Anti-Indian Hate on X

How the Platform Amplifies Racism and Xenophobia

By Deeksha Udupa, Rohit Chopra,
Raqib Hameed Naik and Aishik Saha

CS◉H

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

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

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

Authors
Deeksha Udupa, Digital Research Analyst, CSOH
Rohit Chopra – Professor, Santa Clara University
Raqib Hameed Naik – Executive Director, CSOH
Aishik Saha, Extremism and Disinformation Analyst, CSOH

Connect with Us
Website: www.csohate.org
LinkedIn: https://www.linkedin.com/company/csohate/
Instagram: www.instagram.com/csohate
Facebook: www.facebook.com/csohate
X: www.x.com/csohate
Tik Tok: https://www.tiktok.com/@csohate

For inquiries, please email: **contact@csohate.org**

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

The last week of December 2024 witnessed an unprecedented outpouring of unequivocally anti-Indian racist hatred against Indians and Indian-Americans on X. The spark for this hatred was the appointment of Indian-origin technologist Sriram Krishnan[1] as an adviser to the incoming Trump administration on Artificial Intelligence, announced on December 22.

The backlash was compounded by Vivek Ramaswamy's X post on December 26. Indian-American Ramaswamy was appointed by President-elect Donald Trump, alongside Elon Musk, to lead the proposed Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE), an agency aimed at reducing government waste. In his post, Ramaswamy criticized 'normal' American culture with that of "foreign-born" engineers, labeling the former 'mediocre,' inaugurating a firestorm[2] of posts in response. Krishnan's prominence and his call for reform to ease the path of skilled immigrants on H-1B visas for green cards and citizenship further added fuel to the fire.

Laura Loomer, a far-right influencer, conspiracy theorist, and ardent Trump supporter, became one of the most active voices targeting Indian-Americans[3] on X . Loomer opposed Sriram's appointment as antithetical to the nativist principle of 'America First,' a MAGA talking point, on grounds that he had called for removing green card caps and that he wanted to grant science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) jobs to immigrants that 'rightfully' belonged to Americans. Loomer is an important and influential figure in the MAGA universe. Her public disagreement and feud with Musk on the H-1B program—which allows U.S. employers to employ foreign workers in specialty occupations—is a reflection of the MAGA base's unflinching opposition to immigration and indicates a schism between various constituencies of Trump supporters. Additionally, as an unabashed white supremacist[4], Loomer's stance is likely to galvanize the more extreme racist and white supremacist elements among Trump supporters, which may well lead to a rise in anti-Indian sentiment and anti-South Asian sentiment.

Ramaswamy's original post, full of simplistic generalizations and essentializations about American culture as well as the culture of foreigners, and, by extension, that of immigrants, was open to criticism on many grounds. Indeed, the responses on X ran across a gamut of themes, including the inherent unfairness of the H-1B visa program system, abuses of the system by Indians and American corporations, the 'disenfranchisement' of American workers through offshoring and outsourcing, the strengths of the American culture that Ramaswamy had criticized, and the betrayal of what Trump had promised his MAGA base.

However, accompanying these themes and often interwoven with these sentiments was an unequivocal and deeply troubling expression of anti-Indian racism. With Musk and Trump both expressing support for the H-1B program, the racism and hatred showed no signs of abating, if anything only ramping up in intensity and spread. While it may be easy to label such viral hatred 'spontaneous,' the prominence of certain racist themes and tropes and their repeated affirmation present a compelling case for seeing it as a form of organized, systematic hatred, fanned by powerful actors.

Several themes clearly stand out in the anti-Indian narrative of hate that has manifested itself since December 22, when Trump announced Sriram Krishnan as the senior adviser on artificial intelligence, and December 26, following Vivek Ramaswamy's post on American 'mediocrity.' The racism and hatred can be analyzed through two distinct dimensions: first, through generic stereotypes about immigrants and people of color, which have historically and recently been applied to groups like Muslims, Haitians, Hispanics, and Middle Easterners; and second, through specific stereotypes targeting Indians in particular.

Generic and particular stereotypes are typically combined or interwoven in numerous posts. For example, the idea of immigrants as thieves and cheats underlies claims that Indians lie to get H-1B visas, and the racist stereotype of Indians as "smelly" or people who defecate in public draws on longstanding stereotypes of immigrants or minorities as unhygienic and uncivilized. Importantly, these specific themes and narratives themselves are articulated within a fundamentally racist framework that considers white Americans to be the only true, authentic, or 'real' Americans, with minority groups such as Indian-Americans excluded by definition.

The speed with which the distinction between legal or 'good' immigrants and 'illegal' or 'bad' immigrants collapsed in the discussion about Indians and H-1B visas on X is further affirmation of the clear presence of white supremacist ideology on X . During successive presidential campaigns, many Trump supporters, including some Indian-Americans who ironically backed him in 2024, suggested that Trump would only target 'illegal' immigrants[5] and not those who had entered the U.S. by legal means. Other sections of his supporters and MAGA adherents, however, tend to express opposition to immigration in general. In such constructions of American identity as racially white, undercurrents or overt expressions of white nationalism are frequently combined with assertions that the West is fundamentally Christian and that non-Christians cannot, by definition, be American. As the example below shows, there is a deep-seated nationalist anxiety[6] at work over what it means to be American at all.

It is essential to clarify that these attacks are not exclusively aimed at Hindus, whether of Indian or American origin. Rather, the attacks are directed at everyone perceived to be of Indian origin, which, as our analysis reveals, also includes members of the Sikh community. Various posts that we documented highlighted xenophobic sentiments toward all Indians, not just Indian Hindus. For example, on December 29,

the account @DamielBernaldo posted that "it's kinda crazy that we even let indians in this country." Four days prior, on December 25, X account @TheRoyalSerf posted, "Fuck indians and fuck india" which reached an audience of 315k. Both examples reinforce our claim that these attacks are not narrowly anti-Hindu in nature, but anti-Indian.

The claim that such attacks are 'Hinduphobic,' as Indian-American Congressman Shri Thanedar of Michigan's 13th Congressional District Congressman has suggested[7], is unfounded. To define these attacks as 'Hinduphobic' merely echoes the Hindu nationalist credo that Indian identity is synonymous with Hindu identity and that non-Hindus are not really Indian. According to Hindus for Human Rights, a U.S. based advocacy group, 'Hinduphobia' is often invoked by Hindu far-right organizations in the U.S. as a means of targeting critics of Hindu nationalism[8] and deflecting attention from the violence by Hindu extremists against religious minorities in India.

Key Findings

- CSOH documented and analyzed 128 X posts targeted at Indians broadly within the Western context.
- All posts in our dataset received a total of 138.54M views on X as of January 3, 2025. 36 posts received over a million views, 12 of which claimed Indians to be demographic threat to white America.
- 64 of the 85 X accounts documented in our dataset are subscribed to X Premium and display a blue badge on their profiles.
- The posts were in violation of X's policies on Hateful Conduct. Violations included Incitement through 'inciting fear or spreading fearful stereotypes about a protected category,' slurs and tropes, and dehumanization.
- As of January 3, 2025, 125 posts in our sample remain active. 8 posts have been marked as sensitive and 1 post remains active with limited visibility due to potential violation of X's rules against Hateful Conduct.
- Only 1 of 85 accounts in our database has been suspended by X.

Methodology

This research was mainly conducted manually. Researchers used X's advanced search features to gather posts posted between December 22, 2024 and January 3, 2025. This time range was intentionally chosen, as this was when the backlash against Sriram Krishnan's appointment by the upcoming Trump administration and Vivek Ramaswamy's post on American "mediocrity" began and peaked. For the report, researchers searched keywords like "H1B," "India," "Indians," "immigrants," and "immigration" and identified accounts that promote content supporting white supremacist and xenophobic ideologies. Researchers also searched for posts with derogatory terms like "pajeet" that are used against people of Indian origin.

Based on this list of accounts, we then employed a snowball sampling method to find new accounts following a trail of reposts, follower networks, and similarities in account content. After constructing a broader database, researchers selected individual posts that best represented the overarching themes and categories within the dataset.

Data collection lasted about 10 days, and researchers identified 128 posts for further analysis. Researchers evaluated each post by contextualizing the specific content of that post with reference to the larger xenophobic narratives espoused by the alt-right. We defined engagement as the sum of likes, reposts, views, replies, and bookmarks. We collected more content than we have analyzed in this report, but did not analyze posts that were not uploaded in the time bracket selected for analysis.
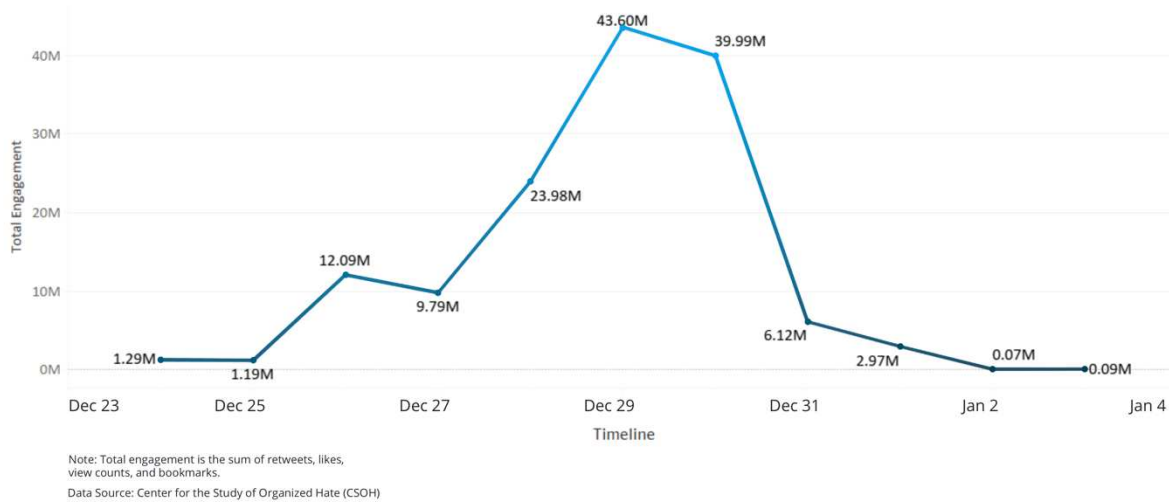
2. Data Analysis

CSOH identified and collected a sample of 128 X posts with the highest views, targeting Indians broadly within the Western context, which potentially violate X's rules. In particular, these posts most clearly violated one or more of X's content policies listed here:

- **Hateful Conduct - Incitement**: Inciting fear or spreading fearful stereotypes about a protected category, including asserting that members of a protected category are more likely to take part in dangerous or illegal activities.
- **Hateful Conduct - Slurs and Tropes:** X prohibits targeting others with repeated slurs, tropes or other content that intends to degrade or reinforce negative or harmful stereotypes about a protected category.
- **Hateful Conduct - Dehumanization**: X prohibits the dehumanization of a group of people based on their religion, caste, age, disability, serious disease, national origin, race, ethnicity, gender, gender identity, or sexual orientation.
- **Abusive Profile Information**: Information in the profile that includes abusive and racist slurs, violent threats, or dehumanization of individuals or groups is prohibited on X.

Our dataset includes posts against all Indian-origin persons, regardless of faith. For instance, we have documented hateful posts directed at Indian Sikhs and Hindus. As we elaborate later in this report, these posts are not exclusively anti-Hindu or 'Hinduphobic' but are generally anti-Indian. Claiming these posts to be Hinduphobic ignores the existence of Indian Muslims, Indian Christians, Sikhs, and other non-Hindu faiths that exist in India and in the diaspora, all of whom are also subject to the anti-India sentiments highlighted in the report.

We collected posts that were posted between December 22, 2024, and January 2, 2025, with the vast majority of posts uploaded between December 27 and December 31. The totality of posts in our dataset received 138.54M views on X as of January 3, 2025. It is likely that the number of views has increased since then. In terms of engagement, the posts in our sample of 128 posts reflect significant range and variation. Of the 128 posts, 36 received over a million views.

Note: Total engagement is the sum of retweets, likes, view counts, and bookmarks.
Data Source: Center for the Study of Organized Hate (CSOH)

The most viewed post[9] in our sample, which garnered 17.4M views, was posted by the account @leonardaisfunE, which has 163.7k followers. The post includes a video of a white man imitating Indian street food vendors, and the user states that this is "the funniest shit" she's seen all year. The vast majority of the account's posts from December 27 to December 31 have reached audiences in the thousands, and the best performing posts have predominantly included anti-India content, indicating that anti-India content currently receives higher engagement on X. Similarly, another post[10] that reached 12.3M views was uploaded by the account @callistoroll, which has 14.3k followers. In this post, the account includes a video and describes how a Japanese man found Indian workers in a factory to be incompetent and stupid. The number of views is considerably higher than the number of followers that the account has, highlighting how posts against Indian-origin persons in the American context may currently be beneficial for X creators, garnering greater exposure and engagement for them. Some of the posts that reached millions of views include media like videos and photographs, while many consist solely of text.

On average, posts in our sample received 1.08 million views and 16,414 likes. The most liked post received 167k likes. Another high-impact post[11], posted by @real_lord_miles with 282.3k followers, received 112k likes and reached 9M views.

The account @real_lord_miles shared the post on December 28; all other posts added by this account on this day reached fewer than 4k likes and 150k views. In this post, the user claims that he would rather have 'illegal Mexicans than legal Indians in the US.' The account reposted[12] the same post on December 29, this time including an image which claimed that Mexicans have a higher average IQ than Indians. The repost garnered 455.3k views—considerably higher than all of the other posts by the user on that day—demonstrating again that posts expressing hate towards Indians are receiving very high engagement and are being amplified to users who do not follow the account.

The most reposted post in our dataset achieved 21,000 reposts. On average, posts were reposted 1,831 times, contributing to a total of 234,312 reposts across the sample. The

post with the highest engagement also received the most replies, totaling 4,400, alongside the highest number of reposts, views, and likes. Overall, the dataset included 70,398 replies, with an average of 550 replies per post. Notably, out of the 128 posts analyzed, only eight were flagged as potentially sensitive.
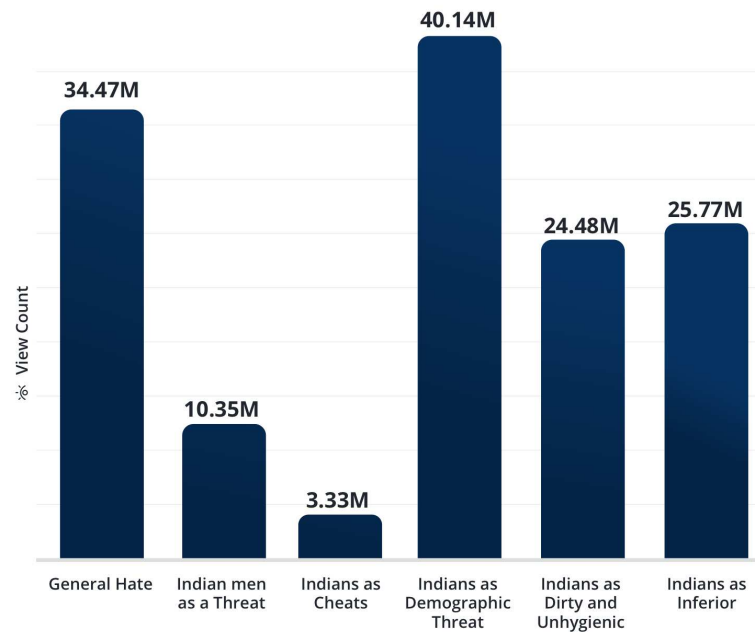
Of the 128 posts in CSOH's sample, nine (7%) posts included the anti-Indian slur "pajeet" or adaptations of the slur. Changing spellings of slurs is a form of what is called Algospeak, an increasingly popular means to bypass content moderation filters on social media platforms. "Pajeet" is a derogatory name directed broadly at those of Indian origin and specifically Sikh men. It originated[13] on 4chan in 2015 and was used to express anger and hatred towards "pajeet immigrants" for "stealing" jobs. One of the posts in our dataset, for instance, references Elon Musk, the current owner of X, and states that he "wants to replace you with a cheap Pajeet." All six posts remain active.

CSOH's sample includes 47 (36.7%) posts containing broadly xenophobic sentiments, the vast majority being about Indians, though not limited to Indians. Many of these posts reference how Indians are "replacing" white workers in the American, Canadian, and European contexts. The legitimacy of the H-1B visa program is consistently brought into question in the sample.

The H-1B visa and visa programs at large are mentioned in 11 (8.6%) posts. Indian immigration to the West is referred to as an "invasion" in a post[14] that reached 867.3k views. The narrative of invasion is used in the context of immigration by various ethnic groups, not just Indians. We recorded a post that referenced how America is "stuck with a flood of" Indians, Muslims, Mexicans, and Asians, demonstrating again that xenophobia is not exclusive to Indians but targets all immigrant groups. Another post[15], which reached 984.9K views, references the genocide of Indigenous Americans who have historically been misidentified as Indians. The post states that "We took this country from the Indians once and by God we can do it again," implying that Americans can take back the country from Indians and immigrants at large. The post received 2.3k reposts and 31k likes. Only 2 of the 45 posts were flagged as potentially sensitive, and all posts remain active. CSOH recorded that all xenophobic posts in our sample received 47.4M views as of January 3.

We also documented 35 posts (27.3%) within our sample that reaffirm the stereotype of Indians as dirty and unhygienic. CSOH collected 25 posts that relate to public defecation, cow dung, and cow urine. @RadioGenoa, an X account with 1.1M followers, posted a video[16] of an Indian police officer drinking cow urine. This video was reposted 2k times and received 2.2M views. @Rich_Cooper reposted[17] the video as justification for the negative reputation of Indian men. His repost expanded the video's reach by 1.5M.
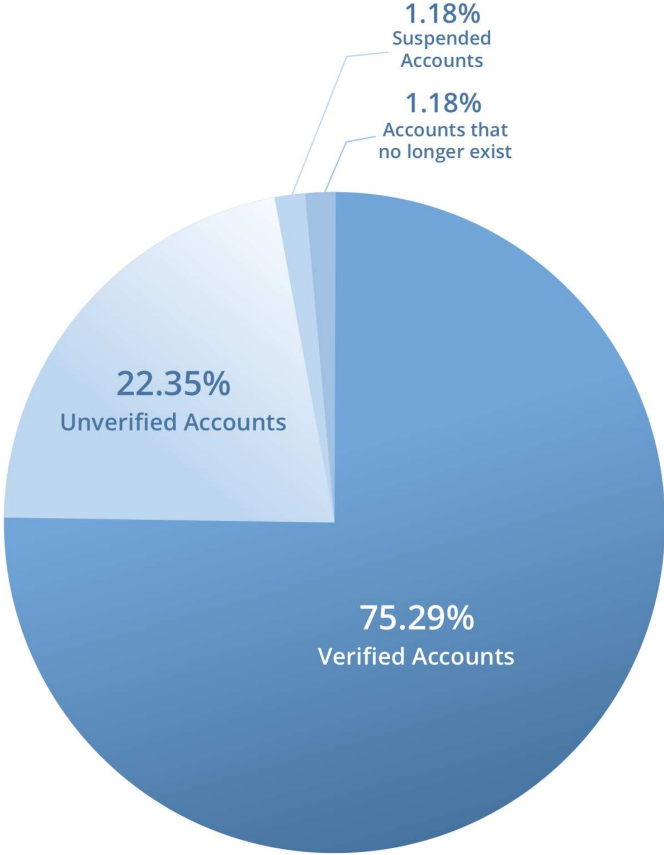
Top Themes and View Count

Data Source: Center for the Study of Organized Hate (CSOH)

We recorded 5 instances of anti-Indian content from @LaurenWitzkeDE, an account with 182.7k followers. This user posted a video[18] of an Indian boy allegedly submerging his head in cow dung, commenting on how "these people" will replace American workers through the H-1B visa system. The post reached an audience of 8.1M and was reposted 5.2k times.

18 posts in our dataset either mentioned cow dung and urine or included media of individuals consuming or submerging in cow dung and urine. These posts reached 7.7M views and garnered 112.7k likes. We also found 7 posts related to public defecation, reaching an audience of 5.5M views. We found a clip from a 2015 TedTalk[19] on public defecation in India that was reshared by multiple accounts in our sample.

The account @badazn posted[20] the video, receiving 1.5k likes and reaching 4.4M views. Another account, @SamParkerSenate, reposted[21] the video on December 29 and reached an audience of 296.2k. In the post, the account asks if "this is the country whose engineers are gonna make America great?," implying that Indians are culturally regressive and intellectually inferior when compared to their Western counterparts. His post was reposted 1.4k times and received 5.1k likes.

1.18%
Suspended
Accounts

1.18%
Accounts that
no longer exist

22.35%
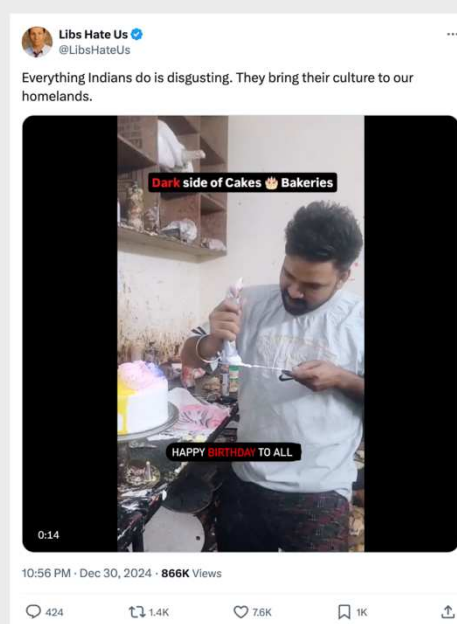Unverified Accounts

75.29%
Verified Accounts

Data Source: Center for the Study of Organized Hate (CSOH)

We collected posts from 85 accounts, 64 of which subscribed to X Premium and displayed a blue badge on their profiles.
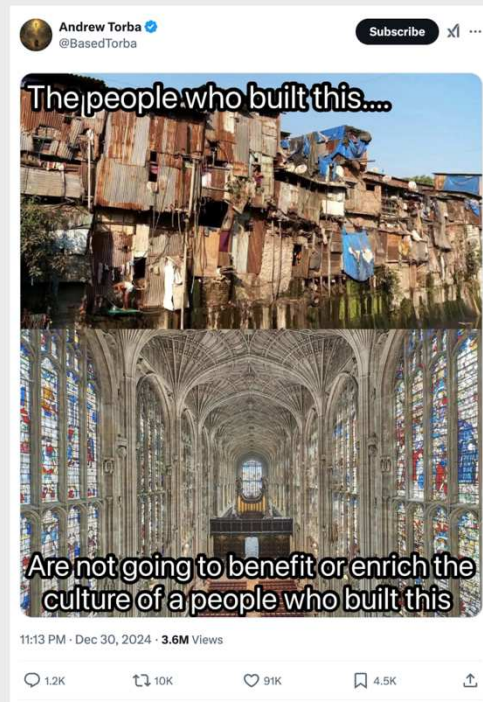
3. Narrative Analysis

ndians as dirty invaders and a demographic threat: We found various posts that claim Indians to be a threat to "civilized" white America and Canada. This connects to the larger Great Replacement Theory, a white nationalist far-right conspiracy theory that alleges that Western countries will undergo a massive demographic shift where non-white communities will become the majority. We also found posts that reinforced stereotypes of Indians as unhygienic, uncivilized, and dirty. This is linked to a characterization of the global majority of humans, who happen to be non-Westerners, as innately inferior to 'real' Westerners. This stereotype is intertwined with the theme of the Great Replacement Theory by positioning "dirty" Indians as an invading force and polluting threat to "clean" white society.

India as inherently inferior: We documented posts that claimed that Indians as individuals are inferior to 'native' (by their definition, white) citizens of the Western world at large and the U.S. in particular. Images of Indian cities are juxtaposed with Western cities to reinforce the notion of Western civilization as superior to non-Western civilizations. We also found posts claiming that Indians have lower intelligence quotients (IQs) than not just white people, but also other immigrant communities like Mexicans. The ranking of IQ among groups has a long history in the alt-right white movement: the obsession with IQ is rooted in longstanding eugenicist and social Darwinist ideas that claim that different races possess different IQs. White people are assumed to be at the top of the IQ ladder.

Indians as a threat to white nationhood: We consistently observed a trend of posts that positioned Indians as a threat to white nationhood. This is one aspect of a larger xenophobic sentiment harbored by the far-right, which views all immigrants of color as a threat to white America. These posts also propose the dire necessity for a militant and violent response against Indian immigrants to maintain the integrity of America, which is directly connected to its whiteness.

Indians as cheats: We gathered posts claiming that Indians are obtaining H-1B visas with fake degrees, implying that they are cheating the immigration system. Similar stereotypes have been employed against other communities. There is a longstanding anti-semitic notion which is found on X and in white supremacist discourse that Jewish people control the world. We also found posts that yoke together Jewish and Indian people as enemies of white America.
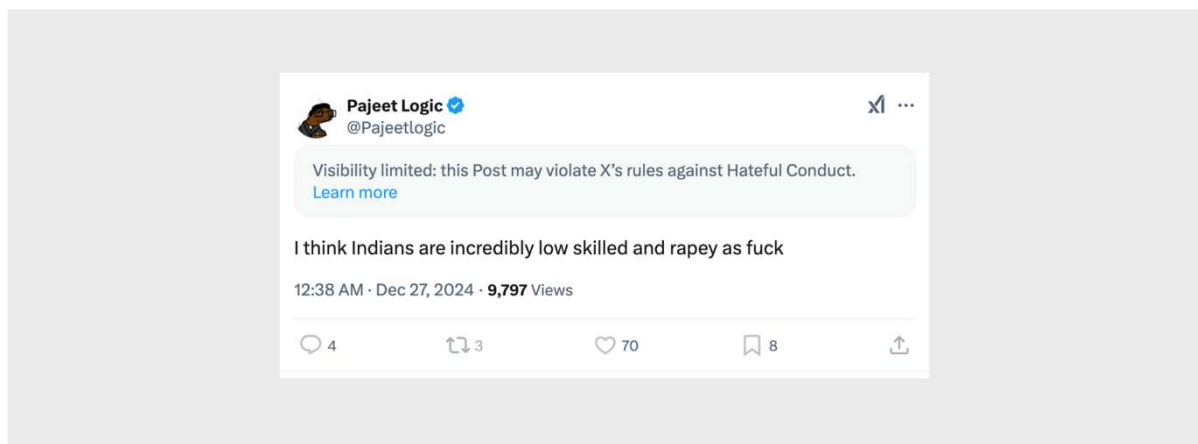
Indian men as lacking masculinity: While this claim does not target Indians specifically, it is embedded in a wider stereotype about Asian men as effeminate and not as sexually capable as white men. Such posts reflect anxieties about white masculinity and white emasculation, which permeate many discussions on X. Topics in this vein include the loss of white male self-respect because of job losses caused by immigrants, Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI), the effeminization of men by 'woke' culture, and the like.

This post from @HolsonHart has 2.5 million views, for instance, and reflects the trope of humiliating a community by sexually dominating women from the group.

As he shared in an earlier post[22], Hart was platformed earlier by prominent right-wing commentator Tucker Carlson.

Indian men as a threat to white women: We documented various posts that described Indian men as "rapey" and a threat to white women. This notion is rooted in a history of sexual racism in America. Black men were historically–and often are still[23]–perceived[24] as a threat to white womanhood by colonial settlers and were, at times, murdered over false sexual assault allegations by white women[25]. The sacredness of white womanhood as a symbol of white civilization and nationhood that needs to be protected from men of color is a key theme in white alt-right discourse.

The personal targeting and doxxing of Indian members and family members of Trump's team: Several accounts specifically targeted JD Vance's wife, Usha Vance. Sriram Krishnan, Trump's AI appointee, was also doxxed. The post with his personal information has been removed[26].

4. Conclusion

The latest instance of relentless and systemic anti-Indian hate on X confirms what has been apparent for a while: that X has become a free-for-all cesspit of hatred that disproportionately harms minorities. Though X is a global platform, its use in particular national contexts suggests that it is especially effective as a weapon for anti-minority hatred in each setting, whether against Muslims or Dalits (people belonging to an oppressed caste) in the Indian context, or, as this report shows, against Indian-origin persons in the American context. In effect, X, in its new incarnation under the ownership of Elon Musk, has become weaponized as a tool of anti-minority sentiment[27] and violence[28].

While it is not unique in this respect and other platforms, such as Facebook, have also been complicit in violence against minorities[29], they have taken some remedial measures, even if these are by no means adequate. The situation at X reflects an ongoing degeneration of discourse where such attacks have become more and more commonplace. Content on X is now a singularly toxic mix of hate, fake news, misinformation, disinformation, and conspiracy theories. Moreover, X's algorithm—like that of other social media platforms—privileges views, reach, and visibility over quality or insight. Given the fact that controversial, sensational, prejudiced, and hateful views receive more engagement, X's business model has effectively incentivized hate speech, presenting it as an opportunity for monetization as well as for building fame and influence.

The argument that X is simply abiding by the principles of free speech does not hold water when an overwhelming proportion of speech systematically targets specific groups—not just drowning out their voices or verbally abusing them, but possibly exposing them to physical risk and threat. Other implications for X to consider are the psychological harms caused by such posts and the damage they inflict upon social relations between groups. Equally, they militate against both constitutional definitions of citizenship, democracy, and equal rights, as well as pluralistic and inclusive societal understandings of American identity and belonging. If X is the online equivalent of the town or public square, as it has been sometimes called, what we are witnessing on it is a version of the majority attacking smaller minority groups, which cannot protect or defend itself adequately because of an imbalance of numbers.

Musk's professed politics and statements also complicate issues for those who may have suggestions for making X a less hostile place to minority groups. On the one hand, it is Musk's new policies since purchasing X (formerly Twitter) that have led to the current situation. On the other hand, he has weighed in strongly in support of H-1B visas, responding with some harsh words for critics of the program. Though he has not condemned the racism directed at Indians, Musk himself has consistently

expressed views consistent with far-right sentiments, such as the Great Replacement Theory[30], most recently backing German far-right group Alternative for Germany (AfD) in the upcoming 2025 German elections.

X can, at the very least, follow its own policies and guidelines consistently. Clearly, community regulation through Community Notes is deeply inadequate, and the idea that more speech will result in good speech has been shown to not hold true, whether in the case of Facebook or X. Like Meta, X should consider an oversight board and ensure mechanisms to clearly and consistently enforce its policies regarding hate speech and violating community guidelines. An audit by a third-party organization committed to ensuring the platform does not promote hate speech is another option. Additionally, an affirmation that the platform stands against racism would also restore some credibility to it.

5. Recommendations

Recognition of Anti-Indian/South Asian Racial Slurs: X's policy on hate speech prohibits "targeting others with repeated slurs, tropes or other content that intends to degrade or reinforce negative or harmful stereotypes." Enforcing this policy requires regular updates and monitoring of hateful slurs that emerge in different contexts. The platform did ban a number of accounts associated with the racist Groyper movement[31], but the lack of consistency in content moderation and enforcement of existing policy means that many suspect that the accounts were banned simply for disagreeing with the site's owner.

a. **Expanded and Refined Definitions**: The report shows that a number of South Asia-focused racial slurs are widespread on the platform. Some terms like 'pajeet' are relatively recent, while others like 'Curry' have been in long use and have undergone some destigmatization. Content moderation actions require active monitoring of the use of racialized terminology, as well as an understanding of the positionality of the speaker. X must ensure that its content moderation policy is aware of the nuances of such language on and beyond the platform.

b. **Establishment of an Advisory Council**: The dissolution of Twitter's Trust and Safety Council in December 2022 harmed the platform's reputation and ability to respond to the evolving realities of online hate. X must create a new advisory council to consistently monitor the platforms and issue actionable recommendations.

c. **External Stakeholder Engagement Framework**: Stakeholder engagement is critical for all platforms, and X must proactively reach out to scholars, activists, and community leaders for advice on hate speech trends and policy updates. This must be done in a transparent manner for both users to understand policy changes, and external stakeholders to be able to monitor the impact of their recommendations.

Use of Community Notes Proactively: X's Community Notes feature allows contributors to add context such as fact-checks under a post. This could be used to contradict non-factual and fabricated claims regarding immigrants and temporary workers including crime statistics, percentage of jobs taken by immigrants, conditions, and restrictions on short-term visas, student visas, etc.

Community Empowerment: While it is inevitable that any platform will have some degree of discussion on immigration policies of various countries, platforms can play a proactive role in ensuring that such discussions are informative rather than hateful. It is important for platforms to specifically intervene as immigrants (and refugees) may not be clearly identified as protected categories in many countries.

    d. Community Reporting Tools: Creation of a specific category of 'vulnerable migrants, refugees, or displaced persons,' which would prohibit hateful, violent, or other prohibited expressions aimed at them.

    e. Reporting Intersectional Hate: X's current reporting tools do not allow for flexibility in reporting intersectional forms of hate. As an example, a post could insinuate that Indians are unhygienic (Hate) and include a call for 'cleaning' the country (Violent Speech). Users can only report one violation at a time, which means that in the case a user fails to correctly identify the specific violative clause, the piece of content may continue to be hosted on the platform.

Transparency: Many jurisdictions require platforms to publish transparency reports (Digital Safety Act in the European Union, Online Safety Act in the U.K., etc.). X could use the opportunity to clarify the extent of anti-Indian/South Asian hate and its actions regarding the moderation of actionable content. X leadership could also decide to proactively provide additional context of trends in violative content especially in relation to marginalised groups and communities.

Counter-Speech: Counter-Speech is defined[32] as speech that challenges hateful narratives. Platforms have long sought to promote counter-speech as a better solution to hateful content rather than bans and restrictions on violative content. X must identify a coherent Counter-Speech strategy that aligns with the company philosophy. This may include the following:

    f. Enhanced Discoverability: X should identify content that aligns with its counter-speech strategy and enable visibility for such content in the 'For You' section, especially for users who openly deconstruct hateful narratives.

    g. Premium Features: One of the most prominent changes to the platform has been the transition away from legacy verification. X introduced X Premium as a paid verification feature, which has been repeatedly criticized for amplifying hate speech, spam, and disinformation. However, extending premium features for counter-speech initiatives at discounted rates or even for free could help the platform.

Enforcement Options: Our report shows that 64 of the 85 aforementioned X accounts were verified (i.e. subscribed to X Premium). This brings into focus the potentially distorting effect of the Premium service on the platform, as hateful voices may be amplified. It has been reported[33] that some accounts posting hateful content were banned or restricted, but, as previously noted, this has been rather inconsistent. Must improve its range of enforcement options:

    h. Disqualification from Premium Services: Accounts that repeatedly post hateful or extremist content must be barred from X Premium. Moreover,

posting and amplifying hateful or extremist content should be restricted for verified accounts. Pre-verification checks should ensure that the user doesn't have a history of hateful or extremist conduct.

i. **Creator Monetization**: Currently extremist and hateful content are categorized under 'Restricted Monetization', this must be upgraded to the level of 'Prohibited Monetization'.

j. **Recommender Systems**: Recommender Systems form the basis of most social media platforms, which means that extremist and hateful content can be promoted by users exploiting the mechanism. X must perform a systematic review of its recommender systems[34], and publish its approach towards preventing recommendation of hate and extremism.

Endnotes

1. Pranav Dixit, "Sriram Krishnan's White House role stirred hope among Indian immigrants in Silicon Valley. Then came the backlash," Business Insider. 31 December 2024. Link: https://www.businessinsider.com/sriram-krishnan-trump-white-house-role-hope-indian-immigrants-backlash-2024-12

2. Jarvis DeBerry, "Vivek Ramaswamy's criticism of U.S. culture provokes MAGA world's anger," MSNBC. 28 December 2024. Link: https://www.msnbc.com/opinion/msnbc-opinion/vivek-ramaswamy-sitcoms-h-1b-visas-culture-rcna185486

3. X: https://x.com/LauraLoomer/status/1871262423950520454. Accessed 3 January 2025.

4. Jason Wilson, "Trump ally Laura Loomer called herself 'white advocate', audio reveals," The Guardian. 14 September 2024. Link: https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2024/sep/14/trump-ally-laura-loomer-audio

5. Ishani Duttagupta, "Trump will push for merit-based immigration reforms, feels Republican Shalabh Kumar," Times of India. 23 December 2024. Link: https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/us/trump-will-push-for-merit-based-immigration-reforms-feels-republican-shalabh-kumar/articleshow/115034403.cms

6. X: https://x.com/contramordor/status/1797998382289752347. Accessed 3 January 2025.

7. X: https://x.com/RepShriThanedar/status/1873805125019717742. Accessed 3 January 2025.

8. Hindus for Human Rights, "On cries of 'Hinduphobia,'" Hindus for Human Rights. Link: https://www.hindusforhumanrights.org/en/blog/on-cries-of-hinduphobia

9. X: https://x.com/leonardaisfune/status/1873835603034595346?s=46&t=9k1Pdi5gU9A W0CdmWuDDtA. Accessed 3 January 2025.

10. X: https://x.com/callistoroll/status/1873302497609273599. Accessed 3 January 2025.

11. X: https://x.com/real_lord_miles/status/1873084337241112590. Accessed 3 January 2025.

12. X: https://x.com/real_lord_miles/status/1873280692060340547. Accessed 3 January 2025.

13. Know Your Meme, "Pajeet," Know Your Meme. Link: htpps://knowyourmeme.com/Memes/pajeet

14. X: https://x.com/bruce_barrett/status/1873869110914015524?s=46&t=9k1Pdi5gU9 AW0CdmWuDDtA. Accessed 3 January 2025.

15. X: https://x.com/magills_/status/1872366886392143982. Accessed 3 January 2025.

16. X: https://x.com/RadioGenoa/status/1873368759450403024. Accessed 3 January 2025.

17. X: https://x.com/Rich_Cooper/status/1873371291463582145. Accessed 3 January 2025.

18. X: https://x.com/laurenwitzkede/status/1873758546577477659. Accessed 3 January 2025.

19. Sangita Vyas, "The surprising truth of open defecation in India," TEDxWalledCity. 31 July 2015. Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V35Vw29tay0

20. X: https://x.com/badazn/status/1873444278242001179?s=46&t=9k1Pdi5gU9AW0 CdmWuDDtA. Accessed 3 January 2025.

21. X: https://x.com/SamParkerSenate/status/1873576222082605459. Accessed 3 January 2025.

22. X: https://x.com/Molson_Hart/status/1789063487374663835. Accessed 3 January 2025.

23. LeRon L. Barton, "A White Woman Threatened to Call the Cops on Me—False Reporting Should Be a Crime," Newsweek. 23 May 2024. Link: https://www.newsweek.com/i-am-black-man-white-woman-threatened-call-cops-false-reporting-1904139

24. Dr. David Pilgrim, "The Brute Caricature," Jim Crow Museum. November 2000. Link: https://jimcrowmuseum.ferris.edu/brute/homepage.htm

25. Daniele Selby, "From Emmett Till to Pervis Payne — Black Men in America Are Still Killed for Crimes They Didn't Commit," Innocence Project. 25 July 2020. Link: https://innocenceproject.org/emmett-till-birthday-pervis-payne-innocent-black-men-slavery-racism/

26. Leigh Kimmins, "Laura Loomer Apologizes After She 'Doxxes' Trump's AI Guy," The Daily Beast. 29 December 2024. Link: https://www.thedailybeast.com/laura-loomer-apologizes-after-she-doxxes-trumps-ai-guy/

27.   Center for Countering Digital Hate, "X Content Moderation Failure: How Twitter/X continues to host posts we reported for extreme hate speech," Center for Countering Digital Hate. 13 September 2023. Link: https://counterhate.com/research/twitter-x-continues-to-host-posts-reported-for-extreme-hate-speech/

28.   Center for Countering Digital Hate, "Musk's X helps Tommy Robinson rack up 434 million views during UK riots," Center for Countering Digital Hate. 7 August 2024. Link: https://counterhate.com/research/musks-x-helps-tommy-robinson-rack-up-434-million-views-during-uk-riots/

29.   Amnesty International, "Myanmar: Facebook's systems promoted violence against Rohingya; Meta owes reparations – new report," Amnesty International. 29 September 2022.   Link: https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2022/09/myanmar-facebooks-systems-promoted-violence-against-rohingya-meta-owes-reparations-new-report/

30.   Miles Klee, "Elon Musk All but Endorses the Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory," Rolling Stone. 5 January 2024. Link: https://www.rollingstone.com/culture/culture-news/elon-musk-great-replacement-conspiracy-theory-1234941337/

31.   Institute for Strategic Dialogue, "Groypers," Institute for Strategic Dialogue. 12 October   2022.   Link: https://www.isdglobal.org/explainers/groypers/

32.   Dangerous Speech Project, "What is Counterspeech?" Dangerous Speech Project. Link: https://www.dangerousspeech.org/counterspeech

33.   Heather Cox Richardson, "December 27, 2024," Letters from an American. 28 December 2024. Link: https://heathercoxrichardson.substack.com/p/december-27-2024

34. X: https://help.x.com/en/resources/recommender-systems. Accessed 3 January 2025.

Understanding, Preventing, and Combating Organized Hate

CSOH