Secondary Survey Data on Migration and Protest

Content, Geographic Scope, and Limitations: MOBILISE Scoping Report on Data Availability
Onuch, O.; Doyle, D.; Ersanilli, E.; Sasse, G.; Toma, S.

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Secondary Survey Data on Migration and Protest:

Content, Geographic Scope, and Limitations*

MOBILISE Scoping Report on Data Availability

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Introduction

The MOBILISE project plans to study the relationship between protest behaviour and migration. It focuses on two puzzles 1) what accounts for choosing one type of behavior over the other; and 2) how does prior exposure to migration and/or protest affect this choice.

The purpose of this scoping study is to collect information on existing datasets that cover protest and/or migration and explore to what extent they are suitable for addressing our questions. Before providing an overview of the datasets we have uncovered, we will first summarise the major challenges in measuring migration and protest.

Challenges in measuring protest and migration

There are two major challenges in collecting data on migration and protest in survey research; the problem of numbers and the problem of definition (Cf. Biggs, 2015). As both behaviours are relatively rare, general population surveys tend to contain too few protesters for meaningful analyses. Biggs (2015) calls this the 'small numbers problem'. Studies on protest have followed the lead by Marsh and others (Biggs, 2015) and measured protest potential rather than protest behaviour; asking respondents not only whether they have participated in a protest but also whether they ‘might’ do so. As many more respondents tend to indicate that they ‘might participate’ than ‘have participated’, the protest potential measure reduces the small numbers problem.

For migration the sampling problem is moreover that those who are currently migrants will not be captured by a general population survey in the origin country. Migration scholars have multiple approaches to circumvent this issue. One approach is asking about the migration status of household or family members of respondents. While this method can help estimate the size of migration flows, it is not well suited for analysing the micro-level drivers of migration other than demographic factors and it misses households that have migrated entirely. This can be improved when a multi-sited approach is taken; collecting data in both the origin and destination countries. This approach was pioneered by Douglas Massey in his Mexican Migration Project (Massey, 1987). Another approach is measuring migration potential by asking respondents about migration aspirations ('if you had the opportunity, would you like to move') and intentions ('do you intend to move to another country'). Both measures of protest and migration potential decrease the small numbers problem.

Intentions and behaviour are however not the same thing. Whether aspirations and intentions lead to behaviour depends on people’s ability, their opportunities and resources, to engage in the behaviour (Ajzen, 1991). This distinction between intentions and behaviour is particularly important for the MOBILISE project as a lack of ability to engage in protest could lead to the choice for migration and vice versa.

Another aspect of the numbers problem is the choice of reference period. While asking respondents whether they have 'ever' migrated or protested rather than during a specified timeframe (e.g. 12 months or 5 years) decreases the small numbers problem, it comes at the cost of temporal precision. Temporal precision is important to the MOBILISE project as both the drivers of and opportunities for protest and migration are likely to change over time. Measures with low temporal precision therefore affect the accuracy of the estimates of the drivers of migration and protest.

A second challenge is the definition of the behaviour of interest. Most studies on migration potential avoid the term 'migration', instead asking respondent whether they aspire or intent to 'live and work abroad'. This phrasing avoids measurement error due to differences in connotation of the word ‘migration’ to researchers and respondents (e.g. only if move is permanent, only if move is to another continent). For protest the major definition issue is whether protest is an illegal or legal act. The problem is that actions may start of as legal and become illegal or vice versa. Furthermore, participants may not be aware of what category the protest they participated in falls under. Questions referring explicitly to 'legal' or 'illegal' protest are thus likely to lead to underreporting of protest behaviour and potential.

Question to current migrants about their protest behaviour should specify whether these protests are origin country oriented.
**Scoping approach**

All major multi-country surveys are included (ESS, ISSP, WVS). We furthermore included all datasets on protest and/or migration that we have come across in our previous research. Finally we looked for datasets on protest and/or migration in the DANS (NL), GESIS (DE) and UK data archive collected in the last 25 years and did an internet search to find additional datasets. Below we present the datasets we have uncovered. As MOBILISE aims to study the role of context in the choice to migrate, protest or remain inactive, datasets should also either be longitudinal or cover multiple countries - and ideally both. The overview below therefore only contains cross-national and longitudinal surveys.

**Assessing suitability**

To meet the needs of the MOBILISE project, datasets need to meet four criteria

1) Cover migrants, protesters, migrant-protesters and those engaged in neither migration nor protest
2) Cover both protest and migration
3) Contain measures of aspirations/intentions and previous behaviour
4) Measures should be high quality; meaning clear and short reference period, unambiguous concepts

The results from our scoping study did not reveal any dataset that meets these criteria. None of the data found has sufficient numbers of protestors, migrants and migrant-protestors for meaningful analysis. Furthermore few surveys address both migration and protest behaviour and intentions and several surveys use problematic measures of one or both behaviours.

**References**


### Data table

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<tr>
<th>DATA SOURCE</th>
<th>LONGITUDINAL OR CROSS-SECTIONAL?</th>
<th>COUNTRIES COVERED</th>
<th>PROTEST/ MIGRATION/ BOTH</th>
<th>ATTITUINAL/ BEHAVIORAL</th>
<th>COVERS ALL FOUR RELEVANT GROUPS?</th>
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</table>
| European Social Survey [http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/](http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/) | Cross-sectional, multi wave (2002-ongoing) | Albania, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Kosovo, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom | Both | Protest Behavioral: ESS1: There are different ways of trying to improve things in [country] or help prevent things from going wrong. During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following? Firstly ... Taken part in a lawful public demonstration ESS2, ESS3, ESS4, ESS5, ESS6, ESS7: There are different ways of trying to improve things in [country] or help prevent things from going wrong. During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following? Have you ... ...taken part in a lawful public demonstration?  
- Yes  
- No | Possibly but (very) low N for multiple groups. | The protest question is highly contentious as it asks about legal protests. It does specify reference period. |
|                        |                                  |                   |                          |                         |                                  | If migrants protested, it is not known whether it was origin or destination country oriented. |
|                        |                                  |                   |                          |                         |                                  | No information on previous migration experience for those currently residing in country of birth. |
| Afrobarometer [http://www.afrobarometer.org/](http://www.afrobarometer.org/) | Cross-sectional, multi wave (2001-ongoing) | Africa, Algeria, Benin, Botswana, Burkin Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Côte d’Ivoire, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, | Protest | Protest Behavioral/Attitudinal: For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance? ... .Participated in a demonstration or protest march.  
What is the most effective thing that an ordinary person like you can do the help combat corruption in this country?  
- Nothing / Ordinary people cannot do anything  
- [...] | Migrants (and migrant protesters) cannot be identified. | No information on migration behaviour or intention. |
| **Arab Barometer**  | Cross-sectional, multi wave (2006 - ongoing) | Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South, South Sudan, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe | - Participate in protest marches or demonstrations against corruption  
**Migration network**  
How often, if at all, do you or anyone in your household receive money remittances from friends or relatives living outside of the country? |  | Only asks about current migration status, so returned migrants cannot be identified. |
| **Caucasus Barometer**  | Cross-sectional, multi wave (2008 - 2014), Georgia | Armenia, Azerbaijan (dropped out in 2014), Georgia | - Participate in protest marches or demonstrations against corruption  
**Migration network**  
How often, if at all, do you or anyone in your household receive money remittances from friends or relatives living outside of the country? |  | Does not measure protest behaviour |
ongoing)

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<tr>
<td>EUmagine</td>
<td>Cross-sectional, single wave (2011)</td>
<td>Ukraine, Senegal Morocco, Turkey</td>
<td>Migration</td>
<td>Migration intention/ and past behavior</td>
<td>Does not capture (potential) protestors Unlikely to capture current migrants and non-migrants from the same country.</td>
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<td>Survey</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Countries</td>
<td>Main Questions</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gallup World Poll</td>
<td>Cross-sectional, multi wave (2005-ongoing)</td>
<td>More than 160 countries</td>
<td><strong>Migration attitude</strong>&lt;br&gt;Desire to migrate permanently</td>
<td>Does not capture (potential) protestors or migrant-protestors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life in Transition Survey (LITS) European Bank for Reconstruction and Development</td>
<td>Cross-sectional, multi wave (2006, 2010, 2016)</td>
<td>Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Egypt, Estonia, FYR Macedonia, Georgia, Greece, Hungary, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Kyrgyz Republic, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Mongolia, Montenegro, Morocco, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Tajikistan, Tunisia, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan</td>
<td><strong>Migration attitude</strong>&lt;br&gt;Do you intend to move abroad in the next 12 months?&lt;br&gt;- Yes&lt;br&gt;- No&lt;br&gt;Where do you intend to go?&lt;br&gt;<strong>Protest attitudinal</strong>&lt;br&gt;What is the most effective thing that an ordinary person can do to help combat corruption in this country?&lt;br&gt;- Participate in protest marches or demonstrations against corruption&lt;br&gt;<strong>Protest attitudinal/behavioural</strong>&lt;br&gt;How likely are you to...&lt;br&gt;...attend a lawful demonstration&lt;br&gt;- Have done&lt;br&gt;- Might do&lt;br&gt;- Would never do</td>
<td>Not clear whether it captures current migrants and even if it does unlikely to captures current migrants and non-migrants from the same country. Does not capture migrant-protestors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Social Survey Programme</td>
<td>Cross-sectional, multi wave rotating topics</td>
<td>Austria; Australia; Belgium; Switzerland; Chile; Czech Republic; Germany; Denmark; Spain;</td>
<td><strong>Protest behavioral:</strong>&lt;br&gt;2014 Citizenship wave:&lt;br&gt;Took part in a demonstration&lt;br&gt;Attended a political meeting or rally</td>
<td>Does not capture (potential) migrants and protestors in same wave. Does not capture migrant-protestors</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pew Spring Global Attitudes Survey</td>
<td>Cross-sectional, multiwave</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Protest behavioural: Q92a-g (participated in an organized protest of any kind)</td>
<td>Protesters and migrants make up a very small and unrepresentative subsample of the respondents.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
- have done
- might do
- would never do
V92. Attending peaceful demonstrations in the last year
- not at all, | Protesters and migrants make up a very small and unrepresentative subsample of the respondents. The first protest question is |
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Study/Panel Survey</th>
<th>Data Collection Methodology</th>
<th>Country/Countries</th>
<th>Data Collection Wave(s)</th>
<th>Data Collection Wave(s)</th>
<th>Data Collection Wave(s)</th>
<th>Data Collection Wave(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine Crisis Election Panel Survey (Hale, Onuch, Colton and Kravets 2014)</td>
<td>Longitudinal (three wave panel survey)</td>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Protest behaviour:</td>
<td>Six different questions about protest behaviour/participation.</td>
<td>Whilst the scope of questions is good we have data for only one country and one year period. Protesters and migrants make up a very small and unrepresentative subsample of the respondents. No information on past migration behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EuroMaidan Protest Participant Survey (Onuch and Martseniuk)</td>
<td>Onsite protest participant survey</td>
<td>Kyiv, Ukraine only</td>
<td>Protest</td>
<td>Protest attitudinal:</td>
<td>Four repeated questions about attitudes towards protests and particular protest events. Two questions about protest claims/grievances.</td>
<td>There is no comparison to non-protesters. Only</td>
</tr>
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</table>

The second question although only asks about ‘peaceful’ demonstrations. It is problematic because the options are not mutually exclusive.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Survey of Ukrainian IDPs (Sasse et. al. ZOIS 2016)</th>
<th>Targeted survey of Internally displaced people in Ukraine</th>
<th>Ukraine and Russia</th>
<th>Both (?)</th>
<th>captures protest in one city.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP)**
[https://www.vanderbilt.edu/ lapop/](https://www.vanderbilt.edu/ lapop/)

| Survey (cross-sectional longitudinal) | Albania, Antigua and Barbuda Argentina Bahamas Barbados Belize Bolivia Brazil Canada Chile Colombia Costa Rica Dominica Dominican Republic Ecuador El Salvador Grenada Guatemala Guyana Haiti Honduras Israel Jamaica Madagascar Mexico Nicaragua Panama Paraguay Peru St. Kitts and Nevis St. Lucia St. Vincent and the Grenadines Suriname Trinidad and Tobago United States Uruguay Venezuela | Both (?) | **Protest behavioural:**
In the last 12 months, have you participated in a demonstration or protest march?
(1) Yes
(2) No

**Migration attitudinal:**
2016 only:
In the last 12 months, have you considered emigrating from your country due to insecurity?
(1) Yes
(2) No | Not clear whether it captures current migrants and even if it does unlikely to captures sufficient current migrants and non-migrants from the same country. Does not capture migrant-protestors. Because measures only protest behaviour (not intention), likely to have too low N. |

| LatinoBarometro | Survey (cross-sectional longitudinal) | Argentina Bolivia Brasil Colombia Costa Rica Chile Rep. Dominicana Ecuador El Salvador Guatemala | **Migration attitudinal**
'Have you and your family seriously considered moving to another country?' | Unlikely to captures sufficient current migrants and non-migrants from the same country. Unlikely to capture substantial numbers of |

Reference frame for protest question is too broad ('ever') No information on past migration experience | No information on past migration behaviour. Migration question specifies 'insecurity' as a reason. |
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Contextualizing contestation</th>
<th>Protest event surveys of organized labour and peace protests in Western European countries.</th>
<th>Protesters and migrants make up a very small and unrepresentative subsample of the respondents.</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Caught in the act of protest:</td>
<td></td>
<td>Belgium, Czech Republic, Italy, Mexico, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, The Netherlands, United Kingdom</td>
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<tr>
<td>Current longitudinal</td>
<td></td>
<td>Both (?)</td>
<td>Only protestors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian Longitudinal</td>
<td></td>
<td>Combination of household survey across Ukraine and individual-level survey with individuals from these households, panel survey 2007-12; 2007 questions on receipt of remittances and political behavior, incl. protest participation; panel structure problematic as many questions in 2012 changed wording and most questions about political behavior, incl. protest participation, were dropped</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monitoring Survey (conducted by Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA))</td>
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<td>Ukraine</td>
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<td>Citizenship, Involvement,</td>
<td></td>
<td>Denmark, Germany, Moldova, Norway, Netherlands,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democracy</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Protest behavioural</em> There are different ways of attempting to bring about improvements or counteract deterioration in society. During the last 12</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| PORTUGAL, ROMANIA, RUSSIAN FEDERATION, SLOVENIA, SPAIN, SWEDEN, SWITZERLAND | Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland | Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland | How do you think, are mass protest actions against deteriorating living conditions and for the protection of the rights possible now in your city/rural area?  
- yes, they are possible  
- unlikely  
If such meetings and protest demonstration are held whether you personally will participate them or not?  
- probably yes  
- probably no  
If your rights and interest were violated what means and measure of defense would you be personally prepared to adopt?.  
- unauthorized meetings and demonstrations  
- Yes  
- No  
In your opinion do you think it is better to suffer economic hardships for the sake of order, peace and accord in the country or to come out on the streets and protest when living conditions seriously deteriorate?  
- No it is necessary to preserve order peace and accord at any cost  
- Yes it is better to actively protest against deteriorating living conditions |
| German General Social Survey (ALLBUS) -                            | Cross-sectional, multi wave (1980-2014)        | Germany     | Protest attitudinal  
For 1988,1998,2002,2008: If you wanted to have political influence or to make your point of view felt on an issue which was important to you: which of the possibilities |
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Study/Project</th>
<th>Time frame</th>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Study Design</th>
<th>Questions</th>
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<td>Push-Pull project</td>
<td>1996-1998</td>
<td>Egypt, Ghana, Morocco, Senegal Turkey</td>
<td>Cross-sectional, single wave</td>
<td>Migration attitudinal 'Do you intend to migrate abroad?'</td>
<td>No information on protesters or migrant-protesters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCALMULTIDEM. Multicultural Democracy and Immigrants Social Capital in Europe: Participation, Organisational Networks, and Public Policies at the Local Level. (Universidad de Murcia, Spain)</td>
<td>2007-2008</td>
<td>six European cities: Lyon (France), Budapest (Hungary), Milan (Italy), Madrid (Spain), Zurich (Switzerland), and London (United Kingdom)</td>
<td>Cross-sectional, single wave</td>
<td>Protest behavioural There are different ways of trying to improve things in society or to help prevent things from going wrong. During the last 12 months, have you for such reasons done any of the following….. taken part in a public demonstration - yes - no And was this activity primarily related to a situation concerning people with ethnic, national or faith background? - yes - no</td>
<td>No information on non-migrants. Not clear whether protest was aimed at destination or origin country.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Eurobarometer | Special Eurobarometer 337  
| Do you envisage to work in a country outside (OUR COUNTRY) at some time in the future?  
| How soon are you likely to work there?  
| If you do have an intention to work outside (OUR COUNTRY), how long do you think you will be working there?  
| Have you taken any of the following steps to prepare a move to another country?  
| No information on protesters or migrant-protesters |
| **Mexican Migration Project**  
| “Following completion of the Mexican surveys, interviewers travel to destination areas in the United States to administer identical questionnaires to migrants from the same communities sampled in Mexico who have settled north of the border and no longer return home. These surveys are combined with those conducted in Mexico to generate a representative binational sample.”  
| Migration behaviour  
| No information on protesters or migrant-protesters |
| **MAFE project** | In Africa, representative samples of about 1,500 individuals  
|  
|  
| No information on protesters or migrant-protesters |
(non migrants and return migrants) were randomly drawn in selected regions of each country. In Europe, about 150 migrants per origin were selected in each destination country. In total, there are 300 Congolese, 300 Ghanaians and 450 Senegalese in the European MAFE sample.

| Immigrant Citizens Survey | \(\text{In which country were you born?}\) | \(\text{In which year did you first come to live** in [country]?}\) | \(\text{No information on non-migrants, protesters or migrant-protesters}\) |