DEEP, DIVISIVE, DISTURBING AND CONTINUING:

NEW SURVEY SHOWS MAINSTREAM COMMUNITY SUPPORT FOR VIOLENCE TO RESTORE TRUMP REMAINS STRONG
IN THIS REPORT

▪ Analysis of everyone arrested to date e.g. demographics
▪ Breakdown of insurrectionist sentiment in the country based on nationally representative surveys
▪ Size and drivers of insurrectionist movement

For latest news and interviews see Prof. Pape’s LinkedIn: linkedin.com/in/robert-pape/
Political violence

- 30 years studying political violence
- 20 years focused on terrorism and propaganda
- 2020 American Political Violence – 100 cities survey
- Past year analyzing the growing Insurrectionist Movement in America:
  - Arrestees analysis
  - 3 Nationally Representative Surveys
  - Ethnographic Focus Groups

= Deep understanding of American Political Violence
This research was made possible by donations from

[Logo]

And individual contributions from

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KEY FINDINGS ON INSURRECTIONIST MOVEMENT

- A broader mass movement with violence at its core
- A political movement, not ordinary criminal behavior
- A political minority in many places
- The right-wing theory of “Great Replacement” is the key driver.
SURVEY IS BUILT ON ANALYSIS OF JANUARY 6 ARREST DATA

As of October 25, 654 Arrests

Insurrectionists are from the mainstream, not just Militia groups or the Fringes of Society.
**JANUARY 6 DEMOGRAPHICS**

- **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, Attorney, Architects

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**Capitol Hill Arrests, 2021**

NEARLY 90% NOT IN A MILITIA/VIOLENT GROUP

- Proud Boys: 42 arrested
- Oath Keepers: 23 arrested
- Three Percenters: 16 arrested
- Aryan Nations: 1 arrested
- Sovereign Citizens: 1 arrested
- Unaffiliated with any group: 569

Source: CPOST APV Database. Data current as of October 25, 2021. Statistics based on all 654 cases.
INSURRECTIONISTS FROM 44 STATES + DC
Capitol Hill Arrests, 2021

Source: CPOST APV Database. Data current as of October 25, 2021. Statistics based on all 654 cases.
MORE FROM COUNTIES BIDEN WON

Capitol Hill Arrests, Percentage Trump Vote By Home County

- 648 arrested with known county
- 357 unique counties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% Trump Vote</th>
<th># of Arrests</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BIDEN WON</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;10%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10%</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20%</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30%</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40%</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TRUMP WON</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50%</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60%</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70%</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80%</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;=90%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CPOST APV Database. Data current as of October 25, 2021. Statistics based on 648 cases with known county out of 654 total cases.
ORIGINS OF INSURRECTIONISTS

Estimating county rate of insurrectionists across all US Counties

Regression Results (Negative Binomial)

- The **more rural** the county, the **lower** the county rate of sending insurrectionists.
- The **higher the percentage county vote for Trump**, the **lower** the rate of sending insurrectionists.
- The **greater the decrease in non-Hispanic white**, the **higher** the rate of sending insurrectionists.
- For every 1 standard deviation decline in the white population (~1%), the number of expected insurrectionists increases by 25%. This would happen by chance less than 1 in a thousand times.
ASKING THE RIGHT QUESTIONS IS KEY

From Public Sentiment

To Determine individual Opinion

From individual Opinions (Arrest interviews)

To measure Public Sentiment
UNDERSTANDING THE INSURRECTIONIST MOVEMENT

Findings from the Fall 2021 CPOST (NORC) American Political Violence Survey
Fielded September 24-27, 2021
Why Community Support Matters

Makes it easy to “rationalize” violent action

1. Reduces willingness to provide intelligence to authorities

2. Forms a pool from which violent activists typically emerge

3. Increases the legitimacy of violent actors, encouraging violence by providing a popular mandate – without which violent actors would be merely criminals

4. Increases risk-taking by violent actors because perception of “safety in numbers.” In essence, the violent actor thinks, “I will act if I have community support, because I will have safety in numbers and be protected from informants.”
CALCULATING COMMUNITY SUPPORT:
CPOST/NORC NATIONAL SURVEY

▪ Nationally Representative Sample:
  – 2,000 American Adults, Data collected Sept 24-27, 2021
  – A random sample of 40,000 nationally representative adults
  – Fielded by NORC at the University of Chicago (AmeriSpeak panel)
  – The gold standard among polls, used by NORC for federal government

▪ Highly Reliable Extrapolation to General Population
  – Confidence interval: ±2.9%
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

What American Adults believe

10% Use of force to restore former President Trump to the White House is justified

24% 2020 election stolen and Biden presidency illegitimate

25,000,000 Americans

62,000,000

21 million (32%) of agree Trump restored by force is justified
25 MILLION AMERICANS AGREE
“FORCE IS JUSTIFIED TO RESTORE TRUMP TO PRESIDENCY”

CPOST/NORC SEPT 2021, based on US Census population estimate of 258 million US adults. Don’t know/Did not answer = 1%

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62 MILLION AMERICANS BELIEVE
2020 ELECTION WAS STOLEN AND BIDEN PRESIDENCY
“ILLEGITIMATE”

152 million
(59%) Disagree

41 million
(16%) Ambivalent

26 million
(10%) Somewhat Agree

36 million
(14%) Strongly Agree

CPOST/NORC SEPT 2021, based on US Census population estimate of 258 million US adults. Don’t know/Did not answer = 1%
WHAT IS THE MOVEMENT?

21 Million Americans Believe both:
Biden Illegitimate + force justified to Restore Trump

191 million
(74%)
Agree with NEITHER

46 million
(18%)
Agree with ONE

21 million
(8%)
Agree with BOTH

CPOST/NORC SEPT 2021, based on US Census population estimate of 258 million US adults. Don’t know/Did not answer < 1%
cpost.uchicago.edu
KEY FINDING #1: The 21 million are Active, Dangerous + Growth Potential

- Access to internet organizational tools: 18 million
- Own guns: 8 million
- Support Oath Keepers/Proud Boys*: 6 million
- Prior military experience: 4 million
- Attended protest in past 12 mos: 2 million
- Militia member or know one*: 1 million

# 21 Million Are Mainly Urban

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Metro Area</th>
<th>Rural Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Restore Trump by Force</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biden illegitimate</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CPOST/NORC Sept 2021

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KEY FINDING #2:  
The 21 million are Not Fading

One might expect **9.3 months** after Jan 6:

1. Interest would naturally wane  
2. Arresting 650+ would have a chilling effect  
3. De-platforming Trump would de-energize support for violent restoration

**Instead:**

1. Movement *is large and stable* from June to Sept (21 million)  
2. May well *continue (or grow)* with the coming election season and as Trump launches his own social media platform  
3. There is a *large mass of kindling* waiting for an incendiary moment
OVERALL FINDING

Large Mobilization Potential
For Replay of
“Stolen Election” Violence in
2022 Primaries and Mid-terms
MOTIVATING THE 21 MILLION
TWO MAJOR BELIEFS IN 21 MILLION

Great Replacement (by Democratic Party): “The Democratic Party is trying to replace the current electorate...with new people, more obedient voters from the Third World”

Qanon Cult: “A secret group of Satan-worshipping pedophiles is ruling the US government”

CPOST/NORC SEPT 2021, N=2,043
# BELIEFS: 21 MILLION VS GENERAL POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Risk Factor</th>
<th>Pop</th>
<th>21 million</th>
<th>% Change</th>
<th>Stat. Significant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great Replacement Index</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>391%</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QAnon Cult</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>390%</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fed gov is enemy</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>156%</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imminent End Times</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>122%</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Fear</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CPOST/NORC Sept 2021 Survey, N=2,043.
WHAT EXPLAINS INSURRECTIONIST SENTIMENT?

CPOST Insurrectionist Sentiment Index® Percentage Variation in explained by:

- Great Replacement Index: 48%
- Gr. Replacement Index + QAnon: 56%
- Gr. Replacement Index + QAnon + Other: 64%

Source: CPOST/NORC Sept 2021 Survey, N=2,043. Results from OLS. Sentiment is defined as average of Force, Stolen, and Patriots. “Other” includes media consumption habits, ideology, partisanship, perception of government as the enemy, belief in the impending Second Coming, racial resentment, age, education, income, race, importance of Whiteness to identity, rurality, Evangelicalism, sex, military service, fear of job loss, and unemployment.
WHAT EXPLAINS BELIEF IN GREAT REPLACEMENT

CPOST Great Replacement Index®

Percentage variation explained by:

Racial Resentment

Racial Resentment + Partisanship

Racial Resentment + Partisanship + Other

Source: CPOST/NORC Sept 2021 Survey, N=2,043. Results from OLS on replacement index. “Other” includes media consumption habits, ideology, perception of government as the enemy, belief in the impending Second Coming, age, education, income, race, importance of Whiteness to identity, rurality, Evangelicalism, sex, military service, fear of job loss, and unemployment.
WHAT EXPLAINS BELIEF IN QANON

CPOST Qanon Cult Index®

Percentage variation explained by:

- Replacement Index: 23%
- Repl. Index + Education: 27%
- Repl. Index + Educ + Econ Concern: 30%
- Repl. Index + Educ + Econ Concern + Other: 39%

Source: CPOST/NORC Sept 2021 Survey, N=2,043. Results from OLS on QAnon. “Other” includes media consumption habits, ideology, partisanship, perception of government as the enemy, belief in the impending Second Coming, racial resentment, age, income, race, importance of Whiteness to identity, rurality, Evangelicalism, sex, military service, and unemployment.

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Great Replacement fears are the most important driver of insurrectionist movement.
Traditional media more prevalent than social media

42% Fox, Newsmax, One America News

32% CNN, NPR, Newspapers, ABC/CBS/NBC/PBS

20% FB, YouTube, Twitter

10% RW Social Media*

38% of the 21 million say they use none of these for their political news

*RW Social Media = Gab, Parler, Telegram, 8chan/8kun
## NEWS SOURCES OF THE 21 MILLION

Versus General Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major sources of News</th>
<th>Potency*</th>
<th>Gen Pop</th>
<th>21 million</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conservative media (Fox, NM, OANN)</td>
<td>200%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal/center media (CNN, NBC/CBS/ABC, NPR, NYT)</td>
<td>-63%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainstream social media (FB, YouTube, Twitter)</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative social media (Gab, Parler, Telegram)</td>
<td>448%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CPOST/NORC Sept 2021 Survey, N=2,043.

Potency = odds that a single viewer of the news source is in the 21 million, controlling for watching other news sources.

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Mainstream news media more important than social media within the insurrectionist movement
CPOST RISK ASSESSMENT TOOLS

- CPOST Insurrectionist Index ©
  - At National, State and Local levels
- County-level measures of risk of insurrectionists
- CPOST Great Replacement Index © and Measures of Other Drivers of Insurrectionist Sentiments
- All Tools measure change over time, including reaction to potential triggers and policy response.
CONCLUSION

- A broader mass movement with violence at its core, not merely a mix of right-wing organizations
- A political movement, not ordinary criminal behavior, although crimes may be committed
- A political minority in many places, not only centered in “red” parts of the country
- We see similar findings in all three studies (e.g., statistically significant evidence) that the “Great Replacement” is the key driver.
Risk Management = Balance action versus over-reaction

Urgently needed knowledge:

• Change of insurrectionist sentiments in the US public over time
• Sentiments of potential first movers (e.g., militia members)
• Rapid changes in public sentiments at any level (national, state, local) following potential triggering events
• CPOST has developed credible predictive risk management tools and continues to refine them.

Research must be independent to maintain legitimacy
Ongoing dialogue would

- Coordinate
- Monitor, and
- Inform

Research to better suit policy needs

**Flashpoint:** The 2022 Election season is upon us
WHY COMMUNITY SUPPORT FOR VIOLENCE HAS MATTERED IN WESTERN DEMOCRACIES
“Generating active popular support often has the greatest impact on the insurgency’s long-term effectiveness. This is the center of gravity of the insurgency. Popular support results in safe havens, freedom of movement, logistic support, financial support, intelligence, and new personnel for the insurgency. Generating such support has a positive feedback effect on an insurgent organization. As the insurgent group gains in support, its capabilities grow. These enable it to gain more support.”

# Insurrection on the Spectrum of Collective Political Violence

## Escalation Trajectory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mass non-violent opposition</th>
<th>Mass non-lethal violence</th>
<th>Small group lethal violence</th>
<th>Mass organized lethal violence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protest</td>
<td>Riot</td>
<td>Guerilla war</td>
<td>Civil war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Examples</strong></td>
<td><strong>Examples</strong></td>
<td><strong>Examples</strong></td>
<td><strong>Examples</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Anti-lockdown</td>
<td>- BLM Portland</td>
<td>- Gov. Whitmer kidnapping plot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Key to Escalation is Community Support for Violence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prior Collective Action</th>
<th>Kindling (Violence Justified)</th>
<th>Spark</th>
<th>Violent Actor Campaign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada 1980s</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1982: Direct Action car bomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basques, Spain 1979-1990s</td>
<td>1974-76 Non-Lethal violent Protests</td>
<td>1979: 15% Spanish population</td>
<td>Bombing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands 1960s</td>
<td>1960s Non-Lethal violent protests</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1966 smoke bombs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>