

# **Does Protest Affect Bystanders? Field Experimental Evidence from Germany**

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## **Abstract**

*Do protests matter? Only a handful of studies convincingly test causal claims about protests' effects on politics, which is crucial when studying the actual impact of protests. There is a gap in empirical research capable of testing causal claims about protests and the detailed micro-foundations of the theoretical mechanisms developed in protest research. We attempt to address this by designing and conducting a large-scale field experiment, randomly assigning citizens to observe climate strikes by Fridays for Future (FFF) in Berlin, Germany. Theoretically, we argue that observing political protest serves as a visible cue that conveys summary information about societal attitudes and behaviors, creating the impression of shifting public opinion and social norms. We find that while bystanders adapt their actual behavior in favour of protesters' demands, their attitudes and social norm perceptions remain largely unchanged. These findings fill an important gap in the literature by unveiling the mechanisms through which protests translate into shifts in political outcomes.*

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## 1 Introduction

Do protests matter? A longstanding research agenda in the social sciences seeks to evaluate whether protests affect society as well as politics (Lipsky 1968; Mancur 1971; Gamson 1975). While earlier research, both in sociology and political science, painted an optimistic picture of the influence of protest (Burstein 1979; Lohmann 1993; Giugni, McAdam, and Tilly 1998; McAdam 1999), later studies have increasingly questioned the actual effect people on the streets can have on policies or on the views of elites and the public (Vliegenthart et al. 2016; Wasow 2020; Bernardi, Bischof, and Wouters 2021).

The theoretical challenge for existing research on protest is that intervening factors between protest and policy, such as public opinion, have been frequently neglected. Most research on social movement mobilization focused on major societal and policy changes (Gillion 2012; Gillion and Soule 2018; Bernardi, Bischof, and Wouters 2021), even revolution (Tarrow 2022), while paying less attention to societal environments and how the public reacts. In contrast, we argue along the lines of recent research emphasizing the need to better understand how the public reacts to protest movements (Agnone 2007; Ayoub, Page, and Whitt 2021; Enos, Kaufman, and Sands 2019; Valentim 2023; Caprettini et al. N.d.).

Focusing on the public's reaction to protest, we develop a theoretical perspective based on insights from social psychology and consistent with anecdotal evidence about protest: we understand protest as a signaling event that suggests to observers that society might be changing (Lohmann 1993), and that new norms might be arising to challenge the *status quo*. Thus, we first focus on the observers of protest and their reactions to it. We call these individuals "bystanders," as they merely observe protest by chance without selecting into exposure. We then seek to study whether bystanders change their attitudes towards protesters' demands and whether their perception of societal shifts is affected. We approximate feelings of change with social norms: perceptions individuals have about others. Building on insights from social psychology, we define social norms as having a descriptive component –*individual perception of what others do* – and an injunctive component –*individual perception of what others believe one ought to do* (Bicchieri 2017). We believe that studying how bystanders are affected by protest is key for research on protest and social movement mobilization. At the heart of a movement's mobilization efforts lies the goal to achieve not only the policymakers'

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attention, but also to convince fellow citizens to join their efforts – if not on the streets, then at least in the ballot box.

The empirical challenge for scholars studying the effect of protest on elites or the public is establishing causality: protests are deeply intertwined with political contestations such that it can be hard to know whether exposure to protests is a cause or the result of political positions (or neither or both). Meeting this research challenge is far from obvious. Original research rarely engages with these challenges. When addressed, current research often relies on instrumental variables strategies that entail strong identification assumptions (e.g. Madestam et al. 2013; Huet-Vaughn 2013; Wasow 2020; Ayoub, Page, and Whitt 2021) – that have been shown not to hold in many instances (Mellon 2023) – or employed difference-in-differences designs Valentim (2023) using macro-level outcomes, that make drawing conclusion regarding individual level effects difficult.

Instead, we use a field experimental approach to study a “most likely” case to observe effects of protest on bystanders in the field. We preregistered and conducted a large-scale, two-wave field experiment randomly exposing bystanders to protest activities by Fridays for Future (FFF) – a climate justice group.<sup>1</sup> FFF mobilized school students to skip Friday classes and participate in demonstrations demanding action from elites to prevent climate change. At the time of our study, FFF regularly brought tens of thousands of people onto the streets globally. We recruited 173 pedestrians to take part in our experiment, randomly sending them on walks that either passed FFF protests (the treatment group) or did not (the control group). Both groups answered pre- and post-experimental surveys asking questions on policy issues, positions, voting habits, and social norm perception, as well as questions related to donations for climate justice. This approach allows us to test within-person changes plausibly driven only by observing protest behavior. We also followed up with an online survey to potentially observe long-term effects of protest exposure.

While manipulation checks do confirm that protest activity was perceived by bystanders in the treatment group at much higher levels than in the control group, our findings on attitudinal and voting behavior outcomes are mostly null effects. Randomly exposure to protest appears to have no effects on bystanders’ voting behavior and attitudes. Yet, we do find effects on descriptive norm perception, the perceived need to protect the environment, and on donations made to NGOs. In fact,

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<sup>1</sup>The experiment received ethical approval from the HU Berlin’s IRB board (HU-KSBF-EK\_2023\_0019).

## *2 Research Design*

the most consistent finding of our study is not attitudinal but behavioral: randomly observing protest makes individuals more likely to donate to a cause in line with protesters' demands.

Our research makes three key contributions to the study of protest. First, we develop a theoretical argument linking protest to bystanders and their norm perceptions with implications for micro level behavior. Second, empirically, we are among the first to use field experimental evidence on protest (for other exceptions we are aware of, please see: Cantoni et al. 2019; Hager et al. 2022). This allows us to provide plausibly causal evidence of protest on individuals' attitudes and behavior. From our perspective, such designs are needed and potentially the only feasible way to study the immediate effects of protest on individuals, as survey experimental research provides insights only into mediated effects of protest and not into actual exposure effects. Furthermore, observational research needs to make strong assumptions, both on protest exposure (manipulation) and on causal identification. Third, we provide results that challenge existing work on protest. Why? Because we actually observe behavioral change without attitudinal or consistent shifts of social norms accompanying it. This is hard to grasp, but might indicate that many bystanders have strong predetermined attitudes and that protests might lead them to take action on these attitudes. Alternatively, witnessing protests can make activists' efforts more visible and tangible. This may translate into a belief that supporting these efforts (through donations) will have a direct and meaningful impact, increasing perceptions of efficacy. In any case, this findings suggests that relying on survey based approaches might underestimate the importance of protest. Future research needs to delve more deeply into this puzzle in order to provide a full answer.

## **2 Research Design**

### **2.1 The case**

To examine the effect of environmental protests on bystanders, we selected protest events organized by Fridays for Future. In August 2018, a 15-year old Swedish girl named Greta Thunberg started protesting in front of the Swedish parliament holding a sign that read "School strike for climate." Her school strike quickly turned into a global movement famously known as "Fridays for Future" (FFF). Students all over the world skip Friday classes to participate in demonstrations to demand action from governments to prevent climate change. The movement swiftly attracted worldwide attention.

## 2 Research Design

Greta Thunberg was invited to speak at several national parliaments and UN conferences. Fridays for Future is frequently acknowledged for reviving environmental issues, mobilizing young people, and influencing policy-making. At its peak, more than 1,8 million people participated in protests in 2,350 cities across 125 countries in a single day.<sup>2</sup> Due to its high visibility, the large-scale mobilization and the prominence of FFF among citizens, we expect that Fridays for Future is a most likely case for observing protest effects on bystanders.

Germany is a good case to study the effect of climate protests on bystanders due to the strong presence of FFF. According to FFF data, Germany has by far the largest number of FFF protests in Europe and ranking second after the US worldwide.<sup>3</sup> Within Germany, we chose Berlin for the following reasons. First, since Berlin is the capital, FFF protests in Berlin tend to be the largest (Valentim 2023) protest events. Second, it is easy to recruit potential respondents in Berlin among tourists, workers and other potential bystanders. Both treatment intensity and a large pool of respondents should make it more easy to detect any bystander effects for the protest.

### 2.2 Experimental design

To test our hypotheses, we designed a field experimental intervention during two large climate strikes.<sup>4</sup> The climate strikes took place on 15 September 2023 and on 1 March 2024. According to FFF estimates, 24,000 citizens participated in the September strike and over a thousand in the March event.<sup>5</sup> While both protests have been organized by FFF, there were pronounced differences between both waves. The climate strike in September 2023 was a global event, hosted by FFF alone. It was part of an internationally coordinated effort for more climate action. The strike in March 2024 was organized together with a German union and an NGO that supports a transition towards more public transport as well as fair employment contracts for employees in the sector. The event drew substantially smaller and more heterogeneous crowds.

In coordination with FFF, we set up three types of interview stations across the city center of

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<sup>2</sup>Source: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-climate-change-youth/swedens-thunberg-demands-climate-action-on-day-of-global-school-strikes-idUSKCN1SU0AN/>, last accessed 25 June 2024

<sup>3</sup>Source: <https://fridaysforfuture.org/what-we-do/strike-statistics/list-of-countries/>, last accessed 26 June 2024

<sup>4</sup>The field experiment was preregistered at the Open Science Foundation (<https://osf.io/qz2s6/>) and received ethical approval from Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (HU-KSBF-EK\_2023\_0019).

<sup>5</sup>Source: <https://fridaysforfuture.de/250-000-menschen-beim-13-globalen-klimastreik-von-fridays-for-future/>, last accessed 25 June 2024

## 2 Research Design

Berlin during these climate strike events. Participants were initially approached and recruited at the *recruitment station*. Subsequently, they were randomly assigned to proceed to either the *treatment station* in close proximity to the protest or to the *control station* spatially removed from all protest activities. In total, we recruited 173 participants during the two climate protest events (79 in September 2023 and 94 in March 2024).<sup>6</sup>

### 2.2.1 Recruitment Station

At the recruitment station, interviewers approached passers-by on the street in the city center of Berlin and offered them 50 euros for their participation in a scientific study. To minimize demand effects, we did not disclose the topic of the study. If passers-by agreed to take part, they were then led to a second interviewer at a screening point located approximately 10 meters away.<sup>7</sup>

We asked potential respondents where they came from, where they were going, and whether they had seen any larger gatherings of people. Interviewees were screened out if they revealed that they had already been exposed to the protest or that they wanted to actively join the protest.<sup>8</sup> Respondents who passed the screening were then sent to the next point where they were assigned to either the treatment or control condition. We allowed groups of up to four respondents to participate jointly.

At the randomization point of the recruitment station, an interviewer filled in information on group size in an online app we created that randomly assigned respondent groups to either treatment or control condition. We employed blocked randomization based on group size (Moore and Moore 2017). Respondent groups then received an envelope containing a pre-treatment survey, a map showing the route to either the treatment station or the control station, as well as a sealed post-treatment survey. In order not to reveal the topic of the study and limit demand effects, the survey included an equal number of items concerning the environment, immigration, and redistribution.

After filling out the pre-treatment survey, respondents returned to an interviewer who watched them seal the pre-treatment survey. The interviewer then briefly explained their assigned route. To ensure compliance, respondents were told to follow their assigned route exactly and later estimate

<sup>6</sup>To increase recruitment numbers, we installed a second recruitment station for the March 2024 protest.

<sup>7</sup>We chose to assign some distance between recruitment and introduction to prevent participants from knowingly circumventing our screening questions.

<sup>8</sup>Additionally, we screened out persons who could not read and speak German and who were younger than 16 years.

the number of public park benches they saw along the way. After this, they were paid an initial 10 euros. Besides obscuring the study's intended purpose, asking participants to estimate the number of park benches serves as a *compliance check* to see whether respondents followed their assigned route.

### 2.2.2 Treatment Station

Respondents who were assigned to the treatment condition walked to the treatment station which is located approximately 2.6 kilometers from the initial recruitment station. The treatment station was positioned in close proximity to the FFF rally point.<sup>9</sup> Respondents were able to clearly see and hear the protesters along the way and at the treatment station.<sup>10</sup> Figure 1 shows rally point during the climate strike on September 15 2023. In line with our definition of bystanders, the treatment consisted of respondents being exposed to the FFF protests without actively taking part. Respondents were exposed to a number of highly salient sensory cues such as banners, flags, balloons, and speeches that contained clear normative appeals to take action against climate change. After contacting an interviewer, respondents were told to open the previously sealed post-treatment survey and fill it out, which took between 10 and 20 minutes in which the respondents were exposed to the climate protest. After completing the post-treatment survey, they approached an interviewer. Respondents could then decide to sign up for a newsletter from three NGOs corresponding to the three broad topics covered in the survey (environment, immigration, and redistribution), and donate some, none, or all of their compensation to these NGOs. Interviewers recorded their response, then sealed their survey, and paid respondents the remaining compensation.

At the end of the post-treatment survey, as a *manipulation check*, respondents were asked if they came across a protest and, if so, what the message of the protest was. Additionally, we asked them what they thought the study was about to potentially exclude those respondents and to shield against demand effects.

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<sup>9</sup>Both FFF events started at a rally point where protesters gathered. After a number of speeches, protesters walked on a protest route through the city and ended up at the initial rally point for another set of speeches. Recruitment was paused at times when the protesters marched through the city and recruitment was continued when the FFF protests approached their rally point close to the treatment station. A research assistant was stationed at the rally point and marched with the protesters to coordinate recruitment intervals.

<sup>10</sup>For specific routes and more documentation, please refer to the SI Section [SI.1](#) and [SI.2](#).



**Figure 1:** Fridays for Future Rally Point

Note: Rally point on September 15 2023, located at Brandenburg Gate. More information on the different protests are included in the SI.

### 2.2.3 Control Station

Respondents assigned to the control condition walked a similar route, however, in the opposite direction. The route was chosen to minimize any contact with protesters. The distance and walking duration to the control station was similar to the route in the treatment group.<sup>11</sup>

### 2.3 Follow-Up

Respondents could sign up for a follow-up survey that took place 4 weeks after the event. Compensation for this extra survey was an additional 10 euros. Those who did not wish to take part in the follow-up were debriefed on the spot. Participants who stayed on received their debriefing after completing the follow-up survey.

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<sup>11</sup>For specific routes and more documentation, please refer to SI Section [SI.1](#) and [SI.2](#).

### 3 Estimation Strategy

#### 2.4 Outcomes

We measure the effect of protests on bystanders relying on a number of attitudinal and behavioral outcomes.

To test the effect of exposure on *norm perception*, we asked respondents about their perception of others; both on the descriptive (what others do) as well as on the injunctive (what others believe one ought to do) component.<sup>12</sup> With regard to political attitudes, we rely on the propensity to vote for the Green party (measured on a 1-10 scale) as well as three items measuring climate change attitudes (measured on a 1-10 scale). We included these items in a battery of attitudinal items relating to a variety of different policy issues in order not to prime respondents.<sup>13</sup>

In addition, we test the effect of protest exposure on two behavioral outcomes. After handing in their final surveys, respondents were given the opportunity to sign up for a *newsletter* of three organizations: Fridays for Future, Finanzwende, and ProAsyl. Finanzwende is an NGO that advocates for fair, stable, and sustainable financial markets while Pro Asyl is an NGO that works for the protection and rights of asylum seekers in Europe. In addition, respondents were given the opportunity to make a *donation* of some, none, or all of their compensation to these NGOs.<sup>14</sup>

We measure attitudinal outcomes (norm perception, attitudes towards environmental protection, and propensity to vote for the Greens) at three time points: before treatment at the recruitment station ( $t_0$ ), immediately after treatment at the treatment or control station ( $t_1$ ), and in a follow-up survey four weeks later ( $t_3$ ). Behavioral outcomes (newsletter subscription and donation) are measured once, at the treatment or control station ( $t_1$ ).

### 3 Estimation Strategy

Our estimand of interest is the Intent to Treat effect (ITT).

For the main analysis of attitudinal outcomes, we calculate the pre-post between-subject differ-

<sup>12</sup>The precise wording is: (Descriptive norm perception) “What do you think, how many out of 100 randomly selected Germans support the following statement: Stricter measures should be taken to protect the environment.”; (Injunctive norm perception) “And out of 100 randomly selected Germans, how many think that these statements *should* be agreed with: Stricter measures should be taken to protect the environment.”

<sup>13</sup>The precise wording of these items is as follows: (1) “Stricter measures should be taken to protect the environment”, (2) “Environmental protection should always come first, even if it comes at the expense of the economy”, (3) “Everyone must contribute to protecting the environment and reduce their own consumption behavior.”

<sup>14</sup>The full questionnaire can be found in Appendix Section SI.1

## 4 Results

ence by regressing the outcome on a binary treatment indicator as well as pre-treatment values for the outcome, using the following model:

$$Y_{t_1i} = \alpha + \beta \text{Treatment}_i + \gamma Y_{t_0i} + \epsilon_i$$

where  $Y_{t_1i}$  represents the outcome variable post-treatment ( $t_1$ ) for individual  $i$ ,  $\text{Treatment}_i$  is a binary treatment indicator for exposure to the FFF protest,  $Y_{t_0i}$  is the outcome variable measured pre-treatment ( $t_0$ ), and  $\epsilon_i$  is the error term. Standard errors are clustered within individual groups.

For the behavioral outcomes, the model is identical but without the pre-treatment measure of the outcome:

$$Y_{t_1i} = \alpha + \beta \text{Treatment}_i + \epsilon_i$$

where  $Y_{t_1i}$  represents the outcome variable post-treatment ( $t_1$ ) for individual  $i$ ,  $\text{Treatment}_i$  is a binary treatment indicator for exposure to the FFF protest, and  $\epsilon_i$  is the error term. We again cluster standard errors within individual groups.

Due to the substantial differences between the two protest events, we report results for individual waves. On top of that we report a precision weighted average effect size pooled across both waves; similar to meta studies. This estimation strategy allows us to weight the overall coefficient by the actual information each wave provides for our tests (see also: Van Den Noortgate and Onghena 2003). The key reason for following this estimation strategy is that the second wave of our fieldwork results in considerably weaker manipulation effects, as we will outline below. It, thus, provides much less information for our tests than the first wave does.

## 4 Results

To ensure the effectiveness of our experimental manipulation, we first assessed whether participants in the treatment group reported observing the protest after their participation in the experiment (*manipulation check*). As expected, the treatment group reported significantly higher levels of protest exposure compared to the control group. However, we find heterogeneity in the perception of protest activity across the two waves of our study. In the first wave, 97.5% of respondents in the treatment

#### 4 Results

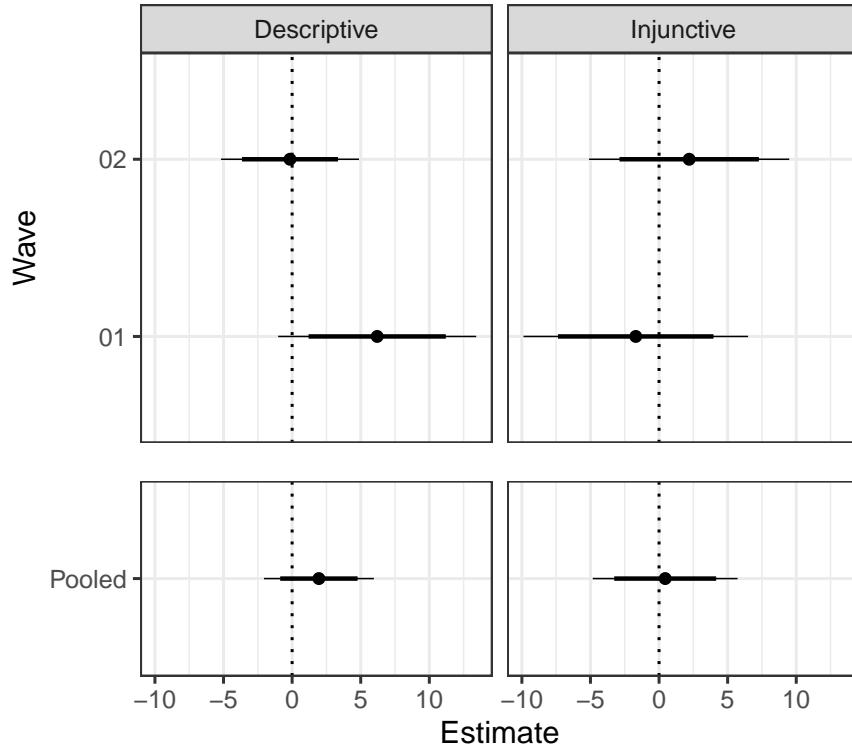
condition reported having seen a demonstration while 97.4% perceived the protest to be concerned with the environment. However, during the second wave, only 81% of respondents in the treatment condition perceived the demonstration and only 33% connected it to a climate protest. These results confirm that our treatment successfully exposed bystanders to the protest in the first climate strike, but casts doubt on the manipulation of our experiment for the second climate strike. The smaller number of protesters as well as the cooperation with a union and another NGO might have diluted FFF messaging to the extent that no manipulation seems to have occurred. For this reason, we decided to report separate models for both waves below along with a pooled model.

What is the effect of protest exposure on *norm perception*? As discussed in the introduction, our key theoretical idea is that protest affects how individuals perceive the preferences of “others” in society. In [Figure 2](#) we report the coefficients of our regression models testing the effect of protest bystanding on norm perception. We find mixed evidence for the argument that exposure to protest can alter perceptions of what others in society are doing and that protests can be a signaling event communicating social change. [Figure 2](#) shows that respondents were not more likely to perceive stronger injunctive norms after being exposed to FFF protests. However, participants in the first wave did change their perception of descriptive norms concerning environmental protection. Treated participants experienced an 6.2 ( $p = 0.044$ ) points increase – on a 100 point scale – in their perception of people supporting environmental norms. This likely reflects the larger size and exclusive organization by FFF, which also aligns with the manipulation check.

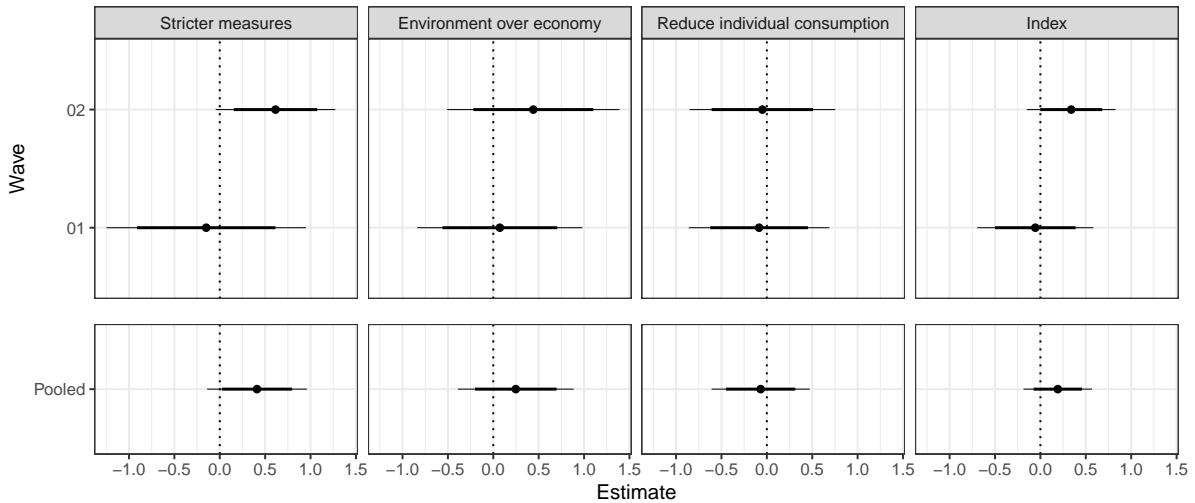
We next investigate whether being exposed to the FFF protest has affected *political attitudes*. Previous research on social norms has pointed to the fact that shifts in perception of social norms frequently result in long-term changes of individual attitudes and behavior (Tankard and Paluck [2016, 2017](#)). Contrary to our expectations we do not find that being exposed to a protest influences bystanders’ attitudes towards climate policy and their intended voting behavior. [Figure 3](#) shows that attitudes towards climate change policy remained stable across all three items. Similarly, [Figure 4](#) shows that participants in the treatment group are not more likely to report the intention to vote for the Green party than participants in the control group. Thus, being a bystander to the FFF protest has neither altered attitudes towards climate change nor has it changed voting intention.

Does exposure to a climate protest change behavior? In order to test whether witnessing a

## 4 Results



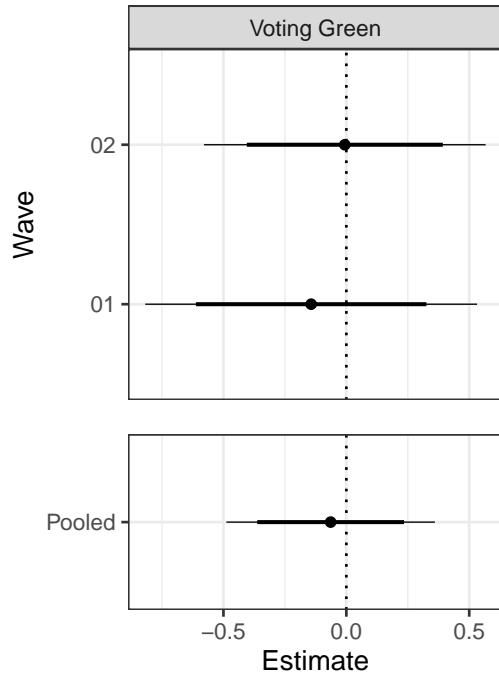
**Figure 2:** ITTs across descriptive and injunctive norm perception regarding environmental protection



**Figure 3:** ITTs across environmental attitudes

protest changes *behavior*, we test the effect of being exposed to the FFF protest on the willingness to subscribe to a newsletter of FFF and to donate money to FFF. While we do not find attitudinal changes after exposure to FFF protests among bystanders, we do observe behavioral change. As Figure 5 shows we do not find increased newsletter subscription. However, respondents in the treatment condition are significantly more likely to donate money to FFF. Specifically, we find that bystanders

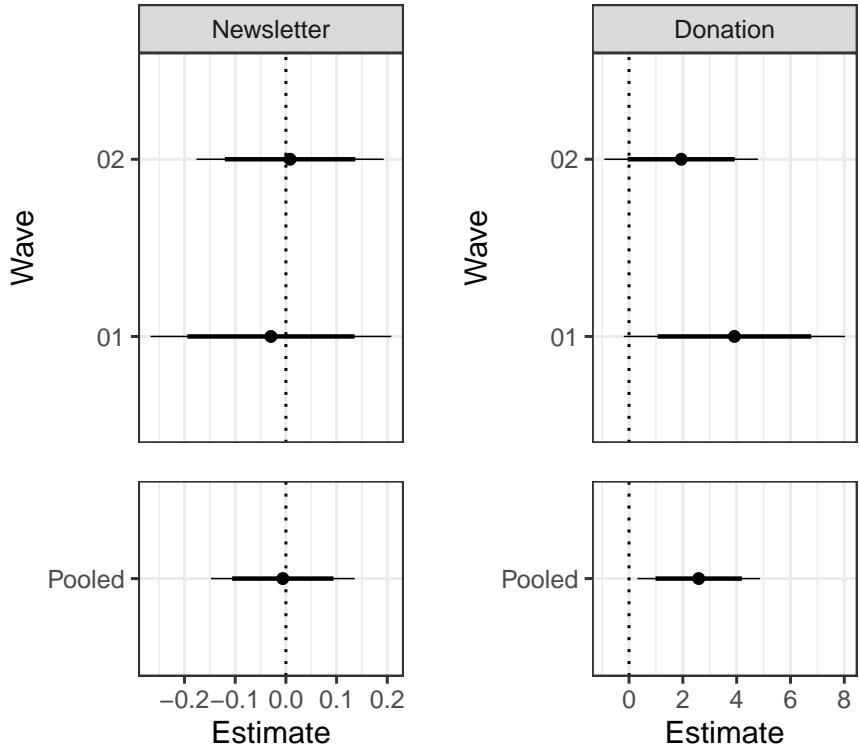
#### 4 Results



**Figure 4:** ITTs for Intention to vote Green

give 2.59 euros ( $p = 0.004$ ) more to the NGO than non-exposed respondents. This indicates that protest exposure can lead to tangible support for the goals of the protesters, even in the absence of attitudinal change.

## 5 Conclusion



**Figure 5:** ITTs across behavioral outcomes

## 5 Conclusion

Even though protests are a major instrument of political competition, we know very little about how protest affects bystanders who merely observe protests. To address this question, we conducted a field experiment in the context of two large-scale climate protest events organized by Fridays for Future in Germany. By manipulating participants' exposure to the FFF protest, we test whether bystanders – individuals unintentionally drawn into the role of observers – update their norm perceptions, environmental attitudes and behaviors in response to witnessing the climate strike. We find that while bystandering a protest affects the political behavior of citizens, attitudes and norm perceptions remain unaffected.

The findings of this study have important implications for understanding the impact of protests on bystanders and society at large. While the field experiment shows that bystanders' political behaviors are affected by merely witnessing the protests, their underlying attitudes and norm perceptions remain unchanged. This suggests that while protests can mobilize immediate political actions or engagement among the public, deeper shifts in underlying attitudes and social norms may require

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more sustained or direct forms of engagement. These insights are crucial for activists and policy-makers, indicating that while protests are effective in generating shifts in behavior at least in the short run, complementary strategies may be necessary to foster enduring attitudinal and normative changes.

This study contributes to understanding the effect of protest on bystanders. However, to what extent are our results generalizable? External validity beyond the case of Germany is difficult to assess. Germany shares many similarities with other Western democracies. Germany has stable democratic institutions, a multi-party political system, active civil society, and a high degree of media freedom, all of which are characteristics shared with many other Western democracies. It has a history of influential protest movements and a public that is concerned about climate change, mirroring trends seen in other industrialized nations. Given these similarities, it is not readily apparent why we would expect dramatically different results in other Western countries with regard to how protests affect bystanders. However, external validity is best achieved by carrying out comparable studies in different countries, and we therefore hope to stimulate comparative research on how protest affects bystanders in other settings.

In addition, we seek to extend the field experiment reported in this paper since the second protest event in March is not really comparable to the climate strike in September. The second wave in March was quite successful in terms of recruiting, but simply lacked the needed protest activity; as discussed above, protesters concentrated most of their efforts on the unions and their struggle for better pay. In essence, the second wave can almost be understood as a placebo group giving us power for the control group but little to no power for the treatment group.

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**Supporting Information:**

*Does Protest Affect Bystanders? Field Experimental Evidence from  
Germany*

**SI Supporting Information**

**Contents**

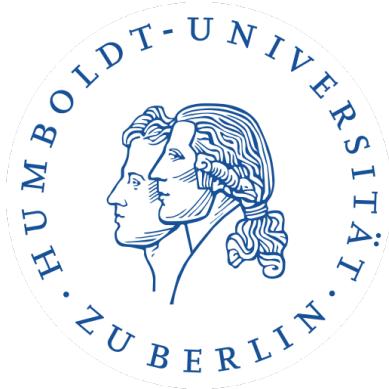
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**SI.1 Questionnaire**

# Umfrage: Teil I



## Interviewerabschnitt

*Dieser Teil wird von uns ausgefüllt*

**ID:** 0001

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
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**Group-ID:**

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
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**GI-Age:**

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
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**GI-Lan:**

**Selbstausfüllerabschnitt**  
*Dieser Teil wird von Ihnen ausgefüllt*

Zu Beginn haben wir ein paar Fragen zu Ihrer Person.

--	--	--	--

**Q1: In welchem Jahr sind Sie geboren?**

**Q2: Welches Geschlecht haben Sie?**

männlich

weiblich

Sonstiges

**Q3: Was ist Ihre Postleitzahl?**

--	--	--	--	--

**Q4: Haben Sie die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit?**

ja

nein

**Q5: Wenn nein, welche Staatsangehörigkeit haben Sie?**

\_\_\_\_\_

Im Folgenden geht es um Ihre Person und Ihre politischen Einstellungen.

**Q6: Wie sehr interessieren Sie sich für Politik? Sind Sie ...**

sehr interessiert

eher interessiert

eher nicht  
interessiert

überhaupt nicht  
interessiert

**Q7: Was ist Ihrer Meinung nach gegenwärtig das wichtigste politische Problem in Deutschland? Bitte nennen Sie nur das allerwichtigste Problem.**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Q8: In der Politik reden die Leute oft von „links“ und „rechts“, wenn es darum geht, unterschiedliche politische Einstellungen zu kennzeichnen. Wenn Sie an Ihre eigenen politischen Ansichten denken: Wo würden Sie diese Ansichten einstufen?**

ganz links	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	ganz rechts
	<input type="radio"/>											

**Q9: Man kann zu verschiedenen politischen Themen unterschiedliche Meinungen haben. Wie ist das bei Ihnen: Was halten Sie von folgenden Aussagen? Bitte antworten Sie anhand der Liste.**

	Stimme überhaupt nicht zu										Stimme voll und ganz zu	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
Einkommen und Wohlstand sollten zugunsten von ärmeren Leuten umverteilt werden.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		
Die wirtschaftliche Lage von ärmeren Leuten findet in der Gesellschaft zu wenig Aufmerksamkeit.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		
Die Politik sollte mehr in die Wirtschaft eingreifen.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		
Zum Schutz der Umwelt sollten härtere Maßnahmen getroffen werden.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		
Umweltschutz sollte immer an erster Stelle stehen, auch wenn dies zulasten der Wirtschaft geht.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		
Jeder einzelne muss einen Beitrag zum Schutz der Umwelt leisten und das eigene Konsumverhalten einschränken.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		
Ausländer sind eine Bereicherung für die Kultur in Deutschland.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		
Ausländer helfen bei der Bekämpfung des Fachkräftemangels.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		
Es sollte eine offenere Einwanderungspolitik geben.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		

**Q10: Was glauben Sie, wie viele von 100 zufällig ausgewählten Deutschen unterstützen die folgenden Aussagen:**

**Einkommen und Wohlstand sollten zugunsten von ärmeren Leuten umverteilt werden.**

von 100 Deutschen unterstützen diese Aussage

**Zum Schutz der Umwelt sollten härtere Maßnahmen getroffen werden.**

von 100 Deutschen unterstützen diese Aussage

**Es sollte eine offenerere Einwanderungspolitik geben.**

von 100 Deutschen unterstützen diese Aussage

**Q11: Und von 100 zufällig ausgewählten Deutschen, wie viele denken, dass man diesen Aussagen zustimmen sollte:**

**Einkommen und Wohlstand sollten zugunsten von ärmeren Leute umverteilt werden.**

von 100 Deutschen denken, dass man zustimmen sollte

**Zum Schutz der Umwelt sollten härtere Maßnahmen getroffen werden.**

von 100 Deutschen denken, dass man zustimmen sollte

**Es sollte eine offenerere Einwanderungspolitik geben.**

von 100 Deutschen denken, dass man zustimmen sollte

**Q12: Es gibt eine Reihe von politischen Parteien in Deutschland. Jede davon würde gerne Ihre Stimme bekommen. Geben Sie bitte für jede der folgenden Parteien anhand dieser Skala an, wie wahrscheinlich es ist, dass Sie diese Partei jemals wählen würden.**

	Würde diese Partei mit Sicherheit nicht wählen										Würde diese Partei mit Sicherheit wählen		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			
Die CDU/CSU	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>			
Die SPD	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>			
Die LINKE	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>			
Bündnis 90/Die Grünen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>			
Die FDP	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>			
Die AfD	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>			

**Im Folgenden interessieren wir uns für ein paar Informationen zu Ihrer Ausbildung und Ihrer aktuellen beruflichen Tätigkeit.**

**Q13: Was ist der höchste formale Bildungsabschluss, den Sie erreicht haben?**

- Kein Abschluss
- Grundschule
- Mittlere Reife, Realschulabschluss, Fachoberschulreife
- Gymnasialabschluss
- Abschluss einer Lehre/Berufsausbildung
- Meister-/Techniker- oder gleichwertiger Fachschulabschluss
- Bachelor
- Diplom / Master / 1. Staatsexamen
- Promotion / Doktorat / Ph.D. / 2. Staatsexamen
  
- Anderer Abschluss, und zwar: \_\_\_\_\_
- weiß nicht

**Q14: Kommen wir zu Ihrer momentanen Situation. Was ist Ihr aktueller beruflicher Status?**

- vollzeiterwerbstätig
- teilzeiterwerbstätig
- in Altersteilzeit
- geringfügig erwerbstätig, 420-Euro-Job, Minijob
- „Ein-Euro-Jobber“
- gelegentlich oder unregelmäßig beschäftigt
- in einer beruflichen Ausbildung/Lehre
- in Umschulung
- im freiwilligen Wehrdienst
- im Bundesfreiwilligendienst oder im Freiwilligen Sozialen Jahr
- in Mutterschafts-, Erziehungsurlaub, Elternzeit oder sonstiger Beurlaubung
- arbeitslos
- anderweitig nicht erwerbstätig [*einschließlich: Schüler/-innen oder Studierende, die nicht gegen Geld arbeiten, Vorrueständler/-innen, Rentner/-innen ohne Nebenverdienst*]

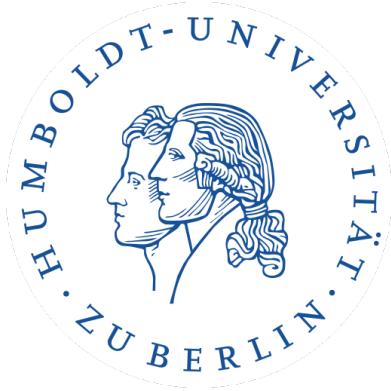
**Q15: Wie hoch ist das monatliche Netto-Einkommen Ihres Haushaltes insgesamt?**

*Gemeint ist die Summe, die nach Abzug von Steuern und Sozialversicherungsbeiträgen übrig bleibt. Falls Sie den Betrag nicht genau wissen, schätzen Sie bitte.*

- unter 500 Euro
- 500 bis unter 750 Euro
- 750 bis unter 1000 Euro
- 1000 bis unter 1250 Euro
- 1250 bis unter 1500 Euro
- 1500 bis unter 2000 Euro
- 2000 bis unter 2500 Euro
- 2500 bis unter 3000 Euro
- 3000 bis unter 4000 Euro
- 4000 bis unter 5000 Euro
- 5000 bis unter 7500 Euro
- 7500 bis unter 10000 Euro
- 10000 Euro und mehr
- weiß nicht

Vielen Dank, dass Sie den ersten Teil des Fragebogens ausgefüllt haben. Legen Sie diesen Teil nun zurück in den **grauen Umschlag** und verschließen Sie ihn. Wenden Sie sich im Anschluss an uns, um Ihre 10€ Startgeld zu erhalten. Dann erklären wir Ihnen den zweiten Teil der Umfrage.

# Umfrage: Teil II



**Selbstausfüllerabschnitt**  
*Dieser Teil wird von Ihnen ausgefüllt*

**Q16:** Schätzen Sie bitte, wie viele Parkbänke Sie auf dem Weg zum zweiten Stand gesehen haben.

0-49	50-100	mehr als 100 Bänke
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**Q17:** Man kann zu verschiedenen politischen Themen unterschiedliche Meinungen haben. Wie ist das bei Ihnen: Was halten Sie von folgenden Aussagen? Bitte antworten Sie anhand der Liste.

	Stimme überhaupt nicht zu	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Stimme voll und ganz zu
Einkommen und Wohlstand sollten zugunsten von ärmeren Leute umverteilt werden.		<input type="radio"/>										
Die wirtschaftliche Lage von ärmeren Leuten findet in der Gesellschaft zu wenig Aufmerksamkeit.		<input type="radio"/>										
Die Politik sollte mehr in die Wirtschaft eingreifen.		<input type="radio"/>										
Zum Schutz der Umwelt sollten härtere Maßnahmen getroffen werden.		<input type="radio"/>										
Umweltschutz sollte immer an erster Stelle stehen, auch wenn dies zulasten der Wirtschaft geht.		<input type="radio"/>										
Jeder einzelne muss einen Beitrag zum Schutz der Umwelt leisten und das eigene Konsumverhalten einschränken.		<input type="radio"/>										
Ausländer sind eine Bereicherung für die Kultur in Deutschland.		<input type="radio"/>										
Ausländer helfen bei der Bekämpfung des Fachkräftemangels.		<input type="radio"/>										
Es sollte eine offenere Einwanderungspolitik geben.		<input type="radio"/>										

**Q18: Was glauben Sie, wie viele von 100 zufällig ausgewählten Deutschen unterstützen die folgenden Aussagen:**

**Einkommen und Wohlstand sollten zugunsten von ärmeren Leuten umverteilt werden.**

von 100 Deutschen unterstützen diese Aussage

**Zum Schutz der Umwelt sollten härtere Maßnahmen getroffen werden.**

von 100 Deutschen unterstützen diese Aussage

**Es sollte eine offenerere Einwanderungspolitik geben.**

von 100 Deutschen unterstützen diese Aussage

**Q19: Und von 100 zufällig ausgewählten Deutschen, wie viele denken, dass man diesen Aussagen zustimmen sollte:**

**Einkommen und Wohlstand sollten zugunsten von ärmeren Leute umverteilt werden.**

von 100 Deutschen denken, dass man zustimmen sollte

**Zum Schutz der Umwelt sollten härtere Maßnahmen getroffen werden.**

von 100 Deutschen denken, dass man zustimmen sollte

**Es sollte eine offenerere Einwanderungspolitik geben.**

von 100 Deutschen denken, dass man zustimmen sollte

**Q20: Es gibt eine Reihe von politischen Parteien in Deutschland. Jede davon würde gerne Ihre Stimme bekommen. Geben Sie bitte für jede der folgenden Parteien anhand dieser Skala an, wie wahrscheinlich es ist, dass Sie diese Partei jemals wählen würden.**

	Würde diese Partei mit Sicherheit nicht wählen										Würde diese Partei mit Sicherheit wählen	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
Die CDU/CSU	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○		
Die SPD	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○		
Die LINKE	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○		
Bündnis 90/Die Grünen	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○		
Die FDP	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○		
Die AfD	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○		

**Vielen Dank, dass Sie an unserer Studie teilgenommen haben. Wir würden Sie gerne für eine kurze Nachbefragung in ein paar Wochen noch einmal kontaktieren. Für Ihre Teilnahme an dieser Nachbefragung werden wir Ihnen wiederum eine Vergütung von 10€ auszahlen.**

**Q21: Haben Sie Interesse, an der Nachbefragung teilzunehmen?**

ja                      nein  
           

**Q22: Um Ihre Antworten von heute mit Ihren zukünftigen Angaben verbinden zu können, benötigen wir eine Identifikationsnummer. Damit die Anonymität Ihrer Antworten gewährleistet ist, benötigen wir einen nur für Sie nachvollziehbaren Schlüssel, den nur Sie erstellen können.**

Dritter Buchstabe Ihres Geburtsortes (wie im Pass verzeichnet):

Anzahl der Buchstaben Ihres Nachnamens:

Dritter Buchstabe des Vornamens Ihres Vaters:

Dritter Buchstabe des Vornamens Ihrer Mutter:

Dritter Buchstabe Ihres eigenen Vornamens:

**Vielen Dank, dass Sie den zweiten Teil des Fragebogens ausgefüllt haben. Bitte geben Sie nun den Interviewerabschnitt an uns und legen Sie den Rest zurück in den weißen Umschlag. Im Anschluss erhalten Sie Ihre restlichen 40€.**

## Interviewerabschnitt

*Dieser Teil wird von uns ausgefüllt*

**Time stamp:**

		:		
--	--	---	--	--

ja      nein      bereits angemeldet

**Newsletter Finanzwende:**                 

**Newsletter Fridays for Future:**                 

**Newsletter Pro Asyl:**                 

0€      10€      20€      30€      40€

**Donation Finanzwende:**                             

**Donation Fridays for Future:**                             

**Donation Pro Asyl:**                             

Ja      Nein

**Demo gesehen**           

**Umwelt-Kontext**           

Ja      Nein

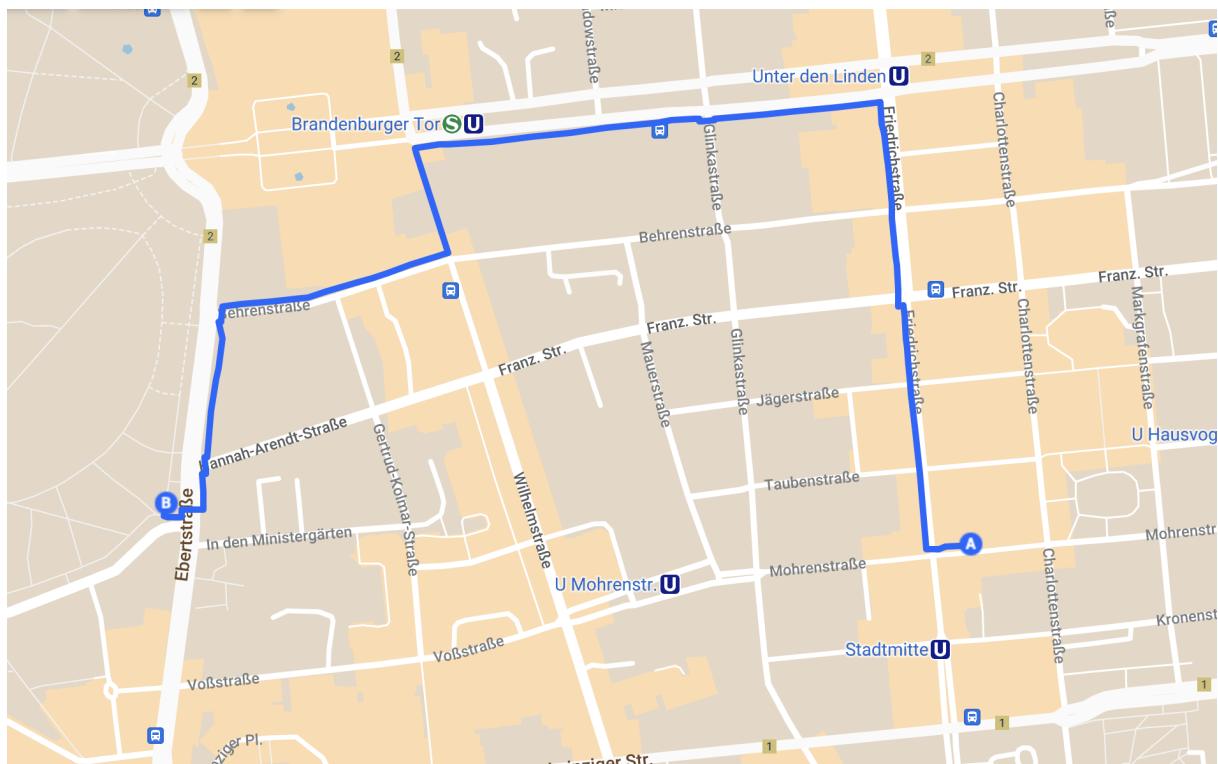
**Follow-up**           

**⇒ Wichtig!**  
**Wenn nein: Debriefing mitgeben!**

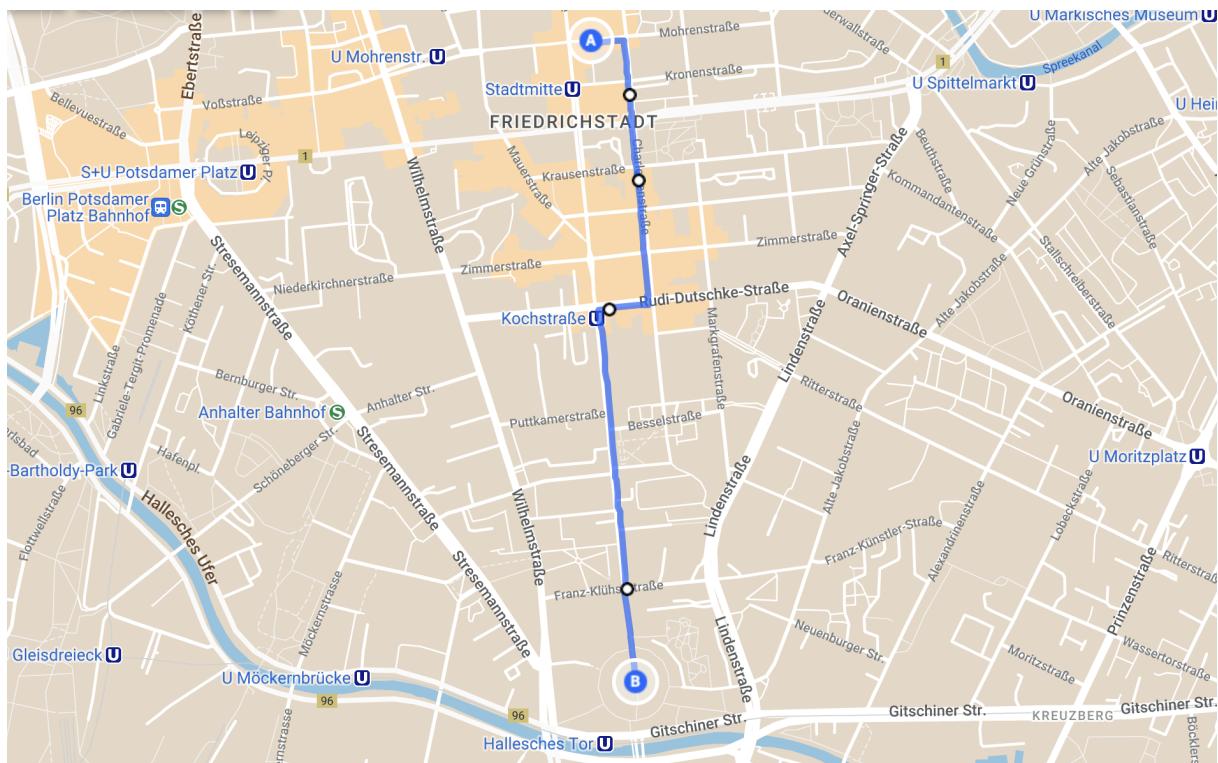
## SI Treatment and Control Routes

### SI Treatment and Control Routes

#### SI.1 Routes Climate Strike September 15, 2023



**Figure SI 1:** Treatment Route



**Figure SI 2:** Control Route

## SI Treatment and Control Routes

### SI.2 Routes Climate Strike March 1, 2024

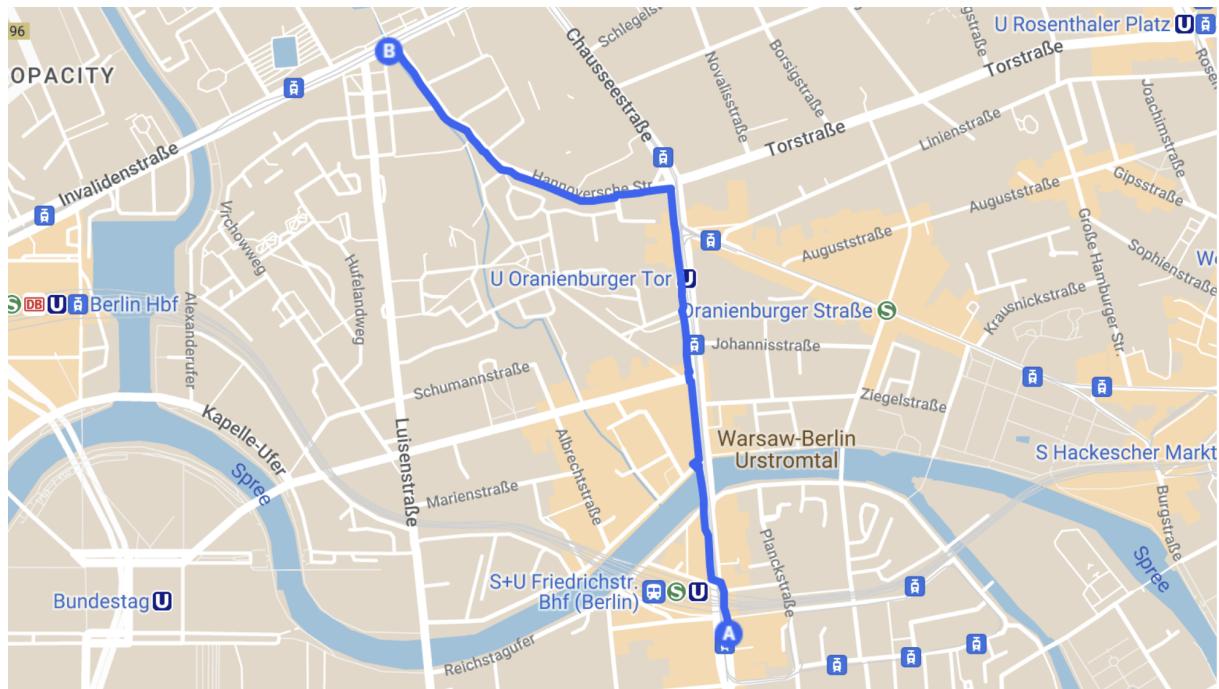


Figure SI 3: Treatment Route A

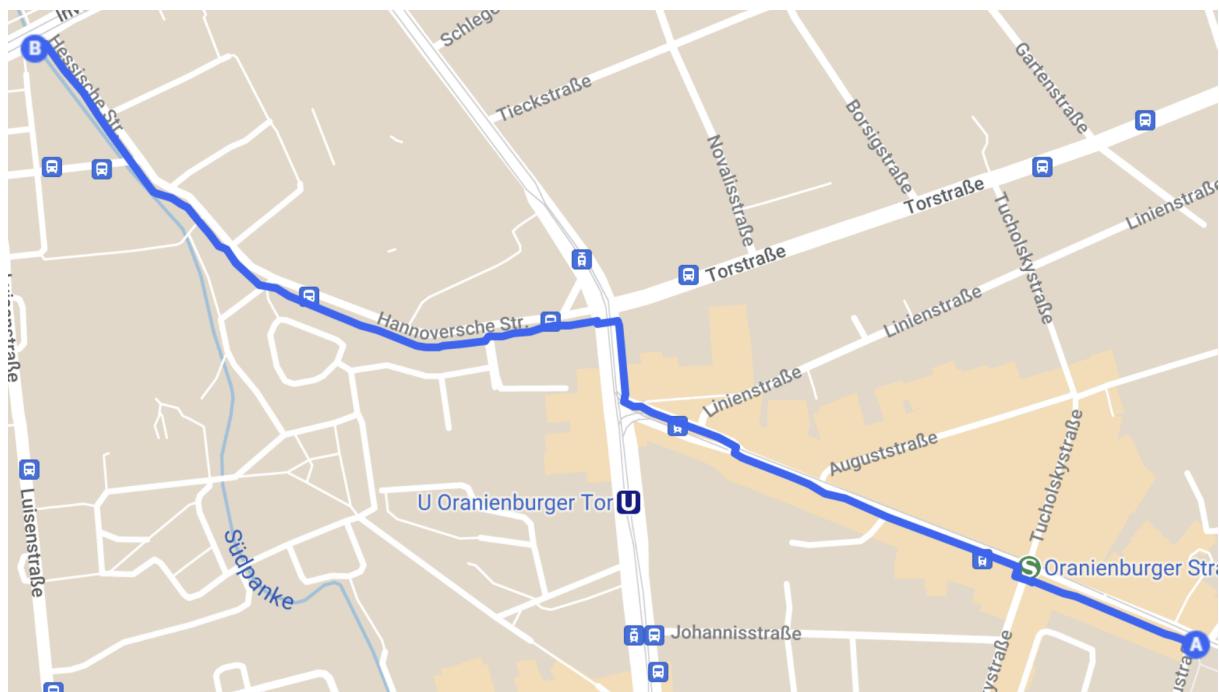
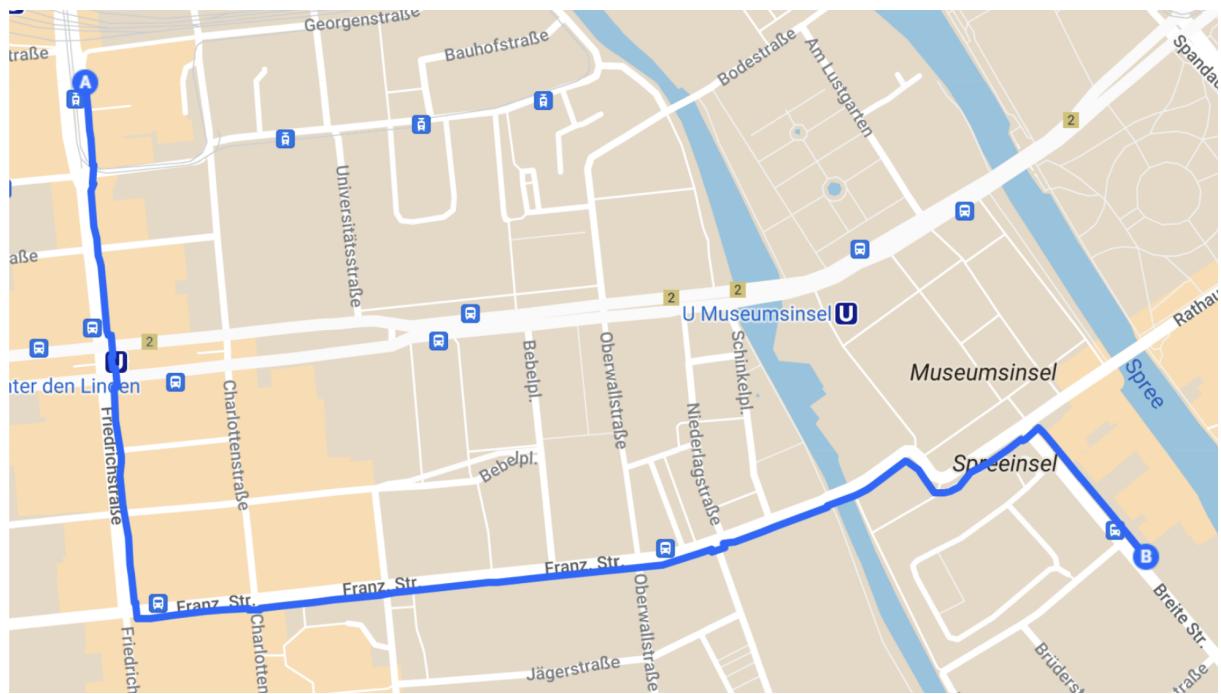
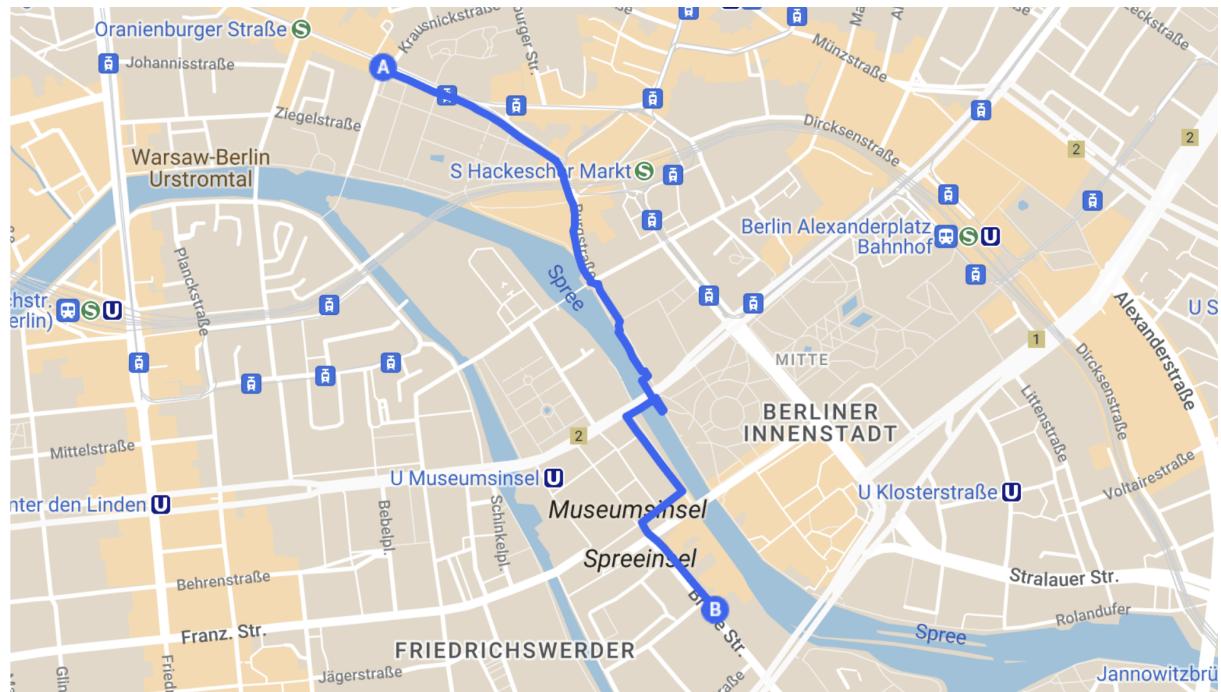


Figure SI 4: Treatment Route B

### SI Treatment and Control Routes



**Figure SI 5:** Control Route A



**Figure SI 6:** Control Route B