Secondary Survey Data on Migration and Protest

Content, Geographic Scope, and Limitations: MOBILISE Scoping Report on Data Availability
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Publication date
2018

Document Version
Other version

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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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Dr. Sorana Toma, ENSEA Paris January 30, 2018

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-protesters 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATA SOURCE</th>
<th>LONGITUDINAL OR CROSS-SECTIONAL?</th>
<th>COUNTRIES COVERED</th>
<th>PROTEST/MIGRATION/BEHAVIORAL</th>
<th>ATTITUINAL/BEHAVIORAL</th>
<th>COVERS ALL FOUR RELEVANT GROUPS?</th>
<th>MEASUREMENT ISSUES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>European Social Survey <a href="http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/">http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/</a></td>
<td>Cross-sectional, multi wave (2002-ongoing)</td>
<td>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</td>
<td>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 Migration behaviour Born in [country]?</td>
<td>Possibly but (very) low N for multiple groups. Covers general population. Given presence of countries with substantial migration cross-links, covers small numbers of migrants who are both from and in countries in the dataset (e.g. Polish migrants in the United Kingdom). Covers protestors but low N as it only enquires after recent behaviour and not intentions.</td>
<td>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.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afrobarometer <a href="http://www.afrobarometer.org/">http://www.afrobarometer.org/</a></td>
<td>Cross-sectional, multi wave (2001-ongoing)</td>
<td>Africa, Algeria, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Côte d’Ivoire, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius,</td>
<td>Protest</td>
<td>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 - [..]</td>
<td>Migrants (and migrant protestors) cannot be identified.</td>
<td>No information on migration behaviour or intention.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Arab Barometer

**Cross-sectional, multi wave (2006 - ongoing)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Migration network</th>
<th>Migration attitudinal</th>
<th>Migration behaviour</th>
<th>Note to Researcher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Yemen</td>
<td>- Participate in protest marches or demonstrations against corruption</td>
<td>Do you think about emigrating from your country? Why? 1. For economic reasons 2. For political reasons 3. For economic and political reasons 4. Other</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Possibly but (very) low N for multiple groups.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note to Researcher: Was the first answer of the respondent “In Sha Allah” before you insisted on one of the listed answers?

### Caucasus Barometer

**Cross-sectional, multi wave (2008 - 2014)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Migration network</th>
<th>Migration attitudinal</th>
<th>Migration behaviour</th>
<th>Note to Researcher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Armenia, Azerbaijan (dropped out in 2014), Georgia</td>
<td>Does your family receive remittances from someone living abroad?</td>
<td>If you had a chance, would you leave [..] forever to live somewhere else? If you had a chance, would you leave [..] for</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Does not measure protest behaviour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note to Researcher: Does not capture protesters, only attitude to protest. Not clear whether it
ongoing)


| EUmagine | Cross-sectional, single wave (2011) | Ukraine, Senegal Morocco, Turkey | Migration | Migration intention/ and past behavior | Does not capture (potential) protestors. Unlikely to capture current migrants and non-migrants from the same country.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey/Programme</th>
<th>Methodology</th>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Attitude Question(s)</th>
<th>Behavioural Question(s)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Life in Transition Survey (LITS)</strong> European Bank for Reconstruction and Development <a href="http://litsonline-ebrd.com/">http://litsonline-ebrd.com/</a></td>
<td>Cross-sectional, multiwave (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>Migration <strong>Do you intend to move abroad in the next 12 months?</strong>&lt;br&gt; - Yes  - No</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><strong>International Social Survey Programme</strong> <a href="http://www.issp.org/">http://www.issp.org/</a></td>
<td>Cross-sectional, multiwave rotating topics</td>
<td>Austria; Australia; Belgium; Switzerland; Chile; Czech Republic; Germany; Denmark; Spain;</td>
<td>Protest <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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>Countries</td>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Response Options</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| World Values Survey                          | Cross-sectional, multiwave (1980 - ongoing)     | Algeria, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Brazil, Colombia, Cyprus, Chile, China, Ecuador, Egypt, Estonia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Haiti, Hong Kong | Protest behavioural/attitudinal:  
V87. Attending peaceful demonstrations  
- 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 |
| Pew Spring Global Attitudes Survey           | Cross-sectional, multiwave                      | Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Netherlands, Nigeria, Poland, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States | Protest behavioural:  
Q92a-g (participated in an organized protest of any kind)  
 Migration attitudinal:  
Q8 What would you recommend to a young person in our country today who wants a good life – should they move to another country or stay in (survey country)? | Protesters and migrants make up a very small and unrepresentative subsample of the respondents. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study Title</th>
<th>Study Type</th>
<th>Study Location</th>
<th>Studies</th>
<th>Characteristics and Findings</th>
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<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 behavioural: Six different questions about protest behaviour/participation. Protest attitudinal: Four repeated questions about attitudes towards protests and particular protest events. Two questions about protest claims/grievances. Migration attitudinal: One question in last wave about Intention to migrate.</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>There is no comparison to non-protesters. Only</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

India, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestine, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Singapore, Slovenia, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Taiwan, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine, United States, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Yemen, Zimbabwe

Once, twice, three times, more than three times

Problematic because the options are not mutually exclusive. The second question although only asks about ‘peaceful’ demonstrations.

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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Survey of Ukrainian IDPs</strong> (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>
<th>The is no comparison to the population at large.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP)</strong> <a href="https://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/">https://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/</a></td>
<td>Survey (cross-sectional longitudinal)</td>
<td>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</td>
<td>Both (?)</td>
<td>Protest behavioural: In the last 12 months, have you participated in a demonstration or protest march? (1) Yes (2) No</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Migration attitudinal: 2016 only: In the last 12 months, have you considered emigrating from your country due to insecurity? (1) Yes (2) No</td>
<td>No information on past migration experience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Migration question specifies ‘insecurity’ as a reason.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LatinoBarometro</strong></td>
<td>Survey (cross-sectional longitudinal)</td>
<td>Argentina, Bolivia, Brasil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Rep. Dominicana, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala</td>
<td>Migration attitudinal 'Have you and your family seriously considered moving to another country?'</td>
<td>Unlikely to captures sufficient current migrants and non-migrants from the same country.</td>
<td>No information on past migration experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Protest behavioural/attitudinal Now I want you to look at this card. I am going to read out a variety of political</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
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<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian Longitudinal Monitoring Survey (conducted by Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA))</td>
<td>Survey (nationally representative longitudinal)</td>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Protesters and migrants make up a very small and unrepresentative subsample of the respondents.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Citizenship, Involvement, Democracy [https://search.gesis.org](https://search.gesis.org) | Cross-sectional, single wave (1999-2002) | Denmark, Germany, Moldova, Norway, Netherlands, | Protest behaviour There are different ways of attempting to bring about improvements or counteract deterioration in society. During the last 12 | }
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study</th>
<th>Country/Region</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Expected Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Die Ukrainische Gesellschaft am Übergang zum 21. Jahrhundert 1999 | Ukraine        | 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  
- Yes it is better to actively protest against deteriorating living conditions |

- Portuguese, Romania, Russian Federation, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland
- months, have you done any of the following.  
- Participated in illegal protest activities  
- Attended a political meeting or rally

- German General Social Survey (ALLBUS) -
- Cross-sectional, multi wave (1980-2014)
- Germany
- 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study</th>
<th>Type and Waves</th>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Migration Attitudinal</th>
<th>Migration Behavioural</th>
<th>Additional Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Push-Pull project (Netherlands Demographic Institute)</td>
<td>Cross-sectional, single wave (1996-1998)</td>
<td>Egypt, Ghana, Morocco, Senegal, Turkey</td>
<td>Migration behavioural</td>
<td>No information on protesters or migrant-protesters</td>
<td></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>Cross-sectional, single wave (2007-2008)</td>
<td>six European cities: Lyon (France), Budapest (Hungary), Milan (Italy), Madrid (Spain), Zurich (Switzerland), and London (United Kingdom)</td>
<td>Majority population and immigrants in same country</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  
[http://mmp.opr.princeton.edu/research/studydesign-en.aspx](http://mmp.opr.princeton.edu/research/studydesign-en.aspx) | “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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immigrant Citizens Survey</th>
<th>In which country were you born? In which year did you first come to live** in [country]?</th>
<th>No information on non-migrants, protesters or migrant-protesters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>