Digital Voter Suppression, as we define it, includes several aspects; the use of online services/platforms to distribute inaccurate, misinformation, disinformation, false data, mobile messages, and/or images for the purpose of suppressing the vote during any election season. This is often used in conjunction with or addition to physical voter suppression activities that have a digital, social networking, technical or mobile component.

The report outlines both past and present disinformation campaigns used during the election cycles starting from 2016 leading up to today. It includes descriptions of disinformation campaigns as well as examples of digital voter suppression. The report offers multiple examples of images, political ads and data visualizations of current social networks that have the intent to suppress voters and target candidates.

Outline

- Why the Black Voters? (a crucial determinate of the direction of elections)
- Date on Black Voters
- Digital Voter Suppression
- Online Meddling Through Social Media Companies
- Conclusions
- Suggested Counter-Measures
- Resources
Why Black Voters?

Since before the voting rights act of 1964 the black vote has been targeted for voter suppression. Black women's right to vote was challenged although women got the right to vote in 1920. There are many aspects of the physical voter suppression from literacy tests to lynchings. Many of the forms of voter suppression seen today include gerrymandering, moving polling places, voter id requirements and removing voters from the rolls by exact match systems. What is different today is that social media has become an integral part of the landscape. It's been used to get out the vote or suppress the vote. What makes digital voter suppression different is it's harder to track and more insidious. Some aspects of both digital and physical voter suppression are legal making it harder to fight these injustices. However, digital voter suppression is exacerbated by tech companies like Facebook and other company policies that will not remove false information political ads.

In 2016 based on several reports, including the Mueller report Volume I, there were instances of targeting communities, specifically democratic voters, to get them not to vote. There were key themes to decrease the black vote with utilizing the issue area of criminal justice system. During the debates there were clips of Hillary Clinton that circulated with her saying "super predator." This led to disinformation campaigns that inferred she had something to do with the crime bill of 1994. She was the first lady at the time. President Bill Clinton signed it, Joe Biden wrote it and Bernie Sanders voted for it. However this disinformation campaign was successful in implying that she had authority over the bill when she did not. Yet, candidate Trump running against her had placed ads in newspapers across NYC to get five innocent Black and Latino boys lynched in central park for rape before their trials. This was never discussed online nor during any debates.

With disinformation campaigns, highly shared content is released and then used to distribute false information. These false narratives are used in digital voter suppression campaigns. In this case the issues of police brutality, criminal justice reform, and mass incarceration were the topics targeted. These were also key topics used in the Russian IRA ads on Facebook released by the Senate.

In an article by Errin Haines for the Associated Press states,

"This cycle, many black voters are also making a pragmatic choice — driven as much or more by who can defeat President Donald Trump as the issues they care about — and sitting back to see which candidate white voters are comfortable with before deciding whom they will back.

At the same time, the early courtship of black voters, overt and subtle, is part of a primary within the primary that includes detailed plans on issues like criminal justice reform, reparations, maternal mortality among black women, voter suppression and systemic racism."

As the 2020 election cycle heats up these same issue areas will be key aspects to addressing Black voters. However, there will be more creative disinformation campaigns.
Data on Black Voters

“Even though their confidence in the Democratic Party is high, the 73 percent in the 2019 results is a comedown from 85 percent in 2016 and 74 percent in 2017. But here come the warning bells. First, 23.6 percent of the black women surveyed “identified as Independents or non-affiliated.” More alarming data comes from black women ages 25 to 35. The survey notes that “only 45% agreed that the Democrats best represented their interest[s], with nearly ⅓ indicating that no party represents them.” What this tells me is that the Democratic National Committee better spend more time trying to court these voters than the electoral unicorn that white working-class voters have become for the party.”

Johnathan Capehart, Washington Post

When it comes to the issues that impact democracy, racism and Voter Suppression tactics are key concerns to black women voters. This includes that 46% are also concerned about foreign meddling though many have denied the impact. Black women are clear that it’s an issue for them during the election. It’s also why they are the main targets online and off. Black women don't just go vote they make sure they get others to vote. This was evident in 2018 when Latosha Brown started the Black Voters Matter project with a bus. Her goals: helping voters to get to the polls. This had a major impact on the shift in the House of Representatives flipping to become more Democratic.

Below are the key data points on the issues important to Black Women. This report on the 5th annual power of the sister vote survey from the Black Women's Roundtable. The data from this report doesn't just outline that Black Women are frustrated with the current public outreach by the Democratic Party and candidates to attract not only the white working class but also reported white nationalists. It's one of the top three voting concerns that seems to be ignored by media and political candidates. Criminal justice reform is top of mind and the
candidate for the Republican party has already begun working on targeting the black community with its First Step Act. The act has three major components: (1) correctional reform via the establishment of a risk and needs assessment system at the Bureau of Prisons (BOP), (2) sentencing reform via changes to penalties for some federal offenses, and (3) the re-authorization of the Second Chance Act of 2007 (P.L. 110-199). The act also contains a series of other criminal justice-related provisions.

Trump’s campaigns have also used media attention to help specific black celebrities. One highly public example was the case of A$AP Rocky which was recently mentioned in the Impeachment hearings.

This is why fake accounts pretending to be black women matter. Not only in the disinformation campaigns but in every election. There has been a consistent number of fake accounts posing as black women since 2013. These fake accounts, who pretend to be black women, seem to be real people with real concerns. They connect with the American Black community online attempting to learn black vernacular and key issue areas. Once the election ramps up they’ve gained enough following and trust that’s when they begin to share disinformation. The goal is to make sure they have enough of a following before the shift to disseminate the disinformation.

White voters are coveted by the Democratic party. However, white voters are the most unpredictable demographic for the Democratic Party to plan on securing an election win. This data reveals that none of the democrats elected to the Presidency won over the white voters. In 2012, Mitt Romney won 59% of the white vote and did not win. Barack Obama only secured 39% and won. Yet, George W. Bush won both years with white voters 55 and 58% respectively.

**FIGURE 1**

**Distribution of white voters in presidential elections**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th>Democratic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1976–2012 average: **54.8%**  

1976–2012 average: **40.6%**

Digital Voter Suppression

In the Mueller report Volume I, Russian “active measures” was a key social media campaign.

These are quotes directly from the report:

“I RA employees traveled to the United States in mid-2014 on an intelligence-gathering mission to obtain information and photographs for use in their social media posts.”

“Some IRA employees, posing as U.S. persons and without revealing their Russian association, communicated electronically with individuals associated with the Trump Campaign and with other political activists to seek to coordinate political activities, including the staging of political rallies.”

“U.S. media outlets also quoted tweets from IRA-controlled accounts and attributed them to the reactions of real U.S. persons.”

Addressing voter suppression is an challenge on a state to state level. However there are differences between physical voter suppression and digital voter suppression. For example, in North Carolina a judge ruled against what they considered a laser focus on suppressing the black vote.

“In what comes as close to a smoking gun as we are likely to see in modern times, the State’s very justification for a challenged statute hinges explicitly on race—specifically its concern that African Americans, who had overwhelmingly voted for Democrats, had too much access to the franchise,” wrote Judge Diana Gribbon Motz.

Although many of the tactics may change the overall outcomes are the same, the targeting of black voters to win elections. Digital voter suppression is used mostly through social networking platforms. The use of reflexive control and psyops as the strategy. Reflexive control is to ‘control’ the ‘reflex’ of the opponent by creating a certain model of behavior in the system it seeks to control. The most fundamental way to do this is to locate the weak link in the system and exploit it through moral arguments, psychological tactics, or appeals. (PSYOP) are operations to convey selected information and indicators to audiences to influence their emotions, motives, and objective reasoning, and ultimately the behavior of governments, organizations, groups, and individuals.

The 2016 election was won by only 77k votes. In Michigan, one of the highly targeted states 90k voters made it to the ballot box and didn’t vote top of the ticket. They voted down ballot. During this time there was a disinformation campaign focused on saying that both the republican and democratic candidate was exactly the same. Despite the physical hurdles to get to the ballot box, 90k people made it but left blank, the space for the vote for the U.S. Presidency as reported by Michigan Live. They believed the "both the same" disinformation campaign telling them there were no real differences in the parties treatment of their votes or their communities. There are current disinformation campaigns requesting voters to repeat this in 2020.
As reported by NPR, WAMU 88.5, The Senate Intelligence Committee, said the Internet Research Agency, which worked "at the direction of the Kremlin," increased its activity after Election Day in 2016.

The report stated "(N)o single group of Americans was targeted by IRA information operatives more than African Americans," By far, race and related issues were the preferred target of the information warfare campaign designed to divide the country in 2016."

These campaigns have become more sophisticated. There are more candidates to target during the primaries up to the lead up of the election in 2020.

There are several existing campaigns that are specifically targeting the black voter today. Some include getting out the vote while others are digital voter suppression campaigns.

**There are five current campaigns.** The key issue areas include reparations, criminal justice, climate change and immigration. These campaigns also focus on telling black voters not to vote for democrats. Some of the quotes used include "no black agenda no vote" or “tangibles or no vote.” They are not making these demands of republicans nor independent candidates.

**ADOS - American Descendants of Slaves**
A campaign focused on reparations for African Americans but only those who are descendants of slaves on American soil. The campaign makes demands of Democratic candidates to develop a black agenda.

**Blexit**
Black exit from the Democratic party. A campaign that claims freedom from key states that hurt black voters because of democratic policies. Some states include Chicago, Philadelphia and Detroit.

**Tangibles - (#FBA) Foundational Black Americans**
A campaign to demand that politicians must offer tangibles specifically to Foundational Black Americans, or they won't vote them.

**Black Voices for Trump**
On November 8th this Trump Campaign launched. Part of the announcement included stating as an issue area that climate change dollars would go to the black community instead.

**Walk Away**
This campaign started in about 2018. This campaign is specifically designed to get black voters to leave the democratic party as an empowerment strategy. The current celebrity spokesperson supporting this campaign is Isiah Washington.

In 2018 this campaign had an overlap in the online social graph with white nationalists and other versions of Trump supporters.
The campaign called Blexit, run by Candace Owens, focuses on getting black voters not to vote for democrats but to also leave the party. Tangibles 2020, is a campaign run by Tariq Nasheed. Tariq has been in several reports sharing the Russian propaganda campaign of “don't vote.” This was a digital voter suppression campaign in 2016. The tangibles campaign is connected to reparations. The democrats must give something tangible to black voters. Generally, it means monetarily. The ADOS campaign, American descendants of Slaves, key focus is on reparations and anti-immigration. For those participating in this campaign this includes Black immigrants. They are not considered part of the community and should not receive reparations nor their vote. They target Barack Obama for being Kenyan and born in Hawaii. Currently they are targeting Kamala Harris for not being black because her parents were Indian and Jamaican although she was born in Oakland.

Below is a graph of the social web on ADOS or those that claim to be ADOS. Although there are real people in this movement there a many fake accounts amplifying these messages. The wedge issues are slavery and reparations.
This graph is an example of the overlap with other movements. Sen. Harris can be seen in this cluster with other Black leaders including Marc Morial. Nasheed in blue is leading the tangible campaign with Breaking Brown, Yvette Carnell and Tonetalks, Antonio Moore leading the ADOS campaign.
Below are some examples of how these campaigns worked in targeting Sen. Harris, but she is not the only candidate. The images below were right after the second debate. Similar activities have been discovered for Sen. Warren after the endorsements of Representative Ayanna Pressley and Black Womxn For.

A lot of suspect accounts are pushing the “Kamala Harris is not Black” narrative tonight. It’s everywhere and it has all the signs of being a coordinated/artificial operation. #DemDebate2
There was a little girl in California who was bussed to school. That little girl was me. #DemDebate

I will ensure that this microphone that the president of the United States holds in his hand is used in a way that is about reflecting the values of our country. #DemDebate

You’re not even half black you not supposed to speak like you are.


@fema5626: @KamalaHarris is not black

FACTS: Kamala Harris is not African American. Her parents were immigrants from India & Jamaica and she was raised in Canada, not the United States.

Please you blew your way to become president you are not black you were anchor baby go wash dishes that all you are good for.

You are not a black woman! Just stop @KamalaHarris #DemDebate2
I'm a Warren supporter, but anecdotally, there is a stranger, stronger troll campaign against Harris than anyone else out there online... I've said positive things about several of the Dem candidates & she's the only one about whom I get a wave of canned vitriol-bots in response.

An example that targeted Warren's campaign after the endorsements from black women supporters.
I tweet about things inside of my heart.
Progressive Palestinian Kentuckian Christian 420
#YangGang #MATH #freedomdividend #democracydollars #prosperitygrants
I hope the #DEMSPolitics Democrat @DNCWarRoom @JoeBiden @BernieSanders @ewarren @TulsiGabbard @CoryBooker and the rest take heed. The road to the White House goes directly through the +80% electorate base. And we are looking for POLICY #votingisaneexchange #ADOSPolitics

[Image of The Black Agenda]

We demand a New Deal for Black America which includes, but is not limited to:

1. We need set asides for American descendants of slavery, not “minorities.” That begins with a new designation on the census with ADOS and another for Black immigrants. Black immigrants should be exempt from affirmative action and other set asides intended for ADOS, as should Asians, Latinos, whites, and other “minority” groups.

2. Once affirmative action is streamlined as a government program only and specifically for ADOS, the program should be fully reinstituted.

3. Reinstating the protections of The Voting Rights Act is a must.

4. Mandate that the government’s advertising budget include Black media. In addition, mandate that 10% of government advertising for governmental agencies, armed forces and other ancillary programs go to majority ADOS owned media companies.

You spared no one, including Elizabeth “عدد Hold up, I Got a Plan For That ـ Warren!! Everyone wants to pretend like Black men don’t vote, yet want Black women to save the Democratic Party. Black families matter. Very divisive and they’re not subliminal.

#PrimariesSoWhite
Here are some examples of the fake accounts. This black woman Biden Voter account began actively targeting any black woman that criticized Joe Biden. It initially had #NeverBernie in its bio and then Warren and Harris was added.

**Black Woman Biden Voter**
@grandoftwo

I am a Clinton/Obama/Clinton proud Democrat.
#RidinWithBiden2020 #NeverBernie #NeverWarren #NeverHarris. Who’s next?

Joined July 2015
1,550 Following 6,235 Followers

**Shaniqua Silverstein 🇫🇷🇮🇱🍕 former alt-right 🔐**
@GoyBye

Jewish trans lesbian of color. 2nd Gen holocaust survivor. ADOS. 🇮🇱 She/her. Tikkun Olamming tf out all y'all

Joined June 2019
2,002 Following 1,054 Followers
Although some of these attacks are infiltrated by nation state actors targeting many of these campaigns or activists, there are also many domestic actors. To assume that all of this is coordinated by only foreign entities is to fail at solving and addressing the problem.

Some movements are legitimately attempting to get out the vote and they are also impacted in various ways. The take away should not to be to dismiss all of these movements. Many of these are genuine issues from communities but that they are being used as wedge issues. These bad actors infiltrate pretending to be black people to learn and engage. Nation state actors aren't creating these movements. This is not about discrediting movements this about warning them about ways to stop the infiltration enough that is has very little impact on voters.

**Online Meddling Through Social Media Companies**

All of the promise of what social media would bring to communities who didn't have a voice has been unfortunately used to infiltrate and produce disinformation instead. Much of this could have been handled if tech companies thought it was a concern. However, much of the challenges in America in general, and politics secondary, is the concept of free speech. This is one of the main reasons so much of the bad actors went unnoticed.

The major challenges was wrapped in debates about free speech versus hate speech. Definitions that tech companies did not want the responsibility to address. The focus on more speech would handle the hate speech is where the problem began. The concept of falsely amplified speech was never anticipated. When one person can amplify a single narrative through 500 accounts this was the prescription of using “more speech” in disinformation campaigns.

However, most of the problems were around how companies banned and suspended activist and those that spoke up about issues in their communities. That “free speech” wasn't considered in those instances. Based on the way these companies enforced their community standards those that were using the platforms to tell their stories were silenced the most.

Speaking up about racism, homophobia, transphobia, sexism and targeted religious threats were shut down. While conspiracy theorists weren't challenged until recently. Users were deplatformed from YouTube for speaking up about inequality. When the debates and media attention around Alex Jones and other white supremacists were deplatformed some users were given back their platforms. Those that were deplatformed before these large scale issues were users that were simply sharing videos and commercials about the lack of diversity in tech, online and how it impacted women and girls of color. Many were discussing issues of diversity in general.

We have collected various stories from Black Women who were banned for speaking up about being called the n-word while the person that directed the term at them, was not banned. Others were banned simply for using the word “white people” or any criticism of white privilege while hateful rhetoric wasn't remove nor the authors banned despite being reported.
Here are some examples:

Content targeting a Black Congress member Ilhan Omar. Twitter suspended the campaign and user account of her opponent. Facebook has allowed it remain unchallenged. Stella has omitted her name replacing it with ____ but the threat remains. There are other images that have remained on Facebook that are disinformation and threats to Rep. Omar.
Omar Challenger Says She Should be Hanged for Treason if Reports of Qatari Recruitment True
To clarify, I said, "If it is proven _____ passed sensitive info to Iran, she should be tried for #treason and hanged". Treason is the only thing mentioned in the constitution for the death penalty, punishable by hanging or firing squad. I believe all involved should be thoroughly investigated. I did not threaten anyone. I believe that those convicted of treason, regardless of party affiliation, race, religion, preferred gender pronoun, should receive the maximum sentence afforded by law; which for treason, is punishable by death.

stella2020.com
Danielle Stella

#UnitedWeStand
#ForGodAndCountry
#FightForUS
"NEVER FORGET" - YOU SAID..

I AM THE PROOF - YOU HAVE FORGOTTEN
This content that was challenged on Facebook’s community standards. The image on the left was the response that included 30 day bans for two black women. One posted the original content. Another screen grabbed it, posted it and received a 30 day ban. And on the left a white woman user posted it with no response or reaction from Facebook.

There have been hearings on conservative bias but nothing on the racial biases that communities of color especially women of color face generally on these issues. Yet, the data proves that conservative bias is the least challenged on these platforms. It takes a groundswell from media and activists to finally get some of the most egregious content removed.

This is an example of some of the types of speech allowed on these platforms as Natalie Martinez describes in her Media Matters article, For five years, Facebook has let a white supremacist dog whistle thrive:

“On Saturday, a white supremacist killed 22 people and injured another two dozen in El
Paso, TX, a city along the U.S.-Mexico border with an 80% Latinx population. Shortly before he opened fire, the gunman reportedly posted a manifesto online that was filled with anti-immigrant, white supremacist talking points. In the aftermath of this hate-fueled tragedy, one word from the gunman’s post became a fixation for the media and public: “invasion.” It’s a term white supremacists use to demonize immigrants of color. And Facebook has let right-wing pages use the racist dog whistle for years.”

This is a part of the online disinformation campaigns targeting immigrants that thrived for five years unchallenged. Immigration is a huge issue in debates but it also impacts American lives. This is an example of online disinformation leading to offline harms.

Although many of the digital voter suppression campaign have become more sophisticated since 2016. There are key issue areas, topics and targeted communities that haven't changed. This is the path to countering the false narratives, protecting voters and users overall.

**Conclusion**

As we head towards the election in November 2020, key findings of our analysis from our first report, combined with the most updated data collected, mean we can confirm that the past measures to suppress the votes of the Black community have neither been addressed nor slowed down. Instead we have discovered, at a minimum, five distinct, targeted campaigns in usage today aimed at Black voters. This has not only impacted existing presidential candidate campaigns, but also local ones, in addition to effecting media and social networks handling of election issues. The solutions offered by tech and media companies in response to the post-election questions from Congress not only have failed, but companies like Facebook decided not to take down disinformation and suppression ads from any political candidate. This only provides fuel instead of extinguishing the problem. Our recommendations for effective counter-measures include solutions for campaigns, activists, organizations, political strategists, Democratic Organizational Committees (ex. DNC, DCCC, DSCC) and the tech companies. Following these steps will help stem – although not stop -- the forces from outside and inside the country, who’s intent is to target Black voters.

**Suggested Counter-measures**

How do we move forward? We have several suggestions and recommendations for media, political campaigns and activists.

1. Acknowledge disinformation campaigns instead of denying they exist.
2. Counter the disinformation narratives with facts and do it often. Many aspects of the disinformation works is because of the false amplification allows a dominant presence.
3. Every organization, political campaign, activists and those using these platforms for outreach should have a focused disinformation arm. It's only purpose is to monitor, track and counter disinformation.
4. Work with data scientists that are collecting data on disinformation.
5. Ensure you have contacts of those that can verify whether an issue or community debate is understood. Every community has internal debates you may not be aware of.
The only way to counter these narratives is to understand the community debate.

6. Diversity is a problem in all areas. Until this is solved overall, it is especially important for tech companies, newsrooms, and political campaigns to put together teams to work on disinformation, and make sure that they are listening to the input of targeted communities.

7. Employ an expert with a keen understanding about the ease with which people believe false narratives as well as how reflexive control is not only a weapon that has been used by foreign state actors but is also currently being weaponized domestically. This person can either be a part of the disinformation team or separate.

8. Employ cultural competency staff. Stereotypical cultural and identity content is currently being weaponized to impact votes. It is imperative that teams include members that have cultural competencies to assist in dissecting false narratives. They will have the best counter narrative approach for your teams.
Resources

Russia-linked Twitter accounts promoted 'doxxing' over racial tension videos
https://www.nbcnews.com/tech/tech-news/russia-linked-twitter-accounts-promoted-doxxing-over-racial-tension-videos-n1040596

Bots In Blackface – The Rise of Fake Black People on Social Media Promoting Political Agendas

Russia-linked Twitter accounts promoted 'doxxing' over racial tension videos
https://www.nbcnews.com/tech/tech-news/russia-linked-twitter-accounts-promoted-doxxing-over-racial-tension-videos-n1040596

Source Hacking: Media Manipulation In Practice
https://datasociety.net/output/source-hacking-media-manipulation-in-practice/

First They Came for the Black Feminists
The precursors to Gamergate were disinformation campaigns targeting women of color.

Black Voters Are Watching the 2020 Elections Carefully, Democrats Better Pay Attention

What do black women voters want?

Black Futures Lab: More Black Than Blue: Politics and Power in the 2019 Black Census
https://blackcensus.org/

Kamala Harris says Russian bots are targeting her. It's more complicated than that.

Black voters will define what ‘electable’ means for 2020 Democrats
https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/black-voters-will-define-what-electable-means-for-2020-democrats

North Carolina’s Deliberate Disenfranchisement of Black Voters

"State of Black America" report links Russian interference to voter suppression efforts

Conspirador Norteno Sept 8, 2019
https://twitter.com/conspirator0/status/1170781503040753665
New Knowledge Report  

Mueller Report  

Senate Report: Russians Used Social Media Mostly To Target Race In 2016  

Michigan's 2016 presidential election by the numbers  

Why everybody is freaking out about political ads on Facebook and Google  

Manipulation Machines  

**White Nationalism and Conservative Bias**

Timeline: How baseless right-wing claims about tech bias led to Trump drafting an executive order  

For five years, Facebook has let a white supremacist dog whistle thrive  
https://www.mediamatters.org/facebook/facebook-let-white-supremacist-dog-whistle-invasion-thrive-years

Facebook just removed six extremists from its platforms. Here's what should happen next.  

New Report Exposes Troll Farm  

Alternative Influence: Broadcasting the Reactionary Right on Youtube  

**TV Media**

Facebook, Instagram ban extremist leaders from platforms  
https://www.msnbc.com/am-joy/watch/facebook-instagram-bans-extremist-leaders-from-platforms-58916421577