

OUR WORLD. VIEWS FROM THE FIELD.

GEORGIA

OPINION SURVEY AND IN-DEPTH RESEARCH, 2009



Our world is in a mess.
It's time to make your move.

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CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	5
INTRODUCTION	13
The Solferinos of today	14
Research	14
Background and objectives	15
Georgia – research methodology	15
Report structure	18
Georgia in context	18
The ICRC in Georgia	19
OPINION SURVEY	21
The Impact of Armed Conflict	22
Personal experience of armed conflict	22
People's greatest fears	24
Feelings as a consequence of armed conflict	25
Civilians' needs in armed conflict	27
Help and support from entities/institutions	28
Barriers to receiving help	31
Reducing suffering	32
The role of external actors	33
Behaviour during Armed Conflict	36
Limits to behaviour	36
Threats to civilians	38
Health workers and ambulances	40
Health workers and services: the right to health care	42
The Geneva Conventions	44
IN-DEPTH RESEARCH	47
The Impact of Armed Conflict	48
Personal experience of armed conflict	49
Civilians' needs in armed conflict	52
Humanitarian assistance	53
Humanitarian gestures	55
Behaviour during Armed Conflict	57
Rules of conflict	57
Right to health care and protecting health workers	58
The Geneva Conventions	59
Conclusions: priority actions	60
Specific trends for different groups	62
APPENDICES	63
Opinion Survey	64
Sample profile	64
Sampling details	64
Marked-up questionnaire	66
In-Depth Research	85
Discussion guide	85

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This research was undertaken in eight countries that were experiencing or had experienced armed conflict or other situations of armed violence. These were: Afghanistan; Colombia; Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC); Georgia; Haiti; Lebanon; Liberia and the Philippines.¹ The aim was to develop a better understanding of people's needs and expectations, to gather views and opinions, and to give a voice to those who had been adversely affected by armed conflict and other situations of armed violence.

This research was commissioned by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) within the framework of the **Our world. Your move.** campaign. Launched in 2009, the campaign's goal was to draw public attention to the vulnerability and ongoing suffering of people around the world. The intention was to emphasize the importance of humanitarian action and to convince individuals that they had the ability to make a difference and reduce suffering.

2009 was an important year for the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, with three significant anniversaries (the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Solferino, the 90th anniversary of the founding of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, and the 60th anniversary of the Geneva Conventions).

In 1999, the ICRC had undertaken a similar survey entitled *People on War*, which served as a basis for comparison and as a means of highlighting trends in opinions 10 years on.

This report encompasses two types of research: an opinion survey and in-depth research.

OPINION SURVEY

The Impact of Armed Conflict

Forms of violence/suffering and their consequences

All internally displaced persons had personal experience of armed conflict in Georgia. Around a quarter of the resident population surveyed have been affected in some way by armed conflict there. Those with direct personal experience made up 10% of the resident population, and others also report suffering a range of serious hardships. In total, 26% of the resident population had been affected in some way – either personally or owing to the wider consequences of armed conflict. For both groups – internally displaced persons and the resident population – there have been two key periods of such experiences: within the last year, and 10-19 years ago.

In the process of fleeing their homes, almost all internally displaced persons lost all their belongings (99%) and saw their property seriously damaged (91%) or looted (93%). Most lost contact with a close relative (70%) and had restricted access to health care (70%) and basic necessities (67%).

Among the resident population, these experiences are far less widespread (typically, they have been experienced by fewer than one person in 10) – but people have been deeply affected emotionally by their experiences.

People's key fears are: losing loved ones (43% of the resident population, 54% of internally displaced persons), (further) displacement (37%/32%) and losing property (26%/39%). A quarter (25%) of internally displaced persons are concerned that they may not even survive the conflict – and general 'uncertainty' is a concern to many in both groups.

¹ Respondents in seven of the eight countries were asked about 'armed conflict'. Please note that respondents in Haiti were asked about 'armed violence'.

Needs and assistance

During armed conflict, people primarily need ‘the basics’ – food (cited by 44% of the resident population, 46% of internally displaced persons), shelter (48%/42%), protection (40%/52%) and medical treatment (24%/19%). They also consider ‘conflict resolution’ a priority (23%/49%).

The resident population generally call on those ‘closest to home’ – their parents and families – for immediate support (30%). By comparison, 9% have received such help from government, and 7% in total from the ICRC and/or the Georgian Red Cross.

Internally displaced persons have to look farther afield for help – as very often their families have been separated or loved ones killed. Government plays a primary role in meeting their needs (82% have called on it for help), as does the Georgian Red Cross (21%), the ICRC (39% – 51% for the Georgian Red Cross and the ICRC together), the UN (38%) and NGOs (33%).

Internally displaced persons feel that most organizations do not fully understand their needs. Only one of every three of the internally displaced says that the UN, government, the Georgian Red Cross, religious entities or the military ‘fully’ understands their needs.

Obstacles to receiving help

The resident population and internally displaced persons cite corruption (26% and 53%) and geographical inaccessibility (39% and 21%) as barriers to receiving support.

The internally displaced highlight black markets (46%) and a lack of awareness that help is available (20%) as obstacles to receiving help. They very rarely say that pride/dignity (1%) or lack of need (1%) causes help to be refused.

Reducing suffering

People – the internally displaced especially – often turn first to religious entities to ‘reduce suffering during armed conflict’ (19% of all respondents and 30% of internally displaced persons). Forty-one per cent of all respondents and 46% of internally displaced persons say that religious entities have some role to play (even if not a primary role).

The Georgian Red Cross is cited by 20% of the resident population, but by fewer (11%) internally displaced persons. However, internally displaced persons mention the ICRC slightly more (21%) than do the resident population (15%).

Around a third of the resident population and internally displaced persons mention either the Georgian Red Cross or the ICRC.

Very few people belonging to either group feel ‘community leaders’ play an important role in reducing suffering.

The international community

Both the resident population and – in particular – internally displaced persons want the international community to organize peace talks/negotiations (46% and 70%).

There is considerable support for direct intervention, such as delivering emergency aid (32% of the resident population, 34% of internally displaced persons), sending peacekeepers (25%/50%), and putting an end to conflict by military intervention (27%/28%). However, economic sanctions and rebuilding infrastructure receive much less support.

People living outside the conflict zones (i.e. citizens living in other countries) also have a key role to play. Above all, they are called on to donate money and goods, but also – particularly by the internally displaced – to volunteer their help.

Behaviour during Armed Conflict

Acceptable behaviour

In Georgia, three-fifths (62%) of the resident population and 84% of internally displaced persons say that certain behaviour is unacceptable in armed conflict. Thirteen per cent of the resident population and 8% of internally displaced persons say that there are no limits to behaviour.

Very few of the resident population (3%) or internally displaced persons (1%) see civilians and combatants as equally acceptable targets. This is little changed since 1999.

Furthermore, there is an increasingly widespread view (already well established 10 years ago) that civilians should not be targeted in any circumstances.

There are indications that the attitudes of the resident population have been shifting in the past 10 years. It should be noted, however, that there are important differences in the way that questions were phrased then and now. The comparisons below exclude the internally displaced persons group.

- 94% of the resident population now say it is 'not OK' to 'attack religious and historical monuments'. (In 1999, 75% said this was 'wrong')
- 89% now say it is 'not OK' for combatants to 'deprive civilians of food, medicine or water to weaken the enemy'. (In 1999, 43% said this was 'wrong')
- 83% now say it is 'not OK' to 'attack enemy combatants in populated villages or towns knowing many civilians would be killed'. (In 1999, 54% said this was 'wrong')

Health workers, ambulances and the right to health care

Ninety-two per cent of the resident population and 87% of internally displaced persons say that it is never acceptable to attack health workers. Both sets of respondents hold similar views on attacking ambulances, 94% of the resident population and 88% of internally displaced persons rule it out completely.

In both groups, 88% feel that wounded civilians from all sides in a conflict should be treated by health workers – and both groups agree that 'everyone wounded or sick during an armed conflict should have the right to health care' (97% of the resident population and 100% of internally displaced persons agree).

The Geneva Conventions

Seventy-five per cent of internally displaced persons, but only 48% of the resident population, have heard of the Geneva Conventions.

However only around a third (33% and 29%) of people in both groups say the Geneva Conventions have 'a great deal' of impact in limiting the suffering of civilians in time of war.

IN-DEPTH RESEARCH

The Impact of Armed Conflict

All, even those who understand the reasons behind the fighting, question whether the most recent armed conflict had really been necessary. Ultimately, the losses incurred are perceived as being too great to justify any of the gains made.

Given their experiences, many find it difficult to discuss armed conflict and what it means to them. What they lived through has emotionally scarred them. Some have coped by psychologically distancing themselves from the events.

Personal experience of armed conflict

Experiences of armed conflict fall into three main categories: displacement, the loss of friends and relatives and the emotional impact. Regarding displacement, many have been forced to rely on the kindness of strangers as a means of finding shelter. However, while they are grateful for this, the lack of facilities means it is still difficult to do the most basic of tasks such as cooking. Displacement also causes great emotional suffering, as several of the respondents had lived in one home all their lives and the loss of all their homes and possessions feels like a loss of identity.

The grief caused by the loss of loved ones affects people's ability to function normally in their everyday lives. Individuals are beset with feelings of fatalism about their chances of suffering further losses in the future.

In some instances, people were killed as a result of the conflict but the bodies have not been returned, or their family member simply went missing. In both cases, those left behind find it difficult to find 'closure' and move on with their lives.

Many are more fearful about the future as a result of the conflict and have taken steps to ensure they are prepared should such a situation arise again. In addition, respondents express feelings of anger, confusion and shame about what has happened to them. Some state that the conflict makes them determined to ensure the mistakes of the past are not repeated.

Civilians' needs

In a time of armed conflict, the respondents' definition of needs changes entirely. Firstly, all express their desire for peace. However, while long-term stability is their key aim, many also reference their immediate and pressing needs in conflict: food, shelter and the safety of their families.

Humanitarian assistance

For many, the humanitarian assistance provided has enabled them to survive the conflict. The Georgian Red Cross is referred to most often as key in the provision of aid. Civilians speak of how the ICRC and the Georgian Red Cross provided them with practical and emotional help and often information on the whereabouts of their loved ones. They also helped to pass on skills and expertise, such as how to find the missing and arrange for their return. More broadly, the presence of the Georgian Red Cross showed civilians they had not been abandoned.

There are other key players mentioned in the field of humanitarian assistance. Principal among these is the church, whose members were felt to offer help at great personal risk to themselves. Emercom (the Russian Ministry of Emergency Situations) is also cited by South Ossetians and Abkhazians.

Overall, participants are grateful to have received any assistance at all, so suggestions to improve are limited. One suggestion is to have aid delivered in a timely manner. While it is felt that the ICRC and the Georgian Red Cross are able to do this, other organizations are thought not to carry the same weight.

Some suggest that the provision of help be tailored to meet the needs of the local population, for example, foodstuffs that are more in keeping with their cultural traditions.

Civilians often turned to one another during the conflict for help and acts of humanitarian kindness. This ensured even the most vulnerable were supported. Some examples of such acts include: the provision of shelter to internally displaced persons; the care of the elderly and those with health conditions and unable to leave their homes; and the provision of food to those unable or unwilling to venture outside.

Behaviour during Armed Conflict

Rules of conflict

There is full support for the laws which protect civilians during an armed conflict. However, many believe in the corrupting nature of war and feel that the extent to which the laws are observed depends on the character of the individual. They feel that those who have been denied life chances, such as an education, are often attracted to the army and may know no better than to resort to violence. Some also state that wars are not only fought by armies but by mercenaries and bandits who do not adhere to any law.

More broadly, some feel the nature of warfare has changed fundamentally and civilians are now seen as legitimate targets rather than being excluded from the conflict. Because of this and a lack of knowledge about humanitarian law, there is a sense that the rules governing conduct in war need to change to reflect this new reality.

Right to health care

All endorse the right to health care by everyone as and when it is needed. They believe those injured as a result of an armed conflict ought to be afforded equal access to health care.

There is also the understanding that the medical profession is, by virtue of the Hippocratic Oath, obliged to help all.

The essential work of health personnel is unreservedly praised. It is recognized that they work in often intolerable conditions, with limited supplies and at great risk to themselves. All believe that health personnel should be protected during an armed conflict.

The Geneva Conventions

In spite of strong support for rules that govern conduct during armed conflict, there is limited awareness of the Geneva Conventions. Even among those who work for the Georgian Red Cross, there is a disparity in what they believe to be the focus of the Geneva Conventions. Some believe they focus on how to avoid armed conflicts, while others believe they are there to regulate the military technology used and to govern the treatment of prisoners of war.

Among those who are unaware, the use of the word 'Geneva' indicates the nature of the laws. Geneva is associated with peace and neutrality and, therefore, it is assumed that the Geneva Conventions are concerned with these issues too.

Conclusions: priority actions

Civilians advocate spreading three global messages: respect for others; preparation in case of another outbreak of war; and the need to value and cherish peace.

Regarding respect for others, there is a sense that conflicts erupt due to misunderstandings between people from different backgrounds. It is therefore thought that the risk of this could be lessened if messages are communicated that promote the importance of respect and tolerance.

Many are fearful for the future and because of this want to be prepared in the event of another armed conflict. They are keen that information is communicated to them so that they will know where to go and where they could be safe.

Finally, many believe they could credibly communicate messages promoting peace as they have experienced the full negative impact of war. They believe the importance of dialogue and mediation should be emphasized to ensure it is clear that there is always another option aside from war.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The Solferinos of today

To raise awareness of the impact of armed conflict or other situations of armed violence on civilians, the ICRC decided to launch a vast research programme. This research focused on some of the most troubled places in the world – the Solferinos of today – which are either experiencing situations of armed conflict or violence or suffering their aftermath:

- Afghanistan
- Colombia
- Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)
- Georgia (covered in this report)
- Haiti
- Lebanon
- Liberia
- The Philippines

Research

The ICRC commissioned Ipsos, an international research agency, to conduct an opinion survey (statistical, quantitative research) and to design and analyse in-depth (qualitative) research in eight countries.

For the **opinion survey**, a broadly representative sample of the adult general public was interviewed, either in person or by telephone, in each country. Fieldwork was conducted by Ipsos and its international partners. The specific sampling methods and any groups/areas excluded are described in the Appendices. The questionnaire was designed to determine whether the respondents had personal experience of armed conflict/violence and, if so, the specific impact it had on them. Questions also explored respondents' views on what conduct was acceptable for combatants, the effectiveness of various groups and organizations in helping to reduce suffering during armed conflict or armed violence, the actions expected of the international community, awareness of the Geneva Conventions, and the role of health workers during armed conflict or armed violence.

The **in-depth research** was conducted through focus groups and one-to-one in-depth interviews in each country. Ipsos designed, analysed and reported on the findings, with ICRC staff conducting the qualitative fieldwork. The discussion guide was designed to complement the opinion survey and to enable the ICRC to deepen its understanding of the values, motivations, fears and aspirations of those who have been direct victims of armed conflict or armed violence. These included people separated from their families, internally displaced persons, first responders and others directly affected by armed conflict or armed violence.

Further details of the coverage and scope of the research in Georgia are given in the section on 'Research Methodology'. The questionnaire used in the opinion survey (marked-up with overall results) and the discussion guide used in the in-depth research are included in the Appendices.

In 1999, ICRC carried out broadly similar opinion research as part of its *People on War* project. The programme covered some of the countries reported on in 2009 – including Georgia – and several of the 1999 questions have therefore been revisited in order to provide trendlines. These are highlighted in the report where applicable.

Background and objectives

The year 2009 had great significance for the ICRC and the entire International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement ('the Movement'), as two major anniversaries in the history of humanitarian work took place:

- The 150th anniversary of the Battle of Solferino. On 24 June 1859, Henry Dunant, a Swiss businessman, happened to witness the aftermath of one of the most brutal battles of the 19th century – at Solferino, in what is now northern Italy – and the carnage left on the battlefield. The suffering he saw there prompted him to take the first steps towards the creation of the Movement. His book *A Memory of Solferino* led to the founding of the ICRC in 1863. In recognition of his work, Dunant was the joint first recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, in 1901.
- The 60th anniversary of the Geneva Conventions (12 August 1949). The four Geneva Conventions are the cornerstone of international humanitarian law. They protect, respectively, wounded and sick members of armed forces on the battlefield; wounded, sick and shipwrecked members of armed forces at sea; prisoners of war; and civilians in time of war.

To mark these anniversaries, as well as the 90th anniversary of the founding of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the Movement launched a campaign – **Our world. Your move.** – to remind everyone of their individual responsibility to relieve human suffering.

The campaign was based on the premise that **Our world** faces unprecedented challenges, from armed conflict and mass displacement to climate change and migration; and it contends that **Your move** reminds us of our collective responsibility to make the world a better place. Like Henry Dunant, we can all make a difference, even through the simplest of gestures.

Throughout 2009, the ICRC undertook various activities to mark these historic milestones by highlighting the ongoing plight of people – particularly the most vulnerable – caught up in armed conflict or armed violence around the world.

Georgia – research methodology

OPINION SURVEY

A total of 500 people aged 18 or over were interviewed in person (face-to-face) between 16 and 24 February 2009. Three-fifths of the interviews (300) were conducted with Georgians from a range of areas (excluding Abkhazia and South Ossetia) – referred to in this report as 'the resident population'. The remaining interviews (200) were conducted with internally displaced persons from either Abkhazia or Shida Kartli. Random probability sampling was used to ensure that the final sample would be broadly representative of the Georgian population (aged 18-years-old or over) as a whole. In addition, the results of the sample of 300 from the resident population have been statistically 'weighted' to correct for any discrepancies between the sample profile and that of the equivalent population. The internally displaced persons sample was not weighted, as the profile of the equivalent population is unknown.

According to 2009 estimates, Georgia's population was around 4,600,000. The median age was 39 years. Age distribution was fairly well balanced, with those aged 14 or below and those aged 65 or over each representing 16% of the entire population. Life expectancy was 73 years for men and 80 years for women.

On this basis, this survey of people aged 18 and over was representative of approximately 3,700,000 people.

Because samples were interviewed – not the whole population – the results are subject to ‘sampling tolerances.’ These show how accurately a result from the sample reflects the result that would have been obtained from the whole population had it been interviewed.

Please see the Appendices for details on sampling tolerances.

On the charts, a ‘*’ sign refers to a percentage of less than 0.5%, but greater than zero.

IN-DEPTH RESEARCH

The purpose of the research in each country was to understand the deeper values, motivations, fears and aspirations of those who had been direct victims of armed conflict or associated violence. The research was carried out through focus groups and one-to-one in-depth interviews, carried out by ICRC staff. The combination of these qualitative research methods was used to allow both interactive debate and personal narrative to emerge from the conversations.

The sample was organized according to a number of groups who are particularly affected in times of conflict namely:

- **Internally displaced persons.** At the time of writing, it was estimated that more than 26 million people around the globe were displaced within their own countries owing to armed conflict, violence and persecution. The internally displaced make up what has been described as the single largest group of vulnerable people in the world. Internal displacement is one of the most serious consequences of armed conflict; people are forced from their homes and suffer extreme hardship.
- **Members of separated families.** War, disasters and migration lead to many thousands of families being separated. The suffering created by such situations is not always visible to others. This global problem is mostly a silent tragedy. Needing to know what happened to a loved one is as great a humanitarian need as food, water or shelter. Too many victims of armed conflict and armed violence around the world remain without news of missing family members.
- **First responders.** A ‘first responder’ is most often considered as the first health worker to arrive at the scene of an emergency. However, a first responder is much more – it is anyone who provides a helping hand or a shoulder to cry on.

These groups were used to recruit participants in seven of the eight contexts to be able to draw some comparisons on a global level. In Haiti these groups were first responders and victims of violence, including sexual violence.

In addition, a specific group was selected for each country to cover an issue particular to that country. In relation to the Georgia/South Ossetia conflict, it was decided to conduct one focus group of **South Ossetians** and an extra group of first responders in Georgia, to make up the group total of five. This was so that the experiences on both sides of the conflict could be reflected and because of the particular interest in first responders there.

It should be noted that:

- All respondents were civilians (i.e. not combatants) and were selected based on the ICRC’s on-the-ground knowledge of the areas most affected by the conflict in Georgia.
- Respondents’ comments, in their own words, have been included throughout the in-depth research chapters of this report, accompanied by a brief indication of their backgrounds. In order to protect identities, the names used in this report have been changed, but other facts about individuals are real. Respondents’ ages are sometimes omitted when they could not be verified, but have generally been provided. These respondents’ comments were selected by Ipsos and do not reflect the opinions of the ICRC.

- Respondents were often affected in multiple ways by the armed conflict. As such, for example, someone who was invited to share their experiences of being an internally displaced person may also have commented on their experiences of having been a cluster munitions victim.
- Likewise, the division between first responders and other types of civilian is not always easy to define. First responders included: ordinary civilians thrust into giving humanitarian assistance because of the conflict affecting their town, community or family; health workers; and members of humanitarian organizations, including the ICRC. Comments in this report sometimes reflect this range of experiences by individual respondents.
- Interviews were conducted and group discussions moderated by ICRC staff in Georgia. Although the interviewers were trained in qualitative research, the fact that they were from the ICRC introduced the possibility of bias in what respondents were prepared to share and how they expressed it. However, interviewers were working to an interview guide designed by Ipsos and the analysis was also undertaken by Ipsos.

For the Georgia report, five group discussions were carried out, lasting between 90 and 120 minutes each, with each of the following groups:

- **Internally displaced persons.** This group consisted of six internally displaced people from Abkhazia, aged between 27 and 72; three men and three women. This took place in Zugdidi.
- **Relatives of missing persons.** This group consisted of a woman of 70 whose son had been missing since the Abkhazia war of 1992-93; another woman of 70 who had lost two sons and two brothers in conflicts and a man of 80 whose only son had gone missing during the South Ossetia conflict.
- **First responders.** One group consisted of seven Georgian Red Cross and ICRC staff in Georgia, aged between 16 and 39. A further group comprised five mobile clinic doctors and nurses. Both took place in Tbilisi. It was felt to be important to capture the view of first responders both inside and outside the International Red Cross/Red Crescent Movement.
- **South Ossetians.** This took place in Tskhinvali and included a journalist, an NGO worker and a teacher, all living and working in South Ossetia. Though harder to access, it was essential to include South Ossetian voices given the nature of the 2008 conflict there.

In addition, eight in-depth qualitative interviews were carried out, lasting 45 minutes to one hour each:

- 2 interviews with South Ossetians – one with the head of a South Ossetian NGO and one with a representative of the South Ossetian administration.
- 6 interviews with Georgians:
 - 3 interviews with internally displaced persons (two men and one woman displaced from Abkhazia);
 - 2 interviews with relatives of missing persons (one with a man whose father was killed in Gori and one with the mother of a woman who went missing in a previous conflict in 1993);
 - 1 interview with a first responder, a mobile clinic doctor in Gori.

Report structure

An Executive Summary with the key findings is followed by the main body of the report, covering each broad subject area in turn. The results of the opinion survey among the general public are reported on first, followed by the findings of the in-depth research among victims of armed conflict/armed violence.

The Appendices contain the sample profile and full questionnaire used in the opinion survey, marked-up with the overall country results (including the 1999 trend comparisons where applicable) and the discussion guide used in the in-depth research.

Please note that no country comparisons are made in this report. These can be found in the separate Summary Report covering all eight countries.

Georgia in context

Georgia's history can be traced back to ancient times, when it was known as Colchis, but at the time of writing the country was best remembered as one of the 15 republics of the former Soviet Union. After the restoration of independence in April 1991, it was governed by the nationalist forces of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia during a brief period characterized by a society split between supporters and opponents of the government, economic stagnation and armed conflict in the northern province of South Ossetia. The regime was deposed in an armed conflict that brought to power a military council headed by Edvard Shevardnadze, the former Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs.

A ceasefire was achieved in South Ossetia; however, in 1992 another armed conflict, in the north-western province of Abkhazia, resulted in massive destruction, human casualties on both the Georgian and Abkhaz sides and the displacement of approximately 250,000 people of Georgian ethnicity from Abkhazia. In September 1993, Sukhumi was taken by Abkhaz forces, which subsequently pushed south towards the administrative border between the Soviet-era Abkhaz Autonomous Republic and Georgia. A ceasefire established in 1994 was overseen by a peacekeeping force from the Community of Independent States (CIS) made up of 1,500 Russian troops, with the limited United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) deployed within a 24-km 'security zone'. Fighting flared up again during the summer of 1998 in the security zone between Georgian and Abkhaz forces, causing further displacements of the civilian population. The situation in Abkhazia had since remained generally 'calm and stable', although irregular fighters engaged in periodic operations and crime remained widespread, particularly in the southern districts.

Within Georgia, the opposition was splintered by rivalries and so for years failed effectively to challenge the Shevardnadze regime. However, in November 2003, following flawed parliamentary elections, opposition forces united under Mikheil Saakashvili (of the National Movement) and Zurab Zhvania/Nino Burzhanadze (of the Democrats) and staged mass protests, which eventually resulted in Shevardnadze's resignation. The so-called Rose Revolution was followed by presidential elections in January 2004 (won by Saakashvili) and parliamentary elections in March, at which the opposition parties won a monopoly of seats in the National Parliament. The new government committed itself to the restoration of territorial integrity, radical reform and a pragmatic western-oriented foreign policy. As for the frozen armed conflicts, both in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, the peace process had not resulted in any tangible progress – the separatist territories continued to insist on their 'independence' or, at least, an associative status within the Russian Federation, while the Georgian side stressed the need for a return of Georgian internally displaced persons. Hostilities (including criminality) and diplomatic tension periodically flared. Following a period of serious tensions in early May in Adjara, the region returned to central control. In the wake of this crisis, the Georgian authorities turned their attention to addressing the South Ossetian problem. During 2004, this resulted in rising tensions between Tbilisi and the *de facto* authorities in Tskhinvali (the South Ossetian capital), including several minor clashes.

On 7 August 2008, a major military offensive began in South Ossetia, involving the Georgian armed forces. An offensive by Russian Federation armed forces began in South Ossetia and further into Georgia and led to the outbreak of a full-scale international armed conflict. The Russian Federation emerged as the clear victor and the Georgian armed forces were forced to withdraw from South Ossetia and subsequently from several parts of Georgia proper. Negotiations led by France, with substantial input on the Georgian side from the United States, resulted in the signing of a ceasefire agreement on 15-16 August that provided for the withdrawal of Russian troops to their pre-conflict positions and allowed Russian peacekeeping forces in South Ossetia to adopt 'additional measures of security'.

The Georgian armed forces regained control over most (but not all) of the areas from which they had previously withdrawn. Both Georgia and the international community reacted strongly to the Russian Federation's recognition of the independence of both South Ossetia and Abkhazia, and the exact fall-out of this development remained to be seen. Active hostilities had nevertheless ended. Nine months after the end of the fighting, the humanitarian situation for most of those affected had improved, even though chronic problems that predated the latest conflict remained. While the overall situation was calm, tensions persisted in villages close to the demarcation line. People displaced by conflict and those living in remote rural areas, already vulnerable before August 2008, remained the most at risk. In Western/Central Georgia, most of the internally displaced persons who fled the hostilities in August had been able to return to their places of origin. Many displaced people from South Ossetia had left collective centres for new settlements built by the authorities in Central Georgia. In the previous few months, numerous humanitarian organizations had carried out a wide range of programmes that had had a positive impact on the victims of the August conflict.

The United States' growing economic and political influence in the country had long been a source of concern for the Russian Federation, as had Georgia's aspirations to join NATO and the European Union.

The ICRC in Georgia

The ICRC had been present in Georgia since 1992. It contributed to efforts to provide answers to families of missing persons and protected and assisted displaced people and other vulnerable groups in conflict-affected regions. It visited detainees throughout Georgia, including Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and supported the endeavours of the authorities in bringing tuberculosis in prisons under control. The ICRC also promoted the integration of international humanitarian law into the training of the armed and security forces and into university and school curricula. In cooperation with Movement partners, the ICRC helped to strengthen the capacities of the National Society.

Following its emergency response of August 2008 during the conflict between Georgia and Russia, the ICRC focused on the needs of the most vulnerable population during winter. At the time of writing, the organization was consolidating its various assistance programmes based on longer-term needs assessments. The overall objective of the ICRC operation was to enable people living in conflict-affected areas to sustain themselves over the short term and regain their pre-conflict levels of economic security. While many humanitarian organizations were operating in Central and Western Georgia, the ICRC remained the only international humanitarian organization active in South Ossetia.

Restoring contact between family members remained a priority for the ICRC in the region. In its role as neutral intermediary, the ICRC had helped to reunite families in Tskhinvali, Gori and Tbilisi. These reunifications took place with the full support of all parties. The ICRC offered family members separated by the conflict the possibility to exchange news through Red Cross messages.

The ICRC distributed food and non-food items to persons in rural areas of South Ossetia to cover the winter period and also distributed clothes and shoes to orphans, displaced people and the elderly in South Ossetia. The ICRC rehabilitated water and sanitation facilities in schools,

hospitals and other Tskhinvali public buildings. It provided cement, stoves, window glass, timber and roofing material to local authorities and individuals. In an effort to improve the living conditions of persons living in Tskhinvali collective centres, the ICRC helped to rehabilitate the city's power and water networks and its garbage disposal system.

In Western/Central Georgia, the ICRC rehabilitated collective centres housing people displaced during the conflicts of 2008 and 1992-93. The organization was also continuing to support ambulatories, notably in Rukhi, Shamgona and Zugdidi districts. Through its emergency shelter programme, the ICRC provided temporary repairs for the homes of over 8,500 people.

ICRC medical teams also conducted medical consultations in areas where normal health-care services had been suspended. Once the local health structures had reopened, the ICRC supported them by carrying out light repair work and distributing medical equipment and medicines. In South Ossetia, the ICRC was still organizing and facilitating medical evacuations in cases of emergency.

The ICRC regularly visited places of detention to monitor the living conditions and treatment of detainees, particularly those held in connection with the recent conflict. From the onset of the hostilities, the ICRC in Tskhinvali had taken steps to ensure that it could visit all persons detained in relation to the conflict. The objective of ICRC detention visits was to assess the treatment of detainees and their conditions of detention and to ensure that the detainees had established contact with their family members via the system of Red Cross messages.

People seeking missing relatives continued to contact the ICRC. The ICRC followed up each individual case of a person who went missing during the conflict and its aftermath with the relevant authorities and on a confidential basis. The organization followed whether the economic, legal and psychosocial needs of the families of the missing had been taken into account by the authorities. In addition, an ICRC forensic expert in Tbilisi offered technical support to the authorities with the aim of strengthening their capacities in the handling of mortal remains.

Mines and unexploded ordnance continued to pose a risk for civilians. To minimize this risk, the ICRC raised the awareness of the population about the danger posed by explosive remnants of war. The organization regularly informed members of the armed forces and other weapon bearers about international humanitarian law and the ICRC's mandate and activities.

The ICRC worked closely with the Georgian Red Cross whenever it distributed assistance.

OPINION SURVEY

OPINION SURVEY

The Impact of Armed Conflict

Personal experience of armed conflict

All internally displaced persons (100%) and a quarter (26%) of the resident population have been affected in some way by armed conflict – either through direct personal experience (10%) or due to the wider consequences which are felt beyond those who are immediately affected.

For both groups, losing contact with a close relative is one of the commonest conflict-related experiences (for 70% of internally displaced persons and 59% of the resident population which has experienced armed conflict).

While or after fleeing their homes, almost all the internally displaced lost all their belongings (99%), had their homes looted (93%) and/or saw their property seriously damaged (91%). Almost all lost their means of income (98%) and most lost contact with a close relative (70%) and/or had no or limited access to health care (70%). A quarter (25%) report that an immediate family member was killed.

Among the resident population with personal experience of the conflict, 59% have lost contact with a close relative. Other common experiences include serious damage to property (39%), losing a means of income (35%), and being displaced (32%).

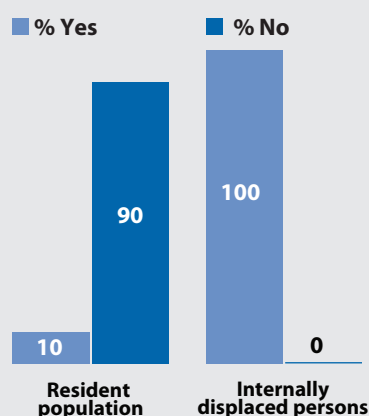
Among the entire resident population (including those with and without direct experience of armed conflict), 11% have lost a close relative, 5% have suffered serious damage to property, 4% have been forced to leave their homes and 3% have been humiliated. Although these are fairly low percentages, they represent large numbers of people.

Since 1999, the pattern among the resident population as a whole has been broadly unchanged – there is no apparent overall trend of increased or reduced suffering in the specific terms considered here. However, the incidence of people 'losing contact with a close relative' is slightly down – from 17% to 11%.

Among the resident population, men tend to have slightly more personal experience of armed conflict than women – in particular when it comes to being wounded, or to being 'humiliated'. Among internally displaced persons, all respondents (men and women) have some kind of first-hand experience of armed conflict.

Personal experience of armed conflict

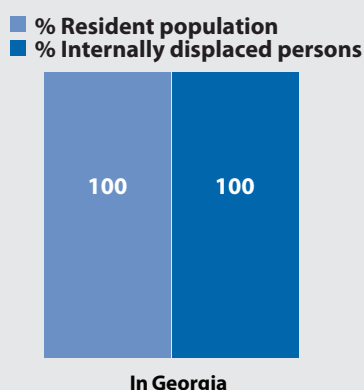
Q1. Have you personally experienced armed conflict, or not?



Base: All respondents (resident population: 300; internally displaced persons: 200)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Q2. Was this in Georgia or was it somewhere else?



Base: All experiencing armed conflict (resident population: 28**, internally displaced persons: 200)

**low base

Personal impact of armed conflict

Q3A. I'm going to ask you about your actual experiences during the armed conflict in Georgia. Please tell me whether any of the following things happened to you personally or did not happen as a consequence of the armed conflict in Georgia. For each one, please indicate whether it happened or did not happen to you.



Base: All who have experienced armed conflict (resident population: 28; internally displaced persons: 200)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

When were people most recently affected by the conflict?

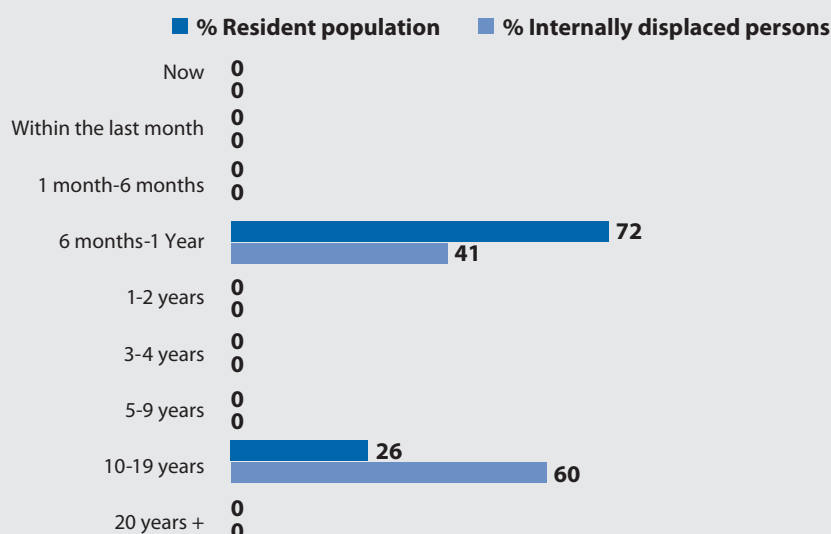
For many (72% of the resident population and 41% of internally displaced persons), it was within the past year.

While nobody in either group says they are 'currently' being affected, it could be argued that being displaced is an ongoing effect of the armed conflict.

Of those who have not been affected within the past year, almost all say their most recent experience was between 10 and 19 years ago

Recent experiences

Q5. And when were you personally most recently affected by this armed conflict in Georgia?



Base: All who have experienced/been affected by conflict in any way (resident population: 78; internally displaced persons: 200)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

People's greatest fears

Although the resident population and internally displaced persons often have very different experiences of armed conflict, they share many of the same fears.

They fear losing loved ones (54% of internally displaced persons, 43% of the resident population), having property destroyed (39%/26%) and being (further) displaced (32%/37%).

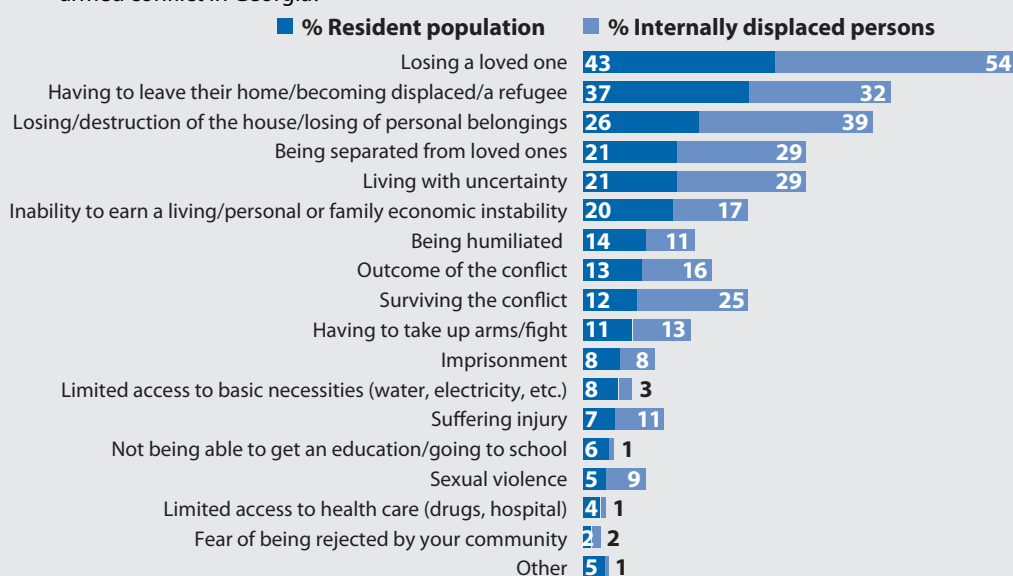
- 43% of the resident population (54% of internally displaced persons) particularly fear losing a loved one (for both groups, this is the single greatest fear).
- 37% of the resident population fear being displaced (32% of internally displaced persons fear being displaced again).
- A quarter (25%) of internally displaced persons fear for their very survival. This is one case where the emphasis of the two groups is somewhat different: among the resident population the figure is 'only' 12%.
- By contrast, fear of limited access to basic necessities – although relatively low – is greater among the resident population (8%, against 3% among internally displaced persons). It may be that the experiences of the latter group have given them a different perspective in this case.
- Alongside these immediate practical issues, there are also emotional factors: 'being humiliated' is something that both the resident population and internally displaced persons fear in significant numbers (14% and 11% respectively).

- 20% of the resident population and 17% of internally displaced persons are fearful of losing their livelihood.

Men and women have very similar concerns – but women have a greater fear than men of losing a loved one. Men worry more than women about having to take up arms and fight, and also (among the resident population) about being ‘humiliated’. Among internally displaced persons, 29% of women feared that they would not even survive the conflict.

People’s greatest fears

Q6. What do you think are the two or three greatest fears people are facing in a situation of armed conflict in Georgia?



Base: All respondents (resident population: 300; internally displaced persons: 200)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of “don’t know” responses

Feelings as a consequence of armed conflict

Despite their different personal experiences, the resident population and internally displaced persons hold broadly similar views.

What differences there are tend to be of degree: the views of internally displaced persons tend to be more pronounced than those of the resident population.

People are more anxious (73% of the resident population and 77% of internally displaced persons) and less optimistic about the future (42%/59%), but also more appreciative of every day (66%/73%).

Inevitably, people report a range of ways in which they have been emotionally harmed:

- most have become more anxious (73% of the resident population, 77% of internally displaced persons) and more sad (66%/89%);
- most are now less trusting (67% of the resident population, 68% of internally displaced persons) and less resilient (73%/88%);
- perhaps most importantly, pessimism about the future outweighs optimism by a large margin in both groups (42% of the resident population and 59% of internally displaced persons are less optimistic about the future).

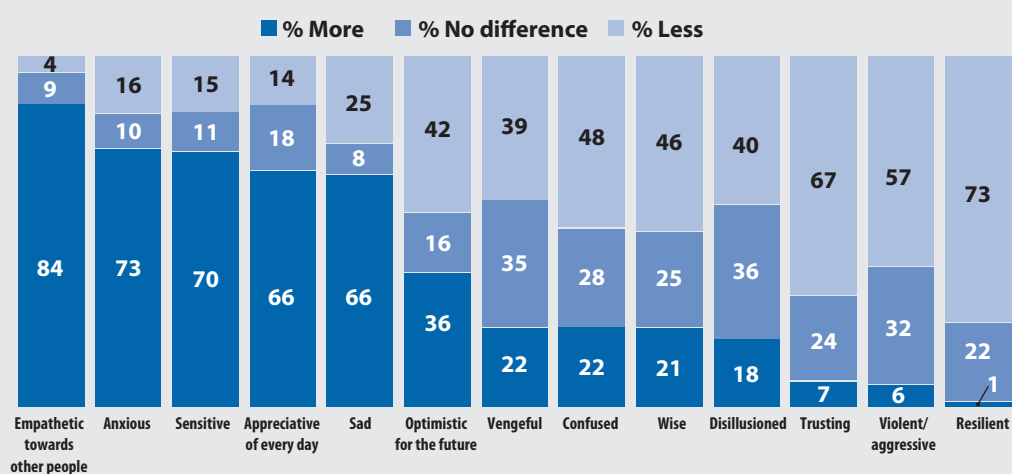
More encouragingly:

- there is widespread appreciation of every day (66% of resident population, 73% of internally displaced persons);
- people claim a general reduction in levels of vengefulness and aggression. Similarly, empathy towards others has increased enormously.

The charts below show the full responses for the resident population and internally displaced persons.

Feelings as a consequence of armed conflict – resident population

Q8. Now I would like to ask you about whether the armed conflict has changed the way you feel. For each description I read out, please say whether the armed conflict has made you feel more this way, less this way, or has it made no real difference. First [...], would you say it has made you more [...], less [...], or has it done neither?

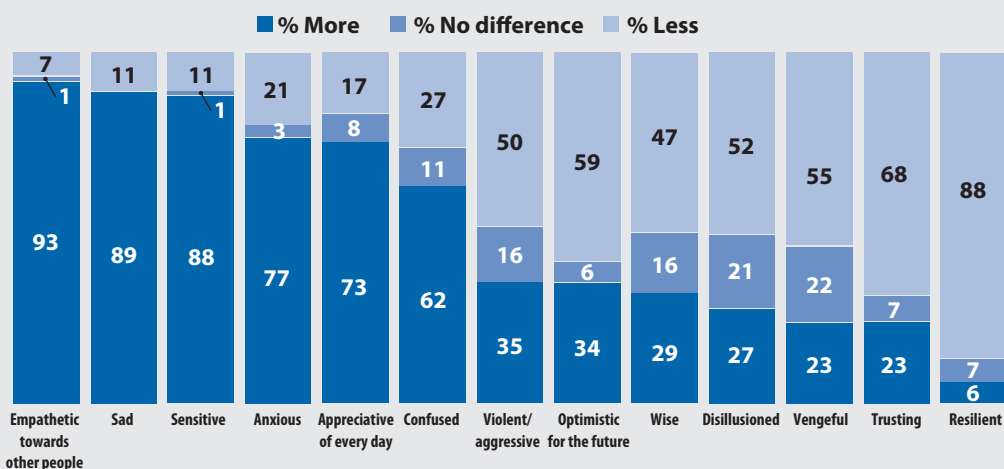


Base: All who have experienced/been affected by conflict in any way (resident population: 78)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Feelings as a consequence of armed conflict – internally displaced persons

Q8. Now I would like to ask you about whether the armed conflict has changed the way you feel. For each description I read out, please say whether the armed conflict has made you feel more this way, less this way, or has it made no real difference. First [...], would you say it has made you more [...], less [...], or has it done neither?



Base: All who have experienced/been affected by conflict in any way (internally displaced persons: 200)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Civilians' needs in armed conflict

First and foremost, people (whatever their circumstances) need 'the basics'. Almost half say that shelter (48% of the resident population and 42% of internally displaced persons) and food (44%/46%) are the most vital requirements. Almost as many emphasize the need for protection and security (40%/52%).

Civilians' needs are many, with the most important of all being seen to be:

- shelter (48% of the resident population and 42% of internally displaced persons choose this from a list as one of the most important needs for civilians living in conflict areas);
- food (44%/46%);
- protection/security (40%/52%);
- economic help is considered by both groups to be just as important as medical treatment/health care: around a quarter of the resident population (27% and 24% respectively) and around a fifth of internally displaced persons (21% and 19%) view economic help as important. Among both groups, men emphasize the need for financial help more than women.

Internally displaced persons attach more importance to two issues than the resident population does:

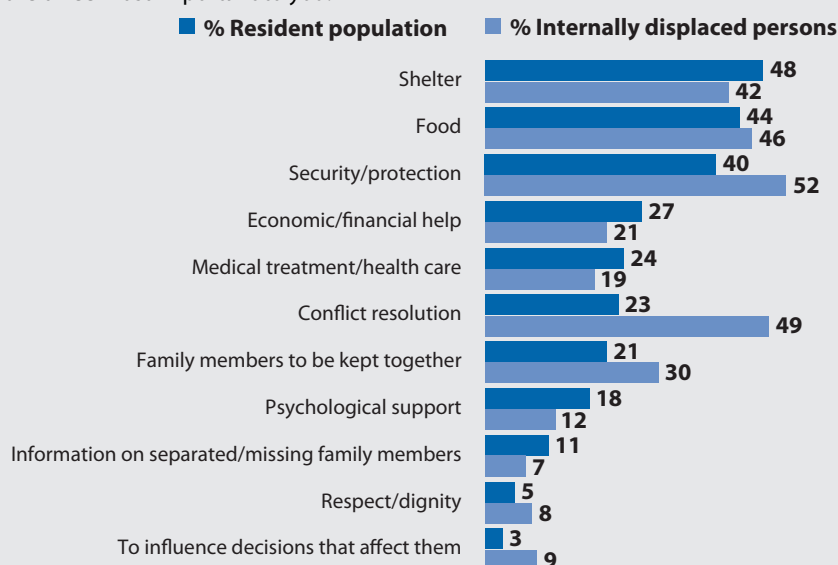
- 'conflict resolution' (49% of internally displaced persons say this is particularly needed – against just 23% of the resident population);

- 'keeping family members together' (30% of internally displaced persons emphasize this, against 21% of the resident population). The figure is also higher among women than among men in both groups.

A quarter (25%) of the residents who have experience of armed conflict and 19% of the internally displaced say they have personally suffered 'humiliation'; 14% of the resident population and 11% of internally displaced persons say that humiliation is among their greatest fears. However, in the context of civilians' needs, 'respect and dignity' take second place to basic necessities. Respect/dignity is mentioned by just 5% of the resident population and 8% of internally displaced persons – but slightly more so by men in both groups. Security/protection is viewed as one of the greatest needs by 40% of the resident population (52% of internally displaced persons).

Civilians' needs

Q7. What do you think civilians who are living in areas of armed conflict need the most? Please select the three most important to you.



Base: All respondents (resident population: 300; internally displaced persons: 200)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Help and support from entities/institutions

Where do people turn for help during armed conflict?

The pattern is somewhat different between the resident population and internally displaced persons.

The resident population tend to turn first to their parents/family (30%) for help. internally displaced persons, though, often have to seek help from the government (82%) and the ICRC and/or the Georgian Red Cross (51% taken together).

This perhaps emphasizes a key fact of displacement: immediate families can provide little if any support.

Many internally displaced persons – 82% – turn to the government, relatively few (7%) turn to the military/army/combatants for help.

The Georgian Red Cross/ICRC are – particularly for internally displaced persons – key organizations: half (51%) have received help from either the Georgian Red Cross and/or the ICRC, including for many from both organizations. This is more than from all NGOs combined, the UN, religious entities, or even their own communities (which are of course usually absent).

Only 7% of the resident population report receiving help from the Georgian Red Cross/ICRC – about the same percentage as those having received government support (9%). By contrast, nobody reported having been aided by religious entities, and only 1% have received support from the military.

Although the internally displaced usually turn to the Georgian Red Cross/ICRC and to the government for help, only 20% say that the Georgian Red Cross/ICRC completely understand their needs and 30% say that the government does. Most of the remaining internally displaced persons feel there is ‘partial’ understanding of their needs.

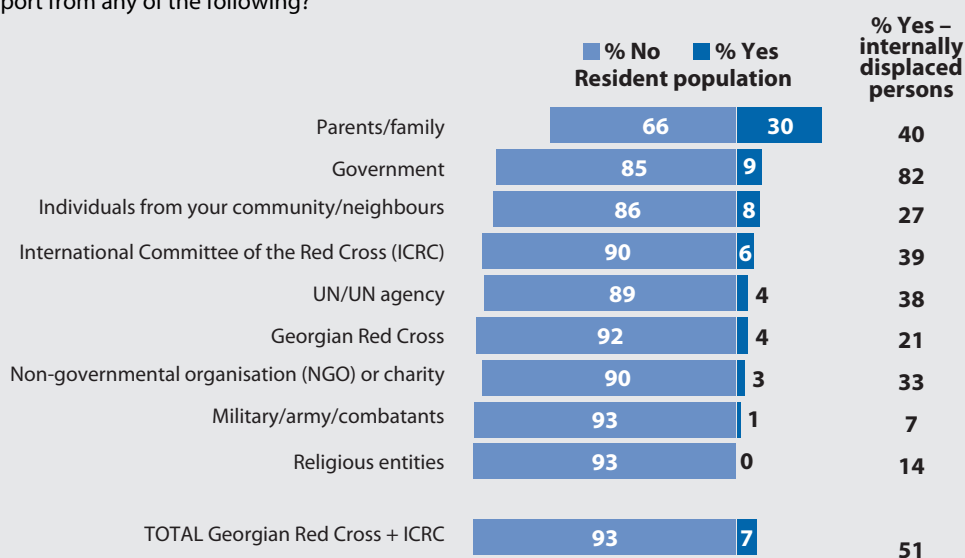
A third (32%) of the internally displaced say that the UN completely understands their needs, and 30% say that other aid organizations do.

The figure is not much higher even for internally displaced persons’ own communities: among those who have asked their community for help, just 34% think their needs have been completely understood. However, 66% say their parents and immediate families understand their needs.

It is usually men (presumably on behalf of their families) who are the recipients of support from organizations/groups. Women usually mention receiving help from their immediate families. These findings apply both to residents and the internally displaced.

Help and support

Q9. During the time you experienced or were being affected by armed conflict, did you receive help or support from any of the following?

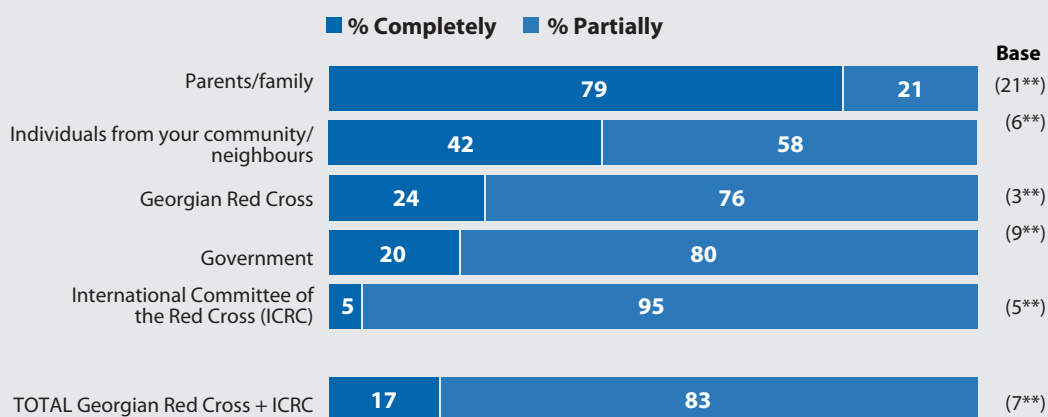


Base: All who have experienced/been affected by conflict in any way (resident population: 78; internally displaced persons: 200)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of “don’t know” responses

Help and support – resident population

Q10. For each of the types of organizations or people you mentioned receiving help or support from, I would like you to tell me how well you felt they understood your needs. First, the [type of support at Q9]...do you feel your needs were completely understood, partially understood, or not understood at all?



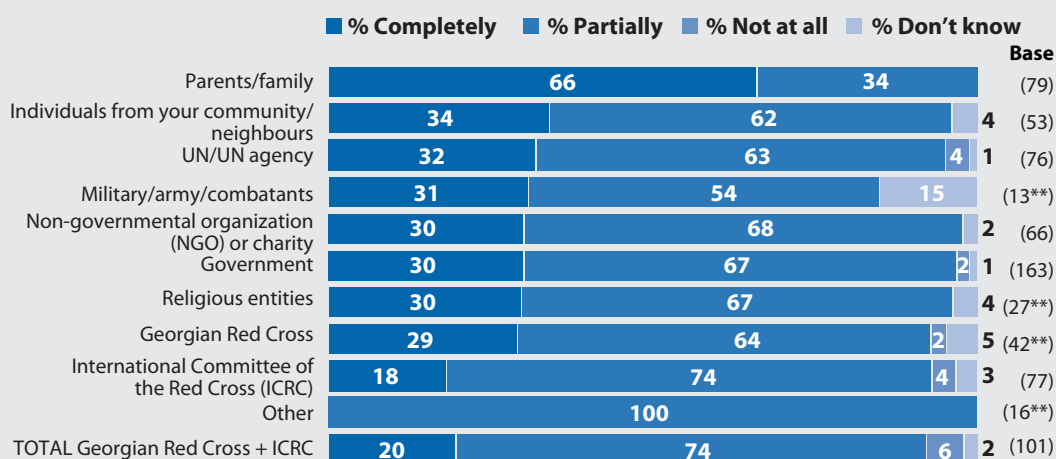
This chart shows a breakdown of views on how the resident population feels their needs were understood. As very few people received help or support from organizations other than from their parents/family, individuals, government or the Red Cross organizations, this chart focuses on those organizations where help or support was most commonly received.

** Low base

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Help and support – internally displaced persons

Q10. For each of the types of organizations or people you mentioned receiving help or support from, I would like you to tell me how well you felt they understood your needs. First, the [type of support at Q9]...do you feel your needs were completely understood, partially understood, or not understood at all?



** Low base

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Barriers to receiving help

Around half of internally displaced persons not receiving support during periods of armed conflict put this down to corruption (53%) or the black market (46%).

The resident population are most likely to say that the main obstacles to receiving aid are geographical inaccessibility (39%) and corruption (26%).

Residents – particularly men – say that geographical inaccessibility (39%) and corruption (26%) are the main obstacles to receiving aid.

Internally displaced persons are more likely to mention corruption (53%), black markets (46%), or lack of awareness (20%) that help was available.

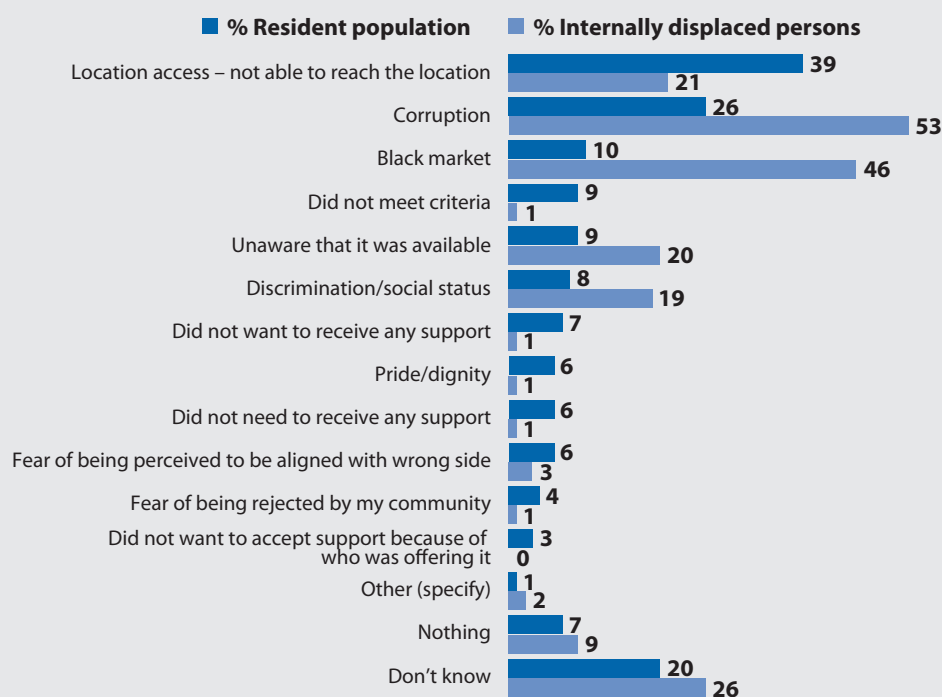
Internally displaced persons – particularly women – are also more likely than the resident population to say that discrimination and social status have an effect.

Threats to people's place in the community – the concern that accepting help may result in social rejection or the reputation of being aligned with the 'wrong side' – are scarcely mentioned by either group.

Very few people – especially the internally displaced – would say that pride/dignity prevents them from receiving aid. Hardly anyone says there is a lack of need, or desire, for such help (6% of the resident population and only 1% of internally displaced persons).

Barriers to receiving help

Q11. Which, if any, of the following reasons do you think may have prevented people in Georgia receiving or accepting help or support during armed conflict?



Base: All respondents (resident population: 300; internally displaced persons: 200)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Reducing suffering

In Georgia, people think of government authorities (42% of the resident population and 49% of internally displaced persons), religious leaders (41%/46%), the Red Cross organizations (34%/30%) and the UN (26%/35%) as the groups that do the most to reduce suffering during armed conflict.

Although religious entities are rarely asked for help in times of armed conflict, they are viewed by 41% of the resident population and 46% of internally displaced persons as the single most important group when it comes to reducing suffering. Religious entities are mentioned first by 19% of the resident population and by as many as 30% of internally displaced persons.

The government is viewed by 42% of the resident population and 49% of internally displaced persons as playing a major role to help reduce suffering in armed conflict. Government authorities are mentioned first by 18% of the resident population and by 12% of internally displaced persons.

The Georgian Red Cross and/or the ICRC are considered by 34% of the resident population and 30% of internally displaced persons as important sources of help. The ICRC alone is mentioned by 21% of the internally displaced – and mentioned first by 11%.

The UN is mentioned by 26% of the resident population and 35% of internally displaced persons.

The military/combatants, international aid organizations, the International Criminal Court, overseas government authorities, NGOs and community leaders are also mentioned by many people. Overall, a wide range of groups are cited as potentially being able to reduce suffering.

Among the resident population and the internally displaced persons, it is women who tend to see the government as having the biggest role to play to reduce civilian suffering – but otherwise both women and men tend to have similar views.

Reducing suffering – resident population

Q20. I'm now going to describe different kinds of groups and organisations. Please tell me which three of these play the biggest role to help reduce suffering during armed conflict.

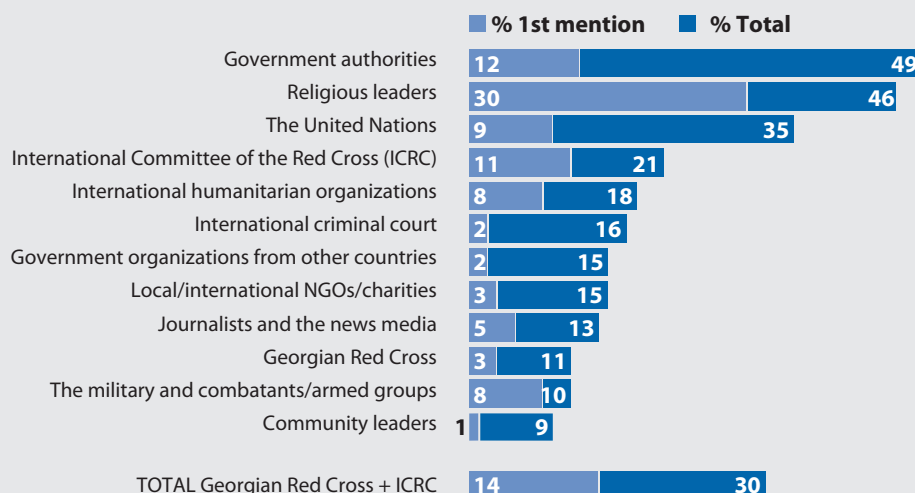


Base: All respondents (resident population: 300)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Reducing suffering – internally displaced persons

Q20. I'm now going to describe different kinds of groups and organisations. Please tell me which three of these play the biggest role to help reduce suffering during armed conflict.



Base: All respondents (internally displaced persons: 200)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

The role of external actors

People in Georgia – the resident population and internally displaced persons – want the international community to organize peace talks/negotiations (cited by 46% and 70% respectively) above anything else. Women, especially, are in favour of this.

There is also support for more direct intervention on the ground: 50% of internally displaced persons want peacekeepers sent in; 32% of the resident population want emergency aid to be delivered.

Beyond peace talks/negotiations people in Georgia want the following from the international community:

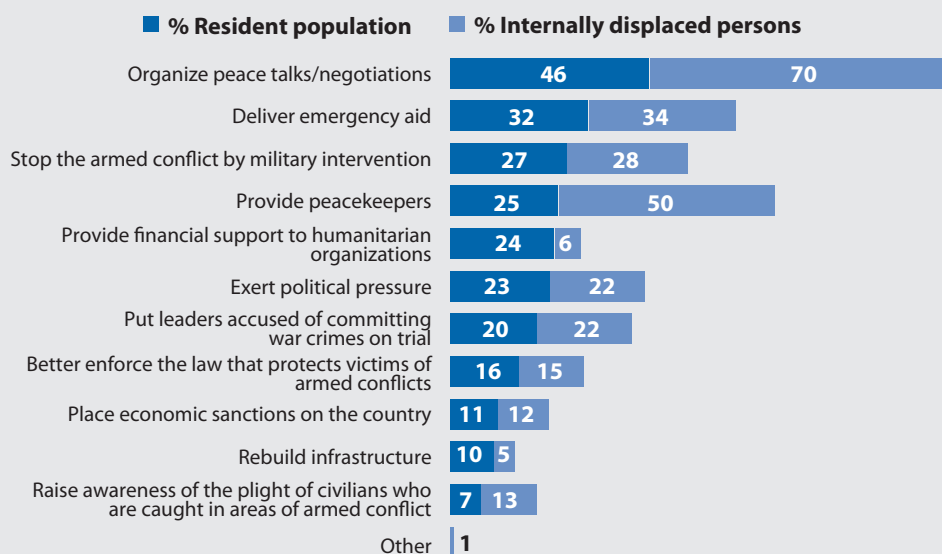
- emergency aid (32% of the resident population and 34% of internally displaced persons). Displaced women are especially in favour;
- peacekeepers (25% of the resident population and 50% of internally displaced persons, who see them as especially crucial). Men are especially in favour;
- military action to put an end to armed conflict (27%/28%).

Support for general 'political pressure' is mentioned by both the resident population and internally displaced persons (23% and 22% respectively), with similar numbers supporting bringing leaders charged with war crimes to trial (20% and 22% respectively, with especially strong support from men). Around one person in seven wants the international community to better enforce the laws governing conflicts (16% of the resident population and 15% of internally displaced persons).

Economic pressure – i.e. sanctions – enjoys less support from either group (echoing the fears and experiences of economic hardship mentioned above).

The role of external actors

Q21. What do you think the international community should do to help civilians who are living in areas of armed conflict?



Base: All respondents (resident population: 300; internally displaced persons: 200)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

What should be the role of people living outside the conflict zone in helping victims of armed conflict?

Both the resident population and internally displaced persons highlight the need for donations, both of goods and money.

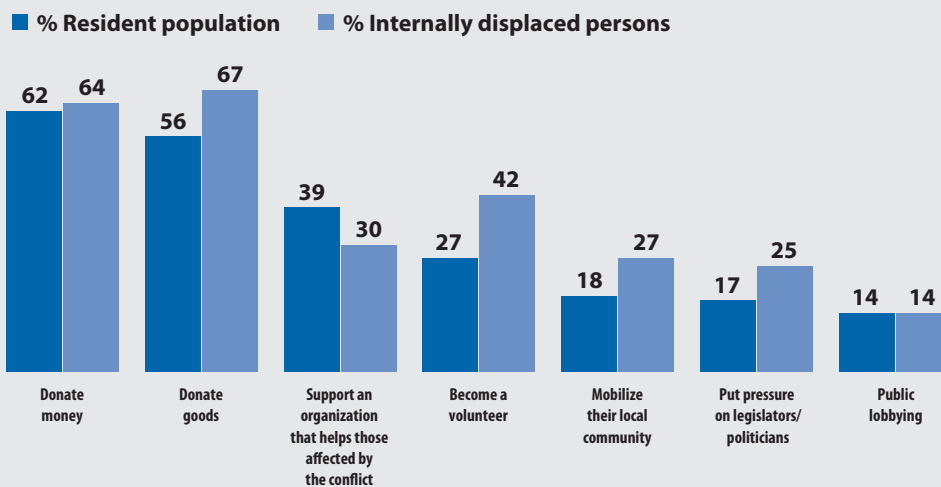
The idea that people might volunteer their help is also popular – especially with internally displaced women – as is offering support for organizations that help victims of armed conflict.

More overtly 'political' activities – lobbying politicians or mobilizing local communities – are considered less appropriate, especially by the resident population. (They do, however, find favour among displaced men.)

Men and women generally have similar views on these matters.

Support from the wider world

Q22. What, if anything, do you think people living outside of conflict zones can do that would most help victims of armed conflict in Georgia? Please select the three you feel are most important.



Base: All respondents (resident population: 300; internally displaced persons: 200)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Behaviour during Armed Conflict

Limits to behaviour

A large proportion of respondents (84% of internally displaced persons and 62% of the resident population) feel that there should be limits on what is allowed in armed conflict.

Only a small minority (8% of internally displaced persons and 13% of the resident population) feels there should be no limits.

What specific behaviour is considered unacceptable in times of armed conflict?

When asked a completely open question, where respondents were unprompted and free to say whatever they liked, a wide range of behaviours considered unacceptable were mentioned.

- Among both the resident population and internally displaced persons, the behaviour mentioned most (by 32% of the resident population and 54% of internally displaced persons) was 'betrayal'. Some people added that 'giving up and leaving the struggle' is not acceptable.
- Also singled out for particular criticism were stealing, attacking 'peaceful' populations, and (particularly among internally displaced persons) destroying historic/religious monuments.

What do respondents mention as the basis for imposing limits?

The resident population and internally displaced persons have a very similar frame of reference.

Religion is the single most powerful factor for both groups. Among those who advocate some limits to behaviour, 47% of the resident population and 66% of internally displaced persons say that the key criterion should be whether certain behaviour is against their religion.

The next most powerful determinant, mentioned by 44% of the resident population and 62% of internally displaced persons, is human rights.

Personal codes/ethics were mentioned by 43% of the resident population and 54% of internally displaced persons, and the law was mentioned by 36% and 42%, respectively.

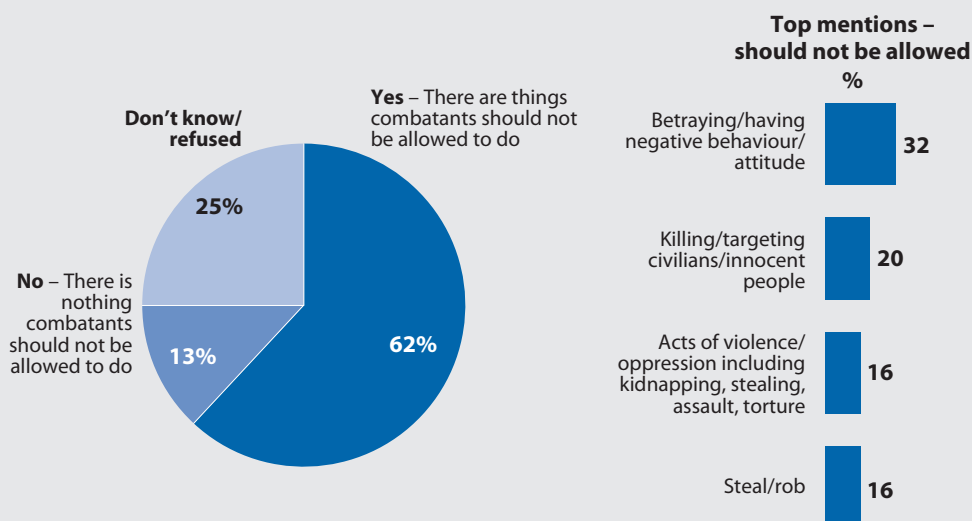
Cultural norms were mentioned by 38% of internally displaced persons and just 17% of the resident population.

Men and women hold similar views. Among the displaced groups, women particularly favour religious or ethical codes.

Some people feel that certain kinds of behaviour are unacceptable on the basis of the harm they cause, for example, because certain behaviour produces too much destruction, or because it produces too much hate and division. Both the resident population and internally displaced persons consider the latter a more suitable yardstick for actions deemed to be unacceptable.

Limits to behaviour – resident population

Q12. Is there anything that combatants should not be allowed to do in fighting their enemy?

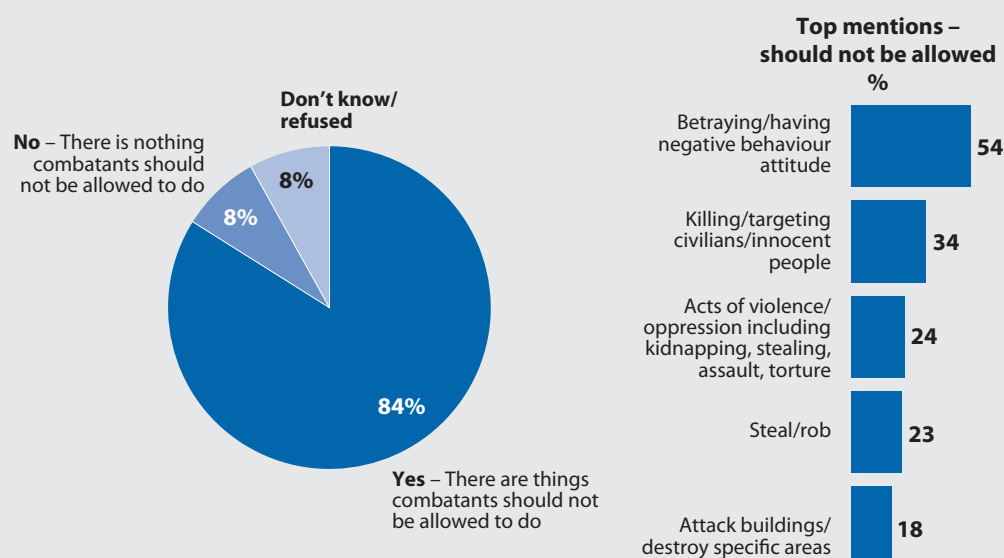


Base: All respondents (resident population: 300)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Limits to behaviour – internally displaced persons

Q12. Is there anything that combatants should not be allowed to do in fighting their enemy?



Base: All respondents (internally displaced persons: 200)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Threats to civilians

There is evidence that attitudes among the resident population have shifted since 1999.

Almost all internally displaced persons and the resident population (97% and 94% respectively) now support the notion that civilians should be spared in armed conflict.

The vast majority (81% and 73% respectively) are in favour of leaving civilians alone entirely, and around a fifth more (16% and 21% respectively) say civilians should be avoided as much as possible.

Only 1% of internally displaced persons and 3% of the resident population think it is acceptable to attack both enemy combatants and civilians.

Respondents were asked if it is acceptable to attack civilians in order to 'weaken the enemy'.

Almost all internally displaced persons and the resident population (97% and 94% respectively) now support the notion that civilians should be spared in armed conflict.

The vast majority (81% and 73% respectively) are in favour of civilians being left alone entirely, and around a fifth more (16% and 21% respectively) say civilians should be avoided as much as possible.

Almost all internally displaced persons (97%) and the resident population (94%) think it is unacceptable to attack equally enemy combatants and civilians. Very few people (3% of the resident population and 1% of internally displaced persons) feel that civilians and combatants are equally acceptable targets.

Among the resident population, slightly more men than women are willing to see civilians and combatants targeted to the same extent.

However, the resident population's greater preference for avoiding civilians in all circumstances (rather than simply 'as much as possible') is significant. Avoiding civilians in all circumstances is now supported by a ratio of well over 3:1 (73% vs 21%). In 1999, the ratio was just over 2:1 (69% vs 30%).

The internally displaced hold this view even more strongly: they are now 5:1 in favour of avoiding civilians in all circumstances (81% vs 16%).

The change of attitudes towards civilians was also seen when people were asked (as in 1999) about the acceptability of specific behaviour by combatants when fighting an enemy.

The resident population now widely reject the idea of attacking civilians (it should be noted, however, that there are important differences in the way that questions were asked in 1999 and in 2009):

- 94% now say it is 'not OK' to attack religious and historical monuments. (In 1999, 75% said that such actions were 'wrong');
- 89% now say it is 'not OK' to deprive civilians of food, medicine or water to weaken the enemy. (In 1999, just 43% said this was 'wrong').

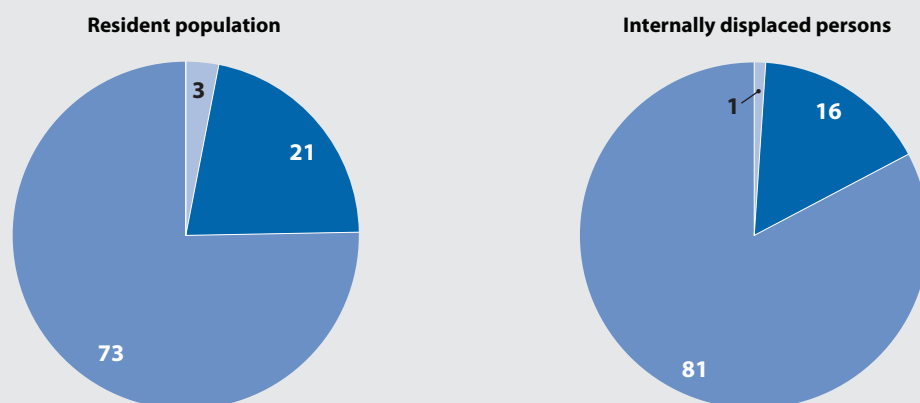
Even when civilians are voluntarily helping the enemy (for example, by transporting food or ammunition) only a quarter (24%) of the resident population consider them as acceptable targets.

The picture among internally displaced persons is the same: attacks on civilians are widely opposed.

Threats to civilians – 1

Q14. Now I would like to ask you some general questions about how, in your view, combatants should behave in times of armed conflict. When combatants attack to weaken the enemy, should they:

- % Attack enemy combatants and civilians
- % Attack only enemy combatants and leave the civilians alone
- % Attack enemy combatants and avoid civilians as much as possible



Base: All respondents (resident population: 300; internally displaced persons: 200)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Threats to civilians – 2

Q15. Is there anything that combatants should not be allowed to do in fighting their enemy? For each one, please indicate whether it is OK or not OK to do that in fighting their enemy.

				Internally displaced persons	
	% OK	% Not OK		% OK	% Not OK
Attacking civilians who voluntarily transported ammunition for the enemy	24	67	9	26	60
Attacking civilians who voluntarily gave food and shelter to enemy	20	68	12	13	78
Taking civilian hostages in order to get something in exchange	13	81	6	22	71
Attacking enemy combatants in populated villages or towns knowing many civilians would be killed	12	83	4	4	89
Depriving civilians of food, medicine or water to weaken the enemy	9	89	2	3	90
Planting landmines even though civilians may step on them	9	88	2	1	98
Attacking religious and historical monuments	5	94	1	3	95

Base: All respondents (resident population: 300; internally displaced persons: 200)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Health workers and ambulances

The vast majority, 92% of the resident population and 87% of internally displaced persons, think that health workers are never acceptable targets for combatants. Similarly, almost everyone thinks that ambulances are never acceptable targets (94% and 88% respectively).

92% of the resident population is opposed to targeting health workers, with 87% of internally displaced persons also opposed. Similarly, 94% of the resident population is opposed to targeting ambulances, with 88% of internally displaced persons also opposed.

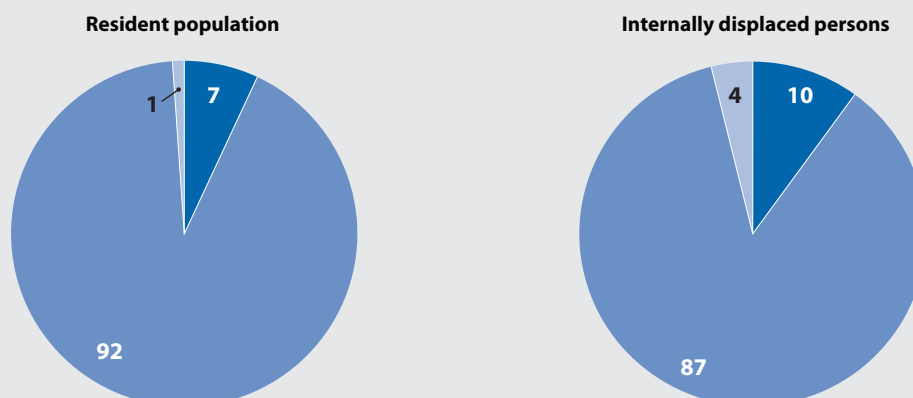
Among the very few respondents from the resident population who condone targeting health workers, the treatment of 'enemy' wounded and sick combatants and/or civilians is cited as an acceptable circumstance. The very few internally displaced persons who condone targeting health workers tend to do so when the health workers are perceived not to be neutral or are not clearly identifiable as health workers.

Among the very few respondents from the resident population who condone targeting ambulances, the carrying of 'enemy' combatants and/or civilians is cited as an acceptable circumstance. The very few internally displaced persons who condone targeting ambulances tend to do so when the ambulances are perceived to be used by combatants for hostile purposes or are not clearly marked as ambulances.

Targeting health workers – 1

Q16. In a situation of armed conflict, are there any circumstances in which you think it is acceptable for combatants to target health workers?

■ % Yes ■ % No ■ % Don't know

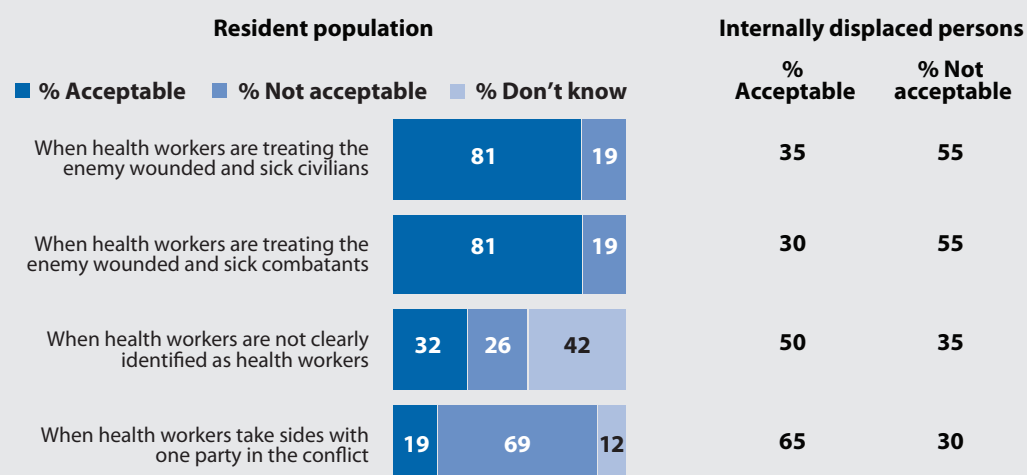


Base: All respondents (resident population: 300; internally displaced persons: 200)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Targeting health workers – 2

Q17. In which, if any, of the following circumstances do you think this is acceptable?



Base: All who think that in some circumstances it is acceptable to target health workers (resident population: 16**; internally displaced persons: 20**)

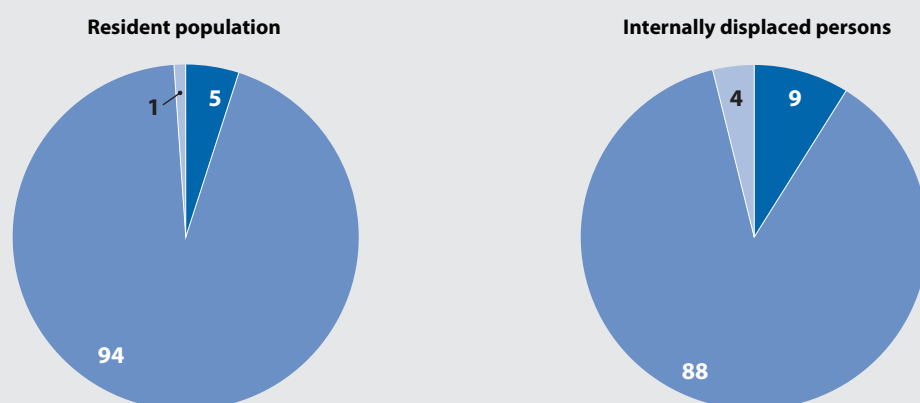
**Low base

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Targeting ambulances – 1

Q18. In a situation of armed conflict, are there any circumstances in which you think it is acceptable for combatants to target ambulances?

■ % Yes ■ % No ■ % Don't know

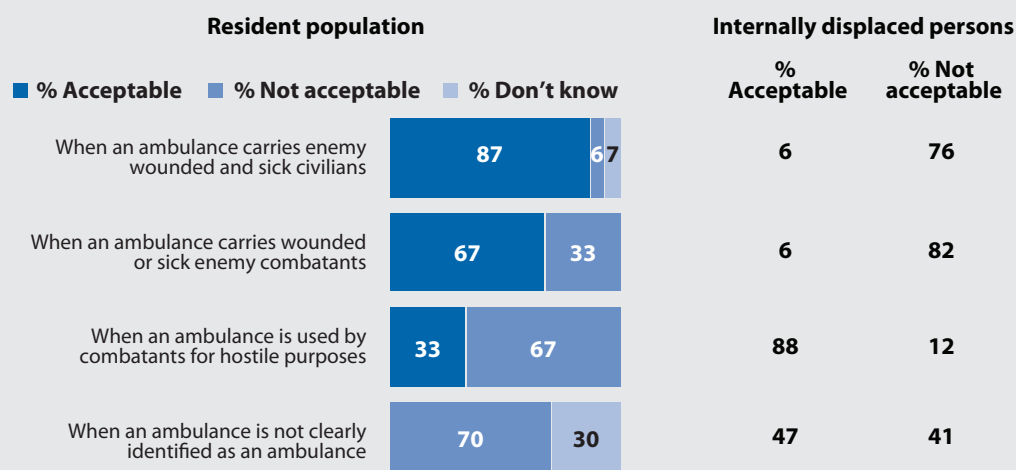


Base: All respondents (resident population: 300; internally displaced persons: 200)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Targeting ambulances – 2

Q19. In which, if any, of the following circumstances do you think this is acceptable?



Base: All who think that some circumstances are acceptable to target ambulances (resident population: 9**; internally displaced persons: 17**)

**Low base

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Health workers and services: the right to health care

Almost all respondents – the resident population and internally displaced persons, men and women – strongly agree that 'everyone wounded or sick during an armed conflict should have the right to health care'.

The figures speak for themselves. Among internally displaced persons, 100% agree that everyone should have this right (87% agree strongly). Among the resident population, 97% agree (91% agree strongly).

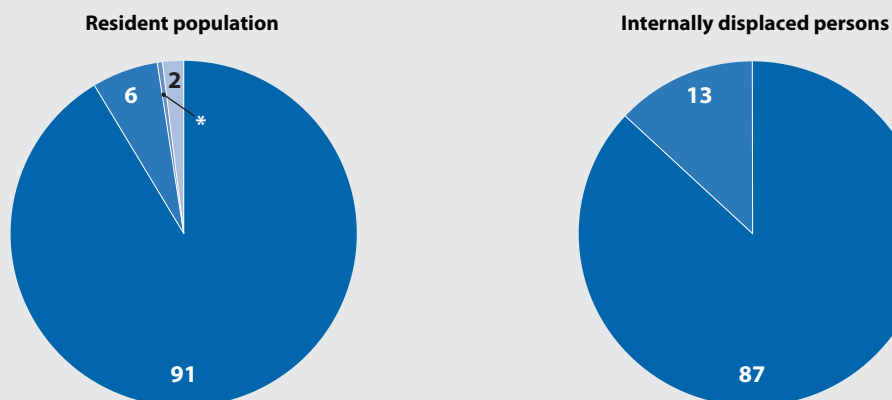
Also explored was the question of whether health workers should only limit themselves to treating wounded and sick civilians from 'their' side in a conflict.

Most people (88% of both residents and the internally displaced) reject this, stating that such workers should treat the sick and wounded from all sides. Views are consistent among men and women.

The right to health care – 1

Q25. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
'Everyone wounded or sick during an armed conflict should have the right to health care'

■ % Strongly agree ■ % Tend to agree
■ % Neither agree nor disagree ■ % Don't know



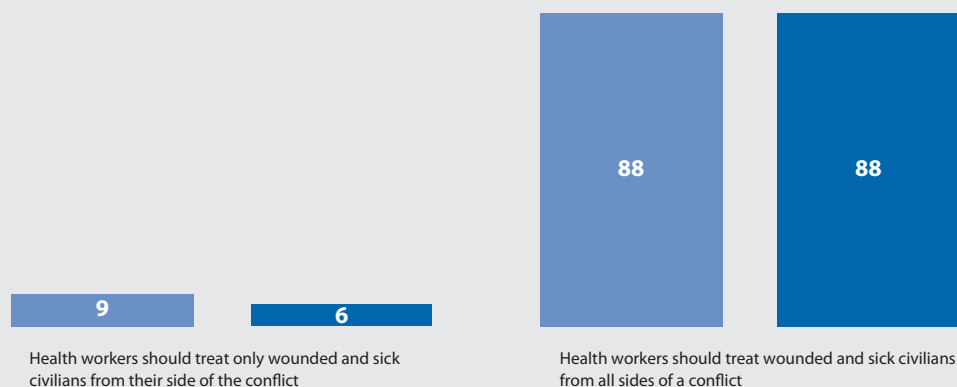
Base: All respondents (resident population: 300; internally displaced persons: 200)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

The right to health care – 2

Q26. In the context of an armed conflict, what best describes your personal views?

■ % Resident population ■ % Internally displaced persons



Base: All respondents (resident population: 300; internally displaced persons: 200)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

The Geneva Conventions

More internally displaced persons than the resident population are familiar with the Geneva Conventions (75% and 48% respectively). Perceptions among those who believe that they are effective in limiting the suffering of civilians in time of war are similar: 63% of internally displaced persons and 67% of the resident population say the Geneva Conventions have a great deal/fair amount of impact.

Three-quarters (75%) of internally displaced persons have heard of the Geneva Conventions against 48% of the resident population.

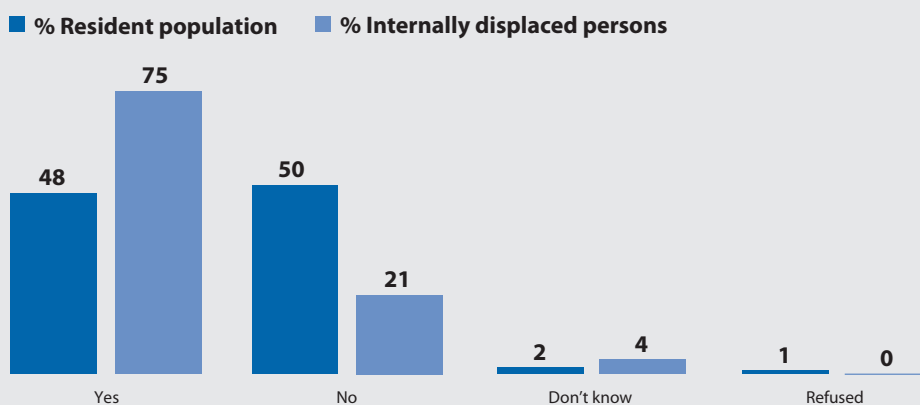
However, only a third of those internally displaced persons (33%) and three in 10 of those residents (29%) credit the Geneva Conventions with having 'a great deal' of impact in limiting civilian suffering.

Sixty-three per cent of internally displaced persons and 67% of the resident population feel the Geneva Conventions have at least 'a fair amount' of effect.

Men tend to have a more favourable view of the Geneva Conventions' impact than do women – particularly among the resident population, where almost half the men (45%) say the Geneva Conventions limit the suffering of civilians in wartime 'a great deal'.

Awareness of the Geneva Conventions – 1

Q23. Have you ever heard of the Geneva Conventions?



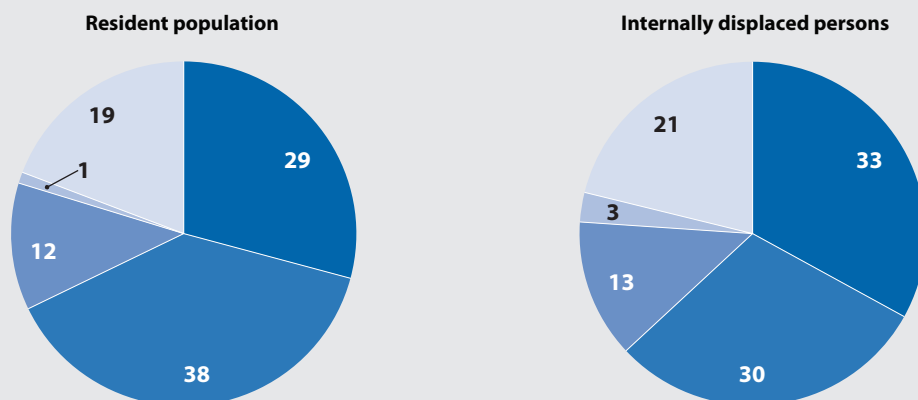
Base: All respondents (resident population: 300; internally displaced persons: 200)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Awareness of the Geneva Conventions – 2

Q24. To what extent do you think the existence of the Geneva Conventions limits the suffering of civilians in war time?

■ % A great deal ■ % A fair amount ■ % Not very much
 ■ % Not at all ■ % Don't know



Base: All who have heard of the Geneva conventions (resident population: 135; internally displaced persons: 150)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

IN-DEPTH RESEARCH

IN-DEPTH RESEARCH

The Impact of Armed Conflict

The recent armed conflict took many by surprise and life-changing events happened suddenly and quickly. It takes longer to come to terms with the consequences of injury, bereavement, separation, loss of home and loss of livelihood. But respondents are in the main determined to learn the lessons of what happened to them and the conflict has made them realize how precious peace is. They are also determined that their experiences should serve as a deterrent against any repetition of armed conflict.

Through engaging with those affected by armed conflict, it is apparent that respondents question why any armed conflict should be necessary. Few believe anything is worth fighting for in this way. Only those who have not experienced the reality of war, it is felt, could contemplate entering into armed conflict voluntarily. An 80-year-old describes how, even after a long life, things he had seen in the war have shocked him:

Two of my neighbours were killed on their way to Zugdidi. Their bodies were thrown into the river. Fear and death – these are my main emotions of war.
(Eduard, 80, internally displaced person)

Respondents express strong views that armed conflict is, ultimately, futile and that alternative means of achieving a resolution to the problems should *always* be pursued.

However, many find it difficult to discuss armed conflict and what it means to them. Their experiences have scarred them to such a degree that, on the whole, they tend to cope with what they have been through by psychologically distancing themselves from it. This manifests itself in participants often describing their experiences as unreal and as though they were observing events rather than living them. A first responder in Gori, a doctor called Baia, describes the scene when he had to leave his own home:

We had to flee the house. It was too dangerous to stay. I took nothing with me, just one plastic bag and that was it. People were running – it reminded me of images I had seen in war movies. (Baia, 37, first responder)

That all this should happen to civilians is hard for many of the respondents to take in. There is a sense of surprise and shock at the speed with which events unfolded and engulfed them. Few were prepared or had any kind of escape plan. Decisions to abandon the homes they had lived in for years were made sometimes in a few minutes.

There was no time to think in the heat of the emergency, but the fall-out from the traumatic events – injury, bereavement, separation, loss of home, loss of livelihood – will be with them for the rest of their lives. Interviews took place only a few months after the end of the conflict and it is clear that many were still in the early stages of coming to terms with their changed lives.

Personal experience of armed conflict

Whether people have been displaced, injured or bereaved, or have suffered some other trauma from armed conflict, the events continue to impact them because their lives have been so fundamentally altered and often because issues remain unresolved. For example, those with relatives missing suffered particularly, often with little information about their loved ones or no opportunity to grieve properly for their loss.

In some cases, grief and shock means that even people who are themselves physically unscathed from the war are mentally broken and need treatment.

Displacement brings with it a host of other types of suffering and the internally displaced persons interviewed are finding it difficult to adjust to their new lives. As well as coming to terms with losing homes, livelihoods and sometimes loved ones, they feel stigmatized for what they have suffered.

Death and physical injury

Civilians' proximity to the conflict zone means they became used to witnessing death on a regular basis. It soon started to feel unreal to those going through the worst events:

I have witnessed all the horror of war by my own eyes. My father was killed, my wife went missing – I could not even mourn for them normally. (Koki, 43, internally displaced person)

Some say they have become more fatalistic than they were before the conflict erupted. There is a sense among the respondents that, while they could take some measures to avoid being injured or killed, ultimately, they were no longer in control of their own destiny. Vassiev, who lost his father and several friends as well as his house in the violence, is typical of respondents who have suffered directly.

My former classmate and his two children got shot to death by fire coming from an armoured personnel carrier. So it looks like everyone has his or her own fate. (Vassiev, victim of armed conflict)

For many, what they have experienced makes them determined to ensure that such events will never happen again. They believe the losses they have incurred, either personally or as a nation, compel them to make the best of what they are left with and try to move forward.

I lost very dear people ... The only little consolation that I have is that we have built this republic. Now we have to fill it with substance. (Maria, 60, victim of armed conflict)

Loss of relatives and friends

The loss of relatives and friends is something that all respondents spoke about at length and, understandably, are profoundly affected by. They speak of the emotional pain and shock of losing a loved one.

Just as I was leaving my house I got a phone call saying that my father was no longer alive and my mother – a disabled 76-year-old woman – had third degree burns ... As I came onto our street I saw that nothing but walls remained of our house and there was my father's dead body on the threshold. (Vassiev, relative of missing person)

The grief felt was often so powerful that it left participants unable to function in their everyday lives. They speak of how they were so preoccupied with thoughts of what they had lost that they could not even concentrate on living and even ignored the needs of other family members who were still alive.

I was like a crazy person for four months...I stopped working. I was not even cooking food for the rest of my family. Life stopped ...I was thinking of burning our house: what did I need for anything if my son was not with me? (Kita, 70, relative of missing person)

What participants found particularly distressing was when they discovered that a loved one had been killed in the conflict – usually through information via the ICRC – but they did not have the bodies returned to them. For a few, this created uncertainty that the information they had been provided with was accurate.

When you have a son and he goes to war you know almost 90% he might be killed. But when you don't know where he is buried, whether he is dead or alive or in captivity – it is terrible. (Nia, relative of missing person)

When civilians are denied the opportunity to say goodbye to their loved ones, they cannot achieve closure and find it hard to move on in their life. They speak of how they had no body or grave to mourn their loss fully.

I ask God only one thing. I wish I was able to bury the mortal remains of my son ... (Vaja, 80, relative of missing person)

Practically, some speak of how the loss of a family member causes financial hardship. This is particularly true of women who have lost their partners as a result of the armed conflict. They had expected to receive financial assistance for their loss but this has either not been forthcoming at all or was at a level so low that it has made little tangible difference. This leads to resentment towards those who did receive help, as it seems to be allocated arbitrarily:

The wives of those killed in Samachablo were provided with jobs, flats in Tbilisi, financial support – 15,000 Lari [9,000 USD] – whereas we didn't get the promised ten-year salaries – 4,000 Lari [2,500 USD]. (Nia, relative of missing person)

Displacement

Many of those taking part in this research have been either internally displaced themselves or know someone who has been forced from their home as a result of the armed conflict. The problems linked to displacement are twofold: firstly, displacement results in a loss of material goods – not only property but a lifetime's possessions. Secondly, there is a significant emotional impact.

The internally displaced speak of how, as a result of the conflict, they have been forced to leave their homes for their own safety. In many cases, this involves abandoning the family home in which they had lived for many years. For some, this means also losing their place of work, and livelihood.

After leaving their homes, respondents report mixed experiences. Some are housed in state-owned flats. This provides them with a permanent address and some level of security, but the flats are often in poor condition. They don't regard these as 'home'.

We all have to live in this shabby building called a 'collective centre'. The authorities renovated its façade but we all know it may stay for three more years and then it will collapse. The authorities say they will register our rooms as private property, but we do not want it. (Tiasa, 46, internally displaced person)

Many persons displaced were forced to rely on acts of kindness from strangers in order to find shelter. First responders comment on such kindness and believe that such acts are the height of humanity.

We were 15 people living in this house and we shared everything. Can any unknown person do more than this one did? (Natia, internally displaced person)

The lack of a permanent fixed address causes practical problems for the internally displaced. Many describe how they were unable to access food and even when they could, they lacked the facilities to cook it properly.

We had nothing, no food at all. There was a pear tree in the garden. This was our only food. (Anzori, 80, internally displaced person)

Displacement also causes emotional distress. Many had lived in their homes for many years and in some cases since childhood. Leaving under such circumstances is traumatic and this is compounded by the uncertainty that results from being homeless. Many find discussing this issue very difficult. Their experiences make them fearful for the future.

Becoming a displaced person is something that also affects people's identity and their place in society. For instance, respondents speak of how they have lost much of what was dear to them including their possessions which they feel defined them. Worse, some feel they were looked down on by others in their community for being homeless.

Emotional effects

Respondents speak of how they now live with a fear of the consequences of another outbreak of the hostilities. This helps shape their behaviour. For instance, some keep a bag packed in case they need to flee again. Others have given instructions to loved ones so that, in the eventuality of another conflict, they would know what to do.

I feel obliged to inform my children of what it was like so they are more prepared – God forbid it repeats again in our lives. (Revaz, 43, internally displaced person)

Respondents also feel a great deal of anger as a result of the conflict. They believe that what they have suffered is not justified by any of the reasons underpinning the war. They fail to see how a fight over territory had to mean the loss of those they loved.

So many were killed and so many went missing on this small part of the world, so many families are in distress. Is the position the politicians fight for worth all of this? (Nia, relative of missing person)

Many speak of feeling confused by the armed conflict. They do not understand how the situation had come to this – especially after a period of relative peace. The conflict had taken them by surprise so much that they are still not sure how to describe it:

I do not know what to call this situation. Was it a war? An armed conflict? A civil war? I do not know. (Tiesq, 72, internally displaced person)

During the conflict, many report that they felt ashamed of what had become of them. This is particularly true of those who were displaced as a result of the conflict. After fleeing, they found themselves in close proximity to those who had not been affected by the conflict at all. The contrast between their situation and those with whom they are now living often makes them feel inadequate.

I am ashamed to go to my children's school as my children are wearing second-hand clothes and studying with torn books. (Taka, internally displaced person)

Some feel stripped of their humanity and dignity.

This is something that exasperated, enraged me for the first time in my life – realizing my humiliation. I'm sixty and my husband is even older and my mother-in-law... we were like rats running to hide in corners. (Maria, 60, victim of conflict)

Some also report having a heightened sense of national feeling as a result of the conflict. Some who, previously, had not been concerned about national or ethnic identities now feel that these colour how they feel about themselves and other ethnic groups.

We never thought in terms of Georgian or Ossetian in our house ... But now, if anyone asks me what my feelings are, there is nothing but hatred. *(Ambalov, victim of conflict)*

Out of all these negative emotions, however, many express feelings of hope for the future. Because they have experienced so much in the conflict, they are determined to build a new country in which the mistakes of the past are not repeated.

Beyond this, their experiences also open them up to the plight of people across the world in other conflict zones.

We, mothers of this foundation (an association of families of the missing) keep on saying that we wish we are the last women to lose their children in war. (Kita, 70, relative of missing person)

Civilians' needs in armed conflict

Participants speak of how, when the armed conflict started, their 'needs' changed considerably. As many were forced to leave behind their possessions, the importance they attach to material goods has lessened. Instead, they realize that what matters are the essentials for survival and safety for them and their families: access to a regular supply of food and water, shelter and the provision of a good standard of health care.

Above all, participants express an appreciation of what peace gives them, through experience of what it is like to be without it. This is something many had previously taken for granted. But the conflict brought significant personal upheavals, not only being forced to leave their homes but losing family members and friends. Many speak of a wish that they could simply turn the clock back to before the conflict.

Even those who have not been so personally affected feel an ever-present threat that what they saw happening to others around them could have happened to themselves. It is enough to make them take a new look at what life is all about.

You simply reconsider all your values. I realized that everything may lose its meaning in a second. Your life, your property, your career – it all equals zero without peace. (Baia, 37, first responder)

However, while long-term peace and political stability is their ultimate wish, most respondents believe that this is not realistically possible. They do not believe their respective governments will work towards this outcome. This leaves them feeling powerless and fearful of being thrust into a similar situation again.

This made many inclined to disengage from the political side of the conflict and focus their attention on their most immediate and pressing needs: ensuring their and their families' safety, finding shelter and a means of material survival.

Meeting these needs was not straightforward. Even those who found somewhere safe to stay often had difficulty finding food and water, either because supplies had been cut off or because they had no money to buy them. Because of this, the aid provided by various organizations, as well as individual acts of kindness, were not merely welcome, they were a means of survival.

Humanitarian assistance

For many, the humanitarian assistance provided has enabled them to survive the conflict. It is important not just for the practical help in the form of food supplies, shelter or health care, but for bringing hope to people in despair and a sense that the outside world knows and cares about their plight.

The ICRC and the Georgian Red Cross are prominent among the organizations the respondents speak highly of in the field of humanitarian assistance. Other key players include the churches and, for South Ossetians and Abkhazians, Emercom (the Russian Ministry of Emergency Situations).

Generally, participants are grateful to have received any assistance at all. However, the need to get the aid through to where it was most needed most quickly was the main issue raised. There is also a sense that aid efforts were not always well coordinated, with overlaps in some areas and gaps in provision in others.

The importance of assistance

For many respondents, the humanitarian assistance provided to them during and after the conflict proved literally the difference between life and death.

For internally displaced people in particular, with no facilities in which to prepare food and sometimes no means to get hold of food in the first place, this support was vital for them.

Some respondents speak of how, during and in the immediate aftermath of the conflict, they turned to each other for help and emotional support, when assistance from outside was not forthcoming. Indeed, some already had these support networks in place as a result of previous armed conflicts in the region. But it is also clear that organizations such as the ICRC and the Georgian Red Cross played an essential role on the ground in bringing reassurance and practical help.

Humanitarian assistance from organizations

Participants in Georgia mention a number of organizations when they talk about the assistance they have received, but refer mainly to the work of the ICRC and the Georgian Red Cross.

The ICRC is cited as being a key source of information on missing persons for those affected by the conflict. Victims speak of how it helped them to find information pertaining to the whereabouts of family members they were searching for and, additionally, helped them make sense of all new details that came to light.

We cooperate with the ICRC. It is very helpful. They give advice and recommendations to us, they helped us create an ante mortem database. (Vaja, 80, relative of missing person)

However, it is not just information that the ICRC passes on but also skills and expertise. The ICRC is valued highly by the families of the missing in particular, as it has helped them trace the remains of their loved ones. Respondents speak of how, on learning where the bodies of their loved ones rested, they wanted to go there immediately and bring them home. By close liaison with the ICRC, these families were made aware of the difficulty of making this happen and the reasons why protocols on this had to be followed.

I learnt from the ICRC that exhumation is not an easy process and that it has certain rules and procedures to follow ... Only after their efforts did we understand that we should refuse any kind of private deals on finding the graves of our children, exhumation and the transportation of bodies. (Vaja, 80, relative of missing person)

Hardest to bear however is, of course, the loss of loved ones – especially when their fate is uncertain. The ICRC and the Georgian Red Cross helps people to come to terms with their loss not only by helping them to determine the fate of those missing where possible but by working with local communities to come up with appropriate ways of honouring those who have died. One respondent speaks of how the mothers of one area have come together to found a small museum designed to inform future generations about the conflict as well as ensuring that those who have died are not forgotten.

The only organization that did something for us was the Georgian Red Cross. (Nia, relative of missing person)

Some of the Georgian Red Cross first responders who were interviewed say that helping other people also helps them deal with their own trauma and loss. They were putting themselves and their families in danger, but they felt they were making a genuine difference to many people in need.

I had a strong inner satisfaction or positive emotion that I was able to go there and give some support to people – I did what I could do. (Nukri, 40, first responder)

More than anything, though, the work of both the ICRC and Georgian Red Cross brings hope to those affected by the conflict. Some respondents had felt abandoned – the international community was perceived not to be doing enough to help them.

Our mobile clinics were actually the first ones to enter those villages after the attack. You cannot imagine how these poor people were looking at us with their eyes full of fear...when they saw our Red Cross cars they dared to come out. They were crying, hugging us – we were bringing them hope. (Tsira, first responder)

A number of other organizations are mentioned by participants as providing them with help and assistance; primary among these was the church. As well as giving spiritual comfort, the church provided considerable practical help by distributing food. These people are considered as brave as any of the people delivering frontline assistance:

The biggest role as aid workers in this conflict was played by religious personnel. They did not have any international mandate or protection, but they did the job at their own risk. (Gigo, 24, first responder)

In South Ossetia, some mention the practical aid they received from Russia through Emercom (the Russian Ministry of Emergency Situations).

I saw how many cars came here carrying humanitarian aid from Russia. They were carrying everything – equipment, furniture, clothes, footwear. (Tokaty, victim of conflict)

Desired improvements to assistance

Respondents mainly speak of how grateful they are to receive any assistance at all and suggestions as to what improvements should be made are limited. The work of the humanitarian organizations is felt to be beyond criticism. This is particularly true of the work of the Georgian Red Cross and the ICRC. The following points refer to what participants believe would represent an 'ideal' service – and one which they do not necessarily expect to receive.

It is felt that international agencies could do more to ensure that efforts are directed to the local population more quickly. The ICRC and the Georgian Red Cross are thought to be able to do this because of their resources and influence. They are perceived to be able to reach remote areas and undertake work in armed conflict zones that other bodies simply are not able to do.

Yet there is a recognition that the humanitarian organizations are, to an extent, powerless to prevent atrocities from occurring. They are limited to helping deal with the aftermath and some respondents find it highly frustrating that they can not take more action:

The international organizations should interfere. But they say they cannot, they can only observe. The international community should revise the rules, they should revise their mandates. (Gulisa, relative of missing person)

The lack of coordination between the different humanitarian organizations is also highlighted as a problem. The aid agencies all concentrate on providing three main things: food, shelter and health care. There could at times be a proliferation of one or more of these services in areas where they were all operating, whereas in other areas, only limited help was available.

There maybe needs to be more organization or better planning to avoid duplications. To plan the work so that everyone gets a variety of stuff. (Eliso, first responder)

There is also a suggestion that the provision of certain services be tailored in order to better meet the needs of the local population. Some state that they received the same foodstuffs each time and this not only led to a monotonous diet but one alien to the region's food culture. First responders were dismissive of this complaint, however:

We give help to avoid hunger and related developments and this can only be done with knowledge, based on professional considerations and not by meeting everyone's preferences. (Nutsha, 22, first responder)

For the first responders, though, there is a strong sense that they had inadequate resources when trying to assist people in a conflict. This is particularly true in relation to health supplies. First responders speak of how they only had the equipment needed to treat basic conditions yet the injuries they had to deal with required lengthy and technical medical procedures. This was exacerbated by the fact that some believe that local hospitals had been targeted for mortar attacks.

The quantities of food, medicines, and the variety of medicines should have been increased to provide advanced health care. When the ambulances did resume functioning, they didn't have enough medicines. (Eliso, first responder)

Humanitarian gestures

Individual humanitarian behaviour, provided voluntarily, plays a vital role in filling the gaps the humanitarian organizations cannot fill. This often involves acts of great bravery and kindness, to help the most vulnerable people in society. Some examples include giving shelter to people who have lost their homes, looking in on elderly or sick people who were unable to leave their homes and delivering food to others trapped in their homes.

Civilians often turned to one another for help and support both during and after the conflict. Individuals helped each other tackle the emotional impacts of war, through everyday conversation, sharing stories and strategies for coping with what was happening around them. But they also gave each other vital practical assistance because, while the work of the humanitarian organizations was praised, it did not always manage to reach the most vulnerable. Thurpa, a nurse and a first responder during the recent conflict, told of the difference it made in one area when residents threw their doors open to the displaced people arriving in their area:

People living in the Ateni Valley, where most of the internally displaced first found shelter, worked a real miracle. They hosted a huge number of people in their houses and shared their food with them. (Thurpa, first responder)

Older people or those with a health problem were more exposed to the risks of the conflict, as they could not flee as easily to safe places and found it difficult to reach the food that had been supplied. They were often also more physically isolated than others, stuck in their homes in areas from which others had been able to flee. For them, individual acts of humanitarian kindness could make the difference between surviving the conflict or not. One first responder was unable to reach her own elderly mother:

She could not flee when the conflict started as she could not move herself. One young man, her neighbour, took care of her. My mum still says that he saved her life. (Irina, first responder)

Food deliveries were one of the more obvious lifelines to these vulnerable people. In many cases these deliveries were done by individuals who took it upon themselves to carry out this service.

I remember a young man who was risking his life but still taking food to people who were scared to go out of their houses. He was bringing food to my family as well and other people in Gori, asking them not to go out onto the streets if they were too scared to do so. (Baia, 37, first responder)

As examples like this illustrate, individual acts of kindness are often significant gestures which not only secure the survival of someone in need but expose those giving the help to great personal danger. They are also a vital, if unofficial, part of the humanitarian response, without which many of the most needy would not have received help.

Behaviour during Armed Conflict

Rules of conflict

There is no doubt among civilians that they should not be the target for military action and that the impact on them is against the rules of armed conflict.

The respondents recognize the complex emotions soldiers went through when fighting in a war such as this. The thorough training of the military during peacetime in humanitarian law and humanitarian values – most importantly, how to avoid civilian casualties – is the only way to influence their behaviour in the heat of battle.

Armed conflicts are felt to be borne out of the desire for the winning of territory by military means – and civilians are seen as bystanders to these violent power games. Respondents all feel that harming civilians could never be a necessary part of such a military campaign. Because of this, there is full support for a robust set of laws governing how combatants may behave during a conflict, especially towards unarmed civilians.

Even wars have limits, as far as I know. One should not attack a civilian, a person without guns. (Nutsha, 22, first responder)

Indeed, there is a belief that these rules have been in place for many years and are based on common human values that apply even in war situations. There are certain behaviours that should never be tolerated, no matter what the provocation. Though the detail of international humanitarian law was unknown to respondents, they imagine it to be simply the crystallization of inherent human beliefs about decent behaviour, common to all, into a set of rules.

However, many recognize that those engaged in a conflict come under pressure in various ways to break these rules. War is felt to have a corrosive effect on the moral values of those engaged in it. For example, in some cases adherence to the rules is down to the whim of a commanding officer who may choose to demonstrate his authority by abusing his power.

Much depends on the soldier's personality – how humane he or she is. Some abuse guns or their status as a combatant. (Nino, 22, first responder)

Others look lower down the ranks for the source of unethical behaviour in the military. Armies, they feel, attract many young men who have been denied certain life chances, such as an education, who may bring anti-social behaviour and attitudes with them from their home backgrounds which the army has not trained out of them. These soldiers may be unpredictable and dangerous when entrusted with a uniform and a gun:

Illiterate soldiers are more dangerous. They do not have a proper education or example of a family. They do not know respect for the elderly. (Gorda, 27, internally displaced person)

The conflict itself plays further on aggressive emotions, which may cloud soldiers' judgement and cause them to ignore the rules of conflict. Soldiers are felt to be more exposed to the horrors of war and more likely to have witnessed loss of life at close hand. Soldiers themselves have often lost comrades a result of the fighting and sometimes family members also.

The knowledge of rules for soldiers is essential. But human emotions also play a big role. Sometimes soldiers are not able to control emotions. When they see violence, killing, burning alive, they feel like taking revenge. (Borena, 70, relative of missing person)

Some believe that the rules which seem rational and reasonable in peacetime are quickly forgotten in war.

*Once a conflict starts, forget about any discipline! No discipline exists in wars.
(Gorda, 27, internally displaced person)*

Some also make the point that regular armies are less the problem in following the rules of war than are bandits and mercenaries. Because these are not 'official' forces, it is felt that they are less easy to control and more likely to violate the rules.

Bandit groups do not care much about any rules or conventions (Baia, 37, first responder)

Respondents believe that there should be rules in place to govern conduct during armed conflict – especially to protect civilians – but there is doubt as to how far these rules are put into practice in reality.

Furthermore, a few suggest that the very nature of warfare has changed so much in recent years that perhaps they are no longer relevant. They speak of how civilians are targeted far more in conflicts, and of indiscriminate bombing.

Right to health care and protecting health workers

All respondents believe that those injured as a result of armed conflict ought to be afforded access to health care without question. There is also the understanding that the health profession is, by virtue of the Hippocratic Oath, obliged to help all.

More generally the essential work of health professionals in conflict zones is unreservedly praised. Health workers are to be respected regardless of which 'side' the injured or sick person they care for is on. It is recognized that health professionals work in often intolerable conditions with limited supplies and at great risk to themselves. Respondents see the protection of health personnel in armed conflicts as of unquestionable importance.

Right to health care

There is a strong belief that everyone – irrespective of their ethnicity or nationality – should be entitled to health care as and when they need it. Once someone is wounded as a result of the armed conflict, then they are vulnerable and, therefore, deserve to be afforded protection. Gorda, 27, who herself lost her home during the conflict, calls for mercy and care to be shown for wounded soldiers on both sides:

*It does not matter which side a wounded person belongs to ... A wounded soldier is like a child – he needs to be protected as a child in such circumstances.
(Gorda, 27, internally displaced person)*

Protecting health workers

One of the reasons this is such an important principle to respect, respondents feel, is that health workers have no choice but to be strictly neutral when it comes to treating people. Many are aware that the Hippocratic Oath requires doctors to treat all those needing medical attention that they come into contact with – regardless of which side of the conflict they may be on.

Doctors are obliged to help people in need and in trouble. No matter if it is a soldier or an ordinary person. (Tiesa, 72, internally displaced person)

Many also recognize that health workers perform an essential service – often in intolerable conditions. The hospital buildings are often right in the middle of the conflict zone and by working there, health workers are exposing themselves to great personal risks. In addition, as only a few staff members could physically get to the hospital to work during the conflict, the burden of care often fell on fewer people. This resulted in long shifts for the health personnel, as Dzantiev, who lived through the fighting, testifies:

They all tried, they worked around the clock. They were no conditions to be working in, but there was work to do. (Dzantiev, victim of armed conflict)

Health personnel themselves speak of these issues and how difficult their work is during a time of armed conflict. They also feel that these problems were exacerbated by a lack of supplies which meant they were not always able to perform the complex health procedures they needed to.

They also point out that they are themselves civilians affected by the conflict, as well as being doctors. They were often as scared about events as those they were treating. But the urgency and importance of their work helped them get on with the job and put these fears to one side. Medea, a first responder working in a mobile clinic in Georgia during the height of the conflict, speaks about how she and other medical professionals were really feeling beneath the professional veneer, as they helped people find shelter during a bombing raid:

We had to be calm, but we were so scared. (Medea, first responder)

Experience of the conflict convinced respondents across the board that the protection of health staff during armed conflict is not only highly important in principle but essential in practice. This protection is the least that should be offered to health workers in return for the risks they run and benefits to all that they give. Indeed, the mother of a missing soldier speaks for many when she calls for strong action to be taken against those deliberately targeting health personnel:

During attacks everything can happen but not in relation to the medical personnel. If anyone shoots at the medical personnel when they are performing their professional duties, this person should be punished.

(Nia, relative of missing person)

The Geneva Conventions

There is strong support for having a set of rules to govern conduct during war, but limited awareness of the Geneva Conventions themselves. Even among respondents working for the Georgian Red Cross, there is a lack of clarity on what the main focus of the Geneva Conventions is. Some believe they are mainly about the avoidance of conflict, while others think they mainly regulate what means of warfare can be used and that they govern the treatment of prisoners of war.

However, among those who are unaware of the Geneva Conventions, the use of the word 'Geneva' is associated with peace and neutrality, and leads them to assume that the Geneva Conventions would be concerned with these issues as well.

The idea of having international laws to protect civilians and govern conduct during a conflict is widely accepted and felt to be essential. But among most of the respondents there is very limited awareness of the Geneva Conventions themselves. Indeed, it is only those who work for the Georgian Red Cross or other humanitarian organizations who tend to be aware of them. Similarly, those who have received extensive support from the ICRC are often more aware of the law underpinning its role.

Even among those who are more aware, however, there is disparity between what they believe the focus of the Geneva Conventions to be and the reality. Some, for instance, think that the legislation exists to help prepare the ground for peace negotiations and diplomacy. They believe that, in essence, the rules as laid down in the Geneva Conventions either stop conflicts from occurring or bring about their swift cessation if they have begun.

It is a law on how to achieve peace. (Otia, first responder)

For others, though, there is a strong sense that the Geneva Conventions are there to govern behaviour during a conflict. Respondents believe that they not only set out the limitations for combatants in a conflict situation but outline provisions which could be demanded in relation to other matters such as the treatment of their prisoners.

This is a brilliant document which describes the rights and obligations of sides in a conflict. (Shalva, relative of missing person)

Some believe that the Geneva Conventions cover a panoply of issues relating to war up to and including the use of nuclear weapons. The view is also expressed that it is under the Geneva Conventions that cluster bombs are banned.

Where there is limited awareness of the Geneva Conventions, most guess what the law is there to do. Much of this comes from their associations with 'Geneva'. It suggests neutrality, peace and the sense of an international space in which countries come together. From this, respondents conclude that any legislation which references Geneva must also be to do with peace and stability. Uta, who lost her home in the conflict, is typical of many respondents who make educated guesses about what the Geneva Conventions are about:

I think the Geneva Convention must be about peace or the protection of the peace. I do not know what the word convention means, but I know that Geneva is about protecting peace. (Uta, 80, internally displaced person)

There are questions raised as to the extent to which the Geneva Conventions were adhered to in reality by the warring parties in the conflict. Respondents look at the scale of civilian damage on their side and conclude that opposition soldiers must have been in breach of the Geneva Conventions. But on balance, most accept that civilian damage and loss would have been far greater had there been no laws in place.

Because of this, they support the idea of the Geneva Conventions and believe that a greater dissemination of information about them could change behaviour and attitudes over time. Nutsha, 22, a first responder in Tbilisi, counsels against despair, even when some combatants ignore their obligations, because the Geneva Conventions are essential to maintaining decent human standards in the worst situations:

I do believe that the knowledge of the Geneva Conventions has had a great influence on human consciousness. All efforts of creating this document were not in vain. (Nutsha, 22, first responder)

Conclusions: priority actions

Civilians advocate spreading three global messages:

- The need to respect others all the more during armed conflict.
- The importance for civilians to be prepared and be informed quickly what practical measures to take in the event of an outbreak of a conflict.
- Other parts of the world could avoid conflict by learning from the mistakes made in this context.

Respondents have three main messages they would like to communicate to the rest of the world:

- Respect for others – many think that armed conflicts erupt because of misunderstandings between people from different backgrounds and, in this region, over territory in particular. Such misunderstandings would be less likely to escalate into armed conflict if messages about respect and tolerance for others are promoted more widely.

Respect! More respect to everyone! This would be my message. Hatred causes hatred. Violence causes violence. Respect is needed. (Kita, 70, relative of missing person)

There should be a better focus on the inherent similarities between different groups of people and, where necessary, a celebration of the differences. Respondents believe that if there is a greater understanding of the need to respect differences, such tolerance would make armed conflict much less likely.

- Preparation – one of the main concerns for respondents is what they should do in the event of another conflict in the region. Many feel their experiences in the recent conflict were even worse than they needed to have been because they were not prepared adequately and the armed conflict had, to an extent, taken them by surprise. Practically, this meant that they had had to flee their homes and leave behind many of their personal possessions, sometimes without knowing of a safe place to go to. In the heat of the conflict, their needs and priorities changed and they needed to simply focus on surviving and ensuring that their loved ones were safe

Therefore, it would be helpful for civilians to receive better and clearer information about how they should best prepare for future conflicts. The key thing they need is to work out in advance an escape route, informed by knowing safe places to head for. Tiesa, a 72-year-old who lost her home, says she wishes everyone had known where to go, but they did not:

We should know where the shelters are. (Tiesa, 72, internally displaced person)

- Messages of peace – many feel their experiences make them appreciate peace very acutely and that they would like others to understand how fragile peace is and the consequences of losing it.

My message would be this: let us take care of each other; let us spare each other's lives. Like we care for our families, each of us, we should care for the entire world the same way. (Lathamze, first responder)

Respondents emphasize the value of dialogue – they feel that there is always a non-violent means of resolving a conflict.

War is absolutely unacceptable for us. There is always another option – a dialogue. (Irema, relative of missing person)

Respondents emphasize how fundamental it is to have basic stability in the country, that from this many other positives are derived: economic prosperity, care for the environment and personal well-being.

Specific trends for different groups

Internally displaced persons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Displacement results in a huge emotional impact. Participants speak of how as a result of being forced to leave their homes they had lost much of what was dear to them; their homes, their possessions and, in turn, the place and things which defined them. Internally displaced persons' lack of a permanent fixed address or somewhere that they felt was 'home' also caused practical problems for them. Many describe having been unable to access food and, even if they were able to, lacking the facilities to cook it. <i>We often used to burn garbage to bake bread. Imagine! As we had no firewood. (Tsaro, 40, internally displaced person)</i> Many report that they felt ashamed of what had become of them during and after the conflict. This was particularly true of those who had been displaced – they often found themselves in close proximity to those who had not been affected by the conflict at all, who did not fully understand their plight and, it is felt, sometimes looked down on the internally displaced for being disadvantaged. This humiliation adds to the pain of the displacement itself. Internally displaced persons want to be told where they can go to seek shelter should they be forced to abandon their homes in future. There is a general feeling that disseminating this practical knowledge would help people cope better with future conflicts, by enabling them to make clear and rational decisions quickly about what to do. Gela, from Gori, whose father was killed in the bombing remembered: <i>You wonder where to go, should you stay or should you go... where should you go? Where to find shelter for your family, for your children? (Dedika, internally displaced person)</i> Some internally displaced persons working with an office or workshop at home lost not only their place of residence but their ability to make a living. In such cases there is a need to help them back into work as well as re-housing them.
Relatives of missing persons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The grief from losing loved ones is often so powerful that it affects people's ability to function normally in their everyday tasks. Sometimes they were unable to look after the family they still had, because of the psychological trauma of losing someone close to them. There is a need for more support and counselling for those grieving for lost loved ones. The fact that many were denied the opportunity to say goodbye to their loved ones meant they could not achieve closure and found it hard to move on with their lives. Having had no body, nor grave, to tend to, they could not mourn their loss properly. Experience of separation and loss also makes some respondents feel fatalistic and as if they had no control of their own lives. Again, counselling and support could help with these feelings. Financial hardship caused by the loss of a family member is real. Financial compensation for respondents' loss is usually either not forthcoming at all or so low that it made little tangible difference. Separated families in particular feel strongly about fostering peace for the future. They feel they have the authority to speak to others on why armed conflict should be avoided at all costs. Gulisa, a Georgian woman whose son was missing presumed dead, put it this way: <i>We who lost our children in the war appeal to the whole world: no territory is worth a human life. Let's take care of each other's lives. What enmity has destroyed, love has built – a Georgian proverb. (Gulisa, relative of missing person)</i>
First responders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> All agree that health workers always deserve protection during armed conflicts. Health workers are doing essential work at great risk to themselves – and everyone, even enemy combatants, has the right to health care. Many staff could not physically get to the hospital to work during the conflict and so the burden of care fell on fewer people. This resulted in long shifts for the health personnel to ensure that they were able to help all those they needed to. Lack of supplies was a problem for first responders. It meant that often they were not able to perform the medical procedures that were required.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

OPINION SURVEY

Sample profile

	Resident population (Weighted profile)		Internally displaced persons (Unweighted profile)	
	Number	%	Number	%
Total	300	100	200	100
Gender				
Male	127	42	59	30
Female	173	58	141	71
Age				
18-24	34	11	23	12
25-29	19	6	13	7
30-34	38	13	21	11
35-39	37	12	21	11
40-44	29	10	18	9
45-49	26	9	22	11
50-64	63	21	50	25
65 or over	54	18	32	16
Ethnicity				
Georgian	272	91	198	99
Armenian	9	3	0	0
Azer	16	5	0	0
Russian	2	1	0	0
Kurd	0	0	0	0
Ossetian	0	0	2	1
Abkhazian	0	0	0	0

	Resident population (Weighted profile)		Internally displaced persons (Unweighted profile)	
	Number	%	Number	%
Religion				
Christian: Orthodox	274	92	199	100
Christian: Catholic	0	0	0	0
Muslim	21	7	0	0
Judaism	0	0	0	0
Other	4	1	1	1
Atheist	0	0	0	0
Education				
Elementary	14	5	9	5
Secondary	113	38	66	33
Vocational	65	22	48	24
Higher	109	36	77	39
Region				
Tbilisi	101	34	100	50
Kakheti	27	9	0	0
Shida Kartli	18	6	25	13
Kvemo Kartli	24	8	0	0
Samckhe – Javakheti	9	3	0	0
Adjara	19	6	0	0
Guria	9	3	0	0
Samegrelo	29	10	25	13
Imereti	56	19	25	13
Mtskheta – Tianeti	6	2	25	13

Sampling details

Sampling tolerances vary with the size of the sample and the percentage figure concerned. For example, for a question where 50% of the people in the full sample of 300 resident people give a particular answer, the chances are 95 in 100 that this result would not vary by more than 5 percentage points plus or minus (i.e. between 45% and 55%) from the result that would have been obtained from a census of the *entire* population (using the same procedures).

Some examples of the tolerances that may apply in this report are given in the table below.

Approximate sampling tolerances applicable to percentages at or near these levels (at the 95% confidence level)			
<i>Unweighted base (500)</i>	10% or 90% ±	30% or 70% ±	50% ±
Size of sample on which survey result is based (unweighted)			
500 (All respondents)	3	4	4
300 (All resident respondents from Georgia)	3	5	6
200 (All internally displaced respondents)	4	6	7

Source: Ipsos

Some further examples of the tolerances that may apply in this report are given in the table below – this time looking at just Georgia's resident population (not internally displaced persons).

Approximate sampling tolerances applicable to percentages at or near these levels (at the 95% confidence level)			
<i>Unweighted base (300)</i>	10% or 90% ±	30% or 70% ±	50% ±
Size of sample on which survey result is based (unweighted)			
300 (All respondents from Georgia)	3	5	6

Source: Ipsos

Tolerances are also involved in the comparison of results between different elements (sub-groups) of the sample and between the 1999 and 2009 results. A difference must be of at least a certain size to be statistically significant. The table below shows the sampling tolerances applicable to comparisons of sub-groups and between the 1999 and 2009 research.

Differences required for significance at the 95% confidence level at or near these percentages			
<i>Unweighted base (500)</i>	10% or 90% ±	30% or 70% ±	50% ±
Size of 2009 sub-groups and 1999 vs. 2009 samples involved in this survey (unweighted)			
300 (All respondents from Georgia) vs. 200 (All internally displaced respondents)	5	8	9
857 (1999 full sample) vs. 500 (2009 full sample)	3	5	6

Source: Ipsos

Marked-up questionnaire

Questionnaire			
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interviews with 500 people (300 resident population and 200 internally displaced persons) Aged 18+ Conducted face-to-face from 16 to 24 February 2009 Results are weighted for the resident sample (300) and unweighted for the internal displaced persons sample (200) 'POW' indicates a question also asked in 1999 An asterisk (*) indicates a result of less than 1% (but not zero) A 'n/a' denotes 'not asked' Base for each question is all (300 resident population/200 internally displaced persons), unless shown otherwise 		
INTRODUCTION			
	<p>Good morning/afternoon/evening. I am from Ipsos, an independent social research agency. We are conducting interviews in this area and would like your help with this. The interview will last around 15 minutes and is about your experiences of and opinions on the armed conflict in Georgia.</p>		
AA) ON CONFLICT IN GENERAL			
ASK ALL ↴	Q1. Have you personally experienced armed conflict, or not?		
		Resident population	Internally displaced persons
		%	%
	Yes	10	100
	No	90	0
	Don't know	0	0
	Refused	0	0
ASK IF 'YES' AT Q1 ↴	Q2. Was this in Georgia, or was it somewhere else?		
		Resident population n=28**	Internally displaced persons n=200
	<i>Base: All experiencing armed conflict at Q1</i>	%	%
	In Georgia	100	100
	Somewhere else (specify)	0	0
	Both	0	0
	Don't know	0	0
	** Very low base		

ASK IF 'YES' AT Q1 ↴

Q3A. I'm going to ask you about your actual experiences during the armed conflict in Georgia. Please tell me whether any of the following things happened to you personally or did not happen as a consequence of the armed conflict in Georgia. For each one, please indicate whether it happened or did not happen to you.

<i>Base: All experiencing armed conflict at Q1-28** – Resident population</i>	Happened	Did not happen	Don't know	Refused
	%	%	%	%
Forced to leave your home and live elsewhere	32	68	0	0
Imprisoned	0	100	0	0
Kidnapped or taken as a hostage	4	96	0	0
Tortured	6	94	0	0
Been humiliated	25	75	0	0
Lost contact with a close relative	59	41	0	0
A member of your immediate family was killed during the armed conflict	4	96	0	0
Serious damage to your property	39	61	0	0
Wounded by the fighting	15	85	0	0
Combatants took food away	8	92	0	0
Had your home looted	27	73	0	0
Somebody you knew well was a victim of sexual violence	3	97	0	0

ROTATE STATEMENTS BELOW HERE SEPARATELY AFTER OTHERS

No or very limited access to basic necessities (water, electricity, etc.)	32	68	0	0
No or very limited access to health care	26	74	0	0
Lost all my belongings	27	73	0	0
Lost my means of income (e.g. job, revenue, farm land, etc.)	35	65	0	0
The area where I live came under enemy control	27	73	0	0

**Very low base

<i>Base: All experiencing armed conflict at Q1 – Internally displaced persons–200</i>	Happened	Did not happen	Don't know	Refused
	%	%	%	%
Forced to leave your home and live elsewhere	100	1	0	0
Imprisoned	2	98	0	0
Kidnapped or taken as a hostage	3	97	0	0
Tortured	2	98	0	0
Been humiliated	19	82	0	0
Lost contact with a close relative	70	30	0	0
A member of your immediate family was killed during the armed conflict	25	75	0	0
Serious damage to your property	91	9	0	0
Wounded by the fighting	6	94	0	0
Combatants took food away	27	73	0	0
Had your home looted	93	7	1	0
Somebody you knew well was a victim of sexual violence	11	89	0	0

ROTATE STATEMENTS BELOW HERE SEPARATELY AFTER OTHERS

No or very limited access to basic necessities (water, electricity, etc.)	67	33	0	0
No or very limited access to health care	70	31	0	0
Lost all my belongings	99	1	0	0
Lost my means of income (e.g. job, revenue, farm land, etc.)	98	2	0	0
The area where I live came under enemy control	95	5	0	0

ASK IF NOT 'YES' AT Q1 ↴

Q3B. I'm going to ask you about how you yourself have been affected by the armed conflict in Georgia. Please tell me whether any of the following things happened to you personally or did not happen as a consequence of the armed conflict in Georgia. For each one, please indicate whether it happened or did not happen to you.

Base: All not experiencing armed conflict at Q1-272 – Resident population	Happened	Did not happen	Don't know	Refused
	%	%	%	%
Forced to leave your home and live elsewhere	1	99	0	*
Imprisoned	0	100	0	*
Kidnapped or taken as a hostage	0	100	0	*
Tortured	0	100	0	*
Been humiliated	0	100	0	*
Lost contact with a close relative	6	94	0	0
A member of your immediate family was killed during the armed conflict	*	100	0	*
Serious damage to your property	1	99	0	0
Wounded by the fighting	0	100	0	*
Combatants took food away	0	100	0	*
Had your home looted	1	99	0	0
Somebody you knew well was a victim of sexual violence	0	100	0	*
ROTATE STATEMENTS BELOW HERE SEPARATELY AFTER OTHERS				
No or very limited access to basic necessities (water, electricity, etc.)	2	98	0	*
No or very limited access to health care	1	98	0	*
Lost all my belongings	1	99	0	*
Lost my means of income (e.g. job, revenue, farm land, etc.)	3	97	0	0
The area where I lived came under enemy control	1	99	0	0

ALL RESPONDENTS ↴

Q3A/Q3B. I'm going to ask you about your actual experiences during the armed conflict in Georgia. Please tell me whether any of the following things happened to you personally or did not happen as a consequence of the armed conflict in Georgia. For each one, please indicate whether it happened or did not happen to you.

<i>Base: All respondents – Resident population</i>	Happened	Did not happen	Don't know	Refused
	%	%	%	%
Forced to leave your home and live elsewhere	4	96	0	0
Imprisoned	0	100	0	0
Kidnapped or taken as a hostage	*	99	0	0
Tortured	1	99	0	0
Been humiliated	3	97	0	0
Lost contact with a close relative	11	89	0	0
A member of your immediate family was killed during the armed conflict	1	99	0	0
Serious damage to your property	5	95	0	0
Wounded by the fighting	2	98	0	0
Combatants took food away	1	99	0	0
Had your home looted	4	96	0	0
Somebody you knew well was a victim of sexual violence	*	100	0	0
ROTATE STATEMENTS BELOW HERE SEPARATELY AFTER OTHERS				
No or very limited access to basic necessities (water, electricity, etc.)	5	95	0	*
No or very limited access to health care	4	96	0	*
Lost all my belongings	3	96	0	*
Lost my means of income (e.g. job, revenue, farm land, etc.)	6	94	0	0
The area where I live came under enemy control	4	96	0	0

ASK ALL ↴	Q4. And have you been affected by armed conflict in Georgia in any other ways? What ways were those?		
	SINGLE CODE		
		Resident population	Internally displaced persons
		%	%
	Yes – specify	15	38
	No	84	62
	Don't know	0	1
	Refused	1	0
	YES – SPECIFY: TOP MENTIONS (> 5% of respondents) – Resident population <i>Base: All who have been affected by armed conflict in any other ways at Q4-46*</i>		
			%
	TOTAL MENTIONS – PERSONAL SUFFERING		81
	Was damaged morally/psychologically		81
	TOTAL MENTIONS – DETERIORATION IN THE STANDARD OF LIVING		10
	SUB-TOTAL MENTIONS – NO JOB/COULDN'T WORK		8
	Lost job due to the war		7
	YES – SPECIFY: TOP MENTIONS (> 5% of respondents) – Internally displaced persons <i>Base: All who have been affected by armed conflict in any other ways at Q4-76*</i>		
			%
	TOTAL MENTIONS – PERSONAL SUFFERING		42
	Was damaged morally/psychologically		25
	TOTAL MENTIONS – TYPES OF VIOLENCE/ATTACKS		25
	SUB-TOTAL MENTIONS – EXPLOSIONS/BOMBS		9
	Were bombed		8
	TOTAL MENTIONS – BUILDINGS ATTACKED/DESTROYED		17
	SUB-TOTAL MENTIONS – PEOPLE'S HOMES		16
	The house was burned		14
	TOTAL MENTIONS – THIEVES/LOOTING		14
	Car/tractor were stolen		11
	TOTAL MENTIONS – AFFECTED PHYSICALLY/HEALTH		14
	Health was damaged		9
	TOTAL MENTIONS – PEOPLE ARE KILLED/INJURED		7
	TOTAL MENTIONS – RELATIVES ARE KILLED/INJURED		7
	TOTAL MENTIONS – DETERIORATION IN THE STANDARD OF LIVING		5
	TOTAL MENTIONS – NO JOB/COULDN'T WORK		5
	* Low base		
ASK ALL WHO HAVE EXPERIENCED CONFLICT – 'YES' AT Q1 AND 'YES' AT Q2/ CODE 1 (IN GEORGIA) OR ANY 'HAPPENED' RESPONSE AT Q3, OR ANY 'YES' RESPONSE AT Q4 ↴	Q5. And when were you personally most recently affected by this armed conflict in Georgia?		
	SINGLE CODE		
	<i>Base: All who have experienced/been affected by conflict in any way, as defined above</i>	Resident population (Base = 78*)	Internally displaced persons (Base = 200)
	Now/currently experiencing	0	0
	Within the last month	0	0
	More than one month ago, but less than six months	0	0
	Six months ago to within the last year	72	41
	1-2 years	0	0
	3-4 years	0	0
	5-9 years	0	0
	10-19 years	26	60
	20 years +	0	0
	Don't know	2	0
	Refused	0	0
	* Low base		

ASK ALL ↴	Q6. What do you think are the two or three greatest fears people are facing in a situation of armed conflict in Georgia?		
	DO NOT READ OUT. INTERVIEWER TO CODE A MAXIMUM OF THREE RESPONSES		
		Resident population	Internally displaced persons
		%	%
	Inability to earn a living/personal or family economic instability	20	17
	Losing a loved one	43	54
	Being separated from loved ones	21	29
	Losing/destruction of the house/losing of personal belongings	26	39
	Living with uncertainty	21	29
	Having to leave their home/becoming displaced/a refugee	37	32
	Imprisonment	8	8
	Surviving the conflict	12	25
	Suffering injury	7	11
	Sexual violence	5	9
	Not being able to get an education/going to school	6	1
	Fear of being rejected by your community	2	2
	Having to take up arms/fight	11	13
	Being humiliated	14	11
	Limited access to basic necessities (water, electricity, etc.)	8	3
	Limited access to health care (drugs, hospital)	4	1
	Outcome of the conflict	13	16
	Other (specify)	5	1
	Nothing	0	0
	Don't know	2	1
	Refused	0	0
ASK ALL ↴	Q7. What do you think civilians who are living in areas of armed conflict need the most? Please select the three most important to you.		
	ROTATE STATEMENTS. READ THE LIST AND ASK RESPONDENTS TO SELECT ONE ANSWER. REPEAT THE LIST IF NECESSARY. THEN READ THE LIST AGAIN WITHOUT MENTIONING THE FIRST ANSWER AND ASK THE RESPONDENT TO SELECT ANOTHER ANSWER. REPEAT AGAIN.		
		Resident population	Internally displaced persons
		%	%
	Food	44	46
	Shelter	48	42
	Medical treatment/health care	24	19
	Family members to be kept together	21	30
	Information on separated/missing family members	11	7
	Security/protection	40	52
	Respect/dignity	5	8
	Psychological support	18	12
	To influence decisions that affect them	3	9
	Conflict resolution	23	49
	Economic/financial help	27	21
	Other (specify)	*	1
	Don't know	*	0
	Refused	0	0

ASK ALL WHO HAVE EXPERIENCED CONFLICT – ‘YES’ AT Q1 AND ‘YES’ AT Q2/ CODE 1 (IN GEORGIA) OR ANY ‘HAPPENED’ RESPONSE AT Q3, OR ANY ‘YES’ RESPONSE AT Q4. ROTATE ORDER ↴

Q8. Now I would like to ask you about whether the armed conflict has changed the way you feel. For each description I read out, please say whether the armed conflict has made you feel more this way, less this way, or has it made no real difference. First [...], would you say it has made you more [...], less [...], or has it done neither?

Base: All who have experienced/been affected by conflict in any way, as defined above – Resident population-78*	More	Less	No real difference	Don't know	Refused
	%	%	%	%	%
Vengeful	22	39	35	4	*
Trusting	7	67	24	3	0
Resilient	1	73	22	4	0
Anxious	73	16	10	2	0
Appreciative of every day	66	14	18	2	0
Confused	22	48	28	2	0
Sad	66	25	8	2	0
Sensitive	70	15	11	4	0
Disillusioned	18	40	36	5	1
Optimistic for the future	36	42	16	4	2
Wise	21	46	25	9	0
Empathetic towards other people	84	4	9	2	0
Violent/aggressive	6	57	32	4	1
* Low base					
Base: All who have experienced/been affected by conflict in any way, as defined above – Internally displaced persons-200	More	Less	No real difference	Don't know	Refused
	%	%	%	%	%
Vengeful	23	55	22	1	0
Trusting	23	68	7	3	0
Resilient	6	88	7	0	1
Anxious	77	21	3	0	0
Appreciative of every day	73	17	8	3	0
Confused	62	27	11	1	0
Sad	89	11	0	1	0
Sensitive	88	11	1	0	0
Disillusioned	27	52	21	0	0
Optimistic for the future	34	59	6	2	0
Wise	29	47	16	9	1
Empathetic towards other people	93	7	1	0	0
Violent/aggressive	35	50	16	0	0

BB) HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE/NEEDS

ASK ALL WHO HAVE EXPERIENCED CONFLICT – ‘YES’ AT Q1 AND ‘YES’ AT Q2/ CODE 1 (IN GEORGIA) OR ANY ‘HAPPENED’ RESPONSE AT Q3, OR ANY ‘YES’ RESPONSE AT Q4 ↴

Q9. During the time you experienced or were being affected by armed conflict, did you receive help or support from any of the following?

READ OUT.

<i>Base: All who have experienced/been affected by conflict in any way, as defined above – Resident population-78*</i>	Yes	No	Don't know	Can't remember
	%	%	%	%
UN/UN agency	4	89	4	3
Georgian Red Cross	4	92	4	1
ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross)	6	90	4	0
Other non-governmental organization (NGO) or charity (local or international)	3	90	4	3
Government	9	85	4	3
Individuals from your community/neighbours	8	86	4	3
Religious entities	0	93	4	4
Military/army/combatants	1	93	4	3
Parents/family	30	66	4	0
Other (specify)	*	0	100	0
Combination: Georgian Red Cross/ICRC	7	93	4	0

* Low base

<i>Base: All who have experienced/been affected by conflict in any way, as defined above – Internally displaced persons-200</i>	Yes	No	Don't know	Can't remember
	%	%	%	%
UN/UN agency	38	52	2	9
Georgian Red Cross	21	72	1	6
ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross)	39	50	1	11
Other non-governmental organization (NGO) or charity (local or international)	33	60	2	6
Government	82	18	1	1
Individuals from your community/neighbours	27	69	2	3
Religious entities	14	81	1	6
Military/army/combatants	7	86	1	7
Parents/family	40	57	2	3
Other (specify)	8	0	92	0
Combination: Georgian Red Cross/ICRC	51	78	1	4

ASK IF 'YES' AT Q9 ↴

Q10. For each of the types of organizations or people you mentioned receiving help or support from, I would like you to tell me how well you felt they understood your needs. First, the [type of support at Q9]... do you feel your needs were completely understood, partially understood, or not understood at all?

SINGLE CODE FOR EACH SOURCE OF SUPPORT MENTIONED AT Q9

<i>Base: All who did receive support/ help from each organization at Q9 – Resident population</i>	Completely	Partially	Not at all	Don't know	Refused	Not applicable
	%	%	%	%	%	%
UN/UN agency (Base = 2**)	0	100	0	0	0	0
Georgian Red Cross (3**)	24	76	0	0	0	0
ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross) (5**)	5	95	0	0	0	0
Other non-governmental organization (NGO) or charity (local or international) (4**)	50	50	0	0	0	0
Government (9**)	20	80	0	0	0	0
Individuals from your community/ neighbours (6**)	42	58	0	0	0	0
Religious entities (0)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Military/army/combantants (1**)	100	0	0	0	0	0
Parents/family (21**)	79	21	0	0	0	0
Combination: Georgian Red Cross/ICRC (7**)	17	83	0	0	0	0

** Very low base

<i>Base: All who did receive support/ help from each organization at Q9 – Internally displaced persons</i>	Completely	Partially	Not at all	Don't know	Refused	Not applicable
	%	%	%	%	%	%
UN/UN agency (Base = 76*)	32	63	4	1	0	0
Georgian Red Cross (42*)	29	64	2	5	0	0
ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross) (77*)	18	74	4	3	1	0
Other non-governmental organization (NGO) or charity (local or international) (66*)	30	68	0	2	0	0
Government (163)	30	67	2	1	0	0
Individuals from your community/ neighbours (53*)	34	62	0	4	0	0
Religious entities (27**)	30	67	0	4	0	0
Military/army/combantants (13**)	31	54	0	15	0	0
Parents/family (79*)	66	34	0	0	0	0
Combination: Georgian Red Cross/ICRC (101)	20	74	6	2	1	0

* Low base/** Very low base

ASK ALL ↴

Q11. Which, if any, of the following reasons do you think may have prevented people in Georgia receiving or accepting help or support during armed conflict?

READ OUT LIST. ROTATE ORDER. MULTICODE OK

	Resident population	Internally displaced persons
	YES	YES
	%	%
Corruption	26	53
Black market	10	46
Discrimination/social status	8	19
Location access – not able to reach the location	39	21
Unaware that it was available	9	20
Fear of being rejected by my community	4	1
Fear of being perceived to be aligned with wrong side	6	3
Pride/dignity	6	1
Did not meet criteria	9	1
Did not want to receive any support	7	1
Did not need to receive any support	6	1
Did not want to accept support because of who was offering it	3	0
Other (specify)	1	2
Nothing	7	9
Don't know	20	26
Refused	1	1

CC) WARFARE/COMBATANTS

ASK ALL ↴

Q12. Is there anything that combatants should not be allowed to do in fighting their enemy? And what else?

OPEN-ENDED QUESTION. DO NOT PROMPT – BUT PROBE FULLY.

Resident population	
TOP MENTIONS (> 5% of respondents)	YES
	%
TOTAL MENTIONS – BETRAYING/HAVING NEGATIVE BEHAVIOUR/ATTITUDE	32
Betrayal	25
Should not give up and leave the struggle	7
TOTAL MENTIONS – KILLING/TARGETING CERTAIN KIND OF PEOPLE	20
SUB-TOTAL MENTIONS – ATTACK INNOCENTS	20
Should not touch peaceful population	8
Kill the innocent (unspecified)	8
TOTAL MENTIONS – TYPES OF VIOLENCE/OPPRESSION	16
Sexual violence	6
TOTAL MENTIONS – STEAL/ROB	16
Stealing property	7
Resident population	
	%
There is nothing they should not be allowed to do	13
(Any answer indicating that some action/s should not be allowed)	62
Don't know	24
Refused	1
Internally displaced persons	
TOP MENTIONS (> 5% of respondents)	YES
	%
TOTAL MENTIONS – BETRAYING/HAVING NEGATIVE BEHAVIOUR/ATTITUDE	54
Betrayal	44
Should not give up and leave the struggle	13
TOTAL MENTIONS – KILLING/TARGETING CERTAIN KIND OF PEOPLE	34
SUB-TOTAL MENTIONS – ATTACK INNOCENTS	34
Should not touch peaceful population	18
Attack/massacre/disturbance of the peaceful population	11
Kill the innocent (unspecified)	11
TOTAL MENTIONS – TYPES OF VIOLENCE/OPPRESSION	24
Sexual violence	6
TOTAL MENTIONS – STEAL/ROB	23
Stealing property	13
TOTAL MENTIONS – ATTACK BUILDINGS/DESTROY SPECIFIC AREAS	18
Destruction of historical and religious monuments	17
Internally displaced persons	
	%
There is nothing they should not be allowed to do	8
(Any answer indicating that some action/s should not be allowed)	84
Don't know	7
Refused	1

ASK ALL WHO ANSWER SOMETHING AT QUESTION 12 ↴	Q13. And why do you think that combatants should not be allowed to do this? Is that because it...?		
	READ OUT. ROTATE ORDER. MULTICODE OK		
	<i>Base: All who identify some action/s that combatants should not be allowed to do-178</i>		Resident population
			%
	Is against your religion		47
	Is against your personal code/ethics		43
	Is against the law		36
	Is against your culture		17
	Is against human rights		44
	Produces too much hate and division		17
	Produces too much destruction		8
	Other (specify)		2
	Do not know		3
	Refused		0
	<i>Base: All who identify some action/s that combatants should not be allowed to do-169</i>		Internally displaced persons
			%
	Is against your religion		66
	Is against your personal code/ethics		54
	Is against the law		42
	Is against your culture		38
	Is against human rights		62
	Produces too much hate and division		42
	Produces too much destruction		15
	Other (specify)		0
	Do not know		0
	Refused		0
ASK ALL ↴	Q14. Now I would like to ask you some general questions about how, in your view, combatants should behave in times of armed conflict. When combatants attack to weaken the enemy, should they (POW):		
	READ OUT. SINGLE CODE ONLY.		
		Resident population	
		1999	2009
		%	%
	Attack enemy combatants and civilians	1	3
	Attack enemy combatants and avoid civilians as much as possible	30	21
	Attack only enemy combatants and leave the civilians alone	69	73
	Don't know	0	3
	Refused	0	1

ASK ALL ↴	Q15. Is there anything that combatants should not be allowed to do in fighting their enemy? For each one, please indicate whether it is OK or not OK to do that in fighting their enemy (POW).						
	READ OUT. SINGLE CODE EACH STATEMENT						
	Resident population	OK		Not OK		Don't know	Refused
		1999	2009	1999	2009	2009	2009
		%	%	%	%	%	%
	Depriving civilians of food, medicine or water to weaken the enemy	44	9	43	89	2	0
	Attacking religious and historical monuments	20	5	75	94	1	0
	Attacking civilians who voluntarily transported ammunition for the enemy	28	24	70	67	9	*
	Attacking enemy combatants in populated villages or towns knowing many civilians would be killed	39	12	54	83	4	*
	Taking civilian hostages in order to get something in exchange (<i>'Kidnapping civilians in order to get something in exchange' in 1999</i>)	25	13	68	81	6	0
	Attacking civilians who voluntarily gave food and shelter to enemy	29	20	69	68	12	0
	Planting landmines even though civilians may step on them (<i>Not asked in 1999</i>)	n/a	9	n/a	88	2	*
	Internally displaced persons	OK		Not OK		Don't know	Refused
		%		%		%	%
	Depriving civilians of food, medicine or water to weaken the enemy	3		90		7	1
	Attacking religious and historical monuments	3		95		3	0
	Attacking civilians who voluntarily transported ammunition for the enemy	26		60		14	1
	Attacking enemy combatants in populated villages or towns knowing many civilians would be killed	4		89		7	2
	Taking civilian hostages in order to get something in exchange	22		71		7	0
	Attacking civilians who voluntarily gave food and shelter to enemy	13		78		9	1
Planting landmines even though civilians may step on them	1		98		2	1	
ASK ALL ↴	Q16. In a situation of armed conflict, are there any circumstances in which you think it is acceptable for combatants to target health workers?						
	SINGLE CODE ONLY						
						Resident population	Internally displaced persons
						%	%
	Yes					7	10
	No					92	87
	Don't know					1	4
	Refused					0	0

ASK IF 'YES' AT Q16 ↴	Q17. In which, if any, of the following circumstances you think this is acceptable? READ OUT EACH STATEMENT. ROTATE ORDER. SINGLE CODE EACH STATEMENT			
	Resident population			
	<i>Base: All who think it is sometimes acceptable to target health workers-16**</i>	Yes, acceptable	No, not acceptable	Don't know
		%	%	%
	When health workers are treating the enemy wounded and sick civilians	81	19	0
	When health workers are treating the enemy wounded and sick combatants	81	19	0
	When health workers are not clearly identified as health workers	32	26	42
	When health workers take sides with one party in the conflict	19	69	12
	** Very low base			
	Internally displaced persons			
	<i>Base: All who think it is sometimes acceptable to target health workers-20**</i>	Yes, acceptable	No, not acceptable	Don't know
		%	%	%
	When health workers are treating the enemy wounded and sick civilians	35	55	10
	When health workers are treating the enemy wounded and sick combatants	30	55	15
	When health workers are not clearly identified as health workers	50	35	15
	When health workers take sides with one party in the conflict	65	30	5
	** Very low base			
ASK ALL ↴	Q18. In a situation of armed conflict, are there any circumstances in which you think it is acceptable for combatants to target ambulances? SINGLE CODE ONLY			
		Resident population	Internally displaced persons	
		%	%	
	Yes	5	9	
	No	94	88	
	Don't know	1	4	
	Refused	0	0	

ASK IF 'YES' AT Q18 ↴	Q19. In which, if any, of the following circumstances you think this is acceptable? READ OUT EACH STATEMENT. ROTATE ORDER. SINGLE CODE EACH STATEMENT				
	Resident population				
	<i>Base: All who think it is sometimes acceptable to target ambulances-9**</i>	Yes, acceptable	No, not acceptable	Don't know	Refused
		%	%	%	%
	When an ambulance is used by combatants for hostile purposes	33	67	0	0
	When an ambulance carries wounded or sick enemy combatants	67	33	0	0
	When an ambulance carries enemy wounded and sick civilians	87	6	7	0
	When an ambulance is not clearly identified as an ambulance	0	70	30	0
	** Very low base				
	Internally displaced persons				
	<i>Base: All who think it is sometimes acceptable to target ambulances-17**</i>	Yes, acceptable	No, not acceptable	Don't know	Refused
		%	%	%	%
	When an ambulance is used by combatants for hostile purposes	88	12	0	0
	When an ambulance carries wounded or sick enemy combatants	6	82	12	0
	When an ambulance carries enemy wounded and sick civilians	6	76	18	0
	When an ambulance is not clearly identified as an ambulance	47	41	12	0
	** Very low base				

DD) HUMANITARIAN GESTURES

ASK ALL ↴

Q20. I'm now going to describe different kinds of groups and organizations. Please tell me which three of these play the biggest role to help reduce suffering during armed conflict.

READ OUT LIST AND ASK RESPONDENT TO SELECT ONE ANSWER. THEN READ LIST AGAIN AND ASK RESPONDENT FOR TWO MORE ANSWERS. REPEAT IF NECESSARY.

Resident population	First mention	Other mentions	TOTAL
	%	%	%
The military and combatants/armed groups	15	11	25
Religious leaders	19	22	41
International humanitarian organizations	7	17	24
Journalists and the news media	8	17	25
The United Nations	7	19	26
International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)	4	11	15
Georgian Red Cross	6	14	20
Government authorities	18	24	42
Government organizations from other countries	1	12	13
International criminal court	5	11	16
Local/international NGOs/charities	1	9	10
Community leaders	1	7	8
Other (specify)	0	0	0
None of these	0	1	1
Don't know	7	11	18
Refused	2	0	2
Combination: Georgian Red Cross/ICRC	10	25	34
Internally displaced persons	First mention	Other mentions	TOTAL
	%	%	%
The military and combatants/armed groups	8	3	10
Religious leaders	30	16	46
International humanitarian organizations	8	10	18
Journalists and the news media	5	9	13
The United Nations	9	26	35
International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)	11	10	21
Georgian Red Cross	3	8	11
Government authorities	12	37	49
Government organizations from other countries	2	13	15
International criminal court	2	15	16
Local/international NGOs/charities	3	12	15
Community leaders	1	8	9
Other (specify)	1	1	1
None of these	0	0	0
Don't know	4	15	19
Refused	4	0	4
Combination: Georgian Red Cross/ICRC	14	18	30

ASK ALL ↴	Q21. What do you think the international community should do to help civilians who are living in areas of armed conflict?		
	ROTATE STATEMENTS. READ THE LIST AND ASK RESPONDENT TO SELECT ONE ANSWER. THEN READ THE LIST AGAIN WITHOUT MENTIONING THE FIRST ANSWER AND ASK RESPONDENT TO SELECT ANOTHER ANSWER(S).		
	REPEAT IF NECESSARY. MULTICODE THREE.		
		Resident population	Internally displaced persons
		%	%
	Stop the armed conflict by military intervention	27	28
	Exert political pressure	23	22
	Deliver emergency aid	32	34
	Provide peacekeepers	25	50
	Provide financial support to humanitarian organizations	24	6
	Put leaders accused of committing war crimes on trial	20	22
	Place economic sanctions on the country	11	12
	Raise awareness of the plight of civilians who are caught in areas of armed conflict	7	13
	Rebuild infrastructure	10	5
	Organize peace talks/negotiations	46	70
	Better enforce the law that protects victims of armed conflicts	16	15
	Other (specify)	0	1
	Nothing	1	1
	Don't know	4	2
	Refused	0	0
ASK ALL ↴	Q22. What, if anything, do you think people living outside of conflict zones can do that would most help victims of armed conflict in Georgia? Please select the three you feel are most important.		
	ROTATE STATEMENTS. READ THE LIST AND ASK RESPONDENT TO SELECT ONE ANSWER. THEN READ THE LIST AGAIN WITHOUT MENTIONING THE FIRST ANSWER AND ASK RESPONDENT TO SELECT ANOTHER ANSWER(S).		
	REPEAT IF NECESSARY. MULTICODE THREE.		
		Resident population	Internally displaced persons
		%	%
	Put pressure on legislators/politicians	17	25
	Public lobbying	14	14
	Become a volunteer	27	42
	Donate money	62	64
	Support an organization that helps those affected by the conflict	39	30
	Mobilize their local community	18	27
	Donate goods	56	67
	Other (specify)	1	0
	Nothing	1	0
	Don't know	4	2
	Refused	0	0
EE) GENEVA CONVENTIONS			
ASK ALL ↴	Q23. Have you ever heard of the Geneva Conventions?		
	SINGLE CODE ONLY.		
		Resident population	Internally displaced persons
		%	%
	Yes	48	75
	No	50	21
	Don't know	2	4
	Refused	1	0

ASK IF 'YES' AT Q23 ↴	Q24. To what extent do you think the existence of the Geneva Conventions limits the suffering of civilians in war time?		
	SINGLE CODE ONLY.		
	Base: All who have heard of the Geneva Conventions	Resident population (base=135)	Internally displaced persons (base=150)
	A great deal	29	33
	A fair amount	38	30
	Not very much	12	13
	Not at all	1	3
	Don't know	19	21
	Refused	0	0
FF) MEDICAL MISSION			
ASK ALL ↴	Q25. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement?		
	READ OUT STATEMENT. SINGLE CODE ONLY.		
	Everyone wounded or sick during an armed conflict should have the right to health care		
		Resident population	Internally displaced persons
		%	%
	Strongly agree	91	87
	Tend to agree	6	13
	Neither agree nor disagree	*	0
ASK ALL ↴	Tend to disagree	0	0
	Strongly disagree	0	0
	Don't know	2	0
	Refused	0	0
	Q26. In the context of an armed conflict, what best describes your personal views?		
	READ OUT STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER. SINGLE CODE ONLY.		
		Resident population	Internally displaced persons
		%	%
	Health workers should treat only wounded and sick civilians from their side of the conflict	9	6
	Health workers should treat wounded and sick civilians from all sides of a conflict	88	88
	Don't know	3	6
	Refused	0	1
Demographics			
ASK ALL ↴	Respondent's gender		
		Resident population	Internally displaced persons
		%	%
	Male	42	30
	Female	58	71
ASK ALL ↴	Respondent's age		
		Resident population	Internally displaced persons
		%	%
	18-24	11	12
	25-29	6	7
	30-34	13	11
	35-39	12	11
	40-44	10	9
	45-49	9	11
	50-64	21	25
	65 or over	18	16

ASK ALL ↴	Education level		
		Resident population	Internally displaced persons
		%	%
	Elementary	5	5
	Secondary	38	33
	Vocational	22	24
	Higher	36	39
ASK ALL ↴	Region		
		Resident population	Internally displaced persons
		%	%
	Tbilisi	34	50
	Kakheti	9	0
	Shida Kartli	6	13
	Kvemo Kartli	8	0
	Samckhe-Javakheti	3	0
	Adjara	6	0
	Guria	3	0
	Samegrelo	10	13
	Imereti	19	13
	Mtskheta-Mtianeti	2	13
ASK ALL ↴	Ethnicity		
		Resident population	Internally displaced persons
		%	%
	Georgian	91	99
	Armenian	3	0
	Azer	5	0
	Russian	1	0
	Kurd	0	0
	Ossetian	0	1
	Abkhazian	0	0
	Other	0	0
ASK ALL ↴	Religion		
		Resident population	Internally displaced persons
		%	%
	Christianity: Orthodox	92	100
	Christianity: Catholic	0	0
	Muslim	7	0
	Judaism	0	0
	Atheist	0	0
	Other religious communities	1	1
ASK ALL ↴	Region: Internally displaced persons		
		%	
	Abkhazia	49	
	Shida Kartli	52	

IN-DEPTH RESEARCH

Discussion guide

This guide was used for the group discussions. A very similar guide was used for in-depth interviews.

Introduction	
1. Your own experience of armed conflict/violence (armed violence, urban violence if necessary)	• What experiences have you had of armed conflict/violence?
	– When was it?
	– Where?
	– What happened?
	• How you were/are – personally – affected? Your family/friends?
	• What were/are your feelings and thoughts about this armed conflict/violence?
	– How much did you understand about the armed conflict/violence? Why did it happen the way it did?
	• How do you feel (now) about what happened? How are you affected today, if at all?
	– What, if anything, has changed about you as a result of the armed conflict/violence?
2. On armed conflict/violence in general	• We've talked about armed conflict/violence – can we go further into that. So when we say armed conflict/violence... can you describe to me in detail what you mean by this.
	• Associations: what words come to your mind when I say 'armed conflict/violence'... Which words best describe armed conflict/violence for you?
	• During times of armed conflict/violence what would you say are/were your greatest concerns? (E.g. losing a loved one, your own security, surviving the conflict/violence, etc.)
	• Do your concerns change over time? (E.g. are some concerns immediate and others only occurring later on? Are some concerns short term, and others longer term for the future?) How would you divide these concerns we talked about up into immediate concerns and longer-term ones? Persistent ones and ones which fade or are resolved?
	• So when you/others are confronted with these situations what do you feel are the things you/they need the most help for/with. Why do you say that?
	• If you could, what would you like to communicate to the world?
	– What would you like to tell people about your needs? What is most important?
	– And what would you like to tell people about the way you feel?
	– And to help prioritize these messages in the minds of others, which are the most important issues in terms of your needs? Are there some things you can deal with on your own during these times? And are there some things you just cannot manage on your own without help?
3. On international community/humanitarian support	• During these times – when you have faced these kinds of situations – have you received any support?
	– Have you ever received any support from any international organizations?
	• IF YES – RECEIVED HELP FROM INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS TO DATE: What kind (s) of help did you receive? How did they help you? Were they able to address any of your key areas of concern in any ways – which ones?
	• IF NO – NOT RECEIVED SUPPORT FROM INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS TO DATE: Do you have any views on why you may not have received any support from international organizations to date?
	• Who played the biggest role (amongst different kinds of people and organizations) to help reduce your suffering (e.g. religious leaders, UN, local NGOs, Red Cross/Red Crescent, ICRC, other international NGOs, neighbours, etc.)?
	– Why would you say their role (s) were biggest?
	– Who else played biggest roles?
	• What do you think the international community should do to help victims?
	• If there is something that an international humanitarian organization could do better, what would it be?

4. On humanitarian actions/gestures	• And what is a 'humanitarian action', for you? Can you give me some examples?
	• Thinking of the armed conflict/violence you witnessed, can you recall any gestures or acts of kindness/humanity that made a difference in yours or others lives?
	— Could you tell me about them?
	— What difference (s) did this (these) make?
	— Who was responsible for this (these) act (s)?
	• Were you, yourself, able to help someone? If so, how?
	• If you could have done something to help what would it have been? Why?
	— Do you think you could have made a difference in someone else's life? If so how?
	— Thinking back, would you have done anything differently? What could others have done differently?
	• More generally, what, if anything, do you think individuals can do to help other people (civilians) who are living in areas of armed conflict/violence?
5. On warfare/combatants	• I would like to ask you what you think the rules of conflict should be, ideally, to control what combatants can do in war:
	— Is there anything that combatants should not be allowed to do in fighting their enemy? What and why?
	— Is it ever OK for combatants to involve civilians in conflicts? In what circumstances?
6. On Geneva Conventions	• Before now, had you ever heard of the Geneva Conventions?
	• Could you tell me what your understanding is of what the Geneva Conventions are about?
	• Do you believe the Geneva Conventions do adequately protect persons in war time? Why?
7. On health/medical mission	• Do you think that ambulances operating in situation of armed conflict/violence should always be spared? Why?
	— How do you identify an ambulance in a situation of armed conflict/violence?
	— How do you identify a health/medical worker in a situation of armed conflict/violence?
	• Do you think everyone wounded or sick during an armed conflict/violence should have the right to health/medical care? Both civilians and combatants? Why?
	— Do you think there is anyone in particular who should not have access to health/medical care? Why?
	• Do you think that in a situation of armed conflict/violence health/medical workers should be protected in all circumstances? In what way... Why? Why not?
8. Wrapping up	• Is there anything else you would like to share with us about your experiences of living in armed conflict/violence?
	• What would have been useful for you to know in order to alleviate your suffering/improve your situation during armed conflict? Do you think stronger laws would have helped?
	• What are the main things which helped/would have helped alleviate suffering/improving your situation?
	• To sum up: what does your experience tell you about the value of humanitarian work in conflict situations?
	• What are the main messages you would like us to spread in order to try to make this world a safer place for civilians living in situations of armed conflicts/violence?

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 armed conflict and other situations of violence and to provide them with assistance.

The ICRC 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 Geneva Conventions and the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. It directs and coordinates the international activities conducted by the Movement in armed conflicts and other situations of violence.

ABOUT IPSOS

Ipsos is a leading international research agency, with offices in over 60 countries worldwide and global reach.

Established in 1975, it conducts qualitative and quantitative research with the private, public and voluntary sectors. One of its key areas of specialization is in social and opinion research. This includes extensive work with a wide range of national and international NGOs, charities and aid organizations.

This study was coordinated by Ipsos Switzerland, with fieldwork on the opinion survey in Georgia conducted by IPM (the Institute for Polling and Marketing) based in the country.

