



8-19-2019

Confronting Wartime Sexual Violence: Public Support for Survivors in Bosnia

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Recommended Citation

Page, Douglas and Samuel Whitt. (2019). Confronting Wartime Sexual Violence: Public Support for Survivors in Bosnia. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64(4), 674–702.

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Abstract

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Keywords

sexual violence, conflict-related sexual violence, homosexuality, ethnocentrism

Disciplines

Health Policy | Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Studies | Peace and Conflict Studies | Political Science | Public Affairs, Public Policy and Public Administration

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Abstract

Existing research on conflict-related sexual violence focuses on the motivations of perpetrators and effects on survivors. What remains less clear is how post-conflict societies respond to the hardships survivors face. In survey experiments of Bosnia, we examine public support for financial aid, legal aid, and public recognition for survivors. First, we find a persistent ethnocentric view of sexual violence, where respondents are less supportive when the perpetrator is identified as co-ethnic and survivors are perceived as out-groups. Second, respondents are less supportive of male survivors than female survivors, which we attribute to social stigmas surrounding same-gender sexual activity. Consistent with our argument, those who are intolerant of homosexuality are especially averse to providing aid to male survivors. This study points to the long-term challenges survivors face due to ethnic divisions and social stigmatization from sexual violence.

How do post-conflict societies respond to male and female survivors of conflict-related sexual violence? To what extent do war-related identity cleavages still impact support for survivors in the post-war era? It is well-established that sexual violence can play an instrumental role in ethnic cleansing processes against out-groups during wartime, and much attention has been focused on sexual violence by male perpetrators against out-group females (Sjoberg 2013; Buss 2009; Wood 2006). However, recent research suggests that men's victimization during conflict has been underestimated due to underreporting (Traunmüller et al. 2019). Existing studies show pervasive sexual violence against men during wartime, and male-dominated contexts like detention centers, prisons, and prisoner of war camps create opportunities for the sexual abuse and exploitation of captive males (Olujic 1998; All Survivors 2017; Eichert 2018). Furthermore, some research on the social and psychological effects of sexual violence suggests that male survivors may experience greater social stigma than female survivors (Anderson and Doherty 2008; Stemple 2009; Bullock and Beckson 2011; Rumney 2009; Clark, 2017; Davies, 2002). However, it is presently unclear whether public responses are conditioned by conflict-related identities of victims and perpetrators, and how post-conflict societies respond to either female or male survivors and their needs. The implication of existing research is that sexual violence has pernicious effects on survivors, which if governments do not address, will compromise survivors' efforts to gain personal agency and recover from their traumas (Grey and Shepherd 2012). The potential for stigmatization of survivors represents a compelling barometer of the long-term negative legacies of conflict-related sexual violence.

Drawing on the case of post-war Bosnia, we use survey experiments to examine the effects of ethnicity and gender frames on public support for survivors along three salient real-world dimensions: financial aid, legal aid, and greater public recognition for survivors of wartime sexual

violence. We employ ethnicity frames to capture an important conflict-related cleavage in Bosnia. We argue that public responses to survivors will likely depend on ethnic cues to victim and perpetrator identity. A large body of social-psychological evidence points to human propensities of in-group favoritism and out-group bias (meta-analysis by Balliet et al. 2014). Wartime violence has also been shown to intensify in-group cohesion among victims and aversion to out-groups (Bauer et al. 2016). However, in-group biases have not been sufficiently explored as it relates to wartime sexual violence. We anticipate post-war societies will respond more favorably to in-group over out-group survivors. We evaluate our hypothesis by examining the effects of ethnocentrism and victim/perpetrator identity on survivor support, and find strong evidence of bias in favor of co-ethnic survivors, especially among highly ethnocentric respondents. Our results shed light on how war-related cleavages transfer into the post-war era in the domain of survivor support – an enduring legacy of sexual violence from ethnic cleansing.

We also utilize gender frames to evaluate whether social stigma against homosexual behavior leads to less support for male survivors in comparison to female survivors. Sexuality studies indicate that sexual domination and violence against men can be ‘homosexualized’ in people’s perceptions (Sivakumaran 2007; Sivakumaran 2005; Bosia 2010), which stigmatizes male survivors in contexts where social norms are intensely prohibitive of male homosexuality (Eichert 2018; Žarkov 2007).

We explore our argument regarding male homosexuality in juxtaposition to alternative explanations for potentially lower levels of public support for male survivors. For example, around the world, women experience greater financial burdens in comparison to men, such as lower levels of pay and higher costs related to pregnancy and childcare (Inglehart and Norris 2003). Women may be perceived as in greater need of government assistance than men. In addition, social

constructions of femininity and masculinity may lead to feelings that women and men are vulnerable and invulnerable to sexual violence, respectively (Bumiller 2008). Hence, women may elicit greater levels of public sympathy in comparison to men. Furthermore, violence against women is often more publicized than violence against men (Touquet and Gorris 2016; Brownmiller 1975; Baaz and Stern 2009; Cohen 2013), such that people may be more aware of sexual violence against women as a social problem. Our survey includes items that gauge respondent beliefs in these gender phenomena.

Even when taking into account public perceptions of women's greater financial burdens, greater public sympathy, and greater public awareness of sexual violence against women compared to men, we still find that framing survivors as male leads to less public support than framing survivors as female. Consistent with our argument about male stigmatization, this effect is especially strong among those who are *intolerant* of homosexuality. In contrast, those who are *tolerant* of homosexuality had similar levels of support for female and male survivors.

Overall, our study points to the challenges survivors face due to social stigmatization which hinders the receipt of aid and services, especially among males and those who are perceived as out-groups. Our research provides evidence for how and why sexual violence during wartime can have long-term detrimental effects on the ability of survivors to gain public recognition and aid for their suffering.

Sexual Violence and War

Sexual violence can be a highly destructive and potentially effective weapon of war.¹ During warfare, individual bodies become reinterpreted as social symbols (partisan, national, or ethnic, for example) and sexual violence becomes a set of transgressions between warring factions. In other words, war politicizes sexual violence: emboldening military forces, stigmatizing enemies, and “tarnishing enemy bloodlines” via rape and resultant pregnancies of out-group women and emasculating out-group men through homosexualization.

Most research on conflict-related sexual violence has focused on why sexual violence is committed by opposing factions and the personal consequences for survivors (Cohen 2016; Coulter 2009; Diken and Laustsen 2005; Wood 2009; Horvath and Woodhams 2013). Sexual violence leaves physical and psychological trauma that may persist throughout the lives of survivors. Conflict-related sexual violence is also often perpetrated along national and ethnic divisions, which inform group behavior. In terms of motivations, carrying out sexual violence has been shown to increase in-group cohesiveness among perpetrators and reinforce violence-oriented social constructions of masculinity: emphasizing male domination, destruction of enemies, and the vulnerability of women (Brownmiller 1975; Baaz and Stern 2009; Belkin 2012; Cohen 2013). In other words, sexual violence may play an important role in preserving and maintaining in-group dominance and solidarity vis-à-vis out-groups as well as patriarchal social order within the group.

What is less clear is the social disruption caused by sexual violence during war. A growing body of research suggests that public messaging concerning ethnically/racially motivated violence elicits sympathy for survivors, which may help survivors and their advocates gain awareness and

¹ Sexual violence is not restricted to war, and sexual violence often characterizes contexts we would normally call peace. During peacetime, individuals’ gendered bodies can also be subject to everyday domination and aggression, which can even constitute an acceptable part of a social order (Olujic 1998).

opportunities for agency and restored self-efficacy (Lyons 2006; Saucier et al 2010; Cramer 2013). Media reports that confront wartime sexual violence, such as media coverage of international tribunals like the ICTY,² often draw attention to perpetrators and their crimes, providing the public recognition that survivors and advocates need (Brkanic 2018). But it is presently unclear if those messages are effective at building public support for survivors across wartime identity cleavages and divisions.

Hence, more research is needed on public perceptions of survivors (Koos 2017; Koos 2018). If sexual violence damages feelings of community at the group level and feelings of self-worth at the individual level, it could potentially undermine efforts to help survivors gain agency for themselves (Dijkamin et al. 2014; see Skjaelshek 2006 for more information on family and community support for rape survivors). Research on the social consequences of conflict-related sexual violence can produce findings that are relevant to policymakers (Koos 2017). Survivors may need financial or legal aid for their counseling and court cases, or greater public recognition via advocacy groups and organizing. We focus on the role that survivor ethnicity, gender and their intersections might play in affecting social support.

Survivor Ethnicity

It is well-known that wartime sexual violence often takes place in the context of ethnic cleansing campaigns (Salzman 1998; Wood 2009). In conflicts involving polarizing ethnic divisions such as Bosnia, we predict that public support for survivors would be conditional on ethnic cues to victim and perpetrator identity, as well as one's tolerance for other groups. The persistence and prevalence of in-group bias (ie. ethnocentrism) has been well documented in many social settings (Balliet et al. 2014) to include outward discrimination against out-groups (Hewstone

² ICTY: The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

et al. 2002) and rewarding one's in-group (Tajfel et al. 1971). Wartime conflict exposure and victimization also appear to intensify in-group parochialism and ethnocentrism (Bauer et al. 2016). However, the relationship between sexual violence and in-group bias and ethnocentrism need more theoretical attention and empirical testing.

Our research speaks to the intersection between motivations for gender-based and ethnically driven violence: emphasizing in-group male domination, destruction of out-group enemies, and the vulnerability of out-group men and women (Brownmiller 1975; Baaz and Stern 2009; Cohen 2013). Sexual violence serves the purpose of building in-group dominance and weakening out-groups by violating sexual norms: tarnishing the 'enemy' bloodline, inhibiting 'enemy' reproduction through violations of out-group females (Sjoberg 2013; Žarkov 2007; Buss 2009; Wood 2006; 2010), and demoralizing the 'enemy' nation, by emasculating out-group males through homosexualization (Sivakumaran 2007; Sivakumaran 2005; Clark 2017; Eichert 2018). Sexual violence therefore serves an instrumental purpose at the heart of ethnic cleansing campaigns (Salzman 1998). Sexual violence may also play a role in sustaining in-group cohesion and aversion to out-groups that transfer into post-war eras.

Attitudes toward survivors of sexual violence, therefore, offer an important way to gauge how polarizing war-time identities evolve after violence. Are people capable of transcending war-related ethnic divisions to show empathy for survivors, even when they are out-groups and the perpetrators are members of one's own group? The answer goes a long way to explaining progress on ethnic reconciliation after violence. However, if wartime divisions are still prevalent in the post-war era, we would expect that individuals will minimize the experiences of out-group survivors or discount the violence committed by in-group perpetrators. We examine whether individuals are less supportive of survivors of violence when the perpetrator is a member of one's in-group and

where survivors are perceived as outgroups. We see ethnocentrism as an important driver of this behavior. For example, in the context of Bosnia, we would expect Serb subjects, especially highly ethnocentric ones, will be less willing to support survivors when the perpetrator is a fellow Serb and the survivors are implicitly outgroup Bosniaks or Croats. We test the following hypotheses:

H1: Individuals are less willing to support aid to survivors when violence is perpetrated by co-ethnics against outgroups.

H2: Ethnocentric people are more biased against out-group survivors over in-group survivors compared to people who are more ethnically tolerant.

Survivor Gender

If sexual violence has destructive effects on social cohesion, an important gap in the existing literature are the factors that might lead community members to turn their backs on survivors, perceiving them as undeserving of help and recognition. The concept of gender represents influential norms and institutions which structure attitudes and behavior with regards to violence and sex (Weldon 2002; Merry 2009). Women's systematic exclusion from economic and political institutions yields lower levels of pay and less political representation in comparison to men (Inglehart and Norris 2003). Sex can also yield pregnancies which amplify resource inequality for women. Moreover, sexual violence can be a manifestation of social constructions of masculinity where one derives sexual gratification from dominating another woman or man, a key source of peacetime violence against both women and men (Fahlberg and Pepper 2016). Sexual violence also reflects the social value in the protection of women's virginity, husbands' sexual control of wives, and the perceived physical vulnerability of women (Bumiller 2008). These social values mean that wartime assaults against women represent an assault on an ethnic or national body.

Following the widely perceived vulnerability of women, sexual violence is often publicized and discussed as targeting women; potentially yielding higher levels of awareness of sexual violence against women in comparison to men (Brownmiller 1975; Baaz and Stern 2009; Touquet and Gorris 2016). Not only is awareness of sexual violence against men lower, but men may also feel greater social stigma for experiencing violence, and thus be less likely to report/discuss their experiences (Sivakumaran 2005). In their study of post-conflict Sri Lanka using list experiments (which allow for anonymous reporting), Traunmüller et al. (2019) suggest that men were half as likely to report sexual violence in comparison to women but men were twice as likely to experience sexual violence. Hence, existing research may underestimate levels of sexual violence against men, underscoring the need for more attention to the social stigmas preventing male survivors from coming forward (Grey and Shepherd 2012; Clark 2017).³

Recent research on gender and sexual stigma suggests that sexual violence yields higher levels of social stigma for men due to the subversion of masculinity (Anderson and Doherty 2008; Stemple 2009; Sivakumaran 2005; Sivakumaran 2007; Bullock and Beckson 2011; Rumney 2009).⁴ Men may be perceived as less vulnerable than women in their communities, and receive less sympathy for their plight in comparison to women, but this phenomenon remains unclear with regard to systematic data collection. Reasons behind lower reporting levels are provided in existing research (ex. social stigma), but the assumption that there is less community support has not been tested.

³ This statement should not be interpreted as an attempt to minimize the war or peacetime suffering of women survivors of sexual violence. We call attention to under-reporting of violence against men, and urge a more holistic framework for understanding wartime sexual violence and its impacts across gender.

⁴ In our study, we are focusing on male perpetrators and male versus female victims. However, masculinity could be subverted when the perpetrator of sexual violence is female as well.

Moreover, research on sexuality and sexual identity suggests that homophobia informs perceptions of sexual violence. Homophobia can be weaponized by leaders trying to legitimize their nation-building along gendered and sexual lines (Bosia and Weiss 2013; Wilson and Cordero 2006). For example, during the Bosnian War, Serb military forces carried out sexual violence against out-group Bosniac men (Olujic 1998). Bosia (2010) argues that this violence bolstered Serb nationalism as defined by dominant masculinity (see also Žarkov 2014). Such experiences are not unique to the Bosnian case. Dolan (2003), Drumond (2018), and Eichert (2018) argue that perpetrators often assert dominance and hierarchies by weaponizing sexual identity. Experiencing physical domination and the ‘taint’ of male homosexuality undermine perceptions of abused men, leading to stigmatization and lower social standing (Sivakumaran 2005; Clark 2017). The trauma that men experience (such as genital mutilation) may denigrate men in their communities because these men do not subjectively follow a ‘heterosexist, reproductivist, gender order’ (Drumond 2018; Dolan 2003).⁵

Hence, Eichert (2018) argues for an audience framework, which focuses on the communities in which survivors live, and how communities respond to sexual violence. Sivakumaran (2007) suggests that one goal of perpetrators is to undermine support for aid for male survivors, limiting their recovery. Eichert (2018) presents case studies of Abu Ghraib and Nazi concentration camps, and suggests that future research could unpack the norms that lead to lower levels of support. Taking on this task, we evaluate whether individuals who are intolerant of

⁵ However, Eichert (2018) argues that homosexualization of male survivors is contingent on the sexuality norms of particular contexts, that survivors are not necessarily heterosexual, and that sexual violence is not necessarily penetrative sex (see also Serrano-Amaya 2018).

homosexuality will be less supportive of male survivors in comparison to female survivors. We expect that men experience more social stigma from sexual violence due to stigmas about homosexuality, and that respondents who are especially homophobic will exhibit lower levels of support for male survivors. We test the following hypotheses:

H3: Individuals are less willing to support aid to male survivors of sexual violence than to female survivors.

H4: Homophobic people are more biased against male survivors over female survivors compared to people that are more tolerant of homosexuality.

Rationale for Case Selection

Due to the widespread, systematic nature of wartime sexual violence, the Bosnian War (1992-1995) and its aftermath provide a landmark case to situate our study. Though many scholars dispute the characterization of violence in Bosnia as an “ethnic war” (Mueller 2000; Gilly 2004; Gagnon 2013), ethnic out-groups were intentionally and selectively targeted for sexual violence as part of ethnic cleansing campaigns (Stiglmayer 1994; Žarkov 2007; Toal and Dahlman 2011). Furthermore, despite a celebrated history of pre-war ethnic tolerance in Bosnia (Hodson et al. 1994), post-war Bosnia is most commonly characterized by entrenched ethnic divisions rather than harmony (Woodward 1999; Dyrstad 2012).⁶ Hence, ethnic boundaries remain important to the social and political order in post-war Bosnia, and we anticipate that the long-term polarizing effects of ethnic sexual violence will impact public attitudes toward survivors. People will be biased in favor of supporting in-groups over out-groups, especially those with hardened ethnocentric orientations.

⁶ Intra-group conflict in Bosnia did occur but on a much smaller scale (Christia 2008).

Bosnia also represents an important case of intersectional ethnic and gender violence. Sexual violence during the war has been documented against both out-group females and males. During the Bosnian War, sexual violence against women occurred as warring factions sought to control territory and drive away ethnic outgroups, with Serb forces targeting ethnic Bosniaks being the predominant pattern of violence. Detention centers and concentration camps often provided a context in which sexual violence was carried out against women. The UNHCR estimates that between 12,000 and 50,000 women were raped during the Bosnian war (Burg and Shoup 1999). Detention centers and concentration camps also provided venues for sexual violence against men. Doctors recorded injuries to testicles, castrations, rapes, and forced sex between men, including between male relatives (Olujic 1998, 41-43). Estimates place the number of male rape victims at around 3,000 (All Survivors Project 2017; Burg and Shoup 1999).

The ICTY was especially critical to establishing rape as a crime against humanity, including sexual violence against both women and men (All Survivors Project 2017). For Bosnian state courts, these crimes against male survivors have been characterized as ‘torture’ and their gendered/sexual character is less recognized (All Survivors Project. 2017). The ICTY, however, underscores how Bosnian Serb soldiers were the primary perpetrators of sexual violence against both women and men, which was conducted as part of a coordinated ethnic cleansing campaign against non-Serbs in Bosnia (Burg and Shoup 1999; Waller 2002; Vetlesen 2005; Becirevic 2014).⁷ Following the ICTY, we focus on perceptions of female versus male survivors and Serb soldiers as perpetrators to illustrate how wartime divisions translate into post-war survivor support. It is common knowledge in Bosnia that most wartime sexual violence was committed by Serb

⁷ The ICTY also held Bosnian Croats responsible for sexual violence against Serb civilians and prisoners of war on a more limited scale (Mojzes 2011).

perpetrators against non-Serb survivors in a coordinated ethnic cleansing campaign.⁸ Unfortunately, a lack of documentation is still major roadblock to studying and addressing sexual violence against women and men (All Survivors Project 2017). The recorded accounts of sexual violence against men during the Bosnian war are less common than records of sexual violence against women. However, many victims also died during war-time violence, and due to shame and stigma, the extensiveness of such violence may be unclear for either gender (Oosterhoff et. al. 2004; Henigsburg 2010). Both female and male survivors could experience ostracism and a loss of social standing in their communities if they share their experiences (Clark 2017). Male survivors may also be less likely than female survivors to come forward due to masculinity norms and gender-stereotyping (Clark 2017; Traunmüller et al. 2019).

With respect to support for male survivors, conservative norms regarding same-sex activity make Bosnia a useful case to examine stigmatization from male homosexuality (Eichert 2018). Many LGBT people in Bosnia are not able to express their sexuality and gender identities openly (Lakić and Tolj 2016; ILGA-Europe 2013; Human Rights Watch 2014). Gay people in Bosnia routinely face homophobia within their families, workplace, and civil society (Lakić and Tolj 2016; ILGA-Europe 2013; Human Rights Watch 2014). Hence, the prevalence of homophobia in Bosnia could pose a significant barrier to male survivor support, and therefore offers a useful case for exploring this mechanism.

In addition to homophobia, Bosnia is also a highly patriarchal society. Women face many economic and social hardships compared to men. The European Commission's reports on Bosnia indicate widespread pay inequality (some of the highest in Europe), large enduring differences

⁸ This fact is often contested in various Serbian media, which seek to draw false equivalencies about sexual violence during the war. However, it appears that most Serbs in our study implicitly associate survivors with outgroups, and oppose supporting them.

between female and male participation in the labor force (46 and 72 percent, respectively), and higher unemployment among women in the workforce (European Commission, 2013, 2015). Although the Bosnian government passed a gender equality law in 2003 which includes rules regarding inequality in pay and the establishment of institutions that address gender inequality, Sofronic (2006) shows that Bosnia's gender equality councils and agencies are understaffed and underfunded, producing limited action on behalf of women's rights. Hence, women's rights laws coexist with patriarchal norms, limited representation of women, and workplace realities of discrimination. We consider how the hardships women face in Bosnia provide an alternative explanation for why female survivors may receive more sympathy and support than males.

At present, both female and male survivors in Bosnia are currently seeking greater public support in the form of financial, legal aid, and public recognition. Bosnia and Herzegovina has public programs to provide stipends and legal aid for survivors, but implementation is limited due to disagreements among the leaders of the Bosniak/Croat/Serb factions on whether survivors should have the legal status necessary to claim more compensation (Rose 2013). In this study, we examine public support for the financial, legal aid, and public recognition that survivors claim they need, whether those perceptions are conditional to ethnic divisions and survivor gender, and how ethnocentric and homophobic attitudes may impact survivor support.

Experimental Design

In order to test our hypotheses, we use data from two original survey experiments conducted in Bosnia in July and November 2018 with representative samples of 1,012 and 1,019

respondents, respectively.⁹ The surveys consisted of face-to-face, computer-assisted interviews. A survey experiment is advantageous for examining the hypotheses, because it allows us to control the information which the respondents receive, and the randomized treatments (exposure to the information) allow us to make clearer causal predictions (Gaines et. al. 2007). The experiments were carried out in Bosnia, a post-conflict society where war-time sexual violence was prevalent. Public debates and news reports concerning conflict-related sexual violence and its legacies are an important part of Bosnia's political discourse (Nettelfield 2010). The two samples allow us to conduct 1) an experiment examining the intersection between survivor gender and perpetrator ethnicity and 2) an experiment that further examines the effects of survivor gender. Randomization of the experimental groups for the two surveys was computer-assisted with each respondent randomly-assigned to an experimental group.

Our first survey entailed four experimental groups (about 250 responses per group) that manipulate whether the questions respondents receive includes 1) either a female or male survivor of war-time sexual violence, and 2) either a Serb soldier or unmentioned perpetrator of sexual violence (see Table 1). The dependent variables are represented by three questions concerning monthly stipends, legal aid, and organizing for survivors. We chose these dependent variables because support for these policies represent positive social outcomes for survivors which governments and advocates can implement, and they have real-world significance in the Bosnian case. We can examine a gendered stigma effect by comparing respondents who receive

⁹ The nationally representative samples of Bosnia and Herzegovina were recruited by Ipsos. The samples for July and November include 1,012 and 1,019 adults (18+ years old), respectively. The response rates were 52.6 and 45.5 percent, respectively. Ipsos uses random iterative weighting (RIM) in order to offset sampling biases with regards to sex, age, ethnicity and rural/urban settlements. If we estimate the effects presented here without respect to the recommended weighting, the results hold at conventional levels of statistical significance (95 percent), and our substantive interpretation of the results does not change.

information about the gender of the survivor. We also can examine an ethnicity stigma effect by comparing respondents who receive information about the ethnicity of the perpetrator. We chose Serb soldier information because the sexual violence carried out by the Serb armies was the most extensive, systematic, and widely reported (Olujic 1998). Because we have ethnic demographic data for each respondent (see Table 2), we can establish whether the respondent is receiving a question that addresses sexual violence perpetrated by their ethnic in-group or out-group.

| Table 1: Experimental Design for Survey One: Four Groups Randomly Assigned (about 250 Respondents Each) | | | | |
|--|---|---|--|--|
| Next, we would like to know how you feel about the sexual violence that happened during the war in Bosnia. Do you disagree or agree with the following three statements? Please indicate your views using any number on a scale from 0 to 10, where “0” means Strongly disagree and “10” means Strongly agree. | | | | |
| | Group A | Group B | Group C | Group D |
| Question 1 “More Money” | Female victims of sexual violence should receive a monthly money stipend from the government. <i>0 (Strongly disagree) - 10 (Strongly agree)</i> | Male victims of sexual violence should receive a monthly money stipend from the government. <i>0 (Strongly disagree) - 10 (Strongly agree)</i> | Female victims of sexual violence committed by Serb soldiers should receive a monthly money stipend from the government. <i>0 (Strongly disagree) - 10 (Strongly agree)</i> | Male victims of sexual violence committed by Serb soldiers should receive a monthly money stipend from the government. <i>0 (Strongly disagree) - 10 (Strongly agree)</i> |
| Question 2 “More Legal Aid” | Female victims of sexual violence should receive money from the government for the expenses of their court cases. | Male victims of sexual violence should receive money from the government for the expenses of their court cases. | Female victims of sexual violence committed by Serb soldiers should receive money from the government for | Male victims of sexual violence committed by Serb soldiers should receive money from the government for |

| | | | | |
|--|---|---|--|--|
| | <i>0 (Strongly disagree) - 10 (Strongly agree)</i> | <i>0 (Strongly disagree) - 10 (Strongly agree)</i> | the expenses of their court cases. <i>0 (Strongly disagree) - 10 (Strongly agree)</i> | the expenses of their court cases. <i>0 (Strongly disagree) - 10 (Strongly agree)</i> |
| Question 3 “More Recognition” | Female victims of sexual violence should organize public demonstrations in order to receive more recognition. <i>0 (Strongly disagree) - 10 (Strongly agree)</i> | Male victims of sexual violence should organize public demonstrations in order to receive more recognition. <i>0 (Strongly disagree) - 10 (Strongly agree)</i> | Female victims of sexual violence committed by Serb soldiers should organize public demonstrations in order to receive more recognition. <i>0 (Strongly disagree) - 10 (Strongly agree)</i> | Male victims of sexual violence committed by Serb soldiers should organize public demonstrations in order to receive more recognition. <i>0 (Strongly disagree) - 10 (Strongly agree)</i> |

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics of the Samples

| Variable | July 2018 Survey | November 2018 Survey |
|---|------------------|----------------------|
| | Mean Level | Mean Level |
| More Money: 0(Strongly disagree) - 10(Strongly agree) | 6.5 | 6.4 |
| More Legal Aid: 0(Strongly disagree) - 10(Strongly agree) | 7.0 | 6.6 |
| More Recognition: 0(Strongly disagree) - 10(Strongly agree) | 6.2 | 6.0 |
| Ethnocentrism: “-3” – “3” (increasing ingroup bias) | 1.0 | 0.6 |
| Age (in number of years) | 46 | 45 |
| Education Level: “1” (No School) – “11” (Doctorate) | 5.5 | 5.6 |
| | Percentage | Percentage |
| Bosniak Respondent: “1” (Bosniak), “0” (non-Bosniak) | 53% | 53% |

| | | |
|---|-------|-------|
| Serb Respondent: “1” (Serb), “0” (non-Serb) | 30% | 32% |
| Croat Respondent: “1” (Croat), “0” (non-Croat) | 12% | 10% |
| Female Respondent: “1” (Women), “0” (Men) | 51% | 53% |
| Unemployed: “1” (Unemployed), “0” (Not-Unemployed) | 25% | 21% |
| Rural area: “1” (Rural), “0” (Non-rural) | 43% | 43% |
| Survey respondents | 1,012 | 1,019 |
| Data source: 2018 Surveys of Bosnia and Herzegovina | | |

Ethnicity and Gendered Beliefs about Sexual Violence

For the dependent variables (Money, Legal Aid, and Recognition), ten is the modal category for all three: 40, 45, and 35 percent respectively. In Figure 1 below, we report the mean Money score for each treatment group (Male Survivor, Female Survivor, Male Survivor/Serb Perpetrator, and Female Survivor/Serb Perpetrator). The same substantive results hold across the Money, Legal Aid, and Recognition variables (See the Online Supplementary Appendix). Because we anticipate Serbs will respond differently to the ethnic treatment than non-Serbs (Hypothesis 1), we report them separately from non-Serbs. Figure 1 indicates that Hypotheses 1 has merit. Consistent with Hypothesis 1, ingroups (in this case Serbs) are less supportive of assistance to survivors when perpetrators of violence are ingroup and survivors are outgroups. Serbs are far less supportive of survivors than non-Serbs across all treatments, even when Serbs are not explicitly identified as perpetrators. We believe this is due to an implicit awareness that most survivors of wartime sexual violence were non-Serb, and perpetrators were Serb, which is common knowledge in Bosnia.

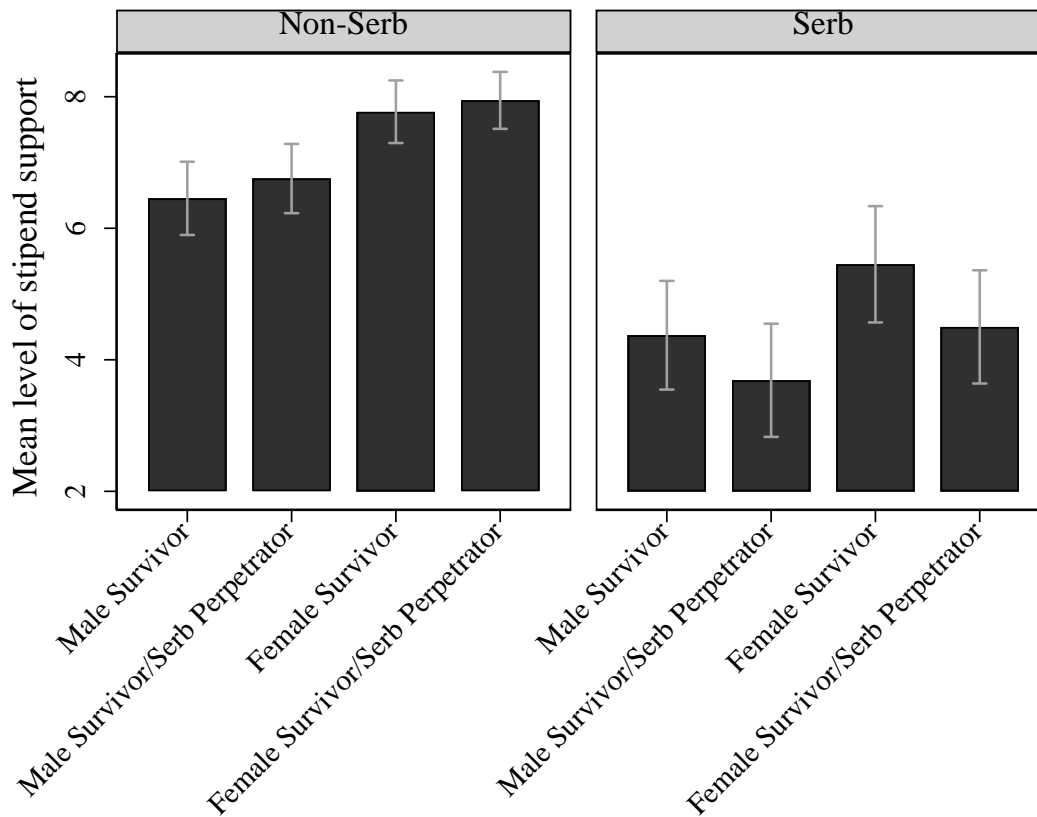


Figure 1: Mean Support for Survivors' Stipends by Treatment Groups and Respondent Ethnicity with 95 Percent Confidence Intervals

To further evaluate our hypotheses, we estimate statistical models which compare support for survivors across the experimental groups. We treat our eleven-point dependent variables as continuous. Our key independent variables are dummy variables for survivor gender and perpetrator ethnicity treatments. Our models also control for demographic variation in the sample based on gender, ethnicity, age, education, urban/rural location, and socio-demographic information, which also serves as a control for personal welfare-related preferences in the distribution of government aid that might affect survivor support. Table 3 presents the results of the OLS models regarding support for stipends (see the appendix, Online SI Table 10, for legal aid

and public recognition – the same substantive results hold across the dependent variables).¹⁰ Model 1, on the left, examines the behavior of non-Serbs, while Model 2 focuses on Serb subjects. Each model includes dummy variables for the Male Survivor treatment, the Male Survivors/Serb perpetrator treatment, and the Female Survivors/Serb Perpetrator treatment. The Female Survivors treatment serves as the comparison group, reflected in the constant term.

First, consistent with Hypothesis 1, Serbs are less supportive of victims when the perpetrator of violence is identified as co-ethnic. Serbs are also categorically less supportive of survivors than non-Serbs across all treatment groups. We suspect this is because Serbs implicitly associate survivors with ethnic outgroups, while non-Serbs associate survivors with ingroup co-ethnics. To test this conjecture, we include a control for one's ethnocentrism, by taking the difference in how favorable respondents report their feelings of their ethnic in-group compared to other outgroups in Bosnia.¹¹ In Hypothesis 2, we predict that the more ethnocentric one's view of the world, the more they will implicitly associate survivors with in-group/out-group categories, and thus react strongly to in-group/out-group perpetrator references. In support of Hypotheses 2, Model 1 shows that ethnocentrism is positively correlated with support for survivors among non-Serbs (implying an in-group association), but negatively correlated with support for survivors among Serbs in Model 2 (implying an outgroup association). This helps validate the claim of

¹⁰ Two categories with high frequencies are “0” (Strongly disagree) and “10” (Strongly agree), so the survey item may censor responses where respondents may have been adamantly close to survivors or adamantly not close (‘left’ and ‘right’ censored data). Hence, we estimated tobit models that take this censorship into account. For the following models, substantive effects remain the same across OLS and tobit models.

¹¹ A positive score on the index indicates that subjects rated their in-group more favorably than out-groups, 0 indicates the same rating, and negative scores (which are rare) indicate rating out-groups more favorably than one's in-group.

Hypothesis 1 that subjects take ethnicity into account when evaluating support for survivors of wartime sexual violence.

Next, in support of Hypothesis 3, we find that individuals are less supportive of assistance to male survivors than female survivors. The coefficient for *Male Survivor Treatment* is negative and statistically significant, which indicates that respondents who received information regarding male survivors were less supportive in comparison to those receiving female survivor information. The coefficient for *Male Survivors/Serb Perpetrator Treatment* is also negative and statistically significant in both models. Finally, our controls indicate that Serbs from rural areas are more supportive of survivors. Even with these post-treatment controls, the effects of our gender and experimental treatments are robust and strongly support our hypotheses. Treatment effects are even stronger without post-treatment controls (See Montgomery et. al. 2018 for rationales against controlling for post-treatment variables). Our samples are also well balanced by post-treatment controls (See Online SI Tables 1-2 for balance tables and regressions without post-treatment controls).

We present the full model in Table 3 (both Serbs and Non-Serbs), which shows consistent results with the (numerically larger) Non-Serb population. There is a general tendency to lower support for male victims in the full model. Bosniaks are more supportive of survivors, indicative of ingroup perceptions of survivors. The analysis shows that ethnicity and ethnocentrism go a long way to explaining differential support for survivors of sexual violence. But why are male survivors consistently less supported than female survivors? We now turn to our Hypothesis 4 about a homophobia mechanism in more detail.

Table 3. Effects of Survivor Gender and Perpetrator Ethnicity on Support for Survivor Stipends

| Model | (1) Non-Serbs | (2) Serbs | (3) Full |
|--|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Male Survivor Treatment | -1.210*** (0.369) | -1.068* (0.631) | -1.141*** (0.330) |
| Male Survivor and Serb Perpetrator Treatment | -1.040*** (0.361) | -1.884*** (0.659) | -1.273*** (0.335) |
| Female Survivor and Serb Perpetrator Treatment | -0.0971 (0.323) | -1.335** (0.621) | -0.457 (0.316) |
| Ethnocentrism | 0.798*** (0.107) | -0.327 (0.235) | 0.431*** (0.108) |
| Bosniak Respondent | 0.266 (0.321) | | 2.182*** (0.250) |
| Female Respondent | 0.164 (0.258) | 0.448 (0.460) | 0.179 (0.239) |
| Age | -0.00209 (0.00843) | 0.0127 (0.0158) | 0.00653 (0.00805) |
| Education Level | -0.0498 (0.0779) | 0.200 (0.135) | -0.0140 (0.0710) |
| Unemployed | 0.589** (0.289) | -0.458 (0.544) | 0.302 (0.278) |
| Rural area | -0.485* (0.274) | 1.528*** (0.443) | 0.424* (0.245) |
| Constant | 7.258*** (0.878) | 3.393** (1.497) | 4.927*** (0.799) |
| Survey Responses | 656 | 289 | 945 |
| Adjusted R ² | 0.089 | 0.053 | 0.108 |

Dependent variable: 0 (Strongly disagree) – 10 (Strongly agree) that survivors should receive stipends. The constant represents the level of support for survivor stipends among respondents who received the Female Survivor information (and no Serb information). Results estimated using OLS models. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Source: July 2018 Survey of Bosnia and Herzegovina. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Homosexuality and Gendered Beliefs about Sexual Violence

Our original July 2018 survey lacked sufficient information to test Hypothesis 4, so we went back into the field with a follow-up design. Our November 2018 survey experiment again manipulates whether respondents receive information regarding female or male survivors of war-time sexual violence, but this time we do not manipulate perpetrator ethnicity (see Table 4). For each question, respondents assigned to Group A are asked about violence against women, and Group B answered questions about violence against men. As before, our dependent variables measure support for survivor legal, financial aid, and public recognition respectively. This approach means that half of the respondents received the male and female survivor treatments for each of the three questions. This allows our analyses to gauge support for aid when respondents consider female or male survivors. We can also assess how respondents that are intolerant of homosexuality respond to male survivors in comparison to female survivors.

After completing the survey experiment, respondents were given more detailed follow-up questions regarding views on extra government benefits for female and male survivors, views on social stigma against female and male survivors, views on the need for public assistance for male and female survivors, awareness that sexual violence against women and men had in fact occurred during the war, views on whether sexual violence makes earning money more challenging, and perceptions of a social stigma in speaking about sexual violence against men. We also gauged favorable feelings towards Bosniaks, Croats, Serbs, and homosexual people to measure ethnocentrism and homophobia.

| Table 4: Experimental Design for Survey Two: Two Groups Randomly Assigned for Each Question (about 500 Respondents Each) | | |
|--|---|---|
| Next, we would like to know how you feel about the sexual violence that happened during the war in Bosnia. Do you disagree or agree with the following three statements? Please indicate your views using any number on a scale from 0 to 10, where “0” means Strongly disagree and “10” means Strongly agree. | | |
| | Group A | Group B |
| Question 1 “More Money” | Female victims of sexual violence should receive a monthly money stipend from the government. <i>0 (Strongly disagree) - 10 (Strongly agree)</i> | Male victims of sexual violence should receive a monthly money stipend from the government. <i>0 (Strongly disagree) - 10 (Strongly agree)</i> |
| Question 2 “More Legal Aid” | Female victims of sexual violence should receive money from the government for the expenses of their court cases. <i>0 (Strongly disagree) - 10 (Strongly agree)</i> | Male victims of sexual violence should receive money from the government for the expenses of their court cases. <i>0 (Strongly disagree) - 10 (Strongly agree)</i> |
| Question 3 “More Recognition” | Female victims of sexual violence should organize public demonstrations in order to receive more recognition. <i>0 (Strongly disagree) - 10 (Strongly agree)</i> | Male victims of sexual violence should organize public demonstrations in order to receive more recognition. <i>0 (Strongly disagree) - 10 (Strongly agree)</i> |

For the dependent variables in survey two (Money, Legal Aid, and Recognition), ten is the modal category for all three: 30, 30, and 22 percent of the respondents respectively. We have argued in Hypothesis 4 that individuals may stigmatize male survivors due to aversions to homosexuality. We included in the survey a measure of respondents’ attitudes toward homosexuals based on a four-point instrument ranging from highly favorable to highly unfavorable views. We find that 62 percent are unfavorable and 38 percent are favorable, and the modal category is Very

Unfavorable (40 percent), which is consistent with prior research on how views on homosexuality in Bosnia tend to be highly conservative (Lakić and Tolj 2016). Table 5 includes additional independent variables that we use to explore alternative arguments for male vs. female survivor support. Alongside the homophobia variable, we find that respondents answer many questions at comparable levels, though somewhat lower for men.

| Variable | Mean Level with 95 percent CIs |
|---|--------------------------------|
| 1. Female survivors should receive extra gov. benefits | 7.6 (7.4 - 7.8) |
| 2. Women less respected if experience sexual violence | 6.5 (6.3 - 6.7) |
| 3. Belief that women experienced war sexual violence | 8.6 (8.5 - 8.8) |
| 4. Sexual violence makes earning money challenging for women | 6.4 (6.2 - 6.6) |
| 5. Male survivors should receive extra gov. benefits | 7.3 (7.1 - 7.4) |
| 6. Men less respected if experience sexual violence | 6.5 (6.3 - 6.7) |
| 7. Men need less aid than women due to earnings | 6.2 (6.0 - 6.4) |
| 8. Belief that men experienced war sexual violence | 7.1 (6.9 - 7.3) |
| 9. Sexual violence makes earning money challenging for men | 6.2 (6.0 - 6.4) |
| 10. More awareness of violence against women than men | 8.5 (8.3 - 8.6) |
| 11. People less willing to talk about sexual violence against men | 8.1 (7.9 - 8.3) |

Variables: 0 (Strongly disagree) – 10 (Strongly agree). Source: November 2018 Survey of Bosnia

For examples, on a 0 to 10 scale, support for giving extra government benefits was similar: means of 7.6 and 7.3 for women and men, respectively. Belief that female and male survivors would lose respect in their communities was the same as well: around 6.5 for both. Also, belief that female and male survivors have difficulty earning money was similar: 6.4 and 6.2, respectively. In contrast, respondents were more likely to believe that women experienced sexual violence during the war than men: 8.6 and 7.1 respectively. Respondents also tend to believe that

men need less aid than women due to their higher earnings (6.2 mean on the 0 to 10 scale) and that people are less likely to talk about sexual violence against men (8.1 mean).

To simplify the analysis, we used factor analysis to combine responses to items 1-4 in Table 4 into an index of the “belief in the hardships of sexual violence against women” (on a scale from -2.4 to 1.3) and items 5-11 into an index of the “belief in the hardships of sexual violence against men” (on a scale from -2.9 to 1.7). Factor analysis indicates that responses to these items line up on a single dimension, indicating that they are capturing a common latent attitude about the stigmatizing effects of sexual violence (See Online SI Table 7-8). These items represent “hardship” mechanisms that might be driving survivor support. With these hardship variables, we can examine effects of attitudes regarding homosexuality in our regression analysis, while taking underlying gendered beliefs regarding sexual violence into account. For example, male survivors could be perceived as less deserving of aid due to women’s greater need, as opposed to perception of homosexuality. In these data, the Pearson correlation coefficient between *Homosexuals Unfavorable* and *Belief in the Hardships of Sexual Violence against Men* is 0.06 (which does not meet traditional levels of statistical significance), while the correlation coefficient between *Homosexuals Unfavorable* and *Belief in the Hardships of Sexual Violence against Women* is 0.11 (statistically significant at a 95 percent confidence level).

Table 6: Effects of Gendered Survivor Information on Public Support for Stipends by Favorability towards Homosexuality

| Model | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|---|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Male Survivor Treatment | -0.832*** (0.206) | -0.177 (0.396) | 0.0130 (0.302) | 0.0218 (0.317) |
| Homosexuals Unfavorable | 0.269*** (0.0947) | 0.435*** (0.123) | 0.290*** (0.103) | 0.436*** (0.111) |
| Male Survivor Treatment * Homosexuals Unfavorable | | -0.348* (0.190) | -0.454*** (0.157) | -0.433*** (0.164) |
| Belief in the Hardships of Sexual Violence against Men | | | 0.433** (0.202) | 0.355* (0.209) |
| Belief in the Hardships of Sexual Violence against Women | | | 2.036*** (0.236) | 2.013*** (0.240) |
| Rural | | | | 0.407** (0.172) |
| Women | | | | 0.189 (0.168) |
| Ethnocentrism | | | | -0.293** (0.115) |
| Education Level | | | | -0.0625 (0.0428) |
| Bosniak | | | | 0.630** (0.252) |
| Serb | | | | -0.178 (0.285) |
| Age | | | | 0.00452 (0.00535) |
| Unemployed | | | | 0.334 (0.206) |
| Constant | 6.312*** (0.218) | 6.002*** (0.258) | 6.314*** (0.203) | 5.608*** (0.529) |
| Survey Responses | 1,019 | 1,019 | 1,019 | 940 |
| Adjusted R ² | 0.022 | 0.0242 | 0.373 | 0.391 |

Dependent variable: 0 (Strongly disagree) – 10 (Strongly agree) that survivors should receive money, legal aid, and public recognition. Homosexuals Unfavorable: 0 (Very favorable) – 3 (Very unfavorable). Results estimated using OLS models. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Source: November 2018 Survey of Bosnia and Herzegovina. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

We then estimate statistical models to compare support for survivors across the experimental groups. We treat our eleven-point dependent variables as continuous. Our key

independent variables are dummy variables for our survivor gender treatment and favorability towards homosexuality (plus their interaction), which we use to evaluate Hypothesis 4. Our models also control for gendered attitudes regarding the stigma of sexual violence and demographic variation in the sample based on gender, ethnicity, age, education, urban/rural location, and socio-demographic information, which also serves as a control for personal welfare-related preferences in the distribution of government aid.

Table 6 presents the results of the OLS models, using the dependent variable for financial support (see the appendix, Online SI Table 11 for the legal aid and public recognition variables). The results are consistent across the dependent variables. Across the three dependent variables, we show that negative effects of the male survivor frame on survivor support are conditional upon intolerance towards homosexuality. To test Hypothesis 4, we interact views on homosexuality with our male/female survivor treatments. In each model, the coefficient for *Male Survivor Treatment* is positive and statically insignificant, which shows that the treatment does not have a substantive effect among those who are favorable toward homosexuality. In contrast, the coefficient for *Homosexuals Unfavorable* is positive and statistically significant, which means that unfavorable opinions about homosexuals correlates with higher levels of support for female survivors over male. Finally, the coefficient for *Male Survivor Treatment*Homosexuals Unfavorable* is negative and statistically significant, indicating that negative views towards homosexuals correlates with lower levels of support for male survivors. When the interaction is graphed (see Figure 2), we observe that among those who are tolerant towards homosexuals (holding *Homosexuals Unfavorable* at minimum), the gender treatment does not have a substantive effect. Figure 2 represents marginal effects in the form of expected values of survivor support (the output of the linear regression equation) by Male Survivor treatment and favorability towards homosexuality,

allowing the visualization of the change in the dependent variable across the groups of theoretical interest. Figure 2 graphs results regarding the More Money dependent variable, and the same substantive result holds for More Legal Aid and More Recognition (those with unfavorable views towards homosexuals are more supportive of female over male survivors), although levels of statistical significance are lower. Meanwhile, among those who are intolerant (holding *Homosexuals Unfavorable* at maximum), the male survivor treatment yields lower levels of support in comparison to female survivor treatment, as predicted by Hypothesis 4. This effect is robust to other control variables.

Moving to the control variables, the indexes for increasing recognition of male and female hardships from sexual violence (ex. support for extra government benefits and belief in negative effects on earnings) both correlate with higher levels of support for survivors, but the female hardship index yields greater support in comparison to the male hardship index. This result suggests higher levels of public sympathy for female survivors. The homosexuality effect holds with respect to this important alternative explanation, and the interaction between beliefs in hardships and the gender treatment does not produce substantive results. Ethnocentrism associates with lower levels of support for survivors across the models, with Serbs being more opposed to survivor aid than Bosniaks and Croats, which is consistent with or previous results regarding in-group/out-group effects on perceptions of survivors.

In summary, the results suggest the gendered frame effect is conditional upon tolerance towards homosexuality. As predicted by Hypothesis 4, those with unfavorable views towards homosexuality are less likely to support male survivors in comparison to female survivors, while holding important control variables constant. Lower levels of support for male survivors are driven by homophobia, discomfort with same-gender sexual activity which socially stigmatizes male

survivors relative to female survivors. The group who receive the female survivor treatment and are intolerant of homosexuality provide the highest levels of support among the groups in Figure 2. Hence, heteronormative values may translate into higher levels of support for female survivors. Unfortunately, we do not have direct metrics which could address socially conservative views of gender roles alongside views on homosexuality (such as beliefs about masculinity and bodily integrity). However, in the online appendix, we further address the argument that socially conservative values yield lower levels of support for male survivors. We find that those who score low on the male hardship index (meaning they do not see male survivors as suffering hardship) signal lower levels of support in the male survivor treatment over the female treatment.

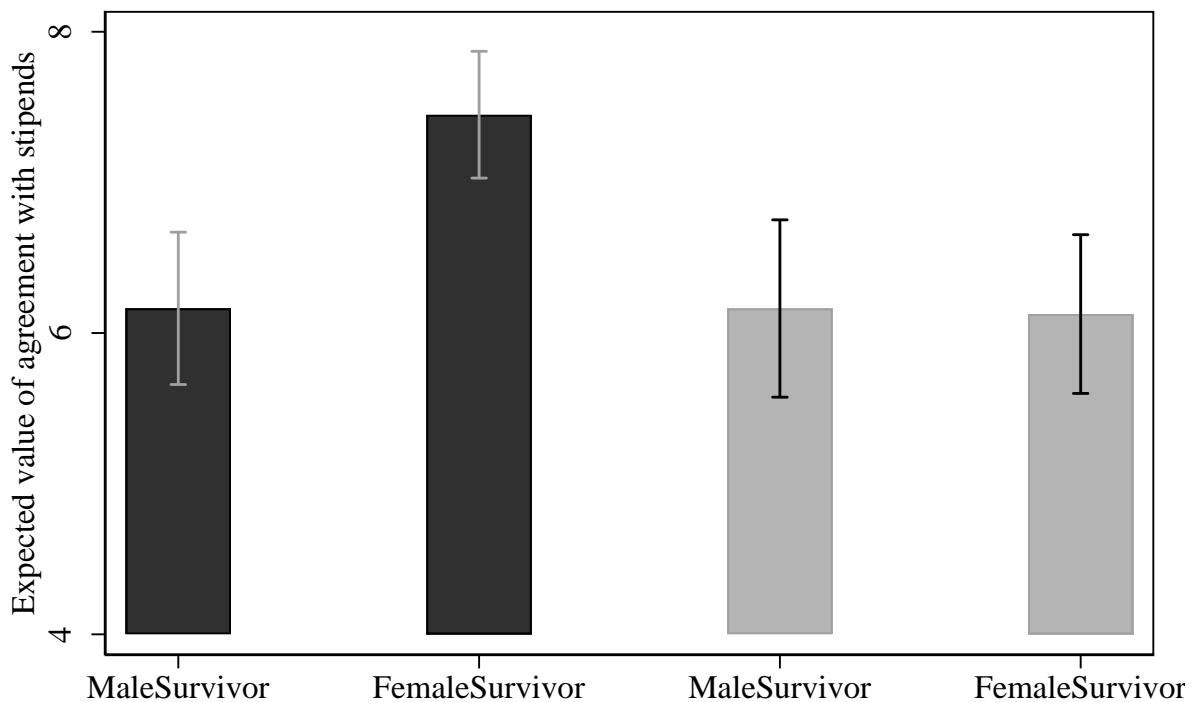


Figure 2: Agreeing that sexual violence survivors should receive a stipend by treatment groups and homophobia with 95 percent CIs. Homophobic respondents (black) and tolerant respondents (grey)
 Data source: 2018 Survey of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
 Agreement: 0(Strongly disagree) - 10(Strongly agree)

Robustness Check – Dictator Game Behavior

We found evidence that those who disapprove of homosexuality exhibit higher levels of support for female survivors in comparison to male survivors. However, one concern with survey experiments is a lack of external validity (Barabas and Jerit 2010). We check the consistency of this finding by examining respondents' willingness to donate money (convertible marks, Bosnia's currency) to female and male survivors in a third-party dictator game (Engel 2011, Camerer et al. 2011). The dictator game provides a behavioral measure of other-regarding preferences and serves as an additional check on our survey experimental findings. Hence, survey respondents received the following item, and dictated the amount of money they would contribute to survivors:

If you were donating 100KM for female and male victims of sexual violence, and you chose how much money the services for women receive and how much money the services for men receive:

- How much should female victims receive _____ (out of 100KM)?
- How much should male victims receive _____ (out of 100KM)?

The mean contribution was 57 (56.3-58.0, 95 percent CI) to female survivors and 43 (42.0-43.7, 95 percent CI) to male survivors, showing lower levels of support for male survivors. Hence, the average respondent contributed around 14 more marks (12.6-16.0, 95 percent CI) to female survivors than male survivors. When we compare giving to female and male survivors, 63 percent of respondents gave the same amount (50KM) to both genders. About two percent gave more to male survivors, and about 31 percent gave more to female survivors. Two respondents (0.2 percent) donated all of the money to male survivors and 42 respondents (4 percent) donated all of the money to female survivors (100KM). Most respondents gave balanced contributions to both genders, and a larger minority gives more to women. However, across our main independent variable (*Homosexuals Unfavorable*), more homophobic respondents provide more money to

female survivors than male survivors. Respondents who are *very favorable* towards homosexuals give an average of six more marks (2.1-9.7, 95 percent CI) to female survivors in comparison to male survivors, while respondents who are *very unfavorable* to homosexual give an average of 18 more marks (15.5-21.1, 95 percent CI) to female survivors in comparison to male survivors.

Using the difference in respondents' contributions between female and male survivors as the dependent variable, we estimate statistical models using OLS regressions in Table 7. Consistent with the findings above, the coefficient for *Homosexuals Unfavorable* is positive and statistically significant across the models. This suggests that a one-point increase on the four-point homophobia scale increases bias against male survivors by about three marks (enough to buy about two liters of milk in Bosnia) which can make a difference in people's day to day life. Individuals holding homophobic views are more supportive of female survivors, relative to male survivors, while tolerant people provide female and male survivors with similar levels of support. This result holds with respect to the controls from above. Finally, our attention to the homophobia mechanism should not be seen as discounting the importance of survivor awareness to public support. The analysis also shows that increasing belief in the hardships of sexual violence against men reduces gender bias in giving, illustrating how building awareness can also impact survivor support.

Table 7: Effects of Homophobia on Giving More Money to Female Survivors than Male Survivors.

| Model | (1) | (2) | (3) |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Homosexuals Unfavorable | 3.333*** (0.811) | 3.167*** (0.786) | 2.681*** (0.950) |
| Belief in the Hardships of Sexual Violence against Men | | -3.502* (2.122) | -3.885* (2.153) |
| Belief in the Hardships of Sexual Violence against Women | | 3.914 (2.398) | 3.473 (2.412) |
| Rural | | | -6.998*** (1.788) |
| Women | | | 3.121* (1.843) |
| Ethnocentrism | | | 2.514** (1.246) |
| Education Level | | | -0.0647 (0.436) |
| Bosniak | | | 0.634 (3.446) |
| Serb | | | 1.359 (3.662) |
| Age | | | 0.00590 (0.0624) |
| Unemployed | | | 0.900 (2.210) |
| Constant | 8.169*** (1.731) | 8.490*** (1.691) | 8.500 (5.890) |
| Survey Responses | 1,019 | 1,019 | 940 |
| Adjusted R ² | 0.015 | 0.018 | 0.045 |

Dependent variable: The difference in convertible marks distributed between female survivors and male survivors, out of 100: -100 (all marks to male survivors) – 100 (all marks to female survivors). Homosexuals Unfavorable: 0(Very favorable) – 3(Very unfavorable). Results estimated using OLS models. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Source: November 2018 Survey of Bosnia and Herzegovina. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Conclusions

In the aftermath of a civil war in which sexual violence was perpetrated as part of a systematic ethnic cleansing campaign against out-group men and women, there are clear conflict-

related fault-lines of victim support. Subjects are less likely to support victims when the perpetrator of violence is co-ethnic and victims are outgroups. While existing studies focus on explaining why sexual violence takes place and its personal effects on survivors, this is one of the first experimental studies to show systematic patterns regarding the social consequences of conflict-related sexual violence. This study shows evidence of social disruption caused by sexual violence. Publics are less willing to support out-group survivors through programs that can help them gain agency (money, legal aid, and public recognition) than co-ethnics. As such, this study reveals how wartime identity cleavages translate into post-war stigmatization – a long-term negative legacy of sexual violence.

This study also finds that confronting sexual violence in terms of survivor gender yields less support for male survivors, which appears to be driven in part by intolerance of male homosexuality. Traunmüller et al.'s (2019) research suggests that men in their study were less likely to report sexual violence and more likely to experience wartime sexual violence in comparison to women. Our study contributes to existing research by showing male survivors face publics that are systematically less likely to support them, providing the first evidence of the stigma against men in a nationally representative study of survivor support in a post-war society. Stigmas against homosexuality in particular may further undermine the self-efficacy and esteem that encourages political engagement and speaking out about sexual violence, as has been documented by studies of LGBT-rights movements (McClendon 2014). Future studies can unpack respondent reactions to information regarding the sexuality of survivors and information regarding the nature and characteristics of sexual violence (Eichert 2018).

We also show that female survivors are systematically more favored to receive aid over males due to greater recognition of the hardships women face, while male survivors receive lower

levels of support from respondents who do not recognize the hardships that men face due to sexual violence. This finding may also be affected by views regarding homosexuality and patriarchy. Future research will need to unpack how heteronormativity and patriarchy translates into the belief that female survivors are more deserving of aid (Ward and Schneider 2009). Patriarchal values of controlling and providing for women, wives, and girls may yield more support for female survivors. Male survivors, especially in a socially conservative case like Bosnia, live in a context that suppresses recognition of the sexual violence they experience (Lakić and Tolj 2016).

Moreover, our study includes a gender dichotomy in the survey, but in terms of the respondents' opinions, the dichotomy is reflected to a limited extent: most respondents want to give similar levels of support to female and male survivors. Women's and men's experiences of sexual violence are interconnected, especially with regard to patriarchy and domination. Future studies should unpack gendered phenomena such as subversion of masculinity and the preservation of bodily integrity, which may influence opinion formation regarding survivors.

Finally, the findings in this study suggest that conflict-related sexual violence is an experience that stigmatizes both women and men, and male survivors may be especially marginalized due to norms regarding homosexuality. In a context of underreporting and stigma for both women and men, post-conflict societies should devote greater funding and develop innovative policy interventions to reach survivors in the face of potential stigma, hostility, and disbelief within the broader community. One example might include the use of anonymous hotlines/online-forums and counseling services (Davies, 2002). These services can provide male and female survivors with opportunities to express themselves and make contact with one another and with health professionals in order to build support and advocacy (Clark, 2017; Schulz 2018).

With more accepting contexts, more female and male survivors may be encouraged to come forward and receive aid.

Another important implication for our study involves the public discourse around wartime sexual violence in post-conflict societies. Retribution against perpetrators characterizes part of the messaging used by governments, advocates, and international tribunals when addressing sexual violence. But how should conflict-related sexual violence be framed to enhance public awareness and support for survivors? Our research suggests that public discourses that emphasize survivor gender and perpetrator ethnic identity can be polarizing and undermine public support. This study points to the need for future research that can identify ways to increase holistic empathy towards survivors across gender, ethnicity, and other wartime identity cleavages after violence.

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