

TikTok and White Supremacist Content

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Powering solutions to extremism, hate and disinformation

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Introduction

The failures of TikTok's platform's content moderation efforts against white supremacist and other extremist content are as evident as they were two years ago, when ISD published its first in-depth analysis on the topic.¹ In this new report, ISD researchers reexamined the availability of white supremacist content on the platform and found that TikTok was still failing to consistently enforce its community guidelines related to hate speech, misinformation and violent and hateful organizations and individuals. In fact, researchers found that some of TikTok's features meant to help users discover new content had offered users help in side-stepping existing moderation efforts, like banned search terms.

White supremacist content is easily discoverable on TikTok with a minimal amount of effort. It took researchers roughly 20 hours to identify 90 unique users uploading videos containing clear white supremacist content—a mere scratch at the surface of hateful content present on TikTok. This content was found by conducting manual searches on the platform, the same way any user can, and exploring relevant content, via the returned search results or recommended to the user on the app's For You Page, for related material. In this way, researchers mimicked the way many TikTok users interact with the platform.

When researchers attempted to revisit the videos days later to begin an archiving process, 18 of the initial 126 were unavailable, indicating that either TikTok or the user that uploaded the video had removed the content or the account it was uploaded to. (There was no way to confidently distinguish who removed the videos when links to TikTok videos rendered as unavailable.) If TikTok was responsible for the removal of all 18 unavailable videos, it would mean the platform acted on less than 14% of the content identified by researchers. The final sample available for analysis was made up of 108 videos. TikTok's self-reported removal rates, of which there is no way to independently verify, are much higher. In a 2023 transparency report, the platform reported that moderators removed 97% of content that violated guidelines against attacks based on protected attributes before they were reported by users. Of the same sample, 90% was removed within 24 hours of being postedⁱⁱ.

In this ISD report, some content identified by researchers, including one video that simply depicts a woman praising a Nazi symbol, was uploaded to TikTok more than two years ago. What is clear from this and previous research by ISD is that it remains very easy to find content that violates TikTok's community guidelines.

The findings in this report offer a snapshot of larger systemic issues that TikTok continues to struggle with. This report does not make claims of the totality of hateful content present on the platform; rather, it contains analysis of the relatively small sample taken by ISD researchers. However, even within the limited sample taken by researchers, many shortcomings of TikTok's content moderation efforts were evident.

i https://www.isdglobal.org/isd-publications/hatescape-an-in-depthanalysis-of-extremism-and-hate-speech-on-tiktok/

ii https://www.tiktok.com/transparency/en/ community-guidelines-enforcement-2023-1/

Key Findings

- White supremacist content remains incredibly easy to find on TikTok. Researchers were able to find white supremacist content on TikTok within seconds of beginning their research. As they continued searching, the platform recommended more racist content to their accounts.
- TikTok promotes search terms that help users evade content moderation. Researchers observed numerous instances of auto-populated search terms suggested to users included deliberately misspelled or obscured terms related to extremist figures, phrases and content created by white supremacists, highlighting how TikTok is itself recommending ways to evade its own content moderation efforts.
- TikTok appears to be algorithmically amplifying and recommending white supremacist content to users. Researchers recorded numerous examples of videos espousing white supremacist content from users with low follower counts that received over 100,000 views. High-performing videos like this often include content glamorizing white supremacist shooters or hybridized forms of hate in which white supremacist material is used to express anti-migrant, antisemitic, and anti-Muslim rhetoric.

Methods

As the methodology for this TikTok series was replicated across numerous reports, ISD has published a separate note detailing the methods used, the categories of content analyzed in each report and criteria applied for judging whether content met the platform's community guidelines. This note can be accessed here.

ISD's data collection was conducted using different built-in features accessible to any TikTok user, like the search bar and hashtags, and this process resulted in an available sample of 108 distinct videos uploaded by 75 unique users. The sample evaluated by researchers was not meant to be all-inclusive, but rather to evaluate examples that could be readily found on the platform.

Researchers recorded data for the white supremacist content in their sample, including the number of views videos received, date of upload, hashtags contained in videos' captions, and soundsⁱⁱⁱ present in the video. They also judged whether the profile of the account that uploaded the video featured hate material, promoted extremist figures or groups related to white supremacy, and assessed the content against TikTok's community guidelines.

What follows is a breakdown of the sample they gathered.

Potential Community Guidelines Violations

Much like when ISD conducted similar research in 2021, the objective of this report was to examine how TikTok creators use the platform to spread hate and to investigate the gaps in TikTok's current approach to moderating this content. Researchers set out to examine white supremacy on TikTok and so only collected videos that promoted or expressed support for white supremacist conspiracies, public figures, or viewpoints.

All 108 videos collected were judged by ISD to violate TikTok's guidelines on hate speech and hateful behaviors which prohibits content that promotes hateful ideologies such as racial supremacy and attacks against a person or group based on several protected attributes. In many cases, ISD judged that videos appeared to also violate other Community Guidelines, such as misinformation.

39 videos were additionally judged to violate TikTok's guidelines on misinformation concerning inaccurate or misleading content. This guideline forbids content that promotes conspiracy theories that cause "prejudice

towards a group of people with a protected attribute" and material that has been "edited, spliced or combined in a way that may mislead a person about real-world events."

In this sample, ISD identified several videos promoting white supremacist conspiracy theories, including "Great Replacement" and white genocide theories. Researchers also identified videos that juxtaposed clips of peaceful and idyllic locations in the past primarily featuring white people against clips of the same locations today, presented as destitute or dangerous and which primarily featured people of color. These videos were judged to violate TikTok's misinformation guidelines as they misleadingly create the impression that the people of color in the modern clips were responsible for the destitution and danger portrayed in the footage. See below for more details on this. The final counts were as follows:

TikTok Community Guidelines	No. of videos
Hate Speech and Hateful Behaviors	108
Misinformation	39
Violent and Hateful Organizations and Individuals	21
Violent Behaviors and Criminal Activities	1

 Table 1: Breakdown of the total number of videos in this sample

 that were deemed to violate four of TikTok's policies

Researchers collected samples for this report in mid-August 2023. 70 videos in the sample (65%) were uploaded to TikTok within the most recent three months at the time of collection. (In ISD's 2021 report, this figure was 83%.)^{iv} The low proportion of older content in the sample might suggest that TikTok has enforced their content policies well, yet just 18 videos collected in the sample were unavailable when researchers began to archive and analyze videos in the days after their sample was initially collected.

In a 2023 TikTok transparency report detailing how the platform enforced its community guidelines during January - March, TikTok said they removed over 91 million videos for guideline violations.^v Of these, TikTok said 96.7% were identified and removed proactively before they were reported by users. Of the same sample, 89.9% were removed within 24 hours of being posted. Yet, as evidenced

iv ibid

iii The audio that accompanies a TikTok video is known as a 'sound.' TikTok sounds can be shared separately from a video, making this a unique TikTok (though other platforms and features such as Instagram's Reels have replicated it since). As noted in multiple ISD reports, TikTok sounds can often contain more egregious content than videos themselves and, while violative TikTok videos may be removed by the platform, sounds often remain live and can still be used in future videos by users.

v https://www.tiktok.com/transparency/en/ community-guidelines-enforcement-2023-1/

here, ISD researchers found many examples of videos that were judged to violate TikTok's guidelines but remained on the platform not just for 24 hours but for weeks, months or even years in some cases.

Views

Of the 108 videos, the median number of views at the time of analysis was 6,097. This is a significant increase from the findings of ISD's 2021 report; the median number of views across the sample of 1,030 videos was 503. These findings indicate that white supremacist content is far less popular than other genres of viral videos on the platform but that occasionally videos containing white supremacist content are able accumulate a concerningly high number of views—likely with help from TikTok's algorithmic sorting systems.

A handful of videos in the sample received fewer than 100 views but 16 videos in the sample received more than 100,000 views. The most viewed video in the sample, with 1.3 million views, featured an image of a white woman representing European women in 2001 and a woman in a niqab representing European women in 2048, suggesting that Islam will fundamentally change Europe and European women in a negative way and at the expense of white people.

The video also featured images linking migration, particularly migration from Arabic Muslim countries to violence



Image 1: Video promoting white supremacy with 1.3m views

and crime in Europe, displaying what appears to be a clear violation of TikTok's community guidelines on Hate Speech and Hateful Behaviors which prohibits content that demeans someone on the basis of their protected attributes. Accompanying the video was 2009 audio of Jonathan Bowden, a commentator and leading member of the far-right British National Party, urging people to vote for "radical people," in support of patriotism and nationalism.

Hashtags

Nearly 500 hashtags were used in the 108 videos analyzed; 280 of those were unique. The most popular hashtags used alongside white supremacist content were hashtags that are also generally popular on TikTok and have no direct relationship to white supremacy, like "#FYP" and "#foryoupage." For TikTok creators, having their content appear on other users' For You Page is akin to going viral, leads to their videos being seen by more people and allows them to grow their following. For all users, tagging content with #fyp is likely done with the aim of attracting algorithmic amplification to boost their content and this finding suggests users promoting white supremacist content on TikTok are attempting to play to algorithms that might place their content in front of more users. (A similar finding was recorded in the 2021 report.)

Several recurring hashtags referenced white supremacist and white nationalist tropes, figures and ideologies. This included #Rhodesia, a reference to the white minority-ruled African territory now known as Zimbabwe that was idolized by white supremacist terrorists such as Dylann Roof; #activeclub, a reference to the white nationalist extremist 'Active Club' groups growing across the U.S.; and #OswaldMosley, a reference to the British fascist active in the 20th Century.^{vi} As was the case in ISD's 2021 report, TikTok users interested in posting about and promoting hateful and extremist figures, movements and ideologies are able to do with little apparent restrictions on the platform.

Some hashtags, such as #aryanclassic or #bowdenclassic, were used on multiple videos posted by the same user collected in our sample. Others, such as #brentontarranXG, were used by multiple different users. The latter illustrates how users utilize emojis and deliberately

vi nbcnews.com/news/us-news/racist-jacksonville-shooter-worerhodesian-army-patch-symbol-white-sup-rcna102134; https://www.isdglobal.org/isd-publications/active-clubs-the-growingthreat-of-white-nationalism-3-0-across-the-united-states/

misspelled terms to evade TikTok content moderation and post and promote extremist figures on the platform.

The table below lists the 20 most popular hashtags in the data sample:

Hashtag	No of videos
#fyp	26
#foryou	16
#fypツ	13
#europe	9
#foryoupage	8
#fypage	8
#wbs	8
#based	7
#viral	7
#aryanclassic 👌	5
#europa	5
#rhodesia	5
#uk	5
#communism	4
#educational	4
#england	4
#fy	4
#fypageeeee	4
#fypヅviral	4
#oswaldmosley	4
#activeclub	3
#africa	3
#angloclassic	3
#areaclassic	3
#blm	3
#bowdenclassic	3
#brentontarran XC	3
#british	3
#enochpowell	3
#enochpowellwasright	3

Table 2: Most popular hashtags on posts within this sample

Profile Material

In their analysis, ISD researchers examined accounts that had uploaded white supremacist content to determine whether those profiles contained potentially violative material related to hateful or extremist ideologies, persons, or groups. Profile attributes examined include the users' account usernames, account nicknames, profile images, profile biographies, and any featured links on the profiles.

Of the 75 unique accounts contained within the final sample of 108 videos, 49% (or 37 accounts) featured a reference to hate or extremism in their account profile (username, nickname, profile biography or profile image). Twenty-three of those accounts featured more than one reference. Multiple profile usernames, nicknames, and biographies contained well-documented veiled extremist references, like "14" and "88," which are numerical references to the popular white supremacist 14 words slogan, and "HH," a common abbreviation for "Heil Hitler."^{vii}

Some profiles featured links directing users to the white supremacist propaganda, like the film Europa: The Last Battle, and white nationalist groups on fringe platforms like Telegram. Lightning bolt emojis, commonly used by white supremacists online to reference the Schutzstaffel (SS) of Nazi Germany, were also observed on multiple profiles.

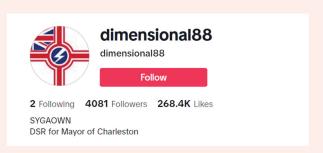


Image 2: TikTok profile featuring multiple references to support for white supremacy and extremist political ideologies, including the two uses of "88" in the username and nickname, use of the flash and circle lightning bolt popularized by the British Union of Fascists in the 1930s and, in the biography, an acronym reference to the white genocide conspiracy theory plus a call for Dylann Roof, or "DSR," to be elected mayor of Charleston, the location where he committed mass murder. This account has been active on TikTok since April 2022 (and still is, at the time of writing).

vii https://www.adl.org/resources/hate-symbol/1488

Of the 108 videos, 47% (or 37 videos) featured content that expressed supported for a named figure, group or organization related to white supremacy. Twelve of those videos, comprising more than 10% of the sample, glorified Brenton Tarrant, the white supremacist terrorist responsible for the Christchurch attacks in March 2019. Other content promoted white nationalist groups popular in the US, like Patriot Front and white supremacist "active clubs," other terrorists like Dylann Roof and Stephen Balliet, and prominent 20th Century fascists like Mosley or Benito Mussolini.

Videos promoting these figures represent clear and obvious violations of TikTok's guidelines on Violent and Hateful Organizations and Individuals which states that TikTok does "not allow anyone to promote or materially support violent or hateful actors." This finding is particularly concerning.

Person or Group	No of videos
Brenton Tarrant	12
Patriot Front	6
Active Clubs	5
Dylann Roof	3
Oswald Mosley	3
George Lincoln Rockwell	2
Nazi party/Adolf Hitler	2
Vanguard Britannica	2
Benito Mussolini	1
John Doyle	1
Nick Fuentes	1
Patriotic Alternative	1
Rise Above Movement	1
Stephan Balliet	1
Thomas Mair	1

 Table 3: Most popular extremist figures or groups on posts within this sample. Note: Some videos featured supportive content for more than one figure/group and therefore appear in multiple categories

Hybrid Hate

ISD assessed the sample and judged whether videos in it might have conflicted with TikTok's Community Guidelines and/or violated rules relating to the promotion of hatred and extremism. All 108 videos identified were judged to be potentially violating at least one community guideline. Thirty-three of the videos, or just over 30% of the total dataset, were judged to potentially violate two or more community guidelines.

All videos evaluated contained white supremacist themes, but ISD also evaluated content in the sample to determine whether it promoted other hateful ideologies and extremism. Of the 108 videos, 72 (66%) were found to express an additional form of hatred and extremism. This is a large increase from ISD's 2021 findings where just 33% were found to promote more than one form of hatred enforced and extremism.

Researchers coded their evaluations by the groups targeted by hateful rhetoric, including Muslims, Jews, and migrants and refugees. They also counted how many videos in the sample glorified extremists, including content that valorized white supremacist mass shooters. (Some of the videos counted both praised mass shooters and expressed an additional form of hate.)

This resulted in the following counts:

Category of hate	No. of videos
Glorifies an extremist person/group/viewpoint	37
Anti-Muslim	15
Antisemitism	10
Anti-migrant/refugee	10

 Table 4: Table shows supplementary categories of hate and extremist support present in this sample

Content and Narrative Analysis

White supremacist content on TikTok takes many forms. White supremacist organizations use the platform to promote themselves, and otherwise unaffiliated users promote propaganda and conspiracy theories in service of the broader "cause". Some choose to glorify white supremacist figures and terrorists motivated by white supremacist ideologies and foment hatred toward people and communities based on protected attributes, like race or religion. This section will explore recurring themes researchers observed in this sample of videos.

Promotion of and recruitment for white supremacist organizations

ISD observed several white supremacist groups using TikTok to promote their ideology, spread white supremacist propaganda and recruit new members to join. The accounts affiliated themselves with white supremacist physical training groups (aka "Active Clubs") in California, Utah, France and the Netherlands, activist group Patriot Front, and internationally connected white nationalist extremist networks. These groups published content promoting "white unity" and perpetuating the racist myth of "white genocide," circulated training videos, and shared footage of protests. The accounts also listed contact email addresses, linked to accounts on other social media platforms, and left comments on videos encouraging people to join their groups.

Regurgitation of common white supremacist propaganda and conspiracy theories

ISD researchers observed content in the sample that featured or linked to white supremacist propaganda or conspiracy theories with little difficulty during the data collection period. Six posts included in the sample promoted "Europa: The Last Battle," a white nationalist propaganda film with a cult following among racists. Some posts included URLs as on-screen text and encouraged viewers to follow the link to a website where the film is hosted. Eight posts promoted the white supremacist "Great Replacement" conspiracy theory using text or hashtags accompanying the post or content in the video, while two other posts promoted the related "white genocide" conspiracy theory.^{viii}

Some posts contained excerpts of historic speeches delivered by notorious far-right and white supremacist politicians and activists. One video in the sample that

viii https://www.isdglobal.org/explainers/the-great-replacement-explainer/



Image 3: Two accounts on TikTok linked to white nationalist organizations

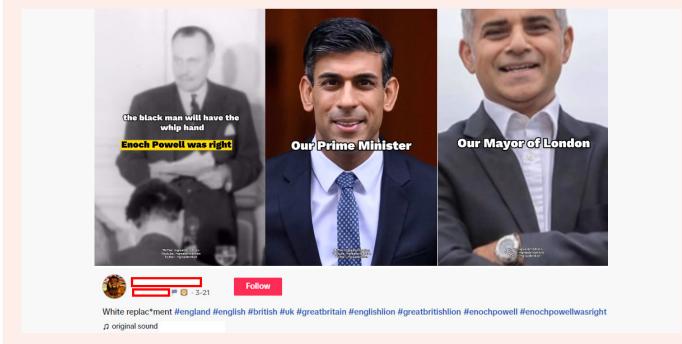


Image 4: Different clips from a TikTok video promoting Enoch Powell's 'rivers of blood' speech and the Great Replacement conspiracy theory

was viewed more than 709,000 times featured a clip from Enoch Powell's 1968 famed "Rivers of Blood" speech," in which he warned that people of color would soon "have the whip hand" over white people in Britain.^{ix} The video, uploaded in March and still live on the platform at the time of writing, was captioned "white replac*ment." The inclusion of an asterisk appears to have been enough to evade the methods employed by TikTok to find and remove white supremacist content.

Glorification of white supremacist terrorists, figures and groups

Researchers discovered videos containing praise for white supremacist mass murderers including Dylann Roof, Brenton Tarrant, and Peyton Gendron with relative ease. Searches for Roof and Tarrant's names appear to be blocked by the platform; if a user attempted to search these names, TikTok would display no results and a message that reads "may be associated with behavior or content that violates our guidelines." However, content praising the murders is easily accessible with simple modifications to search terms. Intentional misspellings of Roof and Tarrant's names, for

ix Powell was a British Conservative Party politician and former Secretary of State for Health and Social Care. His "Rivers of Blood" speech remains a mainstay of anti-immigrant and white supremacist propaganda even today.



Image 5: A TikTok video archived by researchers shows an image of Brenton Tarrant beneath counts of the number of people he murdered and injured during his 2019 mass shooting attack, edited to convey admiration for Tarrant.

example leaving an "n" off Roof's first name, or including an extra "t" on 'Tarrant', returned content that praised the killers. TikTok does not appear to have blocked results for searches about Peyton Gendron, meaning users are able to access content related to him with ease.

In white supremacist and accelerationist online communities, mass shooters believed to have acted in alignment with far-right causes are regularly heralded as "saints" who paid with their lives to advance the white supremacist cause. Propaganda in those communities seeks to valorize killers in hopes of inspiring others to seek "sainthood" for themselves and learn to understand mass violence as a deliverer of infamy and purpose. Within this context, white supremacist mass shooters have built upon each other's attacks over time. For example, Gendron listed nearly a dozen other white supremacist mass shooters in his manifesto, expressing his admiration for them and stating that Tarrant's murder of 51 Muslim worshipers in 2019 inspired his own murders in Buffalo, New York in 2022.

There was no meaningful difference in the severity of content ISD researchers observed on TikTok and that which ISD researchers routinely observe in fringe social media forums that promote mass violence.

Some of this content was observed to have been uploaded with tags often used by fans of content in the "true crime" genre. The overlaps between those larger communities and the extremist fringes that idolize mass shooters, to the extent they might exist beyond occasional marriages of convenience, remain unclear.

Pairing white supremacist rhetoric with other forms of hate

Support for white supremacy rarely exists in a vacuum. Often, proponents of the ideology also express explicit hatred of others — often minority groups — who they perceive to be opponents or outsiders in their narrow and exclusionary belief system. This was no different in the sample ISD analyzed. White supremacist content frequently targeted other communities based on their immutable and protected attributes. Antisemitism and Islamophobia were prevalent across the sample.

ISD also noted that TikTok was used by extremists to produce and promote content that directed hatred toward migrants and refugees whilst supporting white supremacist ideology. Researchers most often encountered such



Image 6: TikTok post promoting Great Replacement white supremacist conspiracy theory by comparing France before" with a scene of white people versus "now" with people of color

content in the form of "then" and "now" videos that present peaceful scenes of white people in Europe, the U.S. or apartheid South Africa and contrast them against clips of people of color, whom the TikTok user characterizes as migrants or refugees, in the same countries today. These "now" clips typically depict scenes of poverty or civil unrest, with the implication being that migrants and refugees are responsible for the apparent degradation or deterioration of a peaceful and idyllic time where the population was predominantly whiter.

Platform Features and TikTok Failures

Evading content moderation with minimal effort

Researchers observed that users who uploaded white supremacist content were rarely subtle with their references. As mentioned in earlier sections, many in the sample analyzed featured white supremacist imagery or carried white supremacist themes across their profiles, including in their usernames, profile pictures, and biographies. Many tags made little, if any attempt at all, to conceal affinities for white supremacy. For example, researchers found white supremacist videos uploaded under tags like "#AryanClassic": a naked nod to neo-Nazism.

Similarly, compilation videos of photos or videos originally produced by terrorists, including footage related to their attacks, are popular and marketed as "edits." As noted above, while searches featuring the names of white supremacist mass murderers are routinely blocked by TikTok, ISD found that including "edit" in the search field along with a name routinely resulted in a feed of videos populated with supportive content for the terrorist in question.

In many cases, videos were uploaded using tags that contained purposeful misspellings, overly pronounced video effects, and original sounds may have helped them evade moderation efforts made by TikTok. As the platform does with other topics, shell accounts made by researchers to collect their sample were eventually recommended even more extremist content on their For You pages.^x

Algorithmic amplification and suggested search terms

Several videos supportive of white supremacy collected in this sample received large view counts, raising questions of whether the platform is itself pushing hateful and extremist ideologies to its users. However, without adequate information from TikTok itself on the functioning of its recommendation algorithms, it is impossible to know how much of this attention can be attributed to platform functionality rather than organic interest.

Over the course of this analysis, researchers also observed how, as they typed terms related to white supremacy into the search box, TikTok repeatedly suggested other search terms for similar content. In some cases, the platform even

x The For You page is a TikTok user's main video feed, consisting of videos recommended to them based on their activity, generated by TikTok's algorithms analyzing content liked, interacted with, or searched for by a user.

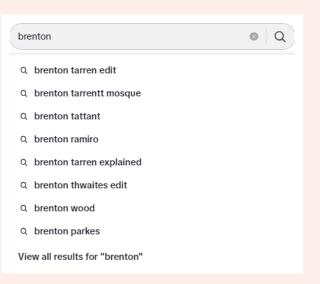


Image 7: Search terms suggested to ISD by TikTok when "Brenton" was entered in the search bar. Differently misspelled versions of Brenton Tarrant's name are suggested for users.

suggested the same purposefully misspelled terms that extremists have used to evade TikTok's content moderation efforts.

For example, when an ISD researcher typed "Brenton" into the search field, TikTok auto-suggested search terms that included "Brenton Tarren edit," "Brenton Tarrentt mosque" and "Brenton Tattant." Though Tarrant's name is blocked in TikTok's search function, the suggested alternative terms direct users to the very types of content TikTok ostensibly wishes to moderate.

These insights raise questions of whether TikTok's recommendation systems are inadvertently working against its own trust and safety efforts by funneling users toward explicitly hateful and extremist content.

TikTok Sounds

Research from ISD published periodically since 2021 has highlighted how audio that accompanies a TikTok video (known as a "sound") can sometimes contain more egregious content than the videos they originally appear on. ISD researchers discovered numerous examples of sounds that repeatedly appeared on white supremacist content on TikTok and contained extremist content, suggesting this remains an issue for the platform. The most popular video in this sample, with over 1.2 million views, featured an inflammatory speech by British far-right activist Jonathan Bowden. This specific audio clip appeared in a total of 79 further videos; many other TikTok videos and sounds featuring clips from Bowden speeches were observed to be circulating on TikTok during the monitoring period.

As explored in prior ISD research, Sounds remain on the platform even if the original video that they were originally uploaded in is removed.^{xi} For example, a white supremacist user with the username Dimensional88 posted a video that contained audio of white supremacist mass murderer Dylann Roof saying "I had to do it [mass murder] because somebody had to do something." Though the video was removed, the Sound remains on the platform and was used in 13 other videos that were still live on the platform at the time of writing. Unless TikTok removes the sound, it could still be used in new videos.

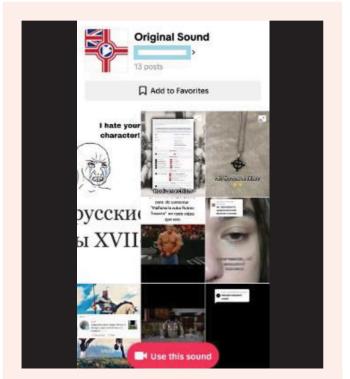


Image 8: TikTok Sound, taken from video no longer on Tik-Tok, available to use

xi ibid 1, https://www.isdglobal.org/digital_dispatches/caliphatetok-tiktokcontinues-to-host-islamic-state-propaganda/, https://www.isdglobal.org/ digital_dispatches/how-tiktok-sounds-are-used-to-fuel-anti-vaccine-fears/

Conclusion

While TikTok appears to have made efforts to curb white supremacist content on its platform, these research findings illustrate that those measures have been strikingly ineffective at limiting the accessibility of white supremacist content and the ease with which users intent on promoting this extremist ideology can operate on the platform. Among the most concerning content observed, TikTok appears to be severely lagging in counteracting content that praises and glorifies white supremacist murders — a kind of content that has demonstrated its ability to radicalize individuals and inspire more violence.

For most intents and purposes, the state of white supremacist content remains relatively unchanged since ISD's first report two years ago, despite whatever well-intentioned efforts and commitments the platform has made. As was the case in 2021, this analysis demonstrates and evidences clearly that TikTok is failing to enforce its own guidelines and is even creating a permissive environment for the production, promotion and dissemination of hateful and extremist ideologies.



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