

CENTRE ON RADICALISATION AND TERRORISM

Hindu-Muslim civil unrest in Leicester

“Hindutva” and the creation of a false narrative

By Charlotte Littlewood

Introduction

Leicester city joint Muslim and Hindu leadership statement:

“We, the family of Leicester, stand in front of you not only as Hindus and Muslims but as brothers and sisters. Our two faiths have lived harmoniously in this wonderful city for over half a century. We arrived in this city together. We faced the same challenges together; we fought off racist haters together and collectively made this city a beacon of diversity and community cohesion. That is why we are saddened and heartbroken to see the eruption of tension and violence. Physical attacks on innocent individuals and unwarranted damage to property are not part of a decent society and, indeed, not part of our faiths. What we have seen is not what we’re about. We together call upon the immediate cessation of provocation and violence - both in thought and behaviour. We together call upon the inciters of hatred to leave our city.”

Contents

Key Points	3
Key Terms.....	5
Hindutva	5
RSS	5
Leicester Community Tensions.....	5
Demographic Changes	5
Hindu Festivals and Music	6
Allegations of Extremists and RSS Terrorists Active in the UK	8
RSS and the State of India Today	8
Claim: BJP/Modi operating in Leicester	9
Claim: RSS/Operations in Leicester.....	9
Claim: HSS/ RSS Hindutva Extremism	10
Claim: RSS Youth in Leicester	11
Claim: BJP Organised Bus to Bring Hindutva Extremists to Leicester	12
Claim: Hindutva Extremists	12
Claim: Sadhvi Ritambhara Speaking Across Temples in the UK	13
Comments on Hindutva Extremism in Leicester	14
March Organisation	15
Organisation of Anti-Hindutva Muslim Protests	15
Organisation of Hindu March	16
Chants Noted in the Hindu March Flyer	17
Misinformation Campaign	17
Influencers	20
Tommy Robinson	20
Norman Khan - Dutch Raja - @110786x (Instagram)	21
Majid Freeman	26
Mohammad Hijab	27
Shakeel Afsar	29
Anjem Choudhary	30
Hizb ut-Tahrir	30
Consequences of Misinformation	31
Conclusion	34
Recommendations	34
Endnotes	36

Key Points

Misinformation Campaign and Influencers

- Influencers, one who has been convicted on terrorism charges, one who praised the suspected mastermind of the Bombay bombings and one who has offered prayers to the Taliban and was reported to have offered prayers to the brothers of an ISIL fighter, have inflamed community tensions spreading fake news.¹
- Evidence of a Hindu nationalist presence in the UK is tenuous. Some organisations have been accused of links to RSS and RSS linked individuals have visited the UK, this is problematic for community relations and requires further investigation.
- Accusations of RSS terrorists lead to a number of Hindu youth to temporarily relocate for their safety. There has never been a Hindu extremist terrorist attack in the UK and the youth in question had no affiliation to RSS.
- Mainstream media outlets have relied on two of the noted influencers who have been providing misinformation. In the immediate aftermath of the protests mainstream media outlets put early emphasis on Hindutva extremism in the UK, further perpetuating the threat against the Hindu community.

Summary

From the 4th September to the 20th September there was civil unrest in Leicester, extending to Birmingham, including vandalism of property, assaults, stabbings and attacks on places of worship leading to numerous arrests, voluntary interviews and charges.² On the weekend of September 17th Hindu marches and Muslim marches were held in Leicester with chants of 'Jai Shri Ram' and 'Allah u Akhbar'. Both Hindu and Muslim protestors wore balaclavas and both Hindu and Muslim protestors have been arrested for possession of weapons.

This briefing evidences that this was a micro-community cohesion issue with Muslim and Hindu youth holding prejudicial attitudes towards one other, falsely presented as an issue of organised Hindutva extremism and terrorism. False allegations of RSS terrorists and Hindutva extremist organisations active in the UK has put the wider Hindu community at risk from hate, assault and vandalism. The conflict has since attracted attention from the sub-continent with nationalists in India and Pakistan spreading hate online.

Evidence points towards a particular community cohesion/ territorial issue between the relatively recent immigrant Hindu Diu Daman community in Leicester and their Muslim neighbours. A key point of contention centres on Diu Daman immigrants moving into an area (LE5) and holding festivals that are perceived to be disruptive by existing residents, including the public consumption of alcohol.

Between May 22nd – September 20th of this year there are unverified reports, supported at present by police incident reports and police statements of incidents under investigation in Leicester, of Hindu youth assaulting Muslims and vice versa. Several respondents claim that young men are frequently asked to identify themselves as either Muslim or Hindu, and are vulnerable to assault, name-calling, or the threat of violence by members of the other group. There's a clear prejudice held here, involving anti-Muslim and anti-Hindu views, but as yet it is unclear whether there are nationalist elements and there is no evidence of involvement of any organised Hindu extremist or terrorist groups.

A misinformation campaign accused sections of the Hindu community and a number of Hindu temples of having connections to a political organisation, the RSS, in India. This has riled community tensions leading to violence in Leicester and Birmingham with threats of violence elsewhere including the targeting of Hindu temples. Influencers involved in the spreading of misinformation have been heavily relied upon by mainstream media for comment and, most worryingly, have been seen to meet with Leicester's City mayor to discuss the future of the independent review into the unrest.

A close review of the relevant police incident reports and interviews with those who organised the Hindu march and were accused of being RSS terrorists do not appear to show any clear or demonstrable links with known terrorist organisations.

This report does not and cannot, with current evidence to hand, assert there is no Hindu nationalist extremism in the UK but it evidences that those who organised the Hindu protests were not and are not as yet members of any extremist or terrorist organisation.

Allegations of Hindutva extremism and RSS terrorism in the UK has resulted in

incitements to violence and anti-Hindu hate online, vandalism of Hindu temples, and reports of assaults on the Hindu community and those who have professed support for the Hindu community. According to interviews conducted by the author of this report, some members of the Hindu community in Leicester are imposing a voluntary curfew, some have relocated to stay with family or friends until they feel safe to return, some were unable to return to work owing to fears for their personal safety in the wake of the unrest in Leicester.

Key Terms

Hindutva

For most Hindutva translates as the belief in the merit of the political hegemony³ of Hinduism in India. Academic Walter Andersen, a leading authority on the RSS and Hindutva, defines it as a form of 'cultural nationalism'.⁴

RSS

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), a Hindu nationalist⁵⁶ volunteer group, often described as a paramilitary⁷ organisation, formed in the 1920s.

The RSS was founded in the wake of riots⁸ between Hindus and Muslims across northern India. In its mission statement, founder K.B. Hedgewar wrote: "The Hindu culture is the life-breath of Hindustan... we should first nourish the Hindu culture. It is the duty of every Hindu to do his best to consolidate the Hindu society."⁹ In 1927, RSS co-founder — Dr. B.S. Moonje — described the RSS as an institution which could produce "the military regeneration of the Hindus" and unify the people in line with "the idea of fascism."¹⁰

The RSS is the largest and original organisation of the "Sangh Parivar" who have set up schools, charities and clubs but which have also been associated with communal violence.¹¹ The RSS has been banned thrice since it was established.

RSS isn't a proscribed terrorist organisation in the UK.¹²

Leicester Community Tensions

Interviews with those living in the area most effected by the recent unrest have shared concerns over new migration into the area and the holding of loud festivals and anti-social behaviour. This along with the tension that has built between sections of the Muslim and Hindu youth in Leicester is key to understanding the root of the unrest at a local level.

Demographic Changes

From the 1950s onwards Leicester has seen multiple waves of migration of Hindus and Muslims. Early immigration predominantly involved Muslims and Hindus from similar areas in Gujarat. More recently immigration has involved persons from the former Daman and Diu territory, two smaller Northwestern coastal areas within the state of Gujarat.

Many of the more recent migrants are Diu Daman Hindus that have moved into areas within the LE5 postcode that are predominantly Muslim.¹³

It has been reported that many who hold Portuguese citizenship chose to come to the UK

whilst they were still able, creating a pre-Brexit immigration rush.¹⁴

Hindu Festivals and Music

Some interviewees reported that there have been regular Hindu festivals in the streets and in homes that can end late and be loud. A Muslim lady living in one of the LE5 areas that was worst affected by the vandalism and protest says the community conflict is predominantly owed to loud festivals:

"God can hear you; you don't have to shout... since three years now ladies come to live here.. this year this other lady opened up opposite me and then next to me... why do you need to have a festival so loud that goes on for 3 days at 11 o'clock, 12 o'clock, why?.. We've to go to work... we've got babies at home..."¹⁵

Muslim activist and one of our discussed influencers, Majid Freeman, shared a sound clip from August 22nd in which music can be heard in the background and asserted that after Muslims had made their presence known in the streets the 'troublemakers' has disappeared.¹⁶

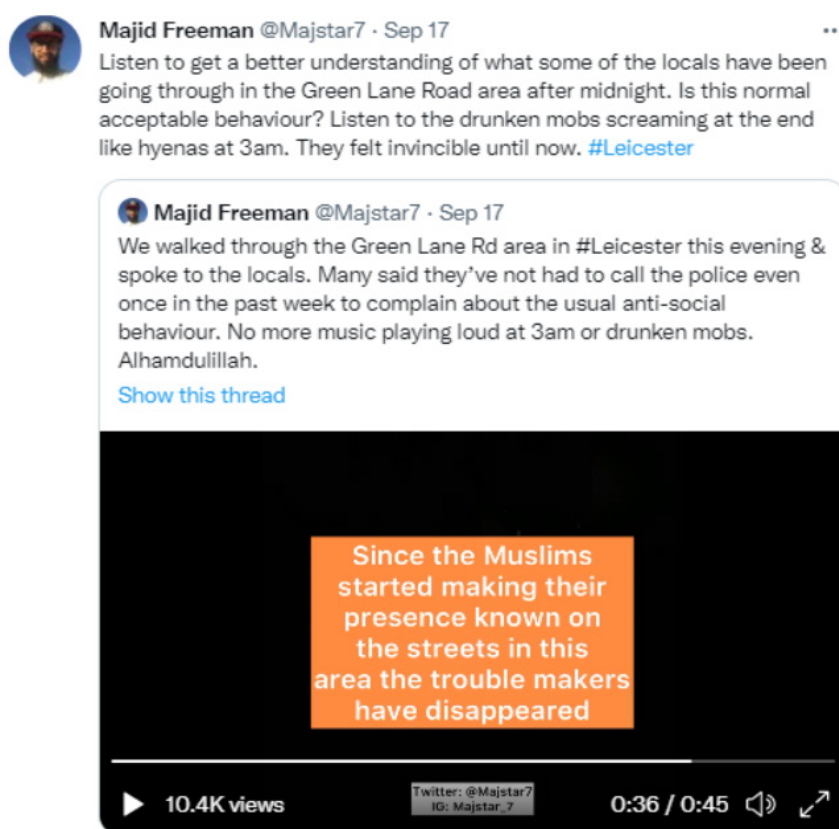


Figure 1: Majid Freeman claiming that Muslim action on the streets had put a stop to Hindu loud music and drinking.¹⁷

Prejudice against outward demonstrations of Hinduism including festival celebrations have circulated online:



Figure 2: A post shared depicting a Hindu festival in Leicester showing prejudice towards the festivals.¹⁸

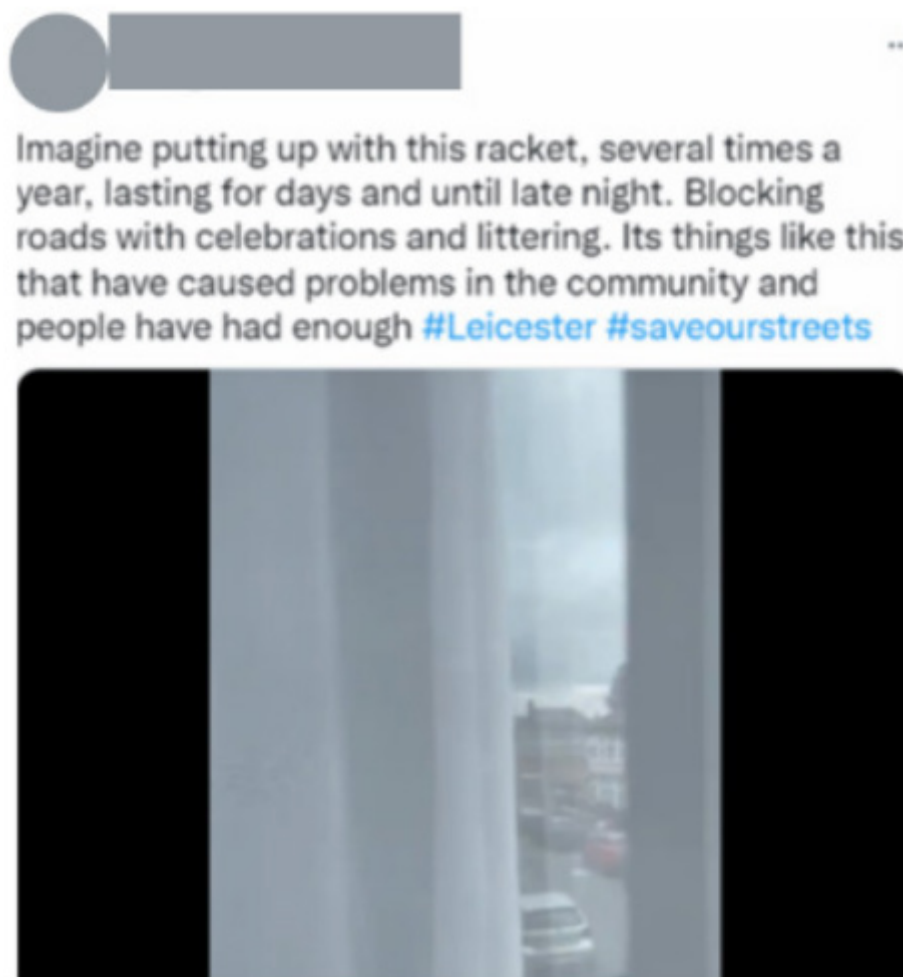


Figure 3: Tweet concerning loud festivals blocking roads in Leicester.¹⁹

Allegations of Extremists and RSS Terrorists Active in the UK

The tension that has built between the communities in the LE5 area has been presented by well-known influencers and some mainstream media platforms as an infiltration of Leicester by a number of groups and ideologies including Hindu nationalist extremists instructed by Modi; Hindutva extremists; RSS terrorists; HSS extremists.

Those that have driven this narrative have employed a number of strategies including projection, accusations of extremism and racism, misinformation and efforts to be platformed by mainstream press and efforts to influence politicians.

This chapter will briefly set out the concerns regarding the BJP and RSS foremostly and then move onto the claims made regarding affiliation to political groups of the Hindu community in the UK.

RSS and the State of India Today

The BJP is widely seen as the political wing of the RSS. Modi was an RSS youth member and right-wing Hindu nationalism is considered by some to be at the centre of their political agenda. During Modi's leadership there has been violence between Muslims and Hindus and various legislative changes that are considered to have undermined the rights of

Muslims in India.

BJP has a high approval rating in India. There are likely high levels of BJP and Modi support in the UK. The UK government accepts Modi as the leader of India and has working state relations with the Indian government. Support for BJP and Modi isn't a sign of radicalism amongst the Hindu community. However, support for it can be seen as problematic for Muslims of Pakistani/Indian heritage and maybe adding to tensions.

Claim: BJP/Modi Operating in Leicester:



Figure 4: Tweet regarding Modi's influence in the Leicester riots.²⁰



Figure 5: Example of a claim that Modi was involved in the Leicester unrest.²¹

Abdirahim Saeed of BBC Monitoring provided analysis that suggested a large proportion of tweets about Leicester originated from accounts geolocated in the Indian subcontinent, and that there were signs of inauthentic amplification.²² It does not appear that this infiltration pre-dated the marches and therefore does not look to be a pivotal reason for the initial unrest. However, its ability to hijack events in the UK is a large concern for future community cohesion and potential radicalisation of both the Hindu and Muslim community.

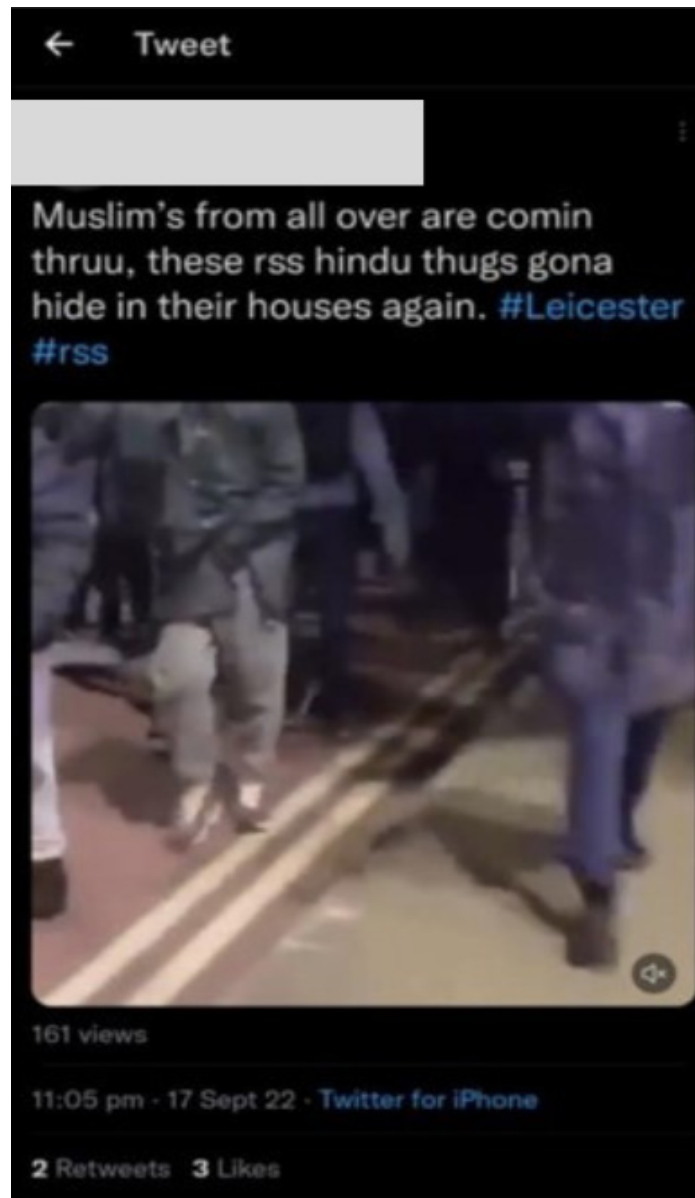


Figure 6: Example of the claim that RSS thugs were involved in the Leicester unrest.²³

Claim: HSS/ RSS Hindutva Extremism:

The organisation accused frequently of being Hindutva extremist over the period of unrest is the Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh UK.

HSS UK²⁴, initiated 1966, became a charitable trust from 29 April 1974²⁵. The UK register of charities states that it is involved in general charitable purposes, education, training, overseas aid, famine relief, sport and recreation.

Ideologically inspired by the founder of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), its structure, principles and activities are similar to those of the RSS. This link does not suggest a terrorist risk in the UK, RSS isn't at present proscribed and there have been no RSS terrorist attacks in the UK. However links to RSS in the UK is problematic for community cohesion and does require further research.

An event for children, organised by HSS in Herefordshire during July-August 2014, involved a speaker making strong anti-Muslim remarks. Subsequently a full Charity Commission enquiry into RSS links to HSS concluded:

‘There was insufficient evidence to show that the views of concern expressed by the speaker were endemic or systematic in the charity...

The inquiry found no other evidence of formal links with RSS.’²⁶

Considering concerns of anti-Muslim sentiment within the HSS organisation, HSS Leicester was approached for comment:

Does HSS have any Muslim members?

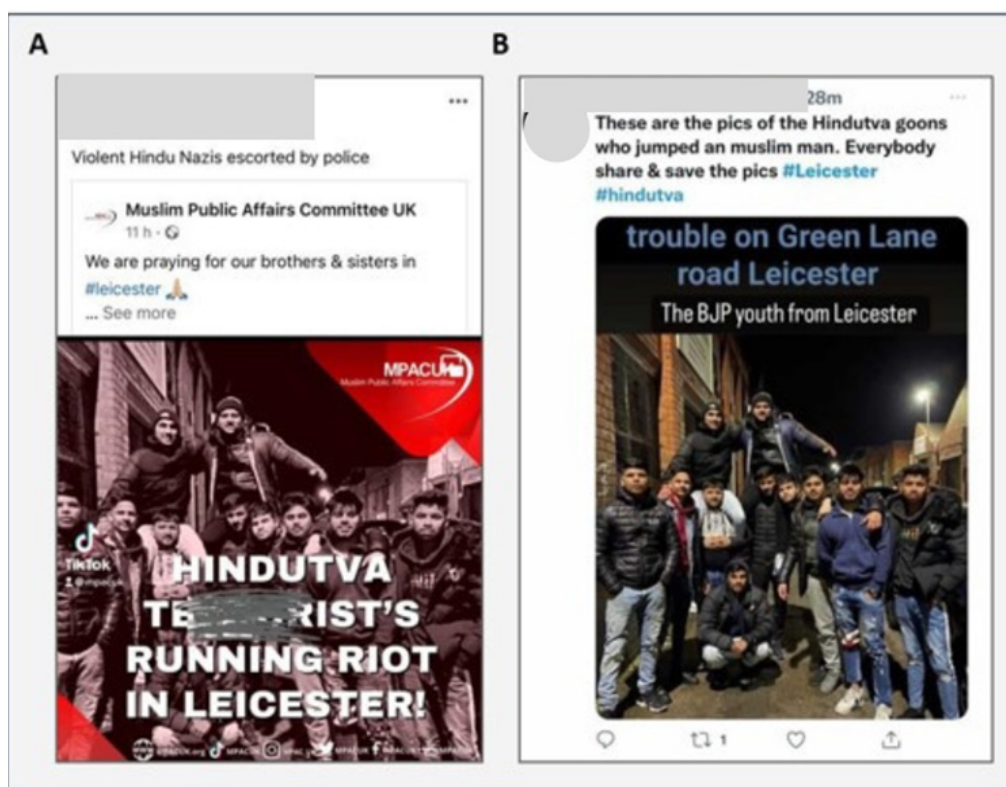
“We do not have a membership; anyone is welcome to participate at any time. Our activities are faith based rooted in Hindu ethos, however over our long history, we have had a handful of volunteers who are Muslim that have participated in our activities and held responsibilities.”

Does HSS have any Hindu members from the community that has recently been attacked in Leicester?

“Having asked our local volunteers, to the best of our knowledge, none of those participating in HSS (UK) activity have been attacked nor involved in the unrest in Leicester.”²⁷

Claim: RSS Youth in Leicester:

A photo was circulated on social media claiming a group of Diu Daman Leicester young men were ‘Hindutva Terrorists’, ‘violent Hindu Nazis’ and ‘BJP youth.’ In an interview with them and in the police incident reports they speak also of accusations that they were a part of RSS. The same young men were later interviewed by Channel 4 where the false claim of RSS and how they were subsequently stabbed is discussed²⁸. These men were the same men targeted at the Hindu festival and went on to organise the Hindu march.



Figures 7 and 8: Twitter and Facebook posts targeting the so called 'RSS Youth' who were innocents.²⁹

In their respective police reports³⁰ they state that a group photo of them and their friends was spread online, misrepresenting them as 'troublemakers linked to RSS and BJP' and claiming that they are Hindu extremists. Victims explained that they are unaware of Indian politics, and indeed, not related to RSS or BJP.

The incident report discusses the negative impact these allegations have had on their wellbeing. Some expressed that they have temporarily moved out of their homes or refrained from going outside in fear of getting physically and verbally assaulted. Some have been approached in public and asked if they are in the photo. Some have reported to the police being stabbed prior to the 17th -18th September march, the stabbing is under police investigation. Channel 4 showed the stabbing incident and the victim's mother commented that relations were better in Diu and Daman between Muslims and Hindus then here in Leicester, this is something the young men expressed in our interview with them also.³¹

Claim: BJP Organised Bus to Bring Hindutva Extremists to Leicester:

This claim was disproved by Guardian journalist Aina J Khan.³² The bus in question was a tourist bus.

Claim: Hindutva Extremists:

Claims of Hindutva extremists circulated in private and public social media accounts. For the incident where a man is attacked in his car see consequences of allegations section.

Claim: Sadhvi Ritambhara Speaking Across Temples in the UK:

1989–1992, Rithambara gave several public speeches considered to be severely anti-Muslim.³³

Several papers carried reports that Rithambara was present during the demolition of Babri Masjid, a key incident of Hindu-Muslim conflict in India, cheering on the crowd.³⁴ Three days after the demolition, she was arrested on grounds of inciting communal tension.³⁵ She was subsequently acquitted of all charges on 30 September 2020.³⁶

The claim that Sadhvi Ritambhara was going to be speaking at a number of temples drew reportedly over 100 protestors to the Smethwick temple in Birmingham and wider protests at other temples. Protestors wore balaclavas, tried to climb temple walls, removed a flag, tried to set fire to a flag and shouted anti-Hindu slurs at Hindus inside the temples. Investigation showed that she had been cancelled weeks before the tour in response to Muslim community concerns being communicated to the temples concerned.



Figure 9: Scheduled tour of various UK temples by Sadhvi Ritambhara. Highlighted is the Birmingham, Smethwick Temple visit.

Temples were approached for comment. Coventry Hindu Temple provided this statement:³⁷

“A member of our temple asked to host an event... the lady who wanted to have the event viewed her as a charitable woman and did not realise her connections to the Hindutva. As soon as I was made aware (7.09.22) I cancelled the event...

We live in a multicultural society in the UK. Community cohesion is a priority and we pride ourselves on our good community relations in Coventry across all faiths.”

Smethwick Temple (targeted 20th Sept.)

A local imam stood outside the Smethick temple to call for calm, stating that they had contacted the temple and let them know they were upset, and that the temple had immediately cancelled the event. The imam states that the temple made an innocent mistake and that the Hindus are very scared.³⁸



Figure 10: Video shared by @uddin118 calling for peace.³⁹

The potential hosting of Ritambhara requires deeper investigation and a Charity Commission inquiry into the temples' speaker policies and implementation of said policy.

Comments on Hindutva Extremism in Leicester

Claudia Webbe MP said that some constituents had cited nationalism as a factor, she also pointed to "local grumbling" about partying, noise and the beeping of horns after celebrations such as those for Indian Independence Day on August 15.⁴⁰

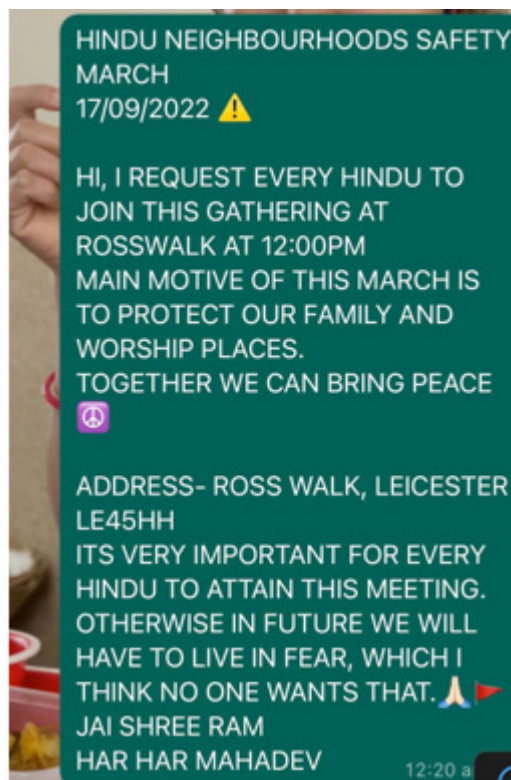
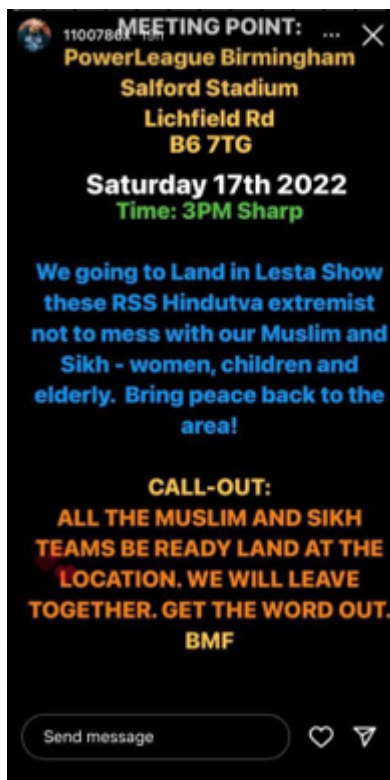
The Times reported that Paul Stott, head of security and extremism at the think tank Policy Exchange, said that "Muslim organisations had increasingly pointed to Hindutva over the past 18 months but the role of such groups in Leicester was still unclear."⁴¹

Most mainstream press have stated that there is no evidence of Hindu nationalist groups operating in Leicester. As yet no one has provided evidence of such nor were HJS or Vichaar Manthan UK able to uncover any evidence on their fact-finding visit to Leicester where they interviewed the organisers of the Hindu march, Muslims and Hindus living in LE5, approached temples, the HSS head office and mosques for comment.

March Organisation

Hindu and anti-Hindutva Muslim marches were held on 17/09/22 -18/09/22 in Leicester and an anti-Hindutva Muslim march in front of Smethwick temple, Birmingham on 20/09/22.

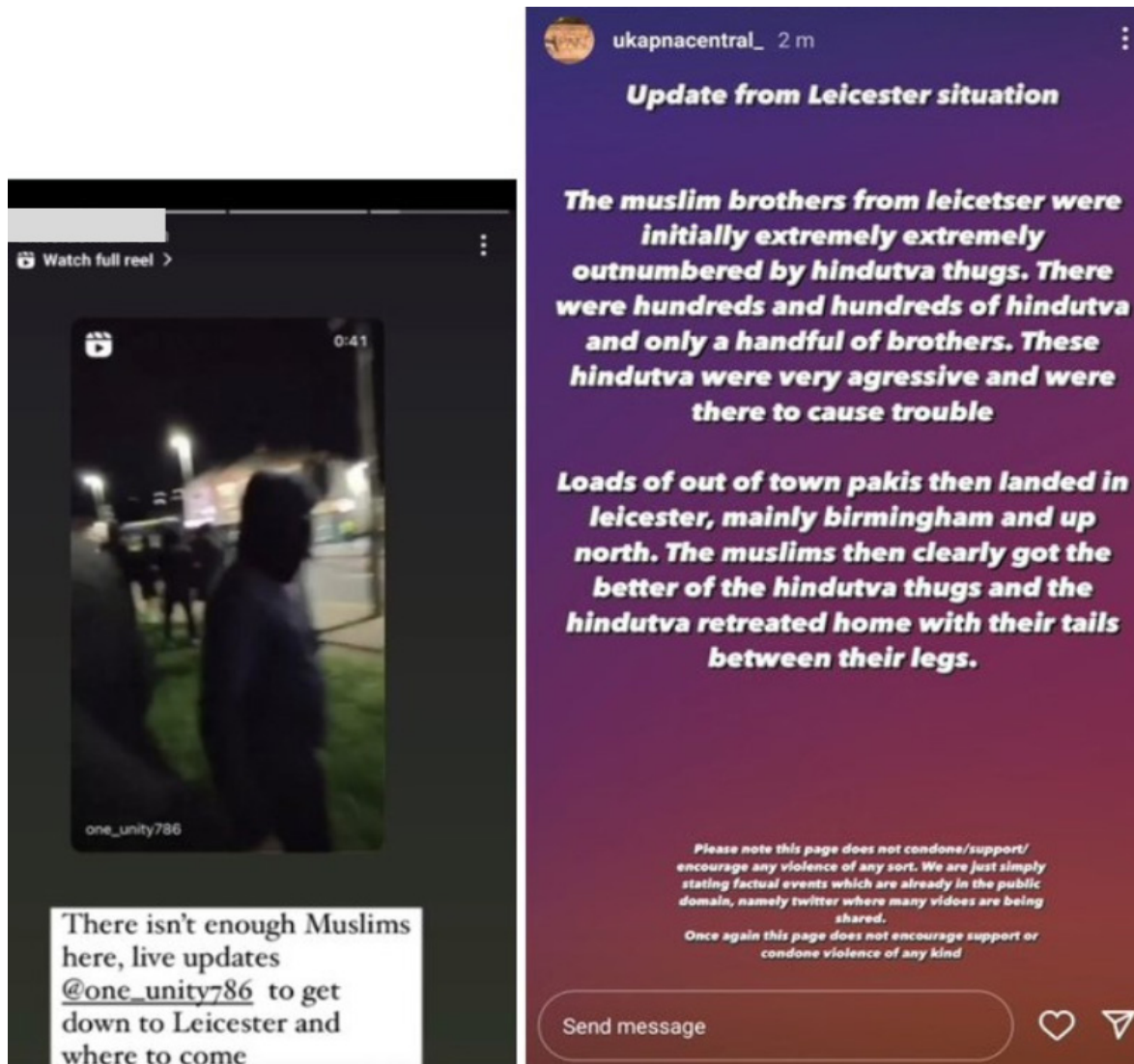
The Muslim protestors saw themselves as marching against Hindutva attacks on the Muslim community and the Hindu protestors saw themselves as marching for their right to live safely in their neighbourhoods following a violent attack on a Hindu festival and days of vandalism against their properties and vehicles. For an understanding of the key incidents that triggered the marches see the timeline.



Figures 11 and 12: Left displays user @1100786x sharing a call to march against RRS Hindutva extremists in Leicester leaving from Birmingham. Right displays WhatsApp sharing a call to march for protection and peace by the instigator of the Hindu march. Verified by the author of the flyer.

Calls for Greater Numbers to Join the Anti-Hindutva Muslim March:

An instagram account that has 6,700 followers alerted members that there weren't enough brothers to fight Hindutva in Leicester, after this, calls were seen across a number of social media accounts and numbers went from 30 to approximately 600.⁴²



Figures 13 and 14: The left shows Instagram user [redacted] calling for more Muslims to join crowds in Leicester, and to follow @one_unity786 for updates. The latter user, as of 3/10/22, has more than 10,000 followers. The right shows Instagram user @ukapnacentral_ reports on protestors moving to Leicester from other parts of the UK to tackle alleged 'Hindutva thugs'. The account ukapnacentral_ has since changed its name several times and now appears as Desi_Muslims1.

Discussions of Car Sharing to Reach March Locations:



Figure 15: Instagram user @ukapnacentral_ asks for a car share to travel from Birmingham to Leicester on the 18th September.

Chants Noted in the Hindu March Flyer:

Chants were made at both protests. 'Takbeer...' 'Allah u Akhbar' from the Muslim protestors and 'Jai Shri Ram' from the Hindu protestors. Influencers asserted that 'Jai Shri Ram' was indicative of extremism which was reflected in mainstream press putting emphasis on the chanting of Jai Shri Ram as possible evidence of extremism.

Jai Shri Ram

A Hindu greeting that praises the God Ram. Used in prayer, daily greetings and to assert Hinduness. It has been used as a nationalistic chant in India during conflict.

Har Har Mahadev

Is an appeal to Lord Shiva, another Hindu God usually for protection.

Misinformation Campaign

Temporary Chief Constable of Leicester Police Robert Nixon asserts that disinformation online has been one of the “biggest challenges” in policing the recent unrest in Leicester. He comments how social media has played a big part in fuelling the city’s recent tensions.⁴³

The allegations stoked tensions and were pivotal in the numbers that joined the anti-Hindutva Muslim marches, the violence that ensued and the wider impact then on the Hindu community in the UK.

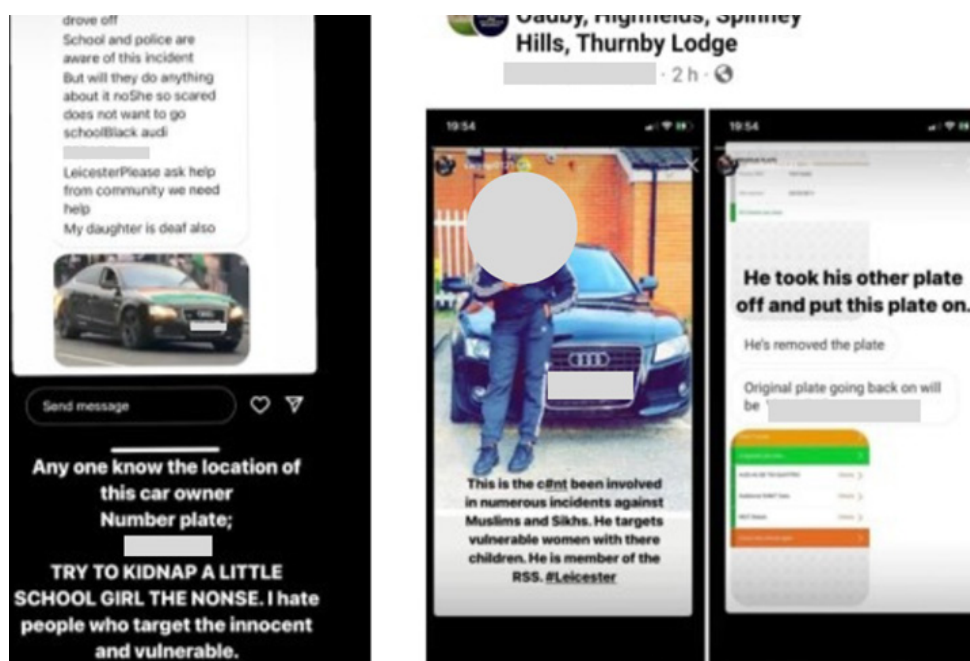
Beyond the claims of RRS terrorists and Hindutva extremists, there were accusations of:

- Attacking a mosque.



Figure 16: Tweet from Leicestershire Police attempting to correct misinformation being shared about a mosque attack.⁴⁴

- Kidnapping. The man accused of kidnapping was not in the country.⁴⁵
- Approach of a 14-year-old girl by three men. Later confirmed untrue by Leicester police.



Figures 17 and 18: The account @swoop0121 identifying the man as RSS and using his photo has nearly 10,000 followers (as of 4/10/22). The Facebook group 'Leicester online'⁴⁶⁴⁷ has 4.7k members (as of 4/10/22). The post appears to have been deleted.⁴⁸

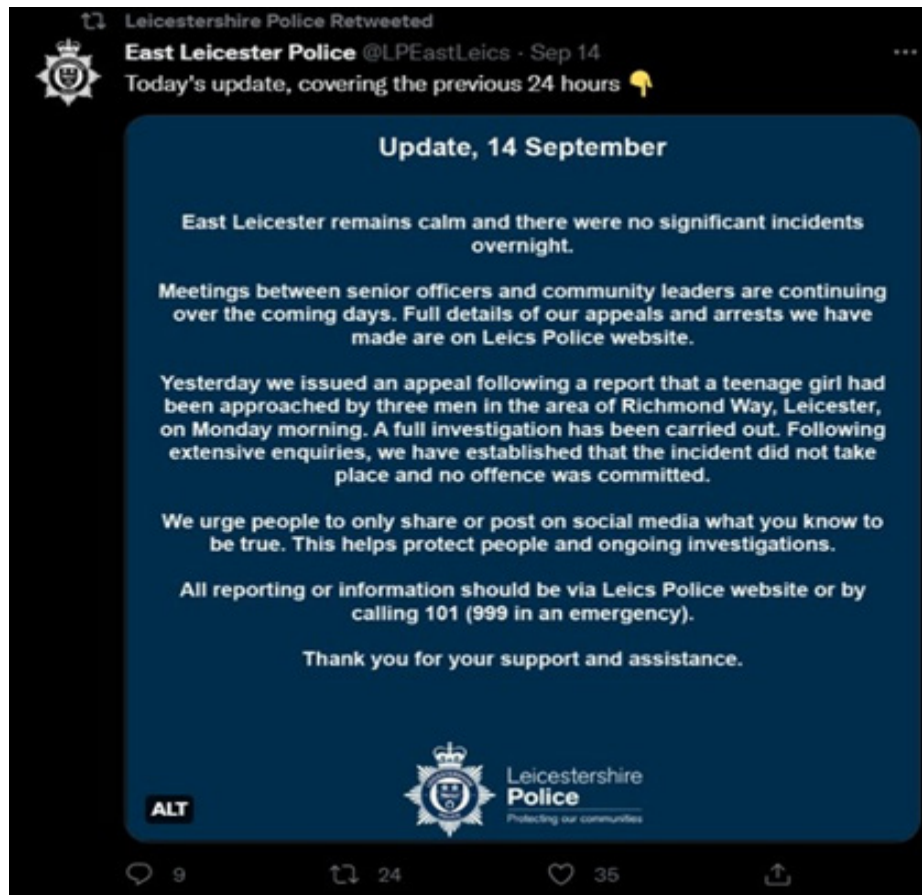


Figure 19: Tweet from East Leicester Police with a correcting the false accusation of a teenage girl being approached.⁴⁹

Influencer Mohammed Hijab claimed he had seen on Twitter people 'getting raped' to a crowd in Leicester. The video in which he makes the rape claim has 74.8k views,⁵⁰ and the subsequent video including the threat to come out again should the 'Hindutva' ever come out again has 1.1 million views.⁵¹



Figure 20: Still from the video of Hijab threatening to come out again should the 'Hindutva' come out.

- The Times spoke to locals who were adamant that Hindu nationalists had entered a mosque to shout and swear at praying men, yet a group of elders at the mosque insisted it was a fabrication.⁵²

Influencers

Activists with large social media followings either attended the marches and/or inflamed tensions via social media, spreading misinformation that inspired nationwide protest.

Tommy Robinson

Far right extremist Tommy Robinson, former leader of the English Defence League said many of his football friends wanted to come out in support of the Hindu community.⁵³



Figure 21: A video showing Tommy Robinson 'drumming' up support to go to Leicester to 'stand with Hindus'.⁵⁴

Norman Khan – Dutch Raja – @110786x (Instagram)

150k followers on Instagram before being deleted. Screenshot taken before deletion.

Norman Khan aka 'Dutch Raja', is a British Muslim who was a lead instigator in the Leicester unrest.

He was featured in 'British Gangsters: Faces of the Underworld', a documentary series about the UK's gangsters.⁵⁵ Khan and Riaz Khan were touted as appearing in a new Asian gang film 'Little Bastards', along with Riaz Khan (notorious ex-football hooligan, turned author and playwright, who has promoted the claims that the RSS were active in promoting misinformation around Leicester).⁵⁶ The official cast list doesn't appear to list either however.⁵⁷ It is unclear whether he is involved in criminality, however his social media presence expresses his want to be viewed as involved with the D company and BMF.

His Instagram, prior to deletion, showed him suggesting that he was connected to Indian mafia syndicate, the D Company:



Figure 22: Khan claiming to be on call with the D company.

On one of his highlight reels, named 'Connect', Khan appears to show a video call with three other men, captioned 'On call to D Company Ameen & Tanaji bhau jadhav Tiger Group India'. He is assumed to be the individual whose face is obscured by a tiger superimposed onto it – this is typical of his social media presence.

'D company' is an underground organised crime syndicate, headed by Dawood Ibrahim, a global terrorist who has appeared on Forbes' World's 10 Most Wanted Fugitives list. He is suspected of being the mastermind of the 1993 Bombay Bombings in which 12 bombings left 257 people dead and more than 1,400 injured. It is uncertain who the people in the Instagram story are but it is clear he wants them to be understood as members of the D company that he wants people to understand he converses with.

D Company was categorised as a 'Global Terrorist Organisation' by the US SDN list. It makes money through extortion, trafficking, smuggling, kidnapping, racketeering, and contract killings.

Elsewhere on his highlights, Khan has also posted the following tribute to Ibrahim:



Figure 23: Screenshot taken from Khan's Instagram highlights, showing a tribute to Ibrahim.

'BMF Familia' appears in multiple posts and in the bio of the account, along with a crossed swords emoji. 'BMF' generally refers to 'Black Mafia Family', an African American drug trafficking and money laundering organisation that ceased to be active in 2005 following arrests and prosecutions by the US government.

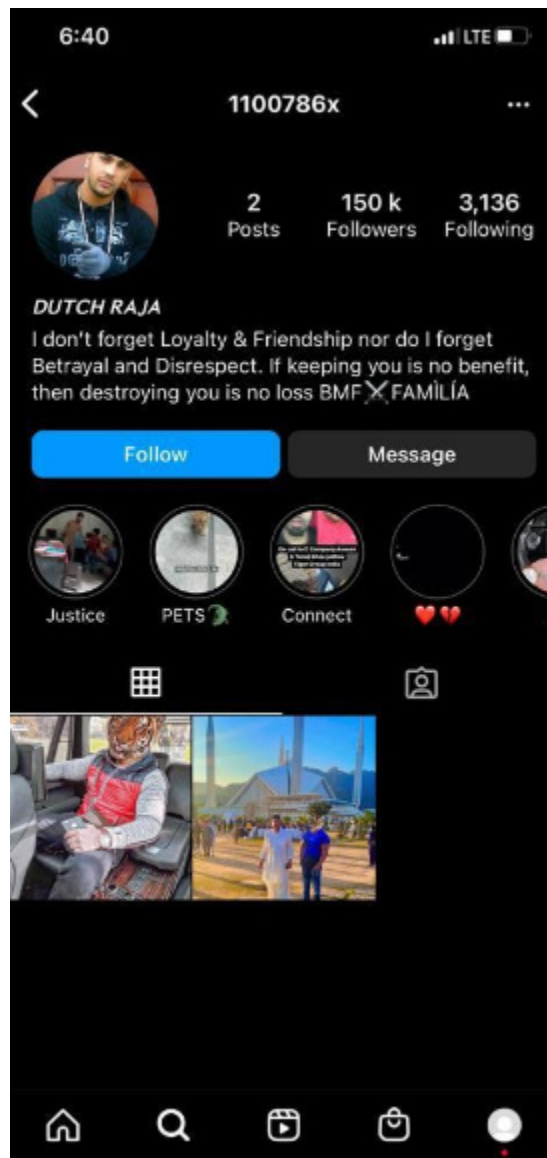
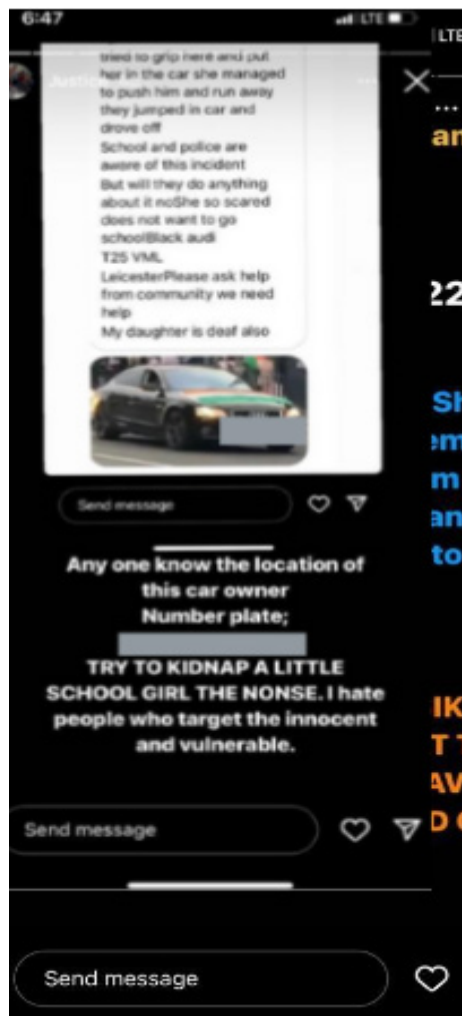


Figure 24: Screenshot of Instagram profile @1100786x prior to its deletion. @1100786x has since edited his account and changed his username, now appearing as @1xx786xx1.

Khan's account was involved in the false allegation of Hindu men approaching Muslim school girls, and in the organisation of protests in Leicester 17/9-18/9. His posts referred to 'RSS dogs', used profanity, and one ran a poll asking his followers if they should 'go Saturday and teach these guys a lesson'.



Figures 25 and 26: Khan's Instagram posts on the account @1100786x, screenshotted prior to the deletion of the account.

Khan's Facebook page was also used to stir up tensions and organise crowds, telling people to 'be ready' in response to a comment threatening to 'clear these dogs out'. Other comments threatened to 'find em and chop em up', referencing 'Hindu extremists'.

Majid Freeman

20,400 followers on Twitter and 17,200 on Instagram.

Reported to have given prayers for the brothers of an ISIS fighter.⁵⁸⁵⁹ Shared the implication that author of the Satanic Verses, Sir Salman Rushdie, whose novel is considered blasphemous and was therefore stabbed earlier this year, 'should die'.⁶⁰ In 2021 he posted prayers for Aafia Siddiqui⁶¹, a woman charged with trying to shoot US military in Afghanistan whilst shouting 'death to all Americans'.⁶²



Majid Freeman
@Majstar7

I pray the Taliban can use their power & position to help free our sister Aafia Siddiqui 🧠

2:24 am · 16 Aug 2021 · Twitter for iPhone

Figure 27: Majid Freeman supporting Aafia Siddiqui.⁶³

Many of Freeman's allegations of violence against Muslims perpetrated by Hindus in Leicester have later been found to have no evidence (see misinformation section.)

Accusations made by Majid Freeman:



Majid Freeman · Sep 9, 2022
@Majstar7 · [Follow](#)
[#LEICESTER](#) UPDATE

A 17 yr old Muslim lad was on his way to work yday at 11:30AM. He was on Cottesmore Road when 2 Hindu guys stopped him & asked him his name & if he's Hindu or Muslim. They then grabbed him by his neck but he managed to beat them both up & escape.

STAY ALERT



Insp Yakub Ismail ✓
@EastLeicsNPA · [Follow](#)

Please be assured, we have been and are carrying out regular patrols in that area. If any resident has any concern please let us know. At this point we are not aware of this incident. Please ask the victim or a representative to report this to Leicestershire Police on 101.

11:03 AM · Sep 10, 2022



41



Reply



Share



Majid Freeman
@Majstar7 · [Follow](#)

They feel much safer since the Muslims started patrolling the streets and making their presence known. Many said they've been complaining to the police for almost a year but they feel no action gets taken. It's sad that it's had to come to this for the locals to feel safe again.

2:13 AM · Sep 17, 2022



25



Reply



Share

Figures 28 and 29: Majid Freeman posts.⁶⁴

Leicester City Mayor, Peter Soulsby, meeting to discuss community grievances 11/10/2252⁶⁵
Appearing in a video for Freeman's twitter, Leicester's City Mayor, Peter Soulsby, "hopes this is just the beginning of discussions" and discusses the upcoming review. They both remark how productive the meeting was and the concern over the "ideology" that lays behind the unrest. Freeman asserts how ISIS has been tackled and the need to tackle 'Hindutva', the Mayor agrees.

Mainstream media have consistently afforded him a platform, with Freeman appearing in TV interviews on major channels.

Mohammad Hijab

600,000 subscribers on YouTube, 148,000 on Instagram, and 81,000 on Twitter.

A video showing Hijab calling for brothers to stand against Hindus in Leicester has 40,000 likes on TikTok. In the clip, he denigrates Hindus, celebrates street confrontations and calls for the crowd to come out against the 'Hindutva'.⁶⁶



Figure 30: A screenshot from the video distributed online of Hijab. It has more than 40,000 likes.⁶⁷

In another video, he can be seen encouraging Muslims to defend themselves physically against Hindu "fascism".⁶⁸

On September 18, he posted a photo and a video of himself leading a group through Leicester, captioned 'Muslim patrol in Leicester', on Instagram.⁶⁹



Figure 31: Hijab leading a 'Muslim patrol' through Leicester.⁷⁰

It is important to note that Hijab faced strong opposition from local Muslims. A crowd surrounding him can be heard telling him "Put the mike down", "you're an inciter, you are only going to make things worse," "show some restraint!" and "leave it".⁷¹

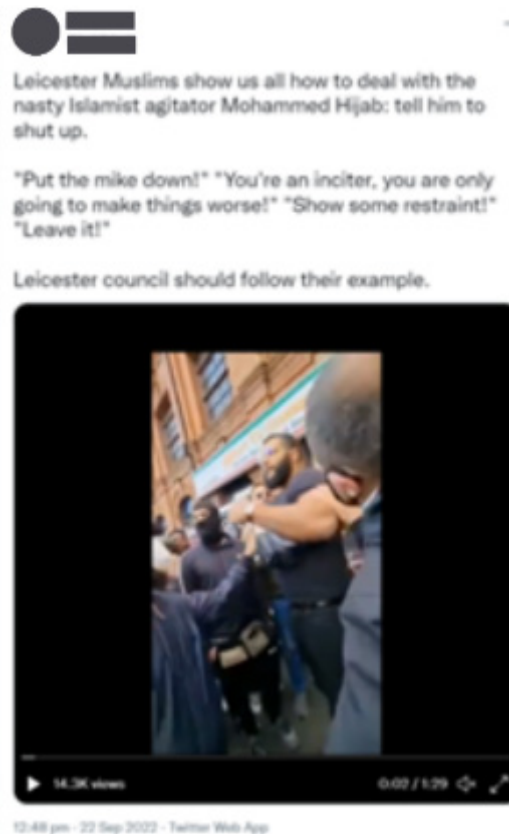


Figure 32: Hijab being challenged in Leicester.⁷²

Hijab retweeted Freeman frequently during the unrest, including those referring to 'Hindutva racist thugs'.⁷³

Channel 4 gave Mohammad Hijab a platform to speak on these issues.⁷⁴

Shakeel Afsar

Afsar was a lead protester in 2019 against Anderton Park School in Birmingham. He protested against LGBT equality lessons in an attempt to halt LGBT equality messages being taught in the classroom.⁷⁵ He was served with a court injunction banning protesting around the school. He was also a prominent figure in the protests against the 'Lady of Heaven' film in the summer of 2022.⁷⁶

Afsar frequently retweets Freeman, particularly tweets focusing on Leicester and the invitation of Sadhvi Rithambara to temples.

In a video depicting a crowd surrounding Smethwick Hindu temple in Birmingham, Afsar tells the camera the crowd will use "reasonable and necessary force to stand and defend our honour". He also rejects "half-hearted condemnation" of the RSS and BJP from temples and insists they provide official statements of condemnation. He says "the people of Birmingham will stand up".⁷⁷



Figure 33: Afsar protesting outside a temple in Birmingham.⁷⁸

Afsar can be seen in another clip filmed by the news platform 5 Pillars stating that the BJP and RSS are spreading to the UK and saying that, if pushed, 'his people' will fight back for their rights.⁷⁹ He also claims the BJP and the RSS have been on a European 'watch list'. It is unclear what watchlist he is referring to.

Anjem Choudhary

Radical preacher, jailed for inviting support for the Islamic State group.

In his blog, responding to the incidents in Leicester, he calls on the Hindu community to convert.⁸⁰

He blames the British government for what he believes to be an importation of Hindu extremism from India:

"It should come as no surprise that this war has reached the streets of Britain due to the fact that both Britain and the Indian regime are united in their enmity against Islam and Muslims...

The British government... giving support and strengthening ties with the ultra-right BJP and Hindutva followers."⁸¹

Hizb ut-Tahrir

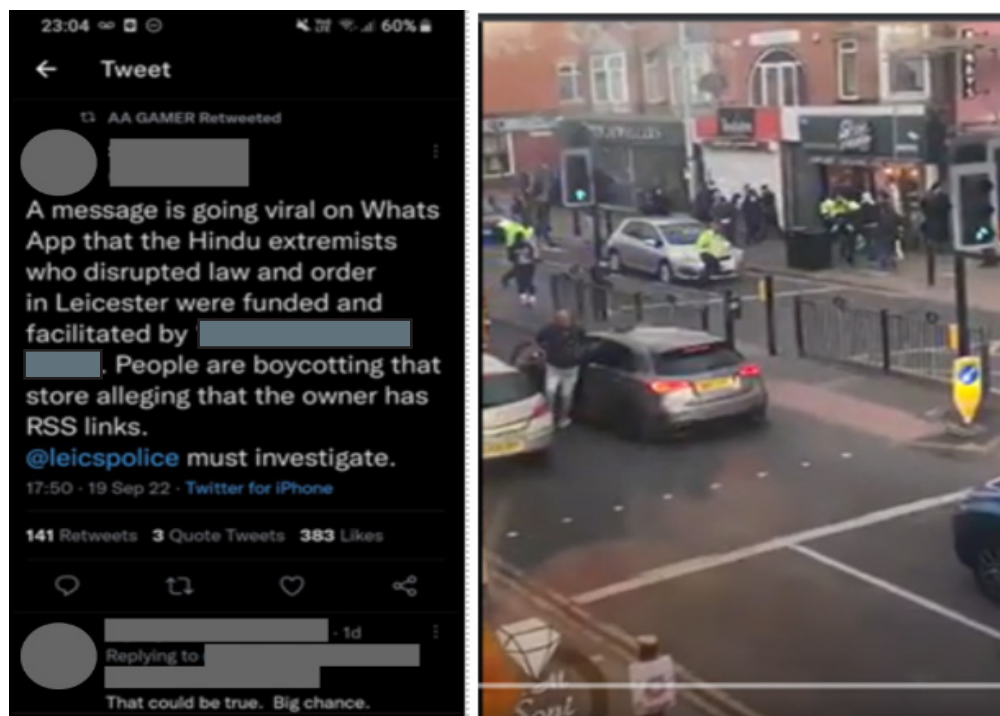
Hizb ut-Tahrir is an international organisation whose stated aim is to re-establish the Islamic Caliphate. Banned in 15 countries including Germany and Turkey, its members have links to Al-Qaeda and ISIS.⁸² Throughout the Leicester unrest it tweeted material linking the violence to Hindutva and RSS.



Figure 34: Tweets blaming Hindutva and its 'facism' for the Leicester violence.⁸³

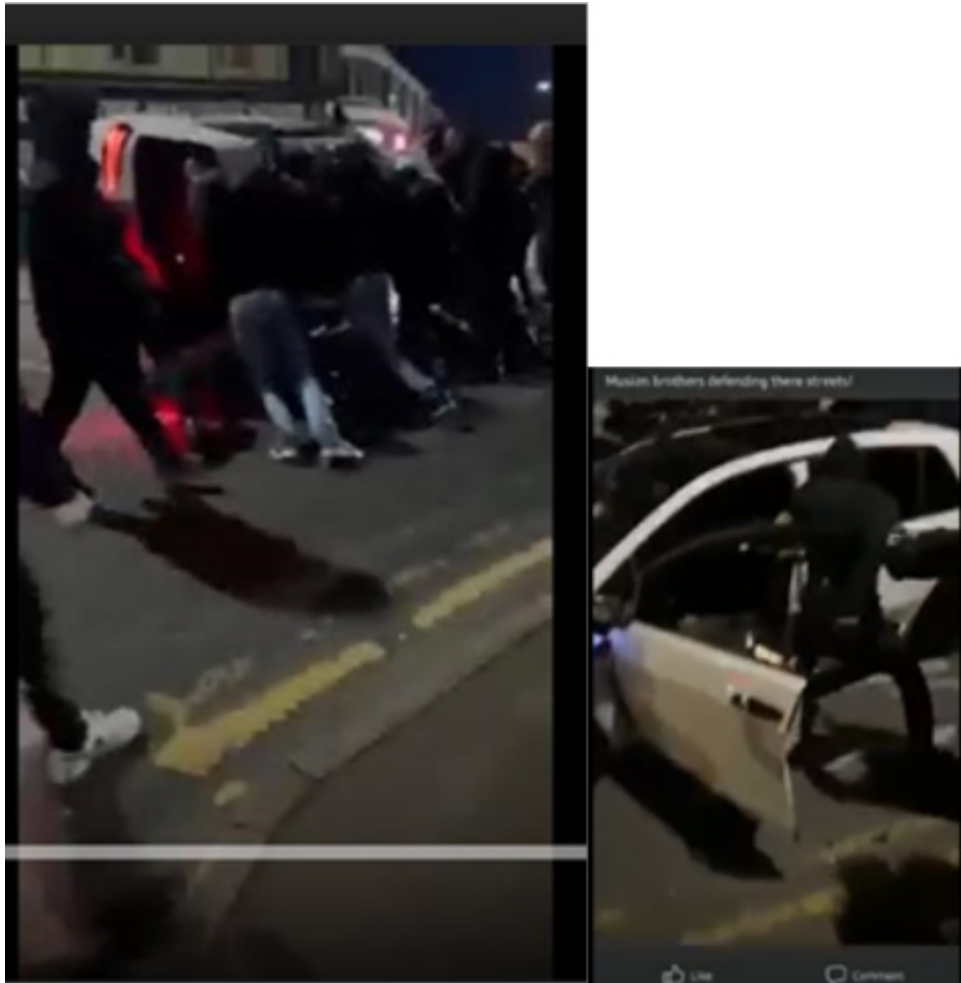
Consequences of Misinformation

- Attack on Hindu businesses.



Figures 35 and 36: Hindu businesses in Leicester were boycotted with unverified claims that they were linked to the RSS in India.⁸⁴ The right shows a Hindu business targeted by anti-Hindutva Muslim protesters and police intervened.⁸⁵

- During the violence on the 17 September, a Hindu man driving was accused of being a Hindutva extremist and had his car rolled. A man tried to drag him out but was stopped by Majid Freeman.



Figures 37 and 38: Stills from videos showing the attack on the car.⁸⁶



Figure 39: The driver being treated following the attack. Shared on social media with the false accusation that he was Hindutva.⁸⁷

- People have moved out of the area, some have returned.

Hindu young men interviewed in their alternative living arrangement, who were labelled as 'RSS terrorists' and claim responsibility for organising the Hindu march, detail:

"in that situation, most of the friends lived outside the city, like they were in the town, some were living at the hotels, some were living at their job, some were living at their friend's house, like me... I was living at my friend's house, I can't go to my house; the situation was that critical... I got like 30 friends who were in some different houses till three days... there were some friends so would sleep in their car, there were some friends staying at a hotel, and there were some friends who stayed at work."⁸⁸

Reports of temporary re-location are confirmed in police incident reports regarding the 'RSS' allegations.⁸⁹

- Many residents within the LE5 Leicester area have removed their Hindu symbols.

A Hindu man interviewed who lives close to the area affected by the pre-march vandalism:

"They broke one car here and the next day they came back and were smashing doors... We put Toran here (Hindu symbol) and all Hindus put Om and our God on our door. So, they were smashing the door that got a picture on it... So, we removed the Om."⁹⁰

- Temple flags have been pulled down and desecrated (attempted to set on fire).⁹¹ Smethwick temple in Birmingham faced reportedly over 100 protestors.

Conclusions

This briefing has evidenced that a localised (LE5 Leicester) community cohesion breakdown, involving prejudice emanating from the Muslim community to the Hindu community and vice versa has led to a number of assaults on both Muslims and Hindus and attacks on Hindu properties in Leicester. The unrest has been falsely narrated as involving organised extremist groups and RSS terrorists.

One of the instigators of the anti-Hindutva Leicester march is a man expressing praise for a wanted terrorist and who claims to speak with the crime syndicate the D company. The social media influencers who peddled narratives of Hindutva extremism include a convicted terrorist offender and a man who has offered prayers to the Taliban. Whilst the men accused of being 'RSS' terrorists, who had their festival vandalised and claim to be victims of stabbing, consequently organising the Hindu march, appear to have no links to nor an understanding of RSS

The methods employed have included projections including a false claim of a BJP organised bus, whilst car sharing of anti-Hindutva protestors were in fact taking place; claims of racists, terrorists, extremists etc; misinformation regarding crimes being committed; attempts to have the uptake of their narrative by mainstream press and collaborating with political leaders to gain sympathy for their narrative and potentially influence future policy. The successful spread of these claims has led to a security threat posed to the Hindu community and attacks on their places of worship.

The media has at times conflated the issue by regularly relying on influencers included in this report for comment and focusing on an issue of Hindutva extremism and India politics rather than providing nuanced and accurate analysis of the incidents.

There is a real concern that Majid Freeman is regularly being provided a platform to express his views regarding the presence of Hindutva extremism in the UK and posing as a 'community leader', meeting with the City of Leicester's mayor and discussing the future of the upcoming independent review.

Recommendations

Broadcasters and Ofcom

Broadcasters should perform greater due diligence on those brought into provide expert commentary. Those who have expressed extremist views contrary to British values, including equality, mutual tolerance, and respect of the rule of law, or have links or have expressed sympathy to extremist organisations, should not be given a platform to provide their narrative. If media outlets do not perform due diligence Ofcom should use current powers more effectively or be granted more powers to regulate this.

Leicester City Council

Leicester City Council to review their noise and antisocial behaviour policy. To review ease of access to redress and awareness of how to make noise complaints. Improve response time to improve trust in and relations with communities who express grievances.

Independent Advisor for Social Cohesion and Resilience and/or the Independent Commission for Countering Extremism

Ensure there is a workstream that involves understanding the harm anti-hindu hate is causing local communities and provide better support for victims, local authorities, and civil society to counter anti-Hindu hate. This will include supporting local authorities and their employees in their understanding of anti-Hindu hate.

Prevent

Councillors and the Mayor to receive training around extremism and due diligence processes to ensure the discontinuation of engagement with self-declared 'community representatives' that have not been subject to appropriate due diligence checks".

Attention needs to be paid to the potential radicalisation of members of the Hindu community who are expressing grievances around attacks from the Muslim community and accusations made towards them that they are extremists. They may now be vulnerable to the narratives materialising online, targeting the UK, by extremists operating from abroad.

Attention needs to be paid to the potential radicalisation of members of the Muslim community who are feeling aggrieved and may be vulnerable to narratives being disseminated that there are Hindu extremist groups operating in the UK that pose a threat to the Muslim community.

Charity Commission

The Hindu temples that planned to host Sadhvi Ritambhara require investigation as to whether they have a robust and functioning speaker policy in place.

Independent Review into the unrest in Leicester

Owing to the concern around the closeness of influencers discussed in this report to those involved in conducting the independent review we recommend authorities bring in an independent judge to hold a judge led review. This way the review will be distanced from party political pressure.

Further research

Further research is required into whether there are RSS links to organisations in the UK and if such links prove problematic for community cohesion and extremism risks.

Further research is required into claims of anti-hindu sentiment in the UK, particularly in UK schools.

With Leicester as a case study further research could be done into the tactics used to control the narrative on extremism and terrorism and influence policy.

Endnotes

- 1 See Influencers section.
- 2 Police, Leicestershire. Updated arrests and charges – East Leicester disorder, September 30, 2022. <https://www.leics.police.uk/news/leicestershire/news/2022/september/updated-arrests-and-charges--east-leicester-disorder/>.
- 3 ‘Neo-Hindutva’: evolving forms, spaces, and expressions of Hindu nationalism: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09584935.2018.1548576>
- 4 Walter Andersen and Shridhar R Damle, “Messengers of Hindu Nationalism: How the RSS Reshaped India,” (London, Hurst & Company, 2019), 78, 82.
- 5 Horowitz, Donald L., 2001, “The Deadly Ethnic Riot,” University of California Press. p. 244.
- 6 Jeff Haynes, 2003, “Democracy and Political Change in the Third World,” Routledge. pp. 168
- 7 McLeod John, 2002, “The history of India”, Greenwood Publishing Group. pp. 209.
- 8 Raychaudhuri, Tapan. “Shadows of the swastika: Historical perspectives on the politics of Hindu communalism.” *Modern Asian Studies* 34, no. 2 (2000): 259-279.
- 9 RSS.org. “RSS : The Mission.” Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. Accessed October 17, 2022. <<https://www.rss.org/Encyc/2012/10/22/rss-vision-and-mission.html>>.
- 10 Team, Bridge Initiative. “Factsheet: Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS).” Bridge Initiative. Accessed November 1, 2022. <https://bridge.georgetown.edu/research/factsheet-rashtriya-swayamsevak-sangh-rss/>.
- 11 “Vi. the Context of the Violence in Gujarat.” “WE HAVE NO ORDERS TO SAVE YOU”. Accessed November 1, 2022. <https://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/india/India0402-05.htm>.
- 12 “Proscribed Terrorist Groups or Organisations.” GOV.UK. Accessed November 1, 2022. <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/proscribed-terrorist-groups-or-organisations--2/proscribed-terrorist-groups-or-organisations-accessible-version>.
- 13 Area information for East Park Road, Leicester, LE55HH: <https://www.streetcheck.co.uk/postcode/le55hh> Accessed 17/10/2022
- 14 Abu Taher, “How 20,000 Indians Slipped into UK on Portuguese Passports, Legally!” Mail Online, January 17, 2016. <<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3403136/How-20-000-Indians-slipped-UK-Portuguese-passports-legally.html>>.
- 15 Interview held 25/09/2022. Interview transcripts available upon request.
- 16 Majid Freeman: @Majstar7 Twitter: <https://twitter.com/Majstar7/status/1570947004834123776> Archived at: <https://abs.twimg.com/favicons/twitter.2.ico> Accessed 17/10/2022
- 17 Majid Freeman: @Majstar7, Twitter: <https://twitter.com/Majstar7/status/1570947004834123776>, Archived at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20221101131423/https://twitter.com/Majstar7/status/1570947004834123776>, Accessed 17/10/2022.
- 18 [Redacted] TikTok, available at: [Redacted] Accessed 04/10/2022. Archived at: [Redacted]
- 19 [Redacted], Twitter, available at: [Redacted] Accessed 04/10/2022. Archived at: [Redacted]
- 20 @Fiacona_us Twitter, available at: https://twitter.com/Fiacona_us/status/1571887479468314629, Accessed 28/10/2022
- 21 [Redacted], Twitter, available at [Redacted] Accessed 04/10/2022. Archived at: [redacted].
- 22 BBC research shared on twitter: @AbdirahimS, Twitter, available at: <https://twitter.com/AbdirahimS/status/1572958267504054273>. Accessed 5/1/22.
- 23 [Redacted] Twitter, available at: [Redacted] Accessed 04/10/2022. Archived at: [Redacted]
- 24 Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh UK, available at: <https://hssuk.org/>
- 25 Charity registration number 267309
- 26 Charity Commission for England and Wales, “Inquiry Report HSS UK,” The National Archives, 2 September 2016, Page 7. <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/549675/hindu_swayamsevak_sangh_uk.pdf> .
- 27 Approached for comments on 02/20/2022. Full comment available upon request.
- 28 Darshna Soni, “Leicester Mayor Orders Inquiry into Violent Unrest.” Channel 4 News, October 14, 2022. <<https://www.channel4.com/news/leicester-mayor-orders-inquiry-into-violent-unrest>>.
- 29 Original Facebook post by the Muslim Public Affairs Committee is available at: <<https://www.facebook.com/MPACUK1/videos/629739165416347/>>, accessed 5/10/22. Archived: <<https://web/20221012093026/https://www.facebook.com/MPACUK1/videos/629739165416347/>>; [Redacted], Twitter, available at: [Redacted], accessed 5/10/22. Archived: [Redacted]
- 30 Police reports available upon request.
- 31 Darshna Soni, “Leicester Mayor Orders Inquiry into Violent Unrest.” Channel 4 News, October 14, 2022. <<https://www.channel4.com/news/leicester-mayor-orders-inquiry-into-violent-unrest>>.

Endnotes

- 32 @ainajkhan, Twitter, available at: <<https://twitter.com/ainajkhan/status/1572496307410853888>>, Accessed 5/10/22. Archived: /web/20221012092327/<https://twitter.com/ainajkhan/status/1572496307410853888>
- 33 Basu, Amrita. "Feminism inverted: The real women and gendered imagery of Hindu nationalism." *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 25, no. 4 (1993): 25-37
- 34 Tharu, Susie, and Tejaswini Niranjana. "Problems for a contemporary theory of gender." *Social Scientist* (1994): 93-117
- 35 Katie Feehan and Ross Slater, "Far-right Hindu speaker who fuelled disorder in Birmingham by 200-strong masked mob: Planned talk by Hindu nationalists leader Sadhvi Ritambhara from India sparked violent temple protest after weeks of unrest in Leicester between Muslims and Hindus," *Daily Mail*, 21 September 2022. <<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-11235329/Planned-talk-Hindu-nationalist-leader-Sadhvi-Ritambhara-sparked-temple-protest-Birmingham.html>>
- 36 Associated Press, "Members of Modi's BJP Acquitted over 1992 Attack on Babri Mosque." *South China Morning Post*, September 30, 2020. <<https://www.scmp.com/news/asia/south-asia/article/3103655/indian-court-acquits-hindu-hardliners-over-1992-attack-babri>>.
- 37 Interview by Charlotte Littlewood with Coventry Temple Society President 21/09/2022
- 38 @Uddin118, Twitter <<https://twitter.com/uddin118/status/1572285104726089731>> Accessed 04/10/2022. Archived: /web/20221012092757/<https://twitter.com/uddin118/status/1572285104726089731>
- 39 @Uddin118, Twitter <<https://twitter.com/uddin118/status/1572285104726089731>> Accessed 04/10/2022. Archived: /web/20221012092757/<https://twitter.com/uddin118/status/1572285104726089731>
- 40 Fiona Hamilton, Kaya Burgess, Venetia Menzies, David Woode and John Hall, "Fake kidnapping and Twitter bots: how ethnic violence flared in Leicester," *The Times*, September 24 2022. <<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/fake-kidnapping-and-twitter-bots-how-ethnic-violence-flared-in-leicester-mttwm2r2q>>.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Will Jefford, Greig Watson and Caroline Lowbridge "Leicester disorder: Second man sentenced cites social media influence" *BBC news* 20/10/2022: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leicestershire-62965416>
- 43 Asha Patel, "Disinformation has been one of the 'biggest challenges' amid unrest in city, police chief", *Leicestershire Live*, 24 September 2022. <<https://www.leicesterm Mercury.co.uk/news/leicester-news/disinformation-been-one-biggest-challenges-7622343>>.
- 44 @leicspolice, Twitter, available at: <https://twitter.com/leicspolice/status/1571214687659761667>. Accessed 5/10/22. Archived: /web/20221012111207/<https://twitter.com/leicspolice/status/1571214687659761667>
- 45 Evidence available upon request.
- 46 'Leicester Online: Evington, Oadby, Highfields, Spinney Hills, Thurnby Lodge', Facebook, page available at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/leicesteronline>. Accessed 4/10/22.
- 47 "@habibi_uk, Twitter, available at: https://twitter.com/habibi_uk/status/1586787875298869248?t=DuSE-qMDAUXMaWfAhO7cQw&s=03 Accessed 02/11/2022".
- 48 @swoop0121, Instagram, account available at: <https://www.instagram.com/swoop0121/>. Accessed 4/10/22
- 49 @LPEastLeics, Twitter, available at: <https://twitter.com/LPEastLeics/status/1570036615556259840>. Accessed 5/10/22. Archived: /web/20221012112824/<https://twitter.com/LPEastLeics/status/1570036615556259840>
- 50 @rigel123786, TikTok, available at: <https://vm.tiktok.com/ZMFFSVFB2/>. Accessed 5/10/22. Archived: /web/20221012094735/<https://www.tiktok.com/@rigel123786/video/7144968503282486534?t=8WDqXHKf-BQ5&r=1>
- 51 @rigel123786, TikTok, available at: <https://vm.tiktok.com/ZMFFSpvQS/>. Accessed 5/10/22. Archived: /web/20221012094928/<https://www.tiktok.com/@rigel123786/video/7144971356986182917?t=8WDqUxYbCJa&r=1>
- 52 Fiona Hamilton, Kaya Burgess, Venetia Menzies, David Woode, and John Hall, "Fake Kidnapping and Twitter Bots: How Ethnic Violence Flared in Leicester." *The Times*, September 24, 2022. <<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/fake-kidnapping-and-twitter-bots-how-ethnic-violence-flared-in-leicester-mttwm2r2q>>.
- 53 "Ex-EDL leaders Tommy Robinson and Kevin Carroll cleared". *BBC News*. 16 October 2013.
- 54 [Redacted] available at: [redacted] Accessed 5/10/22. Archived: [redacted].
- 55 James Rodger, "Longford man to star in Coventry-filmed Asian gang movie", *Coventry Telegraph*, 21 July 2016. <<https://www.coventrytelegraph.net/whats-on/film-news/longford-man-star-coventry-filmed-11644081>>.
- 56 James Rodger, "Longford man to star in Coventry-filmed Asian gang movie", *Coventry Telegraph*, 21 July 2016. <<https://www.coventrytelegraph.net/whats-on/film-news/longford-man-star-coventry-filmed-11644081>>; <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2018/sep/16/riaz-khan-memoirs-of-an-asian-football-casual-interview-hooliganism-leicester-curve>>; @riazkhanlc, Twitter, available at: <https://twitter.com/riazkhanlc>.
- 57 Little Bastards, Full Cast and Crew, IMDB, available at: <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt8197340/fullcred->

Endnotes

its/?ref_=tt_cl_sm

58 Emma Webb, "Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector", Henry Jackson Society, 2018, p. 38.

59 Andrew Gilligan, The Telegraph, "friend of murdered hostage Alan Henning, defends Isil Online", <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/11233372/Friend-of-murdered-hostage-Alan-Henning-defends-Isil-online.html>, Accessed: 31/10/2022.

60 @habibi_UK, Twitter, available at: https://twitter.com/habibi_uk/status/1579068022844960770

61 @Majstar7, Twitter, <https://twitter.com/Majstar7/status/1427078714089775104>. Accessed 5/10/22. Archived: [/web/20221012103920/https://twitter.com/Majstar7/status/1427078714089775104](https://web/20221012103920/https://twitter.com/Majstar7/status/1427078714089775104)

62 BBC News, "US Jails Pakistani Scientist for 86 Years," September 23, 2010. <<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-11401865>>.

63 @Majstar7, Twitter, <https://twitter.com/Majstar7/status/1427078714089775104>. Accessed 5/10/22. Archived: [/web/20221012103920/https://twitter.com/Majstar7/status/1427078714089775104](https://web/20221012103920/https://twitter.com/Majstar7/status/1427078714089775104)

64 @Majstar7, Twitter, available at: <https://twitter.com/Majstar7/status/1568300075314728960>. Accessed 5/10/22. Reply from @EastLeicsNPA, Twitter, available at: <https://twitter.com/EastLeicsNPA/status/1568540727872823302>. Archived: [/web/20221012103234/https://twitter.com/EastLeicsNPA/status/1568540727872823302](https://web/20221012103234/https://twitter.com/EastLeicsNPA/status/1568540727872823302). Accessed 5/10/22; @Majstar7, Twitter, available at: <https://twitter.com/Majstar7/status/1570944044834123776>. Accessed 5/10/22. Archived : [/web/20221012102626/https://twitter.com/Majstar7/status/1570944044834123776](https://web/20221012102626/https://twitter.com/Majstar7/status/1570944044834123776)

65 @Majstar7, Twitter, available at: <https://twitter.com/Majstar7/status/1579875381607292928>. Accessed 17/10/2022. Archived: [/web/20221012141000/https://twitter.com/Majstar7/status/1579875381607292928](https://web/20221012141000/https://twitter.com/Majstar7/status/1579875381607292928)

66 @habibi_uk, Twitter, available at: https://twitter.com/habibi_uk/status/1572183092906835969. Accessed 5/10/22; @rigel123786, TikTok, available at: https://www.tiktok.com/@rigel123786/video/7144971356986182917?_t=8Vz2SF6TdaP&_r=1

67 @rigel123786, TikTok, available at: <https://vm.tiktok.com/ZMFFSpvQS/>. Accessed 4/10/22. Archived: [/web/20221012094928/https://www.tiktok.com/@rigel123786/video/7144971356986182917?_t=8WDqUxYbCJa&_r=1](https://web/20221012094928/https://www.tiktok.com/@rigel123786/video/7144971356986182917?_t=8WDqUxYbCJa&_r=1)

68 @habibi_uk, Twitter, available at: https://twitter.com/habibi_uk/status/1571909078129016832. Accessed 5/1/22.

69 @mohammedhijabofficial, Instagram, available at: https://www.instagram.com/p/CiqHJuwI_-P/?hl=en. Accessed 5/10/22. Archived: [/web/20221012113936/https://www.instagram.com/p/CiqHJuwI_-P/?hl=en](https://web/20221012113936/https://www.instagram.com/p/CiqHJuwI_-P/?hl=en).

70 @mohammedhijabofficial, Instagram, available at: https://www.instagram.com/p/CiqHJuwI_-P/?hl=en. Accessed 5/10/22. Archived: [/web/20221012114121/https://www.instagram.com/p/CiqHJuwI_-P/?hl=en](https://web/20221012114121/https://www.instagram.com/p/CiqHJuwI_-P/?hl=en)

71 @habibi_uk, Twitter, available at: https://twitter.com/habibi_uk/status/1572915808590000128. Accessed 5/10/22. Archived: [/web/20221012114354/https://twitter.com/habibi_uk/status/1572915808590000128](https://web/20221012114354/https://twitter.com/habibi_uk/status/1572915808590000128)

72 @habibi_uk, Twitter, available at: https://twitter.com/habibi_uk/status/1572915808590000128. Accessed 5/10/22. Archived: [/web/20221012105213/https://twitter.com/habibi_uk/status/1572915808590000128](https://web/20221012105213/https://twitter.com/habibi_uk/status/1572915808590000128)

73 <https://twitter.com/Majstar7/status/1571877034669838337>

74 Channel 4 News, "YouTuber Mohammed Hijab Exclusively Speaks to Channel 4 News after Being Accused of Stirring up Trouble in Leicester," October 5, 2022. <<https://www.channel4.com/news/youtuber-mohammed-hijab-exclusively-speaks-to-channel-4-news-after-being-accused-of-stirring-up-trouble-in-leicester>>.

75 Jane Haynes, "Protester Shakeel Afsar denies 'inflaming tensions between parents and school' at centre of LGBT row", Birmingham Mail, 16 October 2019. <<https://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/midlands-news/protester-shakeel-afsar-denies-inflaming-17091497>>.

76 @PressTV, Twitter, available at: <https://twitter.com/PressTV/status/1533692150294233089>.

77 @habibi_uk, Twitter, available at: https://twitter.com/habibi_uk/status/1572602547617112067. Accessed 5/10/22. Archived: [/web/20221012114830/https://twitter.com/habibi_uk/status/1572602547617112067](https://web/20221012114830/https://twitter.com/habibi_uk/status/1572602547617112067)

78 @habibi_uk, Twitter, available at: https://twitter.com/habibi_uk/status/1572602547617112067. Accessed 4/10/22. Archived: [/web/20221012105934/https://twitter.com/habibi_uk/status/1572602547617112067](https://web/20221012105934/https://twitter.com/habibi_uk/status/1572602547617112067)

79 @habibi_uk, Twitter, available at: https://twitter.com/habibi_uk/status/1571232170445791232. Accessed 4/10/22.

80 Anjem Choudary's blog has since been suspended (<https://mranjemchoudary.com/an-invitation-for-hindu-to-embrace-islam/>). References to his blog can be found at Nick Parker, Dominik Lemanski, 'Stoking Hate: preacher Anjem Choudary returns to spout hate over Leicester chaos months after his public speaking ban is lifted', The Sun, 24 September 2022, < <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/19907823/anjem-choudary-leicester-fights-muslim-hindu-hindutva/> >.

Endnotes

- 81 See above. Quote originally taken from <https://mranjemchoudary.com/the-british-and-indian-hand-in-the-leicester-troubles/>.
- 82 Hizb ut-Tahrir, Counter Extremism, available at: <https://www.counterextremism.com/threat/hizb-ut-tahrir>, accessed 11/10/22
- 83 @HizbBritain, Twitter, available at: <https://twitter.com/HizbBritain/status/1572170020284960769>. Accessed 5/10/22. Archived: [/web/20221012105712/https://twitter.com/HizbBritain/status/1572170020284960769](https://web.archive.org/web/20221012105712/https://twitter.com/HizbBritain/status/1572170020284960769)
- 84 [redacted], Twitter, available at: [redacted]. Accessed 5/10/22. Archived: [redacted]
- 85 [Redacted], Twitter, available at: [Redacted] Accessed 5/10/22. Archived: [Redacted]
- 86 [Redacted], Twitter, Available at: [Redacted] Accessed 5/10/22. Archived: [Redacted].
- 87 [Redacted], Twitter. The tweet has since been deleted. Accessed 17/10/2022. Archived at: [redacted].
- 88 Interview Ravi Lakhani and Charlotte Littlewood 25/09/2022. Full transcripts available on request.
- 89 Police incident reports available on request.
- 90 Interview Ravi Lakhani and Charlotte Littlewood 25/09/2022. Full transcripts available on request.
- 91 @Justice_forum, Twitter, available at: https://twitter.com/Justice_forum/status/1571299611414855683. Accessed 5/10/22. Archived: [/web/20221012110942/https://twitter.com/Justice_forum/status/1571299611414855683](https://web.archive.org/web/20221012110942/https://twitter.com/Justice_forum/status/1571299611414855683)