

# THE FACE OF AMERICAN INSURRECTION

## Right-Wing Organizations Evolving into a Violent Mass Movement

Data Update, 7/22/2022

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Presented to  
**General Audience**

Updated 7/22/2022

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# WHY STUDY WHO ARE THE INSURRECTIONISTS

As of 7/22/2022, the number charged for offenses related to the attack on the U.S. Capitol on January 6<sup>th</sup>:

- The “Who” is just as important as ideology and beliefs
- We need a nuanced understanding of “who” stormed the US Capitol on Jan 6, 2021, and for us to know who we are dealing with in order to create viable solutions for the future.

861

# RESEARCH APPROACH

- **Assess all individuals arrested by FBI, Capitol Hill Police, and DC Police for entering the US Capitol or breaking into the Capitol grounds on January 6, 2021**
  - Primary demographics (age, gender, race, geography of residence)
  - Socio-economic factors (occupation, prior military/police service)
  - Affiliation in militias/organizations/groups existing prior to 2021
- **Compare to 108 right-wing extremists arrested by FBI for deadly violence, 2015-2020 and other data on past right-wing extremists.**
- **Based on information from Official US Court Documents and open-source media reporting.**
- **Comparable method to Pape et al, “[American Face of ISIS](#)” (January 2017).**

# TOP LINE CONCLUSIONS [861 ARRESTS]

- **Not about right-wing organizations, it is about a Violent Mass Movement**
  - From all over country: 47 of 50 states + DC
  - 86% unaffiliated with pre-existing militias/extremist organizations and groups
- **Trump is clearly the leader of that mass movement**
  - Unlikely to have come together without Trump
  - Many say they were following Trump's call to action
- **The Movement Demographic Profile has changed compared to past right-wing extremists**
  - 70% are 35 years and older – a rate for this age group near double past RW extremists
  - 24% are business owners; 26% white collar, and 25% blue collar with only 8% unemployed – compared to 25% unemployed for past RWE
- **Ingredients are all there to accelerate movement growth:**
  - A leader with demonstrated support for extra-legal activity
  - Grievances perceived by large masses of people (stolen election)
  - A Deadly Focal Point event: The Jan 6 storming of the US Capitol, leaving 5 dead
- **This is not about a few hundred arrests. We need to understand who we are dealing with in the new movement. Targeting pre-2021 far-right organizations will not solve the problem**

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# WHAT HAS CHANGED IN THIS UPDATE?

July 22, 2022

- **Added 39 individuals charged and arrested since July 16th, 2021 for entering the US Capitol on January 6, bringing the total in our analysis to 861**
- **Completed first pass verification on 861 cases, second-pass verification on 260 cases.**

# THE INSURRECTIONS **VS** PAST RIGHT-WING EXTREMISTS

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## SPECIFIC FINDING #1

This movement's demographic profile  
is **different** compared to past right-wing  
extremists.

# SIMILAR RACE AND GENDER

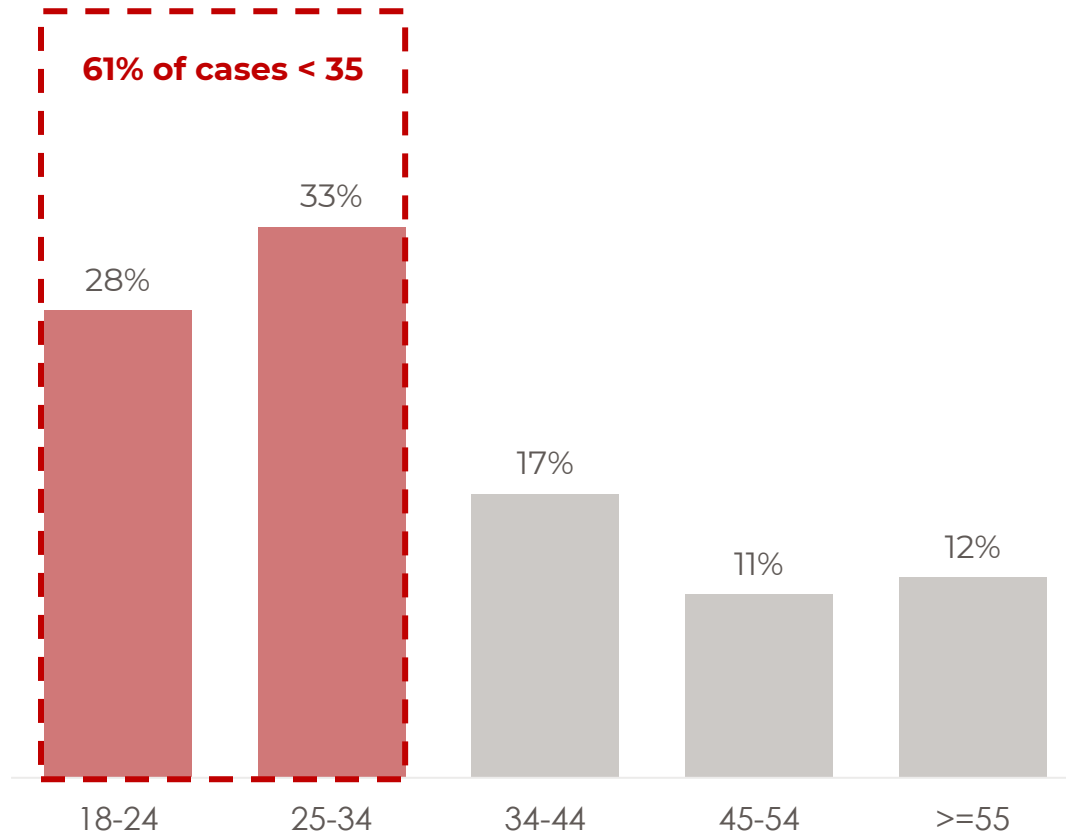
- **Right-wing Extremist Arrests, 2015-2020**
  - 94% White
  - 94% Male
- **Capitol Hill Arrests, 2021**
  - 92% White
  - 86% Male

Note: Data current as of July 2022  
Occupation available for 182 of 387 cases. Source: START, PIRUS.

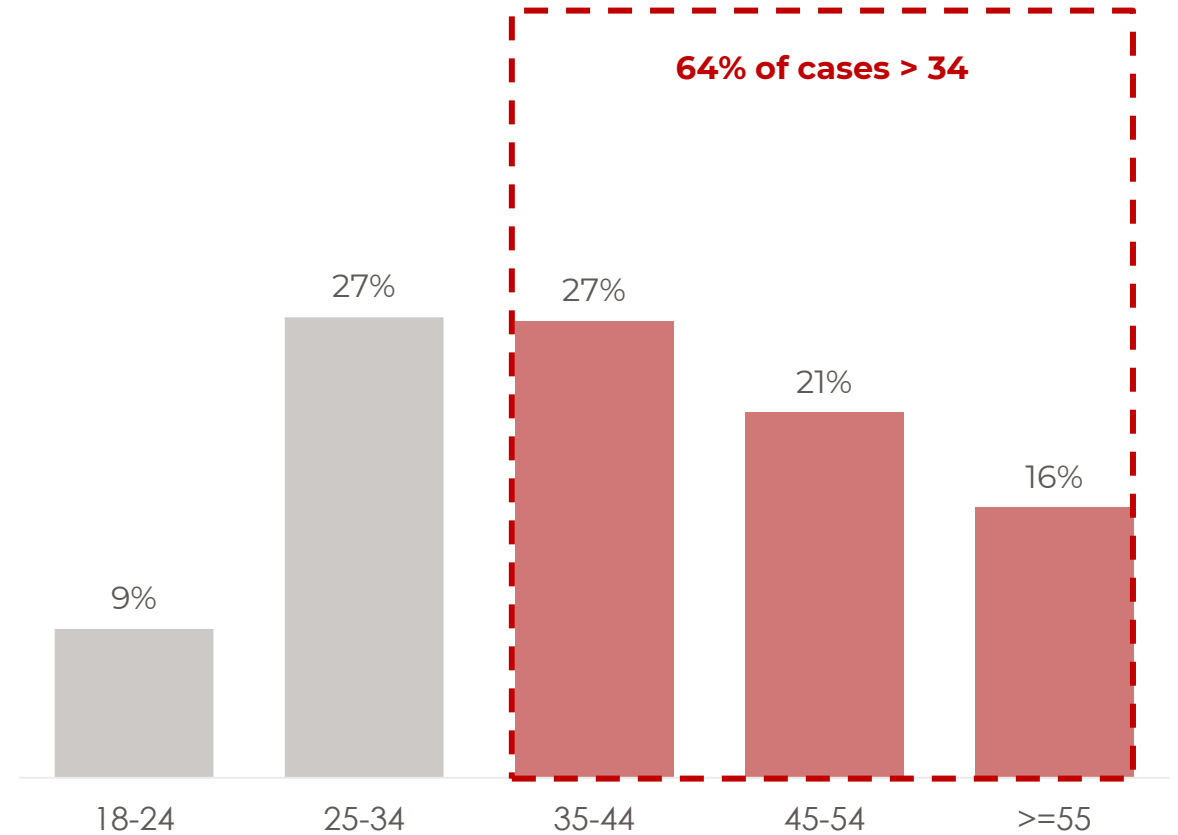


# INSURRECTIONISTS ARE MUCH OLDER, NOT JUST AGING OF POPULATION

Right-wing Extremist Arrests, 2015-2020



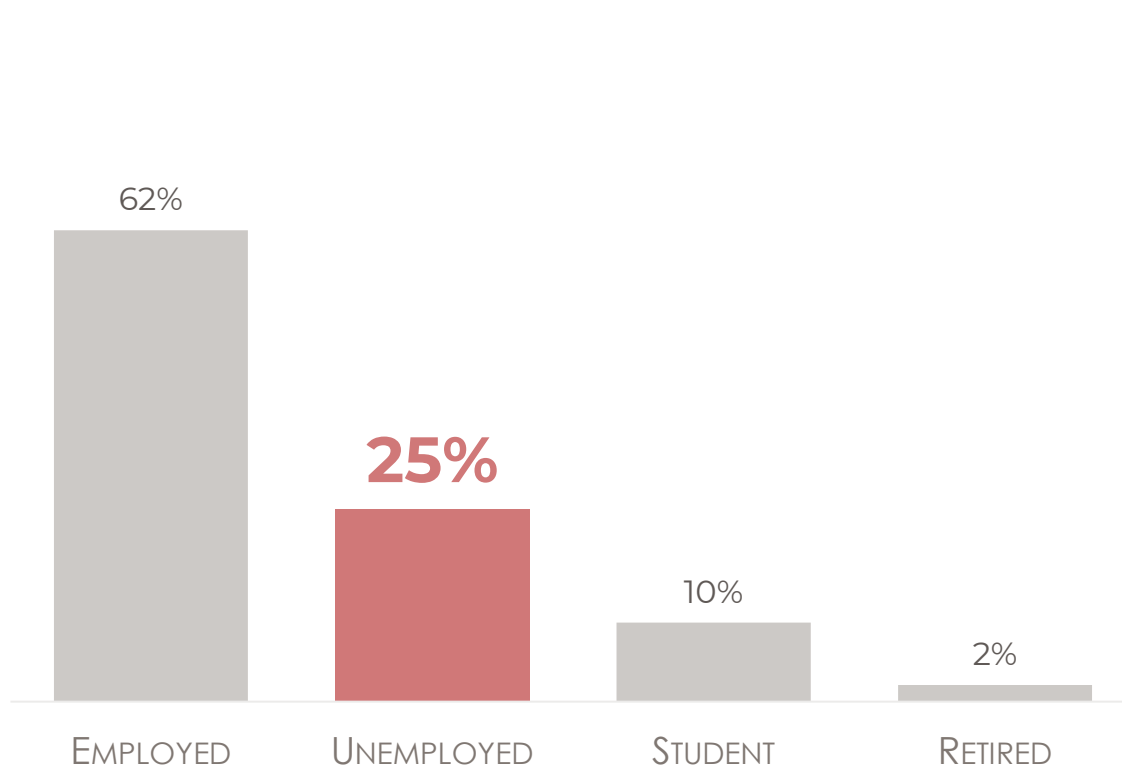
Capitol Hill Arrests, 2021



Note: Age known for 856 of 861 individuals

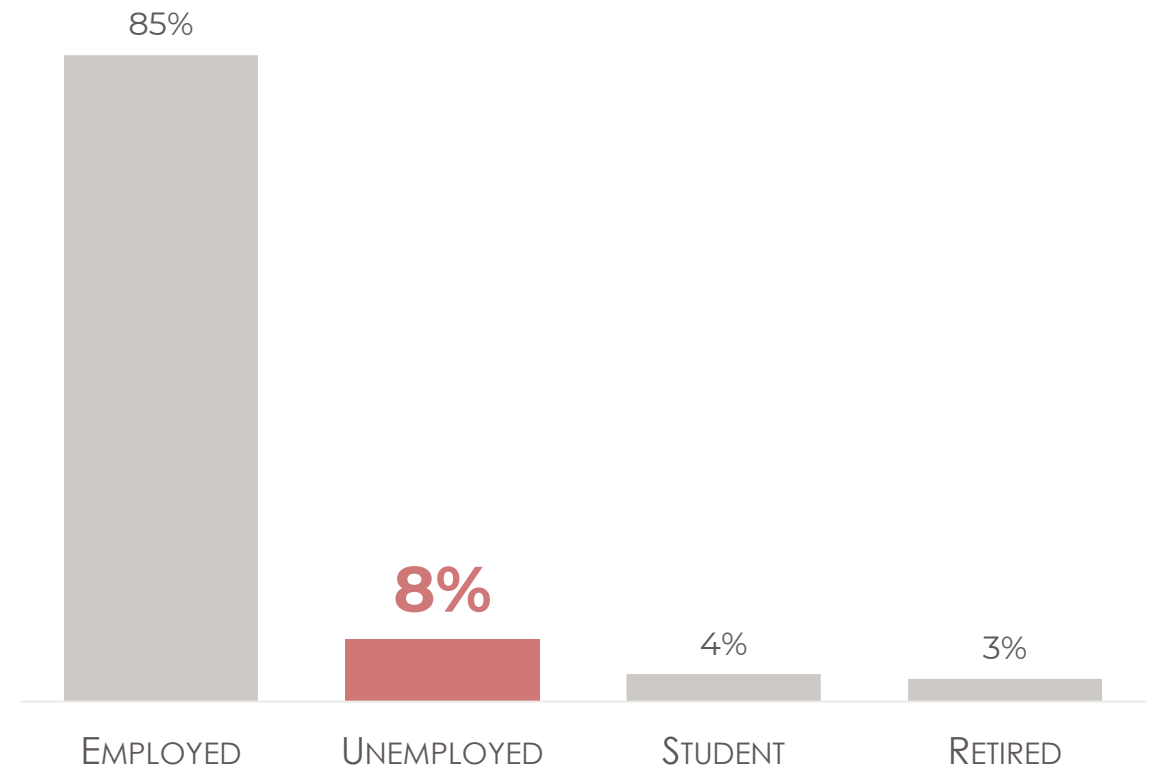
# MANY FEWER UNEMPLOYED

Right-wing Extremist Arrests, 2010-2020



Source: START, PIRUS.  
Note: Occupation available for 182 of 387 cases.

Capitol Hill Arrests, 2021



Source: CPOST, data current as of July 2022  
Note: Occupation available for 633 of 861 cases.

# MANY BUSINESS OWNERS/WHITE-COLLAR

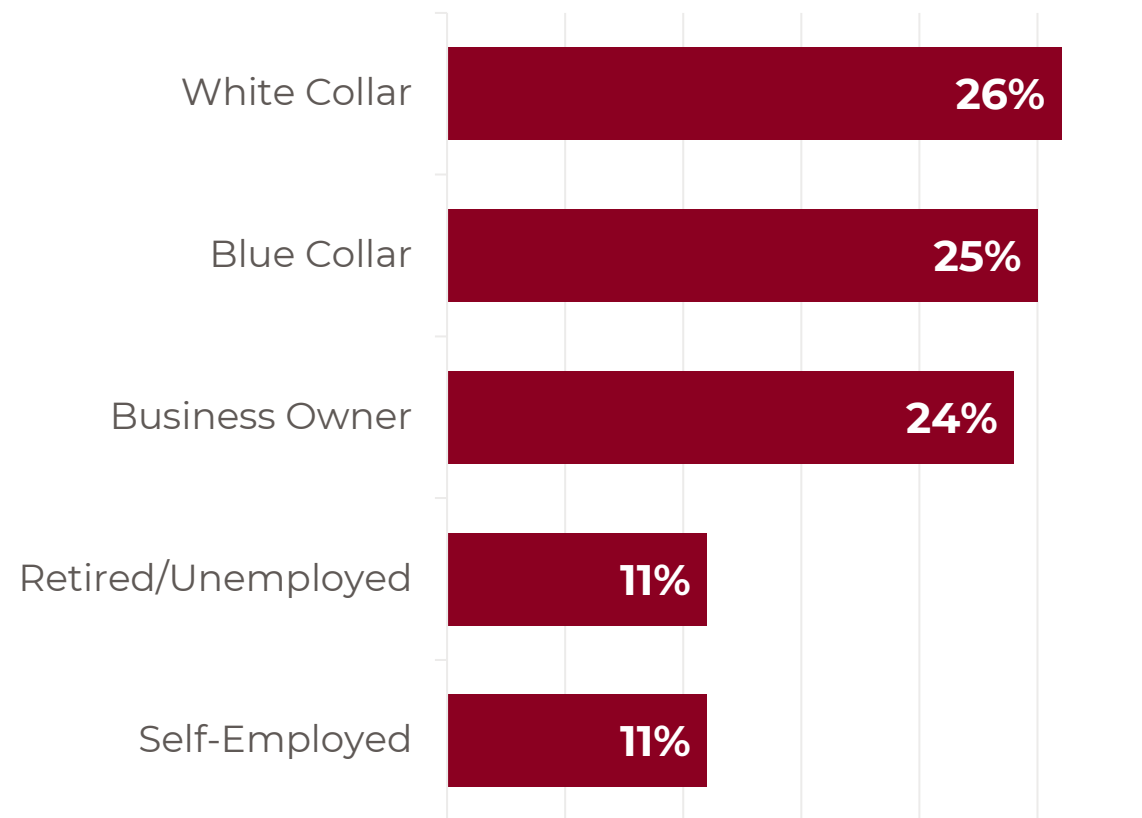
## ■ **Business Owner: 24%**

- Owner, Ameri-I-Can Ammo
- CEO, marketing firm Cogensia
- Owner, Wholesale Universe, Inc.
- Owner, Matador Sport Fishing

## ■ **White-Collar: 28%**

- Google Field Operations Specialist
- Regional Portfolio Manager at BB&T Bank
- Doctors, Lawyers, Architects

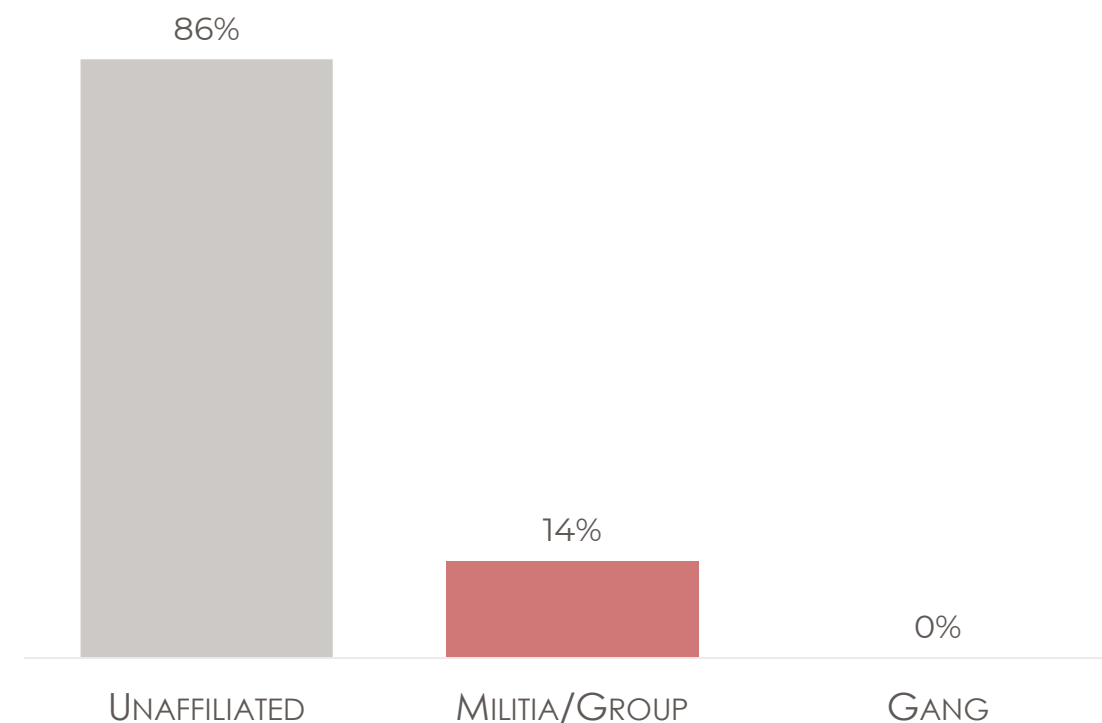
Employment Breakdown



# MILITIA/VIOLENT RIGHT-WING GROUPS INVOLVED

- Proud Boys: 61 arrested
- Oath Keepers : 31 arrested
- Three Percenters: 19 arrested
- Sovereign Citizens: 4 arrested
- Boogaloo: 3 arrested
- Aryan Nations: 1 arrested

## Capitol Hill Arrests, 2021



Note: 861 cases

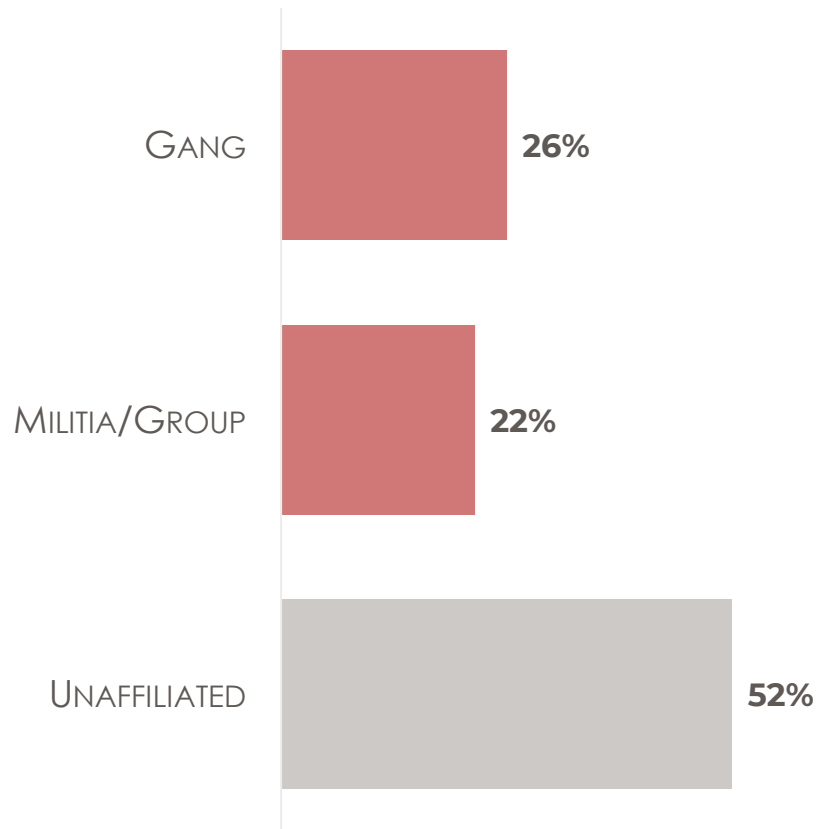
## SPECIFIC FINDING #2

The vast majority have no connection to existing far right militias or groups

**“Normal” pro-Trump activists joined with the far right to form a new kind of violent mass movement**

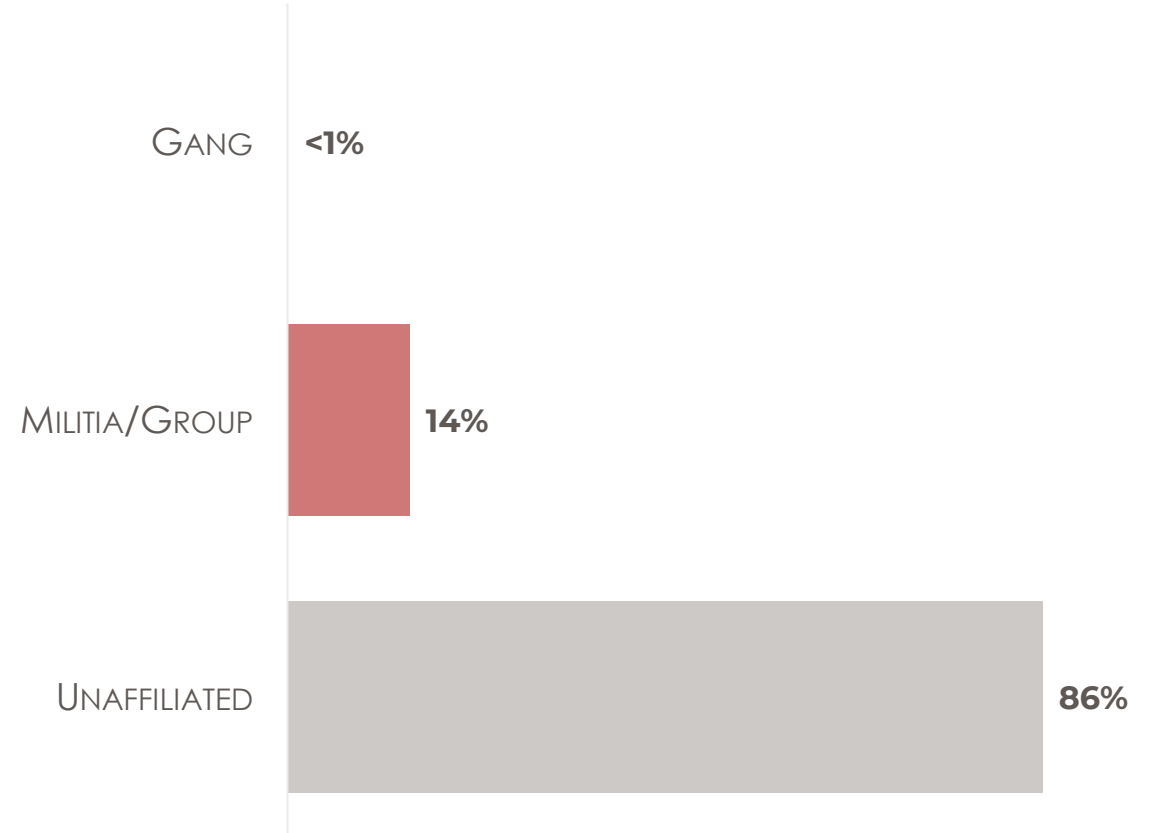
# FEWER MILITIAS, ALMOST NO GANGS

Right-wing Extremist Arrests, 2015-2020



Source: CPOST RWEX Database  
Note: 108 cases

Capitol Hill Arrests, 2021



Source: CPOST J6 Arrests Database  
Note: 861 cases

# TROUBLING OVERLAP BETWEEN MILITARY SERVICE AND MILITIA/GROUP MEMBERSHIP

- **28% with military experience are in militia/groups**
  - 16 Proud Boys
  - 13 Oath Keepers
  - 2 Three Percenters
  - 3 Other organizations
- **25% in militia/groups have military experience**
  - 3 Ex-Navy
  - 11 Ex-Marines
  - 17 Ex-Army
  - 1 Air Force
  - 1 National Guard

Note: Out of 129 confirmed ex-Military

Note: Out of 122 confirmed members of militias

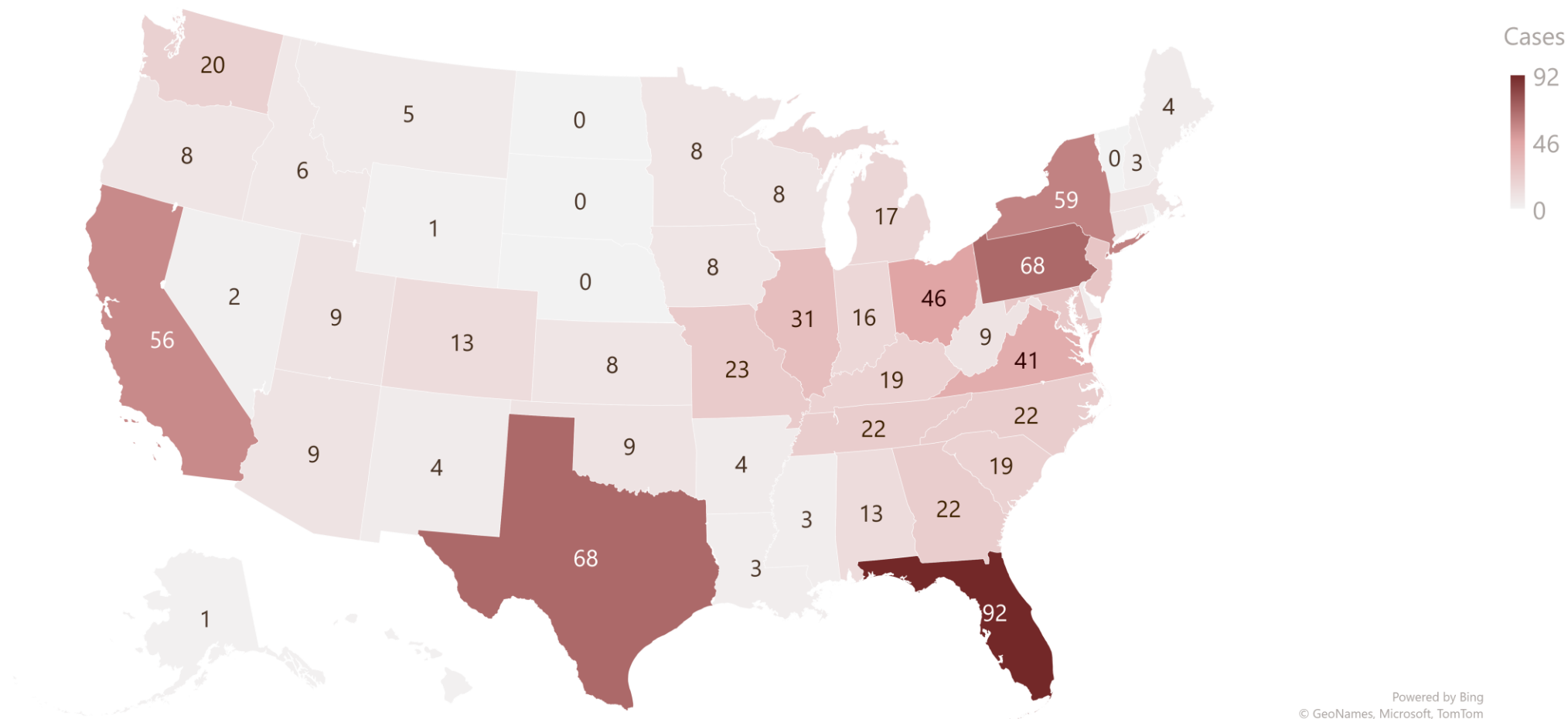
- **The prevalence of QAnon supporters currently identified among the arrested Capitol Hill insurrectionists is lower than in the general US population**
  - 7% of arrestees support QAnon, vs 17% in US population (according to an IPSOS poll).



# WHERE THE INSURRECTIONISTS CAME FROM AND WHY

# INSURRECTIONISTS FROM 47 STATES + DC

## Capitol Hill Arrests, 2021

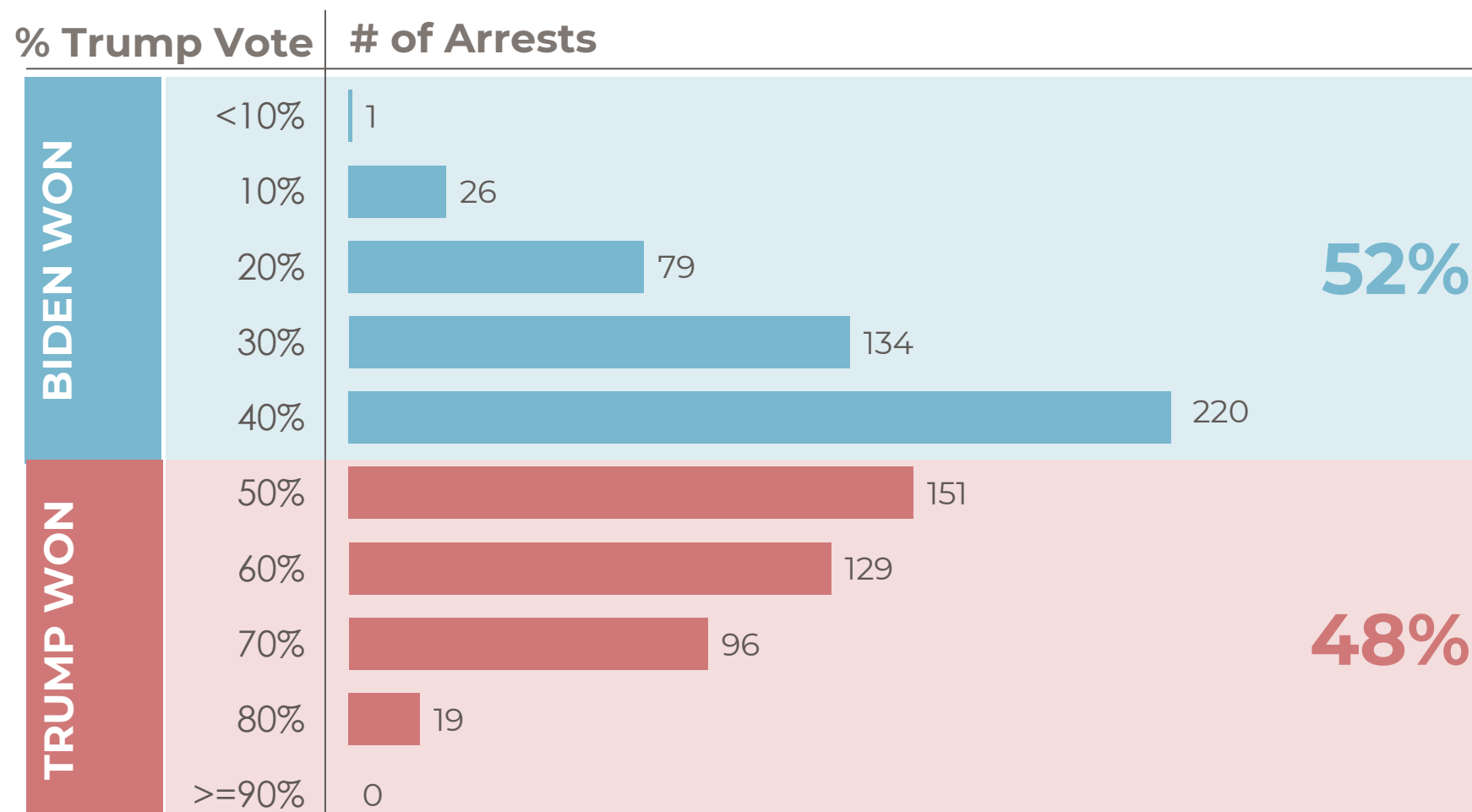


Note: Home states for 861 individuals charged with unlawfully entering the US Capitol. Current as of July 22, 2022

# MORE FROM COUNTIES BIDEN WON

## Capitol Hill Arrests, 2021, By Home County % Trump Vote

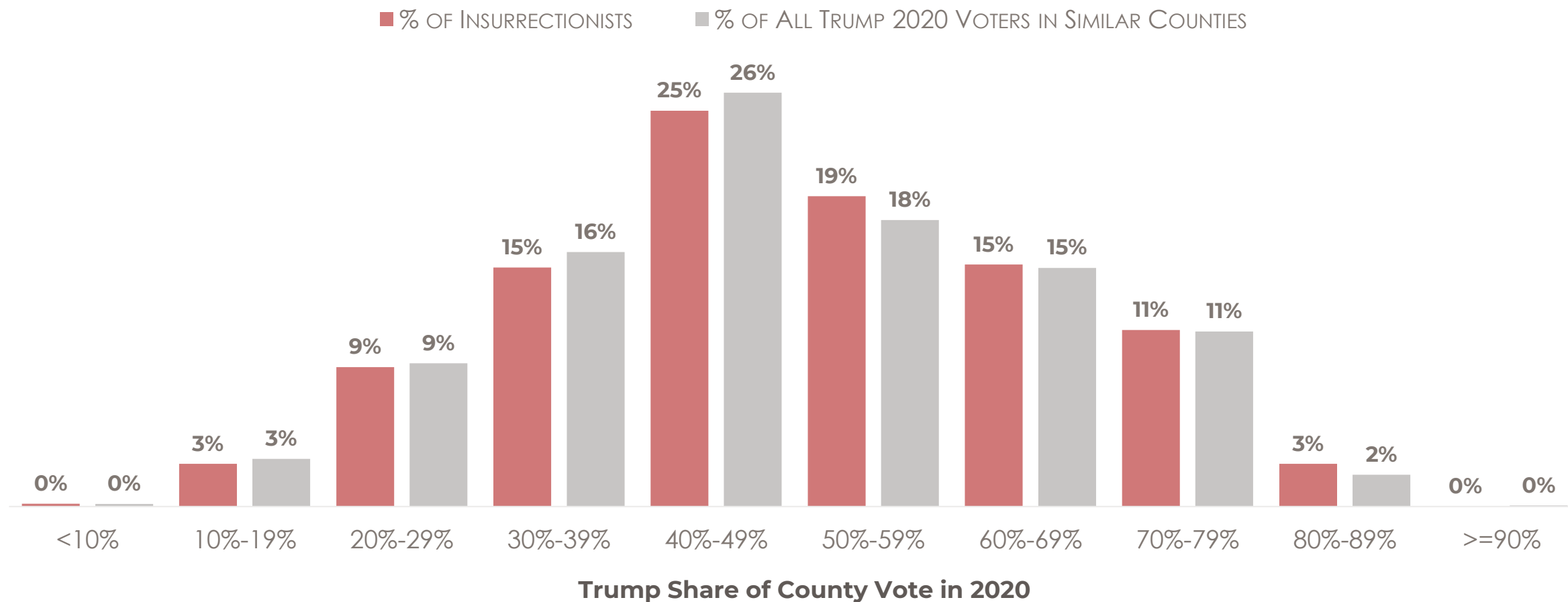
- 856 of 861 arrested with known county
- 432 unique counties



# MORE FROM COUNTIES **BIDEN** WON

Correlation between the number of voters and likelihood of insurrectionists

## Capitol Hill Arrests, 2021 by Home County Vote Share for Trump



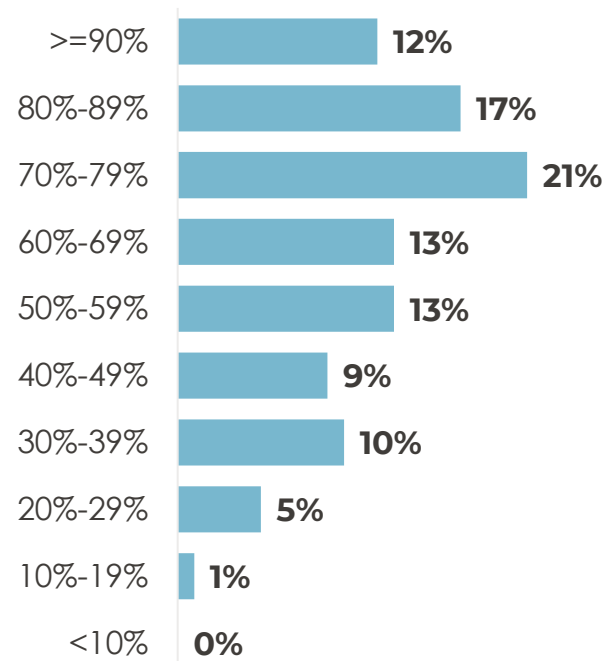
# WHAT'S REALLY SPECIAL ABOUT THE COUNTIES

- Most important, the more Trump voters in a county – even in counties Biden won – the greater likelihood that county would send an insurrectionist to the US Capitol. This is because there are twice as many people who live in Biden counties compared to those who live in Trump counties, which means that when Biden “wins” a large urban county, there are often still vast numbers of Trump supporters in that county.
- This will come as a surprise to many Biden supporters, who presumably think that the insurrectionists are coming from red counties – rural, almost completely white, and with high unemployment – far from Biden strongholds.

# COUNTIES PRODUCING INSURRECTIONISTS

**More Diverse, Urban, and with Higher Unemployment than the Average County.**

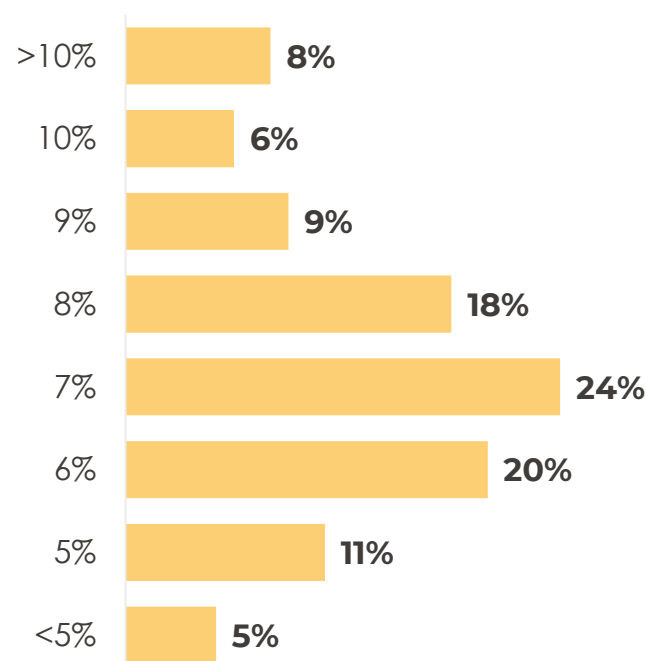
## Non-Hispanic White



**National Avg:** 76%

**Case Counties Avg:** 66%

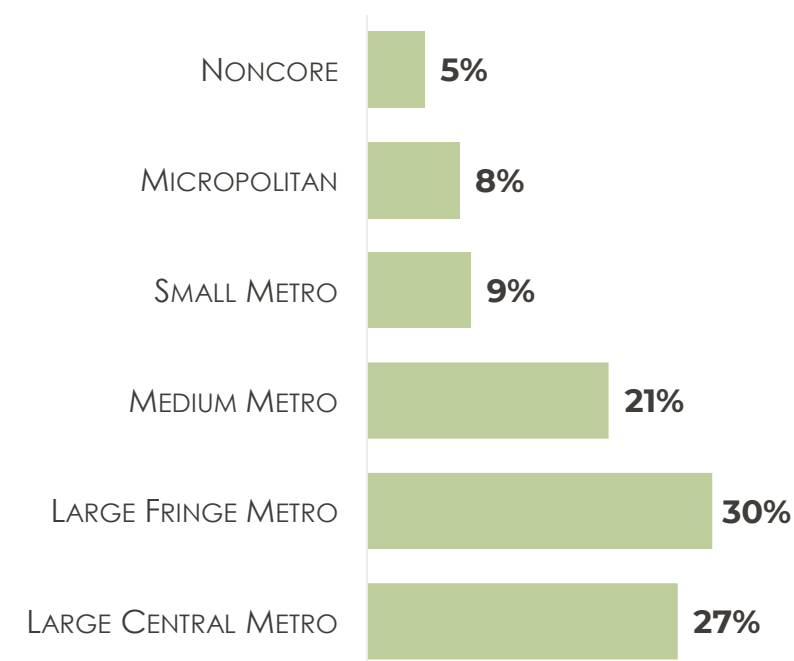
## Unemployment



**National Average Avg:** 6.9%

**Case Counties Avg:** 8%

## Urban



**National Average Avg:** Micropolitan

**Case Counties Avg:** Large Fringe Metro

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau Population Division, County-level demographics for 2019. Bureau of Labor Statistics, County Level Unemployment Jan – Nov 2020. National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS), Rural Classification Scheme for Counties (2013).

Storming the US Capitol was an **act of political violence**, not merely vandalism or trespassing for other purposes.

# PRESIDENT TRUMP MOBILIZED THE VIOLENT MASS MOVEMENT

- A man from Kentucky, said, “He marched to the U.S. Capitol because President Trump said to do so.” (FBI interview)
- A business owner from California said, “She felt called upon by President Donald Trump to travel to D.C. to change the outcome of the election, which she believes was stolen.” (Beverly Hills Courier interview).
- A US Navy veteran from Arizona, who invaded the Capitol in a Viking costume, said “he was in Washington as part of a group effort with other "patriots" from Arizona at the request of President Trump.” (FBI Interview)
- A northern California resident said, “She heard President Trump tell the crowd to go to the U.S. Capitol... decided she wanted to be part of the crowd, and she walked to the U.S. Capitol.” (FBI interview)
- A woman from Texas, said she entered the Rotunda because “He said, ‘Be there,’ and So I went and I answered the call of my president.” (KTVT-TV Fort Worth interview)



- **What we are dealing with here is not merely a mix of right-wing organizations, but a broader mass movement with violence at its core.**
- This is **fundamentally a political movement**, one not only centered in “red” parts of the country, but also consisting of pro-Trump supporters who are in the political minority in many places.
- Normal CVE won’t work in this case. What we need is not simply social programs for poor, unemployed or arrests targeting pre-existing extremist organizations, but de-escalation approaches for anger among large swaths of mainstream society.

# SUMMER 2022 RESEARCH TEAM



## Project Leadership



**Robert Pape, PhD**  
PI, Director



**Keven Ruby, PhD**  
Research Director



**Chris Price, PhD**  
Senior Research Associate



**Kyle Larson, PhD**  
Senior Research Associate



**Areej Mughal**  
Student Supervisor



**Sarah Bonnem**  
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**Amina Abouelfettouh**



**Christine Jonglertham**



**Derek Jones**



**Jeongmin Shin**



**Chelsea Seifer**



**Jeonghoon Park**



**Maggie Mills**



**Marie Mach**



**Katharina von Maltzahn**



**Nicholas Miller**



**Pearson Love**



**Ryan Vetticad**



**Truman Custer**

# METHODOLOGY

- Given the striking findings, it is helpful to explain more fully our methodology and its limitations.
- For both the Capitol Hill arrests and those arrested for far-right deadly violence from 2015-2020, our team reviewed all official court documents related to each arrest — which includes criminal complaints, statement of facts, and affidavits — and conducted searches of media stories and interviews related to each person on comprehensive and up to date databases like Newsbank. The number of documents and media stories is over 1500.

# CODING ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION

- “Organization affiliation” refers to any mention of any connection to a militant organization in any of these documents, including references in social media posts, where an organization is defined as an entity that has a process by which members identify themselves, such as donations, membership dues, or participation in organized face-to-face meetings.
- The court documents are produced by FBI, US Capitol Police, and Washington DC police agents who routinely identify group affiliation of individuals arrested. In fact, it is one of their primary concerns. We err on the side of inclusion; we code as affiliated if they are members or directly indicate support through wearing patches, apparel etc.

# CODING QANON

- **We assess affiliation with QAnon based on observable indicators in open-source media and court documents. We cannot determine whether these individuals believe all or any of the specific theories associated with QAnon, only that they have publicly affiliated themselves with them.**
- **Observable indicators include:**
  - Wearing of QAnon-branded clothing, flying a QAnon flag, or other visible signs of affiliation during the Capitol insurrection itself. Examples include Dominic Madden and Kevin Loftus were photographed inside the Capitol wearing QAnon sweatshirts. Jacob Chansley, the self-appointed shaman of the QAnon movement, sported his trademark costume linking him to QAnon.
  - Expressions of support for QAnon in online activity (e.g. posting on social media). For example, Mathew Capsel indicated his support for QAnon online with the username “Mathew Q Capsel” and adorned a post-attack Tik Tok video with a giant letter Q. Jennifer Ryan tweeted after the Capitol Attack: “The truth of the matter is that Q was correct. Evil people will have their day. God's timing is perfect.”
  - Other documented evidence of QAnon support. For example, Philipp Muntzer painted a mural on the side of his building featuring a number of QAnon-inspired slogans, including “QANON” and “The Storm has Arrived The Great Awakening #taketheoath.” Kevin Strong flew a flag outside of his home with the QAnon slogan “WW1WGA” and reportedly claimed he had “Q Clearance.” Gina Bisignano attended QAnon rallies and taunted an interviewer with “I bet you kill your babies and eat it” – a clear echo of core QAnon conspiracy.