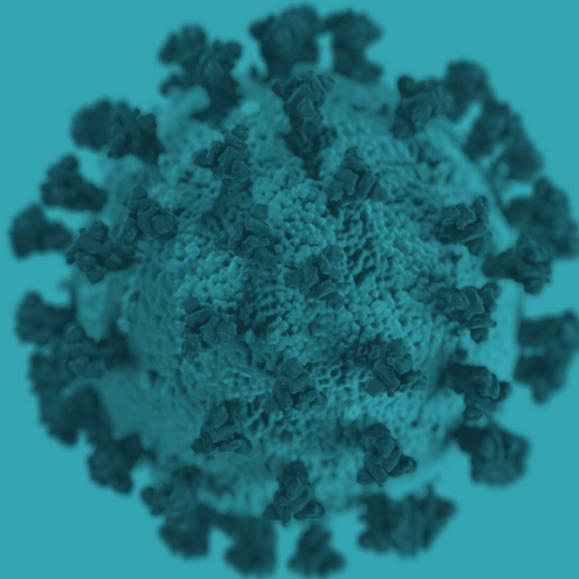


FRONTIER REPORT

The Reopen Movement

05-21-20

Motivations and Pathways
to Support



THE REOPEN MOVEMENT

MOTIVATIONS AND PATHWAYS TO SUPPORT

ABSTRACT In April and May 2020, The Frontier Center conducted research with support from Open the States to understand the motivations of citizens who are the strongest advocates for reopening states under government-imposed “stay at home” orders. Study 1 mapped the deeply held values of these supporters. Study 2 utilized Behavioral Event Modeling to identify patterns in how they came to their decisions to support the movement. Study 3 examined their attitudes and behaviors through a panel survey of 974 respondents.

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INTRODUCTION: TESTING THEMSELVES—AND THE NATION

The Reopen the States movement is cropping up in every state as a reaction to government restrictions related to the Coronavirus. The movement includes rallies, messages on face masks, and acts of defiance great and small. It is a protest against restrictions on the right of all Americans to be mobile, work, worship and congregate together, and use private property without government permission. It is growing rather than receding in response to harsh verbal attacks by media and force by government. Some responses are beyond contentious; they are acts of defiance, such as in the example of a mother in Wisconsin who refused to give her name to police who investigated her daughter for playing at a neighbor's home, or a Texas hair salon owner who was given the choice of apologizing for being selfish, pay a fine and shutdown her salon, or serve jail time for defying the state's coronavirus restrictions. She chose jail.

Government officials and media say reopen supporters are simply on a wrong timeline—that all Americans want to reopen, but the action will overload hospitals. Others characterize the supporters as selfish, weighing economic concerns too heavily against the concern for human life and suffering. The prevailing response for continued stay-at-home orders and business shutdowns places priority on protecting fearful and vulnerable citizens, and views reopen protesters as reckless, self-interested, or conspiracy theorists.

But is this view of reopen advocates true? Or might their beliefs be a sign of care for others? To what extent are their actions a result of wholly different values and motivations that indicate a very different mindset about our current crisis?

Behavioral research by the New Frontier Center provides a more informed way to understand the motivations of reopen protesters and supporters. Critics of this group are getting it wrong. This report provides insight from the front lines of the reopen movement, and offers a framework to understand what are actually more noble intentions of these advocates for a new orientation around American liberty.

The report begins with a study of the reasons supporters feel strongly about reopening their states immediately. Data were gathered from research participants who either attended a reopen rally or strongly support reopening their state immediately. The data reveal that defying state shutdown orders provides an energizing and strengthening effect for Reopeners. By attending protests and supporting protesters, they obtain greater self-respect and affinity for those who are alongside them in the cause.

The research reveals Reopeners enter into the movement to gain two types of insight, starting with self-knowledge. This includes testing and measuring their own courage and mental strength. Rather than primarily focusing on immediate political victory, reopen protesters report that they are focused on building their own character and courage, and on a belief that these strengths may be needed in an uncertain future.

The second insight they seek is true information about the sanctity of their rights in the present climate, which they can understand best by testing those rights. They want to know exactly how significant the erosion of individual liberties has become, and how distanced they are from living in a Constitutionally governed nation.

Contrary to the common narrative about their motivations, reopen advocates are not focused primarily on their jobs or the economy. Their rally signs say “let us work,” but this is focused on an abstract notion rather than a selfish desire. They are concerned about the concept of government barring its citizens from working, and the effect this has on their neighbors and community. Over the course of 50 hour-long in-depth interviews, Reopeners described their motivation to help others through the shutdowns in one of three ways: (1) advocating for those hurt financially or “mentally”; (2)

instilling courage for those unsure how to fight back, and; (3) modeling behavior and thought processes for those who disagree, or for those who are unsure how to read the situation.

Reopeners see “*petty dictators*” amassing power by the minute and destroying the foundations of American freedom. They identify five distinct realms of an emerging dictatorial culture: science elites, technology censors, state governments, national media, and the Hollywood elite.

In Study 2, we examined the psychological pathways that led advocates to attend a reopen rally or support the cause. The results show supporters were overwhelmingly sparked to action by Facebook postings. Despite the company shutting down notices about many protest events, it remains a hub for organizing. Networks developed around church, homeschooling and employment flow through the social-media nexus. Reopeners report they felt a need to do more than talk and post comments. They all had a moment when their frustrations with government orders overcame their fears about defying them.

Study 2 applied Behavioral Event Modeling to understand how these influences culminated in attendance at a Reopen protest. A particularly powerful spark for action was Easter Sunday church shutdowns, which led many protesters to seek other ways to worship that involved gathering and exchanging views with others who felt similarly oppressed by authorities.

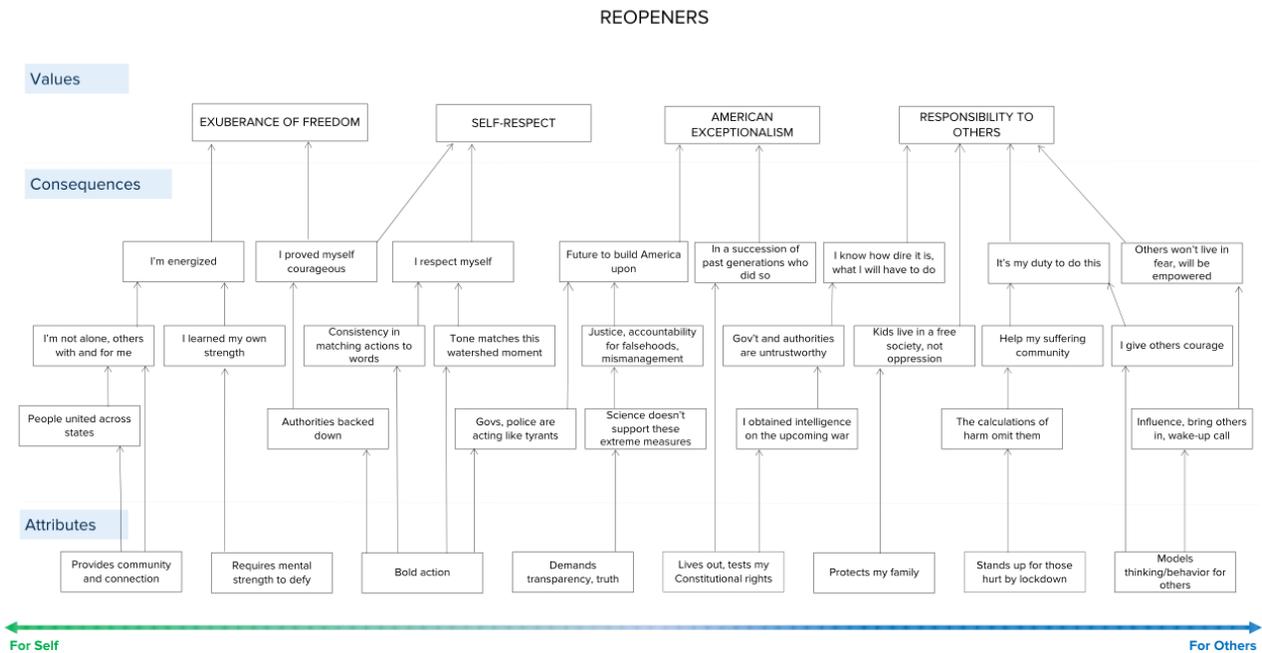
Having examined how Reopeners moved from merely supporting the cause to taking action, we also learned more about the characteristics of this group—who are these individuals? In Study 3, we gathered polling data from 974 Reopener respondents. This revealed most notably that the reopen movement is not the “Tea Party 2.0.” In fact, the large majority of Reopeners never attended a Tea Party rally, and a large minority did not support the Tea Party movement. The survey also reflects growing support among Reopeners for President Trump’s 2020 election when compared to their 2016 vote. The protesters predominantly identify as Christian, half of whom have no denominational affiliation and the other half of whom are split evenly among evangelical Protestants, mainline Protestants, and Catholics.

STUDY 1: REOPENERS' DEEP VALUES

"These folks **are choosing to desert** in the face of the enemy in the middle of a war..." -Governor Tom Wolf, Pennsylvania

"This is the biggest feeling – I want to share my freedoms with my kids and grandkids – **I am protecting them**, a legacy for them to enjoy." -Paul W., Wisconsin

There are two conventional views of Reopeners and their motives, and both are inaccurate. The first view, held by advocates who favor state shutdowns, is that the Reopeners are selfish and cowardly. The second, held by sympathizers who oppose shutdowns, is that Reopeners are primarily focused on reopening the economy. We used Values Laddering methodology and in-depth interviews to probe beyond surface-level reasons respondents gave for attending protests or supporting the reopen movements. This approach pushes respondents to examine and articulate why they hold their views.



The data identified four distinct deep values that describe the motivations of Reopeners:

1. **Exuberance of Freedom:** They learn the expanse of their own strength, which is energizing and results in a sense of freedom. This is aided by experiencing the “felt-freedom” alongside others.
2. **Self-Respect:** They want to match their actions with their sentiments, and are compelled to rise to the occasion in the face of perceived tyranny.

3. **American Exceptionalism:** They want accountability and justice for what they believe has been a lack of transparency, flawed science, and unacceptable infringements of civil rights. They believe protecting and restoring those rights must be foundational to the next steps forward for America.
4. **Responsibility to Others:** A majority believe they have a “Christian duty” to model behavior that encourages others, defends victims of government oppression, and serves as a wake-up call that will empower others.

Reopeners desire self-actualization and value serving others. They are concerned with fulfilling a duty to their local communities, and to America in ways that connect our heritage to our future. In this regard, they are acting selflessly and with courage in a moment that holds many unknowns. They participate in rallies that are often “banned” by state authorities, and anticipate the possibility of harsh law enforcement responses. Overcoming their fears of retaliation and arrest, they are acting in ways that are distinctly *un-cowardly*.

1.1 MAPPING DEEP VALUES¹

We identified eight attributes common to all interviewees that reveal why Reopeners support the reopen cause. For them, defiance is the preferred course of action because it:

- Provides community and connection
- Requires mental strength to defy
- Is bold in tone
- Demands transparency and truth
- Allows them to “live out” and test the true status of their Constitutional rights
- Protects their families
- Stands up for those hurt or victimized
- Models sound thinking and behavior for others

These attributes helped researchers uncover the deeper “consequences” intended by each Reopener’s views, which in turn, allowed us to identify four values that form the unalterable foundation that all Reopeners share. These values explain what Reopeners believe they are fulfilling for themselves by taking a stand.

1.2 VALUE: EXUBERANCE OF FREEDOM

“I’ve ‘lived’ already at my old age, and now I’m beginning to understand I took for granted all those freedoms. My actions today are what are keeping my freedoms here.”

“It was interesting to see the diversity of people there [at the Reopen rally]. There was a young dairy farmer who had a moving speech that was so pertinent to our lives. I was proud that he was representing farmers. I was proud of how articulate he was and deeply appreciated that he addressed the issues that we were all feeling.”

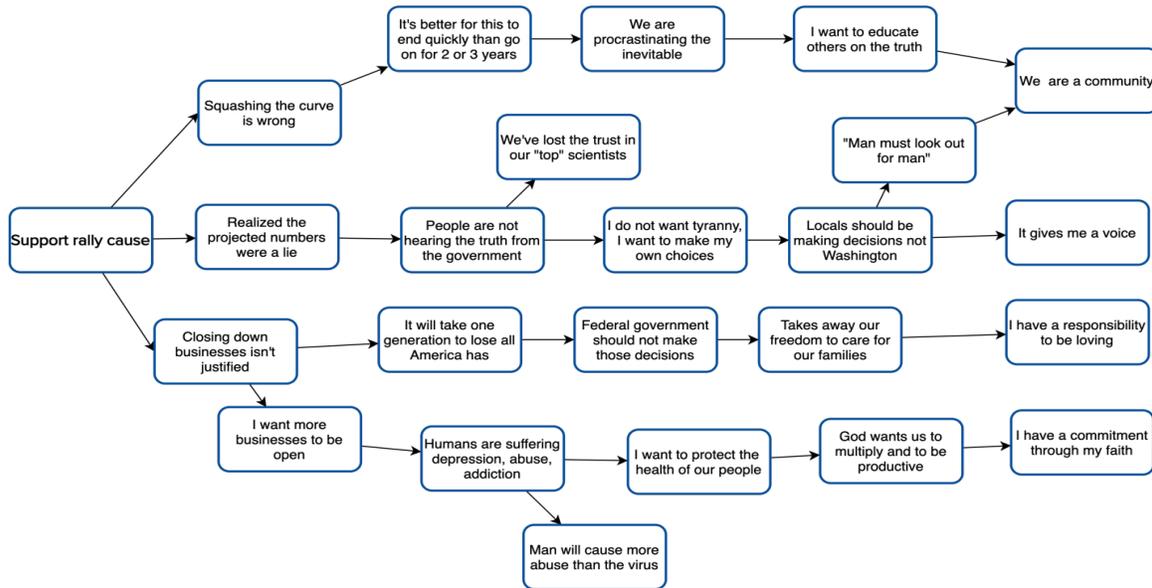
¹ Researchers from The Frontier Center applied the Values Laddering in-depth interview methodology to conduct 50 interviews with rally attendees and strong supporters of the Reopen movement. They were recruited in-person at rallies, via social media, and through the assistance of the Reopen the States movement.

Exuberance of Freedom describes a value associated with self-obtained and visceral liberty. Attaining exuberance of freedom is more than an intellectual concept. It requires the specific action of defiance, must be fought for, and engenders some risk. Reopeners engaged in defiance learn their own strength and find unity with other Americans who take the same action. The outcome: Protesters are energized by standing up for principle, and they remain tethered to a deeply-held principle—what they believe is right. This results in a view that they wish to live *untamed* by unlawful orders and wayward authorities.

1.3 VALUE: SELF-RESPECT

“It’s almost like going to war and defending our own freedoms. I am grateful, I’m more confident knowing I can defend these freedoms.”

**John D.
M, 55-64**

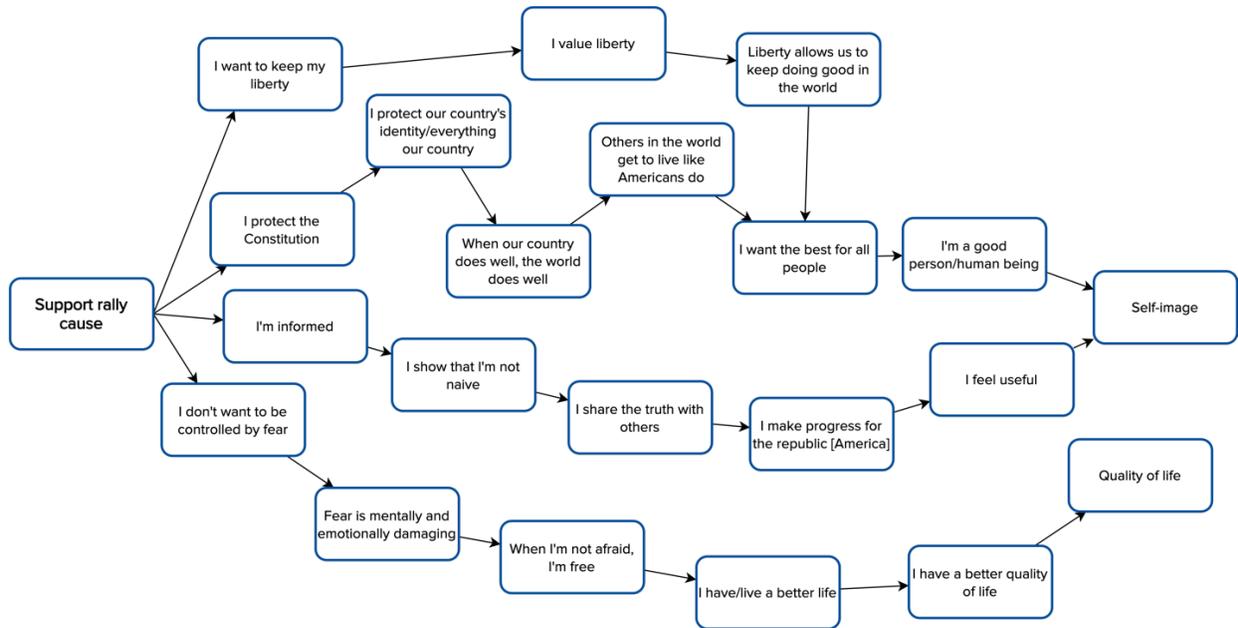


Reopeners said that, while this moment of crisis challenges their sense of who they are, their actions of defiance allow them to take pride in who they are. The tone of their defiance is bold, with two outcomes: First, their boldness works—it causes authorities to back down. Second, their boldness matches the moment—the scale and disposition of government action has been monumental, and Reopeners believe they are showing they understand the importance of this challenge to freedom. Reopeners say achieving a political victory in the short-term, though important, is secondary. The primary objective is to answer the question “who am I?” during what feels like a watershed moment. Reopeners are concerned they might not live up to the precedents of others who rose to meet similar moments in American and world history. For those who took action, they experienced boldness and courage, and learned they might be able to contribute or sacrifice going forward in ways that had never before been tested.

1.4 VALUE: AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

“The threat of the virus is minimal compared to the threat to our way of life.”

Ann J.
Female, 55-64



Reopeners feel strongly that it is important to strengthen America’s fundamental foundations during the pandemic. Beyond restoring liberties they view as being lost, they want justice and accountability for the negative forces, actions, and attitudes they believe have emerged. They believe the science information around the coronavirus is flawed, at best, and that scientists may have lied. Government authorities amassed powers in excess of their need to address the problem, and have abused these powers to shut down the most fundamental necessities for human flourishing. Reopeners say the reaction to the problem is extremist, and they have never been provided transparency or full truth. Leaving this action uncorrected means that America will not have a solid future to build upon. In other words, they said an exceptional America cannot emerge just through economic recovery. Recovery must reinstate the fundamentals of honesty in governance and faith in the American people to discern data and govern themselves. They define present government actions as unwarranted, and use the term “tyranny.”

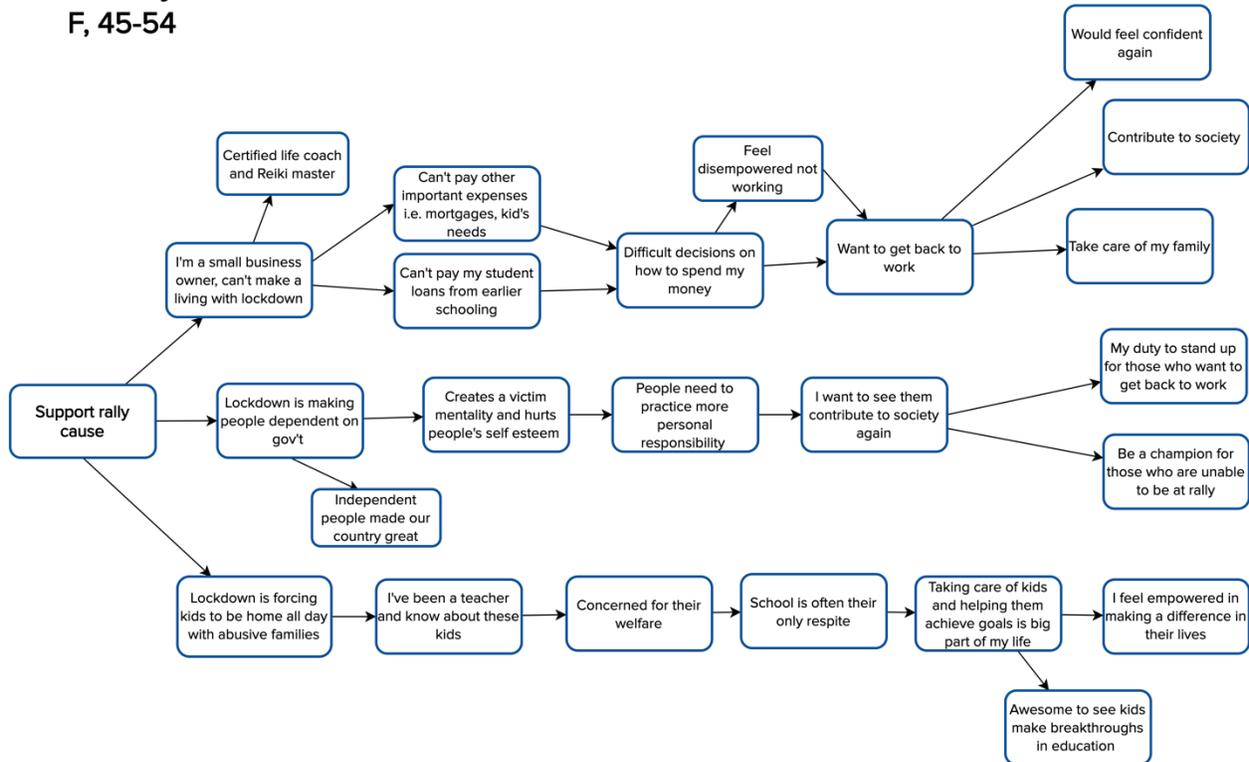
At the same time, defying the authorities allows them to get real-time information about the state of their rights. Just as they wish to obtain freedom through their own action rather than have it handed to them, they want to go out and test the levels of restrictions themselves. Just how infringed upon are their rights? Reopeners engage in protests to know this for themselves. They believe that America has truly changed and that, if the current trajectory continues, they should attend protests to “obtain intelligence for the upcoming war.” In this sense, we discovered that the Reopener mindset is to be prepared for a future conflict, and Reopeners are intent on defining today what principles of Americanism are nonnegotiable for the future. We also uncovered how this impacts their lack of focus on an immediate

political goal beyond defiance; they are examining their fitness internally, and gathering information about the nature of a coming conflict to define America going forward.

1.5 VALUE: RESPONSIBILITY TO OTHERS

“There will be a resurgence. People will become aware that their freedoms were taken away. They will reclaim them.”

Wendy W.
F, 45-54



The first way Reopeners exhibit the value of Responsibility to Others flows from the intelligence they gain about the conflict they assume is coming. By understanding how “dire it is, what I will have to do,” they are taking responsibility for what their role will entail. They also view themselves as advocates for others—first for their families, to ensure their children and grandchildren will live in a free society without what they view as a very real threat of oppression. They advocate for others who have lost their livelihoods, or who face mental-illness or lack of treatments for physical ailments resulting from forced isolation and lockdowns. Finally, they see a dearth of leadership and are standing up in order to model a way of thinking and a pathway for action by others who may not know what to do or how to do it. They do this to wake up others or influence them to join the movement, and to give courage.

Nearly every Reopener interviewed said that to help others is their “duty,” and most often, their “Christian duty.” They seek to involve others not just for the success of their movement but, more importantly, to allow others to fulfill their

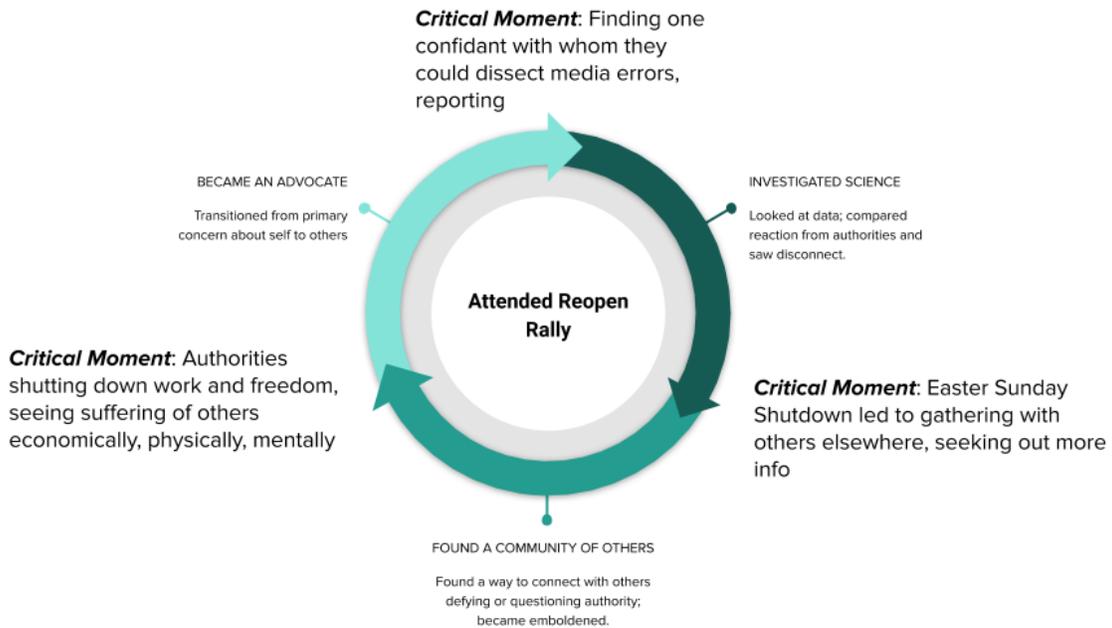
responsibility in this moment. They do not wish to rule over others, but for others to find agency in achieving their own “exuberance of freedom.”

1.6 DISCUSSION

Policy makers should understand the truth about Reopeners, their priorities, and their values. Casting them as selfish has led to greater division and fracturing of our culture based on a false narrative. Mischaracterization of this group of Americans ignores the fact that they are seeking to help others in the crisis. It also fails to acknowledge the potentially important role they are playing to help us find a greater America. Media mischaracterizations of the group as unthinking, without care for others, or motivated only by self-interest are simply not supported by research. Reopeners are thoughtful in their conversions from frustrated onlookers to engaged protesters, and they are primarily taking action for what they view as the benefit of others.

STUDY 2: PATHWAYS TO RESISTANCE

Study 2 provides a framework to determine the series of events that culminated in the desire of Reopeners to act. We used Behavioral Event Modeling to identify the critical incident that led each Reopener to decide to attend a reopen rally.



2.1 METHODOLOGY

In Study 2, we examined the decision pathways of 50 individuals who attended a reopen rally. We also used Behavioral Event Modeling to identify the events that led to each Reopener to decide to attend.

2.1 THREE MINDSETS PRECEDING THE DECISION TO ATTEND

The decision to attend a Reopen rally evolved from a latent discomfort with government orders to a change in mindset. Three critical events led to changes in mindset:

- **Critical Event 1—Became an Advocate:** Witnessed harm to others, which led to a view of themselves as advocates for others.
- **Critical Event 2—Investigated Science:** Formed the opinion that data and science presented to them were false, misleading, or inconclusive.
- **Critical Event 3—Found a Community of Others:** Exchanged opinions with another person, which led them to seek out a broader community to evaluate the data, provide and receive support against hostility, and discuss next steps.

Once one of these three critical events occurred, the process to decide to attend a rally unfolded with little additional encouragement. The role of social media was to help Reopeners coordinate with each other, and being in proximity with each other encouraged each Reopener to move from thinking about attending a protest to taking action to attend.

However, the stimuli that *preceded* these three events provides more insight:

Preceding Stimuli to Critical Event 1, “Becoming an Advocate”:

- Generalized discontent about the severity and unfairness of the lockdown.
- Began to note in late April that other people felt the same way and were starting to protest.
- Reported observing someone being victimized or mocked over their Coronavirus stance, employees being laid off, or businesses being shut down.
- Communicated frustrations online, usually in Facebook groups with allies who were committed to the same cause.

Preceding Stimuli to Critical Event 2, “Investigated Science”:

- Actual experience at a hospital that contradicted how a situation was reported in the news.
- Saw infection or death rate numbers much lower than predicted.
- Spoke with doctors or medical personnel who disagreed with a lockdown order.
- Read reports about data themselves.
- Communicated frustrations online, usually in Facebook groups with allies who were committed to the same cause.

Preceding Stimuli to Critical Event 3, “Found a Community of Others”:

- Found another person with whom to exchange information and discuss views.
- Found articles on Facebook, or sent links from Facebook.
- Found community online or started an email- or text-based exchange with mostly technology-dependent likeminded others.

2.3 THREE MOMENTS WHEN CRITICAL EVENTS UNFOLDED

The “critical event” moments occurred in one of three contexts: (1) Disruption in their work; (2) Easter Sunday church cancellations; (3) Tracking conflicting media accounts.

- Moment: Disruption in their Work:

For many, more free time resulted in coming across information about a local protest – they also had time needed to attend. For Reopeners who were formerly working, slower schedules meant they could interact with their coworkers leading to discussion of ways to deal with mutual grievances. Business owners were confronted with the reality of taking responsibility for laying off employees, a feeling made more acute by the fact this was a decision forced on them from outside. Finally, they experienced state officials intimidating or hassling employees who were continuing to work.

- Moment: Easter Sunday Cancellations:

When Easter Sunday fell in the middle of the Coronavirus shutdowns, many of the Reopener churchgoers took one of three paths: (1) they sought out a new church, often further away; (2) they held their own spiritual gathering in someone's home, or; (3) they had time available to catch up on the news.

- Moment: Tracking Conflicting Media Narratives:

Reopeners said they began tracking media missteps with one or two close confidants with whom they felt they could express discomfort about inconsistencies without worrying about being attacked. This led them to seek out new information and dig into the research themselves. Facebook groups were essential for providing the alternative content *together* with a forum to comment with others.

2.4 DISCUSSION

Decisions to attend protests resulted from finding community with whom to address uneasiness with inaccuracies by media and authorities. This typically began with one or two friends and was then cultivated through Facebook. In addition, transition from self-concern to advocacy for others lit a fire in many Reopeners. At the same time, being prevented from associating with familiar communities—*i.e.*, church and work—led many to seek alternatives, which became the very reason their defiance grew and they eventually attended a rally.

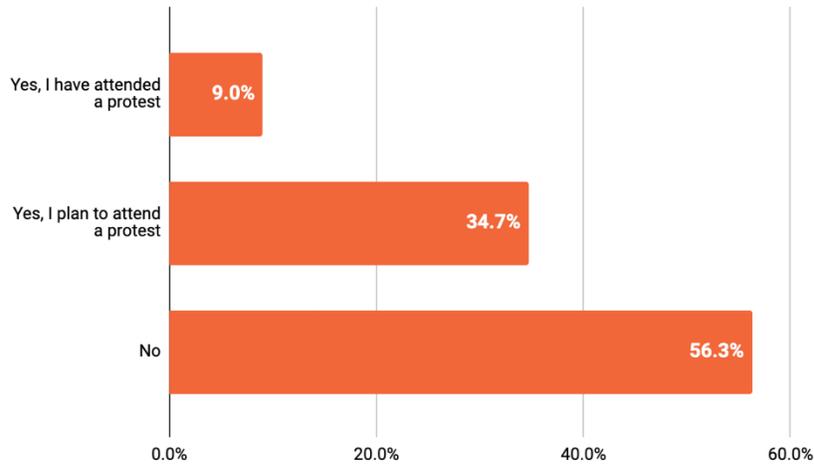
STUDY 3: SURVEY PANEL DATA

Who are the Reopeners, according to the numbers? From April 24 to May 4, 2020, we surveyed citizens who expressed strong support for immediately reopening businesses and communities. Respondents were recruited from in-person intercepts at a rally in Wisconsin in April 2020, social media postings, and cascade recruiting.

Data gathered from a panel of 974 strong supporters of the Reopen movement reveal 10 facts about this sample:

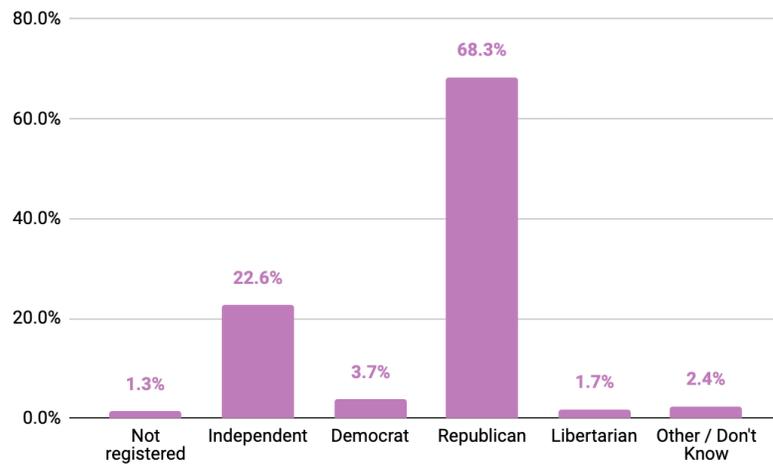
1. Nearly one-half have attended or plan to attend a Coronavirus-related event or rally.

Have you attended (or do you plan to attend) an event or rally to protest Coronavirus-related community shutdowns or stay-at-home orders, etc.?

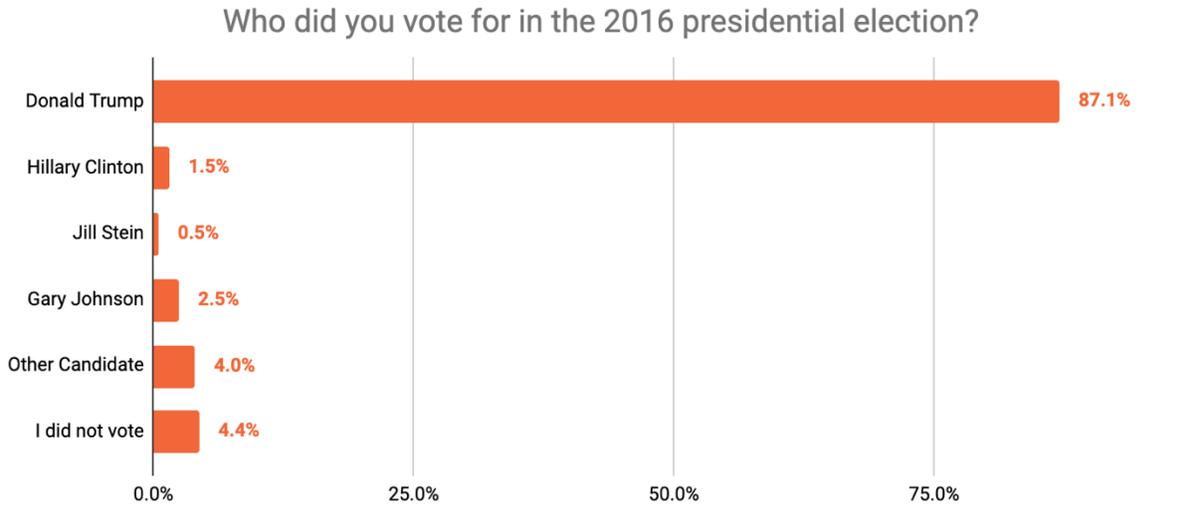


2. The majority (68.3%) are registered to vote as a Republican; 22.6% are registered to vote as an Independent.

Are you registered to vote as a Democrat, Republican, some other party, or no party affiliation?

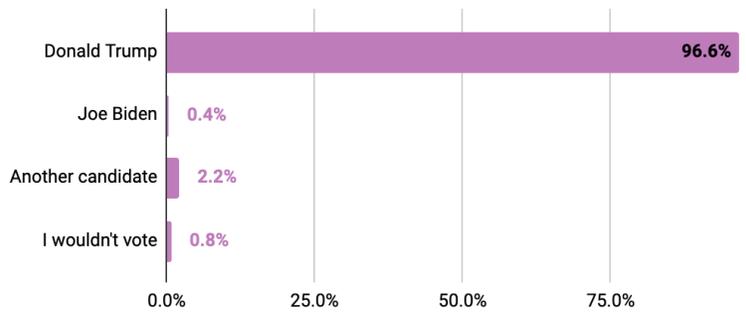


3. While they are majority Trump supporters – 87.1% voted for President Trump in 2016 – 4.4% did not vote at all, and 7.0% voted for another candidate besides Clinton or Trump.



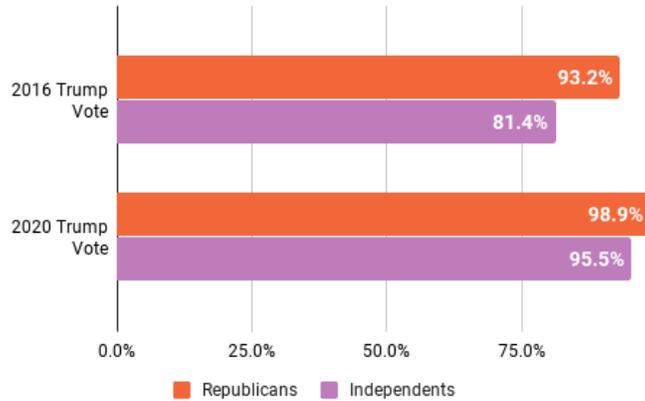
4. Their 2020 voting intent indicates support for President Trump in the form of a vote has increased: 96.6% say they would vote for Donald Trump were the election held today. The percent who won't vote has decreased from 4.4% to 0.8%.

If the 2020 presidential election were held today, which candidate would you vote for?



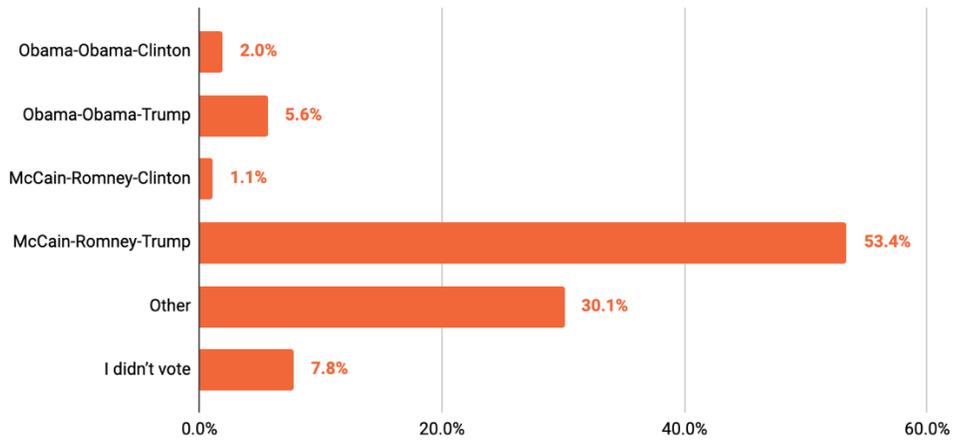
5. There is a 17.3% increase in support for President Trump among Independents who support the Reopen movement.

The Δ in support from Independents has increased 14.1 points, or 17.3%



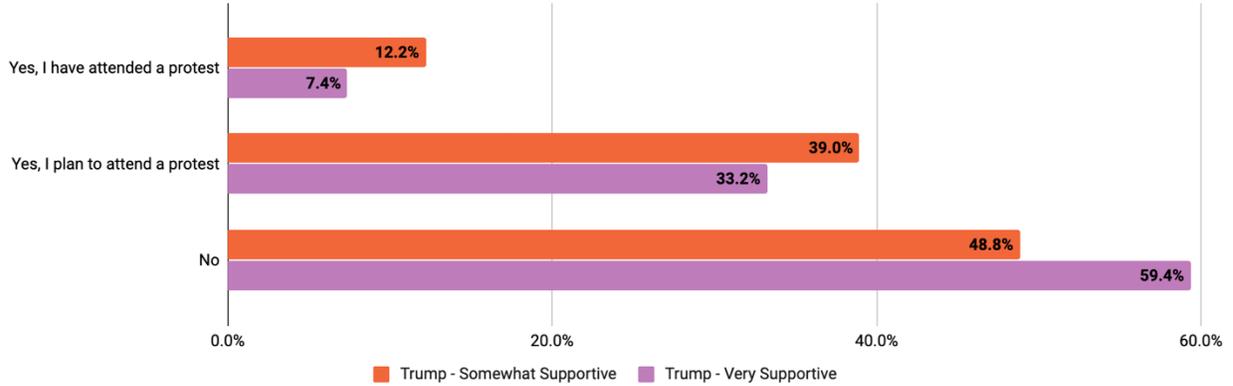
6. 7.8% didn't vote in any of the last three presidential elections; 5.6% are "Pivot Voters," or voted Obama-Obama-Trump over the past three presidential elections.

How did you vote in the last three Presidential Elections?



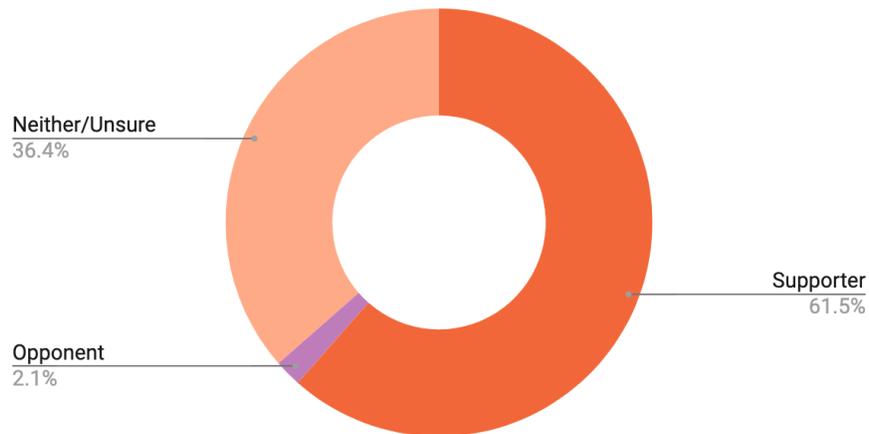
7. Despite overall intention to vote for Trump (see above), the more supportive Reopeners are of President Trump, the less likely they are to **attend** a Reopen rally.

Trump Supporters and Rally Attendance: Have you attended (or do you plan to attend) an event or rally to protest Coronavirus-related community shutdowns or stay-at-home orders, etc.?

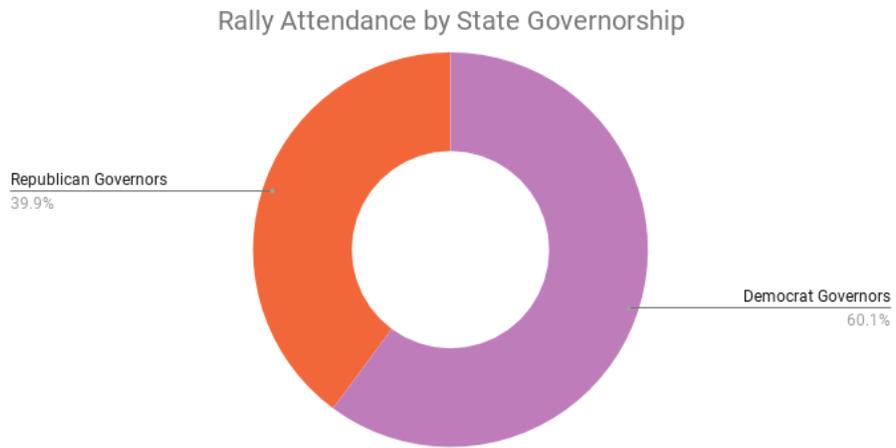


8. 38.5% were either neutral, unsure, or opposed the Tea Party movement, and 83.2% never attended a Tea Party rally.

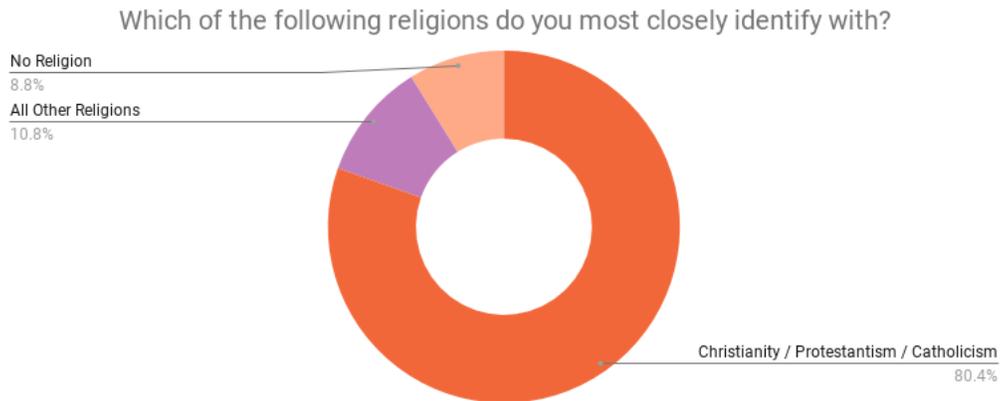
Were you a supporter of the Tea Party movement, an opponent of the Tea Party movement, or neither?

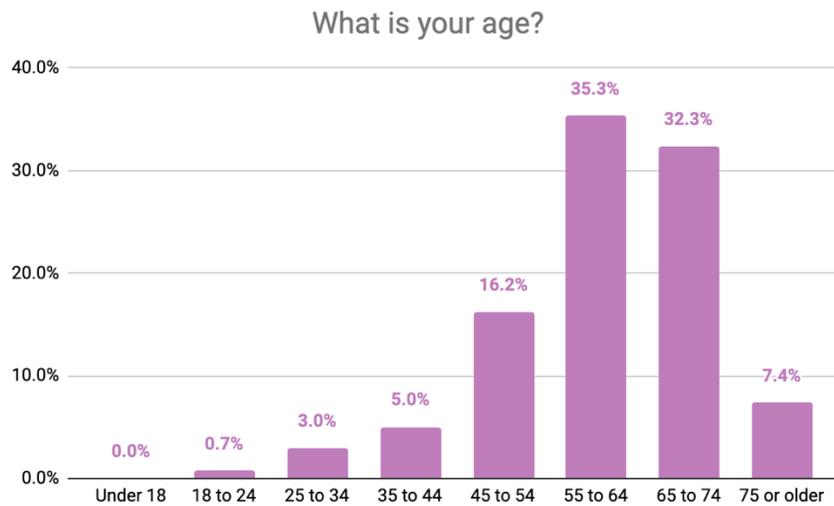
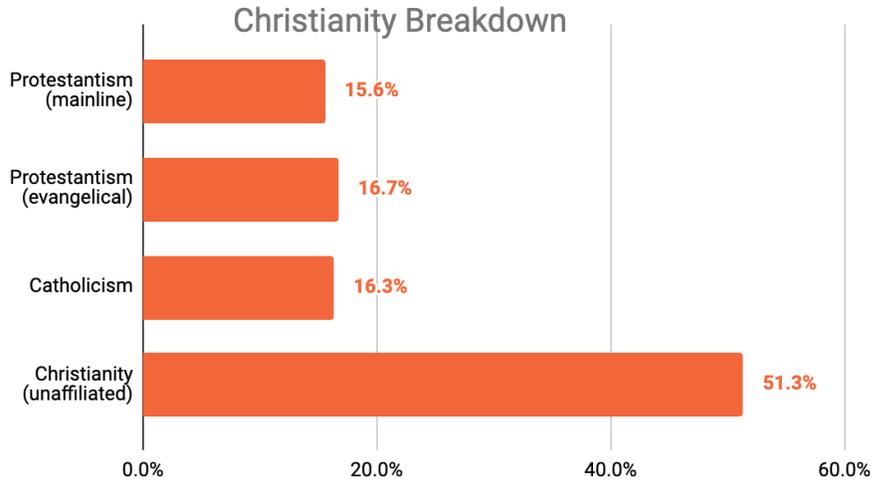


9. 40% of those who attended rallies did so in states with Republican governors.



10. 91.2% describe themselves as having some religion; 80.4% describe themselves as Christian. A plurality of voters, 35.3%, were between the ages of 55-64.





CONCLUSION: THE NEW UNTAMED

The conventional media narrative is that America is a fractured nation, perhaps irreparably. Media characterize competing views about Coronavirus as a divide between the selfish and the selfless, and view Reopeners as putting their self-interests first. Study 2 shows that they are generally, in fact, isolated—and seek out others to express dissent quietly so as not to be shamed for their questions. Based on the panel survey data, we conclude that the reopen movement does not appear to be a re-hash of conservative mass movements like the Tea Party, and that Reopeners are strongly faith-driven and new to political activism.

This is consistent with an “untamed mindset” that The Frontier Center is tracking across many mass movements, ideologies, and topics. This mindset has many facets. Americans have been opting-out of “safe and narrow” paths in other areas, including by homeschooling, adopting cost-sharing plans to replace health insurance, and establishing home churches. The Frontier Center has also tracked a second pathway of compliance toward safety and peace of mind. Our values research with the Reopeners revealed a paradox: They find peace of mind through defiance, because it results in felt-freedom, understanding of their own mettle, holding authorities accountable, and standing up for others.

The data reveal that critics of the reopen protesters are right that America needs renewed selflessness, but that they are wrong if they imagine that this results from compliance with flawed science and restricted freedom. A new selflessness can come from citizens who seek to remain untamed by authority. The Reopeners make clear that selflessness can be found in these everyday Americans who, while they do not seek to be political activists or agitators, feel compelled to act at what they believe is a defining moment in our history.

The protesters are demonstrating a new selflessness—a sacrifice different from staying at home and closing non-essential businesses. Their selflessness requires moving into untamed territory, which in this case risks very real conflict with authorities. These Untamed are resisting out of duty to what they say is unlawful infringement of their rights based on unscientific, flawed premises that result in deeply troubling collateral damage to the American community.

The new untamed territory is a mindset. First, American society is profoundly divided over who is the hero and who is the antihero in our modern story. The threat of a pandemic reveals that “selflessness” based on fear isn’t necessarily selflessness—it may in fact be selfishness. Reopeners are demonstrating selflessness by their determination to overcome fear for what for them is a greater cause. The Frontier Center has found that this is a consistent factor in recent mass movements, and that the “untamed mindset” can be found across years, movements, political issues and ideologies.

The New Untamed framework is critical for how we understand the meaning of the coronavirus conflict, and for what actions we take in the name of protecting America. Aggressive government efforts to stop the spread of Coronavirus makes sense if America’s health is defined by being protected from the virus. If that is an incorrect measure of America’s health, however, then shutdowns and restricting rights are counterproductive and harmful. They may weaken freedom, the true foundation of America’s health.

Far from being a threat to America’s health, reopen protests may be its medicine—suggesting that American culture does not flourish by looking back but by retesting its convictions.

APPENDIX A: CONTRASTING VALUES ACROSS PAST TFC RESEARCH

REOPEN MOVEMENT VS. TEA PARTIES

	Reopen Movement	Tea Parties
General attributes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provides community and connection - Requires mental strength to defy - Bold action - Demands transparency, truth - Lives out, tests my Constitutional rights - Protects my family - Stands up for those hurt by lockdown 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Community of likeminded people - Allows me to be proactive - It's patriotic - Immediate results - Open to newcomers; less bureaucratic - I help raise the alarm
Consequences of general attributes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I'm energized - I proved myself courageous - I respect myself - Future to build America on - In a succession of past generations who did so - I know how dire it is, what I have to do - It's my (Christian) duty - Others won't live in fear, will be empowered 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Creating a better future for my kids - Have confidence in others - Strengthened - I'm doing my duty as an American - Emotional high - Victorious
Values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exuberance of Freedom - Self-Respect - American Exceptionalism - Responsibility to Others 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Responsibility - Hope - Pride - Empowerment - Value of Time

TFC MASS MOVEMENT VALUES 2009 TO PRESENT

Tea Party (2009)	Anti-Walker Union Protests	Occupy Wall Street	Black Lives Matter	Women & Trump	Coronavirus
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Responsibility - Hope - Pride - Empowerment - Worthwhile 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Security - Accomplishment (O) - Self-Esteem (O) - Belonging (I) - Family (I) - Self-Fulfillment (I) <p><u>Segments:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Operatives (O) - Idealists (I) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Community (C) - Purpose (C) - Security (C) - Prestige (P) - Validation (P) - Control (P) <p><u>Segments:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Communitarians (C) - Professionals (P) 	<p><u>Activists:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Empowerment (A) - Hope (A) - Community (A) - Excitement (A) - Pride (O) - Confidence (O) - Excitement (O) - Purpose (O) - Guilt (Y) - Security (Y) - Community (Y) - Fear (Y) <p><u>Segments:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Activists (A) - Operatives (O) - Allies (Y) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Community - Relatability / Anti-Elitism - Coarseness / Strength - Active Optimism - Exuberance of Freedom 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exuberance of Freedom - Self-Respect - American Exceptionalism - Responsibility to Others

APPENDIX B: CONSOLIDATED PATHWAYS TO RALLY ATTENDANCE; FAITH AND SCIENCE ASPECTS HIGHLIGHTED

