Resist, Persist, and Transform:

The Emergence and Impact of Grassroots Resistance Groups Opposing the Trump Presidency

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Abstract

The November 2016 election sparked the creation of thousands of local groups committed to resisting the new Trump administration and Republican Congress. Our paper uses online surveys and interviews as well as evidence from fieldwork and web searches to analyze the development, demographics, and activities of such groups operating since late 2016 in eight non-metropolitan counties in four states as well as in dozens of cities, towns, and suburbs spread across the state of Pennsylvania. Local groups were founded through friendships and social media contacts and most of their members and leaders are middle-class white women. Often networked across states and regions, grassroots resistance groups have reached out to surrounding communities and generated and supported new candidates for local, state, and national offices. During the 2018 midterms and beyond, they are challenging and often remaking the Democratic Party at the local level.

Word Count: 142

With polls predicting a win for America's first female president, excitement built with the approach of Election Day, November 8, 2016. On October 20, "Pantsuit Nation" was launched as an invitation-only Facebook group coordinated by Libby Chamberlain, a college counselor based in Maine who wanted a site where members, overwhelmingly women, could share joyful anticipation (Correal 2016, Ohlheiser 2016). Some 2.5 million people quickly signed up, often posting pictures of mothers and daughters dressed in pantsuits. On Election Day itself, people posted emotional accounts of heading to the polls. And in Rochester, New York, people stood in long lines to plaster their "I Voted" stickers on the grave of Susan B. Anthony (Achenbach 2016, with picture by Adam Fenster).

But hours later the euphoria came crashing down – when Hillary Clinton fell short in the Electoral College and Donald Trump won the presidency. Suddenly, Pantsuit nation members plunged into mourning and anger, reaching out to connect with one another in order to organize and push back. Within days, proximate posters began setting up local community-oriented pages in particular cities, counties, and states, and many started to announce times and places for *Pantsuiters* and their contacts to meet face to face.

As they reached out locally, Pantsuit members and others shocked by the election also responded to a national call. On November 9, Pantsuit member Theresa Shook suggested a women's march on Washington (Chenoweth and Berry 2018). An immediate positive response encouraged her to announce the "Million Women March" event, which got more than 10,000 RSVPs overnight (Stein 2017). Ideas for this event spread on Twitter and through newly established local groups, even before it was formalized as the Women's March on Washington organized by Bob Bland, Tamika Mallory, Carmen Perez, and Linda Sarsour (Kearney 2016). Bus caravans were organized wide and far, and on January 21, 2017, the day after Donald Trump

was inaugurated, hundreds of thousands of protestors, overwhelmingly women, descended on Washington DC; and companion marches happened that day in more than 600 additional cities located across the country in conservative as well as liberal states (see map in Frostenson 2017). In total, an estimated 4.2 million people joined women's marches that day, creating the largest mass demonstration in U.S. history (Chenoweth and Pressman 2017). Following the marches, clusters of women in thousands of communities across America carried on with forming local groups to sustain anti-Trump activism.

In late 2016 and early 2017, additional national resistance initiatives were also launched (see Appendix A). Pantsuit Nation participants lost their national framework weeks after the 2016 election, when the group's creator took the controversial step of signing a book deal and turning the organization into a nonprofit charity whose title could no longer be used by groups directly engaged in politics (Correal 2016, Tiffany 2016, Trotter 2016). Emerging local resistance groups had to look elsewhere – and many found inspiration, support and connections in other regional or national frameworks including the "Action Together" and "Suit Up" networks and above all the national "Indivisible" effort.

Indivisible got its start on December 14, 2016, when former Democratic Congressional staffers led by Ezra Levin and Leah Greenberg posted publicly in the Google Docs application a manifesto called *Indivisible: A Practical Guide for Resisting the Trump Agenda.* Drawing from their understanding of what Tea Party activists had done to push back from the right eight years earlier, the *Guide* spelled out exactly how local anti-Trump resisters could organize to spread political messages to their neighbors and contact the district offices of their members of Congress (Levin et.al. 2016, Bethea 2016, Criss 2017, and Levin, Greenberg, and Padilla 2017a). The *Guide* gave millions of people tips on what they could immediately organize to do locally

yet within a national framework – an important message for liberals long accustomed to looking to Washington DC for political leverage. Later, Levin and Greenberg told journalists that they were surprised at how quickly their *Guide* went viral on the Internet and how many responses they suddenly received from concerned citizens determined to organize all across the county (Tolan 2017; see also Brooker 2018). Media outlets including MSNBC (2017) spread the word, too. By March 2017, Indivisible was chartered as a Washington DC-based organization with a website offering practical tools, ideas, and an interactive national map of local entities sharing their contact information in every state and Congressional district.

Entities registered on the Indivisible map in the past and now are a mixed bag; not all of them are actual groups. Nevertheless, by mid-2017, listings on this map along with additional indications in many media venues revealed that organized resistance to the Trump administration's agenda had sunk popular roots in thousands of locally created and supported groups. Describing and analyzing the characteristics and activities of these widespread grassroots resistance efforts has been a challenge for scholars, because they are not part of any one big national organization, their participants are not flagged in national surveys, and their leaders and activities are only sporadically featured in the national media. In this article, we use innovative forms of data collection – via fieldwork in multiple states, interviews, online surveys, and tracking of the Facebook pages of local groups – to offer the first comprehensive description and analysis of grassroots resistance organizations formed from late 2016 in four states and dozens of communities across North Carolina, Ohio, Wisconsin, and (most extensively) Pennsylvania. Specifically, we ask: how did anti-Trump resistance groups form, grow, and sustain themselves at the local level from November 2016 to early 2019? Who formed and joined these groups and what have they done?

In the following sections, we first situate our research methods in relation to earlier studies in the new but growing scholarly literature on the anti-Trump resistance. Then we present our empirical findings about the individual characteristics of leaders and participants and about the structures, dynamics, and political impacts of the groups they have formed and sustained.

STUDYING THE RESISTANCE

The early burst of resistance activity following the election and inauguration of President Trump raised questions for researchers about who in the U.S. citizenry became active and whether their efforts would persist and have more than ephemeral effects on politics and public debates. Our approach to answering these questions departs in important ways from the focus and evidence other researchers have used to date.

From a National to a Cross-Local Focus

Prior to our research, much of what has been known about the anti-Trump resistance has come from journalistic reports, national organization websites, studies of participants in national marches, and interviews with the leaders of long-established or newly formed national organizations (Democracy Alliance 2017, James-Harvill 2017, and Vogel 2017). Media portrayals have featured black women or gun-protesting teenagers as the leading, most prominent resisters, while left-leaning progressives, including supporters of the Bernie Sanders organization "Our Revolution," are never shy about similarly anointing themselves the movement vanguard (e.g., James-Harvill 2017, Lennard 2017). On the more scholarly side, an important new edited collection called *The Resistance* (Meyer and Tarrow 2018) and a new book on the *American Resistance* by Dana Fisher (forthcoming 2019) both feature organizations like

those that shaped the manifesto of the January 2017 Women's March well as others such advocacy groups and national coordinating centers like national Indivisible.

Many observers and analysts thus presume that the anti-Trump resistance is manifested in urban-oriented mass marches and protests (as in Chenoweth and Pressman 2017, 2018) and sustained by new or longstanding progressive-left organizations with a national presence and extensive social media operations. The characteristics of resistance participants and groups have been inferred from the claims of national organizations or media portrayals of big city protests. We do not directly test or contest such nationally focused scholarship, but we do enlarge the focus by presenting evidence about locally operating grassroots resistance groups and their participants. Our research casts fresh light on geographically widespread contributions to the overall concatenation of anti-Trump efforts that have remade American civic life and politics since 2016. Understanding the local roots and full geographical scope of the resistance matters because the U.S. polity is a federation, where electoral and policy outcomes inevitably play out across many states and districts. American politics is not decided in big cities.

Political and Social Processes

Theoretically as well as empirically, scholarly understandings of the anti-Trump resistance shift when widespread local citizen organizing is examined. Research concentrated on street demonstrations and other mass public protests cannot not get at the heart of what makes recent electorally sparked popular upsurges in the United States so consequential. As we will document, grassroots resistance groups were built by citizens who found other like-minded people nearby. For those who set up and went to resistance meetings, attendance was about more than political engagement because it provided emotional support and community-based opportunities to connect, organize, and act at what they felt was a shocking moment for America.

Locally-formed bonds went hand in hand with connections to larger organized efforts like the DC or regional Women's Marches or Indivisible. This combination of local connection and nationally focused efforts created benefits for participants that have some resemblance to the reinforcing local and supra-local involvements found in traditional American voluntary membership federations (Skocpol 2003).

Like the grassroots side of the Tea Party eight years before (Skocpol and Williamson 2012), the current anti-Trump resistance began as an *electorally sparked movement.* Both Tea Party groups after 2008 and grassroots resistance groups after 2016 popped up in response to the election of a president and a co-partisan Congress that horrified and frightened citizens at the opposite end of a polarized U.S. political spectrum. This time around, the anti-Trump resistance could deploy more social media tools and could imitate tactics from the earlier Tea Party. In ways often similar to that earlier citizen effort on the right, current grassroots resistance mobilizations from the left combine *transformational organizing* to educate and train group members about ways to influence U.S. politics with *transactional mobilizing* to support volunteer participants emotionally and help them persist in civic engagement (Han 2014). For a lot of people, engagement in the anti-Trump resistance movement is not just politics, but also personally liberating and socially reinforcing. Our evidence documents the intertwined political and social processes at work in locally organized resistance groups.

How New Evidence Was Gathered

To document and analyze the grassroots resistance, we use newly collected data from groups voluntarily formed and operating in a range of localities from late 2016 through 2018. Our evidence speaks to the outlooks of leaders and participants and enables us to track the ongoing activities and impact of local group efforts in many places far from America's major

metropolitan centers or most liberal states. Of course, we cannot cover all such grassroots activity, because no one has assembled nationwide (or fully representative) data about grassroots resistance organizations. But we do have some telling cuts into the overall picture, through several kinds of recently collected data.

- Most basically, we draw on detailed longitudinal information about the origin, composition, activities, and evolution of ten local resistance groups in eight counties located outside of big cities, including two medium-city counties and two smaller counties apiece in different regions of North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin (see Appendix B for the list of counties, sites of a larger project covering a variety of trends and issues). In 2016, voters in all eight counties supported Donald Trump, but the medium-city-centered counties are swing areas. During initial visits to all counties in the spring and summer of 2017, we discovered ten active local resistance groups and were able to interview their leaders, attend meetings in some cases, and established ties through which, subsequently, many regular resistance group participants filled out online questionnaires. We have followed the groups' evolution through emails and subsequent site visits and (where we were granted access) have tracked their communications on Facebook pages.

- To develop a more complete portrayal of local resistance groups in cities and suburbs as well as smaller places, we also draw from responses to online questionnaires filled out by leaders of three dozen local resistance groups affiliated with a state-wide coordinating group called Pennsylvania Together. Leaders, in particular, were asked to fill out an

"organizational biography questionnaire" (see Appendix C). Not all leaders contacted by email responded, but leaders of thirty-six distinct local groups did respond – and fortunately those groups were located in communities of various sizes, social compositions, and political leanings, spread across sixteen Pennsylvania counties and nineteen congressional districts.

- We additionally draw data from online questionnaires (see Appendix D) filled out between July and October 2017 by 439 individual participants in local resistance groups, who provided feedback about their backgrounds, activities, and outlooks. We gathered 337 such responses from individual participants in the Eight Counties groups. In addition, we gathered 102 individual online responses from participants in the three dozen Pennsylvania resistance groups.

- Finally, we have also drawn preliminary findings from a short online surveys conducted in early 2019 with leaders of 84 groups across Pennsylvania, most contacted via the Pennsylvania Together network but others through various forms of leader-to-leader networking designed to harvest responses from as many counties as possible. Fifteen groups answered both our 2017 organizational questionnaire and this one, but most of the 2019 respondents lead additional groups. We have responses from one or more groups in thirty-nine of the 67 Pennsylvania counties, including counties of all sizes located in every part of the state. The brief questions we asked in the 2019 survey (see Appendix E) were meant to give us a picture of recent group developments, ties to the Democratic Party, and the activities of local resisters during the 2018 mid-term elections. We

similarly tracked the 2018 activities of groups in the Eight Counties through field visits, email exchanges, and Facebook pages.

To make sense of the rich information gathered in the above-listed ways, we use multiple methods of aggregation and analysis. For the questionnaire data about individual people, both leader-organizers and participants, we offer the traditional kinds of demographic summaries by gender, race, age, and occupation; and we also categorize the various types of reasons people gave for joining resistance efforts. Beyond such individual-level analyses, we use information from the organizational questionnaires to characterize group origins, activities, structures, evolution, and ties to other civic groups and the Democratic Party.

Importantly, we have also pulled together detailed time lines tracking the development of local resistance groups in relation to supra-local events and organizations. Juxtaposing local and national timelines offers many insights into the interplay of resources and forces that allowed grassroots resistance groups to emerge and spread so quickly after November 8, 2016. As the chronology in Appendix A shows, important national and regional resistance projects were launched in late 2016 and early 2017. But how did they affect citizens across America? We have found temporal analysis of parallel national and local time lines to be a very valuable method to get a handle on the complex, loosely coupled interplay of local and national initiatives that are propelling the overall anti-Trump resistance.

WHO PARTICIPATES IN THE GRASSROOTS RESISTANCE – AND WHY?

We begin with the women and men who have established and joined organized local resistance groups. Observations, questionnaires, and interviews help us understand who

organized and joined local groups and why they did it, often devoting large amounts of time and energy to these efforts.

The Social Characteristics of Grassroots Resisters

According to responses to our online individual questionnaires (see Appendix D) – and what we see with our own eyes when attending local meetings around the country – most participants in resistance groups are middle-aged or older white college-educated women. Our largest set of individual responses comes from participants in the pro-Trump counties who fit a consistent profile. Nine of every ten are women, and our field observations suggest that male members of local groups are often husbands or partners of the female members. Furthermore, the leadership teams for groups found in the eight counties are either all-female or (in two instances) include a woman teamed up with one or two men.

Nine of ten respondents report their race as white (compared to 8% who identified as nonwhite and two percent who do not indicate a category); and the respondents are even whiter than the surrounding populations in these overwhelmingly white non-big city areas. As for age, these resisters are mostly older adults ranging upward from their 30s into their retirement years (plus one 19-year old). The overall median age is 55 years. And they are highly educated people, with 37% reporting college degrees and another 46% holding advanced post-graduate degrees. Some of these participants are retired. Among both retirees and those still at work, the most frequent occupations cited are school teacher or university professor; health care positions; work in retail or human services jobs; and business management positions.

To determine if these results were atypical because the eight pro-Trump counties are relatively conservative places, we analyzed 102 additional individual questionnaire responses collected in mid-2017 from participants in groups across Pennsylvania, including greater

Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. These 102 respondents fit the same profile: 94% are white, 85% are college educated or above; their median age is 61 years; and the overwhelming majority are retired from or actively engaged in middle-class occupations. We did not find any important variations by the size of community. Our confidence in the demographic portrait reported here is further reinforced by the fact that other analysts have reported very similar findings about resistance participants across America (see Han and Oyakawa 2018; Putnam and Skocpol 2018; Shulevitz 2017; Tesfeye 2017).

Why Local People Became Active

Beyond demographics, our questionnaire returns provide vivid insights into the political leanings and motives of people who have joined local resistance groups. Given that many got involved out of frustration about Trump's election, it is hardly surprising that most of our respondents identify themselves as liberals or progressives (and are taking part in a larger upsurge of activism among such citizens; see Clement, Somashekhar, and Chandler 2017). Among a total of 412 individual respondents (from the eight counties plus the three dozen Pennsylvania groups) who indicated their political leanings on our questionnaires, 252 called themselves "strong Democrats;" 64 said they "leaned" Democrat; 67 claimed to be "Independent, near Democrat"; and eight adopted the sole label "Independent." Three said they were Republican independents or leaners, while eighteen said they were supporters of other parties. More than nine of every ten, in short, identified as Democrats in some sense.

More interesting are the reasons people give for resistance activism. Many respondents predictably report that they felt a sudden jolt from the electoral returns. "After the election," explained one resister, "I was devastated by the results. I decided I wasn't going to sit back and do nothing. I wanted to take my country back." This explanation is, in fact, quite parallel to the

reasons Tea Party activists gave for becoming newly active eight years earlier, following a presidential election and inauguration that left them equally determined to "take back" the America they thought they knew (Skocpol and Williamson 2012, ch. 2). Clearly, national elections with results that surprise or enrage many people can kick start political activism by large numbers of Americans in all fifty states and many localities.

[Table 1 and Figure 1 about here]

Yet grassroots resisters cite reasons beyond Trump's win for their heightened engagement. In interviews and online questionnaires, we asked both leaders and participants "Why did you decide to get involved? What do you hope to achieve?" Table 1 provides a typical sampling of the word-for-word answers we got from people in North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. Figure 1 aggregates the various types of reasons people cited, coding each person's response for all of the types of reasons he or she invoked. We used the following six categories: opposition to Trump, need to act personally/become a more active citizen, saving/improving the country and American democracy, finding community/working with like-minded others, electing democrats/new people/progressives, and help/speak for the less privileged.

Drawing on all of our questionnaire returns, Figure 1 classifies the 765 reasons given by 436 of our respondents, revealing that the most commonly cited motives for getting involved were concern for the wellbeing of the country and American democracy and an individually felt need to take action. As several of the responses quoted in Table 1 illustrate, respondents often blended these reasons in their answers, invoking an intense worry about America's public wellbeing in the wake of the November 2016 election along with a heightened sense of personal responsibility for "being a true citizen of the U.S," doing more than just vote and passively

follow events. Shocked by the 2016 election results, many of these respondents seem determined to take personal responsibility, heeding Barack Obama's oft-quoted call to citizen action: "We are the ones we have been waiting for."

Many resisters also placed high value on camaraderie and joint action with other local people who share their views and want to join forces to create "strength in numbers." Social ties formed in local resistance groups and projects are crucial, as we have learned. Leaders and participants who did not previously know one another told us they have become close friends while working together in these groups. This dynamic can have a downside, of course; if one friend pulls back, that can reduce the other's motivation. Yet at the same time, as the months have passed, people often tell us that they are remaining involved despite feelings of burnout, precisely because they value the fellowship. As one female co-leader in North Carolina put it in an email to the authors explaining why she is sticking with her group while another exhausted leader pulled back, "Working with our community makes me happy. I grow appreciative of the interconnectedness we share. I learn about myself and my world. Indivisible members have been a great blessing to me." Attachments to fellow participants were apparent in many questionnaire responses. As we suggested earlier, the grassroots resistance has created and reinforced interpersonal social ties in the course of drawing volunteer citizens into new levels of activism.

THE FOUNDING AND SPREAD OF LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

To cast light on exactly how local citizen organizers connected with one another and pulled resistance organizations together, Table 2 summarizes key parts of the timelines we have assembled for the ten grassroots groups operating since late 2016 or early 2017 in our eight pre-Trump counties. The first column indicates how participants in local organizing teams met and

started working together, and the second column provides the dates, locations, and attendance estimates for the founding organizational meetings. Summarizing a more complex set of factors, the third column summarizes what local group leaders told us about their use of supra-local resources and the inspirations they took from regional or national organizations – including the Pantsuit Nation site, Indivisible, and the Democratic Party, among others.

[Table 2 about here]

Some striking patterns are apparent. Cooperative sets of two to five leader-initiators (mostly women) launched these grassroots resistance groups in each county. Tellingly, in most cases members of the leadership teams did not all previously know one another. Some pairs of longstanding friends got involved, but many team members met for the first time in the process of organizing their groups, and only after that became close friends. Local leaders and founding participants often met for the first time *after* they individually joined online groups or started to participate in regional or national resistance projects. In many accounts, we see the importance of Pantsuit Nation's shift from a celebratory national Facebook site to a connector of members living close to one another who wanted to meet to share despair and anger and move toward organized resistance. We also see instances of would-be organizers coming together as they planned for – or traveled by bus to – the Women's March on January 21, 2017. The Women's March was essential for the development of member ties in many cases as it provided opportunities to socialize and establish shared connections locally.

Two of these grassroots groups split off from previously formed larger organizations or networks. But in all of the originally created groups leaders started becoming active right after November 8 and moved during late 2016 toward connecting with one another and making organizational plans. Founding meetings for the groups happened from late November 2016 to

late February. Well before the spring of 2017, these groups in the eight pro-Trump counties were all up and running, with leaders, plans, projects, Facebook pages, and often periodic newsletters.

We found that most local groups had founders and participants who, early on, took some inspiration and tactical advice from the *Indivisible Guide* – especially when it was widely disseminated as a Google doc from December 2016 through early 2017. However – and this is an important finding – our comparison of national and local timelines suggests that much of Indivisible's impact on local resistance organizing may have occurred long *before* the national political advocacy organization was legally incorporated in March of 2017. What is more, much of the impact seems to have occurred before the new national organization amassed a large budget and built up a paid staff of dozens of DC staffers and regional organizers. In the early weeks, "Indivisible" was just the *Guide* offering ideas and inspiration, letting people who read it in communities across America see how they could immediately organize locally to engage in nationally consequential activities such as contacting the local offices of Congressional representatives. Our findings suggest that the *Guide's* early moral and tactical inspiration – conveyed through the Internet and advertised on MSNBC cable news and by national publications such as *The Nation* – may have been what mattered most to the formation of the cross-local resistance. The spur to local action the *Guide* offered may have been just as important, or more important, than any formal support Indivisible as a professionally run advocacy organization has offered since it became legally incorporated as a 501(c)4 starting in March 2017. Similarly, the relationships formed through *Pantsuit Nation* Facebook group were established long before the group's creator de-politicized the group by establishing it as a nonprofit. If our tracking of groups in the eight pro-Trump counties is any indication, most of the

local resistance groups registered and linked on the Indivisible map or affiliated with Suit Up were probably well under way well before national staffs were set up.

How Widespread is Resistance Organizing?

A final issue for this section has to do with the geographic scope of grassroots organizing in the anti-Trump resistance movement. Given the geographical realities of partisan polarization in U.S. politics today, we wondered at the onset of this research whether local resistance groups would tend to cluster in the most liberal states and in the more liberal cities and college towns of conservative "red" states. But that is not what we find. Similar grassroots groups have emerged all over the United States, in and across every state. Since early 2017, the interactive U.S. map on the national Indivisible website has listed and linked to thousands of local resistance sites, and Indivisible's national leaders say they are in touch with at least one group in every Congressional district. And we do not just take the word of this map (which does include many links to entities that are not actual groups), because we have been able to juxtapose current locations of resistance groups identified through more extensive web searches as well as from the Indivisible map with the locations of Tea Parties founded after 2008. Our basic Tea Party data was obtained from Skocpol and Williamson (2012, Figure 3.1, p. 91) and then supplemented by additional web searches for any additional Tea Parties existing at any point since 2009. Our mapping efforts are time-consuming and ongoing, but we have developed overviews for North Carolina and Pennsylvania, as displayed in Figure 2.

[Figure 2 about here]

The state of North Carolina has 100 counties, and we have uncovered one or more Tea Parties in forty-six counties, compared to one or more resistance groups in 52 counties. Crucially, both Tea Parties and resistance groups have been organized all across the state: Thirty-

two North Carolina counties have had both types of groups, and resistance groups formed since 2016 have been located (and mostly still are) in 52 counties spread from east to west, north to south. Counties far from the bluest liberal areas of North Carolina have resistance groups at work The same is true across Pennsylvania's 67 counties. Both local Tea Parties and grassroots resistance groups have been organized in forty-three Pennsylvania counties, nearly two-thirds of them. And the statewide spread of resistance groups is striking; so far, we have located one or more of them in more than three-quarters of Pennsylvania counties, in a total of 52 of them.

From all indications, grassroots organizing in America's current anti-Trump resistance upsurge is not restricted to liberal states or to "blue enclave" areas where voters mostly support Democrats. Even in places where Democrats or liberals are a beleaguered minority, women and men stepped forward after November 2016 to speak out and band together in resistance groups, gaining some visibility in local media in the process (e.g., Griffin 2017, Rundio 2017, Shindledecker 2017). Indeed, we find many indications in our field visits, interviews, and questionnaire responses that centrist and liberal residents of conservative counties may have felt an even stronger need to come together than their counterparts in liberal-leaning areas. "In the community I live, especially" said one resident of a conservative Ohio county, "I hoped to share some thoughts with like-minded people – to feel a local connection." In the most conservative locales we visited, local resistance groups have taken pride in mounting public displays of their values – by supporting new candidates for public office, marching in Fourth of July parades, setting up booths at local fairs, and demonstrating in town centers about issues ranging from the Charlottesville killing to the separation of immigrant children from their parents at the southern U.S. border (e.g., Bailey 2017, Wilshire 2017). In one such county, interviewees told us that their local resistance group responded to a request for support from local high school students, who

organized a public protest against lax gun laws in the wake of the February 14, 2018 shootings at Florida Parkland High School. That group helped give young people courage to speak out amidst a sea of gun owners and Second Amendment enthusiasts.

GROUP STRUCTURES AND ACTIVITIES

Social movements are more than the sum of individual participants, no matter how widespread. They are also congeries of interrelated organizations that mount collective activities, so researchers need to understand those organizations themselves.

Resistance group launches depended on the interplay of interpersonal networks and internet-based social media connections. Specifically, users of the Pantsuit Facebook site who were upset by Trump's 2016 victory were able to find each other, connect, and plan in-person local meetings through the explosion in specialized Facebook groups following the election. Facebook's platform for open communication via the sharing of direct website links and news article postings allowed Pantsuit Nation members and their followers to see and read about the emotional and political responses to the election. In turn, self-appointed local leaders could use Facebook's tools to form groups on their own rather than standing down as Pantsuit Nation shifted away from overt political activity.

As local groups organized, Facebook's format lent itself well to the desires and capabilities of the majority groups whose members we surveyed. Participants could connect with others online as well as face to face; and online connections are especially valuable for retirees, mothers, and others who need to stay at home or miss meetings. Social media has also been a major tool to connect members to one another and inform them about news, resources, and educational opportunities. As one leader explained, "we use Facebook for group discussion,

sharing letters or call to action requests and event announcements." At least three-quarters of the grassroots resistance organizations surveyed in this project have used the sharing and communication capabilities of Facebook to develop or expand membership and deepen membership engagement. Facebook also allows multiple groups to co-host events, creating a digital map of the many ways in which local resistance groups ally with other groups in marches, voter drives, and educational programming. "We have a very active Facebook page with over 650+ members," one leader reported, and "we use it for a weekly call" to take actions.

While local groups took their first steps toward formalization – by holding founding meetings, setting up Facebook pages, and working out network affiliations – members were simultaneously organizing for instant political action. The start of the Republican-dominated Congress and Trump's presidency left resisters feeling that they had to contend with many emergencies at once. Because so many U.S. Congressional and state legislative districts are highly gerrymandered to parcel parts of cities and counties into separate jurisdictions, local resistance groups founded in natural communities soon realized they had to learn jurisdictional codes and establish teams or subgroups to make regular visits and direct phone calls and mailings to multiple legislative office. In a typical move, Action Together Stark in the Canton, Ohio area, set up separate teams for Districts 7 and 16, each led by one member of the overall leadership team. And in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, many Action Together members joined with compatriots from neighboring counties to send people each week to "Tuesdays with Toomey" visits at Republican Senator Tim Toomey's regional office.

Scholars who study civic engagement have found that the development of a division of labor and subdivision of tasks is a very effective way to encourage member participation and develop new citizen skills (Baggetta, Han, and Andrews 2013, Andrews et. al. 2010, Han 2014).

This is exactly the sort of thing that happened in most of the groups we studied as they gathered steam in 2017. In many cases, dividing up tasks was a natural step for these new groups to take, because participants arrived at -- initially frequent – face-to-face meetings with varied passions, skills, and issue priorities. Virtually all were horrified at threats they perceived from the Trump administration and the GOP Congress; and most wanted to fight to try to save the Affordable Care Act from repeal once Trump and the Congressional leadership made this a top 2017 priority. But beyond that, various subgroups of resisters cared most about the environment, or were especially determined to push for gerrymandering reforms, or were worried about education spending cutbacks at the local and state as well as national levels. Local leaders often told us that in the early weeks and months their groups defined certain group-wide priorities and, at the same time, set up task forces or subcommittees to focus on specific issue areas or to take charge of particular tasks or tactics. Maintaining internal communication thus also became a pressing priority – to let people know about events, meetings, and national developments. Communication was often formalized not just on group Facebook pages but through the regular dissemination of newsletters via email or Google docs

Almost every one of the several dozen groups we have followed devoted a lot of participant energy to the early year-long fight to save the Affordable Care Act. That fight was ideal for a combination of local organizing and national purpose, because it involved repeated critical junctures as each house of Congress took steps toward repealing or eviscerating the landmark 2010 law that extended health insurance coverage to millions of Americans. Resistance efforts on this front were especially intense and relentless during the spring and summer of 2017 – when local groups used tactics like letter writing and "post card parties," calls or visits to elected officials and their staffs at district offices, writing opinion pieces, and holding public

demonstrations and "die-ins" (for accounts, see Griffin 2017, Weigel 2017, Zremski 2017). Defending health reform was a common challenge around which disparate local resisters could organize, build ties, and hone skills. Members of grassroots resistance groups were engaged at all levels and quite intensely; and even as efforts across many places were nationally attuned, local networks of resisters could take steps to inform their neighbors and local news outlets about what the Affordable Care Act does and what would be lost if it were repealed. Because this "all hands on deck" struggle went on for quite some time, it taught local members and regional networks ways to engage the media and press their representatives on other issues.

Finally, the fight to block health reform repeal boosted the widespread resistance because it ended up "winning" in two important ways. Congressional votes to repeal the Affordable Care Act ultimately fell just short in the Senate, and grassroots efforts at least contributed to this outcome. Those efforts prodded the GOP Congress to keep trying different variants of repeal over many months. And they pushed Maine Senator Susan Collins to become one of three Republican senators who blocked repeal (Cassidy 2017; Levin, Greenberg, and Padilla 2017b). What is more, in a larger sense, during 2017 U.S. public support for the Affordable Care Act shifted from net negative to net positive (Kaiser Family Foundation 2018). Whether or not widespread local resistance agitation directly caused either the Congressional repeal failure or the shift toward more favorable public views of health reform, these coincidences were encouraging to resistance members. Vital lessons were learned about how to act locally to affect national outcomes.

THE QUESTION OF GROUP PERSISTENCE

Volunteer-led civic groups are often dismissed by political professionals who argue that they have trouble sustaining themselves without paid staffers or leaders. Volunteers can be passionate at first, the story goes, but soon burn out, decide to turn to other private or public endeavors, or undercut their group's effectiveness by falling into interpersonal feuds. Group meetings, moreover, are hard to schedule and sustain. In our ongoing research, we have made an effort to track local resistance groups, to discover whether most or many fall victim to such risks and to learn how those that have sustained themselves manage to do it.

After the rush of engagement in their first weeks and months, most of the groups we have followed met face to face less often – usually they convened about once a month. To keep going, many groups have developed divisions of labor to allow subcommittees or task forces to push forward with parts of their overall activities. By the fall of 2017, many groups faced a watershed as they moved on from efforts to save the Affordable Care Act to focus on other events or issues about which members were less uniformly passionate. At various points in their evolution, moreover, volunteer leadership teams experienced inevitable shifts. Perhaps one leader in a close-pair or team got burnt out or faced a family emergency – predictable sorts of developments that can leave volunteer leaders without accustomed partners and, as in many of the groups we have tracked, force a redesign of leadership roles and responsibilities. Some groups have suspended activities -- including one whose core participants simply shifted their commitments to other ongoing party and progressive efforts in their area. But most of the local resistance groups we have studied have kept going.

Although we have not found any single pattern of group evolution or any uniform formula for persistence, we can suggest some recurrent patterns. Longevity for these voluntarily

formed grassroots resistance groups does not seem dependent on exactly when or how groups formed in the first place; nor does it depend on their maintaining consistent ties to any regional or national network. Most groups in our study that formed in late 2016 or early 2017 have persisted ever since. Other groups formed by splitting from larger area organizations to become more convenient for a local cluster of resistance participants.

Local organizational persistence has not depended on the original leadership team remaining intact. But virtually all local groups have, sooner or later, had to revamp their original leadership teams – either to address shifting member interests or to surmount a crisis when a key leader pulls back or departs. Persistent organizations use such junctures as occasions to recruit new leaders. As the following vignettes suggest, some groups in our study have reacted to changing circumstances by redesigning activities, divisions of labor, leadership teams, and meeting formats:

- *From a Pennsylvania group leader:* "The original structure was a small handful of people making stuff up as we went along. Now we have captains in each congressional district, an IT guy, a person concentrating on state legislation, a blog master. And we're about to do some strategic planning which will result in a more developed team structure and decision-making system."
- *From a North Carolina group leader: "*We started out running for the first four months on "disgust," then focused on organizing for 'the long run' with a ten-person administrative committee that divided up responsibilities."
- *From an Ohio group leader: "*After the initial period, the group meets as a whole every three to four months, and otherwise works through "six issues groups" focused on

Diversity and Immigration, Women's Issues, Healthcare, Elections, Education, and Environment."

Our early 2019 Pennsylvania questionnaire results offer further insights on group persistence. Even with redistricting in that state, only one of the leaders who responded to our 2019 survey stated that an original organization had shuttered, while two said groups had merged. Men have reportedly taken on more leadership responsibilities. Despite more difficulty holding in-person meetings, groups continue to use Facebook and social media as well as email and newsletters to communicate with adherents. Various Pennsylvania groups have incorporated as nonprofits, and two have instituted regular dues to self-fund events or support phone banking or canvassing for favored candidates. Overall, our questionnaire results indication that the dozens of groups whose leaders responded plan to remain active at least through the 2020 elections.

ELECTORAL ACTIVITIES AND EVOLVING POLITICAL TIES

By early 2018 leaders of national organizations like Indivisible and the Women's March were calling for grassroots resistance groups to focus on upcoming primary and general elections (Alter 2018, Chenoweth and Pressman 2018, King, Hernandez, and Hughes 2018, North 2018). But evidence from our sources and many others suggests that most grassroots resistance groups had already incorporated electoral activities into their regular repertoires. Like the local Tea Parties headed into 2010, today's grassroots anti-Trump resistance groups take a "do everything" view of politics. To be sure, they stress policy campaigns such as defending health reform or pushing against Trump environmental roll-backs. Yet from early in their existence many groups have also looked ahead to the next rounds of elections.

Running for Office and Getting Out the Vote

Initially, explained one Pennsylvania leader, her group followed the *Indivisible Guide's* advice to agitate against Trump era policies, but eventually "we had so many people running for local offices we switched to an offense vs. defense approach where people could choose if they wanted to focus on resistance throughout the week or focusing on trying to help get [Democrats] elected." Early on, agreed another Pennsylvania group leader, it became clear that her group would do more than lobby against Trump initiatives. As she explained, "to make policy we had to govern and to govern we had to win elections. So, since we live in a very Democratic area, we are partnering with Red districts. We have 'adopted' a PA House race [in order to] to unseat the Republican as part of Turn PA Blue. We are also supporting Wolf and Casey with fundraisers, etc." In a more conservative area of North Carolina, meanwhile, the local resistance group mounted early and persistent efforts on behalf of a local doctor running to unseat the incumbent Republican representative in the U.S. Congress. A group in Ohio decided to prioritize collecting signatures on petitions to get an anti-gerrymandering referendum on the November 2018 ballot. Virtually everywhere, moreover, members of resistance groups attended workshops to learn about voter registration procedures in anticipation of mounting such outreach for future elections.

As trusted sources for information and spaces for civic engagement, resistance groups and networks were well positioned not just to get out the local vote but also to support candidates -- or even generate them from their own ranks. Especially in conservative areas where Democrats had simply ceded offices uncontested to the GOP, resistance candidates or supporters willing to go door-to-door helped put reform-oriented Democrats on the ticket for the first time in years. All of this started in 2017 and 2018 in special elections or state-level contests. From

then through the 2018 midterms, resistance groups mostly led by women played major roles in fueling Democratic victories or greatly improving the vote shares of Democratic candidates all over the United States (Bethea 2017, Hayes and Lawless 2017, Lewis-Kraus 2017).

Varied Relations with the Democratic Party

Our research has also probed the evolving relationships of grassroots resistance groups to local Democratic Party organizations – usually county organizations but also town or precinct organizations in more densely populated areas. Although more than nine of ten of their participants identified (more or less strongly) as Democrats, local anti-Trump resistance groups were originally organized independent of formal Democratic Party channels. In some localities we have studied, vibrant Democratic Party women's groups lent early encouragement – and sometimes the county party office was the site of an initial resistance organizing meeting. But in most places, local Democratic Party organizations were either moribund or unfriendly to the new organizers, leaving grassroots resistance groups and networks to take shape entirely on their own.

Tellingly, even resistance groups that originated with some help from local Democrats decided, like those founded on their own, to establish their own names and identities. Everywhere, local resistance leaders have told us that they see advantages in standing somewhat apart from the formal Democratic Party – either because this gives them greater freedom of political action on the "progressive" left or because their group includes some members who do not consider themselves Democrats. Especially in conservative areas, resistance groups see real advantages in presenting themselves as "concerned citizens" reaching out to neighbors and friends and co-workers who share worries about Trump and current U.S. policy directions but do not feel comfortable joining an openly partisan venture.

The desire of many resistance groups to organize somewhat apart from party structures resembles earlier Tea Party stances toward the GOP. Nevertheless, there may be a key difference. Tea Partiers have always operated to the right of the Republican Party, viewing themselves as stronger, truer "conservatives" pushing for a purified GOP whose candidates and officials would refuse to compromise with President Obama or Democrats (Parker and Barretto 2014, Williamson and Skocpol 2012). But today's grassroots anti-Trump groups and many of their members span a wider range from centrist to far-left. The outreach efforts undertaken by resistance groups are often aimed at middle-of-the-road fellow citizens, even disaffected Republicans, not only at liberals or progressives. Furthermore, in contrast to Tea Party pressure on the GOP to refuse any and all governing compromises, we do not see much evidence that local resistance groups outside of larger urban centers are pushing maximalist far-left stands, let alone insisting that Democrats shun all forms of compromise. In special elections, resistance participants were among those knocking on doors and getting out the vote to help elect moderate Democrats – including Connor Lamb in Pennsylvania's 18th Congressional District (Franke-Ruta 2018, Putnam 2018) and Doug Jones in the Alabama Senate contest (Bethea 2017).

[Figure 3 about here]

Relations between resistance and party organizations also matter. Figure 3 shows how leaders of three dozen Pennsylvania groups described their relationships with local Democratic parties in 2017. We arrayed their characterizations from "Tense or hostile" or "No relationship" to several degrees of engagement ranging from "Wary parallel efforts" to "Informal cooperation" to "Some jointly organized activities." According to our questionnaire respondents, much of the variation arose from the stances of local Democrats themselves. If Democrats in a given area were disorganized or hostile to newcomers, emerging anti-Trump resistance groups could not

readily work with them. Some places had many vacant precinct or committee posts and "old boy" Democratic chairs who viewed their skeletal county organizations as little more than arms of their own campaigns for endless re-election to local government positions.

Field visits to two counties apiece in North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin made it possible for us to explore resistance group ties to Democrats in greater depth. In one county, local Democrats were fragmented in 2017 and the county chairman rarely responded to anyone who tried to contact him; many county posts were vacant and some local Democratic leaders and officeholders had probably supported Donald Trump in 2016. Not surprisingly, new resistance groups got the cold shoulder from that county's Democratic Party, and in fact moved in 2018 to run their own candidates for party offices. At the opposite extreme, in other counties we visited in mid-2017, local parties were welcoming the new energy from resistance groups and had moved to co-sponsor events or initiatives with them. Across most counties, relationships between local parties and resistance groups initially fell between these extremes.

By early 2018, many local Democratic Party chairs and officials had adopted overtly friendly yet hands-off attitudes toward nearby resistance groups, allowing the two sides to push in the same direction during the 2018 midterms. At the same time, Democratic candidates for national or state offices often bypassed local parties to reach out directly to the resistance networks, eager to tap volunteer canvassers for their campaigns. We saw such direct ties between resistance groups and campaigns in Ohio and northeast Pennsylvania; and other observers have documented similar ties in other places (Frank 2019, Putnam 2018).

As 2018 marched on, relations between resistance groups and local and state Democratic parties remained stand-offish in some places, but became more cooperative in other places. Overall, 53 out of 77 locally focused Pennsylvania groups that responded to our 2019

questionnaire reported some degree of cooperation with Democrats; and seven groups explicitly mentioned that relations had improved in the past year. But tensions persisted in many places. Two groups reported that local Democratic offices only asked for their email list – emblematic of the desire of many party leaders to see resistance participants simply fall in line. Other leaders reported fierce push back from party regulars against resisters' efforts to back progressive candidates or win party leadership posts. At least seven groups described negative, tense, problematic, or challenging relationships with the Democratic Party. However, wary cooperation and conflicts often play out at the same time, as one Pennsylvania group leader described a not atypical account:

> Many of our members, especially board members and others on the planning committees, are simultaneous members in the democratic party (district members, local and state) and work with advisory groups for many democratic candidates, so we have our tentacles branched out into the democratic party... much to the chagrin of some who hold the power in the local party. Again, this is not so much about the candidates themselves (although there *are* a few that know we are working to replace them with progressive candidates), as it is the power structure within the democratic party itself. There is definitely a 'competitive' feel and some drama between us and the base of the party, but I feel this is understandable and a good sign that we are having an influence! We are the hardest group of workers during elections, and the [D]emocrats know it. The candidates we endorsed love us. We are bold and are not going away.

From our vantage point as research observers, party relations with resistance networks are deepening despite complex and shifting reactions on both sides. Whether relations are wary

or warm at any given juncture, the fact is that large numbers of resistance activists are running for and winning local and state Democratic Party posts – pushing an ongoing transformation that seems inexorable. In one Ohio county, for example, a resister ran for a state legislative office she did not win, and then agreed to become the new Democratic county chair with the blessing of an older incumbent who, only a year before, had regarded the upstart resistance in her area with trepidation. By early 2019, the outgoing county chair saw the value of the new activist energy and willingly handed the reins to her successor.

Meanwhile, in Pennsylvania elections to Democratic Party posts are held every four years; and the first such contests after 2016 happened in the spring of 2018, when resisters across the state ran for precinct posts and county and state committee slots. Data on the results must be collected county by county, an arduous process we are only starting to conduct. But preliminary indications from our field visits and questionnaires suggest many gains for newly installed local and state party leaders from resistance backgrounds. In larger counties, posts newly filled by resisters are clustered in particular precincts where grassroots anti-Trump groups have been active (Frank 2019, chapter 3). In smaller counties, party leadership and committee positions are few enough in number that resistance group members have been able to win all or most of them. In one rural county in the middle of Pennsylvania, resistance activists simply moved into the party. “We have become the local Democratic Party,” a leader responding to our questionnaire said, “at least its local leadership: the Chair, Secretary, and two of four District Representatives.” Conflicts will surely keep happening as resisters move into Democratic Party offices, but party organizations are likely to be strengthened in the process.

CONCLUSION

In this article, we have presented a rich array of new evidence about the founders, participants, structures and activities of local grassroots groups that popped into existence across many states and communities starting right after the November 2016 election. Like a parallel conjuncture in 2008, this grassroots, voluntary citizens' movement galvanized many Americans to step up their activism well beyond occasional voting – by setting up organized groups in their communities. Contrary to some national media portrayals, we find that most of the protagonists in this locally-rooted yet widespread resistance have been middle-class, higher-educated white women. Their efforts have not only sustained opposition to Donald Trump's presidency (Balz 2018), but have also encouraged a remarkable upsurge of female Democratic candidacies for state and national offices (Alter 2018, Carlsen and Liu 2018, Dittmar 2017, Hayes and Lawless 2017, Lewis-Kraus 2017). Today's female-led anti-Trump resistance represents a 21st-century reincarnation and updating of longstanding female citizen activism in American democracy (Carpenter and Moore 2014; Goss 2013)

Not until 2020 and beyond will scholars be able to assess the impact of the current anti-Trump resistance on the liberal end of the U.S. political spectrum, and determine whether the resistance impact is similar or different from the earlier impact of Tea Parties on the right. It also remains to be seen whether voluntary resistance groups will persist and forge new ties to Democratic organizations, candidates, and office-holders – enough to fashion a new "anchoring movement" (Schlozman 2015) for the 21st century Democratic Party. Whatever unfolds, our research so far suggests that movement sparked by the Trump election will not push U.S. liberal politics toward the uncompromising far left. The kinds of grassroots resistance groups we have discovered and studied do not espouse the sorts of purist ideological stances sometimes taken by

professionally run progressive advocacy groups. Grassroots groups have strong local connections, and their participants are closely engaged with candidates and officeholders with varied backgrounds and views. If these female-led voluntary groups persist as an important part of center-left politics in the United States, they are unlikely to further uncompromising ideological polarization. As before throughout American history, women's civic activism may revitalize democratic engagement and promote a new birth of responsive government in communities across the land.

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Table 1.

Reasons People Joined Grassroots Resistance Groups

Respondent	Response when asked: Why did you decide to get involved? What do you hope to achieve?
PA woman, age 62	"After the election, I was devastated by the results. I decided I wasn't going to sit back and do nothing. I wanted to take my country back. As a result, I attended the Women's March and I weekly make phone calls to senators and congressmen. I hope to become more active in being a true citizen of the U.S."
WI woman, age 59	"Upset over the election – be with like-minded people. Stop some of the GOP agenda."
OH woman, age 61	"Something needed to be done to save our democracy."
OH man, age 52	"Trump. Trump out."
OH woman, age 39	"I felt helpless in the wake of the election. In the community I live, especially, I hoped to share thoughts with like-minded people – to feel a local connection. I hope the conversation continues and our group can bring about positive change locally, statewide and be a part of a bigger picture change in the country."
NC woman, age 46	"I cannot sit on the sidelines while others try to tear down our country. I hope to help educate citizens [in] our red county that are frustrated to contact their representatives. I want to support local grassroots candidates to get elected to office."
WI woman, age 74	"Very concerned about the future of our country and planet after the election of a man who is a lot of bluster but no substance."
WI woman, age 60	"I decided to get involved because I can't just sit by and watch what is happening to our rights in this country without doing anything. I hope to help progressives get elected in future elections. I hope to bring attention to what the proposed changes in healthcare mean to the average American, and I hope to show future generations what is important and how to stand up for what is right, just, moral, and ethical."
NC woman, age 62	"I want a positive inclusive country."
NC woman, age 30	"I felt like my voice was not being heard. My family's interests were not going to be protected. I felt like my new 'president' was a dangerous lawbreaker. I felt like it was my responsibility to help the disenfranchised citizens who feel like I do."
OH woman, age 55	"I hope to be part of helping stop the madness that is taking over this country. Lying and hatred are becoming acceptable. Individual rights are being assaulted at every turn. I desperately want Congress to work together and stop the incessant partisanship that is paving the way for Trump to dismantle everything good that this country stands for."
OH woman, age 49	"To know other people shared my concerns and learn new ways that I can contribute my efforts, also to stay on top of all the information. To make a difference, strength in numbers."

Table 2.

When and How Grassroots Resistance Groups Formed in Eight Pro-Trump Counties

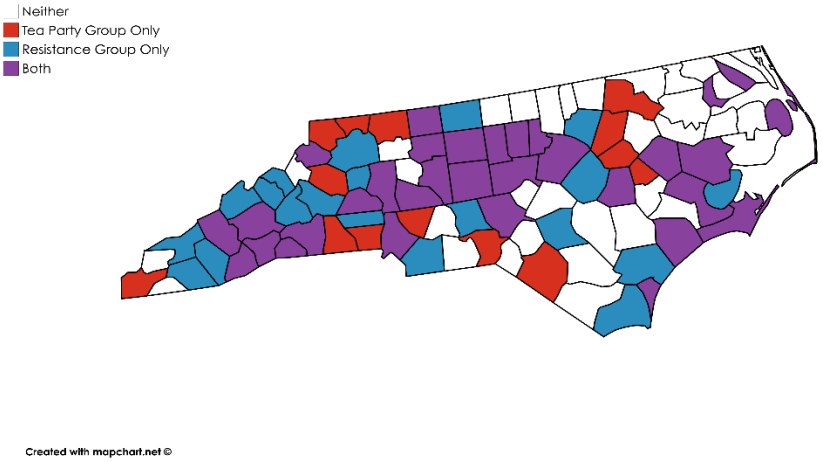
Group	Leader links	First in-person meeting	National/regional support or inspiration?
Indivisible Citizens of Catawba Valley	Four women who did not previously know each other planned group at late January county Democratic Party women's meeting.	Founding meeting of c. 60 on Feb 9, 2017 at local library in Hickory, North Carolina.	Local Dems, especially "Lady Dems" helped and overlap, but separate because not all are registered Dems. *Indivisible Guide* was passed out at Dem meeting. Democracy NC and Indivisibles North Carolina have also inspired, helped local group.
Suit Up Wilmington	Local woman in pair formed local Pantsuit group right after 11-8-16; met other at November county Democratic Party women's group meeting.	600 people were signed onto local Pantsuit Facebook group by Nov 10; local organizing meeting of 40-50 by late November 2016 at local restaurant.	Pantsuit Nation was inspiration; loose ties to other NC Indivisible groups and overlaps with local Democratic Party women's group. Two buses organized for DC Women's March. Ideas from both *Indivisible Guide* and Bernie's *Rules for Revolutionaries.*
Indivisible OH-12 East	Man was initiator; met others, esp. women professors, at first meeting. Links through local church and university.	First meeting of OH-12 "subgroup" 43 persons at local church announced in District 12 News for Feb 28, 2017.	Election spurred formation of Indivisible Ohio 12 from which this branch group became independent. Inspired by *Indivisible Guide.*
Strong Voices Rising	"Strong Moms Rising" grew out of mothers' group at local church, became "Strong Voices" when men joined.	Emerged "after the election" at local church.	Reaction to November 2016 election the main spur. Two leaders read the *Indivisible Guide.* Some activities and overlap with Indivisible OH-12 East.
Action Together Stark	Five initial leaders met via Pantsuit groups; two main leaders met at January 2017 Action Together meeting.	Late November 2016 by c.50 people at local library; created Facebook page with 106 immediate participants.	Pantsuit Nation; Action Together, *Nation* article, & *Indivisible Guide* offered tools. Group organized 350 for DC Women's March.
Indivisible We Rise – West Central PA	Initiator was a woman who bought bus ticket to DC March, met three other women; week later met with two others to plan group.	Meeting of c. 40 early Feb 2017 at local library.	Central PA trip to DC Women's March, plus *Indivisible Guide.*
Action Together NEPA – Luzerne Chapter	Two co-lead women met for first time at 11-12-16 "bitch session" meeting;	Forerunner 11-12-16 "bitch session" of women from Clinton campaign and Pantsuit Nation at local restaurant; NEPA organizer recruited Luzerne co-leads. Then recruited	Started as local "NEPA Pantsuit Nation" group; HRC campaign lists used for recruitment. Three buses went from Wilkes-Barre to DC Women's March and some members met then. *Indivisible Guide* was discussed and spread, inspiring to some, but tips known already to others. Helped "valorize" their local

		participants at December "Meet and Greet" at local restaurant. Formal start with 75 people at same restaurant after three buses went to January 2017 DC March.	contacting at representatives' offices. Listed themselves on Indivisible Map, but later decided to join Action Together until regional coordinator quit in Feb 2017. Later Action Together NEPA became 501c4.
Indivisible Hazelton	Founded mostly in name by three co-leaders, two from Clinton campaign plus local immigrant center leader.	Not clear any formal group meeting ever happened.	Co-heads cooperate with Action Together NEPA.
WI-03 Indivisible	Tomah woman doctor sent email to overlapping local liberal/progressive networks; co-leader in Sparta.	Tomah meeting of 16 people on **Feb 26-17** with both Tomah and Sparta participants.	"Basic inspiration" was Women's March. Group website says "we follow the *Indivisible Guide* and the *Resistance Manual."* Coordination for some events with Indivisible LaCrosse
Indivisible Winnebago WI	Ties in broader Fox Valley right after 11-8-16; two friends of four women leaders among those who went to January DC march.	Hived off from broader Valley group on Feb 11-17, with 25 people at local library; re-founded as an Indivisible group 3-26-17,	Pantsuit Nation in Nov 2016; then Forward Action Wisconsin Network early Jan 2017 (left in dispute re gender); Indivisible from 2-11-17. Informed by MoveOn conference call about *Indivisible Guide* on way back from DC Women's March.

Sources: In addition to confidential interviews, we relied on the following locally published articles about group origins and activities: Griffin 2017, Rundio 2017, Shindledecker 2017, and Wang 2017

Figure 2.

Indivisible Groups and Tea Parties in North Carolina and Pennsylvania



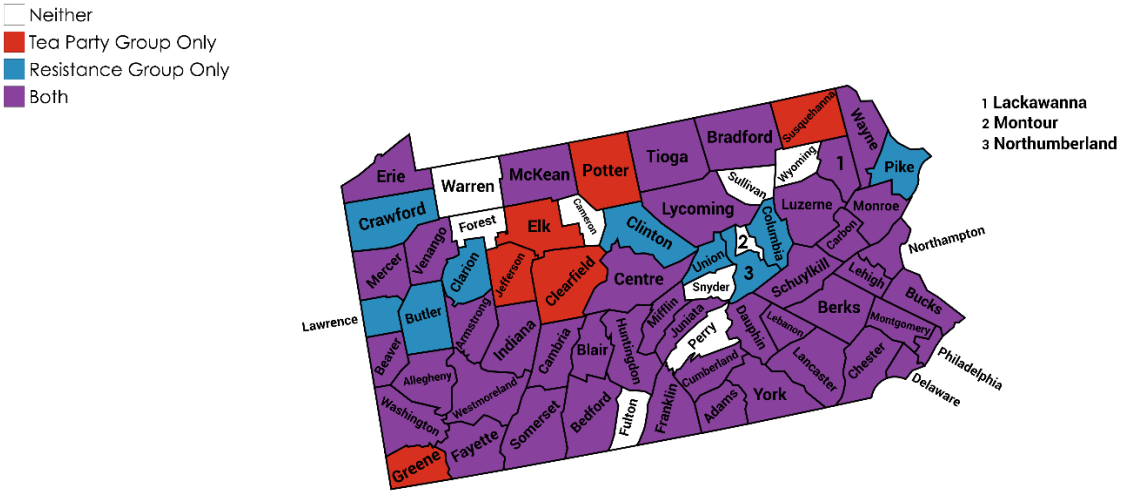
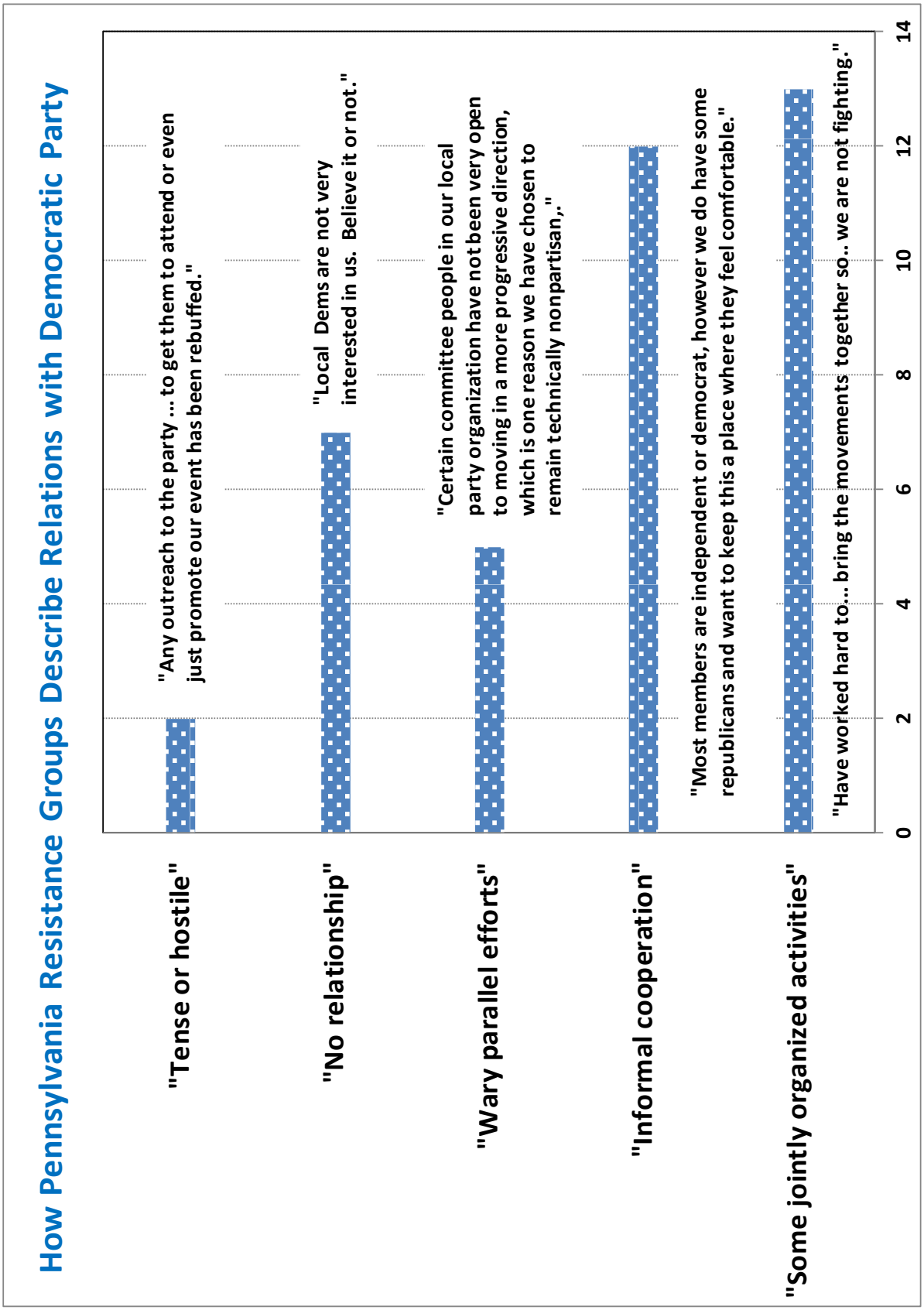


Figure 3.


How Pennsylvania Resistance Groups Describe Relations with Democratic Party
"Tense or hostile"
"Any outreach to the party ... to get them to attend or even just promote our event has been rebuffed."
"No relationship"
"Local Dems are not very interested in us. Believe it or not."
"Wary parallel efforts"
"Certain committee people in our local party organization have not been very open to moving in a more progressive direction, which is one reason we have chosen to remain technically nonpartisan,."
"Informal cooperation"
"Most members are independent or democrat, however we do have some republicans and want to keep this a place where they feel comfortable."
"Some jointly organized activities"
"Have worked hard to... bring the movements together so.. we are not fighting."
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Appendix A.

National Resistance Groups and Events Timeline

We have identified five national level organizations formed between October 2016 and January 2017 to inform, guide, or coordinate local groups. These are Pantsuit Nation, Suit Up Nation, Indivisible, the Women's March, and the Action Together Network. .

Pantsuit Nation was the first group to form as a secret Facebook group on October, 20th 2016. The secret group had over 1.5 million members by election day, with new members being added by other, likely female, members with the hopes of sharing encouraging stories about Hillary Clinton's then-expected win. After Trump's win, the group became more a support group. In December 2016, the group's creator, Libby Chamberlain, signed a book deal and made the group into a formalized non-profit organization. The book deal meant that she took the stories posted to the page and used them under the umbrella of a non-profit she founded with the same name. Because of this shift, members of Pantsuit Nation were forced to find new platforms to express support for political candidates as the non-profit status of Pantsuit Nation rendered political support impossible.

In response to the change in status of Pantsuit Nation, **Suit Up Nation** was founded December 1st, 2016. Suit Up Nation began online with the focus on the hashtag phrase "Love Trumps Hate." It supports a call-to-action list that is similar to the Unity Principles of the Women's March (see below). The group supports gender equality and intersectionality, spreading to Canada in early 2017. Many of the groups that formed under this title are very active in supporting political candidates of their choosing.

The Women's March began with the simple idea of a holding a march in Washington the day following Trump's inauguration. The March organizers secured permits December 9th, 2016 and worked through a month of seeking out a diverse set of organizers that fulfilled their main message of "women's rights are human rights and human rights are women's rights." The March was wildly successful, attracting millions across the globe. The group faced challenges in pushing out pro-life groups that wanted to march as their Unity Principles supported pro-choice policies. The Women's March hosted a Women's Convention in Detroit Fall 2016 with 5,000 plus participants. Power to the Polls was the nationwide efforts on the March's anniversary. Many groups organized marches across the nation, but some could not get the Women's March seal of approval because they weren't in alignment completely with the Unity Principles or they weren't using the correct language to market the event with the Women's March logos and images.

The **Indivisible** movement came about following the election when Democratic campaigners posted a guide to Google Docs about how liberal progressives could use methods of the Tea Party to promote their ideas and create lasting change. These ideas are mostly aimed at members of congress and hoping to limit the scope of Trump's reach. The guide was picked up by almost 1,000 individual groups in 2016, some coming together from two strangers reading the guide or friends sharing it and inspiring a group to form. The guide encourages a defensive strategy, which means candidate selection has not been their main focus—though this will likely change. The group's national presence was felt with the National General Strike on February 17th, 2017

with a call to action to “do nothing” all day and have their economic force be felt. Thousands of Indivisible chapters exist across the nation.

The **Action Together Network** serves, as its name implies, to connect group leaders and providing tools. We do not have a specific founding date. Action Together can be made up of other organization’s chapters or have its own (some of which exist in PA). This network group is national and still active.

	Population *(2015)*	***County seat;*** *other principal cities*	***Racial/ethnic***	***U.S. House Representatives*** *(major portion in bold)*	***Presidential***
NORTH CAROLINA					
Catawba County	155,056	**Hickory**; Newton	76.3% white; 8.9% black; 9.2% Hispanic; 4.2% Asian	**Patrick McHenry (Republican, NC-10);** Virginia Foxx (Republican, NC-05)	2016: Trump 66.8% 2012: Romney 64%
New Hanover County	220,358	**Wilmington**	81.4% white; 14.3% black; 5.5% Hispanic; 1.6% Asian	**David Rouzer (Republican, NC-07)**	2016 Trump 49.5% 2012 Romney 51.5%
OHIO					
Licking County	170,570	**Newark;** Granville	91.2% white; 3.9% black; 1.8% Hispanic	**Patrick Tiberi (Republican OH-12)**	2016 Trump 61.3% 2012 Romney 55.8%
Stark County	375,165	**Canton**; Masillon; North Canton; Alliance	86.9% white; 7.9% black; 1.9% Hispanic	**Bob Gibbs (Republican OH-07)** Jim Renacci (Republican OH-16)	2016 Trump 56% 2012 Obama 49.2%
PENNSYLVANIA					
Jefferson County	44,430	**Brookville;** Punxsutawney	98.3% white	**Glenn Thompson (Republican PA-05)**	2016 Trump 78% 2012 Romney 72.1%
Luzerne County	318,449	**Wilkes-Barre;** Hazleton	91.4% white; 5.1% black; 9.8% Hispanic	**Lou Barletta (Republican PA-11);** Matt Cartwright (Democrat PA-17)	2016 Trump 58.3% 2012 Obama 51.7%
WISCONSIN					
Monroe County	45,549	**Sparta**; Tomah	**94.7% white; 1.5% black; 4.2% Hispanic**	**Ron Kind (Democrat WI-03);** Sean Duffy (Republican WI-06)	2016 Trump 57.7% 2012 Romney 49.7%
Winnebago County	166,994	**Oshkosh**; Neenah	**92.5% white; 1.8% black; 3.5% Hispanic; 2.3% Asian**	**Glenn Grothman (Republican WI-06)** Mike Gallagher (Republican WI-08)	2016 Trump 49.9% 2012 Obama 51%

Appendix C.

Organizational Biography Questionnaire for Group Leaders

1. What is the name of your group?
2. What is the mission of your group?
3. What is the scope of your organization (geographical area or other specific constituency)?
4. Who founded the group?
5. When did it take shape?
6. Did the founders and first participants already know each other? How?
7. Did some previously existing group or institution help with the founding?
8. Did the group have a relationship to November 2016 election campaigns or the post Trump inauguration women's marches?
9. Did ideas come from the "Indivisible Guide" or any other national, regional, or statewide source?
10. How many people were at early meetings – and how would you characterize them by gender, race and ethnicity, and age?
11. What ups and downs in participation have occurred since the founding?
12. What was the original leadership structure – and has it changed?
13. Does the group have subcommittees, working groups, special taskforces or any other kind of internal division of labor?
14. Does the group hold regular meetings?
15. In what ways, if at all, does the group use social media (Facebook, Twitter, other platforms)?
16. In what ways, if at all, does the group reach out to newspapers, television, radio?
17. Name and briefly describe the most important issues (all or parts of) your group has worked on?
18. Check off all tactics or outreach efforts used by the group or its parts:
    a. Candidate recruitment, support, or meet and greet sessions
    b. Local government contacting
    c. State government contacting
    d. National government contacting
    e. Town halls (with or without official in attendance)
    f. Visits to representatives' offices
    g. Sponsoring or co-sponsoring public forums
    h. Public protests or demonstrations

i. Sending many mail, email, or phone messages to elected representatives
j. Voter registration
k. Recruiting candidates to run for office
l. Recruiting people for political party posts
m. Any others?

19. Indicate the three most important types of group tactics/activities so far.
    a. Candidate recruitment, support, or meet and greet sessions
    b. Local government contacting
    c. State government contacting
    d. National government contacting
    e. Town halls (with or without official in attendance)
    f. Visits to representatives' offices
    g. Sponsoring or co-sponsoring public forums
    h. Public protests or demonstrations
    i. Sending many mail, email, or phone messages to elected representatives
    j. Voter registration
    k. Recruiting candidates to run for office
    l. Recruiting people for political party posts
    m. Any others?

20. How does the group raise and spend money?

21. What ties does the group have to (feel free to explain if appropriate):
    a. Other civic groups in the area:
    b. Religious groups in the area;
    c. Statewide groups or coordinating efforts:
    d. National groups or coordinating efforts:
    e. Elected officeholders:

22. Ties to Democrats: What formal or informal relationships, if any, exist between the group – or core members of the group – and the Democratic Party, locally or at the state or national level?

23. How would you categorize the group's relationship to the Democratic Party overall? (Feel free to explain if appropriate.)
    a. Tense or hostile
    b. No relationship
    c. Wary parallel efforts
    d. Informal cooperation
    e. Some jointly organized activities.

24. What major challenges does group currently face?

25. Has your group received media coverage you could cite or link to?

26. Any other comments?

Appendix D.

List of Individual Participant Questions on Questionnaire

1. What is the name of the Indivisible or similar resistance group you are part of?

2. How did you hear about your group?

3. Why did you decide to get involved? What do you hope to achieve?

4. What do you think is the most important problem facing the country today?

5. In addition to special events, like attending a protest, does your Indivisible or similar resistance group have regular group meetings? If so, how often?
    a. No, we do not hold regular group meetings (1)
    b. Yes, less than monthly (2)
    c. Yes, monthly (3)
    d. Yes, every two weeks (4)
    e. Yes, weekly (5)
    f. Yes, more than weekly (6)

6. <u>As a part of your group</u>, what kinds of activities have you participated in? (Check all that apply.)
    a. Served as a leader or co-leader of the group (1)
    b. Served as leader of a committee or working group or project in the group (please specify) (2)
    c. Attended a protest or rally (3)
    d. Visited a local official's office (4)
    e. Attended an Indivisible or Indivisible-affiliated group meeting held at a private home (5)
    f. Attended an Indivisible or Indivisible-affiliated group meeting held at a public venue (6)
    g. Signed a petition (7)
    h. Wrote an email to an elected official (8)
    i. Wrote a paper letter to an elected official (9)
    j. Called an elected official (10)
    k. Attended a lecture or discussion about a political topic (11)
    l. Donated money to a candidate or advocacy group (12)
    m. Participated in a meeting of the local Democratic or Republican party committee (13)
    n. Participated in a public governmental meeting, such as a legislative hearing, school board meeting, town council meeting, etc. (14)
    o. Served as an officer in local Democratic or Republican Party committee (15)
    p. Follow the group on social media or email (16)
    q. Other (17)

7. As far as you know, how many members are there in your local Indivisible or similar resistance group?
    a. 1 to 10 (1)
    b. 11 to 20 (2)
    c. 21 to 50 (3)
    d. 51 to 100 (4)
    e. 101 to 200 (5)
    f. 201 to 500 (6)
    g. More than 500 (7)

8. As far as you know, how many members of your group participate actively, for instance by attending events?
    a. 1 to 10 (1)
    b. 11 to 20 (2)
    c. 21 to 50 (3)
    d. 51 to 100 (4)
    e. More than 100 (5)

9. Prior to your involvement in your Indivisible or similar resistance group, what kinds of activities had you participated in? (Check all that apply.)
    a. Attended a protest or rally (1)
    b. Visited a local official's office (2)
    c. Signed a petition (3)
    d. Wrote an email to an elected official (4)
    e. Wrote a paper letter to an elected official (5)
    f. Called an elected official (6)
    g. Attended a lecture or discussion about a political topic (7)
    h. Donated money to a candidate or advocacy group (8)
    i. Participated in a meeting of the local Democratic or Republican party committee (9)
    j. Participated in a public governmental meeting, such as a legislative hearing, school board meeting, town council meeting, etc. (10)
    k. Served as an officer in local Democratic or Republican Party committee (11)
    l. Other (12) _____

10. Has your Indivisible or similar resistance group cooperated with any other local groups in the area? (If so, please list which group(s).)

11. How many people in your current group did you already know before you got involved?
    a. None (1)
    b. 1-5 people (2)
    c. More than 5 people (3)

Skip To: Q12 If Q11 = 1

12. Have you been at all concerned about employers, neighbors, or others knowing about your personal involvement in your Indivisible or Indivisible-affiliated group? If so, please explain.

13. If you already knew people involved in your group before joining, how did you know them?

14. What other civic, nonprofit, political, or religious groups or organizations are you a member of?

15. Which of the following had you participated in before 2017? (Check all that apply.)
    a. Served on the board of a nonprofit organization (5)
    b. Shared news or political opinions on social media (6)
    c. Voted (7)
    d. Canvassed for a candidate or political cause (8)
    e. Volunteered in a local school, library, or other educational organization (1)
    f. Donated to a candidate or political cause (9)

g. Ran for elected office (10)
h. Volunteered in a religious organization (2)
i. Volunteered in a different charitable organization (3)
j. Volunteered in a political organization (please specify which organization) (4)

16. Were you active during the 2016 election (if so, briefly describe)?
    a. No (2)
    b. Yes (1)

17. What is your gender?
    a. Male (1)
    b. Female (2)
    c. Other (3)

18. What is your age?

19. Please describe your race and ethnicity. (Check all that apply.)
    a. White (1)
    b. Black (2)
    c. Hispanic (3)
    d. Asian (4)
    e. Two or more races (5)
    f. Prefer not to say (6)
    g. Other race (7)

20. What is your religious affiliation? (Check all that apply.)
    a. Protestant (1)
    b. Catholic (2)
    c. Jewish (3)
    d. Muslim (4)
    e. Other (5)
    f. No religious affiliation (6)

21. How often do you attend religious services?
    a. Every week (1)
    b. Almost every week (2)
    c. About once a month (3)
    d. Seldom (4)
    e. Never (5)

22. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
    a. Elementary, middle, or junior high school (1)
    b. High school (2)
    c. Some college (3)
    d. Vocational or community college degree (4)
    e. College or bachelor's degree (5)
    f. Graduate degree (6)

23. Last week were you working full time, part time, going to school, home making, or what? Select the one option that best describes your activity.
    a. Working full time (1)

b. Working part time (2)
c. With a job, but not at work because of temporary illness, vacation, or strike (3)
d. Unemployed and looking for work (4)
e. Unemployed and not looking for work (5)
f. Retired (6)
g. In school (7)
h. Home maker (8)
i. Other (9)

24. What is your current job/occupation? If retired or unemployed, what was your previous job/occupation? (Complete if you have worked for a wage or salary.)

25. What is your total household income before taxes during the past 12 months?
    a. Less than $25,000 (1)
    b. $25,000 to $34,999 (2)
    c. $35,000 to $49,999 (3)
    d. $50,000 to $74,999 (4)
    e. $75,000 to $99,999 (5)
    f. $100,000 to $149,999 (6)
    g. $150,000 or more (7)
    h. Prefer not to say (8)

26. What is your zip code?

27. How long have you lived in your current community?
    a. Less than 1 year (1)
    b. 1 to 3 years (2)
    c. 4 to 10 years (3)
    d. More than 10 years (4)

28. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or what?
    a. Strong Democrat (1)
    b. Lean Democrat (2)
    c. Independent, near Democrat (3)
    d. Independent (4)
    e. Independent, near Republican (5)
    f. Lean Republican (6)
    g. Strong Republican (7)
    h. Other party (8)

Appendix E.

Follow-Up Questionnaire for Resistance Group Leaders

1. What is the name of your resistance group?

2. If applicable, how has your group changed with regard to redistricting this year? If your group name has changed or your group combined with another, what was your group's original name and geographical area of focus?

3. What ups and downs in group member participation have occurred in 2018?

4. Since the start of 2018, has the organizational structure of your organization changed? For example, is the leadership team different, do you meet less, or have fewer committees?

5. Was your organization involved in the 2018 midterm elections? If yes, how? This can include supporting candidates, endorsing candidates, donating money to campaigns, canvassing, registering people to vote, etc.

6. Did anything surprise you or strike you as significant about the 2018 elections in your area?

7. How would you describe your organization's relationship with the local Democratic Party this past calendar year?

8. Looking ahead, what major challenges does your organization face? Will your organization continue to operate?

9. If you're interested in a possible follow up, please leave your contact information.