DEEP, DESTRUCTIVE AND DISTURBING:

WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT THE TODAY’S AMERICAN INSURRECTIONIST MOVEMENT

Based on a CPOST (NORC) American Political Violence Survey

*Nationally representative survey conducted June 9-17, 2021*
THIS RESEARCH WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY DONATIONS FROM

TAWANI FOUNDATION

Individual Donors

• Mark Zivin  • Ann Airy
In July 2021, six months after the insurrectionist attack on the U.S. Capitol, Gen. Mark A. Milley in his testimony to the House Armed Services Committee asked...
What is it that caused thousands of people to assault this building and try to overturn the Constitution of the United States of America? What caused that?

Gen. Mark A. Milley
To avoid a repeat of the January 6 assault on the Capitol and similar attacks, we need a fine-grained diagnosis of the scope and drivers of the insurrectionist movement to develop an effective risk assessment of political violence in the 2022 mid-term and 2024 US Presidential elections.

WHY AMERICAN POLITICAL VIOLENCE MATTERS TODAY
## DIAGNOSTIC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage 1</th>
<th>COVID</th>
<th>APV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV19 &gt;10x flu</td>
<td>Jan 6 = mainstream &gt;fringe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known</td>
<td>Jan 2020</td>
<td>Feb 2021 (Atlantic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 2</td>
<td>Elderly vulnerable</td>
<td>10 million, great replacement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known</td>
<td>April 2020</td>
<td>April 2021 (WashPo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 3</td>
<td>Extensive testing</td>
<td>Extensive testing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known</td>
<td>May-Aug 2020</td>
<td>June-fall 2021</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Monitoring spread
- Import masks
- Discoveries
- E.g., what influences the Insurrectionist Movement

| Stage 4 | Vaccine trials | Stress testing solutions |
| Timing | Summer-winter | Summer-winter 2021 |
| Total cost | 100s billions | Several million |
## DIAGNOSTIC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>COVID</th>
<th>APV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stage 1</td>
<td>CV19 &gt;10x flu</td>
<td>Jan 6 = mainstream &gt; fringe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known</td>
<td>Jan 2020</td>
<td>Feb 2021 (Atlantic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 2</td>
<td>Elderly vulnerable</td>
<td>10 million, great replacement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known</td>
<td>April 2020</td>
<td>April 2021 (WashPo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 3</td>
<td>Extensive testing</td>
<td>Extensive testing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known</td>
<td>May-Aug 2020</td>
<td>June-fall 2021</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| | ▪ Monitoring spread
▪ Import masks
▪ Discoveries | ▪ Monitoring spread
▪ Discoveries
E.g., what influences the Insurrectionist Movement |

- **Stage 4**
  - Vaccine trials
  - Stress testing solutions

- **Timing**
  - Summer-winter
  - Summer-winter 2021

- **Total cost**
  - 100s billions
  - Several million
GOALS CPOST JUNE 2021 AMERICAN POLITICAL VIOLENCE SURVEY

- More pointed questions about election-related violence
- Widen aperture to search for additional risk factors
- Identify Impact of Social versus Traditional Media
- Identify who can influence the Movement
SOME KEY FINDINGS

- Insurrectionist movement is continuing, larger + more dangerous than previously assessed

- Driven by two distinct beliefs
  - Great Replacement of African-American and Hispanic rights exceeding those of whites
  - QANON claims of pedophile cult run government

- The insurrectionists are not necessarily who you think they are from where you would expect

- Surprising sources of potential influence
SIZE + POTENTIAL
INSURRECTIONIST MOVEMENT
Definition and Scope

Insurrectionist Movement defined by

Political grievances associated with force

• Agree, “The 2020 election was stolen from Donald Trump and Joe Biden is an illegitimate president.”

• Agree, “The use of force is justified to restore Donald Trump to the presidency.”

Capacity to engage in organized violence

• Own at least one gun

• Member or supporter of organized violent group (militia or extremist group)

• Military experience (veteran, active duty)
POLITICAL GRIEVANCES RELATED TO VIOLENCE

9%  Use of force to restore former President Trump to the White House is justified

26%  2020 election stolen and Biden presidency illegitimate

23,000,000 Americans

65,000,000

21 million (32%) of whom want Trump restored by force
23 MILLION AMERICANS SUPPORT TRUMP TO PRESIDENCY BY FORCE

- Disagree: 185 million (76%)
- Ambivalent: 47 million (18%)
- Somewhat Agree: 9 million (4%)
- Strongly Agree: 12 million (5%)

65 MILLION AMERICANS BELIEVE

142 million (56%) Disagree

47 million (18%) Ambivalent

24 million (10%) Somewhat Agree

41 million (16%) Strongly Agree

21 MILLION AMERICANS BELIEVE BOTH:
+ 

187 million
(74%)
Disagree with BOTH

47 million
(18%)
Agree with ONE

21 million
(8%)
Agree with BOTH


21 million
High degree of stable responses across categories

- Of those who agree force is justified to restore Trump to Presidency:
  - 90% think Biden is an Illegitimate president
  - 69% think force is needed to preserve America’s traditional way of life
- These highly “adamant”* insurrectionists equal 15 million American adults

*Believe force justified to restore Trump and hold at least one other radical belief. 14.5 million = lower bound.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Movement</th>
<th>Metro Area</th>
<th>Rural Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Restore Trump by Force</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biden illegitimate</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
21 MILLION ARE NOT ONLY REPUBLICAN

- Restore Trump by Force and Biden Illegitimate:
  - 51% Republican
  - 34% Independent
  - 10% Democratic
MANY SEE GOVERNMENT AS “ENEMY”

47% Federal government is their “enemy” (10 million people)

24% Police are their “enemy” (5 million people)

Not unique to movement therefore not considered a driver
THE 21 MILLION ARE DANGEROUS

Significant capacity for violent organizational growth

4% of the Movement are either militia members or personally know a militia member (1 million people).

Real potential for additional, potentially violent mobilization:

27% of the 21 million *supports* militias like the Oath Keepers and extremist groups like the Proud Boys (6 million people).

32% (at least) of the 21 million guns (7 million people).

15% have prior US military service (3 million people)

All have easy access to internet tools for rapid organization
BELIEFS + SOURCES
TWO MAJOR BELIEFS WITHIN MOVEMENT

63%

Great Replacement: “African American people or Hispanic people in our country will eventually have more rights than whites”

54%

QAnon cabal: “A secret group of Satan-worshipping pedophiles is ruling the US government”
BELIEFS PREDICT THE 21 MILLION
Great Replacement & Qanon, strongest predictors

Regression Results: Belief Election is Stolen + Force to Restore Trump Justified (CPOST NORC June 2021, N=1,070)

Logistic regression, controlling for age < 35, male, white, low income, low education, military service, social media (any), traditional media (any). Results presented as percent change in odds of being in Movement due to presence of factor, all else equal.
MAJOR BELIEFS DO NOT FULLY OVERLAP
MULTIPLE PATHWAYS INTO THE MOVEMENT

- 26% believe Great Replacement and NOT QAnon Cabal
- 17% believe QAnon Cabal and NOT Great Replacement
- 20% believe neither
- 37% believe in both

Believes in the Great Replacement and NOT the QAnon Cabal
Believes in both the Great Replacement and QAnon Cabal
Believes in the QAnon Cabal and NOT the Great Replacement
Believes in Neither
NEWS CONSUMPTION AMONG THE 21 MILLION

Mainstream more popular than social media

- 56% of movement use at least one mainstream outlet (e.g. CNN, Fox, NPR, etc.)
- 40% of movement use at least one social media platform (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Parler, etc.)
- 21% of movement use only social media
ODDS OF BEING IN THE 21 MILLION IF YOU WATCH...

RW Media news sources = strongest odds (but not Fox)

**Regression Results: Belief Election is Stolen + Force to Restore Trump Justified (CPOST NORC June 2021, N=1,070)**

Traditional

- NewsMax/OANN: +161%
- Talk Radio: +89%
- CNN: -71%
- FOX: +53%
- Newspapers: -51%
- PBS/NPR: +10%

Online

- RW Social Media: +262%
- Main Stream Social Media: -10%

cpost.uchicago.edu
ODDS OF BEING IN THE 21 MILLION IF YOU VIEW...

8chan & InfoWars major source of news = strongest predictors

Regression Results: Belief Election is Stolen + Force to Restore Trump Justified (CPOST NORC June 2021, N=1,070)

Logistic regression, No controls. Results presented as percent change in odds of being in Movement due to presence of factor, all else equal.
INFLUENCE + MESSAGING
NOT ALL SEE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AS “ENEMY”

Significant fraction of people say force justified to restore Trump to presidency

BUT

Members of 21 million who view the Federal Government as an Enemy

- 22% (5 million people) view the Federal Government as an enemy.
- 31% (7 million people) are ambivalent about the Federal Government.
- 47% (9 million people) view the Federal Government as a friend.
URBAN AREAS LESS ANTI-GOVERNMENT

- Metropolitan members of the 21 million are much less likely to view the Federal Government as an Enemy
  - 64% in metro areas do NOT see government as an enemy
  - 66% in rural areas DO see government as enemy

Government as “enemy”

64% members of the 21 million living in metropolitan areas do not view the Federal Government as an enemy
Local Governments Most Trusted

- Federal Government not the only actor trusted by some members of the movement
- State governments, local governments, *not typically seen as enemy actors* by members of the movement
- Local governments are most trusted sources
  - Three quarters of the movement view local governments and the police as non-enemy actors
  - Mayors can have potentially outsized influence over the movement

Government Actors: Friend or Enemy

- **Federal**
  - 53% Enemy
  - 47% Friend

- **State**
  - 56% Enemy
  - 44% Friend

- **Local**
  - 73% Enemy
  - 27% Friend

cpost.uchicago.edu
TO HOLD THE LINE FOR
AMERICAN DEMOCRACY WE NEED TO
MOVE THE LINE ON RESEARCH & ANALYSIS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>COVID</th>
<th>APV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stage 1</td>
<td>CV19 &gt;10x flu</td>
<td>Jan 6 = mainstream &gt; fringe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known</td>
<td>Jan 2020</td>
<td>Feb 2021 (Atlantic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 2</td>
<td>Elderly vulnerable</td>
<td>10 million, great replacement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known</td>
<td>April 2020</td>
<td>April 2021 (WashPo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 3</td>
<td>Extensive testing</td>
<td>Extensive testing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known</td>
<td>May-Aug 2020</td>
<td>June-fall 2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Monitoring spread</td>
<td>▪ Monitoring spread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Import masks</td>
<td>▪ Discoveries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Discoveries</td>
<td>E.g., what influences the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Insurrectionist Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 4</td>
<td>Vaccine trials</td>
<td>Stress testing solutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timing</td>
<td>Summer-winter</td>
<td>Summer-winter 2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total cost</td>
<td>100s billions</td>
<td>Several million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# DIAGNOSTIC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>COVID</th>
<th>APV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stage 1</td>
<td>CV19 &gt;10x flu</td>
<td>Jan 6 = mainstream &gt; fringe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known</td>
<td>Jan 2020</td>
<td>Feb 2021 (Atlantic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 2</td>
<td>Elderly vulnerable</td>
<td>10 million, great replacement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known</td>
<td>April 2020</td>
<td>April 2021 (WashPo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 3</td>
<td>Extensive testing</td>
<td>Extensive testing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known</td>
<td>May-Aug 2020</td>
<td>June-fall 2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Monitoring spread</td>
<td>▪ Monitoring spread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Import masks</td>
<td>▪ Discoveries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Discoveries</td>
<td>E.g., what influences the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Insurrectionist Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 4</td>
<td>Vaccine trials</td>
<td>Stress testing solutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timing</td>
<td>Summer-winter</td>
<td>Summer-winter 2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total cost</td>
<td>100s billions</td>
<td>Several million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PATHWAY TO STAGE IV

Urgently needed:

• Monthly and expanded nationally representative surveys thru November 2022
• Surveys of the vulnerability of the military to recruitment by militia groups
• Network of independent experts to build findings into viable policies
• Test policy initiatives to demonstrate effectiveness
• Whitehouse commitment to accelerate understanding and response

Flashpoint: The 2022 Election season is coming