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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 protesters, 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.

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Data table

DATA SOURCE	LONGITUDINAL OR CROSS-SECTIONAL?	COUNTRIES COVERED	PROTEST/MIGRATION/BOTH	ATTITUDINAL/BEHAVIORAL	COVERS ALL FOUR RELEVANT GROUPS?	MEASUREMENT ISSUES
European Social Survey 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	<u>Protest Behavioral:</u> 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 youtaken part in a lawful public demonstration? - Yes - No <u>Migration behaviour</u> Born in [country]?	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.	The protest question is highly contentious as it asks about <i>legal</i> 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/	Cross-sectional, multi wave (2001-ongoing)	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,	Protest	<u>Protest Behavioral/Attitudinal:</u> 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 protestors) cannot be identified.	No information on migration behaviour or intention.

		Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South, South Sudan, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participate in protest marches or demonstrations against corruption <p><u>Migration network</u> How often, if at all, do you or anyone in your household receive money remittances from friends or relatives living outside of the country?</p>		
Arab Barometer http://www.arabbarometer.org/	Cross-sectional, multi wave (2006 - ongoing)	Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Yemen	Both	<p><u>Protest Behavioral:</u> Here is a set of activities that citizens usually take part in. During the past three years, did you Participate in a protest, march or sit-in.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Once - More than once - I have never participated <p><u>Migration Attitudinal:</u> Do you think about emigrating from your country? Why?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. For economic reasons 2. For political reasons 3. For economic and political reasons 4. Other <p>Note to Researcher: Was the first answer of the respondent “In Sha Allah” before you insisted on one of the listed answers?</p> <p><u>Migration behaviour</u> Country of origin:</p> <p><u>Migration network</u> Does your family receive remittances from someone living abroad?</p>	Possibly but (very) low N for multiple groups.	<p>Only asks about current migration status, so returned migrants cannot be identified.</p> <p>Only measures protest behaviour not intention.</p>
Caucasus Barometer http://caucasusbarometer.org/	Cross-sectional, multi wave (2008 -	Armenia, Azerbaijan (dropped out in 2014), Georgia	Both	<p><u>Migration attitudinal</u> If you had a chance, would you leave [...] forever to live somewhere else? If you had a chance, would you leave [...] for</p>	Does not capture protestors, only attitude to protest. Not clear whether it	Does not measure protest behaviour

	ongoing)			<p>a certain period of time to live somewhere else?</p> <p><u><i>Migrant network</i></u> Do you have a close relative currently living abroad, outside the borders of /country/? Do you have any close friends currently living abroad, outside the borders of /country/? Many households obtain income from several sources. I will read out several possible sources of income and please, tell me whether your household had monetary income from each of these sources in the last 12 month ... Money from family members, relatives, or friends living in another country</p> <p><u><i>Protest Attitudinal:</i></u> Which of the following statements do you agree with?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Statement 1: people should participate in protest actions against the government, as this shows the government that the people are in charge. - Statement 2: people should not participate in protest actions against the government, as it threatens stability in our country 	captures current migrants and even if it does unlikely to capture current migrants and non-migrants from the same country.	
Migration and skills, ETF (European Training Foundation) http://www.etf.europa.eu/web.nsf/pages/Results_of_the_migration_survey_in_Albania_Egypt_Moldova_and_Tunisia	Cross-sectional, single wave	Albania, Egypt, Moldova and Tunisia (2006) Ukraine (2007) Georgia and Armenia (2011 - 2012) Morocco (2012)	Migration	<i>Migration intention</i> (and behavior if counting returned migrants)	Does not capture (potential) protestors. Unlikely to capture current migrants and non-migrants from the same country.	
EUmagine http://www.eumagine.org/	Cross-sectional, single wave (2011)	Ukraine, Senegal Morocco, Turkey	Migration	<i>Migration intention/</i> and past behavior	Does not capture (potential) protestors Unlikely to capture current migrants and non-migrants from the	

					same country.	
Gallup World Poll http://www.gallup.com/178667/gallup-world-poll-work.aspx	Cross-sectional, multi wave (2005-ongoing)	More than 160 countries	Migration	<u>Migration attitude</u> Desire to migrate permanently	Does not capture (potential) protestors or migrant-protestors	
Life in Transition Survey (LITS) European Bank for Reconstruction and Development http://litsonline-ebrd.com/	Cross-sectional, multi wave (2006,2010, 2016)	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		<u>Migration attitude</u> Do you intend to move abroad in the next 12 months? - Yes - No Where do you intend to go? <u>Protest attitudinal</u> What is the most effective thing that an ordinary person can do to help combat corruption in this country? - Participate in protest marches or demonstrations against corruption <u>Protest attitudinal /behavioural</u> How likely are you to... ...attend a lawful demonstration - Have done - Might do - Would never do	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	
International Social Survey Programme http://www.issp.org/	Cross-sectional, multi wave rotating topics	Austria; Australia; Belgium; Switzerland; Chile; Czech Republic; Germany; Denmark; Spain;	Protest	<u>Protest behavioral:</u> 2014 Citizenship wave: Took part in a demonstration Attended a political meeting or rally	Does not capture (potential) migrants and protestors in same wave. Does not capture migrant-protestors	No information on past migration behaviour.

		Finland; France; Great Britain; Georgia; Croatia; Hungary; Israel; India; Iceland; Japan; Republic of Korea; Lithuania; Netherlands; Norway; Philippines; Poland; Russian Federation; Sweden; Slovenia; Slovakia; Turkey; Taiwan, Province of China; United States (US); Venezuela, Bolivarian Republic of (VE); South Africa (ZA)		<p><u>Migration behaviour</u> Country of birth?</p> <p><u>Migration attitudinal</u> 1998 National identity: If you could improve your work or living conditions, how willing or unwilling would you be to.... move outside [country]?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - very willing - fairly willing - neither willing nor unwilling - fairly unwilling - very unwilling - can't choose 		
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	Both	<p><u>Protest behavioural:</u> Q92a-g (participated in an organized protest of any kind)</p> <p><u>Migration attitudinal :</u> 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)?)</p>		Protesters and migrants make up a very small and unrepresentative subsample of the respondents.
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	<p><u>Protest behavioural/attitudinal</u> V87. Attending peaceful demonstrations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - have done - might do - would never do <p>V92. Attending peaceful demonstrations in the last year</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - not at all, 		Protesters and migrants make up a very small and unrepresentative subsample of the respondents. The first protest question is

		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		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - once, - twice, - three times, - more than three times 		<p>problematic because the options are not mutually exclusive.</p> <p>The second question although only asks about 'peaceful' demonstrations.</p>
Ukraine Crisis Election Panel Survey (Hale, Onuch, Colton and Kravets 2014)	Longitudinal (three wave panel survey)	Ukraine	Both	<p><u>Protest behavioural:</u> Six different questions about protest behaviour/participation.</p> <p><u>Protest attitudinal:</u> Four repeated questions about attitudes towards protests and particular protest events. Two questions about protest claims/grievances.</p> <p><u>Migration attitudinal:</u> One question in last wave about Intention to migrate.</p>		<p>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.</p> <p>No information on past migration behaviour</p>
EuroMaidan Protest Participant Survey (Onuch and Martseniuk)	Onsite protest participant survey	Kyiv, Ukraine only	Protest			There is no comparison to non-protesters. Only

2014)						captures protest in one city.
Survey of Ukrainian IDPs (Sasse et. al. ZOIS 2016)	Targeted survey of Internally displaced people in Ukraine	Ukraine and Russia	Both (?)			The is no comparison to the population at large.
Latin American Public Opinion Project (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 (?)	<u>Protest behavioural:</u> In the last 12 months, have you participated in a demonstration or protest march? (1) Yes (2) No <u>Migration attitudinal:</u> 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 capture 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.	No information on past migration behaviour. Migration question specifies 'insecurity' as a reason.
LatinoBarometro	Survey (cross-sectional longitudinal)	Argentina Bolivia Brasil Colombia Costa Rica Chile Rep. Dominicana Ecuador El Salvador Guatemala		<u>Migration attitudinal</u> 'Have you and your family seriously considered moving to another country?' <u>Protest behavioural/attitudinal</u> Now I want you to look at this card. I am going to read out a variety of political	Unlikely to capture 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

		Honduras México Nicaragua Panamá Paraguay Perú España Uruguay Venezuela		<p>activities that people can undertake and I would like you to tell me, if</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - you have ever done any of them, if - you would ever do any of them, or if - you would never do any of them <p>... Attended an authorized demonstration or protest march ...Attended an unauthorized demonstration, protest march, block traffic</p> <p>On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means “not at all” and 10 “very”, how willing would you be to demonstrate and protest about...?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Higher wages and better working conditions - Improvement in healthcare and education - Exploitation of natural resources - To defend democratic right 	migrant-protestors.	
Caught in the act of protest: Contextualizing contestation http://www.protestsurvey.eu/index.php?page=network	Protest event surveys of organized labour and peace protests in western European countries.	Belgium Czech Republic Italy Mexico Spain Sweden Switzerland The Netherlands United Kingdom	Both (?)		Only protestors	
Ukrainian Longitudinal Monitoring Survey (conducted by Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA))	Survey (nationally representative longitudinal)	Ukraine	Both	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		Protesters and migrants make up a very small and unrepresentative subsample of the respondents.
Citizenship, Involvement, Democracy https://search.gesis.or	Cross-sectional, single wave (1999-2002)	Denmark, Germany, Moldova, Norway, Netherlands,		<i>Protest behavioural</i> There are different ways of attempting to bring about improvements or counteract deterioration in society. During the last 12	-	

g/research_data/ZA2909 https://search.gesis.org/research_data/ZA4492		Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland		months, have you done any of the following. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participated in illegal protest activities - Attended a political meeting or rally 		
Die Ukrainische Gesellschaft am Übergang zum 21. Jahrhundert 1999 https://search.gesis.org/research_data/ZA3966	Cross-sectional, multi wave (1998,1999, 2000)	Ukraine		<u><i>Protest attitudinal</i></u> 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? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - yes, they are possible - unlikely If such meetings and protest demonstration are held whether you personally will participate them or not? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 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 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 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? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 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) - https://search.gesis.org/research_data/ZA4584	Cross-sectional, multi wave (1980-2014)	Germany		<u><i>Protest attitudinal</i></u> 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		

				<p>listed on these cards would you use? Which of them would you consider? Take part in an unauthorized demonstration. 0 Not selected 1 Selected</p> <p><u>Migration attitudinal</u> 1991, 1992: Could you imagine moving to another country in the European Community? 2000, 2010: Could you imagine moving to another country in the European Union?</p>		
<p>New Democracies Barometer http://www.cspp.strath.ac.uk/catalog4_0.html 1</p>	<p>Cross-sectional, multi wave (1991-1998)</p>	<p>Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia, Belarus, Ukraine</p>		<p><u>Migration attitudinal</u> 1998 would go abroad to work weeks or months would go abroad to years would go to work in another country would emigrate to another country</p>	<p>No information on protesters or migrant-protesters. Does not contain (sufficient) migrants and non-migrants from the same countries.</p>	
<p>Push- Pull project (Netherlands Demographic Institute) https://easy.dans.knaw.nl/ui/datasets/id/easy-dataset:61753</p>	<p>Cross-sectional, single wave (1996-1998)</p>	<p>Egypt, Ghana, Morocco, Senegal Turkey</p>		<p><u>Migration behavioural</u> <u>Migration attitudinal</u> 'Do you intend to migrate abroad?'</p>	<p>No information on protesters or migrant-protesters</p>	
<p>LOCALMULTIDEM. Multicultural Democracy and Immigrants Social Capital in Europe: Participation, Organisational Networks, and Public Policies at the Local Level. (Universidad de Murcia, Spain)</p>	<p>Cross-sectional, single wave (2007-2008)</p>	<p>six European cities: Lyon (France), Budapest (Hungary), Milan (Italy), Madrid (Spain), Zurich (Switzerland), and London (United Kingdom)</p>	<p>Majority population and immigrants in same country</p>	<p><u>Protest behavioural</u> 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</p>	<p>No information on non-migrants.</p>	<p>Not clear whether protest was aimed at destination or origin country.</p>

Eurobarometer				<p>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?</p>	No information on protesters or migrant-protesters	
Mexican Migration Project http://mmp.opr.princeton.edu/research/studydesign-en.aspx	Part-panel, (1982-)Mexico and in the United States.	“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				In which country were you born? In which year did you first come to live** in [country]?	No information on non-migrants, protesters or migrant-protesters	