

Democratic Values and Protest Behavior: Data Harmonization, Measurement Comparability, and Multi-Level Modeling in Cross-National Perspective

Wartości Demokratyczne a Zachowania Protestacyjne: Harmonizacja Danych,
Porównywalność Pomiaru i Modelowanie Wielopoziomowe
w Perspektywie Międzynarodowej

1. The scientific goal of the proposed project

1.1. Introduction

This is a proposal for establishing a research program, *Democratic Values and Protest Behavior: Data Harmonization, Measurement Comparability, and Multi-Level Modeling*, abbreviated here to V&P Program, that combines theoretically substantive issues with application of a new methodological approach. For this reason we place this program in HS6_13 *Theoretical sociology, methodological orientations and diverse empirical research*.

The V&P Program is planned to run as a collaborative effort of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences (IFiS PAN) and the Mershon Center for International Security Studies at The Ohio State University (MC OSU). In 2008 PAN and OSU created the Cross-National Studies: Research and Training Program (CONSIRT). For the V&P Program CONSIRT will be the basic location in Poland. Director of CONSIRT, Professor Słomczyński serves as principal investigator of the V&P Program, and Professor J. Craig Jenkins, Director of MC OSU, is his leading foreign partner.

From theoretical and empirical point of view, the proposed V&P Program focuses on solving a well-documented puzzle: “Democracy” – however measured – has different effects on soft political protest behavior (such as signing a petition or calling a politician) and hard political protest behavior (such as participating in strikes or demonstrating with the use of force). In particular, relatively high “democracy” is positively related to soft protest and negatively related to hard protest. Why?

On the grounds of theory, we distinguish between *democratic practice* – usually measured by “democratic indexes” characterizing countries – and *democratic values* that people hold. In an explanatory model, democratic values – expressed through support for rule of law, separation of powers, majority rule and representative government, among others – are intermediary variables between democratic practice and protest behavior. In explaining the frequency and/or intensity of protest behavior across different countries we pay a great deal of attention to the effects of (a) discrepancy between democratic practice and democratic values, (b) the level of economic development (c) trust of people in democratic institutions, (d) socio- demographic characteristics of individuals, and (e) contextual variables describing social movements and other mobilization resources.

The proposed V&P Program develops interdisciplinary methodology of cross-national research. This methodology is considered an emerging supra-disciplinary field with a major integrative role for the social sciences, as well as for quantitative research methods that academic and extra-academic actors need to employ. We focus on three important and

well defined fields: (a) data harmonization, (b) measurement comparability, and (c) multi-level modeling. The advancement in these fields is necessary to solve the posed problems of the relationship between democratic values and protest behavior.

1.2. Problems to solve

In general, the problems we aim to solve pertain to *estimating the effects of main determinants of protest behavior*, in particular, the democratic values. Current studies on protest behavior in many countries, mainly European, focus on *micro-determinants* such as gender, age, education, and interest in politics. We intend to extend this list to other variables, in particular the democratic values and their correlates, and trust in public institutions. However, limiting explanatory models to micro-determinants is not justified on empirical grounds since over the world there is “a marked variation in protest across nations, with a 20:1 ratio in protest mean- scores between the highest-ranking (Sweden) and lowest-ranking (Vietnam) nations” (R. Dalton, A. V. Sickle & S. Weldon. 2009. “The Individual-Institutional Nexus of Protest Behavior.” *British Journal of Political Science*. doi:10.1017/S000712340999038X, p. 14). Thus, an explanatory model must also include the *macro-determinants* of protest behavior.

In consequence, this project aims at explaining participation in protests by both *micro-* and *macro-determinants*. The list of these determinants is, to a great extent, new in comparison with the one presently applied in current research. This list includes: democratic practices and democratic values, level of economic development, trust in public institutions, current social class, and additional contextual variables. For example, some of the major problems can be characterized by the following questions:

- To what extent does protest behavior depend on the discrepancy between democratic practice and democratic values?
- How essential for protest behavior are such variables as the level of economic development?
- Is people’s trust in public institutions an important determinant of protest behavior?
- What is the role of socio-demographic characteristics of individuals in participating in protests?
- Are the effects of social movements on participating in protests independent of the level of economic development and the democracy level?

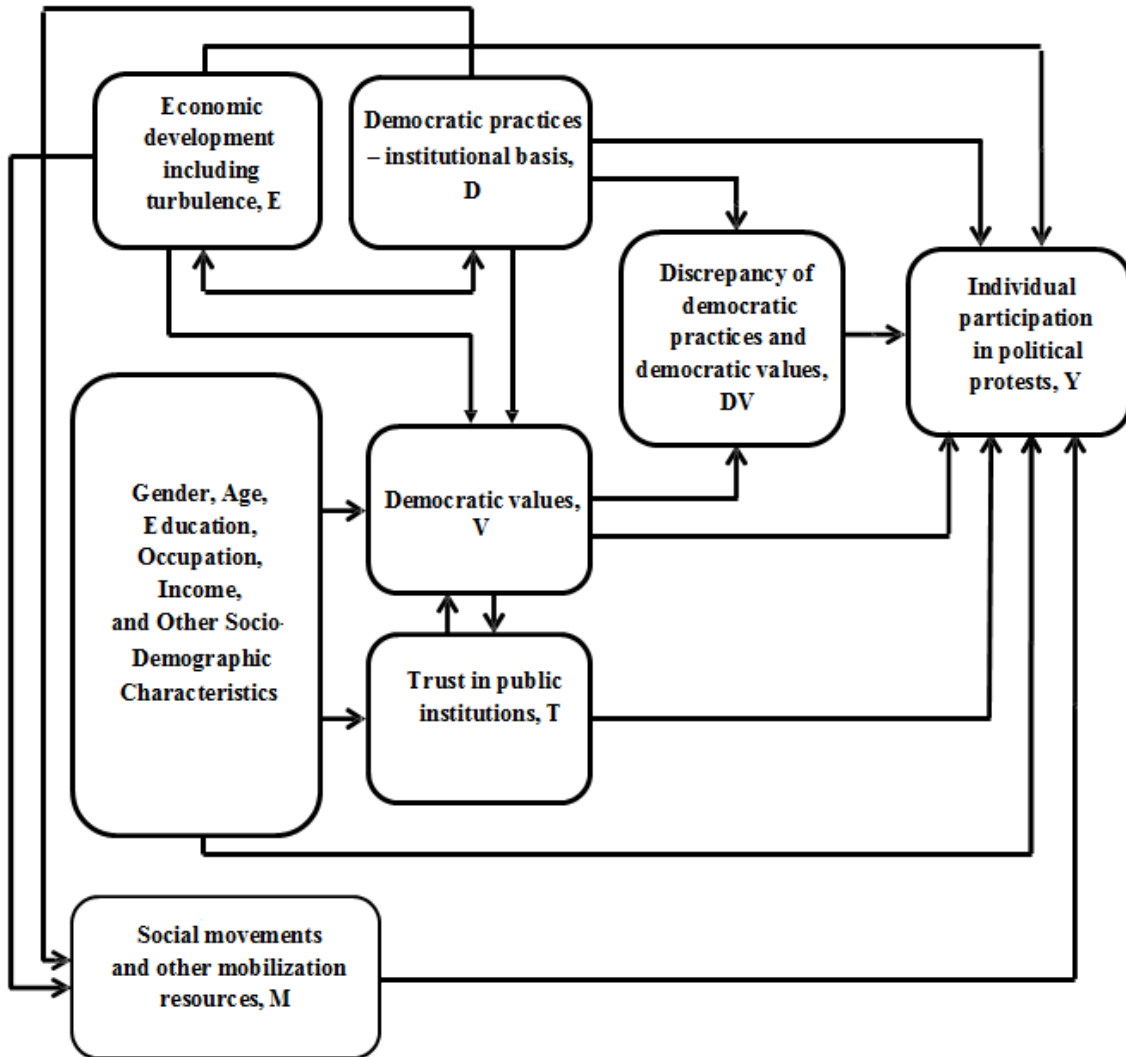
Answering these questions requires a substantial progress in the theory and methodology dealing with both soft- and hard political protest. On the *theoretical side*, we propose a general model that specifies basic conditions under which people tend to protest. We propose such a model, using both micro- and macro-level variables. In addition, we demonstrate that the effects of these variables are different for soft protest compared to hard protest.

On the *methodological side*, we notice that the most recent research on protest is based on some particular data sets involving a limited coverage of countries and topics; various kinds of protest activities are inconsistently combined, thus producing biased measures. Thus, the application of statistical techniques is far from satisfactory. Our purpose is to overcome these deficiencies.

1.3. Hypotheses

The main model, which generates the hypotheses, is presented in Figure 1:

Figure 1



The model presented in Figure 1 contains both types of variables: micro-level (individual) variables S, V, and T; macro-level (contextual) variables E, D, M; and, additionally, an interacting variable DV. Y is the dependent variable, which could refer to different types of protest, such as signing a petition, or contacting a politician. We assume that most of these variables could be operationalized in different ways. Under this assumption we propose specific hypotheses that can be expressed in the form of equation. The most general equation is as follows:

$$(1) Y_{ij} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{10} S_{ij} + \gamma_{20} T_{ij} + \gamma_{30} V_{ij} + \gamma_{01} E_j + \gamma_{02} D_j + \gamma_{03} M_j + \gamma_{11} V_j D_j + u_{1j} X_{ij} + u_{0j} + e_{ij}$$

where Y varies among individuals (i) and countries (j). It is worthwhile to notice that term VD (with appropriate subscripts) is an interaction term measuring the discrepancy of democratic practices between democratic values. It is included in the model in consequence of modeling the varying regression slope on individual level variable V (ij) with the country level D (j).

$\gamma_{00}, \gamma_{10}, \gamma_{20}, \gamma_{30}, \gamma_{01}, \gamma_{02}, \gamma_{03}, \gamma_{11}$ are fixed coefficients/effects.
 u_{1j}, u_{0j}, e_{ij} are random coefficients/effects.

Since the explanatory variable V is multiplied by the error term, the resulting total error will differ for different values of V. Error terms are heteroscedastic instead of homoscedastic, as it is assumed in ordinary regression models where the residual errors are considered independent of the values of explanatory variable. Dealing with the problem of heteroscedasticity is one of the main reasons for preferring multilevel models over the regular OLS models when analyzing hierarchical nested data.

In general terms, the leading hypothesis (H) is that the individual participation in political protest is a linear function of democratic values, trust in public institutions, a set of socio-demographic variables, economic development, democratic practices, mobilization resources, and the discrepancy of democratic practices vs. democratic values. Particular hypotheses deal with the model parameters.

The role of DV term is crucial for the project since we expect different effects for the soft vs. the hard protest. Note that $(D - V)^2 = D^2 - 2DV + V^2$. If both variables are standardized, $V(0,1)$ and $D(0,1)$ it is obvious that the higher the *value* of the interaction term DV the higher the discrepancy between democratic practices and democratic values.

H1. Hypothesis related to the soft protest: If the discrepancy between democratic practices and democratic values is relatively low, people tend to participate in soft political protest. We expect:

$\gamma_{02} + \gamma_{11} < 0$ and statistically significant.

H2. Hypothesis related to the hard protest: If the discrepancy between democratic practices and democratic values is relatively large, people tend to participate in hard political protest. We expect:

$\gamma_{02} + \gamma_{11} > 0$ and statistically significant.

Beginning with the basic equation (1) it is a rudimentary task to generate specific hypotheses related to particular sets of coefficients. What is important in our approach is that the conceptual schema presented in Figure 1 leads also to specific hypotheses dealing with individual-level variables. For example, it is reasonable to expect that democratic values depend on a set of socio-demographic variables, trust in public institutions, and democratic practices. Of course, we can complicate Figure 1 and assume that V depends also on E and M. Non-linear relations will be also explored.

1.4. Capacity of solving the stated research problems

Testing hypotheses specified in Section 1.3 requires an appropriate data base that the proposed V&P Program must construct through harmonization of existing surveys (see

Section 4). The new data set will contain information from more than 1344 surveys, all together including over 2 million respondents from over 100 countries. The CONSIRT and MC OSU have a capacity to deal with constructing such a large data set, depending on financial support for the team of researchers and technical staff. We plan to collaborate with senior/junior scholars (4 persons, 2 from PAN and 2 from OSU) and with doctoral students (6 persons, 3 from PAN and 3 from OSU). In addition, we request a project manager and secretary (located in CONSIRT), and technical/office staff (in both places). See Section 8.

1.5. Measurable effects of the proposed project

Publications. The most important aspect of the V&P Program is the production of new knowledge and dissemination of it through publications in first-rate journals. We expect that principal investigators, senior /junior scholars and doctoral students of the Program will produce 8-10 journal articles submitted to journals with strict peer-review process. We also intend to publish an edited volume as a result of the planned conference.

Data Sets. The V&P Program aims at providing researchers with a new empirical base: harmonized data on democratic values and protest behavior for from 1344 surveys, all together including around 1,5 million respondents from over 100 countries. This would be a unique data set available for researchers over the world through our Program and archiving agencies. We also plan to prepare specific data sets from existing sources, pertaining to Central and Easter Europe. Maintenance of these data sets will be handled by the Cross-National Research and Training Program (CONSIRT in IFiS PAN).

Workshops and Conference. All participants of the V&P Program including doctoral students, will attend three Workshops devoted to key elements of research methodologies in cross-national analysis: (1) data harmonization, (2) comparability of data, and (3) statistical models of multi-level analyses. Each Workshop will last 2-3 days and cover at least 6 laboratory hours. Workshops will be organized jointly by IFiS PAN and MC OSU and will take place at: for *Data Harmonization* – IFiS PAN; for *Comparability of Data* – MC OSU; and for *Statistical Models for Multi-level Analyses* – IFiS PAN. We also plan to prepare a conference (see also Sections 4 and 6).

Webpage and the Internet Discussion Group. The V&P Program will have its own designated Webpage with information on all relevant aspects of the Program: a description of the Program, mission statement, institutional network, training options, Working Paper Series. The Webpage will provide corresponding links to all full and associated partners, as well as links to sites that are useful in cross-national research. The V&P Program will also run an Internet discussion group allowing all participants in the Program to communicate efficiently during the Program, as well as after its completion. Both the Webpage and the Internet Discussion Group will remain active after the completion of the Program, to facilitate further collaboration. Their maintenance will be handled by the Cross-National Research and Training Program (CONSIRT in IFiS PAN).

2. Current state-of-the-art and progress beyond

2.1. Substantive considerations

Jenkins, Wallace, and Fullerton (2008) advance the “social movement society” thesis according to which protest potential is an outgrowth of post-industrialization. They find that economic affluence, state capacity, women as a percent of total labor force, and left corporatism contribute to greater aggregate protest potential. They show these aggregate effects net of standard individual factors (age, schooling, gender, economic satisfaction, institutional confidence and engagement in conventional politics). Old democracies display greater protest potential but new democracies, especially post-Communist regimes, show a lower protest potential. The implication is that protest potential should be slowly growing as post-industrialization spreads from North America and Western Europe to other countries.

These empirical results are in broad agreement with those of Dubrow, Słomczyński, and Tomescu-Dubrow (2008). They examine protest behavior in terms of participation in legal demonstrations, signing petitions and contacting government officials. They find that in old democracies the proportion of political protesters is significantly higher than in the new, predominantly post-communist, democracies. This suggests a strong legacy effect of the past regime and patterns, which the new political opportunities are slow to alter. Whether citizens fear violent policing or, more likely, are simply accustomed to being excluded from politics, regime legacies die hard.

The second, and more complex, finding is that the lower the income inequality in both old and new democracies, the higher the proportion of political protesters. This might read that the narrower the range of income inequality, the greater the relative deprivation experienced by the population and therefore the greater the likelihood of protest participation. This is an inference, however, since relative deprivation is measured only in an indirect sense, which is unfortunately typical for protest studies. This is the opposite relationship to the one typically found, in which greater inequality is associated with greater protest (e.g. Boswell and Dixon 1993). In their study, Jenkins, Wallace and Fullerton (2008) find that ethnic discrimination, which is presumably related to greater relative deprivation, creates greater protest potential. As Lichbach (1989) argued, there are a wide range of logical relationships between inequality and conflict that have been hypothesized so far. Few of these have been borne out of systematic tests, in part because of the indirect measurement of relative deprivation (Smith and Ortiz 2002). Lichbach (1989) argues that multivariate tests with stronger measurement of key concepts are needed, a point that remains valid some two decades later. The work of Dalton, Sickle Weldon (2010) is a step in the right direction since it applies micro- and macro-determinants of protest behavior. However, as in the case of other work in this field, it is limited since it does not distinguish between the soft- and the hard-political protest and ignores a possibility of working with multi-survey data files.

Bond, D., J. C. Jenkins, Ch. Taylor and K. Schock. 1997. “Mapping Mass Political Conflict and Civil Society: The Prospects of Automated Development of Conflict Event Data.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41: 553-579.

Boswell, T. and William Dixon. 1993. "Marx's Theory of Rebellion: A Cross-National Analysis of Class Exploitation, Economic Development, and Violent Revolt." *American*

Sociological Review 58: 681-702.

Dalton, R., A. V. Sickle, and S. Weldon. 2010. The Individual-Institutional Nexus of Protest Behavior. *British Journal of Political Science* 40: 51-73.

Dubrow, K. J., K. M. Słomczynski, and I. Tomescu-Dubrow. 2008. "Effects of Democracy and Inequality on Soft Political-Protest in Europe: Exploring the European Social Survey Data." *International Journal of Sociology* 38 (3): 36-51.

Ekiert, G. and J. Kubik. 1998. "Contentious Politics in New Democracies: Hungary, the former East Germany, Poland, and Slovakia." *World Politics* 50: 547-581.

Jenkins, J. C., M. Wallace, and A. S. Fullerton. 2008. "A Social Movement Society? A Cross-National Analysis of Protest Potential." *International Journal of Sociology* 38: 12-35.

Jenkins, J. C., D. Jacobs and J. Agnone. 2003. "Political Opportunities and African-American Protest, 1948-1997." *American Journal of Sociology* 109: 277-303.

Jenkins, J. Craig and Doug Bond. 2001. "Conflict Carrying Capacity, Political Crisis, and Reconstruction: A Framework for the Early Warning of Political System Vulnerability." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45: 3-31.

Lichbach, M. 1989. "An Evaluation of 'Does Economic Inequality Breed Political Conflict?' Studies." *World Politics* 41: 431-470

Słomczynski, K. M. and G. Shabad. 2010. "Public Support for Military Action Against Terrorism: The Effects of Age, Generation, and Political Orientations." *Polish Sociological Review* 170: 171-190.

Słomczyński, K. M. and K. Janicka. 2009. "Structural Determinants of Trust in Public Institutions: Cross-National Differentiation." *International Journal of Sociology* 39: 8-29.

Smith, H. J., & Ortiz, D. J. 2002. "Is it Just Me? The Different Consequences of Personal and Group Relative Deprivation. Pp. 91–115 in I. Walker, & H. J. Smith (Eds.), *Relative Deprivation: Specification, Development, and Integration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

2.2. Methodological considerations

During the last decade, several edited volumes and monographs speak of the main challenges for the newly emerging supra-disciplinary field of methodology of cross-national research. Some of the most relevant publications, which offer a large spectrum of technical routes to tackling the posed problems, are the following:

Davidov, E., P. Schmidt, J. & Billiet. 2011. *Cross-Cultural Analysis: Methods & Applications*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Harkness, J. A., M. Braun, B. Edwards, T. Johnson, L. Lyberg, P. Ph. Mohler, B.-E., Pennell & T. W. Smith (Eds.). 2010. *Survey Methods in Multinational, Multicultural and Multiregional contexts*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik, J. H. P. and C. Wolf (Eds.). 2003. *Advances in Cross-National Comparison: A European Working Book for Demographic and Socio-economic Variables* (pp. 17-31). New York, NY: Kluwer Academic / Plenum Publishers.

Usunier, J-C. 2003. *International & Cross-Cultural Management research*. London: SAGE Publications. Bryk, A. S., and Stephan W. Raudenbush. 1992. *Hierarchical Linear Models: Applications and Data Analysis Methods*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Papers on methodological aspects of cross-national research also appear in the main discipline-specific social science journals, as well as in journals specializing in cross-national and comparative research. Nonetheless, cross-disciplinary implementation of the various methodological techniques as well as sustained efforts toward integrating "hard data" with

qualitative information, is still largely absent. Regarding data integration, one of the most important features of recent developments in quantitative cross-national studies in the social sciences is its intellectual and organizational division into academic research on the one hand (conducted in political science and sociology) and commercial research on the other (conducted in marketing and human resources); this division is characterized by poor mutual communication and knowledge-sharing. While it is generally accepted that commercial research depends to a great extent on academic research, it is often overlooked that the latter could gain important new tools by working closer with colleagues in the commercial sector. In particular, techniques employed in international marketing research (e.g. segmentation of the consumer market) could potentially be applied in cross-national research in academia (e.g. in studying segments of the social structure).

The review of studies on protest behavior shows that the shortcomings of these studies stem from the following methodological issues:

- *Insufficient harmonization of data*: Even the most comprehensive international surveys, such as the *European Social Survey*, the *Eurobarometer*, the *World Values Survey*, the *International Social Survey Programme*, and *Integrated and United*, cover only a fraction of the world's nations and a limited scope of topics. How can the scientist combine data from different international surveys to take advantage of the already collected information? This problem is known as data harmonization.
- *Weak data comparability*: Given that the most of social science data are collected within countries, what are the conditions of comparability of data from different countries? Data produced in different languages and different cultures require a careful analysis of the equivalency of measurements. How to assess and address this equivalency by quantitative methods? How to establish an equivalency of measurement for both soft- and hard-protest?
- *Inadequate statistical tools*: How to develop appropriate statistical models in cross-national research and account for country-level effects in survey data? In harmonized data, what is the effect of different modes of data gathering? How can we assess the effects of differences in timing of research in various countries? These are typical problems of the statistical multi-level modeling.

These problems, occurring at different steps or involving different aspects of the research process, have a common denominator – fragmentation (“scattered knowledge”). The proposed program follows the suggestions in the professional literature in both recognizing and seeking means to overcome the challenges that fragmentation raises for the scientific community generally, and for the social sciences in particular.

The problem of explaining political protest behavior has been raised in the social-scientific literature many times, yet without a satisfactory comprehensive result. The V&P Program proposes innovative solutions in both theoretical/empirical and methodological dimensions.

On the theoretical side, it proposes to test new hypotheses on large data sets. On the methodological side, it overcomes the difficulties stemming from fragmentation of data, incomparability of measurements, and inappropriate data analysis.

3. Significance of the proposed research

3.1. Political protest as an important social issue

National and international organizations – such as BBC, CNN, or Reuters – almost daily report on various types of political protests over the world. This is part of every-day contentious politics. C. McPhail and J. McCarthy in their 2004 article *Who Counts and How: Estimating the Size of Protests* note the following:

Disputes over the size of mass protests have become routine. Organizers want to highlight widespread commitment to their cause and distrust conservative estimates by the media and police. More accurate counts probably will not end these disagreements, but will provide better evidence amidst the partisan squabbling. (*Context* 3(3): 12)

Counting various types of political protest is important for practical reasons. Even more important is to gain knowledge how to explain the occurrence of this wide-spread behavior involving millions of people every year. In practical terms, political protests are the object of interest because they influence, on the short run, the every-day life of citizens. They are also of interest for their impact on institutional change, such as new regulatory systems, international law, social programs, or channels of representation.

3.2. Proposed research and the development of social sciences

For the further development of social sciences, it is important to understand why some forms of contention remain isolated and localized to particular nations, whereas others spread to new countries. Because of its varied consequences, protest behavior is researched in sociology, political science, anthropology, psychology and economics. These social sciences have made substantive progress in explaining protest behavior of individuals by micro-level variables. Our research is innovative since it goes beyond this type of explanations. As some scholars already pointed out, political protests fluctuate because of the macro-level conditions under which people define their interests. For example, R. J. Herring and K. M. Roberts noted the following:

“[S]cholars specializing in both post-Communist and Latin American political economy have long argued that ‘dual transitions’ toward democratization and market liberalization tend to fragment and demobilize the social actors that were initially activated to contest authoritarian rule (...) In the short term, these transitions did appear to dampen social protest (...) More recently, however, seemingly quiescent post-transition political orders have been rocked by waves of social protest that have toppled presidents and reinvigorated debates over political and economic alternatives (...)”

(*Contentious Politics: Science, Social Science and Social Protest*, 2006, socialsciences.cornell.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/contentiouspolitcs_iss_theme_proposal.pdf)

Such observation calls for constructing an explanatory model of protest behavior by combining micro-level with macro level variables. Our research goes exactly in this desired direction.

3.3. The impact of the V&P Program on interdisciplinary research

Methodological needs that the V&P Program identified appear in sociology, political science, anthropology, and psychology. They are becoming increasingly salient as most investigated

phenomena bear the imprint of region- and/or world-wide socio-economic and political processes, and have to be studied in comparative perspective, beyond state/national boundaries. Substantive issues of global importance, such as determinants of protest behavior, require cross-national and, more and more often, interdisciplinary research. However, extant research on these issues is seriously constrained by an overwhelmingly discipline-specific and country-centered approach to empirical data analysis. To overcome these limitations, we develop a research program linking different disciplines.

3.4. Basic research and practical implications

Understanding the basic mechanism that generates political protest belongs to the realm of basic research. However, in the long run, the research proposed by the V&P Program could have practical implications. In particular, if our hypotheses are correct a measurable discrepancy between democratic practices and democratic values could be used by organizations as an “early warning indicator” for predicting political and social disturbances. Nonetheless, our research as such does not intend to develop any practical guidelines for these organizations. They would be free to draw their own conclusions from the results of our research published in academic journals and the planned edited volume.

4. Plan of research within the V&P Program

4.1 Assumptions and goals

Basic assumption of the research proposed under the V&P Program stem from the analysis of conditions under which people tend to protest. We reviewed extensive literature and critically examined the proposed variables used in explaining participation of individuals in various contentious behaviors. On this basis we constructed the model presented in Figure 1 (see Section 1.3). Our goals pertain to testing hypotheses generated by this model and disseminating results of the proposed research.

4.2 General plan of research

General plan of research is as follows:

A. Preparatory phase. Elaboration on the proposed theoretical model. Organization matters.

B. Initial harmonization of data. This phase will begin with the Workshop 1.

Workshop 1: DATA HARMONIZATION. Site of training: IFiS PAN. We will discuss cross-national surveys presented in Table 1. Substantively, these surveys cover not only democratic values and protest behavior but also trust in public institutions, fear of crime, social exclusion, gender inequality, and attitudes related to politics, the state and religion. Survey data will be harmonized with official statistics and other non-survey data, such as of the World Bank, OECD, UN agencies, Transparency International, and the Economist Intelligence Unit. Our team already has considerable experience in harmonizing the ESS data with other surveys and with national-level data on economic development and democratization processes.

We have access to all ca. 1300 data sets – survey-country-year – presented in Table 1. They cover ca. 2 million people in over 90 countries. During an initial data harmonization all these data sets will be stored as one multi-layer file.

Table 1. Survey data containing information on democratic values and protest behavior

	Survey names	Years	Waves	Files
ESS	European Social Survey	2002-2010	6	2
WVS/EVS	World Values Survey/ European Values Survey	1981-2000	4	1
ISSP	International Social Survey Programme	1985-2011	10	10
EB	Eurobarometer	1973-2012	5	5
ABS	Asian Barometer	2001-2012	3	11
AFB	Afrobarometer	1999-2009	4	4
ARB	Arab Barometer	2006-2008	1	1
LB	Latinobarometer	1995-2010	15	15
CEE	Consolidation of Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe	1990-2001	2	1
EQLS	European Quality of Life Survey	2003-2012	3	1
VFSU	Panel Study of Political Values in the Former Soviet Union	1990-1992	1	1
CB	Caucasus Barometer	2009-2012	4	4
AB	AmericasBarometer	2004-2012	5	1
ASES	Asia Europe Survey	2001	1	1
ESS	European Social Survey	2002-2010	6	2

C. Elaborating on the Measurement Comparability. The data presented in Table 1 contain information on democratic values, protest behavior, and other individual-level variables that are not directly comparable. We will discuss the issues of the measurement comparability during Workshop 2.

Workshop 2: COMPARABILITY OF DATA. Site of training: MC OSU. Achieving data comparability and communicating the characteristics of the data that allow the assessment of their utility by secondary users are the key technical issues in empirical research in social sciences. Comparability of data is influenced by factors related to sample collection and handling, and to the analytical methods used. The Workshop is devoted to issues of quantitative methods of data comparability assessment, including new statistical techniques of regression imputation.

Methodology for comparability of survey data is well established but not applied to studying democratic values and protest behavior. Our Program will use this methodology, based on the confirmatory factor analysis, in order to create new indexes of democratic values, protest behavior, and other variables. We will also use regression imputation to assure the comparability of information in surveys listed in Table 1.

D. Final data harmonization. To finally harmonize data we will follow *Data Harmonization Guidelines* formulated by P. Granda and E. Blaszczyk (<http://ccsg.isr.umich.edu/harmonization.cfm>). During this stage will also attach macro-level characteristics.

E. Analyses. Again, we will start with an appropriate workshop.

Workshop 3: STATISTICAL MODELING IN MULTI-LEVEL ANALYSES. Site of training: IFiS PAN. The appropriate definition of linkages between micro- and macro-level data requires the application of an advanced statistical apparatus. The Workshop will cover (a) *Structural equation modeling* (SEM), the statistical technique for testing and estimating causal relationships using a combination of statistical data and qualitative causal assumptions; (b) *Multi-level modeling* (MLM), the procedure which refers to a set of statistical models with parameters varying at more than one level.

At this stage all members of the research team will be involved in analyzing the harmonized data sets and discussing results.

F. Dissemination of results. Although this is the last phase chronologically, some papers stemming from the V&P Program will be prepared for publication as outcomes of Workshops. Moreover, we plan a Conference devoted to the DV&BP Program with an assumption that papers prepared for this conference will constitute an edited volume.

4.3 Preparatory work for the V&P Program

In both places, IFiS PAN and MC OSU, principal investigators and their collaborators worked extensively on the issues pertaining to the V&P Program. The relevant publications include:

Dubrow, K. J., K. M. Słomczyński, and I. Tomescu-Dubrow. 2008. "Effects of Democracy and Inequality on Soft Political-Protest in Europe: Exploring the European Social Survey Data." *International Journal of Sociology* 38 (3): 36-51.

Słomczyński, K. M. and K. Janicka. 2009. "Structural Determinants of Trust in Public Institutions: Cross-National Differentiation." *International Journal of Sociology* 39: 8-29.

Jenkins, J. C., D. Jacobs and J. Agnone. 2003. "Political Opportunities and African-American Protest, 1948-1997." *American Journal of Sociology* 109: 277-303.

Jenkins, J. Craig and Doug Bond. 2001. "Conflict Carrying Capacity, Political Crisis, and Reconstruction: A Framework for the Early Warning of Political System Vulnerability." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45: 3-3

4. Methodological Basis

For this empirical project, the main data are in the form of a single multi-layer file containing selected information from surveys listed in Table 1. In addition we will produce specific files for Central and Eastern Europe. All files will be analyzed by quantitative methods.

Table 2. Methodological contribution of the V&P Program

	Current situation	Research content	Research skills developed
Harmonization	Existing international datasets are not combined even if this would be possible for the same or similar indicators; combining survey data with official statistics data and other non-survey data is rarely performed	Data management of major international surveys in combination with official state statistics and other non-survey data Workshop 1	Knowledge of main international datasets archived in ICPSR, GESIS, and other institutions; knowledge of techniques of combining datasets
Comparability	The problems of equivalence in national and international data on democratic values and protest behavior are not solved	Quantitative methods of establishing functional equivalence of indicators and constructs; regression data imputation Workshop 2	Learning of psychometric criteria of validity and applying them to survey data; missing data imputation and functional equivalence analyses
Quantitative methods	Quantitative methods are rarely used for harmonized data; combining structural equation modeling (SEM) with hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) requires new efficient solutions	Structural equation modeling (SEM) combined with hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) applied to harmonized data Workshop 3	Workable knowledge of computer software such as LISREL and appropriate routines in the environments of R

6. Deliverables

As stated in Section 1.5 the measurable effects of the V&P Program in terms of research are as follows:

Publications

- Articles submitted to the first-rate journals: 8-10.
- Edited volume: 1

(Not including publications by doctoral students for their PhD thesis) Data Sets

- One harmonized multi-layer data set containing surveys listed in Table 1.
- One harmonized data set containing surveys on Central and Eastern Europe. Both data sets will be available to scholars over the world.

Workshops and Conference

- Workshops: 3 (deliverables: Reports)
- Conference: 1 (deliverable: Report)

Webpage and the Internet Discussion Group Forum

- Webpage: 1
- Internet Group Discussion Forum: 1

7. International Cooperation

7.1. The Ohio State University, Mershon Center, and Professor J. Craig Jenkins

The Ohio State University (OSU) belongs to the best US academic institutions. The Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) signed a Memorandum of Agreement with OSU to

facilitate common projects. The Mershon Center for International Security Studies (MC OSU), covered under this agreement, is one of the best institutions in the world to study issues related to political protests. Professor J. Craig Jenkins, director of MC OSU and the foreign partner of the V&P Program, is a leading specialist in the field of contentious politics. His current research projects include the *World Handbook of Political Indicators IV*, which is mapping conflict and violence globally.

7.2. Broad international collaboration

The proposed V&P Program is committed to scientific excellence. To achieve it, the Program relies on expertise of researchers from University of Lancaster (UK), Babeş-Bolyai University (Romania), and Central European University (Hungary) specializing in cross-national research. CONSIRT has agreements with these academic units for collaboration on common projects. We already identified researchers from these institutions who would be interested in collaborating within the V&P framework.

7.3. Overall justification for international collaboration in the V&P Program

The V&P Program, as innovative endeavor, is complex and difficult to successfully complete given current resources. It requires resources and expertise beyond those which are at the disposal of Polish institutions. Fortunately there is a full synergy between capacities of CONSIRT and MC OSU: CONSIRT will provide basic infrastructure for initial harmonization of 1344 surveys; MC OSU will help with the measurement comparability; both these partners will finalize preparing data sets for analyses, and work together in the phase of disseminating the results.

8. Organizational matters

8.1. Research team

Table 3. Number of persons in the V&P Program

	PIs	Senior junior researchers	Doctoral students	Program manager*	Secretarial assistance*	Technical/ Office assistance**
PL	1	2	3	1	1	8
US	1	2	3	0	0	5

* It will be provided by IFiS PAN

** On hourly basis

Two of the categories in Table 3 require explanation. First, the V&P Program is committed to train researchers in substantive and methodological issues and plan to engage doctoral students as full members of the research team. The selection of doctoral students for the V&P Program will be based on the open competition call.

Second, a substantive part of the V&P Program involves managing of the large multi-layer data sets, from data cleaning to data entry to data storage. This task requires technical/office assistance.

8.2. Research visits

Although major communication tool used in the V&P Program will be internet/email, occasional travel of the Polish research team's members to MC OSU is planned. Polish side must be also prepared for research visits of the US team.

8.3. Project management structure

Within the V&P Program, the Institute of Philosophy of Philosophy and Sociology at the Polish Academy of Sciences (IFiS PAN) serves as the institutional coordinator, as agreed with the Mershon Center of The Ohio State University (MC OSU). The Program's management structure consists of the principal investigator and his foreign partner, advisory (scientific) board, and program manager.

- Principal investigator: Professor Kazimierz M. Słomczyński; foreign partner: J. Craig Jenkins.
- Advisory (Scientific) Board will be appointed from the pool of best scholars in the field of protest behavior and cross-national methodology.
- V&P Program managing position will be filled through an open completion call.

8.4. Other issues

Intellectual Property Rights Strategy. All elements of the management among the V&P Program's participants will be regulated by the agreement in line with the Polish and US law provisions. Considering the social-scientific character of the planned activities – which will be unlikely to suit direct commercial application – principal investigator and his foreign partner envision that all products from the Program will be available in public domain.

The Code of Conduct. Host organizations, IFiS PAN and MC OSU will apply academic rules of conduct. As a general principle, the choice of recruitment type for any type of work done within the Project should be made in accordance with the best interests of the researchers. *The European Charter for Researchers and the Code of Conduct* for the recruitment of researchers offers a reference framework for the employment of researchers. Both IFiS PAN and MC OSU agreed to apply EU regulations.