

## Jan 6 Freedom of Expression (FoE) Survey

We conducted a study in January looking at perceptions of Jan 6 events and related issues of freedom of expression vs safety among US adults. The study was designed to answer four main research questions:

1. What is the perception of how tech and Facebook reacted to events of January 6?
2. To what extent do people see FB and tech's reactions to January 6 as legitimate functions of tech versus censorship?
3. To what extent should tech be thinking about its place in freedom of expression vs safety going forward?
4. What is the proper role/responsibility for tech going forward in light of recent events?

### TLDR - KEY FINDINGS

- People don't see social media as the main cause of Jan 6 but FB is seen as partially responsible
  - Though collectively they see media as more responsible than social media.
- Clear partisan divide in approval of social media's response
  - Republicans think FB was attempting to censor Trump due to political pressure
  - Democrats more likely to think FB was enforcing content policy and reducing risk of violence

- No clear path on prioritizing safety vs. freedom of expression due to stark polarization
  - Polarized priorities due to partisan differences in belief that on-platform activity causes off-line harm
  - No consensus across parties on which groups should be allowed to organize protests on FB, need for content moderation, what content moderation (if any) should look like, and whether social media companies should be allowed to ban world leaders
  - But being perceived as consistently creating and enforcing content rules and banning anyone inciting violence can increase trust in the company (however, bans after violence happens harms trust)
- Moving forward, people would like to see the following:
  - More content regulation by government and an independent oversight board
  - More active content regulation by FB (Dems) as well as giving users more control (Reps)
  - Removing politics from FB also popular but restricting algorithmic amplification much less so

## TLDR - METHODS

- Off-platform unbranded survey conducted by YouGov
  - Field period: January 16-19, 2021
  - $n = 4400$  (2138 Democrats, 909 Independents, 1353 Republicans)

- Sample matching using 2018 ACS 1-year file: Age, gender, education, race
- Data are weighted to US adult general population targets: Weighted on age, gender, education, race/ethnicity, census region (ACS), 2016 and 2020 presidential vote choice
- Survey overview
  - Landscape information eg prioritizing freedom of speech vs. preventing harm, breaking up FB, support for government regulation of social media
  - Reactions to the events of Jan 6 including approval of tech and social media's reactions
  - What actions government and Facebook should take in the future in light of these events
  - Protest organizing and trade offs
  - World leaders on social media
  - Hypothetical scenario experiment varying who posts, what content, Facebook's response
  - Experiment on how situations affect trust in a social media company

— with [REDACTED]

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# Jan 6 Freedom of Expression (FoE) Survey

[REDACTED]  
DSS Brand

February 10, 2021



FACEBOOK

Redacted for Congress



# tldr

## **People don't see social media as the main cause of Jan 6 but FB is seen as partially responsible**

- Though collectively they see media as more responsible than social media

## **Clear partisan divide in approval of social media's response**

- Republicans think FB was attempting to censor Trump due to political pressure
- Democrats more likely to think FB was enforcing content policy and reducing risk of violence

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- More active content regulation by FB (Dems) as well as giving users more control (Reps)
- Removing politics from FB also popular but restricting algorithmic amplification much less so

# Research Questions

1. What is the perception of how tech and Facebook reacted to events of January 6?
2. To what extent do people see FB and tech's reactions to January 6 as legitimate functions of tech vs. censorship?
3. To what extent should tech be thinking about its place in freedom of expression vs safety going forward?
4. What is the proper role/responsibility for tech going forward in light of recent events?

# Survey Details

## Survey conducted by YouGov

- Field period: January 16-19, 2021
- n = 4400 (2138 Democrats, 909 Independents, 1353 Republicans)
- Off-platform, unbranded

## Sample matching using 2018 ACS 1-year file

- Age, gender, education, race

## Data are weighted to US adult general population targets

- Weighted on age, gender, education, race/ethnicity, census region (ACS), 2016 and 2020 presidential vote choice

## Survey overview

- Landscape information eg prioritizing freedom of speech vs. preventing harm, breaking up FB, support for government regulation of social media
- Reactions to the events of Jan 6 including approval of tech and social media's reactions
- What actions government and Facebook should take in the future in light of these events
- Protest organizing and trade offs
- World leaders on social media
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# Public perceptions of Facebook's and tech's reactions to Jan 6

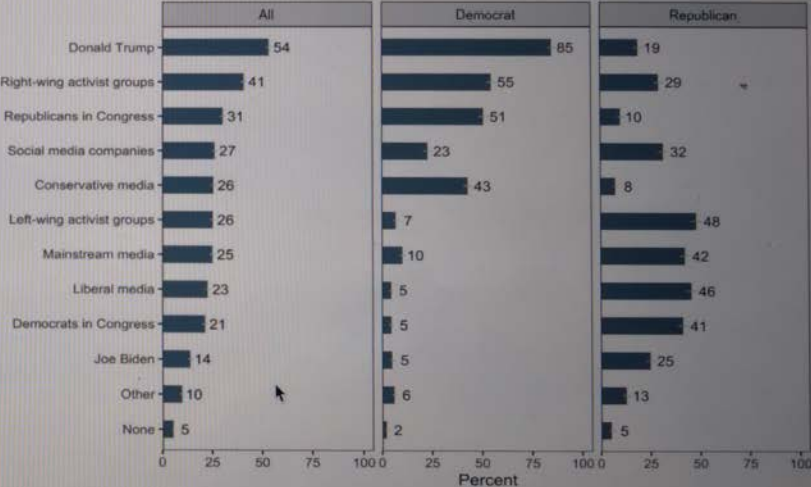


# People don't see social media as the main cause of Jan 6, more likely to blame out-party and other media types

**Democrats blame** Trump (85%), right wing activists (55%), Republicans in Congress (51%), and conservative media (43%).

**Republicans blame** left-wing activists (48%), liberal media (46%), mainstream media (42%), and Democrats in Congress (41%).

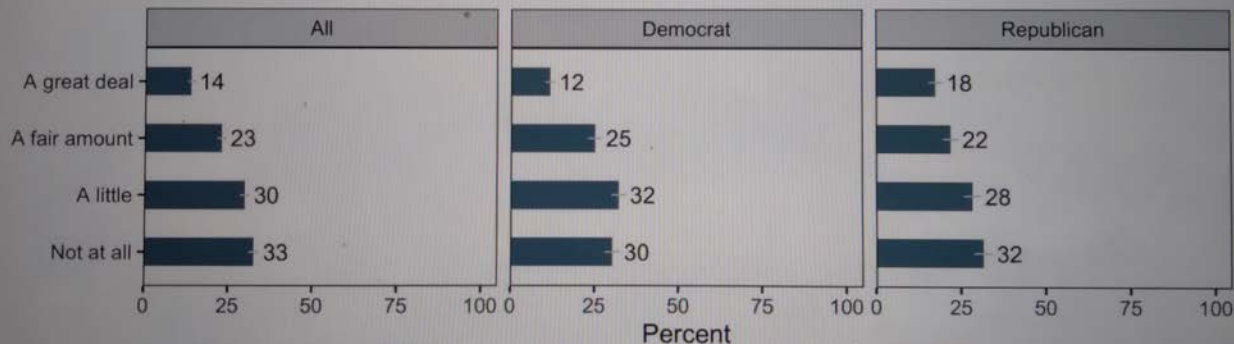
**Across party lines, social media is seen as less responsible than all other media:** 27% blame social media while 52% blame any other media (liberal, conservative, mainstream). Among Dems 23% vs. 50%, among Reps 32% vs. 58%, respectively.



Who do you think is responsible for what happened at the Capitol on January 6? Select all that apply. n=4400; YouGov US adult sample. Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021. Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines.

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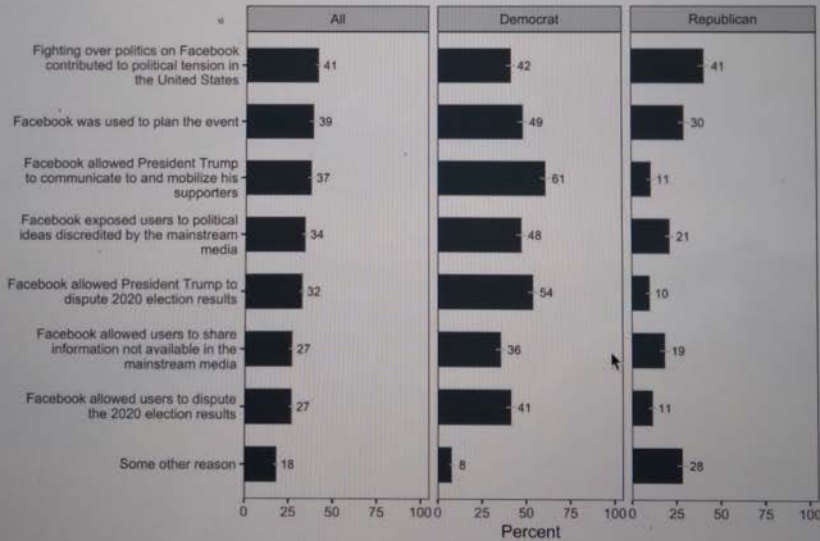
Despite blaming others, a majority see FB as at least “a little” responsible for the events of Jan 6



To what extent, if at all, do you think Facebook is responsible for what happened at the Capitol on January 6?

n=4400; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021  
Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines

Among those who do see FB as responsible, a plurality blame FB for growing political tension in US, giving protestors a way to organize, and giving Trump a platform to mobilize supporters

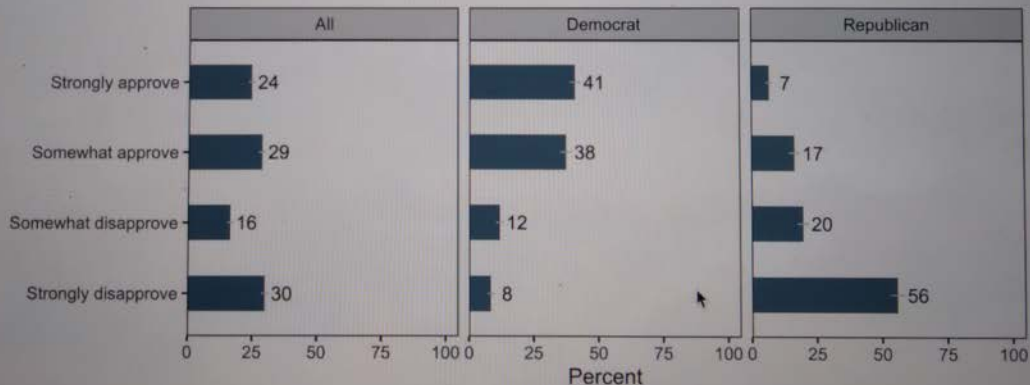


[Asked if R thinks Facebook is responsible for Jan 6]  
Which of the following are reasons why you think Facebook is responsible for what happened? Select all that apply.

n=2999; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021  
Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines

# There are clear partisan divides in approval of the actions FB and tech took in response to Jan 6

Overall 53% approved of FB's response to Jan 6: 79% of Dems but only 24% Reps



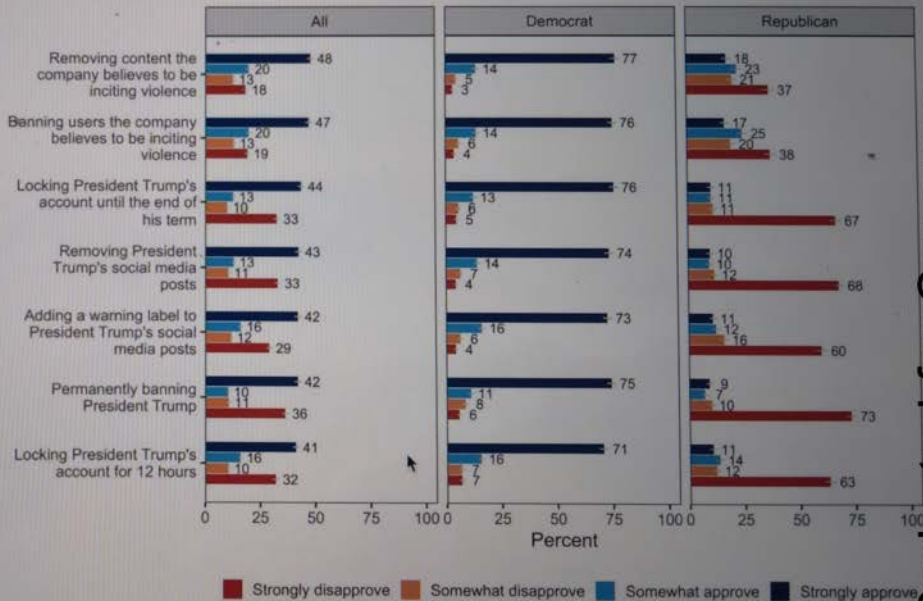
Given what you know, to what extent do you approve or disapprove of how Facebook handled President Trump's posts and account in response to the events at the Capitol on January 6?

n=4400; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021  
Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines

# Among actions taken by social media companies, approval was highest for removing content inciting violence

69% somewhat/strongly approved of social media companies removing content the company believes to be inciting violence while 67% somewhat/strongly approved of banning users believed to be inciting violence

A majority of Democrats strongly approved of every action taken by social media companies while a majority of Republicans strongly disapproved of every action other than removing content/banning users inciting violence



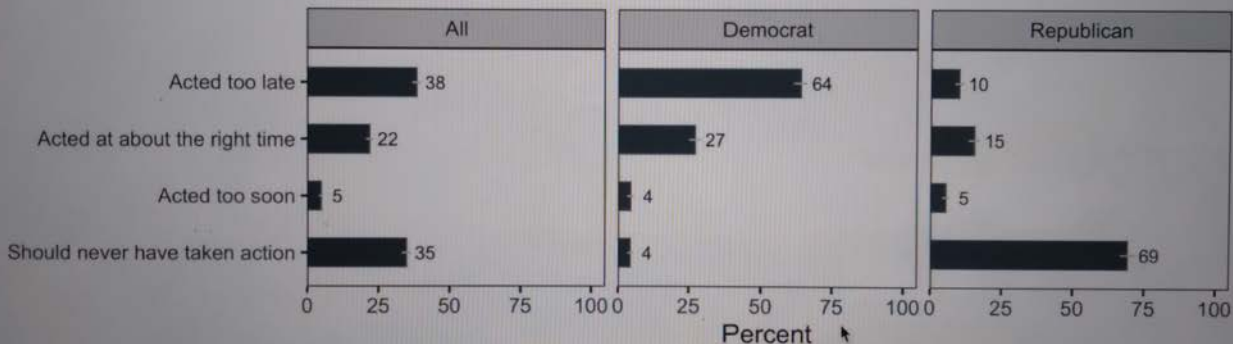
Below are some actions that SOCIAL MEDIA companies have taken in response to these events. To what extent do you approve or disapprove of each of the following?

n=4400; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021  
Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines



# Disagreement over whether locking Trump's account was right

38% think FB acted too late in locking Trump's account while 35% think FB should never have taken such action, but views are starkly polarized



By removing President Trump's post and locking his account when it did, do you think Facebook...  
 (Options: Acted too soon / Acted at about the right time / Acted too late / Should never have taken action)

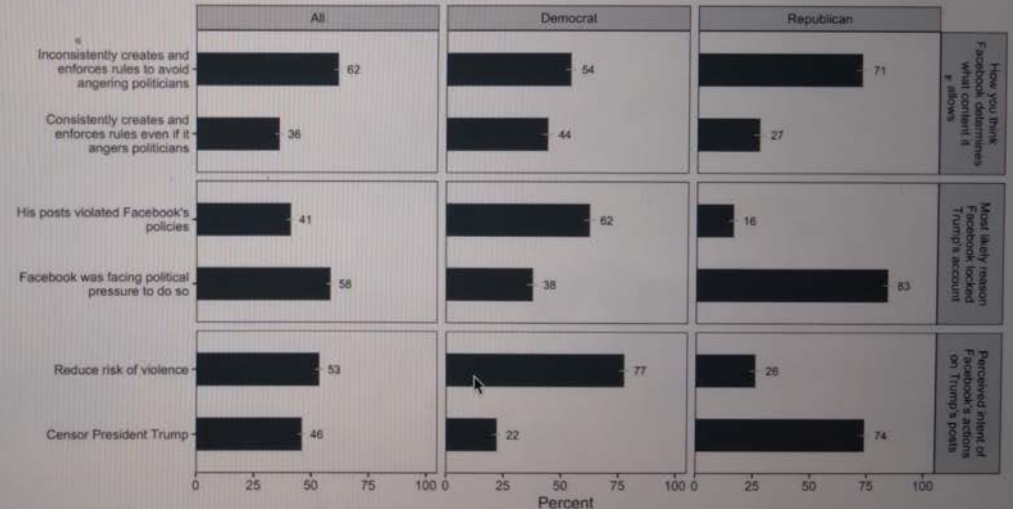
n=4400; YouGov US adult sample  
 Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021  
 Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines

Public views of  
whether FB and tech  
reactions to Jan 6 were  
legitimate tech  
functions vs  
censorship

Respondents split on whether FB attempted to censor Trump but majority think they locked his account because of political pressure and that FB acts inconsistently to avoid angering politicians

Republicans' think FB was attempting to censor Trump due to political pressure

Democrats are more likely to think FB was enforcing content policy and reducing risk of violence

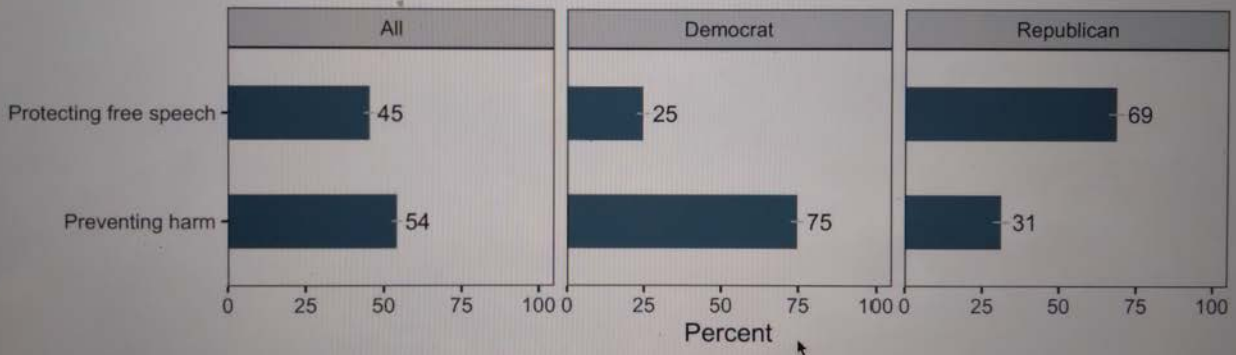


Thinking about Facebook's recent actions on President Trump's posts and account, would you say they were trying to reduce risk of violence or they were trying to censor him?  
Which of the following do you think is the most likely reason Facebook locked President Trump's account?  
Which of the following statements best describes how you think Facebook determines what content it allows on its site?

n=4400; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021  
Weighted estimates. 95% CI lines

Public views about  
how tech should  
position itself in FoE vs  
safety going forward

# No consensus on whether FB should prioritize FoE or safety: Democrats prefer preventing harm, Republicans prefer free speech



If you had to choose, which do you think tech companies should prioritize: preventing harm or protecting free speech?

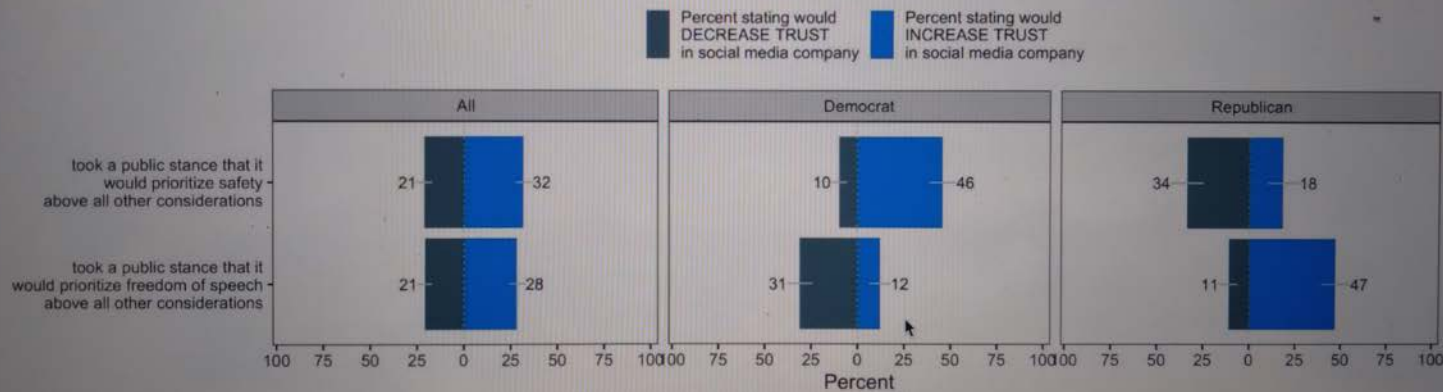
n=4400; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021  
Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines

Note: Asked before raising questions of Trump/January 6 to get the cleanest read.



Republicans express that taking a public stance to prioritize safety over all other considerations would cause a net decrease in their trust in a social media company, while Democrats express prioritizing freedom of expression would decrease their trust.

Percent Reporting Would Change Trust in a Social Media Company under Different Situations



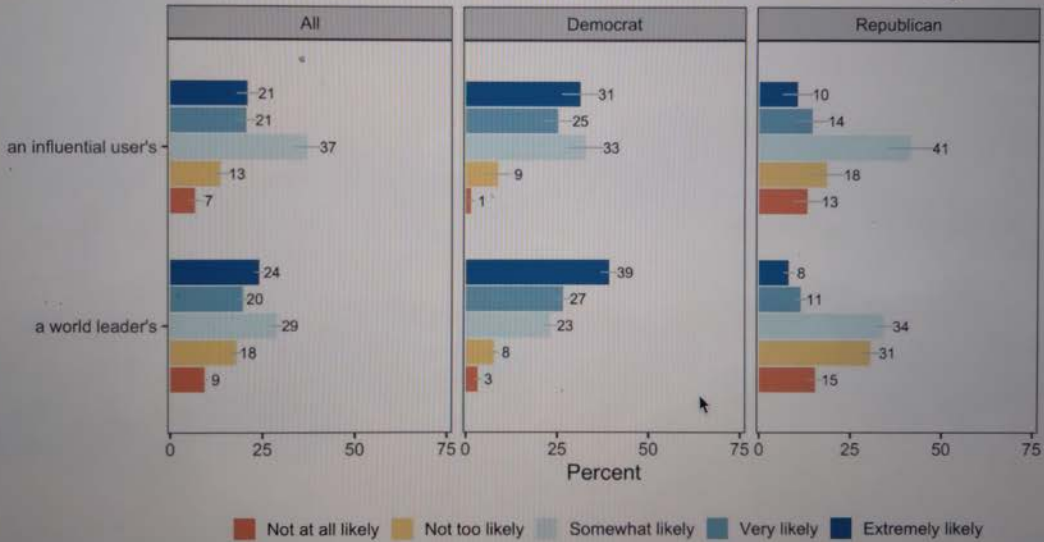
If a social media company [RANDOMIZE: situation], would that increase or decrease how much you trust that company?  
(Options: Increase trust / Neither increase nor decrease trust / Decrease trust)

n = 968; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 16-20, 2021  
Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines

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# Party differences in FoE vs safety trade-offs likely due to differences in the belief that on-platform activity can cause off-line harm in the first place

Belief in the Likelihood a Social Media Post Could Incite Violence, by Source

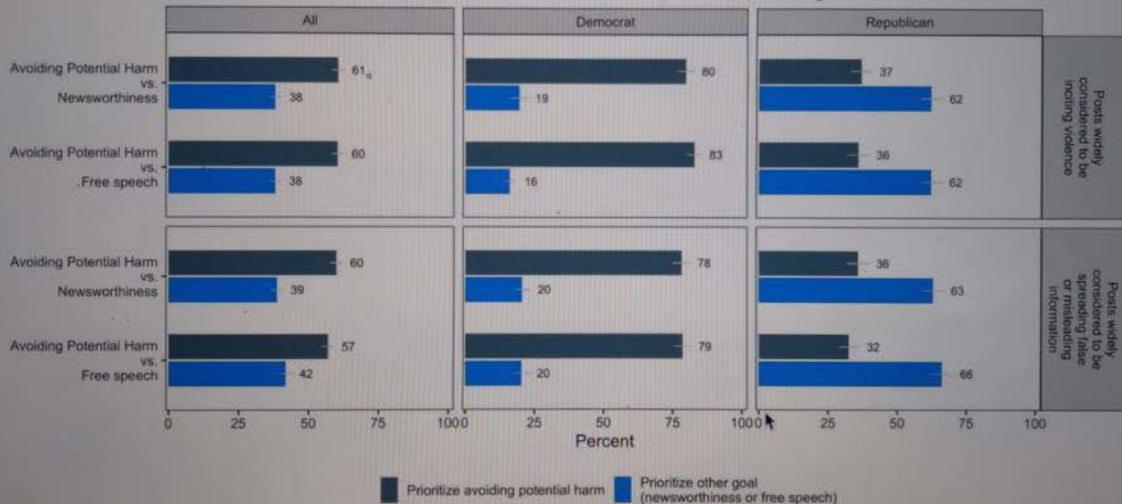


In your opinion, how likely is it that [a world leader's / an influential user's] social media posts could incite violence, meaning they create an immediate risk of harm to people or property?  
(Options: Extremely likely / Very likely / Somewhat likely / Not too likely / Not at all likely)

n = 4400; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021  
Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines

# Polarization on safety vs. FoE trade-off extends to world leaders' posts: D's prioritize avoiding harm whereas R's prioritize free speech/newsworthiness

Views on What Social Media Companies Should Prioritize When Dealing with World Leaders' Posts



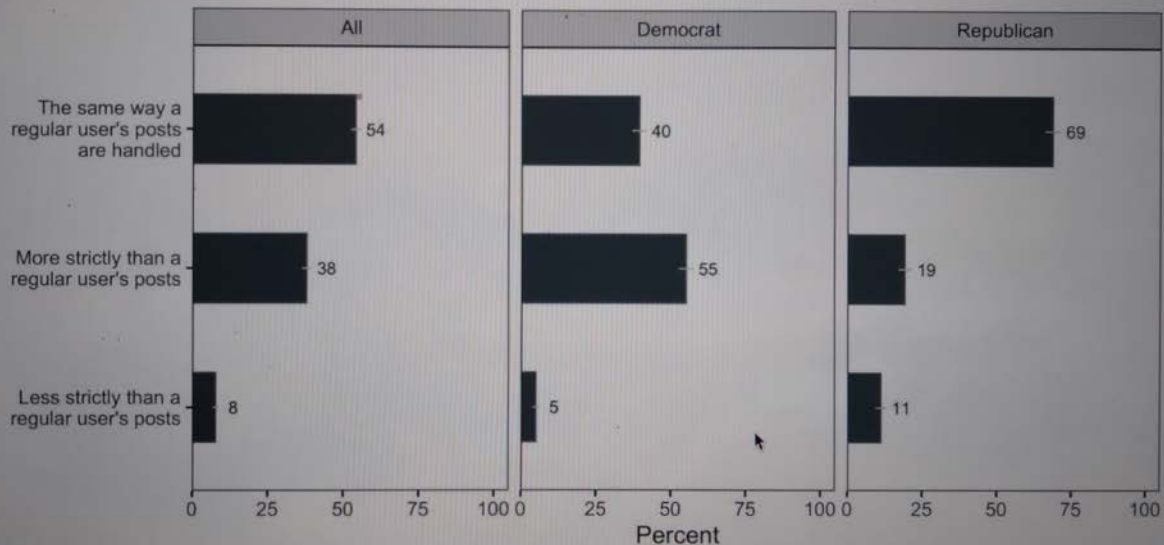
Similar findings across different types of world leader posts

Similar findings regardless of difference in how trade-off is framed

Suppose a world leader posts content that is widely considered to be [INCITING VIOLENCE / SPREADING FALSE OR MISLEADING INFORMATION]. Which do you think social media companies should prioritize in determining how to handle it: (Options: [RANDOMIZE: Newsworthiness / Free speech]: It's more important for people to know what world leaders are saying / Avoiding potential harm: it's more important to prevent [violence / the spread of false information])

n = 4400; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021  
Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines

There is also partisan disagreement over whether a world leader's posts should be treated more strictly than or the same way as a regular user's posts are handled



In principle, how do you think social media companies should treat world leaders' posts in the future?

[Options: The same way a regular user's posts are handled /

More strictly than a regular user's posts (i.e. more likely to be flagged or removed) /

Less strictly than a regular user's posts (i.e. exempt from certain content policies)]

n=4400; YouGov US adult sample

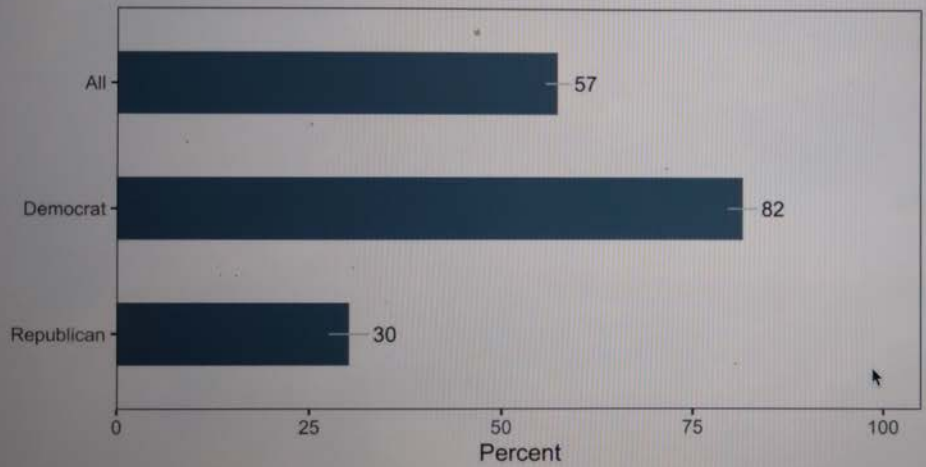
Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021

Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines

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Similarly, there are party differences in attitudes about whether social media companies should even be allowed to ban world leaders at all

Percent Stating Social Media Companies Should Be Allowed to Ban World Leaders



Should social media companies be allowed to ban world leaders from their sites, or not? (Options: Yes / No)

n=4400; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021  
Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines

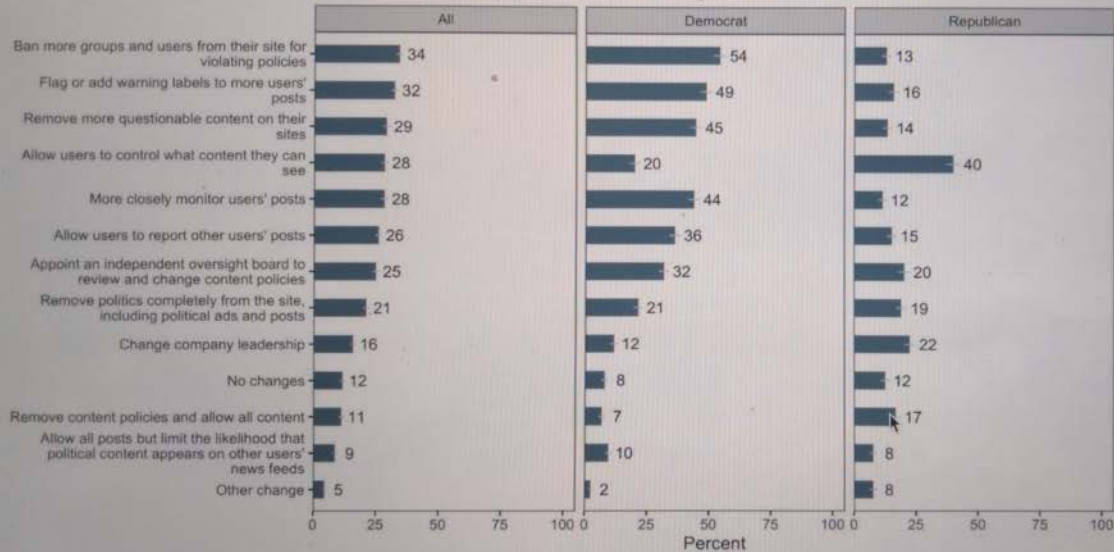
In addition, **priming respondents to think about banning Trump** - by randomly asking this question *after* (vs. before) a series of questions about how social media should treat Trump's posts after he leaves office - **increases support for banning world leaders**

All: +5.2 pp (vs 55 no prime),  $p < .01$   
Ds: +6.9 pp (vs 78 no prime),  $p < .01$   
Rs: +3.9 pp (vs 28 no prime)  $p = .14$



Public views about the  
role and responsibility  
for tech going forward  
in light of recent  
events

In light of recent events, respondents want FB to take more active role in content moderation and give users more control; appointing independent oversight board and removing politics also popular but restricting algorithmic amplification less so



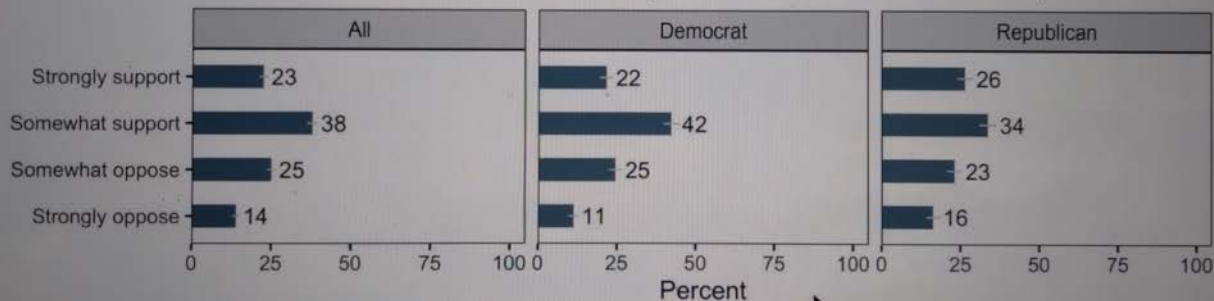
But support is polarized: Democrats want active content moderation, whereas Republicans want to give users control over what they see.

Which of the following actions, if any, should Facebook take in light of recent events? Select all that apply.

n=4400; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021  
Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines

# Majorities across party lines also want more government regulation of social media in the abstract

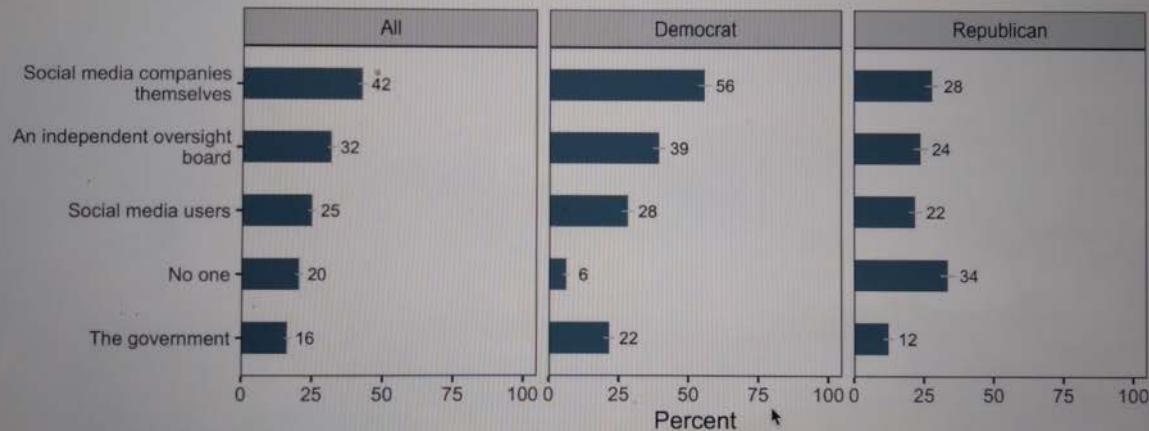
Support for More Government Regulation of Social Media Companies



To what extent do you support or oppose the government more closely regulating social media companies?  
(Options: Strongly support / Somewhat support / Somewhat oppose / Strongly oppose)

n=4400; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021  
Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines

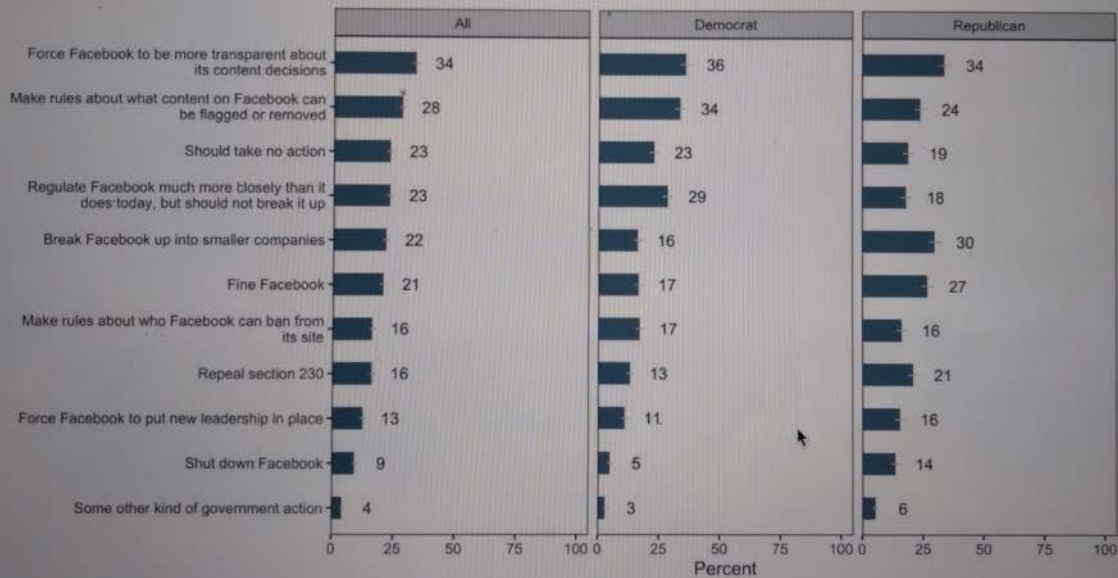
However they are much less likely to want government making the rules about what content is allowed on social media



In your opinion, who should make the rules about what content is allowed on social media? Select all that apply.

n=4400; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021  
Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines

Still, in light of recent events, government regulation remains popular: 77% want some kind of government action toward FB



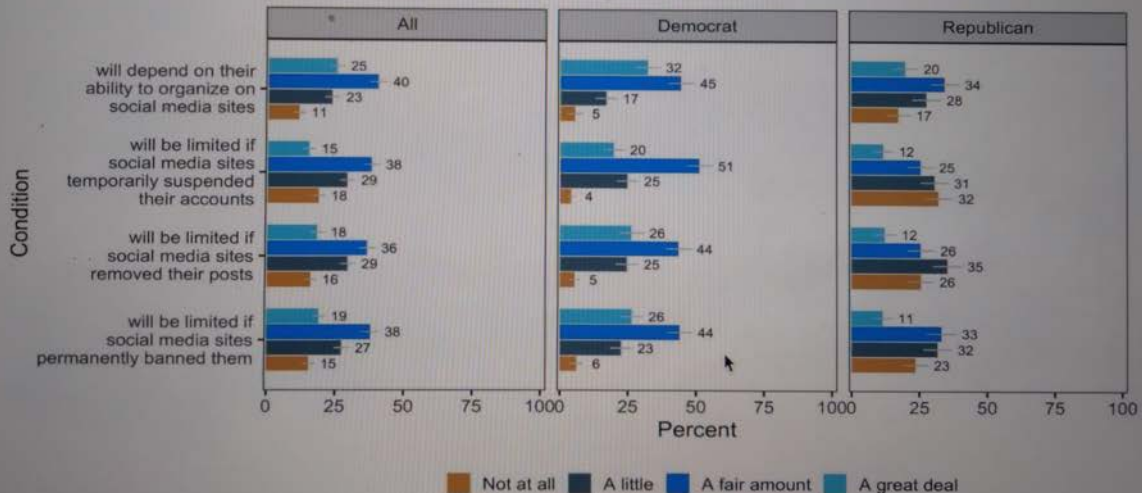
What action should the government take towards Facebook, if any, in light of how Facebook handled recent events? Select all that apply.

n=4400; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021  
Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines



Majorities of both parties also believe that the success of another event like Jan 6 depends on the ability to organize on social media

Belief that the Success of Future Attempts to Organize Incidents Like Jan 6 Will Depend on Social Media Conditions

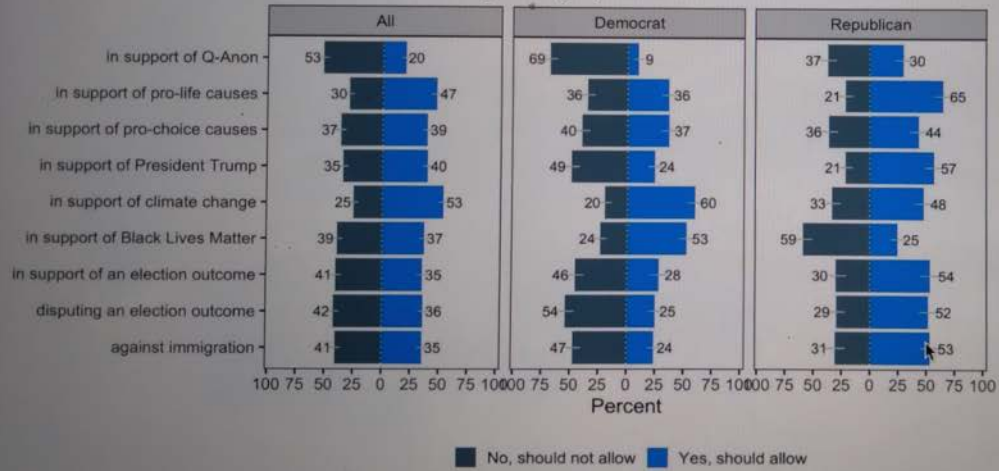


If groups attempt to organize incidents like what happened on Jan 6 in the future, how much of their success [RANDOMIZE: condition]?  
(Options: A great deal / A fair amount / A little / Not at all)

n = 4400; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021  
Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines

# However views on whether social media companies should restrict on-platform protest organizing vary by the purpose of the protest and by party

Percent Believing Social Media Companies Should Allow On-Platform Protest Organizing by Cause



Partisans are more likely to say on-platform protest organizing for **ideologically aligned causes should be allowed** but organizing for **ideologically opposed causes should not be allowed**.

For Democrats, net support for on-platform organizing (% allow minus % not allow) is highest for climate change (40% net) and BLM (29% net) and lowest for Q-Anon (-60% net) and disputing elections (-29% net).

For Republicans, net support for on-platform organizing is highest for pro-life causes (44% net) and Trump (36% net) and lowest for BLM (-34% net) and Q-Anon (-7% net).

Do you think social media companies should allow people to use their sites to organize protests [RANDOMIZE: protest cause]?  
(Options: Yes / No / Not sure)

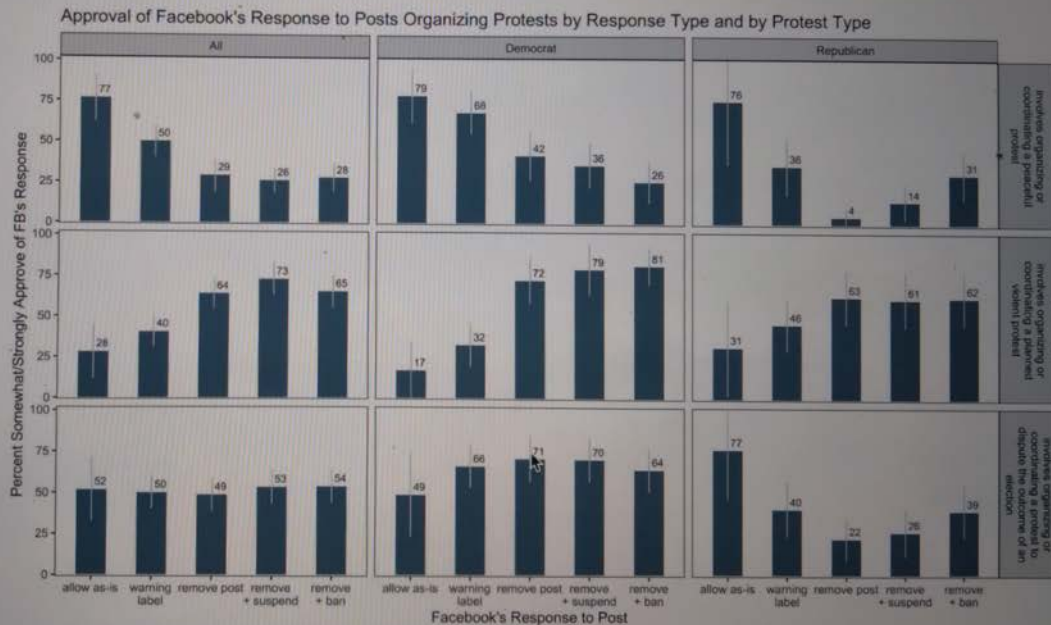
n = 4400; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021  
Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines

here is a consensus that peaceful protest organizing should be allowed and violent protest organizing should not. But Dems and Reps disagree on whether posts organizing protests to dispute election results should be allowed

People prefer allowing peaceful protest organizing on platform

People also tend to prefer removing posts that organize planned violent protests

However there are party differences in whether posts organizing protests to dispute election outcomes should be flagged or removed (Ds prefer) or allowed as-is (Rs prefer). This may be associated with differing perceptions about whether such protests could incite violence



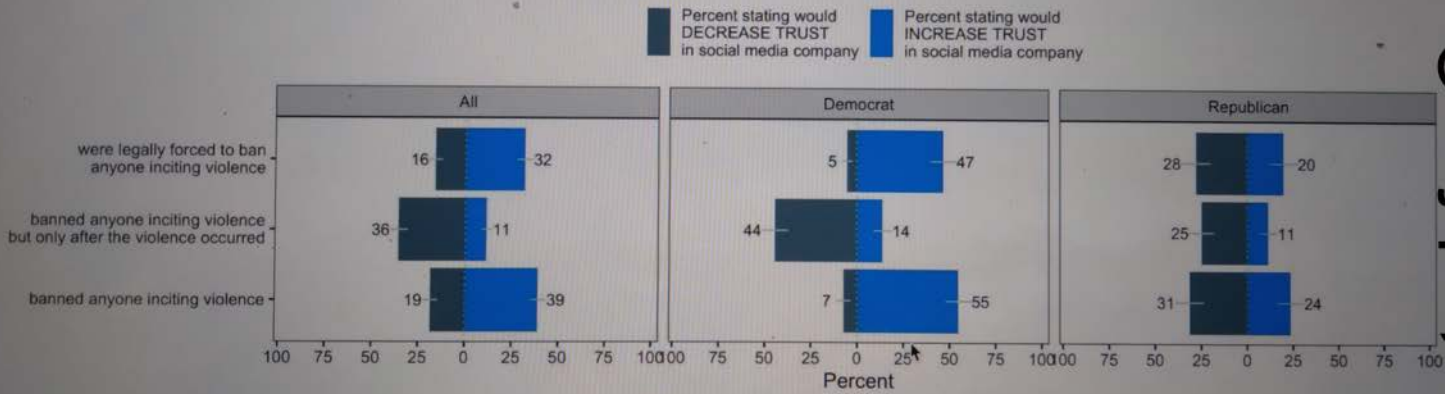
Imagine a scenario where [RANDOMIZE: poster] publishes a post on Facebook that [RANDOMIZE: post content]. In response, Facebook [RANDOMIZE: response to post]. To what extent do you approve or disapprove of the action Facebook in response to the post in this scenario? (Options: Strongly approve / Somewhat approve / Somewhat disapprove / Strongly disapprove)

n = 1450; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 15-19, 2021  
Weighted estimates, 95% CI line

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Across parties, respondents report that banning those inciting violence would result in an increase in trust in a social media company. But a net decrease in trust would result if ban occurs *after* the violence happens

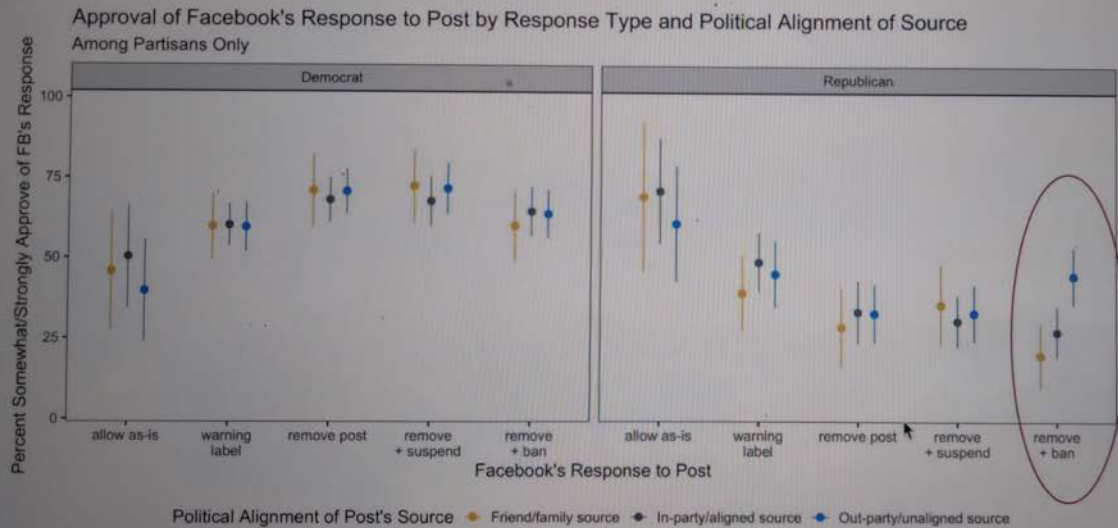
Percent Reporting Would Change Trust in a Social Media Company under Different Situations



If a social media company [RANDOMIZE: situation], would that increase or decrease how much you trust that company?  
 (Options: Increase trust / Neither increase nor decrease trust / Decrease trust)

n = 1477; YouGov US adult sample  
 Field dates: Jan 16-20, 2021  
 Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines

More generally, across different types of politicized content, a majority of Democrats approve of content moderation (labeling/removing posts) whereas a majority of Republicans do not



Notably, approval for FB's response to a post is usually not affected by whether the original post is from a politically aligned source.

The only exception is among Republicans, who are more likely to approve of FB removing a post and banning the user if that user is politically unaligned (i.e., liberal or Democratic)

Imagine a scenario where [RANDOMIZE: poster] publishes a post on Facebook that [RANDOMIZE: post content]. In response, Facebook [RANDOMIZE: response to post]. To what extent do you approve or disapprove of the action Facebook in response to the post in this scenario? (Options: Strongly approve / Somewhat approve / Somewhat disapprove / Strongly disapprove) For Democrats (Republicans), aligned sources are an influential liberal (conservative) activist or an influential Democratic (Republican) politician, vice versa for unaligned sources.

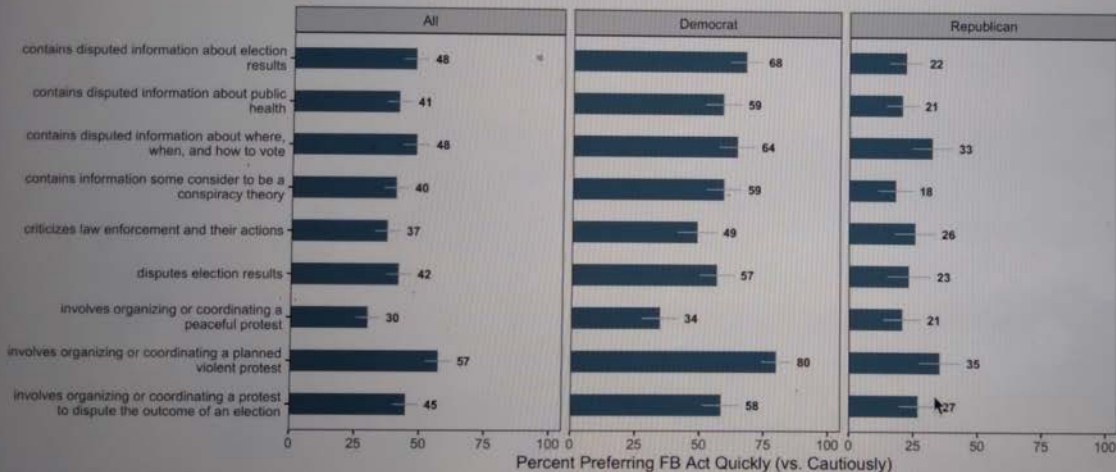
n = 3491; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021  
Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines

Results average across the following post content scenarios: organizing a protest to dispute the outcome of an election; organizing a planned violent protest; organizing a peaceful protest; disputing election results; criticizing law enforcement and their actions; containing information some consider to be a conspiracy theory; containing disputed information about where, when, and how to vote; containing disputed information about public health; containing disputed information about election results



here are also polarized views on how quickly vs cautiously Facebook should act to flag/remove a post if it is reported by a user. Republicans prefer Facebook act cautiously whereas Democrats prefer Facebook act quickly.

Preference for FB to Act Quickly (vs. Cautiously) to Flag/Remove Post if Reported by User  
By Content of Post



Imagine a scenario where [RANDOMIZE: poster] publishes a post on Facebook that [RANDOMIZE: post content].  
In response, Facebook [RANDOMIZE: response to post].  
If another user asked Facebook to review this type of post, which of the following best describes what you think Facebook should do?  
Options: 1. Facebook should act quickly to flag or remove posts like this, even if it means some posts are unnecessarily flagged or removed /  
2. Facebook should act cautiously to flag or remove posts like this, even if it means some posts remain on the site longer than they should)

n = 4400; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021  
Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines

**Overall, a majority** prefer FB act quickly to flag/remove posts organizing a planned violent protest

**Majority of Democrats prefer FB act quickly** to flag/remove many types of posts, except those criticizing law enforcement and those organizing peaceful protests

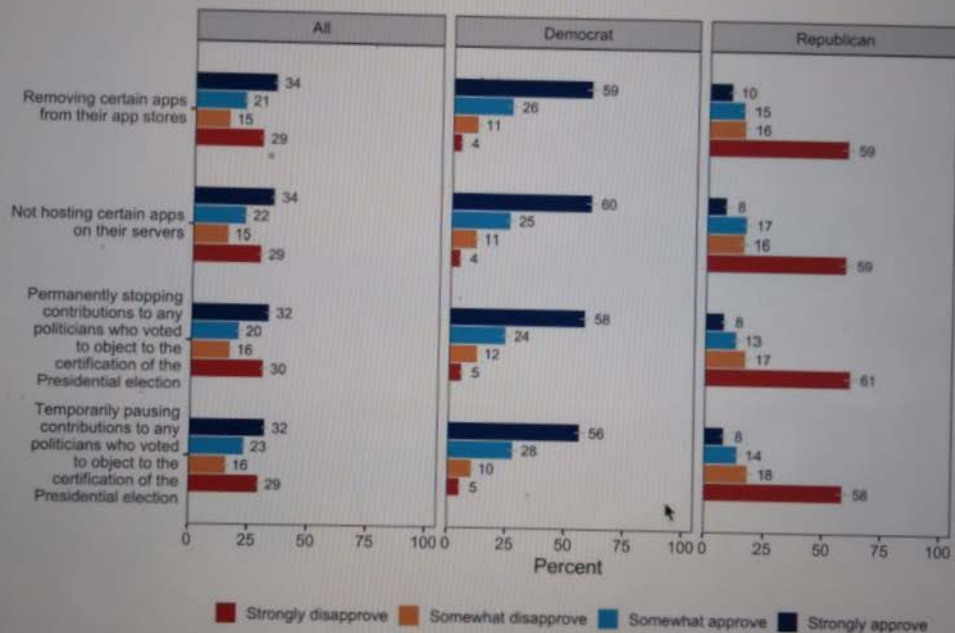
**Majority of Republicans prefer FB act cautiously** to flag/remove across many types of posts, even those planning violent protests

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# Appendix

Save Democrats are more likely to approve and Republicans more likely to disapprove of actions TECH companies have taken in response to Jan 6

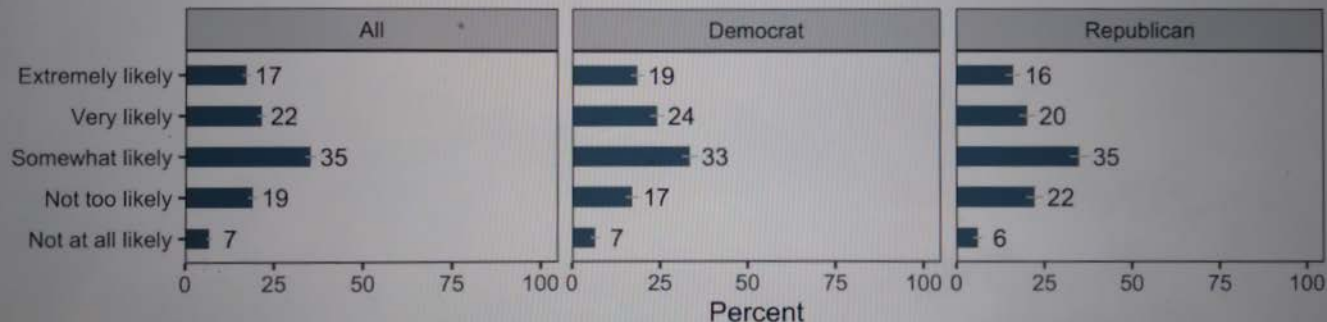


Below are some actions that TECH companies have taken in response to these events. To what extent do you approve or disapprove of each of the following?

n=4400; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021  
Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines

## Across party lines, majorities think events like Jan 6 are likely to happen in the future

Perceived Likelihood of Incidents like Jan 6 in Next 12 Months

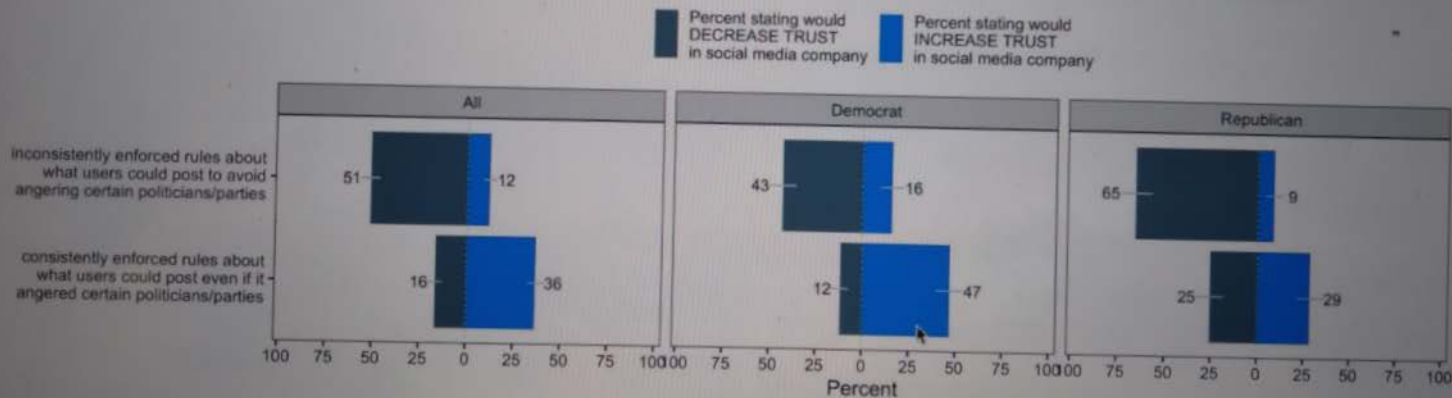


How likely, if at all, do you think it is that incidents like what happened in Washington D.C. on January 6 will happen again in the next 12 months?  
(Options: Extremely likely / Very likely / Somewhat likely / Not too likely / Not at all likely)

n=4400; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 16-19, 2021  
Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines

# Being perceived as inconsistently enforcing rules to avoid angering politicians decreases stated trust in social media companies

Percent Reporting Would Change Trust in a Social Media Company under Different Situations



If a social media company [RANDOMIZE: situation], would that increase or decrease how much you trust that company?  
(Options: Increase trust / Neither increase nor decrease trust / Decrease trust)

n = 964; YouGov US adult sample  
Field dates: Jan 16-20, 2021  
Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines

# Scenario experiment (Full results): Approval of FB's response to posts by post content and type of response from FB

Approval of Facebook's Response to Posts by Content of Post and by Type of FB's Response



FB's Response to Post

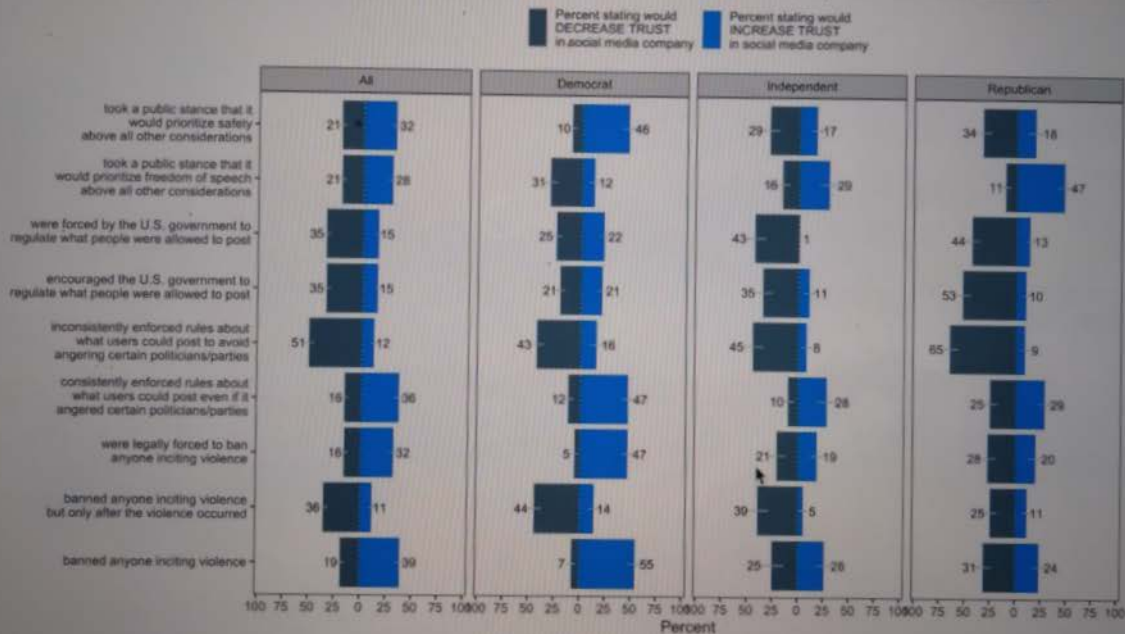
- allow as-is
- warning label
- remove post
- remove + suspend
- remove + ban

**Caveat:** Due to survey sample size constraints, the experiment is underpowered to investigate content by response interaction effects with precision.

Nonetheless, these exploratory results reveal interesting patterns, which are included in the appendix for transparency.

# Trust Experiment (Full Results)

Percent Reporting Would Change Trust in a Social Media Company under Different Situations



If a social media company [RANDOMIZE: situation], would that increase or decrease how much you trust that company?  
 (Options: Increase trust / Neither increase nor decrease trust / Decrease trust)

n = 4400; YouGov US adult sample  
 Field dates: Jan 16-20, 2021  
 Weighted estimates, 95% CI lines