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Public Signal and Private Action: Right-wing Protest and Hate-crimes against Minorities

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Citizens can take radical action to advance a desired political goal and form expectations about the costs and benefits to these actions based on the observed behavior of others. How does a successful protest --a public signal about other people's preferences-- influence radical action to achieve the same goal? We examine this question in the context of the ascent of PEGIDA, Germany's most prominent right-wing movement since World War II. We combine a difference in differences strategy with variation in local weather conditions on scheduled protest days to show that protests on pleasant days attract a higher number of participants, generate more favorable coverage on social media and subsequently cause a surge in hate crimes against refugees. We provide evidence consistent with the notion that local protest and radical action are strategic complements by reducing the perceived social punishment of committing hate crimes (cost channel) and by radicalizing individuals at the margin (preference channel). Protest success diffuses through right-wing social media networks, leads to more overt and brazen forms of violence, generates counter-mobilization and kicks off a vicious cycle of violence.