

## Web Appendix

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### “A Porous Humanitarian Shield: The Laws of War, the Red Cross, and the Killing of Civilians”

**Table A1. Geneva Convention IV Ratification as Dummy Variables**

VARIABLES	(1) OSV by government	(2) OSV by rebels	(3) OSV by government	(4) OSV by rebels
Log (population)	7.5564** (2.936)	1.5872 (3.699)	7.4240** (3.021)	1.2203 (3.501)
Log (real GDP pc)	0.3573 (0.606)	-0.3787 (0.655)	0.3881 (0.613)	-0.3010 (0.614)
Civil war	0.5493*** (0.162)	0.9117*** (0.338)	0.5434*** (0.162)	0.8925** (0.337)
Regime duration	-0.0436*** (0.014)	0.0057 (0.021)	-0.0444*** (0.014)	0.0035 (0.021)
Political regime	-0.0653* (0.035)	0.0512 (0.053)	-0.0670* (0.036)	0.0454 (0.054)
Independence years	-0.1010 (0.064)	0.0529 (0.110)	-0.1027 (0.064)	0.0469 (0.107)
GC-IV-1949 dummy	-0.5755* (0.306)	-0.5811 (0.367)		
AP-II-1977 dummy			0.3192 (0.744)	1.0555 (0.929)
Constant	-68.4628*** (25.073)	-14.3923 (29.939)	-68.0042** (25.957)	-12.0398 (28.296)
Observations	406	406	406	406
R <sup>2</sup>	0.111	0.083	0.112	0.092
Number of states	64	64	64	64

**Notes.** Outcome variables are the natural logarithm of victims of one-sided violence by perpetrator.

Fixed-effects linear models with robust standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Table A2. Including Controls for Reciprocal Violence**

VARIABLES	(1) OSV by government	(2) OSV by rebels	(3) OSV by government	(4) OSV by rebels
Log (OSV by rebels)	0.1079 (0.066)		0.1187* (0.067)	
Log (OSV by govt)		0.1620* (0.092)		0.1707* (0.090)
Log (population)	7.3726** (3.038)	0.3512 (3.643)	7.3387** (3.076)	0.2808 (3.290)
Log (real GDP pc)	0.4050 (0.595)	-0.4300 (0.667)	0.3787 (0.582)	-0.2958 (0.589)
Civil war	0.4509** (0.183)	0.8227** (0.338)	0.4439** (0.186)	0.8061** (0.368)
Regime duration	-0.0443*** (0.013)	0.0127 (0.020)	-0.0452*** (0.013)	0.0160 (0.020)
Political regime	-0.0708** (0.034)	0.0618 (0.052)	-0.0718** (0.033)	0.0645 (0.058)
Independence years	-0.2985** (0.143)	-0.1090 (0.142)	-0.0867 (0.065)	-0.0138 (0.113)
GC-IV-1949 years	0.1919* (0.100)	0.1783 (0.126)		
AP-II-1977 years			-0.0453 (0.044)	0.1865* (0.096)
Constant	-61.1191** (23.837)	2.0695 (29.255)	-67.9652** (26.804)	0.6543 (26.906)
Observations	406	406	406	406
R <sup>2</sup>	0.126	0.099	0.130	0.140
Number of states	64	64	64	64

**Notes.** Outcome variables are the natural logarithm of victims of one-sided violence by perpetrator.

Fixed-effects linear models with robust standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Table A3. Tests of Geneva Convention IV with Controls for Media Coverage and AI Reports**

VARIABLES	(1) OSV by government	(2) OSV by government	(3) OSV by government	(4) OSV by rebels	(5) OSV by rebels	(6) OSV by rebels
Log (population)	7.5004** (2.963)	7.1394** (3.016)	6.9016** (3.006)	1.5467 (3.706)	1.1647 (3.505)	1.1795 (3.574)
Log (real GDP pc)	0.3638 (0.601)	0.4613 (0.671)	0.0652 (0.595)	-0.3717 (0.650)	-0.2734 (0.623)	-0.5549 (0.704)
Civil war	0.5474*** (0.163)	0.5195*** (0.156)	0.4618*** (0.154)	0.9105*** (0.339)	0.8816** (0.343)	0.8580** (0.334)
Regime duration	-0.0438*** (0.013)	-0.0453*** (0.014)	-0.0366*** (0.010)	0.0055 (0.021)	0.0040 (0.021)	0.0100 (0.021)
Political regime	-0.0643* (0.036)	-0.0594 (0.038)	-0.0559 (0.034)	0.0518 (0.053)	0.0571 (0.054)	0.0570 (0.054)
Independence years	-0.3138** (0.136)	-0.3035** (0.145)	-0.2994** (0.140)	-0.1589 (0.141)	-0.1477 (0.130)	-0.1500 (0.137)
Media coverage	0.0681 (0.126)			0.0424 (0.079)		
AI background reports		0.0557* (0.030)			0.0564 (0.034)	
AI news reports			0.3332*** (0.057)			0.2045** (0.099)
GC-IV-1949 years	0.2140** (0.094)	0.2227** (0.101)	0.2073** (0.098)	0.2126* (0.125)	0.2210* (0.123)	0.2084* (0.125)
Constant	-61.6675** (23.439)	-59.9145** (23.215)	-54.3246** (23.553)	-7.7750 (29.404)	-5.8777 (28.235)	-3.2705 (28.725)
Observations	406	406	406	406	406	406
R <sup>2</sup>	0.111	0.123	0.163	0.083	0.092	0.097
Number of states	64	64	64	64	64	64

**Notes.** Outcome variables are the natural logarithm of victims of one-sided violence by perpetrator. Fixed-effects linear models with robust standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Table A4. Tests of Additional Protocol II with Controls for Media Coverage and AI Reports**

VARIABLES	(1) OSV by government	(2) OSV by government	(3) OSV by government	(4) OSV by rebels	(5) OSV by rebels	(6) OSV by rebels
Log (population)	7.4788** (2.985)	7.0680** (3.023)	6.8876** (3.019)	1.5669 (3.329)	1.3506 (3.285)	1.1351 (3.173)
Log (real GDP pc)	0.3489 (0.596)	0.4434 (0.654)	0.0589 (0.602)	-0.2358 (0.589)	-0.1924 (0.575)	-0.4329 (0.623)
Civil war	0.5487*** (0.161)	0.5186*** (0.153)	0.4630*** (0.153)	0.9002** (0.366)	0.8850** (0.366)	0.8409** (0.366)
Regime duration	-0.0443*** (0.014)	-0.0463*** (0.014)	-0.0369*** (0.010)	0.0085 (0.020)	0.0075 (0.020)	0.0134 (0.020)
Political regime	-0.0644* (0.035)	-0.0591 (0.036)	-0.0561* (0.033)	0.0533 (0.060)	0.0563 (0.060)	0.0597 (0.061)
Independence years	-0.0886 (0.065)	-0.0574 (0.063)	-0.0855 (0.062)	-0.0293 (0.115)	-0.0138 (0.118)	-0.0261 (0.111)
Media coverage	0.0743 (0.131)			-0.0030 (0.111)		
AI background reports		0.0629** (0.031)			0.0295 (0.031)	
AI news reports			0.3318*** (0.060)			0.2240** (0.098)
AP-II-1977 years	-0.0244 (0.042)	-0.0460 (0.043)	-0.0144 (0.039)	0.1825* (0.097)	0.1719* (0.099)	0.1886* (0.095)
Constant	-68.9387** (25.974)	-67.6831** (26.164)	-61.2491** (26.183)	-11.1863 (26.858)	-10.4168 (26.586)	-5.7428 (25.645)
Observations	406	406	406	406	406	406
R <sup>2</sup>	0.112	0.126	0.163	0.123	0.125	0.139
Number of states	64	64	64	64	64	64

Notes. Outcome variables are the natural logarithm of victims of one-sided violence by perpetrator. Fixed-effects linear models with robust standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Table A5. Fixed-Effects Estimation with Yearly Dummy Variables**

VARIABLES	(1) OSV by government	(2) OSV by rebels	(3) OSV by government	(4) OSV by rebels
Log (population)	8.1116** (3.064)	2.0200 (3.850)	8.1083** (3.066)	1.8441 (3.461)
Log (real GDP pc)	0.1725 (0.592)	-0.4824 (0.632)	0.1305 (0.576)	-0.2948 (0.598)
Civil war	0.5357*** (0.190)	0.9534*** (0.335)	0.5322*** (0.189)	0.9693*** (0.355)
Regime duration	-0.0447*** (0.013)	0.0044 (0.020)	-0.0457*** (0.013)	0.0078 (0.019)
Political regime	-0.0513 (0.034)	0.0598 (0.047)	-0.0510 (0.032)	0.0605 (0.054)
Independence years	-0.4980** (0.247)	-0.4494 (0.346)	-0.0969 (0.062)	-0.0190 (0.112)
GC-IV-1949 years	0.3820* (0.215)	0.4993* (0.297)		
AP-II-1977 years			-0.0468 (0.043)	0.1753* (0.095)
1990.year	-0.0959 (0.432)	0.0298 (0.347)	-0.1120 (0.430)	0.0892 (0.354)
1991.year	-0.1574 (0.395)	-0.2669 (0.412)	-0.1894 (0.399)	-0.1493 (0.400)
1992.year	-0.5139 (0.373)	-0.4605 (0.393)	-0.5556 (0.374)	-0.3045 (0.391)
1993.year	-0.7685** (0.367)	-0.4342 (0.486)	-0.8263** (0.376)	-0.2146 (0.464)
1994.year	-0.8339** (0.338)	-0.4294 (0.452)	-0.8874** (0.349)	-0.2247 (0.446)
1995.year	-0.6087 (0.504)	-0.3415 (0.392)	-0.6577 (0.509)	-0.1513 (0.413)
1996.year	-0.2625 (0.518)	-0.2961 (0.448)	-0.3052 (0.523)	-0.1263 (0.459)
1997.year	-0.4866 (0.517)	-0.8792* (0.520)	-0.4849 (0.509)	-0.7698 (0.532)
1998.year	-0.4881 (0.526)	-0.4747 (0.498)	-0.5097 (0.521)	-0.3861 (0.544)
1999.year	-0.3501 (0.614)	-0.4632 (0.539)	-0.3721 (0.612)	-0.4299 (0.572)
2000.year	-0.6611 (0.632)	-0.7727 (0.547)	-0.6818 (0.632)	-0.6892 (0.554)
2001.year	-0.8964* (0.531)	-0.8193 (0.584)	-0.9147* (0.534)	-0.7464 (0.572)
2002.year	0.1822 (0.697)	0.6289 (0.386)	0.1802 (0.700)	0.6447* (0.364)
2003.year	0.0265 (0.612)	-0.2320 (0.649)	0.0194 (0.616)	-0.2767 (0.621)
Constant	-59.2165** (23.054)	-1.6479 (31.036)	-72.3102*** (26.991)	-13.8954 (28.922)
Observations	406	406	406	406
R <sup>2</sup>	0.154	0.119	0.158	0.153
Number of states	64	64	64	64

**Notes.** Outcome variables are the natural logarithm of victims of one-sided violence by perpetrator. Fixed-effects linear models with robust standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Table A6. Random-Effects Negative Binomial Estimation**

VARIABLES	(1) OSV by government	(4) OSV by rebels	(7) OSV by government	(10) OSV by rebels
Log (population)	-0.0798 (0.115)	0.5074*** (0.087)	0.0057 (0.115)	0.5380*** (0.085)
Log (real GDP pc)	0.3659** (0.186)	-0.4632*** (0.154)	0.2913 (0.186)	-0.4652*** (0.155)
Civil war	0.4375 (0.311)	0.8046*** (0.172)	0.4621 (0.309)	0.8655*** (0.171)
Regime duration	-0.0165* (0.010)	0.0155** (0.006)	-0.0081 (0.009)	0.0215*** (0.006)
Political regime	-0.0010 (0.030)	0.0657*** (0.020)	0.0103 (0.029)	0.0548*** (0.020)
Independence years	-0.0053 (0.005)	-0.0066** (0.003)	-0.0021 (0.005)	-0.0069*** (0.002)
GC-IV-1949 years	0.0447** (0.021)	-0.0005 (0.013)		
AP-II-1977 years			0.0262 (0.032)	0.0630*** (0.020)
Constant	-6.2572*** (1.716)	-3.7315*** (1.346)	-5.2521*** (1.660)	-4.3770*** (1.300)
Observations	406	406	406	406
Number of states	64	64	64	64

**Notes.** Outcome variables are the count of victims of one-sided violence by perpetrator. Random-effects negative-binomial models with robust standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$

**Table A7. ICRC Presence: Tests of Robustness for Government OSV with Additional Control Variables**

VARIABLES	(1) OSV by government	(2) OSV by government	(3) OSV by government	(4) OSV by government	(5) OSV by government
Log (population)	3.5666** (1.495)	3.2060*** (1.013)	3.4723** (1.384)	3.0498*** (0.879)	6.8520*** (2.158)
Log (real GDP pc)	0.3790 (0.956)	-0.1603 (0.912)	-0.4322 (0.633)	-0.8704 (0.823)	-0.0050 (0.781)
Civil war	0.5342*** (0.197)	0.7917*** (0.221)	0.6712*** (0.193)	0.8284*** (0.237)	0.7461*** (0.208)
Regime duration	-0.0417 (0.035)	-0.0221* (0.013)			-0.0279** (0.012)
OSV by govt, t-1	0.0012*** (0.000)				
OSV by rebels		-0.0001 (0.000)			
Political regime			-0.0391 (0.036)		
Regime collapse				-0.7352 (0.605)	
Independence yrs					-0.1021* (0.055)
ICRC presence	-0.0353 (0.245)	-0.0526 (0.273)	0.0275 (0.263)	0.0801 (0.241)	-0.0273 (0.251)
Constant	-37.3292** (15.346)	-29.3675*** (9.676)	-30.1864** (11.864)	-22.6325** (9.873)	-59.4569*** (19.663)
Observations	317	415	409	417	415
R <sup>2</sup>	0.119	0.099	0.079	0.102	0.113
Number of states	47	65	65	65	65

Notes. Outcome variables are the natural logarithm of victims of one-sided violence by perpetrator. Fixed-effects linear models with robust standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Table A8. ICRC Presence: Tests of Robustness for Rebel OSV with Additional Control Variables**

VARIABLES	(1) OSV by rebels	(2) OSV by rebels	(3) OSV by rebels	(4) OSV by rebels	(5) OSV by rebels
Log (population)	3.4846* (1.795)	4.1054** (1.658)	3.4900* (1.953)	4.0571** (1.710)	2.3951 (3.019)
Log (real GDP pc)	0.2608 (0.676)	0.0378 (0.672)	-0.2200 (0.605)	-0.3750 (0.764)	-0.0454 (0.656)
Civil war	0.5453 (0.343)	0.7740** (0.325)	0.8672** (0.333)	0.7955** (0.318)	0.8013** (0.325)
Regime duration	-0.0016 (0.034)	-0.0146 (0.014)			-0.0119 (0.018)
OSV by rebels, t-1	0.0012 (0.001)				
OSB by govt		0.0001 (0.000)			
Political regime			0.0577 (0.040)		
Regime collaps				-0.3872 (0.467)	
Independence yrs					0.0487 (0.098)
Constant	-35.2358* (18.337)	-39.0612** (16.654)	-31.3316 (19.382)	-35.6083* (17.932)	-24.9130 (24.098)
ICRC presence	0.2478 (0.383)	0.1826 (0.294)	0.2015 (0.302)	0.2518 (0.265)	0.1612 (0.283)
Observations	317	415	409	417	415
R <sup>2</sup>	0.077	0.086	0.082	0.085	0.088
Number of states	47	65	65	65	65

Notes. Outcome variables are the natural logarithm of victims of one-sided violence by perpetrator. Fixed-effects linear models with robust standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1



**Table A9. First-stage regression of ICRC presence**

(1)	
VARIABLES	ICRC presence
Log (population)	-0.5834** (0.2599)
Log (real GDP pc)	-0.1017 (0.0694)
Civil war	0.0906** (0.03819)
Regime duration	-0.0017 (0.0021)
Years ICRC presence	0.0296*** (0.0062)
Observations	415

Standard errors in parentheses  
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Partial R-squared of excluded instruments: 0.0955

Test of excluded instruments:

F( 1, 345) = 22.54

Prob > F = 0.0000

**Table A10. 2SLS with additional instruments (models of government OSV)**

VARIABLES	(1) OSV by government	(2) OSV by government	(3) OSV by government	(4) OSV by government	(5) OSV by government
ICRC presence	-0.0651 (0.932)	-12.3296 (12.043)	0.2169 (4.250)	-4.4352 (4.781)	-0.0590 (1.889)
Log (population)	3.3191*** (0.809)	5.6361** (2.705)	-0.0441 (0.195)	4.1202*** (1.310)	3.1987*** (0.866)
Log (real GDP pc)	-0.0409 (0.597)	-0.4455 (0.970)	-0.1225 (0.223)	-0.2770 (0.625)	-0.1709 (0.593)
Civil war		1.9157 (1.354)	0.3324 (0.860)	1.1931** (0.514)	0.7927*** (0.256)
Regime duration	-0.0270** (0.012)	-0.0611 (0.040)	-0.0006 (0.010)	-0.0363 (0.022)	-0.0220* (0.012)
War duration	0.0830*** (0.029)				
Observations	415	415	415	413	415
Kleibergen-Paap F	21.64	1.16	1.15	2.98	9.10
Instrument	Years of ICRC presence	Years of independence	Common law tradition (dummy)	ICRC in neighborhood (dummy)	No of countries with ICRC presence

**Notes:** Outcome variables are the natural logarithm of victims of one-sided violence by perpetrator. All models contain country dummies. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Table A11. 2SLS with additional instruments (models of rebel OSV)**

VARIABLES	(6) OSV by rebels	(7) OSV by rebels	(8) OSV by rebels	(9) OSV by rebels	(10) OSV by rebels
ICRC presence	2.6003** (1.147)	6.0290 (7.677)	-8.4157 (9.414)	0.0351 (6.091)	-0.4874 (2.294)
Log (population)	3.4910*** (0.961)	2.9751* (1.741)	0.7335* (0.439)	4.2074*** (1.444)	4.2695*** (1.098)
Log (real GDP pc)	0.0309 (0.477)	0.1646 (0.579)	-0.6860 (0.539)	0.0240 (0.437)	0.0188 (0.467)
Civil war		0.2434 (0.815)	2.7622 (1.784)	0.7919 (0.585)	0.8398** (0.333)
Regime duration	-0.0087 (0.015)	0.0039 (0.030)	0.0307 (0.026)	-0.0155 (0.025)	-0.0169 (0.012)
War duration	-0.0145 (0.039)				
Observations	415	415	415	413	415
Kleibergen-Paap F	21.64	1.16	1.15	2.98	9.10
Instrument	Years of ICRC presence	Years of independence	Common law tradition (dummy)	ICRC in neighborhood (dummy)	No of countries with ICRC presence

**Notes:** Outcome variables are the natural logarithm of victims of one-sided violence by perpetrator. All models contain country dummies. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1