PROTESTS UNDER TRUMP, 2017-2021*

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The Trump presidency featured a high volume of contentious mobilization. We describe the collection and aggregation of protest mobilization data from 2017 to 2021 and offer five observations. First, the protests were sustained at a high level throughout the Trump presidency, with the largest subset of protests positioned against Trump and the administration's policies. Second, the grievances that drove the protests varied. Third, the National Student Walkout and the antiracism protests in 2020 had the broadest geographic spread of any reported protests in U.S. history. Fourth, the vast majority of protests did not have arrests or injuries; they were nonviolent protests. When there were arrests, most people who were arrested were committing nonviolent civil disobedience, not aggression or interpersonal violence. Fifth, in 2020, a sustained period of right-wing countermobilization began around the issues of COVID-19 lockdowns, policing and race, and Trump's false claim about the presidential election.

The Trump presidency featured a high volume of collective action and contentious mobilization (Fisher 2019; Maresca and Meyer 2020). Prior research highlighted "essential characteristics of protest during the first year of the Trump presidency" (Andrews, Caren, and Browne 2018). This article expands on that effort to study protests across all four years of the administration of Donald J. Trump. Drawing upon the Crowd Counting Consortium dataset, which aggregated events from public submission, organization websites, and social and traditional media reports—including media reports crawled and annotated by Count Love—we describe patterns of protest mobilization from January 2017 to Inauguration Day 2021 and offer five observations about this period.

First, the protests were sustained at a high level throughout the Trump presidency, with the largest subset of protests positioned against Trump and the administration's policies. Second, the grievances that drove the protests varied, with no single grievance consistently generating the most protests across all four years. Third, two protests in particular had the broadest geographic spread of any reported protests in U.S. history: the one-day National Student Walkout, and the months-long antiracism protests in 2020 that started after the police killing of George Floyd. Fourth, the vast majority of protests did not have arrests, protester injuries, or police injuries; they

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were nonviolent protests to which authorities responded without direct coercion. Moreover, among protests in which there were arrests, most people who were arrested were committing nonviolent civil disobedience, not aggression, property destruction, or interpersonal violence. Fifth, in 2020, a sustained period of right-wing countermobilization began around the issues of COVID-19 lockdowns, policing and racism, and Trump's false claim that he had won the 2020 presidential election.

METHODS AND DATA

Both Count Love and the Crowd Counting Consortium fall within the decades-long tradition of protest event analysis (see, for example, Koopmans and Rucht 2002; Fillieule and Jiménez 2003). For the sake of simplicity and consistency, in this article we rely on data from the Crowd Counting Consortium which, for most of its existence, has also incorporated protests listed in Count Love.

The Crowd Counting Consortium (CCC) began as an effort to count the locations and crowd size of the Women's March on January 21, 2017 (Waddell 2017). After that march, the CCC continued as an effort to count all protests, demonstrations, and marches in the United States, with the tallies posted in publicly available spreadsheets. It has done so ever since. CCC does not count block parties, fund-raising campaigns, hearings, meetings, press conferences, purely historical commemorations, or town halls. From April 2017 through January 2021, Count Love shared its daily web crawl of news sites with CCC. CCC includes reports of upcoming protests as well but only includes crowd size estimates ex post.[1]

Protest information comes from traditional news reports, social media, organizational websites, and public submissions to the CCC website. In the CCC dataset, traditional news reports are by far the most common source of information. Traditional news reports came in part from Count Love's automated crawl of 3,410 local and national news sources from across the United States, which were then manually annotated with event dates, locations, and attendee counts. Organizational websites (e.g., MoveOn.org) were useful for efficiently gathering information about all events comprising large, multilocation actions such as the annual Women's Marches. CCC made uneven use of social media. An early effort to use a commercial service to gather relevant tweets proved not useful because of the heavy redundancies.[2] Twitter and traditional news sites sometimes overlap. For example, a reporter may tweet while at a protest, post the story at the news site, and then tweet a link to the story. CCC personnel monitor the sheets for duplicates and, when time permits, have checked past spreadsheets in order to remove duplicates and correct typos.

CCC follows a definition of protest consistent with the Dynamics of Collective Action Project: "any type of activity that involves more than one person and is carried out with the explicit purpose of articulating a grievance against a target or expressing support of a target" (Soule and Davenport 2009: 8). However, it also lists events that only had one reported person, as a single individual could also embrace the explicit purpose of articulating a grievance against a target or expressing support of a target. CCC followed Sarah Soule and Christian Davenport (2009: 8) that events had to be in the "public sphere or have been open to the public" and in the United States. For crowd size, CCC translates words into numbers in a conservative fashion. A report of dozens is coded as 24 (two dozen), a report of hundreds is coded as 200, a report of thousands is coded as 2000 etc. If no media report includes crowd size but a Facebook event page included the number who "went," CCC used that number. When an article offers no estimate but includes pictures or videos of a smaller event, CCC researchers estimate the number of participants from the image(s).[3] The crowd totals used in this article include a range that runs from the sum of the CCC low estimates to the sum of the CCC high estimates.

CCC collects two geographic or spatial variables, CityTown (changed to Locality in 2021) and Location. CityTown is the city or town where the event took place. Location is the address and/or building or institution where the protest took place. For example, for one march on August 1, 2020, CityTown was "Berea" (in Kentucky) and Location was "Chestnut St to Berea City Hall." The county is automatically added to the version of the dataset posted at GitHub.[4]

If the same city has separate protests at three different locations in the same day, CCC counts that as three events.

The CCC faces a number of limitations in trying to document the entire universe of protests in the United States. The number of local media outlets in the United States, and especially local newspapers, has been shrinking for the last two decades, with a net loss of almost 1,800 from 2004 to 2018. Other areas technically retain a newspaper, but it has little actual staff to cover events (Abernathy 2018: 6).[5] As a result, many areas have few or no reporters available to cover protests; they are local news deserts. Thus, in some areas, even if a protest might otherwise generate media interest, there is literally no local journalist to cover it.

Some types of protests are more likely to garner media attention than others, and sources of underreporting bias in events data are legion (Day, Pinckney, and Chenoweth 2015). Here, we focus on the well-established violence bias. Larger and/or violent protests are more likely to get media coverage than smaller and peaceful ones (Amenta, Elliott, Shortt, Tierney, Türkoğlu, and Vann 2017: 3; McCarthy, McPhail, and Smith 1996: 490-491; Myers and Caniglia 2004; Oliver and Myers 1999: 72).[6] Since the vast majority of protests are smaller and peaceful, most protests are not especially attractive to the media. Protests also tend to generate less media interest as they become normal. For example, even if a small, weekly protest receives coverage at its first occurrence, such coverage is less likely by the third or seventh or twenty-seventh occurrence (e.g., Gardner 2018). Myers and Caniglia also note the interaction between the intensity of an event (e.g., violence, arrests) and the proximity to the news source. Intense, close events are more likely to get covered, further magnifying the effect of the news deserts.[7]

Above and beyond reporting bias, a further impediment to reliable data collection is that when protests are covered, the coverage fails to provide a crowd size estimate in a significant number of cases.[8] In addition, the news story may lack pictures or videos that allow CCC to even provide a rough estimate of attendance. Or, the pictures may show a handful of protesters rather than the entire protest.

Capturing news of online protests is difficult. CCC did not engage in a systematic method to monitor social media for reports of online demonstrations. While a small number of online protests do appear in CCC, online protests are not usually mentioned in the traditional media. This limitation became especially important with the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 and the likely push toward greater digital activism (Pinckney and Rivers 2020; Pressman and Choi-Fitzpatrick 2021).

Lastly, tallying protests reported in digital and social media at a national scale over an extended period of time inevitably aims at a moving target. As researchers work, they often discover new sources and learn new information about existing ones. Meanwhile, news outlets and relevant social-media accounts emerge and disappear. Consequently, the set of sources used on day 50 of the project will rarely match the set used on day 150 or day 500. In the case of the Crowd Counting Consortium, the size of the collection team varied over time as well, and smaller teams sometimes consulted fewer sources. As a result, we expect that the summaries of events and crowd sizes we present here are an undercount of all events reported online, which are themselves an incomplete sample of all events that occurred.[9] In this respect, our dataset suffers from similar problems to other event datasets that rely on news reports.

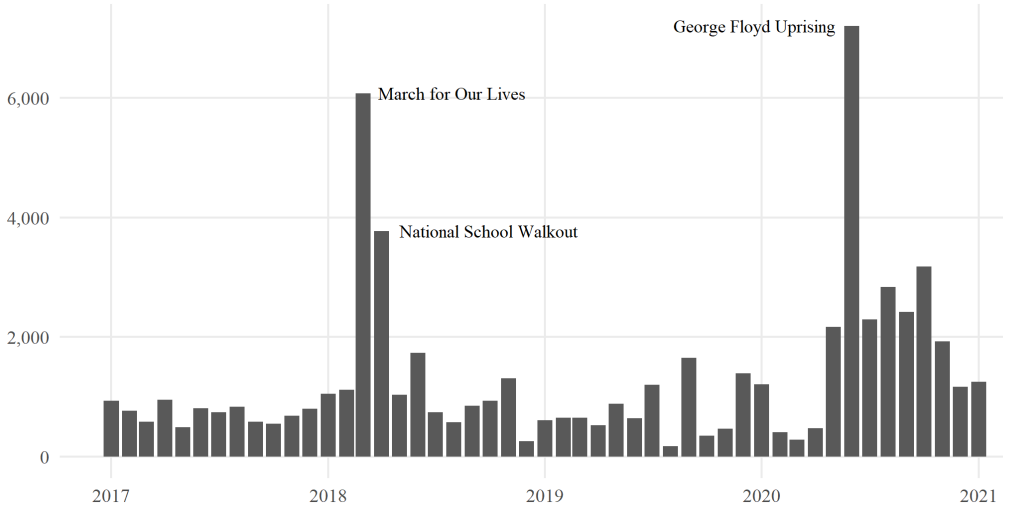
SUSTAINED PROTEST IN THE TRUMP YEARS

Protesters sustained a high level of activity during the Trump administration. For the period January 20, 2017–January 20, 2021, CCC as of December 29, 2021, had logged more than 64,200 events with 22.1–31.2 million reported participants.[10] Roughly 71 percent of those events, with 18.4–26.7 million participants, were implicitly or explicitly anti-Trump, while roughly 9 percent of the events, with 1.7–2.2 million participants, were implicitly or explicitly pro-Trump. As Fisher (2019: 5) wrote, "In many ways, the Resistance is a countermovement to

the Trump regime." The largest segment of these counts, the anti-Trump movement, probably comprised the largest sustained protest movement in U.S. history.[11]

Over the course of the Trump administration, the number of events per month ranged from a low of 179 in August 2019 to more than 7,200 in June 2020 (see figure 1). In the summer of 2020, uncoordinated mobilization against racism and police brutality in hundreds of cities and towns spanning all 50 states produced huge numbers of events. Throughout the rest of the Trump administration, however, peaks in protest activity were generally driven by coordinated, single-day, multilocation events, such as the National Student Walkout against gun violence in March 2018 and the climate strikes of 2019.

Figure 1. Monthly Counts of U.S. Protest Events, January 2017-January 2021

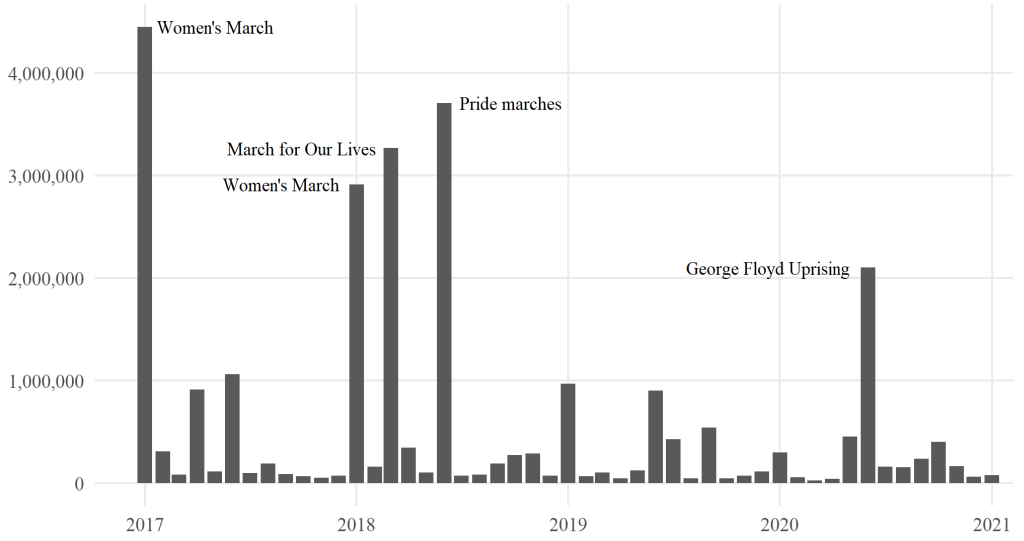


In recognition that protest size matters for assessing the scale of contentious collective action, we next turn to the number of participants (Biggs 2016). As noted already, CCC counted a total of 22 to 31 million protesters during the Trump administration.[12] The number of participants per month ranged from fewer than 27,000 in March 2020 to roughly 4.4 million in January 2017, when the inaugural Women's March occurred (see figure 2). The next most was 3.7 million in June 2018 due to Pride events and 3.3 million in March 2018 due to the national school walkout against gun violence. When counting participants, then, it's clear that coordinated, single day, multilocation events produced the tallest peaks.

The two largest protests in U.S. history also took place during the Trump presidency.[13] On January 21, 2017, the day after Trump's inauguration, between 3.3 and 5.2 million people in the United States marched for women's rights in 669 events, the largest one-day protest in U.S. history. CCC's best guess was that over 4,157,000 participants joined the Women's March that day.[14] The march took place in 665 different cities and towns, and about 67 percent of the marches had fewer than 1,000 participants. The CCC counted 299 marches in states that Trump won in the 2016 presidential election, and those 299 events accounted for 728,000 to 1,013,000 total marchers (Chenoweth and Pressman 2017; Berry and Chenoweth 2018).

The next three largest protests under Trump were the January 2018 Women's March (1.9 to 2.6 million participants at 412 locations), and two events pushing for gun reform after the shooting at Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida: the March for Our Lives on March 24, 2018, with 1.4 to 2.2 million participants at 765 locations, and the National Student Walkout on March 14, 2018, with 1.1 to 1.7 million at 4,495 locations.[15] We should note that 4,495 locations is an astounding number that speaks to the intensity of the moment (what students nationally felt right after Parkland), intensive organizational efforts, spillover effects from prior protests (Tarrow 2018), and the impact of schools serving as the primary protest location.

Figure 2. Monthly Sums of Participants in U.S. Protest Events, January 2017-January 2021



Counting participants in the 2020 antiracism protests highlights how different methods can yield very different estimates of crowd size. Based on survey data, the *New York Times* reported on July 3, 2020, that "about 15 million to 26 million people in the United States have participated in demonstrations over the death of George Floyd and others in recent weeks" (Buchanan, Bui, and Patel, 2020). For that same period, May 26–July 2, the CCC tallied 2.1 to 2.8 million participants in antiracism protests, nearly an order of magnitude lower than the survey-based estimate in the *New York Times*. This difference can be attributed to missing data on the CCC's participation figures for this particular uprising, which in turn can be attributed to large-scale, rapid mobilization that overwhelmed the capacity of newsrooms to cover every protest in detail (or perhaps a general disinterest in detailed coverage of protests, including the antiracist ones). This was especially true in large cities, such as New York, in which numerous protests occurred each day without reliable participation estimates reported for any of them. The difference also suggests the need for consideration of how to adjudicate between media reports and survey data on protest participation, perhaps by also drawing upon cell phone or social media data (Sobolev, Chen, Joo, and Steinert-Threlkeld 2020).

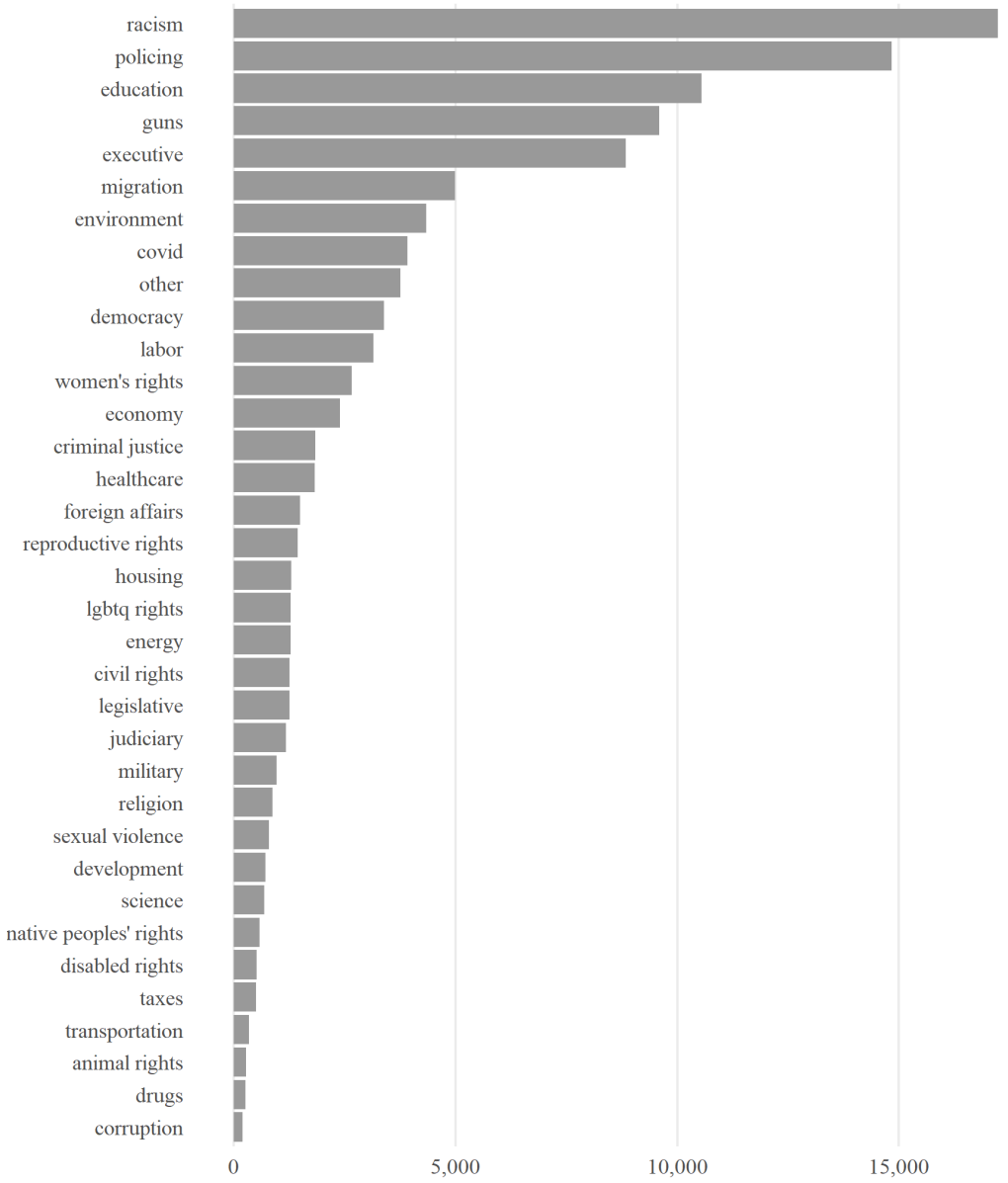
Overall, during the Trump administration, five states (including DC among the states) with the largest crowd totals were California (5.9 million), New York (3.9 million), District of Columbia (2.4 million), Illinois (1.6 million), and Washington (1.4 million). The five states with the smallest crowd totals were Mississippi (35,000), South Dakota (25,000), North Dakota (22,000), Delaware (21,000), and Wyoming (18,000). In per capita terms, the five states with the highest ratios of total participants to population size were District of Columbia (3.52), New York (0.20), Washington (0.18), California (0.15), and Vermont (0.13). The five states with the lowest ratios of total participants to population size were South Carolina (0.02), Louisiana (0.02), Alabama (0.02), Arkansas (0.01), and Mississippi (0.01).

PROTEST CLAIMS

In this section, we detail the most common issues raised by protesters for the Trump era as a whole and then see how they varied over time.

To associate protest events with recurrent issues in American politics, we apply a series of regular expressions (regexes) representing nearly three dozen such issues to the textual summaries of protesters' claims recorded by CCC's human coders. These regexes consist of

Figure 3. Counts of Protest Events in the Trump Era by Political Issue



keywords or phrases, sometimes also involving lookaheads or lookbehinds to reduce errors of commission and flexible spellings to reduce errors of omission.[16] With these regexes, each event gets tagged with each relevant issue, and these tags can then be used to filter or tally events according to the issue(s) they raise. One event may receive more than one issue tag.

Figure 3 shows counts of protest events by political issue for the entire Trump era. As the chart shows, the twin themes of "racism" and "policing" raised in the George Floyd uprising and the broader Black Lives Matter movement were the leading themes in contentious politics during this period. Following them were "education" and "guns". Those two themes intersected in the massive school walkouts of 2018, and education was the focus of many events during the COVID pandemic, with frequent demonstrations for and against school closures and mask mandates throughout the country. The fifth most frequently raised issue was the president or presidency itself, a theme we label "executive." This category includes events explicitly opposing

or supporting President Trump or one of the candidates for that office in 2020. Among the former are the many actions calling for Trump's impeachment and defending the Mueller investigation.

Reflecting the nationalization of U.S. politics in recent decades (Sievert and McKee 2019), we find remarkably little variation in the leading themes of protest activity across the states. Racism and policing rank in the top five Trump-era protest themes in 50 and 49 states, respectively; the president or presidency in 48; education in 45; and gun rights in 43. The only other issues to register in the top five themes in any state were the environment (6), women's rights (3), democracy (1), labor (1), immigration (1), the military (1), and science (1).

While a baseline amount of protest activity unrelated to specific executive actions or positions occurred continuously over the last four years (e.g., protests for greater animal welfare), the largest protests between January 2017 and January 2021 were more transient in nature. They occurred in response to events such as the announcement of the Muslim travel ban in February 2017, GOP attempts to overturn the Affordable Care Act (ACA) before the summer of 2017, the shooting at Stoneman Douglas High School on February 14, 2018, and the police killing of George Floyd on May 25, 2020. Protests during the Trump administration reflected the ebb and flow of real-time events and public reactions to those events.

GEOGRAPHY OF PROTEST

In addition to responding to national events, protest activity varies widely at the local level in ways that correlate with structural predictors and local and regional events and trends. Over the course of the Trump presidency, CCC observed protests in 1,996 of 3,220 U.S. counties, or about 62 percent (see figure 4 on the next page). The five counties with the most events, in descending order, were: Los Angeles County, CA; New York County, NY (Manhattan); the District of Columbia; Cook County, IL (Chicago); and King County, WA (Seattle). About 38 percent of all counties (1,224 of 3,220) had no observed events, while another 13 percent (409) had just one. By contrast, Los Angeles County had 2,028, and New York County (Manhattan) had 1,840.

Of course, population size powerfully influences the incidence of protest events, so the states and counties with larger populations generally had more events. Measured in per capita terms, the distribution of protest activity in the Trump era looks a bit different. As figure 5 shows, when we compute protest activity as a population-weighted rate (events per 100,000 residents), several other regions look relatively active, including Alaska, New England, upper Michigan, the Pacific Northwest, and a belt of counties running east of the Rocky Mountains from the desert southwest into Wyoming and Idaho.

The National Student Walkout (2018) and the antiracism protests following the murder of George Floyd (2020) both achieved a degree of geographic spread rarely, if ever, seen before in the United States. Both addressed long-running grievances but followed very specific sparks: the Parkland shooting and the police killing of Floyd, respectively.

On March 14, 2018, more than 1,400,000 students walked out of 4,495 schools and universities to protest against gun violence. Most participating schools were high schools, but students also left some middle and elementary schools, and staff or community members sometimes joined as well (Pressman 2018). Those schools and universities spanned 2,182 different cities and towns in all 50 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

In the twenty-six days following the murder of George Floyd—from May 26 to June 20, 2020—activists demonstrated against racism in an astonishing 2,955 different U.S. cities and towns. This compares with just 811 unique cities and towns with antiracism protests from January 20, 2017, through May 25, 2020. Of course, unlike the National Student Walkout, the spreading of the antiracism protests took place over a few weeks, rather than in a single day. This protest wave also took place several months into the COVID-19 pandemic and just as U.S. lockdowns were easing (Arora 2020).

Figure 4. Counts of Trump-era Protest Events by County

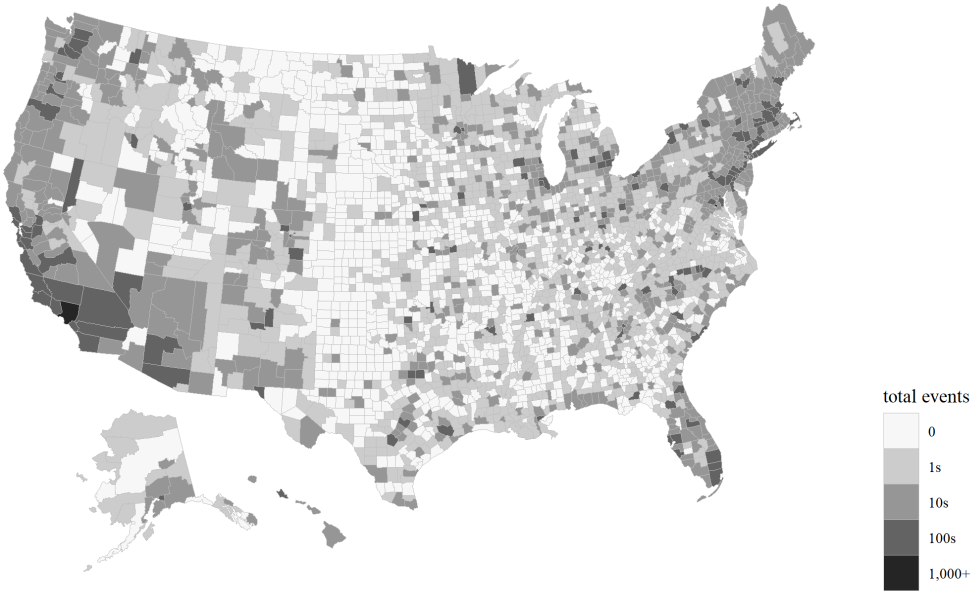
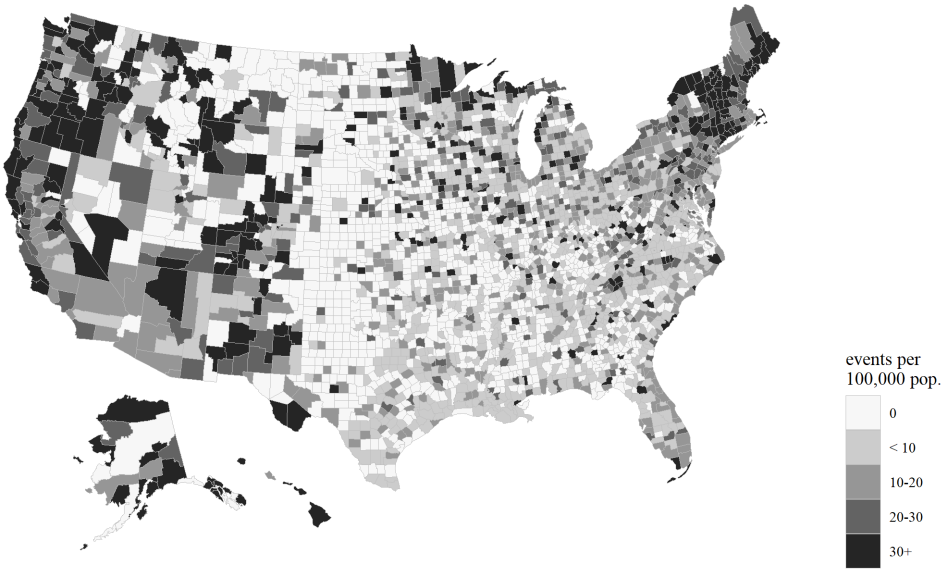


Figure 5. Population-Weighted Rates of Trump-Era Protest Events by County

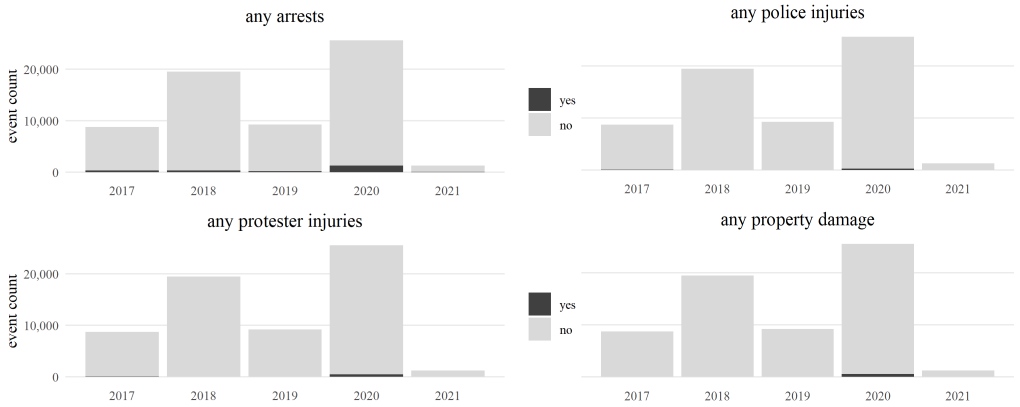


NONVIOLENT PROTESTS

In addition to crowd size and participant claims, CCC also tracks several aspects of police and protester behavior, including the occurrence of arrests, police and protester injuries, and property damage. Of the more than 64,000 events CCC observed during the Trump presidency, arrests were reported at just 2,134 (3.3 percent); property damage at 645 (1.0 percent); protester injuries at 590 (0.9 percent); and police injuries at 290 (0.5 percent). In sum, only a tiny fraction of protests during the Trump administration caused property damage, and protesters were likelier than police to suffer reported injury at protest events during this period.

As figure 6 suggests, a sizable share of the Trump-era protests that did involve property damage, injuries, and arrests occurred in 2020 as part of the wave of mobilization against

Figure 6. Incidences of Arrests, Protester Injuries, Police Injuries, and Property Damage at U.S. Protests by year, 2017-2020



racism and police violence that followed the murder of George Floyd. Contrary to the assertions of many right-wing political figures, however, the vast majority of the events associated with the racial-justice uprising of 2020 did not involve any property damage or police injuries. Of the nearly 14,000 antiracism events CCC logged from the date of George Floyd's murder until the date of President Joseph R. Biden's inauguration, only 516 (3.7 percent) involved any reported property damage—ranging from graffiti or broken windows to arson and looting—and only 225 (1.6 percent) involved any reported police injuries.[17] Meanwhile, protesters were reportedly injured at 352 (2.5 percent) of those events and arrested at 959 (6.9 percent) of them.[18]

As the preceding statistics imply, injuries fell on the protesters more often than the police. This numerical reality may well indicate that the police response to the protesters was disproportionate. That notion is backed up by the fact that many early reports and initial research efforts highlight violent police tactics and shortcomings in training and procedure. Protesters, human rights groups, and others have challenged the conduct of many specific police departments. *The Appeal* wrote about videos showing the Boston Police Department using pepper spray, batons, and other force on protesters, often unprovoked (Higgins 2020). NYC's Department of Investigation found that the NYPD were unprepared for managing protests and used excessive force in too many cases (Garnett 2020). Physicians for Human Rights found that Portland (Oregon) police officers and federal agents engaged in a consistent pattern of disproportionate and excessive use of force against both protesters and medics over the course of June and July 2020 (Hampton, Heisler, and McKay 2020). In May-June 2020, people filed hundreds of complaints of excessive use of force in Chicago (Hendrickson and Kiefer 2020). Protesters have filed lawsuits against police for using excessive force in places like Chicago, Omaha, and elsewhere (Hauck 2020; Conley 2020).

More broadly, *The Guardian* reported that "at least 950 instances of police brutality against civilians and journalists during antiracism protests have occurred in the past five months, according to data collected by Bellingcat and Forensic Architecture and analysed [sic] by the Guardian" (Thomas, Gabbatt, and Barr 2020). After analyzing 500 videos, Amnesty International "documented 125 separate incidents of police violence against protesters in 40 states and the District of Columbia between 26 May and 5 June 2020" (Amnesty 2020). The *New York Times* reported that in over 100 cases, when armed groups of counterprotesters confronted antiracism protesters, police departments often stood by or were even sympathetic to the armed groups (Cooper, Hill, Khavin, Ray, and Jordan 2020). Physicians for Human Rights found that crowd-control weapons caused at least 115 head injuries across the United States during protests following the killing of George Floyd (Physicians for Human Rights 2020). ProPublica looked at 68 videos that "show clear apparent instances of police officers escalating violence during protests. Most departments refused to share details about investigations and discipline or

even officers' names" (Osei, Simon, Syed, and Waldron 2020). Several ad-hoc efforts sprang up to document alleged cases of police abuse or excessive use of force, but systematic data has not yet been collected on the scope or severity of these instances across all protests.[19]

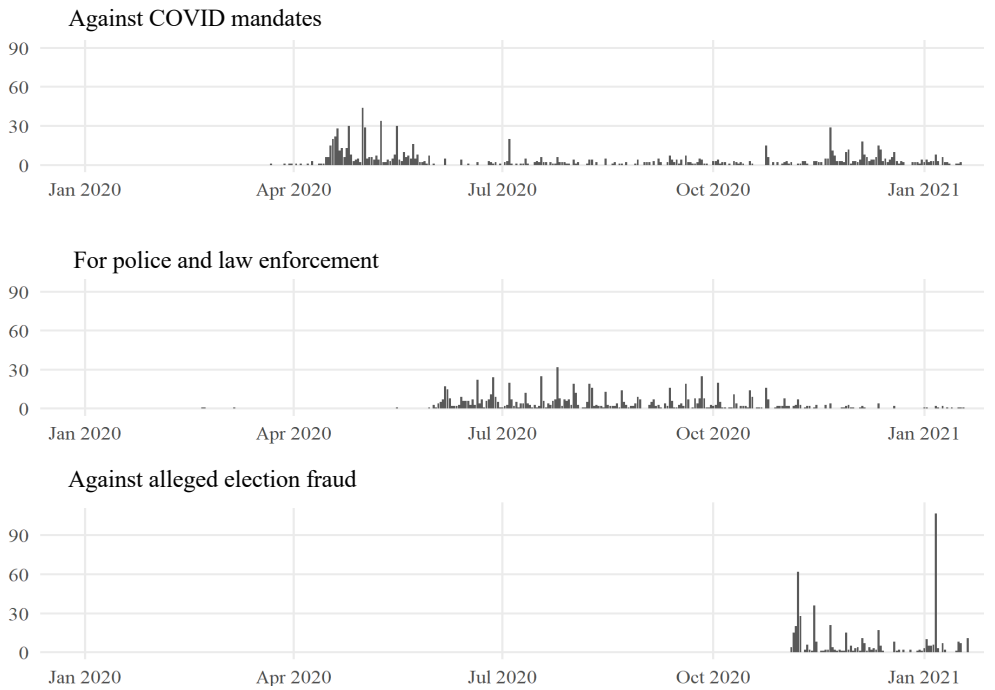
COUNTERMOBILIZATION

In 2020 and into early 2021, right-wing mobilization surged around three major themes: (1) objections to stay-at-home orders and other public-health measures in response to the COVID-19 pandemic; (2) rejection of the Black Lives Matter movement and, in particular, opposition to calls to defund or abolish police; and, finally, (3) refusal to accept the results of the 2020 presidential election. As seen in figure 7, while these themes sometimes overlapped or even blended in single events, they mostly formed the basis for three successive and distinct waves of right-wing countermobilization against perceived left-wing threats or gains.

The first wave of right-wing countermobilization in 2020 focused on stay-at-home orders and other state and local public-health measures in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. Participants rejected these measures, decrying what they regarded as infringements on their freedom and government overreach. Although these protests were not large compared to many of the anti-Trump demonstrations since 2017, the antilockdown events did receive a disproportionately high share of media coverage (Chenoweth, Putnam, Leung, Pressman, and Perkins 2020).

The right's response to the George Floyd uprising evolved over the course of the summer of 2020. Initial mobilization mostly took the form of small counterprotests, usually adjacent to larger antiracism actions, with participants using slogans like "All lives matter!" or claiming they had come out to protect private property (or, in some cases, Confederate monuments) from rioters or looters. As the uprising widened and calls to defund or abolish police became more common, however, a sustained countermobilization emerged in the form of a wave of ostensibly pro-police events under labels like "Back the Blue" or "Blue Lives Matter." While some of these events explicitly discouraged partisan displays, many others blended support for law enforcement with pro-Trump and patriotic flags and rhetoric.

Figure 7. Daily Counts of Right-Wing Protest Events Around Three Major Themes



Finally, mobilization supporting Trump's false claims that Democrats had stolen the election from him swelled quickly as votes were counted, then settled into a rhythm of weekly rallies at state capitols that mostly petered out by late December before increasing again in the run-up to Congressional certification of the results and accompanying insurrection on January 6, 2021 (see figure 7). This wave also included two earlier rallies that drew thousands of Trump supporters to Washington, DC, on November 14 and December 12, both of which attracted large contingents of Proud Boys and other militant right-wing groups and involved violent attacks on counterprotesters.

To a significant extent, each of these issue areas fed off of President Trump's own rhetoric and policies. The administration downplayed the impact of coronavirus, and Trump and other high-level politicians were dismissive of public health measures. Trump himself usually appeared in public without a mask and downplayed the virus' threat to public health. On Twitter, he called on his supporters to "liberate" states where Democratic governors had issued lockdowns, including Michigan, Minnesota, and Virginia. Throughout the George Floyd uprising, Trump denigrated the Black Lives Matter movement and antifascist activism, characterizing Black Lives Matter and antifa as terrorist organizations that threatened public safety and American values. And, of course, after the 2020 election, Trump led the charge in rejecting the validity of the election results and declaring himself the rightful winner.

CONCLUSION

The Trump presidency included multiple protests that, given their size and geographic spread, will likely have historic resonance, including the Women's March, the March for Our Lives, the National Student Walkout, and the George Floyd uprising of 2020. One question is whether and how the U.S. protest dynamic will shift with Trump, a Republican, out of office and succeeded as of 2021 by a Democrat, President Joseph Biden.

Although this article presents a largely descriptive picture of demonstrations and marches under Trump, future work could delve more deeply into the size, location, and distribution of these protests and their relationship to a myriad of factors. For example, what explains the temporal and geographic distribution of different protest events? Why was mass protest so common and enduring throughout the Trump presidency compared with other more recent eras in U.S. politics? What effects have different protest waves had on local, state, and national public policy regarding gun reform, racial justice, climate, public health, immigration, and other domains? Data on protest events during and after the Trump presidency can help to shed light on whether this period represented a watershed in contentious politics—as well as whether mass mobilization represents a new normal in the United States.

NOTES

[1] For more information on this collaboration and the overlap between the two projects, please see Fisher, Andrews, Caren, Chenoweth, Heaney, Leung, Perkins, and Pressman (2019). For more information on Count Love's data collection procedures, see Leung and Perkins (2021).

[2] Only in late 2020 and early 2021 did one of the authors (Ulfelder) develop and implement a regular routine for collecting event information from Twitter via human review of a constantly evolving Twitter List. But this routine was not applied retroactively to the Trump years.

[3] CCC published monthly reports on protests in the United States in the Monkey Cage section of the *Washington Post*. These posts covered all of 2017 and through August 2018 before switching to more sporadic posts on major protest events.

[4] https://github.com/nonviolent-action-lab/crowd-counting-consortium

[5] To see a map of U.S. counties highlighting counties with zero or one newspaper, visit usnewsdeserts.com.

[6] Oliver and Myers (1999: 66) found that conflictual events were much more likely to get coverage, defined as "involving 'conflict' if we were aware of social or political conflict about the sponsoring organization or the issue addressed by the event."

[7] Andrews and Caren (2010: 854) make the point that greater proximity to a news outlet makes coverage of social movements more likely. See also Earl, Martin, McCarthy, and Soule (2004: 69).
[8] More than 27,000 of the 64,000 Trump-era events in CCC's dataset, or about 42% of events, have no reported crowd size. Thus, in this article, all CCC size counts are based only on the 58% of events with size estimates. No values were imputed.
[9] This problem is common to all event datasets. There is no way to reliably estimate the ground truth number of actual events, or the measurement error between actual events and reported ones, across the entire United States.
[10] These figures exclude events that have no date, have no known location (as in city or town), or were held online. When we present a range of participants, it is a range of the low and high totals. When we present one number, it is an average of the low and high total estimate of protesters.
[11] We offer this claim with a caveat: since both Count Love and the CCC only started in 2017, we lack the data to compare the day-to-day and month-to-month number and size of protests to those under previous U.S. administrations. Thus, our claim is partly impressionistic but also based on the impressive number and huge size of one-day, multi-location protests.
[12] The count of participants is not of unique participants; a person who attended three protests on the CCC list would count as three of the participants. Our count for January 2017 excludes January 1-19.
[13] This does not account for the changing size of the U.S. population. The authors' list of other large U.S. protests and sources for crowd size estimates at those historical events is available upon request. This claim excludes the first Earth Day on April 22, 1970—as many as 20 million people at 11,500 locations—because it is not clear how many of the events were protests as opposed to being more like environmental festivals, clean-ups, and teach-ins (Kluger 2020; "EPA History: Earth Day" n.d).
[14] For the best guess, CCC adjusted the low estimate upward by 10% and the high estimate downward by 10% and then took the average of the two adjusted values. Because the low and high totals have changed slightly since the original estimate in early 2017, a best guess calculated today would be 4,157,925.
[15] We thank the Women's March organization and Kanisha Bond for sharing their data on the National Student Walkout.
[16] For the current version, see https://github.com/nonviolent-action-lab/crowd-counting-consortium/blob/master/data_compilation/ccc_issue_regex_list.R. This online version is occasionally modified and therefore may differ slightly from the version used to encode the data used in this article.
[17] For purposes of this analysis, "antiracist" events were identified as ones coded as anti-Trump ("valence" = 1) with "racism" in the "issues" field.
[18] There is good reason to believe that these statistics overstate the prevalence of property damage and injuries. Other things being equal (and as noted earlier), protests involving property damage and clashes between police and protesters are more likely to make the news than ones that do not, while many smaller and routinized events (e.g., daily or weekly gatherings) associated with the BLM movement appear to have been ignored by journalists after the first few weeks.
[19] See also https://www.reddit.com/r/2020PoliceBrutality/ and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Violence_and_controversies_during_the_George_Floyd_protests.

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