

PEOPLE ON WAR

Country report Parallel Research Programme ICRC worldwide consultation on the rules of war

Report by Greenberg Research, Inc.

EVEN WARS HAVE LIMITS EVEN WARS HAVE LIMITS EVEN WARS HAVE LIMITS EVEN WARS HAVE



INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

About the People on War project

To mark the 50th anniversary of the modern Geneva Conventions (on 12 August 1999), the ICRC launched its People on War project with the aim of building greater respect for fundamental humanitarian principles. At centre stage is a worldwide consultation giving the general public a chance to air their views on the many facets of war. The idea was that civilians and combatants alike would be able to share their experiences, express their opinions on what basic rules should apply in war, discuss why those rules sometimes break down and look at what the future holds.

With this in mind, the ICRC commissioned Greenberg Research, Inc. to design a research programme that would enable people to be heard in the most effective way possible. Under the guidance of Greenberg Research, ICRC staff and Red Cross and Red Crescent volunteers carried out this consultation in 12 countries (Afghanistan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cambodia, Colombia, El Salvador, Georgia/Abkhazia, Israel, the occupied territories and the autonomous territories, Lebanon, Nigeria, Philippines, Somalia and South Africa), conducting in-depth, face-to-face interviews, group discussions and national public opinion surveys. Surveys on the basis of a questionnaire only were conducted in a further five countries (France, Russian Federation, Switzerland, United Kingdom and United States) in order to reflect these people's perceptions of war.

Greenberg Research analysts then prepared a series of Country Reports on the basis of the findings. The reports open up this new, important discourse to a wider audience, while remaining conscious of the need to protect the safety of all those who participated.

By making this consultation public, the ICRC hopes to initiate a local and international debate on the humanitarian aspects of war - a debate that should be joined by the major political players, international and non-governmental organizations and aid specialists.

Greenberg Research, Inc.

Greenberg Research is an opinion research firm that has worked for over two decades to help organizations and leaders around the world advance their goals in the face of rapid change. It specializes in using advanced methods of opinion research - surveys, focus groups and in-depth interviews - to help form strategies for political parties, corporations and non-governmental organizations.

Greenberg Research has extensive experience in Europe and the United States, but also in the Middle East, Asia, southern Africa and Central and South America. It has conducted research in war-torn, politically complex and remote settings. In its work for corporations and non-governmental organizations, it has explored a broad range of global issues, including landmines, genetic engineering, climate change, race and gender relations, trade and information technologies.

The opinions expressed in this report are not those of the ICRC. The ICRC retained Greenberg Research, Inc. to design and oversee the People on War consultation. Greenberg Research compiled and analysed the results and is responsible for the content and interpretation.

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Executive summary

At the heart of the ICRC consultation on war are national public opinion surveys of people in war-torn countries. These surveys were designed to be representative and administered in the most objective and consistent way possible. But they were not administered by independent, professional research organizations. They were administered by ICRC staff and volunteers of the National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. Through this project, during which more than 12,000 interviews were conducted with people in 12 countries, the ICRC aimed to give people a voice in the discussion on the limits in war. The project was guided by Greenberg Research, and local research organizations helped with the research plan, interviewer training, the participant sample design, and the questionnaire.

But the ICRC and National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies are not professional research organizations, so their participation could reasonably be expected to produce subjective results. No matter how scrupulously objective they were in conducting the surveys, people might well adjust their answers to be more in line with the presumed positions and work of the ICRC and the Red Cross or Red Crescent Society in the country. It is possible that respondents might feel awkward or embarrassed to give certain responses — perhaps belligerent ones — to a Red Cross or Red Crescent interviewer.

On the other hand, on some issues in this context, people might be more open with a Red Cross or Red Crescent interviewer, who is presumed to be disengaged from the conflict. Thus, a “Red Cross bias” may come from people’s reluctance to be fully honest with a professional interviewer, who lacks the Red Cross’s objective standing.

To determine whether there was a “Red Cross bias” in these surveys, parallel surveys were conducted in three of the countries being studied: Colombia, the Philippines and Bosnia-Herzegovina. In these countries, the ICRC performed the regular consultation, including a national survey; at the same time, Greenberg Research commissioned a local partner to carry out an independent professional survey — with the same specifications, sample design and questionnaire.

The parallel research programme included three pairs of nationally representative surveys, each composed of an ICRC survey and a parallel survey. The ICRC survey in Colombia is based on 857 respondents and was conducted between 8 November and 24 December 1998. The parallel survey is based on 1,000 respondents and was conducted between 8 November and 22 November 1998 by Centro Nacional de Consultoria (CNC) based in Bogotá. The ICRC survey in the Philippines is based on 1,100 respondents and was carried out between 26 January and 6 February 1999. The parallel research is based on 1,000 respondents and was conducted between 26 January and 8 March 1999 by Social Weather Stations (SWS) based in Manila. Finally, the ICRC survey in Bosnia-Herzegovina is based on 1,482 respondents (approximately 500 respondents each in the Republika Srpska, and the Croat and Bosniac parts of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina) and was conducted between 14 February and 5 March 1999. The parallel survey for Republika Srpska is based on 500 respondents and was conducted between 14 February and 2 March 1999 by Medium (Belgrade). The survey in the Croat and Bosniac areas of the Federation was conducted between 14 February and 1 March 1999 by PULS (Zagreb) and is based on a total of 998 respondents.

The results presented in this report are mostly based on comparisons between the answers given in the ICRC and parallel surveys from a combined database of 6,937 respondents from all six surveys. Half of these (3,439 respondents) were interviewed by Red Cross staff or volunteers and the other half (3,498 respondents) by professional interviewers. Whenever the patterns within each country are significantly different from the overall pattern, the analysis explores the differences in greater detail.¹

¹ Findings will be elaborated when data patterns differ consistently from the overall patterns seen across countries.

In fact, the parallel research programme in the three countries found little evidence of significant or systematic discrepancies between the results of the ICRC and parallel surveys in terms of people's views on international humanitarian law, acceptable practices during armed conflict, the distinction between combatants and civilians and the treatment of prisoners. On the great majority of questions and topics, it seems that the ICRC consultation attained results comparable to what would be obtained by an independent and professional research organization. There are a number of areas, however, where comparison of the parallel research results shows evidence of bias. These are outlined below:

- **Greater knowledge and effectiveness of the Geneva Conventions.** Compared with respondents in the parallel surveys, people interviewed by the Red Cross are more inclined to say they have heard of the Geneva Conventions and are more likely to see them as effective. That difference is not evident in people's actual knowledge of laws that would prohibit certain behaviour by combatants in war.
- **Greater insistence on prosecuting "war criminals".** Compared with respondents in the parallel surveys, people interviewed by the Red Cross are more likely to believe that there are important rules or laws in war that, if violated, should lead to punishment. The difference, however, is not very big and very large majorities in both the ICRC and parallel surveys favour prosecuting war criminals. The difference between the two sets of studies is not evident when it comes to the conceptual foundations of "war crimes".
- **Greater awareness of the ICRC.** Compared with the respondents in the parallel surveys, people interviewed by the Red Cross are much more conscious of the ICRC. This leads to a substantial overstatement regarding its role in the protection of civilian populations and prisoners.
- **More likely to help captured enemy combatants.** In the ICRC surveys, respondents are more likely than those in the parallel surveys to say they would save or help a wounded or surrendering enemy combatant. This is a projection of behaviour in a simulated situation, but nonetheless suggests respondents may be inclined to offer more benign responses about their own behaviour when speaking to a Red Cross interviewer.
- **More war-related injuries and incidents.** Respondents in the ICRC surveys are much more willing to say they have been humiliated in the war and marginally more willing to say they have been wounded. The differences on most questions about war, however, are insignificant; the two studies offer identical results on the emotions felt during the war and in expectations for the future.

This parallel project certainly established areas of difference, though in each case the "Red Cross bias" seems highly contained. Almost none of the problem areas involve attitudes towards international humanitarian law; few involve the distinction between combatants and civilians; few involve actual knowledge of the Geneva Conventions and their prohibitions or understanding of their conceptual foundations. The bias is strongest for the ICRC itself and for the role of international institutions.

While the discrepancies between the ICRC and parallel surveys are small in the combined data for all three countries, there is evidence of some bigger discrepancies at the country level. Some of these differences are due to greater chance fluctuations as a consequence of smaller sample sizes, but some of them are real.

The idiosyncrasies at the country level are mainly brought about by the specific ways in which the people in each of these contexts relate to the ICRC/Red Cross. For example, in Bosnia-Herzegovina,

which is marked by the pervasiveness of the war, the ICRC and its mission are well known. In this setting, there is greater awareness of the principles of international humanitarian law and of international organizations, including the ICRC. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, therefore, this may produce a greater bias on issues related to war crimes and international humanitarian law. On the other hand, in the Philippines, where the armed conflict is more remote, the ICRC and international humanitarian law are much less known. Filipinos questioned by Red Cross interviewers therefore seem under little pressure to provide responses favourable to the ICRC or its concerns. Finally, in Colombia, where the conflict is characterized more by random, episodic violence, the parallel research identified the smallest discrepancies between the responses given by respondents in the ICRC and parallel surveys.

The absence of consistent, cross-country discrepancies between the ICRC research and the parallel research indicates that there is little need for the great majority of questions asked to “adjust” the country findings to minimize a Red Cross bias. It is important, however, to keep in mind the problem areas: greater familiarity with the Geneva Conventions, greater insistence on the prosecution of war crimes, awareness of the ICRC, projected benign treatment of prisoners, and reported war incidents and injuries.

The settings

The conflicts in Colombia, the Philippines and Bosnia-Herzegovina each represent a unique set of war experiences, which have had a singular impact on people's perceptions of war, their opinions on the limits in war and the way in which they relate to the ICRC and the Red Cross. Any discrepancies between the ICRC findings and the parallel research findings seem to have arisen in large part from the relationship between the individuals surveyed and the Red Cross interviewer.

Colombia

The armed conflict in Colombia is a more remote phenomenon for most of the population — only now and then are their lives interrupted by episodic violence and, at times, atrocities involving civilians, kidnappings and the blowing-up of oil pipelines. Violent attacks can happen at any moment, frequently catching civilians in the middle, causing a blurring of the lines between civilians and combatants. The indiscriminate nature of the violence means that most people are potential victims and has turned the ICRC into a well-known entity in this country. Together with the government, it is the first organization that people would turn to for help when the rules of war are broken. (see Country Report Colombia for details.)

Bosnia-Herzegovina

For people living in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the war experience has been much more intense. It involved the whole of society, leaving its mark on nearly everyone. In addition, most of the population identified strongly with one of the three warring parties. These factors have made the Bosnians extremely familiar with the ICRC and its mission. Respondents see the ICRC as the first to turn to for help when civilians are mistreated, placing other organizations, including fellow humanitarian agencies, the United Nations (UN) and the government, far behind. The conflict was also highly internationalized, which may have contributed further to the ICRC's visibility. As the war progressed, the international community became heavily involved, culminating in the signing of a peace accord in Dayton, the deployment of NATO-led forces (IFOR) and ongoing trials of "war criminals" by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. (See Country Report Bosnia-Herzegovina for details.)

Philippines

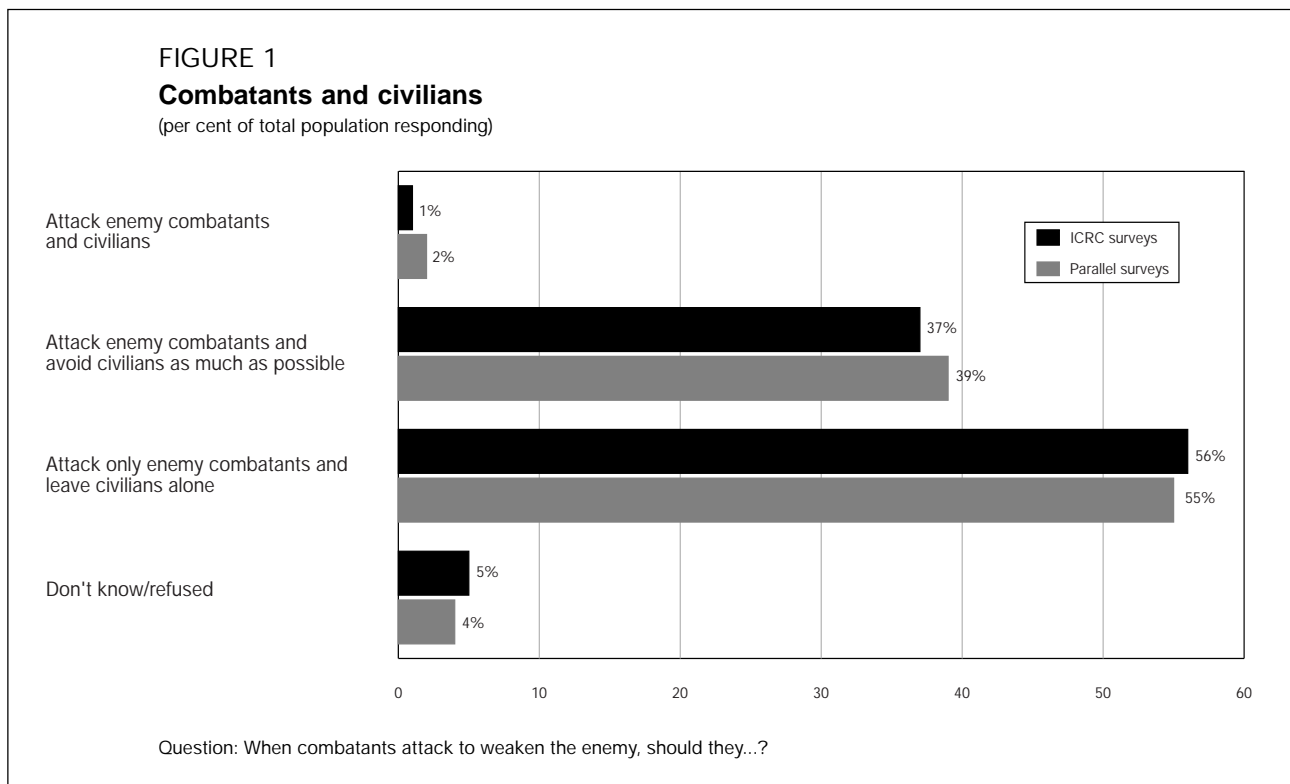
Contrary to the experiences in Bosnia-Herzegovina and to a lesser extent in Colombia, the long-running conflict in the Philippines has taken place mostly in isolated regions such as Mindanao. For most Filipinos outside these areas, the conflict is therefore a distant phenomenon, and they mostly learn about it on the news and not from first-hand experience. Consciousness of the Geneva Conventions is low, and there exists little knowledge of the rules of war. Filipinos are more likely to turn to the government or government officials before an international institution when looking for civilian protection. (See Country Report Philippines for details.)

Broad areas of comparability

For the great majority of questions asked in the ICRC consultation on limits in war, there is no consistent bias evident in the results. Based on this parallel research test, there is good reason to have confidence in the findings for the 12 countries central to this consultation.

Barrier between combatants and civilians

On the most general question about the rules of war and on how combatants should treat civilians, there is little evidence of a bias in the ICRC research: 56 per cent of the respondents in the ICRC surveys say that combatants should attack only combatants and leave civilians alone, virtually identical to the result, 55 per cent, for the respondents in the parallel surveys. In the ICRC research, 38 per cent would be prepared to put civilians in harm's way, compared with 41 per cent in the parallel research.

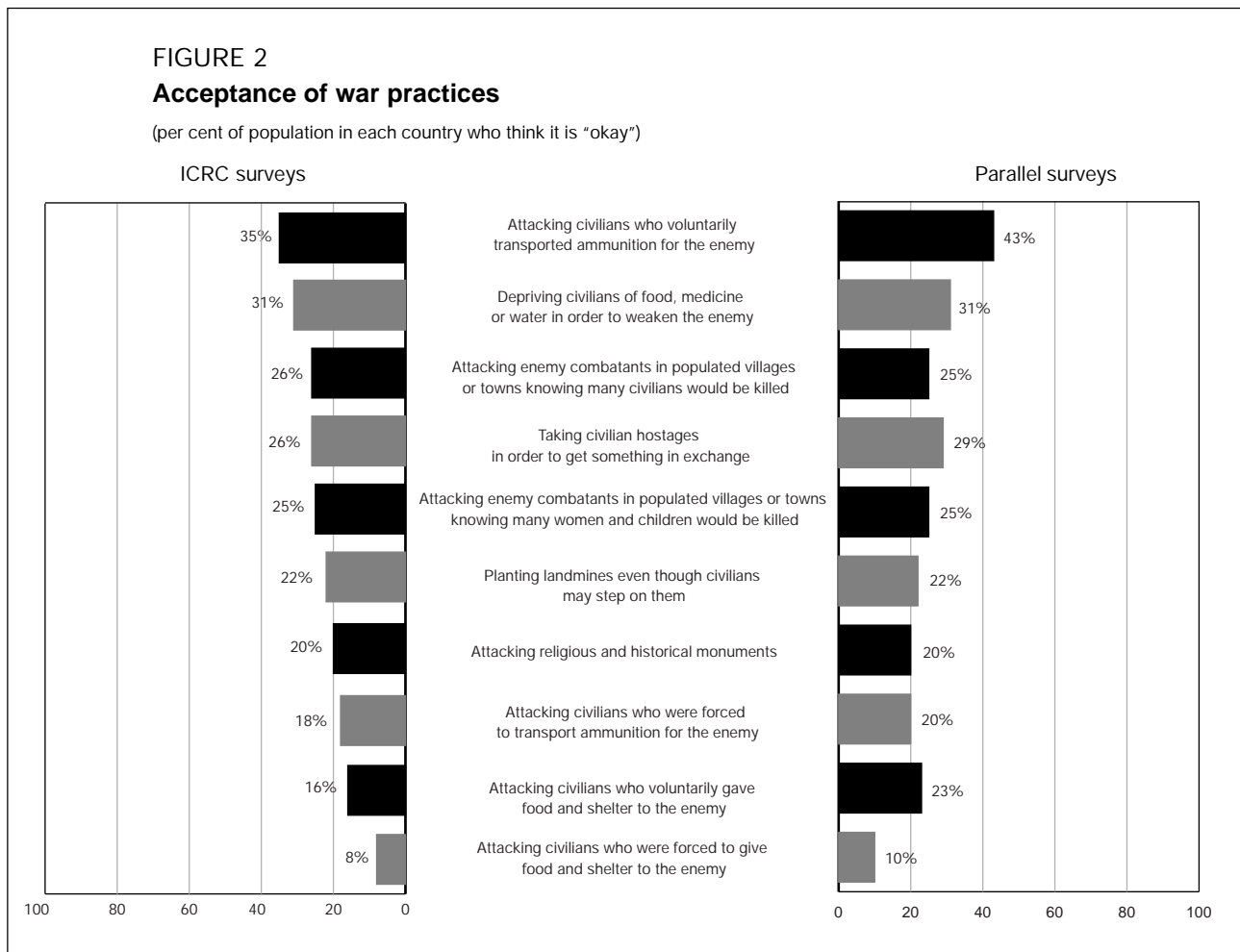


The same patterns exist for each of the three countries individually. The only anomaly is when the question specifically pertains to “your combatants” in Bosnia-Herzegovina (there is no bias for unspecified “combatants”). Across the board, respondents there are more willing to attack combatants and only avoid civilians as much as possible where their own combatants are attacking. On this question in Bosnia-Herzegovina, however, there is a difference between the two studies: 17 per cent of respondents in the ICRC survey and 26 per cent of respondents in the parallel survey choose this less stringent response when making the distinction between combatants and civilians. In a country where almost everybody is familiar with the ICRC and its mission, it is perhaps more difficult to say that one’s own combatants may attack civilians when questioned by interviewers from the Red Cross.

Practices putting civilians at risk

The parallel research found few significant differences between the studies on a broad range of war practices that put civilians at risk and that could violate international conventions. There was little difference on a series of important questions: the acceptability of landmines; depriving the civilian population of food, medicine or water; attacking enemy combatants in populated villages or towns knowing that many civilians would be killed; taking civilian hostages; and attacking religious and historical

monuments. As can be seen in Figure 2, it is clear that the ICRC research provides a good guide to public thinking, very similar to the results of the professional research.



While for most war practices the combined parallel studies found insignificant differences, larger ones emerged in individual countries. It is possible, for example, that in an internationalized conflict such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, using Red Cross interviewers might produce a greater bias on issues related to the organization's work. But these differences do not occur consistently in the three countries and do not suggest systematic bias on these issues.

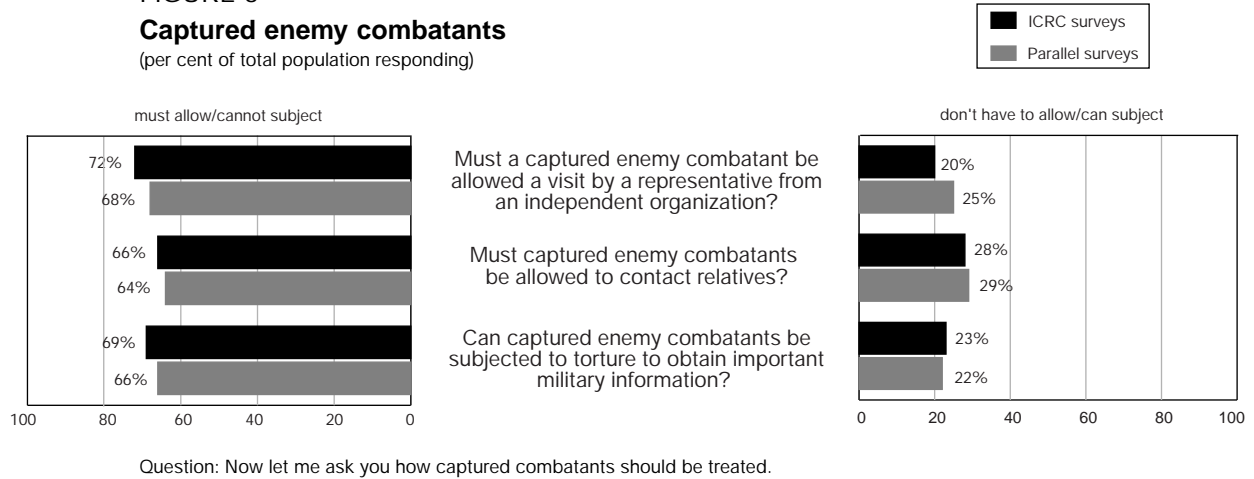
Treatment of captured combatants

There is virtually no difference between the ICRC and parallel surveys on the treatment of captured soldiers and fighters. The study found a difference of only 2 to 4 percentage points between the surveys, with the Red Cross interviewers eliciting responses only slightly more protective of prisoners. As Figure 3 (overleaf) shows, the respondents offer similar responses on the torture of prisoners, allowing visits by independent representatives, and allowing contact with relatives.

FIGURE 3

Captured enemy combatants

(per cent of total population responding)

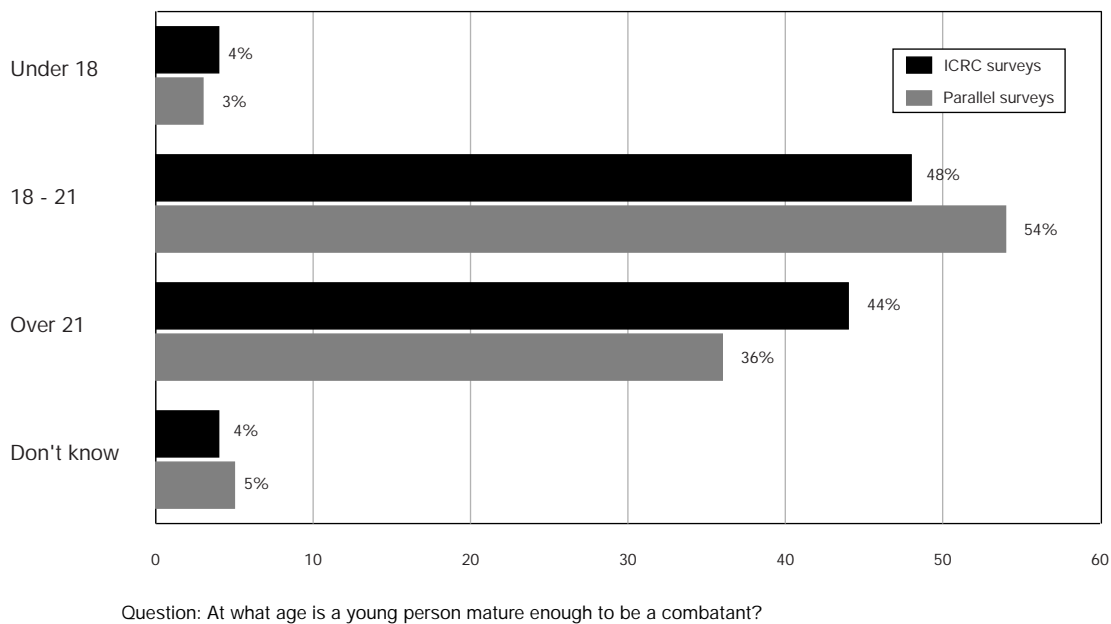
**Child combatants**

People interviewed in the ICRC and parallel surveys are equally cautious about child combatants. When asked to indicate at what age a young person is mature enough to be a combatant, only 4 per cent in the ICRC research mention an age under 18 compared with 3 per cent of the respondents in the parallel research. Slightly less than half of the respondents in the ICRC surveys (48 per cent) believe young people are sufficiently mature to become combatants between the ages of 18 and 21, compared with slightly more than half (54 per cent) in the parallel surveys. This difference is produced almost entirely by the results in Bosnia-Herzegovina and does not reflect a systematic bias across the three countries.

FIGURE 4

Child combatants

(per cent of total population responding)



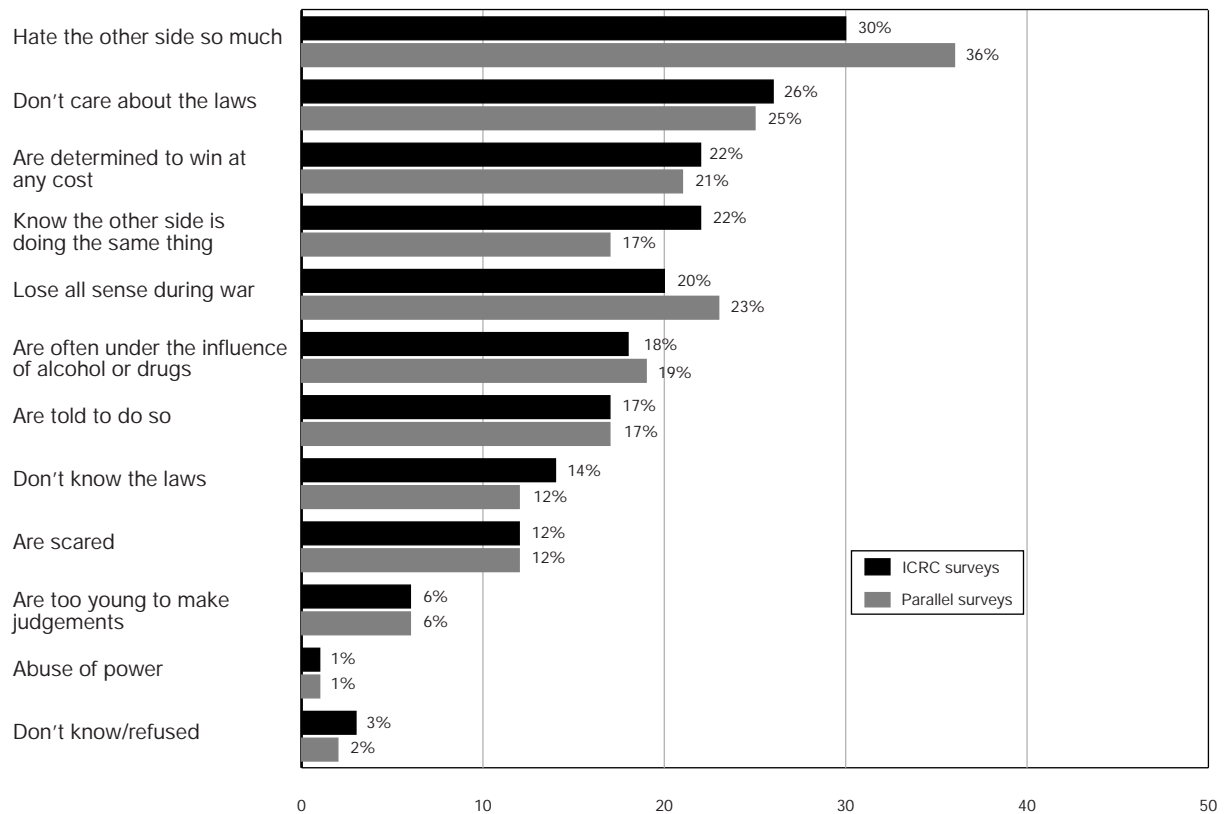
Why norms of war are not observed

People give almost identical explanations for why the norms that exist to protect civilians in war break down in practice. This is true even in open-ended responses, which tend to be less exact. The only difference worth noting is that respondents in the ICRC surveys are less likely to point to “hate” as the explanation and slightly more likely to mention reciprocity for actions committed by the other side. In practice, the two explanations — hate and reciprocity — are closely related. In any case, none of these differences are very dramatic by any standard.

FIGURE 5

Why combatants attack civilians

(per cent of total population responding)



Question: Which *two* of the following reasons best explain why combatants attack or hurt civilians, even though many people say it is not okay or maybe against the law. Is it because they...?

At the individual country level, some bigger discrepancies between the ICRC and the parallel research emerge, but these seem largely idiosyncratic. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, on the one hand, respondents in the ICRC survey are less apt to talk about hate and more likely to talk about what the other side is doing. In the Philippines, on the other hand, respondents in the ICRC survey are more inclined to explain the breakdown of the limits in war by pointing to combatants' desire to “win at all costs”, while respondents in the parallel survey are more inclined to talk about combatants losing “all sense”.

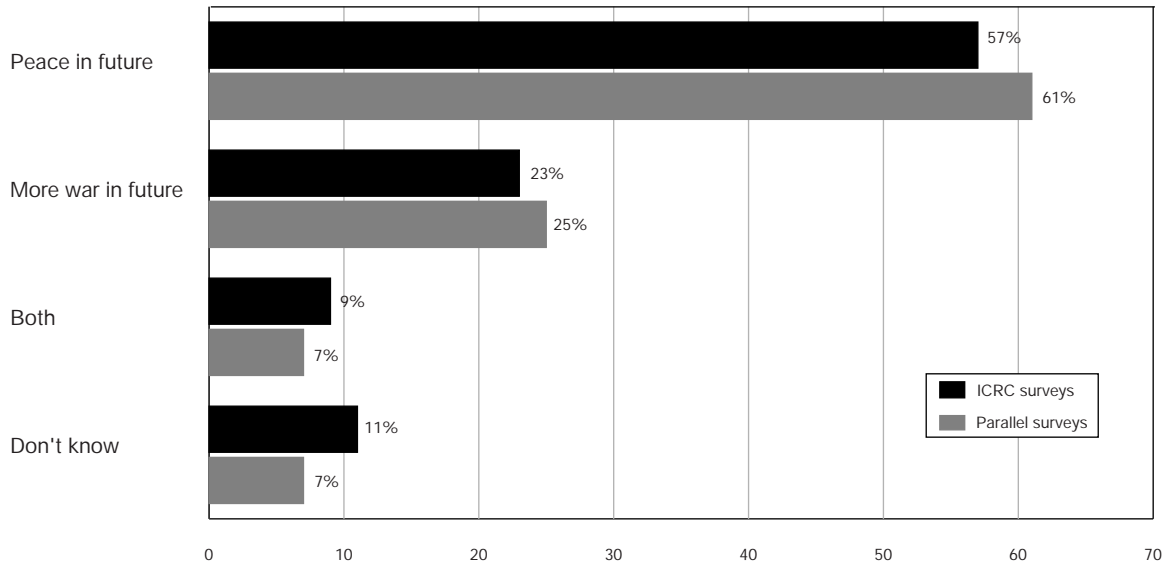
Expectations for the future

When looking beyond the war, the respondents in the ICRC and parallel surveys express very similar expectations for the future. Solid majorities in both sets of studies think there will be peace in the future in their countries (57 per cent in the ICRC surveys and 61 per cent in the parallel surveys); a quarter in both sets of surveys (23 per cent, compared with 25 per cent) expect there to be more war in the future.

FIGURE 6

Future expectations

(per cent of total population responding)



Question: Do you think there will be peace in future or do you think there will be more war in future?

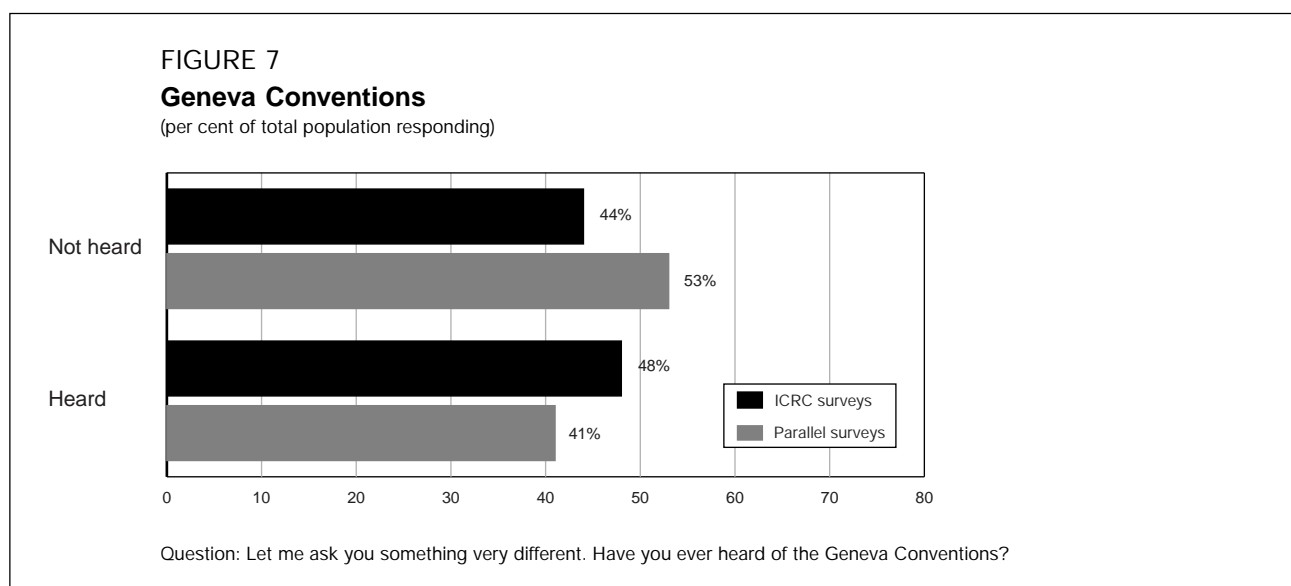
Areas of divergence and possible bias

A comparison of the responses between the respondents in the ICRC and parallel surveys shows larger and more consistent differences in a number of areas related to knowledge of and views on the Geneva Conventions and the ICRC, the prosecution of war criminals, projection of behaviour in war situations, and reporting of war-related injuries and events. Almost none of these areas involve attitudes towards international humanitarian law and the distinction between combatants and civilians. The “bias” carries over into the over-reporting of war-related incidents, awareness of the Geneva Conventions and the actions they prohibit. The “bias” does not influence the description of emotions engendered by the conflict. It is mostly evident in questions involving the role of international institutions and the willingness to describe war-related injuries and incidents.

Awareness of and views on the Geneva Conventions

Respondents in the ICRC surveys claim more familiarity with the Geneva Conventions than their counterparts in the parallel surveys and also express more positive views on their effectiveness. Simply put, in the ICRC surveys, people’s familiarity with the Geneva Conventions and their efficacy is probably overstated.

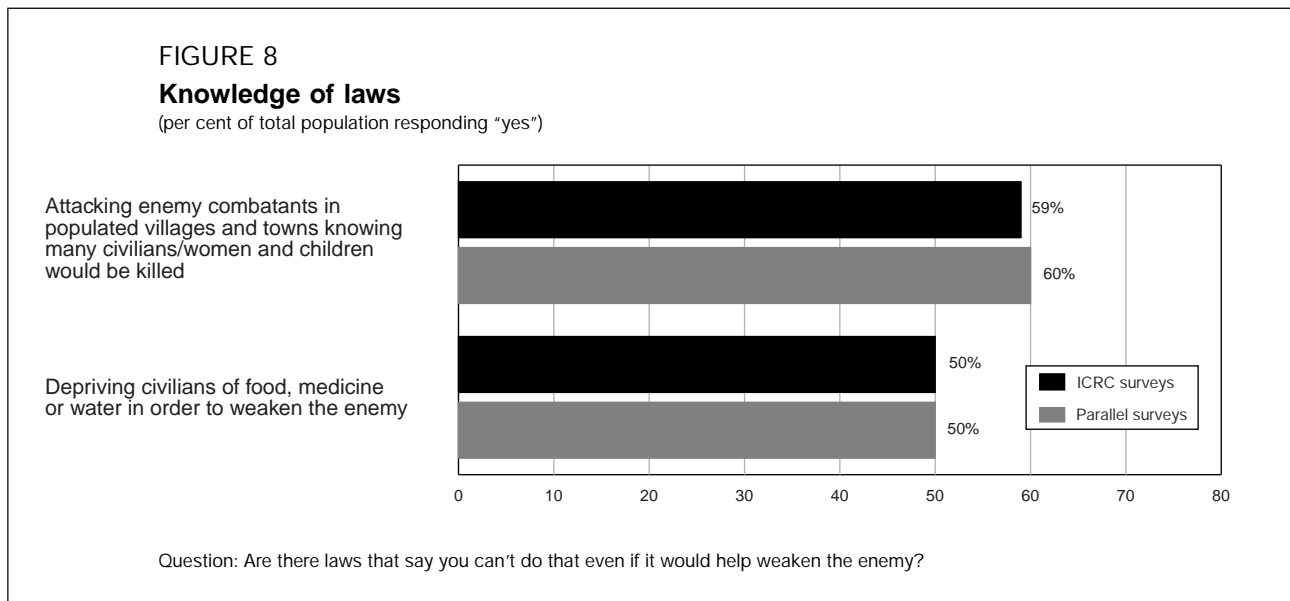
A near majority (48 per cent) of the respondents in the ICRC surveys for the three countries combined claim to have heard of the Geneva Conventions, whereas a clear minority (41 per cent) of the respondents in the parallel surveys have heard of them. The gap is even more pronounced in the lack of awareness of the Geneva Conventions, with respondents in the parallel surveys much more willing to say they have not heard of them: 53 per cent, compared with 44 per cent of the respondents in the ICRC surveys.



The “Red Cross bias” is strongest in Bosnia-Herzegovina (80 per cent have heard of the Geneva Conventions in the ICRC survey compared with 71 per cent in the parallel survey), followed by Colombia (37 per cent, compared with 26 per cent). In the Philippines, where the average citizen is not as familiar with the ICRC as in the other two countries, the bias is virtually absent (12 per cent, compared with 11 per cent).

Interestingly, the definitions volunteered by respondents indicate that the overstatement on awareness does not produce a comparable bias on knowledge about the Geneva Conventions. Knowledge of the content of the Geneva Conventions and also of the existence of laws barring certain combatant behaviour are accurately assessed in the ICRC surveys.

Respondents who said they had heard of the Geneva Conventions were asked in an open-ended question to describe them. The interviewers, using a prepared definition, then assessed the accuracy of the response. The judgement was the same in both surveys: 61 per cent accurate in the ICRC research and 59 per cent in the parallel research. A similar pattern exists for closed-ended questions on the existence of rules that prohibit two pre-described war practices, as illustrated in Figure 8 below. Respondents in both the ICRC and parallel surveys offer almost identical responses on whether there are laws that would prohibit combatants from depriving civilians of food, medicine or water in order to weaken the enemy (in both, 50 per cent say "laws exist") and whether combatants cannot attack the enemy in populated villages or towns (59 per cent, compared with 60 per cent).



Respondents in the ICRC research are more inclined than those in the parallel research to say that the Geneva Conventions prevent wars from getting worse. That "bias" makes the interpretation of the data less meaningful. In Colombia, for example, a plurality of 48 per cent in the ICRC research say the Geneva Conventions make a difference, while 38 per cent see no impact. In the parallel research, however, just 34 per cent say they help; many more, 58 per cent, say they make no difference. A similar pattern is evident in the Philippines and Bosnia-Herzegovina, as can be seen in Figure 9.

FIGURE 9
Geneva Conventions
(per cent of total population responding)

	Colombia	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Philippines	Total population
ICRC surveys				
Prevents wars from getting worse	45%	59%	61%	59%
Makes no difference	38%	29%	26%	29%
Parallel surveys				
Prevents wars from getting worse	34%	47%	48%	47%
Makes no difference	58%	33%	43%	39%

Question: Do you think the existence of the Geneva Conventions prevents wars from getting worse or does it make no difference?

Prosecution of war criminals

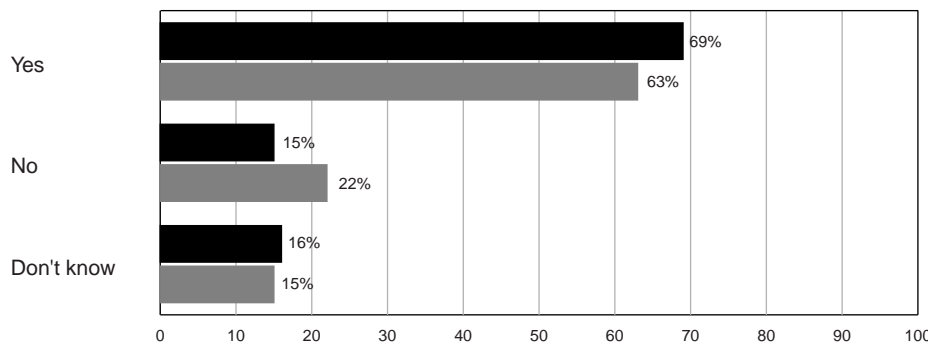
The respondents in the ICRC surveys are somewhat more likely to believe in the concept of war crimes, that is, that there are rules so important in war that violators should be punished. A good two-thirds of the respondents in the ICRC surveys say there are such rules and laws, compared with 63 per cent in the parallel research. That interval is consistent across all three countries, though in both sets of studies there is an overwhelming proportion who accept the concept of war crimes and punishment.

The “Red Cross bias”, however, does not apply to any of the conceptual questions that explore the essence of such prohibitions. There is essentially no difference between the studies on what kinds of practices constitute war crimes, what the rules are based on, who should be responsible for punishing the wrongdoers, and what should be done with war criminals after the war is over. In Figure 10, for example, an identical proportion (46 and 45 per cent, respectively) say they are thinking of international law.

FIGURE 10

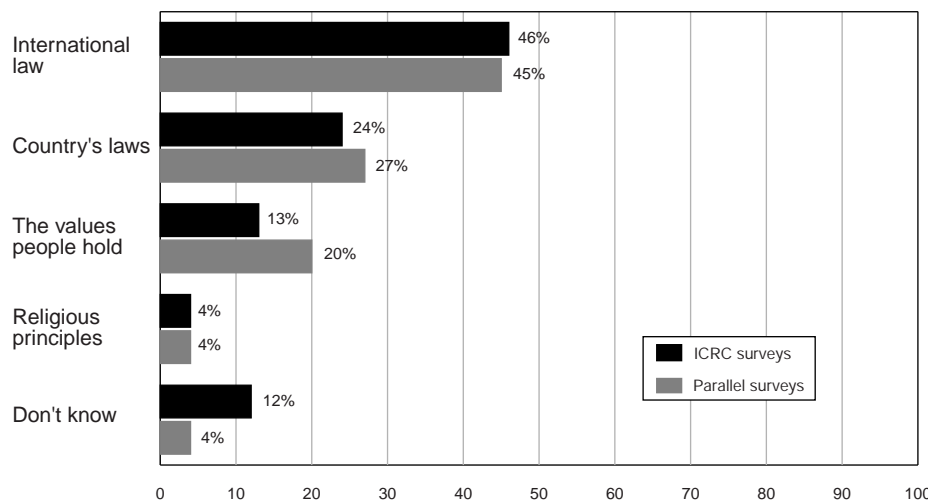
War crimes

(per cent of total population responding)



Question: Are there rules or laws that are so important that, if broken during war, the person who broke them should be punished?

(per cent of those who responded “yes”)



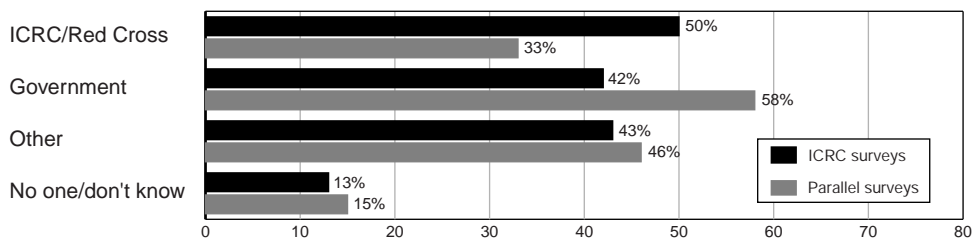
Question: What are these rules based on?

Awareness of the ICRC

Respondents in the ICRC surveys, not surprisingly, report a greater consciousness of the ICRC's role, particularly with regard to protection. Respondents in these surveys are disproportionately more likely to say they would seek help or protection from the ICRC when civilians are attacked or towns or villages are cut off from food, water, medical supplies and electricity: 50 per cent in the ICRC studies and 33 per cent in the parallel studies. The greater number mentioning the ICRC/Red Cross produces a corresponding reduction in the number mentioning "the government in the country": only 42 per cent in the ICRC surveys, compared with 58 per cent in the parallel surveys. (See Figure 11.)

FIGURE 11
Turn to for help

(per cent of total population responding)

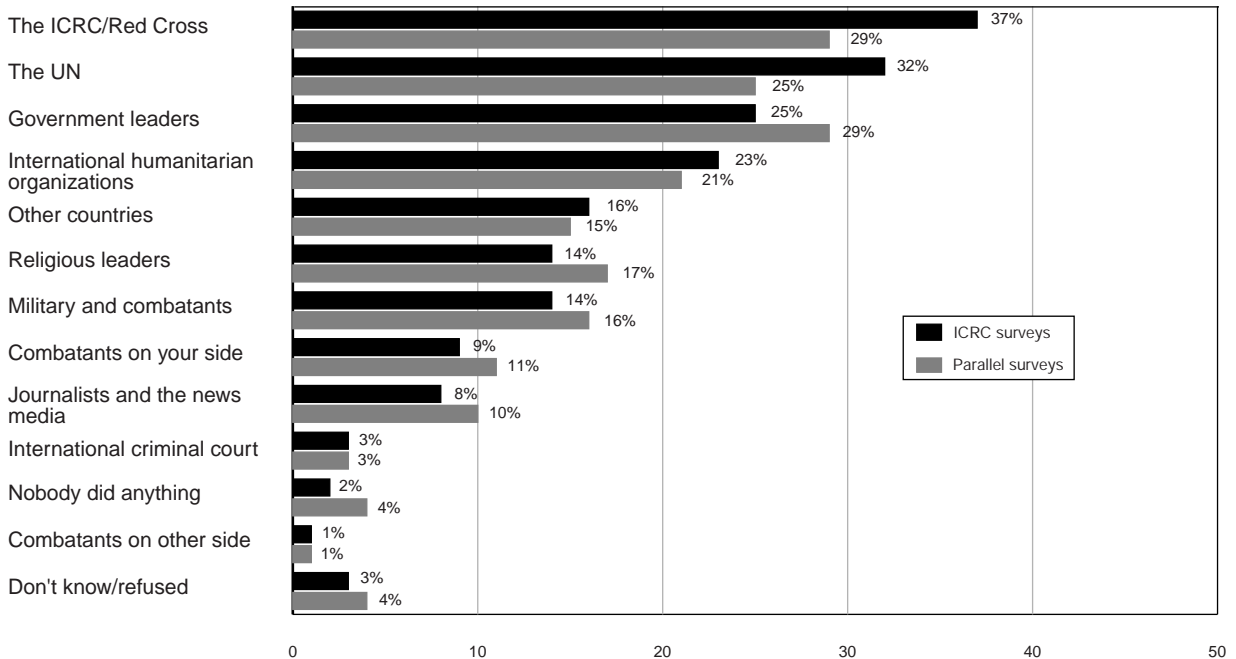


Question: Let me ask what can be done if during the war civilian areas are attacked, towns or villages are cut off from food, water, medical supplies and electricity. To whom would you turn to get help or to be protected?

A similar bias, though not quite as pronounced, is evident when people are asked who plays the biggest role in protecting civilians from mistreatment during war. The ICRC surveys are significantly more likely to point to the ICRC as one of the organizations that stopped mistreatment: 37 per cent, compared with 29 per cent in the parallel research. (See Figure 12.)

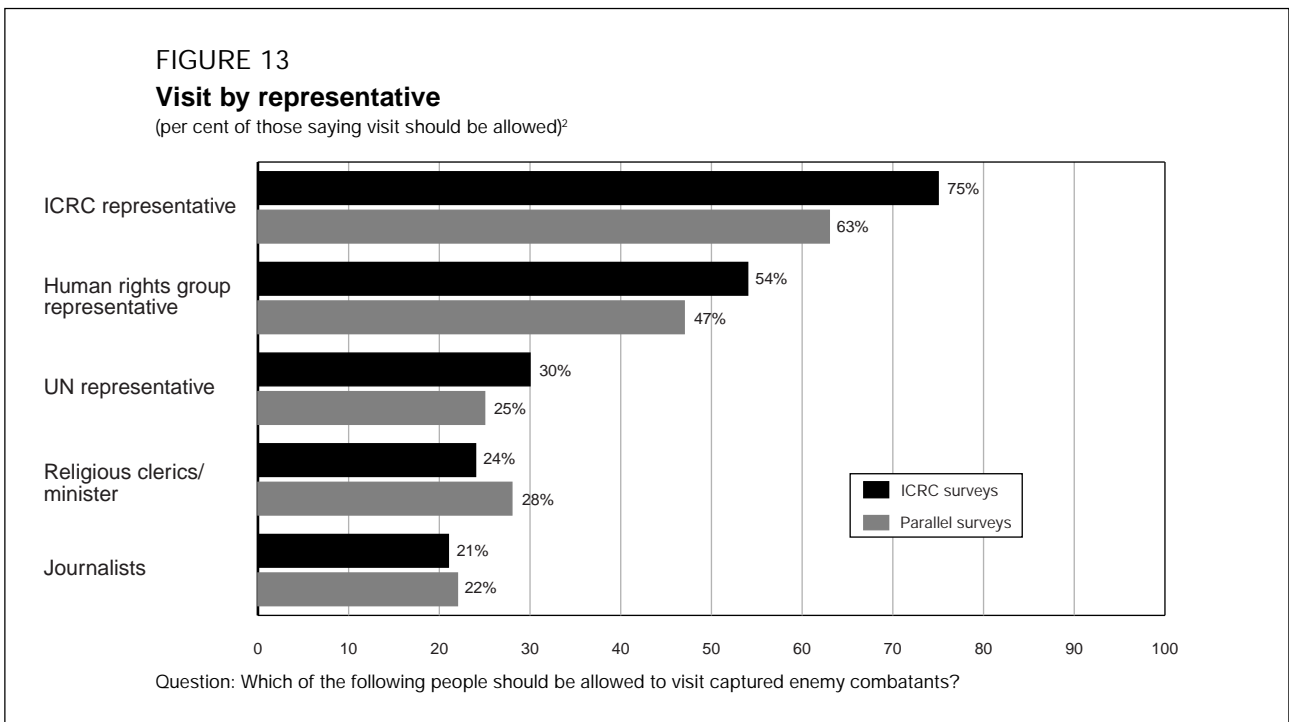
FIGURE 12
Biggest role

(per cent of total population responding)



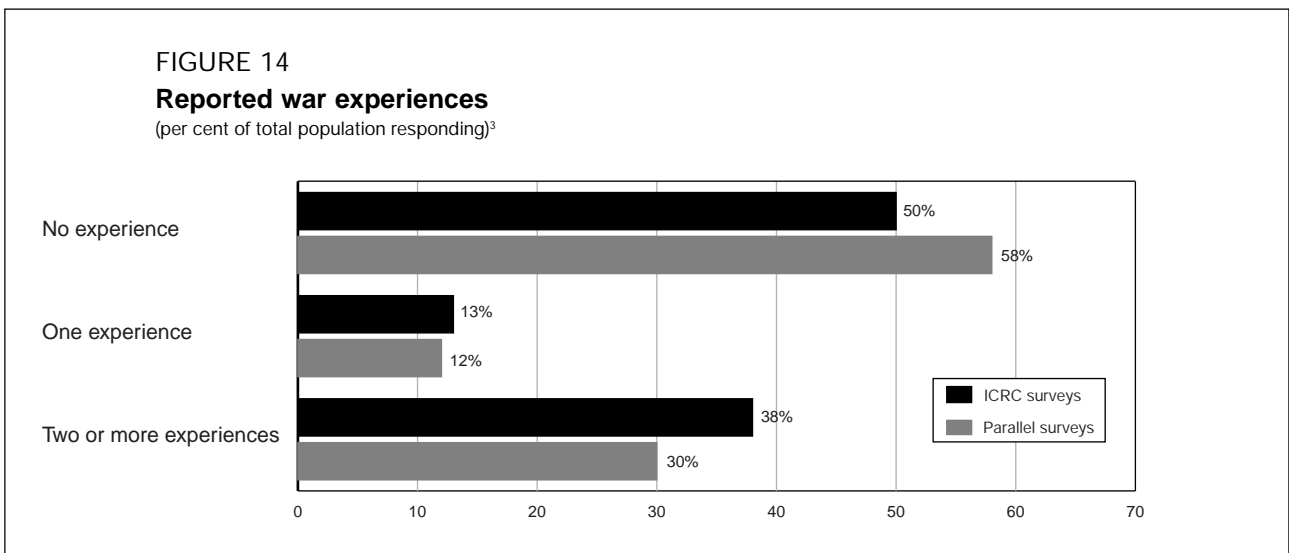
Question: I'm now going to describe different kinds of people and organizations. Please tell me which *two* of these have played the biggest role during the war to stop this (civilian areas being cut off from food, water, medical supplies and electricity).

The respondents in the ICRC surveys are also more likely to say that ICRC representatives should be allowed to visit captured enemy combatants. (See Figure 13.)



Reported war experiences

Perhaps because of greater trust in Red Cross interviewers, respondents in these surveys report a higher number of war-related injuries and incidents than do in the parallel research, and a lower proportion of respondents deny that such things happened. (See Figure 14.)

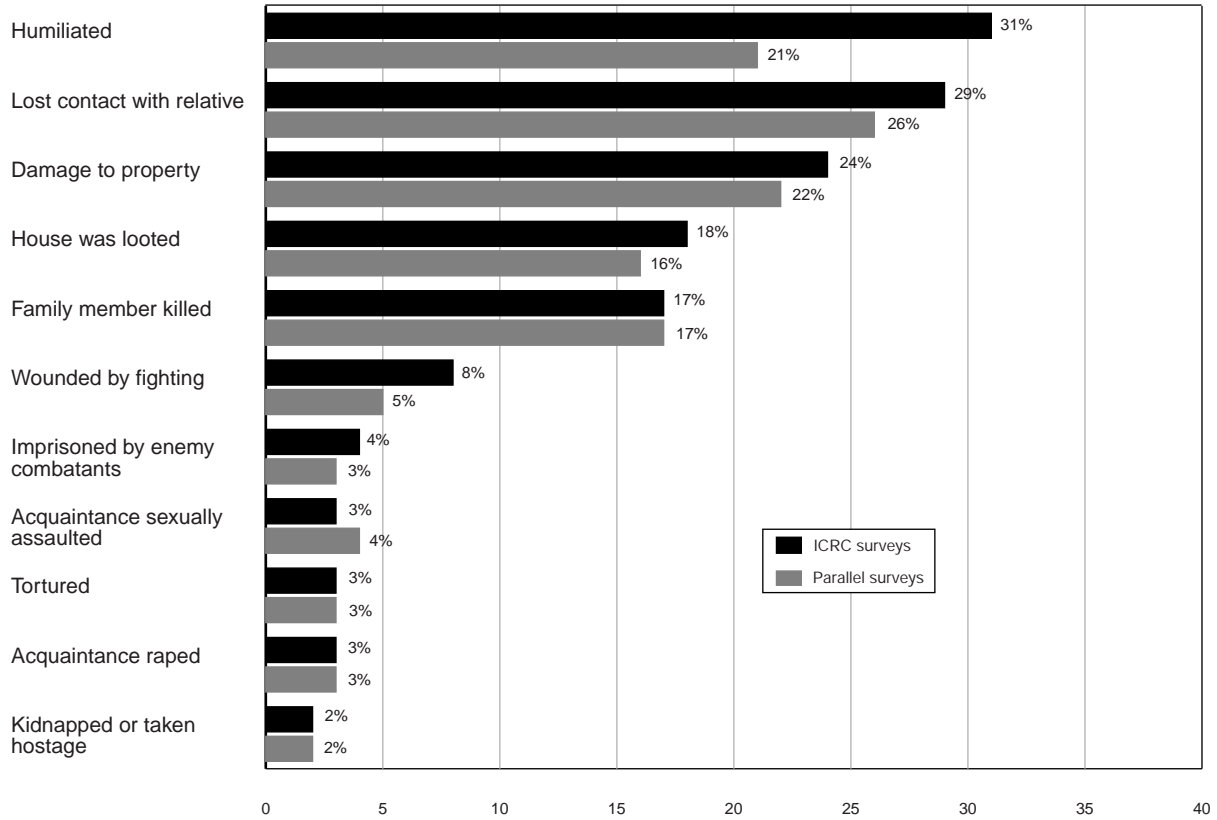


² Responses include those who say a captured enemy combatant must be allowed a visit by a representative of an independent organization outside the prison or camp. More than one response allowed.

³ Respondents were given a series of about 12 possible war-time experiences and asked to identify any that had happened to them as a consequence of the conflict. For example, respondents were asked, "Did you lose contact with relatives?" and "Were you wounded in the fighting?".

The overall response, however, is largely the result of the very marked difference on feeling “humiliated”. People are clearly much more willing to tell a Red Cross interviewer that they felt humiliated in the war: 31 per cent, compared with 21 per cent in the parallel surveys. They are slightly more willing in the ICRC surveys to report that they lost a relative in the war and that they were wounded. (See Figure 15.)

FIGURE 15
The war experience
 (per cent of total population responding)



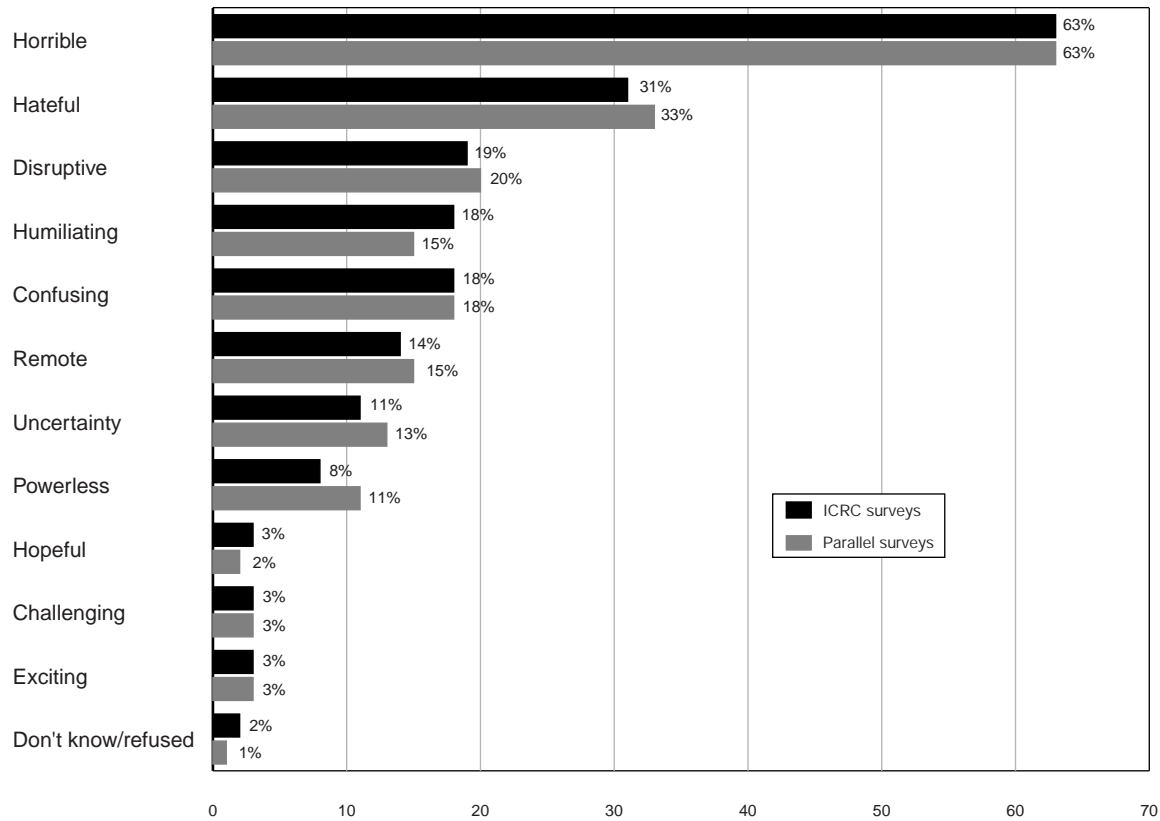
Question: Now I'm going to ask you about your actual experiences during the war/armed conflict. Please tell me whether any of the following things happened to you personally or did not happen as a consequence of the war/armed conflict.

Beyond that, the ICRC and parallel surveys show only small differences on war experience and emotions. The two studies show almost identical numbers of responses describing the war as horrible or hateful — the two dominant emotions described across these war-torn countries. (See Figure 16.)

FIGURE 16

Personal description of the war/armed conflict

(top two responses)



Question: Which *two* of these words best describe the war/armed conflict for you personally?

Projected behaviour in war

The respondents in the ICRC surveys project more benign reactions to simulated war-time situations. For example, almost half (49 per cent) say they would help a wounded enemy combatant who killed a person close to them; which is 10 percentage points above the projected behaviour in the parallel research (39 per cent). Similarly, 56 per cent say they would save a surrendering combatant who had killed someone close to them, compared with only 50 per cent of the respondents in the parallel surveys.

Concluding assessment

This project and report seek to determine whether the ICRC consultation is limited by systematic biases due to the use of Red Cross and Red Crescent interviewers. Overall, the parallel research supports the validity of the work administered by the ICRC. Across a broad range of areas, the two sets of studies have quite comparable results. To be sure, there are areas where respondents express somewhat different views to Red Cross or Red Crescent interviewers — greater knowledge of and confidence in the Geneva Conventions, stronger support for the concept of war crimes, a greater role for the ICRC in war, a somewhat greater willingness to talk about war experiences and greater reluctance to talk about projected behaviour that could harm potential prisoners. But these are well-defined areas. The biases are not pervasive, as even in these areas, respondents in the two sets of studies express very similar views on the conceptual foundations. Furthermore, in the broad area of international humanitarian law explored in this consultation and on the fundamental questions related to combatants and civilians, the ICRC and parallel surveys offer very comparable results.

Annex 1: General methodology

The ICRC's worldwide consultation on the rules of war, which is the cornerstone of the People on War project, was carried out in 12 countries that have been ravaged by war over the past decades. In each case, the ICRC conducted a public opinion survey with a representative sample of the country's population and organized in-depth interviews and focus groups with those involved in or directly affected by the conflict.

For comparative purposes, the views of people were also sought in France, Russian Federation, Switzerland, United Kingdom and United States on the basis of the opinion survey only.

The consultation was based on three principal research methods:

- A survey of 1,000 (in some cases 1,500) respondents representative of the country's general population;
- Focus groups (between 8 and 12 depending on the country) allowing a professionally moderated and intensive discussion in small groups;
- In-depth, face-to-face interviews (about 20 in each country) with individuals with specific war experiences.

In almost every case, the ICRC and local Red Cross or Red Crescent staff conducted the interviews, organized the focus groups, including recruitment of participants, and helped with translation/interpreting. Greenberg Research, with a local partner company, developed the sample design for the survey, processed data in electronic form, provided moderators and prepared transcripts.

Opinion survey

Questionnaire. The opinion survey questioned people on their war experiences and views on international humanitarian law. The survey was mainly standardized for all countries, though the wording was modified to reflect each context and to achieve consistent meaning. About 10 per cent of the questions were contextual and in many cases unique to the country. In an additional five countries, the questionnaire was designed to elicit people's perceptions on war and humanitarian law.

The questionnaires were developed by Greenberg Research, in consultation with the ICRC, on the basis of interviews with humanitarian law experts in the United States and Europe. The survey and questions were pre-tested in Mozambique and Colombia.

Sample design. In each country, interviews were held with 1,000 to 1,500 respondents, selected by a stratified, multistage cluster sampling method. The sample was stratified to ensure representation (500 interviews) from each of the principal conflict-affected geographic areas or ethnic/religious groups. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, for example, this meant some 1,500 interviews (500 from Republika Srpska and 500 each from the Bosniac and Croat areas of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina); in Israel, the occupied territories and the autonomous territories, this meant 1,000 interviews (500 in Israel and 500 in the occupied territories and the autonomous territories). These areas were divided into urban and rural geographic units (strata), to ensure representation of urban and rural populations.

The local partner randomly selected small geographic units within these strata. These units – 100 to 200 in each country – constituted the sampling points for the survey. In each geographic unit, 10 households (though fewer in some countries) were selected using a random route method appropriate to

the country. In some cases, interviewers were provided with a map and a route; in others, interviewers were simply given a route and selection instructions.

Within households, respondents were selected using a Kish grid (a respondent selection key that employs a combination of random numbers, alphabet codes and the number of available members in a household to identify the appropriate respondent) or the birthday criterion (a respondent selection process that employs dates of birth to determine the appropriate respondent). Interviewers were to make three attempts to achieve a completed interview, including locating the respondent elsewhere. In nearly every country, non-response was below 10 per cent.

The demographic distribution of the surveyed respondents was compared with the best available census data on education, age, household type and occupation. Where the sample survey was sharply askew (e.g., too many college-educated or too many young respondents), statistical weights were applied to eliminate the bias.

Interviews carried out by phone reached 755 adults in France, 1,000 in Switzerland, 750 in the United Kingdom and 1,000 in the United States, and 1,000 face-to-face interviews were carried out in the Russian Federation.

Survey administration. In nearly all the countries, the survey was administered by the ICRC, with the assistance of Greenberg Research and a local research partner. Interviews were conducted by Red Cross or Red Crescent staff. Greenberg Research provided training, which typically took two days.

Parallel research. In three of the countries – Colombia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Philippines – Greenberg Research commissioned a parallel quantitative survey, administered by a local research company using professional interviewers, in order to identify patterns of bias. The results of the parallel studies were then compared with the results of the ICRC-administered surveys. The exercise found only a few areas of systematic bias. Those interviewed by the ICRC and Red Cross or Red Crescent staff, for example, were consistently more supportive of the ICRC's role and more aware of the Geneva Conventions and the rules of war. However, the parallel research found few systematic differences in opinions on international humanitarian law. The ICRC results closely resemble the parallel survey results on most other questions. (A technical report assessing the parallel research and Red Cross bias is available separately.)

In-depth research

Focus groups. The focus groups provided a relatively unstructured environment for people to discuss their war experiences freely, express their views on the appropriate limits to war and consider possible actions against those who exceed them. To be effective, the groups had to be as homogeneous as possible, that is, the participants all had to have similar characteristics. Thus, in general, the participants in a group came from the same area, were all male or all female and shared an important experience (e.g., families of missing persons, ex-soldiers, ex-fighters, prisoners, teachers or journalists). The discussions were frequently intense and emotional and provide a rich commentary on how the public approaches these issues.

In each country, 8 to 12 focus groups were organized – four in each of the principal conflict areas. The participants were recruited by Red Cross or Red Crescent staff, based on guidelines provided by Greenberg Research. The local research company provided a professional moderator, who facilitated the discussions using guidelines prepared by Greenberg Research.

The discussions were held in focus-group facilities, school classrooms, hotel rooms and even in the open air, if, for example, they involved guerrilla fighters. ICRC, Red Cross/Red Crescent and

Greenberg Research staff observed and listened to the discussions from an adjoining location, with simultaneous translation in English. The focus group discussions were recorded and later transcribed in English.

In-depth interviews. To help interpret the full meaning of the survey responses, about 20 in-depth interviews were conducted with individuals who had had specific war experiences. The in-depth interview guidelines repeated questions from the public opinion survey, although they allowed for open-ended, rather than categorized responses. Interviewers were encouraged to probe and follow up on responses.

The in-depth interviews involved a broad range of people – officers, medical personnel, students (secondary school and university), journalists, former combatants, refugees, displaced persons, family members of missing persons, war invalids and others.

The interviews were recorded on tape, transcribed and translated into English by the local partner.

Annex 2: Questionnaire*

Introduction

We are doing a series of interviews on **[NAME OF COUNTRY]** and would like your help with that. Would it be possible to ask a few questions to the person who is 18 years or older and whose birthday is **[FIRST AFTER TODAY]**? **[IF NECESSARY: The interview will take about 30 minutes.]** The questions are about your experiences and opinions on the [war/armed conflict] in **[NAME OF COUNTRY OR REGION]**. Your identity will remain absolutely confidential.

Let me begin by asking you some questions about yourself to make sure we are talking to all kinds of people. If you don't want to answer, feel free to tell me so and we will move on to the next question.

1. What is your age? _____

[Don't know/refused]

2. How many years of school have you had? _____ years

[Don't know/refused]

3. What is your current family situation?

Married (have a husband or wife)

Single

Live together with someone (in a permanent relationship)

Divorced (or separated)

Spouse of missing person

Widow(er)

[Don't know/refused]

4. Do you have children? **[FOLLOW UP IF "YES"]** How many?

No children

Yes ___ children

5. What is your job now or are you not working?

Farmer

Manual worker

Skilled worker

Self-employed

Housewife/home care

Soldier (combatant)

Government employee

Private sector employee

Teacher/professor/intellectual

Pensioner/retired

Unemployed (but looking for work)

Unemployed (not looking for work)

Student

Other **[SPECIFY]**

[Don't know/refused]

* This questionnaire is the standard one used in the 12 countries affected by conflict in the last decades. Some contextual questions were added for specific countries. These do not figure here, but are reflected in the findings presented in each Country Report.

6. Let me ask about the war in [COUNTRY NAME]. Did the war take place in the area where you were living or did the war take place mainly somewhere else?

- Area where you were living → GO TO Q7
 Somewhere else? → GO TO Q8
 Both [Volunteered response] → GO TO Q8
 [Don't know/refused]? → GO TO Q8

7. **[IF "AREA WHERE YOU WERE LIVING" IN PREVIOUS QUESTION]** Did you live in that area before the [war/armed conflict], move voluntarily, or were you forced to move? **[PROBE IF RESPONDENT SAYS "THERE HAS ALWAYS BEEN ARMED CONFLICT"]**

- Live in same area
 Moved voluntarily
 Forced to move
 [Don't know/refused]

8. **[ASK OF ALL RESPONDENTS]** During the [war/armed conflict], did you ever find yourself in a situation of being a combatant and carrying a weapon?

- Yes — combatant, carried weapon
 No — not a combatant
 [Don't know/refused]

9. **[ASK OF ALL RESPONDENTS]** Is there anything that combatants should not be allowed to do in fighting their enemy? **[PROBE AND WRITE ANSWERS AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE]**

[IF NO RESPONSE, GO TO Q11]

10. **[IF RESPONDENT GIVES ANY RESPONSE TO PREVIOUS QUESTION]** Could you tell me the main reason why they should not do that? Is that because...? **[READ AND ROTATE]**

- It's wrong → GO TO Q10a
 It just causes too many problems → GO TO Q10b
 [Don't know/refused] → GO TO Q11

[FOLLOW UP IF MORE THAN ONE REASON SELECTED] Which would be the main reason?

10a. **[IF "IT'S WRONG"]** When you say, it's wrong, is it primarily wrong because it is...? **[READ AND ROTATE] [TWO RESPONSES ALLOWED]**

- Against your religion
 Against your personal code
 Against the law
 Against what most people here believe
 Against your culture
 Against human rights
 Other **[SPECIFY]**
 [Don't know/refused]

10b. **[IF "IT JUST CAUSES TOO MANY PROBLEMS"]** When you say, it just causes too many problems, are you thinking it...? **[READ AND ROTATE] [TWO RESPONSES ALLOWED]**

- Produces too much hate and division
- Causes too much psychological damage
- Produces too much destruction
- Causes too much physical suffering
- Other **[SPECIFY]**
- [Don't know/refused]

11. Which two of these words best describe the war for you personally? **[READ AND ROTATE]**

- Horrible
- Disruptive
- Humiliating
- Exciting
- Hateful
- Challenging
- Hopeful
- Confusing
- Uncertainty
- Powerless
- Remote
- [Don't know/refused]

Note: Version used in countries where there are no clear sides for most of the population; for countries where there are sides, half the surveys will be asked Version A (without sided wording) and half Version B (with sided wording).

12. Now I would like to ask you some *general* questions about how, in your view, combatants should behave in times of war.

Version A: When combatants attack to weaken the enemy, should they...? **[READ AND ROTATE]**

Version B: When combatants from your side attack to weaken the enemy, should they...? **[READ AND ROTATE]**

- Attack enemy combatants and civilians
 - Attack enemy combatants and avoid civilians as much as possible
- OR**
- Attack only enemy combatants and leave the civilians alone
 - [Don't know/refused]

[FOLLOW-UP IF CONFUSION ABOUT YOUR/OTHER SIDE] Just imagine that there is a side in the conflict that you support more than any other side.

Note: in the next set of questions we will be randomly splitting the sample in two. Version 1 will be asked of one half and version 2 will be asked of the other half. If there are clear sides to the war, Version 1 coincides with Version A and Version 2 coincides with Version B. (This means there will always be two and exactly two versions of the questionnaire.)

Let me ask you about some things that combatants may do to weaken the enemy they are fighting against. Please tell me for each of these things whether it is okay or not okay to do it, to weaken the enemy.

13. **Version 1:** Attacking civilians who voluntarily gave food and shelter to enemy combatants. Would it be okay or not okay to attack them in order to weaken the enemy?

Version 2: Attacking civilians who were forced to give food and shelter to enemy combatants. Would it be okay or not okay to attack them in order to weaken the enemy?

- Okay
 Not okay
 [Don't know/refused]

14. **Version 1:** Attacking civilians who voluntarily transported ammunition for enemy combatants defending their town. Would it be okay or not okay to attack them to weaken the enemy?

Version 2: Attacking civilians who were forced to transport ammunition for enemy combatants defending their town. Would it be okay or not okay to attack them to weaken the enemy?

- Okay
 Not okay
 [Don't know/refused]

15. I will now describe some situations that may happen during a [war/armed conflict]. For each situation, I would like you to imagine that you are part of that situation. Tell me how you think you would behave if the decisions were completely up to you. Here comes the first imaginary situation.

Version 1: Would you save the life of a surrendering enemy combatant who killed a person close to you?

- Would save
 Would not save
 [Don't know/refused]

Version 2: Would you help a wounded enemy combatant who killed a person close to you?

- Would help
 Would not help
 [Don't know/refused]

Now I'm going to ask your opinion on some of the things combatants might do in times of [war/armed conflict].

- 16a. **Version A:** What about depriving the civilian population of food, medicine or water in order to weaken the enemy?

Version B: What about depriving the civilian population on the other side of food, medicine or water in order to weaken the enemy?

Is that wrong or just part of war?

-
- Wrong
 - Part of war
 - Both [Volunteered response]
 - [Don't know/refused]

16b. **Version A:** Are there any laws or rules that say you can't do that, even if it would help weaken the enemy, or are there no laws or rules to stop that?

Version B: Are there any laws or rules that say you can't do that, even if it would help your side weaken the enemy, or are there no laws or rules to stop that?

- Laws — can't do that
- No laws
- [Don't know/refused]

17a. **Version 1:** What about attacking enemy combatants in populated villages or towns in order to weaken the enemy, knowing that many civilians would be killed?

Version 2: What about attacking enemy combatants in populated villages or towns in order to weaken the enemy, knowing that many women and children would be killed?

Is that wrong or just part of war?

- Wrong
- Part of war
- Both [Volunteered response]
- [Don't know/refused]

17b. **Version A:** Are there any laws or rules that say you can't do that, even if it would help weaken the enemy, or are there no laws or rules to stop that?

Version B: Are there any laws or rules that say you can't do that, even if it would help your side weaken the enemy, or are there no laws or rules to stop that?

- Laws — can't do that
- No laws
- [Don't know/refused]

18. **[ASK ONLY IN WAR ZONES WHERE APPROPRIATE]** What about attacking religious and historical monuments, in order to weaken the enemy. Is that wrong or just part of war?

- Wrong
 - Part of war
 - Both [Volunteered response]
 - [Don't know/refused]
-

19. **[ASK ONLY IN WAR ZONES WHERE APPROPRIATE]** What about taking civilian hostages in order to get something in exchange? Is that wrong or just part of war?

- Wrong
- Part of war
- Both [Volunteered response]
- [Don't know/refused]

20. **[ASK ONLY IN WAR ZONES WHERE APPROPRIATE]** Now a question about the "protected areas". Do you think that these "protected areas" are a good or a bad idea?

- Good idea
- Bad idea
- [Don't know/refused]

21. **[ASK ONLY IN WAR ZONES WHERE APPROPRIATE]** Did the "protected areas" make it better or worse for civilians during the war, or did they make no difference?

- Better
- Worse
- No difference
- [Don't know/refused]

22. **[ASK ONLY IN WAR ZONES WHERE APPROPRIATE] Version 1:** Did the "Peace support operation" make it better or worse for civilians during the war, or didn't it make any difference?

Version 2: Did the "Peace support operation" make it better or worse for you personally during the war, or didn't it make any difference?

- Better
- Worse
- No difference
- [Don't know/refused]

Version A: Let me ask you about some other things that might happen during war to weaken the enemy. Please tell me for each of these things whether it is okay or not okay to do it in order to weaken the enemy.

Version B: Let me ask you about some other things that your side might do to weaken the enemy during war. Please tell me for each of these things whether it is okay or not okay to do it in order to weaken the enemy.

23. First, are there types of weapons that should just never be used during war? **[FOLLOW UP IF YES]** What types of weapons would you think of? **[CHECK RESPONSE BELOW] [DO NOT READ CHOICES] [MULTIPLE ANSWERS ALLOWED]**

- Landmines
 - Laser weapons
 - Napalm
 - Nuclear weapons
 - Chemical weapons
 - Cluster bombs
-

- Other [SPECIFY]
- No types of weapons allowed
- [Don't know/refused]

24. **Version A:** Combatants planting landmines to stop the movement of enemy combatants, even though civilians may step on them accidentally. Is it okay or not okay to do that if it would weaken the enemy?

Version B: Combatants on your side planting landmines to stop the movement of enemy combatants, even though civilians may step on them accidentally. Is it okay or not okay to do that if it would weaken the enemy?

- Okay, if necessary
- Not okay
- [Don't know/refused]

25. In war, combatants sometimes attack or hurt civilians, even though many people say it is not okay and maybe against the law. So please tell me why you think combatants attack civilians anyway.

[PROBE AND WRITE ANSWERS AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE]

26. Which *two* of the following reasons best explain why combatants attack or hurt civilians, even though many people say it is not okay or maybe against the law. Is it because they...? **[READ AND ROTATE RESPONSES]** **[FOLLOW-UP IF MORE THAN TWO REASONS SELECTED]** Which would be the two main reasons?

- Don't care about the laws
- Hate the other side so much
- Are determined to win at any cost
- Lose all sense during war
- Are too young to make judgements
- Don't know the laws
- Are often under the influence of alcohol or drugs
- Are scared
- Are told to do so
- Know the other side is doing the same thing
- [Don't know/refused]

27a. Now let me ask you how *captured combatants* should be treated.

Version A: Must a captured enemy combatant be allowed to contact relatives, or doesn't that have to be allowed?

Version B: Must your side allow a captured enemy combatant to contact relatives, or don't you have to allow that?

- Must allow
- Don't have to allow
- [Don't know/refused]

27b. **Version A:** Is it true that a captured enemy combatant cannot be subjected to torture to obtain important military information, or can captured combatants be subjected to torture?

Version B: Is it true that your side cannot subject a captured enemy combatant to torture to obtain important military information, or can you subject captured combatants to torture?

- Cannot subject
 Can subject
 [Don't know/refused]

27c. **Version A:** Must a captured enemy combatant be allowed a visit by a representative from an independent organization outside the prison or camp, or doesn't that have to be allowed?

Version B: Must your side allow a captured enemy combatant to be visited by a representative from an independent organization from outside the prison or camp, or don't you have to allow that?

- Must allow → GO TO Q27d
 Don't have to allow → GO TO Q28
 [Don't know/refused] → GO TO Q28

27d. **[IF "MUST ALLOW"]** Which of the following people should be allowed to visit captured enemy combatants...? **[READ AND ROTATE RESPONSES] [ALLOW MULTIPLE RESPONSES]**

- International Committee of the Red Cross representatives
 UN representatives
 Human rights group representatives
 Journalists
 Religious clerics/ministers
 Other **[SPECIFY]**
 [Don't know/refused]

Once again, I want you to *imagine* yourself in the following situations and tell me what you think you would do if the decisions were completely up to you.

28. **Version A:** If one side in the war is killing prisoners, would you approve the killing of prisoners by the other side or would you not approve it?

Version B: If the other side in the war is killing prisoners, would you approve the killing of prisoners by your side or would you not approve it?

- Would approve
 Would not approve
 [Don't know/refused]

[FOLLOW UP IF RESPONDENT PROTESTS] Just imagine you happen to find yourself in this situation.

29. In general, do you ever think that captured enemy combatants deserve to die?

- Think deserve to die
 No
 [Don't know/refused]

30. Now I'm going to ask you about your actual experiences during the war. Please tell me whether any of the following things happened to you personally or did not happen as a consequence of the [war/armed conflict] in [COUNTRY NAME]. **[READ AND ROTATE ORDER]**

	Happened	Did not happen	Don't know/ refused
Forced to leave your home and live elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Imprisoned	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kidnapped or taken hostage	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tortured	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Felt humiliated	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lost contact with a close relative	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A member of your immediate family killed during the armed conflict (son, daughter, father, mother, brother, sister, grandmother, grandfather, grandchild)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Serious damage to your property	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wounded by the fighting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Combatants took food away	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Had your house looted	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Somebody you knew well was sexually assaulted by combatants	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
[READ LAST] Somebody you knew well was raped by combatants	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

31. **[ASK ALL RESPONDENTS]** Were you imprisoned by enemy combatants or were you living in an area that came under enemy control?

Imprisoned by enemy combatants	→ GO TO Q32
Living in area under enemy control	→ GO TO Q32
Both [Volunteered response]	→ GO TO Q32
[Don't know/refused]	→ GO TO Q34
No response	→ GO TO Q34

32. **[ASK IF "IMPRISONED", "LIVED UNDER ENEMY CONTROL", OR BOTH]** Please tell me whether any of the following happened while you were under enemy control. **[READ AND ROTATE]** Did that happen or not?

	Happened	Did not happen	Don't know/ refused
You were personally mistreated	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
You were physically injured	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
You were treated correctly	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
[READ LAST] You had a contact with a representative from an independent organization to check on your well-being	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

33. **[ASK ONLY IF CONTACT HAPPENED, OTHERWISE GO TO Q33]** Which of the following people did you have contact with to check on your well-being? **[READ AND ROTATE RESPONSES]** **[ALLOW MULTIPLE RESPONSES]**

- ICRC representatives
- UN representatives
- Human rights group representatives
- Journalists
- Religious clerics/ministers
- Other **[SPECIFY]**
- [Don't know/refused]

34. Now let me ask you for your opinion about something else, about young people being combatants. At what age is a young person mature enough to be a combatant? **[READ LIST UNTIL RESPONDENT CHOOSES AN ANSWER]**

- 14 or under
- 15
- 16
- 17
- 18
- 19
- 20
- 21
- Above 21
- [Don't know/refused]

35. During the war, did you support [have you supported] one of the sides or did you not support any side?

- Supported a side
- Did not support a side
- [Don't know/refused]

36. Let me ask you something very different. Have you ever heard of the Geneva Conventions?

- Yes — heard
- No — not heard **→ GO TO Q38**
- [Don't know/refused] **→ GO TO Q38**

37. **[IF HEARD OF GENEVA CONVENTIONS]** Could you tell me what the Geneva Conventions are about? **[WRITE DOWN ANSWER AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE]** **[MARK APPROPRIATE RESPONSE]**

- Accurate **[ANY REFERENCE TO LIMITS IN WAR]**
 - Not accurate **[NO REFERENCE TO LIMITS IN WAR]**
-

38. Let me read you a statement about the Geneva Conventions:

The Geneva Conventions is a series of international treaties that impose limits in war by describing some rules of war. Most countries in the world have signed these treaties.

Do you think the existence of the Geneva Conventions prevents wars from getting worse or does it make no real difference?

- Prevents wars from getting worse
- No real difference
- [Don't know/refused]

39. Are you familiar with this? **[SHOW RED CROSS OR RED CRESCENT]** What does it stand for? **[DO NOT READ RESPONSES]**

- Red Cross
- Red Crescent
- Red Cross and Red Crescent
- Medical/Hospital
- United Nations
- Army
- Other **[SPECIFY]**
- [Don't know/refused]

40. What kind of people or things does this symbol protect? **[WRITE ANSWERS AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE]**

41. Are there rules or laws that are so important that, if broken during war, the person who broke them should be punished?

- Yes
- No → **GO TO Q46**
- [Don't know/Refused] → **GO TO Q46**

42. **[IF YES]** So what kind of rules or laws are you thinking about? **[PROBE AND WRITE ANSWERS AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE]**

43. **[IF RESPONDS TO PRIOR QUESTION, OTHERWISE GO TO Q46]** What are these rules based on? **[READ AND ROTATE] [ONE RESPONSE ONLY]**

- [Country name]'s laws
 - International law
 - Religious principles
 - The values people hold
 - Other **[SPECIFY]**
 - [Don't know/refused]
-

44. If these rules are broken in war, who should be responsible for punishing the wrongdoers? **[READ AND ROTATE] [ONE RESPONSE ONLY]**

- The government of [country name]
- The [country name]'s courts
- International criminal court
- The military itself
- The civilian population
- Your own political leaders
- Other **[SPECIFY]**
- [Does not apply, rules are not broken]
- [Don't know/refused]

45. When the war is over, should people who have broken these rules...? **[READ AND ROTATE] [ONE RESPONSE ONLY]**

- Be put on trial
- Be exposed to the public but not be put on trial
- Be forgotten when the war is over
- Be forgiven after the war
- Granted amnesty
- [Don't know/refused]

46. **[ASK ALL RESPONDENTS]** Let me ask what can be done *if* during the war civilian areas are attacked, towns or villages are cut off from food, water, medical supplies and electricity. To whom would you turn to get help or to be protected? **[PROBE AND WRITE ANSWERS AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE]**

- [Can't turn to anybody]
- [Don't know/refused]

47. I'm now going to describe different kinds of people and organizations. Please tell me which *two* of these have played the biggest role *during* the war to stop this. Here are the people and organizations: **[READ AND ROTATE] [RECORD THE TWO MOST IMPORTANT RESPONSES] [FOLLOW UP WITH: Which two have played the biggest role?]**

- The military and combatants on your side **[Version B]**
- The military and combatants of the other side **[Version B]**
- The military and combatants **[Version A]**
- Religious leaders
- International humanitarian organizations
- Journalists and the news media
- The United Nations
- The ICRC or Red Cross (or Red Crescent)
- Government leaders
- International criminal court
- Other countries
- [Nobody did anything]
- [Don't know/refused]

48. In the future, would you like to see more or less intervention from the international community to deal with these kinds of issues?

- More intervention
- Less intervention
- [No intervention]
- [Don't know/refused]

49. Do you think the peace will last or do you think there will be more war in the future?

- Peace will last
- More war in future
- [Both]
- [Don't know/refused]

50. One last question, what did you learn from the war that you think others should know? **[PROBE AND WRITE ANSWERS AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE]**

The ICRC's mission

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is an impartial, neutral and independent organization whose exclusively humanitarian mission is to protect the lives and dignity of victims of war and internal violence and to provide them with assistance. It directs and coordinates the international relief activities conducted by the Movement in situations of conflict. It also endeavours to prevent suffering by promoting and strengthening humanitarian law and universal humanitarian principles. Established in 1863, the ICRC is at the origin of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement.
