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Mobilise

Data report: online surveys, Wave 1

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Data report: online surveys
Wave 1

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Abstract

The MOBILISE project examines why some people respond to discontent by protesting, others by migrating while yet others stay immobile. It focuses on four countries that have seen outmigration and protest in recent year (Ukraine, Poland, Morocco and Argentina) and migrants from these countries who live in Germany, the United Kingdom and Spain. Migrants were surveyed online and recruited into the sample through Facebook advertising. MOBILISE also conducted online surveys of the national populations of Argentina and Ukraine. This report explains why MOBILISE choose to recruit the sample through Facebook advertisements and provides detailed information on the set-up of the sampling. It also present an overview of the effectiveness of this method, in terms of costs, reach and bias, and of issues encountered. We find that sampling through Facebook advertisements is a cost-effective way to obtaining a large sample. The method seems particularly effective in reaching recent migrants and reaching migrants from small communities. There is some indication of a bias in gender, education and political interest. The papers ends with recommendations on the use of this approach for future surveys.

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Introduction

The MOBILISE project seeks to understand why some people respond to discontent by protesting, others by migrating while yet others stay immobile. MOBILISE focuses on Ukraine, Poland, Morocco and Argentina; four countries that have experienced substantial outmigration and mass protests. It follows migrants from these countries to Germany, the United Kingdom and Spain. Data is collected through surveys, in-depth interviews, focus groups and social media.

The main body of MOBILISE survey data are nationally representative face-to-face surveys in Ukraine, Poland, Morocco and Argentina. As these surveys are unable to capture (current) migrants from these countries – a group that is crucial to answering the MOBILISE research question – MOBILISE employs a migrant survey targeted at three destination countries; Germany, the UK and Spain. The migrant survey was run online. We also ran two supplementary online national surveys targeting the general population in Ukraine and Argentina.

All MOBILISE national and migrant surveys are set-up as a two wave panel. The first wave of data collection for the migrant survey started in September 2019 and finished in March 2020. This paper outlines the set-up of the first wave of the migrant survey and the two online national surveys. It explains the choice for online convenience sampling and the implementation. The paper ends with an analysis of the performance of the sampling strategy and recommendations for future research. The paper is aimed at users of the MOBILISE data and researchers who are considering conducting an online survey.

Research design

To understand who migrants compare to non-migrants and return migrants, data of the migrant and national surveys need to be combined into one dataset. Two measures were taken to maximise the comparability of the migrant and national surveys. Firstly, the migrant surveys are timed to run as closely as possible to the national representative face-to-face surveys. This minimises the influence of any changes in the political situation in the origin countries on survey answers. Secondly, the surveys use the same questions as much as possible. The migrant survey questionnaire is a slimmed down version of the questionnaire used in the national f2f surveys plus an elaborated migration module.

The migrant survey was administered online with a sample mainly sourced through advertising on Facebook. To examine whether differences in survey mode – online vs face-to-face – and sampling – convenience vs representative – between the migrant and national survey affect the answer patterns, we conducted online national surveys in Ukraine and Argentina using the same sampling method as the migrant survey. The implementation of an online national survey during the second wave of the national face-to-face survey in Poland is being considered. Morocco requires a research permit for data collection. It is unclear whether this is necessary for online data collection. For this reason and to avoid issues for the research company conducting the face-to-face survey in Morocco, we decided not to conduct an online survey in Morocco.

Target groups

As MOBILISE studies migration as a response to discontent, the target group of the migrant survey is people who were born in one of the four MOBILISE countries – Poland, Ukraine, Argentina or Morocco – but do not reside there. The second and later generations are excluded. The target group comprises migrants with and without citizenship of the destination and/or origin country, and regardless of immigration status (regular or irregular).

The target group is restricted to migrants who at the time of the survey were residing in Spain, the United Kingdom, and Germany. These three countries were selected because they are all old EU member states, democracies, geographically close to the origin countries, and top destinations for migrants, particularly from the selected origin countries. The three destination countries vary in political discourse on immigration, the timing and concentration of migrant settlement, as well as migrants' access to political participation.

In the opening screen of the survey, respondents were asked to only continue if they were 18 years or older. To establish whether respondents belong to the target group, the migrant surveys started with two filter questions:

1. What is your country of birth?
2. In what country do you live and work? (if you move back and forward between countries, please list the country in which you spend most of your time)

Depending on the answers to these questions, respondents were directed to the start of the questionnaire or to the end screen of survey.

The online national survey in Ukraine and Argentina also started with filter questions.

1. What is your country of birth?
2. What is your country of residence?[2]

Only people who answered 'Ukraine' or 'Argentina' to both were directed to the questionnaire. Others were directed to the end screen.

Size of target groups

Migrant communities from the four MOBILISE countries are present in all three destination but there are differences in the relative importance of each destination country. Table XX shows estimates of the size of the target groups by origin and destination. Argentinean migrants are mostly found in Spain, this is unsurprising given the linguistic and former colonial relation. The Moroccan migrant community is also most populous in Spain – this is a consequence to the geographic vicinity and history of labour migration. Germany has the largest communities of Polish and Ukrainian migrants – this too reflects geographic vicinity and long-standing migration patterns. Furthermore, part of these communities migrated to Germany because of their ethnic German or Jewish ancestry.

Table 1. *Size of migrant population by origin and destination country*

Group	Destination	Number	Year	Source
Argentinean migrants	Germany	5,795 [1]	2018	Ausländerzentralregister
	United Kingdom	11,339	2015	UNDP estimates
	Spain	250,778	2015	UNDP estimates
Moroccan migrants	Germany	130,000	2018	Mikrozensus
	United Kingdom	23,519	2015	UNDP estimates
	Spain	699,800	2015	UNDP estimates
Polish migrants	Germany	1,668,000	2018	Mikrozensus
	United Kingdom	827,000	2019	Annual population survey
	Spain	64,960	2015	UNDP estimates
Ukrainian migrants	Germany	269,000	2018	Mikrozensus
	United Kingdom	32,000	2019	Annual population survey
	Spain	77,420	2015	UNDP estimates

Note: [1] based on citizenship, may include second generation, excludes naturalised migrants.

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[2] This was only asked in the Ukrainian national online survey, not in the Argentinean survey.

Sampling strategy

Choosing a strategy

Sampling migrants is notoriously difficult, especially in cross-national studies. Previous studies have resorted to varying strategies, such as sampling from population or foreigner register data, Random Digit Dialling (RDD) (Schaeffer et al, 2011), surname sampling from telephone directories (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2013), Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS) (Carling & Jolivet, 2017), snowball sampling, intercept-point sampling (McKenzie & Mistiaen, 2009), cross-national snowball sampling (Güveli et al, 2017), and online convenience sampling (Balter & Brunet, 2012; Potschke & Braun, 2017). Each of these strategies has its strengths and weaknesses (see McKenzie & Mistiaen, 2009; Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2013; Reichel & Morales, 2017; Andreß & Careja, 2018).

Before choosing a sampling strategy, we determined conditions that the sampling method should meet to fit the goals of the MOBILISE project. The first condition was that the sampling method provides nation-wide coverage of the migrant population in each destination country. This is important because network migration may lead to variation in socio-demographic characteristics or political orientation of the migrant population between localities in destination countries. Furthermore, migrants in localities with few co-ethnics may differ from migrants living in areas with a high concentration of co-ethnics. As one of the key goals of MOBILISE is to compare migrants to those who did not migrate (or returned), it would be problematic if the sampling method only covered a limited number of localities.

Several of the MOBILISE target communities such as Argentineans in Germany are very small. Achieving a nationwide sample of sufficient size with a face-to-face survey is likely to entail prohibitively high travel costs. The second condition was therefore that the sampling method should allow the survey to be conducted via phone or online.

The final condition was that the sampling strategy should cover recent arrivals and irregular migrants. Changes in the economic or political situation in the origin country, may lead to changes in the characteristics or political views of the people who emigrate. Recent migrants may therefore differ from previous migrant in important ways. It is similarly likely that there are differences between migrants with regular and irregular migration status.

Table 2. *Sampling methods compared on selection conditions*

Methods	Nation-wide coverage	Suitable for phone or online survey?	Covers recent arrivals and irregular migrants
Register data	Yes	No	Unlikely[1]
Random Digit Dialling (RDD)	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Surname sampling telephone directories	Yes	Yes	Unlikely
Respondent Driven Sampling	Difficult to achieve	Yes	Yes
Intercept point sampling	Difficult to achieve	No	Yes
Snowball Sampling	Difficult to achieve	Yes	Yes
Cross-national snowball sampling	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Online convenience sampling	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**

[1] See e.g. Andreß & Careja (2018).

Table 2 shows whether commonly used sampling methods meet the conditions set for the MOBILISE project. Three methods meet all conditions: RDD, cross-national snowball sampling and online convenience sampling. While RDD meets all three conditions, the small size of the target communities and the predominance of mobile phones would make the screening costs

unaffordable (Pötzschke & Braun, 2017; Reichel & Morales, 2017). Cross-national snowball sampling turns the usual weakness of snowballing – recruiting people who are similar to each other – into a strength, resulting in a quasi-experimental data collection. Several multi-sited projects used cross-national snowballing to reach migrant family members of respondents interviewed in the origin countries. The strategy has proven highly successful in some cases (Güveli et al 2017), but close to fruitless in others (Beauchemin & González-Ferrer, 2011). The EU General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) which came into force in 2018, restricts the possibility to ask respondents for contact details of third parties[3]. While we could have opted to ask respondents to forward contact information of the MOBILISE team to their migrant relatives and friends, this strategy is unlikely to have led to much response unless combined with a material incentive. The MOBILISE budget did not allow for such an incentive. We therefore considered this method unsuitable.

The sample for MOBILISE was drawn through online convenience sampling. This approach meets all three conditions. The major advantage of online convenience sampling compared to other convenience methods and to probability methods commonly used in migrant research, is that it allows obtaining a destination country wide sample of each migrant target community, irrespective of citizenship and legal status. Tools such as Facebook ads allow researchers to advertise their study to a large and geographically diverse audience at low time and financial cost. There are several disadvantages to online convenience sampling such as limiting the sample to people who are (frequent) internet users and moreover to users of the selected recruitment platforms. Furthermore, as social media companies do not publish their algorithm it is unclear how exactly the program decides who to show the survey ad to and whether people are more likely to see the survey ad if they are connected to people who previously clicked on the ad link. While these issues lead to a sampling bias, this sampling bias does not necessarily lead to biased population estimates. The bias in the estimates depends on whether or not the sampling strategy is related to a confound of the question of interest (Cornesse et al 2020). For example, if social media use and the algorithm behind the advertisement are unrelated to migrants' protest history, the survey will produce accurate estimates of migrants' protest history. For survey experiments, sampling bias is even less problematic. In a study exploring different types of non-probability samples, Mullinix et al (2015) found that that estimates of treatment effects tend to be similar to those based as probability based population samples.

In the section **Sample composition** below we examine how the migrant sample compares to population data and how the online and face-to-face national surveys compare.

Online strategies

An exploration of approaches to online convenience sampling showed that Facebook advertising is the best way of reaching the MOBILISE migrant target groups. In this section we will first explain how we set up the Facebook ads. This is followed by a brief discussion of the other methods that were used but halted due to low returns; Facebook community groups, VK ads, and Google ad words.

Facebook ads

MOBILISE Facebook page
As a first step we set up a separate MOBILISE Facebook page in the national language for each origin country group (Argentineans, Poles, Ukrainians). To increase perceived legitimacy, posts

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[3] Art. 6 Lawfulness of processing, Art. 7 Conditions for consent.

were added to the Facebook pages prior to launching the ads. The pinned post at the top of the page offered a short description of the MOBILISE project. A second post shows a picture of one of the project team members giving a presentation. The slide behind the presenter is headed 'focus groups and interviews on protest & migration'. An example of a MOBILISE Facebook page can be found in Figure 1.

The main reason to set-up separate Facebook pages for each language was to make a more legitimate impression. A Facebook page in five languages and three different scripts (Latin, Cyrillic, and Arabic) may have looked suspicious to potential respondents. As the Ukrainian survey is bilingual we set up two separate Facebook pages, one targeting Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainians, and one targeting Russian-speaking Ukrainians. The Facebook pages used for the Ukrainian national survey also had two separate pages. In response to comments on the Facebook ad, we added a reference to the Ukrainian language page to the Russian language page.

Figure 1. *Example MOBILISE Facebook page: Polish migrants*

Ad design

Facebook ads consist of a headline, body text, link description and image. Following the recommendations of Pötzschke and Braun (2017), MOBILISE ads used minimal text and images. Facebook recommends using a body text of up to 125 characters so that it can be displayed in full, rather than behind a 'read more'. The recommendations by Facebook are intended to increase the reach of the ad, which is why MOBILISE followed these directions. The ads were translated by native speakers and where necessary shortened to fit the character limits. The ads for Ukrainian migrant and national online surveys were distributed in Ukrainian and Russian. The link in the ad directed respondents to Qualtrics, the platform used to conduct the online survey.

Pötzschke and Braun note that since Facebook is a visual medium, choosing the right image is vital (2017). The MOBILISE project logo is bright red with banners displaying the words 'migration!'

and 'protest!'. However, as the word 'protest!' might influence respondents to interpret the questions in a particular way or deter some potential respondents altogether, the logo in Facebook ad and page shows the more neutral 'migration' and 'survey!'. The same image was used for the page's profile picture. Figure 2 shows an example of an ad for the migrant survey. The logo in the ad for the national survey only had a sign reading 'survey'. An example of the national survey ad is shown in Figure 3. The logo in both types of ad is the same.

The ad for the migrant survey read:

>*Headline:* Argentineans/Poles/Ukrainians abroad
>*Body text:* Were you born in Argentina/Poland/Ukraine and do you live in Germany, UK or Spain? If so, you are invited to participate in our survey.
>*Link description:* We invite you to participate in our survey!

The ads for the national survey in Ukraine and Argentina read:

>*Headline:* Survey of Ukrainians
>*Body text:* Are you Ukrainian ? If so, we invite you to participate in our survey!
>*Link description:* Ukrainian version here

>*Headline*: Survey of the Argentine population
>*Body text*: We are interested in your opinion: Tell us what you think about life, society and politics in Argentina.
>*Link description*: Participate in our survey!

Figure 2. *Example composition of MOBILISE Facebook ad – Argentinean migrant survey.*

The wording in the ads for the Ukrainian national survey caused some confusion among Facebook users. The question "are you Ukrainian" was understood as a question about ethnicity, meaning that people living in Ukraine that were ethnically Russian questioned whether they should participate in the survey. A moderator clarified to those commenters that the ad was targeted towards Ukrainian residents who were born in Ukraine. Future surveys on the population of Ukraine should keep this in mind consider using the wording "are you a resident of Ukraine?" in the ad headline.

Figure 3. *Example composition of MOBILISE Facebook ad – Argentinean national survey.*

Ad targeting settings and performance

Facebook offers a variety of targeting strategies to increase the probability that the ad is shown to the target group. The basic settings can be used to target ads at specific locations, age, gender, and languages. The detailed targeting options are focused on interests, behaviours, and demographics. The targeting is based on the information that users have entered in their profiles.

In their study on Polish migrants, Pötzschke and Braun (2017) set their ad to target the behaviour *"expats [home country]".* Since their study, Facebook Ads changed the name of this behaviour to *"lived in [home country]"*, but the targeting mechanism appears to be the same. This setting was applied in the Polish and Argentinean migrant survey ads. The *"lived in [home country]"* option was not available for Ukrainian migrants. There, the ad targeting was based on "*language*", and "*interest: [home country]*" and/or the identifier "*away from home*".

The response for the Polish and Ukrainian migrants surveys varied by destination country. When setting up the ads for the Argentinean migrant survey, we therefore decided to split them by destination country. As the language & interest targeting proved successful for Ukrainian migrants, the Argentinean migrant survey ad was set up in two ad sets; one targeting "*lived in [home country]*" and the other targeting "*language*"/"*interests: [home country]*". The Argentinean migrant survey started out with six separate ads; two ad sets with one ad per destination country. The "*language*" strategy was significantly less effective compared to the "*lived in [home country]*" strategy. In the United Kingdom ads, the "*language*" option delivered 20% fewer respondents compared to the "*lived in [home country]*" advertisement. In Germany the "*language*" ads delivered 50% fewer respondents and in Spain even 75% fewer than the "*lived in [home country]*" ads.

Table 3. *Targeting strategies and cost per respondent for MOBILISE Facebook ads*

	Location - behaviours	Duration	Cost	Reach	Link clicks	Cost-per-click	Opened survey	Answered filter questions	Target group	Cost per target group respondent
Argentina: migrant	Spain – *lived in Argentina*	42 days	€450	68,288	6,273	€0.07	999	862	853	€ 0.53
	Spain – *language/interest*	28 days	€150	62,751	952	€0.16	75	58	55	€ 2.73
	Germany – *lived in Argentina*	42 days	€450	8,706	1,195	€0.38	326	283	273	€ 1.65
	Germany – *language/interest*	28 days	€150	41,711	441	€0.34	75	59	58	€ 2.59
	UK – *lived in Argentina*	42 days	€450	8,100	1,175	€0.38	314	285	281	€ 1.60
	UK – *language/interest*	28 days	€150	15,256	340	€0.44	66	58	56	€ 2.68
Argentina: national	Argentina	22 days	€200	220,289	13,053	€0.02	4,796	4,342	4,296	€ 0.05
Poland: migrant	Spain/Germany/UK – *lived in Poland*	68 days	€1700	167,401	10,368	€0.16	4,390	3,860	3,521	€ 0.53
	UK – *lived in Poland* [1]	10 days	€150	10,568	627	€0.24				
Ukraine: migrant	Spain/Germany/UK – Russian – *language*	36 days	€400	36,912	2,765	€0.14	841	701	612	€ 0.65
	Spain/Germany/UK – Ukrainian – *language/interest/away from home*	36 days	€400	35,688	3,811	€0.10	1,592	1,375	1,255	€ 0.32
	Spain/Germany/UK – Ukrainian – *language*	36 days	€400	45,144	3,954	€0.10	1,683	1,463	1,340	€ 0.30
	UK – Russian – *language*	25 days	€180	24,000	518	€0.35	71	52	37	€ 4.86
	UK – Ukrainian – *language*	32 days	€280	16,220	1,363	€0.21	549	472	431	€ 0.65
Ukraine: national	Ukrainian – *language*	10 days	€83	58,559	7,435	€0.01	1,920	3,134	2,908	€ 0.03
	Russian – *language*	10 days	€83	54,054	6,197	€0.02	3,713	1,511	1,286	€ 0.06
	Combined[2]	2 days	€34				1,136	948	848	€ 0.04

Notes: Response marked as spam by Qualtrics and duplicates are excluded from these calculations. In a small number of cases the ad recruited people from different target countries than intended; e.g. the ad targeted at Ukrainians in the UK resulted in responses from Germany.

[1] Response generated by this ad were not tracked separately from the main ad.

[2] The first two days performance wasn't tracked per language.

For the Ukrainian migrant survey the "*language*" strategy worked well, since people who set their default language as Ukrainian are likely to be Ukrainian. However, speaking Spanish is not unique to Argentineans, making it likely that a lot of people outside the target group were reached by this ad-set. Furthermore, people who are not from Argentina might select Argentina as one of their interests on Facebook, for example because they are interested in Argentinean football. Because of the stark difference in performance, the *"language/interest"* ads were suspended after three weeks, and the remaining budget was added to the *"lived in [home country]"* ads. Appendix 1 provides a full overview of Facebook ad targeting settings for each target group.

Table 3 shows the performance and costs of the different ads by target group. The cost per respondent is influenced by the Facebook bidding process, the estimated reach of the ad, and the ad's accuracy in reaching the target group. The price of Facebook ads is determined through an automated bidding process. We set a budget at the start of each ad and choose the option for Facebook to optimise spending. Generally, this setting results in the price per click increasing over the lifespan of the ad. We adjusted the budget of an ad depending on the performance and the number of completed surveys. If an ad delivered poorly, we sometimes adjusted our strategy. For example, Table 3 shows that for the Argentinean migrant survey, the two strategies for Germany had a similar cost-per-click. However, the "*lived in [home country]*" ad lead to much more respondents in comparison to the "*language/interest*" ad, resulting in a much higher cost per target group respondent for the latter ad. It was therefore decided to adjust the strategy, and terminate the "*language/interest*" ad.

Emerging issues
One of the advantages of using Facebook ads is the low cost. This comes at the price of not having the possibility of contacting a helpdesk. Facebook has become increasingly active in banning posts and links that are flagged as violating community guidelines. It is not possible to get information from Facebook on why a post or link is banned. It is possible to object to the ban, but only via an online form which explicitly states not to expect a reply.

The MOBILISE online survey was hindered by several bans. The MOBILISE survey was conducted through the survey platform Qualtrics. At launch of the survey for Ukrainian migrants, Facebook flagged the Qualtrics survey URL as a violation of community guidelines, and banned its distribution. Since the survey had not yet been launched, it was unlikely that the violation pertained to the content of MOBILISE survey. The Qualtrics helpdesk suggested the problem might be that a previous survey distributed using a University of Amsterdam Qualtrics URL had been flagged resulting in Facebook's rejection of all surveys distributed with the URL. Using a different URL that did not contain the name of the institution but still directed to the same survey, solved the issue.

The MOBILISE project website was blocked by Facebook. This made it impossible to share the link to the participation sheet on Facebook, or to refer participants to the website for more information about the project via the Facebook page[4]. Several weeks later, after multiple submissions of the form objecting the ban and explaining the legitimacy of our project, the link was unblocked.

During the Ukrainian national survey ad campaign, our Facebook ad account was suspended for violating community guidelines. The suspension happened right after the launch of the Ukrainian ads, but was quickly repealed after a short message to Facebook explaining intent of the ad, and an explanation that this particular ad had run before, and was now running in a different language.

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[4] Respondents could still access the project website and the project information sheet through links on the opening screen of the survey.

The ad account was restored within a few hours. The suspension happened once more halfway through the distribution of the Ukrainian ads, and was again lifted within a few hours.

In addition to blocks of the survey URL and project website, we encountered another type of challenge with using Facebook ads for survey recruitment. The MOBILISE Facebook ads appeared on users' timelines as a regular post. This means that users can also comment on, like, and share the post. While liking the ad may increase visibility of the survey, it may also skew the response. A further risk is that comments prime respondents before replying to the questions or make them reject the survey altogether. As we did not find a way to disable comments, we instead decided to monitor them. Throughout the MOBILISE Facebook ad campaigns comments were monitored every two to three days. Moderation was kept to a minimum. Hateful comments were hidden, so that the commenter could still see their own comment, but other commenters could not see it. The choice to hide comments instead of deleting was to avoid accusations of censorship. When commenters asked about the nature of the survey or about what would happen to the data, we referred to the project information sheet, which explains the rights of the participants as well as how the data will be used and stored. The Ukrainian survey received critical comments from Ukrainians who were upset by receiving an ad about Ukraine written in Russian. That specific ad was targeted to Facebook users who had their language set to Russian, it was therefore unexpected that Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainians saw this ad. To remedy the issue, a short comment in Ukrainian with a link to the Ukrainian ad was added to the Russian ad.

Facebook community groups

Balter & Brunet (2012) used Facebook groups to recruit respondents for a survey among Argentinean entrepreneurs in Spain. The MOBILISE team drew up a list of Facebook groups for Ukrainian migrants using 16 search terms including as "Ukrainian church", "Ukrainian art / Ukrainian artists", "Ukrainian migrants", "Ukrainian workers", "Ukrainian culture", "Ukrainian business". Terms were entered in English, Ukrainian and Russian. The search resulted in 211 groups that had 30+ members and were active within the last two years. Distribution of the survey through in community groups proved to be a lot of work, since this required reaching out to admins from the groups to ask for permission to post the link to the survey. Additionally, some community groups required filling out a number of questions (such as: "were you born in Ukraine?") in order to gain access to the group. In those instances, we answered truthfully and explained that we were part of a research team. As a result, certain groups rejected our request to join their group. In the end it was possible to post the announcement of the survey in only 55 of the groups. The posts led to only 34 responses. It was therefore decided to abandon this strategy for later surveys.

VK ads

To achieve a wide reach of the Ukrainian migrant community we supplemented the Facebook ads with ads on VK (formerly VKontakte). VK is a social media platform popular with Russian speakers. The VK ad module does not offer the option of targeting users with certain characteristics. VK ads could only be run by targeting specific VK community groups. Because there were only a small number of community groups specifically targeted towards Ukrainian migrants, the MOBILISE ad was barely distributed. After 26 days, the VK ads had only generated 8 complete surveys. We then suspended the VK campaign and used the remaining budget to prolong the Facebook ad campaign.

Google Ad Words

For the Polish migrant survey, we supplemented the Facebook ads with Google Ad Words. Google ad words displays the ad to users based on their search terms. It is not possible to target the ad at specific types of users. We set up two sets of ads: one set with election related search terms (2019 elections, parliamentary elections) and one with more neutral terms (Polish supermarket, Polish school, Polish passport). Separate ads were set up for each of the three destination countries. We set a daily budget of €8 (UK, Germany) to €15 (Spain). Figure 4 shows the settings for the ad for Polish migrants in Germany. After two weeks, the Google Ad Words resulted in 9 completed surveys at a total cost of €156,04. Given the lack of results, the Google Ad Words campaign was terminated.

Figure 4. *Example Google Ad Words Setting – Target: Polish migrants in Germany*

Data collection

The migrant survey was run through the online survey platform Qualtrics. Participants were not offered any (financial) incentives for their participation. The online surveys were conducted between September 2019 and March 2020. Table 4 lists the start and end date of each survey. The recruitment for the national online surveys ran for about two weeks. The migrant survey recruitment ran until satisfactory respondent numbers were reached for all three destination countries. In some cases this required launching additional Facebook ads for one of the destination countries. For example for Ukrainians and Poles in the United Kingdom (see Appendix 1 and Table 3 above for full details).

Table 4. *Data collection period per online survey*

	Start date	End date
Polish migrant survey	Sept 3, 2019	Nov 16, 2019
Ukrainian migrant survey	Nov 14, 2019	Jan 21, 2020
Ukrainian national survey	Dec 19, 2019	Dec 31, 2019
Argentinean migrant survey	Feb 17, 2020	Mar 30, 2020
Argentinean national survey	Mar 9, 2020	Mar 31, 2020

For Poland the migrant and national f2f surveys were conducted in September 2019. The migrant survey was paused on October 11 and reopened on October 19 after the Polish parliamentary election of October 13. As about 40% of the surveys were completed after the elections compared to 60% before, the data allows a basic investigation of the effect of the election results on the attitudes measured in the survey.

The Ukrainian national f2f survey was fielded in March 2019 – before of the first round of the presidential election. As this was just after the official start of the MOBILISE project, it wasn't possible to conduct the Ukrainian migrant survey at the same time. The migrant survey for Ukraine went online in November 2019 - after the second round of the presidential elections (April 2019) and the parliamentary election (July 2019). The online national survey in Ukraine went live in December 2019.

The Argentinean migrant survey went live within days of the start of the Argentinean national f2f survey. The Argentinean online national survey went live three weeks later. The response to the migrant survey was slower than for Polish and Ukrainian migrants – probably a reflection of the smaller size of the target population. When the COVID-19 crisis started to unfold, comments on the survey ad suggested respondents' answers were being influenced by the crisis. Few migrants filled in the survey prior the crisis, making it difficult to determine whether and how the results were being influenced by the crisis. We therefore stopped the two surveys earlier than planned. The Argentinean migrant survey did not reach the target number of respondents. Despite its later launch – on March 9, 2020 –, the national survey did reach the target number of respondents.

The survey for Moroccan migrants was due to start in late March. Due to the COVID-19 crisis we decided to abort the data collection: the influence of the (handling of) the COVID-19 crisis in Morocco and the destination countries was likely to impact the response to the questionnaires, making the data incomparable to the data collected in through f2f surveys in Morocco which started in early March.

Questionnaire

The absence of an interviewer makes an online survey more vulnerable to drop-out than a face-to-face survey. The migrant questionnaire therefore used a shortened version of the questionnaire used in the national face-to-face surveys.

Questions were adapted to fit the migrant situation when needed. For example the question *"What is your main source of information about political events?"* was split into two questions, one referring to the origin country, and one to the country of residence. The migration module was extended to cover migration history and return intention. The full questionnaire can be found in Appendix 2.

In the national survey, the demographic questions were at the end of the questionnaire. Initially we used the same order in the migrant survey. However, threequarters into the data collection[5] of the Ukrainian migrant survey, we decided to move questions on key demographic characteristics (year of birth, gender, level of education) to the front of the survey. That way, valuable information about respondents could be collected, even if the respondents dropped out before the end of the survey. The surveys that followed (Ukrainian national, Argentinean migrant and national) used this order of questions from the start of the survey.

Languages

All surveys were offered in the official language of the (origin) country and in English. The Ukrainian migrant and national surveys were also offered in Russian. This is in line with common practice for social scientific research in Ukraine. The questionnaires were translated by professional translators. Team members with relevant language skills checked the quality of the translations and ensured that the translation used in the national f2f survey and the online surveys were as similar as possible.

Table 5. *Language use by survey*.

	Migrant survey	*N*	*National online survey*	*N*
Argentina	Spanish (99%) English (1%)	*615*	Spanish (100%) English (0%)	*1,961*
Poland	Polish (99%) English (1%)	*1,273*	-	
Ukraine	Ukrainian (82%) Russian (18%) English (0%)	*1,470*	Ukrainian (80%) Russian (20%) English (0%)	*2,151*

Note: Complete surveys only.

There are some minor differences between translations used from the national face-to-face survey and the migrant and national online surveys. For example, the Ukrainian online surveys asks: *"There are many things people can do to **prevent or promote change**. During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following?",* while the corresponding question in the national face-to-face asks Survey: *"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?".* We therefore recommend users to always check the code book for the exact phrasing in all surveys included in their analysis.

Survey duration

Qualtrics automatically registers the start and finish time of each survey and uses this information to calculate the duration. If respondents pause the survey they can return to continue it. In these cases, Qualtrics registers the time elapsed from the moment the first question was answered until the final question was answered. After two days of non-activity the survey is closed by Qualtrics. The median duration is very similar across surveys at just over twenty minutes.

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[5] On December 13.

Table 6. *Survey duration in minutes by target group*.

	Median	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
Argentinean migrant survey	23.4	45.3	317.2	9.6	7727.2	615
Argentinean national survey	22.3	25.8	27.8	9.1	625.8	1,961
Polish migrant survey	21.9	33.5	62.6	9.5	837.9	1,271
Ukrainian migrant survey	22.2	33.6	63.0	7.6	1262.9	1,470
Ukrainian national survey	22.4	26.4	24.1	8.3	610.0	2,151

Note: Complete surveys only.

Ethics

The opening screen of the survey in Qualtrics explained that participation is confidential and voluntary (see Appendix 2). It referred people to the MOBILISE website for more information on the project and their rights (see Appendix 3. Project Information Sheet). Respondents could download the project information sheet (pdf-file). The opening screen and the project information sheet were translated into the languages of the origin countries.

The Qualtrics online survey platform is GDPR compliant. Among others this means that data are stored in EU data centres and encrypted using AES-256 cypher[6].

Qualtrics offers the option to prevent ballot stuffing, i.e. people answering the survey multiple times. This works through leaving a cookie in the browser of the respondent. This option should thus only be selected if there is a substantial risk of ballot stuffing. We considered the risk of multiple entries low of the MOBILISE surveys. The surveys are fairly long and there is no financial reward for participating in the survey.

The challenge with online panels, especially those recruited through advertisements, is that it is unclear who is participating in the survey. To get a rudimentary idea about the respondents we enabled IP-address based geolocation in Qualtrics. This enables us to check the answer to the country of residence question matched the country people were in at the time of the survey. IP address and location information are deleted from the dataset before it was shared in the MOBILISE team. This information will also be removed from any future data deposit. The Project Information Sheet explains why IP addresses are collected and how they are used.

Except for the matrix questions, all questions in the survey were mandatory, i.e. respondents could not continue the survey without answering each question. All mandatory question offered respondents the option to fill out "don't know" or "refusal".

The surveys are designed as a two-wave panel. At the end of the survey, respondents were asked if they are willing to participate in future surveys and if so to enter their email address. The email addresses are solely used to send out the second wave of the survey. They will be deleted afterwards. The email addresses are deleted from the data files before the files are shared within the MOBILISE team and will be removed from any future data deposit.

The MOBILISE Facebook ads were open to commenting, which means additional data could be gathered from this. The separate Facebook pages therefore each had a post explaining that comments were encouraged, and that the comments may be used anonymously for qualitative analysis. The posts were in the language of the ad, and the text was also pasted as a comment under the ad in question for more visibility.

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[6] https://www.qualtrics.com/support/survey-platform/getting-started/qualtrics-gdpr-compliance/

Data cleaning

In the data cleaning process, extreme values in the dataset were detected and corrected if necessary. Numeric values, such as year of birth and migration year, were only corrected if there was no doubt what the respondent had intended. Shortened versions of birth years, such as '79' were changed to four digit notation, so that there would be no inconsistencies across the dataset. If the correct answer was not self-evident, responses were set to missing.

Qualtrics flags a response as a possible spam response when multiple identical responses are submitted from the same IP address within a 12-hour period. Of course, it is possible that multiple members from the same household fill out the survey, which would lead to multiple responses registered to the same IP address. Qualtrics therefore also takes the similarity of the responses into account. Considering the length of the MOBILISE survey, it is unlikely that members from the same household would have identical responses. The number of responses marked as spam was low in every survey. A quick manual check was done on responses flagged as spam before removing them from the dataset. In two cases, the check showed responses were incorrectly marked as spam. One further duplicate in the survey was uncovered by comparing answers to open questions and IP address. The second copy was removed.

In most cases, the responses that were flagged by Qualtrics as spam did not make it far into the survey. For example, in the case of the Ukrainian migrant survey, only 1 potential spam response finished the entire survey. In that instance, the response turned out not to be spam. It therefore proved to be worthwhile to manually check spam responses, especially if the respondent completed a large part of the survey.

We discovered duplicates in the email addresses entered for participation in the second round of the survey. We also found duplicates in IP addresses. While it is theoretically possible that two different respondents have the same IP addresses – for example if they filled out the survey while connected to the same mobile phone mast – it is unlikely given the small number of surveys compared to the size of the countries included in the study. These duplicate responses weren't marked as spam by Qualtrics as the entries generally show minor differences in the answers to survey questions. In most surveys the share of duplicates are small, for the Argentinean and Ukrainian migrants surveys it was less than one percent of all completed surveys. For the Polish migrant survey and the Ukrainian national survey it was close to two percent. The Argentinian national survey had a comparatively high share of duplicates: 12.5 per cent of all completed surveys had duplicate email or IP addresses. One respondent appears to have participated as many as seven times. It is not clear what drives these repeated responses; the survey ad and participant information do not mention a price or financial compensation. The email addresses in the duplicates look legitimate as does the duration of the survey (hovering around the median), there is a high level of similarity in answers between copies and duplicates tend to be filled out one or more days – and in some cases several weeks - apart. For surveys with duplicates IP address or email address we retained the most complete copy. In case of two or more equally complete copies, the first copy was retained.

We added a variable differentiating four response categories:

1) Opened survey but did not answer any questions
2) Opened survey but was not part of target group (determined based on replies to filter questions)
3) Part of target group, answered several questions but did not complete survey
4) Part of target group and completed survey (measured as answering questions up to "next01" on participation in the second wave)

Response

The aim was to survey 500 migrants from origin country in each of the destination countries. This was achieved in about half the cases. Table 7 shows the number of respondents by target group and destination country. As mentioned above, the numbers for Argentinean migrants are lower in part because the recruitment was halted due to the COVID-19 crisis.

One of the strategies we used to minimise survey fraud was to collect information on the location of respondents at the time they filled out the survey (see also ethics section). A comparison between this information and respondents' answer to the question *"In what country do you live and work? (if you move back and forward between countries, please list the country in which you spend most of your time)"* showed strong overlap; varying from 85-99%. In the majority of cases where the location code in the migrant survey differed from the survey answer, the location code suggested the survey was filled out in the origin country.

The dropout rate is similar across the different versions of the migrant survey. Over a third of the respondents belonging to the target group complete the survey in full. Most dropout occurs just after the start of the survey. Over a third of respondents doesn't complete the first module on media use. Most of these respondents drop out straight after the filter questions. Most of the remaining drop-out occurs in the module on political trust and political participation. The drop-out seems to mainly occur at matrix questions (e.g. TR02 and TR06, see Appendix 2 for question text).) The Qualtrics platform presents matrix questions as separate questions on mobile phones. The second question of the set only appears after the first question has been answered, and so on. While this approach should lead to higher response than showing a matrix (Liu & Cernat, 2018; but see Mavletova et al, 2018), the repetitive format might still deter respondents from continuing the survey. Qualtrics doesn't provide information on device used for the survey. We therefore can't determine whether this drop-out is more frequent for surveys on mobile devices or PCs.

Table 7. *Number of respondents, share of completed surveys and location match by target group and residence country.*

	Target country	Filled in filter questions	Target group	Completed surveys	% Completed of target group	% Location matching country (of completed)
Argentina: migrants	*Spain*	926	922	337	36.6%	98.2%
	Germany	335	327	142	43.4%	97.2%
	UK	329	327	136	41.6%	94.9%
Argentina: national	*Argentina*	4,343	4,296	1,961	45.6%	99.0%
Poland: migrant	*Spain*	626	574	192	33.4%	90.6%
	Germany	1,655	1,537	536	34.9%	91.8%
	UK	1,562	1,431	545	38.1%	95.0%
Ukraine: migrant	*Spain*	1,714	1,541	529	34.3%	94.7%
	Germany	1,526	1,437	644	44.8%	93.5%
	UK	865	798	297	37.2%	85.9%
Ukraine: national	*Ukraine*	5,593	5,042	2,151	42.7%	96.7%

Chi-square tests show a weak but significant relation between number of survey modules completed and political interest for all three migrant surveys (p<.001, Cramer's V .08-.12). It is likely that this relationship is confounded by education. However, as the demographic questions were initially at the end of the survey (see above) this can only be tested for Argentinean migrants. Here an ordered regression with number of completed modules as dependent shows no significant of political interest when controlling for level of education.

The drop-out rate is slightly lower in the national online survey. A little over 44% of respondents in the target group complete the survey in full. Nearly half of those who drop out (a quarter of all respondents) drop out in the media module. As in the migrant survey, most of the other drop-out occurs in the trust and political participation module. In the national surveys drop-out is also significantly related to political interest ($χ^2$, p<.05, Cramer's V .06).

Sample composition and bias

This section examines the distribution of key socio-demographic, social media use and political variables in the migrant survey samples and the national online survey samples. To get a sense of potential sampling bias, the national online survey is compared to data from the national face-to-face surveys.

Migrant surveys

Socio-demographic variables
Women make up the majority of the sample for all three origin country groups and in each of the three destination countries (see Figure 5). This suggests the sample may have an overrepresentation of women. The ad delivery shows that this overrepresentation already starts when the ad is distributed through Facebook. The ad has more *impressions* for women. This means that Facebook does not distribute the ad evenly.

The age structure of the samples is similar across origin and destination countries. Of the three origin country groups, Ukrainian respondents are the youngest. About half the sample was born after 1980 (see Figure 6, the line in the middle of the box represents the median age). Argentinians in Spain have the highest age; over half the sample was born before 1970.
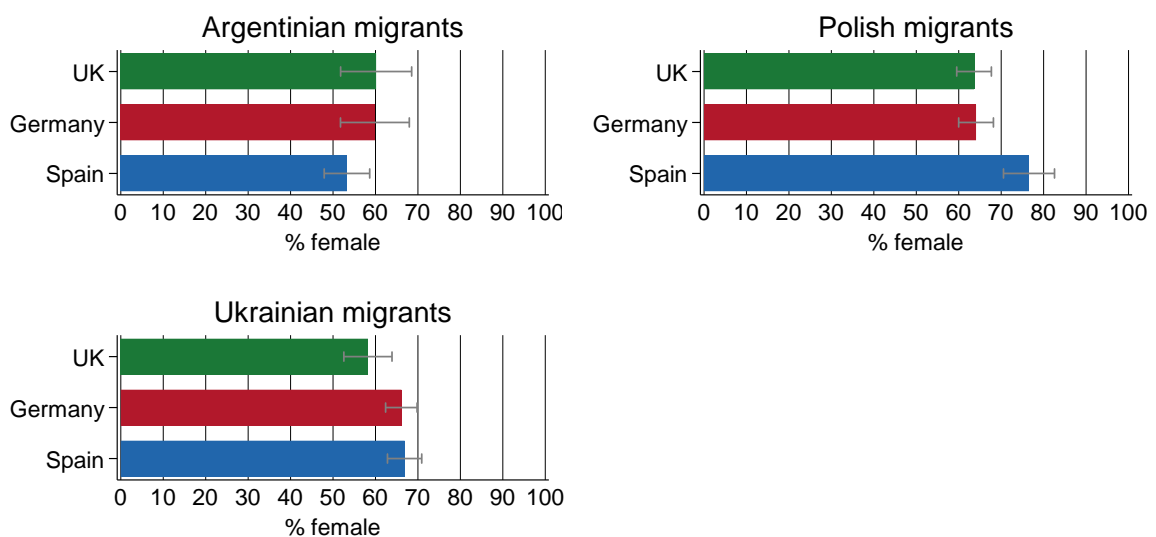

Figure 5. *% female respondents by origin and destination with 95% confidence interval*
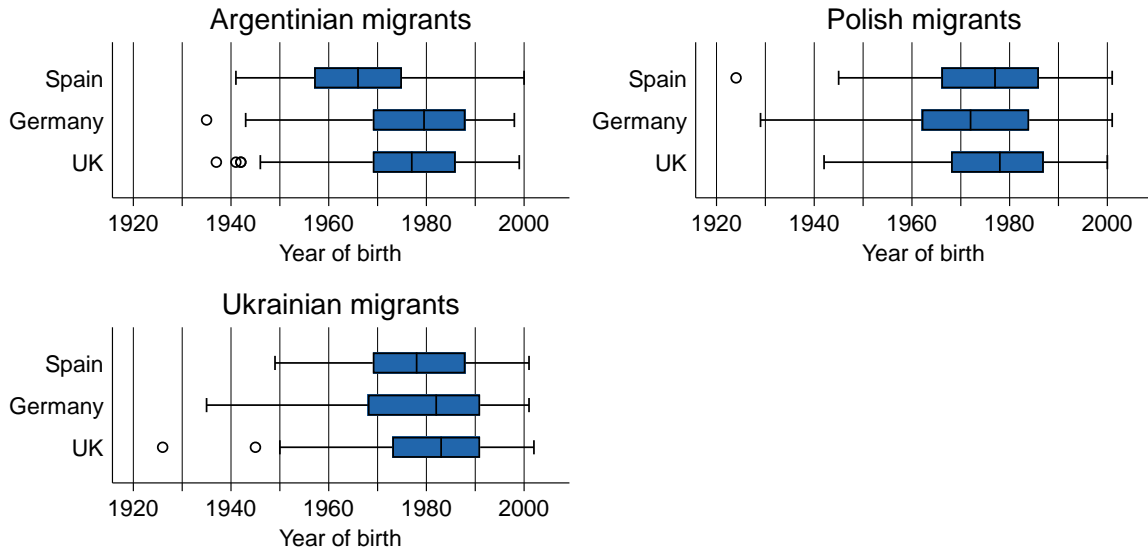*Note: Complete surveys only.*

Figure 6. *Year of birth by origin and destination country, box & whiskers plot.*
Note: Complete surveys only.

Another noteworthy feature of the sample is that respondents from all origin countries and in all destination countries have a high level of education (see Figure 7). The majority of Argentinian and Ukrainian migrants has attended university. This suggests that the sampling method may have led to an education bias. Facebook does not have data on education so we do not know if this high share of higher educated is – in part – due to who the algorithm choose to show the ads to.
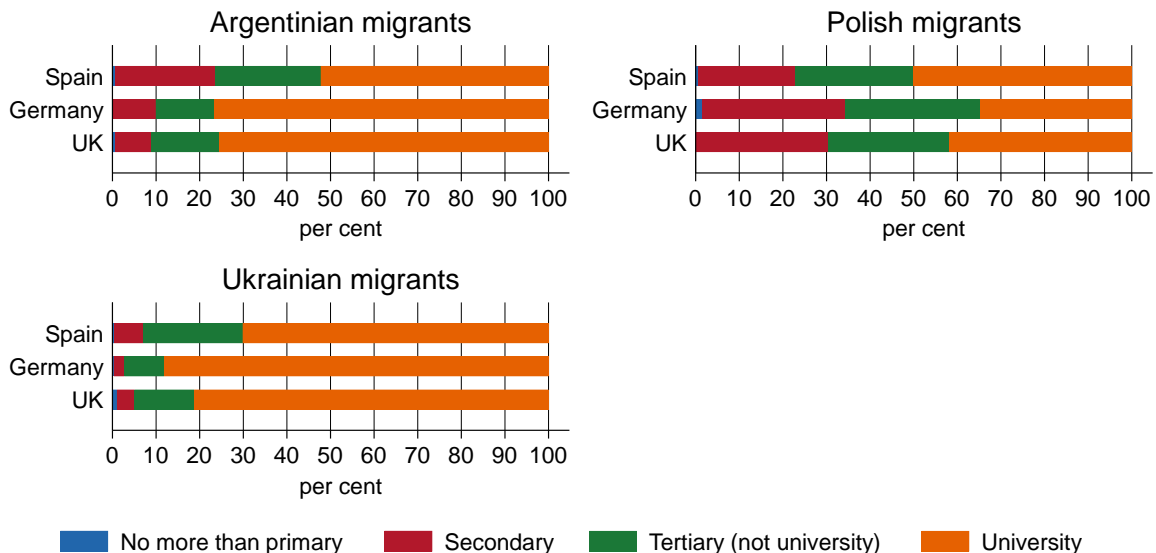

Figure 7. *Level of education attended by origin and destination country*
Note: Complete surveys only.

The sampling strategy proved successful in reaching recent migrants (see Figure 8, the line in the middle of the box represents the median year of arrival). For most origin country groups around quarter of respondents has been in the current country of residence no more than 5 years at the time of the survey, and just under half of respondents arrived in their in the last 10 years. While recent migrants might be oversampled among the wider migrant population for the purposes of

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MOBILISE this is the most interesting group, as they made their decision to migrate under recent political-economic conditions.
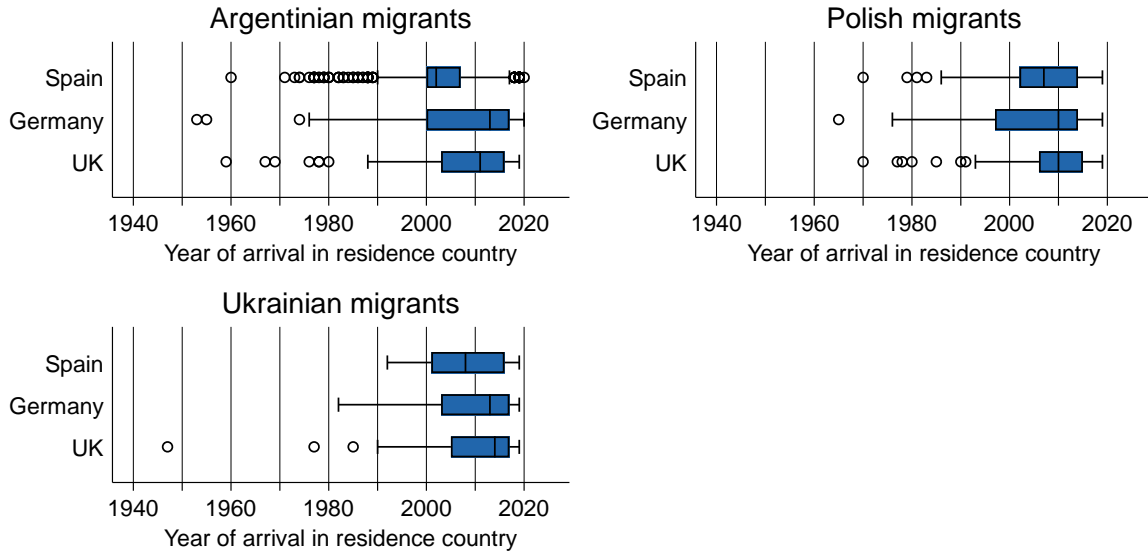

Figure 8. *Year of arrival in destination country, by origin and destination country, box & whiskers plot.*
Note: Complete surveys only.

Social media use
Figures 9 and 10 show how often respondents use social media in general and Facebook in particular. Close to 90 per cent of respondents use social media on a daily basis and close to 85 per cent of respondents use Facebook daily.
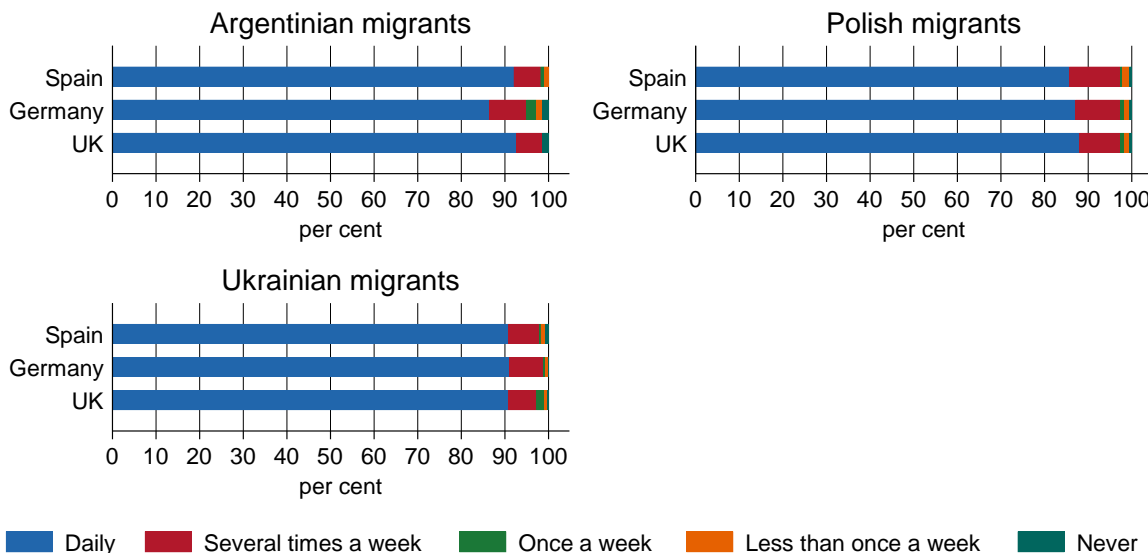

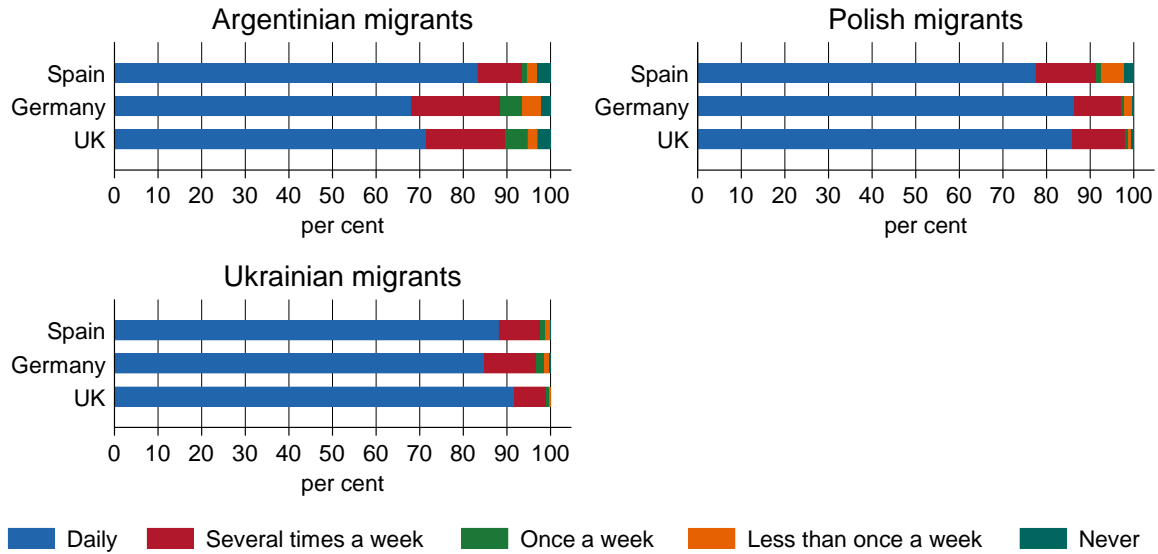**Figure 9.** *Social media use, by origin and destination country*
Note: Complete surveys only.

Figure 10. *Facebook use, by origin and destination country*
Note: Complete surveys only.

Political interest and voting

Overall respondents in the migrant samples have a strong interest in politics. Political interest is highest among Argentinian and Ukrainian respondents, around half indicate being "very interested" in politics (see Figure 11). For Polish respondents the share is lower but still 20-30% across destination countries.
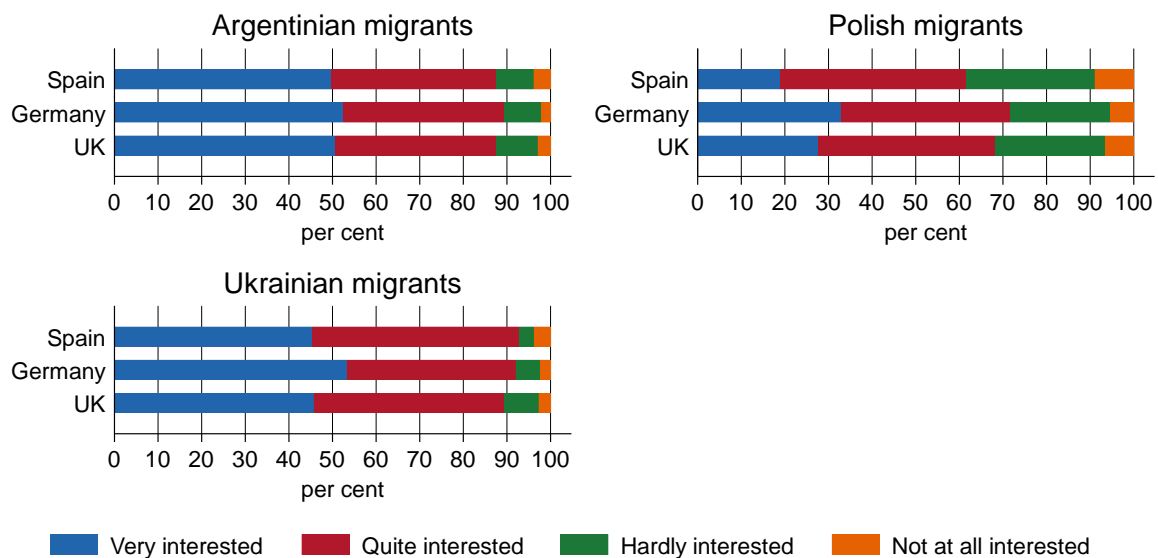
Figure 11. *Political interest by origin and destination country*
Note: Complete surveys only.

The Polish migrant survey was conducted around the parliamentary elections of October 13, 2019. Over 40 percent of respondents indicated they intended to vote or had voted in this election. Table 8 shows a comparison of vote intention (surveys completed before October 13) and

reported voting (surveys completed after October 13) and the results of the migrant vote in Germany, the United Kingdom and Spain. The party ranking is similar across the survey and election results, however it is notable that PIS voters are underrepresented in the MOBILISE migrant survey sample.

Table 8. *Party voted for (%) and raking in MOBILISE migrant survey and election results for Polish 2019 elections.*

	Spain		Germany		UK	
	MOBILISE survey	Official result	MOBILISE survey	Official result	MOBILISE survey	Official result
Prawo i Sprawiedliwoś (PiS)	12.35 (3)	27.80 (2)	12.03 (3)	24.11 (2)	13.04 (3)	23.10 (2)
Koalicja Obywatelska	44.44 (1)	52.81 (1)	49.38 (1)	42.98 (1)	42.61 (1)	36.93 (1)
Koalicja Polska	2.47 (5)	4.00 (5)	2.90 (5)	4.14 (5)	2.17 (5)	4.28 (5)
Lewica (Sojusz Lewicy	30.86 (2)	10.85 (3)	26.56 (2)	19.72 (3)	28.70 (2)	20.27 (3)
Konfederacja Wolność	4.94 (4)	5.54 (4)	7.47 (4)	9.05 (4)	12.61 (4)	15.42 (4)
Other party	4.94	/	1.66	/	0.95	/
N	*81*	*9,529*	*241*	*46,205*	*230*	*88,686*

Note: Complete surveys only. Source: https://wybory.gov.pl/sejmsenat2019/en/wyniki/sejm/pow/149900

The Ukrainian migrant survey was also timed close to two elections: the first round of the presidential elections in March 2019 and the July 2019 parliamentary elections. Almost a third of respondents (26% in Spain to 37% in the UK) voted in the presidential elections. Ninety percent of respondents who voted also filled out which candidate they voted for. A comparison between the data from MOBILISE and official election result show a high degree of similarity (see Table 9). About a fifth of respondents (18% in Spain to 27% in the UK) voted in the parliamentary elections. Eighty percent of respondents who voted indicated which party they voted for. Here again the answers in the survey sample are comparable to the official election result.

Table 9. *Candidate voted for (%) in MOBILISE migrant survey and election results in first round of Ukrainian 2019 presidential elections.*

	Spain		Germany		UK	
	MOBILISE survey	Official result (2nd round)	MOBILISE survey	Official result (2nd round)	MOBILISE survey	Official result (2nd round)
Volodymyr Zelenskyi	33.62		22.28		28.42	
Petro Poroshenko	45.55	37.66 (56.01)	53.96	42.18 (55.51)	51.58	52.46 (69.83)
Yulia Timoshenko	0.85		3.47		0.00	
Yurii Boyko	0.00		0.50		2.11	
Anatolii Hrytsenko	4.31		10.40		7.37	
Ihor Smeshko	5.17		2.97		1.05	
Oleh Lyashko	1.72		0.00		0.00	
Oleksandr Vilkul	0.00		0.99		0.00	
Ruslan Koshulinsky	6.90		1.49		7.37	
Oleksandr Shevchenko	0.00		0.50		1.05	
Other	0.86		3.47		1.05	
N	116	3,959 (4,813)	202	7,147 (6,962)	95	1,260 (1,412)

Note: Complete surveys only. Source: Vybory Prezydenta Ukrainy 2019. Vyborchi dil'nytsi predstavnytstv Ukrainy za kordonom [Elections of the President of Ukraine 2019. Polling stations at Ukraine's missions abroad] First round: https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vp2019/wp314pt001f01=719.html Second round: https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vp2019/wp314pt001f01=720.html . Results only list share for winning candidate.

Table 10. *Party voted for (%) in MOBILISE migrant survey and election results in Ukrainian July 2019 parliamentary elections*

	Spain		Germany		UK	
	MOBILISE survey	Official result	MOBILISE survey	Official result	MOBILISE survey	Official result
Servant of the people	31.76	31.78	19.86		29.17	
Opposition Platform	0.00		0.68		0.00	
Motherland	1.18		2.74		0.00	
European Solidarity	44.71		41.10	30.12	34.72	34.71
Voice	5.88		24.66		25.00	
Strength and Honor	3.53		2.05		1.39	
Hroisman's Ukrainian	1.18		0.00		0.00	
Sharii's Party	1.18		0.68		0.00	
Svoboda	5.88		3.42		5.56	
Civic position	0.00		1.37		4.17	
Another party	4.71		3.42		0.00	
N	86		146		72	

Note: Complete surveys only. Source: Vybory narodnykh deputativ Ukrainy 2019. Vidomosti pro pidrakhunok holosiv vybortsiv na zakordonnykh vyborchykh dil'nytsiakh [Elections of the people's deputees of Ukraine 2019. Information regarding vote tally at polling stations abroad]
https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2019/wp314pt001f01=919.html Results only list share for winning candidate.

National surveys

Argentina entered a COVID-19 related lockdown during the collection of the face-to-face survey data. This meant that the final 159 (out of 2000) interviews had to be conducted via phone. This change did not affect the representativeness of the sample (see data report on face-to-face surveys).

Socio-demographic variables
As in the migrant surveys, women make up the majority of respondents in the national surveys. In Ukrainian the share of women is significantly higher on the online survey than in the national survey (p<.001), but the size of the difference is modest (see Figure 12).
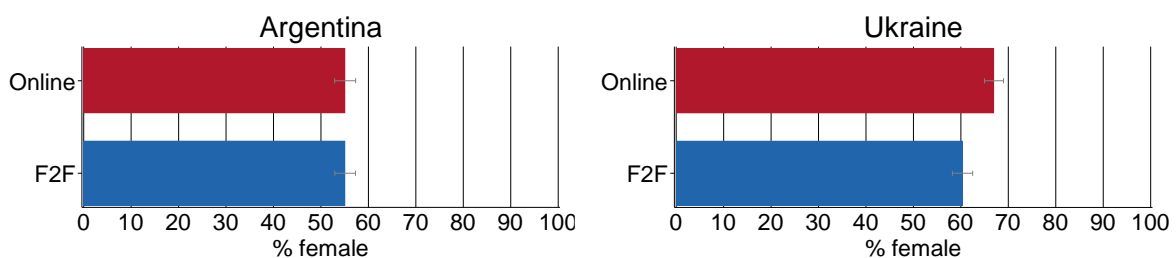

Figure 12. *% female respondents with 95% confidence interval, by survey mode and country (unweighted)*
Note: Complete surveys only.

Whereas Pötzschke & Braun (2017) were concerned to get an oversample of young people, we find that the online survey samples are *older* than the face-to-face survey samples. This is especially the case in Argentina, where half of online survey respondents where born before 1960, compared to quarter of respondents from the face-to-face survey (see Figure 13, the line in the middle of the box represents the median age). According to the population census, 28 per cent of

the Argentinian adult population was born before 1960 and about half was born before 1975[7]. This suggest older Argentinians are overrepresented in the online survey. Census data for Ukraine, show that nearly half the adult population was born before 1970[8]. Here too older Ukrainians appear to be overrepresented in the online survey.
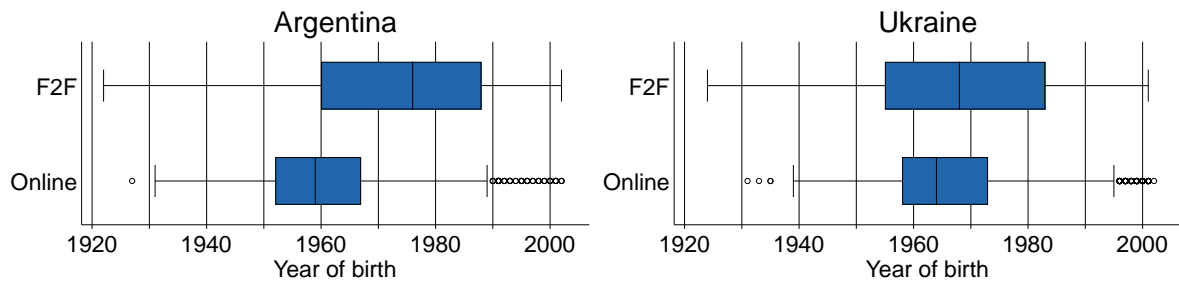

Figure 13. *Year of birth, by survey mode and country, box & whiskers plot.*
Note: Complete surveys only.

A look at the distribution of education shows that higher educated are overrepresented in the online survey (see Figure 14). The share of university educated respondents in almost twice as high in the online survey compared to the face-to-face survey. This is in line with the high share of university education in the migrant survey. While part of the overrepresentation is related to higher share of lower educated dropping out during the online survey, most of the overrepresentation seems to happen at the entry into the survey. This suggests the online recruited via Facebook has led to an oversample over higher educated.
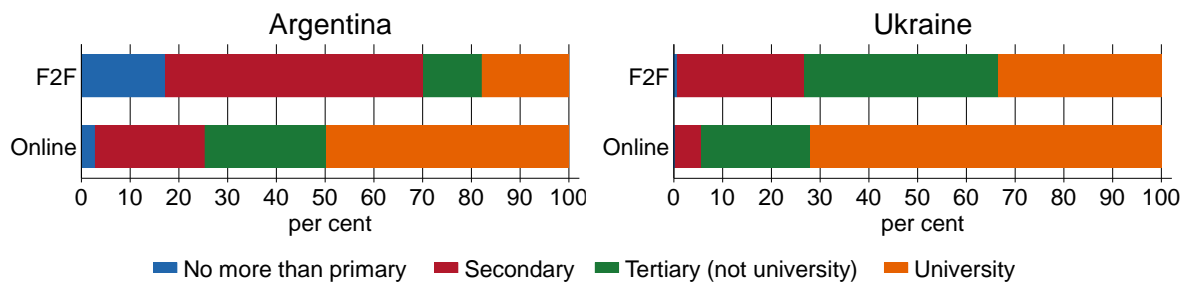

Figure 14. *Level of education attended by mode and country*
Note: Complete surveys only.

Social media use
Perhaps unsurprisingly, social media use in general and Facebook use in particular are higher for the online samples than the face-to-face samples (see Figure 15 and Figure 16). Eighty per cent of the Argentinian face-to-face sample uses Facebook at least once a week. For Ukraine, this is a little over sixty percent. This implies the share of the population that can be reach by Facebook ads is larger in Argentina. However the comparison of socio-demographic characteristics does not suggest that the Argentine online sample is more representative than the Ukrainian sample.

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[7] Figures from 2010 population census downloaded from http://data.un.org/. Per cent is calculated as (number of people born 1911-1959/number of people born 1911-2001). This estimate of the 2020 population structures does not account for variation in death and migration rates between cohorts.
[8] Figures for 2018 (excluding Sebastopol and Crimea) downloaded from http://data.un.org/. Per cent is calculated as (number of people born 1919-1969/number of people born 1919-2000).
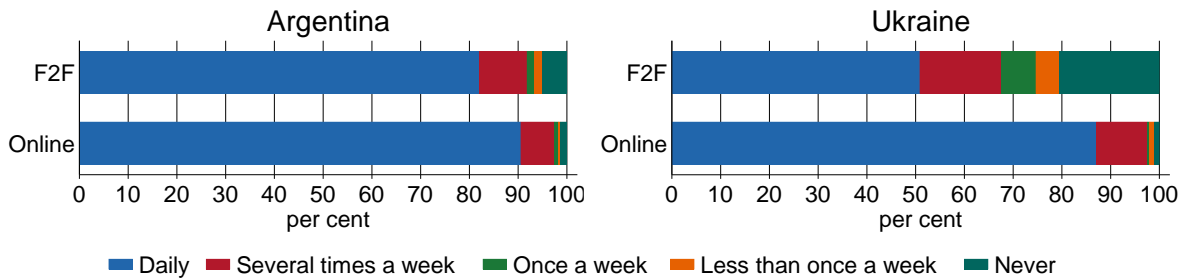
Figure 15. *Social media use, by survey mode and country*
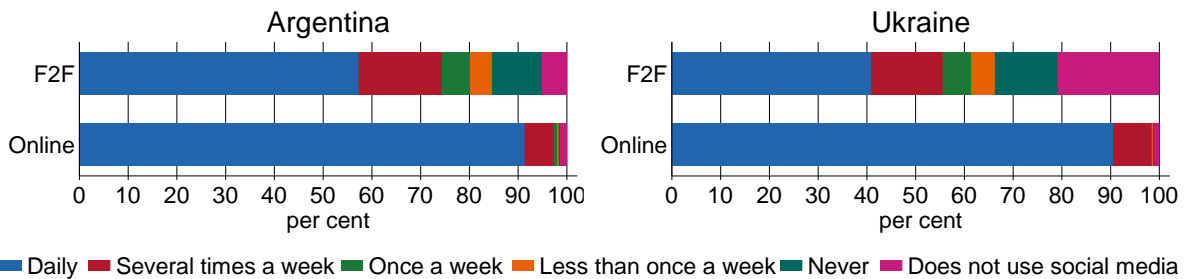*Note: Complete surveys only.*

Figure 16. *Facebook use, by survey mode and destination country*
Note: Complete surveys only.

Political interest and voting

As in the migrant survey, political interest among participants in the online national survey is substantially higher than among participants in the face-to-face surveys. The difference cannot be explained by the higher education and age of the online survey respondents.
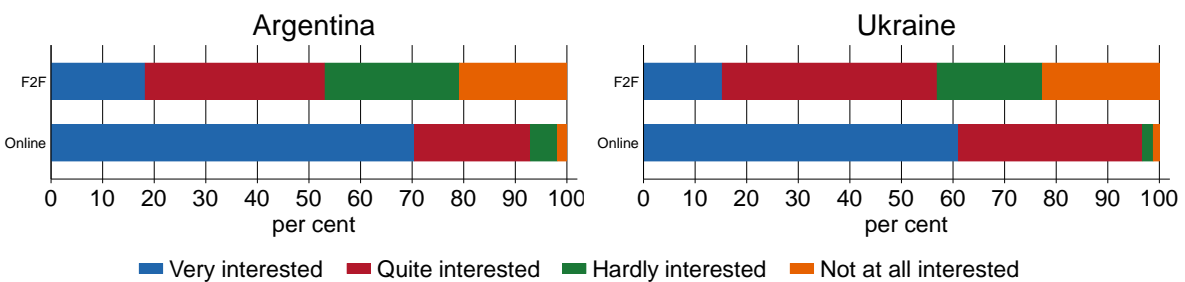

Figure 17. *Political interest by survey mode and country*
Note: Complete surveys only.

In Argentina the national online and face-to-face surveys happened at the same time (see above). Reported participation in elections is high in both samples: 90% of online and 92% of f2f respondents voted in the first round of the 2019 presidential elections. For 2015 the gap is larger, with 97% of the online sample reporting to have voted compared to 88% in the face-to-face survey. This difference is mostly due to the higher age of the online sample. When restricting the sample to those born before 1997, the gap is reduced to 98% and 93% respectively.

Table 11 shows the candidate voted for in the first round of the 2015 presidential elections in Argentina. The online sample has a different political orientation from the face-to-face survey

sample. A comparison with the official results from the first round suggests that the online sample is more representative than the face-to-face survey sample.

Table 11. *Candidate voted for (%)in online and face-to-face survey in first round of Argentinian 2015 presidential elections.*

	Online survey	Face-to-face survey	Official results
Mauricio Macri and Gabriela Michetti	39.26	61.48	34.15
Daniel Scioli and Carlos Zannini	46.98	28.56	37.08
Sergio Massa and Gustavo Saenz	7.02	3.18	21.39
Nicolas Del Caño and Myriam Bregman	4.59	2.37	3.23
Margarita Stolbizer and Miguel Angel Olaviaga	1.46	3.34	2.51
Adolfo Rodriguez Saa and Liliana Negre de Alonso	0.69	1.08	1.64
N	1,856	1,439	

Note: Complete surveys only. Source official results:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2015_Argentine_general_election#Results_by_province,_first_round

In Ukraine the online survey was conducted half a year later than the face-to-face survey. This means that questions on parliamentary and presidential elections are on intentions in the face-to-face survey but on behavior in the online survey. Close to 90% of respondents in both the online and f2f surveys in Ukraine indicated they voted or intended to vote in the first round of the presidential elections. In the online survey, 85% of those who voted, reported the candidate they had voted for. In the f2f survey, 60% of respondents reported the candidate they intended to vote for, with most of the remaining 40% indicating it was "hard to say". Table 12 shows the distribution of the vote for both surveys. Poroshenko voters are overrepresented in the online survey. This might be because of sampling bias, but recall bias might also be higher in the online survey as the elections were several month prior. For Ukraine the face-to-face survey is the best reflection of the election result.

Table 12. *Candidate voted for (%)in online and face-to-face survey in first round of Ukrainian 2019 presidential elections.*

	Online survey	Face-to-face survey	Official results
Volodymyr Zelenskyi	22.09	29.11	30.24
Petro Poroshenko	50.58	20.20	15.95
Yulia Timoshenko	4.51	11.78	13.40
Yurii Boyko	2.87	12.77	11.67
Anatolii Hrytsenko	4.03	5.84	6.91
Ihor Smeshko	4.45	3.86	6.04
Oleh Lyashko	0.55	4.85	5.48
Oleksandr Vilkul	2.07	5.35	4.15
Ruslan Koshulinsky	7.14	1.58	1.62
Yurii Tymoshenko	0.12	0.89	0.62
Oleksandr Shevchenko	0.24	0.20	0.57
Other	1.34	3.57	3.35
N	1,639	1,010	

Note: Complete surveys only

Migration aspirations

For Ukraine reported migration aspirations in the online and face-to-face survey are very similar (see Figure 18). A logistic regression analysis controlling for age, education and gender differences between the two samples also reveals no significant differences in migration aspirations. The

question on migration aspirations was not included in the Argentinian online survey, so no comparison could be made here.
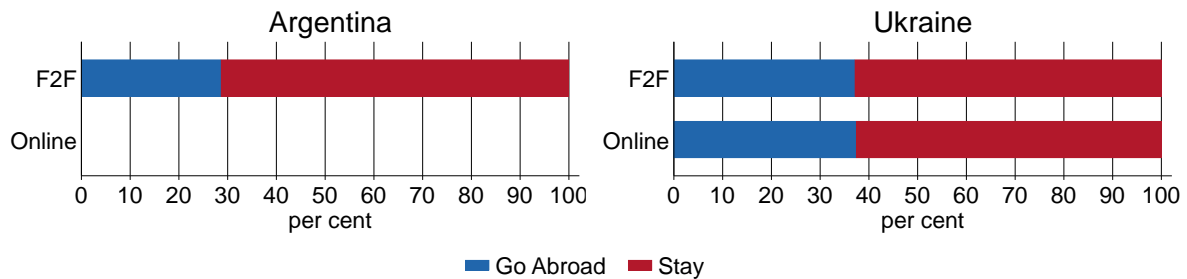

Figure 18. *Migration aspirations by survey mode and country*
Note: Complete surveys only.

Discussion and recommendations

MOBILISE used targeted Facebook advertisements to survey migrants from three different origin countries living in three different destination countries. This sampling method was chosen because it enables obtaining a nation-wide sample that includes recent and irregular migrants and fitted within the budget constraints of the MOBILISE project. To get a sense of how Facebook surveys perform, we also conducted Facebook surveys among the national populations of Argentina and Ukraine and compared this data to that collected through the MOBILISE face-to-face surveys in these countries.

Several lessons can be drawn from the MOBILISE experience of using online surveys with Facebook advertising. As expected this sampling is a cost-effective method to obtaining a large sample. The method seems particularly effective in reaching recent migrants and reaching migrants from small communities such as Argentinians outside Spain or Ukrainians in the UK.

In the 2015-2016 survey of Polish migrants by Pötzschke & Braun (2017) costs amounted to €0.45 per completed questionnaire. For the Polish migrant sample in MOBILISE the costs were €0.53 per target group respondent and €1.45 per completed questionnaire. The higher costs are a result of the longer length of the MOBILISE survey and the decreasing use of Facebook among the target population. The latter is reflected in the much lower reach of the MOBILISE ad compared to ad of the 2015-2016 study. Even at this higher cost per survey, the use of Facebook ads is considerably cheaper than other convenience and probability sampling methods.

The efficiency of the ads varied by targeting strategy and groups. Online convenience sampling proved to be a particularly cost-effective way to reach target groups when it came to countries that had languages that were not widely spoken. Targeting Argentinean migrants proved to be more difficult in comparison to Ukrainian and Polish migrants. This is due to the fact that Spanish is a language that is not unique to Argentina, increasing chances that online ads are shown to Spanish-speaking users outside of our target group. Ukrainian and Polish, on the other hand, are languages that are almost exclusively spoken by Ukrainians and Poles. It is therefore easier to target Ukrainian and Polish migrants. For groups with widely spoken languages we advise against using language as part of the targeting strategy.

While the Facebook advertising is a highly efficient sampling method, this comes at the cost of bias. For the MOBILISE survey the main bias appears to be education and political interest.

However, several other variables, including political preferences show a strong similarity to population data.

Pötzschke & Braun (2017) expected that younger cohorts would be more likely to engage with Facebook ads than older cohorts. For the national surveys we found an overrepresentation of older cohorts. This may reflect the change in Facebook usage among younger people that has taken place since their study. Instagram has gained popularity, particularly among younger cohorts. Instagram offers an advertising option, which is based on the targeting information from Facebook, its parent company. For future studies advertising on Instagram can be a good alternative for or supplement of advertising through Facebook. Alternatively, the Facebook ads can be split in ad-sets for different age groups (similar to what Pötzschke & Braun (2017) did, but with a different aim). This ad-set approach can also be a way to decrease the overrepresentation of women; using separate ad to target men and women.

In the MOBILISE surveys, more than half of respondents dropped out during the survey. As drop-out seems to occur especially at matrix questions, we recommend keeping these to a minimum. We furthermore recommend asking key demographic questions at the start of the survey. This allows a more elaborate analysis of the factors related to drop-out and way incomplete responses can be included in the analyses with control variables.

To our surprise, we uncovered duplicates among the survey entries. Future surveys should make sure they have an approach to detecting duplicates in the data. It would be good to prevent duplicates from occurring, but this is challenging to do. Using the Qualtrics option to prevent ballot stuffing, will only prevent duplicates that come from the same device. Furthermore this option might deter participants who do not accept browser cookies, which can lead to sampling bias.

In sum, our study showed the potential of running a surveys through Facebook. This approach is particularly effective when surveying migrants. A group that is notoriously difficult to reach through probability methods, especially in the case of small and or recently arrived communities. Notable benefits compared to other convenience methods such as centre-point point or sampling through community organisations are that this method has a nation-wide reach and even tough it is based on an online social network, it is more likely to led to a sample that has fewer interconnections than other methods.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Targeting strategies for MOBILISE Facebook ads – first wave

	Type ad	Location	Age	Language	People who match
Poland: migrant	Germany/UK/Spain – *lived in Poland*	Germany, UK, Spain	*18 - 65+*	--	Behaviours: Lived in Poland (formerly Expats – Poland)
Ukraine: migrant	Germany/UK/Spain – *language (Ukr)*	Germany, UK, Spain,	*18 – 65+*	Ukrainian	--
	Germany/UK/Spain – *language (Ukr) /interest/away from home*	Germany, UK, Spain	*18 - 65+*	Ukrainian	Interests: Ukraine; Life event: Away from hometown
	Germany/UK/Spain – *language (Rus) /interest*	Germany, UK, Spain	*18 - 65+*	Russian	Interests: Ukraine
Ukraine: national	Ukraine – language (Ukr)	Ukraine	*18 - 65+*	Ukrainian	--
	Ukraine – language (Rus)	Ukraine	*18 - 65+*	Russian	--
Argentina: migrant	Germany – lived in Argentina	Germany	*18 - 65+*	--	Behaviours: Lived in Argentina (formerly Expats – Argentina)
	Germany – *language*	Germany	*18 - 65+*	Spanish	Interests: Argentina
	UK – *lived in Argentina*	UK	*18 - 65+*	--	Behaviours: Lived in Argentina (formerly Expats – Argentina)
	UK – *language*	UK	*18 - 65+*	Spanish	Interests: Argentina
	Spain – *lived in Argentina*	Spain	*18 - 65+*	--	Behaviours: Lived in Argentina (formerly Expats – Argentina)
	Spain – *language*	Spain	*18 - 65+*	Spanish	Interests: Argentina
Argentina: national	Argentineans in Argentina	Argentina	*18 - 65+*	--	--

Note: language strategy was suspended after three weeks in the Argentina migrant ad, only expat ads continued

Appendix 2. Master survey

MOBILISE - Ukrainian/Russian version

START *If you would like to take this survey in Ukrainian or Russian, click on [English] in the top-right corner of the screen, and select the language.* We are conducting a survey of people from Ukraine who live in the United Kingdom, Germany, and Spain, in order to understand what people think about their life, politics and other important challenges facing Ukraine. We are a group of researchers from the United Kingdom, Germany, France and the Netherlands. The study is funded by national science foundations under the Open Research Area Funding Scheme (www.mobiliseproject.com) . Your answers will remain confidential. Reports on the study will only mention general patterns, not individual responses. Participation in the study is completely voluntary. Participation takes about twenty minutes. We are very interested in your frank answers. If you do not want to answer a question, you can select the option 'prefer not to say'. You are free to stop your participation at any time. You can find more information on the project, how we will use the data from the survey and your rights as participant here: www.mobiliseproject.com/info/ukr. Please note: You must be 18 or older to participate in this study. By completing this survey, you are consenting to participate in our study. Thank you for your help and cooperation.

Page Break ──

X→

F01 What is your country of birth?

◯ Ukraine (1)

◯ Other (5)

Page Break ———————————————————————————————————————

F02 In what country do you live and work? (if you move back and forward between countries, please list the country in which you spend most of your time)

○ Spain (1)

○ Germany (2)

○ United Kingdom (3)

○ Other (4)

MED00 We would first like to ask you some questions about your use of media.

X→

MED01 How regularly do you use the Internet for the following activities...

	Daily (1)	Several times a week (2)	Once a week (3)	Less than once a week (4)	Never (5)	*Don't know (97)*	*Prefer not to say (98)*
E-mail (send or receive) (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Get news and information about current events (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Read/write blogs or participate in discussion forums (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Use social network sites/ social media sites (Facebook, Twitter, Vkontakte, Odnoklasnyky, WhatsApp, Youtube, etc.) (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Skype or Viber (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Other internet activities, namely: (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Page Break

X→

MED.UKR.02 How frequently do you use the following social networking/social media sites?

	Daily (1)	Several times a week (2)	Once a week (3)	Less than once a week (4)	Never (5)	*Don't know (97)*	*Prefer not to say (98)*
Facebook (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
LiveJournal (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Twitter (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
WhatsApp (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Instagram (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
YouTube (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Viber (7)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Classmates/ Odnoklasnyky (8)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
VKontakte (9)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Telegram (10)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

End of Block: MEDIA

Start of Block: POLITICS

POL00 We would now like to ask you some questions about your interest in politics.

[X→]

POL01 How interested would you say you are in politics – are you...

○ Very interested (1)

○ Quite interested (2)

○ Hardly interested (3)

○ Not at all interested (4)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

[X→]

POL02 Do you follow the political events in ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}[9]?

○ Yes, to some extent (1)

○ No, not at all (2)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Display This Question:

  If Do you follow the political events in ${q://QID73/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}? = Yes, to some extent

[X→]

---

[9] During the survey, this code gets replaced with the country that respondents specified in question F02.

POL03 What is your main source of information about political events in ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}? Please select ONE main source.

○ TV (1)

○ Radio (2)

○ Newspapers (online or offline) (3)

○ Other websites (4)

○ Facebook (5)

○ Whatsapp (6)

○ Family and friends (7)

○ Other: (8) _____

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Page Break ——————————————————————————————

X→

POL04 Do you follow the political events in ${F02/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

X→

POL05 What is your main source of information about political events in ${F02/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}? Please select ONE main source.

○ TV (1)

○ Radio (2)

○ Newspapers (online or offline) (3)

○ Other websites (4)

○ Facebook (5)

○ Whatsapp (6)

○ Family and friends (7)

○ Other: (8) _____

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

End of Block: POLITICS

Start of Block: DEMOGRAPHICS SHORT

DEM.SHORT.00 We would now like to ask you some questions about your personal situation.[10]

✳

DEM16 Could you please tell me your year of birth? (YYYY)

_____

X→

DEM17 Please tell me, are you...

○ A man (1)

○ A woman (2)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

X→

---

[10] This section was created halfway through the Ukrainian migrant survey, so that basic demographic information could be collected earlier in the survey. In the Polish survey (which was published earlier), these questions were part of the regular Demographics section, near the end of the survey.

DEM.UKR.01 What is your level of education?

○ No formal education (1)

○ Primary education (2)

○ Some high school/secondary education (3)

○ High school/secondary school (4)

○ Professional tertiary education (5)

○ Incomplete higher or tertiary or university education (6)

○ Higher or tertiary or university education (7)

○ PhD (8)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

End of Block: DEMOGRAPHICS SHORT

Start of Block: POLITICAL TRUST

TR00 We would now like to ask you some questions about your trust in people and institutions.

X→

TR01 Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that one can never be too careful in dealing with people? Please tell me on a score of 0 to 10, where 0 means you can't be too careful and 10 means that most people can be trusted.

○ You can't be too careful 0 (0)

○ 1 (1)

○ 2 (2)

○ 3 (3)

○ 4 (4)

○ 5 (5)

○ 6 (6)

○ 7 (7)

○ 8 (8)

○ 9 (9)

○ Most people can be trusted 10 (10)

○ *Don't know* (11)

○ *Prefer not to say* (12)

Page Break

X→

TR02 Below is a list of institutions. Please indicate, in general, how much you trust each of the following (types of) institutions:

	Do not trust at all (1)	Do not trust very much (2)	Neither trust nor distrust (3)	Quite trust (4)	Trust completely (5)	*Don't know* (97)	*Prefer not to say* (98)
Government of ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} (6)	C	C	O	C	O	C	O
Parliament of ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} (7)	C	C	O	C	O	C	O
Judicial system of ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} (8)	C	C	O	C	O	C	O

Page Break

X→

TR03 In some countries, people believe that their elections are conducted fairly. In other countries people believe that their elections are conducted unfairly. Do you believe that, generally speaking, elections in ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} are fair? Please use a 5-point scale, where 1 means that elections are generally conducted fairly, and 5 means that elections are generally conducted unfairly.

Elections are rather likely to be held...

○ FAIRLY 1 (1)

○ 2 (2)

○ 3 (3)

○ 4 (4)

○ NOT FAIRLY 5 (5)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Page Break

X→

TR04 How many people in your circle of friends and family criticize the current political situation in ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}?

○ None (1)

○ Some (2)

○ Majority (3)

○ All (4)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Page Break —————————————————————————————————

X→

TR05 When you were living in ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}, did you ever refrain from political activities in ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} because you faced potential threats?

○ Never (1)

○ Rarely (2)

○ Sometimes (3)

○ Often (4)

○ All of the time (5)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Page Break

X→

TR06 How likely do you think it is, that people who are politically active in ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} will face the following threats?

	Very unlikely (1)	Unlikely (2)	Likely (3)	Very likely (4)	Don't know (97)	Prefer not to say (98)
Being arrested or detained (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Being hurt by security forces (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Getting problems on the job or at university (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Getting problems for close family members (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Being recorded and harm their life in the future (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Being forced to flee the country (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Page Break

X→

TR07 Have you been involved in any of the following types of organizations in the past 12 months? Please indicate whether you were a member, a supporter, or neither.

	Member (1)	Supporter (2)	Neither member nor supporter (3)	Don't know (97)	Prefer not to say (98)
Church/mosque or religious organization in ${F02/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Trade union or professional association in ${F02/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} (5)	○	○	○	○	○
Political party of ${F02/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} (6)	○	○	○	○	○
Political party of ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} (7)	○	○	○	○	○
${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} political movement other than a party (8)	○	○	○	○	○
A cultural or aid organization of people from your home country, home province or home town (9)	○	○	○	○	○
Other, namely: (4)	○	○	○	○	○

Page Break

X→

TR08 Is there a ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} political party to which you feel closest to, as opposed to other parties? Which political party is it?

○ Yes, with (1) _____

○ No, I don't identify with any party (2)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

X→

TR09 Is there a ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} political party to which you feel the *furthest* from, as opposed to other parties? Which political party is it?

○ Yes, with (1) _____

○ No, I identify with all parties equally (2)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

X→

TR10 Do you think that the EuroMaidan brought more good or harm to Ukraine?

○ More good than harm (101)

○ More harm than good (102)

○ Mix of harm and good (103)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

54

X→

TR11 Did you vote in first round of the Presidential elections on March 31, 2019?

◯ Yes (101)

◯ No (102)

◯ *Don't know* (97)

◯ *Prefer not to say* (98)

X→

TR12 Which candidate did you vote for in the first round?

◯ Volodymyr Zelenskyi (4)

◯ Petro Poroshenko (7)

◯ Yulia Timoshenko (8)

◯ Yurii Boyko (9)

◯ Anatolii Hrytsenko (10)

◯ Ihor Smeshko (11)

◯ Oleh Lyashko (12)

◯ Oleksandr Vilkul (13)

◯ Ruslan Koshulinsky (14)

◯ Yurii Tymoshenko (15)

◯ Oleksandr Shevchenko (16)

◯ Other candidate (please indicate): (17)

X→

TR13 Why did you not vote in the first round of the presidential elections of 2019? Please choose the most important reason.

○ I was not allowed to vote (underage, not registered) (1)

○ I did not have time to vote (2)

○ I could not travel to the polling station (too far/not mobile) (3)

○ My vote does not matter (4)

○ I did not like any of the parties/candidates running (5)

○ My friends and family did not vote (6)

○ Other, (7) _____

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Page Break ──

X→

TR14 Did you vote in the parliamentary elections on July 21, 2019?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

TR15 Which party did you vote for?

○ Servant of the people (1)

○ Opposition Platform - For Life (4)

○ Motherland (5)

○ European Solidarity (6)

○ Voice (7)

○ Radical Party of Oleh Lyashko (8)

○ Strength and Honor (9)

○ Opposition bloc (10)

○ Hroisman's Ukrainian Strategy (11)

○ Sharii's Party (12)

○ Svoboda (13)

○ Civic position (14)

○ Another party please indicate: (15)

X→

TR16 Why did you not vote in the first round of the presidential elections of 2019? Please choose the most important reason.

○ I was not allowed to vote (underage, not registered) (1)

○ I did not have time to vote (2)

○ I could not travel to the polling station (too far/not mobile) (3)

○ My vote does not matter (4)

○ I did not like any of the parties/candidates running (5)

○ My friends and family did not vote (6)

○ Other, (7) _____

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Page Break

TR17 There are many things people can do to prevent or promote change. During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following?

	Yes (1)	No (2)	Don't know (97)	Prefer not to say (98)
...contacted a politician, government or local government official? (1)	◯	◯	◯	◯
...worked in a political party or action group? (2)	◯	◯	◯	◯
...worked in another non-governmental organisation or association? (8)	◯	◯	◯	◯
...worn or displayed a campaign badge/sticker? (3)	◯	◯	◯	◯
...signed a petition? (4)	◯	◯	◯	◯
...taken part in a public demonstration on local problems? (5)	◯	◯	◯	◯
...taken part in a public demonstration on national problems? (6)	◯	◯	◯	◯
...taken part in a professional/labour strike? (9)	◯	◯	◯	◯
...taken part in a student strike? (10)	◯	◯	◯	◯
...taken part in a campaign rally/demonstration in support of a political party/candidate? (11)	◯	◯	◯	◯
...boycotted certain products? (12)	◯	◯	◯	◯

...posted or shared anything about politics online, for example on blogs, via email or on social media such as Facebook or Twitter? (7)

○ ○ ○ ○

Page Break

X→

TR18 Some people believe that by taking part in protests, they can influence the situation in ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}. Others believe that protesting will not change anything. Using the scale, where 1 means that protests do not influence the situation in the country, and 5 means that protests influence the situation in ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}, please say what   you   think?

Protests...

○ Do not influence 1 (1)

○ 2 (2)

○ 3 (3)

○ 4 (4)

○ Do influence 5 (5)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Page Break

TR19 Let us think back to the period of the EuroMaidan protests, between November 2013 and February 2014. Did you participate in any of the following demonstrations ?

	Never (1)	Once (2)	More than once (3)	*Don't know* (4)	*Prefer not to say* (5)
Euromaidan in Ukraine (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Euromaidan in ${F02/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} (2)	○	○	○	○	○

X→

TR20 Did you go to the demonstrations with: (select all that apply)

	Yes (1)	No (2)	*Don't know* (97)	*Prefer not to say* (98)
By yourself/alone? (1)	○	○	○	○
With relatives? (2)	○	○	○	○
With friends? (3)	○	○	○	○
With neighbours? (4)	○	○	○	○
With colleagues or fellow students? (5)	○	○	○	○
With members of an organisation of which you are a member? (6)	○	○	○	○

Page Break

X→

TR21 And have you ever participated in any of the following earlier protests?

	Yes, in ${F01/ChoiceGroup/Selected Choices} (1)	Yes, in ${F02/ChoiceGroup/Selected Choices} (2)	No (3)	Never heard of this protest (4)	Don't know (97)	Prefer not to say (98)
Street portests in 2004, that led to the Orange Revolution (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Protests of 2001, "Ukraine without Kuchma" (2)	○	○	○	○	○
In other local social, political, economic or environmental protests (3)	○	○	○	○	○

Page Break

X→

TR22 How many people in your circle of friends and family have ever participated in a protest in ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}?

   ○ None (1)

   ○ Some (2)

   ○ Majority (3)

   ○ All (4)

   ○ *Don't know* (97)

   ○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Page Break

X→

TR23 Have you ever experienced any negative consequences due to your engagement in political activities in ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}?

○ Never (1)

○ Rarely (2)

○ Sometimes (3)

○ Often (4)

○ All of the time (5)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

End of Block: POLITICAL TRUST

Start of Block: LIST EXPERIMENT

X→

LIST01 I'm going to show you a list of 4 things that people might consider before engaging in protest activity against their government. Please tell me HOW MANY of the following things you would personally have considered if thinking about protesting if you were living in ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}:

- Time off work Cost of travel to protest
- Missing my favourite TV show
- Distance to travel

○ 1 (1)

○ 2 (2)

○ 3 (3)

○ 4 (4)

○ *Don't know* (7)

○ *Prefer not to say* (8)

X→

LIST02 I'm going to show you a list of 5 things that people might consider before engaging in protest activity against their government. Please tell me HOW MANY of the following things you would personally have considered if thinking about protesting if you were living in ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}:

- Time off work Cost of travel to protest
- Missing my favourite TV show
- Distance to travel
- Risk of getting arrested

○ 1 (1)

○ 2 (2)

○ 3 (3)

○ 4 (4)

○ 5 (5)

○ *Don't know* (7)

○ *Prefer not to say* (8)

End of Block: LIST EXPERIMENT

GEN00 We would now like to ask you for your view on government performance and policies in ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}.

X→

GEN01 To what extent do you think that there is corruption within the state agencies in ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}?

○ To a large extent (1)

○ To a medium extent (2)

○ To a small extent (3)

○ Not at all (4)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Page Break

GEN02 Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Completely agree (1)	Somewhat agree (2)	Somewhat disagree (3)	Completely disagree (4)	*Don't know* (97)	*Prefer not to say* (98)
Ukraine should join the Customs Union with Belarus, Russia and Kazakhstan (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Ukraine should join the European Union (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Ukraine should join the Eurasian Economic Union (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Ukraine should join NATO (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Ukraine and Russia should unite into a single state (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○
The preservation of the territorial integrity of Ukraine by military means is necessary (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○
The Ukrainian government is not doing enough to support the regions and people most affected by the war (7)	○	○	○	○	○	○

If the situation in your country would require it, you are ready to protest against the government (8)	○	○	○	○	○	○

End of Block: GENERAL ATTITUDES AND PREFERENCES

Start of Block: MIGRATION

MIG00 We would now like to ask you some questions about living and working outside ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}.

✳

MIG01 What year did you arrive to live in ${F02/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} for the first time? (YYYY)

_____

Page Break

X→

MIG02 Have you lived in other countries outside ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} before coming to ${F02/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

X→

MIG.UKR.03 In which country or countries have you lived besides ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} and ${F02/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}? Select all that apply.

☐ Russia (1)

☐ Poland (2)

☐ Israel (3)

☐ Czech Republic (4)

☐ Italy (5)

☐ Belarus (6)

☐ Portugal (7)

☐ Other, namely (8) _____

☐ Other, namely (9) _____

Page Break

Page Break

*

MIG04 What was the last year you lived in ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}? (YYYY)

_____

MIG.UKR.05 In which oblast/province did you live before you left ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}?

○ Cherkasy Oblast (1)

○ Chernihiv Oblast (2)

○ Chernivtsi Oblast (3)

○ Dnipropetrovsk Oblast (4)

○ Donetsk Oblast (5)

○ Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast (6)

○ Kharkiv Oblast (7)

○ Kherson Oblast (8)

○ Khmelnytskyi Oblast (9)

○ Kiev Oblast (10)

○ Kiev City (29)

○ AR Krimea (28)

○ Kirovohrad Oblast (11)

○ Luhansk Oblast (12)

○ Lviv Oblast (13)

○ Mykolaiv Oblast (14)

○ Odessa Oblast (15)

○ Poltava Oblast (16)

○ Rivne Oblast (17)

○ Sevastopol City (30)

○ Sumy Oblast (18)

○ Ternopil Oblast (19)

○ Vinnytsia Oblast (20)

○ Volyn Oblast (21)

○ Zakarpattia Oblast (22)

○ Zaporizhia Oblast (23)

○ Zhytomyr Oblast (24)

○ Don't know (25)

○ Prefer not to say (26)

Page Break

X→

MIG06 What would you say is the main reason you left ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}?

○ Economic reasons (1)

○ Political reasons (2)

○ Economic and political reasons were equally important (3)

○ Other, namely... (4) _____

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Page Break ——

X→

MIG07 Before you came to live in ${F02/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}, were any of your friends and family already living or working in this country?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Page Break

X→

MIG08 How often are you in touch with family and friends in ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}? (call, Whatsapp, email, Facebook)

○ At least once a week (1)

○ At least once a month (2)

○ At least once a year (3)

○ Less than once a year (4)

○ Never (5)

○ *Don't know* (98)

○ *Prefer not to say* (99)

Page Break

X→

MIG09 Do you discuss ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} politics with your family/friends in your country of origin?

○ At least once a week (1)

○ At least once a month (2)

○ At least once a year (3)

○ Less than once a year (4)

○ Never (5)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

X→

MIG10 Do you send financial support (remittances) to family or friends living in ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}?

○ Yes, monthly (1)

○ Yes, a few times a year (2)

○ Yes, once a year (3)

○ Yes, less than once a year (4)

○ No, never (5)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Page Break ——

X→

MIG11 How often do you travel back to ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}?

○ Multiple times per year (1)

○ About once a year (2)

○ At least once every five years (3)

○ Less often (4)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

X→

MIG12 During the last year, how many months did you spend in ${F02/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}?

○ 1 (1)

○ 2 (2)

○ 3 (3)

○ 4 (4)

○ 5 (5)

○ 6 (6)

○ 7 (7)

○ 8 (8)

○ 9 (9)

○ 10 (10)

○ 11 (11)

○ 12 (12)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

X→

MIG13 Do you plan to return to live in ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} in the next 5 years?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

End of Block: MIGRATION

DEM00 In closing, we would like to ask you some more questions about your personal situation.

Page Break ———

X→

DEM02 What is your marital status?

○ Married (1)

○ Partner, but in unregistered (civil marriage) (2)

○ Never been married and do not have a long-term partner (3)

○ Divorced, and do not have a long-term partner (4)

○ Widow(er) and do not have a long-term partner (5)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Display This Question:

If What is your marital status? = Married

Or What is your marital status? = Partner, but in unregistered (civil marriage)

X→

DEM03 Where does your partner/spouse currently live?

○ In the same household as you (1)

○ Elsewhere in ${F02/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} (99)

○ In ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} (2)

○ In another country, namely (3) _____

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Page Break ———————————————————————————————————————

X→

DEM04 Do you have children?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Display This Question:

   If Do you have children? = Yes

X→

DEM05 Do they live in ${F02/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}?

○ Yes, all (1)

○ Yes, some (2)

○ No, none (3)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Page Break   ——

X→

DEM.UKR.06 Tell me, to what denomination/church do you belong to ...

○ Ukrainian Orthodox Church (1)

○ Russian Orthodox Church (2)

○ Greek Catholic Church (3)

○ Roman Catholic Church (4)

○ Protestant Christian churches (5)

○ Muslim (6)

○ I do not belong to one demonination (8)

○ Atheist (9)

○ Other, namely (10) _____

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Page Break ——————————————————————————————

X→

DEM07 Some people belong to only one nationality, others consider themselves as belonging to several nationalities. Please tell me, at least approximately, to what extent do you feel you belong to the following groups?

	Fully (1)	For the most part (2)	Half (3)	In part, but less than half (4)	Not at all (5)	Don't know (97)	Prefer not to say (98)
Russians (1)	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Ukrainians (2)	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Other, list each: (3)	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

Page Break

X→

DEM08 If you had to register only one nationality, which would you choose?

○ Russian (1)

○ Ukrainian (2)

○ Other (please specify): (3) _____

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Page Break

DEM.UKR.09 Now let us talk a little bit about language. Please tell me...

DEM.UKR.09A
Which language do you typically speak in your private life? If you speak several languages in your private life, please, tell me, which one you consider the main one?

○ Ukrainian (1)

○ Russian (2)

○ Other (please specify) (3) _____

○ Ukrainian and Russian equally (4)

○ *Don't know* (5)

○ *Prefer not to say* (6)

DEM.UKR.09B Which language do you typically speak at work?

○ Ukrainian (1)

○ Russian (2)

○ Other (please specify) (3) _____

○ Ukrainian and Russian equally (4)

○ *Don't know* (5)

○ *Prefer not to say* (6)

DEM.UKR.09C What language do you consider your native language?

○ Ukrainian (1)

○ Russian (2)

○ Other (please specify) (3) _____

○ Ukrainian and Russian equally (4)

○ *Don't know* (5)

○ *Prefer not to say* (6)

Page Break ——

X→

DEM10 Do you currently have ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} citizenship?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

X→

DEM11 Do you currently have ${F02/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} citizenship?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Page Break ─────────────────────────────────

X→

DEM12 What is your current employment situation?

○ Self-employed (1)

○ Salaried employee in a state company (2)

○ Salaried employee in a private company (3)

○ Temporarily out of work (4)

○ Retired/pensioner (5)

○ Don't work/responsible for shopping and housework (6)

○ Student (7)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

X→

DEM13 What was your employment situation when you last left ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}?

○ Self-employed (1)

○ Salaried employee in a state company (2)

○ Salaried employee in a private company (3)

○ Temporarily out of work (4)

○ Retired/pensioner (5)

○ Didn't work/was responsible for shopping and housework (6)

○ Student (7)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Page Break ——

95

X→

DEM14 Which of the following statements best describes the financial situation before you left ${F01/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}?

○ We did not have enough money even for food (1)

○ We had enough money but only for the most necessary things (2)

○ We had enough money for daily expenses, but to even buy clothes was difficult (3)

○ Usually, we had enough money, but to buy expensive things, such as, for example, a refrigerator, a TV and a washing machine, it took a long time to save, or we had to borrow or get credit (4)

○ We could afford expensive purchases without too much difficulty, but buying a car was difficult (5)

○ We could buy a car without much effort, but buying a home was beyond our means (6)

○ We could afford anything we wanted (7)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Page Break

X→

DEM15 In what type of occupation are you currently working?

○ Higher-level occupation (e.g. senior administrative officer, senior executive, etc.) (1)

○ Skilled professional (e.g. engineer, architect, teacher, medical doctor, etc.) (2)

○ White-collar worker (e.g. in sales and services) (3)

○ Blue-collar worker (e.g. construction, factory, taxi driver) (4)

○ Agricultural and other workers in primary production (working for others) (5)

○ Owner of a shop/grocery shop (6)

○ Apprentice/trainee, intern (7)

○ Other, namely: (8) _____

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

Page Break

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X→

DEM18 How has your family's financial situation changed over the past twelve months?

○ Has significantly improved (1)

○ Has somewhat improved (2)

○ Remains unchanged (3)

○ Has deteriorated somewhat (4)

○ Is much worse (5)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

X→

DEM19 In general, have you gained/won or lost as a result of the economic changes that have taken place since the independence of Ukraine?

○ Gained/won (1)

○ Mostly gained/won (2)

○ Mostly lost (3)

○ Lost (4)

○ Something was gained/won, something was lost (5)

○ It's hard to compare, I was too young then (6)

○ *Don't know* (7)

○ *Prefer not to say* (97)

X→

DEM20 How much do you worry that you or a member of your family may lose their job in the next 12 months?

○ Very concerned (1)

○ Concerned (2)

○ Not very concerned (3)

○ Not concerned at all (4)

○ *Not applicable* (96)

○ *Don't know* (97)

○ *Prefer not to say* (98)

End of Block: DEMOGRAPHICS

Start of Block: NEXT WAVE

NEXT01   Thank   you   for   taking   the   time   to   answer   our   questions! We would like to send you another, shorter survey, 12-18 months from now. Would you be willing to participate again?

○ Yes, I might be willing (1)

○ No, I definitely don't want to participate again (2)

Display This Question:

*   If Thank you for taking the time to answer our questions! We would like to send you another, shorter... = Yes, I might be willing*

NEXT02 To allow us to contact you again, we need to have your email address. Your email address will be stored separately from the answers you gave to the survey questions. It will be stored on a secure server. Could you provide us with your email address for the purpose of sending you a survey 12-18 months from now?

_____

End of Block: NEXT WAVE

Appendix 3. Project Information Sheet

Argentinian version: https://mobiliseproject.com/info_arg/
*Polish version***:** https://mobiliseproject.com/info_pol
Ukrainian version: https://mobiliseproject.com/info_ukr/
Ukrainian-Russian version: https://mobiliseproject.com/info_ukr_rus/

You can download the below information as pdf file by clicking here {LINK TO FULL INFORMATION SHEET}.

ABOUT THE PROJECT
What is the goal of this survey?
This survey is part of a larger study called 'MOBILISE'. The MOBILISE project wants to learn about the outlook of people from Ukraine, Poland, Morocco and Argentina. Specifically about their assessment of their life, politics and important challenges in their country, and about people's behaviour.
MOBILISE has collected survey data in Ukraine, Poland, Morocco and Argentina. We would like to learn how the lives and attitudes of people in these countries compare to people who have left these countries (migrants) and now live in Germany, the United Kingdom, and Spain.

Which countries are included?
MOBILISE covers Argentina, Morocco, Poland, and Ukraine. These countries were chosen because they all have seen large-scale emigration and recent protest. This makes them highly relevant cases to study the relations between people's assessment of their life, politics and important challenges in their country, and people's behaviour.

Who is funding this research?
The study is funded by the national science foundations of Germany (DFG), United Kingdom (ESRC), France (ANR), and Netherlands (NWO) as part of the collaborative scheme ORA.

Who has reviewed this research project?
This project has been reviewed by Open Research Area Committee and by separate committees/persons at the ESRC in the UK, DFG in Germany, ANR in France and NWO in the Netherlands.

Who is leading this research?
The MOBILISE project is made up of four country teams, the ZOIS in Germany, University of Manchester and University of Oxford in the United Kingdom, ENSAE in France, and the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and the University of Amsterdam in the Netherlands.
For information on all team members see {link to 'about us' page on project website}.
The online survey is led by Dr. Evelyn Ersanilli of the University of Amsterdam.

YOUR INVOLVEMENT
What will you do with my data/answers?
We will use the survey data to write academic publications, blogs and policy briefs. We will only use aggregate data such as averages (for example "60% of the people who answered the survey, indicated that they had voted in the last election", or "migrants who are often in touch with their family back home, more often remit money to their family members").

Can I stop the survey if I don't want to participate anymore?
You can stop the survey at any point.

Will I be compensated for taking part?
You will not receive any payment or compensation for your time.

DATA PROTECTION AND CONFIDENTIALITY
Will my participation in the study be confidential?
Your participation will be kept confidential.

Who will have access to the data?
Your answers will be stored in a dataset on a secure server that meets requirement of data protection laws. Only the researchers in the project (you can find their names here {link to 'about us'}) will have access to this dataset. This dataset will not contain your name or contact details.
The project ends in 2022. After the project, the dataset will be deposited in a 'data archive' for scientific data. Researchers outside the project may request access to the dataset to use it for academic publications, blogs or policy briefs.

What information will you collect about me?
In addition to the answer you give to the survey questions, the survey software automatically collects your IP address. This is a unique number belonging to your internet connection. We will use the IP address only to check for irregularities (for example the same address being connected to multiple surveys, bots, or addresses linked to countries not included in our project). After this check the IP address will be deleted from the datafiles.

I've indicated I'm willing to be contacted about a second round of the survey and entered my email address for this purpose. How will you store and use my email address?
Email address are stored in a file together with an ID number. The file with email addresses is separate from the dataset with answers to the survey questions and is only accessible to the Dutch team (VU/UvA). All datafiles will be held on secure servers that meet data protection requirements regulations.
The email addresses will only be used to send out a second survey in 12-18 months. We will use the ID number to connect answers from the first and second survey. The file with email addresses will be destroyed within one year of the second survey. It will not be shared with anyone outside the project.

I've indicated I'm willing to be contacted about a second round of the survey and entered my email address. I have changed my mind. Can you remove my address from the file?
Yes we can. Please contact Dr. Evelyn Ersanilli (e.f.ersanilli @ uva.nl) – lead of this online survey data collection - of the University of Amsterdam and your email address will be removed.

Who can I contact with questions or concerns?
You can contact Dr. Evelyn Ersanilli (e.f.ersanilli @ uva.nl) the University of Amsterdam or the research ethics officer of the Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research (AiSSR), Ms Yomi van der Veen {link to y.m.vanderveen@uva.nl }