

PREACHERS OF HATE

Documenting Hate Speech on Facebook India





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This report contains content that readers may find disturbing.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

With almost 350 million users, India is Facebook's largest user market. Yet, Meta has blatantly failed to address hate content and hateful actors targeting religious minorities in India.

In this report, we show that extensive fan page networks are using Facebook to widely amplify hate speech and calls to violence and genocide against Indian Muslims. This report is the second part of the series in our study on hate speech on Facebook in the Indian context.

As part of our ongoing research on Meta, we are monitoring 634 pages, grouped into lists by type. For the purpose of this report, we focus on three of the lists that we curated, which as of April 2022 contained a total of 155 pages. Given Meta's exemption to political hate speech, we focus on the fan page network supporting Yati Narsinghanand, Suresh Chavhanke (and Sudarshan News Network) and Pushpendra Kulshrestha. We selected these actors due to ongoing controversies involving hate speech.

By providing social, religious and political context to Facebook posts, we show that these fan pages are used as tools in an unprecedented manner to inciting violence and rallying vigilante mobs. The prolonged presence of both the actors and their fan clubs on Facebook underscores Meta's inability to regulate its platforms even in the face of an impending genocide.

A business-as-usual scenario without effective content moderation on Meta's platform such as Facebook has serious human rights implications for Indian minorities, and for India as a democracy.

In order to present content in context, we used a mixed-method approach combining data from CrowdTangle, digital ethnographic observation and discourse analysis.

Interaction spike with toxic content

Between 1 January 2019 and 31 December 2021, the monitored fan pages received a **total of 160 million interactions, with 48.7K interactions on average daily.** Pages within the actor-fan network consistently show a surge in interaction for inflammatory content.

- Of 8.54 million interactions that all 32 monitored fan pages of Yati Narsinghanand received in total, 8.49 million interactions occurred on three pages alone. **Interactions among these fan pages peaked during March and April 2021, when Yati Narsinghanand was embroiled in the controversy** involving the 14-year-old Muslim boy who was beaten on his temple premises.
- Interaction on the most popular fan page of Pushpendra Kulshreshtha spiked in October 2021, coinciding with a widely viewed and shared live video from October 28th, 2021.
- Interactions with Suresh Chavhanke's official page peaked between 1-and 31 December 2021, coinciding with religious events calling for genocide. With 200.000 views, one of the most-watched videos on this page is the recording of Chavhanke's inflammatory speech at an event organized by Hindu Yuva Vahini.

Fan page network growth

Through the use of CrowdTangle - a Facebook research tool - we show a persistent growth of these pages even as they post calls to violence and genocide that translate into real-life atrocities and human rights violations.

- Between 1 January 2019 and 31 December 2021, the number of fan pages dedicated to Narsinghanand has steadily increased in followership providing his opinions with a large megaphone. The main fan page, श्री यति नरसिंहानंद सरस्वती, has witnessed an exponential growth of +871.01% in this period.
- Between 1 January 2019 and 31 December 2021, the pages Pushpendra Kulshreshtha Fans and Pushpendra Kulshreshtha's own verified Facebook page had interactions running into several million. Kulshreshtha's verified page had a +499.528% growth in this period.

Despite Meta's claim that it curbs hate actors' ability to use the platform, networks in Facebook India seem to grow rapidly, and their hate content is publicly available.

Dangerous content along three themes

We present the dangerous content identified under three broad themes: Mobilizing Hindus against Muslims, xenophobic content against Muslims, and calls for the elimination of Muslims.

- **Mobilizing Hindus against Muslims:** includes calls for Hindus to join speakers in the fight against Muslims, to buy weapons, and content glorifying violence for the sake of the "Hindu Rashtra" (Hindu nation).
- **Xenophobic and ridiculing content against Muslims:** constructs Indian Muslims as a threat to the Hindu population, dehumanizes and ridicules the Indian Muslim community using labels such as "land jihadis" and "love jihadis", and antagonizes Muslims, with one video claiming that "Islam is not a religion, Islam is a gang of organized criminals".
- **Calls for the elimination of Muslims:** includes threats to and blatant calls for genocide against Muslims. These include videos of public speeches of which the police has taken criminal cognisance for incitement to

violence. In one video from 2019, which has been viewed more than 32 million times, Yati Narsinghanand says in Hindi: "I want to eliminate Muslims and Islam from the face of earth". In another video shared among the fan pages, Narsinghanand states: "Jihad will have to be removed from the entire world, it is like cancer. Even if one cell of Islam remains, then it will spread even more and will be dangerous." In another video viewed 24,000 times, Kalicharan Maharaj calls to act against Muslims, as Muslims would otherwise become cancer. Kalicharan has been charged with sedition for this speech, but the video is still available on Facebook.

Facebook fails to enforce community standards

The content and activities on the fan pages, especially those of Yati Narsinghanand, fall under content prohibited under Meta's community standards in two ways:

- **Hate speech:** Meta's community standards prohibit content supporting violence, dehumanizing speech, content making generalizations of inferiority, content advocating for segregation or exclusion, and more, against people on the basis of protected characteristics, such as religion. Facebook fails to implement its own hate speech policy rationale, even when we reported content.
- **Tier I & III of Meta's policy rationale on Dangerous Organization and Individuals (DOI):** Meta's community standards prohibit the presence individuals proclaiming a violent mission or who engage in violence. The fan pages we observed support people who qualify as dangerous individuals under this policy, yet Facebook has failed to make use of this own policy rationale to prevent the proliferation of hate content.

INTRODUCTION

In our 2021 report *Face of Hatebook*[1], we confirmed a disturbingly high level of hate content present on Facebook, a social media platform owned by Meta. This content dehumanizes and glorifies violence against Indian Muslims, and calls for the annihilation of Indian minorities. Our report underscored the ongoing research into platform usage, algorithms, and propaganda that demonstrate an increasingly dystopian view of social media.[2] With an acute problem of verbal aggression,[3] political polarization,[4] creation of echo chambers,[5] and deepening of the existing fault-lines of society, social media platforms under the current regulatory regime are acting like virtual geographies of crime and exclusion. These trends have serious consequences for democracies and human rights across the world - nowhere is this more evident than in India, the world's largest democracy, where internet aggression has steadily and rapidly converted into anti-Muslim hate at an unprecedented scale. Over the last few years, several studies have confirmed this rise of internet aggression through Facebook and WhatsApp,[6] both owned by Meta, leading to real-world violence and dehumanization of the so-called Muslim other.[7]

With almost 350 million users, India is Facebook's largest user market.[8] Yet, Meta in India has invested insufficiently to address hate content and hateful actors targeting religious minorities. Meta's own researchers have warned that the lack of Hindi and Bengali classifiers hamper their ability to take down hateful content in the country.[9]

In 2020, Meta commissioned the law firm Foley Hoag to conduct a Human Rights Impact Assessment (HRIA) in India to assess its role in spreading hate speech and enabling incitement to violence.[10]

We and members of our network participated as stakeholders in this HRIA process[11]. Despite a communicated timeline and public pressure from human rights and advocacy organizations, the HRIA has not been shared publicly, leading to calls "release a public, unredacted, and complete" report.[12]

Indeed, social media plays a vital role in giving a voice to diverse sections of society around the world.[13] Simultaneously, Meta's platforms, most notably Facebook, continue to host disruptive voices replete with misinformation, purposeful disinformation and hate. In this report, we highlight the fan pages of three (among many) actors, who have been widely amplified and have gained notoriety through Facebook. These actors, who were previously voices from the fringe, have thereby assumed a near-influencer status and stardom through a vast network of "fan pages". Most worryingly, even where Meta under public pressure removes actors from its platforms, it fails to remove fan pages and networks of hate, which through its heavy interaction feeds into Meta's business model.[14] Through this report, we highlight that fan pages are capable of inciting violence, rallying vigilante mobs, and calling for genocide using Facebook and Facebook Live, despite Facebook's hate speech policy. The prolonged presence of these actors and their fan clubs on Facebook underscores Meta's inability to regulate its platforms even in the face of an impending genocide.[15]

In the following section, the report provides the reader with the political and religious context of India. While communal tensions are not new to India, we highlight that Meta has provided a megaphone for political and religious mobilization on a scale not seen before. The unbridled amplification of communal hatred with neither pro- nor reaction to effectively moderate content has exponentially deepened and widened pre-existing societal raptures in India. A business-as-usual scenario without effective content moderation on Meta's platform such as Facebook has serious human rights implications for Indian minorities, and for India as a democracy.

METHODOLOGY

This study is part of ongoing research launched in March 2020, when we identified an initial cohort of 237 Facebook pages propagating that Indian Muslims were conducting "COVID jihad". Through digital ethnography, reverse search, by drawing on CrowdTangle, a Facebook research tool, and Elastic search using Kibana, the research has since been expanded to 634 pages. We classified these 634 pages into various categories based on their name, nature, and purpose. For example, we grouped fan pages promoting an actor as lists on CrowdTangle; pages supporting Yati Narsinghanand were clubbed together as a "Narsinghanand Fan club" list. These lists were further tagged as "ideological groups", "vigilante groups", "crowd mobilizers", "media disseminators" etc.

For the purpose of this report, we focus on three of the lists that we curated. As of April 2022, these lists contained 155 pages in total. This number fluctuates, as some pages are removed (by Facebook), added (as the new pages are formed) or deleted from Facebook (by page admins or Facebook). Given Meta's exemption to political hate speech, we focus on fan pages as part of a fan page network supporting Yati Narsinghanand, Suresh Chavhanke (and Sudarshan News Network) and Pushpendra Kulshrestha. We selected these actors due to ongoing controversies, in which they made hate speech with a motive to incite violence and criminal intimidation targeting minorities in India. For example, Yati Narsinghanand has been booked for multiple instances of incitement to violence for his speeches at Dharam Sansad at Haridwar. Similarly, Suresh Chavhanke and Sudarshan News have been under judicial scrutiny for inciting communal hate by broadcasting the conspiracy theory of UPSC jihad. Pushpendra Kulshrestha and his fan page network on Facebook promote both Yati Narsinghanand and Suresh Chavhanke.

We employed a mixed-method approach to gain an at-scale and in-depth understanding of the nature of hate speech on these pages: We used CrowdTangle to monitor posting, interaction and sharing behaviour on pages. We supplemented this using digital ethnographic observation and discourse analysis. Our researchers were first trained in Facebook content moderation policies and then asked to observe fan pages, profiles, and groups of key actors discussed in this report. We created new accounts and used our own Facebook accounts to do so. We consumed this content in its entirety while remaining silent to avoid external impetuses.

We gathered evidence by way of digital archiving, screenshots, and downloading videos with problematic content. To ensure abidance by a strict code of ethics in studying patterns and perpetrators of online violence, we restricted ourselves to the identification of only public pages, and public figures associated with such pages. In compliance with our responsibilities under the European GDPR, we have taken care to either mask or anonymize the personal information of private actors observed.

We also flagged problematic content to Facebook, and recorded the flagging process using a Microsoft form, which required precise evidence of hate speech. The forms were reviewed by other members of the team to ensure the post reported is indeed hate speech. Responses of Facebook to flagged content were also noted.

For flagging content, the following definition of hate speech as applied by Facebook on 23rd September 2020 was used: *We define hate speech as a direct attack against people – rather than concepts or institutions – on the basis of what we call protected characteristics: race, ethnicity, national origin, disability, religious affiliation, caste, sexual orientation, sex, gender identity and serious disease. We define attacks as violent or dehumanising speech, harmful stereotypes, statements of inferiority, expressions of contempt, disgust or dismissal, cursing and calls for exclusion or segregation. We also prohibit the use of harmful stereotypes, which we define as dehumanising comparisons that have historically been used to attack, intimidate or exclude specific groups, and that are often linked with offline violence. We consider age a protected characteristic when referenced along with another protected characteristic. We also protect refugees, migrants, immigrants and asylum seekers from the most severe attacks, though we do allow commentary and criticism of immigration policies. Similarly, we provide some protections for characteristics such as occupation, when they're referenced along with a protected characteristic. Sometimes, based on local nuance, we consider certain words or phrases as code words for PC groups.*

META'S MODERATION PROCESS IN INDIA

In 2020, Meta changed its moderation process, shifting more extensively to automated systems meant to proactively detect harmful content.[16] With these shifts, Meta has claimed that up to 97% of hate speech is proactively detected by Artificial Intelligence (AI) [17] and that this has led to an overall decrease in the prevalence of hate speech.[18] However, these calculations are questionable: The performance claims of the current state-of-the-art AI systems used by Meta for detecting hate content in the English language have been found to be significantly overestimated.[19] Additionally, Meta's internal leaked research on languages other than English, including several Indian languages, reveals an admitted lack of classifiers, context and processes for detection of hate speech, violence, and violent threats.[20] As has been stressed repeatedly, AI models would need to be trained using sample words or phrases to detect and remove hateful content in Indian languages. This would require input from the local understanding of regional languages and the social and cultural context of India. Even in the presence of language classifiers, posts can be manipulated to evade AI detection with the use of emoticons or misspellings.[21] This means that human oversight of the content moderation process is essential. However, Meta has not disclosed an investment in either human oversight of the AI process or the number of content moderators it directly trains or employs in Indian languages. It has also not disclosed what content it has moderated or removed in India, making the process in itself a black box removed from oversight or evaluation.

Meta's response to hate speech reported by users is similarly selective and superficial, as content flagged by users is primarily reviewed by AI.

Meta does not disclose how much of the user-flagged content is admitted as a violation of Meta's content moderation policy, and how much is rejected. In process of rejection, Meta allows users to ask for a review, and the review occurs based on a combination of AI and human review. However, Meta has neither disclosed how much user-flagged content has been taken up for review, nor what the outcomes have been. A third review can lead to an appeal to the Oversight Board through the registration of a case. The Oversight Board, which works independently of Meta, is free to make a limited amount of case selections every year. In the last two years, the Oversight Board has only decided on a total of 23 cases [22].

That Meta's AI detects 97% of hate speech is a grossly misleading claim, as it refers to what it thinks is hate speech. It can make no claim regarding the actual amount of hate speech. In this regard, Meta has claimed in its periodic report from July-September 2021 that 0.03% of content on all its platforms constitutes hate speech. That is, for every 10,000 content views, only 3 posts would be hate content[23]. The prevalence matrix by Meta's own account is calculated based on large random sampling. Conversely, Meta's internal leaked documents on India have shown that new users from Kerala, Southern India, joining Facebook receive significant exposure to violence, hate and gore.[24]

Meta has not provided urgently needed information to achieve a complete picture. Even when summoned to testify in judicial and parliamentary bodies in India, it has not disclosed how many people it employs to moderate the content in India, how it applies laws on freedom of speech, nor what processes it has adopted to ensure sections on hate speech and threats to violence from the Indian Penal Code are respected. [25]

In the following, we provide the excerpts from the testimony of Shrivath Thakural, Meta India's Policy Head, to the Delhi Peace and Harmony Committee, led by Raghav Chaddha. Here, the committee specifically asked questions about content moderation.

FACEBOOK INDIA APPEARING BEFORE DELHI'S PEACE AND HARMONY COMMITTEE

29:30

Raghav Chaddha (RC): Which team takes care of reach and availability of content (on Facebook only)?

Shivnath Thukral (ST): I would take a couple of minutes to explain how the platform works and then probably I can give a representation of how different teams are structured. As you know, we are a global platform. It was started by our CEO, Mark Zuckerberg few years ago and it is the first time in the history of the world that there is a platform which allows more than 3 billion people, across our family of apps of course, to talk to each other pretty much regularly on a daily basis. So there are many things that evolved overtime when it comes to what function each team plays there. There are teams, let's say around marketing, there are teams around sales, growth teams as well. But, the role of human intervention is alongside the role of what we call machine learning tools. So eventually, at the end of the day or at the core of the centre, is the user. Eventually I would say it is the users, which would determine how a particular content's reach or engagement is determined, and we do ensure that some of the work that we do in this area is to make sure that users have what we call meaningful interaction with their friends and family. So a lot of the work that is done there are various teams— growth, marketing, whose sole objective is to make sure, alongside keeping in mind the way the safety of the user is upheld. So it is never going to be like let's go have growth and let's not worry about what else is happening to the user. So keeping a balance of safety alongside with growth is the most critical part. Having said that, I think all teams are quite intertwined. Everybody has their rules to play here, but all teams are intertwined to the extent that we ensure that user gets to decide eventually. If the user is engaging with a particular piece of content— let's say you have your friends and family, I have my friends and family, if I like what they share, that is how engagement patterns are getting decided. And of course, there is a role that things like algorithms play etc where too safety is absolutely central to the whole thing that's how I would describe how the platform functions. Eventually if the user is engaging with meaningful content that is exactly the kind of content they will be looking at.

32:29

RC: So how many teams are there? So if you could just give up, you know, description of the teams that are there and the roles of the team that would be extremely helpful to the committee.

ST: I have to check whatever we are allowed to share that information on basis of applicable law. What is out there in the public domain is what I told you—there is a marketing team, sales teams, legal teams in our organization and these are all public facing functions. If you see our website people who work on safety is well known, people who work on marketing is also well known, these are public position that we talk about. Anything beyond that you have to give me an opportunity to come back to you as per applicable law.

RC: Do you have a separate team that looks after the audience reports, the complaints that are flagged by the users?

ST: Thank you for that. Let me try and explain how we look at user reports in multiple ways actually. One, as per applicable law required by any tech intermediary, we have to have a grievance officer. We have appointed these officers who have a dedicated channel — there's a publicly declared email, where users can file the grievances that is already out there, that's on our safety page. Then users can report within product. So the second option that we gave is people reporting into problematic content through the product tools as well. Then in terms of when you say whether we have dedicated people, the answer is, yes. But, I would also supplement it by saying that the kind of volume that we see on a platform, it can not just be managed by human intervention, it has to work in-sync with machine learning tools which, I think we are industry leading platform is actually has tools to detect such content or problematic content. As I said in my opening statement about 40,000 people are working on safety and security of users on our platform including 15,000 on content moderation. So when it comes to problematic content, we have globally about 15,000 people looking at content moderation because we feel safety of the users is of primary importance to us. Having said that, when I talk about the kind of proactive work we do based on machine learning tool, I can share the data point with you— we have 97% proactive detection rate. Means 97% of the time we are able to catch this based on our machine learning tools

and as a result of which our enforcement rates show, I mean again this is hard data, prevalence of hate speech, for example as one such problematic content has come down to 0.3%. Which would mean let's say you come across 10,000 pieces of content on your feed, only 3 would turnout to be problematic. Having said that, it is not a perfect solution and we reflect on it all the time. What is it that we can do to continuously improve our systems? How to train our tools to be doing a much better job than what they have done so far? And this is the ongoing process. Safety is never going to ever be a static issue it will continue to be a process which we have to improve upon hire more and more people to look at these issues.

RC: How much time does it take for the verification of these complaints?

ST: As I said there are multiple process where we proactively detect it is much before the users report to us so. For example if I may give an example when I say 97% is the proactive detection rate, this is we acting much before any content is getting on to the platform. Secondly, when it comes to user report as per the applicable law, we follow the laws which have come by on the IT rules— there is an acknowledgment within 24 hours and I think if I'm right, I can come back to by checking that piece of fact but we have to respond within 15 days is the law of the country and which is exactly what is happening. But if more important, if you see the enforcement report the data point for the question that you asked Sir is about in September, for example, we removed 182, 000 pieces of content. And this was again at our end. So if you see the enforcement report that gives you a good sense of the kind of quantum of work that is happening, which is exactly where the combination of machine learning tools and human intervention is needed. Because the problems we have on the platform, now no one is shying away from that, the problem that we have on platform cannot be solved just by human intervention. We have to solve the problem at scale and which is exactly why we need these machine learning tools.

37:45

S. B. Joon (SBJ): It is correct that it cannot be sold by the human intervention but still is there any timeline?

ST: I just said so like there is an acknowledgement rule within 24 hours

SBJ: So there is no specific timeline, you want to say?

ST: There is. We have to close it within 14 days of the user report.

SBJ: After uploading?

ST: After the user reports and if the report is valid yeah, after that it is 14 days is what I understand.

SBJ: After user has uploaded any contents and within 14 days you will try to find out the defect. But by that time damage already been done.

ST: I'm sorry I don't think I am getting your question right. Are you saying after the user complains or user uploads any content?

SBJ: If a user complains, how many times that complaint is disposed off by you?

ST: So user complaints?

SBJ: Yes.

ST: So as I said, there is an acknowledgement within 24 hours. So let me step back. So I'm sorry I did a mistake. So let me step back and explain a little in depth. When a user uploads a content, let's say and if it is reported that it violates our community standard, community standards is the guidelines, we will take it down immediately. Then there is no question of following what the pattern is. I am talking about when the user complains through the tools on our platform, that's a separate thing that has a rule setting. But if we get to know anything which violates our community standard, that could be taken down as per policy immediately.

SBJ: There is no specific time limit? In some of the cases, the contents remained on the platform for a couple of months.

ST: Again, respected Sir, from what I understand, there are various ways where we implement our policies and court orders and the timelines are defined by that. So, as I said, if something violates or community standards and we get to know, that would be action immediately. When a user files are report, there is a timeline specified with that and then on top of that, there are court orders or if there are law enforcement related investigation, those are different altogether.

So on court orders for example, if a court orders us to take down a content that would be taken down immediately.

Joon: We are aware that if there is a court order, it will be taken down immediately. But what about the contents which are very inflammatory in nature and they are causing very heavy damage to the society? In that case how do you tackle those problems?

40:21

RC: How soon do you discover that particular content that has been posted and has been flagged by a user is in violation of your own community standards? You say that you take it down once it violates the community standards but in how much time do you arrive at the conclusion whether the particular content has violated your community standards or has not violated your community guidelines?

ST: There are 2 or 3 ways in which content moderation works. One is the Community standards which we follow— when you are uploading a piece of content, if there is a violation like for example you may have experienced if you are uploading something and the platform does not permit to upload something, that is when we are able to detect that you are trying to do something which is not allowed by our platform or is against the term of service, that would be immediate at that point in time. Then there is what we do with machine learning tool which is much before anybody tells us. So, we have trained classifiers for example based on machine learning tools. We are able to figure out if some visual is against the terms of service or against the platform's policies, we would not allow that to go on the platform in any case, which is where I said there's a 97% proactive detection lead and when I look at that in conjunction with the human intervention, at the moment the violation is determined their content would go down immediately.

RC: The question is that— one is the preventive action that you take, that you prevent the post from being posted or being highlighted or appearing on your platform, right? The question is referring to the post that has already appeared, (is there, it's a simple yes or no), is there any internal timeline vis-a-vis the complaint being addressed of that content being classified as violative of your standards or non-violative of your standard? Is there a timeline in terms of hours days weeks months?

ST: Within 24 hours, the law requires us to acknowledge the fact that we have this complaint and if you find the violation, it would go down immediately. When I said the 14 day timeline, it is within which we have to complete the entire complaint cycle. But the moment it is flagged to us, we would look at it immediately and see if there's a community standard violation and take down that post.

Disclaimer:

The above is the output of transcribing from a publicly available video recording titled *LIVE | Facebook India appearing before Delhi's Peace & Harmony Committee Chairman Raghav Chadha* posted by the official account of Peace & Harmony Committee Delhi Vidhan Sabha.

The transcription is largely accurate. It is posted as an aid to understanding the proceedings at the meeting, but should not be treated as adversarial evidence against Meta or its employees, given the nature of the procedure itself.

No rights or liabilities can be drawn from the use of this transcript.

COUNTRY CONTEXT INDIA

Disruptive "communal" riots between Hindu and Muslim communities are a recurring challenge in India.[26] Data on Hindu-Muslim violence shows that riots between these two broad religious groups have been on the rise since the independence of India. Tensions flared up to form peaks of death and disruption on two particular occasions: First in 1992-93 during the demolition of the Babri Mosque in Ayodhya,[27] and again in 2002 during the Gujarat riots, where at least 1,044 died, 223 went missing, and 2,500 people were injured.[28]

There have been attempts to downplay the riots in popular culture as spontaneous violent eruptions by extremists.[29] However, several Indic religious scholars have shown that communal riots in India are the culmination of a process wherein local and state authorities, political actors, religious leaders, police and the administrative system all play a role in the socialization and mobilization of extremist ideologies.[30] As Berenschot has shown, difficulty in accessing social services and political representation has led to a system in which mobilization on behalf of politician's divisive aims becomes a viable strategy for common people, leading to an elaborate "riot system" [31]. Given the nature of the riot system, in which political leadership is a crucial driver of communal violence, specific political aims accompany violence. Riots that occurred in pre-independence India were for instance preceded by religious and political mobilization for instance against cow slaughter.[32] Similarly, Hindu-Muslim violence in pre-partitioned Bengal was linked to political mobilization around the demand for the creation of an East Pakistan.[33]

The decline of the Congress Party and the emergence of the far-right Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) in the 1990s and 2000s as the strongest political force has resulted in the exacerbation of communal riots.[34] Initially, Rath Yathras (religious processions) led by the BJP across north India in the 1990s provided a strong impetus for solidifying Muslims as 'the Others'.[35] Coinciding with the rise to power of the BJP in 2014, the advent of social media has given Hindutva - far-right Hindu supremacist ideology - a powerful microphone.[36]

Understanding that communal violence is coordinated and institutionalized is crucial for an informed evaluation of the role of social media platforms. Facebook's failure to effectively moderate hateful content, which we demonstrate in this report, means that Facebook lends itself to being used as a tool with unprecedented reach in this coordinated riot system. Despite ample evidence through investigative reports and leaked internal documents, and past instances of Facebook being used as a similar tool to legitimize and mobilize for mass atrocities in for instance Myanmar and Ethiopia, Meta continues to allow hate speech, political misinformation, and coordinated inauthentic behaviour.[37]

UNDERSTANDING HATE SPEECH IN THE CONTEXT OF HINDUTVA

A significant amount of hate speech on Facebook in India is oriented toward Muslims, Christians and other religious minorities. Such hate speech is not isolated but forms part of "Hindutva", far-right Hindu supremacist ideology. First conceptualized by V.D. Savarkar in the 1920s, Hindutva has become more prominent with the increase in popularity of the BJP in the 1990s discussed above, and mainstreamed with the rise of the BJP to power in 2014.[38]

Hindutva, not to be confused with Hinduism, is an ideology based on ethnic nationalism and Hindu supremacy. It aims at Hindu dominance of India through a Hindu nation, in which the state is ruled by and for Hindus. By equating the *Indian identity* with the *Hindu identity*, it considers Muslims and Christians foreigners and invaders. With Muslims being the largest minority group in India, Hindutva thrives on the creation of biases and enforcement of stereotypes against Muslims and promotes anti-Muslim sentiments.[39] Proponents of Hindutva claim that Hindus are constantly under attack from Muslim invaders. If not resisted, they claim, India will become an Islamic state.[40] Within this broad ideological movement are several organizations, each with its own aim and strategies: More established and mainstreamed are the Sangh Parivar, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), Bajrang Dal, Gau Raksha Dals, Karni Sena engage in vigilantism, and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) forms a political offshoot.[41]

To provide an adequate basis for understanding the content presented in this report, this section contains an explanation of core principles and concepts of contemporary Hindutva thought.

- **Aryan Race and Hindu Rashtra** – Hindutva draws on Aryan theories of "racial purity", albeit re-centred around pure Hindu blood. According to Hindutva proponents, the original Aryan race consisted of Hindus who spoke Sanskrit and spread the supreme Aryan civilization from India to the West. The "Aryan Race" claim is an important component of the ethnically pure Hindu nation (Hindu Rashtra), in which Muslims and Christians are perceived as foreign invaders.[42] In online spaces, this manifests in form of comparisons of art, architecture, culture, and science. Ancient Hindu civilization is pitted against Islamic or Christian civilizations, which are viewed as 'uncivil' and 'barbaric'.[43] While most of the comparisons are banal, such content builds communities based on a superiority complex. Seemingly banal phrases such as '*Hindu Hriday Samrat*' (Hindu Heart Emperor);[44] *Hindutva meri pehchan* (Hindutva my identity); *Hindu Ekta* (Hindu unity) are used to mobilize. Hindu rituals such as *Shapat* (promise), in which Hindus make a pledge to create a Hindu Nation, are broadcast through social media to galvanize an in-group identity.
- **The homogenization of Muslims as uncivil, barbaric and a threat to Hindu civilization, and of Hindus as a unit** – A study of the website content of the RSS and VHP found that they portray non-Hindus as threats and described as deceptive, undemocratic and immoral.[45] Right-wing organizations homogenize and claim the large diverse group of Hindus is united irrespective of caste barriers, portraying them both as the object of non-Hindus' threat and the protector of the nation. The online narrative compounds the homogenization-polarization rhetoric by adjoining the calls for Hindu unity with the framing of Muslims and Christians as threats to Hindus and the Hindu Nation. Muslims are considered the most dangerous and as pursuing all kinds of "jihad" against Hindus. In online spaces, Hindutva proponents cite love jihad, land jihad, mehndi jihad, bangle jihad, narcotics jihad, economic jihad, juice jihad, UPSC jihad etc. [46]

- **Population narrative** – Claims about alleged high fertility among Muslim families, and the right of Muslim men to marry polygamously are used to construct the Muslim population as a threat to the Hindu community. Despite population data showing that the growth rate of Muslims has been declining [47] - similar to India's other religious groups - Hindutva proponents claim Muslims will outnumber Hindus in the near future. In online spaces, these narratives manifest in form of warnings of a changing polity ("By 2030 Indian Prime Minister will be a Muslim"), the fear of being relegated to a minority ("Hindus will become a minority in their own nation") and of fear of imposition of Sharia ("Hindustan ka Islamikaran/ Islamization of India").
- **Muslim immigrants as infiltrators** – In the 1990s, Hindutva proponents conducted a large-scale campaign against Muslim migrants with slogans such as "Infiltrators, Quit India".[48] This campaign was successful in creating momentum for the deportation of Bangladeshi undocumented migrants.[49] Muslims, including those excluded from India's National Register of Citizens (NRC), as well as Rohingya refugees, are described in online communities as a menacing, uncivil out-group invading and infiltrating India.
- **Love Jihad** – Hindutva ideology vehemently opposes inter-faith marriages, especially between a Muslim man and a Hindu woman. Building on the population narrative, love jihad is a mainstream conspiracy theory that Muslim men are luring Hindu girls into marriage for the purpose of religious conversion.[50]

Despite the lack of any evidence of love jihad cases[51], the conspiracy theory has led to the enactment of laws across Indian states to curb religious conversions.[52] Constructed on the patriarchal view of Hindu women's bodies in need of saving, women are stripped of choice and agency. Hindu women are taught that Muslim men are terrorists and are male predators.[53] In online spaces, the narrative of love jihad takes several forms, from expressions of concern toward women entering into marriages with Muslim men, to announcements of threats to Muslim men hoping to marry Hindu women, to outright doxing and instigating mob violence toward couples and their families known to have been in inter-faith relationships.

- **Socio-economic boycott of Muslims** – In order to prevent the alleged takeover by the Muslim community, Hindutva proponents are calling for the boycott of Muslim businesses. In addition to "love jihad", Hindutva proponents mobilize for socio-economic boycott using the terms "land jihad", "UPSC jihad" (the entrance exam for civil servants), "mehndi jihad", "bangle jihad", "narcotics jihad", "COVID jihad", "economic jihad", and even "juice jihad".[54] Hindutva proponents have organized coordinated campaigns against Muslim vendors, which in many instances have escalated into brutal assaults.[55] In online spaces, these narratives are used to mobilize against Muslim small businesses, for instance through inner-group rituals like promises to not buy from Muslim vendors. Some online content also contains outright calls for violence against vendors, and proudly displays videos, including livestreams, of boycotts of Muslims with signs that read: "Muslims are not allowed to enter this neighbourhood."

- **Food choices and cow protection** – Through steady Hindutva influence, beef consumption has been banned in several BJP-led states. The cow is generally sacred in Hinduism. In the theories of Hindutva, however, cows are considered the cultural guardians of a pure Hindu civilization, and are addressed as "Hindu mother cow". Tied with other Hindutva narratives, the cow is constructed as requiring protection from the threat of predatory Muslims who belong to a "beef-eating culture". [57] Cow protection discourse manifests in diverse forms: It is central to the eco-cultural movement advocating for a vegetarian diet, and to volunteers in cow protection shelters. Cow protection also manifests in violent "cow vigilantism". In 2015, a Muslim man was killed by a mob on the suspicion of having eaten beef.[56] Such instances have since increased.
- **Shastra Mev Jayate (Weapons always triumph)** – In a wordplay on India's National Emblem "Staya Mev Jayate" (Truth always triumphs), Hindutva proponents invoke "Shastra Mev Jayate" (Weapons always triumph) in calls to pick weapon against outgroups. Manifestations of the slogan range from rituals like 'Shastra Pooja' (weapon worshipping) to violent brandishing of machetes, revolvers, and country-made guns aimed at the Muslim Other.
- **Jai Shri Ram / Jai Siya Ram (Victory to Lord Ram)** – The chant by itself is a harmless declaration of devotion by Hindus, however, in the political-culture context of Hindutva, the 1992 Babri Masjid demolition was directly linked to the assertion of Lord Rama's birthplace on which Babri mosque stood. The innocuous chant of Jai Shri Ram has since become a victory cry of Hindus over Muslims. [58] In online cultures, the phrase is used not only to invoke the deity, but to invoke war and victory over the 'Muslim Other'. [59]

We write the current report with the cultural context of India and Hindutva in mind.

META'S HATE SPEECH POLICY

Meta defines hate speech as:

A direct attack against people — rather than concepts or institutions — on the basis of what we call protected characteristics: race, ethnicity, national origin, disability, religious affiliation, caste, sexual orientation, sex, gender identity and serious disease.

Hate speech content targeting an individual or group of people is prohibited on the Facebook platform through a three-tier system under Facebook's community standards.

Tier 1	Tier 2	Tier 3
Content with violent speech or support for violence in written or visual form. Dehumanizing speech or imagery in the form of comparisons, generalizations, or unqualified behavioural statements including designated dehumanizing comparisons such as between Muslims and pigs.	Content making generalizations of inferiority based on physical, mental, or alleged moral deficiencies, any expressions of disgust, contempt or dismissal of individuals or groups of protected characteristics.	Content advocating, supporting or making calls for segregation and/or various forms of explicit, political, economic or social exclusion. Content with negative description such as slurs and insulting labels.

Despite the broad listed definition of hate speech, we find that Facebook fails to implement its own policy rationale proactively. We found several instances of hate content in the fan pages of Yati Narsinghanand, Suresh Chavhanke and Pushpendra Kulshreshta. They range from offensive content, to incitement to violence, to calls for genocide which we have classified into three themes we discuss further below.

META'S DANGEROUS ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS (DOI) POLICY

Meta's community standards prohibit the presence of organizations or individuals proclaiming a violent mission or who engage in violence. Individuals and organizations spreading hateful ideologies on Facebook come under the purview of Meta's DOI policy rationale. Meta claims it makes an assessment of entities based on their online and offline behaviour, specifically their ties to violence. Meta therefore claims to remove 'praise, substantive support, and representation' of entities of hateful events and hateful ideologies.

Hate organization

Any association of three or more people organizing under a name, sign or symbol and has an ideology or statements or conducting physical attacks offline based on religious affiliation comes under the purview of the definition of hate organization. Facebook recognizes hateful ideologies that are inherently tied to violence and attempts to organize people calling for violence or exclusion of others based on their protected characteristics.

Tier 1	Tier 2	Tier 3
Entities engaging in serious offline harms such as organising and advocating violence against civilians, dehumanising or advocating for harm against people based on protected characteristics, or engaging in systematic criminal operations. Tier I includes hate organisation and hateful ideologies.	Entities that engage in violence against state or military actors but do not generally target civilians, what we call "Violent Non-State Actors."	Entities that may repeatedly engage in violations of hate speech or dangerous organizations policies on-or-off the platform or demonstrate strong intent to engage in offline violence in the near future, but have not necessarily engaged in violence to date or advocated for violence against others based on their protected characteristics. Tier 3 includes Militarized Social Movements, Violence-Inducing Conspiracy Networks, and individuals and groups banned for promoting hatred. Tier 3 entities may not have a presence or coordinate on Facebook.

The fan pages we observed support people who qualify as dangerous individuals under this policy and circulate hate speech through Facebook India. As discussed further below, Hindutva actors such as Yati Narsinghanand, towards whom many of the fan pages are directed, regularly engage in or incite targeted vigilante violence, and are under judicial scrutiny for such. The content and activities on the fan pages, especially those of Yati Narsinghanand, therefore fall under Tier I & III of Meta's policy rationale on Dangerous Organisation and Individuals (DOI) and should be removed under Meta's own standards.

DOCUMENTING HATE SPEECH ON FACEBOOK

The dangerous content amplified on Facebook follows several themes and subthemes, as discussed in the contextual background of India and Hindutva. Based on the knowledge of the political, social and cultural context of India we are presenting the results of this report under three broad themes.

Theme 1: Mobilizing Hindus against Muslims

A consistent narrative calling for the urgent building of a Hindu nation along the Hindutva ideology is presented. While projecting Muslims as the main enemies to the Hindu nation, the actor-networks post content to mobilize Hindus against Muslims. Posts within this theme also include calling for Hindus to join speakers in the fight against Muslims, to buy weapons, and content glorifying violence for the sake of the "Hindu Rashtra" (Hindu nation).

Theme 2: Xenophobic content against Muslims

In line with the characteristics of Hindutva discussed above, content on the fan pages of Yati Narsinghanand, Suresh Chavhanke and Pushpendra Kulshrestha constructs Indian Muslims as a threat to the Hindu population. Content within this theme dehumanizes and ridicules the Indian Muslim community using labels such as "land jihadis" and "love jihadis". Content also antagonizes Muslims, with one video claiming that "Islam is not a religion, Islam is a gang of organized criminals".

Theme 3: Calls for the elimination of minorities, particularly Muslims

Content within this theme includes threats to and blatant calls for genocide against Muslims. These include videos of public speeches of which police has taken criminal cognisance for incitement for violence. In one video from 2019, Yati Narsinghanand says in Hindi: "I want to eliminate Muslims and Islam from the face of earth". At the time of writing this report, the video is still available, despite us flagging it repeatedly, and has more than 32 million views.

In the next section of this report, we first give readers a broad idea about the actors whose fans openly spread hateful content on Facebook. Fan pages of these actors and the verified profiles of some of these actors garner a significant amount of followers and a high volume of interactions. We provide a background of their roles in mobilizing Hindu society for the creation of "Hindu Nation" and their incendiary remarks and hate speech against Islam, Indian Muslims, and minorities. We then provide evidence of dehumanizing content that clearly violates Meta's policy against hate speech. Through the use of CrowdTangle, we show a persistent growth in these pages even as they post calls to violence and genocide that translate into real-life atrocities and human rights violations.

NARSINGHANAND FAN PAGES

Yati Narsinghanand Saraswati is a Hindutva far-right religious leader who has gained notoriety for his vitriol for Muslims and women.[60] Born Deepak Tyagi, he claims to have an MTech degree in Chemical Engineering from Moscow.

Narsinghanand is known to be a crowd-mobilizer and popular religious leader amongst BJP supporters. In 2021 he was anointed as the *Mahamandaleshwar* of the *Juna akhara*, which is believed to be the most important among the 13 *akharas* (monastery), of Hindu monastic orders, in the country.[61] Narsinghanand regularly uses digital content creation to connect to his followers. While he does not have a personal page on Facebook, his supporters have a strong presence and manage fan pages. On Narsinghanand fan pages, narratives of Muslims engaging in all kinds of jihad are commonplace. His fan base is also present on the fan pages of Yogi Adityanath (Uttar Pradesh's Chief Minister), Narendra Modi (India's Prime Minister), and Pushpendra Kulshreshta (an ideological preacher whom we discuss later in this report), among others.

In the last three years (2019-2021), the number of fan pages dedicated to Narsinghanand has steadily increased in followership providing his opinions with a large megaphone. **One of the Facebook live videos of Yati Narsinghanand shared by a BJP local supporter Hanumansingh Rajpurohit Sirana on 19th October 2019 has received 32 million total views on Facebook, as the first image on the right shows. In this Facebook live video, Narsinghanand says: "I hate Islam and I want to eliminate Islam from the face of Earth". He then makes incendiary remarks against Muslims in front of a cheering crowd.**

Yet another photo of Yati Narsinghanand with his followers brandishing machetes and swords was widely shared on Facebook. In the second image on the right from 31st December 2019, Narsinghanand sits amidst his followers. Such images are also widely circulated on fan pages of Narendra Modi, India's Prime Minister, as the third image on the right shows.



There are several instances in which inflammatory speeches by Yati Narsinghanand have led to the gathering of violent mobs. In 2020, for example, Narsinghanand's followers viciously assaulted a 14-year-old Muslim boy who was drinking water from the Dasna temple premises in Uttar Pradesh.[62] Concerned about mainstream media backlash, Narsinghanand's supporters recorded Facebook lives asking people to gather in support of Narsinghanand. The [Facebook live video](#) (see image screenshot on the right) shows Yati Narsinghanand standing triumphantly amidst his supporters.

After the incident, a large board was put up at the entrance of the temple stating "Ye mandir Hinduon ka pavitra sthal hai. Yahan Musalmano ka pravesh varjit hai" (This temple is holy for Hindus. The entry of Muslims is strictly forbidden, as per instructions of Narsinghanand Saraswati) (see image below). Narsinghanand's inflammatory speeches are considered to have had a crucial role in inciting the "Delhi Riots" that occurred in February 2020 in North East Delhi and left 53 dead.[63] Several of his followers also preached violence days before the riots.



Image from Facebook. The entrance of the Dasna temple with the hoarding stating: 'This temple is holy for Hindus. The entry of Muslims is strictly forbidden, as per instructions of Narsinghanand Saraswati'

Hate Speech at Dharam Sansad, Haridwar

Between December 17 and 19 2021, Yati Narasinghanad organised a "Dharam Sansad" (religious parliament), in Haridwar, Uttarakhand. The Dharam Sansad was a "three-day hate speech conclave" with both hardline Hindutva leaders and BJP leaders in attendance at the event. Organized under the theme *Islamic Bharat mein Sanatan ka Bhavishya* ("The Future of the Sanatan (Dharma) in Islamic India"), the event was characterized by provocative hate speech targeting Indian Muslims and explicit calls for violence against them.[64] Content from the Dharam Sansad was also shared through Facebook (see for example image below), including content advertising and inviting people to join upcoming Dharam Sansads (see for example image on the right). An example is this [link to a video of Yati from the Dharam Sansad](#).

**हिंदुत्व मेरी पहचान**
Jan 29, 2022 at 6:41 AM


आज दोपहर 12:00 बजे संत सम्मेलन (धर्म संसद) शुरू होने जा रहा है सभी सनातनी भाइयों से अनुरोध है अगर आप प्रयागराज के आसपास है तो अधिक से अधिक संख्या में पहुंचें। पता: ब्रह्म ऋषि आश्रम ट्रस्ट शिविर, महावीर मार्ग (माघ मेला) Swami Anand Swaroop






See more




 391  31  27


Post translation: Sant Sammelan (Dharma Sansad) is going to start today at 12:00 noon, all Sanatani brothers are requested to reach in maximum numbers if you are around Prayagraj. Address: Brahma Rishi Ashram Trust Camp, Mahavir Marg (Magh Mela) Swami Anand Swaroop

**हिंदुत्व मेरी पहचान**


 Follow  Like  Message  




जिस दिन सनातन धर्म जातिवाद से मुक्त होकर का कर्मवाद पर आ जायेगा।
1.8K views · 19 weeks ago




मैं सन्यास छोड़कर जाने ही वाला था लेकिन स्वामी जी ने मेरे अंदर नई ऊर्जा भरी।
10.6K views · 19 weeks ago




LIVE: #धर्मसंसद हरिद्वार से सीधा प्रसारण।
2K views · 19 weeks ago



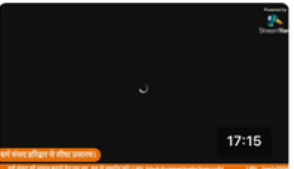
LIVE: #धर्मसंसद हरिद्वार से सीधा प्रसारण।
4.1K views · 19 weeks ago




LIVE: #धर्मसंसद हरिद्वार से सीधा प्रसारण।
353 views · 19 weeks ago




LIVE: #धर्मसंसद हरिद्वार से सीधा प्रसारण।
2.5K views · 19 weeks ago



LIVE: धर्म संसद हरिद्वार से सीधा प्रसारण।
366 views · 19 weeks ago




हिंदुत्व मेरी पहचान's Video
384 views · 19 weeks ago




LIVE: गुरुवर यति नरसिंहानंद गिरी महाराज हवन यज्ञ करते हुए। #यति_नरसिंहानंद_गिरी...
775 views · 19 weeks ago




LIVE: सनातनी हिंदू योद्धाओं की सभा। #धर्म_संसद #यति_नरसिंहानंद_गिरी
1.4K views · 19 weeks ago




धर्म संसद 17 दिसंबर प्रथम दिवस हरिद्वार / महामंडलेश्वर स्वामी नरसिंहानंद गिरी
3.4K views · 19 weeks ago




धर्म संसद हरिद्वार में पूजनीय महामंडलेश्वर स्वामी प्रेमानंद महाराज अपना वक्तव्य रखते हुए।...
1.2K views · 19 weeks ago




धर्मसंसद हरिद्वार: बंदा बेरागि जैसे धर्म योद्धा लाखों सालों में सिर्फ एक बार जन्म लेते हैं।...
216 views · 19 weeks ago



धर्मसंसद हरिद्वार: लेकिन जब धर्म के लिए लड़ने की बारी आती है तो सिर्फ मुठीभर संत सामने आ...
1.2K views · 19 weeks ago



धर्मसंसद हरिद्वार: साधु संतों का जीवन सिर्फ सनातन के योद्धाओं के काम आना चाहिए।...
156 views · 19 weeks ago



धर्मसंसद हरिद्वार: शत्रु में जब तक हमारा भय नहीं होगा, तब तक हम ऐसे ही मात खाते रहेंगे।...
327 views · 19 weeks ago

Screenshot of one of the pages showing videos from Dharam Sansad. Several of the Thumbnail titles read: '**LIVE: #Dharmshansad Haridwaar Live Telecast**'. Several such Facebook live videos can be seen on different pages on Facebook.

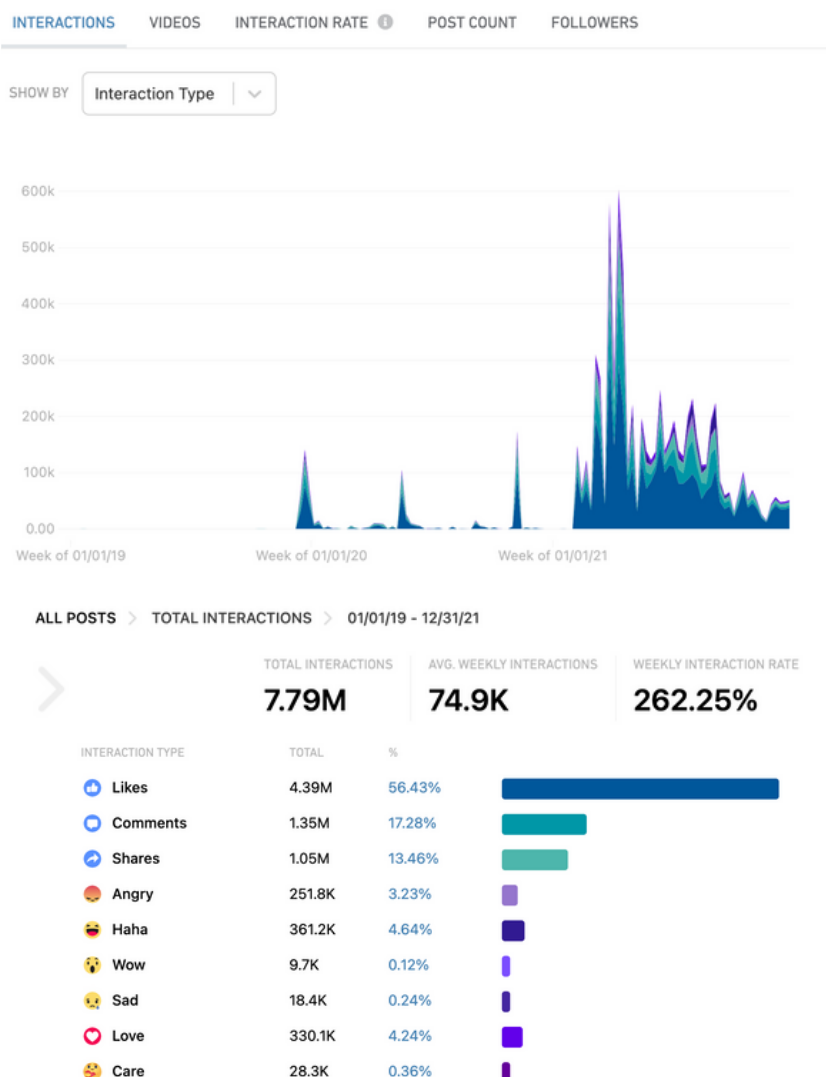
We identified 32 fan pages for Narsinghanand, of which 15 pages have been removed at the time of publishing this report (either by Facebook or by the page administrators). We evaluated the at-scale interaction data of these fan pages from 1st January 2019 to 31st December 2021, using CrowdTangle. Overall, we found that Narsinghanand fan pages have a total of 7.79 million interactions with maximum interactions in form of likes, comments and shares. We also found that the interactions among these fan pages peaked during April 2021, a time when Yati Narsinghanand was embroiled in the controversy involving the 14-year-old Muslim boy who was beaten on his temple premises. **We looked at the most shared content from these pages during the peak week of April 11 - April 17 2021.** Other than Yati Narsinghanand's inflammatory speeches and crowdfunding attempts, we found demonizing caricatures of Muslims widely shared across Facebook (see the first image on the right).

श्री यति नरसिंहानंद सरस्वती
Apr 11, 2021 at 4:07 PM
हर हर महादेव

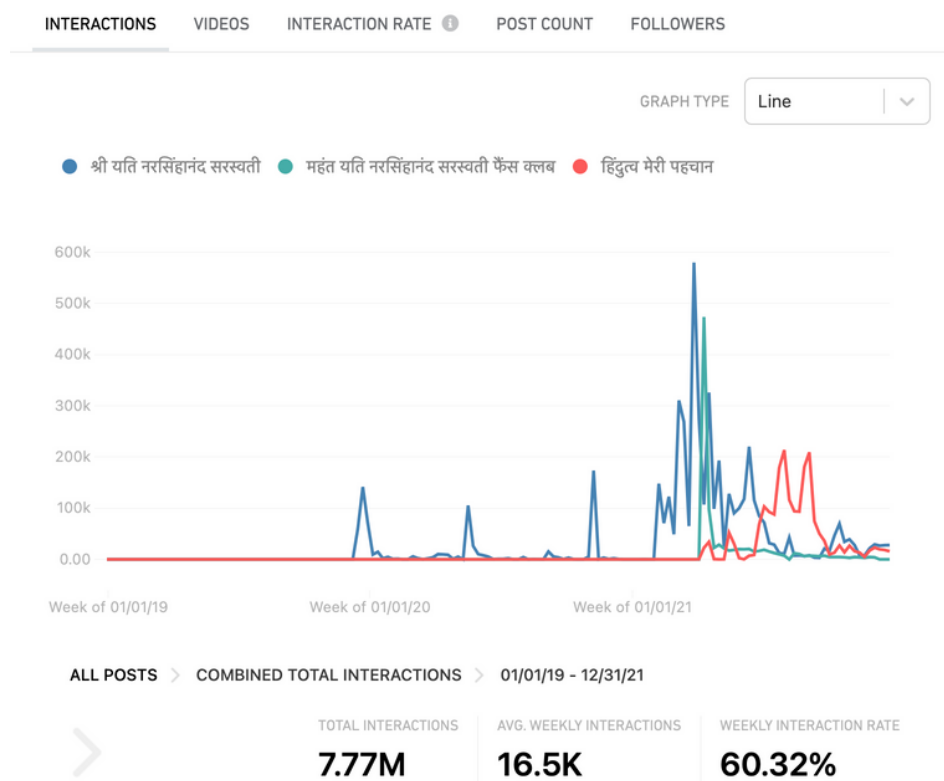


10,181 1,624 1,414

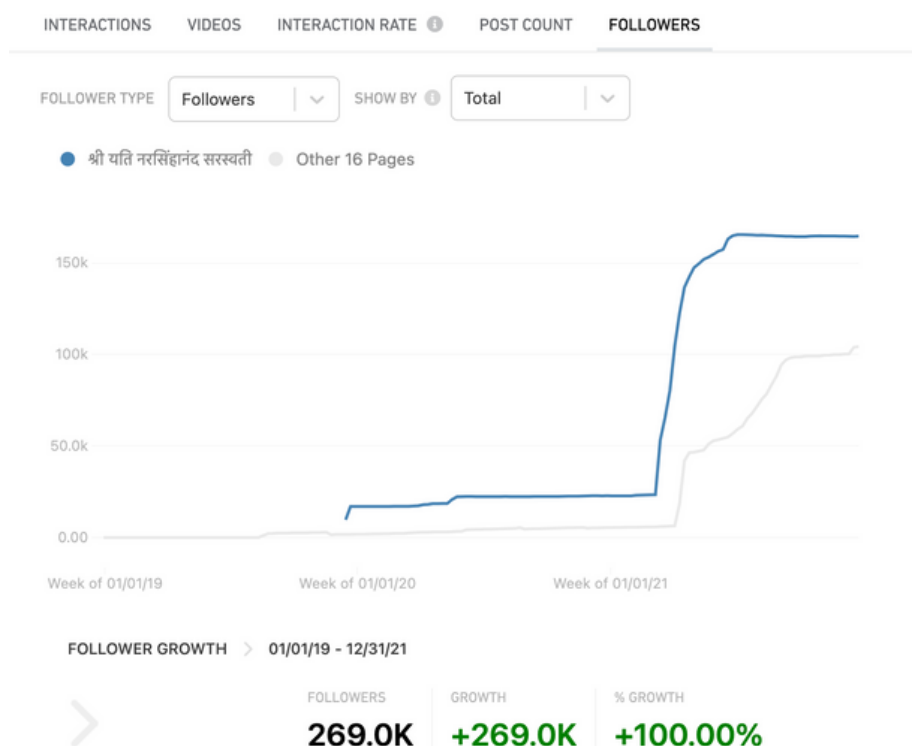
In this image, a Muslim man is portrayed as a demon with horns, while Yati Narsinghanand proudly holds a mirror to him. The caricatured content reads: "You have shown us our ugliness for this you will be punished with death..."



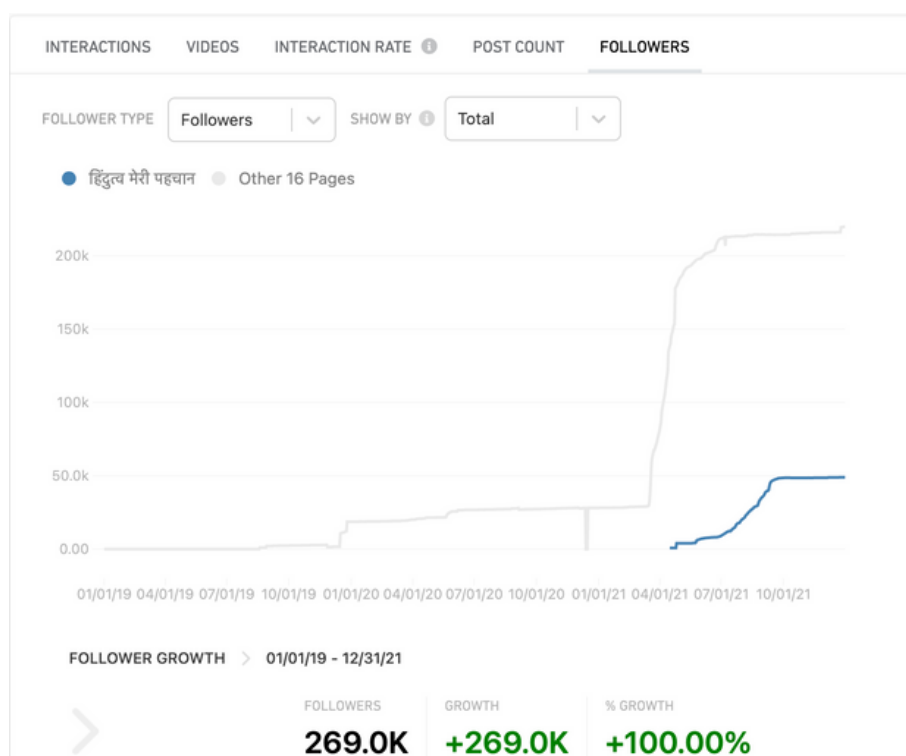
From the list that we identified as Yati Narsinghanand fan pages, we analyzed the top three fan pages using CrowdTangle. We found that top three pages had the lion's share of interaction. In fact, of the 7.79 million interactions that all pages in this list received in total, 7.77 million interactions occurred with these three pages alone. By removing these pages, Facebook could potentially reduce the flow of hate speech substantially.



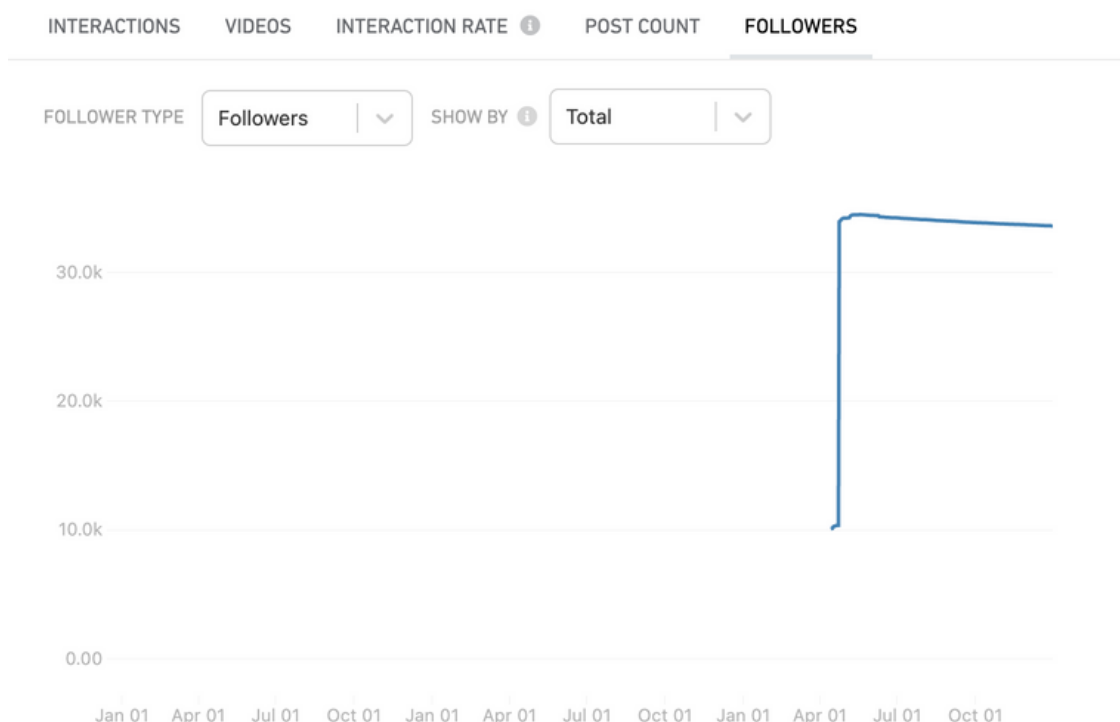
Of these pages, **श्री यति नरसिंहानंद सरस्वती** (Shree Yati Narsingh Saraswati), is the top page. This is also the page that shared the caricatured demonizing image of a Muslim man shown previously. This page witnessed a sudden spike in follower growth after January 2021:



The second top page with the title हिंदुत्व मेरी पहचान (Hindutva my identity) witnessed a growth rate of 100% since its creation on 8th of April 2021.



Similarly, महंत यति नरसिंहानंद सरस्वती फैंस क्लब (Mahant Yati Narsingh Saraswati Fans Club) also witnessed a sudden surge immediately after its creation on 13th April 2021.



Content shared by हिंदुत्व मेरी पहचान (Hindutva my identity) and महंत यति नरसिंहानंद सरस्वती फैंस क्लब (Mahant Yati Narsingh Saraswati Fans Club) during the week of its creation and exponential growth ranges from the support of Yati Narsinghanand to outright hate speech. In these posts, one can also very frequently see Pushpendra Kulshreshta, who we discuss in the next sections.

महंत यति नरसिंहानंद सरस्वती...
 Apr 14, 2021 at 2:04 PM

क्या यह गृहयुद्ध की तैयारी है - पुष्पेंद्र कुलश्रेष्ठ

क्या यह गृहयुद्ध की तैयारी है - पुष्पेंद्र कुलश्रेष्ठ हमारे समूह से भी आप लोग जुड़े इस लिंक द्वारा 🇳🇵🇳🇵🇳🇵 facebook.com/groups/150992550268217/?ref=share



177,383 POST VIEWS 254,327 TOTAL VIEWS

👍 13,630 💬 4,096 ➦ 5,258

This video where Pushpendra Kulshreshta can be seen speaking is titled: "Is this a preparation for a civil war? - Pushpendra Kulshreshta."

हिंदुत्व मेरी पहचान
 Apr 18, 2021 at 4:45 AM

2029 में भारत का प्रधानमंत्री जब मुसलमान होगा। फिर जो हिंदुओं के साथ जो होगा?

96,759 POST VIEWS 111,065 TOTAL VIEWS



👍 5,100 💬 3,223 ➦ 1,439

This video where Pushpendra Kulshreshta can be seen speaking is titled: "When in 2029 the Prime Minister of India is Muslim, what will become of Hindus?"

महंत यति नरसिंहानंद सरस्वती...
 Apr 17, 2021 at 6:58 PM

पुष्पेंद्र कुलश्रेष्ठ जी और स्वामी यति नरसिंहानंद सरस्वती जी..

पुष्पेंद्र कुलश्रेष्ठ जी और स्वामी यति नरसिंहानंद सरस्वती जी.. हमारे समूह से भी आप लोग जुड़े इस लिंक द्वारा 🇳🇵🇳🇵🇳🇵 facebook.com/groups/150992550268217/?ref=share



920,717 POST VIEWS 1,081,584 TOTAL VIEWS

👍 50,227 💬 34,680 ➦ 14,356

This video is a two hour long discussion between Narsinghanand and Pushpendra Kulshreshta. The title of the video reads: "Respected Pushpendra Kulshreshta and Respected Yati Narsinghanand Saraswati."

हिंदुत्व मेरी पहचान
 Apr 18, 2021 at 5:26 PM

कुरान और आतंकवाद दोनों एक ही हैं: यति नरसिंहानंद सरस्वती

1,708 POST VIEWS 2,821 TOTAL VIEWS



👍 194 💬 72 ➦ 106

This video is a repeat post on different fan pages with different post titles. The title of this video reads: "Quran and terrorism are one and the same thing: Yati Narsinghanand Saraswati." The video itself starts with a banal Hindutva trope, takes a turn towards misogynistic remarks and outright dehumanization of Indian Muslims.

All these posts were flagged to Facebook through their user-flagging system under variable categories of hate speech (towards a religious group), violence (threat of violence), and violence (dangerous organisation/Individual). At the time of writing this report, all these posts remain online.

Other than on the pages that present themselves as Yati Narsinghanand fan clubs, content supporting Yati Narsinghanand and his vitriol towards Muslims is also popularly found on the pages propagating themselves as Pushpendra Kulshreshta Fan pages, and Kulshrestha's own verified page.

This screenshot on the right is a poster shared by Pushpendra Kulshreshta's verified profile. He derides Amanatullah Khan, a Muslim member of the Legislative Assembly for Aam Admi Party Muslim Leader, as "jihadi" for filing a First Information Report (FIR) against Yati Narsinghanand.

While there is no obvious hate that an AI can detect in this sentence, the fact that a verified profile on Facebook would dog whistle against a Muslim politician for filing a police complaint under Indian law, against a known hate speaker is deeply menacing. Even more, the post has gone on to have a massive interaction on Facebook.



लड़ाई यही जीतेगा जिसके पास दुश्मन से बड़े हथियार होंगे ...M Yati Narsinghanand Giri



The screenshot on the left shows a video clip from the Haridwar Dharam Sansad shared by Pushpendra Kulshreshta fan. Translated from Hindi, the post reads: "Only those will win the war who have weapons bigger than the enemy' - M Yati Narsinghanand Giri".

PUSHPENDRA KULSHRESHTHA FAN PAGES

Pushpendra Kulshrestha is an alumna of Aligarh Muslim University, former journalist and former Bureau Chief for Pakistan's Aaj TV news in New Delhi. Pushpendra's ideology aligns with that of RSS leaders Veer Savarkar and M. S. Golwalkar. He routinely addresses RSS gatherings in North India that attract crowds of up to 5,000-10,000 people and is self-proclaimed anti-Muslim. His speeches contain dog-whistling and encouragement of waging a 'holy war' against Indian Muslims. He emerged as a prominent part of the anti-Muslim landscape in India through his rise to popularity on YouTube in 2014. On Facebook, Kulshreshta has a verified page and at least 72 fan pages to his name on these pages content range from veiled threats, to open deriding of Muslims. The fan pages also include click-bait including sensation celebrity gossip, and newsjacking.

It is worth mentioning here that Kulshreshta is not a politician, and he therefore does not qualify for a political exemption on Facebook.

We conducted a discourse analysis of one of Kulshreshta's most popular videos shared through his fan club on Facebook. The video, titled "Pushpendra Kulshrestha questions the government" and shown in the thumbnail below, received 3.8 million total views.



Pushpendra opens by targeting small Muslim business owners. At the 0:09 mark, he says: "Those Muslims that you consider as just owners of small tyre repair shops have a 1000 years old agenda in their mind when deciding to set up their shops on National Highways. Understand their agenda." He then addresses the Hindus and calls on them to wake up to the alleged threat of Muslims using conducting business in India.

Kulshreshta's narrative contributes to the Hindutva discourse of socio-economic boycott of Muslims. Such boycott has already materialized in many places, such as the state of Karnataka, where Hindutva organisations including the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), Hindu Jagarana Vedike, and the Bajrang Dal have been submitting memoranda to temple authorities, municipal officials, and town councils, calling for a ban on Muslims setting up shops and stalls. At the 1:47 mark, Kulshreshta refers to the Aligarh Muslim University as "Second Pakistan" in an attempt to 'Otherize' a Muslim institute and its students.














At the 3:45 mark, Kulshreshta makes claims about the Waqf Council having the ability to seize anybody's property. He does this to incite fear of Muslims as land-grabbers waging a 'Land jihad'.

He refers to his audience as "law-abiding" citizens, creating an 'in-group', and says that Hindu's loyalty to the law will lead to their disenfranchisement at the hands of Muslims (creating Muslims as 'Other').

Around the 5:45 time mark, Kulshreshta begins talking about the Taj Mahal and how the Indian population has been brainwashed into thinking of the monument built by the Mughals - Muslim rulers - as something Indians should take pride in. Thus, suggesting a cultural and architectural binary as discussed under the context of Hindutva in earlier sections of this report.

Kulshreshta has also been part of webinars organized by the Hindu Council of Australia. Such events have also included blatant instances of hate speech against Muslims and Islam.

Using Crowd Tangle, we take a deep dive into the Facebook fan pages of Pushpendra Kulshreshtha. As can be seen from the screenshot below, Pushpendra Kulshreshtha Fans club, and Pushpendra Kulshreshtha's own verified Facebook page had interactions running into several million in the period between January 1st 2019 and 31st December 2021. Kulshreshtha's verified page had a +49,803.39 (+499.528%) positive growth in the two years time period.

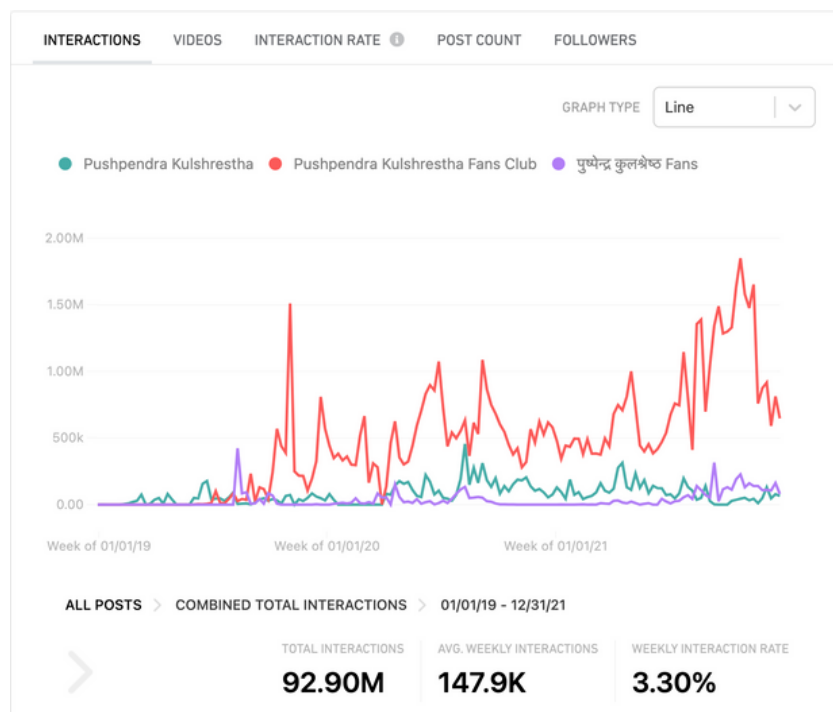
	Page Name	Total Interactions	Interaction Rate	Avg. Posts Per Day	Views on Owned Videos	Page Followers	Growth % and #
	Average Total	128.55M	—	51.53	582.64M	4.02M	0
1	 Pushpendra Kulshreshtha Fans Club	75.54M	0.526%	15.28	351.56M	857,330	—
2	 Pushpendra Kulshreshtha	12.24M	2.425%	1.84	45.10M	500,531	+49,803.39% +499,528
3	 श्रेष्ठ हिन्दू वक्ता पुष्पेंद्र कुलश्रेष्ठ	7.30M	1.966%	2.24	31.93M	151,139	—
4	 Pushpendra Kulshreshtha	5.95M	0.825%	2.56	25.11M	257,284	—
5	 पुष्पेंद्र कुलश्रेष्ठ Fans	5.31M	1.317%	1.24	27.08M	297,838	—
6	 पुष्पेंद्र कुलश्रेष्ठ फैंस क्लब	5.30M	0.589%	8.91	10.41M	92,159	—
7	 Pushpendra Kulshreshtha Fan Club	4.35M	2.709%	1.19	16.65M	122,975	—
8	 Pushpendra Kulshreshtha fans	3.43M	1.363%	3.1	29.15M	74,118	—
9	 Pushpendra Kulshreshtha fans	3.19M	0.931%	3.34	18.41M	93,587	—
0	 Pushpendra Kulshreshtha Fans	1.82M	1.974%	1.06	3.64M	78,983	—
1	 पुष्पेंद्र कुलश्रेष्ठ हिन्दू योद्धा	1.26M	1.827%	0.83	6.62M	76,174	—
2	 We Support Pushpendra Kulshreshtha	752,148	2.141%	0.49	1.09M	65,030	—
3	 पुष्पेंद्र जी	722,834	47.571%	0.02	9.35M	60,779	—

Using CrowdTangle, we looked at the scale of the growth and trajectory of the list before taking a deep dive into the top three pages of Pushpendra Kulshreshtha Fan Club. Once again, we used January 1st 2019 and 31st December 2021 as the time period within which to study interactions and follower growth.

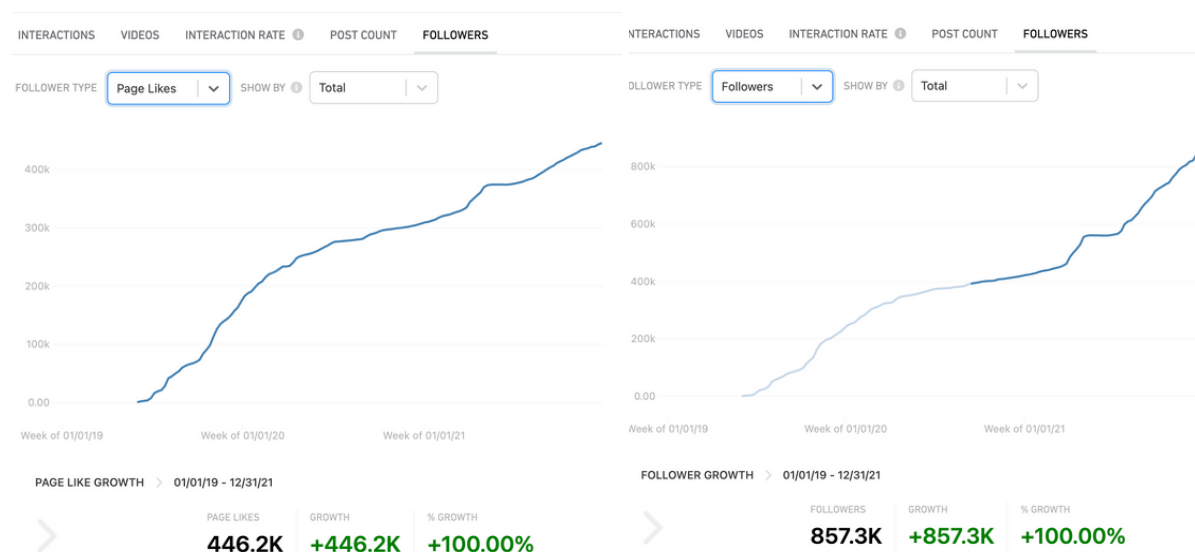
As the image below shows, interactions on Pushpendra fan pages have overall been on the increase over the past two years. Most interactions occur through likes and shares. The first peak in interaction can be seen around April 19-25 2021, which is a week later than the peak interactions seen on the fan pages of Yati Narsinghanand discussed above.



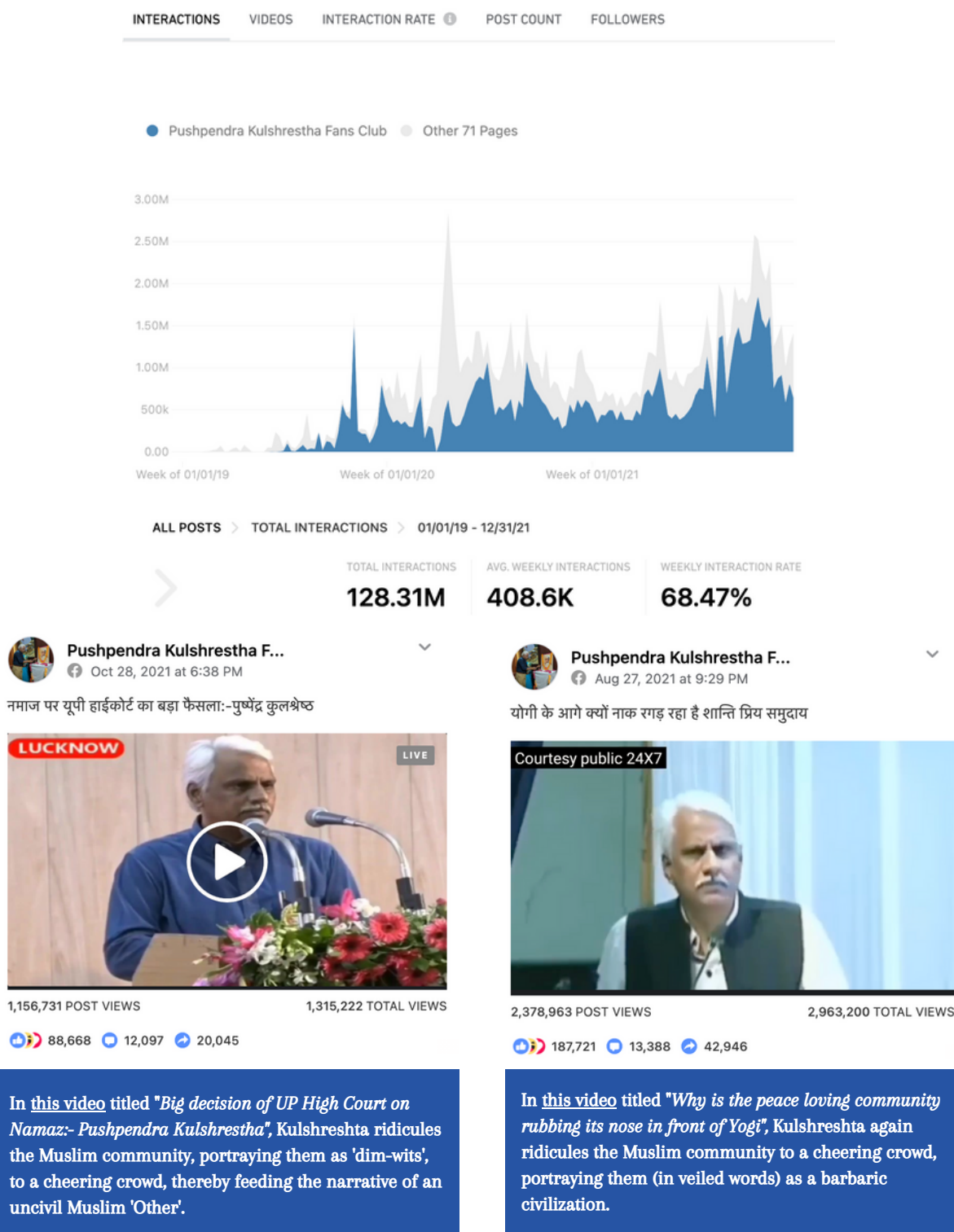
The top three pages in our list of Pushpendra Kulshreshta Fan clubs constitute two of the pages proclaiming to be Pushpendra Kulshreshta fan clubs and a verified page of Pushpendra Kulshreshta. These three pages constitute up to 71% of total interactions generated by the whole list. In the image below one can see that the interactions generated by the top three pages in the period between 1st January 2019 and 31st December 2021 were 92.9 million.



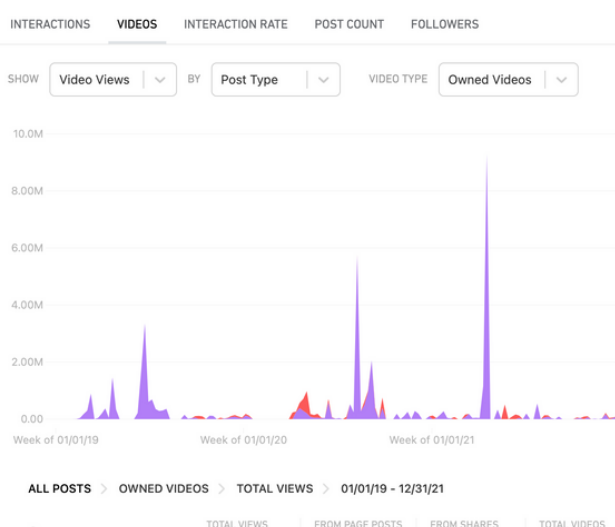
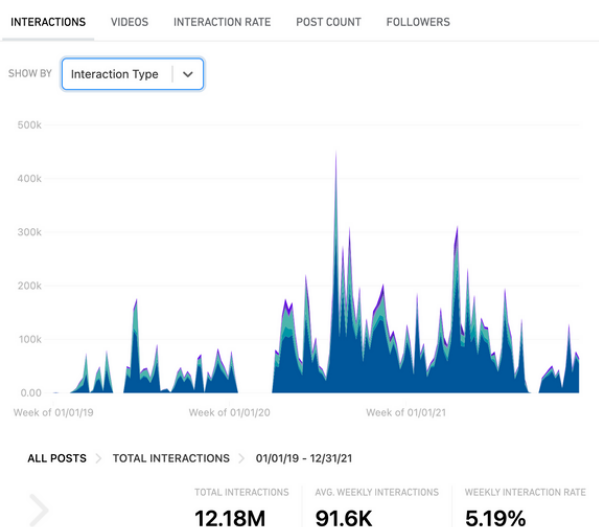
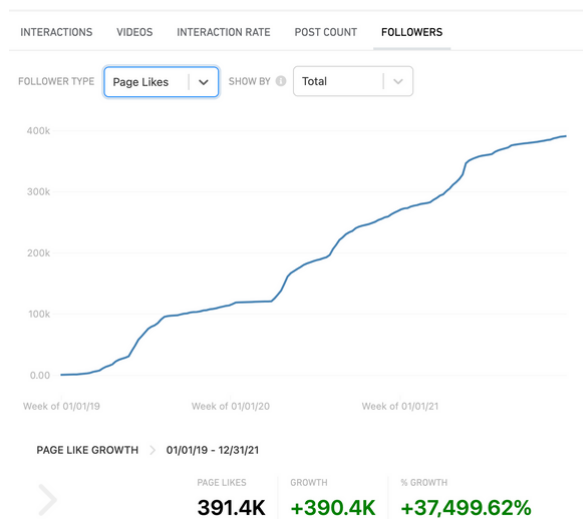
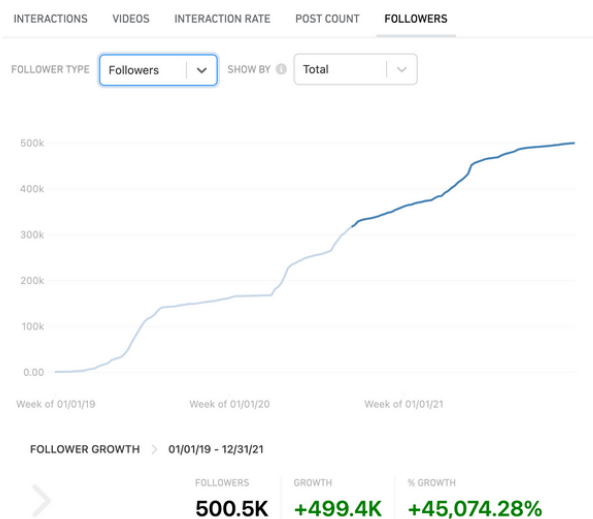
Pushpendra Kulshreshta Fans Club is the most famous fan page of Mr Kulshreshta. The Facebook description of the report reads in Hindi पेज से जुड़ने के लिए आपका धन्यवाद, आशा करते हैं राष्ट्रहित में आप अपने मित्रों को भी पेज से जोड़ेंगे (*Translation: Thank you for joining the page, we hope that for the benefit of the Nation you will also make your friends join this group*). As can be seen from the image below the page enjoys a steady growth in terms of followers and likes on Facebook.



We looked at the total interactions on page Pushpendra Kulshreshtha Fans Club and saw a steady growth in interactions and followers over a period of two years. This growth in followers, as well as interactions, goes against Meta's claim that the company tries to limit the growth of the content that is 'borderline' or hateful. Below we provide screenshots of a few of the top trending posts from some of the peaks that we noticed.



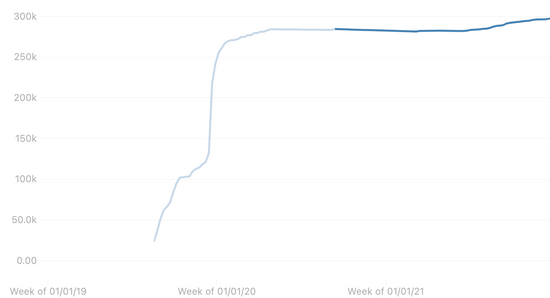
Pushpendra Kulshreshtha is the official and verified page of Kulshreshtha. It has 516K followers. The page description introduces Kulshreshtha as a political commentator, who worked with Sunday Mail, Sahara TV News as a Correspondent, BBC, Aaj TV Pakistan. Kulshreshtha's verified page contains borderline content, veiled threats to the Muslim community in India, and ridicule of Muslims as 'uncivil', and has enjoyed a steady growth of followership and page likes. Between the period of 1st January 2019 and 31st December 2021 Kulshreshtha has also generated 12.8 million interactions, while his video views of Facebook videos and Facebook Lives have generated 45.1 million total views.



पुष्पेन्द्र कुलश्रेष्ठ Fans is another high interaction fan page that supports Pushpendra Kulshreshta. It has 297K followers and 197K likes. The page has no description. Through CrowdTangle, we can see that the page saw a sudden growth during the anti-CAA protests in India. During this time protests led primarily by Indian Muslim women emerged across India against the BJP government's new citizenship laws. These laws have been questioned by scholars, and policymakers, including the UN Human Rights Office, which has expressed concerns over the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) being discriminatory towards Muslims. Online spaces quickly polarized into strong pro-CAA and strongly anti-CAA content, which contributed to the creation of the Muslim 'Other'.

INTERACTIONS VIDEOS INTERACTION RATE POST COUNT FOLLOWERS

FOLLOWER TYPE Followers SHOW BY Total

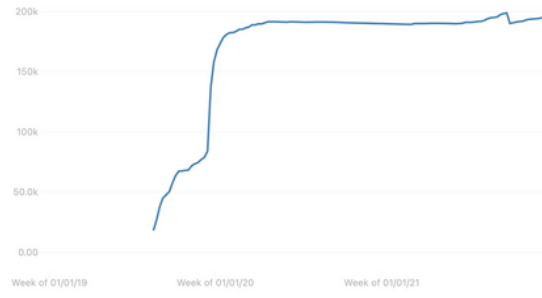


FOLLOWER GROWTH > 01/01/19 - 12/31/21

FOLLOWERS	GROWTH	% GROWTH
297.8K	+297.8K	+100.00%

INTERACTIONS VIDEOS INTERACTION RATE POST COUNT FOLLOWERS

FOLLOWER TYPE Page Likes SHOW BY Total



PAGE LIKE GROWTH > 01/01/19 - 12/31/21

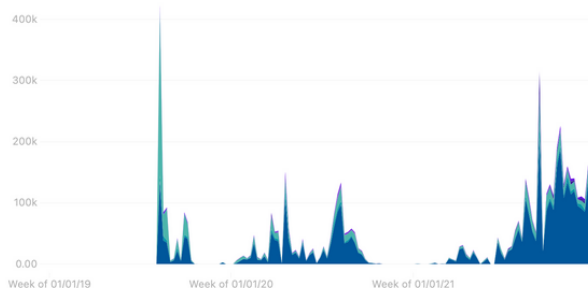
PAGE LIKES	GROWTH	% GROWTH
195.7K	+195.7K	+100.00%

INTERACTIONS VIDEOS INTERACTION RATE POST COUNT FOLLOWERS

As can be seen from the image below, this page also enjoys a fair share of interactions and video views. We are, however, concerned as to why the interaction rate during the peak growth of the pages is zero. The same is also true for the video views and post-count on this page. This could perhaps be because the page did was post content during its 'peak growth time', or because the content has been removed given its association to the anti-CAA protests and associated Delhi riots of 2020.

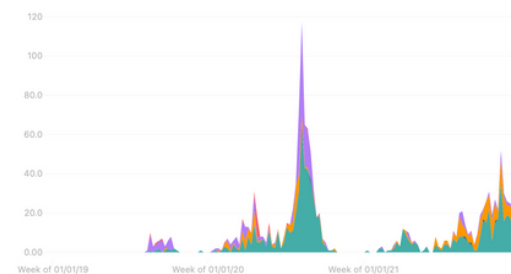
INTERACTIONS VIDEOS INTERACTION RATE POST COUNT FOLLOWERS

SHOW BY Interaction Type



ALL POSTS > TOTAL INTERACTIONS > 01/01/19 - 12/31/21

TOTAL INTERACTIONS	AVG. WEEKLY INTERACTIONS	WEEKLY INTERACTION RATE
5.31M	54.2K	4.22%



ALL POSTS > TOTAL POSTS > 01/01/19 - 12/31/21

TOTAL POSTS	AVG. WEEKLY POSTS
1.4K	9

INTERACTIONS VIDEOS INTERACTION RATE POST COUNT FOLLOWERS

SHOW Video Views BY Post Type VIDEO TYPE Owned Videos



ALL POSTS > OWNED VIDEOS > TOTAL VIEWS > 01/01/19 - 12/31/21

TOTAL VIEWS	FROM PAGE POSTS	FROM SHARES	TOTAL VIDEOS
27.08M	7.76M	19.32M	215

SURESH CHAVHANKE FAN PAGES

Supporting Yati Narsinghanand and the narrative of Hindutva Nation is yet another actor, Suresh Chavhanke, who himself has a wide Facebook presence. Chavhanke is the chairman, managing director and editor-in-chief of Sudarshan news. Chavhanke is a member of the RSS and a staunch supporter of Hindutva ideology. He uses his media stardom to openly propagate the Hindutva ideology and vicious narrative of Muslims as uncivil and a threat. He hosts *Bindas Bol* (speak freely), an exposé-styled investigative show which airs theories about the Muslim agenda of hurting Hindus. His shows have a major role in popularizing the idea of the Muslim community conducting jihad to destroy Hindus and Hindu culture. The anti-Muslim and Islamophobic content produced through his media company is shared widely by Mr. Chavhanke, his fan pages, and the Sudarshan News pages on Facebook. We identified at least 66 such pages, including several pages directly managed by Mr. Chavhanke and his news team. Mr. Chavhanke's news shows are known for vitriolic controversies against Indian Muslims.

Episodes on his show *Bindas Bol* were considered to be hateful in nature by the Indian Supreme Court, capable of disrupting communal harmony and stirring anti-Muslim sentiments. Subsequently, in 2020, a series of episodes titled "UPSC jihad" with a disruptive monologue "Naukarshahi mein Muslamano ki Ghuspaith ke Shadyantra ka Bada Khulasa" (The conspiracy behind Muslim infiltration in Indian Civil Services – The Big Reveal) was restrained by the Supreme Court of India for being insidious attempt to target Muslims. We found content (posters and videos) of the specific episodes on "UPSC Jihad" shared within the fan pages of Mr Chavhanke. Mr. Chavhanke and Yati Narsinghanand are connected not just online but also with their offline presence. Both act together to mobilize and galvanize violent crowds. For example in the image below shared on Facebook, Mr. Chavhanke and Yati Narsinghanand are seen standing in the middle of a crowd of people holding weapons. Mr. Chavhanke himself is brandishing a revolver. The post reads "Shastra Mev Jayate. Har Har Mahadev" (Weapons Always Triumph. Hail Lord Shiva).



To understand the fan following and mobilization occurring on Facebook through Suresh Chavanke's fan page list, we conducted a discourse analysis of one of the most widely shared videos on the Sudarshan News. [This video](#) is a Sudarshan News studio recording and was shared widely on the Suresh Chavanke fans page on Facebook. The reporter seen in the thumbnail below is covering a story titled "A declaration to annihilate India has been issued."



The content is about the Rohingya refugees. At the 0:30 mark, the reporter refers to a Rohingya man in a video as 'Desh ke gaddar' (traitor/enemy of the Nation).

This reporter plays a file video of a Rohingya Muslim man who had fled to India and is now protesting. In the video, the man is seen asking the Prime Minister of India to speak up on the atrocities committed against Rohingya Muslims. He says if no action is taken, then he hopes that Muslims will raise their voices and concerns from all parts of India, and March to Delhi. The man speaks of Muslims all around the world, who are suffering state oppression and proceeds to assert that Muslims are a peace-loving community who have been put through a lot.

At the 2:20 mark, the reporter claims that the man in the video is not alone and that India houses many such 'gaddars' ('traitors'). Here, the entire reportage is riddled with the discourse of viewing Muslims in India as 'traitor' and 'enemies of the Nation' who "live in India but plan to destroy it" (2:30 time mark).

Another video of a Muslim gathering in support of Rohingya refugees is shown at the 2:40 time mark and depicted as a threat to Indian sovereignty. A man can be heard saying that "Rohingya Muslims are not abandoned" and that "Bengal (West Bengal) will always serve as a refuge to them, even if that means marching all the way to Delhi."

As a response to the man in the video at the 4:00 mark, the reporter states: "India has given birth to many such children that have the ability to show these people their place." The term "these people" is used to address Muslims in India.

At the 4:10 time mark, the reporter reiterates anti-Muslim sentiment by saying that it is by "the patience of the Hindu majority that Muslims are still allowed to live in India, or else they would all have been forcefully pushed to Pakistan."

Unfortunately, such content by SudarshanTV does not stand isolated. Due to their social media following, Chavanke and his channel have been successful in galvanizing stardom for themselves and gaining a megaphone for their hate speech.

For example, in [this video](#) (see video thumbnail in next page) shared on Facebook through Suresh Chavanke's official page, Chavanke addresses a large audience in Hindutva attire. The video is titled "The lions and lionesses of the Hindu Yuva Vahini take an oath for the establishment of a Hindu Rashtra." The video uses an in-grouping tactic to galvanize in-group solidarity to the detriment of a perceived out-group. Addressing a saffron-clad audience chanting 'Jai Shree Ram' (0:06 time mark), Chavanke is seen administering an oath. The oath begins at the 0:23 time mark and goes: "We pledge, until the day we die, in order to make this country (India) a Hindu Rashtra, to keep this country a Hindu Rashtra and to move forward, we will fight, we will die and if need be we will kill."

The idea of a Hindu Rashtra as imagined by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar and M.S. Golwalkar is based on the foundations of ethnic nationalism, which strengthens Hindus against their enemies to create a unified Hindu culture. Under the Hindu Rashtra, Muslims will thereby have no standing in their own land of birth. It thereby paints Muslims as 'outsiders' to the Rashtra.

"We pledge, until the day we die, in order to make this country (India) a Hindu Rashtra, to keep this country a Hindu Rashtra and to move forward, we will fight, we will die and if need be we will kill."



Suresh Chavhanke

Dec 19, 2021 at 11:30 AM

हिंदू राष्ट्र की शपथ लेते हुए हिंदू युवा वाहिनी के शेर और शेरनियां।



140,688 POST VIEWS

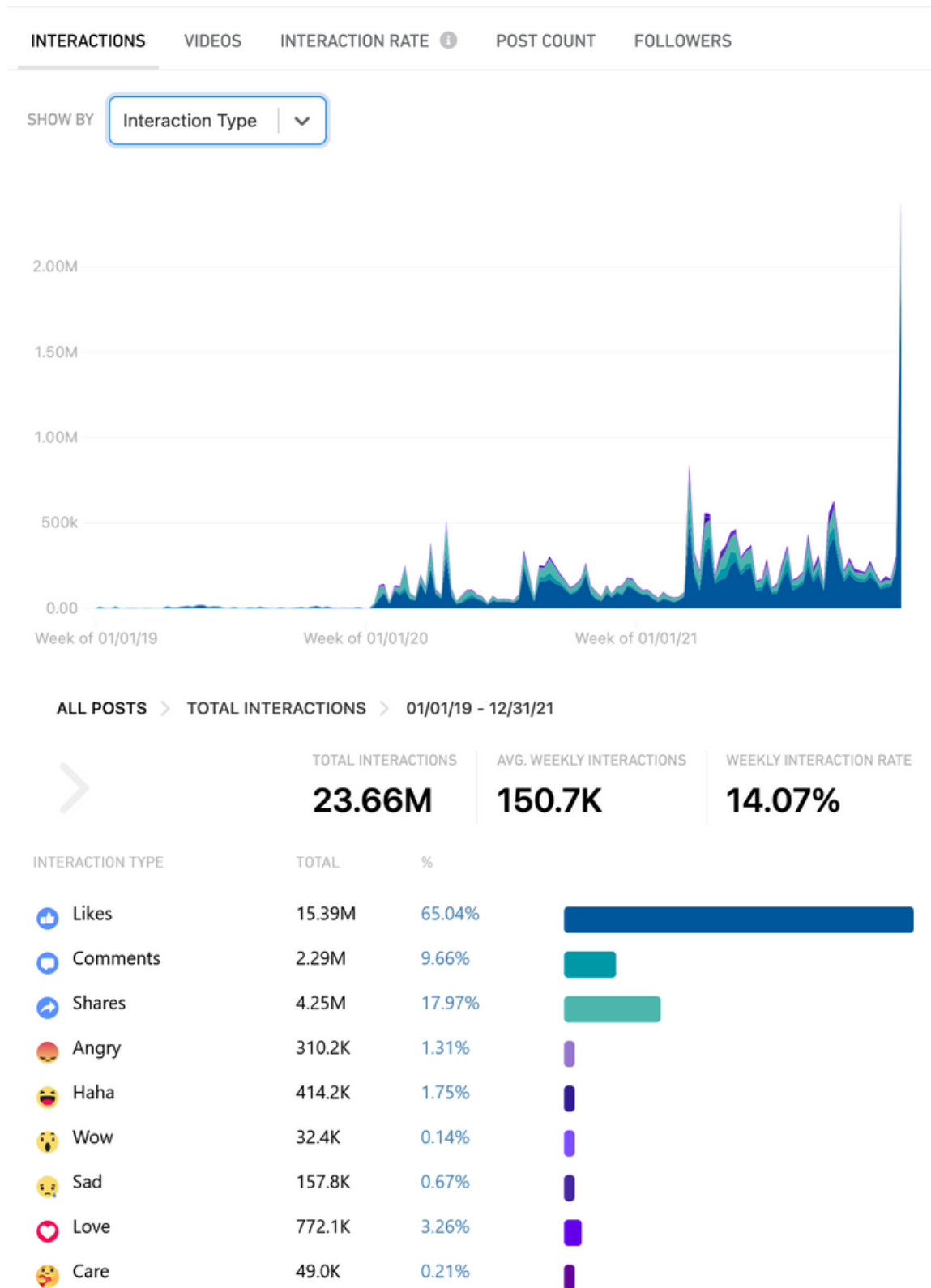
200,831 TOTAL VIEWS

44,718 4,101 4,815

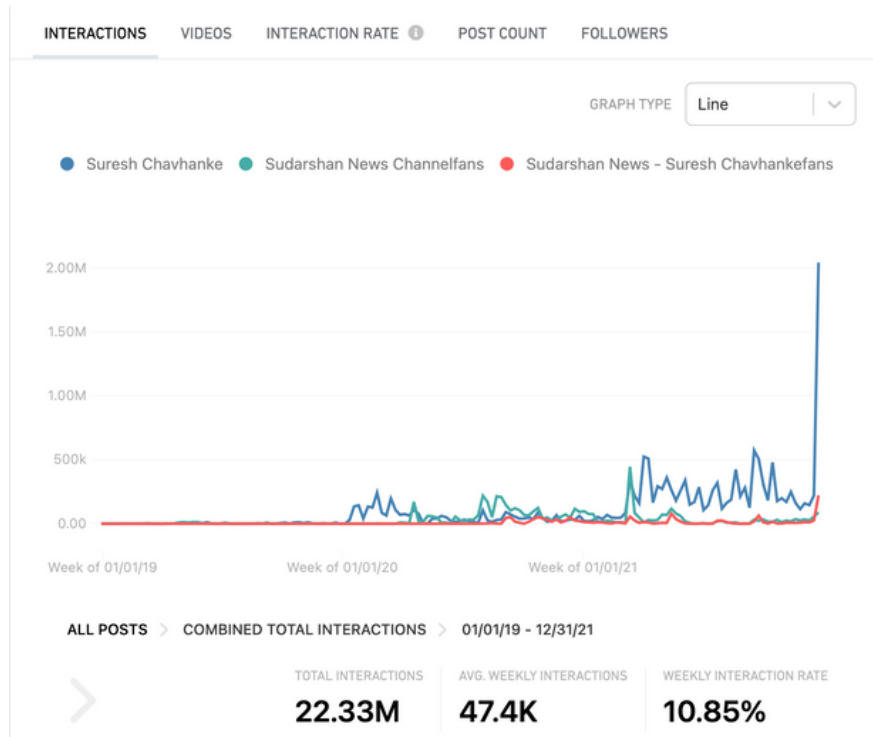
The table below provides a list of the top ten pages from the CrowdTangle list concerning Suresh Chavhanke that we are monitoring. All top three pages in their description claim to be directly linked to or administered by Chavhanke and Sudarshan TV. In the period between 1st January 2019 to 31st December 2021, these pages have had collective interactions of 23.84 million, and video views amounting to 235.07 million.

	Page Name	Total Interactions	Interaction Rate	Avg. Posts Per Day	Views on Owned Videos	Page Followers	Growth % and #
	Average Total	23.84M	—	19.24	235.07M	1.09M	0
1	Suresh Chavhanke	16.11M	3.605%	1.83	164.83M	411,100	+1,121.44% +377,443
2	Sudarshan News Channelfans	4.96M	1.532%	2.73	30.43M	212,843	—
3	Sudarshan News - Suresh Chavhankefans	1.29M	1.86%	0.86	11.02M	74,144	—
4	Sudarshan news Hyderabad	804,900	0.641%	1.65	25.35M	94,215	+109.55% +49,255
5	Sudarshan News Fans	250,024	0.233%	1.72	621,029	56,595	—
6	Sudarshan News	142,926	1.144%	1.05	149,146	10,839	—
7	Suresh Chavhanke - Bindas Bol fans	89,773	1.605%	0.82	21,611	7,262	—
8	Sudarshan Today	51,185	0.218%	2.2	533,667	9,640	—
9	Sudarshan News Marathi	48,963	0.101%	2.44	1.63M	22,946	+82.28% +10,358
10	Sudarshan News Behror	32,902	0.205%	1.22	43,969	11,725	—


A closer inspection of the list title Suresh Chavhanke Club on CrowdTangle shows several peaks in interaction during March and April 2021:



The 66 fan pages for Suresh Chavhanke we identified as part of the Suresh Chavanke fan club together had 23.66 million interactions between 1st January 2019 and 31st December 2021. Of these 23.66 million interactions, the top three pages alone accounted for 22.33 million.



Using CrowdTangle, we found that the page Sudarshan News Channelfans is one of the top three fan pages in the list that we have identified. In its description, the page claims that it is managed only by the reporters of Sudarshan News Channel.



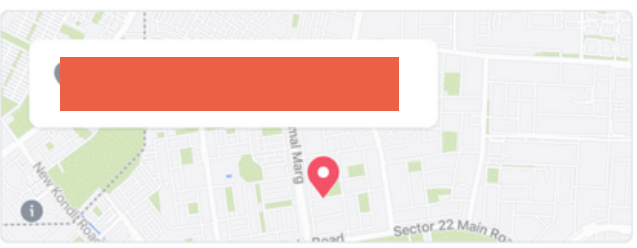
Sudarshan News Channelfans

@SudarshanNewsfs · ★ 5 (237 reviews) · Broadcast

[Home](#)
[Groups](#)
[Events](#)
[Reviews](#)
[More](#)

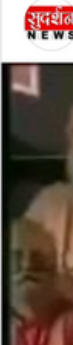
About

[See all](#)



This Page is Managed By Only Sudarshan Reporters Team, Suresh Chavhanke Sudarshan TV News Channel, Noida - Delhi

Pinned



On 19 March 2021, the page shared a [Facebook Live](#) (see a thumbnail of the video on the right). This Facebook Live received a total of 3.1 million views and over 35K shares. This video, which we also discussed briefly in the section on Yati Narsinghanand, shows a crowd gathering at the Dasna Devi Temple to support the head priest Yati Narsinghanand. At the time, Narsinghanand was embroiled in a controversy and potential legal challenge as a 14-year-old Muslim boy was badly beaten for entering the Dasna temple. Narsinghanand called the child a "trained killer", whereas the police maintained the boy was lost and entered the temple premises accidentally. Sudarshan News Channelfans telecasted a Facebook Live video showing the crowd assemble in support of Narsinghanand, and shows Sudarshan Chavhanke making a speech.


Sudarshan News Channel
Mar 19, 2021 at 2:44 PM

डासना देवी मंदिर से सुरेश चव्हाणके जी का जिहादियों को खुला चैलेंज। साथ में यती नरसिंहानंद जी।

डासना देवी मंदिर पहुंच कर मां भगवती जी की पूजा-अर्चना कर जिहादियों से मंदिर को बचाने के लिए शक्ति की उपासना की. #हर_मंदिर_पर_बोर्ड_लगेगा #डासना_मंदिर_का_बोर्ड_नही_हटेगा। सहयोग के लिए लिंक पर क्लिक करें। jannidhi.org/crowdfunding-detail.aspx?id=46

[See more](#)



2,056,495 POST VIEWS
3,163,018 TOTAL VIEWS

 151,035
 37,036
 35,395

Mr Chavhanke starts his speech with an invocation to Mother India, the Indian Nation and the Hindu god Shri Rama.

At time stamp 0.17 Mr Chavhanke says to the hollering crowd (translated from Hindi) '*shout loudly, the voices has not reached the Muslim*' (referring to Member of Delhi Legislative Assembly Amanatulla Khan, who had filed a Police complaint against Mr Narsinghanand). The crowd holler louder, at timestamp 0.22 Mr Chavhanke says (translated from Hindi) '*Yes, now (the voice) has gone till Dasana (Dasna wala), now it should go till Delhi's Jama Masjid*' (Jama Masjid is one of the largest Mosque in New Delhi with political and cultural significance).

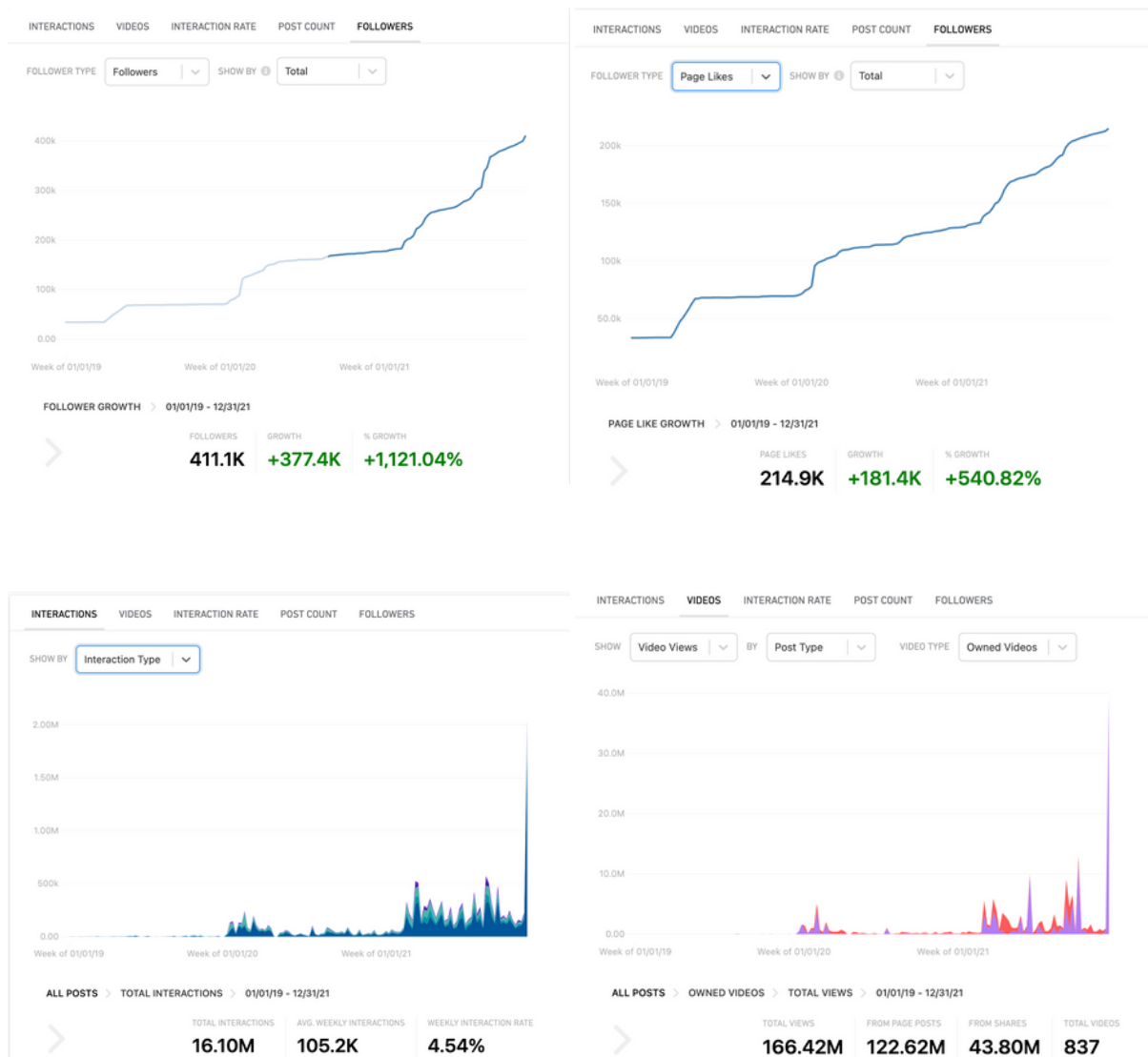
At time stamp 2.31 Mr Chavhanke says (translated from Hindi) '*I am not here to give speeches, with so many Hindus around it is time to determine the war strategy, I want to tell three things. One. the board outside the temple will never be removed* (referring to the Board outside Dasna Devi Temple which says Muslim entry is prohibited in this Temple). *Two, I call upon all the Hindu temples across India to put similar boards on their premises. Three, we are witnessing the economic status of this temple, Maharaj Ji* (referring to Narsinghanand) *will never ask, but all those watching this video, all those sitting here, not necessarily everyone can give financial help but do think that Char-Minars* (referring to Mosque Architecture) *are becoming bigger. In the places where there is one Muslim there are two Mosques, can the Hindus of the world not unite to protect their temples? We can save the temples and for that, we will start from here.*

From a 5.47 timestamp, Mr Chavhanke galvanized support for BJP political and Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath by asking an exhilarated crowd to repeat after him.

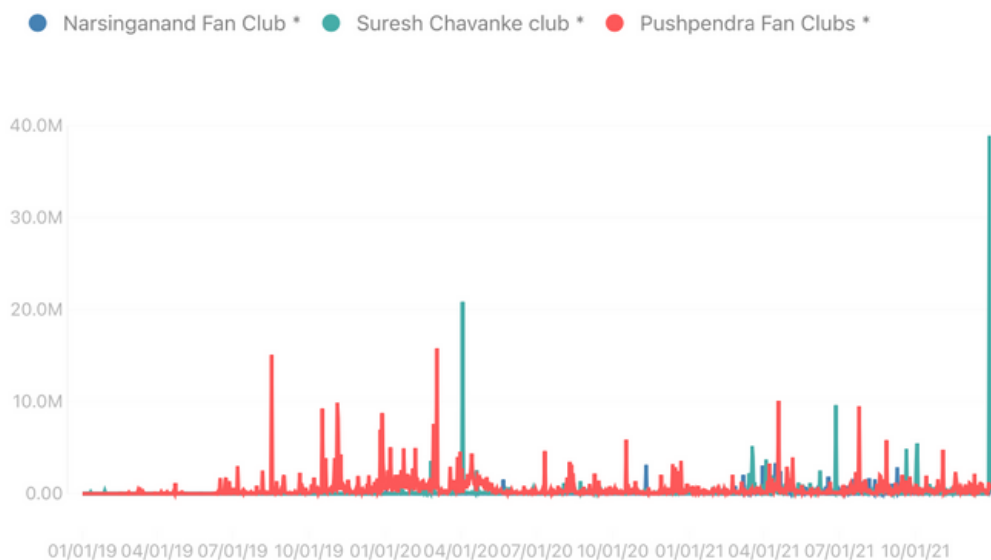
At 8.50 timestamps a man enters with two swords in his hand and hands them to one of the female disciples. The lady holding the swords shouts towards the crowd: '*Symbolically we are now ready. In my life and my generation, I have not seen a warrior like him* (points to Narsinghanand).

At time stamp 9.31 the lady says '*I am ready to give my life and take lives*'. She hands the bare swords to Mr Chavhanke and Yati Narsinghanand. The crowd hollers!

The page **Suresh Chavhanke (@SureshChavhankeOfficial)** has the most interactions among the pages we studied. Even though it is not a verified account of Chavhanke, it is administered as Chavhanke's official page, and the page description states: *'This is the official page of Anchor & Sr Journalist Suresh Chavhanke. Editor-in-chief of Sudarshan News channel. host Bindas Bol, Chalte Chalte, Jan Sansad.'* In the period between 1st January 2019 and 31st December 2021, the page has seen consistent growth in followers and likes. It has received 16 million interactions and 166.42 million total video views.



The pages and lists discussed in this report together had a combined interaction of 160 million and total video views of 871.46 million. In the next part of the report, we document evidence of posts that we saw and flagged to Facebook, along with our rationale for flagging. These posts remain on the platform, putting the Indian Muslim community on the brink of genocide.



ALL POSTS > OWNED VIDEOS > COMBINED TOTAL VIEWS > 01/01/19 - 12/31/21

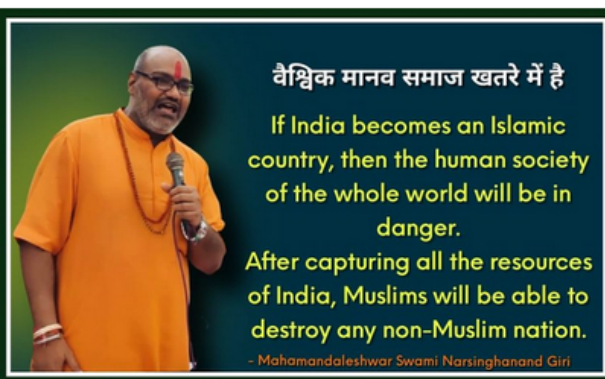
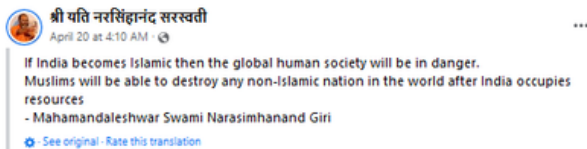
> TOTAL VIEWS FROM PAGE POSTS FROM SHARES TOTAL VIDEOS

871.46M 538.55M 332.92M 13,608

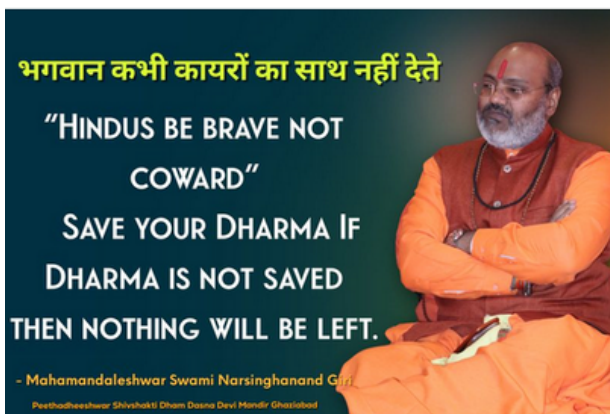
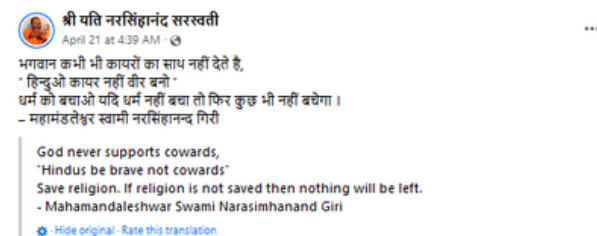
Name	# Views	Page Posts	Shares	# Videos
Narsinganand Fan...	68.81M	58.16M	10.66M	919
Suresh Chavanke ...	220.01M	148.60M	71.41M	5.1K
Pushpendra Fan C...	582.64M	331.79M	250.85M	7.6K

Theme 1: Mobilizing Hindus against Muslims

The mobilization strategy seen in Hindutva network involves double homogenization and polarization rhetoric: On the one hand, it uses the trope of fear of impending danger to Hindu lives by Muslims is portrayed. On the other hand, a narrative is built on masculinity as Hindutva asks Hindus to be brave and calls Hindu men warriors and lions. These narratives simultaneously help in mobilizing Hindus against Muslims.



531 17 Comments 43 Shares



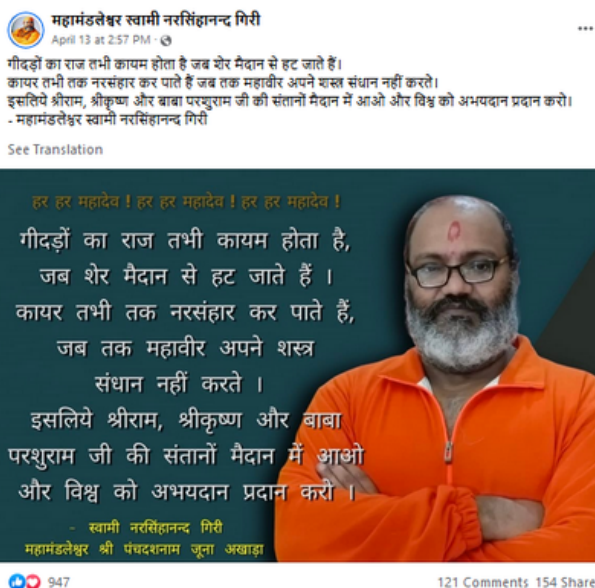
587 31 Comments 51 Shares

The text on the post reads: *If India becomes Islamic then the global human society will be in danger. Muslims will be able to destroy any non-Islamic nation in the world after India occupies resources.* - Mahamandaleshwar Swami Narasimhanand Giri

Posts like this are used to galvanize the fear of Muslims and help in promoting Hindutva mobilization. A study that we referred to in earlier sections of this report confirmed the use of 'fear of Muslims' as a widespread narrative, which is also widely visible in Hindutva-supportive WhatsApp groups in India.[see reference note 6]

The post content states: *"God is never with the cowards. Hindus do not be cowards, but be brave. Save the religion. If the religion is not saved, nothing will be left - Mahamandaleshwar Swami Narasimhanand Giri."*

This post once again acts toward mobilizing Hindus by calling on them not to be cowards, and instead to act to safeguard the religion. We have witnessed this type of discourse repeatedly throughout our study. It is necessary to say here that an AI can not detect and moderate content based on such discourses. Nothing in the post is in itself hate speech or has negative emotions that NLP can process. However, as stated in the Rabbat Action Plan on hate speech, hate has to be understood in the context of speaker and time, among other things. The statement thus needs human oversight to determine its potency as hate speech.



The text on the post reads:

"The rule of jackals is established only when the lions move away from the field. Cowards can only commit massacres until Mahavir does not recreate his weapons. So the children of Shri Ram, Shri Krishna and Baba Parshuram Ji come to the field and provide shelter to the world."- Mahamandaleswar Swami Narasimhanand Giri

Here the speaker is dehumanising both Hindus and Muslims. he is referring to Muslims as Jackals, and Hindus as Lions.



Similarly, as part of the mobilization strategy for the Hindutva cause, Narsinghanand's fan pages share links to private WhatsApp and Telegram groups.

The post from October 2021 states: *"Will make every social media saffron. Join the world's largest saffron WhatsApp group now."*

The text in the image reads: **"Islam is cancer which cannot be treated, and hence it has to be eliminated. Join for supporting the cause."**

Proponents of Hindutva often deploy the degrading comparison of Muslims to "cancer", implying both that Muslims are a deadly disease for the existence of the Hindu nation, and that Hindus must mobilize and act to counter it.

Despite us flagging the post to Facebook using the user-flagging process, it remains on Facebook at the time of writing this report.

In order to mobilize the Hindu population, the narrative that Hindus are under threat is frequently used to gather support for Hindutva and galvanize the call for the unity of Hindus. Such posts help in conveying the sense of urgency to mobilize against Muslims.

The post on the left shows a wounded Hindu man - pierced with arrows, and vultures surrounding him. Vultures and arrows are labelled with the identities of six different attackers (clockwise from top) – "Arab Looters", "Christian Conversion", "Caste Divisions", "Leftist Judiciary", "Opportunistic Politician" and "Communists".

Posts like these are used to depict the image of Hindus suffering from the various attacks by the 'Others'.

Simultaneously, posts urging for the immediate declaration of Hindu nation are shared in the networks of the fan pages. Such posts also are built on an underlying population narrative the Hindu population is under threat and Muslims will turn the country into an Islamic state.

For instance, the second post on the left translates to: "If India does not become a Hindu Nation in two years, then this would be very unfortunate for all Hindus."

This coincides with the narratives shared by Yati Narsinghanand, Pushpendra Kulshrestha and Suresh Chavhanke, who frequently insinuate that the Hindu population is under attack and that Hindus need to fight back.

Yati Narsinghanand Saraswati Fans



The post on the right, with 2.4K likes translates to: **"India needs to be declared a Hindu Nation as soon as possible, and this would require a big organized movement."** The post is essentially a call for the mobilization for the Hindutva cause.



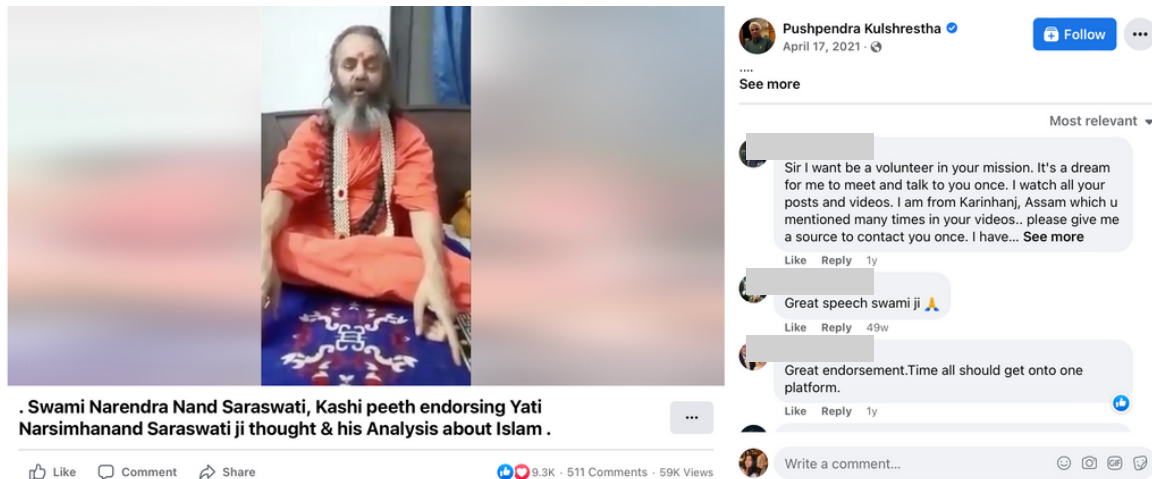
The content among the fan pages of Pushpendra that has received most interactions in the past year includes photos and videos endorsing different Hindu religious leaders. Among the leaders that Pushpendra promotes through his page is Yati Narsinghanand. The photo shared on the right announces Narsinghanand's arrest by the Delhi Police. Pushpendra calls the Muslim member of legislative assembly (MLA) who filed a complaint against Narsinghanand a "jihadi".



The text on this widely shared photo (14K likes, 3.4K shares) translated to: *"Parsis wanted peace, they were obliterated. Jewish people have chosen war, they stand tall with pride. Now us Hindus have to decide?"*

In reference to the Israeli state, which is waging a war against and segregating Palestinians, the post alludes to the creation of a Hindu Rashtra in which 'Others' are oppressed.





The video above, with 59K views and 9.3K likes, was posted a few days after the arrest of Yati Narsinghanand and shows a Swami calling for his release from jail. Shared by Pushpendra Kulshrestha, the video contains the speech by Swami Narendra Nand Saraswati who is endorsing the hate speech by Yati Narsinghanand.

The Swami at the 0:30 time mark is heard defending Yati's speech at the Dharam Sansad in Haridwar. He says, the country will not be run by the rules of Mazhabi books, but rather by the constitution. Mazhabi books here allude to Quran, thereby the Swami attempts to falsify the claims for Yati's arrest for his hate speech against Muslims by using the rhetoric of 'constitution above the law' as a means to criminalize Islam— at the 1:19 time mark he proclaims that "Yati needs to be protected from those who wish to violate the constitution of the land," when in reality it is Yati's speech that jeopardises the safety of Muslims in the country. The Swami immediately after, at the 2:13 time mark, ironically alleges to violate all laws to "save" Yati by saying: ***"While Hindus pray in peace, they will not hesitate to pick up arms if their leaders are threatened."***



This video on a fan page shows Pushpendra making a speech in the context of nationwide debates surrounding the Muslim call for prayer, Azaan, delivered via loudspeakers in many parts of Africa and Asia, including India. While the Azaan has often been the point of contention in India, the rise of the BJP to power has contributed widely to the tensions, with many states calling for the ban of Azaans altogether. In the speech, Pushpendra claims that the Azaan only belongs in Islamic states, and not in a Hindu majority country like India, due to its 'threatening' nature. **He claims that the Azaan is a constant reminder to Hindus that they are under threat from Islam.** His speech is punctuated with ridicule against Muslims. He expresses anger against Hindus who have not taken things into their own hands and rely on the government to protect them from Islam and thereby calling on Hindus to mobilize.



This post has been liked 25K times, shared 5.2K times and translates to "Not a single river in India has an Urdu or an Arabic name. This shows who India truly belongs to!" Urdu, which originated from the Indian Subcontinent, and Arabic are languages attributed to Muslims in the Indian subcontinent. This statement builds on several anti-Muslim discourses prevalent among Hindutva proponents. It wrongly homogenizes the Muslim identity in India with the usage of Urdu and Arabic, demonizes the languages and views them and those who speak them as "outsiders".



Building on narratives on food choices introduced further above in this report, the image demonizes Muslims for eating beef. Apart from the text in English, which claims that Hindus and Muslims are "not the same" given their allegedly differential food preferences, the image text further reads in Hindi that "a person who gives roti (bread) to cows and a person who eats beef can never be brothers."

The post creates an in-group and out-group binary projecting Islam and Hinduism as widely distant religions and communities, and suggesting that brotherhood between them is not possible.

Theme 2: Xenophobia and Ridicule against Muslims

Fan pages use Facebook to broadcast speeches Yati Narsinghanand has given at various occasions. This post shows a speech from a press conference, where he announced the December 2021 Dharam Sansad conclave in Haridwar is shared. During this speech, he made derogatory remarks about the Prophet Mohammed and Islam, for which the Delhi police have registered a First Information Report. **The caption on this video reads: "The proclamation of war against the jihad of Islam from the capital for India".** In this speech, he provides the narrative that Muslims are a threat and alleges that Muslims are already attacking Hindus from every corner, for instance by raping their sisters and daughters. He further claims that by 2030, the Prime Minister of India will be a Muslim. And when that happens, he claims, everyone will be murdered and India will become like Iraq and Pakistan. His speech is packed with instances of demonizing Muslims while portraying Hindus as victims. This video has been widely shared by several fan pages within the actor-network. Click here for [the link to the video](#).



With 39k likes, this photo showing Pushpendra at a Hindu gathering has most interactions among any content on Pushpendra's official page. The caption of the photo translates to: "*Miyaan* runs to the mosque, since it is full of weapons. Hindu runs to the court, where justice is blind." The caption constructs Muslims as naturally prone to violence, in contrast with 'law-abiding' Hindus.

In this post, Muslims are depicted as violent and murderous in different "stages", or to different degrees. The first two drawings each refer to real incidents. in relation to actual incidents. The first layer, "soft", represents Munawar Faruqui, a Muslim comedian who was arrested for the "intent" to offend Hindu religious sentiments in a stand-up comedy session. The second layer, "easy", shows caricatures of Yati Narsinghanand and his aide Jitendra Tyagi alias Wasim Rizvi being threatened with violence by Muslims. In reality, as discussed above, Narsinghanand was arrested after he called for the extermination of Muslims. The third layer, "hard", shows a Muslim murdering Hindutva members. This caricature clearly propagates misinformation, and encourages the narrative that Muslims are violent and murderous.



This cartoon shows a Muslim man, whose mirror image "reveals" him as a demon attacking a woman, while holding a wooden log labelled "jihad". The mirror is attached to a foot labelled as belonging to Yati Narsinghanand. This caricature is an instance of portraying Muslim men as barbaric and predators luring Hindu women.

The caption text next to the image congratulates the artist of cartoon. The caption text reads: "Hail to Mahadev (Tribute to god Shiva). I am Yati Narasinghanand Saraswati and I give blessings from the bottom of my heart to Manoj Kusheel. May Ma and God Shiva protect you and be with you."

Episodes on Suresh Chavhanke's show **Bindas Bol** were considered to be hateful in nature by the Indian Supreme Court, capable of disrupting communal harmony and stirring anti-Muslim sentiments. In 2020, a series of episodes titled "UPSC jihad" with a disruptive monologue "Naukarshahi mein Muslamano ki Ghuspaith ke Shadyantra ka Bada Khulasa" (The conspiracy behind Muslim infiltration in Indian Civil Services – The Big Reveal) were broadcasted after the Supreme Court of the country overturned a Delhi High Court order staying the program. However the Supreme Court ultimately restrained Sudarshan News from broadcasting remaining episodes of the show. We found content (posters and videos) of the specific episodes on "UPSC Jihad" shared within the fan pages of Mr Chavhanke and Yati Narsinghanand. Content associated with Suresh Chavhanke and Sudarshan News often takes the form of clips from his show.



Chavhanke has repeatedly pursued the angle of 'Jihad' on his show, wherein he demonizes Muslims by inciting anger and hatred against them. The post on the left is a thumbnail for the episode titled, 'Sudarshan's claims about UPSC Jihad come true.' According to the "UPSC Jihad" conspiracy, Muslims in India have begun infiltrating the civil services entrance exam (UPSC) with the help of terror-linked organizations abroad. This Islamophobic claim has been proven wrong. The post on the right is a thumbnail of a similar episode titled, 'Sudarshan on why UPSC coaching should stop funding the agenda of Ghazwa-e-Hind.' Ghazwa-e-Hind translated as 'holy raid for India' is a complex narrative that is popularized in the Hindutva context to incite fear of Muslims.



This video thumbnail above, and the video itself, contain open calls for the ban on hijab in line with the Hindutva agenda, which aims to impose a majoritarian homogeneous culture onto the entire population.

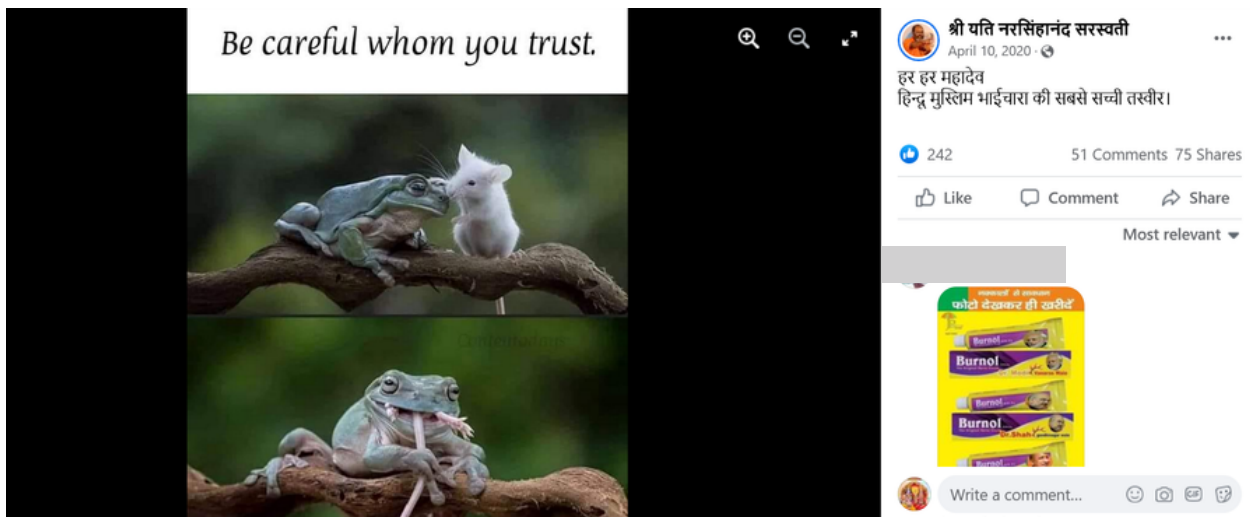
Suresh Chavhanke has repeatedly used his platform to normalize the discourse of 'Jihad' as a means to criminalize the lives and identities of Muslims in India.



The post above with 3.2K likes is a thumbnail of the show titled "Now Marks Jihad! How did all students score a 100 out of 100?". Equating cheating on exams with jihad poses a worrying development as it normalizes the construction of Muslim citizens as jihadis.



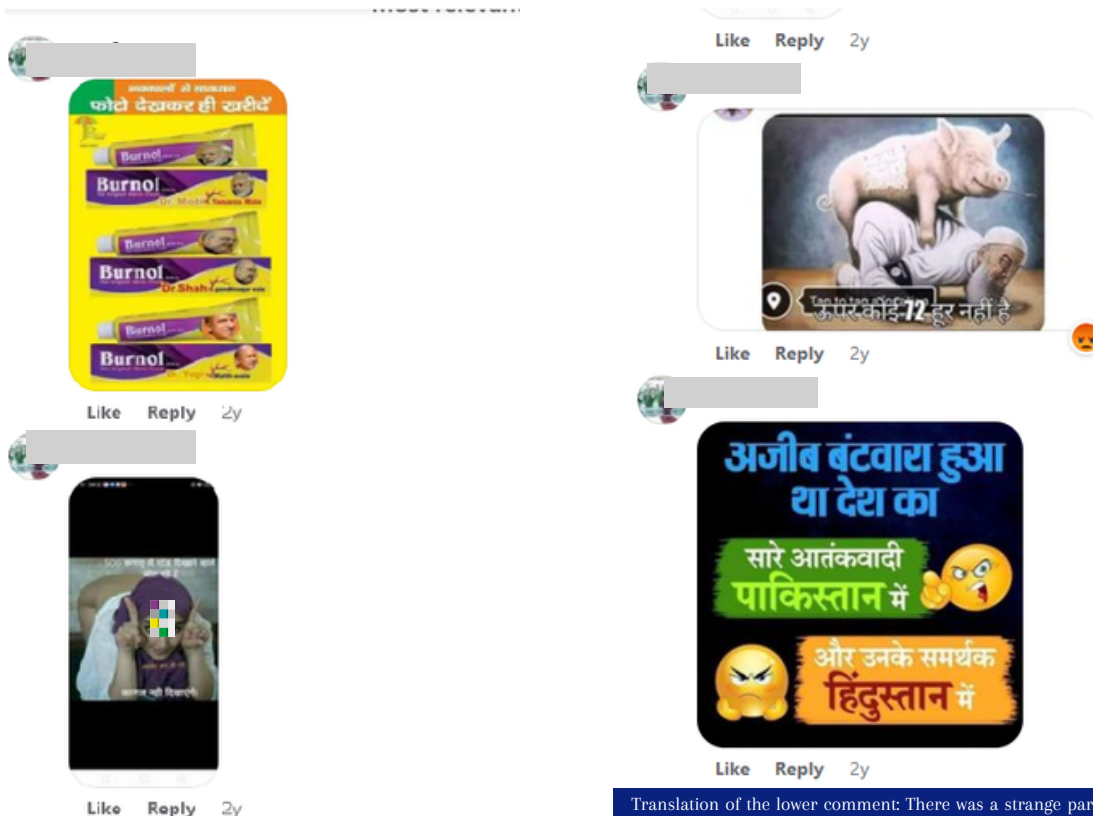
The post above is another thumbnail of the show titled "Will the decision of highcourts in Haryana and Punjab help perpetuate Love Jihad?" Love Jihad is central to the network of conspiracies under the Hindutva ideology which believes that Muslim men are luring Hindu women into marriage on false pretences, in order to convert them to Islam and ensure Muslim dominance over the Hindus in India.



This post found on one of the main Narsinghanand fan pages is captioned: **"हर हर महादेव, हिन्दू मुस्लिम भाईचारा की सबसे सच्ची तस्वीर। Translated, it means 'the true picture of Hindu Muslim brotherhood."**

The imagery of a frog swallowing a mouse along with the text 'be careful whom you trust' is used here to imply that Hindus should never trust Muslims and that no true friendship or brotherhood can be formed between the Hindu and Muslim communities.

The comment box to the post is highly toxic filled with dehumanizing comparisons and generalizations of Muslims. The comment section also contains counter-hate content by non-Hindus, leading to further polarization and escalation. The following screenshots are from the comment section of this post:



Translation of the lower comment: There was a strange partition of the country. All terrorists went to Pakistan, and all their supporters stayed in Hindustan

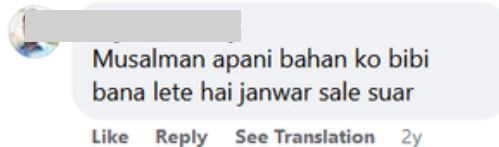
Continuation of the comment section of the same post as above



Like Reply 2y



Like Reply 2y

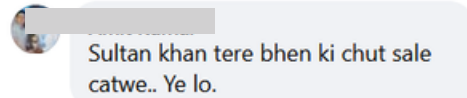


Like Reply See Translation 2y

Translation of the comments above:
Top morphed news clip: Ajmal Khan's ass was fucked in Sitapur jail by giving the lure of toffee
Middle morphed news clip: Ajam Khan caught masturbating in Jail
Third comment: Muslims marry their own sisters, animals bloody pigs

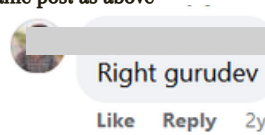


Like Reply 2y



Like Reply See Translation 2y

Translation of the comments above:
Top caricature: caricature of Muslim man spreading COVID by spitting
Lower comment: Sultan Khan, lick your sister's pussy.. take this



Like Reply 2y

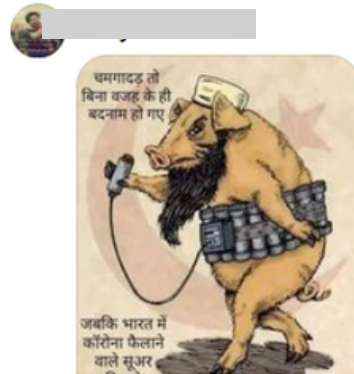


Image above: Caricature of Muslim man spreading COVID. Translation: Bats are unnecessarily defamed, in India pigs are spreading COVID



Like Reply 2y



Like Reply 2y



Similar comments continue throughout these posts and several others that we found on Facebook.



Even though the trope of 'dog thinks earth is flat' falls under plain ridicule, the image on the left (4.9K likes) of the dog wearing the Muslim prayer cap is offensive and meant to hurt the sentiments of religious minorities.

The translation of the text in the picture is: **"You are *kafir*, you will not understand."**

Such ridicule of Muslims is commonplace in all these groups, which simultaneously ridicule Muslims as uncivil, dim-wits, while warning Hindus to protect their culture from Muslim invaders.

Dehumanizing Muslims by portraying them as animals and beasts in online spaces is the harbinger of an impending genocide in India, about which global experts, including Dr. Gregory Stanton of Genocide Watch, and Adama Dieng, former UN Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide have warned. As writers of this report, we are of the opinion that these posts and their content creators must be viewed as an eco-system of hate and not a single stand-alone post or lone actor. While the degree of 'othering', 'ridicule', 'fear', 'xenophobia' and 'disgust' may vary from one post to another, it is their compound impact on society that must be taken into consideration.

Theme 3: Calls for the elimination of Muslims



This video is a recording of a speech in which Yati states "I want to eliminate Muslims and Islam from the face of earth". The video is available on Facebook. Although this video is claimed to be removed from the Facebook platform, we found four videos of the speech in different lengths and edited versions. One of the videos has more than 32 million views. Click here for [the link to the video](#).



This video of Kalicharan Maharaj making a speech containing derogatory remarks against Mahatma Gandhi and offensive statements against Muslims has been circulated in multiple fan pages, including those for Yati Narsinghanand. The original video has been viewed 24k times.

In this video featuring a short portion of the speech, he can be seen stating that it is important to act against Muslims. Otherwise, he claims, Muslims will become cancer. **The caption of the video also states that it is very important to "operate", as Islam is a cancer that needs to be eradicated from its roots.**

The speaker, Kalicharan, has been [charged](#) with sedition for this speech. The video is still available on Facebook. Click here for [a link to the video](#).

With over 2.3 million total views, one of the most viewed videos on the श्री यति नरसिंहानंद सरस्वती page shows Yati Narsinghanand threatening all Muslims with violence, again saying he will eradicate Islam from India. The video was recorded after a militant Hindutva leader, Kamlesh Tiwari, was stabbed to death in Lucknow in October 2019. In the video, posted in April 2021, Yati says: **“Muslims around the world are celebrating because a Hindu lion has been killed and all our homes are in mourning. I am telling every one of those bastards, telling the Muslims, if I don’t make you mourn the way Kamlesh Tiwari’s house is mourning today, then I am not my father’s son. As long as I am alive I will use weapons. I am telling each and every Muslim, we will eradicate Islam from the country one day...”**

Standing next to him are Pinky Chaudhary of the fringe extremist group Hindu Raksha Dal, and Deepak Singh Hindu, both known vigilante Hindutva actors. Click here for [the link to the video](#).



श्री यति नरसिंहानंद सरस्वती

Apr 21, 2021 at 11:39 AM

अमर बलिदानी पंडित कमलेश तिवारी जी के घर पर



2,012,978 POST VIEWS

2,391,835 TOTAL VIEWS

116,047 44,075 18,052

In this short video, Yati Narasinghanand makes everyone at the event pledge to live and die for the Hindutva ideology and to be ready to kill anyone opposing it. He states that: **“All of you raise your hands and repeat after me. I, *your name*, here on the banks of the Ganga, I take this vow, for Sanatan Dharm for my family, to keep my sisters and daughters protected. Anything in the world, whatever problems, whatever person, even thinks about causing loss to my religion, my family and my children, my women, I will not let him live. We will live for our religion. We will die for our religion. Islam’s jihad will be finished. Long live Sanatan Dharam. May the enemies of Sanatan be destroyed.”** Click here for [the link to the video](#).

In another video sharing Yati Narsinghanand's speech, he claims that the only solution to ending harms by Muslims is to remove jihad entirely. **He claims: "You cannot remove love jihad, you'll have to remove jihad."** Since all acts of Muslims are conceptualized as acts of jihad in Hindutva rhetoric, it is reasonable to understand this as a call to attack Muslims. This conclusion is supported by his subsequent statement in the video: **"Jihad will have to be removed from the entire world, it is like cancer. Even if one cell of Islam remains, then it will spread even more and will be dangerous."** Click here for [the link to the video](#). The title of the post states that Hail to God Shiva, either the world will be with us or the world will end. There is no third way to it!



Posts in Yati Narsinghanand's fan page network call on others to be prepared for religious war. Narsinghanand himself often refers to young Hindu men as "lions", and this post draws on that terminology.

The image text states: **"Only heroes and lions will save the religion. No coward or Hijra (transgender) will save it. Join for the cause."** The post is also evidence of the toxic masculinity expected from followers.

The image on the right shows numerous swords kept in front of children along with the title "Shastra Meva Jayate" (Weapons always triumph). During the course of the study, we found several instances of genocidal provocation and weaponization, including weaponization of young people. The image on the right is only one example of many that are widely circulated by FB.

The image foreshadows the future of India - young, savvy, and weaponized.



Historically, political parties, religious leaders, and ideological proponents have used the process of mobilization towards polarization, communal violence and power escalation. The process of government-making in India has been one of war-making.

However, at no time in history have mobilization, polarization and call for communal violence, as simple and as effective as with the advent of Facebook. Meta's inconsistent community standards and processes, its over-reliance on AI for content moderation, and its blind eye to Indian political and non-political leaders have pushed the nation, its people, and its democracy to an accelerated decline.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO META

Release a separate, undiluted HRIA India report immediately – Meta must publicly share the human rights impact assessment report on India without dilution. Meta's platforms are used in India to mobilize against Indian minorities. Such mobilization has a massive impact on basic human rights such as the right to life and the right to dignity. Meta must therefore reveal the impact of its products on society.

Enforcement of Community Standards – Meta must enforce community standards on Hate Speech and Dangerous Organisations and Individuals irrespective of political and/or economic pressure. Remove Pages discussed in this report for violation of Meta's content moderation policy. We believe although not structural in nature the removal of these fan pages will reduce the hate speech on the platform momentarily.

Be transparent on hate speech moderation – Meta must openly report how it applies its content moderation policies on the content flagged by users. Meta must also provide an India-specific report on hate speech content moderation. This report must clearly identify the content moderation decision trajectories where content is removed and where content is not removed. This report should also include specific numbers on how many users flagged reports were received, what part of user flagged reports were removed, how many of these were appealed and what amount of content was removed during the process of appeal and under what categories.

Invest in human moderators to provide oversight to the AI – Having trained human moderators to analyse the political, social and cultural context of hate narratives at the local and regional level will only enhance the efficiency of machine learning in reducing hate speech on the platform.

Train models to prevent borderline to extreme content from being suggested – Meta should actively train the algorithms to ensure polarising and extreme content in Indian languages is not suggested to viewers in India.

List Hindutva-based fan page networks as DOI – List fan pages of Yati Narsinghanand, Suresh Chavhanke and Pushpendra Kulshrestha spreading hate narratives as pages associated with Dangerous individuals under Meta's Dangerous Organisations and Individuals policy rationale.

Risk Assessment – In addition to the Human Rights Impact Assessment, Meta should make risk assessments of the interactions with borderline to extreme content on hate narratives and report them publicly.

Preserve and share the evidence – Meta should preserve the records of accounts connected to the circulation of hate narratives and hate content, and share the metadata for evaluation of the human rights situations, and for supporting evidence to international human rights violations.

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Hate Speech videos

- Suresh Chavhanke's call to assemble and deny entry of Muslims into temples alongside Yati Narsinghanand, March 19th, 2021: <https://www.facebook.com/TrueNationalistOfficial/videos/778584243093215/>
- Snippet from the Hate Speech from Dharam Sansad, Haridwar where Yati urges Hindus to buy weapons on Facebook Live, December 17th, 2021 <https://fb.watch/aeuK8E-mgy/>
- Hate Speech from a Press conference in Delhi, 1st April <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=435835247514473>
- Call for genocide by Yati, May 3rd, 2021: <https://fb.watch/9jPyOWP3mF/>
- Kalicharan's speech shared in Yati's network, December 28th, 2021: <https://www.facebook.com/Mnarsinghanand/videos/677479203415666> Dec 28th 2021
- Yati threatening muslims after Tiwar's house, April 21st, 2021: <https://fb.watch/9jSIKo389B/>
- video 5: Hate Speech from Dharam Sansad, Haridwar where Yati makes the pledge containing the threat to kill on Facebook Live, December 19th, 2021: <https://www.facebook.com/100046796804192/videos/431739731987685/>
- Yati's video of making people pledge to live and die for Hindutva ideology, February 11th, 2021: <https://fb.watch/9jSESxGabl/>
- Pushpendra Kulshrestha questions the Indian government, Nov 3rd, 2021: <https://www.facebook.com/Pushpendrarss/videos/298905088575270>
- Pushpendra Kulshrestha video post of Swami Narendra Nand Saraswati, April 17th, 2021: <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=471764357501140>
- Pushpendra Kulshrestha discusses the Highcourt judgment on Nmaaz, October 28th, 2021: https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?ref=watch_permalink&v=4585922688161671
- Pushpendra Kulshrestha's video titled, 'Learn from Delhi,' April 19th, 2022: https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?ref=watch_permalink&v=502283661437259
- Suresh Chavhanke's call to assemble and deny entry of Muslims into temples alongside Yati Narsinghanand, March 19th, 2021: <https://www.facebook.com/TrueNationalistOfficial/videos/778584243093215/>
- Suresh Chavhanke takes an oath for a Hindu Rashtra in a video titled, 'The lions and lionesses of the Hindu Yuva Vahini take an oath for the establishment of a Hindu Rashtra.' December 19th, 2021: <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=302779775112113>
- Sudarshan News - Suresh Chavhankefans page's video on Rohingya Muslims, March 27th, 2022: <https://www.facebook.com/SudarshanNewsfans/videos/461197805688527>
- Sudarshan News - Suresh Chavhankefans page's video on 'Open challenge to all Jihadis by Suresh Chavhanke from Dasna Devi Mandir,' alongside Yati Narsinghanand, March 19th, 2021: <https://www.facebook.com/SudarshanNewsfs/videos/2185698271565743>