APPENDICES

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 of 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 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.
### Appendix B. Counties included in the Eight Counties Project

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