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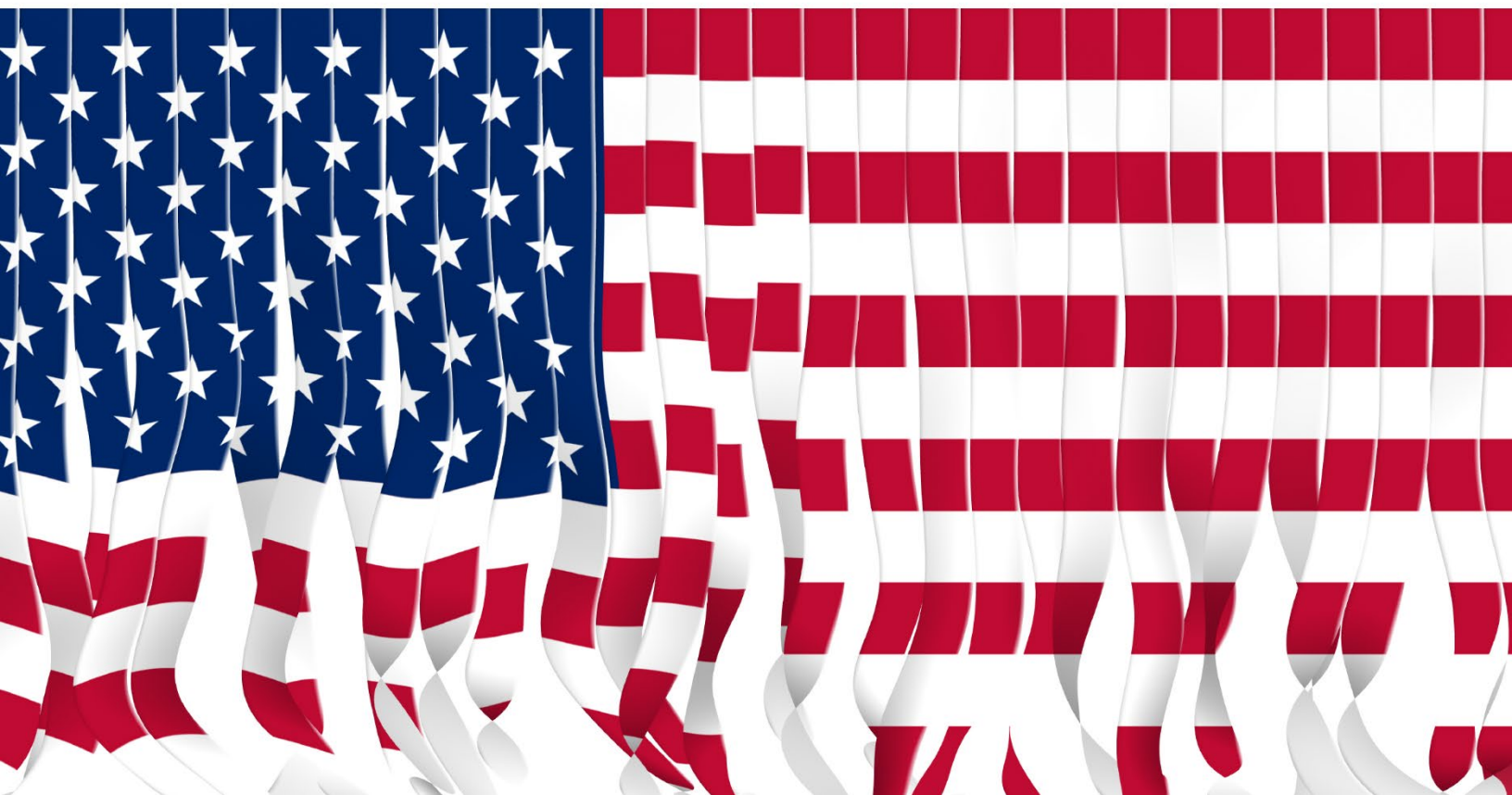# BIG LIE
AND
BIG TECH

Misinformation Repeat Offenders and Social Media in the 2020 U.S. Election

The Big Lie and Big Tech
Misinformation Repeat Offenders and Social Media in the 2020 U.S. Election

The Carter Center

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 2020, U.S. elections and democratic institutions faced unprecedented challenges that served as a litmus test for American democracy. In the throes of a once-in-a-century global pandemic, election officials, political campaigns, and voters had to navigate obstacles to participation amid fluid public health protocols. Despite these challenges, more votes were cast in the 2020 presidential race than in any previous U.S. election, and the results were certified in all voting jurisdictions. The Department of Homeland Security called the election the "most secure in American history."

However, the run-up to Election Day—and its aftermath—were plagued by false and misleading narratives that exacerbated already acute political tensions, undermined trust in the integrity of the electoral process, and increased the risk of violence. The confluence of misinformation narratives alleging that the election was fraudulent ("The Big Lie") triggered a "stop the steal" movement that culminated in the Jan. 6 Capitol insurrection aimed at overturning the results of the presidential election. As a consequence of "The Big Lie," one in three registered voters believe the results of the 2020 U.S. presidential election were illegitimate.

The spread of misinformation was multidirectional and multimodal, cascading throughout the entire information ecosystem. Within this ecosystem, social media played a larger role than ever as a voter information hub. From the bottom up, bits of out-of-context information were shared on social media, framed by media and influencers, and advanced by politicians to substantiate dubious claims. From the top down, spurious claims were spewed by politicians, packaged by media and influencers with individual data points to substantiate them, and spread across platforms faster than they could be debunked.

Myriad forces—politicians, influencers, hyper-partisan media, and ordinary citizens—coalesced to advance "The Big Lie" and other harmful narratives. But "repeat offenders"—media sources known to repeatedly publish misinformation—provided critical connective tissue in the multidirectional spread of narratives on social media. Misinformation repeat offender sources decontextualized, spliced, and reframed individual data points and out-of-context information into broader narrative frames. These narratives were advanced by authentic domestic media sources in a concerted manner, conferring a veneer of legitimacy on the content.

Content emanating from repeat offenders cut across the entire information ecosystem—including social media platforms—during the election cycle. To provide a sense of the reach of repeat offenders and the narratives they advanced, The Carter Center explored how their content spread across Facebook groups. This is not to say this activity happened only on Facebook; rather, Facebook served as a proxy for evaluating the prevalence and prominence of repeat offender content across social media. The Center obtained a list of repeat offenders from the nonpartisan NewsGuard organization and analyzed the spread of content from these domains in 883 Facebook groups. It found that repeat offender content was seemingly ubiquitous, appearing in 75% of all Facebook groups and in 97% of right-leaning groups—accounting for 1-in-5 links shared. Notably, the volume of repeat offender content in right-leaning groups increased by 156% during the period between Election Day and the Jan 6. Capitol insurrection.

It's important to note that not all content published by repeat offender domains and shared on social media is misinformation. However, an analysis of topics advanced by repeat offenders in partisan groups found that key terms associated with voter fraud appeared 3.8 times more often in repeat offender headlines than in trustworthy media headlines; specific terms such as "flipped," "shredded," and "switched" appeared dozens of times more frequently in the headlines of repeat offenders than in trustworthy sources; the appearance of links from newsmax.com, oann.com, and infowars44.com increased dramatically between Election Day and Inauguration Day; and among the 20 most shared repeat offender links that mentioned voter fraud, only four were labeled as false or misleading, signifying that the content had been debunked by fact-checkers, while other links referencing similar debunked claims were not labelled.

While responsible social media platforms have undertaken significant efforts to counter misinformation and address many harmful narratives that arose during the election, the evolution and persistence of "The Big Lie" highlights the need for additional reforms to mitigate attempts to undermine election integrity. In particular, the "coordinated authentic behavior" of sophisticated repeat offenders to generate, corroborate, and amplify misinformation poses a serious threat to democracy that demands attention and debate about policy solutions.

Ahead of future U.S. elections, social media platforms must reform policies and actions to address repeat offenders grounded in human rights principles to preserve freedom of expression and mitigate real-world harms. Rather than blunt force interventions (e.g., blanket bans) that prompt accusations of censorship, platforms should establish clear policies and enforcement actions with an emphasis on providing context and creating friction that reduces the spread, reach, and impact of harmful content. Decisions about such reforms should be made in a collaborative manner, with government, civil society, media, academia, and other experts weighing in on potential solutions.

Such reforms will prompt heightened "techlash" against social media platforms from factions that argue "Big Tech" wields too much authority over online speech, but this criticism cannot preclude proactive and reasonable efforts to address threats to election integrity, in accordance with international human rights principles.

Key Findings
As a proxy for evaluating the prevalence of content emanating from repeat offender domains on social media during the 2020 U.S. election, The Carter Center collected and analyzed 2.93 million posts in 344 left- and 539 right-leaning Facebook groups between August 17, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021. The Carter Center also identified prominent narratives advanced and amplified by repeat offenders, with a focus on the level and nature of harmful misinformation narratives that aimed to undermine the integrity of the election. Based on data collected from Facebook groups that serve as partisan echo chambers, The Carter Center found:

- Repeat offender content in right-leaning groups predominantly and disproportionately advanced election fraud narratives; contrasting headlines from repeat offenders and "trustworthy" sources in right-leaning Facebook groups, terms associated with voter fraud appeared 3.8 times more often in repeat offender headlines than in trustworthy headlines.

- In repeat offender headlines, terms associated with election fraud, such as "switched," "flipped," and "shredded," appeared 33, 21, and 14 times more often, respectively; "Sidney Powell" appeared seven times more often; and "Lin Wood" appeared 27 times more often.
- In repeat offender headlines in right-leaning groups, words highly correlated with "votes" were "transferred," "flipped," and "switched"; words correlated with "ballots" were "counterfeit," "discarded," and "shredded"; and words associated with "fraud" were "extensive," "massive," "occurred," "rampant," and "systemic."
- Repeat offender content was found in 75.8% (669 of 883) of Facebook groups; In total, 78.7% (3,358,512 of 4,265,135) of Facebook group members encountered repeat offenders during the election period; between Election Day and January 6, repeat offender content reached an average of more than a million users per day across groups.
- Repeat offender content was found in 97.4% of all right-leaning Facebook groups and made up 20.5% (1-in-5) of all shares of media links throughout the election period. The appearance of repeat offender content increased by 156% between Election Day and Inauguration Day, accounting for one in four links across right-leaning groups.
- Overall, 10 of the top 15 domains with the highest increase in appearances in right-leaning groups were known misinformation repeat offenders. There was a 540% increase in links from newsmax.com, a 350% increase in links from oann.com, and a 210% increase in links from infowars55.com.
- The 20 most frequently shared repeat offender links associated with voter fraud in right-leaning groups were shared 283,011 times, with a combined possible reach of 31,206,144 users across Facebook. Only 4 of 20 links were labelled as false or misleading while other links referencing similar debunked claims were not labelled.
- The repeat offender link associated with voter fraud found most often across right-leaning groups (1 in 9) was published by a domain that frequently traffics in Qanon conspiracies; the article spuriously connected Sidney Powell's efforts to substantiate voter fraud to an alleged clandestine military operation to expose a deep state coverup perpetrated by the CIA, FBI, and Department of Justice. The link was shared more than 30,000 times to over 2 million Facebook users and did not have a label on Facebook denoting that it was reviewed by fact-checkers and found to be false or misleading.

Recommendations

The evolution and persistence of "The Big Lie" on social media underscores the need for reforms ahead of future elections to mitigate narratives that aim to undermine election integrity. While myriad forces—from the top down, the bottom up, and online and offline—coalesced to advance misinformation narratives, it is impossible to ignore the role of Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, etc. in the information ecosystem, the scale and scope of harmful narratives on their platforms, and the power they wield to blunt some of the harmful effects of misinformation. In the spirit of cooperation and mutual interest in safeguarding election integrity, The Carter Center offers the following recommendations to social media platforms:

Increase Labelling & Downranking Actions

- **Apply warning labels on all links shared from repeat offender domains.** Facebook warning labels have proven to be effective at reducing engagement, and Facebook's recent announcement that it would begin labelling repeat offender Pages is a step in the right direction. This approach should be extended to include content emanating from repeat offender domains and adopted by all social media platforms.
- **Alert users that the content emanates from a repeat offender prior to allowing them to share.** To provide users with additional context that may give them pause and create friction that could slow the spread of possible misinformation, consideration should be given to adding pop-up alerts when users attempt to share or retweet content from repeat offender sources. This would reduce the unwitting spread of potential false information.
- **Consider limiting the number of direct shares of posts containing repeat offender links.** Limiting the number of shares of posts containing repeat offender links would reduce the spread of potential misinformation. WhatsApp limits the number of direct message forwards to five to curb viral misinformation spread. When Twitter has barred direct retweets of false information, it has found a 29% decrease in content sharing.
- **Downrank the appearance of posts containing links to content from repeat offenders**. Platforms should ensure that posts containing these links do not appear as prominently as content from other sources. Facebook already has a policy of downranking repeat offender links; however, it is unclear to what extent this is being enforced. Twitter seemingly has no such policy.
- **Limit functionality on repeat offender accounts**. In addition to applying warning labels and having their content downranked, repeat offenders should lose additional functionality on their accounts, such as the ability to run ads, share live video/audio, post videos and/or share content and engage in groups.
- **Remove repeat offenders from any recommendation engines or search results**. No accounts, pages, or groups that repeatedly create, house, and spread misinformation should be eligible to be shown as a recommendation to someone nor should they appear in search results.

Increase Policy Clarity and Consistency
- **Develop and institute policies in a fair, consistent, and transparent way.** While we know that achieving 100% perfection is unrealistic and that platforms need to quickly adapt to new tactics and threats, platforms can do more to communicate and prepare people for policy changes as well as to ensure a proper method for appeals.
- **Establish a cross-platform definition of what constitutes misinformation and a repeat offender.** Every platform, researcher, or media organization has its own definition of misinformation and criteria for what constitutes a repeat offender. The industry should work together with researchers to come up with a common definition that is transparent and that everyone can use.
- **Establish a cross-platform repository of repeat offender sources.** Repeat offenders are not confined to a single platform and sharing information about known repeat offenders and domains associated with them would facilitate cross-platform interventions to apply sanctions and limit their harms. Consideration should be given to seeking assistance from The Poynter Institute's International Fact-Checking Network to develop and maintain this repository.

- **Increase transparency by publishing data on repeat offenders and enforcement actions.** Publishing information on repeat offenders—specifically their accounts, domains associated with those accounts, and enforcement actions taken against them— via platform interfaces would increase awareness of repeat offenders and reduce unwitting spread of their content. Such data would also publicly demonstrate responsiveness on the part of platforms and facilitate independent evaluation of the effectiveness and impact of such responses.

Increase Support for Fact-Checking Efforts
- **Invest resources to expand professional fact-checking capacity.** The current volume of misinformation greatly outstrips the existing capacity of fact-checkers. While more investment in people to do fact-checking is always needed, investments must also be made in algorithmic detection and other methods to scale their work. Although it is impossible to keep pace with misinformation, such efforts are critical for debunking individual pieces of content and identifying repeat offenders.
- **Prioritize evaluation of content that could undermine election integrity.** In addition to increasing fact-checking capacity, prioritizing the evaluation of content that could potentially undermine election integrity across partisan lines is necessary and important. Such prioritization should *always* be in place—not just during the six months before a general election—and should be topic- or keyword-based rather than source-based to minimize possible selection bias and perceptions thereof.
- **Expand partnerships with authoritative election information sources to debunk content**. In 2020, many platforms partnered with authoritative sources of information to expedite misinformation debunking and the identification of repeat offenders. Platforms should continue to explore partnerships with authoritative sources of election information often cited by fact-checkers, such as the National Association of Secretaries of State and the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, to help amplify correct information on where, when, and how to vote.

Increase Artificial Intelligence-Augmented Detection Efforts
- **Invest resources to develop and test artificial intelligence methods to detect misinformation variants.** Facebook's AI-augmented detection methods to find copies, shares, and minor variations of debunked content have made great strides but still have much room to improve. Often, stories use the same debunked claims presented in different ways, so efforts to identify variants of debunked claims should be explored and tested across all platforms.
- **Invest in resources to detect misinformation in audio and video.** While much work has been done on detecting misinformation in text on social media platforms, detecting misinformation in audio and video content is much harder. Given the amount of misinformation on platforms like YouTube and the rise of new products such as Clubhouse and Twitter Spaces, it's imperative that work is done to speed up detection in these media formats.
- **Plan ahead.** The repeat offenders of today won't necessarily be the same repeat offenders in the future. Well in advance of an election, platforms should start planning for, researching, and monitoring possible repeat offenders and working on new ways to detect them.

INTRODUCTION

In 2020, U.S. elections and democratic institutions faced unprecedented challenges. A once-in-a-century global pandemic forced campaigns to adopt innovative strategies and tactics to persuade and mobilize voters in the face of fluid public health protocols. Election authorities were forced to recalibrate administrative efforts in anticipation of increased volumes of early voting and mail-in ballots while implementing novel measures to facilitate safe and secure voting on Election Day. And voters were forced to think about how to vote in a manner that minimized potential risks to their own health and that of their loved ones. Despite these challenges, more votes were cast in the 2020 presidential race than in any previous U.S. election, and the results were certified in all voting jurisdictions. The Department of Homeland Security called the election the "most secure in American history."[1]

Further complicating matters, the run up to Election Day—and its aftermath—was plagued by false and misleading narratives that exacerbated already acute political tensions, undermined trust in the integrity of the electoral process, and increased the likelihood of violence. Harmful misinformation narratives related to COVID-19, the integrity of public health officials, social justice demonstrations, the security of mail-in voting, the integrity of election administrators and poll workers, and the integrity of voting technology cascaded through the electoral process. The confluence of multiple misinformation narratives that the election was fraudulent ("The Big Lie") triggered a "stop the steal" movement that culminated in the Jan. 6 Capitol insurrection aimed at overturning the results of the presidential election. As the Election Integrity Partnership (EIP) noted in its March 2021 report documenting misinformation the 2020 U.S. election:

> *"The most destructive misinformation narratives came in waves. As fresh events presented themselves and public attention shifted, old narratives lent their momentum and "evidence" to new ones; incidents were framed so as to "prime" audiences to perceive future similar events as part of a broader pattern. This meant that, while specific falsehoods and delusions might fade, they were never truly forgotten. This process carried some Americans from their first exposure to voting-related misinformation in the summer of 2020 all the way through the violent, far-reaching conspiracy theories that compelled them to storm the US Capitol on January 6."[2]*

As a result of "The Big Lie," one in three registered voters believe that the results of the presidential election were illegitimate.[3] Moreover, according to research conducted by the University of Chicago Project on Security and Threats after the U.S. Capitol insurrection, 1 in 25 Americans—a number that translates to as many as 10 million people—believe the election was stolen and expressed a willingness to engage in violent protest.[4] The ripple effects of "The Big

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[1] "Joint Statement from Elections Infrastructure Government Coordinating Council & The Election Infrastructure Sector Coordinating Executive Committees." Cybersecurity & Infrastructure Security Agency. Nov. 12, 2020. https://www.cisa.gov/news/2020/11/12/joint-statement-elections-infrastructure-government-coordinating-council-election.

[2] Center for an Informed Public, Digital Forensic Research Lab, Graphika, & Stanford Internet Observatory. *The Long Fuse: Misinformation and the 2020 Election*, 2021. Stanford Digital Repository: Election Integrity Partnership. V1.2.0, p. 63. https://purl.stanford.edu/tr171zs0069.

[3] "60% View Joe Biden's 2020 Presidential Victory as Legitimate, Quinnipiac University National Poll Finds; 77% Of Republicans Believe There Was Widespread Voter Fraud." Quinnipiac University / Poll. Dec. 10, 2020. https://poll.qu.edu/poll-release?releaseid=3734.

[4] Dr. Robert A. Pape. *Understanding American Domestic Terrorism: Mobilization Potential and Risk Factors of a New Threat*, 2021. University of Chicago, Chicago Project on Security and Threats. p. 42. Accessed May 24, 2021. https://d3qi0qp55mx5f5.cloudfront.net/cpost/i/docs/americas_insurrectionists_online_2021_04_06.pdf?mtime=1617807009.

Lie" could have a significant impact on participation and public confidence in the integrity of future elections. Under the guise of promoting public confidence and election integrity, legislators have introduced hundreds of bills in the first quarter of 2021, some with concerning provisions that would erect barriers to voter participation, curtail the authority of election administrators, and empower state legislatures to overturn certified election results.[5]

While key political figures played a significant role in the spread of false narratives,[6] the participatory cross-platform nature of misinformation narrative creation and corroboration on social media pointed to multidirectional and mutually reinforcing network dynamics more powerful than any single entity.[7] During the election cycle, hyper-partisan media played an integral role in multidirectional misinformation networks, fitting individual data points or out-of-context information into broader narrative frames for consumption:

> *"The earliest ballot-related story that the EIP collected and analyzed took place within days of launching our monitoring effort in early September. The incident, which occurred in Glendale, California, and involved improperly discarded mail, was incorporated into a broader narrative focused on undermining trust in the USPS and exaggerating the potential impact on the election of this and similar events in California, Wisconsin, and other states. Throughout the election, similar incidents of discarded mail (with and without ballots) were repeatedly framed as fraud, particularly by hyperpartisan online media, and the specific claims of individual stories were amplified and woven into other narratives meant to cast doubt on the integrity of the election."*[8]

In its March 2021 report, EIP highlighted the specific threat posed by misinformation repeat offenders in creating and corroborating numerous false and misleading narratives:

> *"The New York Post's coverage served mainly to introduce narratives involving election fraud, including reporting on unfounded allegations that deceased voters in New York had ballots cast on their behalf…The Epoch Times was cited in a range of misleading "voter fraud" narratives such as alleging that large numbers of people were voting twice and that discarded ballots were evidence of intentional fraud. The website also promoted content related to three large incidents—the Dominion conspiracy theory, and the Sharpiegate and Stop The Steal narratives… URLs from the Washington Times appear in tweets related to three of the top incidents, reflecting their attention to widely followed99 election conspiracy theories… The Gateway Pundit was among the most active spreaders of election-related misinformation in our analyses. The outlet used a cross-platform strategy, hosting content on its website and using other channels to promote both its own and others' content. It appeared as a top repeat spreader through its website, its Twitter account, its YouTube channel, and its Instagram account…Breitbart*

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[5] "Voting Laws Roundup: March 2021." Brennan Center. April 1, 2021. https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/voting-laws-roundup-march-2021.

[6] According to research by Zignal Labs, "conversations about election fraud dropped from 2.5 million mentions to 688,000 mentions across several social media sites in the week after Trump was banned from Twitter" on Jan. 8, 2021.
Elizabeth Dwoskin and Craig Timberg. "Misinformation dropped dramatically the week after Twitter banned Trump and some allies." Washington Post. Jan. 16, 2021. https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2021/01/16/misinformation-trump-twitter/.

[7] In their 2018 book "Network Propaganda," Harvard professors Yochai Benkler, Rob Faris, and Hal Roberts define a "Propaganda Feedback Loop" that enables misinformation narrative reinforcement and punishes deviation: "This is a network dynamic in which media outlets, political elites, activists, and publics form and break connections based on the contents of statements, and that progressively lowers the costs of telling lies that are consistent with a shared political narrative and increases the costs of resisting that shared narrative in the name of truth. A network caught within such a feedback loop makes it difficult for a media outlet or politician to adopt a consistently truth-focused strategy without being expelled from the network and losing influence in the relevant segment of the public."

[8] *The Long Fuse*, p. 66.

participated in a wide range of ballot-related incidents, such as mail dumping and ballot harvesting, voting machine issues, and now-debunked claims that statistical anomalies suggest widespread election fraud."[9]

According to the Election Integrity Partnership, repeat offenders ostensibly engaged in coordinated efforts to spread misinformation and influence large audiences before individual claims could be debunked: "Repeat spreaders amplified the majority of the investigated incidents aggressively across multiple platforms. Repeat spreaders often promoted and spread each others' content. Once content from misleading narratives entered this network, it spread quickly across the overlapping audiences."[10]

Although this represents a rather anecdotal sample, it provides a window into the mutually reinforcing, bias-confirming role played by repeat offenders during the election. It is reminiscent of misinformation tactics deployed during the 2016 U.S. election, when entrepreneurial Macedonian teens created pop-up websites with fabricated stories to generate ad revenue and ushered the term "fake news" into the popular lexicon.[11] However, the misinformation generated by repeat offenders during the 2020 U.S. election emanated from professional media outlets with deep knowledge of the domestic political context, coordinating to amplify harmful narratives with slick websites that confer a veneer of legitimacy on the content and its source. The coordinated behavior of sophisticated repeat offenders to generate, corroborate, and amplify false and misleading narratives poses a serious threat to democracy that demands attention and debate about policy solutions.

This report substantiates the threat to election integrity and democracy posed by media sources that are known misinformation repeat offenders on social media. Specifically, this report examines the prevalence and prominence of repeat offender content within left- and right-leaning Facebook groups that served as partisan echo chambers from the outset of political party nominating conventions in August 2020 through Inauguration Day in January 2021. It also extracts the prominent narratives advanced and amplified by repeat offenders, with a focus on the level and nature of harmful misinformation narratives that aimed to undermine the integrity of the 2020 election. The report further examines the adequacy of social media content moderation policies and enforcement actions with respect to election integrity, misinformation, and "repeat offenders" during the election.

METHODOLOGY

For this analysis, The Carter Center used Facebook data provided through CrowdTangle, a Facebook-owned tool that tracks interactions on public content from Facebook pages, groups, and verified profiles. Through CrowdTangle, Facebook provides researchers with access to historical data that other platforms, such as Twitter, YouTube, etc., do not freely make available via Application Programmatic Interface (API) or other means. The Carter Center used historical

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[9] *The Long Fuse*, p. 244.

[10] *The Long Fuse*, p. 10.

[11] Craig Silverman and Lawrence Alexander. "How Teens In The Balkans Are Duping Trump Supporters With Fake News." *Buzzfeed News*. Nov. 3, 2016. https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/craigsilverman/how-macedonia-became-a-global-hub-for-pro-trump-misinfo.

data made available via CrowdTangle from public Facebook groups as a proxy for evaluating activity on social media writ large. Consequently, the use of data from public Facebook groups should not be viewed as an indication that The Carter Center believes Facebook bears greater responsibility for spreading misinformation, nor that it feels Facebook has exercised less responsibility than other social media platforms.

CrowdTangle does not include paid ads unless those ads began as organic, non-paid posts that were subsequently "boosted" using Facebook's advertising tools. It also does not include activity on private accounts, or posts made visible only to specific groups of followers. The CrowdTangle platform allows limited access to public Facebook posts via searches for specific links shared, and also extracts posts from known Facebook pages and groups. Given these restrictions, The Carter Center used snowball sampling techniques, social network analysis, and community detection to identify a community of pages and groups germane to the sample.

The first step in this approach was to select influential (indicated by engagement) and representative "seed pages" that advance partisan perspectives on social media. For this research, the verified Facebook Pages of the Democratic Party and Republican Party were selected as influential and representative seed pages of Democratic and Republican partisan ideological perspectives, respectively, among left- and right-leaning social media users.

For the second step, snowball samples of Facebook groups that shared content from these seed pages between Aug. 17, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021, were drawn using the CrowdTangle links API endpoint. The assumption was that Facebook groups to which content from seed pages was shared were likely to be composed of members that countenance left and right ideological perspectives and were likely to share content from ideologically similar sources. During this period, content from seed pages was shared to 1,549 Facebook groups—552 on the left and 997 on the right. Lists of these snowball sample groups were added to CrowdTangle for analysis of behavioral patterns that signify ideologically like-minded partisan echo chambers.

For the third step, 520,000 posts between August and November were collected from snowball sample groups using the CrowdTangle posts API endpoint. A social network analysis was conducted to identify behavioral patterns based on the sharing of links that did not originate on Facebook.com across Facebook groups in the sample. A social network graph was constructed to establish relationships between sample groups that might be like-minded based on link sharing.

For the fourth step, a community detection algorithm was used to cluster Facebook groups into like-minded communities based on link-sharing patterns.[12] Upon inspection of the communities, the two largest clusters were deemed to be large left-leaning (344 groups) and right-leaning (539 groups) echo chambers. While there is likely overlap between membership in these groups, as of Nov. 3, 2020, the sum of total members across left-leaning groups was 2,011,142 million and the sum of total members in right-leaning groups was 2,253,993. The left- and right-leaning Facebook groups found through community detection were added to CrowdTangle for identification of repeat offender content within partisan groups.

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[12] Clauset, Aaron, M. E. J. Newman, and Cristopher Moore. "Finding Community Structure in Very Large Networks." arXiv.org, Aug. 30, 2004. https://arxiv.org/abs/cond-mat/0408187.

For the fifth step, 2.93 million posts from left-leaning (1.37 million posts) and right-leaning (1.56 million) groups between Aug. 17, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021, were collected using the CrowdTangle posts API endpoint. Of these, 988,222 shared an external link.

For the sixth step, researchers consulted a NewsGuard database that includes ratings for more than 6,500 domains that they say account for more than 95% of engagement with online news media in the United States.

NewsGuard employs a team of trained journalists and experienced editors to review and rate news and information websites based on nine journalistic criteria:[13]

- Does not repeatedly publish false content
- Gathers and presents information responsibly
- Regularly corrects or clarifies errors
- Handles the difference between news and opinion responsibly
- Avoids deceptive headlines
- Website discloses ownership and financing
- Clearly labels advertising
- Reveals who's in charge, including possible conflicts of interest
- Provides names of content creators, along with either contact or biographical information

Based on a site's performance on these nine criteria, it is rated as "trustworthy" or "not trustworthy." Domains that repeatedly publish stories that have been found—either by NewsGuard journalists or independent fact-checking outlets —to be clearly and significantly false without quickly and prominently corrected them are labeled "repeat offenders."

Finally, posts collected from left-leaning and right-leaning Facebook groups were merged with NewsGuard ratings data and analyzed to glean the findings presented in this report.

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[13] "Rating Process and Criteria." n.d. NewsGuard. https://www.newsguardtech.com/ratings/rating-process-criteria/.

FINDINGS

Prevalence of Repeat Offenders in Partisan Echo Chambers

While myriad forces—politicians, influencers, hyper-partisan media, and citizens—coalesced to advance "The Big Lie" and other misinformation narratives during the 2020 U.S. election, it is impossible to ignore the role of social media in the information ecosystem.[14] In its March 2021 report, EIP found that "[m]is- and disinformation were pervasive throughout the campaign, the election, and its aftermath, spreading across all social platforms:"

> *"The production and spread of misinformation was multidirectional and participatory. Individuals participated in the creation and spread of narratives. Bottom-up false and misleading narratives started with individuals identifying real-world or one-off incidents and posting them to social media. Influencers and hyper-partisan media leveraged this grassroots content, assembling it into overarching narratives about fraud, and disseminating it across platforms to their large audiences. Mass media often picked up these stories after they had reached a critical mass of engagement. Top-down mis- and disinformation moved in the opposite direction, with claims first made by prominent political operatives and influencers, often on mass media, which were then discussed and shared by people across social media properties."*[15]

The multidirectional nature of misinformation spread on social media made it challenging to attribute responsibility for specific narratives, but according to the EIP report, "demonstrated that actors—both foreign and domestic—remain committed to weaponizing viral false and misleading narratives to undermine confidence in the US electoral system and erode Americans' faith in our democracy."[16]

Between Aug. 17, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021, 988,222 posts in 871 groups—including both right-leaning and left-leaning Facebook groups—were found to contain links to other websites, including 602,786 links to domains rated by NewsGuard. Analyzing domain
-sharing within partisan groups between August 2020 and May 2021, distinct differences in media consumption habits are evident, with little overlap among domain-sharing across 344 left-leaning and 539 right-leaning Facebook groups. Among left-leaning Facebook groups, The Washington Post, New York Times, CNN, and NBC News were among the most widely shared news sources. By contrast, Fox News, Breitbart, Daily Wire, The Gateway Pundit, and The Epoch Times were among the most widely shared sources in right-leaning groups.

Overall, 661 groups (approximately 75.8% of the groups present in the sample) had links from known repeat offenders appear in posts shared within the group. About 56.7% of links across all groups were found to emanate from sources rated by NewsGuard as "trustworthy" and 28.5% came from "not trustworthy" sources and 7.5% constituted known misinformation "repeat offenders." Analyzing domain-sharing within partisan echo chambers reveals that "repeat

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[14] According to Pew Research, 53% of Americans look to social media for news, and more adults turn to platforms as their primary source of political and election information than cable television or local news.
Mitchell, Amy, Mark Jurkowitz, J. Baxter Oliphant, and Elisa Shearer. 2020. "Americans Who Mainly Get Their News on Social Media Are Less Engaged, Less Knowledgeable." Pew Research Center's Journalism Project. July 30, 2020. https://www.journalism.org/2020/07/30/americans-who-mainly-get-their-news-on-social-media-are-less-engaged-less-knowledgeable/.
[15] *The Long Fuse*, p. 9.
[16] *The Long Fuse*, p. *x*.

offender" and "untrustworthy" content is shared more frequently in right-leaning Facebook groups. In left-leaning Facebook groups, "repeat offender" and "not trustworthy" content exists, but to a far-lesser degree than in right-leaning groups.
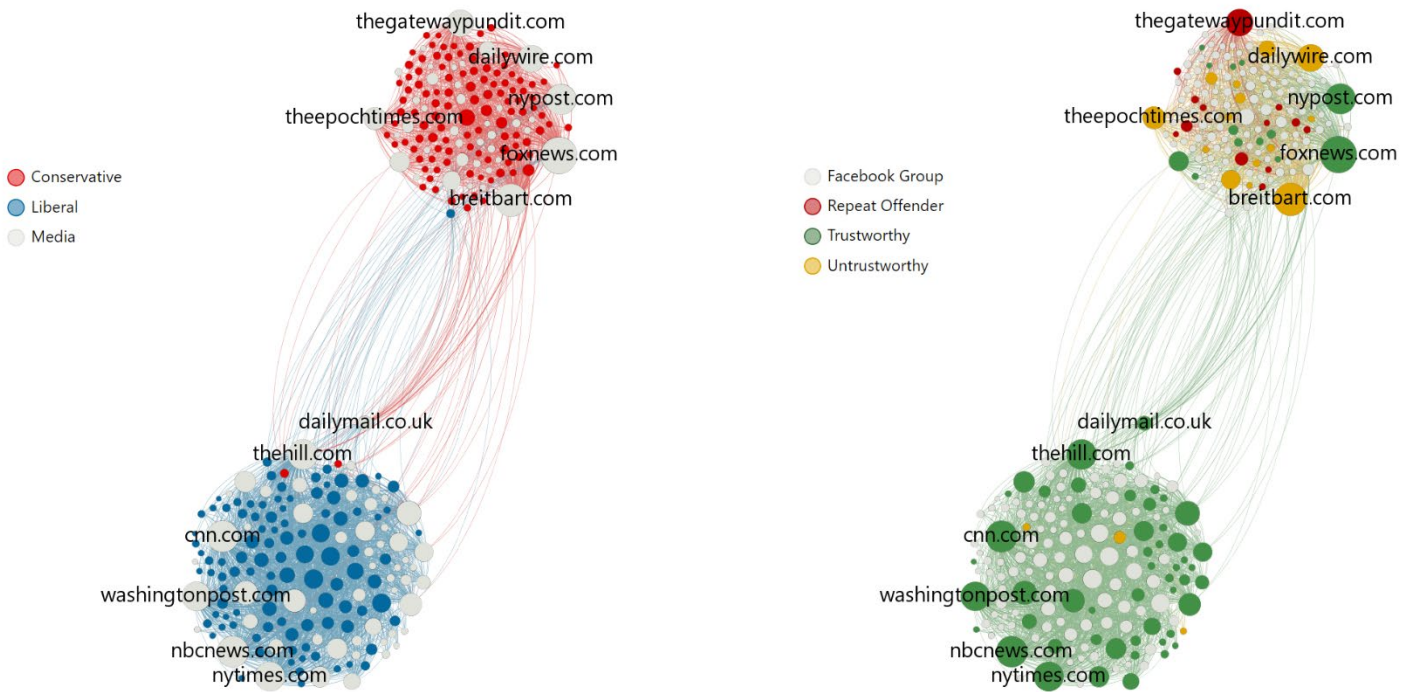
Social network graphs highlighting media consumption in left- and right-leaning Facebook groups. LEFT: Blue and red nodes in the graph represent Facebook groups on the left and right, respectively; gray nodes represent news domains, the size of which is proportionate to the number of links shared from those domains. Blue and red lines connected to the gray nodes represent shares of sources by left- and right-leaning groups, respectively. The closer the gray circles are to the fringes of the graph, the more they were shared primarily among left- and right-leaning groups, respectively; the closer to the center, the more they were shared across left- and right-leaning groups, respectively. RIGHT: Mirroring the graph on the left, but with trustworthy (green), untrustworthy (yellow), and repeat offender (red) domains within left- and right-leaning groups. Gray nodes represent individual groups.

While evaluating the prevalence of repeat offender content across groups is a good indicator of spread, the number of individual social media users exposed to such content provides a good sense of reach. Based on the number of members in these groups as of Election Day, approximately 78.7% (3,358,512 out of 4,265,135 members) encountered repeat offender content during the election period. Between Election Day and Jan. 6, the number of users exposed steadily increased, reaching an average of more than one million users per day.
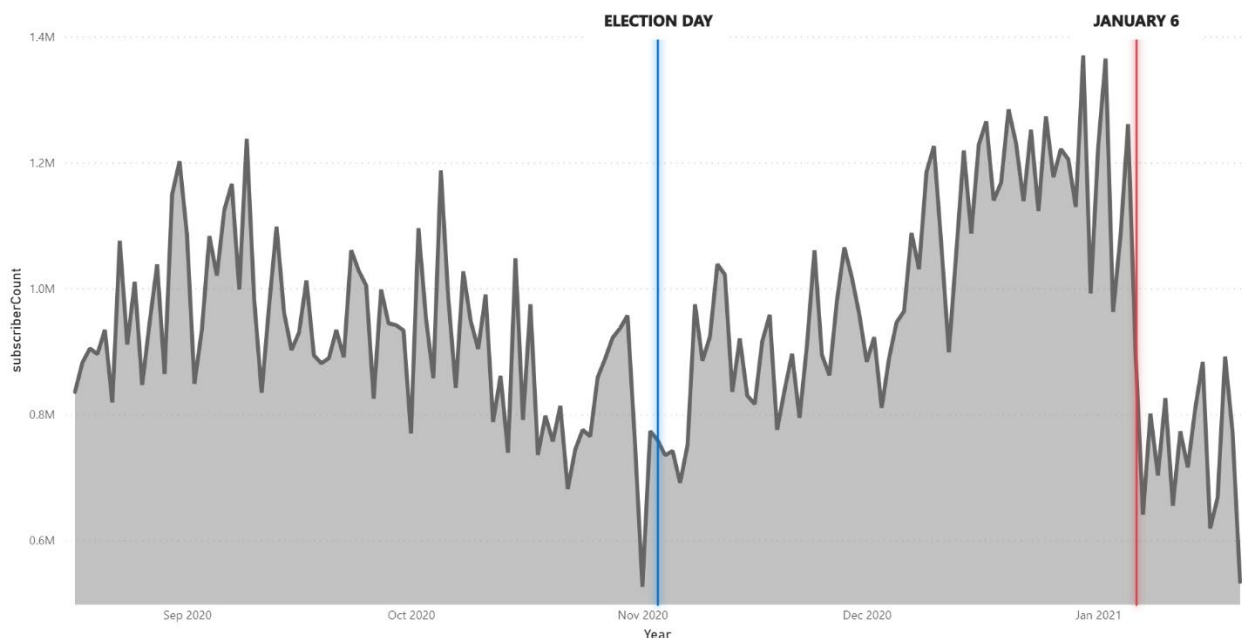
Time-series area chart highlighting number of users exposed to repeat offender content daily across left- and right-leaning Facebook groups between Aug. 17, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021. The chart shows that users consistently encountered repeat offender content throughout the election period, but that exposure spiked after Election Day (Nov. 3) through Jan. 6, reaching an average of one million users per day.

Overall, a significantly larger proportion of right-leaning Facebook group members were exposed to repeat offender content than were left-leaning group members. During the election period, 98.7% of right-leaning group members (2,225,440 of 2,253,993) were exposed to links from misinformation repeat offender links, while 56.3% of left-leaning group members (1,133,072 of 2,011,142) encountered such content. While the reach of repeat offender content was high overall, potential harms associated with content from these sources skew markedly right.

Repeat Offender Content in Right-Leaning Facebook Groups
Across 537 (of 539 total) right-leaning Facebook groups, users shared 264,709 links to media sources that have been rated by NewsGuard between Aug. 17, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021. Of those 264,709 links, 138,062 (52.5%) were from news sources rated by NewsGuard as "not trustworthy" sources, which includes repeat offender domains. Specifically, 53,776 (20.5%) emanated from 221 known repeat offender domains, including 27,666 unique links to distinct news articles. This amounts to an average of 125 distinct articles from repeat offender sites each day. Across right-leaning Facebook groups, 1 in 2 links emanated from "not trustworthy" domains—including known misinformation repeat offenders—and 1 in 5 links came specifically from repeat offenders. Notably, repeat offender links were found in 525 of 539 (97.4%) right-leaning groups, highlighting the omnipresence of such content. Repeat offender content was so pervasive in right-leaning groups that the average member encountered 450 articles from 54 distinct repeat offender sources between Aug. 17 and Jan. 20.
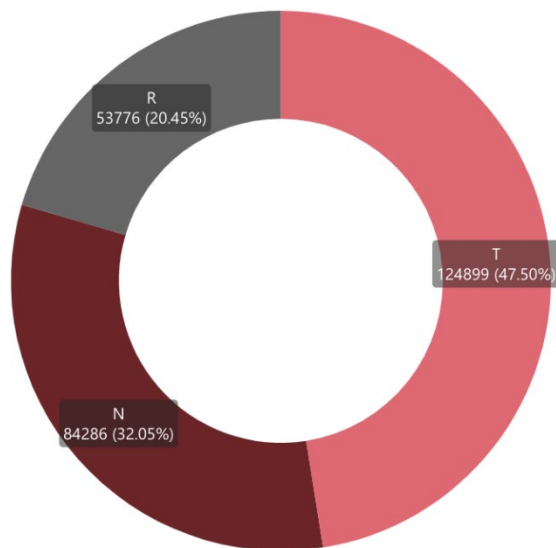
Donut chart highlighting number and proportion of links from "trustworthy" (T), "not trustworthy" (N), and "repeat offender" (R) sources in right-leaning Facebook groups between Aug. 17, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021.

Among the top five most-shared news sources in right-leaning Facebook groups, four were rated as "not trustworthy"—including one repeat offender, The Gateway Pundit. The Gateway Pundit has a long track record of disseminating false and misleading content. One week prior to the 2016 U.S. election, The Gateway Pundit cited disinformation that originated from Russian IRA operatives in a news article alleging mail-in voting fraud perpetrated by Democratic election officials in the state of Florida.[17] In 2020, EIP found that the site was among the early adopters of the #StopTheSteal hashtag:

> *"[M]ultiple September articles on The Gateway Pundit mentioned "Stop the Steal"; one article included a poll asking readers, "Do you think Democrats are trying to steal the election?" and another used the hashtag #StopTheSteal in reporting on Trump supporters allegedly being blocked from observing Philadelphia early voting locations."*[18]

In February 2021, the individual user account of The Gateway Pundit's editor-in-chief Jim Hoft was permanently banned from Twitter for "repeated violations" of its policy that bars users from tweeting messages "for the purpose of manipulating or interfering in elections or other civic processes," including misinformation regarding the outcome of an election.[19] Links from thegatewaypundit.com were found in 452 of 539 (83.9%) right-leaning Facebook groups.

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[17] https://www.washingtontimes.com, The Washington Times. n.d. "Russian Disinformation Made Fodder for Pro-Trump Blog Gateway Pundit: Indictment." The Washington Times. Accessed Aug. 17, 2021.
https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2018/feb/17/russian-disinformation-made-fodder-gateway-pundit-/.
[18] *The Long Fuse*, p. 83.
[19] Castronuovo, Celine. 2021. "Twitter Permanently Suspends Gateway Pundit Founder's Account." TheHill. Feb. 6, 2021.
https://thehill.com/policy/technology/537693-twitter-permanently-suspends-gateway-pundit-founder.
Note: While platforms such as Facebook and Twitter reserve the right to moderate who can use their services and what content is permissible on their platforms, the banning of users raises broader concerns with respect to freedom of expression that merit
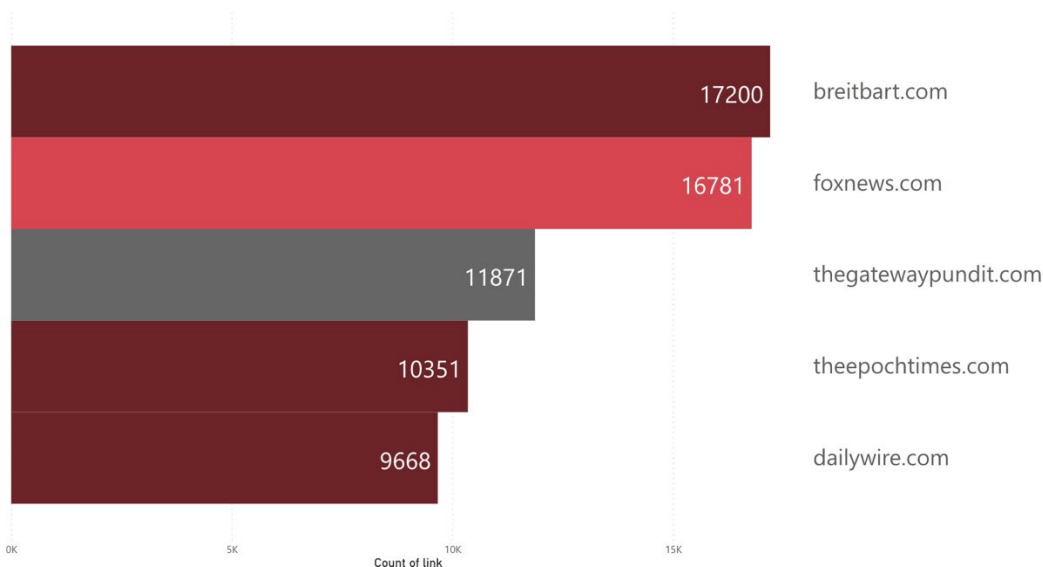
Bar chart highlighting the top 5 most-shared domains found in right-leaning Facebook groups between Aug. 17, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021. Links to all five of these domains were consistently found within the vast majority of the same right-leaning Facebook groups during the 2020 U.S. election period.

Beyond the 11,871 links from The Gateway Pundit, 31,974 links from 25 repeat offender sources were found in right-leaning Facebook groups. Two of the most prevalent sources were thefederalist.com, whose user account was suspended by Twitter in March 2020 for violating the platform's rules against spreading coronavirus misinformation,[20] and newsmax.com, which was sued by Dominion Voting Systems for promoting unsubstantiated voter fraud allegations and, in April 2021, retracted claims it had made during the 2020 election.[21] Among many false claims cited in Dominion's lawsuit was a narrative advanced by NewsMax that a top Dominion executive held a conference call with "antifa activists" to assure them that the company's voting machines would rig the outcome for Joe Biden—an utterly baseless claim that was later echoed by President Trump's legal team.[22] Links to the federalist.com and newsmax.com were found in more than 80% of all right-leaning Facebook groups during the elections.

Among the more controversial repeat offender domains that appeared in right-leaning Facebook during the 2020 election were infowars1717.com and gellerreport.com. In 2019, Facebook de-platformed multiple pages associated with InfoWars and its founder Alex Jones for violating its

discussion and debate within the context of international human rights principles. In accordance with international human rights principles, the right to freedom of expression is not limited to expressions of "accurate information." Consequently, enforcement actions taken by platforms to ban individual users should not necessarily be viewed as positive or laudable rights-centric interventions.

[20] Levenson, Michael. 2020. "Twitter Blocks the Federalist for Promoting Coronavirus Parties." The New York Times, March 26, 2020, sec. U.S. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/25/us/chickenpox-parties-federalist-twitter.html.

[21] "Newsmax Issues Retraction and Apology to Dominion Employee over Election Stories." n.d. NPR.org. Accessed Aug. 17, 2021. https://www.npr.org/2021/04/30/992534968/newsmax-issues-retraction-and-apology-to-dominion-employee-over-election-stories.

[22] Levenson, Michael. 2021. "Newsmax Apologizes for False Claims of Vote-Rigging by a Dominion Employee." The New York Times, May 1, 2021, sec. U.S. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/01/us/politics/newsmax-dominion-apology.html.

policy on inciting hate and violence.[23] Following InfoWars' amplification of the #Pizzagate hoax—which prompted a gunman to attack a Washington DC pizza parlor ahead of the 2016 U.S. election[24]—Jones was dubbed America's most famous conspiracy theorist.[25] Two days after Election Day in 2020, EIP noted that Jones joined a #StopTheSteal rally outside the Maricopa County Recorder's Office in Arizona, "climbed atop a car, and gave a speech about 'meth-head Antifa scum,' George Soros, and stolen elections, occasionally chanting '1776.'"[26] Jones claimed to have sponsored the "Save America Rally" in Washington D.C. preceding the Jan. 6 Capitol insurrection. Links to infowars1818.com were found in 206 of 539 (37.5%) right-leaning groups.
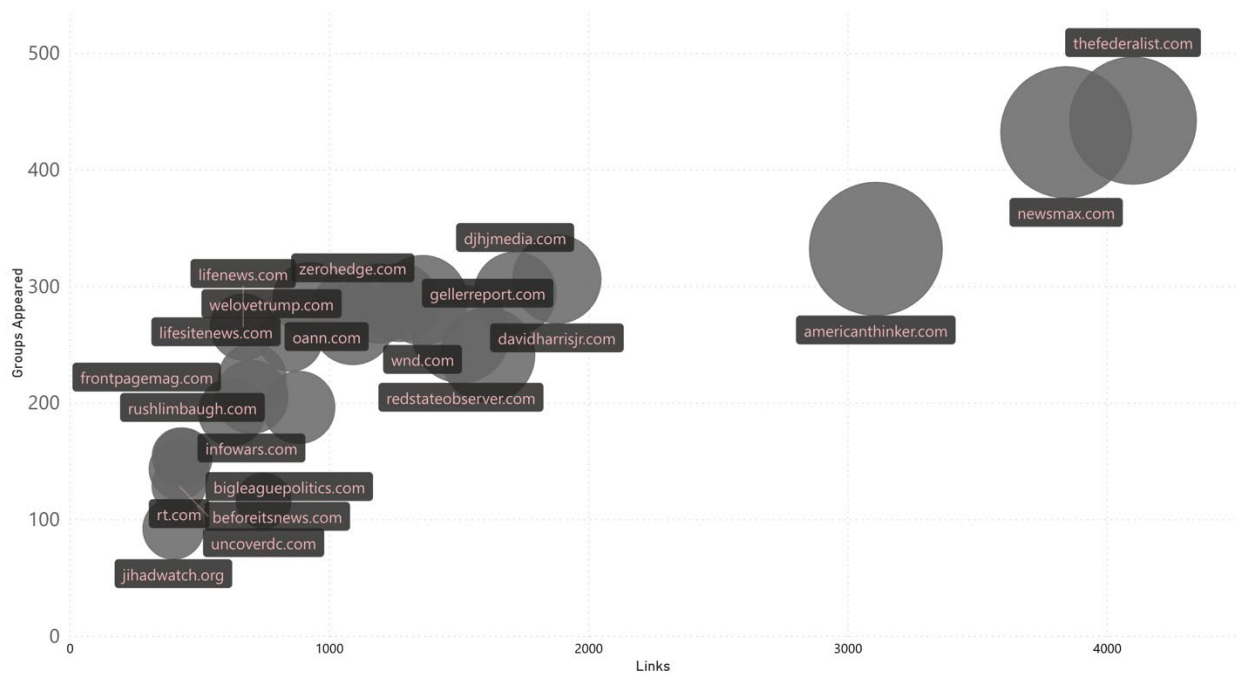
Scatter plot highlighting the top 20 most-shared repeat offender domains (excluding The Gateway Pundit) in right-leaning Facebook groups between Aug. 17, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021. Dots represent repeat offender domains, with size is proportional to the number of distinct links found. The further right a domain appears on the plot, the more links in total were found; the further up a domain appears on the plot, the more groups in which it appeared.

Gellerreport.com is registered by the American Freedom Defense Initiative,[27] an organization founded and led by Pamela Geller that has been identified as a "hate group."[28] In 2016, Russian bots amplified anti-Muslim content from gellerreport.com on Twitter to sow division and discord.[29] During the 2020 election, gellerreport.com created "Election Fraud 2020" and

[23] Haselton, Todd. 2019. "Alex Jones Was Banned from Facebook, but an Hour Later He Was Back on Facebook Livestreaming." CNBC. CNBC. May 2, 2019. https://www.cnbc.com/2019/05/02/alex-jones-banned-from-facebook-but-hes-already-back.html.
[24] "NPR Choice Page." 2020. Npr.org. 2020. https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2017/03/26/521545788/conspiracy-theorist-alex-jones-apologizes-for-promoting-pizzagate.
[25] Beauchamp, Zack. 2016. "Alex Jones, Pizzagate Booster and America's Most Famous Conspiracy Theorist, Explained." Vox. October 28, 2016. https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2016/10/28/13424848/alex-jones-infowars-prisonplanet.
[26] *The Long Fuse*, p. 80.
[27] "Whois Lookup for GellerReport.com." n.d. Whois.domaintools.com. https://whois.domaintools.com/gellerreport.com.
[28] Yan, Holly. 2015. "Cartoon Contest Organizer: I'm Anti-Jihad." CNN. May 4, 2015. https://www.cnn.com/2015/05/04/us/what-is-american-freedom-defense-initiative/index.html.
[29] Getty. n.d. "Russian Twitter Bots Find a New Cause to Boost — Anti-Muslim Extremism." The Forward. Accessed Aug. 17, 2021. https://forward.com/news/394866/pro-trump-russian-twitter-bots-targeted-by-robert-mueller-also-boosted-musl/.

"Presidential Election: The Big Steal," archives to catalog its articles related to voter fraud,[30] as well as archived sections labelled "Democrats: The New Nazi Party," "Democrats: Party of Treason," and "Democratic Leadership: The Fifth Column."[31] In February 2021, Geller was banned from Twitter following a series of tweets alleging the 2020 U.S. election was stolen.[32] Geller maintains a verified Facebook profile that serves as a Facebook page that can be followed by any user and regularly publishes content from gellerreport.com.[33] Links to gellerreport.com were found in 242 of 539 (44.9%) right-leaning groups.

Less prominent than some of the more well-known repeat offenders is a site called beforeitsnews.com that traffics in Qanon-style conspiracy theories.[34] Self-described as "a people-powered news-sharing service," beforeitsnews.com maintains a Facebook page with more than 300,000 followers where it publishes links to "anti-vaccination propaganda, chemtrails, false flags, anti-climate change info, and the right-wing Clinton Body count conspiracies."[35] An example of the kind of narratives advanced by beforeitsnews.com was an entirely fabricated story debunked by FactCheck nine days after the Jan. 6 Capitol insurrection:

> *"Days before President-elect Joe Biden's Jan. 20 inauguration, social media users are being served a fabricated tale claiming the event has been 'cancelled' — and wrongly claiming that major news networks are set to 'lose' their licenses. A Jan. 15 story on a website called 'Before It's News' was **headlined**: 'ABC, NBC, CBS, Fox, CNN, MSNBC to Lose Licenses, Trump Remains in Office, Inauguration Cancelled.' The website has **shared misinformation in the past**. It also ran the same story under a similar headline a day earlier, which was **spread on Facebook** and also republished by other dubious websites."[36]*

According to Media Bias Fact Check, beforeitsnews.com is "one of the most discredited sources on the internet that promotes pseudoscience and right-wing conspiracy theories."[37] Links to beforeitsnews.com were found in 129 (23.9%) right-leaning groups.

Analyzing patterns of domains most frequently found together within right-leaning groups *should* provide insight into which repeat offender domains are most likely to be ideologically consistent and reinforcing of similar narratives. The correlation network graph below highlights co-occurrences among the top 50 most shared domains across groups. Each node represents an individual repeat offender domain and connects to another domain with which it appeared frequently in right-leaning groups. The closer nodes appear together on the graph, the more frequently they appear together in groups. The most shared repeat offender domains close to the center of the graph—such as thegatewaypundit.com, thefederalist.com, and newsmax.com—

[30] Presidential Election: The Big Steal Archives." n.d. Geller Report News. https://gellerreport.com/category/presidential-election-the-big-steal/.

[31] "Democrats: New Nazi Party Archives." n.d. Geller Report News. https://gellerreport.com/category/democrats-new-nazi-party/.

[32] Beschizza, Rob. 2021. "Anti-Muslim Activist Pamela Geller Banned from Twitter." Boing Boing. Feb. 8, 2021. https://boingboing.net/2021/02/08/anti-muslim-activist-pamela-geller-banned-from-twitter.html.

[33] https://www.facebook.com/pamelageller/

[34] Lavin, Talia. 2020. "QAnon, Blood Libel, and the Satanic Panic." The New Republic. Sept. 29, 2020. https://newrepublic.com/article/159529/qanon-blood-libel-satanic-panic.

[35] "Before It's News Bias and Credibility Rating." n.d. Media Bias/Fact Check. https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/before-its-news/.

[36] Fichera, Angelo. 2021. "Bogus Claim Swirls ahead of Biden Inauguration." FactCheck.org. Jan. 16, 2021. https://www.factcheck.org/2021/01/bogus-claim-swirls-ahead-of-biden-inauguration/.

[37] "Before It's News Bias and Credibility Rating." n.d. Media Bias/Fact Check. https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/before-its-news/.

were so prevalent that it is hard to trace all the connections to other domains, suggesting they were nearly omnipresent. Even for adjacent repeat offender domains near the fringes of the graph—such as gellerreport.com and jihadwatch.org, which is also run by an anti-Muslim extremist[38]—it is hard to discern all co-occurrences with other domains. The significant number of co-occurrences among the top 50 repeat offender domains in right-leaning groups suggests that content from just about all these sources is ideologically consistent and narrative reinforcing.
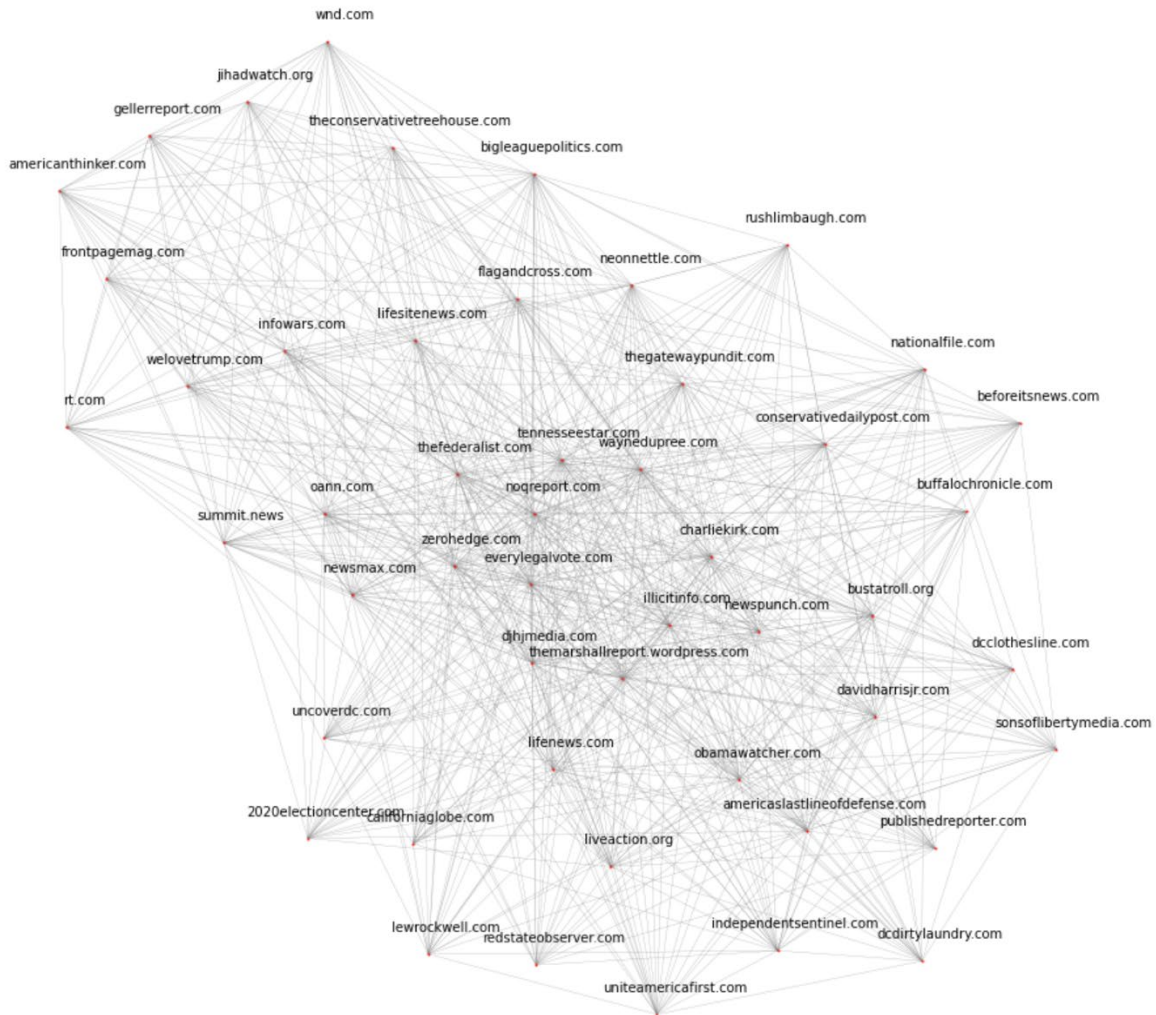
While repeat offender content was consistently found during the lead-up to the 2020 election, the number of repeat offender links across right-leaning Facebook groups increased significantly between Election Day and Inauguration Day (78 days). During this period, the number of links from known repeat offenders increased by 156% across right-leaning Facebook groups. In total, 32,850 links to repeat offender content, including 16,064 distinct news articles, were found

[38] "Robert Spencer." n.d. Southern Poverty Law Center.https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/robert-spencer.

across 515 right-leaning groups. This amounts to an average of 206 distinct articles from repeat offender sites each day.
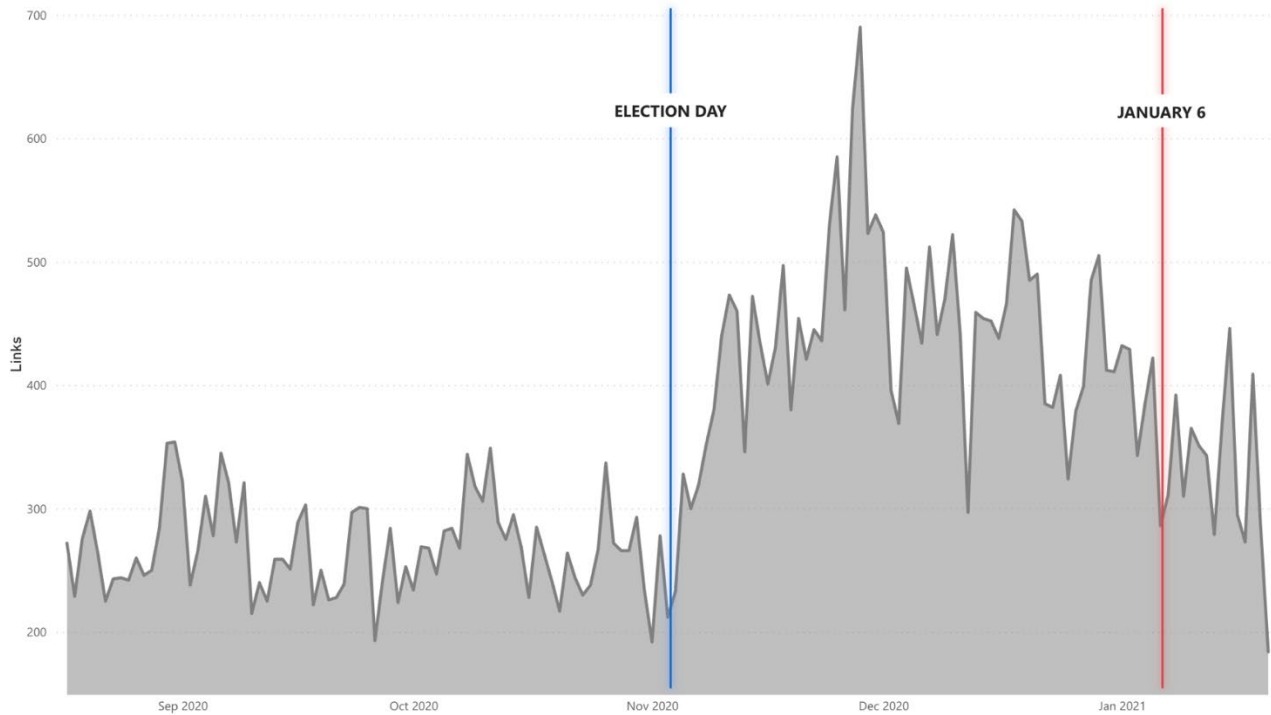
Time-series area chart highlighting a 156% increase in repeat offender links found in right-leaning Facebook groups during the period between Election Day (Nov. 3) and Inauguration Day (Jan. 20).

Across groups, 1 in 4 links emanated from misinformation repeat offenders. In the aftermath of Election Day, the most common domain found in right-leaning groups was The Gateway Pundit, followed by The Epoch Times, which the New York Times referred to as a "Falun Gong-backed newspaper [that] has used aggressive Facebook tactics and right-wing misinformation to create an anti-China, pro-Trump media empire."[39] Although not classified as a repeat offender by NewsGuard, EIP found The Epoch Times to be a prolific amplifier of "The Big Lie:"

> *"The Epoch Times was cited in a range of misleading 'voter fraud' narratives such as alleging that large numbers of people were voting twice and that discarded ballots were evidence of intentional fraud. The website also promoted content related to three large incidents—the Dominion conspiracy theory, and the Sharpiegate and Stop The Steal narratives." [40]*

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[39] The Indian Express. 2020. "How the Epoch Times Created a Giant Influence Machine," Oct. 26, 2020. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/24/technology/epoch-times-influence-falun-gong.html
[40] *The Long Fuse*, Appendix C, p. 251
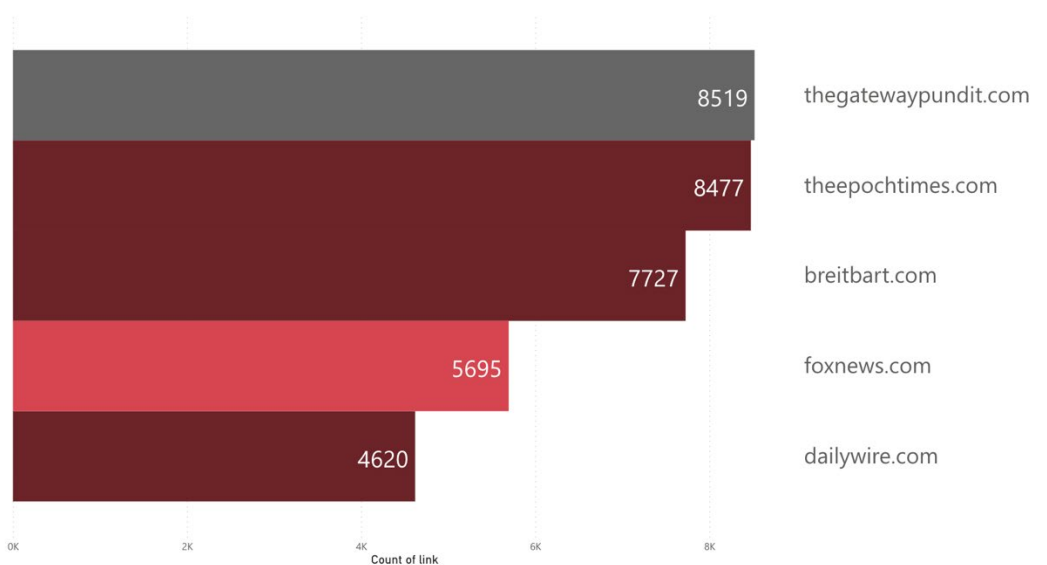
Bar chart highlighting the top 5 most shared domains found in right-leaning Facebook groups between Nov. 3, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021.

Overall, 10 of the top 15 domains with the highest increase in link appearances were known misinformation repeat offenders. Specifically, we found a 540% increase in the appearance of links from newsmax.com; a 520% increase for beforeitsnews.com, a 350% increase for oann.com, a 250% increase for gellerreport.com, and a 210% increase for infowars2222.com. Meanwhile, appearances of theepochtimes.com and ntd.com—another Falun Gong-backed media outlet—increased 450% and 555%, respectively. In contrast, we found a 50% decrease in the number of links from foxnews.com—the most widespread news domain found in the pre-election period.
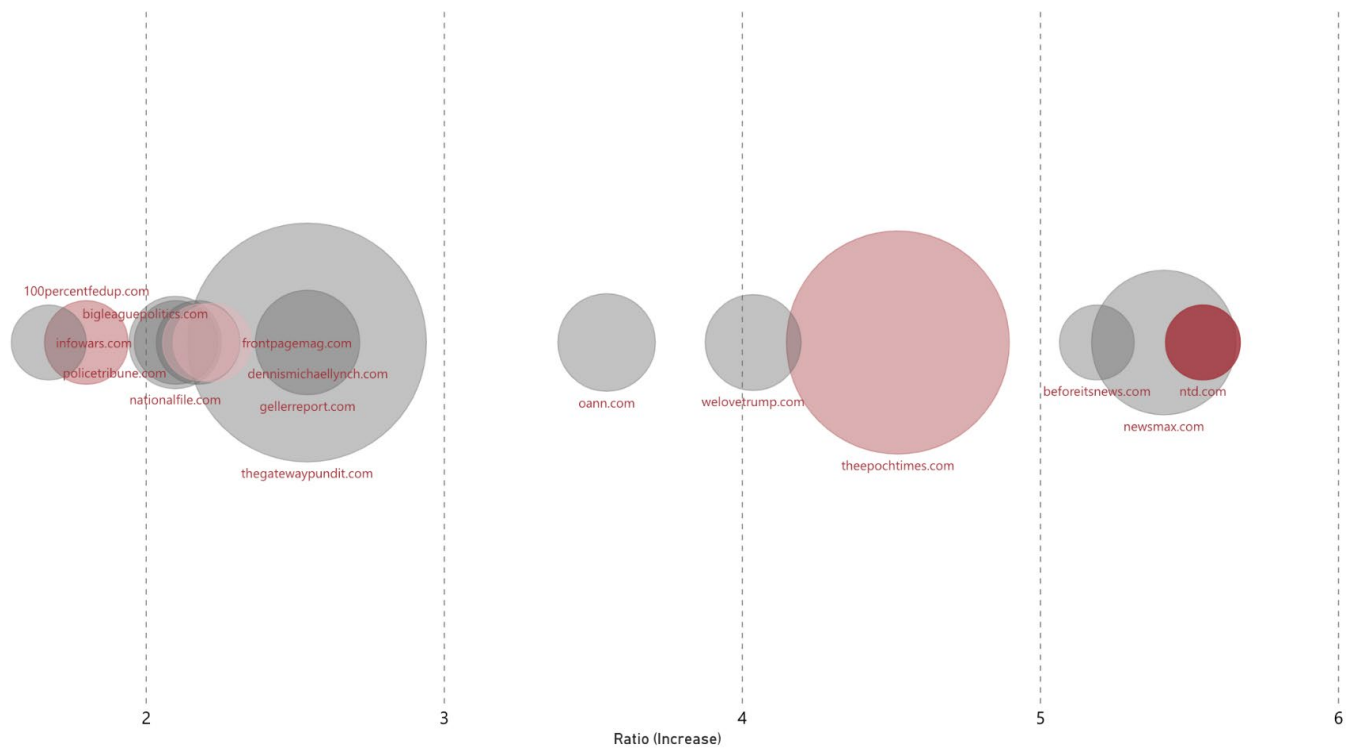
Scatter plot highlighting the 15 domains, of which 10 were repeat offenders (gray dots), with the most substantial increases in appearances in right-leaning Facebook groups after Election Day (Nov. 3), e.g., links from newsmax.com were found 5.4 times (540%) more often. The further the dot appears to the right on graph, the greater the increase of its appearance; dot size is proportional to number of links found overall (larger dots = more links).

As a measure of the increase in repeat offender content appearing in groups, the average proportion of repeat offender links as a percentage of all links in right-leaning Facebook groups jumped from roughly 14.9% during the pre-election period to 25.5% in the post-election period. In 57 (1 in 10) right-leaning Facebook groups, the proportion of content from repeat offenders was 40 percent higher between Election Day and Inauguration Day.

Repeat Offender Content in Left-Leaning Facebook Groups
Across 344 left-leaning Facebook groups, users shared 338,077 links to external media sources that have been evaluated by NewsGuard between Aug.17, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021. Of those 338,077 links, 13,080 (3.9%) were from news sources rated by NewsGuard to be "not trustworthy," which includes repeat offender domains. Specifically, 1,142 (0.34%) links emanated from 106 known repeat offender domains, including 900 unique links to distinct news articles. This amounts to an average of 8.7 distinct articles from repeat offender sites each day. Across left-leaning Facebook groups, 1 in 25 shared links emanated from not trustworthy domains—including known misinformation repeat offenders—and 1 in 300 links came specifically from repeat offenders. Notably, repeater-offender links were found in 141 of 344 (41%) of left-leaning groups.
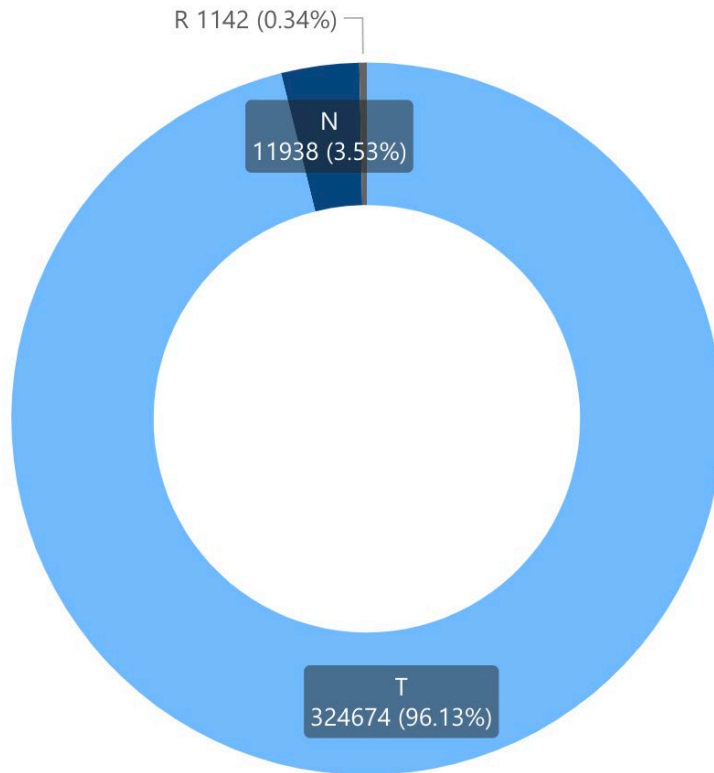
Donut chart highlighting number and proportion of links from "trustworthy" (T), "not trustworthy" (N), and "repeat offender" (R) sources in left-leaning Facebook groups between Aug. 17, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021.

The most shared news domain in left-leaning Facebook groups was msn.com, which aggregates news content from a range of web domains. The next four most shared domains in left-leaning Facebook groups—cnn.com, washingtonpost.com, nytimes.com, and nbcnews.com—were all rated by NewsGuard as "trustworthy" sources. Only three of the 50 most shared news sources—dailykos.com (#26, 2,890 links), palmerreport.com (#40, 1,442 links), and politicaltribune.com (#49, 1,106 links)—were rated as "not trustworthy" domains.
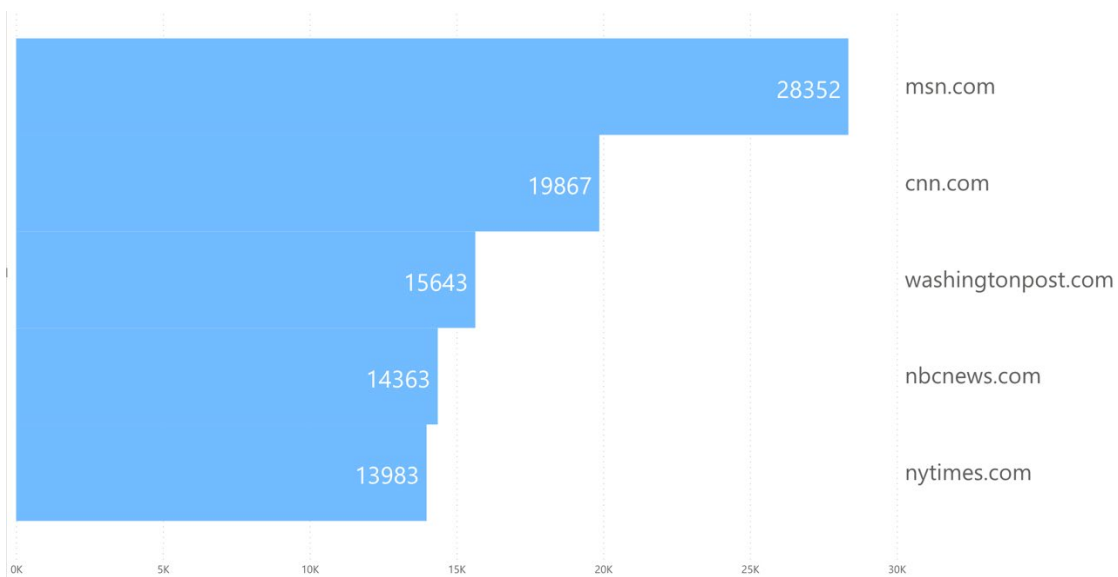
Bar chart highlighting the top 5 most shared domains found in left-leaning Facebook groups between Aug. 17, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021.

As in right-leaning Facebook groups, the most shared repeat offender domain in left-leaning groups was The Gateway Pundit. Links from thegatewaypundit.com appeared in 16 of 344 (4.7%) left-leaning groups. Overall, 11 of the top 20 repeat offender sources found in left-leaning Facebook groups were the same as in right-leaning groups, including a few discussed earlier in the report. Small numbers of links from repeat offenders such as newsmax.com, nationfile.com, and thefederalist.com appeared in 14.5%, 9.3% and 6.7% of left-leaning groups, respectively.
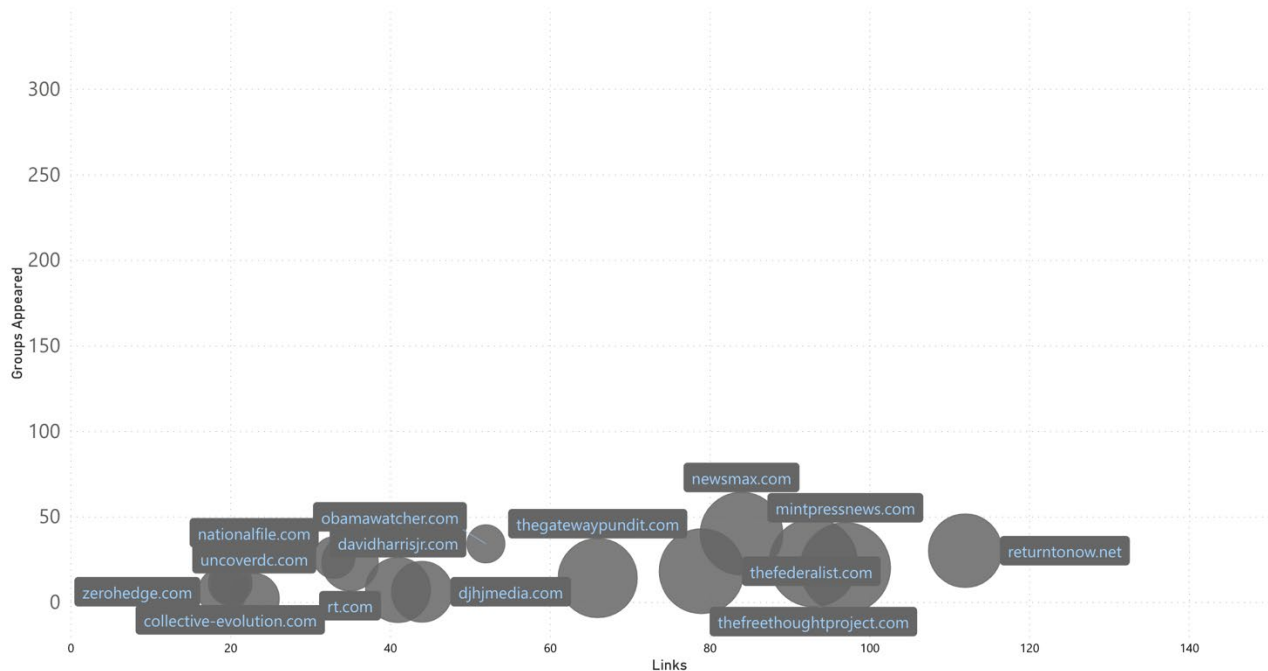
Scatter plot highlighting the top 20 most shared repeat offender domains in left-leaning Facebook groups between Aug. 17, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021. Dots represent repeat offender domains, with size is proportional to the number of distinct links found. The further right a domain appears on the plot, the more total links; the further up a domain appears on the plot, the more groups in which it appeared.

An exploration of the 84 links from newsmax.com shared across 40 left-leaning Facebook groups shows that only one link from newsmax.com was shared in the majority of groups. An exploration of the 79 links from thefederalist.com shared across 18 left-leaning groups indicates a similar pattern. The group in which the highest number of links from newsmax.com appeared (16 of 84), called "Science, Technology, and Society Discussion Corner," does not bill itself as a political group. In its "about" section, the moderators note:

> *"During the U.S. government's current attack on science and technology, we allow purely political posts if they are educational rather than sensationalist. For instance, we permit posts relating to the (currently nonprotective) EPA and its attack on the U.S.'s national parks, and to any other agency's attacks on our resources, and to reports on investigations into other political crimes that have importance to our survival as a society."[41]*

Links from newsmax.com shared in this group concerned topics such as the national electrical grid, healthcare, and affirmative action, suggesting the primary interest related to issues pertaining to public policy. Meanwhile, the group in which the highest number of links from thefederalist.com appeared (47 of 79) is called "ONE 14 Spare," which does not have an about section. However, an examination of the top five most frequently shared domains in the group— dailywire.com, washingtonpost.com, msn.com, 26breitb26art.com, nbcnews.com—suggests the ideological balance of the group may be considered independent or slightly left-leaning.

While the volume of repeat offender content in left-leaning Facebook groups was significantly less than that in right-leaning groups, there were some repeat offender groups that featured more prominently in left-leaning groups than in right-leaning ones, including:

- The Free Thought Project: described by Media Bias Fact Check (MBFC) as "a strong conspiracy website and low for factual reporting due to an abysmal fact check record" that "uses sensational headlines that favor the left, such as this: 'WATCH: Trump Melts Down as Man Holds Up Photo of Him and Billionaire Pedophile Epstein at Rally.'"[42] Links to thefreethoughproject.com were found in 20 of 344 (5.8%) left-leaning Facebook groups in which repeat offender links appeared.
- Mint Press News: described by MBFC as a site that will "often publish factual information that utilizes loaded words (wording that attempts to influence an audience by using appeal to emotion or stereotypes) to favor liberal causes," and "sources their information, but sometimes it is to mixed factual or conspiracy websites."[43] Links to mintpressnews.com were found in 18 (5.2%) left-leaning Facebook groups in which repeat offender links appeared.
- The Mind Unleashed: described by MBFC as a site that "typically republishes articles from other sources, some credible and others not, such as Zerohedge. They also accept submitted articles from readers. In general, the website publishes news that leans left, with some being factual and others totally false. For example, they promote the 9-11 conspiracy of controlled demolition, chemtrails, anti-vax propaganda, mind

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[41] https://www.facebook.com/groups/ScienceTechnologyAndSocietyDiscussionCorner/
[42] "Free Thought Project." n.d. Media Bias/Fact Check. https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/free-thought-project/.
[43] "Mint Press News." n.d. Media Bias/Fact Check. https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/mint-press-news/.

control…well, you get the idea. In general, this is a very strong promoter of conspiracy theories and pseudoscience."[44] Links to themindunleashed.com were found in 11 of 344 (3.2%) left-leaning Facebook groups.

- Activist Post: described by MBFC as "a strongly left-leaning conspiracy and pseudoscience website that focuses on police state abuses as well as other government measures to control people. Some of the information you will find on this website relate to anti-vaccination propaganda, 9/11 conspiracies, chemtrails, and 5G conspiracies. In general, Activist Post holds left-leaning, anti-authoritarian positions while consistently promoting unproven claims."[45] Links to activistpost.com were found in 8 of 344 (2.3%) left-leaning Facebook groups.

Like findings from right-leaning Facebook groups, repeat offender content was consistently found—albeit at significantly lower levels—during the lead-up to the 2020 election in left-leaning Facebook groups. However, unlike in right-leaning Facebook groups, no significant increases in repeat offender content occurred in left-leaning groups after Election Day. Incidental spikes in repeat offender content appeared on multiple days prior to and after Election Day; however, these appear to be random rather than event driven.
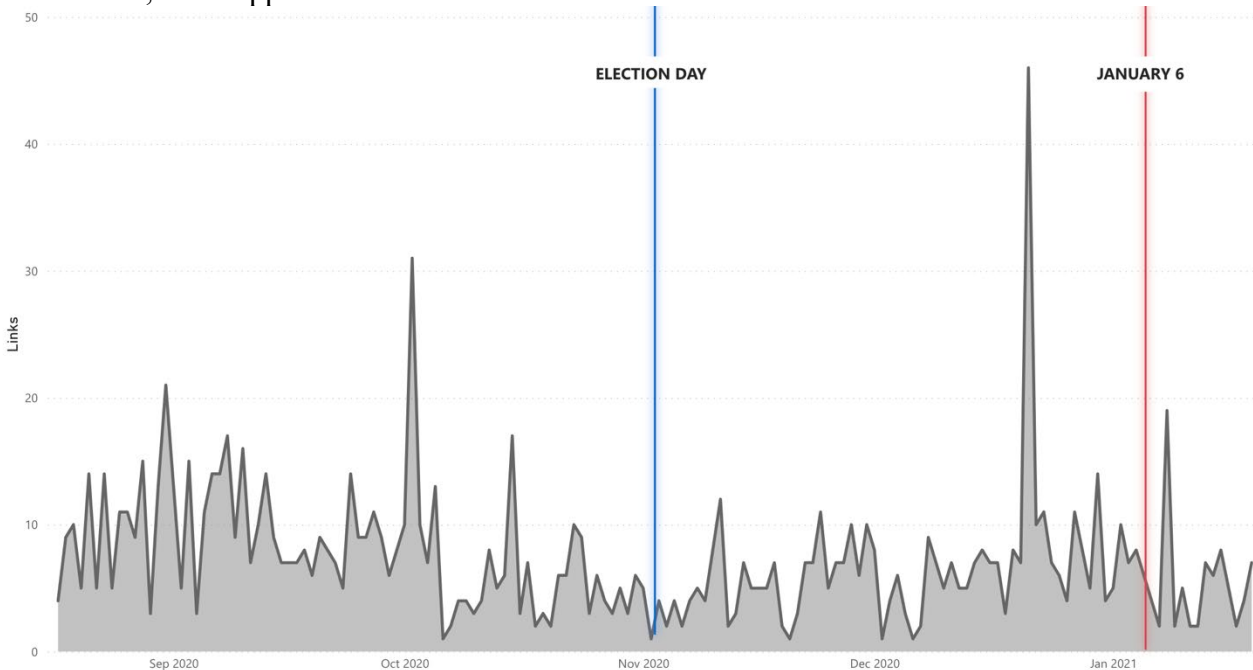
Time-series area chart highlighting modest and largely consistent levels of repeat offender content in left-leaning Facebook groups during the period before and after Election Day (Nov. 3).

PROMINENT AND HARMFUL REPEAT OFFENDER NARRATIVES

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[44] "The Mind Unleashed." n.d. Media Bias/Fact Check. https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/the-mind-unleashed/.
[45] "Activist Post." n.d. Media Bias Fact Check. https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/activist-post/.

There is a marked disparity in the volume and proportion of repeat offender content found in right- and left-leaning groups during the 2020 U.S. election. While there was a fair amount of repeat offender content found in left-leaning groups, sharing and consumption of repeat offender content was significantly right-skewed, suggesting that right-leaning social media users were disproportionately exposed to potential harms posed by repeat offender content. It is important to note that not all content published by repeat offender domains and shared on social media is misinformation. Moreover, it is impossible to extract and analyze content from every article shared to make an evaluation of its accuracy. However, an examination of prominent topics advanced by repeat offenders in partisan Facebook groups should provide a sense of the potential harms to which left- and right-leaning social media users were exposed. Moreover, an examination of prominent links that correspond to harmful narratives should provide insight into what content had traction and warranted action by social media platforms.

Repeat Offender Narratives in Right-Leaning Facebook Groups
To provide a sense of the narratives advanced by repeat offender domains, we extracted the most prominent two-word terms (bigrams) appearing in repeat offender news headlines found in right-leaning Facebook groups between Aug. 17, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021. The treemap below highlights the frequency of bigrams that were found at least 100 times in any month across repeat offender headlines. The most frequently appearing bigrams clearly indicate that the lion's share of content pertained to allegations of election fraud (e.g., "Sidney Powell," "Lin Wood," "Dominion voting," "voting machines," "voting systems," "votes switched," etc.) Dominion was such a frequent subject of repeat offender content that references to the company were found in one of every 30 headlines. Mentions of "Antrim" and "Servers Germany" were prominent in November 2020—references to unsubstantiated claims about Dominion voting machine-enabled fraud in Antrim County, Michigan,[46] and vote-switching in Germany.[47] (Claims the U.S. military conducted "secret raids" in Frankfurt to seize Dominion servers with evidence of vote-switching were debunked by the Associated Press.[48])

[46] Hendrickson, Clara. n.d. "Judge Dismisses Antrim County Election Fraud Lawsuit." Detroit Free Press. Accessed Aug. 17, 2021. https://www.freep.com/story/news/politics/2021/05/18/michigan-judge-antrim-county-election-lawsuit/4980333001/.
[47] Staff, Reuters. 2020. "Fact Check: The U.S. Military Has Not Seized Election Servers in Germany." Reuters, Nov. 20, 2020. https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-factcheck-election-syctl-military/fact-check-the-u-s-military-has-not-seized-election-servers-in-germany-idUSKBN27W1UW.
[48] "2020 Election Misinformation Tracking Center." n.d. NewsGuard. https://www.newsguardtech.com/election-misinformation-tracker/#scytl.
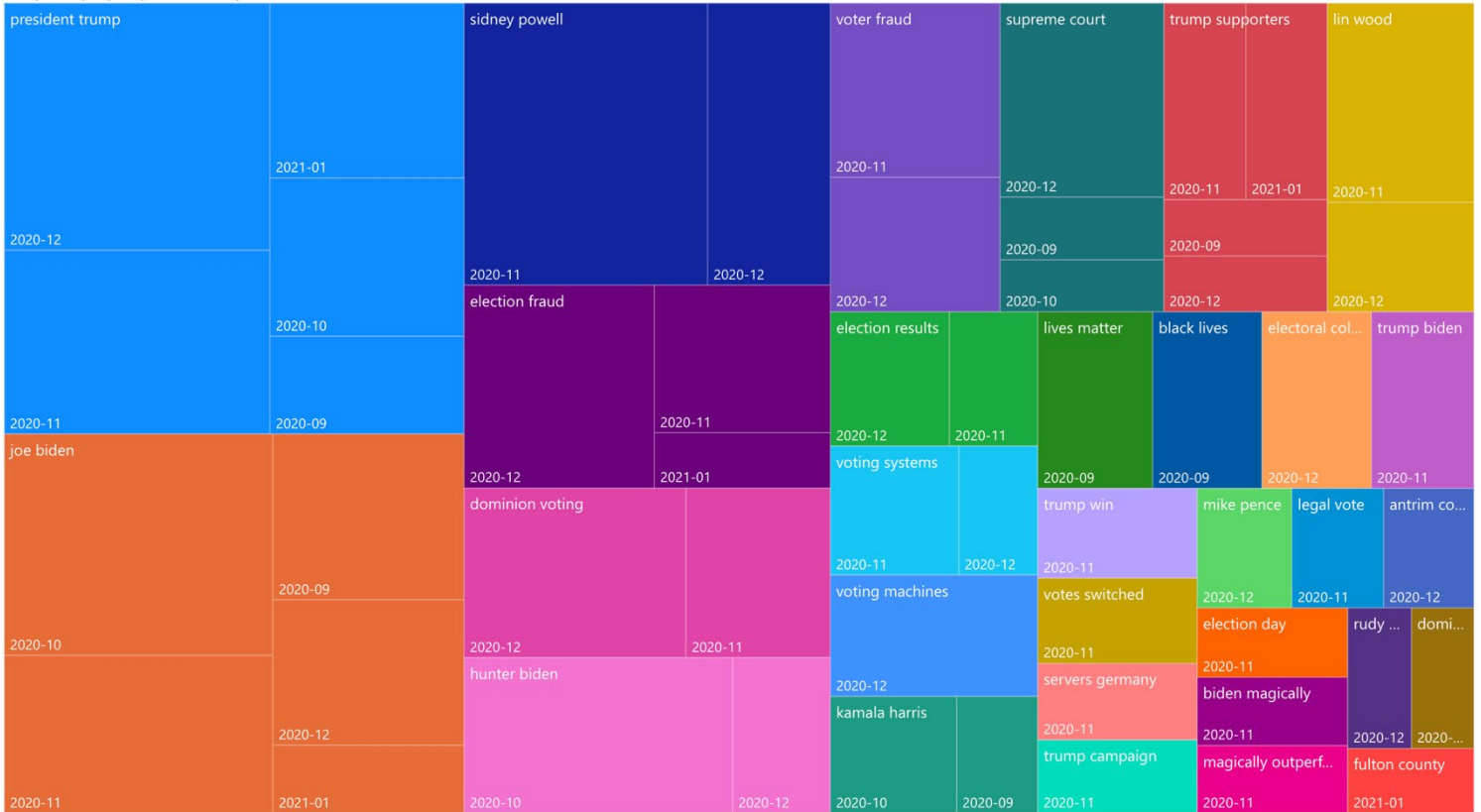
Treemap highlighting the most common bigrams that appeared at least 100 times in repeat offender headlines found in right-leaning Facebook groups between Aug. 17, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021. The further left a box appears in the treemap, the more frequently it appeared in headlines; where bigrams appeared more than 100 times in multiple months, boxes are partitioned by month (e.g., 2020-11 = November 2020).

Exploring the correlations between the most prominent keywords in headlines yields further insight into the narratives advanced by repeat offenders. The term network graph below highlights correlations between the most frequently mentioned terms found in headlines. The two largest neighboring clusters revolve around the terms "votes" and "ballots," and "election" and "fraud:"

- Among the words most associated with "votes" are "transferred," "flipped," and "switched," while those associated with "ballots" are "counterfeit," "discarded," and "shredded."
- Among the words most associated with "election" are "stolen," "interfering," and "impossibility," while those associated with "fraud" are "extensive," "massive," "occurred," "rampant," and "systemic."

Although smaller clusters centered around "Biden," "COVID," and "media" occur, this network graph corroborates the main takeaway from the treemap that the bulk of repeat offender content amplified narratives related to "The Big Lie."
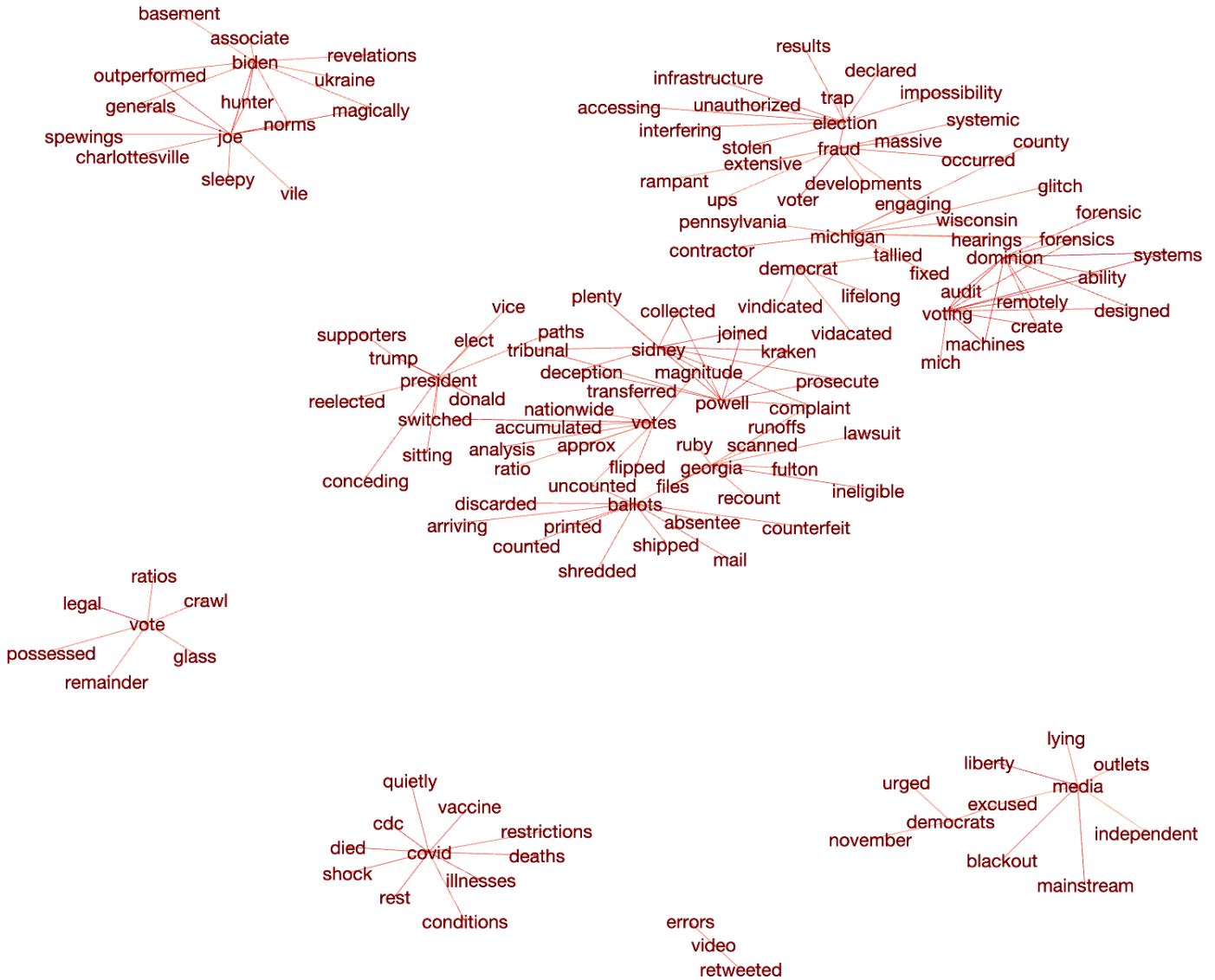
Term correlation network graph highlighting the most prominent terms and associated keywords appearing across repeat offender headlines found in right-leaning Facebook groups between Aug. 17, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021. The closer terms and keywords appear together on the graph, the higher the correlation between them.

A sub-cluster adjacent to the large "ballots" cluster is centered around the word "Georgia," which is closely associated with "Fulton" and "Ruby." These terms are ostensibly related to disproven claim that an elderly Fulton County, Georgia, poll worker named Ruby Freeman was videotaped discarding an absentee ballot during the counting process in November (she discarded an instruction sheet on how to count ballots).[49] The claim rapidly metastasized, and false rumors began to circulate that Freeman had been arrested by the FBI.[50] In January, President Trump namedropped Freeman 18 times and referred to her as a "professional vote

[49] Alba, Davey, and Sheera Frenkel. 2021. "Watch out for This Misinformation When Congress Meets to Certify the Election." The New York Times, Jan. 6, 2021, sec. Business. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/06/business/election-fraud.html.
[50] "Ruby Freeman Was Not Arrested by the FBI." n.d. Snopes.com. https://www.snopes.com/fact-check/ruby-freeman-arrested-by-fbi/.

scammer" on a phone call with Georgia Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger.[51] Freeman was subjected to doxing and death threats that forced her to go into hiding.[52] Another sub-cluster adjacent to the large "fraud" cluster is centered around "Dominion," an obvious reference to Dominion Voting Systems, which was the central target of countless false and misleading claims regarding voting machine-enabled voter fraud in Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, among other locations.[53]

Content from "trustworthy" sources in right-leaning Facebook groups contained far fewer mentions of terms associated with voter fraud. Terms associated with voter fraud appeared 3.8 times more often in repeat offender headlines than in the headlines of news sources deemed trustworthy. Words such as "switched," "flipped," or "shredded" appeared 33, 21, and 14 times more often, respectively, in repeat offender headlines. Sidney Powell was the third most-referenced person in repeat offender headlines, behind Donald Trump and Joe Biden. A former federal prosecutor whose promise to "Release the Kraken" in November immediately became viral shorthand for exposing unsubstantiated evidence of voter fraud[54] and a rallying cry for Qanon supporters,[55] Powell was referenced seven times more often in repeat offender headlines than in trustworthy sources. Lin Wood, a zealous voter fraud conspiracy theorist[56] and Qanon supporter[57] who was permanently banned by Twitter[58] and punished by Parler for calling for the execution of Vice President Mike Pence,[59] was mentioned 27 times more often by repeat offenders. And despite widespread coverage of "fraud" and "voting machines" in trustworthy media, these terms were mentioned three times more often in repeat offender headlines.

[51] "In Call to Georgia's Secretary of State, Trump Pushed QAnon and 4chan-Created Conspiracy Theories." n.d. NBC News. https://www.nbcnews.com/tech/internet/trump-pushed-qanon-4chan-created-conspiracy-theories-georgia-call-n1252769.

[52] "Georgia Poll Worker in Hiding after False Claims Online." 2021. AP NEWS. April 20, 2021. https://apnews.com/article/fact-check-georgia-poll-worker-in-hiding-aa0f256ec21de96fd5a41da703c4b443.

[53] "Election 2020: Setting the Record Straight." n.d. Dominion Voting Systems. https://www.dominionvoting.com/election2020-setting-the-record-straight/.

[54] Alba, Davey. 2020. "'Release the Kraken,' a Catchphrase for Unfounded Conspiracy Theory, Trends on Twitter." The New York Times, Nov. 17, 2020, sec. Technology. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/17/technology/release-the-kraken-a-catchphrase-for-unfounded-conspiracy-theory-trends-on-twitter.html.

[55] Brewster, Jack. n.d. "How Sidney Powell's 'Kraken'—Pushed by QAnon—Went from Cable News to Trump Mainstream." Forbes. Accessed August 17, 2021. https://www.forbes.com/sites/jackbrewster/2020/12/08/how-sidney-powells-kraken-pushed-by-qanon-went-from-cable-news-to-trump-mainstream/?sh=302584a609dc.

[56] Washington Post. n.d. "L. Lin Wood Spent Months Falsely Claiming Voter Fraud Cost Trump the Election. Now Georgia Is Investigating Whether He Voted Illegally." Accessed Aug. 17, 2021. https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2021/02/03/lin-wood-georgia-voter-fraud/.

[57] EDT, Ewan Palmer On 4/26/21 at 4:48 AM. 2021. "Lin Wood Makes QAnon Gesture, Pushes Conspiracy Theories during South Carolina Rally." Newsweek. April 26, 2021. https://www.newsweek.com/lin-wood-qanon-south-carolina-speech-gop-1586337.

[58] "Lin Wood—Lawyer Closely Tied to Trump—Permanently Banned from Twitter after Claiming Capitol Siege Was 'Staged.'" n.d. Business & Human Rights Resource Centre. https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/latest-news/lin-woodlawyer-closely-tied-to-trumppermanently-banned-from-twitter-after-claiming-capitol-siege-was-staged/.

[59] CNN, Kate Sullivan. n.d. "Mediaite: Parler CEO Says It Took Down Post from Lin Wood Calling for Mike Pence's Execution." CNN. https://www.cnn.com/2021/01/09/politics/parler-lin-wood-mike-pence/index.html.
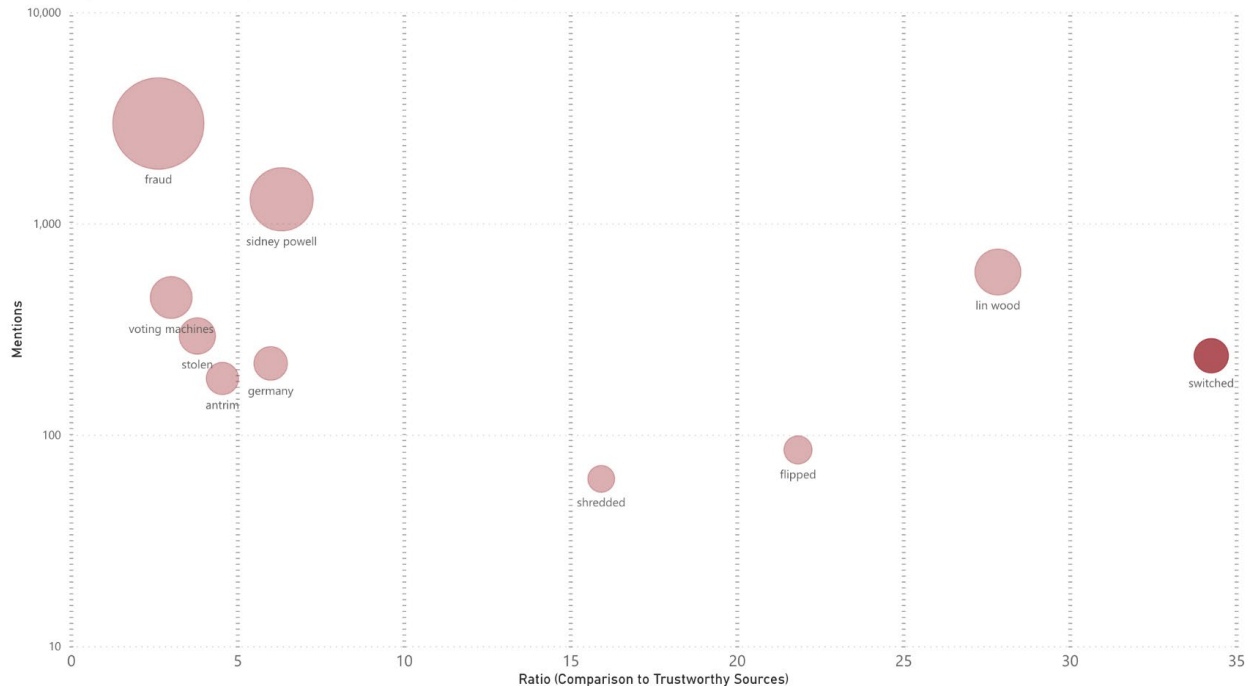
Scatter plot highlighting the frequency with which 10 keywords associated with voter fraud appear in repeat offender headlines as compared with "trustworthy" headlines found in right-leaning Facebook groups between Aug. 17, 2020, and Jan.20, 2021, e.g., the word "switched" appeared 33 times (3300%) more often in "repeat offender" headlines than in "trustworthy" headlines. The further to the right the dot, the more often it appeared in repeat offender headlines as compared with trustworthy headlines; dot size is proportional to number of headlines in which it was found overall (larger dots = more headlines).

Extracting more than 1,000 unique repeat offender links with headlines containing one or more of the following terms associated with voter fraud narratives— "Dominion," "Lin Wood," "Powell," "transferred," "switched," "flipped," "shredded," "discarded," or "stolen,"—it is evident that these narratives had widespread reach across right-leaning Facebook groups. The link that appeared most often across the right-leaning groups was an article published on Nov. 22 with the all-caps headline "SIDNEY POWELL'S 'KRAKEN' IS DOD CYBER WARFARE PROGRAM! WE ARE AT WAR!" by The Marshall Report, a site that traffics in Qanon conspiracy theories with a tagline that says: "Exposing the Establishment Daily." This article, which appeared across 67 (1 in 9) right-leaning Facebook groups, spuriously connected Powell's "Release the Kraken" remark to a clandestine Department of Defense operation to expose a deep state voter-fraud coverup perpetrated by the CIA, FBI, and Department of Justice:

> *"The 'Kraken' is a Department of Defense-run cyber warfare program that tracks and hacks various other systems to acquire evidence of nefarious actions by the deep state! President Trump and the loyal patriots in the Military and Space Command now have all the evidence of voter fraud and election related treason. This will be used against the enemies of America! What we are witnessing with the 2020 elections is NOT an election. We are witnessing the attempt of the overthrow of the United States Government. The CIA, FBI and DOJ are full of Treasonous Swamp Rats that are intent on stealing the Presidential seat, and taking over America for the global order. They are wicked globalist puppets who are boldly pushing their coup to destroy America and implement a global reset and usher in United Nations Agenda 2030 which is the revised version of sustainable development Agenda 21. They are in lockstep throwing all their*

punches at unsuspecting Americans while nations around the world are doing the very same lockdowns on their citizens. Will they succeed? The answer is NO!"[60]

Despite the prevalence of this misinformation across right-leaning groups, posts linking to this article were not labelled by Facebook as containing possibly false information,[61] implying that this overtly baseless story—which contains multiple specious claims—was not fact-checked by a member organization of Facebook's third-party fact-checking program. In total (including all pages and shares across Facebook), the link to this repeat offender article was shared 30,755 times and reached 2,158,405 Facebook users (per CrowdTangle link checker).

As measured by the appearance of links across Facebook groups, below is a table of *just the top two percent* of all repeat offender headlines that contained one or more of the 10 terms noted above associated with voter fraud narratives. Nearly all headlines from these articles—published by a range of repeat offender sources, and mutually reinforcing in nature—aimed to undermine the integrity of the 2020 election. Many headlines pointed to the existence of fraud in definitive terms, alluding to the existence of "evidence," substantial audit reports, or proof of conspiracies involving Antifa, China, Democrats, the FBI, or unspecified foreign actors. Although all 20 of these repeat offender articles advanced voter fraud narratives, only four had warning labels signaling that they were false or misleading (highlighted in gray).

Groups	Repeat Offender Headline	Shares	Reach
67	SIDNEY POWELL'S "KRAKEN" IS DOD CYBER WARFARE PROGRAM! WE ARE AT WAR!	30,755	2,158,405
60	"Sidney Powell is registered as a MILITARY LAWYER and is the only one who can prosecute TREASON at a TRIBUNAL!"	27,914	2,205,527
48	Audit Finds Mich. County's Dominion Voting Was Rigged to Create Fraud	38,376	1,529,497
40	Report: Anti-Trump Dominion Voting Systems Security Chief Was Participating in Antifa Calls, Posted Antifa Manifesto Letter to Trump Online	15,484	1,557,329
37	US Army seizes Dominion servers in Germany, Trump lawyer vows, 'I'm going to release the Kraken' - Geller Report News	7,722	2,049,940
37	Yes, It Was a Stolen Election – Frontpagemag	11,486	1,797,243
33	BREAKING EXCLUSIVE: Analysis of Election Night Data from All States Shows MILLIONS OF VOTES Either Switched from President Trump to Biden or Were Lost -- Using Dominion and Other Systems	22,193	1,605,729
33	BREAKING: KRAKEN RELEASED! Attorney Sidney Powell Files 104 Page BOMBSHELL COMPLAINT of Massive Fraud in Georgia Election - Update: Michigan too	12,341	2,208,501
32	Attorney Sidney Powell Releases 270 Page Document on Massive 2020 Election Fraud Involving Foreign Interference	12,208	1,664,134
31	Dominion Rep Who Scanned Ballots in Georgia County Where Thousands of Trump Votes Were Uncounted Also Worked for Kamala Harris	14,260	1,139,483
30	The 'smartest man in the room' has joined Sidney Powell's team	15,951	2,585,966
25	Sidney Powell: "We've Got a Number of Smoking Guns, May Have to Get Witness Protection for Them -- 7 Million Votes Stolen from Trump! (AUDIO)	3,378	931,914
24	Dominion Engineer Told Antifa He'd 'Made Sure' Trump Wouldn't Win, Report Says	4,281	1,238,822
24	WAKE UP AMERICA! Bold Billionaire Offers $1 Million Bounty for Dominion's, Eric Coomer's Comeuppance	17,308	663,985

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[60] Report, The Marshall. 2020. "SIDNEY POWELL'S 'KRAKEN' IS DOD CYBER WARFARE PROGRAM! WE ARE at WAR!" THE MARSHALL REPORT. Nov. 22, 2020. https://themarshallreport.wordpress.com/2020/11/22/sidney-powells-kraken-is-dod-cyber-warfare-program-we-are-at-war/?fbclid=IwAR2yp64UewFQYA4sER4IV1td_OL8esiKBFKmB0L9jsQ4Vk_2LdZWNJpvH9w.
[61] For example: https://www.facebook.com/1348642588606501/posts/sidney-powells-kraken-is-dod-cyber-warfare-program-we-are-at-war/2017188568418563/

22	BOOM! TRUMP TWEETS: REPORT: DOMINION DELETED 2.7 MILLION TRUMP VOTES NATIONWIDE. DATA ANALYSIS FINDS 221,000 PENNSYLVANIA VOTES SWITCHED FROM PRESIDENT TRUMP TO BIDEN	8,181	927,044
22	Five Videos - Five States Where Votes Were Switched Live on TV Away from President Trump to Biden --Updated	10,073	1,217,500
21	Attorney Lin Wood Confirms Trump Legal Team's Evidence Will Be Enough to Overturn Election - Tennessee Star	8,794	479,350
20	Sidney Powell: 'Biblical' Lawsuit Coming, Accuses Ga. Gov. Kemp of Deal With Dominion	6,336	651,496
19	Attorney Lin Wood: Team has 'smoking guns' to prove Trump won	7,819	3,219,747
19	BREAKING: Antrim Co. Forensic Report BOMBSHELL Reveals Dominion Machines Were Set At 68.05% Error Rate…Meaning 68.05% Of Ballots Could Be Sent Out For Mass Adjudication, Giving Individuals Or Machines Ability To Change 68.05% Of Votes	8,151	1,374,532

A table of the 20 most frequently found repeat offender links in right-leaning Facebook groups that explicitly contained a known term related to voter fraud in their headlines between Aug. 17, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021. Four of these 20 articles were tagged by Facebook with a warning label indicating that the content was false or misleading. The remaining 16 had no label. The number of "groups" represents the number of right-leaning Facebook groups in which the link appeared; "shares" refer to the number of times the link was shared across Facebook, and "reach" refers to the maximum number of page followers or group members who could have seen it.

In total, *just these 20 repeat offender links* were shared 283,011 times with an audience of 31,206,144 users across Facebook (including, but not limited to, right-leaning Facebook groups). The average link was shared 14,151 times on Facebook. As evident from the table above, Dominion was frequently cited in articles that were prominently shared in right-leaning groups. Three of the top 20 headlines featured variations of the baseless claim that a Dominion executive coordinated with Antifa to rig the election (another article, not included in this list, went so far as to call him an "Antifa leader"). The claim on which these stories were based was found by Snopes to be unproven.[62] The claim related to Dominion servers being seized in Germany was debunked by Reuters,[63] in addition to the AP but was never labeled as false by Facebook.[64] Meanwhile, although one article about Dominion voting machines being rigged in Antrim County, Michigan was labelled as false, another article with a seemingly identical claim was not. Perhaps most surprisingly, the article: "BOOM! TRUMP TWEETS: REPORT: DOMINION DELETED 2.7 MILLION TRUMP VOTES NATIONWIDE. DATA ANALYSIS FINDS 221,000 PENNSYLVANIA VOTES SWTICHED FROM PRESIDENT TRUMP TO BIDEN" was tweeted by Donald Trump (the headline was subsequently updated to include "BOOM! TRUMP TWEETS:"), debunked by AP, and did not have a warning label.[65]

[62] "Did a Dominion Voting Systems Employee Brag about Rigging the Election against Trump?" n.d. Snopes.com. https://www.snopes.com/fact-check/eric-coomer-dominion-trump/.

[63] Staff, Reuters. 2020. "Fact Check: Dominion Is Not Linked to Antifa or Venezuela, Did Not Switch U.S. 2020 Election Votes in Virginia and Was Not Subject to a U.S. Army Raid in Germany." Reuters, Dec. 14, 2020. https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-factcheck-dominion/fact-check-dominion-is-not-linked-to-antifa-or-venezuela-did-not-switch-u-s-2020-election-votes-in-virginia-and-was-not-subject-to-a-u-s-army-raid-in-germany-idUSKBN2861TB.

[64] "False Reports Claim Election Servers Were Seized in Germany." n.d. AP NEWS. https://apnews.com/article/fact-checking-9754011363.

[65] "AP FACT CHECK: Trump Tweets a Tall Tale of 'Deleted' Votes." 2020. AP NEWS. Nov.12, 2020. https://apnews.com/article/fact-check-trump-tweets-tall-tale-votes-13c104367924b8192b4fcecf334f7806.
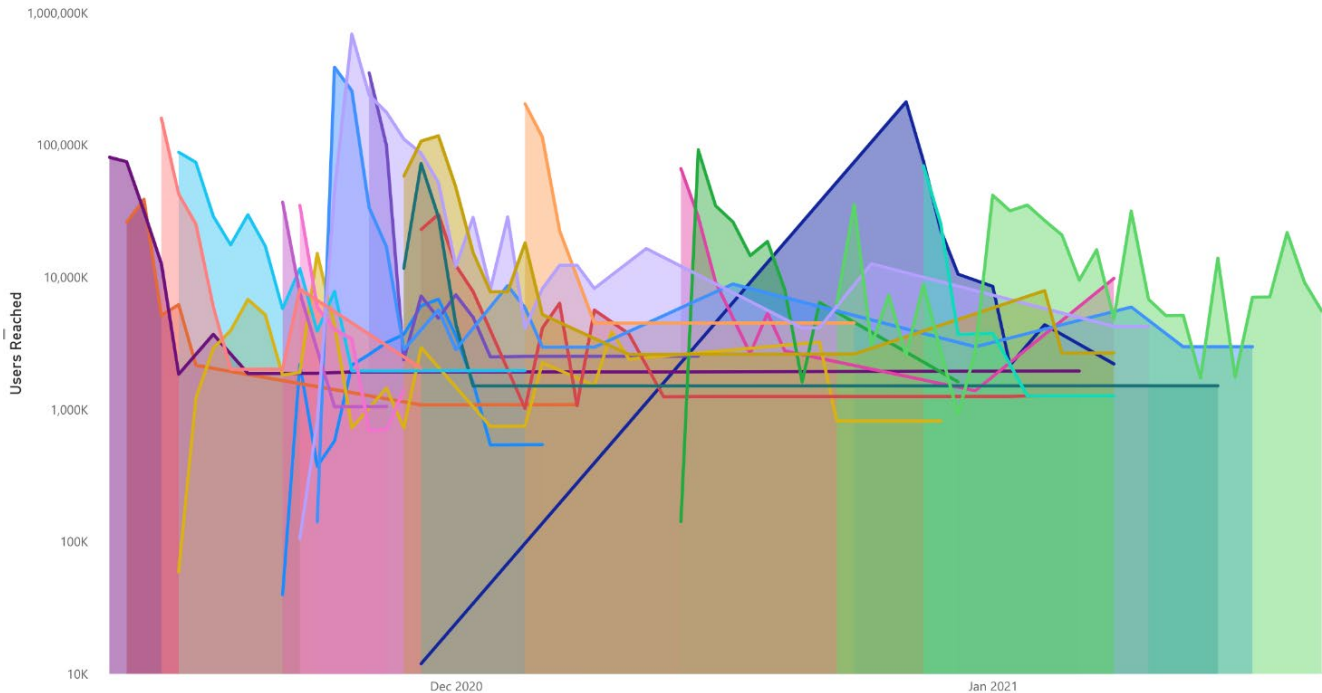
Area chart highlighting the spread of the 20 most frequently found repeat offender links in right-leaning Facebook groups that explicitly contained a known term related to voter fraud in the headline between Aug. 17, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021. Collectively, these links were shared 283,011 times with an audience of 31,206,144 users on Facebook alone. Each article is represented by a colored line that correlates to shares over time. Most links were shared most frequently shortly after appearing on Facebook and gradually received fewer shares.

The volume and sequencing of baseless voter fraud allegations emanating from multitudes of seemingly authoritative repeat offender domains mutually reinforced such narratives. Each new article from repeat offender sources lent credence to spurious claims and added a veneer of legitimacy to broader voter fraud narratives. While the popularity of individual articles waxed and waned in terms of engagement levels, the ceaseless layering of new narratives that bolstered earlier ones coalesced into a meta-narrative that rendered individual fact-checking efforts relatively toothless— even if one article from one source was debunked and labelled as false or misleading, there were at least four other articles offering variations on the same theme that were not labeled and, consequently, assumed to be true.

From Election Day to Inauguration Day, known misinformation repeat offenders churned out fresh false or misleading articles that were shared across social media groups with little to no friction. These articles provided a constant and consistent drumbeat for "The Big Lie."
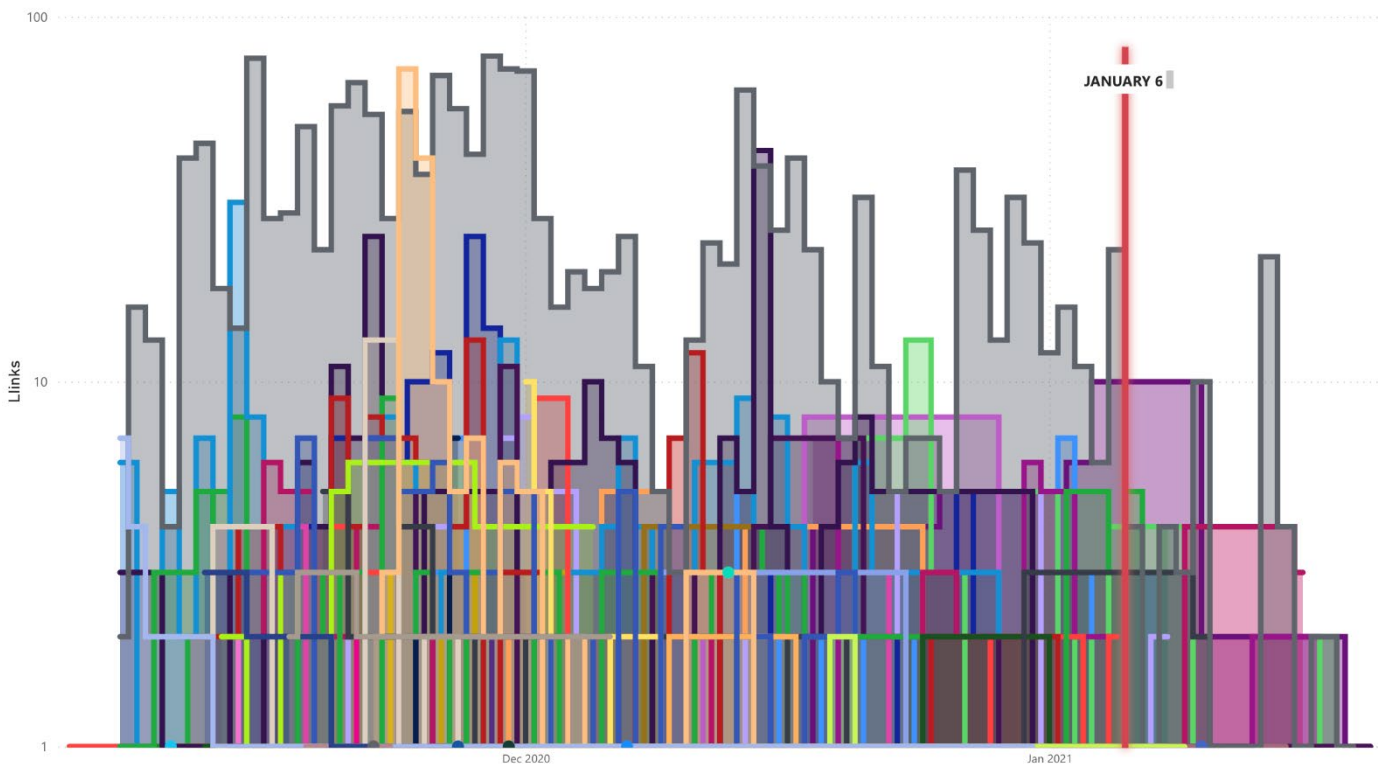
Hierarchical chart highlighting the multitude of repeat offender domains that published headlines related to voter fraud found in right-leaning Facebook groups between Election Day and Inauguration Day. On many days, links to 20 different domains amplifying voter fraud narratives were found across right-leaning Facebook groups. Articles from The Gateway Pundit (gray) were found most frequently, followed by Newsmax (navy blue). Articles from Marshall Report (peach) were most often found in late November, while in the lead-up to—and immediate aftermath of—the Jan. 6 Capitol insurrection, articles from Before It's News (dark purple) were found most often.

Repeat Offender Narratives in Left-Leaning Facebook Groups

To provide a sense of the narratives advanced by repeat offender domains on the left, we extracted the most prominent two-word terms (bigrams) appearing in repeat offender news headlines found in left-leaning Facebook groups between Aug. 17, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021. The treemap below highlights the frequency of bigrams that were found at least five times in any month across repeat offender headlines. In contrast with findings from right-leaning groups, there is no indication that a significant portion of repeat offender content pertained to allegations of election fraud, with the notable exception of "Supreme Court" in December 2020. Mentions of "hydroxychloroquine" ahead of Election Day suggest content related to coronavirus misinformation. Further examination revealed that an article from nationalfile.com falsely alleging that doctors prescribed hydroxychloroquine to President Trump as a treatment for coronavirus in October 2020 appears to have been shared widely across left-leaning groups. Mentions of Jeffrey Epstein were traced to a series of eight articles originating from mintpressnews.com alleging conspiracies involving past U.S. administrations, Israeli officials, and big money political donors to either exploit or coverup incidents of sex trafficking. The eight articles, originally published in 2019 and 2020, were all shared in one left-leaning Facebook group on Dec. 21, 2020.
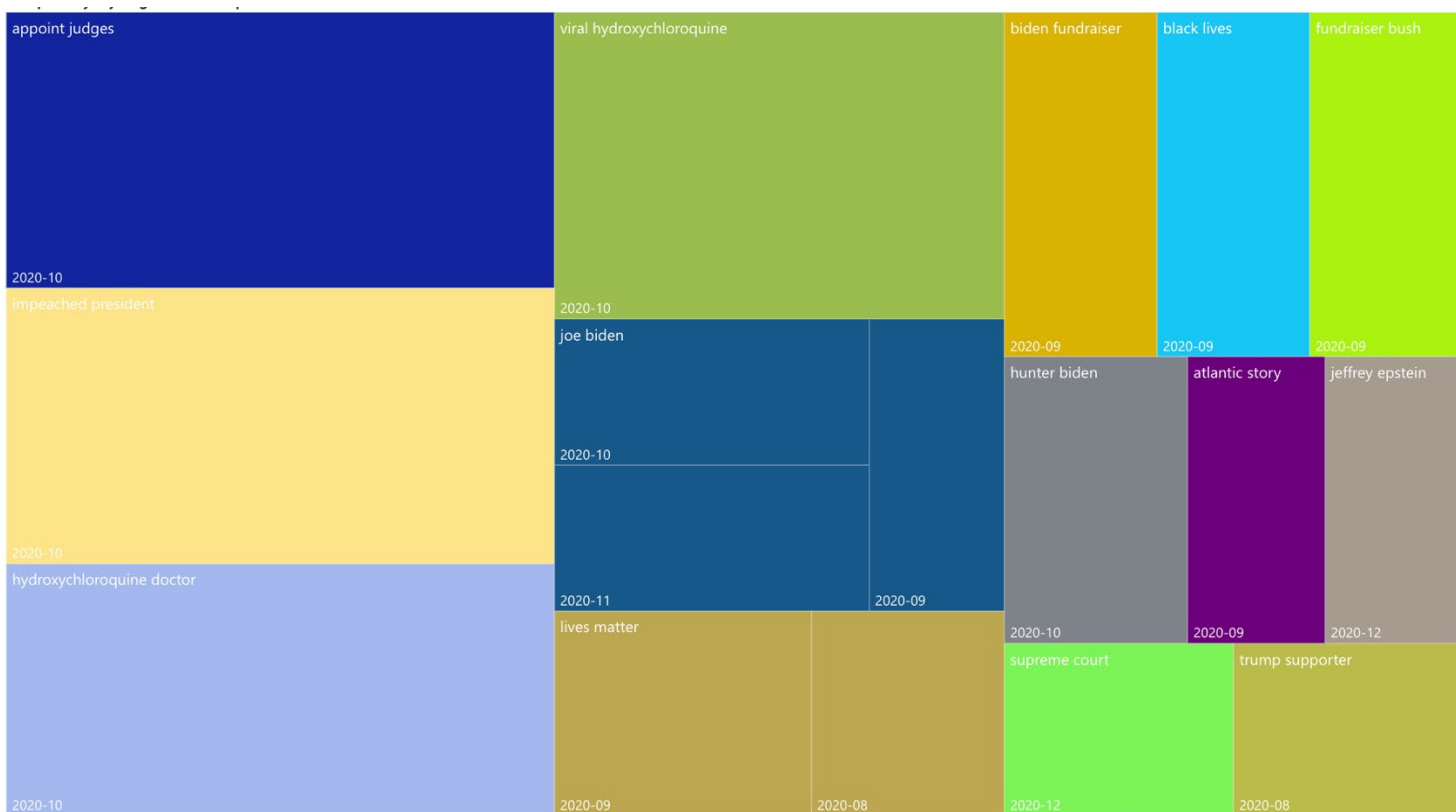
Treemap highlighting the most prominent bigrams that appeared at least five times in repeat offender headlines in left-leaning Facebook groups between Aug. 17, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021. The further left a box, the more frequently it appeared in headlines; where bigrams appeared more than 5 times in multiple months, boxes are partitioned by month (e.g., 2020-11 = November 2020).

Exploring the correlations of the most prominent keywords in headlines yields further insight into the narratives advanced by repeat offenders in left-leaning Facebook groups and corroborates the findings from the treemap – there was little content pertaining to "The Big Lie."
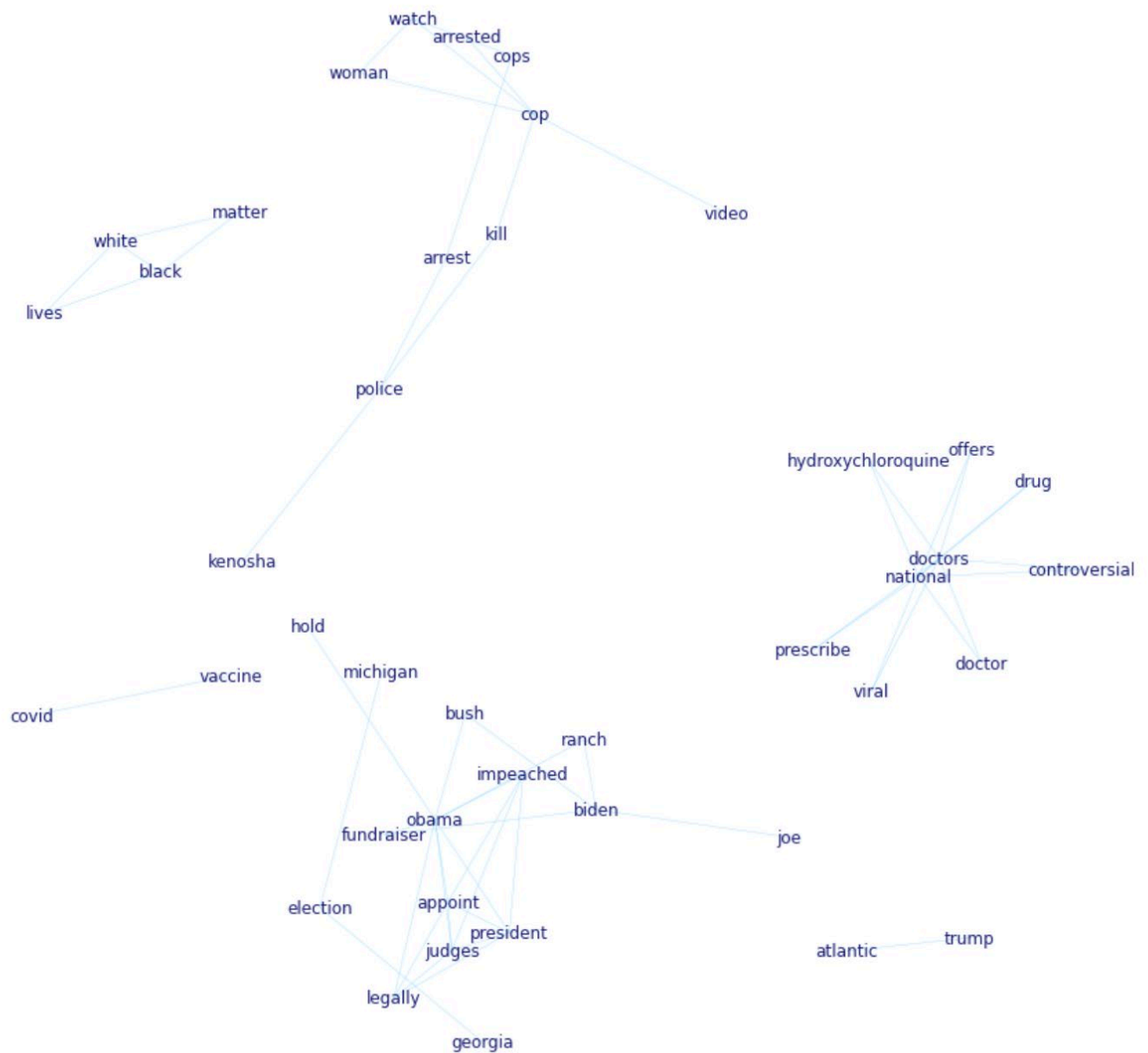
Term correlation network graph highlighting the most prominent terms and associated keywords appearing across repeat offender headlines in left-leaning Facebook groups between Aug.17, 2020, and Jan. 20, 2021. The closer terms and keywords appear together on the graph, the higher the correlation between them.

Several articles shared prior to Election Day originating from the repeat offender domain "obamawatcher.com" account for a significant number of bigram occurrences in the treemap and keywords in the term network graph. Self-described as a satire website[66], obamawatcher.com exclusively posts content related to former president Barack Obama and his family, including photoshopped images of fabricated events and outrageous quotes attributed to the former

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[66] https://obamawatcher.com/sample-page/ *"Everything on this website is fiction. It is not a lie and it is not fake news because it is not real. If you believe that it is real, you should have your head examined."*

president in headlines that may appear credible to those unfamiliar with the site. Ahead of the election, the site published dozens of sensational stories shared in both left-leaning and right-leaning Facebook groups, including:

- "Obama To Hold Biden Fundraiser at Bush Ranch"[67]
- "Obama: 'Legally, An Impeached President Can't Appoint Judges'"[68]
- "China Official: We Will Only Negotiate with Obama"[69]

One particularly inflammatory headline "Barr's Investigation of ANTIFA Leads Directly to Barack Obama" was related to an article that falsely alleged Antifa was created by Barack Obama and George Soros—and funded with U.S. taxpayer dollars:

> "DOJ head William Barr, at the request of President Donald Trump, started an investigation into the ANTIFA and it falls directly at Barack Hussein Obama's feet. ANTIFA is the creation of Barack Obama and George Soros, and it is even partially funded with taxpayer money, something that will be coming to a swift end... Billions of dollars were flowing into the coffers of ANTIFA, the "grassroots" movement of liberals and leftists."[70]

The article, which was debunked by the Associated Press[71], was not annotated with any label on Facebook signifying it was false (or satirical) and was shared more than 300,000 times with a reach of more than 1.8 million users. Moreover, comments found on Facebook posts linking to the article indicate that social media users did not see this content as satire, e.g.:

- *"I didn't read anything but what I have seen what 39bama has done to this country he IS the root of all the problems along with soros and bill gates. It doesn't take an investigation to know that he is."*
- *"Not surprised, Obama needs to be arrested and prosecuted for treason"*
- *"SOROS an OBAMA DESERVE ALL THAT CAN BE DONE TO THEM. ..YOU KNOW THEIR IS A LONG LIST THAT NEEDS TO JOIN THEM. MAY THEY ALL PAY FOR THE EVIL THEY HAVE DONE."*

This satirical content, which was shared during the height of social justice protests in August and September, was found in groups alongside other repeat offender content alleging that George Soros was funding Black Lives Matter to overthrow the government[72], that Black Lives Matter and Antifa were working together to perpetrate violence in American cities[73], and, following the

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[67] Gunnington, Fallis. 2020. "Obama to Hold Biden Fundraiser at Bush Ranch." ALLOD-9. September 15, 2020. https://obamawatcher.com/2020/09/barack-bushified/.

[68] Gunnington, Fallis. 2020. "Obama : 'Legally, an Impeached President Can't Appoint Judges.'" ALLOD-9. September 21, 2020. https://obamawatcher.com/2020/09/misjudged/

[69] Gunnington, Fallis. 2020. "China Official : 'We Will Only Negotiate with Obama.'" ALLOD-9. October 9, 2020. https://obamawatcher.com/2020/10/obama-onlee/.

[70] Moorehead, Kraven. 2020. "Barr's Investigation of ANTIFA Leads Directly to Barack Obama." ALLOD-9. June 8, 2020. https://obamawatcher.com/2020/06/barrs-investigation-of-antifa-leads-directly-to-barack-obama/.

[71] "Barr Hasn't Announced That Obama Launched Antifa." n.d. AP NEWS. https://apnews.com/article/fact-checking-afs:Content:9547560033.

[72] Greenberg, Jay. n.d. "Giuliani: George Soros Is Funding Black Lives Matter to 'Overthrow Our Government.'" Neon Nettle. https://neonnettle.com/news/12439-giuliani-george-soros-is-funding-black-lives-matter-to-overthrow-our-government-.

[73] Hoft, Jim. 2020. "Antifa-Apologist Mazie Hirono Refuses to Denounce Antifa - Then Walks out of Briefing (VIDEO)." The Gateway Pundit. August 4, 2020. https://www.thegatewaypundit.com/2020/08/antifa-apologist-mazie-hirono-refuses-denounce-antifa-walks-briefing-video/.

killing of two civilians by a vigilante in Kenosha, Wisconsin, in August[74], Black Lives Matter was calling for retaliation killings of white people and "openly calling for a race war."[75] Below are the 20 most frequently appearing headlines from 11 different repeat offender sources that contained either "Black Lives Matter," "BLM," or "Antifa" in left-leaning Facebook groups. Notably, each of these headlines were found in both left-leaning and right-leaning groups:

- *VIDEO: BLM Chants 'F*@k your Jesus' and how Marxist Priests and Pastors give them cover*
- *'F*ck White People!' - BLM-Biden Supporters Scream at Elderly Couple Dining Outdoors in Pittsburgh, Steal Their Drinks Off Table (VIDEO)*
- *WATCH: BLM and Militia Come Together, Discuss How Police May Have Provoked Kenosha Violence*
- *Barr's Investigation of ANTIFA Leads Directly To Barack Obama*
- *BLM co-founder partners with communist China group*
- *BLM Supporters Beat Raccoon To Death With Baseball Bat To Protest Cops 'Treating Us Like Animals'*
- *BLM Supporter Randomly Shoots 3 People In The Head At Point-Blank Range In Cold Blood*
- *BLM Rioters Whine About Police Not Saving Them As Fed Up Patriots Beat Sh*t Out of Them*
- *1 year old Black boy shot dead in Pittsburgh gang shootout, no celebrities, no Democrats, no BLM protests*
- *"You Kill One of Us, It's Time for Us to Kill One of Yours!" - Kenosha Black Lives Matter Speaker Calls for Retaliation Killings Against Whites (VIDEO)*
- *"This Dude is Shooting at Us!" - BLM Militants Run For Their Lives After Milwaukee Homeowner Fires Warning Shots at Protesters in His Neighborhood (VIDEO)*
- *Black Lives Matter Bringing 'Protest Parties' to Trump Supporters' Homes, Facebook Account Still Active Despite Repeatedly Posting Addresses of Conservatives*
- *Black Lives Matter Activist Wearing 'Justice for Breonna Taylor' Shirt Walked into a Louisville Bar and Murdered Three People*
- *Trump's secret weapon revealed: Fourteenth Amendment allows the President to strip Electoral College votes from states supporting censorship against voters; enables mass arrests of mayors, governors and judges who support BLM*
- *WATCH: Violence Breaks Out as Conservatives Refuse to Back Down From Black Lives Matter Mob in Beverly Hills*
- *'We About to Go Get that MotherF***er! It's Time for Revolution!' BLM Threatens to Rip President Trump from White House*
- *VIDEOS: Black Lives Matter Mob Swarms HOSPITAL Where Deputies Were Being Treated After Being Ambushed, Threaten Police at Scene Saying 'You're Next'*
- *Man Accused of Hate Crime Yelled 'Black Lives Matter' Before Stabbing White Victim*
- *Seattle Black Lives Matter Rioters Tried to 'Burn Officers Alive' By Using Concrete To Seal Precinct Door Shut Before Starting Fire*
- *Satan's Followers: Black Lives Matter Protesters March in Charlotte Chanting "F**k Your Jesus" (VIDEO)*

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[74] CNN, Christina Maxouris, Paul P. Murphy and Nicole Chavez. n.d. "Kenosha Shooting Suspect Faces More Homicide Charges." CNN. https://www.cnn.com/2020/08/27/us/kenosha-wisconsin-shooting-suspect/index.html

[75] Hoft, Jim. 2020. "'You Kill One of Us, It's Time for Us to Kill One of Yours!' - Kenosha Black Lives Matter Speaker Calls for Retaliation Killings against Whites (VIDEO)." The Gateway Pundit. August 31, 2020. https://www.thegatewaypundit.com/2020/08/kill-one-us-time-us-kill-one-kenosha-black-lives-matter-speaker-calls-retaliation-killings-whites-video/.

These headlines alternatingly portrayed the Black Lives Matter movement as violent, extremist, leftist, anti-white, anti-Christian, anti-Trump, or pro-China. While it is not possible to assess the veracity of all these articles absent professional fact-checking, the variety of repeat offender sources from which these headlines emanated suggests a concerted effort to malign the movement and its activists. The sensational and incendiary nature of these headlines surely contributed to heightened fears and distrust of "the other," and exacerbated political and social tensions across the political spectrum.

SOCIAL MEDIA CONTENT MODERATION POLICIES & ACTIONS

The weaponization of social media platforms to advance harmful narratives that undermine election integrity is well-documented. In the wake of the 2016 U.S. election, The Oxford Internet Institute (OII) and Graphika co-authored a report submitted to the U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee substantiating efforts by the Russian Internet Research Agency (IRA) to exploit social media to "manufacture and spread junk news, manipulate public opinion, and subvert democratic processes."[76] The OII-Graphika report exposed a two-pronged strategy to engage identity groups, including left- and right-leaning audiences: deploy messaging "appealing to the narratives common within a specific group" and then post "content that intended to elicit outrage from these groups."[77] The report explained that the tactics deployed were designed to:

> *"polarize the US public and interfere in elections by campaigning for African American voters to boycott elections or follow the wrong voting procedures in 2016, and more recently for Mexican American and Hispanic voters to distrust US institutions; encouraging extreme right-wing voters to be more confrontational [and] spreading sensationalist, conspiratorial, and other forms of junk political news and misinformation to voters across the political spectrum."[78]*

Following the 2016 election, platforms largely geared election integrity efforts toward combatting foreign interference, with a specific focus on users and behavior patterns. In 2018, Twitter announced election integrity policies for authenticating,[79] de-platforming,[80] and publishing data on foreign "information operations."[81] In October 2019, Facebook announced election integrity policies that led with efforts aimed at "fighting foreign interference", including measures to disrupt "coordinated inauthentic behavior," authenticate domestic actors, and label state-backed media.[82] These policies and enforcement actions undoubtedly inhibited efforts by malign foreign actors from engaging in the kinds of influence operations undertaken in 2016;

[76] Philip N. Howard, Bharath Ganesh, & Dimitra Liotsiou. *The IRA, Social Media and Political Polarization in the United States, 2012-2018*. University of Oxford, Computational Propaganda Research Project. p. 39. https://demtech.oii.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/93/2018/12/IRA-Report-2018.pdf.
[77] Ibid, p. 18.
[78] Ibid, p. 3.
[79] Bridget Coyne. "Introducing US Election Labels for Midterm Candidates." Twitter Blog. May 23, 2018. https://blog.twitter.com/official/en_us/topics/company/2018/introducing-us-election-labels-for-midterm-candidates.html.
[80] Del Harvey and Yoel Roth. "An update on our elections integrity work." Twitter Blog. Oct. 1, 2018. https://blog.twitter.com/en_us/topics/company/2018/an-update-on-our-elections-integrity-work.html.
[81] Vijaya Gadde and Yoel Roth. "Enabling further research of information operations on Twitter." Twitter Blog. Oct. 17, 2018. https://blog.twitter.com/en_us/topics/company/2018/enabling-further-research-of-information-operations-on-twitter.html.
[82] Guy Rosen and Nathaniel Gleicher. "Helping to Protect the 2020 US Elections." Facebook. Oct. 21, 2019. https://about.fb.com/news/2019/10/update-on-election-integrity-efforts/.

however, they were insufficient to address the nature and level of domestic threats to election integrity witnessed in the 2020 election.

The strategies and tactics deployed to disseminate and spread election misinformation in the 2020 election were similar to those used by the IRA in 2016; the main difference, as noted by EIP, was that "much of the misinformation in the 2020 election was pushed by authentic, domestic actors, and platforms shifted their focus to address downstream harms related to the content itself."[83] In response to emerging threats observed during the 2020 election, Facebook and Twitter incrementally updated their election integrity policies. For example, in September, Facebook announced it would de-platform content that might deter voting, while Twitter announced it would label or de-platform content that "causes confusion," undermines confidence in the process, or contains misleading election results.[84] In October, Facebook announced it would remove calls for voter intimidation.[85] The evolution in policies demonstrates a level of responsiveness to threats that should be commended. However, as noted by EIP, "[t]he iterative nature of platform policies during the election season also indicates that, despite having seen certain narratives in previous elections that were predicted to appear again in 2020, many platforms did not proactively adapt policies to combat these narratives."[86]

While blame cannot be placed squarely on social media for the harms witnessed during the 2020 election and its aftermath, it is impossible to ignore the role of platforms in the information ecosystem, the volume of harmful misinformation narratives on their platforms, and the power they wield to blunt some of the harmful effects of misinformation. As noted by EIP:

> *"Ultimately, it is impossible to separate the events at the Capitol on January 6 from the narratives around voter fraud and a rigged election that began much earlier. As online speech turned into offline action, platform policy was the one line of defense, outside of the partisan leadership fueling the misinformation, that could deter this progression."*[87]

As responsible social media platforms most susceptible to repeat offender content, this section looks at the approaches taken by Facebook and Twitter to address misinformation in general and repeat offenders in particular. It is intended to highlight positive elements as well as challenges that may need to be addressed ahead of future elections. It is not intended as a comprehensive overview of platform policies and actions. For more detailed analysis, we recommend EIP's multi-platform analysis of social media policies during the 2020 Election published in March 2021[88] and The Partnership on AI's article on platform actions published in June 2021.[89]

[83] *The Long Fuse*, p. 208.
[84] "Expanding our policies to further protect the civic conversation." Twitter, Twitter Safety. September 10, 2019. https://blog.twitter.com/en_us/topics/company/2020/civic-integrity-policy-update.html.
[85] https://about.fb.com/news/2020/10/preparing-for-election-day
[86] *The Long Fuse*, p. 208.
[87] *The Long Fuse*, p. 225.
[88] "THE LONG FUSE: MISINFORMATION and the 2020 ELECTION." n.d. Election Integrity Partnership. https://stacks.stanford.edu/file/druid:tr171zs0069/EIP-Final-Report.pdf.
[89] Nieman Journalism Lab. 2021. "Shadow Bans, Fact-Checks, Info Hubs: The Big Guide to How Platforms Are Handling Misinformation in 2021," June 15, 2021. https://www.niemanlab.org/2021/06/shadow-bans-fact-checks-info-hubs-the-big-guide-to-how-platforms-are-handling-misinformation-in-2021/.

Facebook

Since the 2016 election, Facebook has ostensibly invested the most resources to fight misinformation, rolling out a series of product, policy, and operational changes aimed at disrupting economic incentives to distribute "fake news," building new products to curb its spread, and helping users make more informed decisions when they encounter false news.[90] At the core of Facebook's efforts to counter misinformation in general is its third-party fact-checking program, conducted in partnership with the Poynter Institute's International Fact Checking Network (IFCN).[91] Through this program, IFCN-certified partners access a database of potentially false posts containing links, images, videos, plain text, etc. from which they can select content they deem worthy of fact-checking.[92] Partners rate content, and when they rate it as false or misleading, Facebook takes enforcement actions that include, but are not limited to:

- Reducing the distribution of content through algorithmic downranking
- Adding a warning label
- Prompting a warning before people share the content
- Preventing the ability to "boost" it as an advertisement[93]

To maximize the impact of fact-checking efforts, Facebook leverages artificial intelligence (AI) to find re-posts or variations of content and take corresponding enforcement action. Boasting about its efficacy, Facebook announced that between March 1, 2020, and Election Day, it displayed warning labels on over 180 million pieces of debunked content viewed by U.S.-based users.[94] While an impressive statistic, it is difficult to evaluate its true significance within the context of the 2020 election without supplementary data indicating what proportion of this content was election-related and what proportion consisted of re-posts and variations.

Facebook touted the effectiveness of warning labels on COVID-19 misinformation in 2020: "[W]hen people saw those warning labels, 95% of the time they did not go on to view the original content."[95] An independent study by MIT researchers found similar results with respect to political misinformation: Applying warning labels on misinformation had a statistically significant effect on reducing user engagement and perceptions of accuracy—particularly for false headlines that were consistent with one's political ideology.[96] However, the same MIT study also found that the absence of labels had an "implied truth effect," whereby false headlines that failed to get tagged were considered validated and thus accurate:

[90] Facebook. 2020. "Working to Stop Misinformation and False News." Working to Stop Misinformation and False News | Facebook Media. 2020. https://www.facebook.com/formedia/blog/working-to-stop-misinformation-and-false-news.
[91] "Fact-Checking on Facebook." n.d. Facebook Business Help Center. https://www.facebook.com/business/help/2593586717571940?id=673052479947730.
[92] "Rating Options for Fact-Checkers." n.d. Facebook Business Help Center. https://www.facebook.com/business/help/341102040382165?id=673052479947730.
[93] "Facebook's Enforcement of Fact-Checker Ratings." n.d. Facebook Business Help Center. https://www.facebook.com/business/help/297022994952764?id=673052479947730.
[94] "A Look at Facebook and US 2020 Elections" Facebook. https://about.fb.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/US-2020-Elections-Report.pdf
[95] Rosen, Guy. 2020. "An Update on Our Work to Keep People Informed and Limit Misinformation about COVID-19." About Facebook. April 16, 2020. https://about.fb.com/news/2020/04/covid-19-misinfo-update/.
[96] Pennycook, Gordon et al. "The Implied Truth Effect: Attaching Warnings to a Subset of Fake News Headlines Increases Perceived Accuracy of Headlines Without Warnings." Management Science 66, 11 (Nov. 2020)

"[I]t is likely that many more false headlines will be untagged than tagged, given that it is vastly easier to produce fake news (which can even be done by bots) than to debunk it. Thus, it may be that a relatively small Implied Truth Effect is present for a great many false headlines while a somewhat larger Warning Effect is only present for a comparatively small number of false headlines – and, as a result, the net effect of the warning may emerge as an increase in misperceptions."[97]

Moreover, given that fact-checking and labelling always lags behind publication, there is an unavoidable implied truth effect for all false content prior to fact-checking and labelling:

"[E]ven for stories that are eventually shown to be false – and tagged accordingly – there will be an initial period of time in which an untagged version of the headline is circulating. Our results suggest that during this initial phase, which is particularly crucial given the fact that initially formed impressions are notoriously difficult to change, these headlines may benefit from the fact that other headlines are tagged with warnings."[98]

Although the impact of Facebook's approach of tagging debunked content with warning labels is clear, the primary challenge for the platform is one of scale. The amount of content on Facebook that could undermine election integrity—let alone other forms of harmful content—far outstrips the capacity of fact-checkers. At the time of writing, there are 87 IFCN-certified organizations worldwide, of which 10 are U.S.-based, tasked with fact-checking content across Facebook and Instagram.[99] Given the volume and velocity of content, it is inevitable that the lion's share of likely false content will not be fact-checked or labelled—even with AI-augmented detection.

A secondary challenge for the platform is one of prioritization: Allowing fact-checking partners to determine what should be fact checked means that content that could threaten election integrity is not inherently prioritized for evaluation unless fact-checkers independently choose to do so. Relatedly, allowing fact-checking partners to select content for fact-checking leaves the program—and by extension Facebook—susceptible to accusations of selection bias and, in turn, political bias, that may sap the potency of labelling.[100] While these challenges should not deter Facebook's laudable fact-checking efforts, they should prompt broad discussions about steps that can be taken to bolster fact-checking capacity, target election-related misinformation effectively, and reduce potential bias and perceptions thereof.

The benefit of algorithmic downranking and removing the ability to "boost" misinformation content is self-evident—and necessary to avoid the drowning out of trustworthy news: In 2018, MIT researchers found that false and misleading news travels six times faster than accurate and reliable information and is 70% more likely to be retweeted.[101] The same study found that political misinformation traveled three times faster and reached wider audiences than any other

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[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.
[99] "IFCN Code of Principles." n.d. Poynter Institute. https://www.ifcncodeofprinciples.poynter.org/signatories.
[100] "Republicans Far More Likely than Democrats to Say Fact-Checkers Tend to Favor One Side." Pew Research Center. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/06/27/republicans-far-more-likely-than-democrats-to-say-fact-checkers-tend-to-favor-one-side/.

[101] "The spread of true and false news online" Soroush Vosoughi, Deb Roy, Sinan Aral, *Science,* 09 Mar 2018, Vol. 359, Issue 6380, pp. 1146-1151.

type of misinformation.[102] Consequently, domains that generate political misinformation receive higher visibility and more clicks, often earning more website traffic than comparable media outlets that publish trustworthy information—or even non-political misinformation. This provides an incentive for repeat offenders to spread as much political misinformation as quickly as possible before it can be fact-checked, gaming the system to turn clicks into ad dollars.[103]

Beyond to its fact-checking program, Facebook leverages algorithmic methods to downrank likely misinformation, notably "clickbait" headlines[104] and links that point to "ad farms."[105] These interventions have been touted as part of continued efforts "to reduce fake news and clickbait, and to destroy the economic incentives for spammers to generate these articles in the first place."[106] Downranking clickbait headlines may help mitigate the harms posed by repeat offenders noted in this report; however, the majority of repeat offender headlines surfaced in right and left-leaning groups do not appear to meet the definition of "clickbait" headlines, based on examples provided by Facebook.[107] Moreover, given that Facebook does not publish data about enforcement actions, it is not possible to evaluate which content or domains have been affected and how much downranked content was election-related misinformation.

And while downranking links that point to ad farms would have undercut the economic incentives of Macedonian teens creating hoax news sites in 2016, it is unclear what effect it had on the domestic misinformation repeat offender domains that were prominently found in right- and left-leaning Facebook groups during the 2020 election. According to research conducted by The German Marshall Fund, the amount of engagement with repeat offenders on Facebook during the 2020 U.S. election increased by 102 percent from the 2016 election.[108] In October 2020, the Global Disinformation Index estimated that 200 domains known to spread of election misinformation raked in more than $1 million per month in ad revenue ahead of the November election.[109]

Facebook has a policy that penalizes Facebook pages, groups, accounts, and domains that have repeatedly shared content debunked by fact-checking partners. It:

- Reduces distribution of all these accounts' content through algorithmic downranking.
- Prevents content from being recommended.
- Removes the ability of Pages or accounts to monetize and advertise content.

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[102] Ibid.

[103] A 2019 Global Disinformation Index report examining Google and other advertising technology that automatically serves ads on high traffic sites found that sites that publish misinformation rake in an estimated $235 million annually in ad revenue. "The Quarter Billion Dollar Question: How is Disinformation Gaming Ad Tech?", Global Disinformation Index, 2019, p5. https://disinformationindex.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/GDI_Ad-tech_Report_Screen_AW16.pdf.

[104] "New Updates to Reduce Clickbait Headlines." 2017. About Facebook. May 17, 2017. https://about.fb.com/news/2017/05/news-feed-fyi-new-updates-to-reduce-clickbait-headlines/.

[105] "Working to Stop Misinformation and False News - about Facebook." 2017. About Facebook. April 6, 2017. https://about.fb.com/news/2017/04/working-to-stop-misinformation-and-false-news/.

[106] Ibid.

[107] "Drive Reach and Referrals without Clickbait." n.d. Drive Reach and Referrals without Clickbait | Facebook Media. https://www.facebook.com/formedia/blog/drive-reach-and-referrals-without-clickbait.

[108] Karen Kornbluh, Adrienne Goldstein, and Eli Weiner. "New Study by Digital New Deal Finds Engagement with Deceptive Outlets Higher on Facebook Today Than Run-up to 2016 Election." Oct. 12, 2020. *German Marshall Fund of the United States*. https://www.gmfus.org/blog/2020/10/12/new-study-digital-new-deal-finds-engagement-deceptive-outlets-higher-facebook-today.

[109] "GDI Primer: The U.S (Disinformation Ecosystem." n.d. Global Disinformation Index. https://disinformationindex.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/GDI_Election-2020-Primer_Digital.pdf

- Prevents Pages associated with domains a News Page on Facebook[110]

This policy, if consistently enforced, should have reduced—and possibly did reduce—the visibility of repeat offender content on Facebook, notably the content surfaced in this report. However, the extent to which this policy is enforced—and its impact—is unclear because the platform has not published any information that would facilitate evaluation. Given the volume of content from repeat offender domains spread across Facebook groups, it would appear that this policy and related enforcement actions are inadequate for addressing the threat posed by repeat offenders.

In May 2021, Facebook introduced a new policy of placing labels on pages that repeatedly spread misinformation, adding context to inform users that the page may not be trustworthy:

> *"We want to give people more information before they like a Page that has repeatedly shared content that fact-checkers have rated, so you'll see a pop up if you go to like one of these Pages. You can also click to learn more, including that fact-checkers said some posts shared by this Page include false information and a link to more information about our fact-checking program. This will help people make an informed decision about whether they want to follow the Page."[111]*

This should help make users less susceptible to potentially false and misleading content spread by misinformation repeat offenders and reduce the number of shares of dubious content. However, while labelling Pages as repeat offenders is a positive step, it seemingly does not apply to domains. While content from those domains may be downranked in accordance with Facebook's policy on repeat offenders, users have no way to discern the integrity of the source as they do with Pages. Thus, a domain's page may be labelled as false, but not content emanating from the domain itself.

Twitter

Twitter does not have a uniform misinformation policy, choosing instead to focus its efforts on addressing false or misleading content related to specific topics, such as COVID-19[112] and civic integrity, which includes election integrity.[113] These topic-specific policies specify what content is considered a violation and subject to removal or labelling. Specifically, Twitter has identified four categories of election-related misinformation that constitute policy violations:

- Misleading information about how to participate
- Suppression and intimidation
- Misleading information about outcomes

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[110] "Facebook's Enforcement of Fact-Checker Ratings." n.d. Facebook Business Help Center. https://www.facebook.com/business/help/297022994952764?id=673052479947730.
While the definition of what constitutes "repeatedly" is not articulated in its policy, it seems to mean at least more than once. Moreover, the policy also provides misinformation repeat offenders the opportunity to rehabilitate their status: "Over time, pages, groups, accounts and domains can restore their distribution and ability to monetize and advertise if they stop sharing misinformation."[110] While the duration of "over time" is ambiguous, it is presumably communicated to the repeat offender source to help facilitate status rehabilitation.
[111] "Taking Action against People Who Repeatedly Share Misinformation." 2021. About Facebook. May 26, 2021. https://about.fb.com/news/2021/05/taking-action-against-people-who-repeatedly-share-misinformation/.
[112] "Updates to Our Work on COVID-19 Vaccine Misinformation." n.d. Blog.twitter.com. https://blog.twitter.com/en_us/topics/company/2021/updates-to-our-work-on-covid-19-vaccine-misinformation.
[113] "Civic Integrity Policy." n.d. Help.twitter.com. https://help.twitter.com/en/rules-and-policies/election-integrity-policy.

- False or misleading affiliation (e.g., fake accounts of contestants, election officials, etc.)[114]

Within these categories, Twitter's elaboration of content that constitutes a violation is thoughtful and well-articulated. Enforcement actions include content removal where posts contain misleading information about how to participate or constitute suppression and intimidation, and labelling to provide additional information for content that is not removed. The policy further articulates penalties associated with content that is labelled:

> *"In circumstances where we do not remove content which violates this policy, we may provide additional context on Tweets sharing the content where they appear on Twitter. This means we may:*
> - *Apply a label and/or warning message to the content where it appears in the Twitter product.*
> - *Show a warning to people before they share or like the content.*
> - *Turn off people's ability to reply, Retweet, or like the Tweet.*
> - *Reduce the visibility of the content on Twitter and/or prevent it from being recommended.*
> - *Provide a link to additional explanations or clarifications, such as in a Twitter Moment or relevant Twitter policies; and/or*
> - *Turn off likes, replies, and Retweets.*
>
> *In most cases, we will take all of the above actions on Tweets we label."[115]*

In November 2020, Twitter announced that approximately 300,000 tweets were labeled in accordance with its civic integrity policy between Oct. 27 and Nov. 11, 2020, representing 0.2 % of all U.S. election-related tweets during this period.[116] Of this total, 456 were barred from being retweeted, creating friction intended to reduce spread that resulted in a 29% decrease in content sharing.[117] While this approach appears to be thoughtful and seems effective, additional data about the content itself and its relevance to the electoral process is needed to truly assess the significance of these policy enforcement actions. Moreover, Twitter does not have a fact-checking program, which prompts questions about how content was identified for evaluation and assigned a label, and the sophistication of its evaluation process.

In January 2021, Twitter launched an experimental, "community-based" program to identify and label misinformation called Birdwatch. Through this program, users can flag tweets that are false or misleading and provide context notes that will be made visible if there is sufficient consensus from a "broad and diverse" set of contributors. The goal of this effort is to better scale the process of finding and refuting misinformation, relying on the "wisdom of the crowd" acting in good faith. While the program remains in pilot phase, early research conducted by the Poynter Institute has identified problems such as low participation and partisan bias.[118]

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[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.
[116] "An Update on Our Work around the 2020 US Elections." n.d. Blog.twitter.com.
https://blog.twitter.com/en_us/topics/company/2020/2020-election-update.
[117] Ibid.
[118] "Analysis: Twitter's Crowdsourced Fact-Checking Experiment Reveals Problems," Poynter Institute February 18, 2021.
https://www.poynter.org/fact-checking/2021/analysis-twitters-crowdsourced-fact-checking-experiment-reveals-problems/.

Twitter's civic integrity policy includes a "strike"-based policy to determine enforcement actions against repeat offenders:

> *"Repeated violations of this policy are enforced against on the basis of the number of strikes an account has accrued for violations of this policy:*
> - *1 strike: No account-level action*
> - *2 strikes: 12-hour account lock*
> - *3 strikes: 12-hour account lock*
> - *4 strikes: 7-day account lock*
> - *5 or more strikes: Permanent suspension"[119]*

In contrast with Facebook's repeat offender policy, which specifically includes penalties for repeat offender domains, Twitter's policy ostensibly only applies to users. Consequently, it is unclear what action, if any, is taken to sanction content emanating from domains.

Positives and Challenges

There are no easy solutions that could prevent the dissemination and spread of all false and misleading information on social media; however, both Facebook and Twitter have taken positive steps that merit recognition. In particular, Facebook's third-party fact-checking program and policy of labelling misinformation are commendable and demonstrably effective. Facebook's policy of sanctioning repeat offenders by downranking the appearance of domains is laudable, while Facebook's recent announcement that it will label Facebook Pages that are known repeat offenders should blunt the effects of misinformation that emanate from those pages. Twitter's election integrity policy on misinformation is well-crafted, and barring retweets of misinformation is ostensibly effective. However, neither platform provides data or is transparent about its enforcement actions, precluding true evaluations of the extent to which policies are being enforced and their effect on reducing the spread of election-related misinformation.

While both platforms should be commended for measures taken thus far, there are obvious weaknesses and limitations in misinformation and repeat offender policies and enforcement. These include:

- Facebook's third-party fact-checking program cannot keep pace with the spread of misinformation content that could undermine election integrity.
- Facebook's labelling is effective in terms of blunting the effects of misinformation—but also counterproductive where content is not labelled (because of the implied truth effect).
- Facebook's policy of labelling repeat offender pages, while positive, only addresses one dimension of repeat offender activity, ignoring the impact of repeat offender domains.
- Twitter's lack of a credible, nonpartisan fact-checking program raises questions about the integrity of its evaluation of false and misleading content.
- Twitter's limited focus on sanctioning users ignores the impact of repeat offender domains entirely.

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[119] "Civic Integrity Policy." n.d. Help.twitter.com. https://help.twitter.com/en/rules-and-policies/election-integrity-policy.

It is evident that responsible social media platforms have undertaken considerable efforts to mitigate the spread and reach of misinformation on their platforms. It is also evident that they must continually reform policies and take further actions to reduce the harms posed by misinformation in general and repeat offenders specifically. Given that fact-checking alone can't keep up with the speed and scale of misinformation that drowns out news from trustworthy sources, alternative policy solutions and actions must be considered.

CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

During the 2020 U.S. election and its aftermath, myriad forces—politicians, influencers, hyper-partisan media, and ordinary users—coalesced to advance "The Big Lie" and other harmful misinformation narratives on major social media platforms. While the network dynamics that facilitated the spread of misinformation were loose-knit and sprawling, repeat offenders provided integral connective tissue in the multidirectional spread of misinformation. Authentic, domestic misinformation repeat offender sources decontextualized, spliced, and reframed individual data points and out-of-context information into broader narrative frames for consumption—and ostensibly coordinated to reinforce and amplify these narratives before they could be debunked. These narratives disproportionately focused on baseless allegations of voter fraud, emanated from seemingly authoritative media outlets that conferred a veneer of legitimacy on the content, and metastasized within partisan echo chambers. As a consequence of "The Big Lie" pushed by repeat offenders, "the attack on the US Capitol will forever stand as testament to the violence that echo chambers, online rhetoric, and sustained misinformation can unleash on the world."[120]

At a March 2021 congressional hearing, "Big Tech" leaders touted their efforts to curb harmful election-related misinformation while downplaying the roles of their respective platforms in the broader information ecosystem.[121] When pressed by lawmakers, Twitter CEO Jack Dorsey acknowledged that Twitter had contributed to the spread of misinformation and the planning of the Jan. 6 Capitol insurrection, with the caveat that "you also have to take into consideration the broader ecosystem. It's not just about the technological systems that we use."[122] Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg struck a similar note, arguing that any election-related misinformation spread on its platform must be placed in the larger political and media context.[123] While blame cannot be placed squarely at the foot of social media platforms, downplaying the role of platforms in the information ecosystem in the 2020 election is, at best, naïve. It is also difficult to understate the immense authority Big Tech leaders have over content that appears on their platforms and the power they wield to intervene and mitigate harms of which they are—or should be—aware.

While existing policies and interventions by responsible social media platforms have played a meaningful role in blunting the effects of misinformation and repeat offenders, they are clearly inadequate to address the problem of "coordinated authentic behavior" by repeat offenders aimed at undermining election integrity. The evolution and persistence of "The Big Lie"—and its

[120] *The Long Fuse*, p. 114.
[121] "Hearing on 'Disinformation Nation: Social Media's Role in Promoting Extremism and Misinformation.'" 2021. Democrats, Energy and Commerce Committee. March 25, 2021. https://energycommerce.house.gov/committee-activity/hearings/hearing-on-disinformation-nation-social-medias-role-in-promoting
[122] Conger, Kate. 2021. "Big Tech C.E.O.s Face Lawmakers on Disinformation." The New York Times, March 25, 2021, sec. Business. https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/03/25/business/social-media-disinformation.
[123] Ibid.

consequences—illuminated novel threats to election integrity and underscored the need for policy reforms and actions to mitigate those threats in the future. It would be naïve to assume that threats to election integrity witnessed during the 2020 election were aberrations attributable to specific actors or circumstances. In their testimony before congress in March, Big Tech leaders acknowledged the need for more proactive and effective inventions, positing potential solutions ranging from the development of clear and accessible content moderation policies, to increased levels of transparency about enforcement actions, to the establishment of information- and knowledge-sharing mechanisms to address cross-platform problems. These and other proactive solutions would theoretically help prevent and address some harms, notably those arising from platform-agnostic misinformation repeat offenders that are sanctioned asymmetrically in accordance with distinct, and often opaque, platform policies.

Ahead of the 2022 and 2024 U.S. elections, responsible social media platforms must reform their policies and actions to address the threat to election integrity posed by repeat offenders. These and other interventions may prompt heightened "techlash" against Facebook, Twitter, and other major platforms by factions who argue Big Tech wields excessive authority over online speech.[124] While this obviously places social media platforms in a precarious political situation, it cannot preclude proactive and reasonable reform efforts. These reforms should be grounded in human rights principles to protect freedom of expression and mitigate real-world harms.[125] Toward that end, the following recommendations are offered for consideration in the spirit of cooperation and shared interest in safeguarding election integrity:

Increase Labelling & Downranking Actions
- **Apply warning labels on all links shared from repeat offender domains.** Facebook warning labels have proven to be effective at reducing engagement, and Facebook's recent announcement that it would begin labelling repeat offender Pages is a step in the right direction. This approach should be extended to include content emanating from repeat offender domains and adopted by all social media platforms.
- **Alert users that the content emanates from a repeat offender prior to allowing them to share.** To provide users with additional context that may give them pause and create friction that could slow the spread of possible misinformation, consideration should be given to adding pop-up alerts when users attempt to share or retweet content from repeat offender sources. This would reduce the unwitting spread of potential false or misleading information.
- **Consider limiting the number of direct shares of posts containing repeat offender links.** Limiting the number of shares of posts containing repeat offender links would reduce the spread of potential misinformation. WhatsApp limits the number of direct message forwards to five to curb viral misinformation spread. When Twitter has barred direct retweets of false information, it has found a 29% decrease in content sharing.

[124] Adedayo Akala. "Don't Censor! Stop The Hoaxes! Facebook, Twitter Face A Catch-22." *NPR*. Oct. 16, 2020. https://www.npr.org/2020/10/16/924625825/dont-censor-stop-the-hoaxes-facebook-twitter-face-a-catch-22.
[125] In accordance with the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (UNGPs), social media platforms are obliged to take proactive measures to mitigate adverse human rights impacts that result from their business practices: UNGP Principle 13: "The responsibility to respect human rights requires that business enterprises: 1, Avoid causing or contributing to adverse human rights impacts through their own activities, and address such impacts when they occur; and 2. Seek to prevent or mitigate adverse human rights impacts that they are directly linked to by their operations, products, or services through their business relationships, even if they have not caused or contributed to those impacts."
Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, p. 19.

- **Downrank the appearance of posts containing links to content from repeat offender**. Platforms should ensure that posts containing these links do not appear as prominently as content from other sources. Facebook already has a policy of downranking repeat offender links; however, it is unclear to what extent this is being enforced. Twitter seemingly has no such policy.
- **Limit functionality on repeat offender accounts**. In addition to applying warning labels and having their content downranked, repeat offenders should lose additional functionality on their accounts, such as the ability to run ads, share live video/audio, post videos and/or share content and engage in groups.
- **Remove repeat offenders from any recommendation engines or search results.** No accounts, pages, or groups that repeatedly create, house, and spread misinformation should be eligible to be shown as a recommendation to someone nor should they appear in search results.

Increase Policy Clarity and Consistency
- **Develop and institute policies in a fair, consistent, and transparent way.** While we know that achieving 100% perfection is unrealistic and that platforms need to quickly adapt to new tactics and threats, platforms can do more to communicate and prepare people for policy changes as well as to ensure a proper method for appeals.
- **Establish a cross-platform definition of what constitutes misinformation and a repeat offender.** Every platform, researcher, or media organization has its own definition of misinformation and criteria for what constitutes a repeat offender. The industry should work together with researchers to come up with a common definition that is transparent and that everyone can use.
- **Establish a cross-platform repository of repeat offender sources.** Repeat offenders are not confined to a single platform and sharing information about known repeat offenders and domains associated with them would facilitate cross-platform interventions to apply sanctions and limit their harms. Consideration should be given to seeking assistance from The Poynter Institute's International Fact-Checking Network to develop and maintain this repository.
- **Increase transparency by publishing data on repeat offenders and enforcement actions.** Publishing information on repeat offenders—specifically their accounts, domains associated with those accounts, and enforcement actions taken against them— via platform interfaces would increase awareness of repeat offenders and reduce unwitting spread of their content. Such data would also publicly demonstrate responsiveness on the part of platforms and facilitate independent evaluation of the effectiveness and impact of such responses.

Increase Support for Fact-Checking Efforts
- **Invest resources to expand professional fact-checking capacity.** The current volume of misinformation greatly outstrips the existing capacity of fact-checkers. While more investment in people to do fact-checking is always needed, investments must also be made in algorithmic detection and other methods to scale their work. Although it is impossible to keep pace with misinformation, such efforts are critical for debunking individual pieces of content and identifying repeat offenders.

- **Prioritize evaluation of content that could undermine election integrity.** In addition to increasing fact-checking capacity, prioritizing the evaluation of content that could potentially undermine election integrity across partisan lines is necessary and important. Such prioritization should *always* be in place—not just during the six months before a general election—and should be topic- or keyword-based rather than source-based to minimize possible selection bias and perceptions thereof.
- **Expand partnerships with authoritative election information sources to debunk content**. In 2020, many platforms partnered with authoritative sources of information to expedite misinformation debunking and the identification of repeat offenders. Platforms should continue to explore partnerships with authoritative sources of election information that often cited by fact-checkers, such as the National Association of Secretaries of State and the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, to help amplify correct information on where, when, and how to vote.

Increase Artificial Intelligence-Augmented Detection Efforts
- **Invest resources to develop and test artificial intelligence methods to detect misinformation variants.** Facebook's AI-augmented detection methods to find copies, shares, and minor variations of debunked content have made great strides but still have much room to improve. Often, stories use the same debunked claims presented in different ways, so efforts to identify variants of debunked claims should be explored and tested across all platforms.
- **Invest in resources to detect misinformation in audio and video.** While much work has been done on detecting misinformation in text on social media platforms, detecting misinformation in audio and video content is much harder. Given the amount of misinformation on platforms like YouTube and the rise of new products such as Clubhouse and Twitter Spaces, it's imperative that work is done to speed up detection in these media formats.
- **Plan ahead.** The repeat offenders of today won't necessarily be the same repeat offenders in the future. Well in advance of an election, platforms should start planning for, researching, and monitoring possible repeat offenders and working on new ways to detect them.

About The Authors

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About The Carter Center

Founded in 1982 by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter and his wife, Rosalynn, The Carter Center seeks to advance human rights and alleviate human suffering worldwide. For more than three decades, The Carter Center has been a pioneer of election observation, monitoring more than 100 elections and forging many of the techniques now common to the field. The Carter Center has worked to advance electoral integrity through independent, nonpartisan observation in accordance with democratic election standards.

Annex A - Social Media Echo Chambers

While no two user experiences on social media are identical, personalization algorithms guarantee that experiences are similar. Personalization algorithms may be viewed positively in the sense that they "uprank" content from the friends and family members with whom you interact on a frequent basis, helping to ensure that you don't miss their status updates amid a flurry of potentially less relevant content.[126] At the same time, platforms such as Facebook and Twitter provide recommendations of political pages to like, groups to join, and accounts to follow using algorithms tuned by your behavioral activity. For example, if you share content from the Republican Party's Facebook page and like articles from foxnews.com, Facebook may prompt you to like pages that other users who like those pages and articles also like, such as Breitbart or Newsmax, and to join groups where similar content is frequently shared.[127] If you share content from the Democratic Party's Twitter account and like articles from msnbc.com, Twitter may nudge you to follow CNN or The New York Times and recommend tweets for you that users with similar behavioral patterns have liked. Consequently, left- and right-leaning social media users, coaxed by algorithms, are ushered into like-minded communities, forging partisan echo chambers in which content from the same media sources is amplified and reinforced.

It is widely held that in 2016, malign interference by the Kremlin-backed Internet Research Agency (IRA) was abetted by the existence of social media echo chambers that provided fertile ground in which bias-confirming narratives could take root and spread. Reflecting on the 2016 election, Stanford law professor Nathan Persily observed, "the Internet's unprecedented ability to facilitate the targeted delivery of relevant information, marketing, and even friendship also leads to the bubbles, filters, and echo chambers that shelter people from information that might challenge the messages sent to them by campaigns, partisan media, or social networks."[128] In the aftermath of the 2016 U.S. election and "Brexit" referendum, Harvard professors Yochai Benkler, Robert Faris, and Hal Roberts noted the disorienting effect of echo chambers and the potential consequences for democracy worldwide:

> *"Technological processes beyond the control of any person or country— the convergence of social media, algorithmic news curation, bots, artificial intelligence, and big data analysis—were creating echo chambers that reinforced our biases, were removing indicia of trustworthiness, and were generally overwhelming our capacity to make sense of the world, and with it our capacity to govern ourselves as reasonable democracies."[129]*

Other academics have raised concerns that echo chambers breed hostility and incubate extreme views that can trigger real-world violence. Well before the 2016 U.S. election, Harvard law

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[126] https://engineering.fb.com/2021/01/26/ml-applications/news-feed-ranking/

[127] In January 2021, CEO Mark Zuckerberg announced Facebook will permanently stop recommending political and civic groups to users.
Elizabeth Culliford. "Facebook says it will permanently stop recommending political groups to users." *Reuters*. Jan. 27, 2021. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-facebook-groups/facebook-says-it-will-permanently-stop-recommending-political-groups-to-users-idUSKBN29X00C.

[128] Nathan Persily. "Can Democracy Survive the Internet?", April 2017. *Journal of Democracy*, April 2017. p.72. https://www-cdn.law.stanford.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/07_28.2_Persily-web.pdf.

[129] Yochai Benkler, Robert Faris, and Hal Roberts. *Propaganda: Misinformation, Disinformation, and Radicalization in American Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 4. http://fdslive.oup.com/www.oup.com/academic/pdf/ Network openaccess/9780190923624.pdf.

professor Cass Sunstein warned of "the potentially dangerous role of social cascades, including 'cybercascades,' in which information, whether true or false, spreads like wildfire" and "the pervasive risk that discussion among like-minded people will breed excessive confidence, extremism, contempt for others, and sometimes even violence."[130]

Conventional wisdom holds that the establishment of irreconcilable paradigms constructed on the bases of different "facts" imparted by discrete sources of "authoritative" information inhibits the necessary common understanding for civil political discourse and rational disagreement. Put in simpler terms: "[E]cho chambers ringing with false news make democracies ungovernable."[131] Empirical research offers a complex picture of how social media echo chambers impact political discourse and behavior. For example, one study found that the widespread perception of polarization on social media is due to a minority of highly active and visible individuals responsible for an overwhelming majority of hyper-partisan content.[132] Another study found individual user choices had more impact than Facebook's algorithms in terms of limiting exposure to attitude-challenging content.[133] Yet another found discussion among like-minded users on Facebook reinforced polarization, increased the likelihood that false information would be accepted as truth, and fostered increased levels of negative emotion among users— particularly those users exposed to conspiracy theories.[134] And while there is no evidence linking online echo chambers to offline violence, studies have shown participation in homogenous discussion groups with like-minded peers fosters increased adoption of more extreme positions.[135]

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[130] Republic.com, Cass Sunstein, 2001, p. 14
[131] Ibid, p. 5.
[132] Barberá, P., & Rivero, G. (2015). Understanding the political representativeness of Twitter users. *Social Science Computer Review, 33*(6), 712–729.
[133] Bakshy, E., Messing, S., & Adamic, L. A. (2015). Exposure to ideologically diverse news and opinion on Facebook. *Science, 348*(6239), 1130–1132.
[134] Del Vicario, M., Vivaldo, G., Bessi, A. et al. Echo Chambers: Emotional Contagion and Group Polarization on Facebook. *Sci Rep* 6, 37825 (2016). https://doi.org/10.1038/srep37825.
[135] D.G. Myers and H. Lamm. The group polarization phenomenon. *Psychological Bulletin*, 83(4), (1976), p.602.

Annex B – Facebook Groups Present in Analysis

I GREW UP IN MISSION HILL EXTENSION CLUB	Lincoln County, Nevada Republican Party
"We the People" ONE Nation	Liz Wheeler / Tipping Point OAN (One America News Network OANN) Fans Group
#AsianforTrump-AZGOPAAC	Liz wheeler fans
#Flint	lock Her Up
#LEXIT	LOCK HIM UP #45
#NO_ID2020	Lone Star Patriots (a non profit grass roots organization)
#RESIST JOE BIDE -TRUMP 2020 - OAN - Newsmax - The War Room Patriots	LOU DOBBS ROCKS! Tell us why you love LOU!
#StopTheBias	Love America
#TrumpsRedHatArmy —— #Trump2020	LUNA COUNTY DEMOCRATS
#WalkAwayArizona	MABA Make Alexandria Bartender Again
#YallGoneStopKillingUs	MAGA COUNTRY
* رویــدادهــا *	MAGA NEWS
...BEAUTIFUL BLACK WOMEN...	MAGA PATRIOTS
"We The People" of Georgia	Make California Great Again us
《GCC》Greenville County Conservatives & Republicans United	Make Hawaii Red Again
🅒 Connect The Dots #ConnectDaDots 🅒	Make New York Red
☆ ☆Save America☆ ☆ ◆ Keep America Great!! ◆	Make NJ RED - TRUMP 2020
1,000,000 Friends of Barack Obama	Making America Great Again
100 MILLION INDIGENOUS FACEBOOK USERS... FREEDOM OF SPEECH POWER	Making America Greater Together!
2020 Ridin' with Biden Express	Malcolm Nance Fans
2A Sanctuary Counties	Marshall County Democrats
A Christian Look At American Politics! Obsessed With $$$ Sex & Power?	Maryland Democrats
A More Perfect Union 2021	Maryland for Biden/Harris 2020
Abilene Tea Party	MATERIAL PLANET
Adams County Council of Republican Women	McHenry Conservatives
Adams County Events & Happenings	Memories of Growing Up in Terry, Ms.
African American Economic Recovery Think Tank Forum	MERIDIAN SMALL BUSINESS
Africans and friends who love president Donald J Trump	Mexicans for Donald Trump
Aggie Women for Biden/Harris	MIAMI LATIN NEWS
Alabama for Biden/Harris 2020	Michigan Conservatives
Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, for President 2028	Michigan Men for Biden
Al-JAZEERA ENGLISH	Millennial Democrats- America
ALL ABOARD THE TRUMP TRAIN	Milo Yiannopoulos Free Speech Topics
All Conservatives Matter	Mindy Robinson for Congress

All Hands On Deck	Mississippi Blue- A Movement for Justice, Equality, and Voting Rights
All Things #trumpvictory	Mississippi Democratic Club
America 2020 · Америка 2020	Monument Valley Bulletin
America First	Mountain Politics
America First Movement	My America, My Home
America First, Our Constitution	MY BLACK TAMPA
AMERICA FOR BIDEN 2020	MY PRESIDENT 🛩
America is TRUMP!	Naperville Township Democrats Discussion Group
America Unfinished	Nationwide Support for Donald J. Trump
America United	Native Americans for Biden
American Association of Deplorables	Native Americans for TRUMP
AMERICAN CHRISTIANS TRUMP	NC Democrats & Progressives
American Patriots	NC Legislative Black Caucus
American Patriots us	NEPA for Joe
American Soldier Network	Nepalese American For BIDEN IN NORTH CAROLINA
American Unity	Nevada County Republican Women Federated
American Women's Coalition	Nevada For Biden Group
Americans Against Trump Commited ELECTORS and DELEGATES	Nevada for Joe Biden 2020
Americans for M.A.G.A. THE TRUTH AND NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH	New Jersey for Joe Biden 2020
Americans For Sanity	New York for Trump
Americans Not Suffering from TDS	NewsMax Reports
Americas Voice Live	Nikki Haley Fans
An0maly Truthers Group	Nikki Haley for POTUS, 2028
Andrew Gillum For Florida	No Justice No Peace
ANGRY PROGRESSIVES NETWORK	North Carolina for Kamala Harris
Annul Trump's Presidency	North Carolina Truth Seekers / Formerly Lee County Truth Seekers
ANZAPAC (Australians New Zealanders Americans PAC Islanders For TRUMP)	Nuns on the Bus, You Go Girls!
Apsaalooke Community Bulletin	OBAMA PRESIDENTIAL PORTRAIT REVEAL 2020
Aqui Se Habla de Politica	Occupy Together in South Carolina
Arizona Latinos for Social Justice	Official Patriots Party Community
Arizona Real Talk (Uncut & Uncensored)	Official Recall Tony Evers Group
Arlington Democrats - HD94	Official Tucker Carlson Show Fan Page
Arlington Texas Talk ***Truly Uncensored***	OfficialLatinosForTrump
Army of Deplorables	Ohio for Biden 2020
Army of Deplorables	Ohio Women For Trump
Australians for Donald Trump	Old Glory Flag Run (Mississippi)
AWARENESS ALERT! Things you and those around you need to or should know.	ONE 14 Spare
AZ West Valley Republicans of CD8	One America News Fans

B.V.M.T. BLACK VOTES MATTER TODAY	One million LGBTQ in Action
Back The Blue New Jersey	ONWARD TOGETHER Grassroots- EL PASO
BALDWIN COUNTY CITIZENS For GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABILITY (CGA)	ONWARD WITH BIDEN!
Banned by Paulding County "Uncensored"	OPEN ON MAY 4TH, 2020
Banned Paul Joseph Watson	ORWOSTATEWIDE.COM - OhioRepublicanWingsOnline
Barack Obama	Our Revolution - Western Maryland
BASEMENT NEWS NETWORK	Ozzies 4 Trump
Bay Area Democratic Movement	Pacific Islanders for Biden/Harris
Beltzhoover News!	Palm Beach for Trump Team 2024 / Trumpettes of America
Bernie Sanders Progressives (OHIO)	Palm Beach Patriots
Bernie Sanders Revolutionary Convoy	Parents For Armed Guards at all Schools!
Bernie's Army of One Hundred Million Americans	Patriot Friends of President Trump
BEST JOE BIDEN MEMES 😊	Patriot Nation Radio Show
Biden Harris For Broward	Patriot News-Sniffing Dogs
Biden Supporters United	Patriot Voice
Biden/Harris for America	PATRIOT WARRIORS
BIDEN/HARRIS RESTORING AMERICAN VALUES	Patriotic Army of Deplorables
Biden-Harris 2024	Patriotic Catholics for President Trump 💟
BLACK CITY - NEW ORLEANS	The Black Dollar Culture of NOLA For Black Biz!	PATRIOTLIVESMATTER
Black Confederates in the Civil War	Patriots for a Free Republic - Trump Squad
Black Girl Trending And Other News	Patriots for Trump
Black Lives Matter Atlanta	Patriots For Trump
Black Lives Matter Global	Patriots for Trump 2021
Black Lives Matter Las Vegas	Patriots Turning New York Red
Black Lives Matter: New Mexico	Patriots USA
Black Owned Businesses in Southeastern Michigan	Peace, Love, Music and Positivity ~ Namaste Worldwide Hippies Friends
Black Parents Connect Durham	Pennsylvania Latinos for Joe Biden
BLACK Strong & SOLID Knowledge (ONE LOVE) EACH ONE TEACH ONE 💯	Pennsylvania Women for Biden/Harris
Black+White America United MAGA	pennsylvanians against tyranny
BlackLivesMatter Updates for Dayton, Ohio	Pennsylvanians for President Donald J. Trump 2020
Blacks 4 Trump	PEOPLE FOR EQUAL CIVIL RIGHTS FOR ALL
Blacks United	People sick of the bullshit
Blacks Voices for Trumpᴜs	Petition to impeach Nancy Pelosi
Blue Chip Young Republican Club	PHILADELPHIA PROJECT
Blue Dot Family	Philly for Jilly (Philadelphia Women For Biden/Harris)
BLUE WAVE	Pima County Republican News

Boogie With The Bull	Pima County Republicans
Boomers & Others for Progressive Reform	Pittsburgh 14th Ward Independent Democratic Club
Botetourt Conservatives and Independent Thinkers	Political Commentary
Boutique Padre Pio, Lourdes	Politically Incorrect News for Conservatives
Boycott Hollywood	PolitiChatter
Bret Baier FOX News Fans	PolitiChatter Support Group
Brooklyn Republicans	Politics Can be Fun!
Bros46	POST A PRAYER
Broward County's Blue Wave	PotusTrumpMAGA
Build Back Better America with Pete	Pray For Our President Donald Trump
Build The Wall us	Prayers for America
California Impact Republicans	President Donald J Trump
California Supporters of Pres. Trump/V.P. Pence	PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP
	PRESIDENT JOE BIDEN AND VICE
CANDACE OWENS FAN CLUB	PRESIDENT KAMALA HARRIS us
CapeVerdeansForBiden&Harris2K20	PRESIDENT TRUMP
CELEBRATING JUNETEENTH	President Trump Will Crush The Deep State
Central Pennsylvania for Bernie Sanders	President Trump's 2024 Support group!
Chris Salcedo	PRESIDENT TRUMPS PATRIOTS
Christian Conservatives +++	Presidential Election 2020 polls
Christian Conservatives +++ Indiana Ohio Michigan	Presidential Prayer
Christian Conservatives Rising	Pro POLICE
Christian Patriots 4 Trump - Join Us on Shoutrr.com	Progressive Atlanta South
Cincinnati Area Live Music	Progressive Democratic Club
Citizens of Berrien County, Georgia	Progressive Democrats of Maryland
CitizensForTrump	Progressive Democrats of North Carolina
City of South Fulton	Progressive Wesleyans and Politics
City of South Fulton, GA Neighbors	Progressive Women's Movement of America
CLASSIC EVENTS! POLITICAL CHANGE AGENTS	Proud Democrats
Climate Conversations NCW	Proud 'Deplorables'
Club 45 INC	RACERS for TRUMP
CNN is FAKE News ! So is MSNBC and the rest of the Mainstream Media !!	RACHEL MADDOW FANS!!
Coalition for the Re-election of Donald J. Trump	RALEIGH, Durham, Chapel Hill & Triad NC Black OWNED BUSINESS
Coalition For Trump	RC/IR – Republican Club of Indian River, Inc.
Colombianos Con Biden	Real Americas Voice
Coloradans for Progressive Action	Real Jewish Conservatives
Community Bulletin Board	Recall Governor Pritzker
Concept East Institute of Political Affairs	Red White and True News Followers Group
Concerned Americans	Red2020Wave
Concerned citizens of the HBG community	Re-elect Donald Trump For President 2020

Connecticut Boaters for TRUMP	RE-ELECT TRUMP 2020
Connecticut Citizens against Ned Lamont	Reopen California...NOW!
Conservative Activists	ReOPEN COLORADO
Conservative Bless	Republican California Residents
Conservative Bless	Republican Forum of Western MA
Conservative Business Journal	Republican Party of Bradford County
Conservative Causes Connection	Republican Town Club Patriots
Conservative Daily	Republican Women of Reno
Conservative Feedback On Issues	Republicans and Democrats United Again
Conservative Forever	Republicans and Democrats United for Biden-Harris
Conservative Freedom	Republicans for Donald J. Trump Group
Conservative Hispanic Society	REPUBLICANS FOR TRUMP
Conservative Issues--Stay Alive	Republicans giving time, sweat & treasure to elect Republicans!
Conservative Lady	Republicans lives matter
Conservative Matters	Republicans of Arizona
Conservative Nation Community	Republicans of California (Statewide)
Conservative News Daily	REPUBLICANS OF FRANKLIN COUNTY, TN
Conservative Party	Republicans of Greater Tampa Bay
Conservative Rebels for America	Republicans of the GREAT Commonwealth of Kentucky
Conservative Republican - People's Grassroots National Campaign	Republicans of the Great State of Arizona
Conservative Voices	Republicans With Balls And Backbones
Conservatives for the Re-election of Donald Trump 2020	RESPECT For The US Constitution
Conservatives of the Valley	REVOLT SULLIVAN COUNTY NY
CONSERVATIVES2020	Rhode Islanders voting against Congressman David Cicilline
CONSTITUTIONAL REPUBLIC OF THE USA	Riden With Biden 2021!
CRAZY AND FUNNY POLITICAL MEMES FOR 2021 ✨	Ridin' with Biden (Real)
Crivitz Area Political Talk!	Right Ole Folks
Cubanos Con Biden	Riverwest Votes
Dan Bongino Show Fan Club	Roane Dems
Dave Bray USA Official Fan Page	Romanian Tribune Chicago - Announcements, News & Events
David J. Harris Jr. for US Congress	Run Alabama Run!
Deaf Americans Politics & Humor	Rural Caucus of the MDP
Debating El Dorado County Local Politics	Russian South Florida
Defeating the Republican agenda	San Antonio for Biden Grassroots
Del Norte County "REAL" News and Events!	Sarah Sanders for Arkansas Governor & Trump Supporters Fan Club
Delaware County Republican Women's Club	Sarpy County Republican Party
Demand Regular in Person Voting Option New Jersey	Sasha Obama Foundation

Democracy	SaveNJ
Democratic Club of Vista	Schuylkill County Democratic Women's League
Democratic Party	Science, Technology, and Society Discussion Corner
Democratic Party of Oneida County Wisconsin Discussion Group	Sean Hannity Is Awesome
Democratic Party of Wisconsin Labor Caucus	Sebastian Gorka Fan Page
Democratic Resistance	Senator Ted Cruz : A New Decade
Democratic Voice for Biden/Harris 2024	Sevierville Really Speaks Out.
Democratic Women of North Carolina	Sharonville Republican Club
Democratic Women of Westmoreland	Shawnee County Republican Friends Forum
Democrats	Shifty Schiff
Democrats - Mostly Memes	Shippensburg Community
Democrats for Arizona 2022 and beyond	SIERRA LEONE NATIONALISTS. A FEW GOOD AND FEARLESS MEN AND WOMEN
Democrats For Universal Healthcare & The ACA	Sierra/Yosemite for Bernie Sanders
Democrats of Contra Costa County	Sixth district AME Church
Democrats of Madison County IN (not affiliated with official County Party)	Skooksville - Comments from the Heart
DEMOCRATS ONLY - MEME GROUP	Snowflake Central
Democrats Ruining California	So Called President
DENNIS PRAGER Fans Unite	Social Justice
DEPLORABLE BIRTHERS vs Gangster Government--Uncle Sam Needs You!!!	South Carolina Republican
Deplorable Culprits for Justice!	South Florida College Democrats
Deplorable Resistance	South Florida Republicans
Deplorables Brigade	South Jersey for Joe Biden
Deplorables for Trump!	South Texas for Joe Biden
Deplorables Unite	Southeast Michigan Jobs With Justice
Disenfranchised Trump Voters for Oklahoma District 2 Republican Party	Southeastern Pa. for Biden
dkon and mad mixed girl present : the resistance to tyranny	Speak Up Boldly Group
Dom Giordano	Stacey Abrams' Fair Fight Club
DON VS DEMS	Standing 4 Kaepernick
Donald J Trump for the People	Stark County and Beyond Trump Supporters
Donald J. Trump For President 2024!	Stolen
Donald J. Trump USA 45. president	Stop the Illegal Invasion
Donald Trump - Still Your President!	STOP the LEFTIST INSANITY!!!!
DONALD TRUMP 2020	STOP THE VIOLENCE PITTSBURGH- LETS SPEAK OUT
Donald Trump Fan Club Group	Suburban Women for Trump
Donald Trump for president	Surviving Donald Trump!
Donald Trump Is My President	Susquehanna County Council of Republican Women
Donald Trump is My President	Susquehanna River Trump Rally and Boat Regatta

DONALD TRUMP 'OFFICE OF THE FORMER PRESIDENT'	Take Action Mon Valley (TAMV) Community Page
Donald Trump Patriot President: 2021+ Official	TEAM BIDEN HARRIS
Donald Trump Rallys and Events ®	Team Georgia Blue: Warnock, Ossoff, McBath, Williams, Bourdeaux #TeamGABlue
DONALD TRUMP SUPERSTAR!	Team the people
Donald Trump, came to work for us. We are the friends of Donald J. Trump!	Team Trump
Donald Trump's Republican Party	Team Trump
Double Standards	Team Trump Hawaii
Dr. Jill Biden: Our First Lady 🗄️👙🐎🐗🐗🐖■🦇	Team Trump New Jersey, New York Real Die Hard American Patriots , No Wimps!
Dregs of Society	TEAM TRUMP USA
Dump On Trump	TeaParty Patriots Of Michigan
East Baton Rouge Democratic Parish Executive Committee (EBR DPEC)	Texas Coalition of Bl ack Democrats FT Bend
East Kentucky Patriots Coalition	Texas for Biden
Educating While Black	Texas for Biden/Harris 2020
El Cerrito Democratic Club	Thank God for Trump (c)
El Paso for Biden/Harris Grassroots	The Barack H. Obama Fan Club
EL PASO for HILLARY NETWORK	The Basket of Deplorables
Election Fraud & Voter Suppression Lawsuits	The Conservative Right Side
Elezioni USA - L'arena di dibattito sugli USA	The Conservative Truth
Eliminate the GOP and News	The Daily Conspiracy Group (DCG)
END THE REPUBLICAN PARTY !	The Daily Ledger
END TIME NEWS	The Democratic Coalition Group
Enough is Enough- The Silent Majority	The Democratic Daily News !
Exclusive 50+/- Social Club DMV Edition2	The Deplorable hangout
Facebook Censorship- 1.0 In Question of a Class Action lawsuit	The Deplorables Army
Facebook Friends Who Like Donald J. Trump	THE ELECTION WAS A FRAUD!!
Facebook Town Hall	The Fed Up Deplorables
FACING AMERICA ᴜs	The Flipside With Michael Loftus Group
Fans Of The ReidOut With Joy Reid	The Freedom Family
Fans of Tomi Lahren	The Info War
Fantastic Fifty's Group	The Ingraham Angle
FAR	The institute of research knowledge news and free thinking
FEDERAL POLITICS TOPICS Monticello Illinois Open Community Discussion Forum	The Jaramillo Report
Feet to the Fire: A Bernie Sanders Group	The Last Word With Lawrence O'Donnell
FEMINISTS OF SPEECH	The New Pueblo Colorado
FilAm Voter	The Official President Donald J. Trump Fan Club
Find 30! Bring 1! NORTH CAROLINA	THE PATRIOT CONNECTION
Find 30! Bring 1! OHIO	The People Of Alachua County
Flip US Red	The People Of Power Show Group Page

Florida for Donald Trump 2024	The Peoples News Network
Florida for Kamala Harris	THE PTAK ATTACK - (Gary Rabine supporters)
Florida for Trump (People President)	The Real Milwaukee's Street News [414]
Florida LGBTQ Unique & United For Equality Globally	The Real News
Florida Patriots X Trump	The resistance
Fort Bend Democrats	The San Pedro Democratic Club
Fort Bend Houston/Missouri City Community	The Silent Majority Group
FOX NEWS with Tucker Carlson	The Texas Secession Discussion Group
Freedom Movement USA - America First	The Thinking Great Ape
FREEDOM OF SPEECH POLITICS UNCENSORED	The Trump Chick
Fremont County Colorado Democrats	The Trump Factor: Florida
Fresno Area Democrats	THE TRUMP FACTOR: The First Four Years
friends , and more friends	The Trump Factor: Utah
Friends Committee	The Trump Movement
Friends of Alex Jones	The Trump Train
Friends of OUR President Trump	The Trump Train
Friends Who Like David Barton/WallBuilders	The Trumpublican Movement of New England
Friends Who Like Donald J. Trump	The ULTIMATE Patriot Connection
Friends Who Like Donald J. Trump	The Utah, Republican, Conservative Forum
Friends Who Like Dr. Taylor Marshall	The Why Black Lives Do Matter Project
Friends Who Like Johnald Trumpster	The WINNING Trump Deplorables
Friends Who Like Judge Jeanine Pirro	This is what voting looks like!
Friends Who Like Occupy Democrats	Tiffany leads: "Millennials 4 President Donald J. Trump"
Friends Who Like Rush Limbaugh	Tomi Lahren Fans
Friends Who Like Sean Hannity	Tompkins County Progressives
Friends Who Like The Daily Ledger w/ Graham Ledger	Tongans for Trump
Friends Who Love President Donald J. Trump	Trey Gowdy Supporters
Friends who stay informed about Politics and Social issues	Trump - Florida-Georgia-Alabama, People's Grassroots Campaign
FUC TRUMP	Trump 2020
GA Women Patriots for the Constitution	Trump 2020
Georgia 14th District Conservative Patriots	Trump 2020 Keep America Great
Georgia Senate Runoff 2021	TRUMP 2020 Keep America Great !
Georgia Trump Republicans	Trump 2024
Gettysburg and Surrounding Areas	Trump 2024, America First!
GOP - Trumps Cult.	TRUMP AMERICA FOR SAFETY AND FREEDOM
Governor Kay Ivey Supporters	Trump Army
GraniteGrok - Group	Trump Daily Report
Grass Roots Walkers	Trump is My President
Greenfield Citizens Association	TRUMP IS PRESIDENT
Greenfield MA Republican Town Committee	Trump is Simply The Best

Greer-Golden-Denmark West High School Alumni	Trump Nation
Growing up in Roxbury,MA	Trump Nation
Growing up in South Phoenix 70's and 80's	Trump New Jersey New York (c)
Grown & Sexy! 😉🦍🍽💞⬇🎶	Trump Strong
Hagerstown TEA Party	Trump Supporters for Political Truth
Happiness In 2021 - An American Constitutional Right! #ProfHowdy	TRUMP SUPPORTERS FROM FLORIDA
Harambee Neighborhood MKE	Trump Supporters Unite!
Hardworking MO-7th CD Team Blue	Trump Talk = Straight Talk
Harlem4Trump	Trump Team 2020 Florida Miami Chapter
Harris County Young Democrats	Trump the Lion Tamer
Hat In Ring for Trump	Trump The Main Man
Hawaii Supporters of President Trump	Trump Thrumpets Evil Enemies
Healthy Smoothie Challenge	Trump Train 2020 Keeping America Great!!
High Desert Like Minded Residents	Trump Truth Seekers
HILLARY MAKES ME SICK (c)	Trump Tweet Town
Hip Dickson	Trump Victory - Columbus County
Hispanic SemDems Discussion Group	Trump Women Landslide 2024
Hispanics for Trump 2020 🇺🇸	TRUMP WORLD
Hispanics for Trump 2024	Trump/Pence 2020 Reelection Group
History's Biggest Event Against Violence & Violations	Trumpettes of America (National Members Page)
HONOR PRESIDENT TRUMP	Trumplican Party
Honoring Our Constitution and Rule of Law!	Trumps Army
Hood Republicans	Trump's army
HUMAN UP, VOTE BLUE!!!	Trump's New Generation
I ♡ Elise Stefanik	TRUMPS vision, and OBSTRUCTIONIST
I-4 Activist Watch	Trumpsters
I-4 Corridor 4 TRUMP	Trumptastic
IB POLITICS	Trumptastic 😎
Illinois Freedom Coalition	Truth Seekers
Illinois Team Trump 2020	Tucker Carlson Fan Club
Impeach Trump Now	Tumbleweed
Independent Black Voters	Turn Facebook RED
Independent Patriot 🇺🇸	TURN LEFT
Independent Voters for Systemic Change	Turn NY Red
Indiana Citizens	TURN OUT FOR TRUMP 2016
Indians in Chicago	TurnArkansasBlue
Indivisible 92116	Tweeting Trump
Indivisible America	UCA Family & Friends
Indivisible Hazleton (Formerly Hazletonians for Progress)	UNCENSORED POLITICS (NO HOLDS BARRED)
Indivisible in Alaska	Un-concerned Citizens of Columbia County (Uncensored)
Indivisible Sierra Nevada	Union Ironworkers for a Sane America ...

Indivisible The Fight is On (ITFIO)	union k.c.
Inland Empire Newswire	Union Members for a Workers Party
Italian Americans for Biden/Harris & Keeping Congress Blue in 2022	UNITE 2 FIGHT FLORIDA 4 TRUMP
It's Happening OUT! Group Page - LGBT+ Discussion	United Against Republicans
IVANKA TRUMP 2024	United For Trump 2024
Ivanka Trump Kushner For President 2024	United Patriots For America us
JAMAR Place Of Peace	UNITED PATRIOTS of AMERICA
James Woods facebook fans	United We Stand
JANE FONDA IS A TRAITOR	UNOFFICIAL REAL bikers that support President Trump
JESSE WATTERS FAN PAGE	Uphill Media TV * After-Chat
Jews For Trump	Upstate NY for trump
Jews For Trump ✅	USA For Trump
Joe Biden for California	Ventura County Climate Change
Joe Biden for Colorado	Vernon Township Republican Organization
Joe Biden for Delaware	Vi som liker Bernie Sanders
Joe Biden for Florida	Vice President Kamala Harris. Together & United We Can Do So Much.
Joe Biden for Iowa	Virginia Patriots
Joe Biden for Kentucky	Virginia Women For Hillary
Joe Biden for Louisiana	Virginia Women For Trump
Joe Biden for Maryland	Vlog
Joe Biden for Minnesota	Vote Blue America
Joe Biden for Mississippi	Vote Blue Bulletin
Joe Biden for Montana	Vote Straight Republican In November NJ
Joe Biden for Nevada	VOTE TRUMP ONLY - THE AMERICAN PARTY RISING
Joe Biden for New Jersey	VOTE TRUMP OUT
Joe Biden for New Mexico	VPU
Joe Biden for New York	Wahine for Trump
Joe Biden for North Carolina	WAKE UP AMERICA
Joe Biden for North Dakota	Walk away from Dem.
Joe Biden for Oregon	Warren Democrats
Joe Biden for Pennsylvania	Warrior Spirit Conference and Ceremony Home Page
Joe Biden for President	Washington County, Maryland Republican Club
Joe Biden for President in 2020	Washington State for President Joe Biden and VP Kamala Harris 202X
Joe Biden for Texas	Washington State Progressive Rebels
Joe Biden for Vermont	Wayne Dupree Show Group
Joe Biden for Wisconsin	We are Oscoda !
Joe Biden for Wyoming	We Are PROUD That DONALD TRUMP IS OUR PRESIDENT
Joe BIDEN POTUS 46 Official	We are SENDING Trump!
JOE BIDEN THE BLUE VOTE	We Are Valley Station

Joe Biden, Kamala Harris & Amy Klobuchar will unite America!!	we love Donald J Trump
John James - U.S. Senate - Michigan People's Grassroots Campaign	We Support Kamala Harris
Joined Hands Across America For Trump	We Support President Donald Trump!
JUST ONE MORE VOTE 2020	WE THE PATRIOTSᴜs VOTED FOR TRUMP
Justice for All (Going Up On A Tuesday - What's next? #Ferguson to #CLT)	WE THE PEOPLE
JusticeForGeorgeFloyd	We the People - Cincinnati
Kamala Harris VP	We The People Have Had Enough
KAMALA NATION	We The People United Under God For Life Liberty & The Pursuit Of Happiness
KC Metro Immigration Alliance	We The People ᴜs
Keep America great Trump and him Only !	Weld County Republicans
Keep America Great Warriors	West Michigan Young Republicans
Keep America Great with Amy Phan West	Westmoreland County Republicans
keep Florida Red🙏†ᴜs	What is going on in Riverside?
Keep Georgia Red	What's Up Hemdy Bribge?
Keep It Blue - Senate 2022	What's UP WIREGRASS
Keep Michigan Blue	White County IL Republicans
KeepAmericaGreat	Wisconsin For President Donald Trump in 2020
Ken WHITE host of the SouthSide Unicorn Show	WOMEN for TRUMP FLORIDA
Kentuckiana Conservative Action Group	Women For TRUMP NE Ohio & Beyond Chapter Group
Kurds for Biden 2020	WOMEN FOR TRUMP: TEXAS EDITION
Labor Front	Women of Color Coalition
Lake County Illinois Republicans	Women of Color for Biden-Harris - National
Lakemore conservatives	Women SCOUTS for TRUMP (c)
Largest Trump Supporting Group in the WORLD.	Women United For Trump
Latinos en Florida	Women's March Modesto
Latinos Make California Great Again	WOO HOO!: CLASSIC SIMPSONS QUOTES
LatinosForTrump Make California Great Again	Woodland Avenue Affiliated Group
Laura Ingraham fan club	Working Women For Trump 2022
Lea County Patriots	Worldwide Support for President Donald J Trump 2024 Re-Election
Leavenworth County Republican Party of Kansas Group	Wyandotte County (It Is Not For Amateurs)
Let's Talk About It	Wynnefield Daily News
LevinTV Official Group	Wyoming for Trump Patriots Party
LGBTQ+ Biden Harris	Yamiche Alcindor Fan Club
Liberal Insanity News, Memes & Screenshots	You know you're from the hood in Crisfield, Maryland when
Liberal Left Propaganda Exposed	You must be from Fayetteville NC if ...
Liberal minded memes and more...	you won't see this on CNN
Liberty is not a four letter word!	Young Democrats of Maryland Network
Liberty Ladies Group 2.0	Капитализм против коммунизма 2
LIBERTY RISES with TRUMP	ᴜsMY COUNTRYᴜsMY PRESIDENTᴜs

Liberty Roundtable	🇺🇸TRUMP 2024🇺🇸
Liberty Tree Patriots - Florida	🌍 Saints Report 🕊
Life, Liberty, and Trump	⛺Washington for the People⛺
LIFT - LONG ISLANDERS FOR TRUMP	👑Black Lives Matter ✊🤍🤍🖤💪
Lincoln County Maine Republicans	