SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

LAWS IN CONFLICT
Legacies of War, Gender, and Legal Pluralism in Chechnya

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Appendix A: Qualitative Fieldwork Outline

My qualitative analysis is based on semi-structured interviews, archival materials, secondary ethnographic sources and observations of court hearings and dispute resolution practices by non-state authorities, which I witnessed during 7 months of fieldwork. Overall I made 7 research trips to Chechnya, with each trip lasting on average one month. During my fieldwork I lived with Chechen families, which helped me to develop good field awareness and local knowledge of the alternative normative orders.

In this paper, I use data from 78 semi-structured interviews conducted in Chechnya, the neighboring Republic of Ingushetia, and with the members of the Chechen diaspora in Europe. In Chechnya, the interviews were conducted primarily in Grozny, the capital of the republic, and in several other towns and villages: Gudermes, Urus-Martan, Alkhan-Yurt, Djalka, Serzhen-Yurt, Starye Atagi, Vedeno and Nozhay-Yurt. Chechnya is relatively small in terms of land area size (approximately the size of Connecticut) and has a good road infrastructure, which made it easy for me to travel across the region, while being based in Grozny. In each of the locations other than Grozny I spent from one to four days. In some cases, I stayed overnight, in others commuted from Grozny. The locations were selected to obtain variation in exposure to conflict during the wars (1994-1996 and 1999-2003), and represent different geographic regions of Chechnya, in particular lowland (Gudermes, Urus-Martan, Alkhan-Yurt, Djalka, Serzhen-Yurt, Starye Atagi) and mountainous areas (Vedeno and Nozhay-Yurt).

In each of these locales, I interviewed authorities in charge of all three alternative legal systems: judges, prosecutors and police officers (Russian state law), imams and qadis (Sharia), and elders (adat). In addition, I interviewed leading Chechen ethnographers, historians, journalists, and members of NGOs.

To recruit respondents, I relied on the networks that I established during the first preliminary trip. In particular, I secured the interviews through referrals from local academics and NGO members. Referrals were particularly effective in securing interviews given the conditions of dense social networks of Chechnya.

In addition to individual interviews, I organized 4 group discussions. These discussions were conducted with the students of the Law Departments at the Chechen State University and the Islamic University of Chechnya, and with elders in two villages (with 8 participants on average). All interviews and group discussions were conducted in Russian. All my respondents were proficient in Russian, therefore the research did not require translation. The interviews lasted from 40 minutes to 5 hours.

The majority of my respondents were male, which reflects the power structure of the Chechen society. However, given that alternative legal orders have large differential impact on

men and women, I conducted 14 interviews with female lawyers, police officers, NGO members, and journalists. Female students were also a majority in one of the group discussions.

Considering the repressive nature of the political regime in Chechnya, I took special care in ensuring privacy, confidentiality, and security of my respondents. Each interview was conducted in private, in most cases in respondents' homes or offices. The interview began with reading of informed consent protocol with detailed explanation of the purpose of the research. I took notes but did not record interviews. Nowhere in my notes I recorded real names of the respondents and other identifying details. In the field notes and throughout the text I use pseudonyms.

My field notes are not made publicly available as they were collected under assurances of confidentiality and remain sensitive materials in light of the repressive nature of political regime in Chechnya.

During the interviews I asked my respondents what are the most common disputes in contemporary Chechnya, how these disputes are usually resolved (actual practices), and how my respondents believe they should be resolved (normative beliefs). In addition, I asked how do other Chechens choose between multiple alternative legal forums and who prevails if two sides of a dispute prefer different forums. The interviews also covered my respondents' life stories, and in particular their memories of the wartime periods, and their views on Chechen history more generally.

Respondents were not compensated for participation. However, most respondents were enthusiastic to participate in the interview regarding Chechen customary law and religion. The strong custom of hospitality was also beneficial for my research: many people invited to spend time with them and often formal interviews were followed by long informal conversations during meals. At the same time, some respondents were suspicious of my research, attributing it to the government of the Chechen Republic or foreign intelligence organizations. However, only 4 people whom I contacted refused to be interviewed.

In order to triangulate the coding of community-level victimization, I relied on the interviews with eighteen key informants. Key informants on wartime violence included senior members of the Ichkeria (rebel) government; former rebel commanders; prominent members of the pro-Russian government of Chechnya operated in 1995-1996; present-day government officials; local members of different NGOs, who helped displaced Chechens in Ingushetia and victimized families in Chechnya throughout the Second War and counterinsurgency campaign; local academics; prominent elders from different rural regions of Chechnya; and a local journalist, who extensively covered both wars. Most of these interviews were conducted in Chechnya. Interviews with the former rebel commanders were conducted in Europe. These interviewees represented different political sides during the war, different regions, and different

wartime roles. All interviewees were asked to name the most victimized communities during both the First and the Second Chechen Wars. Based on their responses, I created a list with the names of communities that largely converged with the coding of NGO reports of wartime violence. I discussed the final list of the victimized communities with four original interviewees. They all approved the list as a comprehensive registry of the victimized communities in Chechnya.

Appendix B: Sampling and Surveying Details

No major Russian or international polling firms work in Chechnya. Moreover, consultations with researchers and NGO workers in Chechnya that I did in the process of preparation of the study, ultimately suggested that many people in Chechnya will not talk to outsiders. Therefore, I relied on local enumerators.

I hired and trained 35 interviewers who were either students from the Grozny State University or junior research fellows from the Chechen branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The majority of interviewers were female (28 out of 35), which reflects higher interest among females to participate in the research activities. The average age of interviewers was 22.

After a two-day training I asked each interviewer to list communities (villages and urban districts) where they are comfortable conducting surveys because they are either from there or have strong family ties to these communities. I matched this list with the administrative records of population size of urban districts and villages across Chechnya to build a sample for the survey. The original match was imperfect and I recruited and trained additional interviewers to cover the underrepresented districts.

Data on Chechnya's population levels and distribution are unreliable.[1] Therefore I relied on available administrative records to cover all urban districts and the most populous rural areas. Within selected communities, interviewers were asked to follow a uniform selection of households (every 4th household) from a preselected point going anti-clockwise around the blocks with a left turn at every street corner. Pre-selected points were in the middle of the main street in the villages. In the urban districts the starting points were randomly selected street addresses. In the multi-store buildings in the urban areas interviewers selected every 4th apartment number in the block. Within household units, respondents were chosen based on gender and age quotas (youth 18-25, mid-aged 25-60, and older generation over 60 years old).

Employing local enumerators allowed me to reach high level of response rate – 81.4 percent of selected individuals agreed to take part in the study. I asked interviewers to write daily diaries about their experience while conducting the survey. And according to these diaries, the fact that enumerators were able to explain who they were was the most important factor driving participation in the study. I analyze the effects of employing local enumerators in a separate paper.

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[1]Many experts regard figures of 2002 all-Russian Census in Chechnya as unreliable, if not outright falsified (http://polit.ru/article/2005/09/07/demoscope211/

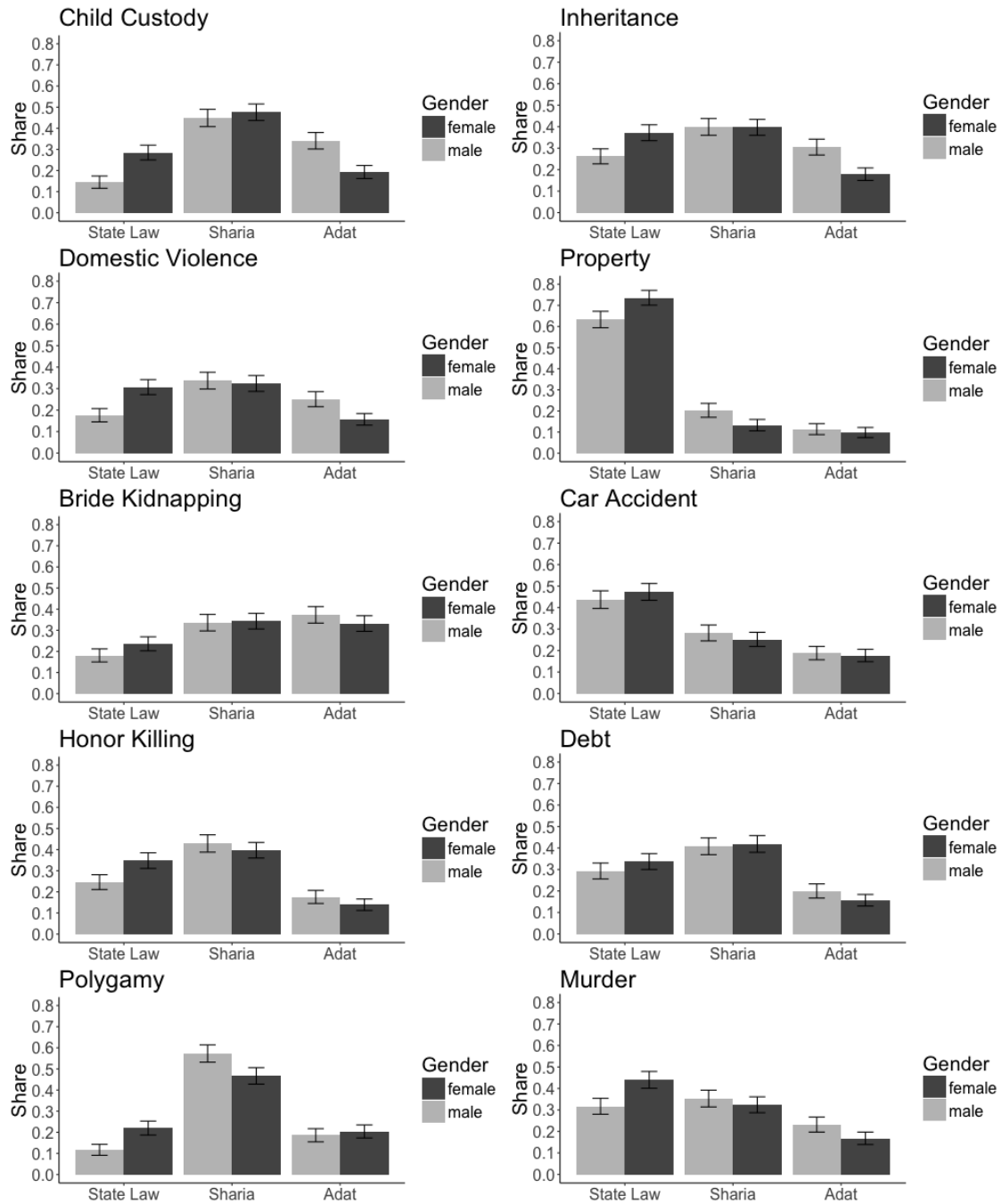# Appendix C: Additional Tables and Figures

Figure 1: Gender Differences in Preferences Across all Disputes

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics of the Chechnya Sample

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
experience - court or police	1,211	0.149	0.357	0	1
experience - imam	1,213	0.191	0.393	0	1
experience - elders	1,209	0.191	0.393	0	1
mountainous region	1,213	0.091	0.287	0	1
female	1,213	0.521	0.500	0	1
age	1,210	35.264	12.117	18	82
income	1,150	3.507	1.162	1	6
education	1,008	4.482	1.622	0	6
unemployed	1,213	0.089	0.285	0	1
urban	1,213	0.47	0.5	0	1
family member killed	987	0.517	0.500	0	1
family member wounded	973	0.536	0.499	0	1
property damaged or destroyed	952	1.342	0.776	0	2
family displaced	1,188	0.289	0.453	0	1

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics of the Ingushetia Sample

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
experience - court or police	392	0.117	0.322	0	1
experience - imam	390	0.159	0.366	0	1
experience - elders	390	0.151	0.359	0	1
female	393	0.486	0.500	0	1
income	314	4.239	1.629	1	7
education	392	3.977	1.520	1	6
unemployed	400	0.035	0.184	0	1
urban	400	0.250	0.434	0	1