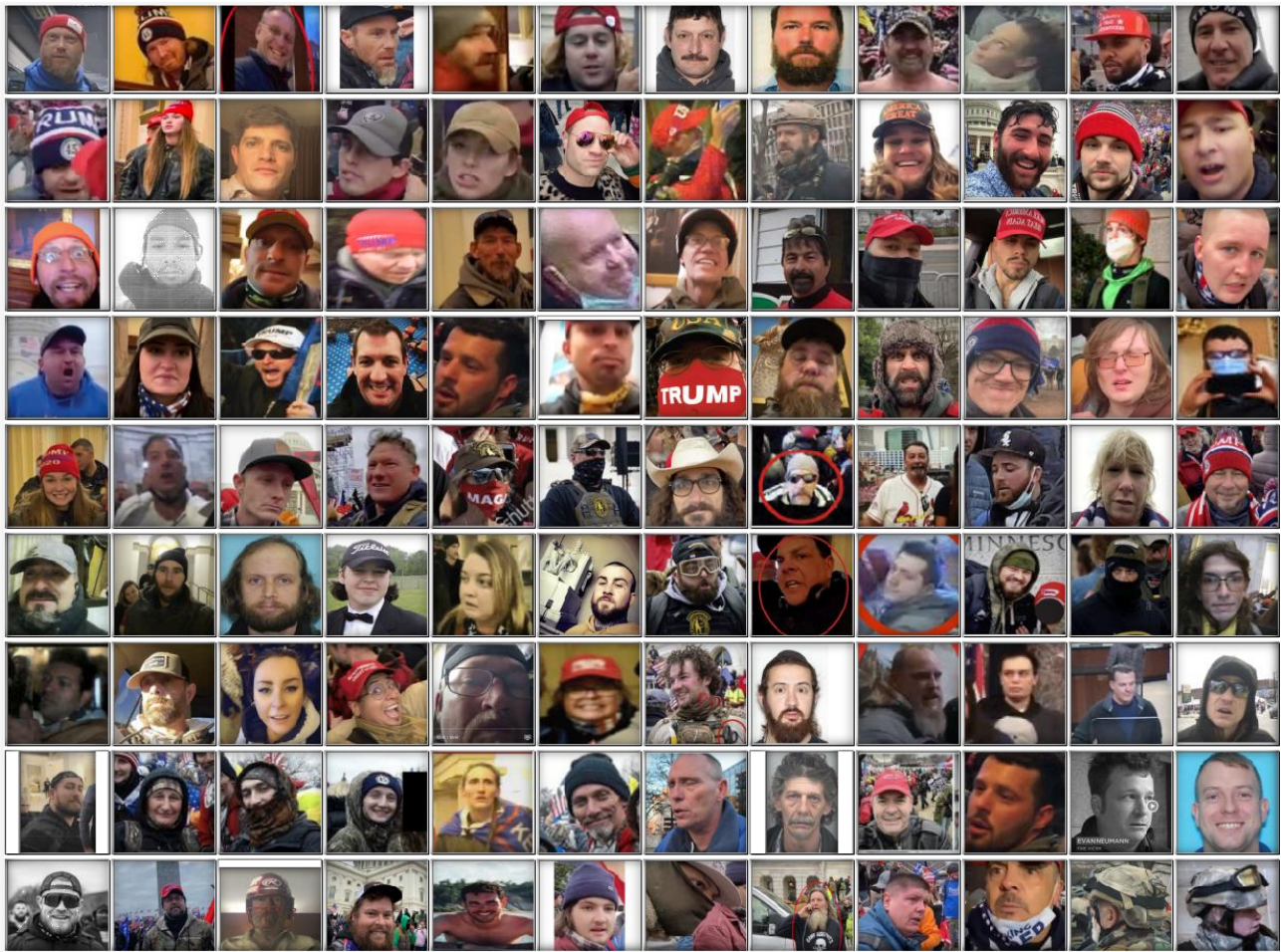


AMERICAN FACE OF INSURRECTION

Analysis of Individuals Charged for Storming the US Capitol on January 6, 2021

January 5, 2022



Chicago Project on Security and Threats

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FOREWORD

The violent assault on the US Capitol that took place January 6, 2021 is a major act of domestic political violence the like of which is unfamiliar in recent U.S. history.

We need to take the threat of increased levels of domestic extremist attacks seriously. The 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

It is also vital to understand who we are dealing with in the new movement and targeting pre-2021 far-right organizations will not solve the problem. Political violence coming from a new mass movement requires new political solutions.

Given the political geography of the movement, President Biden may well get the most violent resistance from where he is politically the strongest. But on the upside, this is also where President Biden presumably has the strongest networks and so could engage the movement effectively at the local level.

We hope this report will shed light on the patterns of individuals within this movement in order to evaluate [Biden's Strategy for Countering Domestic Terrorism](#) and inform further policy.



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INTRODUCTION

On January 6th, 2021, the United States experienced an act of domestic political violence unprecedented in US history since the US civil war. A violent mob of 2,000 Americans, as estimated by law enforcement, breached the American Capitol to prevent the certification of Joe Biden as President of the United States.¹ Many thousands also battled with police outside the Capitol that day.²

In this report, we present findings from an in-depth analysis of the Americans who have been charged for their part in the January 6 Insurrection.³ As of January 1, 2022, 716 individuals have been charged with illegally entering the Capitol or Capitol grounds on January 6. Of these, 215 (30%) have been charged with acts of actual or threatened physical violence. Our database documents all individuals charged by FBI, Capitol Hill Police, and DC Police for entering the US Capitol or breaking into the Capitol grounds on January 6, 2021.

Analyzing information related to these arrests is our best method to assess “who” were the insurrectionists, since there are detailed court records and media reports available for each of these cases, covering a broad range of factors and allowing for research on the criminal and other relevant

Our analysis is grounded in detailed data. For each individual, we gather the relevant information to help us understand trends within the entire group of arrestees. These data are drawn from a comprehensive and rigorous review of documentary evidence on the 716 individuals in our database, thousands of formal court documents, media coverage, and public records. Based on this review, we systematically identified and collected a broad spectrum of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics as well as militant group ties, military experience.

The data is remarkable for its completeness, essential for a reliable analysis. All cases have name, gender, and state and county of residence on January 6. All but a handful have codings for age and race. The data contains educational records of 438 individuals (65%), employment for 501 (70%), and confirmed the presence or absence of criminal records for 482 (97%).

Our report is divided into three main parts, each asking a different core question about the Jan 6 insurrectionists:

(1) Demographics

Question: How do the insurrectionists compare to right wing violent offenders, the US electorate and Trump voters?

Answer: The insurrectionists closely reflect the US electorate on most socio-economic variables and, hence, come from the mainstream, not just the fringe of society

¹ Ryan J. Reilly, “The Feds Have Made 625+ Capitol Riot Arrests. They Still Have A Long Way To Go.,” *HuffPost*, October 6, 2021, https://www.huffpost.com/entry/feds-made-capitol-riot-arrests-quarter-way-there_n_615c6fafe4b0f7776310fe37.

² Dalton Bennett et al., “D.C. Police Requested Backup at Least 17 Times in 78 Minutes during Capitol Riot,” *Washington Post*, April 15, 2021, sec. Visual Forensics, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/investigations/interactive/2021/dc-police-records-capitol-riot/>.

³ Robert A. Pape and Keven Ruby, “The Capitol Rioters Aren’t Like Other Extremists,” *The Atlantic*, February 2, 2021, <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/02/the-capitol-rioters-arent-like-other-extremists/617895/>.

(2) Violent versus Non-Violent Offenders

Question: Are those charged with violent offenses (assault) different than those charged for non-violent offenses (trespassing)?

Answer: Violent and non-violent offenders are not much different and have roughly the same prior criminal background and militant group affiliation.

(3) Geography

Question: Where do the insurrectionists come from within the United States?

Answer: They come from 45 states plus the District of Columbia, with more coming from counties won by Joe Biden than Donald Trump. The key county characteristic is that the counties with insurrectionists lost the most non-Hispanic White population.

(4) Race and Gender

Question: Although the insurrectionists are overwhelmingly White and male, what stands out about the relatively few who are minorities and women?

Answer: Both minorities and women are relatively economically better off, have more affiliation with militant groups, but only modest differences on most other variables compared to the averages for the insurrectionists as a whole. However, we should be cautious not to overread results from small numbers.

The report also includes:

(5) Insurrectionist Profiles Appendix

The report includes a sample of socio-economic details for 50 insurrectionists who are business owners, CEOs, or from white collar occupations.

(6) Data, Methods and Sources Appendix

(7) CPOST Team for this Report

1. FROM MAINSTREAM, NOT JUST THE FRINGE

Those who stormed the Capitol represent a mainstream political movement and are not simply confined to the fringes of American society.

To assess the relative position of the Capitol Hill insurrectionists in America, we compare the demographic profile of the Capitol Hill insurrectionists to three referent groups across a broad range of socio-economic factors: Right wing violent offenders arrested by the FBI and US law enforcement from 2015 to mid-2020, the 2020 US electorate, and 2020 Trump voters.

The Capitol Hill insurrectionists are far closer to the mainstream – the US electorate – than right wing violent offenders on every socio-economic variable aside from race, gender, and retired. Although the insurrectionists – who are all pro-Trump activists --mirror the characteristics of Trump voters in many cases, they are not simply a cross-section of Trump voters. For example, they differ particularly in the proportion of males and retired.

The data for right-wing extremism are based on individuals arrested on related charges between 2015 and 2020, prior to the insurrection that occurred on January 6th, 2021. Data on the 2020 American electorate and Trump voters was taken from the 2020 American National Election Survey (ANES). For some variables that are not yet available for the 2020 iteration, we relied on the 2016 ANES.

Table 1 summarizes our socio-economic analysis.

TABLE 1. COMPARING INSURRECTIONISTS TO FRINGE AND MAINSTREAM

	Insurrectionists Jan 6, 2021	RWEX Violent Offenders	Electorate (2020)	Trump Voters (2020)
Age > 35	64%	39%	69%	77%
White	93%	95%	69%	85%
Male	85%	95%	49%	54%
Business Owner	26%	No data	12% ^a	No data
White Collar	43% ^b	No data	37%	34%
Blue Collar	33% ^c	No data	26%	25%
Unemployed	7%	25%	6%	6%
Retired	3%	2%	20%	26%
College	25%	10%	30%	32%
Military Service	15%	40%	10%	13%
Militant Group & Gangs	14%	48%	3% ^d	4% ^e
Criminal Record	33%	64%	20%	20%

^a Data on Business ownership from Small Business Association
^b Includes white-collar business owners.
^c Includes blue-collar business owners.
^d Militant group affiliation for the electorate estimated from CPOST-NORC American Political Violence Survey (June 2021) and DOJ statistics on gangs.
^e Militant group affiliation for Trump voters estimated from CPOST-NORC American Political Violence Survey (June 2021). No gang information available.

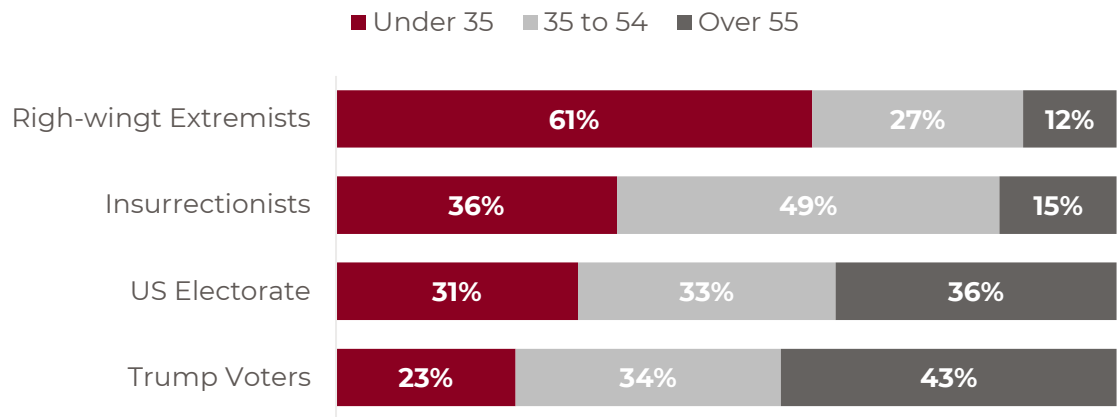
Overall, our analysis shows that we are dealing with a new kind of a right-wing movement, one that is demographically closer to an average American than an average right-wing extremist and indicating that far right support for political violence is moving into the mainstream.

Below we discuss the details of each variable.

Age

The insurrection appears driven by Millennials and Gen Xers. Age at time offense is available for 711 of 716 individuals charged for storming the US Capitol on January 6, 2021 (99%). As Figure 1 shows, significant differences in the age composition of these groups are visible.

FIGURE 1. ARE IN A GIVEN AGE BRACKET



Note: Data on age available for all 711 charged for breaking into the Capitol as of January 1, 2022. Data on electorate and Trump voters from 2020 ANES. Data on right-wing extremist violent offenders based on US law enforcement arrests, 2015 through mid-2020.

The right-wing extremist are by far the youngest, with 61% younger than 35 with 28% being under 25, making this group largely driven by Millennials (those born between 1981 and 1996, between 25 and 40 in 2021). The insurrectionists are middle-aged – with nearly 50% of all insurrectionists falling between 35 and 55, and only 9% under 25. While the insurrection was able to draw in a bit more of Gen X (born 1965 to 1980 and between 41 and 56 in 2021) than the right-wing violent offenders, both groups are noticeably younger than the US electorate, and even more surprisingly, 2020 Trump voters

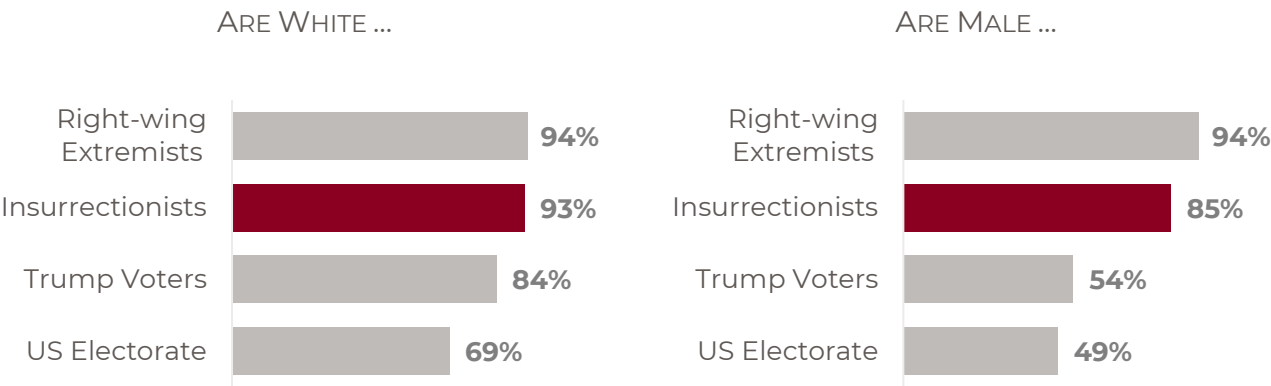
Yet even more noticeable and startling is the lack of individuals over 55 participating in the insurrectionist and extreme right-wing movement-- comprising 15% and 12% of the movements, respectively. 77% of all insurrectionists – three quarters – fall between 25 and 55 as compared to just 49% of the US electorate. Individuals over 55 make up 36% of the US electorate and 43% of Trump voters in 2020.

The different age distribution tells us two important things about the insurrection as a broader movement. First, that the movement is led by Millennials and Gen X, with the aging Baby Boomers (between 57 and 75 in 2021) well represented in the electorate staying out. Second, and related, Baby Boomers are not leaving the Republican Party altogether as nearly half of Trump voters are over 55, they just are not participating in this brand of American right-wing movement.

Gender and Race

Data on race and sex is available for all 716 individuals charged for storming the Capitol on January 6, 2021. Figure 2 compares race and gender across the four pools. Results demonstrate that both right-wing extremists and insurrectionists are predominantly male and white, especially when compared to the 2020 US electorate. Among those arrested for right-wing extremism between 2015 and 2020, 94% were white and 94% were male. Of the insurrectionists, 93% of perpetrators were white and 85% were male. While 2020 Trump voters were also predominantly white (84%), the male-to-female ratios remain uniquely unbalanced for insurrectionists and right-wing extremists.

FIGURE 2. RACE AND SEX



Note: Data on race and sex available for all 716 charged for breaking into the Capitol as of January 1, 2022. Data on electorate and Trump voters from 2020 ANES. Data on right-wing extremist violent offenders based on US law enforcement arrests, 2015 through mid-2020.

Occupations and Business Ownership

Occupation, business ownership, and employment information is known for 501 of the 716 insurrectionists (70%). Business ownership and unemployment have standardized definitions allowing straightforward classification of cases. By contrast, white collar vs blue collar do not have standardized definitions but rely on analysts grouping sets of specific occupations. As we explain in the notes at the end of this report, we establish standardized sets of “white” and “blue collar” occupations and apply this classification scheme consistently across the insurrectionist, the US electorate, and Trump voters.

Table 2 presents the breakdown of employment categories for the 501 of 716 insurrectionists for which we have employment data.

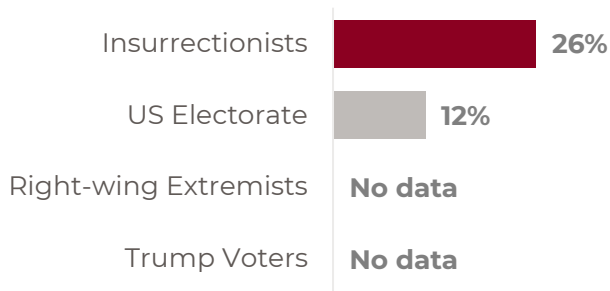
TABLE 2. BREAKDOWN OF EMPLOYMENT FOR INSURRECTIONISTS

Occupation	Insurrectionists
White Collar	28%
Blue Collar	22%
Self-Employed	10%
Unemployed	7%
Business Owner	26%
• White Collar Business Owner	15%
• Blue Collar Business Owner	11%
Student	4%
Retired	3%

Owning Businesses

Our best source for business ownership in the United States is from the Small Business Administration (SBA). This allows us to compare business ownership rates among the insurrectionists with the American electorate, but not to disaggregate white collar and blue-collar business ownership in this comparison because the SBA does not include this division. Figure 3 presents the comparison.

FIGURE 3. ARE BUSINESS-OWNERS



Note: Data on business ownership available for 501 of the 716 charged for breaking into the Capitol as of January 1, 2022. Data on 2020 electorate from the Small Business Administration. Data on right-wing extremist violent offenders based on US law enforcement arrests, 2015 through mid-2020.

While the unemployment rates are comparable, business ownership varies between the US population and the insurrectionists.⁴ According to the Small Business Administration, 11.8% of US adults own their own business. In contrast 24% of insurrectionists are business owners, a two-fold difference. This difference likely stems from two key differences between the US population and the insurrectionists. First, a higher rate of retirement in the

⁴ While we have no data on business ownership for the 108 Right-Wing Extremist violent offenders, given their high unemployment rate (25%, see below) and low education attainment (10% with college degrees), the rate of business ownership is likely well under the national average let alone the high rate of 26% for the insurrectionists.

US population than among the insurrectionists as a group means that there is a higher proportion of workers to potentially own a business. Second, given that insurrectionists are predominantly male and white, they are a demographic group that consistently has greater economic opportunity and is overrepresented in leadership and management positions.

White and Blue Collar

The insurrectionists have white collar and blue-collar profiles similar to the US Electorate and Trump Voters in 2020, indicative of the movements mainstream appeal. For the insurrectionists, we combine white collar business owners with white collar workers and do the same for blue collar. This makes the data comparable to the ANES data which does not disaggregate business owners from occupation types. Table 3 shows the comparison.

TABLE 3. COMPARING WHITE- AND BLUE-COLLAR OCCUPATIONS

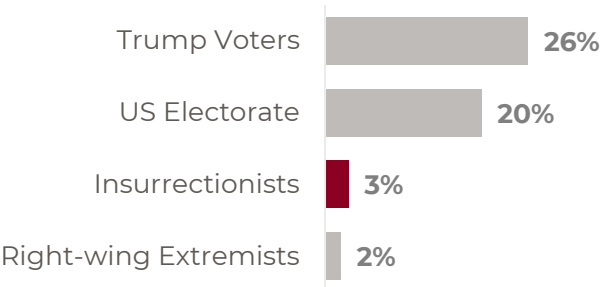
	White Collar	Blue Collar
Insurrectionists (including Business Owners)	28%+15%=43%	22%+11%=33%
RWEX Violent Offenders	No data	No data
US Electorate (2020)	37%	26%
Trump Voters (2020)	34%	25%

Overall, the insurrectionists are slightly more represented in white collar and blue-collar occupations than in the US electorate or Trump voters in 2020. Specifically, 43% of the insurrectionists are white collar, compared to 37% and 34% in the US electorate and Trump voters respectively, while 33% of the insurrectionists are in blue collar occupations as compared with 26% and 25% in the US electorate and Trump voters respectively. The likely reason for this difference is the much smaller percentage of retired persons among insurrectionists.

Retirement

The political movement evolving out of the insurrection represents the development of a younger right-wing ideology that is not attracting the strong conservative base among the older generation. Figure 4 compares retirement rates.

FIGURE 4. ARE RETIRED



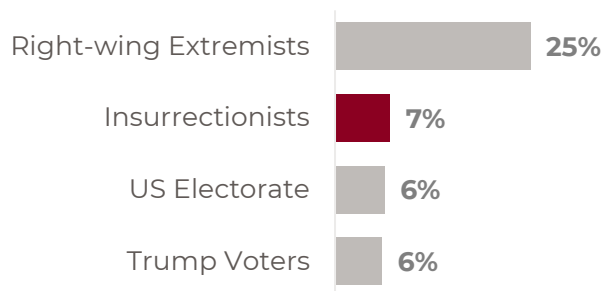
Note: Data on retiree status available for 501 of the 716 charged for breaking into the Capitol as of January 1, 2022. Data on electorate and Trump voters from 2020 ANES. Data on right-wing extremist violent offenders based on US law enforcement arrests, 2015 through mid-2020.

Despite the disparity in unemployment rate between the prior extremists and the insurrectionists, both boast very low rates of retirement compared to the US electorate or Trump voters. This difference in retirement rates between these two political movements and the larger population again reflects that these movements are attracting the middle-aged and younger generations, rather than the Baby Boomers.

Unemployment

Figure 5 below shows unemployment rates for the insurrectionists and right-wing extremists at the time of their offence, as well as for Trump Voters in 2020 and the US national average in January 2021. The employment status of the insurrectionists differs from that of previous right-wing extremists and appears in line with the January 2021 rates of the larger US electorate and 2020 Trump voters. Insurrectionists had a similarly low unemployment rate at 7% compared to 2020 US voters (6.3%) and 2020 Trump voters (6%). This is a stark contrast to the trends among previous right-wing extremists who had a 25% unemployment rate even prior to the COVID-19 related economic crisis.

FIGURE 5. ARE UNEMPLOYED

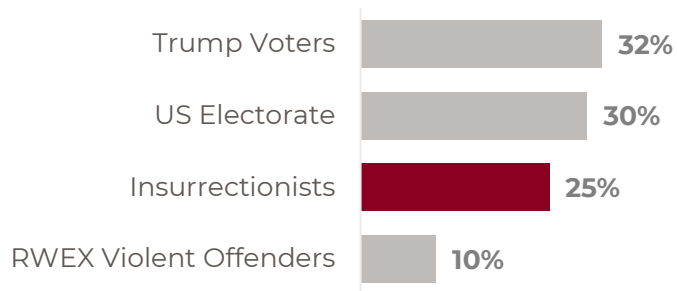


Note: Data on unemployment available for 501 of the 716 charged for breaking into the Capitol as of January 1, 2022. Data on electorate and Trump voters from 2020 ANES. Data on right-wing extremist violent offenders based on US law enforcement arrests, 2015 through mid-2020.

Education

Education status is known for 438 of the 716 charged insurrectionists (61%). Figure 6 below shows that 25% of the insurrectionists have a four-year college degree. Only 1% are high school dropouts – lower than the electorate and certainly much lower than right-wing extremists. The college rate closely resembles the percentages of the US electorate and Trump voters as a whole and is far higher than the rate of college education among right-wing extremist offenders.

FIGURE 6. HAVE A COLLEGE DEGREE

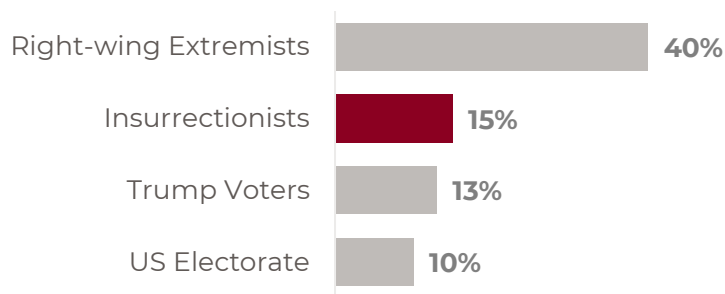


Note: Data on educational attainment available for 438 of the 716 charged for breaking into the Capitol, current as of January 1, 2022. Data on electorate and Trump voters from 2020 ANES. Data on right-wing extremist violent offenders based on US law enforcement arrests, 2015 through mid-2020.

Military service

Military service information is available for all 716 individuals charged for storming the capitol on January 6 (100%). 15% of the insurrectionists had some military experience. While this seems higher than the broad US population at 10% and 2020 Trump voters at 13%, it is comparable to the broader population when it is taken into account that the insurrectionists are predominantly male. Once considered, the insurrectionist rate of military service at 15% falls between the US population at 10% and the population of US males at 17%, making it consistent with the larger population categories. This is a striking difference from the rate of military service from the extreme right at 40%, significantly higher than both the general population and the insurrectionists.

FIGURE 7. SERVED IN THE MILITARY



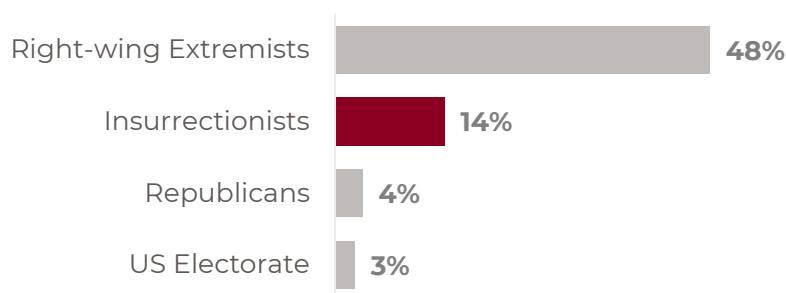
Note: Data on military service available for all 716 charged or charged for breaking into the Capitol as of January 1, 2022. Data on electorate and Trump voters from 2020 ANES. Data on right-wing extremist violent offenders based on US law enforcement arrests, 2015 through mid-2020.

Militia membership

Affiliation with extremist groups such as the Proud Boys, militias like the Oath Keepers and Three Percenters, and gangs like the Aryan Brotherhood is available for all 716 individuals charged for breaching the US Capitol on January 6, 2021 (100%).

As displayed in figure 8 below, far fewer insurrectionists belonged to militias when compared to Right-wing extremist arrests between 2015-2020. 48% of right-wing extremist arrests between 2015-2020 belonged to a militia or group, while only 13% of insurrectionists in 2021 belonged to a militia or group.

FIGURE 8. ARE MEMBERS OF ORGANIZED MILITANT GROUPS/GANGS



Note: Data on militant group membership/affiliation available for all 716 charged for breaking into the Capitol as of January 1, 2022. Data on right-wing extremist violent offenders based on US law enforcement arrests, 2015 through mid-2020. Data on electorate and Trump voters estimated from CPOST-NORC American Political Violence Survey (nationally representative) conducted June 9-17, 2021, N=1,070. percent answering "Yes" to "Are you (or is anyone you know) a member of a citizens' militia like the Oath Keepers or Three Percenters, or a right-wing group like the Proud Boys?" Gang membership for the US population estimated by the DOJ at 1 million. Data on gang membership among Republicans not available.

Of the insurrectionists that were connected to far-right militias or groups, 51 charged were Proud Boys, 24 were Oath Keepers, 18 were Three Percenters, and 9 belonged to various other small groups. Notably, no individuals charged have been directly linked to Antifa.

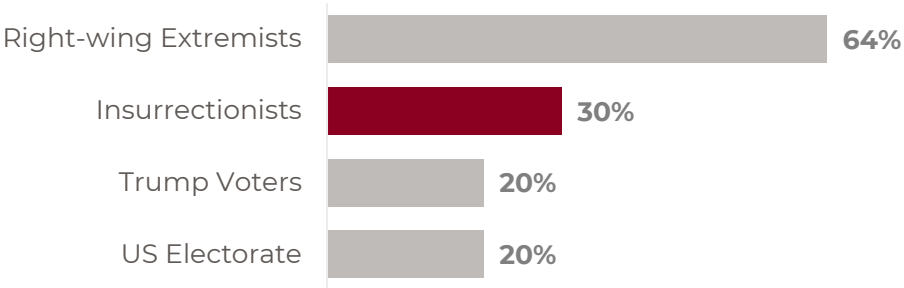
The greatest difference between the Right-wing extremist arrests between 2015-2020 and the insurrectionists lies in the number of unaffiliated perpetrators. 86% of insurrectionists had no known affiliation to a militant group or gang, compared to only 48% of violent right wing extremist offenders. This difference demonstrates how the insurrection as a political movement evolved without the leadership of an extreme group and attracted individuals who are not necessarily extremists.

This does not absolve the role that militias played in the insurrection. 14% of affiliated insurrectionists is still a much higher proportion of the militia affiliates that appear in the US electorate and among Trump voters – which stands at 2.5% and 3.5% respectively.

Criminal History

Criminal history is available for 692 of the 716 individuals charged for breaching the US Capitol on January 6, 2021 (97%). We exclude traffic citations from criminal history but do include drug offenses, DUIs, and other criminal charges. Figure 9 presents the comparison.

FIGURE 9. HAVE A CRIMINAL HISTORY



Note: Data on criminal history available for 692 of the 716 charged or charged for breaking into the Capitol as of January 1, 2022. Data on electorate and Trump voters from 2020 ANES. Data on right-wing extremist violent offenders based on US law enforcement arrests, 2015 through mid-2020.

The data show a strikingly high percentage of right-wing extremists (64%) had a prior criminal record. In contrast, only 30% of the insurrectionists had some prior criminal record. However, both the insurrectionists and right-wing extremists had a notably higher percentage of criminal records than US voters (20%) and Trump voters (20%).

2. VIOLENT INSURRECTIONISTS NOT DIFFERENT

215 insurrectionists (30% of the 716) have been charged with violence against a person or property. For purposes of this report, we include the following offenses as violent:

- Assaulting, Resisting, or Impeding Certain Officers
- Using a Dangerous Weapon
- Inflicting Bodily Injury
- Engaging in Physical Violence in a Restricted Building or Grounds
- Destruction of Government Property
- Threatening a Federal Officer

Of those 215, 86 insurrectionists (40%) have been charged with the possession or use of a weapon and 49 (23%) with destruction of property. Is there something different between those offenders that committed violent acts and those that did not? Will the violent offenders be more noticeably comparable to the right-wing extremist violent offenders arrested between 2015 and 2020?

In short: No. As the data in Table 4 below shows, there are slight differences that trend back towards the prior right-wing extremists, but not enough that violent offenders are distinct from the rest of the insurrectionist movement. If anything, the presence of these violent streaks within the larger insurrection further demonstrates the transition of radical right-wing ideology from the fringe into the mainstream.

TABLE 4. COMPARING VIOLENT AND NON-VIOLENT INSURRECTIONISTS

	Overall	Non-violent	Violent
Age >=35	64%	65%	61%
White	92%	92%	93%
Male	86%	83%	94%
Business Owner	26%	23%	32%
White Collar	28%	31%	20%
Blue Collar	22%	22%	22%
Unemployed	7%	6%	9%
Retired	3%	3%	3%
College	31%	35%	22%
Military Service	15%	13%	20%
Militant Group	14%	11%	21%
Criminal Record	31%	28%	39%

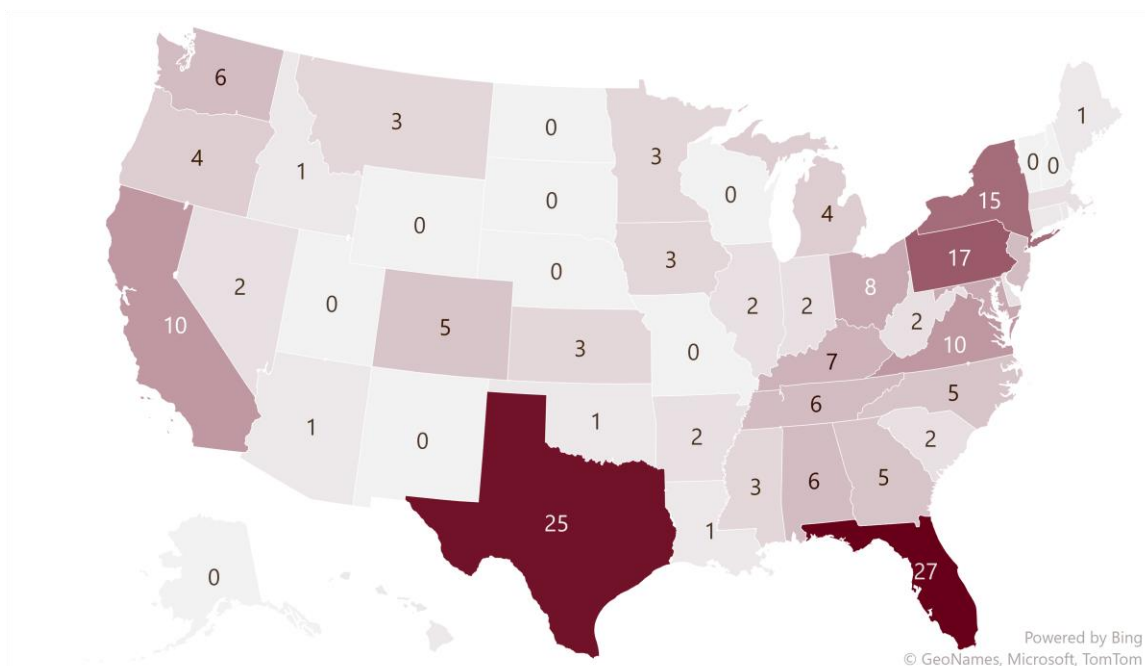
Summarizing the results, violent offenders are:

1. Even more predominantly men, at a rate of 94% as compared to 82% for non-violent offenders. There is no difference in the high proportion that is white.

2. More likely to have prior or active military service or have affiliations with a militia. This result is also likely to overlap with the group being so predominantly male. While these rates are higher than the rest of the insurrectionists, they are still not as high as the rates for prior extremists.
3. Slightly younger, but even this is a relatively minor difference in the age distributions of violent vs. non-violent offenders.
4. Less Educated – while the rates of high school dropouts remain comparable between violent and non-violent offenders, rates of college degrees are lower for the violent offenders.
5. Much more likely to have a prior criminal record, prior violent charges, and prior incarceration, 39% of violent offenders had a criminal record.
6. Marginally more unemployed. However, the difference is slight, especially considering their lack of college degrees and how the pandemic affected those without degrees. Their level of unemployment looks nothing like the already high rate among prior extremists even before covid-19.
7. When employed, more likely to be business owners than non-violent offenders and less likely to be white-collar, blue-collar, or self-employed workers

Turning to geography, Figure 10 shows that violent offenders are not clustered, suggesting the same processes mobilizing insurrectionists overall are also mobilizing those who engaged in violent offenses.

FIGURE 10. HOME STATES OF INSURRECTIONISTS CHARGED WITH VIOLENT OFFENCES

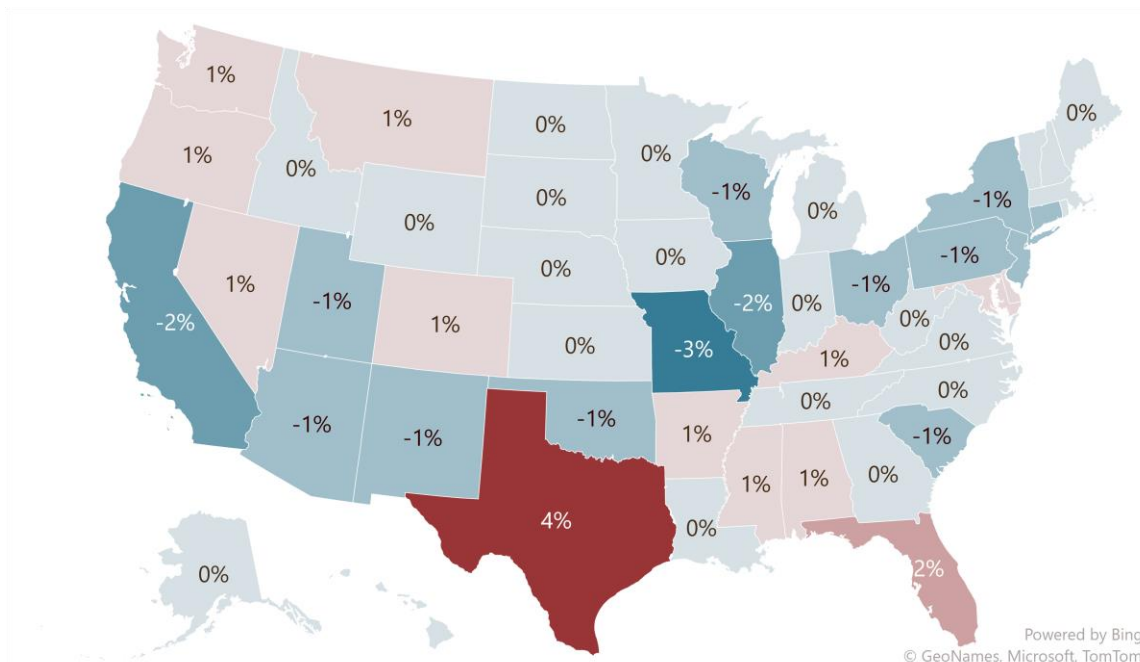


Note: Map shows distribution of 215 individuals charged with violent offenses in the January 6, 2021 attack on the US Capitol. Data current as of January 1, 2022.

What is immediately evident in the map is the similarity in the distribution across the states that both violent and non-violent offenders came from. While it would first appear that violent offenders are clustered in Texas and Florida – and 25% of them did come from those two states alone – they are also the home of similarly amounts of non-violent offenders. The situation for California, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, though there does appear to be a bit more of a gap with these latter four between the violent and non-violent offenders. These six previously mentioned states are responsible for 50% of all violent insurrectionists.

Figure 11 compares each state's proportion of total insurrections to its corresponding proportion of all violent offenders.

FIGURE 11. STATE SHARE OF VIOLENT OFFENDERS COMPARED TO SHARE OF OVERALL OFFENDERS



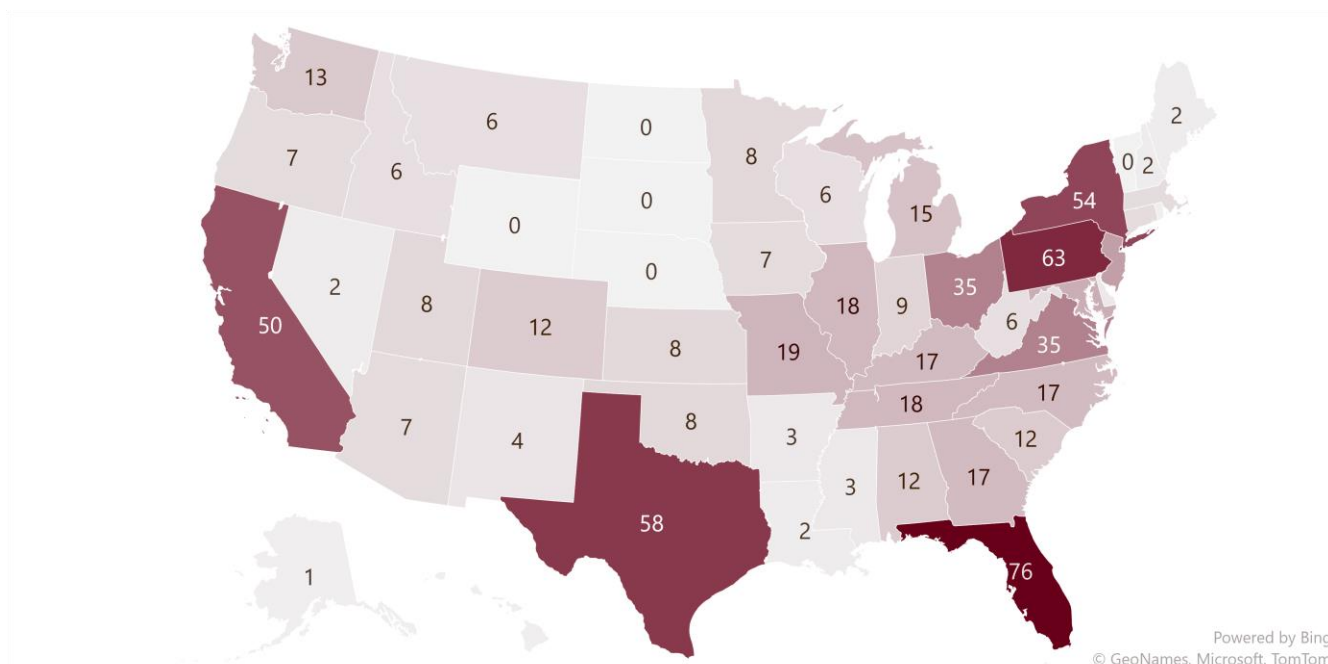
Note: Map shows difference between state share of violent insurrectionists and share of all insurrectionists. Positive numbers indicate higher proportion of violent offenders compared to offenders overall. Data current as of January 1, 2022.

The similarities between the distributions are even more striking. Most states have either the same proportion in each group or have a 1% smaller proportion of violent offenders than of all insurrections. The difference between proportions is never larger than plus or minus 3%. As the two highest producers of violent insurrectionists, it is not surprising that Texas and Florida have a 3% and 2%, higher proportion of violent offenders, respectively. However, even in these two cases, the proportions do not drastically differ. There is no substantial difference between the home states of violent offenders and the home states of Insurrectionists overall.

3. THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE INSURRECTION

As Figure 12 below shows, the individuals charged with participating in the January 6, 2021 attack on the US Capitol to prevent the certification of Joe Biden as the 46th president come from all over the country, 45 states plus the District of Columbia.

FIGURE 12. WHERE THEY CAME FROM



Note: Data on home state available for all 716 charged for breaking into the Capitol as of January 1, 2022.

A common narrative amongst the political left maintains that insurrectionists come from places where Trump is the most politically dominant – rural, almost completely white, and with high unemployment – not Biden strongholds. This narrative is captured by this colorful quote describing the insurrectionists from an Atlantic article:

“Here they were, a coalition of the willing: deadbeat dads, YouPorn enthusiasts, slow students, and MMA fans. They had heard the rebel yell, packed up their Confederate flags and Trump banners, and GPS-ed their way to Washington. After a few wrong turns, they had pulled into the swamp with bellies full of beer and Sausage McMuffins, maybe a little high on Adderall, ready to get it done.”⁵

But we find that this is not the case. Although the January 6 insurrectionists are all pro-Trump activists, they do not hail from just the reddest parts of the country. Indeed, they come from 45 states plus the District of

⁵ Caitlin Flanagan, “Worst Revolution Ever,” *The Atlantic*, January 10, 2021, <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/01/worst-revolution-ever/617623/>.

Columbia, including large pools from urban parts of “blue” states such as New York and California and none from some of the “reddest” states such as North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Wyoming. While most large urban counties tend to be very blue, there are still vast numbers of Trump supporters in them, and insurrectionists are often drawn from this population.

There are 3 specific characteristics of the counties that produced insurrectionists highlighted below that articulate different ways in which the common expectation that the insurrectionists are drawn from the reddest parts of the country is flawed:

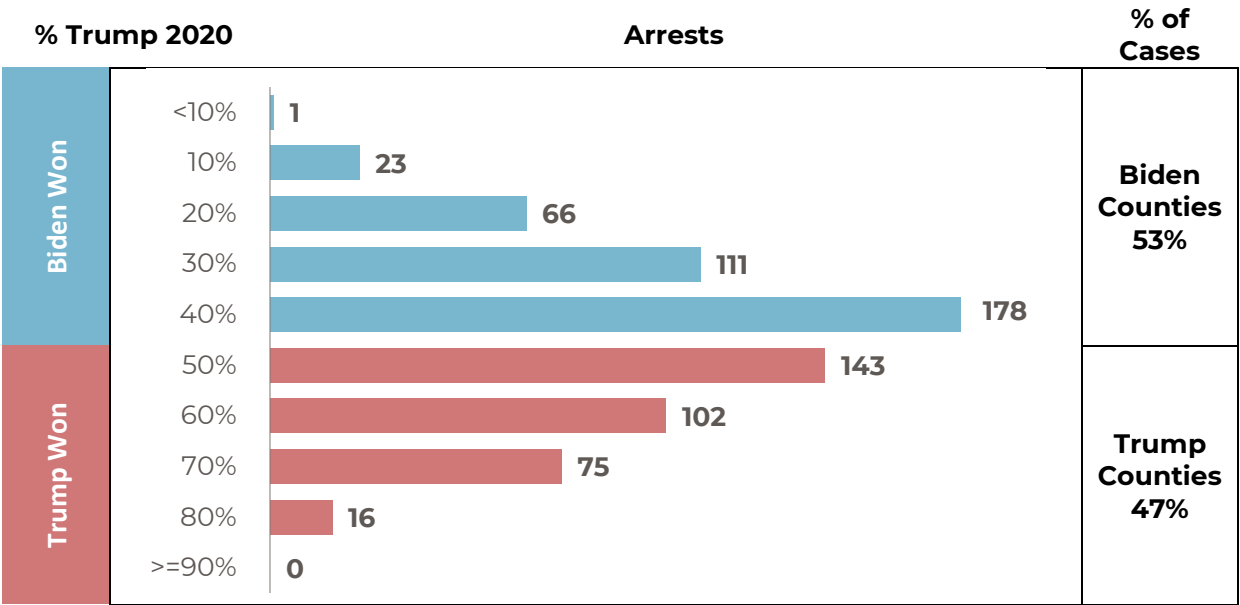
- Most insurrectionists came from counties that Biden won
- Most insurrectionists came from counties that are *less white* than the national county average
- Most insurrectionists came from urban, not rural, counties
- Most insurrectionists do not come from counties with higher than average unemployment

What does explain where the insurrectionists come from? Our analysis suggests that local decline of the non-Hispanic white population has a galvanizing effect, and counties that have had higher rates of non-Hispanic white population decline in the last half-decade are likely to produce insurrectionists at a higher rate.

Biden Won More Counties with Insurrectionists than Trump in 2020

Figure 13 presents charged insurrectionists by their home county’s share of Trump’s 2020 vote. Of all counties with insurrectionists, Biden won 53% compared to 47% won by Trump. 60% of insurrectionists came from “purple” counties – where the percentage vote for President Trump ranged from 40-60%. Purple counties comprise 54% of the US populated counties, the insurrectionist counties sample therefore reflects the national average.

FIGURE 13. CHARGED BY HOME COUNTY % TRUMP VOTE

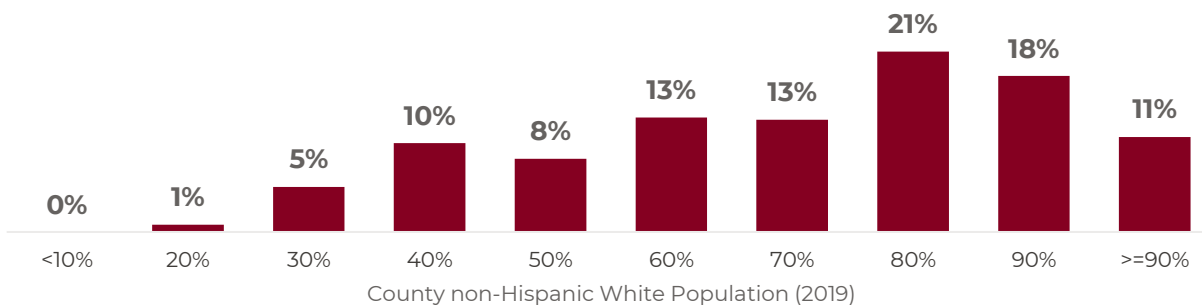


Note: Data on home county available for all 716 charged for breaking into the Capitol as of January 1, 2022. Data on country % vote for Trump in 2020 is from David Leip's Atlas on US Elections and available for 715 cases (1 case from Alaska dropped because Alaska does not report votes by county).

Home County Percent Non-Hispanic White

Since Trump's vote was 85% White in the 2020 election and the insurrectionists are 93% White, one might expect that the insurrectionists would overwhelmingly reside in the Whitest counties in America, those with more than the national average of White population which is 69%. However, 50 percent of the insurrectionists hail from counties with less than 70 percent White population.

FIGURE 14. DISTRIBUTION OF INSURRECTIONISTS BY COUNTY RACIAL MAKEUP

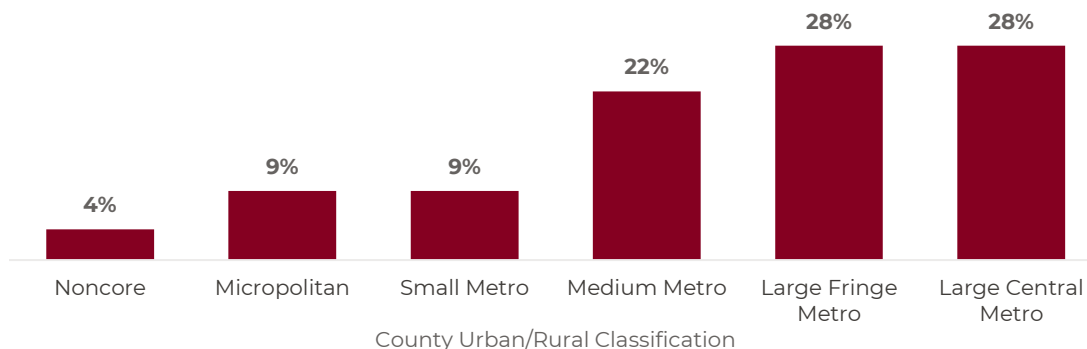


Note: Data on home county available for all 716 charged for breaking into the Capitol as of January 1, 2022. Demographic data from the US Census 2019 Population Estimates.

Rural vs Urban

Since Trump's voters are famously rural, one might expect that the insurrectionists would overwhelmingly reside in the most rural counties in America. However, only 23% of insurrectionists came from counties that are more rural than urban, the national average of the 23% of the US population who live in this same classification. This means that the insurrectionists are an overwhelmingly urban phenomenon.

FIGURE 15. INSURRECTIONISTS AND US POPULATION BY HOME COUNTY % UNEMPLOYED

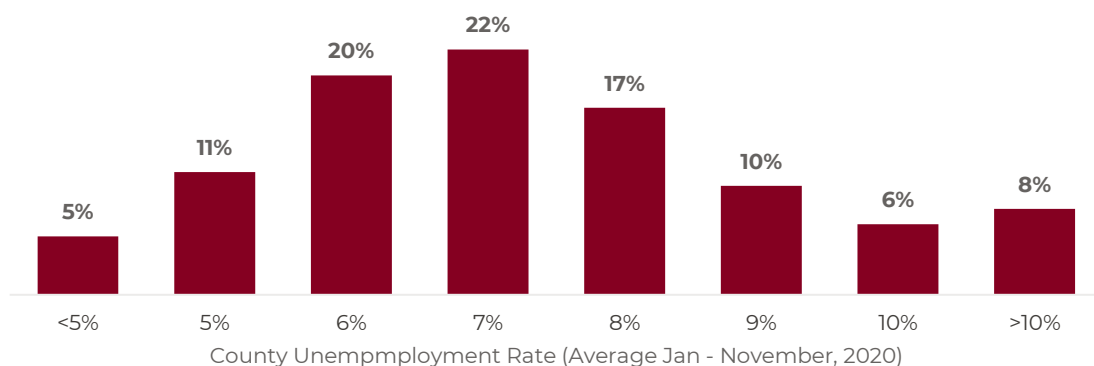


Note: Data on home county available for all 716 charged for breaking into the Capitol as of January 1, 2022. National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS), Rural Classification Scheme for Counties (2013).

County Unemployment

The insurrectionists do not disproportionately come from counties with greater than average unemployment. In December 2020, average county unemployment in the US was 6.7%. As Figure 16 below shows, under half of the insurrectionists (41%) came from counties with average unemployment for 2020 above this level. Together with the fact that only 7% of insurrectionists were themselves unemployed, this suggests that economic hardship may not be a primary driver of participation.

FIGURE 16. INSURRECTIONISTS BY HOME COUNTY % UNEMPLOYED



Note: Data on home county available for all 716 charged for breaking into the Capitol as of January 1, 2022. County unemployment data from Bureau of Labor Statistics, County Level Unemployment Jan – Nov 2020 (averaged).

These findings will come as a surprise to the many who maintain the “deplorables” narrative: insurrectionists are not limited only to the traditionally Republican strongholds. They are widely from urban, diverse, “purple” counties. In order to confront the Insurrectionist political movement, policymakers will need to examine where these individuals are coming from and update to an honest categorization of the types of individuals involved in order to design and execute effective policy. Our analysis at the county level can aid in this necessary step.

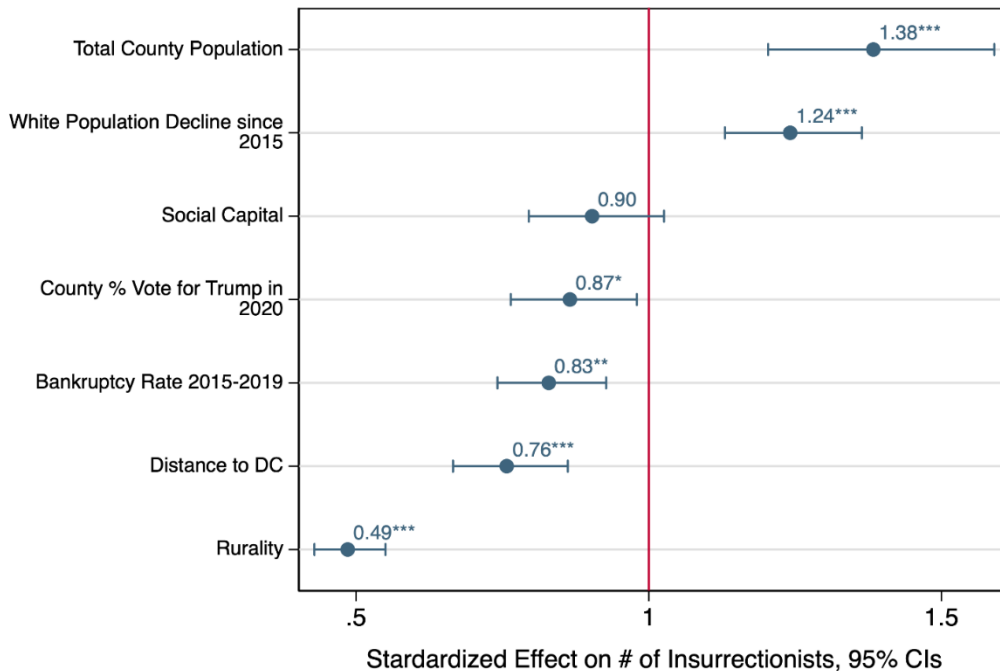
Estimating County Likelihood of Insurrectionists across all US Counties

To further probe the importance of demographic change, we subjected our data to a statistical analysis to estimate the effect of demographic change, and other related factors, on the rate at which a county’s population participated in the Capitol riot. Our model compares the number of insurrectionists from each U.S. county.

The results are presented in Figure 17 below, which shows the relative weight of all the factors included in our statistical model on the number of insurrectionists sent from a given county. The red line at 1 indicates no effect, while numbers above 1 indicate correlation with a higher rate of participation and numbers below 1

indicate correlation with a lower rate. Dots represent the estimated effect, and the horizontal bars represent the certainty in that estimate.

FIGURE 17. PREDICTING COUNTY LIKELIHOOD OF SENDING INSURRECTIONISTS



What does the model tell us?

- First, certain basic geographic and demographic factors are unsurprisingly correlated with higher county rates of insurrectionists. Counties that have higher populations are more likely to produce them (the more people a county has, the more likely you will find insurrectionists). Similarly, counties that are closer to Washington D.C. are more likely to produce insurrectionists, which makes sense given the travel required.
- Second, the more rural a county, the lower its rate of sending insurrectionists, a finding which is significant with a p-value <.01%. This finding counters the mainstream narrative that this movement is emerging from the rural countries. This is not just a product of distance or population: the effect remains significant even when those factors are taken into account.
- Third, the more uniformly a county voted for Trump, the lower the rate of sending insurrectionists. In other words, the greater Trump's margin of victory in a county, the less likely that county is to produce insurrectionists. This reinforces the earlier finding that insurrectionists are more likely to come from purple or blue counties than they are from deep red ones.
- Fourth, counties which saw their non-Hispanic white population decline between 2015 and 2019 have a higher likelihood of sending insurrectionists; this also has a significant p-value <.01%. Counties where racial and ethnic demographics are actively changing are more likely to produce insurrectionists.

Given the overwhelming whiteness of the population of insurrectionists, the finding that counties with higher rates of demographic change are also counties that sent more insurrectionists even when controlling for a host

of competing factors is consistent with a political movement that is partially driven by racial cleavages and white discontent with diversifying communities.

The Case of Texas

We can get a clearer understanding of the statistical results by looking at an example. There are a few reasons for choosing to take a particular interest in Texas to further examine the country-wide findings above.

First, Texas is a big state with a large population (29 million according to the 2020 census) divided into 254 counties.

Second, there is a large enough number of insurrectionists originating from Texas (58 from 26 different counties as of January 1, 2022).

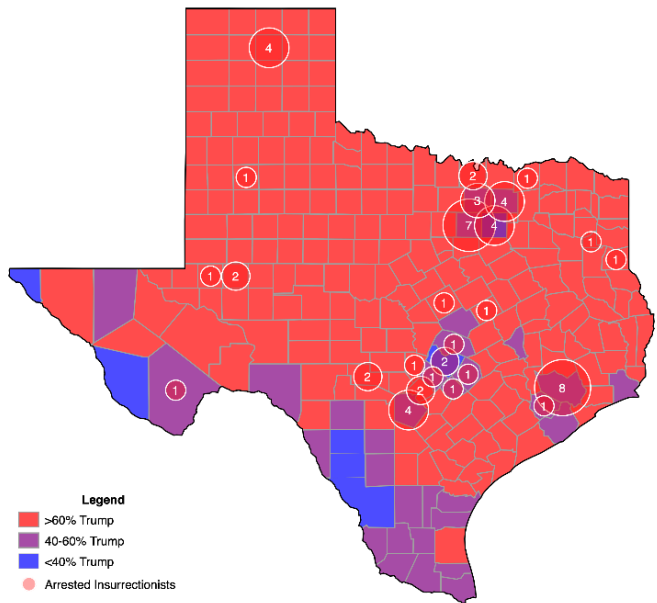
Third, it has both rural Republican strongholds and urban Democratic districts. In 2020, the county average Trump vote share was 74%, ranging from a low of 26% in Travis County (home to Austin) to a high of 96% in Roberts County (a rural county in the northern part of Texas with a population of less than a thousand people).

Last, recent immigration trends have caused changes in the demographic structure of Texas, making it a suitable candidate for further study of our nation-wide findings. While the nation's non-Hispanic white population share declined by approximately 1.1% between 2015 and 2019, Texas' non-Hispanic white population share declined by 1.5%, with the largest single county decline being 7.3% (Kaufman County, part of the Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington metropolitan statistical area).

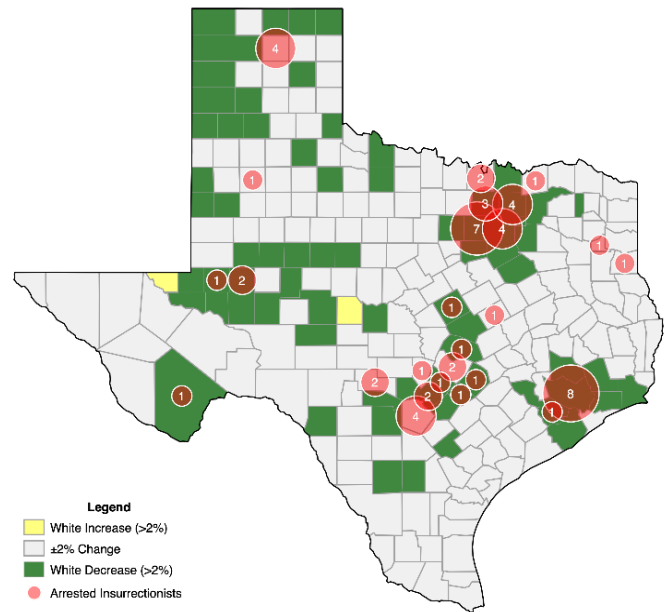
The two maps in figure 18 below show which counties insurrectionists come from within Texas, superimposed over Trump's 2020 vote share (map A) and the county-level change in non-Hispanic white population from 2015-2019 (map B). The red circles indicate counties with insurrectionists, the larger the circle, the more insurrectionists from that county. Both these maps challenge the expectation of insurrectionists coming from uniformly white, Trump-supporting areas; rather, they tend to come from areas that are more diverse.

FIGURE 18. CASE STUDY: DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE AND INSURRECTIONISTS FROM TEXAS

Map A: Trump Vote Share % by County, 2020 Presidential Election



Map B: % Change in Non-Hispanic White Population, 2015-2019



Note: Data on home county available for all 58 Texans charged for breaking into the Capitol as of January 1, 2022. County 2020 vote share for Trump from David Leip's *Atlas of US Presidential Elections*. County demographic change estimated using U.S. Census 2019 Population Estimates for 2015 and 2019.

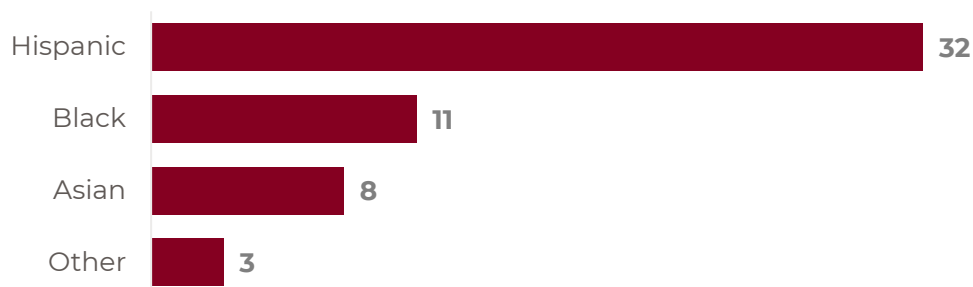
In Map A, counties where more than 60% of the population voted for Trump are red and ones where less than 40% of the population voted for Trump are blue. Purple counties are those where the vote between Trump and Biden was close – within 20%. There is clearly a trend of insurrectionists coming from counties where the vote was closer, rather than counties that went decisively to Trump.

Map B tracks the areas in Texas where the proportion of the non-Hispanic white population has changed. The few yellow counties have experienced an increase in white population since 2015. Meanwhile, the green areas indicate areas of white population decrease since 2015. Even stronger than the trends with purple counties, Texan insurrectionists have come in and around counties where the proportion of the non-Hispanic white population has significantly decreased in the last five years leading up to the 2020 presidential election.

4. RACE AND GENDER: A DEEPER LOOK

Although those who attacked the US Capitol are overwhelmingly White and male, they are not uniformly so. 54 non-White and 99 female individuals have been charged thus far, comprising 8 percent and 14 percent of the total 716. The distribution of race is presented in Figure 19 below.

FIGURE 19. RACE OF NON-WHITE CHARGED IN THE JAN. 6, 2021 INSURRECTION



Note: Data on race available all 716 charged for breaking into the Capitol as of January 1, 2022.

Are there significant differences between the non-White and female insurrectionists and the overall pool of insurrectionists? Table 5 compares them to the overall pool of charged insurrectionists.

TABLE 5. COMPARING MINORITY AND FEMALE INSURRECTIONISTS

	Overall	Non- White	Women
Number	716	54	99
Age >=35	64%	58%	72%
White	92%		97%
Male	86%	94%	
Business Owner	26%	31%	24%
White Collar	28%	28%	41%
Blue Collar	22%	8%	16%
Unemployed	7%	6%	3%
Retired	3%	3%	4%
College	31%	26%	36%
Military Service	15%	20%	2%
Militant Group	14%	19%	19%
Criminal Record	31%	35%	16%
Violent Offenses	30%	30%	13%

According to the data, both the minorities and female insurrectionists are economically better off, have somewhat more affiliation with militant groups, but have only modest differences on most other variables compared to the averages for the pool as a whole.

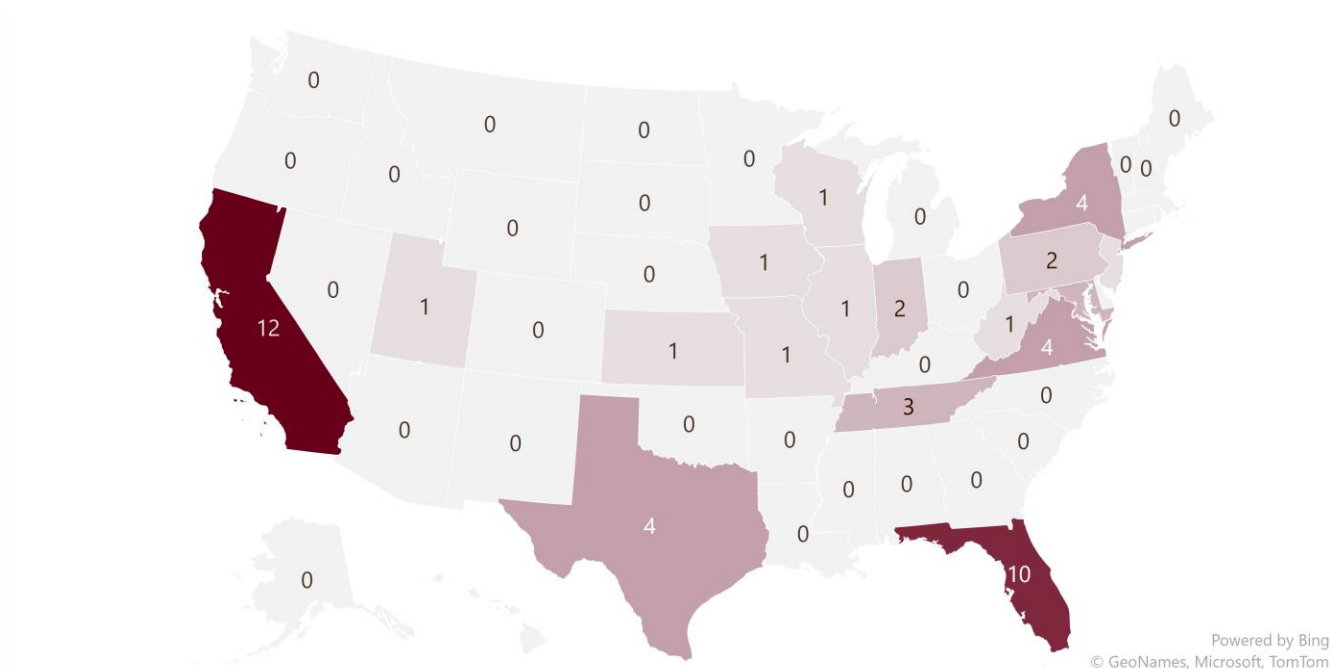
Specifically:

- For the 54 non-White individuals, they are slightly younger, better off (three times less in blue collar occupations), more with militant group affiliation, and the same degree of violent offenses.
- For the 99 women, they are slightly older, much better off economically (more White and less blue collar occupations), and more militant group affiliation, and three times less with violent offenses.

We also compare their geographic distribution.

As Figure 20 below shows, the distribution of the minority insurrectionists is concentrated in Florida and California, together accounting for just under half of the cases. Both states have significant Hispanic populations, California with 40% and Florida with 27% Hispanic and Latino population (27%), but other states, notably Texas (also 40%) and New Mexico (48%) sent fewer or none.

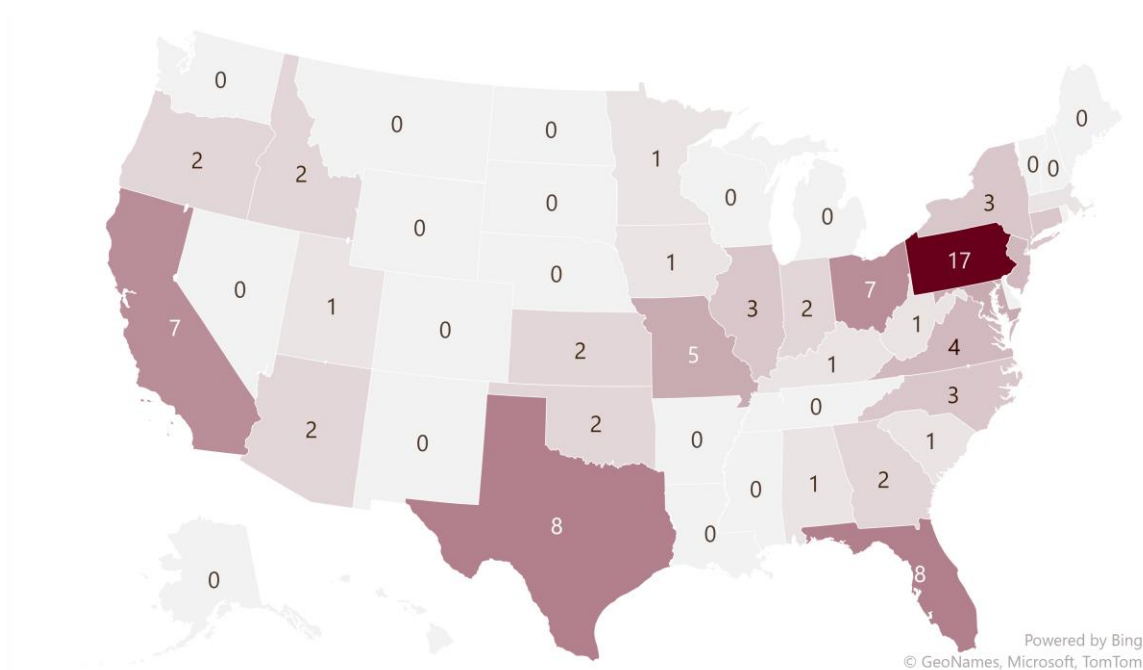
FIGURE 20. WHERE THEY CAME FROM: NON-WHITES



Note: Data on home state available for all 54 non-white individuals charged with breaking into the Capitol as of January 1, 2022.

As the map in Figure 21 shows, 18% of all females charged in the insurrection come from Pennsylvania, which is double the next highest percentages (Florida, Texas, California and Ohio).

FIGURE 21. WHERE THEY CAME FROM: THE WOMEN



Note: Data on home state available for all 99 women charged with breaking into the Capitol as of January 1, 2022.

While these findings are suggestive, given the small number of women and minorities charged and the difficulty of assigning race in some cases, these results should be taken with caution.

5. APPENDIX: SELECTED CASES

A main finding of this report is that the individuals charged for participating in the January 6, 2021 breach of the US Capitol to stop the certification of Joseph Biden as the president of the United States are a cross section of America. The vast majority are employed in white- and blue-collar occupations, and many are business owners. Table 6 below presents 50 of the 716 cases that illustrate the ordinariness of those who participated in this extraordinary act of political violence. The table shows their hometown, age and occupation on January 6, 2021, and summarizes their charges (Entry, Violence, Property, Weapon).

TABLE 6. SELECTED CASES

Image	Name	Hometown	Age	Occupation	Entry	Violence	Property	Weapon
	Howard Berton Adams	Edgewater, FL	60	CEO of True Flight, Inc. ; CEO of Georgia Skydiving, Inc.	Yes	No	No	No
	Chase Allen	Seekonk, MA	25	Self-described "documentarian"	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
	Logan Barnhart	Grand Haven, MI	40	Pipe crew foreman, Redline Excavating, part time model	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
	Victoria Anne Bergeson	Groton, CT	40	Nurse practitioner, Internal Medicine Group, LLC	Yes	No	No	No
	Brian Bingham	Pennsville, NJ	35	Car salesman, previously served in the Army.	Yes	Yes	No	No
	William Blauser Jr.	Ludlow, PA	74	Retired mail carrier, Vietnam war veteran.	Yes	No	No	No
	Larry Brock	Dallas, TX	53	Airplane Pilot, Hillwood Airways; USMIL Retired	Yes	No	No	No

Image	Name	Hometown	Age	Occupation	Entry	Violence	Property	Weapon
	Phillip Andrew Bromley	Sterrett, AL	47	Nurse Anesthetist	Yes	No	No	No
	William McCall Calhoun	Americus, GA	57	Attorney, W. McCall Calhoun, P.C.	Yes	No	No	No
	Reed Knox Christensen	Hillsboro, OR	62	Design engineer, Intel Corp.	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Luke Coffee	Dallas, TX	41	Actor, Producer	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
	Elias N. Costianes	Nottingham, MD	42	Sales Manager, BMW Rockville	Yes	No	No	No
	Jenny Louise Cudd	Midland, TX	36	Owner, Becky's Flowers	Yes	No	No	No
	Nicholas Decarlo	Fort Worth, TX	31	Right wing podcaster/Youtuber, Murder the Media	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
	Timothy Desjardins	Providence, RI	35	Barber	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
	Derrick Evans	Prichard, WV	35	State Legislator, West Virginia House of Delegates (resigned after the riot)	Yes	No	No	No
	Kevin Louis Galetto	Westminster, CA	61	Principal Quality Engineer, ILX Lightwave	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Simone Melissa Gold	Los Angeles, CA	55	Doctor; Founder, America's Frontline Doctors.	Yes	No	No	No
	Joseph Bernard Hackett	Sarasota, FA	50	Owner, Chiropractor practice	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

Image	Name	Hometown	Age	Occupation	Entry	Violence	Property	Weapon
	Michael Lee Hardin	Kaysville, UT	50	Senior Marketing Director, Transamerica Fina; Police Officer, (ret.)	Yes	No	No	No
	Lisa Homer	Scottsdale, AZ	50	Owner and president, Wealth Wise Advisors	Yes	No	No	No
	Joseph Hutchinson III	Lakeland, FL	25	Employee, Rapture Guns and Knives	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Mark Sami Ibrahim	La Palma, CA	33	Special Agent, United States Drug Enforcement Administration	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
	Kenneth Kelly	Ocala, FL	58	Internal Medical Doctor	Yes	No	No	No
	Federico Guillermo Klein	Annandale, VA	42	Special assistant, Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, USDOS	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
	Matthew Klein	Sherwood, OR	24	Student, George Fox University (Computer Science)	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
	Brady Knowlton	Dammeron Valley, UT	40	Executive Vice President, Monarch Financial	Yes	No	No	No
	Lawrence Ligas	Chicago, IL	62	President, Alligas Enterprises, 1991-Present	Yes	No	No	No
	Kristina Malimon	Portland, OR	28	Vice Chairwoman, Oregon Young Republicans	Yes	No	No	No
	Jeffrey McKellop	Fishersville, VA	55	Military contractor; U.S. Army Special Forces (ret.)	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
	Kelly Meggs	Dunnelon, FL	52	General Manager, Honda of Lake City	Yes	Yes	Yes	No






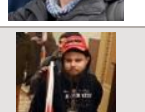

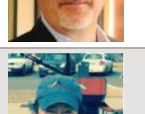
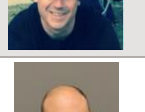
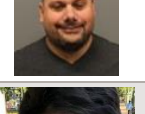









Image	Name	Hometown	Age	Occupation	Entry	Violence	Property	Weapon
	Clayton Mullins	Benton, KY	52	Owner, car dealership	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Grady Owens	Winter Park, FL	21	Student, Full Sail University	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
	Joshua John Portlock	Smyrna, TN	40	Manager, Mitsubishi Motors	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
	Nazeer Ahmad Qaim	Woodbridge, VA	29	Software Test Engineer	Yes	No	No	No
	Zach Rehl	Port Richmond, PA	35	Independent insurance agent; formerly Merrill Lynch	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
	Nicholas Rodean	Frederick, MD	26	Navistar Direct Marketing	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
	Bradley Rukstales	Inverness, IL	52	CEO, data analytics marketing firm Cogensia.	Yes	No	No	No
	Jeffrey Sabol	Kittredge, CO	51	Senior Physical Manager, KEMRON Environmental Services	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Mark Gabriel Sahady	Malden, MA	46	Software Engineer	Yes	No	No	No
	Ronald Sandlin	Memphis, TN	33	Affiliate marketer	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Frank J. Scavo III	Old Forge, PA	58	CEO and Owner of Scavo Investment Properties, LLC	Yes	No	No	No

Image	Name	Hometown	Age	Occupation	Entry	Violence	Property	Weapon
	Tristan Stevens	Pensacola, FL	25	Student, University of West Florida (Computer Science)	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
	George Tanios	Morgantown, WV	39	Owner, Sandwich University	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
	Kenneth Thomas	East Liverpool, OH	38	Meter installer & trainer, Aclara Smart Grid Solutions Owner, Crash Entertainment	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Richard Bryan Watrous	Cortland, NY	59	Manager, Liberty Dialysis St. Joseph's Cortland	Yes	No	No	No
	Thomas Webster	Goshen, NY	54	Owner, Semper Fi Landscaping; Retired NYPD Officer,	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
	Ricky Christopher Willden	Oakhurst, CA	39	Regional Manager, Golden State Insurance Services.	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Duke Wilson	Nampa, ID	66	Owner, Humbug Timber Company; Duke Wilson and Sons Logging Inc.	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Shane Jason Woods	Auburn, IL	43	Owner/operator, Auburn Heating & AC, LLC.	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

6. THE DATA

The report presents data on demographics and socio-economic characteristics of the individuals charged with participating in the January 6, 2021 attack on the US Capitol. and compares them to right-wing extremist violent offenders arrested between 2015 and 2020 as well as the US electorate and Trump voters in 2020.

Below we describe the primary data sources used.

Insurrectionist Data

The Chicago Project on Security and Threats (CPOST) conducted a comprehensive review of the 716 individuals. The Department of Justice is pursuing up to 2000 cases of individuals who participated in the January 6 Capitol Insurrection. The cases are compiled from court records, department of justice records, and media reports.

To be included in the data, an individual must be charged with directly participating in the breach of the US Capitol on January 6, 2021 to stop the certification of president elect Joseph Biden as the 46th president of the United States.

Common charges include:

- Entering and Remaining Capitol Building/Grounds
- Parading, Demonstrating, or Picketing in a Capitol Building
- Obstruction of Official Proceeding
- Assaulting, Resisting, or Impeding Certain Officers
- Conspiracy

We exclude the cases where direct participation cannot be verified. For example, we exclude cases of individuals charged with curfew violations in the immediate vicinity of the Capitol on the evening of January 6, 2021. We also exclude cases of individuals who are likely to have participated but were arrested prior to the Capitol breach.

Data on the 2020 Electorate and Trump Voters

Our primary source on the 2020 electorate and Trump voters is the American National Election Survey (ANES). The ANES is a nationally representative survey fielded every four years around the presidential election and comprises interviews of the American electorate conducted over the phone and through the internet covering demographic information and political stance on a wide range of issues. The survey has been running since the 1948 election and is headed by political scientists at top institutions.

For this report we used the 2020 ANES data, which boasts over 15,000 respondents surveyed in the months pre- and post- the 2020 election. For data that had not yet been released from the 2020 survey, we used the 2016 ANES data. For the US electorate, we include enough observations to have a margin of error <2% and for Trump voters, <3%.

Right Wing Extremist Violent Offender Data

We use CPOST's database on right-wing extremist violent offenders for data on the demographic and socio-economic factors for this group. The database includes attackers and plotters with known racially extremist motives (so-called Racially/Ethnically Motivated Violent Extremists, REMV).

The cases are drawn from established political violence databases by the (1) New America Foundation, (2) Global Terrorism Database, (3) the Anti-Defamation League, and (4) the New Jersey Homeland Security Yearly Reports. The timeframe for the data is January 2015 through July 2020.

To be included in the CPOST data, the case must (1) demonstrate clear ideology *and* (2) violent intent linked to REMV ideology. Common reasons for excluding a case include: (1) threats but no attack or plot; (2) non-ideological attacks by known REMVE actors (e.g., a domestic assault); (3) non-REMVE anti-government attacks or plots (e.g., by anarchists or Antifa).

Of the 307 possible events across the four databases, 87 involving 108 perpetrators were found to meet the criteria for inclusion. Demographic and socio-economic data was then collected for each of the 108 perpetrators, the basis for the analysis in this report.

Coding Occupation

There is no standard definition or set of defined categories for blue- and white-collar occupation types. Using the Bureau of Labor Statistics explanations in terms, we developed a standard way to designate these labels of categorizations based on job types, level, and education. We apply this process to both the data gathered on Insurrectionists and to the ANES occupations categories. Importantly, we considered any type of management position to be white collar. Within the insurrectionists, business owner was initially a separate occupation category in previous CPOST analyses of the Capitol Insurrection. However, because this report seeks to compare occupations of the insurrectionists to the general public, and because the ANES survey for the US Electorate and Trump Voters does not indicate business ownership separately from white- and blue-collar occupations, we created a separate variable recoding insurrectionists business owners into white and blue collar. The majority were classified as white collar. They were classified as blue collar only if their business was in a blue-collar industry and the online information about their business indicated that there were less than 5 employees within the business, thus indicating that they work for themselves in a blue-collar capacity and the business is not large enough for them to be in a more managerial position.

7. RESEARCH TEAM

Robert Pape, PhD – Principal Investigator

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Kyle Larson, PhD — Senior Research Associate

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Vishan Chaudhary

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Lola Fisher

Francesca Bonaudo

Wawrzyniec Muszynski-Sulima

Marlon Davis

Inna Zheng

William Pitch

Katie O'Connor

Ishan Maunder

Liberto de Pablo

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Jack Howard

Miles Dintzner

Jared Brodie

Sarah Bonnem