

## A Appendix

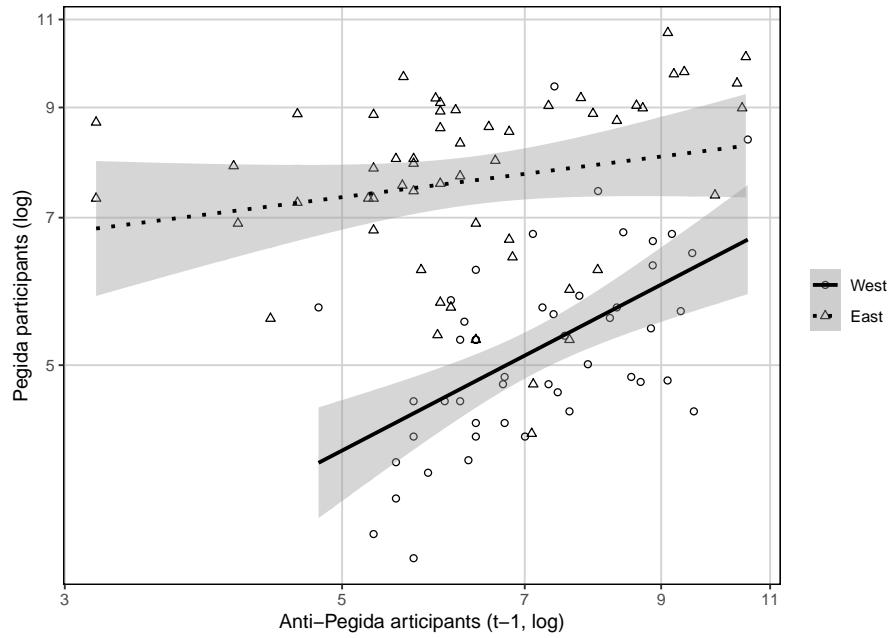


Figure A.1: Relationship between participant numbers at anti-Pegida events and participant numbers at subsequent Pegida demonstration by region.

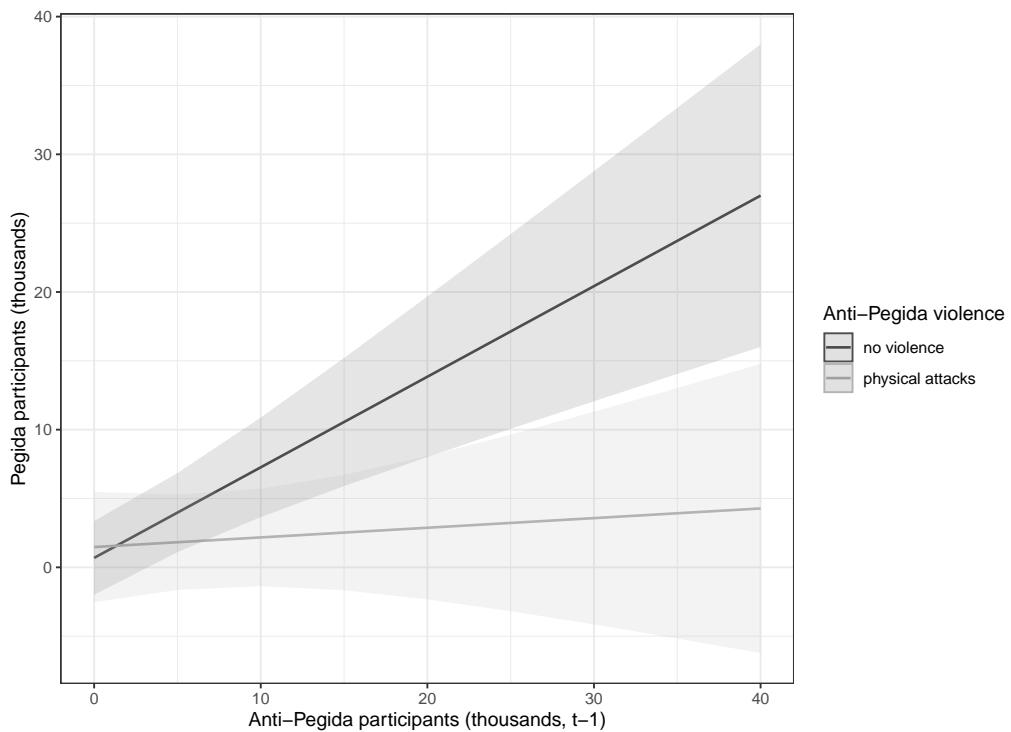


Figure A.2: Intensity. Interaction between protest size of counter-protest and participant violence. Model configurations as in in Model 8.

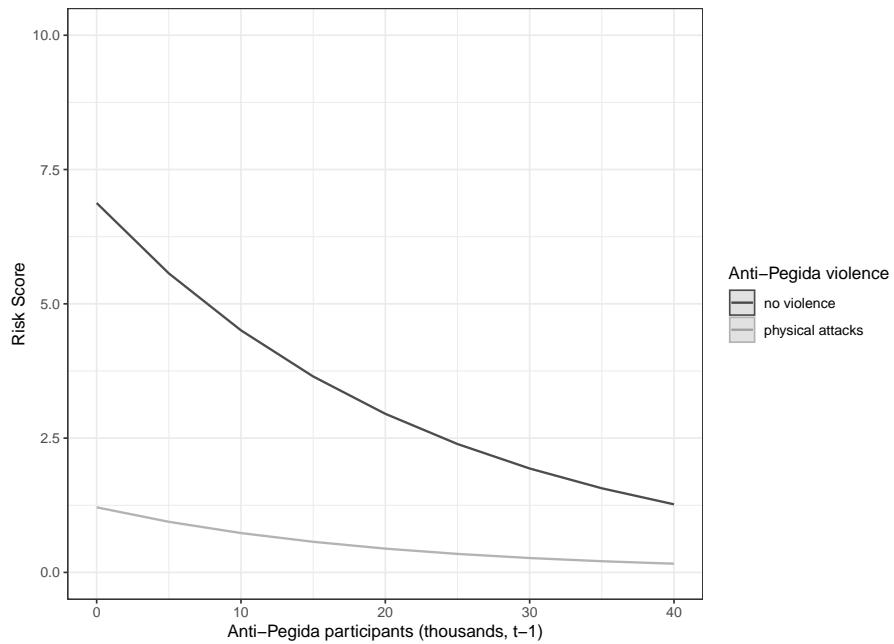


Figure A.3: Demobilization. Interaction between protest size of counter-protest and participant violence. Model configurations as in in Model 14.

Variable	Mean	Sd	Min	Max	Obs
Participant numbers (Pegida)	1,815	3,468	8	24,365	340
Participant numbers (anti-Pegida)	2,441	4,647	20	33,429	328
Participant violence (Pegida)	0.18	0.7	0	4	364
Participant violence (anti-Pegida)	0.33	0.9	0	4	369
Police engagement with Pegida	0.08	0.35	0	2	364
Police engagement with anti-Pegida	0.27	0.65	0	2	369

Table A.1: Summary statistics for selected variables at the event-level.

<b>Southern Germany</b>	<b>Western Germany</b>
Badische Zeitung	Aachener Nachrichten
Bayerische Rundschau	Aachener Zeitung
Bayerische Staatszeitung	Aarb-Bote
Coburger Tageblatt	Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz
Die Kitzinger	Bonner General-Anzeiger
Fränkischer Tag (regional section)	Darmstädter Echo
Heilbronner Zeitung	Express
Münchner Abendzeitung	Frankfurter Neue Presse
Neue Württembergische Zeitung	Frankfurter Rundschau
Nürnberger Nachrichten	Gelnhäuser Tageblatt
Nürnberger Zeitung	Hochheimer Zeitung
Passauer Neue Presse	Hofheimer Zeitung
Reutlinger General-Anzeiger	Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger
Saale-Zeitung	Kölnische Rundschau
Sonntag Aktuell	Kreis-Anzeiger
Schwäbische Zeitung	Lampertheimer Zeitung
Südkurier	Lauterbacher Anzeiger
Südwest Presse	Main-Taunus-Kurier
Landshuter Zeitung	Neue Westfälische
Straubinger Tagblatt	Oberhessische Zeitung
Mittelbayerische Zeitung	Rhein-Zeitung
Münchner Merkur	Rheinische Post
Nordbayerischer Kurier	Saarbrücker Zeitung
<b>Northern Germany</b>	Trierischer Volksfreund
Hamburger Abendblatt	Usinger Anzeiger
Nordkurier	Westdeutsche Zeitung
Schweriner Volkszeitung	Westfalen-Blatt
Hamburger Morgenpost	Wiesbadener Kurier
Aller-Zeitung	Wiesbadener Tagblatt
Calenberger Zeitung	Rhein-Lahn-Zeitung
Deister-Anzeiger	Westerwälder Zeitung
Eichsfelder Tageblatt	Rhein-Hunsrück-Zeitung
Göttinger Tageblatt	Oeffentlicher Anzeiger
Leine-Zeitung Garbsen/Seelze	Rüsselsheimer Echo
Leine-Zeitung Neustadt/Wunstorf	<b>Eastern Germany</b>
Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung	Berliner Zeitung
Neue Presse	Berliner Kurier
Nordwest-Zeitung	Berliner Morgenpost
Ostsee-Zeitung	Lausitzer Rundschau - Elbe-Elster-Rundschau
Peiner Allgemeine Zeitung	Leipziger Volkszeitung
Wolfsburger Allgemeine Zeitung	Märkische Allgemeine
	Mitteldeutsche Zeitung
	Ostthüringer Zeitung
	Potsdamer Neueste Nachrichten
	Sächsische Zeitung
	Schweriner Volkszeitung
	Thüringer Allgemeine
	Thüringische Landeszeitung
	Berliner Zeitung

Table A.2: Full list of regional newspapers available at GBI-Genios wiso (visit <https://www.wiso-net.de/> for more information.)

Aachen	Koblenz
Augsburg	Köln
Bergisch Gladbach	Krefeld
Berlin	Leipzig
Bielefeld	Leverkusen
Bochum	Lübeck
Bonn	Ludwigshafen am Rhein
Bottrop	Magdeburg
Braunschweig	Mainz
Bremen	Mannheim
Bremerhaven	Moers
Chemnitz	Mönchengladbach
Cottbus	Mülheim an der Ruhr
Darmstadt	München
Dessau-Roßlau	Münster
Dortmund	Neuss
Dresden	Nürnberg
Duisburg	Oberhausen
Düsseldorf	Offenbach am Main
Erfurt	Oldenburg (Oldb)
Erlangen	Osnabrück
Essen	Paderborn
Flensburg	Pforzheim
Frankfurt am Main	Plauen
Freiburg im Breisgau	Potsdam
Fürth	Recklinghausen
Gelsenkirchen	Regensburg
Gera	Remscheid
Görlitz	Reutlingen
Göttingen	Rostock
Hagen	Saarbrücken
Halle (Saale)	Salzgitter
Hamburg	Schwerin
Hamm	Siegen
Hannover	Solingen
Heidelberg	Stuttgart
Heilbronn	Trier
Herne	Ulm
Hildesheim	Wiesbaden
Ingolstadt	Wilhelmshaven
Jena	Witten
Kaiserslautern	Wolfsburg
Karlsruhe	Wuppertal
Kassel	Würzburg
Kiel	Zwickau

Table A.3: Full list of all major cities in Germany in PEPGAD.

	Model A1	Model A2	Model A3
Anti-Pegida demonstrations (cumulative)	0.13 (0.25)	0.01 (0.22)	0.03 (0.19)
Anti-Pegida demonstrations (, prev. month)	-0.53 (0.51)		
Inhabitants (log)	0.60 (0.52)	0.62 (0.54)	0.50 (0.59)
Public budget balance	-0.03 (0.10)	-0.04 (0.10)	-0.01 (0.09)
Employment rate	-0.06 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.06)
Birth rate	0.15 (0.18)	0.15 (0.18)	0.14 (0.21)
Income taxes	0.51 (0.34)	0.48 (0.33)	0.49 (0.34)
Total immigrants (log)	0.86 (0.52)	0.88 (0.54)	0.90 (0.55)
Vote share RW parties	0.15 (0.13)	0.15 (0.13)	0.15 (0.14)
Eastern Germany	3.56*** (1.01)	3.62*** (1.02)	3.63*** (1.07)
Anti-Pegida demonstration (prev. month)		-0.20 (0.83)	-0.09 (0.70)
Time trend		-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Time trend (squared)		0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Pegida protests (nationwide, t-1)		0.07 (0.12)	0.07 (0.12)
Anti-Pegida protests (nationwide, t-1)		0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.06)
Intercept			-21.91*** (5.03)
AIC	252.56	543.69	382.62
Num. events	33	33	33
Num. obs.	8,812	8,729	8,729

Table A.4: Robustness checks. Effect of counter-mobilization on RWP onset. Models with the absolute number of counter-demonstrations in the previous month (M1), binary logit (M2) and rare event logistic regression (M3) with time trends and controls for nationwide protest events. Significance levels: \*\*\*p<0.001; \*\*p<0.01; \*p<0.05;  $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$ .

	Model A4	Model A5	Model A6	Model A7	Model A8
Anti-Pegida participants (min, t-1)	0.14* (0.06)				
Anti-Pegida participants (max, t-1)		0.30*** (0.08)			
Anti-Pegida participants (log, t-1)			0.23*** (0.03)		
Anti-Pegida violence (median, t-1)				-4.70* (2.33)	-11.31 (6.98)
Pegida violence (t-1)					12.39 (9.56)
Charlie Hebdo	-18.75* (8.39)	0.98 (12.81)	0.13 (0.24)	-19.20 (14.71)	-13.93 (11.62)
Cologne incidents	-24.43*** (3.26)	-12.84* (6.45)	-0.34* (0.13)	-25.05*** (5.36)	-20.81*** (4.10)
Pegida protests (nationwide, t-1)	6.06 <sup>†</sup> (3.58)	3.36 (5.84)	0.10 (0.07)	4.28 (3.57)	4.81 (4.85)
Anti-Pegida protests (nationwide, t-1)	-2.59 (1.85)	-1.19 (1.97)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.96 (0.94)	0.56 (1.37)
Anti-Pegida protest (t-1)	-6.71* (2.58)	-4.32 (7.41)	-1.42*** (0.15)	-4.25 (3.75)	-8.73 (6.56)
Spell duration	-0.48* (0.24)	-0.75 (0.59)	-0.02 (0.03)	-1.31*** (0.26)	-1.60*** (0.20)
Spell duration (squared)	0.07 <sup>†</sup> (0.03)	0.06 (0.07)	0.00 (0.00)	0.14*** (0.03)	0.18*** (0.03)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.04	0.16	0.26	0.06	0.06
Num. obs.	132	132	132	140	140

Table A.5: Robustness checks. Effect of counter-mobilization on RWP size. Linear panel models with clustered standard errors. Significance levels: \*\*\*p<0.001; \*\*p<0.01; \*p<0.05; <sup>†</sup>p < 0.1.

	M A9	M A10	M A11	M A12	M A13	M A14	M A15
Anti-Pegida participants (min)	0.00 (0.01)						
Anti-Pegida participants (max)		0.00 (0.00)					
Anti-Pegida participants (mean)			0.00 (0.01)				
Pegida participants (mean)				-0.06 <sup>†</sup> (0.04)			
Anti-Pegida violence (median)					-0.26* (0.10)		
Pegida violence (median)					-0.23 (0.21)		
Police engagement					-0.03 (0.37)		
Anti-Pegida violence						-0.21* (0.10)	-0.56*** (0.14)
Pegida violence						0.04 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.23)
Civil society actors					0.06 (0.23)		
Political representatives					-0.51 (0.61)		
Churches					-0.90* (0.41)		
Left-wing associations					-0.14 (0.32)		
Political parties					-0.00 (0.21)		
Charlie Hebdo	-0.03 (0.58)	-0.03 (0.59)	-0.08 (0.64)	-0.32 (0.45)	-0.36 (0.52)	0.13 (0.37)	0.10 (0.61)
Cologne incidents	-0.32 (0.43)	-0.32 (0.44)	-0.16 (0.48)	-0.45 (0.36)	-0.41 (0.39)	-0.57 (0.43)	-0.41 (0.50)
Pegida protests (nationwide)	0.08 (0.11)	0.08 (0.11)	0.12 (0.13)	0.13 (0.12)	0.05 (0.11)	0.10 (0.10)	0.07 (0.12)
Anti-Pegida protests (nationwide)	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.09 <sup>†</sup> (0.05)	-0.06 (0.07)
Linear time trend	0.09** (0.03)	0.09** (0.03)	0.09** (0.03)	0.09*** (0.03)	0.09** (0.03)	0.06*** (0.01)	0.07* (0.03)
Duration	0.16** (0.06)	0.16** (0.06)	0.14* (0.06)	0.16*** (0.04)	0.15*** (0.04)	-0.08 (0.07)	0.03 (0.03)
Duration (squared)	-0.01 <sup>†</sup> (0.00)	-0.01 <sup>†</sup> (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.03 (0.02)	0.00 (0.00)
AIC	234.10	234.10	218.06	278.66	284.01	509.80	250.82
R <sup>2</sup>	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.15	0.14	0.15	0.13
Max. R <sup>2</sup>	0.57	0.57	0.55	0.62	0.62	0.82	0.58
Num. events	77	77	72	87	87	131	76
Num. obs.	296	296	288	320	320	320	320

Table A.6: Robustness checks. Relationship between counter-mobilization and RWP termination. Conditional logistic regression models with clustered standard errors. Significance levels: \*\*\*p<0.001; \*\*p<0.01; \*p<0.05; <sup>†</sup>p < 0.1.

# Coding Instructions for the *Pegida Protest Action Database (PEGPAD)*

September 11, 2020

## 1 Introduction

The Pegida Protest Action Database (PEGPAD) contains information about reported protest activities by the Pegida movement as well as protest activities by countermovements or Pegida opponents in 92 major German cities. The database covers events that occurred between October 2014 and December 2017. It is not limited to street protest but also includes different protest tactics such as sit-ins, civil disobedience, etc.

## 2 Sample of German Cities

The database records protest events in 92 German cities. The sample of cities (see Appendix for a list of all cities included in the database) comprises all current major and middle-sized cities ("Groß- und Mittelstädte") and those cities that formerly belonged to this category. In order to qualify as a major or middle-sized city more than 100,000 inhabitants are required.

## 3 Selection of Media Sources

In order to obtain information about protest and counter-protest activities we rely on regional newspaper articles recorded in the online database GBI-Genios wiso (<https://www.wiso-net.de>). The database provides access to digital articles from 89 newspapers with a regional scope (For a full list of all outlets see the Appendix.). For every city we automatically retrieved all articles resulting from the following search string: "[city] AND pegida AND (demo\* OR protest\* OR \*demo OR \*protest)". Duplicate entries were deleted from the result list based on text similarity and the final set of articles was handed over to research assistants for manual coding.

## 4 Unit of Analysis: Event Report

The database is comprised of event reports. Each row in the data set represents an individual observation of a protest event either by Pegida followers or opponents, reported by a media outlet. There can be multiple reports about a single event. Each report contains information about the city where the event occurred and the exact date. If multiple clearly distinguishable events occurred in the same city on the same day, they are treated as separate events.

## 5 Definition of a Protest Action Event

The database contains all observable collective activities with the aim to publicly support or oppose the Pegida movement itself or its goals within clearly identifiable spatial and temporal boundaries.

1. There was an actual, observable protest action; we do not code intentions to organize protest actions.
2. The activity was carried out by a group of people or by individuals in the name of an organization. We do not code interview statements or verbal acts of protest.
3. The activity is explicitly related to the wider Pegida movement. We do not code demonstrations exclusively by AfD supporters or opponents.
4. The action occurred in public. We do not code protest actions that occurred in private spaces during meetings of organizations.
5. We do not code protest actions such as a performance series or festivals that occur over multiple days.

## 6 Variables

### 6.1 Values and Labels

The following list specifies the variables included in the Pegida and the values they can take. In general, we code missing values (99) if the corresponding information cannot be ascertained from the news report. This NA rule applies to all variables except the ones listed as "general event information". In order to qualify as an event information for these variables is required. Variables that require text input can be left empty if no information is available.

All variables with text input (such as *organizations* see below) should be entered with alphanumeric characters and apostrophes only (no special characters such as commas, quotes etc.), unless explicitly specified otherwise. Exceptions include the separator (;) for multiple entries. Separators should not be followed by a whitespace.

### 6.2 General report information

#### Coder ID

This variable identifies the research assistant who files the event report.

#### Article ID

This variable includes identifying information about the article that contains the event report. This information is needed to establish a connection between the article's text and the event report. Please copy and paste the file name without .html extension.

### 6.3 General event information (required information)

#### City

This variable includes the name of the city. Do not code events in cities other than the one you have been assigned. If multiple events occur in the same city on the same day code these as different event reports.

### **Event date**

Enter the exact event date.

Make sure that you do not confound publication day of the article and event date. If you cannot clearly identify the event date do not code the event. If no date is given, enter the article's publication date. You may look at a calendar to verify information such as "last Friday". Also do not include events that appear as background story of an article, e.g. if an article talks about a protest event that is related to an ongoing court trial. As a rule of thumb, do not include events that occurred more than one month ago. Do not code plans for future protestactivities.

### **Side**

Indicate whether or not the protest supported or opposed the Pegida movement.

### **Tactic**

What kind of protest activity was conducted?

Please list all tactics that were used during the event, separated by a semicolon. Use the word "demonstration" for all different kinds of street protest and actions that occurred during a street demonstration.

## **6.4 Participant Variables**

### **Number of participants**

Include information about the number of participants as provided in the news article. The input be both an exact *number* or a *phrase*. In the former case, enter the exact number. In the latter case, enter the exact phrase used to describe the number of participants, e.g. "several hundreds". Moreover, if the article phrases the number of participants as more than / around / ca 100, code as 100. If more than one estimate is given in the article, please separate them by a semicolon (;). If a range of participants is given, use the lowest estimate, e.g. code "between 200 and 400" as "200".

## **Violence by participants**

Did protest participants use violent means? If yes, what kind of violence? If it is unclear who is responsible for the violence, code the described levels of violence for both parties (e.g. police and demonstrators).

99 = no information

0 = explicit report of nonviolence; 1 = property damages; 2 = physical attacks against police forces; 3 = physical attacks against counter-demonstrators/ Pegida sympathizers; 4 = attacks against both police and counter-demonstrators

## **6.5 Police Variables**

### **Level of police engagement**

How did the police react to protest? If it is unclear who is responsible for the violence, code the described levels of violence for both parties (e.g. police and demonstrators).

99 = no information or no presence; 0 = passive role/presence; 1 = low-level interventions (e.g. so called *Platzverweise*); 2 = physical intervention (e.g. arrests)