CRISIS TRACKER

AN OVERVIEW OF THE CRISIS TRACKER'S MAPPING METHODOLOGY AND DATABASE CODEBOOK

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Introduction

About the Crisis Tracker and Invisible Children

The Crisis Tracker is a geospatial reporting project of Invisible Children that monitors violence against civilians, particularly violence perpetrated by armed groups (AG), and intercommunal tensions in the tri-border region of Central African Republic (CAR), the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and South Sudan. The Crisis Tracker also collects some data on the illicit trafficking of wildlife in this region, particularly as it relates to the activities of poaching actors that also threaten civilians. The Crisis Tracker was created to overcome the current deficit of relevant and timely data in order to inform policy, strengthen the response of humanitarian and protection actors, and increase public awareness about the impact of armed conflict on vulnerable civilian populations.

Headquartered in Washington, D.C., Invisible Children is an international non-profit organization working to end violent conflict and exploitation facing our world's most isolated and unprotected communities. Invisible Children partners with local visionaries in volatile conflict zones to build community-led initiatives and drive global policy change to end violent conflict and ensure communities have the safety they deserve. Invisible Children's current work focuses on developing innovative and sustainable solutions to regional insecurity and armed group violence. In recent years, this has included the exploration of community-based initiatives and conflict analysis to address the intersection of human security and wildlife trafficking in the central Africa region.

About the Crisis Tracker Database

The Crisis Tracker Database uses its unique data set to illustrate the impact of violence against civilians, including killings, lootings, and abductions, and their impact on civilian populations across space and time. The Crisis Tracker systematically records violence against civilians, perpetrated by various actors, including civilians and armed groups. The majority of Incident Reports record armed group attacks on civilians, which are incidents of violence perpetrated by organized armed groups, such as the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), against civilians.

The Crisis Tracker Database is the foundation for numerous Crisis Tracker reporting products, including an online mapping platform available at www.crisistracker.org. In addition to the online map, the Crisis Tracker team produces conflict analysis via daily email alerts, regular briefs on developing security trends, and periodic in-depth reports.

About the Crisis Tracker Codebook

The Crisis Tracker Codebook aims to introduce Crisis Tracker users and researchers to the methodology behind Crisis Tracker data. In addition this public document, Invisible Children maintains a non-public internal codebook with more in-depth methodological guidelines. Where possible, the Crisis Tracker Codebook methodologies were developed to incorporate Every Casualty's Standards for Casualty Recording,[1] which reflect the best practices in the field while providing data users with a criteria which can be used to assess the quality and transparency of the data. The Crisis Tracker also participated in a study by Every Casualty on Practitioner conformance with the Standards for Casualty Recording.[2]

If you have questions, please contact us at crisistracker@invisiblechildren.com.

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[1] Every Casualty Worldwide, Standards for Casualty Recording, 2016.
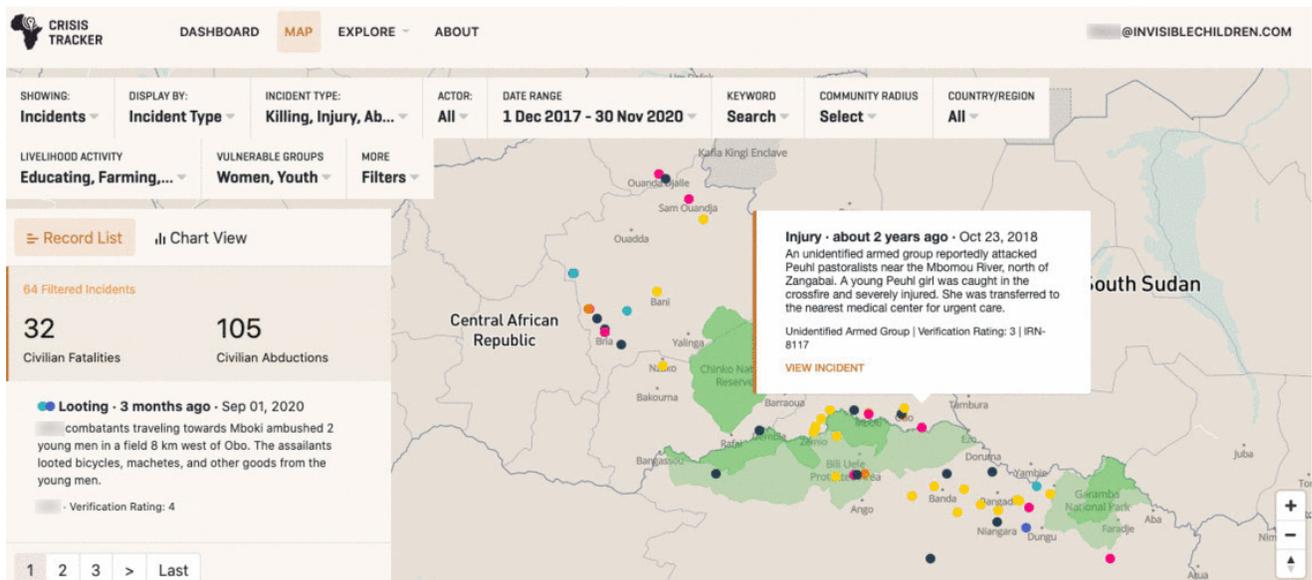[2] Every Casualty Worldwide, Practitioner conformance with the Standards for Casualty Recording, 2020.

Crisis Tracker Database

Geographic Boundaries

The Crisis Tracker Database primarily includes events in the tri-border region of CAR, DRC, and South Sudan. Specifically, the core zone in which most documented incidents took place includes the prefectures of Haute Kotto, Haut Mbomou, and Mbomou (CAR), the provinces of Bas Uele and Haut Uele (DRC), and Western Equatoria (South Sudan). Limited data on incidents is also available in some areas that border this core zone.

Time Periods

As of the publication of this Codebook, data—particularly data on LRA activity—has been logged covering the time period beginning in December 2008. Data on activity by other armed groups is available dating back to 2016. However, project administrators continue to seek out and code data related to historical events as it becomes available.

Record types

The Crisis Tracker Database includes two broad categories of data types. "Incident Reports" are descriptions of an event. "Profiles" are descriptions of an individual person or community.

Incident Reports

Incident Reports constitute the majority of data logged in the Database, and detail individual incidents of violence, abduction, sightings, returns, or clashes. Any known violence, looting, clashes between armed actors, abductions, or displacements committed or caused by security

forces, members of AG are logged as Incident Reports in the Database. Other incidents related to AG activity are also logged (e.g., the escape of a person who has been abducted, or a sighting of suspected AG).

Profiles

The Crisis Tracker Database contains three types of profiles: Missing Persons and Returnee profiles, Community profiles, and LRA Combatant profiles.

Missing Persons and Returnee Profile

Missing Persons profiles contain the biographical information of individuals abducted by armed groups, as well as the circumstances and details of their abductions. Returnee profiles show the ages, nationalities, and exit locations of individuals who have returned from AG captivity as well as select information about their conscription/abduction. (For the privacy and security of returnees, the majority of the information collected about returnees is not available on the Crisis Tracker mapping platform). Profiles are updated frequently to show where a returnee is in the process of being reunited with his or her family. Returnee profile information allows for improved analysis of escape trends as well as an improved ability to coordinate the reunification of returnees with their families. For more information, see "A Closer Look: Missing Persons and Returnee Profiles" on page 14.

Community Profile

Community profiles give details about the location, including GPS coordinates. To the extent that we have the information, community profiles also list various community characteristics that are helpful for analysis, such as the presence of a regional market, the presence of transhumance pastoralists, whether it is a mining town, etc.

LRA Combatant Profile

The Database logs specific information about LRA combatants, allowing users to better understand the composition and movements of LRA members. Information collected about individual combatants includes: profiles and biographical information, their known locations, and the group with which they are associated.

DATA SOURCES & COLLECTION PROCESS

Data Sourcing
The vast majority of data for the Crisis Tracker Database is gathered from a civilian-controlled high frequency (HF) radio Early Warning System (EWS) managed by Invisible Children and local partners in the tri-border region. Additional information is sourced from reports produced by non-governmental organizations (NGO) and United Nations (UN) agencies and firsthand research conducted by Invisible Children and peer organizations. Reports by independent news outlets and government agencies occasionally are utilized as supplementary supporting sources, after being reviewed and verified. When possible, published incident reports include references to specific sources. However, due to security concerns, many specific sources cannot be published.

The quality and comprehensiveness of the data is largely dependent on the information and communication infrastructure accessible to project administrators. Due to the remote nature of tri-border region, this sourcing infrastructure is uneven across the geographic area of coverage. Data included in the Database tends to be of greater quality in areas in which there is a higher concentration of HF radio EWS locations, but even in these regions, data on violent incidents is not comprehensive. The Crisis Tracker Database does not claim to be a comprehensive record of all violent incidents or related events in the area of operation, but team members make every effort to fill in areas where the data may not be easily accessible.

Data Collection and Review

1: Data Collection	Reports are gathered daily from a variety of sources and updated as new information becomes available:
	• HF radio EWS locations in DRC and CAR
	  o Civilians report activity daily to HF radio tower operators
	  o 130+ HF radios operators call the Dungu hub in DRC and the Obo hub in CAR, twice daily to report incidents of violence and other relevant events
	• UN & NGO reports
	• News & media outlets
	• Civil society contacts in local communities
	• Local security forces
	• Field research conducted by Invisible Children staff
	• Activity is entered into a spreadsheet and then sent to data coders

2: Data Entry	Database entry:
	• Reports are reviewed and analyzed by a team of coders from Invisible Children. Coders liaise with field-based personnel to clarify uncertainty and obtain missing details in order to determine the reliability of the source and report. Before an incident is reported, the coder reads through other incidents to check for duplicates.
	• Verification ratings:
	  o After an incident is categorized, each incident is given a verification rating.
	  o A coder also rates the likelihood that a particular actor was responsible for the attack, using the Actor Verification Scale.

3: Data Review	• A second data coder reviews each incident to catch human errors and duplicate reports. • Should the second data coder feel an incident was misreported, the incident is corrected. External and local and regional experts are consulted as necessary.
4: Data Mapping & Sharing	• Information on select incidents reported via the EWS is communicated via email and/or WhatsApp alerts that are sent to key partners and practitioner within the following 24-72 hours. • After an incident is entered and approved to be mapped, it appears on the Crisis Tracker mapping platform. • Data is regularly sent to UN agencies and humanitarian practitioners for comparison and collaboration.
5: Data Revamp	• As the database grows and policies are updated to reflect best practices, data coders revisit and "revamp" the data as needed. Data is also revamped based on new research and information collected during triangulation efforts.
6: Data Analysis & Reporting	• Crisis Tracker staff analyze data for trends and patterns in violence against civilians, intercommunal tensions, and other relevant events, incorporating analysis from broader political, environmental, and economic dynamics where relevant. • After analysis has been completed and reviewed, the findings are reported in periodic Crisis Tracker reports that are distributed to stakeholders.

Incident Report Verification Methodology

Two different rating systems are utilized to assess the accuracy of all incident reports. The first system assesses confidence in the details surrounding the incident as a whole, and the second assesses confidence in the identity of the perpetrators.

Incident Verification Rating

The *Incident Verification Rating* assesses confidence in the accuracy of each incident report as a whole based on information available to Crisis Tracker data coders. Each incident is given a rating of "1" through "5," with "1" being the least reliable and "5" being the most reliable. The rating is based on the reliability of the source, whether or not the source itself portrays the incident as reliable (e.g. if the report uses words like "alleged" or "potential," its rating would be downgraded), confidence in the identity of the actors involved in the incident, and the degree of detail given in the source report. The verification rating determines whether or not the event is considered adequately verified to be publicly reported. Incident reports with a rating of "2" or higher are mapped on the Crisis Tracker platform and included in statistics and conflict analysis reports. The majority of incidents recorded in the Crisis Tracker as of December 2020 have a rating of "3" or above.

Discrepancies between Sources

When incidents have multiple sources there is the possibility of differences between the number sets or the way the events are portrayed. The following policies have been adopted to address this issue: If multiple sources have conflicting information and one originates from a more reliable organization that would alone rank as a "4" or "5" in the Incident Verification Rating, the information from the more reliable source is selected.

If equally reliable sources have different number sets, the lower of the two numbers is recorded and both of the numbers are noted in the Public Display Notes. For example, if one source reports 30 civilians abducted and the other source reports 50 civilians abducted, the Crisis Tracker would report 30 total civilian abductions within the abduction fields, but the Public Display Notes would note both numbers.

Incident Verification Rating Scale

Rating	Qualifications	Examples	Reportable
1	• Information is vague, key details are missing • Contradictions or impossibilities exist within the report • The source does not attribute the incident to a specific actor or can only guess as to who perpetrated the incident • Source does not provide the number of victims	• News article that says three died in the headline, but then reports two dead in the article • Source reports the death of three civilians in a community but does not name a perpetrator • Source reports that civilians died in a community outside of Duru, but no specific numbers are provided	No
2	• Information is slightly vague, but key details (community, date, perpetrator) are given • Unreliable or biased news sources, but the information is in order • Reliable sources, but the information is not complete • An AG sighting	• Reliable source that reports an incident but only has an estimated number of victims • Source that reports eight suspected LRA members sighted near a community	Yes
3	• Information is clear, key details are given and in order • Reliable sources with their information in order	• Reliable source reports the community, number of victims, and date with consistency	Yes
4	• Specifics are given beyond the key details • Source uses "confirmed" or similar language in relation to the incident • Multiple sources cite the event, but these sources use research from the same source	• Time of the incident or direction the LRA members came from or went is given • BBC and Radio Okapi, for example, both report on the incident, but they received information from the same source	Yes
5	• Multiple sources (that ranked a 3-4) cite the same incident and they received their information independent of one another • Human Rights Watch (HRW)[3] reports or any other vigorous documentation from a highly reliable and credible source • Reports given are considered confirmed	• A news report and a UN report that gathered their information separately from each other • An incident is reported on by several news sources and NGOs, with separate investigations and research	Yes

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[3] HRW reports are given a verification rating of 5 and considered confirmed due to their rigorous and thorough research methods. For more information concerning HRW's methodology, please see their website: http://www.hrw.org/en/node/75141

Actor Verification Scale

The *Actor Verification Scale* measures the certainty of suspected armed group's involvement in an incident. The scale takes into account the type of event, the number of primary sources, and the number of indicators observed in the incident that are typically correlated with that armed group. If the primary actor involved in an incident cannot be confidently identified, Actor 1 is marked as Unidentified Armed Group, with an Actor Verification Rating of "1".

The chart below serves as a guideline for Crisis Tracker administrators in determining the rating of an incident. An incident is not required to fulfill every trait assigned a given rating but will be judged on a best-fit basis. For example, if three civilians are abducted and two homes are looted, the incident would be given a "3" rating. Both indicator types are continually developed as intelligence and information relating to LRA trends and trends of other groups becomes available.

Rating	Qualifications	Examples
1	• No indicators of identify given or details provided are insufficient to support an identification	• An unidentified armed group comprised of 6 men armed with AK-47s looted a traveller.
2	• Report refers to actor as "suspected" or "alleged" • Source may identify a group but not provide any supporting details	• Community members observed 8 LRA combatants near the river.
3	• One or two indicators[4] supporting the identification of the group • Type of attack consistent with the identified group's modus operandi	• An LRA group, comprised of men, women, and children looted a community.
4	• At least two indicators supporting the identification of the group • Location of the event consistent with the group's area of operation • Community members know or recognize the assailant(s)[5]	• A FPRC commander detained a young man at the armed group's base in Bria, until the victim paid a fine.
5	• Multiple primary sources and/or multiple reporting sources • Three or more indicators supporting identification • LRA is identified as perpetrator by returnees	• A young girl escaped from the LRA after being held captive for 2 years.

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[4] Indicators include, but are not limited to physical appearance, attire, language(s), type of weapons, composition of the group (presence of women and/or children), presence of livestock.
[5] In communities which are occupied by armed groups, local residents are often able to recognize the assailant(s).

Actors

Actors include any parties present and involved in the events of the incident. These are primarily armed groups, security forces, and civilians. The actors are categorized as *Actor 1*, *Actor 2*, *Actor 3*, or *Actor 4* depending on their role and level of involvement in the incident. Most incidents only involve two actors, the perpetrator and victim, or two groups involved in an armed confrontation. However, in some incidents additional actors maybe involved, such as security forces intervening during an attack on civilians. The public version of the Crisis Tracker shows incidents where Actor 1 is either the LRA, an unidentified armed group, or civilian actors such as a mob. Activities by other actors are password protected for the safety of Crisis Tracker sources, victims, and other civilians.

Actor Framework

	Qualifications	Examples
ACTOR 1	• The perpetrator • If armed group members are identified as being involved in a clash, that armed group is listed as Actor 1 • If the incident includes the return of former captives, Actor 1 is the armed group from whom they have escaped	• A poacher rapes two women: Actor 1 is marked as "poacher" • A civilian who has been abducted by suspected LRA members escapes and returns to a community: Actor 1 is marked as "LRA"
ACTOR 2	• The affected by or responder to an incident • The second party in a clash with an AG • If civilians are affected in any way, then they are automatically marked as Actor 2	• An AG kills two civilians: Actor 2 is marked as "Civilians" • Civilians are present and affected in a clash between armed groups: Actor 2 is marked as "Civilians"
ACTOR 3	• The second responder or affected in an incident • If there was no perpetrator (Actor 1) in the incident, the second party involved • If there were two distinct but aligned perpetrators in an attack, Actor 3 is the second perpetrator.	• An AG attempts to harm civilians and a security force is able to respond: Actor 1 is marked as "Armed Group," Actor 2 is marked as "Civilians," Actor 3 is marked as the responding security force • MONUSCO workers are present and affected by AG violence, in addition to civilians.: Actor 3 is marked as "MONUSCO" • A civilian who has been abducted by alleged LRA members escapes and is found by security forces: Actor 3 is marked as the security force
ACTOR 4	• The third responder or affected • The least affected party when four parties are involved	• In a clash between UPC and FPRC with FACA forces, supported by MINUSCA. Actor 4 is marked as MINUSCA

Specific Actors

Note: Some Actors refer to specific named entities, while others refer to broader categories, which may be inclusive of a specific entity (e.g. "anti-balaka" is an specific example of a "Local Militia.") However, for any given designation in an Actor 1-4 field, only one Actor is chosen, and that is the more specific one (e.g. If "anti-balaka" is designated as Actor 1 for an IR, "Local Militia" is not also designated.)

Actors	Explanation	Visible to public
Anti-balaka	A loose coalition of communal militias and self-defense groups, specific to CAR.	No
Armed Communal Group	An armed or crudely armed identity-based group formed around a religious, ethnic, and/or livelihood identity. These groups are not formally organized.	No
FPRC	Front Populaire pour la Renaissance de la Centrafrique is a Central African rebel group that was formerly part of the Seleka coalition.	No
UPC	Union pour la Paix en Centrafrique is a Central African rebel group that was formerly part of the Seleka coalition.	No
Ex-Seleka (other)	Refers to known Central African rebel groups that were formerly part of Seleka (i.e. MPC).	No
Ex-Seleka (unknown)	This can be used when it is unknown which ex-Seleka faction was involved in an incident.	No
Local Militia	Refers to any organized self-defense groups formed by local civilians – excluding anti-balaka groups. These are not state-controlled groups.	Yes
LRA	The LRA is currently active in CAR, DRC, and the Sudanese-controlled Kafia Kingi enclave. Tracking atrocities committed by the LRA was the founding purpose of the Crisis Tracker Database.	Yes
Mob/vigilante	An unarmed or crudely armed group of civilians who participate in demonstrations or spontaneous attacks – excluding actions by Armed Communal Groups.	Yes
Other armed civilian	Civilians that are armed or crudely armed. This generally refers to individual civilians.	No
Peuhl-armed	The Peuhl (also known as Mbororo or Fulani) are an ethnic group divided into diverse sub-groups, many of whom are pastoralists. They are present in large areas of DRC and the CAR. The Actor "Peuhl-armed" is used when the source describes a Peuhl civilian as being armed.	No
Poachers	Individuals that were seen or caught with poached endangered species or seen or caught killing animals in protected areas.	No
South Sudanese Armed Group	Refers to non-state rebel groups and militias from South Sudan.	No
Unidentified Armed group	Used when the identity of the perpetrators is unknown but it is known that there was more than one assailant, and it is clear that the attackers were armed or used force against the victims.	Yes

Closer look: Missing Persons and Returnee Profiles

General

Missing Persons profiles of individuals abducted by armed groups are not published on the Crisis Tracker platform for security reasons. However, an internal database is maintained by the Crisis Tracker team in order to track the number of individuals being held captive by the LRA and other armed groups, and in order to help facilitate family tracing and reunification. Once an individual is released or escapes from an armed group their Missing Persons profile is then updated to a Returnee profile. Returnee profiles, excepting names, photos, and personal identifying information, are accessible to a select group of vetted Crisis Tracker users who are part of coordinating returnee support and services. Names, photos, and personal identifying information are only accessible by a small team of Crisis Tracker administrators and field organizations working directly on returnee support and reunification.

Characteristics

The Missing Persons and Returnee Profiles contain a standard set of biographical information.

A. *Adult/child*

People are considered to be children if they are below the age of 18. Anyone who is 18 or above is considered to be an adult. See the glossary for detailed definitions of child, adult, and young adult.

B. *Age*

The age of the missing person or returnee. Returnee profiles include the age at the time of abduction and their age at the time of return.

C. *Nationality*

Indicates the nationality of the missing person or returnee. The options are *Central African, Congolese*, *South Sudanese*, *Sudanese,* and *Ugandan,* and only one nationality can be selected.

D. *Sex*

Indicates the sex of the missing or returning person. As the gender connotation of names may be unclear due to the various cultures and languages in the tri-border region, if the person's gender is not clear or specified in the report, either regional experts are consulted, or this field is left blank. See the glossary for more information.

E. *Home Community*

Indicates the community of origin of the missing person or returnee.

F. *Family Details*
Names and family relations of the missing person or returnee are recorded, as well as any contact details.

Conscription details
A. *Date of Conscription (approximate)*
If an exact date isn't available, Crisis Tracker coders will calculate an approximate date based on context clues such as current age minus time in bush. If the date is approximated, Crisis Tracker Coders list the first day of the approximated month. Similarly, if the month is unknown, but there is an approximate year, the Crisis Tracker coders will list the first day of the approximated year. Example: If the abduction date appears to be sometime in June 2013, then the date would be recorded as 6/1/2013. If the month is unknown, but the year of abduction is estimated to be 2003, then the date would be recorded as 1/1/2003.

B. *Activity when Abducted*
Indicates what the abductee was doing at the time of abduction. Options include at home; collecting water; herding; hunting; in church; school; traveling; or working in a field.

C. *Type of Conscription*
The three types of conscription are abduction, recruitment, and born into armed group.

D. *Group*
Indicates which Armed Group was holding the returnee captive. See *Actors* for a list of the armed groups most frequently referenced as of the time of publication (January 2021).

Return and Reunification
In addition to the fields described above, Returnee profiles record additional details on the individual's return and reunification.

A. *Exit Incident Report*
If the information is available, this field links incident reports related to a person's return. In almost all cases, this will be the incident report which records the story of this person's return, escape, or release.

B. *Exit Date (Approximate)*
The date of the person's return from captivity. If available, this is the date of their escape or release from capture. If that information is not available, it is then the date that the person reported to a security force, NGO, or other reporting entity.

C. *Exit Community*
The location of the person's return from captivity.

D. *Physical Health Status*
Indicates the health of the returnee at the time of their escape/defection/release. Options include: Good; Minor injury/illness; and Critical injury/illness.

E. *Type of Returnee*
Indicates whether a returnee is an Escapee, a Defector, or was released.

F. *Time within Group (Returnee Profiles only)*
Indicates the time spent in captivity, between the day a person is conscripted and the day they escape/defect or are released/captured.

G. *Combatant Type*
Indicates whether the returnee was a senior commander; inner circle; low-level combatant; non-combatant; or dependent. These designations are most relevant for LRA returnees.

H. *Family still in Group*
This field is checked if a returnee had a family while in captivity and was released or escaped without them.

Repatriation and Reunification
A. *Reunification Status*
  i.   In progress – All is proceeding as normal
  ii. Stalled – Logistics are particularly complicated and is in a holding pattern
  iii. Complete – The reunification has successfully taken place
  iv. No Reunification – The rare circumstance when a returnee dies before they can be reunified

B. *Reunification Date*
This field shows the date a returnee was reunified with their family.

C. *Steps Taken*

If any of these services were provided to a returnee, they will be named here.

  i.   Transit to safe location
  ii. Provision of repatriation documents
  iii. Placement in host family
  iv. Family tracing
  v.   Provision of medical care
  vi. Repatriation
  vii. Reunification
  viii. Provision of welcome kit
  ix. Provision of reintegration kit
  x.   Talk with family (HF radio)
  xi. Talk with family (other)

Glossary: Operating definitions for frequently used terms

Adult
Within all fields and reporting mechanisms, an adult is defined as anyone 18 or older. In order for a person to be considered an adult, they must be listed as a man or woman, or described in another way, such as elderly, that clearly describes them as 18 or older. If the person is referred to as a "young man" or a "young woman," he/she is marked as a young adult and is between the age range of 18 to 24 years old. This reflects the suggestion of researchers in LRA-affected areas as a regionally understood definition. In some cases, profession may be used to determine age or sex.

Child
Within all fields and reporting mechanisms of the Database, a child is defined as anyone under the age of 18. In order to be considered a child, the person's age must be listed or they must be described as a boy or girl, or another description, such as infant, that would clearly describe the individual as under 18.

Adult Youth
Within all fields and reporting mechanisms, an adult youth is defined as anyone between the ages of 18 and 24.

Elderly
Within all fields and reporting mechanisms, elderly is a term used to describe anyone over 60 years of age.

Men
In order to be considered under Men the report must describe the person as male, a father, a grandfather, or another similar description, and list him as an adult.

Women
In order to be considered under Women, the report must describe the person as female, a mother, a grandmother, or another similar description, and list her as an adult.

Boys
In order to be considered under Boys, the report must describe the person as male, a son, a brother, or another similar description, and list him as a child.

Girls

In order to be considered under Girls, the report must describe the person as female, a daughter, a sister, or another similar description, and list her as a child.

Civilian

Any person who is not part of an armed group, or security force. Furthermore, the sub-category of NGO is used in cases where it was clear that civilians were targeted due to their affiliation with an NGO.

Returnee

Returnees include any person who has come out of LRA captivity or from being part of an armed group. These instances include civilians escaping, being released, or being rescued from abduction, and armed group members defecting, surrendering, or being captured. The Returnees category then breaks into three subcategories:

- Escapees includes any civilian who successfully escaped abduction and AG members that defect or surrender willingly.
- Released Civilians correspond to captives that have been willingly released by the armed group holding them hostage.
- AG Captured applies to AG members and groups that are captured or forced to surrender by security forces.

Combatant

A combatant here is defined as a male who has spent over six months in captivity and was reported as carrying a weapon and/or participating in attacks. An Acholi male who has spent over six months in captivity is automatically considered a combatant unless information indicates otherwise.

Dependent

A dependent here is defined as a non-combatant woman, man or child who spent six months or more in captivity or who was born in captivity.