

HiCN Households in Conflict Network

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Integrating Conflict Questions in a Household Survey: An Example from Burundi

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HiCN Research Design Note 12

April 2009

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INTRODUCTION

In 2007, the authors implemented a household survey in Burundi in cooperation with the National Institute of Statistics (ISTEEBU). The goal of the survey was to evaluate the impact of Burundi's civil war (1993-2006) on households' socio-economic outcomes. We designed the survey as a second wave of a survey carried out by the World Bank in 1998 (The 1998 Priority Survey). For our 2007 survey we revisited a subsample of households that had been interviewed in 1998 –amidst the war. We administered both a household and a community questionnaire, which were specifically designed to capture the exposure to war and war-related shocks over the 1998-2007 period. We believe parts of our questionnaires can be helpful for other researchers who want to integrate conflict questions or conflict modules in their questionnaire. Therefore in this note we discuss the conflict-related elements of our questionnaire. Keep in mind that we implemented a longitudinal survey, implying that for reasons of comparability, we repeated many questions from the first wave of the survey. As the questionnaires are in French, we translated the relevant questions/sections in English.

We did not develop an isolated generic conflict module. The development and use of a stand-alone conflict module was not warranted for our purpose given (1) the diverse levels of conflict exposure/impacts: the individual, household and community level and (2) the many instances where conflict is a relevant category in standard sections of the questionnaire. For example, conflict and livestock in the livestock section. If e.g. livestock was stolen by rebels, this should be a category included in the livestock section rather than in a separate conflict section. We therefore chose to integrate conflict related questions and answer categories to standard survey sections.

HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Impact of Conflict on the Household Demographics

Our household questionnaire started with a standard household roster. This roster was followed by another roster where we recorded the persons who were living in the household in the baseline survey but did not live there anymore during the follow up survey (see this roster in Table 1). This includes people who left the household and people who died. When someone had left the household, we asked for the reason and included several conflict-related factors as possible reasons for leaving the household (Q4 in Table 1). When a household member had died since the baseline survey, we asked for the cause of death, including violent death due to the war as a cause of death (Q7 in Table 1).

2. Conflict-Induced Migration/Displacement

In our questionnaire, we included a section on migration (see Table 2). This section was to be administered if at least one member of the household had temporarily left the household (household home) for at least 3 months between the two rounds of the survey. For each household member who migrated between the two survey rounds, we asked the date of departure from the household home, the date of return, the duration of absence and the reason for having left the household home. Among the reasons, there were two conflict-related factors: (1) the person fled into a refugee camp or displacement camp, and (2) the person fled the violence in his village but did not enter a camp. If one and the same person left the household on several occasions between the two survey rounds, all his/her migrations were recorded (for instance, during war, people usually have to flee their homes on several occasions due to renewed violence). These conflict-related reasons for migration can easily be incorporated in the migration-sections of standard multi-purpose household surveys.

3. Individual Shocks

In our household questionnaire we designed a section about individual shocks. These shocks are defined as important events affecting a person's life. Individual shocks are expected to affect household outcomes by reducing health/labor supply/productivity of individuals within the household. As shown by Table 3, individual shocks are not limited to war-related shocks. They also include health problems of household members and imprisonment of household members. The first potential conflict-related shock comes in question 5. This question asks whether the person has lost (use of) limbs (arms, legs, hands, feet) or bodily functions (vision, hearing, paralysis) between the two survey rounds. One of the possible reasons for such a loss/condition (question 6) is war-related violence. Question 7 asks whether the person has voluntarily joined a rebel group since the first survey round. If yes, we ask for the date of entry into the rebel movement and the duration of involvement with the movement. In question 8 (Table 4), we ask whether the person has ever been ambushed between the survey rounds. In many civil wars, rebel groups frequently engage in road ambushes to steal the belongings of car/bus passengers,

or even worse, kill them. In case the person has been ambushed, we ask for the date of the ambush. The next question asks whether the person has been kidnapped or held hostage between the survey rounds. If this event happened to the person, we ask for the date and the duration of this kidnapping. The next question (10) asks whether the person has been forced to perform unpaid labor. Both the regular army and rebel groups force civilians to perform heavy and unpaid labor. If the person had performed forced labor between the survey rounds, we ask for the number of times this happened. Finally, rebel movements finance their operations and feed their fighters by imposing taxes or forced contributions on the civilian population. Question 11 asks whether the person has been forced to pay contributions to armed movements and, if yes, asks the respondent to estimate the total amount of contributions he/she paid between the two survey rounds.

4. Household Shocks

In contrast to individual shocks, household shocks are events that affect the whole household rather than an individual household member. Most standard household questionnaires include a section on household shocks. Usually, such a section probes for the incidence of climatic shocks (excessive rains, long droughts, erosion...) and economic shocks (drop in output prices, increase in input prices...) which impact the economic outcomes of the household (see Table 5). It is straightforward to include in such a section a subsection on war-related household shocks. In our questionnaire, we included following war-related household shocks:

- Theft of money at the household home
- Theft of crops in the field
- Theft or destruction of household assets (except house)
- Destruction of (parts of) the household home due to the violence
- Loss of land due to the war

The respondents had to indicate during which years between the two survey rounds the shocks were most important (had the most impact on household income). To avoid that respondents mark all years, we instructed the respondents to mark maximum three years during which the shock was most severe.

5. Livestock

Livestock is arguably the most important asset owned by rural households in poor countries. Livestock is also easily lootable, and in civil wars around the world livestock is frequently stolen/pillaged by warring parties. It is straightforward to integrate conflict-questions in standard livestock modules. Table 6 shows an example of this. For cattle, we asked the number of heads in possession at the beginning of each year (in January) between the two survey rounds. If, from one year to another, there was an increase in the number of heads the household possesses, we asked for the reason of this increase. If there was a decrease in the number of heads, we asked for the reason of the decrease. Possible reasons (in case of decrease) included:

- Disease/natural death
- Theft
- Pillaged/killed during the war
- Sale – needed money to buy food
- Sale – needed money to pay school fees
- Sale – needed money to pay for health treatment
- Gift to someone
- Other (specify...)

In this way, we obtained detailed data on asset evolution and on the exposure of households to the conflict at different points in time.

6. Subjective Welfare Ladder

In recent years, more and more questionnaires include a subjective ranking exercise. In such an exercise, households have to rank themselves on a scale from very poor to very rich compared to other households within the same community (village). In our questionnaire, the same household had to rank itself three times: once in 1993 (before the war), once in 1998 (during the war and the first survey round) and once in 2007 (after the war). Households had to explain their movement up or down the scale between 1998 and 2007 by giving the three main reasons for their increase/decrease in welfare. Among the possible reasons for an increase in welfare between 1998 and 2007, two were related to the war: (1) *'decrease in insecurity/lowering intensity of the war'* and (2) *'profited from the war'*. Among the possible reasons for a decrease in welfare, one was related to the war: (1) *'increase in insecurity/violence'*

COMMUNITY QUESTIONNAIRE

During our survey, we administered a standard community questionnaire augmented to capture the temporal intensity of war at the community level. The questions were answered by a small group of community elders. We ask three kinds of questions:

- The number of refugees living in the village/community, the number of houses and public buildings destroyed, the number of orphan-headed households.
- In one table (Table 7), we ask the number of deaths and wounded in the village/community per year in confrontations between the army and the rebel group.
- Ongoing conflicts about land issues, religion, refugees. We also wanted to know the type of persons involved in these conflicts (farmers, policemen, teachers, youth,...)

Table 3: Individual shocks (1)

ID of house hold member	1. Number of times between the two survey rounds that [name] has been very ill for at least one month	2. Total number of months [name] was unable to perform his principal daily activity because of this illness (between the two survey rounds)	3. Between the two survey rounds, have you been in prison?	4a. Date of entry in prison	4b. Date [name] left prison	5. Has [name] lost use of body parts or functions since the first survey round ?	6. What is the reason for this condition	7. Did you voluntarily join an armed movement/ rebel group since the first survey round ?	7a. When did you join the rebel movement?	7b. How long were you involved in the rebel movement ?
	Write 0 if [name] has never been ill if 0 ⇒ 3	Number of months	1. Yes 2. No ⇒ 5	Month year	Month year	1. Yes 2. No ⇒ 7	1. Illness 2. Accident 3. War-related violence 4. other	1. Yes 2. No	Month : Year	Month : Year
1.	□	□□□	□	□□□□	□□□□	□	□	□	□□□□	□□□□
2.	□	□□□	□	□□□□	□□□□	□	□	□	□□□□	□□□□
3.	□	□□□	□	□□□□	□□□□	□	□	□	□□□□	□□□□
4.	□	□□□	□	□□□□	□□□□	□	□	□	□□□□	□□□□
5.	□	□□□	□	□□□□	□□□□	□	□	□	□□□□	□□□□
6.	□	□□□	□	□□□□	□□□□	□	□	□	□□□□	□□□□
7.	□	□□□	□	□□□□	□□□□	□	□	□	□□□□	□□□□
8.	□	□□□	□	□□□□	□□□□	□	□	□	□□□□	□□□□
9.	□	□□□	□	□□□□	□□□□	□	□	□	□□□□	□□□□
10.	□	□□□	□	□□□□	□□□□	□	□	□	□□□□	□□□□
11.	□	□□□	□	□□□□	□□□□	□	□	□	□□□□	□□□□
12.	□	□□□	□	□□□□	□□□□	□	□	□	□□□□	□□□□
13.	□	□□□	□	□□□□	□□□□	□	□	□	□□□□	□□□□

Table 4: Individual shocks (2)

ID of household member	8a. Has [name] been ambushed between the two survey rounds?	8b. Give the date of the ambush (if several ambushes, give the name of the worst ambush – the one with the gravest consequences)	9a. Has [name] been kidnapped between the two survey rounds?	9b. Give the date of the kidnapping	9c. Duration of kidnapping	10a. Has [name] been forced to perform unpaid labor?	10b. How many times did that happen?	11a. Has [name] been forced to pay taxes/contributions to armed movements?	11b. Estimate the total value of forced contributions between the two survey rounds?
	1. Yes 2. No Non ⇒ 9a	Month year	1. Yes 2. No Non ⇒ 10a	Month year	Number of days [name] was kidnapped/held hostage	1. Yes 2. No Non ⇒ 11a	Number of times	1. Yes 2..No	
1.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
2.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
3.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
4.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
5.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
6.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
7.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
8.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
9.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
10.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
11.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
12.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
13.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>

Table 6: Livestock

2. Year	3. Number of cattle in January of each year ?	4. Cause of decrease/increase from one year to another (if several causes, start with the most important one)		5. Number of sheep in January of each year ?	6. Cause of decrease/increase from one year to another (if several causes, start with the most important one)		7. Number of goats in January of each year ?	8. Cause of decrease/increase from one year to another (if several causes, start with the most important one)		9. Number of pigs in January of each year ?	10. Cause of decrease /increase from one year to another (if several causes, start with the most important one)	
		See codes 1	See codes 2		See codes 1	See codes 2		See codes 1	See codes 2		See codes 1	See codes 2
		<u>Decrease</u>	<u>Increase</u>		<u>D</u>	<u>I</u>		<u>D</u>	<u>I</u>		<u>D</u>	<u>I</u>
1999	---			---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
2000	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
2001	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
2002	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
2003	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
2004	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
2005	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
2006	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
2007 (January)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Now	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Codes 1 (in case of decrease):
 1. Disease/natural death
 2. Theft
 3. Looting during the war
 4. Sold – needed money to buy food
 5. Sold – needed money to pay school fees
 6. Sold – needed money to pay for health care
 7. Gift to someone
 8. Other
 9. Not applicable

Codes 2 (in case of increase) :
 1. Bought
 2. Stolen
 3. Born
 4. Received as gift
 5. Other
 9. Not applicable

Table 7: Violent Confrontations/Fighting at the Community Level

Date of confrontation (month and year)	Number of dead (estimate)	Number of wounded (estimate)
[] [] [] []	[] [] [] []	[] [] [] []
[] [] [] []	[] [] [] []	[] [] [] []
.	.	.
.	.	.
.	.	.