

Supplementary Appendix A:

Tests of Hypotheses using “Justified” Dependent Measure

As noted in the main text, we also measured participants’ views of whether each of the two groups depicted in the article were *justified* (on a 7-point scale, from Not at all Justified to Completely Justified). This measure allowed us to assess whether violence affects the perceived *legitimacy* of the groups (Johnson, Dowd, and Ridgeway 2006), a critical factor in the success of protest movements (Andrews et al. 2015; Wang and Piazza 2016). Here we report the results of tests of our three key hypotheses for this measure. Other analyses for this measure are available upon request.

Hypothesis 1: How and Why Does Violence Affect the Perceived Legitimacy of Antiracist Counter-protesters?

Turning first to Hypothesis 1, we found that participants rated the AR protesters as less *justified* ($M = 3.91$) when they were violent compared to when they were not violent ($M = 5.88$, $p < .001$), adding further support for Hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis 2 predicts that the effects of violence on the perceived legitimacy of the AR counter-protesters will be driven by a tendency for the public to view violent counter-protesters as less reasonable and to identify with them less than if they were not violent. The main text describes results showing the predicted effects of violence on perceptions of AR counter-protesters as *reasonable* and on levels of *identification* with them. Bootstrap mediation analyses (Preacher and Hayes 2008) showed that *AR reasonable* partially mediated the effects of *AR violence* on *AR justified* (CI[.61, .88]). A parallel analysis found that *AR identification* also partially mediated the effects of *AR violence* on *AR justified* (CI[.81, .53]). We therefore conducted a serial mediation analysis using Hayes’ (2012) PROCESS Model 6 to test the causal chain predicted by Hypothesis 2, namely that violence by AR counter-protesters would lead first to perceptions of them as less *reasonable*, next to diminished *identification* with them, and finally to reduced perceptions that they are justified.

The results strongly parallel those for our primary dependent measure, reported in the main text. Specifically, these results showed the predicted causal impact of AR counter-protester violence on *AR justified* operates via a tendency to perceive the AR counter-protestors as less *reasonable*, leading to diminished reported *identification* with them, CI[-.89, -.37]. This result supports Hypothesis 2, which predicts that violent AR counter-protesters will be viewed as less reasonable and thus identified with less, which will lead to decreased perceptions of their legitimacy, or that they are *justified*. In addition to the predicted path, we found that 0 was not in the 95% confidence interval, CI[-1.12, -.45], for only one other path, the more direct path via *AR reasonable*. No other paths in the model were significant.

Does Violence by Antiracist Counter-protesters Increase Support for White Nationalist Protesters?

Hypothesis 3 predicts that violence by AR counter-protesters will have spillover effects on views of a salient rival protest group, here increasing perceptions that the WN protesters are *justified*. Consistent with this hypothesis, we found that participants viewed WN protesters as more justified when AR counter-protesters were violent ($M = 2.52$) than when they were not violent ($M = 1.80, p < .001$), supporting Hypothesis 3.

Appendix B: Text of Manipulations

Control Condition

Counter-protesters Peacefully Protest White Nationalists

A group of 50 to 60 white nationalist activists, including members of the Long White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan headquartered in southeastern Kentucky, converged on a public park in Lexington Kentucky on Saturday. Several hundred others staged a peaceful anti-racism “counter-protest.”

City administrators confirmed the white nationalists had a permit to hold the rally in the park. The white nationalist protest was initially planned to protest the potential removal of a series of confederate monuments located in and around Bentley park. The removal of symbols of the confederacy has become a flashpoint in the southeastern United States in recent months. Some attendees carried confederate flags while others carried flags bearing swastikas. Like other white nationalist protests, attendees chanted “blood and soil” and “You will not replace us. Jews will not replace us.”



Student groups at nearby universities and other community members organized a peaceful “counter-protest” of the rally. Organizers estimated that several hundred anti-racism counter-protesters showed up to counter the message of the white nationalist activists, their chants and signs denouncing racism, hatred, and bigotry. Despite the often-close proximity of the opposing sides, there were no reports of violence.

Anti-racist Counter-protesters Violence Condition

Counter-protesters Attack White Nationalists

Violence erupted in southeastern Kentucky as anti-racism counter-protesters attacked a scheduled rally by a group of white nationalists. A group of 50 to 60 white nationalist activists, including members of the Long White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan headquartered in southeastern Kentucky, converged on a public park in Lexington Kentucky on Saturday. Things turned violent after they were met by several hundred anti-racism counter-protesters.

The violence began shortly after the counter-protesters arrived and continued for almost an hour before police dispersed them. One white nationalist was knocked to the ground by counter-protesters carrying homemade shields. In a separate incident, a counter-protester was seen punching and kicking a white nationalist who lay on the ground shielding his face from the blows. There were no reports of violence from the white nationalists.



City administrators confirmed the white nationalists had a permit to hold the rally in the park. The white nationalist protest was initially planned to protest the potential removal of a series of confederate monuments located in and around Bentley park. The removal of symbols of the confederacy has become a flashpoint in large swaths of the southeastern United States in recent months. Some attendees carried confederate flags while others carried flags bearing swastikas. Like other white nationalist protests, attendees chanted "blood and soil" and "You will not replace us. Jews will not replace us."



Student groups at nearby universities and other community members organized a "counter-protest" of the rally. Organizers estimated that several hundred anti-racism counter-protesters faced off against the white nationalist activists, chanting and carrying signs denouncing racism, hatred, and bigotry. There were reports of violence and at least three white nationalists were taken to the area hospital for injuries. Local reporters noted that the anti-racism counter-protesters, armed with shields and sticks, pepper-sprayed white nationalists. Several white nationalists were seen retreating behind a police line as counter-protesters continued shouting "Nazis go home!" and "Fight racism!"

White Nationalist Protester Violent Condition

White Nationalists Attack Anti-Racists

Violence erupted in southeastern Kentucky as white nationalists attacked a group of peaceful anti-racism counter-protesters. A group of 50 to 60 white nationalist activists, including members of the Long White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan headquartered in southeastern Kentucky, converged on a public park in Lexington Kentucky on Saturday. Things turned violent when they confronted a group of several hundred people who showed up to stage a counter-protest.

The violence began shortly after the white nationalists arrived and continued for almost an hour before police dispersed them. One anti-racist counter-protester was knocked to the ground by white nationalists carrying homemade shields. In a separate incident, a white nationalist was seen punching and kicking a counter-protester who lay on the ground shielding his face from the blows. Several counter-protesters were seen retreating behind a police line as white nationalists chanted "blood and soil" and "You will not replace us. Jews will not replace us." There were no reports of any violence from the counter-protesters.



City administrators confirmed the white nationalists had a permit to hold the rally in the park. The white nationalist protest was initially planned to protest the potential removal of a series of confederate monuments located in and around Bentley park. The removal of symbols of the confederacy has become a flashpoint in large swaths of the southeastern United States in recent months. Some attendees carried confederate flags while others carried flags bearing swastikas.



Student groups at nearby universities and other community members organized a "counter-protest" of the rally. Organizers estimated that the white nationalists faced off against several hundred anti-racism counter-protesters, who were chanting and carrying signs denouncing racism, hatred, and bigotry. There were reports of violence and at least three anti-racist counter-protesters were taken to the area hospital for injuries. Local reporters noted that the white nationalists, armed with shields and sticks, pepper-sprayed anti-racists.

Both Sides Violent Condition

White Nationalists and Counter-Protesters Violently Clash

Violence erupted in southeastern Kentucky as anti-racism counter-protesters clashed with a group of white nationalists. The group of 50 to 60 white nationalist activists, including members of the Long White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan headquartered in southeastern Kentucky, converged on a public park in Lexington Kentucky on Saturday. Several hundred anti-racists were also present to stage a counter-protest.

The violence began shortly after the both groups showed up at the park, and continued for almost an hour before police dispersed them. One anti-racist counter-protester was knocked to the ground by white nationalists carrying homemade shields, who continued to kick him in the face and ribs. In a separate incident, a counter-protester was seen punching and kicking a white nationalist who lay on the ground shielding his face from the blows. Several participants were seen retreating behind a police line as counter-protesters continued shouting "Nazis go home!" and "Fight racism!" and white nationalists chanted "blood and soil" and "You will not replace us/Jews will not replace us."



City administrators confirmed the white nationalists had a permit to hold the rally in the park. The white nationalist protest was initially planned to protest the potential removal of a series of confederate monuments located in and around Bentley park. The removal of symbols of the confederacy has become a flashpoint in large swaths of the southeastern United States in recent months. Some attendees carried confederate flags while others carried flags bearing swastikas.



Student groups at nearby universities and other community members organized a "counter-protest" of the rally. Organizers estimated that several hundred anti-racism counter-protesters faced off against the white nationalist activists, chanting and carrying signs denouncing racism, hatred, and bigotry. There were reports of violence from both protesters and counter-protesters. At least six people, including white nationalists and anti-racists counter-protesters were taken to the area hospital for injuries. Local reporters noted that protesters and counter-protesters were armed with shields and sticks, and that both sides use pepper-spray.