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Safety and Security:
A Proposal for Internationally Comparable Indicators of Violence

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1 Introduction

"People are no longer surprised when someone kills his brother"

—Naryn, Kyrgyz Republic, Voices of the Poor (2000)

"Our public safety is ourselves. We work and hide indoors... and of dangers at school... I am afraid that they might kill my son for something as irrelevant as a snack"

. — From a women's group, Sacadura Cabral, Brazil, Voices of the Poor (2000)

"Lost assets, lost agricultural implements, lack of capital to invest in agriculture, and a lack of day-to-day financial liquidity" led to impoverishment. In addition, many of the men suffered injuries which affected their capacity to work"

—Group of Tamils in Velur, Sri Lanka, Voices of the Poor

'injuries and violence are ranked amongst the leading causes of death and disability... particularly true in the case of the low-income and middle income countries where injuries and violence are growing in significance...'

— WHO, 2004b: 1

"We, Heads of State and Government...reaffirm that our common fundamental values, including freedom, equality, solidarity, tolerance, respect for all human rights, respect for nature and shared responsibility, are essential to international relations...We reaffirm our commitment to eradicate poverty and promote sustained economic growth, sustainable development and global prosperity for all...We strongly reiterate our determination to ensure the timely and full realization of the...Millennium Development Goals. We underline the need for urgent action on all sides, including more ambitious national development strategies and efforts backed by increased international support."

— 2005 World Summit Outcome, United Nations, 16 September 2005

One of the greatest impediments to human security in the post-Cold War era is not inter-state wars resulting in mass destruction fought by the armed forces of nation states, but violence, perpetrated by individuals, groups, and state actors within the internal borders of nations (Hegre et al, 2001). Violence, resulting from everyday crime, large scale communal conflicts, insurgencies, or through state repression can and does undo the development gains achieved in education, health, employment, capital generation and infrastructure provision. Violence is a public health problem, a human rights problem, a community problem, and a problem for the state and the international community. It impedes human freedom to live safely and securely and can sustain poverty traps in many communities. However, violence is not always an inevitable part of human interaction. Many multi-ethnic, multi-religious, and poor peoples manage human interaction and channel conflict and the propensity for violence in peaceful ways.²

One of the problems for academics, policy makers, and practitioners working broadly in programs aimed at poverty alleviation (or more specifically in programs aimed at violence prevention), humanitarian responses to man-made crises, and longer term strategies to overcome structural inadequacies, is the availability of reliable data on the incidence, form, frequency, context, perceptions, and avenues of redress for the occurrence of violence. In particular, there is an absence of data which are comparable across country borders as well as socio-cultural and historical contexts. Many of the world's experts working on poverty reduction and violence prevention in particular, such as the World Health

² Fearon and Laitin (1996) have estimated that between 1960 and 1979, of all the potential conflicts in Africa (defined as occurring where different ethnic groups live side by side), only 0.01% turned violent

Organization (2005), the Human Security Centre (2005), the Inter American Institute of Human Rights (Perez-Valero, 2002: 9, cf *Le Monde* July 1992), and the agencies of the United Nations such as the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC resolution 2003/26) and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime argue that there is an absence of reliable and comparable data collected at regular intervals over time which can adequately inform their policy and program design, as well as program monitoring and evaluation.

The World Report on Violence and Health (WHO, 2002: 10-11) states that self-inflicted, interpersonal or collective violence kills more than 1.6 million people every year with an overall age-adjusted rate of 28.8 per 100 000 population. An estimated 5.06 million people die each year as the result of injury (both accidental and intentional) (WHO, 2004a:1). According to data from high income countries³ alone, for every person killed from injury, approximately 30 times as many people are hospitalised from injury, and 300 times as many are treated in hospital emergency rooms and then released.⁴ Self-inflicted injuries are estimated to be the fourth leading cause of death and the sixth leading cause of ill-health and disability within the 15-44 age group (WHO, 1999). The vast majority of these deaths occurred in low- to middle-income countries with less than 10% of all violence-related deaths occurring in high-income countries. Nearly half of these 1.6 million violence-related deaths were suicides, almost one-third were homicides and about one-fifth were war-related. These figures, while horrifying, are vulnerable to gross under-reportage due to poor data availability, but do give some indication as to the seriousness of the problem, particularly in developing countries. To provide some context, tuberculosis kills 1.7 million people a year (UN, 2006: 15), the number of AIDS-related deaths increased in 2005, to 2.8 million across the world despite greater access to antiretroviral treatment and improved care in some regions (UN, 2006: 14), and 10.5 million children died before their fifth birthday in 2004 – mostly from preventable causes (UN, 2006: 10). Deaths from deliberate acts of violence are a serious inhibitor for poverty alleviation and development. These figures do not include injury rates, where in many cases incapacitation sustains poverty traps.

According to United Nations Statistics, “in 1990, more than 1.2 billion people – 28 per cent of the developing world’s population – lived in extreme poverty. By 2002, the proportion decreased to 19 per cent” (UN, 2006: 4). The laudable Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) aim to target poverty, and in particular address the special needs of the least developed countries, landlocked countries and small island developing states; to achieve a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum-dwellers by 2020; to halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger; and to halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than \$1 a day. It is precisely the people suffering from poverty who are most vulnerable to the devastating impacts of violence which can undermine the achievements made in reaching these goals. Indeed the Millennium Declaration which gave rise to the MDGs committed to responding to violence alongside poverty.⁵

While not ignoring the magnitude of undertaking such a task to create reliable, comparable, and valid measures of the incidence of violence, more comprehensive data are essential for creating better indexes

³ Included here are the Netherlands, Sweden, and the United States of America.

⁴ WHO, 2004: 1 cf Injury pyramid. Geneva, World Health Organization, 2001 (http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/injury/pyramid/injpyr/en, accessed 11 June 2003).

⁵ United Nations (2000)

to measure poverty and gauge the true situation of peoples in both sub-national and national contexts. They are also essential for governments, policy advisors, civil society organisations, and international non-government organisations and agencies working to reduce poverty, including the levels of violence and future violence prevention. Furthermore, such data are useful for monitoring the indirect impacts of poverty reduction, economic development strategies, and other forces which impact on the population, all of which have different effects on the different types of violence by exacerbating one kind while reducing another. How can broad institutions, programs, and responses be designed to help mitigate violence when it is poorly understood, particularly in terms of the patterns of how, where, why, and when it occurs, or by whom it is generally perpetrated on more than a single case by case basis?

This paper proposes a survey module which can be incorporated to multi-dimensional poverty survey questionnaires so that data on violence is collected in conjunction with data on health, income and employment, education, vulnerability and risk, shame and humiliation, eudemonia and well being at the very least. All of these dimensions are inextricably linked. Violence is a health problem in that it causes injury and death. Violence, and lack of security and safety, reduces access to income-generating activities, employment opportunities, job security and safe passage to work. In conflict situations, the private sector and public services often cease to function; education, public health facilities, and public infrastructure are sometimes destroyed; people are more vulnerable to disease; and their overall sense of eudemonia may decrease. The shame and humiliation of being poor, injured, disfigured or disabled and from a marginalised group in conflict situations sustain the sense of impoverishment amongst the poor. Disability may impact on income generating activities and consumption. It is therefore important that poverty be measured multi-dimensionally, so that data are available to formulate comprehensive, mutually-reinforcing policies and programs across all dimensions.

The aim of this paper is to outline a shortlist of indicators to measure the frequency and types of violence and some of its impacts as well as perceptions of threat, which can be used in the large household surveys conducted by nation states, as well as international development agencies including the World Bank, the agencies of the United Nations, and others who conduct surveys in multi-country and multi-locality contexts.⁶ There are vast differences between states, as well as the peoples within states, and the issues around which violence occurs. Accordingly, the phenomenon of intra-state violence may vary both between country contexts, and within the states themselves. The indicators presented in this paper (and the questions which underpin them) seek to provide some kind of comparable data. The module advocated in this paper is not exhaustive, as exhaustive survey modules are surveys within themselves and should be implemented as such. Some data are simply not comparable or require such exhaustive and in-depth questioning that they are not included here.⁷

⁶ This paper is concerned primarily with data which can be collected in household surveys rather than through creating databases of incidents based on other kinds of secondary data such as newspaper reports, archives of police and judiciary records, and through other monitoring initiatives.

⁷ There are no questions, for example, on psychological violence or self-harm as this would extend the module so extensively that it would be impossible to include in multi-dimensional survey on poverty. There are also no questions included on violence against the child as UNICEF has already created internationally comparable surveys gauging threats to the child.

Data, albeit not usually used for comparative purposes, can be comparable if questions are designed at the onset to accommodate the messiness of the different structural and social contexts in which the questions are asked. One way of accommodating such messiness is to have a core of categorical answers available for the questions being asked, with additions being made to these answer choices if specifically needed for a country or sub-national context.⁸ Thinking about cross country contexts and the likelihood of sub-national variation in the phenomenon of violence at the onset is essential for making indicators comparable, asking questions which are valid for a variety of contexts, and allowing answer options for closed ended questions that can accommodate the bulk of answers across a variety of contexts. Even so, large cross-country surveys such as the Living Standards Measurement Survey (LSMS) do not have one true prototype to be implemented in all contexts (The Ghana LSMS is the closest to a prototype existing for the LSMS)⁹. The aim of this paper is to shortlist a series of indicators for violence which are more than just a skeletal framework to be modified so substantially that all essence of comparability is lost, but rather which can at best be implemented as is or with only slight alteration, remaining sensitive to both the very nature of questions on violence which are difficult to ask as well as the context in which they are asked.

The paper also advocates the creation of a module to measure security and physical safety which incorporates threats to human security from both the aspects of violent crime (individual and collective) and conflict (usually collective or state-society) aspects of human security. Oftentimes, surveys concentrate on one or the other aspect of physical safety and security, as does the academic literature examining the relationships between either crime or conflict and violence. This paper argues that the measurement of both is essential for gauging the level of poverty which includes rights to physical safety and security. It is important to highlight at the outset that crime is not always violent and in many instances is a form of conflict. Similarly, conflict is not always considered to be a crime and is not always violent. In most instances the survey seeks to measure the incidence of violent crime and violent conflict. The exception is questions on theft which other research has demonstrated to be important to security and safety for most people, in particular the poor.

The data proposed for collection in this paper covers four important areas:

- 1) the incidence and frequency of both general crime (theft and violent crime) and more conflict related violence against both property and person;
- 2) the incidence of domestic violence (asked to women only in the health module of international surveys);
- 3) perceptions of whether domestic violence is a punishable act either by the state or socially appointed actors; and
- 3) perceptions of threat(s) to security and safety, both now and in the future.

Within these realms there are questions which seek to gauge resulting injuries and deaths from such violence, the victims and perpetrators of violence and the location where incidents take place, as well as avenues for recourse from incidents of violence and satisfaction with these.

⁸ This has been recommended by WHO (2004b)

⁹ World Bank, Living Standards Measurement Survey (www.worldbank.org/LSMS/, accessed 15 April 2007).

Section two of this paper examines violence as a dimension of poverty. Section two of this paper also examines the available data being collected on crime and conflict which is internationally comparable. Section three examines what data sources are available for indicators of crime and conflict. Section four outlines the indicators proposed for inclusion on a survey module on violence, security and safety.

2 Violence: safety and security as a dimension of poverty

2.1 What is violence?

There are many ways of defining violence¹⁰, a long researched and complex phenomenon found around the world. The World Health Organization defines violence (2004) as **“the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation.”** This paper draws on the WHO definition, although the indicators necessarily only capture a part of it.

As this definition implies, violence may be physical, resulting in harm to person or property, or psychological, resulting in and from fear and oppression. Violence can be collective¹¹, where the perpetrators are a group or mob; or individual where one person is responsible for inflicting harm on a person or property; or even perpetrated by state actors acting in either official or unofficial capacities. Violence may be sexual, forcing people to commit acts of a sexual nature against their will. Violence may be symbolic, including the desecration of cultural and religious symbols inciting group reprisals.¹² Violence may be subject to cultural relativism where different cultures define acts as violent or not depending on local value systems, customs and social organisation.¹³ Violence may be defined by the realm in which the act takes place (inter-personal, communal, state-society), or the way the violence is inflicted (property destruction, intentional injuries, crime, kidnapping), or by how the violence is inflicted (gunshot, stabbing, burning, bombing, rape, incest, and so on).

Oftentimes, the way data are collected on physical safety and security depends on how the institution or analyst defines violence or a problem associated with violence. At the broadest level, the disaggregation of information on threats to physical safety and security in the form of violence can be made between data collected and analysed on either crime, in particular violent crime (infringements on the state laws against person or property, perpetrated by individuals or small groups of individuals which could be identified with adequate information usually with motive) or conflict (also infringements on state laws,

¹⁰ The WHO (2004a) technical definition of **violence** according to international classifications is: the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation. This paper will limit the use of the term violence to not include threat. Threat will be defined as ‘threat of violence.’

¹¹ Tilly (2003) provides a heuristic definition for understanding collective violence as incidents which ‘have common episodic social interaction that:

- ‘Immediately inflicts physical damage on persons and/or objects (“damage” includes forcible seizure of persons or objects over restraint or resistance);
- Involves at least two perpetrators of damage; and
- Results at least in part from coordination among persons who perform the damaging acts.’ (p3)

¹² Das et al (2000); James (1997); Daniel (1994)

¹³ *ibid*

but usually perpetrated on a group basis and may be triggered by infringements on group or moral codes or motivated by political and other factors). The overlap can also be considered as a factor of the strength of the different justice systems of nation states. Where justice systems adequately function, then often times the violence is canvassed as a form of violent crime, with remedy falling within the realm of responsibility of the justice system and state law enforcement officers. However, where the justice system does not function well, or has broken down completely, and violence takes on an identity group basis, then violence is reported under the umbrella parlance of conflict.

For example, a report on the forms of insecurity and crime in Latin America identifies violence in the realms of crime, ethnic violence and racial intolerance, political violence in repressive democracies, drug-related narco-traffic, violence against children, domestic and gender violence, kidnappings, death threats, and violence perpetrated by police squads, and violence between indigents (Perez-Valero, 2002). The *World Report on Violence and Health* (WHO, 2002), reports on youth violence, child-abuse and neglect by parents, violence by intimate partners, abuse of the elderly, sexual violence, self-directed violence, and collective violence. These are just two examples of the multitude of ways in which violence can be viewed during analysis, with categorical typologies often resulting in overlapping categories including perpetrators, victims, root causes, politics, crime, and so on.

Indicators of violent conflict include injuries/deaths and destruction of property or goods which are also in themselves crimes. But the nature of how people are targeted can vary between crime and conflict. Targeting of victims may be indiscriminate to the individual but based on some broader identity such as in - but not limited to - conflict situations. The victims of crimes may be based on personal relationships and grievances with particular individuals such as in the case of homicides and assaults, but again this can also occur in conflict situations. Previous research has shown that forms of conflict tend to be related and that small disputes act as triggers for bigger conflicts (Esman and Herring, 2001), with such incidents easily occurring in the form of everyday crime. Yet the policy responses for each form of threat to human security may be very different.

Often the two areas overlap in reports on human security and safety but rarely are both included in the same instrument of data collection. Given that the aim of this paper is to look at designing a module of a household survey which can measure incidents of violence and threats to human safety and security as a dimension of poverty, then both aspects, violent crime and violent conflict need to be included in the survey module. Yet, while the data collected should cover incidents of both violent crime (with the exception of non-violent theft) and broader conflicts, it should be detailed enough in each respect for disaggregation by the broad identity groupings of victims and perpetrators, the location and form of the incidents, and responses by the state and society to such incidents so that policy responses can be designed to combat the two broader realms.

Some definitions of violence, including the WHO definition above, include the threat of harm, not just the actual act. Wherever possible, this paper advocates the use of international definitions of the terms associated with violence, but separates out the threat of violence from actual acts. This paper does consider the threat of violence as an important aspect of security and safety, however, threats can be real and perceived, incorporating many other psychological elements. The *Human Security Report* argues that

fear seems to bear little relation to objective risks (Human Security Centre, 2005: 47). Thus for the purposes of the measurement, these two aspects of violence, the actual acts, and perception of threats will be measured separately. They can be combined to create indicators which meet international definitions of the different aspects of violence.

2.2 Types of violence: bridging conflict and crime analyses

In order to bridge the conflict-crime nexus, this paper uses a typology of violence which pertains to both violent conflict and crime occurring between people. The WHO (WHO, 2004b: 4) identification of four types of intentional or deliberate violence resulting in injury or death is useful for considering how to design the survey module:

- Interpersonal violence¹⁴ (e.g. assault¹⁵, homicide, intimate partner violence, sexual violence¹⁶)
- Self-directed violence¹⁷ or self-harm¹⁸ (deliberate overdose on drugs and alcohol, self-mutilation, self-immolation, suicide)
- Legal intervention¹⁹ (action by police or other law enforcement personnel)
- War, civil insurrection²⁰ and disturbances (e.g. demonstrations and riots)

This module aims to capture data on the incidence of violence and other threats to safety and security (predominantly theft) between people with the exclusion of self-harm. It is important to highlight at the outset that this is a major omission, given that suicides account for such a large proportion of violence. However, conceptually, this module seeks to bridge violent crime and conflict conceptually through the lens interpersonal occurrences of either form of violence. Questions on self harm would necessarily involve a different style of questioning and categorization, overall leaving the module unwieldy and difficult to implement as a part of larger survey on poverty. Thus, self-harm is not included in the module

The bridging typology underpinning the module allows for data to be collected on violent crime, violence in conflict contexts, the household and that perpetrated by the state (although this is not asked directly). While the module can adequately capture data on the incidence of crime, it cannot adequately capture data on the incidence of conflict, given its inherently large scale and collective nature, and its uneven

¹⁴ Interpersonal violence: physical violence between people including situations, in which a person hits, slaps, pushes, kicks or otherwise strikes another person, e.g. fights between friends or family members Interpersonal violence includes child abuse and neglect, youth violence, violence against women, sexual violence, and elderly abuse and neglect.

¹⁵ Physical assault: behaviours that threaten, attempt, or actually inflict physical harm.

¹⁶ Sexual violence/sexual assault: any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act – including unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic a person for sexual exploitation - directed against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work.

¹⁷ Self-directed violence: self-directed violence is divided into suicidal behaviour and self abuse. Suicidal behaviour includes suicidal thoughts, attempted suicides – also called “parasuicide” or “deliberate self-injury” in some countries – and completed suicides. Self-abuse, in contrast, includes to acts such as self-mutilation.

¹⁸ Self-harm: deliberate overdose of drugs and alcohol, self-mutilation, self-immolation and suicide.

¹⁹ Legal intervention: any act of law enforcement by a person acting in an official capacity (e.g. execution of a search warrant or arrest, execution of a legal sentence such as corporal punishment).

²⁰ Civil insurrection: The act or an instance of open revolt against civil authority or a constituted government.

distribution. However, it can adequately capture data on injuries and deaths associated with both crime and conflict.

2.3 Why consider this dimension? Violence and its impacts

One of the surprises of the comprehensive *Voices of the Poor* Study (Narayan et al, 2000: 7) based on 78 Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPA) across 47 countries, was the prominence of concerns for physical safety and security among the poor. The study finds that poverty is multi-dimensional, where

‘Poverty never results from the lack of one thing but from many interlocking factors that cluster in poor people’s experiences and definitions of poverty.’ (Narayan et al, 2000:32)

Violence and a lack of physical safety and security are one of the dimensions of poverty not adequately addressed in poverty measures which focus on income levels, or access to education and health facilities. The following excerpt from the *Voices of the Poor* Study highlights the many examples identified by the poor from around the world. It demonstrates that different countries have different problems and that indicators used for comparability have to be flexible enough to accommodate the many dimensions that threats to physical safety through violence can take:

Poor women express fear of increased crime, both in public and at home. In Ukraine, women and old people say they no longer leave their homes after dark, and “worry when their children return late from school or work” (Ukraine 1996). In Moldova, women are afraid to work the night shift because of fear of assaults (Moldova 1997). In South Africa, case studies document “rapes of teenage girls, unfilled claims of child support by mothers due to fears of being beaten by the fathers, and even the crippling of a woman following a drunken argument among the couple” (South Africa 1998). The South Africa PPA also describes gang-related and political violence. Women report feeling vulnerable to physical attacks and sexual assaults when they are out collecting firewood. In India and in Pakistan, women spoke about the dangers of sexual assault and harassment by forest officials and others when collecting firewood, (1993). In Pakistan, absence of latrines forces women to use the bush before dawn and after dusk exposing them to snake bites, sexual harassment and attacks (Pakistan 1993). In Bangladesh (1996), provision of toilets and bathing places were high priority among adolescent girls and women because of fear of harassment and inconvenience. (Narayan et al, 2000: p41-42).

Similarly, in a four district intensive study on *Perceptions of the Poor* (Pal, 2001) conducted in Sri Lanka, ending civil conflict was amongst the five key poverty challenges highlighted by the study. Again the poor in this study perceive poverty to be multi-dimensional and speak of how they are poor rather than why they are poor, describing the threats of armed conflict and acts of violence they encounter everyday. For example, the overwhelming cause of poverty in the Trincomalee district was perceived to be the armed conflict. The conflict has disrupted or destroyed their livelihoods and increased the lack of security and mobility. Out of a total of some 83,829 families in the district, 40,437 had been displaced during the armed conflict during the 1990s, while over 30,960 houses comprising one third of homes in the district were damaged or destroyed (Pal, 2001: 15). Physical safety and security were not just a concern in the district most affected by violence, but an everyday threat to citizens in the study in all four districts. See for example the following excerpt from Moneragala District (Pal, 2001: 65)

When an 18-year old girl was walking back from school, a drunken man raped her on the way. She had to be hospitalized. So our parents stopped us from going to school after we became big [reached puberty]. The man belonged to a rich family. Although the girl’s family went to the police they didn’t take any action against the man. It is a waste of money educating daughters because when they attain age their schooling is stopped. They need to study at least until the 10th grade to get a job. Since this is a jungle, most girls do not study once they become “big girls”.

Jayawathi Menike, farmer, Moneragala district

A lack of physical safety, security, and mobility are a part of the general state of deprivation of these people and are thus a part of their poverty. Violence is not the outcome of poverty but rather the reason for poverty according to this study. Thus it should be included in measures of poverty.

As stated previously, the *World Report on Violence and Health* (WHO, 2002: 10 - 11) states that self-inflicted, interpersonal or collective violence kills more than 1.6 million people every year. However, there are considerable regional differences in rates of violent death:

“In the African Region and the Region of the Americas, homicide rates are nearly three times greater than suicide rates. However, in the European and South-East Asia Regions, suicide rates are more than double homicide rates (19.1 per 100 000 as against 8.4 per 100 000 for the European Region, and 12.0 per 100 000 as against 5.8 per 100 000 for the South-East Asia Region), and in the Western Pacific Region, suicide rates are nearly six times greater than homicide rates (20.8 per 100 000 as against 3.4 per 100 000).“ (WHO, 2002:10)

The report argues that these statistics are just the tip of the iceberg, with the majority of violent acts being committed behind closed doors and going largely unreported. It also demonstrates how the different forms of violence feed on each other. People who were subjected to child abuse or violence from an intimate partner are much more likely to commit acts of self harm. Collective violence fractures normal social bonds and often leads to sexual violence and heightened violence in young people. Almost every form of violence predisposes victims and perpetrators to another.

Other data highlight how conflict displaces economic and institutional resources that could be used to address poverty. Civil wars killed 5 million people in the 1990s.²¹ The greatest tragedy of these civil wars was the civilian death toll. However, such civil wars also come at great financial cost, where according to Gleditsch, Cappelen and Bjerkholt (1994) from the PRIO in Oslo, in 1994 for example, at the peak of several conflicts, the world spent:

“about 1,000,000 million USD annually on armaments.²² This is almost 5% of the total global output, and represents about one-sixth of total public spending. Arms expenditure exceeds world spending on public education by 10% and health spending by 25%. Global arms spending is 20 times higher than foreign aid and more than 2000 times higher than what is spent on international peacekeeping.”²³

In 2001, the poorest 41 countries had *increased* their armed forces by 80% since 1985 and the poorest five countries had nearly tripled their armed forces (300%). In contrast the OECD nations' armed forces had *decreased* by 25%.²⁴

What is important to remember is that fiscal priorities in relation to conflict and security often influence the investments of political energy, media attention, and public debate. Drèze and Sen (Dreze and Sen, 2002) report that the nuclear testing in India was accompanied by defense expenditures that were three times the level of combined expenditures of central and state governments on health. Further, they

²¹ UNDP (2000): 36

²² Estimates for total arms spending vary considerably because of official secrecy, misleading accounting procedures, and varying exchange rate. For Sivard (1986) reports a world total of USD 858,635 million, while USACDA (1989) uses the figure USD 983,800 million. In 1990, the SIPRI (1990) *Yearbook* stopped providing a figure for world military expenditure, mainly because it was too difficult to provide reliable estimates for such major arms spenders as China and the Soviet Union. However the press release of the 1990 edition of the *Yearbook* gives an estimate for 1989 'of the order of USD 950,000 million. USACDA (1994) reports a peak figure of USD 1,215,000 million (in 1991 dollars) for 1987, declining to 1,038,000 in 1991.

²³ Gleditsch et al (1994)

²⁴ UNDP (2001): 207, Table 19

document how the energies of media and public debate were displaced from development discussions. “Until 1998, defence and military had received roughly equal front page coverage; in 1998, defence increased by 40% (15-21%); development declined by same amount (15-9%); in 1999 defence rose another 25% (21-27%) and were getting nearly 4 times as much coverage as development. This is a sea change” (Dreze and Sen, 2002: section 8.7).

Following the World Trade Center bombing in 2001 and the consequent focus on the war on terror, further resources (financial, political, and institutional) are being diverted to defence strategies rather than humanitarian aid, poverty alleviation and violence prevention programmes. Conflicts also force populations to migrate suddenly as internally displaced persons and as refugees. ‘War and internal conflicts in the 1990s forced 50 million people to flee their homes.’²⁵ Displacement affects people’s health and livelihoods, and may disrupt children’s families and education.

In its report on *The Economic Dimensions of Interpersonal*²⁶ Violence (WHO, 2004a) finds that estimates of the cost of violence in the United States of America reach 3.3% of the gross domestic product. In England and Wales, the total costs from violence - including homicide, wounding and sexual assault - amount to an estimated \$40.2 billion annually. The report also highlights that interpersonal violence disproportionately affects low- and middle-income countries. The economic effects are also likely to be more severe in poorer countries. However, as this report shows, there is a scarcity of studies of the economic effects of this violence in low- and middle-income countries. Evidence provided in the report demonstrates that the public sector bears much of the economic burden of interpersonal violence. Several studies in the USA showed that from 56% to 80% of the costs of care for gun and stabbing injuries are either directly paid by public financing or are not paid at all, thus, these costs are absorbed by the government and society in the form of uncompensated care financing and overall higher payment rates. The review of most of the literature on the economic costs of violence highlights that in low- and middle-income countries, it is also probable that society absorbs much of the costs of violence through direct public expenditures and negative effects on investment and economic growth. Most importantly, there are inadequate data on the costs of treating the consequences of interpersonal violence, be it crime or conflict related.

According to the *Human Security Report* (HSR) (HSC, 2005: 1), civil wars, genocides, and international crises have all declined sharply in the past dozen years, and international wars together with military coups have been in steady decline for a much longer time period. This has particularly been the case since the end of the cold war. The HSR finds that wars have fewer victims today, with battle-related deaths amounting to nearly 700,000 in 1950, compared to 20,000 in 2002, with sub-Saharan Africa becoming the world’s most violent region today (HSC, 2005: 4-5²⁷). While the number of wars is decreasing, there are some 60 wars still being fought around the world with deadly consequences (HSC,

²⁵ UNDP (1999): 36

²⁶ Interpersonal violence is defined in this WHO report as violence between family members and intimate partners and violence between acquaintances and strangers that is not intended to further the aims of any formally defined group or cause.

²⁷ This figure draws on Lacina and Gleditsch (2005). It includes civilian and combatant deaths, but not deaths in conflict areas that arise from crime, disease, or one-sided violence (security forces firing on unarmed protesters, genocides).

2005: 9). However, the HSR identifies that there has been a huge increase in refugees and displaced persons over time since the major wars of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s (HSC, 2005: 5). The HSR also highlights that while the costs of war may be obvious, in the form of battle-deaths, displacement, flattened cities, destroyed infrastructure and so on, less obvious are the high numbers of indirect costs and ‘excess’ deaths such as those which would not have occurred had there not been excess fighting (HSC, 2005: 7) including disease and malnutrition. Disease and malnutrition, this paper argues, can be captured in health modules of household surveys and correlated with the findings of modules on security and safety if these modules are also included in the survey instrument.

2.4 Correlations between poverty, conflict and crime-related violence

Violence against the property and person in the form of crime, vigilantism, communal conflicts, insurgencies, civil wars, and intra-state wars is interlinked with poverty and underdevelopment, although the causal relationship is contested. For example, Stewart and Fitzgerald find that conflict is a major source of poverty and underdevelopment (Fitzgerald, 2001: 3), where low incomes lead to conditions which are conducive to violence. At the same time major civil wars are associated with markedly worse performance in economic growth, food production per capita and human indicators, such as infant mortality rates, school enrolment, and so on. This further demonstrates why modules on physical safety and security should be included along with other modules to gauge the multi-dimensional nature of poverty and to further test causal relationships which will then impact poverty alleviation program design.

Famine and severe impoverishment have very often been associated with antecedent military activities and violent encounters. Wars and the associated insecurities tend to disrupt normal economic and social activities, undermine democracies and public discussions, and frustrate the development of a well functioning market economy.²⁸ Not only can subsequent economic crises plunge large portions of the population into poverty, they can also lead to unmanageable levels of political unrest and turmoil that create long term effects both on the economy and on public safety. Indonesia, Argentina, and others all have faced public order problems as a result of the plummeting economies. World Bank and IMF – instituted Structural Adjustment policies in Venezuela and Morocco led directly to street violence (Woodroffe and Ellis-Jones, 2000). Collier and Hoeffler (1998) identify the economic impacts of war on growth and poverty by identifying three main impacts of civil war: (1) a disruption to capital or transaction intensive activities (roads, production, and financial services, for example); (2) a diversion of expenditure and resources from economic to war efforts; and (3) a reduction of domestic savings through consumption and capital flight. Cross-country evidence has shown that democracies are less likely to experience civil war than authoritarian states (Hegre et al, 2001). Furthermore, while democracies may be more likely to channel conflict in peaceful ways, democratizing countries—i.e., those in transition and often with higher poverty levels—are less likely, and social tensions in these nations are more likely to escalate into violence (Gurr, 2000a; Gurr, 2000b).

Ibrahim Elbadawi’s ‘Civil Wars and Poverty’ (1999) also finds that civil wars and poverty are inextricably linked. Civil wars have direct effects on poverty through the destruction of physical, human, and social capital, resulting in a disruption of productivity, heightened unemployment, social displacement, and

²⁸ On this see also Jean Drèze and Amartya Sen, *Hunger and Public Action* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

increased physical insecurity. At the same time, causality again comes into question as many contemporary economists emphasise the pursuit of individual economic advantages the primary force driving conflicts²⁹ (but often ignore the group dimension of conflict, as well as the sometimes irrational behaviour of individuals or groups engaging in violence which may go against their 'best interests').

Collier and Hoeffler (2001) for example seek to explain variation in levels of violence as a result of an instrumented battle for resources (these authors attribute this to the financial viability of a rebellion); that is, violent conflict is more likely to occur particularly in poor, underdeveloped countries as a consequence of their resource base and population demographics. Other research on economic root causes of conflict have identified drivers such as private incentives (arising particularly in the presence of natural resources where war provides opportunities of enrichment); individual grievances, particularly associated with low incomes and high levels of poverty and unemployment; environmental pressures leading to conflicts over resources, especially land; and failure of the social contract to deliver public services, security and incomes.³⁰ While such root causes are often part and parcel of the story, they do not explain why violence does not occur in areas where these problems exist – thus contesting the one-way causal relationship between poverty and conflict.

Easterly (Easterly, 1999, 2001, 2002) for example establishes that poverty alone, as measured by indicators of economic growth, does not necessarily lead to conflict. However, when combined with high income and asset inequality, particularly along ethnic or communal lines, poverty can lead to violent conflict. Similarly, Sen (1989) argues that wars also destroy crops; they devastate the economy and ravage the stock of productive capital; they damage transport facilities and disrupt movements of food and other commodities. The disruption of health service is also a direct connection, since most people who die from famines perish through illnesses of one kind or another, and the destruction of medical networks can add substantially to famine mortality. However, similar to other authors, Sen also argues that the causal relationship between poverty, inequality and violence is contested. In delivering the annual Nadine Gordimer lecture at the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg on the 18 April, and contesting Huntington's clash of civilisations theory, Sen referred to the Indian city, Kolkata, where Muslim, Sikh, and Christian minorities had a sense of security. "Calcutta is not only one of the poorest cities in India, it has also one of the lowest crime rate among all the Indian cities. It's often remarked, and I think with some justice, it's the only major city in India where women can walk around in the evening, unaccompanied, without the danger of coming to a violent end," (Press Trust of India (PTI), 2007).

There are other links between the economic variables and conflict such as inequalities between groups or the relative deprivation of particular groups. For example, Gurr (Gurr, 1993) argues that relative deprivation is a necessary precondition for civil strife of any kind. Stewart (2002) and Stewart, Brown and Mancini (2005) demonstrate the links between horizontal inequalities (inequalities between groups with shared identities) – HIs - and the propensity for conflict. Based on the case of Indonesia, Mancini (2005) argues that inequality between ethnic groups represents a potentially important channel through which ethnic diversity can lead to violence. Yet, as Stewart (2000) rightly points out, there are many societies where groups with sharp inequalities live side by side and do not experience widespread

²⁹ Keen (1998); Collier and Hoeffler (1998)

³⁰ See for example Collier (2000); Homer-Dixon (1994); Nafziger and Auvinen (2002)

collective violence. Thus, inequalities in this research are hypothesised to be a precondition for conflict but not for violence. Regardless, through this lens, violence and poverty often times go hand in hand.

3 Data collection: what are available and what are the issues?

There is consensus in many fields that given the nature of violence and the location (national or sub-national) of violent incidents, the internationally comparable data on conflict, physical safety, and security are inadequate.³¹ There are a variety of ways of collecting data on violence, threats to physical safety, and conflict, which include but are not limited to household surveys. For example data on mortality and injuries can and are collected nationally from hospitals and police records, but do not encompass those incidents which may be treated outside hospitals or not treated at all such as rape, intimate partner violence, genital mutilation and other problems of physical safety which may result in social shame and humiliation; incidents of violence in communal conflicts that go unreported; injuries treated outside the formal health sector; and so on. Similar kinds of data may be missing or under-reported by administrators of the justice sector such as the police (particularly if there are political or merit reasons not to do so) and the courts (where cases of injury and even death do not reach the courts), due to human error, inadequate training in reporting and file keeping, and other related reasons.

The World Health Organization (WHO) report (WHO, 2005; 6) on *Milestones of a Global Campaign for Violence Prevention* argues that an ‘ongoing supply of national- and – local-level information about the causes and about the consequences of violence is essential to building a comprehensive understanding of the problem and for designing, developing, and monitoring effective solutions’. In a different report, WHO (WHO, 2004b: 1) argues that ‘injuries and violence are ranked amongst the leading causes of death and disability...particularly true in the case of the low-income and middle income countries where injuries and violence are growing in significance, largely as a consequence of the epidemiologic, demographic and socioeconomic transitions that have characterized the development of these countries in recent decades.’³² Thus, it is important to include both injuries and deaths in indicators of security and safety to truly gauge the size and nature of the problem which may be disguised by only including indicators of deaths in survey instruments.

3.1 Data on violence and threats to security in the form of crime

The Division of Policy Analysis and Public Affairs of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has implemented a series of surveys over time on Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems. The ninth survey covers the period of 2003 – 2004 and requests the permanent missions of the UN to fill in a questionnaire which summarises the statistics of the national justice providers such as the police and the courts on crimes, using international standardised definitions (UNODC, 2005). Such information is useful in collating statistics on crime, violence, and prosecution in a format which is standardised across nations. However, this survey relies on the statistics provided by national

³¹ WHO (2004); HSR (2005); EU ICS (2005); Sapir (2006); Mack (2002); UNICEF

³² WHO compiles the data supplied by countries on homicides, suicides and war each year. This in a sense combines data on violent conflict and crime. It receives such information from over 80 countries (85 for 2001). However, what is consistently missing is data on African countries on the causes of death, as well as that from the Asian and Middle-Eastern regions. Household surveys would help fill such reporting gaps and overcome some of the underreporting issues.

government offices which is vulnerable to underreporting, missing many of the incidents of violence as has been outlined above.

The implementation International Crime Victim Surveys (ICVS) is supported by the Ministry of Justice in the Netherlands, The Home Office in the United Kingdom, the Department of Justice in Canada, the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and the European Commission is useful as it is seeking to supplement the data made available by national governments from police and prosecution records. It is also useful as it provides a standardised tool of data collection in terms of definitions, methodology, and reference periods on eleven types of crime.³³ There is also an African version of the ICVS implemented in 13 African nations conducted in collaboration with the United Nations African Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the treatment of Offenders (UNAFRI). The survey asks about where the crimes took place, if it was reported to the police, satisfaction with the police response, reasons for dissatisfaction, the seriousness of the incident for the household, and if it was not reported, why it was not reported. It also asks questions on the weapons used in robberies, the number of people involved in sexual offences and their relationship with offender, as well as if weapons were used and if the person classifies the incident as a crime. However, it does not seek to measure the group nature of conflict-related violence, or questions which are more closely related to rural crime and conflict (with the exception of a few questions in the African ICVS).

3.2 Data on conflict and related forms of violence

The Human Security Report (HSC, 2005: 2) identifies the inadequacy of available comparable year-on-year data on global security as a significant barrier to research and policy design. There are no 'official' data sets on armed conflicts, genocide and core human rights abuse, nor easily comparable measures of criminality made available from state-based institutions. Furthermore, the UN do not have any comparable data on armed conflict to help it formulate and evaluate its security policies. The HSR highlights that governments may not be willing to divulge the incidence of violence and violent conflict within their own borders. It also argues that while violent crime is a threat to human security, attempts to track global and regional trends in criminal violence are hampered by a lack of data, under-reporting and under-recording, conflicting definitions and so on (HSC, 2005: 8). Identifying types of violence is important for policy prescriptions, where for example a study in Sierra Leone found that displaced women were twice as likely to be raped as those who remained in their homes. The Human Security Centre (HSC) at the University of British Columbia has reviewed and compiled its report based on data from research institutions around the world as well as commissioning a major opinion poll on popular attitudes to security in 11 countries, and a new dataset by the Uppsala University Conflict Data Program. There are a variety of data sources on violence, conflict, wars, insurgencies, political terror, and so on identified by the HSC. Each has both its benefits and limitations.

For example, the Political Terror Scale (PTS) at the University of North Carolina, records the global and regional trend data on human rights abuse in the developing world using a composite indicator that

³³ Data is collected on ownership of cars, theft of cars, theft from cars, car vandalism; ownership of motorcycles, theft of motorcycles; ownership and theft of bicycles; burglary, attempted burglary; robbery; personal theft involving force; sexual offences (includes touch and rape all in one); assaults and threats.

captures core human rights abuses such as torture, extra-judicial executions, and 'disappearances' backed by death squads. However, the central focus of this scale is state repression, with the identity of the perpetrators of the violence not always being clear and thus the indicator sometimes captures violence not perpetrated by the state. The research by Singer and Dasgupta looks at the changing character of war, including reliance on child soldiers, and the growth in paramilitary organisations. The dataset created by Harff looks at the incidence of mass murder. Again these datasets are useful, but rely on secondary sources as the main data source on incidents, deaths and perpetrators.

The Uppsala University's Conflict Data program and the International Peace Research Centre in Oslo (PRIO) track the armed conflict trends in the post- World War II period, known as the Correlates of War project. The definition however, does not include conflicts between non-state actors, such as the communal conflicts in Indonesia, Nigeria, and many other parts of the world. Thus the HSC commissioned Uppsala to collect this data including smaller conflicts as well as genocides and massacres for 2002-3 with the threshold being at least 25 battle related deaths in each calendar year (HSC, 2005: 21). However, this work relies on newspaper reports and reports from agencies such as the UN and civil society organisations, again leaving it vulnerable to underreporting on frequency of incidents, and very stringent rules on how to count battle deaths. The HSR (2005) argues that given the huge variation in the numbers of deaths reported in such sources and the conservative estimates which they use in their database, this database while useful, is susceptible to underreporting of battle deaths, particularly in the data base on armed conflicts involving the state (the threshold is 1000 in a calendar year, thus countries such as Northern Ireland miss the threshold). Injuries are not recorded at all.

As part of its effort to promote disaster prevention and mitigation as an integral part of development activities, the World Bank's Disaster Management Facility (DMF), under the umbrella of the ProVention Consortium, undertook a study of the quality and accuracy of disaster data (Tschoegl et al, 2006). The three databases reviewed also include data on violence and conflict. These were NatCat maintained by Munich Reinsurance Company (Munich); Sigma maintained by Swiss Reinsurance Company (Zürich) and EM-DAT maintained by the Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters (CRED, Université Catholique de Louvain, Brussels). The differences in the incidents recorded in the databases were significant, however they reduced overtime. Records that date from the 1980's had greater discrepancies than those from the 1990's, with press sources being the least reliable, and standardized definitions being a key issue for redress amongst the data bases if results from these databases are to be compared

3.3 Why use household surveys?

The above discussion looks at just some of the major internationally comparable data sources which specifically focus on crime and conflict, although other survey instruments discussed below may have one or two questions on these topics. With the exception of the ICVS, most of the datasets are created based on secondary sources and vulnerable to varied definitions, under-reporting, political agendas of the institutions providing the information and so on. This paper proposes using a household survey to

complement the available data. There are several reasons why household surveys are a useful way of obtaining data on injuries³⁴, deaths, and violence³⁵. These include:

- Provide data on injuries or deaths if no other data sources exist in a particular nation;
- Household surveys can be used to supplement and cross-check administrative data on conflict and crime, and discrepancies between data can be examined.³⁶
- Certain empirical hypotheses on the causal interconnections between poverty and violence (criminal and civil) as well as violence prevention, can be tested using such data more accurately than is possible using aggregate datasets.
- Multidimensional poverty measures can identify which economically and socially poor groups are also the victims of significant violence.
- Multidimensional poverty measures can track the dynamics of change – for example what sequences or kinds of development investments stabilize high crime or post conflict situations and which accelerate the violence?
- Limited attention has previously been paid to injuries as a public health problem due to a lack of reliable and valid information on injuries which makes the size of the problem visible to policy makers ???;
- The surveys would provide baseline data on injuries, death, and violence together with socio-economic baseline data in countries where no population data exists. Deaths, injuries and property destruction can then be mapped according the features of demographic sub-populations, place, type and nature of injury; all of which are important features required for designing policy and programs to redress or prevent future occurrences;
- Capturing the incidence of violence where it does not reach hospitals or other state agencies which may report the incident, particularly where cases are treated outside the formal health sector, or where people are too embarrassed to report incidents;
- Allowing for the simultaneous comparison of physical security and safety as well as poverty between different geographic regions, or countries; and
- Providing estimates on the burden of poor security and safety in terms of financial costs, disability and mortality.

However, household surveys which attempt to capture both real incidents of violence, trends in the incidence of violence over time, perceptions of security and safety and other related information can be logistically difficult to implement particularly in conflict regions or high violence regions, and validity may be reduced if the respondent is not convinced of confidentiality. The validity of results of household

³⁴ WHO, uses the following definitions relating to injury. Injury: physical damage that results when a human body is suddenly or briefly subjected to intolerable levels of energy. It can be a bodily lesion resulting from acute exposure to energy (thermal, chemical, kinetic) in amounts that exceed the threshold of physical tolerance, or it can be an impairment of function resulting from a lack of one or more vital elements (oxygen, warmth), as in drowning, strangulation or freezing. Injury death: death as a result of an injury event. Injury event: an incident leading to an injury. Intentional injury: injuries that are purposefully inflicted, either by the victims themselves (i.e. suicide and suicide attempts) or by other persons (i.e. homicide, assault, rape, child abuse).

³⁵ WHO definition of Violence: the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation. This paper will limit the use of the term violence to not include threat. Threat will be defined as 'threat of violence.

³⁶ WHO (2004b); WHO (2005); Human Security Centre (2005); Van Dijk et al (2005)

surveys may be undermined by recall bias, and may be prone to selection bias, sampling errors (but they are selected precisely because the sampling framework is at least ostensibly robust), and non-response bias in areas where the displaced have relocated or where homes are heavily protected in high income areas. Household surveys may use non-standardised terms in across countries, limiting the comparability or results, which is why this paper proposes a standardised module. While many of these problems can be overcome by better design (careful attention to sampling, limiting non-response, and constructing questions which limit recall bias and use internationally comparable definitions), better trained interviewers (in conducting surveys on sensitive topics such as violence) and better implementation (through resource provision, planning and supervision), they can also be resource intensive and thus only carried out periodically. This paper addresses many of these issues on question design to accommodate international comparisons of data.

There are many household surveys which, albeit not explicitly aimed at measuring violence per se, have questions pertaining to certain aspects of violence, be it violent crime, theft and property destruction, conflict and its socio-demographic features, intra-household violence, violence perpetrated by the state or individuals, satisfaction with problem solving avenues and state agencies and so on. The following sections review a series of surveys which in some form or other ask questions related to measuring violence (either conflict based, or crime based) and perceptions of threat, its causes, consequences, changes over time, options for remedies and satisfaction with these. This section does not propose a series of questions on measuring the costs of violence, as such questions are outside the scope of a short module.

The surveys reviewed here are (See Appendix 1 for more details):

- The Living Standards Measurement Survey - The World Bank (covering themes of socio-demographic data, education, health, service provision, governance, values and meanings, and other modules) (World Bank, 1980-Present)
- The International Crime Victims Surveys – UNODC/UNICRI (covering themes of eleven types of crime including theft, robbery, assault, threat, perceptions of safety, changes in crime over time, reporting and satisfaction of outcomes – usually conducted by telephone but face to face questionnaire is analysed here) (UNODC/UNICRI, 1989-Present)
- European Crime and Safety Survey/ EU International Crime Survey – EU (Applies the ICVS) – implemented by Gallup Europe on crimes against clearly identifiable individuals, excluding children, also uses phone interviews rather than face to face (UNODC/UNICRI, 1989-Present).
- The Multi-Cluster Surveys (MICS, UNICEF) - the module on attitudes to domestic violence (UNICEF, 1995-Present)
- The Demographic and Health Surveys – on incidents of domestic violence against women (USAID, 1985-Present)
- The Afrobarometer (covering themes of democracy, governance, livelihoods, macro-economics and markets, social capital, conflict and crime, participation and national identity) (IDASA-CDD-Michigan State University (MSU), 2000-Present)
- The Latinobarometer (covering themes of the economy and international trade; integration and trade Agreements; democracy; politics and institutions; social policies and wealth distribution;

civic culture, social capital and participation; environment; gender and discrimination; and current themes) (Latinobarómetro, 1995-2004)

- The Asianbarometer Survey (covering themes of economic evaluations; trust in institutions; social capital political participation; electoral mobilization; psychological involvement and partisanship; traditionalism; democratic legitimacy and preference for democracy; efficacy, citizen empowerment, system responsiveness; democratic versus authoritarian values; cleavages; belief in procedural norms for democracy. Wave 2 also covered human security, globalization, the meaning of democracy, important problems to be addressed, quality of governance, international relations, as well as satisfaction with government and democracy) (National Taiwan University (NTU) and Institute of Political Science of Academia Sinica, 2000-Present)
- The Eurobarometer (covering the same themes as the surveys above) (Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), 1974-Present)
- The Ipsos-Reid poll implemented for the Human Security Centre and the Human Security Report on people's fears and experiences of political and criminal violence in 11 countries (Ipsos-Public Affairs).
- The Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security, and Ethnicity (CRISE), University of Oxford survey on Perceptions of Identity (Multi-country study on conflict and perceptions of identity, collective action, stereotypes, attitudes towards the use of violence, inequalities; Indonesia survey has questions on incidence of conflict and disputes)
- The World Bank Questionnaire on Social Capital (with sections on group difference, identity groupings and problems generated, whether these problems lead to violence, and perceptions of safety) (Grootaert et al, 2004)

4 Indicators

The comprehensive survey module on physical safety and security discussed below has been divided into four parts so that questions are asked in a logical, sequential order, maximising the amount of data which can be captured in approximately 10-15 minutes. For those respondents who have not experienced actual incidents of violence against property or person, this module will take less than 5 minutes. For those that have experienced many different forms of threats to their human security, the module will take approximately 15 minutes. The module should be added to pre-existing survey modules which aim to capture internationally comparable data on aspects of poverty: in particular income, education, health, social capital, well-being, livelihoods, nutrition, migration and refugee status, and so on. The findings from this module can be used to run correlations with other poverty data to create a multi-dimensional measure of poverty. The four parts of the module are:

- Part 1: Indicators of incidents of threats to physical safety and security: against property
- Part 2: Indicators of incidents of threats to physical safety and security: against person
- Part 3: Domestic violence: asked for women only, added on to health modules where enumerators are trained in building trust with respondents and asking sensitive questions in a variety of cultural contexts.
- Part 4: Perceptions of safety and threats of violence

Overall, using five key questions and a series of sub-questions the module aims to capture indicators of physical safety and security that are comparable across countries, in both urban and rural contexts. Given the vast variety of threats to security and safety across the world, where in some countries property crime is of great concern such as in parts of Western and Eastern Europe (Alvazzi del Frate and Van Kesteren, 2004), and in others civil war poses the greatest threat to human security for example in parts of West Africa such as the recent conflicts in the Ivory Coast, this module aims to incorporate indicators of violent incidents associated with both crime and group-based conflict, as well as violence against women in the household (which is considered a crime in some countries). Also included are indicators of perceptions of security and safety to complement the data collected on actual incidents. The section on property related incidents is asked first because, albeit a sensitive issue, it is the least sensitive of all sections of the module. The section on overall perceptions of conflict and crime in the region is asked at the end of the module to minimise the risk of the respondent ending the session prematurely. As much as possible, questions have been included which have already been tested in a cross-cultural context.

When the module is considered in its entirety, it aims to capture data on:

- **Selected types of property related crime in the past five years:** number of incidents, number of people injured (losing one day or more of actual activities) in the most recent incident, the perpetrators (with safeguards against short circuiting the survey implementation through asking people to name particular household members or state agencies), reporting the crime (to both state and non-state actors) and satisfaction with how the incident was resolved (to gauge how society manages such incidents).
- **Selected types of violence against the person:** number of incidents, number of deaths, number of people injured (losing one day or more of actual activities) in the most recent incident, the location of the incident (gauging individual, institutional involvement in the violence, and locations for targeting prevention programs) the perpetrators (with safeguards against short circuiting the survey implementation through asking people to name particular household members or state agencies), reporting the crime (to both state and non-state actors) and satisfaction with how the incident was resolved (to gauge how society manages such incidents).
- **Incidents of domestic violence:** incidents of different intensities of violence against women taking place within the household (by other members of the household), attitudes towards whether the act should be punished and by whom, reporting of the problem, and satisfaction how the problem was dealt with
- **Perceptions of safety from violence and security:** perception of likelihood of being a victim of violent crime or conflict in the next year, perception of greatest threat to human security in terms of crime, conflict and other issues).

This paper also recommends that the module developed for measuring security and safety should be accompanied by questions on age, gender, religion, ethnicity, language group, migration status, IDP and refugee status, rural-urban status, economic status, education, and occupation. These are all important variables for disaggregating data to understand perceptions of risks to safety and threat of violence,

perceptions of the proximate causes of violence, groups most vulnerable to actual incidents of violence, and geographic regions where violence is most prevalent.

The work of many theorists on conflict and violence have identified the link between identity, groups, and conflict, particularly as conflicts shift from interstate wars to internal conflicts within the boundaries of nation states. Authors such as Sen (1996), Brubaker and Laitin (1998), Horowitz (2000), Tilly (2003), Stewart (2000) and the work of the researchers at the Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE) at the University of Oxford, to name just a few, all examine the links between both ascriptive identity groups (such as ethno-religious, linguistic and other culturally defined groups) and prescriptive identity groups (other groups drawn around political and other identity group boundaries). As Brubaker and Laitin (1998: 427) put it,

'That political violence can be ethnic is well established, indeed too well established; how it is ethnic remains obscure. The most fundamental questions – for example, how the adjective "ethnic" modifies the noun "violence" – remain unclear and largely unexamined.'

Eriksen (1993) and many other identity theorists argue that an individual can take on a particular identity or multiple identities and that loyalties to one identity may surpass another. della Porta and Diani (1999) argue that identity formation is essential for understanding collective action. As Anderson (Anderson, 1991) and others have reasoned, identity formulation and transformation are contingent on demographic, political, economic, cultural, policy, and legislative environments at multiple levels and grievances towards changes in these environments.³⁷ Identity loyalties can shape the form that individual and group behaviour takes, and whether this results in violence

As such, to understand violent conflict and crime, and the associated threats to human security within a poverty framework, it is important to understand which groups of people are most vulnerable to violence, as well as the identity group basis of perceptions of threats to physical safety and security. This subsequently requires data to be included in the survey on identity as outlined above.

Such demographic information in turn can help shape policies and programs in poverty alleviation and violence prevention. Most of these aspects will be captured in surveys on poverty overall. However, IDP and refugee status, religion, ethnicity and language group are often not included in poverty surveys, and given the importance of these aspects to understanding targeted crime and conflict-related violence, it is recommended that questions on identity be included in the demographic section of the survey wherever it does not threaten the possibility of implementing the survey in a particular country.

This paper argues that all questions be directed at 'you or a member of your household' when trying to measure the frequency of violence, as this stops double reporting on 'friends or family' from respondents in the same community. The definition of a household used for this module includes people who are living in the house and eat regularly from the same pot.

³⁷ On this, see also the work of Wolf (1964), Wolf (1999) who has shown how structures and power relations shape cultures.

Given that this module on physical safety and security is intended to gauge poverty levels in different countries around the world, and many of the worlds poorest countries have limited infrastructure, including phones, interviews must be conducted face to face rather than using CATI (Computed Assisted Telephone Interviews) technology which has been used in many of the surveys conducted in Europe mentioned above. Furthermore, given the sensitive nature of the topic, face-to-face interviews allow field teams to explain the purpose of the questionnaires, assure interviewees of confidentiality, and allay any fears or concerns they may have. The household surveys being targeted in this paper are all face-to-face.

WHO (2004a: 28) and UNIDRC (Alvazzi del Frate and Van Kesteren, 2004) recommend using internationally recognized, standard definitions and codes for classifying data. Wherever possible, these have been used in this module, although threat and actual acts of violence have been disaggregated in the questions used for the indicators. However, the questions are designed in such a way that these can be re-aggregated as necessary to meet internationally recognised definitions. Furthermore, it recommends conducting surveys at the local rather than national level, as this is where many of the phenomena of violence take place. For comparative purposes, this paper recommends that as a first step the survey module be conducted nationally, and later studies can be conducted more intensively in selected sites which emerge from the first wave of data analysis.

While senior females in the household are more likely to remember the injuries incurred by other household members (WHO, 2004b: 30), this module aims to capture injuries, deaths and other forms of violence from both crime and conflict. Thus, this paper recommends interviewing both men and women as they will have varied knowledge of different kinds of violence.³⁸ However, part three on domestic violence against women should only be asked to women as a part of a broader module on health, where enumerators have special skills in asking sensitive questions, and where there is assurance that other members of the household are not present during the conduct of the interview, potentially compromising the validity of results.

The questions on frequency of both property and person related crime and violence are asked for a period of five years. Most of the surveys such as the LSMS, the Barometer surveys and some questions on the ICVS and EU-ICS ask the question for the past year. However, in the ICVS and the EU-ICS most of the questions are asked for the past five years. Ideally, this module would include both, but space does not allow for this luxury. Thus, the five year marker is more useful, given that it is relevant to threats to security and safety for both crime and conflict. While crime may be a more frequently occurring social phenomenon across the world, conflict occurs less frequently. However, the impacts of conflict on both the community and social tensions can be more wide reaching and devastating than smaller incidents of crime (with the exception of course of places where homicide and assault are a large scale problem). Asking about the frequency of incidents in the past year, would miss the incidents arising from many conflict situations. This in turn could not be tested against the answers to the questions on perceptions of security and safety, where in conflict situations, incidents in the past five years could inform their feelings of security and safety in the present day, but this would not be captured if the indicators on frequency of incidents only pertained to the past year.

³⁸ However, space should be made in the questionnaire to determine if the person interviewed is the person who has suffered from violence in the past, or they are representing another member of the household.

In the following pages, there is discussion of each part of the module, the considerations involved in including, excluding, or modifying questions from pre-existing surveys, as well as adding questions which have not been asked in international surveys before. There is also some discussion of where the results of previous surveys using these questions have been analysed previously, and some of the factors for consideration when actually implementing the survey to ensure the validity of results.

4.1 Part 1: Indicators of incidents of threats to physical safety and security: against property

Part 1 (see below) of the survey module aims to capture the frequency of incidents of property based-crime in both urban and rural settings, either involving or not involving assault. Property based crime has been included as an indicator of security and safety for two main reasons. Firstly, theft, regardless of whether assault occurs can be debilitating for the poor and contribute to their feeling of security and safety. For example, crime surrounding burglary was considered to be fairly serious to a very serious offence by 88% of all respondents in the African ICVS (Naudé et al, 2006: 9).

Secondly, in conflict situations property damage and looting are a common form of violence which marks instability. During conflict situations property damage is often an indicator of escalating violence, where mobs burn down villages, places of worship, and public infrastructure of particular identity groups as much as they engage in armed or unarmed clashes. For example, in the Poso District in Central Sulawesi, where a conflict broke out between Muslim and Christian groups between 1998 and 2001, approximately 2000 people were killed within a four sub-district radius. However, approximately 20,000 houses were burned down or damaged across the four sub-districts and 6,401 buildings were damaged (6,254 houses, 58 places of worship, 30 schools, 41 government offices, 1 market, and 17 other buildings).³⁹ Amongst the five communal conflicts taking place across Indonesia at the time, the estimated number of deaths was lowest in Poso (Varshney et al, 2004),⁴⁰ however, property damage was the more common form of violence taking place in this district. Of these five communal conflicts, only in Poso do tensions continue to simmer, indicating the importance of considering both human-physical and property violence as indicators of safety and security in conflict situations.

Alvazzi del Frate and John van Kesteren (2004: 1) in their analysis of the results of the 2000 International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS), argue that victimisation experiences are more likely to occur in urban areas. However, the kinds of questions asked in the ICVS are common to urban forms of crime, with the exception of those questions asked in the African ICVS. The ICVS conducted in 13 African nations also added questions on theft of livestock, more common to rural than urban areas (Naudé et al, 2006: 8). Consequently, this module also attempts to capture forms of rural crime identified in qualitative and survey work conducted of many development institutions including the Voices of the Poor Study (2000) and the Local conflict and Development Programs in Indonesia (Diprose, 2004; Barron et al, 2006) conducted by the World Bank, as well as the Access to Justice work conducted by UNDP (Diprose et al, 2005; UNDP, 2007) in Indonesia and Cambodia.

³⁹ Tengah (2004)

⁴⁰ Varshney et al (2004)

The following table shows Part 1 of the survey module. Following this there is a discussion of the logic behind the design of Part 1 based on previous research and internationally comparable surveys which have been implemented.

Table 1: Indicators of incidents of threats to physical safety and security: against property

1. In the past 5 years, have you or any members of you household been the victim of or experienced the following?	i) No 1) Yes 99) Don't know 88) Not applicable (for example do not own vehicles, crops, or animals)	ii) If yes, how many times in the last five years did this happen to you or another member of your household? 1) Once 2) Twice 3) Three times 4) More than three times (LSMS Malawi)	iii) In the last (most recent) incident that occurred was anyone injured (could not continue their normal activities for more than one day)? 1) No 2) Yes 99) Don't know iv) If yes, how many people were injured in the most recent incident? (adapted from WHO guidelines)	v) The last time this happened was the perpetrator (s) an individual household member, another relative, a neighbour who you know, a close friend of you or the family, a person/group of people you only know by sight, a stranger/group of strangers, or you don't know/didn't see the offender? 1) HH member 2) Other relative 3) Neighbour who you know 4) Close friend of you or the family 5) Person you know by sight only 6) Group of people who you know by sight only 7) Individual stranger 8) Group of strangers 99) Did not see offender/don't know 77) Refused to answer (Adapted from ICVS, conflict survey questions, and barometer surveys)	vi) Who did you report this to (if more than one person/institution, choose the one person/institution which was most important to you)? 1) Police 2) Military 3) Religious leader/ Traditional leaders /elders /chiefs/ village heads 4) Government officials 5) NGO/CSO 6) Local armed gangs 7) Media 8) Political party 9) Doctor, health official 10) Other household member 11) Other (specify) 12) Did not report it 99) Don't know (Adapted from Barometers/ICVS)	vii) If you reported this incident, how satisfied were you with the way they dealt with this problem? 1) Very satisfied 2) Somewhat satisfied 3) Somewhat dissatisfied 4) Very dissatisfied 99) Don't know 88) N/A (For those who did not report it) (Barometer surveys)
Property						
A. Someone tried to get into your house, flat or dwelling, without permission and tried to steal or stole something? (ICVS)			iii	Iv		
B. Someone actually got into your house, flat, or dwelling, without permission and stole or tried to steal something? (ICVS)						
C. Someone took something from you or a member of your household (on your person), by using force, or threatening you? Or did anyone try to do so? (adapted from ICVS)						
D. Someone stole something you own (not stored in the dwelling) such as vehicles, parts or contents of vehicles, motorbikes, mopeds, scooters, machinery, pumps, bicycles, store property and so on? (combined from ICVS)						
E. Animals or crops were stolen from you or a member of your household? (LSMS Malawi)						
F. Someone deliberately destroyed or damaged your home, shop, or any other property that you or a member of your household owns? (additional question)						

4.1.1 Sub-forms of property related crime and violence

From the multitude of types of property related crime and violence, there are six sub-types of property related crime and violence which are examined in questions in the module proposed in this paper. Those which have been chosen can be asked across rural and urban contexts and include both conflict and crime related threats to human security.

The first two types pertains to burglary and attempted burglary in the home, using a clear description of what is meant by attempted burglary or burglary - without actually using the term burglary, which may have different interpretations across languages and contexts - to facilitate comparability. The description here is 'someone tried to get into your house, flat or dwelling without permission and stole or tried to steal something'. Alvazzi del Frate and Kesteren (2004: 7) in their analysis of ICVS results for Europe in 2000, find there is a correlation between attempted and completed burglaries (0.68, $n=25$, $p<0.10$) and, on average in over eighty percent of burglaries something was actually stolen. Thus, it is important to ask about both attempts (tried to steal) and successful acts (stole).

The third question pertains to robbery, a more serious threat to personal safety given that the person is threatened or harmed during the crime. Again the question is clearly formed so that the term robbery is not included but the act of robbery (theft with violence) can be ascertained in a variety of languages and cultural contexts. Alvazzi del Frate and Kesteren (2004:10) find that in Western Europe, robbery is perceived to be the most serious form of crime, compared to car theft in Eastern Europe. The three questions included in the survey, and discussed above, albeit slightly modified, have been tested in the ICVS and other surveys. Thus we seek that it is common to ask questions about burglary and robbery as indicators of security and safety.

The next question combines a series of questions asked separately in the ICVS about the theft of property including vehicles from outside the home. It has been combined for the sake of expediency and extra categories have been included to accommodate more likely types of theft in rural contexts. In rural contexts, this is just as likely to be machinery such as water pumps or bicycles as it is cars or motorbikes in urban contexts. On the one hand, by combining these aspects, it is difficult to measure the value of the property theft given the expansive difference in value between the cost of cars and bicycles. Ideally, this question would be divided into a series of questions that could be asked, disaggregating the different types of theft. The ICVS already does this adequately, although the ICVS is more relevant to urban contexts. On the other hand, this module is trying to gauge security and safety in combination with a number of other modules measuring poverty, and thus the module must be as concise as possible. The intrinsic value of a bicycle maybe much greater to a poor rural farmer in Bangladesh as their only means of transport compared to an urban car-owner with potential access to other forms of transport. For example, in the ICVS conducted in 13 African nations, 42% of respondents considered the theft of a bicycle to be a very serious crime (Naudé et al, 2006: 11). Theft of either form of property can be just as debilitating and perceived to be of equal seriousness to either party depending on their context.

Theft can also trigger vigilante retribution, leading to spiralling threats to security and safety, and as in the case of some parts of rural Indonesia such as in Lampung and Madura provinces. For example:

"...The story's like this, before the killing happened, there were many '*sanyo*' (water pumps) that went missing so that the community went on alert. They waited indeed for the thief and when he was discovered they immediately shouted "thief!" and the residents immediately gathered and chased the thief. The burglar was asked to give himself up but he didn't want to, racing instead to the top of a bamboo tree. In the end the bamboo was burnt and the thief fell and died, before being butchered..."

Male FGD participant, Madura island, Indonesia 07 April 2003 (Diprose, 2004:9)

Thus, this question is used to measure the frequency of property theft from outside the home as an indicator of security, rather than as a proxy for measuring the cost of different types of theft which other surveys already measure.

A fifth question has been included from the LSMS security and safety module implemented in Malawi, on theft of animals and crops, with the theft of livestock also being used in the African ICVS. In rural areas, this is a common problem, where theft of livestock can incite more violence and conflict between neighbours, villages, and even result in vigilante mob killings similar to the example outlined above. The final question has been added to gauge the frequency of property destruction which can be considered a form of crime, but as was outlined in the example of Poso above, is a common form violence associated with conflict situations.

4.1.2 Questions asked for six-sub forms of property related crime and violence

For each of the sub-types of property related violence and crime, following the screening question on whether the type of incident has occurred or not, a further six questions are asked when incidents have occurred. These questions cover frequency of the incident, injury, number of people injured, identity of the perpetrator (in broad terms), reporting of the incident, and satisfaction with the response to reporting of the incident.

Frequency of incident, frequency of injuries, and number of people injured

The primary aim of this survey module, as has been outlined since the beginning of this paper is to supplement pre-existing data on the incidence of violence, and threats both real and perceived to security and safety. In order to do this we need to know overall incidence rates for a particular type of violence/crime, whether the incidents sustain injuries to victims (or death, asked in Part 2) and how many people are injured. To reiterate, WHO finds that from high income countries alone, for every person killed from injury, approximately 30 times as many people are hospitalised from injury, and 300 times as many are treated in hospital emergency rooms and then released (2004a:1). Thus, it is important to include both injuries and deaths in indicators of security and safety, to truly gauge the size and nature of the problem which may be disguised by only including indicators of deaths in survey instruments. The questions have been framed in the module as to ascertain this.

The frequency of incidents is asked for one, two, or three times, and more than three times to avoid problems of recall beyond a few incidents. The information obtained can then be used to create both incidence and prevalence rates, as used by the ICVS. From this survey module the incidence rate which can be measured is the number of incidents per 100 respondents in the five years preceding the survey. The prevalence rate the percentage of respondents who were victimised at least once across all types of

crime and violence in the five years preceding the survey. With proper sampling and implementation of the survey, these indicators can be up scaled to have incidence rates per 100,000 head of population as is commonly reported in the crime rates and international reports on crime, violence and so on.

Injuries are only ascertained for the most recent event, also to avoid problems of recall. The World Health Organization (2004a: 25-28) recommends that in order to provide adequate data for policy and programming purposes, any survey attempting to measure the frequency of violent injuries (both fatal and non-fatal) should include questions which measure: place, activity, mechanism, intent, nature, use of alcohol; relationship between perpetrator and victim, object used to injure the victim, feeling of safety, and weapon carrying.⁴¹ For the sake of expediency, the questions in this module do not include questions on violent accidents, the type of weapon, or the use of alcohol. The rest are incorporated into the questions on both property and human-physical crime and violence (although number of deaths are only asked for the types of human-physical based crime and violence), where physical harm is the intent of the act. The survey is also limited in that it does not collect data on the extent and nature of injuries or the cost of sustaining such injuries for the victim and society at large. The threshold used for ascertaining if an injury has impacted the life of the victim is the loss of one or more days of normal activities as recommended by the WHO guidelines on conducting surveys on injuries and violence.

Identity of the perpetrator

Following the lead of previously implemented surveys involving internationally comparable data on conflict, crime and violence, ascertaining the identity of the perpetrator helps policy makers to determine how to design their violence prevention programs. While the ICVS work across the world has highlighted that in sexual incidents, people are more likely to know the perpetrator, this may not be the case in robberies or in conflict situations. While there is evidence that most contact crimes against a person are likely to involve individual perpetrators with the exception of robbery (Alvazzi del Frate and Van Kesteren, 2004; Naudé et al, 2006), violence in conflict situations is usually conducted by groups, which explains the focus of much of the academic work outlined above on group identities.

Thus the questions in this module have combined the options from CRISE surveys, ICVS, and the barometer surveys to create a list of potential perpetrators which involve individuals and groups. In order to not prematurely end the interview particularly in interviews where other household members are likely to be present, if the perpetrator was a member of the household we do not ask which member of the household it was (as asked in some surveys). Furthermore, we do not ask if the perpetrator was a member of a state institution, in order to reduce the likelihood that the survey will be banned from being implemented in particular countries. While not ideal, this can be accommodated by the 'other' option and the option on 'person who you know by sight only'.

Reporting the incident and satisfaction with action taken

⁴¹ It also recommends asking questions on control of temper; history of childhood violence; disability and loss of income and other costs incurred from injury and death; thoughts and plans for committing suicide and number of attempts; medical care and treatment of injury. However, these aspects are not included in the indicators below, primarily due to the fact that these are detailed questions requiring a much larger module for a survey (or a survey exclusively aiming to capture these aspects). For those injuries resulting in death, WHO also recommends attaining information on the age of the victim at the time of death, where the person died, and the time of death. Again these are not included.

'Imagine when we send these thieves to the police, we end up being disappointed to see them back the same day'. — Malawi

Understanding the frequency and perpetrators of incidents, and whether injuries occur is only half the battle of obtaining data for poverty alleviation in the form of violence prevention programs. Reporting and resolving the incidents is the next crucial step to increasing security and safety for the poor. Alvazzi del Frate and Kesteren (2004: 1) emphasise that the delicate relationship between citizens and the police is indicative of the gap between theory and practice in crime reporting patterns, and suggest the identification of specific roles for other actors in crime prevention outside the state agencies of law enforcement and the criminal justice system. Perez-Valero (2002: 8) argues that the impunity of law enforcement officers as perpetrators of violence is one of the internal causes of crime and violence in Latin America. Furthermore, crime and violence are associated with a lack of institutional infrastructure including state justice providers, as social mechanisms which exist in traditional societies are absent from newer, urban areas (Perez-Valero, 2002: 9). In many areas, predominantly those which are rural, people do not report their problems to the police, let alone seek prosecution when they do. More often they report this to local religious, ethnic, and traditional leaders who attempt to resolve problem informally (UNDP, 2005; UNDP, 2007). In some instances, local armed gangs are brought in to help 'solve the problem'. In conflict situations it may be the military or higher level government officials.

Thus, this module seeks to find out whether or not people have either informal or formal avenues of redress, and how satisfied they are with these. The list of options has been created based on the different options used in the Barometer Surveys, the ICVS, and the CRISE survey implemented in Indonesia. It includes both informal leaders and state institutions, as well as health officials, civil society organizations, and even local gangs. The police and military have been listed as separate institutions given that in conflict situations the role of these institutions is often very different, where separating the state from the conflict can be difficult. The findings from these questions can then be correlated to the types of crimes and the perpetrators to ascertain where formal and informal systems are functioning, and where, in the eyes of respondents and particularly the poor, these systems are not working or even detrimental to their feelings of safety and security.

For example Alvazzi del Frate and Kesteren (2004: 16) find that property crime tends to be more frequently reported in Western and Central-Eastern Europe, but overall less than half the number of occurring incidents are reported at all in Western Europe and only one third in Central-Eastern Europe (with only one third of these again being satisfied with the performance of the police). Similar findings on low report rates to police were also found to be the case in the survey of 13 African nations.

4.2 Part 2: Indicators of incidents of threats to physical safety and security: against person

Part 2 of the module examines threats to physical safety and security against the person. There are six sub-categories used to gauge such incidents which by their very nature involve violence against the person. These include assault without a weapon, assault involving weapons, shootings, injuries involving explosive devices, kidnappings, and sexual assault (not including offensive behaviour). Ideally, there would also be a question on drug related incidents, however, despite being a significant problem in many parts of the world and in particular Latin America (Perez-Valero, 2002) and the Caribbean (UNODC and

World Bank, 2007), however, these are not commonly asked in household surveys and require a battery of questions which cannot be asked in such a short module.

For the sake of expediency in the implementation of the module, the use of weapons is already incorporated into the questions. It is important to ask about the use of weapons as this is an indicator of the seriousness of an incident and the potential for violence. For example, weapons were more frequently present in robberies and assaults compared to other forms of contact crimes in Europe (Alvazzi del Frate and Kesteren, 2004:12). In Africa, in 50% of robberies offenders were armed and one third of cases weapons were actually used. In 75% of cases of sexual incidents in Zambia weapons were used (Naudé et al, 2006). These kinds of findings have important policy implications for the likelihood of violence and legislation involving arms possession.

Below there is a discussion of the logic behind each of the six forms of violence against the person. In the meantime, it is important to note that for each type of incident, the same logic has been used to gauge injuries, perpetrators, reporting and satisfaction with action to resolve the problem. However, there are two additional questions pertaining to these incidents. The first is on the number of deaths pertaining to the incident, modified from surveys such as the ICVS and the LSMS module on security and safety conducted in Malawi. Unlike measuring the number of injuries, the likelihood of recall of the number of violent-deaths in the household over five years is more certain, so this is not restricted to the most recent incident but is asked for all incidents against the person in the past five years. Some authors argue that it is difficult to separate violent from other non-violent deaths in places such as the Democratic Republic of Congo (Roberts, 2000: 1), where deaths from malnutrition, disease and famine are closely related to the conflict, with 1.7 million excess deaths being attributed to the violence. However, the module in this survey should be conducted in conjunction with other modules on health and disease/illness related deaths, so that the two can be disaggregated.

The second is the location of the incident, which unlike the questions pertaining to property is not incorporated into the type of incident itself. The location of incidents has been included in the survey modules, as it is an important indicator of where the poor are at greatest risk, and this information is needed to design programs for violence prevention and to increase security and safety. For example, from the African ICVS, we know that most motorcycle theft occurs at or near the victims home (100% of cases in Botswana, Namibia, and Zambia), whereas 63% of car thefts occurred at or near the respondents home. There is great variation between countries on the location of violence. This is also the case for sexual violence, where there was great variation in the African ICVS as to whether the incident took place near the person's home or not (Naudé et al, 2006).

Furthermore, it is in this question that we can indirectly measure whether the violence is perpetrated by people in the home, or people associated with institutions such as those in nursing homes, or other state based institutions without asking the question directly and compromising the likelihood that the survey can be implemented at all. The Multi-cluster Surveys (MICS) already recognise the institutional nature of violence by asking about violence against the elderly in institutional care (UNICEF, 2006).

Table 2: Indicators of incidents of threats to physical safety and security: against person

Table 2: Indicators of incidents or threats to physical safety and security against person									
2. Apart from the previous incidents, in the past five years, have you or any members of you household been the victim of or experienced the following?	i) 0) No 1) Yes 99) Don't know	ii) If yes, how many times in the last five years did this happen to you or another member of your household? 1) Once 2) Twice 3) Three times 4) More than three times (LSMS Malawi)	iii) Did anyone die in any of these incidents? 0) No 1) Yes 99) Don't know iv) If yes, how many people?	v) In the last (most recent) incident that occurred was anyone injured (could not continue their normal activities for more than one day)? 0) No 1) Yes 99) Don't know vi) If yes, how many people were injured in the most recent incident? (adapted from WHO guidelines)	vii) The last time this happened, where did this happen? 1) Home 2) On street near own home 3) In a public area near a government office/building 4) At school 5) At work 6) On a Street/highway not near own home 7) Residential institution 8) Sports and athletic area 9) Industrial or construction site 10) Farm (excluding home) 11) Commercial area (shop, store, hotel, bar, office) 12) Countryside 13) Nursing home 14) Place of worship 15) Other (specify) 99) Unknown	viii) The last time this happened was the perpetrator (s) an individual household member, another relative, a neighbour who you know, a close friend of you or the family, a person/group of people you only know by sight, someone else (specify), a stranger/group of strangers, or you don't know/didn't see the offender? 1) HH member 2) Other relative 3) Neighbour who you know 4) Close friend of you or the family 5) Person you know by sight only 6) Group of people who you know by sight only 7) Individual stranger 8) Group of strangers 9) Other please specify 99) Did not see offender/don't know 77) Refuses to say (ICVS and WHO)	ix) Who did you report this to (if more than one person/institution, choose the one person/institution which was most important to you)? 1) Police 2) Military 3) Religious leader/ Traditional leaders /elders /chiefs/ village heads 4) Government officials 5) NGO/CSO 6) Local armed gangs 7) Media 8) Political party 9) Doctor, health official 10) Other household member 11) Other (specify) 12) Did not report it. 99) Don't know (Adapted from Barometers/ICVS)	x) If you reported this incident, how satisfied were you with the way they dealt with this problem? 1) Very satisfied 2) Somewhat satisfied 3) Somewhat dissatisfied 4) Very dissatisfied 99) Don't know 88) N/A (for those who did not report it) (ICVS)	
Human physical violence									
A. You or a member of your household were assaulted (hit, slapped, shoved, punched, pushed, or kicked) without any weapon either inside or outside the home? (WHO)			Iii	Iv	v	vi			
B. You or a member of your household were assaulted (beaten, stabbed, burnt, throttled, or otherwise attacked) with a weapon (eg. Bottle, glass, knife, club, hot liquid, rope) not including being shot by a gun or firearm? (WHO)									
C. Someone shot you or a member of your household with a firearm or gun? (WHO)									
D. You or a member of your household were kidnapped (taken against your will)? (additional)									
E. You or a member of your household was injured by a bomb, Molotov cocktail, landmine or other explosive device? (additional)									
F. I know this is a difficult question for you, so please take a moment to think about it. Have you or a member of your household was a victim sexual violence including rape, attempted rape, or indecent assault? (Adapted by ICVS for women only) OR Since your 18 th birthday, have you ever experienced a sex act involving either vaginal, oral or anal penetration against your will? (WHO recommendation)									

Assault and battery

Similar to the questions on property related crime and violence, the three questions on different forms of assault and battery are worded in a simple fashion with bracketed examples to explain what each form of violence means. For example, there is a question which states 'you or a member of your household were assaulted (hit slapped, shoved, punched, pushed or kicked'. The three questions have different combinations of the use of a weapon in the assault. Firearms and guns have been singled out, as identifying the use of firearms has very specific policy implications on firearm legislation, as well as a much higher likelihood of serious injury or death. For example the joint UNODC and World Bank report on crime and violence in the Caribbean found that:

The CARICOM Regional Task Force on Crime and Security recently commissioned a report on the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW) in the Caribbean (CARICOM, 2002). The resulting report identified three levels of SALW proliferation in the region: countries with *established* high levels and patterns of armed crime (Jamaica), countries with *emerging* high levels of armed and organized criminality (Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago), and countries with *indications of increased use* and availability of small arms (Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines).

UNODC and World Bank, 2007: ix

Conflict related human-physical violence

Two additional questions have been included in the module on kidnappings, and incidents involving explosive devices. These are two further forms of violence common to conflict situations, as is evidenced by communal conflicts in countries such as Nigeria and Indonesia, landmines in warfare in the Middle East and in the past in Cambodia, and more recently bombing by insurgent in conflicts in parts of Latin America and the Middle East.

Sexual assault

The final question, albeit sensitive and difficult to ask, is on sexual assault, and there are two alternatives proposed here. There is a risk that the interviewee will end the interview prematurely due the sensitive nature of questions on sexual violence and violence in the household. There are also cross cultural differences in the interpretations in the meaning of terms associated with sexual violence as was found in the implementation of the ICVS survey across the world (Alvazzi del Frate, 1998: 37). In particular, given that there are a wide range of events incorporated in definitions of sexual assault (such as rape and indecent assault), asking about sexual assault in a cross cultural context can lead to over reporting and underreporting in different contexts depending on how terminology is incorporated. Thus it is imperative that substantial training is given to enumerators on how to ask such sensitive questions, that time is available for trust and reassurance to be built up between enumerator and interviewee, and that the separate concepts involved in defining sexual assault, crime, and incidents not be included in the same question.

Alvazzi del Frate (1998) as well as (Naudé et al, 2006) found that when the question was asked to include indecent or offensive behaviour as well as rape, attempted rape, and indecent assaults, the results were not valid given the different cultural interpretations of the question. Also there is a greater likelihood of reporting victimization by a stranger than someone in the household (Naudé et al, 2006:47). However, sexual violence is a widespread problem occurring in both conflict and crime based contexts, and consequently should not be left out. Consequently, this survey question should only be asked to women,

and furthermore, the question has been limited to rape, attempted rape and indecent assault (see Appendix 3 for the original question). An alternative question proposed by WHO⁴² is even more specific reducing the likelihood of cross-cultural mis-interpretation asks specifically about vaginal, anal, or oral penetration against one's will, but again this is a sensitive question to ask and may exclude attempted rape and so on.

4.3 Part 3: Domestic violence

"In the past, almost each and every woman was treated unbecomingly such as being verbally abused, beaten up and left abandoned by her husband, while at the moment beating was rare.... The very rude treatment of husbands against their wives in the old days was likely due to the fact that many of them were jobless, idle and resorted to drinking, gambling and womanizing."

— Malang, Indonesia, Voices of the Poor Study, Narayan et al, 2000

Almost every study conducted which includes modules on domestic violence indicates that while possible, it is difficult to ask such sensitive questions in all variety of cultural contexts. This is similar to the question on sexual assault outlined above (García-Moreno et al, 2005: xii). The results indicate that violence by a male intimate partner (also called "domestic violence") is widespread in all of the countries included in the Study. However, there was a great deal of variation from country to country, and from setting to setting. This indicates that this form of violence is not inevitable.

According to the WHO study on multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence the proportion of ever-partnered women who had ever suffered physical violence by a male intimate partner ranged from 13% in a Japanese city to 61% in a Peruvian province, with most sites falling between 23% and 49%. The prevalence of severe physical violence (a woman being hit with a fist, kicked, dragged, choked, burnt on purpose, threatened with a weapon, or having a weapon used against her) ranged from 4% in a Japan city to 49% in a Peruvian province. The vast majority of women physically abused by partners experienced acts of violence more than once. The Voices of the Poor study conducted by the World Bank found domestic violence to be a significant problem for women:

Women often felt reluctant to talk about some issues such as violence against women inside and outside the home and family planning except in smaller more intimate groups. —Bangladesh 1996 – (Narayan et al, 2000: 22)

Furthermore, Perez-Valero (2002: 11) argues that gender stereotypes which reinforce the notion of the right of husbands to control and sometimes beat their wives and a key cause of violence in Latin America.

Two surveys targeting women have special modules on domestic violence which are asked to women only by specially trained enumerators. The MICS conducted by UNICEF asks about attitudes to domestic violence and finds a high correlation between attitudes and incidents (UNICEF, 2006). The Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) has an extensive module which also asks questions on both the incidence of domestic violence and attitudes towards it. However, these are optional modules not asked in all countries. These surveys are a first step, and this paper argues, given the evidence by all variety of experts working on human security, violence and safety, that domestic violence modules should become a standard and if possible a compulsory module of MICS and DHS surveys. Given the limited space in

⁴² Personal correspondence with WHO representative, 18 May, 2007

this module, this paper recommends using a modified version of the DHS survey with some extra sub-questions. Ideally there would also be questions on violence against children and the elderly in the home, but again this is too extensive for the purposes of this module.

Firstly, the DHS questions have a range of severity of domestic violence questions which can be easily translated across different cultural contexts, without actually using the term 'domestic violence'. The DHS survey also asks about the frequency of violence. The extra questions added to the module for the purposes of uniformity with the other parts of the survey ask about reporting and satisfaction with the action taken. Given the nature of domestic violence and that in some countries it is legislated as a crime, and in others it is not, the module also asks whether the respondent thinks the incident should be punished and by whom. This helps gauge the cultural attitudes towards the violence independent of state legislation, as well as the realm in which people think the problem should be dealt with (assuming they do) which is important for policy makers.

Table 3: Domestic violence: for women only, recommended to add to health modules

3. Has any member of your household ever done any of the following things to you? (Adapted from DHS)	i) 0) No 1) Yes 99) Don't know	ii) How often did this happen during the last 12 months: often, only sometimes, or not at all? 1. Often 2. Only sometimes 3. Not at all	iii) Do you think such acts should be punished? 0) No 1) Yes 99) Don't know (additional question)	iv) If yes, by whom should the person be punished (if more than one, choose the one which was most important to you)? A. Police B. Military C. Religious leader/ Traditional leaders /elders /chiefs/ village heads D. Government officials E. NGO/CSO F. Local armed gangs G. Media H. Political party I. Doctor, health official J. Other household member K. Other (specify) L. Don't know (additional question)	v) In the most recent incident, who did you report this to (if more than one person/institution, choose the one which was most important to you)? 1) Police 2) Military 3) Religious leader/ Traditional leaders /elders /chiefs/ village heads 4) Government officials 5) NGO/CSO 6) Local armed gangs 7) Media 8) Political party 9) Doctor, health official 10) Other household member 11) Other (specify) 12) Did not report it 99) Don't know (additional question adapted from Barometers/ICVS)	vi) If you reported this incident, how satisfied were you with the way they dealt with this problem? 1) Very satisfied 2) Somewhat satisfied 3) Somewhat dissatisfied 4) Very dissatisfied 99) Don't know 88) N/A (for those who did not report it) (additional question from ICVS)
A) Push you, shake you, or throw something at you?						
B) Slap you?						
C) Twist your arm or pull your hair?						
D) Punch you with his fist or something that could hurt you?						
E) Kick you, drag you, or beat you up?						
F) Try to choke you or burn you on purpose?						
G) Threaten to attack you with a knife, gun, or any other weapon?						
H) Physically force you to have intercourse with him even when you don't want to?						
I) force you to perform any sexual acts you did not want to?						

Table 4: Perceptions of safety and violence

4. i) In the next twelve months, what is the likelihood that you will become a victim of one of the forms of violence mentioned above? (HSR-Ipsos-Reid)	i)	ii) If yes, is it more likely to be: 1) Against person 2) Against property 3) Both 4) None	ii)
1. Very likely 2. Somewhat likely 3. Somewhat unlikely 4. Very unlikely			
5. There are many different potential threats and dangers to people's personal security in today's world. Thinking of all the threats that you might face in your life, which two (ranked) is of the most concern to you now? (HSR – Ipsos-Reid)			
1) Criminal violence 2) Inter-communal violence 3) Armed warfare/conflict 4) Terrorism 5) Death, or incapacitation from natural disasters, health, or economic problem		6) Other 7) None	1) (Most important) 2) (Second most important)

4.4 Part 4: Perceptions of safety and violence

Almost all of the surveys either explicitly dealing with violence, or addressing it in a few questions have a question which asks about feelings of safety and security. Both the ICVS and LSMS ask about how safe people feel after dark and in the home. The Ipsos-Reid survey questions implemented for the HSR ask about the likelihood of victimisation. Questions on weapon-carrying can be an indication of perceived threat as in the WHO guidelines. However, there are arguments to suggest that answers to questions about feelings of safety, security, and fear can be situated in time (James, 1997), and related to psychological mindset and factors other than real threats to security and safety.

However, perceptions cannot be ignored as indicators of poverty and insecurity. The *Human Security Report* (HSC, 2005: 47) argues that human security is about perceptions as well as realities, because perceived threats can trigger interstate wars, violent civil conflict, political oppression and genocide. Governments can sometimes play on people's fears and exaggerate or fabricate threats to provide political justification for war or repression. Media can influence popular perceptions. The HSR also argues that bottom up perspectives are notably absent from (HSC, 2005: 47) human security research and policy agendas; that determining the views of at-risk populations is also necessary to assess the scale and nature of the insecurities they face; and that the most repressive regimes maintain control by creating a climate of fear but seldom resort to actual violence. In its own poll, it found that neither war nor terrorism were the greatest source of fear amongst the 6,000 polled, but rather criminal violence (HSC, 2005: 51). This relates to Horowitz, 2000 who sees ethnicity 'as reconfigured social memory of the past' and 'fears for the future' as important in defining relationships between ethnic groups Igwara, 2001: 100, with group fear being a key aspect of conflict.

Furthermore, the actual incidence of violence may not be the only indicator of future violence. Richards (cf. Banerjee 2001) argues that non-violence can be a way of waging war, and that violent wars and peace should not be considered as sharp categorisations but rather as a continuum (Richards, 2005). Some conflicts have non-violent outcomes but they are by no means peaceful, as they can be fraught with communal tension and oppression, having the potential to escalate into violence. The HSR also found that past experience is rarely in line with their expectations of future violence (HSC, 2005: 52). Thus, it is important to ask about perceptions and fears of victimization as much as real rates.

Given these arguments, there are three questions included on perceptions in Part 4 of this module (see table 4 above). This is the first time that conflict is asked about directly, and thus it has been placed at the end of the module in case the respondent prematurely ends the interview. The questions have been adapted from the questions asked for the HSR to reflect both crime, conflict and other threats, and to distinguish between different types of conflict. Further disaggregation can be made between victimisation involving property, person or both. The final question seeks to gauge what problem is considered most serious in the region where the survey is being implemented to provide some context to victimisation rates established from the previous questions, as well as perceptions of the relative seriousness of different types of problems.

4.5 What kinds of indicators can this data produce?

With careful sampling and survey implementation, below are just some of the indicators of security and safety that can be produced from the data in combination with the other modules of poverty measurement. These include the incidence of violence, risk and vulnerability to violence, reporting and response to violence, perceptions and attitudes towards violence, and the impacts of violence if measured in combination with other dimensions of poverty. This list is not exhaustive but provides an indication of potential indicators.

Frequency of violence and threats to security

- Rates of different types of theft per 100,000 head of population;
- Rates of robbery per 100,000 head of population;
- Rates of homicide, assault, and battery per 100,000 head of population;
- Rates of rape, attempted rape and indecent assault per 100,000 head of population;
- Rates of property destruction per 100,000 head of population;
- Rates of kidnapping, gunshot crimes, and bomb injuries and deaths per 100,000 head of population;
- Rates of gunshot injuries and deaths per 100,000 head of population;
- Rates of domestic violence against women (with varying intensities of acts perpetrated)

Risk and vulnerability

- Geographic Risk rates (risk of people living in different geographic location to different types of violence);
- Risk of injury/death per type of violence (injury/death as percentage of frequency of type);
- Perpetrator profiles (percentage of type of perpetrator per type of violence)
- Correlations between: attempted rape and rape; attempted theft and theft; gender and vulnerability to different types of violence; ethnic, religious, and other identities and vulnerability to different types of violence; injury and likelihood of death; different types of violence and likelihood of injury;
- Risk of experiencing different types of violence based on type of employment, level of consumption, level of education etc

Reporting and response

- Percentage of population reporting violent incidents to informal or formal institutions (per type, including domestic violence);
- Reporting gap (frequency of reporting as a proportion of frequency of incident);
- Percentage of population satisfied with informal institutions role in addressing violence;
- Percentage of population satisfied with state agencies role in addressing violence;
- Perceived appropriate policy realm for responding to different types of violence

Perceptions and attitudes

- Attitudes of women towards punishment of domestic violence (proportions of intensity of domestic violence experience against attitude towards punishment, including most appropriate domain for punishment)
- Perception of likelihood of future victimization (of property violence or human-physical violence);

- Perception of the importance of different types of violence together with other forms of shock

Impacts (as measured with other dimensions of poverty)

- Impact of different types of violence on level of shame and humiliation
- Impact of different types of violence on consumption, over time
- Impact of different types of violence on continued education
- Impact of different types of violence on perception of likelihood of future violence
- Impact of different types of violence on access to health care and cost of health care
- Correlations between social capital and types of responses to violence
- Impact of violence on eudemonia
- Impact of violent contexts on job security

4.6 Conclusion

Vulnerability to violence, insecurity and poor safety is a dimension of poverty. However, there are inadequate data which are comparable across contexts and often times in specific contexts to properly inform poverty alleviation and violence prevention programs.

This module, while respecting the difficulties of realistic time and space limitations faced by governments and agencies implementing multi-topic individual or household surveys can provide data which can be correlated with other measures of the different dimensions of poverty such as income, education, health, eudemonia, shame and humiliation, informal employment, and empowerment indicators.

The kinds of research questions the data will be able to answer include:

- Questions on safety and security from property related crime/violence and human physical violence over a five year period including the: number of incidents, number of people injured, the perpetrators, reporting the incident and satisfaction with the action taken, the number of deaths related to violence against the person, the location of the incident;
- Questions on incidents of domestic violence: incidents of different intensities of violence against women taking place within the household, attitudes towards whether the act should be punished and by whom, reporting of the problem, and satisfaction of how the problem was dealt with; and
- Perceptions of safety from violence and security: perception of likelihood of being a victim of violent crime or conflict in the next year (either property or person related), perception of greatest threat to human security in terms of crime, conflict and other issues.
- Hypothesis-testing, and other analyses of the interconnections between any other dimensions of poverty and the aspects of safety and security measured here, either across groups and sub-groups, or over time, or internationally.

With this information, ideally programs and policy across a variety of contexts will be better informed allowing for better targeting and ultimately one form of poverty alleviation.

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6 Appendix 1 – Summary of Questionnaires, Indicators, and Recommendations

Survey Instruments	What indicator(s) of violence, safety and security appear on the survey?	Recommendations of accommodating these questions in the module	How many countries has it been used in?	Access to the data?	Website or data source file
LSMS Core	In Health Module: on injuries incurred (asked together with illness)	Not recommended as not specific enough, and questions are already asked in general health module	Most countries where LSMS has been conducted	Yes	www.worldbank.org/LSMS/
LSMS Module on Security and Safety	Questions on crime, rural crime, perceptions of safety and security	A selection of questions have been included in the module, particularly to do with theft of livestock and crops common to rural areas	Full module = 1, Malawi. Some questions on impact of conflict in selected questions in LSMS Bosnia-Herzegovina	Yes	www.worldbank.org/LSMS/
MICS	Questions on attitudes towards domestic violence, female genital mutilation, child discipline.	Not recommended for this module as already asked in an international survey with adequate training in sensitive interview techniques for women. Prefer DHS module question on actual incidence of domestic violence against women.	67 countries across the world	Yes, by request	www.childinfo.org/mics/
Afrobarometer	County's most important problem; crime in the past year including theft, assault, and arrest for you or member of family. Confidence/trust in authorities, who do you go to for problem solving.	We recommend the questions on crime and change be modified to the household and made more comprehensive. This question should be asked in terms of real incidents and general trends. We recommend using the similar question on most important problems from the HSR. For questions of how problems are solved, we recommend this is restricted to violent crimes only, and ask about satisfaction with performance	During Round I, from July 1999 through June 2001, Afrobarometer surveys were conducted in 12 countries. Round 2 surveys were conducted from May 2002 through October 2003 in 15 countries. Round 3 surveys were conducted in 18 countries from March 2005 through February 2006. Additional times series data have also been collected in five countries.	Yes	http://www.afrobarometer.org/
Latinobarometer	Assaulted, attacked or victim of crime in family. Perceptions of changes in crime levels in last 12 months. Country's most important problem. Confidence/trust in authorities, who do you go to for problem solving. Law abidingness of citizens	We recommend the questions on crime and change be modified to the household and made more comprehensive. This question should be asked in terms of real incidents and general trends. We recommend using the similar question on most important problems from the HSR. For questions of how problems are solved, we recommend this is restricted to violent crimes only, ask about satisfaction with performance. Don't ask question on law abidingness of citizens.	18 Countries in Latin America in 2004. 8 Countries in Latin America in 1995. Bolivia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Columbia, Chile, Paraguay	No, must pay for data or analyse in limited form online	http://www.latinobarometro.org/ind ex
Asianbarometer	Only on specific question on crime similar to latinobarometer	We recommend this question, in modified form.	12 East Asian political systems (Japan, Mongolia, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, China, the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Singapore, and Indonesia), and 5 South Asian countries (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal). One survey in Mainland China, Hong Kong, Japan, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Singapore, Indonesia. Two rounds of surveys in Taiwan, South Korea, The Philippines, Thailand, Mongolia	Yes, by application to organisation, or online analysis	http://www.asianbarometer.org
Eurobarometer	Only on specific question on crime similar to latinobarometer	We recommend this question, in modified form.	30 countries or territories: the 25 Member States, the two acceding countries (Bulgaria and Romania), the two candidate countries (Croatia and Turkey) and the Turkish Cypriot Community.	Reports only	http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/
International Crime and Victimisation surveys (ICVS)	Asks detailed questions on the number of times people in household have: ownership of cars, theft of cars, theft from cars, car vandalism; ownership of motorcycles, theft of motorcycles; ownership and theft of bicycles; burglary, attempted burglary;	Consider all of these dimensions of indicators of crime and accommodate in one-two questions with sub sections only	The International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS). Since 1989, through the four "sweeps" of the ICVS, standardised victimisation surveys have been carried out in	Yes, 2000	www.unicri.it/www/analysis/icvs/

Survey Instruments	What indicator(s) of violence, safety and security appear on the survey?	Recommendations of accommodating these questions in the module	How many countries has it been used in?	Access to the data?	Website or data source file
	robbery; personal theft involving force; sexual offences (includes touch and rape all in one); assaults and threats. Asks about where this happened; was it reported to police; satisfaction with police response; reasons for dissatisfaction; seriousness of the incidence for the household; why not reported. For victims of robbery: weapons used. For victims of sexual offences: no of people involved, relationship with offender, weapons used, how the person classifies the crime, if they regard it as a crime. For victims of assaults/ threats: no of people involved, relationship with offender, weapons used, just threatened or force used, injury, medical help sought, regard it as a crime. Includes module on consumer crime. Then questions on comparisons over time of crime prevention, perceptions of safety, police's performance, sentences for offenders, how to reduce crime amongst young people, ownership of weapons, why owned. In general, questions are asked for period of the last 5 years		more than 70 countries across the world. Mainly conducted in European and industrialised nations and urban areas.		
European Crime and Safety Survey	Based on the ICVS outlined above	Same recommendations as the ICVS	Implemented by Gallup Europe in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom	No, by request	www.gallup-europe.be/euics/
African ICVS	Based on the ICVS outlined above, with added questions on livestock theft and car hijacking	Same recommendations as the ICVS, also include question on livestock theft	Botswana (twice); Egypt, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa (four times), Swaziland, Tanzania, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe	No, by request	www.unodc.org/pdf/Africa/www.unicri.it/wwd/analysis/icvs/
WHO Guidelines for conducting surveys on injuries and violence	Injuries, deaths, according to internationally recognised classifications for describing and coding injuries. Core modules: optional modules	Not recommended to ask questions on unintentional injuries such as accidents, road traffic unintentional deaths. Also no questions on self-harm due to space limitations in module Minimise questions on cost of impact due to space limitations in module. Recommends use of closed answer questions with categories extended to accommodate particular idiosyncrasies of each country/locality. Recommends conducting community surveys at local rather than national level	N/A	No, for subscribers only	http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/publications/violence
WHO, Multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence	Types of intimate partner violence, prevalence of physical and sexual abuse by perpetrators other than partners aged 15 years and over, prevalence of sexual abuse before age 15.	Has been accommodated in other questions included in the module	11 countries: Bangladesh, Brazil, Ethiopia, Japan, Namibia, New Zealand, Peru, Samoa, Serbia and Montenegro, Thailand, and the Republic of Tanzania		http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/publications/violence
HSR-Ipsos Reid	Fears and experiences of criminal and political violence	Some questions on perceptions of victimisation possibilities in the future, as well as what are the major problems facing the country.	11 countries: Brazil, Canada, France, India, Japan, Russia, South Africa, Thailand, Turkey, the UK and the US	No	
Demographic and Health Survey (DHS)	Module on domestic violence (attitudes, incidents, relationship with perpetrator).	Recommend use of questions on incidents of violence against women in the home to be asked to women only in conjunction with health modules		Yes	
World Bank Survey on Social Capital	Group difference and problems, perception of frequency of violence, changes over time, feeling of safety, victimization – assault and burglary	Question on victimisation already incorporated from ICVS. Don't recommend questions on how safe people feel walking on street after dark or feeling of safety in the home as may be related to psychological state rather than safety		No	

Survey Instruments	What indicator(s) of violence, safety and security appear on the survey?	Recommendations of accommodating these questions in the module	How many countries has it been used in?	Access to the data?	Website or data source file
CRISE, University of Oxford, Perceptions Survey	Perceptions of identity, identity markers (political, ethno-religious, other), group membership, group interaction and networks, group mobilization and action, mediators, trust in leaders, and attitudes towards violence. Indonesia version also included questions on involvement of individuals in violent and non-violent disputes, avenues for recourse and satisfaction with these	Questions on reporting and satisfaction from Indonesia version are incorporated in the module	Indonesia, Malaysia, Guatemala, Peru, Bolivia, Nigeria, Ghana, Ivory Coast	By request	www.crise.ox.ac.uk

7 Appendix 2: Indicators of violence, physical safety, and security: comprehensive module

Part 1: Indicators of incidents of threats to physical safety and security: against property

1. In the past 5 years, have you or any members of your household been the victim of or experienced the following?	i) 0. No 1. Yes 99. Don't know	ii) If yes, how many times in the last five years did this happen to you or another member of your household? 1. Once 2. Twice 3. Three times 4. More than three times (LSMS Malawi)	iii) In the last (most recent) incident that occurred was anyone injured (could not continue their normal activities for more than one day)? . No 2. Yes 99. Don't know iv) If yes, how many people were injured in the most recent incident? (adapted from WHO guidelines)	v) The last time this happened was the perpetrator (s) an individual household member, another relative, a neighbour who you know, a close friend of you or the family, a person/group of people you only know by sight, a stranger/group of strangers, or you don't know/didn't see the offender? 1. HH member 2. Other relative 3. Neighbour who you know 4. Close friend of you or the family 5. Person you know by sight only 6. Group of people who you know by sight only 7. Individual stranger 8. Group of strangers 99. Did not see offender/don't know 77. Refused to answer (Adapted from ICVS, conflict survey questions, and barometer surveys)	vi) Who did you report this to (if more than one person/institution, choose the one person/institution which was most important to you)? 1. Police 2. Military 3. Religious leader/ Traditional leaders /elders /chiefs/ village heads 4. Government officials 5. NGO/CSO 6. Local armed gangs 7. Media 8. Political party 9. Doctor, health official 10. Other household member 11. Other (specify) 12. Did not report it 99. Don't know (Adapted from Barometers/ICVS)	vii) If you reported this incident, how satisfied were you with the way they dealt with this problem? 1. Very satisfied 2. Somewhat satisfied 3. Somewhat dissatisfied 4. Very dissatisfied 99. Don't know 88. N/A (For those who did not report it) (Barometer surveys)
Property						
A. Someone got into your house, flat, dwelling or tried to get into your house, flat or dwelling, without permission and tried to steal or stole something? (ICVS)			iii	Iv		
B. Someone actually got into your house, flat, or dwelling, without permission and stole or tried to steal something? (ICVS)						
C. Someone took something from you or a member of your household (on your person), by using force, or threatening you? Or did anyone try to do so? (adapted from ICVS)						
D. Someone stole something you own (not stored in the dwelling) such as vehicles, parts or contents of vehicles, motorbikes, mopeds, scooters, machinery, pumps, bicycles, store property and so on? (combined from ICVS)						
E. Animals or crops were stolen from you or a member of your household? (LSMS Malawi)						
F. Someone deliberately destroyed or damaged your home, shop, or any other property that you or a member of your household owns? (additional question)						

Part 2: Indicators of incidents of threats to physical safety and security: against person

2. Apart from the previous incidents, in the past five years, have you or any members of your household been the victim of or experienced the following?	i) 0. No 1. Yes 99. Don't know	ii) If yes, how many times in the last five years did this happen to you or another member of your household? 1. Once 2. Twice 3. Three times 4. More than three times (LSMS Malawi)	iii) Did anyone die in any of these incidents? 0. No 1. Yes 99. Don't know iv) If yes, how many people?	v) In the last (most recent) incident that occurred was anyone injured (could not continue their normal activities for more than one day)? 0. No 1. Yes 99. Don't know vi) If yes, how many people were injured in the most recent incident? (adapted from WHO guidelines)	vii) The last time this happened, where did this happen? 1. Home 2. On street near own home 3. In a public area near a government office/building 4. At school 5. At work 6. On a Street/highway not near own home 7. Residential institution 8. Sports and athletic area 9. Industrial or construction site 10. Farm (excluding home) 11. Commercial area (shop, store, hotel, bar, office) 12. Countryside 13. Nursing home 14. Place of worship 15. Other (specify) 99. Unknown	viii) The last time this happened was the perpetrator (s) an individual household member, another relative, a neighbour who you know, a close friend of you or the family, a person/group of people you only know by sight, someone else (specify), a stranger/group of strangers, or you don't know/didn't see the offender? 1. HH member 2. Other relative 3. Neighbour who you know 4. Close friend of you or the family 5. Person you know by sight only 6. Group of people who you know by sight only 7. Individual stranger 8. Group of strangers 9. Other please specify 99. Did not see offender/don't know 77. Refuses to say (ICVS and WHO)	ix) Who did you report this to (if more than one person/institution, choose the one person/institution which was most important to you)? 1. Police 2. Military 3. Religious leader/ Traditional leaders /elders /chiefs/ village heads 4. Government officials 5. NGO/CSO 6. Local armed gangs 7. Media 8. Political party 9. Doctor, health official 10. Other household member 11. Other (specify) 12. Did not report it. 99. Don't know (Adapted arometers/ ICVS)	x) If you reported this incident, how satisfied were you with the way they dealt with this problem? 1. Very satisfied 2. Somewhat satisfied 3. Somewhat dissatisfied 4. Very dissatisfied 99) Don't know 88. N/A (for those who did not report it) (ICVS)
Human physical violence								
A. You or a member of your household were assaulted (hit, slapped, shoved, punched, pushed, or kicked) without any weapon either inside or outside the home?			iii	iv	V	vi		
B. You or a member of your household were assaulted (beaten, stabbed, burnt, throttled, or otherwise attacked) with a weapon (eg. Bottle, glass, knife, club, hot liquid, rope) not including being shot by a gun or firearm?								
C. Someone shot you or a member of your household with a firearm or gun?								
D. You or a member of your household were kidnapped (taken against your will)?								
E. You or a member of your household was injured by a bomb, Molotov cocktail, landmine or other explosive device?								
F. I know this is a difficult question for you, so please take a moment to think about it. Have you or a member of your household was a victim sexual violence including rape, attempted rape, or indecent assault? (Adapted by ICVS for women only) OR Since your 18 th birthday, have you ever experienced a sex act involving either vaginal, oral or anal penetration against your will? (WHO recommendation)								

Part 3: Domestic violence: for women only, recommended to add to health modules

3. Has any member of you household ever done any of the following things to you? (Adapted from DHS)	i) 0. No 1. Yes 99. Don't know	ii) How often did this happen during the last 12 months: often, only sometimes, or not at all? 1. Often 2. Only sometimes 3. Not at all	iii) Do you think such acts should be punished? 0. No 1. Yes 99. Don't know (additional question)	iv) If yes, by whom should the person be punished (if more than one, choose the one which was most important to you)? A. Police B. Military C. Religious leader/ Traditional leaders /elders /chiefs/ village heads D. Government officials E. NGO/CSO F. Local armed gangs G. Media H. Political party I. Doctor, health official J. Other household member K. Other (specify) L. Don't know (additional question)	v) In the most recent incident, who did you report this to (if more than one person/institution, choose the one which was most important to you)? 1. Police 2. Military 3. Religious leader/ Traditional leaders /elders /chiefs/ village heads 4. Government officials 5. NGO/CSO 6. Local armed gangs 7. Media 8. Political party 9. Doctor, health official 10. Other household member 11. Other (specify) 12. Did not report it 99. Don't know (additional question adapted from Barometers/ICVS)	vi) If you reported this incident, how satisfied were you with the way they dealt with this problem? 1. Very satisfied 2. Somewhat satisfied 3. Somewhat dissatisfied 4. Very dissatisfied 99. Don't know 88. N/A (for those who did not report it) (additional question from ICVS)
A. Push you, shake you, or throw something at you?						
B. Slap you?						
C. Twist your arm or pull your hair?						
D. Punch you with his fist or something that could hurt you?						
E. Kick you, drag you, or beat you up?						
F. Try to choke you or burn you on purpose?						
G. Threaten to attack you with a knife, gun, or any other weapon?						
H. Physically force you to have intercourse with him even when you don't want to?						
I. force you to perform any sexual acts you did not want to?						

Part 4: Perceptions of safety and violence

<p>4. i) In the next twelve months, what is the likelihood that you will become a victim of one of the forms of violence mentioned above? (HSR-Ipsos-Reid)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Very likely 6. Somewhat likely 7. Somewhat unlikely 8. Very unlikely 		<p>ii) If yes, is it more likely to be:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Against person 2. Against property 3. Both 4. None 	<p>ii)</p>
<p>5. There are many different potential threats and dangers to people's personal security in today's world. Thinking of all the threats that you might face in your life, which two (ranked) is of the most concern to you now? (HSR – Ipsos-Reid)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6) Criminal violence 7) Inter-communal violence 8) Armed warfare/conflict 9) Terrorism 10) Death, or incapacitation from natural disasters, health, or economic problems 11) Other 12) None 	<p>1. (Most important)</p> <p>2. (Second most important)</p>		

8 Appendix 3: Questions on physical safety and security from internationally comparable surveys

Question/Indicator: Incidents of injury and death	Measures	Questionnaire
During the past two weeks, have you suffered from an illness or injury? Yes/No What was the illness or injury? Lists illnesses and burn, fracture, wound, poisoning, other (specify) Asks on action taken to treat illness only.	Illness, injury and type	LSMS core
In the past year, were you personally attacked, physically beaten, or threatened with violence by someone? Yes/ No	Actual incidence of violence, threat and injury together	LSMS module, Malawi
In the past year, did anyone enter your dwelling to steal, try to steal something, or commit another crime? Yes/No	Actual incidence of theft based crime	LSMS module, Malawi
How many times did it happen? Once, twice, three times, more than three times	Actual frequency of theft based crime	LSMS module, Malawi
In the past year were any animals/crops stolen from you? Yes/No (Types of animals then asked)	Actual frequency of theft based crime	LSMS module, Malawi
In the past year, were you personally a victim of petty theft such as pick-pocketing, theft of purse, watch, wallet, clothing, or jewellery? Yes/No	Actual frequency of theft based crime	LSMS module, Malawi
Did anyone in the household die? Yes/No If yes, did they die of old age, an illness, or some other cause? What was the cause of their death 1. Traffic accident 2. Other accident or injury 3. Childbirth or complications 4. Murder 5. Suicide 6. Witchcraft/sorcery 7. Other specify	Death and cause of death	LSMS Malawi integrated household questionnaire
Are you eligible to receive funds from the civil victims of war program?	Proxy for number of victims	LSMS in Bosnia-Herzegovina
Have you, or someone in your family, been assaulted, attacked, or been the victim of a crime in the last 12 months? Have you or someone in your family been aware of an act of corruption in the last 12 months? Do you know if any of your friends or someone in your family has consumed drugs in the last 12 months? Have you known somebody who has bought or sold any drugs in the last 12 months? Yes, No answers	Actual incidents	Latinobarometer questionnaire 2005
Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: [Read out options] A. Feared crime in your own home? B. Had something stolen from your house C. Been physically attacked? D. Arrested for any offence other than traffic violations Answer options: never, just once of twice, several times, many times, always, don't know	Rough estimate of actual incidents	Afrobarometer questionnaire 2005, round 3 Nigeria
Over the past 5 years, have you or any other members of your household (this was about 15 questions asked separately each time in the survey, combined here): A. Had any of our household had any of their cars/vans/trucks stolen B. Been the victim of a car radio theft, or something else which was left in the car, or theft of a part of the car such as a mirror or a wheel? C. Parts of cars/vans/trucks belonging to your household been deliberately damaged? D. Had any of their mopeds/scooters/motorcycles stolen? E. Had any of their bicycles stolen? F. Did anyone try to get into your house or flat without permission and steal or try to steal something? G. Did anyone actually get into your house or flat without permission and steal or try to steal something? H. Has anyone taken something from you, by using force, or threatening you? Or did anyone try to do so? I. Apart from theft involving force, other types of thefts of personal property (e.g. pickpocketing, theft of purse, jewellery, clothes)	Actual incidents	ICVS

J. Perhaps sometimes grab, touch or assault others for sexual reasons in a really offensive way? K. Apart from the incidents just covered have you over the past five years been personally attached or threatened by someone that really frightened you either at home or elsewhere, such as in a pub, in the street, at school, on public transport, on the beach or at your workplace? Yes/No/Don't know. This year, last year, before then, don't know/can't remember.		
For select offences: What actually happened? Were you threatened or was force used? 1. Just threatened 2. Force used 3. Don't know	Threat or force	ICVS
For select offences: Did you suffer an injury as a result? Yes, no, don't know Did you see a doctor or a healer as a result? Yes/No	Actual injuries	ICVS
Did any of the offender(s) have a knife, a gun, another weapon, or something used as a weapon? Answer options: Yes, no, don't know, then list kind	Type of violence	ICVS
In the past 12 months, have you been frightened for the safety of yourself or your family because of the anger or threats of another person or persons? If yes, specify by whom. 1. Intimate partner 2. Parent 3. Child, sibling or other relative (e.g. brother, cousin, sister) 4. Friend or acquaintance 5. Unrelated caregiver 6. Stranger 7. Official or legal authority (e.g. police officer, soldier) 8. No one (not been frightened for safety) 77. Refused 98. Other (specify) 99. Unknown	Real threats	Guidelines for conducting household surveys on injuries and violence WHO
Which of the following was the most important in causing your injury? A. Shot with a firearm or gun B. Beaten, stabbed, burnt, throttled, or otherwise attacked with a weapon (eg. Bottle, glass, knife, club, hot liquid, rope) C. Hit, slapped, shoved, punched, pushed, or kicked (without any weapon) D. Refused E. Other (specify) F. Unknown	Action resulting in injuries	Guidelines for conducting household surveys on injuries and violence WHO
In the past five years have YOU personally been attacked or threatened by someone, or by a group of people in a way that was violent? Yes, No, don't know Asked again for others in household (not including yourself)	Actual incidents of violence against the person	HSR-Ipsos Reid
Have you or members of your family been involved in disputes (both big ones in the community, or small ones in the village or hamlet)? Yes, no, don't know	Involvement in disputes	CRISE, University of Oxford, Indonesia survey
Have you, or members of your family been involved in big conflicts in the community? Yes, no, don't know	Involvement in conflicts	CRISE, University of Oxford, Indonesia survey
If you or your family have been involved in a dispute or conflict, did violence occur such as property destruction, physical contact, injuries and so on? Yes, no, don't know	Involvement in disputes resulting in violence	CRISE, University of Oxford, Indonesia survey
In the past 12 months, have you or anyone in the household been a victim of a violent crime such as an assault or mugging? How many times	Frequency of actual incidents of assaults and muggings	World Bank Survey on Social Capital
In the past 12 months has your house been burglarised or vandalised? How many times	Frequency of actual incidents of burglary and vandalism	World Bank Survey on Social Capital

Question/Indicator: Perpetrators, victims, and location of violence	Measures	Questionnaire
Was the individual (perpetrator) a household member, a relative, a neighbour, or a stranger? 1. HH member 2. Other relative 3. Neighbour 4. Stranger	Perpetrator of incident	ICVS

Where did each of the incidents take place? (See indicator 1 above) Answer options: at home, near own home, at the workplace, elsewhere in the city or local area, elsewhere in the country, abroad, don't know.	Location of incident	ICVS
Did you know the offender by name or by sight? 1. Did not know offender(s) 2. Known by sight only 3. Know by name 4. Did not see offender	Identity of perpetrator	ICVS
For select offences (assault, threat, sexual assault): Were any of them your spouse, ex-spouse, partner, ex-partner, boyfriend, ex-boyfriend, a relative or a close friend, or was it someone you work with? 1. Spouse, partner, (at the time) 2. Ex-spouse, ex-partner, (at the time) 3. Boyfriend (at the time) 4. Ex-boyfriend (at the time) 5. Relative 6. Close friend 7. Someone they work with 8. None of these 9. Refuses to say	Identity of perpetrator	ICVS
What was the injured person (or you) doing when you were injured? 1. Paid work (including travel to and from work) 2. Unpaid work (including travel to and from work) 3. Education 4. Sports 5. Leisure/play 6. Vital activity (i.e. sleeping, eating, washing) 7. Travelling 8. Unspecified activities (hanging around, doing nothing) 9. Other (specify) 99. Unknown	Location of incident	Guidelines for conducting household surveys on injuries and violence WHO
Where was the injured person (or you) when the injury occurred?	Location of incident	Guidelines for conducting household surveys on injuries and violence WHO
Please indicate the relationship between or persons, who hurt the injured person (or you). 1. Intimate partner 2. Parent 3. Child, sibling, or other relative (e.g. brother, cousin, sister) 4. Friend or acquaintance 5. Unrelated caregiver 6. Stranger 7. Official or legal authorities 77. Refused 98. Other (specify) 99. Unknown	Relationship between victim and perpetrator	Guidelines for conducting household surveys on injuries and violence WHO

Question/Indicator: Sexual violence, gender based violence	Measures	Questionnaire
For ICVS questions on sexual assault it is combined with other crimes above. Then asked: Were any of them your spouse, ex-spouse, partner, ex-partner, boyfriend, ex-boyfriend, a relative or a close friend, or was it someone you work with? 1. Spouse, partner, (at the time) 2. Ex-spouse, ex-partner, (at the time) 3. boyfriend (at the time) 4. Ex-boyfriend (at the time) 5. Relative 6. Close friend 7. Someone they work with 8. None of these 9. Refuses to say	Perpetrators of sexual assault	ICVS
Would you describe the incident as a rape (forced intercourse, an attempted rape, an indecent assault, or just behaviour which you found offensive)? 1. A rape 2. An attempted rape 3. Indecent assault 4. Offensive behaviour 5. Don't know	Definitions of sexual crimes	ICVS

<p>(Does/did) your (last) husband/partner ever do any of the following things to you:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Push you, shake you, or throw something at you? B. Slap you? C. Twist your arm or pull your hair? D. Punch you with his fist or something that could hurt you? E. Kick you, drag you, or beat you up? F. Try to choke you or burn you on purpose? G. Threaten to attack you with a knife, gun, or any other weapon? H. Physically force you to have intercourse with him even when you don't want to? I. Force you to perform any sexual acts you did not want to <p>How often did this happen during the last 12 months: often, only sometimes, or not at all?</p>	Incidents of violence against women in the home of varying severity	DHS
<p>Sometimes a husband is annoyed or angered by things that his wife does. In your opinion, is a husband justified in hitting or beating his wife in the following situations: (Y/N/Don't know)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. If she goes out without telling him? B. If she neglects the children? C. If she argues with him? D. If she refuses sex with him? E. If she burns the food? 	Attitudes towards violence against women in the home	MICS

Question/Indicator: Mobility in violent contexts	Measures	Questionnaire
In which municipality did you live just before the war? List	Previous place of abode	LSMS Living in Bosnia-Herzegovina
What was the reason you moved to your current place? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. War B. Property occupied C. Security D. No adequate living conditions E. Family reasons F. Job G. Other reasons H. Returnee I. Property destroyed in the war 	Reason for migration	LSMS Living in Bosnia-Herzegovina
Which one of the listed statuses describes best your current status in your current place? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Permanent residence with no moving during the war B. Permanent resident – displaced person – returnee C. Permanent resident – refugee – returnee D. Temporary resident – displaced person E. Temporary resident – refugee – displaced person F. Temporary resident – refugee G. Temporary resident – other 	Status of migrant	LSMS Living in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Question/ Indicator: Perceptions of threat and safety	Measures	Questionnaire
In your opinion, which would you consider to be the country's most important problem?	Perceptions of problems	Latinobarometer, 2005 questionnaire
<p>In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address? (Do not read out answers, code from responses, accept up to three answers asking which are the three most important if they offer more than three, rank the three answers as 1, 2, and 3).</p> <p>Options of codes include: Economics (management of the economy, wages, unemployment, poverty, rates and taxes, loans and credit), Food/agriculture (farming, agriculture, food shortage/famine, drought, land), Infrastructure (transportation, communications, roads), Government services (Education, housing, electricity, water supply, orphans/ street children/ homeless children, services (other)), Health (health, AIDS, sickness/ disease), Governance (crime and security, corruption, political violence, political instability/ political divisions/ ethnic tensions, discrimination/ inequality, gender issues/ women's rights, democracy/ political rights, war (international), civil war, nothing/ no problems, don't know, other.</p>	Perceptions of problems	Afrobarometer questionnaire 2005, round 3 Nigeria
<p>Taking everything into account, how serious was the incident for you or your household? (see indicator 1 above)</p> <p>Answer options: very serious, somewhat serious, not very serious</p>	Perception of seriousness of crime	ICVS
<p>How safe do you feel walking alone in your area after dark? Do you feel very safe, fairly safe, a bit unsafe, or very unsafe?(IF RESPONDENT SAYS NEVER GOES OUT, STRESS "HOW SAFE WOULD YOU FEEL")</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Very safe 2. Fairly safe 3. Bit unsafe 4. Very unsafe 	Perception of safety after dark	ICVS
<p>How safe do you feel when you are home alone after dark?</p> <p>Do you feel very safe, fairly safe, a bit unsafe or very unsafe?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Very safe 2. Fairly safe 	Perception of safety at night in the home	ICVS

3. Bit unsafe 4. Very unsafe		
How safe do you feel against criminals in your own house? Very safe, fairly safe, unsafe?	Perception of safety at night in the home	LSMS Malawi
When walking alone in your neighbourhood or village during the day, how safe do you feel against criminals? Very safe, fairly safe, unsafe?	Perception of safety at night in the village	LSMS Malawi
When walking alone in your neighbourhood or village at night, how safe do you feel against criminals? Very safe, fairly safe, unsafe?	Perception of safety at night in the village	LSMS Malawi
If fairly safe or unsafe, what are the threats? 1. Armed robbers 2. Burglars 3. Other criminals 4. Other	Types of threats	LSMS Malawi
Have you carried a loaded firearm on your person outside the home in the last 30 days? 1. No 2. Yes, for protection 3. Yes, for work 4. Yes, for sport (e.g. hunting target practice) 77. Refused 99. Unknown	Weapon carrying as a perception of threat	Guidelines for conducting household surveys on injuries and violence WHO
There are many different potential threats and dangers to people's personal security in today's world. Thinking of all the threats that you might face in your life, which ONE is of the most concern to you now? 1. Criminal violence 2. Terrorism 3. Health and economic threats 4. Accidents/natural disasters 5. War 6. Other	Perception of greatest threat to human security	HSR-Ipsos Reid
In the next twelve months, what is the likelihood that you will become a victim of violence? 1. Very likely 2. Somewhat likely 3. Somewhat unlikely 4. Very unlikely	Perception of future victimisation	HSR-Ipsos Reid
Of all the issues presently confronting your country, which ONE do you feel should receive the greatest attention from your countries leaders? 1. Economic issues 2. Social issues 3. War 4. Crime 5. Terrorism 6. Other specify	Perception of state role in solving problems	HSR-Ipsos Reid
Sometimes people decide to use violent means to address their political grievances and achieve their political objectives. We would like to know your opinion about the use of violence in the political sphere. Could you please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements? 1. Violence should never be used 2. Sometimes violence is necessary to improve the political situation 3. Violence has improved the situation of the country in the past 4. Violence only provokes more violence 5. Sometimes violence is the only way to be heard	Attitudes towards the use of violence	CRISE, University of Oxford
If a dispute occurs between groups (communal) in your region, does violence usually occur? 1. Always occurs 2. Often occurs 3. Sometimes occurs 4. Rarely occurs 5. Never occurs 6. Don't know	Perception of frequency of violence	CRISE, University of Oxford
If a dispute occurs between individuals in your region, does violence usually occur? 1. Always occurs 2. Often occurs	Perception of frequency of violence	CRISE, University of Oxford

3. Sometimes occurs 4. Rarely occurs 5. Never occurs 6. Don't know		
In general, how safe from crime and violence do you feel when you are alone at home 1. Very safe 2. Moderately safe 3. Neither safe nor unsafe 4. Moderately unsafe 5. Very unsafe	Perception of safety	World Bank Survey on Social Capital
How safe do you feel walking down the street after dark? 1. Very safe 2. Moderately safe 3. Neither safe nor unsafe 4. Moderately unsafe 5. Very unsafe	Perception of safety	World Bank Survey on Social Capital
In your opinion, is this village/neighbourhood generally peaceful or marked by violence? 1. Very peaceful 2. Moderately peaceful 3. Neither peaceful or violent 4. Moderately violent 5. Very violent	Perception of peace and violence	World Bank Survey on Social Capital

Question/ Indicator: Changes over time	Measures	Questionnaire
Do you think crime has increased a lot or a little, or has decreased a lot or a little or has remained the same in the last 12 months? Crime was part of a list of problems and the temporal reference was the last 12 months, consistence with the time series	Changes in General levels of crime in past year	Latinobarometer questionnaire 2005
In the past year, would you say that crime increased, decreased, or remained the same compared to the previous year? Increased, decreased, remained the same.	Changes in general levels of crime in past year	LSMS Malawi
Compared to five years ago, have conditions in your community for the following become: (much worse, worse, about the same, better, much better, not applicable)? 1. Police services 2. Robbery 3. Witchcraft or accusations of witchcraft 4. Level of trust in the community And other non violence related ones	Changes in violence and service provision in past five years	LSMS Malawi
Compared to five years ago, is the (following) much lower, lower, about the same, higher, much higher? 1. Number of deaths in young or middle aged men 2. Number of deaths in young or middle aged women And others not related to violence	Changes in numbers of deaths in last five years	LSMS Malawi
Compared to five years ago, has the level of violence in the village/neighbourhood increased, decreased or stayed the same? 1. Increased a lot 2. Increased a little 3. Stayed about the same 4. Decreased a little 5. Decreased a lot	Perceptions of changes in violence over the past five years	World Bank Survey on Social Capital

Question/Indicator: Avenues for redress and satisfaction with these	Measures	Questionnaire
Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree? A. The judicial system punishes the guilty no matter who they are B. In my country, justice arrives late, but it arrives C. The privatization of state companies has been beneficial to the country D. You can generally trust the people who run our government to do what is right E. Private enterprise is indispensable for the development of the country	Perception of justice	Latinobarometer, 2005 questionnaire
Please look at this card and tell me how much confidence you have in each of the following groups/ institutions. Would you say you have a lot, some, a little or no confidence? A. The church B. Armed Forces C. Unions D. Judiciary E. Local council F. Police	Confidence in problem solving institutions	Latinobarometer, 2005 questionnaire
In the past three years, have you never, sometimes, or often done the following, for you or your family, in order to solve problems that affect you in your neighborhood with the authorities.	Reporting problems	Latinobarometer, 2005 questionnaire

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Contacted local government B. Contacted officials at higher level C. Contacted elected legislative representatives at any level D. Contacted political parties or other political organizations E. Contacted non-government/ civil society organizations (farmer's associations, trade unions, interest groups, etc) F. Contacted media H. Other 		
<p>Do you think that the (nationals) are very, quite, a little or not at all....</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Law-abiding B. Demanding of their rights C. Conscious of their obligations and duties D. Receive equal treatment in front of the law 	Action to solve problems	Latinobarometer, 2005 questionnaire
<p>During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problems or to give them your views?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. A Local Government Councillor B. A Member of the National Assembly C. An official of a Government Ministry D. A Political Party Official E. A Religious Leader F. A Traditional Ruler G. Some other influential person (prompt if necessary: you know, someone with more power or money than you who can speak on your behalf) <p>Answer options: Never, only once, a few times, often, don't know</p>	Reporting problems	Afrobarometer questionnaire 2005, round 3 Nigeria
<p>Think of the last time you contacted any of the above leaders. Was the main reason to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Tell them about your own personal problems? B. Tell them about a community or public problem? C. Give them your view on some political issue? D. Something else. E. Not applicable (did not contact any leader) F. Don't know <p>Circle appropriate answer</p>	Reasons for reporting problems	Afrobarometer questionnaire 2005, round 3 Nigeria
<p>How much trust do you have in each of the following, or haven't you heard enough about them to say?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. The President B. The National Assembly C. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) D. Your elected Local Government Councillor E. The Ruling Party F. Opposition Political Parties G. The Military H. The Police I. The Courts of Law J. Government Broadcasting Service K. Independent Broadcasting Services L. Government Newspapers M. Independent Newspapers N. Independent Corrupt Practices Commission O. Economic and Financial Crimes Commission P. National Drug and Law Enforcement Agency <p>Answer options: not at all, just a little, somewhat, a lot, don't know haven't heard</p>	Trust in leaders and institutions	Afrobarometer questionnaire 2005, round 3 Nigeria
<p>How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say?</p> <p>E. Reducing Crime</p> <p>Answer options: Very badly, fairly badly, fairly well, very well, don't know haven't heard enough.</p>	Government handling of problems	Afrobarometer questionnaire 2005, round 3 Nigeria
<p>How likely do you think it would be that the authorities could enforce the law if:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. A top government official committed a serious crime? B. A person like you committed a serious crime <p>Answer options: Very likely, likely, not very likely, not at all likely, don't know.</p>	Law enforcement	Afrobarometer questionnaire 2005, round 3 Nigeria
<p>There are also a variety of questions which include crime in the sub-set of questions such as</p> <p>What you would do if:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The police wrongly arrested someone from your family (don't worry things will be resolved given enough time, 	Asking for assistance from police	Afrobarometer questionnaire 2005, round 3 Nigeria

lodge a complaint through the proper channels and procedures, use connections with influential people, offer tip or bribe, join in public protest, other, nothing because nothing can be done, don't know).		
2. Based on your experience how easy or difficult is it to obtain the following services? Or do you never try and get these services from government? C. Help from the police when you need it (very easy, easy, difficult, very difficult, never try, don't know)		
The last time, did you or anyone else report the incident to the police? (See indicator 1 above) Answer options: Yes, no don't know	Reporting to police	ICVS
On the whole, were you satisfied with the way the police dealt with your (their) report? (See indicator 1 above) Answer options: yes satisfied, no dissatisfied, don't know.	Satisfaction with police performance	ICVS
For what reason were you dissatisfied? You can give more than one reason 1. Didn't do enough 2. Were not interested 3. Didn't find or apprehend the offender 4. Didn't recover my property (goods) 5. Didn't keep me properly informed 6. Didn't treat me correctly/were impolite 7. Were slow to arrive 8. Other reasons (PLEASE SPECIFY)	Reasons for dissatisfaction with police performance	ICVS
Why did you or no one else report it? (Multiple answers allowed) 1. Not serious enough/no loss/kid's stuff 2. Solved it myself/perpetrator known to me 3. Inappropriate for police/police not necessary 4. Reported to other public or private agencies 5. My family solved it 6. No insurance 7. Police could do nothing/lack of proof 8. Police won't do anything about it 9. Fear/dislike of the police/no involvement 1. wanted with police 10. Didn't dare (for fear of reprisal) 11. Other reasons (SPECIFY) 12. Don't know	Reason for not-reporting a crime	ICVS
Taking everything into account, how good do you think the police in your area is in controlling crime? Do you think they do a very good job, a fairly good job, a fairly poor job or a very poor job? 1. Very good job 2. Fairly good job 3. Fairly poor job 4. Very poor job	Performance of police	ICVS
Do you or someone else in your household own a handgun, shotgun, rifle or air rifle? 1. Yes 2. No Could you tell me which sort of gun or guns you own? 1. Handgun 2. Shotgun 3. Rifle 4. Air rifle 5. Other rifle 6. Don't know 7. Refused to say 47b. For what reason do you own the gun (guns)? 1. For hunting 2. Target shooting (sports) 3. As part of a collection (collector's item) 4. For crime prevention/protection 5. In armed forces or the police 6. Because it has always been in our family/home 7. Refused to answer	Weapons ownership	ICVS
Did you report any of these offences to the police? Yes/No	Reporting to police	LSMS Malawi

On the whole were you satisfied with the way the police dealt with the matter (s)? Yes/No	Satisfaction with police performance	LSMS Malawi
<p>Why did you fail to report this incident to the police?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Crime was not serious 2. Police too far 3. Police corrupt 4. Reporting would cause trouble 5. Neighbourhood issue, didn't want the police involved 6. Other please specify 	Reasons for not reporting crime to police	LSMS Malawi
<p>What steps have you taken to protect yourself from crime in the past year?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Establishing community policing 2. Neighbourhood watch 3. Employed watchmen 4. Acquired guard dogs 5. Improved house security (bars, walls, fence) 6. Changed location 7. Traditional remedies 8. Other specify 9. Nothing 	Steps taken to protect against crime	LSMS module, Malawi
I am now going to read out a list of facilities and services in your local area. For each one please tell me whether you consider your local services to be excellent, very good, fair, or poor. Police services is included	Perception of performance of police	LSMS module on values and opinions
<p>IF for example, your or your family is involved in a <u>dispute</u>, who do you approach to seek assistance to resolve the dispute? [Use the codes for the person/party from the code list.].</p> <p>If violence occurs:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> A. B. <p>If violence has not yet occurred</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> C. D. 	Reporting disputes	CRISE, University of Oxford, Indonesia Survey
<p>74. How about if there is a large dispute between community groups, who does the community usually approach to seek assistance to resolve the dispute? [Use the codes for the person/party from the code list.].</p> <p>If violence occurs:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> A. B. <p>If violence has not yet occurred</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> C. D. 	Who the community approaches to resolve disputes	CRISE, University of Oxford, Indonesia Survey

