

Group Size and Protest Mobilization across  
Movements and Countermovements -  
Online Appendix

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## A Summary statistics

Table A2 provides summary statistics for the pooled sample, aggregating across the two movements and the two contexts. Overall, we were able to recruit 1,464 respondents who supported the right- and left-leaning movements, respectively. Most important, we succeeded in recruiting a highly politically active sample: 34 percent of respondents stated that they are certain to participate in one of the two protests and another 30 percent were not yet decided. Moreover, respondents stated to have participated in five previous protests, on average, underlining that we recruited a set of politically active individuals. Respondents also expressed a marked conviction that protests are an effective tool to ignite change, averaging 3.8 points on a 0 - 5 Likert-scale. The numbers are highly similar across the two protest contexts—Berlin (Panel B) and Erfurt (Panel C)—suggesting that the two contexts are, indeed, comparable.

The right-wing movement sample and the left-wing countermovement sample across the two contexts are provided in Tables A3 and A4. As can be seen, the pooled right-wing sample is slightly older at 49 years compared to the left-wing countersample (37 years). There are also more men in the right-wing sample (75 percent) relative to the left-leaning sample (64 percent). Education-levels are similar across the two samples. Regarding the protest behavior, the right-wing challenger sample has historically been less active with an average of 4.7 prior attended protests compared to 6.1 protests on the left. Protest intentions, by contrast, are higher on the right: On average, 41 percent of right-wing respondents are certain to attend the protest, compared to 24 percent on the left.

## **B Data availability**

The data collected by the authors for this article is available at the Harvard Dataverse <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/MUSFYH>.

The external data used in article can be accessed from the following sources:

- PRODAT data, freely available (last accessed August 19<sup>th</sup>, 2021):

[https://www.wzb.eu/system/files/docs/sine/prodat\\_1950-2002.zip/](https://www.wzb.eu/system/files/docs/sine/prodat_1950-2002.zip/)

- PolDem data, freely available (last accessed August 19<sup>th</sup>, 2021):

[https://poldem.eui.eu/downloads/pea/poldem-protest\\_30.dta](https://poldem.eui.eu/downloads/pea/poldem-protest_30.dta)

- LexisNexis database, commercial data (last accessed August 19<sup>th</sup>, 2021):

<https://www.lexisnexis.com/en-us/professional/nexis/nexis.page>.

## **C Ethical considerations**

Conducting a field experiment in the context of a political protest presents researchers with tough ethical questions. Not only may protests have an effect on public opinion. They can also turn violent, which may put subjects at risk. We carefully weighed these possibilities ahead of the study and addressed them in four ways. First and most important, we obtained ethical approval (IRB) from [X]. Doing so ensures that the study—including the collection and storage of the data as well as the recruitment of subjects—was in accordance with the law. Second, our intervention did not deceive subjects. All turnout forecasts were provided to us by reputable sources and highly realistic. Specifically, in order to obtain credible estimates of turnout, we contacted several sources familiar with the respective organizers (both partisan and neutral observers, such as the police, journalists and academics; more details are given in Section D) a few days before the survey.


Respondents were thus accurately informed by the research team. What is more, as Table A2 shows, the expert forecasts were not far off from respondents' pre-treatment beliefs about turnout at both protests. The treatment thus did not radically change respondents' perceptions about turnout levels, though it did produce a slight (exogenous) shift in beliefs, which we make use of below. Third, the likelihood of violence at these specific events was low. The police anticipated large turnout at both protests and preemptively requested reinforcements from other cities in Germany to ensure that the two protests were kept apart during the whole duration of the protest - which they successfully did. Moreover, the protest-counterprotest nature of the events meant that violence against or from the police was also unlikely as they could credibly establish themselves as neutral party. In the end, both protests turned out to be peaceful and no protester was harmed. Last, while the protests were discussed in German media, we did not detect any impact on public opinion. To do so, we used public opinion data from right before and after the protests. Doing so, allows us to rule out that the study had any effect on the broader political debate in Germany. Such an effect would have been rather implausible, given the small number of people that were induced to attend the protest.

Figure A1: Facebook ads for recruitment of right- and left-leaning protesters

(a) Right-wing recruitment

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Warum demonstrieren Menschen für die AfD?  
Nimm an unser fünf-minütigen wissenschaftlichen Umfrage teil.  
Als Dankeschön verlosen wir Amazon Gutscheine im Wert von 150 Euro.




[HTTPS://DEMOSTUDIE.HERO...](https://demostudie.hero...)  
**Umfrage zu Protesten**

(b) Left-wing recruitment

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Warum protestieren Menschen gegen Rechts?  
Nimm Teil an unser fünf-minütigen wissenschaftlichen Umfrage!  
Als Dankeschön verlosen wir Amazon Gutscheine im Wert von 150 Euro.



[DEMOSTUDIE.COM](https://demostudie.com)  
**Umfragen zu Protesten**

*Notes:* These figures show the Facebook ads targeted at right-wing movement and left-wing countermovement supporters, respectively. The text translates as: “Why do people protest [to support the AfD / against the Right]? Take part in our five-minute scientific survey. As a thank you, we will raffle Amazon vouchers worth 150 Euros.”

## D Expert forecasts

In order to obtain credible estimates of turnout across the right-leaning protest and the left-leaning counterprotest in Berlin and Erfurt, respectively, we contacted several sources familiar with the respective groups a few days before the protests took place. Our intention was to provide respon-

dents with accurate and realistic forecasts so as to not deceive them. Moreover, we wanted to make sure that we did not intervene in the world in an ethically unsound way, which would certainly have been the case had we provided respondents with unrealistically high or low forecasts.

In the context of Berlin and Erfurt, we called the local responsible police station and asked them for an off-the-record estimate. In both cases, the respective officials were hesitant at first to give out a forecast because such numbers could have been cited by the press in which case the police would have had to justify them. We therefore told the officials that the numbers would be used for a scientific study and that it would not, in any case, constitute an official estimate, nor one that would make its way into the press.

Moreover, both in Berlin and Erfurt, we also contacted two local journalists and academics that work for reputable German media outlets, including German state television. Both reporters, too, were informed that the numbers would not be made public and that their estimate solely constituted their private opinion. Finally, we also contacted two officials from the participating parties and, again, promised complete confidentiality. Based on these forecasts, we then distilled the lowest and highest forecast for the two events and randomly assigned them to participants (see Section 3, sample).

Table A1: Overview of data sources

<b>Original data sources</b>				
<b>Source</b>		<b>Sample</b>	<b>Recruitment method</b>	<b>Purpose</b>
First experiment (Berlin, May 2018)		Potential activists (N = 959)	Facebook advertisement and email lists	Estimation of treatment effects.
Second experiment (Erfurt, April/May 2019)		Potential activists (N = 505)	Facebook advertisement and email lists	Estimation of treatment effects.
Descriptive survey (Berlin, June 2019)		Potential activists (N = 337)	Facebook advertisement	Description of attitudes and social networks of potential activists.
Descriptive survey (Germany, March 2021)		General population (N = 649)	Online panel provider (Luc.id)	Description of attitudes towards protesters in the general population.
<b>Secondary data sources</b>				
<b>Source</b>		<b>Sample</b>	<b>Recruitment method</b>	<b>Purpose</b>
LexisNexis database		All articles relating to AfD protests written between 2016 – 2019	German media news sources	Text analysis of media perception of protest events
PRODAT		Protest events in the Federal Republic of Germany, 1950-1996	Two German Newspapers	Evaluate scoping conditions in Germany
PolDem		Protest events in 30 European countries, 2000-2015	English-language news wires	Evaluate scoping conditions beyond Germany

*Notes:* This table provides an overview of the different data sources used in this paper.

Table A2: Summary statistics (full sample)

	Mean	SD	Median	Min.	Max.	Obs.
<b>Panel A: Pooled sample</b>						
Male	0.71	0.45	1.00	0	1	1464
Age	44.11	15.57	45.50	0	99	1464
High education	0.50	0.50	1.00	0	1	1464
Previous protest participation	5.29	3.92	5.00	0	10	1464
Protest are effective at igniting political change	3.75	1.35	4.00	0	5	1464
Go to protest to express my view	2.80	1.37	3.00	0	5	1464
Pre treatment belief: left-wing protest	6527.81	7246.51	4000.00	0	30000	1464
Pre treatment belief: right-wing protest	6457.31	6940.14	5000.00	0	30000	1464
<u>Outcomes</u>						
Post treatment: right-wing Protest	6637.57	6516.29	5000.00	0	30000	1464
Post treatment: left-wing Protest	6239.21	6402.35	5000.00	0	30000	1464
Certain to go protesting	0.34	0.48	0.00	0	1	1464
Intention to go protesting	2.49	1.29	3.00	1	4	1464
<b>Panel B: Berlin protest</b>						
Male	0.67	0.47	1.00	0	1	959
Age	43.72	15.71	45.00	0	99	959
High education	0.65	0.48	1.00	0	1	959
Previous protest participation	5.44	3.89	5.00	0	10	959
Protest are effective at igniting political change	3.74	1.37	4.00	0	5	959
Go to protest to express my view	2.81	1.39	3.00	0	5	959
Pre treatment belief: left-wing protest	9066.74	7740.83	7000.00	0	30000	959
Pre treatment belief: right-wing protest	8567.26	7672.13	6000.00	0	30000	959
<u>Outcomes</u>						
Post treatment: right-wing Protest	8803.96	7049.57	7000.00	0	30000	959
Post treatment: left-wing Protest	8633.99	6688.45	7000.00	0	30000	959
Certain to go protesting	0.38	0.48	0.00	0	1	959
Intention to go protesting	2.63	1.27	3.00	1	4	959
<b>Panel C: Erfurt protest</b>						
Male	0.78	0.42	1.00	0	1	505
Age	44.87	15.27	46.00	16	95	505
High education	0.21	0.41	0.00	0	1	505
Previous protest participation	5.00	3.97	5.00	0	10	505
Protest are effective at igniting political change	3.78	1.31	4.00	1	5	505
Go to protest to express my view	2.79	1.33	3.00	1	5	505
Pre treatment belief: left-wing protest	1706.36	1725.19	1000.00	0	5000	505
Pre treatment belief: right-wing protest	2450.49	1836.49	2000.00	0	5000	505
<u>Outcomes</u>						
Post treatment: right-wing Protest	2523.56	1704.79	2000.00	0	5000	505
Post treatment: left-wing Protest	1691.48	1522.21	1000.00	0	5000	505
Certain to go protesting	0.29	0.45	0.00	0	1	505
Intention to go protesting	2.24	1.29	2.00	1	4	505

*Notes:* This Table provides summary statistics for both the sample of potential supporters of the AfD protest and the counterprotest across the two contexts.



Table A3: Summary statistics (right-wing sample)

	Mean	SD	Median	Min.	Max.	Obs.
<b>Panel A: Pooled sample</b>						
Male	0.75	0.43	1.00	0	1	897
Age	48.67	13.86	50.00	0	99	897
High education	0.51	0.50	1.00	0	1	897
Previous protest participation	4.77	3.85	4.00	0	10	897
Protest are effective at igniting political change	3.91	1.38	4.00	0	5	897
Go to protest to express my view	2.74	1.43	3.00	0	5	897
Pre treatment belief: left-wing protest	4972.31	6415.41	2000.00	0	30000	897
Pre treatment belief: right-wing protest	7496.55	7553.46	5000.00	0	30000	897
<u>Outcomes</u>						
Post treatment: right-wing Protest	7515.66	7127.41	5000.00	0	30000	897
Post treatment: left-wing Protest	4910.28	5726.27	3000.00	0	30000	897
Certain to go protesting	0.41	0.49	0.00	0	1	897
Intention to go protesting	2.67	1.30	3.00	1	4	897
<b>Panel B: Berlin protest</b>						
Male	0.72	0.45	1.00	0	1	542
Age	48.76	13.85	50.00	0	99	542
High education	0.71	0.45	1.00	0	1	542
Previous protest participation	4.72	3.78	4.00	0	10	542
Protest are effective at igniting political change	3.94	1.39	5.00	0	5	542
Go to protest to express my view	2.73	1.47	3.00	0	5	542
Pre treatment belief: left-wing protest	7309.96	7258.36	5000.00	0	30000	542
Pre treatment belief: right-wing protest	10619.93	8219.69	9000.00	0	30000	542
<u>Outcomes</u>						
Post treatment: right-wing Protest	10571.96	7650.97	9000.00	0	30000	542
Post treatment: left-wing Protest	7186.35	6313.17	5000.00	0	30000	542
Certain to go protesting	0.46	0.50	0.00	0	1	542
Intention to go protesting	2.84	1.25	3.00	1	4	542
<b>Panel C: Erfurt protest</b>						
Male	0.79	0.40	1.00	0	1	355
Age	48.52	13.89	50.00	18	95	355
High education	0.19	0.39	0.00	0	1	355
Previous protest participation	4.85	3.95	4.00	0	10	355
Protest are effective at igniting political change	3.85	1.36	4.00	1	5	355
Go to protest to express my view	2.77	1.38	3.00	1	5	355
Pre treatment belief: left-wing protest	1403.26	1586.83	900.00	0	5000	355
Pre treatment belief: right-wing protest	2727.89	1848.18	2500.00	0	5000	355
<u>Outcomes</u>						
Post treatment: right-wing Protest	2849.43	1726.82	2500.00	0	5000	355
Post treatment: left-wing Protest	1435.27	1429.18	1000.00	0	5000	355
Certain to go protesting	0.34	0.48	0.00	0	1	355
Intention to go protesting	2.42	1.32	2.00	1	4	355

*Notes:* This Table provides summary statistics for the sample of potential supporters of the AfD protest across the two contexts.

Table A4: Summary statistics (left-wing sample)

	Mean	SD	Median	Min.	Max.	Obs.
<b>Panel A: Pooled sample</b>						
Male	0.64	0.48	1.00	0	1	567
Age	36.91	15.41	34.00	0	99	567
High education	0.49	0.50	0.00	0	1	567
Previous protest participation	6.11	3.91	6.00	0	10	567
Protest are effective at igniting political change	3.50	1.26	4.00	0	5	567
Go to protest to express my view	2.89	1.26	3.00	0	5	567
Pre treatment belief: left-wing protest	8988.63	7789.63	7000.00	0	30000	567
Pre treatment belief: right-wing protest	4813.22	5455.20	3000.00	0	30000	567
<u>Outcomes</u>						
Post treatment: right-wing Protest	5248.42	5116.90	4000.00	0	30000	567
Post treatment: left-wing Protest	8341.58	6842.28	7000.00	0	30000	567
Certain to go protesting	0.24	0.43	0.00	0	1	567
Intention to go protesting	2.21	1.24	2.00	1	4	567
<b>Panel B: Berlin protest</b>						
Male	0.61	0.49	1.00	0	1	417
Age	37.15	15.58	34.00	0	99	417
High education	0.58	0.49	1.00	0	1	417
Previous protest participation	6.37	3.84	7.00	0	10	417
Protest are effective at igniting political change	3.47	1.29	4.00	0	5	417
Go to protest to express my view	2.91	1.28	3.00	0	5	417
Pre treatment belief: left-wing protest	11350.12	7760.68	10000.00	0	30000	417
Pre treatment belief: right-wing protest	5899.28	5921.31	4000.00	0	30000	417
<u>Outcomes</u>						
Post treatment: right-wing Protest	6506.00	5380.75	5000.00	0	30000	417
Post treatment: left-wing Protest	10515.59	6701.42	10000.00	0	30000	417
Certain to go protesting	0.27	0.44	0.00	0	1	417
Intention to go protesting	2.35	1.25	2.00	1	4	417
<b>Panel C: Erfurt protest</b>						
Male	0.73	0.44	1.00	0	1	150
Age	36.22	14.93	33.50	16	72	150
High education	0.25	0.44	0.00	0	1	150
Previous protest participation	5.36	4.00	5.00	0	10	150
Protest are effective at igniting political change	3.59	1.16	4.00	1	5	150
Go to protest to express my view	2.83	1.21	3.00	1	5	150
Pre treatment belief: left-wing protest	2423.71	1829.78	1800.00	0	5000	150
Pre treatment belief: right-wing protest	1793.96	1635.75	1000.00	0	5000	150
<u>Outcomes</u>						
Post treatment: right-wing Protest	1752.35	1376.39	1000.50	0	5000	150
Post treatment: left-wing Protest	2297.85	1567.95	2000.00	0	5000	150
Certain to go protesting	0.15	0.35	0.00	0	1	150
Intention to go protesting	1.83	1.14	1.00	1	4	150

*Notes:* This Table provides summary statistics for the sample of potential supporters of the counterprotest across the two contexts.

Table A5: Demographics summary statistics: descriptive sample

	Mean	SD	Median	Min.	Max.	Obs.
<b>Panel A: Counter sample</b>						
Male	0.71	0.46	1.00	0	1	128
Age	44.50	16.83	45.00	18	112	128
High education	0.39	0.49	0.00	0	1	128
Number of protests attended	6.02	4.02	5.50	0	10	128
Perceived effectiveness	3.79	1.25	4.00	1	5	128
Going to the protest to express my view	2.72	1.26	3.00	1	5	128
AfD perception	3.82	1.55	5.00	1	5	128
<b>Panel B: AfD sample</b>						
Male	0.75	0.44	1.00	0	1	209
Age	50.25	13.80	53.00	19	88	209
High education	0.25	0.43	0.00	0	1	209
Number of protests attended	5.22	3.98	5.00	0	10	209
Perceived effectiveness	3.63	1.48	4.00	1	5	209
Going to the protest to express my view	2.84	1.49	3.00	1	5	209
AfD perception	4.51	1.09	5.00	1	5	209

*Notes:* This Table provides summary statistics for the sample recruited seven weeks after the Erfurt protest.

Table A6: Motivations to protest across left and right (post-experimental sample)

	Right-wing	Left-wing	P-value of t-test
Degree of competitiveness	4.66	4.59	0.805
Risk-seeking	5.41	5.12	0.272
Number of friends who attended protests	14.22	15.88	0.508
Number of people known who attended protests	25.99	33.83	0.057
Visibility of attendance	3.07	3.04	0.853
Number of protests attended	5.22	6.02	0.073
Perceived effectiveness	3.63	3.79	0.282
Perceives protests as fun	2.56	2.97	0.002
Observations	209	128	

*Notes:* This Table provides evidence on differences in social motives, enjoyment value and preferences.

Table A7: Balance tests (pooled sample)

	low-low	high-low	low-high	high-high	P-value - joint test
Male	0.69	0.74	0.70	0.71	0.217
Age	44.91	44.37	43.39	44.06	0.812
High education	0.47	0.47	0.51	0.53	0.287
Previous protest participation	5.05	5.24	5.30	5.48	0.889
Protest are effective at igniting political change	3.76	3.82	3.72	3.73	0.349
Go to protest to express my view	2.83	2.79	2.76	2.83	0.837
AfD perception	4.15	4.27	4.04	4.19	0.115
Pre treatment belief: left-wing protest	5996.98	6040.37	7004.59	6770.48	0.251
Pre treatment belief: right-wing protest	6629.57	6272.59	6281.52	6621.24	0.597
Alternative for Germany (AfD)	0.60	0.62	0.54	0.58	0.189
Social Democratic Party	0.04	0.07	0.05	0.04	0.126
Christian Democratic Union	0.04	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.391
The Left	0.15	0.14	0.17	0.14	0.494
Greens	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.11	0.459
None	0.06	0.09	0.08	0.07	0.554
Other	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.03	0.686
F-stat	0.907	1.084	1.157	1.241	
p(F)	0.560	0.366	0.297	0.229	

*Notes:* This Table provides balance tests for both the sample of potential supporters of the AfD protest and the counterprotest.

Table A8: Balance tests (right-wing sample)

	low-low	high-low	low-high	high-high	P-value - joint test
Male	0.72	0.79	0.72	0.76	0.129
Age	49.13	49.17	47.78	48.80	0.612
High education	0.50	0.46	0.50	0.55	0.142
Previous protest participation	4.39	4.74	4.66	5.18	0.987
Protest are effective at igniting political change	3.92	3.97	3.89	3.88	0.528
Go to protest to express my view	2.85	2.76	2.69	2.70	0.903
AfD perception	4.46	4.53	4.39	4.46	0.324
Pre treatment belief: left-wing protest	5191.82	4178.57	5300.84	5038.14	0.040
Pre treatment belief: right-wing protest	7720.54	7059.99	7439.02	7673.06	0.362
F-stat	0.628	0.581	0.863	0.909	
p(F)	0.774	0.813	0.558	0.516	

*Notes:* This Table provides balance tests for the sample of potential supporters of the AfD protest.

Table A9: Balance tests (left-wing sample)

	low-low	high-low	low-high	high-high	P-value - joint test
Male	0.64	0.64	0.67	0.61	0.991
Age	37.87	35.82	37.39	36.34	0.423
High education	0.43	0.50	0.52	0.50	0.856
Previous protest participation	6.15	6.14	6.17	5.98	0.929
Protest are effective at igniting political change	3.49	3.55	3.49	3.49	0.629
Go to protest to express my view	2.80	2.83	2.84	3.04	0.654
AfD perception	3.63	3.80	3.57	3.73	0.368
Pre treatment belief: left-wing protest	7341.15	9358.42	9333.06	9594.71	0.511
Pre treatment belief: right-wing protest	4808.26	4869.31	4699.61	4906.45	0.917
Social Democratic Party	0.11	0.19	0.12	0.10	0.058
Christian Democratic Union	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.04	0.952
The Left	0.39	0.38	0.41	0.36	0.887
Greens	0.17	0.18	0.14	0.28	0.672
None	0.14	0.10	0.14	0.12	0.454
Other	0.05	0.12	0.07	0.03	0.114
F-stat	1.020	0.987	1.766	1.157	
p(F)	0.433	0.468	0.037	0.303	

*Notes:* This Table provides balance tests for the sample of potential supporters of the counterprotest.

## D.1 Manipulation check

We assess whether the information treatment truly changed respondents' beliefs about turnout of their own as well as the opposing movement's protest. Confirming such an effect is necessary in order to make a credible case that the treatment affected protest intentions by changing respondents' beliefs about turnout—and not via a rivaling mechanism. The first analysis is thus akin to a manipulation check. Columns 1 and 2 of Table A10 demonstrate that respondents' post-treatment beliefs are strongly and significantly affected by the treatment, i.e., the expert forecasts. Among supporters of the right-wing protest, receiving a high forecast about their own protest's size, compared to receiving a low forecast, increased the post-treatment belief about its size by 0.16 standard deviations. By contrast, right-leaning respondents who receive a high, compared to low, forecast about the counterprotest's size increased the post-treatment belief about its size by 0.27 standard deviations.

We find a similar pattern among left-leaning respondents. Supporters of the counterprotest who received a high forecast about their own protest's size increased their post-treatment beliefs about its size by 0.41 standard deviations, relative to receiving a low forecast. Conversely, receiving a high, compared to a low, forecast about the opposing protest's size increased left-leaning respondents' post-treatment beliefs about its size by 0.37 standard deviations. Finally, Table A10 also shows no evidence of cross-learning: participants do *not* update their post-treatment beliefs about the size of the opposing protest when receiving forecasts about the size of their own protest, and vice versa. In sum, our evidence highlights that the provision of expert forecasts significantly changed respondents' post-treatment beliefs about the respective protest sizes. The information treatment thus had a marked effect on respondents' beliefs about protest turnout, both in the right-wing movement as well as the left-wing countermovement.

Table A10: Manipulation check

	Post-Treatment Beliefs about Turnout	
	Own rally (z)	Other rally (z)
<b>Panel A: Right-wing protest sample</b>		
Own protest high turnout	0.159** (0.067)	-0.047 (0.068)
Opposing protest high turnout	0.013 (0.068)	0.275*** (0.069)
Observations	567	567
<b>Panel B: Left-wing counterprotest sample</b>		
Own protest high turnout	0.408*** (0.084)	0.036 (0.083)
Opposing protest high turnout	0.113 (0.084)	0.370*** (0.084)
Observations	897	897

*Notes:* The Table shows coefficients and standard errors of the main OLS regression of the indicated outcomes on the *own protest high turnout* and *opposing protest high turnout* treatment dummies, which indicate when a respondent was given the high turnout forecast for the respective protests in a given context. “Post-treatment beliefs” are respondents post-treatment belief about turnout in their own and in the opposing protest, respectively (standardized). Panel A includes the supporters of the right-wing challenger movement. Panel B includes all supporters of the left-wing countermovement. All pre-registered controls are included. \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.



Table A11: Main results using ordered logit regressions

	Intention
	Attend
<b>Panel A: Left-wing protest</b>	
Own protest high turnout	0.379** (0.169)
Other protest high turnout	0.146 (0.168)
Av. mar. effect of own high on <i>certain to attend</i>	0.059
Observations	567
<b>Panel B: Right-wing protest</b>	
Own protest high turnout	-0.313** (0.131)
Other protest high turnout	0.076 (0.131)
Av. mar. effect of own high on <i>certain to attend</i>	-0.063
Observations	897
<b>Panel C: Test for equality in A and B (p-value)</b>	
Own high	0.00
Other high	0.74

*Notes:* The table shows the main treatment coefficients estimated using logit regressions. Panel A shows data from supporters of the counterprotest. Panel B shows data from supporters of the AfD protest. “Attend” are intentions to participate in the protest reported on a four point scale (4, Yes; 3, uncertain but probably; 2 uncertain, but probably not; 1, no). Effects on attend are estimated using ordered logit regressions. “Own high” takes value 1 if respondents received the high forecast for the own group, and value zero if they received the low forecast. “Other high” takes value 1 if respondents received the high forecast for the opposing group, and value zero if they received the low forecast. Average marginal effects of own high show the treatment effect on saying responding yes. We control for age, gender, whether an individual completed vocational or university education, whether the respondent answered the survey targeted at the left, a dummy for living in the city of the protest, a dummy for the city in which the protest took place, previous protest experience, a measure of perception of the AfD, a measure of beliefs about the effectiveness of protests and a measure of whether people main participate in protests to express their opinion.  
\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

Table A12: Main results including all experimental interactions

	Posterior Beliefs		Intention	Intention
	Own (z)	Other (z)	Attend (z)	Yes (z)
<b>Panel A: Left-wing protest</b>				
Own protest high turnout	0.374*** (0.118)	-0.037 (0.106)	0.111 (0.106)	0.109 (0.111)
Other protest high turnout	0.079 (0.116)	0.299*** (0.115)	0.018 (0.103)	0.066 (0.106)
Own high × other high	0.072 (0.172)	0.151 (0.171)	0.125 (0.156)	0.059 (0.168)
Observations	567	567	567	567
<b>Panel B: Right-wing protest</b>				
Own protest high turnout	0.087 (0.097)	-0.193** (0.085)	-0.184** (0.086)	-0.173** (0.087)
Other protest high turnout	-0.062 (0.098)	0.123 (0.100)	-0.000 (0.087)	0.015 (0.089)
Own high × other high	0.152 (0.136)	0.307** (0.139)	0.080 (0.123)	0.102 (0.124)
Observations	897	897	897	897
<b>Panel C: Test for equality of coefficients in A and B (p-values)</b>				
Own high	0.06	0.25	0.03	0.04
Other high	0.35	0.25	0.89	0.71
Own high × other high	0.71	0.47	0.82	0.84

*Notes:* This table displays results including all experimental variation. Panel A shows data from supporters of the counterprotest. Panel B shows data from supporters of the AfD protest. “Attend (z)” are standardized intentions to participate in the protest reported on a four point scale (4, Yes; 3, uncertain but probably; 2 uncertain, but probably not; 1, no). “Yes (z)” is a standardized dummy variable that indicates answering yes to the same question. “Own high” takes value 1 if respondents received the high forecast for the own group, and value zero if they received the low forecast. “Other high” takes value 1 if respondents received the high forecast for the opposing group, and value zero if they received the low forecast. We control for age, gender, whether an individual completed vocational or university education, whether the respondent answered the survey targeted at the left, a dummy for living in the city of the protest, a dummy for the city in which the protest took place, previous protest experience, a measure of perception of the AfD, a measure of beliefs about the effectiveness of protests and a measure of whether people main participate in protests to express their opinion. \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

Table A13: Correlation between protest intentions and behavior

	Protest attendance (z)	
	No controls	Controls
Protest intention (z)	0.102*** (0.032)	0.104*** (0.033)
AfD protest		-0.026 (0.069)
High education		0.115** (0.055)
Male		0.006 (0.078)
Age		0.001 (0.002)
Local		0.043 (0.056)
Protest effectiveness		-0.005 (0.022)
Expressive motives		-0.010 (0.028)
Number of observations	959	959

*Notes:* This tables displays correlations between intentions to attend protests and actual protest attendance. Attendance is measured through pictures in the experiment (limited to the Berlin sample). In column (1) we do not include any control variables. In column (2) we control for age, gender, whether an individual completed vocational or university education, whether the respondent answered the survey targeted at the left, a dummy for living in the city of the protest, , a measure of perception of the AfD, a measure of beliefs about the effectiveness of protests and a measure of whether people main participate in protests to express their opinion. \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

Table A14: Comparison of full sample with individuals who sent pictures

	Not sent picture	Sent picture	$\Delta$	p-value
Male	0.67	0.67	-0.00	0.97
Age	43.73	42.33	-1.40	0.76
High education	0.65	0.83	0.18	0.10
Previous protest participation	5.42	6.75	1.33	0.24
Protest are effective at igniting political change	3.74	3.58	-0.15	0.61
Go to protest to express my view	2.81	2.58	-0.23	0.56
AfD perception	4.05	4.17	0.11	0.79
Pre treatment belief: left-wing protest	9029.57	12000.00	2970.43	0.23

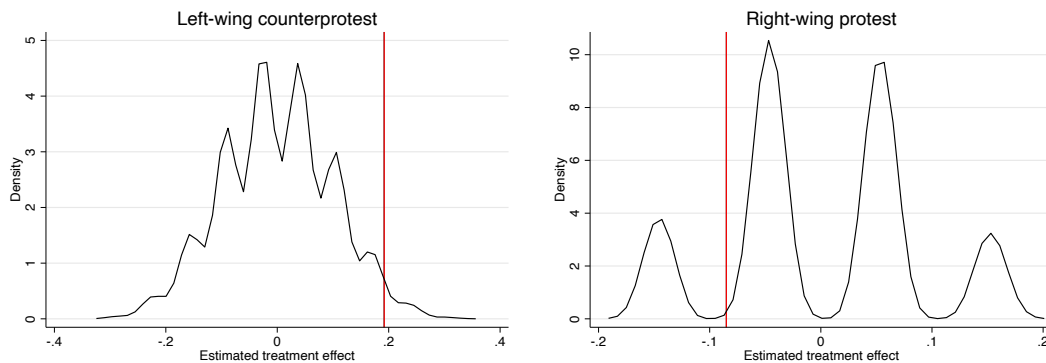
*Notes:* This tables show the difference in observable characteristics among the the sample of individual who sent a picture as proof of attendance and those who did not sent a picture.

Table A15: Correlation between past protest behavior and protest intentions

	Protest intention (z)	
	No controls	Controls
Previous protest (z)	0.343*** (0.024)	0.325*** (0.024)
AfD protest		0.059 (0.053)
High education		-0.123** (0.053)
Male		-0.147*** (0.054)
Age		-0.003** (0.002)
Local		0.403*** (0.056)
Protest effectiveness		0.054*** (0.019)
Expressive motives		-0.005 (0.018)
Erfurt		0.107* (0.059)
Number of observations	1464	1464

*Notes:* This tables displays correlations between standardized past protest attendance and standardized current intentions to attend protests. In column (1) we do not include any control variables. In column (2) we control for age, gender, whether an individual completed university education, whether the respondent answered the survey targeted at the left, a dummy for living in the city of the protest, a dummy for the city in which the protest took place, previous protest experience, a measure of perception of the AfD, a measure of beliefs about the effectiveness of protests and a measure of whether people main participate in protests to express their opinion. \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

Figure A2: Treatment effects on actual participation - randomization inference



*Notes:* Figure A2 displays the distribution of the effects of a high forecast obtained using randomization inference with 10,000 repetitions. The outcome variable is standardized variable indicating whether a respondent sent a picture from the protest. Red-lines indicate experimental treatment effect estimates. The implied p-values are 0.048 for the left-wing counter protest and 0.247 for the right-wing protest.

Table A16: Correlation between past protest behavior and interactions with protest intentions

	Protest intention (z)
	(1)
Previous protests (z)	0.262** (0.122)
Previous protests (z) × AfD protest	0.012 (0.053)
Previous protests (z) × High education	-0.039 (0.053)
Previous protests (z) × Male	0.023 (0.051)
Previous protests (z) × Age	-0.000 (0.002)
Previous protests (z) × Local	0.018 (0.053)
Previous protests (z) × Erfurt	0.017 (0.057)
Previous protests (z) × Protest effectiveness	0.017 (0.019)
Previous protests (z) × Expressive motives	-0.007 (0.018)
Number of observations	1464

*Notes:* This tables displays correlations between standardized past protest attendance and standardized current intentions to attend protests. We control for age, gender, whether an individual completed vocational or university education, whether the respondent answered the survey targeted at the left, a dummy for living in the city of the protest, a dummy for the city in which the protest took place, previous protest experience, a measure of perception of the AfD, a measure of beliefs about the effectiveness of protests and a measure of whether people main participate in protests to express their opinion. We also include all interactions these control variables with standardized past protest attendance. \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

Table A17: Summary statistics by past protest experience and intentions

	Low intention			High intention			Test for equality (p-values)		
	(1) Inexperienced	(2) Experienced	(3) Pooled	(4) Inexperienced	(5) Experienced	(6) Pooled	(7) p[(1)=(2)]	(8) p[(4)=(5)]	(9) p[(3)=(6)]
Male	0.70	0.74	0.73	0.63	0.69	0.69	0.295	0.341	0.119
Age	44.36	43.71	43.87	44.41	44.34	44.34	0.631	0.976	0.565
High education	0.45	0.50	0.49	0.57	0.51	0.51	0.183	0.387	0.434
Previous protest participation	0.00	5.52	4.11	0.00	6.86	6.40	0.000	0.000	0.000
Protest are effective at igniting political change	3.48	3.60	3.57	3.69	3.94	3.92	0.325	0.246	0.000
Go to protest to express my view	2.54	2.90	2.81	2.63	2.80	2.79	0.001	0.427	0.786
AfD perception	3.69	3.84	3.80	4.12	4.50	4.48	0.261	0.103	0.000

*Notes:* This tables displays summary statistics for the whole sample by past protest experience and intention to attend the protest. High intentions means that potential activists responded "likely" or "certain" that they would attend the protest.

Table A18: Main results by previous protest experience

	Posterior Beliefs		Intention
	Own (z)	Other (z)	Attend (z)
<b>Panel A: Inexperienced left-wing</b>			
Own protest high turnout	0.517* (0.283)	0.186 (0.360)	0.061 (0.176)
Opposing protest high turnout	-0.282 (0.281)	0.613 (0.391)	-0.056 (0.157)
Observations	69	69	69
<b>Panel B: Experienced left-wing</b>			
Own protest high turnout	0.385*** (0.088)	0.040 (0.083)	0.159* (0.089)
Opposing protest high turnout	0.156* (0.088)	0.336*** (0.084)	0.100 (0.089)
Observations	498	498	498
Test for equality in A and B (p-value)			
Own protest high turnout	0.59	0.81	0.51
Opposing protest high turnout	0.20	0.43	0.22
<b>Panel C: Inexperienced right-wing protest</b>			
Own protest high turnout	0.163 (0.164)	0.081 (0.182)	-0.401*** (0.138)
Opposing protest high turnout	-0.023 (0.171)	0.193 (0.183)	-0.006 (0.142)
Observations	163	163	163
<b>Panel D: Experienced right-wing</b>			
Own protest high turnout	0.143* (0.074)	-0.081 (0.075)	-0.082 (0.071)
Opposing protest high turnout	0.007 (0.075)	0.301*** (0.076)	0.044 (0.071)
Observations	734	734	734
Test for equality in C and D (p-value)			
Own protest high turnout	0.81	0.40	0.02
Opposing protest high turnout	0.86	0.41	0.56

*Notes:* This table presents the main results for samples split by previous protest experience. Panel A and B show results from supporters of the counterprotest. Panel B and C shows data from supporters of the AfD protest. Panels A and C show the results for participants without any previous protest experience. Panels B and D show the results for participants with at least some previous protest experience. “Attend (z)” are standardized intentions to participate in the protest reported on a four point scale (4, Yes; 3, uncertain but probably; 2 uncertain, but probably not; 1, no). “Own high” takes value 1 if respondents received the high forecast for the own group, and value zero if they received the low forecast. “Other high” takes value 1 if respondents received the high forecast for the opposing group, and value zero if they received the low forecast. Previous protest experience is the standardized number of previously attended protest top coded at 10. We control for age, gender, whether an individual completed vocational or university education, whether the respondent answered the survey targeted at the left, a dummy for living in the city of the protest, a dummy for the city in which the protest took place, a measure of perception of the AfD, a measure of beliefs about the effectiveness of protests and a measure of whether people main participate in protests to express their opinion.

Table A19: Main results including all interaction terms

	Posterior Beliefs		Intention
	Own (z)	Other (z)	Attend (z)
Own high	0.023 (0.245)	0.266 (0.242)	0.134 (0.262)
Own high × AfD protest	-0.267** (0.121)	0.009 (0.122)	-0.235** (0.115)
Own high × High education	0.139 (0.120)	0.338*** (0.130)	0.059 (0.116)
Own high × Male	0.014 (0.123)	-0.216* (0.120)	0.111 (0.119)
Own high × Age	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.009** (0.004)	-0.004 (0.004)
Own high × Local	0.165 (0.117)	0.068 (0.116)	0.063 (0.121)
Own high × Erfurt	0.349*** (0.129)	0.347** (0.137)	0.013 (0.131)
Own high × Protest effectiveness	0.019 (0.041)	-0.031 (0.043)	0.002 (0.042)
Own high × Expressive motives	0.026 (0.042)	0.007 (0.042)	0.007 (0.038)
Other high	0.029 (0.244)	0.464* (0.245)	0.203 (0.261)
Other high × AfD protest	-0.091 (0.121)	-0.022 (0.123)	-0.018 (0.115)
Other high × High education	0.149 (0.121)	0.115 (0.130)	0.039 (0.116)
Other high × Male	-0.241** (0.123)	-0.081 (0.121)	0.001 (0.118)
Other high × Age	0.002 (0.004)	-0.006 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.004)
Other high × Local	0.077 (0.118)	-0.100 (0.118)	0.077 (0.120)
Other high × Erfurt	0.126 (0.130)	0.203 (0.137)	-0.046 (0.131)
Other high × Protest effectiveness	-0.036 (0.041)	-0.020 (0.043)	-0.006 (0.041)
Other high × Expressive motives	0.032 (0.042)	0.069 (0.042)	-0.039 (0.038)
Number of observations	1464	1464	1464

*Notes:* This table presents the main results including interaction terms with all control variables. “Attend (z)” are standardized intentions to participate in the protest reported on a four point scale (4, Yes; 3, uncertain but probably; 2 uncertain, but probably not; 1, no). “Yes (z)” is a standardized dummy variable that indicates answering yes to the same question. “Own high” takes value 1 if respondents received the high forecast for the own group, and value zero if they received the low forecast. “Other high” takes value 1 if respondents received the high forecast for the opposing group, and value zero if they received the low forecast. In addition to the displayed coefficients, we control for the levels of age, gender, whether an individual completed vocational or university education, whether the respondent answered the survey targeted at the left, a dummy for living in the city of the protest, a dummy for the city in which the protest took place, a measure of perception of the AfD, a measure of beliefs about the effectiveness of protests and a measure of whether people mainly participate in protests to express their opinion.



Table A20: Main experimental results (not standardization)

	Posterior Beliefs		Intention	Intention
	Own	Other	Attend	Yes
<b>Panel A: Left-wing protest</b>				
Own protest high turnout	1757.936*** (483.479)	-91.700 (387.866)	0.210** (0.095)	0.058* (0.035)
Opposing protest high turnout	631.543 (487.753)	1639.053*** (394.397)	0.092 (0.094)	0.041 (0.035)
Observations	567	567	567	567
<b>Panel B: Right-wing protest</b>				
Own protest high turnout	558.840 (402.126)	-474.852 (339.935)	-0.189** (0.079)	-0.061** (0.030)
Opposing protest high turnout	-198.403 (403.955)	779.860** (337.876)	0.049 (0.079)	0.032 (0.030)
Observations	897	897	897	897
<b>Panel C: Test for equality in A and B (p-value)</b>				
Own protest high turnout	0.05	0.45	0.00	0.01
Opposing protest high turnout	0.19	0.10	0.72	0.85

*Notes:* Panel A shows data from supporters of the counterprotest. Panel B shows data from supporters of the AfD protest. “Attend” are intentions to participate in the protest reported on a four point scale (4, Yes; 3, uncertain but probably; 2 uncertain, but probably not; 1, no). “Yes” is a dummy variable that indicates answering yes to the same question. “Own high” takes value 1 if respondents received the high forecast for the own group, and value zero if they received the low forecast. “Other high” takes value 1 if respondents received the high forecast for the opposing group, and value zero if they received the low forecast.

## D.2 Population-level survey

We conducted a population-level survey in March 2021, collaborating with the online Panel provider Luc.id to in order to draw a sample broadly representative of the German population in terms of key demographic and geographic variables. The survey was conducted online using the software *Qualtrics*. Participants were paid for their time. In total, 649 respondents completed the survey and are part of the analysis. We display results of the survey in Tables A21 and A22.

Table A21: Praise and scorn in the general population

	Mean	Obs.
<b>Panel A: Attitudes towards 2018 protesters</b>		
Scorn 2018 AfD protest participants	0.53	649
Scorn 2018 counterprotest participants	0.24	649
Praise 2018 AfD protest participants	0.20	649
Praise 2018 counterprotest participants	0.43	649
<b>Panel B: Attitudes towards general protesters</b>		
Scorn general AfD protest participants	0.54	649
Scorn general counterprotest participants	0.19	649
Praise general AfD protest participants	0.21	649
Praise general counterprotest participants	0.50	649

*Notes:* This table displays the fraction of individuals who would praise or scorn participants of protests organized by the AfD and respective counterprotests. Panel A shows attitudes towards participants in the May 2018 protests in Berlin. Panel B shows attitudes towards similar protests in general. Scorning protesters is defined as answering "A lot of scorn" or "Rather scorn" to the question of how they would see protesters. Praising protesters is defined as answering "A lot of praise" or "Rather praise" to the question of how they would see protesters. The remaining fraction of individuals stated that they were neutral. Data was collected in March 2021 using the online panel provided Luc.id.

Table A22: Perceived praise and scorn in the media

	Mean	Obs.
<b><u>Panel A: Perceptions of 2018 media coverage</u></b>		
Perceived negative 2018 AfD protest media coverage	0.47	649
Perceived positive 2018 AfD protest media coverage	0.14	649
Perceived negative 2018 counterprotest media coverage	0.19	649
Perceived positive 2018 counterprotest media coverage	0.35	649
<b><u>Panel B: Perceptions of general media coverage</u></b>		
Perceived negative general AfD protest media coverage	0.47	649
Perceived positive general AfD protest media coverage	0.12	649
Perceived negative general counterprotest media coverage	0.21	649
Perceived positive general counterprotest media coverage	0.35	649

*Notes:* This table displays the fraction of individuals who think that the German public media reported negatively or positively. Panel A shows attitudes towards participants in the May 2018 protests in Berlin. Panel B shows attitudes towards similar protests in general. Positive perceptions of media coverage is defined as answering "Very positively" or "Positively". Negative perceptions of media coverage is defined as answering "Very negatively" or "Negatively". The remaining fraction of individuals stated that they thought the media were neutral. Data was collected in March 2021 using the online panel provided Luc.id.

### D.3 Media analysis

In order to qualify media coverage of right-wing protests and left-wing counterprotests in Germany, we scraped all articles relating to right-wing protests that witnessed a counterprotest written between 2016 – 2019 using LexisNexis. We applied standard pre-processing as well as stemming to this corpus of articles. In order to run the comparative analysis, it was essential to exhaustively and accurately distinguish text passages relating to right-wing protests and left-wing counterprotests. Given the fact that references to protest and counterprotest are often encoded in complex n-gram structures (i.e. "protestors countering AfD activity" or "anti AfD protest" both refer to counterprotest, whereas "AfD protest" or "AfD supporters protesting" refer to right-wing protest), we devised an automated method to categorize n-grams into protest and counterprotest categories and

convert them to unigrams accordingly. Specifically, we defined dictionaries of protest and counterprotest unigrams and captured their occurrences within the corpus. We then constructed 10 word windows around each occurrence in order to restrict our analysis to the immediate syntactic context of each mention of protest or counterprotest. To assess references to enjoyment in the context of protest events, we computed the relative frequency of enjoyment related terms within this 10 word window around mentions of protest and counterprotest. We assessed relative negative/positive sentiment in reference to protest and counter protest events by computing document frequency matrices within the 10 word windows around their occurrences and assigning to each term its *SentimentWortschatz* dictionary sentiment score (range -1 to 1 with higher values denoting more positive sentiment). The overall sentiment was computed as follows.

$$S = \sum_{i=1}^N n_i \left( \frac{1}{L} s_i \right)$$

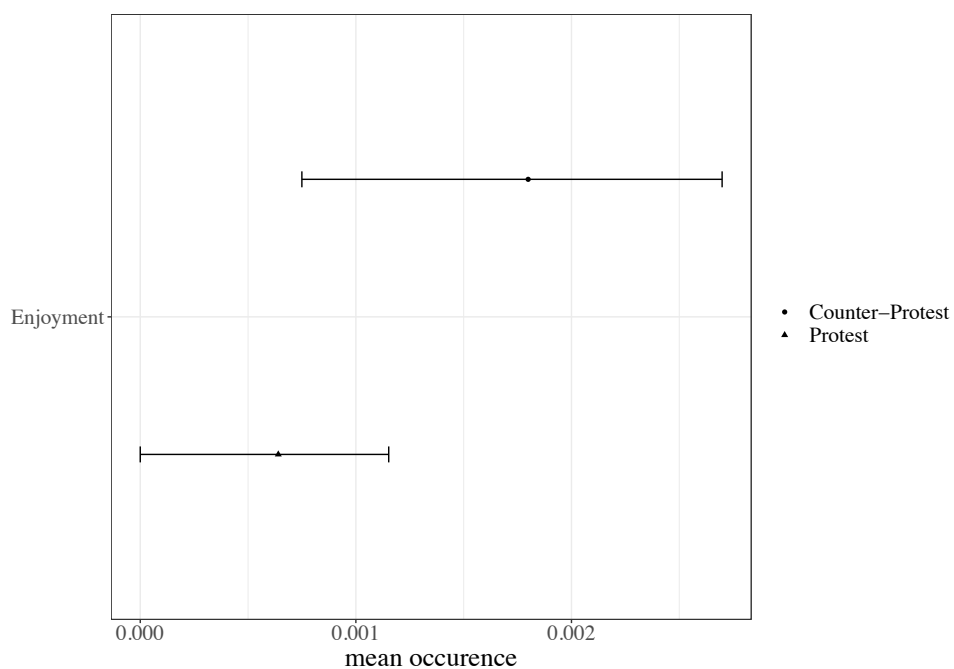
where,  $S$  is the overall sentiment relating to either protest or counterprotest;  $N$  is the number of unique words within 10 word windows around all occurrences of either protest or counterprotest mentions;  $n$  is the number of times word  $i$  occurs within 10 word windows;  $L$  is the number of words in all 10 word windows around either protest or counterprotest mentions.  $s$  is the *SentimentWortschatz* sentiment score for word  $i$ . Confidence intervals were constructed by computing our metrics of interest on bootstrapped permutations of the sets of words within 10 word windows of protest and counter protest mentions.

## Deviations from the pre-analysis plan

We pre-registered the trial based on the Berlin protest on the AEA RCT registry under the trial id AEARCTR-0003017. Given the very similar design of the Berlin and Erfurt trials, we decided not to submit a second pre-analysis plan prior to the Erfurt protest. We deviate from the pre-analysis plan in the following ways:

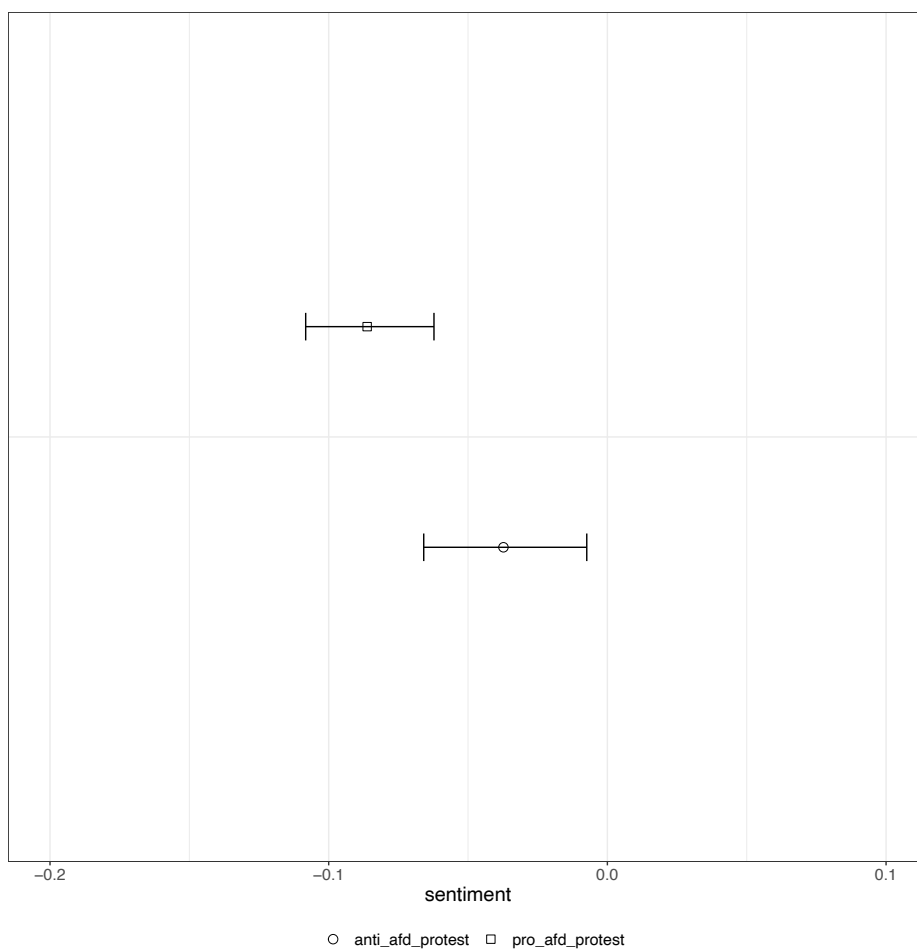
- We z-scored all outcomes to facilitate interpretation across the two protest contexts.
- Throughout the analysis we display the treatment effects for the AfD and the left-wing sample separately and do not pool across the two samples.
- Since there was no significant interaction between receiving both a high expert forecast for the own protest and the opposing protest, we dropped the interaction term from the main regression to increase statistical power. We display the pre-specified specification in Table A12.
- We do not include whether individuals entered the email address in the main results because of too little variation.

Figure A3: Media analysis of enjoyment at right-wing protests and left-wing counterprotests



*Notes:* The Figure plots how often keywords related to enjoyment are mentioned in newspaper articles about protests by left-wing and right-wing movements. Details regarding the analysis can be found in Section D.3.

Figure A4: Media analysis of sentiment toward right-wing protests and left-wing counterprotests



*Notes:* The Figure plots the sentiment of media coverage for protests by left-wing and right-wing activists. Details regarding the analysis can be found in Section D.3.