

PEOPLE ON WAR

Country report Russian Federation

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.

<p>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.</p>
--

Table of contents

Country methodology	ii
Executive summary	iii
Towards absolute barriers	1
<i>Figure 1: Combatants and civilians</i>	1
Wrong to attack civilians	1
<i>Figure 2: Basis for the norm</i>	2
<i>Figure 3: Acceptance of war practices</i>	3
<i>Figure 4: Acceptance of war practices</i>	3
The landmine exception	4
Adults and responsibility	4
<i>Figure 5: Child combatants</i>	4
The gender gap	4
Prisoners of war: understanding obligations	6
<i>Figure 6: Prisoners of war</i>	6
<i>Figure 7: Visit by representative</i>	6
<i>Figure 8: Wounded or surrendering combatants</i>	7
Failure of governments	8
<i>Figure 9: Avoidability of war</i>	8
<i>Figure 10: Atrocities</i>	8
<i>Figure 11: Why war?</i>	9
War crimes: governmental responsibility	9
<i>Figure 12: Who should punish wrongdoers?</i>	9
Looking inward	10
<i>Figure 13: Interest in wars</i>	10
Opposed to international interventions	10
<i>Figure 14: Joining the conflict</i>	11
<i>Figure 15: International intervention</i>	11
Limited consciousness of international conventions and law	12
<i>Figure 16: Geneva Conventions</i>	12
The role of the ICRC/Red Cross	13
<i>Figure 17: Turn to for help</i>	13
Receptivity to international initiatives	13
<i>Figure 18: Protected areas</i>	14
<i>Figure 19: International peacekeeping</i>	14
<i>Figure 20: Impact of Geneva Conventions</i>	15
Annex 1: General methodology	17
Annex 2: Questionnaire	21

Country methodology

The findings in this report are based on a survey of the general public conducted in the Russian Federation from 13 to 31 May 1999. The questionnaire used for this survey is modelled on the telephone survey developed by Greenberg Research and the ICRC for the other Security Council countries surveyed. In consultation with the ICRC delegation in Moscow, the survey for the Russian Federation was modified to suit the context and to accommodate the face-to-face interviewing methodology.

The survey was administered by ROMIR, a national research organization, using fully briefed professional interviewers. The survey reached 1,000 adults, 18 years and older, across the Russian Federation. Addresses for the interviews were stratified by region using official government statistics. Quotas were assigned to reflect the percentage of households within these regions. The data were weighted by gender, age, education and region and split to ensure the sample was an accurate reflection of the population. The sample size with this weight applied is 1,000 cases.

Percentages reported here are subject to a sampling error of +/- 4.5 percentage points (at a 95 in 100 confidence level). Results in smaller segments, such as the 208 interviews for the Asian region, are subject to an error of +/- 9.5 percentage points.¹

¹These estimates are based on population values of 50 per cent. Obviously, many reported percentages are lower or higher than that: higher percentages would have a smaller sampling error. For example, a reported percentage of 90 per cent for the total population would have a sampling error of +/- 2.5 percentage points.

Executive summary

When thinking about war, the vast majority of people in the Russian Federation believe that an absolute barrier should separate combatants and civilians in wartime. More than three-quarters of those surveyed believe that soldiers and fighters should “attack enemy combatants and leave civilians alone” – one of the highest percentages of any of the countries surveyed in the People on War project.

In the Russian Federation, there is a near-unanimous belief that there are certain things combatants should not be allowed to do when fighting their enemy. In France, the United Kingdom and the United States, between 20 and 35 per cent of the public say there should be no restrictions on what combatants can do, whereas in the Russian Federation just 3 per cent express such a view.

The commitment to a stark divide between combatants and civilians in the Russian Federation is largely normative in nature: four out of five people (78 per cent) say combatants should not be allowed to do certain things simply because they are “wrong”; almost a third (30 per cent) say they are “against the law”; and one in five say they would cause too many practical problems. In the Russian Federation, however, the notion of a “personal code” also plays an important role in the development of a normative framework for war practices. Here, attacks on civilians are considered wrong because they violate human rights (63 per cent) and violate one’s personal code (63 per cent).

The people of the Russian Federation oppose military practices that put civilians at risk. Just 10 per cent would countenance attacks on civilians who had voluntarily given food and shelter to their combatants – one-third the level of support the public in the United States would give to such attacks and lower than for the other two Security Council countries surveyed.

For almost every military practice described in this survey, the public in the Russian Federation is more likely than the public in France, the United Kingdom and the United States – and more likely than the public in various armed conflict zones around the world – to say the practice is wrong. A notable exception to this trend is the use of landmines, which people in the Russian Federation are far less likely to condemn than those in the other Security Council nations surveyed.

The people of the Russian Federation – to a far greater degree than those surveyed in other Security Council countries and nations at war – believe that young people under 21 years of age should not be combatants. Seventy-eight per cent hold this view, in contrast to 40 per cent of Britons, 47 per cent of the French and 53 per cent of Americans.

There is a pronounced gender gap among those surveyed, with women more likely to want to shield civilians from the surrounding conflict. For example, 69 per cent of women say it is wrong to deprive a village of food, water and medicine, compared with 54 per cent of men. Men and war veterans are most likely to leave a wounded or surrendering enemy combatant to die and most likely to find the use of landmines acceptable, even if civilians could step on them accidentally.

The public in the Russian Federation shares with the publics in France and the United Kingdom a very broad understanding that the authorities are obligated to protect prisoners of war: 78 per cent say prisoners must be allowed to have contact with relatives; 72 per cent say prisoners cannot be subjected to torture, even to get important information; 82 per cent say prisoners must be allowed a visit by a representative of an independent organization.

There is virtually no support in the Russian Federation for killing prisoners. Just 5 per cent would agree to it if the other side in the war were doing it. Just 4 per cent say they ever think captured enemy soldiers or fighters deserve to die. Yet, even though the public supports the protection of civilians and non-combatants, it is the most willing to acknowledge that it would not spare surrendering or wounded enemy combatants: 44 per cent would not save a surrendering enemy combatant and 55 per cent would not help a wounded one who had killed a person close to them.

The public in the Russian Federation refuse to see war as inevitable or unpreventable. Even in a world in which wartime atrocities are occurring with increasing frequency, the people refuse to give in to fatalism: only 10 per cent believe that wars are unavoidable and just 27 per cent that atrocities are inevitable.

There is a strong isolationist streak in the Russian Federation, where almost two-thirds (64 per cent) of those surveyed say that their country should not get involved in wars abroad in which many civilians are endangered. They also express great wariness about involvement in wars abroad or military or peacekeeping operations intended to limit casualties there.

There is broad support in the Russian Federation for humanitarian assistance (89 per cent), as long as military force is not involved. The strong opposition to Russian Federation involvement in military action to protect civilians is rooted in women's intense hostility to committing troops abroad. Two-thirds of women (68 per cent) say the Russian Federation should be less involved in wars abroad and only 30 per cent would send their troops as part of an international force to limit civilian casualties. Yet respondents support a broad range of non-military international humanitarian initiatives and think many would be effective in reducing the threat to civilians.

In the Russian Federation, the red cross emblem is seen primarily as a symbol of protection for civilians, the sick and wounded, prisoners of war and medical personnel.

Respondents assign the ICRC/Red Cross the largest role in the protection of prisoners of war and of endangered civilian populations: 84 per cent would turn to the ICRC to provide the independent representatives to visit prisoners of war; 56 per cent would turn to the ICRC/Red Cross to protect civilians in towns or villages cut off from food, water, medicine and electricity.

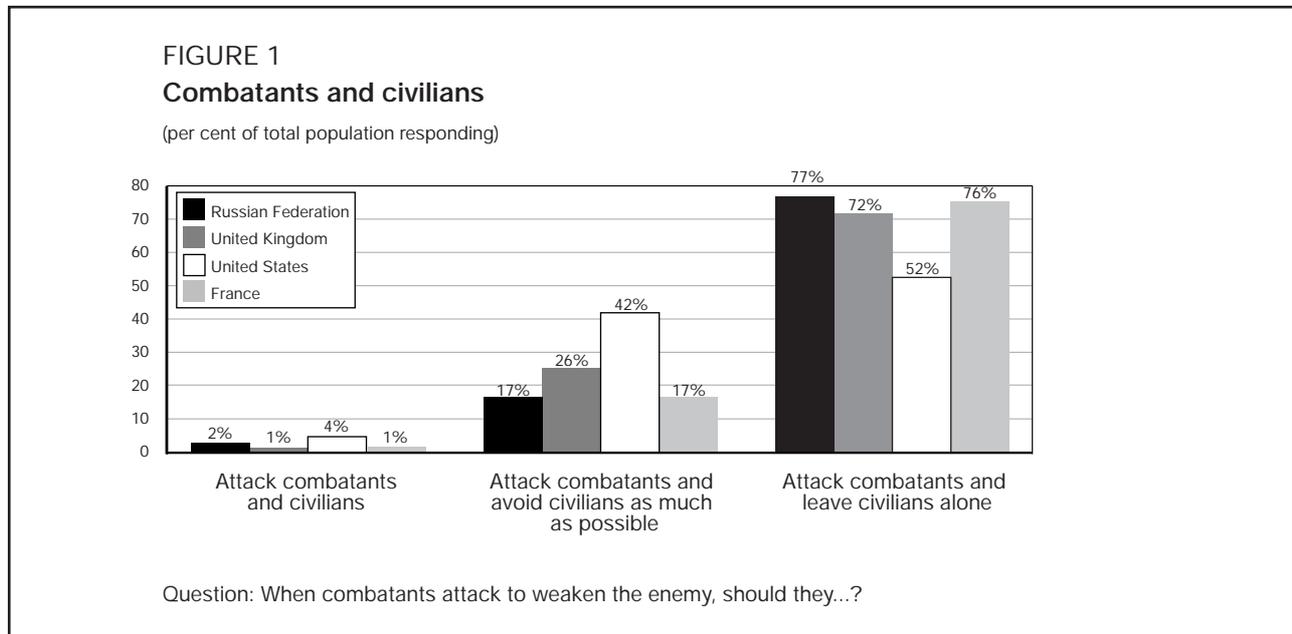
Slightly more than half of those surveyed in the Russian Federation (51 per cent) have heard of the Geneva Conventions. Women are the least knowledgeable about the laws that govern war. Sixty-two per cent of men have heard of the Geneva Conventions, but only 41 per cent of women. Of the men and women who had heard of the Conventions, one-third could not describe anything specific about them.

The lack of consciousness of the Geneva Conventions carries over to the broader questions of law and threats to civilian populations in war. Only about one-third believe there are laws that would bar soldiers and fighters from depriving civilian populations of food, medicine or water, or from attacking combatants in populated towns and villages, knowing that many civilians would be killed.

Three-quarters of the public in the Russian Federation say there are rules and laws so important that violators should be punished, and the same number would put violators on trial. Only 21 per cent, however, would give responsibility for judgment to international entities. Instead, the public in the Russian Federation believes the institutions in countries at war, particularly the governments, should take responsibility for punishing wrongdoers.

Towards absolute barriers

When thinking about war, the great majority of those surveyed in the Russian Federation believe that an absolute barrier should separate combatants and civilians. (See Figure 1.) More than three-quarters of the population (77 per cent) start with the affirmation, “soldiers and fighters” should “attack enemy combatants and leave the civilians alone”. Only 2 per cent find it acceptable to target civilians and just 17 per cent find it acceptable to attack combatants and “avoid civilians as much as possible”.



In the Russian Federation, there is a near-unanimous belief that there are certain things combatants should not be allowed to do when fighting their enemy. In contrast to France, the United Kingdom and the United States, where between 20 and 35 per cent of the public say there should be no restrictions on what combatants can do, just 3 per cent express such a view in the Russian Federation. Respondents in the survey instead say that combatants should not be permitted to kill or shoot innocent and unarmed civilians (20 per cent); target civilians or women and children (16 per cent); engage in rape (7 per cent); harm, humiliate, abuse or maim civilians (15 per cent); loot, rob, pillage or destroy property (17 per cent); or destroy civilian buildings and institutions (6 per cent). The focus is almost entirely on stopping or limiting what is done to civilian populations in war.

Wrong to attack civilians

The commitment to this stark divide between combatants and civilians in the Russian Federation has a normative base: four out of five people (78 per cent) say combatants should not be allowed to do certain things simply because they are “wrong”; almost a third (30 per cent) say they are “against the law”; and one in five say “it causes too many problems”. As seen in the other Security Council countries surveyed, the question remains mainly one of right and wrong. Only in the Russian Federation, however, does the notion of a “personal code” play such an important role. Here, attacks on civilians are considered wrong because they violate human rights (63 per cent) and violate one’s personal code (63 per cent). (See Figure 2.)

FIGURE 2

Basis for the norm(per cent of population responding "it's wrong") (top 2 choices)²

	Russian Federation	United Kingdom	United States	France
Against human rights	63%	66%	51%	55%
Against your personal code	63%	30%	29%	44%
Against your religion	14%	9%	26%	10%
Against the law	30%	8%	12%	7%
Against what most people here believe	15%	8%	14%	6%
Against your culture	10%	3%	5%	13%

Question: When you say it's wrong, is it primarily because it is...?

The singular focus on civilians and the near-absolute distinction between civilians and combatants reveal strong opposition in the Russian Federation to military practices that put civilians at risk. In today's "modern" wars, civilians have been moved progressively onto the field of battle, yet, in principle, the people of the Russian Federation seem unwilling to accept this notion. Just 10 per cent would countenance attacks on civilians who had voluntarily given food and shelter to their combatants – one-third the level of support the public in the United States would give and lower than for the other two Security Council countries surveyed.

For almost every military practice described in this survey, the public in the Russian Federation is more likely than the public in France, the United Kingdom and the United States – and more likely than the public in various armed conflict zones around the world – to say that the practice is wrong. In two particularly striking instances, two-thirds of the public in the Russian Federation (68 per cent) say it is wrong "to attack enemy combatants in populated villages or towns in order to weaken the enemy, knowing that many civilians would be killed", and 76 per cent say it is wrong if women and children are present. In each case, the public in the Russian Federation is at least 20 percentage points more likely than the public in France, the United Kingdom and the United States to reject the idea of putting civilians in the heart of conflict. Four in five respondents in the Russian Federation (80 per cent) say it is wrong "to attack religious or historical monuments to weaken the enemy" – at least 16 percentage points higher than the norm in the other countries. (See Figures 3 and 4.)

² Respondents were asked to give their top two choices. The percentage of respondents in the Russian Federation who say it is against the law (30 per cent) is larger than in the other Security Council countries surveyed. Twelve per cent offer this response in the United States. The number is even lower in France and the United Kingdom, 7 and 8 per cent, respectively.

FIGURE 3
Acceptance of war practices
 (per cent of total population responding)

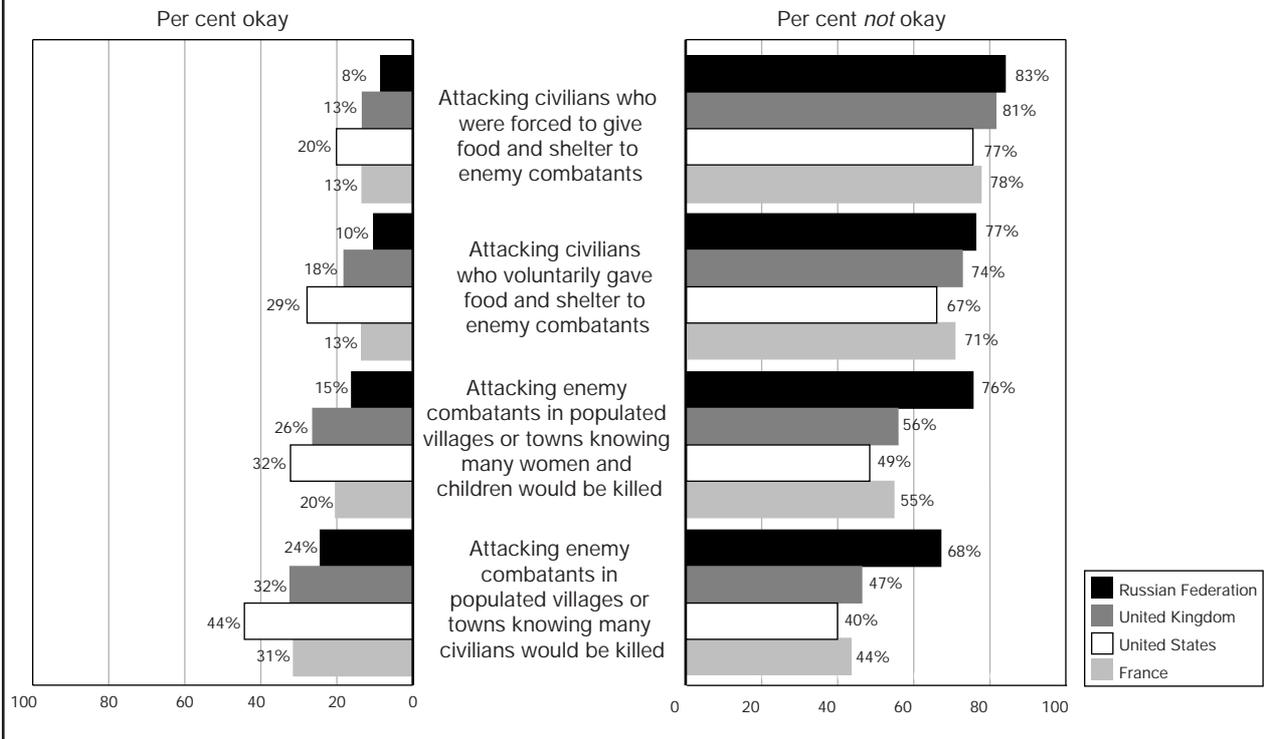
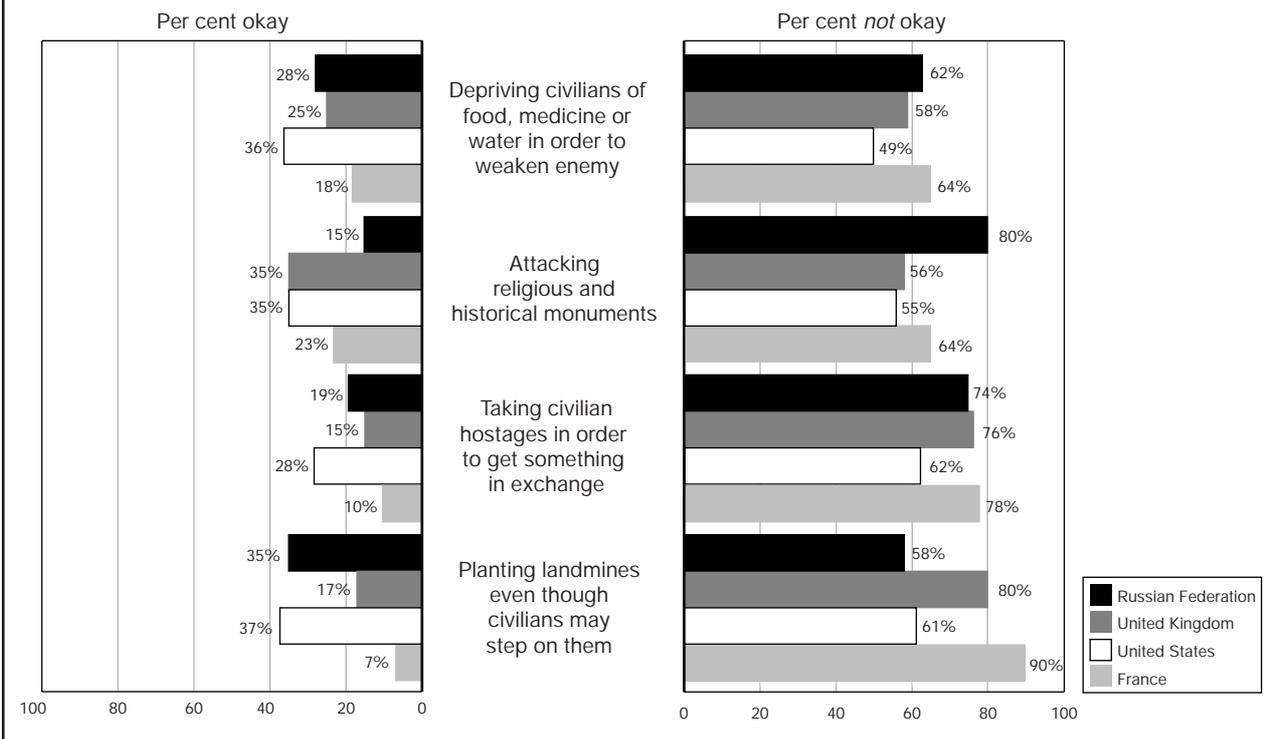


FIGURE 4
Acceptance of war practices
 (per cent of total population responding)

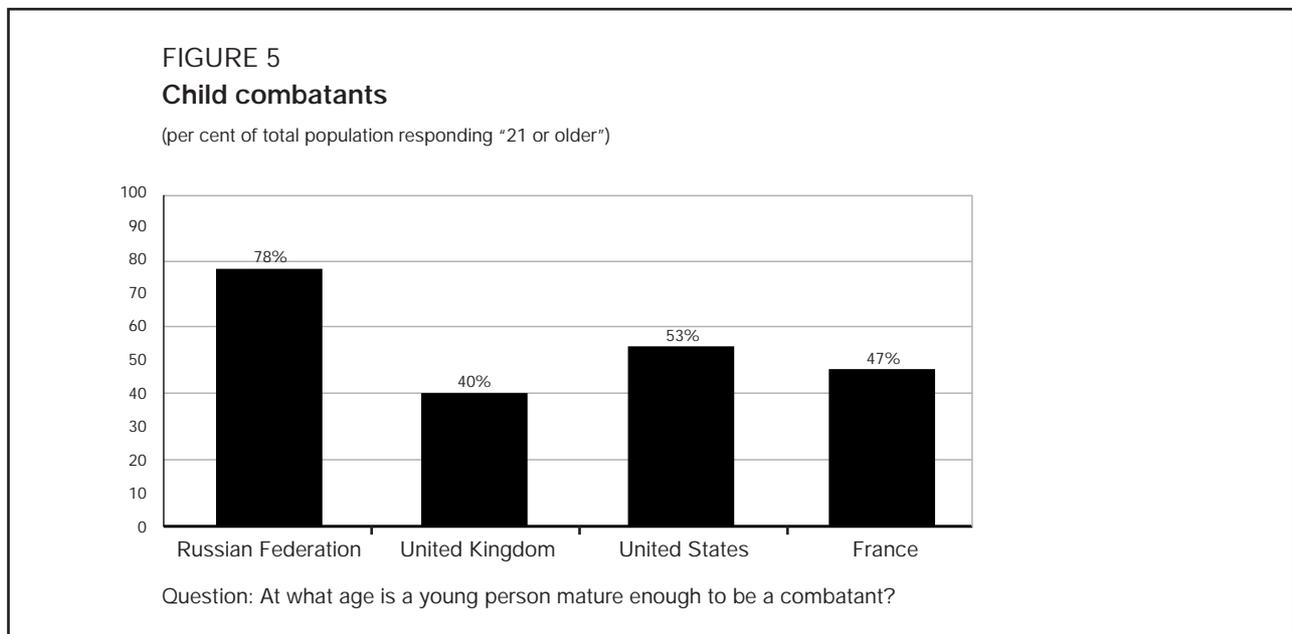


The landmine exception

The exception is landmines, a weapon the public in the Russian Federation still considers acceptable, despite the existence of the Ottawa treaty. Just 7 per cent mention landmines as a weapon that should never be used in war. With the experiences of the two world wars and the Cold War, the public focuses more on nuclear weapons (77 per cent) and chemical and biological weapons (62 per cent) as unacceptable because they endanger the civilian population. As a result, one-third of the public in the Russian Federation (35 per cent) say it is acceptable to use landmines, even though civilians may accidentally step on them. In this case, the responses of the public in the Russian Federation and the United States are very similar.

Adults and responsibility

The public in the Russian Federation, more than any other public surveyed, sees war as an arena for adults, not young people. An astonishing 78 per cent say young people should be 21 years of age or older before they are mature enough to be combatants. (See Figure 5.) Only 40 per cent of the public in the United Kingdom, 47 per cent in France and 53 per cent in the United States offer such a high standard. The public in the Russian Federation are either trying to keep young people out of battle or perhaps they doubt that young people will behave responsibly in war and respect the limits the people now consider so important.



The gender gap

The insistence on maintaining a barrier between combatants and civilians is reinforced in the Russian Federation by the assertive position of women on this issue. There is a pronounced gender gap in views on the conduct of war, though men, too, strongly resist breaking down the barriers that protect civilians. On most questions, however, women are 6 to 15 percentage points more likely to want to shield civilians from a surrounding conflict.

- 84 per cent of women say it is wrong to attack historical and religious monuments, compared with 74 per cent of men.
- 73 per cent of women say it is wrong to attack villages knowing that many civilians would die, compared with 62 per cent of men.
- 69 per cent of women say it is wrong to deprive a village of food, water and medicine, compared with 54 per cent of men.

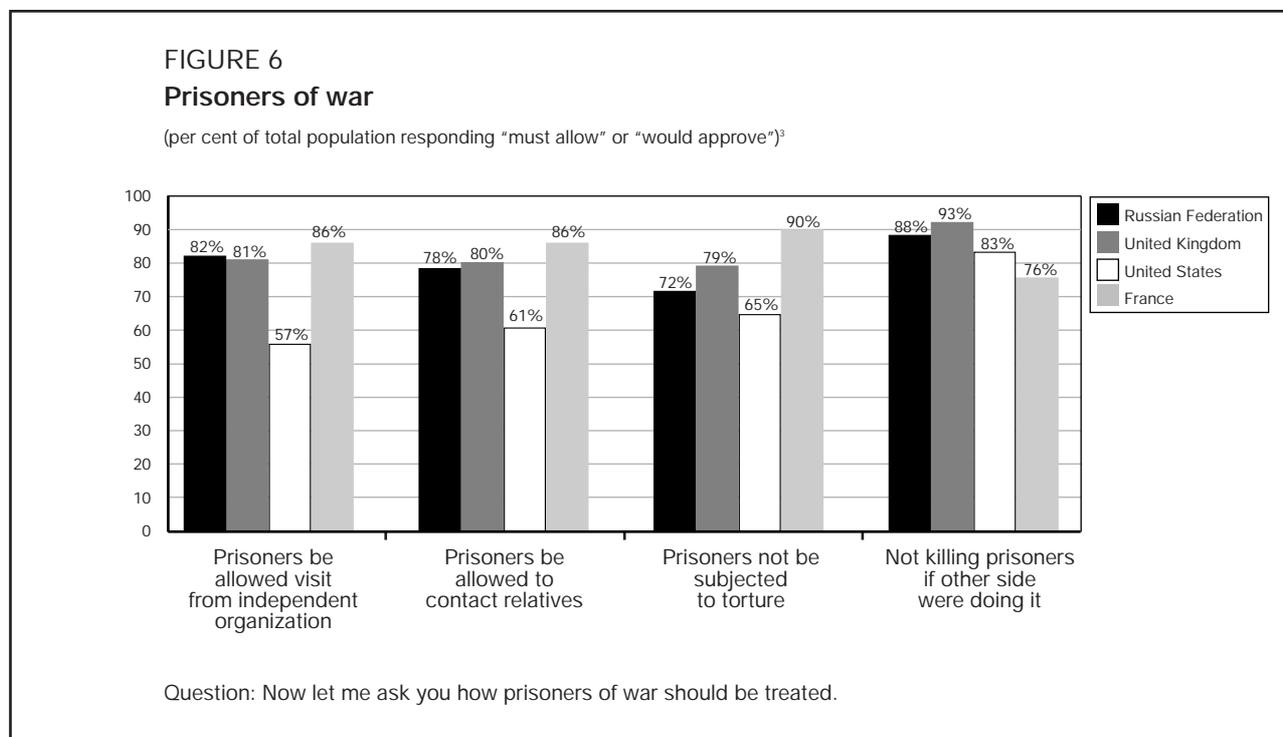
The gender gap is particularly striking when it comes to practices that have a close association with people's war experiences in the Russian Federation. Men and war veterans are most likely to leave a wounded or surrendering enemy combatant to die and most likely to find the use of landmines acceptable, even if civilians could step on them accidentally.

- 44 per cent of men, 47 per cent of veterans and 51 per cent of single men say it is acceptable to use landmines, compared with just 26 per cent of women (and 21 per cent of older women).
- 56 per cent of men and veterans would not help or save a wounded or surrendering enemy combatant, compared with 45 per cent of women.

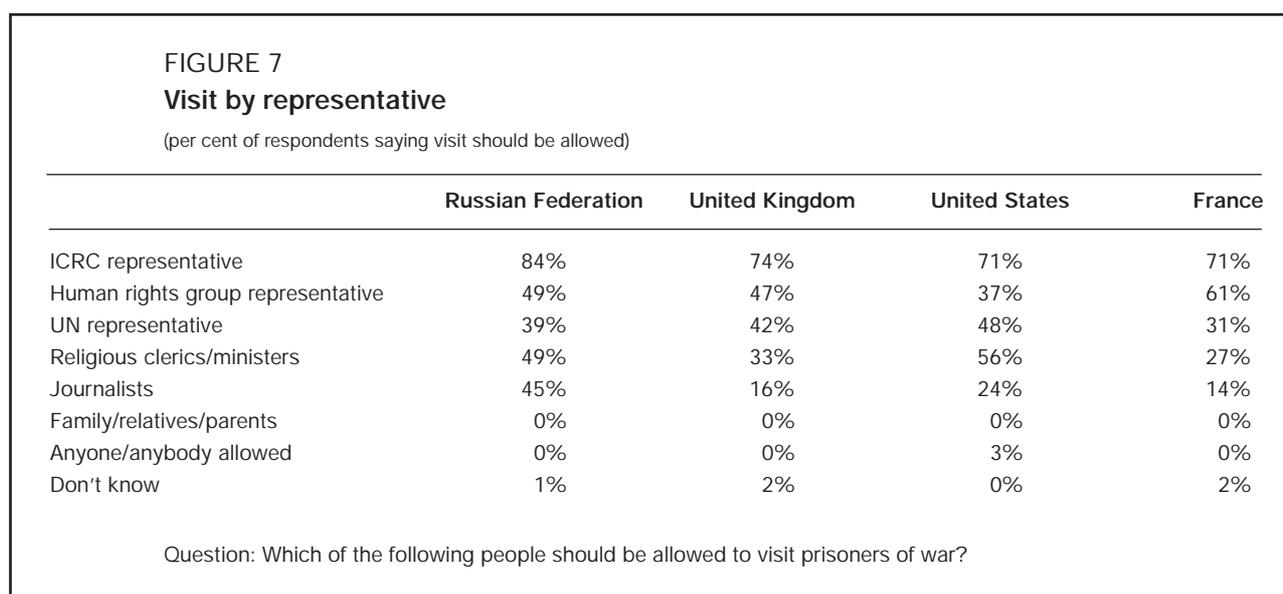
In the Russian Federation, women appear deeply opposed to more conventional war practices, whereas men are more likely to see them as being part of war. Women are also more reluctant than men to commit troops abroad and are the least knowledgeable about the laws that govern war.

Prisoners of war: understanding obligations

The public in the Russian Federation shares with the publics in France and the United Kingdom a very broad understanding that the authorities are obligated to protect prisoners of war: 78 per cent say prisoners must be allowed to have contact with relatives; 72 per cent say prisoners cannot be subjected to torture, even to get important information; 82 per cent say prisoners must be allowed a visit by a representative of an independent organization. (See Figure 6.)



While 84 per cent of the people surveyed would turn to representatives of the ICRC for such visits, they would also allow a wide spectrum of other representatives to have access to prisoners: human rights groups (49 per cent), religious clerics or ministers (49 per cent), journalists (45 per cent) and the United Nations (39 per cent). (See Figure 7.)



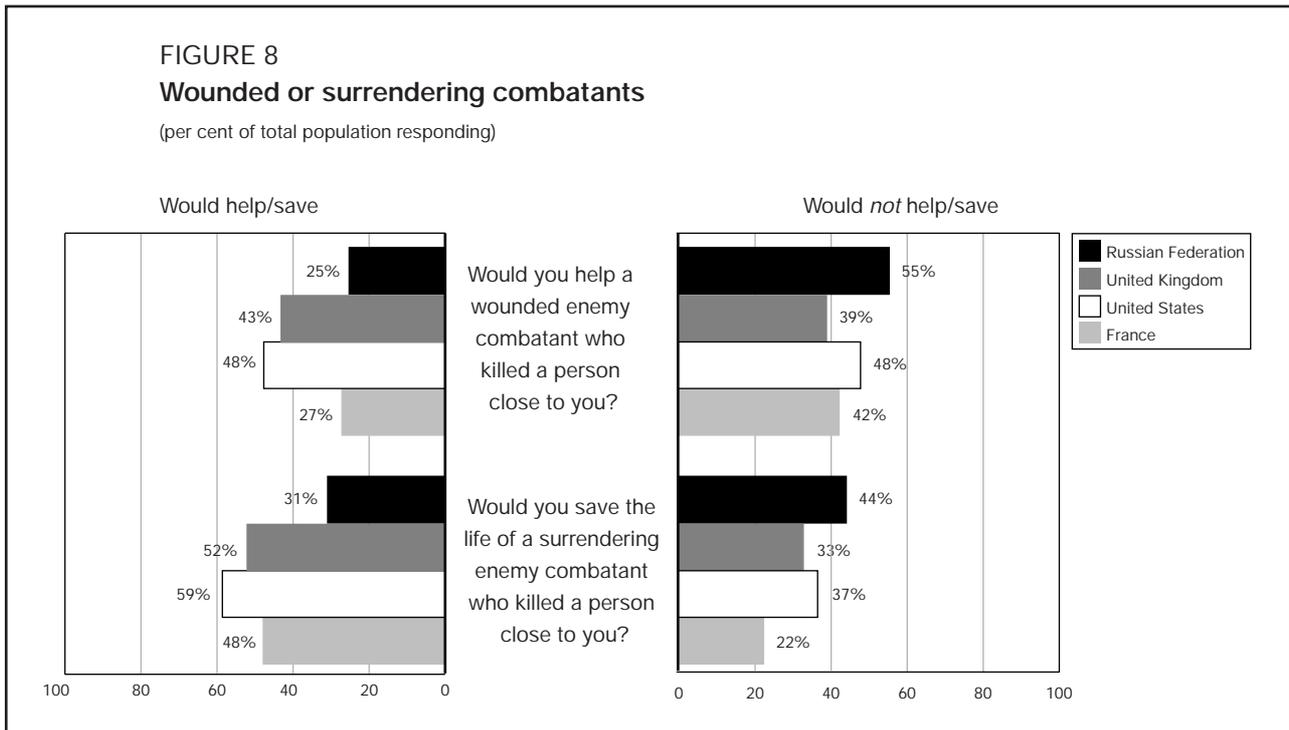
³ Figure 6 displays the percentages for those respondents who agree with certain statements as to how prisoners of war should be treated. For example, 78 per cent of respondents in the Russian Federation believe that prisoners should be allowed to contact relatives.

There is no support in the Russian Federation for killing prisoners. Just 5 per cent would agree to it if the other side in the war were doing it. Just 4 per cent say they ever think captured enemy soldiers or fighters deserve to die. The Russian Federation respondents interviewed for this project, however, doubt that they would hold up to these standards when confronted with an actual war situation. While the public in the Russian Federation has the highest standards among those surveyed for protecting civilians and non-combatants, it is also the most willing to acknowledge that it would not spare surrendering or wounded enemy combatants: 44 per cent would not save a surrendering enemy combatant and 55 per cent would not help a wounded enemy combatant who had killed a person close to them. (See Figure 8.) Perhaps a history of wars that have killed so many civilians, reactions to the recent conflict in Chechnya or simple human nature have left people uncertain of how they would behave in an actual conflict. Whatever the reasons, this realism leads them to insist on limits to prevent behaviour that has become all too natural in war.

FIGURE 8

Wounded or surrendering combatants

(per cent of total population responding)

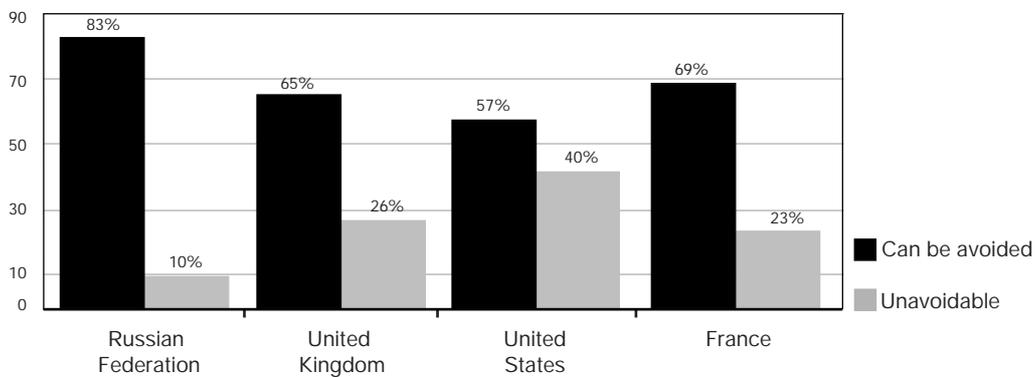


Failure of governments

The public in the Russian Federation believes that wars occur and civilians are endangered when governments fail in their responsibilities. Despite a century of almost constant conflict, in which millions of civilians have died, it refuses to see war as inevitable or unpreventable. The public in the Russian Federation sees a world in which wartime atrocities are happening with increasing frequency. Yet more than people in any of the other Security Council countries surveyed, they refuse to give in to fatalism: only 10 per cent believe wars are unavoidable and just 27 per cent that atrocities are inevitable. (See Figures 9 and 10.) In this respect, the Russian Federation stands out from France, the United Kingdom and the United States, where larger portions of the public have come to see war as a natural product of human affairs.

FIGURE 9
Avoidability of war

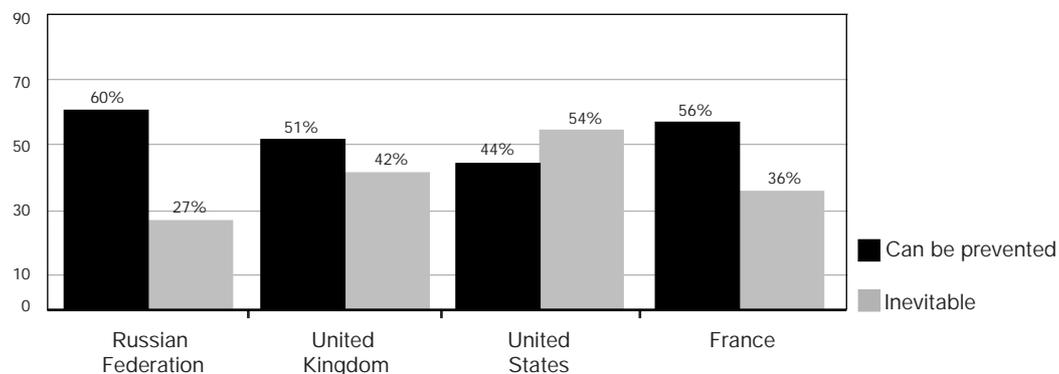
(per cent of total population responding)



Question: Can many of these wars abroad be avoided or are they mainly unavoidable?

FIGURE 10
Atrocities

(per cent of total population responding)



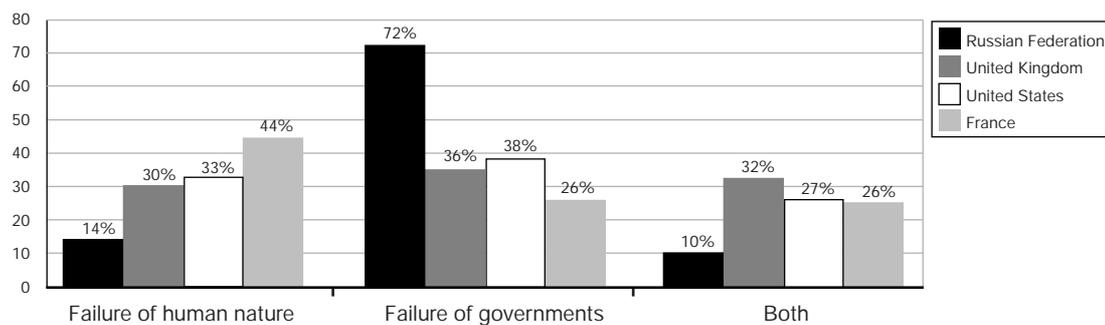
Question: Can these atrocities be prevented or are they inevitable?

The uniquely Russian perspective is evident in the rejection of the idea that wars happen because of a failure of human nature. Just 14 per cent believe that is true, while fully 72 per cent say they happen because governments fail. In the other Security Council countries surveyed, the public is divided on whether it is a question of human nature or government, but not in the Russian Federation, where the public focuses heavily on the failure of governments. (See Figure 11.)

FIGURE 11

Why war?

(per cent of total population responding)



Question: Why do you think these wars abroad continue to happen? Because of a failure of human nature or a failure of governments?

War crimes: governmental responsibility

The unique spotlight that the public in the Russian Federation puts on governments also illuminates how they would propose to handle war crimes. For them, this is the responsibility of governments, rather than the international community.

Three-quarters of the public say there are rules and laws so important that violators should be punished, and the same number would put violators on trial. In the Russian Federation, however, they would not give responsibility for judgment to an international court or other international entities. Just 21 per cent would turn to such institutions. The public in the Russian Federation believes institutions in countries at war, particularly the governments, should take responsibility for punishing wrongdoers: 35 per cent would turn to the government and 13 per cent to politicians in the warring countries to punish war criminals; 11 per cent would turn to the courts in countries at war and 14 per cent to the countries' military forces. (See Figure 12.)

FIGURE 12

Who should punish wrongdoers?

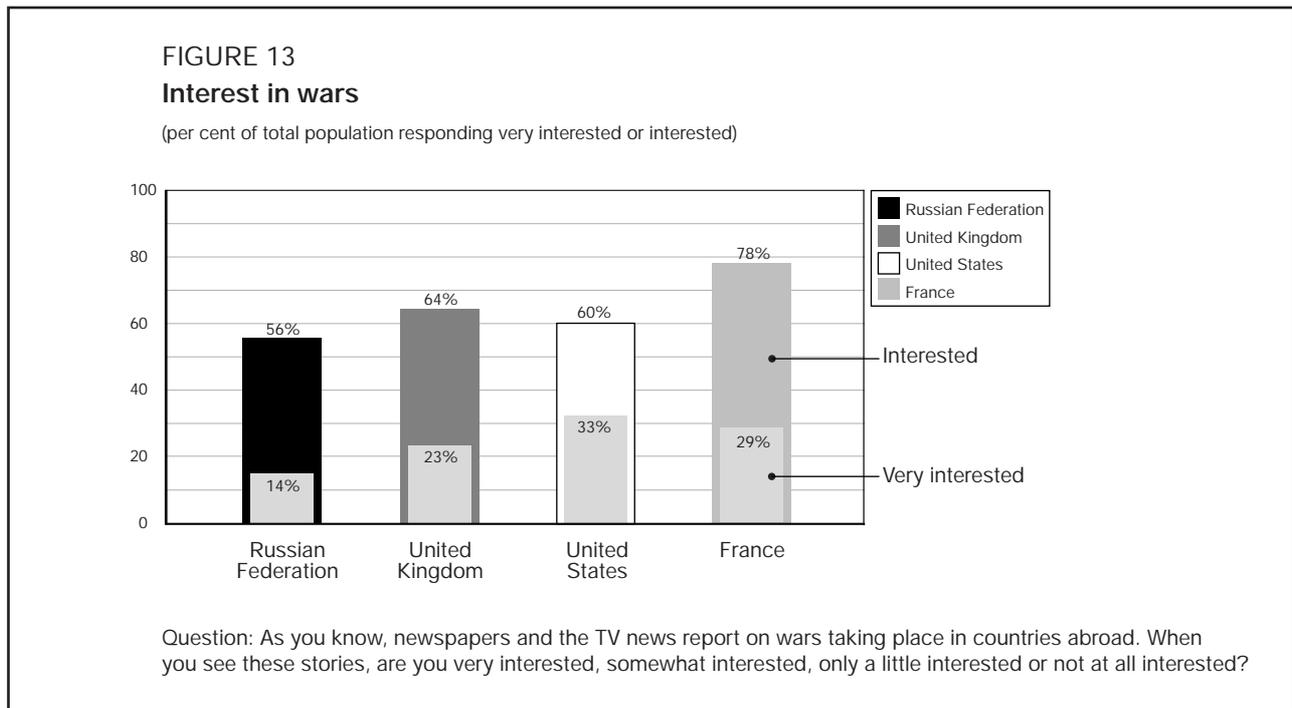
(per cent of total population responding)

	Russian Federation	United Kingdom	United States	France
International criminal court	21%	51%	40%	62%
The governments in the countries at war	35%	20%	21%	12%
The military itself	14%	11%	21%	2%
The courts in the countries at war	11%	7%	8%	7%
The civilian population	2%	2%	2%	5%
The politicians in the countries at war	13%	1%	2%	3%

Question: If these rules are broken in war, who should be responsible for punishing the wrongdoers?

Looking inward

The public in the Russian Federation is focused on developments at home; only a small minority are deeply interested in world affairs. Though this survey took place during the war in Yugoslavia – in which the Russian Federation played an important role – only 14 per cent say they are very interested in the news about wars abroad. While a majority of 56 per cent say they are either very interested or interested, this is well below the level of interest expressed in France, the United Kingdom and the United States in a similar period. (See Figure 13.) In the Russian Federation, lack of interest combines with strong disaffection about the state of world affairs: 78 per cent say things in the world are moving in the wrong direction.



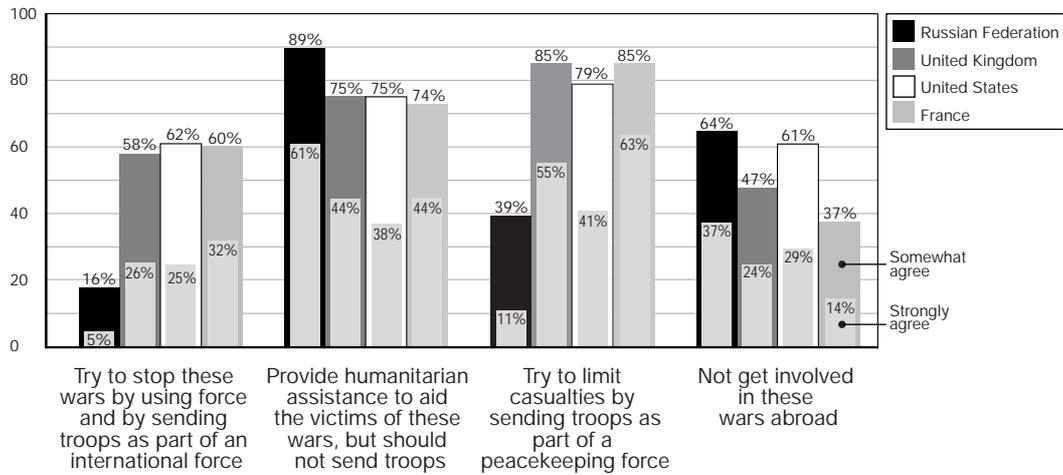
A negative view of world events coupled with a declining domestic economic and political situation has produced – and may also be a consequence of – a strong isolationist streak in the Russian Federation. Though a similar impulse is evident in the United States, it is even stronger in the Russian Federation, where almost two-thirds (64 per cent) say that their country should not get involved in wars abroad in which many civilians are endangered; 37 per cent strongly oppose getting involved.

Opposed to international interventions

In the midst of the Kosovo crisis, the public in the Russian Federation expresses great wariness about getting involved in any international military or peacekeeping operation intended to limit casualties in wars abroad. Just 39 per cent support sending troops as part of an international peacekeeping force to try to limit casualties. That is half the level of support evident in France, the United Kingdom and the United States. Just 16 per cent would support sending troops as part of an international force to stop these wars by force, about one-fourth the level of support in the other Security Council countries surveyed. (See Figure 14.) With the war in Yugoslavia as the backdrop, the public in the Russian Federation seems very wary of international military action to stop conflicts that threaten civilian populations.

FIGURE 14
Joining the conflict

(per cent of total population who "agree" with the statement "Your country should...")³



There is broad support in the Russian Federation for humanitarian assistance (89 per cent), as long as military force is not involved. The strong opposition to involvement by the Russian Federation in military action to protect civilians is rooted in women’s intense hostility to committing troops abroad. Two-thirds of women (68 per cent) say their country should be less involved in wars abroad (compared with 59 per cent of men), and only 30 per cent would send troops as part of an international peacekeeping force to limit civilian casualties (compared with 49 per cent of men). Women are the backbone of opposition to international intervention.

FIGURE 15
International intervention

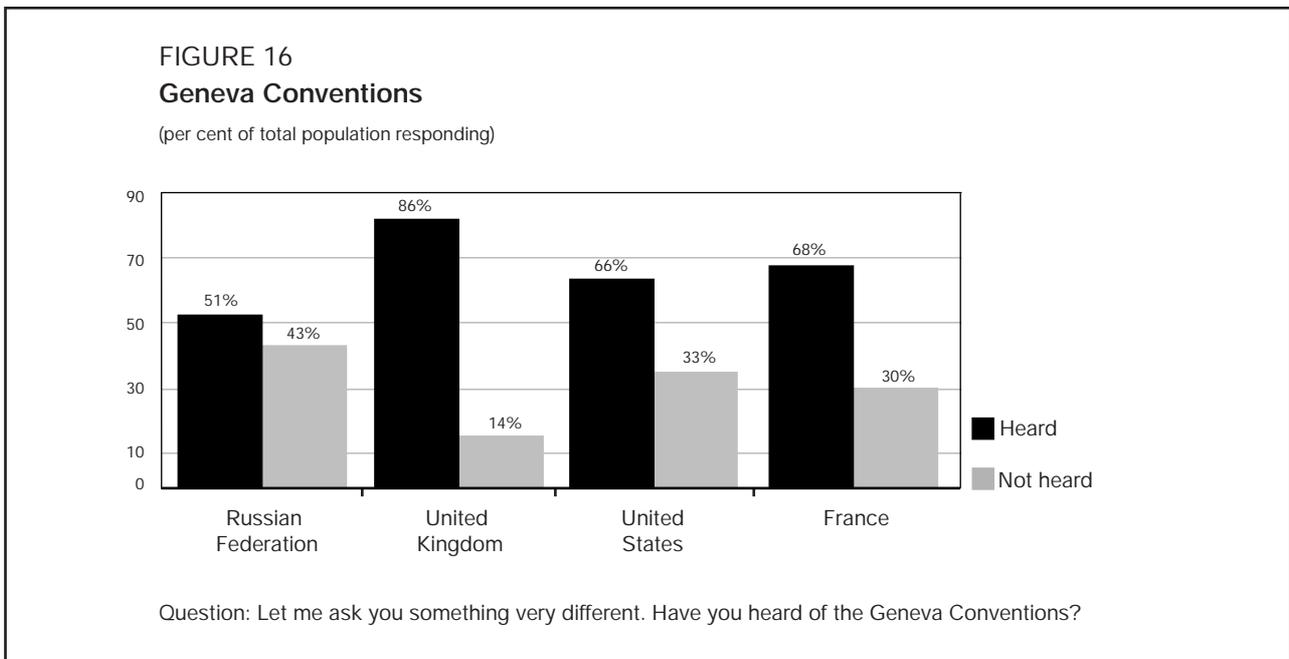
(per cent of total population responding)

	Russian Federation		United Kingdom		United States		France	
	Intl. community	Own country	Intl. community	Own country	Intl. community	Own country	Intl. community	Own country
More intervention	81%	47%	80%	48%	59%	39%	79%	52%
Less intervention	5%	22%	8%	33%	32%	50%	9%	20%
No intervention	7%	21%	3%	8%	6%	8%	4%	8%
Don't know	7%	9%	8%	11%	3%	3%	8%	20%

Question: In the future, would you like to see more or less intervention from the (international community or your country) to deal with these kinds of issues (civilian areas being attacked)?

Limited consciousness of international conventions and law

The public in the Russian Federation does not look to the international community to address the problems of war and the grave danger it presents to civilians. As indicated earlier, it thinks the institutions in war-torn countries ought to address the most serious abuses in war and believe governments could take more steps to avoid war and atrocities. The focus on leaving governments and the countries concerned to handle their own affairs comes at the expense of confidence in international institutions. Only 51 per cent of the public in the Russian Federation have heard of the Geneva Conventions, well below the level found in the other Security Council countries surveyed. A third of those who have heard of the Conventions could not describe anything specific about them. (See Figure 16.)



The lack of consciousness carries over more broadly to the question of law and threats to civilian populations in war. Only about one-third believe there are laws that would bar soldiers and fighters from depriving civilian populations of food, medicine or water, or from attacking combatants in populated towns and villages knowing that many civilians would be killed.

While women in the Russian Federation are the most insistent that wars have limits, they are also the least knowledgeable about the laws that prohibit the worst abuses. About 40 per cent of the men, but only about 30 per cent of women, say there are laws governing such matters. Women – particularly older women (50 years and over) – have little familiarity with the Geneva Conventions. Sixty-two per cent of men have heard of them, compared with 41 per cent of women, dropping to 27 per cent of older women.

In the Russian Federation, education has considerable influence on knowledge of the Geneva Conventions: while 38 per cent of those with some secondary education have heard of them, that figure rises to 76 per cent for those with a university education.

The role of the ICRC/Red Cross

Though the public in the Russian Federation remains ambivalent about the international community and international law, it is hardly ambivalent about the Red Cross. When asked what and whom the Red Cross emblem protects during war, they focus almost single-mindedly on helping civilians (31 per cent), helping the wounded and sick with medical assistance (39 per cent), and protecting hospitals (45 per cent). In other words, respondents focus mainly on the medical aspect of Red Cross activity.

The public in the Russian Federation, however, also assigns the ICRC/Red Cross the largest role in the protection of prisoners of war and endangered civilian populations: 84 per cent would turn to the ICRC to provide the independent representatives to visit prisoners of war; 56 per cent would turn to the ICRC/Red Cross to protect civilians in towns or villages that have been cut off from food, water, medical supplies and electricity. (See Figure 17.)

FIGURE 17

Turn to for help

(per cent of total population responding in each country)

	Russian Federation	United Kingdom	United States	France
The ICRC or Red Cross	56%	63%	71%	64%
International humanitarian organizations	34%	36%	30%	64%
The United Nations	25%	34%	28%	15%
Military and combatants	11%	14%	14%	7%
Journalists and the news media	12%	10%	9%	6%
Government leaders	24%	6%	10%	5%
Religious leaders	6%	6%	29%	5%
International criminal court	9%	5%	4%	9%
Other countries	3%	2%	2%	3%

Question: During wars, civilian areas are sometimes attacked, towns or villages are cut off from food, water, medical supplies and electricity. I'm going to read a list of organizations and people to whom civilians can turn to stop these kinds of things. Please tell me which *two* are most important to be there.

Receptivity to international initiatives

The people of the Russian Federation are acutely conscious of the need to limit what soldiers and fighters can do in battle. Up until now, they have not depended very much on the international community to address these problems. Instead, they have looked to individual governments to do better and take responsibility. The events in Kosovo have only reinforced this view. People in the Russian Federation are strongly opposed to committing military forces to any such military intervention, even for humanitarian ends.

Nonetheless, respondents support a broad range of non-military international humanitarian initiatives and think many would be effective in reducing the threat to civilians.

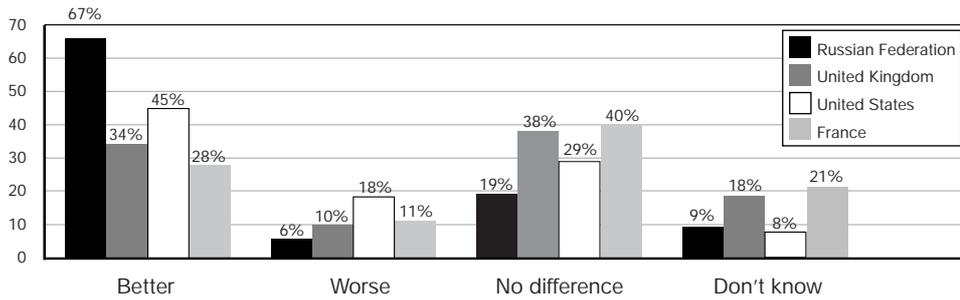
- Nearly nine in every ten people support sending humanitarian assistance (though not troops) to aid civilians. (See Figure 14.)
- More than eight in ten support "more intervention" by the international community to address the growing number of attacks on civilians in war. (See Figure 15.)
- Fully nine in ten think it has been a "good idea" to create international "protected areas" where civilians are kept away from the ongoing fighting; almost seven in ten believe these areas have made things better. (See Figure 18.)

- More than eight in ten think it is extremely or somewhat important to increase the effectiveness of laws that limit what combatants can do in battle.
- A majority of 54 per cent think international peacekeeping forces have made things better; only 4 per cent think they have made things worse. (See Figure 19.)

When the Geneva Conventions are described, a large plurality of 47 per cent say they prevent war from getting worse. (See Figure 20.)

FIGURE 18
Protected areas

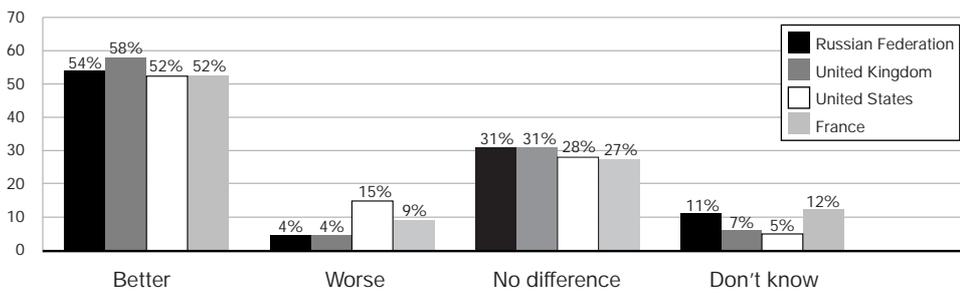
(per cent of total population responding)



Question: As far as you can tell, have these “protected areas” made it better or worse for civilians during these wars, or haven’t they made any difference?

FIGURE 19
International peacekeeping

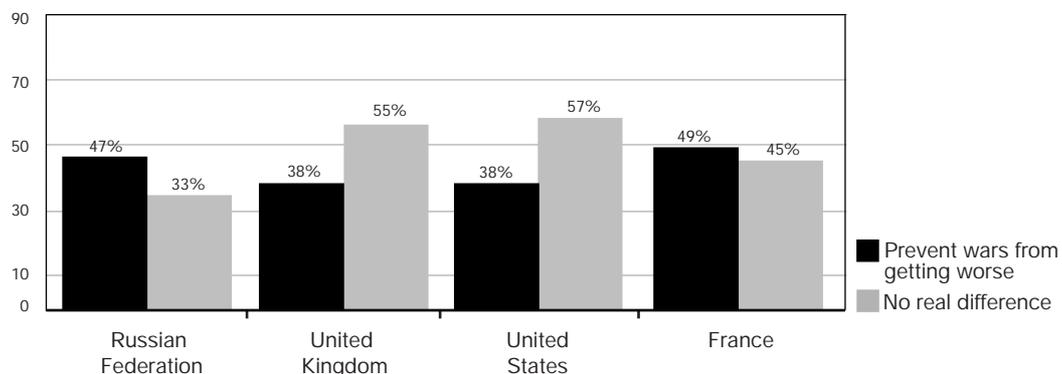
(per cent of total population responding)



Question: Do international peacekeeping forces make it better or worse for civilians during these wars, or don't they make any difference?

FIGURE 20
Impact of Geneva Conventions

(per cent of total population responding)



Question: Do you think the Geneva Conventions prevent wars from getting worse or do they make no real difference?

Under current circumstances, the public in the Russian Federation is wary of the outside world and cautious about depending on it to address the fundamental issues in war. It pays little attention to international law and institutions. Yet, despite the incidence of war in the country's history, people here still believe in the human capacity to limit war and protect civilians. The public in the Russian Federation is very willing to support institutions that promote these ends.

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 international 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 talking to people to get their views on some issues and laws, and I would like your help with that. We're not trying to sell anything, and this is completely confidential. 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 20 minutes].

1. 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.

What is your age?_____

- [Don't know/refused]

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

- [Don't know/refused]

3. At some point, did you serve in the military, or did you not serve in the military?

- Yes – military → **GO TO Q4**

- Did not serve → **GO TO Q5**

- [Don't know/refused] → **GO TO Q5**

4. **[ASK IF SERVED IN MILITARY]** Did you ever find yourself in combat or did you not find yourself in combat?

- Yes – combat

- Not in combat

- [Don't know/refused]

5. What is your current family situation?

- Married (have a husband or wife)

- Single

- Live together with someone (in a permanent relationship)

- Divorced/separated

- Spouse of missing person

- Widow/widower

- [Don't know/refused]

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

- No children

- Yes _____ children

* This questionnaire is the standard one used in France, Russian Federation, Switzerland, United Kingdom and United States.

- Farmer
- Manual worker
- Skilled worker
- Self employed
- Housewife/home care
- Soldier (combatant)
- Government employee
- Private sector employee
- Teacher/professor/intellectual
- Pensioner/retired
- Unemployed (looking for work)
- Unemployed (not looking for work)
- Student
- Other **[SPECIFY]**
- [Don't know/refused]

8. **[ASK OF ALL RESPONDENTS]** First, when you think about what is going on in the world today, are things mainly going in the right direction or mainly going in the wrong direction?

- Right direction
- Wrong direction
- Both [Volunteered response]
- [Don't know/refused]

9.** **SPLIT A:** As you know, newspapers and the TV news report on wars taking place in countries abroad. When you see those stories, are you very interested, interested, somewhat interested, only a little interested, or not at all interested?

SPLIT B: As you know, newspapers and the TV news report on wars taking place in countries abroad, not involving **[COUNTRY NAME]**. When you see those stories, are you very interested, interested, somewhat interested, only a little interested, or not at all interested?

	SPLIT A	SPLIT B
Very interested	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Interested	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Somewhat interested	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Only a little interested	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not at all interested	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
[Don't know/refused]	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

10. **SPLIT A:** When you see stories on war abroad, do you generally find yourself favouring one of the sides, or generally, do you *not* take sides?

SPLIT B: When you see stories on war abroad not involving **[COUNTRY NAME]**, do you generally find yourself favouring one of the sides, or generally, do you *not* take sides?

	SPLIT A	SPLIT B
Take sides	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not take sides	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
[Don't know/refused]	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

** Note: in the next set of questions, the sample was randomly split in two. Split A was asked of one half and Split B was asked of the other half.

11. **[ASK OF ALL RESPONDENTS]** When thinking about favouring one side in a war, which is more important to you? **[READ AND ROTATE]**

What each side is fighting for

OR

How each side acts during the war

Both [Volunteered response]

[Don't know/refused]

12. Can many of these wars abroad be avoided or are they mainly unavoidable?

Can be avoided

Unavoidable

[Don't know/refused]

13. Why do you think these wars abroad continue to happen? Because of...? **[READ AND ROTATE]**

A failure of human nature

OR

A failure of governments

Both [Volunteered response]

[Don't know/refused]

14. **[ASK OF ALL RESPONDENTS]** Let me ask you something different. I want to ask your views on what happens with soldiers and fighters during war. In your view, is there anything that soldiers and fighters should not be allowed to do in fighting their enemy? **[PROBE AND WRITE ANSWERS AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE]**

IF NO RESPONSE, GO TO Q18

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

It's wrong → **GO TO Q16**

It just causes too many problems → **GO TO Q17**

[Don't know/refused] → **GO TO Q18**

16. When you say, it's wrong, is it primarily wrong because it is...? **[READ AND ROTATE]**
[START WITH DIFFERENT ITEM EACH TIME] [MULTIPLE MENTION POSSIBLE]

Against the law

Against your personal code

Against your religion

Against what most people here believe

Against your culture

Against human rights

Other **[SPECIFY]**

[Don't know/refused]

17. **[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]

18. Now I would like to ask you some *general* questions about how, in your view, combatants – soldiers and fighters – should behave in times of war. When combatants 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]

19. Let me ask you about some things that combatants – soldiers and fighters – 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.

SPLIT A: What about 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?

SPLIT B: What about 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?

	SPLIT A	SPLIT B
Okay	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not okay	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
[Don't know/refused]	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

20. I will now describe some situations that may happen during war. 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.

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

SPLIT B: Would you help a wounded enemy combatant who killed a person close to you?

	SPLIT A		SPLIT B
Would save	<input type="checkbox"/>	Would help	<input type="checkbox"/>
Would not save	<input type="checkbox"/>	Would not help	<input type="checkbox"/>
[Don't know/refused]	<input type="checkbox"/>	[Don't know/refused]	<input type="checkbox"/>

21. **[ASK OF ALL RESPONDENTS]** Now I'm going to ask your opinion on some of the things soldiers and fighters might do in times of war. What about depriving the civilian population 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]

22. 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?

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

23. **SPLIT A:** What about attacking enemy combatants in populated villages or towns in order to weaken the enemy, knowing that many civilians would be killed?

SPLIT B: 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?

	SPLIT A	SPLIT B
Wrong	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Part of war	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Both [Volunteered response]	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
[Don't know/refused]	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

24. **[ASK OF ALL RESPONDENTS]** Are there any laws 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?

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

25. 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]

26. 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]

27. Now something different. Sometimes in these wars, the international community will create “protected areas”, where civilian populations are not to be attacked. Do you think that these protected areas are a good or bad idea?

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

28. As far as you can tell, have these “protected areas” made it better or worse for civilians during these wars, or haven't they made any difference?

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

29. Do international peacekeeping forces make it better or worse for civilians during these wars, or don't they make any difference?

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

30. Let me ask you something else. 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 MENTION ALLOWED]

- Landmines
- Laser weapons
- Napalm
- Nuclear weapons
- Chemical/biological weapons
- Cluster bombs
- Other **[SPECIFY]**
- No – are no weapons that shouldn't be used
- [Don't know/refused]
- Smart bombs
- Bombing (general)

31. What about soldiers and fighters 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]
-

32. Now let me ask you how prisoners of war should be treated. Must a prisoner of war be allowed to contact relatives, or doesn't that have to be allowed?

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

33. Is it true that a prisoner of war cannot be subjected to torture to obtain important military information, or can a prisoner of war be subjected to torture?

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

34. Must a prisoner of war be allowed a visit by a representative from an independent organization, or doesn't that have to be allowed?

- Must allow → GO TO Q35
- Don't have to allow → GO TO Q36
- [Don't know/refused] → GO TO Q36

35. **[IF MUST ALLOW]** Which of the following people should be allowed to visit prisoners of war...?
[READ AND ROTATE RESPONSES] [ALLOW MULTIPLE RESPONSES]

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

36. 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. 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?

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

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

37. In general, do you ever think that captured enemy soldiers or fighters deserve to die?

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

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

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

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

- Yes – heard
 No – not heard → GO TO Q42
 [Don't know/refused] → GO TO Q42

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

41. **[MARK APPROPRIATE RESPONSE]**

- Accurate
 Not accurate

42. Let me read you a statement about the Geneva Conventions.

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

Do you think the Geneva Conventions prevent wars from getting worse or do they make no real difference?

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

43. You are probably familiar with the red cross emblem. What kind of people or things does this symbol protect during war? **[WRITE ANSWERS AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE]**

44. 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 Q47
 [Don't know/refused] → GO TO Q47
-

45. If these rules are broken in war, who should be responsible for punishing the wrongdoers?

[READ AND ROTATE] [ONE RESPONSE ONLY]

- The government in the countries at war
- The courts in the countries at war
- International criminal court
- The military itself
- The civilian population
- The politicians in the countries at war
- Other **[SPECIFY]**
- Does not apply, rules are not broken [Volunteered response]
- [Don't know/refused]

46. 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]

47. During wars, civilian areas are sometimes attacked, towns or villages are cut off from food, water, medical supplies and electricity. I'm going to read a list of organizations and people to whom civilians can turn to stop these kinds of things. Please tell me which *two* are most important to be there.

[READ AND ROTATE] [RECORD THE TWO MOST IMPORTANT RESPONSES]

[FOLLOW UP WITH: Which two have played the biggest role?]

- The military and combatants
- Religious leaders
- International humanitarian organizations
- Journalists and the news media
- The United Nations
- ICRC or Red Cross
- Government leaders
- International criminal court
- Other countries
- Nobody did anything [Volunteered response]
- [Don't know/refused]

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

SPLIT B: In the future, would you like to see more or less intervention by **[COUNTRY NAME]** to deal with these kinds of issues?

	SPLIT A	SPLIT B
More intervention	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Less intervention	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
No intervention [Volunteered response]	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
[Don't know/refused]	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

49. Which of the following statements best describes your own feelings about these rules and laws limiting what soldiers and fighters can do in war? **[READ AND ROTATE]**

- These rules are necessary because there will always be wars
- These rules are very important, but it would be better to work at ways to prevent war
- These rules encourage wars by saying there is an acceptable way to conduct war
- [Don't know/refused]

I'm going to read you different ways to reduce the number of victims in war. Please tell me whether each would be an extremely important, somewhat important, a little important or not very important way to reduce the number of victims. **[ROTATE ORDER]**

50. Increasing the effectiveness of laws and rules that limit what combatants can do in war.
51. Increasing the accuracy of weapons to reduce the unintended casualties.
52. Increasing the news coverage of these wars so that atrocities are exposed.
53. Decreasing the numbers of weapons available to soldiers and fighters in the world.

[FOLLOW UP] Is that an extremely important, somewhat important, little important or not very important way to reduce the number of victims?

	50	51	52	53
Extremely important	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Somewhat important	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A little important	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not very important	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
[Don't know/refused]	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

54. Newspapers and TV sometimes report on atrocities taking place in wars abroad. Are atrocities like these taking place more frequently today, less frequently, or are they about as frequent as in the past?

- More frequently
- Less frequently
- About as frequent as in the past
- [Don't know/refused]

55. Can these atrocities be prevented or are they inevitable?

- Can be prevented
- Inevitable
- [Don't know/refused]

Let me read you some statements about the role [COUNTRY NAME] can play in these wars abroad. For each statement please tell me if you agree or disagree. [ROTATE ORDER]

56. [COUNTRY NAME] should provide humanitarian assistance to aid the victims of these wars, but not send troops.
57. [COUNTRY NAME] should try to stop these wars by using force and by sending troops as part of an international force.
58. [COUNTRY NAME] should try to limit casualties by sending troops as part of a peacekeeping force.
59. [COUNTRY NAME] should not get involved in these wars abroad.

[FOLLOW UP] Do you strongly (agree/disagree) or somewhat (agree/disagree)?

	56	57	58	59
Strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Somewhat agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Somewhat disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Strongly disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
[Don't know/refused]	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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.
