

## Appendix Materials for Miras (2019) (“Resistance Is Not Futile”)

### Appendix A: Description of Variables

#### *State-level variables.*

**Trump 2016 vote share.** The proportion of the two-party vote share won by Donald Trump in each state from the 2016 presidential election. Source: Dave Leip’s (2018) atlas of U.S. presidential elections.

**Women’s March intensity.** Each state’s total estimated crowd sizes from the 2017 Women’s March, divided by each state’s voting eligible population. Sources: Crowd Counting Consortium (2018) and Michael McDonald’s (2018) U.S. elections project.

**Citizen ideology.** Berry et al.’s (1998) 2016 estimates of citizen ideology for each state. Source: Berry, Ringquist, Fording, and Hanson (1998). Though the original paper was published in 1998, updated estimates of Berry et al.’s citizen ideology measure are available for download via Richard C. Fording’s website: <https://rcfording.wordpress.com/state-ideology-data/>. For modeling purposes, this variable has been re-scaled to be centered around 0 (the initial values range from 0 to 100, with larger values indicating a more ideologically liberal state).

#### *Month-level variables.*

**Anti-Trump protests.** The total number of anti-Trump protests, consisting of more than 1,000 demonstrators, that occurred in each state during a given month. Source: Crowd Counting Consortium (2018). Data were aggregated by state. All events coded by the Crowd Counting Consortium (2018) as “anti-Trump” that had crowd estimates larger than 1,000 participants were counted. Anti-Trump demonstrations that did not contain crowd estimates were excluded.

Women’s March events are included in the January estimates.

**Trump net approval.** Donald Trump's net approval (approval minus disapproval) in each state during a given month. Source: Morning Consult (2018).

*Senator-level variables.*

**Party leadership.** Coded "1" if a senator is considered part of the majority or minority party leadership in the Senate. Committee chairs are not considered to be leadership posts. Source: United States Senate (2018).

**Re-election 2018.** Coded "1" if a senator is standing for reelection in 2018.

**Endorsed Trump.** Coded "1" if a senator endorsed Donald Trump during the 2016 presidential election (primaries and general election). Only applies to Senate Republicans, as no Senate Democrats endorsed Donald Trump.

**Senator ideology.** The first-dimension NOMINATE score for each senator in the 115<sup>th</sup> Congress. Source: Lewis et al. (2018).

## Appendix B: Odds Ratios for Legislative Support and Critical Tweets

Figure B.1: Odds Ratios, Legislative Support for President Trump

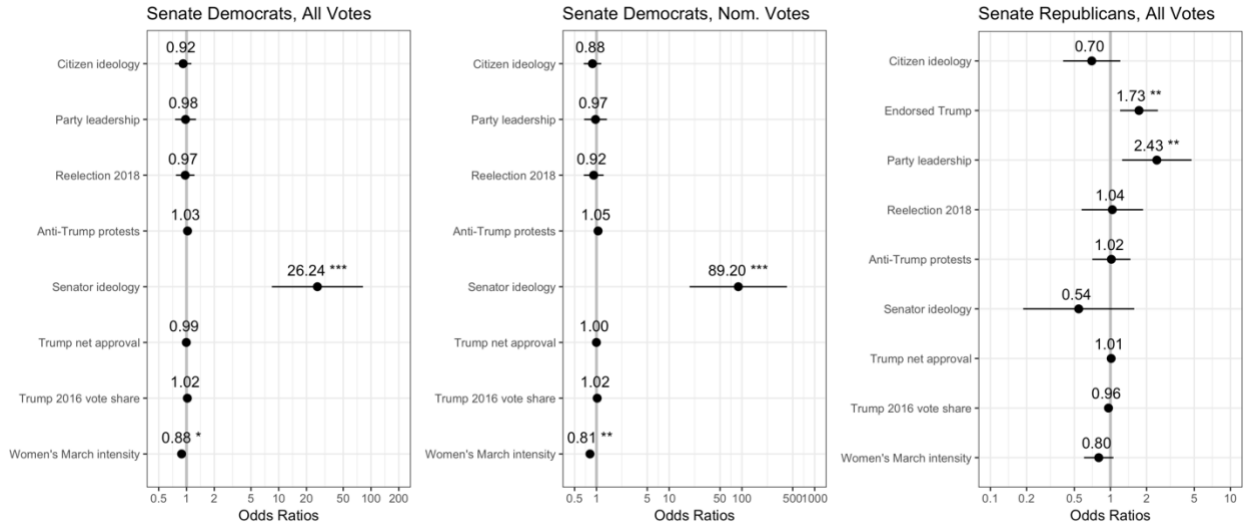


Figure B.2: Odds Ratios, Senate Democrats' Tweets about President Trump

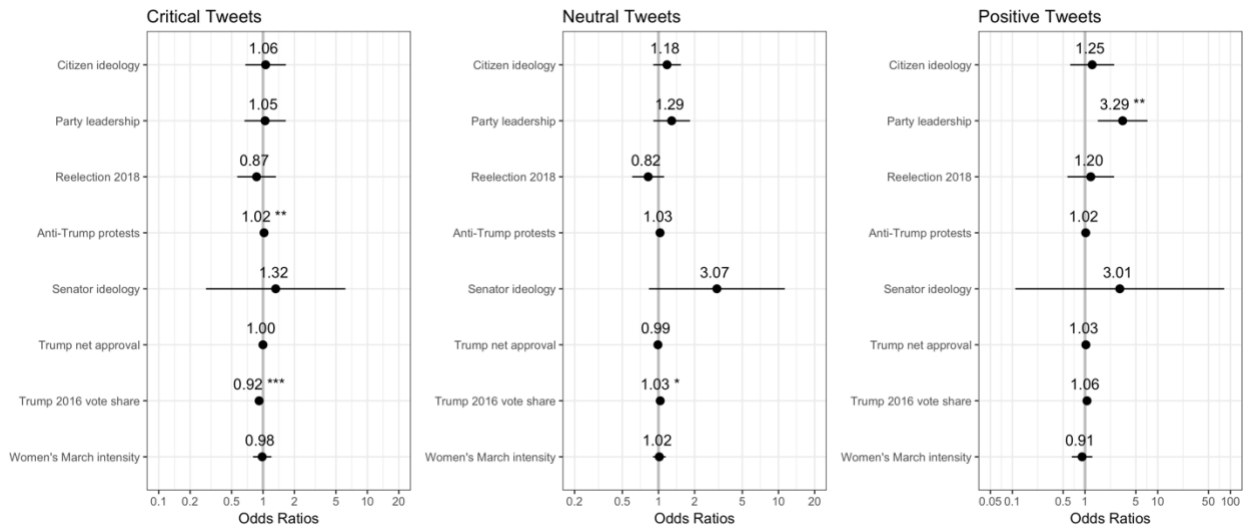
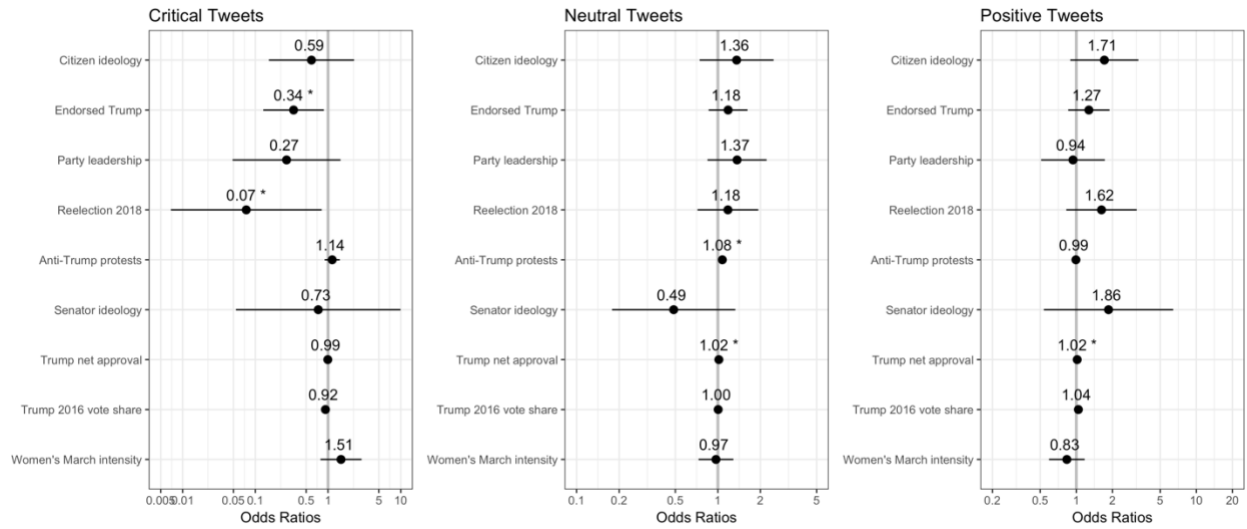


Figure B.3: Odds Ratios, Senate Republicans' Tweets about President Trump



## Appendix C: Robustness Checks, Legislative Support

Table C.1: Multilevel Logit Estimates with Random Intercepts, Legislative Support for President Trump (Using Low Crowd Size Estimates)

	Democrats, All Votes			Democrats, Nominations Votes			Republicans, All Votes		
	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>
<b>State-level variables</b>									
Trump 2016 vote share	0.022	0.01	.111	0.025	0.02	.190	-0.035	0.03	.250
Women's March intensity	-0.153	0.06	<b>.009</b>	-0.246	0.08	<b>.002</b>	-0.289	0.18	.104
Citizen ideology	-0.064	0.10	.537	-0.093	0.14	.511	-0.338	0.28	.227
<b>Month-level variables</b>									
Anti-Trump protests	0.021	0.03	.391	0.043	0.03	.120	0.016	0.19	.931
Trump net approval	-0.005	0.01	.593	-0.002	0.01	.882	0.013	0.01	.367
<b>Senator-level variables</b>									
Party leadership	-0.001	0.14	.996	0.009	0.19	.961	0.847	0.33	<b>.010</b>
Reelection 2018	-0.033	0.12	.780	-0.087	0.16	.589	0.018	0.30	.953
Senator ideology	3.229	0.58	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.445	0.79	<b>&lt;.001</b>	-0.596	0.54	.273
Endorsed Trump							0.546	0.19	<b>.003</b>
(Intercept)	-0.346	1.10	.754	0.813	1.18	.491	5.166	1.85	<b>.005</b>
<b>Random effects</b>									
Senator-level variance		0.000			0.000			0.000	
State-level variance		0.000			0.000			0.000	
Month-level variance		6.639			1.903			4.676	
<b>Model fit</b>									
Observations		2,530			1,097			2,705	
Tjur's D		.284			.301			.252	
AIC		2,203.754			1,150.401			994.600	
-2 Log-Likelihood		2,179.754			1,126.401			968.600	
Deviance		2,119.375			1,095.036			922.212	

Note: **Boldface** values are statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

Table C.2: Multilevel Logit Estimates with Random Intercepts, Legislative Support for President Trump (Using High Crowd Size Estimates)

	Democrats, All Votes			Democrats, Nominations Votes			Republicans, All Votes		
	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>
<b>State-level variables</b>									
Trump 2016 vote share	0.020	0.01	.160	0.022	0.02	.267	-0.039	0.03	.209
Women's March intensity	-0.095	0.04	<b>.020</b>	-0.163	0.06	<b>.004</b>	-0.174	0.12	.142
Citizen ideology	-0.095	0.11	.371	-0.147	0.14	.306	-0.369	0.28	.190
<b>Month-level variables</b>									
Anti-Trump protests	0.026	0.03	.311	0.053	0.03	.070	0.019	0.19	.921
Trump net approval	-0.005	0.01	.584	-0.003	0.01	.819	0.015	0.01	.289
<b>Senator-level variables</b>									
Party leadership	-0.043	0.13	.748	-0.062	0.18	.733	0.906	0.35	<b>.009</b>
Reelection 2018	-0.030	0.12	.801	-0.084	0.16	.601	0.049	0.30	.871
Senator ideology	3.301	0.58	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.535	0.79	<b>&lt;.001</b>	-0.612	0.54	.260
Endorsed Trump							0.551	0.19	<b>.003</b>
(Intercept)	-0.218	1.12	.845	1.021	1.20	.395	5.311	1.88	<b>.005</b>
<b>Random effects</b>									
Senator-level variance		0.000			0.000			0.000	
State-level variance		0.000			0.000			0.000	
Month-level variance		6.664			1.888			4.614	
<b>Model fit</b>									
Observations		2,530			1,097			2,705	
Tjur's D		.284			.300			.252	
AIC		2,205.287			1,151.818			995.086	
-2 Log-Likelihood		2,181.287			1,127.818			969.086	
Deviance		2,120.912			1,096.492			922.818	

Note: **Boldface** values are statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

## Appendix D: Robustness Checks, Extralegislative Opposition

Table D.1: Multilevel Logit Estimates with Random Intercepts, Critical Tweets about President Trump (Excluding January 2017 Women's March Events)

	Senate Democrats			Senate Republicans		
	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Coef.</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>
<b>State-level variables</b>						
Trump 2016 vote share	-0.091	0.02	<.001	-0.041	0.07	.526
Women's March intensity	-0.025	0.11	.821	0.346	0.34	.315
Citizen ideology	0.051	0.23	.825	-0.467	0.73	.522
<b>Month-level variables</b>						
Anti-Trump protests	0.027	0.01	.009	0.046	0.16	.769
Trump net approval	-0.002	0.00	.591	-0.042	0.02	<b>.040</b>
<b>Senator-level variables</b>						
Party leadership	0.040	0.24	.866	-1.199	0.88	.172
Reelection 2018	-0.158	0.22	.474	-2.505	1.24	<b>.043</b>
Senator ideology	0.301	0.91	.742	-0.052	1.45	.971
Endorsed Trump				-1.039	0.55	.061
(Intercept)	1.976	1.25	.114	-4.105	3.72	.269
<b>Random effects</b>						
Senator-level variance		0.314			0.980	
State-level variance		0.285			0.082	
Month-level variance		0.179			0.021	
<b>Model fit</b>						
Observations		53,323			36,298	
Tjur's D		.072			.008	
AIC		40,254.266			1,150.124	
-2 Log-Likelihood		40,230.266			1,124.124	
Deviance		39,948.133			1,067.314	

Note: **Boldface** values are statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

## Appendix E: Full List of Senate Votes

Date	Bill	Vote
January 23, 2017	Nomination of Mike Pompeo to be director of the CIA	66-32
January 24, 2017	Nomination of Nikki R. Haley to be ambassador to the United Nations	96-4
January 31, 2017	Nomination of Elaine L. Chao to be secretary of transportation	93-6
February 1, 2017	Nomination of Rex W. Tillerson to be secretary of state	56-43
February 2, 2017	Repeal of the stream protection rule	54-45
February 3, 2017	Repeal of a rule requiring energy companies to disclose payments to foreign governments	52-47
February 7, 2017	Nomination of Betsy DeVos to be secretary of education	51-50
February 8, 2017	Nomination of Jeff Sessions to be attorney general	52-47
February 10, 2017	Nomination of Tom Price to be secretary of health and human services	52-47
February 13, 2017	Nomination of David J. Shulkin to be secretary of veterans affairs	100-0
February 13, 2017	Nomination of Steven T. Mnuchin to be secretary of the treasury	53-47
February 14, 2017	Nomination of Linda E. McMahon to be administrator of the Small Business Administration	81-19
February 15, 2017	Repeal of a rule requiring the Social Security Administration to submit information to the national background-check system	57-43
February 16, 2017	Nomination of Mick Mulvaney to be director of the Office of Management and Budget	51-49
February 17, 2017	Nomination of Scott Pruitt to be administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency	52-46
February 28, 2017	Nomination of Wilbur L. Ross Jr. to be secretary of commerce	72-27
March 1, 2017	Nomination of Ryan Zinke to be secretary of the interior	68-31
March 2, 2017	Nomination of Ben Carson to be secretary of housing and urban development	58-41



March 2, 2017	Nomination of Rick Perry to be secretary of energy	62-37
March 6, 2017	Repeal of a rule requiring some federal contractors to report labor violations	49-48
March 7, 2017	Repeal of changes to Bureau of Land Management planning rules	51-48
March 8, 2017	Repeal of a Department of Education rule on teacher preparation programs	59-40
March 9, 2017	Repeal of a Department of Education rule on school accountability	50-49
March 14, 2017	Repeal of a Department of Labor rule on drug testing of applicants for unemployment compensation	51-48
March 15, 2017	Nomination of Daniel Coats to be director of national intelligence	85-12
March 22, 2017	Repeal of a Department of Labor rule regarding records of work-related injuries and illnesses	50-48
March 23, 2017	Repeal of an FCC rule barring internet providers from sharing data on customers' activities	50-48
March 30, 2017	Repeal of a rule requiring state and local governments to distribute federal funds to qualified health centers even if they perform abortions	51-50
March 30, 2017	Repeal of a rule that allowed a new type of retirement plan established by local governments	50-49
April 6, 2017	Whether to keep the Senate cloture requirement for Supreme Court nominees at 60 votes	48-52
April 7, 2017	Nomination of Neil Gorsuch to be associate justice of the Supreme Court	54-45
April 24, 2017	Nomination of Sonny Perdue to be secretary of agriculture	87-11
April 27, 2017	Nomination of R. Alexander Acosta to be secretary of labor	60-38
May 3, 2017	Repeal of a rule that allowed a new type of state-based retirement plan	50-49
May 4, 2017	The 2017 fiscal year appropriations bill	79-18
May 10, 2017	Repeal of a rule requiring energy companies to reduce waste and emissions	49-51

May 11, 2017	Nomination of Robert Lighthizer to be United States trade representative	82-14
June 13, 2017	Opposing the sale of some arms to Saudi Arabia	47-53
June 14, 2017	Imposing sanctions on Russia	97-2
July 25, 2017	The American Health Care Act of 2017 (Senate motion to proceed)	51-50
July 26, 2017	Repealing major parts of the Affordable Care Act, with a transition period for replacement	45-55
July 27, 2017	Imposing sanctions on Russia, Iran and North Korea	98-2
July 28, 2017	Senate "skinny repeal" health care bill	49-51
August 1, 2017	Nomination of Christopher A. Wray to be director of the FBI	92-5
September 7, 2017	Raising debt limit/extending government funding/Hurricane Harvey relief	80-17
October 19, 2017	Fiscal year 2018 budget resolution	51-49
October 24, 2017	Disaster relief for Puerto Rico and other areas	82-17
October 25, 2017	Repeal of a rule banning some financial companies from using mandatory arbitration clauses	51-50
December 2, 2017	Overhauling the tax code (Senate version)	51-49
December 5, 2017	Nomination of Kirstjen Nielsen to be secretary of homeland security	62-37
December 7, 2017	Extension of government funding for two weeks	81-14
December 20, 2017	Overhauling the tax code (final version)	51-48
December 21, 2017	Extension of government funding for four weeks	66-32