Democratization by Accident: Does Development Aid Change Local Hierarchies?

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Pre-Analysis Plan

Abstract

Governments of low-income countries often rely on development agencies to implement programs aiming at improving health, education and economic outcomes. Apart from these *intended* effects, development programs can have powerful *unintended* side-effects. In this study, we explore one such side-effect: democratization. Specifically, we assess whether a standard development intervention unintentionally changes local hierarchies to become more democratic. We propose two primary channels how development interventions affect social hierarchies. First, new political roles and committees challenge existing elites. Second, economic specialization brings people closer together and results in new interest groups. Both channels should, in theory, lead to more democratic local-level decision-making. We assess these hypotheses in post-conflict Liberia using a cluster-randomized controlled trial. This pre-analysis plan lays out our empirical strategy to assess the program's effect on local democratization.

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1 Background

Most states in Sub-Saharan Africa have historically faced constraints to project their authority beyond the capital city and urban areas due to the relatively high cost of establishing state presence in areas with low population density (Herbst, 2000). Yet, governments in Africa as elsewhere are under pressure to develop a sustainable tax base, secure food self-sufficiency, improve people's living standards and build up political legitimacy. To reach more peripheral areas, state bureaucracies often rely on development agencies to assist "under-developed" communities leap-frogging on growth trajectories (Humphreys et al., 2019; van der Windt et al., 2018). The goal of such development programs is to, i.a., increase tax income, food production, education and health outcomes. By definition, these development programs rely on technical expert knowledge to introduce new methods and tools to replace more traditional, sometimes (sometimes not) outdated ones.

Over the last 20 years, rigorous impact evaluations have established a new benchmark of scientific inquiry in development. Yet, most of these studies focus—for comprehensible reasons—on assessing whether and why development programs have reached their *intended* effects and achieved the pre-specified target indicators (e.g., income or expenditures, health outcomes, education indicators). In this study, we are interested in one *unintended* side-effect of such development interventions. We pursue the following research question: Do development interventions make local hierarchies more inclusive, *unintentionally*? Specifically, we explore whether an agricultural, a water and hygiene campaign and a women's empowerment program altered the social hierarchies in traditional communities as compared to a control group. We hypothesize that such development programs can unintentionally flatten community-level social hierarchies via at least two causal mechanisms (which we describe below): (1) local bureaucratization; and (2) economic specialization and interdependence.

2 Program

To explore the interplay of development and democratization, we cooperated with KfW Development Bank and the NGO *WHH* to evaluate their Reintegration and Recovery Program in South East Liberia (henceforth, RRP). RRP is a KfW-funded 16 million Euro program intended to foster sustainable socio-economic development and food and nutrition security in Liberia's South East. The program includes three key components, to which communities are randomly assigned: i) gender empowerment; ii) water, sanitation and hygiene; and iii) agricultural innovation. The specific program components are described below.

2.1 Gender empowerment (RRP-Gender)

The first arm of the program implements a gender empowerment program. The program is implemented by Medica Liberia in 15 villages. The goal of the program is to address sexualized & gender based violence through prevention and advocacy. To this end, Medica will set up institutionalized women support groups in beneficiary villages. The groups support women in employment related issues and provide a support network in case women are subjected to violence.

2.2 Water, sanitation and hygiene (RRP-WASH)

The second arm of the program implements a behavior change program. The program is implemented by WHH in 112 villages. The purpose of the program is to change respondents' behavior toward water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH). Specific behaviors that are addressed in the program include nutrition during pregnancy, food handling, handwashing practices, cleanliness (to avoid rodents). Apart from behavioral change campaigns, this program arm also includes the rehabilitation of water pumps and the assignment of maintenance responsibilities to community members.

2.3 Agricultural innovation (RRP-Agri)

The third arm of the program provides agricultural training and tools to men and women. The agriculture program is implemented by Oxfam and WHH in 61 villages. The program provides high-value crops to farmers (e.g., rice, cassava, plantain, pineapple, beans) and also implements training workshops in order to improve production, processing, storage and marketing. The program also promotes the use of vegetables in lowlands and backyard gardening in the uplands.

3 Theory and Mechanisms

How can a development program that aims to improve agricultural output and income, women's status and health alter local hierarchies? In very simple terms, we conceptualize local hierarchies as the way how community power relations are structured and decision-making is practiced. In a highly stratified community, the town or clan chief might be the sole decision-maker on community affairs such as the distribution of resources or the resolution of conflicts. In more "democratic" communities, other interest groups such as clerics, youth or women's associations might have a say in the decision-making process. Local hierarchies and decision-making inclusiveness is likely to vary across communities, but we expect that RRP will make community hierarchies more inclusive and democratic via two primary causal mechanisms (see Figure 1).

The first mechanism is what we refer to as *local bureaucratization* and we expect all three RRP interventions (Gender, WASH and Agri) to trigger this mechanism. Development programs often formally establish new groups and committees where community member are made responsible focal points for water pumps, education, health promotion, agricultural cooperation or women's affairs. Such groups also introduce a number of new leadership roles such as chairman/woman, "natural leaders", local advisors and liaison officers with outside NGOs. These small structural changes in lo-

RRP-Gender

Local bureaucratization

RRP-WASH

Democratization of local hierarchy
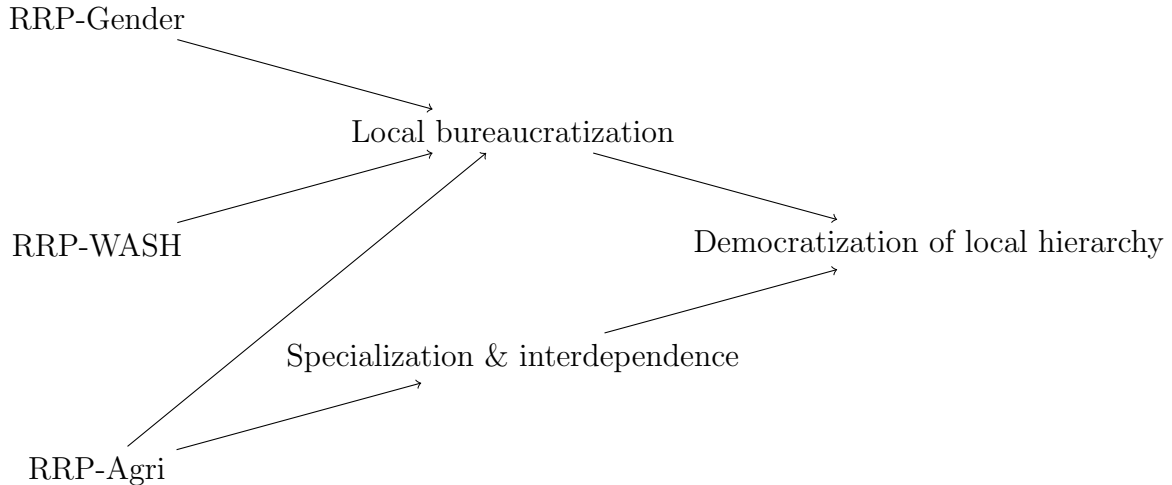
Specialization & interdependence

RRP-Agri

Figure 1: **Program components, causal mechanisms and outcome**

cal communities and the effects these might produce have typically not been assessed in previous research. However, social identity theory suggests and experiments have shown that people identify even with trivial group markers surprisingly quickly (Tajfel and Turner, 1979)—such as dividing a class room into a yellow and blue group—and also that people emerge in their new roles up to horrifying degrees as for one extreme in the infamous prison experiment in Stanford (Zimbardo, 2008).

Based on this, we argue that new committees and roles—forged by development programs—ascribe people a considerable amount of legitimacy within community. In addition, these newly established groups are often encouraged to include formerly marginalized groups such as women or minority groups, which can prevent elite capture. Also, these newly established groups receive support, resources and external legitimacy by development organizations. The new groups and leadership roles can thus be summarized as new actors with responsibilities that are of vital interest to the local population (e.g., clean water). Introducing new groups and leadership roles can broaden the local demography of leadership institutions and decision-making processes. We therefore expect them to result in more inclusive local decision-making norms and institutions.

The second mechanism *economic specialization and interdependence* focuses on the

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agricultural component only and follows the idea that in order to increase agricultural output and integrate subsistence farmers into the market economy, development programs such as RRP promote specialization and value chain extension. In the context of this development program, farmers attended trainings on a range of production and market-related innovations. This included the agricultural production cycle including plot selection (soil types, steepness, topography), seed selection and purchase, preparation and clearing of plants as well as new planting methods (line planting), crop maintenance and minimum distances between plants to reduce plant competition. Trainings also included advice on processing of plants to increase the value addition. Furthermore, storage methods, marketing, logistics and transport as well as business management have been included.

Taking into account the basic subsistence level of the farmers, the program diversifies and increases the types of tasks individual farmers should perform. Specialization and diversification typically involves a division of labor and coordination between farmers to handle more complex and interdependent tasks. This process of specialization, division of labor and inter-farmer dependence requires more coordination and exchange and can be understood as a precursor to collective interest formulation and action. In comparison to the control group where this new agricultural diversification model has not been implemented yet, we propose that the RRP-Agri intervention can generate new interest groups that cuts across traditional lineages and can thereby break power structures. This should manifest in a higher diversification and democratization of village-level decision-making.

3.1 Hypotheses

Based on these causal mechanisms we formulate the following hypotheses.

- H_{1a_M}: All three program components (RRP-Gender, RRP-WASH, RRP-Agri) increase the number of groups and leadership roles compared to the control group

- H_{1b_M}: RRP-Agri increases the level of specialization and interdependence among farmers compared to the control group

For the overall treatment effect, we expect that

- H_{2_Y}: All program components (RRP-Gender, RRP-WASH, RRP-Agri) increase the number of people involved in community decision making

Importantly, H_{2_Y} is our main hypothesis, while H_{1a_M} and H_{1b_M} constitute hypotheses about mechanisms. We there test one primary hypothesis in this paper.

4   Design

4.1   Rollout

The program across the three treatment arms is implemented after the baseline survey has concluded. It will last for one year after which a midline survey will be conducted. After the midline survey concludes, the former control villages will receive the program for one year. Once the program has been implemented everywhere, an endline survey will be conducted. The program thus follows a cross-over design.

4.2   Randomization

After collecting baseline data, all 121 program villages were randomly assigned to the different program arms or a pure control. Importantly, not every program could be implemented in every village. As stated, 61 villages could receive RRP-Agri; 15 villages could receive RRP-Gender; and 112 villages could receive RRP-WASH. The reason for the different sample sizes is owing to budget and logistical constraints. Since our interest is in determining the effect of the three independent treatments relative to the control (as well as potential interaction effects), we devised the following factorial randomization scheme.

First, we randomly assigned the 15 RRP-Gender villages to treatment or control, blocking on whether any given village could also be assigned to RRP-Agri or RRP-WASH, respectively. Second, we randomly assigned the 61 RRP-Agri villages to treatment or control, blocking on whether any given village could also be assigned to RRP-Gender or RRP-WASH as well as whether any given village had already been assigned to treatment in the RRP-Gender. Third, we randomly assigned the 112 RRP-WASH villages to treatment or control, blocking on whether any given village could also be assigned to RRP-Agri or RRP-Gender, respectively, as well as blocking on whether a village was assigned to treatment in the two respective programs. The final assignment is provided in Section A. Table 1 shows excellent balance for nine typical baseline measures.

Table 1: Balance across treatment and control groups

	Sample	RRP-Gender		RRP-WASH		RRP-Agri	
		Treat	*Control*	*Treat*	*Control*	*Treat*	*Control*
Women	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
Age	40.2	40.7	39.2	40.8	40.3	39.0	39.6
Can write	2.1	2.2	2.4	2.0	2.1	2.2	2.2
Kids	3.2	3.3	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.3	3.3
Family size	7.3	7.0	7.1	7.5	7.2	7.2	7.6
Trust I	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3
Trust II	6.7	6.5	5.7	6.5	6.8	7.0	6.3
Gender I	3.1	2.7	2.9	3.2	3.2	3.0	3.2
Gender II	2.8	2.8	2.5	2.0	2.8	2.8	2.7

Notes: Means of baseline variables across T and C for the three treatment arms.

5 Survey

5.1 Baseline

From November to December 2018, WHH implemented a baseline survey in all 121 program villages with 7,918 individuals. Enumerators drew a random sample within villages based on a random walk procedure. Given that random assignment was imple-

mented *after* the baseline, enumerators were not aware of the treatment status of any given village. The baseline survey instrument is provided in Section A. In addition, WHH also implemented a survey of all beneficiary farmers in villages where farmers are treated (i.e., RRP-Agri). The sample size, here, was 2,884. The *farmer* sample serves the purpose to assess the effect of the program on direct beneficiaries. The survey draft was highly similar to the main survey.

5.2 Midline

From February to March 2020, WHH Liberia will implement a midline survey. It is scheduled to take place in all 121 program villages and WHH will try to reach all 7,918 individuals in order to create a panel. To the extent possible, enumerators will not be informed about the treatment status of any given village. The midline will include some additional measures for this study (provided in Section **??**). WHH will also implement a midline for the farmer sample, which will similarly take the form of a panel. The instrument will be highly similar to the one implemented during the baseline.

5.3 Endline

From January to February 2021, WHH will implement an endline survey. It is scheduled to take place in all 121 program villages and WHH will try to reach the same set of 7,918 individuals in order to create a panel. Enumerators will again remain blinded to the treatment status. The endline will include the same measures as the midline (provided in Section A). Again, WHH will also implement an endline for the farmer sample, which will take the form of a panel. The instrument will be the same as the one implemented during the base- and midline.

6 Measurement

To measure changes in local hierarchies—our primary outcome of interest—and the two causal mechanisms we rely on measures of community decision-making regimes and democratic values (see 1 and 2 in table 2). To adjust for multiple comparisons, we use the three items of community decision-making and combine them to a standardized index. The following table provides the variable name (right column) which corresponds to the question wording and answering options in the survey instrument provided in section A in the appendix.

To measure the first mechanism, *local bureaucratization* (H_{1a}), we use questions on new roles in the community, people's expectations of development and the value of new knowledge. To measure the second mechanism, *specialization and interdependence* (H_{2a}), we use questions on people's self-reported division of labor, degree of specialization and the effectiveness of RRP.

Table 2: Survey items

Concept	Survey item name
1. Community decision-making (outcome)	hm_hierarchy1, hm_hierarchy2, hm_hierarchy3
2. Democratic values (outcome)	impact_democracy
3. Local bureaucratization (mechanism)	hm_newroles, hm_expectations, hm_localcult1, hm_legibility, hm_effectiveness, hm_localcult2
4. Specialization and interdependence (mechanism)	farm_knowledge, farm_learn, farm_employees, hm_div_gen, hm_div_farm, hm_cooperation

7 Model & Analysis

Our benchmark model is the following ANCOVA:

$$Y_{iPOST} = \alpha + \beta_1 Y_{iPRE} + \beta_2 T_i + \mu_x \mathbb{X}_{i0} + \eta_d + \epsilon_{it} \tag{1}$$

where Y_{iPOST} is a post-program outcome variable of individual i, T_i is a treatment dummy, Y_{iPRE} is the pre-program covariates, and e_{it} is the normally distributed residual. The controls are provided below. Standard errors will be clustered at the village-level. We estimate the model at two time points: once at the midline and once at the endline. Our main sample will be the combined random as well as farmer sample, but we also report both samples separately.

Because each respective treatment arm cannot be implemented in all villages (see above), we estimate a separate model for each treatment arm, subsetting the data to villages that were part of the respective treatment arms' sample. In addition, we estimate the above-mentioned model with a treatment indicator for each treatment arm, including a dummy for "non-treatiblity." Finally, we will also compare the effect of the two program arms with the placebo arm.

Our main robustness check is a model where we include controls for:

1. enumerator fixed effects (*enumerator name*)
2. county fixed effects (*county*)
3. respondents' gender (*r female*)
4. respondents' age (*age*)
5. respondents' family size (*fam size*)
6. respondents' household number of children (*fam kids*)
7. respondents' marital status (*fam marital*)
8. respondents' level of education (index) (*edu level*)
9. respondents' occupation (*occupation*)
10. respondents' turnout (*vote*)
11. respondents' religion (*r religion*)
12. respondents' religiosity (*r reli import*)
13. respondents' co-wives (*fam wives*)
14. respondents' previous survey experience (*survey before*)

For marital status, occupation and religion, we will only include dummies for categories mentioned by more than 10 percent of the sample; the rest will be coded as "other." Missing covariate data will be imputed with the village-level mean. We also pre-register the follwing secondary analyses:

1. We will estimate a model using all three time periods, adopting a two-way fixed effects framework.

2. We will assess treatment effect heterogeneity for theoretically salient covariates, including gender, age, education, and baseline income.

3. We estimate models where we interact the different treatment conditions.

4. Should treatment compliance not be perfect, we estimate LATE models (using assinment as an instrument for treatment).

References

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Appendix

A   Randomization

Figure A1: Assignment to treatment (Part 1)

village_name	econ_treat	gender_treat	placebo_treat
Bargblor	1	NA	1
Tojallah	1	NA	0
Gwien	NA	NA	1
Pouh	NA	NA	1
Zleh Town	0	NA	1
Old Zleh	1	1	0
Gbayea	NA	NA	1
Gaye Town	0	0	0
Polar Town	1	0	1
Kudee	NA	NA	1
Zilaken	0	NA	1
Barkor	1	NA	0
Jarwodee	0	NA	1
Juluzon	1	NA	1
Quebo	1	NA	1
Chensla	NA	NA	1
Zuajah	NA	NA	0
Gbarkeh	0	NA	1
Daybleh	1	NA	0
Teladee	NA	NA	1
Kenyeaville	NA	NA	1
Tian	NA	NA	0
Duogee	NA	NA	0
Sennehwen	NA	NA	1
Old Toe Town	1	NA	0
New Toe Town	1	NA	1
Pokor Town	NA	0	0
B'hai Tarway	0	NA	1
Blown	1	NA	0
Julutuzon	0	1	1
ELRZ	1	NA	NA
Gbargbaville	0	NA	NA
Telecom Community	1	1	NA
Pennue Community	0	0	NA
FDA Community	1	NA	NA
Krahville	0	NA	NA
New Zwedru	1	0	NA
Yarlieville	0	1	NA
Pennue Town	NA	0	1
Kumah Town	NA	1	1
Zoe Bush	1	1	NA
Sandtrudu	NA	1	0
Tuglor	NA	NA	1
Dweh	0	NA	0
Ziah Zone 8	1	NA	0
Ziah Zone 9	0	NA	0
Buway	1	NA	1
Sayuo	0	NA	0
Billibo	0	NA	0
Delayee	1	NA	1
Zeon	NA	1	1
Gleplay	NA	NA	0
Sinkor	NA	0	0
Beh	NA	NA	0
Diahn	NA	NA	1
Chayedeeville	NA	NA	0
Bawaydee	0	NA	1
Janzon	0	NA	1
New Pohan	NA	NA	0
Old Pohan	NA	NA	1
Boe	0	NA	0
Jone Gbaye	0	NA	0
Gambo	0	NA	0

Figure A2: Assignment to treatment (Part 2)

Dolezon	NA	NA	0
Boleken	NA	NA	0
New Solo	NA	NA	0
Old Solo	NA	NA	0
Tuzon	NA	NA	1
New Zai Town	NA	NA	1
Old Zai Town	NA	NA	1
Mlayee	1	NA	0
Zaway	NA	NA	0
Teaken	NA	NA	0
Rock Town	NA	NA	1
Gutuken	NA	NA	1
Gbwiliken/Cavala	NA	NA	0
Juluken #1	NA	NA	1
Gbakliken	NA	NA	1
Tenken	NA	NA	1
Burtiken ML	NA	NA	1
Feloken	0	NA	1
Peter's Village	0	NA	0
Sawbo Village	0	NA	1
Roland Village	1	NA	0
Ralph Folee	1	NA	0
Besty Kuoh	NA	NA	0
Gbaquiah	1	NA	0
Geekan	NA	NA	0
Jarkaken	0	NA	1
Klaboken	1	NA	1
Putuken	NA	NA	1
Tienpo Jaytoken	NA	NA	0
Kileaken	0	NA	0
Paroken	NA	NA	0
Dweaken	0	NA	1
Podroken	1	NA	1
Kanweaken	0	NA	0
Gbaweleken	0	NA	1
Jalipo	1	NA	0
Potupo Jaytoken	1	NA	1
Wregboken	NA	NA	0
Burtiken RG	0	NA	0
Kortown	NA	NA	1
Fish Town (Quayee)	1	NA	0
Jayproken	0	NA	0
Sweaken	NA	NA	1
Dweso	NA	NA	0
Bleyeaken	NA	NA	0
Pelloken	NA	NA	0
Jalatoken SE	NA	NA	1
Wiffiken	1	NA	1
Pennoken	1	NA	1
Tumaken	NA	NA	0
Yegboken	NA	NA	0
Jalatoken NW	NA	NA	1
Warliken	NA	NA	0
Chengboken	NA	NA	0
Wlegboken	NA	NA	0
Chegboken	1	NA	1
Sarbo Geeken	NA	NA	1
Kaytoken	NA	NA	1

A   Survey items

Midline Survey

Field	Question	Answer
1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION FOR ENUMERATOR		
generated_note_name_3	INFORMATION FOR ENUMERATOR ONLY. This survey collects midline data from farmer beneficiaries and community members who have been interviewed in the baseline survey of RRP-v. Please fill in the following information before asking the respondents	
enumerator_name *(required)*	Please choose your name from the list below (sorted alphatecially) *Choose from list*	List not provided here for privacy protection
enumerator_name_other	Specify other.	
enumerator_female *(required)*	Please chooose your gender *Choose from list*	0 Male 1 Female
gps_on	Please switch on your GPS function on your phone now	
2. INFORMED CONSENT		
generated_note_name_21	Hello. My name is **[enumerator_name].** I am working with Welthungerhilfe, a development organization. I do not represent the government or a political party. As you may remember, your community has been selected to participate in our development program about a year ago. With this survey, we collect data on the living conditions and livelihoods during this program. This survey helps us to see whether our	

Field	Question	Answer
	program really helped people to improve their living conditions. Importantly, the information you share with me will be kept confidential. No one will be able to associate you personally with the answers given. Once, we collected the data from all respondents like you, we will analyse them statistically altogether without referring to you personally. This interview will take approximately 45 minutes. It is also important for you to understand that you do not receive any kind of payment for participating in this survey. At the same time, not participating does not have any negative consequences for you. Do you have any questions at the moment?	
consent1		
generated_note_name_24	In case you need more information about the survey, you may contact the person listed on the card that I will give to you HANDOVER INFORMATION ABOUT WHH CONTACT!	
consent2 *(required)*	Do you agree to participate in this survey?	1 Yes 0 No
consent3		
generated_note_name_28	Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed for this survey. The questions we would like to ask are grouped in several sections, each	

Field	Question	Answer
	with a different theme. Many questions are about topics related to your life and livelihood in your community and household, agriculture, politics, development and gender relations. Some of these questions look like they are not directly related to the program, but these are important to better analyze the impact of the program. There are no right or wrong answers. We are just interested in knowing what your opinion is. If I ask you any question you don't want to answer, or don't know, just let me know and I will go on to the next question. You can also stop the interview at any time without any negative consequences. We hope that you will be willing to answer all the questions to the best of your ability, as truthfully and accurately as possible. *Respondent: If there are questions, do your best to answer them*	
3. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION		
generated_note_name_31	In the first section, which we will start now, we will ask you some background information about yourself, your family, and your place of residence.	
r_county *(required)*	Select the household's county	county_key county_key
r_community *(required)*	Select the household's community	community_key community_key
r_name *(required)*	Select the respondent's name	name_key name_key

Field	Question	Answer
info_agri	Please check again whether the respondent's name, county and community is correct. Name: **[r_name]** Community: **[r_community]** County: **[r_county]** This respondent is part of the following WHH-program activity: **[r_category]**	
r_female *(required)*	What is the respondent's gender *Do not ask respondent, observe.*	0 Male 1 Female
r_age *(required)*	How old are you? *If respondent does not know exact age, make an estimate.*	
r_ethnicity *(required)*	To which ethnic group do you feel closest? *Do not read options. Choose from response.*	1 Bassa 2 Belleh 3 Gbandi 4 Gio / Dan 5 Gola 6 Grebo 7 Kissi 8 Kpelle 9 Krahn 10 Kru 11 Lorma 12 Mandingo 13 Mano 14 Mende 15 Vai -77 Don't know -88 Refuses to answer other Other
r_ethnicity_other	Specify other.	
4. FAMILY, EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT, RELIGION		
generated_note_name_44	Next, I will ask you some questions on family background,	

Field	Question	Answer
	education, employment and religion.	
fam_marital *(required)*	What is your current marital status? *[Interviewer: prompt if necessary: you know are you married, single, divorced, widowed, separated] Do not read the alternatives: Don't know, N.A*	1 Married 2 In relationship 3 Single 4 Divorced 5 Widowed 6 Separated -88 Refuses to answer
fam_cowives	Does your husband has other wives? If yes, how many apart from you? *Enter 0 if she is the only wife*	
fam_wives	How many wives do you have in total?	
fam_size *(required)*	How many people live in your household in total including children under 18 years?	
fam_kids *(required)*	How many of these are children *enter 0 if no children*	
edu_level *(required)*	What is the highest level of education that you have completed? *Do not read the alternatives: Don't know, N.A.*	0 None 1 Some primary school 2 Completed primary school 3 Some secondary school 4 Completed secondary school 5 Some advanced education 6 Advanced degree completed other Other
edu_level_other	Specify other.	
edu_write *(required)*	How **well** can you write?	4 Very well 3 Well 2 Poorly 1 Very poorly -88 Refuses to answer
edu_read *(required)*	How **well** can you read?	4 Very well

Field	Question	Answer
		3　Well 2　Poorly 1　Very poorly -88　Refuses to answer
occupation *(required)*	What is your current main job? *Do not read options. Choose from response.*	1　　Farming 2　　Trade 3　　Fishing 4　　Civil service 5　　Teacher 7　　Businessman/women 8　　Unemployed other　Other
occupation_other	Specify other.	
r_religion *(required)*	What is your religion?	1　　Christian Catholic 2　　Christian Methodist 3　　Christian Lutheran 4　　Christian Anglican 5　　Christian Baptist 6　　Christian Pentecostal (e.g., Assembly of God) 7　　Christian Other 8　　Muslim Sunni 9　　Muslim Shia 10　Muslim other 11　Traditional -88　Refuses to answer other　Other
r_religion_other	Specify other.	
r_reli_import *(required)*	How important is religion in your life?	5　Very important 4　Important 3　Neither important, nor unimportant 2　Unimportant 1　Very unimportant -88　Refuses to answer

Field	Question	Answer
6. DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES		
generated_note_name_60	In the next section, we would like to know about some development activities taking place in this community.	
generated_note_name_61	We will now list a couple of activities that may or may not have taken place in this community in the last 12 months. Please let us know if you are aware of any of them	
impl_road *(required)*	⋯ road construction	1 Yes 0 No
impl_women *(required)*	⋯ women empowerment interventions	1 Yes 0 No
impl_agricultural *(required)*	⋯ agricultural training	1 Yes 0 No
impl_wash *(required)*	⋯ hygiene and sanitation training	1 Yes 0 No
impl_behavior *(required)*	⋯ behavioral change campaigns	1 Yes 0 No
impl_hiv *(required)*	⋯ HIV prevention intervention	1 Yes 0 No
impl_polrally *(required)*	⋯ political rally	1 Yes 0 No
impl_other	If there are further activities, please specify *Otherwise continue by swiping left*	
7. IMPACT AND OUTCOME MEASURES		
generated_note_name_72	Next, I would like to ask you about some important development measures and access to public services.	
impact_road *(required)*	I'd like you to think of the best road nearby (i.e., within 2 kilometers), what is the condition of that road?	4 Very good 3 Good 2 Poor 1 Very poor

Field	Question	Answer
		-99 Not applicable
▌impact_road_change *(required)*	Did the conditions of that road improve, remained the same or worsened in the last 6 months?	3 Improve 2 Remained the same 1 Worsened -77 Don't know -99 Not applicable
▌impact_income *(required)*	What is your approximate monthly income that you obtain through agricultural activities? *Enter amount in Liberian Dollars. Enter 0 if none.*	
▌impact_income_other *(required)*	What is your approximate monthly income from other sources (excl. agriculture and gifts)? *Enter amount in Liberian Dollars. Enter 0 if none.*	
▌impact_income_help *(required)*	How much money did you receive from family, friends or relatives in Liberia or from abroad in the last year? *Enter amount in Liberian Dollars. Enter 0 if none.*	
▌generated_note_name_78	I would like to ask you about all the different foods that your household members have eaten in the last week. Could you please tell me how many days in the past week your household has eaten the following foods?	
▌impact_FCS1 *(required)*	Maize *Enter number of days in the last seven days on which your household consumed this type of food*	
▌impact_FCS2 *(required)*	Rice *Enter number of days in the last seven days on which your household consumed this type of food*	
▌impact_FCS3 *(required)*	Bread/wheat	

Field	Question	Answer
	Enter number of days in the last seven days on which your household consumed this type of food	
impact_FCS4 *(required)*	Tubers *Enter number of days in the last seven days on which your household consumed this type of food*	
impact_FCS5 *(required)*	Groundnuts & Pulses *Enter number of days in the last seven days on which your household consumed this type of food*	
impact_FCS6 *(required)*	Fish (eaten as a main food) *Enter number of days in the last seven days on which your household consumed this type of food*	
impact_FCS7 *(required)*	Red meat (sheep/goat/beef/bush meat) *Enter number of days in the last seven days on which your household consumed this type of food*	
impact_FCS8 *(required)*	White meat (poultry) *Enter number of days in the last seven days on which your household consumed this type of food*	
impact_FCS9 *(required)*	Vegetable oil, fats *Enter number of days in the last seven days on which your household consumed this type of food*	
impact_FCS10 *(required)*	Eggs *Enter number of days in the last seven days on which your household consumed this type of food*	
impact_FCS11 *(required)*	Milk and dairy products (main food) *Enter number of days in the last seven days on which your household consumed this type of food*	
impact_FCS12 *(required)*	Milk in tea in small amounts *Enter number of days in the last seven days on which your household consumed this type of food*	
impact_FCS13 *(required)*	Vegetables (including leaves)	

Field	Question	Answer
	Enter number of days in the last seven days on which your household consumed this type of food	
▌ impact_FCS14 *(required)*	Fruits *Enter number of days in the last seven days on which your household consumed this type of food*	
▌ impact_FCS15 *(required)*	Sweets, sugar *Enter number of days in the last seven days on which your household consumed this type of food*	
▌ generated_note_name_94	Now, I'm going to read you several statements that people have made about their food situation. For these statements, please tell me whether the statement was often true, sometimes true, or never true for your household in the last month.	
▌ impact_foodsecurity1 *(required)*	"The food that we had just didn't last, and we didn't have money to get more. " Was that often, sometimes, or never true for your household in the last month?	2 Often true 1 Sometimes true 0 Never true - 77 Don't know - 88 Refuses to answer
▌ impact_foodsecurity2 *(required)*	"We couldn't afford to eat fish, meat or vegetable." Was that often, sometimes, or never true for your household in the last month?	2 Often true 1 Sometimes true 0 Never true - 77 Don't know - 88 Refuses to answer
▌ impact_foodsecurity3 *(required)*	In the last month, did you or other members in your household ever cut the size of the meals or skip meals because there wasn't enough food?	1 Yes 0 No - 77 Don't know - 88 Refuse to answer

Field	Question	Answer
▮ impact_foodsecurity4 *(required)*	In the last month, were you or other members of your household ever hungry but didn't eat because there wasn't enough money for food?	1 Yes 0 No -77 Don't know -88 Refuse to answer
▮ generated_note_name_99	The next question is about health and the role of women.	
▮ impact_sanitation *(required)*	Did you or someone in your household have diarrhea in the last month?	1 Yes 0 No -77 Don't know -88 Refuse to answer
▮ impact_skin *(required)*	Did you or someone in your household have a skin irritation or disease in the last month?	1 Yes 0 No -77 Don't know -88 Refuse to answer
▮ impact_women *(required)*	To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "violence against women and girls is declining in this community."	5 Strongly agree 4 Agree 3 Neutral/Neither agree nor disagree 2 Disagree 1 Strongly disagree -88 Refuses to answer -77 Don't know
7. GOVERNANCE		
▮ generated_note_name_105	Next, we turn to some questions about the performance of the government and others in improving the living conditions of people like you.	
▮ impact_gov_present *(required)*	To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "The	5 Strongly agree 4 Agree

Field	Question	Answer
	local government is more present these days than it used to be."	3 Neutral/Neither agree nor disagree 2 Disagree 1 Strongly disagree -88 Refuses to answer -77 Don't know
▌impact_gov_service *(required)*	To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "The local government provides more services than it used to."	5 Strongly agree 4 Agree 3 Neutral/Neither agree nor disagree 2 Disagree 1 Strongly disagree -88 Refuses to answer -77 Don't know
▌impact_gov_chief *(required)*	To what extent do you trust the leaders of your community?	5 To a great extent 4 To a moderate extent 3 To some extent 2 To a small extent 1 Not at all -88 Refuses to answer -99 Not applicable
▌impact_gov_local *(required)*	To what extent do you trust the local county government?	5 To a great extent 4 To a moderate extent 3 To some extent 2 To a small extent 1 Not at all -88 Refuses to answer -99 Not applicable
▌impact_gov_national *(required)*	To what extent do you trust the national government?	5 To a great extent 4 To a moderate extent 3 To some extent

Field	Question	Answer
		2 To a small extent 1 Not at all -88 Refuses to answer -99 Not applicable
vote *(required)*	Did you vote in the 2017 general election?	1 Yes 0 No -88 Refuse to answer
politics_travel *(required)*	Did you travel to the next town to celebrate independence day last year?	1 Yes 0 No -77 Don't know -88 Refuse to answer
politics_assembly *(required)*	How many times did you participate in community assemblies the last month?	
generated_note_name_114	The next question are about some imaginary situations.	
politics_road_national *(required)*	Imagine that you are being asked to help on a project by the **national** government. The project brings people together to clear the **national** highways of trees and to level potholes. Would you be willing to participate in the project without receiving monetary compensation?	5 Yes, definitely 4 Yes, probably 3 Unsure 2 No, probably not 1 No, definitely not -77 Don't know
politics_road_local1 *(required)*	Imagine that you are being asked to help on a project by the **local county** government. The project brings people together to clear the **local** roads of trees and to level potholes. Would you be willing to participate in the project without receiving monetary compensation?	5 Yes, definitely 4 Yes, probably 3 Unsure 2 No, probably not 1 No, definitely not -77 Don't know

Field	Question	Answer
politics_road_local2 *(required)*	Imagine that you are being asked to help on a project by your **community chief or town chief**. The project brings people together to clear the **local** road of trees and to level potholes. Would you be willing to participate in the project without receiving monetary compensation?	5 Yes, definitely 4 Yes, probably 3 Unsure 2 No, probably not 1 No, definitely not -77 Don't know
impact_democracy *(required)*	Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?	3 STATEMENT 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government. 2 STATEMENT 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable. 1 STATEMENT 3: For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have. -77 Don't know -88 Refuses to answer
politics_petition *(required)*	Would you be willing to sign a petition to urge local government officials to visit your community and demand to have your needs such as water, electricity and health care addressed?	1 Yes 0 No
politics_petition2	You can sign here? *Have respondent sign with finger. If s/he changes her/his mind do not force them to sign.*	
politics_petition3 *(required)*	INTERVIEWER: Did the respondent sign? *Don't ask, just answer yourself*	1 Yes 0 No
outcome_cars *(required)*	I would like to ask you on the nearby road with in 2kms, how many vehicles including cars, trucks and motorbikes travel per day?	

Field	Question	Answer
	Enter number of estimated vehicles	
outcome_sanitation *(required)*	How often do you see open defecation in this community?	4 Daily 3 Weekly 2 Monthly 1 A few times a year 0 Never
outcome_water *(required)*	Do you have access to clean drinking water at all times?	1 Yes 0 No -77 Don't know -88 Refuse to answer
outcome_women *(required)*	Is there a women support group in this community?	1 Yes 0 No -77 Don't know -88 Refuse to answer
outcome_women_awareness *(required)*	To what extent, did this women support group inform the public about women's and girls' rights and engaged in the prevention of violence?	5 To a great extent 4 To a moderate extent 3 To some extent 2 To a small extent 1 Not at all -88 Refuses to answer -99 Not applicable
outcome_ca *(required)*	Is your community able to mobilize resources for minor repair work by collecting user fees?	1 Yes 0 No -77 Don't know -88 Refuse to answer
9. SOCIAL CAPITAL		
generated_note_name_130	In the following questions, we would like to know how you	

Field	Question	Answer
	assess the social relationships in your community.	
trust1 *(required)*	Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?	1 Most people can be trusted 0 Need to be very careful - 88 Refuses to answer
trust2 *(required)*	How well does the following statement describe you as a person? "As long as I am not convinced otherwise, I assume that people have only the best intentions." Please use a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means "does not describe me at all" and a 10 means "describes me perfectly". You can also use the values in-between to indicate where you fall on the scale. *E.g. 5 means somewhere in the middle.*	
trust4 *(required)*	Imagine the following situation: Someone gives you 10,000 LRD as a gift. Considering your current situation, how much of it would you donate to a charitable organization?	
trust5 *(required)*	How do you assess your willingness to share with others without expecting anything in return when it comes to donating? Please use a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you are "completely unwilling to share" and a 10 means you are "very willing to share". You can also use the	

Field	Question	Answer
	values in- between to indicate where you fall on the scale. *5 would indicate somewhere in the middle*	
10. GENDER 1		
generated_note_name_137	In the following questions, we would appreciate your opinion on which roles and tasks you find to be most appropriate for women and men within your community.	
gender_roles1 *(required)*	To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "Cleaning and cooking is women's work."	5 Strongly agree 4 Agree 3 Neutral/Neither agree nor disagree 2 Disagree 1 Strongly disagree - 88 Refuses to answer - 77 Don't know
gender_roles2 *(required)*	To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women."	5 Strongly agree 4 Agree 3 Neutral/Neither agree nor disagree 2 Disagree 1 Strongly disagree - 88 Refuses to answer - 77 Don't know
gender_roles3 *(required)*	To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "If a woman earns more money than her husband, it's almost certain to cause problems"	5 Strongly agree 4 Agree 3 Neutral/Neither agree nor disagree 2 Disagree 1 Strongly disagree - 88 Refuses to answer - 77 Don't know
11. GENDER 2		

Field	Question	Answer
generated_note_name_143	In the following questions, we are interested in your opinion towards the relationship between men and women.	
gender_ipv1 *(required)*	To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "A woman should accept violence in order to keep her family together."	5 Strongly agree 4 Agree 3 Neutral/Neither agree nor disagree 2 Disagree 1 Strongly disagree -88 Refuses to answer -77 Don't know
gender_ipv2 *(required)*	To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "A husband using violence against his wife is a private matter that noone outside the family should know about."	5 Strongly agree 4 Agree 3 Neutral/Neither agree nor disagree 2 Disagree 1 Strongly disagree -88 Refuses to answer -77 Don't know
gender_ipv3 *(required)*	To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "Sometimes there are justified reasons when a wife deserves to be beaten by her husband."	5 Strongly agree 4 Agree 3 Neutral/Neither agree nor disagree 2 Disagree 1 Strongly disagree -88 Refuses to answer -77 Don't know
13. GENDER 4		
generated_note_name_149	The next questions are about violence against women. We know this is a very sensitive topic. So we would highly appreciate your thoughts.	

Field	Question	Answer
gender_violence1 *(required)*	To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "Violence such as beatings and humiliation of women by their husbands is very common in this community."	5 Strongly agree 4 Agree 3 Neutral/Neither agree nor disagree 2 Disagree 1 Strongly disagree -88 Refuses to answer -77 Don't know
control_info	Now I am going to read you **three things** that have happened to people in this community in the last 12 months. After I have read them out, I would like you to tell me HOW MANY of them happened to you personally. I don't want to know which ones, just tell me HOW MANY. I will turn my back to you, so I cannot see what you do.	
treat_info	Now I am going to read you **four things** that have happened to people in this community in the last 12 months. After I have read them out, I would like you to tell me HOW MANY of them happened to you personally. I don't want to know which ones, just tell me HOW MANY.I will turn my back to you, so I cannot see what you do.	
control_stones	To help you keep track of the number, take these **three balls of paper.** Hold these balls of paper behind your back in your left hand. For each thing you experienced pass one ball to your right hand. At the end you can show me how many balls of paper you hold in your RIGHT HAND. Ok, lets go... *Turn away from respondent for privacy.*	

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Field	Question	Answer
▌ treat_stones	To help you keep track of the number, take these **four balls of paper.** Hold these balls of paper behind your back in your left hand. For each thing you experienced pass one ball to your right hand. At the end you can show me how many balls you hold in your RIGHT HAND. Ok, lets go... *Turn away from respondent for privacy.*	
▌ control	1. I did not have enough money to buy food If you experienced that, please pass one paper ball from your from your left to your right hand. 2. I sometimes argue with my partner If you experienced that, please pass one paper ball from your from your left to your right hand. 3. Someone stole from me If you experienced that, please pass one paper ball from your from your left to your right hand.	
▌ treat_male	1. I did not have enough money to buy food If you experienced that, please pass one paper ball from your from your left to your right hand. 2. I sometimes argue with my partner	

Field	Question	Answer
	If you experienced that, please pass one paper ball from your from your left to your right hand. 3. I physically injured my partner If you experienced that, please pass one paper ball from your from your left to your right hand. 4. Someone stole from me If you experienced that, please pass one paper ball from your from your left to your right hand.	
treat_female	1. I did not have enough money to buy food If you experienced that, please pass one paper ball from your from your left to your right hand. 2. I sometimes argue with my partner If you experienced that, please pass one paper ball from your from your left to your right hand. 3. I was physically injured by my partner If you experienced that, please pass one paper ball from your from your left to your right hand. 4. Someone stole from me If you experienced that, please	

Field	Question	Answer
	pass one paper ball from your from your left to your right hand.	
gender_list_count_control *(required)*	Now, please show me how many balls of paper you hold in your right hand. *Enter the number of paper balls. If respondent refuses to answer, type "99"*	
gender_list_count_treat *(required)*	Now, please show me how many stones you hold in your right hand. *Enter the number of paper balls. If respondent refuses to answer, type "99"*	
gender_list_worked_control *(required)*	Is it correct that you experienced **[gender_list_count_control] of the things** I read to you?	1 Yes 0 No
gender_list_worked_treat *(required)*	Is it correct that you experienced **[gender_list_count_treat] of the things** I read to you?	1 Yes 0 No
generated_note_name_163	I have one final question in this section	
gender_violence2 *(required)*	In the last 12 months, did you get into a physical fight with your partner?	1 Yes 0 No - 77 Don't know - 88 Refuse to answer
14. GENDER 5		
generated_note_name_167	We'd now like to ask about your opinion what others think about women in this community.	
gender_other1 *(required)*	Do you think others in this community believe that cleaning and cooking is a woman's job?	5 Yes, definitely 4 Yes, probably 3 Unsure 2 No, probably not 1 No, definitely not - 77 Don't know

Field	Question	Answer
gender_other2 *(required)*	Do you think other people in this community believe that if a man and a women both want the same job, the job should be given to the man?	5 Yes, definitely 4 Yes, probably 3 Unsure 2 No, probably not 1 No, definitely not -77 Don't know
gender_other3 *(required)*	Do you think other people in this community believe that women should accept violence in order to keep their families together?	5 Yes, definitely 4 Yes, probably 3 Unsure 2 No, probably not 1 No, definitely not -77 Don't know
gender_other4 *(required)*	Do you think other people in this community believe husbands using violence against their wives is a private matter that noone outside the family should know about?	5 Yes, definitely 4 Yes, probably 3 Unsure 2 No, probably not 1 No, definitely not -77 Don't know
gender_other5 *(required)*	Do you think other people in this community believe that sometimes there are justified reasons when a wife deserves to be beaten by her husband?	5 Yes, definitely 4 Yes, probably 3 Unsure 2 No, probably not 1 No, definitely not -77 Don't know
gender_other6 *(required)*	Do you think other people in this community believe that if a woman earns more money than her husband, it's almost certain to cause problems?	5 Yes, definitely 4 Yes, probably 3 Unsure 2 No, probably not 1 No, definitely not -77 Don't know
gender_stepup3 *(required)*	Would you intervene if a man beat his woman in public?	5 Yes, definitely 4 Yes, probably

Field	Question	Answer
		3 Unsure
		2 No, probably not
		1 No, definitely not
		-77 Don't know
generated_note_name_175	Thank you for responding to these difficult questions.	
17. NGO EXPERIENCES		
generated_note_name_178	I'd like you to think of NGOs and your experiences with them, especially with those that have been engaged over the past years in this community.	
hm_expectations *(required)*	To what extent did NGOs promised more than they acutally did?	5 To a great extent 4 To a moderate extent 3 To some extent 2 To a small extent 1 Not at all -88 Refuses to answer -99 Not applicable
hm_localcult1 *(required)*	To what extent did NGO staff know and respect the local culture?	5 To a great extent 4 To a moderate extent 3 To some extent 2 To a small extent 1 Not at all -88 Refuses to answer -99 Not applicable
hm_knowledge *(required)*	To what extent did NGO staff view their technical knowledge as superior to your local knowledge.	5 To a great extent 4 To a moderate extent 3 To some extent 2 To a small extent 1 Not at all

Field	Question	Answer
		- 88 Refuses to answer - 99 Not applicable
▌ hm_legibility *(required)*	To what extent are you concerned that NGO activities in communitys like yours make your community easier to be controlled by the government?	5 To a great extent 4 To a moderate extent 3 To some extent 2 To a small extent 1 Not at all - 88 Refuses to answer - 99 Not applicable
▌ hm_effectiveness *(required)*	To what extent do you see NGO's programs as effective and helpful in general?	5 To a great extent 4 To a moderate extent 3 To some extent 2 To a small extent 1 Not at all - 88 Refuses to answer - 99 Not applicable
▌ hm_localcult2 *(required)*	To what extent do you see NGO's programs in line with your local culture?	5 To a great extent 4 To a moderate extent 3 To some extent 2 To a small extent 1 Not at all - 88 Refuses to answer - 99 Not applicable
▌ hm_newroles *(required)*	In the last year, have you noticed that people in this village have taken on distinct leadership roles? For example, working on committees, collective groups or councils.	5 Yes, definitely 4 Yes, probably 3 Unsure 2 No, probably not 1 No, definitely not

Field	Question	Answer
		- 77 Don't know
hm_div_gen *(required)*	Which of the following statements comes closest to your view?	1 STATEMENT 1: Members of this village are responsible for a few, clearly assigned duties 2 STATEMENT 2: Members of this village are responsible for many different things - 88 Refuses to answer
hm_div_farm *(required)*	Which of the following statements comes closest to your view?	1 STATEMENT 1: Farmers work on their own plot of land by themselves. 2 STATEMENT 2: Farmers work on collective plots of land and divide up the tasks. - 88 Refuses to answer
hm_cooperation *(required)*	In the last week, did you mainly work alone or with others?	1 Mainly alone 2 Mainly with others - 88 Refuses to answer
hm_hierarchy1 *(required)*	Imagine an important decision has to be made. How many people in this community are usually involved in making such a decision? *Tell the respondent it does not have to be accurate if s/he has some difficulties. Enter "refuse" if respondent refuses to reply.*	
hm_hierarchy2 *(required)*	Imagine your community gets seedlings from the government and must distribute them among the farmers. Can you list the people who you think should be in charge of distributing the seedlings? *Count and enter the number of names the respondent*	

Field	Question	Answer
	mentions. Enter "refuse" if respondent refuses to reply.	
hm_hierarchy3 *(required)*	Imagine your community gets cellphones from the government and must distribute them among all community members. Can you list the people who you think should be in charge of distributing the cellphones? *Count and enter the number of names the respondent mentions. Enter "refuse" if respondent refuses to reply.*	
19. AGRICULTURAL INNOVATION		
generated_note_name_194	The following questions concern farming and agriculture in your household and about your opinions on farming.	
farm_knowledge *(required)*	To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "I have extensive knowledge on how to do agriculture effectively?	5 To a great extent 4 To a moderate extent 3 To some extent 2 To a small extent 1 Not at all -88 Refuses to answer -99 Not applicable
farm_learn *(required)*	To what extent are you interested in learning about new farming techniques?	5 To a great extent 4 To a moderate extent 3 To some extent 2 To a small extent 1 Not at all -88 Refuses to answer -99 Not applicable
farm_employees *(required)*	To what extent do you believe that NGO employees know about what works best on farms like yours?	5 To a great extent 4 To a moderate extent 3 To some extent

Field	Question	Answer
		2 To a small extent
		1 Not at all
		-88 Refuses to answer
		-99 Not applicable

20. CONGO PEOPLE		

Field	Question	Answer
generated_note_name_200	Before we finish the survey, we have some questions about your experience with Congo people. They are also called Americo-Liberians.	
al_trust_cp *(required)*	To what extent do you trust Congo people?	5 To a great extent 4 To a moderate extent 3 To some extent 2 To a small extent 1 Not at all -88 Refuses to answer -99 Not applicable
al_trust_own *(required)*	To what extent do you trust people from your own ethnic group?	5 To a great extent 4 To a moderate extent 3 To some extent 2 To a small extent 1 Not at all -88 Refuses to answer -99 Not applicable
al_trust_other *(required)*	To what extent do you trust people from other ethnic groups apart from Congo people?	5 To a great extent 4 To a moderate extent 3 To some extent 2 To a small extent 1 Not at all -88 Refuses to answer

Field	Question	Answer
		-99 Not applicable
al_experience *(required)*	How would you describe your experience with Congo people?	5 Very good 4 Good 3 Neither good, nor bad 2 Bad 1 Very bad -77 Don't know -88 Refuses to answer
al_dominance *(required)*	To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "The Liberian government is dominated by Congo people."	5 Strongly agree 4 Agree 3 Neutral/Neither agree nor disagree 2 Disagree 1 Strongly disagree -88 Refuses to answer -77 Don't know
generated_note_name_206	Historically, Congo people have done good and bad things in Liberia. Did any of the following happen in your village in the past?	
al_village_child *(required)*	Did Congo people ever take a child from your village?	3 Yes, many times 2 Yes, a few times 1 Yes, once 0 Never -77 Don't know
al_village_child_return *(required)*	Did the child or all the children ever return?	2 Yes, all of them 1 Yes, some of them 0 No -77 Don't know

Field	Question	Answer
▮ al_village_work *(required)*	Did Congo people ever take someone from this village and forced them to work?	3 Yes, many times 2 Yes, a few times 1 Yes, once 0 Never - 77 Don't know
▮ al_village_work_return *(required)*	Did the people that they took ever return?	2 Yes, all of them 1 Yes, some of them 0 No - 77 Don't know
▮ al_village_land *(required)*	Did Congo people ever take land from someone in this village?	3 Yes, many times 2 Yes, a few times 1 Yes, once 0 Never - 77 Don't know
▮ generated_note_name_212	Now, let us talk about your own family. Did any of the following things happen to you or any members of your family, for instance your grandparents?	
▮ al_family_child *(required)*	Did Congo people ever take a child from your family?	3 Yes, many times 2 Yes, a few times 1 Yes, once 0 Never - 77 Don't know
▮ al_family_child_return *(required)*	Did the child or all the children ever return?	2 Yes, all of them 1 Yes, some of them 0 No - 77 Don't know
▮ al_family_work *(required)*	Did Congo people ever take someone from your family and forced them to work?	3 Yes, many times 2 Yes, a few times 1 Yes, once 0 Never

Field	Question	Answer
		-77 Don't know
al_family_work_return *(required)*	Did the people that they took ever return?	2 Yes, all of them 1 Yes, some of them 0 No -77 Don't know
al_family_land *(required)*	Did Congo people ever take land from someone in your family?	3 Yes, many times 2 Yes, a few times 1 Yes, once 0 Never -77 Don't know
generated_note_name_218	Thank you for answering these question on your experiences with Americo-Liberians.	
21. RCT FAIRNESS		
rct_remember *(required)*	Last year during the survey we told you that we were not able to work in all the communities at the same time. Do you remember how we decided in which communities we would start first in 2019 and in which we would start in 2020?	1 Local politicians decided 2 NGO people decided 3 Communities were selected randomly, that is by chance 4 Those near the road received programs first -77 Don't know
rct_fair *(required)*	In fact it is true that we let chance decide so that every community has the same chance to be the first. Do you consider this to be a fair selection?	1 Yes 0 No
22. SURVEY END		
generated_note_name_227	We are at the end of the interview. We would like to thank you sincerely for your time and for participating in this survey.	