

Findings from the Fall 2021 CPOST (NORC) American Political Violence Survey

DEEP, DIVISIVE, DISTURBING AND CONTINUING:

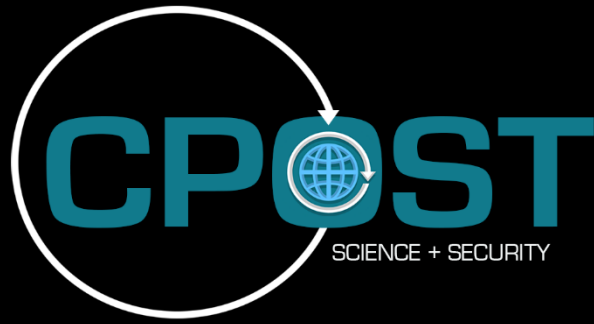
**NEW SURVEY SHOWS MAINSTREAM
COMMUNITY SUPPORT FOR VIOLENCE
TO RESTORE TRUMP REMAINS
STRONG**

January 2, 2022

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/](https://www.linkedin.com/in/robert-pape/)



Prof. Robert A. Pape

Professor

Political Science Department
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Director

Chicago Project on Security and Threats

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

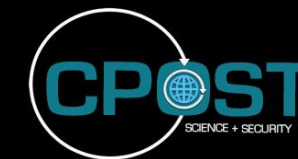


TAWANI
FOUNDATION

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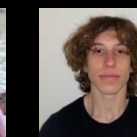
Liberto de Pablo



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Astrid Weinberg



Miles Dintzer



Siza Abassi



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Robert Brown

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.**

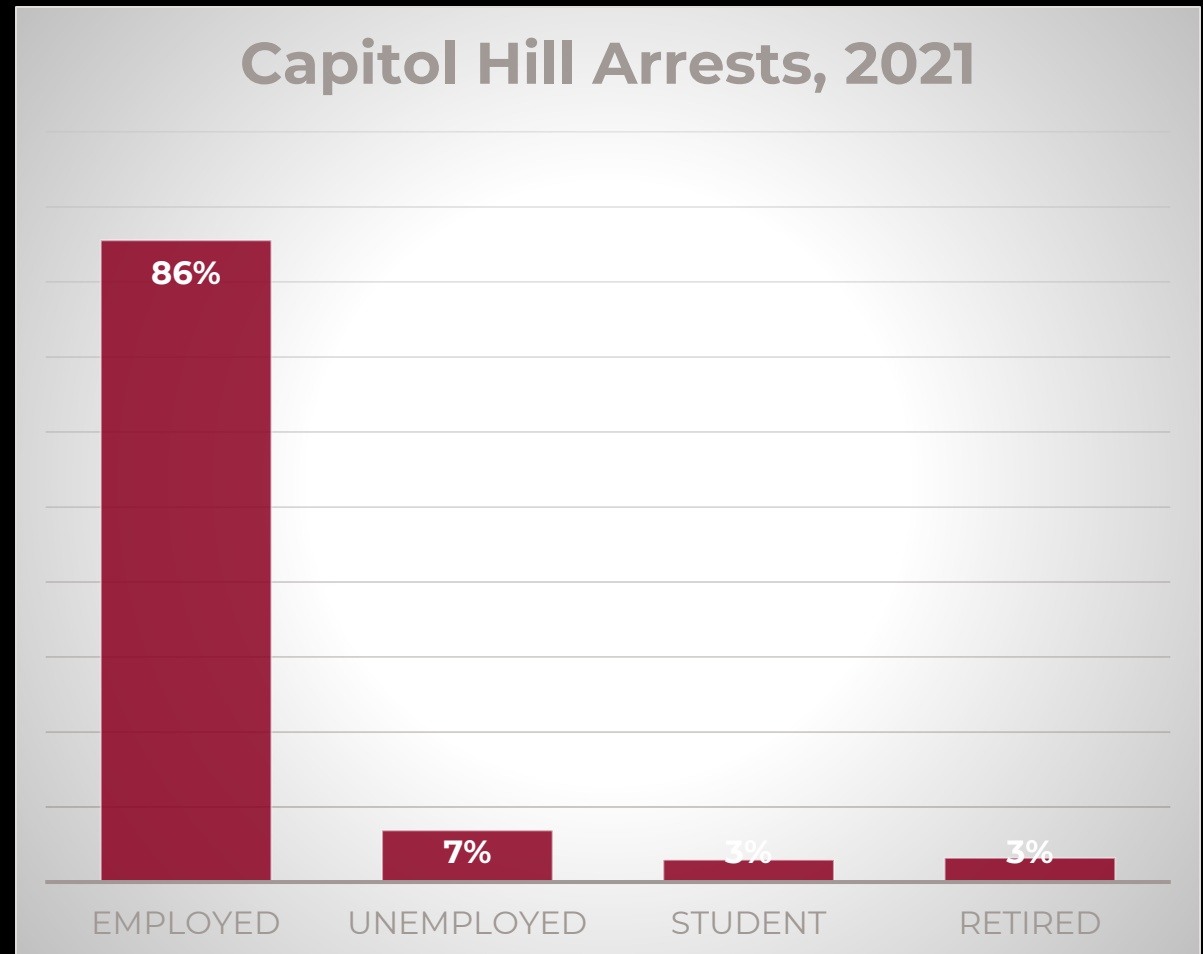
SURVEY IS BUILT ON ANALYSIS OF JANUARY 6 ARREST DATA

As of October 25, 654 Arrests

Insurrectionists are from
the mainstream,
*not just Militia groups
or the Fringes of Society*

JANUARY 6 DEMOGRAPHICS

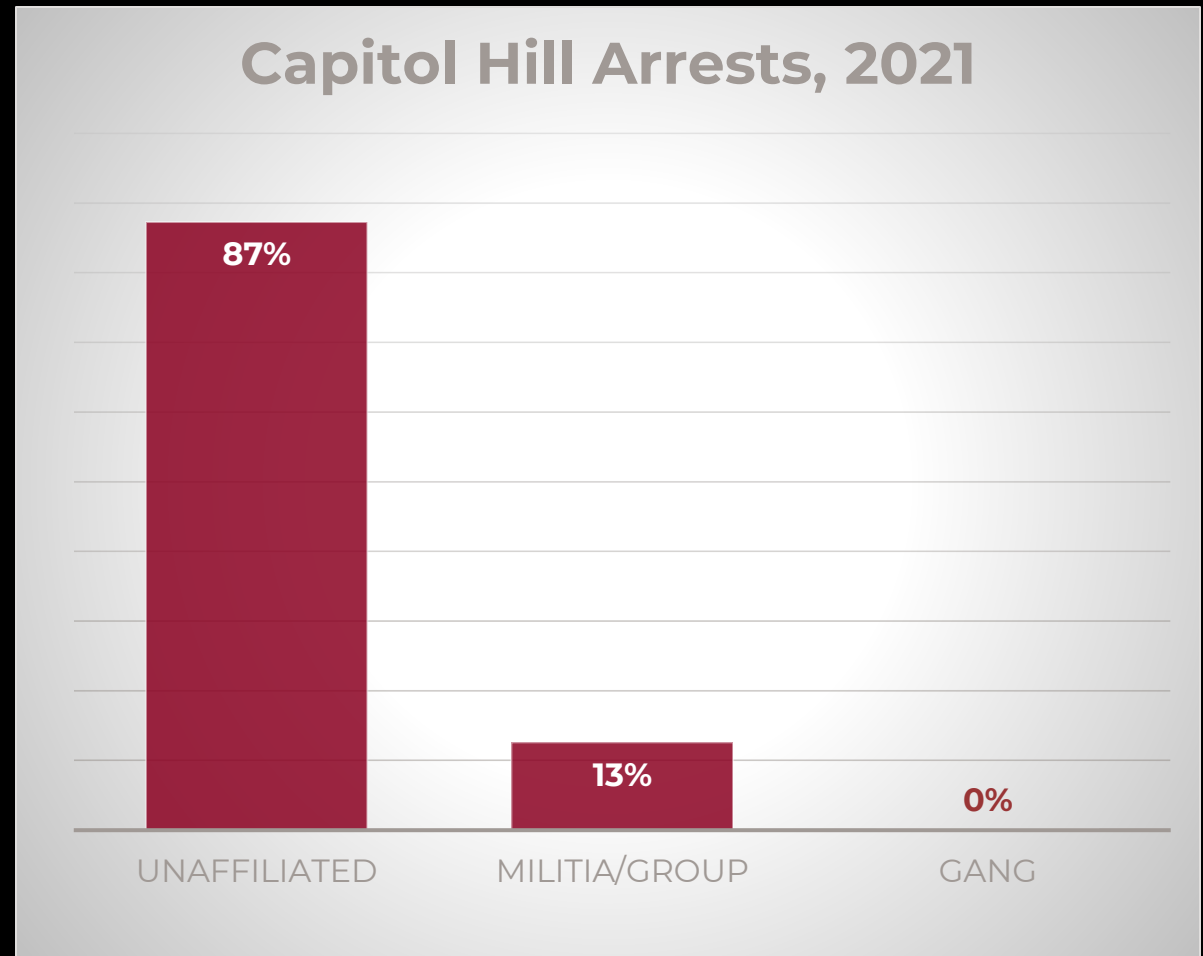
- **Business Owner: 24%**
 - Owner, Ameri-I-Can Ammo
 - CEO, marketing firm Cogensia
 - Owner, Wholesale Universe, Inc.
 - Owner, Matador Sport Fishing
- **White-Collar: 28%**
 - Google Field Operations Specialist
 - Regional Portfolio Manager at BB&T Bank
 - Doctors, Attorney, Architects



Source: CPOST APV Database. Data current as of October 25, 2021. Occupation statistics based on 463 known occupations out of 654 cases.

NEARLY 90% NOT IN A MILITIA/VIOLENT GROUP

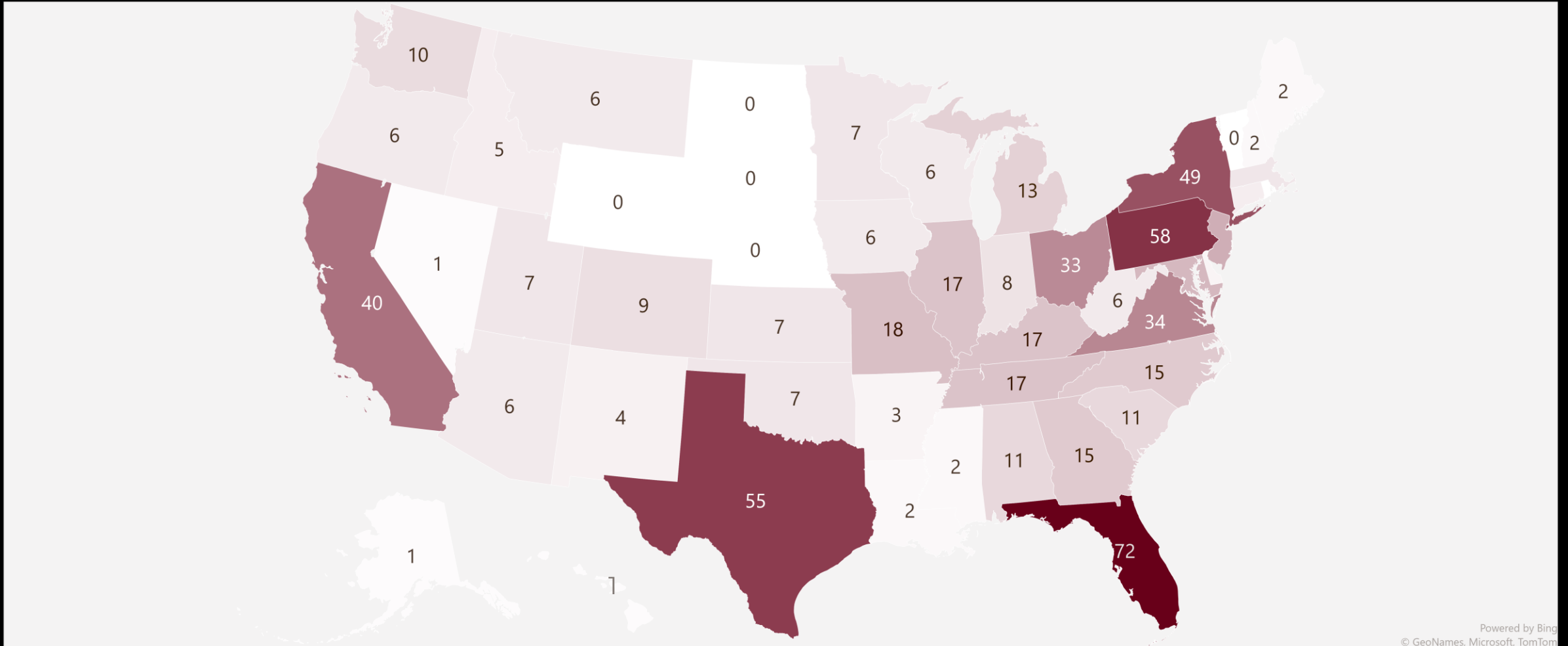
- Proud Boys: 42 arrested
- Oath Keepers : 23 arrested
- Three Percenters: 16 arrested
- Aryan Nations: 1 arrested
- Sovereign Citizens: 1 arrested
- Unaffiliated with any group: **569**



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



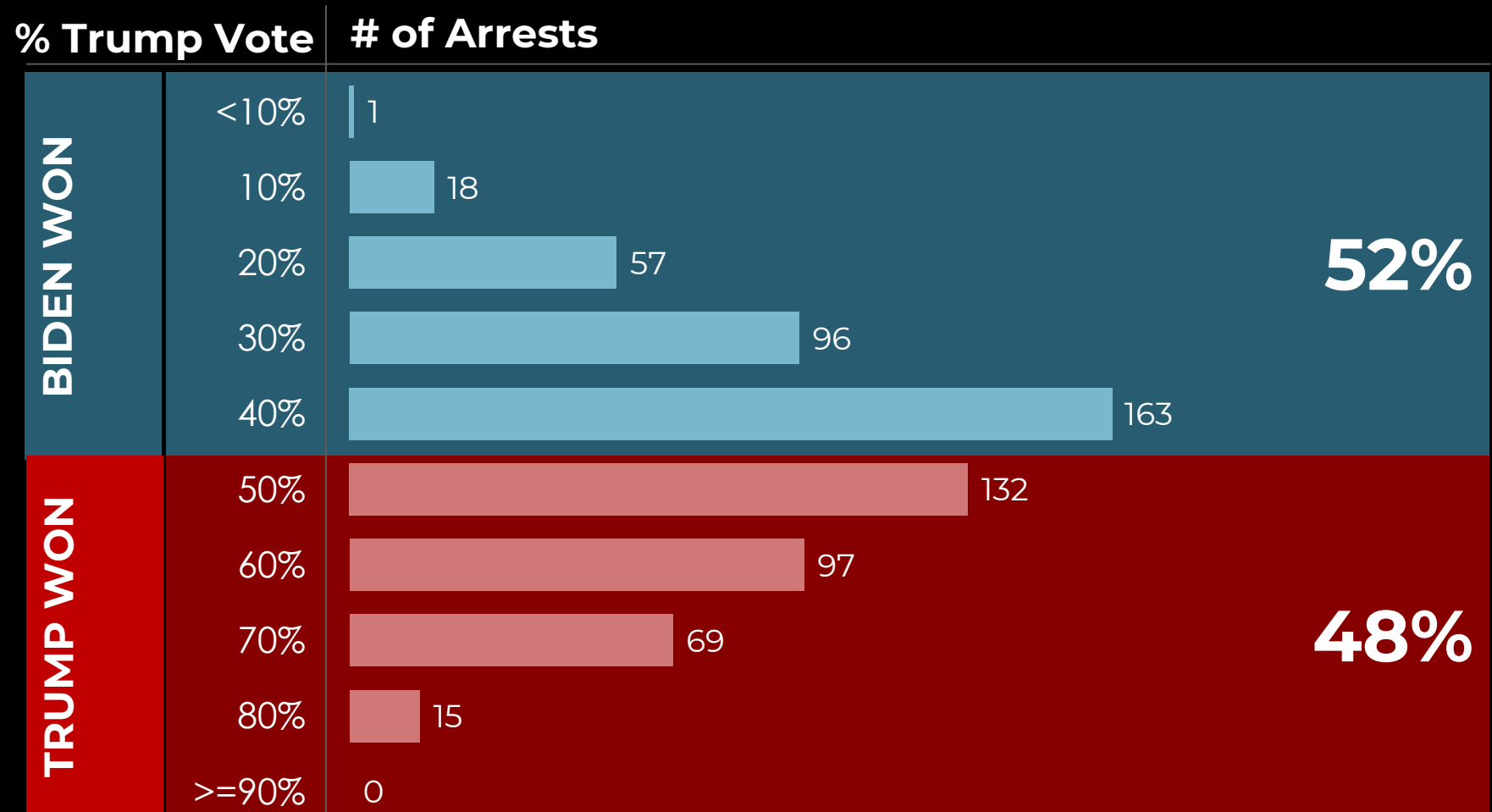
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Source: CPOST APV Database. Data current as of October 25, 2021. Statistics based on all 654 cases.

MORE FROM COUNTIES BIDEN WON

Capitol Hill Arrests, Percentage Trump Vote By Home County

- 648 arrested with known county
- 357 unique counties

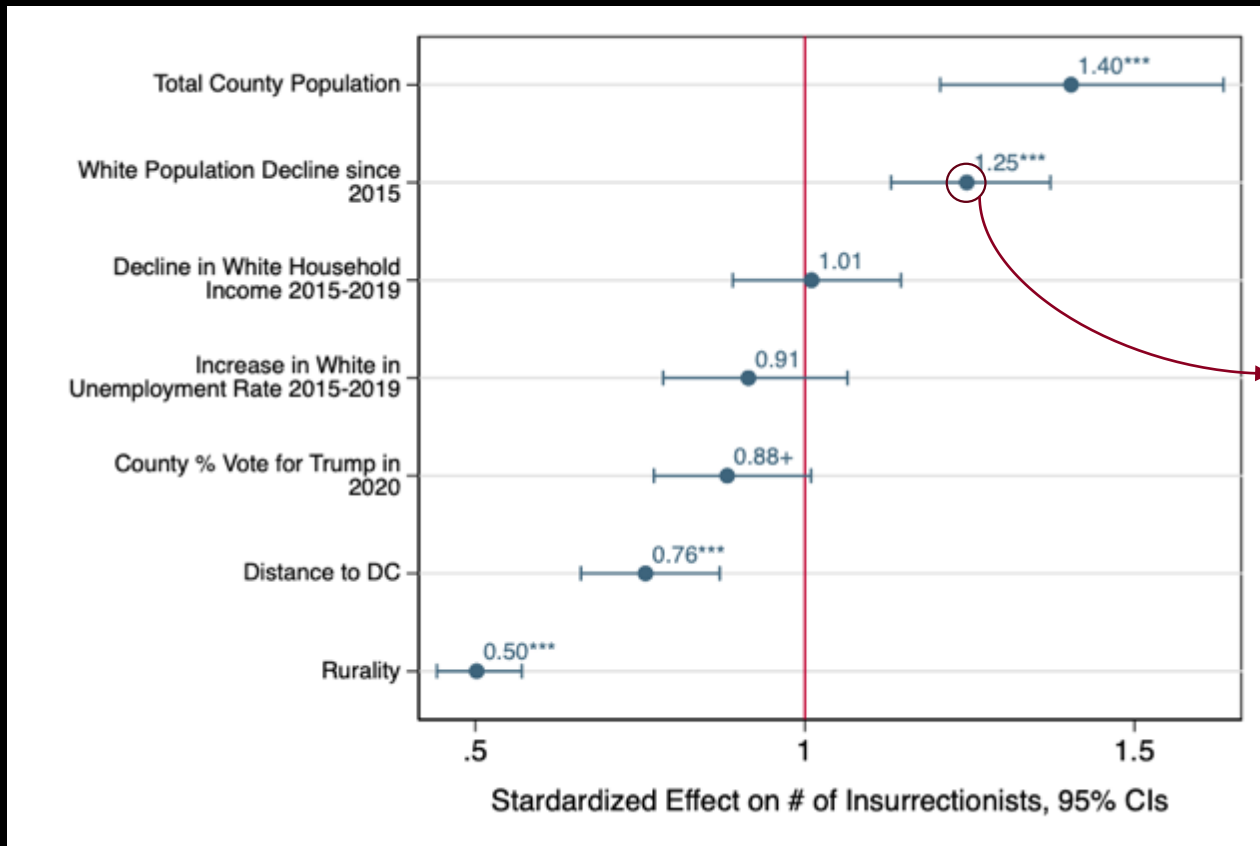


Source: CPOST APV Database. Data current as of October 25, 2021. Statistics based on 648 cases with known county out of 654 total cases.

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.

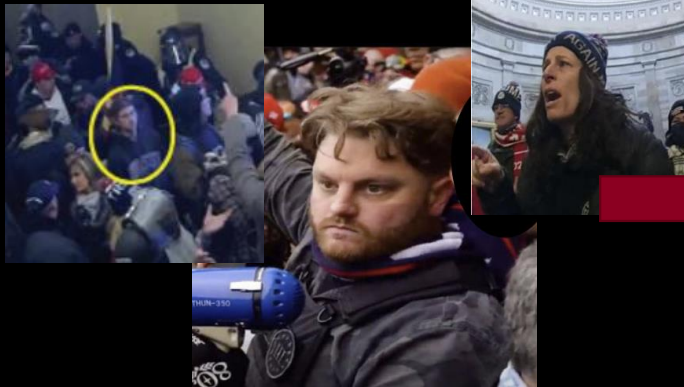
ASKING THE RIGHT QUESTIONS IS KEY



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**



**Capacity to engage
in organized violence**



- 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.”



- 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

25,000,000 Americans

24%

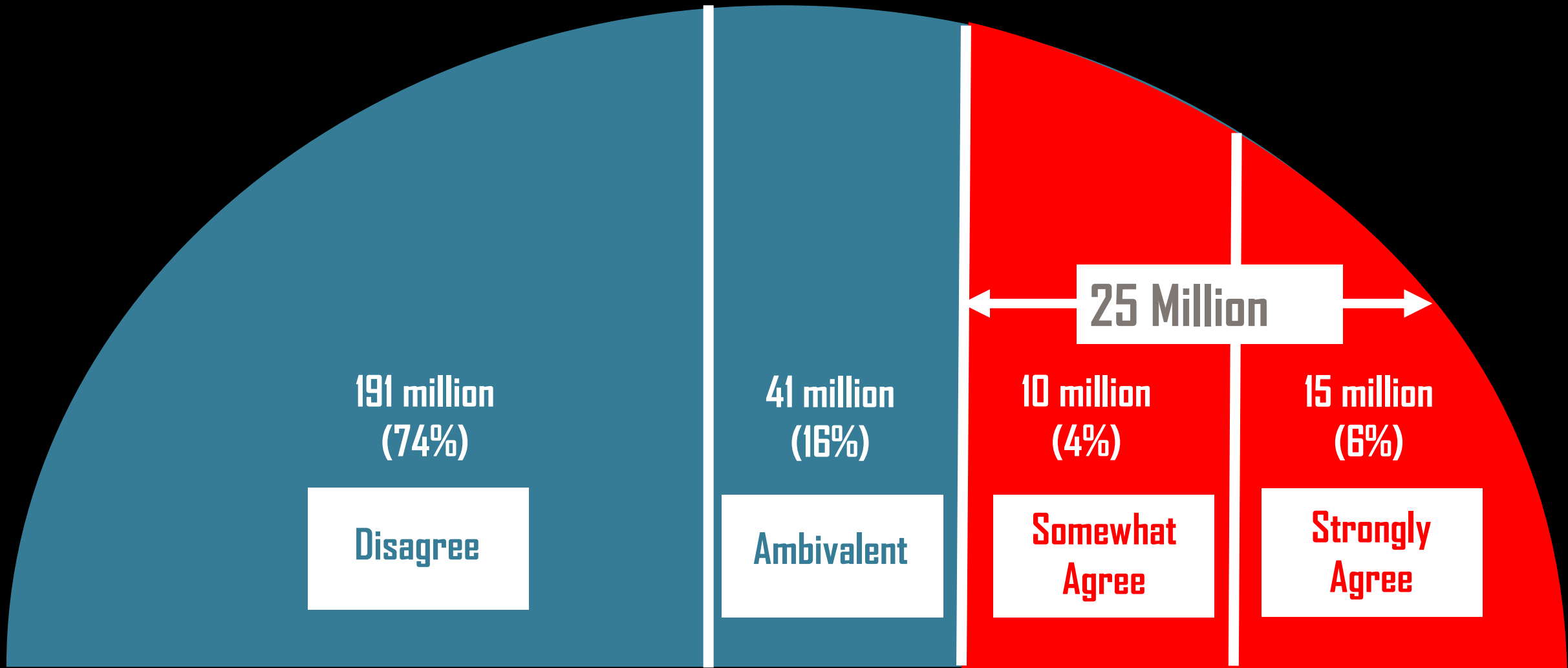
2020 election stolen and Biden presidency illegitimate

62,000,000

21 million (32%) of agree Trump restored by force is justified

25 MILLION AMERICANS AGREE

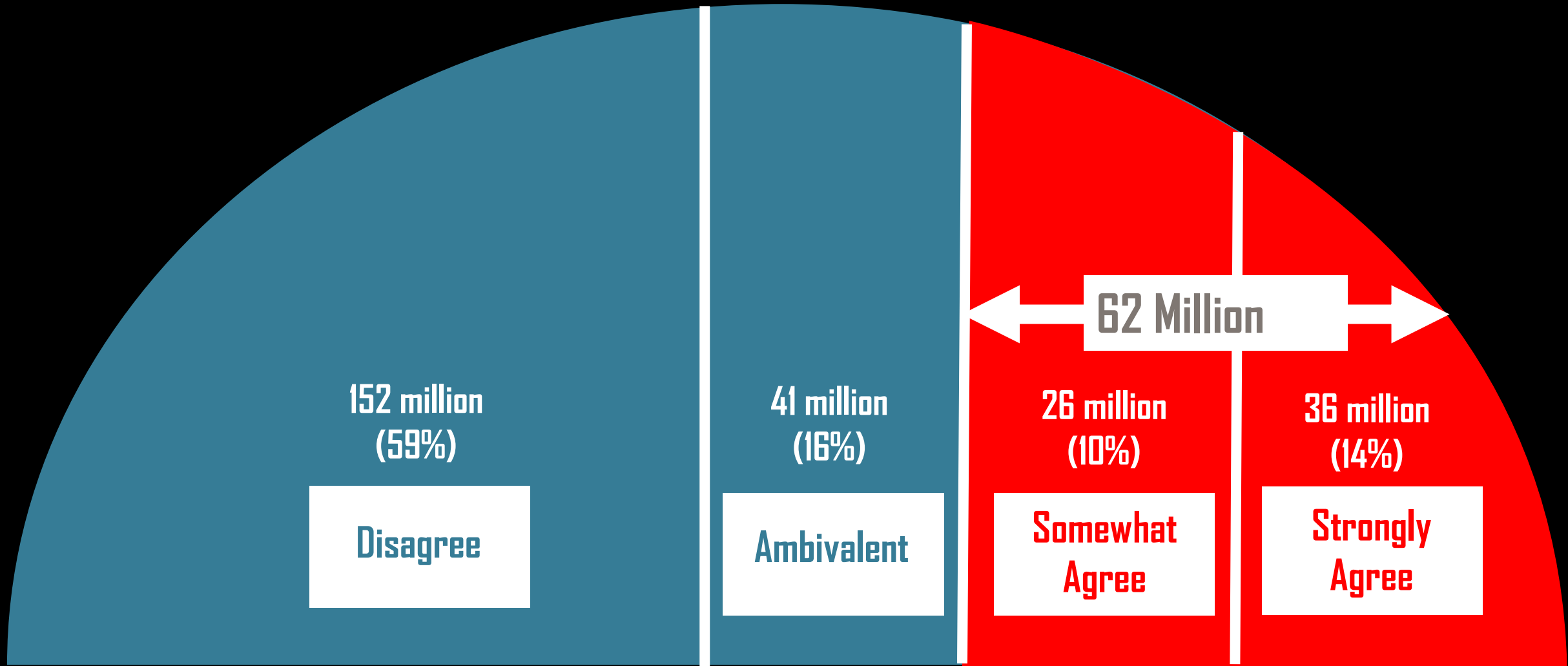
"FORCE IS JUSTIFIED TO RESTORE TRUMP TO PRESIDENCY"



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

cpost.uchicago.edu

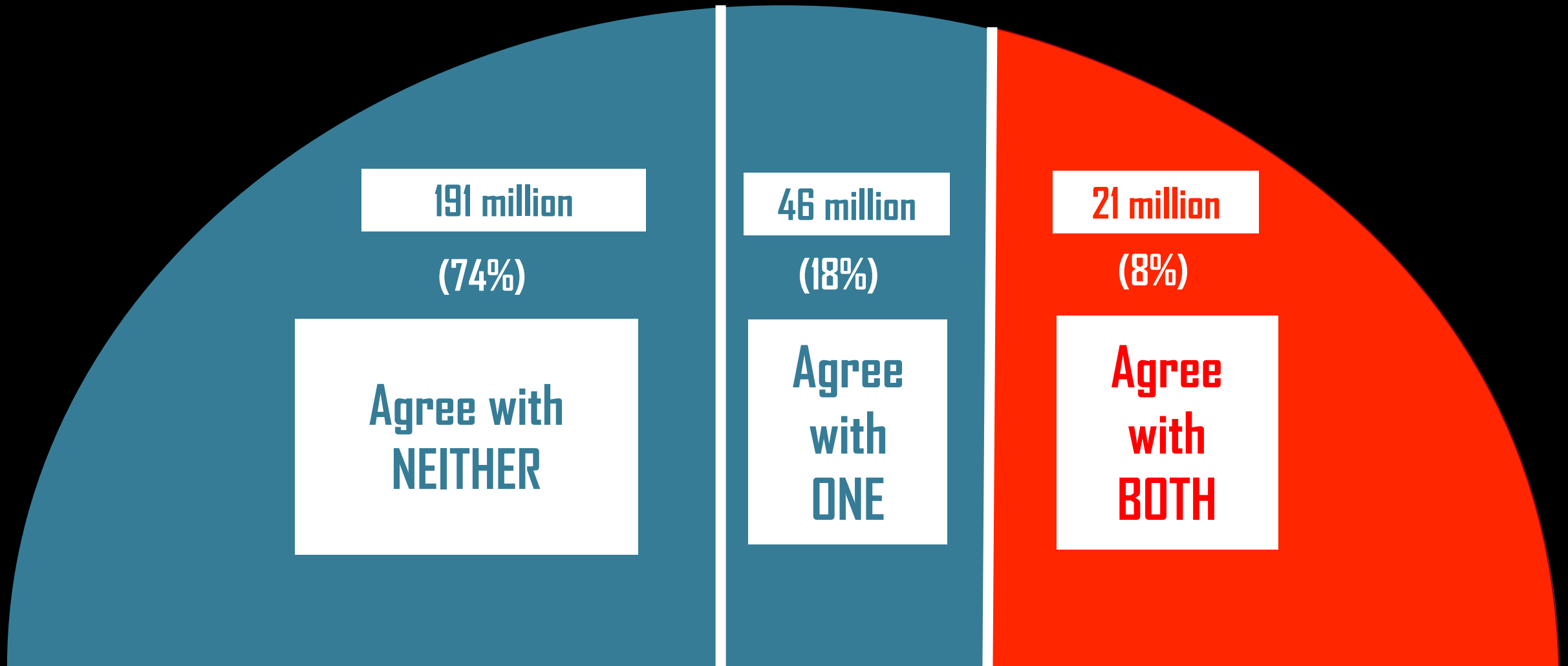
62 MILLION AMERICANS BELIEVE 2020 ELECTION WAS STOLEN AND BIDEN PRESIDENCY "ILLEGITIMATE"



WHAT IS THE MOVEMENT?

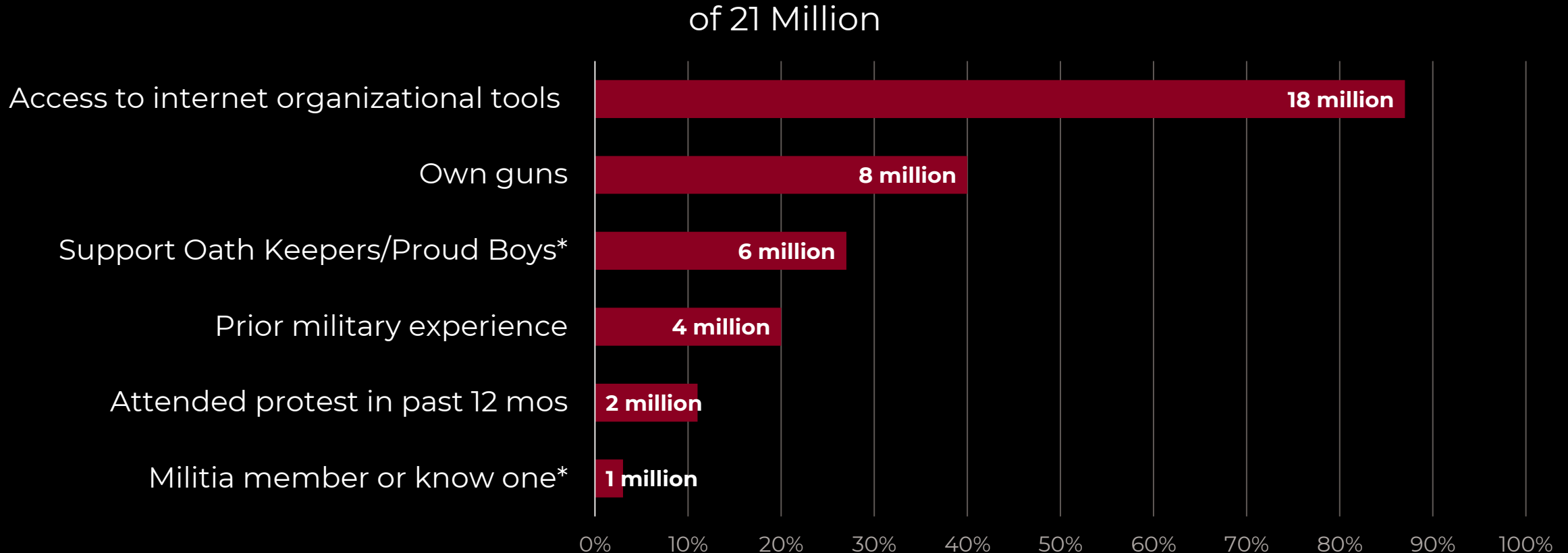
21 Million Americans Believe both:

Biden Illegitimate + force justified to Restore Trump



KEY FINDING #1:

The 21 million are Active, Dangerous + Growth Potential



* Indicates values from CPOST/NORC June 2021. All other values from September Survey. Access to internet tools estimated based on internet access at home. Population estimates based on US Census population estimate of 258 million US adults.

21 MILLION ARE MAINLY URBAN

	Metro Area	Rural Area
Restore Trump by Force	73%	27%
Biden illegitimate	70%	30%

KEY FINDING #2:

The 21 million are Not Fading

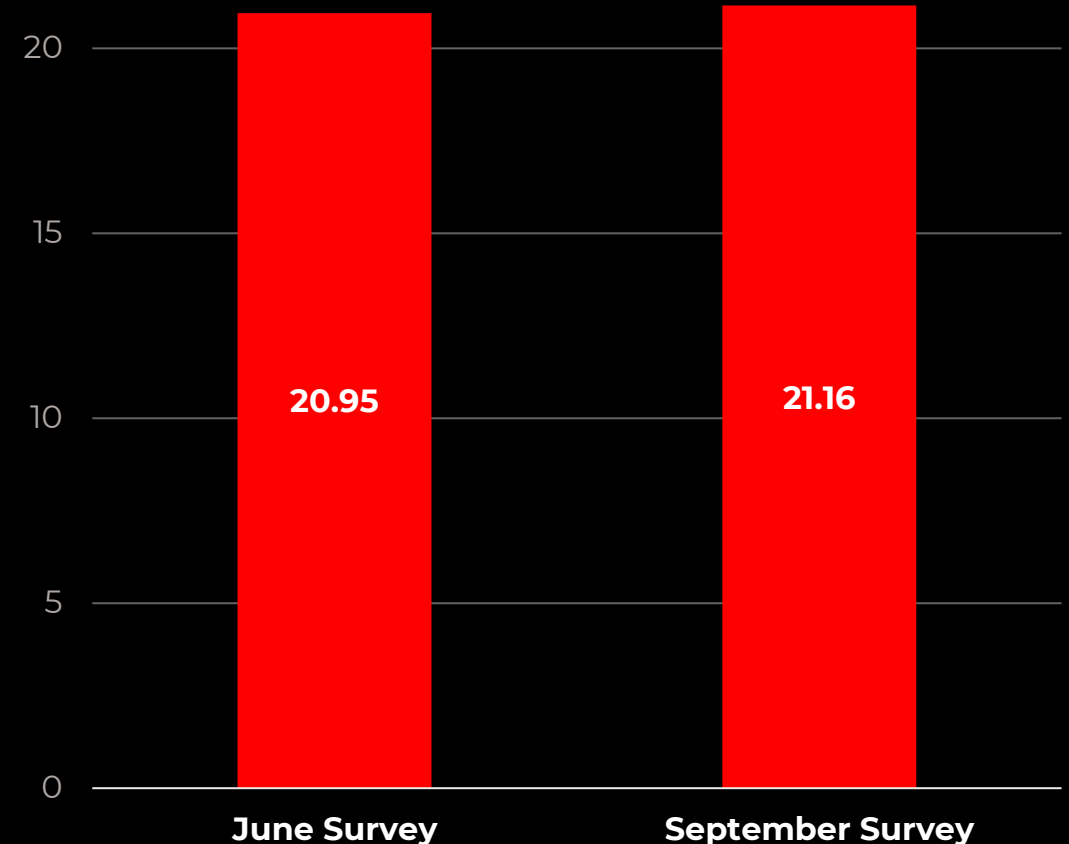
One might expect **9.3 months** after Jan 6:

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

US Pop (in Millions)



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

75%

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”

49%

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

BELIEFS: 21 MILLION VS GENERAL POPULATION

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

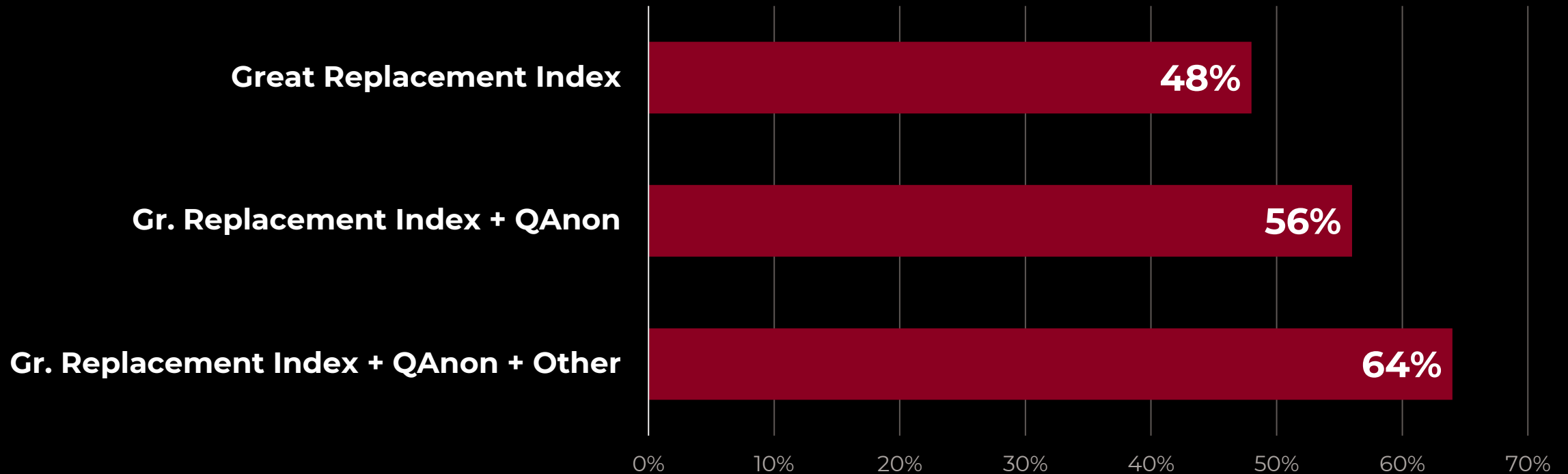
Source: CPOST/NORC Sept 2021 Survey, N=2,043.

WHAT EXPLAINS INSURRECTIONIST SENTIMENT?



CPOST Insurrectionist Sentiment Index[©]

Percentage Variation in explained by:

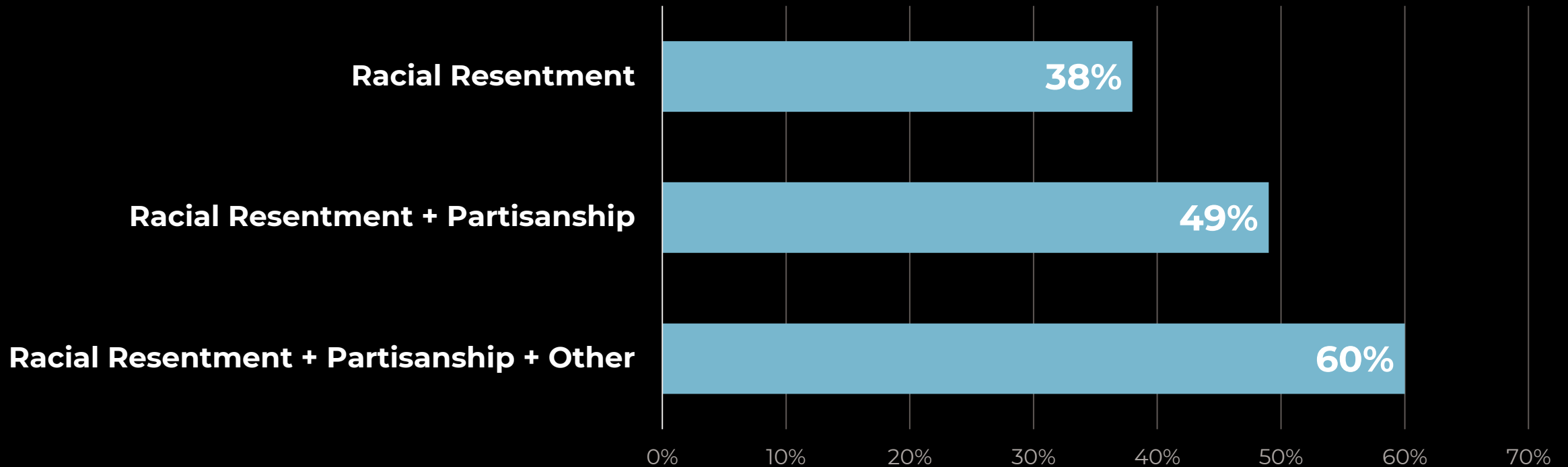


Source: CPOST/NORC Sept 2021 Survey, N=2,043. Results from OLS. Sentiment is defined as average of Force, Stolen, and Patriots. "Other" includes media consumption habits, ideology, partisanship, perception of government as the enemy, belief in the impending Second Coming, racial resentment, age, education, 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:



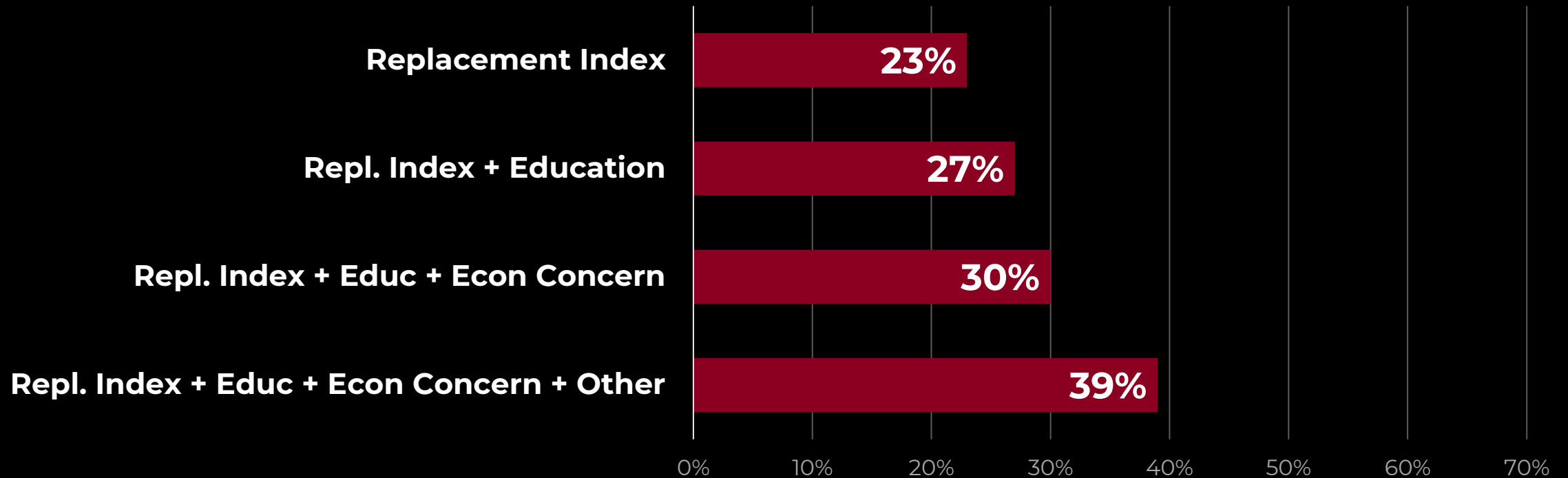
Source: CPOST/NORC Sept 2021 Survey, N=2,043. Results from OLS on replacement index. "Other" includes media consumption habits, ideology, perception of government as the enemy, belief in the impending Second Coming, age, education, income, race, importance of Whiteness to identity, rurality, Evangelicalism,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

WHAT EXPLAINS BELIEF IN QANON



CPOST Qanon Cult Index[©]

Percentage variation explained by:



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.

OVERALL FINDING

Great Replacement fears
most important driver
of insurrectionist movement

NEWS SOURCES OF THE 21 MILLION



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

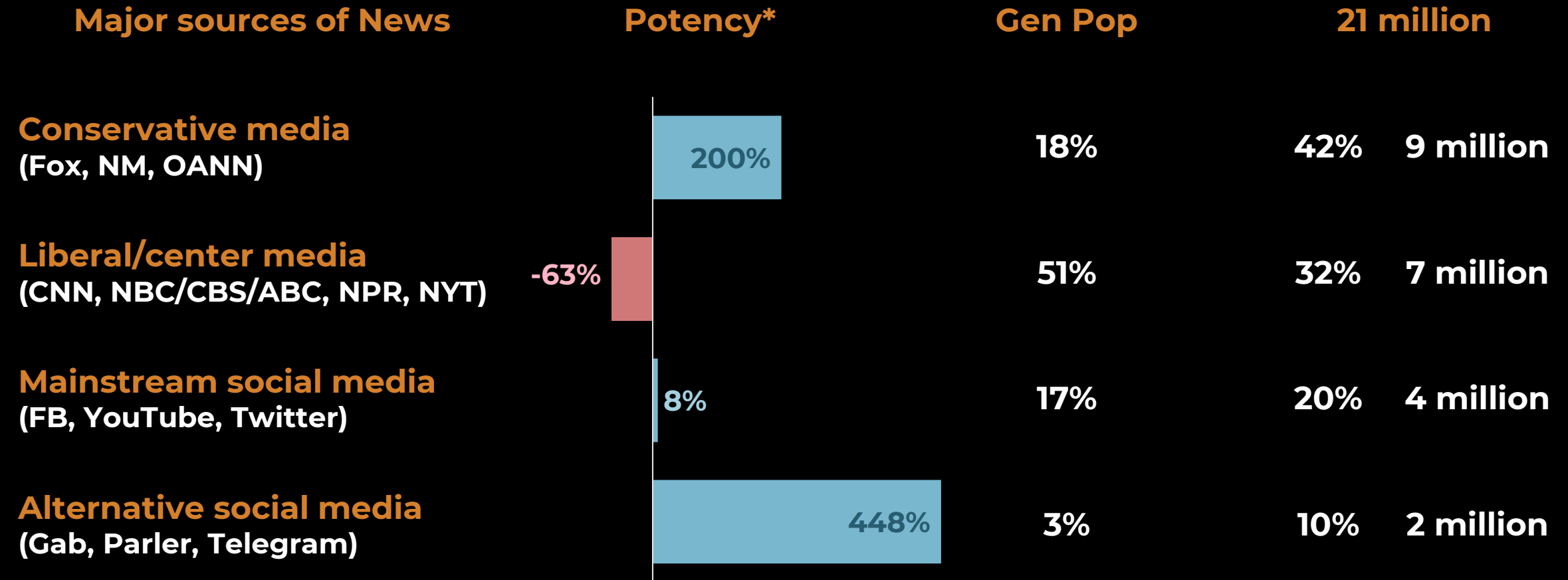
10% RW
Social Media*

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



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.

OVERALL FINDING

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.**

THOROUGH + TIMELY KNOWLEDGE OF COMMUNITY SUPPORT INFORMS RISK MANAGEMENT

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

ENGAGING IN THE POLICY CYCLE

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

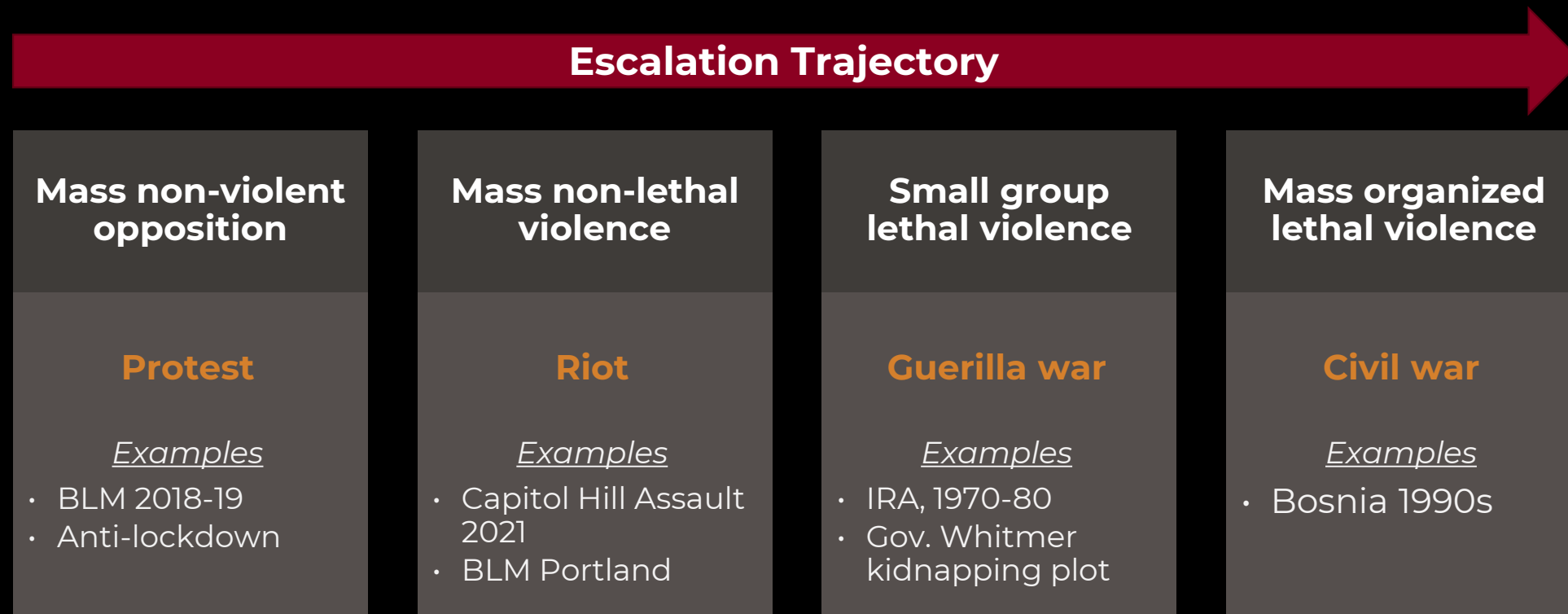
COMMUNITY SUPPORT KEY TO POLITICAL VIOLENCE



“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.”

US Army FM 3-24 (2006), p. B-12

INSURRECTION ON THE SPECTRUM OF COLLECTIVE POLITICAL VIOLENCE



Key to Escalation is Community Support for Violence

	Prior Collective Action	Kindling (Violence Justified)	Spark	Violent Actor Campaign
Northern Ireland 1969-1998	1968 Civil Rights Protests	1968: 90k (13% Catholics)* w/ non-lethal violence	Aug 1968 Arson attacks against Catholics	1969: IRA formed (500 individuals)
Canada 1980s	None	None	1982: Direct Action car bomb	None, w/o community support, "Vancouver 5" easily captured
Basques, Spain 1979-1990s	1974-76 Non-Lethal violent Protests	1979: 15% Spanish population	Bombing	1979 ETA campaign begins
Baader-Meinhof, Germany 1972-1995	1960s Non-lethal violent protests	1971: 5-18% German population	1972: Arrest Meinhof	1975 Baader-Meinhof campaign begins
Netherlands 1960s	1960s Non-Lethal violent protests	None	1966 smoke bombs	None, w/o community support, Provo movement dissolves
Weather Underground United States, 1960s-70s	1960s	Nil, only 200 at "Days of Rage"	1970 symbolic bombing	None, w/o community support, Weather Underground dissolves
United States, 2021	Jan 6 Non-Lethal violent Capitol Attack 2020 occupation of Michigan Statehouse	21% Trump Republicans 21 million in US population	Many possible in 2022 election season	

* sources: Hayes and McAllister, "Sowing Dragon's Teeth: Public Support for Political Violence and Paramilitarism in Northern Ireland," *Political Studies* 49 (2001): 901-922, tables 7-8.; Krueger and Maleckova, "Public Opinion and Occurrence of International Terrorism," *Science* 2009; Crida, "Public Opinion and Terrorist Strategies," *Journal of Peace Research* 2011; Sanchez-Cuenca, *Historical Roots of Political Violence* (Cambridge University Press 2019)