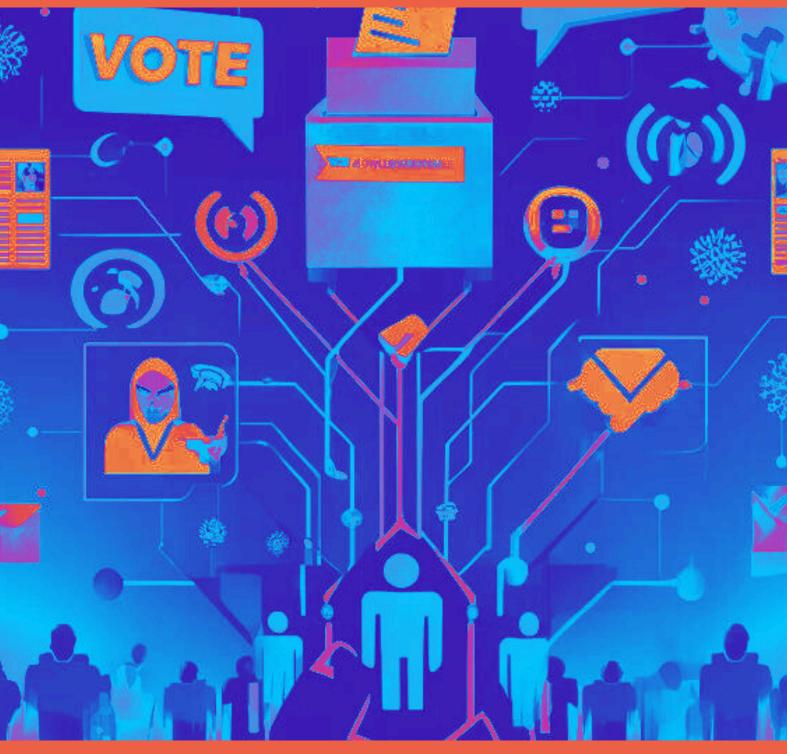
"VOTE JIHAD"



The continued weaponization of a 'jihadi' narrative to disenfranchise Indian Muslims



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Foundation The London Story (TLS) is an Indian diaspora-led nonprofit organisation with an ANBI status in the Netherlands. TLS' overall mandate is to document, inform and advocate against hate speech and associated human rights violations.

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Disclaimers: No raw data was made available to any unauthorized parties. Utmost care has been made to anonymize the identities of private persons as per GDPR requirements in Europe. This data was analyzed using CrowdTangle, a Facebook research tool. The research benefits from the aggregated findings.

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INTRODUCTION

The largest democracy in the world - India - is currently undergoing elections, with nearly 1 billion eligible voters.[1] Yet, there are grave concerns about human rights violations and failures to guarantee free and fair elections.[2] India's ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and its allied organizations have persistently, in violation of the Model Code of Conduct of elections, used disinformation narratives to 'otherize' and demonize Indian Muslims. Political candidates as well as their supporters have perpetuated a climate of fear and distrust against religious minorities, particularly Indian Muslims, which is bound to leave a lasting impact in a country plagued by religiously motivated vigilante violence.

This report delves into the intricate web of viral disinformation spun by the BJP, its allies and social media influencers through the use of social media, especially on Facebook. It unravels the mechanisms through which the BJP has weaponized a novel Islamophobic narrative, 'Vote Jihad', and similar narratives of jihad, to disenfranchise Indian Muslims from the social and political fabric of India. We also demonstrate that political outrage and denial of the Muslim right to vote through the 'Vote Jihad' narrative is a manifestation of wider trends within India. Through this report, we demonstrate that similar prior Islamophobic narratives invoking 'jihad' – such as 'love jihad',

'COVID-Jihad', 'Land Jihad', etc. - have led to ostracization, institutionalized violence, and marginalization of Indian Muslims.

In several cases, these narratives have found their way into the regulatory systems and state legislative actions, which have institutionalized the othering of Indian Muslims by making laws impacting inter-faith marriages, encouraging cow-vigilantism, and leading to the demolition of Muslim homes. The narratives perpetuated through social media act as background work democratize rationalize and institutional violence. Similar narratives of 'Muslims voting tactically against the Hindu majority' have been weaponized earlier to designate citizens as Doubtful voters (D-Voters), leading to the disenfranchisement of 1.9 million people in a single state within India, Assam.[3]

The Indian Model Code of Conduct (MCC) on elections has set guidance on how to operationalize free and fair elections in a diverse country like India[4], which is marred with political and communal violence that usually peaks around election times.[5] The MCC particularly prohibits references to religion and communal disharmony in political speech.

^[1] France 24. (2024, April 13). India's mammoth elections: Nearly a billion voters, 44 polling days. (https://www.france24.com/en/asia-pacific/20240413-india-s-mammoth-elections-nearly-a-billion-voters-44-polling-days)

^[2] India Election Monitor. (https://indiaelectionmonitor.org/)

^[3] Foundation The London Story. (2021). Statelessness and flood displacement in Assam, India. (https://thelondonstory.org/wp-content/uploads/Statelessness-and-Flood-Displacement-in-Assam-India.pdf)

^[4] Election Commission of India. Model Code of Conduct. (https://www.eci.gov.in/mcc/)

^[5] Brass, Paul (2011). The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India. University of Washington Press (https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=BvLfgrcx81IC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false)

The Model Code of Conduct (MCC) that applies during election periods stipulates: 'There shall be no appeal to caste or communal feelings for securing votes. Mosques, churches, temples or other places of worship shall not be used as forum for election propaganda.'[6]

The MCC also prohibits:

- a) the use of temples/mosques/churches/gurudwara or any place of worship or religious text/ symbols/ or slogan in posters, music etc. for electioneering
- b) the use of photographs of defense personnel and photographs of functions involving defense personnel
- c) criticism of any aspect of private life, not connected with the public activities of the leaders or workers of other parties
- d) criticism of other parties or their workers on behalf of unverified allegations or on distortions.

Additionally, under Section 125 of the Representation of the People Act, political candidates are prohibited from promoting, or attempting to promote, on grounds of religion, race, caste, community or language, feelings of enmity or hatred, between different classes of the citizens of India.[7]

The use of terms such as 'Vote Jihad' frames the democratic act of Muslim participation in electoral processes as a conspiratorial plot to 'takeover' India from its alleged 'true' citizens the Hindus, thus promoting divisiveness. The pervasiveness of these narratives on social media has routinised everyday violence against

Indian Muslims, at a time when their democratic participation is increasingly at risk.[8] The Vote Jihad narrative, like Love Jihad and COVID Jihad narrative, is part of the larger attempt by Hindu supremacists, including BJP and its allies, to erase the very identity of India's Muslim population.

^[6] Election Commission of India. Model Code of Conduct. (https://www.eci.gov.in/mcc/)

^[7] The Representation of the People Act, 1951, Act 43 of 1951, Union of India (https://indiankanoon.org/doc/320017/)

^[8] The South Asia Collective. (2024, May). South Asia state of minorities report 2023. (https://thesouthasiacollective.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/south-asia-state-of-minorities-report-2023.pdf)

KEY FINDINGS

- Posts promoting the false Islamophobic narratives of 'Vote Jihad',
 'Wealth Redistribution', 'Love Jihad', 'Land Jihad' and more are
 spread by Hindu supremacists and pro-BJP pages. The official BJP
 Facebook page with 16 million followers has also circulated such
 content. Pro-BJP pages are also using PM Narendra Modi's
 speeches during political rallies to amplify these Islamophobic
 narratives.
- Qualitative data analysis of the content disseminated on identified
 Facebook pages using derogatory and Islamophobic words
 uncovered several pages with Hindu supremacist ideologies, posting
 content in all formats including the usage of memes and political
 cartoons to demonize the minorities or opposition parties in India
 for their political gain. Specifically:
 - 21 posts in March 2024 contained hate speech, misinformation or disinformation.
 - 33 posts in April 2024 contained hate speech, misinformation or disinformation.
- In addition, Hindu supremacist groups and pages are using the 'Love Jihad' narrative to influence and change perceptions of the voters during the Indian Elections 2024, as in previous elections. 170 posts were found with the term 'love_jihad' and 84 posts were found for the term 'लवजिहाद' (love jihad in Devnagari script) since January till May 2024.

VILIFICATION OF MUSLIMS BY THE BJP AND ALLIED ORGANIZATIONS

As per the most recent census of India of 2011, 79.8% of India's population belong to the Hindu religion, 14% to the Muslim religion, and the rest to other religions, such as Christianity, Buddhism, and more.[9] Despite India's constitutional guarantee to secularism and freedom of religion, there has been a historic vilification and 'othering' of Indian Muslims as 'outsiders' by the BJP and its allied organizations, since the inception of India.

The BJP is part of the 'Sangh Parivar', ('Family of the Sangh'). The Sangh Parivar[10] consists of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP).[11]

These organizations represent the Hindu supremacist movement in India and have strong ideological and organizational ties with the Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP), which is the ruling party in India since 2014.

The RSS, a volunteer paramilitary group, is the face of the Sangh Parivar, and was founded prior to Indian independence to promote 'Hindu values' and establish India as a 'Hindu Rashtra' (Hindu State).[12] One such volunteer member was Nathuram Godse,[13] the Hindu supremacist who assassinated Gandhi, citing Gandhi's support of Muslims as one of his primary motives for carrying out this 'moral duty'.[14]

The Sangh Parivar has appropriated decolonization narratives and reframed Indian history in a pseudo-historical paradigm, in which Muslim rulers invaded India, looted its wealth and oppressed the indigenous Hindu population.[15]

This narrative was built upon with constant demonization of Indian Muslims as a threat to the Indian identity that is epitomized by 'Hindutva', the ideology of the Sangh Parivar

^[9] Census of India 2011 (https://censusindia.gov.in/)

^[10] Jaffrelot, Christophe (1996), The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics, C. Hurst & Co. Publishers; https://books.google.co.in/books? id=sICSb-UMiQYC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

^[11] Bridge Initiative. Factsheet: Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). (https://bridge.georgetown.edu/research/factsheet-rashtriya-swayamsevaksangh-rss/

^[12] Andersen, Walter K.; Damle, Shridhar D. (1987), The Brotherhood in Saffron: The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Hindu Revivalism, Delhi: Vistaar Publications.

https://ia802808.us.archive.org/24/items/TheBrotherhoodInSaffronWalterK.AndersenShridharD.Damle/The%20Brotherhood%20in%20Saffron-Walter%20K.%20Andersen%2C%20Shridhar%20D.%20Damle.pdf

^[13] The Economic Times. (2016, September 7). Nathuram Godse never left RSS, says his family. https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politicsand-nation/nathuram-godse-never-left-rss-says-his-family/articleshow/54159375.cms)

^[14] Godse, N.V. (1948), Why I assassinated Mahatma Gandhi?, Surya Bharti Parkashan https://ia803202.us.archive.org/11/items/why-i-killed-

gandhi/why-i-killed-gandhi.pdf
[15] Muslims in Hindu Nationalist India- Transcript of a discussion with Asghar Ali Engineer at the Center for Ethics and Public Policy, Washington, D. C., held on January 12, 2004 https://www.paulbrass.com/attachments/Brass-engineer_.pdf; https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-023-01074-0; https://newlinesmag.com/argument/how-hindu-nationalists-redefined-decolonization-in-india/

that believes that only Hindus are the native to India, and religious minorities, particularly Muslims, are 'outsiders' who must adhere to the national Hindu culture.[16] The Sangh Parivar also accuses Muslims of slaughtering cows, considered holy in the Hindu faith and eating beef in a clear affront to the Hindu religion, and of conspiring to overtake the Hindu population through a disproportionate growth in the Muslim population.[17]

Riot mobilization has been a persistent tactic used by Sangh Parivar to power grab in Indian politics.[18] For example, the Sangh Parivar and its allied organizations were involved in several riot mobilizations. such Muzaffarnagar riots[19] in 2013, Bombay riots[20] in 1992 and the Gujarat riots[21] in 2002. Narendra Modi, a former RSS volunteer before his entry into politics, was the Chief Minister of Gujarat in 2002. Scholars such as

Vinay Sitapati have noted that earlier leaders of the BJP, such as LK Advani and former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee initially espoused a more moderate politics but eventually cultivated a culture of 'defensive

violence' against Muslims.

In this newer and more radical politics of the party, a fringe leader, Modi rapidly moved through the ranks, and eventually led to the party to an increasingly exclusionary and authoritarian direction.[22] In the aftermath of the 2002 Gujarat riots, where thousands of Muslims were killed by Hindu mobs[23], anti-Muslims sentiment helped Modi, the then Chief Minister of Gujarat, hold office for ten years before his rise to politics at the national level.

In his 2014 election campaign, Modi's articulation of his vision of India as a Hindu majority state[24] was muted, with a focus instead on economic and infrastructure development, anti-corruption and good governance.[25] However, this muted tone was not visible in the BJP election manifestos. which included promises to rebuild the Ram Temple in Ayodhya, the site of the demolition of the Babri Masjid that had precipitated the 2002 Gujarat riots as well as promises to pass cow protection laws.[26] Since being elected to power, subsequent BJP election campaigns

^[16] Jaffrelot, Christophe (2009). Hindu nationalism: A Reader. Hindu Nationalism: A Reader.; https://dokumen.pub/hindu-nationalism-a-reader-coursebooknbsped-9781400828036.html

^[17] Amarasignam, Amarnath et al. (2022). "Fight, Die, and If Required Kill": Hindu Nationalism, Misinformation and Islamophobia in India. Religions 13(5) (https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13050380); Sharma, Yash and Jenkins, Laura (2024). Legislation as Disinformation: The Love Jihad Conspiracy Theory in Law and Lived Experience. Social & Legal Studies (https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/09646639231225424)

^[18] Brass, Paul (2011) The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India, University of Washington Press, https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=BvLfgrcx81IC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

^[19] BBC (2013, September 25). Muzaffamagar: Tales of death and despair in India's riot-hit town (https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-24172537)

^[20] New York Times. (1994, April 17). Riot scars are gone but Bombay is still healing (https://www.nytimes.com/1994/04/17/world/riot-scars-aregone-but-bombay-is-still-healing.html)
[21] Citizens for Justice and Peace. (2002) Concerned Citizens Tribunal - Gujarat 2002 (https://www.sabrang.com/tribunal/)

⁻ How the BJP rose to power. London: Sitapati, Vinay (2021). India before Modi Company [22] Hurst (https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/perspectives-on-politics/article/abs/india-before-modi-how-the-bjp-came-to-power-by-vinay-sitapatilondon-hurst-company-2021-400p-2500-paper-modis-india-hindu-nationalism-and-the-rise-of-ethnic-democracy-by-christophe-jaffrelot-princetonprinceton-university-press-2021-656p-3500-cloth/62A6B5168ED6F41AB5E022AE8289EEDE)

^[23] Human Rights Watch. (2002, April 30). We have no orders to save you: State participation and complicity in communal violence. (https://www.hrw.org/report/2002/04/30/we-have-no-orders-save-you/state-participation-and-complicity-communal-violence)

^[24] Georgetown Journal of International Affairs. (2023, December 2). The politics of identity: State-building and erasure in Modi's new India. (https://gjia.georgetown.edu/2023/12/02/the-politics-of-identity-state-building-and-erasure-in-modis-new-india/)

^[25] BJP Manifesto 2014: Good governance, Development and Brand India. (2014, April 7). Biharprabha News | Connecting Bihar With the Entire World. https://news.biharprabha.com/2014/04/bjp-manifesto-2014-good-governance-development-and-brand-india/ [26] Bharatiya Janata Party. BJP Manifesto 2014. (https://www.bjp.org/bjp-manifesto-2014)

targeted have persistently minorities. especially Muslims, with anti-national tropes, thereby expressing the intention to create a Hindu nation in which minority groups are not recognized as citizens with equal rights. For instance, the Home Minister Amit Shah made a veiled remark against Assamese Muslims, calling them Bangladeshi illegal immigrants, who are eating the country like 'termites' in 2018.[27] Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, amongst other international human rights organizations, have condemned this language as dangerous and dehumanizing to Indian Muslims.[28]

Indeed, these narratives have led to a routinization of violence against Muslims[29] with a rise in vigilante Hindu mobs, increased communal violence[30], discrimination in employment and education, and barriers to achieving political power. In fact, in 2021, a panel of independent experts under the guidance of former International Criminal Court prosecutor Fatou Bensouda found credible evidence of crimes against humanity committed by the Indian state against its Muslim minorities.[31]

[27] The Print. (2018, September 26). Amit Shah's termite jibe: Human Rights Watch draws Nazi Germany, Rwanda parallel. (https://theprint.in/politics/amit-shahs-termite-jibe-human-rights-watch-draws-nazi-germany-rwanda-parallel/124871/)

[30] India Votes 2024: A resurgent Hindu nationalism sets the stage for the upcoming elections, driving communal violence. (2024, May 2). ACLED. https://acleddata.com/2024/04/28/india-votes-2024-a-resurgent-hindu-nationalism-sets-the-stage-for-the-upcoming-elections-driving-communal-

^[28] NDTV. (2018, September 22). Will Strike Bangladeshi 'Termites' off Voters' List, Says Amit Shah. https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/government-will-strike-bangladeshi-termites-off-voters-list-bjp-president-amit-shah-on-nrc-1920576; Stroehlein, Andrew. (2018, September 23). X (https://x.com/astroehlein/status/1043870156030660610)

^[29] Brass, Paul (2011) The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India, University of Washington Press; The South Asia Collective. (2024, May). South Asia state of minorities report 2023. (https://thesouthasiacollective.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/south-asia-state-of-minorities-report-2023.pdf); Foundation The London Story. (2021). Hate Crime Tracker – India (https://thelondonstory.org/hate-tracker/)

^[31] University of the Free State. (2022). Report of the Panel of Independent International Experts to Examine Information about Alleged Violations of International Law Committed against Muslims in India since July 2019. (https://www.ufs.ac.za/docs/librariesprovider21/default-document-library/piie-report-final.pdf?sfvrsn=624e4920_0)

THE CONSPIRATORIAL JIHAD NARRATIVE

The word 'jihad' has been used by Hindu supremacists as a suffix to different terms, to signify various imagined Muslim plots to take over India. The following disinformation narratives that vilify Indian

Muslims have been circulated to varying degrees by the BJP and affiliated organizations throughout the past decade, including in the current Indian elections.

- 'love jihad', an Islamophobic narrative of Muslim men seducing Hindu women to convert to Islam under the guise of romantic relationships;[32]
- 'land jihad', the belief that Muslims are encroaching upon public lands through illegally constructed settlements, mosques and madrassas (religious schools);[33]
- 'population jihad', which implies a coordinated attempt by Muslims to become the majority in India by having more children than Hindus;[34]
- 'economic jihad', which views the practice of selling halal meat by Muslims as the economic deprivation of Hindu traders;[35]
- 'flood jihad', a theory that Muslims were responsible for devastating floods in Hindu majority areas of Assam by damaging flood defenses; [36]
- 'corona jihad', which blames Muslims for intentionally spreading coronavirus in India by holding group prayer events;[37]
- 'thook (spit) jihad', the Islamophobic narrative that Muslims engage in excessive spitting that leads to a spread of diseases.[38]

^[32] Perrigo, Billy. (2021, November 1). Facebook let an Islamophobic Conspiracy Theory Flourish in India Despite Employees' Warnings. (https://time.com/6112549/facebook-india-islamophobia-love-jihad/)

^[33] Article 14. (2024, February 23). Mainstreaming of the 'land jihad' propaganda by the Indian media. (https://article-14.com/post/mainstreaming-of-the-land-jihad-propaganda-by-the-indian-media--6413ec7be7d2d)

^[34] Hindutva Watch. (2023). 2023 Half-Yearly Report: Anti-Muslim Hate Speech Events in India. (https://hindutvawatch.org/hate-speech-events-india/); 7. Wire Staff. (2023, August 22). Blaming Muslims for India's population growth is purely Hindutva propaganda. The Wire. (https://thewire.in/communalism/blaming-muslims-for-indias-population-growth-is-purely-hindutva-propaganda)

⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ Hindutva Watch. (2023). 2023 Half-Yearly Report: Anti-Muslim Hate Speech Events in India. (https://hindutvawatch.org/hate-speech-events-india.)

^[36] BBC. (2022, August 3). Assam: Muslims falsely accused of waging 'flood jihad.' BBC. (https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-62378520)
[37] The Guardian. (2020, April 13). Coronavirus conspiracy theories targeting Muslims spread in India (https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/apr/13/coronavirus-conspiracy-theories-targeting-muslims-spread-in-india)

^[38] The Wire. (2023, May 7). Thook jihad: No, India is drowning in the cesspool our reigning spit experts have created. The Wire. (https://thewire.in/communalism/thook-jihad-no-india-is-drowning-in-the-cesspool-our-reigning-spit-experts-have-created)

VILIFICATION OF MUSLIMS IN POLITICAL MESSAGING DURING THE CURRENT ELECTIONS

In the lead up to and during the 2024 elections, candidates for the Bharatiya Janata Party, including India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi, have continued and built upon the dehumanizing rhetoric they have used throughout the past decade. In their public engagement, they have used language as a weapon to vilify Muslims as 'infiltrators'[39] and spread harmful disinformation about Muslims, claiming they are outsiders and aliens

to the land, and consequently delegitimize their voices and rights within the democratic framework. This narrative is rooted in the narratives present in the BJP's 2024 party manifesto, which pays much attention to the restoration of Hindu cultural artifacts, building on the party's mobilization over past decades for the erasure of Muslim cultural and historical identity and artifacts in India.[40]

EMERGENCE OF A VOTE JIHAD NARRATIVE

The 'Vote Jihad' narrative has been popularized by India's Prime Minister Modi in his recent political communications to spread a highly divisive and polarized narrative that Muslims have launched a jihad against (his idea of) India during India's elections.[41] Modi and the BJP have repeatedly alleged that the political opposition is plotting with Muslims to take over the nation, as discussed further below. His narrative is carefully constructed to stoke communal discontent and feelings of enmity, especially amongst Hindus, to benefit BJP's voter turnout.

In an election speech on April 21 in Banswara, Rajasthan, Modi said, translated from Hindi:

'Earlier, when their (Congress) government was in power, they had said that Muslims have the first right on the country's assets. This means to whom will this property be distributed? It will be distributed among those who have more children. It will be distributed to the infiltrators. Should your hard-earned money go to the infiltrators? Do you approve of this?'[42]

On May 7, Modi, reportedly at an election rally in central Madhya Pradesh state, said, translated from Hindi:

'At this important turning point in history, you have to decide whether you will allow Vote Jihad to continue or, vote in support of building a Ram Rajya. Terrorists in Pakistan have launched a jihad against India. And here, the Congress party has announced a Vote Jihad against the BJP and is asking its followers of a particular religion [Muslims] to unitedly vote against Modi.'[43]

^[39] The New York Times (2024, April 22). Modi's speech and Muslims in India. (https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/22/world/asia/modi-speech-muslims.html)

^[40] Bharatiya Janata Party. BJP Manifesto 2014. (https://www.bjp.org/bjp-manifesto-2014)

^[41] Al Jazeera. (2024, May 3). Vote jihad: As Modi raises anti-Muslim India election pitch, what's next? (https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/5/3/vote-jihad-as-modi-raises-anti-muslim-india-election-pitch-whats-next)

^[42] Newslaundry. (2024, April 22). Modi's 'infiltrators' remarks row: Many papers skip mention of what Manmohan Singh said in 2006. (https://www.newslaundry.com/2024/04/22/modis-infiltrators-remarks-row-many-papers-skip-mention-of-what-manmohan-singh-said-in-2006) [43] Voice of America. (2024, May 12). Modi's anti-Muslim "Vote Jihad" rhetoric faces severe criticism. (https://www.voanews.com/a/modi-s-anti-muslim-vote-jihad-rhetoric-faces-severe-criticism-/7607779.html)

As the sitting Prime Minister, Modi insinuates the jihad rhetoric to question the democratic participation of India's Muslim population, calling it a 'jihad' that must be stopped. Modi also warned his followers that while they have heard of 'love jihad' and 'land jihad', they must be careful about this new jihad. He added in his speech on May 7: 'You all know what jihads mean and against whom they are waged.'[44]

In his public speeches, Modi has therefore repeatedly invoked 'Vote Jihad' to promote feelings of enmity between religious groups, i.e. Hindus and Muslims, in violation of India's Model Code of Conduct for elections and the Representation of the People Act.

ERASURE OF MUSLIM IDENTITY AS STATE PRACTICE

The divisive rhetoric of the BJP and its allied organizations is contributing to gross violations of human rights against and the erasure of Muslim rights and practices in India. This rhetoric threatens the everyday lives of Indian Muslims by rationalizing ostracizing, dehumanizing and rationalizing the heightened violence against Muslims and passing discriminatory and divisive legislation that institutionalizes the discrimination.[45] There has been a reported rise of violence and hate speech against Muslims, including rise of 'cow vigilante' violence in India with Muslim men being lynched by Hindu mobs on a mere suspicion of consuming beef.[46] According to ACLED, 22% of all documented instances of violence by Hindus targeting Muslims in India between June 2019 and March 2024 constituted 'cow vigilantism'.[47]

For instance, Mohammed Akhlaq from Dadri village in Uttar Pradesh was lynched in 2015 due to rumors that he had stored beef in his fridge. Nineteen people were charged for his murder, but the accused were invited by Uttar Pradesh's Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath to attend his 2019 election rallies.[48] These cow vigilante mobs, called 'gau rakshaks' (cow protectors), that violently enforce protection laws in India by lynching and violence against Muslims, do so with impunity, having been co-opted into state action.[49] In July, 2023, after two mob lynchings related to cow vigilantism in Maharashtra, State Assembly Speaker Rahul Narvekar issued a direction to the Maharashtra police to ensure that 'gau rakshaks' are not booked on false charges and are protected against fabricated cases.[50]

[44] Voice of America. (2024, May 12). Modi's anti-Muslim "Vote Jihad" rhetoric faces severe criticism. (https://www.voanews.com/a/modi-s-anti-muslim-vote-jihad-rhetoric-faces-severe-criticism-/7607779.html)

[45] Jaffrelot, C., & Gayer, L. (2012). Muslims in Indian cities: Trajectories of marginalisation. ResearchGate.

(https://www.researchgate.net/publication/308029042_Muslims_in_Indian_Cities_trajectories_of_marginalisation)

[46] Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project. (2021, May 3). Cow protection legislation and vigilante violence in India.

(https://acleddata.com/2021/05/03/cow-protection-legislation-and-vigilante-violence-in-india/)

[47] Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project. (2024, April 28). India votes 2024: A resurgent Hindu nationalism sets the stage for the upcoming elections, driving communal violence. (https://acleddata.com/2024/04/28/india-votes-2024-a-resurgent-hindu-nationalism-sets-the-stage-for-the-upcoming-elections-driving-communal-violence/)

[48] Indian Express. (2019, April 1). Lynching accused in front row: Yogi Adityanath says at Dadri SP govt tried to curb our emotions.

(https://indianexpress.com/elections/lynching-accused-in-front-row-yogi-adityanath-says-at-dadri-sp-govt-tried-to-curb-our-emotions-5652017/) [49] Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project. (2021, May 3). Cow protection legislation and vigilante violence in India.

(https://acleddata.com/2021/05/03/cow-protection-legislation-and-vigilante-violence-in-india/)

[50] Indian Express. (2023, July 6). Ensure gau rakshaks are not booked in false cases: Maharashtra speaker tells police.

(https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/mumbai/ensure-gau-rakshaks-are-not-booked-in-false-cases-maharashtra-speaker-tells-police-8687712/)

The legal basis for this request was the provision contained in Section 13 of the Maharashtra Animal Preservation Act, 1960, which provides legal immunity to anyone acting in 'good faith' under the Act to protect an animal.

Similarly, the false narrative of 'love jihad' has been have been to rationalize law making that interferes with the right to choice of couples entering into inter-faith marriages.[51] Twelve states[52] - Arunachal Pradesh, Himachal Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Haryana, Pradesh, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Rajasthan, Uttarakhand, and Uttar Pradesh - have passed anti-conversion laws that criminalize inter-faith marriages between Muslim men and Hindu women and the voluntary religious conversion by Hindu women.[53] Here too, Hindu vigilantes work in tandem with the police to enforce these laws, providing information about inter-faith couples collected from their vast social media networks, and taking action themselves if they are unsatisfied with the police response.[54]

Similarly, 'land jihad' narratives are institutionalized through 'bulldozer justice',[55] where state authorities, usually in the after-

math of a communal clash between Hindus and Muslims, indiscriminately demolish Muslim homes under the pretext of city planning and zoning regulations, without following any due processes of law. According to Amnesty International, between April and June 2022, authorities demolished at least 128 Muslim properties in five states - Assam, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi.56 A more recent example of this was the demolition of Muslim homes carried out in Nuh, Haryana by authorities in August 2023, in the aftermath of communal violence that had broken out in the Nuh district during a Hindu religious procession on July 31, 2023. The demolitions continued till August 7, 2023 when the Punjab and Haryana High Court intervened in the matter. During the hearing, the Judges asked the State if the demolitions were an act of 'ethnic cleansing' being carried out by the State under the ruse of maintaining law and order.[57] These arbitrary demolitions are used by the State as 'collective punishment' against Muslims,[58] with a government official from Nuh stating that there were no plans to conduct a demolition drive but, after the riots 'directions came from the top to conduct demolitions'.[59]

(https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/2023%20India%20Apostasy%20Issue%20Update.pdf)

[56] Al Jazeera. (2024, February 7). Why is Amnesty urging India to halt bulldozing of Muslim properties?

(https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/2/7/why-is-amnesty-urging-india-to-halt-bulldozing-of-muslim-properties)

^[51] Sharma, Yash and Jenkins, Laura (2024). Legislation as Disinformation: The Love Jihad Conspiracy Theory in Law and Lived Experience. Social & Legal Studies (https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/09646639231225424);

^[52] United States Commission on International Religious Freedom. (2023, May 4). India Apostasy Issue Update.

^[53] The Leaflet. (2021, March 8). The politics of love jihad and its constitutional validity. (https://theleaflet.in/the-politics-of-love-jihad-and-its-constitutional-validity/)

^[54] Sharma, Betwa, and Khan, Ahmer. (2021, July 3). Hindu Vigilantes work with police to enforce "Love Jihad" law in North India. The Intercept. (https://theintercept.com/2021/07/03/love-jihad-law-india/)

^[55] Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project. (2024, April 28). India votes 2024: A resurgent Hindu nationalism sets the stage for the upcoming elections, driving communal violence. (https://acleddata.com/2024/04/28/india-votes-2024-a-resurgent-hindu-nationalism-sets-the-stage-for-the-upcoming-elections-driving-communal-violence/); Amnesty International. (2024, February 7). India: "If you speak up, your house will be demolished": Bulldozer injustice in India (https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa20/7613/2024/en/)

^[57] Livemint. (2023, August 8). Ethnic cleansing by state? Punjab and Haryana HC questions Nuh demolitions.

⁽https://www.livemint.com/news/india/ethnic-cleansing-by-state-punjab-and-haryana-hc-questions-nuh-demolitions-11691491070649.html)

^[58] The Wire. (2022. June 18). UN special rapporteurs condemn home demolitions in India, see collective punishment of Muslims.

⁽https://thewire.in/rights/un-special-rapporteurs-condemn-home-demolitions-in-india-see-collective-punishment-of-muslims)

^[59] Scroll.in. (2023, August 14). Collective punishment? Demolitions in Haryana's Nuh spanned at least 50 km.

⁽https://scroll.in/article/1054263/collective-punishment-demolitions-in-haryanas-nuh-spanned-at-least-50-km)

The BJP-led state government in Uttar Pradesh has taken steps to codify the Islamophobic narrative of 'population jihad' through population control bills to ensure that there is 'demographic balance' in India.[60]

Given that there have been tangible legislative steps that enshrine Islamophobic narratives in law, the emergence of the new narrative of 'Vote Jihad', which is propagated by the BJP's top leadership as a key aspect of its election campaigning, is of serious concern. Indian Muslims already face discriminatory legislations that can tangibly impact and potentially disenfranchise them from not just from their voting rights, but their rights as Indian citizens.

In the Indian state of Assam, the state government in arbitrary exercise of power, have delete the name of people from the voter list, if the state official suspected them be 'foreigners'.[61] Based on the rhetoric of 'outsiders' infiltrating Indian polity (which is fairly similar to the rhetoric of Vote jihad as used by the BJP), the state constituted a 'Dvoter' (doubtful voter) list, onto which it was able to add names only on grounds that someone had anonymously alleged another person to be a non-citizen and therefore a doubtful voter. This has created an institutional practice of marking doubtful voters based on biases and fearmongering, which has continued to date. On August 31, 2019, Assam state published its National Register of Citizenship,

which excluded 1.9 million people from being listed as citizens - over 6% of the total estimated population of the state.[62]

UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2019 Michelle Bachelet. in therefore condemned this move as the release of the final list of the NRC in Assam had led to 'great uncertainty and anxiety', and appealed 'to the government to ensure due process during the appeals process, prevent deportation detention, and ensure people are protected from statelessness.'[63] Ahead of the list being published, three UN Special Rapporteurs had written that they were 'seriously concerned over the current implementation of the NRC update in Assam and its potentially farreaching consequences for millions of people, in particular persons belonging to minorities who risk of statelessness, deportation or prolonged detention', and expressed 'serious concerns' over reports of Indian authorities to replicate the 'NRC model' in other parts of the country.[64]

In 2019, the Indian government passed the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), which finally entered into force in March 2024. The CAA 2019 permits the granting of citizenship to Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Jain, Parsi and Christian 'illegal immigrants' from Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh who entered India on or before December 31, 2014, but specifically excludes Muslims.[65]

^[60] The Uttar Pradesh Population (Control, Stabilization and Welfare) Bill 2021. (https://www.livelaw.in/pdf_upload/up-population-control-bill-draft-396420.pdf)

^[61] Foundation The London Story. (2021). Statelessness and flood displacement in Assam, India. (https://thelondonstory.org/wp-content/uploads/Statelessness-and-Flood-Displacement-in-Assam-India.pdf)

^[62] Foundation The London Story. (2021). Statelessness and flood displacement in Assam, India. (https://thelondonstory.org/wp-content/uploads/Statelessness-and-Flood-Displacement-in-Assam-India.pdf)

^[63] The Wire. (2019, September 19). UN Human Rights Chief Michelle Bachelet raises concern over Kashmir and NRC. (https://thewire.in/rights/un-human-rights-chief-michelle-bachelet-kashmir-concern-nrc)

^[64] The Wire. (2019, July 4). Ahead of July 31 deadline, UN experts raise red flags about NRC. (https://thewire.in/world/ahead-of-july-31-deadline-un-experts-raise-red-flags-about-nrc)

^[65] PRS Legislative Research. (2019). Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2019.

⁽https://prsindia.org/files/bills_acts/bills_parliament/2019/Citizenship%20(Amendment)%20Bill,%202019.pdf)

Civil society actors have highlighted that the CAA violates Article 14 of India's Constitution by denying equality and equal protection before the law.[66] In addition, the CAA appears to violate Articles 26 and 27 of the ICCPR, which guarantee equality and freedom of religion, as recognized by the international community.[67]

In light of the situation in Assam, where citizens were deprived of their voting rights and rights as equal citizens without evidence, Indian legal experts have said that the CAA is unconstitutional and violative of the right to equality under Article 14 in the Constitution, since it allows for exclusion on the basis of religion,[68] and the case challenging its constitutionality is pending hearing before the Supreme Court.[69]

It is also important to look at the CAA as symbolically laying out the principles of State-building that the ruling party espouses. The CAA effectively creates two tiers of citizenship in India, with Muslims as 'lesser' and 'secondary' citizens, outsiders to the 'Hindu homeland', whose loyalty to the nation is suspect and thus, whose votes cannot elect a government to represent the 'true' citizens of India, the Hindus. This is the context in which the hate speech by BJP politicians during election campaigns must be understood.

Due to the widespread protests against the CAA-NRC that broke out all over the country in December 2020[70], and the subsequent lockdowns due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the government left the implementation of the CAA pending until March 2024, just before the 2024 general elections. On the eve of Ramadan[71], the government notified the Rules for the CAA, paving the way for its effective implementation.[72]

Thereafter, hate speech and disinformation against Muslims by BJP politicians has intensified. Since the Rules have been formulated, it is likely that the process to enforce the CAA will begin after the general elections and create 'doubtful voters', much like in Assam.

With anti-Muslim hate being central to the BJP's campaign for the 2024 general elections, as in previous election and non-election periods, is it clear that the issue of Islamophobic rhetoric, such as on 'Vote Jihad', is not simply that of hate speech but follows a systemic pattern of othering and demonizing Muslims with the goal of excluding them from the citizenry.

^[66] Amnesty International. (2024, March). India: Citizenship Amendment Act is a blow to Indian constitutional values and international standards. (https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2024/03/india-citizenship-amendment-act-is-a-blow-to-indian-constitutional-values-and-international-standards/)

^[67] United States Commission on International Religious Freedom. (2020, February). Factsheet: Citizenship Amendment Act, India. (https://www.uscirf.gov/resources/factsheet-citizenship-amendment-act-india)

^[68] Amnesty International. (2024, March). India: Citizenship Amendment Act is a blow to Indian constitutional values and international standards. (https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2024/03/india-citizenship-amendment-act-is-a-blow-to-indian-constitutional-values-and-international-standards/)

^[69] The Hindu. (2024, March 16). CAA legal battle: Examining the key arguments in Supreme Court. (https://frontline.thehindu.com/news/caa-legal-battle-examining-the-key-arguments-in-supreme-court-kerala-tamil-nadu-owaisi/article67958420.ece)

^[70] Human Rights Watch. (2020, April 9). India: Protests and attacks over new citizenship law. (https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/04/09/india-protests-attacks-over-new-citizenship-law)

^[71] Al Jazeera. (2024, March 12). 'Dark day': India on edge over religion-based citizenship law before polls.

⁽https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/3/12/dark-day-india-on-edge-over-religion-based-citizenship-law-before-polls)

^[72] Indian Express. (2024, March 13). The CAA Rules, unpacked (https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/explained/law/caa-rules-eligibility-minorities-refugees-9210464/)

METHODOLOGY

In this report, we examine how the BJP and affiliated accounts are using social media, especially the Meta-owned Facebook platform, to propagate these anti-Muslim narratives during the current elections, to justify the further disenfranchisement and exclusion of Indian Muslims voters. In this process, the BJP has continuously used social media microinfluencers, major influencers and shadow accounts to create an ongoing narrative of hate and disinformation, as the following sections of the report show.

Researchers from Foundation the London Story (TLS) formed a list of pages on CrowdTangle (a Facebook analytical tool) based on Islamophobic and derogatory keywords targeting the minority community in India, especially Indian Muslims. This dataset consisted of data from over 812 pages and 15 groups, with approximately 180,000 posts collected between January 2024 and April 2024.

Using this list of pages, the researchers then conducted a qualitative as well as quantitative data analysis of the content posted by the pages during the run-up to, and the first, second and third phases of the 2024 Indian general elections (from March 1, 2024, till May 10, 2024). The qualitative analysis was done by selecting 75 random samples per month from wider data set, which were manually analyzed to check the contents of the post, whereas the quantitative analysis was done by running a machine learning model on the entire data set. The researchers were bilingual in Hindi and English, and posts translated from Hindi **English** themselves.

Bigrams containing the terms 'Jihad' or 'जिहाद' were identified from the captions or text present in the images of these posts. The text from the captions and images of the posts were tokenized using the Indic NLP library.[73] Posts were then filtered by checking if any two consecutive tokens matched the specified bigram tokens.[74]

[73] Kunchukuttan, Anoop. (n.d.) Resources and tools for Indian language Natural Language Processing. Github. (https://github.com/anoopkunchukuttan/indic_nlp_library)

[74] Hate speech tokens. (2024). (https://docs.google.com/document/d/1LO9O4RINM56ruZ8VwfM1tcl_Gmg2c6E4OzeZqcbgwGM/edit)

Examples of harmful content

The posts presented below in the report were found during the qualitative analysis done using the random samples from the monthly data set from March, April and May 2024.

PUBLISHER

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)

CONTEXT

The page is the official and verified page of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which has 16 million followers.

In this post from May 7, 2024, the BJP's official account amplifies the Islamophobic narrative of 'Vote Jihad' through its official page on the platform. It segregates Hindus and Muslims by using terms like 'Ram Rajya' and 'Vote Jihad'. The post suggests that based on people's votes, it will be decided whether the rule of Lord Ram, i.e. a Hindu nation, or Vote Jihad, i.e. an Islamist takeover, will prevail in India.

CAPTION OF THE POST

'आज भारत इतिहास के एक अहम मोड़ पर खड़ा है। आपको ये तय करना है कि भारत में वोट जिहाद चलेगा या रामराज्य चलेगा। प्रधानमंत्री श्री Narendra Modi ने खरगौन, मध्य प्रदेश में विशाल विजय संकल्प रैली को संबोधित किया।'



Screenshot of the post by Bharatiya Janata Party official page dated May 7, 2024.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

'Today India stands at a crucial juncture in history. You have to decide whether Vote Jihad will prevail in India or Ram Rajya will prevail. Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi addressed the huge Vijay Sankalp rally in Khargone, Madhya Pradesh.'

PUBLISHER

Sudarshan News

CONTEXT

Sudarshan News is owned by Suresh Chavhanke, an Indian TV anchor known for his Hindu supremacist views. Our previous work presented a detailed analysis of the use of Islamophobic tropes, disinformation, and explicit hate speech by Sudarshan News and Suresh Chavhanke (see the 2022 report 'Preachers of Hate').[75] In our previous report, we have highlighted that Suresh Chavhanke is a dangerous actor, and has direct involvement in on-ground mobilization of Hindus against Muslims, including possession of weapons and promotion of 'arming Hindus' to wage a war against Muslims in India. This previous research insists that social media platforms should recognize Chavhanke and his organization under the DOI policy (Dangerous Organisation and Individuals policy) and deplatform him to limit his impact on impressionable youth.

This publisher continues to propagate Islamophobic content, divisive and false narratives, and hate speech targeting minority communities especially the Muslim community in India. The page has 215K followers and 47K likes as of May 9, 2024. Sudarshan News page is categorized as a 'Media/News Company' on the platform.

<u>This post</u> posted on April 30, 2024, amplifies the Islamophobic narrative of 'Vote Jihad'.



वोट जिहाद से बदल डालो सरकार देखिए #Jawabtochahiye में शाम 7 बजे एंकर @amitsharmatv के साथ... Live देखें: sudars hannews.in/Live



Screenshot of the post by 'Sudarshan News' page dated April 30, 2024.

CAPTION OF THE POST

'वोट जिहाद से डालो देखिए बदल सरकार में #Jawabtochahiye शाम 7 बजे एंकर देखें: @amitsharmaty के साथ... Live http://sudarshannews.in/Live'

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

'Change the government through Vote Jihad. Watch #Wewantananswer at 7 o'clock in the evening with @amitsharmatv watch live http://sudarshannews.in/Live'

[75] Foundation The London Story. (2022). Preachers of Hate. (https://thelondonstory.org/report/preachers-of-hate/)

This post from April 30, 2024 amplifies false Islamophobic narratives, including the 'Vote Jihad' narrative.

CAPTION OF THE POST

'वोट जिहाद से बदल डालो सरकार'

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

'Change the government through Vote Jihad'

the post is a news report by the Sudarshan New anchor, where in between political ads to support Mr. Modi in the ongoing election, the news desk of Sudarshan News talks about the role the news desk has played in bringing forward various forms of 'Jihad' specifically highlighting UPSC Jihad, Love Jihad, Land Jihad, Spit Jihad. The role of Sudarshan News through coverage like UPSC Jihad was challenged and opposed in the Supreme Court of India, leading to the Supreme Court of India taking cognizance and seeking the UPSC jihad broadcast of the news channel to be removed in earlier occassion.

The context in which Sudarshan News uses the term 'Jihad' the discursive understanding with which their audience understands the term 'Voter jihad' and the potentiality of such narrative to insinuate hate and hate-crimes in India, will all fall under the Rabat principle on hate speech.

The present news desk report and ensuing debate on Vote Jihad, where the anchor concludes the debate by agreeing with BJP spokesperson, and stating that "These people have Jihad in their nerves from birth", is a way to otherize and demonize Indian muslims.



Screenshot of the post by 'Sudarshan News' page dated April 30, 2024.

PUBLISHER

Defence360

CONTEXT

According to the page's description, the publisher is dedicated to 'Exposing Anti India elements. The publisher uses its content to discredit Indian Muslim voters, and throughout the ongoing Indian elections has engaged in propagating Islamophobic narratives. The page was created on November 24, 2018, and has 36K followers and 31K likes as of May 9, 2024. The page has been deleted in the meantime.

This post from April 28, 2024 (now deleted), contains a video showing Ajeet Bharati. Bharati is the former editor for the Hindi version of OpIndia, a far-right Indian 'news site' known for anti-Muslim disinformation and hate speech.[76] In the video, Bharati speaks about alleged changes if the opposition INDIA alliance comes into power. He claims that if INDIA alliance comes into power, then Hindus would be stopped from celebrating Holi, bells would not be allowed in temples because there would be Azans in mosques, the temple flag of the Ram Temple would be replaced by moons and stars (Islamic symbols), and more. The caption of the post asks Hindus to vote or be ready to 'face the Jihad'.



Screenshot of the post by 'Defence360' page dated April 28, 2024.

CAPTION OF THE POST

'Reality check for Hindus who are not coming out to Vote giving Excuses that today Weather is too hot!! If I.N.D.I alliance comes to power ...be ready to FACE the JIH@D'

[76] Foundation The London Story. (2020). Atmosphere of Hate Case Study: OpIndia. (https://thelondonstory.org/report/atmosphere-of-hate-opindia/); Wired. (2024, May 22). A Far-Right Indian News Site Posts Racist Conspiracies. US Tech Companies Keep Platforming It (https://www.wired.com/story/india-opindia-google-facebook-advertising/)

This post from May 3, 2024 (now deleted) warns Hindu voters of the 'Vote Jihad' Islamophobic narrative, and asks them to vote wisely for BJP in large numbers. The caption of the post seeks to invoke the fear sentiment of Hindu voters by writing: 'Your (referring to Hindu voters) vote will decide if your (again referring to the Hindu voters) family, sons, daughters will survive or your (referring to the Hindu voters) entire generation will become extinct'.

CAPTION OF THE POST

'Watch this video Before you go out to Vote!! #Mass_Share Dont give angry emoji Your Vote will decideif your family ...ur sons , ur daughters will survive or your entire generation will become extinct I.N.D.I alliance member AIMIM's chief Muslim Asaduddin Owaisi Openly says 'Hamesa Modi Bachane nai ayega...Hamesa Yogi bachane nai ayega' Another Muslim Maria Alam Khan who is part of I.N.D.I alliance calls for VOTE JIHAD Vote Wisely Hindus ...Vote BJP in large numbers.'



Screenshot of the post by 'Defence360' page dated May 3, 2024.

PUBLISHER

Miss Rupa

CONTEXT

Miss Rupa categorizes its page as a 'Media/News Company' and appears to regularly clean its content so as to not keep a history of its problematic content. The page posts images of actresses as its primary content. However, the page also amplifies Islamophobic content through Facebook Live. The page was created on March 24, 2022, and has 42K followers as of May 9, 2024.

<u>This post</u> from April 30, 2024 glorifies the Islamophobic narrative of 'Vote Jihad', by referring to the West Bengal Chief Minister, Mamata Banerjee (Trinamool Congress party).

CAPTION OF THE POST

'Mahabharat- Mamata Banerjee ने 'हिन्दू 'वोटर कैद किए! - Vote Jihad Mahabharat- Mamata Banerjee ने 'हिन्दू 'वोटर कैद किए! - Vote Jihad'

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

'Mahabharat – Mamata Banerjee captured Hindu voters! – Vote Jihad Mahabharat.'



Screenshot of the post by Miss Rupa dated April 30, 2024.

PUBLISHER

The Jaipur Dialogues by Sanjay Dixit

CONTEXT

'The Jaipur Dialogues' page is operated by Sanjay Dixit, a former Indian civil servant and Hindu supremacist. Along with constant overtones of Hindu supremacy and hyper-nationalism, the Jaipur Dialogues regularly posts content that promotes hate and discrimination against Muslims. This page was created on April 13, 2023, and has 16K followers as of May 9, 2024. A second page, 'The Jaipur Dialogues by Sanjay Dixit', appears to be a secondary page in operation posting same content.

This post from May 2, 2024, contains a clip of the Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, in which he is speaking about the Islamophobic narrative of 'Vote Jihad' in one of his public addresses.

CAPTION OF THE POST

'Phase 3 से पहले विपक्ष में भगदड | PM Modi Destroys Opposition with Love, Vote Jihad | Sanjay Dixit #LoksabhaElections2024 #Phase3Elections #PMNarendraModiii #INDIAAlliance #TheJaipurDialogues'



Phase 3 से पहले विपक्ष में भगदड । PM Modi Destroys Opposition with Love, Vote Jihad | Sanjay...

Phase 3 से पहले विपक्ष में भगदड I PM Modi Destroys Opposition with Love, Vote Jihad | Sanjay Dixit #LoksabhaElections2024 #Phase3Elections #PMNarendraModiji #INDIAAlliance #TheJaipurDialogues



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Screenshot of the post by 'The Jaipur Dialogues by Sanjay Dixit' page dated May 2, 2024.

This post from May 1, 2024, amplifies the 'Vote Jihad' narrative and contains derogatory language towards secular people. By using the term 'Sickular' the author insinuates that those who are 'secular' are diseased in some form. The post also blames secular Hindus for not voting for BJP.

CAPTION OF THE POST

'Ab kya kehna hai aapka?<u>#IslamicJihad</u> #Secularism #SalmanKhurshid #WakeUpHindus #LokSabhaElection2024 #TheJaipurDialogues'

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

'Now what do you have to say? <u>#IslamicJihad</u> #Secularism #SalmanKhurshid #WakeUpHindus #LokSabhaElection2024 #TheJaipurDialogues'



Ab kya kehna hai aapka? #IslamicJihad #Secularism #SalmanKhurshid #WakeUpHindus #LokSabhaElection2024 #TheJaipurDialogues



Screenshot of the post by 'The Jaipur Dialogues' page dated May 1, 2024.

PUBLISHER

India Against Urban Naxals

CONTEXT

The page engages in posting and amplifying hate and Islamophobic narratives, such as Love Jihad, to sway the voters to vote against opposition parties during the 2024 Indian general elections. The page is created on September 1, 2018, and has 3.8K followers on Facebook as of May 23, 2024.

<u>This post</u> from April 19, 2024 propagates the Islamophobic narrative of 'Love Jihad', and warns voters to vote wisely, if they do not want their children to be sacrificed on the altar of Jihad.

CAPTION OF THE POST

'Today is the 1st phase of Voting day. Please remember this photo & #vote wisely. The man in the photo is Mr Niranjan who is a Politician from Congress & his party is in power in Karnataka. But he could not save his little princess #NehaHiremath from the hands of Mohammed Fayaz who brutally stabbed 9 times on her neck & killed her because she refused his advances. #LoveJihad is real & its getting ugly. Please #Vote4Bharat if you don't want your children's to get sacrificed on the alter of Jihad.



Today is the 1st phase of Voting day. Please remember this photo & #vote wisely. The man in the photo is Mr Niranjan who is a Politician from Congress & his party is in power in Karnataka. But he could not save his little... See more



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Screenshot of the post by 'India Against Urban Naxals' page dated April 19, 2024.

PUBLISHER

Vishva Hindu Parishad - VHP

CONTEXT

The Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) is part of the Sangh Parivar, i.e. organisations within the Indian right-wing Hindu network of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh[77]. The VHP was founded in the year 1964. VHP has several accounts on Facebook; this profile is one verified profile among many. This page was created on February 14, 2019, and has 154K followers and 91K likes as of May 9, 2024.

This post from May 2, 2024, is a recorded press statement by the VHP, in which the organization uses Islamophobic language by referring to Indian Muslims as 'Jihadis'. The post also blames Muslims for allegedly committing 'Vote Jihad'. The post also lists alleged incidents where murders were committed by Muslim person and demonizes the entire Muslim community by portraying them as 'brutal, noxious and deadly' for the society.



प्रेस वक्तव्य: जिहादियों के द्वारा रचे जा रहे नित नए षड्यंत्रों पर मुस्लिम संस्थाओं व सेक्युलर ब्रिगेड की चुप्पी खतरनाक: विजय शंकर तिवारी नई दिल्ली। मई 2, 2024। विश्व हिंदू परिषद ने जिहाद के नए-नए प्रकार और जिहादियों के नित नए षडयंत्रों पर सेकुल... See more



Screenshot of the post by 'The Vishva Hindu Parishad' page dated May 2, 2024.

CAPTION OF THE POST

'प्रेस वक्तव्य: जिहादियों के द्वारा रचे जा रहे नित नए षड्यंत्रों पर मुस्लिम संस्थाओं व सेक्युलर ब्रिगेड की चुप्पी खतरनाक: विजय शंकर तिवारी नई दिल्ली। मई 2, 2024। विश्व हिंदू परिषद ने जिहाद के नए-नए प्रकार और जिहादियों के नित नए षडयंत्रों पर सेकुलर ब्रिगेड और मुस्लिम संस्थाओं की चुप्पी को देश के लिए खतरनाक बताया है। परिषद के राष्ट्रीय प्रवक्ता व अखिल भारतीय प्रचार प्रसार प्रमुख श्री विजय शंकर तिवारी ने आज कहा है कि वोट जिहाद के नाम पर वोट माँगना लोकतंत्र के लिए ख़तरे का संकेत हैं।इस्लामिक नारों के साथ जिहादियों द्वारा देश की राजधानी के शिक्षकों, बच्चों और अभिभावकों को आतंकित करने हेतु बम विस्फोट की धमकी वाला 178 स्कूलों को मेल किया गया था जिससे पूरे दिन न सिर्फ राजधानी दिल्ली को विल्कि सम्पूर्ण देश को स्तब्ध कर दिया है। हजारों बच्चे और उनके अभिभावक, विद्यालयों के अध्यापक, कर्मचारी तथा पुलिस प्रशासन व शासन भी पूरे दिन एक गंभीर ट्रॉमा का शिकार हुए। इस धमकी वाले मेल की भाषा को अगर देखें तो स्पष्ट होता है की अल्लाह के नाम पर जिस तरह का जिहाद करने की बात कही गई वह इस्लाम के नाम पर मानवीय जीवन मूल्यों की हत्या से बढ़कर है। गंभीर बात यह भी है कि इन दोनों घटनाओं के ऊपर किसी भी मुस्लिम संस्था या सेकुलर ब्रिगेड के किसी नेता द्वारा निंदा के दो शब्द तक नहीं निकले। जो कि एक सभ्य समाज के लिए एक खतरनाक बात है। श्री तिवारी ने पिछले कुछ दिनों में जिहादियों द्वारा की गई अनेक नशंस हत्याओं का जिक्र करते हुए यह भी कहा कि दिल्ली के

जहांगीरपुरी में हमारी शोभायात्राओं को तो रोक दिया जाता है, हिंदू महिला के साथ बर्बरता होती है, उदयपुर के कन्हैया की गला काट कर हत्या की जाती है, हाल ही में मुंबई में एक बहन की हत्या हो या फिर कर्नाटक में कांग्रेसी नेता की बेटी नेहा की नृशंस हत्या हो, इन सब घटनाओं से लगातार उनका पाशिवक चेहरा सामने आ रहा है। हमास के अत्याचार और बर्बरता की कहानी भी सब ने सुनी है लेकिन, उस पर आज तक किसी मुस्लिम उलेमा या उनकी संस्था द्वारा कोई निंदा के दो शब्द क्यों नहीं निकले। उन्होंने कहा कि बात सिर्फ़ कांग्रेस-सपा के द्वारा संयुक्त रूप से वोट जिहाद की ही नहीं अपितु, कांग्रेस के कद्दावर नेता व पूर्व केंद्रीय कानून मंत्री के साथ उनके अनेक साथी वरिष्ठ वकीलों द्वारा आतंकवादियों व देश द्रोहियों के केस कोर्ट में लड़ने वालों की भी एक लंबी श्रृंखला है। वोट जिहाद का नारा भी एक सभ्य समाज के लिए व लोकतंत्र के लिए एक बड़े खतरे का संकेत देता है। विश्व हिंदू परिषद सभी प्रकार के हिंसा व आतंक फैलाने से जुड़ी जिहादी घटनाओंकी घोर निंदा करते हुए भारतीय समाज से आह्वान करती है कि वह ऐसे देशद्रोही व जिहादियों के झांसे में ना आए और ना ही उनके किसी प्रकार के दबाव को स्वीकार करें। देश का चुनाव आयोग लोकतंत्र के इस महापर्व के सफल आयोजन के लिए जुटा ही है, हिंदू समाज को भी इन लोगों के घृणित षड्यंत्रों को बेनकाब करते हुए हिंदू हित में शत प्रतिशत मतदान की ओर बढ़ाना होगा। जारी कर्ता: विनोद बंसल, राष्ट्रीय प्रवक्ता, विश्व हिंदू परिषद

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Press Statement: Deafening silence of Muslim organizations and pseudo-secular brigades on the ever new conspiracies being hatched by Jihadis is dangerous: Vijay Shankar Tiwari. New Delhi, May 2, 2024 - Vishva Hindu Parishad has described the deafening silence of pseudo-secular brigades and Muslim organizations on the ever new sorts of Jihad and the conspiracies of Jihadis as dangerous for the country. VHP's national spokesperson and All Bharatiya Prachar Pramukh Shri Vijay Shankar Tiwari today said that asking for votes in the name of 'Vote Jihad' is a sign of danger to democracy. Yesterday, the Jihadis tried to terrorize and harass the teachers, children & parents of the schools of the national capital with Islamic war cries and bombardment threats through an email that they sent to 178 schools! It shocked not only the capital Delhi but the entire country throughout the day. Thousands of children and their parents, teachers, employees, police, administration and government also became victims of severe trauma throughout the day. If we look at the language of this threatening email, it becomes clear that the kind of Jihad talked about in the name of Allah is more than killing humanity in the name of Islam. The serious thing is that not even a word of condemnation was uttered by any leader of any Muslim organization or the elements of the pseudo-secular eco-system on these two incidents of calls for 'Vote Jihad' and 'Bombardment' of the Temples of Learning. This is very much a brutal, noxious and deadly thing for any civilized society! Referring to several brutal murders committed by Jihadis in the recent past, Shri Tiwari also said that our religious processions were stopped at Jahangirpuri, Delhi, Hindu women were brutalized, and the throat of Udaipur's Kanhaiya was slit. Murders were committed, be it the recent murder of a women in Mumbai or the brutal murder of Neha, the daughter of a Congress leader in Karnataka. All these incidents are continuously exposing their brutal mindset. Everyone has heard the story of the atrocities and barbarity of Hamas, but till date no word of condemnation has been uttered by any Muslim cleric or organization! He said that it is not only a matter of 'Vote-Jihad' being jointly announced by the Congress & the Samajwadi Party (SP) leaders, but also there is a long chain of such forces including the tall Congress leader and former Union Law Minister along with many of his fellow senior lawyers who have been fighting for the terrorists and traitors in the courts of law since years! The war cry of 'Vote-Jihad' sounds a big threat to a civilized society and democracy. Vishva Hindu Parishad strongly condemns all forms of Jihadi incidents that destroys humanity by spread of violence and terrorism and calls upon the Bharatiya society neither to fall into the trap of such traitors and Jihadis nor accept any kind of pressure from them! The Election Commission of the country is busy successfully organizing the national elections - this great festival of democracy - and the national society of Bharat - the Hindu society - will also have to expose and defuse the heinous conspiracies of the Ghazwa-e-Hind Jihadists and make an unfailing move towards 100% voting in the interest of Maa Bhaarati and Her devoted children!'

PUBLISHER

The Hindu Renaissance

CONTEXT

The page engages in spreading disinformation against the Musim communities in India. During the ongoing 2024 Indian general elections, the page is actively posting content against opposition parties to sway voters to vote against opposition political leaders. The page also uses Prime Minister Narendra Modi's clips to amplify hate speech. The page is created on July 16, 2018, and has 82K followers as of May 9, 2024.

This post from May 2, 2024, shows a clip of Prime Minister Narendra Modi where he is heard amplifying multiple false and Islamophobic narratives such as Vote Jihad, Love Jihad and Land Jihad in one of his public addresses. The caption of the post praises Narendra Modi for 'playing on the front foot', i.e. openly speaking about the Islamophobic narratives in public.



PM Modi at a rally in Gujarat: We had heard about 'love jihad' and 'land jihad', but an INDI alliance leader has now called for 'vote jihad' Modiji Playing on Frontfoot 6



2.5K POST VIEWS

2.6K TOTAL VIEWS

533 21 64

Screenshot of the post by 'The Hindu Renaissance' page dated May 2, 2024.

CAPTION OF THE POST

'PM Modi at a rally in Gujarat: We had heard about 'love jihad' and 'land jihad', but an INDI alliance leader has now called for 'Vote Jihad' Modiji Playing on Frontfoot by '

PUBLISHER

Manoj Kureel Cartoon

CONTEXT

This publisher pushes divisive and inflammatory content in the form of animated sketches aimed at confirming disinformation narratives. It uses Islamophobic narratives to propagate false narratives and hate towards the Muslims. The page was created on May 19, 2020, and has 7.1K followers as of May 23, 2024.

<u>This post</u> from April 30, 2024, is an animated image of a Hijab-clad woman, likely holding up a finger with sword symbol on it. The sword mark resembles the practice of inedible ink marking on fingers during Indian election process to prevent double voting fraud.

CAPTION OF THE POST

'वोट जिहाद #VoteJihad #CongressMuktBharat #RaghavChadha #Election2024 #elections'

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Vote Jihad <u>#VoteJihad</u> #CongressMuktBharat #RaghavChadha #Election2024 #elections





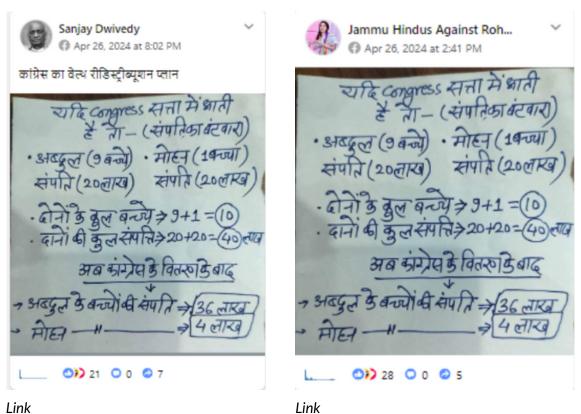
Screenshot of the post by 'Manoj Kureel Cartoons' page dated April 30, 2024.

Viral Disinformation Narratives

Among the content identified on the sampled pages, several posts contained narratives that perpetuate ostracizing and exclusion of Muslims on the basis of 'Vote Jihad' and related Islamophobic narratives.

Using Love Jihad Narrative To Influence Voters

One example are prevalent posts that perpetuate the claim that Muslims are waging a 'Vote Jihad' in order to ensure to secure wealth redistribution from the opposition. For example, the following content was circulated on Facebook, following a statement by Sam Pitroda – the ex-Indian National Congress's Overseas President – that India should also have similar as the United States. [78] The BJP and pro-Hindutva (Hindu supremacy) members, using Mr. Pitroda's speech, spread the disinformation narrative that if the Indian National Congress comes into power, then Hindus' properties would be snatched and redistributed among the Indian Muslims. These posts include sophisticated cartoons and therefore suggest a level of planning and preparation for the dissemination of the Islamophobic narrative. Below are the examples of the posts:



[78] Indian Express. (2024, April 26). Sam Pitroda controversy: How inheritance tax works. (https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/explained-politics/sam-pitroda-controversy-how-inheritance-tax-work-9289195/)











Paltu Paltan - पलट्ट पलटन

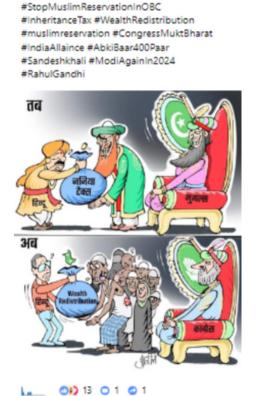




Link

MODIfying INDIA

Apr 30, 2024 at 3:15 PM • 9 days ago





नफरत की दुकान #InheritanceTax #WealthRedistribution #muslimreservation #MamataBanerjee #CongressMuktBharat #IndiaAllaince #AbkiBaar400Paar #Sandeshkhali #ModiAgainIn2024 #RahulGandhi



Link

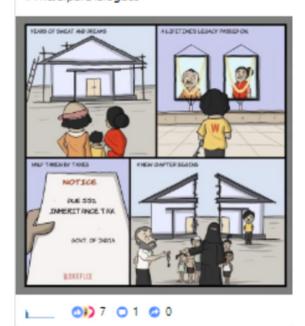


Rahul on fire #LokSabhaElection2024 #Phase3 #Vote4INDIA #VoteForINDIA #RahulGandhi #Pakistan #CongressKeBabbarSher #CongressMukthBharat



Link





Link



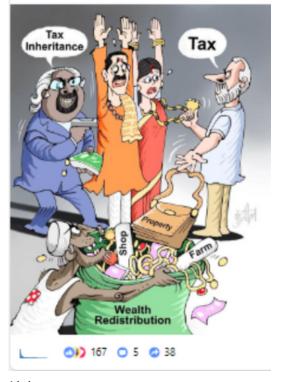
MODIfying INDIA



Link



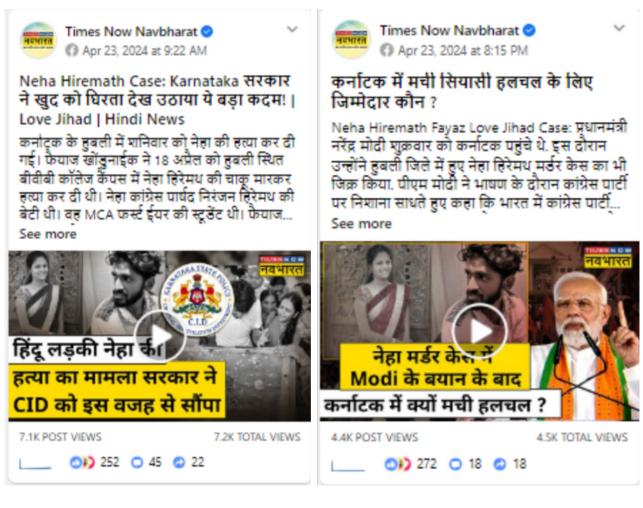
రే బాఫ్టియన్ ఎవరి సొమ్ము ఎవరికి దోచి పెడుతున్నా ప్రరా!!! #RahulGandhi



<u>Link</u>

Using Love Jihad Narrative To Influence Voters

Among the content identified from the sample, there were several posts from different pages, including the official account of the Minister of Home Affairs of the Indian Government, which propagated the Love Jihad Islamophobic narrative. Most notably, the Bharatiya Janata Party as well as Hindu supremacists portrayed the Neha Hiremath Murder case (a Hindu woman murdered by Muslim man in the Indian state of Karnataka, where Indian National Congress is the ruling party) as a case of Love Jihad.[79]



<u>Link</u> <u>Link</u>













Link



Sanjay Dwivedy

Apr 20, 2024 at 12:53 AM

लोगों ने मुफ़्त चीज़ों के लिए वोट दिया, नेहा ने इसकी कीमत चुकाई.. कांग्रेस के नेता ही अपनी बेटियों को उन हैवानों से नहीं बचा पा रहे, और यह कांग्रेस लोग आम लोगों को कह रहे है लव जिहाद काल्पनिक है. People voted for freebies, she paid the price..... See more



<u>Link</u>



<u>Link</u>



This is the price we pay for getting a free bus ride... Picture from Karnataka, Neha was st#bbed by Md Fayaz for refusing his proposal! She was daughter of Congress leader



Link



<u>Link</u>





<u>Link</u>





<u>Link</u>















Using PM Narendra Modi's Speech To Amplify Islamophobic Narratives

Content amplifying speeches with hate speech and Islamophobic statements by the Prime Minister of India Mr. Narendra Modi himself was prevalent in the sample. Clips of these speeches are being used by Hindu supremacist pages to amplify hate and Islamophobic content.

Link







Sanjay Dwivedy

Apr 24, 2024 at 2:48 PM

Inheritance Tax पर अब जबरदस्त बवाल शुरू हो गया है... Sam Pitroda के बयान पर सरकार ने हमला करना शुरू कर दिया है. वहीं कांग्रेस वाले कह रहे हैं कि ऐसा कुछ नहीं होने जा रहा है, और Sam ने जो भी कहा वह उनके निजी विचार हैं.... पार्टी के नहीं. कांग्रेस को... See more



63 POST VIEWS

67 TOTAL VIEWS

O) 17 O 0 5

Link



Sudarshan News

May 3, 2024 at 3:46 PM

Vote Jihad का खतरनाक खेल ! PM मोदी का वोट जिहाद पर वार | PM Modi On Vote Jihad #votejihad #lovejihad #landjihad #pmmodispeech



201 POST VIEWS

203 TOTAL VIEWS











Link



DEFENCE360

Apr 24, 2024 at 6:00 PM

#MASS_SHARE Dont give ANGRY EMOJI reaction as it stops Reach of the post CONGRESS SAYS ITS PLANNING TO IMPOSE INHERITANCE TAX ON ALL HINDUS EFFECTIVELY MEANING IF YOU DIE, YOUR... See more



432 POST VIEWS

528 TOTAL VIEWS

____ 0)) 71 0 11 0 45

<u>Link</u>



Pema Khandu

(1) May 3, 2024 at 10:41 AM

The INDI alliance is playing with fire, posing a serious threat to the Constitution and SC, ST, and OBC reservation by siding with the forces behind 'Vote Jihad.' Hon'ble PM Shri Narendra Modi Ji has timely cautioned the countrymen... See more



1.9K POST VIEWS

2.1K TOTAL VIEWS



Link



Invoking his earlier statement that Rahul Gandhi might have to seek another seat to contest after the casting of votes in Kerala's Wayanad, Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Friday tore into the former over his... See more



Link



CONCLUSION

Since the inception of the modern Indian state, Hindu supremacist groups belonging to the Sangh Parivar have sought to turn India, a secular democracy, into a Hindu nation. Especially since the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) - the political wing of the Sangh Parivar - came to power on a national level in 2014, this vision has become further cemented, with laws this report examined above being passed on state and national level that seek to exclude people belonging to the Muslim community, the largest minority religion, from the Indian citizenry. As discussed above, for instance, Indian Muslims have seen their rights stripped in the state of Assam, where 1.9 million people (including also non-Muslims) have witnessed their names being erased from the list of citizens. This reality, coupled with the newly enacted Citizenship Amendment Act, shows deliberate steps being taken towards the erasure of Muslims from the Indian citizenry. These have drawn concern and condemnation from the international community, including the United Nations, amidst a list of evergrowing human rights violations.

Notably, the enacting of these discriminatory and exclusionary legislations is preceded by moral justification thereof, in the form of Islamophobic disinformation narratives that have painted Muslims as a threat to the 'real' Indian citizen – Hindus – over the past decade. It is in this context that the report has raised alarm over the new Islamophobic narrative – 'Vote Jihad' – that political candidates have propagated to stir feelings of enmity. Against a

backdrop of pre-existing exclusion, proponents of 'Vote Jihad' – including India's incumbent Prime Minister Narendra Modi – question whether Muslims can at all be loyal to the nation during elections, delegitimize their voices and rights within the democratic framework, and seek to justify further disenfranchisement.

During the Indian general elections 2024, BJP candidates, including Prime Minister Modi, have spread the 'Vote Jihad' narrative, all while continuing to propagate disinformation narratives of Muslims as harmful, such as 'Love Jihad', 'Land Jihad' and others. Such political speech suggests an intention to promote exclusionary policies and laws after being elected. The fact that the BJP's official Facebook account is among those not just spreading, but creating harmful content. shows that the Islamophobic narratives find a home in real political and legislative decision-making, giving life to the exclusion the narratives seek to justify.

By explicitly referencing religion during electoral campaigning, these speeches are in direct violation of Indian electoral law, specifically Section 125 of the Representation of the People Act and the Model Code of Conduct that applies during election periods. It is of utmost urgency that Indian authorities take these speeches seriously as violations of Indian law, and addresses the use of political speech that deliberately invokes fear and enmity between religious groups for the sake

of gaining votes. As the primary data presented above shows, not only do political candidates of the BJP amplify such disinformation, but the BJP's large network of social media influencers further spreads the content far and wide into the Indian public and beyond. The prevalence of harmful disinformation narratives that normalize the systematic exclusion of Muslims in India on Meta's platform paints an indicting picture for social media corporations as well. Despite its commitments to taking action against hate speech, which it defines as including speech that seeks to justify exclusion, it is evident that Meta allows content to spread freely. As ample research as demonstrated, Meta's toxic business model, driven by engagement metrics and advertising revenue, has created fertile ground for exploitation by Hindu supremacist groups.[80]

As 970 million people vote in the world's largest democratic exercise, viral disinformation that seeks to legitimize the systematic exclusion Muslims from India's citizenry has already seeped into the very halls of decision-making. The prevalence of the novel Islamophobic narrative 'Vote Jihad' on the social media networks of the ruling BJP and allied organizations, and offline, sounds the alarm bells over the future of Muslims. of and the threat their exclusion from India's democratic processes.

[80] The Guardian. (2024, May 20). Revealed: Meta approved political ads in India that incited violence. (https://www.theguardian.com/world/article/2024/may/20/revealed-meta-approved-political-ads-in-india-that-incited-violence); Foundation The London Story. (2022). Preachers of Hate. (https://thelondonstory.org/report/preachers-of-hate/); Avaaz. (2019). Megaphone for Hate: Disinformation and Hate Speech on Facebook during Assam's Citizenship Count. (https://avaazpress.s3.amazonaws.com/FINAL-Facebook%20in%20Assam_Megaphone%20for%20hate%20-%20Compressed%20(1).pdf); Foundation The London Story, India Civil Watch International and Eko. (2024). Slander, Lies and Incitement: India's million dollar election meme network. (https://thelondonstory.org/report/slander_lies_incitement/)

RECOMMENDATIONS

TO THE ELECTION COMMISSION OF INDIA

- Proactively take action against the use by political candidates of appeals to religion and communal feelings for election propaganda, including the 'Vote Jihad' narrative in violation of the Model Code of Conduct, recognizing the threat they pose for the right to participate in democracy of Indian Muslims.
- Engage closely with social media corporations such as Meta, to take action on content that violates the Model Code of Conduct and Section 125 of the Representation of the People Act.

TO THE UNITED NATIONS

- Commit to persistent action to address human rights violations and disenfranchisement of Indian minorities in India.
- Request explanations from India on steps it is taking to ensure the human rights of its minorities, especially the right under Article 21 UDHR to take part in government, is fully respected, and Article 20 of the ICCPR, which obliges on state parties to prohibit advocacy of religious hatred.
- Encourage requests to visit India by UN Special Rapporteurs, in order to better examine evidence of violations of human rights and discrimination against religious minorities and other vulnerable population groups.

TO META

- Ensure that you do not profit from hateful, disinformative, or partisan content, and adopt an election silence period, in accordance with Indian laws which impose a mandatory election silence period of 48 hours prior to voting. Sections 126, 126A, and 135C of the Representation of the People Act delineate regulations concerning election-related activities during the silence period, which begins forty-eight hours before the polling in each phase of India's elections.
- Ensure that fact-checkers in India can label misinformative and disinformative advertisements, and apply rules equally to advertising and organic content, to prevent financial incentives for harmful content. Therefore, social media corporations should allow fact-checkers to fact-check and label advertising of any kind.
- Ensure that dehumanizing, caricaturing, demonizing of minorities in India is checked
 and restricted in line with the platform's hate speech policy: Ensure that their policies
 on hate speech and disinformation adequately reflect the gravity of religiously colored
 and communal content in India, and the way in which people react to inciteful content,
 across Indian society, from those with greater education and socio-economic capital to
 those with little.
- Proactively act to restrict re-spawning disinformation and hate speech pages and profiles.
- Remove the political exemption on hate speech and viral disinformation, and ensure
 that no content, including by political candidates, violates Indian domestic law on
 incitement to violence and the Representation of the People Act and the Model Code
 of Conduct for elections.
- Allocate resources proportionately to the user-market, to the risk of harm, and adequate to the number of people at risk in those contexts.
- Shut down the recommender system based on personal data and personal behavioral profiling, and make algorithms open for public audits by civil societies and academia.

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