HOW TO COUNTER THE POLITICS OF SCAPEGOATING
and Heal Geopolitical Divisions at the Grassroots

Presented by Justice Is Global,
a project of People’s Action
Narratives that portray China as an exaggerated threat to the welfare and the way of life of people in the US and use China as a scapegoat for social and economic problems in the US are particularly alarming.

These anti-China nationalist narratives feed an array of interconnected problems. Within the US, anti-China narratives are associated with a sharp rise in anti-Asian racism and the growing power of authoritarian nationalism that threatens the future of US democracy.

They also exacerbate US-China tensions which undermine the international cooperation that is urgently needed to address climate change and other shared global challenges, and encourage militarism in the US, China, and many countries that are caught in between the two great powers.

Justice is Global is responding to this dangerous trend with strategies to counter the rush toward confrontation with China.

In March and April 2022, we launched a deep canvass project to develop messaging capable of swaying people susceptible to nationalism away from narratives of great power confrontation. We found that anti-China messaging holds broad appeal for average Americans, but that its grip remains shallow.

Anti-China sentiments are often animated by people’s genuine grievances toward long-term economic dysfunctions, as well as feelings of insecurity and alienation.

The appeal of anti-China rhetoric derives from deep seated stereotypes about people of Chinese or other Asian descent, as well as a punitive political culture in the US where punishment is seen as the best response to bad behaviors.

Our deep canvass conversations show that we can make a hopeful alternative vision built upon US-China cooperation to tackle shared contemporary challenges attractive to ordinary Americans.

To get people on board with this vision, connecting “local” to “global” and helping people see the tangible benefits of international cooperation (and at the same time, the costs of confrontation) to their lives and communities is essential.

In addition, appealing to people’s shared longing for safety and belonging also helps moving people away from xenophobic narratives. These messaging strategies need to be disseminated widely within the larger movement defending democracy and countering the rise of authoritarianism.
This year’s midterm elections may end up providing the context for anti-China narratives to reach new heights. A survey of the 2022 midterm campaign ads shows China dominates early midterm ads.¹ Republicans and some Democrats seek to use “tough on China” narratives as an electoral and political strategy.

It has become a core Republican Party strategy to convince voters to scapegoat China for working class problems, use this to distract voters from their anti-worker record, and then use their “tough on China” reputation to rebrand themselves as the party of the working class.² Some Democrats hope to compete on the terrain of “tough on China” messaging, although this is likely to backfire and feed into the Republican Party strategy.³

To be sure, there are valid criticisms of the Chinese government. The growth of authoritarianism and nationalism in China, which parallels trends in the US and many other countries, has included abuses against ethnic minorities in Xinjiang, and crackdowns on pro-democratic forces in Hong Kong and political dissent in the mainland. But we must carefully distinguish between these valid critiques and narratives of threat inflation and scapegoating that have become so politically dangerous.

Under Trump, the Republican Party has been taken over by authoritarians that have decided that to stay in power, they can ditch democracy.⁴ Anti-China narratives are part of their path to power. Those of us who are serious about defeating racist authoritarianism and building multiracial democracy will need to build an alternative vision of unity and security that is attractive to people and does not displace problems in US society onto China or other scapegoats.

OUR EFFORT TO COUNTER ANTI-CHINA POPULISム

In March and April 2022, Justice is Global conducted a deep canvass to test whether a narrative of international cooperation could be effective in swaying people who are susceptible to right-wing nationalism away from narratives that scapegoat China. Our strategy built upon the race-class narrative framework⁶ and our 2020 deep canvass project.⁴

We recruited a diverse group of 21 canvassers for daily phone banks over six weeks. All of the canvassers at the end reported to have gained clear understandings of why countering China bashing and scapegoating narratives is important. For six weeks, our team made a total of 3,092 contacts and completed 608 conversations. The things we learned that we will share in the following pages are the result of trials and errors and many intentional, reflective, and collaborative discussions with our canvassers.

DEEP CANVASS PHONE BANK TOTALS

WHAT IS DEEP CANVASSING?

- Deep canvassing is a methodology used to persuade voters in an extended conversation about a particular issue by building trust and sharing stories.
- Canvassers use non-judgmental listening to reduce perceived threat to self-image and increase a feeling of respect.
- Deep canvassing, as a result, promotes active processing and participation in a conversation which increases openness to engaging with alternative viewpoints.
- Sharing stories also creates an emotional connection that allows canvassers to move beyond surface-level talking points.

Deep Canvas Volunteers Conversations People who are susceptible to right-wing nationalism in Wisconsin

3,092 Contacts 608 Conversations

BARRIERS TO INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

People tend to express a disconnect from US-China relations, or generally, from issues on an international scale.

Many people we conversed with over the phone said “I don’t have much to say about this,” or “I don’t know enough” when being asked about their current views on the US-China relations. At the beginning of the conversations many expressed difficulty in seeing the impact of issues at the international level on their everyday lives, and many emphasized that local issues such as poverty and homelessness were their priorities.

Our deep canvass conversations reveal that this expressed “non-attitude” tends to mask something deeper and more troubling. Canvassers were trained to follow up by asking why people felt they had nothing to say on the matter. What was revealed is an overall sense of apathy. The sense of apathy partly derives from the belief that geopolitical issues are beyond their grasp, and thus should be relegated to experts or elites. It also comes from a profound sense of powerlessness and cynicism.

However, if provided with a nonjudgmental space and opportunity to engage in a conversation which increases openness to engaging with alternative viewpoints, sharing stories also creates an emotional connection that allows canvassers to move beyond surface-level talking points.

People were eager to comprehend what this all means for the US. Against the backdrop of the Russian invasion, quite a number of people also brought up their concern about China’s role in that war and China’s military buildup. However, throughout the entire deep canvass project, what was clear to us was the widely and deeply shared abhorrence of war.

In addition to war, an overall sense of uncertainty with the economic repercussions of the COVID-19 pandemic emerged from our conversations. Inflation, rising housing and energy costs, and supply chain disruptions weigh heavily on people’s minds. It is worth noting that the official numbers suggest the US economy in recent months is in strong rebound⁸, but the general mood we detected is depressed, and that of uncertainty and worry.

Two years into the pandemic, most people we talked with over the phone are still grappling
with the emotional and psychological tolls of the pandemic - from the passing of loved ones to the virus, the loss of employment, to physical confinement and social isolation.

The pain and economic grievances we heard are by no means specific to the pandemic. Our conversations also brought to light the deeper structural economic woes people in the “rust belt” and rural small towns are battling.

For those who see themselves on the losing end of globalization, many expressed skepticism towards global cooperation and said plainly, “I don’t see how it can benefit me.” The mentioning of “global” tended to conjure up people’s fear of being “left behind” or “swept up” by globalization.⁹ These feelings of crisis and discontent are accentuated by the failouts of the pandemic - disruption of normal economic activities, glaring inequalities laid bare, and governments’ failures to respond effectively at the beginning of the pandemic.

Our conversations revealed the broad appeal of narratives that cast China as an existential threat to the American way of life.

We have identified a number of inflated “China threat” narratives that dominate the elite discourse currently.⁸ In this deep canvass project, we found all of these dominant narratives have made their way to the general public.

People generally see the United States and China as diametrically different. Many believe the US and China are incompatible not just because of competing military, political, and economic interests, but because they are locked in a “clash of civilizations” and that one will inevitably conquer the other.

Of all the conversations we had, the concern of “China stealing American jobs and technologies” was cited as the primary argument against cooperation, followed by the claim that “America has become too dependent on China.” With the rising consumer prices and other pandemic-related economic hardships, many blamed China for inflation, sky-high oil prices, semiconductor chip shortage, and so forth. These narratives appeal to a broad audience not only because of its simplicity - a foreign power is at fault for problems in the US - but also because these narratives are built upon long-standing racist and xenophobic tropes about people of Chinese or other Asian descent.

In our conversations we heard people referring to China as having a “culture of authoritarianism”. Ascribing the geopolitical tensions to “cultural differences” means conflicts and zero-sum outcomes are inevitable. And more importantly, by saying China has a culture of authoritarianism, it also implies that Chinese people are expected to exhibit a set of “cultural traits” which include homogeneity and lacking a sense of individual will.

We found that the bias related to the “cultural traits” of Chinese people is implicit as people often vocally express “they have no problem with Chinese people”, yet at the same time believing all Chinese people are brainwashed by their government.

The Chinese government’s repression and abuse constitutes a major obstacle to supporting US-China cooperation.

Many mentioned that they read about the internment camps in Xinjiang and crackdowns in Hong Kong. And many people believed that to cooperate with China is to excuse China’s repression and other bad behaviors.

This kind of punitive frame of mind is so dominant that many on the issue of Russian invasion said that the US and allies need to punish China for not being on the West’s side, without contemplating that doing so might push China to strengthen its relationship with Russia even further, thus jeopardizing peace negotiation.¹⁰

We found this punitive approach to the Chinese government’s wrongdoing is popular for at least two reasons:

- First as mentioned earlier, the implicit bias toward people of Chinese descent could prevent people from thinking in terms of solidarity. Thus the natural response to the Chinese government’s authoritarianism and repression is punishment or sanction, with little regard for how it might affect ordinary Chinese people.

- And second, the punitive approach is so dominant in the American political culture and policy discussions (as has also been in the case with respect to e.g. crime and terrorism) that alternative non-punitive approaches are rarely considered viable or endorsed.

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¹ Laura Silver et al., “In U.S. and UK, globalization leaves some feeling ‘left behind’ or ‘swept up’,” Pew Research Center, October 9, 2020, https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2020/10/05/in-u-s-and-uk-globalization-leaves-some-feeling-left-behind-or-swept-up/

² Tobita Chow, “Don’t assume Russia and China are on the same page. The US can work with China,” The Guardian, June 8, 2021


⁴ Laura Silver et al., “In U.S. and UK, globalization leaves some feeling ‘left behind’ or ‘swept up’.” Pew Research Center, October 9, 2020, https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2020/10/05/in-u-s-and-uk-globalization-leaves-some-feeling-left-behind-or-swept-up/


⁹ Tobita Chow and Jake Werner, “Don’t assume Russia and China are on the same page. The US can work with China,” The Guardian, April 4, 2022, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/apr/04/us-china-relationship

¹⁰ Laura Silver et al., “In U.S. and UK, globalization leaves some feeling ‘left behind’ or ‘swept up’.” Pew Research Center, October 9, 2020, https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2020/10/05/in-u-s-and-uk-globalization-leaves-some-feeling-left-behind-or-swept-up/
THE PROCESS

The canvassers were trained to follow the procedure and script structure below:

1. Establish contact and build rapport
   Determine if the person is home, and then ask “how are you doing today?” This opening serves as a temperature check to get a sense of what people might be bringing into the conversation. This also helps building rapport and keeping the person on the phone.

2. Elicit view on US-China cooperation
   The canvasser asks the person for their opinions on US-China cooperation. To capture the complexity of opinions, the canvasser asks the person to put themselves on a 0-10 scale. When it comes to shared global issues that affect us all, such as Covid and Global Climate Change, the US and China should:

3. Narrative exchange
   The canvasser shares a story that underlies the following themes:
   • Migration | e.g. stories about people of Chinese or other Asian descent, the struggles of immigrant communities and people of color, etc.
   • Cooperation and care | e.g. stories about US-China cooperation in scientific research, global health, climate change, and so on.
   • Human costs of conflict and confrontation | e.g. stories about the impact of the US-China trade war, geopolitical conflicts and sanctions that happened in other parts of the world.
   The goal is to build emotional connection and ground the conversation in personal stakes and shared values. The canvasser also invites the person to share their story.

4. Make the case
   The canvasser reiterates why they are canvassing and why they hope the person would become more supportive of US-China cooperation. This section usually requires the canvasser to describe concretely the benefits of US-China cooperation based on the stories exchanged in the previous step.

5. Process cognitive dissonance and opinion change
   The canvasser notes any contradictions in the person’s opinions and talks through them. For example, a canvasser might say: “It sounds like on the one hand you think that cooperation with China is important and on the other hand you think that to cooperate with China is to excuse its abuses. What is on your mind now that we have been talking?” The goal is to explicitly raise any internal contradictions and attempt to resolve them.

6. Encourage active processing
   The conversation ends with the canvasser asking the person if and why the conversation moved them on the 0-10 scale. Rehearsal of opinion change has been shown to facilitate active processing and increase the persistence of attitude changes.

WHAT WORKED

Our deep canvass conversations suggest that though these anti-China narratives have broad appeal in the ordinary public, their grip is not powerful. A hopeful future that is built on international cooperation is attractive to people.

To move people toward this vision requires understanding, empathy, and patience in allowing people to see concretely for themselves how they fit into this future.

Deep canvassing is the approach that enabled us to accomplish that in this project. The cornerstones of deep canvassing as a persuasion tool involve:

• non-judgmentally soliciting views and asking follow-up questions about people’s experiences, and
• sharing narratives about personal experiences with the issue that reinforce values relevant to the issue.

Deep canvassing promotes active processing and participation in a conversation which increases openness to engaging with alternative viewpoints.

As a persuasion tool, the emphasis on sharing narratives in deep canvass conversations allows people to move beyond surface-level discussion, i.e. exchanging and repeating the talking points of political leaders.

RESULTS

OF THOSE NOT ALREADY STRONGLY IN FAVOR OF “INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION”

Movement Rate (moved 1 point on scale)
48%

Persuasion Rate (moved 3 or more points on scale)
45%

To move people toward this vision requires understanding, empathy, and patience in allowing people to see concretely for themselves how they fit into this future.
WHAT WORKED (CONTINUED)

Start by understanding what experiences animate people’s views and perspectives.

Research shows that people form political opinions from an emotional place.¹² To address the underlying emotional sources of political commitments, canvassers were trained to ask people follow-up questions such as “can you tell me why you feel this way?” or “how did you come to that understanding/view/perspective…?” These follow-up questions often lead the other person to share their personal experiences.

“We found statements like “China is stealing American jobs and technologies” express anxieties about economic precarity that are often well-grounded in personal experiences. We made calls to Janesville, Wisconsin where a General Motors factory closed in late 2008, eliminating thousands of jobs and uprooting many.”¹³ We talked to a man who initially expressed deep skepticism and resistance to engage in the conversation.

The canvasser asked about his experiences, and he then opened up about his grief over his shattered community. With the emotional connections built up, the canvasser then expressed deep skepticism and resistance to engage in the conversation.

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Start by understanding what experiences animate people’s views and perspectives.

Elicit and share stories that humanize people of Chinese descent, and appeal to a shared longing for belonging and safety.

Our canvassers of Asian descent demonstrated extraordinary courage in their conversations. They shared over the phone how they lived in fear in the past two years, and how they were concerned about the safety and wellbeing of their loved ones amidst the wave of anti-Asian attacks. We found that people generally empathize with the experiences of people of Chinese or other Asian descent.

We also found that people are receptive to stories of ordinary people’s resistance in China against government censorship and repression, and they appreciated hearing stories about activists, organizers, grassroots organizations in China that tackle global issues like climate change and the pandemic. These stories on one hand affirm valid criticisms about the Chinese government, and on the other, help differentiate Chinese people from their government.

Beyond stories about people of Chinese or Asian descent, we found stories about the struggles of immigrant communities and people of color were also effective. Even stories that underline the themes of migration or not fitting in at some point in life also help build empathy and move people toward cooperation. Stories that express the yearnings for belonging and safety.

We found that connecting local climate change disasters with the need for deeper US-China cooperation can be compelling, particularly among farmers and people living in rural communities.

For instance, we used the examples of how extreme weather events in Wisconsin has weakened the state’s dairy industry, and how US and China could share technology and science to address climate change, which bring palpable benefits for Wisconsin dairy farmers.

In addition, to move people out of cynicism and despair—conditions under which authoritarian populism thrives—striking a hopeful note and inviting people to imagine a better future can be effective.

Connect “global” to “local” and invite people to imagine a better and cooperative future that yields tangible benefits.

To persuade people who feel “left behind” or “swept up” by globalization, they must be able to see that global cooperation would yield concrete and tangible benefits to their lives and their communities.

To do this, our canvassers used past examples of the US-China cooperation in scientific research, global health, infrastructure, and other areas.

We found that connecting local climate change disasters with the need for deeper US-China cooperation can be compelling, particularly among farmers and people living in rural communities.

For instance, we used the examples of how shifting temperatures and unprecedented extreme weather events in Wisconsin has weakened the state’s dairy industry, and how US and China could share technology and science to address climate change, which bring palpable benefits for Wisconsin dairy farmers.

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Eira
Canvasser for Justice in Global
"I’ve worked in the foreign policy world for the last few years, where the general consensus is that the U.S.-China bilateral relationship is the most important of the 21st century. But I noticed that much of the conversation about China took place over exclusive lunch and dinner roundtables, where intelligence officers and political leaders were often insulated from the concerns of everyday Americans. That’s what motivated me to find out what people really want to see from the U.S.-China relationship, and understand how a healthy relationship could materially benefit their lives.

What I heard on the phone convinced me that people with wildly diverse political views generally want the same things: affordable groceries, good jobs, and a peaceful world free from the threat of nuclear war. People do understand that we can best meet those needs by playing a constructive, rather than destructive, role in international relations. These conversations have been an important reminder that our foreign policy can be rooted in the needs of all our citizens if we’re brave enough to imagine a world of greater cooperation."

Prayuj
Canvasser for Justice is Global

"These conversations have been an important reminder that our foreign policy can be rooted in the needs of all our citizens if we’re brave enough to imagine a world of greater cooperation."

"I spent most of the 2010s living as a debate coach in China, which meant I watched a lot of our current political chaos develop from afar. Over that time, I noticed that even my debate friends back home had begun to question whether, in a climate of extreme partisanship, persuasion was still possible. So when I started calling people to talk about US-China relations, I worried that the combination of nationalist and partisan divides would prove intractable.

Instead, my conversations revealed a unity of feeling all this talk of division tends to cover up: anxiety and anger about growing material precarity, institutional decay, constant conflict, and leaders who spend their time hunting scapegoats—other parties, other countries—instead of working together to address the crises hurting us all. This emotional core is the basis from which a more just global future can and must be built."

James
Canvasser for Justice is Global

WHAT WORKED (CONTINUED)

Elicit and share stories of how great power conflict hurts people.

Many of those we spoke to shared stories of how they were being negatively impacted by geopolitical conflicts and confrontations.

We learned that many in rural Wisconsin felt hurt by Trump’s tariffs and trade war with China. People had to throw out crops because of Trump’s trade war with China. Small business owners couldn’t do anything about their shipment stranded in the middle of the Pacific due to the sudden rollout of Trump tariffs. Expats had built a life in China, but had to leave because of the rising US-China tension. One member of the US military worried about his friends stationed in the South China Sea while reading about the growing tensions between the US and China in the Asia-Pacific region.

Stories not specifically about the current US-China conflict can also illuminate the human cost of great power confrontation. We found that particularly for those who lived through the Cold War nuclear scare, the nuclear anxiety is still very palpable. Ironically, these are the same people who initially expressed nostalgia for the “good old days” of the Cold War when “America was unchallenged.”

Affirm valid criticisms about the Chinese government, but ask people to think about whether crudely punitive measures would necessarily lead to desired outcomes.

The belief that punishment is the only response to wrongdoing is dominant in our political culture. However, our deep canvass conversations suggest that it is possible to help people examine and challenge the punitive framework.

To do this, some level of trust needs to be established in a conversation. Many people were able to see the limitation of punitive approaches after being asked by the canvassers if further confrontation with China is likely to lead to even more repression and human rights abuses.

The same strategy worked for those who initially said China should be punished for not siding with the West on the war in Ukraine. In the similar vein, we also found sharing stories about the human cost of sanctions in other parts of the world such as Cuba and Iran worked well, too.
Here is how our strategies work step by step in a conversation when someone says:

“I don’t think we should work with China. They’ve stolen American jobs. We need to bring back those jobs and make things in America again.”

STEP 1: AFFIRM their grievances about economic dysfunctions, ELICIT their lived experiences and EMPATHIZE:
I hear you and I understand that you’re feeling anxious about the economy. I am too. [Instruction: share your own story and your economic concerns] … Have you experienced something like that?

STEP 2: ASK them to think about the connection between our economies, and whether severing that connection would produce the desired outcome.
I hear you saying that you think reduced cooperation with China might help improve the American economy. Why do you think these companies set up production in China instead of here in America? I worry that even if we stopped trading with China, these companies would be more likely to move to another country where labor is similarly cheap (i.e. India, Vietnam, Mexico) rather than return to America. What do you think about that possibility?

STEP 3: SHARE and ELICIT stories about the downsides of confrontation.
I know you share my hope for a future where economic security and opportunity is shared fairly. But the question is “how do we get there”? I don’t think confrontation is the answer. In the last few days, I talked with a number of wheat and dairy farmers who were heavily impacted by our most recent trade war with China. One farmer told me he had to throw out his crops because the demand declined drastically. These things have ripple effects across our economy and community. Do you know anyone with similar experiences, or if disruptions to trade have affected you and your community?

STEP 4: INVITE them to imagine alternative solutions and a brighter future.
I think that a lot of politicians have been playing the blame game rather than really working to address the problems in our economy. Blaming China might make us feel better, but it’s not going to rebuild our infrastructure, fund our schools, or make healthcare and housing affordable. Many people in China share similar struggles; they also worry about how the economy affects themselves and their families. How would you feel if the US and China were to work together on economic agreements that benefit working people in both countries?

STEP 5: MAKE THE CASE for cooperation and close the conversation.
Thank you for talking with me. I think it’s fair to have concerns about jobs and the economy, but ending cooperation with China won’t produce the positive outcome that we want and might actually hurt us. These problems can only be resolved if both governments prioritize their people’s interests and work together. If these two governments stop cooperating, I think that it is the working people, both here and in China, who will be hurt the most. Do you agree with that?

NEXT MOVES
Defending democracy and fighting right-wing authoritarianism will require the strength of a broad, well-organized multi-racial, multi-class base.

Our work that counters anti-China messaging, though only addressing one piece of the puzzle, illuminates strategies that apply to the larger fight.

Our deep canvass conversations show that strategies that intend to build solidarity across different segments of the population must start from a place of compassion and understanding of the genuine grievances of many people. And then provide an alternative vision of a future that includes themselves and everyone else. Quite a bit of convincing will be required. Our deep canvass conversations suggest we can get there.

We intend to build upon what we learned and share our strategies with other organizations and campaigns who see the urgency to counter the growth of anti-China politics and are concerned with the survival of democracy.

IF YOU’RE A CANDIDATE OR ELECTED OFFICIAL, check out our website for more info and talking points about China. Please consider taking our candidate pledge.

IF YOU’RE AN ORGANIZATION DEFENDING DEMOCRACY AND WORKING FOR PROGRESSIVE CHANGE, we’d love to talk to your staff or endorsed candidates about global cooperation and anti-China politics.

IF YOU’RE A GRASSROOTS ACTIVIST, join us!
We’re conducting ongoing projects and campaigning to deflate the sails of right-wing movements.

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