

Benček, David; Strasheim, Julia

Working Paper

Refugees welcome? Introducing a new dataset on anti-refugee violence in Germany, 2014-2015

Kiel Working Paper, No. 2032

Provided in Cooperation with:

Kiel Institute for the World Economy – Leibniz Center for Research on Global Economic Challenges

Suggested Citation: Benček, David; Strasheim, Julia (2016) : Refugees welcome? Introducing a new dataset on anti-refugee violence in Germany, 2014-2015, Kiel Working Paper, No. 2032, Kiel Institute for the World Economy (IfW), Kiel

This Version is available at:

<https://hdl.handle.net/10419/129617>

Standard-Nutzungsbedingungen:

Die Dokumente auf EconStor dürfen zu eigenen wissenschaftlichen Zwecken und zum Privatgebrauch gespeichert und kopiert werden.

Sie dürfen die Dokumente nicht für öffentliche oder kommerzielle Zwecke vervielfältigen, öffentlich ausstellen, öffentlich zugänglich machen, vertreiben oder anderweitig nutzen.

Sofern die Verfasser die Dokumente unter Open-Content-Lizenzen (insbesondere CC-Lizenzen) zur Verfügung gestellt haben sollten, gelten abweichend von diesen Nutzungsbedingungen die in der dort genannten Lizenz gewährten Nutzungsrechte.

Terms of use:

Documents in EconStor may be saved and copied for your personal and scholarly purposes.

You are not to copy documents for public or commercial purposes, to exhibit the documents publicly, to make them publicly available on the internet, or to distribute or otherwise use the documents in public.

If the documents have been made available under an Open Content Licence (especially Creative Commons Licences), you may exercise further usage rights as specified in the indicated licence.

Kiel

Working Papers

Kiel Institute
for the World Economy



Refugees Welcome? Introducing a New Dataset on Anti-Refugee Violence in Germany, 2014–2015

By David Benček
Julia Strasheim

No. 2032 | March 2016

Web: www.ifw-kiel.de

Kiel Working Paper No. 2032 | March 2016

Refugees Welcome? Introducing a New Dataset on Anti-Refugee Violence in Germany, 2014–2015

David Benček and Julia Strasheim

Abstract:

The recent rise of xenophobic attacks against refugees in Germany has sparked both political and scholarly debates on the drivers, dynamics, and consequences of right-wing violence. Thus far, a lack of systematic data collection and data processing has inhibited the quantitative analysis to help explain this social phenomenon. This paper introduces a new georeferenced event dataset on anti-refugee violence and social unrest in Germany in 2014 and 2015 based on a public chronicle. Our dataset includes information of 1645 events of four different types of right-wing violence and social unrest: demonstrations, assault, arson attacks, and miscellaneous attacks against refugee housing. After discussing how the dataset was constructed, we offer a descriptive analysis of patterns of right-wing violence and unrest in Germany in 2014 and 2015. We conclude by outlining preliminary ideas on how the dataset can be used in future research.

Keywords: right-wing extremist violence, georeferenced event data, refugees

JEL classification: C80, D74, J15

David Benček

Kiel Institute for the World Economy
Kiellinie 66
D-24105 Kiel
Telephone: +49 431 8814 470
E-mail: david.bencek@ifw-kiel.de

Julia Strasheim

GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies
Neuer Jungfernstieg 21
D-20354 Hamburg
Telephone: +49 40 428 25 757
E-mail: julia.strasheim@giga-hamburg.de

The responsibility for the contents of the working papers rests with the author, not the Institute. Since working papers are of a preliminary nature, it may be useful to contact the author of a particular working paper about results or caveats before referring to, or quoting, a paper. Any comments on working papers should be sent directly to the author.

Coverphoto: uni_com on photocase.com

Refugees Welcome? Introducing a New Dataset on Anti-Refugee Violence in Germany, 2014–2015^{*}

David Benček[†] Julia Strasheim[‡]

March 2016

Abstract

The recent rise of xenophobic attacks against refugees in Germany has sparked both political and scholarly debates on the drivers, dynamics, and consequences of right-wing violence. Thus far, a lack of systematic data collection and data processing has inhibited the quantitative analysis to help explain this social phenomenon. This paper introduces a new georeferenced event dataset on anti-refugee violence and social unrest in Germany in 2014 and 2015 based on a public chronicle. Our dataset includes information of 1 645 events of four different types of right-wing violence and social unrest: demonstrations, assault, arson attacks, and miscellaneous attacks against refugee housing. After discussing how the dataset was constructed, we offer a descriptive analysis of patterns of right-wing violence and unrest in Germany in 2014 and 2015. We conclude by outlining preliminary ideas on how the dataset can be used in future research.

1 Introduction

In 2015, an ever rising number of refugees made their journey to the European Union (EU) to seek asylum in one of its member states. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), as of early 2016, most asylum applicants in Europe were Syrian citizens fleeing military advances by both their government as well as the Islamic State (48 per cent of arrivals), closely followed by refugees from Afghanistan (21 per cent), where a withdrawal of foreign troops has led to a resurgence of Taliban control (UNHCR, 2016). Most refugees have sought asylum in Germany and Sweden, and particularly the German reaction towards incoming refugees has sparked international attention. By the end of summer 2015, when other member states closed their borders,

^{*}The dataset is made available as an R data package and can be found along with installation instructions at <http://github.com/davben/arvig>. A .csv-file of the dataset is available [here](#).

[†]Kiel Institute for the World Economy, david.bencek@ifw-kiel.de

[‡]GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies, julia.strasheim@giga-hamburg.de

Angela Merkel publicly pledged that Germany would offer temporary residence to all incoming refugees, and her government suspended applying the Dublin III Regulation that determine the member state responsible to examine asylum applications. In addition to this “open-arms policy” (Hockenos, 2015) of the German Chancellor, television footage of cheering citizens welcoming refugees at the Munich train station stood out in comparison to increasingly restrictive policies towards refugees across the EU.

Not everyone welcomed refugees to Germany. The *Christlich-Soziale Union* (Christian Social Union, CSU) – a partner in the national coalition government – soon openly challenged Merkel’s decisions, an act previously unthinkable in German consensus politics. Simultaneously, the right-wing party *Alternative für Deutschland* (Alternative for Germany, AfD) started to attract an increasing number of voters in polls.¹ In addition to these political reactions, xenophobic violence directed against refugees and their supporters was on the rise in 2015 (Deutsche Welle, 2015). This violence reached a tragic climax in October 2015, when Cologne city official Henriette Reker was stabbed in the neck over her position towards refugees during an electoral campaign event.

Anti-refugee violence and social unrest is not new to post-Cold War Germany, and a number of scholarly analyses have shed light on this phenomenon in the past. To name a few examples, Koopmans and Olzak (2004) study the causal links between public discourse and xenophobic violence in Germany, analyzing over 11 000 public statements in the period from 1990 to 1999 (cf. also Koopmans, 1996). Their findings suggest that media attention to right-wing violence affects both the precise targets of such attacks as well as these attacks’ temporal and spatial distribution (cf. a similar analysis on the Netherlands by Braun, 2011). Krell, Nicklas, and Ostermann (1996) also investigate the links between rising numbers of asylum seekers in Germany during the early 1990s and anti-refugee violence, presenting both a typology of the perpetrators as well as studying the explanatory power of various theories in order to account for the rising number of attacks. And Willems similarly focuses on the perpetrators of right-wing violence in Germany by analyzing police data on their biographical and socio-demographic characteristics (Willems, 1995a) as well as public opinion polls, arguing inter alia that anti-refugee activist groups are far too heterogeneous “to be sweepingly labeled as racists” (Willems, 1995b).

The recent spread of anti-refugee sentiments in German politics and society has already sparked academic interest, but investigations have thus far overwhelmingly concentrated on explaining the rise of the right-wing movement Pegida (*Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes*, Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the Occident) that flourished in late 2014 (e.g. Dostal, 2015; Vorländer, Herold, and Schäler, 2016). A lack of systematic data collection and data processing of the recent anti-refugee events in Germany has thus far inhibited a thorough quantitative investigation of this phenomenon, its patterns, dynamics, drivers, and consequences. This paper

¹According to one public opinion poll of February 2016, 12 percent of voters would elect the AfD into the German *Bundestag* (ARD, 2016).

therefore introduces a new georeferenced event dataset on Anti-Refugee Violence and Social Unrest in Germany (hereafter ARVIG) between 2014 and 2015. Our dataset is based on information collected by two civil society organizations that we process to make it usable for statistical research. The dataset identifies in total 1,645 events of four different types of right-wing violence and social unrest: demonstrations, assault, arson attacks, and miscellaneous attacks against refugee housing. In the following sections we first present data sources, discuss the categorization of different types of right-wing violence, describe the process of constructing the dataset, before outlining the variables included in the dataset. Afterwards we discuss initial descriptive statistics of patterns of anti-refugee violence and social unrest in Germany and conclude the paper by outlining several potential uses of the dataset in future research.

2 Creating the Dataset

In order to create the ARVIG dataset, we rely on information released on the website *Mut Gegen Rechte Gewalt* (MGRG), a project that was started in August 2000 by the Amadeu Antonio Foundation and the weekly magazine Stern. This website provides a public chronicle of anti-refugee violence and social unrest since 2014 and we include all available entries between 01.01.2014 and 31.12.2015 in the dataset.² The chronicle provided by the MGRG project is itself based on information collected by two civil society organizations. The first is the Amadeu Antonio Foundation itself that was named after Angolan citizen Amadeu Antonio Kiowa, who was one of the first victims of right-wing violence in reunified Germany when he was beaten to death by extremist youths in 1990. The foundation was started in 1998 with the explicit goal to strengthen German civil society activism against right-wing extremism, racism, and anti-Semitism (Amadeu Antonio Stiftung, 2016a). The second organization is PRO ASYL that was founded in 1986, shortly after significant restrictions were introduced to the German asylum law that resulted in greater difficulties for people persecuted in their home countries to secure lasting protection in Germany (Förderverein PRO ASYL e.v., 2016). Both the Amadeu Antonio Foundation and PRO ASYL belong to the largest and most respected pro immigration advocacy organizations and closely work together with international human rights organizations.

2.1 Categories of Right-Wing Violence

The chronicle provided by the MGRG project documents four different types of attacks and unrest against refugees and refugee housing in Germany: demonstrations, assault, arson attacks, and miscellaneous attacks against refugee housing. The collection is based on public reporting in newspaper articles, press releases by the German police, parliamentary interpellations as well as publicly accessi-

²Quarterly updates of the dataset are planned, provided that MGRG keeps publishing the information.

ble reports by local and regional organizations offering advice and consultation for victims of right-wing violence (Amadeu Antonio Stiftung, 2016b).

The first type of violence and social unrest reported by MGRG are events of anti-refugee demonstrations, such as the rallies staged by Pegida since December 2014. To give one example of the demonstrations the project reports, on 14 March 2015, 180 people protested against the construction of a new refugee shelter in the city of Flöha in Saxony. The demonstration was registered by Pegida-spokesperson Steffen Musolt and at least one man was reported shouting “Sieg Heil!” (Freie Presse, 2015). Notably, MGRG points out that because anti-refugee demonstrations and rallies have been on the rise in recent years, it is impossible to collect information on every single one of them. Thus, demonstrations can be expected to be under-reported in the chronicle – and thus also in the dataset presented here.³

The second type of violence reported by the MGRG project concerns physical assaults and bodily injuries. For instance, on 12 January 2015, a Libyan asylum seeker was heavily injured in Dresden. He had been asked for cigarettes by “men wearing bomber jackets,” and after he did not understand the question, one of the men reportedly poured hot liquid over his face, shoulders, and arms, making him seek medical treatment (Morgenpost, 2015). There exist some limitations to the reporting of this type of violence as well: MGRG notes that information on assaults is only recorded in the chronicle if assault is carried out against an individual with refugee status. Assaults against, for instance, left-wing protesters, volunteers helping incoming refugees, or journalists covering xenophobic rallies, are not recorded. MGRG furthermore points out that the actual number of assaults – independent of the status of the victim – is likely to be much higher than what is reported in the chronicle (Amadeu Antonio Stiftung, 2016b).

The third and fourth type of anti-refugee violence reported by MGRG provides information on arson attacks against refugee housing, as well as on miscellaneous attacks against such shelters. For instance, on 23 March 2015, a group of unknown attackers was reported trying to set fire to a school in Berlin-Kreuzberg that houses refugees, an attack during which luckily no one was injured (Berlin Online, 2015). Miscellaneous attacks against refugee housing comprise instances of rocks thrown at shelters or xenophobic graffiti. For example, on 08 January 2015, unknown attackers painted swastikas on the walls of a house in Hausberge/Porta Westfalica (North Rhine-Westphalia) that was supposed to be turned into a refugee shelter (Mindener Tageblatt, 2015).

In addition to these four distinct categories, some of the reported events include mixed forms of anti-refugee attacks, such as demonstrations at which

³MGRG also notes that under-reporting has become a problem mostly since January 2016, at which point the Amadeu Antonio Foundation and PRO ASYL have limited themselves to reporting demonstrations that specifically disregarded German law, meaning that the demonstration was illegal and not registered with the authorities beforehand, the demonstration included assaults against journalists or police, or demonstrators were reported using hate speech (*Volksverhetzung*) (Amadeu Antonio Stiftung, 2016b). Since January 2016 is outside the scope of this dataset, we do not expect severe under-reporting for our observation period.

refugee shelters were attacked: On 06 March 2015, an anti-asylum demonstration of 1500 people in Freital (Saxony) not only attacked police officers and journalists with pyrotechnics, but some demonstrators also forced their way to a refugee shelter and reportedly vandalized the building (Tagesspiegel, 2015). Table 1 summarizes the frequencies of all observed event types as reported by the MGRG project. Figure 1 offers a geographic overview of all recorded events. For a more concise presentation, multi-category events have been split and mapped to each base category.

Table 1: Frequencies of Event Categories

Category	N
arson	157
arson & miscellaneous attack	8
assault	195
demonstration	443
demonstration & assault	8
demonstration & miscellaneous attack	16
demonstration & miscellaneous attack & assault	1
miscellaneous attack	763
miscellaneous attack & assault	29
other	25

By including events from this broad set of categories, our dataset covers a wider range of anti-refugee violence than some previous studies on the topic. For instance, studying right-wing violence against asylum seekers in the Netherlands, Braun (2011) relies on data on the timing and location of events provided by the *Anne Frank Stichting*, which defines right-wing violence as “[purposive] infliction of material or physical damage to targets, chosen because of their different cultural, national, ethnic, racial or religious background” (cited in Braun, 2011). In our categorization, Braun’s conceptualization of anti-refugee violence would thus only cover the “assault” category. We however prefer our broad conceptualization of anti-refugee violence and social unrest for two reasons: First, a broad concept that also includes demonstrations and attacks against property allows researchers not only to distinguish between different types of xenophobic attacks, but also to study degrees of severity. In that regard, our dataset can be used to help answer research questions that deal with the escalation of xenophobic extremism over time (cf. section 3). Second, our broad conceptualization also relates more closely to other recent event data collections on global instances of violence and social unrest, such as the Social Conflict Analysis Database (SCAD) that covers protests, riots, strikes, inter-communal conflict, and government violence against civilians in Africa and Central America (Salehyan et al., 2012).

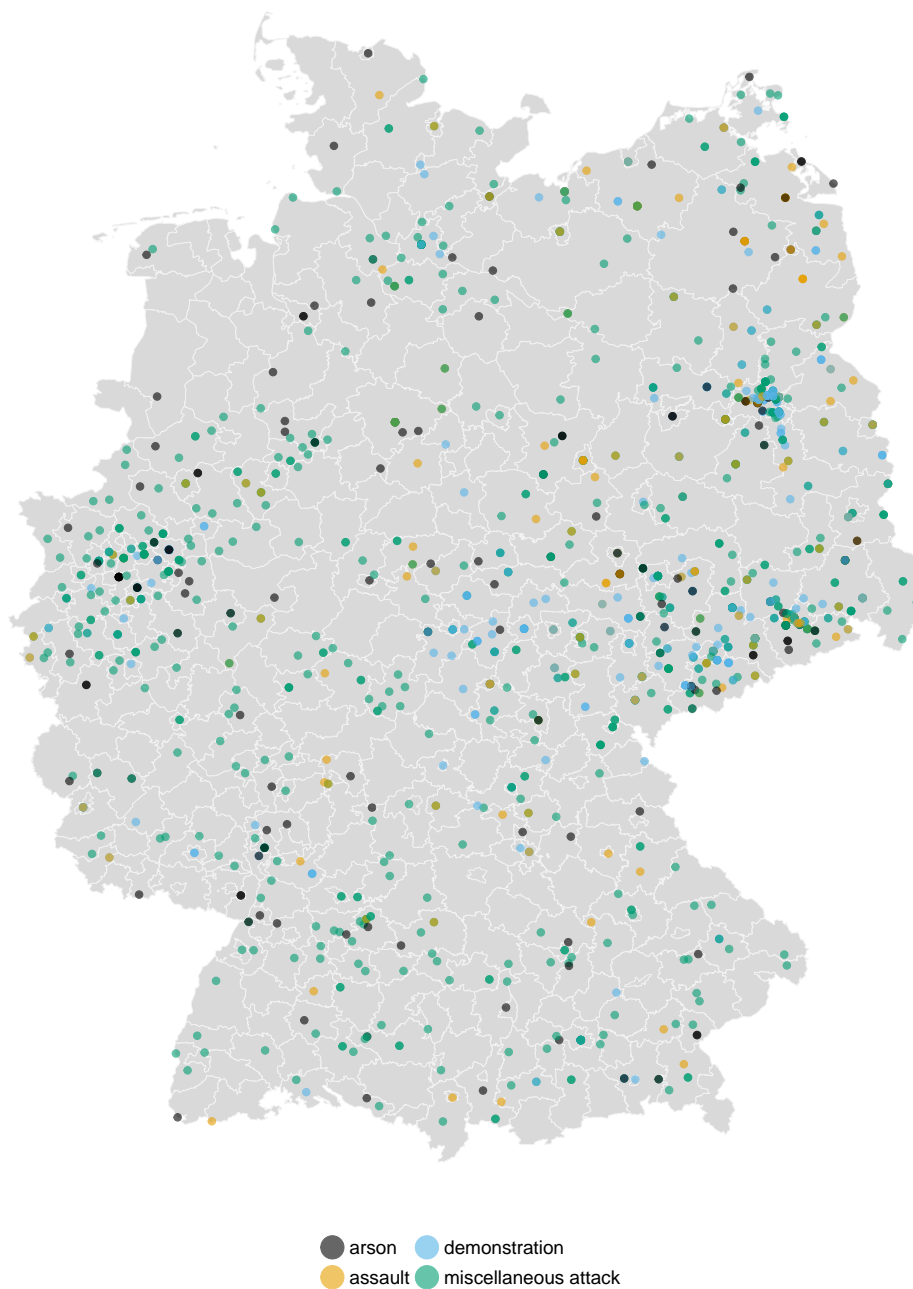


Figure 1: Geographic Overview of Events by Category

2.2 Webscraping and Geocoding

To construct the ARVIG dataset, we primarily relied on webscraping the information from the MGRG chronicle. This is possible for all events from 01 January 2015 onwards as they are neatly separated in the HTML code of the MGRG website, using the `rvest` package in R that was designed in 2014 to harvest data from HTML web pages (Wickham, 2015). For the 2014 events, webscraping proved insufficient, because the entries on the MGRG website are not as neatly structured in the HTML code. Hence, we manually copied the 2014 events, cleaned the data and merged it with the 2015 events.

Next, we extracted the information on the location and the respective federal state from the dataset and used the Google Maps API to geocode the location (it proved necessary to take both location and federal state, to avoid confusion between two locations with the same name, e.g. Friedberg (Hessen) and Friedberg (Bayern)). Each event is thereby mapped to a longitude and latitude with municipality-level precision. This enables us to place each event on a high resolution map of Germany that includes geospatial information on all 11,306 German municipalities (*Gemeinden*) and determine the corresponding official 12-digit Community Identification Number (*Regionalschlüssel*).⁴

2.3 Variables and Patterns

The ARVIG dataset contains 10 variables that characterize each recorded event. First, we provide the exact *date* at which an event of interest occurred. Currently, all dates lie between 01 January 2014 and 31 December 2015. Events were recorded on 563 of the 730 days covered by the dataset (cf. Figure 2). While on 173 days in 2014 and 2015 thus no event took place, an almost equal number of days saw at least one event of anti-refugee violence or social unrest. The date where most events were recorded was 29 August 2015, with a staggering count of 17 anti-refugee events, including six demonstrations, ten miscellaneous attacks against refugee shelters, as well as one instance of assault occurring in Halle (Saale), where a refugee from Guinea-Bissau was insulted, beaten and kicked by six to eight individuals.

Next our dataset specifies the *location* and *federal state* of events as reported by MGRG (in German writing, thus including umlauts). All federal states of Germany have seen right-wing violence and social unrest in 2014 and 2015, but with strong variation in the number of events. By far the highest number of anti-refugee violence and unrest was recorded in Saxony, with 29, 75, 124, 166 events in the 24 months under analysis, followed by North Rhine-Westphalia (30, 14, 50, 137 events) and Berlin (13, 17, 86, 94 events). The traditionally left-wing governed Bremen (where all State Premiers since 1945 have belonged to the Social Democratic Party), on the other hand, saw only 2 events in the past two years, two arson attacks on 26 October 2015 and 26 September 2015. If we control for state inhabitants, the densely populated North Rhine-Westphalia

⁴The partition of municipalities in Germany is constantly changing – our dataset classifies the events based on the status of 01 January 2015.

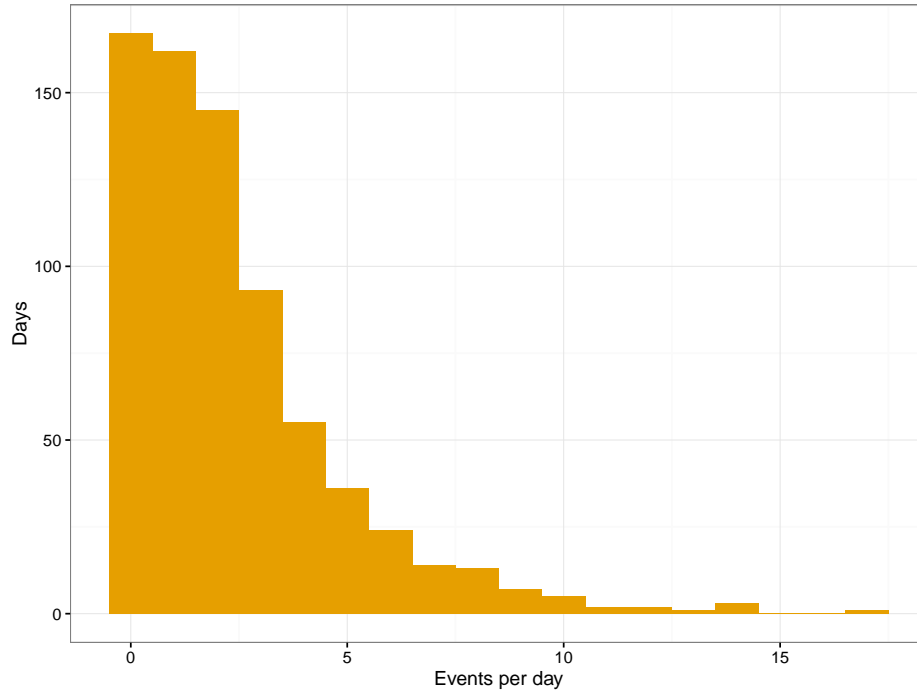


Figure 2: Histogram: Events per Day

drops out of the top three and is replaced by Mecklenburg-Vorpommern – a federal state that has a history of xenophobic violence against asylum seekers, for instance when between 22 and 24 August 1992, several hundred violent protesters in the Lichtenhagen district of Rostock threw stones and petrol bombs at a refugee shelter and were applauded by an even larger crowd of bystanders. Figure 3 depicts the number of events per 100 000 inhabitants for all federal states and shows a clear divide between West and East Germany in the number of events directed against refugees.

Figure 4 additionally depicts this relationship at the district level. This map again highlights the high number of anti-refugee events taking place in Eastern Germany, with a particularly high count in the district of Saxon Switzerland-East Ore Mountains (*Sächsische Schweiz-Osterzgebirge*). This district had in total 67 events of anti-refugee violence, including 10 instances of assault, 5 instances of arson, and 21 miscellaneous attacks in 2014 and 2015, while being sparsely populated with only 245,954 inhabitants – fewer than cities such as Mannheim, Karlsruhe, or Bonn.

In order to facilitate disaggregated analyses of the data, the ARVIG dataset also contains the 12-digit *Community Identification Number* of the respective municipality each event has occurred in. This standardized identifier is taken from official statistics and thus makes it easy to merge highly disaggregated

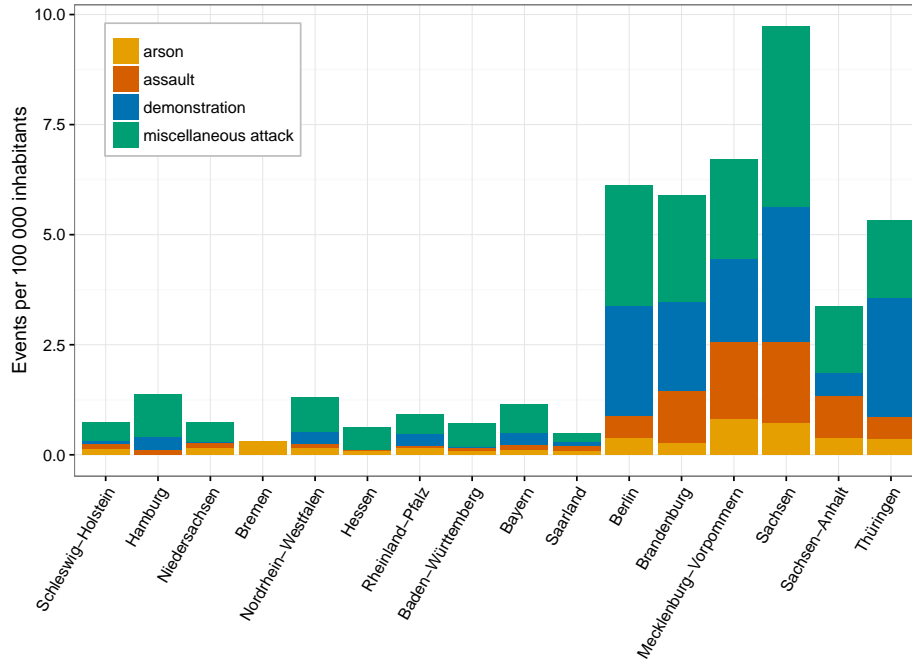


Figure 3: Events per 100 000 inhabitants by state

data from other sources with the ARVIG dataset. The data show that 640 individual municipalities within Germany experienced right-wing extremist violence and social unrest against refugees in 2014 and 2015. Berlin has seen the largest number of events (215), 40% of which were demonstrations and 44% were miscellaneous attacks. For more detailed spatial analyses we also provide *longitude* and *latitude* of the respective event location.

The dataset furthermore contains the *event category* provided by MGRG both in German and in English. This enables us to observe an interesting variation as to when events occurred when we analyse each type of event separately: For figure 5 we split up multi-category events and added them once to each of their respective categories. We can observe that in terms of their distribution over weekdays, assault, arson and miscellaneous attacks behave quite similarly: They are relatively evenly distributed over all seven days of the week, with minor spikes on the weekends (more prominent for assault and miscellaneous attacks on Saturdays). Demonstrations, on the other hand, show a very strong spike on Saturdays. This could indicate that while demonstrations are planned and organized – they must be registered with the police beforehand, after all – the other three types of anti-refugee violence and unrest occur more spontaneously. This distribution is at least to some extent surprising because past research has found that acts of right-wing violence in Germany occur disproportionately often on weekend nights (Willems et al. 1993), a finding that is usually linked to alcohol

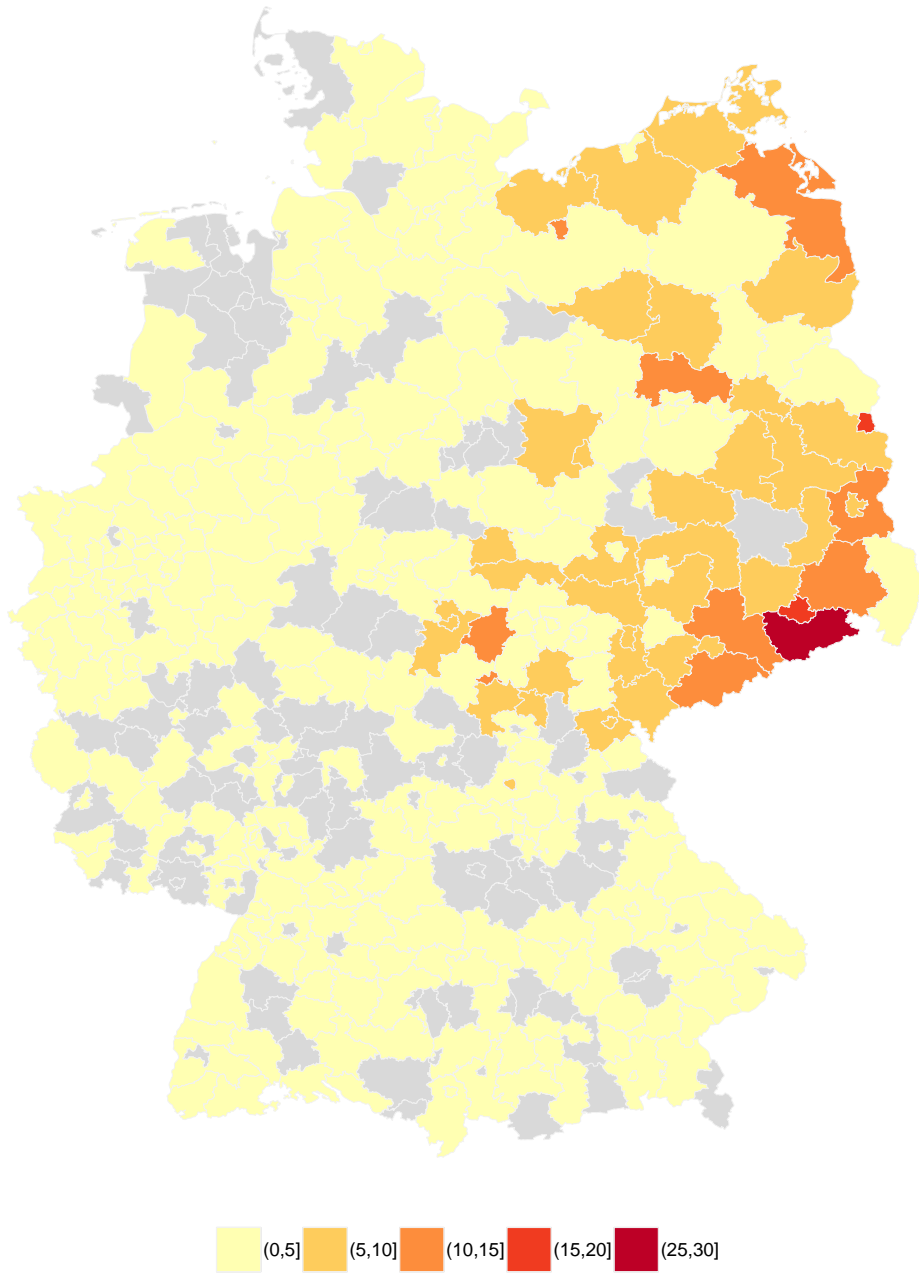


Figure 4: Events per 100 000 inhabitants by districts

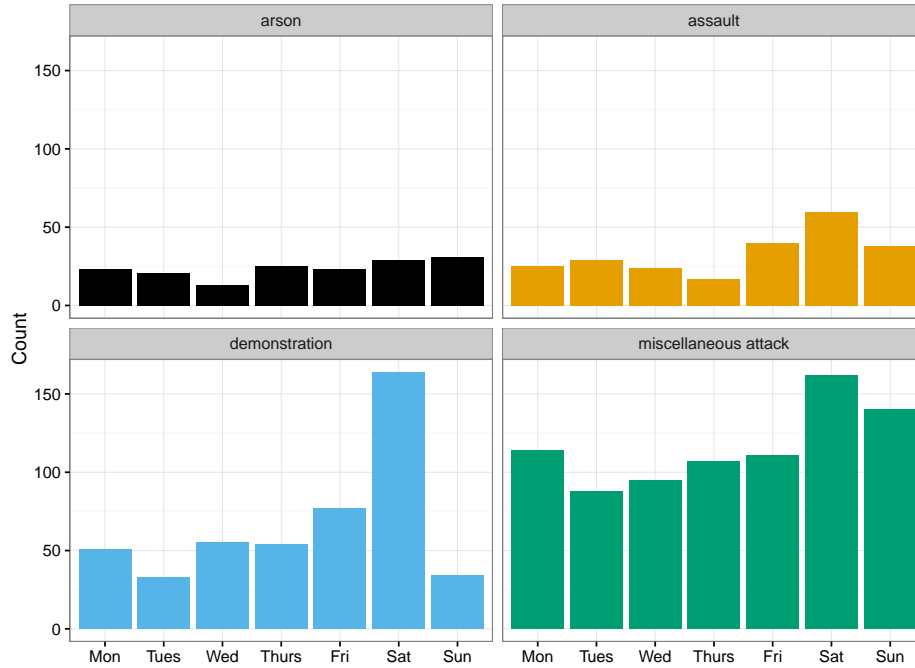


Figure 5: Events by Weekdays

consumption of young men. Also Braun (2011) has found that weekend nights – and summer periods – are strong predictors for an increased hazard of xenophobic violence in the Netherlands, and (as we have explained above) Braun does not even include demonstrations in his categorization of anti-refugee violence, which seems to be the main driver of weekend occurrences in our dataset.

Finally, a *description* of the event (in German language) as well as a *source* of this description, such as a link to a news website is provided. To illustrate this set of variables, table 2 provides a sample record from the dataset.

3 Conclusion: Using the Dataset

This paper introduced new georeferenced event data on anti-refugee violence and social unrest in Germany in 2014 and 2015. Based on a public chronicle provided by the *Mut Gegen Rechte Gewalt* project, we webscraped and processed the available information so as to make them accessible for statistical research on anti-refugee violence. The dataset thereby complements existing research on the determinants and effects of anti-refugee attacks in Germany with new and systematic data. The event-based coding as well as the adherent information on event-locations make the data useful for a variety of analyses, both event-based or aggregated to German administrative units such as the communities (*Gemeinden*) or districts (*Kreise*). In that regard, the data presented here offer

Table 2: Sample Event from the ARVIG dataset

Variable	Sample
date	2015-03-06
location	Freital
state	Sachsen
community_id	146280110110
longitude	13.6512413
latitude	51.0008667
category_de	Kundgebung/Demo & Sonstige Angriffe auf Unterkünfte
category_en	demonstration & miscellaneous attack
description	Am Freitag gab es in Freital die erste Anti-Asyl-Demonstration unter dem Motto “Freital wehrt sich. Nein zum Hotelheim”. Daran beteiligten sich etwa 1500 Personen. Einige Teilnehmende versuchten die geplante Route zu verlassen. Sie attackierten die Polizei mit Pyrotechnik, um zum Leonardo-Hotel zu gelangen, wo seit Mittwoch die ersten von bis zu 200 Flüchtlingen untergebracht sind. Nur mit Mühe konnte die Polizei die gewaltbereiten Asylgegner aufhalten. Laut Twitter hat einer von ihnen einen Brandanschlag gegen die Unterkunft angedroht. Außerdem wurde von einem Übergriff auf einen Fotojournalisten berichtet. Dieser sei bepöbelt, bedrängt und geschubst worden. Zuvor soll eine Person auf Facebook folgende Botschaft gepostet haben: “Dann komme ich heute Nacht wieder und zünde das Ding an“.
source	http://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/attacken-und-proteste-in-gera-freital-hoyerswerda-neonazis-und-besorgte-buerger-gegen-fluechtlingsheime/11472054.html

a starting point to analyze the recent rise in anti-refugee violence from different disciplinary backgrounds, including, but not limited to, criminology, political science, or economics.

For instance, and as we have outlined in the introduction to this article, a number of studies have reflected upon the determinants of anti-refugee violence in the 1990s: (youth) unemployment, the success of right-wing political parties, and media discourses have been identified as strong predictors of violent outbursts. It would be interesting to know if the recent rise of anti-refugee attacks adheres the same old pattern, or whether new predictors have stronger explanatory power. Similarly, our descriptive and preliminary analysis of patterns in anti-refugee violence in Germany in 2014 and 2015 already pointed to a surprising finding, namely that besides the occurrence of demonstrations, other types of anti-refugee violence are spread evenly across weekdays. As this goes directly against previous findings on the issue, more research on why this is the case

would be advantageous. Can we detect, for instance, similar developments for other types of crime?

Last but not least, events that have gained a lot of media attention have shaped public and political discourse. As the impact of discourse on the outbreak of violence has been established by previous research, our event-based data enable researchers to identify key events that may have increased or decreased the ensuing level of violence.

References

- Amadeu Antonio Stiftung, AAS (2016a). *Amadeu Antonio Stiftung. Initiatives for Civil Empowerment and a Democratic Culture*. URL: <http://www.amadeu-antonio-stiftung.de/eng/> (visited on 02/14/2016).
- (2016b). *Mut Gegen Rechte Gewalt*. URL: <https://www.mut-gegen-rechte-gewalt.de/> (visited on 02/14/2016).
- ARD (2016). *ARD-DeutschlandTrend: AfD würde drittstärkste Kraft*. Tagesschau.de. URL: <http://www.tagesschau.de/inland/deutschlandtrend-475.html> (visited on 02/04/2016).
- Berlin Online, BO (2015). “Brandanschlag auf Gerhart-Hauptmann-Schule”. In: *berlinonline.de*.
- Braun, Robert (2011). “The diffusion of racist violence in the Netherlands: Discourse and distance”. In: *Journal of Peace Research* 48.6, pp. 753–766. ISSN: 0022-3433, 1460-3578. DOI: [10.1177/0022343311419238](https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343311419238).
- Deutsche Welle, DW (2015). *Anti-refugee attacks rise four-fold in Germany*. DW.COM. URL: <http://www.dw.com/en/anti-refugee-attacks-rise-four-fold-in-germany/a-18907776> (visited on 02/04/2016).
- Dostal, Jörg Michael (2015). “The Pegida Movement and German Political Culture: Is Right-Wing Populism Here to Stay?” In: *The Political Quarterly* 86.4, pp. 523–531. ISSN: 1467-923X. DOI: [10.1111/1467-923X.12204](https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.12204).
- Förderverein PRO ASYL e.v., PA (2016). *Pro Asyl. Der Einzelfall zählt*. URL: <http://www.proasyl.de/> (visited on 02/14/2016).
- Freie Presse, FP (2015). “180 Teilnehmer demonstrieren in Flöha gegen Asylbewerberheim”. In: *Freie Presse*.
- Hockenos, Paul (2015). *Nothing Can Take Down Angela Merkel — Except 800,000 Refugees*. Foreign Policy. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/10/22/nothing-can-take-down-angela-merkel-except-800000-refugees-germany-cdu-pegida/> (visited on 02/04/2016).
- Koopmans, Ruud (1996). “Explaining the rise of racist and extreme right violence in Western Europe: Grievances or opportunities?” In: *European Journal of Political Research* 30.2, pp. 185–216. ISSN: 1475-6765. DOI: [10.1111/j.1475-6765.1996.tb00674.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.1996.tb00674.x).
- Koopmans, Ruud and Susan Olzak (2004). “Discursive Opportunities and the Evolution of Right-Wing Violence in Germany”. In: *American Journal of Sociology* 110.1, pp. 198–230. ISSN: 0002-9602. DOI: [10.1086/386271](https://doi.org/10.1086/386271).

- Krell, Gert, Hans Nicklas, and Anne Ostermann (1996). "Immigration, Asylum, and Anti-Foreigner Violence in Germany". In: *Journal of Peace Research* 33.2, pp. 153–170. ISSN: 0022-3433, 1460-3578. DOI: [10.1177/0022343396033002003](https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343396033002003).
- Mindener Tageblatt, MT (2015). *Haus des Gastes in Hausberge mit Hakenkreuzen beschmiert*. Porta Westfalica. URL: http://www.mt.de/lokales/porta_westfalica/20675573_Haus-des-Gastes-in-Hausberge-mit-Hakenkreuzen-beschmiert.html (visited on 02/17/2016).
- Morgenpost, MOPO (2015). "Weiterer Asylbewerber schwer verletzt". In: *Mopo* 24.
- Salehyan, Idean et al. (2012). "Social Conflict in Africa: A New Database". In: *International Interactions* 38.4, pp. 503–511. ISSN: 0305-0629. DOI: [10.1080/03050629.2012.697426](https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629.2012.697426).
- UNHCR (2016). *Refugees and Migrants Emergency Response: Mediterranean*. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. URL: <http://data.unhcr.org/mediterranean/regional.php> (visited on 02/04/2016).
- Vorländer, Hans, Maik Herold, and Steven Schäller (2016). *PEGIDA. Entwicklung, Zusammensetzung und Deutung einer Empörungsbewegung*. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Wickham, Hadley (2015). *rvest: Easily Harvest (Scrape) Web Pages*. R package version 0.3.1.
- Willems, Helmut (1995a). "Development, patterns and causes of violence against foreigners in Germany: Social and biographical characteristics of perpetrators and the process of escalation". In: *Terrorism and Political Violence* 7.1, pp. 162–181. ISSN: 0954-6553. DOI: [10.1080/09546559508427288](https://doi.org/10.1080/09546559508427288).
- (1995b). "Right-wing extremism, racism or youth violence? Explaining violence against foreigners in Germany". In: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 21.4, pp. 501–523. ISSN: 1369-183X. DOI: [10.1080/1369183X.1995.9976509](https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.1995.9976509).