

2022 Leicester unrest

In August and September 2022, Leicester, England, saw a period of religious and ethnic tension between predominately British Hindus and British Muslims of South Asian origin. The unrest saw rioting, protest marches, sloganeering and ethnic violence between the two populations. It was also preceded by social media campaigning, misinformation and hate propaganda.

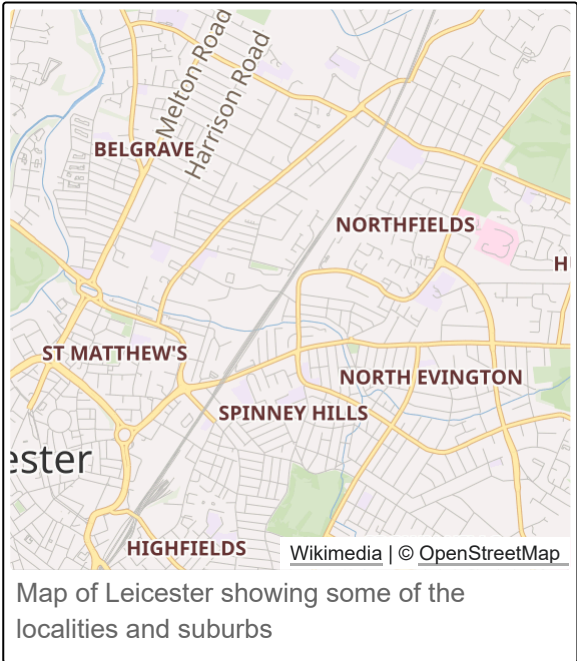
Muslim apprehensions of what they alleged as "Hindutva fascism" entering their neighbourhoods was evidently the main driver behind the unrest.^{[1][2]} Community leaders and analysts point to the Indian celebrations following the India–Pakistan 2022 Asia Cup match on 28 August as a catalyst, which saw a reaction from Pakistani fans.^[5]

	2022 Leicester unrest
Date	28 August 2022 – 24 September 2022
Location	<u>Leicester, England</u>
Caused by	Cricket match brawls <u>Hinduphobia</u> and <u>Islamophobia</u> ^{[1][2]}
Methods	<u>Fighting</u> , <u>vandalism</u>
	Parties
<u>Hindu rioters</u>	<u>Muslim rioters</u>
	Lead figures
	<u>Norman Khan</u> ("Dutch Raja") ^[3] <u>Mohammed Hijab</u> ^[4]
	Casualties
Injuries	25 police officers
Arrested	47

Background

Like most British cities, Leicester has significant and growing South Asian British populations. Leicester is known for its ethnic diversity, and is one of three cities in England where the White British population are a minority. Since the end of the Second World War, the city has seen successive waves of migration, with immigrants from the Indian sub-continent arriving in the 1960s, followed by South Asians arriving from Kenya and Uganda in the early 1970s.^[6] By 2021, Leicester's population was 33% Muslim and 25% Hindu.^[7]

Muslims, predominantly working class, live in eastern Leicester (LE5 postcode), with particular concentration in the Spinney Hills and North Evington neighbourhoods.^{[8][9]} Hindus predominantly live in north Leicester (LE4 postcode), mainly in the Belgrave area.^[10]



The 'spatial polarization' developed since the 1970s, with the Belgrave area (a former working class neighbourhood) becoming home to affluent Indian-origin East African Hindus.^{[11][12]}

Scholar Ayesha Siddiq points out the growing extremism among British Muslims, owing to several factors such as the welcome given to Muslim clergy as a partner in the Afghan wars and the various geopolitical developments that brought various extremist ideologies to congregate in Britain.^[13] The Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) that came to power in India, along with prime minister Narendra Modi, is expected to have had high levels of support among the Hindus in the UK.^[14] Britain's Muslim press tended to describe the BJP as "fascist" to varying degrees,^{[15][16][17]} a language actively adopted by Leicester Muslims.^{[18][19][20]}

The British party politics is seen to have caused polarisation between the two communities, with Muslims siding with the Labour Party and Hindus siding with the Conservative Party. The 2019 general election was not only a "Brexit and NHS election", but also a "Kashmir election" according to *The Guardian* columnist Sunny Hundal. This was a reference to the Modi Government's decisive action in the complete integration of Kashmir into India in 2019, and the corresponding backlash in Pakistan. These developments had reactions in British Hindu and Muslim communities.^[21] Rutgers University's Network Contagion Research Institute (NCRI), which has investigated the online trends between 2019 and 2022, noted a wide dispersion of anti-Hindu and anti-India slurs and tropes during this period.^[22]

Locally in East Leicester, a large batch of Hindu immigrants belonging to Daman and Diu,^[note 1] carrying Portuguese passports, are said to have arrived in Leicester in the recent years, before Brexit. They settled in the LE5 postcode area, which was otherwise predominantly Muslim.^{[23][24][note 2]} The celebration of Hindu festivals and public consumption of alcohol by the new arrivals were considered disruptive by Muslims living in the area.^[26] Leicester East MP Claudia Webbe stated that friction between the two communities had been "simmering for months".^[27]

At least one major incident of communitarian violence has been reported from May, where it was alleged that a Muslim man was surrounded by around 25–30 masked men, and beaten with bats and poles to such an extent that he was hospitalised. The incident was reported to the police, but the Muslim community felt that the police were failing to act, with the result that the perpetrators were still at large and continuing to harass the Muslim community. The Muslim community labelled these perpetrators "Hindutva RSS thugs" and believed that they were from among the recent arrivals from India.^{[28][29][note 3]} According to Majid Freeman, a self described "former aid worker and a key social media influencer", who has been previously known to make false allegations of Quran burning^[31] and for supporting the terrorist group ISIL^[32] on online forums, "Muslims had made their presence known in the streets" by August and the "troublemakers had disappeared".^[33]

Initial clashes

Cricket match brawl

After the 28 August India–Pakistan Asia Cup cricket match, which India won, Indian cricket fans poured onto streets in the Belgrave area to celebrate, waving Indian flags, honking car horns and dancing to dhols. An altercation eventually occurred at the corner of the Shaftsbury Avenue and

Melton Road. According to a local business owner, "someone anti-India" stamped on an Indian flag, and the Indian fans thought he was a Pakistani and got infuriated.^[34] A video of this incident is available and the man is reported to be a Sikh.^[35] The altercation developed into a brawl, a video clip of which went viral on social media the next day. The clip shows a group of India fans shouting "Pakistan murdabad"^[note 4] and walking to the clash site. A police officer is seen arresting a man, and another group is seen beating up a man, and ripping off his t-shirt.^[35]



Melton Road in the Belgrave area

The incident eventually led to eight arrests, including one man arrested at the scene for assaulting an emergency worker.^[39]

Build-up

The following day a Twitter user with handle "tragicBud", whose user description included the phrase "fuck them *pajeets*" (anti-South Asian slur), uploaded the video clip of the brawl, along with an interpretation claiming "Nazi" and "Hindutva" objectives of the participants. This was the beginning of "malicious narratives", as the NCRI researchers described it, interpreting an ordinary cricket match brawl as a "Nazi-like Hindutva" ideology. It led to a steady escalation of tensions in Leicester.^{[40][41][35]} Muslims allege that a slogan of "death to Muslims" was raised, but the Leicester police dismissed the claim, not finding any verifiable evidence for it.^{[42][43]}

The video clip uploaded by "tragicBud" was widely shared on social media networks, amplified by Majid Freeman, Ian Miles Cheong, Sunny Hundal, Pat McGinnes and several British conservative participants.^[42] Sunny Hundal's forwarding comment, "extreme Hindutva groups go on the rampage in Leicester", gave journalistic respectability to the anti-Hindutva narrative.^[34] The Muslim news site "5Pillars UK" announced that Muslim residents of Leicester were being attacked. British comedian and actor Guz Khan, with 100,000 followers on Twitter, called on "*mandem*" (UK slang for "gang") to sort out the "Modi weirdos".^[42] Other reputed organisations that address Islamophobic incidents also joined in, interpreting the video clip as representing Islamophobia. The original tweet of tragicBud received 2,037 retweets and the video clip 305,000 views.^{[35][note 5]}

Further clashes

Between 4–6 September, anti-Hindu attacks began to be reported from Leicester. On 4 September, the date of another India–Pakistan match which Pakistan won, a Hindu home celebrating Ganesh Chaturthi (a Hindu religious festival) was allegedly attacked, eggs were thrown into the house, a Hindu male was attempted to be stabbed, and his aunt was punched in the nose.^{[47][48][note 6]} The next day, there were report of British Pakistani mobs targeting Hindu neighbourhoods, some with weapons, chanting "*Modi kutta, Hindustan murdabad*" ("Modi dog, Death to India").^[47] Videos circulated of gangs roaming through the streets and police trying to block them. Hindus started feeling scared in their homes and writing to the local MPs for help.^{[50][38]}

On 5 September, there was a meeting about the incidents attended by over 300 people along with police representatives. After the meeting, a group of Muslims conducted a march through Leicester to show their "presence". It was reported that clashes and stand-offs with the police lasted till 11pm.^[49]

On 6 September, Leicester Police were authorised to use dispersal (Sections 34 and 35) and stop-and-search (Section 60) powers.^[51] They continued to patrol the areas, but further disturbances also continued.^[38]

By 11 September, 19 people had been arrested for incidents in East Leicester, one of them for threats to kill.^[39]



Green Lane Road in East Leicester

Social media campaigns

The Muslim social media accounts continued to propagate misinformation and the branding of Leicester Hindus as "RSS Hindutva thugs". A Muslim author Riaz Khan, with 25,000 followers, linked the incident from May to the cricket match brawl and described the participants of the latter as the same "thugs".^[29] Another user with 600,000 subscribers, advised the India fans in the UK to "humble themselves" because the Pakistani gangs over here "go a bit nuts".^[29] The most virulent misinformation came from Majid Freeman, who claimed that there was a kidnap attempt of a Muslim school girl by three Hindu men. He claimed that he had spoken to the girl's family and that the police had "confirmed" it.^[52] Leicester city police denied the claim quite emphatically.^[53] But the misinformation continued to circulate on social media.^[54] Also related was a Majid Freeman post, showing the picture of a man standing in front of a car, and claiming that he was an "RSS man" targeting Muslims, Sikhs, women and children.^[54]

A British Pakistani influencer called "Dutch Raja" (Norman Khan from Birmingham),^[3] who had 150,000 followers, posted the picture along with a poll asking, "Shall we go Saturday [to] teach these guys a lesson?"; 95% of the respondents voted yes. Thus, Saturday the 17th April was set as the date for Muslim mobilisation.^{[55][56]}

The Hindus in East Leicester that were targeted as "RSS or BJP" men started fearing for their well-being. Some temporarily relocated to other locations; others refrained from venturing out for fear of being attacked. Some reported receiving stab wounds from the attacks during 4–6 September. One victim's mother told a TV reporter that she had experienced better Hindu–Muslim relations in Daman and Diu in India than she was finding in Leicester.^{[56][57]}

Weekend disorder

The weekend of 17–19 September, which was reserved for the funeral of Queen Elizabeth II, witnessed a large number of incidents which were described by the British press as "violent disorder".^[58]

Saturday, 17 September, began with a peace march organised by Hindus to show solidarity with the victims of the violence in the preceding weeks. The march began on Belgrave Road (which continues on to Melton Road) and followed on to Green Lane Road in East Leicester. The march is said to have been conducted on foot paths, and was overseen by the local police.^[59] Despite it being a supervised march, Muslims in East Leicester said they were intimidated and felt threatened.^{[60][61]} Three slogans were reportedly used by the protesters, *Jai Shri Ram*, *Ganapati Bappa Moriya*, and *Vande Mataram*,^[62] of which only *Jai Shri Ram* was mentioned by the mainstream press.^{[63][64]}



Belgrave Road, also called the "Golden Mile"

According to the police, a second "unplanned protest" was formed after this, by "groups of young men" (apparently Hindus, numbering about 200), proceeding towards Highfields.^[65] According to *Leicester Mercury*, "an opposing group also gathered".^[66] Police said it numbered 600–700 men (apparently Muslims). The police scrambled about 100 officers to keep the two groups apart.^[67] Both the sides shouted slogans, with the Hindus shouting *Jai Shri Ram* and *Vande Mataram*, and the Muslims shouting "Allah-o-Akbar".^{[68][69]} Social media influencers as well as the mainstream press referenced only the Hindu protesters and emphasised *Jai Shri Ram* as possible evidence of Hindutva extremism.^{[70][71][72][73]}

According to *The Times of India*, the trigger for these events was a poster created in Birmingham (following on from the fake news of kidnap and Dutch Raja's post), calling on Birmingham Muslims to participate in a protest in Leicester.^[74] The Hindus were angered by the poster as well as the fake social media claims regarding a kidnapping attempt by Hindu youth. They marched down the Belgrave Road in protest.^[68] The two sides faced off somewhere on Belgrave Road, with the police trying to keep them apart.^[68] The police issued a dispersal order at some point, which caused the crowds to move to other locations. A number of breakout incidents then occurred, continuing through the night, with calm being restored only the next morning.^{[75][58]} The most significant event of that night was the pulling down of a saffron flag from the wall of *Shivalaya* (Shiva temple) on Belgrave Road and an attempt to burn it.^[68] According to a Hindu community leader, further desecration was blocked by an imam that stood guard.^[76] The police said that 16 police officers and a dog were injured during the events of that night.^{[77][78]}



Uppingham Road, bordering North Evington

On Sunday, 18 September, the police got ready for handling further disturbances by recalling officers from Queen's funeral duties in London.^[79] An unauthorised protest was held by Muslims on this day, which is said to have been widely advertised on WhatsApp.^[80] Police oversaw the march, which apparently concluded without any incident.^[81] An Islamist preacher named Mohammed Hijab from London arrived in Leicester. He posted videos of himself inciting Muslims

with anti-Hindu rhetoric and asking them to retaliate. The men agreed and chanted "Allah-o-Akbar".^[82] According to reports, the police dispersed their march, but once again, disorder broke out at other locations, this time in North Evington.^[80] Police put in place a temporary police cordon and arrested 15 people.^{[66][81]}

On the whole, 47 people were arrested since the beginning of 28 August. Of these 11 people were reported to be from outside Leicester, one from Market Harborough, eight from Birmingham and two from London.^[53] The mayor of Leicester Sir Peter Soulsby said that the unrest was "fanned by some very distorted social media" and "a lot of people who came in from outside".^{[81][83]}

Misinformation continued to flow on social media even during the weekend. One rumour said that Hindus had attacked a mosque. Despite the police debunking the claim, it continued to circulate on social media.^[84] Another said that the Hindu temple in Ealing Road (London) arranged a bus from Angel Tours to transport Hindutva RSS members to Leicester to mobilise violence against Muslims.^{[85][53]} The claim was debunked by a journalist of *The Guardian*.^[86] Analysts also found anti-Muslim disinformation during the weekend, in particular a claim that a Hindu temple in Birmingham was burnt down, using images of an unrelated event.^{[87][53]}

Birmingham events

Tensions continued into the following week, with the unrest spreading from Leicester to the Birmingham area on Tuesday 20 September. Video footage showed nearly 200 Muslim men surrounding the Durga Bhawan Temple in Smethwick, a neighbourhood where almost one-in-four residents are Asian, chanting 'Allahu Akbar'. They were voicing their anger at the temple for inviting a controversial Hindutva proponent, Sadhvi Rithambara, as a guest speaker.^[88] One video showed a masked man with a Birmingham accent say "RSS speakers are not welcome in Birmingham, not welcome anywhere in the UK. None of your speakers, any of the hate speakers, we are going to turn up for all of them...we've got no issues with British Hindus, we grew up with them, we know all of them. But RSS, you'll be met by us every single time".^[89]

Reactions

The surge in violence took many by surprise, and senior representatives of Leicester's Muslim and Hindu communities urged calm. On Tuesday 20 September, President of the ISKCON Leicester Hindu Temple, Pradip Gajjar, said he was "saddened and heartbroken to see the eruption of tension and violence."^[90]

Labour MP Jonathan Ashworth critiqued the events as "shocking scenes of unacceptable incidents of violence," and that all "are united in calling for calm, peace and harmony."

Leicester East MP Claudia Webbe has called for cooler heads to prevail, urging strengthened "dialogue to repair community relations", while warning the violence "has the potential to spread to other areas...and has the potential to spread across the country".^[91]

Rob Nixon, Acting Chief Police Constable for Leicestershire, has noted the investigation into the unrest will run for "several months" and that "the traditional community leaders, partners [...] having a really detailed dialogue about some of these tensions, how we've got to where we are, and how we resolve them and take the issues forward."

Studies

The Network Contagion Research Institute (NCRI) associated with the Rutgers University analysed the social media traffic during the clashes and reported that malicious narratives played an essential role in instigating the attacks.^[92]

A report commissioned by the Henry Jackson Society claimed that the social media instigators were "Islamist radicals". It named the alleged influencers and provided their background.^{[93][94]} It reported on the fear Leicester's Hindu community felt during the riots and their helplessness in the face of the inadequate police response against the mobs. Their report was presented in the UK Parliament.^[95]

Delhi-based Centre for Democracy, Pluralism and Human Rights (CDPHR) produced a fact-finding report and zeroed in on the issue of "ethnic enclaves" in Leicester. It said that different religious groups were living in ethnic enclaves, with some ethnicities more "clubbed up" in their spaces than the others. The report claimed that the ethnic enclaves gave rise to territorial tensions and localised majoritarianism. The report was launched in the UK House of Commons.^[96]

On 22 September, the mayor of Leicester, Sir Peter Soulsby, announced an independent review into the events of the unrest, which he said would be completed "within weeks".^[97] A month later Chris Allen of University of Leicester was named to head the review. The appointment was criticised by multiple groups, especially Hindu groups of Leicester, which said they would boycott the review.^[98] Allen then declined to undertake the role.^[99]

In May 2023, the UK government announced the formation of a panel for independent review headed by former Labour Party MP, Lord Ian Austin.^[100] The other panel members are Samir Shah, a former commissioner for the Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities, Hilary Pilkington of the University of Manchester, a Fellow of the UK Academy of Social Sciences, and Shaaz Mahboob of NHS England, a trustee of British Muslims for Secular Democracy.^[101] Concerns have been raised by Muslim organisations regarding the choice of Lord Austin over his alleged history of Islamophobia.^[102] Austin responded stating that he was coming to the review with a completely open mind and that he genuinely wanted to help.^[103] A call for submissions of evidence was issued in May 2024.^[104]

Mayor Peter Soulsby expressed the view that neither study would be seen as "truly impartial".^[105]

Aftermath

Leicestershire Police continued investigations into the events of the unrest, employing a team of 50 officers. More than 100 incidents and 6,000 hours of video footage from body-worn cameras, CCTV and phone were investigated.^[106] A total of 73 people were detained by November 2022.^{[30][107]} As of September 2023, 32 people were convicted of offences including affray, threats to kill, racial or religious public order crimes and possession of weapons; 19 cases were still pending.^[106] Majid Freeman, who was repeatedly found to be spreading misinformation that instigated the violence, was convicted in June 2024 under section 4 of the Public Order Act 1986.^{[108][note 7]} In July 2024, he was arrested and charged with "encouragement of terrorism and supporting a proscribed organisation", apparently Hamas,^[110] in unrelated incidents.^[111]

In December 2024, Mohammed Hijab filed a defamation suit against *The Spectator* and its editor Douglas Murray for an article on Leicester riots that allegedly defamed him.^{[112][113]} In August 2025, Hijab lost in the defamation suit. The judge ruled that Murray's article was “substantially true”, that no “significant harm” was caused to Hijab and that Hijab lied on significant issues.^{[114][115]}

In the run-up to the 2023 Leicester City Council election, the Labour Party “deselected” a large number of its councillors, i.e., denying them a Labour Party ticket for the next election. 15 out of the 26 deselected councillors belonged to the Black, Asian or minority ethnic (BAME) communities. All of the Hindu councillors were deselected.^{[116][117]} These councillors either joined the Conservative Party or decided to run as independents. In the 2023 election, the Labour Party saw its strength drop from 53 seats to 31 seats. The Conservative Party won 17 seats, up from 2 seats earlier. All three seats in Belgrave and three seats in North Evington went to the Conservatives.^[118]

The Mayor's handling of the 2022 unrest was cited by many as the reason for these developments. According to one of the deselected councillors, Hindus and Muslims lost trust in the mayor Peter Soulsby, and all those that challenged his handling were deselected.^[117] There were also moves to remove the elected mayoral model that had been in operation for 12 years, even though it was unsuccessful.^{[119][120]}

In the July 2024 general election, the Conservatives again won the East Leicester seat for the Parliament, electing a new MP, Shivani Raja.^[121]

See also

- South Asian British
- British Muslims
- British Hindus
- India–Pakistan relations
- Hindu–Islamic relations
- Urban riots

Notes

1. From the published accounts, it becomes clear that these immigrants included some Christians and possibly Jews as well.
2. Daman and Diu are former Portuguese colonies in the Gujarat region of India. These immigrants were entitled to Portuguese passports and decided to move to Britain before the Brexit.^[25]
3. The police issued statement asserting that the incident continued to be under investigation in September. It was not until November that they made seven arrests in connection with this incident.^[30]
4. The expression literally means “death to Pakistan”, but as a slogan it would be interpreted as “down with Pakistan” in the subcontinent.^{[36][37]} Moreover, in the context of a cricket match, the country names India and Pakistan would be used as references to the respective teams rather than the countries. However, social media posts in the following days as well as media reports interpreted the slogan as “death to Pakistan”.^{[35][5][38]}

5. Even mainstream news organisations described the contents of the video as "ugly hostility"^[44] or "ugly scenes".^[38] Leicester Police claimed the videos showed "racist and hateful chanting",^[45] and said they were treating it as a "hate crime".^[34] Chris Blackburn, who co-authored an investigative report on the riots, pointed out that Leicester was no stranger to "cricket hooliganism", as very similar mob violence occurred after an India–Pakistan cricket match in 2017.^[46]
6. The coverage of this incident and others in the following days came from INSIGHT UK, a British Hindu and Indian organisation, often backed by video evidence. It claimed, "Amongst many incidents a Hindu home celebrating #GaneshChaturthi was attacked. Eggs were thrown into the house, attempted knifing of a young Hindu male and his aunt was punched on the nose when she came to save him."^[47] Muslim groups made a counter-allegation that a Muslim youth was attacked on the grounds of an egg-throwing accusation. This was said to have been a second attack after the May incident, and later used in the social media campaigning.^[49]
7. Section 4 of the Public Order Act 1986 deals with threatening words or behaviour.^[109]

References

1. NCRI, Anti-Hindu Disinformation (2022).
2. Samant & Blackburn, Fact Finding Report on Leicester Violence (2023).
3. Littlewood, Hindu-Muslim civil unrest in Leicester (2022), p. 21.
4. Littlewood, Hindu-Muslim civil unrest in Leicester (2022), p. 26.
5. Connolly, John (18 September 2022). "Why is violence breaking out in Leicester?" (<https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/why-is-violence-breaking-out-in-leicester->). *Spectator*.
6. "Around Leicester - Leicester's Ugandan Asian success story" (https://www.bbc.co.uk/leicester/around_leicester/2002/09/ugandan_asians_leicester_changes.shtml). BBC News. Retrieved 21 September 2022.
7. Cartwright, Edward (14 March 2023). "Census 2021 – Religion in Leicester" (<https://emedr.dmu.ac.uk/census-2021-religion-in-leicester>). East Midlands Economic Data Repository (EMEDR). De Montfort University.
8. "Muslims in Leicester" (<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/publications/muslims-leicester>). Open Society Foundation. Retrieved 21 September 2022.
9. Samant & Blackburn, Fact Finding Report on Leicester Violence (2023), pp. 1, 5 (Figure 2), 7.
10. Samant & Blackburn, Fact Finding Report on Leicester Violence (2023), pp. 5 (Figure 3), 7.
11. McLoughlin, Discrepant Representations of Multi-Asian Leicester (2014).
12. Andrews, A., 'A history of South Asian migration into Leicester: an essay on Hindu/Muslim segregation', in Jewson, N. (ed.), Migration Processes and Ethnic Divisions (Leicester: The Centre for Urban History and The Ethnicity Research Centre, University of Leicester, 1995)
13. Ayesha Siddiq, Leicester fire a result of orthodox Muslim clergy of '90s vs new communal Hindu migrants (<https://theprint.in/opinion/leicester-fire-a-result-of-orthodox-muslim-clergy-of-90s-vs-new-communal-hindu-migrants/1140987/>), The Print, 24 September 2022.
14. Littlewood, Hindu-Muslim civil unrest in Leicester (2022), p. 9.
15. Jahangir Mohammed, Understanding the global threat of Hindutva ideology and politics (<https://5pillarsuk.com/2022/10/06/understanding-the-global-threat-of-hindutva-ideology-and-politics/>), 5Pillars UK, 6 October 2022.
16. Areeb Ullah, Leicester riots: How Hindutva nationalism pushed a city to the brink (<https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/leicester-riots-hindutva-nationalism-pushed-brink>), Middle East Eye, 23 September 2022. "The RSS, or Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, is a paramilitary organisation set up in the early 1920s, modelled on the Italian fascist leader Benito Mussolini's Blackshirts, and which supports the Hindutva ideology and the establishment of a Hindu Rashtra."

17. Leicester tensions have been simmering for 'months' says city MP (<https://uk.news.yahoo.com/leicester-tensions-simmering-months-says-120900293.html>), Yahoo! News, 20 September 2022. 'The [Federation of Muslim Organisations] strongly cautioned against using terms "like Hindutva", which was "strictly related to this fascist extreme minority" because "such terms can demonise an entire community unfairly".'
18. Majid Freeman, What caused the recent community tension in Leicester? (<https://5pillarsuk.com/2022/09/12/what-caused-the-recent-community-tension-in-leicester/>), 5Pillars UK, 12 September 2022. "The RSS, or Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (National Volunteers Association), is a core organisation in the Hindutva (Hindu fascist) movement and network. It is widely known to be the parent organisation of India's current ruling party, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP, or Indian People's Party). It is, without a doubt, a fascist organisation that uses violence to eliminate India's religious minorities and caste oppressed people. It is Islamophobic, anti-Sikh, anti-Christian, anti-woman, and anti-Dalit."
19. Naomi Canton, No Hindutva or RSS extremism involved in Leicester violence: Report (<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/uk/no-hindutva-or-rss-extremism-involved-in-leicester-violence-report/articleshow/95328628.cms>), The Times of India, 6 November 2022. 'One influencer with over 800,000 followers posted a video of himself leading a group through Leicester captioned "Muslim patrol in Leicester" and called on Muslims to "defend themselves against Hindu fascism".'
20. Barry Pavier, Hindutva and the Sangh Parivar in Britain (<http://isj.org.uk/sangh-parivar-in-britain>), International Socialism, 14 January 2023. "Continuing to use the term "fascism" presents a barrier to understanding how Hindutva operates and what it seeks to do. Moreover, the characterisation of the RSS as fascist tends to be immediately followed by the conclusion that every other expression of Hindutva politics is a direct result of RSS activity. This methodology helped generate the claims that the Leicester violence was a result of RSS activity."
21. Hundal, After the worst election campaign in memory, Britain's religious minorities must unite (<https://archive.today/20220925042431/https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk-politics/2019/12/after-worst-election-campaign-memory-britain-s-religious-minorities-must-unite>), New Statesman, 12 December 2019.
22. NCRI, Anti-Hindu Disinformation (2022), see, for example, Figures 2 and 3.
23. NCRI, Cyber Social Swarming (2022), p. 2.
24. Littlewood, Hindu-Muslim civil unrest in Leicester (2022), p. 5.
25. William Wallis, Leicester's communal violence reverberates across continents (<https://www.ft.com/content/e2705c0e-ab02-4ed7-b8d9-e3576039b619>), Financial Times, 29 September 2022.
26. Littlewood, Hindu-Muslim civil unrest in Leicester (2022), p. 4.
27. Vernalls, Richard (20 September 2022). "Leicester tensions have been simmering for 'months' says city MP" (<https://uk.news.yahoo.com/leicester-tensions-simmering-months-says-120900293.html>). *Yahoo News*.
28. Majid Freeman, What caused the recent community tension in Leicester? (<https://5pillarsuk.com/2022/09/12/what-caused-the-recent-community-tension-in-leicester/>), 5Pillars UK, 12 September 2022; Roshan Muhammed Salih, 'Hindutva gangs' and anti-Muslim violence in Leicester (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M2tugqpl0zE>), 5Pillars, via YouTube, 9 September 2022.
29. NCRI, Cyber Social Swarming (2022), p. 23.
30. Leicester disorder: Seven more arrests over city unrest (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leicestershire-63512929>), BBC News, 4 November 2022.
31. NCRI, Rutgers University (10 November 2022). "Cyber Social Swarming Precedes Real World Riots in Leicester: How Social Media Became a Weapon for Violence" (https://networkcontagion.us/wp-content/uploads/NCRI-Report_11.10.22.pdf) (PDF).
32. "Friend of murdered hostage Alan Henning defends Isil online" (<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/11233372/Friend-of-murdered-hostage-Alan-Henning-defends-isil-online.html>). *The Telegraph*. 16 November 2014. Retrieved 7 February 2024.
33. Littlewood, Hindu-Muslim civil unrest in Leicester (2022), p. 6.

34. Canton, Naomi (1 September 2022). "Hate crime probe into Leicester violence following India-Pak Asia Cup cricket match" (<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/uk/hate-crime-probe-int-o-leicester-violence-following-india-pak-asia-cup-cricket-match/articleshow/93913532.cms>). *The Times of India*. ProQuest 2708452157 (<https://www.proquest.com/docview/2708452157>).
35. NCRI, *Cyber Social Swarming* (2022), p. 3.
36. Flashback: Forging ahead for democracy (<https://www.dawn.com/news/707070>), Dawn, 31 March 2012.
37. Out on Bail, Riots-Accused Held for Beating Man, Forcing Him to Chant 'Pakistan Murdabad' (<https://thewire.in/communalism/delhi-riots-accused-pakistan-murdabad-khajuri-khas-video>), The Wire, 25 March 2021.
38. Singh, Hardeep (13 September 2022). "Leicester: multiculturalism turns violent" (<https://www.spiked-online.com/2022/09/13/leicester-multiculturalism-turns-violent/>). *Spiked*. "On [6 September], an emergency meeting was held between representatives of Leicester's Hindu and Muslim communities. Since then, police patrols have continued in the areas affected, but further disturbances are still being reported."
39. East Leicester disorder leads to 27 arrests (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leicestershire-62934815>), BBC News, 16 September 2022.
40. "Online Racism Targeting South Asians Skyrockets" (<https://globalextrémism.org/post/online-racism-targeting-south-asians-skyrockets/>). Global Project Against Hate and Extremism. 8 May 2024. Retrieved 25 September 2024. " "Pajeet" is also used, referring to a derogatory made-up Indian name originating on 4chan in 2015, along with several other similar, though sometimes lesser known, racist terms. Plenty of commenters resented "pajeet immigrants," described as "barely literate third worlder[s]," for "replac[ing]" striking workers in the tech industry. One Canadian user on the /pol/ board claimed the "jeet situation" in Canada was bad, and that they planned to "leave this dump" because of South Asian immigrants. Gab, a "free speech" platform with a similar interface to Twitter, saw hate speech against South Asians rise from 197 posts in January 2023 to 691 the next year, representing a staggering 251 percent increase. Comments include calling South Asians "pajeet chimps" and "paki scum" while leaning into derogatory stereotypes such as saying "pajeet still smell." "
41. "pak" (<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/pak>). *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*. Merriam-Webster. Retrieved 4 April 2006.
42. NCRI, *Cyber Social Swarming* (2022), p. 21.
43. Leicester Hindu - Muslim violence: 17 arrested in UK; here's what we know so far (<https://www.freepressjournal.in/world/leicester-hindu-muslim-violence-17-arrested-in-uk-heres-what-we-know-so-far>), The Free Press Journal, 19 September 2022.
44. Violence flares during India v Pakistan cricket street celebrations in Belgrave, Leicester (<https://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/news/leicester-news/violence-flares-during-india-v-7524312>), Leicester Mercury, 30 Aug 2022.
45. Amy Phipps, Arrest after crowds gather in Leicester following cricket match (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leicestershire-62735675>), BBC News, 31 August 2022.
46. Chris Blackburn, 'India's press are still claiming a Hindutva connection to the Leicester mobs when there is none' (<https://www.globalorder.live/post/india-s-press-are-still-claiming-a-hindutv-a-connection-to-the-leicester-mobs-when-there-is-none>), Global Order, 7 October 2022.
47. NCRI, *Cyber Social Swarming* (2022), p. 22.
48. Samant & Blackburn, *Fact Finding Report on Leicester Violence* (2023), p. 22.
49. Gangs of Hindu youths are 'terrorising Muslims in Leicester' (<https://5pillarsuk.com/2022/09/06/gangs-of-hindu-youths-are-terrorising-muslims-in-leicester/>), 5Pillars UK, 6 September 2022.
50. Canton, Naomi (8 September 2022). "'Pakistan-origin youths' target Hindu areas in Leicester" (<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/uk/pakistan-origin-youths-target-hindu-areas-in-leicester/articleshow/94060358.cms>). *The Times of India*. ProQuest 2711040258 (<https://www.proquest.com/docview/2711040258>). "In one video a PIO [Indian origin] family can be heard terrified in their homes watching the violence from their window as they take a video of the gangs wandering around parked cars shouting with weapons in hand. ... Members of the PIO community are now writing to their local MPs expressing concern."

51. Leicester disorder: Dozens stopped and searched as police granted extra powers (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leicestershire-62818429>), BBC News, 7 September 2022.
52. NCRI, *Cyber Social Swarming* (2022), p. 24.
53. Reha Kansara, Abdirahim Saeed, Did misinformation fan the flames in Leicester? (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs-trending-63009009>), BBC News, 22 September 2022
54. NCRI, *Cyber Social Swarming* (2022), p. 7.
55. NCRI, *Cyber Social Swarming* (2022), pp. 24–25.
56. Littlewood, *Hindu-Muslim civil unrest in Leicester* (2022), pp. 24–25.
57. Darshna Soni, Leicester mayor orders inquiry into violent unrest (<https://www.channel4.com/news/leicester-mayor-orders-inquiry-into-violent-unrest>), Channel 4 News, 14 October 2022.
58. Caroline Lowbridge, James Lynn, Dan Martin, Large-scale disorder breaks out in Leicester (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leicestershire-62943952>), BBC News, 18 September 2022.
59. Samant & Blackburn, *Fact Finding Report on Leicester Violence* (2023), p. 24.
60. Jahangir Akbar, Hindutva thugs and poor policing created chaos in Leicester on Saturday (<http://5pillarsuk.com/2022/09/18/hindutva-thugs-and-poor-policing-created-chaos-in-leicester-on-saturday/>), 5Pillars UK, 18 September 2022. "Their presence whilst masked with balaclavas and chanting was unruly, intimidating and threatening. The mob disturbed the peace, created anxiety and caused significant, unneeded inconvenience in an already emotionally-charged situation."
61. Caroline Lowbridge, James Lynn, Dan Martin, Large-scale disorder breaks out in Leicester (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leicestershire-62943952>), BBC News, 18 September 2022. "A resident from Green Lane Road said what she witnessed on Saturday evening was "very intimidating". "The whole situation seemed really out of control," she said. "The police were there but it didn't seem like they had a great handle on things."
62. NCRI, *Cyber Social Swarming* (2022), p. 28.
63. Aina J. Khan; Mark Brown (18 September 2022), "Police call for calm after 'serious disorder' breaks out in Leicester" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20220918221643/https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/sep/18/police-community-leaders-crowds-leicester>), *The Guardian*, archived from the original (<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/sep/18/police-community-leaders-crowds-leicester>) on 18 September 2022, "Rukhsana Hussain, 42, a community leader, described hearing loud chants of "Jai Shri Ram", which translates from Hindi as "hail Lord Ram" or "victory to Lord Ram", from several streets away. This traditional Hindu greeting or chant has increasingly been appropriated by perpetrators of anti-Muslim violence in India, whose prime minister, Narendra Modi, is under growing scrutiny for the treatment of minorities, including Muslims. [Footnote:] This article was amended on 20 September 2022 to distinguish between the routine use of "Jai Shri Ram" for a greeting or religious observance, and its adoption by perpetrators of anti-Muslim violence in India."
64. Connolly, John (18 September 2022). "Why is violence breaking out in Leicester?" (<https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/why-is-violence-breaking-out-in-leicester->). *The Spectator*. "On Saturday a large group of Hindu men protested in the city, with some shouting 'Jai Shri Ram' – a slogan which has increasingly been used by Hindu nationalists in India."
65. Adam Moss, What led to the ugly scenes of violence and disorder in Leicester? (<https://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/news/news-opinion/what-led-ugly-scenes-violence-7603138>), Leicester Mercury, 19 September 2022. "A number of calls came in Leicestershire Police reporting around 200 people had gathered in the east of the city for an unauthorised protest. All local officers available were scrambled to the scene immediately and tried to engage with those who had gathered, while extra police resources were drafted in."
66. Paige Ingram, Police arrest 15 people following disorder in areas of East Leicester (<https://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/news/east-leicestershire-crime-arrests-7600365>), Leicester Mercury, 19 September 2022.
67. Will Jefford, Greig Watson, Caroline Lowbridge, Leicester disorder: Second man sentenced cites social media influence (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leicestershire-62965416>), BBC News, 20 September 2022.

68. Naomi Canton, Temple targeted, cops hit in East Leicester flare-up (<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/uk/temple-targeted-cops-hit-in-east-leicester-flare-up/articleshow/94288978.cms>), Times of India, 19 September 2022.
69. Littlewood, Hindu-Muslim civil unrest in Leicester (2022), p. 17.
70. Littlewood, Hindu-Muslim civil unrest in Leicester (2022), p. 17: "Influencers asserted that 'Jai Shri Ram' was indicative of extremism which was reflected in mainstream press putting emphasis on the chanting of Jai Shri Ram as possible evidence of extremism."
71. Connolly, John (18 September 2022). "Why is violence breaking out in Leicester?" (<https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/why-is-violence-breaking-out-in-leicester->). *The Spectator*. "On Saturday a large group of Hindu men protested in the city, with some shouting 'Jai Shri Ram' – a slogan which has increasingly been used by Hindu nationalists in India."
72. Aina J. Khan; Mark Brown (18 September 2022), "Police call for calm after 'serious disorder' breaks out in Leicester" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20220918221643/https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/sep/18/police-community-leaders-crowds-leicester>), *The Guardian*, archived from the original (<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/sep/18/police-community-leaders-crowds-leicester>) on 18 September 2022, "[Jai Shri Ram]" is a chant that has recently become synonymous with anti-Muslim violence in India, where India's prime minister, Narendra Modi, is under increasing scrutiny for the treatment of minorities, including Muslims in the country."
73. "Leicester: Call for calm after Hindu-Muslim unrest in UK city" (<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/9/20/leicester-call-for-calm-after-hindu-muslim-unrest-in-uk-city>), *Al Jazeera*, 20 September 2022 (Headlined under "Islamophobia") "On Saturday night, a crowd of about 200 Hindu men marched in the city, with some shouting – "Jai Shri Ram" (Hail Lord Ram) – a war cry for far-right Hindus in India. Soon Muslims came out on the streets leading to scuffles."
74. Naomi Canton, Temple targeted, cops hit in East Leicester flare-up (<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/uk/temple-targeted-cops-hit-in-east-leicester-flare-up/articleshow/94288978.cms>), Times of India, 19 September 2022. 'The poster says: "We going to land in Lesta [to] show these RSS Hindutva extremist not to mess with our Muslim and Sikh women, children and elderly (sic)."'
75. Shannen Headley, Police refute claims they supported protest which reignited east Leicester violence (<https://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/news/leicester-news/police-refute-claims-support-d-protest-7611817>), Leicester Mercury, 21 September 2022.
76. Leicester: Call for calm after Hindu-Muslim unrest in UK city (<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/9/20/leicester-call-for-calm-after-hindu-muslim-unrest-in-uk-city>), *Al Jazeera*, 20 September 2022. "I'm really proud to say on that day, when the flag was removed, there was an imam outside. He said I'm standing outside the mandir [temple], making sure nothing happens," Lakhani was quoted as saying by the *Guardian*."
77. Caroline Lowbridge, Leicester disorder: Police injured tackling 'significant aggression' (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leicestershire-62957110>), BBC News, 19 September 2022.
78. Becky Johnson, Hindu man thanks Muslim activist who stepped in to save him during night of Leicester violence (<https://news.sky.com/story/hindu-man-thanks-muslim-activist-who-stepped-in-to-save-him-during-night-of-leicester-violence-12706552>), Sky News, 28 September 2022. "Several people were injured during clashes in the city that day, including 16 police officers who were targeted with bottles as they tried to separate the two sides."
79. Adam Moss, Police diverted from Queen's funeral to deal with tensions in Leicester (<https://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/news/leicester-news/police-diverted-queens-funeral-deal-7600286>), Leicester Mercury, 19 September 2022.
80. Adam Moss, What led to the ugly scenes of violence and disorder in Leicester? (<https://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/news/news-opinion/what-led-ugly-scenes-violence-7603138>), Leicester Mercury, 19 September 2022.
81. Dan Martin, James Lynn, Fifteen arrested in Leicester disorder operation (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leicestershire-62946146>), BBC News, 19 September 2022.

82. Patrick Sawyer, Islamist preacher accused of 'stirring up hatred' in Leicester (<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2022/09/24/islamist-preacher-accused-stirring-hatred-leicester/>), *The Telegraph* (UK), 24 September 2022.
83. Maroosha Muzaffar, Leicester mayor says city's religious communities 'baffled' by violent clashes (<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/leicester-riots-violence-hindu-muslim-b2171018.html>), *Independent*, 21 September 2022.
84. NCRI, *Cyber Social Swarming* (2022), pp. 7–8, 26–27.
85. NCRI, *Cyber Social Swarming* (2022), pp. 28, 31.
86. Littlewood, *Hindu-Muslim civil unrest in Leicester* (2022), p. 11.
87. NCRI, *Cyber Social Swarming* (2022), pp. 8, 31.
88. Sawant, Gaurav (21 September 2022). "200-strong mob protests outside Hindu temple in England's Smethwick, 'Allahu Akbar' chants heard" (<https://www.indiatoday.in/world/story/muslim-mob-protests-outside-hindu-temple-england-smethwick-allahu-akbar-chants-2002671-2022-09-21>). *India Today*.
89. Sarkar, Shankhyaneel, ed. (21 September 2022). "'Not Welcome in the UK': Man Threatens RSS, BJP Before Joining Violent Protest Outside Smethwick Temple" (<https://www.news18.com/news/world/not-welcome-in-the-uk-man-threatens-rss-bjp-before-joining-violent-protest-outside-smethwick-temple-6004399.html>). *News18*.
90. "Call to end 'provocation' after Hindu-Muslim unrest in Leicester" (<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/9/20/leicester-call-for-calm-after-hindu-muslim-unrest-in-uk-city>). *Al Jazeera*. 20 September 2022.
91. "Hindu and Muslim community leaders in Leicester urge 'inciters of hatred' to end 'provocation and violence'" (<https://news.sky.com/story/hindu-and-muslim-community-leaders-in-leicester-urge-inciters-of-hatred-to-end-provocation-and-violence-12701962>). *Sky News*. 20 September 2022.
92. Margi Murphy, Social Media Accounts Helped Stoke British Violence, Rutgers Finds (<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-11-16/social-media-accounts-helped-stoke-british-violence-rutgers-finds>), 16 November 2022. Corrected 22 November 2022.
93. Patrick Sawyer, Islamist radicals accused Hindus of kidnapping girls to stoke tensions in Leicester (<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2022/11/12/islamist-radicals-claimed-girls-kidnapped-hindus-stoke-tensions/>), *The Telegraph*, 12 November 2022.
94. Naomi Canton, No Hindutva or RSS extremism involved in Leicester violence: Report (<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/uk/no-hindutva-or-rss-extremism-involved-in-leicester-violence-report/articleshow/95328628.cms>), *The Times of India*, 6 November 2022.
95. The Henry Jackson Society (November 2022). "Submission pertaining to points 4 and 5 of the evidence call concerning trust in policing" (<https://committees.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/113191/pdf/>).
96. PTI, Fact-finding report on Leicester clashes warns of ethnic enclaves in UK (<https://indianexpress.com/article/world/fact-finding-report-leicester-clashes-warns-ethnic-enclaves-uk-8517398/>), *The Indian Express*, 24 March 2023.
97. Rajeev Syal, Leicester mayor announces independent inquiry into city violence (<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/sep/22/leicester-mayor-announces-independent-inquiry-into-city-violence>), *The Guardian*, 22 September 2022.
98. Jessica Murray, Leicester unrest: Hindu groups to boycott review over fears of bias (<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/oct/31/leicester-unrest-hindu-groups-to-boycott-review-over-fears-of-bias>), *The Guardian*, 31 October 2022.
99. Asha Patel, Academic Dr Chris Allen pulls out of east Leicester inquiry after community fallout (<https://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/news/leicester-news/chris-allen-out-inquiry-leicester-7768847>), *Leicester Mercury*, 6 November 2022.
100. Greig Watson, Leicester disorder: Government announces new review (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leicestershire-65711806>), *BBC News*, 26 May 2023.

101. Asha Patel, Government appoints panellists to review unrest in Leicester (<https://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/news/leicester-news/government-appoints-panellists-review-unrest-8759067>), Leicester Mercury, 19 September 2023. ProQuest 2866098091 (<https://www.proquest.com/docview/2866098091>)
102. Callum Parke, Muslim Council of Britain concerned over chair of review into Leicester unrest (<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/ian-austin-muslim-council-of-britain-leicester-lord-prime-minister-b2349778.html>), Independent, 2 June 2023.
103. Greig Watson, Leicester disorder review head defends appointment (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leicestershire-65793769>), BBC News, 18 September 2023.
104. Lee Garrett, Leicester civil disorder review panel launches appeal for evidence (<https://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/news/leicester-news/leicester-civil-disorder-review-panel-9267586>), Leicester Mercury, 7 May 2024.
105. Koshy, Yohann (8 February 2024). "What the unrest in Leicester revealed about Britain – and Modi's India" (<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2024/feb/08/unrest-leicester-muslim-hindu-revealed-britain-modi-india-2022>). *The Guardian*. ISSN 0261-3077 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0261-3077>). Retrieved 3 August 2024 – via The Guardian.
106. Asha Patel, 32 people convicted in connection with east Leicester unrest as challenges remain one year on (<https://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/news/leicester-news/32-people-convicted-connection-east-8754167>), Leicester Mercury, 16 September 2023.
107. Lee Garrett, New arrests as east Leicester violent disorder investigation goes on (<https://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/news/leicester-news/new-arrests-east-leicester-violent-7786953>), Leicester Mercury, 5 November 2022.
108. Prominent anti-genocide activist Majid Freeman arrested by Leicester police as part of ongoing witch-hunt (<https://www.cage.ngo/articles/prominent-anti-genocide-activist-majid-freeman-arrested-by-leicester-police-as-part-of-ongoing-witch-hunt>), CAGE International, 9 July 2024.
109. Quentin Hunt, Threatening words or behaviour- section 4 Public order Act 1986 (<https://www.criminaldefencebarrister.co.uk/criminal-defence-barrister-blog/2020/threatening-words-or-behaviour-section-4-public-order-act-1986/>), criminaldefencebarrister.co.uk, retrieved 16 July 2024.
110. Pro Palestine activist Majid Freeman charged with encouraging terrorism (<https://5pillarsuk.com/2024/07/10/pro-palestine-activist-majid-freeman-charged-with-encouraging-terrorism/>), 5Pillars, 10 July 2024.
111. "Leicester man charged with terror offences" (<https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cjk3j4r0v7zo>). *BBC News*. 10 July 2024.
112. Jane Prinsley, Mohammed Hijab sues Douglas Murray for defamation (<https://www.thejc.com/news/uk/mohammed-hijab-sues-douglas-murray-for-defamation-c3lpnn8l>), The Jewish Chronicle, 12 December 2024.
113. Eliana Fleming, Mohammed Hijab sues Douglas Murray for defamation over Leicester riots article (<https://www.jfeed.com/news-world/soel5j>), JFeed, 12 December 2024.
114. Rayner, Gordon (5 August 2025). "Douglas Murray wins defamation claim brought by Muslim activist" (<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2025/08/05/douglas-murray-spectator-defamation-mohammed-hegab-hindus/>). *The Telegraph*. ISSN 0307-1235 (<https://search.worldcat.org/issn/0307-1235>). Retrieved 5 August 2025.
115. Prinsley, Jane (5 August 2025). "Mohammed Hijab is a liar, judge rules as influencer loses libel case against Douglas Murray" (<https://www.thejc.com/news/uk/mohammed-hijab-is-a-liar-judge-rules-as-influencer-loses-libel-case-against-douglas-murray-wccr25fg>). *The Jewish Chronicle*. Retrieved 5 August 2025.
116. Jessica Murray, Labour tells 19 Leicester councillors they cannot stand in May election (<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2023/mar/23/labour-tells-19-leicester-councillors-they-cannot-stand-in-may-election>), The Guardian, 23 March 2023.
117. Naomi Canton, Labour deselects 7 PIO councillors in Leicester (<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/uk/labour-deselects-7-pio-councillors-in-leicester/articleshow/99281631.cms>), The Times of India, 6 April 2023. ProQuest 2796553128 (<https://www.proquest.com/docview/2796553128>)

118. Hannah Richardson, Leicester City Council election results: How candidates fared in wards across the city (<https://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/news/leicester-news/leicester-city-council-election-results-8382622>), Leicester Mercury, 5 May 2023.
119. Hannah Richardson, Leicester Conservatives choose candidate to battle to be mayor with one month to go until election day (<https://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/news/leicester-news/leicester-conservatives-choose-candidate-battle-8319441>), Leicester Mercury, 3 April 2023.
120. Sandeep Sharma, After anti-India, anti-Hindu unrest in Leicester, Labour Party purges all Hindu councillors in local polls (<https://www.firstpost.com/world/after-anti-india-anti-hindu-unrest-in-leicester-labour-party-purges-all-hindu-in-run-up-to-council-polls-12416182.html>), Firstpost, 6 April 2023.
121. Hannah Richardson, Leicester East has first non-Labour win in 37 years and a brand new MP (<https://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/news/leicester-news/leicester-east-first-non-labour-9380595>), Leicester Mercury, 5 July 2024.

Sources

- *Cyber Social Swarming Precedes Real World Riots in Leicester: How Social Media Became a Weapon for Violence* (https://networkcontagion.us/wp-content/uploads/NCRI-Report_11.10.22.pdf) (PDF), NCRI: Network Contagion Research Institute, Rutgers University, October 2022
- *Quantitative Methods for Investigating Anti-Hindu Disinformation* (<https://networkcontagion.us/wp-content/uploads/NCRI-Anti-Hindu-Disinformation-v2.pdf>) (PDF), NCRI: Network Contagion Research Institute, Rutgers University, November 2022
- Littlewood, Charlotte (November 2022), *Hindu-Muslim civil unrest in Leicester: "Hindutva" and the creation of a false narrative* (<https://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/CRTLLeicesterFinalReport-FINAL-VERSION.pdf>) (PDF), Henry Jackson Society
- Samant, Rashmi; Blackburn, Chris (March 2023), *Fact Finding Report on Leicester Violence 2022* (<https://www.cdphr.org/Report-Final.pdf>) (PDF), Delhi: Centre for Democracy, Pluralism and Human Rights
- Sean, McLoughlin (2014), "Discrepant Representations of Multi-Asian Leicester: Institutional Discourse and Everyday Life in the 'Model' Multicultural City", in Sean McLoughlin; William Gould; Ananya Jahanara Kabir; Emma Tomalin (eds.), *Writing the City in British Asian Diasporas* (<https://www.academia.edu/27629837>), Routledge, ISBN 9781317679677 Preprint at the University of Leeds (<https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/76476/8/RESEARCH%20PAPER%20WBAC%20012.pdf>)

External links

- Singh, Gurharpal (October 2023), *Hindu-Muslim disorder in Leicester 2022* (<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/374372265>) (powerpoint slides), Conference: Leicester Secular society
- TRT World interview on the Leicester unrest (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tMdUPPa7lv4>)

Retrieved from "https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=2022_Leicester_unrest&oldid=1307554677"