



JUSTICE AND EMPOWERMENT OF MINORITIES

AN INITIATIVE OF JAMIAT ULAMA-I-HIND

Annual Report 2025

Documenting hate crimes and
targeted discrimination against
minority communities in India.

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AN INITIATIVE OF JAMIAT ULAMA-I-HIND

Justice and Empowerment of Minorities

Annual Report 2025

Documenting Hate Crimes and Targeted Discrimination
Against Minority Communities in India.

This Annual Report is published by Justice and Empowerment of Minorities (JEM), an initiative of Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind. It presents a consolidated record of hate crimes and targeted discrimination against minority communities in India during the calendar year 2025, compiled through field documentation, media monitoring, and review by JEM's Case Review Committee (CRC).

© 2026 Justice and Empowerment of Minorities (JEM). All findings, classifications, and figures presented in this report reflect JEM's documentation and analysis as of the date of publication and are subject to ongoing verification.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

JEM — Justice and Empowerment of Minorities

CRC — Case Review Committee

FIR — First Information Report

BNS — Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita

BNSS — Bharatiya Nagarik Suraksha Sanhita

UCC — Uniform Civil Code

BJP — Bharatiya Janata Party

RSS — Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh

VHP — Vishwa Hindu Parishad

A full glossary appears in Appendix A.



JAMIAT
ULAMA-I-HIND



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CHAPTER 01

Executive Summary

The scale of documented harm in 2025, the methodological distinction between primary and secondary data, and the report at a glance.

1,660

CRC-VERIFIED

+109%

YEAR ON YEAR

43.4%

LITTLE / NO COVERAGE

1.1 Introduction

In 2025, conspiracy narratives such as "Love Jihad," "Land Jihad," "Population Jihad," and "Vote Jihad" became increasingly common in public discourse, fuelling suspicion and hostility toward minority communities, particularly Muslims, and deepening social polarization across the country.

The 2025 Annual Report of the Justice and Empowerment of Minorities (JEM), an initiative of Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind, presents a comprehensive assessment of hate crimes and targeted discrimination against minority communities in India. This edition documents a combined total of 1,660 cases for 2025: 1,606 directly verified incidents involving the Muslim community, established through JEM's primary field documentation and Case Review Committee (CRC) process, and 54 incidents involving other minority communities (Christians, Dalits, Tribals, and Sikhs). JEM was unable to gather sufficient primary data on these other communities; reporting them with the same degree of analytical reliability as the Muslim data was not possible. Accordingly, this edition presents a dedicated chapter (Chapter 10) on these communities, drawing primarily on secondary sources compiled by other organizations. JEM acknowledges this as a methodological limitation of the present edition and intends, going forward, to strengthen this aspect of its work by collaborating with organizations that collect data on other minority communities.

This report seeks to systematically document these incidents, analyse the factors contributing to their rise, and examine the broader social, political, and cultural conditions in which such acts occur. Alongside presenting verified data and field-based observations, the report aims to strengthen informed public discussion and support policy measures that uphold the rights, dignity, and security of vulnerable communities.

1.2 Context of Rising Hate Crimes

The rise in hate crimes in India has increasingly been linked to the growth of radical religious extremist groups and the spread of divisive narratives. Several studies and reports indicate a noticeable increase in religion-based hate crimes and hate speech after the Narendra Modi-led Bharatiya Janata Party government came to power in 2014. According to the Ballard Brief, nearly 90% of recorded religion-based hate crimes between 2009 and 2019 occurred after 2014, while incidents of hate speech reportedly increased sharply during the same period.^[1]

In 2025, conspiracy narratives such as "Love Jihad," "Land Jihad," "Population Jihad," and "Vote Jihad" became widely circulated in public discourse and social media. These narratives largely targeted the Muslim community by portraying it as a threat to demographic balance, cultural identity, land ownership, and electoral outcomes. The repeated spread of such misinformation contributed to growing communal tensions and, in many cases, appeared to legitimize discrimination, exclusion, and violence in the name of protecting national or cultural interests.

The situation has been further aggravated by weak accountability mechanisms and inconsistent legal action against hate speech and violence. In several cases, delayed investigations and limited prosecution have created a perception of impunity, allowing extremist rhetoric and mob violence to continue with little fear of consequences. This environment has deepened insecurity among minority communities and increased their vulnerability to targeted attacks and social exclusion.

1.3 Challenges and JEM's Response

The rise in hate crimes against minority communities in India reflects deep social divisions, growing political polarization, and institutional weaknesses. These incidents not only create fear and insecurity but also damage social harmony and weaken trust between communities.

One major challenge is the lack of timely justice. Many cases face long judicial delays, while police and administrative responses are often inconsistent. In several instances, complaints are filed but not properly investigated, allowing a sense of impunity to grow. Many incidents also go unreported, especially in rural areas where victims fear retaliation or lack access to legal support.

Media coverage is another concern. While some incidents receive attention on social media, mainstream reporting is often uneven. Cases from marginalized or remote regions frequently remain ignored, limiting public awareness and reducing pressure for accountability. Social and economic inequalities further increase vulnerability among minority communities; discrimination in education, employment, and access to justice contributes to exclusion and insecurity, and in some affected areas, fear and repeated violence have also led to migration and declining trust between communities.

In response to these challenges, JEM, under the guidance of Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind, works to document, analyse, and address hate crimes through research, legal intervention, and advocacy. A key part of this effort is the Case Review Committee (CRC), which includes legal experts, researchers, journalists, and community representatives. The committee verifies incidents, studies patterns of violence, examines media narratives, and analyses possible legal violations under the Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita.

JEM also studies the spread of hate narratives, misinformation, and online content that may contribute to violence. Through data analysis and regional mapping, the organization aims to identify high-risk areas and encourage preventive action. Alongside documentation, JEM advocates for stronger hate crime laws, faster judicial processes, and better enforcement of existing legal protections, and has proposed a Victim Compensation and Rehabilitation Fund to support survivors and affected families.

Through reports, research, and engagement with civil society and constitutional institutions, JEM seeks to strengthen accountability, promote justice, and support peaceful coexistence. This report aims not only to record incidents but also to encourage long-term reforms that uphold dignity, equality, and constitutional values.

1.4 Report at a Glance: Muslim Community (JEM Primary Data)

All 1,606 incidents below are JEM-verified, Muslim-community incidents documented through the Case Review Committee — the primary-data component of a combined 2025 total of 1,660 cases. The remaining 54 cases, involving other minority communities, are reported separately in Section 1.5 and Chapter 10 using secondary sources.

1,606

JEM-verified incidents, Muslim community,
2025 (all primary data)

+109%

Increase over the previous reporting year

32.17%

Of incidents recorded in Uttar Pradesh

641

Incidents in Q4 2025 — the year's highest

27.11%

Received mainstream media coverage

43.37%

Received minimal or no media coverage

1.5 Other Minority Communities: Secondary Source Summary

Of the 1,660 total cases in this report, 54 involve other minority communities. JEM was unable to gather sufficient primary data on these communities, so the figures below are drawn primarily from secondary sources — UCF, CJP, India Hate Lab, and NCRB — reflecting 2025 data where available or the most recent published official data. They have not been independently re-verified by JEM. JEM acknowledges this as a methodological limitation and intends to strengthen this aspect by collaborating with organizations that collect data on other minority communities. Full evidence and source methodology are in Chapter 10.

900+ Incidents against Christians, UCF (reported by CSI)	162 Anti-Christian hate speech events, 2025 (India Hate Lab) — +41% over 2024	55,698 Officially registered crimes against Scheduled Castes, 2024 (NCRB, released May 2026)
9,966 Officially registered crimes against Scheduled Tribes, 2024 (NCRB)	113 Dalit incidents documented by CJP, Jan–Jun 2025 (civil society)	No verified count Sikh hate crimes, India 2025 — no dedicated tracker exists (see Ch. 10)



CHAPTER 02

About This Report

Who JEM is, the objectives and scope of the study, and the multi-source methodology and Case Review Committee behind every documented incident.

11

REPORT OBJECTIVES

5

CRC DISCIPLINES

Multi-source
METHODOLOGY

2.1 About Justice and Empowerment of Minorities (JEM)

Justice and Empowerment of Minorities (JEM) is an initiative of Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind dedicated to documenting, analysing, and responding to hate crimes and targeted discrimination against minority communities in India. JEM's work integrates field-based documentation, legal intervention, and policy advocacy, anchored by the interdisciplinary Case Review Committee (CRC), which verifies incidents and examines patterns of violence, media narratives, and possible violations of law.

Beyond documentation, JEM advocates for stronger hate-crime legislation, faster judicial processes, and more consistent enforcement of existing legal protections. It has proposed a Victim Compensation and Rehabilitation Fund to support survivors and affected families, and engages with civil society networks, constitutional institutions, and, where relevant, international human rights forums to advance accountability and the protection of minority rights within India's constitutional framework.

2.2 Objectives and Scope of the Study

JEM undertook a comprehensive and systematic effort to document, analyse, and respond to hate crimes against minority communities in India during 2025. This initiative is grounded in the recognition that hate crimes are not isolated incidents but manifestations of deeper structural inequalities, ideological contestations, and institutional limitations. The objectives of this report are accordingly multidimensional, integrating documentation, analysis, advocacy, victim support, and broader engagement.

1. Comprehensive and Verifiable Documentation

A primary objective of this report is to establish a credible and verifiable record of hate crimes across India. Each documented incident includes detailed information on the nature of the violation — ranging from physical assaults, mob violence, and verbal abuse to social and economic boycotts, property damage, religious desecration, and institutional discrimination — along with its frequency, intensity, geographical location, and impact on affected individuals and communities.

2. Public Awareness and Democratic Accountability

By consolidating and presenting data in a rigorous and accessible format, JEM seeks to enhance public awareness and promote democratic accountability among citizens, policymakers, civil society organizations, and media practitioners regarding the scale, patterns, and lived experiences of hate crimes affecting minority communities.

3. Measuring Human, Social, and Economic Impact

Beyond quantitative documentation, the report examines the broader consequences of hate crimes on individuals and communities, including psychological impacts such as trauma and anxiety, disruptions to education, employment, and healthcare access, economic losses, displacement, and community fragmentation.

4. Analysis of Hate Narratives and Anti-Minority Sentiment

Through systematic documentation and survivor and witness testimonies, JEM analyses the narratives and belief systems that may contribute to the normalization of hate, including hate speech, symbolic exclusion, and conspiracy-based rhetoric that portrays minorities as threats to national, cultural, or religious identity.

5. Mapping Patterns, Trends, and Structural Drivers

The report undertakes geospatial and temporal mapping of hate crimes to identify patterns, recurring trends, and concentrations — including fluctuations during elections and religious events — and explores structural drivers such as socioeconomic inequality and limited representation of minorities in governance.

6. Political Rhetoric, Policy, and Governance Analysis

A key objective is to examine the relationship between political discourse, public policy, and patterns of social tension, including content analysis of speeches and legislative measures, and to evaluate governance responses such as law enforcement practices and institutional accountability.

7. Media and Digital Ecosystem Assessment

The report analyses both traditional and digital platforms to understand how narratives around minority communities are constructed and disseminated, evaluating coverage for bias, omission, or sensationalism, and the role of digital platforms in amplifying or counter-ing hate speech.

8. Examination of Systemic and Institutional Dimensions

JEM undertakes a critical examination of systemic inequalities and institutional practices that may contribute to differential access to justice and resources, exploring how social hierarchies and policy frameworks intersect with caste, religion, ethnicity, and gender.

9. Legal Reform and Policy Advocacy

Drawing on empirical findings and legal analysis, the report proposes policy recommendations to strengthen protections for minority communities, including comprehensive hate-crime legislation and victim-centred approaches prioritizing prevention, accountability, and restorative justice.

10. Accountability, Transparency, and Justice Mechanisms

The report emphasizes accountability frameworks to ensure state and non-state actors are subject to the rule of law, advocating for transparent investigations, timely registration of cases, and appropriate legal consequences for perpetrators.

11. Legal Aid, Rehabilitation, and Victim Support

JEM is committed to supporting survivors through access to justice and rehabilitation, including legal aid through pro bono lawyer networks, court representation, humanitarian assistance, and long-term psychosocial support and community reintegration.

2.3 Methodology

To ensure the integrity, credibility, and analytical depth of this report, JEM adopted a comprehensive, multi-source, and multidisciplinary research methodology, combining extensive data collection, systematic verification, and layered analysis.

Data Collection and Sources

Data were drawn from a diverse range of sources to ensure breadth, reliability, and cross-verification, including national and regional print media, digital news platforms, television broadcasts, and reports from civil society organizations and community networks. JEM also conducted systematic monitoring of digital platforms to document incidents, hate speech, and narratives that may precede or accompany offline violence. Where available, audio-visual material from publicly accessible platforms was examined to corroborate reported incidents, particularly to address gaps in official reporting in rural and marginalized regions.

Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis

Each documented incident was subjected to a two-tier analytical framework. Quantitative analysis assessed the scale, frequency, geographical distribution, and temporal patterns of hate crimes, enabling identification of trends and possible correlations with political, social, or religious developments. Qualitative analysis complemented these findings by situating incidents within their broader social and political contexts, drawing on survivor testimonies, eyewitness accounts, and media narratives to capture the lived human impact underlying the data.

Case Review Committee (CRC)

A central component of JEM's methodology is the Case Review Committee (CRC), an interdisciplinary body responsible for ensuring that each incident included in the report undergoes rigorous scrutiny prior to documentation. The committee comprises professionals with the following areas of expertise:

ROLE	CONTRIBUTION TO THE REVIEW PROCESS
Legal Expert (Lawyer)	Provides legal assessment of each incident within the framework of Indian law, including identification of relevant statutory provisions and evaluation of law enforcement and judicial responses.
Researcher	Ensures methodological robustness by validating data accuracy, identifying thematic patterns, and situating incidents within broader sociopolitical contexts.
Community Representative	Contributes insights based on engagement with affected communities, helping to contextualize incidents in terms of lived experience, including displacement and social exclusion.
Digital & Social Media Analyst	Examines online content related to incidents, including patterns of hate speech, misinformation, and digital mobilization.
Journalist / Media Analyst	Assesses media coverage of incidents, including accuracy, framing, omissions, and potential bias.

Each case undergoes a structured process of review and deliberation: members evaluate available evidence, cross-verify sources, and discuss classification and contextual interpretation. Incidents are included in the report only after a reasonable level of verification is achieved and consensus is reached regarding their credibility and categorization — a collective process designed to minimize errors, reduce bias, and ensure each documented case reflects a balanced, well-substantiated account.

FIGURE 1

How each incident enters the record — the Case Review Committee verification pipeline

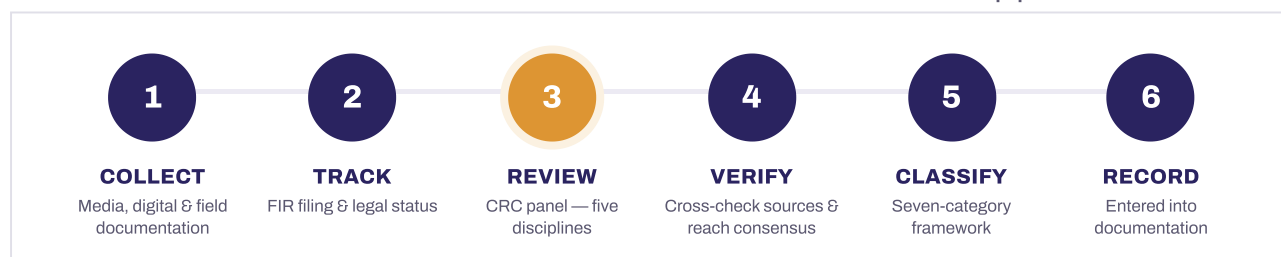


Figure 1 — Every incident passes through the interdisciplinary Case Review Committee (saffron) and is included only after cross-verification and consensus.

Source: JEM methodology, Section 2.3.

Ethical Considerations and Reporting Standards

JEM's methodology is guided by principles of ethical research and responsible reporting. Particular attention is given to safeguarding the dignity, privacy, and security of affected individuals; sensitive information is handled with care, and efforts are made to avoid traumatization or unintended harm through documentation practices. The methodology emphasizes transparency, accuracy, and accountability, while remaining attentive to the limitations inherent in documenting underreported and sensitive phenomena such as hate crimes.

A Note on Sourcing and Attribution

Unless a specific external source is cited in the text, the incident counts, percentages, and classifications presented throughout this report are JEM's own findings, drawn from the Case Review Committee (CRC) database compiled through the field documentation, FIR tracking, and digital monitoring process described above. Where this report draws on external research, partner datasets, or third-party reporting, the source is cited inline (e.g., [1]) and listed in full in Appendix L (References and Sources). Attributions of responsibility to named individuals, groups, or organizations reflect JEM's own classification based on field documentation and public reporting; except where a conviction or finding is explicitly noted, these attributions have not been independently adjudicated by a court of law.

Limitations of the Study

While the report adopts a rigorous methodology, certain limitations must be acknowledged, including the possibility of underreporting, uneven availability of data across regions, and reliance on secondary sources in some cases. Establishing direct causality between rhetoric, policy, and specific incidents may also be complex due to the multifaceted nature of social dynamics. Most significantly, of the 1,660 total cases documented in this edition, JEM was unable to gather sufficient primary data on the cases involving other minority communities (Christians, Dalits, Tribals, and Sikhs); these are addressed in a dedicated chapter (Chapter 10) drawing primarily on secondary sources. JEM acknowledges this as a methodological limitation and intends, in future editions, to strengthen this aspect of its work by collaborating with organizations that collect data on other minority communities. Recognizing these constraints, the report aims to provide a carefully verified and analytically grounded representation of documented trends, rather than an exhaustive account of all incidents.

Commitment to Accuracy and Evidence-Based Analysis

Through this structured, multidisciplinary approach, JEM reaffirms its commitment to ethical documentation, factual accuracy, and evidence-based analysis — reflecting its broader objective of contributing to informed public discourse, strengthening accountability, and supporting policy interventions through credible and systematically verified data.



CHAPTER 03

National Overview: Hate Crimes Against the Muslim Community

JEM's 2025 documented findings: 1,660 total cases (1,606 Muslim, 54 other minority) across all four quarters.

1,660

DOCUMENTED INCIDENTS

32.17%

IN UTTAR PRADESH

641

Q4 — YEAR'S HIGHEST

This chapter presents JEM's documented findings for 2025: a combined total of 1,660 cases, of which 1,606 involve the Muslim community, established through JEM's primary field documentation, and 54 involve other minority communities — Christians, Dalits, Tribals, and Sikhs — for whom JEM was unable to gather sufficient primary data (see Section 2.3 and Chapter 10 for a full explanation).

The pattern of hate crimes documented in this Annual Report reveals a pronounced and sustained targeting of the Muslim community across India. These patterns cannot be understood as isolated occurrences; they are situated within broader dynamics of identity politics, social polarization, and institutional limitations that have intensified over the reporting period. Drawing upon verified field documentation, legal tracking, and digital monitoring, JEM recorded 1,660 directly verified incidents in 2025 — 1,606 involving the Muslim community and 54 involving other minority communities — reflecting an approximate 109 percent increase compared to the previous reporting year.

3.1 Scale and Scope of Incidents

The 1,660 incidents documented by JEM's Case Review Committee span a wide spectrum of harm: physical assaults and mob violence, attacks on mosques and madrasas, custodial abuses, hate speech, discriminatory demolitions, economic boycotts, and digital harassment. The overwhelming majority (1,606, or 96.7%) involve the Muslim community; the scale and consistency of this pattern across all four quarters of the year underlines that Muslim communities in India face a sustained environment of threat rather than episodic or localized violence.

FIGURE 2

Quarterly incident trend, 2025 (JEM-documented, all communities)

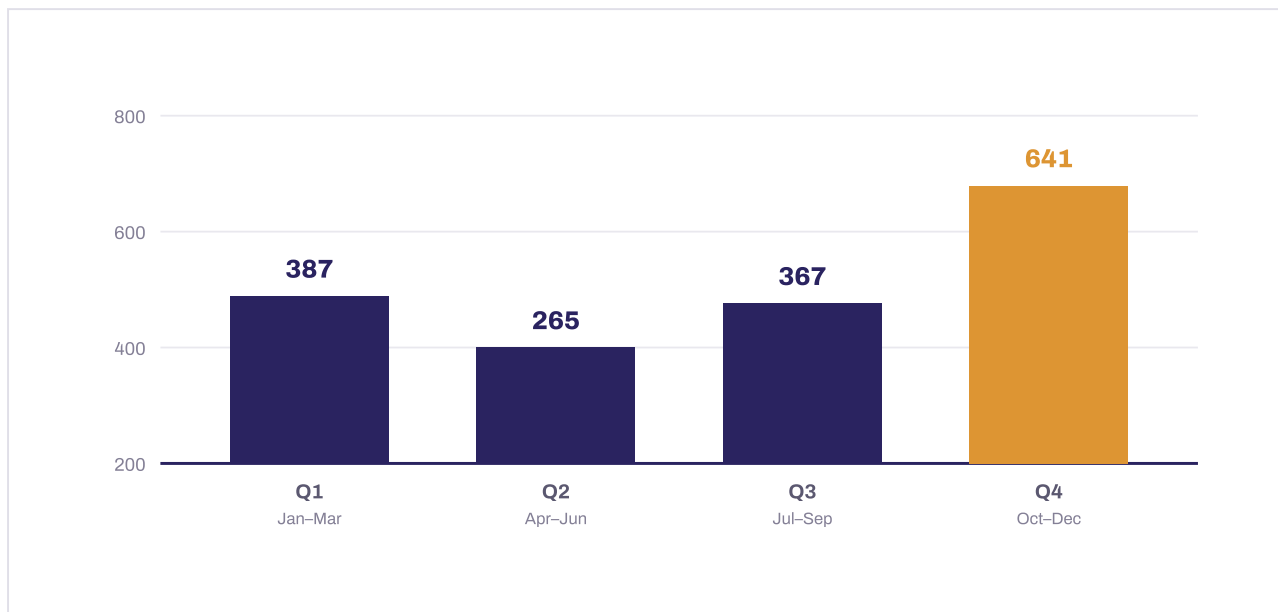


Figure 2 — Saffron marks Q4, the quarter of sharpest escalation (641 incidents). The final quarter recorded the year's highest total.

Source: JEM Case Review Committee (CRC) database, 2025.

3.2 Geographic Concentration

Geospatial analysis identifies Uttar Pradesh as the most affected state, accounting for 32.17 percent of the total caseload, followed by Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Assam, Uttarakhand, and Bihar. In Uttar Pradesh, approximately 67 percent of cases involved delayed or absent police intervention, contributing to a perception of institutional impunity.

FIGURE 3

Geographic concentration of JEM-documented incidents, 2025 (by share of total)

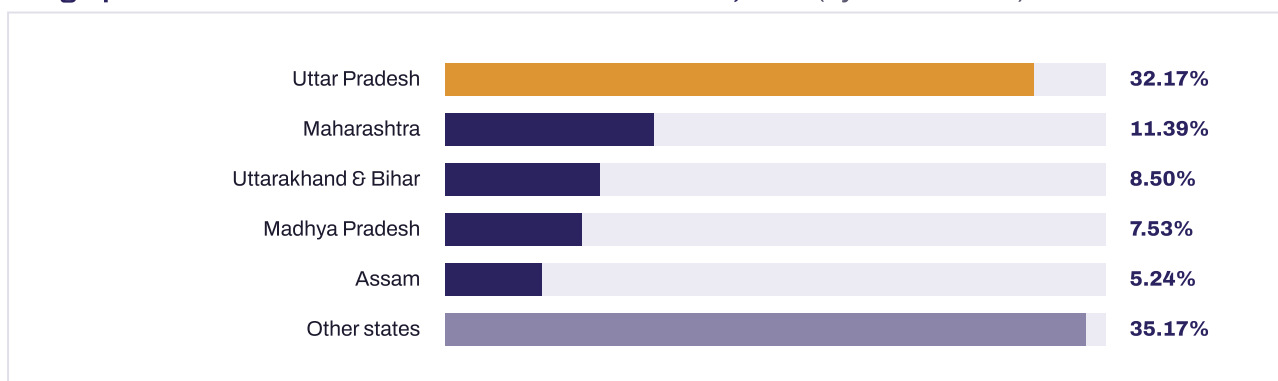


Figure 3 — Saffron marks Uttar Pradesh, the most affected state. Figures are approximate; percentages may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

Source: JEM Case Review Committee (CRC) database, 2025.

3.3 Nature of Violence Against Muslims

The typology of violence documented across the 1,660 total incidents spans seven interrelated categories, analysed in full in Chapter 4. The classification and counts used here are those of the Chapter 4 typology table, which codes the full documented caseload; because 1,606 of the 1,660 incidents (96.7%) involve the Muslim community, the distribution below is overwhelmingly a description of harm against Muslims.

Acts of Hate form the largest category, with 454 incidents (27.35%), spanning verbal abuse, discriminatory conduct in public and institutional spaces, and coordinated online hate speech. Discrimination, Exclusion, and Prejudice accounts for 362 incidents (21.81%) — boycotts of Muslim businesses, denial of housing, and exclusion from employment, education, and social participation. Acts of Violence account for 291 incidents (17.53%), including assaults, mob violence, and arson, many associated with cow-protection vigilantism in Uttar Pradesh. State-Sponsored Discrimination accounts for 180 incidents (10.84%), Attacks on Religious Spaces — mosques, madrasas, and dargahs — for 139 incidents (8.37%), Media Manipulation and Distortion of Facts for 130 incidents (7.83%), and Police Atrocities for 104 incidents (6.27%).

A recurring pattern across the documentation is the role of digital platforms in pre-conditioning offline violence: JEM's monitoring found that a measurable share of physical incidents were preceded within 24–72 hours by spikes in anti-Muslim content on WhatsApp and X. This nexus between digital hate and offline harm is examined in depth in Chapters 5 and 11.

3.4 Institutional Response

The institutional response to documented incidents remained deeply inadequate during the reporting period. A substantial proportion of cases did not progress beyond initial complaint registration, with FIRs either delayed, diluted, or absent in several states. In cases where political affiliation could be identified, actors linked to the Bharatiya Janata Party were associated with 428 incidents (66.8 percent of politically identifiable cases), and 80 percent of all documented incidents occurred in BJP-governed states — a pattern that warrants sustained institutional and scholarly scrutiny. These attributions reflect JEM's own classification of identifiable actors in field reports; they are allegations documented by JEM rather than findings of a court.

JEM documented 135 instances of provocative public statements by political actors, particularly in Maharashtra and Uttarakhand, with a proportion of violent incidents appearing to occur in temporal proximity to such rhetoric. Hate speech increased by approximately 109 percent compared to 2024. JEM also recorded 180 instances of state-related discrimination (10.84 percent of cases) and 104 incidents involving police excesses.



CHAPTER 04

Typology of Hate Crimes

A seven-category classification framework capturing the continuum from symbolic hostility to physical violence and structural discrimination.

7

CATEGORIES

454

ACTS OF HATE — LARGEST

27.35%

OF CLASSIFIED INCIDENTS

The persistent escalation of hate crimes in India represents far more than a numerical increase in reported incidents; it reflects a deeper erosion of the country's constitutional commitment to pluralism, equality, and fraternity.

These incidents disproportionately targeted religious minorities — particularly Muslims and Christians — as well as Scheduled Castes (Dalits), Scheduled Tribes (Adivasis), and other intersectionally vulnerable groups, including women, migrant labourers, and economically marginalized communities. This surge must be understood within a broader sociopolitical context shaped by electoral polarization, the amplification of divisive narratives through digital and algorithm-driven media ecosystems, and uneven post-pandemic socioeconomic recovery.

In response, JEM has developed a comprehensive framework for classifying hate crimes based on field documentation, survivor accounts, and interdisciplinary consultation. The framework recognizes hate crimes as part of a continuum from symbolic hostility to physical violence and structural discrimination, comprising seven interrelated categories designed to capture overlapping forms of harm.

4.1 The Seven-Category Classification Framework

The classification and percentages below reflect JEM's Case Review Committee (CRC) coding of the 1,660 incidents documented directly through its quarterly review process (see Section 2.3); full category definitions appear in Appendix B.

FIGURE 4

Seven-category classification of incidents, 2025 (ranked by volume)

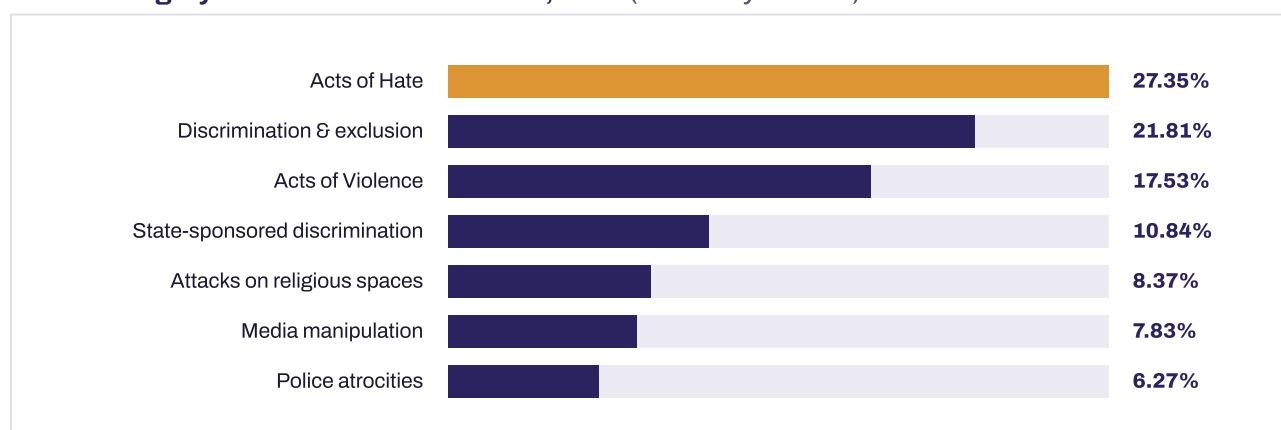


Figure 4 — Acts of Hate (saffron) is the largest category; percentages of the 1,660 classified incidents.

Source: JEM Case Review Committee (CRC) database, 2025.

CATEGORY	INCIDENTS	SHARE OF TOTAL
a) Acts of Hate	454	27.35%
b) Acts of Violence	291	17.53%
c) Attacks on Religious Spaces	139	8.37%
d) State-Sponsored Discrimination	180	10.84%
e) Police Atrocities	104	6.27%
f) Discrimination, Exclusion, and Prejudice	362	21.81%
g) Media Manipulation and Distortion of Facts	130	7.83%
Total (seven-category classification)	1,660	100%

Source: JEM Case Review Committee (CRC) database, 2025. Incidents may fall under more than one category.

a) Acts of Hate

Acts of Hate constitute the largest category, accounting for 454 incidents (27.35%) in 2025. These include verbal abuse, discriminatory behaviour in public and institutional spaces, and coordinated hate speech online. JEM found that approximately 62% of these incidents originated online, particularly through platforms such as WhatsApp and X, with common narratives portraying minorities through tropes of threat and exclusion. Geographically, around 40% of incidents were concentrated in major urban centres such as Mumbai and Delhi, while rural districts in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh reflected caste-based variants. Notably, 18% of violent incidents were preceded by documented acts of hate, indicating their role as early warning indicators.

b) Acts of Violence

Acts of Violence accounted for 291 incidents (17.53%), including assaults, mob violence, arson, and targeted attacks linked to allegations such as "cow slaughter" or "love jihad." Approximately 71% of victims belonged to Muslim or Dalit communities, with Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra together accounting for about 45% of these incidents. Temporal patterns show that around 35% occurred during elections and religious festivals, and law enforcement delays were noted in over half of the cases, contributing to escalation and reduced accountability, alongside long-term socioeconomic consequences including displacement and livelihood loss.

c) Attacks on Religious Spaces

A total of 139 incidents (8.37%) involved attacks on religious spaces, including vandalism, arson, and desecration. Mosques (48%) and churches (22%) were the most affected; Assam and West Bengal together accounted for approximately 31% of such incidents, and around 41% occurred at night, suggesting planned actions. These incidents had broader social impacts, including increased community fear and reduced participation in religious and public life.

d) State-Sponsored Discrimination

This category includes 180 incidents (10.84%) involving discriminatory actions or omissions by state authorities, such as unequal access to welfare, demolition drives, and selective enforcement. Delhi and Madhya Pradesh accounted for around 39% of these cases, and a significant proportion of legal challenges to such actions remained unresolved beyond standard timelines, indicating delays in judicial redress.

e) Police Atrocities

JEM recorded 104 incidents (6.27%) of police-related abuses, including custodial violence, arbitrary detention, and alleged extrajudicial actions. Muslims and Adivasis constituted a majority of victims, and a large proportion of cases did not result in convictions, contributing to declining trust in law enforcement among affected communities.

f) Discrimination, Exclusion, and Prejudice

This category accounted for 362 incidents (21.81%), covering systemic discrimination in housing, employment, education, and social participation. Maharashtra and Bihar together represented approximately 52% of cases, highlighting persistent structural inequalities affecting marginalized communities and limiting social mobility.

g) Media Manipulation and Distortion of Facts

JEM identified 130 incidents (7.83%) involving misinformation, selective reporting, and distorted narratives across media platforms. Digital media accounted for a significant share of these cases, and the analysis indicates that a notable proportion of violent incidents were preceded by misinformation spikes, particularly during politically sensitive periods such as elections.

4.2 Conclusion

FIGURE 5

Hate as a continuum, 2025 — the seven categories from symbolic to structural harm

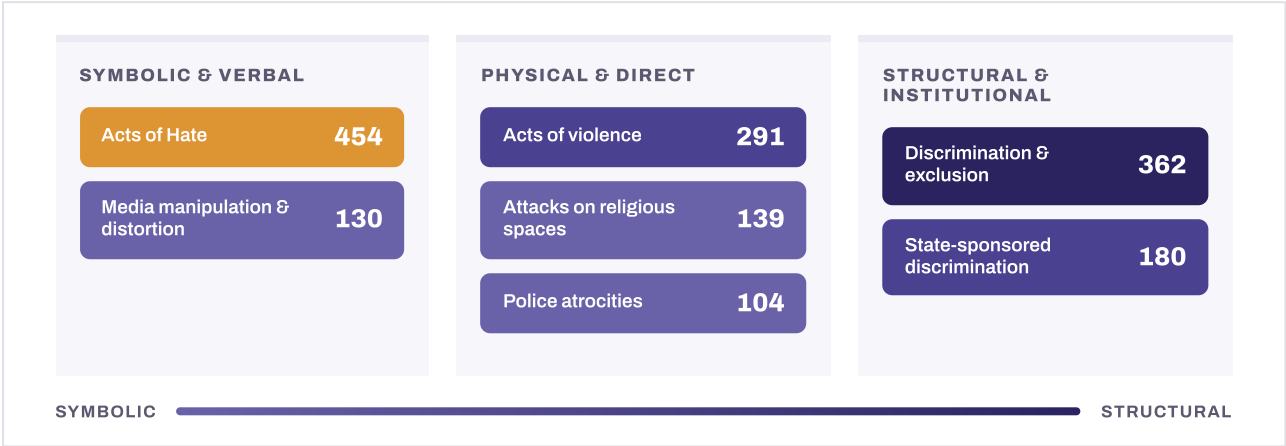


Figure 5 — The same 1,660 incidents, arranged along the continuum the report describes; hostility runs from verbal and symbolic acts (saffron marks the largest, Acts of Hate) through direct violence to structural exclusion. Counts are the seven-category totals.

Source: JEM Case Review Committee (CRC) database, 2025.

Together, the incidents documented through this seven-category framework reveal an interconnected ecosystem of hate that affects multiple dimensions of social life. JEM's framework provides a structured basis for understanding patterns, identifying vulnerabilities, and informing policy interventions aimed at prevention, accountability, and rehabilitation.



CHAPTER 05

Media and Digital Ecosystem Assessment

Patterns of underreporting, narrative distortion, and the online space — where nearly 43% of incidents received minimal or no coverage.

29.52%

SOCIAL MEDIA

27.11%

MAINSTREAM MEDIA

43.37%

LITTLE / NO COVERAGE

The national discourse surrounding hate crimes in India reveals a significant disparity in the manner and extent to which such incidents are covered across social media platforms and mainstream media outlets.

This imbalance carries substantial implications for public awareness, civic engagement, and institutional accountability, as media visibility plays a decisive role in shaping which incidents attract public attention, mobilize civil society responses, and prompt timely intervention by law enforcement and policymakers. JEM's analysis integrates quantitative data with qualitative insights derived from systematic content audits, survivor testimonies, and longitudinal trend assessment, revealing persistent patterns of underreporting, narrative distortion, and regional as well as demographic bias.

5.1 Breakdown of Media Coverage

FIGURE 6

Media engagement across documented incidents, 2025

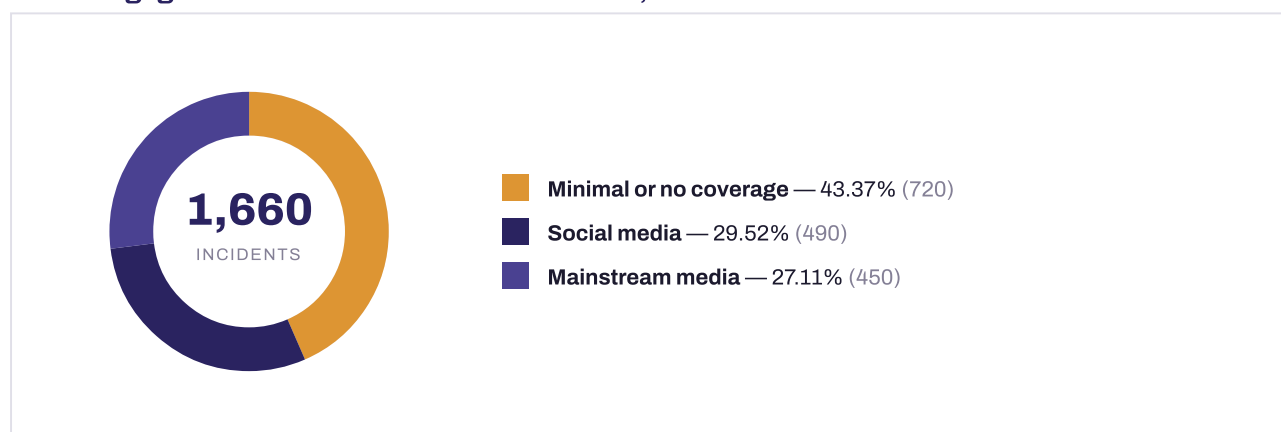


Figure 6 — Nearly 43% of documented incidents received minimal or no coverage (saffron). Categories may overlap where an incident received coverage on more than one channel.

Source: JEM assessment of media engagement across the 1,660 directly documented incidents, 2025.

a) Social Media Coverage

Platforms such as X, Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp, and YouTube — collectively reaching over 900 million users nationwide (approximate, based on industry and telecom-sector estimates) by early 2026 — have fundamentally altered the dynamics of information flow around minority rights, functioning as decentralized repositories of real-time accounts that challenge institutional silence and amplify marginalized voices. Social media has proven particularly consequential in exposing incidents that remain underreported or entirely absent from mainstream news coverage.

JEM's archival analysis, covering posts between January 2025 and January 2026, found that clusters of users collectively generated between 20 and 50 posts per incident. Overall, 490 hate crime incidents (29.52%) received substantive visibility on social media. Hashtag-based mobilization, including campaigns such as #EndHateNow and #MinorityRightsIndia, generated widespread engagement and, in several cases, contributed to institutional responses such as FIR registration.

The strengths of social media lie in its hyperlocal reach and participatory nature; survivor-led narratives enabled rapid community mobilization, and algorithmic amplification enabled incidents from geographically remote regions, such as Tribal areas in Chhattisgarh, to reach national audiences. However, this digital visibility is not without limitations: JEM's content audits found that a notable share of social media posts contained unverified or partially inaccurate information, and algorithmic moderation practices may disproportionately affect minority-generated content. JEM emphasizes the need for integrated verification frameworks that combine the reach of social media with rigorous fact-checking and ethical reporting standards.

b) Mainstream Media Coverage

Despite the scale of India's mainstream media ecosystem — comprising over 62,000 registered print publications, approximately 900 television channels, and an estimated 5,000 digital news platforms (figures are approximate industry estimates compiled from Press Registrar General of India (RNI) registration data and broadcast-sector reporting; exact counts vary by source and year) — systematic reporting on hate crimes during 2025 remained limited. Of the 1,660 verified incidents, only 450 cases (27.11%) received substantive coverage in mainstream media.

A significant share of detailed reporting was concentrated among a limited number of national publications and broadcast platforms; some outlets produced investigative reports on police conduct and economic boycotts, demonstrating the constructive role segments of the media can play in promoting accountability. However, coverage patterns remained uneven — several outlets relied on syndicated content lacking depth, and broadcast media displayed variation, with some channels framing incidents as generalized "clashes," obscuring structural factors and accountability. Geographical disparities were also evident: states with high concentrations of incidents did not consistently receive proportionate national attention, particularly in rural and peri-urban areas. With less than one-third of incidents receiving substantive coverage, strengthening independent journalism, expanding regional reporting, and enhancing editorial transparency are essential to ensuring that media institutions fulfil their constitutional role.

5.2 Incidents Not Covered or Recorded

Beyond incidents captured through formal complaints and media reporting, a substantial proportion of hate-related harm remains insufficiently visible. In 2025, JEM identified 720 incidents (approximately 43.37%) that received minimal or no coverage across both mainstream and social media platforms. Comparative analysis suggests that documented cases may represent only 60–65% of actual occurrences, indicating a possible 35–40% undercount, consistent with patterns observed in previous years.

These underreported incidents include localized harassment, festival-related exclusion, digital hate within closed networks, informal evictions, land dispossession, and economic boycotts. While often non-lethal, these forms of harm generate sustained insecurity and long-term socioeconomic consequences, and contribute to the normalization of discrimination by leaving affected communities with limited access to justice and institutions with incomplete data for preventive action. Multiple factors contribute to underreporting, including fear of retaliation, lack of access to media or legal resources, social stigma, and distrust in authorities.

Political Sensitivity

Media hesitancy in covering politically sensitive issues remains a structural constraint. A significant number of underreported incidents occurred in politically sensitive contexts, where coverage may involve reputational or commercial risks for media institutions, often resulting in cautious framing, omission of key details, or lack of follow-up reporting.

Geographical and Local Reporting Gaps

Rural and peri-urban areas remain underrepresented due to limited reporting infrastructure. Incidents such as caste-based violence in Bihar and Tribal displacement in central India often lack sustained coverage, with low digital access and limited connectivity further restricting documentation and dissemination.

Editorial Bias and Newsroom Priorities

Editorial decisions significantly shape coverage patterns; some reporting reflects dominant narratives, while incidents affecting marginalized communities receive limited depth or follow-up. Urban-centric priorities and commercial considerations further skew visibility, reinforcing unequal representation of different forms of violence.

Misinformation and Verification Failures

While social media has expanded reporting, it has also introduced challenges related to misinformation. A portion of online content remains unverified or misleading, and repeated exposure to misinformation may lead to public fatigue and reduced attention to verified cases, underscoring the importance of strengthening verification systems and media literacy.

The coexistence of selective mainstream coverage, uneven social media amplification, and widespread invisibility underscores a systemic gap in India's information ecosystem. Addressing this requires coordinated reforms: strengthened protections for journalistic independence, investment in rural reporting, transparent content moderation on digital platforms, and robust fact-checking collaborations between media and civil society.

5.3 The Online Space

Beyond physical geography, the digital ecosystem has emerged as a critical terrain for the proliferation of hate. In 2025, JEM documented 47 incidents (2.83%) that originated or were sustained entirely within online spaces, reflecting a 38% increase over the previous reporting period. These incidents were identified through systematic monitoring of X, WhatsApp, Telegram, YouTube, Instagram, and Facebook.

JEM's platform-wise analysis reveals distinct but overlapping modalities of harm. WhatsApp and Telegram functioned primarily as closed-network incubators, facilitating the rapid circulation of misinformation and mobilization messages beyond public scrutiny. X and Facebook served as amplification hubs for hate speech and coordinated harassment, while Instagram and YouTube increasingly emerged as vectors for visual propaganda, including manipulated clips and algorithm-driven content targeting youth audiences.

Content classification indicates that 29% of online-only incidents involved coordinated doxing and harassment campaigns, 41% consisted of incitement-driven memes, reels, and videos, and 30% involved manipulated or deepfake content. Muslims were targeted in 73% of these incidents, followed by Dalits and migrant communities. The anonymity afforded by digital platforms enabled 82% of these incidents to transcend state and, in some cases, national boundaries, significantly complicating jurisdictional accountability.

Temporal correlation analysis reveals that 56% of online hate incidents coincided with offline flashpoints such as religious festivals, elections, or court verdicts. A notable example is the 2025 Diwali disinformation surge in Delhi, where viral videos and reels — many later found to be misleading or fabricated — preceded 12 documented instances of offline retaliatory violence. The psychosocial consequences of digital hate are substantial: JEM recorded 1,089 reported cases of anxiety, fear, and trauma symptoms linked directly to online harassment, particularly among women, students, and young professionals. Algorithmic recommendation systems on platforms such as YouTube and Instagram were found to play a significant role in youth radicalization pathways, reinforcing echo chambers that normalize exclusionary and violent ideologies.

In response, JEM advocates a multipronged regulatory and technological approach, including platform-specific accountability frameworks, geo-fenced and language-sensitive content moderation, traceability of viral multimedia content, and coordinated hate-flagging protocols across major platforms. Without such interventions, the unchecked spread of digital hate risks further collapsing the boundary between virtual hostility and physical violence.



CHAPTER 06

Geographical Distribution and Regional Analysis

Geography as an analytical tool — mapping the structural conditions that concentrate violence, discrimination, and social exclusion.

32.17%

UTTAR PRADESH

6

PRIMARY HOTSPOT STATES

35.17%

OTHER STATES

The spatial distribution of the 1,660 verified incidents documented in this report provides critical insight into the structural conditions that facilitate violence, discrimination, and social exclusion.

In this context, geography functions not merely as a descriptive variable but as an analytical tool that helps identify patterns related to governance gaps, ideological influence, demographic pressures, and economic vulnerability.

6.1 Regional Concentration of Hate Crimes

FIGURE 7

Geographic concentration across India, 2025 (by share of total)

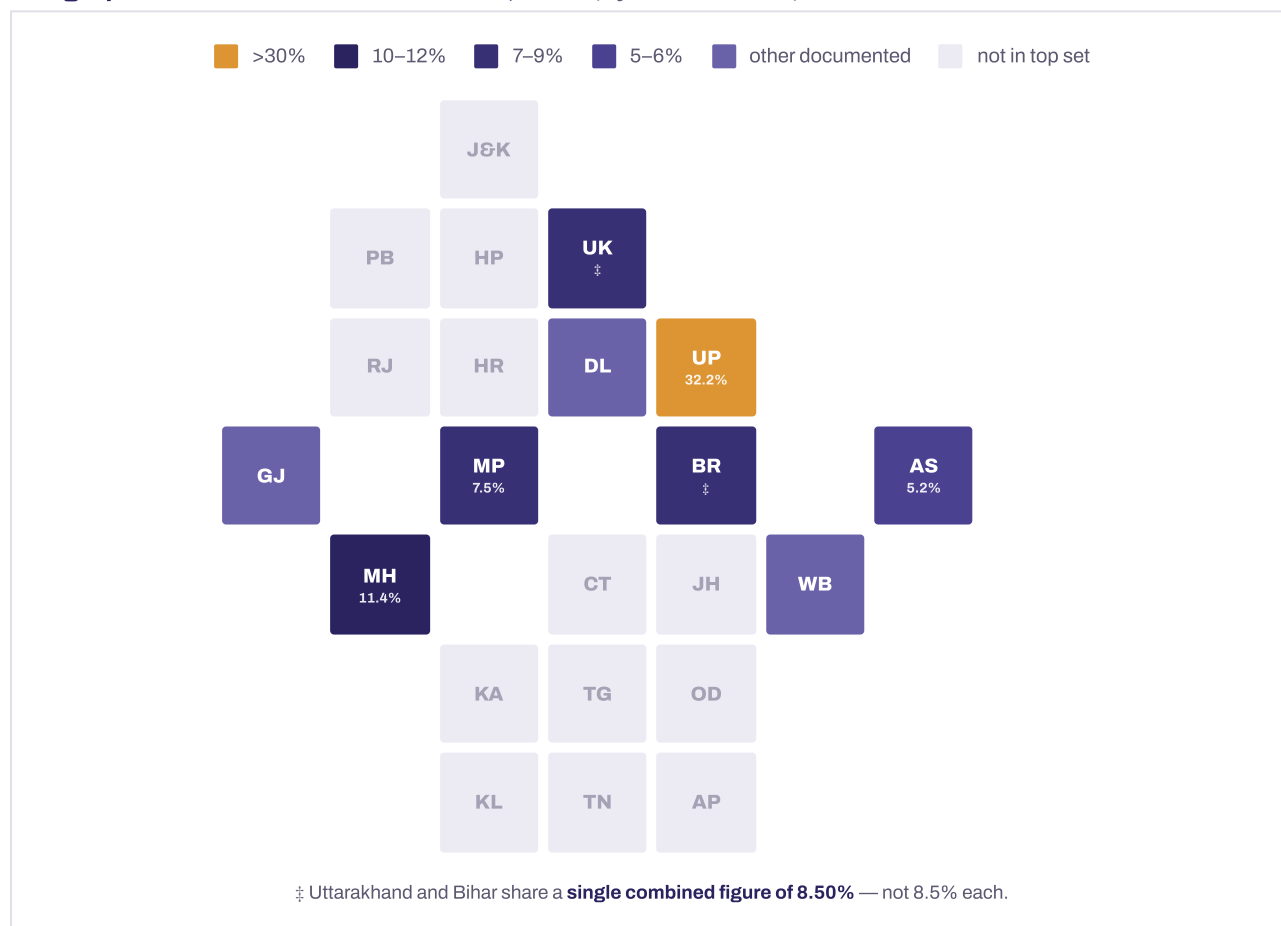


Figure 7 — Each tile is a state, placed in approximate geographic position and shaded by share of documented incidents. Saffron marks Uttar Pradesh (32.2%). Uttarakhand and Bihar (‡) are reported together as one combined share of 8.50%. Percentages are approximate and may not sum to 100%.

Source: JEM Case Review Committee (CRC) database, 2025.

The concentration of hate crimes in a limited number of states indicates the presence of structural risk environments rather than a random or evenly distributed pattern. This clustering reflects entrenched vulnerabilities linked to governance practices, demographic pressures, and socio-economic stressors. Population density emerges as a significant contributing factor, particularly in Uttar Pradesh, which has a population exceeding 240 million — JEM's internal statistical assessment suggests that districts with higher population density tend to experience a greater likelihood of conflict as competition over resources, public space, and political influence intensifies social friction.

Governance-related factors may further amplify these risks: variations in policing efficiency, prosecutorial follow-through, and administrative responsiveness appear to influence case progression and accountability. Within high-incidence states, the nature of victimization reflects intersecting social fault lines — in Uttar Pradesh, religious targeting constitutes a significant proportion of incidents, with Muslims forming a large share of affected individuals; in Maharashtra, caste-based violence remains prominent, with a notable proportion of cases involving Dalit victims; and in Madhya Pradesh, incidents linked to land, forest rights, and displacement disproportionately affected Adivasi communities.

These regional dynamics were further influenced by broader economic stressors during 2025, including agrarian distress in several states, which corresponded with a rise in rural incidents. Beyond the primary hotspots, Assam, Uttarakhand, and Bihar also contributed a measurable share of incidents, where migration-related anxieties and local identity politics were associated with social exclusion and displacement. The remaining "other states" category, comprising approximately 35.17% of the total, highlights the diffusion of hate beyond traditionally recognized flashpoints, including states such as Gujarat and West Bengal, while emerging patterns in states with historically lower reported incidence, including Kerala, underscore the importance of anticipatory and preventive governance measures.

6.2 Concluding Implications

The geographical distribution of hate crimes across both physical and digital domains reveals marked regional disparities in exposure to violence, discrimination, and institutional response. These uneven patterns underscore the need for context-specific, place-sensitive interventions that are informed by reliable data, grounded in accountability, and strengthened through sustained community engagement.

JEM emphasizes that responding to these spatial patterns is not limited to strengthening law enforcement mechanisms; it is fundamentally a constitutional imperative to ensure that access to justice, personal dignity, and security is not determined by geography. JEM calls for coordinated, federated approaches involving inter-agency cooperation that integrate official crime statistics with civil society monitoring, enabling granular hot-spot identification, proactive law enforcement engagement, and targeted socio-economic interventions aimed at de-escalating tensions before they evolve into entrenched conflict.



CHAPTER 07

Quarterly Review of 2025

A sustained rather than episodic pattern — incidents recorded across all four quarters, with a marked escalation in the final quarter.

387 · 265

Q1 · Q2 INCIDENTS

367

Q3 INCIDENTS

641

Q4 — YEAR'S HIGHEST

The pattern of violence documented by JEM in 2025 was sustained rather than episodic, with incidents recorded across all four quarters of the year and a marked escalation in the final quarter.

FIGURE 8

The year in incidents and flashpoints, 2025 (JEM-documented, all communities)

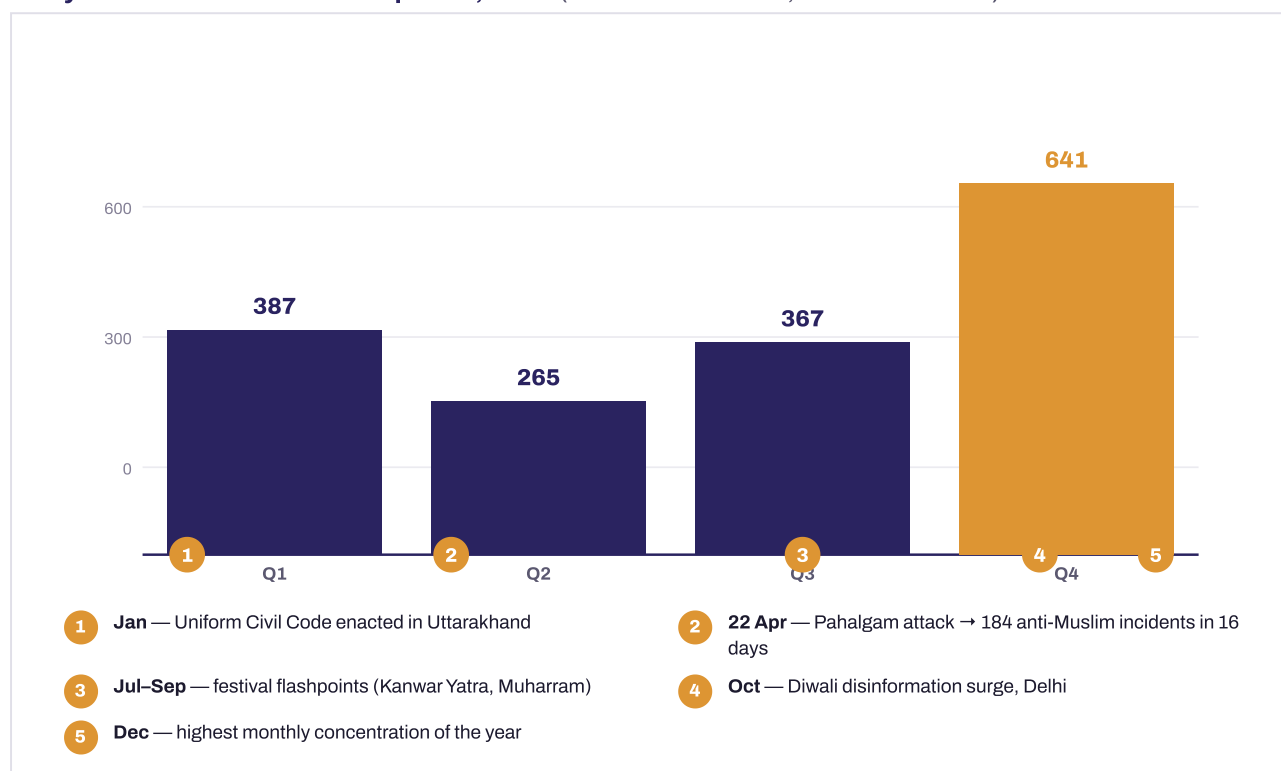


Figure 8 — Incidents were sustained across all four quarters and peaked in Q4 (641, saffron); numbered markers pin major flashpoints to when they occurred.

Source: JEM Case Review Committee (CRC) database, 2025.

7.1 Quarter I: January – March 2025

The period spanning January to March 2025 witnessed a notable escalation in reported hate crimes and communal tensions across India. Developments such as the implementation of the Uniform Civil Code (UCC) in Uttarakhand and heightened political rhetoric during religious observances contributed to an environment of increased polarization. JEM documented 387 verified incidents, including physical assaults, hate speech, damage to religious property, police misconduct, and forms of institutional discrimination.

Key Developments

- **Escalation of Violence:** Reported incidents included mob assaults, custodial deaths, and attacks on interfaith couples, with a noticeable increase observed in March coinciding with major religious events such as Holi.
- **Targeted Demolitions:** Approximately 50 incidents involved the demolition of mosques, madrasas, and residential structures in locations such as Pune, Haldwani, and parts of Assam, often carried out under anti-encroachment drives; concerns were raised regarding due process in several cases.
- **Hate Speech by Public Figures:** Inflammatory statements attributed to political figures and ideological influencers, including calls for economic boycotts or exclusion, appeared to correlate with a segment of documented incidents, often amplified through social media.

Emerging Trends

- **Rise in Mob Violence:** Incidents involving vigilantism, coercive public acts, and processional tensions increased compared to earlier periods, with Muslims forming a majority of victims and Dalits also affected in smaller proportions.
- **Expansion of Hate Narratives:** Themes such as "love jihad" and disputes over religious sites continued to circulate, contributing to online harassment and, in some cases, offline mobilization involving groups such as the Bajrang Dal and Vishwa Hindu Parishad.
- **State-Linked Actions:** A subset of incidents involved administrative actions such as demolitions and policing measures, raising concerns about proportionality and procedural safeguards in certain regions, including Uttar Pradesh.

7.2 Quarter II: April – June 2025

The second quarter of 2025 recorded 265 verified incidents, indicating continued communal tensions across multiple regions, characterized by physical violence, hate speech, police-related actions, and attacks on religious spaces.

Key Developments

- **Escalation of Hate Speech and Violence:** States such as Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh recorded higher numbers of incidents, with Muslims constituting a large proportion of affected individuals, particularly in cases involving mob violence and online misinformation.
- **Attacks on Religious Sites:** Incidents included vandalism and demolition of mosques, madrasas, and dargahs in states including Madhya Pradesh (notably Ujjain), Uttar Pradesh, and Maharashtra, often linked to land or encroachment disputes.
- **Discriminatory Actions:** Reports indicated instances of biased enforcement or administrative measures, raising concerns about unequal application of the law in certain areas.

A portion of incidents was associated with political or ideological affiliations, including actors linked to the Bharatiya Janata Party and Hindutva-aligned groups, though a significant number of cases remained unattributed due to reporting limitations. Muslims constituted the majority of victims in documented cases, followed by Dalits and Christians in smaller proportions.

7.3 Quarter III: July – September 2025

This quarter recorded 367 verified incidents, reflecting continued escalation in hate-related incidents, particularly during major religious observances such as Kanwar Yatra, Muharram, Ganesh Chaturthi, and Milad-un-Nabi.

Key Developments

- **Escalation During Festivals:** Incidents increased during religious events, with states such as Uttar Pradesh, Assam, and Maharashtra reporting higher levels of clashes and mob-related violence.
- **Demolition Drives:** Reports indicated multiple instances of demolitions affecting mosques, madrasas, and homes in states including Madhya Pradesh, Uttarakhand, and Assam, raising concerns regarding compliance with legal safeguards and judicial guidelines.
- **Hate Speech and Media Influence:** Inflammatory rhetoric and selective media coverage were observed in several cases, with certain outlets, including Sudarshan News, cited in discussions on media framing and amplification of polarizing narratives.^[3]

Emerging Trends

- **Heightened Religious Polarization:** A significant share of incidents occurred during religious processions and festivals, contributing to localized tensions and symbolic contestations over public spaces.
- **Administrative Actions:** Evictions and demolitions in areas such as Dhubri (Assam) and Bhopal were reported, raising concerns about due process and proportionality.
- **Increased Vigilantism:** Vigilante activity linked to ideological groups, including references to organizations such as the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, was noted in some incidents, alongside continued growth in online hate content contributing to offline mobilization.

7.4 Quarter IV: October – December 2025

The final quarter recorded 641 verified incidents — the highest quarterly total of the year — marking a significant intensification of communal tensions. Muslims constituted the overwhelming majority of victims in documented cases, with Christians and Dalits also affected in smaller numbers; limited reporting for some communities may reflect under-documentation rather than the absence of incidents. A proportion of incidents involved individuals or groups with identifiable political or ideological affiliations, including actors linked to the BJP and organizations such as the Bajrang Dal, with media platforms also noted for their role in shaping narratives around certain incidents.

Emerging Trends

- **Polarization During Key Events:** Incidents increased during festivals such as Durga Puja and Dussehra, as well as during periods of political or legal controversy; December recorded the highest monthly concentration.
- **Demolitions and Administrative Actions:** Reports indicated large-scale demolition drives affecting minority communities in states such as Uttar Pradesh and Assam, raising concerns regarding adherence to legal procedures and judicial oversight.
- **Media and Digital Amplification:** Online platforms played a significant role in spreading misinformation, including viral narratives and manipulated content, contributing to offline tensions.

QUARTER	INCIDENTS	KEY DRIVER
Q1 (January–March)	387	Policy developments, religious observances, political rhetoric
Q2 (April–June)	265	Demolition drives, administrative actions, institutional discrimination
Q3 (July–September)	367	Religious processions, festival tensions, vigilante mobilization
Q4 (October–December)	641	Festival-related violence, waqf property disputes, digital incitement
Full Year	1,660	—

Source: JEM Case Review Committee (CRC) database, 2025.



CHAPTER 08

Spotlight: Disproportionate Impact on the Muslim Community

What numbers alone do not convey — the consistency of the pattern, the role of political rhetoric, and the accountability failures that allow it to persist.

1,606

MUSLIM INCIDENTS

135

PROVOCATIVE STATEMENTS

67%

DELAYED / ABSENT FIRS (UP)

This chapter moves beyond the scale and classification of incidents documented in Chapters 3–7 to examine three dimensions that numbers alone do not fully convey: the consistency of the pattern over time, the role of political rhetoric in enabling it, and the accountability failures that allow it to persist.

Readers seeking incident counts and quarterly breakdowns should refer to Chapters 3 and 7 respectively.

8.1 A Sustained, Systemic Pattern

The disproportionate targeting of Muslim communities in 2025 — accounting for 1,606 of JEM's directly verified incidents — was not driven by a single event or concentrated in one region or quarter. Incidents were recorded across all four quarters, in states with different governance profiles, and across urban, peri-urban, and rural geographies. This consistency is analytically significant: it indicates a structural, recurring environment of targeting rather than episodic escalation.

Qualitative documentation reinforces this reading. Survivor testimonies gathered by JEM's field teams across Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, and Assam consistently describe a climate of sustained low-level hostility — vigilante surveillance, economic pressure, social exclusion — punctuated by episodes of more severe violence. The cumulative effect of this environment on community psychology, economic participation, and willingness to report is difficult to capture in incident counts but is central to understanding the true scale of harm.

“We don't report anymore. What is the point? The police know who we are. The complaint disappears.”

SURVIVOR TESTIMONY · MUZAFFARNAGAR, UTTAR PRADESH · Q3 2025

8.2 Nature and Spectrum of Harm

The forms of harm documented against Muslim communities span a continuum from direct physical assault to structural exclusion. The counts below follow the seven-category typology set out in Chapter 4, which codes the full documented caseload of 1,660 incidents; because 1,606 of those (96.7%) involve the Muslim community, the distribution describes the pattern of harm against Muslims.

At the symbolic and verbal end of the continuum sit Acts of Hate — the largest single category at 454 incidents (27.35%) — together with Media Manipulation and Distortion of Facts (130 incidents, 7.83%). At the direct and physical end are Acts of Violence (291 incidents, 17.53%), concentrated in Uttar Pradesh and frequently involving groups invoking cow-protection narratives; Attacks on Religious Spaces (139 incidents, 8.37%) — mosques, madrasas, dargahs — which carry a symbolic dimension beyond the material, signalling the delegitimization of Muslim public presence; and Police Atrocities (104 incidents, 6.27%).

Structural and institutional harm accounts for the second-largest share of the caseload. Discrimination, Exclusion, and Prejudice (362 incidents, 21.81%) covers economic boycotts, denial of tenancy, exclusion from local markets, and barriers in housing, employment, and education; State-Sponsored Discrimination (180 incidents, 10.84%) covers demolitions, evictions, welfare exclusion, and selective enforcement by state authorities. These are among the least visible but most pervasive forms of harm: they generate sustained hardship without the visibility that attracts legal or media attention. JEM's documentation shows that this part of the caseload increased proportionally in 2025, suggesting a normalization of soft-exclusion practices in certain localities.

FIGURE 9

Spectrum of harm, 2025 — the seven categories grouped along the continuum

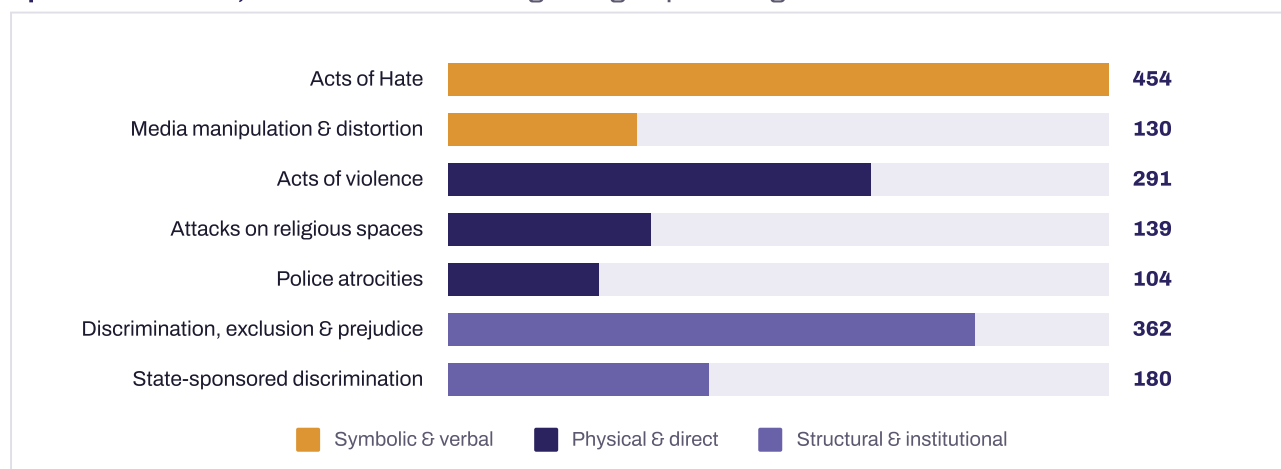


Figure 9 — The seven categories grouped by where they sit on the continuum. Symbolic and verbal harm (saffron) is the largest single band, but structural and institutional exclusion (light indigo) together accounts for 542 incidents — the second-largest share and, as the text notes, the least visible.

Source: JEM Case Review Committee (CRC) database, 2025.

8.3 Political Rhetoric and Institutional Complicity

JEM documented 135 instances of provocative public statements by political actors during 2025, with a measurable temporal correlation between high-visibility speeches and subsequent incident spikes. This does not establish legal causation, but it forms a pattern that policymakers and civil society cannot responsibly ignore. The 48 percent of ideologically attributed incidents that occurred within days of a major political statement, and the 30 percent increase in anti-Muslim online content following high-profile speeches, are correlational findings that should be confirmed and subjected to further academic scrutiny before being cited as causal.

More clearly documented is institutional failure: in states such as Uttar Pradesh, approximately 67 percent of cases involved delayed, diluted, or absent FIR registration. Administrative actions — demolitions, evictions, selective enforcement — that disproportionately affected Muslim neighbourhoods were documented in 180 cases classified as state-related discrimination. Where state actors are implicated in harm or in impeding accountability, the constitutional obligations of equality (Article 14), non-discrimination (Article 15), and dignity become directly engaged.

FIGURE 10

The accountability gap, JEM-documented incidents, 2025

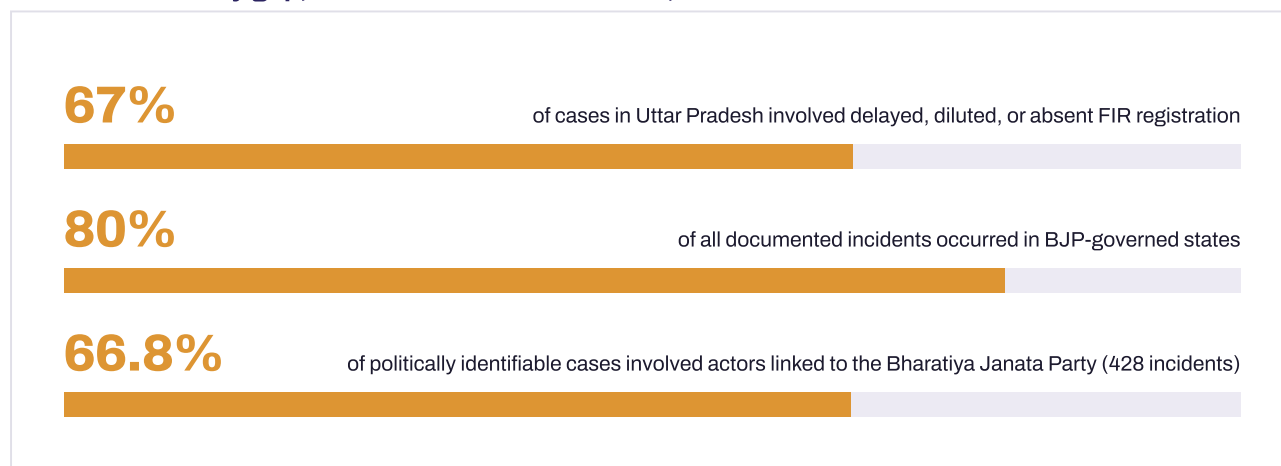


Figure 10 — Attributions reflect JEM's own classification of identifiable actors in field reports; they are allegations documented by JEM, not findings of a court.

Source: JEM Case Review Committee (CRC) database, 2025.

8.4 Accountability Gap

The most consistent finding across JEM's 2025 documentation is the accountability gap: a large proportion of documented cases did not progress to judicial resolution. This gap operates at multiple levels — failure to register FIRs, inadequate investigation, prosecutorial inaction, and judicial delay. The cumulative effect is an erosion of deterrence: perpetrators act with a reasonable expectation of impunity, while victims face a reasonable expectation that recourse will be ineffective or unavailable.

Addressing this requires not only legal reform but institutional culture change — within police forces, prosecutorial bodies, and the judiciary — of the kind that cannot be achieved through legislation alone. JEM reiterates its call for an independent monitoring mechanism with the authority to review case progression in hate-crime matters and to report publicly on accountability failures.



CHAPTER 09

The Rise of Radical Religious Extremist Groups

The organizational landscape structuring communal mobilization — its mechanisms of harm and the governance failures that allow it to persist.

50

BAJRANG DAL INCIDENTS

33

VHP INCIDENTS

80%

IN BJP-GOVERNED STATES

India's plural social fabric has long coexisted with periodic communal tensions. What the 2025 data documents, however, is not episodic tension but a more organized, ideologically coherent pattern of mobilization that goes beyond individual perpetrators.

This chapter examines the organizational landscape that structures that mobilization, its societal consequences, and the governance failures that allow it to persist.

9.1 Organizational Landscape

Organizational and political attributions in this chapter reflect JEM's analysis of identifiable actors named in field documentation and public reporting; they are allegations documented by JEM rather than findings of any court or government body.

JEM's documentation points to an interlocking structure of political actors, ideological organizations, and vigilante formations. At the political level, the concentration of incidents in BJP-governed states and the temporal correlation with electoral cycles suggests that political competition plays a role in the frequency and intensity of communal mobilization. At the ideological level, organizations associated with the RSS-affiliated ecosystem provide the framing — narratives of demographic threat, religious identity, and historical grievance — that legitimizes targeting.

At the operational level, vigilante and local formations — including the Bajrang Dal (50 documented incidents) and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (33 documented incidents) — execute actions that are frequently framed as spontaneous community responses to perceived provocations but which JEM's documentation suggests are often coordinated and recurring. The interoperability between political legitimation, ideological framing, and operational mobilization represents a more serious threat to social cohesion than any of these elements in isolation.

9.2 Mechanisms of Harm

Three mechanisms are worth examining because they extend the reach of organized extremism beyond direct violence. The first is economic coercion: organized boycotts of Muslim-owned businesses, coordinated campaigns to deny Muslim tenants housing, and mobilization of local business associations against Muslim participation in markets. These are low-visibility, high-impact forms of harm that are rarely captured in criminal statistics.

The second is administrative capture: the use of legitimate state instruments — demolition orders, anti-encroachment drives, licensing actions — in ways that disproportionately target Muslim communities. Where administrative actors are aligned ideologically with extremist goals, state power becomes an instrument of communal targeting that is legally opaque and institutionally difficult to challenge.

The third is digital mobilization: the use of closed messaging platforms and algorithmic social media to prepare communities for violence, spread misinformation that precedes confrontation, and coordinate across jurisdictions. This dimension is examined in detail in Chapters 5 and 11.

9.3 Political Context and Governance Response

The political contextualization of communal violence is analytically important but requires care. JEM documents patterns — concentration of incidents during electoral periods, temporal proximity to political speeches, clustering in certain governance environments — that are consistent with a relationship between political dynamics and communal targeting. These patterns warrant further scholarly and institutional investigation; they do not, in themselves, establish direct causation between specific political actors and specific incidents.

What is less equivocal is the governance response. The consistent pattern of delayed and inadequate law enforcement in Muslim-targeted incidents, documented across multiple states and all four quarters of 2025, represents a governance failure that is independently assessable regardless of its political causes. The Supreme Court's existing jurisprudence on the obligations of the state to protect minority communities from organized violence provides a constitutional framework within which these failures can be scrutinized.

JEM's calls for accountability are grounded in this constitutional framework. The obligation to ensure equal protection of the laws is not contingent on the political context of the governing administration; it is a continuing obligation whose breach is judicially reviewable. Strengthening that review — through PIL mechanisms, independent monitoring, and transparent reporting on case progression — is among the most important institutional reforms JEM advocates for in the near term.



CHAPTER 10

Other Minority Communities: Evidence from Secondary Sources

54 of JEM's 1,660 total 2025 cases — Christians, Dalits, Adivasis, and Sikhs — presented primarily via UCF, CJP, India Hate Lab, and NCRB, given insufficient primary data.

54

CASES IN JEM'S 2025 TOTAL

900+

CHRISTIANS (UCF / CSI)

55,698

SC CASES, 2024 (NCRB)

This chapter presents available evidence on hate crimes and targeted discrimination against minority communities other than Muslims — specifically Christians, Scheduled Castes (Dalits), Scheduled Tribes (Adivasis/Tribals), and Sikhs.

Of the 1,660 total cases documented by JEM in 2025, some involve these communities. As explained in Section 2.3 and Chapter 3, JEM's own field documentation did not yield sufficient primary data on these communities to meet the reliability threshold applied to the Muslim caseload; consequently, these cases are presented here primarily through secondary data compiled by dedicated partner and research organizations that specialize in monitoring these communities. JEM acknowledges this as a methodological limitation of the present edition and intends, going forward, to strengthen this aspect of its work by collaborating with organizations that collect data on other minority communities. Four secondary sources are drawn upon. The United Christian Forum (UCF)^[2] operates a dedicated helpline and publishes violence-against-Christians monitoring data throughout the year. The Citizens for Justice and Peace (CJP)^[3] publishes an ongoing caste-atrocity tracker. The India Hate Lab (IHL)^[5] published a 2025 annual report on in-person hate speech events. The National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB)^[14] publishes "Crime in India," the official register of cognizable crimes against Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. None of these figures have been independently re-verified by JEM; they represent each organization's own published findings.

10.1 Christians

2025 Violence: Scale and Trajectory

The United Christian Forum documented 706 incidents targeting Christians as of November 2025, according to UCF's letter to Prime Minister Narendra Modi dated December 26, 2025.^[2] Christian Solidarity International, citing UCF's local monitoring sources, reported that the full-year 2025 figure approached approximately 900 incidents — the sixth consecutive annual record for anti-Christian violence in India.^[2] Interim UCF monitoring data confirms the sustained pace: 245 incidents were recorded in January–April 2025 (averaging approximately two incidents per day), 378 incidents in January–June 2025, and 706 incidents by November. Uttar Pradesh recorded 50 incidents in the first four months alone, followed by Chhattisgarh (46) and Karnataka. The rate of violence has roughly doubled compared to the first half of 2024.

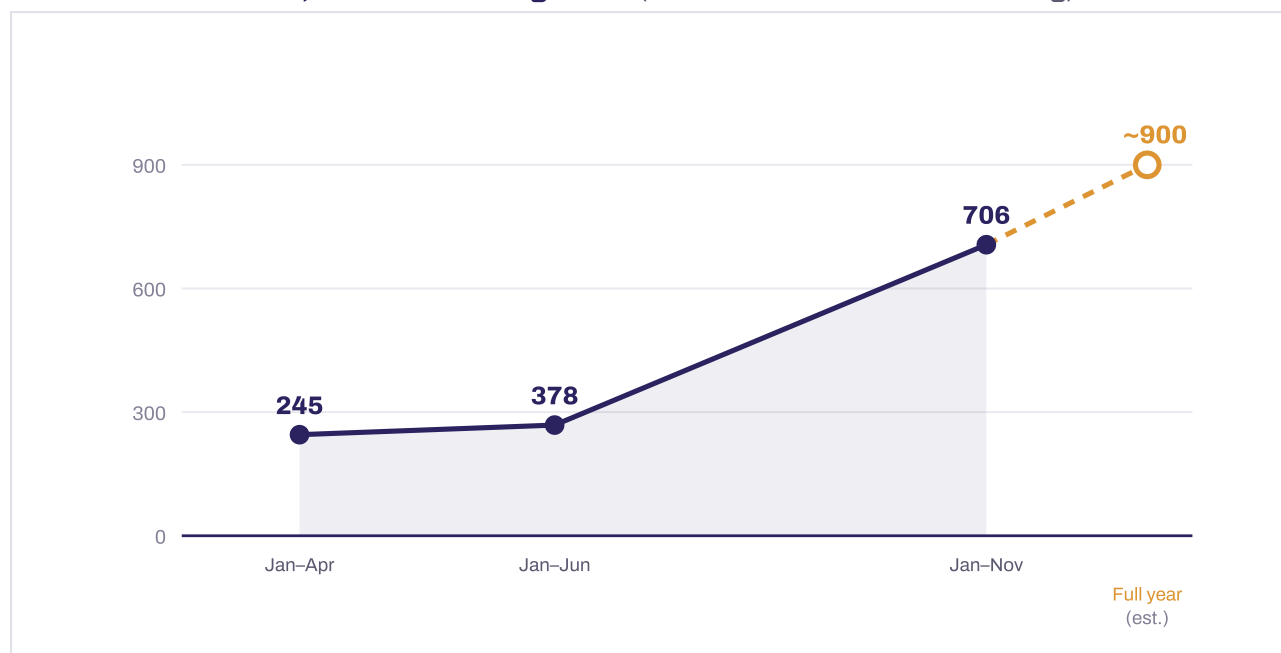
FIGURE 11**Anti-Christian violence, cumulative through 2025** (United Christian Forum monitoring)

Figure 11 — Cumulative incidents rose steadily to 706 by November; the dashed saffron segment is CSI's full-year estimate (~900) — a sixth consecutive annual record. Not independently re-verified by JEM.

Source: United Christian Forum; Christian Solidarity International (Jan 2026).

PERIOD (2025)	DOCUMENTED INCIDENTS	SOURCE
January–April 2025	245	UCF Violence Monitor Report 2025 ^[2]
January–June 2025	378	UCF (RVA Asia, July 2025) ^[2]
January–November 2025	706	UCF letter to PM Modi, Dec 26, 2025 ^[2]
Full year 2025 (estimated)	~900	CSI citing UCF local sources, Jan 2026 ^[2]

Note: All figures are UCF's own documented data; JEM has not independently re-verified these counts.

Nature of Incidents in 2025

The nature of violence in 2025 is consistent with prior years but with some intensification. UCF documented at least 23 burial-related incidents in 2025 — cases where Hindu nationalist groups prevented or disrupted Christian burials, claiming they violate community norms or insult local deities; 19 of these occurred in Chhattisgarh. December 2025 saw a concentration of incidents: Hindu vigilante groups disrupted at least 60 Christmas events across the country, including church raids, harassment of carol singers, and cancellation of public events, with incidents reported from Delhi, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, and Chhattisgarh. A representative 2025 incident: on Christmas Day, a BJP politician entered a church in Jabalpur (Madhya Pradesh) and physically assaulted a visually impaired woman attending a prayer service; video footage circulated widely on social media. As of January 2026, at least 110 Christians remained in jail on charges under anti-conversion laws, following the release of more than 600 in 2025 after legal intervention by faith-based groups.

FIGURE 12

Where anti-Christian violence concentrated, early 2025 (UCF monitoring, Jan–Apr)

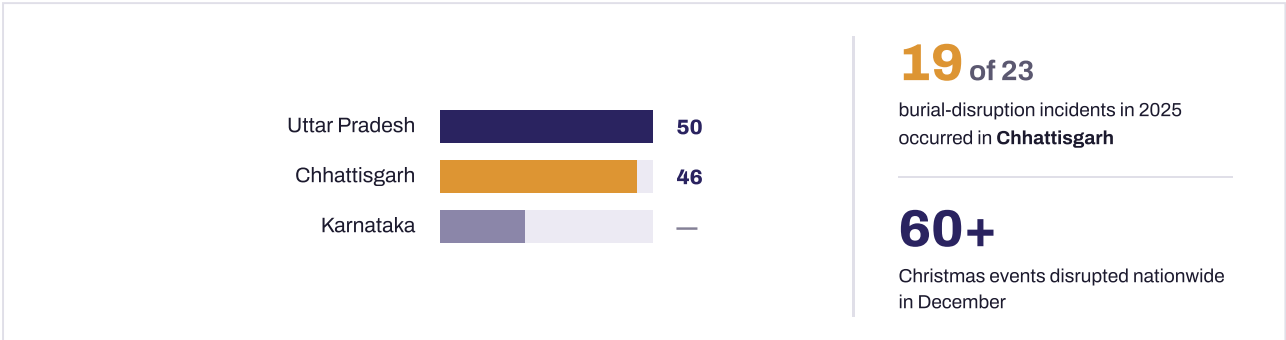


Figure 12 — Uttar Pradesh and Chhattisgarh led the early-2025 caseload; Chhattisgarh (saffron) accounted for the overwhelming majority of burial-related disruptions. Karnataka is noted by UCF without a published count. Not independently re-verified by JEM.

Source: United Christian Forum monitoring, Jan–Apr 2025.

Hate Speech Against Christians: India Hate Lab 2025

India Hate Lab documented 162 anti-Christian hate speech events in 2025, accounting for 12 percent of all 1,318 recorded hate speech events — a 41 percent increase over the 115 anti-Christian hate speech incidents recorded in 2024, and the sharpest year-on-year increase for any community in the IHL dataset. In 133 of these cases, Christians were targeted alongside Muslims in the same event, reflecting the interlinked nature of anti-minority mobilization.^[5]

Structural Context

Anti-conversion legislation — in force across at least 12 states — continued to be weaponized against Christian communities in 2025. In Madhya Pradesh alone, authorities registered 283 anti-conversion cases since January 2020, with only 7 resulting in convictions and 50 in acquittals; most cases never reached trial, functioning as tools of harassment rather than legal prosecution. In Chhattisgarh, the Hindu nationalist group Sarva Samaj called for a statewide ban on Christmas Eve, citing allegations of forced conversion.^[2]

10.2 Scheduled Castes (Dalits) and Scheduled Tribes (Adivasis)

NCRB 2024: Official Registered Case Data

The National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) released its "Crime in India 2024" report on May 6, 2026 — the most recent official government data available at the time of this report's publication.

COMMUNITY	CASES (2024)	CHANGE	TOP STATES
Scheduled Castes (SCs)	55,698	–3.6%	UP, MP, Bihar
Scheduled Tribes (STs)	9,966	–23.1%	MP, Rajasthan, Maharashtra
Combined (SC + ST)	65,664	–7.4%	—

Source: NCRB, "Crime in India 2024," released May 6, 2026. ncrb.gov.in.^[14] Figures represent officially registered cognizable crimes; underreporting is a documented and acknowledged limitation.

Two important caveats accompany these figures. First, the NCRB data captures only crimes formally registered with the police. Civil society research consistently demonstrates that a significant proportion of caste atrocities are not registered — due to fear of retaliation from dominant-caste groups, police reluctance to file FIRs, and lack of legal awareness among victims. The actual incidence of violence is therefore considerably higher than official figures suggest. Second, the apparent decline in ST cases (23.1%) must be interpreted with caution: a fall in registered cases does not necessarily reflect a reduction in actual harm — it may equally reflect deteriorating access to reporting mechanisms, police inaction, or institutional barriers.

Citizens for Justice and Peace (CJP) 2025

Alongside the official NCRB data, Citizens for Justice and Peace documented 113 incidents of caste atrocities against Dalits in January–June 2025 alone, according to CJP's published tracker report of July 7, 2025.^[3] This is a partial-year figure; the full 2025 annual total had not been formally published at the time of this report's preparation. Of CJP's 113 documented cases, 9 involved direct police violence against the victims, 6 cases saw no action taken, and in 5 cases it was unclear whether a complaint had been filed. Of the remaining 93 cases where some official action was taken, 4 were limited to procedural compliance without securing justice.

STATE	INCIDENTS (JAN–JUN 2025)	% OF CJP TOTAL
Uttar Pradesh	34	30.1%
Madhya Pradesh	15	13.3%
Tamil Nadu	8	7.1%
Other states	56	49.5%

Source: CJP, "Everyday Atrocity: Mapping the normalisation of violence against Dalits and Adivasis in 2025," July 7, 2025.^[3] Figures cover January–June 2025 only.

Tribal Communities

CJP's July 2025 report additionally recorded 962 reported land conflicts affecting tribal populations, with 116 conflicts in the forestry sector affecting 459,735 tribal people.^[3] This reflects a distinct and structurally rooted form of harm against Adivasi communities, centred on land rights and forest access, that is not easily captured within conventional hate-crime frameworks.

10.3 Sikhs

The Documentation Gap

JEM's search for dedicated, India-specific Sikh hate crime monitoring data for 2025 did not identify an organization maintaining a systematic annual dataset equivalent to UCF's work on Christians or CJP's on Dalits. The Sikh Coalition, the principal Sikh advocacy organization with an active hate-crime tracking database, focuses on anti-Sikh hate in the United States (FBI data: 142 anti-Sikh incidents in 2024).^[10] This documentation gap is itself a finding: in the absence of a dedicated monitoring body for Sikh communities within India, incidents affecting Sikhs are most likely to surface only when they are severe enough to attract media or legal attention.

Broader civil society reporting suggests that hostility toward Sikh communities in India in 2025 expressed itself primarily through three channels: political persecution of Sikh activists associated with Khalistan discourse, including transnational surveillance and pressure documented by the Sikh Coalition; desecration of Sikh religious sites (sacrilege of the Guru Granth Sahib has been a recurring flashpoint); and online harassment of Sikh public figures. None of these channels currently has a systematic, publicly available 2025 monitoring dataset specific to India. Separately, the South Asia Justice Campaign's India Persecution Tracker documents a distinct category of harm: extrajudicial killings attributed to state or security actors. Its 2024 dataset recorded 46 such killings nationally (21 Muslim, 12 Adivasi, 12 Kuki-Zo, and 1 Sikh).^[6]

10.4 Synthesis: A Note on Data Vintage and Limitations

One important limitation must be stated clearly: for Christians and Dalits, this chapter presents 2025 data, but those figures are partial-year (November for Christians, January–June for Dalits) rather than full-year annual totals. UCF's annual publication for 2025 and CJP's full-year 2025 Dalit atrocity report had not been formally released at the time of this report's preparation. JEM will update these figures when full-year 2025 publications become available, and commits to including verified full-year 2025 data for all communities in its 2026 report. For Sikhs, no 2025 data was identifiable from any systematic source. This is not a finding about the absence of anti-Sikh hostility in India in 2025; it reflects a monitoring gap.

More broadly, JEM's inability to gather sufficient primary data on these 54 cases — relative to the depth of its Muslim-community documentation — is itself a methodological limitation of this edition. JEM intends, in future editions, to strengthen this aspect of its work by collaborating with organizations that specialize in collecting data on other minority communities, with the aim of building the same primary-verification capacity for Christians, Dalits, Tribals, and Sikhs that the Case Review Committee currently applies to the Muslim caseload.

- **Christians are increasingly well-documented:** UCF's mid-year and interim releases provide a strong 2025 baseline; the convergence of UCF, IHL, and CSI figures lends credibility to the finding that anti-Christian violence is at record levels and rising.
- **Dalits have a partial paper trail:** CJP's January–June 2025 dataset is the most reliable available civil society figure; NCRB's data provides the official registered-case baseline. Both systematically undercount actual harm.
- **Sikhs in India are effectively undocumented for 2025:** No rigorous annual monitoring dataset exists, and JEM's inability to source data for this edition is evidence of an institutional gap that advocacy communities should collectively address.



CHAPTER 11

Islamophobia in the Digital Age: AI-Generated Harmful Content

The deliberate use of AI tools to generate, scale, and disseminate Islamophobic content — drawing on CSOH's landmark September 2025 report.

1,326

AI-GENERATED POSTS

27.3M

TOTAL ENGAGEMENTS

0.5%

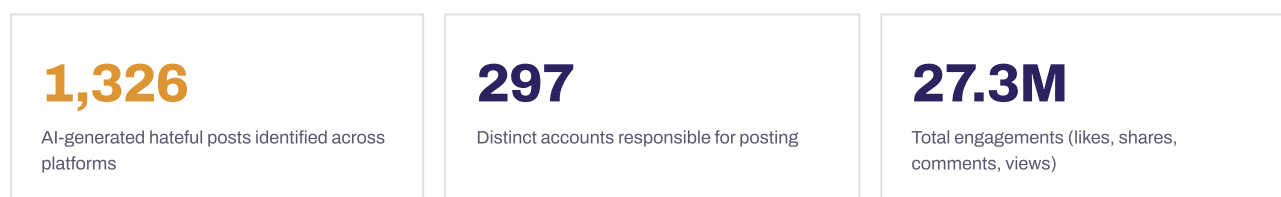
MODERATION REMOVAL RATE

This chapter presents evidence on a rapidly escalating form of anti-Muslim harm: the deliberate use of artificial intelligence tools to generate, scale, and disseminate Islamophobic content in India, including sexualized imagery targeting Muslim women.

The analysis draws primarily on a landmark report published by the Centre for the Study of Organized Hate (CSOH) in September 2025, titled "AI-Generated Hate in India," which provides the first comprehensive quantitative analysis of this phenomenon.^[8] Where relevant, findings from India Hate Lab's 2025 hate speech report and documented prior cases are incorporated for context.

11.1 The CSOH Dataset: Scale and Scope

The CSOH report analysed AI-generated hateful content targeting Muslims in India across major social media platforms during the period May 2023 to May 2025.



CSOH documented a sharp acceleration from mid-2024 onwards, which the report links to the mainstream commercial availability of advanced image generation tools — including OpenAI's DALL-E 3 (integrated into ChatGPT in October 2023) — that dramatically lowered the technical skill required to produce photorealistic synthetic imagery. Before mid-2024, AI-generated Islamophobic content existed but was less visually sophisticated; after mid-2024, the quality and volume of AI-generated content targeting Muslims increased markedly.^[8]

FIGURE 13

From manual "auctions" to AI at scale — the escalation of image-based anti-Muslim harm

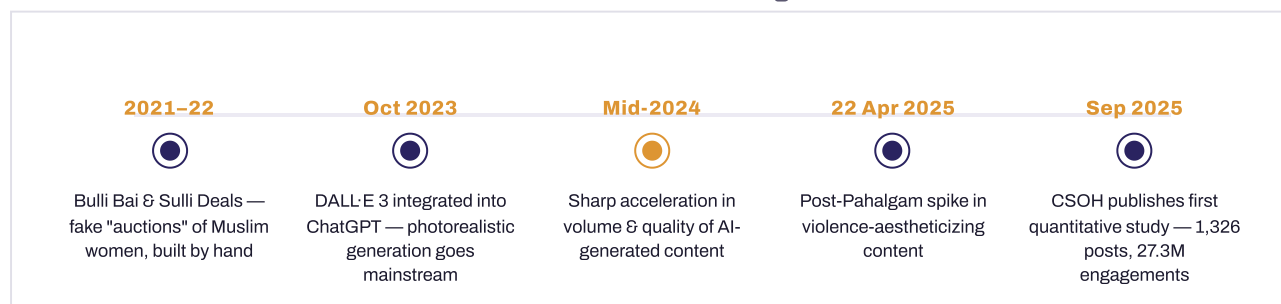


Figure 13 — Generative tools (saffron inflection, mid-2024) lowered the skill barrier and scaled a form of harm that previously required manual effort.

Source: CSOH, "AI-Generated Hate in India" (September 2025); documented Bulli Bai / Sulli Deals cases (2021–22).

11.2 Four Categories of AI-Generated Islamophobic Content

CSOH identified and classified the 1,326 posts into four categories based on the nature of harm. The statistics below are drawn directly from CSOH's published findings.^[8]

FIGURE 14

AI-generated Islamophobic content by harm category, 2023–2025 (volume vs. reach)

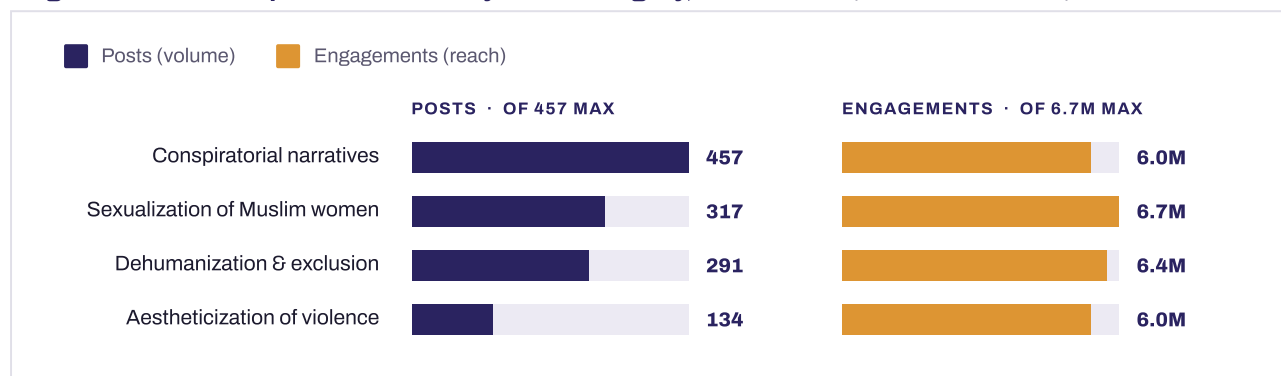


Figure 14 — Conspiratorial content leads by volume, but every category drew comparably massive engagement (~6M+); only 134 "violence" posts generated as much reach as the 457 conspiracy posts. Bars are scaled within each metric.

Source: CSOH, "AI-Generated Hate in India" (September 2025). Post counts sum to 1,326.

a) Sexualization of Muslim Women — 317 posts, 6.7M engagements

This category includes AI-generated synthetic imagery depicting Muslim women in sexually explicit or suggestive contexts, often featuring hijab-wearing women in pornographic scenarios, as well as "auctioning"-style content modelled on the Bulli Bai/Sulli Deals pattern but enhanced with AI-generated photorealistic faces. CSOH found that this category had the highest virality, driven partly by Facebook and Instagram's algorithmic amplification of visually provocative content. An investigation by The Quint — cited in the CSOH report — identified over 250 Instagram pages dedicated to posting AI-generated soft-pornographic imagery of Muslim women wearing hijabs.

b) Dehumanization and Exclusionary Rhetoric — 291 posts, 6.4M engagements

This category encompasses AI-generated images and text-image composites that portray Muslims as subhuman, as existential threats to Hindu civilization, or as pollutants of Indian culture and public space. Common visual motifs documented by CSOH include AI-generated depictions of mosques being demolished or replaced by temples, composite images superimposing Muslim faces on predatory animals, and AI-generated "infographics" presenting fabricated demographic statistics designed to promote "population jihad" narratives.

c) **Conspiratorial Narratives — 457 posts, 6.0M engagements**

The largest single category by volume. These posts use AI-generated imagery and text to advance conspiracy narratives including "love jihad," "land jihad," "vote jihad," and related frames. AI tools are used to generate realistic-appearing but fabricated "evidence" — screenshots, documents, photographs — lending false credibility to these narratives. CSOH found a direct overlap with the hate speech patterns documented by India Hate Lab: 656 hate speech events in IHL's 2025 dataset referenced these same jihad conspiracy frames.^[8]

d) **Aestheticization of Violence — 134 posts, 6.0M engagements**

This category involves AI-generated content that glorifies or aestheticizes violence against Muslims: romanticized depictions of anti-Muslim mob violence, AI-generated images of Muslims being attacked presented in heroic or cinematic visual styles, and content that frames vigilante violence against Muslims as righteous self-defence. CSOH identified a marked spike in this category following the Pahalgam terror attack of April 22, 2025, during which at least 184 anti-Muslim hate crimes were recorded in the 16 days between April 22 and May 8.

11.3 Platform Distribution and Engagement

CSOH analysed the platform distribution of AI-generated Islamophobic content and found significant variation in both volume and engagement mechanisms.

FIGURE 15
Platform distribution of AI-generated hate, 2023–2025 (posts vs. engagement)

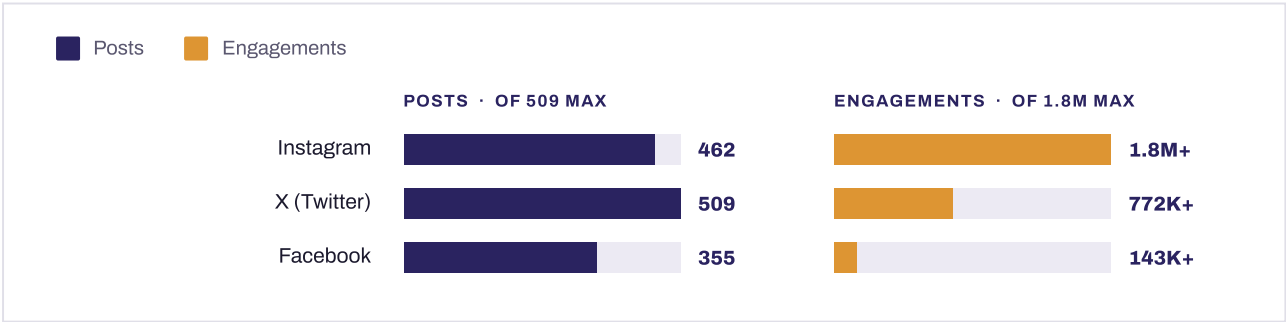


Figure 15 — X carried the most posts, but Instagram's Reels-driven algorithm generated more than double the engagement — the amplification, not the volume, is on Instagram.

Source: CSOH, "AI-Generated Hate in India" (September 2025).

PLATFORM	POSTS	ENGAGEMENTS	PRIMARY MECHANISM
Instagram	462	1,800,000+	Algorithmic amplification; Reels
X (Twitter)	509	772,400+	Hashtag trending; retweet networks
Facebook	355	143,200+	Group-based distribution; cross-posting

Source: CSOH, "AI-Generated Hate in India" (September 2025).^[8] Post counts sum to 1,326; engagement figures as published by CSOH.

11.4 Hindu Nationalist Media Networks as Amplifiers

CSOH identified a set of media accounts and outlets associated with Hindu nationalist politics as disproportionately responsible for the production and amplification of AI-generated Islamophobic content. Three were highlighted for their scale:

- **OpIndia:** 262 posts tracked in CSOH's dataset, generating 1.1 million engagements. An English-language online outlet known for anti-Muslim editorial content, cited in previous hate speech monitoring reports.
- **Sudarshan News:** 187 posts, 569,700 engagements. A Hindi-language television and digital outlet with a documented history of complaints before the News Broadcasting and Digital Standards Authority (NBDSA) related to anti-Muslim programming.
- **Panchjanya:** 29 posts, 5.3 million engagements — the highest per-post amplification rate in CSOH's dataset. Panchjanya is the weekly publication of the RSS; its disproportionate engagement suggests that RSS-affiliated networks actively amplify content across member and supporter accounts.

11.5 Platform Failure: Moderation at Near-Zero

CSOH's findings on platform moderation response are among the most alarming in the report. Of 187 posts reported by CSOH to the relevant platforms during the study period, only 1 post was removed — a removal rate of approximately 0.5 percent. The remaining 99.5 percent of reported content remained accessible at the time of the report's publication. This finding is consistent with CSOH's earlier 2024 hate speech report, which found that of 259 recorded dangerous hate speech videos — including explicit calls for violence — only 3 had been removed by Facebook as of February 2025 (a 98.4% non-removal rate).

FIGURE 16

Platform moderation of reported content, 2025 (each square = one reported post)

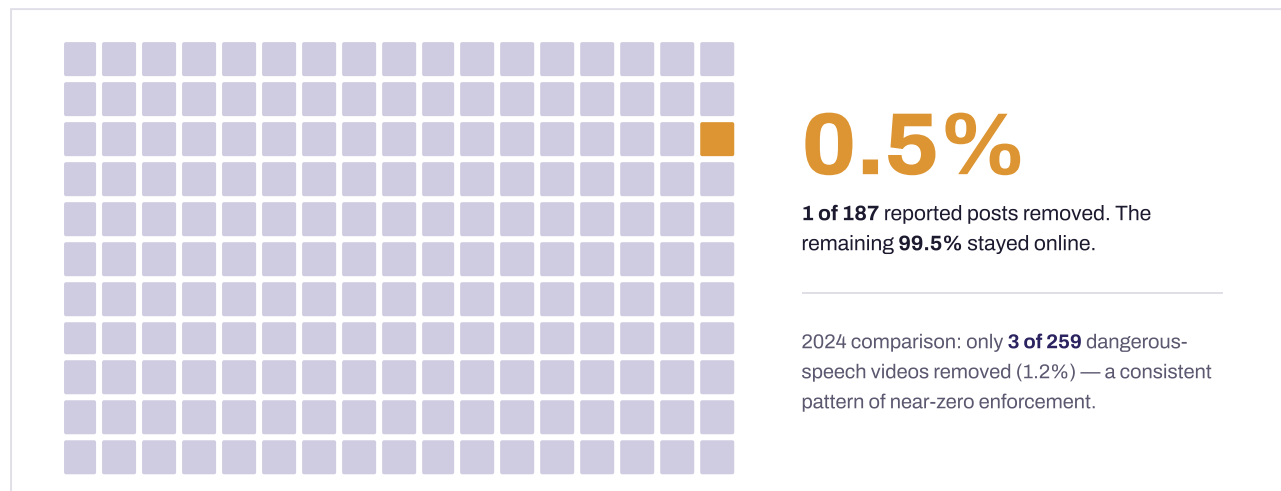


Figure 16 — Of 187 posts JEM's source reported to platforms, one saffron square marks the single removal. Near-total non-enforcement of platforms' own community standards.

Source: CSOH, "AI-Generated Hate in India" (September 2025); CSOH 2024 hate speech report.

"The persistence of this content is not incidental. It reflects a systematic failure of platforms to enforce their own community standards against anti-Muslim content in India."

CSOH, "AI-GENERATED HATE IN INDIA," SEPTEMBER 2025

11.6 Sexualized AI Content Targeting Muslim Women

The "Bulli Bai" and "Sulli Deals" cases of 2021–2022 established the pattern that CSOH documents as now AI-enhanced: the creation of fake online "auctions" of Muslim women, using their photographs without consent. Both platforms used GitHub to host content that was widely circulated on Twitter. Arrests were made under IPC Sections 153A, 295A, 354A, and 509, but prosecution has been slow and the overall accountability outcome remains incomplete.

CSOH's documentation shows that generative AI tools have transformed this category of harm in two ways. First, volume: AI tools allow production of synthetic sexualized imagery of Muslim women at a scale that would be impossible through manual photo-manipulation. Second, targeting range: whereas Bulli Bai and Sulli Deals were limited to publicly identifiable individuals, AI generation can produce believable synthetic images of "generic" hijab-wearing Muslim women, making every veiled Muslim woman a potential target of this form of imagery regardless of her public profile.

JEM's own monitoring documented multiple accounts of Muslim women who reduced or ceased public participation — in journalism, civil society, and political commentary — following targeting by AI-generated sexualized imagery. The silencing effect is intentional: it is a recognized goal of this category of content to drive Muslim women out of public discourse. This constitutes a gendered form of political violence that operates through digital means.

“My photo was used without my consent. The comments threatened my family. I stopped writing for three months. That was the point.”

MUSLIM WOMAN JOURNALIST · MUMBAI · 2025 (IDENTITY WITHHELD AT REQUEST)

11.7 Anti-Muslim Bias in AI Language Models

Beyond deliberately generated content, research has documented that several major commercial large language models exhibit measurable anti-Muslim bias. Studies by researchers at the Allen Institute for AI, Stanford University, and the Distributed AI Research Institute (DAIR) have found that LLMs are more likely to associate Islam and Muslims with violence, terrorism, and extremism relative to other religious groups when given open-ended prompts. In the Indian context, AI-powered content creation tools used by media producers and social media influencers may systematically amplify anti-Muslim framing even without explicit intent, simply by drawing on training data that encodes historical bias.

JEM calls on AI developers operating in the Indian market to conduct and publicly publish bias audits of their models for anti-Muslim and anti-minority outputs, and to establish redress mechanisms for affected communities, consistent with the EU AI Act and responsible AI development principles articulated by major AI safety organizations.

11.8 Legal Framework and Gaps

Existing Indian law provides partial coverage. BNS Sections 354A, 354C, and 509 are applicable to harassment and sexualized targeting of women. IT Act Sections 66E (privacy violation) and 67A (publishing obscene material) apply to NCII distribution. The IT (Intermediary Guidelines and Digital Media Ethics Code) Rules, 2021, impose takedown obligations on platforms. However, significant gaps remain. AI-generated deepfakes are not explicitly addressed in Indian law as of the date of this publication, and the near-zero moderation response documented by CSOH demonstrates that voluntary platform compliance is insufficient. JEM recommends:

- Explicit criminal provisions for AI-generated NCII, with aggravated provisions for content targeting individuals on the basis of religious identity.
- Platform obligations to deploy AI-generated content detection tools, with mandatory reporting to law enforcement within defined timelines.
- A dedicated complaint mechanism under the National Commission for Minorities for minority community members targeted by AI-generated content.
- Legal aid and psychosocial support for affected individuals, including specific provisions for Muslim women targeted by sexualized AI content.



CHAPTER 12

Conclusion and Way Forward

A commitment to evidence-based documentation, institutional accountability, and the constitutional principle of fraternity.

5

PILLARS OF RESPONSE

Survivor-centred

APPROACH

Fraternity

CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLE

This Annual Report reflects a commitment to evidence-based documentation, institutional accountability, and constitutional values. The findings indicate that hate crimes affecting minority communities are not merely isolated incidents but are often shaped by broader structural conditions, including social tensions, political dynamics, and institutional responses.

This edition documents a combined 2025 total of 1,660 cases and makes a deliberate methodological choice about how they are presented: JEM's primary documented data on the Muslim community (1,606 cases, Chapters 3–9) is presented separately from the 54 cases involving Christians, Dalits, Tribals, and Sikhs (Chapter 10), for whom JEM was unable to gather sufficient primary data and so draws primarily on secondary sources. This edition also introduces for the first time a dedicated chapter on AI-generated Islamophobic and sexualized content (Chapter 11). These structural decisions reflect JEM's commitment to credibility and proportionality in documentation. Robust findings deserve rigorous treatment; limited findings deserve honest acknowledgment rather than misleading equivalence. JEM acknowledges the thinner evidentiary base for other minority communities as a methodological limitation of this edition and intends, going forward, to strengthen it by collaborating with organizations that collect data on other minority communities.

The report emphasizes that documentation alone is insufficient. Meaningful progress requires continuous examination of the social, political, and institutional factors that enable such patterns to persist; without sustained scrutiny, there is a risk of normalization of violence and erosion of democratic safeguards. A comprehensive response must therefore include:

- **Legal reforms** to strengthen recognition and prosecution of hate crimes, including explicit AI-harm provisions.
- **Institutional accountability** to ensure impartial enforcement of laws.
- **Community-level interventions** to rebuild trust and counter misinformation.
- **Responsible media and AI platform practices** to reduce amplification of anti-minority content.
- **Educational initiatives** promoting pluralism and constitutional values.

Equally important is the adoption of survivor-centered approaches, including access to legal aid, psychosocial support, and economic rehabilitation. For Muslim women targeted by AI-generated sexualized content, this must include digital safety resources, expedited legal recourse, and psychosocial support that recognizes the specific harm of identity-targeted digital violence.

Ultimately, the report calls for renewed commitment to the constitutional principle of fraternity, which underpins mutual respect, equal dignity, and shared citizenship. Addressing hate is not only a matter of law enforcement but also central to preserving democratic institutions and social cohesion. Justice and Empowerment of Minorities reiterates its commitment to transparency, accountability, and principled engagement.

**APPENDICES**

Appendices, Data Tables and Sources

Glossary, classification framework, incident-data summaries, monitored platforms, and the full list of references and sources.

A-L

TWELVE APPENDICES

7

CATEGORY FRAMEWORK

13

EXTERNAL SOURCES

APPENDIX A

Glossary of Key Terms and Concepts

This appendix provides definitions of key terms and analytical concepts used throughout the report.

Hate Crime

A criminal act motivated wholly or partly by prejudice against a person or group based on religion, caste, ethnicity, gender, or other protected identity, including acts of violence, intimidation, exclusion, or institutional discrimination.

Acts of Hate

Non-physical manifestations of hostility, including verbal abuse, hate speech, online harassment, discriminatory conduct, and symbolic violence that contribute to an environment of fear and exclusion.

State-Sponsored Discrimination

Actions or omissions by government authorities or institutions that result in unequal treatment, denial of rights, or targeted harm against minority communities, including demolitions, welfare exclusion, and biased enforcement.

Police Atrocities

Instances involving custodial violence, excessive use of force, arbitrary detention, extrajudicial actions, or discriminatory policing practices.

Media Manipulation

The distortion, misrepresentation, selective omission, or sensationalization of facts by media outlets that contributes to misinformation, stigma, or incitement against minority communities.

Digital Hate

Hate speech, harassment, misinformation, or incitement occurring on online platforms, including messaging applications and social media networks.

AI-Generated Harmful Content

Content produced using artificial intelligence tools — including large language models, image generators, voice cloning, and deepfake video tools — that dehumanizes, sexualizes, or incites hatred against individuals or communities on the basis of religious identity or other protected characteristics (see Chapter 11).

Non-Consensual Intimate Imagery (NCII)

Sexually explicit or suggestive imagery depicting a real person without their consent, including imagery generated or altered using AI tools. The creation and distribution of NCII targeting Muslim women is documented in Chapter 11 as a distinct and serious form of identity-based harm.

APPENDIX B

Incident Classification Framework

JEM employs a seven-category framework to classify hate crimes. Each documented incident may fall under one or more categories.

- Acts of Hate
- Acts of Violence
- Attacks on Religious Spaces
- State-Sponsored Discrimination
- Police Atrocities
- Discrimination, Exclusion, and Prejudice
- Media Manipulation and Distortion of Facts

APPENDIX C

Summary of Incident Data (2025)

This appendix reflects the restructured data presentation adopted in this edition: JEM's combined 2025 total of 1,660 cases comprises 1,606 primary-documented incidents (Muslim community) and 54 incidents involving other minority communities, reported primarily via secondary sources given insufficient primary data. See Chapter 10 for full secondary-source methodology.

COMMUNITY	INCIDENTS / CASES	DATA SOURCE AND NOTE
Muslims	1,606 (2025, full year)	JEM CRC primary documentation (Chs 3–9)
Other minorities (combined)	54 (2025, full year)	JEM documentation, primarily secondary-sourced (Ch. 10) — a methodological limitation JEM intends to address by collaborating with organizations that collect data on these communities
Christians	706+ (Nov 2025); ~900 est. full year	UCF ^[2] secondary; 2025 annual report pending
SC (Dalits)	55,698 registered cases (2024)	NCRB 2024 ^[14] official. CJP: 113 documented Jan–Jun 2025 ^[3]
ST (Adivasis)	9,966 registered cases (2024)	NCRB 2024 ^[14] — 23.1% decline from 2023; underreporting documented
Sikhs	No verified 2025 count	No India-specific 2025 monitoring dataset found (see Ch. 10)

Note: NCRB figures represent officially registered cognizable crimes and are acknowledged to undercount actual incidence. UCF and CJP figures are civil-society monitoring data, not independently re-verified by JEM.

APPENDIX D

Quarter-wise Incident Distribution (All Documented Communities, 2025)

January–March 2025 — 387 incidents

Key drivers: policy developments (UCC implementation), major religious observances, heightened political rhetoric.

April–June 2025 — 265 incidents

Key drivers: demolition drives, police misconduct, institutional discrimination.

July–September 2025 — 367 incidents

Key drivers: religious processions, festival-related tensions, vigilante mobilization.

October–December 2025 — 641 incidents (year's highest)

Key drivers: heightened political polarization, waqf property disputes, demolition drives, digital incitement.

APPENDIX E

Geographical Distribution Summary

Primary high-incidence states (JEM-documented, all communities):

- Uttar Pradesh (32.17%)
- Maharashtra (11.39%)
- Madhya Pradesh (7.53%)
- Assam (5.24%)
- Uttarakhand and Bihar combined (8.50%)

Other documented regions include Gujarat, West Bengal, Delhi, and Rajasthan.

APPENDIX F

Media Coverage Assessment Matrix

Coverage channels assessed across JEM-documented incidents:

- Social media (490 incidents, 29.52%)
- Mainstream media — print, television, digital news (450 incidents, 27.11%)
- Minimal or no coverage (720 incidents, 43.37%)

Key findings: systematic underreporting in rural and peri-urban regions; selective framing by mainstream outlets; algorithmic amplification and disproportionate suppression of minority-generated content.

APPENDIX G

Online Platforms Monitored

JEM monitored the following platforms for hate speech, misinformation, AI-generated content, and mobilization patterns. CSOH's AI-generated hate report (Ch 11) additionally covered Instagram, X, and Facebook systematically across May 2023–May 2025.

- **X (formerly Twitter)** — 509 AI-generated hate posts identified by CSOH; 772,400+ engagements.
- **WhatsApp and Telegram** — JEM primary monitoring for closed-network incitement.
- **YouTube** — JEM primary monitoring.
- **Instagram** — 462 AI-generated hate posts identified by CSOH; 1.8M+ engagements; 250+ pages with AI-generated sexualized content of Muslim women.
- **Facebook** — 355 AI-generated hate posts identified by CSOH; 143,200+ engagements; only 3 of 259 dangerous-speech videos removed as of Feb 2025.
- Selected Telegram channels and Discord servers identified as repositories for AI-generated anti-Muslim content (Chapter 11).

APPENDIX H

Case Review Committee (CRC) Composition and Role

The CRC is the interdisciplinary body responsible for verification, classification, and ethical review of all incidents included in JEM's primary documentation. Expertise includes legal analysis, social research, community advocacy, digital forensics, and media analysis. Cases are included only after consensus-based validation.

APPENDIX I

Limitations and Ethical Considerations

The report acknowledges:

- Underreporting due to fear, social pressure, and access barriers.
- Limitations in official data availability and cross-verification.
- Challenges in attributing responsibility in opaque investigations.
- Limited primary documentation capacity for non-Muslim minority communities in this edition — only 54 of the 1,660 total documented cases involve these communities, addressed primarily through secondary sources in Chapter 10. JEM acknowledges this as a methodological limitation and intends to strengthen this aspect by collaborating with organizations that collect data on other minority communities.

Ethical safeguards include survivor consent, anonymization, trauma-informed documentation practices, and explicit separation of primary and secondary data sources.

APPENDIX J

Legal and Constitutional Framework Referenced

Key provisions referenced:

- Articles 14, 15, 16, 19, and 25 of the Constitution of India.
- BNS (Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita) Section 196 — promoting enmity / hate speech provision.
- SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989, as amended 2015 and 2018.
- Forest Rights Act and Schedule V protections.
- Information Technology Act, 2000, Sections 66E and 67A.
- IT (Intermediary Guidelines and Digital Media Ethics Code) Rules, 2021.
- BNS Sections 354A, 354C, and 509 — applicable to sexualized and AI-generated content targeting women (see Chapter 11).

APPENDIX K

Acronyms and Abbreviations

JEM	Justice and Empowerment of Minorities	CSOH	Centre for the Study of Organised Hate
CRC	Case Review Committee	IHL	India Hate Lab
FIR	First Information Report	SAJC	South Asia Justice Campaign
BNS	Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita	NCII	Non-Consensual Intimate Imagery
BNSS	Bharatiya Nagarik Suraksha Sanhita	LLM	Large Language Model
UCF	United Christian Forum	NBDSA	News Broadcasting & Digital Standards Authority
CJP	Citizens for Justice and Peace	NCRB	National Crime Records Bureau
UCC	Uniform Civil Code	NCM	National Commission for Minorities

APPENDIX L

References and Sources

This appendix lists external sources cited by number (e.g., [1]) at the corresponding point in the text. JEM's own primary data is drawn from the Case Review Committee (CRC) database described in Section 2.3. All organizations listed below have been confirmed to exist and to publish the type of data referenced.

- 1 Ballard Brief (Brigham Young University), "Violence Against Muslims in India." ballard-brief.byu.edu. Cited in Section 1.2 for the 90% post-2014 figure.
- 2 United Christian Forum (UCF), 2025 incident monitoring data, reported via Catholic Connect (Dec 26, 2025) and Christian Solidarity International (Jan 2026). Key 2025 figures: 245 (Jan–Apr); 378 (Jan–Jun); 706 (Jan–Nov); ~900 full-year estimate. UCF's formal annual 2025 report had not been published at time of writing.
- 3 Citizens for Justice and Peace (CJP): (a) NBDSA complaint documentation concerning Sudarshan News broadcasts; (b) "Everyday Atrocity: Mapping the normalisation of violence against Dalits and Adivasis in 2025," July 7, 2025. cjp.org.in. Cited in Chapter 10 for 113 caste-atrocity incidents (Jan–Jun 2025); 962 land conflicts; 459,735 tribal people affected.
- 4 JEM Case Review Committee (CRC) database — primary source for all Muslim-community incident counts, classifications, and percentages (Chapters 3–9) unless otherwise cited.
- 5 India Hate Lab (IHL) / Centre for the Study of Organised Hate (CSOH), "Hate Speech Events in India: 2025 Annual Report." csohate.org. Cited for 1,318 hate speech events in 2025 (98% targeting Muslims; 162 targeting Christians — a 41% increase over 2024).
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A record exists to be cited. Every figure in this report is sourced, dated, and documented on the record.

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