Resilience for Peace (R4P)
Understanding the Border Area in
Northern Côte d'Ivoire Research Series

SECURITY AND RESILIENCE: PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES

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Between the English and French versions of this document, English is the controlling version.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

CEA	Census Enumeration Area
FDS	Security and Defense Forces
GPS	Global Positioning System
INS	*Institut National de la Statistique*
R4P	Resilience for Peace Project
VEO	Violent Extremist Organization

Executive Summary

Once spared by attacks from armed extremist groups in the Sahel, Côte d'Ivoire now joins other West African countries in facing the challenge of extremism and other forms of violence perpetrated by armed groups and criminal actors operating from neighboring Burkina Faso and Mali. Armed militants have expanded their reach into Côte d'Ivoire over the last two years, as breakthrough activity from Burkina Faso and Mali spreads to the country's northern region—an area characterized by economic, social, and political fragility. Violence in Côte d'Ivoire and other countries of coastal West Africa has emerged as an issue of increasing concern, as armed attacks have been on the rise since 2016 and present challenges for peace, security, and stability.

With these issues in mind, the United States Agency for International Development's Resilience for Peace Project (R4P) implemented a survey in northern Côte d'Ivoire exploring views of socioeconomic conditions and governance, the area's security situation and services, and assets of resilience. The current survey results are baseline measurements. The R4P team will monitor measurements during each survey to track changes over time.

Key Findings

Findings from the survey—conducted among a random sample of approximately 2,468 adults 18 years of age and older in northern Côte d'Ivoire from November 2 to November 21, 2021—are summarized below.

- Economic issues, more than any others, head the list of most salient concerns among northern Ivoirians surveyed. According to the World Bank, the unemployment rate in Côte d'Ivoire was 3.5% in 2020, up from 3.2% in 2019—although some figures estimate much higher rates of 10%. Residents surveyed in the north tend to see rather stagnant or deteriorating personal economic circumstances, as over one-third (36%) say their personal economic situation has worsened over the last year (36%) or has not changed (39%). Only about one-quarter (27%) see improvement.
- Against the backdrop of several attacks by violent extremist organizations that have targeted the northern region recently, only a few residents mention violent extremism as a significant problem for Côte d'Ivoire. Results suggest that northern Ivoirian views on violent extremism may be still forming. For example, a notable portion of the public points to Sahelian groups as potentially responsible for recent attacks, and the public appears to be aware that the attacks are inspired by groups external to Côte d'Ivoire. Still, a portion at this stage attribute the attacks to *"other groups"* or say they *"do not know,"* underscoring the importance of raising awareness around extremism in the country.
- Views of basic service provision are varied in the northern region, with respondents most critical of infrastructure, lack of jobs, and Internet/mobile coverage. In Bouna, the site of extremist group attacks, views are especially critical: over 40% also question whether security forces protect their community from harm. Although Côte d'Ivoire has not been penetrated by extremist groups to the extent of its neighbors in Burkina Faso or Mali, dissatisfaction with services and negative views of economic conditions can be used to develop grievance narratives that provide extremist groups inroads into populations on the northern border.

- A majority surveyed believe the security situation in their community is fairly or very good. These positive evaluations are reflected in similarly favorable opinions of security actors. Respondents surveyed are largely satisfied with security forces services overall. Most give the Ivoirian Security and Defense Forces high marks for investigating crimes, being respectful to all community members regardless of their religious or ethnic group, and justly arresting individuals.
- Survey respondents expressed widespread confidence in traditional chiefs, religious leaders, and community leaders to address problems facing Côte d'Ivoire. Although most also trust security actors, political figures, and the courts, proportions with favorable views are smaller by comparison.
- At the community level, chiefs and religious and community leaders, importantly, are also seen as effective arbiters of community-level disputes. However, a majority also considers families a reliable actor for resolving community problems. Families are also seen as a key source of religious information that respondents can turn to when they have a problem.
- The survey indicates that northern Ivoirian respondents see several sources of community-level resilience, including a willingness to engage in collective problem-solving, the existence of effective community leaders, the ability to work with groups that are different from their own, and the ability to treat those groups fairly. However, more attention may be warranted to ensure that community perspectives are taken into consideration, as the public is divided on this measure.
- At the individual level, resilience resources are also present. Respondents are more likely to use nonviolent means to handle adversity and to look to family and peer networks to discuss problems. Respondents also can identify people in their community that they admire and feel capable of protecting their families. Resiliency may be weaker, however, around respondents' ability to provide for the overall well-being of their household, as some describe themselves as someone who cannot take care of their families.
- Although perceptions of ethnic groups are largely favorable, northern Ivoirians are more likely to view the Fulani unfavorably than other groups, although many respondents report they *"do not know"* when asked their opinion of several other ethnic communities. This may be due to respondents having only limited contact or familiarity with other groups. Some groups may not have a significant presence in the north as well.
- Findings further suggest that women may bring contributions as agents of resilience. The public in the north is supportive of some aspects of economic and political inclusion of Ivoirian women, but some may be more resistant to full autonomy for women, especially around finances. Moreover, although most are open to women running for office, men are still considered better leaders than women. The public soundly rejects violence against women for any reason.

Introduction

The African continent continues to be the hardest hit by terrorism globally since the beginning of 2021. Africa has seen an uptick in assaults from the Islamic State and Al-Qaeda extremist groups as group affiliates continue to spread their influence, boast gains in supporters and territory, and inflict mass casualties across African states. Indeed, violent extremism specifically to the Sahel continues to be one of the most significant challenges to peace and security in West Africa. Violent extremist activity in the Sahel shows signs of now moving toward Côte d'Ivoire.

Côte d'Ivoire, in several respects, is an exception among the francophone countries of the Sahel. Endowed with wealth derived from cocoa exports, the country boasts the region's largest economy, with the exception of Nigeria (Campbell 2021). Following independence from France in 1960, Côte d'Ivoire was considered an economic powerhouse. The country is linked by rail and road to its poorer neighbors and is a destination country for the region's migrants. A series of coups and mounting instability and civil war following the death of Félix Houphouët-Boigny, however, devastated the country's economy. Presently, President Alassane Ouattra, who saw to the revitalization of Côte d'Ivoire's economy, confronts a deeply divided country that is, as in many West African countries (Burkina Faso, Mali, Cameroon, and Nigeria), split between the marginalized Muslim north and a more prosperous south deemed by Muslims as home to the country's elites (Husted 2020; Depagne 2018). In another defining fault line, a cleavage exists between that of the mostly Christian indigene and Muslim immigrants from elsewhere in the francophone Sahel.

In this respect, Côte d'Ivoire also resembles other countries in the region whose Muslim communities are vulnerable to extremist group penetration (Campbell 2021). This is shown in two June 2021 attacks conducted within two months of each other that targeted Ivoirian security forces (Al Jazeera 2021). The incidents come on the heels of militant Islamist assaults in March on two military installations in Kafolo and Kolobougou. Violent extremist attacks have been on the rise in Côte d'Ivoire since 2016, when militants attacked a beach resort in Grand Bassam, killing 19. In June 2020, militants conducted a raid in the north along the Burkina Faso border, resulting in at least 13 security force fatalities. The perpetrating groups appear to be linked to the Islamic State and Al-Qaeda and are based in Burkina Faso and Mali. Activity in Côte d'Ivoire suggests that organizations may be expanding their reach south to countries along the Gulf of Guinea.

The regions of Bounkani (Nassian, Doropo, Tehini), Tchologo (Diawala, Ouangolo, Larelaba), Poro (M'Bengué), and Bagoué (Tengrela) along Côte d'Ivoire's shared borders with Mali and Burkina Faso are areas most vulnerable to extremist attacks from these neighboring countries. In addition to their geographic proximity and porous borders, the regions are economically marginalized and challenged by wide income disparities and a dearth of government service provision. In Bounkani and Tchologo, for example, poverty rates are 66% and 62%, respectively, surpassing the national average. Basic services are also uneven and vary in quality, a pattern repeated in the current report.

Al-Qaeda- and Islamic State-linked groups and other violent extremist organizations (VEOs) maintain their ability to attract recruits and financing, shrewdly exploiting opportunities created by state fragility, exclusionary governance, corruption, and local conflicts (Grant 2018). From the Sahel and the Lake Chad Basin to eastern and southeastern Africa, VEOs have infiltrated existing local conflicts and aligned themselves with local causes. As these groups establish new footholds and seek to expand their reach, it is critical to assess and understand the conditions that shape patterns of violent extremism in the Sahel, the implications of violent extremism for neighboring countries such as Côte d'Ivoire, and the critical role of community resilience.

To this end, the current report discusses findings from a survey exploring perceptions of violent extremism and resilience among residents in northern Côte d'Ivoire. The results address several key themes: socioeconomic conditions and governance, views of the security situation, and, finally, perspectives on sources of resilience. The report concludes with recommendations for programming. First, however, we describe the methodology.

Methodology

Results are based on a face-to-face quantitative survey conducted among a random sample of approximately 2,468 adults 18 years of age and older in northern Côte d'Ivoire, conducted from November 2, 2021, to November 21, 2021. The margin of error is approximately +/– 2%.

Sampling

A total of 11 departments in northern Côte d'Ivoire were selected for the current survey: Minignan, Kaniasso, Tengréla, M'Bengué, Ouangolodougou, Ferkessédougou, Kong, Téhini, Doropo, Bouna, and Korhogo. All but Korhogo are on the northern border.

In each department, 11 census enumeration areas (CEAs) were randomly selected using data from the *Institut National de la Statistique* (INS). Another three CEAs in each department were selected as case replacements, if needed. A total of 121 main CEAs were therefore randomly selected, plus a total of 33 backup CEAs. Detailed maps for each CEA selected were then obtained from INS to allow field teams to find and navigate them.

Within each CEA, a random walk approach was used to select structures. Supervisors picked a reference point (e.g., church/mosque), and enumerators fanned out in different directions, picking the third structure to their left in rural areas and the fifth to their left in urban areas. Once a structure was reached, the survey instrument prompted enumerators to list all household members over 18 years old and then randomly selected one individual to whom the survey would be administered. The target number of cases per CEA was set at 20, which aimed to yield 2,420 surveys in total.

The questionnaires were designed by the Resilience for Peace Project (R4P) team and developed collaboratively with local partners. The instruments were shared with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) before being translated into French (see Annex A).

Training

Field staff training occurred from October 26, 2021, to October 29, 2021, in Bouaké. Instruction was followed by a pilot in the field on October 30, 2021. Contributing to capacity-building goals, the enumerator team

included local researchers and advanced students.

The first day of training focused on making introductions, building team spirit, presenting the R4P project, situating the perception survey, and reviewing the instrument in plenary to ensure a shared understanding of each question and answer choice and to adapt the wording to local context. On the second day, the instrument review in plenary continued; training covered the team's structure, as well as roles and responsibilities of the different field positions. The third day completed the review of the instrument in plenary and covered good practices for interviewing adults, protecting confidentiality, and ensuring informed consent. The fourth day focused on practicing the administration of the instrument in small groups using techniques covered the previous day. The fifth and final day of training covered community arrival, respondent tracking, random walk procedures, and security and COVID-19 precautions, as well as more practice in small groups.

The pilot occurred on October 30, 2021, in two communities approximately 5 kilometers west of Ferkessédougou. The pilot allowed the supervisors and enumerators to put all they had learned into practice. On the following day, October 31, 2021, an extensive debrief was conducted to identify challenges, review associated concepts and processes, and answer any questions. After the debrief, a short quiz covering the entire training material was administered.

Fieldwork

Survey fieldwork occurred from November 2, 2021, to November 21, 2021. A total of eight teams with one supervisor and four enumerators were distributed throughout the different departments targeted. Supervisors were in daily contact with the field manager to report progress and challenges and to send and receive updates on the security context in each area. When arriving in a new sous-prefecture, teams met with local administrative authorities before starting their work. In each selected community, they also first met with the community leader or traditional chief to explain their visit.

Challenges

- Local language barriers were the principal challenge encountered during survey fieldwork. Despite creating teams with a range of local language capabilities and assigning each team to geographic areas that matched its members' language skills, regional differences in dialect and less common local languages were still found on occasion. Enumerators reported that they quickly became more familiar with regional dialects or would generally find a common language that allowed for the interview to take place, however.
- Another challenge was difficulty in physically accessing certain CEAs, where even 4x4 vehicles could not travel. The teams used local motorbikes whenever possible to address this challenge.
- Security was the third challenge encountered. In a few cases, primarily in the Doropo and Bouna departments, selected CEAs had to be replaced with substitutes based on advice from the local authorities, security forces, or the field manager.
- A final challenge was Internet reception. The team conducted the surveys using tablets and recorded global positioning system (GPS) coordinates. Uneven Internet reception, however, occasionally prevented GPS data capture. However, this did not prevent the team from capturing sufficient

GPS data for most observations to understand some geographic trends.

Because the team was able to mitigate and respond to the above unexpected developments, none of these challenges prevented the team from conducting a reliable survey or developing actionable conclusions.

Findings

Socioeconomic Conditions and Governance

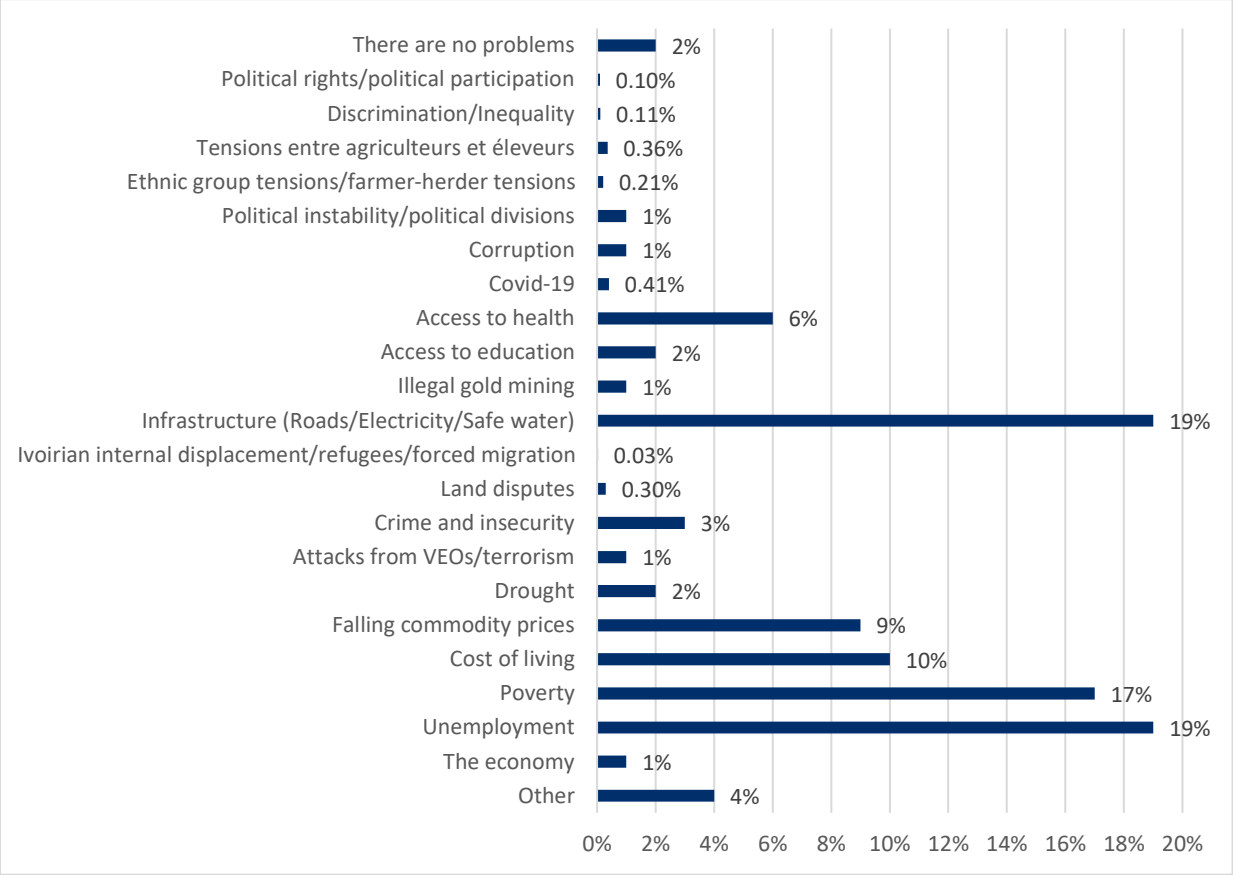
Economic growth has remained steady in Côte d'Ivoire since 2012, though an economic downturn due to the global pandemic has slowed growth somewhat. According to the World Bank (2021), unemployment increased in 2020 to 3.5%, up from 3.2% in 2019, a development attributed to the COVID-19 pandemic. Other figures estimate higher rates of 10%, however (CIA Factbook 2018). While Côte d'Ivoire remains an economic powerhouse in West Africa, poverty rates are still fairly high at 39%. Nationwide, this is down from 2015, when rates hovered around 46%; notably, rural sector poverty rates rose by 2.4% over the same period (World Bank 2021). The country is heavily dependent on agricultural activity, with 60% employed in smallholder cash crop production.

Despite the country's recovery from civil war, the International Finance Corporation and World Bank note that Côte d'Ivoire lags behind other African countries in certain indicators, such as growing private investment, fostering inclusive economic growth, and addressing corruption (World Bank 2020).

Against that backdrop, the surveyed public in the north believes Côte d'Ivoire is generally headed in the right direction (76%) rather than the wrong direction (18%). When asked to select the top three problems facing Côte d'Ivoire today, economic issues are top of mind for populations surveyed in the north, as 56%, on the whole, name unemployment, poverty, the cost of living, falling raw material prices, and *"the economy"* in general as the most important problems facing Côte d'Ivoire today. Roughly one-fifth mention infrastructure (19%) as the biggest problem, followed by access to health care (6%) or to education (2%); political divisions are seen by only 1% as the most significant issue (see Figure 1).

Ivoirians surveyed in the north offer divided assessments of their regional and personal economic situation. As many say economic conditions in the north are good (49%) as think they are poor (49%). Respondents, furthermore, tend to see stagnation or deterioration of their personal economic conditions over the last year, as over one-third (36%) say their personal economic situation compared to other Ivoirians has worsened over the last year or has not changed (39%). Only about a quarter (27%) see improvement.

Figure 1: The biggest problems facing the country today

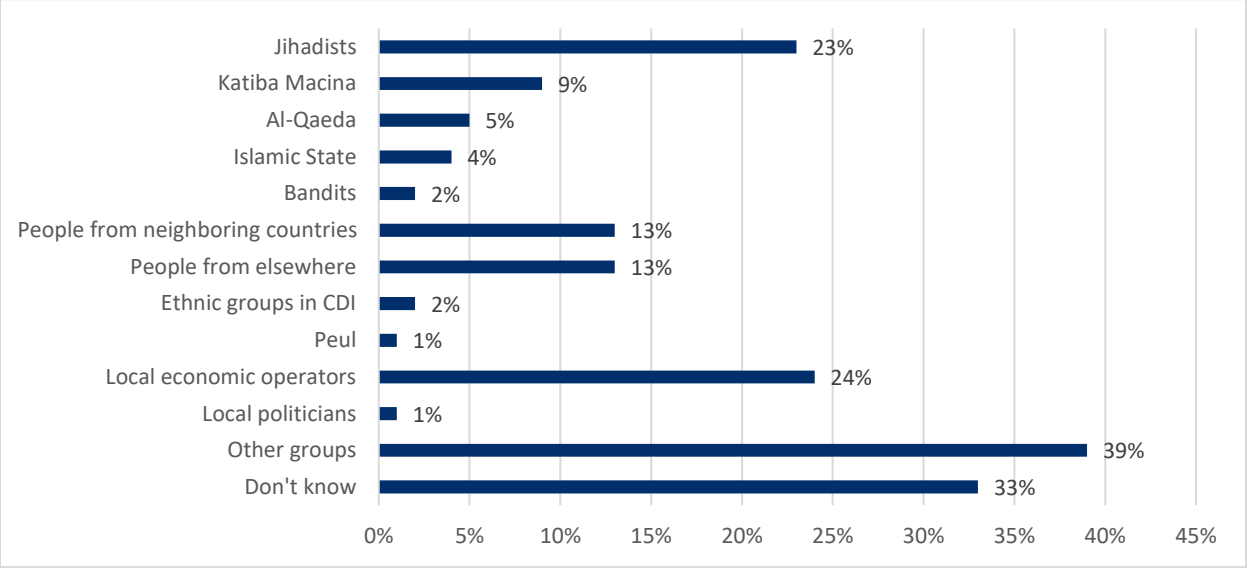


Few surveyed in the north (1%) identify violent extremism as one of the biggest problems facing the country, a finding that may be attributed to limited awareness and information. For example, when asked to select from a list the group they believed is most likely responsible for recent attacks in the north, 41% said *"jihadists,"* Kitaba Macina, groups affiliated with the Islamic State, or groups linked to Al-Qaeda.

A few (2%) believed that ethnic groups in their communities were responsible, including 1% who pointed to the Fulani. About one-quarter (24%) attributed the attacks to economic operators,[1] and a scarce amount pointed to politicians (1%). However, northern Ivoirians most often said *"other groups"* were responsible (39%) or said they *"don't know"* (33%) (see Figure 2).

[1] "Economic operators" refers to those who may be operating gold mines or be engaged in illicit activity around natural resources.

Figure 2: Groups believed to be responsible for attacks



Note: The sum of percentages in Figure 2 is greater than 100% because the survey allowed multiple answers per respondent.

Economic deprivation is the main reason individuals join extremist groups, respondents say. Respondents are convinced that individuals join groups because of financial opportunity (48%) and lack of employment or poverty (33%), followed by misinterpretation of religion (12%), defense of religious identity (7%), desire for position of power (6%), erosion of tradition (5%), or poor governance and security abuses (3%). Similarly small percentages mentioned stigmatization (3%).

Despite differing viewpoints on the sources of VEOs, populations in the north are virtually unanimous (94% vs. 5%) in their opposition to the use of violence against civilians for religious or political causes.

Box 1: What religious sources are trusted most by residents in northern Côte d'Ivoire?

Religious leaders and family are important sources of religious information and practice. Côte d'Ivoire is a religiously diverse country, comprised of 10% who practice animist religions and roughly similar percentages of Muslims (40%) and Christians (30%-40%) nationwide (INS 2014), though Muslims comprise a majority in the north. Reflecting this pattern, most surveyed in the north describe themselves as Muslim (64%); 13% identify as Christian or followers of traditional religions (13%), while fewer than 10% describe themselves as *"non-believers"* (8%), Poro (1%), or *"other"* (.2%).

According to a United Nations Development Program study of violent extremism among youth, individual-level processes of radicalization may include exposure to religious teachings through informal institutions and mechanisms, such as relatives, mosques, traveling religious

teachers, or social media. Interaction with these information sources may expose individuals, particularly youth, to rhetoric and information that limits the use of critical thinking and alternative perspectives. As a result, perceptions of *"religion being under threat"* can become a bellwether for context-based grievances (UNDP 2017, 5).

Survey results speak to this point. The majority (75%) of respondents surveyed in northern Côte d'Ivoire say they learned to practice their religion through their families. A closer examination of results shows that Muslim respondents are more likely (89%) to have learned practices within the family unit than in mosques (7%). Among Christians, half (51%) learned religious practices from family, while 34% did so through church. Of note, most Muslims (65%) say they are not confident in their understanding of religious teachings, and 58% of Christians feel similarly.

When respondents in the general survey population wish to learn about religious issues, friends and family are still vital. Nearly one-fifth (17%) say they rely on their families most often for religious information, but most (42%) turn most frequently to religious leaders. Among religious groups, somewhat more Muslims (59%) look to religious leaders than Christians (52%). In the general population, fewer look to national religious radio (16%) or local religious radio (15%), and about one-fifth say they rely mostly on television. However, 15% look to online sources, including social media, the Internet, or messaging apps, but nearly as many use *"no sources."* Print media is scarcely used at all as a source of information for information on religious issues.

For information about events and developments affecting Côte d'Ivoire as a country, most (52%) turn to television, followed by national radio (37%), local radio (17%), or international radio (10%). Nearly one-third use word of mouth (28%). The survey public is more likely to use online sources for country news than for religious news, with 26% relying on social media, the Internet, or messaging apps for news. Just 1% use print media.

In assessments of provision of basic and other needs in the country, **the survey public is most satisfied with service provision for formal education (62%) and daily security and crime prevention (64%),** including protection against foreign enemies (65%). However, respondents were far more critical of the availability of employment opportunities and infrastructure, consistent with their identification of these issues as major concerns for Côte d'Ivoire today. Electricity and health services, availability of drinking water, and mobile and Internet coverage earned low marks, survey findings show. For some services, between 20%-30% or more report that such services are not available in their area (see Table 1).

Table 1: Please tell me the extent to which you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the following services in your community [Allow *"Cannot assess because the service is unavailable in my community"* as a response.]

	Very/somewhat satisfied	Very/somewhat dissatisfied	Cannot assess because the service is unavailable in my community
Formal education	62%	26%	8%
Security	64%	28%	6%
Protection against foreign enemies	65%	25%	6%
Electricity	53%	21%	17%
Mobile network and Internet coverage	51%	37%	12%
Drinking water	46%	34%	19%
Health services	42%	30%	25%
Transportation/infrastructure/roads	29%	51%	20%
Employment opportunities	13%	49%	36%

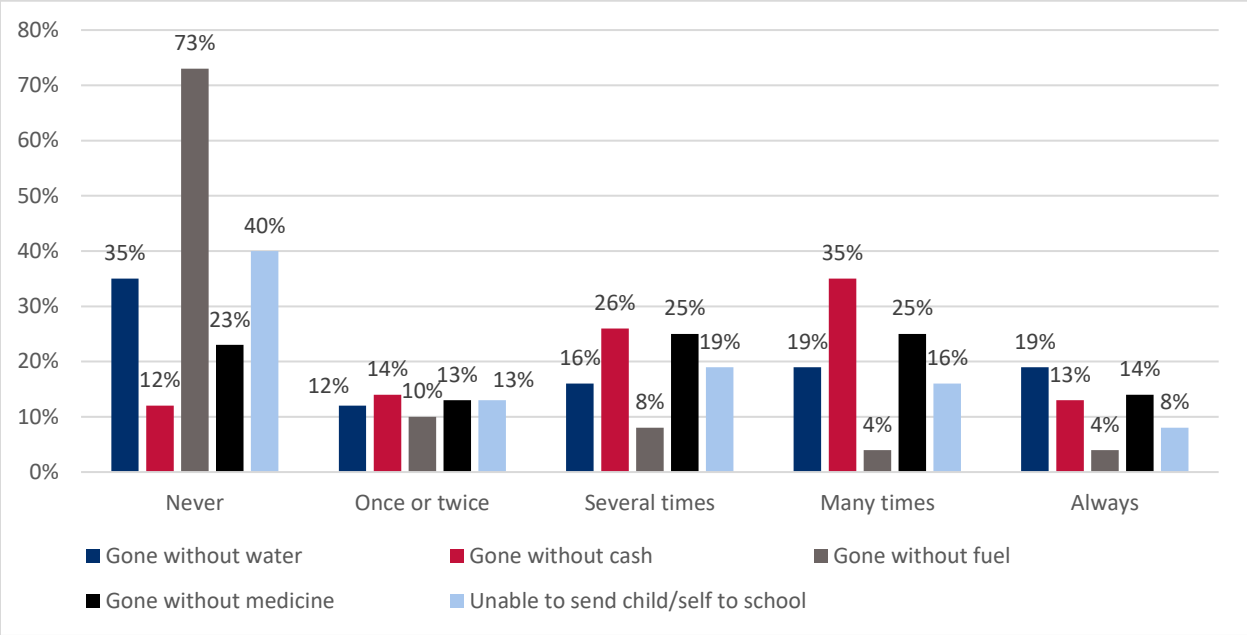
A closer look at assessments of services among regions shows variation by locale: a majority in Bouna, the site of extremist attacks, are critical of security services (75%) and broadly frustrated with the condition of infrastructure (93%). Infrastructure condition is a source of consternation for most in the locales surveyed, including Kaniasso, Kong, M'Bengue, Minignan, Tehini, and Tengrela. Drinking water is of particular issue for Doropo, Kaniasso, and Minignan, and even more so for respondents in Tehini (see Table 2).

Table 2: View of dissatisfaction with services by region

	Formal education	Security	Protect against foreign enemies	Electricity	Internet/ mobile coverage	Drinking water	Health services	Infrastructure	Employment opportunities
Bouna	26%	75%	71%	25%	49%	46%	30%	93%	26%
Doropo	36%	39%	38%	19%	34%	57%	29%	45%	36%
Ferkessédougou	20%	23%	18%	16%	36%	23%	29%	46%	20%
Kaniasso	39%	36%	40%	27%	52%	58%	38%	64%	39%
Kong	36%	23%	22%	37%	48%	55%	19%	50%	36%
Korhogo	29%	25%	24%	27%	32%	37%	26%	45%	29%
M'Bengue	15%	9%	6%	15%	43%	23%	9%	67%	15%
Minignan	23%	35%	36%	46%	48%	60%	47%	92%	23%
Ouangolodougou	25%	15%	14%	13%	39%	27%	23%	47%	25%
Tehini	28%	42%	23%	47%	37%	79%	22%	76%	28%
Tengrela	31%	31%	25%	37%	48%	35%	35%	53%	31%

Reflecting these views, economic stress appears common for the survey population as a whole. About one-third report having to go without water for home use, cash, or medicine several times or more frequently over the last year (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Signs of economic stress



Democratic decline is a growing trend in coastal West Africa (Freedom House 2021), and the status of democracy is fragile in Côte d'Ivoire. Following civil wars in 2002-2007 and 2010-2011, the country still confronts lingering unrest and political tension around power struggles and electoral competition a decade after the most recent conflict. President Alassane Ouattara amended the country's constitution to grant himself a third term, and the population faces obstacles with full participation in political processes, particularly representation in political parties. Access to political influence and economic opportunity is believed to be largely determined by political networks. **Perhaps for these reasons and uneven assessments of service provision, only about half (53%) of northern Ivoirians express confidence in political leaders to handle the country's problems effectively. Even fewer trust the National Assembly and Senate (44%) or courts to do so (52%). By contrast, roughly two-thirds (62%-69%) believe that Ivoirian security actors, particularly dozos,[2] can handle Côte d'Ivoire's problems effectively.** Positive perceptions may be the result of limited levels of violence

[2] Dozos are traditional hunters in northern Côte d'Ivoire, and they are also found in Burkina Faso and Mali. In Côte d'Ivoire, dozos were recruited during the 1990s to aid the police in addressing crime and were noticed for doing so. During the country's civil war, dozos were hired by both sides in the conflict as guards and served other roles as well.

seen so far in Côte d'Ivoire relative to that of neighboring countries. Opinion could shift, however, should attacks by armed groups increase.

Meanwhile, far more Ivoirians look to community leaders, religious leaders, and traditional chiefs to tackle country-level problems (see Table 3).

Table 3: How confident are you in the following to effectively handle the problems facing our country?

	Very/somewhat confident	Only a little/no confidence at all
Dozos	69%	17%
Military	66%	24%
Gendarmerie	68%	26%
Water and Forestry agents	65%	24%
Police	62%	28%
Border guards	59%	26%
Traditional chiefs	**91%**	**7%**
Religious leaders	**88%**	**7%**
Community leaders	**80%**	**14%**
Regional and municipal leaders	63%	27%
Political leaders	53%	37%
Courts	52%	24%
National Assembly and Senate	44%	24%

Constituent relationships with politicians could be stronger, amidst tempered confidence in political actors. Political efficacy seems fairly high among the survey population, survey results show, as respondents believe they have the potential to influence government and political affairs. For instance, large majorities maintain that "people like me can make a difference in our country" (69%), *"I can vote for whomever I wish" (91%)*, and "*people like me can join whatever political organization we wish*" (86%). There are questions around responsiveness of politicians, however, as survey respondents voice uncertainty as to whether "*politicians listen to people like me when we wish to express our views about developments in our country*" (43% agree vs. 46% who disagree) and whether views can be expressed without retaliation (40% agree vs. 55% disagree).

Security

Attitudes toward security conditions in communities and security actors are positive. Security actors may not engender as much confidence vis-à-vis local actors (e.g., traditional chiefs, religious leaders, and community leaders) in their ability to handle country-level problems, but in their more circumscribed role of providing protection, the survey population holds positive perceptions. Nearly three-quarters (74%) of the survey population in the north believe that the security situation in their community is generally good. One-quarter (25%) say it is poor.

Respondents appear to see a fairly significant security presence in their communities. Between 57% and 79% say that the police, gendarmerie, and Ivorian Security and Defense Forces (FDS) are present in their area, as are dozos and water and forestry agents. About half (50%) see civilian defense groups, and only a handful notice self-defense groups (4%).

Amidist these opinions, 75% agree (vs. 21%) that security forces protect their communities from harm. An even larger percentage (90%) believes that community self-defense groups similarly protect communities.

Figure 4: Security actor presence in communities

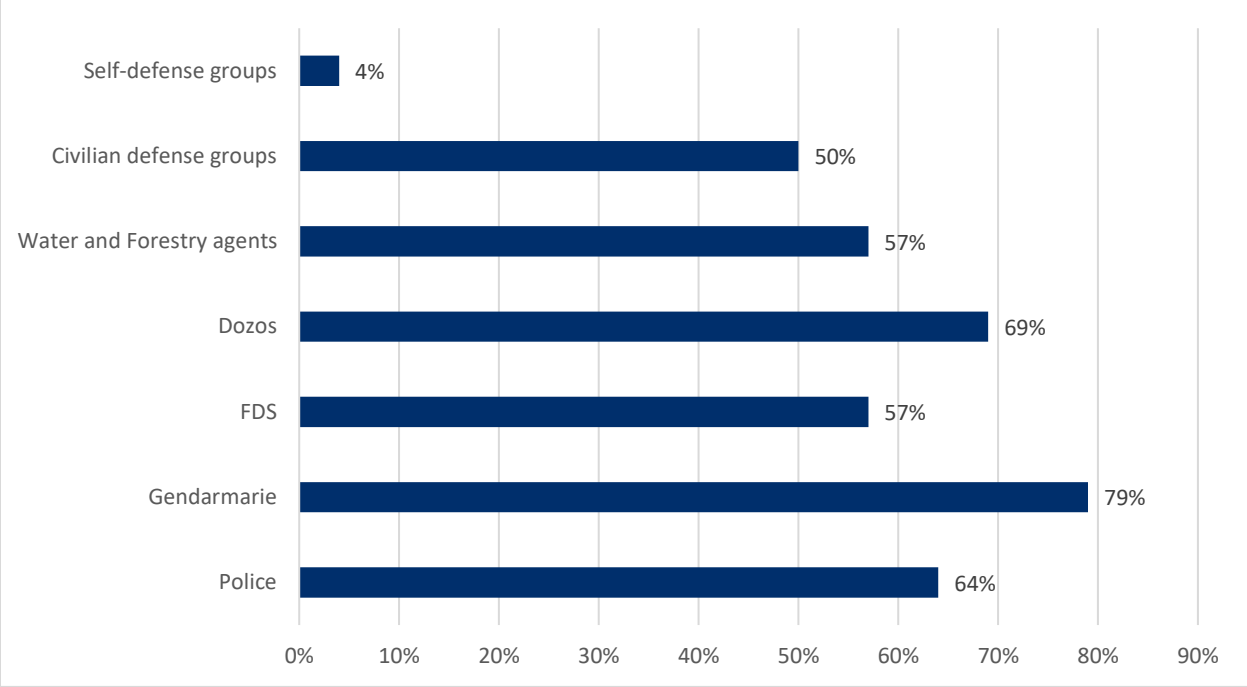
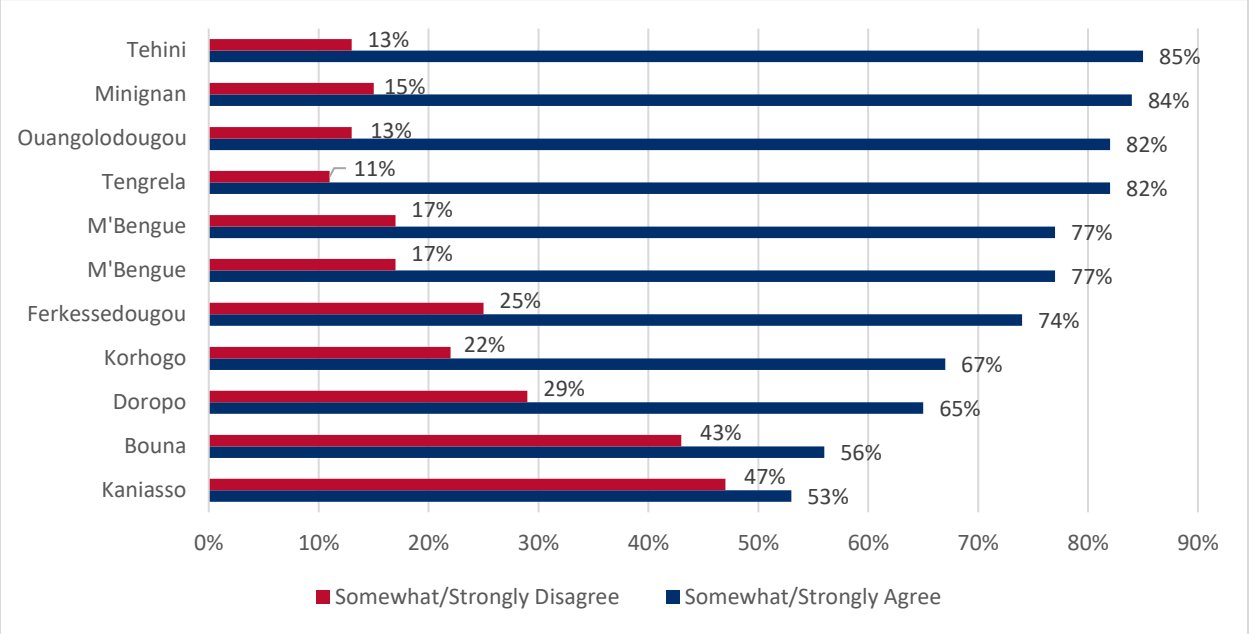


Figure 5: Views of security forces' effective protection of communities



Across survey regions, in Bouna, where the public is largely dissatisfied with security services overall, 56% believe that security forces can effectively protect their community, a view shared by 53% in Kaniasso. Of note, these proportions are lower than all the other regions surveyed. In both locales, 43% and 47%, respectively, doubt that security forces can protect their community. These figures are higher on this measure than any other region (see Figure 5).

In sharing their opinions on specific security threats, the survey population in the north is generally unconcerned about certain actors, such as ex-combatants.[3] At least 42,564 combatants emerged from Côte d'Ivoire's first civil war, which endured for five years from 2002 to 2007 (Ebiede 2017). By the conclusion of Côte d'Ivoire's second civil war, a year-long conflagration that lasted from 2010 to 2011, the number of ex-combatants rose dramatically to 74,000 (Ebiede 2017). The Ivoirian government launched a disarmament, demobilization, and rehabilitation initiative designed to advance former soldiers' economic and social reintegration. However, some ex-fighters face significant challenges, particularly those who were not enlisted in the army. Former fighters' demands for financial compensation have fallen short, setting off episodes of violent protest. Ex-fighters also face hardship amid limited new skills training and employment prospects, unlike enlisted former soldiers who were integrated into the military and receive financial compensation (Ebiede 2017). Nevertheless, the survey population is not worried about ex-combatants, as most (67% vs. 19%) say they do

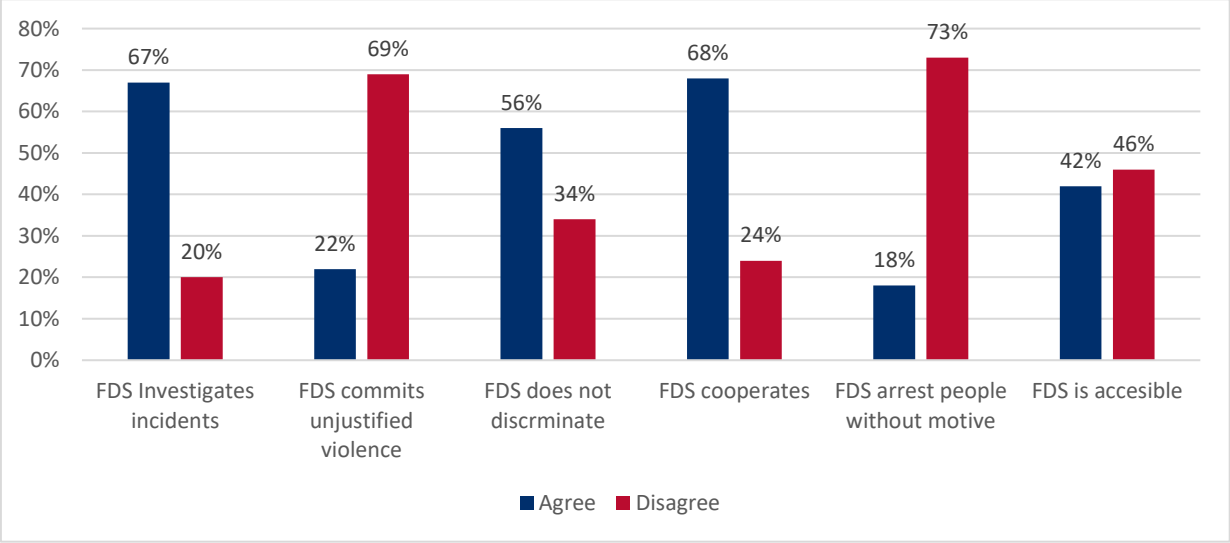
[3] Ex-combatants comprise a very small portion of survey sample (2%, or 59 individuals, identified as "ex-combatants").

not pose a security threat in their communities.

Those surveyed were asked similarly about another key population segment—youth, who comprise approximately 60% of the population in Côte d'Ivoire. According to Sommers (2019), youth are stigmatized in many countries throughout the world and are broadly generalized as *"troublesome"* or a *"threat"* to be managed rather than engaged. In understanding *"youth"* incentives, decisions, and engagement in peaceful or violent activities, however, youth are far from homogeneous. Livelihoods, ethnicity, gender, and education levels uniquely shape youth experiences and their view of their position in society. In the current survey, 57% in the general population report they have not completed any formal education. Stereotypes and stigmatization pose obstacles for full economic and political integration of youth. This issue might be understood by the population, with most (62%) believing that youth do not pose a threat. A third (32%), however, disagree, which suggests some may hold negative perceptions of the country's youth segment.

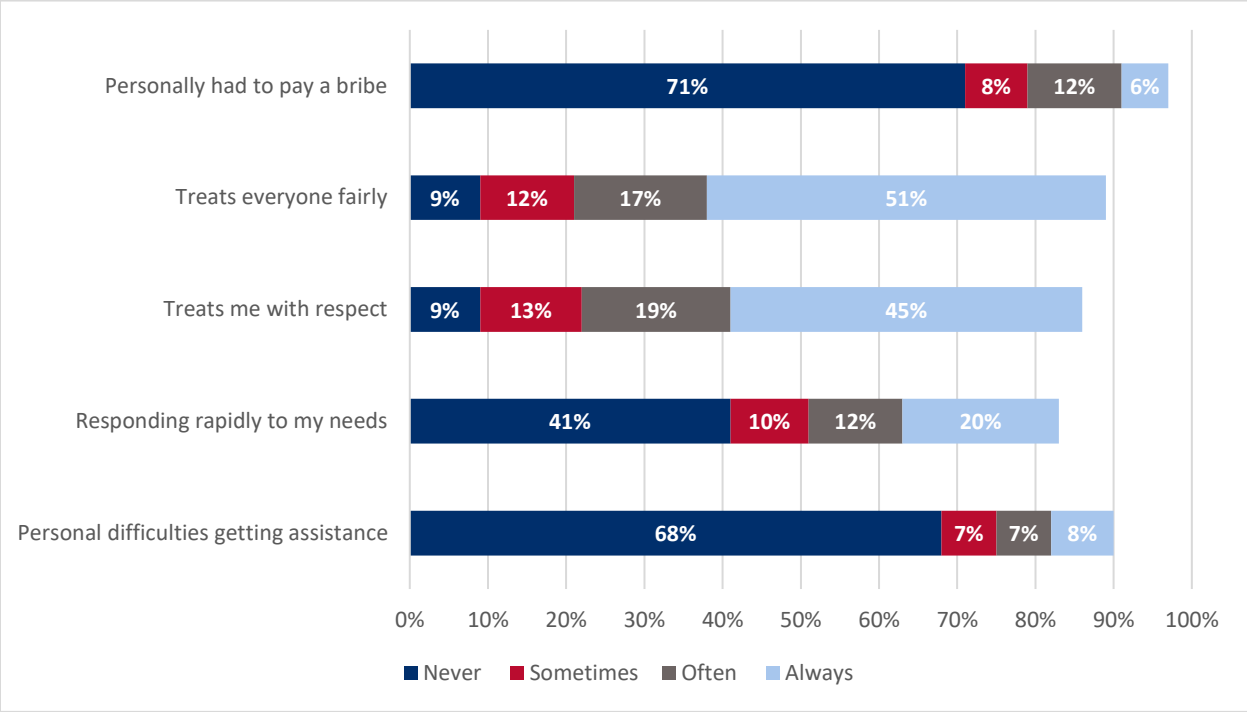
Community-wide interactions and personal interaction with the FDS seem to differ. With general views of security forces largely favorable, perceptions of FDS practices and behavior among the survey population are, likewise, widely positive. Specifically, over two-thirds of those surveyed in the north believe the FDS investigates incidents and crimes the population reports, does not discriminate against community members, and cooperates with community members (see Figure 6). Moreover, only a minority of respondents think the FDS arrests people without valid motive (18% vs. 73%) or commits unjustified violence against the population (22% vs. 69%). Communities are divided, however, on whether the FDS is generally available to their community members. About as many say the FDS is accessible to their community (42%) as say they are not (46%).

Figure 6: Views of FDS practices and behavior



Respondents' *personal* experiences are, by contrast, more diverse with respect to FDS practices and behavior. While most (68%) have never had *personal* difficulty getting assistance from the FDS, 41% report the FDS never responds rapidly to their needs. At the same time, 45% surveyed believe they are always treated with respect in their interactions with the FDS, and half (51%) say the FDS always treats every community member fairly, regardless of ethnicity or religion (see Figure 7).

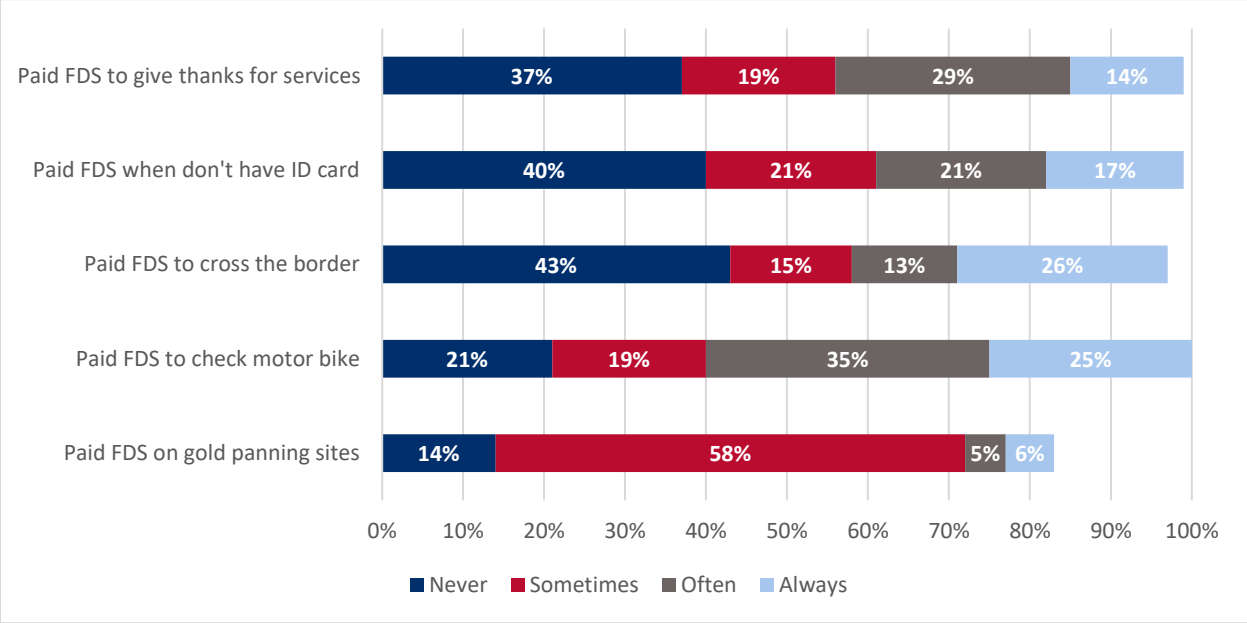
Figure 7: Personal experiences with the FDS



While most respondents (71%) say they have never paid a bribe to receive assistance from an FDS member, survey results reveal nuances when respondents were probed about specific incidents of bribery, as Figure 8 illustrates. For example, a majority (58%) report personally having to pay the FDS on gold panning sites. Roughly 20% to 35% have at least sometimes had to pay the FDS for services rendered,[4] when they did not have an identification card to cross the border, or when they were stopped to have their motorbikes checked. In the case of the latter, patterns refer to individuals being pulled over arbitrarily to take control of the vehicle or to review papers. On key corruption indices, Côte d'Ivoire has improved, earning a ranking of 105 of 180 countries in 2021 compared to 136 in 2013. However, results from the survey show that more attention may still be warranted.

[4] "Payment for services rendered" was a euphemism for a bribe in the general context.

Figure 8: Personal experiences with bribery



Assets of Resilience

Literature on violent extremism and conflict points to the importance of resilience in effectively mitigating and preventing conflict and violent extremism and related challenges. Resilience is defined as *"the ability of people, households, communities, countries, and systems (social, economic, ecological) to mitigate, adapt to, and recover from shocks and stresses in a manner that reduces chronic vulnerability and facilitates inclusive growth"* (USAID 2012).[5]

Resilience is a multidimensional concept that encompasses well-being in the face of adversity, including at:

- The individual level, where it reflects the degree to which an individual is able to sustain their own health, well-being, and livelihood.
- At the community level, where it reflects the degree to which community members are able to cooperate and mutually support one another to sustain the overall well-being of the community as a whole.
- At the country level, where it reflects the extent to which a country's government, working in coordination with its citizens, is able to a mount a response that mitigates the impacts of shocks and effectively manages and sustains the well-being of its citizens.

At the community level, the focus of much countering violent extremism programming is social cohesion, which captures the strength of relationships among members of a community.

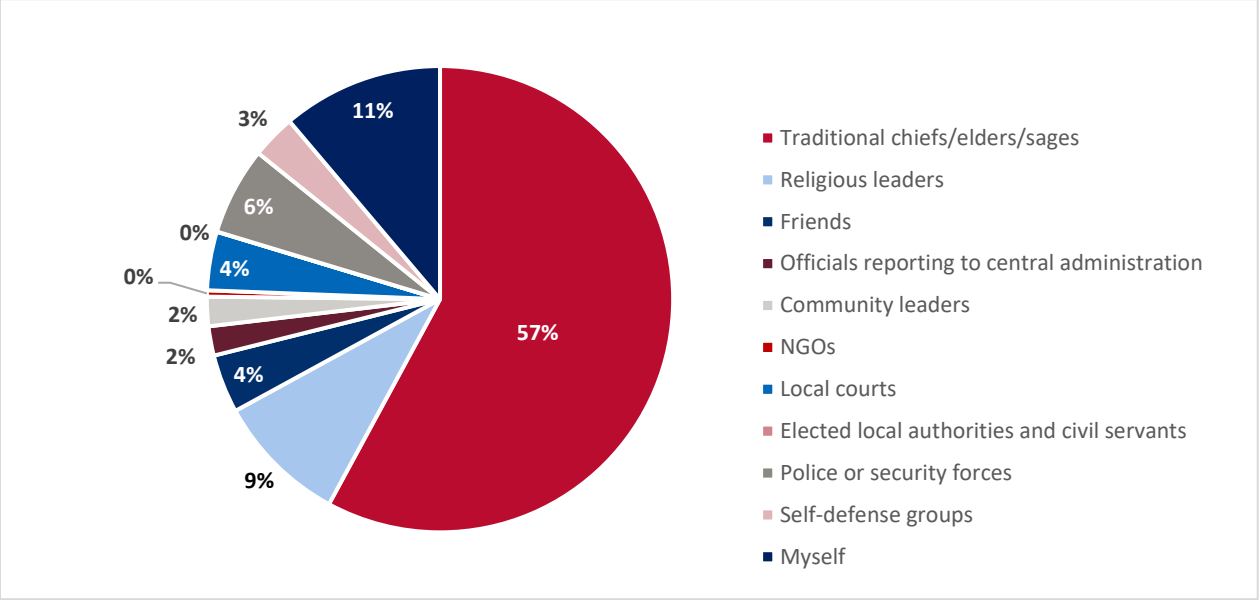
[5] This definition is similar to definitions found in the academic literature, which characterize resilience as the ability of social groups *"to mitigate, weather, and 'bounce back' from shocks or adversity—through coping, adapting, learning, and innovating"* (Maxwell et al. 2017, 8).

An element of social cohesion is that of social capital, which refers to the degree of trust, trustworthiness, and cooperation in a society or within a community or social group that may be defined by religion or ethnicity (Ostrom and Ahn 2009; Putnam 2001). Norms of community reciprocity and *"social insurance"* mechanisms dictate that community members help others that may be adversely affected by a shock. Norms of political participation may help to advance group goals as well (Putnam 2001). At the same time, however, communities may leverage social capital as a destructive force against rival outgroups (Fukuyama 2001; Berman 1997; Chambers and Kopstein 2001). Moreover, excessive ingroup solidarity can breed intolerance, mistrust, discrimination, and conflict with outgroup members (Scacco and Warren 2018).

Literature on resilience and social cohesion also points to the importance of families, who can be a source of both protection and risk to youth engagement in violence. Weak family structures can contribute to vulnerability to extremist group recruitment. Dysfunction, poor relations, and peer violence may lead to isolation and disaffection that makes individuals, especially youth, vulnerable to VEO recruitment (Campelo et al. 2018). Moreover, family and friends who may have their own affiliation with VEOs have been found to link potential recruits to organizations, thereby enabling their participation. Positive familial and peer networks, by contrast, can have the opposite effect. Close ties put familiars in proximity of youth, such that parents or friends can identify changes in behavior or be sources of information or confidants. The overall nurturing environment is a bulwark against recruitment and participation in conflict and violence (Cragin et al. 2015). At the same time, community figures in one's social environment can also be a protective factor. Religious figures, teachers, activists, parents, and other caregivers may be considered role models that exhibit behaviors and values that may be emulated by others.

Survey findings suggest that several assets of resiliency may exist at the community level in northern Côte d'Ivoire. A wide majority (89%) are likely to engage in discussions with members of other ethnic groups to resolve disputes. In selecting the actor they trust most to resolve important disputes in a close-ended question, the survey population in the north most often chose traditional chiefs/elders (57%) by far compared to other actors. The next largest percentage chose friends, followed closely by themselves (see Figure 9).

Figure 9: Most trusted actors for dispute resolution



However, other local figures are deemed credible by the northern Côte d'Ivoire survey population. For instance, **immediate family members, traditional chiefs, religious leaders, and community leaders are considered valuable brokers in community-level dispute resolution,** as between 88% to 95% see them as effective in resolving conflict in communities. Smaller majorities, in contrast, see elected officials, security actors, or the courts as effective arbiters of disputes (see Table 4).

Table 4: How effective are the following actors at resolving disputes in your community?

	Effective/ very effective	Ineffective/ not at all effective
Extended family members	87%	12%
Friends	83%	15%
Police/gendarmerie	78%	16%
Immediate family members	**92%**	**7%**
Traditional chiefs	**95%**	**3%**
Religious leaders	**91%**	**5%**
Community leaders	**88%**	**8%**
Elected officials and authorities	68%	18%
Courts	60%	17%

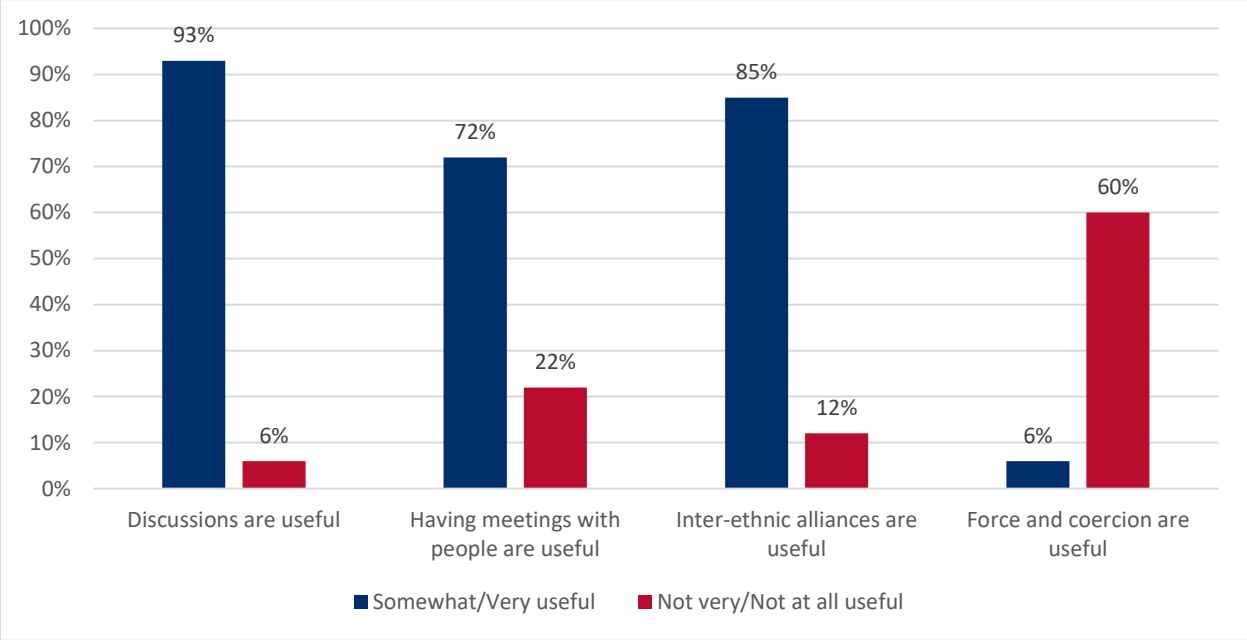
There is also the potential to draw on community practices and norms that may facilitate resiliency. In terms of behaviors that promote resiliency, findings show that 89% in northern Côte d'Ivoire are willing to use discussion to resolve disputes with members from ethnic and religious groups that are different from their own. Respondents, moreover, characterize their communities as encouraging a sense of belonging and fairness toward inhabitants regardless of their origin and solving problems as a group to improve the community. Although northern respondents surveyed also believe their communities have effective leaders, somewhat smaller proportions think leaders consider their opinions, consistent with trends in such attitudes seen in earlier findings on efficacy. Although more than half of respondents see increased trust between communities residing in border areas of Côte d'Ivoire, nearly one-quarter do not (see Table 5).

Table 5: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

	Strongly agree/agree	Strongly disagree/ disagree
Inhabitants in my town/municipality have a sense of belonging to the community	81%	16%
My community treats all inhabitants equally regardless of origin	82%	15%
My town/municipality has effective leaders	82%	13%
My town/municipality works with external organizations and agencies	54%	26%
My town/municipality has leaders who take my perspective into account	59%	31%%
Inhabitants in my town/municipality discuss problems as a group to improve the community	78%	17%%
Overall, there is increased trust between communities in border areas	51%	27%

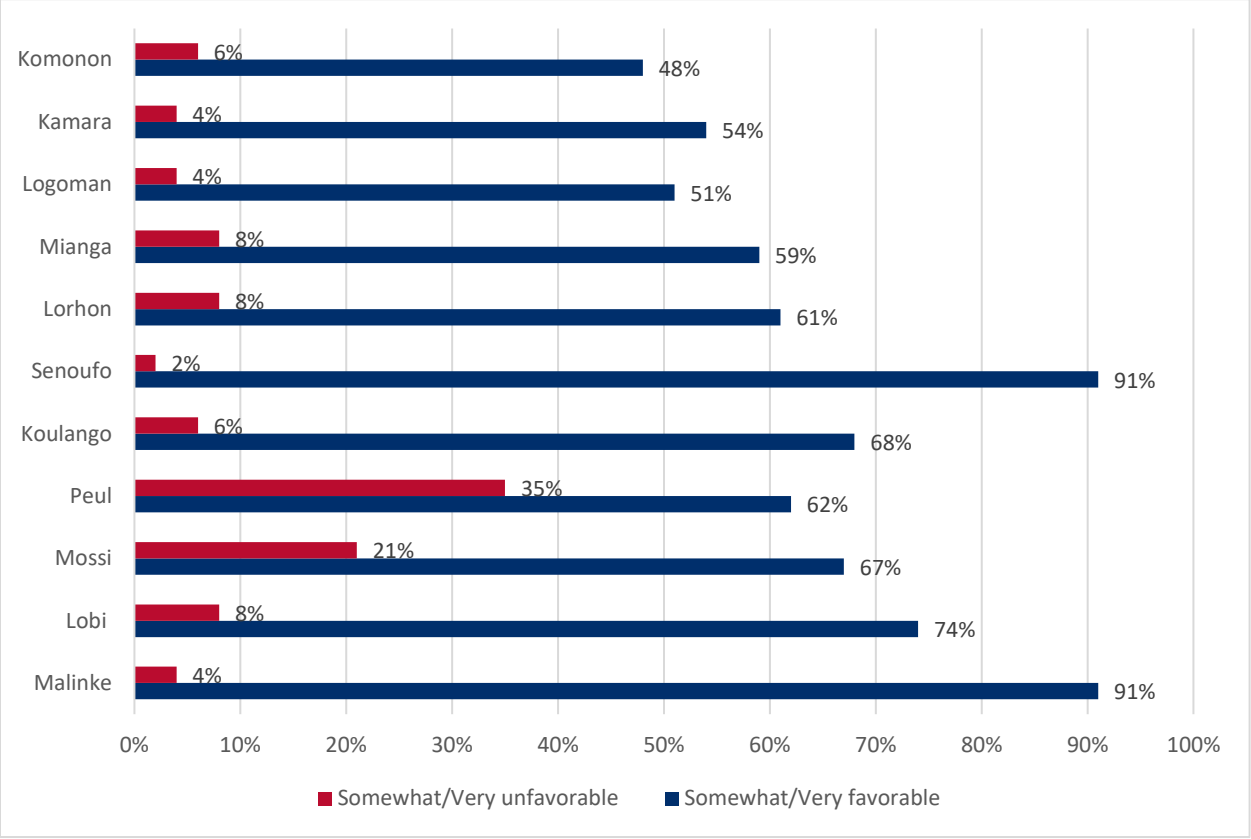
In addition to community-level sources of resilience that include trusted local figures, familial ties, and community cooperation, the survey also finds sources of resiliency at the individual level. Respondents show favorable attitudes toward tolerance and using collaborative rather than contentious forms of engagement to deal with adversity. At least 72% find meetings, discussions, and inter-ethnic alliances useful for problem-solving and see little value in use of coercion or force (see Figure 10).

Figure 10: Dispute resolution practices



In sharing their perceptions of various ethnic groups in the north, perceptions among those surveyed are generally positive, but fairly diverse. Nearly 70% to 80% hold favorable views of the Malinke (91%), Senoufo (91%), Lobi (74%), Koulango (68%), and Mossi (67%), while smaller percentages do of the Lorhon (61%) and the Fulani (62%). The Fulani also generate a higher percentage of unfavorable views than other groups (35%) (see Figure 11).

Figure 11: Views of ethnic groups



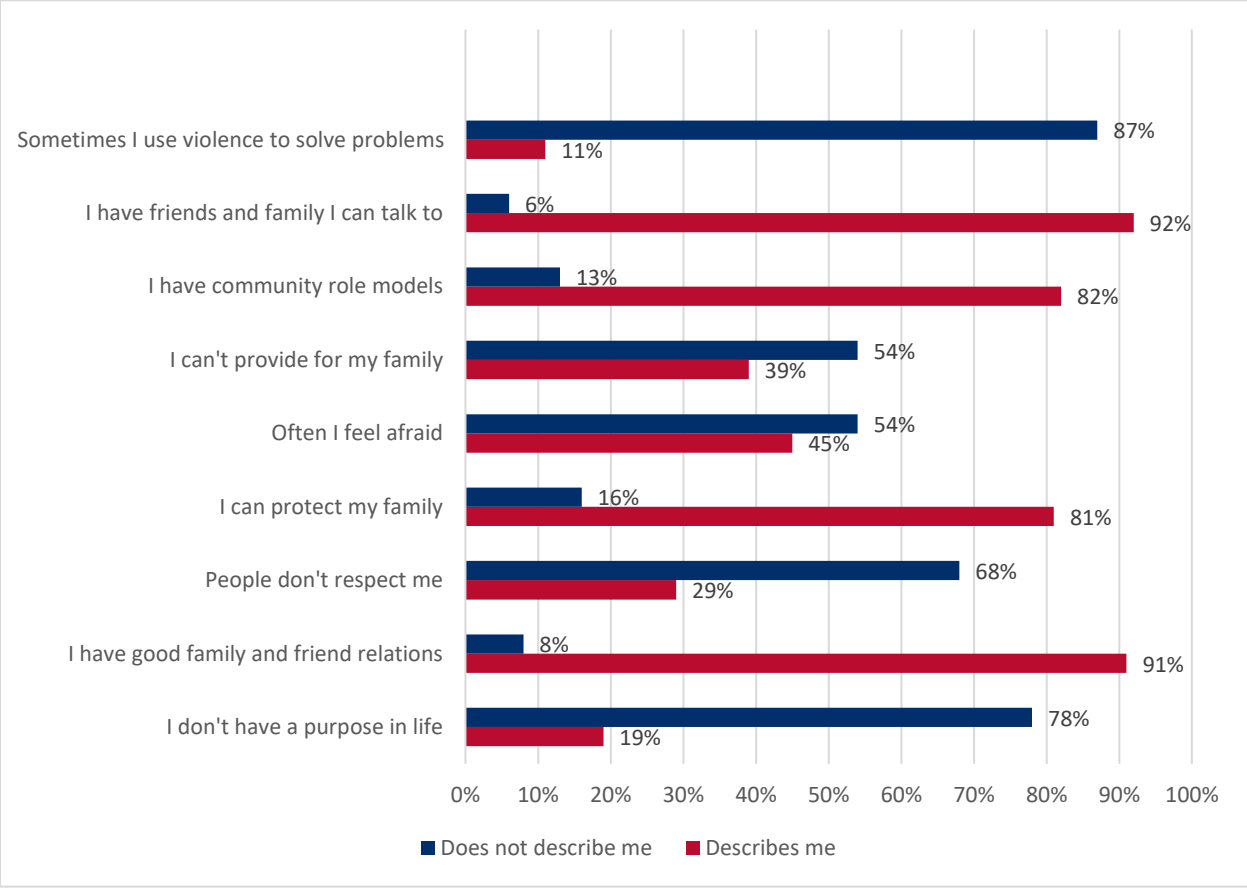
The Fulani, one of the largest ethnic groups in West Africa, are a nomadic herder community that has been present in Africa for thousands of years (Appiah and Gates 2010). Cohabitation between Fulani herders and sedentary local farmers has been tense in the northern pastoral area of Côte d'Ivoire. In the absence of trans-local zones or acknowledgement of the important role of trans-local tasks and practices among communities, herder and farmer searches for grazing and water sources, respectively, cause inter-group tensions related to damage to farmers' crops. The struggle for control over natural resources can result in violence. For example, in 2016, deadly clashes in Bouna resulting from conflict between Fulani herders and Lobi farmers resulted in 33 fatalities, 52 injuries, and 2,640 internal displacements. While the contest for increasingly scarce natural resources is at the heart of tensions, conflicts can take on a religious and ethnic dimension (nomadic Fulani herders are Muslim) that can be exploited by VEOs seeking to stoke tensions to gain community support.

The Fulani have been accused by some communities in Côte d'Ivoire's northern border areas of collaborating with VEOs in Mali and Burkina Faso. This contributes to dynamics of outgrouping, which limits the Fulani's full integration into the social fabric of northern Côte d'Ivoire.

The survey also explored opinions of other groups. Specifically, around half have a positive assessment of the Kamara, Mianga, Logoman, and Komonon; however, about one-quarter to one-third report they *"do not know"* about these groups. These findings may be, in part, due to lack of familiarity with other groups or because ethnic groups may not be present in some regions (Figure 11).

Experiences of overt discrimination do not appear to be present, but there are some vulnerabilities at the individual level. In terms of their general experiences with some aspects of outgrouping, results indicate that survey respondents have largely avoided negative interactions due to their demographic characteristics, with approximately 90% reporting they have not experienced discrimination based on their gender, religion, or ethnicity. A large majority of respondents eschew the use of violence, force, or coercion to solve problems. Respondents appear to have a support system comprised of friends and family they can turn to when they have a problem. Critically, most can identify role models that provide inspiration and guidance (see Figure 12).

Figure 12: Views of personal resilience

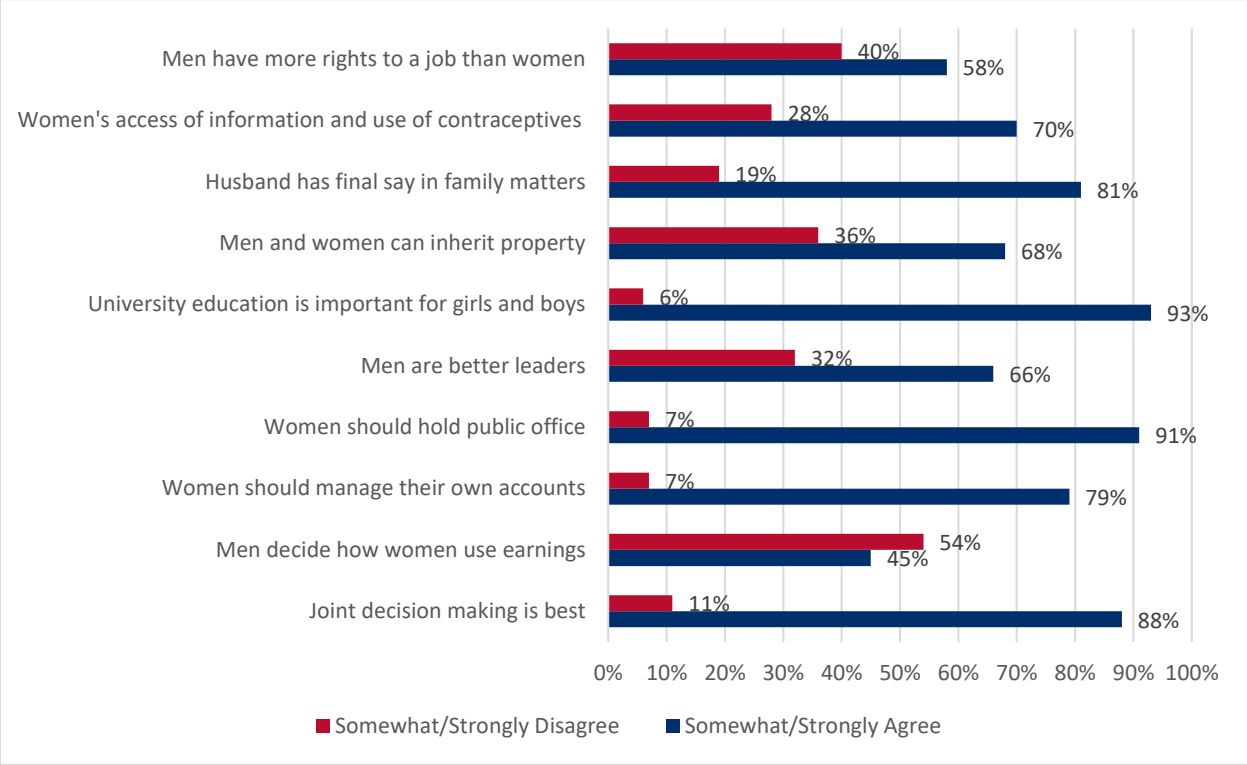


However, these larger majorities begin to taper somewhat on issues of aspiration, as nearly one-fifth (19%) of those surveyed feel they lack purpose in life and 29% feel that people do not respect them. Importantly, 39% also are concerned they cannot provide for their families, and about as many say they often feel afraid (45%) as do not (54%) (see Figure 12).

In conflict and non-conflict-affected settings, patriarchal norms and structures shape experiences of men and women, as well as the assignment of gender roles (Roth 2013). Indeed, Côte d'Ivoire's gender equality indicators are low. In 2021, the country ranked 134 of 158 countries on the United Nations Global Gender Gap Index (World Economic Forum 2021). In OECD reporting, secondary school enrollment rates for girls are lower than boys, and the quality of primary education in rural areas is poor. Thus, improving the status of women, who represent half of Côte d'Ivoire's population, is imperative.

In the current survey, **results reveal broad support for substantive roles for women in public life and in the household, suggesting a potentially vital role for women as agents of resilience in northern Côte d'Ivoire**. Specifically, preliminary results show northern Ivoirians in broad consensus in their support of practices that include women's participation in decision-making and public service, such as joint decision-making among spouses around financial matters (88%) and women being able to manage their own bank accounts (79%). The public also agrees that a university education is just as important for girls as it is for boys (93%). Most (68%) believe that men and women have equal rights to inherit family property—a notable finding, given that two-thirds of women in Côte d'Ivoire are employed in agriculture, but only 8% own land, compared to 22% of men (EU and FAO 2017). Women's control of decisions around reproduction also finds support, as most (70%) think that women should have access to information about and use of contraceptives (see Figure 13).

Figure 13: Women's economic and political role

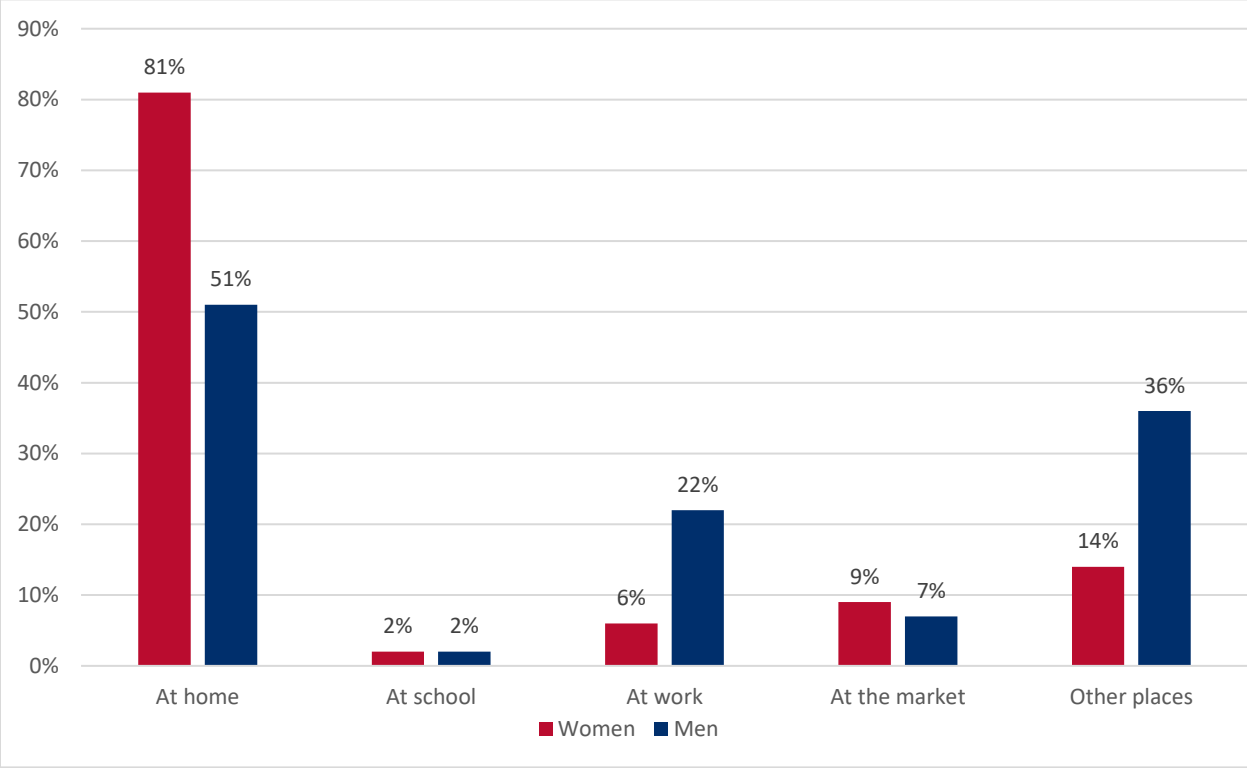


The survey also reveals a public that is somewhat resistant to full autonomy for women. Despite support for aspects of financial independence for women, 58% still think that men have more rights to a job than women. Most believe that men should ultimately determine how women's earnings are spent (54%) and that men should have the final say in family matters (81%). Significantly, the survey shows that women are just as likely as men to maintain these attitudes. Although public support for women holding office is widespread, those surveyed in the north nevertheless believe that men make better leaders than women (66%). This finding reflects other studies in which women express reservations about politics and are less likely to be elected to office because of sociocultural barriers (NDI 2017). In positive developments, the number of women in parliament in Côte d'Ivoire has increased in recent years to roughly 14%, up from 11% in previous years (IPU Parline 2021).

A broad majority (82%) of the survey public opposes any form of violence against women. The World Health Organization estimates that globally, 30% of women are exposed to physical or intimate partner violence in their lifetime (2021). In the most recent figures found for Côte d'Ivoire, 26% of women experienced some form of physical and sexual abuse at least once in their lifetime (INS 2012). In the current survey, 6% (149 individuals) of northern respondents, overall, reported experiencing some form of physical abuse in the last 12 months. Of that number, women were twice (8%) as likely than men (4%) to experience physical abuse.

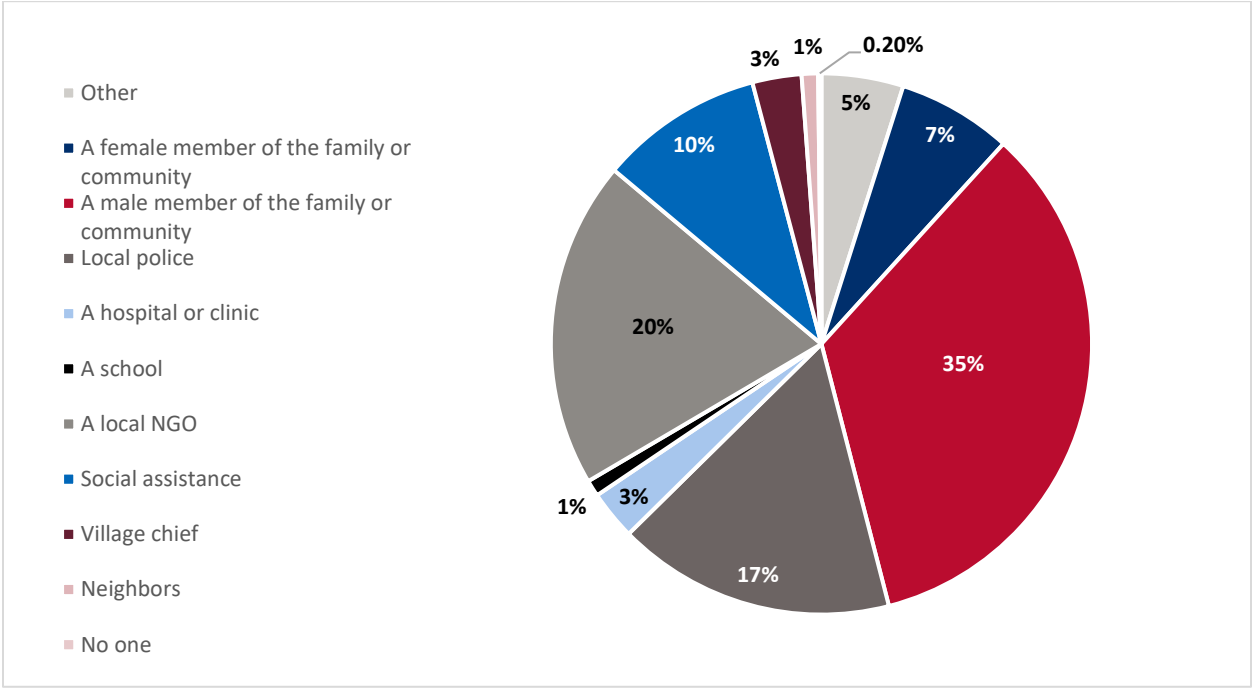
Locales of abuse differ for women and men. While women were more likely than men to say they experienced abuse in their home (81% vs. 51%), men were more likely to say they suffered abuse at work (22% vs. 6%). Slightly more women than men reported they were abused at the market (9% vs. 7%), and equal percentages experienced abuse at school (2%) (see Figure 14).

Figure 14: Where did you experience abuse?



Respondents identified a male member of the family or community (35%) as most likely to provide effective assistance to protect women from violence, followed by a local nongovernment organization, local police, social assistance worker, or a female family member. Only 3% chose a hospital or clinic, followed by village chief (3%), school (1%), or neighbors (1%) (see Figure 15).

Figure 15: Most effective source to protect women



Recommendations

From the findings, we draw the following recommendations:

- Economic issues are top of mind for survey respondents in the north, amidst signs of economic stress and challenging personal economic circumstances. Programming that provides livelihood opportunities could alleviate economic burden for beneficiaries in the north and address dissatisfaction that can be turned into grievance narratives by VEOs.
- Although most surveyed in the north are clear in their objection to the use of violence for religious or political reasons, views on extremist groups are still rather uninformed. While respondents identify specific groups with recent attacks in Côte d'Ivoire's northern border areas, a notable percentage are nonetheless unsure of the source of the attacks. Raising awareness, providing clear messaging, and providing evidence-based information around the sources of attacks can help promote accurate information and lead to effective resilience strategies.
- Dialogues between government authorities and trusted leaders should be encouraged. Dialogue could focus on development or infrastructure interests from community members. Promoting cooperation and sharing views and concerns would enhance residents' participation in decision-making processes and improve representation by local authorities. Efforts should include members of the Fulani community, as appropriate. Engagement could address concerns the survey found among respondents in the north that leaders do not listen to their views and that retaliation is possible for those who voice their opinion. Engagement could also forestall

VEO efforts to use such sentiments to bolster grievance narratives. Interventions might also include training for leaders on their roles and responsibilities to address responsiveness.

- Improvement of transportation infrastructure and services and Internet coverage could be specific issues of focus for community engagement and dialogues with local authorities.
- As community leaders, religious leaders, and traditional leaders are trusted figures held in high esteem, programming could leverage their positions to promote tolerance of groups, as well as accurate information about groups like the Fulani. This would build trust among communities (particularly along the border), which needs improvement, according to the survey.
- The same leaders can be instrumental in promoting norms favorable to improving women's status, so women can be fully integrated into the economy and in political decision-making. Both men and women should be targeted for these interventions.
- Additional research exploring in-depth attitudes and experiences of select population segments would be valuable. Specifically, qualitative research using focus groups and in-depth interviews would allow for deeper understanding of the unique challenges women and girls face, as well as those of ex-combatants. Importantly, there is a dearth of research on how VEO dynamics affect women and girls vis-à-vis men and boys and on women's role in promoting resilience. Indeed, women and girls play different roles that are not well understood. For example, women, as mothers or due to their role in communities, may be able to identify signs of VEO activity more quickly than others.
- Thus, research, in addition, should explore the role of families as factors of protection and risk around violent extremism in Côte d'Ivoire. Families were identified as key sources of religious learning, sources for religious information, arbiters for community conflict resolution, and sources of solace.
- Moreover, future research might also examine attitudes among various ethnic groups in the north for comparative analysis. Use of resilience assets can be validated by examination of residents' application of strategies.

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Annex: Fielded Perception Survey Instrument (English)

Resilience for Peace in Côte d'Ivoire – Perceptions Survey

0. List of Household Members

First, I need to know a bit more about your household so I can (randomly) select who I will need to interview. Please give me the first names and initials of all members of your household who are 18 years of age or older.

[If the person refuses, find out if someone else in the household is willing to do the list with you now. Otherwise, ask when other adults will be home and come back later. If you've already come back and still haven't found someone willing to make the list …]

[A household is an individual or group of individuals who (1) live together in the same dwelling (or on the same plot containing several buildings); (2) recognize an adult male or female as head of household; and (3) share the same living arrangements (e.g., eat together most of the time).]

[Household members are all persons who have lived or will live with the household for three or more consecutive months. The members of a household are not necessarily all related by blood or marriage (e.g., a boarder or servant who sleeps in the same dwelling or on the same plot and who shares meals with the family).]

Refuse → Replace household

First name	Initials	Age	Gender
_____	_____	___	**Male/Female**
_____	_____	___	**Male/Female**
…	…	…	…

[The tool is programmed to randomly select a household member 18 years of age or older from the list above and to provide the first name, initials, and age of the selected person so that the interviewer knows who he/she is that must be interviewed.]

[DECLARATION OF CONSENT]

Hello. My name is _____ . I work for the Resilience for Peace (R4P) project, a USAID-funded project implemented by Equal Access International with support from NORC at the University of Chicago in the United States, Indigo Côte d'Ivoire, and the UNESCO Chair at the University of Bouaké. We are working on a study whose goal is to learn more about the perception of the Ivorian population on topics such as violence and security in our communities, economic challenges, services provided by the government, and how communities adapt.

Resilience for Peace is a five-year initiative that aims to build community resilience and learning, particularly among women and youth, to counter and prevent violent extremism in northern Côte d'Ivoire. We are conducting this study in all departments of northern Côte d'Ivoire, and this household is one of 2,420 who were randomly selected to participate. Your views are very important to help the program develop better interventions to improve conditions in northern communities. This interview will take approximately 45 minutes.

Your answers will remain anonymous and confidential. Nothing you tell me will be attributed to you. All personally identifying information, including initials and phone numbers, will be used for tracking and quality assurance purposes only. The data will be password protected, so no one outside of the research team will have access to it.

There are no known risks associated with participating in this study, other than those encountered in daily life. There is no compensation or direct benefit for your participation, but the information we collect will help the project, USAID, and the government of Côte D'Ivoire improve programs and policies related to security and development.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You do not have to agree to be interviewed, and you can choose to say no without consequence. Also, you don't have to answer some of the questions if you don't want to and can choose to stop the interview at any time. Refusal to participate in this study or withdrawal from this study will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits of any kind.

There are no right or wrong answers to our questions. All your answers are important, so please be sincere.

If you have any question or concern, you can contact the research coordinators, Mr. Philippe Assale (assalep@gmail.com; +225 0759804319) or Ms. Mithila Iyer (Iyer-Mithila@norc.org; +001 301-634-9383)

This study was reviewed and approved by the NORC Institutional Review Board at the University of Chicago. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a study participant, you may also contact the NORC Review Board Manager at +1 866-309-0542; irb@norc.org.

Do you agree to participate in this study?

01 Yes

02 No **(Go to 9999)**

1. Demographic Characteristics

Let's start with some information about you.

Variable	Responses	
1.2 What is your ethnicity? [Select at least one ethnicity and a maximum of two]	Peul Malinké Koulango Mossi Lobi Lorhon Lôgôman Kômônon Kamara Mianga Senoufo Other (SPECIFY)_____ Don't know Refuse	*Malinké includes Bambara. Choose a maximum of 2 ethnicities, if necessary.*
1.3 What is your marital status?	Married Divorced Single Widow/widower Separated Refuse	*Follow the declaration of the person, especially in the case of a customary marriage.*
1.4 Which country were you born in?	Côte d'Ivoire Ghana Burkina Faso Mali Guinea Mauritania Sénégal Niger Other (please specify) :_____ Don't know Refuse	
1.5 Where were you born?	_____ Don't know Refuse	*Start with the village/city and try to get more info on other geographical units (e.g., sub-prefecture and department, if Ivorian).*
1.6 How many years have you lived here?	Don't know Refuse	If less than a year, enter 0.

Variable	Responses	
		If the respondent is not sure, ask them to best estimate.
1.7 What is your level of study?	Kindergarten Primary school Secondary school, 1st cycle Secondary school, 2nd cycle University Professional/technical Nonstandard program (e.g., Koranic school) Any Refuse	*The highest level of education the person has completed*
1.8 In which sector do you mainly work?	Construction Mechanical Mining Military and paramilitary Official Media Dozo Arts and crafts Transport Education Health Administrative (private) Religious Agriculture Breeding Tourism, catering and hospitality Trade Computer science Housewife Unemployed Marabout or healer Student Other (give details) _____ Refuse	
1.9 Are you an ex-combatant? [Ex-combatant = all those who participated directly or indirectly in military operations linked to armed groups.]	Yes No Refuse	

Variable	Responses	
1.10 What is the best phone number at which to reach you?	Don't know Refuse	*[If it is a non-Ivorian number, specify the country code WITHOUT the "+"]*
1.11 What is your religion?	Christianity Islam Traditional religion Nonbeliever [-> jump to 1.2.3] Other (please specify):_____ Do not know Refuse	*Christianity includes Catholic, Protestant, Evangelical, Charismatic, and Pentecostal*

1.2.1 How did you learn to practice your religion?

A. Denominational school (e.g., conventional Koranic school, madrassa, Catholic school)
B. Franco-Arab school
C. Church
D. Mosque
E. Media platforms
F. Through my family
G. Sacred grove
H. Other [SPECIFY]_____
I. Don't know
J. Refuse

1.2.2 How confident are you that you understand the religious teachings presented in holy books?

A. Very confident
B. Confident
C. Not confident
D. Not at all confident
E. Don't know
F. Refuse

1.2.3 What source(s) of information do you use most often when you wish to obtain information or find out about events affecting Côte d'Ivoire?

[Choose up to three options; do not read answer choices. To differentiate between radio options, ask for the station name.]

A. Printed newspapers/magazines
B. National radio
C. Local radio
D. International radio
E. Social networks (YouTube, Facebook, Twitter)
F. Messaging apps (Signal, Telegram, WhatsApp)

G. Word of mouth/discussions with friends, family, or colleagues
H. Television
I. Internet (Opera News, Abidjan.net, online radio)
J. None
K. Don't know
L. Refuse

1.2.4 What source(s) of information do you use most often when seeking information or learning about religious matters?

[Choose up to three options ; do not read answer choices]

A. Printed newspapers/magazines
B. National faith-based radio
C. Local faith-based radio
D. International faith-based radio
E. Social networks (YouTube, Facebook, Twitter)
F. Messaging apps (Signal, Telegram, WhatsApp)
G. Discussions with friends, family, or colleagues
H. Discussions with religious leaders
I. Television
J. Internet (Opera News, Abidjan.net, online radio)
K. None
L. Don't know
M. Refuse

2. Perceptions of Economic Conditions

Now let's talk about the general conditions in the country.

2.1. Do you think Côte d'Ivoire is **generally** going in the right or wrong direction?

A. Right direction
B. Misdirection
C. Don't know
D. Refuse

2.2. In your opinion, what are the most important issues facing Côte d'Ivoire today that our government should address?

[Do not read answer choices; code from answers provided. If the respondent gives more than three options, ask "what are the three most important answers?" If the respondent gives one or two answers, ask if there is anything else to add.]

	Response 1	Response 2	Response 3	Don't know	Refuse
Economy management					
Unemployment					
Poverty					
Cost of living					
Fall in commodity prices					
Malnutrition					
Drought					
Extremism/armed attacks by religious or political extremist groups/terrorism					
Crime and insecurity					
Land disputes					
Internal displacement/refugees/forced migration of Ivorians					
Infrastructure (roads/electricity/drinking water)					
Illegal gold mining					
Access to education					
Access to health					
COVID-19					
Corruption					
Political instability/political divisions					
Ethnic tensions					
Tensions between farmers and herders					
Discrimination/inequality					
Behavior of security forces					
Gender issues/rights of women and girls					
Political rights/political participation					
Other (please specify] _____					
There is no problem					
Do not know					
Refuse					

2.3. How are the economic conditions in northern Côte d'Ivoire today?

A. Very good
B. Fairly good
C. Fairly bad
D. Very bad
E. Don't know
F. Refuse

2.4. How would you describe your personal economic situation now compared to other members of your community?

A. Worse
B. About the same
C. Better
D. Don't know
E. Refuse

2.5. How has your personal economic situation changed over the past year?

A. Much improved
B. Significantly improved
C. Did not change
D. Slightly degraded
E. Much degraded
F. Don't know
G. Refuse

2.6. To what extent are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the following?

	1. Very satisfied	2. Somewhat satisfied	3. Somewhat dissatisfied	4. Very dissatisfied	5. Don't know	6. Refuse
a. Number of job opportunities in your community						
b. Equitable access (without gender, age, or ethnicity discrimination) to jobs in your community						
c. Access to finance (e.g., bank loans, microfinance, state grants)						

	1. Very satisfied	2. Somewhat satisfied	3. Somewhat dissatisfied	4. Very dissatisfied	5. Don't know	6. Refuse
d. Access to natural resources (e.g., land, water)						

3. Perceptions of Governance and Institutions

I now have a few questions for you about what you think of the way things are run in Ivory Coast.

3.1. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the following services in your community?

[Formal education = public or private education that follows the official state curriculum]

	1. Very satisfied	2. Somewhat satisfied	3. Somewhat dissatisfied	4. Very dissatisfied	5. Don't know	6. Ref use	7. Very satisfied
Formal education							
Job opportunities							
Health care							
Electricity							
Potable water							
Road infrastructure/ transport							
Everyday security/crime prevention							
Protection against foreign enemies							
Internet and telephone coverage							

3.2. In the past year, how often have you or a member of your family:

	1. Always	2. Often	3. Sometimes	4. Once or twice	5. Never	6. Don't know	7. Refuse
Run out of enough food to eat your fill?							
Lacked drinking water for domestic needs?							
Run out of money needed to meet your basic needs?							
Run out of fuel for cooking meals?							
Missed medicine or medical care?							
Missed school (e.g., lack of supplies or need for children to work)?							

3.3. To what extent do you trust the following institutions or groups to deal effectively with the issues you face today?

	1. Total trust	2. Trust	3. Little trust	4. No trust	5. Don't know	6. Refuse
Policemen						
Gendarmes						
Military						
Customs officers						
Water and forest agents						
Religious leaders						
Regional or municipal councils						
Traditional leaders						
Courts						
National Assembly and Senate						
Community leaders						
Elected political leaders						
Dozos						
Marabouts						

3.4. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

[If there is confusion about "people like me" with the respondent, think of "Ivorian Lambda"]

	1. Completely agree	2. Mostly agree	3. Mostly disagree	4. Strongly disagree	5. Don't know	6. Refuse
People like me can bring change to our country.						
Our politicians listen to people like me when we want to express our point of view on the evolution of our country.						
People like me can express their opinions without retaliation.						
I can vote for the candidate of my choice.						
People like me can join the political organization of their choice.						
Women and men are treated equally in this country.						
Men have more rights to a job than women.						
The most important role of a woman is to take care of the home and the family.						

4. Perceptions of Violence and Extremism

Now I have a few questions about the violence that happened in our area.

4.1. As you may have heard or read, over the past year armed groups have carried out attacks in neighboring countries (e.g., Burkina Faso, Mali, and Niger) and more recently in Kafolo, Téhini and Tougbo, and elsewhere in Côte d'Ivoire. Who or what group do you think is primarily responsible for these attacks?

[Do not read response options except if the respondent needs help after thinking. Code all that apply.]

A. Katiba of Macina (Jama'at Nasr al-Islam wal Muslimeen)
B. Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb/Al-Qaida/Al-Qaida-affiliated groups
C. Islamic State/Islamic State in the Greater Sahara/DAESH-affiliated groups
D. People from elsewhere
E. People from neighboring countries
F. Local politicians
G. Local economic operators
H. Ethnic groups in our communities who support extremists
I. Other [PLEASE SPECIFY _____]
J. Don't know
~~K.~~ Refuse

4.2. As you may know, people can participate in groups that use violence to achieve religious or political goals for many reasons. Please tell me what you think are the top three reasons why you think people join such groups:

[Do not read response options except if the respondent needs help after thinking. Code up to three answer choices.]

A. Opportunity for financial gain
B. Misinterpretation of religion
C. Lack of employment
D. Loss of our traditional values
E. Military abuses or errors
F. Difficulty getting married
G. Desire to hold a position of respect or influence
H. Defense of religious ideology
I. Insufficient government presence/attention in our communities
J. Unequal distribution of resources
K. Poor quality of education
L. Restriction of movement and freedoms
M. Impunity/absence of rule of law/corruption
N. Frustration/stigma
O. Constraint/threat
P. Other (please specify: _____)
Q. Don't know
R. Refuse

4.3. In any society, people will sometimes disagree with each other. Sometimes disagreements escalate into violence. Please tell me if you have personally feared and/or experienced any of the following types of violence in **the past two years.**

	1. No	2. Yes, I feared but did not experience such violence	3. Yes, I feared and experienced such violence	4. Don't know	5. Refuse
a. Violence between ethnic groups in the village					
b. Violence at political party events or gatherings					
c. Violence during a demonstration or march					
d. Violence caused by the defense and security forces					
e. An armed attack by groups that resort to violence to defend religious or political opinions					
f. Violence related to access to resources (e.g., mines, forests, herders-farmers)					

4.4. What is your position on the use of violence against civilians for a religious or political cause?

A. Support firmly
B. Support a little
C. Oppose a little
D. Firmly oppose
E. Don't know
F. Refuse

5. Perceptions of Security

Now I have a few questions about security in your community and in Côte d'Ivoire more broadly.

5.1. How would you rate the security situation in your community at the moment?

A. Very good
B. Fairly good
C. Rather bad
D. Very bad
E. Don't know
F. Refuse

5.2. Which security actors are present in your sub-prefecture?

[Select all response options mentioned by the respondent.]

A. Policemen
B. Gendarmes
C. Military
D. Customs officers
E. Water and forest agents
F. Dozos
G. Vigilante groups
H. Other (please specify): _____
I. Don't know
J. Refuse

5.3. What do you think of the following statement: Security forces protect your community from dangers and other risks?

A. Totally agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Somewhat disagree
D. Strongly disagree
E. Don't know
F. Refuse

5.4. *[Presented only if 5.2.f = Yes] What do you think of the following statement: Dozos protect your community from harm?*

A. Totally agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Somewhat disagree
D. Strongly disagree

E. Don't know
F. Refuse

5.5. How concerned are you about ex-combatants?

A. Very concerned
B. Quite concerned
C. Not really concerned (-> jump to 5.7)
D. Not at all concerned (-> jump to 5.7)
E. Don't know (-> jump to 5.7)
F. Refuse (-> jump to 5.7)

5.6. Can you tell me the main reason why you are concerned? *[Capture a single response. If the respondent indicates several, ask him to choose the most important.]*
_____

5.7. What do you think of the following statement: Young people represent a threat to the security of Côte d'Ivoire?

A. Totally agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Somewhat disagree (-> jump to 5.9)
D. Strongly disagree (-> jump to 5.9)
E. Don't know (-> jump to 5.9)
F. Refuse (-> jump to 5.9)

5.8. In your opinion, what is the main reason why you think that young people represent a threat to the security of Côte d'Ivoire?

[Do not read response options except if the respondent needs help after thinking. Select only one answer. If the respondent indicates several, ask him to choose the most important.]

A. No access to jobs
B. Lack of jobs
C. Young people indulge in crime and drugs
D. Young people join armed groups
E. Young people lose values
F. There are no role models for young people
G. Other (please specify):_____
H. Don't know
I. Refuse

5.9. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	1. Completely agree	2. Mostly agree	3. Mostly disagree	4. Strongly disagree	5. Don't know	6. Refuse
Security forces investigate incidents and crimes we report						
Security forces commit violence						
Unjustified against the population						
Security forces do not discriminate against members of the community						
Security forces are not accessible to the community to discuss issues that are important to us.						
Security Forces cooperate with the population.						

5.10. I would now like to ask you some questions about your personal experiences over the past 12 months. Please tell me how many times you have experienced the following.

[Note: defense and security forces = dressed corps]

	1. Always	2. Often	3. Sometimes	4. Once or twice	5. Never	6. Don't know
A. You have personally encountered difficulties in obtaining the assistance you need from the defense and security forces.						
B. The defense and security forces responded quickly to your needs.						
C. Defense and security forces treat you with respect when you interact with them.						

	1. Always	2. Often	3. Sometimes	4. Once or twice	5. Never	6. Don't know
D. Defense and security forces treat all people in your community fairly, regardless of ethnicity or religion.						
E. You had to personally offer a bribe, gift, or favor to a member of the defense and security forces to get help.						

5.11. [If 5.10-E = 1, 2 or 3] Now I would like to ask you some questions about your experiences over the past 12 months. Please tell me how many times have you experienced the following.

[Note: defense and security forces = dressed corps]

	1. Always	2. Often	3. Sometimes	4. Never	5. Don't know	6. Refuse
I had to pay the defense and security forces on the gold-panning sites.						
I had to pay the defense and security forces during an inspection of my vehicle (e.g., motorcycle, car).						
I had to pay the defense and security forces to cross the border.						
I had to pay the defense and security forces because I didn't have an identity card.						
I paid the defense and security forces to thank them for their services.						

5.12. How likely are you to report information, such as suspicious activity, to the military/police/gendarmerie?

A. Very likely
B. Fairly Likely

C. Quite unlikely
D. Very unlikely
E. Don't know
F. Refuse

6. Resilience and Tolerance Values at Community and Individual Level

I would now like to learn more about life in your community.

6.1. How likely are you to be willing to talk to ethnic groups different from your own in order to resolve differences?

A. Very likely
B. Fairly likely
C. Quite unlikely
D. Very unlikely
E. Don't know
F. Refuse

6.2. How effective are the following people in resolving disputes in your community?

	1. Very effective	2. Effective	3. Ineffective	4. Very ineffective	5. Don't know	6. Refuse
Traditional leaders						
Religious leaders						
Immediate family members						
Extended family members						
Friends						
Community leaders						
Courts						
Elected officials and administrative authorities						
Police/gendarmerie						

6.3. When you have an important dispute that you want to resolve, who do you trust most to resolve it effectively?

A. Traditional leaders, sages
B. Religious leaders
C. Friends
D. Administrative authorities (e.g., prefect, sub-prefect)

E. Community leaders
F. NGOs
G. Courts
H. Elected
I. Police/gendarmerie
J. Dozo
K. Myself
L. Don't know
M. Refuse

6.4. How useful are the following practices in resolving conflicts in your community?

	1. Very useful	2. Some what useful	3. Not very useful	4. Not at all useful	5. Don't know	6. Refuse
Have meetings with people						
Palaver tree						
Inter-ethnic alliances and joking relationships						
Use force, coercion, or violence						
Go to court						

6.4a What other practice(s) are helpful in resolving conflict in your community?

_____

Don't know

Refuse

6.5. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	1. Completely agree	2. Mostly agree	3. Mostly disagree	4. Strongly disagree	5. Don't know	6. Refuse
a. People from different ethnic or religious groups should have the same rights as others in this country.						
b. I am willing to be friends with someone from another ethnic or religious group.						
c. I am unwilling to help someone from another ethnic or religious group in need.						
d. People from different ethnic or religious groups are not allowed to have a job.						
e. I would marry someone from another ethnic or religious group.						

6.6. In the past year, how often have you personally experienced any of the following types of discrimination or harassment?

	1. Always	2. Often	3. Sometimes	4. Once or twice	5. Never	6. Don't know	7. Always
Against your gender							
Against your religion							
Against your ethnicity							

6.7. Please tell me whether or not the following statements generally describe you.

	1. Usually describes me	2. Usually doesn't describe me	3. Don't know	4. Refuse
Sometimes I use violence, force, or threat to solve problems.				
When I have a problem and need someone to talk to, I have friends or family to talk to.				
I don't feel able to support my family.				
There are people I can look up to in my community.				
Sometimes I feel like I have no purpose in life.				
I have good relationships with my friends and family.				
I don't feel like people respect me.				
I am confident that I can protect my family.				
Often I'm scared.				
I believe I have a bright future.				

6.8. What do you think of the following statements?

a. Everyone in my town/village/municipality feels like they belong in the community.
b. My municipality treats all its inhabitants fairly, regardless of their origin.
c. My city/village/municipality has effective leaders.
d. My town/village/municipality has leaders who take my advice into account.
e. My town/village/municipality works with organizations and agencies outside the municipality to get things done.
f. People in my town/village/municipality discuss issues in groups to improve the community.
g. Overall, there is increased trust between communities in border areas.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Totally agree
5. Don't know
6. Refuse

I now have a few questions about any efforts you may have made to share your views with local authorities or community leaders.

6.9. Have you ever taken steps to contact your local authorities or community leaders for any situation?

A. Yes, community leaders
B. Yes, local authorities
C. No (-> jump to 6.12)
D. Don't know (-> jump to 6.12)
E. Refuse (-> jump to 6.12)

6.10. Did your steps give you the opportunity to express your points of view, opinions, or concerns to the authorities or leaders of your community?

A. Yes
B. No
C. Don't know
D. Refuse

And now some questions about the experiences of women and men in our country.

6.11. What do you think of the following statements?

	1. Completely agree	2. Mostly agree	3. Mostly disagree	4. Strongly disagree	5. Don't know	6. Refuse
Women and men should make financial decisions for the family together.						
Men should decide how a woman spends her earnings.						
A woman should be able to have and manage her own bank account.						
Women should be able to hold public office.						

6.12. Have you experienced physical violence in the past 12 months?

A. Yes
B. No (-> jump to 6.15)
C. Don't know (-> jump to 6.15)
D. Refuse (-> jump to 6.15)

6.13. Where have you experienced physical violence?

[Select all that apply]

A. At home
B. At school
C. At work
D. At the market
E. Other (please specify): _____
F. Do not know
G. Refuse

6.14. Which of the following people or structures is most likely to provide effective assistance to protect women from physical violence?

A. A female member of the family or community
B. A male family or community member
C. Police/gendarmerie
D. A hospital or clinic
E. A school
F. An NGO
G. Social assistance
H. Other (please specify): _____
I. Don't know
J. Refuse

6.15. What do you think of the following statement: Women should never be subjected to any form of violence.

A. Totally agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Somewhat disagree
D. Strongly disagree
E. Don't know
F. Refuse

6.16. What do you think of the following statements:

	1. Completely agree	2. Mostly agree	3. Mostly disagree	4. Don't agree at all	5. Don't know	6. Refuse
Men make better leaders than women.						
A university education for girls is just as important as that for boys.						
Men and women should have equal rights to inherit family land and property.						
The husband must have the last word in family matters.						
Women should have the right to access family planning information and use contraceptives.						

6.17. What do you think of the following statement: It is acceptable to solve problems between neighbors with violence.

A. Totally agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Somewhat disagree
D. Strongly disagree
E. Don't know
F. Refuse

6.18. To what extent do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the following groups?

	1. Very favorable	2. Mostly favorable	3. Mostly unfavorable	4. Very unfavorable	5. Don't know	6. Refuse
a. Malinke						
b. Lobi						
c. Mossi						
d. Peul						
e. Koulango						
f. Senoufo						
g. Lorhon						
h. Mianga						
i. Lôgôman						
j. Kamara						
k. Kômônon						

7. Early signals

7.1. Have there been cases of bank or supermarket robberies in your sub-prefecture in the past 12 months?

[Heist targets include banks, trackers, mobile money points, traders, gold collectors]

A. Yes
B. No (-> jump to 7.5)
C. Don't know (-> jump to 7.5)
D. Refuse (-> jump to 7.5)

7.2. Have these robberies increased, decreased, or has there been no change?

A. Much increased
B. Slightly increased
C. No change (-> jump to 7.4)
D. Slightly decreased (-> jumps to 7.4)
E. Much decreased (-> jumps to 7.4)
F. Don't know (-> jump to 7.4)
G. Refuse (-> jump to 7.4)

7.3. Approximately how many robberies have occurred in the past 12 months?

A. 1
B. 2-3
C. 4-5
D. More than 5
E. Don't know
F. Refuse

7.4. In your opinion, who is most responsible for these robberies?

[Do not read answer options.]

A. Groups that use violence to achieve religious or political goals
B. Gangs/Bandits
C. People from neighboring countries
D. A certain ethnic group
E. Ex-combatants
F. Other (please specify): _____
G. Don't know
H. Refuse

7.5. Have there been any cases of kidnapping for ransom in your sub-prefecture in the past 12 months?

A. Yes
B. No (-> jump to 7.9)
C. Don't know (-> jump to 7.9)
D. Refuse (-> jump to 7.9)

7.6. Have these kidnappings for ransom in your sub-prefecture increased, decreased, or has there been no change?

A. Much increased
B. Slightly increased
C. No change (-> jump to 7.8)
D. Slightly decreased (-> jumps to 7.8)
E. Decreased a lot (-> jumps to 7.8)
F. Don't know (-> jump to 7.8)
G. Refuse (-> jump to 7.8)

7.7. In the past 12 months, how many kidnappings for ransom have taken place in your sub-prefecture?

A. 1
B. 2-3
C. 4-5
D. More than 5
E. Don't know
F. Refuse

7.8. Who do you think is most responsible for these abductions?

[Do not read answer options.]

A. Groups that use violence to achieve religious or political goals
B. Gangs/bandits
C. People from neighboring countries
D. A certain ethnic group
E. Ex-combatants
F. Government
G. Other (please specify): _____
H. Don't know
I. Refuse

7.9. In your opinion, to what extent have social and religious practices in your sub-prefecture changed over the past 12 months?

A. Many
B. Somewhat
C. Only a little bit
D. No change (->jump to 7.12)
E. Don't know (->jump to 7.12)
F. Refuse (->jump to 7.12)

7.10. What change(s) have occurred in social and religious practices in your sub-prefecture in the past 12 months?

[Do not read answer options. Select all of the answer choices mentioned.]

A. Women and girls are required to cover themselves
B. Men are required to wear beards
C. There are bans on the sale of alcohol, cigarettes
D. Closings of bars/restaurants/maquis
E. Girls are not allowed to go to school
F. Other (please specify): _____
G. Don't know
H. Refuse

7.11. [Loop – each answer selected in 7.10 should be raised here] In your opinion, who is most responsible for these changes?

[Do not read answer options.]

A. Administrative authorities (prefects, sub-prefects, mayors)
B. Imams/Muslim leaders
C. Priests/pastors/ecclesiastical personalities
D. Unidentified men
E. Groups that use violence to achieve religious or political goals
F. People from neighboring countries
G. Traditional rulers
H. Community leaders
I. A certain ethnic group
J. Other (please specify): _____
K. Don't know
L. Refuse

7.12. Over the past 12 months, have you noticed a change in the number of illegal gold mining sites operating in your sub-prefecture?

A. Yes
B. No (-> skip to 7.14)
C. Don't know (-> jump to 7.14)
D. Refuse (-> jump to 7.14)

7.13. In your opinion, who most likely operates these illegal gold mining sites?

[Do not read answer options.]

A. Political figures
B. Gangs/bandits
C. Groups that use violence to achieve religious or political goals
D. People from neighboring countries
E. Traditional rulers
F. Community leaders
G. A certain ethnic group
H. Other (please specify): _____
I. Don't know
J. Refuse

7.14. I would like to ask you a few more questions about your experiences and observations of developments in our community over the past 12 months.

As I read each of the experiences, please tell me (1) how often you experienced or observed it, and (2) whether you experienced or observed it more or less often than in previous years.

[Loop – for each object where the frequency is "Never," "Don't know," or "Refuse," do not ask about change from previous years]

	Frequency in past 12 months	Change from previous years
a. People who sell stolen motorcycles on the circuit	Often/Sometimes/Rarely/Never/Don't know/Refuse	Significant increase/Small increase/No change/Small decrease/Significant decrease/Don't know/Refuse
b. Young people paid by individuals to work in illegal gold mining sites	Often/Sometimes/Rarely/Never/Don't know/Refuse	Significant increase/Small increase/No change/Small decrease/Significant decrease/Don't know/Refuse
c. Conflicts between farmers and herders	Often/Sometimes/Rarely/Never/Don't know/Refuse	Significant increase/Small increase/No change/Small decrease/Significant decrease/Don't know/Refuse
d. Public discourse promoting hatred and violence (e.g., anti-Western discourse/religious intolerance/ anti-Fulani discourse)	Often/Sometimes/Rarely/Never/Don't know/Refuse	Significant increase/Small increase/No change/Small decrease/Significant decrease/Don't know/Refuse
e. Security forces acting abusively toward people	Often/Sometimes/Rarely/Never/Don't know/Refuse	Significant increase/Small increase/No change/Small decrease/Significant decrease/Don't know/Refuse
f. Construction of infrastructure (e.g., wells, religious buildings, denominational schools) by private individuals	Often/Sometimes/Rarely/Never/Don't know/Refuse	Significant increase/Small increase/No change/Small decrease/Significant decrease/Don't know/Refuse
g. A number of people (excluding dressed bodies and dozos) carrying firearms	Often/Sometimes/Rarely/Never/Don't know/Refuse	Significant increase/Small increase/No change/Small decrease/Significant decrease/Don't know/Refuse
h. Highway robbers, gangs, or bandits	Often/Sometimes/Rarely/Never/Don't know/Refuse	Significant increase/Small increase/No change/Small decrease/Significant decrease/Don't know/Refuse
i. Cattle theft	Often/Sometimes/Rarely/Never/Don't know/Refuse	Significant increase/Small increase/No change/Small decrease/Significant decrease/Don't know/Refuse
j. Traffickers of cigarettes, fuel, weapons, medicines, or drugs	Often/Sometimes/Rarely/Never/Don't know/Refuse	Significant increase/Small increase/No change/Small decrease/Significant decrease/Don't know/Refuse
k. Forcing to pay taxes to groups without official authority	Often/Sometimes/Rarely/Never/Don't know/Refuse	Significant increase/Small increase/No change/Small decrease/Significant decrease/Don't know/Refuse

7.15. *[Loop – For each experience from Q7.14 for which the respondent chose "SIGNIFICANT INCREASE" or "SMALL INCREASE", ask this question] In your opinion, who is primarily responsible for [Experience from Q7.14]?*

[Do not read answer options.]

A. Ex-combatants
B. Groups that use violence to achieve religious and political goals
C. Young people in the community
D. A certain ethnic group
E. Local bandits or gangs
F. Government
G. People from neighboring countries
H. Gold miners
I. Other (please specify): _____
J. Don't know
K. Refuse

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation!

8. Interview questions for the interviewer

8.1. How many other people were present at any time during the interview?

A. None ; respondent was alone with me (-> jump to 8.3)
B. Respondent and another person
C. The respondent and several other people

8.2. Do you think the presence of this person influenced the way the respondent answered the questions?

A. Yes
B. No

8.3. Notes on the conduct of the interview and the respondent's attitude (e.g., distracted, rushed, uncooperative person, etc.)

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