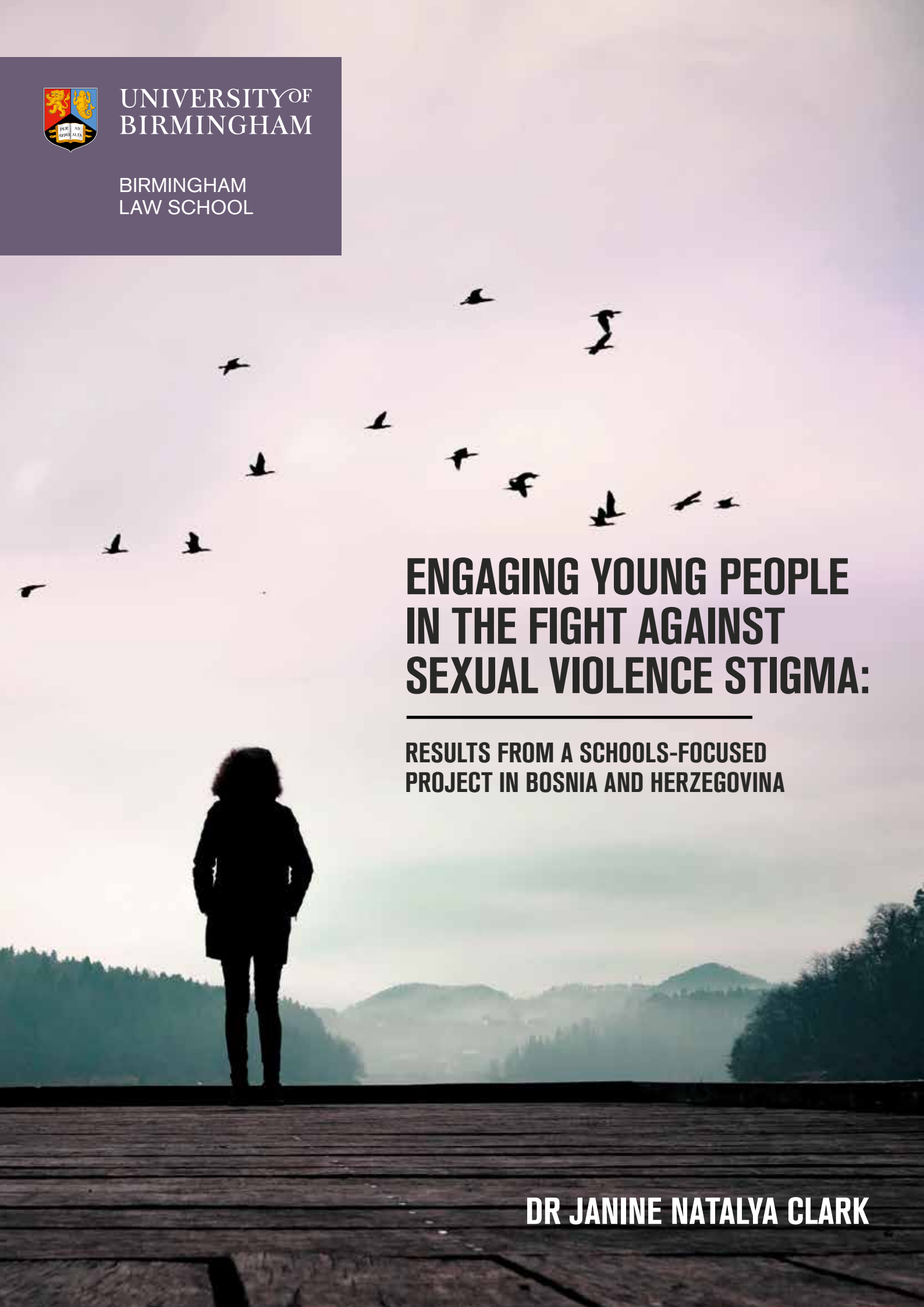




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The background of the cover features a silhouette of a person standing on a wooden deck, looking out over a misty, mountainous landscape. Several birds are flying in the sky above the person.

ENGAGING YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST SEXUAL VIOLENCE STIGMA:

RESULTS FROM A SCHOOLS-FOCUSED
PROJECT IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

DR JANINE NATALYA CLARK

SUMMARY

- In recent years, increasing international attention has been given to the scourge of conflict-related sexual violence. The heavy emphasis on 'no impunity', however, frequently prioritizes the importance of criminal prosecutions over the needs of survivors.
- Survivors of sexual violence (including rape) need support and understanding, but many are often left feeling alone and marginalized due to the stigma and myths that are widely associated with sexual violence. Education has a crucial but often under-utilized role to play in tackling the problem.
- This report presents the results of a novel educational project in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). Between November 2016 and May 2017, interactive talks on sexual violence were delivered in 21 different high schools across BiH (in the Federation, Republika Srpska and Brčko District). More than 800 male and female students participated in the talks and completed a pre- and post-talk questionnaire.
- Analysis of the questionnaire data indicates that after the talks, fewer students expressed opinions supportive of rape myths; over 75 per cent of students found the talks very useful or useful; and an overwhelming majority of students indicated that they would like further discussions on sexual violence.
- To build on the success of the talks, this report proposes that young people in BiH should learn about sexual violence as part of a wider sex education programme. Sex education classes should be introduced into the ČOZ (*Čas odjeljene zajednice*) curricula, and these classes should be piloted in Tuzla Canton and Brčko District for a two-year period.

**21 DIFFERENT
HIGH SCHOOLS
ACROSS BIH**

MORE THAN **800**
MALE AND FEMALE
STUDENTS

OVER 75%
OF STUDENTS FOUND THE TALKS
**VERY USEFUL
OR USEFUL**

INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

In his April 2017 report on conflict-related sexual violence,¹ the United Nations (UN) Secretary-General, António Guterres, stressed that ‘Shame and stigma are integral to the logic of sexual violence being employed as a tactic of war or terrorism: aggressors understand that this type of crime can turn victims into outcasts, thus unravelling the family and kinship ties that hold communities together’.²

He called on the UN Security Council, *inter alia*, ‘To support community mobilization campaigns to help shift the stigma of sexual violence from the victims to the perpetrators, including by engaging with religious and traditional leaders, as well as local journalists and human rights defenders’.³ In its recent report on sexual violence in South Sudan, Amnesty International expressed similar concerns regarding the prevalence and deleterious effects of sexual violence-related stigma.⁴ It urged South Sudan to ‘take steps, such as reconciliation and healing, educational and training programs, to reduce the stigmatization and discrimination against victims of sexual violence, in order to ensure that they can live in dignity and access all legal, medical and psychological services available’.⁵ At a declarative level, such high-level calls for action are important. The reality, however, is that in societies that have experienced, or are still experiencing, war and armed conflict, addressing the prejudice and stigma associated with sexual violence is rarely a priority.

Cook and Dickens distinguish between three main types of stigma. Individuals may believe that they are the victims of stigma (*perceived stigma*); they may personally endure stigma (*experienced stigma*); and they may internalize other people’s negative views and attitudes (*internalized stigma*), which can result in ‘reduced self-esteem or feelings of guilt or shame’.⁶ During fieldwork in BiH between August 2014 and October 2015, the author worked with 79 men and women who had suffered rape and other forms of sexual violence during the 1992–1995 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Some of them expressed perceived stigma; they felt alone, marginalized, judged. Some manifested internalized forms of stigma; they felt ashamed and wondered whether they themselves were to blame for what had happened to them. A significant number of them, however, had experienced stigma in their daily lives, including taunts and insults from neighbours. Some female interviewees had also suffered verbal abuse – and sometimes physical abuse – from their husbands.

The support and understanding that these women had sought from their spouses was rarely forthcoming.⁷ Instead, their husbands blamed them, questioned their version of events or, most commonly, refused to speak about the past.⁸ The key point is that whether we are speaking about perceived stigma, experienced stigma or internalized stigma – and very often these three variants co-exist – stigma can have deeply adverse effects on survivors. If, as Laub argues, trauma is an intrinsically isolating experience that severs human relationships,⁹ re-building these relationships and re-connecting with others are necessarily important components of dealing with trauma. By frustrating these relationship processes, stigma can thereby impede individual psycho-social adjustment.

¹ According to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC), sexual violence includes rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy and enforced sterilization. *Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court*, A/CONF.183/9 (17 July 1998), arts. 7(1)(g), 8(2)(b)(xxii), and 8(2)(e)(vi), available at: https://www.icc-cpi.int/nr/rdonlyres/ea9aeff7-5752-4f84-be94-0a655eb30e16/0/rome_statute_english.pdf.

² *Report of the Secretary-General on Conflict-Related Sexual Violence*, UN doc. S/2017/249 (15 April 2017), 6.

³ *Ibid.*, at 46.

⁴ It noted, for example, that ‘Survivors’ feelings of shame, experiences of stigma, and rejection by spouses and family members added to their distress. Some interviewed for this report described being blamed for what happened to them, sometimes more than the perpetrators themselves’. Amnesty International, *South Sudan: ‘Do Not Remain Silent’: Survivors of Sexual Violence in South Sudan Call for Reparations*, AFR 65/6469/2017 (24 July 2017), 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, at 62.

⁶ Rebecca J. Cook and Bernard M Dickens, ‘Reducing Stigma in Reproductive Health’, *International Journal of Gynaecology and Obstetrics* 125 (2014): 89–92.

⁷ Some female interviewees, on the other hand, had never disclosed to their husbands that they were raped. They were too afraid to do so, uncertain of how their men might react.

⁸ See Janine Natalya Clark, *Rape, Sexual Violence and Transitional Justice Challenges: Lessons from Bosnia-Herzegovina* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017).

⁹ Dori Laub, ‘Traumatic Shutdown of Narrative and Symbolization: A Death Instinct Derivative?’ *Contemporary Psychoanalysis* 41 (2005): 307–326, at 315.

THE PROJECT IS ANCHORED WITHIN A BROADER TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE FRAMEWORK.

In an effort to tackle this stigma, in 2016 the author designed a project entitled 'Education and Sensitization in the Fight against Sexual Violence in Conflict: Tackling Prejudice and Social Stigma in Bosnia-Herzegovina'. The project is being funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) in the United Kingdom and is being conducted in collaboration with Dr Branka Antić-Štauber and *Snaga Žene* in Tuzla. The project's central aim is to create new discursive spaces in BiH high schools for discussion and debate around the issue of sexual violence. If young people are given the opportunity to talk about sexual violence and to critically reflect on common 'rape myths' – defined as 'prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists'¹⁰ – this can help to foster greater awareness and, by extension, new understanding for survivors in BiH.

The project is anchored within a broader transitional justice framework. While there has been extensive transitional justice work in BiH, from criminal trials and truth commissions to memorials and ongoing discussions regarding reparations, insufficient attention has been given to the role of education. Indeed, a survey of the global landscape reveals that '...to date neither education reform nor the teaching of the recent past has been treated with the seriousness it deserves within the scope of transitional justice'.¹¹ More significantly, little attention has been given to the wider attitudinal context in which these processes of dealing with the past are taking place; and this attitudinal context is particularly important in relation to sexual violence crimes.

Although there have been major developments over the last two decades in the international prosecution of these crimes,¹² transitional justice work must address the social prejudices and taboos that often contribute to the ongoing suffering and marginalization of survivors. This project is an example of how common myths and stigma surrounding sexual violence can potentially be addressed.

THE PROJECT'S CENTRAL AIM IS TO CREATE NEW DISCURSIVE SPACES IN BIH HIGH SCHOOLS FOR DISCUSSION AND DEBATE AROUND THE ISSUE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE.

¹⁰ Martha R. Burt, 'Cultural Myths and Support for Rape', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 38 (1980): 217-230, at 217.

¹¹ Clara Ramirez-Barat and Roger Duthie, 'Introduction', in Clara Ramirez-Barat and Roger Duthie (eds.), *Transitional Justice and Education: Learning Peace* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 2017): 11-23, at 12.

¹² See, for example, International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), 'Crimes of Sexual Violence', available at: <http://www.icty.org/en/in-focus/crimes-sexual-violence>

METHODOLOGY

Sexual violence remains a deeply sensitive issue in BiH, and hence this project needed to be designed with the utmost care. Direct discussions with young people about the widespread use of sexual violence during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina might not always be constructive and could, if handled badly, descend into highly charged exchanges. Reflecting the fact that conflict-related sexual violence is a global problem, this project has accordingly taken an international approach that addresses the use of sexual violence in conflicts as diverse as World War II, the Rwandan genocide, the civil war in Sri Lanka and the decades-long conflict in Colombia. This international emphasis has enhanced the educational value of the project. It has also helped to create a 'neutral' space in which young people in BiH can openly reflect on and discuss a range of issues pertaining to sexual violence, and thereby apply the knowledge and insights that they have gained to the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

As the first stage in implementing the project, interactive talks on conflict-related sexual violence were given in seven high schools in Tuzla Canton (five in Tuzla, one in Srebrenik and one in Živinice) in November and December 2016. From these seven schools, 278 students (177 female students and 101 male students) completed a pre- and post-talk questionnaire (discussed below). The data from these schools will be referred to throughout this report as the Tuzla Canton dataset. In the second stage of the project, between January and May 2017, interactive talks took place in a further 14 schools throughout BiH.

Six of these schools were in the BiH Federation (Busovača¹³, Mostar, Odžak, Vareš and Vitez); four were in Republika Srpska (East Sarajevo, Foča, Srebrenica and Višegrad) and four were in Brčko District. From across these 14 schools, 529 students (267 female students and 262 male students) completed questionnaires. These 529 questionnaires will be referred to as the main dataset. In total, 807 students – 444 female and 363 male – have taken part in this project to date (see figure 1).

In each of the 21 different schools, two groups of students participated in the talks.

The majority of them were 18 years old and some were 17. All of the groups were gender mixed, with the exception of two groups in Tuzla where all of the students – due to the gender composition of the school – were male. While some groups were larger than others, the average number of students in each group was 20. Students were randomly selected to participate in the project, and they were given a project information sheet and an informed consent form to sign. Each school talk lasted approximately one hour.¹⁴

Dataset	Gender		Row total
	Female	Male	
Tuzla Canton dataset	177	101	278
Main dataset	267	262	529
Column total	444	363	807

Figure 1. The datasets

IN TOTAL, 807 STUDENTS –
444 FEMALE AND 363 MALE –
HAVE TAKEN PART IN THIS
PROJECT TO DATE

¹³ In Busovača, talks took place in two schools that were officially 'two schools under one roof'. The Bosniak and Bosnian Croat students in these two schools were following different curricula.

¹⁴ Full ethics approval for the project was granted by the Humanities and Social Sciences Ethics Review Committee at the University of Birmingham on 21 June 2016.

THE TALKS UNDERScoreD THE CRUCIAL FACT THAT BOTH MEN AND WOMEN SUFFER RAPE AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE.

At the start of each talk, students were shown two short video clips designed as 'ice-breakers'. The first showed the courageous Colombian journalist, Jineth Bedoya Lima, who was abducted and raped by right-wing paramilitaries in Bogotá in 2000. The second clip was about a 17-year-old boy in the Democratic Republic of Congo, once infamously described as the 'rape capital of the world',¹⁵ who was anally raped by a Congolese soldier. To initiate the discussion, students were asked to describe how they felt as they watched the clips. 'Sad', 'angry', 'powerless' were commonly-used words.

PowerPoint slides, with images, were used to highlight salient points and to introduce key questions, such as: 'what is rape and sexual violence?', 'why are these crimes used as weapons of war?', 'how do they impact on the lives of survivors?' and 'are survivors to blame for what has happened to them?' Challenging what Sjöberg has termed 'gender normativity',¹⁶ the talks underscored the crucial fact that both men and women suffer rape and sexual violence in war situations,¹⁷ just as both males and females can and do commit these crimes.¹⁸

The students who participated in the project were requested to complete two short questionnaires. In the pre-talk questionnaire, they were asked to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement with a series of statements about gender and society, such as: 'There are situations when a woman deserves to be beaten', and 'If a woman dresses provocatively or gets drunk, she is inviting men to rape her'. Students were also asked some general questions about the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including how often they think about it and the types of words/descriptors that they most associate with it. Additional questions centred on their wider knowledge about conflict-related sexual violence. For example, can men be raped, can women commit rape and what are some of the ways in which sexual violence crimes leave an impact on survivors? In the post-talk questionnaire, students were asked the same set of statements about gender and society. The purpose of this was to gauge whether any of their views had seemingly changed as a result of the talks. They were also asked, *inter alia*, to reflect on the usefulness of the talks and to state whether or not they would like further talks on sexual violence. The results of the talks will be presented and analysed under the following headings: Gender Differences, Attitudinal Impact, Weakening of Rape Myths and Student Feedback.



Figure 2. A high school in Tuzla Canton

¹⁵ BBC, 'UN Official Calls DR Congo "Rape Capital of the World"' (28 April 2010), available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/8650112.stm>

¹⁶ Laura Sjöberg, *Women Wartime Rapists: Beyond Sensation and Stereotyping* (New York: New York University Press, 2017), 33.

¹⁷ See, for example, Janine Natalya Clark, 'Masculinity and Male Survivors of Wartime Sexual Violence: A Bosnian Case Study', *Conflict, Security and Development* 17 (2017): 287-311; idem, 'The Vulnerability of the Penis: Sexual Violence against Men in Conflict and Security Frames', *Men and Masculinities* (published online, 2017, at <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1097184X17724487>).

¹⁸ See, for example, Dara J. Cohen, 'Female Combatants and the Perpetration of Violence: Wartime Rape in the Sierra Leone Civil War', *World Politics* 65 (2013): 383-415; Sjöberg, *supra* note 16.

GENDER DIFFERENCES

Students were asked whether they strongly agreed, agreed, disagreed or strongly disagreed with the following statements:

- 'If a man is insulted, he should be prepared to physically fight in order to defend his honour'.
- 'If a wife does something wrong, her husband has the right to punish her'.
- 'There are situations when a woman deserves to be beaten'.
- 'If a woman dresses in a provocative way and gets drunk, she is inviting men to rape her'.
- 'If a woman is raped, she is very often to blame for putting herself in that situation'.

Following the first phase of the project in Tuzla Canton, some small amendments were made to the pre- and post-talk questionnaires with the aim of improving them. Among these amendments, the following additional statement was added:

- 'A real man would not allow himself to be raped'.

The percentage of female students who either strongly disagreed or disagreed with each statement was consistently higher than the corresponding percentage of male students. In the Tuzla Canton dataset, for example, 79 per cent of female students strongly disagreed that 'If a wife does something wrong, her husband has the right to punish her', compared to 51 per cent of male students.

Similarly, a considerably higher percentage of female students (89 per cent) than male students (67 per cent) strongly disagreed that 'There are situations when a woman deserves to be beaten'. In most cases, however, the percentage of male students who disagreed with each statement was higher than the percentage of female students. This means that when the percentage scores for 'Strongly disagree' and 'Disagree' were added together for each statement, the gender differences appeared less pronounced. As an illustration, 99 per cent of female students and 93 per cent of male students in the Tuzla Canton dataset either strongly disagreed or disagreed with the statement 'There are situations when a woman deserves to be beaten'; and 100 per cent of female students and 91 per cent of male students strongly disagreed or disagreed that 'If a wife does something wrong, her husband has the right to punish her'.

In relation to two particular statements, however, the combined scores for 'Strongly disagree' and 'Disagree' still showed prominent gender differences. The first of these statements was 'If a man is insulted, he should be prepared to physically fight in order to defend his honour'. In the Tuzla Canton dataset, 89 per cent of female students strongly disagreed with this statement, compared to only 24 per cent of male students. The percentage of female students who disagreed with the statement (41 per cent) was also slightly higher than the percentage of male students who did so (38 per cent).

Overall, therefore, 94 per cent of female students either strongly agreed or disagreed with the statement, compared to 62 per cent of male students. This result is consistent with the fact that when asked the question 'what does it mean to be a real man?', male students more frequently used words traditionally associated with masculinity – such as brave, strong, courageous and protective – than female students.

The second statement that gave rise to markedly different responses from male and female students was 'If a woman dresses in a provocative way and gets drunk, she is inviting men to rape her'. Significantly more female students (46 per cent) than male students (25 per cent) strongly disagreed with this statement. These gender differences remained when the percentage scores for 'Strongly disagree' and 'Disagree' were combined. In total, 83 per cent of female students in the Tuzla Canton dataset either strongly disagreed or disagreed with the statement, compared to 67 per cent of male students. It is interesting to note, however, that far fewer female students expressed strong disagreement with this particular statement than with the other statements. This is important because it strongly indicates, consistent with other studies,¹⁹ that female students themselves may embrace rape myths. In other words, work aimed at tackling rape stigma should +not exclusively target young males and men.

¹⁹ See, for example, Michelle E. Deming, Eleanor Krassen Covan, Suzanne C. Swan and Deborah L. Billings, 'Exploring Rape Myths, Gendered Norms, Group Processing and the Social Context of Rape Among College Women: A Qualitative Analysis', *Violence against Women* 13 (2013): 465-485; Rebecca M. Hayes, Rebecca L. Abbott and Savannah Cook, 'It's Her Fault: Student Acceptance of Rape Myths on Two College Campuses', *Violence against Women* 22 (2016): 1540-1555.

OVERALL, A CLEAR MAJORITY OF FEMALE STUDENTS (56 PER CENT) TOOK THE VIEW THAT THERE ARE NO DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MALE AND FEMALE SURVIVORS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE, WHEREAS ONLY 42 PER CENT OF MALE STUDENTS EXPRESSED THIS VIEW.

Turning now to the main dataset, it was similarly always the case, as in Tuzla Canton, that more female students strongly disagreed with each statement than male students. For example, 77 per cent of female students strongly disagreed that 'If a wife does something wrong, her husband has the right to punish her', compared to 53 per cent of male students. Interestingly, there was also a slight regional difference in relation to this particular statement. While the majority of students in the dataset selected 'Strongly Disagree', the percentage of students who did so in Republika Srpska (72 per cent) was 10 per cent higher than the corresponding percentages of students in the BiH Federation and Brčko District. There is no obvious explanation for this.

Regarding the statement 'When a woman is raped, she is usually to blame for putting herself in that situation', a considerably higher percentage of female students strongly disagreed (73 per cent) than male students (52 per cent). As in Tuzla Canton, however, these gender differences appeared significantly reduced when the percentage scores for 'Strongly disagree' and 'Disagree' were combined. Ninety-six per cent of female students either strongly disagreed or disagreed, and 94 per cent of male students did so.

Gender differences did nevertheless remain clear in relation to two particular statements. Like their counterparts in Tuzla Canton, male and female students in the main dataset expressed very different views vis-à-vis the statement 'If a man is insulted, he should be prepared to physically fight in order to defend his honour'.

Fifty-seven per cent of female students strongly disagreed with this statement compared to 26 per cent of male students. Turning to the combined scores, the percentage of female students who strongly disagreed or disagreed with the statement was 90 per cent, in contrast to 68 per cent of male students. Linked to this, it is interesting to note that when asked what it means to be a real man, 41 per cent of male students used adjectives linked to traditional notions of masculinity – including strong, brave and loyal – compared to 29 per cent of female students.

The second statement that evoked very different responses from male and female students was 'A real man would not allow himself to be raped'. While 41 per cent of female students strongly disagreed, only 24 per cent of male students did so. Looking at the combined totals, 68 per cent of female students either strongly disagreed or disagreed with the statement in contrast to 45 per cent of male students. Similarly, when students were asked whether they viewed male survivors of sexual violence differently from how they viewed female survivors, slightly more male students (22 per cent) said yes than female students (19 per cent), while 46 per cent of male students answered 'Don't know' compared to only 25 per cent of female students. Overall, a clear majority of female students (56 per cent) took the view that there are no differences between male and female survivors of sexual violence, whereas only 42 per cent of male students expressed this view.

It should also be emphasized, however, that in comparison to all of the other statements in the questionnaire, noticeably fewer female students strongly disagreed with the statement that a real man would not allow himself to be raped. Once again, this highlights the important fact that it is not only young men who embrace rape myths, or elements of rape myths. So too do young women.

Regarding the statement 'If a woman dresses provocatively and gets drunk, she is inviting men to rape her', it will be recalled that in the Tuzla Canton dataset, there were still pronounced gender differences in the combined scores for 'Strongly disagree' and 'Disagree'. However, this was not the case in the main dataset. While 50 per cent of female students strongly disagreed with the statement (compared to 46 per cent of female students in Tuzla Canton), 39 per cent of male students did so (compared to only 25 per cent in Tuzla Canton). Taking the combined scores, 86 per cent of female students and 83 per cent of male students in the main dataset strongly disagreed or disagreed with the statement. The corresponding percentages for Tuzla Canton were 83 per cent and 67 per cent respectively. There is no obvious explanation for this difference. However, the results may have been skewed by the fact that in the two schools in Srebrenik and Živinice, only 14 male students participated in the talks, compared to 71 female students.

A REAL MAN WOULD
NOT ALLOW HIMSELF
TO BE RAPED

**41% OF FEMALE
STUDENTS
STRONGLY
DISAGREED**

**24% OF MALE
STUDENTS
DID SO**

**68% OF FEMALE
STUDENTS EITHER
STRONGLY DISAGREED
OR DISAGREED WITH
THE STATEMENT IN
CONTRAST TO 45%
OF MALE STUDENTS**



Figure 3. A high school in Foča

ATTITUDINAL IMPACT

Immediately following the conclusion of each interactive school talk, the students completed a second questionnaire. This was designed as a tool for gauging the impact of the talks and for assessing whether any positive attitudinal shifts in students' views had occurred. In the first part of the post-talk questionnaire, students were asked to express their levels of agreement or disagreement with the same set of statements on gender and society that featured in the pre-talk questionnaire. Overall, the attitudinal changes that occurred as a result of the talks were modest. This is not surprising, given that a clear majority of students consistently strongly disagreed or disagreed with the statements in the pre-talk questionnaire. It was striking, however, that important positive attitudinal shifts took place in relation to two particular statements.

Judging the woman

The first of these statements was 'If a woman dresses provocatively or gets drunk, she is inviting men to rape her'. It can be seen from the tables below that notable attitudinal shifts appeared to take place within both the Tuzla Canton dataset and the main dataset. Focusing firstly on Tuzla Canton, the cross-tabulations in figure 4 show that after the talks, the percentage of students who strongly agreed with the statement decreased from 5 per cent to 1 per cent, while the percentage who agreed dropped from 18 per cent to 13 per cent. Although the percentage of students who disagreed with the statement after the talks decreased from 39 per cent to 29 per cent, this is consistent with the fact that the percentage of students expressing strong disagreement with the statement increased significantly from 38 per cent to 56 per cent.

Attitudinal shifts in relation to this particular statement occurred among both female and male students, but the shift was greater among female students. After the talks, the percentage of female students who strongly agreed with the statement decreased from 2 per cent to 1 per cent, and the percentage of them who agreed dropped from 15 per cent to 10 per cent. Most significantly, the percentage of female students in the Tuzla Canton dataset who strongly disagreed with the statement increased after the talks from 45 per cent to 69 per cent. The fact that the percentage of female students who expressed disagreement with the statement decreased from 37 per cent to 20 per cent after the talks is also positive; it indicates that some students who had previously disagreed with the statement adopted a more entrenched and resolute position after the talks by shifting to a position of strong disagreement. Within the male cohort of students, 9 per cent strongly agreed with the statement prior to the talks and 3 per cent did so afterwards, and the percentage of those who agreed with the statement fell from 24 per cent to 18 per cent. The percentage of male students who disagreed with the statement after the talks slightly increased from 42 per cent to 44 per cent, and the percentage who strongly disagreed increased from 25 per cent to 35 per cent.

Pre: If a woman dresses...	Post: If a woman dresses...				Row total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Strongly Agree	2	5	5	2	14
Row %	14%	36%	36%	14%	5%
Column %	50%	14%	6%	1%	
Agree	2	20	13	14	49
Row %	5%	41%	27%	29%	18%
Column%	50%	57%	16%	9%	
Disagree	0	5	46	53	104
Row %	0%	5%	44%	51%	39%
Column %	0%	14%	58%	35%	
Strongly Disagree	0	5	15	81	101
Row %	0%	5%	15%	80%	38%
Column %	0%	14%	19%	54%	
Column Total	4	35	79	150	268
%	1%	13%	29%	56%	

Figure 4. Attitudinal shifts (judging a woman) in the Tuzla Canton dataset

Similar attitudinal shifts vis-à-vis the same statement occurred within the main dataset, although they were slightly less pronounced than the shifts in the Tuzla Canton dataset. It can be seen from the cross-tabulations in figure 5 that after the talks, the percentage of students who strongly agreed with the statement decreased from 4 per cent to 3 per cent, while the percentage who agreed fell from 12 per cent to 8 per cent. The percentage who disagreed decreased from 41 per cent to 31 per cent, but this is consistent with the fact that the percentage who strongly disagreed increased from 44 per cent to 59 per cent after the talks.

As in Tuzla Canton, these post-talk shifts towards 'Strongly Disagree' were common to both genders. Specifically, after the talks, the percentage of female students and male students who selected 'Strongly Disagree' increased by 18 per cent and 11 per cent respectively. Similar attitudinal shifts, moreover, occurred throughout the BiH Federation, Republika Srpska and Brčko District in relation to the statement in question ('If a woman dresses provocatively and gets drunk, she is inviting men to rape her'). There were no notable regional differences. Figure 6, for example, summarizes the attitudinal shifts that occurred in Brčko District.

After the talks, the percentage of students who strongly disagreed with the statement increased from 42 per cent to 52 per cent. As elsewhere, this attitudinal shift occurred among both female and male students. The percentage of female students who strongly disagreed with the statement increased from 52 per cent to 61 per cent after the talks (while the percentage who disagreed increased from 29 per cent to 34 per cent); and the percentage of male students who expressed strong disagreement after the talks grew from 37 per cent to 47 per cent (the percentage who disagreed remained constant at 43 per cent).

Pre: If a woman dresses...	Post: If a woman dresses...				Row total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Strongly Agree	7	6	4	5	22
Row %	32%	27%	18%	23%	4%
Column %	50%	15%	2%	2%	
Agree	2	25	27	7	61
Row %	3%	41%	44%	11%	12%
Column %	14%	63%	17%	2%	
Disagree	4	6	104	99	213
Row %	2%	3%	49%	46%	41%
Column %	29%	15%	64%	32%	
Strongly Disagree	1	3	28	197	229
Row %	< 1%	1%	12%	86%	44%
Column %	7%	8%	17%	64%	
Column Total	14	40	163	308	525
%	3%	8%	31%	59%	

Figure 5: Attitudinal shifts (judging a woman) in the main dataset

Pre: If a woman dresses...	Post: If a woman dresses...				Row total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Strongly Agree	3	2	5	1	10
Row %	30%	20%	40%	10%	9%
Column %	100%	29%	9%	2%	
Agree	0	5	10	0	15
Row %	0%	33%	67%	0%	13%
Column%	0%	71%	23%	0%	
Disagree	0	0	24	17	41
Row %	0%	0%	59%	41%	36%
Column %	0%	0%	55%	29%	
Strongly Disagree	0	0	6	41	47
Row %	0%	0%	13%	87%	42%
Column %	0%	0%	14%	69%	
Column Total	3	7	44	59	113
%	3%	6%	39%	52%	

Figure 6: Attitudinal shifts (judging a woman) in Brčko District



Figure 7. A high school in Brčko District

POSITIVE ATTITUDINAL SHIFTS ALSO OCCURRED IN THE MAIN DATASET IN RELATION TO THE STATEMENT 'A REAL MAN WOULD NOT ALLOW HIMSELF TO BE RAPED'.

Judging the man

Positive attitudinal shifts also occurred in the main dataset in relation to the statement 'A real man would not allow himself to be raped'.²⁰ These shifts can be seen in figure 8. The percentage of students who strongly agreed with the statement decreased from 21 per cent before the talks to 9 per cent after the talks, and the percentage who agreed fell slightly from 23 per cent to 20 per cent. Following the talks, the percentage of students who disagreed with the statement increased from 24 per cent to 28 per cent, and the percentage of students expressing strong disagreement grew from 32 per cent to 43 per cent. The percentage of female students who expressed strong disagreement with the statement increased by 13 per cent after the talks, and a corresponding 9 per cent increase occurred among male students.

However, it was also the case that 41 per cent of male participants still selected either 'Strongly agree' or 'Agree' after the talks (down from 56 per cent before the talks), compared to only 16 per cent of female participants (down from 32 per cent prior to the talks). This suggests that male students had more fixed ideas about male survivors of sexual violence – and were more likely to judge them – than female students. Although 42 per cent of male students said that they did not differentiate between male and female survivors, 10 per cent more female students gave the same answer.

In the post-talk questionnaire, all students were specifically asked whether any of their views had changed as a result of this project. In the Tuzla Canton dataset, 40 per cent (40 per cent of female students and 40 per cent of male students) answered no.

This is not a surprising result given that a high percentage of students consistently expressed strong disagreement or disagreement with the gender and society statements in the pre-talk questionnaire. It is logical, therefore, that their position on these statements remained unchanged after the talks. What is significant, however, is that 35 per cent of students said that their views had changed as a result of the talks. More female students (40 per cent) gave this answer than male students (28 per cent), while more male students (33 per cent) were undecided compared to female students (21 per cent). In the main dataset, similarly, 35 per cent of students (39 per cent of female students and 30 per cent of male students) answered that their views had changed following the talks. A slightly higher percentage of students in Republika Srpska (38 per cent) said that their views had changed compared to students in the BiH Federation (34 per cent) and Brčko District (32 per cent). In comparison to the Tuzla Canton dataset, a higher percentage of students in the main dataset (55 per cent) maintained that their views remained unchanged (51 per cent of female students and 59 per cent of male students). However, considerably fewer students answered 'Don't know' (10 per cent) compared to students in the Tuzla Canton dataset (25 per cent). This suggests that the talks had a more definitive impact within the main dataset; they either reinforced students' pre-existing views or caused those views to change.

Pre: I think a real man...	Post: I think a real man...				Row total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Strongly Agree	30	38	13	23	104
Row %	29%	37%	13%	22%	21%
Column %	65%	38%	9%	11%	
Agree	9	44	42	23	118
Row %	8%	33%	36%	19%	13%
Column %	20%	71%	29%	11%	
Disagree	2	12	61	46	121
Row %	2%	10%	50%	38%	24%
Column %	4%	12%	42%	21%	
Strongly Disagree	5	5	28	126	164
Row %	3%	3%	17%	77%	32%
Column %	11%	5%	19%	58%	
Column Total	46	99	144	218	507
%	9%	20%	28%	43%	

Figure 8: Attitudinal shifts (judging the man) in the main dataset

²⁰ As this statement was added to the questionnaires after the first phase of the project, there is no data from Tuzla Canton.

WEAKENING RAPE MYTHS

Rape myths, to reiterate, consist of 'attitudes and false beliefs held about rape that deny or minimize victim injury and/or blame the victims for their own victimization'.²¹ It is compelling, therefore, that distinctive post-talk attitudinal shifts occurred in respect of two particular statements – 'If a woman dresses provocatively and gets drunk, she is inviting men to rape her' and 'A real man would not allow himself to be raped' – that both reflect and embody rape myths. Based on the fact that more students expressed strong disagreement with these two statements after the talks than before the talks, it is evident that educational talks can potentially contribute to weakening rape myths. Although clear post-talk attitudinal shifts were limited to these two particular statements, this is consistent with the findings of Black et al.'s study,²² which suggested that 'perhaps specific subscales within sexual assault attitudes may be more susceptible to attitude change and attitude change maintenance'.²³

In other words, some attitudes are easier to influence than others, and hence it is far more realistic to aim at bringing about small attitudinal changes over a period of time as opposed to sweeping and sudden shifts.

A critical part of tackling rape stigma is to create a social space in which people feel more comfortable talking about sexual violence. Here again, there is evidence that the talks had a modest but important positive impact. In the Tuzla Canton dataset, the percentage of students who expressed feeling very comfortable speaking about the issue increased slightly from 2 per cent before the talks to 3 per cent after the talks. More saliently, the percentage who said that they felt comfortable increased from just 1 per cent to 17 per cent. The percentage of students who declared feeling uncomfortable increased from 26 per cent to 45 per cent. However, this reflects the fact that there was a post-talk decrease from 39 per cent to 19 per cent in the percentage of students who said that they felt very uncomfortable.

Similarly, there was a post-talk decrease from 32 per cent to 16 per cent in the percentage of students in the Tuzla Canton dataset who opined that they would prefer not to speak about sexual violence as a topic. It was anticipated that more male students than female students would feel uncomfortable. Research has shown, for example, that male students are sometimes disruptive in sex education classes and are more reluctant than their female peers to engage in discussion.²⁴ However, the questionnaire data suggest that the school talks had an important impact on both female and male students. After the talks, for example, 17 per cent of female students (compared to 2 per cent before the talks) and 17 per cent of male students (compared to 1 per cent prior to the talks) expressed feeling comfortable speaking about sexual violence. It is particularly noteworthy that the percentage of male students who said that they would prefer not to speak about the issue decreased after the talks from 44 per cent to 20 per cent.

IT IS EVIDENT THAT EDUCATIONAL TALKS CAN POTENTIALLY CONTRIBUTE TO WEAKENING RAPE MYTHS.

²¹ Hayes et al., *supra* note 19, at 1541.

²² The study involved 100 participants and seven peer educators in a sexual assault prevention programme focused around theatre.

²³ Beverly Black, Arlene Weisz, Suzanne Coats and Debra Patterson, 'Evaluating a Psychoeducational Sexual Assault Prevention Program Incorporating Theatrical Presentation, Peer Education, and Social Work', *Research on Social Work Practice* 10 (2000): 589-606, at 603.

²⁴ See, for example, Vicki Strange, Ann Oakley, Simon Forrest and the Ripple Study Team, 'Mixed-Sex or Single-Sex Education: How Would Young People Like Their Sex Education and Why?' *Gender and Education* 15 (2003): 201-214; Lynda Measor, 'Young People's Views of Sex Education: Gender, Information and Knowledge', *Sex Education* 4 (2004): 153-166.

In the main dataset, the changes appeared far less pronounced. However, this may be attributable, at least in part, to the fact that small amendments were made to the questionnaire after the Tuzla Canton talks to facilitate ease of coding. Hence, unlike students in Tuzla Canton, who, when asked how comfortable they felt speaking about sexual violence, could choose between five possible answers, students in the main dataset could only choose between three, namely 'very comfortable', 'comfortable' and 'very uncomfortable'. This change to the questionnaire, which in hindsight was too blunt, makes it difficult to fully gauge whether the talks had any strong impact in terms of enabling students to feel more comfortable speaking about sexual violence. Prior to the talks, the percentage of students who expressed feeling very comfortable was 3 per cent, and this decreased to 1 per cent after the talks.

In contrast, the percentage of students who felt comfortable speaking about the topic increased from 7 per cent to 10 per cent after the talks; and the percentage who selected 'very uncomfortable' decreased after the talks from 90 per cent to 87 per cent. The data suggest that the talks had some positive impact on both female and male students, but this impact was slight. Before the talks, for example, 3 per cent of female students and 10 per cent of male students said that they felt comfortable speaking about sexual violence. After the talks, these percentages increased to 8 per cent and 13 per cent respectively. In a similar vein, fewer female and male students expressed feeling very uncomfortable after the talks (91 per cent and 83 per cent respectively) than they did before the talks (95 per cent and 85 per cent respectively). It is also interesting to note that, as in the Tuzla Canton dataset, a higher percentage of female students than male students said that they felt very uncomfortable talking about sexual violence both before and after the talks.

AS IN THE TUZLA CANTON DATASET, A HIGHER PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE STUDENTS THAN MALE STUDENTS SAID THAT THEY FELT VERY UNCOMFORTABLE TALKING ABOUT SEXUAL VIOLENCE BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER THE TALKS

FEEDBACK FROM THE STUDENTS

Overall, student feedback about the project was extremely positive. In the Tuzla Canton dataset, 77 per cent of students in total (79 per cent of female students and 74 per cent of male students) assessed that the school talks were either very useful or useful. Only 3 per cent (3 per cent of female students and 3 per cent of male students) said that the talks were not very useful, and only 2 per cent of students (1 per cent of female students and 4 per cent of male students) described the talks as a waste of time. In the main dataset, similarly, the overwhelming majority of students judged the talks favourably. In total, 78 per cent of them (84 per cent of female students and 70 per cent of male students) found the talks very useful or useful.

Fourteen per cent (11 per cent of female students and 18 per cent of male students) felt that the talks were not useful, and 8 per cent (5 per cent of female students and 11 per cent of male students) opined that they were a waste of time.

Even though not all of the students felt comfortable speaking about sexual violence, which is understandable, high percentages of them said that they would like more discussions in school around the issue of conflict-related sexual violence. In the Tuzla Canton dataset, 86 per cent of students expressed wanting more such talks; and as can be seen in figure 9 below, there was little difference in this regard between female and male students.

Would you like more discussions in school on the issue of sexual violence in conflict?	Gender		Row total
	Female	Male	
Yes	146	76	222
Row %	66%	34%	86%
Column %	89%	80%	
No	3	8	11
Row %	27%	73%	4%
Column%	2%	8%	
Don't know	15	11	26
Row %	58%	42%	10%
Column %	9%	12%	
Column Total	164	95	259
%	63%	37%	

Figure 9. Support for further school talks in the Tuzla Canton dataset

STUDENT FEEDBACK ABOUT THE PROJECT WAS EXTREMELY POSITIVE

77% OF STUDENTS IN TUZLA CANTON (79% OF FEMALE STUDENTS AND 74% OF MALE STUDENTS) ASSESSED THAT THE SCHOOL TALKS WERE EITHER VERY USEFUL OR USEFUL.

INTERVIEWS WITH SCHOOL TEACHERS AND PEDAGOGUES FURTHER UNDERScoreD THE FACT THAT MANY STUDENTS WERE HIGHLY RECEPTIVE TO THE TALKS.

In the main dataset, 56 per cent of students said that they would like more discussions on the topic. Although this is considerably lower than the percentage of students in Tuzla Canton who gave the same answer, it is still a clear majority. It is also important to emphasize that the main dataset is substantially larger (529 students) than the Tuzla Canton dataset (278 students). Figure 10 shows that in the main dataset, there is more support for further talks among female students (69 per cent) than among male students (49 per cent). However, it should be noted that while 20 per cent of male students said that they did not want further talks, 34 per cent of them were simply undecided.

Interviews with school teachers and pedagogues further underscored the fact that many students were highly receptive to the talks. According to a pedagogue in Tuzla Canton, 'I didn't get any complaints, and children spoke positively about it [the talk]. We spoke about it later. I wanted to hear what they were thinking about it and it was all very positive. They liked the way you presented it and their involvement and communication. They...were ready to participate'.²⁵ An English teacher, also in Tuzla Canton, explained that 'This is the first time that our students have been able to discuss sex crimes. Raising awareness is very important'.

She further recalled that 'Some of the students said afterwards that the talks were very interesting and they were not aware of male victims. They learnt a lot of new things'.²⁶ A school teacher in Brčko District revealed that 'The talks were very interesting for the students. The interactive style was something new for them too. They were very satisfied'.²⁷

Would you like more discussions in school on the issue of sexual violence in conflict?	Gender		Row total
	Female	Male	
Yes	168	107	275
Row %	61%	39%	58%
Column %	69%	46%	
No	28	46	74
Row %	38%	62%	16%
Column%	12%	20%	
Don't know	47	80	127
Row %	37%	63%	27%
Column %	19%	34%	
Column Total	243	233	476
%	51%	49%	

Figure 10. Support for further school talks in the main dataset.

²⁵ Author interview, Tuzla, 29 June 2017.

²⁶ Author interview, Tuzla, 29 June 2017.

²⁷ Author interview, Brčko District, 27 June 2017.

THE NEXT STEPS

The preceding analysis of the questionnaire data provides strong evidence that the interactive talks in 21 different high schools across BiH were highly successful. Firstly, the results indicate that some important attitudinal shifts took place. These shifts, in turn, can contribute to diluting common and harmful rape myths. Secondly, and linked to the previous point, after the talks, many students indicated that they felt more comfortable speaking about sexual violence. Thirdly, the majority of students viewed the talks as useful and expressed a wish for further talks and discussions. These are positive steps on which it is now necessary to build. The crucial goals of combatting stigma and creating a more socially supportive environment for survivors of sexual violence in BiH cannot be achieved simply through one-off talks. More long-term efforts are required, and the remainder of this report explores what those efforts might look like. It argues that young people in BiH high schools should be given further opportunities to learn about and discuss the issue of sexual violence. It further submits that the topic should be addressed within a broader sex education framework.

In recent years, increasing attention has been given to the issue of sex education in schools. Part of the explanation is practical. As Hodžić et al. point out, 'The global rise in HIV [human immunodeficiency virus] infection rates, teenage pregnancy and sexual violence is making school-based sex education a growing concern both to national policy makers involved in improving local conditions and international health organizations'.²⁸ Sex education, moreover, is a human rights issue. Using the term 'Comprehensive Sexuality Education' (CSE), the UN, for example, has underlined that:

The right to comprehensive and non-discriminatory sexuality education is based on rights protected by several human rights agreements and documents, including *inter alia* the Convention on the Rights of the Child; the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. These and other documents establish the right to education and information about sexuality, sexual and reproductive health and HIV. They assert that sexuality education is essential for the realization of other human rights.²⁹

To what extent can young women achieve their reproductive rights, for example, if they are not given reliable information and opportunities to learn about topics such as safe abortion, birth control and sexually transmitted diseases? To what extent can young men and women realize their right to autonomy and bodily integrity if they are not given the option of discussing issues around sexual consent or of learning to identify early signs of controlling and abusive behaviour from others? Can young people who are not heterosexual realize their right to sexuality if they are never given the opportunity to learn and speak about diversity and sexual orientation?

There are compelling reasons, therefore, for introducing sex education into BiH high schools. A human rights-based sex education programme, in turn, would provide the optimal framework in which to introduce discussions around sexual violence. Firstly, it is essential to give students a context in which to think and learn about these crimes. Sex education can offer this context by addressing critical issues such as gender, the right to bodily integrity and consent. Secondly, it would not be appropriate to teach young people about sexual violence, or more broadly about abusive sexual relationships, without also teaching them about healthy and loving human sexual relationships.

²⁸ Amir Hodžić, Joan Budesá and Alaksander Štulhofer 'The Politics of Youth Sexuality: Civil Society and School-Based Sex Education in Croatia', *Sexualities* 15 (2012): 494-514, at 495.

²⁹ UN Population Fund (UNFPA), *Comprehensive Sexuality Education: Advancing Human Rights, Gender Equality and Improved Sexual and Reproductive Health – A Report on an International Consultation to Review Current Evidence and Experience, Bogotá, Colombia* (December 2010), 11, available at: <http://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/resource-pdf/Comprehensive%20Sexuality%20Education%20Advancing%20Human%20Rights%20Gender%20Equality%20and%20Improved%20SRH-1.pdf>

THE PRECEDING ANALYSIS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE DATA PROVIDES STRONG EVIDENCE THAT THE INTERACTIVE TALKS IN 21 DIFFERENT HIGH SCHOOLS ACROSS BIH WERE HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL.

Introducing talks around sexual violence within the parameters of a broader sex education is important for conveying the critical message that heinous crimes such as rape are the exception and not the norm. Thirdly, sex education 'forms part of a holistic and transformative strategy on gender-based violence'.³⁰ As part of this strategy, sexual violence-related myths and stigma must be addressed, and sex education can make valuable contributions in this regard. Such education is not only about enabling young people to exercise their rights and to make informed choices. It is also about encouraging them to think critically, to develop their own opinions and to refrain from judging others.

The most practical and cost-effective way forward would be to introduce sex education as part of schools' ČOZ (*Čas odeljenske zajednice*) curricula.³¹ The project has received strong support from key officials in Tuzla Canton and Brčko District, and it is therefore proposed that sex education classes should be piloted in these two areas over a 24-month period. In order to avoid the need for major changes to the existing curricula, while also creating the space for regular sex education classes that are appropriate to the age and needs of the students, it is recommended that students should have three ČOZ classes on sex education during each academic year, from their first year to their final year.

The following topics could potentially be covered:

Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Dealing with puberty ■ Building healthy relationships ■ Respecting difference 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Relationships and intimacy ■ Sex and consent ■ Sex, myths and the media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Contraception ■ Sexually transmitted infections ■ Rape and sexual violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Rape as a weapon of war ■ Supporting survivors ■ Reflections

YOUNG PEOPLE IN BIH HIGH SCHOOLS SHOULD BE GIVEN FURTHER OPPORTUNITIES TO LEARN ABOUT AND DISCUSS THE ISSUE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE. THE TOPIC SHOULD BE ADDRESSED WITHIN A BROADER SEX EDUCATION FRAMEWORK.

³⁰ Meghan Campbell, 'The Challenges of Girls' Right to Education: Let's Talk About Human Rights-Based Sex Education', *International Journal of Human Rights* 20 (2016): 1219-1243, at 1230.

³¹ ČOZ classes take place once a week and involve form tutors meeting with their students to discuss a range of different issues, from problems in the classroom to absenteeism.

IT IS IMPORTANT THAT ALL OF THE TOPICS ARE TAUGHT IN WAYS THAT ACTIVELY ENGAGE STUDENTS, AND HENCE THE CLASSES SHOULD TAKE AN INTERACTIVE AND CREATIVE FORMAT.

It is important that all of the topics are taught in ways that actively engage students, and hence the classes should take an interactive and creative format. This might include the use of debates, quizzes, media tools such as YouTube and a 'questions postbox'.³² The final class in year 4 should be reserved for discussion and reflection on what has been learnt. Students should also be asked to provide feedback on their sex education classes at the end of each year.

All of this raises the crucial question of who will deliver the sex education classes? It is proposed that school pedagogues should be provided with appropriate training, which would thus create three possible options in terms of teaching. The first option would be for school pedagogues themselves to give the sex education classes. As a second option, which is based on knowledge transfer principles, pedagogues could train ČOZ teachers – in the form of group-based seminars – to deliver sex education. A third option would be for school pedagogues to work with groups of young people in each school to create peer-led sex education classes. Additionally, and as part of these options, relevant non-governmental organizations and health experts could be involved in teaching particular topics, such as sexually transmitted infections.

All three options, however, are dependent upon the pedagogues receiving adequate training, which in turn raises a second important question, namely who will deliver the training and who will fund it? The training will be delivered by the author and *Snaga Žene* in Tuzla, and it will take the form of group seminars (approximately 20 pedagogues in each group). The training seminars will each last approximately three hours and school pedagogues will be given a resources manual. This manual will provide important information about the aims of the project. It will also outline the World Health Organization (WHO) and European Union guidelines on CSE and explain how the project complies with these guidelines. Additionally, the manual will contain lesson plans for each of the proposed sex education topics and a number of different classroom activities. While the manual will offer useful guidelines and ideas, it is necessary to emphasize that the pedagogues will retain a degree of freedom and choice as to how they deliver the sex education classes (or train others to teach the classes). Many of the topics proposed for the sex education classes have been specifically chosen in order to allow school pedagogues to draw, as much as possible, on their own life skills and knowledge, without having to learn large amounts of new information.

It is fully recognized that the pedagogues should not be over-burdened with additional work. The training seminars will be funded by the ESRC in the UK.

The trainings must not be merely one-off events. The author and staff from *Snaga Žene* will organize three post-training follow-up group meetings with school pedagogues over a 24-month period. These meetings will focus on progress, any problems that pedagogues may have faced related to the sex education classes and any concerns that they might have. During these visits, meetings will also be held with small groups of students, to establish whether they are satisfied with the sex education classes and whether they would like anything to be done differently. At the end of the 24-month pilot period, a consultative process should take place – involving all key actors – to decide whether sex education classes should become a permanent part of the ČOZ curricula in Tuzla Canton and Brčko District.

THE TRAININGS MUST NOT BE MERELY ONE-OFF EVENTS.

³² Tom Sherrington, 'Sex Education: Giving Straight Answers Without Blushes' (7 November 2012), available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/teacher-network/teacher-blog/2012/nov/07/sex-education-teacher-action-questions>

CONCLUSION

Transitional justice processes will not help to create a better society if they leave unchanged the wider attitudinal social context. This attitudinal context includes misperceptions, prejudices and myths about sexual violence. The stigma that is so often attached to this category of crimes can expose male and female survivors to social ridicule and hostility, thus firmly positioning them on the margins of society. Education, an important dimension of transitional justice work, has a crucial yet often under-utilized role to play in addressing sexual violence myths and stigma, and this report has strongly demonstrated this. It has presented an innovative project that seeks to create more understanding and social support for survivors of conflict-related sexual violence in BiH by educating young people about these crimes and creating a new discursive space that fosters critical and independent thinking.

As part of this project, interactive talks on sexual violence have been given in 21 high schools across BiH and over 800 male and female students have completed a pre- and post-talk questionnaire. Analysis of this data provides compelling evidence of the success of these talks and of the extremely positive manner in which students reacted to them. To build on this momentum, this report has proposed that young people in BiH should learn about rape and sexual violence as part of a broader sex education. Arguing that classes on sex education could most easily and practically be integrated into the ČOZ curricula, it has made a series of recommendations regarding the possible content of these classes, how they might be taught and who could teach them.

Fundamentally, 'The right to education includes the right to sexual education, which is both a human right in itself and an indispensable means of realizing other human rights...'.³³ These human rights encompass not only one's own rights but also the human rights of others, including survivors of sexual violence.

EDUCATION, AN IMPORTANT DIMENSION OF TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE WORK, HAS A CRUCIAL YET OFTEN UNDER-UTILIZED ROLE TO PLAY IN ADDRESSING SEXUAL VIOLENCE MYTHS AND STIGMA, AND THIS REPORT HAS STRONGLY DEMONSTRATED THIS.

³³ UN Economic and Social Council, *Implementation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, General Comment No. 13, E/C.12/1999/10 (8 December 1999), §1, available at: <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G99/462/16/PDF/G9946216.pdf?OpenElement>

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