SOCIAL MEDIA FAILS WOMEN
TRANSFORMING SOCIAL MEDIA POLICIES FOR A FEMINIST FUTURE
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Contributors
Social media algorithms are deeply biased and platforms have known about it for years. They don't care; they capitalize on it. Social media platforms thrive on spreading and prioritizing clickbait and viral content, training their algorithms to find and amplify the most outrageous, emotional, and extreme content. This leads to user polarization, confirmation bias, and, ultimately, the spread of dangerous extremism. When algorithms rarely show users content that conflicts with or causes them to question their beliefs, they make it easy for a user to fall down the rabbit hole from relatively innocent content to extremist, misogynist, and racist views.

In a recent article on Facebook for the MIT Technology Review, Karen Hao reports that: “If a model reduces engagement too much, it’s discarded. Otherwise, it’s deployed and continually monitored. But this approach soon caused issues. The models that maximize engagement also favor controversy, misinformation, and extremism: put simply, people just like outrageous stuff.”

The internet is not a safe place for Black, Indigenous, Asian American/Pacific Islander/Desi, Latinx, and women of color, who face an onslaught of both racist and misogynist attacks, including vicious gendered disinformation campaigns. Women and non-binary people experience harassment based on their gender in ways that cisgender men do not. Platform policies that do not take this reality into account often result in disproportionate enforcement against the very people the policies aim to protect. Platforms must not apply a one-size-fits-all approach when it primarily benefits those who are in positions of societal or political power and harms marginalized groups.

It should be of no surprise that a Pew Research study found that three quarters of Black and Latinx people and two thirds of women say that online harassment is a major problem. We only need to remember that the precursor to Facebook was the site that Mark Zuckerberg designed to rate women at Harvard by their looks to realize that bias is built into the system. The algorithms and policies have been designed, in large part, by privileged men who recreate their own biases in the software.
Furthermore, the bias in social media does not reflect the needs and interests of its user base. More women than men say that they actively use at least one social media platform. Women report using Facebook, Instagram, and TikTok more than men, with Twitter usage about even between women and men. Black and Latinx people report being more active on social media than white people. Yet the platforms prioritize and protect the interests of white men.

There was once a time when social media represented a revolutionary technology that could increase access to information, encourage empathy and diversity, and advance democracy. Now, platforms must make a choice between these worthy ideals or continuing to spread hate, extremism, disinformation, and violence.

The policy recommendations in this document have been put together by UltraViolet following the model put forth by the Change The Terms coalition, and with extensive input and research from advocacy groups, researchers, and experts across the gender, racial, LGBTQ, and media justice spaces.

By adopting, enacting, and enforcing these recommendations, social media platforms will champion gender equity and protect the speech and safety of women, girls, and other marginalized people.

History—and women everywhere—will be watching.

Note: For the purpose of this report, we will be using the term BIPOC to encapsulate the many identities that fall under the category of racial minorities in the United States. We recognize that there is no one-size-fits-all approach to race and commit to working towards a world of collective liberation, centering those historically sidelined from the conversation.
SETTING THE STAGE: UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL MEDIA USE, DISINFORMATION, HARASSMENT, EXTREMISM, AND FREE SPEECH.
WHO ARE SOCIAL MEDIA USERS?

Women are more active on social media than men. 78% report being on at least one platform, while just 66% of men report the same.

77% of women use Facebook, and 61% of men

44% of women use Instagram, and 36% of men

24% of women use TikTok, and 17% of men

22% of women use Twitter, and 25% of men.

On YouTube, Twitter, Facebook, TikTok, and Instagram, Black and Latinx people report using them more than white people.
# The State of Disinformation and Online Harassment

In "Online Harassment 2017," the Pew Research Center reports that:

### 79%

of people in the U.S. say that social media companies are doing only a fair or poor job at addressing online harassment or bullying on their platforms.

### 65%

of people in the U.S. say that online harassment is a major problem.

### 64%

of adults under 30 have experienced any form of online harassment activities.

### 33%

of women under 35 say that they have been sexually harassed online.

### Seven-in-Ten

LGBTQ adults have encountered harassment online, and 51% have been targeted for more severe forms of online abuse.

### 61%

of women say that online harassment is a major problem; 48% of men agree.

### 33%

of people who have been harassed online say that they have been harassed based on their gender, while 29% say this occurred because of their race or ethnicity.

### 75%

of targets of abuse say that it happened on social media.

### Twice as Likely

Women who have been harassed online are more than twice as likely as men to say that they were extremely or very upset by their most recent harassment encounter.

### 13 Percentage Point Gap

Women who have been harassed online are more likely than men—a 13 percentage point gap—to say that their most recent harassment experience was on social media.
THE STATE OF DISINFORMATION AND ONLINE HARASSMENT (CONT.)

When asked to rate how well social media companies are addressing online harassment or bullying on their platforms, roughly eight-in-ten said that these companies are doing a fair or poor job.

Justice Department records reveal that 70% of those stalked online are women.

More than 80% of cyberstalking defendants are male. Similarly, a study of 1,606 revenge porn cases showed that 90% of those whose photos were shared were women, targeted by men.

According to the Center for Humane Technology’s Ledger of Harms, the impacts of social media on young people and children are deep and long lasting.

Children who have been cyberbullied are 3x more likely to contemplate suicide compared to their peers.

According to a survey conducted by Thorn, 1 out of 4 children surveyed have had online sexual encounters with adults via social media.

Nearly 1 in 3 teen girls, aged 13-17, and 1 in 6 girls aged 9-12 have interacted sexually with an adult on these platforms.

According to the National Institute for Health, children who experienced cyberbullying during their adolescence were significantly more likely to engage in risk-taking health behavior as adults.

When children reported or blocked aggressors, bullies quickly found their targets on the same platform or via a different platform.

SELF-HARM content on platforms such as TikTok are gaining massive popularity and views. Videos that contain the tag “#passoutchallenge” have over 233,000 views on TikTok.
Among a survey of more than 600 UltraViolet members:

- **60%** had experienced harassment online.
- **96%** say social media platforms are not doing enough to protect women and girls.
- **96%** say social media platforms are not doing enough to stop white supremacy.
- **62%** have had relationships with family or friends damaged because of social media.

When asked how safe they feel with their kids or grandkids using social media, **49%** gave a 1 on a scale of 1-5. The average rating from all respondents was **1.4**.
HATE, EXTREMISM, AND SOCIAL MEDIA

It is not hard to find examples of the ways that white supremacist patriarchy has used the spread of disinformation as a tool for disruption, catalyzing a crisis in America and around the world.

Recent research has shown that disinformation appears more credible when it is aligned with existing biases, and extremist groups like the Three Percenters and the Proud Boys use bias to spread seemingly credible lies to recruit new members. Platforms are not only enabling this spread of hate and disinformation, they’re profiting from it.

“Black women were 84 percent more likely than white women to be disproportionately targeted. One in ten tweets mentioning Black women was abusive or problematic, compared to one in 15 for white women. Women of color were 34 percent more likely to be targeted.”

– Amnesty International

Platforms must also recognize and address the specific and unique danger that extremist, misogynist groups pose to public safety and the links between misogyny and white supremacy. Online activities can have serious real-world impact, as evidenced by events like the Christchurch massacre, the Toronto van attack, violence in Charlottesville, mass murders in Atlanta and El Paso and at the Emanuel AME church in Charleston, the planned attacks on Michigan Governor Gretchen Whitmer, and the carried-out attack at the U.S. Capitol. In fact, many of the participants in the January 6, 2021 attack at the U.S. Capitol have a history of abusing women online and offline. Their violent online interactions are not just virtual “locker-room talk,” but serious threats to public peace and safety.

WHAT ABOUT FREE SPEECH?

When social media companies claim freedom of speech to justify insufficient content moderation policies, they are deflecting blame and avoiding taking responsibility for the real spread of violence, extremism, and hate on their platforms—and the offline harms they create. Social media platforms are private companies, not government entities, that do have the right to create and enforce rules. Any private business in the offline space has the right to kick out a person who is yelling racist, sexist, or other bigoted slurs or threatening violence—the same right applies to social media.

“One of the ways in which women can actually control the amount of online harassment they experience is through silence and self-erasure. Harassment online is making women disappear.”

– Bridget Gelms, Digital Ethics “Volatile Visibility: How Online Harassment Makes Women Disappear”

Allowing bad actors on social media platforms actually hurts free speech by creating a hostile environment that chills the free speech of marginalized communities, out of fear of abuse and harassment. Policies that do not take this reality into account often result in disproportionate enforcement against the very people the policies are intended to protect. In driving marginalized voices from the platforms, in an era in which social media is key to social contact, news aggregation, education, and more, they are being effectively removed from society. Protecting the dominant culture creates a digital Jim Crow era space, where BIPOC voices are unwelcome, and white men’s voices are disproportionately amplified.
UltraViolet, in consultation with partnering organizations, advocacy groups, researchers, and experts, has developed model internal and user-focused platform policies to address misogyny and its impacts across the platforms. Our policies were conceived through an intersectional gender and racial justice lens, and informed by experts from across the gender, racial, LGTBQ, and media justice spaces. These policies address four issue areas:

**THESE POLICIES ADDRESS FOUR ISSUE AREAS:**

1. User policy and hate speech;
2. Disinformation, defamation, and promotion of extremism;
3. Enforcement and transparency for survivors of harassment and hate; and,
4. Internal platform policy and culture.

**THE POLICIES ASK PLATFORMS TO:**

1. Broaden the definition of hate speech to include misogyny, bias and attacks against Black, Indigenous, and people of color, religious minorities, and transgender people, and gendered and racialized disinformation.
2. Create a clear, enforceable, and escalating process for reporting and removing hate speech, disinformation, and promotion of white supremacy and misogyny; frequent and severely abusive violators must be banned from the platform.
3. Support and protection for victims of harassment, hate, disinformation, and abuse must center the experiences of marginalized people and groups.
4. Create internal policies, training, and culture that address and acknowledge misogyny and the ways in which it intersects with other marginalized identities; provide staff and contractors access to mental health resources.

The major social media platforms--Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, TikTok, YouTube, and Reddit--are far too powerful, too big, and too destructive. They are profiting from harms to democracy and public health, and they are spreading hate and extremism against women, BIPOC, and LGBTQ people. The problem is too big for one solution and will require both government intervention through regulation and internal changes within the companies. Ultimately, the harms are built into the product and the business model and Congress must intervene to address that. What follows is a set of policies platforms can adopt now to reduce harm.
POLICY DETAILS
USER POLICY AND HATE SPEECH

Hate speech policies must reflect the role of misogyny in broader extremist movements, including its well-documented connections to domestic violence, white supremacy, and mass shootings. Misogyny is dehumanizing because it creates conditions that normalize male superiority and make it acceptable to commit violence against women. Simply naming gender discrimination as hate speech fails to recognize the societal power of men to enforce, act on, and benefit from misogynist views.

We know that one-size-fits-all policies don’t work because women and transgender people experience harassment based on their gender in ways that cisgender men do not. Policies that do not take this reality into account often result in disproportionate enforcement against the very people the policies aim to protect. Slurs hurled at marginalized people should be policed differently from slurs used by marginalized people to describe the abuse they face.

TO ADDRESS THIS, OUR RECOMMENDATIONS TO SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORMS ARE:

• Include misogyny, misogynoir, and transmisogyny in hate speech rules and transparency reports to recognize the societal oppression, harm, and violence against women, including transgender women, that are perpetuated, reinforced, and promoted by misogynist contempt of and prejudice against women, and recognize the ways in which misogyny is used against women with different backgrounds and identities.

• Ban and explicitly include cyberstalking, sexual harassment, revenge porn, deadnaming and misgendering, gendered and racialized disinformation, and other means of virtual sexual exploitation and harassment as forms of misogyny and hate speech.

“People online pushed me really hard to kill myself. My partner at the time didn’t leave my side for more than a few hours. For the first few days I couldn’t eat or sleep or drink water. All I could do was watch everything collapse around me. It was and it still is hard to get closer to new people.”

– Zoe Quinn, target of #GamerGate
USER POLICY AND HATE SPEECH

- Ban gendered discrimination that relies on discrimination against and stereotypes of religious, ethnic, or racial minorities. For example, comments that rely on stereotypes of Muslim women as subservient, oppressed, or terrorists combines racist, sexist, and religious discrimination and stereotypes.
DISINFORMATION, DEFAMATION, AND PROMOTION OF EXTREMISM

Platforms must establish a clear and enforceable process for removing, user reporting, and stopping loopholes for disinformation and promotion of extremism across languages, not just in English. This must include banning and enforcing bans of disinformation and extremist content about disordered eating, dieting gimmicks, body shaming, body dysmorphia, transgender people, white supremacy, conspiracy theories, religious bigotry, ableism, gendered and racialized disinformation, vaccines, abortion, and pregnancy.

Following President Biden’s running-mate announcement, false claims about Kamala Harris were being shared at least 3,000 times an hour on Twitter.
BODY SHAMING, DIETING, AND DISORDERED EATING

• Stop all advertisements and remove content creators who profit from the promotion of weight-based hate speech, encouragement of disordered eating and extreme diet or supplement products, and other body-shaming tactics.

• Prevent loopholes for disordered eating hashtags, including #thinspo versus #thinspo0, #whatieatinaday, #anorexia with minimal spelling variations, #ABCdiet, or “Anorexia Boot Camp Diet.”

• Provide resources from accredited medical and nutrition boards on potentially inflammatory content about disordered eating, diet culture, and body shaming.

• Ban and remove medically inaccurate anti-transgender information regarding hormones, trans-affirming health care, gender-affirming surgery, body dysmorphia, and other trans-related health care disinformation.
VACCINE DISINFORMATION

- Establish methods for users to report health disinformation, particularly related to COVID-19 and vaccines.
- Deplatform and ban the accounts responsible for the largest share of COVID-19 disinformation.
- Ban ableist, anti-neurodivergent, and medically inaccurate conspiracies about vaccines leading to brain development disorders or other health issues. Not only are these claims false, they imply that having a child die of a preventable disease is preferable to having a child with neurodivergence.
- Ban and remove transphobic and anti-science content related to the hashtag #transvax and #transvaxxite.
REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH AND ABORTION 
DISINFORMATION

- Commit to prioritizing and promoting medically accurate, scientifically factual, and up-to-date research and findings regarding reproductive health and abortion care.

- Remove and monitor for disinformation around reproductive health, abortion care, and child health, including pages and advertisements promoting medically inaccurate lies about abortion care and fetuses, as well as misleading medical services.

- Remove and monitor, in content and comments, misinformation and disinformation regarding the impact of COVID-19 vaccines on reproductive health.
GENDERED AND RACIALIZED DISINFORMATION AND EXTREMISM DISINFORMATION

- Intentionally spreading disinformation is a common form of online attacks used to harass, undermine, and dehumanize women. **Gendered, racialized, and religiously bigoted disinformation must be treated as hate speech and removed.**

- Measure and report on the amount of and reach of content with disinformation and **include it in transparency reports.**

- **Ban and remove disinformation specifically directed toward transgender people,** including false claims and hateful rhetoric about bathrooms and locker rooms, gender dysphoria, puberty blockers, “detransitioning,” and mental illness.
**GENDERED AND RACIALIZED DISINFORMATION AND EXTREMISM DISINFORMATION**

- **Train moderators and algorithms** to better identify and remove coded language, misgendering and deadnaming, altered images and deep fakes, iterative, context-based visual and textual memes, and other tactics that harassers and extremists use to avoid automated removal.

- **Users should be able to appeal a moderation decision** and have the opportunity to provide additional related posts, cultural context, and suggested updates to what content is considered hateful.
**GENDERED AND RACIALIZED DISINFORMATION AND EXTREMISM DISINFORMATION**

- Algorithms should not base moderation or promotion on the political alignment of the content or the user who posted. As reported in the MIT Technology Review, the Facebook Responsible AI Team had written in its Fairness Flow documentation that “fairness” does not mean the model should affect conservative and liberal users equally. “If conservatives are posting a greater fraction of misinformation, as judged by public consensus, then the model should flag a greater fraction of conservative content. If liberals are posting more misinformation, it should flag their content more often too.” The Facebook Responsible AI Team had the right idea, but it is clear from user experience and documents leaked in the “Facebook Papers” that enforcement of this policy is flawed.

- Researcher Nina Jankowicz was herself targeted by online extremists. She described her experience in WIRED and makes some powerful recommendations: “Like the rest of society in the post #MeToo era, social media platforms must decisively make the shift toward believing women. Rather than relying on AI, which doesn’t capture the nuance of many taunts, and one-off reports, which don’t communicate the full user experience, **platforms must transition to incident-based report systems.** This would allow targets to highlight the inciting piece of content that led to their abuse, such as a tacit pile-on instruction from a high-follower account. It would also allow platforms to continually update the classifiers that help them identify abusive content, making it increasingly less likely that women in public life are forced to endure it as a cost of their participation.”

- Knowing that high-profile women leaders, especially BIPOC leaders, face disproportionate levels of harassment and hate, monitor the public messages they receive and use it to quickly improve AI, identify trends in hate and disinformation, and train both algorithmic and human moderators on what to look for.

“Unfortunately, to be a woman present and active in the public... means encountering high levels of online violence perpetually. While online violence is a widespread phenomenon and affects almost everybody, it is significantly more directed towards marginalised groups, as well as girls and women... with an impact on their motivation to engage in public life.”

— Kosovo’s second woman President, Vjosa Osmani-Sadriu
• Direct those who have been exposed to extremist groups and hate content to resources for countering extremism.

• A recent study in the American Economic Review finds that people are willing to read news articles featuring opposing views when they appear on their social media feeds and that this can foster more empathy and help reduce the spread of polarization and extremism. **Algorithms should encourage users to engage more frequently with legitimate, well-researched news and peer-reviewed articles**—not disinformation, conspiracies, opinion posts, or claims that are not backed up by science—that offer opposing viewpoints. This should be measured and reported on, with a goal of decreasing polarization and extremism.
GENDERED AND RACIALIZED DISINFORMATION AND EXTREMISM DISINFORMATION

Online hate against Indigenous women, non-binary people, trans folks, and two-spirits fuels the ongoing epidemic of violence, murder, and missing persons crisis among Indigenous communities across North America.

"It made me so mad that we tolerate [violent threats towards Indigenous women]. There’s no real ... reprimand."
– Michele Audette, Commissioner for the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls in Canada

- According to Erica Violet Lee, during the pipeline protests in Saskatoon, British Columbia, it was common to see online comments encouraging drivers to run over protesters. One photo showed blood on the front of a train with a laughing face emoji. Youth were called everything from "stupid" to "terrorists," and even received death threats.

- Instagram blamed a technical glitch following the removal of thousands of posts in honor of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, Girls, and Relatives on May 5, 2021, also known as Red Dress Day. Algorithms and poorly trained human moderators cannot be tasked with discerning the difference between truth and lies, when both the AI and the coder have been programmed and trained to prioritize white, cis, straight, and Eurocentric content and remove, or all out ban, content created by Indigenous people highlighting their stories, histories, and realities.
ENFORCEMENT AND TRANSPARENCY FOR SURVIVORS OF HARASSMENT AND HATE

In addition to having clear and transparent terms of services, platforms must enforce these guidelines in a way that prioritizes the safety and privacy of the victims of harassment and hate.

- **Create a clear and enforceable process**—such as a weighted system of escalating warnings and strikes based on the level of offense—that leads to deplatforming in the event of frequent or severely abusive misogyny policy violations while preserving the data for accountability.
  - Any user that witnesses content that violates policies must be able to report it, not just the victim or a victim’s representative.
  - Evaluation criteria should include reach, threat level, and escalation. For example, those who issued threats of violence against a person or group of people must be immediately deplatformed.
  - These policies must apply to public figures as well, in regards to protecting and deplatforming.
ENFORCEMENT AND TRANSPARENCY FOR SURVIVORS OF HARASSMENT AND HATE

- **Create a human-monitored help desk** to which victims of harassment, stalking, and other online abuse can go for quick action to protect their safety and privacy. Simply blocking or reporting someone may not solve the problem when it comes to violence, hate, harassment, death and rape threats, revenge porn, etc. Abusers must be deplatformed, and support must be provided to ensure that victims can protect themselves offline from threats taking place online.

- **When violators are banned or deplatformed, platforms must preserve metadata and account information** for access by journalists, protection of survivors, and other accountability purposes. For example, a survivor may need to provide proof of harassment to an employer, school, or landlord, in order to access help and resources.

- **Support and protection for victims of harassment, hate, disinformation, and abuse must center the experiences of marginalized people and groups,** including women, BIPOC, LGBTQ people, religious minorities, and other marginalized people who use social media to amplify historically and contemporarily silenced voices.

- **Make it possible to opt out of or block individuals from recommendations to follow, friend recommendations, etc.** so that a person’s abusers, stalkers, clients, people they may not be out to, etc. will not see their profile as a recommendation.

“When I woke up in the morning I found thousands of rape and murder threats, comments on my Instagram pictures, aggressive comments not just towards me but towards the LGBT community in general.”

— LGBT activist Xheni Karaj
INTERNAL PLATFORM POLICY AND CULTURE

Policy-makers, product teams, and policy-enforcers need to understand how misogynist attitudes are used to spread extremist ideologies and encourage violent behaviors both on and offline.

- Train staff and contractors to understand and recognize misogyny, not only in English, but across languages.
- Include gender-based content in all anti-bias training.
- Train staff and contractors to recognize that terms used to attack a Black woman might be different than those used to attack an Indigenous woman, transgender woman, disabled woman, bisexual woman, ethnic and religious minority woman, immigrant woman, or woman of color. This includes understanding that a woman who speaks multiple languages or is part of a community that uses multiple languages may experience harassment and misogyny in multiple languages.
- Hire, train, and work to retain more women, and BIPOC, LGBTQ, disabled, and religious minorities in decision-making and product development roles to improve current and develop future products and algorithms to avoid creating algorithms and making decisions that recreate societal oppression.
- Invest in the education of women, BIPOC, LGBTQ, religious minorities, and disabled people in computer science, coding, and product development to create a diverse talent pipeline and ensure that societal oppressions and bias will no longer be recreated in algorithms.
- Invest in mental health resources for content moderators and hire trained mental health professionals who specialize in providing care for LGTBQ, disabled, and BIPOC people and are trained in trauma and PTSD care to provide support and therapy for content moderators. Make resources readily available for use and institute mental health breaks during shifts, paid vacation time, paid sick leave, and other basic worker accommodations for content moderators to ensure that their mental health is protected.
- Content moderators must have collective bargaining rights to organize and unionize. Remove non-disclosure agreement requirements when hiring content moderators.

Black TikTok creators went on strike over widespread theft of their dances by white people giving without giving Black creators credit for their work.
DEFINITIONS

Misogyny
Dislike, hatred, mistreatment of, or prejudice against women.

Misogynoir
Dislike, hatred, mistreatment of, or prejudice against Black women where both sexism and racism play a role in bias. Coined by queer black feminist Moya Bailey.

Transmisogyny
Dislike, hatred, mistreatment of, or prejudice against transgender women or those whose gender identity or expression falls outside of the binary. Coined by Julia Serano.

Intersectionality
According to Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, it is the complex, cumulative way in which the effects of multiple forms of discrimination (such as racism, sexism, and classism) combine, overlap, or intersect especially in the experiences of marginalized individuals or groups.

White supremacy
In activist and educator Elizabeth “Betita” Martínez’ influential definition, white supremacy is “an historically based, institutionally perpetuated system of exploitation and oppression of continents, nations, and peoples of color by white peoples and nations of the European continent, for the purpose of maintaining and defending a system of wealth, power, and privilege.”

White supremacist misogyny
Dislike, hatred, mistreatment of, or prejudice against women, non-binary people, transgender people, and Black, Indigenous, and people of color. The belief that white men are superior and have dominance over other genders and races.

Gendered disinformation
Information that is deliberately false or misleading, created or distributed to exploit issues related to women, feminism, reproductive rights, equal rights, or transgender people.

Racialized disinformation
An entry in the Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy’s “The Media Manipulation Casebook,” it is information that is “deliberately false or misleading, intended specifically to exploit wedge issues related to race, racial justice, or communities of color.”

Religious bigotry
Activities that incite, engage, or encourage violence, intimidation, harassment, threats, or defamation targeting an individual or group based on their actual or perceived religious affiliation.
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