halal is an Arabic term meaning "permissible" in Islam, referring to anything that is allowed under Islamic law, especially in relation to food, drink, and behavior. In reference to food, halal means food and drink that are permissible for Muslims to consume under Islamic dietary laws, prepared according to specific guidelines including the humane slaughter of animals.
28. Bilal Kuchay, "McDonald's Faces Boycott Threats in India for Serving Halal Meat," Al Jazeera, August 26, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/economy/2019/8/26/mcdonalds-faces-boycott-threats-in-india-for-serving-halal-meat>.
29. "Explainer: Why UP Government Has Banned Halal Certification of Products," The Times of India, November 20, 2023, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/explainer-why-up-has-banned-halal-certification-of-products/articleshow/105343728.cms>.
30. Feyaad Allie, "Mapping Muslim Voting Behavior in India," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, February 9, 2024, <https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2024/02/mapping-muslim-voting-behavior-in-india>.
31. Sunil Kashyap, "Police Accused of Voter Suppression in an Uttar Pradesh Constituency," The Caravan, May 8, 2024, <https://caravanmagazine.in/politics/police-accused-voter-suppression-sambhal-uttar-pradesh>.
32. Apoorvanand, "India's Deadly Train Crash: Forget the Truth, Blame It on Muslims," Al Jazeera, June 15, 2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2023/6/15/indias-deadly-train-crash-forget-the-truth-blame-it-on-muslims>.
33. ABP News Bureau, "Class 3 Textbook Sparks Row With Allegations Of 'Love Jihad', NCERT Responds," ABP Live, September 25, 2024, <https://news.abplive.com/education/ncert-class-3-textbook-sparks-controversy-allegations-of-love-jihad-here-s-what-the-chapter-contains-1719828>.
34. Sanya Mansoor, "India's School Textbooks Are the Latest Battleground for Hindu Nationalism," TIME, April 7, 2023, <https://time.com/6269349/india-textbook-changes-controversy-hindu-nationalism/>.

35. Fatima Khan, "In an Indian State, a Church Pushes an Anti-Muslim Conspiracy Theory," *New Lines Magazine*, December 15, 2021, <https://newlinesmag.com/reportage/in-an-indian-state-a-church-pushes-an-anti-muslim-conspiracy-theory/>.
36. Rajiv Tuli, "Narcotics Jihad: New Threat to Indian Society, Secularism and National Security," *sec. India, Firstpost*, November 24, 2022, <https://www.firstpost.com/opinion-news-expert-views-news-analysis-firstpost-viewpoint/narcotics-jihad-new-threat-to-indian-society-secularism-and-national-security-11687661.html>.
37. "BBC - Religions - Islam: Jihad," *BBC*, accessed February 25, 2026, [https://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/beliefs/jihad\\_1.shtml](https://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/beliefs/jihad_1.shtml).
38. Farish A. Noor, "The Evolution of 'Jihad' in Islamist Political Discourse: How a Plastic Concept Became Harder," *Items - Social Science Research Council*, November 1, 2001, <https://items.ssrc.org/after-september-11/the-evolution-of-jihad-in-islamist-political-discourse-how-a-plastic-concept-became-harder/>.
39. Anonymous, "86% Killed in Cow-Related Violence since 2010 Are Muslim, 97% Attacks after Modi Govt Came to Power," *Hindustan Times*, July 16, 2017, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/86-killed-in-cow-related-violence-since-2010-are-muslims-97-attacks-after-modi-govt-came-to-power/story-w9CYOksvgk9joGSSaXgpLO.html>.
40. "Rohingya Refugee Crisis Explained," *USA for UNHCR*, January 23, 2026, <https://www.unrefugees.org/news/rohingya-refugee-crisis-explained/>.
41. Kaushik Deka, "1979-85 Assam Agitation: A Pure Agenda," *India Today (New Delhi)*, December 26, 2021, <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/youth-movements/story/20220103-1979-85-assam-agitation-a-pure-agenda-1892289-2021-12-25>.
42. "Assam CM's Call to Expel 'Miya Muslims' Incites Violence against Bengali Speaking Muslim Labourers," *CJP*, September 4, 2024, <https://cjp.org.in/assam-cms-call-to-expel-miya-muslims-incites-violence-against-bengali-speaking-muslim-labourers/>.
43. Aletta Andre and Abhimanyu Kumar, "Protest Poetry: Assam's Bengali Muslims Take a Stand," *Al Jazeera*, December 23, 2016, <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2016/12/23/protest-poetry-assams-bengali-muslims-take-a-stand>.
44. Ghassem-Fachandi, Parvis. *Pogrom in Gujarat: Hindu nationalism and anti-Muslim violence in India*. Princeton University Press, 2012.
45. Hannah Ellis-Petersen, "Inside Delhi: Beaten, Lynched and Burnt Alive," *World News, The Guardian*, March 1, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/01/india-delhi-after-hindu-mob-riot-religious-hatred-nationalists>.
46. PTI, "UP Cops Following Adityanath's 'thoko Neeti' to Avoid Transfer, Alleges Akhilesh," *ThePrint*, December 30, 2018, <https://theprint.in/india/governance/up-cops-following-adityanaths-thoko-neeti-to-avoid-transfer-alleges-akhilesh/171008/>.
47. Rishabh Sharma, "Ajmer Dargah Cleric Acquitted in Case of Provocative Slogans against Nupur Sharma," *India Today*, July 16, 2024, <https://www.indiatoday.in/law/story/ajmer-khwaja-moinuddin-chishti-dargah-cleric-gauhar-chishti-acquitted-sar-tan-se-juda-slogans-nupur-sharma-2567477-2024-07-16>.
48. Adil Rasheed, "The Irreligious, Inauthentic Narrative of 'Ghazwa-e-Hind,'" *Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis*, August 18, 2023, <https://idsa.in/publisher/issuebrief/the-irreligious-inauthentic-narrative-of-ghazwa-e-hind>.
49. Hadith translates to 'reports' or 'accounts' of an event. In Islamic theology, the term refers to anecdotes about the Prophet Muhammad's words, actions, and approvals.
50. TNIE online desk, "Amid Nagpur Violence, Right-Wing Social Media Handles Post Cauliflower Pictures Evoking 1989 Bhagalpur Riots," *The New Indian Express*, March 21, 2025, <https://www.newindianexpress.com/nation/2025/Mar/21/amid-nagpur-violence-right-wing-social-media-handles-post-cauliflower-pictures-evoking-1989-bhagalpur-riots>.
51. Maktoob Staff, "Hindutva Handles Share Cauliflower Images, Call Nagpur Violence a 'Solution,' Evoking Bhagalpur Massacre," *Maktoob Media*, March 20, 2025, <https://maktoobmedia.com/india/hindutva-handles-share-cauliflower-images-call-nagpur-violence-a-solution-evoking-bhagalpur-massacre/>.

52. Oishani Bhattacharya and Prantik Ali, "Nagpur Clashes: Cryptic Cauliflower Memes Referring to Mass Killings in 1989 Bhagalpur Riots Resurface," Alt News, March 30, 2025, <https://www.altnews.in/nagpur-clashes-cryptic-cauliflower-memes-referring-to-mass-killings-in-1989-bhagalpur-riots-resurface/>.
53. Bajoria, Jayshree. "Shoot the Traitors": Discrimination Against Muslims Under India's New Citizenship Policy. Human Rights Watch, 2020, <https://www.hrw.org/report/2020/04/10/shoot-traitors/discrimination-against-muslims-under-indias-new-citizenship-policy>.
54. The Citizenship Amendment Act provides a fast track for non-Muslim immigrants from Muslim-majority Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Pakistan to apply for and gain Indian citizenship. The law essentially grants individuals of selected, non-Muslim communities in these countries refugee status within India.
55. Liz Mathew and Abhinav Rajput, "Minister Anurag Thakur Chants Desh Ke Gaddaron Ko, Poll Rally Crowd Completes Goli Maaro...," The Indian Express (New Delhi), January 28, 2020, <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/anurag-thakur-slogan-rithala-rally-6238566/>.
56. Bajoria, Jayshree. "Shoot the Traitors": Discrimination Against Muslims Under India's New Citizenship Policy. Human Rights Watch, 2020, <https://www.hrw.org/report/2020/04/10/shoot-traitors/discrimination-against-muslims-under-indias-new-citizenship-policy>.
57. Mahtab Alam, "Ayodhya Dispute: How Zameer Uddin Shah Fell Into the Hindutva Trap," The Wire, October 13, 2019, <https://thewire.in/communalism/ayodhya-dispute-how-zameer-uddin-shah-fell-into-the-hindutva-trap>.
58. Hanan Zaffar and Hasan Akram, "Anti-Muslim Slogans Raised in Indian Capital, Suspects in Custody," Al Jazeera, August 10, 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/8/10/india-anti-muslim-slogans-hindu-groups-new-delhi>.
59. Mustafa, Raza Ul, Roi Dupart, Gabrielle Smith, Noman Ashraf, and Nathalie Japkowicz. "Analyzing Islamophobic Discourse Using Semi-Coded Terms and LLMs." arXiv preprint arXiv:2503.18273 (2025).

# Understanding, Preventing, and Combating Organized Hate.



1629 K St. NW, Suite 300  
Washington, D.C. 20006

[csohate.org](http://csohate.org)