

MEMORANDUM

TO INTERESTED PARTIES
FROM GIFFORDS

DATE January 21, 2021
RE Social Media Threats and Armed Extremists

The 2020 presidential election saw historic levels of turnout, with almost 160 million votes cast. Unfortunately, it was also a historic year of heightened political and societal tensions, which led to the proliferation of charged conversation on social media, including threats of gun violence and calls to arms. While no gun violence was reported at the polls on Election Day, false claims about fraudulent election results set the stage for the politically charged violence that ultimately came to fruition on January 6 when extremists showed stormed the United States Capitol.

After unprecedented levels of social media chatter, memes, "jokes," conspiracies, threats and plans, along with rallies involving guns—all stoked by President Trump and Republican lawmakers through explicit tweets or deliberate silence—it seems likely that the absence of major gun-related incidents on Election Day was merely a matter of extreme fortune. The threat of politically motivated gun violence and unrest will be just as prevalent going forward if significant steps are not taken to reduce the threat.

In order to identify and catalogue conversations and potential threats leading up to the 2020 election, Giffords enlisted GQR to conduct social media monitoring across major platforms. When specific threats were identified, Giffords notified officials, social media platforms, and partners to help mitigate conditions that may lead to gun violence. As post-election social media conversation indicated increased political tension among extremist groups, GQR examined online trends that ultimately culminated in the insurrection at the Capitol on January 6th. This memo details the findings from GQR's social media listening around conversations related to potential gun violence, including a review of publicly available data across major platforms.

Summary

After a politically charged year, conversation about election-related gun violence flooded social media in the run-up to the 2020 election. This report analyzes the online conversation around election-related gun violence, including major narratives, messengers, and recommendations for diffusing dangerous online conversations in the future. Our analysis finds:

 Gun conversations on social media were hypercharged leading up to the election, with calls to "come armed to the polls," and to expect violence at the polls and after the election.

- Pre-election content fell within the following narratives: pushback on gun restrictions, attacks on Democratic officials, threats against female politicians, violent protests, and armed threats.
- Bad actors, far-right influencers and media, Republican officials and candidates, Trump, gun rights activists, extremists, and average social media users all played a role in amplifying these narratives.
- Despite the NRA's relative absence on social media compared to past years, the void was filled by conservative media and more extreme voices in extreme pro-gun and militia groups, pushing prevalent NRA narratives.
- Lawmakers, civil society, and social media platforms must heed recommendations to curb the prevalence of conversations around gun-related election violence on social media to protect major political events like the January 20th inauguration and future elections.

What We Saw

Conversations about election related gun violence surged in October

In the month ahead of the 2020 presidential election, social media conversations around election-related gun violence skyrocketed. Conversations about coming to the polls armed, defending the election, and preparing for election violence appeared in posts and comment sections across social media platforms. Research commissioned by Giffords showed at least 17 million mentions¹ of guns or related terms² in reaction to political and election-related events on social media. The true volume of social media mentions is likely far greater due to restrictive access policies and legitimate policy protections limiting access to full social media data samples. This is especially true for conversations happening in private, closed, or encrypted spaces on social media. Giffords research published in October highlights the range of social media mentions, including explicit threatening language as well as images of guns, memes and jokes about violence, the use of water gun emojis, and coded in-group language to communicate threats.

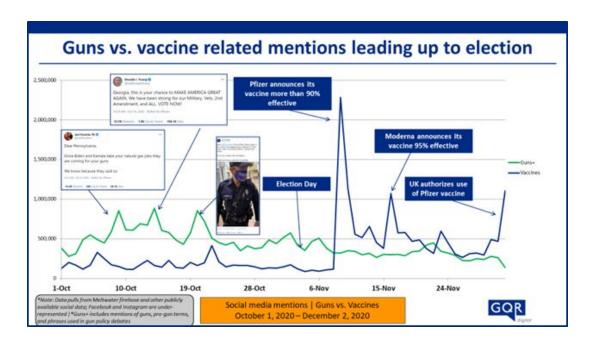
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¹ Unless noted otherwise, all mentions refer to data coming from Meltwater firehose and other publicly available social data; Facebook and Instagram are under-represented.

² Guns+ includes mentions of guns, pro-gun terms, and phrases used in gun policy debates.



President Trump frequently fanned the flames around gun safety leading up to the November elections, falsely claiming that Biden would repeal the Second Amendment if he won and calling for his followers to "defend" the election, encouraging a new round of threats and violent language in comments reacting to his posts on Twitter and other mediums. As evidenced in the chart above, the October conversation around election-related gun violence also followed an extremely politically charged year of real-world events sparking discussions of violence. In fact, social media mentions of election-related gun violence far surpassed mentions of vaccines in the period before the election. Last spring, armed protesters swarmed state capitols in reaction to COVID-19 lockdown orders, and in August, Kyle Rittenhouse shot an unarmed man during protests in Kenosha, Wisconsin. Trump's heated rhetoric throughout the campaign season fueled tensions as well, most prominently at a nationally broadcast presidential debate in which he suggested that the extremist group the Proud Boys "stand back and stand by" when asked to denounce white supremacy.



Thankfully, the online conversation around guns on Election Day itself was quieter, with fewer than half a million mentions, partially reflecting the fact that there were no gun-related incidents that day. Immediately following the election, online conversations about guns hit a low for 2020 that may point to fatigue among previously energized parts of the electorate. Furthermore, despite nearly unanimous agreement from researchers that crackdowns on threats by social media platform efforts came too late in 2020, the adjustments platforms made immediately ahead of the November elections did help disband conversations about election-related gun violence.

Pre-Election narratives created more opportunities for gun-related conversation

Among the millions of gun-related mentions in 2020, the following narratives were particularly prevalent.

Conservative pushback on gun restrictions. Gun rights extremists and other right-wing entities repeatedly attacked attempts by state and local governments to mitigate gun violence as violating the Second Amendment right. More than half of the 26 Michigan-based gun groups and Second Amendment groups GQR monitored on Facebook in 2020 frequently posted about Michigan's ban on guns at polling locations, generating more reactions related to bringing guns to the polls. The ban was ultimately blocked in court on October 27 after a legal challenge by gun rights groups, but some social media users still posted that they would come armed to the polls in an act of defiance against the proposed ban.













Michigan-based gun groups criticize attempts to ban guns at the polls

Other state-specific gun restrictions generated a high volume of social media debate. In Virginia, Governor Ralph Northam and other Virginia Democratic officials faced attacks as Northam worked to pass several pieces of gun safety legislation. On the day of the <u>protest</u>, online mentions of guns hit two million.

Threats against female politicians. Threats against women running for office were especially prominent leading up to Election Day. This is in line with research from the Institute of Strategic Dialogue studying online abuse faced by political candidates in the US. This research shows that women face more abuse than men on Twitter (15% of all messages directed at women compared to 5–10% for men) and women of color face the highest rate of abuse, with threats and abuse making up 39% of Twitter messages directed to them. The report also indicates that a similar trend holds true on Facebook, where female candidates see 12% more abuse compared to their male counterparts.

Trump and high-level conservative surrogates aggressively attacked female politicians online and simultaneously egged on supporters to come armed to protests and the polls. Prominent Democratic female candidates at all levels, including Vice President-elect Kamala Harris, Congresswoman Ilhan Omar, and Democratic congressional candidate Desiree Tims faced death threats both on and offline, sometimes involving explicit threats of gun violence. For example, during her campaign, Republican Congresswoman Marjorie Taylor Greene ran an ad

holding an AR-15 alongside Congresswomen Ocasio-Cortez, Omar, and Tlaib, saying she was "targeting" the socialist members of "the Squad." The ad was shared hundreds of times online.



Marjorie Taylor Greene's ad targeting "the Squad"

Female Democratic officials in Michigan, including Governor Gretchen Whitmer, Congresswomen Elissa Slotkin and Rashida Tlaib, and Michigan Secretary of State Jocelyn Benson were targets of violent attacks and harassment online that continue post-election. For example, on December 10, just weeks after the FBI thwarted a militia's plan to kidnap Governor Whitmer as part of a larger-attempt-to-violently-overthrow the Michigan state government, one user commented about Democratic State Representative Cynthia Johnson, "she needs to be taken out with heavy gun power."



Users comment with online threats against Michigan Democrats

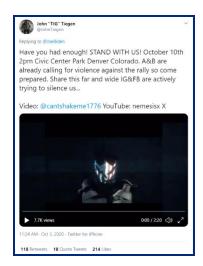
Social media also reflected offline aggression toward Democratic politicians in general. In the example below, one user shared an image of a gun store displaying the faces of Democratic politicians as targets.



Attacks against Democratic officials

Violent conversation around rallies and protests leads to real-world violence. As with the attack on our democracy at the US Capitol on January 6, rallies prior to the election mobilized and energized fringe extremist and militia groups. Giffords flagged these events for local authorities and partners to mitigate the potential for gun violence.

For example, conservative influencer and gun activist John "TIG" Tiegen used social media to organize a "patriot" rally in Denver on October 10. The tweet warned that to come prepared for potential violence. This event also circulated in right-wing groups such as Coloradans Against Excessive Quarantine. Users amplified and stoked fears, resulting in individuals showing up armed and ready for a fight, which ultimately led to the <u>death</u> of protester Lee Keltner.





Conservative influencer organizes patriot rally

On the night following the election, Tiegen posted a photo of a group of armed individuals with the caption, "standing by."



Post of armed individuals on the night after the election

The events of 1.6.21 were also preceded by alarming calls in public and private social media groups to bring guns to the rally, despite authorities' ban on guns at the event. On the day of the attack, at least four people were taken into custody on suspicion of carrying guns without licenses, while the number of protesters carrying weapons was likely much higher.





Posts in private Facebook groups call to bring guns to January 6 protest at US Capitol³

Armed threats on Election Day. On Election Day, GQR and Giffords flagged more than 80 posts referring to armed threats at polling locations, including instances of individuals threatening poll workers and groups of armed people standing outside of polling locations. Many social media users posted photos or videos of armed poll watchers or individuals coming to the polls carrying guns.







Posts of armed individuals at polling locations on Election Day

³ <u>Images: Users in private Facebook groups encourage each other to break DC gun laws ahead of election protests, Media Matters</u>

Battleground states saw more threats of violence than other states. North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Arizona were hubs for online threats, as narrow vote margins prevented the states from being called for days after the election. In reaction to claims of voter fraud in favor of Joe Biden, social media users called for QAnon supporters and armed militias to come to Philadelphia to help contest the voting process. On the night of the election, the FBI thwarted the plans of a group of men who discussed traveling from Virginia to Philadelphia with guns in a van displaying QAnon symbols.









Tweets calling for militia to travel to Philadelphia to protest the vote count

Additional "Stop the Steal" protests were organized across the country using social media, especially Facebook. Protest invitations often called for individuals to gather at convention centers where votes were being counted. Some protesters openly carried guns. On November 5, the Verge reported that Facebook removed a 300,000 person Stop the Steal group after acknowledging "worrying calls for violence from members of the group."

Conservative influencers like Brandon Straka and the leader of the anti-immigration hate group ACT for America, Brigitte Gabriel, received extra far-right attention and amplification around "Stop the Steal" events in gun rights groups promoting the protest and Trump.



Conservative influencers amplify "Stop the Steal" protests

While there were no reports of actual gun violence at polling or vote counting locations, ongoing tensions surrounding the 2020 election results continue to pose a potential threat for politicians and political events, particularly the inauguration.

Preparation for post-election violence, and "civil war." In the months leading up to the election, conversation about "civil war" spiked on social media. Individuals on the far right pushed out false claims about groups on the left planning for post-election apocalyptic violence. Individuals on the left responded to charged threats about the right's intent to defend the election and come armed. This back-and-forth led many users online to claim the country was on the brink of civil war.

For example, in September 2020, multiple far-right media outlets and influencers pushed the false claim that George Soros was funding a post-Election Day violence scheme after a sensational Daily Beast headline describing voter protection efforts caught the attention of conservative media. Other social media users circulated a falsified flyer claiming antifa was threatening voters across social media platforms. These claims were made on top of the months-long media campaign by the right portraying the left as violent and reckless following protests in the aftermath of George Floyd's murder. In response to the right's portrayal of the left's intent to disrupt elections, right-wing media and influencers urged followers online to "be prepared."







Conservative media outlets and influencers amplify warnings of Election Day chaos

The <u>media</u> highlighted the <u>surge</u> in new gun owners and gun and ammunition sales leading up to the election. Facebook users in groups like Virginians Against Excessive Quarantine and lowa Gun Owners posted about stockpiling ammunition.





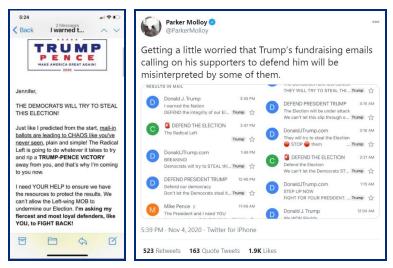
Posts on stockpiling ammunition

Actors involved

Far-right influencers, far-right media, Republican officials and candidates, and average users in gun enthusiast and other conservative social media groups all helped to attack and discredit Democratic officials based on their actual or potential support for restrictions on gun access.

Gun-rights extremists. A number of pre-existing Facebook groups such as AmmoLand and state-based gun owner groups furthered this conversation. Facebook gun rights groups were active in almost every state. While these groups mostly focused on their local communities, many were actually created by the same people with a national agenda. The Dorr brothers, for example, are behind some of the largest Facebook groups that organized demonstrations protesting COVID-19 quarantine orders in April. Ben Dorr is the political director of Minnesota Gun Rights and serves on the Board of Directors for the American Firearms Association. Aaron Dorr led a gun rights organization called Iowa Gun Owners, and Chris Dorr is the executive director at Ohio Gun Owners. Content was often repeated and shared across these groups, further amplifying the far-right's pro-gun messaging.

Trump, his campaign, and Republicans. Trump and Republican officials created a permission structure for extremists. Trump tweeted 11 times in the two months leading up to the election encouraging supporters to be unofficial "poll watchers" for the campaign. These tweets sparked conversations among gun enthusiasts to take matters into their own hands to guard the polls and received an average of 15,000 retweets and 46,836 likes. Republican officials also expressed support for the McCloskeys, the St. Louis couple who threatened Black Lives Matter protesters with guns. They were also invited to speak at the Republican National Convention and campaigned throughout the fall with Republican candidates. The social media conversation about bringing guns to defend the election received high levels of engagement as Trump's campaign apparatus and conservative influencers echoed his baseless claims around fraudulent voting.



Trump campaign using militant language

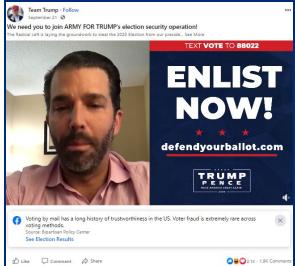
Republican candidates used Trump's comments as an opportunity to lean into this narrative.

Official Republican social media accounts and Republican candidates echoed Trump's militarized language online, in emails, and in speeches, calling for "an army" of poll watchers to "fight back" against voter fraud. Colorado Congresswoman Lauren Boebert, a QAnon supporter, asked supporters to "become a poll watcher and help defend this election!"









Official Trump and Republican social media accounts calling on supporters to defend the election

Congressman Paul Gosar, a Republican from Arizona, asked followers to show up to the "Stop the Steal" protest in Maricopa County where votes were being counted.



Rep. Gosar tweets support for "Stop the Steal" protest

Domestic terrorists and far-right extremists. Militia and extremists were quick to react to election-related events of 2020 and took Trump and others' words to heart as they organized and escalated tensions around the election. The presence of these extremists at pro-Second Amendment rallies and at "Stop the Steal" events stoked fear in communities and encouraged other extremists to act out. Well-known extremists like Alex Jones and leaders of the Proud Boys and Oathkeepers attended these events and further amplified the "Stop the Steal" message to their large audience, inserting extremist views into mainstream news coverage. As a policy, experts avoid calling out these bad actors by name to avoid giving them more prominence, but counter-extremism groups like Southern Poverty Law keep a record of hate groups and Giffords can provide additional examples of specific groups upon request.





Posts about extremists mobilizing around the election

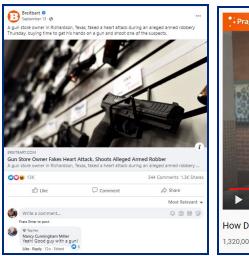
The NRA vacuum. The National Rifle Association was relatively quiet this year, spending less than half of what it spent in the 2016 election, and incapable of explicitly pushing its agenda in the 2020 election in the same way. However, the messenger void created by the NRA's pullback led to conservative media, pro-gun and militia groups, and more extreme conservative candidates tied to conspiracy theories picking up the tried and tested NRA-crafted narratives. Well-equipped with NRA talking points, otherwise radical extremists and conspiratorial candidates were able to present a familiar narrative to conservative and single-issue gun rights voters. Notorious NRA advocates kept busy in the meantime latching on to campaigns. For example, NRA activists Dana Loesch appeared armed in campaign promotions with Republican candidates suggesting they would face down protesters. NRA narratives most frequently borrowed and engaged with on social media centered on two narratives:

1. Biden wants to take away guns. Leading up to November, Trump and former NRA figures, such as Dana Loesch, pushed the right's gun narrative that Biden wants to "take away your guns." This narrative is nothing new. In 2004 <u>Dick Cheney</u> said, "John Kerry will take your guns," and the same happened in 2008 and 2012 when <u>John McCain</u> and <u>Mitt Romney</u> said, "Obama will take your guns." In 2020, extreme actors like Congresswoman Marjorie Taylor Greene deployed up this messaging in an AR-15 giveaway, urging her supporters to "get yourself a gun before it is too late!" on Twitter.



Marjorie Taylor Greene posts about her gun giveaway

2. "Good guy with a gun." Conservative media carried the torch for the NRA by promoting its "good guy with a gun" narrative. A PragerU video posted in early 2020 and titled "How do you stop a bad guy with a gun" was viewed over 1.3 million times over the course of the year. Breitbart positively portrayed re-open protesters who brandished firearms, prompting "good buy with a gun" comments from users. These articles received high engagement. Users posted these narratives in private Facebook groups and they were amplified by conservative influencers. Bad actors on the right also picked up these narratives and promoted them across social media.





Conservative media outlet amplifies "good guy with gun" narrative

The media. Mainstream media outlets like CNN, the <u>New York Times</u>, and the <u>Washington Post</u> played a role in stoking fears about election-related violence, amplifying stories about gun violence, using exaggerated headlines, and <u>giving different attention to peaceful protests and rallies where both political sides were represented</u>. Far-right media outlets like Breitbart mentioned extremist groups by name to get readers' attention, helping to give credibility to these extremists and their groups. While the warnings of gun violence at the polls did not come to fruition, these outlets helped to give a voice to the right's agenda and generate fear about what violence might occur on Election Day.

Social media platforms. As a result of the violence of 1.6.21, social media companies are once again forced to answer for their negligence in addressing lies, extreme language, and threats of gun violence on their platform. Reports on the insurrectionists responsible for attacking the Capitol show how extensively they used social media to organize their activity. The decision made by platforms like Facebook and Twitter to lock Donald Trump's accounts illustrate their acknowledgement of the problems posed by activity on their platforms. Even so, other promises they made around efforts to remove violent content remain unfulfilled, while they repeatedly acknowledge that the challenges they faced in 2020 were greater than they expected.

Social media platforms have significant room for improvement and a responsibility to do so. Platforms still rely heavily on outside groups flagging posts and are often slow to react. Posts

with inflammatory content spread quickly and gained traction across social media channels. Facebook was criticized for only cracking down on violent language in extremist groups after someone was killed in Kenosha at an event organized on Facebook. Researchers have also expressed concern that Facebook's internal monitoring has missed obvious threats of gun violence against members of Congress. Other major platforms like Twitter and YouTube have also too often been slow to act, relying on flags from external content moderators. On Election Day, GQR flagged over 80 posts and tweets containing violent language and threats to social media companies. Of those posts, only 15 were removed.

While it is becoming increasingly challenging for researchers focused on countering extremist violence to monitor these threats, it remains very easy for individuals to organize and disseminate information about an armed protest.

What we expect going forward

On December 8, 2020, the Twitter account for the Arizona Republican Party quote tweeted a post from "Stop the Steal" organizer and activist Ali Alexander that read "I am willing to give my life for this fight," and asked its followers, "He is, are you?" Alexander went on to play an organizing role in the violent events of January 6, allegedly in cooperation with three GOP lawmakers, before being banned from Twitter. Even as social media platforms clamp down on those involved with this violence, these narratives are continuing to spread.



Arizona Republican Party Twitter account amplifies dangerous narrative

Protests. Protests contesting the 2020 presidential election are ongoing. It is likely that they will continue at least through the inauguration, with several pro-gun rallies scheduled in January, promoted even after the events of January 6. Violence is always a concern at these types of events as tensions remain very high



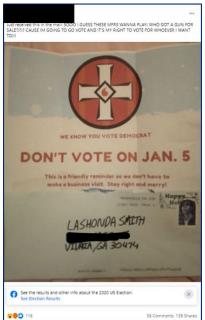
"Stop the Steal" organizer posts about upcoming events

Armed threats against officials. Democratic officials involved in swing state elections continue to be harassed. Recently, dozens of armed protesters gathered outside the home of Michigan Secretary of State Jocelyn Benson. <u>Protesters</u> gathered outside the home of Arizona Secretary of State Katie Hobbs, who also received threats of violence.

Election officials and election workers in Georgia were also <u>targeted with death threats</u> in the lead-up to the run-off elections. **Without dramatic action, there is no reason to expect that these threats will end anytime soon.** Despite state election officials condemning the threats and urging the administration and Republicans to speak out against them, the majority of Republicans in power and the Trump administration have taken no action to lessen these tensions.

Targeting voters. Leading up to the presidential election, bad actors in conservative spaces shared and amplified posts targeting and threatening voters. In early 2021, this tactic was also used ahead of the Georgia run-off election, with flyers threatening Democratic voters if they voted on January 5, 2021.





Posts about flyers targeting voters

Movement to closed platforms will make monitoring harder. Extremists are increasingly moving away from public spaces like Facebook and Twitter and towards closed and encrypted online spaces like Telegram and private online communities. Newer conservative online spaces like Parler saw an initial jump in growth as conservatives claimed they were being censored by major platforms. These platforms tend to boom and bust, as in the case of extremist conservative platform Gab before it, but the move suggests extremists and followers are dedicated to finding alternative online homes for their organizing.

Electing extremists to government. With the election of two conspiracy theorists with extreme views on guns to Congress, an increase in the appointments of extremist judges, and ongoing silence from more mainstream conservative politicians, extremist views on gun rights may become more prevalent in state and federal government. For example, Congresswoman Lauren Boebert announced after her election in November that she will be armed on Capitol grounds.

Recommendations

To address the grave threat to American and election security from politically motivated gun violence, Congress, state and local legislators, and social and traditional media organizations should pursue the following recommendations:

Social media companies should prioritize developing a system to report credible threats
of gun violence to appropriate law enforcement agencies. Social media companies
should also be held accountable for a failure to enforce commitments made to users,
including, but not limited to, the failure to remove threats of gun violence.

- Social media companies like Facebook should be required to continue providing the same protections to poll workers that it provides journalists and politicians for all elections going forward.
- Media organizations should <u>follow guidelines set out by experts</u> in gun safety and counter-extremism to report on threats of gun violence without sensationalizing or glorifying the threats or violent actors.
- Congress should make a bipartisan commitment to prioritize addressing threats of gun violence in their efforts to regulate social media and protect elections.
- Local and state governments should provide election workers and voters with <u>resources</u> and training on how to address situations related to guns at polling locations.
- Security experts, lawmakers, and the tech industry should engage in sustained, public
 discussions about organized violence moving into closed private online spaces and
 propose solutions to thwarting violent attacks while respecting individual privacy.
- Congress should strive to reach an agreement signed by both major parties that they will
 do everything in their power to discourage violence at the polls, including discouraging
 violent rhetoric and threatening content on social media.

In addition, Giffords calls on federal and state officials to act immediately and decisively to stop any future desecration of the US Capitol; to guarantee that similar insurrectionist violence—or worse—does not occur; and to ensure a peaceful transition of power and the continued health of our democracy. In particular, Giffords recommends the following actions:

- Prohibit firearms on state capitol grounds: Immediately, in states where firearms are
 not already banned at state capitols, officials must act to prohibit firearms. The FBI has
 warned that there is credible evidence that armed insurrectionists may attempt to storm
 additional government buildings and commit violent acts. Prohibiting firearms under
 these circumstances is a commonsense and necessary precaution. Additionally, firearms
 should be prohibited in government buildings and at polling places.
- Prohibit insurrectionists from possessing firearms: Congress and state legislatures should enact prohibitions on gun possession by people convicted of misdemeanor hate crimes and misdemeanors involving insurrectionist violence. Without such prohibitions, perpetrators of crimes like those on January 6 may be able to continue possessing guns even after being charged with felonies, by pleading down to misdemeanors like disturbing the peace.
- Pass federal legislation to enact universal background checks: A background check should be required on every gun sale. This policy, supported by upwards of 90% of Americans, would help ensure that those prohibited from buying a gun don't obtain one. The House has passed bipartisan legislation on this (HR 8), and it should become law.
- Enact and strengthen extreme risk laws at the federal and state level: Extreme risk laws allow courts to temporarily remove firearms from individuals who pose serious threats to themselves or others. The individuals who organized and planned the January 6 insurrection made their plans known in advance, and stated clearly on social media what they intended to do. If individuals make detailed plans to commit insurrectionist violence and a judge finds there is convincing evidence they intend to follow through on

- these threats, courts must be empowered to remove guns from such individuals until they no longer pose an immediate danger.
- Regulate ghost guns like all other guns: Ghost guns are do-it-yourself guns with no serial numbers that are acquired without background checks. Reports indicate that extremists planning violence in the days leading up to the inauguration are using encrypted communication platforms to share knowledge about how to make and use homemade.guns and bombs. Because of ATF's failure to regulate ghost guns, extremist insurrectionists can acquire lethal weaponry with no questions asked and no paper trail. ATF has the power to solve this ongoing problem, and the violence of January 6 underscores that it has the obligation to do just that.

Beyond these policy recommendations, it's essential that we expel white nationalist sympathizers from law enforcement and ensure accountability for their actions. White nationalists and those who tolerate or sympathize with white supremacists have no place in law enforcement. We must police our nation's police forces and bring to account officers who condone or tolerate violence like that which occurred on 1.6.21.