

Enumerator Experiences in Violent Research Environments

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May 16, 2023

Abstract

Understanding political and social effects of violence in local populations through public opinion surveys has become increasingly common internationally. Yet while researchers are attuned to possible challenges induced during survey implementation, this work focuses almost uniformly on respondents. This paper considers survey enumerators as critical actors for data collection in violent research settings. We present survey results from 245 enumerators in Côte d’Ivoire to show that their personal feelings of insecurity and exposure to violence while conducting surveys may condition challenges faced and compromises made to gather data. We shed light on how academic research in violent political settings poses unique security concerns for enumerators, with ramifications for data integrity.

1 Introduction

In the wake of a sharp uptick in academic surveys (Lupu and Michelitch, 2018) and field experiments (Baldassarri and Abascal, 2017) run in the Global South, social scientists have initiated a number of necessary conversations about our ethical obligations to our research participants (e.g., Fujii, 2012). These conversations have been particularly pronounced among scholars working in insecure settings, where concerns revolve around how to best approach sensitive topics, either with an eye towards avoiding re-traumatizing respondents (e.g., Moss et al., 2019) or out of recognition that such discussions can in fact be cathartic (Jaffe et al., 2015; Wood, 2006). All this research depends on locally recruited enumerators and research assistants. Yet despite recent nods to a need to think through the risks faced by field staff in violent contexts (Cronin-Furman and Lake, 2018; Kaplan et al., 2020), we know relatively little about the challenges that local research teams face while running academic surveys.

In this paper, we take up this task to ask, what are the experiences of survey enumerators working in insecure settings? Results from an original survey of 245 enumerators in Côte d'Ivoire reveal two core findings. First, we find that enumerators face what are at times significant difficulties during fieldwork. Participants in our survey detail a range of challenges from local actors, such as having their intentions questioned by local authorities to more active forms of hostility. Interestingly, enumerators report that it is survey respondents themselves who are most likely to pose a challenge, suggesting that we take seriously research participant agency in shaping the research experience.

Most concerningly, our results suggest that enumerators working in insecure settings often experience or are otherwise fearful of violence. We should not underestimate the rates at which enumerators encounter violence on the job: among those we surveyed, 58% reported having experienced or witnessed some form of violence or threat during fieldwork. In contrast to the

prevailing focus on how research encounters are shaped by respondents' wartime experiences, we find that enumerators' believe their own experiences with personal insecurity during data collection are more consequential for their work lives than the attributes of the respondents they interview.

Our second core finding is that enumerators working in violent contexts break research protocols in ways researchers may not fully anticipate. We present evidence that enumerators who experience personal insecurity while working – meaning that they have felt generally unsafe or have witnessed or experienced violence during survey work – and/or who work in more violence-affected communities are more likely to report breaks to survey protocols in order to facilitate data collection either by themselves or their colleagues. Enumerators exposed to violence also report difficulties with academic survey questions, indicating that questions can be culturally insensitive and psychologically challenging for enumerators themselves.

We lay out two clear ramifications of enumerators' work experiences for researchers working in insecure settings. The first is ethical. Survey enumerators are not immune from insecurity in the environments they work. Although this reality is increasingly being noted (Baron and Young, 2021; Cronin-Furman and Lake, 2018), this work does not focus explicitly on enumerators' experiences, leaving us uninformed about the scope of risks that enumerators face during data collection. By documenting the reported experiences of the enumerators we sampled in Côte d'Ivoire, we offer an initial step towards systematically inventorying challenges enumerators face in the field in what we hope will be a larger conversation. Accordingly, we seek to expand the scope of ethical concerns that researchers need to weigh when conducting work in insecure settings: our focus on protecting research participants may lead us to overlook ways in which respondents themselves can pose harms to enumerators. Our ethical obligations must be to both populations.

The second key takeaway from our survey relates to data quality. Across a range of questions, enumerators report that they or other enumerators routinely deviate from research protocols. The challenges enumerators reported with projects they work on — from the nature of survey questions to the sensitive timing of implementation — as well as their reported willingness to avoid difficult respondents and adapt survey questions, are often heightened when they have experienced personal insecurity or worked frequently in violence-affected communities. These choices can be consequential. Enumerators’ own apprehension about threatening encounters during fieldwork may screen out certain types of respondents if they systematically choose more amenable respondents or households. While we cannot test for these biases in our own data, we lay out a series of pressing questions our findings raise for survey research in insecure settings below.

Cumulatively, this paper carries a clear message for researchers across the social sciences: challenges of running surveys in insecure environments cannot be resolved by clever research designs or question wording alone. Survey enumerators are a linchpin in the data collection process, and despite technological advances in our ability to monitor enumerators in the field, they continue to make a range of unobserved decisions that shape the data we receive. Throughout data collection — from how they present themselves to the way they explain or rephrase complicated questions — survey enumerators engage in brokerage that remains largely unacknowledged and accounted for by researchers in political science. If, as we document, enumerators who have personally experienced insecurity on the job systematically resolve these challenges differently, we risk missing or misunderstanding potential biases in our data if we fail to recognize — or at a minimum acknowledge — these realities.

Below, we summarize literature on enumerator effects and research brokers in insecure settings. This scholarship recognizes the critical role played by local research assistants, but its

focus remains on the response of research subjects on the one hand and the ethical challenges faced by local researchers on the other. We then highlight unaddressed concerns about security challenges enumerators face in the field and layout implications that these obstacles hold for the data collection process. Drawing on descriptive analysis and a set of qualitative, open-ended questions, we document challenges faced by enumerators and associated consequences for data collection. We conclude with a discussion of the main implications that our results suggest for researchers working in insecure settings.

2 Studying Survey Enumerators in the Field

Political scientists have hardly neglected the role of survey enumerators, but their focus has largely concentrated on enumerator-respondent relationships. The most significant body of work focuses on enumerator characteristics, or how enumerator attributes shape the responses they elicit. An enumerator's gender (Harris and van der Windt, 2023), religion (Benstead, 2014; Blaydes and Gillum, 2013), ethnicity (Adida et al., 2016; Dionne, 2014), and experience (Di Maio and Fiala, 2020) have all been found to influence respondent answers by priming social desirability bias or deference to those of a higher social status. These cues may be subtle – a study on polling failure in Nicaragua found that respondents inferred perceived partisanship of a poll from the color of the interviewer's pen, biasing their responses, for example (Bischooping and Schuman, 1992) – and these effects may be amplified with sensitive questions (Blair et al., 2020).

A second stream of research has examined the role of enumerator actions. Enumerators have been argued to elicit responses, accelerate surveys, or adapt their approach to certain questions as they develop priors over the course of interviews (Olson and Peytchev, 2007). Perhaps the biggest concern has been the risk of fabricated data, as enumerators are often incentivized to maximize the number of surveys completed (see Lupu and Michelitch, 2018).

Concerns about enumerator characteristics and actions are compounded when we move to insecure environments. Work in anthropology and adjacent fields emphasizes how local research brokers are critical in facilitating research access in conflict settings, yet have inherently unequal relationships with the researchers that employ them. Local research brokers provide advice, data, and security (Boas, 2020; Cirhuza, 2020; Utas, 2019), while facing numerous challenges during data collection, ranging from their material comfort to their emotional and physical safety (see Baaz and Utas, 2019; Paluck, 2009). Concurrently, their unique positionality poses specific obstacles, such as working in contexts where one is viewed as a spy (Kadetwa, 2019) and the reality that local brokers face threats to their own safety, including harassment by local authorities, being followed and having data stolen (Mwambari, 2019).

We build on this literature to focus on enumerator safety. While conflict researchers have reflected on the risks they themselves face in the field (e.g., Loyle and Simoni, 2017, Steinart et al., 2021), the obvious yet frequently under-appreciated reality is that survey enumerators are asked to work in the same violent settings. Attention to local research staff safety has only recently received recognition in political science (e.g., Sangaré and Bleck, 2020), with the most concerted attention focused on research ethics, as scholars recognize that locally recruited research teams have often experienced the same violence as subject populations and may face duress during interviews (Baron and Young, 2021).

The question of local research staff safety is particularly concerning because, as noted by Baaz and Utas (2019), Global North research institutions are increasingly worried about the safety of their own staff and researchers, increasing our reliance on local research partners. This raises the cost of the fact that we lack a solid grasp on the frequency and range of risks faced by survey enumerators. In contrast to the more intimate relationships between a researcher and an individual research assistant or fixer documented in work on research brokers (Syahar and Soedirgo, 2019;

Caretta, 2015; de Guevara and Bøås, 2020), survey research poses a specific set of challenges by creating more distance between researchers and the data collection process. Survey research — particularly when managed by a firm — involves a larger array of actors, decentralized across space in different enumeration areas. As a result, questions of enumerator safety have proven harder to reflect on or, perhaps more cynically, easier to ignore.

Local research teams' experiences during fieldwork additionally hold a host of consequences for collected data. Survey enumerators engage in extensive acts of brokerage: they must navigate between standardized research protocols and local cultural expectations, engage in elaborate acts of translation to render survey objectives legible to local populations, and interface with local authorities to obtain informal research clearance. Enumerators make on-the-ground decisions about what households to survey. They ask questions and record answers, at times engaging in substantial interpretation that may generate measurement error (West and Blom, 2017). They make choices about how to present themselves, stressing various organizational or political affiliations to convince respondents to participate (e.g., Paluck, 2009) as they navigate between survey protocols and cultural expectations (see Himelein, 2016).

All of these issues are prone to additional stress when working in an insecure setting. Castorena et al. (2021) suggest that the extremely high number of fabricated surveys they discovered in the 2016 Venezuelan LAPOP survey was driven by the high degree of insecurity and unrest that enumerators faced. Tense political environments may amplify the degree to which brokers' own positionality and political views shape how they approach respondents and study instruments (Baaz and Utas, 2019; Jenkins, 2018). Doing so requires us to consider political volatility and everyday violence faced by both our respondents and our enumerators (Wilson, 2018).

We see three core, unanswered questions emerging from this work that we engage below.

What is the scope of challenges faced by enumerators when conducting survey research in insecure settings? What strategies do enumerators use to overcome these challenges? How might these strategies potentially compromise the data they collect?

3 Research Design

To explore these questions, we surveyed enumerators in Côte d'Ivoire.¹ Côte d'Ivoire experienced a civil war from 2002-2007 and saw renewed fighting in 2010-2011. Although the country has been considered post-conflict since then, land-related violence and flare-ups of electoral violence in 2015 and 2020 mean that the domestic political environment has often remained quite tense. Côte d'Ivoire's history of political violence is similar to other contexts in Africa: over 70% of civil wars have involved rebels taking over and controlling territory (Huang, 2016), while between one-third and half of elections have had associated violence since the 1990s (Burchard, 2015; Taylor et al., 2017). Indeed, Afrobarometer data from 34 countries (2019) suggests that Côte d'Ivoire scores around or above average on measures of insecurity, which include citizens who report feeling unsafe, having been attacked or experiencing crime, and who rate insecurity as an important issue for their government to address (See Figure A1 in the Online Appendix). In short, Côte d'Ivoire does not represent an outlier on many dimensions of insecurity and conflict. We may even be underestimating the impact of insecure research settings; higher shares of respondents report feeling unsafe and that insecurity is the most important political issue in countries like Madagascar, South Africa, or Mali.

Research in political science that utilizes face-to-face surveys in Côte d'Ivoire cover diverse topics but focus primarily on assessing citizen experiences with violence. For example, McCauley (2014) used surveys and implicit association tests to examine religious and ethnic bias while Martin et al. (2021) surveyed communities that were under rebel control during the war to understand citizen behavior. Smidt (2020) conducted surveys to understand citizen perceptions of

violence and appreciation for UN peacekeeper education projects. The Afrobarometer has been fielded four times (Rounds 5-8, 2013, 2015, 2017 and 2019) in the country and, with the exception of Round 7, has asked specific questions about violence. Rounds 5 and 6 asked about preferences over reconciliation and Rounds 6 and 8 were fielded in advance of major elections, asking whether respondents believed elections would be peaceful and what measures would be effective to ensure their peacefulness. Still, Côte d'Ivoire is not among the most popularly surveyed countries in Africa. A Google Scholar search reveals Côte d'Ivoire ranked below Mali, Niger and Cameroon, countries of comparable populations, in political science publications (See Table A5 in the Online Appendix).

In short, even though Côte d'Ivoire is not the most saturated research setting, it has seen a fair amount of survey research, and given its history with violent conflict, these surveys have often asked respondents about violence. As a result, Côte d'Ivoire is a compelling case for exploring enumerator experiences both because it has a relatively well-developed survey market and because its history of conflict and violence creates a setting in which enumerators are likely to have faced the types of challenges documented in the previous section, including violence exposure, sensitive survey topics, and insecurity during the data collection process.

Our ideal sampling frame would be all enumerators who have conducted academic surveys in Côte d'Ivoire, including those who may have quit or who do not work for a formal firm. Unfortunately, this ideal frame would be nearly impossible to construct. Instead, we contacted three prominent survey firms in Abidjan, the economic capital, to see if they would be willing to advertise our survey to their enumerator pool. The three firms - the Center for Research and Training on Integrated Development (CREFDI), Innovations for Poverty Action (IPA), and IPSOS - facilitated access to enumerators who work for them.² These firms were selected due to their prominence in political research: CREFDI is the Afrobarometer operating partner, IPA is an

internationally renowned organization that conducts projects for social scientists, and IPSOS is the largest public opinion firm operating in Côte d'Ivoire. We recruited participants by sending either a WhatsApp message or an email with a unique code for accessing a survey on Qualtrics. As an incentive to participate, all respondents were entered into a drawing to win one of four Samsung tablets (valued at \$150). In total, we contacted 371 enumerators, 248 of which completed our survey, yielding a response rate of 67%. We confirm that we do not have differential nonresponse by gender or ethnicity in the Online Appendix.³

We recognize that this sampling method may introduce bias, and thus caution interpretation of our results as fully generalizable. However, we have reason to think that these results may be representative of enumerator experiences in Côte d'Ivoire. First, we advertised the survey as one in which they would simply share their experiences and that results would be anonymous; we have no reason to believe that enumerators would opt out because of fear of retribution by their employer. Second, several respondents indicated that they had worked for multiple survey firms as well as on independent research projects, suggesting that we may be capturing a large share of the enumerator pool. Finally, it is possible that enumerators with particularly negative experiences with data collection may have quit the firms altogether, and thus would not appear in our sampling frame. However, even if this were the case, it would mean we are underestimating the magnitude of exposure to violence by this population as we show that close to 60% of our sample report experiencing or fearing violence.

Participants were asked to complete a survey that took approximately twenty to thirty minutes. Specific question wording is introduced below, but questions were clustered in five blocks: demographic information, experiences working as an enumerator, challenges faced while implementing projects, challenges encountered as a function of survey content, and solutions employed when addressing these challenges. The survey also included a handful of open-ended

questions. Summary statistics on respondent demographics are presented in Table 1 below. Descriptive statistics for all variables in this paper can be found in the Online Appendix.

Of note, our data are collected at the enumerator level, and not the survey or project level. Ideally, we would have collected data at the survey/project level, which we encourage researchers to do below in our Implications section. We have no way of knowing, for example, if every project an enumerator undertook involved insecurity or data collection difficulties. We intentionally asked them to think of the sum of their experiences to better understand the scope and magnitude of challenges they have faced while conducting research. We suggest in the Implications section ways in which future researchers may address these concerns.

The average enumerator in our sample is highly educated, with over 90 percent completing at least some university. Most of enumerators were male, which is reflective of the pool (see sampling frame demographics in the Online Appendix).⁴ The largest ethnic group in Côte d’Ivoire, the Akan, is well represented within the enumerator sample, while northern groups (North Mandé and Voltaïque) are in the minority (they make up 11% and 10%, respectively, in the general population). The sample is overwhelmingly Christian, and the vast majority do not explicitly support the ruling party. Although most respondents hail from Abidjan, 60% of those respondents had worked in at least one department⁵ outside of Abidjan (maps of where enumerators worked and live can be found in Figure A3 in the Online Appendix). Over half of the sample had worked on at least one project about politics, peace, or conflict (additional descriptive statistics of topics covered can be found in Table A9 in the Online Appendix).

Table 1: Summary Statistics

description	mean	min	max	std.dev	n
Age	33.49	20	50	5.48	243

From Abidjan	0.72	0	1	0.45	246
Sex	0.67	0	1	0.47	246
Akan	0.55	0	1	0.50	246
Krou	0.20	0	1	0.40	246
North Mandé	0.04	0	1	0.20	246
South Mandé	0.12	0	1	0.33	246
Voltaïque	0.08	0	1	0.27	246
Christian	0.86	0	1	0.34	244
Education	7.07	0	9	1.06	245
Govt supporter	0.07	0	1	0.25	246
Experience	6.04	1	22	3.98	246
Political Projects	0.55	0	1	0.50	244
Number of depts worked	14.74	1	108	18.07	246
Projects N	2.94	1	6	1.62	225

Note: Projects N is coded as 1=1, 2=2-5, 3=6-10, 4=10-15, 5=16-20, 6=more than 20

4 Enumerator Challenges in the Field

We begin with descriptive analysis of the high rates of personal insecurity during data collection and the significant challenges faced by enumerators, before presenting protocol breaches as a solution to contend with these challenges.

4.1 Enumerators experience significant personal insecurity during fieldwork

Enumerators report strikingly high rates of personal insecurity during survey work. Almost 60% of enumerators felt unsafe at least sometimes while conducting academic surveys, while over 75% reported fearing for their physical safety in their assigned regions. Of the 40% of enumerators who considered leaving their work due to challenges they faced, 20% said they considered leaving because they feared for their physical safety. Indeed, this was the fourth most common response, after insufficient pay (77%), time commitment too long (26%), and personal issues (25%). As a comparison, only eight percent of enumerators considered leaving because of sensitive survey topics. Forty-two percent of enumerators who said they would leave because they feared for their

safety actually left a job due to those challenges.

4.1.1 Personal Experience with Violence

We use four survey questions to capture enumerators' experiences with violence during fieldwork, both about their own personal experiences of fears of violence as well as whether they worked in violence-affected communities.

We asked:

1. Physical safety: How often have you feared physical safety in your assigned region? Possible responses on a Likert scale, from 0 to 4: never; sometimes; about half the time; most of the time; or always.
2. Felt unsafe: How often have you felt unsafe while conducting surveys? Responses were on the same scale.
3. Experienced violence: Have you ever faced the following situations when collecting data? If so, please indicate how frequently. Respondents answer whether they have been followed, robbed, threatened with violence, physically assaulted, or detained. Responses are on a Likert scale of 0-4: never; once; a few times; multiple times; every time I have done this work. We create a dichotomous variable "Violence experience any" which takes a one if the enumerator scored higher than a one on any of the types of violence experience.
4. Witnessed violence: We also asked whether enumerators had witnessed violence during the course of fieldwork: have you ever witnessed the following while collecting data? Respondents answer whether they have seen (yes or not) mass protests, threats and

harassment, physical violence, or theft/destruction of property. We create a measure of witnessed violence: “violence witness any,” as whether the enumerator witnessed any of the types of violence.

The distribution of responses to the first two questions are shown in Figure 1. Three-quarters of enumerators we surveyed report fearing for their physical safety at least sometimes, with over a quarter saying they felt this way at least half the time. Similarly, over 50% report feeling unsafe at least sometimes during data collection.

Figure 1: Fear and felt insecurity

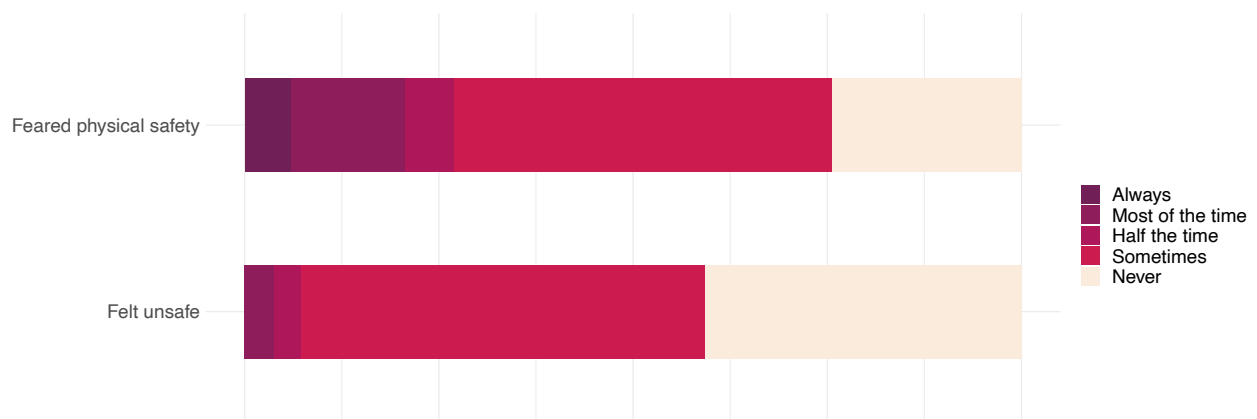
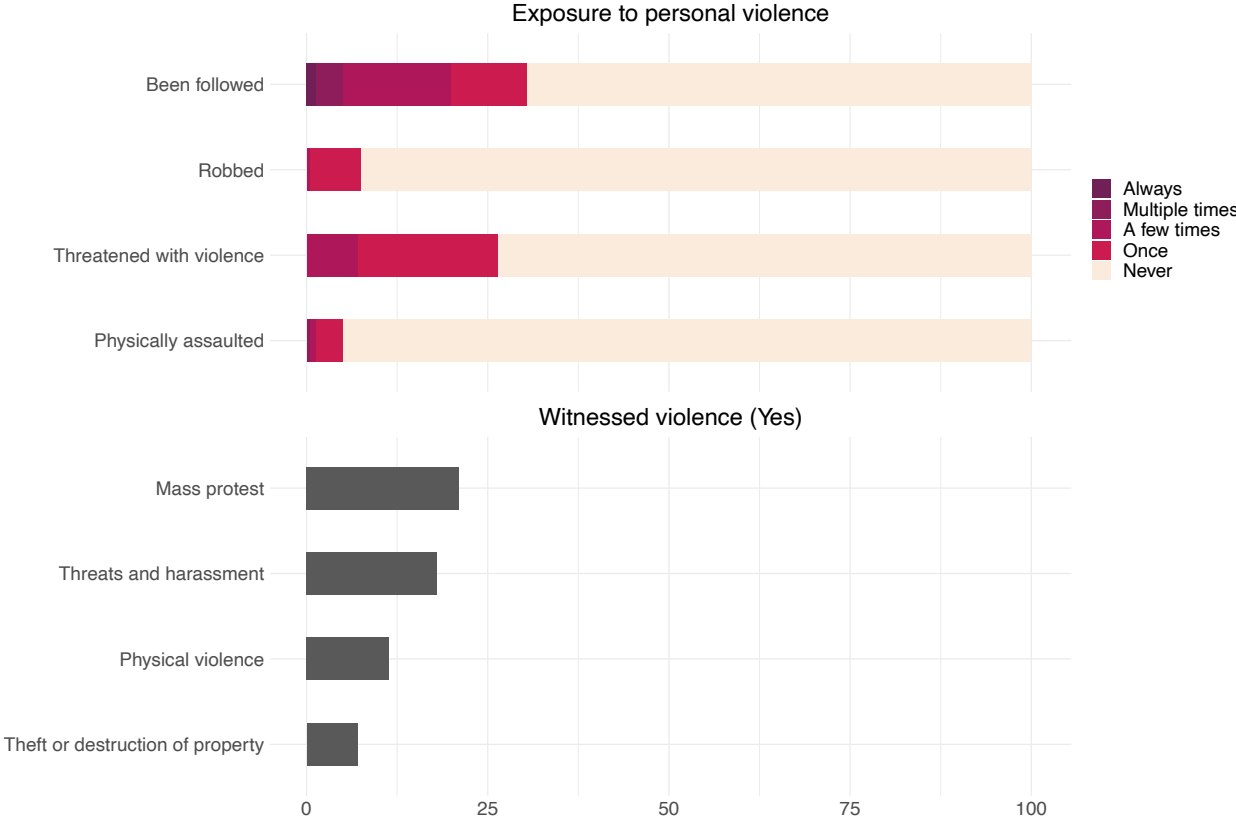


Figure 2 displays the distribution of responses to our questions about enumerator’s specific exposure to violence on the job. Almost a third of respondents indicated that they had been followed at least once while collecting data. As detailed by an enumerator with 14 years of experience, describing a survey during the war: “There were rebels everywhere and I had the impression that I was being followed. ... the project I was piloting was on politics and ... a respondent told us that since we [the survey team] had arrived we were identified and were being followed...” Twenty-six percent of respondents had been threatened with violence at least once. Concernedly, a smaller number of respondents (>10%) report having been robbed, physically

assaulted or detained. These experiences happened at both the team and individual level. Describing conducting a survey in an informal gold mining site, an enumerator from Abidjan recounted being detained. The son of the head of the gold miners had first allowed the enumerators to work, only to refuse to “give them the road. . . it was a disaster” – an expression in local culture to indicate that they were only allowed to depart until late in the evening after the father’s intervention.

Figure 2: Enumerator reported fear and exposure to violence



A fifth of respondents witnessed mass protests while on the job. Protests and riots in Côte d’Ivoire routinely involve violence: 25% of protests from 2011-2020⁶ resulted in at least one fatality – a conservative measure of the level of violence in protests, since protests can result in injuries and arrests – and 45% of protests involved government-led violence (ACLED 2021).

Almost a fifth of respondents witnessed threats and harassment, while 11% witnessed physical violence. Taken together, these figures show clearly that enumerators are frequently exposed to violence while on the job.

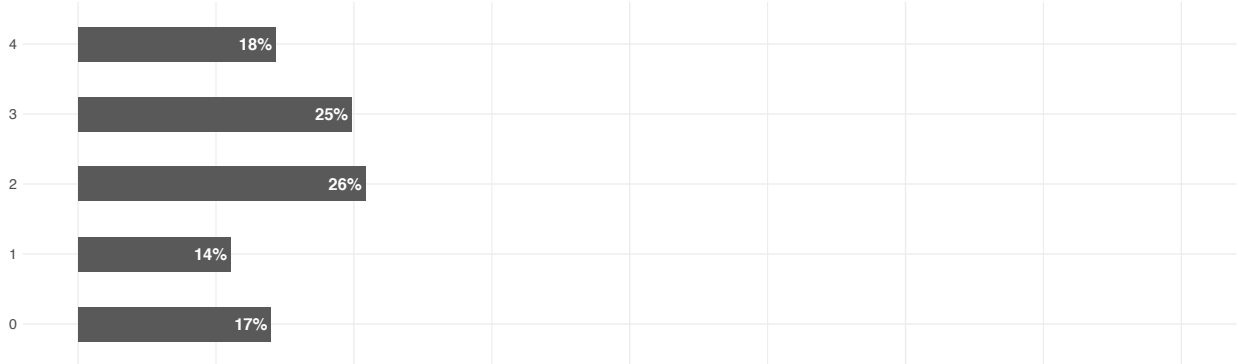
In subsequent analyses, we employ an additive “violence experience/fear” index that counts the number of positive responses to each of the four questions enumerated above.⁷ The distribution of this variable can be found in Figure 3 below.

4.1.2 Communities affected by violence

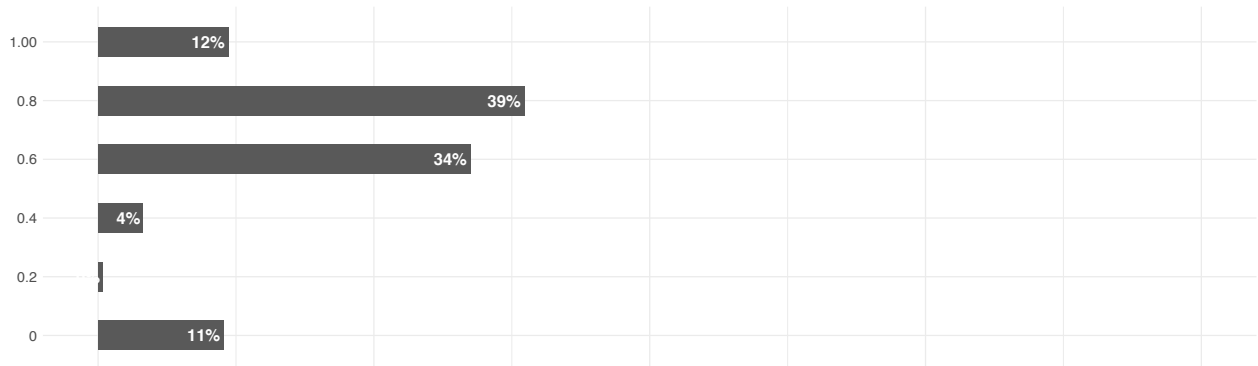
In addition to personal experience with violence, we also examine whether enumerators worked in violence affected communities. To measure this, we calculate the number of violent incidents (ACLED, 1997-2021) in departments where our enumerators have worked. We then determine if the department is a “high” violence department if the number of incidents is higher than the national average (excluding Abidjan). Finally, we calculate the share of violent departments that the enumerator has worked in outside of Abidjan.⁸

Figure 3: Distribution of enumerator responses to violence/fear index and violence-affected communities

Violence Experience/Fear Index



Share of violence-affected communities worked



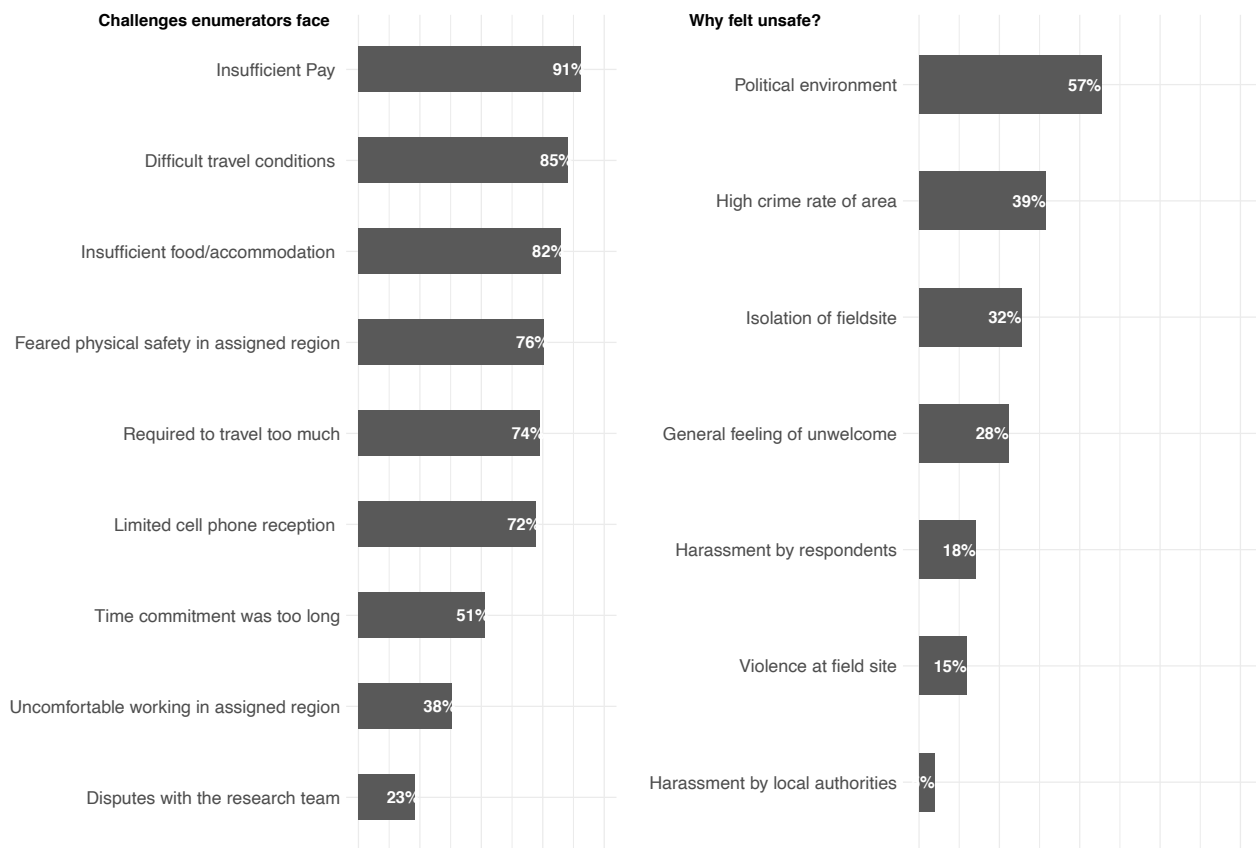
Although this measure is not as precise as the ideal — we do not collect data on enumerator perceptions of the village or respondent characteristics where they worked nor do they allow us to differentiate between an enumerator who has worked in one location several times versus someone who only worked once in a department — we assert that this serves as a good proxy for the socio-political context where enumerators have worked. We also note that these two variables – the violence index and the share of violence-affected communities worked – do not actually correlate; in other words, enumerators experience fear and violence across the spectrum of their experience working in violence-affected communities. We therefore consider these measures independently in subsequent analyses, where we examine whether more enumerators who experienced or fear violence or who worked in violence-affected communities face challenges or data quality issues.

4.2 Enumerators face numerous challenges in the field

The second and related finding is that enumerators face a number of challenges when

conducting academic surveys. We asked enumerators to document challenges to their working conditions, from issues around pay to feeling unsafe. The distributions of answers with responses of at least sometimes are shown in Figure 4’s left-hand panel. The most common challenges experienced were related to working conditions: insufficient pay, insufficient food/accommodations, and difficult travel conditions. Seventy-six percent of respondents feared physical safety, while almost 40% felt otherwise uncomfortable in their assigned region. This puts fear and discomfort due to where the enumerators worked as the fourth most common challenge faced.

Figure 4: Challenges and explanations



Overwhelmingly, enumerators who felt unsafe attributed this sentiment to the conditions they were asked to work in (see right-hand panel in Figure 4). A majority of respondents proposed the political environment (57%). As an enumerator recounted: “I found myself [in the southeast]

during conflicts between populations after the legislative elections and I can say that as a supervisor in this field, I had the biggest fear for my team and me.” Almost 40% of respondents also indicated high crime as a reason for fear while collecting data. Twenty-three percent of respondents reported harassment from either respondents or local authorities, while 28% felt otherwise unwelcome when conducting surveys.

While enumerators complained about insufficient pay and time commitments, we do not find a relationship between these critiques and exposure to violence. We do, however, show in Figure A4 in the Online Appendix that some difficult work conditions – such as difficult travel conditions and limited cell reception – covary with violence experience. We return to a discussion of this point under ‘Implications.’

4.2.1 Violence experience and challenges in the field

Having demonstrated the scope of challenging conditions faced by enumerators in insecure settings, we next ask whether personal insecurity is associated with reported challenges. We examine two distinct categories of challenges that enumerators might face during the course of fieldwork:

1. Local actor challenges: For a suite of local actors – village chiefs, local political party leaders, mayors, prefets (regional administrators), police or military officials, youth leaders, respondents’ families, respondents themselves, and other members of the local population – we asked whether such an actor had ever created problems. Specifically, we ask them to respond using a Likert scale (0-6), for each actor: I have never interacted with this person/people; this person/people have never created problems for me; this person/people have questioned my intentions; this person/people have threatened me; this person/people have physically intimidated me; this person/people have physically attacked me. We dichotomize these variables to indicate whether the actor posed a problem for the

enumerator.

2. Data collection difficulties: We ask: As an enumerator on these academic projects, your job is to collect the data for the researchers to use. With regards to the data collection process, how much do you agree with the following statements about the survey questions you ask: They are usually too complicated for the respondents; they are not usually relevant to the respondents' every day experiences; they need to be rephrased to help the respondent understand the researcher's intent; they are too sensitive or upsetting for respondents; they are out of touch with the cultural environment I work in; they are psychologically taxing for me as an enumerator. Possible responses on a Likert scale, from 0-6: strongly disagree; disagree; somewhat disagree; neither agree nor disagree; somewhat agree; agree; strongly agree.

Here we explore whether we see a higher number of enumerators who have experience with violence report other challenges during fieldwork. To be clear, in exploring these associations, we do not posit a causal interpretation of our findings. Our survey design does not allow us to test these relationships, as we did not ask enumerators to connect their reported exposure to violence with a specific project, period, or location or recount specific challenges associated with that exposure. This analysis is therefore suggestive; however, we believe that by highlighting these relationships, we draw attention to how enumerator experiences may shape the work they complete on behalf of academic researchers, an overlooked aspect of survey data collection.

We first examine the relationship between personal insecurity and other fieldwork challenges. The heat maps depicted in Figure 5 show the number of enumerators that affirmatively responded to the local challenges questions by violence experience and share of violence communities worked in. Notably, respondents and their families pose acute challenges as nearly 40% of enumerators we interviewed reported having faced some sort of challenge from respondents and a

further 36% reported challenges from respondents' families. At the extreme, this involves acts of physical aggression. An enumerator from southwest Côte d'Ivoire who was working on a political project just after the war ended said that, after asking a few sensitive questions, the respondent "who was not in favor of the new regime, locked me in his house, telling me to call the one who sent me — the new president — to resuscitate his family members who died in this crisis."

The heat maps depicted in Figure 5 convey that enumerators who have more experiences with violence, as measured by the index, as well as enumerators who have worked in a higher share of violence-affected communities report challenges by local community members. To illustrate the magnitude of these experiences, 64% of enumerators who reported challenges from respondents had at least one violent experience, while 44% had witnessed a violent experience, 85% feared their physical safety, and 71% of enumerators who faced challenges from respondents reported feeling unsafe during fieldwork.

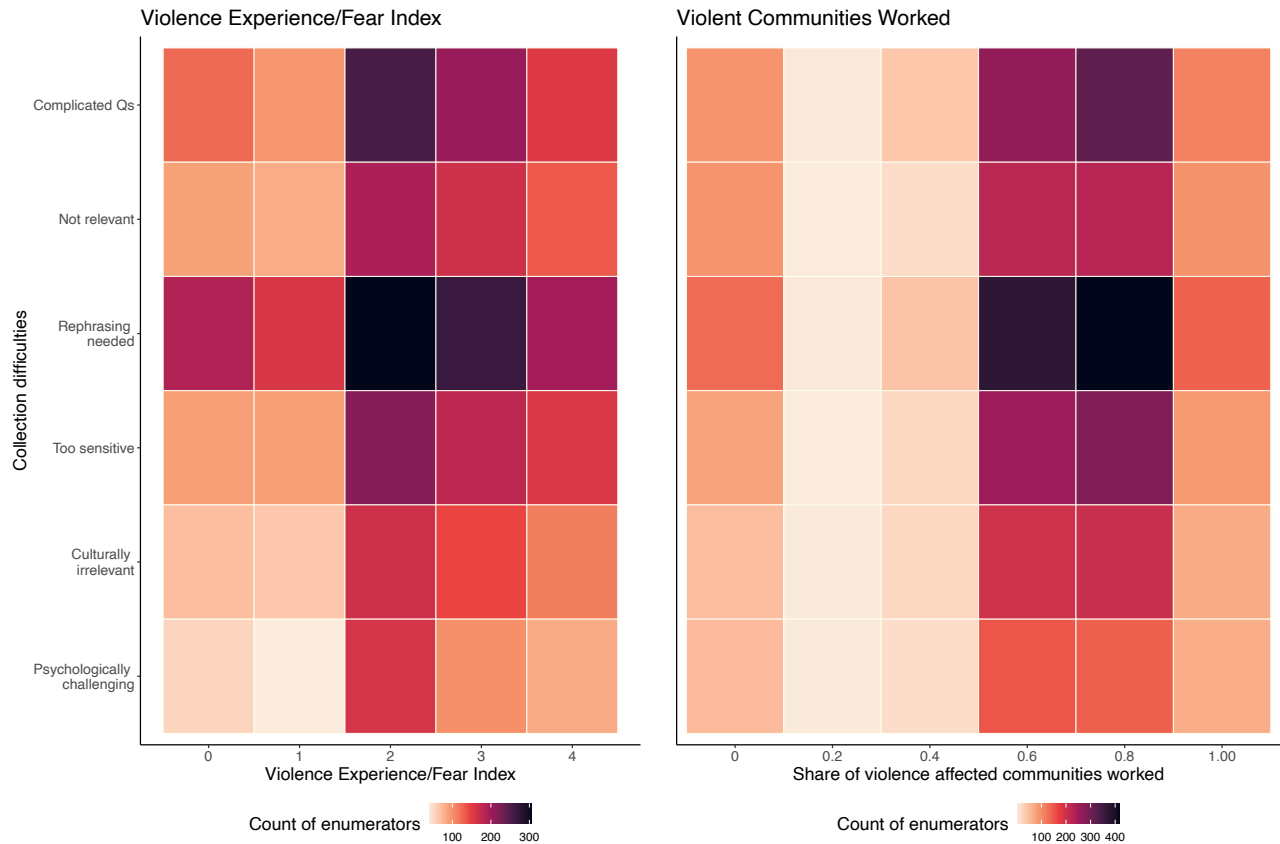
Figure 5: Relationship between insecurity and challenges to safety



Although our data do not allow us to discern temporal or causal sequences of these relationships, it does suggest clearly that these experiences — fear of and exposure to violence and experiencing local actor challenges — move closely together. Our qualitative data reveals how common forms of challenges, like verbal threats and harassment, increase enumerators’ sense of discomfort and fear. A female enumerator described an interview that was interrupted by the respondent’s friend, who threatened her and asserted that she was from the judiciary police: “I told him no and I even showed him my badge, but it was useless. . . thank God the respondent himself confirmed the work I was doing and said ‘leave this lady alone’. And I was saved because it was a place where no one could save me except God.” Another enumerator, originating and working in the far west, described being questioned by a group of young people: “they began to ask me questions to know for which political leader I was working, because there were people who came in the past, misrepresented themselves and engaged in actions that raised tensions in the

community . . . some were agitated and made noises, but with the divine grace of God they ended up understanding me.”

Figure 6: Relationship between insecurity and data collection difficulties



Enumerators who experienced violence or feared physical security also have unique opinions about questions used in academic surveys, as shown in Figure 6. A larger concentration of enumerators who scored higher on the violence experience and fear index agree that questions are too sensitive. Enumerators who worked in a higher proportion of violence-affected communities indicated rephrasing of questions was needed to avoid issues with respondents. We also show that more enumerators who experienced violence or fear, and who worked in more violence-affected communities agreed that survey questions they were tasked with asking were psychologically challenging *for the enumerator*.

5 Enumerator Responses and Consequences for Data Validity

We next examine how enumerators try to overcome challenges introduced above by adapting or breaking survey protocols. We first presented a list of possible adaptations to or breaches of survey protocols on a 0-4 scale from never to always and asked if they believed that other enumerators would: skip difficult respondents or households; fabricate answers to survey questions; make the questions easier for respondents; adapt or rephrase questions to be less sensitive for respondents; abandon the questionnaire in the middle of the interview; deviate from the random-walk protocol; lie to supervisor about the reason an interview needed to be redone; and select respondents from household who are easier to survey. The intention behind asking about other enumerators was primarily to reduce potential social desirability bias, but we also believe that enumerators would have information about their peers. Enumerators often work in teams and have ample opportunity to share their experiences with each other during travel or downtime. Additionally, almost 50% of our sample has served as a supervisor at one point or another, increasing the likelihood that they would be privy to breaches that were reported or shared.

We secondly asked respondents how likely or unlikely (0-6) they themselves would be to adopt any of the following strategies if they felt unsafe or threatened: skip households; fill in answers; skip questions; choose respondents who are less challenging; abbreviate questions or abbreviate the consent process.

We identified these specific protocol adaptations and breaches in two ways. First, we drew on the Afrobarometer protocol, the most comprehensive public opinion survey on the continent and a commonly used template. The Afrobarometer protocol instructs enumerators to first select a household at random using a random walk protocol. Enumerators then use a 5/10 interval pattern

to select households. According to the Afrobarometer manual, enumeration areas can be substituted in situations of “insecurity”, but there is no formalized protocol for substituting households in similar situations. Instead, enumerators can indicate in the survey instrument reasons for no calls. If the selected respondent refuses to participate, the enumerator should replace the household by selecting the 10th household again following the random walk protocol. The manual is very clear that “we substitute households, not respondents.”⁹ We secondly identify potential adaptations or breaches during the course of a survey by reading widely on public opinion research, with particular focus on work that examines how enumerators can influence question standardization and delivery (e.g., Blom and Korbmacher, 2013) as well as drawing on our own experiences conducting surveys in the region.

These protocol adaptations and breaches hold potentially serious consequences for the quality of data researchers collect. Take, for example, the question of emphasizing certain affiliations to gain community entry. At times, this might be benign; one enumerator recounted that she found it helpful to tell respondents that she “just wanted to know [their] party in order to take the same path as [them]” when having to ask about respondent partisanship, a strategy she found put them at ease and helped elicit sincere answers. But if enumerators cue partisan identities to gain access in this way, they could introduce bias in our estimates of party support, an important question to political scientists. This risk receives support in Marfouk et al. (2021), who find that Afrobarometer respondents who incorrectly perceive the government as the survey’s sponsor are statistically more likely to report higher rates of trust in the incumbent party. This is a pressing area for future research.

Table 2 summarizes potential risks to data validity for these protocol breaches, illustrating what this might look like in practice with concrete examples. The table is structured according to the flow of a survey. We encourage researchers to use this table as a guide to think through

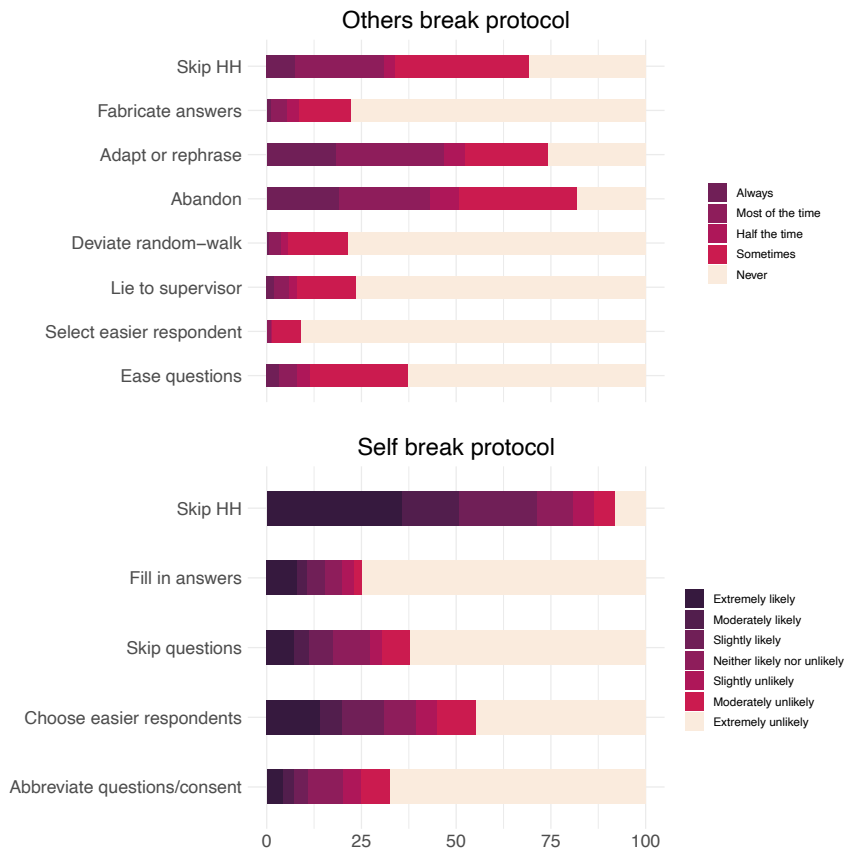
potential threats to data validity in their own research. We are agnostic as to which risks are more concerning because we expect it to be highly project specific. Still, it will likely be the case that issues pertaining to question response procedures will be critical in survey experiments, where consistency in question set-up and wording is particularly important. Some of these sources of bias might be easily addressed by looking at balance tests across enumerators, but others are by their very nature more opaque and hard to assess from afar. Regardless of the scope of bias, it is important for survey researchers to recognize the real potential for these types of violations and think through potential consequences for their data.

Table 2: Consequences for Data Validity from Enumerator Field Decisions

Protocol Breaches	Consequences for Data Validity	Example
<p><i>Sampling Procedures</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Deviate from random-walk procedure Skip Difficult Households Select easier respondents within household 	<p>Non-random probability of entering survey; potentially systematic exclusion of certain communities or types of individuals at enumerator-level</p>	<p>Enumerator avoids neighborhood or households of opposition party co-ethnics assuming they will be difficult or reticent</p> <p>Enumerator avoids young male respondents assuming they are more likely to be threatening/resistant to questions</p>
<p><i>Community Entry Strategies</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Emphasize identity 	<p>Primes identities that may influence response</p>	<p>Enumerator emphasizes co-partisanship to gain entry, respondent wonders if survey politically motivated and adapts answers accordingly</p>
<p><i>Question Response Procedures</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Abbreviate questions/ consent Adapt, rephrase or explain Questions Skip questions that may raise tensions Fill in/ Fabricate answers' 	<p>Heterogenous prompts across sample; differences in answers may result from different understandings of the questions and not actual differences in opinion. Adaptations may introduce question bias</p> <p>Non-random missingness in data</p> <p>Responses do not capture respondents' actual views</p>	<p>Enumerator skips question set-up to accelerate survey, hindering respondent understanding of the prompt</p> <p>Enumerator rephrase sensitive questions about support for rebels by portraying rebels in a more positive light in areas they think might be supportive</p> <p>Enumerator skips questions on violence exposure in neighborhoods that feel tense</p> <p>Enumerator assumptions about respondent 'type' (e.g. ethnicity) leads them to fabricate answers for respondents (e.g. partisanship)</p>
<p><i>Incomplete/ Substitution Procedures</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Abandon mid-survey Lie to Supervisors 	<p>Non-random incompleteness in data</p> <p>None apart from those listed above, but will undermine ability of supervisors to understand bias in data collection</p>	<p>Enumerator stops survey when respondent begins asking questions about intent</p> <p>Enumerator claims non-response in household, supervisors unaware of challenges in the community and do not report back to PI</p>

The percentage of respondents indicating that they believe their peers would break protocols are displayed in the top panel of Figure 7. Respondents are quite likely to think their peers break three protocols in particular: 82% of respondents agreed that their peers would at least sometimes abandon a survey underway if they felt unsafe, 74% that peers would adapt or rephrase questions, and nearly 70% thought they would skip households. A further 37% thought it was likely their peers would adapt questions for respondents who struggled with answering, such as shortening long texts or explaining what a question 'really means.'

Figure 7: To deal with challenges, how often do...



Enumerators' reported likelihood that they themselves would adopt strategies that break protocol is shown on the bottom panel of Figure 8. Contrary to our expectation that enumerators would be more hesitant to reveal that they would break protocol, we find this not to be the

case. Seventy-one percent of respondents admitted that they would skip households, which is not necessarily a breach of protocol; households can be replaced in the Afrobarometer manual, for example. However, frequently skipping households due to safety or circumventing whole neighborhoods may introduce bias that we may not account for in research design and analyses. Almost a third of respondents agreed that they would select easier respondents, effectively

replacing respondents and not households. Although we do not know how motivated by social desirability our enumerators were when they responded to these questions, the extremely high percentages of enumerators indicating that they themselves or their peers are likely to select easier households or respondents is notable.

Are enumerators who are exposed to violence, insecurity, and local challenges during fieldwork more or less likely to report compromises to data quality? We preface this discussion by stressing that enumerators expressed deep commitments to their profession and were proud of their work. Ninety-eight percent of respondents felt like they were an important element in the research process. Every enumerator thought that it was important to participate in research that improves conditions in their country (see Figure A5 in the Online Appendix). The discussion below should not obscure the professionalism expressed by our respondents, therefore, but rather reflects challenges of working in difficult environments.

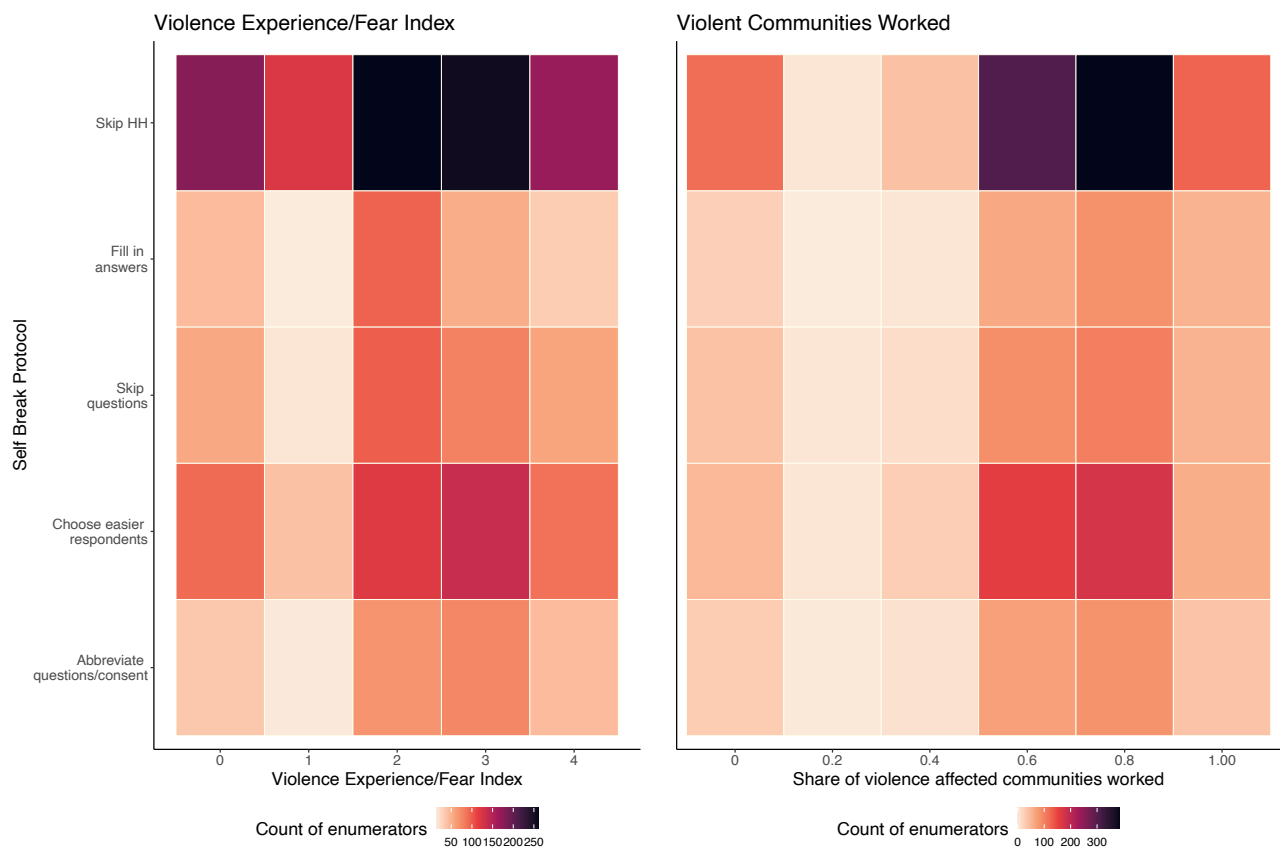
Figure 8: Experience with Violence and Others Break Protocol



Figure 8 depicts heat maps of the number of enumerators who reported that others routinely break protocols, while Figure 9 shows the number of enumerators who reported that they themselves break protocols. In contrast to the challenges results described above, there appears to be a less clear relationship between violence experience and protocol breaches. Two things are notable about Figure 9. First, in general greater exposure to violence or affected communities correlates with an increased likelihood of deviation from survey protocols. Here, we see a higher concentration of enumerators reporting protocol breaches if they have worked in a higher share of violence-affected communities. Second, enumerators are more likely to deviate from some protocols than others. Most notably, enumerators broadly think that others (and themselves) skip households when feeling unsafe, and that others will adapt questions or abandon the questionnaire. Of course, as noted, skipping households is not a breach of protocol and we would never suggest that enumerators interview households that make themselves uncomfortable. What we do stress,

however, is that when we as researchers are unaware of high rates of skipped households, we may misunderstand potential biases in our data. For example, one common story that emerged in the qualitative section of our survey was that husbands often did not want their wives to be surveyed. A female enumerator, despite her gender, recounted being chased away by a husband for wanting to interview his wife. Together with her supervisor, they decided to skip the household all together. This has implications for data collection: if enumerators skip “difficult” households in this way, the opinions of women with such partners — who may be a specific population — will be systematically screened out.

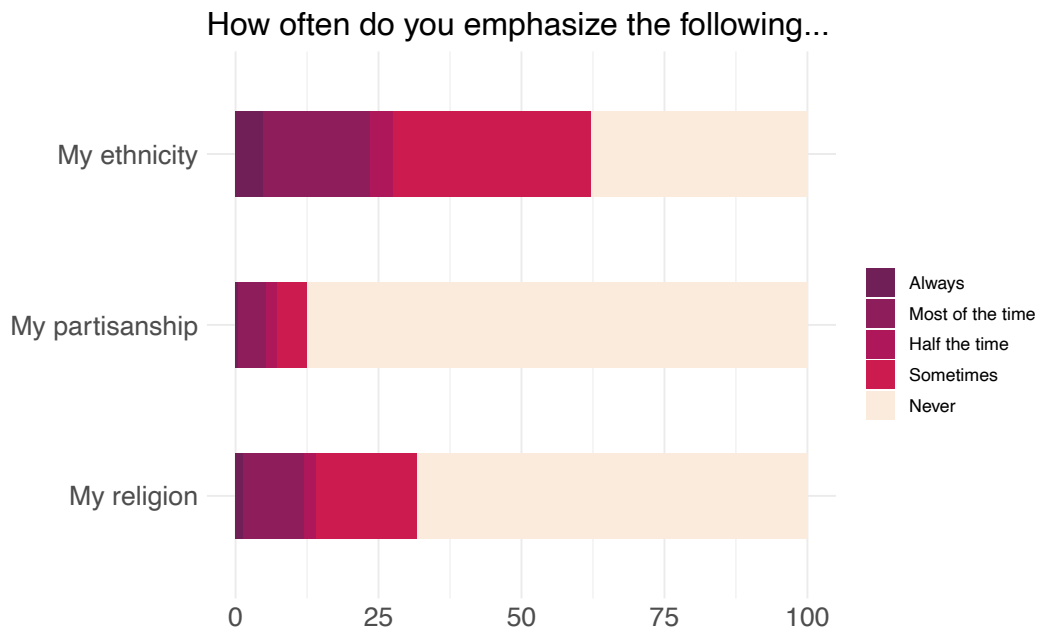
Figure 9: Experience with Violence and Self Break Protocol



Another ostensibly benign way that enumerators may break protocol is by emphasizing an identity characteristic to put respondents at ease. Most surveys in the social sciences, including

the Afrobarometer, stress the need for enumerators to read a set introductory script that transparently states the scientific intentions and neutrality of the research team. Emphasizing an affiliation like partisanship reduces the likelihood that an enumerator will be seen as neutral to the respondent, an important component in the data collection process. A final question about adherence to protocols asks respondents “Have you ever emphasized the following affiliations or identity to make an interviewee comfortable?” on a Likert scale (0-4) from never to always, about the following affiliations: the enumerator’s ethnicity, political party, or religion.

Figure 10: How often do you emphasize the following...

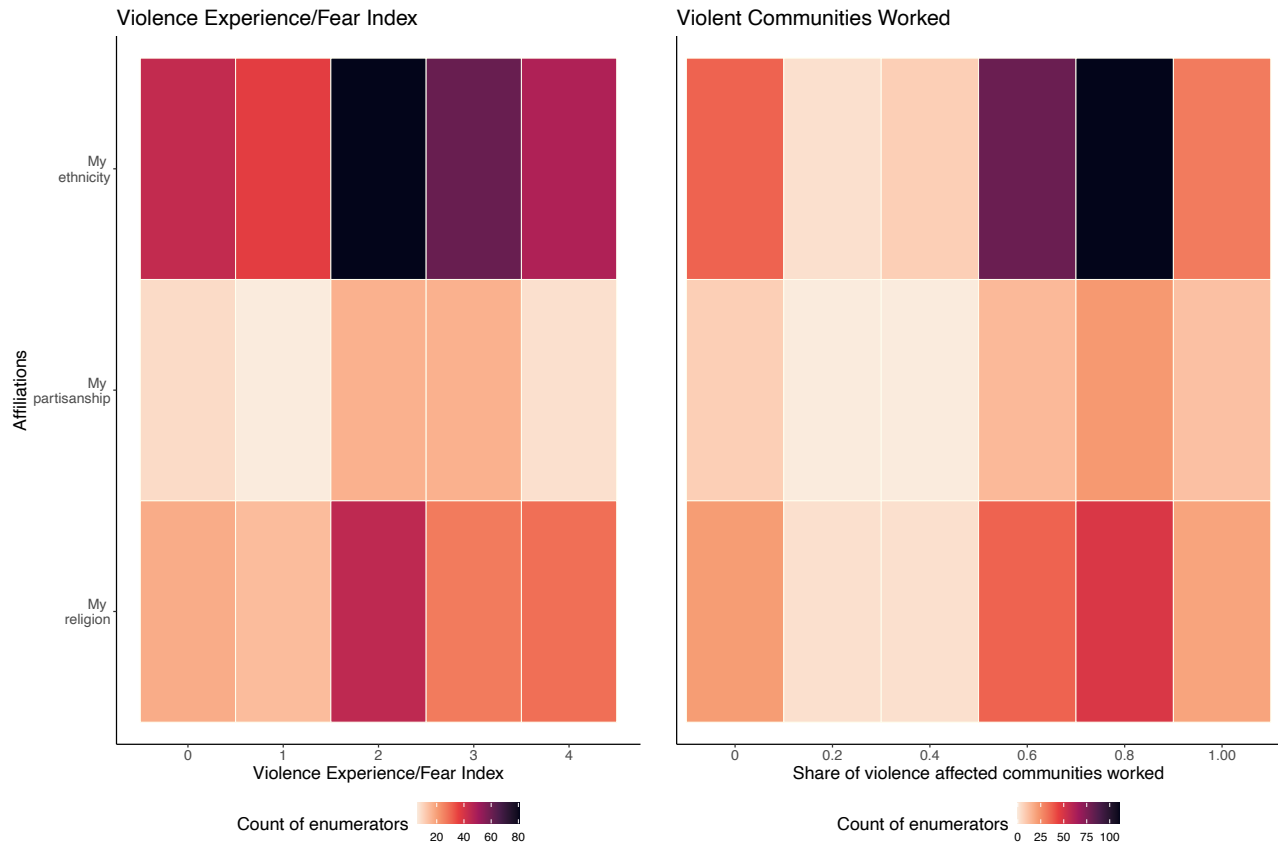


We find that 64% of enumerators have emphasized an affiliation to put respondents at ease. The largest proportion of enumerators emphasized their ethnicity (See Figure 10), while almost a third emphasized their religion. Examples of how enumerators deploy these affiliations to avoid problems with respondents emerge from the qualitative data. A non-Muslim enumerator attempted to appeal to a respondent who was challenging him: “during our interview, the [head of household] was furious, he threatened to kill me because according to him I had come to look for his wife in his own house. I tried to calm him down. . . he asked if I was Muslim and I said no, that I was a

Christian, which made the situation worse. . . in a rush, I told him a proverb in Malinké ([the head of household's] language) which said 'we are all children of Allah'. . . after a few questions and answers he agreed to continue the interview on the condition that he is next to us.”

The heat maps depicted in Figure 11 show that enumerators who report having emphasized their ethnicity or religion have worked in more violence-affected communities or had themselves feared or experienced violence. Interestingly, we show in Table A10 in the Online Appendix that enumerators do not think their co-ethnics are easier to survey than the out-group; 53% of enumerators said that it is just as easy to survey in-group as out-group members. This suggests that these effects are specific to violent contexts; enumerators are not cuing ethnicity with co-ethnics in line with expectations from previous work (Adida et al., 2016), but rather appear to be using ethnicity as a means of entry in violence-affected communities or when they themselves have been exposed to violence. While we recognize that enumerators are often trained to create a connection with respondents, cuing identities that prime respondents to think about contentious political dynamics could have implications for their responses.

Figure 11: Experience with Violence and Affiliations



Across a range of variables we show that enumerators who faced personal insecurity during data collection also report more challenges from local populations, express difficulties with some types of survey questions, and sometimes deviate from research protocol. We next address portability of our findings and suggest implications, as well as possible remedies for these findings.

6 Generalizability of Findings

Our results risk being specific to Côte d’Ivoire. To address this concern, we make use of an underutilized set of questions asked of enumerators at the end of each Afrobarometer interview in Round 7 (34 countries). Specifically, the survey asks enumerators to answer a series of questions about whether they were or felt threatened during the interview and the attitude of the respondent. Enumerators across Africa reported that they were or felt threatened in two percent of interviews, while less than one percent of interviews involved a hostile respondent, and three percent involved

a suspicious respondent. Côte d'Ivoire's reported threats are higher than the median in the Afrobarometer sample at nine interviews out of 1,200 (see Figure A6 in the Online Appendix).

Though these numbers may appear low, it is important to remember that this data is at the interview-level; our data looks at enumerator experiences over the course of several projects. If we aggregate the Afrobarometer data to the enumerator-level (N=1,076), 16% of enumerators faced at least one hostile respondent, 16% faced a threatening respondent, and 37% faced a suspicious respondent. In many cases, the enumerators were confronted with multiple difficult interviews over the course of the study: an enumerator in South Africa faced 42 threatening interviews, while an enumerator in Mozambique faced 30 hostile respondents and 51 suspicious respondents.

We next examine whether Afrobarometer enumerators working in insecure environments face challenges from respondents. We create a series of proxies for an environment of insecurity for the enumerators by measuring enumeration area-level insecurity: the share of respondents reporting that they feel unsafe, were physically attacked, were a victim of a crime, and reported that insecurity is the top problem. An insecure enumeration-area is one that scores higher than the average for any of these measures. As we show in Figure A7 in the Online Appendix, in most countries, a higher proportion of enumerators working in these areas report hostile, suspicious, or threatening respondents compared to enumerators working in low insecurity enumeration areas.

Taken together, these results are suggestive that even across different country contexts, enumerators may be working in insecure research environments with challenging respondents. To our knowledge, no academic papers leverage these enumerator-specific questions in the Afrobarometer to answer questions we ask in this paper, nor to control for threats in analysis of other questions in the survey.

7 Implications

The findings presented above hold implications for two important dimensions of social science research. First, they urge us to continue efforts towards establishing new disciplinary norms around research in insecure settings. In particular, we echo and expand upon recent calls for scholars to include ethics appendices for papers involving fieldwork (Asiedu et al., 2021) or otherwise detail precautionary steps taken to mitigate risk (a good example of which can be found in Rudloff and Vinson, 2021).¹⁰ As has been noted by Lupu and Michelitch (2018, p. 206), the only formal ethical gatekeepers for field research — institutional review boards — restrict their purview to risks faced by research participants and not research staff. This effectively renders us as researchers the only monitors of field staff well-being. Unfortunately, the increasing availability of local research institutes and survey firms is a double-edged sword in this respect: it facilitates large-scale data collection from afar while simultaneously rendering it easier for us to ignore this responsibility. Efforts to establish norms of documenting and detailing strategies taken to minimize risks to enumerators should be encouraged widely. We envision an encompassing norm that is not limited to enumerators, but rather one that covers local research staff writ large, whether work be qualitative, observational, or experimental in nature.¹¹

Second, and perhaps most consequential for researchers, our findings can be read as a call to alter our research designs to minimize risks to field staff. We would flag that although our own sample is limited to enumerators working in a post-conflict setting, we believe - in line with the Afrobarometer results discussed in the previous section - that much of what we discuss below pertains broadly to contexts of high crime, insecurity and on-going violence. We detail six key points in the research process where we believe systematic alterations are needed, acknowledging throughout that these may raise both temporal and financial costs to research.

- While elaborating research designs, scholars should be attentive to the timing and content of

their surveys. Particularly challenging for political scientists, enumerators we surveyed frequently suggested avoiding election periods if possible. Certainly, we do not think that political scientists should stop running surveys leading up to elections or other politically tense moments. However, working in such contexts does pose a particular responsibility. Working with local research teams when planning survey implementation could help determine the best times and locations that would reduce risks to all participants (Davis, 2020). If surveys must be run during high-risk periods, it is imperative to maintain contact with the local teams and be prepared to avert, suspend, or delay data collection if enumerators perceive security threats. Researchers need to maintain editorial control over their research, but we also need to work with local conditions and contexts to produce internally valid research.

- During project implementation, social scientists have a responsibility to inform themselves of enumerators' working conditions, which hold specific implications for field management. Researchers should familiarize themselves about firms' hiring practices, for example. While some recruit enumerators largely from urban areas, often the capital, others recruit in a more decentralized fashion. We might imagine that enumerators would have a better sense of risks and challenges they might face in the latter case and could be useful sounding boards prior to beginning fieldwork. Researchers could reserve time during recruitment and training to have frank conversations with survey teams about potential risks to their security and mental health as well as developing collective strategies to deal with common challenges, such as suspicious respondents or politically tense communities (see discussion in Syahar and Soedirgo, 2019). This could include lengthier training sessions that serve to both improve the quality of the data collected while also allowing researchers to build rapport with enumerators and facilitate the flow of information about working conditions. A second

aspect of this question is more general. We ended our survey by asking enumerators what feedback they had for the researchers of the last study they worked on. Over half of our respondents wrote something pertaining to working conditions, ranging from insufficient or delayed pay (16.5%) to concerns about transportation and lodging (4%). We can only speculate about the relationship between working in insecure environments and concerns over these conditions; at the least, we find no indication that enumerators are being *compensated* for working in insecure environments. What we can say is that many enumerators expressed genuine interest in the work, appreciating among other things the professional skills they learned, the ability to travel and learn about their own countries and were committed to research they believe could help their communities. If nothing else, the literature on research brokers makes clear that enumerators are not low-skilled workers and we should not treat them as such.

- Piloting of surveys offers a unique opportunity to assess whether questions will pose specific threats to enumerators. Eighty-seven percent of our respondents said that surveys would be improved if they were first consulted by researchers. Specifically, enumerators felt that including them in the development of questionnaires would help ensure questions were culturally sensitive and adapted to local realities.¹² These concerns were wide ranging, with enumerators citing both political questions but also socio-economic questions, which many noted were perceived by respondents as being highly personal, raising suspicions about enumerator intent. This both holds implications for the rapport between respondent and enumerator, while also raising important questions about how we understand what is sensitive in different contexts. Soliciting enumerator feedback about question wording prior to and following piloting would be one avenue to assess this. This may pose thorny trade-offs for researchers: questions that are designed from afar to achieve social scientific goals

may need to be reevaluated if enumerators find they pose challenges. Inversely, by incorporating local feedback, survey questions may obtain greater construct validity because they are attuned to local contextual factors.

- As has been suggested by others (e.g. Baron and Young, 2021), researchers working on particularly sensitive topics may consider providing psychosocial support if they expect enumerators may experience secondary trauma. Providing tools that can support enumerator mental health of working may also help to ensure their well-being and safety (Herman and et al., 2022). A less costly option is suggested by Paluck (2009) and Rudloff and Vinson (2021), who note the importance of team debriefs as a means to both maintain morale and decompress and for researchers to assess challenges and concerns. For scholars working remotely, requesting research team contact information would allow check-ins to gain awareness of any challenges encountered during implementation.
- Researchers should also routinely collect data on enumerator characteristics, prior to and after survey completion. Understanding enumerator and survey firm positionality may help researchers alleviate potential challenges encountered (Davis and Michelitch, 2022; Haas et al., 2022). In addition to collecting standard demographic data, researchers in violent contexts should aim to understand enumerators past experiences with violence, for example incorporating violence exposure into post-interview questionnaires. This could concretely include questions like those used in the Afrobarometer, but also questions precisising impressions of the enumeration area and household dynamics. For example, did the enumerator face challenges to entry to the community or household and how threatening were these encounters? Gathering data on past exposure to violence could allow researchers to test hypotheses we suggest here, or at a minimum control for these characteristics in analyses. We include our enumerator survey instrument in the Online Appendix to provide

potential question wording that could be adapted to fit researcher needs.

- Finally, we encourage researchers to follow-up with enumerators after survey completion, as suggested by our respondents. This moment may be particularly fruitful to gain information that enumerators may have been hesitant to reveal during implementation.

Cumulatively, our results suggest two distinct research agendas for social scientists interested in understanding enumerator experiences. The clearest extension continues our focus on enumerators to explore their experiences in settings with different political dynamics. Future extensions could examine enumerator experiences in authoritarian regimes, contexts of high crime, and politically polarized settings. In these cases, enumerators may face unique and previously unobserved challenges worth studying.

The second agenda we see emerging from our findings is a need to investigate mechanisms linking exposure to violence during the job to breaches in protocol. Do enumerators exposed to violence in time t change their behavior only during that project, or does it forever shape their experience? Better designed survey instruments may be able to get at this question than our study has done. With an eye toward improving enumerator experiences, can interventions to provide enumerators with mental health tools, like the ones suggested above, reduce negative effects of violence exposure for their own safety and on data quality?

Our findings also return us to the respondent. By far the most common challenge noted by enumerators in open-ended questions was convincing respondents to participate; almost 50% of enumerators discussed difficulties with respondents in their qualitative answers, ranging from reluctant respondents to respondent fatigue to threats of violence. Such hesitancy could be a lack of institutional trust or misunderstanding about survey objectives. This problem raises important questions about how public opinion research is understood in contexts of low literacy and/or high

insecurity, though it is hardly unique to the Global South. Initial work in this vein can be found in Gengler et al. (2021), who study attitudes towards public opinion surveys in Qatar. We encourage more work of this nature that examines whether respondents have underlying expectations or beliefs that complicate data collection. Understanding such perceptions could offer ideas to alleviate these concerns and, by extension, a common source of stress (and indeed threat) for enumerators. Increases in global internet connectivity may offer one avenue for researchers to do better vis-à-vis respondents: researchers could provide respondents with a website and activation date where respondents can see aggregated study results, for example, or send a summary via text.¹³

8 Conclusion

Survey research is a cornerstone of social scientific research, and it has taken on new prominence in research on political violence and the Global South more broadly. Although this project is primarily descriptive, we have shed light on the unique challenges that enumerators in insecure settings may face while collecting data on behalf of academic researchers. Our results suggest that survey data collected in insecure settings is shaped by challenges enumerators face on the ground and solutions they adopt to address them. Importantly, we shift focus from enumerators' ascriptive characteristics, such as ethnicity or religion, to their lived experiences during data collection. We show in this paper that enumerator challenges to collecting data in insecure settings are greatly shaped by their personal experiences with violence. Enumerators who experience insecurity – either through fear, personally experiencing violence, or witnessing it – are more likely to face safety challenges and sometimes break important research protocols that have wide-sweeping implications for data quality in social sciences. This suggests that concerns over enumerator actions during fieldwork, such as fabricating data or skipping households, cannot neglect the role that enumerator safety plays in shaping the solutions they adopt.

Collectively, we hope that this paper helps to render enumerators' experiences visible by including their voices in our understanding of the research process. We believe that our findings hold broad implications for the social sciences: when we ask enumerators to work in potentially insecure communities, we must take these considerations into account. We have suggested ways to improve conditions in which enumerators work and to ensure better data quality for researchers as well as areas for pressing future research, including efforts to more precisely map enumerator experiences onto potential sources of bias. We hope that the findings here contribute to an expanded dialogue around the ethics of conducting research in insecure settings across the Global South.

Notes

¹ Replication materials and code can be found at Davis and Wilfahrt (2023)

² The Online Appendix includes a detailed discussion of sampling method.

³ This research received IRB clearance at the University of California, Berkeley (#2020-12-13911) and the University of Michigan (HUM00195168). We include a more detailed discussion of research ethics and how we obtained consent in the Appendix.

⁴ We show in the Online Appendix that men and women score similarly on the violence experience index. Future research may examine whether there is variation in violence and challenges reporting by gender, which is beyond the scope of this project.

⁵ Departments are Côte d'Ivoire's third lowest administrative unit.

⁶ We look at the level of violence in the period in which most of our enumerators worked: 86% of enumerators in our study starting working in this domain since 2011.

⁷ Cronbach's alpha for the "violence experience" index is .64

⁸ We exclude Abidjan because of the high levels of violence in the economic capital and because

the majority of our enumerators had worked at least once in the capital.

⁹ We note that the manual does not mention “violence” or “threats”, suggesting there may not be a formalized process for dealing with these issues. Nor does it discuss protecting the enumerators in the ethics sections.

¹⁰ We offer an example of what this might look like for survey research in the Online Appendix.

¹¹ One venue for this would be in graduate coursework on fieldwork, already too rare in the discipline, but a prime site for encouraging graduate students to think about and anticipate these issues.

¹² More generally, 30% of our respondents lamented questionnaire length and suggested this created issues with respondents who were fatigued by the end of the survey.

¹³ We adopted this strategy for this paper. Our summary document, which was shared with the survey firms and participants, can be requested from the authors.

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Enumerator Experiences in Violent Research Environments

Supplementary Materials

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Ethics statement

Adapted from Asiedu et al. (2021), we address 6 ethical issues relevant to our study:

1. Role of researchers with respect to implementation Both authors took an active role in research implementation. This included conceptualizing the project, designing the survey and reaching out to survey firms to recruit the sample. Participants were informed that they were being asked to participate in an academic study during recruitment and, again, during informed consent.

2. Potential harms to research participants or research staff from data collection

This research received institutional review board exemption from the researchers' universities. We foresaw minimal potential harms to participants. Although some subjects may feel uncomfortable discussing their work as enumerators, the majority of survey questions were general in nature and were framed as asking about average effects rather than specific details about specific projects. Because the survey was completed via Qualtrics, participants were able to take the survey at a time and place of their choosing and, absent an interviewer being physically present, we believed they would feel minimal social pressure to complete the survey if they were uncomfortable or otherwise uninterested. Respondents' contact information was provided to us by their employers, but because their employers did not recruit them directly, we assessed that they were unlikely to believe that participation in our survey will perceive a risk to their respondent employment. Throughout, participants were free to choose whether or not to report details on any uncomfortable experiences they have had during the course of their work as a survey enumerator.

Informed consent was obtained at the beginning of the survey. Given the study population – survey enumerators – we felt unusually comfortable with their level of comprehension given that they have almost certainly received training on obtaining informed consent themselves. In general, because the study population actively takes part in recruiting research participants, they were likely more comfortable assessing their risk level from study procedures than the average research participants.

The survey data is encrypted and secured on the authors' password-protected computers. Access to data is limited to the researchers and will be deleted from Qualtrics' platform after six months. All respondents were assigned a unique code to enter and access the survey instrument. This unique code is stored separately from the respondent's phone numbers, which were used to recruit respondents.

Because respondents were recruited virtually, this research had minimal field staff. On the ground research assistance was provided by Abel Gbala in Côte d'Ivoire. He has worked as an enumerator himself and has served as a supervisor for a variety of academic projects, including Afrobarometer. His role in the research was to message potential respondents via WhatsApp (the researchers believed that having an Ivorian number would help assuage concerns of spam), and to follow up with the respondents upon completion of the survey. He was compensated at an hourly rate for the work completed. He also assisted in confirming and correcting translation of all documents used in the study.

3. Financial and reputational conflicts of interests Neither author has a financial or non-academic reputational conflict of interest in the research.

4. Intellectual freedom There were no contractual limitations on the authors' ability to report results.

5. Feedback to participants Participants were given the option of receiving a summary document of survey results. Fifty-two percent of our respondents requested to receive a copy. The document was also shared with CREFDI, IPA and IPSOS, who helped us recruit our sample pool.

6. Foreseeable misuse of research results The authors do not foresee any likely misuse of the research results. The most sensitive questions from the perspective of respondents likely relates to reported deviation from survey protocols. However, the results that was shared with the survey firms, and the results described in this paper are aggregated and anonymized and therefore we do not believe this could lead to any repercussions for the enumerators.

Details regarding survey sampling

Enumerators were recruited from the three largest survey firms in Côte d'Ivoire: the Center for Research and Training on Integrated Development (CREFDI), Innovations for Poverty Action (IPA), and IPSOS.

The recruitment strategy was as follows:

CREFDI Enumerators who had served on the authors' projects were contacted and asked to provide contact information for additional enumerators they had worked with at CREFDI.

IPA The authors reached out to IPA and asked if they would be willing to share contact information for their enumerator pool. IPA then contacted all of their enumerator pool and confirmed that IPA could share their contact information with the authors. The authors then contacted the enumerators who consented to participate, either themselves via email or through an Ivorian RA via Whatsapp.

IPSOS The authors reached out to IPSOS and asked if they would be willing to share contact information for their enumerator pool. IPSOS staff directly shared the contact information of enumerators with the authors. The authors then contacted the enumerators who consented to participate, either themselves via email or through an Ivorian RA via Whatsapp.

All enumerators were contacted either by email or WhatsApp. If they did not reply by email within a few weeks, they were then contacted via WhatsApp. They were sent multiple reminders if they did not complete the survey over the course of a month. Participants were entered into a lottery to win one of four tablets. The four winners were selected within a few months of survey completion and were sent the tablets via Jumia in Côte d'Ivoire.

Checking nonresponse

IPSOS enumerators were the most difficult to encourage to participate compared to IPA and CREFDI (see Table 1). This is likely due to the recruitment strategy: unlike with CREFDI, where the researchers reached out to former enumerators, and IPA, who reached out on behalf of the researchers, IPSOS enumerators were recruited by a local RA via WhatsApp. It could be that they did not recognize the number or RA, and thus did not respond (despite multiple attempts to encourage participation). However, IPSOS enumerators look like (with respect to ethnicity and gender) IPA and CREFDI enumerators. We do not have reason to believe the nonresponse by organization should affect the results obtained in the paper.

Table A1: Response rates by organization

org	completed
CREFDI	0.72
IPA	0.94
IPSOS	0.58

In order to determine if we had differential nonresponse by ethnic group or gender, we coded the names of everyone in the population sample (N=370).

First, we coded whether the respondent had “espe” in their name; this is an indication of female marital status. We then employed an Ivorian RA to code gender based on the name of the respondent. We determined that 32% of the sample frame were women.

Second, we used census data from Côte d’Ivoire to infer ethnicity from the listed names. We were able to infer the ethnicity of 83% of the sample with exact name matches. We were able to infer the ethnicity of an additional 5% by using common prefixes/suffixes in Côte d’Ivoire. That leaves 5% of the population without an inferred ethnicity. We confirm that there is no relationship between our inability to infer the ethnicity of an individual from their name and their propensity to complete the survey. The distribution of ethnicity in the sampling frame can be seen in Table 2.

Using these techniques, we can confirm that we do not have differential nonresponse by identity. Women are just as likely to take the survey as men, Akan, North Mande, South Mande, and Krou are also just as likely to take the survey as their other ethnic communities (See Table 3).

Table A2: Distribution of ethnicity in sampling frame

akan	voltaique	krou	smande	nmande
0.57	0.1	0.17	0.08	0.07

Table A3: Response rates by ethnicity/gender

category	not completed	completed
akan	0.32	0.68
krou	0.36	0.64
nmande	0.48	0.52
smande	0.27	0.73
voltaique	0.39	0.61
male	0.32	0.68
female	0.31	0.69

Descriptive Statistics

Table A4: Summary Statistics of Variables of Interest

description	mean	min	max	std.dev	n
Challenges					
Chiefs	0.15	0	1	0.35	246
Party leaders	0.10	0	1	0.30	246
Mayors	0.04	0	1	0.20	246
Prefets	0.05	0	1	0.22	246
Police	0.07	0	1	0.26	246
Youth	0.17	0	1	0.37	246
Respondent families	0.36	0	1	0.48	246
Respondent	0.39	0	1	0.49	246
Other community members	0.24	0	1	0.43	246
Others break protocol					
Skip HH	1.41	0	4	1.34	213
Fabricate Answers	0.37	0	4	0.83	202
Adapt or rephrase	1.92	0	4	1.50	226
Abandon	1.95	0	4	1.43	227
Deviate random-walk	0.31	0	4	0.71	216
Lie to supervisor	0.39	0	4	0.86	212
Select easier respondent	0.11	0	3	0.41	210
Ease questions	0.60	0	4	0.99	218
Self break protocol					
Skip HH	4.17	0	6	1.91	236
Fill in answers	1.02	0	6	1.95	236
Skip questions	1.31	0	6	1.99	236
Choose easier respondents	2.04	0	6	2.28	234
Abbreviate questions/consent	1.00	0	6	1.72	240
Data collection challenges					
Complicated Qs	3.60	0	6	1.76	234
Not relevant	2.86	0	6	1.89	233
Rephrasing needed	4.74	0	6	1.60	236
Too sensitive	3.26	0	6	1.72	227
Culturally irrelevant	2.45	0	6	1.66	229
Psychologically challenging	1.93	0	6	1.89	230
Affiliations					
Emphasized ethnicity	1.18	0	4	1.25	230
Emphasized partisanship	0.25	0	4	0.76	225
Emphasized religion	0.59	0	4	1.04	228

Additional analyses referenced in paper

Generalizability: Afrobarometer levels of insecurity

To examine how similar Côte d'Ivoire is to other countries in Africa, we create a series of enumeration area-level measures of insecurity. First, we calculate the share of interviews within an enumeration area (in R7, this variable is called *LOCATION.LEVEL.1*) where respondents felt unsafe in their neighborhood at least once (mean: .38), respondents reported being physically attacked in the past year at least once (mean: .09), respondents reported being victims of a crime (mean: .30), and respondents reporting that insecurity (violence, instability, security or war) were the top issues facing the country (mean: .10). We show here that Côte d'Ivoire performs at or above the mean for these measures.

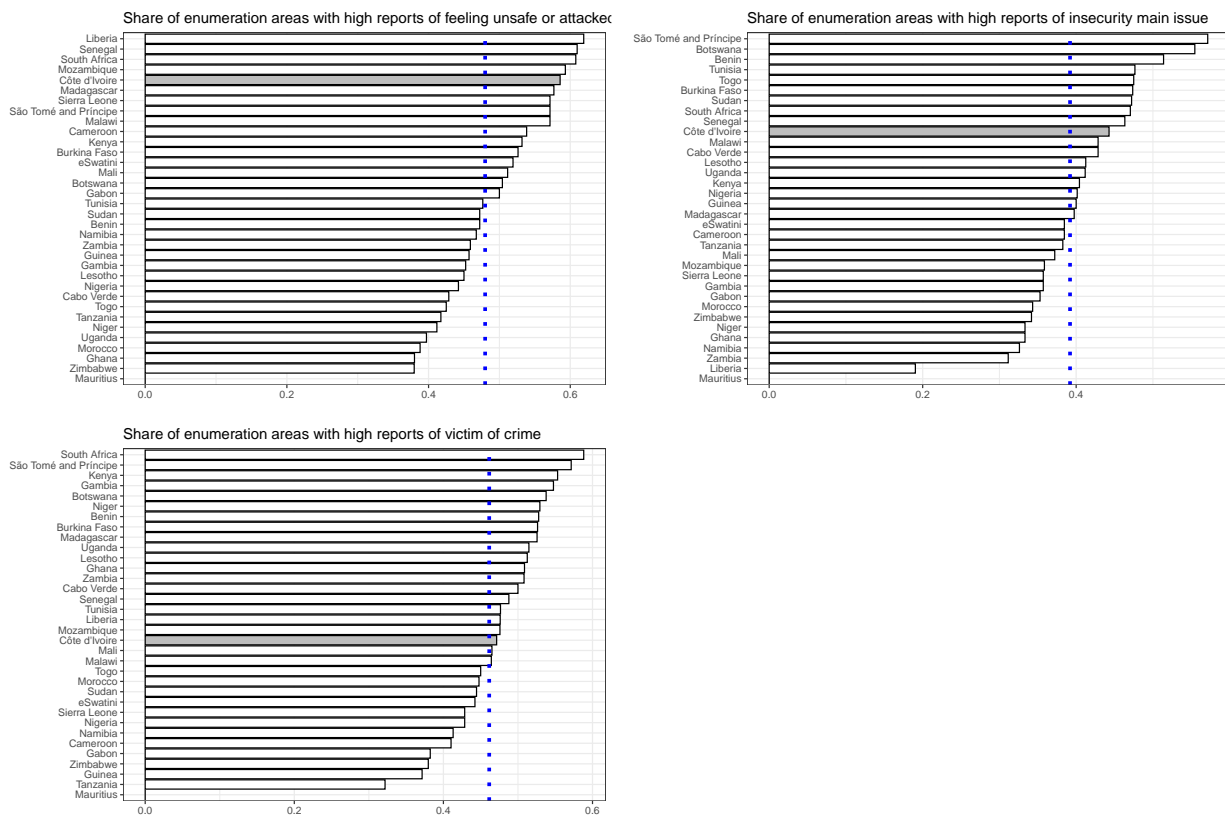


Figure A1: Afrobarometer: Insecurity, share of enumeration areas

Generalizability: Google Scholar Searches

This is a rudimentary attempt to get at questions of survey saturation. The table shows the rank of Côte d'Ivoire among countries with similar populations with studies that include the country name + survey published in journals with "political" in the title since 2010. This is the closest approximation to understanding whether these countries are "saturated" with survey research. Compare this to Nigeria (2,740 articles) or Ghana (2,030 articles).

Table A5: Google Scholar Searches for survey work published in political journals since 2010

Country	count	population..millions.
Mali	1130	20.2
Niger	884	24.2
Cameroon	770	26.5
Burkina Faso	583	20.9
Madagascar	552	27.6
Côte d'Ivoire	550	26.3

Demographic correlates of violence experience

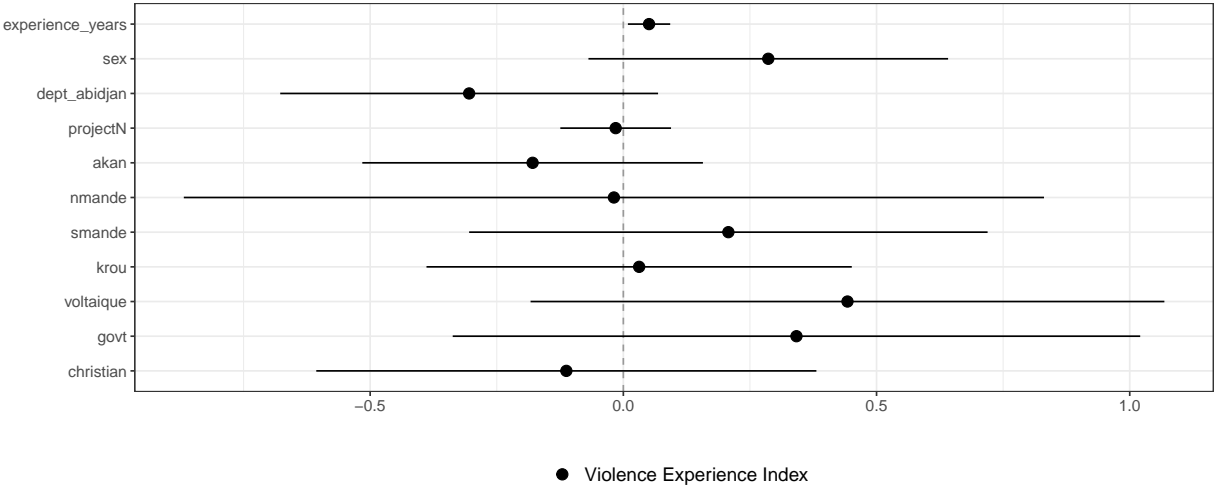


Figure A2: Demographic correlates of violence experience

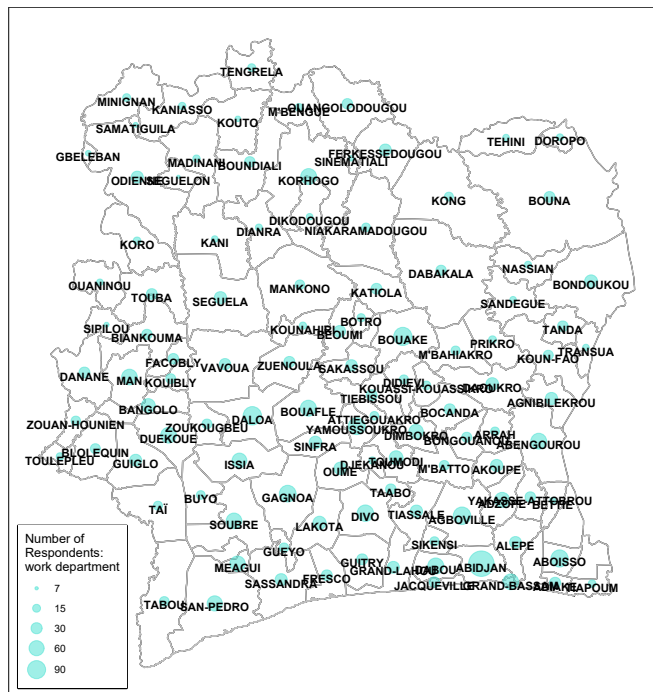
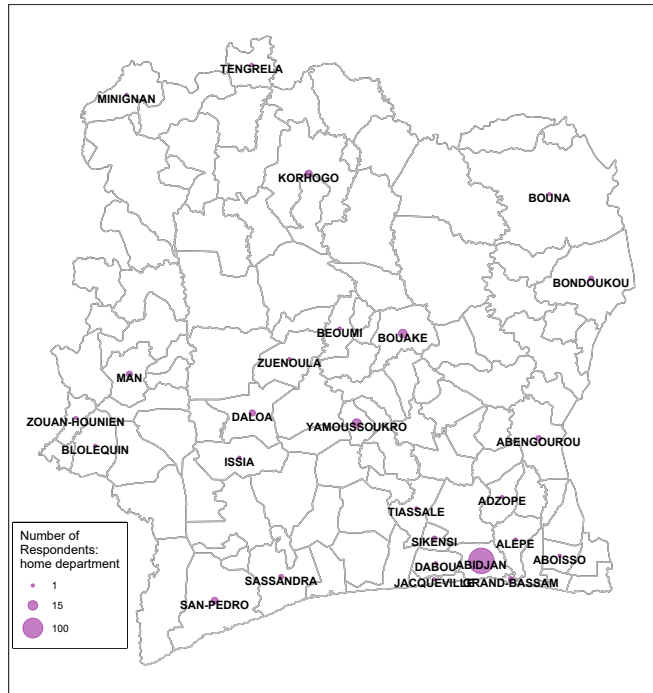


Figure A3: Respondent home dept and work depts

Table A6: Summary statistics for firms worked at least once

	description	mean	min	max	std.dev	n
ipsos	IPSOS	0.64	0	1	0.48	244
afro	Afrobarometer	0.14	0	1	0.35	243
crefdi	CREFDI	0.16	0	1	0.36	244
ins	INS	0.41	0	1	0.49	243
jpal	J-PAL	0.05	0	1	0.23	241
ipa	IPA	0.31	0	1	0.46	241
firm_other	Independent Researchers	0.65	0	1	0.48	241

Table A7: Summary statistics for Experience Topics

	description	mean	min	max	std.dev	n
exp_topic_1	Agriculture	0.44	0	1	0.50	246
exp_topic_2	Peacebuilding	0.37	0	1	0.48	246
exp_topic_3	Conflict & Civil War	0.27	0	1	0.45	246
exp_topic_4	Covid-19	0.36	0	1	0.48	246
exp_topic_5	Demography	0.30	0	1	0.46	246
exp_topic_6	Education	0.46	0	1	0.50	246
exp_topic_7	Employment & Job Creation	0.32	0	1	0.47	246
exp_topic_8	Environment	0.26	0	1	0.44	246
exp_topic_9	Gender	0.22	0	1	0.42	246
exp_topic_10	Marketing	0.48	0	1	0.50	246
exp_topic_11	Poverty & Poverty Reduction	0.36	0	1	0.48	246
exp_topic_12	Politics & Governance	0.43	0	1	0.50	246
exp_topic_13	Social Service Delivery	0.26	0	1	0.44	246
exp_topic_14	Health	0.43	0	1	0.50	246
exp_topic_15	Other	0.11	0	1	0.32	246

Table A8: Summary statistics for Safety Challenges

	description	mean	min	max	std.dev	n
safe	Felt unsafe	0.70	0	3	0.71	238
safe_why_1	Unsafe - politics	0.57	0	1	0.50	141
safe_why_2	Unsafe - unwelcomed	0.28	0	1	0.45	143
safe_why_3	Unsafe - isolation	0.32	0	1	0.47	141
safe_why_4	Unsafe - harassment	0.05	0	1	0.22	141
safe_why_5	Unsafe - witchcraft	0.01	0	1	0.12	141
safe_why_6	Unsafe - Respondents	0.18	0	1	0.38	141
safe_why_7	Unsafe - violence	0.15	0	1	0.36	141
safe_why_8	Unsafe - crime	0.39	0	1	0.49	142
safe_why_9	Unsafe - Other	0.06	0	1	0.23	141

Table A9: Summary statistics for Leave/Leave Why

	description	mean	min	max	std.dev	n
leave	Considered Leaving	0.40	0	1	0.49	239
leave_why_1	Insufficient pay	0.77	0	1	0.42	96
leave_why_2	Sensitive topic	0.08	0	1	0.28	96
leave_why_3	Fearred safety	0.20	0	1	0.40	96
leave_why_4	Uncomfortable	0.02	0	1	0.14	96
leave_why_5	Low quality survey	0.14	0	1	0.34	96
leave_why_6	Time commitment too long	0.26	0	1	0.44	96
leave_why_7	Travel distance	0.03	0	1	0.17	96
leave_why_8	Research team disputes	0.08	0	1	0.28	96
leave_why_9	Personal issues	0.25	0	1	0.44	96
leave_why_10	Other	0.12	0	1	0.33	96
leave_left	Actually left job	0.46	0	1	0.50	95

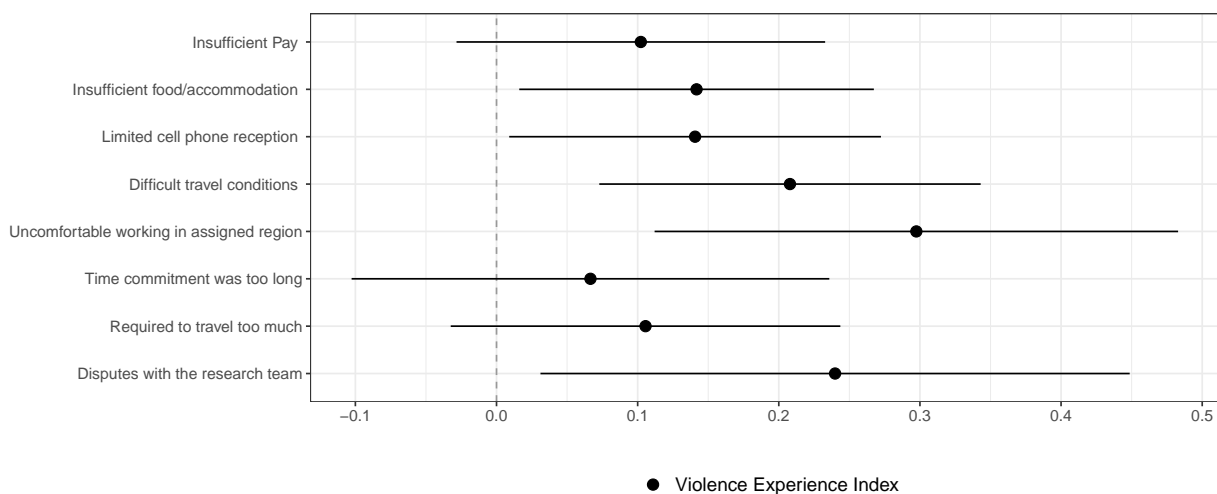


Figure A4: Violence Experience and Labor Conditions

Enjoyable experiences



Figure A5: Enumerator enjoyment of job and research process

Table A10: Ease of interviewing in-group

Group	In-group_easier	Same	Out-group_easier
edu	0.41	0.44	0.15
eth	0.40	0.52	0.08
pol	0.20	0.73	0.07
relig	0.19	0.79	0.02
women	0.13	0.67	0.21

Afrobarometer analysis

To demonstrate the portability of our analysis to the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, we leverage enumerator questions at the end of the Afrobarometer (R7-2018) survey. Round 7 included 34 countries. Reporting of threats is quite low (less than 2% of all 45,823 interviews across the 34 countries). It ranges from as low as no interviews reported where the enumerator felt or was threatened (Burkina Faso) to 17% in South Africa.

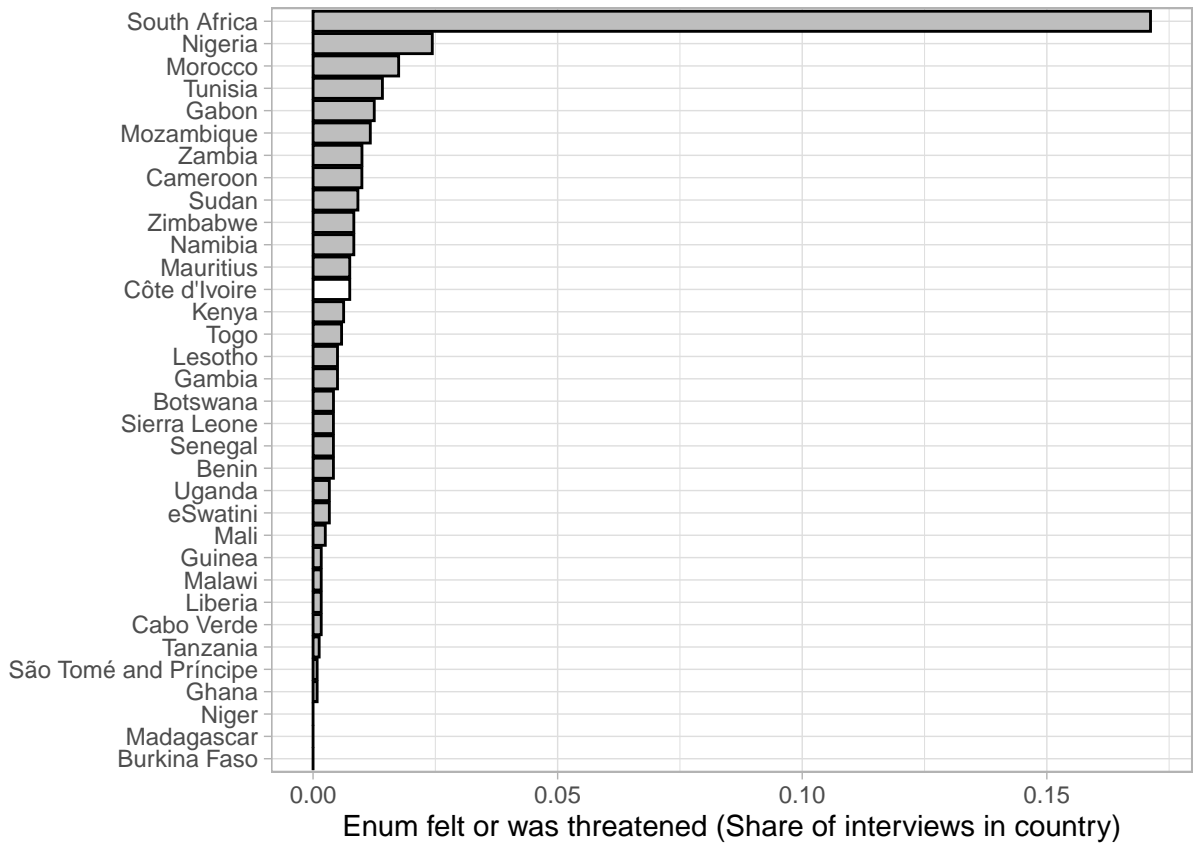


Figure A6: Afrobarometer: Threatened Enumerators

We next aggregate the data to the enumerator-level. First, we show the share of enumerators that encountered difficult respondents in the table below. We then plot the share of enumerators reporting difficult respondents in insecure settings. Using the enumeration-area level of insecurity described above, we show that enumerators who worked in insecure settings were more likely to report difficult respondents in most countries.

Table A11: Respondent characteristics - Share of enumerators

	mean	min	max	std.dev	n
threat	0.16	0	1	0.37	1076
hostile	0.16	0	1	0.37	1076
suspicious	0.37	0	1	0.48	1076

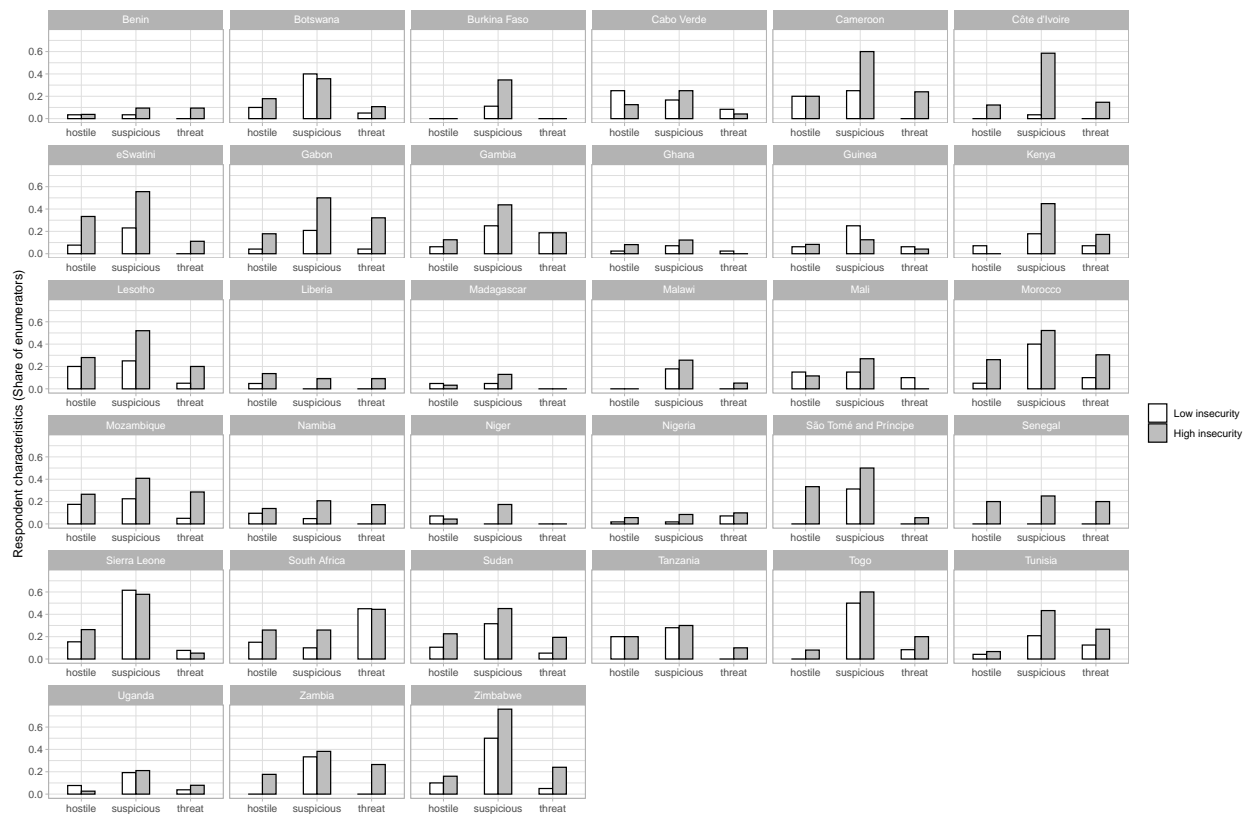


Figure A7: Afrobarometer: Insecurity, Enumerator-level respondent characteristics

Survey instrument

Enumerator Survey

Start of Block: Consent



unique_id **Veillez selectionner français** ---->

Please write your unique identification id here.

Page Break



Consent CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH Enumerator Experiences on Academic Projects in Côte d'Ivoire (CPHS #2020-12-13911) Our names are Professor Justine Davis and Professor Martha Wilfahrt and we are professors at the University of Michigan and University of California, Berkeley, USA. We are conducting a research study in order to understand the experiences that enumerators, like yourself, have when working on academic research projects in Côte d'Ivoire.

Procedures If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to do the following: respond to questions about your background as an enumerator; challenges you have faced conducting academic surveys; your knowledge of ethical procedures to take when conducting academic surveys; and demographics.

Benefits There are no direct benefits to you from study participation. However, we hope that the information gained from the study will help inform us about the perceptions and experiences of enumerators who work on academic projects.

Risks/Discomforts Some of the research questions ask you to reflect on experiences that you may find uncomfortable or upsetting. You are free to decline to answer any questions you don't wish to, or to stop participating in the survey at any time.

Confidentiality Your study data will be handled as confidentially as possible. If results of this study are published or presented, individual names and other personally identifiable information will not be used. To minimize the risks to confidentiality, we will do the following: we will store the key file containing identifiable information in an encrypted format separately from all the other study data. Only members of the research team will have access to your study records.

Retaining research records: When the research is completed, the research data will be maintained for possible use in future research by the research team or others. We will retain this study information until analysis of data is complete. At that time, the file containing identifying information will be destroyed. An anonymized version of the data may be maintained in perpetuity and may be made publicly available upon publication of the research. This version will not contain information that could be used to identify you. Identifiers will be removed from the identifiable private information. After such removal, the information could be used for future research studies or distributed to other investigators for future research studies without additional informed consent from you or your legally authorized representative.

Compensation Participation is voluntary and to thank you, if you participate in the survey, your name will be entered into a drawing to win one (1) tablet worth 75,000 CFA (\$150) out of four tablets. Every participant has an equal chance of being selected. The odds of winning the tablet are estimated to be 1.2%. You are only allowed to complete the survey once. The drawing will take place after the deadline for the survey, and if you win I will contact you at your phone number to obtain your contact information to send you the tablet.

Rights Participation in research is completely voluntary. You are free to decline to take part in the project. You can decline to answer any questions and are free to stop taking part in the project at any time. Whether or not you choose to participate, to answer any particular question, or continue participating in the project, there will be no penalty to you or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Questions If you have any questions about this research, please feel free to contact

us. Professor Davis can be reached at jumdavis@umich.edu and Professor Wilfahrt can be reached martha.wilfahrt@berkeley.edu. If you have any questions about your rights or treatment as a research participant in this study, please contact the University of California at Berkeley's Committee for Protection of Human Subjects at 510-642-7461, or e-mail subjects@berkeley.edu.

If you agree to take part in the research, please click "I agree" below

- I agree (1)
- I disagree (0)

Skip To: End of Survey If CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH Enumerator Experiences on Academic Projects in Côte d'Ivoire (... = I disagree

End of Block: Consent

Start of Block: Demographics

dept We would like to begin by asking you some questions about yourself. In which department do you currently live?

▼ ABIDJAN (1) ... ZUENOULA (109)

rural Do you live in the department capital or in a village?

- Dept capital (1)
- Village (2)
- Je ne sais pas (3)
- Je refuse de répondre (4)

Page Break

X→

sex What is your gender

- Male (1)
- Female (0)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

X→

age How old are you?

▼ Refuse to respond (1) ... 86+ (70)

Page Break



ethnie Which ethnic group are you part of?

▼ ABBEY (1) ... Refuser à répondre (66)

Page Break



religion

What is your religion, if any?

- None (0)
- Atheist (1)
- Baptist (2)
- Catholic (3)
- Christian (4)
- Evangelical (5)
- Methodist (6)
- Muslim (7)
- Pentecostal (8)
- Protestant (9)
- Traditional religion (10)
- Other (11) _____
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (89)

Page Break



edu What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- No formal schooling (0)
- Informal schooling only (including Koranic schooling) (1)
- Some primary schooling (2)
- Primary school completed (3)
- Some secondary school / high school (4)
- Secondary school / high school completed (5)
- Post-secondary qualifications, other than university e.g. a diploma or degree from a polytechnic or college (6)
- Some university (7)
- University completed (8)
- Post-graduate (9)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (89)

Page Break



pid When you think about the current political parties in this country, which political party would you say represents you the most?

- None (0)
- Ensemble pour la Démocratie et la Souveraineté (EDS) (1)
- Front Populaire Ivoirien (FPI) (2)
- Mouvement des Forces d'Avenir (MFA) (3)
- Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire (PDCI) (4)
- Parti Ivoirien des Travailleurs (PIT) (5)
- Union Démocratique et Citoyenne (UDCY) (6)
- Union des Sociaux-Démocrates (USD) (7)
- Union pour la Cote d'Ivoire (UPCI) (8)
- Union pour la Démocratie et pour la Paix en Côte d'Ivoire (UDPCI) (9)
- Rassemblement des Houphouëtistes pour la Démocratie et la Paix (RHDP) (10)
- Rassemblement des Républicains (RDR) (11)
- Rassemblement pour la Côte d'Ivoire (RACI) (12)
- Autre (13) _____
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (89)

Page Break

X→

work_12mos Are you currently working on a project, or did you work as a survey enumerator at any point during the past twelve months?

- Yes, currently working on a project (1)
- No, but worked on a project in the past twelve months (100)
- No, have not worked on a project in the past twelve months (0)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

fulltime Do you consider your work as a survey enumerator your full time employment?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- Je ne sais pas (3)
- Je refuse de répondre (4)

Display This Question:

If Do you consider your work as a survey enumerator your full time employment? = No

X→

Otherwork What other work do you do?

- I work full time in the formal sector (1)
- I work full time in the informal sector (2)
- I work part time in the formal sector (3)
- I work part time in the informal sector (4)
- I am otherwise unemployed and I only work occasionally as a survey enumerator (5)
- I am a student and I only work occasionally as a survey enumerator (6)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

X→

income Concernant le revenu familial total, quel énoncé décrit le mieux votre situation de revenu:

- Mon revenu peut couvrir les dépenses et me faire économiser (3)
- Mon revenu peut simplement couvrir les dépenses, sans grandes difficultés (2)
- Mon revenu ne peut pas couvrir les dépenses et j'ai des difficultés (1)
- Mon revenu ne peut pas couvrir les dépenses et j'ai de grandes difficultés (0)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

End of Block: Demographics

Start of Block: Enumerator experience

X→

start Thank you for allowing us to get to know you. Now we would like to know more about your experience working as a survey enumerator or supervisor.

In what year did you first begin working as a survey enumerator?

▼ Je refuse de répondre (1) ... 2021 (24)

X+

dept_work In which departments have you conducted survey work before? Please select all that apply.

- ABIDJAN (1)
- ABENGOUROU (2)
- ABOISSO (3)
- ADIAKE (4)
- ADZOPE (5)
- AGBOVILLE (6)
- AGNIBILEKROU (7)
- AKOUPÉ (8)
- ALEPE (9)
- ARRAH (10)
- ATTIEGOUAKRO (11)
- BANGOLO (12)
- BEOUMI (13)
- BETTIE (14)
- BIANKOUA (15)
- BLOLEQUIN (16)
- BOCANDA (17)
- BONDOUKOU (18)
- BONGOUANOU (19)

- BOTRO (20)
- BOUAFLE (21)
- BOUAKE (22)
- BOUNA (23)
- BOUNDIALI (24)
- BUYO (26)
- DABAKALA (27)
- DABOU (28)
- DALOA (29)
- DANANE (30)
- DAOUKRO (31)
- DIANRA (32)
- DIDIEVI (33)
- DIKODOUGOU (34)
- DIMBOKRO (35)
- DIVO (36)
- DJEKANOU (37)
- DOROPO (38)
- DUEKOUÉ (39)
- FACOBLI (40)

- FERKESSEDOUGOU (41)
- FRESCO (42)
- GAGNOA (43)
- GBELEBAN (44)
- GRAND-BASSAM (45)
- GRAND-LAHOUE (46)
- GUEYO (47)
- GUIGLO (48)
- GUITRY (49)
- ISSIA (50)
- JACQUEVILLE (51)
- KANI (52)
- KANIASSO (53)
- KATIOLA (54)
- KONG (55)
- KORHOGO (56)
- KORO (57)
- KOUASSI-KOUASSIKRO (58)
- KOUIBLY (59)
- KOUNAHIRI (60)

- KOUN-FAO (61)
- KOUTO (62)
- LAKOTA (63)
- MADINANI (64)
- MAN (65)
- MANKONO (66)
- M'BAHIAKRO (67)
- M'BATTO (68)
- M'BENGUE (69)
- MEAGUI (70)
- MINIGNAN (71)
- NASSIAN (72)
- NIAKARAMADOUGOU (73)
- ODIENNE (74)
- OUANGOLODOUGOU (75)
- OUANINO (76)
- OUME (77)
- PRIKRO (78)
- SAKASSOU (79)
- SAMATIGUILA (80)

- SANDEGUE (81)
- SAN-PEDRO (82)
- SASSANDRA (83)
- SEQUELA (84)
- SEQUELON (85)
- SIKENSI (86)
- SINEMATIALI (87)
- SINFRA (88)
- SIPILOU (89)
- SOUBRE (90)
- TAABO (91)
- TABOU (92)
- TAÏ (93)
- TANDA (94)
- TEHINI (95)
- TENGRELA (96)
- TIAPOUM (97)
- TIASSALE (98)
- TIEBISSOU (99)
- TOUBA (100)

- TOULEPLEU (101)
- TOUMODI (102)
- TRANSUA (103)
- VAVOUA (104)
- YAKASSE-ATTOBROU (105)
- YAMOOUSSOUKRO (106)
- ZOUAN-HOUNIEN (107)
- ZOUKOUGBEU (108)
- ZUENOULA (109)
- Je ne sais pas (110)
- Je refuse de répondre (111)

Page Break



projectN Now we would like to know more about your work as an enumerator for projects that involved collected data via survey. We are particularly interested in projects that were run by academic researchers, such as projects affiliated with universities (e.g. not projects for marketing a commercial product). How many academic projects have you worked on?

- 1 (1)
- 2-5 (2)
- 6-10 (3)
- 10-15 (4)
- 16-20 (5)
- More than 20 (6)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

Page Break



exp_topic What were the topics of the surveys you worked on? Please select all that apply

- Agriculture (1)
 - Peacebuilding (2)
 - Conflict & Civil War (3)
 - Covid-19 (4)
 - Demography (5)
 - Education (6)
 - Employment & Job Creation (7)
 - Environment (8)
 - Gender (9)
 - Marketing (10)
 - Poverty & Poverty Reduction (11)
 - Politics & Governance (12)
 - Social Service Delivery (13)
 - Health (14)
 - Other (please specify) (15)
-
- Je ne sais pas (88)
 - Je refuse de répondre (99)
-

X→

exp_mostenjoyable There are different reasons for working as a survey enumerator. How important are the following aspects to you?

	Extremely important (4)	Very important (3)	Moderately important (2)	Slightly important (1)	Not at all important (0)	Je ne sais pas (88)	Je refuse de répondre (99)
Travel/ability to see my country (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Learning about my fellow citizens (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Involvement in research process (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Payment (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Development of professional skills (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Involvement in research that will improve my country (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Flexibility in work schedule (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

X→

exp_supervisor Have you served as a supervisor for a project?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

Display This Question:

If Have you served as a supervisor for a project? = Yes

X→

exp_supervisor2 For how many projects have you served as a supervisor?

- 1 (1)
- 2-5 (2)
- 6-10 (3)
- 10-15 (4)
- 16-20 (5)
- More than 20 (6)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

Page Break



exp_outside/urban How often have you conducted studies in the following locations?

	Always (4)	Most of the time (3)	About half the time (2)	Sometimes (1)	Never (0)	Je ne sais pas (88)	Je refuse de répondre (99)
Urban settings (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Rural settings (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A city/village different from the one you live in (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Communities where you don't speak the local language (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



training_request Thinking about the trainings that you have received, what has been missing that you would find helpful in doing your job well?

- Nothing, the training we receive is sufficient (0)
- More time to familiarize yourself with survey instrument (1)
- More background on survey objectives (2)
- More training on tablet/handheld device (3)
- More opportunities to give feedback on the survey instrument (4)
- More training on experimental questions or behavioral measures (5)
- More training on ethics related to survey research (6)
- More training on consent procedures (7)
- Other (8) _____
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

Page Break

X→

firms Which of the following firms have you worked for?

	Never (0)	Once (1)	Multiple Times (2)	Je ne sais pas (88)	Je refuse de répondre (99)
IPSOS (firms_1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Afrobarometer (firms_8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Crefdi (firms_2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Institut National de la Statistique (firms_3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
J-Pal (firms_4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
IPA (firms_5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Independent Researchers (firms_6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Enumerator experience

Start of Block: Challenges

Enum_ethics_intro Now we would like to learn more about your own experiences when conducting this research. Please answer honestly, and remember your answers are anonymous.

X→

challenges How often have you faced the following working condition challenges?

	Always (4)	Most of the time (3)	About half the time (2)	Sometimes (1)	Never (0)	Je ne sais pas (88)	Je refuse de répondre (99)
Insufficient Pay (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Insufficient food or accommodation (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Limited cell phone reception (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Difficult travel conditions (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Feared physical safety in assigned region (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Felt otherwise uncomfortable working in assigned region (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Time commitment was too long (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Required to travel too much (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Disputes with the research team (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

X→

implement_chal How often do you encounter challenges at each of the following stages of the process of implementing a survey?

Page Break

	Always (4)	Most of the time (3)	About half the time (2)	Sometimes (1)	Never (0)	Je ne sais pas (88)	Je refuse de répondre (99)
Gaining entry into a community (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Implementing the sampling procedure (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Making contact with a household (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Identifying an appropriate respondent in a household (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Explaining the purpose of your visit (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Gaining informed consent (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ensuring respondents understand survey questions (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Maintaining respondent attention throughout survey (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



safe How often have you felt unsafe while conducting surveys?

- Always (4)
- Most of the time (3)
- About half the time (2)
- Sometimes (1)
- Never (0)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

Display This Question:

If How often have you felt unsafe while conducting surveys? != Never



safe_why Why have you felt unsafe? Please select all that apply.

- Political environment (1)
- General feeling of being unwelcome in a community (2)
- Isolation of fieldsite (3)
- Harassment by local authorities (4)
- Spiritual threat or witchcraft (5)
- Harassment by respondents (6)
- Violence at field site (7)
- High crime rate of area (8)
- Other (9) _____
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

Display This Question:

If How often have you felt unsafe while conducting surveys? . Never Is Not Displayed



safe_report Have you reported this to your supervisor or superiors?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

Display This Question:
 If Have you reported this to your supervisor or superiors? = Yes

safe_response What was their response?

Display This Question:
 If Have you reported this to your supervisor or superiors? = No

X→

safe_whynt Why not?

- I was able to handle the situation without need for supervisor intervention (1)
- I was concerned about the response from the supervisor (2)
- I was concerned I would lose my job or pay (3)
- I was concerned about my own safety (4)
- Other (5) _____
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

Page Break _____

X→

local_challenges Some enumerators have faced challenges from local communities. Have you personally experienced the following? Please select all that apply.

	I have never interacted with this person/people (1)	Have never created problems for me (2)	Questioned my intentions (3)	Have threatened me (4)	Have physically intimidated me (5)	Have physically attacked (6)	Je ne sais pas (88)	Je refuse de répondre (99)
Village Chiefs (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Local Political Party Leaders (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mayors (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Prefets (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Police or military officials posted in area (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Youth Leaders (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Respondents' families (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Respondents themselves (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other members of the local population (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break _____

X→

violence_scale Have you ever faced the following situations when collecting data? If so, please indicate how frequently.

	No, never (0)	Yes, Once (1)	Yes, a few times (2)	Yes, multiple times (3)	Yes, every time I have done this work (4)	Je ne sais pas (88)	Je refuse de répondre (99)
Been followed (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Robbed (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Threatened with violence (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Physically assaulted (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Detained (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

X→

violence_witness Have you ever witnessed the following while collecting data?

	No (0)	Yes (1)	Je ne sais pas (88)	Je refuse de répondre (99)
Mass protests (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Threats and harassment (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Physical violence (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Theft or destruction of property (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

X→

solution_threats The types of threats and challenges we just covered can pose serious threats to enumerators. How likely would you be to do the following if you felt unsafe or threatened?

	Extremely likely (6)	Moderately likely (5)	Slightly likely (4)	Neither likely nor unlikely (3)	Slightly unlikely (2)	Moderately unlikely (1)	Extremely unlikely (0)	Je ne sais pas (88)	Je refuse de répondre (99)
Skip households that make me feel uncomfortable (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fill in answers for respondents so that I can finish more quickly (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Skip questions I know will raise tensions by coding it as missing or don't know (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Choose respondents in a household who are likely to be less challenging (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Abbreviate questions or the consent procedure to accelerate the survey (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

X+

threats_colleagues Have you ever faced threats or harassment from your fellow enumerators?

- Yes (1)
 - No (0)
 - Je ne sais pas (88)
 - Je refuse de répondre (99)
-

X+

threats_sup Have you ever faced threats or harassment from your supervisor or superiors?

- Yes (1)
 - No (0)
 - Je ne sais pas (88)
 - Je refuse de répondre (99)
-

Page Break

X→

leave Have you ever considered leaving a project because of the working conditions?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

Display This Question:

If Have you ever considered leaving a project because of the working conditions? = Yes

X→

leave_why What features of a survey have led you to consider leaving a job? Please selection all that apply.

- Insufficient Pay (1)
 - Survey subject was too sensitive (2)
 - Feared physical safety in assigned region (3)
 - Felt otherwise uncomfortable working in assigned region (4)
 - Survey was of low quality (5)
 - Time commitment was too long (6)
 - Required to travel too much or too far (7)
 - Disputes with the research team (8)
 - Personal issues, such as health or family obligations (9)
 - Other (please specify) (10)
-
- Je ne sais pas (88)
 - Je refuse de répondre (99)

Display This Question:

If Have you ever considered leaving a project because of the working conditions? = Yes

X→

leave_left Have any of these factors ever led you to actually quit a project?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

Page Break

challenge_qual Can you please tell us about a time you encountered a challenge during fieldwork, and how you overcame it? This question is not required, but we would appreciate your thoughts.

End of Block: Challenges

Start of Block: Survey content challenges



why_challenges

You have just told us about the challenges you have faced as an enumerators. What factors about a survey do you believe increase the probability that you will encounter challenges in the field?

Please choose all that apply.

- Nothing (0)
- When it takes place (e.g. around an election or major event) (1)
- What regions or locations the survey is fielded in (2)
- Who the participants are (3)
- Who is financing the survey (4)
- The topic or content covered by the survey (5)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

Page Break



identity_challenges

What factors about your own identity do you think have increased challenges for you in the field?

Please select all that apply.

- Nothing about my identity increases challenges (0)
- Your gender (1)
- Your age (2)
- Your ethnicity (3)
- Your region of origin (4)
- Your education level (5)
- Your party identification (6)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

Display This Question:

If What factors about your own identity do you think have increased challenges for you in the field?...
!= Nothing about my identity increases challenges



identity_why Why do you think your identity increases challenges for you in the field? Please select all that apply.

- People make inaccurate assumptions about my identity (1)
 - People do not trust me because of my identity (2)
 - People do not take me seriously because of my identity (3)
 - People do not think I am being honest about my intentions due to my identity (4)
 - Other (please explain) (5)
-
- Je ne sais pas (88)
 - Je refuse de répondre (99)

Page Break

X→

ease_resp_eth Would you say it is easier to survey someone who shares your ethnic identity or someone who does not share your ethnic identity?

- Easier to survey someone who shares your ethnic identity (1)
- About the same (2)
- Easier to survey someone who does not share your ethnic identity (3)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

X→

ease_resp_edu Would you say it is easier to survey someone who has no formal schooling than someone who does have some formal schooling?

- Easier to survey someone who has no formal schooling (1)
- About the same (2)
- Easier to survey someone who has some formal schooling (3)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

X→

ease_resp_pol Would you say it is easier to survey someone who shares your political identity or someone who does not share your political identity?

- Easier to survey someone who shares your political identity (1)
- About the same (2)
- Easier to survey someone who does not share your political identity (3)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

X→

ease_resp_women Would you say it is easier to survey women or men?

- Easier to survey women (1)
- About the same (2)
- Easier to survey men (3)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

X→

ease_resp_relig Would you say it is easier to survey someone who shares your religious identity or someone who does not share your religious identity?

- Easier to survey someone who shares your religious identity (1)
- About the same (2)
- Easier to survey someone who does not share your religious identity (3)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

Page Break

X→

difficulties_coll As an enumerator on these academic projects, your job is to collect the data for the researchers to use. With regards to the data collection process, how much do you agree with the following statements about the survey questions you ask:

	Strongly agree (6)	Agree (5)	Somewhat agree (4)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Somewhat disagree (2)	Disagree (1)	Strongly disagree (0)	Je ne sais pas (88)	Je refuse de répondre (99)
They are usually too complicated for the respondents (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
They are not usually relevant to the respondents' every day experiences (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
They need to be rephrased to help the respondent understand the researcher's intent (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
They are too sensitive or upsetting for respondents (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
They are out of touch with the cultural environment I work in (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
They are psychologically taxing for me as an enumerator (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



sensitive_pid We would like to get your opinion on several questions that are often asked in academic research studies. You may have even encountered them yourself. Below is a survey question that is commonly asked on public opinion surveys:
"Do you feel close to any particular political party?"
How comfortable would you be asking this question?

- Extremely comfortable (4)
- Somewhat comfortable (3)
- Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable (2)
- Somewhat uncomfortable (1)
- Extremely uncomfortable (0)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

Display This Question:

If We would like to get your opinion on several questions that are often asked in academic research...
= Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable

Or We would like to get your opinion on several questions that are often asked in academic research... = Somewhat uncomfortable

Or We would like to get your opinion on several questions that are often asked in academic research... = Extremely uncomfortable



sensitive_pid_why Why would you feel uncomfortable asking this question? Please select all that apply.

- Someone's political identity is personal and private (1)
- I am concerned that their reaction will affect the rest of their answers (2)
- In this country, it is not culturally appropriate to ask people about their political identity (3)
- People might think that I am a political agent if I ask this question (4)
- I am concerned I will have to reveal my political identity (5)
- This could create tensions between the respondent and myself if they think we have different party identification (6)
- Other (please explain) (7)

- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

sensitive_pid_percen Thinking about your experience as an enumerator, what percent of respondents do you think will answer this question honestly?

Je ne sais pas/Refuser

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

% Answering Honestly ()



X→

sensitive_pid_who How honest do you think the following groups would be if you asked them about feeling close to a particular party?

	Completely dishonest (0)	Not very honest (1)	Somewhat honest (2)	Pretty honest (3)	Completely honest (4)	Je ne sais pas (88)	Je refuse de répondre (99)
Women (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Respondents who don't support the current president (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Educated respondents (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Rural respondents (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People who share my partisan identity (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Respondents in former rebel-held territories (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break



sensitive_violence

Let's look at one last survey question:

"Did you witness violence in your community during the Ivorian crisis, 2002-2011?"

Would you be comfortable asking this question?

- Extremely comfortable (4)
- Somewhat comfortable (3)
- Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable (2)
- Somewhat uncomfortable (1)
- Extremely uncomfortable (0)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

Display This Question:

If Let's look at one last survey question: "Did you witness violence in your community during the Iv...
= Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable

Or Let's look at one last survey question: "Did you witness violence in your community during the Iv...
= Somewhat uncomfortable

Or Let's look at one last survey question: "Did you witness violence in your community during the Iv...
= Extremely uncomfortable



sensitive_viol_why Why would you feel uncomfortable asking this question? Please select all that apply.

- People's experience with violence is personal and private (1)
- I do not want to traumatize the respondent by asking them to recall their experiences (2)
- Respondents might think I am a political agent because I am asking about this (3)
- I am concerned that their reaction will affect the rest of their answers (4)
- In this country, it is not culturally appropriate to ask people about their experience with violence (5)
- I am concerned I will have to reveal my own experiences with violence (6)
- Other (please explain) (7)

- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

sensitive_viol_perce Thinking about your experience as an enumerator, what percent of respondents do you think will answer this question honestly?

Je ne sais pas/refuser

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

% Answering Honestly ()



sensitive_viol_who How honest do you think the following groups would be?

	Completely dishonest (0)	Not very honest (1)	Somewhat honest (2)	Pretty honest (3)	Completely honest (4)	Je ne sais pas (88)	Je refuse de répondre (99)
Women (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Respondents who don't support the current president (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Educated respondents (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Rural respondents (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People who share my partisan identity (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Respondents in former rebel-held territories (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break



prior_solve Researchers sometimes want to ask questions that respondents may find sensitive. Prior to implementing a survey, what suggestions would you make for how researchers can get more truthful answers from respondents? Please select all that apply.

- Nothing. I cannot make people feel comfortable about this subject if they do not already feel that way (0)
- Adapting the language or using a local idiom to make the question more subtle (1)
- Rephrasing the question to be about 'People like them' (2)
- Some sensitive questions should be removed (3)
- Repeat that a survey is anonymous and confidential before asking the question (4)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)



sensitive_topics Sometimes surveys ask questions on sensitive topics, but people reasonably disagree on what is sensitive and what is not. Which of the following do you consider to be sensitive? Please select all that apply.

- None of these topics are sensitive (0)
- Abortion (1)
- Disease Status (e.g. HIV/AIDS, TB) (2)
- Trust in government (3)
- Corruption (4)
- Intimate partner violence (5)
- Attitudes towards immigrants (6)
- Protest or violence participation (7)
- Respondents' voting history (8)
- je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

Page Break

End of Block: Survey content challenges

Start of Block: Solutions

desc Thank you for sharing some of the challenges you have encountered with us. We would next like to ask you about solutions and how you have solved problems while conducting research.

Page Break



break_protocol Sometimes the challenges we encounter during fieldwork are hard to overcome. How frequently do you think that the other enumerators you work with adopt the following solutions?

	Always (4)	Most of the time (3)	About half the time (2)	Sometimes (1)	Never (0)	Je ne sais pas (88)	Je refuse de répondre (99)
Skip households or respondents who are difficult (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fabricate answers to survey questions (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If I notice that the respondent has difficulties with a question, I try to make it easier for them, for example by shorten long question texts or explaining what a question really means. (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Adapt or rephrase questions to be less sensitive for respondents (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Abandon the questionnaire in the middle of an interview (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Deviate from the random-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

walk protocol to avoid difficult neighborhoods (5)

Lie to supervisors about the reason an interview had to be redone (6)

Select respondents from the household who will be easier to survey (7)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

X→

help_sup Do you feel that, if there is a problem with your supervisor, you can get assistance from their superiors?

- Definitely yes (4)
- Probably yes (3)
- Might or might not (2)
- Probably not (1)
- Definitely not (0)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

X→

help_enum Do you feel that, if there is a problem with your fellow enumerators, you can get assistance from your supervisor?

- Definitely yes (4)
- Probably yes (3)
- Might or might not (2)
- Probably not (1)
- Definitely not (0)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

Page Break



suggestions_consider If you make suggestions about the project, do you feel that they will be taken into consideration by your superiors?

- Definitely yes (4)
- Probably yes (3)
- Might or might not (2)
- Probably not (1)
- Definitely not (0)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

Page Break



affiliations Have you ever emphasized the following affiliations or identity to make an interviewee comfortable?

	Always (4)	Most of the time (3)	About half the time (2)	Sometimes (1)	Never (0)	Je ne sais pas (88)	Je refuse de répondre (99)
My ethnicity (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My political party (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My religion (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My organization membership (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My favorite sports team (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

success In your opinion, what factor is the most important in determining the success of survey fieldwork?

- The survey finishes on schedule (1)
- Travel and accomodations go smoothly (2)
- The survey team gets along well (3)
- The region you were working in is welcoming (4)
- Respondents are approachable/sampling goes quickly (5)
- The researchers find what they are looking for (6)
- You learn new research skills (7)
- Other (8) _____

Page Break

X→

contact Do you ever have the opportunity to meet the researchers who design the surveys you work on?

- Always (4)
- Most of the time (3)
- About half the time (2)
- Sometimes (1)
- Never (0)
- Je ne sais pas (88)
- Je refuse de répondre (99)

X→

research_process How much do you agree with the following statements?

	A great deal (4)	A lot (3)	A moderate amount (2)	A little (1)	None at all (0)	Je ne sais pas (88)	Je refuse de répondre (99)
I feel like a valuable part of the research process (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am expected to do a lot of uncompensated work behind the scenes, e.g. negotiate checkpoints and/or pay extra fees or bribes (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My knowledge of local context is undervalued by project leaders (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The studies I work on would be improved if they consulted enumerators like me in the design stage (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Solutions

Start of Block: Final impressions

feedback Thank you for taking the time to complete our study. As we mentioned, we are researchers hoping to better understand the experience of enumerators that conduct academic projects. To that end, we have one final question: Thinking about the last survey you worked on (or that you are currently working on), what feedback would you give to the researchers who designed that study? This question is not required, but we would appreciate your thoughts.
